

11

# מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

מס' \_\_\_\_\_

משכב קאהל

יאיר מדיני

ארה"ב

25/2/89 - 3/3/89

תיק מס' \_\_\_\_\_

13



שם תיק: היועץ המדיני לראש הממשלה - ארה"ב

מזהה פנימי: 4608/13-א

מזהה פריט: R00036

כתובת: 2-111-2-4-8

תאריך הדפסה: 31/08/2020

מחלקת \_\_\_\_\_

דחיפות	שגרירות ישראל / אוסינגטון טופס כבודה	ק"ו: 1
סוג: שמר		כתוב: 3
תאריך וזמן העבר:		אל: מוצ"א
1700 3 במרס 1989		
כס' כבוד:		ד"ע:
הפסרד:		
20		פאת: ק. לקונגרס

פגישת השגריר עם קונגרסמן ג'ים לינץ (J, J)

1. הבודק נפגש-השגריר עם קונגרסמן ג'ים לינץ (קרוב ליקני מאיובת) חבר חדש בוועדה המסנה לאירוקה החמזה"ת, נכחו עוזרר לכניגני חרץ דח"מ.
2. השגריר ביקש לעדכן הקונגרסמן לקראת ביקוריהט של שח"ח נרה"מ. על המצב בשטחים ובאיזור המזה"ת, משגרור פירט עמדותינו לגבי קידום תהליך השלום (יחסי אש"פ והושבי השטחים), טר"מ עם תושבים השטחים יירדן, התנגדות למדינה פלסטינית התנגדות לטר"מ עם אש"פ, מהירן הדרגתו על העברת סמכויות) ועמד על החשיבות של מניעת העברת מטר שלילי למדינות ערב מעלולות למרש יוזמת ישראליות להקלת מצב האוכלוסיה המקומית בשטחים כחולשה ובתוצאה טכך לחגביר עוד יותר האלימנות.
3. השגריר סקר האומנים החיצוניים מבטחוניים של נשק כדמי (בידי עורק) נטק"ק (עורק טוריה נטקרוזה) שחם בבחינת האידם האומתי לקידום של ישראל נהדגיש כי אין לחתייחט לטכסון ישראלי פלסטני אלא למעשה לסכפוך ישראלי-ערבי, בהקשר זה הכיע לינץ דאגת עמדה שהשמש בנטק כדמי ע"י עורק.
4. השגריר אמר כי אנו מודעים לצנינות לירזמה מצד ישראל, רה"מ בבאקורר, יעלה בסני חמטשל דעיונות לקידום התהליך ומענה לערכי הפלסטניים תוך שילובה של ירדן בתהליך.  
זו גם עמדת הטמטל. חמטשל אינו תומך במדינה פלסטינית עצמאית, מבין תגוברתינו אלימות בשטחים וחצורר לקידום דיאלוג עם האוכלוסיה המקומית, רבשקט בשטח שיקדם לחיבורות זר.
5. השגריר תמידחט לסובזוטום אשר בשלב זה לדבריל אינט בשלום להבנט לתהליך אילתם מוכנים עדיין לנטרל אחריות פמר לטמל גרנדן וחקים דיפלומטיים עם יטהאל.

תפוצה: 36  
 שבת 10/3/89  
 1 4 4 1 2

דמיפלות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק"י: 2
סווג:		סתנן: 3
תאריך וזמן תעבור:		אל:
כס' פרוקי הפסרדי:		דע:
120		פאת:

לשאלת לידי' האם איננו מרובים לכו' השיב השגריר בשלילה דהטביר. כי הסובייטים התכוונו כונדן היחסים בקבלת עמדותיהם, להערת לידי' כי הסובייטים אינם רוצים להשאיר מברנדיים רשמיים לתחליף, השיב השגריר כי טענת שברנדזה במזח"ת נועדה להרכיב יכולתם להדבר עם כל הצדדים במזח"ת, לידי' העיר כי יתכן שהסובייטים כ"כ מעונינים באופן מסיכולרדי לשלב דלתפנס נרכחות רשמיים במזח"ת שבסופו של דבר יתנה זה לטובתנו, טבל מקום, המשיך, תנא מטכיים עיש לדחנת בשעת זכ הרעורן של נעיצה ביט"ל בהתנתנות טרביזיית, העיר כי לטוב ידיעתו בנרמא זה מטשלת ישראל מפורצלת בחלוקתה, השגריר העיר כי אין הדבר הן לגבי התפקיד הסובייטי, הוסיף כי צעד משמעותי טאח טפד הסובייטים כלפי יקראלייכרל להינתן היתר טוסנת ישירות מברח"ט לישראל.

הסובייטים מחזיקים עדיין בעמדת נרמקשת לגבי נעודה בז"ל שכן זהו דרכננס לעולם ווערבי. עם כל זאת, חלה בכ"ז התקרבות מסוימת הטעקשת תתליך הפוזיחות הגובר של ברח"ח בטר טשלחנת קרינטולרינות האלנטי ביקוריים רפגזשה שני שת"ח.

6. בעקבות סקירתו של השגריר על עזרק טמושה בנשק כימי כאחזקתה בטק"ק שאל לידי' האם בגלל ה - CHALLENGE העיראקי תטכנד באירן, וטבריר פירט באריכות טסכת יחסינו חמסורתית עם אירן בעבר עד עלותו של חומייני לשלטון והדגיש שהאינטרס של ארה"ב בישראל (מסורתית ולא מטשער הנוכחי) שאירן בגלל מיקומה האיסטרטגי תהיה חזקה ופרד עפרביה.

7. לידי' ביקש מהשגריר לשטנע הערכתו על לבנדו וטיכרדי פתרון הבעיה. השגריר סקר הטעב תוך חבעת טסקרת לגבי הטיכרדיט להסכמה על שלטון טרכזי אחד שיחלעט על כל המדינות.

דתיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: <u>3</u>
סוג:		כתוב: <u>3</u>
תאריך וזמן תעבור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
המסרד:		פאת:
120		

8. לגי' שאל ונאם אנכ רואים דת-אסקלציה ברויקליזט בלנכ. השגריר תואר העדלנתו  
 חל קדאתו בתחרת הרבתי סודן, תאודיטונות, צ'אד נתחזרתו דאורבנד וורכר.

9. בתום השוחת. עיסק לגי'. כז ביקר בישראל מ-1968. נאחצענכ לו לשוב דלכקר אמר כי  
 נשמח טאד ריש לנצנא דרך לארגן ביקור ככ"ל;

והאלה וכו' אי פענתי  
 והרדזת כרנאז דרנגר

לפ

תפוצה:

פריס, כנ' באדר א' התשמ"ט  
3 במרס 1989

ח. ר. ב.

סודי ביותר / סודי	
מס. ד. זה מכיל	2 דפים
עותק מס'	2 מתוך 3 עותקים

אל: מר מ. ארנס, שר החוץ - לעיניו בלבד

הנציג האלג'ירי

ביום 3.3 פגשתי הנציג האלג'ירי [REDACTED], בהיותו במעבר בשליחות נשיאו, ביקש לראותני כדי להמשיך השיח בינינו ולהתייחס לכמה מההצעות שהעלה בפגישתנו הקודמת. הנציג מסר שהעלה את ההצעה להביא לידי הפסקה של פעולות האיבה בשטחים בפני הגורמים הנוגעים בדבר, כולל נשיא אלג'יריה המצדד בכך, ושהוא הוסמך להתקשר עמי על מנת לבדוק מה אנו נהיה מוכנים לתת בתמורה. הקשיתי שמקח וממכר כנ"ל מחייב הידברות עם גורם מוסמך שעמו נהיה מוכנים לנהל מו"מ כנ"ל, להוציא אישים של אש"ף.

הנציג מסר שאלג'יריה מוכנה להעמיד את שרותיה הטובים ומכל מקום המשא ומתן הראשון להשגת המטרה הנ"ל יכול להיעשות באמצעותו, בהיותו אישיות הנהנית מאימונם של הנשיא ושל הפלסטינים כאחד.

נסיתי לבדוק אם כבר נאמר לו מה מכקשים כתמורה. הנציג ענה במעורפל שבין השאר, מדובר בשחרור עצירים פלסטינים ובהקלת "אמצעי הדיכוי", אך הכל יהיה תלוי במשא ומתן לאחר שניתן הסכמתנו העקרונית לתיווך הנ"ל.

אזכיר בהקשר זה את הנאמר לי ע"י השגריר המצרי, שמובארק קיבל פניה מערפאת לתווך בהקשר דומה (שלי נר 31 מ-3.3).

במהלך השיחה השתמש הנציג האלג'ירי בכל לחץ אפשרי על מנת שאסכים לפגוש את אבו-איאד שמוכן היה לבוא, לא הסכים לגלות מאיפה, עוד באותו ערב על מנת לפגוש אותי ולהתחיל הידברות חשאית אשר תוביל למוצא מן המבוי הסתום. דחיתי את ההצעה מכל וכל בהסבירי בפרוטרוט המניעים וסיבת התנגדותנו הנמרצת.

לסיכום: נראה לי שהלחץ של האוכלוסיה בשטחים להשיג הקלות מיידיות מניעה את מנהיגי אש"ף לבדוק אפשרויות כנ"ל, אם באמצעות מצרים או אלג'יריה שעמה מקיימים קשרים הדוקים. אציון שבמהלך השיחה, שנמשכה כרגיל שעתיים, ניסה הנציג האלג'ירי לשכנענו בשינויים החיוביים כביכול שמתחוללים בהנהגת אש"ף ובצורך שנסכים להידברות עמם ולו עקיפה.

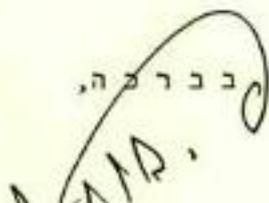
כאשר נימקתי סירובנו, בין השאר, בהתנגדותנו לכינון מדינה פלסטינית בשטחים, הדגיש בן-שיחי

ח. ר. כ.

-2-

סודי ביותר / <del>סודי</del>	
מסמך זה מכיל	2 דפים
עותק מס' 2	מחוך 3 עותקים

שנראה לו שקיים בסיס למוצא מן הסכך על ידי עריכת בחירות בשטחים והתחלה של משא ומתן עם נציגות מוסמכת שתהיה מקובלת על אש"ף - כל זאת, כמובן, במסגרת של ועידה בינלאומית שלפי שעה, ואלבא דבן-שיחי, מהווה קונצנזוס בין-ערבי ובינלאומי רחב. השתמע מתגובותיו של הנציג האלג'ירי שאם תימצא דרך לעקוף את אש"ף ע"י בחירת נציגות חילופית לפלסטינים, תימצא גם דרך לשכנע את הערבים לעקוף את הוועידה הבינלאומית שלגבי ישראל מהווה מכשול לתחילת המשא ומתן. אודה על כל התייחסות שתמצא לנכון בנוגע להצעת התיווך בנושא האינתיפאדה.

ב ב ר כ ה,  
  
 עובדיה סופר

העתק: מר י. שמיר, ראש הממשלה

\*\* נכנס  
\*\*  
\*\*  
\*\*

סודי

חוזם: 3,2155

אל: המשרד

מ-: 110, נר: 84, תא: 020389, חז: 2200, דח: ר, סג: 10

תח: 8 גס: צפא

נד: 8

רגיל/7 סודי

אל : מצפא

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הקונגרסמן מט-מק'ו

1. אתמול 2/3 נפגשנו הציר והח'מ' עם קונגרסמן מט מק'ו, דמוקרט מניו-יורק וחבר ועדת ההקצבות.

2. הציר פתח בהתייחסו להתבטאותו של מק'ו בשימועים בוועדת ההקצבות אצל אובי (ב-7/2) בנוגע לצורך בכריכת סיוע חוץ בז'א. מק'ו שמע דאגתנו אולם לא הגיב.

3. הציר הסביר כי השנה קיימת אף יותר הצדקה לסיוע מאשר בשנים קודמות. כל התפתחות מדינית שהיא תחייב את ישראל ליטול סיכונים דבר שיאלץ לקיים לפחות הרמה הנוכחית של הסיוע. בנוסף לכך יש להוסיף האיום החיצוני על ישראל של נשק כימי וטק'ק. ואין להתעלם מרשימת יעבץ שבודאי לא תקל עלינו.

4. תגובת מק'ו היתה כי לאלה המאמינים בקידום תהליך השלום ומו'מ' ישיר, יהיה זה טיפשי לקצץ בסיוע לישראל מהלך אשר עלול להקטין התמריצים בישראל ליטול סיכונים ואף עלול להתפרש בצורה מוטעית בעולם הערבי. ואולי יותר מתמיד, יש לשמור עתה על רמת הסיוע. אולם המשיך מק'ו, דעתו הפרטית היא שעל מ'ישראל להעמיד במבחן כוונות ערפאת ובכך לאפשר מו'מ' ישיר עם הפלסטינים שקיבלו ברכת ערפאת. מו'מ'

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1. 10:40:17

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3. 10:40:17

4. 10:40:17

רציני ומשמעותי חייב לכול את אשף.

5. הציר התייחס לאמנה הפלסטינית שאיש אינו קורא עליה תגר ושאל באם כל הצהרותיו של ערפאת SUPERCEDE את האמנה, מדוע אינו מבטלה. הרוב בישראל מתנגד למדינה פלסטינית וכך גם הממשל האמריקני. הבעיה עתה היא שהדיאלוג והקניית תפקיד לערפאת מקטינים הסיכוי לכל פשרה אפשרית שכן על דגל האמנה חרותה הסיסמה של מדינה פלסטינית עצמאית. אנו מעוניינים לשאת ולתת עם הפלסטינים אולם הבעיה היא מציאת מנהיגות אותנטית שתסכים לשאת ולתת עם ישראל באופן עצמאי. מקיו הגיב כי מתרשם (גם ע'ס תדרכים) כי אין מנהיגות פלסטינית אוטנטית שאיננה אשף. הוסיף כי הפלסטינים ואשף מצטיירים כיום כמעוניינים במוס והדברות ואילו ישראל מצטיירת כסרבנית.

6. הציר הסביר הבעיה של מדינה פלסטינית עצמאית ולעומתה הפתרון המעוגן בק'ד. החכמה של ק'ד מעוגנת בתהליך הדרגתי של שני שלבים המאפשר פרק זמן במהלכו הישראלים והפלסטינים ילמדו לחיות בצוותא ועל בסיס שלב לימודי ראשון זה יתחילו לדון בשלב הבא - פתרון קבע. לפיכך מה שערפאת מציע כלל אינו מציאותי. מקיו השיב כי מסכים שתקופת המעבר בק'ד הגיונית יותר ואילו המדינה הפלסטינית העצמאית כלל איננה הגיונית אולם 'אי הדברות עמם מעמיד אתכם במצב קשה'. חזר על כך שהפרספציה (לפחות הפוליטית) לגבי ישראל, בין אם נכונה ובין אם לאו, היא שישראל איננה מעוניינת להדבר עם הפלסטינים. ואת זאת יש בידי ישראל לשנות. הציר הפריך קביעה זו והוסיף כי הדבר נכון לגבי הדברות עם אשף.

7. לסיכום התייחס מקיו לבעיה התקציבית הכללית. לדבריו אם הממשל לא יסכים על REVENUES, יאלץ בסופו של דבר להסכים לקיצוצים וביניהם גם סיוע חוץ. במקרה כזה יאבק מקיו לא לכלול את ישראל בקיצוץ. הוסיף כי הקיצוץ הכללי בתקציב הפדרלי הוא בהחלט אופציה שאין להוציא מכלל אפשרות.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY  
58 CHEMISTRY BUILDING  
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637  
TEL: 773-936-3700  
WWW: WWW.CHEM.UCHICAGO.EDU

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY  
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

11



דחיפות: מייד	טופס מכרז קשר ניו-יורק	דף: 1 מחז: 1
סיוג: שמור		אל: מצפ"א, מאו"ר
תזוח: 03A100		
מס מדיקי		דע:
0 0 69		מאת: שרה כראור, ניו יורק

משלחת JCRC. למכרזו של מרכזי ידיד 00418 מה-15.2. המשלחת תצא ב-22.3 ב-20.00 כלילה ותגיע לישראל ב-23.3. תשהה עד ה-31.3. מועד הטיסה חזרה כ-4.30/בצהריים. מכקשים שתזמינו עבורם 15 חדרים בקינג דיורד או במלון לרום. לילה אחד יהיו בת"א, לילה אחד מכקשים לחיות בגליל; בגינוסר או בכפר כלום. מכקשים פגישות עם: שמיר, פרס, ארנס, נתניהו, נבו ורוביני. מכקשים לסייר בגבול העפון כלווי מדובר צה"ל. לקבל תדרוך מודיעיני בעת שהותם בת"א. בשנת רוצים לבקר במצדה. מכקשים לסייר בעיר העתיקה אם אפשר ולבקר בכוחל. כמובן לבקר ביד ושם. המשלחת תכלול 15 איש ביניהם שני אנשי קונגרס. רשימת השמות תישלח אליכם בקרוב.

שרה כראור

למה מ/ש מה 3  
למה מ/ש מה 3

נ. א. א.

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קביה מ/ש 1  
מ/ש 1



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

1520

תאריך : 02.03.89

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שמו

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חוזם: 3,1520

אל:ני/55, בטחון/65

מ-:המשרד, תא:020389, חז:1423, דח:ר, סג:שם

חח:גס:ארבל

נד:ג

שמו/רגיל

נאו"ם,

דע: לוברני/משרד הבטחון, יפרח/קישור לכוחות זרים

פגישת המנכל עם מפקד יוניפיל

1. ב-1/3 בא הגנרל וולגרן לפגישת היכרות עם המנכ"ל. השתתפו מצידם היועץ המדיני ליוניפיל קרנאפאס ומצידנו טנא.

2. הפגישה לא חרגה משיחת נימוסין על המצב בדרום לבנון ובאיזור באופן כללי והגנרל נמנע מלהעלות באופן ישיר את נושא הפגיעות בחיילי יוניפיל לאחרונה. רק ציין את חוסר המשמעת והירי הבלתי אחראי של צד'ל שאותו ייחס במיוחד ליחידותיו הנוצריות (בהשוואה ליחידות המוסלמיות). התיחס לאמל כגוף אחראי שעליו אפשר לסמוך להרגעת האיזור. המנכ"ל חזר על המלצתנו הידועה ליוניפיל לחזק את הקשר הבלתי רשמי שלו עם צד'ל.

3. האורחים חזרו והעלו גירושי התושבים מכפר שבנא שבגזרה הנורווגית בחודש ינואר בטענה שהמגורשים עדיין לא הורשו לשוב לכפרם. חזרו ובקשו התערבותנו לסיום הגירוש.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, ברנע, ארבל2, ליאור, מזתים, איר2, איר1,  
סייבל, משפט, ר/מרכז, ממד

ר ה א ש ה ב

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540 EAST 57TH STREET, CHICAGO, ILL. 60637

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

1520

תאריך 02.03.89

\*\* יוצא \*\*  
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שמו

חוזם: 3,1520  
אל: ני/55, בטחון/65  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 020389, זח: 1423, דח: ר, סג: שמ  
תח: @ גס: ארבל  
נד: @

שמו/רגיל

נאו'ם,

דע: לוברני/משרד הבטחון, יפרח/קישור לכוחות זרים

~~פגישה המוכל עם מפקד יוניפיל~~

1. ב-1/3 בא הגנרל וולגרן לפגישת היכרות עם המנכ"ל. השתתפו מצידם היועץ המדיני ליוניפיל קרנאפאס ומצידנו טנא.

2. הפגישה לא חרגה משיחת נימוסין על המצב בדרום לבנון ובאיזור באופן כללי והגנרל נמנע מלהעלות באופן ישיר את נושא הפגיעות בחיילי יוניפיל לאחרונה. רק ציין את חוסר המשמעת והירי הבלתי אחראי של צד'ל שאותו ייחס במיוחד ליחידותיו הנוצרות (בהשוואה ליחידות המוסלמיות). התייחס לאמל כגוף אחראי שעליו אפשר לסמוך להרגעת האיזור. המנכ"ל חזר על המלצתנו הידועה ליוניפיל לחזק את הקשר הבלתי רשמי שלו עם צד'ל.

3. האורחים חזרו והעלו גירושי התושבים מכפר שבעא שבגזרה הנורווגית בחודש ינואר בטענה שהמגורשים עדיין לא הורשו לשוב לכפרם. חזרו ובקשו התערבותנו לסיום הגירוש.

ארבל 2

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# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שוהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, ברנע, ארבל2, ליאור, מזתים, איר2, איר1,  
סייבל, משפט, ר/מרכז, ממד

ש"הק"ס  
רובא

THE STATE OF TEXAS,  
COUNTY OF [illegible]

שמו

נכנס \*\*

\*\*

\*\*

\*\*

חוזם: 3,1307

אל: המשרד

מ-: נ', נר: 26, תא: 010389, חז: 1730, דח: ר, סג: שמ

תח: גס: ארבל

נד: פ

שמו/רגיל.

אל: ארבל 2.

דע: אירופה 2, שג. שמוקהולם

מאת: נאום - דוד בן-דב.

AMBASSADOR STEN STROMHOLM-משלחת שבדיה באומ' (מס' 2).

שלי 287 מ-11.10.88

1. להלן כמה נקודות משיחה עם הנל ב-1.3 על ההתפתחויות האחרונות:

2. פעילות שבדיה בסכסוך ערב-ישראל, ובעיקר בשאלה פלסטינאית בחודשים האחרונים, הינה בעיקרה תולדה של יוזמת שה'ח אנדרסן עצמו.

פעילות זו מהווה חריגה מסויימת באשר ממשבדיה לא נהגה בעבר לנקוט יוזמות אקטיביות ברמה זו לגבי סכסוכים אזוריים אחרים (פרט אולי לוויטנאם).

3. ביקורו של אנדרסן בישראל ובשטחים אשתקד המריצוהו כידוע לנקוט יוזמותיו.

הוא מדינאי ותיק המעורה היטב בפוליטיקה הפנימית בשבדיה אך לא צבר בעבר נסיון עשיר בבעיות בינ"ל.

נראה שהמוטיב העיקרי שהמריצו לפעול היה השכנוע שאותו גיבש במסגרת מאבקי הפנים בארצו - שאין דרך לפתור

4406

מס' 287 מ-11.10.88



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

סכסוכים אלא באמצעות 'שיחות בין הצדדים הישירים'.  
זהו גם יסוד מוסד באידיאולוגיה של מפלגתו.  
גישתו הנה קונסטרוקטיבית ביסודה והוא מאמין,  
באמת ובתמים, שניתן לצאח מן המיצר רק בדרך זו.

4. אף כי אין ממשבדיה מוכנה בשלב זה להכיר במדינת  
'פלטין' או להעלות דרג משרד אשפ' בשטוקהולם, משוכנעים  
אנדרסן ועמיתיו שמן הראוי שישראל תנסה לבחון במישרין  
את מניעיו ומגמותיו של ערפאת כדי לבדוק אם יש סיכוי  
התקדמות תוך מגעים עמו ועם עמיתיו ה'מתונים'.  
ידועות הסתייגויות ממישראל בנושא זה, אך התחושה בשטוקהולם  
שאין בהן כדי לשלול בחינה כנל. הסברתי עמדתנו.

5. אף כי ממשבדיה תומכת ברעיון פורום בינ'ל כלשהו  
בחסות האומ' לקידום מומ' ישיר, לא נראה לבן שיחי  
שהיא תעמוד על שותף כל החברות הקבועות במועביט, אם  
יושג הסכם ליצירת שושבינות שתי מעצמות העל שתוכלנה  
גם לערוב לתוצאות המומ'. עם זאת נראה לשבדים שמעורבות  
כלשהי של האומ' או המזכ'ל בשלב מסויים עשויה להיות  
חיונית.

6. על סמך נסיונו בשרות הדיפלומטי בלבנון נראה לבן  
שיחי שערפאת ועמיתיו הקרובים מסתייגים מן הפנדמנטליזם  
השיעי שהגיה באחרונה בלבנון ובמזה'ת בכלל ושהם חוששים  
מתנועת 'חמאס' בשטחים.  
נראה שכמה מהיותר קיצונים באשפ' הם נוצריים.

7. ספר השיחות בין עיראק ואיראן עומדות להתחדש בקרוב  
הזכיר שלא חלה כמעט שום התקדמות עד כה.  
הביע פליאה על התנהגות ממאיראן בפרשת רושדי באשר מגמתה  
המרכזית בקבלת החלטות מועבי'ט 598 מיום 30.7.1987  
ובשיחות עם עיראק היתה לצבור נקודות בקרב המערב.  
לדעתו הצליחה בכך סהרן במידת מה בעבר נוכח עמדתה הנוקשה  
והאגרסיבית של עירק שכלפיה לממשלתו הסתייגויות רבות.

8. טען שמשלחתו עומדת על מלוי הוראות הנוהל של מועבי'ט  
ושאילו היתה חברת מועבי'ט ספק אם היתה נוקטת קו כזה  
של פינלנד כלפי השתתפות אשפ' בדיוני המזעזה על המסוסים  
הלוביים ב-10/1 (שלנו 302 מ-12/1) ועל המצב בשטחים  
ב-10/2 (שלנו 315 מ-10/2).  
(כמובן שקשה להוכיח זאת).

1. The first part of the report discusses the general situation of the country and the progress made in various fields during the year.

2. In the second part, the report deals with the economic situation, including the growth rate, inflation, and the balance of payments.

3. The third part of the report focuses on the social and cultural aspects, such as the state of education, health, and the arts.

4. The fourth part discusses the political and administrative changes that have taken place during the year.

5. The fifth part of the report provides a summary of the achievements and challenges faced by the country.

6. Finally, the report concludes with some recommendations for the future development of the country.

# מושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, איר2, ר/מרכז, ממד, רס, אמן,  
ברנע, ארבבל2, ליאור, מזתים

0408

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

דחיפות: מיידית	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פברוק	קף: _____
סוג: שמור		כתובת: _____
תאריך וזמן חבור: 2 במרץ 1989 18:50		אל: _____ מצפ"א
פס' פברוק: הספרד: 76		דע: _____
		כאת: _____ ק. לקונגרס

חוק סיוע חוץ (כספים)

(1) קונגרסמנים יזידותיים בועדה המשנה למזה"ח פונים אלינו ומציעים חיקונים בלתי מחייבים בצורת "תחושת הקונגרס" (SENSE OF CONGRESS) הקוראים לימן ולהודו (כל אחת בנפרד) לשפר את מערכת היחסים שלהן עם ישראל.

(2) נודה לחגובתכט. הברי-קו-נא.

י. ל. ל.  
למדן.

2 שנה סלטה ירה גורגה גוא אלגוא כנרני גלבו  
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תפוצה: 36

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 1
סוג: שמר		כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן תגובה:		אל: מצפ"א
2 במרץ 1989 20:15		דע:
פס' פרוק:		כאת: ק. לקונגרס
הפסרד:		
83		

פגישת השגריר עם סנטור קוני מק

אתמול 1/3 נפגש השגריר לפגישת היכרות עם הסנטור הרפובליקני קוני - מק. נכחו עוזרו של הסנטור סינגר והח"מ.

1. השגריר פתח לבקשת הסנטור בסקירה על המצב בארץ ובאיזור. בנוגע לאינתיפדה התייחס לרושם המחוקל בתקשורת כאילו מדובר באנשים מסכנים חסרי הגנה. התקשורת המעוניינת בלימות מתמקדת רק בה, זאת מעבר לעובדה שכפינו על עצמנו סטנדרטים של ריסון חתנהגות המותאמות לאזרחים. סיימת הבנה הדרגתית בממשל שהעולם הערבי עוקב ביסודיות ובקפדנות אחר תגובותיה של ישראל, וכל כניעה כביכול מצידה ללחצים עלולה להתפרש כחולשה ומסר מסוכן למשל בבגדוד ומשק.

האיום האמיתי לישראל נובע מהתפתחויות מדאיגות כמו השמוש בנשק כימי במזה"ת (ע"י עירק) ומתק"ק שבידי הסעודים העירקים והסורים.

2. מק סיפר כי ביקר בארץ בשנה שעברה ומיד לאחר ששב לארה"ב צפה בטלוויזיה ובדיווחים מהשטח והשתומם, כמי שריקר ואיזור, ממידת העיוות המשודרת. והתקשורת מראה מעין CITY RIOT במקום לתתמקד בעימות בין עמים.

מק הוסיף לציין ערפת גראת שישראל ותומכיה זקוקים ליוזמה לגבי מה שהם חושבים שצריכה להיות התגובה. סיפר כי במשרדו <sup>במ</sup> במצב באיזור ובצורך לעדוד יוזמה כלפי ממשלות ערביות לתרום לתחליף.

3. השגריר הבחיר כי לירדן חסיד חשוב בהדברות בין ישראל לפלסטינים. לגבי ארה"ב, אנו סבורים כי יש לחשעות הדיאלוג שכן ניתן לאבחן pattern בפעילות הטרור של אש"פ (התייחס לאירועים האחרונים) ולא חועמד פרק זמן סביר לבחינת התאמת הרטוריקה של אש"פ למעשיו.

תפוצה: 36

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2 1 4 4 1 1

דתיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: $\frac{2}{2}$
סוג:		כתוב: $\frac{2}{2}$
תאריך וזמן העבור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסרד:		פאת:
23		

ברור שהצטרף ערפת באה כתוצאה מלחץ שחפעילו תושבי השטחים על אש"פ. סדח"י שלהם וצרכיהם שונים מאלה של החזים מחוץ לשטחים. אנו מצדדים בקיום דיאלוג עם מנהיגות מיו"ש שחיסול יוזמה ללא חשש מאיומי ערפת. נוכל לעודד זאת למשל ע"י בחילות, אולם עם אש"פ לא נוכל להדבר.

4. בעת ביקורו יציע רה"מ רעיונות למעבר מהשלב הנוכחי למצב חדש של אחריות התושבים המקומיים לשאלת מק' מה יקרה אם אש"פ ישנה האמנה השיב ארד כי זה מאד לא סביר.

5. הסנטור האזין משר כל השיחה ושאל שאלות תבחרב בלבד. היה ידידותי מאד והציע לשתפ ולסייע בידינו כפי יכולתו.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר  
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה:



Q Are there limits to the dialogue from the point of view of the United States?

MR. REDMAN: I think I've described it pretty clearly. I don't know what more I could do. We have described what our objective is. I've just said it again. So that -- that's what we hope that it will produce.

Q Chuck, do you have any comment on the bombing of -- the Israeli bombing of southern Lebanon, which involved the bombing of a school?

MR. REDMAN: I answered that question yesterday.

Q -- on the same thing, please. Yesterday, you characterized the Palestinian attacks against Israel as contrary to the peaceful objectives of the United States -- as paraphrasing what you said. Do you see the Israeli attacks consistent with the objectives of the United States in that region?

MR. REDMAN: I've addressed each of those issues. You have the reaction --

MR. REDMAN: -- and they are there. You can read the transcript from yesterday.

Q Chuck, back to Shamir, your description of the US intentions in this conversation with the PLO, you know, hopefully would produce steps toward peace. Shamir says that it has the opposite effect, that it boosts Arafat's prestige and prevents other Palestinians from participating. Do you have any reflections on whether the mechanism operates that way?

MR. REDMAN: I have described our objective as we see it.

Q Chuck, any dialogue is supposed to be a two-way street. What's the other side in this dialogue -- rating of the subject with the United States?

MR. REDMAN: We'll see what it produces, the dialogue.

Q -- a housekeeping question. Are there any plans for some sort of a briefing before the Secretary's trip?

MR. REDMAN: As of now, I don't have any plans, but I do have it under review.

Q Chuck, a follow-up on the -- since you are not talking about the detail of what's going on between the PLO and the United States, but is it now still on terrorism? Nothing beyond terrorism? Is it going beyond this one point you are raising always?

MR. REDMAN: The reason those points have been raised is because the incidents have occurred. And, as I said, we will raise those kind of incidents when they occur. But, the objective of the dialogue is a larger one, as I said earlier, and I defined it again

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Q Any reaction to the story yesterday that Shevardnadze did raise the issue of the Rushdie thing with Khomeini, in fact, and Soviet offers to mediate in this?

MR. REDMAN: We have seen the same reports that you have. We don't have any other details about this Soviet offer as it was presented in these various reports. As I said, we did ask Mr. Shevardnadze, prior to his trip to Tehran, to raise concerns with the Iranians. We, of course, would study any details that might come forward. But, from our perspective, the solution to the Rushdie case is very simple. Iranian death threats are unacceptable. We've encouraged other countries around the world to speak up on this. The United States has spoken up. And we believe it's high time the Soviets spoke up.

Q Is an offer of mediation "speaking up"?

MR. REDMAN: As far as one can see, there is nothing here that involves mediation. What's required is a condemnation of a death threat. It's clearly unacceptable. It shouldn't exist.

Q Are you pleased with some Arab countries saying that Khomeini does not represent Islam on this issue?

MR. REDMAN: I'll let those countries speak for themselves.

Q Chuck, a related question, and, if you were asked this yesterday, excuse me, but does the State Department have any reaction to Amnesty International's report that Iraqi children have been the victims of human rights abuses?

MR. REDMAN: That particular report we haven't seen. And we will want to study it carefully. Our most recent report to Congress on human rights practices in Iraq points out that torture of prisoners appears to be widespread. It cites previous Amnesty International reports. It makes reference to the arrest and disappearance in 1985 of as many as 300 children and young people.

Q Well, as the United States did ask Mr. Shevardnadze to address this issue with Khomeini, and he says he did, do we have any idea what the -- what was said?

MR. REDMAN: As I say, we have nothing other than what we have seen in these reports. This is an issue that we'll be raising in Vienna when Secretary Baker meets with Mr. Shevardnadze.  
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שמור

חוזם: 3,1520  
 אל: נ' 55, בטחון/65  
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 020389, זח: 1423, דח: ר, סג: שמ  
 תח: א גס: ארבל  
 נד: א

שמור/רגיל

נאו'ם,

דע: לוברני/משרד הבטחון, יפרח/קישור לכוחות זרים

פגישת המנכל עם מפקד יוניפיל

1. ב-1/3 בא הגנרל וולגרן לפגישת היכרות עם המנכ"ל. השתתפו מצידם היועץ המדיני ליוניפיל קרנאפאס ומצידנו טנא.

2. הפגישה לא חרגה משיחת נימוסין על המצב בדרום לבנון ובאיזור באופן כללי והגנרל נמנע מלהעלות באופן ישיר את נושא הפגיעות בחיילי יוניפיל לאחרונה. רק ציין את חוסר המשמעת והירי הבלתי אחראי של צד'ל שאותו ייחס במיוחד ליחידותיו הנוצריות (בהשוואה ליחידות המוסלמיות). התייחס לאמל כגוף אחראי שעליו אפשר לסמוך להרגעת האיזור. המנכ"ל חזר על המלצתנו הידועה ליוניפיל לחזק את הקשר הבלתי רשמי שלו עם צד'ל.

3. האורחים חזרו והעלו גירושי התושבים מכפר שבעא שבגזרה הנורווגית בחודש ינואר בטענה שהמגורשים עדיין לא הורשו לשוב לכפרם. חזרו וביקשו התערבותנו לסיום הגירוש.

ארבל 2

תפ

לש



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תפז: שרה, סושהח, מנכל, ממנכל, ברנע, ארבל2, ליאור, מזתים, איר2, איר1,  
סייבל, משפט, ר/מרכז, ממד

שבת

כוכב



28

דתיפות: מידי	שגרירות ישראל / וויסינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 1
סוג: שמור		כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן תעבור: 1 במרץ 1989 16:10		אל: מצפ"א
כס' פרוק: הפסד:		דף:
23		פאת: ק/ק לקונגרס

שיחת שגריר - קונגרסמן ג'ון מילר (1,3)

(1) השגריר קיים חיום שיחת חיכרות עם הקונגרסמן ג'ון מילר (רפובליקאי ממדינת ווסינגטון, חבר בוועדת החוץ, יהודי, ידידותי).

(2) השגריר פתח בסקירה כללית. בסיומה, מילר הודה לו על העברת OVERVIEW מעולה, והתעניין במה שהוא תגדיר כהחלטה הקונטרברסיאלית של הממשל לפתוח בדיאלוג עם אש"פ. גילה הבנה להסתייגותנו מדיאלוג זה ולהערכתנו לגבי חוסר השינוי בעמדות אש"פ כפי שהדבר מגיע לביטוי לא רק בהתבטאויותיו אלא גם במעשיו.

(3) מכאן ביקש מילר לעבור לנושא הסיוע. בהסבירו לאתחול הופיע כאיש ועדה החוץ ברשת C-SPAN ובמשך שעה חמימה השיב על שאלות המשקיפים בנושא הסיוע. מה ושם נשאלו שאלות על הסיוע עבור ישראל אך הוא נאלץ לתח את הדעת למכלול כולו. ביקש לדעת את עמדתנו לגבי רצון הממשל להשיג יותר שיפוט וגמישות בקשר לחלוקת כספי הסיוע ע"י ביטול שיטת השדריונים, בהוסיפו שלחערכתו יבוא יום והממשל יציע מעין עסקה לפיה יבטלו השיריונים בעוד שהוא מבטיח לדאוג להמשך הסיוע במימדי הנוכחיים ל-"CORE AREA'S", לרבות מזה"ח ובכלל זה למדינות ק"ד. השגריר השיב שלגבי דידנו, רצוי שהקונגרס ישמור את ה-ULTIMATE CONTROL. הח"מ טען שמעל ומעבר לשמירת המללה האחרונה, מן הדין שנקשו מאמצים לשמור על כספי הסיוע בכללותם ולהגן אותם בפני קיצוצים נוספים. מילר הסכים אך העיר שבחשור זה לא הממשל אלא הקונגרס אשם כי הרי הממשל מבקש באופן עקבי יותר כספים לסיוע ממה שהקונגרס מוכן לתקצב.

(4) מילר הזכיר שבביקור בארץ ב-1986 העלה בפני מר סהס את האפשרות של הקטנה (מרצון) של הסיוע האזרחי עבור ישראל <sup>האש"פ</sup> חוץ א"ר. מר סהס הסכים שיש לחזור לקראת זאת ולפתוח בתהליך הגמילה מהסיוע האמריקאי. מילר הצביע על הקשיים בהגנה על ה-ESF עבור ישראל וביקש

תפוצה: <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup>

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דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פברוק	קף: 2
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תאריך וזמן העבור:		אל:
כס' פברוק:		דע:
המסרד:		
23		פאת:

לדעת אל הסיכויים להפחתה. השגריר הביא טיעונים שונים שעיקרם הינו חיוביות הסיוע האזרחי לבעתון ישראל, גודל החזרי חובות הסיוע הצבאי (שמקורו בהסכמי קייז) ערך ההשקעה האמריקאית בהשכנת שלום באיזור ותרומת ישראל לשלום ולאיינטרס האמריקאי מול גרומת מדינות נאטו (בקונטקסט של הדיון DEFENCE SHARING). מילר העיר שאלה הם SOUND ARGUMENTS, ועוד אמר שלהבא יתייחס לסיוע כ"SECURITY AID" ולא כ"חמיכה כלכלית" (ECONOMIC SUPPORT).

יאסוף אלטר  
למדן.

eif

תפוצה:

28

דחופות? מידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: 1
סוג: שמר		סתוק: 2
תאריך וזמן תגוב: 1800 1 במרס 1989		אל: מצפ"א
פס' פרוק: <u>הפסיד:</u>		דע:
25		פאת: ק/ק לקונגרס

שיחת השגריר - הקונגרסמן טד רייס (2,3)

1. השגריר קיטט אתמול ביקור הכרות אצל הקונגרסמן טד רייס (דמוקרט מניו יורק, ליברלי, יהודי, ידידותי, אך ביקורתי). נכחו עוזרתו לענייני חוץ דה"מ.

2. השגריר סקר את המצב בשטחים ועיר"ב דעמד על החשיבה הטוטלתנית אצלנו לגבי הצעות לקידום תהליך השלום (גישו הדרגתית, פתרון ביניים, מר"מ עם הפלסטינאים בשטחים והירדנים ולא עם אש"פ, האפשרות של בחירות זכ"ר), רייס הייב את החיפוש אחר פתרון דיפלומטי אך העיר כי אינר בטוח עד כמה גישתנו הנ"ל תענה על "צרכי ארה"ב". עוד הסביר ראטר שבמשך השנים התמיכה הנרחבת לישראל בארה"ב היתה "REMARKABLE" בעוד שהתמיכה הקונגרסיונלית טעולם לא היתה מנותקת מהתמיכה בקרב תוציבור הרחב. בצורה איחודית, ישראל מתקפת בשך השנתיים האחרונות כעד שאינר מענייין בשלום וכאן טענתה טכנה, כי פרספציה זו הביאה לכירוסוס בתמיכה חציבורית רברבנת הימים תגררט גם לשאקה בתמיכה הקונגרסיונלית. כיום הציבור שואל שאלות מדאיגות לגבי ישראל והשיכויים בדעת הקהל ישפיעו על הקונגרס אם כי תהליך זה עדיין לא בשל. ייתכן שנוי<sup>ד"ר</sup> תהליך אם ישראל תתקבל כעד החותר באורח פעיל לשלום. לפני שנת, בעת ביקור דה"מ, העתוקקים היהודיים ניסו להעביר מסר זה אך השו ב - RELUCTANCE מעד מר שטיר לגלות חבנת לדכריחם. דעונו להאמין שבטבעות האחרונים קלטנו את המסר ותפטנו את החידונית בהגשת הצעות נועזות.

3. כאשר לניתוח השגריר לגבי המתרחש בשטחים ובסיבות המונעות כניעה מצדנו לאלימות, טען רייס שאס נרצח אד לא, קידמת פרספציה שהתגובה הישראלית לאלימות הינה טרגזמת, קשוחה וקשה מדי. דו"ח מהמ"ד תואס פרספציה זו (אס כי לחערכתו הדו"ח היה בלתי טארוזן). השימש כנשק חי, אפילו אס אין כרוגה להרוג, מפריע טאד ונראה כאילו לא אכפת לנו מהתוצאות. פיצוץ בתום טעביר מסר לא נכונו....

תפוצה: 1 2 3 4  
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דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק': 2
סוג:		סתוק: 2
תאריך וזמן חבור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		כאת:
25		

עלינו להתחייבם לפרטפציה קשה זו ולטפל בה. דוחכן טמדוכר בשאלה צורה ( FORM )  
לא בשאלה מחרת ( SUBSTANCE ) אך אסור לנו להתעלם מהבעיה.

4. באשר לדיאלוג עם אש"פ, אינו סבור שאש"פ קבל "שק פתוח". עליו לתוכיח שחל אצל  
"CHANGE OF ATTITUDE", כרס, על משקל זה, ייתכן שיבוא יום וישראל תעטרך להראות  
שחל אצל "CHANGE OF ATTITUDE", יש להניח שאנו מייחסים חשיבות לתגובות האמריקאיות,  
וע"מ לשמור על תמיכת אמריקאית חזקה עלינו לשקול את מעשינו לפי התגובות כאז.

5. בנוסף לכך, ברודאי ידוע לנו ששיטת הוק גראם-רדמן והקיצוצים תמתקשים טעמידים  
תכנית הסיוע בכלל ותסיוע לישראל כפרט בפני סכנה, אם לא חשנה אז בשנה הבאה.  
פירוש הדבר קיומת סכנה מיסיקלית לקיצוץ בסינוע, דמן הדין שניקה שיקרל זה בחשבור.

6. השגריר אשר שיעביר מסר זה נאמנת לארץ.

י.א.מ.  
למדן

e.f.

תפוצה:

דחילות: דגיל	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 1
סוג: שטר		מספר: 4
תאריך וזמן חצור: 13:00 1.3.89		אל: סמנכ"ל מצפ"א.
כס' פרוק: הפסד:		דצ: מנהל מצפ"א, א.אלרון-הסתדרות, ארנ"ל, שגריר, ציר, שטריין.
11		פאת: אלי כהן-קגז.

הנדון: ביקור מזכ"ל ההסתדרות-ח"כ ד. קיסר.

הח"מ ליווה את מזכ"ל ההסתדרות בביקורו בארנ"ב (למעט יומיים של קנדה שלגביה טרם קיבלתי העזרה דיפלומטית).

להלן סיכום קצר של הביקור:

1. אקדקוטיבה של AFL-CIO - בין 19-21/2/89, נטל המזכ"ל חלק בשיבת האקדקוטיבה

בניאמי. זו הפעם הראשונה שנציג ישראלי ואחת מהפעמים הבודדות שנציג זה טופיע בסני האקדקוטיבה שהזנה פורום סגור.

הרפעתו של הח"כ קיסר הייתה אחד מדברים הבולטים באקדקוטיבה זו ונעשתה מיד אחר הופעת שרת העבודת הגב' אליזבט דול. בתום הופעתו שהתקבלה באווירה טובה במיוחד, התקבלה החלטה המצ"ב (נוסח ראשוני) הנוסח שיפורסם כרשומות זהה כמעט ויועבר כשיחקבל.

תכן ההחלטה חיובי ביותר, כמשתמע טחממ"ב.

להופעה חנ"ל קדמו סגישות אישיות עם חלק גדול של חברי האקדקוטיבה (כ-14 איש מתוך 36).

האווירה בפגישות אלו הייתה ידידותית, ברם הנוכחים צידינו את הצורך בקשר ישראלי עם מנהיגי האגודים המקצועיים מדור שני הנמצאים בערי-שדה, שאם לא כן, הרציפות עלולה להתערער.

כמו-כן עזין שבחלק מחקוטיבה באיגודים המקצועיים הולכת וגוברת השפעה של חוגים

פרו-ערביים והדרך הטובה לעצור את הסחף המתחיל, היא הזפעות אישיות ומגעיים אישיים עם אנשי מסתח בשדה ושיגורם לניקוריים בארץ.

2. המכוז ע"ש לן קירקלנד-בחופעת מזכ"ל ההסתדרות ניתן פוטכני לכך שהמכוז האפרו-אסיאני

2...

ל.י

תפוצה: 3

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including names like 'אלי כהן' and 'ד. קיסר'.

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פבוק	זר: 2
סוג:		סתנן: 4
תאריך וזמן תצורה:		אל:
כס' פבוק:		דצ:
המספר:		פאת:
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המחודש דקרא ע"ש לן קירקלנד, סגיר שטבס חגיגי יתקיים בעת ביקורו של קירקלנד בארץ השנה.

3. פגישה עם שרת העבודה - במימון התקדמה גם פגישה עם שרת העבודה-גב' דול, כאשר מזכ"ל ההסתדרות היה כנראה האישיות הראשונה שנפגשה עמה. הרושם האישי של הח"מ שנרכה בפגישה, ששרת העבודה מתכננת פעילות אינטנסיבית ותשמח למצא דרך לעסוק בענינים הקשורים לישראל ולהפגין את-הידידות כלפיה. גב' דול הגיבה בחיוב לבקשתו להוסיף אדשית בוועידת ILO בג' נבה, ולתת הנחיות למשלחת בנושאים הקשורים בנו.

כאשר ימונו כל העוזרים המתאימים בטשרדה, ימשיך, הח"מ כבידור הדברים שנדונו בפגישה.

4. פגישות עם קונגרסנים - תוך כדי שחיתנו במימון ובמיוחד בק"ם ובארוחת-ערב טעם מגבית ההסתדרות, התקדמו פגישות עם סנאטור מיצנבאום, קונגרסמן לארי סמית, קונגרסמן ספר ואחרים. סנאטור מיצנבאום בשיחה ארוכה חזר והדגיש הצורך בכיתוק קשרים מוחלט עם דרא"פ וזה כדבר העשוי לרכך במקצת את הבעיות בטחית. הוא ציין גם שנשוא זה הוא פעצת זמן מבהינת יחסי ישראל-ארצ"ב. גם קונגרסמן לארי סמית אמר לי דברים דומים ובמיוחד הדגיש את הצורך בעמדה ישראלית ברורה.

5. פגישות בנו-יורק-החלק הנזו-יורקי של ביקור הח"מ קיסר, הוקדש לנושא מגבית ההסתדרות ולמניהגרי יהדות מקומית.

בכל הפגישות שהתקיימו, בהלקו פרטיות, הוזכרו בעיות בידרוקרטיה וקטיי השקעה בישראל.

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תפוצה:

דחילות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	זר:
סוג:		פתוח: 4
תאריך וזמן תעבור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דצ:
הפשרה: 11		פאת:

סיכום - AFL-CIO תינו עדיין אחד מהידידים הנאמנים ביותר של

ישראל בכלל וההסתדרות בפרט.  
יש לעשות הכל כדי לחמשיך את המצב הזה ולשם כך חובה להגביר הפעילות כקרב איגודי העובדים המקומיים ובמיוחד בחוף המערבי ובמערב התיכון (שיקאגו ודטרויט).  
כמו-כן צריך לשאוף להשגת מעאבים נוספים שיאפשרו שיגור טנהיגים מקומיים לארץ.

אלי כהן-קמז.



תפוצה:

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Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

Histadrut--A Bedrock of Israel's Democracy

February 00, 1989  
Bal Harbour, Florida

The AFL-CIO Executive Council extends warm, fraternal greetings to Histadrut--Israel's General Federation of Labor. Histadrut continues to be a major force in shaping the social, economic and cultural life of Israel--the only free democracy in the Middle East.

Histadrut has fought to successfully maintain the economic and social gains of Israel's workers--Jews and Arabs alike--despite difficult economic conditions, rampant inflation, terrorism, security threats and confrontation.

The last year has been extremely difficult for Israel, which is struggling to cope with the Palestinian Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, while maintaining its democratic character. In this difficult period, Histadrut has played the major and decisive role in preserving the rights of Palestinian and Arab workers.

We join with Histadrut in the belief that the Israeli-Arab conflict cannot be solved by the use of force, but only through direct negotiations between the parties concerned.

Today, more than ever, Histadrut needs the solidarity and support of the U.S. trade union movement and of free unions the world over. The AFL-CIO Executive Council, therefore, calls on all its affiliates to continue their strong material and moral support of Histadrut and Israel, and to give priority to assisting Histadrut's social, educational, cultural and health initiatives.

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דחיפות: מיידי	טופס מכרזק קשר ניו-יורק	33	דף: 1 מחוק: 4
סיוג: גלוי			אל: המשרד - אירופה ג
תזוח: 011230			דע: ארכל 2 ; לשכת שה"ח
חט מכריק:			מאת: נאו"ס - יששכרוף
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בריה"מ - מז"ח  
רצ"כ הודעת עיונונות מטעם המשלחת הסובייטית כאן על שיחות  
שוורכרזה עם ערפאת ושה"ח ארנס.

נאו"ס

מה שיש להם מהג המנהל סמך  
 מה שיש להם מהג המנהל סמך

אריק: 1.3.89 שם השולח: ג. יששכרוף



# Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

PERMANENT MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

136 EAST 67TH STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021

## Press Release

No. 34  
February 24, 1989

### MEETINGS IN CAIRO

#### E. Shevardnadze and Y. Arafat converse

CAIRO, February 22, TASS. Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR Foreign Minister, and Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, met in Cairo on Wednesday.

They had an in-depth exchange of opinions on a broad range of questions of the situation in the world, particularly in the Middle East. The conviction was expressed that new political thinking in world politics which is achieving ever greater recognition should be fully applied also to the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The sides confirmed that, as it was stated at a meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Yasser Arafat in April 1988, a durable and fair peace can be established in the region only on the basis of the recognition of the principle of free choice and balancing the interests of all the sides involved in the conflict.

Shevardnadze informed Arafat of the nature and contents of conversations on questions of the Middle East settlement which he held during his stay in Damascus, Amman and Cairo.

The Palestinian Leader spoke highly of the Soviet Union's stand of support for the Palestinians' just struggle for their lawful national rights. He emphasized the Soviet Union's effective role in the process of the Middle East settlement, the importance of the Soviet Union's constructive impact on the process of the establishment of durable peace in the Middle East.

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Shevardnadze appraised as an important constructive step the decisions of the 19th extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council and the Palestinian leadership's actions for their implementation.

It was emphasized that the clearly stated readiness of the Palestine Liberation Organization to observe international legality, including the Security Council's resolutions 242 and 338, decisive condemnation of all forms of terrorism attest to the firm intention of the PLO to press for a political settlement to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Shevardnadze noted that the heroic uprising in the occupied territories reflects the Palestinian people's national aspirations and that nobody can afford to disregard this. Repressions that the Israeli authorities mete out to civilian Palestinian population cannot stem the uprising. This shows again the futility and fallaciousness of power pressure which deadlocks the problem and causes greater pain and suffering to the peaceful population.

The interlocutors discussed specific measures of the preparation of an international conference. It was noted that the mechanism of the United Nations Security Council could be used more effectively. The Permanent Members of the Security Council can assume the functions of a conference's preparatory body, conducting regular contacts with parties to the conflict, including the PLO.

Shevardnadze and Arafat expressed the hope for the evolution in Israel's approach to the idea of an international conference on the Middle East and its constructive cooperation with the United Nations Security Council in the work to prepare the conference.

The sides expressed satisfaction over the state of Soviet-Palestinian relations, their positive development.

The conversation passed in a warm, businesslike and friendly atmosphere.

\* \* \*

#### E. Shevardnadze meets M. Arens

CAIRO, February 22, TASS. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, on a visit in Cairo, on Wednesday met and talked with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens.

The Ministers continued the dialogue begun by them in Paris last January. They discussed the situation in the Middle East and questions of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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Shevardnadze noted that the positive tendencies which are gaining strength in the world and the assertion of new political thinking in inter-state relations create a favourable background for a decisive breakthrough in a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the same time, persisting tension in the Middle East and the ongoing arms race there harbour serious perils not only to the people in that region but also the entire world.

The international community has reached, especially after the recent important steps by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which are evidence of the realism and a constructive nature of its stance, a high degree of consensus in that the path toward a Mideast settlement lies through the convocation of an international conference with the participation of all parties of the conflict, including the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people.

In this connection Shevardnadze expressed the hope that Israel still did not have its last say concerning participation in the conference and talks with the PLO and that it will not oppose itself in this issue to the opinion of the majority of the world's countries.

The Ministers agreed that they would continue the dialogue on the problem of the Middle East settlement at various levels. A meeting of experts to exchange information and assess the situation around the Mideast settlement will take place already in near future.

The talk also concerned several issues pertaining to the activity of consular groups.

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דחיפות: מידר	סגרירות ישראל/ווישינגטון טופס פרוק	זר:
סוג: שמר		פתוק:
תאריך וזמן העבר: 28.2.89 16:30		אל: מעמ"א
כס' פרוק: הפסוד:		דע:
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סנטור קוני מק נאש"ם

רצ"ב טיוטה להצעת חוק שיזם הסנטור קוני מק בנוגע להמשך הדיאלוג עם אש"ם  
 וחובת דיווח שנתית של הנשיא לקונגרס על מילוי אש"ם את התחבירויותיו עם י התנאים  
 האמריקנים.

יגאל יונאי ציריך  
 יחודית זרנאי זרנגר

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THE PLO REPORT AND CERTIFICATION ACT OF 1989

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WHEREAS, the United States affirmed in a Memorandum of Agreement on September 1, 1975, that it "will not recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as the PLO does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not accept U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338"; and

WHEREAS, the Congress enacted and the President signed into law a statute effective October 1, 1985, reaffirming that policy and providing that "no officer or employee of the United States Government and no agent or other individual acting on behalf of the United States Government shall negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization or any representatives thereof (except in emergency or humanitarian situations) unless and until the Palestine Liberation Organization recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and renounces the use of terrorism," (Title XIII, Section 1301); and

WHEREAS, the Department of State issued a statement on November 26, 1988, finding that "the U.S. Government has convincing evidence that PLO elements have engaged in terrorism against Americans and others" and that "Mr. [Yasser] Arafat, Chairman of the PLO, knows of, condones and lends support to such acts; he therefore is an accessory to such terrorism"; and

WHEREAS, Secretary of State George Schultz declared on December 14, 1988, that "the Palestinian Liberation Organization today issued a statement in which it accepted U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, recognized Israel's right to exist in peace and security, and renounced terrorism. As a result, the United States is prepared for a substantive dialogue with P.L.O. representatives"; and

WHEREAS, President Ronald Reagan stated on December 14, 1988, that "the PLO must live up to its statements. In particular, it must demonstrate that its renunciation of terrorism is pervasive and permanent." And President Reagan declared on December 15, 1988, that "the words must be matched by performance, and if they are not, we are back where we started" and that if the PLO does not live up to its word, "we will certainly break off communications."

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Section I: Report and Certification

It is therefore the policy of the United States that:

1. Report -- The President shall report to Congress each year by December 31, the record of actions by the responsible agencies of the PLO -- including the Chairman, the Executive Committee, and the Resolutions of the Palestine National Council--that constitutes the primary evidence that the PLO is or is not living up to its commitments to recognize Israel's right to exist and renounce and desist from the practice of terrorism.

2. Certification -- Based on this report, the President shall certify to Congress each year by December 31, either that:

(a) The PLO is living up to its commitment to accept the existence of Israel and renounce and desist from the practice of terrorism, and therefore the U.S. is continuing to maintain a substantive dialogue with the PLO; OR

(b) That the PLO is not living up to its commitment to accept the existence of Israel, or is not living up to its commitment to renounce and desist from the practice of terrorism, or is not living up to either commitment, and that therefore, the U.S. is suspending its substantive dialogue with the PLO until such time as that organization's statements and practices are brought into compliance with its commitments.

If the dialogue is suspended in accordance with article (2) (b), the President shall provide to the Congress a supplementary report on the PLO's compliance with its commitments, 30 days before resuming the dialogue.

Section II: Objectives

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1. Objectives -- The United States Government declared in December 1988 that its willingness to engage in a substantive dialogue with the PLO is conditioned by that organization demonstrating that "its renunciation of terrorism is pervasive and permanent" and that "its words must be matched by performance" with regard to acceptance of the existence of Israel. The most fundamental objective of the substantive dialogue with the PLO is therefore to encourage further development in that organization toward peace and recognition of Israel and away from terrorism and violence. Toward these ends, the President shall include in his annual report to Congress progress toward achieving these objectives, including:

(a) Amending the Palestine National Covenant, in accordance with the procedures defined in its Article 33, to bring this charter into compliance with the PLO's commitment to renounce terrorism and accept the existence of Israel, and particularly to eliminate provisions which directly contradict the commitments on which the U.S./PLO dialogue is conditioned.

(b) Disbanding elements of the PLO that have been involved in terrorism, such as the security arm known as the "Harari Group" (described by the Department of State in a public release on November 26, 1988) and "Force 17."

(c) Statements by the Chairman of the PLO, the members of its Executive Committee, and the Resolutions of its National Council, condemning terrorist acts which occur, and the cooperating of these entities in achieving the arrest, prosecution, and/or extradition of individuals accused of responsibility for terrorist acts.



שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון  
טופס פרוק

קד: 2  
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דתיקות:

סוג:

תאריך וזמן הגור:

אל:

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פאת:

הנדבך החשוב הוא זה שבין מצרים ועיראק. התכניות לשקטת הכלכלי של עיראק תבססנה על שוקר. פעלים מצרים וסיוע טכני מעד ירדן. היא אינה חרזה הפיכת הטטגרת למולטולטרלית מחמת השוני הכלכלי בין מרכיביה. לשאלתו באשר לאפשרות של טח"פ בעחוכי, השיבה שנטירן העבה של פיתום מע"ש ערבי משומף לא היה חיובן והוא יעורר RESSENTMENT על גורמים ערבים אחרים [סעודיה?] הגם שטח"פ מבטחוכי בין מצרים ועיראק ישן גם אך כנפיד שהטטגרת הכלכלית החדשה.

4. מצרים ורעב"ל. לדעתה חסוגיה היא היסוטטית מכיוון שאין היא חרזה אפשרות טיחושא לפחות לא בהדעים הקרובים. חרעיון הטערי של טטלחת ערבית משותפת בא ע"מ לענות על טטגרת שבט ישראל וגם הפלט' קרי אש"פ יוכלו להיות עמה. הטערים היו טעדימים טטלחת ירדנית - פלט' משותפת. בעבר הם אף התטארך בפני האטרוקאים שיוכלו לטבור רעיון זה.

5. ערם נקבע טועד לביקורו של טבראכ בווינגטון. ההנחה היא שיחיה זה בימים הראשונים של אפריל. חסין מתוכנן להגיע אחרי חרמד'אן כלומר בהדעים טאי או ירני.

אלי אכידן  
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תפוצה:

ד"ר: _____	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דחילות:
כתוב: _____		סוג: שמר
אל: _____		תאריך וזמן העור: 28 סבבר '89
דע: _____		פס' פרוק: הפסרד:
פאת: ק. לקונגרס		1/2 703

ביחנ"בו רריזזה בסירע חרע

1. חיום קייטה ועדת חרוע HEARINGS בנוגע לדו"ח ה - 'TASK FORCE' (בראשו חטילטון רגילטן) דחמלעותיה לרריזזה בסירע חרע. (הדו"ח חמלא שפורס חשבוש רשמה, כדז' חקרו). בסני חועדה חופיעו בסך חיום עדט פרטיום (נציגי אונברסיטאות וארגונים חעוסקים בסיותח, מדינות עולם שלישי וכו') ומרביחם חביעו חמיכתם בחמלצה חעיקרית של ה - 'TASK FORCE' - ביטול חשריונים.

2. ראוי לציין במיוחד שתי חתבטאוריות חמשקפות דיעות הדווחות ביו קונגרסטמניס רביס.

טולרז - שאל העדים, באם חס אכן מסכימים לבטול חשריינים כיצד יתמודדו עם חבעיה של אבדן ירזמת חקונגרס בייזוט חכניות חדשות או בחגת כססים עבור חכניות מוצלחות שחמטשל לא ביקש עבורן מיטון. חבא כדוגמה ירזמה של חקונגרס למיטון טילגות בארה"כ עבור סטודנטים טודא"פ. חמטשל חונגד בזמנו למיטון אך חתכנית, שהחכחה עצמה כמוצלחות, חתבענה רק בגלל חשריינים, חאם העדים מציעים שחקונגרס יחווה חרתמת גרמי לכל בחקות חמטשל חשובה - על חמטשל דחקונגרס לקבוע טטרות במשותף במקום שריינים. קוסטמאיר - חתרכז אף חוא בשאלותיו. ב - CONGRESSIONAL POWER חשריינים. העלה חאפשרות שהחתיעוידות עם חמטשל (כפי שחציעו העדים) יכשלו, דאם אכן זה יקרה, וחשריינים יבטלו לקונגרס לא יוותרו כל אופציות, חוסיף כי ארלי יש צריכה לחידת חאופציה לחשמש בשריינים כחודבר נחוץ. למעשה עפ"י חעעת חעדים, חמטשל ירודח דחקונגרס יפסיד.

גם קונגרסטון אולימפיה סנו חתייחטה למערכת יחסי קונגרס-מטשל בנושא זה.

שה' ס'טה' ר'ה' א'ויג' ג'ט' א'וא' ב'לו' ג'ט'ו

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף:
סוג:		כתוב:
תאריך וזמן העור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		פאת:
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3. מחתבתאונדת לעזל, דמשיחדת עם קונגרסמניט ועוזריהם עולה כי מטפר רב של קונגרסמניט אינם מרגישים בנדח לגבי האפשרות של אבדן עוצמתם וחופש פעולתם מול הממשל ולפי שעה אין לחמילטרן תמיכה רחבה לביטול מוחלט של השרידנים.
4. בשיחה עם קונגרסמן ברמן היום סיפר כי שוחח אמש עם המילטרן אשר אמר לו כד הוא מסכים שאין לפגוע בשיריון לישראל, הוסף כי הסיוע למצרים שונה מזה של ישראל שכן מצרים הינה UNDER DEVELOPED COUNTRY דאח"ב מאבדת ה - LEVERAGE שלה על מצרים בסיוע האוטומטי המוגן מידי שנה. הסיוע לישראל שונה מבחינת מעמדה של ישראל, ערכיה וייצור הסיוע. לדבר ברמן, התלווון עלרל השנה To CHALLENGE את מצרים בנושא. על הביקורת כלפי מצרים והשמש שלה בכספי הסיוע שמענו כבר ממקורות שונים ובדאי נוכל לשמוע בצורת ברחה יותר בשימושים על הסיוע למצרים שיתקיימו ביום ה' הקרוב.
5. לידיעתכם שגולמן אירטם הסתייגות לגבי מסקנות דו"ח ה - TASK FORCE הכוללת קביעה כי אין לבטל השרידנים עבור ישראל מצרים וירוק, (געכיר הנוסח עם קבלתו).

ישראל / וושינגטון  
יהודית רנאי דרנגר

תפוצה:



דתיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קף: 2
סוג:		פתוך: 2
תאריך ושם הנכיר:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסלד:		פאת:
14		

ה- כשלעצמו הוא מוצא עידוד בכך שבקונגרס אין שינוי בחשיבות המיוחדת לישראל כבת ברית גדולה שאינה חברה בנאטו וכן להמשך הסיוע עבורה.

ו- מאידך יש להתגונן נגד תחושה של "חוסר סבלנות" חן בקונגרס והן בממשל. קיימת כמיהה ל"חזוזה" לקראת שלום במזרחית, שמצאה בטויד עוד לפני שנה במכתב 30 הסנטורים (כזכור בעקבותיו שגר וילסון מכתב נפרד לשולץ בו טען כי לא נכון ולא הוגן לדרוש ויתורים מאשראל לפני ובמעדר ערובות לשלום).

ז- תוהה מדוע ארה"ב אינה משתמשת באשראי שלה אצל מדינות ערב המחוננות ע"מ ללחוץ עליהן להסיר תמיכתן באש"פ ולהחזיר את חוסיין לחהליך השלום.

ח- ולבסוף הוא מודאג מכוונות הממשל החדש. עמדותיו אינן ברורות ולא נראה שהוא ציובע (הוא) לאן הוא חותר, אך הוא (וילסון) חושש פן יטה הממשל יתר על המידה לגישת שולץ. בזמנו שאל את שולץ אם יוזמתו לא תביא להקמת מדינה פלסטינאית, וחרף חשבתו השלילית של שולץ (וההתנגדות למדינה כזו המוצהרת במצע המפלגה הרפובליקאית), הוא (וילסון) מוסיף לדאוג כי להערכתו נסמך מדינה פלסטינאית נרא- IMPLICIT בתהליך לפי שיטתו של שולץ.

3) וילסון סיכם ואמר שישמח לחמוך במתן הסיוע לישראל ולעזור לנו בתחום שיתוף הפעולה הצבאית. הוא עושה וייעשה-זאת לא רק מתוך מסירות לישראל אלא מתוך האינטרס האמריקאי.

יונה ארן  
למדן.

תפוצה:



מוכירות הממשלה

ירושלים, כ"ד באדר א' והשמי"ט  
1 במרץ 1989

אל: מר מ. שילה, מנהל חצפ"א, משרד החוץ

מאת: מזכיר הממשלה

ש. י.

הנדון: מסע הקונגרסון ר"ן אואנס-דן אברום למדינות באיזור

קראתי בדף חצפ"א 37 על יזמח אואנס למסע לכמה ארצות באיזור כשיתוף  
15-12 יהודים.

בביקורי השבוע בניו יורק נפגשתי עם ג'ורג' קליין, שדאגה לי את  
מכתב ההזמנה של דן אברום לסיור (בהנחה שהמדובר באותו סיור) ומכתב ביטול  
שנשלח כעבור שבוע לדברי קליין - בעקבות שיחתו עם דן אברום.

בכר כה

אליקים דובינסקי

העמק: ראש הממשלה  
שר החוץ

סחנכ"ל צפ"א, משרד החוץ

\*\* נכנס  
\*\*  
\*\*  
\*\*

10 די

חוזם: 2,20223

אל: המשרד

מ-: ווש, נר: 677, תא: 270289, חז: 1900, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: 8 גס: צפא

נד: 8

10 די / מידי

אל: מצפ'א

דע: לשכת רה"מ

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הקונגרסמן לנטוס - לקראת ביקור רה"מ

1. במשך היום נפגשנו פעמיים עם לנטוס ( בפגישה עם השר לשעבר שפירא ופגישת הציר והח'מ ) הביע דאגתו מהשחיקה הגוברת במעמדה של ישראל. חלק מהקונגרסמנים היהודים לדבריו משנים אף הם ( אם כי באיטיות ) עמדתם ומשדרים מסר שלילי זה לעמיתיהם הלא יהודיים. הוא כשלעצמו נותר כמעט בודד בתמיכתו הבלתי מסוייגת בישראל ולא יתבטא נגדה אף פעם בפומבי אולם על ישראל ליטול היוזמה כדי למנוע

CONSTANT EROSION AND BEING ON THE DEFENSIVE  
אם בביקורו לא יבוא רה"מ עם יוזמה/  
תכנית/הצעה שתכלול MAJOR, SIGNIFICANT AND DRAMATIC  
CHANGE

'' יתרבו הצרות '' ולאן דווקא מצידו או מצד ידידיה הקרובים של ישראל. חש בהלך רוחות כזה כבר בסיוור האחרון במספר מדינות באירופה.

2. לנטוס סיפר כי אינו מרגיש בנוח לגבי ביקור רה"מ. הדגיש כי הוא מאד מעוניין ( VERY ANXIOUS ) שביקור

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NO. 100-100000-100000  
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DATE 11-11-89 BY 1043  
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SP-10/STP



1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order and include the following: [Illegible names and addresses]

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order and include the following: [Illegible names and addresses]

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order and include the following: [Illegible names and addresses]

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order and include the following: [Illegible names and addresses]

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order and include the following: [Illegible names and addresses]

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7. The seventh part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order and include the following: [Illegible names and addresses]

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee. The names are listed in alphabetical order and include the following: [Illegible names and addresses]

מדידת	דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פבוק	דף:
שטר	סוג:		כתוב:
תאריך וזמן הגור:		מנהל מצפ"א מנהל ארופה 3	אל:
28.2.89 13:30			דע:
פס' פבוק:		פאת: עירי - עודד ערן	
הפסד:			
689			

ברח"מ-מזח"ת

להלן משתי שיחות עם מרק סריס מנהל מח' ברח"מ (והמיועד להיות הציר בת"א) ומורט אברטוביץ.

שניהם לא רואים בדאגה כלשהיא את ביקור שכרדנדזה למזח"ת.

לדעתם הביקור תוכנן כך שברח"מ תוכל לנצל את התקופה שמיד לאחר הנסיגה מאפגניסטן.

ע"מ לשפר עמדות במזח"ת ותופעות כגון הכניסה האיטית של המשל לעניינים או הניתוק

בין איראן והמערב על רקע פרשת רושדי דה "שחקו" לידיו הסובייטים, שריס הוסיף

שהסובייטים ינסו לנצל את הסעלתגות המזח"תית כלפי הארופאים ע"מ לחזק את הדטיות

של רודקי שלום ומרענרים סבירים ליוזמות במזח"ת.

יחד עם זאת שניהם מדגושים שאין לסובייטים מה לחציע מבחינת אי יכולתם להניע את

התהליך ותלותם בנושא זה בארה"ב וב ישראל, באשר לאיראן הם טעביעים על כך שהחדנות

החדדית והפרובלמטיקת שניהם עבור שתי חמדיכות הן כה קשות שאין בביקור כדי

לפתרו. אברטוביץ חזר בחקשר זה על החמלצות שנתן למשאל חחדש על העורך בנסיון

אקטיבי לשפר את הקחסים בין איראן וארה"ב.

ערן

1/2  
2/2  
3/2  
4/2  
5/2  
6/2  
7/2  
8/2  
9/2  
10/2

11/2  
12/2  
13/2  
14/2  
15/2  
16/2  
17/2  
18/2  
19/2  
20/2

תפוצה: 36





2/2

- 2 -

0 0813 / 209

להחזיר שטחים תמורת שלום. רובינשטיין השליט שוחבסאות כזו  
לא תרוט דבר. נוסף לכך ראה"מ אמר כבר כי לכשנגיע לשולחן  
הדיונים הכל פתוח למו"מ. ישראל דינגר ציין כי זו הפעם  
הראשונה שיש לנו ממשלה אחדות שאין לה שתי קולות. כשתוצג  
תכנית בנושא השלום יהיה לנו קל לחסוך בה. שינדלר אמר השאלה  
היא אם באמת תוצג רק תכנית אחת, כי אם יוצגו תכניות נוספות,  
ישראל יכולה לשכוח מאחדות וסולידריות מצד העולם היהודי.

מרדכי ידיר

28.2.89

N. S. S.



דחיות:	טופס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דד: 1 מחיר: 3
סיוג: שמור		אל: המשרד - ארכב 2
תזוח: 27/2-		
חש מברקי:		דע: מצמ"א, <sup>1/237</sup> שטיין-ווישינגטון
193 - 011		מאת: נאו"ם - זכו-רכ
0 0746		

ROBERT M IMMERMEN - משלחת ארה"ב באו"ם

1. מבוא  
בשיחה מקיפה עם הנ"ל ב-24/2, נדונו התפתחויות האחרונות. להלן כמה נקודות:  
2. הממשל החדש והמז"ח  
א. נראה שנהלכשה החלטה בחושה שלא לחזור על תרגיל "יוזמת רייגן" מ-1.9.82 ולא להכריז, רעחזר הנראה לעין, על תופנית "חנילה" כוללת. גורל "יוזמת רייגן" הותר לקחים ארוכי טווח. אין לצפות לחוכנית כזאת גם לאחר ביקור רה"מ בווישינגטון.  
ב. ברור שגישה המזכיר החדש מבוטסת על עקרון "הצעד אחר צעד" תוך זהירות מירבית שלא למעוד בגלל חפזון בלתי שקול ושלא לעורר ציפיות מוגזמות. אין כגישה זו כדי להמעיט בשכנוע של ארה"ב נועד תפקיד מרכזי במאמצים לקידום תהליך השלום.  
ג. יש לזכור שכניגור ל-1977 או ל-1981 אין מדובר בממשל חדש החותר לשנות או לשפר מדיניות החוץ של קודמו. לכל היותר, ניתן להבחין בכוכנות לעדן או לשפץ היבטים בגישה הממשל הקודם כלפי המז"ח תוך התבססות - לפי שעה - על עקרונותיה הכסיסיות. זאת, תוך נקיטת הזהירות המתבקשת מהמשכיות השלטון הרפובליקני.
3. יוזמות בריה"מ  
א. אף כי אין ווישינגטון מתכחשת למעמד מעצמת העל השניה במהלכים לפתרון סכסוכים אזוריים, קיימת הסתייגות מה כלפי סוכב שה"ח הסובייטי במז"ח. מכאן - אמת הנשיא בטוקיו ב-23.2 שכבר זכתה למענה מידי מפי שברדנזה. מהלכיו גראים כמאמץ לשפר תדמית בלא נגיעה ישירה לענייני מהות.  
ב. ברור שמוסקבה החליטה להאדיר מעמדה באזוריים שונים כעולט, לרבות המז"ח, כשיטות השונות מאלו שנקטה בעבר. מעתה תתמקד יותר במתקפות דיפלומטיות, כזו שאפיינה סיור שה"ח הסובייטי במז"ח.
4. ישראל ובריה"מ  
א. עניין ישראל לנרמל יחסיה עם בריה"מ מוכן. הממשל תומך בו.  
ב. עם זאת, יש להבחין, בכל הזהירות הדרושה, בין מגמה הנירמול לבין סיוע - ולא יהא עקיף ובלתי מודע - במאמצי בריה"מ לשריין לעצמה מעמד זהה לזה של ארה"ב כפעולות התיווך לקידום תהליך השלום. הצלחת מאמץ סובייטי זה לא תכשר טובות לישראל. אך, יתרה מזאת, היא עלולה לעורר חששות בקהיר, במפרציות ומעל הכל ברבת עמו. אין להקל ראש בהסתייגות הפנימית (המודחקת אמנם) של שליטי מצרים וירדן כלפי התעצמות סובייטית אפשרית ומשאיפתם הכסיסית להשען, בעיקר, על הכוונה אמריקנית.

אישור: 2  
שם השולח: 1  
תאריך: 3  
מס' מסמך: 3  
מס' קובץ: 4  
מס' תיק: 4  
מס' חש: 3

ד"ר: 2	טופס מזכר	דחיקות:
מחן: 3	קשר ניו-יורק	
אל:	סיוג:	
	תזח:	
דע:	מס מזכר:	
מאת:	193 -ell	
	0 0746	

ג. בהקשר זה - אין משלחתו טכורה שיש מקום לחזר אחר כרויה"מ בנושא כתב התאמנה הישראלי באו"ם. אין חשיבות הנושא מצדיקה זאת. שידול כזה לעורר תביעות לתשלום. תוצאות ההצבעה ב-18.10.88 הוכיחו שאפשר לוותר על כך.

#### 5. ארה"ב ואש"ף

- א. אין כל שינוי בהוראות המחייבות חברי משלחת ארה"ב שלא לקיים מגעים עם אש"ף.
- ב. אין הם מקבליט דווח מפורט על שיחות טונים, אך ברור להם שלא חל שינוי בכוונת הממשל להוסיף ולבחון עמדות אש"ף כלפי המהלכים והמודעים העשויים להוליד מו"מ ישיר כמועד הרצוי. אין פרוש הדבר שכבר נתגבשה החלטה מראש המחייבת שיתוף נציגי אש"ף כבר בתחילתו.
- ג. אין התנגדות לניהול המו"מ עם נציגים פלסטיניים מהשטחים אפילו יהיו תומכי אש"ף, בהנחה שיתלו ורשלכום הראשונים לא ישולבו מנהיגי אש"ף עצמו.
- ד. העניין בשתוף ירון לא נחלש אך קיימת מודעות לעדינות ומורכבות מעמדו כיום.
- ה. לדידם מלא אש"ף תנאי ארה"ב ב-14.12.88 בג'נבה וידועים להם פקוקי ישראל בחחום זה.

#### 6. ישראל ואש"ף

- א. בקרב כמה מעמיתיו רונח הסברה שיתכן ששגויה היא החלטת ממישראל לאסור כל מגע עם אש"ף. אין הכוונה למגמה למניעת מגעים בין נציגים רשמיים של ממישראל לבין מנהיגי אש"ף (שאולי מובנת בשלב זה), אלא למגעים אפשריים בין אישים ישראלים (לרבות חכ"ים) שאתם נציגי הממשלה PER SE, "מחליפים דעות עם פלסטינים".
- ב. נראה להם שהמציאות שהתפתחה באחרונה היא שח"כים ואישים ישראלים אחרים, המייצגים גוף ספציפי במפה הפוליטית בישראל, מקיימים עתה מגעים כאלה (בניגוד לאסור הפורמלי) וזאת כדי לקדם בעיקר מגמות פנים מסוימות.
- ג. הזכיר הגישה המתוחכמת של יפן כפרישת מגעיה הראשונים עם סין העממית שבוצעו, בשלבם הראשון, ע"י אישם יפניים, לרבות חברי פרלמנט, שלא יצגו הממשלה עצמה.

#### 7. ועידה בינ"ל

- א. שורת בקרב עמי היו ספקנות לגבי התכונה המוצעת של הועידה כפי שהיא מנוסחת ע"י כויה"מ ומדינות אחרות. אין הם רואים בסיון, בכריטניה ובצרפת כבעלי מעמד בהקשר זה. נראה להם שסיון לא תעמוד על שילובה.

ד"ר: 3 מחן: 3	טופס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות:
אל:		סוג:
		תזח:
דע:		מס מברק:
מאת:		0 0746/193

ב. מיותרים המאמצים להתמקד בכינון ועידה כזאת בחסות האו"ם כאשר הרכבה, סמכויות ותפקידיה שרויים בערפל.  
ג. מעל הכל - לא חל שינוי בשכנועם שהפתרון ימצא אך ורק כתוצאה ממו"ם ישיר בין הצדדים ולא מלחצים מכחול. מזכיר המדינה אישר זאת מחדש ב-21.2.

8. המהומות בשטחים  
א. אחת התוצאות הנה החלשת המגמה שהתבטאה ביוזמות שולץ (8-1987) שגרסה גישת השלבים (תחילה שיפור תנאי החיים בשטחים ולאחר מכן טפול בבעיות המהות).  
ב. עם כל החשיבות הנודעת לזהירות שקולה, אין להותיר לסטטוס קוו להמשך עד אין קץ. רישום המהומות יצר מציאות חדשה.  
ג. לדעת עמיתו חשוב שישראל תדבר ב"קול אחד" (ללא ניגודי גישה פומביים) ותבחר סופית עמדה הנוכחית כלפי הפעלת תהליך שיוליך למו"ם עם ירון והפלסטינים.  
9. השלכות התמורות בכריה"מ

א. נראה להם שבשנות ה-90 תבצבצנה בעיות מורכבות חדשות ואולי מהפכניות כיבשת אירופה כתוצאה מהתעוררות צבורים לאומיים מסויימים, בעיקר במרכז אירופה ובמזרחה (יוגוסלביה, טרנסלבניה טירול ועוד)  
ב. זאת מעבר ליעידות המתרחשות בארצות הבלטיות, מולדביה ובאזורים אחרים בתחום ההשפעה הסובייטית או הסמוכים אליו.

10. דיון מועכי"ט בשטחים (מברק מנהל ארכל 2 - מצפ"א - חוזם 14498)

כו שיחי הסביר שהטיוטה האמריקנית שהוגשה 16/2 שיקפה אתגר לערכים ולאש"ף ולא את עמדת משלחתו שעמדה להמנע. אין סעיפים 7, 1 קבילים עליה. העוקץ היה נעוץ בסעיפים 4,5 שהיו אכן כוחן לערכים.

לא  
אישור:  
יוני א-דק

שם השולח: ירון בן דב  
תאריך: 27.2.89

שגרירות ישראל בווינה  
טופס מברק

אלו מצפ"א, ממ"ד

דף 1. מתוך 2  
דחיפות: מייד  
סוג: גלוי

דע:

תאריך, זמן: 27.2.89  
מספר המברק:

מאת: עתונות

המשרד: 654

ארה"ב - ישראל

להלן דברי המזכיר ביקר בתכנית "סול פני האומה" של CBS  
(26.2.89).

יוסי גל

Handwritten notes in Hebrew and English, including the number 21 and various markings.

Handwritten notes at the bottom right of the page.

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MS. STAHL: All right, let me ask you quickly, because we're running out of time. Moshe Arens, who just met with Mr.

Shevardnadze, is coming to the United States in less than a month. Will you be ready with initiatives to present to him. When he comes, will your team be in place? Will you be ready for that meeting?

SEC. BAKER: The team will be in place and we will be very ready for the meeting, and we're looking forward to the meeting, and as I said the other night in the briefing, we have already had some very low-level discussions with the Israelis. But you keep talking in terms of initiatives and big plans and you want to see something presented under the klieg lights and in front of the cameras. That's the wrong way to go. If you really want to make some progress in the Middle East, that's the wrong way to go.

MS. STAHL: But doesn't it bother you that Mr. Gorbachev --

SEC. BAKER: Not a bit.

MS. STAHL: -- looks as though he's besting you all over the world?

SEC. BAKER: Not a bit. It really doesn't. That's not the -- because -- because we're winning on substance. The Alliance, the NATO Alliance, is winning at every turn on substance, on human rights, on arms control, on regional -- look what's happening in Afghanistan, look what's happening in the southern part of Africa, look what's happening on arms control, look what's happening on human rights.

So, we're winning on substance. He may be winning on -- on PR and perception. So, it doesn't bother us, not one bit.

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CNN NEWSMAKER SATURDAY  
INTERVIEW WITH:  
KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1989

.STX

CHARLES BIERBAUER: Welcome to Newsmaker Saturday. I'm Charles Bierbauer. While the world's leaders have gathered here in Tokyo for the funeral of Emperor Hirohito, there is renewed diplomatic activity over the Middle East. Can the Bush administration generate a peace effort that the Reagan administration never mounted? And what role should the Soviet Union play in the Middle East? We'll ask Jordan's King Hussein today on Newsmaker Saturday.

[VIDEOTAPE SEGMENT]

In Tokyo, President Bush sought the ideas of Israel's President Herzog, Egypt's President Mubarak, and King Hussein of Jordan. Hussein said afterward that he had doubted US interest in the past few years, yet thought there might be a difference with Bush.

KING HUSSEIN: I'm almost certain that the President would be interested in doing whatever he can, and the United States, to resolve this problem.

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MR. BIERBAUER: Meanwhile, in the Mideast, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze was making very visible overtures to all sides, including an offer of diplomatic ties with Israel, if the Israelis opened a dialogue with the PLO. But that is not what Israel has in mind.

ABBA EBAN: As far we're concerned, they have no place on the stage when it comes to negotiations between Israel and the Arab world, as and when they will make themselves neutral and treat both sides equally.

MR. BIERBAUER: President Bush says the Soviet role in the Mideast should be at most a limited one. His Secretary of State says Bush is not proposing a new Mideast peace plan of his own, and will not be rushed into one by the Soviet initiative.

SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER: We, too, think that there are perhaps some opportunities, perhaps. We think that they ought to be explored very carefully, that there ought to be an extensive amount of practical groundwork accomplished before we rush off to have a big high-visibility conference under the television lights.

[END OF VIDEOTAPE SEGMENT]

MR. BIERBAUER: Joining me under the television lights is CNN's world affairs correspondent, Ralph Begleiter.

Your Majesty, thank you for being with us here today. You indicated when we chatted with you the other night that you'd been worried for some years about the US role and about the prospects, but that you had, in your words, "great faith in President Bush." Now what in that conversation you had with him the other night gives you that kind of faith?

KING HUSSEIN: It wasn't purely the conversation I had with the President the other evening, but the fact that I've known him for a number of years, my knowledge of his world experience, both at the United Nations, his travels to our part of the world. And I believe the mood in the world that has posed (?) so much to change over the last year or so, where there is every intention, it would appear to me, to minimize problems that could jeopardize regional stability or world peace. One hopes very much indeed that the Middle East will receive the attention that it deserves.

MR. BIERBAUER: Are you suggesting in some way a change in the mood in Washington, too, between President Reagan and President Bush? Is there something different there?

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KING HUSSEIN: The difference, I would say, is that President Reagan probably had other priorities. I don't think he was personally engaged with the Middle East problem or with any of the attempts to resolve the problem there. I have a feeling that President Bush knows the area and knows how -- (inaudible) -- it is and how dangerous it is, which is a fact. And also, there are many opportunities now, in general, to be pursued.

MR. BEGLEITER: If you were able to layout a menu, a prescription, of how the US should proceed now, right now, toward getting the peace process going, what would be your prescription? Special envoy, what?

KING HUSSEIN: No, I wouldn't think a special envoy is necessary. On the other hand, I believe that what should happen logically would be to get in touch with all the parties to the conflict. There is already an ongoing dialogue with the PLO. And I would encourage very much the consultations between the five permanent members of the Security Council in a similar way to what happened when they were addressing the Iraq-Iran war, to prepare the ground for an international conference.

MR. BEGLEITER: Should that conference happen this year? Could it happen --

KING HUSSEIN: I certainly hope it at least should begin this year.

MR. BEGLEITER: And where would it lead next -- direct talks quickly, or in some future time?

KING HUSSEIN: It would lead to negotiations to implement Security Council Resolution 242 and to resolving the Palestinian problem, in all its aspects. The participants would be all the countries immediately involved: Jordan; Syria; hopefully Lebanon, if that situation there clears up, and hopefully it will; Egypt; the PLO, the Palestinian dimension has to be addressed by them -- they are the representatives of the people of Palestine; and Israel. And I believe that negotiations will hopefully lead to a comprehensive peace in the area.

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MR. BIERBAUER: Your Majesty, we've repeatedly heard President Bush and Secretary Baker say that they're not going to be stampeded, that they're not in a hurry. Do you give us some sense that there is need to hurry rather than go too slowly?

KING HUSSEIN: I indeed feel that there is need to hurry. I can understand that they would like to be in touch with all the parties to the conflict before they move, but I hope that this wouldn't take too long (and delay the process?).

MR. BIERBAUER: Your Majesty, we need to take a break. I want to ask you about the Soviet role in the Mideast when we come back. Stay with us, please. We'll be right back on this special edition of "Newsmaker Saturday."

(Commercial break.)

MR. BIERBAUER: Our guest on "Newsmaker Saturday" from Tokyo is King Hussein of Jordan.

Your Majesty, while so many of the world's leaders are here, the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Shevardnadze, has been very busy in the Middle East. He's been in your country just before you left to come here.

KING HUSSEIN: Yes.

MR. BIERBAUER: What do you see as the appropriate role of the Soviet Union? You describe an international peace conference, but how deeply involved can the Soviet Union get?

KING HUSSEIN: I believe they can become involved and they should become involved, they are certainly a superpower that has interests in the area and has an interest in peace and stability in that area as does the United States, not only in the Middle East, but throughout the world. And I believe that so much has happened as a result of the new atmosphere that exists between Washington and Moscow.

MR. BIERBAUER: Well did President Bush tell you that he doesn't think the Soviet Union should have as big a role as they'd like to have? He has told the press, he has told the world he thinks that the Soviets should have a very limited role.

KING HUSSEIN: He didn't tell me that; no.

MR. BEGLEITER: What do you think the role for the Soviet Union should be when an international conference begins? As you know, Israel is wary of the idea that the Soviets would have a veto over any result of direct negotiations. Should they have such a veto?

KING HUSSEIN: It is fairly understood after so many years of attempts to resolve this problem, that certainly the efforts



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concerning an international conference, that the international conference will be sponsored by the five permanent members of the Security Council; the Secretary General of the United Nations would have an important role, and it would involve negotiations, direct negotiations between the parties. But the conference would not have the right to veto any agreements or impose its will, but it will represent the moral weight (?) of the world for us to move towards establishing a comprehensive peace.

MR. BEGLEITER: You said a moment ago that you thought the United States, the Soviet Union, and the other members of the Security Council should negotiate with one another before the international conference begins. What does that involve?

KING HUSSEIN: That involves the five permanent members of the Security Council.

MR. BEGLEITER: But what would they accomplish? What -- should they work on a settlement in the region, or just the process?

KING HUSSEIN: I believe that the outline is the implementation of 242, territory for peace, territories occupied in -- (word inaudible) -- 1967, and the resolution of the Palestinian problem -- securing peace. The elements are all there, all agreed upon. It's a question of when do we move 242 and commit (?) this famous resolution which was adopted on the 2nd of November 1967.

MR. BEGLEITER: And what about you, sir? What about a move from you? Why not engage in a step similar to the one Anwar Sadat took and remove the barrier of the technical state of war that still exists between your country and Israel?

KING HUSSEIN: Because I believe that, with all due respect, the peace between Egypt and Israel did not resolve their problem. I believe that a comprehensive solution is needed. I believe that the Palestinians must be involved as a prime party on the Arab side in resolving the Palestinian problem. It is their cause and their case, and they have now assumed responsibilities directly for their faith and future, and they have met all the demands made of them by the United States to be invited to such a conference.

MR. BEGLEITER: So you are not prepared to engage in direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel, even preliminarily, to a comprehensive solution?

KING HUSSEIN: Jordan and Israel, together with all the other parties to the conference when meetings take place at an international conference.

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MR. BIERBAUER: One question that has never really been resolved is "which Palestinians?" Even though now we have Yassir Arafat and the PLO making the statements that they have, which Palestinians do you think can actually get involved in the peace talks here?

KING HUSSEIN: I'm not speaking about the Palestinian problem. I'm talking about the solution of the problem as a whole, and obviously the PLO is a legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. It is the address to which people defer, both in the Occupied Territories and in the Diaspora.

MR. BEGLEITER: Coming back to your relationship with President Bush, you were unable, or the United States was unable to provide you with some weapons Jordan requested during the last administration. There were several attempts made, unsuccessful ones, with Congress. Do you think the new administration will be able to provide Jordan with some of the armaments it requests?

KING HUSSEIN: I have no idea. The relationship, as you know, has become minimal in terms of supplies of arms and equipment from the United States to Jordan, as a result of Congress and the Senate adopting this approach. And so we haven't relied on the United States for the supply of arms so far. And we hope, in any event, that we'll be engaged in a process leading to a final peace in the area that might minimize the requirements in the future for such arms.

MR. BEGLEITER: You won't be making any requests?

KING HUSSEIN: I might, but there is a need of -- if Congress changes its attitude. But as things stand, we are not planning to ask for any arms from the United States.

MR. BIERBAUER: We need to take another break. We'll be back with more questions for King Hussein after these messages on this special edition of Newsmaker Saturday from Tokyo.

(Commercial break.)

MR. BIERBAUER: On Newsmaker Saturday from Tokyo, I'm Charles

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Bierbauer. Our guest: King Hussein of Jordan. And with me, CNN world affairs correspondent Ralph Begleiter. Ralph?

MR. BEGLEITER: King Hussein, I'd like to put you on the spot for a moment here. There's been quite a world uproar over the publication of a book by Salman Rushdie called "The Satanic Verses." As you know, I'm sure, European countries have withdrawn their representation from Iran. Iran has offered a multimillion dollar reward for the death of the author. Do you think that's an appropriate action by the government of Iran?

KING HUSSEIN: I don't care to comment about the actions of the government of Iran myself. But on the other hand, it's really very, very sad that, first of all, the book, which is obviously offensive to hundreds of millions of Muslims throughout the world, should have been produced -- (inaudible) -- in terms of the suggestions in it regarding the birth of Islamics. On the other hand, I haven't seen eye to eye with Iran over many years, over many issues.

MR. BEGLEITER: And what about the question of state-sponsored terrorism? You've spoken out against that in the past.

KING HUSSEIN: I am definitely against state-sponsored terrorism, and terrorism as such, and I've always been.

MR. BIERBAUER: Does not the act of the Iranian government even to suggest that this man be put to death in some way give all of Islam a bad name, as being a vengeful religion?

KING HUSSEIN: I believe the whole crisis is most unfortunate, the book itself and all the reactions from all over -- (inaudible).

MR. BIERBAUER: In a broader sense, what do you see happening in Iran at this point? Where do you see them taking some sort of appropriate place among nations in your area?

KING HUSSEIN: One would certainly hope that the cease-fire that has come to be between Iran and Iraq will turn into a final peace where international borders are respected and where mutual respect to this, and non-interference in the face of each other, and also in the face of others in the area by Iran. This is the only way for the future. Otherwise -- we're not very happy, in fact, with just a continued cease-fire.

MR. BEGLEITER: Your Majesty, let me ask you about a recent proposal by Israeli Prime Minister Shamir for elections in the Occupied Territories that would lead to a local leadership there. Obviously, in the Israeli point of view, it would be a leadership that could ultimately engage in negotiations on a comprehensive peace. What do you think about that kind of a proposal?

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KING HUSSEIN: I don't think very highly of such a proposal. I think there are attempts to divide the Palestinians once again between people in the Occupied Territories and people in the Diaspora. And the Palestinians already have a leadership that has met all the requests made of it and the requirements to be invited to an international conference, and has indicated readiness to deal with Israel directly to resolve the problem.

MR. BEGLEITER: So Israel should negotiate directly with members of the -- representatives of the PLO.

KING HUSSEIN: We can't lose any more time. The situation is very, very --

MR. BIERBAUER: But the idea of elections on the West Bank has no merit at all?

KING HUSSEIN: Under Israeli occupation? What kind of elections?

MR. BEGLEITER: What about the US-PLD dialogue? Where should that head at this point? The US has been very tentative about engaging in those conversations. What should they be talking about?

KING HUSSEIN: They should talk about substance. And when I was involved, I was told that if the PLO did what it did at the PNC, and the statements of Chairman Arafat later were very, very clear at Geneva, they would be not only having a dialogue with them, but they would be eligible to be invited to attend the conference that we've been talking about. And I believe that this is what was agreed.

MR. BIERBAUER: I can't help but see this question of an international conference being an endless circle that never quite gets. It's proposed, it's rejected; it's proposed, it's rejected. Because at any time there is always someone -- be it the Israelis, primarily, but the US has never been keen on it -- that opposes the idea. So if that is not likely to happen, doesn't that require persons such as yourself or others to make individual efforts, rather than to keep relying on an international effort?

KING HUSSEIN: Just because of the short-sightedness of some in the area, some extremists? There are extremists on both sides, but they're in the minority now, hopefully. And I believe that the world should not be held hostage by these extreme, very short-sighted attitudes. And the world must -- (inaudible) -- for us to begin to resolve this problem -- (inaudible).

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MR. BIERBAUER: Well, what specifically are the keys that have to fit in here to make it work?

KING HUSSEIN: Sir, this is not a new problem. This is a problem that's been with us, what, 21, 22 years now almost. We've been working at it, and we have done everything we could. And we have been talking and talking. We don't need new initiatives. The solution is 242, land for peace. Is Israel prepared to do that? And at the same time, resolving the Palestinian problem and establishing peace with all its neighbors. We in Jordan have the longest cease-fire lines and borders with Israel of any Arab state, longer than the borders of the West Bank and Gaza. We are very interested, and we're very committed to the cause of a just peace for future generations on both sides.

MR. BEGLEITER: But you're not committed or interested enough to engage in direct talks, even if they don't lead to an agreement, with Israel. Israel can always say, "There's nobody to talk to out there except the PLO."

KING HUSSEIN: This is -- excuse my saying so -- it's complete nonsense. We have been talking indirectly. We have been talking in circles for years and years and years. And it's about time we began to really address our responsibilities for the interests of all people who are going to live in that area after us, and maybe the world.

MR. BIERBAUER: We have a final break to take here. We'll be right back. This special edition of Newsmaker Saturday continues in a moment.

(Commercial break.)

MR. BIERBAUER: Your Majesty, you talk about a dialogue and multi-party dialogue in some cases. Israel held elections recently and yet the same people seem to keep coming back into office. Do you think that perhaps the real prospect holds with a new generation in Israel of people who have tired of this ongoing hostility?

KING HUSSEIN: I believe that the polls that we are hearing about are encouraging in a way. They suggest that certainly that 54 (?) percent of the population in Israel now is for a dialogue with the PLO -- (inaudible) -- a dialogue, and for attempts to move towards a solution. So maybe, I would hope and pray that this would affect the leadership in Israel and cause it to rethink somehow.

MR. BEGLEITER: You once described the PLO leadership when you failed to reach an agreement with the PLO on how to conduct the talks as being unreliable that you couldn't rely on their

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word. Have they changed? Has the PLO changed now? Can you rely on their word? Are you able to work together with them?

KING HUSSEIN: When we decided to disengage, we had finally come to the conclusion that all that Palestinians sought was to return their identity and to have the right to speak for themselves. Once we did that, they surprisingly moved in the direction that we'd been trying to get them to move to over many, many years. And they have come very, very clearly and have answered all that was asked of them and they're acting in a manner that I personally am very, very happy with. And I believe that our relations are now on a far better condition than they ever were before.

MR. BEGLEITER: You're ready to re-engage now, you, as the leader of Jordan?

You said you disengaged -- you're ready to get back?

KING HUSSEIN: No, I'm talking about disengagement with the West Bank, which -- (inaudible).

MR. BIERBAUER: Your Majesty, thank you very much for being with us here today. Our guest has been King Hussein of Jordan. With me, Ralph Begleiter, CNN World Affairs Correspondent. Thank you for joining us on this special edition of Newsmaker Saturday in Tokyo. I'm Charles Bierbauer.

END

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Embassy of the United States of America

Tel Aviv

BUN

February 27, 1989

*Secret*  
*12.6*  
*1-22-89* (4)

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

President Bush has asked me to provide the attached advance copy of his letter to you. When we receive the original, signed copy of the letter we will deliver it to you immediately.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

William A. Brown  
Ambassador

Attachment: As Stated

His Excellency  
Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister of the  
State of Israel  
Jerusalem

February 27, 1989

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT BUSH TO PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR

Dear Prime Minister Shamir:

Thank you for having Jack Stein deliver your thoughtful note of congratulations to Barbara and me on the birth of our grandson. As our children and grandchildren constitute our true legacy, it becomes all the more important that we leave them a peaceful, prosperous world. Your region unfortunately has had more than its share of conflict and economic hardship. It is our challenge to change this.

I look forward to working with you toward this end and to discussing how we can bring about a lasting solution to the problems that plague the Middle East, one that will bring true peace and prosperity to the people of Israel and its neighbors.

Thank you again for your note.

With my warmest regards,

Sincerely,

George Bush

סגן מנהל ת"ת  
סגן מנהל ת"ת

Excerpt from:

"On The Road With Arafat"

By T.D. Allman

Vanity Fair, February 1989

...

By the end of the conference, Arafat had done something even more remarkable. He had convinced his fellow Palestinians that only by recognizing their adversaries' right to a Jewish homeland could they ever hope to have a homeland of their own. But could he square the other side of the circle? Could he somehow get the Israelis to do the same in return?

"Definitely!" Arafat replied. "We are going to prove to the Israelis that a Palestinian homeland is in their interests--that we are offering them a solution to all the problems they face."

"Prove it to me," I said.

"No problem!" said Arafat. "First we are going to work out a peace settlement that will contain every conceivable condition necessary to guarantee Israel's security. We will be making the Israelis offers they could not have imagined--offers no rational government could refuse."

At this point Arafat pulled a one-page document, comprising six short paragraphs, out of his intifada file. The paragraphs were numbered.

"And then, at the same time we are offering peace, the intifada will be continuing! You see, there are six stages to the uprising, and we are now at stage four--partial strikes and disobedience. Then there is stage five, complete strike. And, finally stage six."

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"What is stage six? Guerrilla warfare?"

"No!" said Arafat. "I have given the order for nonviolence. Stage six is complete disobedience--the entire population of the West Bank and Gaza rising up and taking every aspect of life into their own hands, creating their own independence."

He added, "Usually it is called civil disobedience. But we are going to call it national disobedience, because that is how we are going to realize the independence we declared the other day."

"Then what will happen?" I asked.

"The Israelis will understand what the rest of the world knows already. The greatest threat to Israel's future isn't a Palestinian state. It's the refusal to let such a state be established--this insistence on continuing to rule a subject population that only wants to be free."

"Everyone talks about a Palestinian confederation with Jordan," I said.

"Would you consider a confederation with Israel?"

"Why not?" he answered. "Look at the E.E.C. The youth of Europe are working peacefully together, not killing each other the way their fathers did."

"You really think you can achieve something like that?"

"Sure," said Arafat. "I am not a clown! I am a professional; I know how to do my job."

"What's that job?"

"I am going to get some little corner of this earth Palestinians can call their own. And," said Arafat, "I am going to do it in a way that leaves everyone, including the Israelis, happy."

Then Arafat said, "Bring me my honey!"

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שגרירות ישראל ברושינגטון  
טופס מברק

דף 1. מתוך 2.  
דחיסות: מייד  
סוג: גלוי

אל: מצפ"א, ממ"ד

דע:

תאריך, זמן: 27.2.89  
מספר המברק:

מאת: עתונות

המשרד:

1/2 643

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להלן מה "רושינגטון פוסט" 27.2.89.

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עתונות-קונגרס

-6-

*Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including numbers and names.*

# Foreign Aid: Sweeping Change Debated

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

As long-running Washington policy debates go, the one over the future of the U.S. foreign aid program has been as contentious and unresolved as any. Now, Congress and the Bush administration are gearing up to push through the most sweeping revisions in decades.

One possible, far-reaching change may be a curb—or an end—to the practice of "earmarks" under which the bulk of U.S. assistance has come to be set aside for a limited number of special countries or causes.

Over the past few years, earmarking has forced deep cuts in aid to a number of U.S. allies. Continuing the practice could spell disaster for many assistance programs if Rep. David R. Obey (D-Wis.), head of the House Appropriations foreign operations subcommittee, succeeds in his efforts to cut \$1 billion out of foreign aid.

Another suggested change is to reorient the over-shrinking aid effort away from its current shotgun approach in seeking to provide the "basic needs" of life like food, shelter and literacy toward a new focus on promoting "sustainable, broad-based economic growth" in developing nations.

That, at least, is the goal of Agency for International Development Administrator Alan Woods, whose agency has just published a report suggesting that such a re-orientation is badly needed.

But there are powerful lobbies inside and out of Congress that want to continue, even strengthen, the U.S. commitment to ending the effects of poverty. They are likely to resist strenuously the new Woods orientation.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III told the House Foreign Affairs Committee last week that the administration will shortly put forward a new authorization bill incorporating "some substantive changes" and "some initiatives" to stretch scarce foreign aid dollars.

"It is clear to me that we will need new legislation so that the executive branch will have the latitude to manage effectively the limited resources at our disposal," he said.

Baker and Woods have not tried to conceal their delight with a recently published report by a special House Foreign Affairs Task Force that concluded the U.S. foreign aid program needs "a new premise, a new framework, and a new purpose to meet the challenges of today" and proposed an end to "most of the conditions, restrictions, directives and earmarks" on current legislation.

Woods said the report, issued by Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.) and Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman (R-N.Y.), had created "quite a sensation" within AID and had laid the basis for "a new spirit of cooperation and unity" between Congress and the administration over mapping a new foreign aid bill.



THE WASHINGTON POST

While the Hamilton-Gilman report and the administration are calling for a new start, 155 House members have signed on to a Global Poverty Reduction Act that would require the U.S. aid program to work toward an 80 percent literacy rate for women and a reduction in the poverty rate to 20 percent in nations. Woods showed remarkably little enthusiasm for the bill at a hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee last Wednesday.

Some of the administration's new approaches to foreign aid began to emerge a day earlier when Baker appeared before the committee to present its request for \$14.6 billion in bilateral and multilateral foreign aid for fiscal 1990.

Once again, Israel and Egypt would get the lion's share, \$5.3 billion, or 36 percent of total U.S. military and economic assistance, and four other "base rights" countries—Portugal, Greece, Turkey and the Philippines—\$1.8 billion, or 12 percent.

It is the congressionally imposed "earmarks" that largely account for only 10 developing nations getting 70 percent of all U.S. foreign aid since 1979, according to the Hamilton-Gilman report.

Baker disclosed that the administration plans to merge Military Assistance Pro-

gram (MAP) and Foreign Military Sales (FMS) financing into one "all-grant program" that would mean about \$5 billion in proposed military sales for the 1990 fiscal year would be given as grants.

Most aid is already given as outright grant aid, with Israel and Egypt getting \$3.1 billion a year.

Baker also said the administration will stretch military aid funds by no longer including in sales prices government expenses for research, development and overhead.

"If we could eliminate those types of charges to our FMS customers," said Baker, "we could make our scarce security assistance dollars go a good bit further."

But a Pentagon official estimated these charges at about \$37 million for the proposed 1990 program and questioned whether that amount could do more than finance one or two small additional military sales programs.

While the mood within Congress and the administration clearly favors the writing of a new foreign aid authorization bill, it is far from clear time will permit it for the coming fiscal year. House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.) noted that Easter is the tentative deadline for getting a foreign aid authorization bill to the floor of the House.

END

דחיות: כידי	ממשל ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 1
סוג: בלבים	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 3
תאריך ויפן חבור:		אל: מצפ"א, מע"ח, ממ"ד
כס' פרוק:	יועץ רוה"מ לחקשורת, יועץ שב"ט לחקשורת, לע"מ	דע:
מפסרד: בטחון ניו יורק	אמ"ן/קטי"ח, דובר צה"ל, ניו-יורק	
122 400 673		פאת: עתונות וושינגטון

February 27, 1989 תדרוך דובר כחפ"ד ליום

Q Nothing beyond that? Does the State Department have any reaction to the agreement on Taba?

MR. REDMAN: We offer our warmest congratulations to the governments of Egypt and Israel on the signing of the February 26th Taba Accords. The agreement, signed yesterday, ends many months of often difficult negotiations. Their successful outcome is a tribute to the serious and statesman-like approach adopted by the two parties. The success also proves again that negotiations work and that, when parties of good will get together in the Middle East, as elsewhere, solutions to the most difficult problems can be found.

Q No, one more on that one, please? Apart from the mediation role that had already been played, does the United States play any sort of guarantor role in the agreements?

MR. REDMAN: I don't know what the fine print might involve, Jim. We'll have to have somebody look into that for you.

Q Chuck, also on the Middle East, some of us went to a Brookings event this morning where there was a report by Bill Quandt and Al Saunders, et cetera, on meetings with PLO people. Can you tell us, on two points -- just a factual question -- how many meetings have there actually been? I know there was a point when you said you weren't going to get into these things -- but at least a number count. And second, one of the speakers, I think it was Bill Quandt, said that the PLO had been, I think, disappointed; they had been led to believe that this would be more of a substantive discussion, and it hasn't really turned out to be, you know, quite as substantive as they had expected. Can you address those two things, like numbers, and have the discussions been somewhat less than substantive?

MR. REDMAN: I think you're aware of the answers to both questions.

MR. REDMAN: The numbers are meetings and contacts that we have talked about here, each and every one thus far.

Handwritten notes in Hebrew at the bottom of the page, including the word "מחפ"ד" and various numbers and names.

122-488-673

Q No, but I mean, there may have been more since we last met.

MR. REDMAN: No.

Q There were four at some point.

MR. REDMAN: I believe we've had the one meeting, and then there have been two subsequent contacts.

Q All right, but what about the substance? Are they less meaty than the PLD had expected?

MR. REDMAN: I really couldn't speak to someone else's expectations. We described the reasons for our willingness to undertake this substantive dialogue at the time that that decision was made. That decision, of course, was made at the end of the previous administration, and we're now in the early stages of a new administration. But beyond that, I don't really have any way to interpret somebody else's expectations. We have described our own rationale and our own approach to those talks.

Q In the same area, vis-a-vis the incursion in south Lebanon last -- on Thursday -- and your message to the PLD that this was not the way to go, has that message yet been delivered? Or is there a scheduled meeting?

MR. REDMAN: There is going to be a meeting on that subject, but as for timing, I really don't have anything yet. It hasn't taken place. On the issue generally, as you're aware from our previous conversations here, we have made it clear to the PLD that these kinds of operations have a negative impact on the US-PLD

dialogue and on the atmosphere necessary for a positive Palestinian-Israeli dialogue. We do not condone this type of activity. And we will be emphasizing again to the PLD that it is contrary to the peaceful objectives of our dialogue.

Q You consider this to be sponsored by the PLD?

MR. REDMAN: Again, to say what we have said previously, the PLD cannot escape responsibility for the actions of its constituent elements.

Q It seems that many -- well, are you going to have another contact with the PLD to convey this directly?

MR. REDMAN: I expect there will be contact, and we would use the occasion of that contact to convey this message.

Q It seems that many of the contacts then increasingly are in the nature of negative responses to actions taken by a PLD component rather than any effort to carry on the dialogue and enlarge it and give it more substance. Could you address just, you know, where and how you hope this dialogue to continue?

X

X

2/3

122-408-673

3/3

MR. REDMAN: The answer is the same I gave earlier. We have set forward our approach to the dialogue, that it is a dialogue which we see not as an end in itself, but as a way to contribute to the Middle East peace process. And that would be our expectation for this dialogue as it develops. That does not mean that we will not raise some more precise points, if you will, of the kind that I have just made note of.

Q But does it contribute to the Middle East peace process, I mean in any constructive way? I don't -- I don't see it.

MR. REDMAN: I think I just gave you about three different reasons in my opening remarks.

MR. REDMAN: Very specific ones which would have to do with the peace process.

Q Any State Department view on the Soviet-Iranian moves? They sort of seem to be heading into each other's embrace.

MR. REDMAN: Nothing in particular. We've seen the press reports.

MR. REDMAN: That's about the size of it for now.

Q Is that something that might interest Mr. Baker in his talks with Shevardnadze?

MR. REDMAN: I don't know that I could predict the agenda, but I'm sure that's the kind of thing that might well come up. I know they certainly did plan to talk about the Middle East.

Q Specifically, have you seen the reports that the Iranians say that they're talking about an arms deal?

MR. REDMAN: We've seen that, but only the press reports. So that's the only information that I have that would bear on it. For our part, we still maintain an embargo on transfer of military equipment to Iran, and we continue to urge other nations to do the same.

Q Including the Soviet Union?

MR. REDMAN: Including the Soviets.

Q Would the United States welcome a better relationship between Iran and the Soviet Union?

MR. REDMAN: I don't believe that's for me to comment on.





עיריית נתניה



The Municipality of Netanya

Office of the Deputy Mayor

לשכת סגן ראש העירייה

Dr. Yitzhak Ben Gad

ד"ר יצחק בן-גד

הג' הוציא את תעודת  
צב הקבילות - 1989

ובצ"ב א"ה י"ב

אשר הוא יצא  
ליום הקולות של  
המחלקה

בבית

יצחק בן ג'ד

  
עיריית נתניה  
*The Municipality of Netanya*

Office of the Deputy Mayor  
Dr. Yitschak Ben Gad

לשכת סגן ראש העיריה  
ד"ר יצחק בן-גד

February 19, 1989

Congressman Larry Smith  
The American Congress  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Smith;

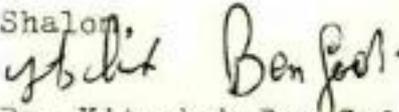
I hope you remember me. We met several years ago in your office in the Congress.

Through our national press in Israel, I learned that you have been doing your best to defend Israel's position with regards to the uprising in Judea and Samaria. No doubt, the Shiftel report is one-sided and subjective. It criticizes the results, but does not refer to the circumstances leading up to the Israeli policy.

This time, the PLO is using Palestinian women and children in its struggle to achieve its traditional goal - Israel's destruction. The Israeli troops do their utmost to remain human in their approach to such a strange war - a war imposed upon them by the PLO. We understand that when one sees a soldier pushing, not to mention beating a child, the child ultimately enjoys the public's sympathy. However, people should also be told what that child has done in order to warrant such a reaction.

It is common knowledge that the PLO is a terror organization. It has succeeded to terrorize all the Palestinians. Any Palestinian having expressed an opinion differing from PLO policy, has been killed by the very organization claiming to represent his or her interests. The PLO rules by the bullet, not by the ballot. The PLO does not spell peace.

I wish you well and hope to hear from you.

Shalom,  
  
Dr. Yitschak Ben Gad  
deputy mayor of Netanya

YBG/nbz  
enc.



# AIPAC

AMERICAN ISRAELI PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE  
JERUSALEM OFFICE

FOR YOUR INFORMATION לידיעתך

LEONARD J. DAVIS  
DIRECTOR

5 MAPU STREET, JERUSALEM, ISRAEL.  
TELEPHONE: 02-244-563, 228-572, 233-105

February 26, 1989

#### OUTLINE OF TOM DINE'S PRESENTATION

Your trip to Washington can be a success. Over next six months, U.S.-Israel relations can be strengthened. "Don't miss the opportunity" was the message given by Senator George Mitchell, Majority Leader.

#### State of AIPAC

- Healthy and vibrant organization
- Being attacked because:
  - West Bank/Gaza uprising and negative perception of Israel
  - Success breeds envy and attacks
  - Jewish press coverage of AIPAC the organization - turmoil
- Infrastructure is strong:
  - Membership base is broad, active and committed
  - Financial contributions up
  - Professional performance is good
  - Lay leadership active
- Relations with other Jewish organizations are good
  - Conf. of Presidents and AIPAC
  - ADL, AJC, AJCongress, NJCRAC and AIPAC
  - Federations and AIPAC
  - Constructed normal, regular contacts
- TAD's commitment and direction

#### Assessment of Jewish community

- Paralysis and confusion and anger
  - no letters, no counter communications
- Reactive, not proactive
  - California Democratic Party: attempts at anti-Israel resolutions
  - New Hampshire, New Mexico likely initiatives
  - New activism among pro-Arabs, anti-Israelis
- Needs: Message and State-local politics involvement
  - AIPAC's grass-roots program
  - AIPAC's state & local politics program

#### Survey of Congress since Jan. 3, 1989

- Mood: uneasy, concerned, (Jewish Members of Congress, Jewish staff, non-Jewish friends) based on TD's many one-on-one meetings.
  - "If Israel doesn't get off dead-center, its position here will be placed in jeopardy." (S. Levin)
  - "It is critical to get a process going and leave substantive issues for later" (T. Lantos)
  - "Israel has to be able to explain to the lumberjack in Roseburg, Oregon why it is unprepared to talk, even if those talks fail." (R. Packwood)

- There's a staleness, a stagnation about Israel; there is only grudging, not enthusiastic support in Congress." (Coelho)
- "IDF may not be the right instrument." (B. Lehman)
- "Gorbachev has set the tone." "If there is movement by Shamir when he gets to Washington this spring, he will be applauded by members" (Everyone)
- Action: Foreign Assistance Act, defense cooperational trade, arms sales  
Aid to Israel will not be conditional this year.
- Regarding foreign policy agenda, will wait for Administration to set the direction and react to Israel, to PLO, to Saudis, Jordanians, and Egyptians, and to Soviet Union.

Assessment of Administration:

- Top tier = friendly
- Second tier = very friendly

Four U.S. Government Desires:

1. Wants slow but sure movement
2. Wants you to make your move, and want to be supportive of that move
3. Wants you to make a proposal that Arabs have to think about
4. Wants a "Shamir Initiative" in which Administration can publicly say, "It is forthcoming and progressive."

What is the initiative?

It is a complete and comprehensive package of ideas Government ministers, including the Prime Minister, has already announced, e.g.,

The status quo is not in Israel's national interest;  
 Israel wants to end the military occupation;  
 Israel wants to establish a self-governing authority for the  
 Palestinians;  
 Israel wants to open the way for Palestinians to determine their own  
 future in direct negotiations with Israel;  
 Talks with local Palestinians should take place;  
 The superpowers have a role in bringing the parties into direct  
 negotiations;  
 Elections will take place, probably in municipalities, that select a  
 genuine leadership;  
 A transition period will test the goodwill of the parties.

- All of the above -- and more -- is Camp David. Don't use the label unless in answers to questions from Democrats.

- Regarding land for peace, disposition of the territories is what direct negotiations is about.

- Gorbachev is now center-stage before the world. The Bush Administration does not yet have a strategy to contend or compete. Don't get caught in between Bush and Gorbachev, and be seen as an embarrassment to Washington.

Keep the Soviets on the defensive:

- Fueling an arms race in region
- Friendly to the region's 2 radical states, Syria and Libya
- Linked to chemical and ballistic missiles
- Doesn't recognize Israel diplomatically
- Moscow encourages WB/Gaza violence. Shevardnadze referred to "this kind of national struggle."

- Finally, if you demonstrate movement in Washington, Congress and the press will be able to say Israel is this Administration's first foreign policy victory.

• • •

212-949-9587

Fax אונפרה דניקו

To: Andrea Marcus

From: Arye Mekel

# INVESTMENT MEMORANDUM

The Nation

A new English-language daily newspaper for Israel

Contact: David Wilstein – Chairman of the Board  
c/o Realtech Development and Construction Company  
2080 Century Park East, Penthouse  
Los Angeles, California 90067 Tel: (213) 553-4906

## INVESTMENT MEMORANDUM

January 1989

The Nation  
15 Gonen Street  
P.O. Box 7006  
Petah Tikva 49511  
Israel  
Tel: (972)-3-924-4508

### Investment Summary

The Nation is a new independent English-language daily newspaper published in Israel. The newspaper was founded by a group of US, Canadian and Israeli investors who recognized the need in Israel for an independent English-language newspaper committed to reporting the news on a totally objective basis.

Commencing publication in September 1988, the newspaper has in less than four months reached circulation levels of 2,800 weekday issues and 8,500 weekend issues, approximately 40% of the level required for operating break-even. The first round of financing raised \$800,000 during the spring of 1988. Now that the team has proven to itself and to its investors that it is capable of producing a first class newspaper well received by the market, a second round of financing in the amount of an additional \$1,600,000 is now being raised, of which more than 25% has been committed by existing investors. This additional capital will essentially be used to enter aggressive marketing efforts in Israel as well as abroad. The second round of financing will enable the paper to reach break-even operations during the first quarter of 1990.

Sixteen units of \$100,000 each (totaling \$1,600,000) are being offered to qualified investors, with half units available. Units are in the form of 90% six-year debt and 10% equity. The debt on the second round of financing will bear interest of 12% per year, paid quarterly on a current basis, and payable in full over a term of 60 months. Interest only will be accrued for the first 24 months and level quarterly payments of principal plus interest will be paid during the remaining 48 months calculated on an annual basis. At the option of the investors, interest and/or principal can also be paid in the form of additional shares of stock, the basis of the conversion to be uniform as defined by the board of directors. Each unit will represent an ownership interest in The Nation of 3.57%, with the second round in total having an ownership interest of 67.5%

The first round financing of \$800,000 had a six-year term and will not pay interest on a current basis for the first 24 months at an annual rate of 12%. Accrued interest will be repaid commencing the 25th month, and principal payments will commence after 36 months and will be paid off quarterly in level payments plus interest over the following 36 months.

It is anticipated that cash return from operations will commence in the first quarter of 1990, and that at the end of 1993 total payments to investors, including profit-sharing if distributed, shall be approximately 4.5 times the investment.

The Nation

Projected Cash Flows  
Per \$100,000 Unit  
(Half Units Available)

Investment	Quarterly pmt for debt	Annual pmt for debt	Annual pmt equity	Total annual cash pmt	Cumulative
100,000					
1989	0	0	0	0	0
1990	0	0	0	0	0
1991	7,233	28,933	42,840	71,773	71,773
1992	7,233	28,933	67,830	96,763	168,496
1993	7,233	28,933	94,962	123,895	292,391
1994	7,233	28,933	123,451	152,384	444,775

## Strategy

The Nation is dedicated to presenting the news independently and objectively. To accomplish this, it has undertaken a strategy which emphasizes quality, product differentiation from the Jerusalem Post, and minimal cost. Notable features include:

- New Look:
- 24-page tabloid format with modest sized headlines, light type, and full color (as well as black and white) photographs. The full color capability creates a highly distinctive publication at the newsstands.
- News Service:
- Complete Los Angeles Times and Washington Post wire services plus Newsday, The Guardian and other papers.
- Business News:
- Several pages of international business news including daily listings of nearly 2,000 stocks on the New York, American, NASDAQ, London, and Toronto exchanges.
- Editorials:
- Guest opinion columns (balanced on both sides of an issue) are presented, as well as summaries of editorials from other Israeli newspapers. The newspaper scrupulously guards against any editorials which are inflammatory or divisive in nature to the State of Israel.
- Columnists:
- Featured columns from the Middle East bureaus of the Chicago Sun Times, U.S. News and World Report, The Economist and other noted correspondents.
- Arts & Entertainment:
- Two daily pages and four pages on Friday. Complete national listings in the 48-page weekend magazine supplement, plus book reviews, food and recipes, and feature stories. The Nation has the most comprehensive entertainment listings in English in Israel.
- Sports:
- International coverage; "the best outside the US."
- Independent Reporting:
- Focused on international issues of high visibility (The Nation scooped American newspapers and networks in its coverage of the US-Iran negotiations over freeing Western hostages in Lebanon); The Nation also provides local news reporting on issues of interest to its readership.

To keep its costs low, The Nation has capitalized on inexpensive desktop publishing software available for use on personal computers. Staffing is a modest 80 full-time individuals (only half of whom are editorial), compared to the Jerusalem Post's staff of 510 people. Distribution is through existing newsstand channels. Subscription services for both Israel and abroad will begin in 1989.

The success to-date of The Nation has been achieved with a promotional budget of under \$10,000 – testimony to the strong market demand for the product and evidence that initial circulation numbers are not being “bought” through heavy promotional spending. Plans for 1989 include detailed advertising-oriented surveys to more precisely identify The Nation's readership in terms of purchasing power, foreign travel, level of consumption, etc. This should, in turn, enable The Nation to attract greater advertising revenues. Currently, advertising space comprises 17% of The Nation, compared to 25-40% for the Jerusalem Post. Forecasts project The Nation to be at 25% ad space by mid 1989.

## Management

The Nation was founded by Hesh Kestin, an American citizen who immigrated to Israel in 1970. Kestin's experience includes senior positions at Newsday (the Long Island, New York newspaper), Forbes magazine, and the New York Herald Tribune. Kestin serves The Nation as publisher, editor, and managing director. Other key individuals include Ben Levine, general manager, and Mel Klein, business manager.

The Nation's board of directors is led by David Wilstein, a successful Los Angeles-based real estate developer.

## Financial Projections

The Nation is expected to take 12 months to achieve operating break-even. During this period approximately half of its operating revenues will come from advertising. Break-even is projected in the first quarter of 1990.

Although the initial loss was slightly over \$1 million, and a similar loss is expected in 1989, The Nation should produce a profit in 1990. Thereafter, profits are expected to increase rapidly due to stable fixed costs and low variable costs. There is little incremental expense involved in additional advertising lineage or an extra 25,000 copies of the paper. A profit of \$1.2 million is projected for 1990, followed by a profit of \$1.9 million in 1991, \$2.67 million in 1992, and \$3.5 million in 1993. The funds raised in this investment offering should be sufficient to take the company successfully into profitability.

## MARKET

### Circulation

English is the native language of approximately 8% of the Israeli population, or 300,000 people. In addition, English is a required subject in schools from fourth grade. A further, significant domestic market exists among the many people who visit Israel annually, most of whom speak English as their primary language; airlines, hotels and foreign readers via international subscriptions are additional markets. International subscribers may have an interest in receiving an Israeli paper in English for personal, business or professional reasons.

Between the three major markets (permanent residents, visitors and international subscriptions), the total market potential is estimated to be as much as twice as large as the resident population.

Before this fall, the Jerusalem Post was the only English-language daily newspaper in Israel. The Jerusalem Post is owned by the Histadrut labor union and has strong affiliation with the left-wing Labor Alignment of Shimon Peres. In addition to reflecting the politics of its owners, the Jerusalem Post has received widespread criticism for its sensational approach to news, its lax journalistic standards, and the divisive nature of its editorials.

The Nation is dedicated to reaching that segment of the English-speaking Israeli population which seeks a quality newspaper that is politically independent and dedicated to high standards of journalism. The Nation also is seeking an international readership of English-speaking individuals with an interest in Israel as well as high quality journalism. The paper's editorial staff is adamant that The Nation

- is meant to be a paper Israel can be proud of
- is one that will bring the world to Israel and Israel to the world
- has as its own politics the good of the Jewish people.

The Nation has had an outstanding initial reception from local readers as well as the international community and has enjoyed a remarkable record of growth to date. Growth in distribution is climbing at a steady rate of 800 to 1,200 per month (10% to 15% monthly), and development of local subscriptions as well as distribution to foreign readership is just now commencing. At a rate of 10% monthly, circulation could more than triple in 12 months.

## English-language Israeli Newspapers

### Circulation

	Daily	Weekend
<u>Jerusalem Post</u>	20,000	40,000
<u>The Nation</u>		
9/88	-----	5,900
10/88	2,000	6,100
11/88	2,100	6,500
12/88	2,400	7,500
1Q 89	4,300*	12,900*
2Q 89	7,000*	16,000*
3Q 89 (breakeven)	12,350*	18,000*
4Q 89	16,000*	22,000*
1990	20,000*	30,000*

\*forecast

### Advertising

Now that the paper has been well received, The Nation has capitalized on circulation growth by intensifying sale of advertising space. Within a few weeks of intensive planning and initial field contacts, this department has already generated a \$40,000 per month income and anticipates to generate up to \$250,000 per month in the last quarter of 1989.

## The Nation

### Financial Projections

(for the years ending December 31 in US\$ '000)

#### Income Statement

	1988*	1989	1990	1991	Add'l 2 yrs
Revenue	258	1,850	4,500	6,000	See note ***
Expenses	1,308	2,850	3,300	4,100	
Profit/(Loss)**	<u>(1,050)</u>	<u>(1,000)</u>	<u>1,200</u>	<u>1,900</u>	

\*First issue in September 1988

\*\*Does not include loans or dividends payable to investors

\*\*\*Projected increase of 40% for 1992 and 30% for 1993

#### Capitalization

The Nation was initially capitalized by a small group of US, Canadian and Israeli investors who raised \$629,000. Subsequently, an additional \$171,000 was invested by a single American shareholder who was also part of the initial group. The terms of the initial offering of \$800,000 were similar to the current offering except that on an adjusted basis the initial investors will have received a 5.36% ownership per \$100,000 investment as opposed to 3.57% ownership for the participants of the second round of financing for a similar investment.

#### Conclusion

Like any start-up venture, investment in The Nation involves considerable risk. However, the newspaper is off to an extremely encouraging start, has an excellent strategy filling a very real market need, and is produced and managed by highly qualified individuals. The investment offers a reasonable return on principal with an above average chance for equity appreciation. In addition, the investment provides the tangible personal satisfaction of helping build for Israel the national newspaper it deserves. Your careful consideration is appreciated.

Attachment: The Nation

# Dry Bones

ELECTION DAY!



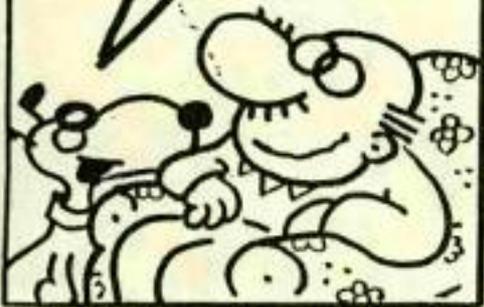
... AND WE THE PEOPLE



HAVE OUR SAY!



SO HOW DID YOU VOTE, BOSS?



ISN'T IT OBVIOUS?!



I VOTED FOR THE NATION.



©1988 Kuroche



**HERO**  
 9

**PAGE EIGHT**  
 FULL COLOR  
 FULL PAGE  
 DRY BONES  
 8

**JITTERS**  
 6

A terror link to the mid-air blast that took 273 lives may have seemed the only obstacle to slow the PLO's dazzling diplomatic success. But the saboteurs are Syrian-backed, while in the territories Arafat appears to have clamped a lid on violence (see Insider). Only Jibril could have made Arafat look good - as only Yasser could have helped Israel's warring factions (below right) join in a wall-to-wall common front.

## Jibril's 747

Giora Shamis  
 Executive at The Nation

A terrorist bomb blast caused the crash of the Pan American airliner over Scotland on Wednesday which killed 273 people. Western intelligence agencies said yesterday.

Intelligence sources said that the bomb was planted by Ahmed Jibril's Syrian-backed Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command. The PFLP-GC and Syrian intelligence were responsible for two attempts to blow up airliners bound for Israel. Jibril has threatened action against Americans because of US support for Israel and its recent opening of a dialogue with Yasser Arafat.

The Pan Am plane, which exploded en route from London to New York, originated in Frankfurt. West German intelligence sources said yesterday that they believe a PFLP-GC operative boarded the plane in Frankfurt with a briefcase packed with Syrian-supplied explosives that cannot be detected by routine security methods. The terrorist is thought to have left Pan Am Flight 103 while it was in transit in London, leaving the briefcase behind. Intelligence believe that there were at least one person on board who can identify the PFLP-GC.

Western intelligence has been on alert for Abu Jibril since October, after founding up a PFLP-GC cell in West Germany. The leader of the cell, Hafes Kazzouh Khudayem, revealed to his interrogators that an attack on a civilian airliner was being planned with the backing of senior Syrian military intelligence officers.

See Saboteur story, page 2

# The Nation

ISRAEL'S QUALITY NEWSPAPER

PUBLISHED MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY WITH THE FACILITIES OF THE WASHINGTON POST, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES AND THE GUARDIAN



The incoming Cabinet line-up. Probable additions to the Cabinet are marked with an asterisk. Back row, left to right: Aryeh Drot, Yitzhak Peretz, Rafi Eidi, Ezer Weizman, Ora Nami\*, Gad Yassoub, Mendeluzi Davi, Dov Meisler, Eliezer Ben-Eliezer\*, Gideon Peck, Ehud Olmert, Yitzhak Mada, Amos Sclaf\*, Zevulun Hanover\*. Center row: Yassou Fass, Abraham Katz-Or, Haim Bar-Lev, Moshe Shalev, Avot Mito, Moshe Katzav, Moshe Meale, Ariel Sharon. Front row: Yitzhak Navon, Yitzhak Rubin, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Shamir, David Levy, Moshe Aron.

## Knesset approves Shamir's new government by 84-19

James Lovens  
 The Nation

A four-hour debate in the Knesset yesterday approved Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's new broad government coalition of 19 with three... About half of...

...and... Labor... the sole Arab... Masalha, and Uzi... Yitzhak (Tzubi) Hanegbi... Haim Ramon was absent from the chamber, while Shoshana Arbeli-Almouline and Ora Nami - both disappointed the previous day when they were left out by Shimon Peres from his list of ministers - did not even attend the special Knesset session. Prime Minister Shamir told the House the country had to have a broad government to stand united in the face of the PLO's massive propaganda offer-

...The PLO's goal was still to destroy Israel after pushing her back to the "irregular borders" of Shamir said. He declared... Arab state would... tween her... ter...



At this point Abd al Wabeh Derawshe (Arab Democratic List) shouted: "Does that include the Palestinians?" Gush

...was at a special respon... as a bridge between li... the Arabs.

By and large Shamir's speech passed without too much heckling. But when he presented his list of ministers, Derawshe asked: "Why are there no women or Arabs?" There were cat-calls from the left-wing opposition as it was announced that David Levy was deputy prime minister, minister of construction and housing and second vice-premier who would be acting premier in the absence of Shamir and Peres. "What will we do if Levy is absent too?" asked Ran Cohen (Citizens Rights Movement).

During the debate the new government was attacked from the left, the right and from inside its own ranks. Rabbi Eliaser Waldman (Tehiya) said the government would bow to American pressure on the Palestinian issue and that the promised eight new settlements in the territories would never be built.

...ing in Algeria, Salah Khafri (Abu Yaad), Arafat's number two and boss of the Unified Security Apparatus of Fatah, struck a cease-fire agreement with the notorious anti-terrorist. Abu Nidal agreed to stop all his terrorist activities, not only against Fatah officials and commanders but also against Israeli targets in the Middle East and Western Europe. In exchange, the PLO enabled Abu Nidal to bolster his forces in Lebanon with the help of Fatah units. Up to now, Abu Nidal has kept his word. But other radical Palestinian terrorist groups are continuing to mount attacks. (See Pen Am story this page). The Americans are telling the Israeli: "Arafat has declared a cease-fire without admitting it. He is showing signs of detaching himself from terrorism. He will maintain the truce as long as he believes that you will sit down with him and talk directly." Not surprisingly officials here are still cautious.

Giora Shamir

TODAY'S WEATHER

Partly cloudy, warmer

JERUSALEM	7	17
TEL AVIV	9	21
HAPA	9	20
ERAT	14	26
BEER SHEVA	4	21
TIBERIAS	13	23
ASHDOD	9	20
HAIFA	7	18
NETZAH	7	17

## insider

IS IT POSSIBLE TO TRUST THE duplicitous Arafat? According to senior US and Israeli intelligence sources, he apparently means to dampen terrorism in general, including the violence of the uprising in the territories. The PLO chairman seems to have ordered battalions operatives to stop all terrorist actions, including the throwing of Molotov cocktails, the sources believe. He may also have told calls to South Lebanon to halt attacks on Israel from land and sea. Although the American and Israeli intelligence sources are not aware of any specific "truce directives" coming from Arafat recently, there is accumulating evidence that they exist. From Sunday, December 18 until today, only one Molotov cocktail has been thrown in the territories (on Wednesday night, near Jerusalem). During an average week of the Palestinian uprising over the last year, scores of Molotov bombs have been at Israeli targets. Even Abu Nidal has reportedly put on ice. In early 1988, on the eve of the PNC meeting in Algeria, Salah Khafri (Abu Yaad), Arafat's number two and boss of the Unified Security Apparatus of Fatah, struck a cease-fire agreement with the notorious anti-terrorist. Abu Nidal agreed to stop all his terrorist activities, not only against Fatah officials and commanders but also against Israeli targets in the Middle East and Western Europe. In exchange, the PLO enabled Abu Nidal to bolster his forces in Lebanon with the help of Fatah units. Up to now, Abu Nidal has kept his word. But other radical Palestinian terrorist groups are continuing to mount attacks. (See Pen Am story this page). The Americans are telling the Israeli: "Arafat has declared a cease-fire without admitting it. He is showing signs of detaching himself from terrorism. He will maintain the truce as long as he believes that you will sit down with him and talk directly." Not surprisingly officials here are still cautious.

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# A new paper is born, making news worldwide

Don Fisher  
Los Angeles Times

FETAN THOMA

Hash Kestlin listened politely as the young Michalizer he had picked up complained about everything from the poor state of Israeli roads to the ailing national health service.

Then something broke the native New Yorker — a commitment to his adopted home — a journalistic sense of history, or maybe just an inbred optimism — made him take issue with what he heard.

"Look," Kestlin admonished his passenger, a soldier. "You have peace with Egypt. You'll probably have peace with another Arab country before your sons bar mitzvah. Things are changing. Why can't you enjoy it a little?"

Starting in September, Kestlin, 44, hopes to carry that message not only to the occasional Michalizer, but to thousands of readers as well in a new, English-language daily news paper he is launching called *The Nation*.

"The whole country is a success story," said the editor, publisher and part owner of the new publication during an interview at its headquarters

here. "We sit around and beat our breasts, but look what we've done! This is not a 'Tollyanna' paper, but some perspective is in order."

The *Nation's* impending debut has created nearly as much of a stir here as the latest royal birth generates in England. Instead of guessing the sex of the "newborn," speculation here concerns its editorial slant.

In the politically charged atmosphere of a country facing imminent national elections and beset by nine months of Palestinian unrest in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, it is probably inevitable that the pre-publication conventional wisdom puts *The Nation* firmly in the rightist camp.

Moreover, the publication aims to break the virtual English-language monopoly long enjoyed by the *Jerusalem Post*, which is affiliated with the center-left Labor Alignment of Shimon Peres.

However, Kestlin and his like-minded financial backers — including a group of five Los Angeles investors headed by Beverly Hills real estate developer David Wilstein — insisted that, if anything, *The Nation* will be characterized by its lack of any political line. The editor pledged that it will be the only Israeli newspaper that does not print

editorials, for example.

With Wilstein as chairman, the parent company has as its executive chairman Amnon Neubach, a former economic adviser to Peres.

Neubach admits that the company has a secret. Big-money backers such as press magnate Rupert Murdoch. But Kestlin and Neubach both denied it, and the company's registration statement with the Israeli Ministry of Justice lists Kestlin as the largest single stockholder — albeit with less than 5 percent of the authorized shares, while 89 percent remains unstated.

Kestlin pokes himself on keeping his own political views private, and, regarding his staff, he promised, "I will fire the first guy and the second who doesn't keep his prejudices to himself."

He maintained that Israel currently is "very poorly served by our politicians and our press," both of which some-



Publisher Hash Kestlin, standing, gives directions

AP/WIDE

times seem to go out of their way to exacerbate divisions in the country.

"I refuse to allow this newspaper to be part of making things worse," Kestlin said. "We want to find a way for people to talk to each other."

But most of all, isolated Kestlin — whose professional credentials include *Newsday*, the Long Island, N.Y.-based newspaper; *Forbes* magazine; and the

now-defunct *New York Herald Tribune* — his goal is to produce a newspaper that meets a high standard of journalistic quality and one without any political bias.

For the first month, beginning today, *The Nation* is to be published weekly, and its debut comes at a time of considerable turmoil in the Israeli media.

British press baron Robert Max-

well secretly bought a 30 percent interest in Meariv, a leading Hebrew-language daily, and he is reportedly considering other investments in Israeli satellite and cable television. The country's state-controlled television and radio are embroiled in political controversy, which spilled over earlier this month in a public dispute regarding the propriety of reporting on Israeli soldiers who refuse to serve in the occupied territories.

Palestinian unrest has also focused the spotlight on the *Jerusalem Post*, which was recently embarrassed by the well-publicized departure of one of its best-known correspondents, ostensibly in a dispute over its standards.

"I cannot remain associated with a newspaper that has lost all responsibility to its readers, printing stories that are based on unchecked rumor and supposition, damaging Israel's name and reputation beyond belief," wrote former defense correspondent Hirsch Goodman in a July 1, 1982, resignation letter.

The letter was published in *Kol HaYom*, a Hebrew-language Jerusalem weekly, which speculated that if the Post sticks to its current, "leftist" political line, "it might lose thousands of readers to *The Nation*." According to *Kol HaYom*, one large American Jewish organization has already canceled "dozens" of subscriptions to the Post.

"Irvini and Irviniwint," said Post editor Erwin Frankel of the Goodman incident. Privately, some other Post insiders characterize Goodman's departure as the result of a personality clash with a powerful middle-level editor.

"We've been criticized by readers for a long time," Frankel said of the



David Wilstein, board chairman

Post. "We have difficulty with some of our Orthodox readers who find it difficult to accept a newspaper that is fundamentally liberal. We have difficulty with ... others who also have strong nationalist political views. That's not new. It's been exacerbated no doubt by the Palestinian uprising,



Amnon Neubach, executive chairman

which has made people more nervous ... But fundamentally, as I understand what we're doing, the *Jerusalem Post* has not changed during the uprising. The world has shifted a bit.

Judging from a mock-up of *The Nation*, the new paper will be very different from the *Jerusalem Post* and all other Israeli publications. It only in appearance. It features a 24-page tabloid format, modest-sized headlines and light type — a look more reminiscent of Central Europe than the Mediterranean. It has several pages of business news, including daily listings from among 3,000 stocks on the New York, American, Toronto, London, Johannesburg and Sydney exchanges.

Kestlin said he rejects the notion that a newspaper is "a stage from which the publisher lectures the readership and makes them pay for it as well." That is why there will be no editorials — only summaries of editorials from other Israeli newspapers and two guest opinion columns, usually on opposite sides of an issue, in each edition.

A balding, bespectacled father of five who immigrated in 1970, Kestlin is the acknowledged driving force behind *The Nation*. He has been working for more than four years to break into an English language media market here that has already proven to be the Waterloo of several others before him.

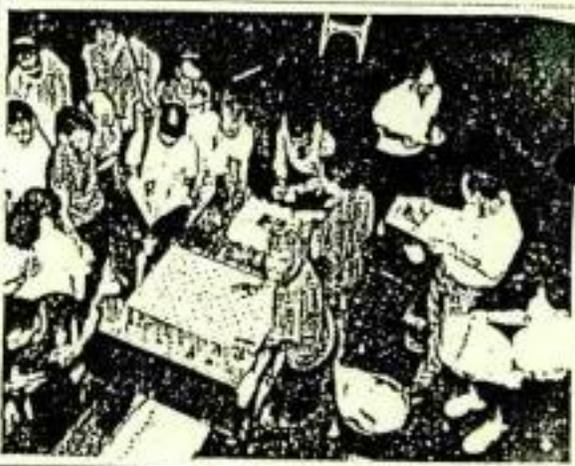
"As a businessman, it crossed my mind that this might be a very difficult thing to pull off," conceded Wilstein, the chairman, in a telephone interview. However, he expressed enthusiasm for Kestlin's vision of "a totally independent" national newspaper that would bring an "unbiased" view to readers both in Israel and abroad.

Thanks to computerized newspaper

technology, a modest full-time staff and an already existing national distribution system, *The Nation* is a relatively low-budget operation, Kestlin said. The share-

estimated to be of Anglo-Saxon origin, and English is a required subject in the schools from the fourth grade on.

While there are many Anglo-Saxons in Israel, *Jerusalem Post* editor Frankel



The first edition of *The Nation* produced fast week rolls off the presses

AP/WIDE

holders' total investment to date is about \$500,000 and that there is a chance "this paper at birth may be break-even."

Neubach, the deputy chairman, said the initial circulation target is about 10,000 copies daily, compared to a reported 23,000 for the *Jerusalem Post* (40,000 for its Friday weekend edition). About 300,000 Israelis are

said, "people who come here to live in the Jewish state learn Hebrew, and they want to read Hebrew newspapers." The better their Hebrew, he added, the more likely they are to abandon an English newspaper.

Kestlin is banking on a different premise — that the subscribers are there for a good newspaper that does not preach to them.

# Letter from the Editor

In its fifth month of publication, it is possible to believe that The Nation, Israel's youngest national newspaper, may already have reached the kind of success that other papers never even aspire to. English-language readers here in Israel have flocked to our support, the international press has taken us seriously and, by all standards, we seem to have arrived. But taking between a quarter and a third of the market from day one and being quoted regularly in other newspapers and on US network television is just the beginning. We've got a long way to go. Having made no compromise on quality, we've now got to get better and better. In fact, the story of The Nation is so refreshing a change from what goes on in journalism practised in Israel that the paper itself has become a ray of hope for our much battered country and for high-standard journalism as we touch the beginning of the 21st century.

Newspapers are founded for one of two reasons: either they are imposed upon a market because a publisher feels he would like his own say or they are demanded from below. The Nation is such a market-driven newspaper. In survey after survey, in interview after interview, we found that the English language readership in Israel, and those with an interest in Israel abroad, were crying out for an alternative to the existing paper, a political daily which offended its own readership. Even some of its own backers felt the country was badly served by this biased, provincial and dreary daily. But setting up an independent, fair-minded paper immediately ran into a financial Catch-22: to put out such a paper using traditional methods would cost up to \$10 million. And the only way to be assured of that kind of investment would normally be to rely on just the sort of backing which would guarantee a crippled newspaper, a political sheet no better than the existing paper but

simply on the other side of the fence. To the rescue came desktop publishing.

The Nation is to our knowledge the only daily newspaper in the world operating on inexpensive, off-the-shelf software mounted on personal computers. Whole pages are produced on the kind of simple p.c.'s most of us have at home. By eliminating typesetters and expensive machinery, The Nation has been able to produce a paper with under eighty people, only half of these editorial. By comparison, the other English-language paper in Israel pays 510 salaries a month. But that's only the how.

The what is even more exciting. From the beginning it's been our goal to produce a paper with high editorial standards but politically neutral. The Nation is, as far as we know, the only national newspaper in the world to forego an editorial line. Our staff is a bizarre mix of leftists and rightists, the irreligious and the devout. The Nation is the only paper in Israel or anywhere else where when an evening *minyan* is formed, the non-religious take over jobs of those at prayer. After an early period where the public and our own staff wondered what the secret behind the paper was, both the readership and the journalists have come to happy grips with the new reality: The Nation is a newspaper dedicated to serving its readership, some 8 percent of Israel's 4 million citizens whose native language is English. And that means serving no other ideal.

Because of our recognition that Israel's English-language readership has been starved for editorial quality and dependability, The Nation has set as its first goal - before the advertising package was in place, before a subscription system was developed - to supply solid, colorful journalism. To do so we recruited a staff of professionals from the major wite services, Israel radio and such periodicals as *Forbes* and *The Economist*.

We set ourselves the goal of build-

ing up one section of the paper after another. Recognizing the importance to our readers of international sports coverage, The Nation in its first edition opened with the best sports section outside the US, an unrivaled tour de force that established a readership base. Next target was our news pages, where we concentrated on going after international scoops that would give The Nation the kind of credibility a national newspaper should have. In our third and fourth weeks of publication The Nation broke the story of US-Iran negotiation over the freeing of western hostages in Lebanon. What made the State Department issue a strong and immediate denial? What made President Reagan deny the story twice? Was it the fact that writer Giora Shamis, formerly of *The Economist*, and Hesh Kestin, formerly of *Forbes*, have track records of being first with the most on stories no one else could touch? Or was it simply that the major western TV networks had read The Nation, as had the major western newspapers, and recognized the voice of authority as it spoke in detail and at length about the most secret negotiations of the decade.

The fact is that never in the history of the State of Israel has a paper here made Washington, London, Paris, Bonn and, yes, even Tokyo stand up and take notice. Such was the sensation when the first Lebanese hostage was released, as The Nation predicted, that American newspapers and networks quickly got in touch to ask if The Nation would be willing to syndicate its news. This from a newspaper barely a month old.

The next step is beefing up our local coverage. To that end The Nation is putting on a staff of reporters to make sure that trash collection in Netanya, where many of our readers live, is taken as seriously as the drought in Sudan.

An upcoming move: improving our business coverage. The Nation is already the only newspaper in Israel and in much of the world outside of

the US and some European capitals – which provides thousands of stock market quotations from the NYSE, Amex, Nasdaq, Toronto, London, South African and Australian exchanges. We expect to expand these listings to serve a readership which is not only affluent by Israeli standards but whose capital base is mainly abroad. In tandem, The Nation will move rapidly now to provide an internationally-oriented business section that will provide a bridge between Israel and the world economy.

The aim in all of this is simple. It's our intention to provide Israel with a national newspaper of international standing, one which will quickly come to represent Israel to the world while bringing the world to Israel.

This approach to editorial excellence can be expected to bear fruit in circulation growth and in advertising. Already in many areas The Nation is one of every three English-language papers sold on Fridays; we expect to take half the market by the end of our first year. A subscription system is now in place, along with an extensive promotional campaign. Spending money on promotion can be expected to sell even more papers. Up to now The Nation has spent less than \$10,000 on promoting itself. In effect, we have broken into the local market without buying into it – the world's most famous new newspaper in also its least promoted.

In recent weeks, The Nation has received the results of an extensive, specially-commissioned Gallup poll to determine who our readers are; armed with statistics on foreign travel, purchasing-power, levels of consumption, The Nation will be well-positioned to move strongly ahead on advertising lineage. Our low rates, full-color printing and ability to deliver a high income, high spending readership will mean impressive advertising growth.

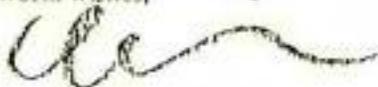
But having proved that a daily newspaper can be produced on a shoestring does not mean that continuing on a shoestring makes sound business sense. To allow us to move forward, the paper's board of directors has authorized an increase in the company's capital base. The Nation's growth has outstripped all

our projections and made headlines around the world. It is now time to fuel The Nation's expansion – real promotion, international subscriptions, perhaps an international edition – with the kind of capital that will see us breaking even operationally in our first years of publication.

We're on that road now. If you'd like to join us in this exciting venture, which combines a profitable investment with a tangible personal satisfaction in helping Israel build the national newspaper it deserves, call on me here at The Nation or on Ben Levine, general manager, for details.

Meanwhile, we'll continue to build the best, most popular and respected national newspaper, the newspaper Israel deserves and supports, The Nation. As we say here in the newsroom: "If you're not reading us--you're reading about us."

Warm wishes,



Hesh Kestin  
Editor and Managing Director



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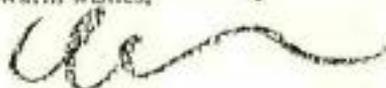
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Dan Fisher  
Los Angeles Times

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"I refuse to allow this newspaper to be part of making things worse," Kestis said. "We want to find a way for people to talk to each other."

But most of all, lauded Kestis — whose professional credentials include *Newsday*, the Long Island, N.Y.-based newspaper; *Forbes* magazine; and the

now-defunct *New York Herald Tribune* — his goal is to produce a newspaper that meets a high standard of journalistic quality and one without any political bias.

For the first month, beginning today, *The Nation* is to be published weekly, and its debut comes at a time of considerable turmoil in the Israeli media. British press baron Robert Max-

well recently bought a 30 percent interest in *Morot*, a leading Hebrew-language daily, and he is reportedly considering other investments in Israeli satellite and cable television. The country's state-controlled television and radio are embroiled in political controversy, which spilled over earlier this month in a public dispute regarding the propriety of reporting on Israeli soldiers who refuse to serve in the occupied territories.

Palestinian unrest has also focused the spotlight on the *Jerusalem Post*, which was recently embarrassed by the well-publicized departure of one of its best-known correspondents, ostensibly in a dispute over its standards.

"I cannot remain associated with a newspaper that has lost all responsibility to its readers, placing stories that are based on unchecked rumor and supposition, damaging Israel's name and reputation beyond belief," wrote former defense correspondent Hirsch Goodman in a July 1, 1982, resignation letter.

The letter was published in *Kol Ha'ir*, a Hebrew-language Jerusalem weekly, which speculated that if the *Post* sticks to its current, "leftist" political line, "it might lose thousands of readers to *The Nation*." According to *Kol Ha'ir*, one large American Jewish organization has already canceled "dozens" of subscriptions to the *Post*.

"Trivial and irrelevant," said *Post* editor Erwin Frankel of the Goodman incident. Privately, some other *Post* insiders characterize Goodman's departure as the result of a personality clash with a powerful middle-level editor.

"We've been criticized by readers for a long time," Frankel said of the



David Wilstein, board chairman

*Post*. "We have difficulty with some of our Orthodox readers who find it difficult to accept a newspaper that is fundamentally liberal. We have difficulty with ... others who also have strong nationalist political views. That's not new. It's been exacerbated, no doubt by the Palestinian uprising,



Annon Neubach, executive chairman

which has made people more nervous — but fundamentally, as I understand what we're doing, the *Jerusalem Post* has not changed during the uprising. The world has shifted a bit.

Judging from a mock-up of *The Nation*, the new paper will be very different from the *Jerusalem Post* and all other Israeli publications. If only in appearance. It features a 24-page tabloid format, moderated headlines and light type — a look more reminiscent of Central Europe than the Mediterranean. It has several pages of business news, including daily listings from among 3,000 stocks on the New York, American, Toronto, London, Johannesburg and Sydney exchanges.

Kestis said he rejects the notion that a newspaper is "a stage from which the publisher lectures the readership and makes them pay for it as well." That is why there will be no editorials — only summaries of editorials from other Israeli newspapers and two guest opinion columns, usually on opposite sides of an issue, in each edition.

A balding, bespectacled father of five who immigrated in 1970, Kestis is the acknowledged driving force behind *The Nation*. He has been working for more than four years to break into an English-language media market here that has already proven to be the Waterloo of several others before him.

"As a businessman, it crossed my mind that this might be a very difficult thing to pull off," conceded Wilstein, the chairman, in a telephone interview. However, he expressed enthusiasm for Kestis's vision of "a totally independent" national newspaper that would bring an "unbiased" view to readers both in Israel and abroad.

Thanks to computerized newspaper

technology, a modest full-time staff and an already-existing national newsstand distribution system, *The Nation* is a relatively low-budget operation. Kestis said the share-

estimated to be of Anglo-Saxon origin, and English is a required subject in the schools from the fourth grade on.

While there are many Anglo-Saxons in Israel, *Jerusalem Post* editor Frankel



The first edition of *The Nation* produced last week rolls off the presses

holders' total investment to date is about \$600,000 and that there is a chance "this paper at birth may be break-even."

Neubach, the deputy chairman, said the initial circulation target is about 10,000 copies daily, compared to a reported 23,000 for the *Jerusalem Post* (40,000 for its Friday weekend edition). About 300,000 Israelis are

said, "people who come here to live in the Jewish state learn Hebrew, and they want to read Hebrew newspapers." The better their Hebrew, he added, the more likely they are to abandon an English newspaper.

Kestis is banking on a different premise — that the subscribers are there for a good newspaper that does not preach to them.



A terror link to the mid-air blast that took 273 lives may have seemed the only obstacle to slow the PLO's dazzling diplomatic success. But the saboteurs are Syrian-backed, while in the territories Arafat appears to have clamped a lid on violence (see Insider). Only Jibril could have made Arafat look good - as only Yasser could have helped Israel's warring factions (below right) join in a wall-wall common front.

## Jibril's 747

Giorga Shamus  
*Columnist in The Nation*

**A** terrorist bomb blast caused the crash of the Pan American airliner over Scotland on Wednesday which killed 273 people. Western intelligence agencies said yesterday.

Intelligence sources said that the bomb was planted by Ahmed Jibril's Syrian-backed Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command. The PFLP-GC and Syrian intelligence were responsible for two attempts to blow up airlines bound for Israel. Jibril has threatened action against Americans because of US support for Israel and its recent opening of a dialogue with Yasser Arafat.

The Pan Am plane, which exploded en route from London to New York, originated in Frankfurt. West German intelligence sources said yesterday that they believe a PFLP-GC operative boarded the plane in Frankfurt with a briefcase packed with Syrian-supplied explosives that cannot be detected by routine security methods. The operative is thought to have left Pan Am Flight 103 while it was in transit in London, leaving the briefcase behind. Investigators believe that they

of at least one person who can be identified as the PFLP-GC. Western intelligence has been on alert for Abu Nidal since October, after standing up a PFLP-GC cell in West Germany. The leader of the cell, Hales Kassem Khalafarovsky, resisted to his interrogations that an attack on a civilian airliner was being planned with the backing of senior Syrian military intelligence officers.

See Sabotage story, page 2



HERO

9



8



JITTERS

6

# The Nation

ISRAEL'S QUALITY NEWSPAPER

PUBLISHED MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY WITH THE FACILITIES OF THE WASHINGTON POST, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES AND THE GUARDIAN



The incoming Cabinet line-up. Probable additions to the Cabinet are marked with an asterisk. Back row, left to right: Aryeh Dori, Yitzhak Peretz, Rafi Eitan, Ezer Weizman, Ora-Namer\*, Gad Yacobi\*, Mordechai Giv, Dan Meridor, Elyahu Ben-David\*, Gideon Peit, Ehud Olmert, Yitzhak Muddai, Arzer Sobel\*, Zevulun Hanover\*. Center row: Yasser Tsur, Avraham Katz-Or, Haim Revivier, Misha Shabat, Rosh Mito, Moshe Katas, Moshe Nisim, Ariel Sharon. Front row: Yitzhak Haber, Yitzhak Rubin, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Shamir, David Levy, Moshe Arens.

## Knesset approves Shamir's new government by 84-19

James Levens  
*The Nation*

**A**fter a four-hour debate the Knesset yesterday approved Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's new broad government, 84-19 with three abstentions.

Shamir's new broad government was approved by a vote of 84-19 with three abstentions. Labor, the sole Arab party, and Likud, the sole Arab party, abstained. Labor's Haim Lomax was absent from the chamber, while Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino and Ora Namer - both disappointed the previous day when they were left out by Shamir - did not even attend the special Knesset session.

Prime Minister Shamir told the House the country had to have a broad government to stand united in the face of the PLO's massive propaganda offer-

ing. The PLO's goal was still to destroy Israel after pushing her back to the "strangulation borders" of 1948, Shamir said. He declared that Arab state would be a bridge between Israel and the Arab.



Yitzhak Shamir in the Knesset.

As this point Abd al Wahab Darwish (Arab Democratic List) shouted: "Does that include the Palestinians?" Genda

By and large Shamir's speech passed without too much heckling. But when he presented his list of ministers, Darwish asked: "Why are there no women or Arabs?" There were calls from the left-wing opposition as it was announced that David Levy was deputy prime minister, minister of construction and housing and second vice-president who would be acting president in the absence of Shamir and Peres.

"What will we do if Levy is absent too?" asked Ran Cohen (Chinese Rights Movement). During the debate the new government was attacked from the left, the right and from inside its own ranks. Rabbi Eliesser Waldman (Tehiya) said the government would bow to American pressure on the Palestinian issue and that the promised right new settlements in the territories would never be built.

TODAY'S WEATHER

Partly cloudy, warmer

BEER SHEVA	7	17
TEL AVIV	9	21
HAPA	9	20
NETAN	14	26
MERZIFYA	4	21
NETZAN	13	23
RAVIV	9	20
HAI	7	18
HAIFA	7	17

## insider

IS IT POSSIBLE TO TRUST THE duplicitous Arafat? According to senior US and Israeli intelligence sources, he apparently means to dampen terrorism in general, including the violence of the uprising in the territories. The PLO chairman seems to have ordered his operatives to stop all terrorist actions, including the throwing of Molotov cocktails, the sources believe. He may also have told cells in South Lebanon to halt attacks on Israel from land and sea. Although the American and Israeli intelligence sources are not aware of any specific "truce directives" coming from Arafat recently, there is accumulating evidence that they exist. From Sunday, December 19 until today, only one Molotov cocktail has been thrown in the territories (on Wednesday night, near Jerusalem). During an average week of the Palestinian uprising over the last year, scores of Molotov bombs have been at Israeli targets. Even Yasser Arafat has reportedly put on leash. In early 1988, on the eve of the PNC meeting in Algiers, Salah Khalaf (Abu Nidal), Arafat's number two and boss of the United Security Apparatus of Fatah, struck a cease-fire agreement with the notorious arch-terrorist, Abu Nidal agreed to stop all his terrorist activities, not only against Fatah officials and commanders but also against Israeli targets in the Middle East and Western Europe. In exchange, the PLO enabled Abu Nidal to bolster his forces in Lebanon with the help of Fatah units. Up to now, Abu Nidal has kept his word. But other radical Palestinian terrorist groups are continuing to mount attacks. (See Pan Am story this page). The Americans are telling the Israelis: "Arafat has declared a cease-fire without admitting it. He is showing signs of detaching himself from terrorism. He will maintain the truce as long as he believes that you will sit down with him and talk directly." Not surprisingly, officials here are still cautious.

Giorga Shamus

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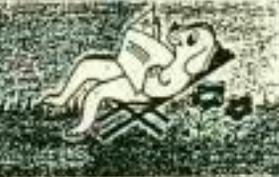
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## American Jews Are Misrepresented

**O**AKLAND, California — The Bush administration will soon face heavy lobbying from the Jewish organizations that claim to speak for all American Jews. In fact, they don't.

The Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, the America Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Anti-Defamation League and other impressive sounding coalitions can be expected to convey support for Israeli policy. They will urge the administration to pay little attention to the recent State Department report on human rights violations in the occupied territories, and will attempt to put curbs on the American dialogue with the Palestinian leadership.

When Yitzhak Shamir arrives in America this spring, he is likely to try to use his warmed over autonomy proposals as a way of covering his continued refusal to negotiate with the PLO or to consider a Palestinian state. He can count on most of these leaders to endorse his ideas or uncharacteristically keep their mouths shut about their objections.

The administration should note what the media are beginning to acknowledge: This leadership claims to speak for all Jews but represents only the most conservative ones.

There is another sector whose voices have been stifled inside the "organized Jewish community" and whose members are appalled by Israel's brutal repression of the Palestinian uprising. They reject Mr. Shamir's attempts to perpetuate the occupation of the West Bank.

Prime Minister Shamir's policies are in question in Israel. Polls there this year show that a majority of Israelis would support negotiations with the PLO. Mr. Shamir's only hope for maintaining his rejection-

By Michael Lerner

HT 2/12/89

ist policies is to receive a mandate from American Jewish leaders that he cannot get from the Israeli public. To ensure their loyalty, he has invited hundreds of them to a gathering in Jerusalem in March.

The American and Israeli media interpreted the enthusiastic reception Mr. Shamir got from these leaders last March as proof that his rejection of George Shultz's peace plan was supported by American Jews. Perceived as spokesmen for American Jews, these leaders put enormous pressure on congressional leaders to back away from their statements urging Israel to accept the Shultz plan. Three weeks later, the Los Angeles Times released a poll, conducted in late March, showing that 60 percent of American Jews supported the Shultz initiative.

B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, to name the organizations most frequently quoted, face membership crises. They have been unable to attract a substantial number of Jews born after World War II.

Political and social conservatism, the absence of democratic mechanisms for choosing national policies and of real debate, and the replacing of authentic Judaism with empty ethnicity, have alienated young Jews from most Jewish organizations that claim to represent them.

When young Jews join synagogues and give money to federations to support social services in local Jewish communities and in Israel, they do not intend thereby to empower "national leaders" to speak in their names.

The much touted "young leadership" is not elected but selected by

professionals who hope to receive large donations from these budding businesspeople, who then are dubbed "community leaders" in return for their financial largesse.

This skewing of the "organized Jewish community" toward the wealthy and toward talented fundraisers encourages a climate of organizational conservatism that is out of step with the thinking of most American Jews.

The bad news is that young Jews have distanced themselves from the Jewish world. They do so because they have found the organized Jewish world dominated by materialism, conformism and spiritual emptiness, and have found themselves branded disloyal or "self-hating."

The good news is that a growing number of young Jews no longer code their heritage to the voices of the establishment and are creating alternative institutions, publications, conferences, study and prayer groups and consciousness-raising groups.

In years ahead, the silenced majority will increasingly refuse to be hushed. Referendums on national policy affecting Jews, and democratic elections for national Jewish leaders open to all Jews, could re-energize the Jewish world and attract that majority. But democratization is likely to be thwarted by the elites and paid professionals in the "organized Jewish community."

The Bush administration and the media must not be misled by today's Jewish leaders. Mr. Shamir has no blank check from American Jews to perpetuate the occupation indefinitely and to refuse to participate in serious negotiations.

*The writer is editor of Tikkun, a Jewish journal. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.*

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סודי

חוזם: 2,20223

אל: המשרד

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סודי / מיד

אל: מצפ' א

דע: לשכת רה' מ

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הקונגרסמן לנטוס - לקראת ביקור רה' מ

1. במשך היום נפגשנו פעמיים עם לנטוס ( בפגישה עם השר לשעבר שפירא ופגישה הציר והח' מ ) הביע דאגתו מהחשיקה הגוברת במעמדה של ישראל. חלק מהקונגרסמנים היהודים לדבריו משנים אף הם ( אם כי באיטיות ) עמדתם ומשדרים מסר שלילי זה לעמיתיהם הלא יהודיים. הוא כשלעצמו נותר כמעט בודד בתמיכתו הבלתי מסוייגת בישראל ולא יתבטא נגדה אף פעם בפומבי אולם על ישראל ליטול היוזמה כדי למנוע

. CONSTANT EROSION AND BEING ON THE DEFENSIVE

אם בביקורו לא יבוא רה' מ עם יוזמה /

MAJOR, SIGNIFICANT AND DRAMATIC

CHANGE

' יתרבו הצרות ' ולאן דווקא מצידו או מצד ידידיה הקרובים של ישראל. חש בהלך רוחות כזה כבר בסיור האחרון במספר מדינות באירופה.

2. לנטוס סיפר כי אינו מרגיש בנוח לגבי ביקור רה' מ.

הדגיש כי הוא מאד מעוניין ( VERY ANXIOUS ) שביקור



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

רה"מ יהיה מוצלח 'והוא חייב להצליח' אולם לצורך כך על ישראל לעשות DRAMATIC GESTURES . הוא רוצה לסייע אולם אינו יודע כיצד. הציפיות בקונגרס גבוהות, בין אם מוצדקות בין אם לאו, והתפיסה היא כי הכדור במגרש הישראלי.

3. הציר סיפר ללנטוס על עיקרי השיחות שקיים רובינשטיין בשבוע שעבר ועל הדרך בה אנו רואים התהליך. גם זה לא הניח דעתו של לנטוס. YOU GOT TO HAVE SOMETHING . OTHERWISE IT'LL BE DISASTER ON YOUR SIDE .

4. בנוגע לק'ד אמר לנטוס כי עד כמה שהוא תומך בהסכמים אלה, המתנגדים לק'ד הצליחו לבטל חשיבותם ומידת יכולת יישומם ולשאלת הציר לגבי קבילותה של התפיסה המעוגנת בק'ד השיב לנטוס כי שפת ק'ד צריכה להיות RICHLY CAMOUFLAGED והוסיף שאולי כדי להכניס זאת למסגרת של מטריה אמריקנית- סובייטית. יתכן שזה יתפס כאלמנט חדש.

5. חזר והציע קונגרסיזציה של תכנית שתוצג ע"י רה"מ - כמו שלבים, תאריכים ויעדים למפגשים וכן האלמנט של חסות המעצמות.

6. הדגיש כי אין בכוונתו לומר לנו כיצד ומה עלינו להחליט אולם על ביקור רה"מ להצליח כדי שהיוזמה תשוב לידי ישראל וההתייחסות אליה בעקבות ההתפתחויות האחרונות באיזור ובזירה הבינל' תחדל להיות שלילית.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

פא

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

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GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE  
SITUATION IN THE AREA OF THE  
MIDDLE EAST AND THE  
MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

THE SECOND PART OF THE DOCUMENT  
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POLITICAL AND  
ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST AND THE  
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SOCIAL SITUATION IN THE  
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THE FOURTH PART OF THE DOCUMENT  
DEALS WITH THE  
MILITARY SITUATION IN THE  
MIDDLE EAST AND THE  
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THE FIFTH PART OF THE DOCUMENT  
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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE  
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מ-: המשרד, תא: 270289, חז: 1413, דח: ר, סג: שמ

חח: גס: ממד

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שומר/רגיל

אל: וושינגטון, לונדון, פאריס

משפ'ע

1. להלן מאלכפאח אלערבי (26.2):

'למרות התאום בין עיראק לירדן אשר התהדק במסגרת גוש הארבע, קיים המלך חוסיין התיעצויות עם אחראים אמריקאים בנושא הלחצים העיראקיים הקיימים או האפשריים לתאום צבאי בין שתי המדינות. העיראקים אינם סבורים כי תאום כזה יהיה אפקטיבי אלא אם כן הוא יהיה כרוך בכניסת יחידות צבאיות עיראקיות לירדן'

2. המדובר בידיעה בודדת.

3. האם ניתן לאמת/להוסיף על המידע הנ'ל.

ערב 3/ערב 2/איסוף

ל.כ.

לש



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

19464

תאריך : 27.02.89

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אל: ווש/994, לונדון/566, פריס/836, מנמת/472  
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תח: פ גס: ממד  
נד: פ

שמור/רגיל

אל: וושינגטון, לונדון, פאריס

משפ'ע

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אמריקאים בנושא הלחצים העיראקיים הקיימים או  
האפשריים לתאום צבאי בין שתי המדינות.  
העיראקים אינם סבורים כי תאום כזה יהיה אפקטיבי אלא  
אם כן הוא יהיה כרוך בכניסת יחידות צבאיות עיראקיות  
לירדן'

2. המדובר בידיעה בודדת.

3. האם ניתן לאמת/להוסיף על המידע הנ'ל.

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- מכוא  
בשיחה מקיפה עם הנ"ל ב-24/2, נדונו ההתפתחויות האחרונות. להלן כמה נקודות:  
הממשל החדש והמז"ח
- א. נראה שנתגבשה החלטה בחושה שלא לחזור על תרגיל "יוזמת רייגן" מ-1.9.82 ולא להכריז, רעחיר הנראה לעין, על תוכנית "אנפילה" כוללת. גורל "יוזמת רייגן" הותר לקחים ארוכי טווח. אין לצפות לחוכנית כזאת גם לאחר ביקור רה"מ בווישינגטון.  
ב. כנור שגישת המזכיר החדש מבוטסת על עקרון "הצעד אחר צעד" תוך זהירות מירבית שלא למעורר בגלל חסרון בלתי שקול ושלא לעורר ציפיות מוגזמות. אין בגישה זו כדי להמעיט כשכנוע שלאורח"ב נועד תפקיד מרכזי במאמצים לקידום תהליך השלום.  
ג. יש לזכור שכניגור ל-1977 או ל-1981 אין מדובר בממשל חדש החותר לשנות או לשפר מדיניות החוץ של קודמו. לכל היותר, ניתן להבחין כנכונות לערוך או לשפץ היבטים בגישת הממשל הקודם כלפי המזה"ת תוך התבססות - לפי שעה - על עקרונותיה הבסיסיים. זאת, תוך נקיטת הזהירות המתבקשת מהמשכיות השלטון הרפובליקני.
- יוזמות בריה"מ  
א. אף כי אין ווישינגטון מתכחשת למעמד מעצמה העל השניה במהלכים לפתרון סכסוכים אזוריים, קיימת הסתייגות מה כלפי סוכב שה"ח הסובייטי במזה"ת. מכאן - אמרת הנשיא בטוקיו ב-23.2 שכבר זכתה למענה מיודי מפי שברדנזה. מהלכיו נראים כמאמץ לשפר תדמית בלא נגיעה ישירה לענייני מהות.  
ב. כנור שמוסקבה החליטה להאדיר מעמדה באזורים שונים בעולם, לרבות המזה"ת, בשיטות השונות מאלו שנקטה בעבר. מעשה תחמקד יותר במתקפות דיפלומטיות, כזו שאפיינה סיור שה"ח הסובייטי במזה"ת.
- ישראל ובריה"מ  
א. עניין ישראל לנרמל יחסיה עם בריה"מ מוכן. הממשל תומך בו.  
ב. עם זאת, יש להבחין, בכלל הזהירות הדרושה, בין מגמה הנירמול לבין סיוע - ולא יהא עקיף ובלתי מודע - במאמצי בריה"מ לשריון לעצמת מעמד זהה לזה של ארה"ב כפעולות התיוור לקידום תהליך השלום. הצלחת מאמץ סובייטי זה לא תבשר טובות לישראל. אך, יתרה מזאת, היא עלולה לעורר חששות בקהיר, במפרציות ומעל הכל ברכת עמו. אין להקל ראש בהסתייגות הפנימית (המודחקת אמנם) של שליטי מצרים וירדן כלפי התעצמות סובייטית אפשרית וקטאיפתם הבסיסית להשעו, בעיקר, על הכוונה אמריקנית.

שם השולח: 1  
תאריך: 3  
מס' מסמך: 1003  
מס' קובץ: 3  
מס' תיק: 4  
מס' חש: 4  
מס' אג: 4  
מס' אג: 4  
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ד"ר: 2	טופס חברת	דחיקות:
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ג. בהקשר זה - אין משלחתו סבורה שיש מקום לחזר אחר כריה"מ בנושא כתב התאמנה הישראלי באו"ם. אין חשיבות הנושא מצדיקה זאת. שידול כזה יעורר תביעות לתשלום. תוצאות ההצבעה ב-18.10.88 הוכיחו שאפשר לוותר על כך.

#### 5. ארה"כ ואש"ף

א. אין כל שינוי בהוראות המחייבות חברי משלחת ארה"כ שלא לקיים מגעים עם אש"ף.

ב. אין הם מקבליט דווח מפורט על שיחות טונים, אך ברור להם שלא חל שינוי בכוונת הממשל להוסיף ולבחון עמוות אש"ף כלפי המהלכים והמוקדמים העשויים להוליד מו"מ ישיר כמועד הרצוי. אין פרוש הדבר שכבר נתגבשה החלטה מראש המחייבת שיתוף נציגי אש"ף כבר בחילתו.

ג. אין התנגדות לניהול המו"מ עם נציגים פלסטיניים מהשטחים אפילו יהיו תומכי אש"ף, בהנחה שיתקו ארשלבוט הראשונים לא ישולבו מנהיגי אש"ף עצמו.

ד. העניין בשחוף ירון לא נחלש אך קיימת מודעות לעדינות ומורכבות מעמדו כיום.

ה. לדידם מלא אש"ף תנאי ארה"כ ב-14.12.88 בג'נבה וידועים להם פקוקי ישראל בחחוט זה.

#### 6. ישראל ואש"ף

א. בקרב כמה מעמיתיו רונחה הסברה שיתכן ששגויה היא החלטת ממישראל לאסור כל מגע עם אש"ף. אין הכוונה למגמה למניעת מגעים בין נציגים רשמיים של ממישראל לבין מנהיגי אש"ף (שאו לי מוכנת בשלב זה), אלא למגעים אפשריים בין אישים ישראלים (לרבות חכ"ים) שאתם נציגי הממשלה PER SE, "מחליפים דעות עם פלסטיניים".

ב. נראה להם שהמציאות שהתפתחה כאחרונה היא שח"כים ואישים ישראלים אחרים, המייצגים גוף ספציפי במפה הפוליטית בישראל, מקיימים עתה מגעים כאלה (בניגוד לאסור הפורמלי) וזאת כדי לקדם בעיקר מגמות פנים מסוימות.

ג. הזכיר הגישה המתוחכמת של יפן כפרישת מגעיה הראשונים עם סין העממית שבוצעו, בשלכם הראשון, ע"י אישם יפניים, לרבות חברי פרלמנט, שלא יצגו הממשלה עצמה.

#### 7. ועידה בינ"ל

א. שורת בקרב עמיתיו ספקנות לגבי התכונת המוצעת של הועידה כפי שהיא מנוסחת ע"י כריה"מ ומדינות אחרות. אין הם רואים בסיון, בכריטניה ובצרפת כבעלי מעמד בהקשר זה. נראה להם שסיון לא תעמוד על שילובה.

דחיפות:	טופס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	סדר: 3 מחוק: 3
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ב. מיותרים המאמצים להתמקד בכינון ועידה כזאת בחסות האו"ם כאשר הרכבה, סמכויות ותפקידיה שרויים בערפל.  
ג. מעל הכל - לא חל שינוי בשכנועם שהפתרון ימצא אך ורק כתוצאה ממול"ט ישיר בין הצדדים ולא מלחצים מכחופ. מזכיר המדינה אישר זאת מחדש ב-21.2.

8. המהומות בשטחים

- א. אחת התוצאות הנה החלשת המגמה שהתבטאה ביוזמות שולץ (8-1987) שגרסה גישת השלבים (תחילה שיפור תנאי החיים בשטחים ולאחר מכן טפול בבעיות המהות).
- ב. עם כל החשיבות הנודעת לזהירות שקולה, אין להותיר לסטטוס קוו להמשיך עד אין קץ. רישום המהומות יצר מציאות חדשה.
- ג. לדעת עמיתו חשוב שישראל תדבר ב"קול אחד" (ללא ניגודי גישה פומביים) ותבהיר סופית עמיתה הנוכחית כלפי הפעלת תהליך שיוליך למול"ט עם ירדן והפלסטינים.

9. השלכות התמורות בכרית"מ

- א. נראה להם שבשנות ה-90 תבצבצנה בעיות מורכבות חדשות ואולי מהפכניות כיכשת אירופה כתוצאה מהתעוררות צבורים לאומיים מסויימים, בעיקר במרכז אירופה וכמזרח (יוגוסלביה, טרנסלכניה טירול ועוד)
- ב. זאת מעבר ליעידות המתרחשות בארצות הכלטיות, מולדביה ובאזוריים אחרים בתחום ההשפעה הסובייטית או הסמוכים אליו.

10. דיון מועכבי"ט בשטחים (מברק מנהל ארכל 2 - מצפ"א - חוזט 14498)

בו שיחי הסביר שהסיוטה האמריקנית שהוגשה 16/2 שיקפה אתגר לערכים ולאש"ף ולא את עמדת משלחתו שעמדה להמנע. אין סעיפים 7, 1 קבילים עליה. העוקץ היה נעוץ בסעיפים 4,5 שהיו אבן כוחן לערכים.

לא"מ

דוד כו דב

אישור:

שם השולח:

27.2.89

תאריך:

# TRANSMITTAL MEMO

FROM

ANDRE MARCUS

TO Arye Mekel

DATE 2/21/89

For your information

Please reply and copy me

Your comments, please

Review and reply to \_\_\_\_\_

Review and call me

Review and forward to \_\_\_\_\_

Review and file

Attach previous correspondence and return to me

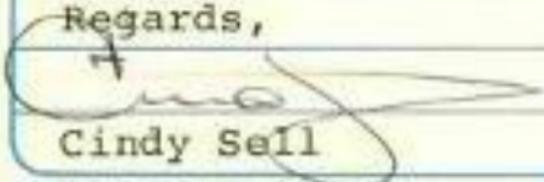
Review and return to me

## COMMENTS/REPLY

Mr. Mekel:

Andre asked that I send you a copy of the attached.

Regards,

  
Cindy Sell





# AIPAC MEMORANDUM

500 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W. • SUITE 300 • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001 • (202) 638-2256

PLO Watch

February 8, 1989



## DR. JEKYLL AND MR. ARAFAT

A review of statements by Yasir Arafat and his top deputies since Arafat's cameo appearance in Geneva reveals that the PLO continues to be committed to its radical and uncompromising pre-Geneva positions. A peculiar situation now exists whereby Arafat appears "moderate" to Washington, then reassumes his familiar identity before Arab, and even European, audiences. As for the discrepancy, Arafat explained, "It was the United States that changed its policy and not the PLO" (Al-Qabas, Kuwait, 12/23/88).

**RENUNCIATION OF TERROR:** "We totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorism," said Arafat in Geneva on December 14, 1988.

- Apparently, Arafat's definition of terrorism does not include threatening the life of Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij for suggesting a truce in the territories. "Whoever thinks of stopping the intifadah before it achieves its goals, I will give him ten bullets in the chest" (State Department translation, 1/18/89).
- When asked for a clarification of his Geneva renunciation, Arafat explained, "I did not mean to renounce.... I am still now committed to what I said in Cairo in 1985" (Vienna Television Service, 12/19/88). The 1985 Cairo Declaration legitimized the use of terror against Israel and purportedly abandoned terror elsewhere. However, the State Department stated in November 1988 that there is "convincing evidence" that Arafat's close associates and the Fatah faction he controls "have engaged in terror against Americans and others...since the PLO claimed to forswear the use of terrorism in the Cairo Declaration of 1985."
- Salim Zanoun, Deputy Speaker of the PNC, echoed Arafat's sentiments: "The armed struggle must continue everywhere, against the Zionist enemy and his allies...We have no alternative but to carry out armed activity in order to vanquish the enemy and establish our state" (Al-Anba, Kuwait, 12/23/88).

**ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST:** "[I]t was clear that we mean the right of all parties concerned in the Middle East conflict to exist in peace and security...including the state of Palestine, Israel, and other neighbors, according to the Resolutions 242 and 338," said Arafat in Geneva on December 14, 1988.

- Four days later, Salah Khalaf, also known as Abu Iyad, Arafat's number two man, reiterated the PLO's longstanding policy, first formulated by the Palestine National Council in 1974, to destroy Israel in stages: "[T]he armed struggle will escalate and grow...at first, a small state and with Allah's will, it will be made large and expand to the east, west, north, and south...I am interested in the liberation of Palestine step by step" (Al-Anba, Kuwait, 12/18/88).
- The PNC Chairman 'Abd Al-Hamid Al-Sa'ih echoed, "If we succeed in gaining a part of Palestine upon which we will establish a state, we will later be able to demand from the entire world, while positioned upon Palestinian soil, to act to enable us to get our rights as a state and a nation.... We must take, and continue to ask for more, yet, without offering concessions..." (Al-Siyasah, Kuwait, 12/21/88).

-over-

- In response to those who argue that Arafat's Geneva statements supercede the PLO Covenant calling for Israel's destruction, Rafiq Al-Natshah, a member of Fatah's Central Committee and the PLO's representative in Saudi Arabia, rededicated the PLO to the Charter: "The PLO Charter is still the foundation of the PLO's political and militant action" (Al-Watan, 1/8/89). Indeed, the PLO Covenant states in Article 21 that, "the Arab Palestinian people...reject all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine."

**ACCEPTANCE OF UN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338:** "I also made reference to our acceptance of Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for negotiations with Israel within the framework of the international conference," said Arafat in Geneva on December 14, 1988.

- Just a week later Arafat explained what he really meant: "We expect a peace conference to strictly implement all UN resolutions." (Der Spiegel, 12/26/88). Other resolutions on "the Palestine question," including the infamous Zionism-is-racism measure, demand that all Palestinian Arab refugees and their descendants return to their homes and expel Jews inside Israel's pre-1967 borders, and call upon UN-member states to sever ties with Israel. Arafat's qualified acceptance of UN Resolutions 242 and 338 empties them of any meaning.
- Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO's Political Department, further illuminated, "[B]ecause Resolutions 242 and 338 are the basis for convening [an international conference]...we stressed the need to include...UN and Security Council resolutions--not Security Council resolutions alone..." (Al-Tadamun, London, 1/23/89).
- Rafiq al-Natshah stated, "All members of the PLO's Executive Committee reject 242 and 338 if the declared rights of the Palestinian rights are not understood to be...the return of the refugees to their birthplace..." (Al-Watan, Kuwait, 1/8/89). His reiteration of the "right of return"--repatriation of Palestinians to Haifa, Jaffa, and Beersheba--underscores the PLO's rejection of Jewish statehood.

Subject: The PLO

THE PLO'S "NEW PEACE AGENDA"

The Living Memo series is intended to provide brief synopses of major statements and actions affecting United States interests on a continually updated basis. The following statements were taken after Yasir Arafat's declarations in Geneva on December 14, 1988.

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## CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR "ARMED STRUGGLE"

"We demand, therefore, that these disturbances be ended and consider them terrorist acts directed against Israel. We also believe that terrorism applies to all Palestinian military attacks directed against Israel." (US official on US definition of terrorism, UPI, 12/21/88)

### YASIR ARAFAT, LEADER OF THE PLO:

"Whoever thinks of stopping the intifadah before it achieves its goals, I will give him ten bullets in the chest." (State Department, 1/18/89)

"The wave of uprising will continue and this is non-negotiable, no Arab leader can stop it." (Qatar News Agency, 1/2/89)

"You have to distinguish between terrorism as a crime and the just national struggle against occupation..."

"We are entitled to resist against the Israelis by all means." (Der Spiegel, Hamburg, 12/26/88, pp112-114; FBIS: 12/28/88)

"The unique revolutionary fire will continue and will intensify until the occupation is removed and the Palestinian flag will fly over Jerusalem." (Baghdad Voice of the PLO, 12/24/88)

"We condemned all kinds of terrorism, individual, group and state terrorism [but] on occupied territories we have the right to resist the occupying forces with all available means." (UPI, 12/21/88)

"[T]he UN General Assembly resolution on terrorism notes the peoples' right to resist colonialism and occupation through all means and differentiates between terrorism and struggle and resistance to occupation." (MENA, Cairo, 12/21/88; FBIS, 12/22)

"Our decision was and has been to continue the intifada until the occupier is pushed from our territories and until our people get a chance to enjoy their sovereignty under PLO leadership on their national soil." (Reuters, 12/20/88)

When asked, "Last week at this famous press conference you renounced terrorism. Have you done this not only under massive US pressure?"

Arafat replied, "I did not mean to renounce....I am still now committed to what I said in Cairo in 1985." (Vienna Television Service, 12/19/88; FBIS: 12/20)

"We are in the last quarter hour, and are knocking on the gates of victory. Augmenting the struggle, stepping up the uprising, continuing the sacrifice and expanding the confrontation will bring our goals and our final victory closer." (Baghdad Voice of the PLO, 12/16/88)

### SALAH KHALAF, POLITICAL ADVISER TO ARAFAT:

"World public support can be gained not only through diplomatic and political activity, but also acts of heroism in the occupied lands and through the armed struggle, which together constitute the two main elements for bringing about a change in policy and the finding of a solution." (Gulf News Agency, 1/5/89)

[C]ontinuing and supporting the uprising must currently be the first priority...  
[T]his course is based on working seriously to develop the Palestinian armed struggle in the areas that are not currently witnessing uprising activities so as to bring about an integration of political and military action.

"[A]ny interpretation of military action as terrorist acts is rejected." (Al-Anba, Kuwait, 12/27/88, p29; FBIS: 12/29/88)

"Abu Iyad [Salah Khalaf] affirmed that armed struggle will not stop except with the establishment of the Palestinian state.

"We extend our hands to the whole world; one hand carrying an olive branch and another carrying arms to struggle for the establishment of our Palestinian state." (Al-Ittihad, Abu Dhabi, 12/18/88; FBIS: 12/21/88)

"If President Reagan thinks we will stop attacks on military targets, then I will stop the dialogue right now." (Paris Radio, Monte Carlo, 12/18/88; FBIS: 12/20)

"The PLO is not prepared to throw down its weapons and make more concessions for the United States in order to lead to a dialogue with the United States. It is unthinkable to imagine that someone will demand that we throw down our weapons." (Kuwaiti News Agency, 12/18/88)

"We must concentrate all our thoughts and our plans in order that the 'Palestinian rifle' will continue to escalate to a greater intensity than ever before as an answer to the conceited enemy, and in order to strengthen the national unity and support the uprising by all possible means.

"We must arm this brave uprising with diplomatic words which will win over the world. It was for this reason that Arafat made his [UN] speech, which told the world that the Palestinian people want peace, but they do not want a peace given by the grace of the Zionists and the Americans." (Al-Qabas, Kuwait, 12/16/88)

#### YASIR 'ABD RABBO, HEAD OF PLO DELEGATION TEAM TO THE US IN TUNIS:

"Our stand was clear, whether in the Cairo declaration or in the PNC resolutions or in the Geneva speech. We condemn terrorism, but we distinguish between terrorism and the legitimate struggle against occupations...We also reject any mixup between terrorism and legitimate struggle." (WAKH, Manama, 12/18/88; FBIS: 12/20)

#### FARRUQ QADDUMI, HEAD OF THE PLO'S POLITICAL DEPARTMENT:

"The PLO cannot abandon the armed struggle..." (AFP, 12/14/88)

"The PLO has established a-priori the use of the armed struggle in the liberation of Palestine. It cannot be abandoned even if there is a political settlement." (Al-Ittihad, UAE, 12/13/88)

#### BASSAM ABU SHARIF, TOP ADVISER TO ARAFAT:

"The Palestinian people's resistance to the occupation will continue and will intensify as long as the Israeli occupation forces remain upon the Palestinian soil. The only way to deal with Israeli stubbornness is through resistance to the occupation and an escalation of the uprising." (Saudi News Agency, 12/23/89)

ABU MAZIN, PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER:

"We will not forfeit our rights, and we will use all forms of struggle political and military against the Zionist enemy." (Al-Chachad, Jordan, 12/15/89)

MAHMUD ABBAS, PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER:

"The uprising...will continue as long as the occupation of the Palestinian territory is maintained." (INA, Baghdad, 12/21/88; FBIS: 12/22)

ABU ABBAS, PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER AND LEADER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT:

"Abu Abbas has said that subversive operations against Israel will continue until the Palestinians gain their rights. Those who believe an international peace conference can become a reality in the absence of military operations are wrong." (Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope, 12/26/88; FBIS: 12/27/88)

"Whoever thinks that we will arrive at an international conference without an intensive and continuous struggle is mistaken. The Palestinian decisions do not require a cessation of the struggle...our struggle against the Zionist enemy will continue until the achievement of our rights." (Al-Wattan Al-Arabi, Lebanon, Paris, 12/16/88)

RAFIQ AL-NATSHAH, PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN SAUDI ARABIA, FATAH CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER:

"Armed struggle and the uprising are our sole options alongside the call for peace. Therefore we will continue with our slogan- 'the rifle and the olive branch'-until our goals are fully realized." (Al-Jazira, Saudi Arabia, 1/15/89)

SALIM ZANOUN, DEPUTY PNC SPEAKER:

"He urged all Palestinian factions to escalate the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy, and warned that the uprising will proceed from the phase of a struggle with stones and molotov cocktails to the use of bullets against Israeli soldiers." (Al-Watan, Kuwait, 1/2/89)

"The armed struggle must continue, everywhere, against the Zionist enemy and his allies...We have no alternative but to carry out armed activity in order to vanquish the enemy and establish our state." (Al-Anbaa, 12/23/88)

ZEID WEHBEH, TOP ADVISER TO ARAFAT:

"We will not drop the armed struggle against Israel until our independent state in the Israeli-occupied territories is established." (UPI: 1/18/89)

UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE UPRISING, WHICH INCLUDES THE PLO:

"The UNLU warns those who are tasked with the attempt to form the appointed municipal and rural committees and affirms to them that their suspect moves are exposed to watchful eyes and the people's judgment on them will not be delayed

"The UNLU calls on the strike forces to firmly confront all those who try to retract their resignation from the department of the civil Administration, the police and the appointed committees.

"[We] call on you to escalated the struggle and the popular resistance with the stone, Molotov cocktails, the war of knives, the setting of the occupation's institutions on fire..." (Call No. 32; Baghdad voice of the PLO, 1/7/89; FBIS: 1/9/89)

BAGHDAD VOICE OF THE PLO:

"...The heros of the stones have exposed its [Israel's] fake democracy, and how it is a robbing and conquering entity...our people are determined to continue the popular revolution and the uprising against the Israeli occupier..."(1/1/89)

"[O]ur heroic Palestinian people, under the PLO, will have every right to defend themselves, their existence, rights, and destiny through the continuation and escalation of the blessed uprising and through stepping up all forms of their legitimate national struggle." (12/19/88)

"We call upon our people with the occupied land and outside of it to escalate our struggle, to double its sacrifices and to attain its national unity." (12/18/88)

"The continuation and escalation of the uprising... will continue until the inevitable victory..

"Our leader Abu Ammar [Yasir Arafat] has said...that further struggle, escalation of the uprising, further sacrifices, and expanding confrontations will bring our objectives and our inevitable victory closer." (12/15/88; FBIS:12/16)

ABD AL-HAMID AL-SA'IH, PNC SPEAKER:

"We can never abandon any form of our struggle unless the occupation is removed." (Sawt Al-Sha'b, 12/16/88; FBIS: 12/16)

ABU ALI MUSTAFA, DEPUTY OF GEORGE HABASH (LEADER OF THE PELP, MEMBER OF THE PLO):

"We will continue our struggle against the occupation by every possible, including armed struggle until we realize our right to self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state on the national land." (AFP, 12/19/88)

## REFUSAL TO RENOUNCE PLO COVENANT

### YASIR ARAFAT, LEADER OF THE PLO:

"It was the US that changed its policy and not the PLO." [referring to his statement in Geneva leading to a US-PLO dialogue] (Al-Qabas, Kuwait, 12/23/88)

"Without the corridor, there is no state. If Israel is not willing-then we will establish a joint state of Jews and Palestinians. This has always been our offer." (Kurier, Vienna, 12/21/88; FBIS: 12/22/88)

"[The uprising will continue] wave after wave, until the Israeli occupation is brought to an end, and our flag flies over our independent land." (MENA, Egypt, 12/19/88)

### RAFIQ AL-NATSHAH, PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN SAUDI ARABIA, FATAH CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER:

"The PLO Charter is still the foundation of the PLO's political and militant action." (Al-Watan, 1/8/89, ppl. 14; FBIS: 1/10/89)

### ABU ABBAS, PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER AND LEADER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT:

"The Palestinian decisions do not require a cessation of the struggle...our struggle against the Zionist enemy will continue until the achievement of our rights." (Al-Watan Al-Arabi, Lebanon, 12/16/88)

### 'ABD AL-HAMID AL-SA'HL, PNC CHAIRMAN:

"[HAMAS, the Islamic fundamentalist movement] issued a declaration which expressly states that its aim is Palestine. We [the PLO] are also striving for the same objective...The leader of the Moslem brotherhood in Egypt says that even if the PLO succeeds in establishing a state in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, they would not prevent a continuation of the struggle until the liberation of all of Palestine. I say that this is what must be the goal for us all." (Al-Siyasah, Kuwait, 12/21/88)

### RAFIK AL NATCHEH, PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN SAUDI ARABIA:

"The struggle will continue until the liberation of the Palestinian land, the establishment of a Palestinian state, and the return of all Palestinians to their homeland- that not one single refugee will remain abroad." (Okaz, Saudi Arabia, 12/14/88)

### ABU ALI MUSTAFA, DEPUTY OF GEORGE HABASH (LEADER OF THE PFLP, MEMBER OF THE PLO:

"The Zionist entity is the biggest terrorism project in modern history." (Al-Qabas, Kuwait, 12/19/88, p27; FBIS, 12/21)

## CONTINUED ADHERENCE TO THE "STRATEGY OF PHASES"

### SALAH KHALAF, POLITICAL ADVISER TO ARAFAT:

"There is no alternative to defending the political communique through powerful armed activity--the armed struggle will not stand out from among the pages of the communique, but will escalate and grow...at first, a small state and with Allah's will, it will be made large and expand to the east, west, north and south...I am interested in the liberation of Palestine step by step." (Al-Anbaa, Kuwait, 12/18/88)

"About three months ago, I was calling for the one-shot liberation of Palestine. I was a fool. I am interested in the liberation of Palestine, but how? Step by step, which we truly have to suggest as the correct path to liberation." (Al-Anbaa, Kuwait, 12/13/88)

"The borders of our state as we declared it represent only part of our national aspiration. We will work to expand them in order to realize the aspirations for all the land of Palestine...The PLO acts through the rifle and diplomacy." (Reuters, 12/12/88; as cited from Al-Anbaa, Kuwait, 12/6/88)

### FARRUQ QADDUMI, HEAD OF THE PLO'S POLITICAL DEPARTMENT:

"A political solution may bring about a compromise which will provide guarantees for the minimal Palestinian aspirations, but, it will not contain a renouncement of the armed struggle as one of the principle ways of achieving the political and strategic goals." (Al-Ittihad, UAE, 12/13/88)

### 'ABD AL-HAMID AL-SA'IH, PNC CHAIRMAN:

"If we succeed in gaining a part of Palestine upon which we will establish a state, we will later be able to demand from the entire world, while positioned upon Palestinian soil, to act to enable us to get our rights as a state and a nation...We must take, and continue to ask for more, yet, without offering concessions..." (Al-Siyasah, Kuwait, 12/21/88)

### RAFIQ AL-NATSHAH, PLO REPRESENTATIVE TO SAUDI ARABIA, FATAH CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER:

"An incremental program is the base of the current political move. Discussion must concentrate the extent of harmony established between various political decisions on the one hand and the [PLO] charter on the other." (Al-Watan, 1/8/89; FBIS: 1/10/89)

### AL-OUQS PALESTINIAN ARAB RADIO:

"Arafat's intentions were down from the Palais des Pins resolutions. These intentions were uncovered by the radical revolutionary forces 14 years ago (1974), when the 10-point program was issued..." (12/15/88; FBIS: 12/16)

## THE "RIGHT OF RETURN"

### YASIR ARAFAT, LEADER OF THE PLO:

"Arafat stressed that the uprising will not be ended until the legitimate rights of the Palestinians are realized, including the right of return..." (Qatar News Agency, 1/13/89)

"These resolutions [issued at the Algiers PNC] emphasize the Palestinian people's national and political rights, foremost being their right to repatriation, self-determination, and the establishment of an independent state on Palestinian soil with Jerusalem as its capital." (Baghdad Voice of the PLO, 1/4/89; FBIS: 1/6/89)

### RAFIQ AL-NATSHAH, PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN SAUDI ARABIA, FATAH CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER:

"The entire Palestinian people hopes to return to Palestine..." (Achat, Saudi Arabia, 1/12/89)

"Our return to Palestine and our victory will be possible only with Allah's help and with our return to Faluja, Jaffa and Haifa." (Saudi News Agency, 1/2/89)

"The Palestinian revolution broke out in order to achieve national liberation, the establishment of a Palestinian state, and the return of all the refugees to their land. Any peace that does not take these facts into account is a delusion." (Al-Jiriah, Saudi Arabia, 1/1/89)

### UNIFIED NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE NATIONAL UPRISING (WHICH INCLUDES THE PLO:

"[W]e say to the US...it must accompany its dialogue with the official recognition of our national rights of repatriation..." (Call No. 32; Baghdad Voice of Palestine, 1/7/89; FBIS: 1/9/89)

## ANTI-US STATEMENTS

### SALAH KHALAF, POLITICAL ADVISER TO ARAFAT:

"US aggression against Libya [in reference to the US shooting down of two Libyan MIG's on 1/4/89] is tantamount to aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation...this aggression is a provocation to the Arab nation's sentiments and a break with the norms and rules approved by the United Nations." (Sanaa Voice of Palestine, 1/6/89; FBIS: 1/9/89)

"We hope that the United States will not commit such a stupidity by attacking Libya...[in reference to Reagan's comments of 1/4/89 to bomb a Libyan chemical weapons plant.]

"If America launches an aggression against Libya, we will consider this an aggression against the PLO. We will fight with the Libyan people." (Al-Anba, Kuwait, 12/27/88; FBIS: 12/29/88)

### ABU ABBAS, PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER AND LEADER OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION FRONT:

"It wasn't us who carried out this operation [the Achille Lauro hijacking and murder of American Leon Klinghoffer], but the Americans, they are the ones who made this thing up, the Americans are trying to play the role of 'cowboy.' Among our Palestinian operations the Achille lauro operation does not exist, what exists are young fighters who go out to fall as martyrs on their homeland." (Al-Watan Al-Arabi, Lebanon, 12/16/88)

### BAGHDAD VOICE OF THE PLO:

"If the fraternal Arab stances have all clearly denounced the...logic of US terrorism and hooliganism, denunciation alone is not enough to face those who do not respect any international law or moral value. Each day they appear to the world with an ugly face-the face of disrespect for peoples, aggression, and displays of blind force against them." (1/5/89; FBIS: 1/6/89)

PREVARICATIONS TO THE WEST; INTENTIONS TO THE ARABS

SALAH KHALAF, POLITICAL ADVISER TO ARAFAT:

"If Reagan thinks that we will stop our armed attacks against military targets, I will tell him to stop the dialogue now. The military attacks and the intifada will not be stopped until the Palestinian flag flies over Jerusalem." (Reuters, 12/17/88)

CALL OF THE UPRISING LEADERSHIP (OF WHICH THE PLO HELPS TO RUN):

"Our prime duty is to escalate the struggle and burn the land under the feet of the invaders and their allies, to impose more retreats on the American and Israel positions." (Reuters, 12/21/88)

TARGET AUDIENCE: UNITED STATES, NOT ISRAEL

YASIR ARAFAT, LEADER OF THE PLO:

"Basically, we are not facing Israel...We are facing the unlimited support it is getting from its strategic ally, the United States." (Reuters, 12/27/88;

'ABD AL-HAMID AL-SA'IH, PNC CHAIRMAN:

"We feel that this US step is an important first step, and that in its wake, we hope, will come, others which will enable the opening of contacts with the PLO until they reach the level in which it will be possible to pressure Israel into surrendering to the demands of the international community." (Al-Siyasah, Kuwait, 12/21/88)

ALL UN RESOLUTIONS

YASIR ARAFAT, LEADER OF THE PLO:

"We expect a peace conference to strictly implement all UN resolutions. In them you find everything regarding the borders of our state." (Der Spiegel, 12/26/88, pp112-114; FBIS: 12/28/88)

## REJECTION OF VERITABLE PEACE INITIATIVES

### YASIR ARAFAT, LEADER OF THE PLO:

"Any return to Camp David is an attempt to play a cracked record by a lunatic and rude person named Shamir..." (Baghdad Voice of the PLO, 1/4/89; FBIS: 1/5/89)

"Mr Shamir's attempts to revive the Camp David accords are destined for failure." (AFP, Paris, 12/27/88; FBIS: 12/28/88)

"Shamir must understand he cannot create a beautiful bride from a monkey...He can neither beautify Camp David nor [Palestinian] autonomy.

"The PLO's executive Committee decided to reject the Israeli plan to organize elections in the occupied territories within the framework of autonomy.

"The committee condemned the Israeli plan, describing it as a political scheme designed to oppose the Palestinian political plan." (Reuters, 12/27/88)

### BASSAM ABU-SHARIE, ARAFAT'S SPOKESMAN:

"The peace ideas recently expressed by Israeli leaders Rabin, Arens, and Shamir, which are inspired by the Camp David Accords, are dead ideas, since Camp David is dead and buried." (Radio Monte Carlo, 1/20/89)

### ABDALLAH HOURANI, PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBER:

"[T]he PLO rejects the idea of self-rule or elections in the occupied territory." (Sanaa Voice of Palestine, 1/4/89; FBIS: 1/5)

### PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

"The PLO Executive Committee said this new Israeli plot is a political plan that is aimed against the Palestinian plan and that this plot is aimed at circumventing international resolutions and diverting attention from the establishment of a Palestinian state. It called on world public opinion to be cautious toward the Israeli deception. It also called for withdrawal from the occupied territories." (Statement issued, INA, Baghdad, 12/27/88; FBIS: 12/28/88)

PRECONDITIONS DEMANDED BY THE PLO

YASIR ARAFAT, LEADER OF THE PLO:

"[W]e demand an Arab Jerusalem no more, no less." (Algiers Voice of Palestine, 12/26/88; FBIS: 1/6/89)

"We will demand the creation of a corridor between the West Bank and Gaza Strip." (Reuters, 12/25/88)

## STATEMENTS BY ARAFAT-ALLIED FACTIONS

### GEORGE HABASH, LEADER OF THE PFLP:

"[T]he Palestinian struggle will continue and will be escalated until all international legitimate resolutions concerning the Palestinian rights to self-determination and an independent state are recognized by the US and Israel." (Kuwait News Agency, 12/15/88)

### MOHAMMED MU'SLIMI, POLITBURO MEMBER OF THE PFLP:

"But our strategic goal is to liberate all Palestine...it is impossible for us to accept 20 percent of Palestine and give up 80 percent..."

"We in the PFLP see the Palestinian state as the beginning of the end of the Zionist scheme on Palestine...it will open wide doors for our future generations to achieve our strategic goal." (Reuters, 1/3/89; as cited from Al-Khaleej, Abu Dhabi)

### JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE PFLP AND THE DFLP:

"Arafat's statements do not conform with the PNC resolutions in Algiers, are not binding on the PLO in any way, and do not represent the PLO's official policy." (Voice of the Mountain, Lebanon, 12/28/88)

### ABU ALI MUSTAFA, DEPUTY OF GEORGE HABASH (LEADER OF THE PFLP, MEMBER OF THE PLO):

"What the PLO Executive Committee chairman said in his press conference in Geneva is not in line with the resolutions of the PNC in its latest session. It only expresses his own opinion." (Al-Qabas, Kuwait, 12/19/88; FBIS: 12/21)

### SAMIR GHOSHA, LEADER OF THE POPULAR STRUGGLE FRONT, PNC PARTICIPANT:

"The struggle with the enemy is a struggle for survival and it is therefore continual.

"The Declaration of the Palestinian state does not apply to the residents of the West Bank and Gaza strip alone, but rather all Palestinians wherever they may be have a right to belong to this state. The "Right of Return" refers to the soil occupied in 1948 and in 1967.

"The Arabs and the world stand by our side in the restoration of the '67 lands. Let us restore these lands and afterwards we will fight for a restoration of the rest. We will continue in this process, and no one will prevent us from doing so." (Al-Qabas, Kuwait, 12/15/88)

חסוי



חסוי

חסוי



חסוי

דף: 1	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פבוק	דחיפות:
כתוב: 2		סוג: שליו
אל: מצפ"א	תאריך ושפת חבור:	2 במרץ 1989 19:10
דע: מקשיח/משהבטי	פס' פבוק:	קמחון
כאת: ק. לקונגרס	הפסרד:	80
		72

ביהניב: שימועים בנושא סיוע לישראל למצרים. סיכום

1. ניחן לאפיין השימועים מאתמול (1/3) בנוגע לסיוע לישראל כחיוביים ובלתי קונטרוברסיאליים.
2. הממשל מצידו תמך בישראל וכך גם ידידינו בעיקר היהודים, בוועדה. נושא זכויות האדם בשטחים כמעט לא עלה (אם כי יתכן ששאלות כאלה יועברו ע"י המילטון לרקורד) והדיונים החנהלו לגופם של עניינים.
3. הנושאים העיקריים שבלטו:
  - א- מצבה הכלכלי של ישראל.
  - ב- מידת ניצול כספי הסיוע ע"י ישראל.
  - ג- אש"פ ותדיאלוג.
  - ד- נושא ה-FAIR PRICING וכוונות הרכש של ישראל.
  - ה- התקרבות ברח"מ לישראל וחידוש פעילותה של ברה"מ במזה"ת.
  - ו- האיום על ישראל מנשק כימי וטילים בליסטיים.
4. ללא ספק היתה תחרות ברשימת השאלות שהוכנו לקונגרסמנים מצד אחד ע"י ואן דוון ומצד שני ע"י עוזרים והמסייעים בידיהם. בסופו של דבר נכללו רוב השאלות שהוכנו ע"י כל הצדדים.
5. יש לצדין כי תשגח זו הפעם הראשונה שחתיימו שימועים על ישראל ומצרים כ"א בנספר בניגוד לשנים קודמות בהם חתיימו השימועים על כל חמזה"ת המקובל.
6. בשיחות עם קונגרסמנים ועוזרים אמרו כי הופתעו מכך שלא היתה כל נימה קונטרוברסיאלית שהיא בהתחשב בשנה הקשה שעברה על ישראל (כך למשל קונגרסמן פיהן) וממידת "העדינות" של המילטון. מכל מקום סיכמו כולם כי היו אלה שימועים טובים וחיוביים לישראל.

תפוצה: 26

מנהל המשרד  
מנהל המטה  
מנהל המערכת  
מנהל המידע  
מנהל המכרזים  
מנהל המכרזים  
מנהל המכרזים  
מנהל המכרזים

דתיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פבוק	דף: 2
סוג:		כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן תעבור:		אל:
פס' פבוק:		דף: 2
הפסלד:		פאת:
קמחון \$	80	

7. בניגוד לעיל, השימועים חבוקר על הסיוע למצרים היו קשים וביקורתיים כלפי המצרים. המילטון הפתיע את עמיתיו קונגרסמנים וכן הנוכחים באולם באגרסיביות בה חתייחס לסיוע הכלכלי למצרים ואי ביצוע רפורמות כלכליות משמעותיות מצידה, על אף הפצרות הועדה, בשנים האחרונות והתביות בחקיקה להעברת כספים. לביקורת נוקבת זו הצטרף גם קונגרסמן לוקנס ששאל שאלות חמורות עד כדי הצעה לקיצוץ.
8. הבעיה המצרית העיקרית בדיונים היתה שנתפסה כמדינה שמחד מוזרמים אליה כספים אשר אין עליהם בקרה מספקת וניתקלים בצורת ובסבך הביוקרט המצרי (2.2 כליון \$) ומאידך סכומים אדירים אלה אינם מניבים תוצאות משביעות רצון בשטח.
9. המילטון ביקש בסוף הדיון לקבל כל תשובות הממשל שהתבקשו עייו הועדה ביומנים האחרונים, עד ה-13/3 כך שניתן יהיה להתחשב בהם בטרם קיום שלב ה-mark up (הצעת החוק).
10. הועדה תמשיך בקיום שימועים בשבוע הבא לגבי מדינות אחרות (תורכיה, יוון) ובמקביל יגישו קונגרסמנים ועוזריהם הצעת תיקון להכללה בהצעת החוק.

אורנה ארנא צנצ'ר  
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה:

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך: 26.02.89

18967

יוצא

בלמס

חוזם: 2,18967  
אל: ני/1000, לונדון/545, מנמת/465  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 260289, זח: 1353, דח: מ, סג: בל  
חח: 8 גס: ארבל  
נד: 8

בלמ'ס/מ'ידי

ני/ביין, לונדון/קשדן.

יוניפיל - אירלנד.

בשלנו ח/18408 חלו 2 טעויות:

1. במשפט הראשון - 'בהמשך להודעת נ'י וכו'' - הכוונה כמובן 'להודעתנו' חוזר 'הודעתנו'.
2. במילה האחרונה בסיפא - 'עמדתו' הכוונה כמובן ל'עמדת או'ס' חוזר 'עמדת או'ס'.

מנהל ארבל 2

אי

אק

תפ: טוה, סשה, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמן, ברנע, ארבל, איר, 2, ליאור, מזתים, סי'יבל, ממד, לוברני

1950

1950

1. 1950.08.20  
 2. 1950.08.20  
 3. 1950.08.20  
 4. 1950.08.20  
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 3. 1950.08.20  
 4. 1950.08.20  
 5. 1950.08.20

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 26.02.89

18967

יוצא

בלמס

חוזם: 2,18967  
אל: נ' / 1000, לונדון / 545, מנמח / 465  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 260289, זח: 1353, דח: מ, סג: ג:בל  
חח: 8 גס: ארבל  
נד: 8

בלמ'ס/מ'ידי

ני/בי'ן, לונדון/קשרן.

יוניפיל - אירלנד.  
בשלנו ח/18408 חלו 2 טעויות:

1. במשפט הראשון - 'בהמשך להודעת נ'י וכו' - הכוונה כמובן 'להודעתנו' חוזר 'הודעתנו'.
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מנהל ארבל 2

אי

אק

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמן, ברנע, ארבל, איר, ליאור, מזתיס, סי'יבל, ממד, לוברני



\*\* נכנס \*\*  
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סודי

חוזם: 2,18748

אל: המשרד

מ-: וווש, נר: 609, תא: 240289, חז: 1400, דח: מ, ג: 10:

חח: ג: צפא

נד: ג

סודי / מידי

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

אל: דני נווה - לשכת השר

לשכת סגן שר-החוץ

דע: יועץ רה"מ לתקשורת

צלצל אלי לסלי גלב, סגן עורך עמוד מאמר - המערכת של  
ה- NYZ כדי להודיע לנו על מאמר בקורת מאד של מנחם  
רוזנזפט שהעתון 'פרסם במהלך השבוע הבא. המאמר יתקוף את  
רהמ שמיר ואת ס/שהח נתניהו.

גלב ביקש לדעת אם לשר החוץ יש ענין בפרסום מאמר גדול  
בעמוד ה- OP-EP של העתון שיפורסם במהלך השבוע הבא  
או לקראת הגעת השר לארהב.

יוסי גל

פא

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

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

18753

תאריך : 25.02.89

\*\* נכנס  
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שומר

חוזם: 2,18753

מל: המשרד

מ-: נ' 729, תא: 240289, זח: 1500, דח: ב, סג: שמ

תח: 8 גס: ארבל

נד: 8

שומר/בהול לבוקר.

אל : המשרד-מנהל ארבל 2.

דע : לשכת שהבט-לוברני, לונדון-קשדן

מאת נאומ' - יששכרוף.

יוניפי'ל- החייל האירי.

1. דובר המזכ'ל מסר על תקרית בה נהרג החייל האירי בתדרוכו היומי (24/2).

2. רצ'ב דף מידע שחולק לאחר התדרוך.

3. כן מסר הדובר שגולדינג הזמין את ביין כדי למחות על התקרית.

וציין שהאומ' רואה את ישראל כאחראית להתנהגותו של צד'ל.

SOUTH LEBANESE ARMY OPENED FIRE FOR NO REASON AND KILLED AN IRISH SOLDIER FRIDAY MORNING. THE IRISH SOLDIER, PTE. MICHAEL MCNEELA, 21, WAS ON DUTY AT A CHECKPOINT IN THE VILLAGE OF HADATHAH WHEN AN SLA POSITION OVERLOOKING HADATHAH FIRED A HEAVY MACHINE GUN BURST WITHOUT ANY PROVOCATION. THE AREA WAS VERY CALM. A .50 CALIBER ROUND HIT PTE.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

MCNEELA ON THE CHEST AND HE DIED A SHORT TIME LATER.  
HE WAS THE 26TH IRISH SOLDIER TO DIE IN UNIFIL SERVICE.  
UNIFIL'S FATALITY TOLL IS NOW 160.

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF DECEMBER 1988, THE SAME  
SLA POSITION HAS FIRED 34 TIMES TO IRISH POSITIONS  
OF WHICH SEVEN WERE TO THE POSITION WHERE THE  
SOLDIER WAS KILLED THE TODAY. ON 24 JANUARY,  
DELIBERATE AND UNPROVOKED FIRING FROM THE SLA  
POSITION HAD WOUNDED TO ANOTHER IRISH SOLDIER IN  
THE SAME UNIFIL POSITION.

THE RECENT UPSURGE OF SLA'S DELIBERATE AND UNPROVOKED  
FIRING TO UNIFIL POSITIONS, MOSTLY TO IRISH, HAS  
BEEN PERSISTENTLY PROTESTED WITH THE ISRAELI ARMY  
BUT NOTHING HAD COME OUT OF THESE PROTESTS.  
ON 27 JANUARY, COMMANDER OF THE IRISH BATTALION  
HAD PERSONALLY PROTESTED TO THE SENIOR IDF LIAISON  
OFFICER WHO HAD NOT ONLY AGREED WITH THE PROTEST  
BUT ALSO PROMISED TO TAKE MEASURES TO STOP SUCH  
FIRINGS.

PTE. MCNEELA WHO WAS DOING HIS SECOND TOUR OF DUTY  
IN LEBANON WAS DUE TO GET MARRIED SOON.

נאום.

כא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, שהבט, א'ר, ברנע, ארנל,  
ס'יבל, משפט, ל'אור, מזת'ים, כוחותזרים