

מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

(8)

משרד

מס' תיק

משרד ההגנה

יוסף מדיני

התאגדות המדיניות

8/6/89 - 23/5/89

תיק מס'

מחלקה

12



שם תיק: היועץ המדיני לראש הממשלה - התכנית המדינית

מזהה פיו: 4603/12-א

מזהה פריט: R00035uq

כתובת: 2-111-2-4-6

תאריך הדפסה: 10/08/2020



ארכיון המדינה

משרד ראש הממשלה

טופס מראה מקום להוצאת תעודות יחידות*

חטיבה מס': _____
 מיכל מס': 4603 / 10
 תאריך התעודה: _____
 שם הנמען: _____
 שם מחבר התעודה: _____

15/5/1989

21/5/198

סוג התעודות (סמן ✓ במקום המתאים):

מכתב ☒

מברק או הודעת טלקס ☒

תזכיר או מזכר ☐

דין וחשבון או זכרון דברים משיחה או דיון ☐

פרוטוקול של שיחה, דיון או ישיבה ☐

הנמקה**:

מאיר כ"א

מאיר כ"א

שם הכורך

16/8/2020
 תאריך

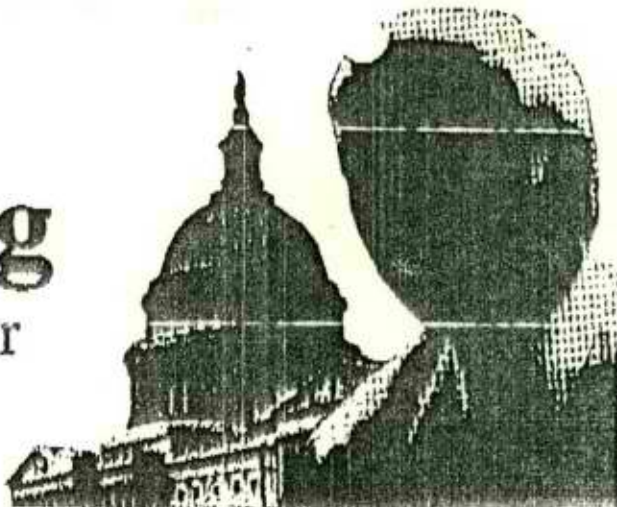
חתימה

*הטופס ימלא בשני עותקים. העותק הימני יוכנס לתיק במקום התעודה שהוצאה;
 העותק הלבן יצורף לתעודה שהוצאה.

**נא לרשום את ההנמקה רק בעותק הלבן.

Frank
Lautenberg

United States Senator
for New Jersey



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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1989

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
STEVEN SCHLEIN (LAUTENBERG)
(202) 224-5885
TIM DROOGSMA (BOSCHWITZ)
(202) 224-5641

**SENATORS EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR
ISRAELI PLAN FOR WEST BANK, GAZA STRIP**

WASHINGTON -- A BIPARTISAN GROUP OF 94 SENATORS IS WRITING SECRETARY OF STATE JIM BAKER TO EXPRESS THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE ISRAELI PEACE INITIATIVE FOR PALESTINIAN ELECTIONS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP, AND TO URGE THE UNITED STATES TO GIVE IT A STRONG ENDORSEMENT.

THE SENATORS, LED BY SEN. FRANK R. LAUTENBERG, (D-N.J.) AND SEN. RUDY BOSCHWITZ (R-MINN.) SAID IN A LETTER SENT TO BAKER TODAY, THAT ELECTIONS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP WOULD LEAD TO THE EMERGENCE OF LOCAL PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP, A STEP THAT IS VITAL TO THE PEACE PROCESS. "WE WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THERE IS BROAD SUPPORT IN THE SENATE FOR THIS PEACE PLAN, AND THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO WEAKENING OF OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, DESPITE THE BAKER SPEECH" LAUTENBERG SAID. "THERE HAVE BEEN SUGGESTIONS OF A WEAKENING OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, AND I THINK THIS LETTER CLEARLY LAYS THOSE SUGGESTIONS TO REST."

BOSCHWITZ ADDED, "IT'S IMPORTANT THAT THE PEACE PROCESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST BE RE-INVIGORATED. THE ISRAELI INITIATIVE PROVIDES THE BEST OPPORTUNITY TO ALLOW THAT TO OCCUR. IT CAN RESULT IN EACH SIDE TAKING THE FIRST STEP TOWARD THE NEGOTIATED PEACE THAT IS SO IMPORTANT FOR EVERYONE IN THE REGION."

IN THEIR LETTER TO BAKER, THE SENATORS SAID, "IT IS OUR CONVICTION THAT ISRAEL'S OFFER IS BOTH SINCERE AND FAR-REACHING. THE UNITED STATES HAS A VITAL ROLE TO PLAY IN CONVINCING OTHERS OF THE MERITS OF ISRAEL'S PLAN. ISRAEL'S PROPOSALS HAVE NOT ALWAYS RECEIVED THE CONSIDERATION THEY DESERVE BY THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT OR BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AT LARGE. TO PREVENT THAT FROM OCCURRING NOW, THE UNITED STATES MUST BE FULLY SUPPORTIVE, BOTH IN FACT AND APPEARANCE. WHILE EVERY DETAIL OF ISRAEL'S PROPOSALS MAY NOT YET BE ENTIRELY IN PLACE, A STRONG ENDORSEMENT BY THE UNITED STATES WOULD HELP ENSURE THEIR SERIOUS CONSIDERATION."

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 8, 1989

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The Honorable James A. Baker III
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

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Dear Secretary Baker:

We write to express our support for the peace initiative recently launched by the Government of Israel. We believe that holding free and democratic elections on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would be indispensable in allowing a local Palestinian leadership to emerge as a first step toward a just and lasting peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

It is our conviction that Israel's offer is both sincere and far-reaching. The United States has a vital role to play in convincing other of the merits of Israel's plan. Israel's proposals have not always received the consideration they deserve by the other parties to the conflict or by the international community at large. To prevent that from occurring now, the United States must be fully supportive, both in fact and in appearance. While every detail of Israel's proposals may not yet be entirely in place, a strong endorsement by the United States would help ensure their serious consideration.

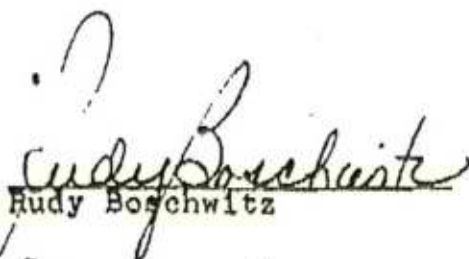
Israel's willingness to allow all options to be put on the table during the negotiations to be held after the elections and during the transition period demonstrates a real readiness to take risks for peace. We must keep in mind that Israel will be asked to give up politically what it won militarily by defending itself against attacks from outside Israeli borders in which thousands of Israelis died. Those aggressors, except for Egypt, remain in a state of war with Israel to this day. They possess far more sophisticated weapons than the stones of the Palestinian youths involved in the rioting. Israel is not simply being asked to make peace with the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza; the decisions Israel makes will greatly affect her ability to defend herself against other Arab enemies.

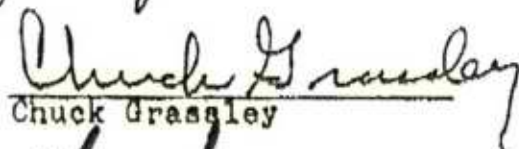
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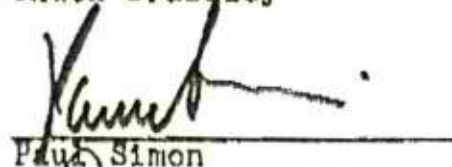
The Arab countries who have made war against Israel in the past now have the chance to make a real move toward peace. They can do so by urging the Palestinians in the territories to participate in the elections called for by this plan. While neither Egypt nor Jordan has rejected Prime Minister Shamir's proposal outright, their voices could be instrumental in persuading the Palestinians to accept this offer.

The Administration's reaction to this plan will undoubtedly have great influence over the Arab reaction. We urge you to strongly and publicly endorse the Israeli peace initiative.

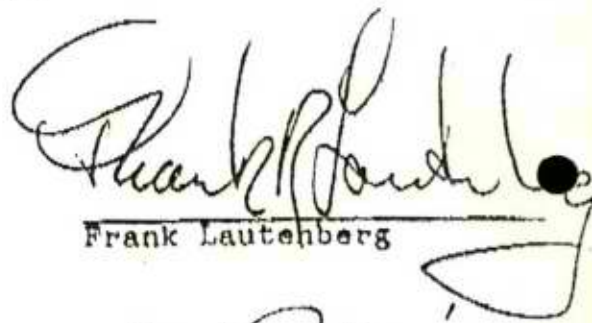
Sincerely,

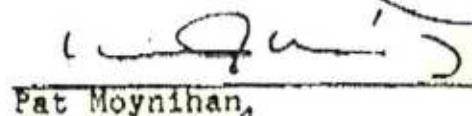

Rudy Boschwitz



Chuck Grassley

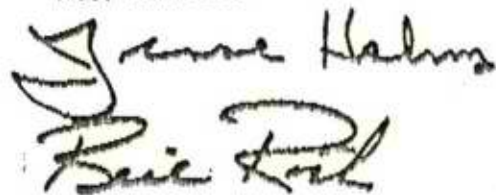

Paul Simon


Richard B. Lugar


Frank Lautenberg


Pat Moynihan


Tom Harkin


Jesse Helms


Bill Roth

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

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Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Art. Hatch

Secretary Baker
June 2, 1989

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Alan J. Dixon

WYCHE FOWLER

HARRY REIT

JOHN B. BREAU

DANIEL K. INOUE

HOWELL HEELIN

PAUL SARBANES

KENT CONRAD

JAMES SASSER

DAVID L. BOREN

RICHARD SHELBY

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR.

JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN

SPARK MATSUNAGA

SAM NUNN

EDWARD M. KENNEDY

DON RIEGLE

CHARLES S. ROBB

ALAN CRANSTON

J. BENNETT JOHNSTON

Joe [Signature]

Phil [Signature]

Rick Bond

W. J. [Signature]

Strom Thurmond

Don [Signature]

Kent Lett

Ernie Mash

Larry Pressler

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Dan [Signature]

Wm B. [Signature]

Conrad [Signature]

Pat Wilson

Al [Signature]

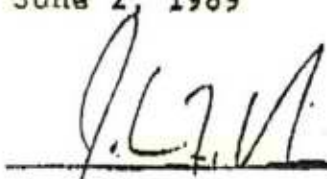
Don [Signature]


Al [Signature]

Joe [Signature]

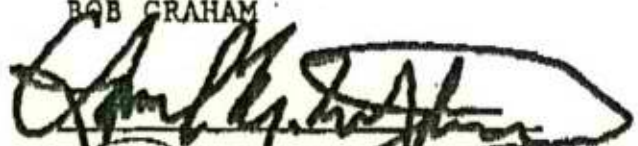
John [Signature]


Secretary Baker
June 2, 1989


JOHN F. KERRY


DENNIS DeCONCINI


BOB GRAHAM



HOWARD M. METZENBAUM


BROCK ADAMS


JEFF BINGAMAN



CARL LEVIN


WENDELL H. FORD


MAX BAUCUS


HERBERT KOHL


DALE BUMPERS

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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, IV


BILL BRADLEY

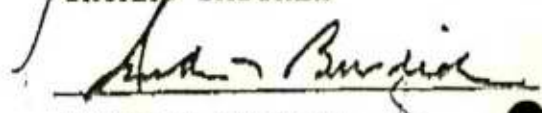

BARBARA MIKULSKI

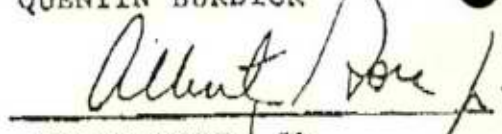

CLAIBORNE PELL



TIMOTHY WIRTH

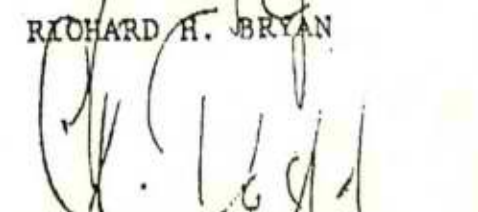

J. ROBERT KERREY


THOMAS DASCHLE


QUENTIN BURDICK


ALBERT GORE, JR.


RICHARD H. BRYAN


CHRISTOPHER DODD

Secretary Baker
June 2, 1989

George Mitchell
GEORGE J. MITCHELL

John Glenn 218 9/9
JOHN GLENN

Lloyd Bentsen
LYLOYD BENTSEN

Terry Sanford
TERRY SANFORD

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אשרת העליון
מרכז ההסברה

מסמך

יוזמת השלום של ממשלת ישראל

אושרה ע"י הממשלה ביום א', ט' באייר תשמ"ט (14.5.1989)

כללי

1. מסמך זה מציג את עיקריה של יוזמה מדינית של ממשלת ישראל, שעניינה המשך תהליך השלום; סיום מצב המלחמה עם מדינות ערב; פתרון לערביי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה; שלום עם ירדן ופתרון בעייתם של תושבי מחנות הפליטים ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה.

2. המסמך כולל:

- א. העקרונות עליהם מתבססת היוזמה.
- ב. פירוט ההליכים למימושה.
- ג. ההתייחסות לנושא הבחירות בהן מדובר, פרטים נוספים הקשורים לבחירות, וכן נושאים אחרים של היוזמה, יידונו בנפרד.

הנחות יסוד

- 3. היוזמה מושתתת על הנחה של קיום הסכמה לאומית לה, על בסיס קווי היסוד של ממשלת ישראל, לרבות נקודות אלה:
 - א. ישראל שואפת לשלום ולהמשך התהליך המדיני במשא-ומתן ישיר לפי עקרונות קמפ-דייוויד.
 - ב. ישראל מתנגדת להקמת מדינה פלשתינית נוספת בחבל עזה ובשטח שבין ישראל לירדן.
 - ג. ישראל לא תישא ותיתן עם אש"ף.
 - ד. לא יחול שינוי במעמד יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, אלא בהתאם לקווי היסוד של הממשלה.

נושאים בתהליך השלום

4. א. ישראל רואה חשיבות בכך שהשלום בין ישראל למצרים, המבוסס על הסכמי קמפ-דייוויד, יהיה אכן פינה להרחבת מעגל השלום באזור, וקוראת למאמץ משותף לחיזוקו של השלום ולהרחבתו, מתוך היוועצות מתמדת.
- ב. ישראל קוראת לכינון יחסי שלום בינה לבין מדינות ערב המצהירות עדיין על קיום מצב מלחמה עימה, וזאת במגמה לקדם פתרון כולל לסכסוך הערבי-ישראלי, לרבות הכרה, משא-ומתן ישיר, ביטול החרם, יחסים דיפלומטיים, הפסקת הפעילות העוינת במוסדות ובפורומים בינלאומיים לשיתוף פעולה אזורי ודו-צדדי.
- ג. ישראל קוראת למאמץ בינלאומי לפתרון בעייתם של תושבי מחנות הפליטים הערביים ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, כדי לשפר את תנאי חייהם ולשקמם. ישראל נכונה להיות שותפה למאמץ זה.
- ד. כדי לקדם תהליך משא-ומתן מדיני המוביל לשלום, מציעה ישראל בחירות דמוקרטיות חופשיות בקרב הערבים הפלשתינאים תושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, באוירה נטולת אלימות, איום וטרור. בבחירות אלה תיבחר נציגות למשא-ומתן על תקופת ביניים של שלטון עצמי. תקופה זו תהווה מבחן לדו-קיום ושיתוף פעולה. להלן ייערך משא-ומתן לפתרון קבע, בו ייבחנו כל האופציות המוצעות לפתרון מוסכם ויושג שלום בין ישראל לירדן.
- ה. את כל הצעדים האמורים ראוי לעשות במקביל.
- ו. להלן יפורט האמור בנקודה ד' דלעיל.

העקרונות המתווים את היוזמה

5. היוזמה מתבססת על שני שלבים:
 - א. שלב א' – תקופת מעבר של הסכם ביניים.
 - ב. שלב ב' – פתרון קבע.
6. הקשר בין השלבים הוא לוח הזמנים שלפיו בנויה היוזמה: תהליך השלום המותווה בה מבוסס על החלטות 242 ו-338, שהסכמי קמפ-דייוויד מושתתים עליהם.

לוח זמנים

7. תקופת המעבר תימשך 5 שנים.
8. בהקדם האפשרי, אך לא יאוחר מן השנה השלישית לאחר תחילת תקופת המעבר, יחל המשא-ומתן להשגת פתרון הקבע.

משתתפי המשא-ומתן בשני השלבים

9. המשתתפים במשא-ומתן לשלב הראשון (הסכם הביניים) יכללו את ישראל והנציגות הנבחרת מקרב הערבים הפלשתיניים תושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה. ירדן ומצרים יוזמנו להשתתף בו, אם ירצו בכך.

10. המשתתפים במשא-ומתן לשלב השני (פתרון הקבע) יכללו את ישראל, הנציגות הנבחרת מקרב הערבים הפלשתיניים תושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, וכן את ירדן; כמו כן תוכל להשתתף בו מצרים. במשא-ומתן בין ישראל וירדן, שבו תשתתף הנציגות הנבחרת מקרב הערבים הפלשתיניים תושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, ייכרת חוזה השלום בין ישראל לירדן.

מהותה של תקופת המעבר

11. בתקופת המעבר יוענק לתושבים הערבים הפלשתיניים של יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה שלטון עצמי, בו ינהלו כעצמם את ענייניהם בשטחי החיים היום-יומיים. ישראל תמשיך להיות אחראית לבטחון, ליחסי חוץ ולכל הנוגע לאזרחי ישראל ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה. הסוגיות הכרוכות ביישום התכנית לשלטון עצמי ילובנו ויסוכמו במסגרת המשא-ומתן להסכם הביניים.

מהותו של פתרון הקבע

12. במשא-ומתן על פתרון הקבע יהיה כל צד רשאי להביא לדיון את כל הנושאים שירצה להעלותם.

13. על מטרת המשא-ומתן להיות:

- א. השגת פתרון קבע שיהיה מקובל על משתתפי המשא-ומתן.
- ב. הסדרי השלום והגבולות בין ישראל לירדן.

פירוט התהליך למימוש היוזמה

14. בראש ובראשונה הידברות והסכמה עקרונית של הערבים הפלשתיניים תושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, וכן מצרים וירדן, אם ירצו ליטול חלק במשא-ומתן, כאמור, לעקרונות המתווים את היוזמה.

15. א. מיד לאחר מכן – שלב של הכנות וביצוע הליך הבחירות, בו תיבחר נציגות מקרב הערבים

הפלשתיניים תושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה.

נציגות זו:

- (1) תהיה השותף לניהול המשא-ומתן לתקופת המעבר (הסכם ביניים).
 - (2) תהפוך לרשות לשלטון עצמי במהלך תקופת המעבר.
 - (3) תהיה המרכיב הפלשתיני המרכזי בשיחות למשא-ומתן על פתרון הקבע, בכפוף להסכמה בתום שלוש שנים.
- ב. בתקופת ההכנות והביצוע תהיה רגיעה באלימות ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה.

16. באשר למדות הבחירות עצמן, מומלצת הצעה של בחירות אזוריות, שפרטיה ייקבעו בדיונים נוספים.

17. כל ערבי פלשתיני המתגורר ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, שייבחר על ידי התושבים לייצגם, לאחר שיגיש את מועמדותו בהתאם למסמך המפורט שיסוכם בנושא הבחירות, יוכל להיות שותף לגיטימי לניהול משא-ומתן עם ישראל.

18. הבחירות תהיינה חופשיות, דמוקרטיות וחשאיות.

19. מיד לאחר בחירתה של הנציגות מקרב הערבים הפלשתיניים תושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, ינוהל עימה המשא-ומתן על הסכם הביניים לתקופת המעבר אשר תימשך, כאמור, חמש שנים. במשא-ומתן זה יסוכמו על דעת הצדדים כל הנושאים הקשורים למדות השלטון העצמי וההסדרים הנדרשים למען מימושו.

20. בהקדם האפשרי, אך לא יאוחר מן השנה השלישית לאחר כינונו של השלטון העצמי, יתחיל המשא-ומתן להסכם על פתרון הקבע. בכל תקופת המשא-ומתן, עד לחתימתו של ההסכם לפתרון הקבע, יימשך השלטון העצמי כפי שנקבע במשא-ומתן על הסכם הביניים.

דברי ראש הממשלה, יצחק שמיר, בכנסת על יוזמת השלום

י"ב באייר התשמ"ט – 17.5.89

אדוני היושב ראש, חברי הכנסת,

ביום ט' באייר התשמ"ט (14.5.89) אישרה ממשלת ישראל יוזמת שלום, ואני מתכבד להביא בזאת לפני הכנסת את עיקריה.

חשיבותה של היוזמה היא בראש ובראשונה בכך שישראל הציעה הצעה משלה, שנועדה להוביל להסדר שלום עם שכנינו, בנוסף למצרים. חשובה לא פחות היא העובדה שאנו מציגים עמדה מאוחדת של ממשלת ישראל, על הגושים הגדולים והתנועות האחרות המרכיבות אותה, בנושא שבראש יעדיה המדיניים של ישראל – השגת השלום, תוך הבטחת בטחונה של ישראל.

הממשלה אומרת לעם בישראל, לשכנינו ובראש ובראשונה לערביי ארץ-ישראל ולמדינות תבל – אנו מאוחדים בשאיפה לשלום, אנו מאוחדים בהצעת הנתיב לכך, ואנו מאוחדים כמובן בהכרת צורכי הבטחון של ישראל ושל תושביה.

אפתח ברשותכם בהצגת עיקרי היוזמה, שעניינם תהליך השלום, סיום מצב המלחמה עם מדינות ערב, פתרון לערביי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, שלום עם ירדן ופתרון בעייתם של תושבי מחנות הפליטים ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה.

ההנחות שביסוד היוזמה הן בסיס ההסכמה הלאומית – שאיפת השלום והמשך התהליך המדיני במשא-ומתן ישיר לפי עקרונות קמפ דייוויד; שלילת מדינה פלשתינית נוספת ושלילת משא-ומתן עם אש"ף; ואי-שינוי במעמד יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, אלא בהתאם לקווי היסוד של הממשלה. רבים בארץ ובעולם התמקדו, בהתייחס ליוזמה, רק בנושא הצעת הבחירות ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה לבחירת נציגות התושבים הערבים. זהו חלק חשוב בה, אך עלי להפנות תשומת-לב הכנסת לשלושת חלקיה הראשונים של היוזמה:

ראשית, על הסכם קמפ דייוויד, שהוא בן עשר שנים בלבד, לא אבד הכלח, כפי שמנסים גורמים בעולם לטעון. זהו הסכם המחייב את ישראל ומצרים כמו את ארה"ב. אם רואים הסכם זה כבטל – מדוע נתייחס ברצינות להסכם עתיד כלשהו שייכרת מחר, ומחרתיים יבוא הטוען ויטען לבטלותו? אדרבה, אנו קוראים לחיזוקו של השלום בין מצרים לישראל ולהיוועצות מתמדת בין שתיהן להמשך תהליך השלום. חבל שמצרים לא נענתה, כפי שהוצע, לקיים מפגש בין נשיא מצרים לביני במלאות עשור לחוזה השלום, ואני מקווה שעוד יימצאו הזדמנויות לכך.

שנית, יסוד הסכסוך הערבי-ישראלי הוא סירוב מדינות ערב, למעט מצרים מאז חוזה השלום, להכיר בישראל ולקיים עמה יחסי שלום. דרך משל, מדי שנה אנו עדים לנסיון ערבי עקר באו"ם למנוע הכרה בכתב ההאמנה של ישראל, שמשמעותו המעשית נסיון לגרש את ישראל מן האו"ם. חלק בלתי נפרד, חלק הכרחי מתהליך השלום, הוא הפסקתם של חזיונות שליליים אלה כמו גם ביטול החרם הערבי, למשל. על כל שוחרי השלום לתת יד לשכנוע מדינות ערב לשנות את דרכן, ולהפסיק את מצב המלחמה עם ישראל.

שלישית, עניין אנושי מן המעלה הראשונה, שרק קשיחות ואטימות-לב יכולות להמשיך להתנגד לו: יושבי מחנות הפליטים ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה ראויים, בלא קשר לנושא מדיני כלשהו ובלא סתירה לתהליך מדיני נמשך, לשיקום ולדיור הוגן. ישראל עשתה ועושה למען רבים מהם באמצעים הדלים; אך פתרון הולם מלא טעון שיתוף פעולה בינלאומי להשגת המשאבים

הנדרשים, ולכך אנו קוראים ללא דיחוי למאמץ פיננסי בינלאומי למען פתרון בעיה אנושית זו. נקודות אלה, כאמור ביוזמה, ראוי שיקודמו יחד עם חלקו האחר של התהליך המדיני. אעבור עתה לנושא היוזמה שעניינו הבחירות ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה. היוזמה מדברת בשני שלבים: תקופת מעבר של הסכם ביניים לחמש שנים ולאחריה פתרון קבע, שהקשר ביניהם הם לוח הזמנים ועקרונות התהליך.

כאן עלי להעיר, כי פעמים נשמעת טענה, כאילו ישראל או גורמים בתוכה אינם מעוניינים במשא-ומתן לפתרון קבע. אין שקר גדול מזה. ראשית, ישראל - בניגוד למקובל אולי אצל רבות משכנותיה - עומדת תמיד בהתחייבותיה הבינלאומיות. התחייבות זו קיימת בהסכם קמפ-דייב, וכמובן חוזרת עליה גם היוזמה.

השוני שביוזמה לעומת הסכם קמפ דייוויד הוא, כי מוצעות בחירות לפני ההסכם המפורט של הסדר הביניים, וזאת במגמה למצוא בני-שיח הולמים מתוך ערביי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, שעמם עלינו להיות. לנציגות שתיכחר בבחירות אלה מוצעים תפקידים בשלבים השונים: בנושאת ונותנת על הסכם הביניים, כרשות לשלטון עצמי, לאחר השגת אותו הסכם, ובהסכמה - אם תהיה - גם כמשתתפת במו"מ על פתרון הקבע.

תקופת המעבר הנזכרת ביוזמה היא בת חמש שנים. תקופה קצרה מזו אין בה בשום פנים כדי להוות אותו מבחן לדו-קיום ושיתוף פעולה שאנו זקוקים לו, ויש אומרים כי אף היא קצרה מדי. בתקופת מעבר זו יוענק לתושבים הערבים הפלשתינים ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה שלטון עצמי לניהול ענייניהם, בעוד שישראל תמשיך להיות אחראית לכטחון, ליחסי חוץ ולכל הנוגע לאזרחי ישראל ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה. כמו-כן, במשא-ומתן המפורט על הסכם הביניים עם הנציגות שתיבחר ילובנו הסוגיות הקשורות בתקופת המעבר, לרבות ענייני תשתית וכלכלה מרכזיים. למו"מ זה יוכלו ירדן ומצרים, אם ירצו בכך, להצטרף.

במשא-ומתן על פתרון הקבע, שאליו מטבע הדברים על ירדן להצטרף, גם כיוון שבו ייכרת במקביל גם חוזה השלום עם ירדן - יוכל כל צד להביא לדיון את כל הנושאים שירצה להעלותם. אבל מטרת משא-ומתן זה תהיה השגת פתרון קבע שיהיה מקובל על כל משתתפיו, ועד השגתו, יהא בתוקף הסכם הביניים.

למותר לציין כי בתקופת ההכנות והביצוע לא תהא אלימות ביהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, ולנקודה זו עוד אשוב.

לאחר בחינת האופציות השונות שהועלו, נראית לנו כחלופה הסבירה ביותר הצעת בחירות אוזוריות. מובן כי את הפרטים עלינו לעבד, ויש בתוכם שאלות רבות בעלות חשיבות רבה! הבחירות יהיו חופשיות, דמוקרטיות וחשאיות - דבר שאינו חזון נפרץ במזרח התיכון, ובעצם ללא תקדים, למעט בישראל. מי שיגיש מועמדותו אליהן בהתאם לכלליהן כפי שיפורטו ויוסכמו, וייבחר - יוכל להיות חלק מן הנציגות הנזכרת. עד כאן עיקרי היוזמה.

היוזמה היא מכלול שמרכיביו השונים קשורים זה בזה. על שכנינו המוזמנים להצטרף לתהליך המוצע - ואנו לא נחסוך כל מאמץ כדי לשכנעם בכך. עליכם לדעת כי אין לבודד את מרכיביו אלה מאלה. המסלול המוצע על מהלכיו ושלביו הוא הגיוני, הוגן ומחייב.

יתרה מזו, מי שיצטרפו ליוזמה - יידעו כי עליהם להיות מחויבים, כלפינו וכלפי כולי עלמא, למתווה הזוה על כל המשתמע מתוכו. כמובן, על פרטים שונים יהיה צורך לנהל משא-ומתן הן לפני הבחירות, לשם עריכתן, והן עם הנציגות הנבחרות, בקשר להסכם הביניים, אך המתווה עצמו,

המסלול, מחייב מבחינתנו, באורח ברור, מתחילתו ועד סופו.

מהם הצעדים הבאים המתחייבים מן היוזמה? בראש ובראשונה, ככתוב בה, יש צורך בהידברות לשם הסכמה עם ערבים מתושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה, וכמוכן ארה"ב, ומדינות ידידותיות אחרות שירצו לסייע בשכנוע – מוזמנות לעשות כן. במקביל יש לעבד את פרטי ההצעות בנושאים השונים, וכל הנושאים הללו, שאינם פשוטים, מחייבים עדיין עבודה פנימית רבה, תוך שבמקביל נשמע גם את הקולות העולים מקרב שכנינו באשר לנכונותם להצטרף ליוזמה. עד עתה ומאז פורסמה היוזמה הזאת בזמן ביקורי בארה"ב בתחילת החודש שעבר, הגיעו מהצר הערבי קולות סירוב ודחיית התכנית כולה. איננו רואים בקולות אלה את המלה האחרונה, שכן לפי מיטב הכרתנו כוללת יוזמה זו הצעות הוגנות, כנות וריאליסטיות ליישוב הסכסוך בינינו לבין שכנינו.

שכנינו עומדים בפני דילמה – לאן ישימו פניהם? למסלול של משא-ומתן או להמשכת האלימות. מחובתנו יהיה לעשות הכל כדי להוכיח להם, שהאלימות איננה אלטרנטיבה והיא לא תוביל אלא לאסונות ולהרס. הדרך היחידה היא דרך המשא-ומתן והשלום. הודעת אש"ף אינה מעניינת; הצעותינו אינן מופנות אליהם. אנו יודעים שאין להם עניין בשלום. קריאתנו מופנית לשכנינו יושבי יהודה, שומרון וחבל עזה.

ארה"ב, ממשלתה, מוסדותיה המחוקקים וכן דעת הקהל שבה קיבלו את התכנית באהדה ברורה. יהדות ארה"ב ויהדות העולם כולו עומדות מאוחדות לימינו. בארצות שונות ישנם גילויי התעניינות, אם כי קשה עדיין לקבוע אם רב בהן המחייב או השולל.

טרם התחיל משא-ומתן עם גורם חיצוני כל שהוא על יישום היוזמה. היא עדיין כל כולה חומר למחשבה ולדיון בזירה הבינלאומית. מוקדם עדיין לקבוע, אם אכן תהפוך יוזמה זאת למציאות. משום כך, מוקדם ואין הצדקה להפיכת הנושא למלחמה פנימית חריפה בינינו. מלחמה מיותרת כזאת תשמש ותעורר רק אויבים.

כולנו ערים לתחושותיו של ציבור רחב בישראל בימים אלה, המעוניין לפני הכל במלחמת-חרמה נגד הטרור והאלימות, שגילוייהם באים לידי ביטוי בדרכים, בכבישים ואף בלב הערים. מלחמה זו, שמנהלים צה"ל, משטרת ישראל וכוחות הבטחון האחרים, היא חלק בלתי נפרד ממאבקנו הקיומי ההיסטורי בארץ הזאת, בסכסוך שנכפה עלינו ושלא תם. מלחמה זו תימשך וגם תצלח בידינו, כי בניגוד לדוגמאות כביכול מעמים אחרים שמשמיעים באוזנינו – אנו כאן במולדתנו, אין לנו ארץ אחרת, ואת מבקשי נפשנו נמגר ללא היסוס; הם גם יכלו את עצמם ברציחותיהם אלה את אלה. נכון, יש עלינו מגבלות שאינן חלות על אנשי האלימות והטרור; אנו מדינת חוק וחברה בעלת ערכים, שלצערנו אין להם אחים ורעים סביבנו. אולם במלחמה הזאת ננצח, וחובתנו כלפי עמנו, וכלפי עתידנו, לעשות זאת. אין להתפס לתופעות חולפות, כוחנו אתנו ואנחנו חזקים מאויבינו. אין כל ספק: אנחנו ננצח.

כל ביקורת קונסטרוקטיבית היא לגיטימית. אני מקבל באהבה דברים קשים ששמעתי מכיוונים שונים. אך יש הבדל בין נשיאה במשימה הלאומית היומיומית הכוללת גם אחריות ליחסינו הבינלאומיים עם קרוב ועם רחוק ולשיתוף פעולה ככל הניתן בין חלקי העם – לבין נקיטת עמדות שמרשה לעצמו מי שפטור מכל אלה.

אין ספק כי יצאנו לדרך שיש בה סיכונים, אך יש בה סיכוי, את הסיכונים, שעיקרם נסיונות סטייה של גורמים שידיו מעורבים בבחירות מן המנדט שעליו יוסכם – יהא עלינו למנוע ולהפסיק, וכמוכן נדאג לכך בעליל.

עם זאת, לעניין הסיכונים שברך יש להוסיף כי יחסית להסכמי קמפ דייוויד, רמת הסיכונים הפעם נמוכה יותר, כי היום יש לנו שמונים אלף מתיישבים יהודים ביהודה ושומרון – כן ירבו – הרבה יותר משהיו לנו בתקופת קמפ-דייוויד.

בשבוע החולף חגגנו ארבעים ואחת שנה לעצמאותנו המחודשת. בעוד כשבועיים נחוג עשרים ושתיים שנה לאיחודה מחדש של בירתנו הריבונית, ירושלים. המאחר את כולנו הוא המאמץ המתמיד לקידומה ושגשוגה של מדינת ישראל. מכאן, מירושלים הבירה, אומרים לנו לכל אזרחי ישראל ותושביה כי ממשלת ישראל תעשה כל שביכולת אנוש להבטיח את הבטחון בכל תחומי ארץ-ישראל בכל האמצעים החוקיים העומדים לרשותנו, ועם זאת תפעל ללא לאות לקידום השלום עם שכנינו. שני הדברים הללו אין ביניהם סתירה, אדרבה, הם משלימים זה את זה. ארשה לעצמי לצטט – ואל תופתעו – את יעקב חזן, שקיבל לפני ימים אחדים את פרס ישראל על תרומה מיוחדת למדינה ולחברה. בטקס הפרס אמר חזן – ואני נוטל הזדמנות זו כדי לאחל לו, במלאת לו תשעים שנה "עוד ינובון בשיבה, דשנים ורעננים יהיו" – כלהלן:

"כאשר בגמר הקונגרס הציוני בארץ הוטל עלי ועל מר בגין לסיימו, עליתי על הבמה ואמרתי 'המאחד את שנינו הרי זו אהבת ישראל, ורק על יסוד זה אנו מסוגלים לסיימו יחד'. וכך עתה הגנו יושבים כאן בעלי דעות שונות ולעתים אף מנוגדות, אבל אהבת עמנו והדאגה לעתידו היא המלכדת את כולנו".

אני מסכים לכל מלה מדברים אלה.

אוסף לכך ואזכיר כי משורר תהילים אומר: "ה' עוז לעמו יתן, ה' יברך את עמו בשלום", וזהו אכן שילובם הנאות של יעדינו הלאומיים – עוז ושלום. ולסיום, ארשה לעצמי לשוב לעניין האחדות, שהיתה מן המניעים העיקריים בעיני להקמת הממשלה במתכונתה זו – ולגיבוש היוזמה שלפנינו. בתולדות עמנו ידענו שגשוג והצלחה בימי אחדות; ידענו פגעים ואסונות בימי פילוג. כוחנו אך ורק באחדותנו מול אויבינו ומבקשי נפשנו, המשלים עצמם כי במהרה יעמדו בשערי ירושלים; והאמת היא כי בשערי ירושלים השלמה נעמוד אנחנו, מעתה ועד עולם בעזרת ה', מאוחדים ודבקים ביעודינו.

מושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* 2220

03.06.81 : תאריך *

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סודי ביותר

28	מתוך	4	* עותק
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*ל:המשרד

* יעדים: מצב/159, מנמת/65

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נצח: עג ט: חת*

2:72

*סודי ביותר/מדי

*אל:סמנכל צפ'א'

* יועץ מדיני לשה"ח

*מאת:הצייר-עודד ערן

*תהליך מדיני

*להלו מש'חה עם דו קרצר

*א.ל.מ.יטב ידיעתו לא עלה נושא מז'ת' בשיחות בוש באירופה

*למרות שבוש צויד "בנקודות לשיחה". קרצר אמר זאת בצער

י לדבריו הם צריכים לחזור עתה לאירופאים ולבקש מהם

*לסייע במאמץ השיכנוע. המאמץ מכוון לתעל את הפלסטינאים

*לתוך הבחירות תוך סגירת האופציות שבהן משתעשעים עדיין

*גורמים שונים מרעיונות אבו שריף ועד לועידות נוסח

*מסקבה.

*ב. 'נקודות השיחה' שבהן משתמשים האמריקאים עם כל

*הגורמים הן חד משמעיות.אין אופציה אחרת מלבד זו שהוצעה

*ע'י ישראל.מי שרוצה רשאי כמובן לשאול שאלות בתנאי שקיבל

*ה'יוזמה וארה'ב לא תהיה מוכנה לדון בתוכנית אלטרנטיבית.

*הדברים מקבלים משנה תוקף אחרי קזבלנקה שכן ארה"ב רואה

*את החלטות אלה ובמיוחד את תוכנית הבחירות של אש"פ כבלתי

*קבילות וכך גם יוצג העניין ב-8/6 בתוניס וגם ב-15/6 במפגש

*עם הסוביטים. קרצר אמר שהיה רוצה שהסדר יהיה הפוך שכן

* 1P 2 2P 2
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* 1P 2 2P 2 3P 2 4P 2 5P 2 6P 2 7P 2 8P 2 9P 2 10P 2

משרד החוץ
מחלקת ההסברה

לשכת האו"ם

ירושלים, כ"ח באייר תשמ"ט
2 ביוני 1989

אל הנציגות

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U.S. News and World Report 1.5.1989

העורך הראשי של ה - U.S. News & World Report פירסם

בעתוננו מאמר המצדד ביוזמת השלום של ישראל וקורא

לארצות הברית לתמוך בה.

לוט המאמר כפי שהתפרסם בעתון ב-1.5.1989.

by MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN
Editor-in-Chief

THE PEACE OF SALADIN

If the people of the West Bank and Gaza are prisoners of Israel, as they protest they are, will they take the key to the prison gates just offered by Prime Minister Shamir? The free elections he has proposed would not now produce an independent Palestinian state, but they would at once give Palestinians greater say in running their own lives, would see Israeli soldiers withdraw into a few relatively unpopulated pockets and would open the way to a permanent deal in maybe three to five years on borders, land and sovereignty. Who would throw away the key to such progress? The PLO probably will. It has thrown away all the keys offered in four decades because it has a higher priority than a better life for Palestinians. That is the destruction of Israel.

This is not quite the way it is perceived in the world, because everyone outside Israel is so tired of the conflict they are ready to embrace any sunbeam of hope. As Saul Bellow put it, a great deal of intelligence can be invested in ignorance when the need for illusion is deep. The reality that Israel has to calculate is too harsh for wishful thinking. Israel and the U.S. share values and interests, but we do not share a neighborhood. In our neighborhood, the Salman Rushdie affair was a shock. In the Mideast, silencing opponents by assassination is a daily occurrence. Since last December when Yassir Arafat convinced the West he was forsaking terrorism and seeking coexistence, the number of attempted terrorist infiltrations has increased, and not long ago the "new" Arafat said of the moderate mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Freij: "Whoever thinks of stopping the *intifada* . . . I will give them 10 bullets in the chest."

The Western media seem willing to suspend disbelief when it comes to the PLO. Little attention is paid to statements that give the lie to happy headlines about the PLO's conversion. It was the new Arafat, again, who recently said he is not seeking the peace of compromise, but the peace of Saladin—an unmistakable code in the Arab world since Saladin is the Moslem warrior who overcame the Crusaders, concluded an armistice and then attacked them again until they were driven out. Arafat's top aides are saying the same thing

throughout the Arab world. This month on the BBC Arabic Service, Farouk Kaddoumi, the designated PLO foreign minister, said: "The recovery of but a part of our soil will not cause us to forsake our Palestinian land. . . . We will pitch our tent in those places which our bullets can reach." The chairman of the PLO parliament in late December: "We also aspire for [all of Palestine]. However, in light of the current international political state of affairs, we are working within available possibilities," and "afterward we will demand more." And from Zayid Wahba, Arafat's Fatah commander in Lebanon, in *as-Safir* in January, 1989: "When we call for the establishment of a Palestinian state on any part of the land of Palestine—that does not mean we have relinquished our historic rights in all of Palestine."

These are the ambitions that over the years have stopped Israel from agreeing to a Palestinian state in the West Bank. And there is another. Today, 80 percent of the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip are reborn Moslems, and so are 45 percent of the Arabs in the West Bank. Israelis have to contemplate the horror that a Palestinian state might be taken over by a Palestinian Khomeini. The Palestinians, as Moshe Dayan put it, have a right to determine their own future; but they do not have a right to determine Israel's future. As it is, Israel is taking a calculated risk in responding with limited force to the riots. In the West, its measures are seen as barbaric. Among the Arabs, they are interpreted as weakness. The Syrians show no such restraint in Lebanon. They are slaughtering whole Christian neighborhoods.

Lebanon stands as a reminder of how high the stakes are beyond the hurling of rocks and epithets. Israel cannot remain in occupation of those parts of the West Bank and Gaza that are densely populated by Arabs. But the Palestinians must also understand that a PLO state in the West Bank is an impossible dream—a dream that would become a nightmare not only to Israel but to Jordan.

There is no quick fix. Any peace process will have to proceed in slow stages to build confidence. Shamir's proposal for free elections is a vital step for peace that deserves American support. ■



United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

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May 26, 1989

The Honorable
James A. Baker, III
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Jim:

I am disappointed that the State Department has not given more enthusiastic support to Prime Minister Shamir's peace plan involving the holding of elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. I urge you to put the full weight of U.S. diplomacy into making this proposal work, for it is only with our wholehearted support that the plan has a chance to succeed.

Democratic elections will provide a means for restarting the peace process after years of stalemate, and provide a way for the Palestinians to move beyond the violence and bloodshed of the past 17 months. As you know, the Shamir plan includes provisions for Palestinian self-rule and a method for achieving negotiations on a permanent solution to the conflict. Thus, it provides a channel for Palestinian political expression and a means for Palestinians to begin a genuine dialogue with Israel about their future. While it may not be perfect from either point of view, it represents a realistic compromise of widely divergent viewpoints on both sides of the issue, and it has the full support of the Israeli Cabinet.

By enabling the Palestinians to choose their own representatives for negotiations with Israel, these elections could provide the needed catalyst for restarting the peace process. They could lead to the first measure of self government in the West Bank and Gaza for 22 years, a goal which the Palestinians have long sought. And, they could be a real first step toward a comprehensive peace settlement in the region, something the Israelis want more than anyone.

Israel's willingness to allow all options to be put on the table during the negotiations to be held after the elections represents a real step forward, and demonstrates a willingness to take risks for peace. We must keep in mind that Israel is being asked to return through the political process lands it won militarily by defending itself against attacks from outside Israeli borders in which thousands of Israelis died.

* *

Secretary Baker
May 26, 1989
Page 2

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These aggressors, except for Egypt, remain in a state of war with Israel to this day. They possess far more sophisticated weapons than the stones of the Palestinian youth involved in the rioting. So we must keep in mind that Israel is not simply being asked to make peace with the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza; the decisions she makes with respect to that territory will greatly affect her ability to defend herself against other Arab enemies.

The Arab countries who have made war against Israel in the past now have the chance to make a real move toward peace. They can do so by urging the Palestinians to participate in the elections called for by this plan. While neither Egypt nor Jordan has rejected Shamir's proposal outright, their voices could be instrumental in persuading the Palestinians to accept this offer.

The Israeli plan is the only plan that can truly save lives and put an end to the ongoing violence. Many Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza who publicly reject the election idea say in private that they would accept it the PLO did. The Administration's reaction to this plan will undoubtedly influence the PLO's decision, and will also affect how helpful Jordan and Egypt will be in attempting to convince the PLO to accept the idea.

This election plan may not be perfect from the Palestinians point of view. It may not answer all the questions they want answered, nor resolve their fate in the ultimate sense. But it is a first step on the long journey toward peace between Israel and the Palestinians and the other Arab countries who have repeatedly made war on Israel. It provides a real window of opportunity through which the Palestinians may be heard. It is the best option the Palestinians have.

I urge the United States, as the leading democracy in the free world, to make every effort to turn this proposal into a reality, and in so doing, support the development of democracy in a part of the world where, aside from Israel, none exists.

Sincerely,

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END



ש מ ר

בוקרשט, כ' באייר תשמ"ט

25 במאי 1989

251/3

אל: מנהל הסברה

הנדון: יוזמת השלום של ממשלת ישראל/עמדת רומניה

סימוכין: מברק ח/11046 מ-15 דנא

1. מסרתי את הדברים לראש אגפנו במשה'ח הרומני, אשר-כמקובל-רשמם ויעבירם להנהגה, וזאת בהמשך לשיחותי, הקודמות עמו ועם ס/שה'ח, בנדון. אך האיש היחיד הקובע במדיניות החוץ הנו הנשיא צ'אושסקו.

2. ניתן לסכם את העמדה הרומנית, בסוגיה זו, כדלקמן:
בשיחות: (עם ס/שה'ח וראש אגפנו במשה'ח הרומני) נטתה זהירה לקבלת רעיון הבחירות ותקופת המעבר של ממשל עצמי, בתנאי שמעבר לתקופה זו יזכו הפלשתינאים למדינה עצמאית משלהם, שרומניה כבר הכירה בה בעקבות הכרזתה, ב-15 בנובמבר 1988.
 אין נכנסים לפרטים בקשר לאופן ניהולן. הנשיא צ'אושסקו ראה ועודנו רואה כזכותם הבסיסית של הפלשתינאים למדינה משלהם, בדומה לזו של ישראל, וזו אבן יסוד במדיניותו המזהית. דחייתה הקטגורית של ממשלת ישראל, הרעיון לכינון מדינה פלשתינאית ביוש"ע וסרובה המוחלט לנהל מו"מ עם אש"פ, הם בעיני בני שיח המכשול העקרי בתהליך עשיית השלום. ומכאן הם רואים את הנוסחא הגואלת, בכינוס ועב"ל, (שצ'אושסקו רואה עצמו כאבי רעיונה) - שתוליך למו"מ ישיר בין הצדדים. כמונו, כמוהם, הם מתנגדים לכל פתרון כפיה מבחוץ, או פתרון הסכסוך שלא בדרך מדינית. הם מסכימים לדעה שהבחירות וכינון אוטונומיה, היו יכולים להוות דינמיקה משלה, בסוגיה זו נתקלתי באוזן קשבת. אך אין להניח שרומניה תצהיר זמל לא תיאום עם אש"פ. עקרונית, צריך לציין, שצ'אושסקו מצא תמיד מרכיב חיובי ברעיון האוטונומיה - כהסדר זמני - אך חזר והדגיש באוזנינו שכל עוד ואינה מקובלת על הפלשתינאים הרי בעצם איננה ישימה.

הפרשנות:

התקשורת המקומית, כידוע לך, מדווחת ומפרשת כל ארוע מדיני בנושאי חוץ, ובהתאם להנחיית הכתיבה וההסברה של הועד המרכזי במפלגת הקומוניסטית הרומנית. אנו מעבירים כמובן בקביעות לממונה על יחסי חוץ שבועד המרכזי - יון סטויאן - עקר החומר ההסברתי והתייעודי שאנו מקבלים אותו מירושלים (ובמקביל, לשה'ח, לסגן שה'ח, למנהל אגפנו במשה'ח ולפרשנים המזתיים בשבועון "לומיאה" ואג'רפרס). ה"י" מצייגה את קשיחותה של ממשלת ישראל נוכח ההתמתנות באש"פ. ונכונותו להשלים עם קיום ישראל ולעשות עמה שלום.

ש מ ר

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היוזמה, כפי שהציגה לא מזמן הפרשן המזרחי, קרציון יונסקו "בלומיאה" (שבועון לנדשאים מדיניים) איננה אלא אמצעי השהייה בדרך לפתרון הסכסוך הישראלי -- ערבי. ואין בה שום הענות ריאלית ליוזמות אש"פ.

בברכה

י. גוברין

העתק:

ממנכ"ל

מנהל אירופה 3

לשכת שה"ח

לשכת המנכ"ל

ממ"ד

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D. C.

24 במאי 1989



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון



אל: הסברה
✓ לשכת רה"מ
לשכת שה"ח
מ.מנכ"ל
מנכ"ל
סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופרי"ן
מצפ"א
ממ"ד
מאת: ק/ק לקונגרס.

אשר
והלן

קונגרס: יוזמת השלום

להלן ההודעות שהתקבלו אצלנו עד יום ו' (19.5).

המקור באיכות גרועה ולכן מצטערים על איכות הצילום.

בברכה,
אליקים א"ב
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

ISRAEL'S PEACE INITIATIVE

The **SPEAKER** pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. FASCELL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, on May 14 the Government of Israel announced a new initiative aimed at advancing the peace process. The decision had broad-based support in the Israeli Cabinet and has also been endorsed by the Israeli Parliament. I believe that this new initiative is a timely and constructive step, in particular the proposed elections on the West Bank which are an integral part of the Israeli initiative offer a new opportunity for meaningful progress in bridging the gap between the Palestinians and the people of Israel.

Elections, in and of themselves, unfortunately are unlikely to produce peace. But elections may offer the only chance to move away from the current violence. Elections will present an opportunity for the Palestinians to choose their own representatives to negotiate both middle- and long-term solutions to the problems which divide Israelis and Palestinians.

Decades of stalemate have left deep scars on the hearts and bodies of both Israelis and Palestinians. These scars understandably make it harder rather than easier to find new ways to craft a better future. Elections offer one chance to find a way to that future. It is my hope that those genuinely seeking peace will carefully examine the real opportunity the new Israeli initiative offers and give it the chance which it deserves.

It is my hope and expectation that the United States will continue to play a positive role in furthering peace in accordance with the spirit of the Camp David accords. To support the broad goals which the new Israeli initiative seeks the United States should try to get input from all parties so that our complementary efforts will help make Israel's new initiative a truly effective step. It is also my hope that the international community will join in supporting this constructive Israeli initiative.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I rise to commend the Government of Israel for its recent approval of Prime Minister Shamir's peace initiative. The cornerstone of this plan calls for elections of Palestinian leadership from the West Bank and Gaza so that negotiations may begin. This represents an important first step in the peace process.

Our Government is playing an important role in moving the peace process forward. Over the last several months, President Bush has met with President Mubarak, Prime Minister Shamir, and King Hussein. This week Israeli Foreign Minister Arens and next week Defense Minister Rabin arrive to continue the dialog. And a State Department delegation, dispatched by Secretary Baker to explore the peace initiative further, recently returned from the Middle East.

Egypt and Jordan gave qualified endorsement to the election plan. And now, with their latest vote, the Israeli Government is committed to moving forward. Israel is making a sincere effort to find some accommodation with the Palestinians who live in the occupied territories. There is momentum behind the peace process, the first we have seen in a long time, and we need to continue offering our support and encouragement.

Israel's initiative calls for self-rule by the Palestinians living in the occupied territories for a 5-year period. After 3 years have elapsed, negotiations for a permanent solution would begin. Participants in the final stage negotiations would include Israel, the elected representatives of the Palestinians living in the territories, Jordan and Egypt. Israel has attached no preconditions to the final stage negotiations. The Government's plan states:

In the negotiations for a permanent solution, every party shall be entitled to present for discussion all the subjects it may wish to raise. The aim of the negotiations should be: The achievement of a permanent solution acceptable to the negotiating parties; the arrangements for peace and borders between Israel and Jordan.

I am hopeful that this initiative will be favorably received by Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians and that Israel, with the help of our Government will continue its diligent quest for peace. Thank you, Mr. President.

PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S PEACE PLAN

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I rise to make clear my support for Prime Minister Shamir's recent peace initiative to hold elections among the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

This proposal is a bold move by Prime Minister Shamir. It provides a real opportunity for the Palestinians to move beyond the violence and bloodshed of the last 17 months. It provides a chance for them to put their hopes for peace and for a genuine political voice on a fast track again through genuine dialog with Israel.

This proposal challenges all those who claim they have the best interests of the Palestinians at heart. Israel's Arab neighbors have long ignored or rejected opportunities for peace while all around them violence and bloodshed continue. Lebanon is but one example of the needless loss of innocent life that occurs every day in the Arab world. Yet little action is taken to end this violence and brutality.

Now, Israel's neighbors have the chance to make a real move toward peace. They can do so by urging the Palestinians to participate in the elections called for by this plan. While neither Egypt nor Jordan has rejected Shamir's proposal outright, their voices could be instrumental in persuading the Palestinians to accept this offer.

Yet every day that goes by more Palestinians die while the only real proposal to provide Palestinians with a role in determining their future is criticized as "deceitful" and worse. The only plan that could truly save lives and put an end to the ongoing violence is rejected out of hand. Many Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza who publicly reject the election idea say in private that they would accept if the PLO did. Jordan and Egypt could be helpful there too.

Under this election plan, the 1.7 million Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would elect representatives to hold peace talks with Israel. First, they would negotiate a 5-year period of limited self-rule, and then, in 3 years, they would sit down again to negotiate the final status of the territories. The interim 5-year period would serve as an essential test of cooperation and coexistence.

The aim of elections is to bring about a process of political negotiations and to locate legitimate representatives of the Palestinians. These elections will permit the development of an authentic representation that is not self-appointed from the outside, comprised of people chosen by the population in free elections.

Democratic elections provide a real opportunity to begin the peace process after years of stalemate and 17 months of ongoing riots and disturbances. By enabling the Palestinians to choose their own representatives for negotiations with Israel over their fate, these elections could provide the needed catalyst for restarting the

peace process. They could lead to the first measure of self-government in the West Bank and Gaza for 22 years. And they could be a real first step toward a comprehensive peace settlement in the region.

This election plan may not be perfect from the Palestinians point of view. It may not answer all the questions they want answered, nor resolve their fate in the ultimate sense. But every journey of 1,000 miles begins with a single step. This proposal can be the first step on the long journey toward peace between Israel and the Palestinians and the other Arab countries who have repeatedly made war on Israel. It is the best option the Palestinians have. And it provides a real window of opportunity through which the Palestinians may be heard.

To reject it now is to put peace on the back burner and violence on the front. It is to acknowledge that more lives will be lost before any are saved. It is an acknowledgment that Chairman Arafat is not really interested in peace, but only a settlement on his terms.

I have urged the Arab countries to put their weight behind this proposal. And I urge the United States, as the leading democracy in the free world, to do so as well, in order to support the development of democracy in a part of the world where, aside from Israel, none exists.●

ISRAELI PEACE INITIATIVE

● **Mr. LIEBERMAN.** Mr. President, yesterday the Israeli Parliament endorsed Prime Minister Shamir's plan to hold elections in the West Bank and Gaza. This is a significant step toward peace in the Middle East. I applaud the Israeli Government for taking this imaginative and far-reaching step.

Under the Israeli plan, the 1.7 million West Bank and Gaza Palestinians would elect representatives to hold peace talks with Israel. Those representatives would first negotiate a 5-year period of self-rule. After 3 of those years passed, they would sit down again to negotiate the final status of the occupied territories.

This proposal enjoys widespread support among Israelis. As Defense Minister Rabin recently said:

After many years of different stages in the national unity Government, there is a unity Government peace initiative that I believe will be received widely and with great support by the Israeli people.

The election plan also has won the interest of a significant number of Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza. Although these leaders have publically rejected the election idea, many say in private that they would go along if the Palestine Liberation Organization approved.

Unfortunately the PLO has yet to accept the election proposal. It may, in fact, be actively discouraging it. In recent weeks, there has been an upsurge of killings of independent, non-PLO Palestinians which may be part of a campaign to prevent the emergence of candidates with moderate views. That kind of intimidation must end if there is to be peace in the Middle East.

It is important to remember that the last elections that were held under Israeli auspices on the West Bank and Gaza, in 1976, were conducted fairly. Even the PLO's strongest supporters have not disputed that fact.

The Israeli election plan could begin a process of genuine negotiations that will lead to compromises on both sides. The process of elections has a dynamic of its own. Elections do not guarantee success. But they do hold out the possibility of diplomatic progress. For Americans in particular, elections have a special meaning that confers legitimacy on officials. The only thing that boycotts guarantee is failure.

Today we need to see some of the courage that President Anwar Sadat displayed when he decided to break with the taboos of the past and come to Israeli. Hardline PLO leaders can either exhaust themselves in maneuvers or realize that this is the first good chance for progress in years. They can concentrate on the past or look to the future. They can make propaganda or try to make progress.

The alternative to the new Israeli election plan is a continuation of the tragic violence that is creating grieving parents and children on both sides of the conflict. It is time for all that to end.●

GIVING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST A CHANCE: THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL'S NEW PEACE PLAN

● **Mr. MCCAIN.** Mr. President, it is always easy to find obstacles for peace and reasons not to negotiate. This is particularly true in the case of the peace negotiations necessary to create a lasting peace in the Middle East. The issues involved are extraordinarily difficult and intractable, and they must be resolved in a way that produces a true peace, not simply an agreement on paper or the kind of peace that does not guarantee both sides full security and allow the kind of cultural and economic relations that will ensure peace lasts and that the economy of the region can be viable.

The Government of Israel has proposed a new peace initiative that I feel deserves close study by every Member of this body, by every nation in the world, and by every Palestinian. I fully realize that this initiative does not meet the expectations of many Palestinians, and I do not believe it should be my role to endorse or criticize its details. I do believe, however, that we should all recognize that this proposal is a serious and important step forward.

I believe that we in the United States should do everything possible to build upon this initiative to create a negotiation process that can lead to peace. I believe that it is important that both the international community and the Palestinians should make every effort to explore what can be done to build upon this initiative. And, I believe that the Government of Israel should listen closely to the reactions to its proposals.

The one thing we cannot let happen is a situation where either side rejects the views and proposals of the other—supported by the usual host of outside analysts and critics. It is already clear that far too many people are rushing to declare that his initiative means the cup is half empty—often without reading it in full or by focusing on the most difficult issues that must be negotiated rather than to take advantage of the fact that this peace initiative clearly means the cup is half full.

I believe that history has clearly and painfully demonstrated that such an exercise in taking sides will do nothing for the Palestinians, and it is certain to prolong the agony of the current strife on Gaza and West Bank and to reduce the prospects for a lasting peace. The problem today is not how the next steps in the journey to peace will end, but how they can begin. I believe that the new peace initiative of the Government of Israel is an important part of this beginning.

I ask that a background paper on the peace initiative be printed in the Record.

The material follows:

A PEACE INITIATIVE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

GENERAL

1. This document presents the principles of a political initiative of the Government of Israel which deals with the continuation of the peace process; the termination of the state of war with the Arab States; a solution for the Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district; peace with Jordan; and a resolution of the problem of the residents of the refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.

2. The document includes:

A. The principles upon which the initiative is based.

B. Details of the processes for its implementation.

C. Reference to the subject of the elections under consideration. Further details relating to the elections as well as other subjects of the initiative will be dealt with separately.

BASIC PREMISES

1. The initiative is founded upon the assumption that there is a national consensus for it on the basis of the basic guidelines of the Government of Israel, including the following points:

A. Israel yearns for peace and the continuation of the political process by means of direct negotiations based on the principles of the Camp David accords.

B. Israel opposes the establishment of an additional Palestinian state in the Gaza district and in the area between Israel and Jordan.

C. Israel will not conduct negotiations with the PLO.

D. There will be no change in the status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza other than in accordance with the basic guidelines of the government.

SUBJECTS TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE PEACE PROCESS

4. A. Israel views as important that the peace between Israel and Egypt, based on the Camp David accords, will serve as a cornerstone for enlarging the circle of peace in the region, and calls for a common endeavor for the strengthening of the peace and its extension, through continued consultation.

B. Israel calls for the establishment of peace relations between it and those Arab States which still maintain a state of war with it, for the purpose of promoting a comprehensive settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict, including recognition, direct negotiations, ending the boycott, diplomatic relations, cessation of hostile activity in international institutions or forums and regional and bilateral cooperation.

C. Israel calls for an international endeavor to resolve the problem of the residents of the Arab refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in order to improve their living conditions and to rehabilitate them. Israel is prepared to be a partner in this endeavor.

D. In order to advance the political negotiation process leading to peace, Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in an atmosphere devoid of violence, threats and terror. In these elections a representation will be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule. This period will constitute a test for coexistence and cooperation. At a later stage, negotiations will be conducted for a permanent solution; during which all the proposed options for an agreed settlement will be examined, and peace between Israel and Jordan will be achieved.

E. All the above mentioned steps should be dealt with simultaneously.

F. The details of what has been mentioned in (d) above will be given below.

THE PRINCIPLES CONSTITUTING THE INITIATIVE

Stages:

5. The initiative is based on two stages:

A. Stage A—a transitional period for an interim agreement.

B. Stage B—permanent solution.

6. The interlock between the stages is a timetable on which the plan is built; the peace process delineated by the initiative is based on resolutions 242 and 338, upon which the Camp David accords are founded. Timetable.

7. The transitional period will continue for 5 years.

8. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations for achieving a permanent solution will begin.

9. The parties participating in the negotiations for the first stage (the interim agreement) shall include Israel, and the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Jordan and Egypt will be invited to participate in these negotiations if they so desire.

10. The parties participating in the negotiations for the second stage (permanent solution) shall include Israel and the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, as well as Jordan; furthermore, Egypt may participate in these negotiations. In negotiations between Israel, and Jordan, in which the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will participate, the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan will be concluded.

Substance of the transitional period:

11. During the transitional period the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be accorded self-rule, by means of which they will, themselves, conduct their affairs of daily life. Israel will continue to be responsible for security, foreign affairs and all matters concerning Israeli citizens in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Topics involving the implementation of the plan for self-rule will be considered and decided within the framework of the negotiations for an interim agreement.

Substance of the permanent solution:

12. In the negotiations for a permanent solution, every party shall be entitled to present for discussion all the subjects it may wish to raise.

13. The aim of the negotiations should be:

A. The achievement of a permanent solution acceptable to the negotiating parties.

B. The arrangements for peace and borders between Israel and Jordan.

DETAILS OF THE PROCESS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INITIATIVE

14. First and foremost, dialogue and basic agreement by the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, as well as Egypt and Jordan if they wish to take part, as above mentioned, in the negotiations on the principles constituting the initiative.

15. A. Immediately afterwards will follow the stage of preparations and implementation of the election process in which a representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza will be elected. This representation:

I. Shall be a partner to the conduct of negotiations for the transitional period (interim agreement).

II. Shall constitute the self-governing authority in the course of the transitional period.

III. Shall be the Central Palestinian component, subject to agreement after three years, in the negotiations for the permanent solution.

B. In the period of the preparations and implementation there shall be a calming of the violence in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.

16. As to the substance of the elections, it is recommended that a proposal of regional elections be adopted, the details of which shall be determined in further discussions.

17. Every Palestinian Arab residing in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, who shall be elected by the inhabitants to represent them—after having submitted his candidacy in accordance with the detailed document which shall determine the subject of the elections—may be a legitimate participant in the conduct of negotiations with Israel.

18. The elections shall be free, democratic and secret.

19. Immediately after the election of the Palestinian representation, negotiations shall be conducted with it on an interim agreement for a transitional period which shall continue for 5 years, as mentioned above. In these negotiations, the parties shall determine all the subjects relating to the substance to the self-rule and the arrangements necessary for its implementation.

20. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the establishment of the self-rule, negotiations for a permanent solution shall begin. During the whole period of these negotiations until the signing of the agreement for a permanent solution, the self-rule shall continue in effect as determined in the negotiations for an interim agreement.●

PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S PEACE PLAN

• **Mr. LAUTENBERG.** Mr. President, I rise to make clear my support for Prime Minister Shamir's recent peace initiative to hold elections among the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

This proposal is a bold move by Prime Minister Shamir. It provides a real opportunity for the Palestinians to move beyond the violence and bloodshed of the last 17 months. It provides a chance for them to put their hopes for peace and for a genuine political voice on a fast track again through genuine dialog with Israel.

This proposal challenges all those who claim they have the best interests of the Palestinians at heart. Israel's Arab neighbors have long ignored or rejected opportunities for peace while all around them violence and bloodshed continue. Lebanon is but one example of the needless loss of innocent life that occurs every day in the Arab world. Yet little action is taken to end this violence and brutality.

Now, Israel's neighbors have the chance to make a real move toward peace. They can do so by urging the Palestinians to participate in the elections called for by this plan. While neither Egypt nor Jordan has rejected Shamir's proposal outright, their voices could be instrumental in persuading the Palestinians to accept this offer.

Yet every day that goes by more Palestinians die while the only real proposal to provide Palestinians with a role in determining their future is criticized as "deceitful" and worse. The only plan that could truly save lives and put an end to the ongoing violence is rejected out of hand. Many Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza who publicly reject the election idea say in private that they would accept if the PLO did. Jordan and Egypt could be helpful there too.

Under this election plan, the 1.7 million Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would elect representatives to hold peace talks with Israel. First, they would negotiate a 5-year period of limited self-rule, and then, in 3 years, they would sit down again to negotiate the final status of the territories. The interim 5-year period would serve as an essential test of cooperation and coexistence.

The aim of elections is to bring about a process of political negotiations and to locate legitimate representatives of the Palestinians. These elections will permit the development of an authentic representation that is not self-appointed from the outside, comprised of people chosen by the population in free elections.

Democratic elections provide a real opportunity to begin the peace process after years of stalemate and 17 months of ongoing riots and disturbances. By enabling the Palestinians to choose their own representatives for negotiations with Israel over their fate, these elections could provide the

needed catalyst for restarting the peace process. They could lead to the first measure of self-government in the West Bank and Gaza for 22 years. And they could be a real first step toward a comprehensive peace settlement in the region.

This election plan may not be perfect from the Palestinians point of view. It may not answer all the questions they want answered, nor resolve their fate in the ultimate sense. But every journey of 1,000 miles begins with a single step. This proposal can be the first step on the long journey toward peace between Israel and the Palestinians and the other Arab countries who have repeatedly made war on Israel. It is the best option the Palestinians have. And it provides a real window of opportunity through which the Palestinians may be heard.

To reject it now is to put peace on the back burner and violence on the front. It is to acknowledge that more lives will be lost before any are saved. It is an acknowledgment that Chairman Arafat is not really interested in peace, but only a settlement on his terms.

I have urged the Arab countries to put their weight behind this proposal. And I urge the United States, as the leading democracy in the free world, to do so as well, in order to support the development of democracy in a part of the world where, aside from Israel, none exists. •

UNITED STATES-ISRAEL ALLIANCE

• **Mr. HATCH.** Mr. President, since the founding of the Jewish state in 1949, Americans and Israelis have solidified a relationship based on the fundamental belief that democratic self-government is the best guarantee of peace and freedom. While there are many differences among us, and we may disagree on the most effective way to bring peace, America and Israel need each other for a number of reasons: To ensure security throughout the region, to promote democracy and freedom, and to advance the cause of peace.

The dynamics of the Middle East and the changes taking place throughout the world bring renewed hope and opportunity for the peace process in the Middle East. At the outset, I would like to examine some of these developments and their impact on the relationship between Israel and the United States.

Yasser Arafat's recent efforts to broaden support for a Palestinian state by declaring the Palestinian charter "null and void," and his acceptance of American conditions for initiating a dialogue are actions the United States should continue to encourage. But there are many reasons for looking long and hard at Mr. Arafat's statements before changing our policy. Do these conciliatory public statements by the PLO match the content of their speeches, writings, and charter? Do they want "Jericho or Jerusalem"? We need to see concrete actions by the PLO to support their dialogue—positive steps toward peace rather than continued actions in terrorism.

Congress must not forget the PLO is an organization made up of a number of political groups, some of which have made it clear they continue to reject Israel's right to exist regardless of what Mr. Arafat may say or do. To these groups, terrorism remains central to their activities.

Even among Mr. Arafat's supporters we hear statements contrary to Mr. Arafat's peaceful remarks. Yet these assertions are not rebutted nor are these individuals disciplined for their actions. Moreover, what are we to make of Mr. Arafat's recent threats on Palestinian leaders who have offered to begin a dialogue or make peace with Israel? We must keep a close watch on Mr. Arafat and his organization—to look carefully behind his words before coming to any conclusions.

The Congress, unfortunately, does not always have a long attention span. It sometimes forgets the historical context of present day circumstances.

And Congress forgets the train of events leading to, and the immediate reason for, the Israeli presence on the West Bank and Gaza. We have to do a better job of reminding the American people of pertinent facts.

Given this context, it is understandable why Israel will not negotiate with the PLO. Yet Israel yearns for peace, and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir showed the world that Israel is ready to explore new options.

While in Washington last month, the Prime Minister unveiled a plan to address both the short- and long-term status of the occupied territories. The proposal allows for free and democratic elections among the Palestinian residents in the occupied territories. From these elections, representatives would be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule. This period would serve as a time to test whether peaceful coexistence and cooperation can exist between Palestinians and Israelis. At a later date, but within 3 years, negotiations would be conducted for a permanent solution.

Just this week, the Israeli Cabinet and Parliament approved the election proposal, but not without heated debate. Foreign Minister Moshe Arens and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin will soon be arriving in Washington to provide answers to many of the Bush administration's questions and concerns. But this addresses only half of the issue.

As the self-proclaimed spokesman for the Palestinians in the occupied territories, the PLO has formally rejected Israel's election proposal. They view the proposal as an attempt to preclude PLO leadership of a Palestinian state.

For Israel's part, any comprehensive proposal meeting long-term needs must go beyond the Palestinian question and include the establishment of peace relations between Israel and those Arab States which still maintain a state of war with Israel. Fully comprehending this scenario, Mr. Arafat has focused the PLO's last stand on leadership of a Palestinian state.

In the short-term, the PLO and the Palestinian question remain the most immediate source of friction between Israel and peace with her Arab neighbors. Yet in the long-term, solving the PLO problem only addresses part of the broader issue of Arab-Israeli peace. This is the dilemma Israel faces.

How then should Israel proceed and what should be the proper role for the United States in shaping the Middle East peace? Israel has come forward with a plan to elect a local Palestinian leadership and establish an interim test period. Local Palestinians should be encouraged to open a dialog with the Israeli Government. They should not feel bound to blindly follow the rhetoric of the PLO but follow what is in their best interests. Where the

THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS PROPOSAL

• Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I want to take a brief moment to discuss the recent Israeli initiative for elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The PLO has thus far rejected the plan out-of-hand. I urge the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to seriously consider the proposal.

The initiative deserves more than a knee-jerk, negative response. It could provide the basis for an eventual resolution of the ongoing crisis that has had such dire consequences for so many people, a crisis which has sparked debate here, in Arab lands, and in Israel itself.

The Israeli proposal envisions a two-stage process. First, the Israelis propose a 5-year "transitional period," during which Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza—without any outside interference—would enjoy a form of self-rule by representatives they would select themselves in democratic elections.

Those elected officials would negotiate with the Israelis on the exact terms of the 5-year transitional period. Within the first 3 years, discussions would begin on the second stage—the final status of the West Bank and Gaza.

The process, it should be noted, is based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. This is in keeping with U.S. policy.

No one should underestimate the power of free elections. I hope Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza will realize the potential benefits of a democratic process and will come forward and work with Israel at moving the peace process forward. •

ISRAELI ELECTION PROPOSAL

HON. JOHN MILLER

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 18, 1989

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Speaker, recently during his visit to Washington, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir made an encouraging and productive proposal toward peace in the Middle East. The Prime Minister's proposal for free democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip gives us true hope toward realizing a solution to the complicated problems in the Middle East.

Prime Minister Shamir proposed that these elections would produce a delegation which could negotiate an interim period of self-rule. This interim period would be followed by negotiations to produce a permanent agreement in which all options to solve these problems would be considered. It has been made clear that interim arrangements on self-rule is not to be the end goal. Rather, it is a process leading to a permanent resolution.

Unfortunately, recently the PLO has so far rejected this proposal despite the fact that the Prime Minister's proposal does not disqualify Palestinians elected who might be PLO supporters, and despite the fact that King Hussein of Jordan and President Mubarak of Egypt have not rejected this proposal.

There are uncertainties and unanswered questions in the proposal such as the details of what self-rule would mean in the interim period, would there be international observers of the elections, and what would be the role of the PLO in these elections. But this proposal is a great place to begin—democracy always is. And we must remember that free and democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip would be an occurrence that does not happen in the countries surrounding Israel. We should be criticizing these governments who do not propose similar elections in their countries for their own people rather than concentrating on shortcomings of Prime Minister Shamir's proposal.

As Defense Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres travel to the United States later this week, it is my hope that the PLO will reconsider their outright rejection and that the United States can use this hopeful proposal in furthering our goals of peace in the Middle East.

For Information:
Bob King (202) 225-3531

Tom Lantos Endorses Israeli Peace Initiative

Congressman Tom Lantos (D-CA) today endorsed the peace initiative adopted earlier this week by the Government of Israel. The plan, which is based on the Camp David peace accords between Israel and Egypt, calls for a five-year transitional period of self-rule for Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza to be followed by a permanent solution to be negotiated by the relevant parties. The program calls for free and democratic elections to select Palestinian Arab officials for the transitional period.

"I welcome the Israeli Government's proposal," said Congressman Lantos. "It represents a positive step toward peace in this troubled region, which so much needs tranquility." Mr. Lantos expressed the "hope that the Israeli plan will become the basis for progress in resolving the conflict."

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THE SHAMIR PLAN FOR ELECTIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, the State of Israel has been the focus of abundant study, commentary and criticism over the past 1 1/4 years. Israelis have been told in every manner imaginable that they bear responsibility for the violence in the occupied territories. Israeli security forces have been compared to everyone from the Nazis to the Khmer Rouge in their attempts to restore order in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

What the world continues to ignore is the fact that Israel is at war. The State of Israel is faced with almost impossible alternatives regarding its relations with the Palestinians. Too many of Israel's neighbors, with the exception of Egypt, continue in their determination that there should be no State of Israel. I will not take up my colleagues' time with reviewing the strategic picture Israel has faced over the years. One only has to look at a map to understand this situation. Most Senators are already well aware of the critical geographic problems that limit Israel's diplomatic and security options.

Mr. President, even with the majority of its population and industry crammed into a narrow corridor 9 miles wide and 25 miles long, Israel has offered a major concession to West Bank and Gaza residents. Israel has just taken a big risk in the search for peace.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has produced a viable, realistic plan which includes Palestinian self-rule and a vehicle for negotiations on a permanent solution. The Shamir plan represents an accommodation of widely divergent priorities on both sides of the issue. The plan is not what either side would love to see, but this is the essence of compromise. While not perfect, the Shamir plan is workable. It is a substantive offer, and it should be taken seriously by all parties to the conflict.

Mr. President, it is significant that the Israeli cabinet has given approval to the Shamir plan. Israeli democracy has, at times, been almost too pluralistic, creating a divided government.

But the Shamir plan is not the product of division. It is a plan that the entire Government has endorsed because the voters of Israel want peace.

For so many months, the plain fact that Israelis are ready and willing to make peace has been callously overlooked. No one has suffered more from the ravages of violence than ordinary Israelis. Many who have been calling on Israel to lay down its arms and give in to the rioters fail to see two essential truths about the conflict. The first, as I have mentioned, is that Israelis have endured a vastly greater level of war, strife and fear over time than the Palestinians.

Israelis are truly the party most in need of peace.

The second frequently overlooked truth is that no sovereign state can ever be expected to put itself in a suicidal strategic position to satisfy the fickle whims of world opinion. The

PLO's so-called peace proposals are inherently insincere and cynical because they would ultimately be fatal to Israel.

One need only look at the PLO seal to see that it views all of Israel as part of its self-declared State of Palestine. This is not the emblem of an organization committed to any peace process.

The Shamir plan, on the other hand, gives something of substance to both sides in a realistic framework.

The Shamir plan will help bring a measure of stability to a turbulent area. Arafat's various ideas have simply served to stir up the plot.

Mr. President, Prime Minister Shamir has laid out a 5-year road map toward a permanent solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The plan is an attempt to identify responsible negotiating partners within the Palestinian community, and to give them the credibility to speak for their people.

The plan is intended to be a flexible vehicle for dialog—not a diplomatic straightjacket.

Upon implementation of the Shamir plan, free democratic elections will be held in the territories by secret ballot.

Mr. President, I should note, parenthetically, that if this plan is put into effect, it will represent one of the first truly free plebiscites in the Middle East.

Has anyone ever heard Mr. Arafat, or any other Arab leader, for that matter, call for free elections in Saudi Arabia, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Abu Dhabi, or any other nation in the Arab world? No.

Over the years, Israel has introduced many new ideas to its regional neighborhood, and now there is the possibility that Jeffersonian democracy will be added to this list of firsts for the Arab world.

After the Palestinians elect their own representatives, they will be given responsibility for all matters concerning their communities in the territories. Responsibility for national security will be left to Israel, however, daily police matters will be handled by Palestinians.

At any point after the elections, but no later than 3 years afterward, negotiations toward a permanent solution between Israelis and Palestinian representatives from the territories, and Egypt and Jordan, would commence.

Mr. President, the Shamir plan will allow everything, and I want to emphasize, everything, to be put on the negotiating table. Israel is not afraid to face tough issues. Of greatest importance, however, is the fact that Israel is not afraid to take the risks necessary to settle these issues.

It is unfortunate that, while Israel is taking a risk, offering a progressive idea for peace, the PLO is maintaining its intractable attitude. The PLO rejected the Shamir plan almost as quickly as it rolled off the presses.

Mr. President, the PLO's reaction to the Shamir plan illustrates several things for this Senator.

First, it clearly explains why Israel can never be reasonably expected to negotiate with the PLO.

You cannot have movement and progress when rejectionism flows like water.

Second, it seems to me that "The Three No's of Khartoum" are still the PLO's modus operandi—despite Arafat's supposed renunciation of terrorism, violence, and the PLO charter.

Third, the PLO's "official" attitude illustrates how removed it is from the Palestinians in the West Bank. The people of the occupied territories have, for the most part, been hard working and productive. They have an interest in moving the peace process along. They are enfranchised in the economic and social sense of the word. Conversely, Arafat and his entourage—currently residing in Tunisia—are now and always have been nothing more than professional terrorists.

An interesting fact overlooked by much of the national media is that some West Bank Palestinians did have in mind to talk with the Israelis. As their reward for such initiative, they were assassinated. Not much has been made of the intimidation and brutal coercion being applied in the territories by the "Tunisian PLO." These "Tunisian Palestinians" have no interest in autonomy for the territories—they have no use for compromise. Arafat's response to the Shamir plan illustrates for me that, despite his rhetoric, he still wants to rule a Palestinian state with its capitol in Jerusalem.

Mr. President, it is time for the residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take charge of their own destiny. The PLO can guarantee them only a future of continued strife and violence. It is time for these people to stand up to PLO intimidation and enter the peace process as the proud, productive Palestinians they are.

Mr. President, it is the Shamir plan that will finally allow Palestinians and Israelis to sit down and talk directly about all aspects of their future together as neighbors. I urge the people of the territories to take a risk for peace and self rule. I urge the Palestinians to join with Israel and begin to chart a new course for the future.

Mr. SYMMS addressed the Chair:
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LAUTNERER) The Senator from Idaho.



CONGRESSMAN EDWARD
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NEWS

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May 18, 1989

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MICHAEL ROSENBERG
AT (202)225-5731

FEIGHAN APPLAUDS ISRAELI PEACE INITIATIVE

WASHINGTON D.C. -- Rep. Edward Feighan today announced his support for the Peace Plan passed by the Israeli Cabinet last weekend. "Israelis yearn to live in peace. To accomplish that goal, they have come up with a plan that moves us one step closer to the kind of negotiations needed to resolve this conflict."

"The pressure is on the Palestinians to respond to the offer for elections," said Feighan. "The Israelis have indicated that the interim period of self-government in the territories will not be an end in itself and that negotiations should commence regarding a long-term solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. This represents an advance in the Israeli position and it should be embraced by the other side."

"U.S. policy has been driven by a set of principles that were given full expression in the Camp David Accords. The Israelis are prepared for direct negotiations between the parties based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. They have indicated that the Palestinians should be represented in that process and that during the interim period, they should have control over decisions affecting the conduct of their daily lives."

"This is a serious offer and it should not be given short shrift. After months of turbulence in the territories, the peace process is on the move again. The U.S. should be willing to offer its good offices to keep the momentum going."

Rep. Feighan is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

May 19, 1989

(To be inserted in the
Congressional Record as
Extension of Remarks)

William S. Broomfield

ISRAEL'S PEACE INITIATIVE

Mr. Speaker:

The recent proposal by the Government of Israel to forward the peace process should be studied carefully by all who are concerned about peace in the Middle East.

The most important virtue of the proposal is that it appears to be broadly supported within the Israeli government, and by implication, within much of the Israeli electorate.

No peace initiative in the Middle East stands any chance of success if it is not supported by the Israeli people. And without Israeli support, it will not be supported by the American people.

It is also important to understand that nothing can deflect Israel from following a course of diplomacy that puts its own continued existence first and last. To believe otherwise is to misread the character of Israel's leadership and the consistency of America's commitment to Israel's security.

Israel's new initiative is based in part on the principles of the Camp David Accords. The Accords point the way to a just and lasting peace in the area. The lesson is that such a peace will come only when Israel's neighbors are willing to sit down at the bargaining table and negotiate directly with Israel.

This initiative can be seen as one step towards a comprehensive peace, one that ensures the security of all states in the area, that satisfies the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and that is achieved only through direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab nations.

גמאלי

מיקי שלום רבי

צוות אסל מייצג

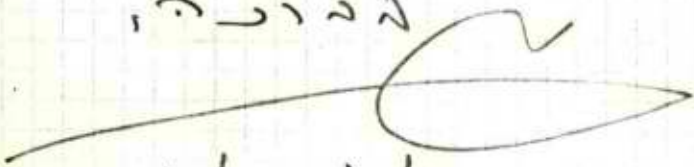
23/5 זמן יאסמא גמאלי

אגמאל דק"ר דלוצאן פגלי אל Robert BADINTER
נשא המוצב התחוקתי של ציריך ולי המשפחה ולעזר.
ליוני" אל דצינלי לפני שנה בדר דיקורו ביטול,
לפגילוג אצל נשא המדינה ואצל נהג ורוא כח
אלה היטב.

לואמנו בי באיכא על תגובה תילא מיטאן
ליצא השלום שלנו ואל היטליה שוקר זהם
דמסיבת הצמאנים גאו משוער לעזר.

דצינלי אומר שמיטין ישנה אל קילגו הספקני-
הנכתיג לרגו אנלוגו בחיגה בלטיה, אם
ילכא גרהיר ליהא מוכה לעלז קוראיה
אירוקאיים דמסגרת מנגנון הפיקוח הממוכנ
על החתימה הוא הוסף ליש לממנו
ב- Conseil Constitutionnel כיסל משפטיה
צדירים מומחים לפיקוח בינ"ל (הם פאלו נח
דמסגרת כי בכמה מציוג אפיקה) ורוא מוכן
"לגרום" אורם לנו לצורק זה.

דצינלי דיקלטי להעזיה זאג "ליצור משפטי".

הבורה

אליה אדיוכ

דחיות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פבוק	1: <u> </u>
סוג: ס.ו.ד.י		3: <u> </u>
תאריך וזמן מעור: 19.4.89		אל:
פס' פברק:		דע:
<u>הפסרד:</u>		כאת:

שיחת ס. מרידור - דניס רוס (18.5.89)

סליי פתח בדברי הערכה למאמצי הצוות בראשות רנס. אח"כ תאר סליי את הביקורת החריפה שבה נתקלת יזמת ראש הממשלה בתוך מפלגתו.

סליי ציין שבשלב זה יהיה מוטעה להכנס לדיון בפרטי התכנית. המשימה שאליה צריכות ארה"ב וישראל להתגייס היא להשיג תמיכה רחבה של מדינות ערב ושל הפלשתינאים ואחרי שתושג תמיכה כזו אפשר יהיה, אם יהיה בכך צורך, לדון בפרטים. הסיכוי היחיד להביא להסכמה ערבית הוא ע"י תמיכה מוחלטת של ארה"ב ביזמה, דימוי של הסכנות אמריקאית עלול לגרום לסירוב. רוס סיפר באריכות על שיחה שהיתה לו בהקשר זה עם עצמת עבד אל-מגיד ואוסמה אל-באז בקהיר. אל-באז אמר לו שהוא אמנם תומך בעקרון הבחירות אך מרבית הערבים משוכנעים שישראל אינה מתכוונת להגיע לשלב של הדיון על פתרון הקבע. כאשר רוס הצביע בעניין על כך שבהחלטת ממשלת ישראל יש התייחסות ל-Interlock לא השתכנע מכך אל-באז אך אמר שאין לו כרגע רעיון יותר טוב.

רוס ציין שהעלה בפני אנשי שיחו המצריים את הצורך בקיום מפגשים בילטרליים ישראל-מצרים בדרג גבוה אך לא קיבל יותר מאשר אמירה שמגיד מתכוון לבקר בישראל (סליי התרשם שאפשר שארה"ב נידברת/תידבר עם מצרים על נוסח חדש לקישור בין הבחירות לבין ההסדר הסופי).

סליי הצביע בפני רוס שהדמוי העלול לנבוע ממספר התבטאויות של דוברי אמריקאים (של בייקר במוסקבה) (Reciprocal step) ושל דובר מחמ"ד שאמר שארה"ב תדון עם אש"ף בתכנית) מקשה ביותר על מנהיגים פלשתינאים מקומיים לאזור אומץ ולהתחיל בדיאלוג עם ישראל.

רנס התגונן ואמר שהודעות כאלו אכן מזיקות והודה שהדובר יכול היה לומר שהוא,

תפוצה:

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קף: 2
סוג:		כתוב: 3
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		כא:

רוס, נפגש עם פלשתינאים כי אכן זה בדיוק מה שקרה. על פגישה זו אמר רוס שבמהלכה הוא הבהיר בדרך שאינה משתמעת לשתי פנים שארה"ב תומכת בתכנית וכי אין היא רואה לתכנית הבחירות אלטרנטיבה.

רוס הוסיף שהוא עומד להמליץ למזכיר על מסר שארה"ב צריכה להעביר לברה"מ, האירופאים, הערבים בכלל והפלשתינאים בפרט שארה"ב מוכנה להיות מעורבת בתהליך אך יש צורך בתמיכה מלאה במהלכה ואם תמיכה כזו אינה קיימת מוכנה ארה"ב גם לפרוש מהתהליך בהנחה ברורה שאיש אינו יכול למלא את התפקיד אותו היא ממלאת. בהקשר זה אמר סליי כי שה"ח ארנס ירצא מכאן למפגש עם שרי החוץ של הקהילה ויהיה רצוי שארה"ב תביע את תמיכתה ביזמת השלום שכן תמיכה כזו תסייע למאמץ המשותף לשכנע את האירופאים לתמוך ביזמה.

סליי ציין את החשיבות הרבה במאמץ האחריקאי לשכנע מדינות ערביות להתחיל במגע עם ישראל ובהביר כי ההתקדמות לעבר הסדר מחייבת תחילת נורמליזציה מיידית ביחסן של מדינות ערב לישראל במקביל לטיפול בנושא הפלשתינאי. רוס אמר בתגובה כי הוא מסכים וכי חשוב להסביר שההתקדמות בציר הישראלי-ערבי "אינה רק עוד נקודה ביזמה", אלא יש לה השפעה על הסיכוי להגיע לפתרון עם פלשתינאים.

סליי ציין בפני רוס את החשיבות בפתרון שאלת הפליטים לא רק מבחינה הומניטרית אלא גם משום שבכך ישלחו מדינות ערב והפלשתינאים מסר שאין בכורנתן לנסות ולהגשים את רעיון "השיבה" לחיפה או יפו. רוס אמר שהוא מסכים לכך וסיפר על שיחה ארוכה ופילוסופית שהיתה לו עם שה"ח ירדן, מרואן קאסס, באותה שיחה שאל קאסס האם ישראל תמשיך להתנגד לאורך ימים למדינה פלשתינאית ורוס ענה בחיוב חוץ שהוא מציין בפני סליי שאם היה למישהו ספק בדבר התנגדותה של ירדן למדינה כזו הרי שבשיחה עם קאסס היה ברור מה גישתה של ירדן לנושא זה.

תפוצה:

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פבוק	דף: <u>3</u>
סוג:		פתוך: <u>3</u>
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל:
כס' פברק:		דע:
<u>הפסרד:</u>		כאת:

רוס הוסיף שאמר לקאסם שאם יהיה פתרון לשאלת הפליטים יתכן שיחול שינוי

בתפיסות בישראל לגבי מדינה פלשתינאית.

רשם : ענדד ערן

תפוצה:

19646

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך 25.05.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 5,19646

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1721, מנמת/362

מ-: נוש, נר: 591, תא: 240589, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו

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נד: ג

אשר הלוק
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סודי / מייד

אל: ממ'ד ערב 3

מאת: שג' וושינגטון-אלי אבירן.

ביקור פאהד בווינגטון.

משיחה עם דוד רנסום מנהל חצי האי ערב במזה'ת/מחמ'ד.

1. נקבע שהמלך יערוך ביקור עבודה בווינגטון בתאריכים 27-29 יולי 89. פאהד ישהה תקופה ארוכה יותר בארה'ב שכן הוא יעבור ניתוח בשתי ברכיו. הוא סובל מטרשת נפוצה במצב מתקדם (אטרייטיס) ומתקשה לעמוד על רגליו וכמעט שלא צועד יותר מצעדים ספורים.

2. הביקור הנוגע לחלק הרשמי שבו בא בזמן נוח יחסית לשני הצדדים.

(א) הממשל עדיין בראשית דרכו ורוצה ללמוד את הסעודים מקרוב, למרות שגורמי ממשל שונים ובראשם הנשיא בוש הם בבחינת מכרים ותיקים.

(ב) אין כמעט בעיה מיוחדת העומדת בסדר היום של הצד הבילטרלי של היחסים. המסקנה של רנסום מכך היא שברובו יוקדש לדיון בשה'פ אזורי. רנסום מדגיש שסעודיה היא המדינה הערבית היחידה עמה לארה'ב יש דיאלוג אסטרטגי המקיף כמעט את את כל נושא המזה'ת ואפריקה החל מקרן אפריקה דרך המגרב והמזה'ת וכלה בדרום מזרח אסיה ובבריה'מ.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

1
ספציפית רנסום מונה את אתיופיה סודן מצרים סהרה ירדן לבנון
אפגניסטאן פקיסטאן.

3. בתחום המזהה לא נקבעו עדיין סדרי יום לשיחות אך כמובן
שידונו בנושא תהליך השלום. לאמריקאים אין צפיות מיוחדות
מהסעודים והם מסכימים להיבט הסעודי שהממלכה אינה שחקן
ראשי בליגה זו.

4. רנסום גילה התעיינות באספקט הסעודי של יוזמת השלום
של ישראל. האמריקאים חושבים שראוי לבדוק נקודה זו בהקשר
הסעודי אך מתקשים למלא אותה תוכן כך שהיא תהיה אטרקטיבית
מבחינת סעודיה, כלומר ע"פ התפיסה הסעודית מה ישראל יכולה
לעשות למענה. המדובר בהתחלות טקטיות שקטות ולא בפסיעות
גסות. וודאי לא פומביות שבמציאות הסעודית הן בלתי ראליות
מאידך הבטחה ישראלית (שקטה) לאי התקפה אינה מספקת וכיוב'.
רנסום ביקש שנחשוב על זה ונחזור אליו עם רעיונות.

אלי אבידן

פא

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

הנהגתו של המנהל, והוא חייב להגיש דו"ח למנהל המוסד.
הנהגתו של המנהל, והוא חייב להגיש דו"ח למנהל המוסד.

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הנהגתו של המנהל, והוא חייב להגיש דו"ח למנהל המוסד.

דף: <u>3</u>	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דחילות: מידדי
כתוב: <u>3</u>	טופס פרוק	סוג: שמור
אל: <u>מצפ"א</u>		תאריך וזמן חבור: 25 במאי 1989 16:15
דע: <u>621</u>		כס' פרוק: <u>הפסד:</u>
פאת: ק/ק לקונגרס		

ביהנ"ב: יוזמת השלום

1. רצ"ב מכתב ה-DEAR COLLEAGUE של לארי סמית, מל לוין וויין וובר הקורא לקונגרסמנים לחתום על מכתב התמיכה ביוזמת השלום הישראלית. כ"כ רצ"ב המכתב שישוגר למזכיר בייקר.

2. עד כה חתמו כ-50 קונגרסמנים, ובשבוע הבא צפויה התגייסות מיוחדת להחתמה מירבית של קונגרסמנים נוספים.

3. נדווח עם שיגור המכתב.

יוסף ורנא דרנגר
יהודית ורנא דרנגר

2 שיה סלסלה און אלאן אלק בורדו אלאן רביס יסדרה
2

תפוצה:

- 36 -

LAWRENCE J. SMITH
16TH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CHAIRMAN, TASK FORCE ON INTERNATIONAL
NARCOTICS CONTROL

EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS

COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY

CRIME

MONOPOLIES AND COMMERCIAL LAW

SELECT COMMITTEE ON NARCOTICS
ABUSE AND CONTROL

DEMOCRATIC ZONE WHIP



Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

May 22, 1989

621 2/3

Dear Colleague:

Last week, Israel's National Unity Government endorsed Prime Minister Shamir's new proposal for a comprehensive peace settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict. We view this action by the Israeli Government as a positive and constructive move forward.

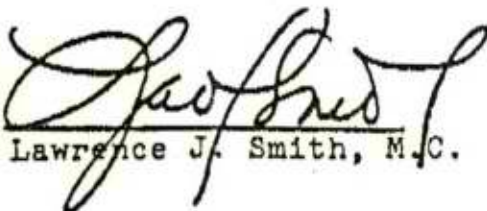
A major element of the Israeli proposal is free and democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza. This new approach offers the Palestinians a chance to select their own leaders--leaders who will negotiate directly with Israel on both the short-term and final status of the territories.

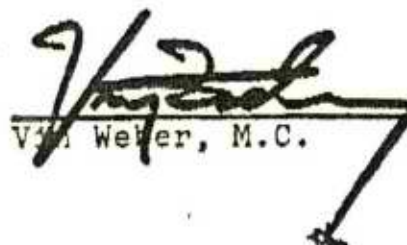
Although the Israeli Government is committed to moving the peace process forward with this initiative, the Arab states and some Palestinians appear to be just as determined to prevent its implementation. We believe it is time for Arab leaders to support the plan as a mechanism to break the current stalemate and put an end to the violence that has plagued Israel since its rebirth in 1948.

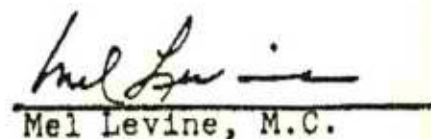
Copied on the back of this letter is a letter to Secretary of State James Baker expressing congressional support for the Israeli peace proposal.

If you are interested in signing this letter, please contact Tom Pines (Rep. Larry Smith) x5-7931. Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,


Lawrence J. Smith, M.C.


Van Weber, M.C.


Mel Levine, M.C.

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UC 20
(703) 226-7831
DISTRICT OFFICE
4747 HOLLYWOOD BL
HOLLYWOOD, FL 330
(305) 887-8484 BROW
(305) 874-5111 DAD

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Dear Secretary Baker:

We are writing to express our strong support for Israel's decisive and constructive proposal to advance the peace process.

The United States has a vital role to play in the Middle East peace process and America's ironclad commitment to Israel's security provides the foundation for U.S. policy in the region. The continued strong and steadfast support of the United States is needed to advance this fair and pragmatic initiative which offers new opportunities for a comprehensive peace settlement between Israel, her Arab neighbors, and Palestinian Arabs.

As you are aware, a major element of the Israeli initiative is free and democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza. This new approach offers Palestinians a chance to select their own leaders--leaders who will negotiate directly with Israel on both the short-term and final status of the territories.

However, thus far, we are disappointed with the immediate negative reaction to the initiative by the PLO and the Arab states. We are puzzled by the refusal of Arab states to endorse the idea of free and democratic elections as a first step in the peace process.

We strongly urge you to call upon Arab leaders to support the plan as a mechanism to break the current stalemate and put an end to the violence that has plagued Israel since its rebirth in 1948. The time has come for Arab leaders to accept the existence of Israel and not reject every peace initiative offered by the Israeli Government.

We look forward to working with you to achieve a fair and lasting peace settlement in the Middle East.

Very truly yours,

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REMARKS TO 30TH ANNUAL AIPAC POLICY CONFERENCE
SHERATON WASHINGTON HOTEL

MONDAY, MAY 22, 1989

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SEC. BAKER: Thank you. (Applause.) Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very much. (Applause.) Thank you very much, Ed, for that very generous introduction. Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know whether you know this or not, but Ed Levy is a terrific tennis player. I first ran into him in December of 1988 right after we had been fortunate enough to win the presidential election contest, and I was taking a vacation down in Jamaica and had the good fortune of running into Ed and his wife down there and we enjoyed some good tennis.

I thought for a moment there Ed, when you mentioned Lee Atwater and what he was going to say about the most important thing to know about me, I thought he was going to tell you that perhaps the most important thing to know about me was that one of the first people I hired for the Reagan White House in 1980 was Lee Atwater. (Scattered laughter.)

But I'm very pleased, ladies and gentlemen, to have the opportunity to be here with you today, and to address one of the best attended conferences in a city of well-attended conferences. That I think testifies to your interest as American citizens in our foreign policy, and I applaud that. It also, I think, testifies to AIPAC's effectiveness in presenting the views of American supporters of Israel.

I am pleased that my son Jamie Baker was able to be here with us today. He's a practicing lawyer here in Washington, D.C. There's one other person I would like to take just a moment to introduce you to. He's well known to many of you. Ambassador Dennis Ross, who is head of the policy planning department of the State Department. (Applause.)

Dennis is just back from the Middle East, as a matter of fact. As I came back -- as I left Brussels to come back to the United States following the trip to Moscow, Dennis and several other high level officials went to the Middle East to continue to work the problem there, and to work along the lines that I'm going to discuss in just a few moments.

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a few people who would listen in that bar, and I was really laying into them about getting involved. And I concluded my speech by saying that, in fact, the two foremost problems facing the State of Texas that day were ignorance and apathy. And I leaned over and I said, "What do you think about that, sir?" And this grizzled old rancher sitting there at the bar looked over his beer and he looked up and me and he said, "Well, now, I'll tell you, Sonny," he said, "I don't know and I don't care." So -- (laughter, applause). So the point, I think, of that is, you do know and you do care, and that's why you're here and that's why you're involved, and we applaud that.

You know, it's been said that AIPAC manages to bring together the Executive and the Congress in a way that they might not normally associate. I'd agree with that. And I would add only that we have a name for such coming together, we call it "bipartisanship." And American bipartisan support for Israel is a great and an enduring achievement, not only for AIPAC, not only for Israel's supporters, but also, above all, for America's national interest. There have -- (interrupted by applause). There have been many, many analyses of the US-Israeli relationship over the years, and most of them begin with the fact that we share common values of freedom and of democracy. That is the golden thread in the tapestry of United States-Israeli ties, and there are -- if I might suggest it -- other strands as well.

Ed mentioned some of what I did in the Reagan administration, but let me tell you that I was proud to work in that administration -- an administration that recognized the importance of United States-Israeli strategic cooperation; an administration that I think gave fiber and sinew to our strategic partnership. (Applause.) I am also proud to have had a small part to play in the historic Free Trade Agreement, which might well become a model for other nations. I really think we probably would not have gotten home on the Canadian-US Free Trade Agreement had we not had a US-Israel Free Trade Agreement.

The President believes -- President Bush believes, and I believe, that on these issues there can only be one policy, and that is a policy of continuity. American support for Israel is the foundation of our approach to the problems -- the very, very difficult problems of the Middle East. This support has become all the more important as we approach what I think is a critical juncture in the Middle East.

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For many years, we have associated that region with either the vanished glories of ancient history or the terrible cost of modern conflict.

But now, I think the world is changing. We've seen longstanding problems in other regions begin to abate. The President spoke last week of promising and hopeful, even though incomplete, developments in the Soviet Union. Everywhere, there is a quickening consciousness that the globe is being transformed through the search for democracy, the spread of free enterprise and technological progress. And of course, nowhere is that more true, as we meet here today, than in the People's Republic of China.

The Middle East should be able to participate fully in these new developments. Oftentimes we think of the region as a place full of precious resources, such as oil and minerals. But the area's most precious resource, if we really stop and think about it, is the lives of its people. And that is the stake. Are the peoples of the Middle East going to safeguard their most precious resource? Are they going to join the rest of the changing world in the works of peace? Or is this region going to pioneer in conflict once more, through the proliferation of chemical weapons and ballistic missiles?

The people of Israel are vitally concerned with these questions. Israel, of course, is a vigorous democracy. Israelis are among the world's leaders in communications, electronics and avionics, the new technological revolutions. And Israel understood long ago that the most important of her natural resources is the skill and the intelligence of her people. This is the wider context in which we and Israel must consider the peace process. The outcome is of vital concern both to Israel's future and for our vision of a free and peaceful world.

Not so long ago, we marked a decade of the Camp David peace accords. That occasion reminded us not only of how far we have come, but of how much further we have to go. I would like to report to you that we and Israel have taken some important steps forward. Before Prime Minister Shamir visited Washington, we had called for some Israeli ideas on how to restart the peace process. We did so based on our conviction that a key condition for progress was a productive United States/Israeli partnership. And I believe that the best way to be productive is through consultation rather than confrontation. (Applause.)

Let me assure you that we were not disappointed. The Prime Minister will, I'm sure, forgive me if I divulge to you a conversation at our very first meeting. The Prime Minister said, in preparing for his visit, he had studied President Bush and me, just as he suspected

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that perhaps we had studied him. I had been described by the media as an "ever-flexible pragmatist." The Prime Minister, he said, had been described as an "inflexible man of ideological principle."

Then the Prime Minister volunteered that in his view the journalists were wrong, and they were wrong in both cases. "Yes," he said, "I am a man of principle, but I am also a pragmatist who knows what political compromise means." And he said that it was clear that I, although a pragmatist, was also a man of principle, and that principle would guide my foreign policy approach.

Needless to say, I didn't disagree with the Prime Minister. If ever an opening statement achieved its goal of establishing a strong working relationship, this one did. I think it's fair to say that we understood each other to be pragmatists, but pragmatists guided by principle.

As we approach the peace process together, we understand Israel's caution, especially when assessing Arab attitudes about peace. I don't blame Israel for exercising this caution -- its history, and indeed its geopolitical situation, requires it. At the same time, I think that caution must never become paralysis. Ten years after Camp David, Egypt remains firmly committed to peace, and Arab attitudes are changing. Egypt's readmission into the Arab League on its own terms and with the peace treaty intact, I think is one sign of change. Evolving Palestinian attitudes are another.

Much more needs to be done, to be demonstrated that such change is real, but I don't think that change can be ignored even now. This is surely a time when, as the Prime Minister said, the right mix of principle and pragmatism is required.

As we assess these changes, United States policies benefit from a long-standing commitment to sound principles, principles which have worked in practice to advance the peace process. Now, let me mention some of these principles for you.

First, the United States believes that the object of the peace process is a comprehensive settlement achieved through negotiations based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. In our view, these negotiations must involve territory

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for peace, security and recognition for Israel and all of the states of the region, and Palestinian political rights.

Second, for negotiations to succeed, they must allow the parties to deal directly with each other face to face. (Applause.) A properly structured international conference could be useful at an appropriate time, but only if it did not interfere with or in any way replace or be a substitute for direct talks between the parties. (Applause.)

Third, the issues involved in the negotiations are far too complex and the emotions are far too deep to move directly to a final settlement. Accordingly, some transitional period is needed, associated in time and sequence with negotiations on final status. ~~Such a transition will allow the parties to take the measure of each others performance, to encourage attitudes to change and to demonstrate that peace and coexistence is desired.~~

Fourth, in advance of direct negotiations, the United States and no other party inside or outside can or will dictate an outcome. (Applause.) That is why the United States does not support annexation or permanent Israeli control of the West Bank and Gaza nor do we support the creation of an independent Palestinian state. (Applause.) I would add here that we do have an idea about the reasonable middle ground to which a settlement should be directed. That is, self-government for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza in a manner acceptable to Palestinians, Israel and Jordan. Such a formula provides ample scope for Palestinians to achieve their full political rights. It also provides ample protection for Israel's security as well.

Following these principles, we face a pragmatic issue, the issue of how do we get negotiations underway.

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Unfortunately, the gap between the parties on key issues such as Palestinian representation and the shape of a final settlement remains very, very wide. Violence has soured the atmosphere, and so a quick move to negotiations is quite unlikely. And in the absence of either a minimum of good will or any movement to close the gap, a high visibility American initiative we think has little basis on which to stand.

If we were to stop here, the situation would, I think, be gloomy indeed. But we are not going to stop with the status quo. We are engaged, as I mentioned a moment ago, we will remain engaged, and we will work to help create an environment to launch and sustain negotiations. This will require tough but necessary decisions for peace by all of the parties. It will also require a commitment to a process of negotiations clearly tied to the search for a permanent settlement of the conflict. When Prime Minister Shamir visited Washington, he indicated that he shared our view that the status quo was unacceptable. He brought an idea for elections to, in his words -- and I quote -- "launch a political negotiating process," close quote, which would involve transitional arrangements and final status. The Prime Minister made clear that all sides would be free to bring their preferred positions to the table, and that the negotiated outcome must be acceptable to all.

The United States welcomed these Israeli ideas and undertook to see whether it could help in creating an atmosphere which could sustain such a process. Just last week, the Israeli Cabinet approved a more detailed version of the Prime Minister's proposal indicating Israeli government positions on some but not all of the issues which are involved. The Israeli proposal is an important and very positive start down the road toward constructing workable negotiations. (Applause.)

The Israeli government has offered an initiative and it has given us something to work with. It has taken a stand on some important issues, and this deserves a constructive Palestinian and broader Arab response. (Applause.) Much work needs to be done to elicit Palestinian and Arab thinking on the key elements in the process, to flesh out some of the details of the Israeli proposals,

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and to bridge areas where viewpoints differ.

Both sides, of course, are going to have to build political constituencies for peace. Each idea, proposal or detail should be developed, if I may say so, as a deal maker, not as a deal breaker. (Applause). It may be possible to reach agreement, for example, on the standards of a workable elections process. Such elections should be free and fair, of course, and they should be free of interference from any quarter. (Applause.) Through open access to media and outside observers, the integrity of the electoral process can be affirmed, and participation in the elections should be as open as possible.

It is therefore high time for serious political dialogue between Israeli officials and Palestinians in the Territories to bring about a common understanding on these and other issues. Peace and the peace process must be built from the ground up. Palestinians have it within their power to help define the shape of this initiative and to help define its essential elements. They shouldn't shy from a dialogue with Israel that can transfer -- (correcting himself) -- transform the current environment and determine the ground rules for getting to, for conducting, and, indeed, for moving beyond elections.

We should not hide from ourselves the difficulties that face even these steps here at the very beginning. For many Israelis it will not be easy to enter a negotiating process whose successful outcome will in all probability involve territorial withdrawal and the emergence of a new political reality. For Palestinians, such an outcome will mean an end to the illusion of control over all of Palestine, and it will mean full recognition of Israel as a neighbor and partner in trade and in human contact. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, we do not think there is a real constructive alternative to the process which I have outlined. (Light applause.) Continuation of the status quo will lead to increasing violence and worsening prospects for peace. We think now is the time to move toward a serious negotiating process to create

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Let the Arab world take concrete steps towards accommodation with Israel, not in place of the peace process, but as a catalyst for it. (Applause.)

And so we would say, "End the economic boycott. Stop the challenges to Israel's standing in international organizations. Repudiate the odious line that 'Zionism is racism.'" (Applause.)

For Israel, now is the time to lay aside, once and for all, the unrealistic vision of a greater Israel. Israeli interests in the West Bank and Gaza, security and otherwise, can be accommodated in a settlement based on Resolution 242. Foreswear annexation; stop settlement activity; allow schools to reopen; reach out to the ~~Palestinians~~ as neighbors who deserve political rights.

For Palestinians, now is the time to speak with one voice for peace. Renounce the policy of phases in all languages, not just those addressed to the West. (Applause.) Practice constructive diplomacy, not attempts to distort international organizations, such as the World Health Organization. (Applause.) Amend the covenant. Translate the dialogue of violence in the intifada into a dialogue of politics and diplomacy. Violence will not work. Reach out to Israelis and convince them of your peaceful intentions. You have the most to gain from doing so, and no one else can or will do it for you. Finally, understand that no one is going to deliver Israel for you. (Applause.)

For outside parties, in particular the Soviet Union, now is the time to make new thinking a reality as it applies to the Middle East. I must say that Chairman Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze told me in Moscow 10 days ago that Soviet policy is changing. New laws regarding emigration will soon be discussed by the Supreme Soviet. Jewish life in the Soviet Union is also looking better, with students beginning to study their heritage freely. (Applause.) Finally, the Soviet Union agreed with us last week that Prime Minister Shamir's election proposal was worthy of consideration. (Applause.)

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These, of course, are all positive signs. But the Soviets must go further to demonstrate convincingly that they are serious about new thinking in the Arab-Israel conflict. Let Moscow restore diplomatic ties with Israel, for example. (Applause.) The Soviets should also help promote a serious peace process, not just empty slogans. And it's time for the Soviet Union, we think, to behave responsibly when it comes to arms and stop the supply of sophisticated weapons to countries like Libya. (Applause.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I said at the beginning of these remarks that the Middle East had approached a turning point. I believe that this region, which is so full of potential, will not remain immune from the changes which are sweeping the rest of the world. These changes began with the quest for democracy, for individual freedom, and for choice. Long ago, of course, Israel chose this path. And long ago, the American people decided to walk with Israel in her quest for peace and in her quest for security.

The policy I have described today reaffirms and renews that course. For our part, the United States will move ahead steadily and carefully, in a step-by-step approach designed to help the parties make the necessary decisions for peace. Perhaps Judge Learned Hand expressed it best when he said, "We shall have to be content with short steps, but we shall have gone forward if we bring to our task patience, understanding, sympathy, forbearance, generosity, fortitude, and above all, an inflexible determination." Thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

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official text

May 23, 1989

BAKER OUTLINES U.S. POSITION ON MIDEAST PEACE

Washington -- Following is the text of Secretary of State James Baker's speech delivered on May 22 to the 30th annual American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) conference:

(BEGIN TEXT)

Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you very much. Thank you very much, Ed, for that very generous introduction. Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know whether you know this or not, but Ed Levy (president of AIPAC) is a terrific tennis player. I first ran into him in December of 1980 right after we had been fortunate enough to win the presidential election contest, and I was taking a vacation down in Jamaica and had the good fortune of running into Ed and his wife down there and we enjoyed some good tennis.

I thought for a moment there Ed, when you mentioned Lee Atwater and what he was going to say about the most important thing to know about me, I thought he was going to tell you that perhaps the most important thing to know about me was that one of the first people I hired for the Reagan White House in 1980 was Lee Atwater. (Scattered laughter.)



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Tel Aviv, 71 Hayarkon Street, 63903 Tel. 654338
Jerusalem, 19 Keren Hayesod Street, 94188 Tel. 222376

But I'm very pleased, ladies and gentlemen, to have the opportunity to be here with you today, and to address one of the best attended conferences in a city of well-attended conferences. That I think testifies to your interest as American citizens in our foreign policy, and I applaud that. It also, I think, testifies to AIPAC's effectiveness in presenting the views of American supporters of Israel.

I am pleased that my son Jamie Baker was able to be here with us today. He's a practicing lawyer here in Washington, D.C. There's one other person I would like to take just a moment to introduce you to. He's well known to many of you. Ambassador Dennis Ross, who is head of the policy planning department of the State Department.

Dennis is just back from the Middle East, as a matter of fact. As I came back -- as I left Brussels to come back to the United States following the trip to Moscow, Dennis and several other high level officials went to the Middle East to continue to work on the problem there, and to work along the lines that I'm going to discuss in just a few moments.

I know, ladies and gentlemen, that you're here because you believe in the political process. Your effectiveness is well known. I know you're here because you believe, as well, in the public policy process, which of course is a corollary to the political process. That's really why I'm here, although I have to tell you that it was not always thus for me. For the first 22 or so years after I got out of law school, I was too busy trying to make it in the competitive atmosphere of a major Houston, Texas, law firm to have any time for politics or public policy. But I was a pretty good expert on what was wrong with this country, and what was wrong with my state of Texas. And I used to gripe and moan a lot about it, and one day, my wife said -- she said, "You know, you have no reason to complain because you're not willing to roll up your sleeves and get your hands dirty and do something about what you think is wrong."

I thought about that, and I concluded that she was right, and one thing led to another, and sooner or later, I found myself running for statewide office in the State of Texas, and this was back in the days when Texas was a solidly Democratic state. We had only elected one Republican statewide since the Civil War. But nevertheless, I was out there pitching the message to the people of Texas that if you want to make a difference, you better get involved. And I never will forget one really hot summer afternoon in a bar in Amarillo, Texas. And you might say, what in the world were you doing in a bar, and it's a good question. But the answer is that if you were a Republican running in Texas in those days, you would talk to anybody who would listen. I found a few people who would listen in that bar, and I was really laying into them about getting involved. And I concluded my speech by saying that, in

fact, the two foremost problems facing the State of Texas that day were ignorance and apathy. And I leaned over and I said, "What do you think about that, sir?" And this grizzled old rancher sitting there at the bar looked over his beer and he looked up at me and he said, "Well, now, I'll tell you, sonny," he said, "I don't know and I don't care." So the point, I think, of that is, you do know and you do care, and that's why you're here and that's why you're involved, and we applaud that.

You know, it's been said that AIPAC manages to bring together the Executive and the Congress in a way that they might not normally associate. I'd agree with that. And I would add only that we have a name for such coming together, we call it "bipartisanship." And American bipartisan support for Israel is a great and an enduring achievement, not only for AIPAC, not only for Israel's supporters, but also, above all, for America's national interest. There have been many, many analyses of the US-Israeli relationship over the years, and most of them begin with the fact that we share common values of freedom and of democracy. That is the golden thread in the tapestry of United States-Israeli ties, and there are -- if I might suggest it -- other strands as well.

Ed mentioned some of what I did in the Reagan administration, but let me tell you that I was proud to work in that administration -- an administration that recognized the importance of United States-Israeli strategic cooperation; an administration that I think gave fiber and sinew to our strategic partnership. I am also proud to have had a small part to play in the historic Free Trade Agreement, which might well become a model for other nations. I really think we probably would not have gotten home on the Canadian-U.S. Free Trade Agreement had we not had a U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement.

The President believes -- President Bush believes, and I believe, that on these issues there can only be one policy, and that is a policy of continuity. American support for Israel is the foundation of our approach to the problems -- the very, very difficult problems of the Middle East. This support has become all the more important as we approach what I think is a critical juncture in the Middle East. For many years, we have associated that region with either the vanished glories of ancient history or the terrible cost of modern conflict.

But now, I think the world is changing. We've seen longstanding problems in other regions begin to abate. The President spoke last week of promising and hopeful, even though incomplete, developments in the Soviet Union. Everywhere, there is a quickening consciousness that the globe is being transformed through the search for democracy, the spread of free enterprise and technological progress. And of course, nowhere is that more true, as we meet here today, than in the People's Republic of China.

The Middle East should be able to participate fully in these new developments. Often times we think of the region as a place full of precious resources, such as oil and minerals. But the area's most precious resource, if we really stop and think about it, is the lives of its people. And that is the stake. Are the peoples of the Middle East going to safeguard their most precious resource? Are they going to join the rest of the changing world in the works of peace? Or is this region going to pioneer in conflict once more, through the proliferation of chemical weapons and ballistic missiles?

The people of Israel are vitally concerned with these questions. Israel, of course, is a vigorous democracy. Israelis are among the world's leaders in communications, electronics and avionics, the new technological revolutions. And Israel understood long ago that the most important of her natural resources is the skill and the intelligence of her people. This is the wider context in which we and Israel must consider the peace process. The outcome is of vital concern both to Israel's future and for our vision of a free and peaceful world.

Not so long ago, we marked a decade of the Camp David peace accords. That occasion reminded us not only of how far we have come, but of how much further we have to go. I would like to report to you that we and Israel have taken some important steps forward. Before Prime Minister Shamir visited Washington, we had called for some Israeli ideas on how to restart the peace process. We did so based on our conviction that a key condition for progress was a productive United States/Israeli partnership. And I believe that the best way to be productive is through consultation rather than confrontation.

Let me assure you that we were not disappointed. The Prime Minister will, I'm sure, forgive me if I divulge to you a conversation at our very first meeting. The Prime Minister said, in preparing for his visit, he had studied President Bush and me, just as he suspected that perhaps we had studied him. I had been described by the media as an "ever-flexible pragmatist." The Prime Minister, he said, had been described as an "inflexible man of ideological principle."

Then the Prime Minister volunteered that in his view the journalists were wrong, and they were wrong in both cases. "Yes," he said, "I am a man of principle, but I am also a pragmatist who knows what political compromise means." And he said that it was clear that I, although a pragmatist, was also a man of principle, and that principle would guide my foreign policy approach.

Needless to say, I didn't disagree with the Prime Minister. If ever an opening statement achieved its goal of establishing a strong working relationship, this one did. I think it's fair

to say that we understood each other to be pragmatists, but pragmatists guided by principle.

As we approach the peace process together, we understand Israel's caution, especially when assessing Arab attitudes about peace. I don't blame Israel for exercising this caution -- its history, and indeed its geopolitical situation, requires it. At the same time, I think that caution must never become paralysis. Ten years after Camp David, Egypt remains firmly committed to peace, and Arab attitudes are changing. Egypt's readmission into the Arab League on its own terms and with the peace treaty intact, I think is one sign of change. Evolving Palestinian attitudes are another.

Much more needs to be done, to be demonstrated that such change is real, but I don't think that change can be ignored even now. This is surely a time when, as the Prime Minister said, the right mix of principle and pragmatism is required.

As we assess these changes, United States policies benefit from a long-standing commitment to sound principles, principles which have worked in practice to advance the peace process. Now, let me mention some of those principles for you.

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

Second, for negotiations to succeed, they must allow the parties to deal directly with each other face to face. A properly structured international conference could be useful at an appropriate time, but only if it did not interfere with or in any way replace or be a substitute for direct talks between the parties.

Third, the issues involved in the negotiations are far too complex and the emotions are far too deep to move directly to a final settlement. Accordingly, some transitional period is needed, associated in time and sequence with negotiations on final status. Such a transition will allow the parties to take the measure of each other's performance, to encourage attitudes to change and to demonstrate that peace and coexistence is desired.

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

about the reasonable middle ground to which a settlement should be directed. That is, self-government for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza in a manner acceptable to Palestinians, Israel and Jordan. Such a formula provides ample scope for Palestinians to achieve their full political rights. It also provides ample protection for Israel's security as well.

Following these principles, we face a pragmatic issue, the issue of how do we get negotiations underway.

Unfortunately, the gap between the parties on key issues such as Palestinian representation and the shape of a final settlement remains very, very wide. Violence has soured the atmosphere, and so a quick move to negotiations is quite unlikely. And in the absence of either a minimum of good will or any movement to close the gap, a high visibility American initiative we think has little basis on which to stand.

If we were to stop here, the situation would, I think, be gloomy indeed. But we are not going to stop with the status quo. We are engaged, as I mentioned a moment ago, we will remain engaged, and we will work to help create an environment to launch and sustain negotiations. This will require tough but necessary decisions for peace by all of the parties. It will also require a commitment to a process of negotiations clearly tied to the search for a permanent settlement of the conflict. When Prime Minister Shamir visited Washington, he indicated that he shared our view that the status quo was unacceptable. He brought an idea for elections to, in his words -- and I quote -- "launch a political negotiating process," close quote, which would involve transitional arrangements and final status. The Prime Minister made clear that all sides would be free to bring their preferred positions to the table, and that the negotiated outcome must be acceptable to all.

The United States welcomed these Israeli ideas and undertook to see whether it could help in creating an atmosphere which could sustain such a process. Just last week, the Israeli Cabinet approved a more detailed version of the Prime Minister's proposal indicating Israeli Government positions on some but not all of the issues which are involved. The Israeli proposal is an important and very positive start down the road toward constructing workable negotiations.

The Israeli Government has offered an initiative and it has given us something to work with. It has taken a stand on some important issues, and this deserves a constructive Palestinian and broader Arab response. Much work needs to be done to elicit Palestinian and Arab thinking on the key elements in the process, to flesh out some of the details of the Israeli proposals, and to bridge areas where viewpoints differ.

Both sides, of course, are going to have to build political constituencies for peace. Each idea, proposal or detail should

be developed, if I may say so, as a deal maker, not as a deal breaker. It may be possible to reach agreement, for example, on the standards of a workable elections process. Such elections should be free and fair, of course, and they should be free of interference from any quarter. Through open access to media and outside observers, the integrity of the electoral process can be affirmed, and participation in the elections should be as open as possible.

It is therefore high time for serious political dialogue between Israeli officials and Palestinians in the Territories to bring about a common understanding on these and other issues. Peace and the peace process must be built from the ground up. Palestinians have it within their power to help define the shape of this initiative and to help define its essential elements. They shouldn't shy from a dialogue with Israel that can transfer -- (correcting himself) -- transform the current environment and determine the ground rules for getting to, for conducting, and, indeed, for moving beyond elections.

We should not hide from ourselves the difficulties that face even these steps here at the very beginning. For many Israelis it will not be easy to enter a negotiating process whose successful outcome will in all probability involve territorial withdrawal and the emergence of a new political reality. For Palestinians, such an outcome will mean an end to the illusion of control over all of Palestine, and it will mean full recognition of Israel as a neighbor and partner in trade and in human contact.

Ladies and gentlemen, we do not think there is a real constructive alternative to the process which I have outlined. Continuation of the status quo will lead to increasing violence and worsening prospects for peace. We think now is the time to move toward a serious negotiating process to create the atmosphere for a renewed peace process. Let the Arab world take concrete steps towards accommodation with Israel, not in place of the peace process, but as a catalyst for it.

And so we would say, "End the economic boycott. Stop the challenges to Israel's standing in international organizations. Repudiate the odious line that 'Zionism is racism'."

For Israel, now is the time to lay aside, once and for all, the unrealistic vision of a greater Israel. Israeli interests in the West Bank and Gaza, security and otherwise, can be accommodated in a settlement based on Resolution 242. Forswear annexation; stop settlement activity; allow schools to reopen; reach out to the Palestinians as neighbors who deserve political rights.

For Palestinians, now is the time to speak with one voice for peace. Renounce the policy of phases in all languages, not

just those addressed to the West. Practice constructive diplomacy, not attempts to distort international organizations, such as the World Health Organization. Amend the covenant. Translate the dialogue of violence in the intifada into a dialogue of politics and diplomacy. Violence will not work. Reach out to Israelis and convince them of your peaceful intentions. You have the most to gain from doing so, and no one else can or will do it for you. Finally, understand that no one is going to deliver Israel for you.

For outside parties, in particular the Soviet Union, now is the time to make new thinking a reality as it applies to the Middle East. I must say that Chairman Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze told me in Moscow ten days ago that Soviet policy is changing. New laws regarding emigration will soon be discussed by the Supreme Soviet. Jewish life in the Soviet Union is also looking better, with students beginning to study their heritage freely. Finally, the Soviet Union agreed with us last week that Prime Minister Shamir's election proposal was worthy of consideration.

These, of course, are all positive signs. But the Soviets must go further to demonstrate convincingly that they are serious about new thinking in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Let Moscow restore diplomatic ties with Israel, for example. The Soviets should also help promote a serious peace process, not just empty slogans. And it's time for the Soviet Union, we think, to behave responsibly when it comes to arms and stop the supply of sophisticated weapons to countries like Libya.

Ladies and gentlemen, I said at the beginning of these remarks that the Middle East had approached a turning point. I believe that this region, which is so full of potential, will not remain immune from the changes which are sweeping the rest of the world. These changes began with the quest for democracy, for individual freedom, and for choice. Long ago, of course, Israel chose this path. And long ago, the American people decided to walk with Israel in her quest for peace and in her quest for security.

The policy I have described today reaffirms and renews that course. For our part, the United States will move ahead steadily and carefully, in a step-by-step approach designed to help the parties make the necessary decisions for peace. Perhaps Judge Learned Hand expressed it best when he said, "We shall have to be content with short steps, but we shall have gone forward if we bring to our task patience, understanding, sympathy, forbearance, generosity, fortitude, and above all, an inflexible determination." Thank you all very, very much.

(END TEXT)

Attached is a corrected copy of Secretary Baker's speech to AIPAC, delivered on May 22. Please discard the copy previously sent to you.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

19537

תאריך: 25.05.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 5,19537

אל: המשרד

יעדים: אתונה/290, בון/462, פריס/785, האג/354, לונדון/502, רומא/238

מדריד/351, קופנהגן/298, ליסבון/298, מילנו/226, אוסלו/243,

מצב/1711, מנמח/360

מ: בריסל, נר: 218, תא: 240589, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: גס: אירופה

נד: 2

סודי/מיידי

אל אירופה 1

לשכת שה"ח

דע תפוצת מאיה

מאת השגריר בריסל

האירופאים על ביקור שהח כאן. שיחה עם יאנוצי
24.5 שעה 1600.

המזכירות של יאנוצי כבר חלקה לכל שרי החוץ של הקהיליה הסטנוגרמה המלאה של דברי שהח בארוחת הערב שלשום (אני מעביר לכם בדיפ הרישום שלי).

א. סיכום מפגש ה-12 עם שהח:

המסקנות, בינתיים לא מחייבות, של מארחי השר, בשיחות ביניהם לאחר תום הארוחה: התרשמו לטובה מדברי השר. שבחו אותו מאד על הסבריו והורו ליאנוצי להכין טיוטה ראשונה של הצעה מטעם שרי החוץ לועידת הפיסגה ב-26.6 במדריד לפיה יביעו ה-12 דעתם על המצב במזרח בצורה המתונה ביותר וימצאו ניסוח הולם כדי לעודד 'יוזמת שמיר'.

ויליאם הילמן

0406 4.86

מסמך 25 ויליאם הילמן, 25.5.89

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

יאנוצ'י אמר שיעמוד בקשר הדוק עמי כדי לשמוע השגותינו
על הטיוטות השונות שיגיש מכאן ועד הפיסגה.

ב. הנקודות בדברי השר לשרי ה-12 שעזרו במיוחד להגיע
למסקנות הנוחות הנל היו הסבריו על הצורך שלא ללחוץ
עלינו בנושא מדינה פלשתינאית ולא בנושא שטחים תמורת
שלום. נקודה שניה, התחושה של האירופאים שיש על מה
לדבר במה שנוגע לסידורים המעשיים של הבחירות גם אם
לא צריך לדבר על כך ברגע זה. בנושא זה של הסידורים
המעשיים הם מסכימים בהחלט שהדמורקטיה והמשטר החברתי
הקיים במדינת ישראל הם הערובה האמיתית לקיומם של
בחירות חופשיות ואמיתיות אך חושבים שלמען האוירה הטובה
רצוי היה שבבחירות ישתתפו משקיפים זרים. האירופאים
היו בהחלט מרוצים ממשקיפים זרים שישראל עצמה תבחר.
האירופאים מאמינים שישראל תמצא פתרון לבעית זכות ההצבעה
לתושבי מזרח ירושלים, ומקווים שישראל לא תטיל הגבלות
על מועמדים, בצורה בלתי סבירה להאירופאים יבינו אם ישראל
תמנע מי שנשפט והורשע בפשעים חמורים נגד הבטחון מלהיות
מועמד בבחירות, הם לא יבינו אם נמנע מאדם להציג מועמדותו
בגלל דעותיו).

ג. נשארתי בעיה אחת אותה רואים האירופאים בחומרה, והמציקה
להם באמת ובתמים, זאת בעית סגירת בתי הספר והאוניברסיטאות
ביהודה ושומרון. הסיבה שהנושא הועלה בצורה בוטה
ע"י דלור בשיחה עמו למחרת הארוחה עם 12 שרי החוץ, זה
מפני שלשרי החוץ היתה הרגשה שהם עצמם לא מספיק הדגישו
נקודה זו בפני שהח. וביקשו מדלור לעשות זאת. היו מי
שדרשו שה-12 יצאו בהודעה רשמית בנושא. הוחלט שלא לעשות
כן כדי לא לפתוח תיבת פנדורה של הצהרות ופולמיקה. המלצת
יאנוצ'י היא שכדי להבטיח הרצון הטוב המפורט דלעיל
לקראת ועידת הפסגה בחודש הבא, תנקוט ישראל באיזשהי
יוזמה בנושא בתי הספר. הוא לא מתכוון שפשוט נפתח
את בתי הספר והאוניברסיטאות. ברור לכולם שזה לא כל
כך פשוט. כוונתו שנראה התייחסות לנושא. ניתן הצהרות
המראות שהבעיה מעסיקה אותנו ואנו מחפשים דרך לפתור
אותה.

פרימור

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמן, ממד,
איר, איר, 2, מזתים

תוכן המכרה

אמא, חוזם: 14876

אל: מצב/ 1342

מ-: פריס, נר: 268, תא: 180589, זח: 2000, דח: ר, סג: שומ,

בבוב

שמוד/רגיל

אל אידופה 1

דע לש' שהח

יואלה האל

תוכן המכרה

מאת השגריר פריס

בקבלת פנים לכבוד שהח גרמניה גנשר, התעכבתי לשיחה קצרה

ועם השר שמסר לי שמאז היה רוצה שהביקור של שהח ארנס

ייצא לפועל בעתיד הקרוב. הצמער על ששהח לא יכול היה

לבוא אליו מבדיסל אב הוא מקווה שהתאריכים החילופיים

שהוצעו יתאימו לשהח.

החננין בסיכויים ליישום חבנית רהמ שמייר ועמדת ארהב,

וציין שרפג' תעשה הכל על מנת לסייע. ציינתי שתמיכה מערכית

ושל רפג' יכולה לשכנע הצד הערבי למצות האפשרויות הממונות

בתכנית, שהיא האופציה הריאלית היחידה כיום.

גנשר הביע הסכמה. חזר וציין שישמח אם ביקור שהח ארנס ייצא

לפועל.

סופר.

סטס

נכנס **
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סודי

חוזם: 5,17368

אל: המשרד

יעדים: לונדון/445, מצב/1505, מנמת/311
מ-: מדריד, נר: 141, תא: 220589, זח: 1900, דח: ב, סג: סו
תח: @ גס: אירופה
נד: @

למחלקת הקשר

סודי/בהול

אל: אירופה 2

דע: לונדון-עבור רה'מ

מאת מדריד

לקראת ביקור רה'מ. שיחה עם JUAN ANTONIO YANEZ, ראש לשכת רה'מ לענייני חוץ.

1. סבור שיוזמת השלום של ישראל היא 'חכמה ובעלת יתרונות (VIRTUES) לא מעטים'. הוסיף כי אחד הערכים החשובים בתכנית הוא שהיא תקשה על דעת הקהל הדמוקרטית להסתייג מתכנית שנקודת המוצא שלה היא בחירות חפשיות.

2. ציין מה הם לדעתו שלושת אי הודאיות של התכנית (הצבעת ערביי ירושלים המזרחית, שאלת הפיקוח על הבחירות שאלת ההסדר הסופי). הערתי שאין טעם בשלב הזה לבקש מישראל פירוט והרחבה של אלמנטים כאלה או אחרים בתכנית עליה עוד אין הסכמה עקרונית ברורה מן הצד השני של המהלך. הבעתי דעתי כי הדגשה של האירופים ובמקרה הזה הספרדים על 'אי הבהירויות שבתכנית' תהווה סימון לצד הערבי גם כן להיתלות בזאת. על כך השיב איש שיחי כי 'גישתנו לתכנית היא חיובית', אך נמנע מלהבטיח שראש ממשלתו יהיה חד וחלק בהצהרותיו הפומביות בעקבות הביקור. איש שיחי חזר מספר פעמים ואמר כי זה יהיה 'ביקור טוב וחיובי'.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

השתמש גם בביטוי 'ביקור היסטורי'.

3. העיר כי לספרדים ולאירופים שלחצו כל הזמן על אש'פ להכיר ב-242 יקשה לקבל שכאשר אש'פ אכן אימץ את 242 הצד הישראלי בה עם הצעת שלום שאינה כוללת את המרכיב הזה. המלצתי לראות את עמדתנו כי כל צד יהיה רשאי להעלות כל הצעה לשולחן המו'מ בשלב ההסדר הסופי כמספקת.

4. הביע את הדעה כי שאיפת אש'פ להישגים מובילה אותם למהלכים בלתי שקולים כמו נסיון הסרק שלהם להתקבל כחברים מלאים בארגון הברית העולמי.

5. באשר לשאלת עיבוד עמדה קהילתית אמר כי ניתן לראות לאחרונה תיאום גדול יותר בעמדות של מדינות אירופה והוא רואה זאת כאחד ההישגים של הנשיאות הספרדית. עם זאת 'איני יודע מה יגידו הערב לשר ארנס'. דבריו אלה באו בתשובה לפנייתי שיובילו את הקהילה לתמיכה בתכנית דבר שיהפוך את נשיאותם ל'היסטורית'. הוא הוסיף בעניין זה כי עד שלא תישמע עמדת שאר המדינות העמדה שיבטא ראש הממשלה גונזלס בשיחותיו עם מר שמיר תהיינה עמדותיה של ספרד ועדיין לא של הקהילה.

6. באשר לביקור הבזק של גונזאלס במרוקו איש שיחי לא הספיק עדיין לראות את ראש ממשלתו מאז שובו ולא היה לו מה לספר. הוא העריך כי:

א. ועידת הפסגה הערבית הקרובה תשתדל להימנע מהתיחסות ליוזמת השלום של ישראל.

ב. תתמוך בעמדות האחרונות של אש'פ מאז ועידת אלג'יר.

ג. תקרא לתמיכה קונקרטיית יותר בתושבי השטחים ובעניין הפלסטינאי.

7. איש שיחי מודע היטב לאילוצים הפוליטיים בתוך ישראל. זאת בהקשר לידיעות שהתפרסמו כאן בראש מהדורת החדשות כי מר שמיר איים להתפטר אם תכניתו לא תזכה באימון מרכז מפלגתו. הרושם שלי הוא שהמודעות הזאת של הצד הספרדי (ואולי האירופאי בכלל) היא נקודת יתרון ליוזמת ממשלת ישראל.

בן-עמי

אק

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמנ, איר2, איר1, ממד

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

20935

תאריך : 26.05.89

נכנס **

שמור

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חוזם: 5,20935

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1792

מ-: ליסבון, נר: 119, תא: 260589, זח: 1030, דח: ר, סג: שמ

תח: גס: הסברה

נד: ג

שמור/רגיל

אל: הסברה/מרחבי

דע: אירופה ב'

יוזמת השלום של ראש הממשלה.

בהסתמך על דווחי כתבים בלונדון ובמדריד מבליטה העתונות הפורטוגזית כי שליחות ראש הממשלה לא הניבה את התוצאות הרצויות וכי הוא נתקל בהסתיגויות לתכניתו אצל מארחיו השונים. אנו עושים כמובן מאמצים להביא להתבטאויות חיוביות ולתמיכה בכלי התקשורת ומצד אישים פורטוגזים אך לצערנו דווחים אלה אינם מסייעים בידינו.

שגרירה.

מג

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, רביב, הסברה, מעת, איר2,
ר/מרכז, ממד

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* 20563 * תאריך: 26.05.81 *
* דף 1 מתוך 3 *
* עותק 2 מתוך 12 *
* נכנס ** *
* ** *
* *** *
* חוזם: 5,20563 *
* אל: המשרד *
* יעדים: מצב/1772 *
* מ-: ווש, נר: 610, תא: 250589, חז: 1600, דח: ב, סג: סב *
* תח: & גס: צפא *
* נד: & *

ימא (המלך)

* סודי ביותר/בהול *
* ח.ר.ב. *
* סמנכל צפא ופרנ *
* לשכת שהח *
* לשכת רהמ *

* להלן מפגישה הבוקר עם דניס רוס :

* 1. בפתח דברי ציינתי כי באתי לראותו כדי להביע את
* השגותינו ודאגתנו הרבה מהדברים שנאמרו על ידי המזכיר
* בפני אייפ'ק ביום ב'. חזרתי על הדברים שמסרתי לו
* טלפונית לפני יומיים כשדר בע'פ מרה'מ למזכיר
* שעיקרו שרה'מ סבור היה כי הוסכם ביניהם שחילופי
* דברים פומביים ומתן פרסום לנושאים בהם לא קיימת
* הסכמה אינם מועילים ביחסי שתי המדינות וליחסי האמון
* הצריכים לשרור בין ישראל לארה'ב.
* לגבי ההתנחלויות הרי המסרים שהועברו על ידם אלינו
* מוכרים לנו היטב ועמדתם ידועה לנו, חבל רק שראו צורך
* להחריף את העימות הפומבי בענין. הוספתי כי אני תמה
* על הסגנון החריף של נאום המזכיר, על עיתויו ועל כך
* שהוא מהווה ביטוי לחוסר רגישות להלכי הרוח בישראל.
* אין נוהגים כך בבת ברית ולא היה מקום להפתיענו
* בדברים אלה יומיים בלבד לאחר פגישותיו של המזכיר עם
* שרה'ח.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* דף 2 מתוך 3 *
* עותק 2 מתוך 12 *
* הנושא שבו צריכים אנו להתרכז עתה - ונראה שקיימת על
* כך הסכמה - הינו קידום יוזמת השלום הישראלית ולא
* מובן לנו מדוע צריך היה לצאת בהצהרה כפי שיצא בייקר
* שרק מסיתה את תשומת הלב מהדיון בצעדים כיצד לקדם את
* היוזמה לנושא של ההסדר הסופי. אם כווננו הדברים
* לאזניהם של מתכנסי הועידה בקזבלנקה כי אזי צריך
* לזכור שגם בישראל קיימות רגישויות ובעיות פוליטיות.
* כן ציינתי כי שמנו לב שבנוסח דבריו אין התייחסות
* לעמדה המסורתית של האמריקאים כי אין לצפות לשובה של
* ישראל לגבולות 67 וכי ישראל זכאית לגבולות בטוחים
* ומוכרים. כמו כן הוספתי, אין כל התייחסות לירושלים
* המאוחדת כבירת ישראל.

* 2. רוס השיב כי הנאום נישא כדי להבהיר עמדת הממשל
* בנושא התהליך וכי בין יתר המטרות עמדו בפניהם ההשגות
* והספקות שהועלו על ידי בני השיח הערבים שבאיזור :
* המצרים, הפלשתינאים והירדנים, המטילים ספק בנכונותה
* של ישראל ללכת מעבר להסדר ביניים. יחד עם זאת, הדגיש
* רוס, כי עיקר התביעות האופרטיביות הופנו אל הערבים
* והפלשתינאים ומציע שנקרא שוב חלקים אלה בנאום.
* לדבריו, הכינו נאום שהינו שילוב של עקרונות ואלמנטים
* פרגמטיים יחדיו ורואים בנאום הצהרה מדינית רצינית :
* "SERIOUSPOLICY STATEMENT", אך אין הוא מסכים שיש
* כאן אלמנטים חדשים אשר לא היו ידועים לנו קודם. אין
* למזכיר מסר לשדר מרה'מ. הם מסכימים לכך שלא היו
* צריכים להפתיענו ולמסור מבעוד מועד על עיקרי נאום
* של המזכיר ומודים כי לא העריכו נכונה התגובה החריפה
* לדברי בייקר. לא היתה כל כוונה לתת הצהרה אנטי-
* ישראלית, או נאום אשר יביא למתח ביחסי שתי המדינות.
* הם חוזרים ומדגישים לכל השואלים כי יש לקרוא הנאום
* על כל מרכיביו. עוד מדגישים הם כי זהו נאום אנליטי
* ולמעשה אין בו אלא חזרה על עמדתו המסורתית של הממשל
* הקודם - שטחים תמורת שלום.

* על יסוד שיחותיו בארץ אמר רוס כי חזר והדגיש באזני
* המצרים, הפלשתינאים והירדנים כי מצא גישה
* קונסטרוקטיבית מאד לגבי יישום רעיון הבחירות, אך כי
* אתדרש עוד עבודה רבה להעלאת הנושא מהדרג הטכני
* לפוליטי.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* דף 3 מתוך 3 *
* עותק 2 מתוך 12 *
* כדי להדגיש בפני כולם שאין שינוי בעמדה האמריקאית
* הרי הם חוזרים ואומרים שאופרטיבית היוזמה היחידה שיש
* לדון בה ולקדם אותה היא היוזמה הישראלית. זהו הישג
* לא מבוטל של הממשל הזה שמספר חודשים בלבד לאחר
* כניסתו הוריד את נושא הועידה הבינ'ל מסדר היום וכולם
* יודעים שעמדת ארה'ב היא לגייס תמיכה ליוזמת השלום של
* דה'מ. אנו אומרים כי איננו רואים כל אלטרנטיבה אחרת,
* אלא לנקוט מדיניות צעד אחר צעד בבחירות כמוצע על ידי
* ישראל.
* כל הגורמים, האירופאים, הסובייטים, הערבים ללא יוצא
* מן הכלל אומרים לנו כיום לשתף את אש'פ בבחירות
* ואנחנו חוזרים ואומרים לא, מפני שישראל לא תהיה
* מוכנה לשבת עם אש'פ.
* ייתכן שאכן לא היו מודעים לרגישויות הפוליטיות
* בישראל אך מאמין שהדברים שנאמרו אתמול מפי דוברת
* מחמ'ד על תמיכה 'עם כל הלב' ביוזמת ישראל הבהירו
* שוב מידת המחויבות שלהם ליוזמה.
* בביקורו הקרוב של המזכיר באירופה (היוצא יחד עם
* הנשיא לכינוס נאט'ו), יעשה נסיון לגייס תמיכת
* האירופאיות ליוזמה הישראלית. אין הוא יודע מה תהיינה
* התוצאות ואם יסרבו לעשות זאת במסגרת נאט'ו יחזרו
* לנושא במסגרת ההכנות לקראת ועידת המתועשות בראשית
* יולי.

* ארד *
* חו *
* * * *

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

דחילו: מיידי	שגרירות ישראל/ווישינגטון טופס פרוק	1 דף:
סווג: גלרי		2 פתוך:
תאריך וזמן חבור: 17:30 - 23.5.89	מזפ"א, מע"ת, הסברה	אל:
פס' פרוק: הפסד:		דע:
571	פאת: יוסי גל, עחובות, ווישינגטון	

יצמת השלום

להלן מאמר מערכת ה-"washington post" ב-23.5.89.

W3/27/28

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תפוצה: 6

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Israel's Peace Plan

ISRAEL'S CABINET formally approved Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's peace plan a week ago and so it was appropriate for Secretary of State Baker to offer the Bush administration's views on it, as he did yesterday with a clarity unusual for diplomatic discourse before a conference of Israel's American supporters. The plan is consequential and has quickly become the only moving vehicle of Middle East diplomacy. Already the Palestinians are starting to explore its central feature, a proposal for West Bank and Gaza elections.

Israel, engrossed in fighting the Palestinian uprising, had been under pressure from Washington to open a political track. This is hard for Israel, and not just because the Palestinians make difficult demands but because many Israelis seek to retain the West Bank, which Palestinians claim as a homeland. Mr. Baker went straight to this central issue, calling on Israel to "lay aside, once and for all, the unrealistic vision of a greater Israel" and to "forswear annexation." He made equally strong demands on the Palestinians to support a secure peace, asking them to make a "constructive response" to the Israeli election proposal.

The Israelis have hoped to use an electoral process to avoid dealing with the PLO (which

unquestionably represents most Palestinians), to fend off the Palestinian claim for a state and to keep the Americans from pressing them, as Mr. Baker did, to exchange territory for peace.

The Israeli plan has appealed to some in Israel for its potential of succeeding in its stated purpose of producing an agreed West Bank solution, first on autonomy and then on "final status." At least until yesterday, however, the plan had appealed to other Israelis for its seeming contrary potential of helping Israel escape American pressure and evade the territorial issue. Precisely because of that consideration, Israeli doves are leery of the plan. At the same time, Israeli hawks are leery of it because they fear it will put Israel on the slippery slope leading to a Palestinian West Bank state.

In these fluid circumstances, the American obligation is to make the plan work for American purposes: to make it a reliable instrument of the Palestinian will, to use it to produce a negotiation that will terminate the Palestinian uprising and the Israeli occupation alike, and to bring Palestinians a West Bank homeland in conditions protective of Israeli security. Secretary Baker made it evident that the Bush administration is pursuing these essential goals.

✱ ✱

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Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PERMANENT MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS
136 EAST 67TH STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021

Review of the Soviet Press

COMPILED BY A.P.N.

90
May 19, 1989

NO HOPE IN STAKING ON FORCE

Under this headline KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries a commentary by Victor Vinogradov on the situation in the Arab lands occupied by Israel, which continues to be tense. He draws attention to the fact that some areas on the occupied territories have been declared "closed military zones," and that in Nablus, Ramallah and a number of nearby settlements and in the Balata and Arrub refugee camps the Israelis have used bulldozers to raze to the ground about twenty houses of Palestinians charged with offering resistance to the authorities. The author also writes that the Israeli Defence Minister had again come out with threats against Palestinians living on the occupied territories.

Speaking of the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's "peace plan" on the establishment of partial autonomy for the indigenous Arab population of the Western Bank and the Gaza Strip, the author says it was not at all surprising that the PLO Liberation Organization had rejected that plan, for it contains not a single word about the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the captured territories either before or after elections, at the same time completely ruling out the possibility of creating a Palestinian state and holding any negotiations with the PLO. Noting that, to all appearances, Israel itself does not count too much on Shamir's plan to be a success, Vinogradov says that neither any turning manoeuvre in the form of the mentioned plan nor staking on force and terror will bring Tel Aviv the desired results.

"The only real road to solving the Palestinian problems is the convocation of an international peace conference on the Middle East under UN aegis and with the participation of all the interested sides," says the author in conclusion.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

20571

תאריך: 26.05.89

נכנס **

שמור

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חוזם: 5,20571

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1780

מ:- קנברה, נר: 101, תא: 260589, זח: 1130, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: גס: אפסוק

נד: א

החומר הזה

שמור/ מדי

אוקיאניה

הנדון: פגישת המשלחת היהודית עם רה"מ הוק

1. שמענו ממרק ואיזי ליבלר על הפגישה שהתקיימה אתמול 25 במאי, בין משלחת של 24 מנהיגים יהודים לבין רה"מ הוק. בפגישה השתתף גם שה"ח אבאנס והיא נמשכה שעה וחצי.

2. מרק ואיזי ליבלר מגדירים השיחה כחיובית ומשביעת רצון ועונה על הציפיות שהיו להם, שלכשעצמן היו נמוכות למדי. למשתתפים היתה הזדמנות להשמיע כל טיעוניהם וטענותיהם והוק הגיב על חלק מהדברים.

3. רה"מ הוק אמר שיוזמת השלום של ישראל היא צעד בכוון הנכון אך הוא מתקשה לדאות כיצד היוזמה תוכל להתפתח. בהקשר זה התייחס הוק לדברי המזכיר בייקר על "ישראל הגדולה" ואמר שהצהרות האף שעל של רה"מ שמיר מקשות עליהם. המשתתפים היהודים התייחסו בשלילה להודעת שה"ח אבאנס בסנאט ב- 24/5, בה הגיב על יוזמת השלום וציטט גם מדברי המזכיר בייקר כלפי ישראל, מבלי לצטט מדבריו כלפי הפלסטינים והערבים. ליצוין שעיתוי הודעת אבאנס יום לפני פגישת המשלחת היהודית עם הוק, לא היתה כמובן מקרית. הליבלרים גם בדעה שלידעות שהתפרסמו כאן בבוקר הפגישה, לפיהן ישראל דוחה מתן תפקיד של מתווך להוק, היתה השפעה על דברים שאמר הוק).

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ה'תשנ"ח
ביום חמישי כ"ט אלול ה'תשנ"ח
לפנינו

מ'ג' תמוז ה'תשנ"א
תשנ"א - תשנ"ב

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286

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ПР: ШПН, ОШПН, РНХ, ВВГРНХ, ВЛС, ВВЛС, ПРФ, ИТГ, ИЛ, П, РЕ, Д, ПОЛЕП,
ГЛНГС, ВВГЛС, ЛС

19664

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך: 25.05.89

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 5,19664

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1716

מ-: קנברה, נר: 95, תא: 250589, זח: 1100, דח: מ, סג: בל

תח: גסט: אפסוק

נד: ג

בלמס/מיד

אל: אוקיאניה

הנדון : תגובת אוסטרליה ליוזמת השלום של ישראל

1. להלן הודעה בנדון שמסר שהח אבאנס בסנאט ב-24 במאי.

2. ההודעה נמסרה כתשובה לשאלה, כנראה מוזמנת של סנטור מהלייבור.

SEN SCHACHT - CAN THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND TRADE INDICATE WHAT THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSE IS TO BE SO-CALLED SHAMIR PLAN FOR ELECTIONS IN THE ISRAELI OCCUPIED TERRITORIES? DOES THE MINISTER BELIEVE THAT SUCH A PROPOSAL COULD BE A FIRST STEP IN ACHIEVING AN OVERALL PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND, IN PARTICULAR, IN THE CONTEXT OF HOLDING THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE?

SEN GARETH EVANS - THE PROPOSALS THAT WERE FIRST OUTLINED BY PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR DURING HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON IN EARLY APRIL WERE THE SUBJECT OF ISRAELI CABINET APPROVAL IN 14 MAY. THEY PROVIDED FOR THE ELECTION BY PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF REPRESENTATIVES TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL. AT THIS STAGE NOT ALL THE DETAILS ASSOCIATED

ПІДРОБЛЕННЯ,
НАЗВА
ЧАСУ:
А-:ГРЕКО, ГР:29, ДИ:882022, ІН:0011, ТП:А, ОХ:ДУ
ПП:6 АС:НЕОІФ
СТ:6

ΣΤΑΘ\Β'Γ'

85: 815-817

אָנזאָג: אַלע אַרבעטן זענען פאַרמאָגלעך צו טאָן דאָס וואָס איר זענט אַרבעטן צו טאָן.

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ISRAEL. AT THIS STAGE NOT ALL THE DETAILS ASSOCIATED
TERRITORIES OF REPRESENTATIVES TO NEGOTIATE WITH
FOR THE ELECTION BY PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED
ISRAELI CABINET APPROVAL IN 14 MAY. THEY PROVIDED
TO WASHINGTON IN EARLY APRIL WERE THE SUBJECT OF
OUTLINED BY PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR DURING HIS VISIT
SEN GARETH EVANS - THE PROPOSALS THAT WERE FIRST

WITH THE PROPOSAL, INCLUDING DETAILS OF THE ELECTION PROCESS, ARE AVAILABLE AND A NUMBER OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED. THESE ISSUES INCLUDE THE PARTICIPATION OF PALESTINIANS FROM EAST JERUSALEM THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE ISRAELI DEFENCE FORCE FROM THE TERRITORIES OR AT LEAST FROM THE MAIN URBAN CENTRES DURING ANY ELECTION CAMPAIGN, THE POSSIBILITY OF INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION AND, IN MANY WAYS MOST IMPORTANTLY, THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROPOSAL FOR THE EVOLUTION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE. THEREFORE, AGAINST THAT BACKGROUND, WHILE THE PROPOSALS ARE WELCOME, THEY APPEAR TO ME TO FALL SHORT OF THE BROADER APPROACH WHICH THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT CLEAR WE BELIEVE IS AN APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY RESPONSE TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, THAT IS TO SAY, INCLUDING ISRAELI DIALOGUE WITH THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION (PLO), WHICH WOULD, UNDER THE PRESENT PLAN, BE EXCLUDED FROM PARTICIPATION IN THE ELECTION PROCESS. HOWEVER, IT MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGED, OF COURSE THAT THE PROPOSALS OFFER A POSSIBLE BASIS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION AND MAY, INDEED, PROVE TO BE A BASIS FOR A WAY FORWARD WHILE THE PLO AND PALESTINIAN NOTABLES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE REJECTED THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL, THEY HAVE NOT RULED OUT THE PRINCIPLE OF ELECTIONS PROVIDED THEY ARE PART OF A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN INCLUDING THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI FORCES FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IS ONE OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO ALL PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE TO CONTINUE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH NOW EXIST FOR PROGRESS TOWARDS A SETTLEMENT. WE NOTE IN THIS RESPECT SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER'S REMARKS, WIDELY REPORTED THIS MORNING BUT MADE YESTERDAY, IN WHICH HE CALLED ON ISRAEL TO 'LAY ASIDE ONCE AND FOR ALL THE UNREALISTIC VISION OF A GREATER ISRAEL'. HE ALSO CALLED UPON ISRAELIS TO REACH OUT TO PALESTINIANS AS NEIGHBOURS WHO DESERVE POLITICAL RIGHTS'. THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT CERTAINLY CONTINUES TO SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT, IF THEY SO CHOOSE, TO INDEPENDENCE AND AN INDEPENDENT STATE, AND SUPPORTS THE CONVENING

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ועידת הנשיאים - יוזמת השלום.

מצ"כ הודעת ועידת הנשיאים, התומכת ביוזמת השלום, בניסוחה הסופי.

מרדכי ידיר

פלג - הפץ נא ליריעת הקונכ"ל"ס.

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The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations enthusiastically welcomes and endorses the wide-ranging peace initiative offered by the Government of Israel. It is a positive and forward-looking plan that has great potential for advancing the peace process in the Middle East.

The role of the United States in promoting the plan is critical to its success. It is particularly important that the Palestinians and the Arab nations be urged to accept these proposals and work cooperatively with Israel toward their implementation. No progress toward peace, ^{nor} and no free elections (as called for in the plan) can take place in an atmosphere of violence and intimidation. The assassination of Palestinian moderates by radical elements associated with the PLO is symptomatic of the impediments that must be removed.

The Israeli initiative is a major breakthrough in the struggle to achieve a just and lasting peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. We believe this courageous effort on the part of Israel warrants a positive response from all of the parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as from other countries that are seriously committed to a just and lasting peace between Israel and her neighbors.

* * *

It should be pointed out that the Israeli peace initiative is not limited to elections among Palestinians in Judea, Samaria and Gaza -- as important as those elections ~~are~~ are -- but also includes three other main points:

1) It calls for Egypt and Israel -- the states that joined hands in the Camp David accords -- to meet, to reaffirm the peaceful principles of that agreement and to work together in widening the circle of Arab-Israel peace.

This is an essential element in the effort to achieve peace. Egypt, as the largest Arab state, can play a powerful role in the Arab world in support of this plan by responding positively to Israel's call for a common effort to strengthen the peace treaty signed on the White House lawn 10 years ago.

2) It calls on all Arab countries that remain in a state of war with Israel to cease their propaganda against Israel, to end their economic boycott of Israel and to come to the negotiating table for the purpose of promoting a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict.

Here too Egypt and other countries can play a positive role by encouraging Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries still at war with Israel to abandon policies and attitudes that incite hostility and, instead, to open their minds and hearts to the possibilities of peace and the benefits that peace can bring to their citizens.

3) It calls for an international effort to resolve the problems of the Arab refugees living in camps in the West Bank and Gaza, to improve their living conditions and to provide opportunities

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for self-support and for genuine hope of a better future. Israel is prepared to be a partner in this endeavor.

4) It calls for free elections for representatives of the Palestinian Arabs living in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The residents of those areas will vote for representatives to conduct, in their behalf, negotiations with Israel for a transitional period of self-rule, and later to negotiate a permanent settlement.

We applaud this proposal as one that all Americans can understand and appreciate -- elections by people expressing themselves freely and choosing the men and women who will represent them. That is how we do it in America. That is how it is done in Israel. That is how democracy works. It can work as well, we believe, in Judea, Samaria and Gaza, provided only that the atmosphere is free of violence, threats and terror.

The elected Palestinian Arab representatives in the territories will also constitute the self-governing authority during the transitional period. This self-rule will permit the Palestinian Arab residents of the territories to conduct and be responsible for every aspect of their daily lives, the sole exceptions being security and foreign affairs, which clearly must remain in Israeli hands. All matters concerning Israeli citizens living in the territories will also be under Israeli administration.

The transitional period will constitute a test for co-existence and cooperation. At a later stage, negotiations will be conducted between Israel and the Palestinian representation, subject to agreement after three years, for a permanent solution. During the negotiations for a permanent solution, all the parties will be entitled to raise whatever issues and make whatever proposals they wish; no suggestion or idea will be barred from the negotiating table.

In sum, the Israeli peace initiative is a positive development, a creative and welcome proposal for moving Arab-Israel relations from hostility and war to friendship and peace. It has our full and enthusiastic support.

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Remarks by

Seymour Reich
Chairman, Conference of Presidents
of Major Jewish Organizations

before the

30th Annual AIPAC Policy Conference
Washington, D.C.

May 21, 1989

Thank you Rabbi Israel Miller, Izzie, as we fondly call a mentor and stalwart of the American and world Jewish community.

It is indeed my privilege to address you to give you greetings and some brief thoughts at this very important moment in your convention. Regrettably, I have not had the privilege of sharing these last few days with you because just about a mile from here our own B'nai Brith has been having its own International Board of Governors meetings and I've been flitting back and forth, and as many of you were on the Hill this morning, many of our members were there too and our people from outside the United States were visiting their embassies.

But AIPAC clearly is the most important and influential and significant Jewish organization in the United States that speaks on behalf of the American Jewish community on issues of concern to Israel and the Middle East, and when it speaks, its voice must be heard. AIPAC is a member of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. That's a mouthful. I never could get that title right until I achieved the chairmanship on January 1 and now I can state it. But it is one of the many fifty organizations that comprise this conference that attempt to bring some cohesion and some unity and sense of direction to the Jewish community. We're a big community. Although we're small in numbers, we're not monolithic. We have many voices. And we have the courage from time to time to speak out in various directions -- not only on issues concerning the State of Israel and peace in the Middle East, but issues of concern to the American community here in the United States. But I want you to know that the Conference of Presidents and the American Jewish community is as united today as it has never been before on behalf of the peace plan proposed and put forth so courageously by the State of Israel

There are four points to that plan and we shouldn't only focus on elections. There's a relationship with Egypt and the fulfillment of the Camp David Accords. There's relationships

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with the other Arab nations that still surround Israel in a state of hostility. There's a suggestion that money is being put forth to rebuild housing and give a sense of dignity to the refugees who were in those squalid camps who have been kept there for years as pawns for the Arab countries. And there's also that peace plan -- that election plan -- that the state of Israel has suggested.

The Prime Minister made that proposal. He was here in Washington just a few weeks ago and some of us had some trepidation as to what he would incur when he came here. There was a new administration in the United States and there was a new government in Israel. The government was formed on December 22nd and this government came into effect on January 20, and these two important heads of state were going to come together for the first time and they hit it off well and the United States and President Bush reaffirmed that solidarity, that security interest and alliance that exists between the United States and Israel and the cultural and democratic ideals that these two countries have and that Israel has espoused for forty one years of its existence.

And the Prime Minister came forward with a proposal and the Government of the United States indicated that it was supportive of the proposal in words that we weren't very sure as to what that meaning was; maybe they were waiting for the Prime Minister to go back to Jerusalem and get the support of his government because it's a coalition; it's Unity Government, and there also many voices in Israel as there are in any democracy where peoples really have the right to speak out. So the Prime Minister put that plan -- that four-point plan -- to the Government of Israel, to the Cabinet, and they supported it. It doesn't mean that there weren't different views. It didn't mean that there weren't dissensions. But it did mean that Israel was prepared to take risks for peace. And it did mean that Israel was saying again to its Palestinian neighbors and to the Arab countries, "Here's an opportunity and don't blow it as you have in the past. Don't lose that opportunity." And if the State of Israel and the Government of Israel are to go forward, if they are to be encouraged within the framework of their democracy, then they need the support and the encouragement, and the direct statement by this government that it encourages and supports and will encourage others and will support that peace plan.

There's no doubt that the United States continues to be that strong ally of the State of Israel and nothing can shake that Alliance, but there are times when words have a significance and when sometimes people take those words out of context or highlight words out of their intended meaning. The Government of the United States has said for years that it is against the annexation of territories. That is not a new statement of policy by the United States, and we understand that. Countries can disagree and we're not sure where countries stand on those positions, but when we take statements of that nature and when we

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put it into a text which tries to create a balance, then there is an unintended effect possibly of creating tensions where tensions did not possibly exist.

There's no question that the State of Israel wants to reopen those schools -- my goodness, it believes in education. There's universities that it has established in the territories that have given an ability to the Palestinians to reach out and talk and to stand up with dignity. But if schools are to be opened, and how easy it is to open schools -- the Defense Minister can tell us that -- there has to be a cessation of violence and those schools cannot be used for that purpose. So the State of Israel has come forward with a positive plan and we hope that the United States, and we know that the United States will give the proper signal and will reach out to the Arab countries it has dialogue with and will say to them, "This is your opportunity." If you want to know what any final status may be, this is a government that says that they want to talk now, that they are prepared to meet with representatives of the Palestinian peoples, and there's got to be a confidence-building measure and the State of Israel has probably gone as far as it can go at the present time and it needs the encouragement of allies in Washington and in the West, and those Western democracies should not misunderstand the dialogue that the United States has opened in Tunisia. The signals that they are sending to us are probably the wrong signals. Sure, Yasir Arafat can go Elysee Palace and can use a French word which has ambiguity, but it's so easy for them if they really want to, as the Secretary said yesterday, to revoke that Covenant.

So we're together. We're together with AIPAC so strong, so vital, so vibrant, looking out, symbolizing the unity that we, together with the Conference of American Major Jewish Organizations, stand together to encourage this peace process, to encourage our government, to encourage the Israelis to find peace, and we are hopeful that our government will indeed take the opportunity and move forward with it forcefully so that there are no mixed signals in this process.

Thank you.

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ISRAEL'S PEACE INITIATIVE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. FASCELL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, on May 14 the Government of Israel announced a new initiative aimed at advancing the peace process. The decision had broad-based support in the Israeli Cabinet and has also been endorsed by the Israeli Parliament. I believe that this new initiative is a timely and constructive step. In particular, the proposed elections on the West Bank which are an integral part of the Israeli initiative offer a new opportunity for meaningful progress in bridging the gap between the Palestinians and the people of Israel.

Elections, in and of themselves, unfortunately are unlikely to produce peace. But elections may offer the only chance to move away from the current violence. Elections will present an opportunity for the Palestinians to choose their own representatives to negotiate both middle- and long-term solutions to the problems which divide Israelis and Palestinians.

Decades of stalemate have left deep scars on the hearts and bodies of both Israelis and Palestinians. These scars understandably make it harder rather than easier to find new ways to craft a better future. Elections offer one chance to find a way to that future. It is my hope that those genuinely seeking peace will carefully examine the real opportunity the new Israeli initiative offers and give it the chance which it deserves.

It is my hope and expectation that the United States will continue to play a positive role in furthering peace in accordance with the spirit of the Camp David accords. To support the broad goals which the new Israeli initiative seeks the United States should try to get input from all parties so that our complementary efforts will help make Israel's new initiative a truly effective step. It is also my hope that the international community will join in supporting this constructive Israeli initiative.

MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I rise to commend the Government of Israel for its recent approval of Prime Minister Shamir's peace initiative. The cornerstone of this plan calls for elections of Palestinian leadership from the West Bank and Gaza so that negotiations may begin. This represents an important first step in the peace process.

Our Government is playing an important role in moving the peace process forward. Over the last several months, President Bush has met with President Mubarak, Prime Minister Shamir, and King Hussein. This week Israeli Foreign Minister Arens and next week Defense Minister Rabin arrive to continue the dialog. And a State Department delegation, dispatched by Secretary Baker to explore the peace initiative further, recently returned from the Middle East.

Egypt and Jordan gave qualified endorsement to the election plan. And now, with their latest vote, the Israeli Government is committed to moving forward. Israel is making a sincere effort to find some accommodation with the Palestinians who live in the occupied territories. There is momentum behind the peace process, the first we have seen in a long time, and we need to continue offering our support and encouragement.

Israel's initiative calls for self-rule by the Palestinians living in the occupied territories for a 5-year period. After 3 years have elapsed, negotiations for a permanent solution would begin. Participants in the final stage negotiations would include Israel, the elected representatives of the Palestinians living in the territories, Jordan and Egypt. Israel has attached no preconditions to the final stage negotiations. The Government's plan states:

In the negotiations for a permanent solution, every party shall be entitled to present for discussion all the subjects it may wish to raise. The aim of the negotiations should be: The achievement of a permanent solution acceptable to the negotiating parties; the arrangements for peace and borders between Israel and Jordan.

I am hopeful that this initiative will be favorably received by Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians and that Israel, with the help of our Government will continue its diligent quest for peace. Thank you, Mr. President.

PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S PEACE PLAN

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I rise to make clear my support for Prime Minister Shamir's recent peace initiative to hold elections among the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

This proposal is a bold move by Prime Minister Shamir. It provides a real opportunity for the Palestinians to move beyond the violence and bloodshed of the last 17 months. It provides a chance for them to put their hopes for peace and for a genuine political voice on a fast track again through genuine dialog with Israel.

This proposal challenges all those who claim they have the best interests of the Palestinians at heart. Israel's Arab neighbors have long ignored or rejected opportunities for peace while all around them violence and bloodshed continue. Lebanon is but one example of the needless loss of innocent life that occurs every day in the Arab world. Yet little action is taken to end this violence and brutality.

Now, Israel's neighbors have the chance to make a real move toward peace. They can do so by urging the Palestinians to participate in the elections called for by this plan. While neither Egypt nor Jordan has rejected Shamir's proposal outright, their voices could be instrumental in persuading the Palestinians to accept this offer.

Yet every day that goes by more Palestinians die while the only real proposal to provide Palestinians with a role in determining their future is criticized as "deceitful" and worse. The only plan that could truly save lives and put an end to the ongoing violence is rejected out of hand. Many Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza who publicly reject the election idea say in private that they would accept if the PLO did. Jordan and Egypt could be helpful there too.

Under this election plan, the 1.7 million Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would elect representatives to hold peace talks with Israel. First, they would negotiate a 5-year period of limited self-rule, and then, in 3 years, they would sit down again to negotiate the final status of the territories. The interim 5-year period would serve as an essential test of cooperation and coexistence.

The aim of elections is to bring about a process of political negotiations and to locate legitimate representatives of the Palestinians. These elections will permit the development of an authentic representation that is not self-appointed from the outside, comprised of people chosen by the population in free elections.

Democratic elections provide a real opportunity to begin the peace process after years of stalemate and 17 months of ongoing riots and disturbances. By enabling the Palestinians to choose their own representatives for negotiations with Israel over their fate, these elections could provide the needed catalyst for restarting the

peace process. They could lead to the first measure of self-government in the West Bank and Gaza for 22 years. And they could be a real first step toward a comprehensive peace settlement in the region.

This election plan may not be perfect from the Palestinians point of view. It may not answer all the questions they want answered, nor resolve their fate in the ultimate sense. But every journey of 1,000 miles begins with a single step. This proposal can be the first step on the long journey toward peace between Israel and the Palestinians and the other Arab countries who have repeatedly made war on Israel. It is the best option the Palestinians have. And it provides a real window of opportunity through which the Palestinians may be heard.

To reject it now is to put peace on the back burner and violence on the front. It is to acknowledge that more lives will be lost before any are saved. It is an acknowledgment that Chairman Arafat is not really interested in peace, but only a settlement on his terms.

I have urged the Arab countries to put their weight behind this proposal. And I urge the United States, as the leading democracy in the free world, to do so as well, in order to support the development of democracy in a part of the world where, aside from Israel, none exists.

ISRAELI PEACE INITIATIVE

• Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. President, yesterday the Israeli Parliament endorsed Prime Minister Shamir's plan to hold elections in the West Bank and Gaza. This is a significant step toward peace in the Middle East. I applaud the Israeli Government for taking this imaginative and far-reaching step.

Under the Israeli plan, the 1.7 million West Bank and Gaza Palestinians would elect representatives to hold peace talks with Israel. Those representatives would first negotiate a 5-year period of self-rule. After 3 of those years passed, they would sit down again to negotiate the final status of the occupied territories.

This proposal enjoys widespread support among Israelis. As Defense Minister Rabin recently said:

After many years of different stages in the national unity Government, there is a unity Government peace initiative that I believe will be received widely and with great support by the Israeli people.

The election plan also has won the interest of a significant number of Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza. Although these leaders have publicly rejected the election idea, many say in private that they would go along if the Palestine Liberation Organization approved.

Unfortunately the PLO has yet to accept the election proposal. It may, in fact, be actively discouraging it. In recent weeks, there has been an upsurge of killings of independent, non-PLO Palestinians which may be part of a campaign to prevent the emergence of candidates with moderate views. That kind of intimidation must end if there is to be peace in the Middle East.

It is important to remember that the last elections that were held under Israeli auspices on the West Bank and Gaza, in 1970, were conducted fairly. Even the PLO's strongest supporters have not disputed that fact.

The Israeli election plan could begin a process of genuine negotiations that will lead to compromises on both sides. The process of elections has a dynamic of its own. Elections do not guarantee success. But they do hold out the possibility of diplomatic progress. For Americans in particular, elections have a special meaning that confers legitimacy on officials. The only thing that boycotts guarantee is failure.

Today we need to see some of the courage that President Anwar Sadat displayed when he decided to break with the taboos of the past and come to Israel. Hardline PLO leaders can either exhaust themselves in maneuvers or realize that this is the first good chance for progress in years. They can concentrate on the past or look to the future. They can make propaganda or try to make progress.

The alternative to the new Israeli election plan is a continuation of the tragic violence that is creating grieving parents and children on both sides of the conflict. It is time for all that to end.

GIVING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST A CHANCE: THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL'S NEW PEACE PLAN

• Mr. McCain, Mr. President, it is always easy to find obstacles for peace and reasons not to negotiate. This is particularly true in the case of the peace negotiations necessary to create a lasting peace in the Middle East. The issues involved are extraordinarily difficult and intractable, and they must be resolved in a way that produces a true peace, not simply an agreement on paper or the kind of peace that does not guarantee both sides full security and allow the kind of cultural and economic relations that will ensure peace lasts and that the economy of the region can be viable.

The Government of Israel has proposed a new peace initiative that I feel deserves close study by every Member of this body, by every nation in the world, and by every Palestinian. I fully realize that this initiative does not meet the expectations of many Palestinians, and I do not believe it should be my role to endorse or criticize its details. I do believe, however, that we should all recognize that this proposal is a serious and important step forward.

I believe that we in the United States should do everything possible to build upon this initiative to create a negotiation process that can lead to peace. I believe that it is important that both the international community and the Palestinians should make every effort to explore what can be done to build upon this initiative. And, I believe that the Government of Israel should listen closely to the reactions to its proposals.

The one thing we cannot let happen is a situation where either side rejects the views and proposals of the other—supported by the usual host of outside analysts and critics. It is already clear that far too many people are rushing to declare that his initiative means the cup is half empty—often without reading it in full or by focusing on the most difficult issues that must be negotiated rather than to take advantage of the fact that this peace initiative clearly means the cup is half full.

I believe that history has clearly and painfully demonstrated that such an exercise in taking sides will do nothing for the Palestinians, and it is certain to prolong the agony of the current strife on Gaza and West Bank and to reduce the prospects for a lasting peace. The problem today is not how the next steps in the journey to peace will end, but how they can begin. I believe that the new peace initiative of the Government of Israel is an important part of this beginning.

I ask that a background paper on the peace initiative be printed in the Record.

THE MATERIAL FOLLOWING:
A PEACE INITIATIVE BY THE GOVERNMENT OF
ISRAEL
GENERAL

1. This document presents the principles of a political initiative of the Government of Israel which deals with the continuation of the peace process; the termination of the state of war with the Arab States; a solution for the Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district; peace with Jordan; and a resolution of the problem of the residents of the refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.

2. The document includes:

A. The principles upon which the initiative is based.

B. Details of the processes for its implementation.

C. Reference to the subject of the elections under consideration. Further details relating to the elections as well as other subjects of the initiative will be dealt with separately.

BASIC PREMISES

3. The initiative is founded upon the assumption that there is a national consensus for it on the basis of the basic guidelines of the Government of Israel, including the following points:

A. Israel yearns for peace and the continuation of the political process by means of direct negotiations based on the principles of the Camp David accords.

B. Israel opposes the establishment of an additional Palestinian state in the Gaza district and in the area between Israel and Jordan.

C. Israel will not conduct negotiations with the PLO.

D. There will be no change in the status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza other than in accordance with the basic guidelines of the government.

SUBJECTS TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE PEACE
PROCESS

4. A. Israel views as important that the peace between Israel and Egypt, based on the Camp David accords, will serve as a cornerstone for enlarging the circle of peace in the region, and calls for a common endeavor for the strengthening of the peace and its extension, through continued consultation.

B. Israel calls for the establishment of peace relations between it and those Arab States which still maintain a state of war with it, for the purpose of promoting a comprehensive settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict, including recognition, direct negotiations, ending the boycott, diplomatic relations, cessation of hostile activity in international institutions or forums and regional and bilateral cooperation.

C. Israel calls for an international endeavor to resolve the problem of the residents of the Arab refugee camps in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in order to improve their living conditions and to rehabilitate them; Israel is prepared to be a partner in this endeavor.

D. In order to advance the political negotiation process leading to peace, Israel proposes free and democratic elections among the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district in an atmosphere devoid of violence, threats and terror. In these elections a representation will be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule. This period will constitute a test for coexistence and cooperation. At a later stage, negotiations will be conducted for a permanent solution; during which all the proposed options for an agreed settlement will be examined, and peace between Israel and Jordan will be achieved.

E. All the above mentioned steps should be dealt with simultaneously.

F. The details of what has been mentioned in (d) above will be given below.

THE PRINCIPLES CONSTITUTING THE INITIATIVE
STAGES:

5. The initiative is based on two stages:

A. Stage A—a transitional period for an interim agreement.

B. Stage B—permanent solution.

6. The interlock between the stages is a timetable on which the plan is built; the peace process delineated by the initiative is based on resolutions 242 and 338, upon which the Camp David accords are founded. Timetable.

7. The transitional period will continue for 5 years.

8. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the beginning of the transitional period, negotiations for achieving a permanent solution will begin.

9. The parties participating in the negotiations for the first stage (the interim agreement) shall include Israel, and the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Jordan and Egypt will be invited to participate in these negotiations if they so desire.

10. The parties participating in the negotiations for the second stage (permanent solution) shall include Israel and the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, as well as Jordan; furthermore, Egypt may participate in these negotiations. In negotiations between Israel and Jordan, in which the elected representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will participate, the peace treaty between Israel and Jordan will be concluded.

Substance of the transitional period:

11. During the transitional period the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district will be accorded self-rule, by means of which they will, themselves, conduct their affairs of daily life. Israel will continue to be responsible for security, foreign affairs and all matters concerning Israeli citizens in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district. Topics involving the implementation of the plan for self-rule will be considered and decided within the framework of the negotiations for an interim agreement.

Substance of the permanent solution:

12. In the negotiations for a permanent solution, every party shall be entitled to present for discussion all the subjects it may wish to raise.

13. The aim of the negotiations should be:

A. The achievement of a permanent solution acceptable to the negotiating parties.

B. The arrangements for peace and borders between Israel and Jordan.

DETAILS OF THE PROCESS FOR THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INITIATIVE

14. First and foremost, dialogue and basic agreement by the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, as well as Egypt and Jordan if they wish to take part, as above mentioned, in the negotiations on the principles constituting the initiative.

15. A. Immediately afterwards will follow the stage of preparations and implementation of the election process in which a representation of the Palestinian Arab inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza will be elected. This representation:

I. Shall be a partner to the conduct of negotiations for the transitional period (interim agreement).

II. Shall constitute the self-governing authority in the course of the transitional period.

III. Shall be the Central Palestinian component, subject to agreement after three years, in the negotiations for the permanent solution.

16. In the period of the preparations and implementation there shall be a calming of the violence in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district.

18. As to the substance of the elections, it is recommended that a proposal of regional elections be adopted, the details of which shall be determined in further discussions.

17. Every Palestinian Arab residing in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza district, who shall be elected by the inhabitants to represent them—after having submitted his candidacy in accordance with the detailed document which shall determine the subject of the elections—may be a legitimate participant in the conduct of negotiations with Israel.

18. The elections shall be free, democratic and secret.

19. Immediately after the election of the Palestinian representation, negotiations shall be conducted with it on an interim agreement for a transitional period which shall continue for 5 years, as mentioned above. In these negotiations, the parties shall determine all the subjects relating to the substance to the self-rule and the arrangements necessary for its implementation.

20. As soon as possible, but not later than the third year after the establishment of the self-rule, negotiations for a permanent solution shall begin. During the whole period of these negotiations until the signing of the agreement for a permanent solution, the self-rule shall continue in effect as determined in the negotiations for an interim agreement.

**PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S
PEACE PLAN**

Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. President, I rise to make clear my support for Prime Minister Shamir's recent peace initiative to hold elections among the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

This proposal is a bold move by Prime Minister Shamir. It provides a real opportunity for the Palestinians to move beyond the violence and bloodshed of the last 17 months. It provides a chance for them to put their hopes for peace and for a genuine political voice on a fast track again through genuine dialog with Israel.

This proposal challenges all those who claim they have the best interests of the Palestinians at heart. Israel's Arab neighbors have long ignored or rejected opportunities for peace while all around them violence and bloodshed continue. Lebanon is but one example of the needless loss of innocent life that occurs every day in the Arab world. Yet little action is taken to end this violence and brutality.

Now, Israel's neighbors have the chance to make a real move toward peace. They can do so by urging the Palestinians to participate in the elections called for by this plan. While neither Egypt nor Jordan has rejected Shamir's proposal outright, their voices could be instrumental in persuading the Palestinians to accept this offer.

Yet every day that goes by more Palestinians die while the only real proposal to provide Palestinians with a role in determining their future is criticized as "deceitful" and worse. The only plan that could truly save lives and put an end to the ongoing violence is rejected out of hand. Many Palestinian leaders in the West Bank and Gaza who publicly reject the election idea say in private that they would accept if the PLO did. Jordan and Egypt could be helpful there too.

Under this election plan, the 1.7 million Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would elect representatives to hold peace talks with Israel. First, they would negotiate a 5-year period of limited self-rule, and then, in 3 years, they would sit down again to negotiate the final status of the territories. The interim 5-year period would serve as an essential test of cooperation and coexistence.

The aim of elections is to bring about a process of political negotiations and to locate legitimate representatives of the Palestinians. These elections will permit the development of an authentic representation that is not self-appointed from the outside, comprised of people chosen by the population in free elections.

Democratic elections provide a real opportunity to begin the peace process after years of stalemate and 17 months of ongoing riots and disturbances. By enabling the Palestinians to choose their own representatives for negotiations with Israel over their fate, these elections could provide the

needed catalyst for restarting the peace process. They could lead to the first measure of self-government in the West Bank and Gaza for 22 years. And they could be a real first step toward a comprehensive peace settlement in the region.

This election plan may not be perfect from the Palestinians point of view. It may not answer all the questions they want answered, nor resolve their fate in the ultimate sense. But every journey of 1,000 miles begins with a single step. This proposal can be the first step on the long journey toward peace between Israel and the Palestinians and the other Arab countries who have repeatedly made war on Israel. It is the best option the Palestinians have. And it provides a real window of opportunity through which the Palestinians may be heard.

To reject it now is to put peace on the back burner and violence on the front. It is to acknowledge that more lives will be lost before any are saved. It is an acknowledgment that Chairman Arafat is not really interested in peace, but only a settlement on his terms.

I have urged the Arab countries to put their weight behind this proposal. And I urge the United States, as the leading democracy in the free world, to do so as well. In order to support the development of democracy in a part of the world where, aside from Israel, none exists.

**UNITED STATES-ISRAEL
ALLIANCE**

Mr. HATCH, Mr. President, since the founding of the Jewish state in 1949, Americans and Israelis have solidified a relationship based on the fundamental belief that democratic self-government is the best guarantee of peace and freedom. While there are many differences among us, and we may disagree on the most effective way to bring peace, America and Israel need each other for a number of reasons: To ensure security throughout the region, to promote democracy and freedom, and to advance the cause of peace.

The dynamics of the Middle East and the changes taking place throughout the world bring renewed hope and opportunity for the peace process in the Middle East. At the outset, I would like to examine some of these developments and their impact on the relationship between Israel and the United States.

Yasser Arafat's recent efforts to broaden support for a Palestinian state by declaring the Palestinian charter "null and void," and his acceptance of American conditions for initiating a dialogue are actions the United States should continue to encourage. But there are many reasons for looking long and hard at Mr. Arafat's statements before changing our policy. Do these conciliatory public statements by the PLO match the content of their speeches, writings, and charter? Do they want "Jericho or Jerusalem"? We need to see concrete actions by the PLO to support their dialogue—positive steps toward peace rather than continued actions in terrorism.

Congress must not forget the PLO is an organization made up of a number of political groups, some of which have made it clear they continue to reject Israel's right to exist regardless of what Mr. Arafat may say or do. To these groups, terrorism remains central to their activities.

Even among Mr. Arafat's supporters we hear statements contrary to Mr. Arafat's peaceful remarks. Yet these assertions are not rebutted nor are these individuals disciplined for their actions. Moreover, what are we to make of Mr. Arafat's recent threats on Palestinian leaders who have offered to begin a dialogue or make peace with Israel? We must keep a close watch on Mr. Arafat and his organization—to look carefully behind his words before coming to any conclusions.

The Congress, unfortunately, does not always have a long attention span. It sometimes forgets the historical context of present day circumstances.

And Congress forgets the train of events leading to, and the immediate reason for, the Israeli presence on the West Bank and Gaza. We have to do a better job of reminding the American people of pertinent facts.

Given this context, it is understandable why Israel will not negotiate with the PLO. Yet Israel yearns for peace, and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir showed the world that Israel is ready to explore new options.

While in Washington last month, the Prime Minister unveiled a plan to address both the short- and long-term status of the occupied territories. The proposal allows for free and democratic elections among the Palestinian residents in the occupied territories. From these elections, representatives would be chosen to conduct negotiations for a transitional period of self-rule. This period would serve as a time to test whether peaceful coexistence and cooperation can exist between Palestinians and Israelis. At a later date, but within 3 years, negotiations would be conducted for a permanent solution.

Just this week, the Israeli Cabinet and Parliament approved the election proposal, but not without heated debate. Foreign Minister Moshe Arens and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin will soon be arriving in Washington to provide answers to many of the Bush administration's questions and concerns. But this addresses only half of the issue.

As the self-proclaimed spokesman for the Palestinians in the occupied territories, the PLO has formally rejected Israel's election proposal. They view the proposal as an attempt to preclude PLO leadership of a Palestinian state.

For Israel's part, any comprehensive proposal meeting long-term needs must go beyond the Palestinian question and include the establishment of peace relations between Israel and those Arab States which still maintain a state of war with Israel. Fully comprehending this scenario, Mr. Arafat has focused the PLO's last stand on leadership of a Palestinian state.

In the short-term, the PLO and the Palestinian question remain the most immediate source of friction between Israel and peace with her Arab neighbors. Yet in the long-term, solving the PLO problem only addresses part of the broader issue of Arab-Israeli peace. This is the dilemma Israel faces.

How then should Israel proceed and what should be the proper role for the United States in shaping the Middle East peace? Israel has come forward with a plan to elect a local Palestinian leadership and establish an interim test period. Local Palestinians should be encouraged to open a dialog with the Israeli Government. They should not feel bound to blindly follow the rhetoric of the PLO but follow what is in their best interests. Where the

THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS PROPOSAL

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* Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I want to take a brief moment to discuss the recent Israeli initiative for elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The PLO has thus far rejected the plan out-of-hand. I urge the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to seriously consider the proposal.

The initiative deserves more than a knee-jerk, negative response. It could provide the basis for an eventual resolution of the ongoing crisis that has had such dire consequences for so many people, a crisis which has sparked debate here, in Arab lands, and in Israel itself.

The Israeli proposal envisions a two-stage process. First, the Israelis propose a 5-year "transitional period," during which Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza—without any outside interference—would enjoy a form of self-rule by representatives they would select themselves in democratic elections.

Those elected officials would negotiate with the Israelis on the exact terms of the 5-year transitional period. Within the first 3 years, discussions would begin on the second stage—the final status of the West Bank and Gaza.

The process, it should be noted, is based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. This is in keeping with U.S. policy.

No one should underestimate the power of free elections. I hope Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza will realize the potential benefits of a democratic process and will come forward and work with Israel at moving the peace process forward. e

ISRAELI ELECTION PROPOSAL

HON. JOHN MILLER

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 18, 1989

Mr. MILLER of Washington. Mr. Speaker, recently during his visit to Washington, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir made an encouraging and productive proposal toward peace in the Middle East. The Prime Minister's proposal for free democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip gives us true hope toward realizing a solution to the complicated problems in the Middle East.

Prime Minister Shamir proposed that these elections would produce a delegation which could negotiate an interim period of self-rule. This interim period would be followed by negotiations to produce a permanent agreement in which all options to solve these problems would be considered. It has been made clear that interim arrangements on self-rule is not to be the end goal. Rather, it is a process leading to a permanent resolution.

Unfortunately, recently the PLO has so far rejected this proposal despite the fact that the Prime Minister's proposal does not disqualify Palestinians elected who might be PLO supporters, and despite the fact that King Hussein of Jordan and President Mubarak of Egypt have not rejected this proposal.

There are uncertainties and unanswered questions in the proposal such as the details of what self-rule would mean in the interim period, would there be international observers of the elections, and what would be the role of the PLO in these elections. But this proposal is a great place to begin—democracy always is. And we must remember that free and democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza Strip would be an occurrence that does not happen in the countries surrounding Israel. We should be criticizing these governments who do not propose similar elections in their countries for their own people rather than concentrating on shortcomings of Prime Minister Shamir's proposal.

As Defense Minister Rabin and Foreign Minister Peres travel to the United States later this week, it is my hope that the PLO will reconsider their outright rejection and that the United States can use this hopeful proposal in furthering our goals of peace in the Middle East.

For Information:

Bob King (202) 225-3531

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Tom Lantos Endorses Israeli Peace Initiative

Congressman Tom Lantos (D-CA) today endorsed the peace initiative adopted earlier this week by the Government of Israel. The plan, which is based on the Camp David peace accords between Israel and Egypt, calls for a five-year transitional period of self-rule for Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza to be followed by a permanent solution to be negotiated by the relevant parties. The program calls for free and democratic elections to select Palestinian Arab officials for the transitional period.

"I welcome the Israeli Government's proposal," said Congressman Lantos. "It represents a positive step toward peace in this troubled region, which so much needs tranquility." Mr. Lantos expressed the "hope that the Israeli plan will become the basis for progress in resolving the conflict."

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Mr. METZGERBAUM, Mr. President, the State of Israel has been the focus of abundant study, commentary and criticism over the past 14 years. Israelis have been told in every manner imaginable that they bear responsibility for the violence in the occupied territories. Israeli security forces have been compared to everyone from the Nazis to the Khmer Rouge in their attempts to restore order in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

What the world continues to ignore is the fact that Israel is at war. The State of Israel is faced with almost impossible alternatives regarding its relations with the Palestinians. Too many of Israel's neighbors, with the exception of Egypt, continue in their determination that there should be no State of Israel. I will not take up my colleagues' time with reviewing the strategic picture Israel has faced over the years. One only has to look at a map to understand this situation. Most Senators are already well aware of the critical geographic problems that limit Israel's diplomatic and security options.

Mr. President, even with the majority of its population and industry crammed into a narrow corridor 9 miles wide and 26 miles long, Israel has offered a major concession to West Bank and Gaza residents. Israel has just taken a big risk in the search for peace.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has produced a viable, realistic plan which includes Palestinian self-rule and a vehicle for negotiations on a permanent solution. The Shamir plan represents an accommodation of widely divergent priorities on both sides of the issue. The plan is not what either side would love to see, but this is the essence of compromise. While not perfect, the Shamir plan is workable. It is a substantive offer, and it should be taken seriously by all parties to the conflict.

Mr. President, it is significant that the Israeli cabinet has given approval to the Shamir plan. Israeli democracy has, at times, been almost too pluralistic, creating a divided government.

But the Shamir plan is not the product of division. It is a plan that the entire Government has endorsed because the voters of Israel want peace.

For so many months, the plain fact that Israelis are ready and willing to make peace has been callously overlooked. No one has suffered more from the ravages of violence than ordinary Israelis. Many who have been calling on Israel to lay down its arms and give in to the rioters fail to see two essential truths about the conflict. The first, as I have mentioned, is that Israelis have endured a vastly greater level of war, strife and fear over time than the Palestinians.

Israelis are truly the party most in need of peace.

The second frequently overlooked truth is that no sovereign state can ever be expected to put itself in a suicidal strategic position to satisfy the fickle whims of world opinion. The

PLO's so-called peace proposals are inherently insincere and cynical because they would ultimately be fatal to Israel.

One need only look at the PLO goal to see that it views all of Israel as part of its self-declared State of Palestine. This is not the emblem of an organization committed to any peace process.

The Shamir plan, on the other hand, gives something of substance to both sides in a realistic framework.

The Shamir plan will help bring a measure of stability to a turbulent area. Arafat's various ideas have simply served to stir up the plot.

Mr. President, Prime Minister Shamir has laid out a 5-year road map toward a permanent solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The plan is an attempt to identify responsible negotiating partners within the Palestinian community, and to give them the credibility to speak for their people.

The plan is intended to be a flexible vehicle for dialog—not a diplomatic straightjacket.

Upon implementation of the Shamir plan, free democratic elections will be held in the territories by secret ballot.

Mr. President, I should note, parenthetically, that if this plan is put into effect, it will represent one of the first truly free plebiscites in the Middle East.

Has anyone ever heard Mr. Arafat, or any other Arab leader, for that matter, call for free elections in Saudi Arabia, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Abu Dhabi, or any other nation in the Arab world? No.

Over the years, Israel has introduced many new ideas to its regional neighborhood, and now there is the possibility that Jeffersonian democracy will be added to this list of firsts for the Arab world.

After the Palestinians elect their own representatives, they will be given responsibility for all matters concerning their communities in the territories. Responsibility for national security will be left to Israel, however, daily police matters will be handled by Palestinians.

At any point after the elections, but no later than 3 years afterward, negotiations toward a permanent solution between Israelis and Palestinian representatives from the territories, and Egypt and Jordan, would commence.

Mr. President, the Shamir plan will allow everything, and I want to emphasize, everything, to be put on the negotiating table. Israel is not afraid to face tough issues. Of greatest importance, however, is the fact that Israel is not afraid to take the risks necessary to settle these issues.

It is unfortunate that, while Israel is taking a risk, offering a progressive idea for peace, the PLO is maintaining its intractable attitude. The PLO rejected the Shamir plan almost as quickly as it rolled off the press.

Mr. President, the PLO's reaction to the Shamir plan illustrates several things for this Senator.

First, it clearly explains why Israel can never be reasonably expected to negotiate with the PLO.

You cannot have movement and progress when rejectionism flows like water.

Second, it seems to me that "The Three No's of Khartoum" are still the PLO's modus operandi—despite Arafat's supposed renunciation of terrorism, violence, and the PLO charter.

Third, the PLO's "official" attitude illustrates how removed it is from the Palestinians in the West Bank. The people of the occupied territories have, for the most part, been hard working and productive. They have an interest in moving the peace process along. They are enfranchised in the economic and social sense of the word. Conversely, Arafat and his entourage, currently residing in Tunisia—are now and always have been nothing more than professional terrorists.

An interesting fact overlooked by much of the national media is that some West Bank Palestinians did have in mind to talk with the Israelis. As their reward for such initiative, they were assassinated. Not much has been made of the intimidation and brutal coercion being applied in the territories by the "Tunisian PLO." These "Tunisian Palestinians" have no interest in autonomy for the territories—they have no use for compromise. Arafat's response to the Shamir plan illustrates for me that, despite his rhetoric, he still wants to rule a Palestinian state with its capitol in Jerusalem.

Mr. President, it is time for the residents of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take charge of their own destiny. The PLO can guarantee them only a future of continued strife and violence. It is time for these people to stand up to PLO intimidation and enter the peace process as the proud, productive Palestinians they are.

Mr. President, it is the Shamir plan that will finally allow Palestinians and Israelis to sit down and talk directly about all aspects of their future together as neighbors. I urge the people of the territories to take a risk for peace and self rule. I urge the Palestinians to join with Israel and begin to chart a new course for the future.

Mr. SYMMS addressed the Chair:
The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LAUTENBERG) The Senator from Idaho.



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CONGRESSMAN EDWARD
Feighan

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NEWS

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
May 18, 1989

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FEIGHAN APPLAUDS ISRAELI PEACE INITIATIVE

WASHINGTON D.C. -- Rep. Edward Feighan today announced his support for the Peace Plan passed by the Israeli Cabinet last weekend. "Israelis yearn to live in peace. To accomplish that goal, they have come up with a plan that moves us one step closer to the kind of negotiations needed to resolve this conflict."

"The pressure is on the Palestinians to respond to the offer for elections," said Feighan. "The Israelis have indicated that the interim period of self-government in the territories will not be an end in itself and that negotiations should commence regarding a long-term solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. This represents an advance in the Israeli position and it should be embraced by the other side."

"U.S. policy has been driven by a set of principles that were given full expression in the Camp David Accords. The Israelis are prepared for direct negotiations between the parties based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. They have indicated that the Palestinians should be represented in that process and that during the interim period, they should have control over decisions affecting the conduct of their daily lives."

"This is a serious offer and it should not be given short shrift. After months of turbulence in the territories, the peace process is on the move again. The U.S. should be willing to offer its good offices to keep the momentum going."

Rep. Feighan is a member of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East.

May 19, 1989

(To be inserted in the
Congressional Record as
Extension of Remarks)

William S. Broomfield

ISRAEL'S PEACE INITIATIVE

Mr. Speaker:

The recent proposal by the Government of Israel to forward the peace process should be studied carefully by all who are concerned about peace in the Middle East.

The most important virtue of the proposal is that it appears to be broadly supported within the Israeli government, and by implication, within much of the Israeli electorate.

No peace initiative in the Middle East stands any chance of success if it is not supported by the Israeli people. And without Israeli support, it will not be supported by the American people.

It is also important to understand that nothing can deflect Israel from following a course of diplomacy that puts its own continued existence first and last. To believe otherwise is to misread the character of Israel's leadership and the consistency of America's commitment to Israel's security.

Israel's new initiative is based in part on the principles of the Camp David Accords. The Accords point the way to a just and lasting peace in the area. The lesson is that such a peace will come only when Israel's neighbors are willing to sit down at the bargaining table and negotiate directly with Israel.

This initiative can be seen as one step towards a comprehensive peace, one that ensures the security of all states in the area, that satisfies the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and that is achieved only through direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab nations.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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הקהילה - ביקור השר.

להלן מסוכנות "אירופ" 24/5:

"WE DO NOT REJECT THE ISRAELI PEACE PLAN":

THIS WAS THE REACTION OF THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE "GENERAL AFFAIRS" COUNCIL, THE SPANIARD MR. ORDONEZ, FOLLOWING THE DINNER THAT THE TWELVE HAD AFTER THE EEC/ISRAEL COOPERATION COUNCIL, WITH ISRAEL'S FOREIGN MINISTER MR. ARENS.

HE EXPLAINED HIS GOVERNMENT'S PEACE PLAN AND REPLIED TO THEIR QUESTIONS. AS HE LEFT, HE SAID HE WAS SATISFIED ABOUT THE REACTION OF THE EUROPEANS SINCE, THOUGH THERE IS NOT AS YET ANY COMMON POSITION, NO MINISTER HAD ANY CRITICISMS.

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FOR MR. ARENS. IT IS ALREADY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CRITICISMS. IS NOT AS YET ANY COMMON POSITION, NO MINISTER HAD ANY ABOUT THE REACTION OF THE EUROPEANS SINCE, THOUGH THERE TO THEIR QUESTIONS. AS HE LEFT, HE SAID HE WAS SATISFIED HE EXPLAINED HIS GOVERNMENT'S PEACE PLAN AND REPLIED MINISTER MR. ARENS.

THIS WAS THE REACTION OF THE ACTING PRESIDENT OF THE 'GENERAL AFFAIRS' COUNCIL, THE SPANARD MR. ORDONEZ, FOLLOWING THE DINNER THAT THE TWELVE HAD AFTER THE EEC/ISRAEL COOPERATION COUNCIL, WITH ISRAEL'S FOREIGN

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

EUROPEANS WILL NOT TAKE UP A POSITION AGAINST THE ISRAELI PLAN. HE ASKS THEM TO NOW ADOPT A COMMON POSITION IN FAVOUR OF HIS INITIATIVE IN PARTICULAR BY CONTRIBUTING TO IMPROVING THE SITUATION OF THE PALESTINIAN REFUGEES.

FOR THEIR PART, THE EUROPEANS HAVE NOT ALTERED THEIR OVERALL POSITION ON THE RESOLUTION OF THE ISRAELI-ARAB CONFLICT, I.A. THEIR SUPPORT FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO, TWO CONDITIONS THAT THE HEBREW GOVERNMENT TOTALLY REJECT. HOWEVER, MR. ARENS FELT THAT SOME EUROPEAN POSITIONS WERE WORTH REFLECTING UPON AND WELCOMED THE FACT THAT EVERYONE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ISRAEL REMAINED THE ONLY DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

IN A PRESS CONFERENCE BEFORE THE DINNER, HE WELCOMED THE REINTEGRATION OF EGYPT INTO THE ARAB WORLD WITHOUT THIS COUNTRY HAVING TO GIVE UP ANY OF THE IDEAS WHICH LED IT TO CONCLUDE A PEACE ACCORD WITH ISRAEL. HE CALLED THE ABSENCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND HIS COUNTRY AN "ANOMALY".

עד כאן

אורון

ס

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, ממד, רס, אמנ,
איר, 1, איר, 2, מעת, הסברה

美 0131

שמ 77

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5,16263:חזח

אל:המשרד

י' עד י"ם:מצב/1465

מ-:האג, נר:152, תא:200589, זח:1500, דח:מ, סג:שמ

תח: ט גט: א' רופה

2:71

שם זר/מ'די

להלן נוסח מכתב וקן לנר 149 מהאג:

אל: א' רופה 1

מאת : שג' האג

משיחה עם ראש האגף רואל היום.

יְזַמַּת שְׁלוֹם :

בדיונים הפנימי הראשון, סיכמו לעצמם שרואים היזמה כחלק ממסגרת להסדר סופי ובר-קיימא על בסיס 338 ו-242, ולא יראו בה תנאים המונחים מראש, 'PRECONDITION', על השולחן. רואים ההצעות בעצמן כפתוחות לדיון, ושאינן דבר

הצבעתי על האספקטים והנושאים שציינ רה"מ בכנסת שיש
ללבנם ולעבדם במו"מ מפורט, ופתיחות שלב המו"מ להסדר
קבע להעלאת נושא כלשהו, וכן על הטוטאליות של מרכיבי
היזמה והמחויבות הדרושה למסגרתה ולעיקר היזמה.
לכך העיר שאיזכור קמף דויד בצורה בולטת וחוזרת לא
ייהל על שכוונת הערבים.

לקראת השיחות עם שה"ח בבריסל בשבוע הבא:

לדבריו סוכמו בדיוני מומחי מז'ט ב-16 עמדות מוסכמות שממליצים לשרי החוץ להעלות בדיון עם שה"ח בבריסל והלן:-

20/11/2018

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DATE _____ PAGE _____

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ST. LOUIS, MO., FEBRUARY 19, 1900. DEAR MR. WILSON: I HAVE THE PLEASURE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT OF YOUR LETTER OF THE 17TH INSTANT, AND TO INFORM YOU THAT THE SAME HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS FOR THEIR CONSIDERATION. I AM SURE THAT THEY WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE RESULTS OF YOUR RESEARCHES, AND WILL BE GLAD TO RECEIVE YOUR REPORTS. I AM, SIR, YOUR OBLIGED SERVANT, J. H. WILSON.

ENDS APPROVED SUBJECT DATE 1967-01-04 45 1019 85E

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EXCISE

EXCISE: 45 CENTS PER GALLON (COLLECTED BY THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA)

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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT THE FBI AT (202) 352-7000.

地址：上海南京路100号 电话：021-62461111 邮编：200001

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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STATE OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF SAN JOSE
I, _____, County Clerk of said County, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears from the records of said County.

1995

מושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

1. ההצעות יידונו במסגרת ובהקשר של הסדר קבע וכאמצעי לקראתו.

2. תושבי מזרח ירושלים ייכללו בתהליך הבחירות.

3. שום הצעה להסדר קבע לא תיפסל לדיון. הנ"ל כנראה בנוסף להצעת ההודעה כבשלנו 141.

סופות.

יג

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, איר1, ר/מרכז, ממד

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

18063

תאריך: 23.05.89

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 5,18063

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1590

מ-: וינה, נר: 181, תא: 230589, זח: 1200, דח: ר, סג: בל

תח: גס: אירופה

נד: ג

זלמל האלם

בלמס/רגיל

אל: אירופה 1

מאת: וינה

תכנית ממישראל-תגובות-אוסטריה. להלן עיקרי דברים שאמר יור וועדת החוץ בפרלמנט האוסטרי, ינקוביץ לכתבי טלויזיה ישראלים(?) עפי סוכנות הידיעות הסוציאליסטית (20).

תכנית שמיר-רבין עשויה להיות צעד בכוון הנכון רק אם תוביל לכינוס וועידה בינל לשלום במזת. אי אפשר לראות בתכנית זו צעד לקראת הגשמת זכות ההגדרה העצמית של העם הפלסטיני. לתכנית חסרונות רבים: אי מתן זכות בחירה תושבי מז' ירושלים ולפלסטינים שמחוץ לשטחים. לא ברור תפקידו של הגוף הנבחר. ההתנגדות החד משמעית להקמת מדינה פלסטינית. אין הגדרה להסדר היחסים עם מדינות ערב האחרות. רק מצרים וירדן מוזמנות ליטול חלק בתהליך. סוריה מחוץ לתכנית כמו גם דחיה מוחלטת של מו'ם עם אשף. בתנאים אלה יש להטיל ספק בערכה של התכנית. ברור עם זאת כי גם לניצים בישראל הסתבר שלא ניתן לפתור הבעיה בכח. תכנית שמיר רבין איננה תשובה מדינית. המילה האחרונה חייבת להיאמר ע'י תושבי הגדמע ועזה.

אשבל.

אק

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APPENDIX

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, איר, רביב, מעת, הסברה,
ר/מכז, ממד

6406-1208

156007 You are invited to attend the 2007 Annual Meeting of the American Society of Human Genetics, November 10-14, 2007, in Denver, Colorado. The meeting will feature a variety of sessions, including plenary sessions, symposia, and workshops. For more information, please visit the ASHG website at www.ashg.org.

PE: WHP, OHP, PBA, BAPBA, AIC, AAIC, H⁺Cl, FeCl₃, BAP, POEPA,
 GAC, BAP

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך: 25.05.89

19527

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 5,19527

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1694, מנמת/357

מ-: בריטל, נר: 215, תא: 240589, זח: 1930, רח: ר, סג: בל

תח: גס: הסברה

נד: 8

בלמס/רגיל

אל מעת

דע הסברה

מאת בריטל

דוח תקשורת - בקור שהח בבריטל

1. במסגרת בקור השר נערכה ב-22/5 מסיבת עיתונאים משותפת עם שהח ספרד. נכחו כ-80 עיתונאים מכל העולם, כולל סוכנויות הידיעות התקשורת האירופית והמקומית.

2. השר רואיין גם לשלושת הרשתות המרכזיות של הטלביזיה הבלגית RTL RTBF BRT ודבריו שודרו בשתי מהדורות החדשות.

3. הרדיו והעתונות דווחו גם בהרחבה על פגישותיו והצהרותיו הנימה הכוללת הינה שהאירופים מקבלים בחיוב את היוזמה הישראלית. קולט ב'לה סואר ציין "שהיוזמה נתקבלה בצורה הרבה יותר חיובית ממה שהיה צפוי".

ורדוסן ב'ליברה בלג'יקה "הוא יותר מסוייג אך מדגיש יחד עם זאת, היום במאמר מערכת את התרשמויותיו תחת הכותרת "תכנית שמיר על אף הכל".

לאחר ויכוח.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4. יצויין שעד כה לא פורסם אף מאמר השולל את היוזמה

5. בעתונים היום גם כתבות על הצהרות בייקר לתגובות
השר, רהמ' ושר הבטחון.

ברק

רש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, ממד, רם, אמן,
מעת, הסברה, קלוורי, לעמ, דוצ-ים, דוצ, צנזורצבאי, פזנר, איר, איר2

1. THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1914

2. THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1914

3. THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1914

4. THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1914

5. THE RECORDS OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY DEPARTMENT FOR THE YEAR 1914

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 5,19508

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1693

מ-: הרקס, נר: 248, תא: 240589, זח: 1345, דח: ר, סג: בל

תח: גס: הסברה

נד: א

בלמס רגיל

אל: הסברה/מרחבי

דע: מנהל הסברה

אמלט 2

מעת

יוזמת השלום בתקשורת

היום (24) הופיע הנוסח המלא של יוזמת השלום בגוף הראשון של העיתון היוקרתי 'אל נסיונאל' (שפירסם לפני מספר ימים ראיון עם הסמנכל רביב). הנוסח הופיע במסגרת עמוד שלם על 'המדינות במזהה', ובו דברי פתיחה מהעורך CARLOS SILVA (שמתייכנן לנסוע לארץ בקרוב), מאמר מאת THOMAS FRIEDMAN מתוך 'הניו יורק טיימס', על נאום בייקר, כתבה נוספת בנושא מהסוכנות רויטר.

קוטנר

מג

תפ: רהמ, שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, שפי, אמלט, רביב, הסברה, מעת

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

19461

תאריך : 24.05.89

נכנס **

שמו

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חוזם: 5,19461

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1688

מ: לימה, נר: 163, תא: 240589, זח: 1200, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: ס: אמלט

נד: פ

שמו/מיד

אל: אמלט 2, הסברה

לשכת שה'ח

יזמת רה'מ

יזמת רה'מ זכתה כאן לכיסוי תקשורתי בעיקר עפ'י סוכנויות
הידיעות וכן מהתבטאויות שלנו באזני עתונאים. EL COMERCIO
פרסם ב-24/5 בהרחבה את התכנית שהפצנו לעתונות, לשרי ממשלה
לחברי הקונגרס, מנהיגים פוליטיים ואחרים.

בדיפ קטעי העתונות.

מצר

מג

תפ: רהמ, שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, שפי, אמלט, רביב, הסברה, מעת

MISPLACED TRUST

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Ученые считают, что в будущем, когда будет достигнута стабильность в мире, а также в экономике, то тогда и можно будет говорить о возможности создания единой мировой валюты.

6XG

РБ: ГРБ, ШГП, ОМВД, АСЧ, ВОСЧ, ВОУ, ИДТУ, ГСЧ, ПОСЧ, СШ

היוזמה המדינית - טיעונים לטובתה

1. צריך להבין את היוזמה בהקשר למצבנו המדיני הבינלאומי, בהקשר של קוי היסוד של ממשלת האחדות הלאומית וכן בהקשר של הסכמי קמפ-דיויד ומשא-ומתן האוטונומיה שהתנהל עד 1981.

2. מצבנו המדיני הבינלאומי

- יוזמתנו הקפאה וניטרלה יוזמות ופעילויות שצברו תאוצה לאחרונה בזירה הבינלאומית - על-ידי גורמים ערביים, אירופיים וסובייטיים.

- יוזמתנו שיפרה תדמיתה של ישראל במידה גדולה. דעת-הקהל במערב נחשפה יום-יום לתמונות האינתיפאדה במשך חודשים רצופים, ולראשונה הצלחנו להראות שישראל היא המעוניינת ויוזמת מהלך לשלום והערבים הם הסרבנים.

- ערב הצגת עיקרי יוזמתנו בארה"ב התחילו גם ידידינו בקונגרס האמריקאי להביע חששות שהסיוע לישראל ייפגע. יוזמתנו שמה קץ לתופעה זו.

- היוזמה חיזקה ידיה של ארה"ב בזירה הבינלאומית לצדנו. כך למשל לא היססה ארה"ב לאיים באו"ם ובסוכנויותו שהיא תפסיק הסיוע הכספי או תפרוש מארגונים שיקבלו "מדינת פלסטין" כחברה.

3. קוי היסוד של הממשלה

- היוזמה מאמצת את עיקרי קוי היסוד של הממשלה בנוגע לתהליך השלום.

- צריך לזכור שבעוד במחנה הערבי יש אחדות דעות בעד מדינה פלסטינית ביש"ע, אין אחדות כזאת בישראל וגם לא בקרב הממשלה. לכן אנו חייבים להלחם ברעיון המדינה הפלסטינית בכלים העומדים לרשותנו ועל-יסוד המצע המשותף למרכיבי ממשלת האחדות הלאומית.

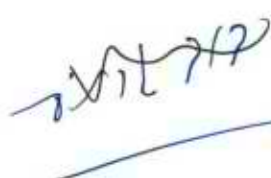
- איש לא טוען שאין סכנות בדרך למימוש היוזמה. אך אין ספק שהמנעות מיוזמה ודריכה במקום היתה מעמידה את כולנו בפני סכנות הרבה יותר גדולות.

- אין ספק שאם נפעל בשכל ונישאר מאוחדים נבטיח שתי תוצאות חיוביות וחשובות: אם תכשל היוזמה. הערבים יהיו אלה שיכשילו אותה; אם תתממש היוזמה, היא תמנע הקמת מדינה ערבית-פלסטינית, היא תבטיח המשך שליטתנו הבטחונית והמעשית ברחבי ארץ-ישראל, היא תאפשר המשך מפעל ההתיישבות ברחבי הארץ.

- היתרון החשוב ביותר של היוזמה בשלב הנוכחי הוא בכך שנותן לנו יד חופשית יותר לטפל באליםות ביש"ע ויוזמיה. הושטנו לתושבים הערבים הצעה למשא-ומתן ולהסדר הוגן. אם יאותו, מה טוב, אם לאו, נפעיל האמצעים העומדים לרשותנו כדי לדכא ההתקוממות ואיש לא יוכל לבוא אלינו בטענות ובבקורת.

4. הסכמי קמפ-דיויד

- ישראל מחוייבת להסכמי קמפ-דיויד והשתמשה בעובדה זו כדי לסכל ולדחות רעיונות ויוזמות שכולם היו מזיקים ושליילים.
- טועה מי שחושב שנפתחה בפנינו ההזדמנות להפטר מהסכמי קמפ-דיויד. יש לזכור שהסכמים אלה היו הבסיס לשלום עם מצרים, שארה"ב מחוייבת להם ושהם הבסיס לקוי היסוד של ממשלת האחדות.
- היוזמה המדינית איננה סוטה מתוכנו של הסכם קמפ-דיויד כמלוא הנימה. הקדמנו הבחירות כיון שמצרים וירדן נטשו את הזירה ועל-ידי הבחירות יקום שותף לגיטימי למשא-ומתן והסדר בשם האוכלוסיה הערבית.
- אין לנו אשליות בקשר לדעותיהם וזיקתם של התושבים הערביים ביש"ע. אנו אומרים להם: ניתנת לכם הזדמנות לקחת גורלכם בידכם ולנהל עניינים בעצמכם ובלבד שלא תפגעו בבטחון ולא תפריעו למפעל היהודי והציוני בארץ-ישראל. אם תעדיפו להיות משועבדים למרצחים היושבים בתוניס בבגדאד ובדמשק תשמיטו הקרקע מתחת לרגליכם. למרצחי אש"פ לא תינתן דריסת-רגל בארץ ישראל.
- יש להדגיש שזו יוזמת שלום המקיפה את כל מרכיבי ההסדר בינינו לבין העולם הערבי: את הלוחמה הערבית בישראל, את פתרון בעית הפליטים הערביים, ואת הסדר היחסים בינינו לבין שכנינו הערביים המידיים, ערביי ארץ-ישראל. יש זיקה הדדית בין כל המרכיבים. אש"פ לא היה אש"פ אילמלא תמכו בו מדינות ערב, בתואנה שהן עושות למען הערבים הפלסטינים. בכל שלב של מימוש היוזמה אנו נתבע תמורה מהצד הערבי המוכיחה שהוא הולך לקראת הסדר כולל.
- לבסוף, וחשוב לא פחות מכל נקודה אחרת בתכנית, לא יהיו בחירות ולא תתממש היוזמה אם לא תיפסק האלימות. אין להעלות על הדעת שנאפשר מהלך שכולו ביטוי של חרות ודמוקרטיה באוירה ובמציאות של הפגנות, של זריקת אבנים ובקבוקי תבערה ושל איומים על תושבים ישראלים.



CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

(212) 351-5200

בהול

דף: 1	טופס מברק	דחיות:	מיל
מחור: 6	קשר ביו יורק	סוג:	מיל
אל : מנהל מצפ"א	לשכת שרת	תז"ח:	179-
דע :	פלאר וואלפאן	מס' מברק:	102-ע
מאת : סגן הקונכ"ל ביו יורק			0 0485

615 17.5.89

ועידת הנשיאים.

להלן מדברי השר ארנס בפני ועידת הנשיאים לאחר שסימור ריין הציגו כאחד הארכיטקטים של התכנית.

השר - אנו עומדים בפני מיתקפה שמטרתה להחזיר אותנו לגבולות שלפני 67 כשלב להשגת המטרה הסופית היסודי ישראל. אמרתי שרוה"מ יציג יוזמה ישראלית בביקורו. קודם היתה זאת יוזמת רוה"מ ועתה לא חר אישורה, יוזמת השלום הישראלית. היוזמה אושרה עם התנגדויות וחסיגויות. ישראלים חוששים ודואגים מהברוטליות שהם רואים יום יום. (דקירת חמישה עובדי אורח בליבה של ירושלים, חיילים ישראלים נחטפים - סטפורטס נחטף ונרצח. אילן סעדון נחטף וגופתו לא נמצאה). יש כאן ניצול ברוטלי של החופש בישראל. לפנינו התנגשויות בין שתי חרבויות והברוטליות גובלת עם טירוף, המצב דומה במדינות חשכנות. (הפצצות הסוריות, מלחמות עיראק-איראן) וזה לא מפתיע שישאלים שואלים עצמם האם יש מקום להציג יוזמה ישראלית.

השר מציין כי נפגש עם מיטראן ואין ספק שהוא יריד ישראל ושיש לו מחוייבות לישראל. מיטראן חשב שבעצם פגישתו עם יאסר עראפת הוא יתרום לקידום השלום. אך היה זה COUNTER PRODUCTIVE וזה חיזק את הגורמים הקיצוניים ואת הפנטיות. יאסר עראפת נשא מפה שבה ישראל אינה קיימת. השר השווה את קבלת הפנים לה זכה יאסר עראפת בפריז עם החיבוקים הצילומיים והמו"מ שניהלו עם היטלר בשנות ה-30. עראפת אומר דברים סותרים (קודם שאין לו הסמכות לשנות האמנה ובתהליך הביקור, דברים סותרים ומעורפלים).

השר הביא השיקולים שהנחו אותנו לצאת ביוזמת השלום: אנשים סברו שישראל אינה עושה מספיק ורצינו לשכנע אותם שישראל רוגלת וממשיכה במאמציה להשגת השלום. סברנו שזו מהותי להחזיר את ההתמקדות לסכסוך הישראלי ערבי במקום לשים הדגש רק על הניגוד אחד, הסכסוך הישראלי פלסטינאי. שוכנענו שיש חשיבות בדיאלוג, שיש מקום לפתוח בשיחות להשגת השלום. רצינו שהיוזמה תתבסס על השלום עם מצרים ועל הקונסטפציה שנכללה בהסכמי קמפ דייוויד. הסדרי הבניים יצמצמו הפער ואז ניתן לעסוק בהסדרי קבע.

$\frac{1}{x^2} = x^{-2}$

דף: 2 מחן: 6 שם: שבע מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיפות: בחול
אל:	סיוג: שמור תזוז: 171900
דע:	מל מדיקי
מאת:	485 1102

השר מנחה את ארבעת הנקודות הנכללות ביוזמה ומדגישה
 א. לארהב המקיד מהריע . אנו זקוקים לתמיכתה ביוזמה ולמאמציה לגייס
 תמיכה וועלם ומערהי והסכמת מדינות ערב ליוזמה.
 ב. איך להסיט את התשומת הלב מהיוזמה לפרטים טעדיין לא עובדו.
 העקרונות קיימים ועל הצדדים לקבלן. היטחנות לפרטים מטרות להטביע
 את היוזמה
 ג. אשם מנחל טרור בשטחים ואין יום שעובר מבלי שאלסטינאי נהרג
 ע"י אשם בצורה ברוטלית ואכזרית אין מקום להיאלוג עט אשם. הדיאלוג
 ארהב- אשם ומפגט מיטרן עראפת בותנים לגייסמציח לארגון הטרור האשפי.
 ד. יש להתמקד במקביל עם ארבעת הנקודות שבתכנית ולא לתת עדיפות לטעיף
 העוסק בבחירות.
 ה. אנו זקוקים לתמיכת העולם היהודי ובקריאה מצד המנהיגים היהודים
 לממשל לתמוך ביוזמה ולגייס את העולם המערבי.

בסיום דבריו השר מדבר בהרחבה על יהודי בריחמ. זו הזדמנות שאין
 להחמיצה. בריחמ בתהליך של ויקון של חקנות ההגירה. חצי מיליון
 יהודים יורשו לאת את בריחמ בשנתיים הקרובות. בואט לישראל יחזקה.
 השר איין כי שוחח עם רוהמ המתייב שינוי משמעותי בתהליך הקליטה
 אנו זקוקים לשיחוף מעולה מצד המנהיגים היהודים . יש לעבוד על כך
 ולהכין תכנית משותפת.

בתשובה לשאלון אחד המתחמטים אמר השר כי יש להבדל עצום בין ניהול
 מו"מ עם אשם למו"מ עם נאציים נבחרים בתהליך דמוקרטי. יש סיבה להאמין
 מהחיים בטוחות הם פלסטינאים יותר מציאותיים סיבינו את ארכי הבסוון של
 ישראל

דף: 2 מחן: 6 טופס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות:
אל:	סיוע:
דע:	תלח:
מאת:	מט מדיק: 485/102

סימור רייך הודיע בטיוט הישיבה כי ועידת הנשיאים מתכנסת
 להיוועצות ומשרתה נוסח הודעה ומיכה מצד ועידת הנשיאים ביוזמת
 הטלוט.

נ.ב. בגחיים קבלנו המיוטה המצב הניסח הסופי יגובש מחר .

טרוכי יויד

אישור:

שם השולח

תאריך:

485/102-

4/6

MAY-17-89 WED 16:26

P. 22 (5)

DRAFT STATEMENT ON ISRAEL'S PEACE INITIATIVE

We congratulate the Government of Israel on its wide-ranging peace initiative. It is a positive and forward-looking plan that has great potential for advancing the negotiating process. If it is accepted, it can help bring peace to a region that sorely needs it. We are happy to give it our full and enthusiastic support.

We urge our own government to mobilize support for the Israeli proposal among this country's allies and among the Arab states. The role that the United States can play in promoting acceptance of the plan is crucial to its success.

This is especially important because of a regrettable misunderstanding that has arisen about the Israeli peace initiative. This proposal is not limited to elections among Palestinians in Judea, Samaria and Gaza -- as important as those elections are -- but also includes three other main points:

1) The Israeli peace initiative calls on Egypt and Israel -- the states that joined hands in the Camp David accords -- to meet, to reaffirm the peaceful principles of that agreement and to work together in widening the circle of Arab-Israel peace.

This is an essential element in the effort to achieve peace. Egypt, as the largest Arab state, can play a powerful role in the Arab world in support of this plan by responding positively to Israel's call for a common effort to strengthen the peace treaty signed on the White House lawn 10

485/102

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years ago.

2) The Israeli peace initiative calls on all Arab countries that remain in a state of war with Israel to cease their propaganda against Israel, to end their economic boycott of Israel and to come to the negotiating table for the purpose of promoting a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict.

Here too Egypt can play a positive role by encouraging Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries still at war with Israel to abandon policies and attitudes that incite hostility and, instead, to open their minds and hearts to the possibilities of peace and the benefits that peace can bring to their citizens. Similarly, the United States should encourage a positive response from these Arab states to this aspect of the Israeli initiative.

3) The Israeli peace initiative calls for an international effort to resolve the problems of the Arab refugees living in camps in the West Bank and Gaza, to improve their living conditions and to provide opportunities for self-support and for genuine hope of a better future. Israel is prepared to be a partner in this endeavor.

We call on the Administration to support this part of the Israeli plan as well, and to urge its friends and allies to do so. For too long the Palestinian refugee problem has been exploited by Arab governments as a propaganda weapon in their war against Israel. The victims of this cruel

485/102

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policy have been the hopes and aspirations of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children -- Palestinians whom their Arab brothers have refused to resettle or rehabilitate, now in their third generation of homelessness. The Israeli plan offers a way out for them. A decent respect for their plight and the sufferings they have endured requires affirmative international response to this aspect of the Israeli initiative.

The fourth aspect of the Israeli initiative calls for free and democratic elections among the Palestinian Arabs living in Judea, Samaria and Gaza in an atmosphere devoid of violence, threats and terror. Representatives of those residents will be elected to conduct negotiations with Israel for a transitional period of self-rule, and later to negotiate a permanent settlement.

The elected Palestinian Arab representatives in the territories will also constitute the self-governing authority during the transitional period. This self-rule will permit the Palestinian Arab residents of the territories to conduct and be responsible for every aspect of their daily lives, the sole exceptions being security and foreign affairs, which clearly must remain in Israeli hands. All matters concerning Israeli citizens living in the territories will also be under Israeli administration.

The transitional period will constitute a test for co-existence and cooperation; we deeply hope this test will be met. At a later stage, negotiations will be conducted between Israel and the Palestinian representation, subject to agreement after three years, for a permanent solution. During the negotiations for a permanent solution, all the parties will be entitled to raise whatever issues and make whatever proposals they wish; no suggestion or idea will be barred from the negotiating table.

The Israeli proposal is a major breakthrough in many respects. We are gratified by the response the Administration in Washington has given. The initiative deserves the most serious consideration as well by our country's Western allies, by the Arab states and by the Palestinians living in Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

In sum, the Israeli peace initiative is a positive move and welcome proposal for moving Arab-Israel relations from hostility and war to friendship and peace. It has our full and enthusiastic support.

5/17/89

X

X

X

END

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

18371

תאריך: 23.05.89

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 5,18371

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1609, מנמת/338

מ-פריס, נר: 358, תא: 230589, זח: 1820, דח: מ, סג: בל

תח: גס: אירופה

נד: 8

ולאית הולמן

בלמס/מיד

אל: אירופה 1

דע: בריסל (נר 1468 עבור בריסל) מדריד (נר 91 עבור מדריד)

מאת: שוקת, פאריס

קהילייה-מז'ת

כתב "אל-קבס" בבריסל (23):

1. ממקור אירופי: שהקהילייה אינה מוציאה מכלל אפשרות תמיכה בתוכנית הבחירות של דה'מ שמיר אם ישראל תתחייב לנסיגה מהשטחים הכבושים תמורת שלום, עריכת בחירות בתנאים הולמים והכללת ירושלים בבחירות.

2. שה'ח של הקהילייה הביעו בפני ארנס דאגתם מהגברת האלימות בשטחים ודרשו פתיחת בתי'ס הסגורים, שאם לא כן ינותקו קשרי התרבות בין הקהילייה לישראל.

3. "אחראי" בנציבות מסר כי תמיכת הקהילייה ברעיון הוועידה הבינ'ל אינה רלוונטית יותר. פרשנים מפרשים תמיכת הקהילייה ברעיון הבחירות, כשינוי חשוב במדיניות הקהילייה.

4. שגרירי ערב בבריסל נפגשו עם אבל מאטוטאס, הנציג האחראי

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ילעניני
קתכנית. ערב בקהילייה הבהירו לו עמדתם השלילית כלפי

שוקת.

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, ממד, רם, אמן,
איר1, איר2, מזתים

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

18236

תאריך: 23.05.89

נכנס **

סודי

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חוזם: 5,18236

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בריסל/394, מצב/1580

מ-: מדריד, נר: 153, תא: 230589, זח: 1534, דח: ב, סג: סו

תח: & גס: אירופה

נד: &

אמא ואלס

סודי/בהול

אל: אירופה 2

דע: בריסל

מאת: מדריד

שיחה עם ראש מזה'ת JORGE DEZCALLAR ערב ביקור רה'מ.

אומר כי 'הביקור יהיה חיובי ולא תהיינה כל בעיות'.
הוסיף כי נאום רה'מ גונסלס בארוחה הממלכתית יהיה 'רך ומתון' (SUAVE). באשר ליוזמת השלום אמר שלדעתם
'אין להתעקש בשלב זה על הפרטים ויש להם דחיפה
עקרונית'. אמר כי 'להצביע כבר היום על אופי הסדר
הקבע תהיה שגיאה'. אומר כי יש לתת ליוזמה 'לחיות
את חייה'. אמר גם כי 'הערפול הקיים בקטעים של היוזמה
הוא יתרון'. רוח הדברים בהחלט חיובית. השאלה היא
כיצד תתבטא הגישה הזאת של הספרדים בהצהרות פומביות
לסיכום הביקור.

בן-עמי

לש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, איר, ר/מרכז, ממד

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נכנס **

שמור

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חוזם: 5,18108

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1589

מ-: האג, נר: 174, תא: 230589, זח: 1249, דח: ר, סג: שמ

תח: & גס: אירופה

נד: &

Handwritten signature/initials

שמור/רגיל

אל: אירופה 1

מאת: השגריר - האג

יזמת השלום. אתמול הצגתי היזמה בפני ועדת המזת' של מפ' העבודה PVDA בפרלמנט (נכחו יור' הועדה שהח' לשעבר ון דר שטול, שר הפנים לשעבר ורע' אמסטרדם ון תיין, מזכיר החוץ ויירסמה, חפ' יוף ון דן ברג וסרי').

הדגשתי שיזמתנו צריכה לשמש נקודת המוצא לניסוח המצע המזתי' בפרוגרמה החדשה שלהם לבחירות הכלליות, תוך כדי מתן גבוי מקסימלי לדרך ריאליסטית ויחידה זו לנוע מעבר לאלימות בכוון הידברות מעשית ותכליתית. היור' הדגיש ידידות מפלגתו לישראל והתחייבותה לבטחונה, ואלה יהיו במרכז מדיניותם גם אם ישתתפו בממשלה אחרי הבחירות. על רקע זה עלינו להבין ולקבל עמדתם על זכויות לפלשתינים והביקורת הנשמעת על מדיניות ממשלת ישראל.

להלן השאלות שהציגו, מהן משתקפת חשיבתם:

א. איזה סיכויים מוחשיים נוספים יכולה ממשלת ישראל להציע לצדדים שכנגד כדי שיוכלו בשלב הראשון לבחון הצעת הבחירות ביושע' תוך אימון ביכלתם להעמיד מועמדיהם לבחירות ולבחור בהם ללא הגבלות ובחפשיות, וכדי שלא יראו בשלב השני של היזמה מבוי סתום בשבילים לאור עמדות ממשלת ישראל לעתיד

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

יושע' כפי שהוגדרו ביזמה.

ב. מה עוד צריך אשפ' לומר ולעשות כדי שממשלת ישראל תראה בו שותף למומ' (אד ון תיין).

ג. זכות הבחירה לתושבי מזרח ימ' וזכותם להיבחר.
ד. באיזו מידה עליהם לקרוא היזמה 'בין השורות' BETWEEN THE LINES כדי להעריך הפוטנציות הטמונות בה, ולייחס פחות משמעות לעמדות הנקבעות ביזמה בגלל חישובים פוליטיים פנימיים.

סופות

אק

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, איר, ר/מרכז, ממד

חוזם: 5,18254
אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1583, מנמת/333, פריס/741
מ-: לונדון, נר: 248, תא: 230589, חז: 1600, דח: מ, סג: בל
תח: & גס: הסברה
נד: &

בלמס/מיד

מעט

דע: אירופה 2, פריס/הציר

מאת: לונדון/עתונות

783

סקירת תקשורת 23 דנא.

ביקור שמיר.

בכל העתונים דיווחים כולל תמונות גדולות על ביקור רוהמ' בבריטניה ופגישתו עם תאצ'ר. כמו כן בכל העתונים דווח מפורט ציטוטים מדברי שהח' האמריקני בייקר אמש. כל העתונים מדגישים ממקורות בריטיים שהפגישה התקיימה באוירה ידידותית ביותר. שתאצ'ר מגלה תמיכה כללית בתכנית למרות שאין היא מרחיקה לכת במידה מספקת. מקורות בכירים בממשל הבריטי טוענים שההתקדמות בתהליך המדיני לא תהיה משמעותית ללא מומ' עם אשפ' וריכוך בטיפול ישראל באינתיפאדה. כמו כן לטענת תאצ'ר חלקים בתכנית אינם ברורים וללא הבהרות ספק אם התכנית תוכל להוות בסיס להסדר שלום. בפנינשל טיימס שתאצ'ר לא תוכירה את תפקיד אשפ' בתהליך השלום. באינדפנדנט שהתכנית רחוקה מהדרוש להביא לקידום תהליך השלום במזת'.

במהדורות החדשות אמש ובהרחבה ב'ניזנייט' על ביקור שמיר

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

השוואף לתקן את התדמית השלילית של ישראל בעקבות האינתיפאדה. כמו כן דווחים על נאום בייקר.

ערפאת הוזכר בדווחים כמרכיב חיוני בתהליך. הודגשו חלוקי דעות ספציפיים בין שמיר לתאצ'ר. הדווחים לוו בתמונות מהשטחים בעיקר של ילדים שנפגעו בתקריות עם צהל' וכן תגובות בכירים בשטחים לתכנית שמיר. ב-'ניוזנייט' ראיון עם חכ' דדי צוקר ותמונות מהפגנה שנערכה אמש מול שגרירות ישראל בלונדון.

עתונות

מא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, ממד, רס, אמנ, מעט, הסברה, קלוורי, לעמ, דוצ-ים, דוצ, צנזורצבאי, פזנר, איר, איר, 2

