# מדינת ישראל

## משרדי הממשלה

תאריך

משרד רוה"מ

יועץ מדיני

ארה"ב

22/2/90 - 28/2/90

שם תיק



יחידה

** נכנס סודי
**
**
**

חוזם:3,104
אל:המשרד
יעדים:רהמש/13,מצב/38,מנמת/20
מ-:וש,נר:747,תא:280290,זח:2000,דח:ב,סג:סו
תח:@ גס:צפא
נד:@

לחיין מרכיב
מלל ניין

סודי / בהול לבוקר

אל: סמנכ''ל צפ''א ופר''נ

יועץ מדיני לשה''ח

וע: מנכ''ל ראה''מ

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

שיחת המזכיר עם שר הקליטה הרב פרץ.

היום התקבל שר הקליטה לשיחה קצרה עם מזכיר המדינה.

בייקר אמר ששמח לקבלו. השר פרץ אמר שהוא מודה למזכיר שעל אף טרדותיו הוא הסכים לקבלו והוא רוצה לדווח בקצרה על דברים שעליהם עמד בשיחתו עם רוס (בנפרד). השר אמר שברצונו להודות למזכיר בשם ממשלת ישראל והעם בישראל על מאמציו הבלתי נלאים להוצאת יהודי ברה''מ והבאתם למולדתם בישראל. השר ביקש גם להודות לממשלים, הנוכחי והקודם על כל עזרתם וידידותם לישראל. המזכיר אמר שהוא מודה על כך והזכיר שארה''ב מובילה את המאבק בנושא יהודי ברה''מ וכן גם ממשיך לעשות.

השר פרץ אמר שכשר הקליטה הוא בקיא ברחשיהם של יהודי ברה''מ החשים שהם יושבים על הר געש שעלול להתפרץ והוא מרשה לעצמו לבקש המזכיר להמשיך וללחוץ ללא לאות על הטיסות הישירות ועל כל דרך שתזרז יציאתם של יהודי ברה''מ. המזכיר אישר שאכן כן יעשו.

באשר לעולים וליהודה ושומרון אמר שר הקליטה כי הוא אומר הדברים על דעת ראה"מ ועל דעתו:

א. אין הממשלה מפנה בשום צורה עולים ליהודה ושומרון. מתוך 25 אלף העולים שהגיעו ב-1989 רק 126 פנו לשטחים אלו מתוך רצון להתאחד עם משפחותיהם שם.

ב. ממשלת ישראל נותנת עדיפות ליישוב היהודים בגליל ובנגב. אלו שהולכים ליש"ע אינם מקבלים כל תמריץ כספי.

ג. ממשלת ישראל אשרה לאחרונה בנית 26000 יחידות דיור כדי להקל על קליטת העליה וכל הישובים שבהם יבנו יחידות אלו הם בתחומי הקו הירוק.

בייקר הנהן בחיוב למשמע הסברי השר. בעברו לתהליך השלום אמר שר הקליטה שהוא מודה למזכיר על מאמציו בתהליך השלום. כמי שרוצה בכל לב בהתקדמות התהליך וכמי שמכיר את הזרמים ותתי הזרמים, הוא מבקש שנושא ירושלים לא יעלה עכשיו לדיון כי זה יטרפד את תהליך השלום. ראה"מ שמיר לא ירצה ולא יוכל להראות כמי שמחלק את העיר מחדש ויריביו ינצלו אם יעשה זאת. אם יהיו מגורשים במשלחת הפלשתינאית יוכלו האמריקאים להציג זאת כהישג לערבים ולא צריך לטפל עכשיו בירושלים על מנת שלא לטרפד התהליך.

המזכיר הודה לשר על דבריו ואמר שבחדשים האחרונים ניסה הממשל לעזור לראה"מ לקדם יוזמתו ועתה אנו מצויים בשלב קריטי. הוא מבין שראה"מ יתן תשובתו בקרוב ומאחר והשר מקורב לראה"מ הוא מבקש שיפנה לראה"מ שיתן תשובה חיובית. השאלה שתוצג לראה"מ אינה מחייבת אותו להתיחס כלל לשאלה שהעלה השר פרץ (היינו ירושלים ע.ע). אם אפשר להתקדם מה טוב ואם התשובה תהיה שלילית נגיע למבוי סתום ונאלץ להכריז שהיזמה נכשלה. יהיה זה טוב אם תינתן תשובה חיובית כי עברנו דרך ארוכה ובדיאלוג טמונה תקווה רבה לעתיד. הצלחנו להתגבר על כל המכשולים ובשל הנקודה הזאת נוותר על התהליך. התהליך חשוב גם לישראל וגם לארה"ב. המזכיר ביקש מהשר להעביר דבריו לראה"מ. בסוף השיחה אמר השר פרץ למזכיר כי לעם ישראל זכרון ארוך לידידים והמזכיר יזכר כאחד מהם.

ערן

לב

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

RE: [illegible]
[illegible]

תאריך 01.03.90 104

נכנס ** סודי
**
**
**

חוזם:3,104
אל:המשרד
יעדים:רהמש/13,מצב/38,מנמת/20
מ-:ווש,נר:747,תא:280290,זח:2000,דח:ב,סג:סו
תח:@ גס:צפא
נד:@

ארתר

סודי / בהול לבוקר

אל: סמנכ''ל צפ''א ופר''נ

יועץ מדיני לשה''ח

דע: מנכ''ל ראה''מ

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

שיחת המזכיר עם שר הקליטה הרב פרץ.

היום התקבל שר הקליטה לשיחה קצרה עם מזכיר המדינה.

בייקר אמר ששמח לקבלו. השר פרץ אמר שהוא מודה למזכיר שעל אף טרדותיו הוא הסכים לקבלו והוא רוצה לדווח בקצרה על דברים שעליהם עמד בשיחתו עם רוס (בנפרד). השר אמר שברצונו להודות למזכיר בשם ממשלת ישראל והעם בישראל על מאמציו הבלתי נלאים להוצאת יהודי ברה''מ והבאתם למולדתם בישראל. השר ביקש גם להודות לממשלים, הנוכחי והקודם על כל עזרתם וידידותם לישראל. המזכיר אמר שהוא מודה על כך והזכיר שארה''ב מובילה את המאבק בנושא יהודי ברה''מ וכן גם ממשיך לעשות.

השר פרץ אמר שכשר הקליטה הוא בקיא ברחשיהם של יהודי ברה''מ החשים שהם יושבים על הר געש שעלול להתפרץ והוא מרשה לעצמו לבקש המזכיר להמשיך וללחוץ ללא לאות על הטיסות הישירות ועל כל דרך שתזרז יציאתם של יהודי ברה''מ. המזכיר אישר שאכן כן יעשו.

באשר לעולים וליהודה ושומרון אמר שר הקליטה כי הוא אומר הדברים על דעת ראה"מ ועל דעתו:

א. אין הממשלה מפנה בשום צורה עולים ליהודה ושומרון. מתוך 25 אלף העולים שהגיעו ב-1989 רק 126 פנו לשטחים אלו מתוך רצון להתאחד עם משפחותיהם שם.

ב. ממשלת ישראל נותנת עדיפות ליישוב היהודים בגליל ובנגב. אלו שהולכים ליש"ע אינם מקבלים כל תמריץ כספי.

ג. ממשלת ישראל אשרה לאחרונה בנית 26000 יחידות דיור כדי להקל על קליטת העליה וכל הישובים שבהם יבנו יחידות אלו הם בתחומי הקו הירוק.

בייקר הנהן בחיוב למשמע הסברי השר. בעברו לתהליך השלום אמר שר הקליטה שהוא מודה למזכיר על מאמציו בתהליך השלום. כמי שרוצה בכל לב בהתקדמות התהליך וכמי שמכיר את הזרמים ותתי הזרמים, הוא מבקש שנושא ירושלים לא יעלה עכשיו לדיון כי זה יטרפד את תהליך השלום. ראה"מ שמיר לא ירצה ולא יוכל להראות כמי שמחלק את העיר מחדש ויריביו ינצלו אם יעשה זאת. אם יהיו מגורשים במשלחת הפלשתינאית יוכלו האמריקאים להציג זאת כהישג לערבים ולא צריך לטפל עכשיו בירושלים על מנת שלא לטרפד התהליך.

המזכיר הודה לשר על דבריו ואמר שבחדשים האחרונים ניסה הממשל לעזור לראה"מ לקדם יוזמתו ועתה אנו מצויים בשלב קריטי. הוא מבין שראה"מ יתן תשובתו בקרוב ומאחר והשר מקורב לראה"מ הוא מבקש שיפנה לראה"מ שיתן תשובה חיובית. השאלה שתוצג לראה"מ אינה מחייבת אותו להתיחס כלל לשאלה שהעלה השר פרץ (היינו ירושלים ע.ע). אם אפשר להתקדם מה טוב ואם התשובה תהיה שלילית נגיע למבוי סתום ונאלץ להכריז שהיזמה נכשלה. יהיה זה טוב אם תינתן תשובה חיובית כי עברנו דרך ארוכה ובדיאלוג טמונה תקווה רבה לעתיד. הצלחנו להתגבר על כל המכשולים ובשל הנקודה הזאת נוותר על התהליך. התהליך חשוב גם לישראל וגם לארה"ב. המזכיר ביקש מהשר להעביר דבריו לראה"מ. בסוף השיחה אמר השר פרץ למזכיר כי לעם ישראל זכרון ארוך לידידים והמזכיר יזכר כאחד מהם.

ערן

לב

# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | עמ' 1<br>פתיון: 14 |
| סווג: רגיל | | |
| אל: מצפ"א | | תאריך וזמן הגעה:<br>28 בפברואר 1990 15:00 |
| דע: | | פס' פנוק:<br>הפשרד: |
| מאת: ק. לקונגרס | | 732 |

ביניב : עדות קלי בפני ועדת המשנה לאירופה והמזה"ת

רציב עדותו של קלי בעת השימועים היום (28/2) בפני הועדה. נושא השימועים היה "התפתחויות במזה"ת".
בנפרד חלק השאלות והתשובות.

בכבוד רב
יהודית ודנאל דרנגר.

שתי סיטות בשאלות לגבי סיבל / המלה בחרפב
בלבד לגבי פס' ו' ולגבי בחרבב בחרבב ח"ק לאיר אלון

תפוצה:

2/14

732 2/14

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. KELLY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
BUREAU OF NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

FEBRUARY 28, 1990

732 3/14 3/14

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN. I AM PLEASED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE TODAY. I WILL DISCUSS A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH WEST ASIA SINCE I LAST TESTIFIED BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE IN NOVEMBER. BEFORE GOING INTO THE DETAILS OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A SOMEWHAT LONGER-TERM AND BROADER VIEW BY EXAMINING THE SITUATION IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES TODAY COMPARED TO THE SITUATION JUST A LITTLE OVER A YEAR AGO AT THE START OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION.

OVERVIEW

I DO NOT WANT WHAT I AM ABOUT TO SAY TO BE TAKEN AS TOO OPTIMISTIC. THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH WEST ASIA REMAIN AFFLICTED WITH TENSION. TOO MANY PEOPLE CONTINUE TO DIE IN SENSELESS CONFLICTS AND ACTS OF TERRORISM. IF WE COMPARE THE SITUATION IN THE REGION NOW TO WHAT IT WAS WHEN PRESIDENT BUSH FIRST TOOK OFFICE, WE CAN FIND A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENTS IN WHICH WE CAN TAKE A MEASURE OF SATISFACTION.

THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS WORKED INTENSIVELY WITH OUR FRIENDS IN EGYPT AND ISRAEL TO ADVANCE THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEGUN TO BEAR FRUIT: I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE CLOSER NOW TO CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR AN

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE THAN THAN WE HAVE BEEN SINCE THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN 1948.

LEBANON REMAINS PLAGUED BY INTERNECINE AND INTER-COMMUNAL CONFLICTS, BUT THAT COUNTRY'S PARLIAMENTARIANS WERE ABLE WITH ARAB LEAGUE ASSISTANCE TO MEET LAST FALL AT TAIF, SAUDI ARABIA AND REACH A LANDMARK AGREEMENT WHICH MARKS THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN THAT NATION SINCE 1943.

IN NORTH AFRICA, THE GOVERNMENTS OF MOROCCO, TUNISIA, AND ALGERIA REMAIN STABLE AND U.S. RELATIONS WITH THESE STATES REMAIN GOOD. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES OF THE GULF CONTINUE TO BE SOLID. WE HAVE MAINTAINED A COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAQ AND ESTABLISHED A POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THAT STATE.

PEACE PROCESS

WE REMAIN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS. IN DECEMBER I VISITED ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND DISCUSSED WITH THE LEADERSHIP IN BOTH COUNTRIES OUR EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE. SINCE THE GOVERNMENTS OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL AGREED TO OUR FIVE POINT FRAMEWORK FOR PROGRESS TOWARD AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE, WE HAVE ACTIVELY BEEN AT WORK IN THE EFFORT TO PUT TOGETHER THE DIALOGUE.

SECRETARY BAKER HAS BEEN IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI LEADERS, AND WE HAVE HAD A NUMBER OF SENIOR-LEVEL EXCHANGES WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH COUNTRIES. IN MID-JANUARY, EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ABDEL MEGUID LED A TEAM TO WASHINGTON WHICH, ALTHOUGH FOCUSED ON ECONOMIC MATTERS,

ALLOWED FOR DETAILED DISCUSSIONS OF THE PEACE PROCESS. ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN WAS IN WASHINGTON AT THE SAME TIME AND WE HAD A GOOD EXCHANGE WITH HIM.

IN THESE TALKS, WE URGED MORE RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARD THE DIALOGUE. WE ALSO TRIED TO ADVANCE THE PROCESS DURING ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER AREN'S VISIT HERE LAST WEEK.

OUR BASIC APPROACH REMAINS CONSTANT. WE CONTINUE TO ENDORSE THE ISRAELI CABINET PEACE INITIATIVE OF MAY 14, 1989 AND ARE PURSUING ITS OBJECTIVE OF ORGANIZING ELECTIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, LEADING TO NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS AND FINAL STATUS. AS INDICATED IN OUR FIVE POINTS, WE SEEK, AS A FIRST STEP IN THIS PROCESS, A MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF EGYPT, ISRAEL, AND THE U.S. THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS MEETING IS TO AGREE ON THE DETAILS OF AN ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE ON ELECTIONS, HOW TO GET TO ELECTIONS, THE ELECTION MODALITIES THEMSELVES, AND HOW TO LINK ELECTIONS TO THE BROADER NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THE FIRST SESSION WOULD BE HELD IN CAIRO. THIS TRILATERAL MEETING HAS NOT YET BEEN SCHEDULED, BUT THE TIME IS NOW AT HAND FOR POLITICAL DECISIONS BY THE PARTIES.

IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EGYPTIANS AND THE ISRAELIS, WE ARE DEALING WITH A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT ISSUES, INCLUDING THE COMPOSITION OF A PALESTINIAN DELEGATION FOR THE DIALOGUE. WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING GENERAL CRITERIA FOR DELEGATION MEMBERS WITH BOTH ISRAEL AND EGYPT.

5/14

732

5/14

ANOTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUE IS THE AGENDA FOR THE DIALOGUE. WE FAVOR A SIMPLE AGENDA PROVIDING FOR OPENING STATEMENTS AND THEN THE START OF DISCUSSIONS FOCUSING ON ELECTIONS.

WE ARE PERSUADED OUR CURRENT APPROACH IS THE BEST OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS LIKELY TO BECOME AVAILABLE. THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIPS MUST BE ENCOURAGED TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS NOW BEFORE THEM AND TO MOVE AHEAD TO A DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS. THESE ARE DIFFICULT ISSUES AND THERE ARE MANY HARD DECISIONS TO BE MADE IN ORDER FOR THE PROCESS TO MOVE FORWARD. POLITICAL WILL MUST BE FOUND ON ALL SIDES FOR THIS PROCESS TO MOVE FORWARD.

PLO DIALOGUE

IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO RECALL THE UNDERLYING PREMISE AND STARTING POINT OF OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO. IT STARTED BECAUSE THE PLO CHANGED ITS POSITION ON THREE CRITICAL ISSUES -- RENUNCIATION OF TERRORISM, RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, AND ACCEPTANCE OF U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AS THE BASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. IT WAS AND REMAINS IN OUR INTERESTS TO HOLD THE PLO TO THE COMMITMENTS IT UNDERTOOK IN DECEMBER 1988.

AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR, OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO HAS HELPED TO CLARIFY TO THE PLO WHAT IS AND IS NOT POSSIBLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE PLO HAS BECOME MORE AWARE OF THE NEED FOR A PRACTICAL APPROACH THAT CAN PRODUCE RESULTS. THE MOVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS WHICH WE NOW SEE REFLECTS IN PART A PLO

WILLINGNESS TO PROCEED IN THIS FASHION. IN THE FINAL STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE PLO CENTRAL COUNCIL IN BAGHDAD ON OCTOBER 17, 1989, THE PLO DESCRIBED DIRECT ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN TALKS AS "A STEP TOWARD ACHIEVING A JUST SOLUTION." WE VIEW THE DIALOGUE AS AN IMPORTANT TOOL TOWARDS ENDING PALESTINIAN RADICALISM, INCLUDING TERRORISM.

THE PLO HAS DISCUSSED SERIOUSLY CONCEPTS SUCH AS ELECTIONS, A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, AND DIRECT PALESTINIAN TALKS WITH ISRAEL WHICH, ALTHOUGH STILL NEEDING PRACTICAL APPLICATION, REPRESENT STEPS FORWARD. THE PLO'S DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE DIALOGUE HAS PROVIDED AN INCENTIVE FOR FURTHER MOVEMENT TOWARD MODERATION AND POSITIVE STEPS. ISRAEL'S OWN PLAN FOR ELECTIONS REQUIRES FINDING A CREDIBLE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION TO BEGIN A NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

THE DIALOGUE IS IMPORTANT TO THE ARAB NATIONS WHOM WE ARE ALSO TRYING TO INFLUENCE TOWARD PEACE AND CO-EXISTENCE WITH ISRAEL. IT HAS BEEN FAR EASIER TO BRING ALONG ARAB PUBLIC OPINION ON PEACE ISSUES -- A MAJOR U.S. AND ISRAELI GOAL -- BECAUSE THE PLO, AS A RESULT OF OUR DIALOGUE, HAS ADOPTED PUBLICLY MORE MODERATE POSITIONS. OUR WHOLE APPROACH HAS BEEN TO ENGAGE THE PLO IN PROCESS - A PROCESS IN WHICH MOVEMENT MAY BE INCREMENTAL BUT STILL TANGIBLE.

SOVIET EMIGRATION

TURNING TO ANOTHER MAJOR DEVELOPMENT IN THIS PAST YEAR, AS A WELCOME BY-PRODUCT OF PERESTROIKA THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT RELAXATION OF SOVIET POLICIES ON EMIGRATION. THIS

HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT AMERICAN OBJECTIVE FOR DECADES. WE WELCOME THE NEW SOVIET POLICY, AS WE FIRMLY BELIEVE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FOR ALL PEOPLES.

THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN SOVIET EMIGRATION. IN FY 90 THE UNITED STATES EXPECTS TO ADMIT SOME 60,000 TO 70,000 SOVIET EMIGRANTS, THE MAJORITY OF WHOM WILL BE JEWS, INCLUDING REFUGEES, IMMIGRANTS AND PAROLEES. NEVERTHELESS, MANY MORE SOVIET JEWS ARE LEAVING, AND A LARGE NUMBER OF THEM ARE GOING TO ISRAEL.

THE RISE IN SOVIET JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL IS POTENTIALLY A PROFOUND HISTORIC EVENT WHICH WE WELCOME. I AM PROUD OF OUR COUNTRY'S ROLE IN BRINGING THIS ABOUT. FURTHERMORE, WE WANT TO SUPPORT ISRAEL'S EFFORTS TO ABSORB AND INTEGRATE THESE PEOPLE INTO ISRAELI SOCIETY. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE HAVE ALREADY URGED THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE TO DIRECT FLIGHTS BETWEEN THE USSR AND ISRAEL.

THAT SAID, THERE ARE SERIOUS POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES WERE SOVIET IMMIGRANTS TO BE RESETTLED IN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE CLEAR ITS STRONG OPPOSITION TO ANY SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY AND, PARTICULARLY TO ANY SETTLEMENT BY SOVIET JEWS IN THESE TERRITORIES. OUR POSITION ON THIS MATTER WAS STATED BY SECRETARY BAKER WHEN HE TESTIFIED BEFORE THE FULL COMMITTEE LAST THURSDAY THAT THE BEST APPROACH WOULD BE THAT THERE WOULD NOT BE MORE SETTLEMENTS OR MORE SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY AND THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ISSUE A STATEMENT THAT SOVIET EMIGRES WILL NOT BE SETTLED IN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967.

8/14

732

8/14

9/14

732

9/14

LEBANON

THE ADMINISTRATION WAS DISMAYED BY THE RENEWAL OF FIERCE FIGHTING INSIDE THE CHRISTIAN ENCLAVE BETWEEN UNITS OF THE LEBANESE ARMY LOYAL TO GENERAL AOUN AND THE LEBANESE FORCES CHRISTIAN MILITIA. THE FIGHTING, WHICH BEGAN IN LATE JANUARY, HAS CLAIMED HUNDREDS OF LIVES AND INJURED SEVERAL THOUSAND, MOST OF THEM NON-COMBATANTS. WE FIND GENERAL AOUN'S INITIATION OF THE FIGHTING AND MISUSE OF THE ARMED FORCES REPREHENSIBLE. THE TAIF AGREEMENT PRESENTS AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPPORTED FRAMEWORK TO BEGIN A PEACEFUL RECONCILIATION IN LEBANON. IT PROVIDES FOR POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING THAT BETTER REFLECTS THE COMPOSITION OF LEBANON'S POPULATION. IT ALSO PROVIDES FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN TROOPS TO THE BIQA VALLEY WITHIN TWO YEARS, AND OBLIGES THE SYRIAN AND LEBANESE GOVERNMENTS TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THE DATE OF FINAL WITHDRAWAL. THE TAIF AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSITION FROM THE CURRENT STATE OF CONFLICT TO A UNIFIED, INDEPENDENT STATE.

BY CONTRAST, THE POLICIES OF GENERAL MICHEL AOUN ARE DOOMED TO FAILURE. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF HIS "WAR OF LIBERATION" AGAINST SYRIA LAST SPRING, THERE ARE MORE, NOT FEWER, SYRIAN TROOPS IN LEBANON. OVER 1700 LEBANESE HAVE DIED AND THOUSANDS MORE HAVE BEEN INJURED; TENS OF THOUSANDS OF LEBANESE HAVE LEFT LEBANON AND THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY AND BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE HAVE BEEN FURTHER DEVASTATED. IN JANUARY, GENERAL AOUN CLAMPED DOWN ON THE PRESS, SHUTTING DOWN SEVERAL BEIRUT PUBLICATIONS. HE LATER CUT OFF WATER AND ELECTRICITY TO

THE CITIZENS OF WEST BEIRUT. RESTRICTING PRESS FREEDOM AND CAUSING HARDSHIP TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION ARE NOT ACTS OF A MAN WHO HAS THE BEST INTERESTS OF LEBANON AT HEART.

THE TERRIBLE CARNAGE WREAKED ON THE CHRISTIAN ENCLAVE AND AOUN'S OTHER IRRESPONSIBLE ACTIONS CONVINCE US THAT IT IS PAST TIME FOR HIM TO STEP ASIDE. THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO SUPPORT PRESIDENT HRAWI AND THE TAIF AGREEMENT. WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH HIM TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION.

A TEHRAN NEWSPAPER HAS URGED THE RELEASE OF WESTERN HOSTAGES BEING HELD IN LEBANON. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR TO IRAN, AND TO THOSE IN LEBANON WITH WHOM THEY HAVE INFLUENCE, THAT IT IS NOT WORDS WHICH COUNT, BUT ACTIONS. THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES CONTINUES TO BE A HIGH PRIORITY FOR THIS ADMINISTRATION. WE INTEND TO STRICTLY ADHERE TO OUR NO-CONCESSION POLICY AND WILL DO ALL WE CAN NOT TO REWARD HOSTAGE-TAKING.

U.S. OIL DEPENDENCY

THE U.S. ECONOMY HAS EXPERIENCED SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH FOR OVER SEVEN YEARS, AND WITH IT TOTAL ENERGY AND OIL CONSUMPTION GRADUALLY HAVE INCREASED. SINCE 1983 THERE HAS BEEN A 66% INCREASE IN OUR ANNUAL NET OIL IMPORTS. CONTINUED LOW PRICES ARE ACCELERATING OUR DEPENDENCE ON OIL IMPORTS BY DIMINISHING PRICE INCENTIVES FOR NEW EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND REDUCING MOMENTUM FOR CONSERVATION. NET IMPORTS AS A SHARE OF OUR TOTAL PETROLEUM NEEDS MAY GROW FROM 42 PERCENT IN 1989 TO THE 50-60 PERCENT RANGE BY THE YEAR 2000.

APPROXIMATELY 53% OF THE INCREASE IN TOTAL U.S. IMPORTS OF CRUDE AND REFINED PETROLEUM PRODUCTS SINCE 1985 HAS COME FROM THE PERSIAN GULF. IN 1988, SAUDI ARABIA BECAME OUR LARGEST OIL SUPPLIER, PROVIDING OVER 15 PERCENT OF U.S. IMPORTS; WE NOW TAKE ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF ANNUAL SAUDI CRUDE AND REFINED PRODUCTS OUTPUT. GULF STATES -- PRIMARILY SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAQ -- COULD PROVIDE UP TO 28% OF OUR IMPORTS IN 1990, WHICH WOULD REPRESENT 14-15% OF TOTAL U.S. OIL CONSUMPTION. BY THE YEAR 2000, THE PERSIAN GULF COULD CONCEIVABLY ACCOUNT FOR APPROXIMATELY 37 PERCENT OF OUT TOTAL PETROLEUM IMPORTS.

WE DO NOT EXPECT MAJOR NEW OIL FINDS OUTSIDE THE GULF TO REVERSE THIS TREND IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. ABOUT 65% OF THE WORLD'S KNOWN RECOVERABLE OIL RESERVES ARE LOCATED IN THE GULF, ONLY 2.6% ARE FOUND IN THE UNITED STATES AND 1.9% IN WESTERN EUROPE. PERSIAN GULF PRODUCERS ALSO ACCOUNT FOR APPROXIMATELY 65-70% OF THE WORLD'S EXCESS PRODUCTION CAPACITY. OVER THE NEXT 5-10 YEARS, THE PERSIAN GULF'S SHARE OF TOTAL WORLD CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION MAY RANGE BETWEEN 45 TO 50%; IT CURRENTLY IS 25%.

I DO NOT ANTICIPATE ANOTHER OPEC EMBARGO AND BELIEVE THE PRODUCER STATES THEMSELVES NOW HAVE BUILT-IN INHIBITIONS AGAINST SUCH AN EMBARGO. THE GULF STATES NOW HAVE A REAL STAKE IN THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN NATIONS. AND WE IN TURN HAVE A STAKE IN THE STABILITY OF THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE MODERATION OF GULF OIL POLICIES OVER THE LONG-TERM. WE MUST KEEP THE ISSUE OF ENERGY SECURITY BEFORE THE PUBLIC AND CONTINUE TO PURSUE AN ACTIVE POLICY OF ENERGY CONSERVATION. WE ALSO MUST CONTINUE TO HONE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH FRIENDLY GULF STATES AND SECURE STABLE SOURCES OF ENERGY SUPPLY.

11/14

732

12
T4

THE GULF

EARLIER THIS MONTH, I TRAVELED TO THE SIX COUNTRIES OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL-- SAUDI ARABIA, OMAN, THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, QATAR, BAHRAIN, AND KUWAIT. I CONCLUDED THE TRIP IN IRAQ. ONE OF THE STRONGEST IMPRESSIONS I CAME AWAY WITH WAS CONCERN ABOUT INSTABILITY IN IRAN, IRANIAN TERRORISM, AND IRANIAN REARMAMENT.

732
12/11

I ALSO HEARD EXPRESSIONS OF A NEW CONFIDENCE IN THE U.S. AS A RESULT OF OUR STEADY PERFORMANCE DURING THE GULF WAR, AND A WIDESPREAD APPRECIATION FOR A CONTINUED U.S. NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE GULF. THE PROTECTION OF REFLAGGED KUWAITI TANKERS IN 1987 GREATLY IMPROVED NOT ONLY OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH KUWAIT, BUT OUR STANDING WITH ALL OF OUR GULF ARAB FRIENDS. MOST IMPORTANT WAS THE FACT THAT WE STAYED THE COURSE IN THE FACE OF CHALLENGES AND ADVERSITY.

SINCE THE CEASEFIRE BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ WENT INTO EFFECT IN AUGUST, 1988, THE THREAT IN THE REGION HAS ABATED. NO ONE SHOULD DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO DETER THREATS IN THE GULF AND TO MAINTAIN FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION TO ENSURE UNIMPEDED ACCESS TO THE REGION'S OIL RESOURCES AND THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN THE AREA. WE PLAN TO MAINTAIN A NAVAL PRESENCE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

IRAQ HAS EMERGED STRENGTHENED AFTER THE GULF WAR CEASEFIRE, WITH INCREASED MILITARY POWER AND PRESTIGE IN THE ARAB WORLD TO SUPPLEMENT ITS VAST OIL RESERVES. IT IS CLEAR THAT IRAQ SEEKS IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. TRADE WILL BE A KEY FACTOR IN OUR FUTURE RELATIONSHIP. THOUGH

13
14

THE COUNTRY FACES A DIFFICULT PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION, I SAW FIRSTHAND THAT THE EFFORT IS WELL UNDER WAY. THERE ARE IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS IN IRAQ.

732

13/14

THE PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONS REMAIN, WITH REGARD TO IRAQ'S POOR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND OUR CONCERNS ABOUT WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO SPEAK FRANKLY TO THE IRAQIS ABOUT THESE CONCERNS AND ABOUT REGIONAL ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST. THIS IS NOT AN EASY RELATIONSHIP, BUT IT IS AN IMPORTANT ONE IN WHICH WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS.

FINALLY, I WANT TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT IRAN. I WISH I HAD BETTER NEWS TO REPORT: IN A WORLD WHICH IS CHANGING ALMOST EVERYWHERE FOR THE BETTER, IRAN IS A CONSPICUOUS EXCEPTION. THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO ACT IN WAYS WHICH ARE UNACCEPTABLE; WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT IRAN'S SUPPORT FOR GROUPS WHICH HOLD AMERICAN CITIZENS IN LEBANON. IN THE HAGUE CLAIMS TRIBUNAL, OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH IRAN CONTINUE. THERE HAVE BEEN NO LARGE CLAIMS SETTLEMENTS SINCE I LAST TESTIFIED BEFORE YOU. WHEN IRAN IS READY TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE US SERIOUSLY, WE WILL BE READY TO RESPOND.

CONCLUSION

MR. CHAIRMAN, OVERALL 1989 WAS NOT A BAD YEAR FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH WEST ASIA. THERE WAS MARKED PROGRESS MADE IN A NUMBER OF OUR ENDEAVORS IN THE REGION. WE NOW ARE FACED WITH THE CHALLENGE OF GRASPING THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT HAVE ARISEN TO ADVANCE FURTHER TOWARD OUR GOALS OF FOSTERING STABILITY AND PEACEFUL RECONCILIATION IN THIS AREA OF THE WORLD. THIS ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: מיידי | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | קב: 1<br>פתיון: 5 |
| סווג: גלוי | | |
| תאריך ושעת הענור:<br>28 בפברואר 1990 19:45 | אל: מצפ"א | |
| כס' פנוק:<br>הפשרד: | דע: אמיר | |
| 1/5 748 | נאת: ק. לקונגרס | |

ביחניב : עדות קלי - שימועים

רציב סיכום השימועים מהיום (28/2) וחלק השאלות והתשובות.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

28/2/1990

RE: House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East Hearing on Developments in the Middle East.

WITNESS: John Kelly - Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, Department of State

MEMBERS PRESENT: Chairman Lee Hamilton (D-IN), Tom Lantos (D-CA), Edward Feighan (D-OH), Howard Berman (D-CA), Ranking Minority Member Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), Jan Meyers (R-KS), Donald Lukens (R-OH).

MEDIA: Light-Moderate and CSPAN
ATMOSPHERE: Cordial

---

## SUMMARY

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East met today to hear from John Kelly, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs. At the request of members of the panel, Kelly outlined what has been accomplished as a result of the U.S.-PLO dialogue, and what the risks are if West Bank election don't take place in the near future. Kelly also addressed the issue of the PLO's accountability for recent terrorist acts explaining that since the U.S. had not found any direct relationship between the PLO leadership and those carrying out the attacks, the PLO can not be held responsible. He acknowledged, however, that those carrying out the attacks may well be members of PLO constituent groups. Another concern raised by the subcommittee members was Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel. Kelly called for an open statement by the Israelis opposing new settlements on the West Bank. Kelly also expressed opposition to the expansion of existing settlements and outlined the concern of "serious Arab leaders" about the potential influx of Soviet Jews into the territories which could displace the local Palestinian population.

---

## REPORT

In his written testimony, Kelly stated that "we are closer now to creating the conditions for an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue that we have been since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948." He noted recent Administration meetings with Egyptian Foreign Minister Meguid and Israeli Defense Minister Rabin where "we urged more rapid movement toward the dialogue." He added, "we also tried to advance the process during Israeli Foreign Minister Arens' visit here last week."

748
2/5

(3)

748 3/5

At the request of Chairman Lee Hamilton (D-IN), Kelly outlined the risks of not moving the election process forward in the near future explaining the need for some relief in the tension between the Israeli and the Palestinians living in the area. He stressed the potential for an increase in pressure from Arab radicals to revert to armed struggle if political channels do not lead to visible progress.

Kelly also had the opportunity to outline what has been accomplished as a result of the U.S.-PLO dialogue in response to a question from Jan Meyers (R-KS). In what seemed to be a prepared statement on the issue, Kelly stated that the dialogue has been a part of the U.S. effort to bring about a peace process and has been of value. He said that "we are using the dialogue to attempt to influence and moderate their position." He stated that the recent "headway" being made in the peace process indicates that the dialogue is working and that as a direct result of U.S.-PLO discussions, the PLO has accepted the idea of elections, a transitional period, and direct talks. Kelly added that the dialogue has weakened the Soviet monopoly on the PLO, allowing Palestinians to directly listen to the U.S. and that the dialogue has made it easier for the U.S. to garner Arab support.

Citing recent reports that the PLO is still supporting terrorism, Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY) asked Kelly to elaborate on the U.S. position on these matters. Kelly assured Gilman that it takes terrorist acts very seriously and researches each case to determine who is responsible. Kelly then stated that based on such information it has been determined that in "no case was the PLO leadership involved with the planning, implementation or execution of terrorist acts." Kelly admitted that in many cases PLO splinter groups are responsible, as in the Dec 5th attack across the Sinai, but answered affirmatively to Gilman's question that if the PLO leadership is not directly connected, the PLO will not be held responsible. Kelly stressed, however, that each incident has been raised in Tunis and the Administration had made clear that terrorism in unacceptable.

Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA) grilled Kelly on the reasons for Soviet refusal to reinstitute direct flights beween Moscow and Tel Aviv. Lantos warned that the Soviet refusal "directly impinges on the Jackson-Vanik agreement." Lantos promised that if the situation wasn't remedied he would lead the fight against a waiver of Jackson-Vanik. He urged that the U.S. use more leverage and pressure to elicit an agreeable Soviet response and emphasized that the Soviets are using the Arab League campaign as "a red herring." Lantos stressed his belief that the Soviets are not that worried about what the Arabs think and that if only a total of approximately 150 Soviet Jews have chosen to live on the West Bank in the past 5 years the Arabs can't be that concerned.

Kelly explained that "serious Arab leaders" are concerned with the possibility that large numbers of Soviet Jews could settle on the West Bank during the next few years and this

748 4/5

4/5

potential influx could displace local Palestinians and force them to emigrate to neighboring Arab countries. Kelly also informed Rep. Howard Berman (D-CA) of his belief that Arab leaders do make the distinction between the territories and Israel proper and only object to Soviet resettlement in the territories. He added that not only would an open commitment by the Israelis not to build new settlements and not to settle Soviet Jews in the territories help to ease the situation, but that it is the position of the Administration that existing settlements in the territories should not be expanded. He countered Members' arguments that a democracy should not dictate where its citizens live, by pointing out that Soviet Jews are drawn to the financial inducements Israel offers its citizens who choose to live in the territories.

Reps. Donald Lukens (R-OH) and Lee Hamilton asked several questions on housing guarantees for Soviet resettlement in Israel. Kelly informed the members that the executive branch is currently considering the Kasten-Leahy legislation but has not yet formulated a position and that the although Housing guarantees have been discussed informally with Israeli officials, no formal request for housing guarantees has been made by Israel, only by Congress.

Kelly also told Lukens that he has no confirmation of reports that Israel has sent cluster bombs to Ethiopia and that to his knowledge Israel is not producing a fighter plane based on Lavi technology in cooperation with another country. Lukens also raised several questions on FMS refinancing to which Kelly will provide responses for the record.

Hamilton concluded the hearing with a series of questions on an array of topics. He inquired about arrests of American citizens by Israel and Saudi Arabia, to which Kelly assured him that the issue had been raised by the Israelis and that incidents had mostly involved the military authority in the West Bank which is not familiar with international protocol. Kelly was vague in response to a question regarding Israeli support for resolution 242 but stated it will be the central presumption of any negotiations. He also told Hamilton that in terms of PLO cooperation to move the peace process forward, the U.S. is "looking for PLO acquiescence not agreement." Hamilton cited a letter from Arafat to Jewish community leadership regarding the election process.

Hamilton also asked several questions regarding the findings of the Human Rights Report and whether the situation on the West Bank has improved. Kelly responded that there has been a slight decrease of overall deaths and noted the incidence of Palestinians murdered by other Palestinians.

Kelly assured Hamilton that the U.S. has urged Israel to reopen all West Bank Universities and that the U.S. still opposes school closures.

(5)
5/5

Finally, Kelly confirmed Hamilton's belief that the Iraqis are developing ballistic missiles and chemical weapons and on yet another subject stated that the U.S. would like to see terrorist Achmed Jibril and his group expelled from Syria.

748 5/5

xxx

** נכנס שמור
**
**
**

חוזם:2,24069
אל:המשרד
יעדים:גנבה/537,נ'/1424,רהמש/679,מצב/2846,מנמת/959
מ-:וש,נר:715,תא:270290,זח:2100,וח:מ,סג:שמ
תח:@ גס:ארבל
נר:@

ארכיב

שמור/מיידי

אל:אגף ארב'ל

דע:נאו'מ, ג'נבה

מאת:השגרירות,וושינגטון.

ארה'ב-בריה'מ:ההיבט האומ'י

שיחה עם ס/עוזר המזכיר לארב'ל וולף ומנהלת מח' נאו'מ וליאמסון:

1.במסגרת הדיון בנושאים איזוריים (קמבודיה נקרגואה ומזה'ת) העלו בשיחת בולטון פטרובסקי (22-23/2) הנושאים הבאים :

א.ציונות-גזענות

1)בולטון שהעלה הנושא סיפר כי שמע מישראל שהעלאת הצעת ההחלטה לביטול ההחלטה בנושא ציונות -גזענות שתכשל(קרי ,לא תזכה לרוב) לא תחשב בהכרח לכשלון. (הערה:בתשובה לשאלתי סיפרה וליאמסון כי בולטון שמע על ההצעה בשיחתו עם הציר.הבהרתי לה כי המדובר באופצית פעולה אחת וכי קיימות אופציות נוספות ומכל מקום טרם קבלנו החלטה ביחס לדרך פעולתנו)

2.בולטון דווח לפטרובסקי על לחץ גובר והולך מצד ארגונים יהודיים. על הממשל (לפעול לבטול ההחלטה) ועל כונות לערוך

הפגנה ולקיים סימפוזיונים לרגל 15 שנה לקבלת ההחלטה.

3. פטרובסקי לדברי וויליאמסון היה RELUCTANT להגיב על דברי בולטון. הביע תקווה שבעתיד נתן יהיה למצוא דרך לבטל ההחלטה.

4. פטרובסקי לא התחייב ללו"ז. הבהיר שכעת זה לא הזמן. לדבריו יש צורך "לעבוד על הנושא בזהירות".

5. בולטון הציע לסיום הדיון לשוב ולבחון הנושא לקראת כינוס העצרת הכללית מתוך תקווה ששנויים אפשריים (התקדמות התהליך המדיני לדברי ויליאמסון) תאפשר פעולה משותפת.

ב. ועדה ז"א:

בעקבות העברת הצעת ההחלטה בנושא השטחים הכוללת סעיף המקדם גברכה את הצטרפות אש"פ לאמנת ג'נבה הבהיר בולטון המצב לאשורו ( דהיינו שאש"פ אינו צד לאמנה).

2. בולטון הביע בפני הסובייטים אכזבתו מכך שהצביעו בעד הצעת ההחלטה בנושא. הוסיף כי מצפים לשת"פ מצד הסובייטים במאמץ למנוע העלאת הנושא בסוכנויות.

3. הסובייטים הבהירו רצונם למנוע דיון בנושא. סיפרו שהבהירו לאש"פ שאינם מעוניינים בעימות בהקשר לסוגיית צירוף אש"פ.

4. דסקאי ארב"ל בלש' היועץ המשפטי סיפר על כוונתם להגיש דמארש לשוויצרים על כך שעמדו מן הצד ולא עשו דבר כדי למנוע קבלת הסעיף. סבור שיש להעריך לקראת דיון צפוי בנושא צירוף אש"פ לאמנת ג'נבה באקוסו"ק.

ג. תהליך השלום - מועבי"ט

1. פטרובסקי חזר והעלה הצעתם לשלב חמש הקבועות.

2. ויליאמסון התרשמה שהדברים נאמרו לו כדי לצאת ידי חובה אלא מתוך רצון להבהיר רצונם להיות מעורבים בתהליך.

ד. מועב"ט - עליה:

1. הסובייטים דווחו על הפתעת הערבים מיוזמתם ועל בקשתם להשהות הפעילות בנושא.

2. לדברי ויליאמסון המועד לכינוס מועב''יט יקבע אחרי ה - 10.3 (דהיינו יום אחרי כינוס שרי החוץ הערביים).

3. וויליאמסון ציינה כי טרם הוכן טכסט שעליו אפשר להתדיין. לסובייטים ברור מרחב התמרון האמריקאי.

4. דסקאי ארב''ל בלש' היועץ המשפטי סיפר לעומת זאת על התדיינות נמשכת בינם לסובייטים נוסח הצעת ההחלטה. לדבריו שואפת ארה''ב להגיע לאימוץ הצעת החלטה שתתקבל בקונצנזוס. כל הצעת החלטה שתתייחס לסוגיית החוקיות / אי חוקיות ההתנחלויות תדחה על ידם. מעבר לטכסט הוסיף כי לעתוי ההצבעה על רקע המדיני ולאימפקט שעלול להיות להצטרפות ארה''ב להצעת ההחלטה שתגנה את ישראל תהיה השפעה על הצעת ארה''ב כל זאת בהנחה שתחול התקדמות בתהליך.

שט''ין.

לב

תפ: שהח,סשהח,רהמ,ממרהמ,שהבט,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרכז,רם,@(אמן), ממר,ארבל2,סייבל,משפט,בנצור,מצפא,גוברין,מזאר1,@דודשון

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דף: 1 / כתוב: 2 | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | דחיפות: מיידי |
| | | סווג: גלוי |
| אל: מצפ'א, הסברה | | תאריך ושעת תעבור: 28 בפברואר 1990 20:15 |
| דע: | | כס' מברק:<br>הפשרה: |
| כאת: ק. לקונגרס | | 1/2 756 |

לתן אורה אלון ...

בינ'ב: דו"ח זכויות אדם - שימועים

1. היום התקיימו שימועים בועדת המשנה לז'יא, בראשות הקונגרסמן יטרון, בנושא דו"ח זכויות אדם. השתתפו עדים פרטיים: א. מייקל פוזנר - אגודת עו"ד לזכויות אדם.
   ב. הולי בורקהלטר - H.R. WATCH
   ג. גוזף ראיין - FREEDOM HOUSE.

2. השתתפו הקונגרסמנים: יטרון, בירווייטר, אקרמן, כלס סמית וטד וייס.

3. בנפרד מעבירים עדויותיהם הכתובות.

4. העדויות הכתובות היו קשות יותר מחלק השאלות והתשובות שעסק אמנם בשטחים, אולם "בוהלי" עיי הקונגרסמן אקרמן ולא היה בעייתי במיוחד.
   עיקר הנושאים שנדונו : עירק, סין אתיופיה, סעודיה וליבריה.

5. בנושא השטחים שאל רק אקרמן ובצורה קצרה גם בירווייטר.

אקרמן - הביע דאגתו מהקטעים הנוגעים בדו"ח לשטחים תוך שניסה לעשות הבחנה בין פעולות המורשות בכוח מדיניות ממשלתית לבין פעולות של יחידים.
הפרת ז'יא בשטחים אינן בבחינת מדיניות ik הנחייה ממשלתית ויש לומר זאת מפורשות בדו"ח. כמו כן יש לעשות הבחנה בין הפרת ז'יא בחברה פתוחה מול חברה סגורה.
רוב העדים הודו בקביעתו של אקרמן.
נציג FREEDOM HOUSE (F.H.=) :

... BUT THE FACT THAT ISRAEL " SEEMS TO APPROVE" THE VIOLATIONS, MAKES THE DIFFERENCE...

לשאלת אקרמן למה הוא מתכוון השיב נציג FH שהישראלים הורסים בתים ומגרשים אנשים.
לאחר חילופי דברים נוספים בין אקרמן לנציג F.H הודה האחרון שכאשר ישנן האשמות ו/או הפרות, נפתחות ועדות חקירה, וחיילים מובאים למשפט.

| | |
|---|---|
| תפוצה: | [illegible] |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דיתיפות: | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פברוק | דף: 2<br>פתון: 2 |
| סווג: | | |
| תאריך וזמן תעבור: | | אל: |
| פס' פברק:<br>הפשרד:<br>2/2 756 | | דע: |
| | | פאת: |

אקרמן - (בשאלה לפוזנר) כיצד אתה יכול לגנות מדינה המגרשת אדם שזרק בקבוקי מולוטוב ובעצם אומרת לו לגור במקום אחר (התכון לכך שלא מושלך לכלא, לא מענים אותו וכו') זו הפרת ז'א ? ישנה צביעות מצד מדינות המבקרות את הפרת ז'א בישראל (בשטחים).

פוזנר - אין ספק שיש צביעות. עם זאת, יש הפרת ז'א רצינית בשטחים (עיי ישראל) אליה מתייחס הדו"ח.

ממישראל יכולה לנקוט ב-2 צעדים:-

א. לאכוף ביתר תוקף את ההוראות לחיילים

ב. לשנות התקנות כמו שכבר עשו. הביא כדוגמה מעבר משמוש בתחמושת חיה לכדורי פלסטיק.

אולם העובדה היא שב-89' מתו יותר אנשים מאשר ב-88'.

אקרמן - חזר על העובדה שהפרת ז'א איננה בבחינת מדיניות ישראלית. איש לא חשב שארה"ב היתה GROSS VIOLATER OF H.R. באוניברסיטת קנט בשנות ה-60.

" LOOK AT MY CITY (N.Y.C.) AND STATE (N.Y.) WE HAVE PEOPLE WHO DIE IN POLICE CUSTODY - continuously"

אין פירושו של דבר שה- PARA-MILITARY או ארה"ב הם מפירי ז'א.

פוזנר - יש הבדל באמירה שאין זו מדיניות ממשלתית לבין האמירה שהממשלה איננה עושה כל שביכולתה. יש הבדלי האשמות למשל בין גבעתי בפיקוד מרכז לבין גולני בפיקוד צפון. (רצה להצביע על PATTERN מסויים) מתפקידנו ותפקידכם בקונגרס לעשות הכל כדי להצביע על הפרות.

אקרמן - השיב לפוזנר ובסוף דבריו אמר כי כמעט הרוג אחד מתוך שלושה הרוגים היה פלסטיני שנרצח ע"י פלסטיני.

בירוייטר - תודה לועדת עו"ד על העבודה שעשו בנושא הפרת ז'א ע"י ישראל בשטח וכן בנושא רצח פלסטינים ע"י פלסטינים.

שאר השאלות כאמור לא התייחסו לשטחים. סה"כ השימועים נמשכו שעתיים והחלק הנוגע לשטחים ארך כ-10-15 דקות.

יהודית ורנאי דדנגר.

| | |
|---|---|
| תפוצה: | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פברוק | דף: 1<br>פתוח: 14 |
| סווג: רגיל | | |
| תאריך ושעת הגעה:<br>28 בפברואר 1990 15:00 | אל: מצפ'א | |
| פס' פברוק:<br>הפסיד: 732 | דע: | |
| | נאת: ק. לקונגרס | |

ביניב : עדות קלי בפני ועדת המשנה לאירופה והמזה"ת

רציב עדותו של קלי בעת השימועים היום (28/2) בפני הועדה. נושא השימועים היה "התפתחויות במזה"ת".
בנפרד חלק השאלות והתשובות.

אל קיירן קלי
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

שרה סוטמה בשם אלונה לבן סיבל | רחל גמרבה
בלבד לבן פס' ירוחבב גמרבה | חיים אלון

תפוצה:

2
T4

732 2/14

STATEMENT OF JOHN H. KELLY

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
BUREAU OF NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

FEBRUARY 28, 1990

732 3/14 3/14

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE:

THANK YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN. I AM PLEASED TO APPEAR BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE TODAY. I WILL DISCUSS A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH WEST ASIA SINCE I LAST TESTIFIED BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE IN NOVEMBER. BEFORE GOING INTO THE DETAILS OF CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS, I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE A SOMEWHAT LONGER-TERM AND BROADER VIEW BY EXAMINING THE SITUATION IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES TODAY COMPARED TO THE SITUATION JUST A LITTLE OVER A YEAR AGO AT THE START OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION.

OVERVIEW

I DO NOT WANT WHAT I AM ABOUT TO SAY TO BE TAKEN AS TOO OPTIMISTIC. THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH WEST ASIA REMAIN AFFLICTED WITH TENSION. TOO MANY PEOPLE CONTINUE TO DIE IN SENSELESS CONFLICTS AND ACTS OF TERRORISM. IF WE COMPARE THE SITUATION IN THE REGION NOW TO WHAT IT WAS WHEN PRESIDENT BUSH FIRST TOOK OFFICE, WE CAN FIND A NUMBER OF DEVELOPMENTS IN WHICH WE CAN TAKE A MEASURE OF SATISFACTION.

THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS WORKED INTENSIVELY WITH OUR FRIENDS IN EGYPT AND ISRAEL TO ADVANCE THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEGUN TO BEAR FRUIT: I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE CLOSER NOW TO CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR AN

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE THAN THAN WE HAVE BEEN SINCE THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN 1948. F32 4/14

LEBANON REMAINS PLAGUED BY INTERNECINE AND INTER-COMMUNAL CONFLICTS, BUT THAT COUNTRY'S PARLIAMENTARIANS WERE ABLE WITH ARAB LEAGUE ASSISTANCE TO MEET LAST FALL AT TAIF, SAUDI ARABIA AND REACH A LANDMARK AGREEMENT WHICH MARKS THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN THAT NATION SINCE 1943. 4/14

IN NORTH AFRICA, THE GOVERNMENTS OF MOROCCO, TUNISIA, AND ALGERIA REMAIN STABLE AND U.S. RELATIONS WITH THESE STATES REMAIN GOOD. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB STATES OF THE GULF CONTINUE TO BE SOLID. WE HAVE MAINTAINED A COMMERCIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAQ AND ESTABLISHED A POLITICAL DIALOGUE WITH THAT STATE.

PEACE PROCESS

WE REMAIN ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS. IN DECEMBER I VISITED ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND DISCUSSED WITH THE LEADERSHIP IN BOTH COUNTRIES OUR EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE. SINCE THE GOVERNMENTS OF EGYPT AND ISRAEL AGREED TO OUR FIVE POINT FRAMEWORK FOR PROGRESS TOWARD AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE, WE HAVE ACTIVELY BEEN AT WORK IN THE EFFORT TO PUT TOGETHER THE DIALOGUE.

SECRETARY BAKER HAS BEEN IN CONSTANT CONTACT WITH EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI LEADERS, AND WE HAVE HAD A NUMBER OF SENIOR-LEVEL EXCHANGES WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH COUNTRIES. IN MID-JANUARY, EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ABDEL MEGUID LED A TEAM TO WASHINGTON WHICH, ALTHOUGH FOCUSED ON ECONOMIC MATTERS,

ALLOWED FOR DETAILED DISCUSSIONS OF THE PEACE PROCESS. ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER RABIN WAS IN WASHINGTON AT THE SAME TIME AND WE HAD A GOOD EXCHANGE WITH HIM.

IN THESE TALKS, WE URGED MORE RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARD THE DIALOGUE. WE ALSO TRIED TO ADVANCE THE PROCESS DURING ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER AREN'S VISIT HERE LAST WEEK.

OUR BASIC APPROACH REMAINS CONSTANT. WE CONTINUE TO ENDORSE THE ISRAELI CABINET PEACE INITIATIVE OF MAY 14, 1989 AND ARE PURSUING ITS OBJECTIVE OF ORGANIZING ELECTIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, LEADING TO NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS AND FINAL STATUS. AS INDICATED IN OUR FIVE POINTS, WE SEEK, AS A FIRST STEP IN THIS PROCESS, A MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF EGYPT, ISRAEL, AND THE U.S. THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS MEETING IS TO AGREE ON THE DETAILS OF AN ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE ON ELECTIONS, HOW TO GET TO ELECTIONS, THE ELECTION MODALITIES THEMSELVES, AND HOW TO LINK ELECTIONS TO THE BROADER NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THE FIRST SESSION WOULD BE HELD IN CAIRO. THIS TRILATERAL MEETING HAS NOT YET BEEN SCHEDULED, BUT THE TIME IS NOW AT HAND FOR POLITICAL DECISIONS BY THE PARTIES.

IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EGYPTIANS AND THE ISRAELIS, WE ARE DEALING WITH A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT ISSUES, INCLUDING THE COMPOSITION OF A PALESTINIAN DELEGATION FOR THE DIALOGUE. WE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING GENERAL CRITERIA FOR DELEGATION MEMBERS WITH BOTH ISRAEL AND EGYPT.

S/T4

732

5/14

ANOTHER OUTSTANDING ISSUE IS THE AGENDA FOR THE DIALOGUE. WE FAVOR A SIMPLE AGENDA PROVIDING FOR OPENING STATEMENTS AND THEN THE START OF DISCUSSIONS FOCUSING ON ELECTIONS.

WE ARE PERSUADED OUR CURRENT APPROACH IS THE BEST OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS LIKELY TO BECOME AVAILABLE. THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIPS MUST BE ENCOURAGED TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PRACTICAL PROGRESS NOW BEFORE THEM AND TO MOVE AHEAD TO A DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS. THESE ARE DIFFICULT ISSUES AND THERE ARE MANY HARD DECISIONS TO BE MADE IN ORDER FOR THE PROCESS TO MOVE FORWARD. POLITICAL WILL MUST BE FOUND ON ALL SIDES FOR THIS PROCESS TO MOVE FORWARD.

PLO DIALOGUE

IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO RECALL THE UNDERLYING PREMISE AND STARTING POINT OF OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO. IT STARTED BECAUSE THE PLO CHANGED ITS POSITION ON THREE CRITICAL ISSUES -- RENUNCIATION OF TERRORISM, RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, AND ACCEPTANCE OF U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 AS THE BASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. IT WAS AND REMAINS IN OUR INTERESTS TO HOLD THE PLO TO THE COMMITMENTS IT UNDERTOOK IN DECEMBER 1988.

AFTER MORE THAN A YEAR, OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO HAS HELPED TO CLARIFY TO THE PLO WHAT IS AND IS NOT POSSIBLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS. THE PLO HAS BECOME MORE AWARE OF THE NEED FOR A PRACTICAL APPROACH THAT CAN PRODUCE RESULTS. THE MOVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS WHICH WE NOW SEE REFLECTS IN PART A PLO

6/14
732
6/14

WILLINGNESS TO PROCEED IN THIS FASHION. IN THE FINAL STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE PLO CENTRAL COUNCIL IN BAGHDAD ON OCTOBER 17, 1989, THE PLO DESCRIBED DIRECT ISRAELI - PALESTINIAN TALKS AS "A STEP TOWARD ACHIEVING A JUST SOLUTION." WE VIEW THE DIALOGUE AS AN IMPORTANT TOOL TOWARDS ENDING PALESTINIAN RADICALISM, INCLUDING TERRORISM.

THE PLO HAS DISCUSSED SERIOUSLY CONCEPTS SUCH AS ELECTIONS, A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, AND DIRECT PALESTINIAN TALKS WITH ISRAEL WHICH, ALTHOUGH STILL NEEDING PRACTICAL APPLICATION, REPRESENT STEPS FORWARD. THE PLO'S DESIRE TO MAINTAIN THE DIALOGUE HAS PROVIDED AN INCENTIVE FOR FURTHER MOVEMENT TOWARD MODERATION AND POSITIVE STEPS. ISRAEL'S OWN PLAN FOR ELECTIONS REQUIRES FINDING A CREDIBLE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION TO BEGIN A NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

THE DIALOGUE IS IMPORTANT TO THE ARAB NATIONS WHOM WE ARE ALSO TRYING TO INFLUENCE TOWARD PEACE AND CO-EXISTENCE WITH ISRAEL. IT HAS BEEN FAR EASIER TO BRING ALONG ARAB PUBLIC OPINION ON PEACE ISSUES -- A MAJOR U.S. AND ISRAELI GOAL -- BECAUSE THE PLO, AS A RESULT OF OUR DIALOGUE, HAS ADOPTED PUBLICLY MORE MODERATE POSITIONS. OUR WHOLE APPROACH HAS BEEN TO ENGAGE THE PLO IN PROCESS - A PROCESS IN WHICH MOVEMENT MAY BE INCREMENTAL BUT STILL TANGIBLE.

SOVIET EMIGRATION

TURNING TO ANOTHER MAJOR DEVELOPMENT IN THIS PAST YEAR, AS A WELCOME BY-PRODUCT OF PERESTROIKA THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT RELAXATION OF SOVIET POLICIES ON EMIGRATION. THIS

HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT AMERICAN OBJECTIVE FOR DECADES. WE WELCOME THE NEW SOVIET POLICY, AS WE FIRMLY BELIEVE IN THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FOR ALL PEOPLES.

THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN SOVIET EMIGRATION. IN FY 90 THE UNITED STATES EXPECTS TO ADMIT SOME 60,000 TO 70,000 SOVIET EMIGRANTS, THE MAJORITY OF WHOM WILL BE JEWS, INCLUDING REFUGEES, IMMIGRANTS AND PAROLEES. NEVERTHELESS, MANY MORE SOVIET JEWS ARE LEAVING, AND A LARGE NUMBER OF THEM ARE GOING TO ISRAEL.

THE RISE IN SOVIET JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO ISRAEL IS POTENTIALLY A PROFOUND HISTORIC EVENT WHICH WE WELCOME. I AM PROUD OF OUR COUNTRY'S ROLE IN BRINGING THIS ABOUT. FURTHERMORE, WE WANT TO SUPPORT ISRAEL'S EFFORTS TO ABSORB AND INTEGRATE THESE PEOPLE INTO ISRAELI SOCIETY. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE HAVE ALREADY URGED THE SOVIET UNION TO AGREE TO DIRECT FLIGHTS BETWEEN THE USSR AND ISRAEL.

THAT SAID, THERE ARE SERIOUS POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES WERE SOVIET IMMIGRANTS TO BE RESETTLED IN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE CLEAR ITS STRONG OPPOSITION TO ANY SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY AND, PARTICULARLY TO ANY SETTLEMENT BY SOVIET JEWS IN THESE TERRITORIES. OUR POSITION ON THIS MATTER WAS STATED BY SECRETARY BAKER WHEN HE TESTIFIED BEFORE THE FULL COMMITTEE LAST THURSDAY THAT THE BEST APPROACH WOULD BE THAT THERE WOULD NOT BE MORE SETTLEMENTS OR MORE SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY AND THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ISSUE A STATEMENT THAT SOVIET EMIGRES WILL NOT BE SETTLED IN THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL IN 1967.

9/14

732

9/14

LEBANON

THE ADMINISTRATION WAS DISMAYED BY THE RENEWAL OF FIERCE FIGHTING INSIDE THE CHRISTIAN ENCLAVE BETWEEN UNITS OF THE LEBANESE ARMY LOYAL TO GENERAL AOUN AND THE LEBANESE FORCES CHRISTIAN MILITIA. THE FIGHTING, WHICH BEGAN IN LATE JANUARY, HAS CLAIMED HUNDREDS OF LIVES AND INJURED SEVERAL THOUSAND, MOST OF THEM NON-COMBATANTS. WE FIND GENERAL AOUN'S INITIATION OF THE FIGHTING AND MISUSE OF THE ARMED FORCES REPREHENSIBLE. THE TAIF AGREEMENT PRESENTS AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPPORTED FRAMEWORK TO BEGIN A PEACEFUL RECONCILIATION IN LEBANON. IT PROVIDES FOR POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING THAT BETTER REFLECTS THE COMPOSITION OF LEBANON'S POPULATION. IT ALSO PROVIDES FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SYRIAN TROOPS TO THE BIQA VALLEY WITHIN TWO YEARS, AND OBLIGES THE SYRIAN AND LEBANESE GOVERNMENTS TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THE DATE OF FINAL WITHDRAWAL. THE TAIF AGREEMENT PROVIDES FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSITION FROM THE CURRENT STATE OF CONFLICT TO A UNIFIED, INDEPENDENT STATE.

BY CONTRAST, THE POLICIES OF GENERAL MICHEL AOUN ARE DOOMED TO FAILURE. SINCE THE BEGINNING OF HIS "WAR OF LIBERATION" AGAINST SYRIA LAST SPRING, THERE ARE MORE, NOT FEWER, SYRIAN TROOPS IN LEBANON. OVER 1700 LEBANESE HAVE DIED AND THOUSANDS MORE HAVE BEEN INJURED; TENS OF THOUSANDS OF LEBANESE HAVE LEFT LEBANON AND THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY AND BASIC INFRASTRUCTURE HAVE BEEN FURTHER DEVASTATED. IN JANUARY, GENERAL AOUN CLAMPED DOWN ON THE PRESS, SHUTTING DOWN SEVERAL BEIRUT PUBLICATIONS. HE LATER CUT OFF WATER AND ELECTRICITY TO

THE CITIZENS OF WEST BEIRUT. RESTRICTING PRESS FREEDOM AND CAUSING HARDSHIP TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION ARE NOT ACTS OF A MAN WHO HAS THE BEST INTERESTS OF LEBANON AT HEART.

THE TERRIBLE CARNAGE WREAKED ON THE CHRISTIAN ENCLAVE AND AOUN'S OTHER IRRESPONSIBLE ACTIONS CONVINCE US THAT IT IS PAST TIME FOR HIM TO STEP ASIDE. THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUES TO SUPPORT PRESIDENT HRAWI AND THE TAIF AGREEMENT. WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH HIM TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION.

A TEHRAN NEWSPAPER HAS URGED THE RELEASE OF WESTERN HOSTAGES BEING HELD IN LEBANON. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR TO IRAN, AND TO THOSE IN LEBANON WITH WHOM THEY HAVE INFLUENCE, THAT IT IS NOT WORDS WHICH COUNT, BUT ACTIONS. THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES CONTINUES TO BE A HIGH PRIORITY FOR THIS ADMINISTRATION. WE INTEND TO STRICTLY ADHERE TO OUR NO-CONCESSION POLICY AND WILL DO ALL WE CAN NOT TO REWARD HOSTAGE-TAKING.

U.S. OIL DEPENDENCY

THE U.S. ECONOMY HAS EXPERIENCED SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH FOR OVER SEVEN YEARS, AND WITH IT TOTAL ENERGY AND OIL CONSUMPTION GRADUALLY HAVE INCREASED. SINCE 1983 THERE HAS BEEN A 66% INCREASE IN OUR ANNUAL NET OIL IMPORTS. CONTINUED LOW PRICES ARE ACCELERATING OUR DEPENDENCE ON OIL IMPORTS BY DIMINISHING PRICE INCENTIVES FOR NEW EXPLORATION AND DEVELOPMENT AND REDUCING MOMENTUM FOR CONSERVATION. NET IMPORTS AS A SHARE OF OUR TOTAL PETROLEUM NEEDS MAY GROW FROM 42 PERCENT IN 1989 TO THE 50-60 PERCENT RANGE BY THE YEAR 2000.

APPROXIMATELY 53% OF THE INCREASE IN TOTAL U.S. IMPORTS OF CRUDE AND REFINED PETROLEUM PRODUCTS SINCE 1985 HAS COME FROM THE PERSIAN GULF. IN 1988, SAUDI ARABIA BECAME OUR LARGEST OIL SUPPLIER, PROVIDING OVER 15 PERCENT OF U.S. IMPORTS; WE NOW TAKE ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF ANNUAL SAUDI CRUDE AND REFINED PRODUCTS OUTPUT. GULF STATES -- PRIMARILY SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAQ -- COULD PROVIDE UP TO 28% OF OUR IMPORTS IN 1990, WHICH WOULD REPRESENT 14-15% OF TOTAL U.S. OIL CONSUMPTION. BY THE YEAR 2000, THE PERSIAN GULF COULD CONCEIVABLY ACCOUNT FOR APPROXIMATELY 37 PERCENT OF OUT TOTAL PETROLEUM IMPORTS.

WE DO NOT EXPECT MAJOR NEW OIL FINDS OUTSIDE THE GULF TO REVERSE THIS TREND IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. ABOUT 65% OF THE WORLD'S KNOWN RECOVERABLE OIL RESERVES ARE LOCATED IN THE GULF, ONLY 2.6% ARE FOUND IN THE UNITED STATES AND 1.9% IN WESTERN EUROPE. PERSIAN GULF PRODUCERS ALSO ACCOUNT FOR APPROXIMATELY 65-70% OF THE WORLD'S EXCESS PRODUCTION CAPACITY. OVER THE NEXT 5-10 YEARS, THE PERSIAN GULF'S SHARE OF TOTAL WORLD CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION MAY RANGE BETWEEN 45 TO 50%; IT CURRENTLY IS 25%.

I DO NOT ANTICIPATE ANOTHER OPEC EMBARGO AND BELIEVE THE PRODUCER STATES THEMSELVES NOW HAVE BUILT-IN INHIBITIONS AGAINST SUCH AN EMBARGO. THE GULF STATES NOW HAVE A REAL STAKE IN THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN NATIONS. AND WE IN TURN HAVE A STAKE IN THE STABILITY OF THE PERSIAN GULF AND THE MODERATION OF GULF OIL POLICIES OVER THE LONG-TERM. WE MUST KEEP THE ISSUE OF ENERGY SECURITY BEFORE THE PUBLIC AND CONTINUE TO PURSUE AN ACTIVE POLICY OF ENERGY CONSERVATION. WE ALSO MUST CONTINUE TO HONE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH FRIENDLY GULF STATES AND SECURE STABLE SOURCES OF ENERGY SUPPLY.

11/14

732

11/14

12
T4

THE GULF

EARLIER THIS MONTH, I TRAVELED TO THE SIX COUNTRIES OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL-- SAUDI ARABIA, OMAN, THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, QATAR, BAHRAIN, AND KUWAIT. I CONCLUDED THE TRIP IN IRAQ. ONE OF THE STRONGEST IMPRESSIONS I CAME AWAY WITH WAS CONCERN ABOUT INSTABILITY IN IRAN, IRANIAN TERRORISM, AND IRANIAN REARMAMENT.

732
12/14

I ALSO HEARD EXPRESSIONS OF A NEW CONFIDENCE IN THE U.S. AS A RESULT OF OUR STEADY PERFORMANCE DURING THE GULF WAR, AND A WIDESPREAD APPRECIATION FOR A CONTINUED U.S. NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE GULF. THE PROTECTION OF REFLAGGED KUWAITI TANKERS IN 1987 GREATLY IMPROVED NOT ONLY OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH KUWAIT, BUT OUR STANDING WITH ALL OF OUR GULF ARAB FRIENDS. MOST IMPORTANT WAS THE FACT THAT WE STAYED THE COURSE IN THE FACE OF CHALLENGES AND ADVERSITY.

SINCE THE CEASEFIRE BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ WENT INTO EFFECT IN AUGUST, 1988, THE THREAT IN THE REGION HAS ABATED. NO ONE SHOULD DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO DETER THREATS IN THE GULF AND TO MAINTAIN FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION TO ENSURE UNIMPEDED ACCESS TO THE REGION'S OIL RESOURCES AND THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN THE AREA. WE PLAN TO MAINTAIN A NAVAL PRESENCE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

IRAQ HAS EMERGED STRENGTHENED AFTER THE GULF WAR CEASEFIRE, WITH INCREASED MILITARY POWER AND PRESTIGE IN THE ARAB WORLD TO SUPPLEMENT ITS VAST OIL RESERVES. IT IS CLEAR THAT IRAQ SEEKS IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. TRADE WILL BE A KEY FACTOR IN OUR FUTURE RELATIONSHIP. THOUGH

13/14

THE COUNTRY FACES A DIFFICULT PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION, I SAW FIRSTHAND THAT THE EFFORT IS WELL UNDER WAY. THERE ARE IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS IN IRAQ.

732

13/14

THE PROBLEMS IN OUR RELATIONS REMAIN, WITH REGARD TO IRAQ'S POOR HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND OUR CONCERNS ABOUT WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. WE NEED TO BE ABLE TO SPEAK FRANKLY TO THE IRAQIS ABOUT THESE CONCERNS AND ABOUT REGIONAL ISSUES OF MUTUAL INTEREST. THIS IS NOT AN EASY RELATIONSHIP, BUT IT IS AN IMPORTANT ONE IN WHICH WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS.

FINALLY, I WANT TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT IRAN. I WISH I HAD BETTER NEWS TO REPORT; IN A WORLD WHICH IS CHANGING ALMOST EVERYWHERE FOR THE BETTER, IRAN IS A CONSPICUOUS EXCEPTION. THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO ACT IN WAYS WHICH ARE UNACCEPTABLE; WE ARE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED ABOUT IRAN'S SUPPORT FOR GROUPS WHICH HOLD AMERICAN CITIZENS IN LEBANON. IN THE HAGUE CLAIMS TRIBUNAL, OUR NEGOTIATIONS WITH IRAN CONTINUE. THERE HAVE BEEN NO LARGE CLAIMS SETTLEMENTS SINCE I LAST TESTIFIED BEFORE YOU. WHEN IRAN IS READY TO DISCUSS THE ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE US SERIOUSLY, WE WILL BE READY TO RESPOND.

14
14

CONCLUSION

MR. CHAIRMAN, OVERALL 1989 WAS NOT A BAD YEAR FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH WEST ASIA. THERE WAS MARKED PROGRESS MADE IN A NUMBER OF OUR ENDEAVORS IN THE REGION. WE NOW ARE FACED WITH THE CHALLENGE OF GRASPING THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT HAVE ARISEN TO ADVANCE FURTHER TOWARD OUR GOALS OF FOSTERING STABILITY AND PEACEFUL RECONCILIATION IN THIS AREA OF THE WORLD. THIS ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO MEET THAT CHALLENGE.

732
14/14

1990-02-28 21:33 1408039\6 01

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: מיידי | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פברוק | קק: 1<br>פתון: 5 |
| סווג: גלוי | | |
| תאריך וזמן העבר: 28 בפברואר 1990 19:45 | אל: מצפ'א | |
| כס' פברוק:<br>המשרד:<br>1/5 748 | דע: | |
| | כאת: ק. לקונגרס | |

ביהנ"ב : עדות קלי - שימועים

רצ"ב סיכום השימועים מהיום (28/2) וחלק השאלות והתשובות.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה: 36

28/2/1990

RE: House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East Hearing on Developments in the Middle East.

WITNESS: John Kelly - Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, Department of State

MEMBERS PRESENT: Chairman Lee Hamilton (D-IN), Tom Lantos (D-CA), Edward Feighan (D-OH), Howard Berman (D-CA), Ranking Minority Member Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), Jan Meyers (R-KS), Donald Lukens (R-OH).

MEDIA: Light-Moderate and CSPAN
ATMOSPHERE: Cordial

## SUMMARY

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East met today to hear from John Kelly, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs. At the request of members of the panel, Kelly outlined what has been accomplished as a result of the U.S.-PLO dialogue, and what the risks are if West Bank election don't take place in the near future. Kelly also addressed the issue of the PLO's accountability for recent terrorist acts explaining that since the U.S. had not found any direct relationship between the PLO leadership and those carrying out the attacks, the PLO can not be held responsible. He acknowledged, however, that those carrying out the attacks may well be members of PLO constituent groups. Another concern raised by the subcommittee members was Soviet Jewish emigration to Israel. Kelly called for an open statement by the Israelis opposing new settlements on the West Bank. Kelly also expressed opposition to the expansion of existing settlements and outlined the concern of "serious Arab leaders" about the potential influx of Soviet Jews into the territories which could displace the local Palestinian population.

## REPORT

In his written testimony, Kelly stated that "we are closer now to creating the conditions for an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue that we have been since the creation of the State of Israel in 1948." He noted recent Administration meetings with Egyptian Foreign Minister Meguid and Israeli Defense Minister Rabin where "we urged more rapid movement toward the dialogue." He added, "we also tried to advance the process during Israeli Foreign Minister Arens' visit here last week."

748
2/5

(3)
5

748 3/5

At the request of Chairman Lee Hamilton (D-IN), Kelly outlined the risks of not moving the election process forward in the near future explaining the need for some relief in the tension between the Israeli and the Palestinians living in the area. He stressed the potential for an increase in pressure from Arab radicals to revert to armed struggle if political channels do not lead to visible progress.

Kelly also had the opportunity to outline what has been accomplished as a result of the U.S.-PLO dialogue in response to a question from Jan Meyers (R-KS). In what seemed to be a prepared statement on the issue, Kelly stated that the dialogue has been a part of the U.S. effort to bring about a peace process and has been of value. He said that "we are using the dialogue to attempt to influence and moderate their position." He stated that the recent "headway" being made in the peace process indicates that the dialogue is working and that as a direct result of U.S.-PLO discussions, the PLO has accepted the idea of elections, a transitional period, and direct talks. Kelly added that the dialogue has weakened the Soviet monopoly on the PLO, allowing Palestinians to directly listen to the U.S. and that the dialogue has made it easier for the U.S. to garner Arab support.

Citing recent reports that the PLO is still supporting terrorism, Rep. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY) asked Kelly to elaborate on the U.S. position on these matters. Kelly assured Gilman that it takes terrorist acts very seriously and researches each case to determine who is responsible. Kelly then stated that based on such information it has been determined that in "no case was the PLO leadership involved with the planning, implementation or execution of terrorist acts." Kelly admitted that in many cases PLO splinter groups are responsible, as in the Dec 5th attack across the Sinai, but answered affirmatively to Gilman's question that if the PLO leadership is not directly connected, the PLO will not be held responsible. Kelly stressed, however, that each incident has been raised in Tunis and the Administration had made clear that terrorism in unacceptable.

Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA) grilled Kelly on the reasons for Soviet refusal to reinstitute direct flights beween Moscow and Tel Aviv. Lantos warned that the Soviet refusal "directly impinges on the Jackson-Vanik agreement." Lantos promised that if the situation wasn't remedied he would lead the fight against a waiver of Jackson-Vanik. He urged that the U.S. use more leverage and pressure to elicit an agreeable Soviet response and emphasized that the Soviets are using the Arab League campaign as "a red herring." Lantos stressed his belief that the Soviets are not that worried about what the Arabs think and that if only a total of approximately 150 Soviet Jews have chosen to live on the West Bank in the past 5 years the Arabs can't be that concerned.

Kelly explained that "serious Arab leaders" are concerned with the possibility that large numbers of Soviet Jews could settle on the West Bank during the next few years and this

748 4/5

(4)/5

potential influx could displace local Palestinians and force them to emigrate to neighboring Arab countries. Kelly also informed Rep. Howard Berman (D-CA) of his belief that Arab leaders do make the distinction between the territories and Israel proper and only object to Soviet resettlement in the territories. He added that not only would an open commitment by the Israelis not to build new settlements and not to settle Soviet Jews in the territories help to ease the situation, but that it is the position of the Administration that existing settlements in the territories should not be expanded. He countered Members' arguments that a democracy should not dictate where its citizens live, by pointing out that Soviet Jews are drawn to the financial inducements Israel offers its citizens who choose to live in the territories.

Reps. Donald Lukens (R-OH) and Lee Hamilton asked several questions on housing guarantees for Soviet resettlement in Israel. Kelly informed the members that the executive branch is currently considering the Kasten-Leahy legislation but has not yet formulated a position and that the although Housing guarantees have been discussed informally with Israeli officials, no formal request for housing guarantees has been made by Israel, only by Congress.

Kelly also told Lukens that he has no confirmation of reports that Israel has sent cluster bombs to Ethiopia and that to his knowledge Israel is not producing a fighter plane based on Lavi technology in cooperation with another country. Lukens also raised several questions on FMS refinancing to which Kelly will provide responses for the record.

Hamilton concluded the hearing with a series of questions on an array of topics. He inquired about arrests of American citizens by Israel and Saudi Arabia, to which Kelly assured him that the issue had been raised by the Israelis and that incidents had mostly involved the military authority in the West Bank which is not familiar with international protocol. Kelly was vague in response to a question regarding Israeli support for resolution 242 but stated it will be the central presumption of any negotiations. He also told Hamilton that in terms of PLO cooperation to move the peace process forward, the U.S. is "looking for PLO acquiescence not agreement." Hamilton cited a letter from Arafat to Jewish community leadership regarding the election process.

Hamilton also asked several questions regarding the findings of the Human Rights Report and whether the situation on the West Bank has improved. Kelly responded that there has been a slight decrease of overall deaths and noted the incidence of Palestinians murdered by other Palestinians.

Kelly assured Hamilton that the U.S. has urged Israel to reopen all West Bank Universities and that the U.S. still opposes school closures.

(5)
5

Finally, Kelly confirmed Hamilton's belief that the Iraqis are developing ballistic missiles and chemical weapons and on yet another subject stated that the U.S. would like to see terrorist Achmed Jibril and his group expelled from Syria.

748 5/5

XXX

1990-02-28 20:24 1408039 01

**שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון**
**טופס מברק**

**דף:**
**מתוך:**

**דחיפות:** מיידי
**סווג:** רגיל
**תאריך וזמן חעבר:** 28 בפברואר 1990 13:30
**מס' מברק:**
**המשרד:** 742 1/7

**אל:** מצפיא
**דע:** 11 ארהב
**מאת:** ק. לקונגרס

<u>סנטור דול - סיוע חוץ</u>

רציב :-

1. התבטאותו במליאת הסנאט עם הודע תוצאות הבחירות בניקרגואה. תשומת לבכם להתיחסותו למכתב 73 הסנטורים בנוגע לסיוע לישראל.
2. נאומו אתמול באיצ בפני ה-*NAAA*.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

9 1 3 1 1 1 1 2 1
שהח ס/שהח רהמ ממנכל מנמ מצפא בנצאר מזפ2 שהבט
מזבר ר/מרכז ממפמד ו רמ/מחקר אמן
1 1 1 2 4

**תפוצה:** 36.

742

2/7

## RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the standing order, the Republican leader is recognized.

## TWO DOWN, ONE TO GO

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, it appears that Daniel Ortega used the same pollster I did in New Hampshire. This time, though, the result is one I can enthusiastically celebrate.

As I look around this hemisphere—at Panama, at Nicaragua, and Cuba—it seems to me it is: two down, and one to go: Noriega is history, and now so is Ortega.

No doubt about it, it is a day—yet another day—to celebrate. The message from Managua is the same simple message we heard in Poland, and in Czechoslovakia, and, in fact, in Lithuania just yesterday—given a free choice, people will always choose freedom.

a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Given a free choice between Sandinista tyranny and democracy—the people of Nicaragua have ignored intimidation, overcome a stacked-deck, and taken back their own future.

We congratulate them—their President-elect, Mrs. Violeta Chamorro, an extraordinarily brave and tenacious woman; all of those from UNO who stuck together when the chips were down; and most of all the citizens of Nicaragua. They have suffered grievously for many, many years. They deserve peace, freedom, and a fair shot at prosperity.

They have taken a giant first step. But they still have a long way to go.

Last August, I visited Poland, arriving on the very day that Prime Minister Mazowiecki took office. During that visit, I also met with President Jaruselski.

Perhaps the most striking thing that Jaruselski said to me was that he was determined, in his remaining days, to do everything he could to help his country—not as a Communist, but as a Pole. I was convinced at the time that he was sincere. Events since have indicated he was.

I hope that Daniel Ortega will follow President Jaruselski's example.

Much of what happens in the coming weeks will be up to him, and his Sandinista colleagues. The people of Nicaragua have spoken, loud and clear. With every advantage, fair and unfair, in his favor—Ortega has been rejected by something like a 3-to-2 margin.

The people of Nicaragua have "thrown the rascals out." I hope the rascals will accept that verdict, and give up all the levers of power—not only the Presidency, but the armed forces, the state security apparatus, and the entire range of governmental authority.

The people of Nicaragua have elected UNO starting on inauguration day, April 25—UNO should rule.

What about our own policy? Obviously, we all join in celebrating this victory for freedom. Over the years, we have had different prescriptions for restoring democracy to Nicaragua. But we have shared a common goal. There is real hope, now, that our goal can be achieved. And as the majority leader just referred to I think perhaps the turning point may have been the bipartisan accord agreed to between the administration and Republicans and Democrats in the House and the Senate.

But I also believe that the final outcome is a vindication of the Reagan policies over the years, and there is no doubt in my mind that had it not been for the contrast it would never have been an election notwithstanding the bipartisan accord.

For those who have supported Contras over the years, with much criticism—never was that popular with some of the American people—my view is that policy has been vindicated as demonstrated, and perhaps, as I have indicated, that coupled with the bipartisan accord may have led to this outcome.

It is time, now, that we try to form a sound, bipartisan policy, to support Mrs. Chamorro's government and help ensure its long-term success.

In the first instance—as I said—we should insist that the Sandinistas really give up power. So far, Ortega is saying the right things. I hope the Sandinistas follow up his good words with good deeds.

If they do, our three principal concerns will be taken care of.

Nicaragua's unholy alliance with Moscow and Havana.

Sandinista support for the Communist insurgency in El Salvador.

And Sandinista suppression of the Nicaraguan people.

Under those circumstances, we must be prepared to move swiftly to help Mrs. Chamorro succeed.

The first step, of course, is eliminating all of the sanctions now in place against the Sandinista regime. I hope we will do whatever we need to, so that can be accomplished when Mrs. Chamorro becomes President Chamorro on April 25.

But much more will be required. We should—we must—provide her new government with aid. And let us not kid ourselves: We are talking about "big bucks" in aid.

The Nicaraguan economy is flat on its back. "Capital flight" is not a problem—because there is no more capital left to "fly." Foreign investment is nothing but a memory. Domestic investment is zero.

Meanwhile, the country is physically devastated by years of war. Inflation is sky high. Unemployment is the rule, not the exception.

If any newly elected leader ever faced an economic and social emergency, Mrs. Chamorro does.

She needs our help, and she deserves it.

But it raises the same old question—the question we are facing for Eastern Europe, for Panama. Where are we going to get the money?

I hope that the understandable exhilaration that we all feel this morning will give way later today to renewed, sober consideration of the new economic burdens we in this country face.

The world is changing. The frontiers of freedom are expanding. But our bank account is not.

We have great new opportunities, and major new responsibilities. But we do not have one single cent in new revenues to pay for it.

And, as far as I know, we do not have a whole bunch of Senators lining up to introduce legislation to spend more in foreign aid.

So how are we going to pay for it all?

On this day of new freedom in the hemisphere, I do not want to raise an old cry. But the fact is: the only way we are going to pay for new aid to Nicaragua, Panama, Czechoslovakia, name any country—is to look into the foreign aid budget that now exists and make some tough calls.

This is a new reality. It was not around 6 months ago—a new reality in international affairs. It demands that we at least ask the question: Is it not time to consider some new priorities in American aid? What are our priorities? Are they never going to change? Are we going to go out and find billions of dollars more in foreign aid? How many Senators are going to vote for it? How much? What percent of the American people support it? It will not be a very high percentage.

So I simply pose that question again today, and I hope that all Senators will consider it seriously in the days ahead. I know when I suggested an aid review before, 73 of my colleagues voted, "Oh, don't cut Israel one cent"—73, which would be a clear majority in this Chamber.

I never suggested anything except to take a look at it, some small reduction right across the board. And again I think the victory of Mrs. Chamorro—in any event, whoever would have won this election—we would have had some new obligations. Maybe there is some money somewhere that was not discovered. Maybe the Presiding Officer can find some in the Appropriations Committee. Maybe I just do not understand how this works—so we do not have to go back and take the review. Once you are in that program, you are never going to be reduced, never going to be examined, and never going to be asked to justify what you received last year as we are in all other programs including agriculture, education, whatever it is.

So it seems to me that this is a happy day for democracy. But I would guess Mrs. Chamorro, when she talks with President Bush, as I am certain she will probably sometime today, will make it clear to President Bush that "we need help. We need American help." That means dollars. It means economic aid. It means investment and it means eliminating sanctions.

So I just suggest, as I did earlier this year, that perhaps it is time to take a look to see where we can find the money.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

## MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There will now be a period for the transaction of morning business to expire at 12 o'clock noon. Senators are permitted to speak therein for not to exceed 5 minutes each.

The Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

## NICARAGUAN ELECTIONS

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, it is wonderful indeed that the Nicaraguan people have finally been able to ex

742 3/7

742 4/7

News from Senator

# BOB DOLE

R - Kansas) SH 141 Hart Building, Washington, D.C. 20510

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 27, 1990

CONTACT: WALT RIKER
(202) 224-5358

**NO PEACE AROUND MIDDLE EAST:**
**GLOBAL CHANGES WILL INFLUENCE AREA - REASSESS FOREIGN AID**

IT'S A PLEASURE TO WELCOME YOU TO WASHINGTON, AND TO CAPITOL HILL.

I KNOW THAT YOU ARE HERE ON SERIOUS BUSINESS -- AS AMERICANS, AND AS ARAB-AMERICANS.

YOU HAVE AN ALL-AMERICAN AGENDA -- TAXES, CLEAN AIR, CHILD CARE, THE COST OF HEALTH SERVICES, THE EMERGENCE OF NEW DEMOCRACIES AROUND THE WORLD. THE SAME ISSUES THAT OCCUPY CAPITOL HILL, AND INTEREST AMERICANS ALL AROUND THIS COUNTRY.

BUT YOUR AGENDA DOESN'T STOP THERE. BECAUSE YOU HAVE A LEGITIMATE, SPECIAL INTEREST IN A SET OF ISSUES OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO YOU. ISSUES THAT DIRECTLY AFFECT YOUR WELFARE, AND THE WELFARE OF YOUR FAMILIES AND YOUR ORIGINAL HOMELANDS.

o

SOMETIMES PROGRESS COMES SLOWLY, AND IT IS FRUSTRATING. BUT AT LEAST I BELIEVE YOU'VE MADE THIS MUCH PROGRESS -- THE ISSUES OF YOUR SPECIAL CONCERN ARE FINALLY BEGINNING TO SHOW UP ON SCOPES AROUND CAPITOL HILL AND AROUND THIS TOWN.

SOME OF THE KNEE-JERK ATTITUDES OF OLD ABOUT ISSUES OF THE MIDDLE EAST ARE BUMPING UP AGAINST SOME IMPORTANT NEW REALITIES.

THE REALITIES OF OUR FEDERAL BUDGET AND DEFICITS -- WHICH MUST BEGIN TO SHAPE OUR FOREIGN AID PRIORITIES.

THE REALITIES OF THE INCREDIBLE DEVELOPMENTS WE SEE IN EASTERN EUROPE, IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND HERE ON OUR DOORSTEP IN CENTRAL AMERICA -- WHEN CONTRASTED WITH APPARENT INTRACTABILITY OF EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

742 5/7

THE REALITIES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN -- AND LET ME SAY CANDIDLY: NOT ALWAYS TOTALLY INNOCENT WOMEN AND CHILDREN -- BUT WOMEN AND CHILDREN, NONETHELESS, CONFRONTING AND SOMETIMES BEING BRUTALIZED BY HEAVILY ARMED ISRAELI TROOPS. PICTURES BROADCAST ON THE NIGHTLY NEWS, IN WAYS THAT MOST AMERICANS CAN'T IGNORE.

IT'S A CHANGING WORLD -- AND THERE IS NO FENCE BUILT AROUND THE MIDDLE EAST, TO KEEP THOSE CHANGES OUT; OR FOR THAT MATTER AROUND THE MINDS OF FAIR AND HONEST AMERICANS, WHO LITTLE-BY-LITTLE ARE BEING AFFECTED BY WHAT IS GOING ON AROUND THE WORLD, AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

LET ME COMMENT BRIEFLY ON JUST THREE OF THE ISSUES THAT I KNOW CONCERN YOU.

FIRST, MY PROPOSAL TO CUT AID TO SO-CALLED "EARMARKED" COUNTRIES BY 5%. THE OPPONENTS OF THAT PROPOSAL ARE PULLING OUT ALL THE STOPS.

IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HEAR A LITTLE MORE FROM THOSE GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO SEE SOME MERIT IN THE PROPOSAL.

YESTERDAY, WE HAD TWO MORE REASONS -- NICARAGUA AND LITHUANIA -- TO CELEBRATE FOR FREEDOM. AND WE HAD TWO MORE COMPELLING REASONS TO TAKE A NEW LOOK AT OUR CURRENT FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS.

I SAID YESTERDAY ON THE SENATE FLOOR: I DON'T SEE A WHOLE BUNCH OF SENATORS LINING UP TO PROPOSE MORE FOREIGN AID, OVERALL. BUT I DO SEE A WHOLE BUNCH OF THEM SAYING: WE HAVE TO START GIVING MORE TO PANAMA, OR NICARAGUA, OR POLAND, OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

IN FACT, YOU CAN MAKE A PRETTY COMPELLING CASE FOR AMERICAN AID FOR ANY ONE OF THOSE COUNTRIES. BUT HOW ARE WE GOING TO PAY FOR IT?

(MORE)

742 5/7

742 6/7



SOMETHING'S GOT TO GIVE. AND I THINK WHAT SHOULD GIVE IS THESE MULTI-MILLION AND MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR FOREIGN AID-ENTITLEMENT PROGRAMS THAT WE'RE FUNDING. PROGRAMS THAT MIGHT HAVE MADE PERFECT SENSE WHEN WE STARTED WRITING THE CHECKS FIVE OR TEN YEARS AGO -- BUT PROGRAMS THAT, AT A MINIMUM, OUGHT TO BE LOOKED AT AGAIN, TO SEE IF THEY CAN BE JUSTIFIED IN 1990 IN VIEW OF ALL THESE MOMENTOUS CHANGES AROUND THE WORLD.SO I REPEAT: I HOPE THAT THOSE OF YOU WHO MIGHT SEE MERIT IN WHAT I HAVE SUGGESTED WILL BE ACTIVE AND AGGRESSIVE IN MAKING YOUR VIEWS KNOWN. EVEN IF WE DON'T PREVAIL THIS TIME, GOOD ARGUMENTS, WELL-MADE, HAVE A WAY OF STICKING IN THE BACKS OF PEOPLES' MINDS -- AND, SOMEWHERE DOWN THE ROAD, PAYING OFF.

o

SO THAT'S ONE ISSUE.

A SECOND ONE IS THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. I REALLY WANT TO SAY ONLY THIS:

IT HAPPENS TO BE ONE ISSUE WHERE IT'S EASY TO TAKE AN EVEN-HANDED APPROACH. THERE IS PLENTY OF BLAME TO GO AROUND.

BUT I AGREE WITH THE RECENT STATEMENTS OF SECRETARY BAKER AND OTHERS. IT IS TIME FOR ALL PARTIES TO QUIT STALLING AND NIT-PICKING -- AND START NEGOTIATING.

EVERYBODY INVOLVED HAS THEIR OWN POLITICAL NEEDS AND PROBLEMS. BUT, AS FAR AS I KNOW, WE ARE READY; THE EGYPTIANS ARE READY. IT IS TIME TO GET ON WITH IT.

WE HAVE NEGOTIATIONS AND ELECTIONS ALL OVER THE WORLD -- MUST THE MIDDLE EAST BE LAST?

o

THIRD, AND FINALLY, I WANT TO SAY A WORD ABOUT AN ISSUE OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO ME -- LEBANON.

A FEW WEEKS AGO IN LOS ANGELES, I WAS HONORED BY THE AMERICAN TASK FORCE ON LEBANON -- WITH ITS PHILIP C. HABIB AWARD. SOME OF YOU MAY BE MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCE.

ON THAT OCCASION, I LAID OUT A GENERAL GAME PLAN TO ADDRESS THE CRITICAL ISSUE OF LEBANON. I WANT TO GO OVER ITS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS WITH YOU TODAY.

FIRST, AND FOREMOST, THE UNITED STATES MUST GET MORE ACTIVELY RE-ENGAGED IN THE ISSUE OF LEBANON. WE MUST SEE LEBANON, AGAIN, AS AN IMPORTANT FOCUS OF OUR SECURITY ATTENTION -- AND NOT JUST AS A "SIDESHOW" TO A BROADER MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT.

IN LOS ANGELES, I URGED THE APPOINTMENT OF A "SPECIAL AMERICAN ENVOY." I REPEAT THAT CALL TODAY. I HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEM OF LEBANON, AND OF THE ODDS AGAINST ANY EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH.

BUT I DO KNOW THAT PEOPLE ARE DYING AT AN ALARMING RATE -- THE CARNAGE IS FAR WORSE THAN IT HAS BEEN ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA, OR IN PANAMA, OR ROMANIA, OR ANYWHERE ELSE RECENTLY ON THE FRONT PAGES. AND I AM CONVINCED THAT IT IS NOT A VIABLE OR HUMANE POLICY FOR THIS GREAT COUNTRY, TO JUST STAND BY AND WAIT TO SEE WHO WILL BE THE LAST SURVIVOR.

WE MUST AT LEAST TRY.

THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL ENVOY WOULD ALSO SEND A SIGNAL, AND BE THE BEARER OF WHAT I BELIEVE SHOULD BE VERY STRONG MESSAGES -- TO THOSE WHO ARE THE BIGGEST BARRIERS TO PEACE AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY FOR LEBANON.

THERE MAY BE SOME OF SYRIAN DESCENT HERE TODAY. BUT I HAVE NEVER BEEN KNOWN FOR PULLING MY PUNCHES, AND I CAN'T IN GOOD CONSCIENCE DO SO TODAY: SYRIA'S POLICIES ARE THE BIGGEST SINGLE BARRIER TO PEACE IN LEBANON.

THE TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE OF THE ARAB LEAGUE -- MOROCCO, SAUDI ARABIA AND ALGERIA -- THEY HAVE DONE AN OUTSTANDING JOB. THE TAIF (tie-eef) AGREEMENT WHICH THEY BROKERED REMAINS THE "MAP" THAT HAS TO BE FOLLOWED IN PURSUIT OF PEACE IN LEBANON. THEY DESERVE OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT AS THEY PURSUE THEIR INITIATIVE.

BUT THEIR JOB WILL NOT BE FULLY DONE UNTIL SYRIA AGREES TO A BINDING TIMETABLE FOR A TOTAL WITHDRAWAL.

HOWEVER, LET ME ADD THIS, TOO: SYRIA IS NOT THE ONLY FOREIGN FORCE OCCUPYING PART OF LEBANON, AND INTRUDING INTO ITS SOVEREIGN AFFAIRS.

ALL FOREIGN FORCES MUST BE WITHDRAWN: SYRIA'S, IRAN'S -- AND ISRAEL'S, TOO.

LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY WILL NOT BE RESTORED, UNTIL ALL FOREIGN FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN, AND A STRONG NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS INSTALLED -- REPRESENTING ALL SEGMENTS OF LEBANESE SOCIETY.

o

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I DON'T SUPPOSE ALL OF YOU HAVE AGREED WITH EVERYTHING I HAVE JUST SAID. BUT I KNOW THAT YOU KNOW -- FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE -- HOW IMPORTANT IT IS JUST TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK YOUR PIECE, AND HAVE YOUR VIEWS OPENLY AND HONESTLY CONSIDERED.

SO I THANK YOU, SINCERELY, FOR WELCOMING ME TO YOUR MEETING TODAY; AND FOR GIVING MY VIEWS AN OPEN AND HONEST HEARING.

IT IS THE AMERICAN WAY; AND, AS I HAVE FOUND FROM SPEAKING AT A NUMBER OF YOUR EVENTS, THE ARAB-AMERICAN WAY.

KEEP AT IT. MORE AND MORE, YOUR VOICE IS BEING HEARD.

***

742

7/7

1990-02-28 20:24 1408039 01

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: מיידי | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | מק: ____<br>פתיון: ____ |
| סווג: רגיל | | |
| תאריך ודפן חעבור:<br>28 בפברואר 1990 13:30 | | אל: מצפ"א |
| פס' פנוק:<br>הפשרד: 742 1/7 | ארקב | דע: |
| | | פאת: ק. לקונגרס |

סנטור דול - סיוע חוץ

רצ"ב :-

1. התבטאותו במליאת הסנאט עם הודע תוצאות הבחירות בניקרגואה. חשוגת לבכם להתיחסותו למכתב 73 חסנטורים בנוגע לסיוע לישראל.
2. נאומו אתמול באיצ בפני ה-NAAA.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

שהם משתתפים בחגיגה גם בגלגל בשעה בגבעה שהבטל
בגבר הנגיב בגלגלים ו הקנגיה אלה

תפוצה: 36.

742

2/7

## RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the standing order, the Republican leader is recognized.

## TWO DOWN, ONE TO GO

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, it appears that Daniel Ortega used the same pollster I did in New Hampshire. This time, though, the result is one I can enthusiastically celebrate.

As I look around this hemisphere—at Panama, at Nicaragua, and Cuba—it seems to me it is: two down, and one to go: Noriega is history, and now so is Ortega.

No doubt about it, it is a day—yet another day—to celebrate. The message from Managua is the same simple message we heard in Poland, and in Czechoslovakia, and, in fact, in Lithuania just yesterday—given a free choice, people will always choose freedom.

a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Given a free choice between Sandinista tyranny and democracy—the people of Nicaragua have ignored intimidation, overcome a stacked-deck, and taken back their own future.

We congratulate them—their President-elect, Mrs. Violeta Chamorro, an extraordinarily brave and tenacious woman; all of those from UNO who stuck together when the chips were down; and most of all the citizens of Nicaragua. They have suffered grievously for many, many years. They deserve peace, freedom, and a fair shot at prosperity.

They have taken a giant first step. But they still have a long way to go.

Last August, I visited Poland, arriving on the very day that Prime Minister Mazowiecki took office. During that visit, I also met with President Jaruzelski.

Perhaps the most striking thing that Jaruzelski said to me was that he was determined, in his remaining days, to do everything he could to help his country—not as a Communist, but as a Pole. I was convinced at the time that he was sincere. Events since have indicated he was.

I hope that Daniel Ortega will follow President Jaruzelski's example.

Much of what happens in the coming weeks will be up to him, and his Sandinista colleagues. The people of Nicaragua have spoken, loud and clear. With every advantage, fair and unfair, in his favor—Ortega has been rejected by something like a 3-to-2 margin.

The people of Nicaragua have "thrown the rascals out." I hope the rascals will accept that verdict, and give up all the levers of power—not only the Presidency, but the armed forces, the state security apparatus, and the entire range of governmental authority.

The people of Nicaragua have elected UNO starting on inauguration day, April 25—UNO should rule.

What about our own policy? Obviously, we all join in celebrating this victory for freedom. Over the years, we have had different prescriptions for restoring democracy to Nicaragua. But we have shared a common goal. There is real hope, now, that our goal can be achieved. And as the majority leader just referred to I think perhaps the turning point may have been the bipartisan accord agreed to between the Administration and Republicans and Democrats in the House and the Senate.

But I also believe that the final outcome is a vindication of the Reagan policies over the years, and there is no doubt in my mind that had it not been for the contrast it would never have been an election notwithstanding the bipartisan accord.

For those who have supported Contras over the years, with much criticism—never was that popular with some of the American people—my view is that policy has been vindicated as demonstrated, and perhaps, as I have indicated, that coupled with the bipartisan accord may have led to this outcome.

It is time, now, that we try to form a sound, bipartisan policy, to support Mrs. Chamorro's government and help ensure its long-term success.

In the first instance—as I said—we should insist that the Sandinistas really give up power. So far, Ortega is saying the right things. I hope the Sandinistas follow up his good words with good deeds.

If they do, our three principal concerns will be taken care of.

Nicaragua's unholy alliance with Moscow and Havana.

Sandinista support for the Communist insurgency in El Salvador.

And Sandinista suppression of the Nicaraguan people.

Under those circumstances, we must be prepared to move swiftly to help Mrs. Chamorro succeed.

The first step, of course, is eliminating all of the sanctions now in place against the Sandinista regime. I hope we will do whatever we need to, so that can be accomplished when Mrs. Chamorro becomes President Chamorro on April 25.

But much more will be required. We should—we must—provide her new government with aid. And let us not kid ourselves: We are talking about "big bucks" in aid.

The Nicaraguan economy is flat on its back. "Capital flight" is not a problem—because there is no more capital left to "fly." Foreign investment is nothing but a memory. Domestic investment is zero.

Meanwhile, the country is physically devastated by years of war. Inflation is sky high. Unemployment is the rule, not the exception.

If any newly elected leader ever faced an economic and social emergency, Mrs. Chamorro does.

She needs our help, and she deserves it.

But it raises the same old question—the question we are facing for Eastern Europe, for Panama. Where are we going to get the money?

I hope that the understandable exhilaration that we all feel this morning will give way later today to renewed, sober consideration of the new economic burdens we in this country face.

The world is changing. The frontiers of freedom are expanding. But our bank account is not.

We have great new opportunities, and major new responsibilities. But we do not have one single cent in new revenues to pay for it.

And, as far as I know, we do not have a whole bunch of Senators lining up to introduce legislation to spend more in foreign aid.

So how are we going to pay for it all?

On this day of new freedom in the hemisphere, I do not want to raise an old cry. But the fact is: the only way we are going to pay for new aid to Nicaragua, Panama, Czechoslovakia, name any country—is to look into the foreign aid budget that now exists, and make some tough calls.

This is a new reality. It was not around 6 months ago—a new reality in international affairs. It demands that we at least ask the question: Is it not time to consider some new priorities in American aid? What are our priorities? Are they never going to change? Are we going to go out and find billions of dollars more in foreign aid? How many Senators are going to vote for it? How much? What percent of the American people support it? It will not be a very high percentage.

So I simply pose that question again today, and I hope that all Senators will consider it seriously in the days ahead. I know when I suggested an aid review before, 73 of my colleagues voted, "Oh, don't cut Israel one cent"—73, which would be a clear majority in this Chamber.

I never suggested anything except to take a look at it, some small reduction, right across the board. And again I think the victory of Mrs. Chamorro—in any event, whoever would have won this election—we would have had some new obligations. Maybe there is some money somewhere that was not discovered. Maybe the Presiding Officer can find some in the Appropriations Committee. Maybe I just do not understand how this works—so we do not have to go back and take the review. Once you are in that program, you are never going to be reduced, never going to be examined, and never going to be asked to justify what you received last year as we are in all other programs including agriculture, education, whatever it is.

So it seems to me that this is a happy day for democracy. But I would guess Mrs. Chamorro, when she talks with President Bush, as I am certain she will probably sometime today, will make it clear to President Bush that "we need help. We need American help." That means dollars. It means economic aid. It means investment, and it means eliminating sanctions.

So I just suggest, as I did earlier this year, that perhaps it is time to take a look to see where we can find the money.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my time.

## MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There will now be a period for the transaction of morning business to expire at 12 o'clock noon. Senators are permitted to speak therein for not to exceed 5 minutes each.

The Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

## NICARAGUAN ELECTIONS

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, it is wonderful indeed that the Nicaraguan people have finally been able to ex-

742 3/7

742 4/7

# BOB DOLE

R - Kansas) SH 141 Hart Building, Washington, D.C. 20510

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 27, 1990

CONTACT: WALT RIKER
(202) 224-5358

## NO TALK AROUND MIDDLE EAST; GLOBAL CHANGES WILL INFLUENCE AREA - REASSESS FOREIGN AID

IT'S A PLEASURE TO WELCOME YOU TO WASHINGTON, AND TO CAPITOL HILL.

I KNOW THAT YOU ARE HERE ON SERIOUS BUSINESS -- AS AMERICANS, AND AS ARAB-AMERICANS.

YOU HAVE AN ALL-AMERICAN AGENDA -- TAXES, CLEAN AIR, CHILD CARE, THE COST OF HEALTH SERVICES, THE EMERGENCE OF NEW DEMOCRACIES AROUND THE WORLD. THE SAME ISSUES THAT OCCUPY CAPITOL HILL, AND INTEREST AMERICANS ALL AROUND THIS COUNTRY.

BUT YOUR AGENDA DOESN'T STOP THERE. BECAUSE YOU HAVE A LEGITIMATE, SPECIAL INTEREST IN A SET OF ISSUES OF PARTICULAR CONCERN TO YOU. ISSUES THAT DIRECTLY AFFECT YOUR WELFARE, AND THE WELFARE OF YOUR FAMILIES AND YOUR ORIGINAL HOMELANDS.

SOMETIMES PROGRESS COMES SLOWLY, AND IT IS FRUSTRATING. BUT AT LEAST I BELIEVE YOU'VE MADE THIS MUCH PROGRESS -- THE ISSUES OF YOUR SPECIAL CONCERN ARE FINALLY BEGINNING TO SHOW UP ON SCOPES AROUND CAPITOL HILL AND AROUND THIS TOWN.

SOME OF THE KNEE-JERK ATTITUDES OF OLD ABOUT ISSUES OF THE MIDDLE EAST ARE BUMPING UP AGAINST SOME IMPORTANT NEW REALITIES.

THE REALITIES OF OUR FEDERAL BUDGET AND DEFICITS -- WHICH MUST BEGIN TO SHAPE OUR FOREIGN AID PRIORITIES.

THE REALITIES OF THE INCREDIBLE DEVELOPMENTS WE SEE IN EASTERN EUROPE, IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND HERE ON OUR DOORSTEP IN CENTRAL AMERICA -- WHEN CONTRASTED WITH APPARENT INTRACTABILITY OF EVENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

742 5/7

THE REALITIES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN -- AND LET ME SAY CANDIDLY: NOT ALWAYS TOTALLY INNOCENT WOMEN AND CHILDREN -- BUT WOMEN AND CHILDREN, NONETHELESS, CONFRONTING AND SOMETIMES BEING BRUTALIZED BY HEAVILY ARMED ISRAELI TROOPS. PICTURES BROADCAST ON THE NIGHTLY NEWS, IN WAYS THAT MOST AMERICANS CAN'T IGNORE.

IT'S A CHANGING WORLD -- AND THERE IS NO FENCE BUILT AROUND THE MIDDLE EAST, TO KEEP THOSE CHANGES OUT; OR FOR THAT MATTER AROUND THE MINDS OF FAIR AND HONEST AMERICANS, WHO LITTLE-BY-LITTLE ARE BEING AFFECTED BY WHAT IS GOING ON AROUND THE WORLD, AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

LET ME COMMENT BRIEFLY ON JUST THREE OF THE ISSUES THAT I KNOW CONCERN YOU.

FIRST, MY PROPOSAL TO CUT AID TO SO-CALLED "EARMARKED" COUNTRIES BY 5%. THE OPPONENTS OF THAT PROPOSAL ARE PULLING OUT ALL THE STOPS.

IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HEAR A LITTLE MORE FROM THOSE GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS WHO SEE SOME MERIT IN THE PROPOSAL.

YESTERDAY, WE HAD TWO MORE REASONS -- NICARAGUA AND LITHUANIA -- TO CELEBRATE FOR FREEDOM. AND WE HAD TWO MORE COMPELLING REASONS TO TAKE A NEW LOOK AT OUR CURRENT FOREIGN AID PROGRAMS.

I SAID YESTERDAY ON THE SENATE FLOOR: I DON'T SEE A WHOLE BUNCH OF SENATORS LINING UP TO PROPOSE MORE FOREIGN AID, OVERALL. BUT I DO SEE A WHOLE BUNCH OF THEM SAYING: WE HAVE TO START GIVING MORE TO PANAMA, OR NICARAGUA, OR POLAND, OR CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

IN FACT, YOU CAN MAKE A PRETTY COMPELLING CASE FOR AMERICAN AID FOR ANY ONE OF THOSE COUNTRIES. BUT HOW ARE WE GOING TO PAY FOR IT?

(MORE)

742 7/7

742 6/7



SOMETHING'S GOT TO GIVE. AND I THINK WHAT SHOULD GIVE IS THESE MULTI-MILLION AND MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR FOREIGN AID ENTITLEMENT PROGRAMS THAT WE'RE FUNDING. PROGRAMS THAT MIGHT HAVE MADE PERFECT SENSE WHEN WE STARTED WRITING THE CHECKS FIVE OR TEN YEARS AGO -- BUT PROGRAMS THAT, AT A MINIMUM, OUGHT TO BE LOOKED AT AGAIN, TO SEE IF THEY CAN BE JUSTIFIED IN 1990 IN VIEW OF ALL THESE MOMENTOUS CHANGES AROUND THE WORLD.SO I REPEAT: I HOPE THAT THOSE OF YOU WHO MIGHT SEE MERIT IN WHAT I HAVE SUGGESTED WILL BE ACTIVE AND AGGRESSIVE IN MAKING YOUR VIEWS KNOWN. EVEN IF WE DON'T PREVAIL THIS TIME, GOOD ARGUMENTS, WELL-MADE, HAVE A WAY OF STICKING IN THE BACKS OF PEOPLES' MINDS -- AND, SOMEWHERE DOWN THE ROAD, PAYING OFF.

o

SO THAT'S ONE ISSUE.

A SECOND ONE IS THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. I REALLY WANT TO SAY ONLY THIS:

IT HAPPENS TO BE ONE ISSUE WHERE IT'S EASY TO TAKE AN EVEN-HANDED APPROACH. THERE IS PLENTY OF BLAME TO GO AROUND.

BUT I AGREE WITH THE RECENT STATEMENTS OF SECRETARY BAKER AND OTHERS. IT IS TIME FOR ALL PARTIES TO QUIT STALLING AND NIT-PICKING -- AND START [illegible]

EVERYBODY INVOLVED HAS THEIR OWN [illegible]. AS FAR AS I KNOW, WE ARE READY; THE EGYPTIANS ARE READY. IT IS TIME TO GET ON WITH IT.

[illegible] MIDDLE EAST [illegible]

o

THIRD, AND FINALLY, I WANT TO SAY A WORD ABOUT AN ISSUE OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO ME -- LEBANON.

A FEW WEEKS AGO IN LOS ANGELES, I WAS HONORED BY THE AMERICAN TASK FORCE ON LEBANON -- WITH ITS PHILIP C. HABIB AWARD. SOME OF YOU MAY BE MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCE.

ON THAT OCCASION, I LAID OUT A GENERAL GAME PLAN TO ADDRESS THE CRITICAL ISSUE OF LEBANON. I WANT TO GO OVER ITS ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS WITH YOU TODAY.

FIRST, AND FOREMOST, THE UNITED STATES MUST GET MORE ACTIVELY RE-ENGAGED IN THE ISSUE OF LEBANON. WE MUST SEE LEBANON, AGAIN, AS AN [illegible] TO A BROADER REGIONAL [illegible].

IN LOS ANGELES, I URGED THE APPOINTMENT OF A "SPECIAL AMERICAN ENVOY." I REPEAT THAT CALL TODAY. I HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEM OF LEBANON, AND OF THE ODDS AGAINST ANY EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH.

BUT I DO KNOW THAT PEOPLE ARE DYING AT AN ALARMING RATE -- THE CARNAGE IS FAR WORSE THAN IT HAS BEEN ON THE WEST BANK AND IN GAZA, OR IN PANAMA, OR ROMANIA, OR ANYWHERE ELSE RECENTLY ON THE FRONT PAGES. AND I AM CONVINCED THAT IT IS NOT A VIABLE OR HUMANE POLICY FOR THIS GREAT COUNTRY, TO JUST STAND BY AND WAIT TO SEE WHO WILL BE THE LAST SURVIVOR.

WE MUST AT LEAST TRY.

THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL ENVOY WOULD ALSO SEND A SIGNAL, AND BE THE BEARER OF WHAT I BELIEVE SHOULD BE VERY STRONG MESSAGES -- TO THOSE WHO ARE THE BIGGEST BARRIERS TO PEACE AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY FOR LEBANON.

THERE MAY BE SOME OF SYRIAN DESCENT HERE TODAY. BUT I HAVE NEVER BEEN KNOWN FOR PULLING MY PUNCHES, AND I CAN'T IN GOOD CONSCIENCE DO SO TODAY: SYRIA'S POLICIES ARE THE BIGGEST SINGLE BARRIER TO PEACE IN LEBANON.

THE TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE OF THE ARAB LEAGUE -- MOROCCO, SAUDI ARABIA AND ALGERIA -- THEY HAVE DONE AN OUTSTANDING JOB. THE TAIF (tie-eef) AGREEMENT WHICH THEY BROKERED REMAINS THE "MAP" THAT HAS TO BE FOLLOWED IN PURSUIT OF PEACE IN LEBANON. THEY DESERVE OUR CONTINUED SUPPORT AS THEY PURSUE THEIR INITIATIVE.

BUT THEIR JOB WILL NOT BE FULLY DONE UNTIL SYRIA AGREES TO A BINDING TIMETABLE FOR A TOTAL WITHDRAWAL.

HOWEVER, LET ME ADD THIS, TOO: SYRIA IS NOT THE ONLY FOREIGN FORCE OCCUPYING PART OF LEBANON, AND INTRUDING INTO ITS SOVEREIGN AFFAIRS.

ALL FOREIGN FORCES MUST BE WITHDRAWN: SYRIA'S, IRAN'S -- AND ISRAEL'S, TOO.

LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY WILL NOT BE RESTORED, UNTIL ALL FOREIGN FORCES ARE WITHDRAWN, AND A STRONG NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS INSTALLED -- REPRESENTING ALL SEGMENTS OF LEBANESE SOCIETY.

o

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I DON'T SUPPOSE ALL OF YOU HAVE AGREED WITH EVERYTHING I HAVE JUST SAID. BUT I KNOW THAT YOU KNOW -- FROM PERSONAL EXPERIENCE -- HOW IMPORTANT IT IS JUST TO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK YOUR PIECE, AND HAVE YOUR VIEWS OPENLY AND HONESTLY CONSIDERED.

SO I THANK YOU, SINCERELY, FOR WELCOMING ME TO YOUR MEETING TODAY; AND FOR GIVING MY VIEWS AN OPEN AND HONEST HEARING.

IT IS THE AMERICAN WAY; AND, AS I HAVE FOUND FROM SPEAKING AT A NUMBER OF YOUR EVENTS, THE ARAB-AMERICAN WAY.

KEEP AT IT. MORE AND MORE, YOUR VOICE IS BEING HEARD.

###

742

7/7

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: מ"ד | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס מברק | קי: 1<br>פתון: 2 |
| סווג: רגיל | | |
| תאריך ושעת חיבור:<br>28 בפברואר 1990 15:00 | אל: מצפיא | |
| כפ' מברק:<br>הפצה: | דע: סלרמן | |
| 1/2 743 | פאת: ק. לקונגרס | |

סנאט : עדות המזכיר בייקר בפני ועדת התקציב

1. הבוקר 28/2 הופיע בייקר בפני ועדת התקציב בסנאט. עדותו הכתובה (ממנה הקריא חלקים) זהה לעדותו בפני ועדת החוץ בביהנ"ב ואשר חוברקה אליכם.

2. רוב השימועים שנמשכו למעלה משעתיים עסקו בהתפתחויות האחרונות בניקרגואה איחוד גרמניה, קיצוץ בכוחות האמריקניים באירופה, והמצוקה התקציבית של סיוע חוץ.בפניה ניצבת ארה"ב לאור הצורך במענה לדמוקרטזציה, במזא"ר, פנמה, ניקרגואה.

3. להלן התבטאויות בנושא סיוע חוץ:-

יו"ר ועדת - גיים סנר - (בדברי הפתיחה) *IT'S TIME TO RETHINK OUR FOREIGN AID - PROGRAMMES.*

חלק מהתכניות ישנות.

בכיר המיעוט, דומיניצ'י - (בדברי הפתיחה) מציע לפתח גישה חדשה לתכניות סיוע חוץ או תכניות חדשות לחלוטין תוך התאמה להתפתחויות החדשות ועלייתן של דמוקרטיות חדשות.

שאל בייקר האם לאור התפתחויות במזא"ר אינו מודאג מקשיי מדינות לעבור לכלכלת ביזוריות, פתוחות פלורליסטיות וכו', והאם צופה לשינויים בסיוע החוץ. בייקר השיב כי אכן הוא מודאג, עם זאת אינו צופה שינויים בסיוע החוץ שכן ישנן מדינות מזא"ר שאינן מעוניינות בכספים (כמו צ'כוסלובקיה) אלא בהשקעות ובסחר. יש אפשרויות והזדמנויות רבות שאינן קשורות לסיוע חוץ ואינן מחייבות מימון.

בנט ג'ונסטון - מעבר לישראל ומצרים, אנו מגדילים הסיוע הצבאי ב-11%. האם זה משקף את המתרחש בעולם.

בייקר השיב כי השינויים אינם מיידיים והסיוע הצבאי רק מסייע לארה"ב. אמר שדוקא ישראל ומצרים מהוות דוגמה טובה. שכן האיום האיזורי ממשיך להיות בעייתי הדמוקרטיזציה לא פרצה באיזור והקונפליקט לא פוחת ולו במעט.

תפוצה: -36-

[illegible]

1990-02-28 20:44 1408039 02

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פבוק | קף: 2/2<br>פתוח: |
| סווג: | | |
| תאריך ויפן חצור: | | אל: |
| פס' פבוק: | | דע: |
| הפשרד: 2/2 743 | | כאת: |

קסטן - לאחר שציטט מה-W.P. על חבילת סיוע לניקרגואה, והזכיר את ביקורו של לק ולאונסה שאל את בייקר למה מצפות מדינות כפולין ציכוסלובקיה וניקרגואה מארה"ב ומה הובטח להן. מה נידון עם רפ"ג (בנוגע לסיוע למזא"ר) מה הובטח להונגריה ומה יקרה במנה הבאה עם פנמה. לארה"ב בעייה חמורה מבחינת ההתחייבויות שהוא נוטלת על עצמה. "אתה מדבר על גמישות, (flexibility). זה גורם כמילת קוד לקיחת סיוע ממדינות ותיקות מקבלות סיוע (כישראל ומצרים) שמה לשמוע תשובתו לבנטסון שהדמוקרטיה לא מרצה שם אלא להיפך יש שם תוהו ובוהו".

לפיכך הציע קסטן להגדיל את פונקציה 150 שכן לא ניתן לחזור שנית על המחלך של נטילת כספים מאפריקה לטובת פנמה.

בייקר - לאחר פירוט בנוגע למדינות מזא"ר התייחס לגימשות ושריונים. מודע לכך שעמדת הממשל איננה פופולרית: " גם אנחנו יודעים לספור קולות ". אולם איננו יכולים לנעול עצמנו שנה אחר שנה בתוך המספרים. ישנן מספר אפשרויות לפתרון :

א. אולי להגדיל את פונקציה 150

ב. אולי הקונגרס יהיה מוכן לתת לנשיא discretionary fund

ג. SHAVING EARMARKS across the board ולארגן למדינות מסויימות.

חזר על עמדת הממשל בדבר הצורך בגמישות והצורך לתת מענה לעדיפויות החדשות.

בייקר - בתשובה לסנטור סנפורד וקסטן (שאמר כי ארה"ב אינה מסוגלת לסייע למדינות ההולכות אחר ארה"ב כמו ניקה ) אמר כי הממשל נמצא במצב very tight ואינו יכול לתת מענה לדרישות שהם באינטרס הלאומי האמריקני. אם היה הדבר תלוי בו, היה מבטל השריונים.

בושביץ - מסכים עם קסטן שיש צורך בהגדלת פונקציה 150 וסיוע החוץ. אמר שאינו מסכים לקבוצה של בנט ג'יונסטון שההתנגדות לסיוע חוץ ברחבי ארה"ב הולכת וגוברת.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: דחיפי | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | יח: 1<br>פתון: 2 |
| סווג: גלוי | | |
| תאריך וזמן תעבור:<br>28 בפברואר 1990 20:45 | אל: מצפיא, מזיאר, תפוצות, כלכלית | |
| כס' פנוק:<br>הפסיד: | דע: בתיב<br>שירן - כאן. | |
| 757 540 1/2 | פאת: ק. לקונגרס | |

ביהנ"ב: עדות נציגת הסחר קרלה הילס - מיכון לקסון-וניק.

1. היום בצהריים (28/2) הופיעה נציגת הסחר קרלת הילס בפני ועדת ה- WAYS & MEANS בראשות הקונגרסמן רוסטנקובסקי כדי להעיד בנושא הסחר עם ברה"מ ומזאיר. העדות המליאה -בדיפי.-

2. הקונגרסמנים גיבונס, סנדר לוין, פיל קריין, בן קרדין והנק בראון שאלו בנושא יישום ג'יקסון-וניק כל עוד לא מתבצע הסכם אל-על אירופלוט לטיסות ישירות.

3. לשאלת גיבונס האם הממשל כבר נקט עמדה לגבי השעיית ג'יקסון-וניק, השיבה הילס שטרם נקטה עמדה. מטרתם לעבוד עם הקונגרס על התנאים שיאפשרו היישם בתחום הסחר.

4. לשאלת סנדר לוין האם "ג'יקסון וניק" יושעה אם ברה"מ לא תיישם הסכם הטיסות הישירות השיבת הילס: ארה"ב הציגה תנאים ל- WAIVER , וכך גם הנשיא. ברה"מ מציגה עתה בתהליך של קריאה שנייה של חוק ההגירה ועומדת לפני קבלתו - TO CHANGE THE RULES NOW, WILL BE COUNTER PRODUCTIVE, המזכיר בייקר העלה הנושא עם הסובייטים. אפשר לטפל בנושא הטיסות הישירות באופן בילטרלי ולא באמצעות המו"מ על סחר.

5. לשאלת פיל קריין האם היא (קרלה הילס) בעד השעיית "ג'יקסון-וניק" עוד לפני השלמת כל תהליך ההגירה, השיבה הילס כי הסוב-יטים עתה מקלים על היציאה. אשתקד הגרו 76 אלף. הסובייטים קרובים לקודיפיקציה ואין סיבה למה לא לאפשר להם זאת.
לשאלה נוספת של קריין האם היא מודעת לכך שנוצר BACKLOG עצום של מספר חודשים במוסקבה והאם היא העלתה זאת בשיחות הסחר שלה השיבה הילס בשלילה ואמרה כי הנושא הועלה ע"י המזכיר בייקר ולא על"ידה. וכן שהם מנסים להשיג יותר טיסות.

תפוצה: 36 ל שירן

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | מ: 2/2<br>פתון: |
| סווג: | | |
| תאריך ושפן תעבור: | | אל: |
| פס' פבריק: | | דע: |
| הפסרד: 2/2 טלגרם 540 757 | | כאת: |

6. בן קרדין, בנוסף לדברי קודמיו, אמר כי על ארה"ב להיות מודאגת, כמי שפתחה בתהליך היציאה, שברה"מ איננה מיישמת הסכם הטיסות הישירות בגלל לחץ ערבי. מקדם בברכה המו"מ על הסחר ואולי אחת הדרכים "לעודד" ברה"מ במו"מ זה היא שהיא תאפשר טיסות ישירות. אסור לנו לאבד הזדמנויות.

הילס השיבה כי ארה"ב איננה מאבדת כל הזדמנות והעובדה היא שהמזכיר בייקר העלה הנושא. התנאים לסובייטים כבר הוצגו בקונטקסט הסחר וזהו נושא פוליטי מעקרו. משוכנעת שהסובייטים מודעים לעמדת ארה"ב ודאגתה בנושא הטיסות הישירות. אין הגבלה על טיסות לא ישירות.

קרדין הקשה ואמר כי ארה"ב נכנסה למו"מ על סחר בהנחה של טיסות ישירות. אין זו ארה"ב שמשנה את ה- RULES אלא הסובייטים.

הביע תקוה שיעלו הנושא ויקדמוהו.

הילס השיבה כי חבהירו עמדת ודאגת ארה"ב בצורה נחושה וברורה וימשיכו לעשות כך.

7. לשאלת הנק בראון האם היא מעלה הנושא בקונטקסט של סחר, השיבה בשלילה וחזרה על כך שהמזכיר בייקר מעלה הנושא ועדיף לשמור זאת במישור הפוליטי ולא של סחר.

8. גם אם תשובות הילס מיקדו הנושא במישור הפוליטי, עצם העלאת הנושא היתה חשובה.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה:

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL

שגרירות ישראל

DEFENSE AND ARMED FORCES ATTACHE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

24

אחד

נספחות צה"ל וושינגטון
תא"ר: 281700 (02) 90
טימוכין: 2528
סיווג: ש מ ו ר
חזיפות: ד ח ו ף
דף 1 מתוך

| מ"ש | רגון | מ"ש |
|---|---|---|
| 108 | 527 | 733 |

אל: אמ"נ/קש"ח/רמ"ח קש"ח
מודב"ט/מקש"ח
מש"ח/מפב"א

דע: מודב"ט/מזכ"ץ שהב"ט
משלחת ניו-יורק/רמש"נ

הנדון: דבות פגישה

1. בתאריך 27 פב'ואר 90' התקיימה פגישה עם רוחאן, עוזר שר ההגנה לענייני המזרח התיכון.

2. בפגישה השתתפו מצידם מר רוחאן, מר אזנור יוז וגברת אלינה רומנובסקי. מצידנו השתתפו סגן השר, ביבי נתניהו; הציר, עודד עדן; עוזר השר, אייל אדר והאלוף אברהם בן-שושן.

3. הנושא המרכזי בשיחה היה השת"פ האסטרטגי. ניתנה סקירה ע"י סגן השר על השינויים בזירה האירופית, על הצטב"מ, על הסיכויים והסיכונים.

4. בתגובה, ציין מר רוחאן, שהוא בהתאם מסכים עם הערכת הצטב"מ. הוא הדגיש במיוחד:

א. שישנם אינטרסים חיוניים לאמריקאים בזירה, ולכן חשיבותה של ישראל כמעצמה בר-ית.

ב. לאור הירידה באיום הסובייטי, נושא כמו דמוקרטיה וזכויות האזרח יקבל משקל תוקף.

ג. השינה זה התקציב והאשון של משרד ההגנה לאור השינויים באירופה, ויש לראות איך הקונגרס יאשר ביצועו.

ד. הדעיון לתת ביטוי פומבי לחשיבות השת"פ לאמריקאים נראה נכון וטוב, ויתכן וניתן לעשות משהו משותף בעניין זה.

-36-

בברכה,

עודד עדן

בן אברהם בן-שושן, אלוף
נספח הגנה

יגאל

שרה סנשרת רהמ מאיר הם מנם ממנם מדב
בנדור מדבא רשרט מאב מיגל רם אלן

מ ב ר ק  נ כ נ ס
אאאא,חוזם:104

אל:רהמש/13

מ-:רוש,נר:747,תא:280290,זח:2000,דח:ב,סג:סו,

בבבב

סודי / בהול לבוקר

אל: סמנכ''ל צפ''א ופר''ן

יועץ מדיני לשה''ח

דע: מנכ''ל ראה''ם

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

שיחת המזכיר עם שר הקליטה הרב פרץ.

היום התקבל שר הקליטה לשיחה קצרה עם מזכיר המדינה.

בייקר אמר ששמח לקבלו. השר פרץ אמר שהוא מודה למזכיר שעל אף טרדותיו הוא הסכים לקבלו והוא רוצה לדווח בקצרה על דברים שעליהם עמד בשיחתו עם רוס (בנפרד). השר אמר שברצונו להודות למזכיר בשם ממשלת ישראל והעם בישראל על מאמציו הבלתי נלאים להוצאת יהודי ברה''ם והבאתם למולדתם בישראל. השר ביקש גם להודות לממשלים, הנוכחי והקודם על כל עזרתם וידידותם

לישראל. המזכיר אמר שהוא מודה על כך והזכיר שארה''ב מובילה את המאבק בנושא יהודי ברה''ם וכן גם ממשיך לעשות.

השר פרץ אמר שכשר הקליטה הוא בקיא ברחשיהם של יהודי ברה''ם החשים שהם יושבים על הר געש שעלול להתפרץ והוא מרשה לעצמו לבקש המזכיר להמשיך וללחוץ ללא לאות על הטיסות הישירות ועל כל דרך שתזרז יציאתם של יהודי ברה''ם. המזכיר אישר שאכן כן יעשו.

באשר לעולים וליהודה ושומרון אמר שר הקליטה כי הוא אומר הדברים על דעת ראה''ם ועל דעתו:

א. אין הממשלה מפנה בשום צורה עולים ליהודה ושומרון. מתוך 25 אלף העולים שהגיעו ב-1989 רק 126 פנו לשטחים אלו מתוך רצון להתאחד עם משפחותיהם שם.

ב. ממשלת ישראל נותנת עדיפות ליישוב היהודים בגליל ובנגב. אלו שהולכים ליש''ע אינם מקבלים כל תמריץ כספי.

ג. ממשלת ישראל אשרה לאחרונה בנית 26000 יחידות דיור כדי להקל על קליטת העליה וכל הישובים שבהם יבנו יחידות אלו הם בתחומי הקו הירוק.

בייקר הנהן בחיוב למשמע הסברי השר. בעברו לתהליך השלום אמר שר הקליטה שהוא מודה למזכיר על מאמציו בתהליך השלום. כמי

שרוצה בכל לב בהתקדמות התהליך וכמי שמכיר את הזרמים ותתי הזרמים, הוא מבקש שנושא ירושלים לא יעלה עכשיו לדיון כי זה יטרפד את תהליך השלום. ראה"ם שמיר לא ירצה ולא יוכל להראות כמי שמחלק את העיר מחדש ויריביו ינצלו אם יעשה זאת. אם יהיו מגורשים במשלחת הפלשתינאית יוכלו האמריקאים להציג זאת כהישג לערבים ולא צריך לטפל עכשיו בירושלים על מנת שלא לטרפד התהליך.

המזכיר הודה לשר על דבריו ואמר שבחדשים האחרונים ניסה הממשל לעזור לראה"ם לקדם יוזמתו ועתה אנו מצויים בשלב קריטי. הוא מבין שראה"ם יתן תשובתו בקרוב ומאחר והשר מקורב לראה"ם הוא מבקש שיפנה לראה"ם שיתן תשובה חיובית. השאלה שתוצג לראה"ם אינה מחייבת אותו להתיחס כלל לשאלה שהעלה השר פרץ (היינו ירושלים ע.ע). אם אפשר להתקדם מה טוב ואם התשובה תהיה שלילית נגיע למבוי סתום ונאלץ להכריז שהיזמה נכשלה. יהיה זה טוב אם תינתן תשובה חיובית כי עברנו דרך ארוכה ובדיאלוג טמונה תקווה רבה לעתיד. הצלחנו להתגבר על כל המכשולים ובשל הנקודה הזאת נוותר על התהליך. התהליך חשוב גם לישראל וגם לארה"ב. המזכיר ביקש מהשר להעביר דבריו לראה"ם. בסוף השיחה אמר השר פרץ למזכיר כי לעם ישראל זכרון ארוך לידידים והמזכיר יזכר כאחד מהם.

ערן

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, רהם, ממרהם, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,

רם, תאמנ), בנצור, מצפא, ממד

ססס

ס י ו ם

מזכירות הממשלה

ארה"ב

ירושלים, ב' באדר התש"ן
27 בפברואר 1990

אל: מנכ"ל משרד התעשיה והמסחר

מאת: מזכיר הממשלה

שלום רב,

הנדון: הונדה - ארה"ב

א. ראה נא הנייר המצ"ב שמסר לי השגריר בראון היום, ושאני מבין שכדוגמתו מסר גם במשרד החוץ. הנייר מדבר בעדו. הוסיף שהושב לו כי ההחלטה היא ללחוץ בדרך זו על יפן, במסגרת המאבק בחרם.

ב. בתשובה לשאלה אמר כי מדיניות ארה"ב היא התנגדות לכל חרם באשר הוא, ומחויבות לפעול כי כל חברה אמריקנית תקפיד על הוראות החקיקה נגד החרם. עם זאת אין מוכנים שחברות אמריקניות, גם אם הן חברות-בת של חברות יפניות, ייתפסו בעוון החברה האם, ודבר זה נאמר גם על-ידי קרלה הילס, הנציגה המסחרית הבכירה של ארה"ב, לממשלות אירופיות.

ב ב ר כ ה,

אליקים רובינשטיין

העתק: ראש הממשלה
ממלא מקום ראש הממשלה ושר האוצר
שר החוץ
סמנכ"ל צפ"א, משרד החוץ
סמנכ"ל כלכלה, משרד החוץ
היועץ המשפטי, משרד החוץ

1315 27.2.90

## AMERICAN HONDA

- American Honda is still faced with the demand for a letter from Honda Japan guaranteeing a supply of spare parts, before they can be give permission to import Hondas manufactured in the U.S.

- Honda's position is that they will not provide such a letter. They have excellent reasons for not doing so, and the USG supports them:

  - It is discriminatory. Other companies have not been asked to do this.

  - It calls into question the Americanness of the car which is very important if the cars are shipped to Europe from the U.S.

  - "Consumer protection" is not a valid issue. The implication is that actions by American Honda, the U.S. spare parts industry or the U.S. government might make the availability of spare parts to Israel problematic. Given U.S. anti-boycott laws and the size of the Honda's operation in the U.S, thisis clearly not the case.

- The fact of their open involvement in this market is the best evidence of Honda's failure to abide by the Arab boycott. A letter from Honda would add little.

- Failure to grant the import permit is now creating a serious trade issue with the U.S.

  - A Japanese nameplate car made in the U.S. is an American car. U.S. products cannot be refused entry under the Israel-U.S. Free Trade Area Agreement.

  - The U.S. goes to great lengths to combat the Arab boycott. It is very embarrassing for us to now have a major U.S. company kept out of the market when they attempt to take action contrary to the boycott.

  - As far as the U.S. is concerned, all technical requirements for the import of Honda's have been met and we want the permit issued.

- As of March 1, Honda has the option to cancel its agreement with its local distributor if no import permit has been granted. If Honda walks away from this market, Israel loses.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

22703 תאריך 26.02.90

נכנס ** סודי
**
**
**

חוזם:2,22703
אל:המשרד
יעדים:רהמש/629,מצב/2669
מ-:וש,נר:641,תא:260290,זח:1125,דח:ר,סג:סו
תח:@ גס:צפא
נד:@

אכלה

סודי / רגיל

אל: יועץ מדיני לשה"ח
סמנכ"ל צפ"א

מאת: עודד ערן

תהליך.

מרוס, שבייקר התקשר למגיד ביום שישי אחרי השיחה עם ארנס. אמר לו רק בקווים כללים שהיתה שיחה טובה ושהוא חושב שניתן יהיה להתקדם. בייקר הוסיף, שחשוב מאד שלא יהיו כל נסיונות ל"הצגות" ושיהיה דיון בתכן היינו בבחירות. בהערת שוליים מוסיף רוס, שהתוצאות בניקרגואה מוכיחות את צדקת הטענה הישראלית, שבחירות הן הדרך היחידה למציאת הייצוג הפלשתינאי. רוס עומד להפגש היום עם רדואן אבו ע"יש. הוא התלבט אך הקונכ"ל וילקוקס אמר לו שאם ע"יש אינו מודאג, אין לרוס סיבה לסרב.

ערן.

לב

תפ: רהמ,שהח,סשהח,מנכל,ממנכל,בנצור

0:F1 ICLO **
**
**
**

PLSU:22703,5
MT:DAWFT
'WF'O:FMBW\PS6,BXC\F665
B-:FIW,CT:P46,PN:D95D85,TD:25FF,FD:F,OT:01
PD:6 KO:KEN
CT:8

OFF' \ FX'F

MT: 'FUY BT'C' FWG''D
OBIC''F KE''N

BNN: WFFT WFI

PPF'F.

BFFO, WEF'GF PPGWF FBXF' EFFD W'W' NPF' PW'PD KO
MFFO. NWF FI FG EGFF'O CFF'O WD'PD W'PD OFEC FWPFN
PFWE WF'PF 'PD'P FPPGFO. E''GF PFO'P, WPWFE BWF
WFN 'OF' EF EO''FFPN F''PFXFP'' FW'P'D F''F; EPCF
P''FF EEP'FFN. EPWFD WFF'O BFO'P FFO, WPPFFXNFD
EF'GFXNP BFC'PDFD NO XFGD PDWFD P'WFNF'D, WEP'EFD
PF PFFF P'N'FPD FBX'NB P''XFK PEFWD'EN'. FFO WFBF
FPEXW P'FD WO FFFNI NFF W''W. PFN PPFED NF PGFFC 'F
F'FGFGO NBF FI WNO W''W N''F' BFFNK, N'I FFFD O'EP
FBFE.

WFI.

FE

PF: FPB,WPD,OWPD,BFCF,BBFCF,EFXFF

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

ארכיון

ס/מנהל מצפ"א
טל' 3244

- סודי -

ל' שבט תש"ן
25 בפברואר 1990
אהב 913.11

59110

אל : שה"ח
ס/שה"ח
מנכ"ל וחברי הנהלה
מנהלי מחלקות
ראשי נציגויות צפ"א

מאת : ס/מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: דף מצפ"א 60
לשבועיים המסתיימים ב - 23.2.90

1. התהליך המדיני

- שה"ח נפגש עם המזכיר ב - 23 דנא. המזכיר הגדיר את הפגישה "כקונסרוקטיבית ופרודקטיבית מאוד" והוסיף כי טרם נקבע מועד לפגישה המשולשת בין שרי-החוץ. יצויין כי עוד ב - 18 דנא , העביר השגריר בראון אגרת לרוה"מ מהמזכיר בה הביע בייקר רצונו "למקד מחדש" את המאמצים לקדם את תהליך השלום כאשר בשלב זה אמורים מאמצים אלה להיות מכוונים לכנס את שלושת שרי החוץ ולפתוח בדיאלוג ישראלי-פלשתינאי. (באגרת הועלו גם נושאים נוספים שיוזכרו במהלך הסקירה).

- בהופיעו ב - 22 דנא בפני ועדת החוץ בבית הנבחרים, אמר בייקר (בתשובה לשאלת המורשה המילטון) כי הרכב המשלחת הפלשתינאית וכן סדר היום הם שניים מן הנושאים שנשארו לפתרון בטרם יתקיים המפגש הישראלי-פלשתינאי בקהיר. הוסיף כי שיחותיו עם שה"ח מצרים היו טובות מאוד והביע תקוותו שתהא התקדמות כלשהיא במידה ושר החוץ הישראלי יהא בעמדה שתאפשר לו להיות EQUALLY FORTHCOMING. ככלל, טרח בייקר להנמיך ציפיות בהקפידו לציין שאת ההתקדמות במז"ת יש למדוד בצעדים קטנים , אחת לאחת.

- דובר הבית הלבן (23) אמר כי לנשיא בוש היתה שיחת טלפון טובה ומועילה עם רוה"מ שמיר ב - 22/2. בהודעה שפורסמה מטעם הבית הלבן נאמר כי רוה"מ הודה לנשיא על עמדתו בנושא הטיסות הישירות והאנטישמיות והבהיר שוב שענין ההתנחלויות וקליטת העליה אינם קשורים אחד בשני. הנשיא הודה לרוה"מ על הבהרתו, חזר על עמדתו בענין ההתנחלויות והביע תקוותו לקידום תהליך השלום בירור.

2. דו"ח מחמ"ד על זכויות האדם

א. נקודות בולטות מהדו"ח

- ארה"ב ממשיכה לראות את המצב בשטחים ב - DEEP CONCERN.

- 432 פלשתינאים נהרגו ב - 1989, מתוכם 128 נרצחו ע"י פלשתינאים. הרציחות הפנימיות מהוות שינוי חשוב במצב למול דו"ח שנת 1988.

- מטרת מינימום של האינתיפאדה היא יציאת כוחות צה"ל מן השטחים.

- אי-עמידתו של צה"ל ב - RULES OF ENGAGEMENTS שקבע לעצמו מביאה למקרי מוות ופציעות רבות.

- אזכור האשמות שפעילים פלשתינאים נהרגו בכוונה ע"י כוחות ישראל.

- 11 פלשתינאים נהרגו ע"י מתנחלים; אחד בלבד הועמד לדין.

- "רבים" מן הפלשתינאים שנהרגו ע"י בני עמם אכן עבדו עם כוחות הבטחון.

- כנופיות רעולי הפנים הסבו דאגה רבה לישראל וגם לאוכלוסיה המקומית.

- דיווחים נמשכים על יחס קשוח ומשפיל לעצירים/אסירים.

- נמשך שמוש יתר במעצרים מינהליים; היו גם מעצרים מנהליים על רקע פוליטי לא אלים.

- ישראל משתפת פעולה עם ארגונים בי"ל לזכויות אדם וגם מנתה קציני קישור לנושא. עם זאת ארגונים פלשתינאיים העוסקים בנושא חשופים להטרדות, הגבלות ומעצר פעיליהם.

- אפליה בין מתישבים בשטחים לבין פלשתינאים בנושאי זכות תושבים, חופש תנועה, מים ואדמה, הקפדה , ביישום החוק ועוד.

- הדו"ח משבח הקמת בי"ד לערעורים ביוש"ע אך מבקר מעצר ארוך בטרם משפט ולחצים פיסיים ופסיכולוגיים המגבירים את הסיכויים להודאות בטרם משפט.

- הכניסה לבתים למטרות חיפוש ורדיפה אחר חשודים הסתיימה במקרים רבים בהכאות, הרס רכוש ומעצרים. נמשכת החרמת בתים ל"צרכים מבצעיים"; 170 בתים נהרסו או נאטמו.

- יחס ושיפוט מקל כלפי מקרים חריגים בצה"ל; מקרים רבים של הרג בלתי-צודק לא הסתיימו בהליכים משעותיים נאותים.

- אזכור הצנזורה במז' ירושלים, מעצר עתונאים, הגבלות על תנועה ועוצר.

בסיכומו של דבר נראה דו"ח 1989 עובדתי ומאוזן מאשר הדו"ח הקודם; מספר התייחסויות סעונות ומתריסות הוצאו מהטקסט וההדגשה מושמת גם על אלימות פ' נגד פ'.

ב. השימועים בבית-הנבחרים

נערכו ב- 21/2 בועדת המשנה לזכויות אדם בראשות המורשה יטרון ממישיגן. לעומת השימוע ב- 1988, בלט לחלוטין חוסר התיחסות כמעט מוחלט לישראל; עוזר המזכיר שיפטר הזכיר את ישראל בחצי משפט בסוף נאומו ואילו היו"ר יטרון ובכיר המיעוט בירוייטר כלל לא התייחסו. בפרק השאלות והתשובות נושא השטחים כמעט ולא נדון; החריגים היחידים היו בכיר המיעוט בירוייטר ששאל האם חל שיפור בשטחים בשנה האחרונה (שיפטר - ירד מספר מקרי המוות שנגרם ע"י צה"ל בשבועות האחרונים וזאת כתוצאה משינוי מדיניות הסיורים והוראות חמורות יותר), חבר הקונגרס אוואנס הרבה לשאול בעניני יהודי בריה"מ ואלימות פלשתינאים נגד פלשתינאים. להערת מדור הקישור לקונגרס, הופגנה בשימועים שוב האהדה לישראל; ניכרת הבנה רבה יותר לגבי המכלול הרחב של הארועים בשטח, רצח פלשתינאים ע"י פלשתינאים ועלית הפונדמנטליזם. אין להתעלם גם מהעובדה שהארועים באירופה מיקוד הביקורת על סין וגם ביקור נשיא צ'כוסלובקיה בוש' הסיטו הפעם את הזרקור מאיתנו.

3. תקשורת

להערכת קצינת העתונות בוש' תמונת המצב של הדו"ח היא פחות קשה ממה שניתן היה לצפות. הרשתות הגדולות התיחסו לנושא בשידורי הבוקר אולם ללא התמקדות מיוחדת דווקא על ישראל. העתונות הלאומית הסתפקה בד"כ בדיווחים עובדתיים עם התמקדות מסויימת על ישראל. יצויין לרעה מאמר חד צדדי בוושינגטון טיימס למול מאמר מצויין בוולסטריט ג'ורנאל.

בסך הכל אין הנושא במרכז הדיווחים.

3. ממשל - קונגרס; אש"פ

א. עימות מענין ובעל נגיעה לישראל עלול להתפתח בין הקונגרס לממשל בקרוב לאחר שהנשיא בוש הודיע ב - 16 דנא כי למרות שחתם על חוק כספי מחמ"ד הרי חלקים מן החוק אינם מקובלים עליו והוא רואה אותם כפוגעים בזכויותיו האקזקוטיביות בניהול מדיניות חוץ עפ"י החוקה. הנשיא מנה את תיקון הלמס (הגבלות על הדיאלוג עם אש"פ) ותיקון מק-ליברמן (חובות דיווח של מחמ"ד לקונגרס על עמידת אש"פ בהתחיבויותיו) כסעיפי חוק שאותם יבצע "בהתאם לדרך שבה הוא רואה את תפקידו בהתאם לחוקה" או שיתייחס אליהם כ"תיקונים מייעצים" בלבד.

ב. בתשובה לשאלת עתונאי, הודיע "פקיד בכיר" במחמ"ד כי אין ארה"ב מרוצה לחלוטין מתגובת אש"פ לפגוע באוטובוס במצרים. הפקיד ציין כי:

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE U.S IS INSISTENT THAT THE PLO SHOULD FULFIL ITS COMMITMENT TO UNCONDITIONALLY AND CLEARLY RENOUNCE TERROR IN ALL ITS MANIFESTATIONS. WE ARE NOT FULLY SATISFIED THAT THIS COMMITMENT WAS FULFILLED IN THIS CASE.

4. המזה"ת בשיחות בייקר במוסקבה

בדיווחים שנתקבלו מהבירות, עולה כי בשיחותיו תיאר המזכיר את מאמצי ארה"ב לקידום הדיאלוג הישראלי-פלשתינאי. אשר למיקומה של בריה"מ הבהיר כי ישראל לא תסכים להשתתפות סובייטית כלשהיא כל עוד אין היא מכוננת יחסים דיפלומטים מלאים עמה. בקשו את שה"ח בריה"מ לקדם היחסים הקונסולריים ולשפר תנאי עבודת המשלחת הישראלית במוסקבה. נושא האנטישמיות הועלה אף הוא.

הסובייטים מצידם דחו הרעיון האמריקאי בדבר השתתפותם כמשקיפים בעוד שארה"ב תקח חלק פעיל בדיאלוג הישראלי פלסטיני, ובאשר לטיסות ישירות וניירמול היחסים קבעו שאין הזמן בשל לכך.

בהודעה המשותפת בנושא המז"תי נאמר ששני שרי החוץ הדגישו הצורך בתהליך שלום פעיל במז"ת, כולל המאמצים הנעשים לקיים דיאלוג שיוביל להסדר פוליטי במסגרתו ישתתפו כל הצדדים הנוגעים לדבר על בסיס החלטות מועבי"ט 242, 338. הם גם הסכימו על המשך ההתייעצויות בנושאים הנ"ל.

5. ארה"ב - הועדה לז"א בז'נבה - יישוב עולים ביש"ע

ארה"ב נמנעה בהצבעה על החלטה שבה נזכרו ההתנחלויות כ"בלתי חוקיות". בדברי ההסבר ציין השגריר אברם כי בעוד ארה"ב מברכת על ההגירה היהודית מבריה"מ לישראל, הרי ההתנחלויות הן מכשול לשלום. יישוב מתנחלים נוספים בשטחים ובמיוחד עתה פועלים כנגד השלום;

6. טיסות ישירות/אנטישמיות בבריה"מ

בפורומים שונים הודיעו השבוע דוברים אמריקניים כי המזכיר בייקר לא הצליח לשכנע את בריה"מ להפעיל את הסכם הטיסות הישירות בין אל-על ואירופלוט. דובר הבית הלבן פיצווטר (20) אמר שארה"ב מאוכזבת מאי-נתינת האישור ע"י בריה"מ; ציין שהנשיא בוש מודאג מהעליה באנטישמיות בבריה"מ וכי הטיסות הישירות יכולות היו לסייע למספר גדול יותר של יהודים לעזוב; פיצווטר לא החמיץ את ההזדמנות לחזור שוב על התנגדותה הידועה של ארה"ב להתנחלויות בכלל ולישוב העולים בהן בפרט.

המזכיר בייקר התייחס לנושא באגרתו לרוה"מ ועדותו בפני ועדת החוץ בביה"נ (22) בציינו שאיננו אופטימי במיוחד בנושא. מענינת היתה תשובה למורשה לנטוס ובה רמז כי"התחיבויות פומביות מצד צדדים אחרים" עשויה לסייע לפתרון חיובי בנושא - בכל הנראה הכוונה הינה למחויבות ישראלית באשר לאי-ישוב העולים בשטחים. תצויין גם תשובתו למורשה לוין (אשר תקף בחריפות את המערכה של מדינות ערב בנושא העליה); בייקר ענה כי בכל שהוא רושם לפניו כי פחות מ- 1% מהעולים פונה לשטחים, נראה לו שהדאגה לפחות אצל חלק ממדינות ערב בנושא הינה כנה ואמיתית.

7. כנס נאקראק בפניקס- אריזונה

לפי דיווח ציר ההסברה בווש' , נתאפיינה הועידה בנסיון של קבוצתה מאורגנת שכללה את הקונגרס היהודי-אמריקני והרפורמים לאמץ הצעות החלטה שתבקרנה מדיניות ממשלת ישראל ואת רוה"מ אישית. נסיון זה לא צלח אך בכל זאת במסגרת הדיון בנושא העליה מבריה"מ וההתישבות בשטחים התחולל ויכוח סוער שבסופו נתקבלה ברוב זעום (216:207) הצעת החלטה המחייבת את ה- ISRAEL TASK FORCE לדון בהחלטה, שקבעה בין השאר כי :

- עקב המחסור בדיור בישראל מחד ובניה מחדש בשטחים מאידך יגלשו בסופו של דבר העולים החדשים להיכן שיש דיור ותעסוקה, קרי, לשטחים. דבר זה יכול לפגוע באיסוף כספים עבור העליה.

- בניה חדשה בשטחים עלולה להוסיף על המתחים הקיימים בין ישראלים ופלשתינאים ובכך לפגוע בשיחות שלו אפשריות.

- בהחלטה אחרת, אשר הכנס מחדש את עמדתו ביחס לדיאלוג אש"פ-ארה"ב: במידה שהממשל ממשיך לראות את הדיאלוג כרצוי, על השיחות להתמקד באפשרויות להפחית מתחים ולקדם סיכויים לפתרון בדרכי שלום של הסכסוך; יש לנצל הדיאלוג ללחוץ על אש"פ לבטל חלקים מסויימים באמנה הפלשתינאית לתרום לסיוע ההתקוממות בשטחים ולנקוט בצעדים קונסטרוקטיביים נוספים.

8. סיוע חוץ

- כצפוי, ממשיך הנושא לעלות לדיון לסרוגין אם כי בטונים מינוריים יותר. המזכיר בייקר (ועדת החוץ, ביה"נ, 22) בקש שוב לאפשר לממשל גמישות בחלוקת סיוע החוץ (אולי ע"י FLEXIBILITY FUND) וקרא ל - NEW CODE OF CONDUCT בעניני סיוע חוץ בין הממשל לקונגרס. בקש שוב לבטל את ה"שריונים". מענינת תשובתו של היו"ר פאסל שקבע כי עם כל הבנתו לבעיות הממשל בנושא, יש לזכור שאין הקונגרס נלהב מן העובדה שלא מתייעצים אתו יתר על עמדה בגיבוש מדינות החוץ ומצד שני מצפים שיחתום על כל בקשה לסיוע חוץ בלי INPUT משלו.
- ככלל,התנהל דיון ער בועדה כאשר בייקר מנסה לשכנע את המורשים כי בעית ביטול השיריונים אינה "בעיה ממשלית" אלא נושא שגם על הקונגרס לטפל בו. ויכוח התנהל בין המורשה רות' (ויסקונסין) שהציב מצדו סימני שאלה רבים באשר לנחיצות סיוע החוץ זכה לתשובה הולמת מקונגרסמן לנטוס (קליפורניה) אשר הזכיר לשומעיו כי אלמלא סיוע החוץ לאירופה לאחר מלחמת העולם השניה ("תוכנית מרשל") ספק אם מערב אירופה היתה נראית כפי שהיא היום.

במאמר ב"וושינגטון טיימס" נזכר מחקר המבקר בחריפות את כלכלת הישראלי וטוען שהיא סמוכה יתר על המידה על שולחן הסיוע האמריקני. הרתבה העניקה הדדמנות טובה לסנטור מלקולם וואלפ מוויומינג לבקר את ישראל באמרו שבעוד שהעולם מתקדם לעבר כלכלה חופשית-קפיטלסטית, ממשיכה ארה"ב לסבסד ולתמוך בישראל על כלכלתה הסוציאליסטית : מעט יוזמה חופשית, סובסידיות רבות ועוד.

- כנס נקראק בארידונה אמץ פה אחד החלטה ובה קרא לכל הסנטורים וחברי הקונגרס להשאיר את רמת הסיוע לישראל על כנה. מכתבים נשלחו לכל המחוקקים.

9. תחנת "קול אמריקה" בערבה

- במועדים 13-14 דנא בקרו בישראל ראשי "הרשות לשידור בינלאומי" (BIB) לקדם אישור ההליכים הסופיים להקמת תחנת הממסר של ה- VOA בערבה. השניים קבלו הבטחות מראשי המדינה שאין לישראל כל כוונה לסגת מהיענותה לבקשת ארה"ב להקים את התחנה וכי בשבועות הקרובים יושלמו כל ההליכים.

- באותו נושא, קיימה ועדת המשנה לענינים בינ"ל בועדת החוץ שימועים. בשימוע נכחו היו"ר דיימלי והמורשים אולימפיה סנאו ולארי סמית. נגד הקמת התחנה העידו חבר הקונגרס שוייר (ד.נ"י) וכן נציגי החברה להגנת הטבע בישראל ובארה"ב, כאשר הם מבססים נימוקי התנגדותם על איכות הסביבה, הפרעות למטוסי ח"א, וכמובן נסיבות בי"ל משתנות המשליכות על עצם נחיצות התחנה. יו"ר ה - BIB פורבס העיד על חשיבות המשדרים דוקא עתה בתקופת אי-יציבות באזור מרכז אסיה הסובייטית. הדגיש שהקמת התחנה תשדר מסר של מחויבות אמריקנית לישראל ושאין ארה"ב הופכת לבדלנית; בכל מקרה תעקוב ה- BIB אחר התפתחויות הפרוייקט ותסייע להתגבר על הקשיים ומפגעי איכות הסביבה אם יהיו.

10. נשק למדינות ערב

דוברת מחמ"ד מסרה (21) כי במסגרת המודרניזציה של הצבא האמריקני, מתנהלות שיחות על אפשרות מסירת טנקים מדגם M - 60 למדינות נאטו או בעלות ברית שאינן מדינות נאטו. טאטוייילר ציינה כי מצרים הינה LEADING CANDIDATE לקבל מירב הטנקים וכי הטנקים הוצעו גם לישראל, שהחליטה לוותר עליהם.

ב ב ר כ ה,

משה בר

21443 תאריך : 25.02.90

** יוצא שמור
**
**
**

חוזם:2,21443
אל:וושינגטון/249,רהמש/597,מצב/2536
מ-:המשרד,תא:250290,זח:1249,דח:מ,סג:שמ
תח:@ גס:צפא
נד:@

אוהד

59113
שמור/מידי
אהב 10301

אל: וושינגטון - ורנאי

עדות בייקר בביה'נ - טיסות ישירות
שלך 589

בתשובתו למורשה לנטוס (עמ' 6) התבטא המזכיר כי 'התחייבויות פומביות ע'י אחרים' עשויות לעזור בעתרון הבעיה.

מכיוון שהתשובה מתייחסת לדיון שנתקיים בעת א'ב, נודה על ברורך אצל לנטוס למה בדיוק לדעתו עשוי היה המזכיר להתכוון.

מצפ'א

פא

תפ: שהח,סשהח,רהמ,ממרהמ,מנכל,ממנכל,בנצור,מצפא,גוברין,מזאר, סייבל,תפוצות,ר/מוכז,ממד

** MAT' WAIT
**
**
**

MT:0:21443,2
NT:TTW'IXDII\P42,TMAW\ST7,AXE\AE32
A-:MAWTT,MN:OP2025,IN:P421,TM:0,OA:WA
MM:6 XO:XEN
LT:3

21443
WAIT\A'T'
NNE 10301

NT: TTW'IXDII - IFIN'

WTIN E''GP EE'M'I - O'OIM 'W'TIM
WTT P82

ENWIENI TAITWN, TIDIO (WA' 6) MMIEON MAIC'T C' 'MMM''EI'IM
CIAE'IN W'' NNT'O' WWI'IN TWIIT ENMTII MEW'M.

AC'III WMMWIEN AN''MON TT'II WING''O EMM N'E, IIMM WT
ET'IIP NXT TIDIO TMM ET'IG TTWMI WWI' O'M MAIC'T TMMCIII.

AXE'N

EN

NE: WMM,OWMM,TMA,AATMA,AICT,MAICT,EIXIP,AXEN,XIEC'I,AINT,
O''ET,MEIXIN,T\AICI,AAT

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

21234 תאריך : 24.02.90

** נכנס סודי **
**
**

חוזם:2,21234
אל:המשרד
יעדים:רהמש/574,מצב/2486,מנמת/832
מ-:ווש,נר:629,תא:230290,זח:1800,דח:מ,סג:סו
תח:@ גס:צפא
נד:@

אמריקה

סודי / מידי

אל: מצפ''א

מאת: יורם אטינגר , וושינגטון

הנדון : מפגש מנהל מצפ''א - אריק ניוסום וג'ים בונד.

להלן מספר נקודות שהועלו ע''י אריק וג'ים, ראשי צוות העוזרים של תת-ועדת ההקצבות ל- FORIEGN OP בסנט:

1. מעריכים כי יוזמת הערבויות תזכה לתמיכה רחבה, אך חוששים מן הצלילים הצורמים שילוו את הדיון.

2. מתרבים הקולות בקונגרס, ומחוצה לו, המקטרגים על יוזמת הערבויות לדיור, ומהרהרים באפשרות להצמיד לה תוספת המגבילה/שוללת את נגישות העולים לשטחי יש''ע.

3. השניים ממליצים כי רה''מ יצא בהצהרת כוונות בנדון אשר תשקיט החחשות ותקל על הסנטורים לייהי וקסטן במלאכת החקיקה. הם מרוצים מכוונת אובי להוביל את יוזמת הערבויות בביהנ''ב, אך חוששים מן המוצר הסופי אותו יגיע אובי (במיוחד הקשר ההתנחלויות). מעריכים כי גם במקרה הטוב/ריאלי תוצמד ''תוספת התנחלויות'' (אשר גם לייהי עצמו שוקל הצגתה בתנאים מסוימים).

4. המפתח, לדעתם, טמון בעמדת הממשל. מקורות שונים בממשל מפיצים שמועות כאילו אין תמיכה ביוזמה. עמדה חיובית של

```
++
 ++
  ++
   ++
```

```
DIR:PAGE1,2
MT:DEWRT
WRT:DUMP\WD,SYA\ABAS,SYA\ABAS,DLRD\SEB
B-:TTW,DT:PSB,DN:DPSDES,SN:DDB1,TD:B,DL:DT
DD:B KD:PEM
DT:B
```

DIR' \ B'T

MT: BSE'TH

BMD: 'TTD MA'CSC , TTW'CSDIT

DIRTT : BEIW BIDT BSD'M - MT'S TTDIW TA'D DTT.

TDS: BOOT TDTTIN WDTDST B''' MT'D TA'D, TMW' BT'D
DWT'D WT DD-TWTD DDBSEDD T- BD KESIBOR TDTDD:

1. BWT'CT'D CT TTIDD DWTCT'DD DTCD TDC'CD CDED, MT DTBWT'D
DT DCT'C'D DWTTB'D WT'TT MD DT'TT.

2. BDTE'D DDTC'DD CDTTSTD, TDDTED'TT, DBDDD'D WT TTIDD
DWTCT'DD CT'TT, TDDTDT'D EMBWTD CDZB'T TD DTDCT
DDTC'TD\WT'TTD MD CC'WTD DDTT'D CWDD' 'W'D.

3. DWE'D BDT'C'D CT TT'D 'DM EDBDDD CTTDD CCT'T MD
DDW'D DDDWTD TDDT WT DDTDTT'D T'D' 'DDD| CB'MCD DDD'T.
DD BTTX'D BC'TTD MTE' TDTE'T MD 'TTDD DWTCT'DD CC'DT' B.
MT DTBW'D DT DDTCT DDTCT MTDT 'T'B MTE' (CB'TDT DDDT
DDD:DTT'TD). BWT'C'D CT TD CDDTD DDTE\T'MT' DTCBT 'T'DDD
DDTDTT'TD' TWT TD T'TD WDDT WTDT DDBDD DTD'D
BCT'B'D).

4. DBDDD, TTDDD, BBTT EWDTD DDBWT. BDT'TD WTT B DBDDT
BC'C'D WBTWTD CDTTT MT DDTCT CT'TDD. WBTD DTCB'D WT

הממשל תחליש את ''הצלילים הצורמים''.

5. שמעו כי הסנטור איוייה שוקל יוזמת CONCESSIONARY LOANS.:

היוזמה מחיבת תקצוב, תפגע בסנטורים לייהי וקסטן ויוזמתם ולדעתם תגרע ממעמדה של ישראל (על רקע קשיי התקציב והקולות נגד סיוע החוץ).

6. שניהם מדגישים כי הערכותיהם מבטאות תחושות, ואולי אף דאגה מוגזמת, ואין לעצב מדיניות על בסיס השיחה. מקווים כי ההערכות תסייענה בגבוש התיחסות ישראל ליוזמת הערבויות.

7. רעיון דול זוכה לתמיכה מילולית אם כי לא יזכה לתמיכה במקרה של הצבעה. צופים תהליך ארוך וקשה לחוק סיוע החוץ. אין לצפות לצעדי תחיקה ממשיים לפני סוף הקיץ.

יורם אטינגר

יג

תפ: שהח,סשהח,רהמ,ממרהמ,שהבט,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרכז,רם,@(אמן), ממד,בנצור,מצפא,גוברין,מזאר1,סייבל,רביב

391

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: מיידי | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | קף: 1<br>פתוח: |
| סוג: בלמ"ס | | |
| תאריך ופקן תעבור: 23.2.90 16:45 | אל: מצפ"א | |
| פס' פברק: 65 | דע: מע"ח, הסברה, עתונות ניו-יורק, יועץ תקשורת רוה"מ | |
| הפשרד: 627 | פאת: עתונות, וושינגטון | 1/3 |

להלן תמליל דברי שה"ח ארנס ומזכיר המדינה בייקר לעתונאים בצאתם מהפגישה-:

עתונות

[illegible]

תפוצה: -6-

65 627

2/3

@CB

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS WITHSECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKERIII AND ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE ARENS, DURING A PRESS STAKEOUT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, DC
SS-5-1-E page# 1 FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1990
dest=ssd,dos,forpolus,mme,mideast,israel,ussr
data

SEC. BAKER: Ladies and gentlemen, let me simply say that the Minister and I have had a very -- what I would characterize as a very constructive and hopefully a very productive meeting. We obviously talked about the peace process. But we talked as well about my recent trip to Moscow, with particular reference to the question of the El Al-Aeroflot flight arrangements; anti-Semitism in theESoviet Union.F And I thought that our meeting was, as I've just said, very constructive and productive.

Minister?

MIN. ARENS: I had the opportunity of thanking the Secretary for the efforts that he made during his visit in Moscow to arrange for direct flights for Soviet Jewry from the Soviet Union to Israel. We hope that these efforts will bear fruit. And as the Secretary said, we had a good, constructive conversation that lasted for quite a while.

Q What about that meeting --

Q Mr. Arens, what about the meeting between yourself, Mr. Baker, and --

Q -- three-way meeting?

SEC. BAKER: Let me -- let's do this one at -- you're both asking the same question. So let us simply say, no,we have not agreed today on the timetable for a trilateral meeting.

Q Why?

SEC. BAKER: Because we're not there yet. But I think we're making some progress.

Q But, Mr. Secretary, you spoke twice --

Q But, Mr. Secretary, did you find Mr. Arens forthcoming and outgoing?

SEC. BAKER: I hear four people.

Q Did you find, Mr. Secretary --

65 627 3/3

Q You spoke twice as long as you were supposed to. What were you talking about?

SEC. BAKER: Well, do you want to answer that?

Q You both talked an increased amount of time.

MIN. ARENS: I think the Secretary gave you an exhaustive list of the subjects that were covered in the conversation.

Q You are pretty exhausted --

Q Mr. Secretary, what are the difficulties which prevent the meeting to take place?

Q Mr. Secretary, did you find Mr.Arens forthcoming and outgoing?

Q What are the reasons not to have the meeting?

SEC. BAKER: We are continuing to work on some of the same issues that we've been working on over the past months. And I'mnot going to get into the detail of that, and -- is the Minister, except to say that this meeting, I was very constructive and hopefully will prove to productive.

Q Mr. Secretary --

Q In what way constructive?

END

1.2

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

דף מתוך 4 דפים
סווג בטחוני: בלמ"ס
דחיפות: רגיל
תאריך וז"ח: 23/2/90
מס' מברק:

אל: המשרד

1/4 620

---

אל: יועץ שח"ח לתפוצות. מצפ"א

כנס נקרא"ק

מצ"ב הודעה לעתונות של נקרא"ק על הכנס.

פלג

-12-

[illegible]

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
PLENARY SESSION
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
For further information, contact:
Kenneth Bandler (212) 684-6950

2/4 620

NJCRAC SUPPORTS SUSTAINING CURRENT AID TO ISRAEL;
REAFFIRMS POSITION ON U.S.-PLO DIALOGUE

(Phoenix, Arizona--February 21)--The National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council today sent a letter to every member of Congress urging them to sustain current levels of foreign aid to Israel in Fiscal Year 1991. In the letter the NJCRAC expressed confidence that the Congress would find the additional resources to meet United States interests in the nascent Eastern European democracies, while continuing to provide support for a strong and secure Israel.

"Israel shares fundamental democratic values with us, and has developed a mutually beneficial strategic relationship with the United States," the letter states. "This vital American assistance will continue to assure Israel's security in the face of continuing threats posed by well-armed and hostile Arab states."

The NJCRAC letter on foreign aid was unanimously adopted by the more than 500 delegates attending the NJCRAC Plenary Session in Phoenix, Arizona. It was one of several positions regarding Israel adopted by the plenum during four days of deliberations, which concluded today.

The NJCRAC, established in 1944 by the Council of Jewish

Federations, is the coordinating, planning and advisory body for the field of Jewish community relations. Its 13 national and 117 community member agencies represent the overwhelming majority of affiliated American Jews. National agency members include the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, Hadassah, and the Reform, Conservative and Orthodox movements.

The annual plenum is the highest policy-making body of the NJCRAC. While the organization's member agencies reflect a broad range of views on a number of key domestic and international concerns of the American Jewish community, the tone of the debates was civil and the plenum reached agreement on consensus positions.

In addition to asserting its position on foreign aid, the NJCRAC Plenum also reaffirmed its position regarding the U.S.-PLO dialogue. "To the extent that the Administration continues to regard its dialogue with the PLO as desirable," the NJCRAC position stated, "such discussions should explore all possibilities for reducing tensions and advancing prospects for a peaceful resolution to the conflict; and to use it to press the PLO to abrogate those sections of the Covenant that call for Israel's destruction, to contribute to the ending of the uprising in the territories, and to take other constructive steps."

The NJCRAC further stated that the Administration should "carefully monitor and publicize those actions and statements of the PLO that bear upon the PLO's professed renunciation of

terrorism and recognition of Israel's right to exist; and, call upon the administration to engage in a continuing examination of the efficacy of that dialogue in light of those actions, statements, and the specific conditions the U.S. outlined when it first agreed to dialogue with the PLO."

Prior to the NJCRAC meeting in Phoenix, NJCRAC Chair Arden E. Shenker sent a letter to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir expressing the strong support of the NJCRAC for the historic aliyah of Soviet Jews to Israel. Shenker also advised the prime minister that he would share with the plenum delegates the Israeli Government's clarification that Soviet Jewish immigrants are not intentionally settled in the territories.

The Plenum discussed the issue of resettlement of Soviet Jews in Israel and the territories and decided not to adopt any position at this time. Plenum delegates voted to refer the issue to the NJCRAC Israel Task Force for further examination. The Task Force is expected to bring a recommendation on this issue to the NJCRAC Executive Committee for its consideration and action when it meets in Indianapolis on June 11th.

-30-

4/4 620

15

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

דף מתוך 2 דפים
סווג בטחוני: בלמ"ס
דחיפות : רגיל
תאריך וז"ח : 23/2/90
מס' מברק :

אל: המשרד

1/2 623

אל: מצפ"א

כנס נקרא"ק - סיוע

מצ"ב מכתב המשוגר מנשיא נקרא"ק לכל חברי הקונגרס.

פלג

-12-

שרה מלשה רחל מרחב שהבל נשל נלנשל בנשמה גדולה פו גלם
ברוך

TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

2/2 623

Dear

On behalf of the over 500 delegates representing the 13 national and 117 community agencies of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council meeting in Plenary Session in Phoenix, I wish to convey to you the delegates' unanimous support for sustaining current US foreign aid levels to Israel in FY 1991.

Israel shares fundamental democratic values with us, and has developed a mutually beneficial strategic relationship with the United States. This vital American assistance will continue to assure Israel's security in the face of continuing threats posed by well-armed and hostile Arab states.

We are well aware of the vigorous debate which has been stimulated in regard to the overall US foreign aid program, particularly in light of the dramatic developments occurring in Eastern Europe. We believe additional funds should be made available within our country's foreign aid program that will enable the United States to support those emerging new democracies. Unfortunately, the winds of change toward democratization in Eastern Europe have not touched the Middle East, a region in which world peace and stability remain threatened. Thus, United States interests still require this nation to provide the support that this unstable region requires.

We are confident that the thorough examination of resources in the national budget, which will take place during this session of Congress, will yield the necessary means to achieve all US foreign policy and national security objectives, including support for a strong and secure Israel.

Sincerely,

Arden E. Shenker
Chair

34

ארכיון

שגרירות ישראל בוושינגטון
טופס מברק

אל : מצפ"א, מע"ת, ממ"ד

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

מאת: עתונות, וושינגטון

דף 1.מתוך. 1
דחיפות:מיידי
סווג: בלמ"ס

תאריך,זמן:
מספר המברק:

המשרד:

בטחון 448 | מו"ל - יריב 63 | 617

תדרוך דובר הבית הלבן ליום 23/2/90

Q Do you consider the EShamirF declaration yesterday on the phone as assurances on the peace process? And if so, is the President satisfied with those assurances?

MR. FITZWATER: Well, the President had a very good conversation with Prime Minister Shamir yesterday and we appreciated the phone call and the assurances. The process is continuing and it remains to be seen how fast that will move forward. Secretary Baker is meeting with Foreign Minister Arens here in Washington today, and we remain quite hopeful that we'll be able to proceed with the ministerial meeting between the United States, EIsraelF and EEgyptF -- that's the first step in that process.

[illegible]

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

* תאריך : 23.02.90   20325 *
* דף 1 מתוך 2 *
* עותק 1 מתוך 10   סודי ביותר   נכנס ** *

*חוזם:2,20325
*אל:המשרד
*יעדים:רהמש/553,מצב/2393
*מ-:ווש,נר:580,תא:220290,זח:1530,דח:מ,סג:סב
*תח:@ גס:צפא
*נר:@

ארה'ב

*סודי ביותר / מיידי

*אל:סמנכ'ל צפ'א

*מאת: השגרירות , וושינגטון.

*תהליך השלום

*שיחה (21/2) עם ברנס סגנו של רוס.

*1. בשיחתו עם שה'ח מתכוון בייקר להבהיר הצורך בהתקדמות *
*מהירה של התהליך.

*2. לדבריו בכוונת בייקר לקיים המפגש המשולש בזמן הקרוב *
*ביותר.

*3. המזכיר מקווה שבמפגש ניתן יהיה לפתור את בעיית הרכב *
*המשלחת (''במקום דיון בקטיגוריות יש להתרכז בנושא *
*הפרסונלי'') אותה רואה ברנס כבעיה העיקרית. כל יתר הנושאים *
*אינם בעייתיים מבחינתה של ארה'ב.

*4. ברנס סבור שלתוצאות המפגש המשולש תהיינה השלכות על המשך *
*מיקוד תשומת הלב של בייקר לדבריו בהיעדר התקדמות , יאבד *
*עניין.

*5. אשר לעמדת הממשל בסוגיית התנחלויות-עליה העריך ברנס *
*שבתקופה הקרובה לא יחול שינוי בעמדת הממשל החושש מפני *
*השלכות שיהיו לשינוי בעמדתו ( במידה ויגיעו למסקנה שמתחייב *

*
* דף 2  מתוך 2
* עותק 1  מתוך 10
*
*שינוי) על התהליך. עד כאן דברי ברנס.
*
*6. הערה: רתיעתו של הממשל לעסוק בסוגיות חוקיות/אי חוקיות
*ההתנחלויות בעיתוי הנוכחי ,המנעותם בז'נווה (ועדת ז'א) ,
*הצבעותיהם בנושאינו באו'מ ובארגונים הבינ'ל. הפרופיל הנמוך
*שהממשל שמר בנושא דו'ח ז'א ולהבדיל בסוגיית דרא'פ הינם חלק
*ממאמץ מכוון של הממשל שלא להעמיד מכשולים שעלולים לפגוע
*בנכונות ישראל לקדם את התהליך.
*התמונה לעיל עלולה להשתנות במידה והממשל יגיע למסקנה שישראל
*נושאת באחריות לכך שלא ניתן לקדם התהליך.
*
*שטיין.
*
*לב
*
*
*
*תפ: רהמ,שהח,סשהח,מנכל,ממנכל,בנצור

```
*                                                                      *
* TP 3     BRIT 2                                                      *
* WING 2     BRIT 01                                                   *
*                                                                      *
*WITH WE MADE'T. WE CAN TURN EFFO.                                     *
*                                                                      *
*8. MORN: FM'WNT WE MOOWE TWOIG COIK'IN  NIG'IN\N'  NIG'IN *
*MMMIMT'IN EW'NIT MEICM' ,MOIWINO IT'EFIN  (TWIN  I'N)  . *
*MYCWIN'NO EIIWN'IT EMT'O IMMTIIL'O MC'L'C. MEFIE'C  MIWIT *
*WMOOWC WOC EIIWN FI'N I'N IMMIT'C COIK'N FIN'E N'IO  NIG *
*OOMOY OCIII WC MOOWC WIN  TMWO'I  OCWIC'O  WWTIC'O  TOKIW *
*EICIIN 'WMNC TGIO NN MMMC'T.                                         *
*MMOIIN TW'C WIIN TMWNIIN EO'IN IMOOWC 'K'W TOOGIN W'WMNC *
*IIWNN EMMC'IN CCF WIN I'NI TGIO MMMC'T.                              *
*                                                                      *
*WO''I.                                                                *
*                                                                      *
*TE                                                                    *
*                                                                      *
*                                                                      *
*                                                                      *
*NE: TNO,WON,OWNN,OICC,MOICC,EIEIT                                     *
```

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

20438 תאריך : 23.02.90

נכנס בלמס

חוזם:2,20438
אל:המשרד
יעדים:רהמש/551,מצב/2375,מנמת/800
מ-:וש,נר:599,תא:220290,זח:2200,דח:ב,סג:בל
תח:@ גס:צפא
נד:@

אלרהיר

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא

דע : סמנכל צפא פרן, לשכת רוהם

להלן הודעה לעיתונות שהוציא דובר הבית הלבן היום אחה'צ

PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR OF ISRAEL PHONED THE PRESIDENT THIS MORNING. THE PRIME MINISTER THANKED THE PRESIDENT FOR U.S. SUPPORT OF JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION FOR OPPOSING ANTI-SEMITISM, AND FOR SUPPORTING THE RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AS WELL AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIRECT FLIGHT BETWEEN THE U.S.S.R. AND ISRAEL .
THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THIS POLICIES.
THE PRIME MINISTER STATED THAT JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO ISRAEL WAS A SEPARATE MATTER FROM THE QUESTION OF THE SETTELMENTS , AND THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERMENT HAD NO POLICY OF DIRECTING WHERE THE NEW IMMIGRANT WOULD LIVE. THE PRESIDENT THANKED THE PRIME MINISTER FOR HIS STATEMENT AND SAID THAT THE U.S. WOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT FREE EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION.
AT THAT TIME, THE PRESIDENT REITERNATED U.S. OPPOSITION TO ANY SETTELMENT ACTIVITY . THE PRESIDENT ALSO EXPRESSED HIS HOPE THAT THE PEACE PROCCES COULD

MOVE FORWARD SO THAT THE U.S. ISRAELI AND EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS COULD MEET AND THAT MEETING OF ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN DELEGATIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN CAIRO SOON. THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION TO THE PRIME MINISTER FOR HIS CALL, WHICH BOTH LEADERS DISCRIBED AS HELPFUL AND CONSTRUCTIVE.

עיתונות.

רות ירון

פא

תפ: שהח,סשהח,רהמ,ממרהמ,מנכל,ממנכל,בנצור,מצפא,תפוצות,
גוברין,מזאר,רביב,מעת,הסברה,לעמ,ר/מרכז,ממד,רם,@(אמן)

- סודי -

כז' בשבט תש"ן
22 בפברואר 1990
סימוכין: 6-472-2

## הנסיך בנדר

### צפון תימן

סעודיה סבסדה את צפון תימן בעיקר כדי שלא תהפך לגרורה סובייטית, כמו רד"ת. אבל אין לה שום אימון בנשיא צאלח, שהוא תכסן פרימיטיבי ואנלפביתי, ומשתמש בכספים כדי לקנות את השיח'ים. עכשיו סעודיה כבר לא רואה צורך לנדב כספים לצאלח כי בריה"מ לא נתפסת יותר כאיום. בנדר הזהיר את הבית-הלבן מפני הזמנת צאלח לבקור בארה"ב וציין שלא ייצא מזה דבר לזכותה של ארה"ב.כן אמר לבית הלבן שהם מטפחים "קדאפי קטן" בדמותו של צאלח.
לחברת הנפט HUNT יש זכיון גדול בצפון תימן. משפחת הנט מקורבת לנשיא בוש (כנראה עוד מטקסס) וכמה מבני המשפחה הוזמנו לארוחה שהנשיא ערך לכבוד צאלח בבית הלבן.

### האוטובוס במצרים

בתשובה לשאלת הונליין, בנדר טען שסעודיה אכן פרסמה הודעה המגנה את ההתקפה על האוטובוס שהיה בדרכו לקהיר וכן נשלחה איגרת למובארק.

### יהודי סוריה

הונליין העלה ענין יהודי סוריה עם בנדר עוד בפגישתם הקודמת. הפעם, בנדר מסר שהוא שלח מישהו מטעמו לדבר עם אסד בנושא זה. אסד הבטיח לאפשר לנשים הרווקות לצאת, אם כי לא בבת אחת, אלא ON A CASE BY CASE BASIS. בנדר עוד ביקש לקבל רשימת שמות לצורך איחוד משפחות יהודיות בסוריה עם קרובים בחו"ל. בנדר ציין שאין לשה"ח הסורי אל-שרא שום השפעה.
בנדר נפגש עם סנטור ספקטור כשהלה חזר מבקורו בסוריה.
בנדר עוד ספר שאסד קבל את הידיעה על נפילת צ'אוצ'סקו בצורה קשה והדבר השפיע עליו.

### אש"פ - טרור

בנדר ספר שסעודיה שולחת מסרים לאש"פ, בהם היא מבקרת פעולות טרור. עם זאת, סעודיה שומרת על חזית ערבית מאוחדת כלפי חוץ.

## ישע והעולים מבריה"מ ויישובים ביש"ע

בנדר מתח בקורת על הדברים שיוחסו לרה"מ שמיר בענין ישוב העולים ביש"ע. אמר להונליין שניתן בזאת פתח לאש"פ לעשות מהענין הון פוליטי ולפתוח במסע תוך גיוס כל הערבים. באשר למשלחות הערביות האמורות לצאת לבירות העולם בנדר מסר שהמפתח בענין זה בידי המלך חסן.

## ישראל - פנים

הונליין התרשם ממידת בקיאותו של בנדר על המתרחש בתוך ישראל. שאל שאלות על המפלגות החרדיות ועל התהליך החברתי-דתי בישראל המשפיע על כוחן.

## בריה"מ

בנדר ספר שאיראן בוחשת בקרב האוכלוסיה השיעית בבריה"מ ומנצלת את האנטישמיות כמכשיר להסתת השיעים נגד הרוסים. סעודיה חוששת שהסתה זאת תגרום לעימותים בין השיעים והסונים או לתגובה אנטי-מוסלמית מצד השלטון והרוסים, שתפגע בסונים.

## ארה"ב

המלך פהד יבקר בארה"ב בחודש יולי.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: בהול לבוקר | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | קד: 1<br>כתוב: 90 |
| סווג: בלמ"ס | | |
| תאריך ושעת הגעה:<br>22 בפבר' 1990 15:15 | אל: מצפ"א | |
| כפ' פברק:<br>הפשרד:<br>589 | דע: מ/בקר | |
| | פאת: ק. לקונגרס | |

בנדון: עדות המזכיר בייקר

1. חבורקר 22/2 העיד המזכיר בייקר בפני ועדת החוץ. (בנפרד עדותו הכתובה). לשימועים קדמה ארוחת בוקר סגורה וממושכת עם חברי הועדה.

2. במהלך השימועים נדונו בעיקר ההתפתחויות במזא"ר, איחוד גרמניה, ברה"מ, סין, המאבק בסמים.

3. מבחינתנו נדונו: תהליך השלום, טיסות ישירות וסיוע חוץ (עקרון שבירת השריונים והצעת דול).

4. להלן השאלות והתשובות עפ"י הנושאים הבוגעים לנו:-

יהודית ונאי דרנגר.

שמה סשמת רהל מארהמ אשהפל מנפל מנפל מלפ
סיכל בנלפ מלפל מלמין מנלרו ·מ רמרכ מ מ תפלנ

רם אלן
מיזג מ

תפוצה: -36-

REP. HAMILTON: Then, finally, I'll ask one other question. It's taken-- I know you've been working hard, but it's taken a long time to arrange for the meeting with you and the Foreign Ministers of EIsraelF andEEgyptF. Could you tell us the status of that and what the remaining obstacles are before that meeting can take place?

SEC. BAKER: Well, the status of it, Mr. Hamilton, is that I am going to be talking tomorrow with the Foreign Ministerof Israel who will be stopping in Washington on his way back from a trip south of here. And we will be discussing this issue further as I -- as I had discussed it with the Foreign Minister of Egypt about five or six weeks ago.

The question now -- the questions now relate primarily to how we determine the criteria orthe ground rules, really, with respect to the makeup of a EPalestinianF delegation.

REP. HAMILTON: That's the principal obstacle that remains? The agenda question is -- have we made progress on that?

SEC. BAKER: Well,the agenda question is stilla matter that needs to be resolved as well. Let me say, as I think I've indicated, that the discussions I had with the Foreign Minister of Egypt with respect to thesetwo issues went very, very well. I foresee the possibility, if -- if the Foreign Minister of Israel is in a positionto be equally forthcoming and outgoing, that we might have some chance of making a little progress.

But as I'vesaid for the full seven oreight months that we've been engaged in this effort, you measure progress in EMiddle EastF peace in very small steps. I'm going to continue to remain engaged, Mr. Hamilton, as long as I think there is some hope for moving the process forward. But we need to -- we really need now to start -- we need action; we've done a lot of talking. Maybe we can do some more talking, but the time for action is coming very -- very close.

REP. HAMILTON: Would you predict that EelectionsF can occur this year in the EWest BankF and EGazaF?

SEC. BAKER: I don't -- I don't-- I wouldn't -- I'm not -- I'm not in that business. I'd be afraid to make a prediction one way or the other, Mr. Hamilton.

589

REP. SMITH: Well, that's good, and I appreciate that. Secondarily, on the question of the peace process in the EMiddleF E East,F can you tell me what the United States is doing to demand Arafat and the EPLOF abide by the spirit in a letter of the December '88 agreement? We have evidence significantly that a number of members of the PLO high command Fatahexecutive committee have made very significant statements about their continuing with terrorism. For instance, two of the higher ups have said that, one, any promise they made today they can vitiatetomorrow; and the other one that said thatKaddoumi -- I forget his name -- who saidthat there will be no abatement of attacks on the borders of Israel. Now, what are we doing about that? Those are high up in the Fatah mechanics --

SEC. BAKER: Why don't you give me the names, and then I'll tell whether or not we've weighed in with respect to those particular statements and those particular people. These are questions weaddress through our dialogue in Tunis.

REP. SMITH: Saleh Khalef who called for increased border attacks against Israel, and Farouk Kaddoumi's statement to the Boston Globe, he did not accept Israel's right to exist, "...and that what we accept today, we will not accept tomorrow."

SEC. BAKER: Let me -- let me have those, if you will, Larry, and I'll get back toyou and tell you what if anything we have done. Let me just say on that question, generally, with respect to the renunciation of terrorism, we weigh -- we weigh in duringthe course of our dialogue in Tunis -- we have done so in the past, and we will continue to do so -- where we see question -- where we see evidence that raises questions in our minds.

REP. SMITH: Well, I would hope that you would take these up with them because these are direct quotes attributable to them, and I don't think these are the kinds ofthings that are going to make for any possible capability for the PLO to join in a legitimate peace process ever atany time, let alone getting Israel convinced that they're not about to be driven into the sea by these people.

L LEVINE: - Let me move briefly into two Middle East-related areas that are quite imminent, and that I'd like to follow up on comments you made earlier in your testimony on. First of all, let me compliment you with regard to your persistence in keeping the peace process on track in the EMiddle EastF. I think that you have been dogged and persistent and acting in a way that is in our interest as Americans and in the interest of parties in the region, and I compliment you for that and encourage you to continue to do it.

SEC. BAKER: Thank you.

REP. LEVINE: I was concernedabout an implication that I suspect was unintended and perhaps wasn't even made, but I received this as a potential implication, when you said that if the Foreign Minister of Israel can be as forthcoming as the Foreign Minister of EEgyptF has been, essentially, then maybewe can make some sort of progress. I agree fully that this is the time to act, and hopefully, we'll have some action. But I don't think that you were intending to suggest that in light of the tragedy with regard to the bus terrorism in Egypt, and the range of other activities that have been occurring in the process, that Israel has not been forthcoming, and I --

SEC. BAKER: No, I'm not at all, Congressman Levine. What I meant to suggest was that there have -- that -- that theanswers that I have received, with respect to the issues that are now on the table, from the Foreign Minister of Egypt, have been satisfactory. And I hope I get similar answers from the Foreign Minister of Israel, and if I do, there's some chance we can move forward. That's all I mean to say.

589

REP. GILMAN: A pretty small increase. Mr. Secretary, with regard to the anti-Semitism that's on the rise in the Soviet Union and the need to try to get some additional numbers in an attempt to try toprovide better transportation facilitiesdirect to Israel so that those who are waiting to go can go, I know you've takenthat issue up inthe past, but can you tell us where that stands and what you did address to the Soviets in trying to open the door even wider? What we're -- many of us are concerned about, there are some 400,000 at least who are interested in emigrating, some have gone to Israel, some to the States, but there's a tremendous backlog, what can we do to ease that backlog?

SEC. BAKER: Mr. Gilman, there are two different questions. One is the question of emerging anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. And let me say with respect to that, I raised that issue in my talks in Moscow. What's really happening in my view is, as they open up in the Soviet Union and as there ismore and more freedom and debate, people who have been subjected to a very closed society for 70 years, what you're seeing issome old ethnic tensions and rivalries breaking out and that's resulting in a very unfortunate increase in anti-Semitismin the Soviet Union. I have to tell you I feel that it is not being condoned or permitted or in any way acquiesced in by the leadership of theSoviet Union. It is there, they know it's there, and I think that they will do what they can to do get a handle on that.

With respect to the question of direct flights from Moscow to EIsraelF, the El Al-Aeroflot agreement, I raised that as well. I'm not as optimistic with respect to that question, quite frankly, because there are serious concerns within the Soviet Union that the people making use of that direct flight would be settled in the Occupied Territories, and a strong concern about that asa result of some comments that have been made, and

I'm not very sanguine frankly about whether we can get that direct flight agreementreinstituted. It is our policy to -- it will continue to be our policy to seekto do that. We'd like to see it reinstituted. I'm notas sanguine on that as I am on the original question.

REP. LANTOS: I want to thank the Secretary for his comment. One question, if I may, Mr. Secretary. Earlier you dealt with the question of direct flights from the Soviet Union to Israel, and you did not express much optimism in your efforts to bring this about. I'd like to raise a question about it.

It seems to me that your policy of being supportive of Mr. Gorbachev and what heis trying to do has been exemplary, and you haveour full support for it. But by the sametoken, itseems to me this gives you and the President considerable leverage in dealing with him, particularly on such a simple issue which he can approve with a single, one-sentence memo to his staff.

After all, we are moving on EJackson-Vanik.F We are encouraging American business to go there. We are doing a thousand things to make Gorbachev's life easier. I'm wondering if you and the President canexert a greater degree of effort to bring this about, because we are in fact potentially dealing with saving the lives of thousands of people who otherwise would be stuck in life threatening situations. And I would be most grateful if you would take this under advisement.

SEC. BAKER: Mr. Lantos, as I indicated at breakfast, this is important, and we will continue to press it because we think it's important and we've told the Soviet leadership that we think it is important. There are some other problems, as we discussed at breakfast, that really would be veryhelpful in solving this if we could find a way to bringabout some public commitments on the part of others.

REP. LANTOS: I would be most happy to work with you on those, Mr. Secretary. I want to thank you.

REP.LEVINE: Let me justmove briefly to one other area that was covered and just follow up your response to another member; and this is again with regard to direct flights, given the urgency of the situation, and I think we all understand it needs to be pursued, and I want tocommend both you and the President for pursuing this directly at the highest levels in the ESovietF government.

Even though there are those who would suggestthat some of the concern in the Soviet Union may have come from some

statements with regard to where these refugees may be settling, the clear fact is -- and I don't think there's any ambiguity about this -- that less than 1 percent of the ErefugeesF that come out of the Soviet Union doend up inthe EWestBankF. And the analysis, I think, should reflect that with over 99 percent of these ESovietF EJewishF EemigresF, which so urgently need refuge at this point in time, in light of the anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union that you and the President have appropriately been addressing and trying to deal with, that we are faced herewith a, frankly, outrageous campaign coming from the Arab

states to try to keep the Soviet Union from being as forthcoming as they wereinitially inclined to be with regard to Soviet Jewish EemigrationF.

It would seemto me that we ought to be very clear that this campaign is unacceptable. I believe it's outrageous. I frankly believe it's analogous to similar campaigns 50 years ago, during which time the tragic result was Jewish refugees, potential refugees,were simply unable to leave and faced fatal violence. And when we have the harbingers of potential danger and violence in the Soviet Union, it would seem to me that we should not allow this type of campaign that's coming out of the EArabF League to have the type of consequences that -- that may be occurring with direct flights not being allowed.

I know that youand the President have been --have been on this. I want to encourage you to continue

to persist on this. But, I also don't think we should leave the implication that this is somehow related to where they're settling when, in fact, over 99 percent of them are settling within the green line, and I think everybody understands that.

REP. FASCELL: Mr. Weiss.

REP. LEVINE: Could he respond, Mr. Chairman?

REP. FASCELL: Oh, I didn't know he -- (off mike).

SEC. BAKER: You're -- I think you're quite right, that over 99 percent of them are not settling in the territories. I don't think it's accurate to say that there's not a genuine concern on the part of some that some of the people that come out of the Soviet Union will be settled in the territories. I think that is a genuine concern. And I do believe that the efforts of Arab governments have been important in the response that we've received from the Soviet Union -- I agree with that. At the same time --

REP. LEVINE: Do you not agree --

589

111. סיעת חמ

1. בסוף עדותו חזר המזכיר על בקשת הממשל לאפשר לו גמישות בחלוקת סיוע החוץ.
ראו תגובת פאסל לדברים אלה.

I asked for greater flexibility in managing the very tight resources that we have available in our EbudgetF. Surely, I think events have demonstrated beyond any doubt that such flexibility is absolutely essentialto our success in a world of accelerating change and in a world of changing foreign policy priorities.

So I would repeat again this year my request for a new code of conduct, if you will, between the Executive and the Congress on Eforeign assistanceF. We shouldlook, if I might respectfully suggest it, to constructive consultation as the primary vehicle for achieving consensus onprogram objectives rather than looking to earmarking. We should explore together ways to achieve a greater flexibility that serves everyone'sinterest as we deal with these extraordinary times and as we deal with these changing priorities.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

REP. FASCELL: Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

Let me say again that, as far as the Committee on Foreign Affairs is concerned, we join in your effort to obtain greater flexibility and agree thoroughly with regard to the need for consultation andcooperation in establishing the priorities and the needs for the implementation of US foreign policy.

As a matter of fact, I'll go further than that because we have been strongly urging and supporting the concept of consultation and cooperation with regard to formulation of foreign policy, because it is very difficult to get assistance by blind following on the implementation of Eforeign policyF when you've had no input on the formulation of foreign policy. And the Congress being the kind of institution that it is, it gets extremely difficult to get that kind of cooperation simply because a request has been made and the policy has already been decided. And it's particularly difficult in those cases where the President feels, or the administration feels it must act without any meaningful input as far as the formulation of the policy is concerned.

So, I welcome your statement and I publicly thank you again for the cooperation you personally have exhibited and the State Department .in working with the Foreign Affairs Committee to establish not only a bipartisan foreign policy, but also to give the administration the kind of flexibility it feels it should have with respect to the allocation of funds.

I must say that it is a difficult situation for the administration to be in, no question about that, because you deal with two authorizing committees, one in the House and one in the Senate,and two Appropriations Committees, and you get your money from the Appropriations Committees. But the authorizing committees have areal responsibility in setting the policy guidelines with you, and so we look forward to continuing that work with you, Mr. Secretary, and trying again to give you the flexibility.

As you know, we passed abill that gave you a greatdeal of flexibility. We didn't eliminate all the earmarks, but we did put a contingency fund of 2 percent in that bill and send it to the Senate, where ithas languished for more than a year. Now, maybe we can do something about that, and it is a responsibility of the Congress to see if we can getthat bill moving. Nevertheless, it will never move anywhere without the wholehearted -- continuing wholehearted support of the administration, which we urge, desperately.

REP. GILMAN (R-NY): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I regret that some of us may have to leave early to join the Republican seminar that's taking place, that is.

Now, Mr. Secretary, we certainly welcome you. We commend you

for the work you've been doing, and we'revery proud of what our President's been doing in Eforeign policyF. However, thereis something that a number of us were concerned about, and that was Senator Dole's request to the administration to cut back on some of the foreign aid by cannibalizing the foreign aid, taking from some of our friends and giving it to some others. And a number of us are very much concerned that that pie is small enough that the pie should be enlarged.

Our good chairman Mr. Fascell and our ranking minority member Mr. Broomfield, back in late January, addressed a letter to you in which they wound up saying -- and it went to both you and to the President -- "Mr. President, the United States cannot meet its responsibilities and avail itself of the new opportunities now developing by dividing a too small pie into smallerslices. We simply have to find a way to make more resources available. We look forward to reviewing with you and others in the administration ways we can strengthen American foreign policy at this crucial juncture in world affairs."

A number of my colleagues have joined with me and some of our others in urging this same thing. Would you respond to that, Mr. Secretary? We all recognize the needs that are out there, but we do have a need to increase the extent of that pie that we're trying to cut up.

SEC. BAKER: Well, let me respond to you, Mr. Gilman, by saying that we are requesting an increase in the piethis year in the 1991 budget. We're requesting a 9 percent increase. Ifyou'd pass the President's budget request, that would help us, at least, with respect to the problem.

But it really is a little bit -- it really goes deeper than the question of whether or not we can expand it. I mean, I think -- I believe that there's more support on the Hill now for expanding this pie than there has been in the past. But let's address the question for a minute of what happens if you can't expand the pie, if for some reason the pie doesn't get expanded. Then we have to deal with the situation that has confronted us over the past two or three years, which is a situation where we in the executive branch have little if any, practically zero flexibility to meet the changing foreign policy needs and priorities of the United States. The fact that we continually lock in our Eforeign assistanceF on the basis of these earmarks year after year after year means that weare unable, for instance, to address

changes that are taking -- the dramatic changes taking place in Eastern Europe, the problems with respect to rebuilding EPanamaF, the problems of fighting the Ewar on drugsF with respect to small nations in the ECaribbeanF and in Latin America.

So it's a real problem, and it's one that we hope the Congress will want to work with us with respect to whether it's taking it from the standpoint of increasing the pie, or not beingquite so rigid and giving us a little flexibility to respond as needed to changing priorities.

REP. GILMAN: Well, as you know, the Hamilton-Gilman proposal -- try toget to that area of cutting back and some of the earmarking. But again, I think with all of those problems out there, we really have to take a look at making this pie somewhat larger. I'd like to ask you -- and incidentally, in your budgetary increase, out of all the increases it only allows -- ends up with allowing $600 million in development and humanitarian assistance after you take out all of the arrearages and some of the other things you're addressing. Now, I'd like to ask you --

SEC. BAKER: But that's $600million of only about $1.3 increase, Mr. Gilman.

REP. ROTH: I'd like to ask a basic question. We are living through, you know, a truism and a welter of change, and I can see why you'd like to have flexibility. I'd like to ask a basic question, however, dealing with foreign aid itself. I many times have to view that foreign aid as really wasted. and rather than gaining friends, we gain the contemptof other nations. And in asking for a nine percent increase inforeign aid, I think it's very difficult for Congress to do that at the same time we're cutting back on our own people and our own taxpayers right here at home.

לאחר חילופי דברים בין בייקר לבין קונגרסמן רות' לגבי תמיליפינים קיבם רות' את "האני מאמין" שלו באומרו:

REP. ROTH: Well, I appreciate -- if I may just say this, Mr. Chairman, thank you for giving me the extra 30 seconds -- if I can just say this. I think this is a very important issue. You know, I used to be, I think, the only one and probably still am the only person on this Committee that asked the fundamental question, "Why are we giving away billions of dollars? What are we getting for that? We're cutting back on our own people at home." And I am getting letters from all over the country. I think the American people are askingthe same question. So I appreciate your answer, Mr. Secretary, because Ithink it is showing somewhata shift in thinking, and I appreciate it.

SEC. BAKER: Well, let me say this. I'm only talking about those whohave questioned our presence. I think weget substantial results from our foreign assistance budget, Mr. Roth, particularly in those countries that remain friendly and committed in their attitude toward the United States.

REP. CROCKETT: I appreciate your modesty, but it's rather unusual. The State Department has something to say about foreign affairs and this is in the area of foreign affairs. Very well. My second question; at breakfast this morning, I raised the issue of the basic unfairness in the distribution of our foreign aid fund and I believe you suggested,one, that it was because of earmarks that we here in Congress take it on ourselves to decidewho's going to get what. Looking through your prepared statement here, I see that

you have asked for $561 million for a development fund in EAfricaF and then you ask for $734million for all of Central America -- whether that includes the ECaribbeanF or not, I don't know, I don't find any allocation for the Caribbean. Andthen you ask for $573 million for Pakistan, which is more than what you ask for all of Africa. And finally, on page 34, you ask for $5.1billion in total security assistance for the two EMiddle EastF peace partners EIsraelF and EEgyptF.

Now it sounds to me that that's the State Department doing the earmarking and not the Congress. It's been suggested, I think, by Mr. Gilman -- and I believe you approved the idea-- that maybe what we should do is enlarge the foreign aid pie and then we don't have to disturb the allocations that the StateDepartment wishes to make, and we have more funds for Congress to play around with than in earmarking. The weakness in that is that I think you know and I know and Ibelieve most of the membersof this committee know that foreign aid is not very popular, and the likelihood of increasing the overall pie is not very great. And so I was particularly happy this morning when you indicated that you agreed that there was an inequitable distribution of our foreign aid, and that youwere agreeable to sitting down with a select committee from our Western Hemisphere Subcommittee and fromour African Subcommittee, and from the Congressional Black Caucus, to see if we can't come up with some solution to this basic unfairness. I want to thank you for that, and we will be working to put together that committee to meet with you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

REP. FASCELL: Let me see. Mr. Smith.

SEC. BAKER: May I respond to the part of the Judge's statement --

REP. FASCELL: Oh, absolutely.

SEC. BAKER: -- that says this is the State Department earmarking?

REP. FASCELL: Yes, sir.

SEC. BAKER: Because I think it needs to be responded to.

Judge, as you know, we've got tosend up a budget, and we've got to put some numberson it. So we put numbers on it that reflect what the Congress has done over thepast 10 or 12 or 15 years, or whatever it is, and roughly in the proportions thatthe Congress has doneit. But just so there is no doubt in your mind or in the minds of any of the other members of the committee, you heard it -- you heard it here from the Secretary of State. We support -- we support no earmarking. We would support shaving earmarks. We wouldsupport whatever you can do to give us the flexibility that we need to properly address the changing foreign policy priorities of the United States.

But we do have to submit a budget. We've got to send something up to you, and we will continue to do that. But when you earmark over 90 percent of FMS, and over 85 percent or so of ESF, and you send it back down to us and say, "Now, you allocate the remaining 8 percent, or the remaining 15 percent among all these countries,"the neteffect is we find a lot of countries in the areas that you have an interest in and that we have an interest in, too, being zeroed out. And I don't think that's the way we ought to conduct our business.

589

We are very happy to be -- we are perfectly willing -- not happy, but willing -- to be out front saying that we should stop this practice of earmarking. In case there's anybody doubting whether or not we arewilling to politically stand up and say that: Let's don't have any earmarks. Give us the flexibility to conduct the foreign policy in the way in which it ought to be conducted.

REP. CROCKETT: Do you agree, Mr. Secretary, that the allocations that I referred to in your prepared statement constitute earmarks by the State Department that are supported by the State Department, and that the State Department would not look favorably upon any congressional attempt to change these earmarks?

SEC. BAKER: Wrong. Wrong. We would look favorably upon a Congressional effortto eliminate all those earmarks, Judge. Thoseare simply budget numbers thatwe put on there.

REP. LANTOS: Before I aska couple of quick questions, I want to react to what my friend from Wisconsinsaid earlier in his broad side against foreign aid.

Ifind it it -- that's always a very popular topic, but I find it particularly ironic that the day after the President of Czechoslovakia speaks to a joint session of Congress, and as we celebrate the liberation of Eastern Europe, apparently some people fail to see that it was the Marshall Plan which created a prosperous Western Europe, and had our predecessors been as shortsighted as apparentlysome are in denouncing foreign aid,we would not be looking at the liberation of Central and Eastern, but we would be looking at a Europe totally communist and under Soviet domination.

So, I think it's important to take a historical perspective of

foreign aid, which probably has been one of the most constructive aspects of American foriegn policy, since the end of the second World War, and I think it's important for us to be mindful of this as we rejoice in the liberation of Czechoslovakia and these other countries.

SEC. BAKER: Thank you.

589

REP. FASCELL: Will the gentleman yield right here and let me ask him something --

REP. LANTOS: I'd be delighted, Mr. Chairman.

REP. FASCELL: I want to join the gentleman in his comments, eloquently spoken as usual, and tosay that the one thing that we can take pride in as the Secretary had pointed out in the light of all of these changes and successes that have taken place that despite the changes of administration in this country, it's been the constancy of American foreign policy that has brought us to where we are, the good and the bad.

And we, certainly as a major power in this world, we get enough blame as it is, and if there ever is a time when you can take credit and I'm not sure we're there yet, but we're getting there, one of the successes that we can pointto has been the fact that the American people have supported not only Chumanitarian assistanceF, but economic and military assistance around the world in the accomplishment of the policies of the United States, which are basically very simple and very human, and that is, we believe in the rights of other people.

REP. LANTOS: I want to thank the-- for the Chairman's --

REP. FASCELL: Iwasn't debating you, Mr. Roth. I mean, you're entitled to your own opinion, and I'm entitled to mine.

REP. ROTH: Well, Mr. Chairman --

REP. LANTOS: I want to thank the Chairman --

REP. ROTH: Would the gentleman yield?

REP. LANTOS: Not at the moment, becadse I just have a few seconds, and I want to use them. You used your few minutes to denounce foreign aid, which is a very popular position. I took my time to point out that foreign aid --

REP. ROTH: Mr.Chairman, point of order. Mr. Chairman, point of order.

REP. LANTOS: --kept Western Europe free anddemocratic --

REP. FASCELL: Gentlemen.

REP. LANTOS: --and it is the democraticWestern Europe which is now leading the liberation of Central and Eastern Europe.

REP. ROTH: Mr. Chairman.

REP. FASCELL: The gentleman from California has the time. Let him finish, Toby.

REP. ROTH: Okay.

)89

REP. FASCELL: If we have time, I'll come back to you.

REP. LANTOS: And I'll bedelighted to debate the issue with the gentleman from Wisconsin at anyforum at any length.

REP. FASCELL: Well, why don'twe let the Secretary get into this? (Laughter.)

SEC. BAKER: Let me get into it by saying thatI really appreciate the comments that CongressmanLantos made and you yourself, Mr.Chairman, because I think it's extraordinarily important that we support this -- that we support foreign assistance at timesof dynamic change. The challenge before us today is to manage the dynamic change that's taking place around the world and to do it effectively, and we can't do it effectively if we don't have some resources to put into play.

589

NG OF THE HOUSE FORETGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE/ SUBJECT: FISCAL YEAR 1991
GN AID/ CHAIRED BY: REPRESENTATIVE DANTE FASCELL (D-FL)
1 page 3 THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1990

REP. BERMAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I have four uestions which I'll try to ask quickly so that I can get the aximum use of my time here. Could you -- first, could you deal ort of on the record formally with the motion proposed by Senator ob Dole, the budget figures speak for themselves in terms of the dministration's position, but that the five major foreign aid ecipients, we reduce them by five percent in order to reallocate hose funds to the emerging democracies? That's question one.

SEC. BAKER: Now, before you give me the other questions, let me answer it because I'll forget the question if you give me five.

REP. BERMAN: But then I'll --

SEC. BAKER: No, you won't.

REP. BERMAN: I'll never get to three.

SEC. BAKER: Question one, we -- I've already said we would support the total elimination of earmarks, therefore, we would support shaving earmarks. There is one difference that we have, as I understand it, with the proposal that Senator Dole made and that is that he is country specific. He picks out certain countries, and we think it would be more appropriate -- if you're going to shave, to shave across the board. But the concept of shaving we agree with.

REP. BERMAN: The administration has come forth with figures ith respect to proposed foreign assistance to **Israel, Egypt, urkey, Pakistan** and the **Philippines.** Senator Dole has suggested cutting those by 5 percent. Apart from the question of the earmarks -- I understand your position on earmarks, you made that quite clear -- but does the administration support that suggestion?

SEC. BAKER: I've just -- I think I've just answered that for you. We support most -- the major aspects of it, but we don't support the idea that we would restrict earmark shaving to just four or five countries. We think it ought to be something that happens across the board.

REP. BERMAN: No, I --

SEC. BAKER: All earmarked countries.

REP. BERMAN: Okay, one more time, and --

SEC. BAKER: And --

REP. BERMAN: Do you believe that the funding of the new, emerging democracies should come from the foreign aid to the five largest recipients?

SEC. BAKER: That's not an issue. What's an issue --

589 17

EARING OF HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE/ SUBJECT: FISCAL YEAR 1991
FOREIGN AID REQUIRED BY: REPRESENTATIVE DANTE FASCELL (D-FL)
F-4-11 page 4 THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1990

REP. BERMAN: That was an issue by Senator Dole.

SEC. BAKER: Well, okay, that's -- I think the issue is broader than that. I think the issue is will we have the flexibility to respond not just to the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe, but for instance, to Panama, for instance, to Jamaica, which is fighting the battle on the front lines against drugs, and perhaps, some other countries that are engaged in the drug effort.

REP. BERMAN: Well, the fact is the history of the earmarking -- I'm going to say, that in a general proposal, the likelihood of getting Congress to drop all earmarks unless they're convinced -- the Congress is convinced that your priorities and their priorities are the same, is about as likely as Congress passing a term limitation on Congressmen. It's fundamental and institutional; we can talk about it a lot. We can try and give you more flexibility. The moment something happens we don't like, there goes the flexibility, we come back with the earmarks.

So, the real question is -- in this debate we have between Mr. Lantos and Mr. Roth, the question of whether the United States is going to return to -- almost to an isolationist view, notwithstanding the success of our

REP. BERMAN

policies of the past 40 years, is the question of how do we enlarge the pie, how do we deal with the newly-emerging democracy, not forgetting about the older democracies, not forgetting about our economic interests around theworld that are also served byEforeignF EassistanceF, not forgetting the military role.

And you have specific proposals I don't quite understand. The history of the earmarksthat you most resist are that this administration -- notthis administration, the previous administration took and transferred money from an already beleaguered EAfricaF account back in the early 1980s to fund Central America.

SEC. BAKER: Congressman,hear it from us. Wewould ask you to eliminate all earmarks. That is the position of the administration. You heard it here. We would support elimination of all earmarks. I can count just like you can count. If you can'teliminate, then shave. But give us some flexibility. But don't try and say that the earmarking is an executive branch problem.

589

REP. BERMAN: My view is that a much more fruitful line of discussion is --unless you can tell me the country that's getting too much foreign assistance in our present situation -- a more fruitful way of approaching this is how do we increase the foreign assistance pie.

SEC. BAKER: Let me tell you -- let me answer your question. I'll tell you the country. All of those that are earmarked.

REP. BERMAN: Are getting too much foreign assistance.

SEC. BAKER: At the expenseof all the others. Weneed, at the end of a day, whenyou earmark them, and you then send us a tiny little sliver of aid down there andsay, "Now, you fulfill all your other requirements with this," that's the problem. So, it's all the earmarks.

REP. BERMAN: So, essentially then,the administration's position is, "Wehave the right amountof foreign assistance. We're allocating itwrong. We should eliminate the earmarks so you can reallocate existing levels."

SEC. BAKER: What we're saying -- our position is, if we can increase the amount of foreign assistance, fine, and we've asked you for some more in our EbudgetF, a 9 percent increase this year. If you

can do that, that'sfine. But in the absenceof that, at the very least, take what you do have, and don't earmark 95 percent of it. Let us respond to some of these changing priorities.

REP. FASCELL: Will the gentleman fromCalifornia yield?

REP. BERMAN: I certainly will.

REP. FASCELL: I don't want to correct the record, but I sure don't want to confuseit any more than it already is. The fact is that there is an increase in the budget request of $1.6 billion. And the fact also is that as far as allocations to countries are concerned, they were not changed. So the budget requests remain the same.

Now, with the add-ons of -- what is it -- another 500-and-some-odd million, that supplemental 570 [million] that's up here in the appropriations committee rightnow, would give you roughly a total of 20.8 as against 18.6 in the last year, that's in budget authority. And that still leaves you because the budget that was sent up here is below current services on everything else.

589 19

SEC. BAKER: Well not everything, Mr. Chairman. I mean there are --- there is a $300 million item for EEastern EuropeF so there are some --

REP. FASCELL: No, no, no, I said that's part of the add-ons.

SEC. BAKER: Yes, okay.

REP. FASCELL: That's part of the add-ons which comes to $1.64 billion, Mr. Secretary, $570 [million] in the supplemental -- which is the EDODF layoff that's before the Appropriations Subcommittee -- gives you $20.81 billion. All right? But, to get the current services and all other accounts, we still need another $1.2 billion. But to answer your question, I believe, Mr. Berman, is that despite the add-ons and despite the shortfalls, the allocations to the countries were generally the same.

SEC. BAKER: That's right.

REP. BERMAN: And Mr. Chairman, I guess all I'm -- the frustration I have is I wish that the administration -- I believe that they feelthis way -- I wish they would put the political effort into making the case tothe Congress and the American people that in this day and age the priorities for an expanded foreign assistance program are sufficiently important that the -- what will end up being a futiledebate and discussion about earmarking is replaced by an effort to join purposes, to expand this critical part of our --

REP. FASCELL: What we need to do is join forces, Mr. Berman. I agree withthat statement. Not only to provide the $1.6 [billion] that the Secretary is talking about and has requested in this budget request -- which is obviously essential -- but also for the $1.2 billion to get them to current services.

SEC. BAKER: Mr. Chairman, we support the concept of expansion. That's ourfirst choice. If we can do that, fine, but my point is if we can't do that, give us someflexibility under the current situation.

REP. BERMAN: Let's not talk about the second position untill we've exhausted the possibilities of achieving the first.

SEC. BAKER: You know, it wouldn't be all bad if you'd come up with a discretionary fund or a flexibility --

REP. BERMAN: We have --

SEC. BAKER: -- fund that has some real resources in it --

REP. BERMAN: I agree.

SEC. BAKER: -- that you couldsupport and that a number of different people who are interested in the earmarked countries could support. It would give us an opportunity -

REP. FASCELL: We'll support it, Mr. Secretary. We've put 2 percent in the bill. You know,I'll support 5 percent. That's easy, but it doesn't solve anything, simply as a matter of policy to shave 5 percent off of the top 5 inorder to reallocate it to the bottom 32. It Doesn't solve any problems at all, unless you're the bottom of the 32.

REP. MEL LEVINE (D-ECAF): Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Just to follow up on this dialogue for one moment, because it's an important one and it has some fundamental policy implications attachedto it, obviously, with all due respect, Mr. Secretary -- and this goes well beyond your bailiwick, this is an administration decisionthat goes right to the top and cuts through the EDMBFprocess -- frankly, I believe that the administration is poised on the verge of missing an historic opportunity, not justto increase the foreign affairspie, but to increase the domestic pie, as well, in light of the extent to which it appears to be wedded to maintaining the dollars in the EDefense DepartmentF account and its apparent unwillingnessto acknowledge that in fact we may have, we do have a peace dividend; andthat when you look at the urgency of the competing priorities before us in the EbudgetaryF process, as was discussed this morning at breakfast, the imminence of the problems and the challenges that confront us in the foreign aid piece of the equation, and also the imminence of the challenges here at home are now so much greater than some of the big ticket items in the defens that it would certainly free up the resources and add to the foreign assistance pie if some redirection could occur out of the budget into foreign affairs and key domestic defense programs.

I don't want todebate that extensively now, butI think you wil find that to be a viewfairly widely held on Capitol Hill, and one that at least ought to be analyzed and evaluated as we go through the EbudgetF process.

589

END

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: דחוף | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | קן: 1<br>פתיון: 5 |
| סווג: שמור | | |
| תאריך ושעת תעוד: 21.2.90 | אל: מנהל מצפ"א | |
| פס' פנוק: | דע: קונגרס - ווש' | |
| הפסד: 533 | כאת: הקונכ"ל ווש' | |

כושים עבריים
שלכם 413

1. מצ"ב שלושה מסמכים:
-מכתב של לאון דובס מ- 8.2 אלי
-מזכר של רונלד צ'רלסון ממחמ"ד מ- 15.2 אל יריאל בן יהודה
-מכתב של איש הבטחון וולאס רוני מ- 7.2 אלי

2. מזכרו של צ'רלסון הגיע לידי רק אתמול, באמצעות דובס, ולכן התעכב כל המשלוח עד עתה. המזכר הוא גירסה מתוקנת של מזכר קודם, כמעט זהה, שתאריכו 1.2 והנמצא ברשותי.

3. מאחר והנחיותיכם לגבי נוסח התשובה לדיימלי (במברקכם הנ"ל) עשויות להשתנות לאור המסמכים המצ"ב, אמתין לתשובתכם במברק ולהנחיות חדשות.

4. אבקש הנחיות אלו בהקדם, כדי לא להשהות תשובתנו לדיימלי יתר על המידה.

5. בשיחה אתי אתמול ציין דובס את פרוץ מגפת האדמת בקרב הכושים העבריים כתמריץ נוסף לזרוז התהליך לקראת פתרון מהיר ככל האפשר. אמרתי לו שלדעתי אין לקשור בעיה בריאותית מיידית, שבטוחני כי היא מטופלת כראוי, עם בעיה סבוכה וגם ותיקה שהטיפול בה נמשך מתוך רצון לפותרה, אך במסלול אחר. דובס ביקש בכל זאת להעביר אליכם את דאגתו העמוקה מהמצב שנוצר עקב התפרצות המחלה בתנאי דיור קשים.

אומן

תפוצה: -14-

2/5

533

February 8, 1990

Moshe Aumann
Consul General
Embassy of Israel
3514 International Blvd.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Aumann:

Enclosed you will find two letters pertaining to the proposed resolution of outstanding legal matters involving individuals in the Hebrew Israelite community in Dimona, Israel and the possible return of members with unresolved cases.

The first is a copy of correspondence from the State Department's Don Charlson who has directed the ongoing dialogue with the Hebrew community leaders here in the U.S. The second is from Wallace Rooney, the president of the International U.S. Marshall's union.

Both are in support of the initiative discussed in the letter from Conngressman Dymally, and more importantly, indicate the high level of interest, involvement and desire for a solution in other U.S. governmental and law enforcement bodies. Moreover, they serve to provide the kind of reassurance that we who are concerned for the state can feel comfortable that all parties involved are in fact sincere.

Certainly, all are encouraged by the progress that has occured over the past 18 months. It is clear that an atmosphere of trust and meaningful exchange has been established demonstrated by actions and statements on the part of the Dimona community and the Israeli government.

Your office has played a key role in my own return to Israel and has opened a new channel of communications between Congress, the Israeli government and the community. It has been an avenue that allows us to talk and resolve matters without the disruptive influence of the media and a rash of public statements that can harden positions and attitudes.

The Dimona community has renounced and refrained from any public statements or positions that might be viewed as harmful to the state and likewise seized upon and exploited by enemies of Israel. Ben Ammi has expressed his continued faith in the lines established in the political process.

Moreover, Interior Minister Deri's meeting with Ben Ammi last year and the public announcement that mass deportation was no longer an option to be pursued by the government reduced tensions and showed a sense of compassion for those who have sought to make life in Israel the spiritual and prophetic experience that we all have envisioned.

In this light, the latest initiative is part of an evolutionary process in which those of us who have committed ourselves to the building of the state of Israel come together and work for a solution. We understand that we might not immediately agree on every issue raised but our respect for the democratic process and committment to justice and human dignity before God will direct our steps.

I would also encourage you to contact Chief Judge Aubrey Robinson, Jr., of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, who has expressed his support for the resolution of these issues and the integrity of the men involved. Other than that, I can only extend myself again

to be of service in any way that I can to assist in removing the question of Dimona and the Hebrews from the list of problems confronting Israel.

I truly believe that we are on the right course and that shortly we can put this issue behind us and turn our joint attention to other matters such as healing the rift between the African-American and Jewish communities and Israel's status in Africa and the Third World. If there are any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

May the God of Israel Bless and Keep You,

Sincerely,

Leon Dobbs

Leon Dobbs

3/5

533

United States Department of State

*Washington, D.C. 20520*

February 15, 1990

4/5

533

MEMORANDUM

TO: Yeriel Ben-yehuda
3636 Georgia Ave. #204
Washington, D.C. 20010

FROM: Special Agent Donald Charlson
U.S. Department of State
Washington Field Office

SUBJECT: Progress and current status of negotiations for the elimination of criminal charges against Hebrew Israelites

With the dropping of the charges against Mr. Eddie K. Moore on his recent return to the United States from Liberia, the Department of State has done more than we initially agreed to in our talks. As per our understanding the Government has demonstrated our willingness to facilitate matters which would allow most of the members of your group (with outstanding warrants or charges) to return to the United States from your overseas communities.

I know you are convinced of our sincerity and I understand the need for Prince Asiel Ben Israel and yourself to travel to Israel to explain these developments to the members of your communities in Israel; to ellicit their cooperation, so that our agreement can be completed and members of your group who are U.S. citizens can freely return to the U.S.

Since my office only deals with criminal matters, those members of your group who have renounced their citizenship must deal with the appropriate offices if they wish to return to the United States. Our agreement concerns the resolution of outstanding or potential criminal charges and should not be construed as altering or changing existing Government policy.

If the Israeli Embassy has any questions concerning the purpose of your visit or the points convered in our discussions, please feel free to have them contact me and I will be happy to answer any questions which they may have. I can be reached on 235-9360.

Good luck on your trip to Israel, I'm sure it will result in our mutual benefit.

This document replaces my memorandum of February 1, 1990.


5/5
533

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF DEPUTY UNITED STATES MARSHALS' LOCALS
P.O. Box 1349
Washington, D.C. 20013

February 7, 1990

Mr. Moshe Aumann
General Counsel
Embassy of Israel
3514 International Boulevard
Washington, D.C. 20008

Re: Hebrew Israelite Community

Dear Mr. Aumann:

Approximately two months ago, members of the Hebrew Israelite Community known as the Black Hebrews, Prince Asiel Ben Israel, and Yeriel Ben Yehuda, spoke with me concerning their desires to begin a process of resolving any outstanding legal or criminal matters that may exist within the community. Having had the responsibility of providing security for the 1985 trial in Washington, D.C of community members, I had the unique opportunity to become familiar with the intricacies of the people and their order.

Because of our belief in the integrity of this initiative, we have offered to assist the community in any way legally, that we can be of assistance in trying to finally resolve any of these matters.

We also offer our personal endorsement to the integrity of Prince Asiel Ben Israel and Yeriel Ben-Yehuda in the event of their trip to Israel and scheduled return.

Sincerely,

Wallace Roney

Wallace Roney
President

# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

18996 תאריך: 22.02.90
דף 1 מתוך 2
עותק 4 מתוך 36 סודי ביותר נכנס **

חוזם:2,18996
אל:המשרד
יעדים:רהמש/505,מצב/2175,מנמת/739
מ-:ווש,נר:544,תא:210290,זח:2100,דח:מ,סג:סב
תח:@ גס:צפא
נד:@

אמת

סודי ביותר/מיידי

אל : משפט, מצפא

מאת: סייבל

משיחה של החמ' והציר ערן עם אייב סופר יוהמ'ש מחמד וחלק מעוזריו:

1. חוקיות ישובים ביו'ש ועזה:

סופר לא קיבל כל בקשה לכתיבת חוות דעת בנושא חוקיות הישובים והוא 'מקווה שלא יקבל בקשה לכך כי הדבר רק יגרום לויכוח משפטי לא מועיל'.
בקשנו שאם בכל זאת יפנו אליו בבקשה לחוות דעת שהוא מצידו יפנה אלינו על מנת לקבל INPUT משפטי מצידנו. לא הסכים לכך בציינו שיש לו כבר הרבה חומר בנדון.

2. הצטרפות אשף לאמנות ג'נבה:

סיפר כי לדעתו ניצחנו במאבק ואף שהפלשתינאים יכריזו מדי פעם שהצטרפו אך בפועל השוויצרים לא יעשו דבר. עם זאת מסר כי בכוונת השוויצרים להוסיף את השם מדינת פלסטינה לרשימות שהם מפרסמים כדפוזיטר של אמנת ג'נבה עם הערה שתספר השתלשלות פניית פלשתינה, דהיינו בלי לציין שהם הצטרפו לאמנות.

3. הסכם לשיתוף פעולה בעניינים פליליים:

```
* [illegible] .10.11                                            [illegible] *
* [illegible]                                                            *
* [illegible]                                                            *
*                                                                  ++    *
*                                                                  ++    *
*                                                                  +++   *
*[illegible] 2,18996 [illegible]                                         *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*                                                                        *
*                                                                        *
*                                                                        *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*                                                                        *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*                                                                        *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*                                                                        *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*                                                                        *
*1. [illegible]                                                          *
*                                                                        *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*                                                                        *
*2. [illegible]                                                          *
*                                                                        *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*[illegible]                                                             *
*                                                                        *
*3. [illegible]                                                          *
*                                                                        *
```

*
* דף 2 מתוך 2
* עותק 4 מתוך 36
*
*הצעתי שנתקדם בנושא ההסכם לשיתוף פעולה בעניינים פליליים *
*מבלי להמתין לנושא הסכם ההסגרה. קיבל הרעיון ואמר שיפנה *
*למשרד המשפטים.
*
*4. מעמד מאבטחים וגישה לנ'ת קנדי:
*
*סיפר שהנושא בידי .F0.F.M אך הבטיח לדרבנם.
*
*5. ירמוך:
*
*בקשתי לקבל דווח על סיבוב ארמיטג' בירדן. ג'ואן שוורץ סיפר *
*שחלק מהדיונים התנהלו בארבע עיניים בין ארמיטג' והמארחים. *
*ככל שידוע לו כוונת ארמיטג' היתה לקבל מהירדנים תכנית הפעלת *
*הסכר שבו ימסרו פרטים לגבי התכניות לשחרור מים מבחינת *
*מועדים וכמויות. הירדנים לא היו מוכנים עדיין למסור תכנית *
*כזו ועל כן ארמיטג' דחה ביקורו בישראל.
*
*6. סיום תפקידו - סיפר שבכוונתו לסיים התפקיד.
*
*סייבל
*
*
*לב
*
*
*
*תפ: שהח,סשהח,רהמ,ממרהמ,שהבט,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרכז,רם,@(אמן), *
*ממד,בנצור,מצפא,סייבל,סולטן,משפט

1 עמ'

```
*                                                                      *
*  ף 2     מחלף 2                                                      *
*  בתאריך :    מחלף 36                                                 *
*                                                                      *
*הנדון: מתקנים לרשת הסיבים האופטיים  בעזרת  בנין  ביה"ס  ע"ר"ם      *
*אלי' רמת"ן  לרשת הסיבים הסמוכים.  מ"לב  הרש"ל  ואחר  מ"בלת         *
*רבות הנאמנים.                                                        *
*                                                                      *
**. אחר אישור מ"מ ראש מלל":                                            *
*                                                                      *
*מ"בר מתקשר ל"ר' .מ.ר.מ מן הנב"ח רחובות.                             *
*                                                                      *
*2. רקע:                                                               *
*                                                                      *
*בעת' רצב" ריתן מ' מ"בלה ארע"מ ל"רל. ל"אל מתרע מ"בר                  *
*מחלף אר"ל"ם המלאי בחלב מ"ל"ם ל"ל ארע"מ המאוחרים.                   *
*כל מ"ריש ל' בלתי ארע"מ מ"מ רבר אר"ל"ם הבל"ם הבל"ם                  *
*הסכ' מכ' ראש' בנע"ם  לבל"  המכ"ים  ראש"ם  מ"ם  אנ"ם                 *
*מלאי"ם הבא"ים. מ"ל"ם לא מ"ל מלכ"ם מ"ל"ל  ראש"ם  הכל"ם              *
*כל' ואי כל ארע"מ ומם ל"מלל ל"מאר.                                    *
*                                                                      *
*3. מ"ים הבע"ל - מ"בר מלכ"ל לר"ם המבע"ר.                              *
*                                                                      *
*מ"ל"ל                                                                *
*                                                                      *
*                                                                      *
*בב                                                                    *
*                                                                      *
*                                                                      *
*                                                                      *
*הב: מחנ,מחנה,רחב,אחרא,מרכז,מלכ,מלכר,ר\מרכז,רב,מ(אב),                *
*אחר,בלאר,מבכא,מ"לב,מ"ראל,אמצע                                        *
```

16

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

דף 1 מתוך 22 דפים
סווג בטחוני: שמור
דחיפות : בהול לבוקר
תאריך וז"ח : 22/2/90
מס' מברק : 602

אל: המשרד

אל: יועץ שה"ח לתפוצות. סמנכ"ל צפ"א
דע: מנכ"ל משרד רוה"מ. קונכ"ל נ"י. קונכ"ל לוס אנג'לס

ועידת נקרא"ק

1. ועידת נקרא"ק שהתקיימה בפניקס ב- 18-21/2 התאפיינה בנסיון של קבוצה מאורגנת שכללה את "הקונגרס היהודי האמריקני" (טד מאן) והרפורמים ( דוד סאפרשטיין) להביא לאימוץ החלטות שתבקרנה את מדיניות ממשלת ישראל וראש הממשלה אישית. מאמצים אלו לא הניבו פירות והקבוצה נאלצה להסיר מסדר היום שתי הצעות החלטה בנושא "שתי מדינות" ו"שטחים תמורת שלום" המצ"ב, למרות שניהלה פעילות אינטנסיבית בנושא שרוכזה ע"י מטה מיוחד שבראשו עמד תום סמרלינג, מנכ"ל "נשמע" שהפיץ חומר מיוחד, ניהל לובי וגייס אנשים להצבעות השונות.

2. הפעילות המוקדמת שלנו ושל הארגונים הוכיחה את עצמה וידידנו הגיעו לועידה מוכנים. בלטו בפעילותם סימור רייך, רות פופקין (הדסה) וקני ג'יקובסון (ADL). ב- 19/2 נפגשו השלושה עם אנשי קונגרס/רפורמים (טאד מאן, ג'קי לוין וג'ורדן בנד) והגיעו להסכם על הורדת מספר מהצעותיהם. הדברות זו נמשכה במהלך הכנס ואפשרה לידידנו להפעיל לחץ שיטתי על הקבוצה שבסופו של דבר נשא פרי. מאמץ ידיד נקראק מן הראוי לציין את מיצוי ניצול שטיח רבות.

שדה ידידה רחב נפרש בנשר בנגלה בנשר בדפו בפעולת
רקיב הסברה

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

602 ב 2

3. סעיף מההסכם היה שלא תהיה הצבעה בנושא התיישבות עולי בריה"מ בשטחים ושיתקיים דיון בן 20 דקות עם ארבעה נואמים בנושא שהטיפול בנושא יועבר לועדת ישראל. סאפרשטיין מהרפורמים מצא פרצה בהסכם והגיש הצעת החלטה הממליצה לועדת ישראל לקבל החלטות ביקורתיות בנושא. הדגש בדבריו היה על כך שבניית שיכונים בשטחים בתנאי תשלום משופרים מהווה למעשה עידוד להתיישבות עולים מבריה"מ בשטחים. התחולל ויכוח סוער הן על הנושא הנוהלי והן על הנושא המהותי. נשיא נקרא"ק פסק בזכות הדיון וההצבעה בנושא (וספג עקב כך ביקורת רבה). ה"קומיטי" הציעו הצעה מרככת ובהצבעה היה תיקו (198:198) והיא נפלה. הצעת סאפרסטיין זכתה בהצבעה לרוב 216 לעומת 207. מחייבי ההחלטה פרשו אותה כבחלטת המליאה ולא היא. זוהי המלצה לועדת ישראל. עם זאת הותירה ההחלטה משקע מריר אצל הידידים ובהנהלת הארגון. מצ"ב נוסח ההחלטה.

4. נאום השגריר למחרת היום התקבל בהתלהבות. בנאומו התייחס השגריר, בין השאר, לנקודות המחלוקת והתמקד במהות אש"פ, שאין לצפות מישראל ללכת לנוסחה של "שטחים תמורת שלום" בעידן של איבה ערבית, יחסי ישראל דרא"פ (עראפת איננו מנדלה), העליה מבריה"מ (הנושא איננו התיישבות בשטחים אלא עליה חופשית) ושת"פ אסטרטגי. לאחר נאום השגריר התקיים ויכוח פומבי על סוגית זכות הקהילה היהודית להשמיע דעות בנושאי התהליך המדיני בהשתתפות רייך ונשיא ה"קונגרס היהודי האמריקני" ליפטון שחייב את הזכות, מאחר והחלטות ממשלת ישראל משפיעות גם על היהודים בארה"ב, והציע "תכנית שלום" לפי קווי דו"ח מכון יפה שלדעתו יכולה להשיג קונסנסוס בקהילה היהודית. ציין שאינם תומכים בלחץ על ישראל לשאת ולתת עם אש"פ (ליפטון אמר לשגריר שהצעות ההחלטה של ארגונו בנושא נוסחו על ידי טד מאן ללא ידיעתו). רייך הדגיש חשיבות הדיאלוג השקט עם ממישראל בכל הנושאים ושחשיפת חילוקי הדעות פוגעת בישראל.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

602 ב

5. ביום ג' אחה"צ החל הדיון בהצעות ההחלטה בנושא ישראל: הדיאלוג בין ארה"ב לאש"פ - נכשלו הצעות החלטה של הרפורמים/קונגרס/לוס-אנג'לס להרחיב החלטות אשתקד ולפרטן והתקבלו ההחלטות המצ"ב המגבילות, בהשוואה להחלטות אשתקד, את הממשל בנושא הדיאלוג (הוגשו ע"י יוסטון ובולטימור).

6. ביום ד' בבוקר הודיע נשיא נקרא"ק שקונגרס/רפורמים החליטו להסיר מסדר היום את הצעותיהם בנושא "שתי מדינות" ו"שטחים תמורת שלום". עד הרגע האחרון ניסו המציעים להעמיד תנאים לחסרת ההצעות (למשל להחליפן לחתייחסות לסעיפים סלקטיבים בהחלטה 242) אך ידידנו התנגדו והם נסוגו. לשואלים הם אמרו שבעצם העלאת ההצעות השיגו את מטרתם, אך ברור שעבורם זוהי אכזבה.

7. אין זה סוף פסוק. מסמך קהילת לוס-אנג'לס (המצ"ב) הועבר לדיון בועדת ישראל (שתתכנס באפריל), והוקמה תת ועדה בראשות הארוי פילדס מלוס-אנג'לס (מיוזמי המסמך ושנפגש לאחרונה, עם אחרים, עם ח'אלד אלחסן), בהשתתפות טד מאן, סיימור רייך ורות פופקין לדיון וגיבוש ההצעה. נדאג להשתתפותנו הלא פורמלית בועדה, ולטיפול בנושא גם בלוס-אנג'לס.

8. יחסי ישראל דרום-אפריקה

א. בתשובה לשאלה אמר המורשה וולפה שלהמשך הקשרים הצבאיים בין ישראל לדרא"פ תהיה השפעה DEVASTATING על מעמד ישראל בארה"ב, ושאם הנושא לא יפתר תוך 2-3 חודשים יווצר מצב חמור. עוזר מזכיר המדינה לנושאי אפריקה הרמן כהן אמר, בין השאר, שנושא יחסי ישראל-דרום אפריקה איננו מעניין במיוחד את מדינות אפריקה המעוניינות יותר בשת"פ מש"בי עם ישראל והוסיף שלאחרונה הגיעו לארה"ב פניות ממספר מדינות אפריקניות (קונגו, בנין, ניגריה) לחידוש יחסים עם ישראל.

ב. הצעת ההחלטה המצ"ב שהתקבלה מהווה ריכוך של הצעת ההחלטה המקורית.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

602 4/22

9. בריה"מ: במקום שגבריה"מ דובינין הגיע המזכיר הראשון בשגרירות דירקובסקי (נאומו מצ"ב). הנאום והתשובות לשאלות התאפיינו במתינות רבה (כולל ציון שההחלטה על ציונות-גזענות היא obsolete, and should be relegated to the dust-bins of history

דבריו התקבלו בתשואות רמות ובהתלהבות ונשמעו תגובות (מוגזמות) כ"נס", "מפנה היסטורי" וכו'.

10. <u>יהודי בריה"מ</u> : הצעות החלטה בזכות הגדלת המכסות שארה"ב קבעה להגעת יהודי בריה"מ לארה"ב הוסרה, לאחר התערבות של מנכ"ל נקרא"ק, צ'רנין, והתקבלה הצעת החלטה של ה"קומיטי".

To maintain at least current numbers of refuge entry slots for Soviet Jews.

פלג

"--express concern to Prime Minister Shamir that statements rejecting the concept of land for peace appear to rule out soveraignty of any kind, appear to reject UN Security Council Resolution 242, and make it less likely that any representative Palestinians will join in the negotiations."

10. PROPOSITION 2: AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS proposes to add the following at the end of p. 5, line 27: "Many within the Jewish community likewise believe that ultimately a two-state solution is the best solution, provided that such a solution is the end point of a series of mutual confidence-building measures, and provided that the Palestinian state is demilitarized and that Israel is free to take all steps necessary to detect and remedy any breach of a Palestinian commitment to remain demilitarized."

602 Σ 22

1 0001

2 מוסכם

Motion: When the Israel Task Force convenes to consider language on this subject for the Joint Program Plan, it is the sense of this plenum that their report should ~~include at~~ give serious consideration to at least these 4 points:

1. Our top priorities in respect to the resettlement of Soviet Jewry today are to get them out of the Soviet Union and to raise the massive amounts of money necessary to resettle and house them.

2. We applaud recent Israeli government statements clarifying that the government will not "encourage" resettlement in the administered territories.

3. But under the conditions of housing shortage that will soon prevail, olim will settle wherever jobs and affordable housing are made available to them; and therefore the construction of new housing in the admnistered territories will have the direct effect of encouraging settlement there. This may detract from the aliyah potential and our fundraising.

4. The construction of new housing in the territories can only increase tensions between Israelis and Palestinians living there, possibly disrupting delicate negotiations.

6026 2

2 מוסכם

(3)

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

שגרירות ישראל
וושינגטון

1) " -- carefully monitor and publicize those actions and statements of the PLO that bear upon the PLO's professed renunciation of terrorism and recognition of Israel's right to exist; and, call upon the Administration to engage in a continuing examination of the efficacy of that dialogue in light of those actions and the specific conditions the U.S. outlined when it first agreed to dialogue with the PLO."

2) "To the extent that the Administration continues to regard the dialogue with the PLO as desirable, such discussions should explore all possibilities for reducing tensions and advancing prospects for a peaceful resolution to the conflict; and to use it to press the PLO to abrogate those sections of the Covenant that call for Israel's destruction, to contribute to the ending of the uprising in the territories, and to take other constructive steps."

602 7/22

הסיכום החדשים ירושלים

3 עמוד

(4)

JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE
UNITED JEWISH FUND
JEWISH FEDERATION COUNCIL OF GREATER LOS ANGELES

6505 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES, CA 90048 • (213) 852-1234
FAX (213) 651-3250

602 8/22



**Revised by the Executive Committee**
**Commission on the Middle East**

LOS ANGELES JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

COMMISSION ON THE MIDDLE EAST

A FRAMEWORK FOR THE ISRAEL PROPOSITIONS

The Los Angeles Jewish Community Relations Committee believes that it is important for the organized Jewish community to fairly and accurately acknowledge the areas of consensus and non-consensus that characterize the American Jewish community and its concern for Israel and peace in the Middle East . We represent caring and dedicated American Jews who re-affirm a moral and religious commitment to the Jewish State and people of Israel.

In this spirit, we feel that the following should be embraced as areas where the organized Jewish community can find agreement and support for Israel and the Middle East:

-----Israel's security must be given central and primary consideration in any future peace plans

-----Jerusalem should remain, under any peace agreement, an undivided city

-----We oppose the imposition of any third-party solution to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict which is part of the larger Israeli/Arab conflict but we look with favor upon the active involvement of the U.S. in advancing the peace process in the Middle East.

-----The Status Quo in the West Bank and Gaza Strip is not an acceptable state of affairs

-----The Israeli government's four-point peace plan deserves the full support of the American Jewish community. We encourage Palestinians and the Arab nations to accept this plan and to help in the process which will lead to free elections.

602 9/22

---We strongly support the aliyah of Soviet Jews to Israel and call upon the United States government to use its good offices to ensure that continued aliyah will take place in an expeditious manner. Likewise, we recognize the obligation of the American Jewish Community and World Jewry to join in financially supporting this historic exodus.

-----We should organize frequent missions to Israel for local civic, ethnic and religious leaders, exposing them to the complexity of issues and range of possible solutions

-----We need to interpret to public officials, media and the general community the continuing firm support in the organized Jewish community on the fundamentals of U.S. support for the security and stability of Israel

-----We support continued high levels of aid for Israel, both in economic and military assistance and encourage national agencies and local JCRCs to develop materials that make the case for Israel on other than geo-political grounds

The above areas of consensus are crucial. However, we must also recognize that American Jews, reflecting the political dialogue and differences in Israel, embrace many divergent points of view. These differences do not weaken us. They strengthen us and demonstrate the ability of our community to maintain and encourage dialogue on important issues.

We recognize that some American Jews have distanced themselves from Israel and the organized Jewish community. Because of indifference or ignorance or because of the overwhelming complexity and apparent hopelessness of the situation. some American Jews have become disenchanted. Among these there are many young Jews who have never known a world without a State of Israel. In order to stem such disenchantment, the American Jewish community must provide a forum for voicing support for Israel and for presenting differing views on peace in the Middle East.

The areas of non-consensus among us are:

-----Characterization of the PLO: While a majority of Israelis do not support direct talks with the PLO, there is a significant minority who do. Likewise, American Jews disagree on whether any change has taken place since Arafat's statements in Geneva, and the degree and extent of the change.

-----Who should sit across the table from Israel in negotiations

-----Imposed timetable on either the Israeli or Palestinian sides.

-----Usefulness and appropriateness of the U.S.--P.L.O. dialogue.

-----Place of public discourse and dissent in openly criticizing Israel in general newspapers, magazines and public forums

-----Legitimacy of the Palestinian nationalism

-----Territorial compromise

We recognize the differences of opinion within our community and in Israel. Therefore, we need to encourage activities and programs that help bring our community together for thoughtful and meaningful discussion. These programs would include:

-----Provide forums within the Jewish community where differing viewpoints can be heard

-----Seek a broad range of speakers from Israel to speak before communal organizations and encourage Israeli officials visiting the United States to meet with various Jewish organizations that hold differing viewpoints

All programs presented by our community should function with the following guidelines:

-----When engaging on forums in which different points of view are represented, careless and destructive name-calling should not be permitted. The debate should be conducted in an atmosphere of civility, respect and a recognition of the integrity of the opposing viewpoint

-----Slander, especially, in the form of McCarthy-like accusations of one Jewish organization against another should be denounced and condemned by the organized Jewish community. Persons who hold opposing viewpoints should not be held up for public ridicule.

-----We need to reach out and educate all American Jews on the subject of Israel and the Middle East. In the presentation of Israel and Middle East issues, we should seek the airing of all opinions and the opportunity to grapple honestly with the issues in a manner that includes, rather than excludes any segment of the community.

**CONCLUSION:** We must work together to find ways to strengthen Israel's support in the United States, taking into account the divisions and differences which exist, both in Israel and the United States. Israel's security has been, and remains the unifying theme and impetus for American Jewish concern.

602 10/22



END

**Adopted by the NJCRAC Plenary Session, meeting in Phoenix, Arizona, February 19, 1990.**

The Jewish community relations field recognizes that the Government of Israel is signatory to the United Nations Resolution against Apartheid. We are gratified that the Israeli Government has reaffirmed its policy commitment to terminate as soon as possible all military contracts with South Africa entered into prior to 1987 and that these contracts will not be renewed. The Jewish community relations field strongly supports the international arms embargo of South Africa. We welcome recent press reports that the Government of Israel is working towards termination of existing arms agreements on an expedited basis

602 11/22

5 1000

NATIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL

6 02 18/22

(5)

PLENARY SESSION

ADDRESS OF OLEG DERKOVSKY

First Secretary

Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

to the United States

Hyatt Regency Hotel

Phoenix, Arizona

February 18, 1990

6 (1000)

602 13/22



Few would dispute today the notion that we are living in a rapidly changing world. Indeed, after a long period of time, when the world order based on confrontation between two social political systems, first and foremost between the USSR and the United States, was perceived as inevitable and the only possible state of international affairs.

Today's changes are regarded by many as something incredible, bordering on the miracle. These changes are warmly welcomed by the absolute majority of goverments and peoples all over the world. They lessen the threat of a nuclear disaster, create a favorable atmosphere for moving toward a kinder and gentler world.

(Applause.)

These changes are directly linked to the domestic processes in which the Soviet Union set forth five years ago a course aimed at revolutionary restructuring of our society based on broad democratization, fundamental return of the economic mechanism and economic management, drastic overhaul of the political system. On the scale of values, we give unquestioned priority to universal human values. And -- (Applause.)

We believe that these values must prevail over ideological considerations. We realize -- (Applause.)

We realize that with all this diversity in terms of existing social and political systems, our world is still one single whole. This shrinking planet of ours, Earth, is our common heritage and property. It is essential, therefore, that as a human race, we rise above differences in traditional controversies for the sake of human survival. (Applause.)

We are different as far as our national cultural and ethnic traditions are concerned and shall remain different, each with one's own interests and one's own realities. But our objectives are common: Freedom, equality, and justice.

The ways and means of achieving these objectives as well as the forms and concrete shapes they may take in various countries might be different. There are many people in this country who have doubts regarding our ability to solve our economic problems. This is understandable because the state of the Soviet economy and some other developments in my country do give rise to concern. There is some overheating political activity, but that has been generated by the processes of renewal and democratization of public life. This does create problems, but in our situation, a slower pace would probably create even bigger problems.

602 14/22



There is a serious debate in the society, in the Soviet society, with regard to the best ways and means of achieving their objective of Perestroika. Radical opinion demands a faster pace of reforms. The conservative link makes warnings trying to slow down changes or simply to resist them. This is a fact of life now in the Soviet Union. Of course, there are pragmatists who are in between.

In short, a real political struggle is evolving in the Soviet Union on most crucial issues, how best to address the nationalities question, what kind of new arrangements should be made between republics in the Soviet Union, how to respond to demands of full independence proclaimed by certain nationalistic circles in Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia, et cetera.

There are no easy answers to these questions, no magic formulas or yardsticks. The road to success is through civilized dialogue and determined movement forward in establishing institutions and making laws of a democratic society.

At this time, Perestroika is going through perhaps its most difficult period. It has turned out that the most complex revolution is a peaceful revolution, a change in the minds of the people. We have a concept of Perestroika. We are continuing a creative search for proper approaches to implement some of the individual elements. Despite all the difficulties, we keep moving steadily forward. We are convinced of our ultimate success.

One of the elements of the economic program of Perestroika is the integration of our country into the world economic system. Our economic ties with the United States could play no small role here. The strategic goal is truly large scale: Mutually advantageous cooperation and interaction of the Soviet and American economies. This would benefit both sides.

Unfortunately, what stands in the way are the remaining discriminatory barriers, whether the absence of most favored nation status or the outdated COCOM regulations.

The U.S. administration declared at Malta that it was ready to move toward normalization of trade and economic relations. We do hope that this readiness will be translated into concrete deeds. We are aware of the nature of discussions in American political quarters regarding the fate of Perestroika, whether it is in the United States' interest to see Perestroika succeed or fail.

There are also more philosophical observations being made to the effect that advances on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe constitute the collapse of Communism and the ultimate triumph of capitalism.

602 22



Some even believe that the end of history has come. We obviously disagree with such conclusions.

Yes, we have failed in our experiment with socialism in our attempts to put into life ideals and dreams of social justice as they had been perceived by founding fathers of socialism. Yet, the idea of socialism is not dead since ideas do not die.

I urge you to regard Perestroika as a fresh start to achieve the noble goals of freedom, democracy, moral integrity, material and cultural prosperity. (Applause.)

We are starting to create a society capable of developing and renovating itself, a society with dynamic and effective economy with a real--not just declared--power of people, oriented toward meeting the requirements of a truly free man, a society with its own effective system of checks and balances. I'm speaking about a system of goverment which would place above all else the needs and interests of a human being which would create conditions for realizing the unique potential and talents of each and every individual.

I'm sure you're informed about the recent plenary session of the Central Committee of the CPSU. By endorsing a new draft platform for the party, we have made a giant step torward a democratic socialism, a step along the way of transferring power from the party to democratically elected councils. The party itself is changing its role. It is determined to continue to fight for the leading role in the society by political means in competition with other social, political movements, not by monopolizing power and not by fixing such a monopoly in the constitution. (Applause.)

The above-mentioned platform promotes the idea of establishing a presidential system of government in the Soviet Union; that is, concentrated executive power in the hands of a president and his cabinet. The next important stage will be the XXVIII party congress, maybe June, July, which is empowered to adopt the platform I have spoken about.

It is worthy of note that the acceptance by western countries in the last 50 years of number of principles of socialism and, above all, the social protection of an individual is the reason why western civilization has found a way out of the deepest crisis into which it was plunged in the '30s.

Today we are being criticized for introducing capitalist market elements, allegedly undermining our state-owned enterprises and thus socialism.

Ironically, President Roosevelt was accused in the 1930s of "Sovietizing," America and of ruining free enterprise. Now it seems that we have

602 16/22



exchanged roles. It is socialism that should show the ability to overcome the crisis on the basis of revolution and renovation of fundamental values.

As for the question on which of the two existing social systems will prove to be the best in giving people greater freedom and well-being, let us leave it for future generations to decide. Most probably the exemplary social structure of the third millennium will sensitize all positive experience accumulated by mankind.

A few words about Soviet-American relations. There is every reason to assert that over the past years, U.S.-Soviet relations have been elevated to a qualitatively new level. A series of high-level meetings and contacts in Moscow and Wyoming ministerials and finally the shipboard summit at Malta each took us further away from confrontation and closer to cooperation. The most important result is the strong mutual perception that the threat of war has greatly diminished.

The so-called "enemy-image" which is being eroded. The cold war is basically behind us and every major prerequisite is there to effect a decisive turn in our relationship toward more cooperation, more interaction and true partnership as an integral part of the global process of normalization of international situation. (Applause.)

At Malta our leaders reached a broad agreement on a program of practical steps to further develop our relationship. A landmark event in this process will be President Gorbachev's visit to this country in late June of this year for a full-fledged Soviet-American summit. I think it will be no exaggeration to say that the year 1990 promises to be one of the most productive in terms of Soviet-American agreements in the key area of our relationship--security and arms control.

It is a fact of life that the Soviet Union and the United States are the two major and most powerful states in the contemporary world. This does not confer them any special privileges but imposes very special responsibility. For we are the custodians of tremendous and terrifying power capable of destroying this civilization. This danger--and it did not cease to exist--makes irrelevant scholastic disputes on capitalism and socialism.

If, God forbid, a nuclear disaster were ever to break out, ashes for what we call capitalism would be undistinguishable from ashes for what we call socialism. Therefore, cooperation between us is not just one option. It is the only option. (Applause.)

The changes in our military posture and

602 1+ 22



thinking are well-known. These changes are real ones, and not just hasbara. ( Laughter.)

This is the only Hebrew word I know, and -- (Laughter).

And these changes are being recognized as such in this country as well. In turn, we are encouraged that for the first time in the post-war history a serious discussion is under way in the United States about a need for a fundamental revision of the United States' military strategy and posture. (Applause.)

Just two years ago, we had the conclusion of the INF Treaty that actually eliminated a portion of our nuclear arsenals. At this point we're aiming at cutting our strategic inventories by half. So the trend is unmistakable: progressively deeper cuts, with each phase reinforcing stability and predictability of our strategic relationship.

Our military alliances will be evolving, too. We want to see the solution to be in the direction of reducing the military content and emphasizing the political orientation of those organizations.

This brings us to the monumentous changes which are taking place in the countries of Eastern Europe. Let me stress that as those countries are changing, everyone can see that people there are completely free to choose their own paths and their own methods of building new societies. Our respect for their choice means respect for full sovereignty of the countries of Eastern Europe unconstrained by ideology, respect for their independence.

Encouraging progress has been made in other issues of the U.S.-USSR overall agenda. We have added a knew item to our agenda, the so-called global problems--environment, terrorism, drugs--and the first discussions have been encouraging. If we do not come to grips with environmental problems, we might one day begin competing not for political supremacy or spheres of influence, but for access to water, fresh air, and even a green lawn. (Applause.)

A few words about the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership put the nationalist question high on the agenda of Perestroika. A special resolution on that score was adopted by the 19th Party conference in June 1988. The Soviet state was founded as a result of the will and inspirations of the multi-national family of peoples. On this banner is inscribed the right of nations to self-determination, revival and advancement of national cultures, accelerated progress of formerly backward national regions, and the elimination of strife between nations.

In this sphere our performance was also not

602 18/22



up to the mark because of breaches of the rule of law during the personality cult period, and by the ideology and psychology of stagnation. Many acute questions that derived from the very development of nations and nationalities were swept under the rug. The negative phenomena that accumulated over the decades has been neglected and ignored for a long time and were not properly assessed; hence, the problems we are facing today. Perestroika in the nationalities question means that ethnic groups residing outside their national territories, or ethnic groups that have no such territories, should be granted the opportunities to fulfill their national cultural needs, especially in education, communication, folk arts. They should also have the opportunity to form national culture centers, to use the mass media, and to satisfy their religious requirements in this direction. (Applause.)

The most important principle of our multi-national state is the free development and equal use by all Soviet citizens of their mother tongues. Nationalities problems must be tackled in a calm spirit with a strong sense of responsibility. It is essential to create a social environment in which people of any nationality should feel at home in any part of our country.

September last a special party platform on the nationalities question was adopted. The major idea of this platform is to develop a contractual principle of the Soviet federation. We have in mind different forms of federated links, preservation of multi-faceted and diverse nature of life of nationalities with retaining the integrity and unity of the Soviet state. Our ideal is unity in diversity and multi-formity. Democratization created conditions for overcoming our inter-ethnic problems in a democratic way. But unfortunately, the paradox is that the national energy that has been given free rein by Perestroika is harmful to Perestroika, when it assumes radical extreme forms.

Alongside with positive developments, democratization brought about negative phenomenon--all sorts of extreme views, including racial bigotry. The problems of ethnic relations that engender separatism are very hard to solve.

It should be obvious that separatist trends are dangerous precisely because they can lead to the breakup and even disintegration of national entities themselves. And events in Armenia and Azerbaijan by chance speak for themselves. The nature of the difficulties we face today was explained by President Gorbachev when he spoke on February the 5th, only two weeks ago, in Moscow, at the Central Committee plenum, and I quote: "While making steps along the path

602 19/22



of Perestroika we have realized that the crisis that hit the country is much deeper and much more dangerous than first was anticipated."

And that explains many phenomena we are witnessing today.

The problems and contradictions which have been accumulating during previous decades in the depths of the social fabric came to the fore. Unfortunately, we did not manage to avoid mistakes and miscalculations in the course of Perestroika itself, and this also complicates the situation which is being characterized by tensions and anxieties, elements of apathy and disappointment.

Let me address now an issue which I'm sure is of concern to you. I know that it is of concern to you. Leaders of your organization in contacts with us have indicated their serious concerns in connection with what they see as a resurgence of anti-Semitic trends in the Soviet Union spearheaded by such groups as Pamyat. They spoke about the necessity to apply in practical terms the anti-racist provisions of the Soviet constitution. I want you to know that Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Mr. Rishkov, 10 days ago, spoke from the rostrum of the party plenum in exactly the same terms. President Gorbachev, as the leader of a multi-national country, speaks publicly denouncing all sorts of racial bigotry.

Let me read now to you a brief document which I hope will shed sufficient light on the problem the way it is now and probably alleviate some of your concerns. I'm going to read to you a statement issued by the State Security Committee. Don't be surprised. You know -- everybody knows this committee. This is KGB. But it sounds like State Security Committee. I don't know. (Applause.)

The USSR State Security committee distributed a statement on February the 9th pertaining to rumors about alleged pograms against Jews, the Azerbaijanies and the Armenians.

"To give credibility to these rumors," the statement says, "those who spread them cite the nationalistically tainted programs of some informal associations as well as hooligan and provocative attacks by individual elements like the one that recently took place at the Central Writers House in Moscow. Within --" and that's very important from my point of view.

"Within its competence, especially that part of it which concerns protection of the constitutional rights of Soviet citizens, the USSR State Security Committee cannot ignore manifestations of nationalist extremism and takes measures to combat them

602 20/22



as provided for by the law. (Applause.)

"As for the rumors about pogroms, there is no concrete evidence to support these claims. The only information that the State Security bodies has been receiving are rumors themselves, reports of them by the mass media and requests by individual citizens for explanation about one rumor or another. Nevertheless, the KGB is following the development of the situation and will take the necessary measures if tension escalates. The State Security Committee relies on assistance from the public and those who know concrete facts about illegal actions or intentions to commit them.

"In these conditions," the statement continues, "it is important for the mass media to cover such sensitive issues in a more balanced way and not to circulate unverified information."

As to the incident mentioned in this statement I have read to you, the Attorney General of Moscow region has ordered an investigation, and this investigation is underway. Press reports in the Soviet Union do not exclude the possibility of criminal charges against those who participated in this provocation.

Let me turn now to another issue, the broader issue of human rights.

In an effort to bring our own laws and regulations in the sphere of human rights in conformity with international practice, in particular, the Helsinki Accords and the Vienna Declaration, the Soviet Parliament on November the 13th, 1989, started to consider a draft law on exit from and entry to the USSR. The draft law says about the necessity to establish a well-founded time frame for secrecy, that citizens must be informed of before when they're applying for a job. The disputes that may arise can be settled in court. That is helping to remove the problem of the so-called refuseniks.

The adoption of this law will create legal guarantees for ensuring the human right of leaving any country, including one's home, and returning to one's home country. At this time, virtually any citizen in the Soviet Union can obtain a foreign passport for five years for temporary travel or for permanent residence abroad. The duration of temporary stay abroad is determined by the person leaving the country at the time of applying for a visa.

The bill provides also that exit of a Soviet citizen for a permanent residence abroad is exercised on the basis of a document which confirms the permission by a respected foreign country to entry for this purpose. But this is not a limitation introduced on our own accord. The bill was approved in the first

END

602 21/22



reading in the USSR Supreme Soviet by 368 votes against 10 votes with five abstentions. The bill must be completed in a short time which will be needed to take into account the suggestions made by the deputies.

I wish to inform you that during the meeting between Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary of State James Baker held in Moscow on February the 7th and 9th, a thorough and very positive discussion of human rights and human affair issues took place. In the context of this discussion, the Soviets side reiterated its intention to enact a new emigration law shortly. (Applause.)

We are also now actively deliberating on a major piece of legislation--a draft law on the freedom of conscience and religious organizations. The purpose of that law will be to provide legal guarantees for the rights of citizens to the freedom of conscience and an opportunity for believers to participate in civic activities and in the renewal of our society. The draft law builds upon international legal norms as well as the provisions of the Vienna Concluding Document. That document contains, inter alia, such provisions as the possibility to publicly express and disseminate religious beliefs as well as religious education. (Applause.)

With regard to the status of Soviet Jewry: Jews play a significant part in the political, social, and cultural life in the Soviet Union. Thus, during the recent elections, many of them were elected as members of the Congress of People's Deputies. Citizens of Jewish nationality feature prominently among high school and university students. Many of them are scientists and winners of various national prizes and awards.

It will be recalled that a certain number of Jews are leaving the Soviet Union to take up permanent residence abroad. But the majority of Soviet Jews have no intention to leave the country. Our principle is to create as best possibilities as possible for those who want to stay in the USSR and develop their culture, religious heritage and language. (Applause.)

For those who want to emigrate, no obstacles exist anymore. (Applause.)

But we do hope that as soon as we succeed with the changes we are having in mind, that the people who left the Soviet Union will be encouraged to come back. The fact is that an organized Jewish community is reviving in the Soviet Union. More and more Soviet Jews are studying Hebrew, learning about Jewish history, celebrating Jewish holidays, and returning to synagogues. There are already -- there exists already more than a hundred of them in the Soviet Union.

In February 1989, a new Jewish cultural center was opened in Moscow named after Solomon Mikhoels,

a reknowned Russian Jewish theater director who was a victim of Stalinist persecutions in 1948.

There are also a few other informal Jewish cultural centers and libraries in Moscow and other big cities--Leningrad, Kiev, Riga, Tallin and Minsk.

On February the 18th, 1989, the opening of the Soviet Union's first legal yeshiva took place. Eighty students, future rabbis have been enrolled in the first classes to be taught by five rabbis, three from Israel and two from the United States. The Soviet government will provide stipends for the students. No obstacles exist for those who want to study Hebrew, as I have mentioned before. (Applause.)

Another piece of information: The first Kosher bakery producing matzo opened in Moscow in March 1989, as well as a Kosher restaurant. (Applause.)

These are concrete examples of change in times with respect to Soviet Jews, but I want to stress specifically that such changes are taking place for all other nationalities in the Soviet Union, including Russian people, who probably suffered more than others in terms of losing their national identity, religious and ethnic aspirations during the stagnation period.

Freedom and democracy are indivisible. Either we, the Soviet people--Russians, Jews, Ukranians, all--succeed, or we all fail. That is why success of Perestroika is in the interest of the people of the Soviet Union and the rest of the world. (Applause.)

Let me finish on this note. I probably unfortunately have no time to address the Middle East problem, which I am an expert of. I Wish to thank you very much for your kind attention and for inviting me here to speak today.

602 22/22

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| דחיפות: | שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון<br>טופס פנוק | ק: 1/1<br>פתון: |
| סווג: שמור | | |
| תאריך ושעת תעבור:<br>22 בפבר' 1990 09:00 | אל: מצפ"א , מד"ת , הסברה | |
| כס' פברק:<br>המשרד:<br>576 | דע: אלון | |
| | כאת: ק. לקונגרס | |

בינ"ב: דו"ח זכויות אדם - שימועים

1. בשימועים היום הופגנה שוב מידת האהדה והתמיכה הפומבית בישראל כאשר רק שניים מתוך 11 הקונגרסמנים הנוכחים שאלו שאלות בנושא השטחים ואף הם בדרך חיובית.
עם זאת, אל לנו להתעלם מהעובדה שבשיחות פרטיות אנו ממשיכים להשאל בעיקר בנושאים על הריסת בתים, מעצרים מנהליים וגירושים (בעיקר של בני משפחה).

2. השנה היתה קיימת מידה רבה יותר של הבנה לגבי הקונטקסט הרחב יותר של האינתיפדה, תופעת רצח פלסטינים ע"י פלסטינים ועליית תופעת האיסלם הפונדמנטליסטי.

3. אין להתעלם מהעובדה שאירועי מזא"ר, ביקור נשיא צ'כוסלובקיה והביקורת הקשה על סין הקלו עלינו השנה במידה לא מבוטלת ואפשרו התרחקות ממיקוד הדיון רק בישראל.

4. להצלחת השימועים מבחינתנו (בנוסף להתגייסות ידידינו הקונגרסמנים), תרם שיפטר במידה לא מבוטלת הן בתשובותיו והן בעובדה שקיים מס"ע רק לאחר השימועים.

5. יש לציין נוכחותם המסיבית באולם השימועים של נציגי הלובי הערבי ואירגונים אנטי ישראלים אשר דאגו להפיץ חומר אנטי ישראלי באולם (בנפרד), עוד לפני השימועים, והעבירו באולם במהלך השימועים, תמונות צבעוניות של פלסטינים שנפצעו ונהרגו ע"י כוחות צה"ל.
חלקם אף הביעו מורת רוחם מהשימועים והתעלמות הקונגרסמנים מישראל ומעשיה.

יהודית רדנאי-דרנגר.

כ.ס.

תפוצה: -36-