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# מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

משרד

א/4609 / מן 2

מסרר ראה

יוסף מדיני

אהרן

23/3/89 - 24/2/89

מחלקה

תיק מס'

2



שם תיק: היועץ המדיני לראש הממשלה - ארה"ב

מזהה פנימי: א-4609/2

מזהה פריסקו R00036

כתובת: 2-111-2-4-8

תאריך הדפסה: 31/08/2020



Handwritten initials in red ink, possibly "A.M." or "A.N."

A. Mehal

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

February 24, 1989

Dear Mr. Levinson:

I have been asked to respond to your letter of January 23, 1989, also signed by Abraham H. Foxman, sharing your thoughts on developments in the Middle East on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In particular, you urge us to deny a United States visa to Yasser Arafat, should he seek one.

We have no record of Mr. Arafat's having applied for a visa for an April visit. We cannot speculate in advance on visa cases of this nature. If and when we receive an application, we will consider it in the light of all the relevant factual and legal circumstances.

The United States remains firmly committed to pursuing a comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Our policy is founded on unchanging principles: that peace is only achievable through direct negotiations based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, and that a settlement must provide for the security of all states in the region and for the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people.

On December 14, as you point out, Mr. Arafat, speaking in Geneva as Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, accepted UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, recognized Israel's right to exist and renounced terrorism. This represents a fundamental change in PLO positions, fulfilling longstanding U.S. conditions for the start of a substantive dialogue with that organization. In keeping with our oft-stated intention to open a dialogue if our conditions were met, the U.S. Ambassador in Tunis met with PLO representatives for the first time on December 16.

Our dialogue with the PLO is not an end in itself. We view the dialogue as one more step toward the beginning of direct negotiations among the parties in the region, which alone can lead to peace. Nor does the start of a dialogue imply U.S. acceptance of an independent Palestinian state. The final status of the West Bank and Gaza must be determined in negotiations, not through unilateral acts by either side. This does not, however, prevent the PLO from pursuing its desire for an independent state at the negotiating table.

Burton S. Levinson,  
National Chairman,  
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith,  
823 United Nations Plaza,  
New York, NY.

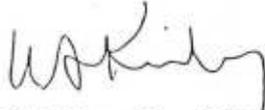
The firm U.S. stance against terrorism is not affected by our decision to open a dialogue with the PLO. On the contrary, we will use the dialogue to stress that there can be no return to terrorism by the PLO anywhere. We will press the PLO to disassociate itself from whatever acts of terrorism may occur and, if undertaken by elements under the authority of the PLO, to discipline those responsible at least by expelling them from the organization. We will not be able to sustain a dialogue if PLO terrorism continues. You correctly note that we stated that Mr. Arafat's January 1 response to a question in Riyadh was "inconsistent with Arafat's December 14 renunciation of terrorism and with the U.S.-PLO dialogue."

The U.S. commitment to Israel's survival and security remains unshakable. We will not allow any party to drive a wedge between us. One reason we have entered into the dialogue with the PLO is to help Israel achieve the security it deserves. This security can best be achieved and guaranteed over the long term in the context of a comprehensive peace.

All parties have a responsibility to contribute to advancing the peace process. I can assure you that the U.S. will continue actively to pursue the search for peace in the Middle East.

Thank you very much for your letter.

Sincerely,



William A. Kirby  
Deputy Assistant Secretary  
Bureau of Near Eastern and  
South Asian Affairs

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ALAN BAYER  
Leadership  
Assistant to the National Director  
MARVIN S. RAPPAPORT  
General Counsel  
ARNOLD FORSTER



January 23, 1989

The Honorable James A. Baker, III  
Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We write on behalf of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to urge you to deny a United States visa to Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization. We understand that Arafat will seek a visa for the purpose of attending the April 1989 convention of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

In late December 1988, ADL called upon the Reagan Administration to adopt strict guidelines by which to determine the PLO's actual commitment to Arafat's pledge made in Geneva, in which he articulated the PLO's renunciation of terrorism. Specifically, we urged the Government to make clear to Arafat and to all PLO representatives that they will be held accountable for any violations of the Geneva commitment in word or in deed. We further stated our belief that such violations should result in an immediate halt to the PLO's discussions with Washington.

It has become increasingly clear in recent weeks that serious discrepancies exist between the Geneva statement and those of many high-ranking PLO officials, the most egregious of which was made by the PLO Chairman himself. According to The New York Times of January 19, the U.S. Embassy in Riyadh is in possession of a recording of a January 1 address by Yasir Arafat. In that speech, the PLO Chairman declared: "Whoever thinks of stopping the intifada before it achieves its goals, I will give him 10 bullets in the chest" -- a statement which was appropriately characterized by the State Department as a "threat" and "inconsistent with Arafat's December 14 renunciation of terrorism and with the U.S.-PLO dialogue."

No matter the words spoken by Arafat in Geneva, it is clear from this and other recent statements and actions that the PLO has yet to demonstrate a true commitment to end its reliance upon terror as a political tool. Through his failure to live up to the U.S. conditions, Arafat has proven himself to be no more ready for peace today than in years past.

The Honorable James A. Baker, III  
January 23, 1989  
Page two

Mr. Secretary, we urge you therefore to bar Arafat's entry. In the process, the U.S. will impress upon the world community its continued commitment to fight terrorism, to promote a real peace process, and to reject empty political gestures parading as meaningful steps toward peace.

We look forward to learning your response to the course of action recommended herein.

Sincerely,

Burton S. Levinson  
National Chairman

Abraham H. Foxman  
National Director

BSL-AHF/nmh

דחיפות: מיידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: _____
סוג: שמור		כתובת: _____
תאריך וזמן העבר: 1800 22 במרס '89		אל: מא"ס
כס' פרוק: _____ הפסד: _____		דע: _____
593	שג" וושינגטון	פאת: _____

טיבט

לשלכם 626 מ-18.3

שיחה (22.3) עם ס/מנהל מח' סין.

1. מאס כניסת המחשל החדש שיאר חדלאי למח שני מברקים.
2. המברק הראשון נשלח לנשיא בוש עם כניסתו לתפקידו. המברק השני נשלח למזכיר המדינה בעקבות ההסגנות נחטלת משטר צבאי.
3. שני המברקים שחיו כמעט בעלי תוכן זהה. (המברק לנשיא כלל ברכות לרגל בחירתו) נכללים משפטים המרמזים במברק לרונח"מ. (סעיף א' בשלכם).
4. התשובות על שתי הפניות נעשו באמצעות עוזר המזכיר לז"א שיפטר (רואים זאת בנושא של ז"א). בחשובתו מציין שיפטר תמיכת ארה"ב בדיאלוג בין חדלאי למ"ס וסין מציינים חשיבות הדיאלוג כדרך לפתרון הבעיה. מביעים צער על האלימות ותקווה שהעניינים ירגעו. כמו כן חזרו על צמדתם לפיה רואים בטיבט חלק מסין.
5. את חשבוותיהם למברקים שלחו למשרד הטיבטי בניו יורק.

שטיינר  
 1 1 3 3  
 אס' ה' אס' אס' אס' אס' אס' אס' אס'  
 אס' אס' אס' אס' אס' אס' אס' אס'

תפוצה: נארווי ציר וסטין ארנב.

דתיפות:	סגרידות ישראל / וושינגטון טובס סנדק	דף: 1
סוג:		כתוב:
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל: מ צ פ " א
21.3.89 - 20:30		
כס' סברק:		דע: לשכת מנכ"ל תקשורת
הפסרד:		
1/2 561		כאת: ק. לקונגרס

ביהניב : חוק כספי מחמ"ד - VOA

1. היום סיימה ועדת המשנה לפעולות בינ"ל השלב הראשון של הכנת החוק (Mark-up). בשלב זה סוכמו כל הנושאים בעלי ההיבטים הכספיים, לרבות מימון תחנת VOA בערבה.

חלק זה של החוק יובא לאישור מליאה ועדת החוץ ביום ה' הקרוב.

הכנת החלק הטוליטי של החוק (שאינו כרוך בכספים) יידון לאחר חזרת ביהניב מפגרת (פנסיון).

2. כפי שתוכלו לראות מנוסח החוק :

(א) אישור חוועדה הרשאה של 194 מיליון \$ לשתיא 1990 ו-13 מיליון \$ לשתיא 1991.

כזכור, הבקשה המקורית של הממשל היתה להרשות (authorize) סכום של 207 מיליון \$ כך שניתן יהיה לחתום על חוזים (בהעדר הרשאה כנ"ל לא ניתן להכנס לחסכמים ולחתום עליהם). חברי הועדה, בנסותם לעמוד במסגרת התקציבית המוגבלת העדיפו להרשות סכום קטן יותר השנה ולהשלימו בשנה שלאחר מכן.

(ב) סעיף (2) בנוסח הוכנס לבקשת היו"ר דימלי ומתייחס ל- Set-aside של 10% עבור מיעוטים מקרב קבלני המשנה האמריקנים.

ישראל ורנאי דרנגר

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

שלה סלמה יהג גרונד גואל גואל גואל גואל  
סיצא דספס צויה צור/דדדספס דואל הקסור תגה כן בול/אדיר

תפוצה: 36-

4/2 561

FRASUB

1 MODERNIZATION.--There is authorized to be appropriated to the  
2 Board for International Broadcasting for radio transmitter  
3 construction and modernization \$27,845,000 for the fiscal  
4 year 1990. Amounts appropriated under this subsection shall  
5 remain available until expended.

6 (c) BROADCASTING RELAY STATION IN ISRAEL.--

7 (1) There is authorized to be appropriated to the  
8 Board for International Broadcasting for the costs  
9 associated with construction of a relay station in  
10 Israel, \$194,000,000 for the fiscal year 1990 and  
11 13,000,000 for the fiscal year 1991. Amounts appropriated  
12 under this subsection shall remain available until  
13 expended.

14 (2) Not less than 10 percent of the amounts which are  
15 authorized to be appropriated under paragraph (1), and  
16 which are available for contracts with United States  
17 contractors, shall be made available only for contracts  
18 and subcontracts with economically and socially  
19 disadvantaged enterprises (within the meaning of section  
20 133(c)(5) of the International Development and Food  
21 Assistance Act of 1977).

22 SEC. 402. PROCUREMENT OF LEGAL SERVICES.

23 Section 26 of the State Department Basic Authorities Act  
24 of 1956 ( 22 U.S.C. 2698) is amended in subsection (b) by  
25 inserting " , the chairman of the Board for International

AMBASSADE D'ISRAEL

י"ג אדר ב' תשמ"ט

20 מרץ 1989

תיק: 102.1.4

דף מס' 1 מתוך 1 דפים.



שטוקהולם

- סודי -

שגרירות ישראל

273

הנ"ל

אל: מנהל אירופה 2

מאת: מ.לוי, שטוקהולם.

הנדון: פגישון מזכיר המדינה בייקר עם שה"ח אנדרסון.

ממקור טוב שראה דו"ח על הפגישה הנ"ל בוינה שהתקיימה ב- 6.3:

להלן עיקרי החלק המזה"תי בשיחת בייקר - אנדרסון בוינה:  
אנדרסון פתח בציינו שלפי הכנתו ארה"ב בוחנת אפשרויות פעולה כמזה"ת וביקש שארה"ב תפעל באופן מהיר יותר, אחרת הגורמים השוללים ( *disruptive forces* ) את התהליך יגברו.

בייקר השיב כי בעיית קצב ההתקדמות אינה נובעת מכניסת הממשל החדש לתפקיד אלא מתוך שכנוע שהגישה הנכונה היא התקדמות של צעד אחר צעד.  
אנדרסון העיר כי נפגש בוינה עם משלחת מאש"פ והם ציינו בפניו כי במחנה הפלשתינאי בתוך ומחוץ לאש"פ יש המתנגדים למדיניות ערפת. לדברי אנדרסון יש מקום לזרז התהליך לפני שהמתנגדים לדו - שיח בתוך אש"פ ובישראל יצברו תאוצה.  
בייקר הגיב כי עתה לא הזמן לקיים ועידה בינלאומית. זו גישה לא נכונה. יש לפעול בדיפלומטיה שקטה ע"מ להשיג התקדמות צעד אחר צעד וכך ארה"ב פועלת עתה כלפי ישראל. ידוע להם כי יש גורמים כישראל ואש"פ שמעונינים בהפסקת הדו-שיח. ארה"ב מעונינת להמשיך בדו-שיח והוא מקווה שאש"פ ינהג באופן כזה שיאפשר המשך הדו-שיח עמו.  
בייקר מנה בפני אנדרסון שתי דרישות מאש"פ:

- א. על אש"פ להשליט מרותו על הגורמים הטרוריסטים ולהסתייג מפיגועים בהתאם לנדרש.
- ב. יש לארה"ב כמה הצעות (לא פירט) אשר יוגשו לאש"פ, אך חשוב לזכור שהצדדים המעורבים ישירות בסכסוך הם שיצטרכו לבסוף להגיע לשלום ביניהם.  
קיימת עתה הזדמנות לשלום ויש לנצל, אך חייבים לנהוג בזהירות. ישראל מצויה עתה כמגננה ( *on the defensive* ) בשל פתיחת דו-שיח עם אש"פ ודו"ח מחמ"ד על זכויות אדם. יש להמחין עד שיגיע הרגע המתאים שבו קיים סיכוי להצליח במהלך. אין טעם ללחוץ עתה ב ( *too high level* ) במישור גבוה מדי ובאופן בולט מדי. ( *too visible* ).

כפגישה נדונו גם שני נושאים אחרים: כריה"מ וסוגיית אמל"ט. אנדרסון פתח הפגישה בציינו כי המערב צריך לסייע לגורבצ'וב. הוא סבור שהקמת יחסי מסחר ותנועת תיירות בין שבדיה לאסטוניה חסייע לגורבצ'וב. בייקר הביע תקוותו כי גורבצ'וב יצליח במדיניותו. סבור כי המפתח להצלחה טמון בתוך כריה"מ ולא במערב.

מבוכה  
מרדכי לוי.



העתק: משנה למנכ"ל.

ד"ר: 1 מחיר: 2	טופס מצדק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות:
אלו מצמ"א	סוג: שו"ר	
דעו מזמ"ר	תז"ח: 41800	
מאת: ס/קונכ"ל - ק. עתונות	מס מצדק:	
	0 0095	

פגישה עם צמרת UJA-FEDERATION

1. הקונכ"ל והח"מ נועדו אתמול לפגישה עבודה עם מנהיגי UJA-FEDERATION בניו יורק, סטיב סולנדר וארני מישל (בלוויית שניים מעוזריהם).

2. הנושא המרכזי לו חוקרשה השיחה היה הערכות הקהילות היהודיות בארה"ב לקליטת יחודי ברה"מ. השניים צפו שהשנה יצאו מברה"מ כ-30,000 יהודים, ולפי הערכה כי 90%-95% מהיוצאים יגיעו לארה"ב, הרי מדובר בהגירה של כ-26,000 איש. ההוצאות הדרושות לקליטתם כאן נעות סביב \$5,000 לאיש - ובסה"כ מדובר, איפוא בהוצאה של כ-130 מיליון דולאר. חלק מסכום זה כבר מתקצב אך אין ספק שהקהילות תדרשנה לעמוד למבחן כספי קשה. במישור המקומי וזוהי יוזמי בנפ"ט ויוצאות שיש פין ספ ל 10 מיליון דולאר רחוחות הארציית של הארגונים היהודיים שוררת ואגון ונריפה מתפתחות זו. מעריכים שבכמה קהילות מקומיות פשוט ישתמשו בחלק מהכספים לצורך קליטת יהודי ברה"מ במקומותיהם ולא יעבירו הכל לניו יורק. צעד כזה אולי יקל לחצים מקומיים אך ידלדל את הקופה הארצית. עד כה נתקיימו רק דיונים פרלימינריים ברמת המטה המקצועית ונשבועות חקרויים יועלה הנושא בפני המנהיגות הנבחרת של הארגויות. תקור הקושי הוא כפול - שלא כבשנות ה-70, שאז כמחצית מן היוצאים פנו לישראל, כעת, כאמור, מגיעים הרוב הנה (וגם מספרי היוצאים הולכים ועולים במוחלט). יתירה מזו, המימון הממשלתי האמריקני הולך ופוחת. הפתרון ההכרחי הוא מגבית חרום לקליטת יהודי ברה"מ בארה"ב. בשיחות ראשוניות בהן נדון הרעיון עורר התנגדות נמרצת מצד הסוכנות היהודית בשל התקדים השלילי, שכן זו תהא הפעם הראשונה בה מתקיימת מגבית זוהי של צרפי ישראל. ביקשו התיחסונו ישאל לרעיון זה.

3. הצביעו על הצורך הדחוף לשפר את מערך הקליטה החובבני בארץ והעלו מחשבות על אפשרות שרה"מ יעניק חסותו למפעל יהודי בינלאומי לקליטת יהודי ברה"מ בארץ. לדעתם עשוי להיות משקל רב ליזמה פומבית לפתוח במבצע כלל יהודי הדומה למפעל "שיקום השכונות" בשעתו.

4. עוד העלו את טפיחי "מיהו יהודי" וציינו שהם מניחים שיצטרפו לחיות עם האיום לשינוי החוק מפעם לפעם. הדגישו כי על אף שהאיום בשינוי החוק הוסר לפי שעה הרי "נגרם נזק" כבר כעת. עמדו על השינוי החברתי - דמוגרפי שעברה ישראל ואשר לדבריהם הוא מקור שוויון הנפש בה קיבל רוב הציבור בארץ את סערת הרגש שעוררה ההצעה לשינוי החוק בעולם היהודי.

סיה רה"מ ג'רה"מ ג'רה"מ ג'רה"מ ג'רה"מ ג'רה"מ ג'רה"מ ג'רה"מ ג'רה"מ ג'רה"מ

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- 5. סוכס על דיווח והתעדכנות הדריים באורח שוטף ועל שיתוף פעולה מוגבר בתחום ההסברה - ביחוד בתחום החדרת כתבות "רכות" על ישראל.
- 6. נודה על חתיחסוונט לסעיפים 2-3 לעיל.

*Handwritten signature*

בינה - יריד

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 תאריך 4.1.89  
 השולח: ברוך בינה  
 אישור:  
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סופס מברק צפון

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

דף 1 מתוך 4 דפים  
 סיווג בטחוני :  
 בלמ"ס  
 דחيفות :  
 מידי  
 } לשימוש  
 } מח' הקשר : מס. מברק : \_\_\_\_\_

אל : לש' השגריר, ווש'

אל : לש' השגריר, ווש'  
מאת: אריה מקל

עפ"י בקשתכם להלן קורות החיים של רה"מ.  
(קשר - אנא הרצ"ב)

השולח : אריה מקל  
 אישור מנהל מחלקה : \_\_\_\_\_  
 אישור לשכת המנכ"ל : \_\_\_\_\_  
 תאריך וזמן חיבור ( ימולא ע"י השולח ) 22.3.89  
 ( לציון תאריך וזמן העברה לקשר )

לשימוש הקשר בלבד

התפוצה :

הנושא :

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PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK SHAMIR

Yitzhak Shamir was born in 1915 in Ruzinoy, Poland. He received a Jewish education, graduating from the Hebrew Secondary School in Bialystok, and was a member of the Betar (Revisionist) youth movement. He began studying law in Warsaw but interrupted his studies to emigrate, in 1935, to Eretz-Israel (Palestine), where he enrolled at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His parents and family remained in Poland, where they were later killed in the Nazi Holocaust.

In 1937 Mr. Shamir joined the IZL (Irgun Zvai Leumi - National Military Organization) and, in 1940-41, following a split within the IZL, joined LHI (Lohamei Herut Israel - Israel Freedom Fighters), of which he was a leader until Israel gained independence in 1948. Both of these organizations were underground movements fighting British colonial rule in Palestine. After the murder of LHI commander "Ya'ir" (Avraham Stern), Mr. Shamir re-organized the LHI Central Committee - together with Dr. Israel Sheib-Eldad and the late Natan Yellin-Mor - and coordinated its organizational and operational activities. Twice - in 1941 and 1946 - he was arrested by the British Mandatory authorities; he escaped twice. After the second escape, from a detention camp in Eritrea, he reached the French colony of Djibouti, by way of Ethiopia, and was given political asylum in France - returning to Israel in May 1948, when Israel gained its independence.

From then until 1955 Mr. Shamir remained out of the limelight and was engaged in the management of a number of commercial ventures. From 1955 to 1965 he held a senior post in one of Israel's security services, the Mosad. In the years that followed he returned to private commercial activity; during this time he was also active on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

In 1970 Mr. Shamir joined the Herut movement and was elected to its Executive Committee, directing the Immigration Department and, later, the Organization Department. In March 1975 he was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee, a post to which he was re-elected unanimously in March 1977. He was elected to the Eighth Knesset as a

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representative of the Likud in December 1973, and served as a member of the Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee and of the State Control Committee of the Knesset.

On 17 May 1977 he was elected to the Ninth Knesset and, upon its convening on 13 June 1977, was elected Speaker of the House. He was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in March 1980, following the resignation of Moshe Dayan. During his term of office, he steered the negotiations leading to the implementation of the Peace Treaty with Egypt; initiated contacts with African states, leading to the resumption of diplomatic relations between Israel and a number of these states; he directed the negotiations that culminated in the Agreement with Lebanon in May 1983.

Following Prime Minister Menachem Begin's resignation, Yitzhak Shamir was elected by Herut's Central Committee to succeed him and he began to serve as Prime Minister on 10 October 1983, continuing at the same time in his capacity as Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Shamir government remained in power until 13 September 1984. During these eleven months, there were several important political developments, and a number of initiatives were undertaken in the economic sphere, which, however, did not come to fruition because the national elections were moved up to 23 July 1984 (more than a year before the scheduled date.)

A short time after the establishment of the government Yitzhak Shamir visited Washington, accompanied by Defence Minister Moshe Arens. The talks held with President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz and Defence Secretary Weinberger resulted in the adoption of a number of decisions and understandings that marked a turning point in the relations between the two countries. A framework for strategic cooperation was established, and a Free Trade Area between the United States and Israel was set up.

For the 1984 election the Likud campaigned under the leadership of Yitzhak Shamir. He addressed election rallies throughout Israel and called for the establishment of a national unity government after the election.

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The elections resulted in a near-deadlock between the two major blocs, with the Likud receiving 41 seats in the new Knesset and the Alignment 44 seats. As a result, neither bloc was able to form a government based on a narrow coalition of parties. Mr. Shamir's call for the establishment of a unity government was accepted by Shimon Peres. Following intensive talks over a period of several weeks, a national unity government was formed which, for the first time in the history of the state, included both major blocs in equal representation. The government was based on a rotation agreement under which Mr. Peres served as Prime Minister and Mr. Shamir as Vice-Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs for the first period of 25 months, following which the two leaders were to change roles for another 25 months' period.

In accordance with the Rotation agreement Mr. Shamir was invited by the President in October 1986 to form the government for the second half of the Unity Government's term of office. He presented his Government to the Knesset on October 20, 1986 and was installed as Prime Minister after a vote of confidence by a large majority (82 to 17).

This Shamir-led government concentrated on the strengthening of the economy and inaugurated a process of privatization. The relationship with the United States was further consolidated when the U.S. Administration accorded to Israel the status of a major non-Nato ally. On Israel's 40th. Anniversary a new comprehensive agreement institutionalizing all the former agreements between the United States was signed between President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Shamir.

On November 1, 1988 Mr. Shamir led the Likud in the elections for the 12th. Knesset. While the results were close, Likud emerged with a narrow margin over the Labour Alignment. Accordingly, Mr. Shamir was once again entrusted with the task of forming the government. After 50 days of very complicated and protracted negotiations, he succeeded - as in 1984 - to compose a broadly based government of national unity. On Thursday 22 December, 1988, the Knesset gave its confidence to the (third) Shamir-led government by 84 votes to 19.

Mr. Shamir is married and has two children.

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סופס מברק צפון

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

דף 1 מתוך 4 דפים  
סיווג בטחוני :

אל : לש' השגריר, ווש'

בלמ"ס

דחיפות :

מידי

לשימוש } תאריך וזמן רישום :  
מח' הקשר } מס. מברק :

אל : לש' השגריר, ווש'  
מאת : אריה מקל

עפ"י בקשתכם להלן קורות החיים של רה"מ.  
(קשר - אנא הרצ"ב)

השולח : אריה מקל  
אישור מנהל מחלקה : אריה  
אישור לשכת המנכ"ל : \_\_\_\_\_  
תאריך וזמן חיבור ( ימולא ע"י השולח ) 22.3.89 ( לציין תאריך וזמן העברה לקשר )

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התפוצה :

הנושא :

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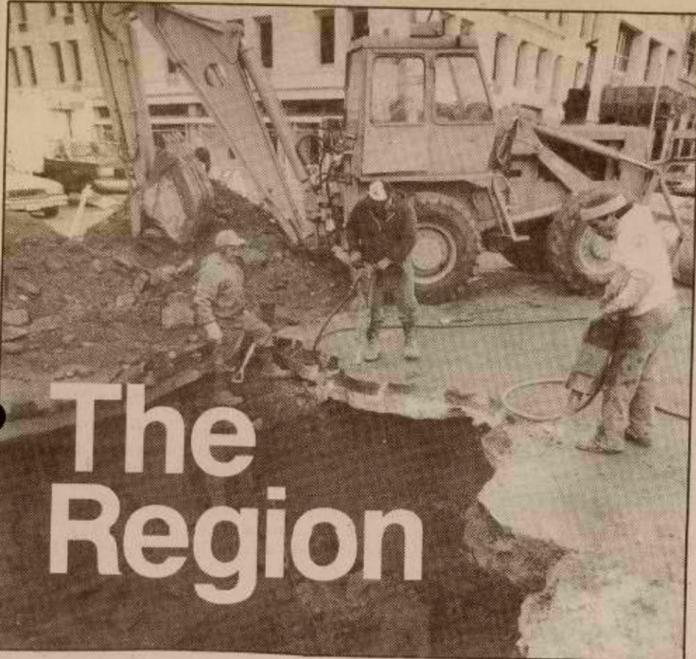
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# The Region

Emergency work on a broken water main.

The New York Times/Fred R. Conrad

should force the Mayor to make specific appropriations, said Robert Esnard, Deputy Mayor for Policy and Physical Development. The infrastructure amendment, he said, will make sure the public and elected officials get the "proper information" to make judgments on how much harm the deferral of repairs might cause.

"What this does is to elevate maintenance of infrastructure to a very public level," he said.

The public attention, supporters say, should put new pressure on the city to keep up with upkeep. "The theory is that sunshine makes the difference, that bridges fall apart because they are ignored," said Gene Russianoff, a staff attorney for the Public Interest Research Group. "This puts a spotlight on what they are doing to keep the city from falling apart."

The City Transportation Commissioner, Ross Sandler, said that while it will take two years to draw up the inventories and work out maintenance schedules, it will be worth it. Each city budget is a political battle, he said, and as a rule, money for maintenance is the first casualty.

Take the case of the 86-year-old Williamsburg Bridge. Year by year, before it was closed for two months' worth of emergency repair work in 1988, money was channeled away from maintenance to needs that seemed greater at the time.

## Rust on the Bridges

For lack of a formal maintenance schedule, the money that was available was spent haphazardly. Some areas of the bridge were painted repeatedly while more corrosion-prone areas went untouched for 15 years. Over time, the lapses led to the severe corrosion of girders, causing the bridge's closing. Last month, two lanes of the Manhattan Bridge were closed because support beams were nearly rusted through.

"Bridges are designed to last 100 years, but the people who maintain them are on a year-to-year budget," Mr. Sandler said. Over the decades, he said, the greatest obstacle to maintaining the city's infrastructure is that no one knows what is going on, and the amendment "will keep us from losing sight of the long-term perspective."

It has often been lost sight of in the past. The Charter Revision Commission, chief sponsor of the amendment, noted that a state comptroller's report in 1979 found that the city ostensibly saved \$78.4 million by deferring water-main repairs between 1969 and 1976, but that clearing the backlog eventually cost \$92.7 million.

Julian Palmer, state executive director of Common Cause, said the time was ripe for the charter amendment primarily because of public concern about rusting bridges, bumpy streets, sewage overflows and littered parks, all contributing to a perception that the city is growing increasingly shabby.

Nevertheless, Mr. Russianoff said it would be wrong, if not impossible, to mandate that specific amounts be spent for maintenance of roads, bridges and other structures. "There are competing priorities," he said. "Perhaps we as a society prefer to fight child abuse rather than make sure our bridges are in tiptop shape."

# One More Time, Koch Bares His Soul

By RICHARD LEVINE

WITH his first book, "Mayor," Edward I. Koch landed simultaneously on the best-seller list and in hot water, not that he seemed to mind. In a catalogue of confrontation and conflict that some found both mean and entertaining, Mr. Koch wrote of making President Carter turn gray, Representative Charles B. Rangel sweat, former Deputy Mayor Herman J. Badillo twitch and then City Council President Carol Bellamy cry.

The Mayor of New York City noted in the foreword in 1984 that friends had warned him not to publish the book while in office, because "it will make new enemies." It doubtless made some.

If anything, though, it may have emboldened Mr. Koch. About two years later he produced "Politics," a sequel that was less successful commercially and has also proved troublesome politically.

Some questioned Mr. Koch's decision to go on a promotional tour for the book when the municipal corruption scandal was starting to unfold. And when, in response to a state commission's investigation, Mr. Koch acknowledged that the Talent Bank, a job referral operation he founded partly as an affirmative action effort, was also used to dispense

political patronage, at least to entry-level job applicants, the first few sentences of "Politics" took on new relevance. "Patronage is not illegal, and patronage does not necessarily corrupt," the book began. "It is simply not the best way to run a government."

Mr. Koch's latest effort, "His Eminence and Hizzoner," is being published on the eve of a campaign he regards as his toughest, and it may be helpful, at least in the short term. For one thing, the Mayor has John Cardinal O'Connor as his co-author, an association that will not hurt Mr. Koch with Catholic voters who are an important part of his constituency. But the book may also plant the Mayor more firmly to the right on the political spectrum, which is not always the best location in a Democratic primary election in New York City.

In the book, the Mayor and the Cardinal, in alternating chapters, take on topics ranging from gay rights to housing to "God and Man at City Hall." While the Cardinal's contributions tend to be formal and unsurprising, the Mayor's more colloquial sections document his evolution from Greenwich Village reformer to someone who, on many questions at least, would generally be regarded as a conservative (though he prefers to call himself a "liberal with sanity.")

Mr. Koch is uncomfortable with abortion on demand, for tuition tax credits for parents with children in parochial schools, against racial and religious quotas and not against a constitutional amendment permitting prayer in public schools. Perhaps undercutting some recent city budget initiatives for the poor, he wonders whether "we are misguided to help some people as much as we do."

Surprisingly, Mr. Koch's chapters contain more about his family and his upbringing than the earlier books. He reveals that his mother had several abortions and writes touchingly of her death. He also talks about his days in the Army and his civil rights work in the South.

By now, though, many New Yorkers may not feel they need to know more about a three-term incumbent who once said, "Every day, seven days a week, 365 days a year for 11 years, I have been mentioned in at least one story in the newspapers, on the radio or on television."

Not that he is satisfied. Mr. Koch is already talking about his next book, a collection of his frequently acerbic letters. He is thinking of calling it "All the Best."

## HIS EMINENCE AND HIZZONER



John Cardinal O'Connor and Mayor Edward I. Koch

In his new book, the Mayor's tone was conservative.

# A List of Repairs For New York City

By MICHEL MARRIOTT

NEW YORK CITY has started taking inventory. Last November, city voters overwhelmingly approved what seemed to be a simple, not to say obvious, notion: a requirement that officials take an accounting of the badly aging infrastructure of roadways, bridges, parks and buildings, and draw up a plan for regular maintenance.

At the least, the plan's backers believe it will provide a tickler to agencies that have not kept systematic maintenance records. But despite the long history of neglect that was epitomized by the two-month closing of the Williamsburg Bridge last year — and for similar reasons — the plan includes no guarantees the work will be done. Because the city has so many other needs, and mayors need budgeting flexibility to deal with them, even the plan's most ardent supporters agreed there was no way to mandate that money be made available to carry

out all needed repairs every year.

"You can't go up to the Mayor and say, 'You have to fund this,'" said Robert A. Cropp, a research associate for the Citizens Budget Commission, a government watchdog group. "The Mayor could say, 'Look, we have a tremendous problem with homelessness, with AIDS.'"

Under the charter amendment adopted in November, city agencies are required to provide an annual update describing the condition of each capital asset under their care and giving a schedule, certified by registered architects and engineers, of the maintenance it needs.

The city must also publish a four-year plan of estimated maintenance costs. In each year's executive budget, the Mayor must request the money needed to maintain city properties. If the Mayor's proposed budget does not match the maintenance costs, the Mayor has to explain why.

Nothing in the amendment's wording defines what constitutes an acceptable explanation. But no charter amendment can or

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# We Support The Prime Minister's Conference on Jewish Solidarity With Israel

We the undersigned -- the members, observers and former chairmen of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations -- fully support the call of the national unity government for the Prime Minister's Conference on Jewish Solidarity with Israel.

Whatever our individual points of view, we are unified in our commitment to Israel's security, its independence, its economic vitality and the well-being of its citizenry.

We stand with the people of Israel as they face continuing external dangers

and internal problems. We support Israel in its 40-year quest for a just and lasting peace.

We are dedicated to maintaining the strong bonds between the United States and Israel -- a special relationship, based on common ideals, commitments and goals, that is of great importance to both countries and to Western interests.

We believe this gathering to be particularly significant at this time. We look forward to meeting in Jerusalem, Israel's capital, to demonstrate the solidarity of world Jewry with Israel.

American Gathering/Federation of Jewish Holocaust Survivors  
American Israel Public Affairs Committee  
American Jewish Committee\*  
American Jewish Congress  
American ORT Federation  
American Sephardi Federation\*  
American Zionist Federation  
American Zionist Youth Foundation  
AMIT Women  
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
ARZA -- Association of Reform Zionists of America  
B'nai B'rith  
B'nai B'rith Women  
Bnai Zion  
Central Conference of American Rabbis  
Council of Jewish Federations\*  
Emanah Women of America  
Hadassah  
Herut Zionists of America  
Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs  
Jewish Labor Committee  
Jewish National Fund  
Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation

Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A.  
JWB  
Labor Zionist Alliance  
MERCAZ  
Mizrachi - Hapoel Hamizrachi  
Na'amat USA  
National Committee for Labor Israel  
National Conference on Soviet Jewry  
National Council of Jewish Women  
National Council of Young Israel  
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods  
National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council  
Poalei Agudath Israel\*  
Rabbinical Assembly  
Rabbinical Council of America  
Synagogue Council of America\*  
Union of American Hebrew Congregations  
Union of Councils for Soviet Jews  
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America  
United Israel Appeal\*  
United Jewish Appeal  
United Synagogue of America

WIZO  
Women's American ORT  
Women's League for Conservative Judaism  
Women's League for Israel  
Workmen's Circle  
World Jewish Congress\*  
World Zionist Organization -- American Section  
Zionist Organization of America  
\*Observer

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## Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

515 Park Avenue, New York, NY 10022

Seymour D. Reich, Chairman  
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*We welcome contributions that will enable us to give wider dissemination to this message. Please make your tax-deductible contribution payable to the Conference of Presidents.*

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סמל: 2200	אל: איתן הנצור סמכ"ל צמ"א
תז"ח: 192000	דע: לשכת השר, חשגריר וושינגטון, מצפ"א
מט' מפקד e // 1/3 0 0545	מאתי: ס/ הקונכ"ל - מרדכי ידיד

ביקור שה"ח - ניו-יורק.

בהמשך לטיוחנו.

1. ועידת הנשיאים.

בהזדמנות ב-16/3 במני ועידת הנשיאים בראשות סימור רייך ובשתתפות אישט האלכסנדר שינדלר, שושנה קרדין, מגי טישמן ואחרים, ארגס אפר כי כשה"ח הוא חט באחריות גדולה - חסידינו שלא יזינו עוד מלחמות. דיווח על עגישתו עם שה"ח הסובייטי בקהיר ואמר כי לסובייטים יש הרבה מה ללמוד על המז"ח ועל הסכנות האורבות לבטחונה של ישראל. טיור על עגישתו עם וקונגרסטנים היהודיים בווינגטון - ווייטוי שישראל היא הכתלון לשלום חלוי ב- P.R. והיא הוצאה מכך שהדגש הוסט מהססוך הישראלי-ערבי לסכסוך הישראלי-פלסטינאי. ישראל מחקבלת כמדינת חזקה - הפלסטינאים ללא מדינה וללא צבא, ישראל-גלייה הפלסטינאים-הוד ואלה שאינט יודעים את הרקע וההיסטורי מגליט אהיה לפלסטינאים.

דיבר על האינטטידה והשלכותיה והביע חמיהה על כי הפלסטינאים אינט מוצאים דרך אחרת להביע את האספירציות שלהם במני הודג המדיני בישראל. בעיית העלייה הפלסטינאים כמחנות סרט מצאה פתרון - אין גט מחוץ פסולו טצר וקווילה הבינלאומית.

מחרונה טל בעיה אנושית זו יחרוט לקידום תהליך השלוט. השר הרביט טאפילו ישראליים חושכים שהפלסטינאים נאש"ט חר הם. הערבים הישראליים חייט אאלכו ואגי כשה"ח מייצגט. אין הם זקוקים לייצוג אט"ף והרוצו להעביר האינטיםדה אליהם.

ערטאח נפגט עם שרי חוץ וראשי ממטלה, גט יהודים נפגשו עמו ויה מעל לבינחוי, חכייט שנפגשו עמו מייצגים ממלגות שוליוט.

אמתי לטריד ולאחרים אם אינכם מסכימים עמנו ונהלו את הויכוח בישראל.

איתן הנצור  
 ש"ח וושינגטון  
 2..  
 מה סומה מה גרמה אנש אנש  
 תצום אצ"ל אצ"ל  
 רביה ג'ט רסמרי

דף: 2	דף: 5	דף: 5	דף: 5
מחנה: 5	מחנה: 5	מחנה: 5	מחנה: 5
אל:	אל:	אל:	אל:
דע:	דע:	דע:	דע:
מאת:	מאת:	מאת:	מאת:

דחפנות:

סוג:

תנאי:

משפחה:

ע" 113

0 0545

-2-

אל חייצאו אותו ומוצא ואל הפעילו לחץ על ממשלת ישראל כאמצעות ממשלות זרות.

והר דיבר על הקיטיט להשגת שלום באזורינו והשלום עם מצרים ומזרח, ביטול הטכט והשלום עם לבנון משנת 82.

ישראל המוקפת על ידי מדינות בעלות משטרים דיקטטוריים - לוב, סוריה, עיראק שאינם רואים בשלום עם ישראל.

איומי אש"ף נגד מנהיגים מלטטינאיים והרואים לקיים עמנו דיאלוג.

והאופציה הירדנית: חוסיין משך ידיו מהגדה ואינו מוכן ליבר עמנו.

אי אפשר לחשוב על תהליך השלום ופוט" ללא ירדן. אנו מחפשים את הסנהיגים המלטטינאיים בטוחים ומוכנים לנהל מומ" עמנו.

אם אש"ף יהא והנציג הבלעדי של המלטטינאיים הרי זה סופו של חוסיין.

מסוכן לחת לערפאת את המנדט לייצג את המלטטינאיים והייש בישראל ובירדן.

זה לא ענין טולי וממנו אין דרך חזרה.

הדיאלוג האמריקאי-אש"ף הוא Counter productive

אנו פועלים בשלושה מטלולים להשגת השלום:

- א. והזרת חוסיין לתהליך השלום - מקוה שניתן להיעזר במוכאק-בנשיא ארה"ה ובטאצ"ר.
- ב. הגברת המאמצים למציאת בני שיח אוטנטיים מקרב והאוכלוסייה בשפחית.
- ג. הבאת מדינות ערביות לשולחן המו"מ.

שה"ח אמר כי דיבר על כך עם נשיא ארה"ה-ועט בייקר והדברים סקובלים עליהם.

הטר והכריז טאין עימות עם האדמיניסטרציה האמריקאית כפי שדווח בכותרות העיתונות הישראלית. אדמיניסטרציה כוש המסיך לחזק ברית הידידות בין ארה"ה וישראל.

בסיוט דבריו ענה למנהיגים היהודים ודיבר על תנועת האחריות המוטלת עליהם

תאריך: שם השולח: אישור:

דחפנות:	דף: 2 מחוץ: 4 אש"פ. מזכ"ק קשר ניו-יורק
סוג:	
קוד:	אל:
מס' מדינה 0113 0 0545	דע:
	מאת:

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בחקופה קריטיה זו, אט יהודי גריה"מ לא יעלו לישראל זו תהיה טרגדיה וראיה שלא עמדת במבחן המנהיגות, זה הזמן להסגין טולידריות ואט נעשה זאת נחגבר על המספרים. בחשוכה לסאלות אמר שה"ח - אנו תומכים בהצעת בייקר להוריד המטח. צריך למצוא הדרכים לעשות זאת, באטר להכניח "יומה סנטר" אמר כי הפער בין הצדדים עצום ולא ניתן לגישור בפתרון טומי. יש אורך בהסדרי ביניים בשלב ביניים, הומעט שה"ח במני המועצה ליחסי חוץ.

בהופעתו בפני מליאת המועצה ב-17 במרץ, שה"ח הביע את אומן הנקודות שבנאוסו במני ועידת הנשיאים, המשתתפים הקשו בשאלות על טיטול כוכיות אדס ובחטוואה לוריא"פ.

בקשו לדעת היש סיכוי שישראל תפיה חקוה כלשהיא לחהליך השלום. הטר הטיב כי ישראל שילמה מחיר יקר במלחמות שנכפו עלינו ואין מריגה כמות טכטוזה לסלום באזורנו. ישראל תמשיך לפעול להשגת השלום. טגישה שה"ח ארגס עם פרופטורים.

ב-16/3 נפגש שה"ח עם קבוצה של ב-35 פרופטורים בכירים ונשיאי אוניברסיטאות, רובם יהודים, מאזור ניו יורק.

המפגש היה כיוזמתנו, ואורגן ע"י אפע"י בטיוענו. בדבריו התייחס שה"ח לעשור להסכם השלום עם מצרים, ועדכן הנוכחים במהלכים המדיניים האחרונים, כולל עמדותינו בהקשר להסדר ביניים, לנציגות הפלשתינאים למו"מ וכו'. השאלות היו, בין השאר, בנושא הצפיה ליוזמת ישראלים, הכניח רבין, אופי ההסדר הסופי ומדוע לא לבחון את האופציה של מו"מ עם אש"פ וכו'. חשר העיר, בין השאר, בהקשר להכניח רבין: שהיא לא נדונה בממשלה, אך זו בהחלט אופציה רצינית שחישקל.

בהקשר ליוזמת ישראלית: בשבועות הקרובים במהלך ביקור זה"ס יש לצפות ליוזמת ישראלית כלשהיא. וכן לא כדאי לדון במאפייני ההסדר הסופי לפני שמסכמים הסדרי ביניים. יחכן שהרעיונות של שני הצדדים לגבי ההסדר הסופי ישחכו במהלך המו"מ.

ג' ציון יאנון



י"ו : 5  
מתוך : 5

מאופס מכרזק  
י"קשר נ"ו-יורק

דחיסות:

סיוג:

אל:

תזח:

מס מקי 311 א e  
0 0545

דע:

מאת:

-5-

הנפת דגלי מלטטין) - הרי שהאזירה היונה ידירותיה (נרטט על ידי כרוך בינה).

הערה: יש איפיה טכניקור הבא של שה"ח בניו-יורק מקויים עצמו בהשחמטות מנהיגות יחודית. אעירה, טסודנטים וגורמי עליה.

מרכזי יריד



אישור:

שם השולח

תאריך:

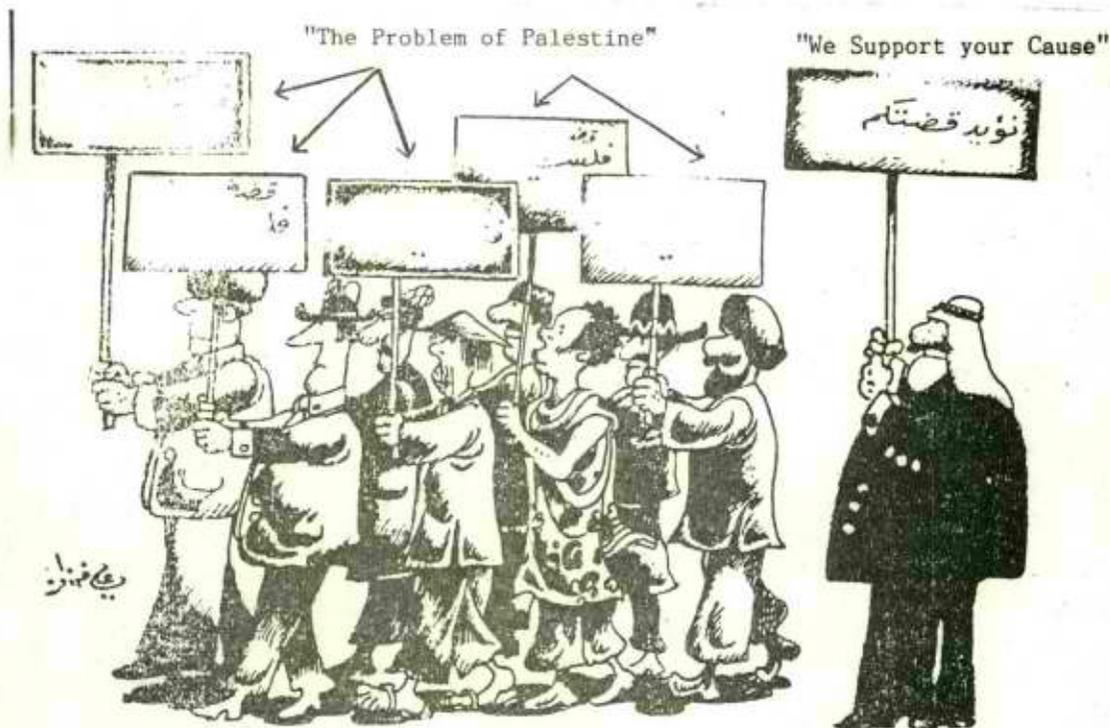
END

CARTOON COMMENT IN THE ARAB PRESS

Cartoonists have played a major role in expressing political trends in Arab politics. Unlike Western cartoonists, they have been perceived to represent the regime itself by serving as its mouthpiece, or represent a major threat to the survival of the regime by supporting dissident elements and insurgencies.

A most outstanding cartoonist, Naji al-Ali, was murdered in London in July 1987 by Arafat's own Special Operations Unit, headed by Col. Hawari. Naji al-Ali was known for his anti-Arafat cartoon-editorializing.

ARAB ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PLO



(the above cartoon was published in the Syrian daily al-Thawra on February 25, and contends that Arab support for the uprising lags behind international support)

MIDMO is comprised entirely of material translated from the Arab media, and is published jointly by the Government Press Office and the Media Analysis Center, publishers of Contemporary Mideast Backgrounder

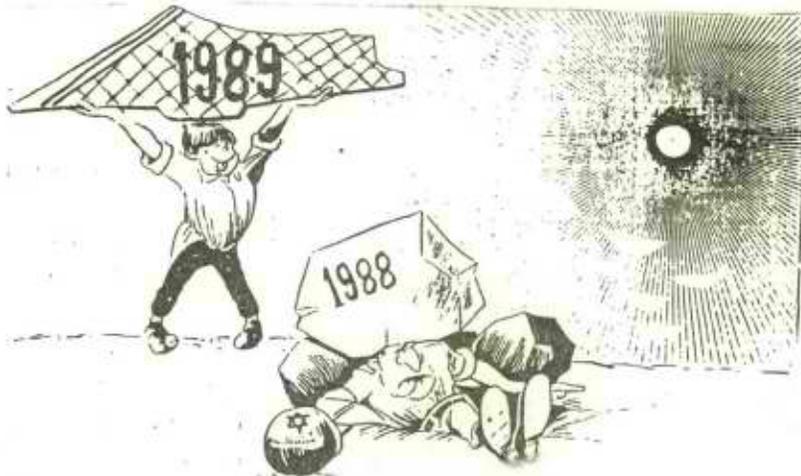
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facsimile: 972-2-233693 attention: GPO X8107  
electronic mail: 05 GPO 001

INTER-ARAB POLITICS



(the above cartoon was published in the Syrian daily al-Ba'ath on February 24)

THE PLO -- A TURNING POINT? -- A KUWAITI VIEW



(the above cartoon was published in the Kuwaiti daily al Rai al-Aam on January 1, and depicts a Palestinian throwing a rock on an Israeli -- the shape of the rock is that of Palestine from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean)

THE RUSHDIE AFFAIR -- A KUWAITI VIEW



(the above cartoon was published in the Kuwaiti daily al Qabas on February 28, and is based on a play of words in Arabic: "rash-di," in Arabic, means "spray it")

דחיפות: מידי	סג'רירות ישראל / נוסינגטון	דף: 1
סוג: גלוי	טופס ציור	כתוב: 14
תאריך נוסח תגובה: 18:41 20 מרץ 1989		אל: מצפ"א
פס' פברק:		דע: לשכת ס/שה"ח
הפס"ד: 520		3 יב כ אכ"י - כאן
		פאת: ק. לקונגרס

ביח"בו: מדות המזכיר בוועדת ההקצבות

ב - 14.3 הוסיע בייקר בסני ועדת המשנה למעגלות זרנת של נעדת ההקצבות. נכחו הקונגרסמנים: אובי (יו"ד), להטן (פלורידה), קולמן (טקסס), מקיו (ניו-יורק) מרזק (ניו-יורק), סודט (אילינוי), גאלו (ניו ג'רסי), אדוארד (אוקלהומה), וקונטי (מסצ'וסטס).

1. בדברי פתיחתו ביקש אובי מהמזכיר לחתיחס למצב במזה"ת. לדבריו יש לחץ על ישראל ושכנותיה הערביות. ישנן מציאויות חדשות במזה"ת וחלקן אינו געים. על הממשל לנצל כל הזדמנות לקדם תהליך השלום הרצום שכן אם אין קידום תהליך יש תמיד נטייה באיזור לנטיגה. הביע תקווה שהמזכיר יסמוך על הועדת שתסייע לו ככל יכולתה ליצור נסיבות המתאימות עבור כל הצדדים כדי שיחיו מציאותיים בגישתם. כן ביקש אובי התייחסות המזכיר לאמריקא.
2. המזכיר עידכן הועדת על פגישותיו באירופה עם שרי החוץ של נאט"ו וכן פגישתו עם שברנגזה. לגבי המזה"ת הודח בייקר על הזמנת אובי לבוא לוועדה כל אימת שיזדקקו לעזרתה והתייחס לשיחתו עם שברנגזה בנושא, כדלחלן:

ON THE MIDDLE EAST, I EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR POSITIVE, CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION ON THE GROUND BEFORE WE JUMPED OFF HERE WITH A HIGH VISIBILITY INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE. WE REALLY ARE INTERESTED IN, IF POSSIBLE, DEVELOPING A PROCESS THAT LEADS SOMEWHERE, AND NOT JUST A PROCESS THAT GIVES SOMEBODY, WHETHER IT MIGHT BE THE SOVIET UNION OR SOMEONE ELSE, A ROLE TO PLAY.

על-פי שיחתו עם שברנגזה, המזכיר ימשיך לעבוד על פיתוח תהליך השלום הרצום באזור. המזכיר ימשיך לעבוד על פיתוח תהליך השלום הרצום באזור.

תפוצה: +36 ע"פ

לחיפות: מ ל י ל י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	זר: 2
סוג: ג ל י	טופס פרוק	פתוך: 14
תאריך וזמן תעבור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
תפסוד: 520		פאת:

IT'S MY VIEW, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT THE SOVIETS COULD BE HELPFUL IF THEY REESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL AND IF THEY SUPPORTED A DIALOGUE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND PALESTINIANS. ABOVE ALL, I THINK THEY COULD RESTRAIN REDICAL STATES WHICH ARE OPPOSED TO PEACE, SUCH AS LIBYA. WE AGREED THAT OUR RESPECTIVE REGIONAL EXPERTS WOULD GET TOGETHER SOON.

3. לאחר שהמזכיר הקריא עדותו (חועברה כבר בגפרוד) ופירט בקשת התקציב של הממשל הגיב אובי בהציגו את ה- Chairmans's Mark (הצעת היו"ר לחוק ההקצבות). לדבריו, העדר הכנסות ומיסים (בהתאם למדיניות בוש) והצורך להשיג את היעד של גר' לשתיא 1990 משמעותם הקטנת סיוע חחוץ. עפ"י הצעתו של אובי (רצ"ב פירוט הצעתו) לאחר התאמה של 6.3% כדי להגיע ל- current services budget level יופחת כל Account בסך של כ-9.8% כדי להשיג היעד של 100 ביליון \$ לפי גר'. משמעות הדבר הפחתה בסך של 1.4 ביליון \$ לעומת הבקשה הנוכחית של הממשל (13.257 ביליון \$ לעומת הבקשה של 14.657 ביליון \$) או הפחתה של בערך 1 ביליון דולר לעומת שתיא 1989.

בעקבות הצגה זו של הקיצוץ הנדרש התפתחו חילופי דברים בין אובי למזכיר :

בייקר : אנו מעונינים לעבוד ולדון עמכם בנוגע לביטול חשיונים כדי לאפשר יתר גמישות לממשל. עם זאת, יהיו מספר שיריונים שנרצה להסכים ביחד שעליהם להמשיך. הממשל מעוניין לדון עם חועדה לגבי החלטותיה על קיצוצים, אולם אין פירושו של דבר שאני מסכים עמו שגישתך נכונה.

אובי : אינני מציע קיצוץ אוטומטי (sequestration) אני מעוניין למונעו. אולם

תפוצה:

דתיפות: מדי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: 3
סוג: גלוי		פתוח: 14
תאריך וזמן תצורה:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד: 524		כאת:

התהליך התקציבי דורש להגיע לרמת הוצאות הזדה לטכום שיקבע עבור הקיצוץ האוטומטי. מטרתו היא להציג מה יהיה החלק שלנו בנטל הקיצוץ וכיצד נחלק הכספים.

**בייקר**: מבין את כוונת אנבי אולם הנחותיו אינן במקומן. בשלב כה מוקדם של התהליך התקציבי. זו טעות ומסקנה מוקדמת מידי להניח שלא יושג הסכם תקציבי כולל בקונטקסט של מדיניות בוש (חתנגדות להעלאת מיסים). (התייחס גם לפסגה התקציבית של 87).

**אובי**: יתכן שיושג הסכם, אולם הוא לא יכול חכנסות חדשות, ובהעדר כאלה, זה (הצעתו) כל מה שתוכל לקבל.

**בייקר**: הביע תקווה שאובי לא יסיק מסקנות כבר בתחילת התהליך התקציבי. בהתייחס לחישובי אובי על הצורך בקיצוץ של 9.8% הגיב בייקר כי זהו נתון פסימיסטי מאד.

**אובי**: לא. אלה נתוני OMB (האגף התקציבי של הממשל).

**בייקר**: לא. אלה נתוני CBO (האגף התקציבי של הקונגרס).

**אובי**: לא. נתוני CBO הם 16%. הסביר לבייקר כי עפ"י נתוח הממשל את התקציב, % הקיצוץ האחיד לתכניות Non-Defense, כפי שמוגדר סיוע חוץ לפי ג"ר, הוא 9.8%. במסגרת חילופי הדברים עבר מוקד הויכוח לתקציב ההגנה כאשר בייקר טבור שהתקציב לא הוגדל ואילו אובי אינו מסכים.

**בייקר**: המטרה הבסיסית של הדיונים בין ועדות התקציב למנהל ה- OMB והבית הלבן היא למנוע קיצוץ אוטומטי. מה שאתה (אובי) עושה בהצעתך, אתה משתמש בהשפעה של קיצוץ אוטומטי על התקציב. זה לא ייושם, כפי שאני מבין, ע"י ועדות אחרות ולפיכך חכנס

תפוצה:

דחיפות: מ ל ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס סכר	קף: 4
סוג: ג ל ר י		כתובת: 14
תאריך וזמן חבור:		אל:
כס' סכר:		דצ:
הפסד: 524		כאת:

למעשה למי"מ כשידין כבולות. הצלחנו ב-1987 להשיג גידול צנוע בפונקציה 150 או לפחות להגן עליו ולכן אינני מבין מדוע יש להניח, כבר בתחילת התהליך, שלא נצליח גם השנה.

אובי: מה שאתה שוכח שהגנת הפסגה התקציבית על סיוע החוץ ב-78' היתה בקונטקסט של הסכם שאיפשר הגדלת הכנסות והפחתה בהוצאות. אם נגיע להסכם דומה כמו לפני שנתיים נוכל לתת יותר כספים לבקשותיך, אולם בהעדר הכנסות חדשות, הקונגרס לא יכול להמנע מהחחיבותו להגיע ליעד קיצוץ הדפיציט של 100 ביליון \$. יתכן שניתן להתאים תכניות בחוק המסגרת חקיימת אולם אין לצפות מהקונגרס להסכים לגישה חיובית יותר כלפי סיוע חוץ מאשר כלפי חיבור, בריאות או הגנה, וזה מה שהממשל מבקש מאתנו לעשות.

בייקר ואובי חמשיכו ב"פינג פונג" תוך שבייקר מנסה להגן על פונקציה 150 ולקבוע שאין מקום לוותר מראש.

אובי: ציין כי מסכים שבעת הצעת החוק (Mark-up) יכלל דו"ח לוואי שיציין אילו Accounts הועדה תסכים להגדיל סכומיה אם עפ"י הסכמי פסגה תקציבית יושגו כספים נוספים או יוגדלו החכנסות. "בהעדר הסכם כני"ל לא נוכל לדחוס 15 ביליון \$ לשק של 30 ביליון \$". הויכוח בין בייקר לאובי המשיך בנוגע לרמה הבסיסית של הכנת החוק. לפי בייקר אובי מתחיל הכנת החוק מרמה של Sequester שאיננה משאירה לו כל מרחב תמרון ואילו אובי הטעים שהוא מתחיל מרמת הנחה שאין הכנסות חדשות.

בסופו של דבר ביקש בייקר מאובי לשקול מחדש גישתו כדי שניתן יהיה לעבוד ביחד למען צרכי הבטחון הלאומי ויחסי חוץ של ארה"ב.

קונגרסמן פורטר - ביקש תבהרות מאובי לגבי עמדתו ביחס להעלאת מיסים.

תפוצה:

דתיפות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון מסמך מס' 14	דף: 5
סוג: ג ל ו י		כתוב: 14
תאריך וזמן תצורה:		אל:
כס' כבוק:		דצ:
הפסרד: 22		פאת:

**אובי :** תהיה זו טעות אם המסלוגת הדמוקרטית תנסה להכריח את הנשיא להעלות מיסים. עלינו לאפשר לבוש לבוא לציבור האמריקני בסוף השנה ולהצהיר כי שמר על הבטחתו לא להעלות מיסים. יתכן שלאחר מכן נוכל להפטר מהבטחות מטופשות כגיל להתחיל לעבוד בשנה הבאה (תקדלה הכנסות).

**פורטר :** הגירת מבריח"מ : ישנן מספר קבוצות הדוחקות בממשל להשעות תקנות ג'קסון-וניק לאור הגידול בהגירת היהודים מבריח"מ בשנה האחרונה. הפציר בממשל לא לעשות כן עד אשר המספרים לא ישתוו לקחות או יעלה על הרמות הקודמות: 18,000 אשתקד ו-51,000 ב-1979 וכן עד אשר הרפורמות לא תמוסדנה, תהסוכנה קבועות ותבטחנה זכויות הגירה בחוק. תאם זכיצד נשקל הקושא בממשל.

**בייקר :** חל אמנם שינוי משמעותי בנוגע להגירה וזה גורם ללחצים על המשאבים שלנו. יש עוד מקום לשיפורים ויש צורך במיסוד הרפורמות שחתבעו על בסיס אד-הוק, עד שנחליט על שינוי בג'קסון וניק.

**קונגרסמן מקין -** תמך באובי בנושא התקציב, קרא לשתי"פ-ותיאום בין כל זרועות הממשל. החלק הנוגע למזח"ת ואש"ם, הובק בנפרד.

**אובי -** בהמשך לדברי מקין (אותו שיבח על ידיעתו והבנתו במזח"ת) שאל היכן עומד המזח"ת בסולם העדימויות של הממשל.

**בייקר -** יחסית בעדיפות גבוהה. איננו מחפשים to low-key מעורבותו במזח"ת. כפי שאמרתי לשרי החוץ של נאט"ו, לסובייטים ולאחרים הנשיא, וממשל זה מחכוונים להיות פעילים בנוגע למזח"ת.

תפוצה:

דחיפות: נ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פברוק	קד: 6
סוג: ג ל ר י		כתוב: 14
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל:
כס' פברוק:		דע:
הפסד: 224		פאת:

But we think that it is very, very important that the timing of that activity, if you will, be correct, and that we ought not to be so anxious to demonstrate concern for the problem or a willingness to be involved that we undertake initiatives which are not well thought out and which have little chance of success. By the same token, we are anxious not to avoid opportunities that present themselves, opportunities that might present themselves as a consequence of change -- relatively recent changes in the situation, such as the dialogue that Mr. McHugh made reference to.

So it's a case of wanting to move in a reasoned and well thought out way at the right time, Mr. Chairman; at the same time, not passing up opportunities to move the peace process along. Frankly, there have been so many failures in this process, that we're very anxious that when we do move that we have at least assessed that we have a reasonable chance of success in making something work. And that's why, frankly, we are talking to the parties now about steps that can be taken to improve the situation on the ground in the Occupied

Territories, steps that can be taken to improve the climate, steps that can be taken that might create an atmosphere that could help us get to direct negotiations. And if direct negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians other than the PLO can bring about peace, then we shouldn't rule those out. If, on the other hand, it takes something beyond that, then that's the way we ought to go.

קונגרסמן קולמן - מדיניות מכירות נשק במזה"ח .

בייקר : מדיניות מכירות נשק למדינות ערביות מחוננות חזקוקות לכך, לצרכי הגנתן, איננה סותרת תמיכתנו החזקה בישראל ובטחונה. יש לנו מחוייבות לא למכור מערכות שתחתורנה תחת יחרונה חייכותי חצבאי של ישראל. הלכה למעשה לישראל יחרון צבאי על כל קומבינציה

תפוצה:

לתיפוח: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	זר: 7
סוג: ג ל ו י		כתוב: 14
תאריך ודפן חבול:		אל:
ט' פרוק:		דע:
תפסרד: 520		פאת:

צפויה של כוחות ערביים. חשוב שתמשכנה להיות מדינות ערביות מתונות במזה"ח שתמוכנה בחיפושנו אחר השלום ואין זה עומד בסתירה למכור להן נשק הגנתי לגיטימי.

קולמן - חייב הדברות ותקשורת בין הממשל לקונגרס לגבי מדיניות מכירות נשק זו כדי למנוע מחלוקות ואי-הבנות.

בייקר - הסכים עם קולמן. על הממשל להתייעץ עם הקונגרס לפני כל עסקה, ומאידך, על הקונגרס להמנע מחסימה מוקדמת של עיסקות באמצעות הפצת מכתבים. יש צורך ביצירת אמון בין שני הצדדים.

קולמן - אולי כדאי שתבהירו יותר מהות העסקות (הביא כדוגמה ה-AWACS והסטינגריס).

בייקר : אחד מהמאבקים הקשים ב-1981 היה מכירת ה-AWACS לסעודיה. אינו חושב שיש מישהו שיטען היום שהמכירה לא היתה במקומה לאור מה שהתרחש במפרץ.

אובי - פ ליטים. זרם הפליטים לארה"ב הולך וגובר (מבריה"מ, אפריקה, אסיה) ואילו הממשל קורא לקיצוץ בתקציביו. תוך שלושה חודשים לא יוותרו כספים לממן יציאת יהודי בריה"מ ופליטים אחרים העוזבים את בריה"מ. כיצד בכוונת הממשל לפעול.

בייקר - אנו בודקים את כל שאלת הפליטים ונתייעץ עמכם לאחר ה-1.5.89. בינתיים אנו מבקשים 100 מיליון \$ כ-Supplemental לשתי"א 1989 כדי לעמוד בלחץ הגובר.

אובי הופתע מבקשת הממשל ושאל את בייקר מתיכן יקחו כסף זה ?  
כן שאל האם לממשל בקשות נוספות ל-Supplemental.

תפוצה:

דף: 8	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	יחידות: מ י ד י
כתובת: 14		סוג: ג ל ר י
אל:		תאריך וזמן תגור:
דע:		פס' פרוק:
כאת:		תקשרד: 520

בייקר אשר התנצל על כי בקשתם לא הועברה, הוסיף כי בכוננתם לבקש מימון נוסף לקונטרס. לקראת סוף השימועים החליפו שוב בייקר ואובי דברים בנושא גישתם לחקציב וסיכמו לנסות לשתייפ.

4. נושאים נוספים שעלו בשימועים: בעיות אוכלוסין (סין), קפריסין, הונג קונג, אפריקה, המשך סיוע לקונטרס, ניקרגואה, דרום קוריאה, פנמה - מצב פנים והתעלה, מקסיקו, חובות העולם השלישי, ונצואלה ורפורמות כלכליות, ג'מיקה והמשטר החדש, מימון בנק EX-IM.

5. הקונגרסמנים התחלקו בעמדותיהם עפ"י מפתח מפלגתי כאשר הדמוקרטים תומכים באובי ואילו הרפובליקנים בבייקר.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר  
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה:

'D/C (100) (1) le (10/3) : 1000/

529 9/14

How the Tentative Compromise Amounts were Decided Upon

Arriving at the Compromise

The Special Analysis of the FY 1990 Budget clearly explains how the Sequestration process works under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation.

Simply explained, a "Current Services" 1990 budget is created by OMB. Basically, that budget is a 3.6 percent increase, item by item, over amounts provided in FY 1989.

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings legislation requires that the estimated "Current Services" deficit for FY 1990 may not exceed \$100 billion.

The OMB projected Current Services deficit is \$126 billion. Consequently, the legislation requires that budget cuts be made through "sequestration" formula in order to achieve a deficit of \$100 billion.

For Non-defense programs OMB tells us in its Special Analysis of the budget that a "Uniform reduction percentage" of 9.8 must be applied to every item individually.

Gramm-Rudman Required Reduction Rate Applied to Foreign Assistance

For Foreign Assistance, Export Financing and Related Programs a 9.8 percent cut required by GRH sequestration results in total funding being cut \$1.4 billion from the President's request, or about \$1 billion from the current year level of \$14.3 billion.

President's Request As The Base

We decided that rather than ignoring the President's budget, as we often have in the past, we would use the Presidential FY 1990 request as the base from which cuts must be made to reach the level required to avoid sequestration.

In this way we would be able to provide some new Presidential initiatives such as the IMF facility, the Philippines initiative, the International Financial Corporation, Afghan assistance, etc.

These programs would have been immediately excluded if we had started with the 1990 Current Services base.

529 10  
14

### Mandatory and Ex-Im Bank Level Adjustments

Next we basically accepted the Presidential request for mandatory items such as operating expenses and payment to the Foreign Service Retirement fund. Operating expenses for AID were reduced to reflect an \$11 million operating expense transfer to the State Department.

We also salvaged the Export-Import Bank by providing \$500 million for direct loans. The Administration had requested \$0 (requesting instead \$100 million for the "war chest").

### Across the Board Reduction

We then cut all the remaining programs an equal amount to get down to the \$13.3 billion sequestration target.

All of these actions resulted in the figures on the computer run entitled "GRH cut from FY 1990 request--which is column four.

### Other Adjustments to Formula

Finally, we made a series of adjustments to programs that have a broad degree of support in the Committee, the House and by both political parties.

For example, some of the judgments are as follows:

1. President's Request. Funds for several accounts are funded at the President's request level, rather than at the formula:
  - Peace Corps
  - American Schools and Hospitals
  - International Disaster Assistance
  - International Narcotics Control
  - Migration and Refugee Assistance
  - Emergency Migration And Refugee
  - Anti-terrorism Assistance
  - Trade and Development Program
2. Inter-American Investment Corporation and Asian Bank Development Fund. Reductions were made in these accounts.
3. IMF, Enhanced Structural Facility. Funds were provided at a level of \$75 million to initiate a new Presidential initiative.
4. International Organizations and Programs. Cuts recommended by the Administration for UNICEF (\$26.5 million) and other programs such as the UN Environment Program were rejected.

82A  $\frac{11}{14}$

5. Sub-Saharan Africa. Funding was provided at \$500 million instead of the formula's \$487 million.
6. Philippines Special Initiative. \$100 million is included to facilitate the beginning of the Administration's new Philippine initiative, instead of \$0 which would have been provided by the formula.
7. Economic Support Fund. \$24 million was added to the formula level for ESF making the total \$2.9 billion .
8. World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank. Provide \$0 funding for the hard loan window of the World Bank and \$0 funding for the Inter-American Development Bank until realistic third world debt policy is in place.

12  
14  
52A



The resulting 1990 current services deficit is \$126.9 billion, \$88.1 billion lower than the \$160.0 billion deficit for 1989. The deficit is projected to decline further each year, falling to \$8.7 billion in 1994.

Table A-2. CURRENT SERVICES TOTALS  
(In billions of dollars)

	1988 actual	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994
Budget authority.....	1,185.5	1,271.9	1,337.5	1,419.9	1,462.4	1,512.0	1,550.1
(On-budget).....	(944.0)	(1,005.1)	(1,048.6)	(1,107.4)	(1,130.7)	(1,157.6)	(1,175.8)
(Off-budget).....	(241.5)	(266.9)	(288.9)	(312.5)	(331.8)	(354.4)	(374.2)
Receipts.....	909.0	975.5	1,057.5	1,136.7	1,208.6	1,278.1	1,341.7
(On-budget).....	(667.5)	(708.7)	(768.6)	(824.2)	(876.8)	(923.8)	(967.5)
(Off-budget).....	(241.5)	(266.9)	(288.9)	(312.5)	(331.8)	(354.4)	(374.2)
Outlays.....	1,064.0	1,135.5	1,184.5	1,238.3	1,278.3	1,315.0	1,350.4
(On-budget).....	(861.4)	(924.7)	(964.4)	(1,006.6)	(1,037.4)	(1,065.1)	(1,092.4)
(Off-budget).....	(202.7)	(210.9)	(220.1)	(231.7)	(240.9)	(249.9)	(258.0)
Surplus or deficit (-).....	-155.1	-160.0	-126.9	-101.6	-69.7	-36.9	-8.7
(On-budget).....	(-193.9)	(-216.0)	(-195.7)	(-182.3)	(-160.5)	(-141.4)	(-124.9)
(Off-budget).....	(38.8)	(56.0)	(68.8)	(80.8)	(90.9)	(104.5)	(116.2)

# SPECIAL ANALYSES

## BUDGET OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

SPECIAL ANALYSIS A

A-47

### SEQUESTRATION CALCULATIONS

If no changes were made in the current G-R-H budget baseline estimates before the final sequestration report in October, a sequestration of \$26.1 billion, the difference between the current deficit and the target of \$100 billion, would be determined using the following steps, as shown in Table A-19.

Table A-19. SEQUESTRATION CALCULATIONS FOR 1990  
(In billions of dollars)

FISCAL YEAR  
**1990**

	Estimate
Required deficit reduction.....	26.1
Defense Programs: <sup>a</sup>	
Total required outlay reductions.....	13.0
Estimated outlays associated with across-the-board sequesterable budgetary resources.....	194.3
Uniform reduction percentage.....	6.7
Nondefense programs:	
Total required outlay reductions.....	13.0
Estimated savings from automatic spending increases.....	•
Estimated savings from the application of special rules:	
Guaranteed student loans.....	•
Foster care and adoption assistance.....	•
Medicare.....	1.5
Other health programs.....	0.2
Amount remaining to be obtained from uniform percentage reductions of budget resources.....	11.3
Estimated outlays associated with across-the-board sequesterable budgetary resources <sup>b</sup> .....	115.3
Uniform reduction percentage.....	9.8
Memorandum:	
Defense with all military personnel accounts exempt:	
Total required outlay reductions.....	13.0
Estimated outlays associated with across-the-board sequesterable budgetary resources.....	116.7
Uniform reduction percentage.....	11.2

<sup>a</sup> Excludes Federal Emergency Management Agency accounts  
<sup>b</sup> Includes \$6.6 billion in estimated 1991 outlays for the Commodity Credit Corporation that can be effected by a 1990 sequester and \$3.0 billion in outlays from awaiting collections  
<sup>c</sup> \$50 million or less

First, one-half of the required deficit reduction, \$13.0 billion, would be assigned to defense programs (budget accounts in the

national defense function, 050, excluding the Federal Emergency Management Agency) and the other half to nondefense programs.

Second, savings from eliminating automatic spending increases in three specific programs—the National Wool Act, the special milk program, and vocational rehabilitation—would be applied to the required reduction in outlays for nondefense programs. For 1990, only vocational rehabilitation state grants (4.2 percent) and the special milk program (2.6 percent) are estimated to have automatic spending increases. Savings from eliminating these adjustments would be \$47 million.

Third, the amount of outlay savings to be obtained by applying four special rules would be calculated. These special rules are for guaranteed student loans, foster care and adoption assistance, Medicare and certain other health programs. For the guaranteed student loan program, two changes would occur automatically if a sequester were triggered. First, under current assumptions, the statutory factor for calculating the quarterly special allowance payments to lenders would be reduced by 0.25 percentage points. Second, a student's origination fee would increase by 0.5 percentage points. For foster care and adoption assistance, a sequestration would eliminate increases in foster care maintenance payment rates or adoption assistance payment rates taking effect during the fiscal year. The reductions are limited to the extent that they can be made by reducing Federal matching payments by a uniform percentage across States. For Medicare and certain other health programs, reductions under a sequester order are limited to 2 percent. The estimated savings, \$1.7 billion for 1990, from these special rules would be applied toward the required spending reductions in nondefense programs.

The reductions in defense programs and remaining reductions in nondefense programs would be taken on a uniform percentage basis, computed separately for each category. The uniform reduction percentages are computed from outlay estimates. The remaining outlay savings to be achieved separately in defense and nondefense spending would be divided by the estimated outlays associated with sequesterable budgetary resources in each category. The two resulting uniform reduction percentages for defense and nondefense would then be applied separately to all of the remaining sequesterable budgetary resources (budget authority, credit authority, and other spending authority) in each category. Under current estimates, the uniform percentage reductions would be 9.8 percent for nondefense programs. For defense programs, the uniform percentage reduction would be 6.7 percent if military personnel accounts were sequesterable and 11.2 percent if these accounts were exempted from sequestration.

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PS36M  
PS12A3GR

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND RELATED AGENCIES

	FY 1989 Enacted	FY 1990 Request	GRH 9.8% cut of Curr. Serv.	GRH out from FY 1990 Request	Tentative Compromise	Tentative compared with FY 1990 Request	
16100							16100
							16350
16350							17010
17010							17020
17020	4,272,750,000	5,027,000,000	3,992,765,238	4,340,276,351	4,340,276,351	-686,723,649	17035
17035	467,000,000	40,432,000	437,902,960	40,432,000	40,432,000	---	17040
17040	47,400,000	54,500,000	44,293,812	47,054,915	47,054,915	-7,445,085	17042
17042	4,787,150,000	5,121,932,000	4,474,961,810	4,427,763,266	4,427,763,266	-694,168,734	17045
17045	939,500,000	719,545,000	719,545,000	719,545,000	719,545,000	---	17050
17050	---	---	---	---	---	---	17070
17070	31,689,000	33,377,000	29,612,660	28,817,466	33,377,000	---	17100
17100	5,758,339,000	5,874,954,000	5,224,119,470	5,176,125,732	5,180,685,266	-694,168,734	17120
17120	3,258,500,000	3,349,100,000	3,044,977,012	2,894,048,251	2,918,000,000	-431,100,000	17210
17210	226,115,000	209,000,000	211,298,010	180,449,127	240,000,000	+31,000,000	17220
17220	3,012,448,270	3,312,588,000	2,877,445,850	2,942,442,583	2,984,988,673	-327,599,327	17240
17240	3,238,563,270	3,521,588,000	3,088,743,860	3,122,891,710	3,224,988,673	-296,599,327	17250
17250	1,314,629,730	1,787,384,225	1,228,484,312	1,543,214,942	1,409,191,519	-378,192,706	17280
17280	4,553,193,000	5,308,972,225	4,317,228,172	4,466,106,652	4,534,180,192	-674,792,033	18000
18000	13,570,032,000	14,532,926,225	12,546,324,654	12,736,280,635	12,732,865,458	-1,800,060,767	18010
18010	495,000,000	100,000,000	448,204,240	500,000,000	500,000,000	+400,000,000	18100
18100	25,000,000	25,000,000	23,336,544	21,584,823	25,000,000	---	18150
18150	720,000,000	125,000,000	671,540,804	521,584,823	525,000,000	+400,000,000	18155
18155	14,290,032,000	14,657,926,225	13,257,865,458	13,257,865,458	13,257,865,458	-1,400,060,767	

520

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 21.03.89

15885

\*\* יוצא \*\*

י' 10

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חוזם: 3,15885

אל: 775/ש

מ-: המשרד, תא: 210389, זח: 1226, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: א גס: צפא

א: נד

סודי/מיידי

ערן. שטיין.

התקשר היוז. אמר בין היתר שברצונו להביע צערו על הודעת שר התיירות פת שקרא לדבריו לישראלים להימנע מלבקר בטאבה להוציא שם מטבע זר וכו'. היוז אמר שהוא מקוה שעתה משנסתיימה פרשת טאבה יתנהל המעבר דרך מסוף הגבול הישראלי ללא תקלות שהרי הכל יעקבו אחרי מהלך הדברים שם. הביע תקוותו שסידורי המעבר והצהרות כנ"ל לא יהפכו לאבן נגף נוספת.

בנצור

תפ

אק

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



מושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 21.03.89

15699

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סודי

חוזם: 3,15699

אל: המשרד

מ-: נ' , נר: 562, תא: 200389, חז: 1500, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

סודי/מידי

(תפוצה-מצומצמת)

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דע: סמנכ'ל מצפ'א, הציר/שטיין-ווישינגטון (בנפרד נר 120)

מאת: נאו' מ-יששכרוף

שיחה עם ג'ון הירש

אחת) נפגשתי לשיחה עם ג'ון הירש (מחמ'ד) ביום ו' בערב, לפי בקשתו. הירש שהה בניו יורק לרגל הופעתו של שה'ח ארנס בפני ועדת הנשיאים. אני מניח שהדברים ידועים לכם כבר, אך למען הסדר הטוב, להלן עיקרי הנקודות שמסר:

א. להערכתו האישית, החלטת שולץ לפתוח בדו-שיח עם אש'פ היתה יותר כתוצאה מנסיבות מצטברות של קבלת תנאיה של ארה'ב, מאשר כתוצאה של תוכנית ששלביה תוכננו ונקבעו מראש על ידי שולץ. לדבריו, אחד היסודות העיקריים מאחורי החלטתו של שולץ, היתה הערכתו של דניס רוס שרק באמצעות דו-שיח ישיר עם אש'פ יהיה ניתן לבחון את אמיתות כוונותיו של ערפאת והשינויים שהתרחשו בארגון, אם בכלל. אישית, הוא נשאר סקפטי למדי לגבי 'השינויים' באש'פ.

ב. ציין שהפגישה הבאה עם אש'פ תהיה ביום ד' (22/3)



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בתוניס, ובפגישה זו מתכוון שגרירם בתוניס לבחון את נכונותו של אש"פ לנקוט בצעדים ממתנים בשטחים. כן דיבר על כוונת ארה"ב להתחיל בתהליך השיכנוע כלפי אש"פ של התרת מו"מ' בין ישראל לבין נציגי השטחים.

ג. ציין שהפגישה הבאה תהיה למעשה הפגישה הראשונה בה ידונו בנושאים מהותיים. בפגישה הראשונה דיברו על טרור בשניה על אסון פאן-אם ובשלישית על ידיעות שקיבלה ארה"ב על נסיון אפשרי להתנקש בשגרירם בתוניס ואנשי אש"פ שהיו מעורבים בדו-שיח עם ארה"ב. הידיעות התייחסו לנסיונות מצד גורמים לוביים אך לאחר מכן הסתבר שהיו גורמים סוריים.

ד. אש"פ מאד חושש מנציגים מקומיים בשטחים הואיל והם מהווים ערעור לסמכותו, ולכן מתנגד לבחירות. סיפר שפיילס חוסייני היה אמור להופיע בקונגרס בפני ועדת המילטון, אך אש"פ עמד על כך שחוסייני יופיע בלוויית נביל שעת' בלבד, ולכן העניין לא יצא אל הפועל.

ה. להערכתו, ספק רב אם תושבי השטחים יהיו מוכנים לפתוח במו"מ' ישיר עם ישראל בלי הסכמתו של אש"פ ולכן הדו-שיח בין ארה"ב לאש"פ מיועד ללחוץ על על אש"פ בהקשר זה.

ו. מוברק אמור להגיע לווינגטון ב-30/31 למרץ וחוייין יגיע לאחר רה"מ' שמיר. לדעתו, עצם נכונותו של חוייין להגיע לווינגטון הוא צעד חיובי לאור המתיחות שהיו בין המלך לבין ארה"ב בתקופה האחרונה.

ז. הביע תקווה שרוה"מ' שמיר יגיע לארה"ב עם הצעות מוחשיות לגבי פתרון הבעיה בשטחים, ומקווה שביקור שה"ח ארנס תרם לכך.

נאו' מ.  
ע/ש

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המחשבים.  
אלה

הם

הם: המחשבים, המחשבים, המחשבים, המחשבים, המחשבים, המחשבים, המחשבים, המחשבים

יוצא

בלמס

חוזם: 3,15975

אל: ני/720, לונדון/368

מ-: המשרד, תא: 210389, זח: 1329, דח: ב, סג: בל

תח: א גס: ארבבל

נד: א

נ.מ. \ \*0\* \ 216.04

בלמס/בהול

קשדן-לונדון.

דע: נאו'ם

יוניפיל - הריגת 3 אירים.

1. להלן מיחידת הקישור לכוחות זרים:

'היום (21) 09:40 נהרגו 3 חיילי אוס אירים כתוצאה מעלית משאית או'ם על מוקש דרומית מזרחית לברעשית'.

2. אלוף פקוד צפון הציע ליוניפיל עזרתנו ככל שתידרש.

3. בקירבת מקום האירוע נמצאת עמדה של צדל ואפשר להניח שהמוקש הונח ע'י כוחות מקומיים העוינים לצד'ל במטרה לפגוע בחייליו. לתשומת לבכם שמדובר באפשרות סבירה אך לא ודאית.

ארבל 2

רש





דתיקות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פברוק	2 קד:
סוג: ג ל י		104 כתוב:
תאריך ושם הנכנס:		אל:
פס' פברוק:		עד:
מס' הדף: 522		כאמ:

SEN. KASTEN: They made the statements and we began a dialogue. The question is, do those statements have any meaning? The question is, can they be saying one thing in public statements and doing another thing in action? And I'd like, if I could, to get your ideas here in terms of the parameters. What are the circumstances in which we would say, "We've had it. No more. We're not talking any more with you"? What kind of guidelines do we have?

And let me first of all say in terms of terrorism -- well, let me first of all say, there are a list of statements that Arafat has made that in effect contradict some of the statements that he made at our request in the press conference in December. He has taken positions that, although he said he was renouncing terror, in effect has still not accepted the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Has he in fact accepted unequivocally Israel's right to resist? We've seen statement of Israel's right to exist. We've seen statements on both sides of some of those issues. Are we

watching every single thing that they say, and when they say something that's off the reservation, we're saying, "Stop"?

SEC. BAKER: Well, I think you asked -- your question was under what circumstances would we consider we'd have to take a second look at the -- at the process we are now involved in -- that is, the dialogue. And I think we would have to take a second look if somehow there was a clear denial of Israel's right to exist, if there was a -- if there was a resort to terrorism by Arafat and the elements of the PLO which he controls or has the ability to control. I think if we saw either of those things, clearly we would want to -- we would have serious questions about continuing the dialogue.

Let me say that the dialogue is not an end in and of itself. We think it could be useful only if it can lead to constructive moves toward furthering the peace process. So, that's the purpose of it, and that's the way we would -- I think that's the -- that's the circumstances under which we would consider terminating it.

תפוסה:

לתיבות: מ 7 ד 7	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 3
סוג: 7 7 7	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 15
תאריך ושפת תעבור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
מספר: 522		פאת:

SEN. KASTEN: Well, Mr. Secretary, let me just take a couple of specific examples. He talked about the efforts of recognizing the Israel, the other kinds of things. And then, not long afterwards, when we started talking -- or certain Palestinian leaders starting talking about the possibilities of dialogue with Israel, possibilities of working toward at least some discussions, the Arafat response called for 10 bullets in the chest of Major Freaj of Bethlehem when he started discussing the possibilities of working with Israel. I don't think that that's consistent with the public statements that he made. I don't think that the continued uprising is consistent, the violence. And I don't think the continued border crossings, the continued terrorists infiltrating from Lebanon are consistent.

And specifically, what are your rules? I mean, we're trying to encourage a dialogue, I would assume, between modern Palestinians and the people in Israel.

SEC. BAKER: That's right.

CHAIRMAN LEAHY: And we want to -- we want to work that. Now, 10 bullets in the chest, to the mayor doesn't work in that direction. How are we going to -- where are we going to go from where we are?

SEC. BAKER: Well, we're going to continue for the time being the dialogue, Senator Kasten,

to see if we can, as I say, make tangible progress in a way that would contribute to peace in the Middle East, until we see some clear renunciation of the principles which he very clearly embraced when he made that statement, principles that the United States had been saying for 13 years: "If you say these things, we will talk to you. If you do not say them and mean them -- if you say them and mean them, we'll talk to you. If you don't say them and mean them, we won't." And it was going on for 13 years. Now, we will apply our judgment to whether or not he recants any of those or whether or not he departs from his renunciation of terrorism, and we'll have to look at the facts and circumstances; probably we'll have to look at facts and circumstances in the aggregate.

תפוצה:

דתיפות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 4
סוג: ג ל ר י		כתוב: 14
תאריך וזמן תעור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דף:
מספר:		פאת:
522		

I think that, with respect to terrorism, you can get all sorts of different arguments about the appropriate definition of the term, what does it constitute when it's directed, for instance, against military targets; when it's military to military, can it be terrorism? I thought that, frankly, when we lost 250 Marines in their sleep in Lebanon, that was terrorism, even though those were military personnel. But I don't think you can put -- I don't think you can tie this all up in a very neat little definitional package.

SEN. KASTEN: Well, Mr. Secretary --

SEC. BAKER: Terrorism is terrorism, and I think we'll -- I think we will know it when we see it.

SEN. KASTEN: I believe that we ought to demand that Arafat eliminates the policy of the so-called "armed struggle." I think that we ought to take into consideration the violent demonstrations, the rock-throwing, the Molotov cocktails, arson, that whole group. I think we also ought to demand that he support West Bank elections for talks with Israel. We ought to have them end this policy of intimidation that I spoke about with the "ten bullets in the chest" to Mayor Freaj. I think we ought to be demanding these things, and I think they ought to be part of the overall dialogue and the parameters in order to continue these discussions.

SEC. BAKER: That would be, of course, adding conditions that we had not had for a period of 12 or 13 years with respect to initiating a dialogue.

We are, Senator Kasten, as you probably know, trying to encourage concrete steps on the ground, in the area, that would tend to defuse tensions, that would tend to create a better atmosphere, that might ultimately help us get the parties into direct negotiations. That's, after all, the only way we're going to ultimately see peace in the Middle East, is if we have Israelis and Palestinians talking to each other.

תפוצה:

דחופות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: 5
סוג: ג ל ו י		כתוב: 14
תאריך ושם חשור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דצ:
תעודת:		
522		כאת:

SEN. KASTEN: I just hope that some of the ideas and concepts that I've expressed here are included in this ongoing dialogue; but that's what I'm trying to say.

SEC. BAKER: There have to be --

SEN. KASTEN: The actions have to match the words.

SEC. BAKER: Senator, let me just say this, though. There has to be, if you're going to make progress toward peace in this very -- with respect to this very, very intractable problem, it's our view that you ought to start on the ground. There ought to be a series of mutually reciprocal and reinforcing steps. Both sides need to take some steps. We've made the point that we don't think that now is the time to go out here and have a big high-visibility, high-level international conference, as many people around the world, quite frankly, are suggesting. We think there needs to be some steps taken on the ground. Some of the things you mentioned might well be steps that could be taken on that side of the equation. But there have to be some steps taken on the other side as well.

פ. ל. ט. י. ס. לאחר שנים של תביעה לאפשר יציאת יהודי בריה"מ אני מגיעים למצב שבו באפריל יאזל המימון לקליטת פליטים, ברומא תקועים פליטים ואנו נאלצים לסרב ל-18%-16% מהמרוויינים (לעומת 2%-3% בעבר). הסנטורים לייחי, קנדי, קסטן, דמאטו ומיקולסקי הגישו הצעת חוק שתאפשר מימון לבעייה המיידית של פליטים. לדברי קנדי הועדה המשפטית מוכנה להעלות, בהתייעצות עם הממשל את מספר הפליטים מ-25 אלף ל-50 אלף. מהעמדת הממשל (התייחס גם לבקשת הממשל ל-100 מיליון \$).

בייקר - חזר על דבריו בביהנב"ח: נעשית בדיקה כללית. ביקשו Supplemental ל - 100 מיליון \$ לשתיא 1989.

תפוצה:

דף: 6	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דתיקות: מ י ד י
כתובת: 104	טופס פרוק	סוג: ג ל י
אל:		תאריך וזמן חבירה:
דע:		כס' פרוק:
פאת:		חשוד: 522

ספקטור - התייחס לאשיים ולטרור ולדורי בייקר בביתחב"ח בנושא מוי"מ בין ישראל לאשיים.  
לאחר מכן הצטרף גם ליהי :

SEN. SPECTER:

Mr. Secretary, let me talk to you now about the subject of the PLO and terrorism, and the very difficult questions which are raised in the Mideast peace process. And I'm sorry if I missed some of the discussion. I know you were talking about it, but I had to be in other committees, and I was on the floor briefly.

I note a quotation attributed to you in this morning's [Washington] Post to this effect, quote: "It is an element of our policy to promote direct negotiations which can be meaningful between Israelis and Palestinians. Now, if you can't have the direct negotiations that are meaningful but do not involve negotiations with the PLO, then I suppose my original answer would cover the question, we would then have to see negotiations between Israelis and representatives of the PLO."

Is that about accurate?

SEC. BAKER: I think so, roughly; yes.

SEN. SPECTER: Okay. The concern that I have is this,

my concern is that the PLO has a record of terrorism, Arafat personally having been involved in the murder of our ambassador in the Sudan back in 1974, many acts involving others -- the Israeli athletes in Munich, involvement in the hijacking of the Achille Lauro. And one of the things that I think the United States has not done an adequate job on is in telling the world what the facts are about Arafat, so that he is regarded highly in most places in the world, thought of as a diplomat and is accorded great, great respect.

תפוצה:

למיפות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פברוק	דף: 7
סוג: ג ל ג		כתוב: 114
תאריך ושם הנכנס:		אל:
כס' פברוק: תקשירי: 522		דע:
		פאת:

Now we have the situation where Arafat has really shot his way into the bargaining room. He has shot his way into the bargaining room because people are afraid of him. We have the case of Mayor Freaj in Bethlehem. And I had occasion to talk to Mayor Freaj shortly after he had made the proposal that the Intifada ease off and that the Israelis ease off, that there be a cooling off period in the administered territories. And then Arafat made the statement that he would put 10 bullets into the body of anyone who tried to interfere with the Intifada. Now Arafat later denied saying that --

SEC. BAKER: That's right.

SEN. SPECTER: -- and the problem that he found on that case was that there was a tape recording of his statement. And to be precise, he did not identify Freaj by name in the statement, but in the context that it was made, it was clear that the conversation related to Freaj. I had occasion to visit with Mayor Freaj on January 12th, just a few days after the incident occurred, and he was very circumspect in his language, that he wasn't blaming anybody, because he wanted to live the next day. But it was plain that he was scared out of -- scared to death by what had happened.

Now, the object -- I agree with the first part of your statement that I know that this is an extraordinary subject and there aren't any easy answers at all, and the question is whether there are any answers. I realize that. And the goal of having representatives of the Palestinians -- and I think there are many in Israel who are capable of being representatives of the Palestinians to come forward and talk with the Israelis other than the PLO.

SEC. BAKER: Mmm-hmm. (In acknowledgement.)

SEN. SPECTER: But if you say that you want to give the Palestinians a chance to have representation other than the PLO, but if that doesn't work out, then you may have to go to the PLO, then isn't that really an open invitation for the PLO to make sure that the Palestinians never have meaningful negotiations because the PLO will terrorize them?

תפוצה:

דתיפות: מ ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 8
סוג: ג ל י	טופס פברק	כתובת: 14
תאריך וזמן חבור:		אל:
פס' פברק:		דצ:
מספר: 522		פאת:

SEC. BAKER: No, I don't think so. I don't think so at all, Senator. It seems to me that what I've expressed there is the view that it would be -- first of all, you're not going to have peace without direct negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. If that can be accomplished through a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, that would be, of course, a preferred approach but that we ought not to rule out categorically, absolutely and unequivocally consideration of going beyond that if it's necessary to move toward peace in the Middle East. That's all I said and that's what I mean and that seems to me to be an eminently reasonable position to take.

SEN. SPECTER: But Mr. Secretary, if Arafat and the PLO know that they can move from the wings to center stage, if the other Palestinians do not have fruitful negotiations with the Israelis, isn't that an open invitation for Arafat and the PLO to terrorize the other Palestinians?

SEN. BAKER: I don't think so Senator, and I didn't say that they, that they would move. But I do think it's important that we simply not categorically, absolutely, totally and completely rule out under any and all circumstances, any dialogue that might lead to peace. I just don't think we ought to do that.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I would agree with the generalization except that I would disagree with the context that you were quoted yesterday and as you say, that's about what you said, where we know that the PLO engages in acts of terrorism and if they have an incentive to stop the other negotiations between the Palestinians -- let me ask you this --

SEN. BAKER: Look at what's happened with -- those negotiations have led to the situation that we now are experiencing in the occupied territories, Senator, which is, I'm sure you would agree, a total unsatisfactory result for all parties.

תפוסה:

דמיפות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 9
סוג: ג ל ג	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 14
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
המספר:		פאת:
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SEN. SPECTER: Well, I agree, but if a man like Mayor Freaj sticks his head up, and he doesn't get shot down because the bullet misses, and then he won't put his head up again, what incentives are there for Palestinians to come to talk to the Israelis if the PLO will take over if they fail?

SEN. BAKER: Let me simply repeat your words when you posed the question. You're quite right, this is a very -- this is an extraordinarily difficult area, a very intractable situation, and my view is that we ought to explore all reasonable means that might move us in the direction of peace and that we could be faulted if we did not.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, you and I agree on that statement. We just may disagree on what's reasonable. Let me ask you one final question and that is, if the PLO engages in terrorism to discourage other Palestinian representation, would that then rule out the PLO as an acceptable negotiator in your opinion?

SEN. BAKER: I will decline to do for you what I declined to do for Senator Kasten, and that is try and define in each and every circumstance under hypothetical cases when we might or might not break off our dialogue. We can't do that because there are definitional problems and

if the PLO resorted to terrorism, failed to keep their commitment to renounce terrorism, it would be an occasion for the United States to break off its dialogue.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I -- I can understand the difficulties in defining it, as you articulate it. I think it is a little different when you come to the question of what the United States would say about PLO representation if they, in fact, caused the vacancy by shooting their way into the --

SEN. BAKER: I think what -- I guess what I'm saying is I would decline to speculate on hypotheticals. We'd have to address those questions as and when they occurred.

תפוצה:

דתיקות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פברוק	דף: 10
סוג: ג ל ג י		כתוב: 14
תאריך וזמן העבר:		אל:
כס' פברוק:		דף:
תפסרד: 522		פאת:

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I appreciate what you have said before about the State Department, about the range PLD terrorism. I think -- I think you're on the right track. I know you inherited the policy of talking to the PLD. And I believe these discussions are very good because they have an exchange of ideas as to what we think and what policies we would ask you to consider.

SEC. BAKER: You know, Senator, if I may just say one other thing, I've seen a lot of foreign leaders during the course of the past seven or eight weeks, all of whom would really like to see the United States move a bit more aggressively in this area, toward the support of some high-level, high-visibility international conference or other -- or other initiative in the Middle East. And it's been my constant reply to them that we really believe that we ought to do whatever we can to improve the atmosphere on the ground first, see if we can improve the atmosphere so that we might ultimately get to a position where negotiations could take place. Some people fault that as too low-key an approach and so forth, but that, nevertheless, is the approach that we have -- that the President has opted to pursue. And frankly, we were pleased this morning to see that approach endorsed, at least for the time being, by one of the lead editorials in one of our nation's major newspapers.

So, this is what we're trying to do, and we really ought to -- we really ought to at least be willing to explore every reasonable avenue that could move the process forward.

SEN. SPECTER: Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN LEAHY: Thank you.

Mr. Secretary, just for a moment on this last subject. I do agree with your unwillingness to go into

תפסרד: 7

דתיפות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	קרי: 11
סוג: ג ל י	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 104
תאריך וזמן תגובה:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
תעודת: 522		כאת:

each and every hypothetical on this or any other touchy subject of that nature. I also appreciate your willingness though, expressed willingness to you and your department to keep us generally briefed on what's going on.

You know, it's my impression in discussions with people in the Middle East and people who are far more expert on the Middle East than I, that the United States is about the only country that really has credibility with all the parties over there -- the Arab world and with the Israelis. And more and more you're going to find the United States looked to for a solution. You talk about speaking with other world leaders, say, "Why aren't you moving aggressively?" and so on and I think that that's a natural reaction because they see us as in the pivotal role.

Whatever solution we come out with, or whatever solution we're willing to recommend and ultimately of course, the individual countries are going to have to decide whether they accept it or not, well, whatever we suggest is going to be a workable solution, it's going to be also in many aspects, an unpopular solution. If there's an easy and popular solution, it would have been grabbed long before you and I even got to this discussion and a whole lot of people would be considering themselves, rightly so, national heroes, for having come up with that. But there isn't any.

And, so what we're going to need, whatever recommendations you make, it's going to have to have broad US support. That means the administration is going to have to be behind it and the Republican and Democratic leadership in the Congress is going to have to be behind it. I cannot think of any that is going to really work over there on a recommendation from this country if some of the parties, inimical to each other, think that we're are splitting apart and whatever support there is here because then they'll divide and conquer routine work. Also, in the countries involved, even within the governments of the countries involved and I think especially of Israel, the one democracy there, the government

תגובה:

דתיקות: מ' ד' י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 12
סוג: ג' ל' י	טופס פרוק	פתוח: 14E
תאריך וזמן העבודה:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
תפסרד: 522		כאת:

is going to have to make recommendations that's going to be unpopular in their own country and unpopular within their own government. And to get the kind of cover necessary, they're going to have to point to some pretty solid support here in the United States.

I admit that I'm probably stating the obvious, but I would hope that all of us would realize that maybe there is a real opportunity now for the United States to move forward in that kind of recommendation. But it works only if we're united on it. And then some of the leaders, political leaders, not only in Israel, but in other countries involved, can take steps that they might not have been able to take otherwise, if they could point to that solid backing here. If they can't point to it, maybe I'm being overly pessimistic, but I don't think that they'll do anything at all.

ספקטור קרא למעורבות יתר של מוגראק בתהליך השלום .

The funding for Israel and Egypt is not conditioned, but the statement of law says this, that "it is the sense of the Congress that the recommended levels of assistance for Egypt and Israel are based in great measure on their continued participation in the Camp David Accords and upon the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty."

There are frequently calls made for suggestions to Israel, let's not call it pressure, let's call it suggestions. I think that there might be more suggestions usefully made to the Egyptians and to President Mubarak. When he first came to the United States in 1982 after succeeding President Sadat, it seemed to me that he was a lot more outgoing when he addressed a group of senators in 5-207. And I've had occasion to get to know President Mubarak and to observe him, and I think generally he is a very strong ally of the United States and has done some very good work.

תפוסה:

דתיפות: 0171	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	13 : זר
סוג: 171		14 : מתוק
תאריך ושפת הכותר:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		57 :
הפסרד: 522		פאת:

In his efforts to bring Egypt back into the Arab fold, he has made that, I think, clearly his highest priority. And I don't quarrel with that. I think that's in Egypt's interest, I think it helps the United States, I think it helps Israel, and it's very good for Egypt to be on solid ground with the other Arab States. But I believe, Mr. Secretary, that there is more that President Mubarak could do in this process. And in talking to him, and also talking to King Hussein, they are recognizing the PLO at this time. But it seems to me that they are not --

SEC. BAKER: Wait, I'm sorry, I didn't understand what you just said. They are what?

SEN. SPECTER: Recognized -- the PLO - and they are pressing the PLO as the spokesman for the Palestinians. And as my prior line of questions and discussion with you suggested, I have grave concerns that that's going to work out in the long run. Listen, whatever works, so be it. If it's acceptable to the parties involved, we are making suggestions from a great distance and I think they ought to be viewed as suggestions only and not pressure. Ultimately, the Palestinians and the Israelis will have to work it out.

But I just wanted to make this one suggestion to you: that I believe that President Mubarak could -- I'm sure he could do a great deal more and I think he might be inclined to do more. When the Egyptian Ambassador was recalled from Israel in 1983, he made a commitment to return the Ambassador within one to two weeks in June and he didn't follow up for a very long time because of his own reasons. And there was some very strong support from the United States for President Mubarak to do that. And my own sense is that he could be much more of a forceful player there. And where you have very substantial foreign aid and you have it with a reference on sense of the Congress, it seems to me that that is an issue that

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דחיפות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	זרף: 14
סוג: ג ל ר י		סתיו: 14
תאריך וזמן הגור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסלד: 522		פאת:

is worth talking about. And there are many of us who do talk to him about that and I just wanted to call that to your attention because I believe that he could well be the key to unlocking new doors in the Mid-East.

נושאים נוספים שעלן בשימועים: הצעת אובי בביהנבי"ח, אנגולה, ועדת הלסינקי, מדיניות כלפי אמרכ"ז, אלסלבדור (בחירות), האיטי, פנמה, הרעב בסודאן, פליטים, קמבודיה, סמים, בנות הבית וחלוקת נטל שווה.

אוראל ורנאי פכניקר  
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה:



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(1)

# Jewish groups show support for Israel

## Meeting of solidarity opens in Jerusalem

By Mary Curtius  
Globe Staff

JERUSALEM - More than a thousand leaders of world Jewish organizations gathered in Jerusalem yesterday for a three-day meeting designed to show their unwavering support for Israel.

"The physical presence of Jewish leaders here sends a message that we're supporting the Israeli government and people," said Malcolm Hornlein, executive director of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations.

That is the message Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir hopes to take with him to Washington next month, when he holds his first round of talks on prospects for Middle East peace with the Bush administration.

"In view of the recent developments in the Middle East, there is an urgent need to strengthen the relationship of solidarity between Israel and all Jews around the world," Shamir wrote in the invitation he extended last month to 1,400 Jews.

"The government of Israel expects the entire Jewish people to stand at Israel's side in its quest for peace, security and prosperity, which are vital to the very existence and development of the world's one and only Jewish state."

Hornlein and Seymour Reich, chairman of the Conference of Presidents, said that the Jewish leaders coming to Jerusalem are

not here to endorse specific policies but to show a general commitment to Israel and the government's search for peace. Both said the conference should allay any suspicions that there is a split between world Jewry and Israel.

"There have been some differences," Reich said. "The 'who is a Jew' issue created friction, created tension. . . . There has been anxiety in the West" over Israel's handling of the Intifadah. "If a prime minister can give an assurance of moving forward, it is appropriate for world Jewry to come and listen."

"I don't expect Shamir to unveil any peace plan to this conference," Reich said in an interview. "I expect him to bring a peace initiative to Washington."

Shamir is scheduled to meet Bush in the first week of April. The prime minister will carry with him a proclamation from this conference stating world Jewry's support for Israel and the country's search for peace, as well as its resistance to pressure from outside governments.

Shamir is on the record as opposing any further territorial concessions by Israel, as opposing any talks with the Palestine Liberation Organization and as favoring limited autonomy as the solution to the Palestinian uprising in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Some prominent Jewish figures said they decided to stay away from the solidarity con-

ference for fear that their presence would imply support of Shamir's positions. But most mainstream leaders came.

stay away from the conference. **Jacmi Aviad, a member of Peace Now, a grass-roots Israeli group, said that the organization had decided against a counterdemonstration outside the convention hall where the conference will be held.**

The group fears that the gathering will be interpreted as a rubber stamp of Shamir's policies, **Aviad said. "But I just couldn't bear standing outside again, looking so small against such a big gathering," he said.**

mir's Likud bloc. Gur is a member of the center-left Labor Alignment that shares power with Likud in the unity government.

Labor and Likud have carefully divided the chairmanship of committees that will meet to discuss various issues at the conference, so that each party has an equal number of committee chairs. Key ministers from both parties will address the plenary sessions and study groups.

Hornlein said that only a few "fringe elements" had opted to

"How could you refuse such an invitation?" said David Clayman, Jerusalem office director of the American Jewish Congress. Clayman said that leaders of the congress hesitated before agreeing to come but were convinced of the bipartisan nature of the conference when two Cabinet ministers, Ehud Olmert and Mordechai Gur, were named to organize the meeting. Olmert is a member of Sha-

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נאו"ס. דע: שג. ווש.

יוניפיל.

(א) להלן דו"ח יחידת הקישור לכוחות זרים:

סיכום מפגש אלוף פצ"ן - מ. יוניפיל. 12 במרס 89

1. המפגש נערך בלשכה אלוף פצ"ן, עפ"י בקשת מ. יוניפיל בעקבות חקירת אבל-א-סקי ב-7 במרס 89.

2. מפקד יוניפיל:

(א) הביע צערו על האירוע, בו נחסמה דרכו של כח צה"ל ובעקבותיו סגר האלוף את המעברים. ציין שהאירוע הוא תוצאה של בעיות בתקשורת.

(ב) יחסי צה"ל-יוניפיל צריכים להתבסס על החלטות מועבי"ט, שאחת מהן היא חופש התנועה והפעולה של יוניפיל בשטח הפעולה שלו.

(ג) לדבריו נעשו הסכמים עם גנרל הגלונד, לפיהם מאחר ואבל-א-סקי, מהווה מפקדת הגדוד הנורווגי, יש הגבלות על כניסת צה"ל וצד"ל אליו (אמר כי בדק זאת באופן אישי). ציין כי ביקש תקציב ממטה האו"ם בניו יורק להוצאת המפקדה מהכפר.

(ד) האירוע החל בבקשה של הנורווגים שלא להכנס ברכב צבאי לכפר אך האירוע יצא משליטה במהירות. טען כי יוניפיל מקפיד לקיים הסכמים (נזרק רמז כאילו צה"ל לא מקיים).

3. האלוף:

(א) חייל צד"ל שנמצא אשם בהריגת החייל האירי, הורחק משורה צד"ל.

(ב) צה"ל לא הסכים מעולם ולא יסכים בעתיד להוצאת אבל-א-סקי מחוץ לתחום עבודתו.

צה"ל לא יסבול הפרעות לחופש התנועה שלו ברצועת הבטחון, ויגיב על ארועים דומים בחקיפות.

(ג) לא חתם על שום הסכם, אינו מכיר הסכם כזה. שודאי אינו רישמי ומבחינתו לא קיים. (סא"ל גליק הוסיף שאין לדון בהסכמים כאלה, לאור הצהרותיו והתנהגותו של המג"ד הנורווגי לאחרונה).

(ד) יוניפיל משתף פעולה עם ארגונים מזוינים אחרים, אך צד"ל אינו זוכה ליחס הוגן.

(ב) בהתייחס לטענת המג"ד הנורווגי כי צה"ל לא עושה מספיק לטובת האוכלוסייה המקומית ציין כי ישראל השקיעה כספים רבים בצד"ל ואל ליוניפיל להתהדר בתואר מגן האוכלוסייה המקומית ע"ח צה"ל.

4. סיכום כי קיימי הקישור משני הצדדים ידונו בהקדם ביחסי העבודה בגיזרה הנורווגית.

2  
זהו עד כאן / א/ארהא מ'א'א מ'א'א / ה'א'א א'א'א 2 א'א'א  
ח'א'א מ'א'א'א א'א'א מ'א'א'א



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הערם ארב"ל 2: לגבי טיעון מפקד יוניפיל ביחס ל"הגבלות" על חנועה  
צה"ל וצד"ל ראו מברקנו מ-5/2 (נר 1012 לנאו"ם ונר 1014 לוושנינגטון)  
שהחיס לטיעון דומה של גולדינג. בסיכום שהושג בפגישה דרגי עבודה של  
צה"ל ויוניפיל ב-4/9/87 אין הגבלות על חנועות צה"ל "שגרירות"  
במסגרת "פעילות מבצעית" בגזרה הנורווגית.

ב) דו"ח מפקד היחידה רצ"ב.

ארב"ל 2  
אריה טנא  
20 במרץ 1989

fj/2

יחידת  
 לכוונות  
 סל'  
 סמ'  
 יב' אדר ב'  
 19 מרץ

הקישור  
 וריס  
 5205  
 2640  
 תשמ"ט  
 1989

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3

לוח תפוצה

הנדון: דו"ח פגישה עם מפקד יוניפי"ל ב-16.3.89

1. ב-16.3.89 נפגשתי לפגישה בארבע עיניים עם מפקד יוניפי"ל - Lt. Gen. Wahlgren, עפ"י בקשתו. השיחה ארכה כשעה.

2. להלן עיקרי הדברים:

א. התייחס לפעילות שיוניפי"ל עושה למנוע חדירת רד"ל לכנון וציין שהוא שוקל לצייד חלק מגדודי יוניפי"ל במכ"מים נגד אדם ובאמצעי ראיית לילה. הדגיש שהצעותיו בנושא נמצאות בבחינה והוא מקווה שיענו בחיוב. העיר שרק חלק מגדודי יוניפי"ל מתאימים להפעיל ציוד מתקדם כזה.

ב. ציין שהגדוד הנורבגי פועל רבות למנוע חדירת גורמים מזויינים לגזרתו. גורמים אלה טוענים שהגדוד פועל באופן חד צדדי נגדם ומתעלם מתנועות צה"ל וצד"ל במרחב. על מנת לבצע את תפקידו בצורה טובה צריך שנהיה לגדוד שליטה על הגזרה. הנושא מחייב תאום ובדיקה עם פצ"ן. ההסכמים הקיימים לגבי תנועת צה"ל וצד"ל במרחב נמצאים כבדיקה בין קישור לאו"מ צפון וק. קישור לצה"ל ביוניפי"ל.

ג. העלה את שאלת ההדדיות ביחס יוניפי"ל כלפי גורמים לבנוניים מקומיים והיותו שלו לצד"ל. טען שהוא מנוע ע"י החלטות חועבי"ט לקיים קישור עם צד"ל אך הוסיף שלמרות זאת מתקיימים קשרים ומתבצע תאום.

ד. ציין מס' פעמים במהלך השיחה את עניין הירי הכלתי מבוקר של גורמים בצד"ל לעבר עמדות יוניפי"ל וכוחותיו במרחב. מקרי הירי ללא כל סיבה לעבר עמדות או"מ הם רבים ולמרות "הגורם האנושי" הקשור לאיכות חיילי צד"ל ובעיתיות הפיקוח עליהם, הנושא מהווה בעיה חמורה.

*[Handwritten signature]*

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ה. ציין שהבין מאלוף פצ"ן שחייל צד"ל שירה והרג חייל אירי לאחרונה הורחק מהכח אך הוסיף שהוא שמע מגורמים מקומיים שלא כך הדבר והחייל נשאר בשרות העיר שהוא מקווה שמה ששמע מאלוף פצ"ן, נכון - עניתי שלמיטב ידיעתי החייל אכן הורחק מצד"ל.

ו. העלה את נושא הפגיעה בשני החיילים הנורבגים ע"י ירי טנק צה"ל והתעניין האם הגורמים האחראים אכן עמדו לדיון, ציין שגורמי האו"ם בניו-יורק מתעניינים בכך. עניתי שלמיטב ידיעתי הם אכן הועמדו לדיון.

ז. ציין שטוחח לאחרונה עם גורמים באמל וציין לפניהם את מקרי החדירה הרבים דרך שטחם לאחרונה, והדגיש לפניהם את הנוק הצפוי בעקבות החדירות לתושבי הדרום, והוא מקווה שהמטר נקלט.

ח. לקראת סיום דבריו ציין, חצי בבדיחות הדעת, שהוא "ישלח לי חשבון" על הנוק שנגרס לרק"מ של הגדוד הנורבגי בתקרית האחרונה עם טנק צה"ל והוסיף שאקבל על כך דווח בכתב.

4/4

  
חיים מפקד  
יפרח - תא"ל  
היחידה



דתיקות: מיד	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	2
סוג: גל		כתוב: 104
תאריך וזמן תגובה:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
מספר:		כא:
522		

SEN. KASTEN: They made the statements and we began a dialogue. The question is, do those statements have any meaning? The question is, can they be saying one thing in public statements and doing another thing in action? And I'd like, if I could, to get your ideas here in terms of the parameters. What are the circumstances in which we would say, "We've had it. No more. We're not talking any more with you"? What kind of guidelines do we have?

And let me first of all say in terms of terrorism -- well, let me first of all say, there are a list of statements that Arafat has made that in effect contradict some of the statements that he made at our request in the press conference in December. He has taken positions that, although he said he was renouncing terror, in effect has still not accepted the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Has he in fact accepted unequivocally Israel's right to resist? We've seen statement of Israel's right to exist. We've seen statements on both sides of some of those issues. Are we

watching every single thing that they say, and when they say something that's off the reservation, we're saying, "Stop"?

SEC. BAKER: Well, I think you asked -- your question was under what circumstances would we consider we'd have to take a second look at the -- at the process we are now involved in -- that is, the dialogue. And I think we would have to take a second look if somehow there was a clear denial of Israel's right to exist, if there was a -- if there was a resort to terrorism by Arafat and the elements of the PLO which he controls or has the ability to control. I think if we saw either of those things, clearly we would want to -- we would have serious questions about continuing the dialogue.

Let me say that the dialogue is not an end in and of itself. We think it could be useful only if it can lead to constructive moves toward furthering the peace process. So, that's the purpose of it, and that's the way we would -- I think that's the -- that's the circumstances under which we would consider terminating it.

תפוסה:

דמיפות: מ 7 ד 7	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 3
טווח: 7 1 7 א	טופס פברוק	סתיו: 15
תאריך וזמן תגובת:		אל:
פס' פברוק:		57:
מפיקר:		
522		פאת:

SEN. KASTEN: Well, Mr. Secretary, let me just take a couple of specific examples. He talked about the efforts of recognizing the Israel, the other kinds of things. And then, not long afterwards, when we started talking -- or certain Palestinian leaders starting talking about the possibilities of dialogue with Israel, possibilities of working toward at least some discussions, the Arafat response called for 10 bullets in the chest of Major Freaq of Bethlehem when he started discussing the possibilities of working with Israel. I don't think that that's consistent with the public statements that he made. I don't think that the continued uprising is consistent, the violence. And I don't think the continued border crossings, the continued terrorists infiltrating from Lebanon are consistent.

And specifically, what are your rules? I mean, we're trying to encourage a dialogue, I would assume, between modern Palestinians and the people in Israel.

SEC. BAKER: That's right.

CHAIRMAN LEAHY: And we want to -- we want to work that. Now, 10 bullets in the chest, to the mayor doesn't work in that direction. How are we going to -- where are we going to go from where we are?

SEC. BAKER: Well, we're going to continue for the time being the dialogue, Senator Kastan,

to see if we can, as I say, make tangible progress in a way that would contribute to peace in the Middle East, until we see some clear renunciation of the principles which he very clearly embraced when he made that statement, principles that the United States had been saying for 13 years: "If you say these things, we will talk to you. If you do not say them and mean them -- if you say them and mean them, we'll talk to you. If you don't say them and mean them, we won't." And it was going on for 13 years. Now, we will apply our judgment to whether or not he recants any of those or whether or not he departs from his renunciation of terrorism, and we'll have to look at the facts and circumstances; probably we'll have to look at facts and circumstances in the aggregate.

תפוצה:

לתיבות: מ י ד י	סגירות ישראל / אוסינגטון	דף: 4
פנוג: ג ל ו י	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 14
תאריך וזמן חבור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דף:
מספר:		כא:
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I think that, with respect to terrorism, you can get all sorts of different arguments about the appropriate definition of the term, what does it constitute when it's directed, for instance, against military targets; when it's military to military, can it be terrorism? I thought that, frankly, when we lost 250 Marines in their sleep in Lebanon, that was terrorism, even though those were military personnel. But I don't think you can put -- I don't think you can tie this all up in a very neat little definitional package.

SEN. KASTEN: Well, Mr. Secretary --

SEC. BAKER: Terrorism is terrorism, and I think we'll -- I think we will know it when we see it.

SEN. KASTEN: I believe that we ought to demand that Anafat eliminates the policy of the so-called "armed struggle." I think that we ought to take into consideration the violent demonstrations, the rock-throwing, the Molotov cocktails, arson, that whole group. I think we also ought to demand that he support West Bank elections for talks with Israel. We ought to have them end this policy of intimidation that I spoke about with the "ten bullets in the chest" to Mayor Freaj. I think we ought to be demanding these things, and I think they ought to be part of the overall dialogue and the parameters in order to continue these discussions.

SEC. BAKER: That would be, of course, adding conditions that we had not had for a period of 12 or 13 years with respect to initiating a dialogue.

We are, Senator Kastan, as you probably know, trying to encourage concrete steps on the ground, in the area, that would tend to defuse tensions, that would tend to create a better atmosphere, that might ultimately help us get the parties into direct negotiations. That's, after all, the only way we're going to ultimately see peace in the Middle East, is if we have Israelis and Palestinians talking to each other.

תפוסה:

דתיפות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל/ווישינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: 5
סוג: ג ל ר י		פתוך: 14
תואר וזמן תגור:		אל:
פס פרוק:		ד: 57
תפקיד:		
522		פאת:

SEN. KASTEN: I just hope that some of the ideas and concepts that I've expressed here are included in this ongoing dialogue; but that's what I'm trying to say.

SEC. BAKER: There have to be --

SEN. KASTEN: The actions have to match the words.

SEC. BAKER: Senator, let me just say this, though. There has to be, if you're going to make progress toward peace in this very -- with respect to this very, very intractable problem, it's our view that you ought to start on the ground. There ought to be a series of mutually reciprocal and reinforcing steps. Both sides need to take some steps. We've made the point that we don't think that now is the time to go out here and have a big high-visibility, high-level international conference, as many people around the world, quite frankly, are suggesting. We think there needs to be some steps taken on the ground. Some of the things you mentioned might well be steps that could be taken on that side of the equation. But there have to be some steps taken on the other side as well.

ד. פ. ל. י. ט. י. ס. לאחר שנים של תביעה לאפשר יציאת יהודי בריה"מ אני מגיעים למצב שבו באפריל יאזל המימון לקליטת פליטים, ברומא תקועים פליטים ואנו נאלצים לסרב ל-16%-18% מהמרוויינים (לעומת 2%-3% בעבר). הסנטורים לייחי, קנדי, קסטן, דמאטו ומיקולסקי הגישו הצעה חוק שתאפשר מימון לבעייה המיידית של פליטים. לדברי קנדי הועדה המשפטית מוכנה להעלות, בהתייעצות עם הממשל את מספר הפליטים מ-25 אלף ל-50 אלף. מהעמדת הממשל (התייחס גם לבקשת הממשל ל-100 מיליון \$).

בייקר - חזר על דבריו בביהנבי"ח: בעשית בדיקה כללית. ביקשו Supplemental ל - 100 מיליון \$ לשתיא 1989.

תפוצה:

דתי: 6	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דתי: 6
פתוך: 104		דתי: 6
אל:	דתי: 6	דתי: 6
דע:	דתי: 6	דתי: 6
פאת:	דתי: 6	דתי: 6

ספקט - התייחס לאשים ולטרור ולדברי בייקר בביתנב"ח בנושא מו"מ בין ישראל לאשים.  
לאחר מכן הצטרף גם ליהי: -

SEN. SPECTER:

Mr. Secretary, let me talk to you now about the subject of the PLO and terrorism, and the very difficult questions which are raised in the Mideast peace process. And I'm sorry if I missed some of the discussion. I know you were talking about it, but I had to be in other committees, and I was on the floor briefly.

I note a quotation attributed to you in this morning's [Washington] Post to this effect, quotes: "It is an element of our policy to promote direct negotiations which can be meaningful between Israelis and Palestinians. Now, if you can't have the direct negotiations that are meaningful but do not involve negotiations with the PLO, then I suppose my original answer would cover the question, we would then have to see negotiations between Israelis and representatives of the PLO."

Is that about accurate?

SEC. BAKER: I think so, roughly; yes.

SEN. SPECTER: Okay. The concern that I have is this,

my concern is that the PLO has a record of terrorism, Arafat personally having been involved in the murder of our ambassador in the Sudan back in 1974, many acts involving others -- the Israeli athletes in Munich, involvement in the hijacking of the Achille Lauro. And one of the things that I think the United States has not done an adequate job on is in telling the world what the facts are about Arafat, so that he is regarded highly in most places in the world, thought of as a diplomat and is accorded great, great respect.

תפוצה:

יחידות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	זר: 7
סוג: ג ל ר י	טופס פבוק	כתוב: 14
תאריך ושכח מעור:		אל:
פס' פבוק:		דע:
תקשירי:		
522		פאת:

Now we have the situation where Arafat has really shot his way into the bargaining room. He has shot his way into the bargaining room because people are afraid of him. We have the case of Mayor Freaj in Bethlehem. And I had occasion to talk to Mayor Freaj shortly after he had made the proposal that the Intifada ease off and that the Israelis ease off, that there be a cooling off period in the administered territories. And then Arafat made the statement that he would put 10 bullets into the body of anyone who tried to interfere with the Intifada. Now Arafat later denied saying that --

SEC. BAKER: That's right.

SEN. SPECTER: -- and the problem that he found on that case was that there was a tape recording of his statement. And to be precise, he did not identify Freaj by name in the statement, but in the context that it was made, it was clear that the conversation related to Freaj. I had occasion to visit with Mayor Freaj on January 12th, just a few days after the incident occurred, and he was very circumspect in his language, that he wasn't blaming anybody, because he wanted to live the next day. But it was plain that he was scared out of -- scared to death by what had happened.

Now, the object -- I agree with the first part of your statement that I know that this is an extraordinary subject and there aren't any easy answers at all, and the question is whether there are any answers. I realize that. And the goal of having representatives of the Palestinians -- and I think there are many in Israel who are capable of being representatives of the Palestinians to come forward and talk with the Israelis other than the PLO.

SEC. BAKER: Mmm-hmm. (In acknowledgement.)

SEN. SPECTER: But if you say that you want to give the Palestinians a chance to have representation other than the PLO, but if that doesn't work out, then you may have to go to the PLO, then isn't that really an open invitation for the PLO to make sure that the Palestinians never have meaningful negotiations because the PLO will terrorize them?

תפוצה:

דף: 8	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	לתיבות: מ י ד י
כתובת: 14E	טופס פרוק	סוג: ג ל ג י
אל:		תאריך וזמן חכור:
דע:		פס' פרוק:
פאת:		מקשרי: 522

SEC. BAKER: No, I don't think so. I don't think so at all, Senator. It seems to me that what I've expressed there is the view that it would be -- first of all, you're not going to have peace without direct negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians. If that can be accomplished through a dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, that would be, of course, a preferred approach but that we ought not to rule out categorically, absolutely and unequivocally consideration of going beyond that if it's necessary to move toward peace in the Middle East. That's all I said and that's what I mean and that seems to me to be an eminently reasonable position to take.

SEN. SPECTER: But Mr. Secretary, if Arafat and the PLO know that they can move from the wings to center stage, if the other Palestinians do not have fruitful negotiations with the Israelis, isn't that an open invitation for Arafat and the PLO to terrorize the other Palestinians?

SEN. BAKER: I don't think so Senator, and I didn't say that they, that they would move. But I do think it's important that we simply not categorically, absolutely, totally and completely rule out under any and all circumstances, any dialogue that might lead to peace. I just don't think we ought to do that.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I would agree with the generalization except that I would disagree with the context that you were quoted yesterday and as you say, that's about what you said, where we know that the PLO engages in acts of terrorism and if they have an incentive to stop the other negotiations between the Palestinians -- let me ask you this --

SEN. BAKER: Look at what's happened with -- those negotiations have led to the situation that we now are experiencing in the occupied territories, Senator, which is, I'm sure you would agree, a total unsatisfactory result for all parties.

תפס 75

לתיבות: מדי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 9
סוג: גל	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 14
תאריך ושכח העור:		אל:
עם פרוק:		דע:
התעוד:		כאת:
522		

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I agree, but if a man like Mayor Freed sticks his head up, and he doesn't get shot down because the bullet misses, and then he won't put his head up again, what incentives are there for Palestinians to come to talk to the Israelis if the PLO will take over if they fail?

BEN. BAKER: Let me simply repeat your words when you posed the question. You're quite right, this is a very -- this is an extraordinarily difficult area, a very intractable situation, and my view is that we ought to explore all reasonable means that might move us in the direction of peace and that we could be faulted if we did not.

BEN. SPECTER: Well, you and I agree on that statement. We just may disagree on what's reasonable. Let me ask you one final question and that is, if the PLO engages in terrorism to discourage other Palestinian representation, would that then rule out the PLO as an acceptable negotiator in your opinion?

SEN. BAKER: I will decline to do for you what I declined to do for Senator Kasten, and that is try and define in each and every circumstance under hypothetical cases when we might or might not break off our dialogue. We can't do that because there are definitional problems and

if the PLO resorted to terrorism, failed to keep their commitment to renounce terrorism, it would be an occasion for the United States to break off its dialogue.

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I -- I can understand the difficulties in defining it, as you articulate it. I think it is a little different when you come to the question of what the United States would say about PLO representation if they, in fact, caused the vacancy by shooting their way into the --

SEN. BAKER: I think what -- I guess what I'm saying is I would decline to speculate on hypotheticals. We'd have to address those questions as and when they occurred.

תפוצה:

שג'רירות ישראל / ווסינגטון	דף: 10
טופס פרוק	פתוך: 14
זמניות: מ י ד י	אל:
סוג: ג ל ג	דע:
תאריך וזמן העבר:	פאת:
כס' פרוק:	
הפסיד: 522	

SEN. SPECTER: Well, I appreciate what you have said before about the State Department, about the range PLO terrorism. I think -- I think you're on the right track. I know you inherited the policy of talking to the PLO. And I believe these discussions are very good because they have an exchange of ideas as to what we think and what policies we would ask you to consider.

SEC. BAKER: You know, Senator, if I may just say one other thing, I've seen a lot of foreign leaders during the course of the past seven or eight weeks, all of whom would really like to see the United States move a bit more aggressively in this area, toward the support of some high-level, high-visibility international conference or other -- or other initiative in the Middle East. And it's been my constant reply to them that we really believe that we ought to do whatever we can to improve the atmosphere on the ground first, see if we can improve the atmosphere so that we might ultimately get to a position where negotiations could take place. Some people fault that as too low-key an approach and so forth, but that, nevertheless, is the approach that we have -- that the President has opted to pursue. And frankly, we were pleased this morning to see that approach endorsed, at least for the time being, by one of the lead editorials in one of our nation's major newspapers.

So, this is what we're trying to do, and we really ought to -- we really ought to at least be willing to explore every reasonable avenue that could move the process forward.

SEN. SPECTER: Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN LEAHY: Thank you.

Mr. Secretary, just for a moment on this last subject. I do agree with your unwillingness to go into

תפוסה:

דתיקות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	ק"י: 11
סוג: ג ל ג	טופס פברק	כתובת: 104
תאריך וזמן תגובה:		אל:
כס' פברק:		ד"ר:
תאריך: 522		פאת:

each and every hypothetical on this or any other touchy subject of that nature. I also appreciate your willingness though, expressed willingness to you and your department to keep us generally briefed on what's going on.

You know, it's my impression in discussions with people in the Middle East and people who are far more expert on the Middle East than I, that the United States is about the only country that really has credibility with all the parties over there -- the Arab world and with the Israelis. And more and more you're going to find the United States looked to for a solution. You talk about speaking with other world leaders, say, "Why aren't you moving aggressively?" and so on and I think that that's a natural reaction because they see us as in the pivotal role.

Whatever solution we come out with, or whatever solution we're willing to recommend and ultimately of course, the individual countries are going to have to decide whether they accept it or not, well, whatever we suggest is going to be a workable solution, it's going to be also in many aspects, an unpopular solution. If there's an easy and popular solution, it would have been grabbed long before you and I every got to this discussion and a whole lot of people would be considering themselves, rightly so, national heroes, for having come up with that. But there isn't any.

And, so what we're going to need, whatever recommendations you make, it's going to have to have broad US support. That means the administration is going to have to be behind it and the Republican and Democratic leadership in the Congress is going to have to be behind it. I cannot think of any that is going to really work over there on a recommendation from this country if some of the parties, inimical to each other, think that we're are splitting apart and whatever support there is here because then they'll divide and conquer routine work. Also, in the countries involved, even within the governments of the countries involved and I think especially of Israel, the one democracy there, the government

תפוצה:

דתיקות: מ י ד י	12 שגרירות ישראל/ווישינגטון	דף: 12
סוג: ג ל ר י	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 14F
תאריך נדפן הנכור:		אל:
כפי פרוק:		דע:
תקשורת: 522		פאת:

is going to have to make recommendations that's going to be unpopular in their own country and unpopular within their own government. And to get the kind of cover necessary, they're going to have to point to some pretty solid support here in the United States.

I admit that I'm probably stating the obvious, but I would hope that all of us would realize that maybe there is a real opportunity now for the United States to move forward in that kind of recommendation. But it works only if we're united on it. And then some of the leaders, political leaders, not only in Israel, but in other countries involved, can take steps that they might not have been able to take otherwise, if they could point to that solid backing here. If they can't point to it, maybe I'm being overly pessimistic, but I don't think that they'll do anything at all.

ספקר קרא למעורבות יתר של מובראק בתהליך השלום .

The funding for Israel and Egypt is not conditioned, but the statement of law says this, that "it is the sense of the Congress that the recommended levels of assistance for Egypt and Israel are based in great measure on their continued participation in the Camp David Accords and upon the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty."

There are frequently calls made for suggestions to Israel, let's not call it pressure, let's call it suggestions. I think that there might be more suggestions usefully made to the Egyptians and to President Mubarak. When he first came to the United States in 1982 after succeeding President Sadat, it seemed to me that he was a lot more outgoing when he addressed a group of senators in 5-207. And I've had occasion to get to know President Mubarak and to observe him, and I think generally he is a very strong ally of the United States and has done some very good work.

תפוצה:

דתיפות: מ י ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 13
סוג: ג ל י	טופס מברק	מתוך: 14
תאריך וזמן חנינה:		אל:
פס' מברק:		דף:
מספר: 522		פאת:

In his efforts to bring Egypt back into the Arab fold, he has made that, I think, clearly his highest priority. And I don't quarrel with that. I think that's in Egypt's interest, I think it helps the United States, I think it helps Israel, and it's very good for Egypt to be on solid ground with the other Arab States. But I believe, Mr. Secretary, that there is more that President Mubarak could do in this process. And in talking to him, and also talking to King Hussein, they are recognizing the PLO at this time. But it seems to me that they are not --

SEC. BAKER: Wait, I'm sorry, I didn't understand what you just said. They are what?

SEN. SPECTER: Recognized -- the PLO - and they are pressing the PLO as the spokesman for the Palestinians. And as my prior line of questions and discussion with you suggested, I have grave concerns that that's going to work out in the long run. Listen, whatever works, so be it. If it's acceptable to the parties involved, we are making suggestions from a great distance and I think they ought to be viewed as suggestions only and not pressure. Ultimately, the Palestinians and the Israelis will have to work it out.

But I just wanted to make this one suggestion to you: that I believe that President Mubarak could -- I'm sure he could do a great deal more and I think he might be inclined to do more. When the Egyptian Ambassador was recalled from Israel in 1983, he made a commitment to return the Ambassador within one to two weeks in June and he didn't follow up for a very long time because of his own reasons. And there was some very strong support from the United States for President Mubarak to do that. And my own sense is that he could be much more of a forceful player there. And where you have very substantial foreign aid and you have it with a reference on sense of the Congress, it seems to me that that is an issue that

תפוצה:

דחילות: מ ד י	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	זק: 14
סוג: ג ל י		מתוך: 14
תאריך וזמן העבר:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דצ:
הפס'ד: 522		פאת:

is worth talking about. And there are many of us who do talk to him about that and I just wanted to call that to your attention because I believe that he could well be the key to unlocking new doors in the Mid-East.

נושאים נוספים שעלן בשימועים : הצעת אובי בביהנביח, אנגולה, ועדת הלסינקי, מדיניות כלפי אמרי"ז, אלסקבדור (בחירות), האיטי, פנמה, הרעב בסודאן, פליטים, קמבודיה, סמים, בנוח הבית וחלוקת נטל שורה.

אריאל ורנאי פנקסר  
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה:

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שמו

חוזם: 3,15063

אל: 728/וש

מ-: המשרד, תא: 200389, זח: 1439, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: א גס: צפא

נד: א

שמו/מיידי

ע.ב.ש. 4894

ורנאי.

המורשה ווקסמן. שלכם 447.

1. להלן הפגישות שנקבעו עבורו:

שהב'ט - 29 דנא, שעה 11:00 בירושלים.

שר האוצר - 28 דנא, שעה 16:00 (אין אפשרות אחרת).

רה'מ - 28 דנא 8:45.

2. מנסים לארגן את הפגישה עם התיאום בשטחים וד'ר טולצ'ינסקי

ל- 29 דנא, לפני פגישתו עם שהב'ט.

3. מנסים ככל האפשר לתאם תוכניתו עם תוכניתם (החדשה) של

עוזרי ועדת הבריאות.

מצפ'א

רש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, רב'ב, מאור

6406

משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

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שמור

\*\* יוצא \*\*  
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חוזם: 3,14333

אל: ני/ 643

מ-: המשרד, תא: 190389, חז: 1307, דח: ר, סג: שמ

תח: גס: ארבל

נד: ג

שמור/רגיל

בין.

שיחת שה'ח - מזכ'ל. שלך 526.

א. לפי אמצעי התקשורת (ראה קטעים המועברים בנפרד) המצטטים דובר האו'ם הושמעה מפי המזכ'ל 'מעין מחאה' בעניין יוניפיל.

ב. מוזר שדובר האו'ם הרשה לעצמו להביא דברים כאלה מתוך שיחה 'בארבע עיניים'. יש להניח שיד גולדינג בדבר ומשאירים לשיקולך כיצד לטפל בנושא בהזדמנות קרובה.

ג. מבינים מתוך דיווחך שנושא גולדינג, כפי שהצעת בשלך 241 מה-8, לא הועלה.

מנהל ארבל 2

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, שהבט, ברנע, ארבל2, ליאור, מזח'ים, סייבל, משפט

5406

מסמך זה נשמר בצ"ח עד 30/09/2010



-שמור-

אל: רה"מ  
המנכ"ל  
מזכיר הממשלה

מאת: אריה מקל

שיחה עם פרופ' פרד באליצר

הנ"ל פרופ' מקליפורניה, יהודי, רפובליקני ובעל קשרים טובים בממשל. שימש יועץ בממשל ריגן - תחת "פיקודו" של לין נופציגר. הוא גם בעל קשרים מסחריים ופוליטיים טובים במדינות שונות במזרח הרחוק, ושימש תקופת מה כשגריר ארה"ב בברונאי. להלן דעותיו ועצותיו:

1. הנשיא בוש איננו מעוניין לטפל עתה בענייני חוץ רציניים והממשל לא ערוך לכך, אך הוא נדחף לכך ע"י דעת הקהל, המיתקפה ההסברתית של אש"ף וכו'. בוש היה שמח אילו סיפקנו לו עובדות משכנעות שהיו מונעות ממנו את הצורך לעסוק עכשיו ברצינות בבעיות המזה"ת.

2. על רה"מ להדגיש בביקורו בשיחות עם בוש את ערכה האסטרטגי של ישראל כידידה האמיתית היחידה של ארה"ב במזה"ת, (באליצר הגיש לי מיסמך רחב היקף שכתב בנושא זה). יש להגיש "ניירות" משכנעים בנושא זה גם ליועצים קרובים לנשיא. יש לומר לנשיא שהדיאלוג ארה"ב - אש"ף מחליש את יחסי ארה"ב - ישראל, ומכך ניבנים רק הסוב'.

3. ישראל צריכה לשאוף לברית רשמית (FORMAL ALLIANCE TREATY), עם ארה"ב ולא להסכים לשום ויתורים נוספים בנושא הפלש' ללא ברית כזו. יש לקדם את שתה"פ האסטרטגי עוד יותר ולהציע לאמר' עוד BASING RIGHTS.

4. הקונגרס חזק כיום יותר מן המימשל. יש לשים דגש על תדרוכים לחברי קונגרס נבחרים, משתי המפלגות. גם להם יש להסביר את חשיבותה של ישראל כבעלת ברית אסטרטגית. אין למתוח באוזניהם בקורת על הנשיא, ועם זאת יש לזכור שחברי קונגרס מחפשים חומר כדי לנגח את המימשל. רצוי לעודד את סאם נאן, ג'סי הלמס, פיט ווילסון מקליפורניה ואחרים לדבר בפומבי על חשיבותה של ישראל מבחינה אסטרטגית.

5. אסור לעורר ציפיות מופרזות ולהבטיח דברים שלא נוכל לקיימם. עדיף לעזוב את ווש' עם כמה BAD FEELINGS מאשר לפגוע בעוצמת היחסים. החיפוש בכל מחיר אחר "הרמוניה לטווח קצר" ייצור "בעיות בטווח הארוך".

#### 6. אישים במימשל וסביבו:

א. סגן הנשיא קוויל - מאוד ידידותי. בעל צוות עוזרים מעולה ובראשם ביילי קריסטל (יהודי, הבן של ארווינג קריסטל), וקארן לורדס - יועץ לבטחון לאומי.

ב. שר המיטחר מוסבכר - מאוד מקורב לנשיא. אגרסיבי. אומר לנשיא את אשר על ליבו, ללא כחל וסרק.

ג. DON KOLL - איש עסקים מקליפורניה. מאוד מקורב אישית לנשיא. (היה איתו בסוויטה במלוננו בדאלאס כשציפה לתוצאות הבחירות). מעוניין לבקר בארץ - וכדאי להזמין.

ד. יהודים: בניגוד לריגן - אין לבוש ידידים יהודיים. גורדון זקס וג'רי ווינטראוב אינם מקורבים באמת.

7. בטכס כדאי שמארחי רה"מ יהיו פיל גראס, לוויד בנטסן ומושל טכסס - קלמנס. לג'ים רייט - יש עתה בעיות של "אתיקה" בקונגרס.

8. תקשורת: גוברת והולכת חשיבות כלי התקשורת המקומיים (טלוויזיה ועיתונים), ורצוי שרה"מ ו/או עוזריו יקדישו מזמנם גם לתדרוכים של גורמים אלה, בביקורים בערים השונות.

בברכה

אריה מקל

סודי

יוצא \*\*

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חוזם: 3,12760

אל: וווש/626, לונדון/298, פריס/403, בון/305, קנברה/171

מ-: המשרד, תא: 160389, זח: 1544, דח: ר, סג: 10

תח: 8 גס: אפסוק

נד: 8

סודי/רגיל

טיבט

א. הדלאי למה שיגר מברק לרוה'מ בו הוא 'כותב בין היתר אני חייב לבקש עזרתך כדי לשים קץ להפרות זכויות האדם המתמשכות בטיבט וכדי לעודד ממשלת סין למצוא פתרון של שלום באמצעות מו'מ'.

ב. מניחים כי המברק שוגר גם לראשי המדינה בארץ כהונתכם. התוכלו לבדוק ולהודיענו האם וכיצד מתכוונים להשיב.

מא'ס

רש

תפ: ממנכל, איר, 1, איר, 2, בנצור, מצפא, הדס, אוקיאניה

6400

FORMAS יחידת הסיוע בצ"ח ס"ר 1984

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משרד החוץ-נוחלקת הקשר

14097

תאריך : 18.03.89

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סודי

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חוזם: 3,14097

אל: המשרד

מ-: נר, 352, תא: 130389, זח: 1400, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: @ גס: מזתים

נד: @

מידי/סודי

אל: מצרים

מאת: נאום'- יששכרוף

הדחתו של חסן עיסא.

1. במהלך שיחתי עם אבול גהייט ביום ו' (10/3) שעליה דיווחתי בנפרד (נר 330) הלה התייחס לפרשה הנ'ל.

2. אבול גהייט ציין שבעת שיחות מדיניות מהסוג שהיו בנושא טאבה, נציג משרד החוץ המצרי אינו רשאי ליצור כל משבר בשיחות אלא לפי הנחיות מפורשות של הממונים עליו. לדבריו, חסן עיסא יצר תקרית דיפלומטית שלא בהתאם להנחיותיו, ובעיתוי גרוע ביותר לקראת סיכום חיובי של השיחות.

התנהגות זו של עיסא הצביעה על כך לממוניו, שהוא אינו אמין בביצוע הנחיות והוא עלול גם לנהוג כך במקרים אחרים, ולכן הודח. אבול גהייט בהתייחסו לפרשה לא ניסה כלל להצדיק את עיסא.

נאו'מ.

פא



17

דחיפות: רגיל	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: 1
סוג: שמור		כתוב: 3
תאריך ודפן חבול: 15.30 - 17.3.89		אל: מצפ"א
פס' פרוק: הפסד:		דע:
487		פאת: לשכת השגריר

עשור להסכם השלום

ראו-נא ברכות הנשיא בוש וחנשיא לשעבר קרטל לרגל ארוע שמארגן הבונדס בשגרירות לציון העשור.

י.  
לשכת השגריר

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תפוצה: 36 + מאות

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 15, 1989

487

2/3

I am pleased to join in commemorating the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel.

Signed by Menachem Begin and Anwar Sadat -- two statesmen so different in background, yet so alike in courage and goodwill -- this historic treaty proved that peace can be brought to even the most troubled areas through negotiation.

Today, my Administration is committed to building on the foundation of these great leaders. As we celebrate the extraordinary achievement of ten years ago, we must also recognize the challenges that remain. Our greatest tribute to those whose strength and vision made the 1979 Peace Treaty a reality is to continue their work.

The United States will continue to play an active role in the search for lasting peace in the Middle East, realizing that great results can be won through patience, diplomacy and perseverance. This anniversary is a moving reminder that peace is possible -- and worth our every effort.

*George Bush*



JIMMY CARTER  
March 22, 1989

487 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>3</sub> 1

To the State of Israel Bonds

Rosalynn and I are pleased to send our warm regards to each of you attending this very important event. We are glad that the tenth anniversary of the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty is being remembered in this special way. I know that the State of Israel Bonds has been an important link between Americans and the State of Israel and has played a major role in developing a modern infrastructure which has made possible Israel's tremendous economic and social progress over the past four decades.

The Camp David Accords have been one of the most integral components for continued talks between belligerent nations in the Middle East. It is my firm belief that the peace agreement signed ten years ago by President Anwar Sadat, Prime Minister Menachem Begin and me can be the foundation for renewed peace talks in the Middle East. My hope is that the peace treaty can convince future Arab, Israeli, American and other world leaders of the benefits of continued negotiations.

It is gratifying to know of the positive impact that this treaty has had in our world's history. Rosalynn joins me in sending you our warm best wishes as you observe and celebrate this significant anniversary.

I would also like to acknowledge the major role that Meir Rosenne, the President of State of Israel Bonds, played in making the Camp David Accords a reality.

Sincerely,

The State of Israel Bonds  
710 Broadway  
New York, New York 10003



461  
2/3

# 4/3 PLO aide: U.S. must accept Palestinian right to a state

PLO / from 1A

the first time that Chairman Yasser Arafat's moderate Fatah branch of the PLO halted raids from Lebanon into Israel in November to avoid casualties and upsetting peace efforts.

Khalaf, 55, who co-founded Fatah with Arafat and ranks as No. 2 leader in the PLO, said he had read only news reports of Secretary of State James Baker's proposals for Israeli and PLO concessions but "in general opposed the idea."

Baker wants the PLO to order a full halt to cross-border raids and reduce the violence of the Palestinian uprising in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. He wants Israel to free Arab prisoners and relax economic pressures on Palestinians, as "confidence building" measures prior to in-depth peace talks.

Baker submitted the proposals to Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens when he visited Washington this week, and U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia Robert Pelletreau is expected to put them to the PLO at the negotiations next week.

But the U.S. proposals, said Khalaf, involve "details that should be included in substantive peace negotiations. We must start with the important principles, then later we can go on to details."

The key principle, he added, was that although the PLO has accepted Israel's right to exist, Washington rejects the Palestinians' right to self-determination and to establish an independent state on the West Bank and Gaza.

"If they do this, then we can discuss everything else," said Khalaf. "Each step that can lead to peace we will accept. But there must be a state at the end of the road."

"At the meeting next week we're going to put this on the table," he said of the U.S.-PLO talks, the second substantive session since the

Reagan Administration lifted a 13-year-old ban on such talks in December after Arafat accepted Israel's right to exist and renounced terrorism. Four other meetings in Tunis have been largely procedural.

Khalaf's statements underlined the importance of PLO insistence on the recognition of Palestinian rights to independence as a precondition to any peace plan — unless a U.N.-sponsored peace conference can be held, an idea rejected by Israel.

Most European countries have accepted the principle and more than 90 nations have officially recognized the independent state proclaimed by the Palestine National Council, the PLO parliament, in November.

But the Israeli government and most of its citizens remain adamantly opposed to the idea, and Washington has endorsed only Palestinian "political rights," saying that an independent state could pose a threat to Israel.

Khalaf on the other hand welcomed a proposal last week from a top Israeli think tank for direct Israeli-PLO talks over a 10-15 year "transition period" ending, if all goes well, with Palestinian independence.

The plan by the Jaffe Center for Strategic Studies has "very good substance," he said, even though it takes too long and fails to mention the future of 3 million Palestinians living in exile outside the territories.

A former hard-liner who now strongly supports the PLO's recent shift toward moderation, Khalaf said he was "not optimistic" about peace because Bush is off to a "shamefully slow start in setting his Middle East policies."

Referring to his own recent videotaped message to Israel offering direct negotiations, Khalaf admitted that if he had said that three years ago "PLO radicals would have

hanged me. Now almost everyone agrees with what I said."

"But there are PLO extremists and [Moslem] fundamentalists, and they will cause a lot of damage to us and to the world," he warned, unless moderates prove their way is effective "by the end of the year."

On military activities, Khalaf insisted that while the PLO has forsworn terrorism, it has not given up the right to armed struggle against Israel. "We have given no promises to anyone," he said.

But he confirmed that Fatah has stopped infiltration attempts that Israel to avoid disrupting peace efforts. Arafat has been loath to admit this publicly, apparently for fear of further angering his radical critics.

"A true politician is one who chooses the opportune moment," Khalaf said, adding that in any case Israeli border defenses had long ago turned such raids into "suicide operations."

Khalaf dismissed four failed border infiltrations since Nov. 14 by the two radical and pro-Syrian PLO factions — all of whose gunmen were killed — as "attempts to say 'We're Here' and prove their love for Syria."

But he played down the military differences with the Popular and Democratic Fronts for the Liberation of Palestine, saying that far more serious was their opposition to Fatah's moderate policies.

"But we're happy with the differences. That's democracy," he said with a smile.

On Israeli politics, Khalaf said he did not believe that Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has the "leadership qualities" needed to make peace but added that his hawkish Likud Party offers more hope than the dovish Labor Party of Finance Minister Shimon Peres.

"Hawks are always more powerful than doves," he said.

MIA/PAGE 3 OF 5

# PLO presses its demand for homeland

By JUAN O. TAMAYO  
Herald Staff Writer

TUNIS — The PLO's second-highest leader said Wednesday that President Bush must accept the Palestinian right to self-determination before the PLO agrees to new U.S. proposals for easing the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The comments by Salah Khalaf, known as Abu Iyad, augured ill for talks between the United States and the Palestine Liberation Organization, expected next week in Tunis, the first such substantive negotia-

## Islam on the rise / 26A

tions since Bush was inaugurated in January.

In a 70-minute interview at his comfortable Tunis home, Khalaf also said Bush was off to a "shamefully slow" start on the Middle East, and that Israel's rightist Likud Party can make peace better than the moderate Labor.

Khalaf in addition confirmed for

Turn to PLO / 25A

## IN THE WORLD

From Herald Wire Services

### ISRAEL American refusenik ends long ordeal

TEL AVIV — Abe Stolar, a U.S. citizen who was allowed to leave the Soviet Union after living there for 58 years, arrived in Israel with his family Wednesday.

Stolar, a 77-year-old Chicago native, moved with his communist parents to the Soviet Union in 1931. He fought in the Red Army against the Nazis and first applied to emigrate to Israel in 1974 after reading about the Nazi holocaust of European Jews.

and grenades. They were wounded, but no troops were hurt, the army said.

PAGE 2A

### Settlers stake out new West Bank site

TALMON — Jewish settlers drove a mobile home up a hillside through rain and hail Wednesday to stake a new settlement in the occupied West Bank.

In the occupied Gaza Strip, two teen-age Palestinian guerrillas were captured after they infiltrated from Egypt and attacked an Israeli military outpost with a rifle

PAGE 1A

HIA/PAGE 2 OF 5

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אשים - המזכיר ביקור בועדת ההקצבות בביה"ח

רצויב נוסח חילופי הדברים בין קונגרסמן מטמקיו והמזכיר בנושא ההדברות עם אשים.

האיחור בדינוח נובע על רקע ביקור שה"ח. דינוח על עדויותיו של המזכיר בפני ועדת ההקצבות בשני הבטים נעביר בשבוע הבא.

יהודית ורנאי זרנגר.  
יהלל ורנאי זרנגר

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I would hope that you could speak for the administration as a whole in consulting with us and reaching some very difficult decisions. Frankly, what I've found in the past is that each agency in our government defends its own programs in negotiations with us and there is no comprehensive administration view upon which we can rely in terms of making some painful cuts. And, if we do reach that point where it's evident that there are going to be some painful cuts, which I know you would prefer to avoid, I trust that you will be able to speak for the administration and give us some guidance on where the priorities really are most important.

I would like to first ask you about our policy in the Middle East. It's my understanding that at least two very important goals of American foreign policy in the Middle East have been first, to assure a strong and secure Israel and, secondly, to encourage a process of negotiations which would bring the parties in that region together to deal with the underlying political problems which create instability.

I have no doubt that we will, with your support, continue to provide adequate assistance to Israel to assure its strength and security. But, I am concerned about the second goal of our policy. As the Chairman and, I think, you yourself have indicated, there is some dormancy in the political process in the Middle East, specifically around the issue of the Palestinian-Israeli relationship.

In your statement, you indicated that one of your messages to the Soviet Foreign Minister was to encourage the Soviets to promote direct dialogue between the Palestinians and the Israelis. I presume that is an essential part of our own policy. The difficult question, of course, has always been, what Palestinians? Who negotiates for the Palestinians? We have now opened up a dialogue with the PLO, based upon Mr. Arafat's statements of a few months ago. The question is whether our policy includes encouraging direct negotiations between the Israelis and the PLO as a way of getting progress going on the very difficult political issues surrounding both Israeli security, which, of course, is quite legitimate as a concern, and the legitimate interest of the Palestinian people in having some control over their own lives.

SEC. BAKER: Mr. McHugh, first of all, let me say that, as I indicated to the Chairman, clearly if we get to the point -- or when we get to the point, if we're going to get there, that there are going to be reductions from the levels requested, we would want to work very closely with you

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 30-1

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to determine where those reductions would least harm American foreign policy and national security interests. We would very much welcome the opportunity to do that rather than being presented with a fait accompli.

I would hope that we would be able to speak with one voice. It's one of the problems that I have noted upon taking over this job, and we hope and believe that we're not going to have each and every bureau and agency up here lobbying you individually. If we do, and they are State Department bureaus and agencies, you have only to pick up the phone and let me know, and I hope it will stop. I know it will stop overtly and I hope it will stop covertly. If it's obviously where you have the Department of Treasury involved, we will want to work that out, but I have a very close working relationship with the Secretary of the Treasury and I hope we could work those things out so that you would find a focal point within the administration that you could deal with if we ever get to that point. So, thank you for suggesting that.

You're quite right that -- well, your statement of our -- of our policy in the Middle East, I think, is accurate, as I heard it. We, of course, support UN Resolution 242 and 338. We support -- we think those resolutions mean land for peace, and that ultimately, that's the key to peace in the Occupied Territories. We obviously support a strong and secure Israel, and we'll continue to do so, and that is fundamental. At the same time, we have to, I think, respect the rights of the Palestinian people. And we have said many times that we see that peace is not going to be delivered in the Middle East by other parties; it's going to come only from direct negotiations between the parties.

The United States does not oppose an international conference on this matter, although we think an international conference right now might be a bit premature before certain work is done on the ground to improve the atmosphere or to improve the climate. We retain the Reagan administration's policy with respect to an international conference to the effect generally that we would support one that is properly structured at the right time.

You mentioned the Soviet Union. In our discussions with the Soviet Union, we frankly told them we welcomed their interest in the Middle East, and we do.

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This is the most intractable foreign policy problem I'm aware of. It's been there for a long, long time. If we're going to move toward peace, we're going to need the good faith efforts of anybody who can contribute to that process. At the same time, we suggested to the Soviet Union that -- a couple of things they could do by way of concrete steps we thought would contribute to the process. It's not enough just to go to the region and say you want to see peace in the Middle East, and "Let's have a UN Security Council membership-sponsored international conference." That they might start being helpful in a concrete way by normalizing their relations with Israel, by reducing or eliminating their support for some radical elements -- dissident elements, frankly, of the PLO that are headquartered in another country. That they might stop, for instance, their support of radical regimes in the regions such as Libya. But these would be concrete steps that they could take to demonstrate their bona fides. If they did that, we would welcome their assistance and participation in solving this problem.

REP. MCHUGH: Mr. Secretary, my question is, Is it an element of our policy at this stage to promote negotiations directly between the Israeli government and the PLO? I'm not here to defend the PLO or to suggest what our policy should be. Indeed, like most all Americans, I have grave concerns about many of the activities of the PLO. But frankly, each time I've been in the Middle East and talked with Palestinians, they have always said that their sole representative is the PLO, and therefore, if there are to be meaningful negotiations, it must be directly between the PLO and the Israelis.

We are now talking with the PLO in an informal -- or formal dialogue. And my question is whether or not, given the current circumstances in the Middle East, and I think the perception on the part of all of us that negotiations are critically important to promote the political process, is it time for the Israelis and the PLO, or some representatives of the PLO, to discuss together these underlying political problems which are promoting instability at an increasing rate? I think all of us are disturbed by what's happening in the West Bank and Gaza, and I'm not blaming any one party for that, because it's a reflection of the failure of the parties to come to grips in a meaningful way

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with the underlying problems. It seems to me that, despite these difficulties, this is an opportune time to come to grips with these problems, but there has to be negotiations among parties who have the credibility in each of their respective communities.

And my question specifically is: Is it an element of our policy to promote direct negotiations between the Israeli government and the PLO at this time?

SEC. BAKER: It is an element of our policy, Mr. McHugh, to promote direct negotiations which, as you put it, can be meaningful between Israelis and Palestinians. Now, if you can't have direct negotiations that are meaningful, that do not involve negotiations with the PLO, then I suppose my original answer would cover the question: We would then have to see negotiations between Israelis and representatives of the PLO. It may be that you can have meaningful negotiations that do not involve the PLO, it may be that you can't. Our policy -- let me state it one more time -- is simply that we think there needs to be direct negotiations which are meaningful; meaningful direct negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians.

REP. MCHUGH: Based upon your knowledge of the Middle East, are there Palestinians who can conduct negotiations credibly for the Palestinian community, who are not affiliated or supportive of the PLO?

SEC. BAKER: I think that remains to be seen.

REP. MCHUGH: You don't know?

SEC. BAKER: I don't think that -- I don't think that we know at this time, Mr. McHugh; no. I think that several years ago, perhaps there would have been. There are many other questions involved here, of course, and that is what the position of King Hussein might or might not be vis a vis negotiations. So all of these things have to be looked at, and I don't think that you can -- that you can answer that in a -- just a black and white response.

REP. MCHUGH: Well, my time is up, Mr. Secretary. I would be delighted if there were Palestinians who could credibly negotiate for that community who are not PLO representatives or supporters or affiliates. But, frankly, I don't find them in the Palestinian community, and therefore, I'm led reluctantly to the conclusion that if there are to be negotiations that are meaningful, they will have to, in some form, involve the PLO and the Israelis.

SEC. BAKER: We may ultimately conclude that, Mr. McHugh. But right now, our position is that there ought to be direct, meaningful negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians.

ETX



NEA PRESS GUIDANCE

THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1989

Lebanon

465 2/3

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE HEAVY EXCHANGE OF SHELLING AND CONSEQUENT LOSS OF LIFE MARCH 14 IN BEIRUT. THE FIGHTING ILLUSTRATES YET AGAIN LEBANON'S URGENT NEED TO ESCAPE THE DOWNWARD CYCLE OF VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION.

WE URGE ALL SIDES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND TO AVOID CIVILIAN CASUALTIES AT ALL COSTS. WE CALL ON GEN. AWN AND DR. HUSS TO COOPERATE AND COORDINATE DIRECTLY WITH ONE ANOTHER, TO WORK TOGETHER TO RESTORE AND INVIGORATE LEBANON'S LEGITIMATE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. WE CALL ON ALL LEBANESE TO SUPPORT THESE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. THE GOAL WHICH WE STRONGLY SUPPORT AND WHICH ALL PARTIES MUST WORK FOR IS WELL-KNOWN AND HAS NOT CHANGED: THE RESTORATION OF LEBANON'S UNITY, SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WITH THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES AND THE DISBANDMENT OF THE MILITIAS.

(MORE)

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(Lebanon)

THE FIGHTING MARCH 14 THREATENS TO DESTROY THE ARAB LEAGUE'S PEACE INITIATIVE ON LEBANON. THE UNITED STATES ACTIVELY SUPPORTS THIS INITIATIVE, AND ENCOURAGES THE ARAB LEAGUE TO CONTINUE ITS EFFORT. WE CALL ON THE LEBANESE AND ALL OTHER CONCERNED PARTIES TO JOIN IN THIS SUPPORT. THE SUFFERING OF INNOCENT LEBANESE CIVILIANS HAS CONTINUED FAR TOO LONG, AND LEBANON'S PEACE AND STABILITY MUST BE RESTORED.

XXX

END

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אל: יוסי בן-אהרן/מנכ"ל מפרהמ"צ	סיוג: שטר	סיוג: שטר
דע: השגריר רוטינגטון, כנצור / מנכ"ל צפ"א,	תזוז: 192100	מל מכתב:
מאת: ס/הקונכ"ל - ניו-יורק.	0 0546 e 11 114	

**בהול**

ביקור רו"ם,

הוזמנך לשיחתנו להלן הצעותינו לחלקו השני של ביקור רו"ם.

1. א"ב עם אינטלקטואלים בחסות אלי ויזל (לא הכרחי בביתו). קיימת אפשרות גם לקיים אירוע זה בחסות אפמ"י כפי שהיה הביקור שה"ח (אך עם אינטלקטואלים אחרים מאלו שהשתתפו בפגישה עם שה"ח).
2. א"צ או פגישה בשעות אחה"צ עם ה- Foreign Policy Association אירוע זה פתוח לחקטורת בניגוד לאירועים ב- Council Of Foreign Relations. קחו בחשבון כי בפני המועצה הותיע לאחורונה ה"כ בני בגין ושה"ח ארנס.
3. Council Of Jewish Federation ביקשו שרו"ם יופיע בטורניו התכניה הלורין הטלניזיון שלהם והמחברת לטורציות היהודיות ברחבי ארה"ב. חכניה של כ-45 דקות.
4. מוצע לקיים עצרת ישראלים בקויגט קולג' ב-11 באפריל. ההכנות והטיפול ירוכזו על ידי שלוות מטריד הקבועה והרווחה בקונטוליה.
5. עצרת עם בניו-ג'רסי. מצ"ב מכתבו של דוד מלאך מנכ"ל מרדציות מטר-ווסט בניו-ג'רסי - לשיקולכם.
6. פגישה עם נציגי אוצר התורה - בקשתם צורפה למברקי 14 § מט-28 פבר'.
7. הבריקונא התייחסותכם.
8. אירועי חקטורת במרד.
9. גב' שולמית שמיר.
- א. גטיאח ויצו גב' אהליון סומר ביקשה אישור גב' שולמית שמיר להשתתפות בא"צ ב-11 באפריל. איינה כי הוכר אוטר לו עקדוניה.
- מצ"ב חליפת מברקים בגדון. האירוע יקויים בבית של James Cayne

תאריך: שם השולח: אישור:

שה סלמה רחא אהרן אצ"ב אצ"ב אצ"ב

דחופות:	דד: 2 מחן: 7 מועס מברק קשר ניו-יורק
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כטרעייטו פאט וויא ווארחת.  
 ישתתפו כ-100 איט.  
 ה. הבריקו נא אט נקבעו לה חכניות נוספות.

מרדכי יריד

אישור:

שם השולח:

תאריך:

United Jewish Federation of MetroWest  
COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE MEMORANDUM  
60 GLENWOOD AVE. EAST ORANGE, NJ, 07017  
8903-4405

TO: MORDECHAI YEDID, VICE-CONSUL GENERAL  
FROM: DAVID M. MALLACH  
SUBJECT: VISIT TO NEW JERSEY BY PRIME MINISTER  
DATE: March 10, 1989

0 0546 / 114  
3/7

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This memorandum is in response to our conversations about the possible visit of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir to the MetroWest community during his trip to the United States in late March or early April.

We would be very pleased to have the Prime Minister in our community and would make every effort to insure as valuable and meaningful a visit as is possible. Obviously the specific date would affect our plans and would have an impact on the locations and other logistical issues, but I believe that those issues are technical problems which can be worked out without major problems.

The location of the community rally with the Prime Minister would be one of the large synagogues in the Livingston or Short Hills communities. There are three that could accommodate above 2000 people: B'nai Jeshurun, the largest, B'nai Abraham, the most convenient, and Beth Shalom, a backup in case the other two are not available. On the whole all three are available during the first week in April. If the travel to the New Jersey community were to be by helicopter, we could arrange with the West Orange or Livingston police for landing at one of a number of locations. There are police landing sites, there is also a landing site at St. Barnabas Hospital, a good locations for any of the three places mentioned above. This would not be a problem.

We would publicize the rally as broadly as possible in New Jersey, not only in MetroWest. We would invite the Jewish Federation in the region to join us. This would include the United Jewish Community of Bergen County, the Northern Jersey Federation, the Clifton-Passaic Federation, the Central Jersey Federation, and the Greater Middlesex Jewish Federation. We would keep the other ones informed of the plans and invite their members, but realistically, we could not expect significant participation from their membership. My expectation is that we would have a crowd of above 2000 people. We will do all we can to make it as large as possible, and if three thousand attend or more we will be pleased. We see this as a Jewish communal expression of support and solidarity with Israel and would promote it with that theme in mind.

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM: 8903-4405  
VISIT TO NEW JERSEY BY PRIME MINISTER  
March 10, 1989  
Page 2

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With regard to inviting politicians, public figures, etc. we will respond to the suggestions of the Israeli Foreign Ministry. The availability of such public figures will be influenced by the date of the event. From our perspective, we will be very pleased to invite the congressional delegation, the governor, and some other key figures. This will need to be discussed when we confirm that the visit is happening.

The program would essentially be a series of greetings, as short as possible, and the Prime Minister. We would like to have the president of each sponsoring Federation be recognized, and have the representatives of the larger ones say a few words. We would add some comments from the politicians if they are present, an invocation by a prominent local rabbi, singing of Hatikva and Star Spangled Banner, and that would be it. The Prime Minister's speech would be the great majority of the program. We can assume the time would run about one and a quarter hours.

Since this is going to be happening soon, the issue of dates needs to be worked out. The one time that would present a major problem to our community would be Sunday, April 9, 1989. On that day we have a major community celebration planned with a program in place. It would not be possible to have the Prime Minister there as the central feature and it be inappropriate to have him as an "add-on". Some other dates are better or worse, but the choice should be based on the schedule of the Prime Minister.

From a staff point of view, the full resources of our community would be dedicated to the success of such a community event. I would have primary responsibility for the rally, and the shlichim, Yaacov Broder and Yossi Shohat, would be involved in a significant manner.

Please call me to discuss this further to answer any questions that may come up. We look forward to having the Prime Minister of Israel in New Jersey if it can possibly be arranged.

Copies: Ya'acov Broder  
Howard Charish  
Murray J. Laulicht  
Ron Meier  
Yossi Shohat



**THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL  
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION—WIZO**

130 East 59th St. • Suite 4206 • New York, NY 10022

FAX 212-751-6818

Tel. 2

Consultative status  
with ECOSOC United Nations  
Member of UNICEF

PAGE 1 OF 1

BY FAX TO:

0 0546

**PRESIDENT**  
Evelyn Sommer

972-3-258-267

March 3, 1989

**VICE-PRESIDENTS**  
Maya Cohen  
Lea Freund

Michal Modai  
Chairman  
World WIZO Executive  
Tel Aviv, Israel

S/A

**TREASURER**  
Haviva C. Pollak

Dear Michal:

**NATIONAL BOARD**  
Inge Ehrmann  
Dalya Luttwak  
Unda Rosenkranz  
Judy Goldberg  
Alda Kaufar  
Marta Biller  
Sonia Igra  
Jana Fallo  
Susan Shankman

As discussed during the Plenary Meeting, WIZO New York wishes to honor Mrs. Shamir at a luncheon during her April visit to New York.

Please FAX answer immediately, with possible dates.

Sincerely,

Evelyn Sommer  
President

P.S. Michal, as you recall, Mrs. Shamir accepted our invitation to be honored in New York.

Chile  
Colombia

Denmark  
Ecuador  
El Salvador  
Finland

Germany  
Gibraltar  
Great Britain  
& Ireland  
Greece

Guatemala  
Holland  
Honduras  
Italy  
Japan

Jamaica  
Kenya  
Mexico  
New Zealand  
Nicaragua

Norway  
Panama  
Paraguay  
Peru  
Portugal

South Africa  
Spain  
Sweden  
Switzerland  
Trinidad

3 Pages Including This Cover Letter



**THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL  
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION—WIZO**

130 East 59th St. • Suite 1204 • New York, NY 10022

Tel. # 212-751-6461

Fax # 212-751-6818

Consultative status  
with ECOSOC United Nations  
Member of UNICEF

BY FAX TO:  
953-0317

0 0548 / 114

G/A

8 March 1989

**PRESIDENT**  
Evelyn Sommer

**VICE-PRESIDENTS**  
Maya Cohen  
Lea Freund

**TREASURER**  
Haviva G. Poljak

**NATIONAL BOARD**  
Inge Ehrmann  
Dalya Iutwak  
Linda Rosenkranz  
Judy Goldberg  
Aida Kaufner  
Marla Biller  
Sonia Igra  
Jana Fallo  
Susan Shantman

Deputy Consul Mordechai Yedid  
Consulate General of Israel  
800 Second Avenue  
New York, NY 10017.

Dear Deputy Consul Yedid:

After our telephone conversation earlier today,  
I am sending you, by Fax, the correspondence in  
regard to the WIZO event planned in honor of Mrs.  
Shamir.

I will call you tomorrow for dates.

Sincerely yours,

Evelyn Sommer  
President

**WIZO FEDERATIONS:**

Israel	Belgium & Luxembourg	Chile	Denmark	Germany	Guatemala	Jamaica	Norway	South Africa	Uruguay
Argentina	Bolivia	Colombia	Ecuador	Gibraltar	Holland	Kenya	Panama	Spain	U.S.A.
Australia	Brazil	Congo	El Salvador	Great Britain & Ireland	Honduras	Mexico	Paraguay	Sweden	Venezuela
Austria	Canada	Costa Rica	Finland	Greece	Italy	New Zealand	Peru	Switzerland	Zambia
Barbados		Curaçao	France		Japan	Nicaragua	Portugal	Trinidad	Zimbabwe



1982 - חתונות עולמיות  
לנשים ציוניות

WIZO - WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL  
ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

MAR 00 1989

CONSULTATIVE STATUS WITH  
E.C.O.S.O.C.U.N.  
MEMBER OF UNICEF

WIZO FEDERATIONS:

- Argentina
- Australia
- Austria
- Barbados
- Belgium & Luxembourg
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- Canada
- Chile
- Colombia
- Costa Rica
- Cuba
- Denmark
- Dominican Republic
- Ecuador
- Finland
- France
- Germany
- Ghana
- Great Britain & Ireland
- Greece
- Guatemala
- Holland
- Honduras
- Hong Kong
- Israel
- Italy
- Japan
- Jamaica
- Kenya
- Mexico
- New Zealand
- Nicaragua
- Norway
- Panama
- Paraguay
- Peru
- Portugal
- Singapore
- Saudi Arabia
- Spain
- Sweden
- Switzerland
- Taiwan
- U.S.A.
- Uruguay
- Venezuela
- Zaire
- Zimbabwe

0 0548

Ref. 1/981  
6.3.89

0 0548 / 114  
7/7

Mrs. Evelyn Sommer  
President  
WIZO - U.S.A.  
130 East 59th Street  
Suite 1204  
New York - N.Y. 10022  
U.S.A.

Dear Evelyn,

Michal has asked me to reply to your fax.  
She spoke with Mrs. Shulamit Shamir who in principal  
accepts to be your guest during her visit to the  
United States with Prime Minister Shamir.

Unfortunately she cannot at this stage set a date and  
she will only be able to do so prior to her departure.

Michal is currently on vacation and sends her love.

All the best,  
*Dolly*  
DOLLY FAITELSON  
Secretary General  
World Wizo Executive

DF/18

me too!!



דתיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 2
סוג:		כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסלד:		כאת:
2/2 456		

להערכתם 80% מהציבור בישראל יתמוך במהלך כזה. לדבריהם, הציבור מעוניין מספיק לצאת מהמצב הנוכחי כדי לתמוך במוי"מ עם אשי"פ. בסה"כ החרשם ואן דוזן כי החכיים היו חיוביים מאד.

- ב. המילטון בפגש אתמול לשיחה אישית עם נביל ש"ת.
- 1- נושאי השיחה דמו לשיחה עם החכיים והפלסטינים לעיל. אם כי, לדברי ואן דוזן, בפגישה זו דיבר המילטון יותר מאשר בפגישה הקודמת. הבהיר לש"ת שתי נקודות עיקריות: התהליך לא יהיה מתיר. על אשי"פ לעשות יותר.
  - 2- בנוגע למוי"מ אמר ש"ת כי הם גמישים. לדבריו אם הקונטקסט יהיה הגדרה עצמית יהיה קל להשיג הפסקי"ש (הפחתת אלימות) ובחירות. אם יגידו לאוכלוסיה שהגדרה עצמית תתכן רק בעוד 6-7 שנים, יקל לשנות את המצב הנוכחי. בהקשר זה העיר ואן דוזן שברור וידוע שאנחנו מפרשים המינוח של הגדרה עצמית כמדינה פלסטינית עצמאית.
  - 3- החרשמותם משעיית היתה חיובית מאד. ואן דוזן הוא מאד ARTICULATE וקל יותר לדבר עמו מאשר עם ערפת ואחרים באשי"פ, כאדם, וכך גישתו, מרשימים ומעניינים. אינו ארוגנטי גמיש ובטוח בעצמו.
- ואן דוזן סיפר כי ש"ת עגיד להפגש עם ישראלים נוספים בזמן הקרוב.

ובא-ורנאי צונזר.  
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

*E.F.*

תפוצה:

דחיפות:	טופס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	15	דד: מחיר:
סיוג:	מלכ"ס		אל:
תזוח: 171530			
חס מברקי			דע:
0 0537		שג קורנס	מאת:

LESTER POLLACK  
ONE ROCKEFELLER PLAZA  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

March 17, 1989

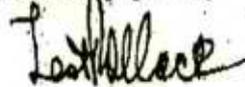
His Excellency, Yitzhak Shamir,  
The Prime Minister of the State of Israel  
The Prime Minister's Office  
2 Kaplan Street  
Kiryat Ben Gurion  
Jerusalem, Israel 91919

Dear Prime Minister:

Only the most imperative family obligation prevents me from attending the Solidarity Conference in Israel next week.

Notwithstanding my physical absence, I wish to be recorded as standing full square with the Government of Israel as the Jewish community in the Diaspora proclaims unity with the State of Israel.

Cordially yours,



Lester Pollack

LP/dks  
cc:Michael Miller  
JCRC

שם השולח:

תאריך:

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including a signature and various numbers and words in Hebrew.

31

296

דחיפות : מידי לבוקר	מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק	דף :	$\frac{1}{2}$
סווג : שמור	טופס מברק	מתוך :	$\frac{1}{2}$
מס' וזמן חבור: 171430		אל :	המשרד
מס' מברק :		דע :	
0 0526 :		מאת :	השגריר-נאו"ם
המסור :			

תיק 206.03&&

אל : מנהל ארב"ל 2.  
דע : סמנכ"ל ארב"ל. שה"ח-כאן.

מאת: יוחנן ביין-נאו"ם.

שיחת שה"ח ארנס-מזכ"ל האו"ם. (17.3)

1. כזכור תוכנן שהשיתה תיפתח בפגישה קצרה בארבע עיניים ולאחריה יתקיים דיון.
2. השיחה בארבע עיניים התקיימה-נמשכה 25 דקות וסוכם עם המזכ"ל ושה"ח כי בזאת מיצו הבעיות ואין צורך בשיחה "פומבית".
3. להלן ראשי פרקים מדיווח שה"ח על השיחה:

המזכ"ל הדגיש שהוא יריד. בכל מקרה ינסה שלא להביך את ישראל, ויפעל תמיו רק כדי לשרת את העניין, המצב במזה"מ לא טוב-דרושה התקרמות לפתרון והוא, המזכ"ל, מקווה שיוכל לסייע. ציין שקיים קשר הדוק ורצוף של חילופי דיעות עימו ועם המזכירות באמצעות נציגו לאו"ם וישמח על כל מסר שיועבר אליו בדרך זו. בשלב זה מתכנן לקיים שיחות אחת לאחת עם כל אחת מהחברות הקבועות במועבי"ט-כל מדינה בנפרד. אינו מקבל את הרעיון של ועדה מכינה, ולכן בחר בדרך זו.

שה"ח הסביר התנגדותנו לועידה בי"ל ואמונתנו בדרך המו"מ הישיר.

המזכ"ל אמר שמבין עמדתנו ובשום אופן אינו חושב על ועידה בעלת סמכויות כפיה. גם הבעיות המולטיטרליות בין המדינות מקשות על ועידה בי"ל. הוסיף כי ברה"מ היא DESPERATE להיכנס למזה"מ.

Handwritten notes in Hebrew:

מס' 171430  
 מס' מברק :  
 מס' 0526  
 המסור :  
 תיק 206.03&&

526 <sup>2</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

שה"ח חזר שוב על עמדתנו-והתירטנו למו"מ ישיר ואמר כי נשמו את המזכ"ל יוכל לסייע כדי להביא הצדדים לשולחן המו"מ הישיר.

המזכ"ל עבר לנושא לבנון וכוחות יוניפי"ל. ביקש כי שה"ח ישוחח עם שר הבטחון במגמה להביא לדגיעה באיזור וריסון צד"ל.

שה"ח הזכיר התבטאותו של המג"ד הנורבגי שהשווה פעילותנו לזו של הנאצים, אך הוסיף כי כללית בישראל השתפרה הדעה לגבי פעילות יוניפי"ל וישנה הערכה לרצונם הטוב ולתיפקודם.

המזכ"ל עבר למצב ביש"ע ולצורך למצוא דרכים כדי למתן האלימות.

שה"ח הסביר הנושא והרגיש כי בעיית מחנות הפליטים היא מרכיב חשוב במצב. יש במחנות רבים המרגישים שאין להם מה להפסיד, ולכן פונים לקיצוניות. העובדה שהמחנות קיימים אחרי 40 שנה, זהו מחול רציני של מדינות העולם ושל הקהילה הבי"ל.

שה"ח הוסיף שפעילות המזכ"ל ואישיותו תרמו רבות לשיפוץ דעת הקהל בארץ כלפי האו"ם. הוא נתפס אישית כידיד וכפועל נאמנה לקידום השלום בעולם.

המזכ"ל הודה והוסיף כי שמע על ביקור רוח"מ שמיר בקרוב וישמח לראותו.

4. לתקשורת אנו מודיעים רק כי היתה שיחה בארבע עיניים לשם הכירות וחילופי דעות על המצב באיזור והורכים לקידום תהליך השלום.

5. נציג אש"פ, טרזי הודיע אתמול על מסיבת עיתונאים באו"ם היום ב-1100 (שעת פגישת המזכ"ל-שה"ח), כשהופיעו עיתונאים היום מצאו על הדלת הודעה כי מסיבת העיתונאים בוטלה...

נאו"ם

שם השולח: יוחנן ביין

תאריך: 17.3.1989



דפי: 2	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דחיפות:
כתוב: 2		סוג:
אל:		תאריך וזמן חבור:
דע:		כס' פרוק: הפסד:
פאת:		437

למדינת ערב שעם חלקן יש להן מערכת יחסים הדוקה וטובה יותר חזו שיש לארה"ב. על ארה"ב ולפי אונת תמיכה) למתן את ישראל.

ז. אשת שיח מעריכת שאנר צפוניים לתתי עצמיות בין ארה"ב ל-12 בנושא המזה"ח. שאיפת ה-12 תהיה להכניס תשומתן לחשיבה האמריקאית.

ח. חזרה מספר פעמים על הצורך לפקוח עין על ברה"מ שעלולת להפתיע בגקיסט יזמשת. בהיעדר מדיניות אמריקאית ברורה אינה מנציאת מכלל אפשרות חגובה אוחדת מצד ה-12 ליזמת טכניקית. אחרי הכל הפער בין עמדות ה-12 לאלו של ברה"מ אינו גדול.

ט. בצד המסידן המוגבל של ה-12 ציינה את בריטניה נרפת כשחקניות עצמאיות בחוקי חברות במדעיטיט.

י. כדי להכניס הנושא לסרנטכסט הנכונ העירה לסינם שדה"י של ה-12 כולל נושאים בוערים שחשיבותם עולה על זו של המזה"ח. הנושא בהא הידיעה המעסיק אותם הוא תמיצרות לקראת 1992. על ה-12 להשקיע מאמץ רב כדי לגשר על שני הפערים בנושא. מתחנם יחסי החוץ ציינה את יחסי מזי-מע' חנר דגש על המצב במזא"ר בנושאים שיזכר לטיסורל אינטנסיבי.

שטיב

תפוצה:

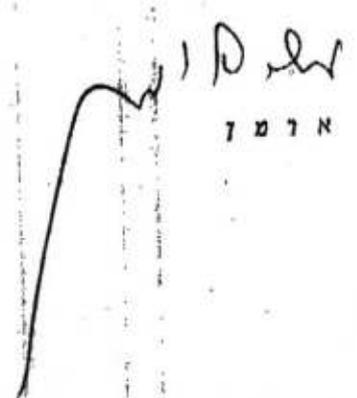
~~252~~  
דגל

דמי פות קגיל	שגדירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: _____
סוג: _____	טופס פרוק	פתוך: _____
תאריך וזמן מעור: _____ 89 מרץ 15 1200	7	אל: לשכת רה"מ
כס' פרוק: _____		דצ: הציר, ציר הסברה - כאן מצפא
מספר: _____		כאת: קונכל, וושינגטון
392		

בקשת אבירי מלטה

לבקשת מונטיפירי לפגישה עם ראש הממשלה, בהשתתפותו ובחשתתפות ראש המסדר קולאקובסקי:  
 להזכיר כי נבצר מראש המסדר לחיפגש עם רה"מ בטקס שחתקדים אשתקד, משום שהטקס היה  
 בירושלים, והאיש זקן וחלש. אני מבין שחוא בקש אישית לאפשר לו את המפגש בהזדמנות  
 בזקרו של רה"מ, הפגס, בארה"ב, כך שאין לראות בקשה זו כסתם בקשה לפגישה חוזרת.  
 הנני ממליץ על היענות חיובית, אם רק ניתן לשבץ הפגישה בתוכניתן של רה"מ.  
 הודיעונו על החלטתכם.

דגל  
אומ



א/כ"ה לקל

הנ"ל  
1  
2

הנ"ל  
3

תפוצה: 3-1

