

# מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

משרד

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משרד רווחה

יועץ מבני

אכרם

5/1/88 - 7/2/12/2

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מחלקה



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MACNEIL-LEHRER NEWS HOUR  
WITH  
MORRIS ABRAM, CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF  
MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS  
AND RITA HAUSER, INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR  
PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST,  
INTERVIEWED BY ROBIN MACNEIL

MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1988

ROBIN MCNEIL: We begin tonight with a story of continued unrest in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the effect the Israeli response is having on the American Jewish community here. The once solid support among American Jews for Israeli policies has become more strained, and the US government has stepped up its criticism of Israeli's crackdown on Palestinian demonstrators. Today, in veiled language, the State Department repeated its criticism of Israel's plan to deport nine Palestinians accused of instigating the unrest which began last month.

We now get two views on how the American Jewish community should respond to these developments. Morris Abram is Chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations; Rita Hauser is the founder of the International Center for Peace in the Middle East, which issued a statement two weeks ago, urging a political settlement of the Palestinian issue. Starting with you, Ms. Hauser, it appears that recent Israeli actions are making American Jews, or some of them, uneasy. How would you describe the situation?

RITA HAUSER: I would say, very clearly, that American Jews have been uneasy for a long time. The problem has been that many have not been willing, and are still not willing, to voice that uneasiness publicly for fear of undermining support for Israel and causing damage to Israel. There is a deep split among American Jews, as there is among Israelis, as to the correct course of action. And obviously, the violence and the continuing upheaval on the West Bank has added fuel to this debate, which is an agonizing debate.

MR. MCNEIL: How would you characterize the uneasiness of those who are uneasy, if that's the word?

MS. HAUSER: I think it's very simple. The choice has been put starkly -- Israel has a choice now of being either a democratic state or a Jewish state, but it can't be both if it intends to continue to hold on and govern the West Bank and Gaza, which together have a million-six, a million-seven Arabs. The demographics are very clear. By the year 2010, by all estimates, the population will be 50-50, and if Israel means to be a democratic state it will have to give some voting rights, some civic rights to these people under its sway, which will impact profoundly on the Jewish quality of the state. If it intends to remain Jewish, it

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will have to deny its democracy. The choice is stark; it's been there for a long time for many of us who have seen this coming, but the vast majority of American Jews, like many Israelis, have not wanted to address the problem until, alas, violence of the kind we've had compelled them to address the problem.

MR. MCNEIL: Mr. Abrams, are you uneasy?

MORRIS ABRAM: Absolutely not. I must say that I do not detect what Ms. Hauser detects. I don't know that there's that much disagreement between us, but let's see if we can analyze it. First of all, I think all of us feel a deep sense of agony about those who are killed and wounded on both sides of the struggle. Now, the second point, I don't think there's a bit of difference between Ms. Hauser and myself as we see the reason why the occupation exists. It exists because Israel was waged war upon by six Arab states after the United Nations created it, and Israel has tried desperately for 40 years to find an Arab leader who would come forth and make peace, and only Sadat has. Second, why are they in Gaza at the moment? They're in Gaza because Egypt left Gaza, doesn't want Gaza; Hussein doesn't want Gaza. Now, if somebody can furnish any Israeli government or any party, either Mr. Peres or Mr. Shamir, the name, the address, and perhaps the telephone number of a single Arab leader who will come forth and negotiate to end that occupation, there isn't a single party in Israel who doesn't want to end the occupation.

MR. MCNEIL: Let's come back to what is right and wrong over there, and what might be done, in a moment. Let's just talk about how American Jews, and beyond them Americans in general, feel about this. At the time of the 1967 war, which resulted in the occupation of these territories, American public opinion -- Jewish preeminently, but generally -- was clearly 99 percent in favor of Israel's action at the time. Do you detect, as a result of the continued occupation and the frustration it gives rise to, and then the response to that frustration, some erosion of that almost total support of the past. Is the high moral ground that Israel always occupied in American eyes, Jewish and non-Jewish, is it being eroded by these actions?

MR. ABRAM: I do not think so, honestly. I know that I head an umbrella group of maybe 45 to 50 organizations, and an exception of one or two have voiced some desire to go -- or to have Israel go to an international peace conference. I've

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heard nothing of any kind of dissent from the proposition that Israel wants peace, seeks peace, can't find peace, and therefore is supported in the desire of Israel to find a peace partner. Now, that being true there's very little that Israel can do except to maintain order and to try to preserve its citizens from the kind of things that happened two weeks ago when that hang-glider incident occurred and women and children were massacred by the PLO.

MR. MACNEIL: In the hang-glider incident was the incident that was responded by the air raid yesterday?

MR. ABRAM: Exactly. That was the reason for the air raid yesterday. But the air raid would not have occurred had there not been the hang-glider incident attack upon Israel. There -- an insidious attack.

MR. MACNEIL: Do you see Israel losing the moral ground, the moral mountain that it occupied in American public opinion, and, first of all, American Jewish opinion.

MS. HAUSER: I don't think there's any question about it, but don't think that that's really the issue. First, I have to take strong issue with what Morris Abram just said, because Shimon Peres himself, in a speech in the Knesset, acknowledged fully that he had reach agreement with King Hussein last April, which was recorded in writing, as to the next steps to be taken for an international conference, was torpedoed totally by Shamir and by the Likud party.

The problem of Israel is not whether one wants peace or not -- of course Israelis want peace -- the question is whether or not there is a viable consensus, a government capable of taking its people down a path that will lead it to peace. And anyone who reads the daily newspaper can only conclude that Israel is bitterly divided. That is really now the fundamental drama.

MR. ABRAM: I can't see any division in the State of Israel on its defense policies at the present time with respect to the expulsion of these individuals --

MR. MACNEIL: But, on the main peace --

MR. ABRAM: Yes --

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MR. MACNEIL: Expulsions are one thing --

MR. ABRAM: All right. Now let's get on to peace --

MR. MACNEIL: -- let's come back to negotiation for a moment. I was reading today that an Israeli poster was saying that with the cabinet split and the government split, the last elections resulting in virtually a political stalemate, that there is no consensus in

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Israel to move in either direction aggressively, which is what you're saying, I believe.

MR. ABRAM: Well, Mr. MacNeil, Secretary Shultz was out to Jerusalem shortly before he went to Moscow, and he met with Mr. Shamir, and he met with King Hussein, and he proposed what I think all parties would like is to see, that is: an American umbrella to carry forth the Camp David process, and to continue it, and to -- under an American umbrella -- have Hussein negotiate with -- with the State of Israel with respect to the ending of the occupation and a permanent peace. Now Shamir accepted that; Hussein did not.

MR. MACNEIL: So you're saying it's not Israel's political paralysis --

MR. ABRAM: It is not!

MR. MACNEIL: -- which is stopping the peace process.

MR. ABRAM: It is not. It is the paralysis of the Arabs for forty years. I don't know if Miss--

MS. HAUSER: (inaudible)

MR. MACNEIL: Rita.

MR. ABRAM: -- if Rita would just give us the name of an Arab leader who's willing to negotiate face-to-face, and who's willing to accept the reality and the existence of Israel, name one, other than Sadat. Now you can talk about all kinds of covers, getting the Soviet Union involved, China involved, but the fact is she and I both know, and Shamir and Peres agree, that the final discussions have to be face-to-face. And there's no one prepared to do it.

MR. MACNEIL: I don't think we can get agreement here on this. But, you mentioned Sadat, which brings up Egypt. If they -- what

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is going to happen is Israel goes ahead and expells the nine Palestinians when Egypt -- its only obvious friend in the Arab world -- has indicated, apparently, very directly, that it too -- Egypt that was just been re-embraced by the Arab community after a very long time.

MS. HAUSER: Well, this is, again, the terrible drama that Israel finds itself in. The deportations and expulsions are clearly contrary to international law. I know of no international lawyer, and I've studied this carefully with all of us who deal in it, who could support that. It violates the Geneva Conventions, and our own government has been compelled to take a stand against it.

Secondly, no country wishes to receive them. Hussein has indicated, as has Mubarak, that they will not receive these deportees. From my understanding, dreadful of the situation, Israel

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will proceed to dump them in the no-man's zone in Lebanon. And what happens to them thereafter is anybody's business.

This is another terrible illustration of the dead-end in which Israel is finding itself, not that it doesn't have to defend itself, of course it has to do so. But continuation of an occupation which now has reached the stage of civil rebellion is what we are confronting. And there's no point to discuss, as Morris just has, who will sit down with them and who will not. Israel has to take steps now to save itself, in my view.

MR. MACNEIL: What will happen if they're deported?

MR. ABRAM: Well, in the first -- I disagree profoundly about so many things. Now, the Arabs who are being deported -- they are nine -- they are all going to have due process up and through the Supreme Court of Israel. They are, three of them, persons who were exchanged in that mass exchange when Mr. Peres let one

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thousand Arab terrorists loose to redeem three Israelis -- an act of contrition. Three of them are those persons. Some of them were serving life sentences not to be worried about dumping them into a no man's land. In any event, the next point that she makes about international law -- it's murky. Israel, under international law, has the absolute obligation to maintain order in Gaza, no question about that. No one else wants to maintain order. Israel doesn't want it. She got there involuntarily. Now, if you have that obligation and you are able under international law to use even capital punishment, but Israel will not use capital punishment. Deportation is a much lesser punishment or sanction. And as to deportation, Rita knows as well as I that the rules about deportation were formulated from mass deportation as a result of the Nazi experience -- not exile like Judge Beam sentenced somebody across the border.

MR. MACNEIL: We have a few seconds left --

MR. ABRAM: Sure.

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MR. MACNEIL: -- I'd like to come back to where we started on this. You say that you don't see any significant erosion of American Jewish opinion in the Congress --

MR. ABRAM: -- I see none and certainly not in the Congress nor in the Executive either.

MR. MACNEIL: -- And you do?

MS. HAUSER: I have seen for a long time a profound, profound difficulty in the American Jewish community with what is happening in Israel. Out of our love for Israel and concern for its future, many of us are in deep disagreement with the direction that Israel has taken. This issue, in my opinion, will force the discussion public --

MR. MACNEIL: Is what Ms. --

MS. HAUSER: -- but the agony is deep.

MR. MACNEIL: Is what Ms. Hauser said at the very beginning true, that many American Jews just don't want to express their doubts because they will feel that they've somehow abandoned Israel?

MR. ABRAM: I have never found American Jews any more unwilling to express their doubts about this than anything else when they feel profoundly about it. The Pollack affair -- I felt profoundly about it and spoke public about it.

MR. MACNEIL: The spy case --

MR. ABRAM: Exactly, and anything else that I really feel --

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MR. MACNEIL: Sorry to break in on you, but --

MR. ABRAM: -- is worthy of real disagreement, I would and I think others would too. But I think Ms. Hauser's looking at herself in the mirror rather than the American Jewish community.

MR. MACNEIL: Well, we'll come back to this. Morris Abram, Rita Hauser, thank you.

END OF INTERVIEW

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רחיפות:

מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק (31)

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עחבות, ניו יורק

# Shamir Defends Expulsion Move, Terming the 9 Arabs 'Incorrigible'

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

מ"ת

JERUSALEM, Jan. 4 — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir today defended the army's decision to order nine Palestinian nationalists deported, saying the Gaza Strip and West Bank residents being thrown out were "incorrigible."

Speaking on the Israeli radio about the expulsion orders, which were issued Sunday, Mr. Shamir said: "We use it for people who are incorrigible. All those who stand to be expelled already have spent years in prisons, and, after leaving prison, they continued their incitement and fanning of flames."

"First of all we must restore order and we will do that," he added. "Along with this, the Government must continue with the same efforts it pursues every day of the year to reach a peace solution."

The United States expressed strong objections to such expulsions before they were announced, and Egypt and Jordan have said they would refuse to accept any Palestinians expelled.

### Israelis Don't Object

Within Israel there has been virtually no criticism of the decision to expel the nine Palestinian political organizers, whom the Government accused of

being the "chief instigators" of the recent Palestinian upheaval. Palestinians have said the unrest was a spontaneous uprising that grew from frustration with living under Israeli occupation.

Four of the nine Palestinians ordered expelled were from the Gaza Strip — Mohammed Samara, Hasan Abu Shakra, Furayj Khayri and Khalil Kuka — and all of these were on a hunger strike in their respective prisons, The Jerusalem Post reported.

Felicia Langer, an Israeli lawyer who represents three of those on the hunger strike, said they would rather fast "until the end" than be expelled from the land they consider Palestine.

The nine Palestinians ordered out will be able to appeal their expulsions to a military review board and, if that fails, to the Israeli Supreme Court. Most have begun the process.

It could be four or five weeks before there is a decision in any appeal; until such a decision, the nine will remain in Israeli jails, where they are being held along with more than 1,000 other Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, who were rounded up during the last month. About 100 were set free Sunday, and the trials of others on incitement charges are proceeding in the military courts.

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If the expulsions are carried out, the action could seriously damage relations between Israel and Egypt.

Egypt's Ambassador to Israel, Mohammed Bassiouny, denounced the expulsions, declaring them "not the right policy to cool the situation."

"It puts more obstacles on the road to the peace process," Mr. Bassiouny said, adding that such deportations "will not stop the violence, but will only make it greater."

In the West Bank today, there were more isolated confrontations between Palestinian youths and Israeli troops. Five miles north of Jerusalem in Al Ram, where on Sunday an Israeli soldier shot to death a 25-year-old woman who was a bystander, hundreds of youths with scarfs wrapped around their faces pelted Israeli troops with stones to protest the killing. Israeli paratroopers fired tear gas and rubber bullets to disperse the demonstrators. There were no casualties.

The Palestinian residents of Al Ram apparently were not impressed by the Israeli Army's decision to suspend the soldier who was involved in the killing Sunday of the Palestinian woman, Haniya Suleiman Zarawneh. She was at least the 23d Palestinian to be fatally shot by Israeli troops since the disturbances in the West Bank and Gaza began Dec. 9.

Israeli newspapers reported today that the soldier involved had been chasing stone-throwing Palestinian youths through Al Ram. He reportedly opened fire in panic when he became separated from his unit in the maze-like Palestinian refugee district. A bullet struck Miss Zarawneh in the chest as she hung laundry in her yard.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1988

# For Israeli Soldiers, 'War of Eyes'

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

## in West Bank

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NABLUS, Israeli-Occupied West Bank, Jan. 3 — Leading an Israeli patrol through the streets of the Balata refugee center, Lieut. Col. Yisrael explained that on most days the confrontation here is not a war of bottles, stones or bullets.

Most days, he said, it is a battle of eyes — Israeli eyes against Palestinian eyes, looks meant to kill against looks meant to intimidate, darting glances versus blank stares, eyes begging for a little friendship meeting eyes round with fear.

Colonel Yisrael — army regulations prevent the printing of last names — and his men have become experts in what they call "the war of the eyes." For the last month their elite paratroop battalion has been patrolling the West Bank town of Nablus and helping to quell disturbances in the nearby Balata and Askar Palestinian refugee districts.

"You know," Colonel Yisrael said, "a soldier wakes up in the morning here, and the sky is clear, and it is a fine day, and he just wants to smile. And we tell him, 'Fine, go ahead and smile.' And then he goes out onto the street, and he looks into people's eyes. It is all in the eyes. And what he sees usually does not make him want to smile anymore."

The 31-year-old Israeli officer was speaking as he and his well-armed men walked down the main street of Balata. From one side of the road a Palestinian with a lathered beard leaned up from his barber's chair to watch the soldiers pass. Across the street, a mother and four little children squeezed into a crack in a doorway and eyed the soldiers' every step. At the butcher shop, the vegetable stand and the bakery, Palestinians peered out from behind a carcass of meat or a mountain of pita bread and just stared.

### 'Their Eyes Show Hatred'

Colonel Yisrael has all the looks figured out. The most piercing and chilling come from the Palestinian teenagers, the hardcore stone and bottle throwers, he said.

"Their eyes show hatred — no doubt," he said. "And it is a deep hatred. All the things they cannot say and all the things they feel inside of them, they put into their eyes and in how they look at you. You feel a hatred from them, but not just to you but to the whole world. You could be an American or a Russian. You can't break through it, even if you smile. It is just plain hatred."

"They are not afraid to look right at you," he added as a group of boys on a garbage-filled street corner did just that. "Sometimes you pass a school, and stone-throwing kids come out, and you give them a daring, intimidating look. They stare right back at

you, and they give you the feeling that they have self-confidence."

But with their parents, the storekeepers and intellectuals, the barbers and bakers, the looks are different, Colonel Yisrael said.

"You feel you can negotiate with their eyes," he explained. "Their eyes say that you can even shake my hand."

With the Palestinian boys who follow him down the street, the Israeli officer said, there is a combination of fear and jealousy.

"They usually look at our guns," he said. "They admire our guns. We have power they would like to hold."



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"After about 25 minutes this Palestinian doctor arrived," the colonel, his voice tight with emotion. "And he saw our soldier giving this guy mouth-to-mouth and the first thing the doctor said, the first sentence out of his mouth is, 'You killed him.' Our soldier was in shock. He didn't believe that this was the doctor. Here he was giving this guy mouth-to-mouth, and all the doctor can say is 'You killed him.'"

After pronouncing the man dead, the doctor went into Askar and spread the word that the old man had been killed by the Israelis, Colonel Yisrael said.

"The people there went on a rampage and burned the police station," the Israeli officer said. "They were throwing everything they could find — stones, bottles, even slingshots. I had to go in with six men and restore order."

#### Sons and Fathers

Back at their battalion headquarters, a cluster of ramshackle wooden huts situated in the heart of Nablus, Colonel Yisrael and his men gathered in his office and talked about how their experiences policing the West Bank have affected their relationships with their fathers. That was the generation that founded the country and knew the "luxury" of being clear-cut soldiers in clear-cut wars of survival against clear-cut enemies in uniform.

"My father is a judge in the military court, and I tend to be more radical than him," Corporal Radai said. "He tends not to be so harsh as I would like to be sometimes."

"When I see myself standing before another young Palestinian who is throwing stones and cursing at me, I really have to try not to forget that I am part of the army," the young soldier continued. "I have a sense of vengeance, of rage, of wanting to give back and not wanting to turn the other cheek. One second I just want to charge at him with my gun and stop everything, and the other second I say: 'What the hell am I doing? Just

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let him throw stones and get me out of here."

Colonel Yisrael said he had found the same distance with his father when it came to discussing his work.

"My father was a Holocaust survivor from Poland," he said. "He was in five different concentration camps. He was very radical politically, very leftist. Basically, my father and I disagreed about things here. He believed, in kind of a naïve way, that there was a solution of two people living on the same land. I wouldn't say I totally don't believe in that, but I am bit skeptical.

#### Product of a Zionist Ethos

"My father always used to say to me: 'Listen, you are holding onto power. Always remember not to lose your senses.' He was very concerned that I not lose myself in the illusion of power."

Next to speak was Corporal Dean. A 19-year-old immigrant from South

Africa, he was raised on the pure Zionist ethos that grew in the pre-1967 era, that was taught at Jewish summer camps around the world and that culminated with the victory in the 1967 war. That spirit is what drew him to Israel and to the Israeli Army.

"Maybe I am doing the things my father always wanted to do but could not," the corporal said. "He is back in South Africa. We believe in the same things, although I can't say he really knows exactly what I am doing. He is proud of me. He knows I am part of the Israeli Army fighting for the Jewish people."

Lieutenant Eldad, the last to speak, seemed to address his remarks not only to the reporter on hand but somehow to Corporal Dean as well.

"I think my father is a little naïve," Lieutenant Eldad said. "He was here in the Six-Day War, and now the situation is different. He doesn't know what really happens here."

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר  
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הול/שמור

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מס

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עבר המשרד

לשלך 644 מיום 23.12.87

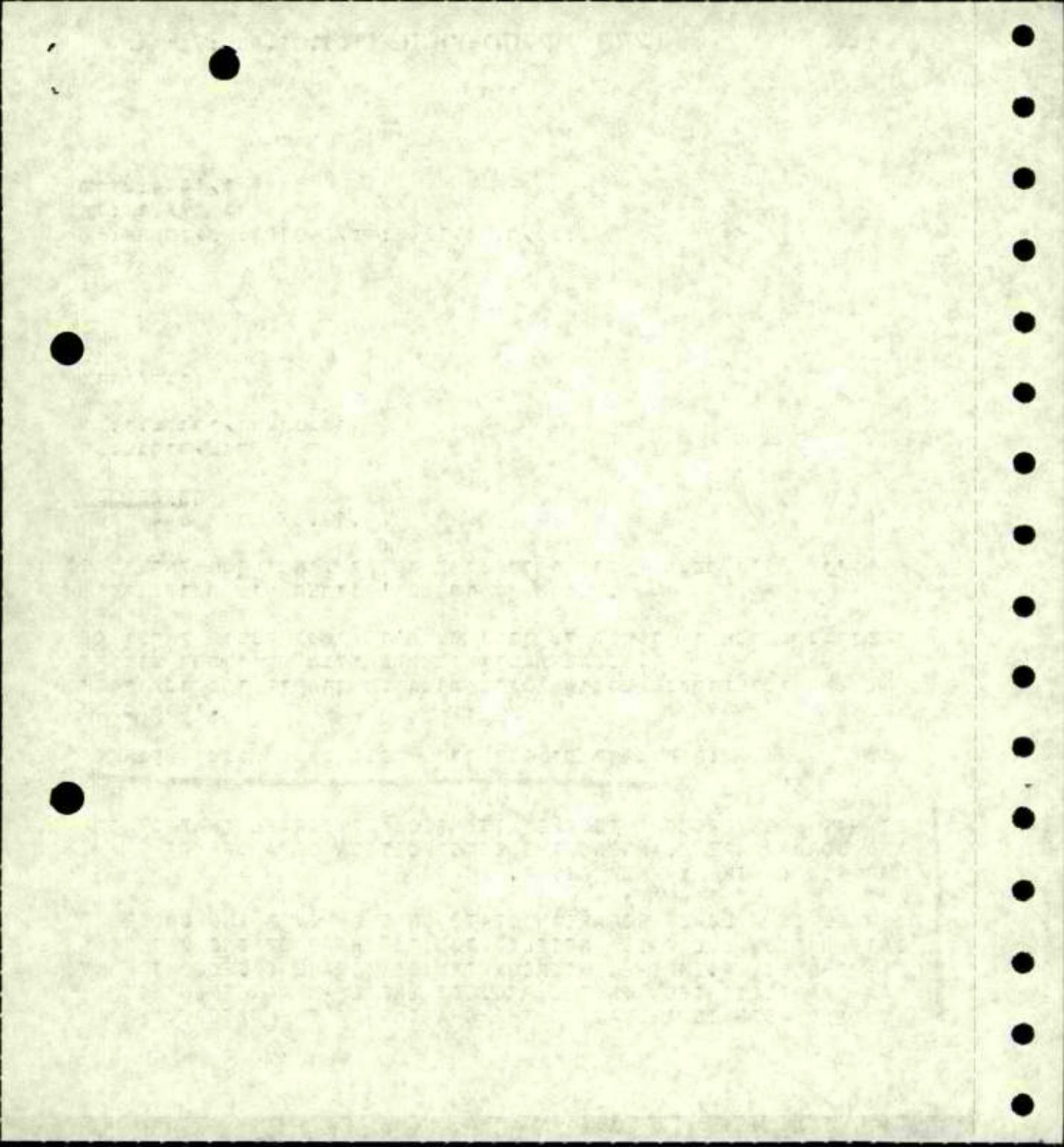
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2) ישראל מוכנה לנהל מרי"מ עם ירדן על חלקנו אך אנו מתנגדים לקידום הפרוייקט מבלי שחלקנו ירובט בהסכמ. זכויותנו במי הירמון מעוגנות בזיכוי שימוש בנהרות למי המשפט הבינלאומי.

3) אבקש לפנות בכתב לבנק בדרך הנראית לך כלהלך:

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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הודעת: 1,5871

אל:ניו/391,רוש/292,בטחון/140

מ-:המשרד,תא:110188,זח:1516,זח:מ,טג:ט

ג:נד

טודי/מיזוי

נאר'ט ניו יורק

דע:מתאם הפעולות בשטחים,רוש,מד'תיס,יזבה

U.N.S.P. שטחים - ישראל. שלן 78.

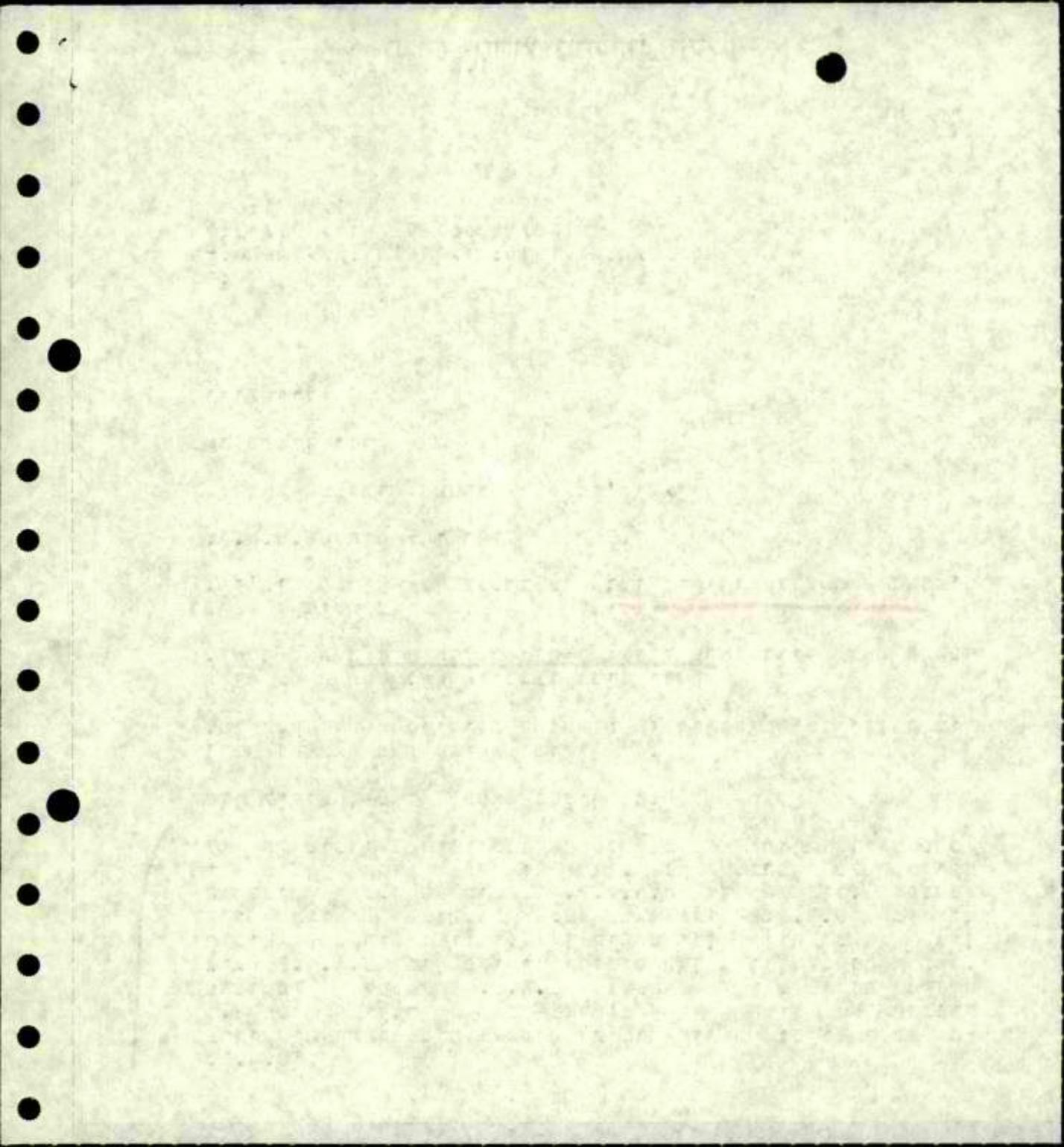
1.מד'תיס מבריקה לך בנפרד על מועד ביקורו של המתאם בארה"ב ובקשה לקביעת מגישות.

2.לאור זאת רצוני שאולבר ידחה בואו לישראל וייקבע את המועד בתאום עם המתאם כאשר יינגשו בניו יורק.

3.כל הנקודות הענייניות המועלות בזכרון הדברים יידונו בין אולבר והמתאם בעת מגישתם כולל 1 A.

להלן לידיעתך עמדת המתאם בטעין זה:

ילא חל שינוי במדיניותנו המקובלת בברכה שיתוף פעולה עם כל מי שמוכן לתרום ובכלל זה ירון. נקבל בברכה כל פרויקט שהירדנים יבצעו בשטחים עם U.N.S.P. או בלעדיו. הסכמנו לקיים מגישות משותפות שלנו עם נציגי U.N.S.P. ומקידים ירדנים המבקרים באיזור. אך היה נסיון לקיים מפגשים בין נציגי U.N.S.P. לבין מקידים ירדנים תוך נסיון לעקוף אותנו. העדנו על כן להנהלת U.N.S.P. וטובס אתם לקיים בירור בנקודה זו. מטרת ביקור המתאם בארה"ב היא להציג את תוכנית הפרויקטים המתוכננים בשטחים וליצור תיאום טוב יותר עם ה-U.N.S.P.



משרד החוץ-נוחלקת הקשר

עד כאן

מנהל אכ"ב

י.ל.י

הפ: שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, ר/מרכז, רט, אמן, ממד, ברנע, ארבל, 27,  
בירן, מצפא, ליאור, מזחית, מינרבי, אכ"ב

ט ו ס ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מחזור 2 דפים

סווג בטחוני גלוי

דחיסות מיידית

תאריך/ז"ח 1010 4 ינו 88

מס' מברק

סגירות ישראל / וושינגטון

1/2

המשרד

005

אל - מנהל הסברה

דע - מצפ"א

המצב בשטחים

דבריו של השופט העליון ברנן הופיעו במאמר הרצי"ב של בעל הטור קאל תומס. שוב, תודה על כל החומר הנשלח והמסייע לנו רבות.

י.ו.ס. גל

The last time I checked the biblical story of David and Goliath, David was the small Israeli shepherd boy who faced seemingly impossible odds against the Philistines, led by the overpowering giant, Goliath. With grit and ingenuity David won that battle.

Critics of David's descendants have reversed the story and see tiny Israel as the Goliath of the Middle East and the Palestinians in the role of David.

If Israel is to be criticized for anything, it ought to be for its reluctance to clamp down more quickly on the disturbances that erupted in the refugee camps and the Gaza Strip following rumors that a traffic accident in which four Palestinians died was revenge for the stabbing of an Israeli in Gaza.

That 21 died in the subsequent disturbances between Palestinians and Israeli troops is unfortunate, but the Molotov cocktails, rocks and bombs thrown by some of the demonstrators were not exactly passive weapons. Nor does the death toll approach the more than 400 who died in the Iranian-inspired riots at Mecca. Arab criticism of the Iranians was muted compared to the orchestrated outrage that always seems to blare against Israel for attempting to walk the tightrope between individual liberties and very real security considerations.

An Israeli government spokesman told me that the demonstrations in Gaza were not as spontaneous as portrayed. Audio tapes made by Israeli security forces of conversations between the Palestine Liberation Organization and other Arab factions outside of Israel and Gaza and West Bank Arab activists reportedly document orders given by PLO operatives to stir up trouble. So again the Palestinian state issue catapulted back onto the front pages and television screens.

Bear in mind that Israel has had to manage the Palestinians because Egypt and Jordan have refused to do so. And the PLO apparently wants the Palestinians to remain in the camps, largely for political leverage. More than 100,000 Palestinians cross the Green Line between Israel and Gaza daily to work at jobs they never had before Israeli occupation of the region.

Without question, the living conditions in Gaza and in the Palestinian refugee camps are poor. But much more has been accomplished since the 1967 war than during the years of Arab control in these areas and in the West Bank.

Institutions of higher learning have been established in Gaza and the West Bank where none existed before 1967. According to the United Nations, the quality of life in Gaza has improved considerably since

1967. Twenty years ago, few households in the region possessed such symbols of prosperity as refrigerators and television sets. Now, nearly three-quarters of the population own them. Fertility rates are up and mortality rates down, as is trade between the occupied territories and Jordan.

When Saudi Arabia's King Fahd called on Iran to join Arabs in trying to "liberate" Jerusalem, in spite of Tehran's oft-repeated attacks on the Saudis' more moderate brand of Islam, it again revealed the underlying motive of most Arab states to push Israel into concessions that will ultimately undermine its security and threaten its existence.

As to the oft-heard criticism from liberal quarters that Israel uses excessive force to quell disturbances in areas it controls, one should reflect on a speech delivered by Associate Justice William Brennan at Hebrew University in Jerusalem on Dec. 22, during the recent disturbances.

Justice Brennan said it may well be Israel, not the United States, that provides the best hope for building a jurisprudence that can protect civil liberties against the demands of national security.

"For it is Israel," said Justice Brennan, "that has been facing real and serious threats to its security for

שהיה רצונו של ממשלת ישראל להקים בתי ספר ומוסדות חינוך בגדה המערבית ובחבל יהודה ושומרון, וזוהי חובה מוסרית ואזרחית על ממשלת ישראל.

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the last 40 years and seems destined to continue facing such threats in the foreseeable future. The struggle to establish civil liberties against the backdrop of these security threats, while difficult, promises to build bulwarks of liberty that can endure the fears and frenzy of sudden danger — bulwarks to help guarantee that a nation fighting for its survival does not sacrifice those national values that make the fight worthwhile. . . . In this way, adversity may yet be the handmaiden of liberty."

005

In the biblical account, David felled Goliath with a single stone from a slingshot. Israel's critics are trying to wear her down with an unrelenting fusillade of rancor. They will succeed only if Israel's friends, while not granting carte blanche to everything she does, fail to come to her defense.

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*Cal Thomas is a nationally syndicated columnist.*

17

שגרירות ישראל / נושין גטון

ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף        מחוד        דפים

שמו         
סווג בטחוני

דחיפות רגיל

תאריך/ז"ח 1130 4 בינו' 88

מס' מברק       

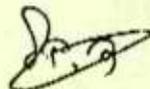
010

המשרד

אל: מנכ"ל מדיני. מנהל מצפ"א

בחירות 88 - מז"ת

גארי האנט רואיין אתמול בתכניתו של מרוין קאלב ואמר כי הוא תומך ברעיון הועידה הבינלאומית כמפשיר לקדום המשא ומתן הישיר בין ישראל למדינות ערב. על ארה"ב להיות יותר פעילה בקדום תהליך השלום וגם להפעיל לחץ על הצדדים כדי להביאם לשולחן המו"מ. הבעיה הפלשתינאית יכולה להפתר רק ע"י הצדדים לסכסוך עצמם, ולא על פי מרשמים מוכתבים מבחוץ. עוד אמר כי על ארה"ב ליזום חכנית לפתוח כלכלי של השטחים כדי לעודד את הקו המתון בהם.



דני בלום

ש"ה 2  
ר"ה 3  
א"א 3  
א"א 1  
ק"י 1  
א"א 2  
א"א 2  
א"א 4

8

וחיפוש מילדי סווג כסחובי תז"ח: 041600 נר : 36	<b>מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק</b> <b>טופס מברק</b>	דג: --- מתור: --- א ל : המשדד ר ע : מאח : נאו"ם
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אל: ארכל 2  
 מאח: ארד, נאו"ם

הנדון: דו"ח המזכ"ל על השטחים

בתדרוך היום אמר סגן דובר האו"ם מריו זאמורנו שאנשי לשכת המזכ"ל מכינים את הדו"ח הנדרש כהחלטה 605. בתשובה לשאלת כתב, האם מתכוונן המזכ"ל לשלוח נציג לאזור, השיב הדובר ש"זו אחת האופציות הנשקלות".

הנה שיהא  
 בינה ארכל 2  
 1  
 2  
 3

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רחיפות: בהול לבוקר	מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק טופס מברק	רף: 1
סווג כטחוני: שמור		מתור: 3
תז"ח: 41800	<b>בהול</b>	א ל : המשרד
גר : 00042		ד ע :
		נאח : נאו"ם

אל: מנחל ארבל 2  
 דע: סמנכל ארבל, משפט  
 מאח: יוחנן ביין

גירושים-לבנון. מועבי"ט (?)

1. בשלב זה אין סימנים לכקשה לכינוס מועבי"ט.
2. לוטה מכתב אש"פ לנשיא מועבי"ט -מה-31.12.
3. ג'ימס וואט הבריטי מסר ליששכרוף כי שגריר בריטניה, כנשיא מועבי"ט, נפגש הבוקר (4.1) על לכיב טרזי, משקיפ אש"פ, שניסה ללחוץ לכינוס מועבי"ט כדי למנוע הגירושים. לדברי וואט לא עודד שגכריטניה מהלך זה וטען שמוקדם עתה לנקוט בצעד זה שכן ההליכים המשפטיים עומדים רק בראשיתם, צפויים ערעורים ורצוי להמתין למיצוי ההליכים.
4. אנו עומדים בקשר שוטף עם משלחת ארה"כ. גם הם לא הבחינו בשלב זה ככל פעילות חורגת הן לגבי הגירושים והן לגבי לבנון.
5. קיימת כמוכן גם האפשרות של "הסתפקות" אש"פ ותומכיו בהודעה נשיאותית שתקרא לישראל להמנע מביצוע הגירושים.  
נמשיך לעדכנכם על כל התפתחות.
6. בשיחה עם הבריטי העלה שאלת תחולת תקנות ההגנה (1945) בעזה (להבדיל מיו"ש) טען כי אינו כתוקף שם.  
אנא בדקו ועדכנונו בצד המשפטי.

Handwritten notes in Hebrew:

2. שיהיה רה"ג שייבס, אג"מ  
 3. אג"מ, אג"מ  
 4. אג"מ, אג"מ  
 5. אג"מ, אג"מ  
 6. אג"מ, אג"מ  
 7. אג"מ, אג"מ  
 8. אג"מ, אג"מ  
 9. אג"מ, אג"מ  
 10. אג"מ, אג"מ

נאו"ם



نظمت التحرير الفلسطينية

1987 DEC 31 بعثة الدائمة لـ منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية

31 December 1987

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2/3

Excellency,

I am instructed by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring to your attention statements revealing policies and anticipating action by Israel, the occupying power, in Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem. The media has reported that Israeli's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has gone on record as saying that the Israeli government was considering deportations, "a punishment used in the days of the British Mandate. This is one of our means which we use once in a while, with no pleasure... But when the situation demands it we must take these measures." Israel's Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin commented that "The American position focuses on, and is opposed to, administrative detention and deportations, which they claim contravene the Geneva Convention... But we are operating in accordance with our laws. We will continue the arrests, punishment and deportations."

It is a fact that Britain, the Mandated Power, had promulgated arbitrary laws and regulations particularly the notorious 1945 Emergency Defence Regulations. However, the British Mandate was what its "name or designation" indicates but not an "occupying power" and regardless of its antecedents, notorious regulations are no justification for the continuity or perpetuation of what they entail.

On 22 December 1987, the Security Council, in its resolution 605, reaffirmed that the "Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, is applicable to the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem" and

H.E. The President of the Security Council  
of the United Nations  
The United Nations  
New York \*

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called upon "Israel, the occupying power, to abide immediately and scrupulously by the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and to desist forthwith from its policies and practices that are in violation of the provisions of the Convention".

I am asked to call your attention, in particular, to Articles 47 and 49 of the said Geneva Convention. The Convention's Article I reads "The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and to ensure respect for the present Convention in all circumstances."

The Palestine Liberation Organization calls upon the United Nations and, in particular, the Members of the Security Council, to invoke the powers vested in it by the Charter in order to ensure respect by Israel, the occupying power, for the provisions of the Convention.

The Palestine Liberation Organization trusts that adequate pressure will be applied by the Security Council to ensure that Palestinians in the occupied Palestinian territories will not be deported to any territory outside their usual place of residence, and that all the provisions of the Convention be adhered to.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Zuhdi Labib Terzi  
Permanent Observer





OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
STATE OF TEXAS  
DALLAS, TEXAS

MEMORANDUM  
TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

RE: [Illegible]

[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בשיחה בלתי פורמלית אמר סאליבן כי מוקדם מדי לומר כי בגלל הבחירות הצפויות ישרור מעתה קפאון בנושא התהליך המדיני. להערכתו הפרטית, לפנינו עדיין 3-4 ואולי אף 6 חודשים בהם ינסו פקידים מהמ"ד להעלות רעיונות נוספים לקידום התהליך המדיני. יש עדיין מרחב הסכמה מספיק בתוך הפקידות המקצועית לגיבוש רעיונות לקידום התהליך גם מבלי שתורש מחויבותם ומעורבותם של פוליטיקאים ממש. ברמה הפוליטית גם כן אפשרית יוזמה מדינית שלא תעורר מחלוקת בין-מיפלגתית או תדרוך על חוטים ממעידים פוליטיים שהרי גם המועמדים הדמוקרטים מכונים בקורתם על הממשל בהעדר פעילות מספקת בנושא.

סאליבן מעריך כי בעת בקורי מובארק ואח"כ רוה"מ שמיר בוויינגטון ייבחנו נושאי קדם התהליך עם אף שאיננו יכול להעריך אם יועלו רעיונות ויוזמות חדשים.

ט מנכ"ל צפ"א ופרי"ר.

רי

תפ: שהח, רוהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, ממד, רט, אמן, מזתיס, משפט, מתאשטחיים, מצפא, מטת, הסברה

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CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

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CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION





ש מ ר -

Handwritten signature and initials in a blue circle, including the text "א"ף / צ"ל".

יג' בטבת תשמ"ח  
3 בינואר 1988

2022

אל : מר א. מקל, לשכת רה"מ

מאת : ס/מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: קביעת פגישות למבקרים

1. רצ"ב מכתבה של הגב' טובה הרצל, ק. קישור לקונגרס בשגרירותנו בושינגטון המפנה תשומת ליבנו לתופעה של קביעת פגישות ו/או "איום" על אנשי השגרירות, לקבוע פגישות ישירות עם שה"ח, רה"מ ומנהיגי מדינה נוספים ישירות עם לשכותיהם בארץ. (ראה למשל גורדי זק"ש) אם פניותיהם לא יענו.
2. על מנת למנוע אפשרות כזו בה למשה"ח יש שיקול דעת אם להפגיש אדם מסויים עם שה"ח ורה"מ אם לאו, ואילו לפעילים יהודים ועשירים יש שיקולים אחרים, נודה אם ניתן יהיה למנוע ניצול קשרים אישיים אלה וקביעת פגישות באופן ישיר באמצעות הלשכה ו/או השר עצמו בניגוד להמלצות קודמות ואחרות.
3. לצערנו, נתקלנו כבר במקרה כזה, כאשר מועמד רפובליקני לבחירות המתחרה בסנטור מידידנו, הגיע לביקור בישראל כאורח משה"ח ובמימון אחד מתומכיו היהודים. אנו חשבנו שעל ביקור זה לעבור בפרופיל נמוך יחסית כדי לא לפגוע בידידנו הסנטור, אולם התומך הפעיל היהודי אשר חשב אחרת ורצה להוכיח יכולתו וקשריו, קבע פגישות עם שה"ח, נשיא המדינה ורה"מ (בלא ידיעה מוקדמת של לשכותיהם).

ב ב ר כ ה,  
יהודית ורנאי-דרנגר

העתק: סמנכ"ל צפ"א  
מנהל מצפ"א  
מנהל מאו"ר



23 דצמבר 1987  
ב' טבת תשמ"ח

- ש מ ר -

אל: מצפ"א

הנדון: קביעת פגישות למבקרים

הסיפור שלהלן (נכון לעכשו סופו לא ידוע) חוזר על עצמו לעיתים, בגרסאות שונות, וכדאי לתת את הדעת על מציאת פתרון.

John Kasch הינו חבר בוועדה לשירותים מזוניים, תומך בישראל ומתכוון לשהות בארץ בינואר במשך יומיים. שיחתנו להראג הביקור התנהלה בערך כך:

הוא: אני רוצה לראות את כולם (מנה את כל אחיימינו מרה"מ ומטה) כמו בפעם שעברה.  
אני: ובכן, אילוצי לני"ז, העדרויות מהארץ וככו'...  
הוא: (בחביבות תקיפה): אם את לא יכולה לסדר לי, אני אבקש מגורדי, והוא יטלפן ניקבע לי. תגידי לי מה את מעדיפה.  
אני: מגמגמת במבוכה, חוששת שהוא צודק.

וזאת לדעת שלפני כשלוש שנים סיירו השניים הללו, גורדי זק"ש וג'ון קייסיק בארץ בצונתא. לא שאלתי את קייסיק האם הבטחון בהצלחת גורדי לסדר דברים נובע מנסיגת הביקור הקודם או שזה מה שגורדי אמר לו לומר הפעם.

הח"מ (ובודאי עמיתיה, לרבות בנציגויות אחרות) מנסה לכתב את בקשותיה עבור מבקרים לפי שיקולים ענייניים, ובמקרה של קייסיק, אינני סבורה שמעמדו ומאמצינו למעננו מחייבים שכל מנהיגי המדינה יתפנו עבורו. יהי פשטני לצפות לקביעת קריטריונים במסמרות (נוסח שני סנטורים ו/או יו"ר אחד של ועדה חשובה ו/או שמונה קונגרסמנים מכל ועדה שהיא שונים פגישה עם רה"מ, ממרה"מ ושהבי"ט, מושל רואה רק שנים מהם, פרשמנים רואים ח"כים והספיקר מתקבל אצל הנשיא) - ואין להתעלם מחשיבותם של קשרים אישיים. אבל בודאי יועיל אם יהיו קוים מנחים כלשהם. כדי שלא נעמוד במצב שמשיקולים ענייניים לחלוטין אנחנו נמנעים מלבקש פגישה, גם אם האורח סבור שהיא "מגיעה" לו, ואחייכ זק"ש או איש אחר, קובע אותה בהינף טלפון.



עניינית (ושטחית) נראה לי שחשוב שקייסיק יתקבל אצל שהבייט, ואין חובה שיראה את רה"מ נאט שהייח. אולם אם הללו יקבלוהו בסופו של דבר, האם לא נראה כולנו יותר טוב לו השגרירות תקבע לו את הפגישות ? ואם לקייסיק כן, מדוע ליתר הקונגרסמנים לא ? שהרי אם השיקולים העניינים אינם תופסים לגביו, מדוע שיתפסו לגביהם ? אינני באה חס וחלילה לזלזל בגורדי זק"יש ושכמותו אולם כאשר אחיימים מתפנים לבקשת עסקנים, ולא לפי בקשת נציגיהם הרשמיים, יוצאים כולנו, העניין והנציגות, ניזוקים, והגביר מוסיף נוצה לכובעו.

מוטב להמנע מכך. אודה אם תתנו את הדעת על דרך לפתור הבעיה.

בברכה,  
טובה הרצל  
טובה היץ

העתק: סמנכ"ל צפ"א  
מאו"ר  
שגריר, ציר, למדן

למנוחה

1.1

אגודת החסידים

ירושלים

אברהם אבינו

אברהם - אברהם אבינו

היה זה, אברהם אבינו

אברהם

אברהם

מדינת ישראל

תאריך 28/2/73

אל: אלי רובינשטיין  
מאת: לשכת ראש-הממשלה.

אנו בעורף של הכרזתך? אין לנו  
הכוונה - מן הניש (רובינשטיין) אלא  
מכיוון קנייניות. אולי ניתן להצטרף  
אלה - הן לא נמשכות נוספים  
במשך שנה 40? הן  
הנשואים שלה בוצעו בהן?

א/ו

א/ו, לשיגור  
משרד החקלאות  
משרד החקלאות



כ"ו חשוון תשמ"ח  
18 בנובמבר 1987

1688

ג'ן א' 1987

אל : לשכת רה"מ - ל"י יי אן נק

מאת : מצפ"א

הנדון: סם רוטברג

נשיא הבונדס, בלצברג, הציע שבמסגרת ארועי שנות ה-40 (אם אפשר בין ה-16-21.4.88) יעניקו רה"מ ומ"מ רה"מ ושה"ח אות הוקרה לסם רוטברג כהערכתם לפועלו ותרומתו למען ישראל.

מר בלצברג מבקש לדעת אם הצעתו מתקבלת. אנא הודיעונו.

ב ב ר כ ה,

א' ס' 80

לאה סידיס

שגרירות ישראל / נושין נסיון

24

סוּסָס מְבוּרָה

דף 1 מחוד 3 דפים

סווג בסחונני קווי

דחיסות מיזו

תאריך/זי"ח 10/3/87

מס' מברק

4/3

תמסר, בטאון

502 831

מזכא ונע, הסברה

צע: זענ-השו

יועץ רה"מ לרפואה

יועץ שרת לרפואה

המזכא בטאונים

זהוין אמאר מןדכ"ה ב" וויינגטון פוסט" 31-12-87

ומאמר של ה"ו.א. טיימס" 30-12-87

י/סו ק

2 1 1 2 1 3 3 2  
 סמח רמ"ד גוש ג' אש"א הי"ח ג' זכ"סו א"ק יטל ג' א' הסברה  
 ע"אלה דפ"פ פ"פ"סו פ"פ"ה פ"פ"ה א"ז א"ז א"ז פ  
 15/3/87  
 1

2/3

502 831

## *Bad to Bad*

**T**HE WAY the Israelis handled the Palestinian protests—with military tactics and disproportionate force—was bad enough. The way they are handling the aftermath—with military justice and the threat of deportations—is no better. The arbitrary, hurry-up procedures of some Israeli military courts trying the nearly 1,000 detainees have led a number of the detainees' lawyers to boycott the trials. Meanwhile, deportation may face those the authorities designate as ringleaders, notwithstanding internal and international protests against use of a sanction that many lawyers believe to entail violation of a Geneva Convention.

These are harsh and unseemly measures, and their use is drawing further criticism upon Israel, including the taunting comparison to South Africa. Except for the scale on which these measures are being applied, however, there is nothing new here. Most foreigners may not have known much about them, but to the million-plus Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza they are the routine of a 20-year occupation. For almost 10 years, for instance, the State Department has been documenting abuses that taint the official Israeli picture of order, progress, fairness and,

when and only when circumstances are compelling, civilized sternness.

To Israelis and others, the question has now arisen whether the familiar occupation practices will still do. Or has there been so great a change in the readiness of West Bankers and Gazans to challenge the soldiers and settlers that Israel, to hang on, may have to abandon the pretense of a light hand and openly apply a heavy one? The defense minister, who runs the West Bank, declares that Israel is prepared to use "massive force" if necessary. There is no reason to doubt him. Nor is there reason to doubt Israelis will do whatever they think they must for their security, despite—sometimes because of—foreign rebukes. Palestinians, by conducting terrorist operations and by failing to field a leadership competent to negotiate a West Bank settlement, lend a rationale and, in many Israeli minds, an inevitability to the hard line.

Its basic flaw, however, remains. It is that an occupation, no matter how it is run, builds hate and that it must be terminated—and not by annexation, which some Israelis favor, but by agreement with representative Palestinians, who in turn must live in peace with Israel.

*W. Post*

\*

3/3

502 831

## Making Things Worse

The mass arrests, the wholesale trials and the threat of a new wave of deportations of Arabs from the territories occupied by Israel are stirring deep anxiety among the friends of Israel.

Israeli leaders are depicted as resentful of criticism. "The state of Israel knows how to defend its peace and security," Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir said Tuesday, rejecting official U.S. criticism and adding that "we will behave according to our own understanding." The trouble with this is that Israel has not demonstrated an infallible knowledge of how to defend itself, and its own "understanding" of events has led it into detours from the path to a negotiated peace in the region.

The death of more than 20 unarmed Arabs, shot by Israeli troops using live ammunition to quell the recent riots, measures the excesses of the occupation—now acknowledged by the military decision to begin riot-control training for the army. The military court trials now under way are also troubling—and, even more, the threat of deportations. That raises questions of human rights and international law.

From the practical standpoint, to what nation are the deported Arabs to be sent? The people of Gaza have been stateless since the Egyptian administration of the territory was ended 20 years ago. Those on the West Bank are nominally citi-

zens of Jordan, but Israel itself denies the legitimacy of Jordanian sovereignty of that land. Neither Jordan nor Egypt will accept them. And to send them to south Lebanon would only undermine Israeli efforts to pacify and neutralize that troubled area.

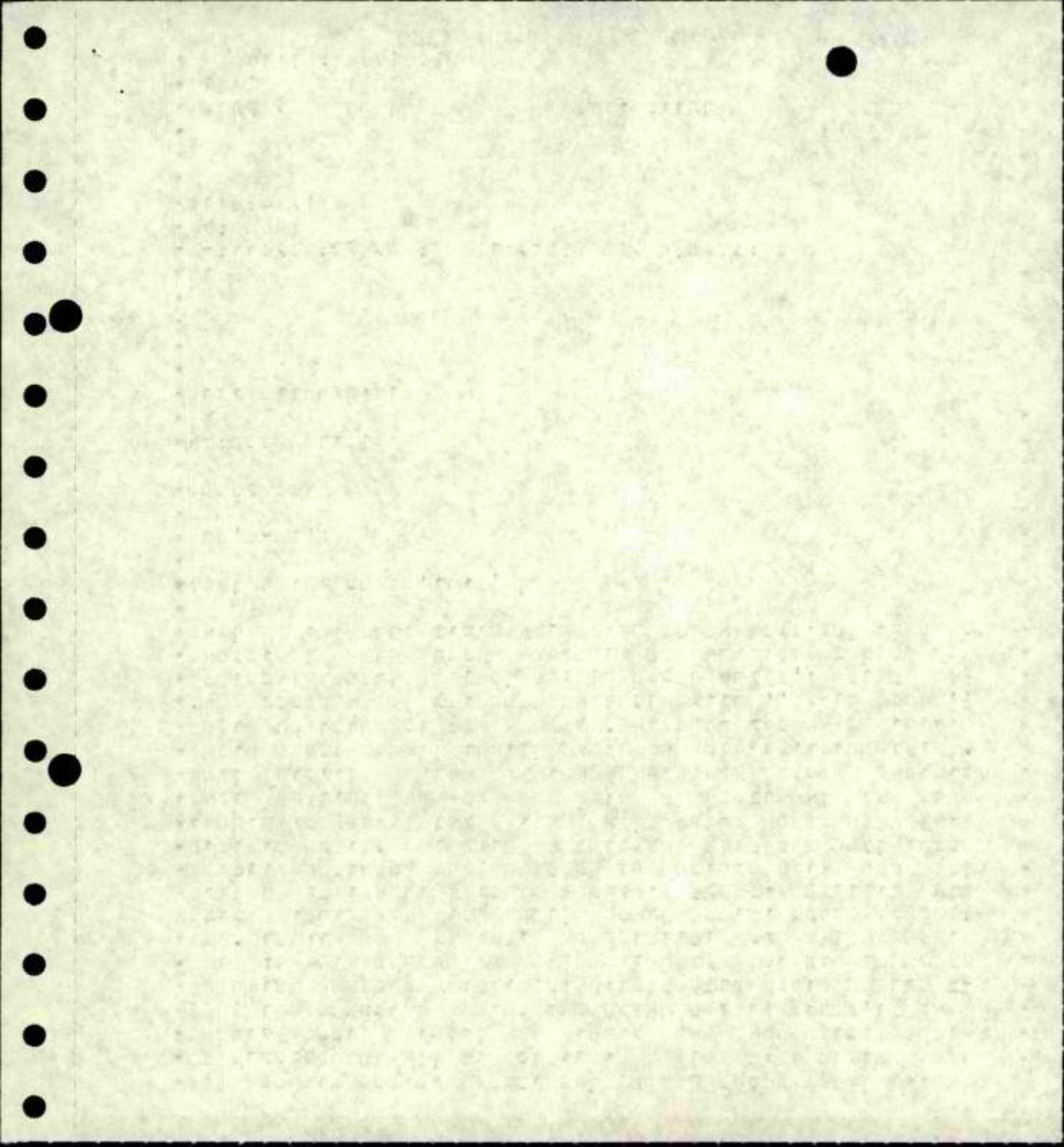
Beyond those practical questions, there is an issue of international law. Israel claims legal authority to deport Arabs under rules of the British mandate that applied before Israeli nationhood was decreed by the United Nations 40 years ago. It seems to us that the United States is right in arguing that what really applies is the fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 and its explicit prohibition of the deportation "for any reason whatsoever" of civilians from territory under military occupation. Israel disputes the applicability of the convention to these Arab lands while applying selectively some elements of the convention. Israel's own supreme court, which decides disputed deportation orders, has sustained that authority. But few others share that view.

Nearly 1,000 Arabs have been deported from their own lands in the years of the occupation. That may have bought a restoration of order in the short term. But it has not contributed to the process of peace in the long term. Nor will it if it is repeated now.

L. A. Times

✕





# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 3  
עותק 3 מתוך 32

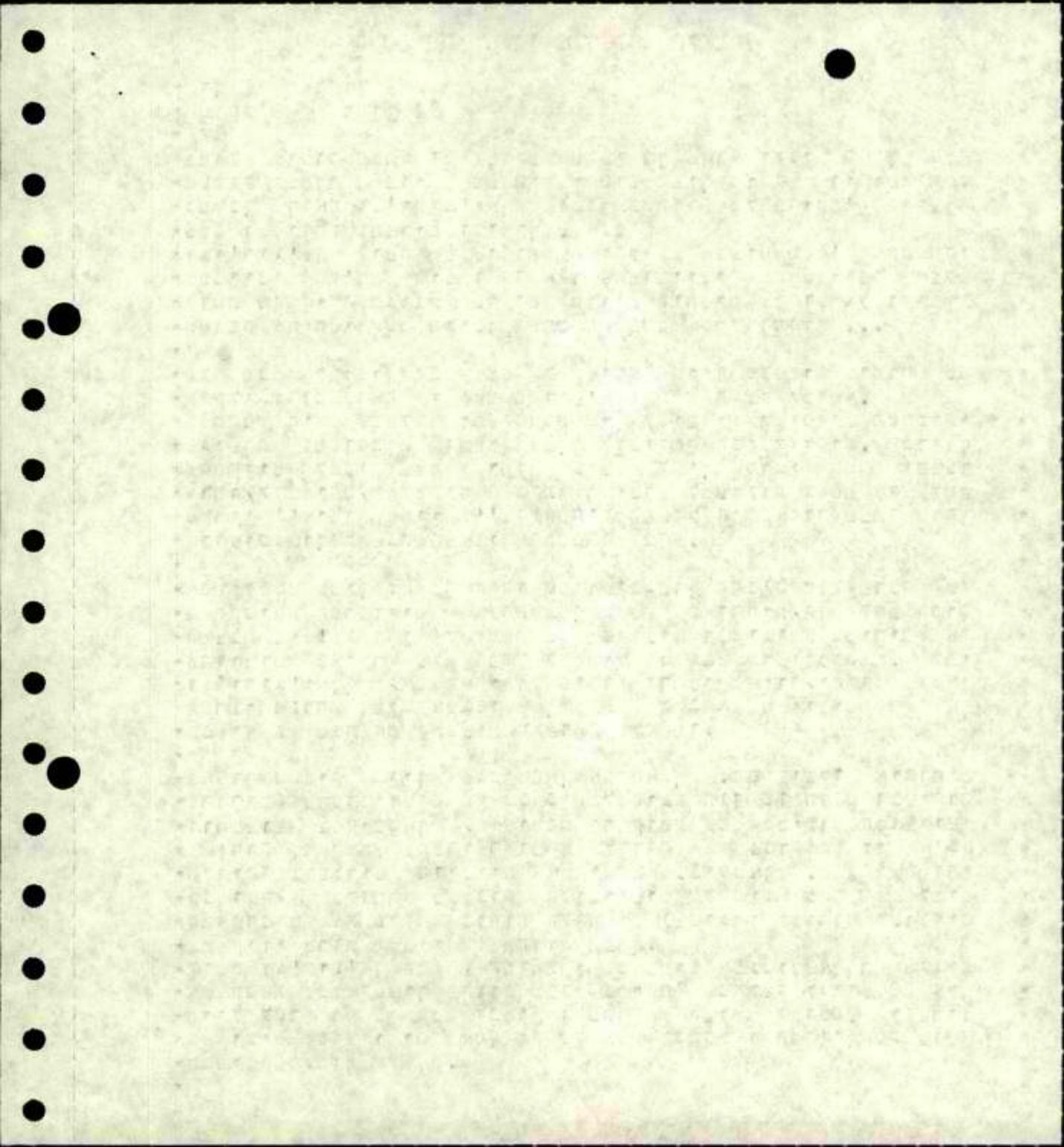
\* יוחזל שיפור במעמדם בעולם הערבי כן שהוא יוכל לאזן נזק  
\* העלול לצמוח משנוי משמעותי ביחסים שבין מוסקבה וירושלים .  
\* גם כן רואה דג'יריג'יאן שיפור בעמדות של בריה"מ בארצות  
\* ערב ובמיוחד במצרים ובירדן . אגב  
\* דג'יריג'יאן סיפר שבשיחות שניהל עם אנשי משה"ח הספרדי  
\* אבעניוניו מז"ח סיפרו לו אלו שהטוביוויטיס החטוינו אצלם  
\* לדעת מה היה תגובת הערבים לחידוש היחסים עם ישראל וקיבלו  
\* החובה שהיחסים עם מזינות ערב השתפרו אחרי המהלך ...

\* על מנת להרטיף לפרק זה של השיחה אצוין שששהי שיחות עם  
\* אוקלי ורוס נראה לי שהם מקדישים יותר מחשבה לנושא .  
\* הכנתם היא שבשלב זה למרות אין סיכוי לשינוי משמעותי  
\* בגישות המערביות ומחון כן לוועידה הבינלאומית . בדיון  
\* שהתקיים לפני עשרה ימים בינם לבין מרפי הם שיכנעו  
\* אותנו לזכורם , להתיחס ביתר רצינות למטרות בשטח או למה  
\* שקרוי "איכות החיים" ולהתחיל למעול הן באזור עצמו והן  
\* ברושנינגטון להשגת משאבים והסכמה לכך .

\* אם לסכם ענין זה נראה לי שברושנינגטון מהכים הן לשובם של  
\* השחקנים הסובייטים מבגרת סוף השנה האזרחית, הן להתבהרות  
\* המצב ביפ"ע והן לשיתות עם מנהיגים ונציגים בכירים של  
\* המדינות באזור על מנת להתחיל ולגבש רעיונות . לפי  
\* דג'יריג'יאן , אם לא יחול שינוי דרמטי באזור, יהיו נושאי  
\* מערב- מזרח, אמלט אפגניסטאן והתקציב בראש מעיוני הממשל אן  
\* הנשיא לא שבה את התכנית הרשומה על שול .

\* כאמור מעסיק עניין אפגניסטאן את האגף . הם קיבלו איתותים  
\* אברורים שהטוביוויטיס על נכונות לנסיגה תוך 12 חודש ובשיחות  
\* אורבנצוב בפקיסטאן , שיחות ארמקוט עם עמיתו הסובייטי  
\* ושיחות הקרבה בטברואר יבקשו לדווק אם נכונות זו אינה  
\* תלויה בהסדרים מדיניים אחרים באפגניסטאן . גם הסדרי  
\* הנסיגה, כלומר נכונות הטוביוויטיס להסיג כור בשלבים  
\* הראשונים את עיקר הכוחות הלוחמים (בניגוד לנוחות העוטקים  
\* בתפקידי שרות משניים) תהווה מבחן .

\* לדעת דג'יריג'יאן המאמץ המלחמתי הנרכזי באפגניסטאן רק מדגיש  
\* את הנטל שכל העניין מהורה עבור בריה"מ שנאלצה לגייס 20 אלף  
\* חייל לטרן רק על מנת לנסות ולפתח את הציר לחוסט . לזכור  
\* משקיעים הטוביוויטיס מאמץ זה על מנת לנסות ולהחזיר על נושא  
\* הנסיגה מעמדה של כח .



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 3 מתוך 3  
עותק 3 מתוך 32

\* גם לאמריקאים דילמה מטרימת בהסכמה על שלבי הנסיגה הקשורה  
\* לצורך של שמירה נח המרג' הידן . לדברי דג'ויג'אן, מצבם  
\* הצבאי הנוכחי שמיר ואמטר יהיה למצוא דרכים לשמר להם על  
\* אטמקה במקום קרוב נן שאט ימרו הסובייטים ההנכס, אם יושג,  
\* ניתן יהיה לחמש המרג' הידן במהירות. בנושא המכרץ מאמינים  
\* האמריקאים שהלחץ הערבי מחד והלחץ האמריקני מאידן הובא  
\* אלריכוון מסוים בעמזה הסובייטית אם כי המדובר בעיקר בשלוב  
\* הניסוח ועדיין לא בשלוב הביצוע.

\* לדבריו מוכנה בריהמ' גם להקריב את ההסכמה שהושגה עם איראן  
\* למשל בנושאים כלכליים כדי למנוע ארוזיה ביחסים עם מזינרה  
\* טרב.

טרן

\* אחם: שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממככל, ר/מרכז, רמ, אמן, וירן, מצמא

דף... מתוך... דפים

אל:

טווג בשחוני... שמור

דחיסות... בהול לבוקר

תאריך וז"ח... 31 דצמבר 87

870

המשרד

אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א  
סמנכ"ל מזת"ים

גרושים

התקשר וילקוקס על מנת לומר שנציגיהם בעמאן ובירות ניהלו שיחות בדרגים גבוהים עם הממשלוח של ירדן ולכנון ובהן הובעה התנגדותן לגרושים ואי נכונות לקבל מגורשים. ארה"ב מבקשת להעביר לנו באופן רשמי אינפורמציה זו בתוספת למה שנאמר לנו בנושא כבר בתחילת השבוע. הירדנים, הוסיף וילקוקס רואים את האפשרות של גרוש ב- GREAT ALARM ועלולים להביא הנושא למועבי"ט. עניתי רק שאין לי מה להוסיף על מה שאמרתי בתחילת השבוע וכי אעביר ארצה.

ערו

ש"ה 2  
ס"כ 1  
ש"ה 3  
ס"כ 1  
ש"ה 1  
ס"כ 1  
ש"ה 1  
ס"כ 1  
ש"ה 1  
ס"כ 1  
ש"ה 1  
ס"כ 1



דחיסות: מקווא - אלקו ו	מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק	דף: 2
סוג נסחוכי: למור	טופס מברק	מחור: 2
ת"ז: 311600		א ל :
גר : 0900		ד ע :
		מאח :

למזכ"ל ברירה שכן בניגוד להחלטת אשתקד, הדרישה הפעם היא מפורטת יותר.

ה. גולדינג אמר כי אין בדעתו לבקר בשום מדינה אחרת נוסף לישראל.

ו. הוסיף כי לא גזמו כל פרסום כאן - דובר האו"ם לא יודיע על נסיעתו - אך עם הגיעו של גולדינג לארץ לא יוכל להתחמק, ויאמר אז שמגיע כמסגרת החלטת מועבי"ט 605.

4. אמרתי כי אעכיר הודעתו ואודיעו חגובתנו.

ז. הכריז קונא.

נאו"ס



אישור:	שם השולח: יוחנן ביין	תאריך: 31.12.87
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סגירות ישראל / נושיונגטון

ח' 57

846

המשרד

סופס מברק

דף 1 מחור 1 דפים

סווג בטחוני שמור

דחיפות מייד

תאריך/ז"ח 9:00 31 דצמ' 87

מס' מברק

544

*[Handwritten mark]*

אל: מצפ"א, משיב  
דע: מצרים  
לשי' מנכ"ל רה"מ

קונגרס: ש"פ איזורי במזה"ח

1. רצ"ב "תיקון ווקסטמן" כפי שהתקבל במסגרת "החלטת ההמשך" (ה-ER) שהוא תקציב ארה"ב לשי"ח (1988). כ"כ רצ"ב הקטע הנוגע בדבר מתוך הדו"ח המטביר את כוונת המחוקק.
2. לתשומת לבכם: התכנית החדשה קרויה "מלגות לשלום הערבי - ישראלי". כפי שדווחנו עת שתיקון זה נידון בוועדה לפעולות זרות, נדמה שהמשתלמים במרכז שלנו בקהיר יהיו המועמדים היחידים לחלק מהמלגות האלה.
3. בהקשר זה, יש לציין שחוק הסיוע לשי"ח 1988 (הרשאנת) לא - או ליחר דינק, טרם-התקבל, ולכן לא קודמו ענין "פרויקט אבוקה" ניזמת המרשה לי המילטון להקים קרן לאפשר לערביי ישראל ללמוד בארה"ב.

אזורי אזורי

MIDDLE EAST REGIONAL COOPERATION

Sec. 564. Middle East regional cooperative programs which have been carried out in accordance with section 202(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 shall continue to be funded at a level of not less than \$5,000,000 from funds appropriated under the heading "Economic Support Fund": Provided, That of this amount not less than \$500,000 shall be made available for scholarships for support of Israeli students studying in institutions of higher education in Arab countries and not less than \$500,000 shall be made available for scholarships for support of Arab students studying in institutions of higher education in Israel: Provided further, That such scholarships shall be called "Arab-Israeli Peace Scholarships".

MIDDLE EAST REGIONAL COOPERATION (SEC. 564)

The conferees agree to the Senate provision which provides \$5,000,000 for Middle East Regional Cooperation programs from economic support funds. The conference agreement includes a provision for Arab-Israeli Peace Scholarships, as proposed in the Senate bill.

אזורי אזורי

1 1 1 3 3 2  
END

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 5 דפים

סווג בטחוני גלוי

דחיפות רגיל

תאריך/ז"ח 9:00 31 דצמ' 87

מס' מברק

המשרד + בטחון

1/5

512 849

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מנכ"ל האוצר, חשכ"ל, דברת (אוצר)

עמוס רובין - משרד רה"מ

לשי נגיד בנק ישראל

מקשי"ח - משהב"ט

קונגרס: הורדת שיעורי הריבית על חובות ה-FMS

לשלנו

לעיונכם, רצ"ב הנוסח המחייב מתוך החלטת ההמשך (CONTINUING RESOLUTION) כפי שפורסמה אומול (30.12). כ"כ רצ"ב גם הקטע הנוגע בדבר מתוך הדו"ח המסביר את כוונת המחוקק.

יוסף אמרן  
למדן

2 שיה יהג אגא אגוא ב"ר אגוא  
3 וובין/אגוא, בנק ישראל  
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שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

סוֹג בַּחֲנוּנֵי

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החוד 1501.12

FOREIGN MILITARY SALES DEBT REFORM

(a) **REFINANCING.**—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President is authorized during fiscal years 1988 through 1991 to transfer existing United States guarantees of outstanding Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credit debt, or to issue new guaranties, either of which would be applied to loans, bonds, notes or other obligations made or issued (as the case may be) by private United States financial institutions (the private lender) to finance the prepayment at par of the principal amounts maturing after September 30, 1989 of existing FMS loans bearing interest rates of ten percent or higher, and arrearages thereon. The loans, bonds, notes or other obligations are hereinafter referred to as the "private loan": Provided, That such guaranties which are transferred or are made pursuant to paragraph (a) shall cover no more and no less than ninety percent of the private loan or any portion or derivative thereof plus unpaid accrued interest and arrearages, if any, outstanding at the time of guaranty transfer or extension: Provided further, That the total amount of the guaranty of the private loan cannot exceed ninety percent of the outstanding principal, unpaid accrued interest and arrearages, if any, at any time: Provided further, That of the total amount of the private loan, the ninety percent guaranteed portion of the private loan cannot be separated from the private loan at any time: Provided further, That no sums in addition to the payment of the outstanding principal amounts maturing after September 30, 1989 of the loan (or advance), plus unpaid accrued interest thereon, and arrearages, if any, shall be charged by the private lender or the Federal Financing Bank as a result of such prepayment against the borrower, the guarantor, or the Guaranty Reserve Fund (GRF), except that the private lender may include, in the interest rate charged, a standard fee to cover costs, such fee which will be set at prevailing market rates, and no guaranty fee shall be charged on guaranties transferred or issued pursuant to this provision: Provided further, That the terms of guaranties transferred or issued under this paragraph shall be exactly the same as the existing loans or guaranties, except as modified by this paragraph and including but not limited to the final maturity and principal and interest payment structure of the existing loans which shall not be altered, except that the repayments of the private loan issued debt may be consolidated into two payments per year: Provided further, That the private loan or guaranties transferred or issued pursuant to this paragraph shall be fully and freely transferable, except that any guaranty transferred or extended shall cease to be effective if the

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private loan or any derivative thereof is to be used to provide significant support for any non-registered obligation: Provided further, That for purposes of sections 23 and 24 of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA), the term "defense services" shall be deemed to include the refinancing of FMS debt outstanding at the date of the enactment of this Act: Provided further, That not later than ninety days after the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Treasury (Secretary) shall issue regulations to carry out the purposes of this heading and that in issuing such regulations, the Secretary shall (1) facilitate the prepayment of loans and loan advances hereunder, (2) provide for full processing of each application within thirty days of its submission to the Secretary, and (3) except as provided in section 24(a) of the AECA, impose no restriction that increases the cost to borrowers of obtaining private financing for prepayment hereunder or that inhibits the ability of the borrower to enter into prepayment arrangements hereunder: Provided further, That the Secretary of State shall transmit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, and the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and Senate, a copy of the text of any agreement entered into pursuant to this section not more than thirty days after its entry into force, together with a description of the transaction.

(b) INTEREST RATE REDUCTION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, there is hereby appropriated such sums as may be necessary, but not more than \$270,000,000, to be made available after October 1, 1988 to the Secretary of Defense for the Defense Security Assistance Agency for deposit into a new account, to remain available until expended: Provided, That the funds shall be used solely for the purpose of lowering the interest rate on Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credits which were financed through the Federal Financing Bank (FFB) for countries which do not refinance one or more FFB loans pursuant to paragraph (a) of this heading, and which loans have interest rates exceeding ten percent, down to an interest rate of ten percent for the remaining life of such loans: Provided further, That these funds shall be available only subject to a Presidential budget request: Provided further, That it is the intent of the Congress that these funds shall be available to all countries having FMS credits from the FFB that carry interest rates in excess of ten percent.

(c) ARREARAGES.—(1) None of the funds provided pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act (relating to Foreign Military Sales credits) or pursuant to chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act (relating to the Military Assistance program) shall be made available to any country for which one or more loans is refinanced pursuant to paragraph (a) of this heading and which is in default for a period in excess of ninety days in payment of principal or interest on (A) any loan made to such country guaranteed by the United States pursuant to paragraph (a) of this heading, and (B) any other loan issued pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act outstanding on the date of enactment of this provision.

(2) In conjunction with any interest rate reduction pursuant to the authority provided in paragraph (b) of this heading, the President shall require the country to commit in writing that within two years of the effective date of the interest rate reduction it will be no more

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than ninety days in arrears on the repayment of principal and interest on all loans for which the interest rate is thus reduced and will remain no more than ninety days in arrears for the remaining life of all such loans. None of the funds provided pursuant to the Arms Export Control Act or chapter 2 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act shall be made available to any country during any period in which it fails to comply with such commitment.

(d) PURPOSES AND REPORTS.—The authorities of paragraphs (a) and (b) of this heading may be utilized by the President in efforts to negotiate base rights and base access agreements, and for other bilateral foreign policy matters: Provided further, That the Secretaries of Defense, State, and Treasury shall transmit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, and the Committees on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and Senate a joint report detailing the United States financial and foreign policy purposes served by implementation of this authority on a country by country basis not later than March 1, 1989, and a second joint report not later than August 1, 1989.

GUARANTY RESERVE FUND

There are hereby appropriated \$582,000,000 to be made available to the Guaranty Reserve Fund for payment to the Federal Financing Bank subject to claims under guarantees issued under the Arms Export Control Act: Provided, That if during fiscal year 1989 the funds available in the Guaranty Reserve Fund (Fund) are insufficient to enable the Secretary of Defense (Secretary) to discharge his responsibilities, as guarantor of loans guaranteed pursuant to section 24 of the Arms Export Control Act (AECA) or pursuant to this Act, the Secretary shall issue to the Secretary of the Treasury notes or other obligations in such forms and denominations, bearing such maturities, and subject to such terms and conditions, as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury. Such notes or obligations may be redeemed by the Secretary from appropriations and other funds available, including repayments by the borrowers of amounts paid pursuant to guarantees issued under section 24 of the AECA. Such notes or other obligations shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States of comparable maturities during the month preceding the issuance of the notes or other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury shall purchase any notes or other obligations issued hereunder and for that purpose he is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act are intended to include any purchase of such notes or obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or other obligations acquired by him under this heading. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or other obligations shall be treated as public debt transactions of the United States.

מקור: הממשלה

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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סוג בטחוני

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כאן עמ' 12

FOREIGN MILITARY CREDIT SALES DEBT REFORM

The conferees have agreed to a modified FMS debt reform provision. This provision allows countries to either refinance their high interest rate loans in the private sector or to apply to have the United States decrease the interest rates on their loans directly to 5 percent.

The conferees intend that all types of U.S. financial institutions including investment, state chartered, and national banks may qualify to participate in the refinancing program. The conferees agree further that the liabilities resulting from the new guarantee program are covered by the Guaranty Reserve Fund for this purpose.

The provision is permissive and allows the President to consider bilateral foreign policy matters for each case before proceeding. Countries which refinance are required to bring their loan payments current (90 day limit). Countries which use the interest rate

reduction approach must commit in writing to bring their loan payments current (90 day limit) within two years.

GUARANTY RESERVE FUND

The conferees modified House and Senate provisions in order to provide \$592,000,000 for the Guaranty Reserve Fund in FY 1988 and to provide "current indefinite borrowing authority" for the Guaranty Reserve Fund in FY 1989. The conferees intend for these funds to be treated as mandatory spending.

מקור המסמך

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בהול לבוקר

רשימות:

מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק בה

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סוג הסחונות:

בהול

טופס מברק

מתור: 2

שמוד

תז"ח:

מנהל לשכת השר, מנהל מע"ת, צפ"א, אמית"ק, הסברה

א ל :

312100

נר :

יועץ תקשורת לרה"מ, יועץ תקשורת לשהב"ט, דו"צ, קש"ח

11/12/87

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194 - ושיניטון

עמנואל, גיל-זורק

סחון - 22

31.12.87 - ככוס תקשורת ומגמות

מבחינה כמותית חלה הקלה בלחץ התקשורתי עלינו ובכיסוי לו אנו זוכים. אולם, כפי שכבר כתבנו בהזדמנויות האחרונות נסב הדיון ומתחזק בנושא של ה-ROOT CAUSES. אין עוד פניות לברר מה המצב ו/או להביע זעם על המתרחש (או לחזק ידי ישראל). אולם בהחלט אנו מקבלים תחושה של שינוי בהתיחסות.

בעתונות הכתובה ככבה ישראל בכותרות בעמוד הראשון עד לפני יומיים (ה-NYP וה-ND אף הקדישו לנו את מלוא העמוד הראשון בשתי הזדמנויות). בימים האחרונים הסתמנה מגמה של העדר חומר, ועל כן התחלנו לראות מאמרי נתוח מלומדים (כמו מאמרו של תום פרידמן היום על העדר מנהיגות בישראל ובאש"פ, או כתבתו על "אבות ובנים" פלסטינים מ-28 בדצמבר). החלו גם כתבות צכע, היבט אנושי וכו'. גם כאן נחלה ב-NYP, ובסבתו המחמיאה של תום פרידמן על סוכנות הידיעות של ריימונדה טוויל. אך גם מר פרידמן החדש (ג'וש פ. מ"ניוזדיי", המשמש בימים כתיקונם ראש משרד האו"ם של העתון ופעיל כועד להגנה על זכויות עתונאים), מספק מנה של צכע והיבט אנושי.

מאז 24 בדצמבר נכתבו 4 מאמרי מערכת בענייני השטחים, ובהם 2 מאמרים בקרטיים על ישראל (ND, NYT) 1 לא מוחלט (WSJ) ואחד תומך (DN). בתחום מאמרי האופ-אד המצב דומה למדי. מתוך 10 מאמרים שפורסמו בין 24-31 בדצמבר 6 מותחים ביקורת על ישראל, 3 אוהדים ואחד נייטרלי. עיקר הביקורת הוא על הסרוב לדון עם אש"פ, דמיון לדרא"פ, השלטון על עם אחר ודמותה המשתנה של ישראל (ר' מ. קמפטון ב-ND מ-27: "WHEN IRSAEL BECOMES SIRYA").

בטלביזיה אמנם אין עניינינו מופיעים כפריטים ראשונים, אך עודנו מככבים במהדורות הערב בכל הרשתות.

הנושאים העיקריים העולים בעתונות הכתובה ובטלביזיה הם, לפי כמות העיסוק בהם, כלהלן:

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18 - העמותה לקשר

- א. "אמפטיים" מדי יום מוקרנות תמונות של נאשמים כחיי דין, מוסעים באוטובוסים, מסמנים את ה"ט" הידוע, פוגשים את אמותיהם הקוראות קריאות לאומיות וכו'. כמה טבות הטילו ספק בהגינות השיפוט והטהיר (למשל, דין ריינולדס ב-ABC כ-26). שניות עורכי הדין מכוסה ברזובה.
- ב. הגרושים - למרות שטרם בוצע ולו גרוש אחד מרבה התקשורת לעסוק בסוגיה. "מקניל-להרר" ביקשו לערוך אמש דיון "משפטי-אקדמי" בנושא וירדו ממנו בסופו של דבר משום ש"עדין לא קרה כלום, ואנו מחכים עם הדיון עד לגרוש בפועל".
- ג. יחסי ישראל-ארה"ב (בהקשר הגרושים). הלחץ האמריקאי תורם אף הוא להעלאת הנושא ולהכללתו. כבר שמענו כי "כסופו של דבר לא חהיה לכם ברירה אלא לגרש מישהו ולו כדי להוכיח שאינכם נכנעים ללחץ".
- ד. יהודי ארה"ב - ביחוד לאור ההפגנה שערכו אתמול חברי ה-NEW JEWISH AGENDA מול הקונסוליה ולאחר התקפתו של אנתוני לואיס על מוריס אברם.
- ה. דירת השר שרון - גררה כתבות רבות בטלביזיה והיום גם ב-NYT.
- ו. היחסים עם מצרים - הן בטלביזיה (למשל, בוטרוס ע'אלי ב-NBC כ-25) והן בעתונות הכתובה.
- ז. חג המולד על רקע המהומות. תמונות של "סנטה קלאוס" בין חיילים, קשת-בענן מרחיבה ביופיה מעל בית לחם שטיפקה-ממש לפי הזמנה- את הרקע ההולם לשאלה "מה יהיה?" בכתבות ערב החג ברשתות.
- כהנחה שהארועים כשטחים אכן נרגעו לתקופה ארוכה יש לצפות שתדירות העיסוק בנו חרד, ביחוד לאחר חלוף עונת החגים חסרת החדשות. אולם לא יהיה זה נועז להעריך כי לפנינו תקופה ממושכת של דיון במצב הבסיסי בשטחים, התהליך המדיני, ה-ROOT CAUSES, אש"פ וכו'. אם גם קודם למהומות ידענו על עליה לרגל ארצה לכבוד יובל ה-40 (כסגנון ISRAEL, WARTS AND ALL), הרי שכעת יואץ ויוחרף הכיסוי הצמוד. כמה מעמיתי כחקשורת התבטאו כי על העתונות למלא את תפקידה ככלב שמירה. בשנה שעברה שמרו על הממשל (וקצת עלינו). 1988 תהיה אולי השנה שלנו.

כינה



Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

# Force-Feeding Israel

W.P.

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The success of a senator's adjournment-rush demand for U.S. taxpayer millions to build new schools for Jewish children in France marked a new peak in President Reagan's problems with congressional actions pushed by the pro-Israel lobby.

"We fought that money for new French schools," an administration official admitted to us, "but no one listened." Sen. Daniel Inouye, a major Democratic recipient of contributions from Jewish campaign donors, insisted on the \$8 million appropriation. Without noticeable opposition, he squeezed it into the \$598 billion continuing resolution.

Schools in France financed by U.S. taxpayers are not the same as taxpayer aid to help Israel maintain its control over the West Bank and Gaza, an occupation that exploded two weeks ago. But Reagan's lack of Capitol Hill clout is the same on French schools as on Gaza, a fact made clear by other congressional actions that are viewed by key policy-makers as a form of force-feeding hazardous to Israel's health.

Inouye is a highly regarded Israel ally, so much so that he was entrusted with the chairmanship of the Iran-contra committee. In France, however, the reaction to Inouye's school aid program for Sephardic Jewish families who moved to France decades ago from North Africa was not enthusiastic. "We have nothing against U.S. taxpayers," a French official told us, "but it must seem strange to the Americans."

State Department analysts say privately that the appropriation might also seem strange to Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza. Secretary of State George Shultz's No. 1 proposal for

handling the Arab-Israeli dispute is an international peace conference, but Israel says no. Shultz's No. 2 policy is to upgrade what he calls "the quality of life" for the 1.5 million Palestinians who live in the Israeli-occupied territories but have no vote or voice on how their taxes are spent.

Shultz months ago asked Congress for \$23 million to make life a bit better in Gaza and on the West Bank. Despite alarms signifying Palestinian distress during the West Bank-Gaza insurrection, congressional leaders turned their backs. The proposal, first tossed out in the acrimonious budget negotiations, failed to get back in during the last-minute adjournment rush.

To Israel's leaders, that probably looked like a signal from Congress that no matter how upset President Reagan was over Israeli army killings of Palestinian youth, Congress understood that an iron-fist policy was needed to quell the disorders. Instead of using the tragedy to highlight Reagan's warnings against live bullets, thereby bolstering Israel's Labor Party moderates, Congress was pointedly looking the other way.

Administration officials told us Shultz has not given up. He will try to get Congress to "reprogram" money out of the Pentagon's account next year to finance his "quality of life" proposal. The congressional outlook, however, remains bleak.

Other session-end actions successfully pushed by the pro-Israel lobby included a new financing device written into the continuing resolution that administration officials say could save Israel \$2 billion in

paying off the huge debt accumulated from years of American aid. Now running at about \$3 billion a year, that assistance used to go to Israel as repayable loans. Today most of it is outright grants.

Other countries who owe the United States money from foreign aid also get the benefit of this refinancing gimmick to help pay their debts, but Israel's per-capita debt dwarfs all others.

In still another late decision, Congress agreed to let Israel have up to \$180 million to develop a defense system capable of destroying short-range attack missiles, presumably to be targeted against Soviet offensive missiles now deployed in Syria.

Mideast strategists inside the administration acknowledge concern over this exuberant show of congressional confidence in Israel when its government is blocking all U.S. peace proposals and its army is building new jails to hold Palestinians. Their worry is that the session-end force-feeding—what Israel wants Congress will give, and then some—may enhance the political power of hard-line Likud hawks.

The Likud policy of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir favors territorial expansion. That prospect, coupled with forcible expulsion of Palestinians, gives the United States its black eye throughout the Moslem world. It gives Labor Party moderates their concern that disaster may lie ahead. But Congress, looking only to next year's election, seems bent on encouraging Shamir and his allies, passing out more and more sweets.

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ONE



# UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

138 EAST 87th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021

#265

December 29, 1987

Compiled by APN

## REVIEW OF SOVIET PRESS

### CRUEL REPRESSIONS TO THE SOUND OF CHRISTMAS BELLS

851 2/16

Under this headline IZVESTIA carries a report about the situation in the Arab territories - the Gaza strip, Western bank of the Jordan river, and East Jerusalem - which were subjected to Israel's aggression twenty years ago.

For more than two weeks now, says the report, "the situation on the Israeli-occupied Arab territories has been aggravated as a result of the occupationists' violence against the Palestine population. Outrages continue to be committed against participants in the anti-Israeli demonstrations to the sound of Christmas bells..."

"The Israeli leaders have rejected with bursts of machine-gun fire UN Security Council resolution no.605 which censures human rights violations by Israel on the occupied Arab territories. Justifying the army and police repression in the Gaza strip, East Jerusalem and on the West bank", notes IZVESTIA, "Prime Minister Shamir declared that all these actions had been sanctioned by the Government and the general staff of the Israeli army."

PRAVDA writes the following in its review of world events:

"The West celebrated Christmas last week, lighting up Christmas trees and singing Christmas carols. But there was neither peace nor goodwill in the place where Jesus from Nazareth was born and where the holy sepulchre is. Blood keeps flowing in the biblical places. People are killed by those who are stubbornly trying to affirm their power by fire and sword."

The paper continues:

"As a result of the fact that UN resolution of 1947 on the division of Palestine and the creation on its territory of two states was not carried out, as well as the subsequent wars between Israel and its neighbours, the Palestinian Arabs were deprived of the right to have a motherland... Tel Aviv was vainly hoping that the new generation of Palestinians who have grown up in occupation, will reconcile themselves with the position of outcasts. It is the young that have become the soul of the mass action. It was for the first time that the entire Arab community of Israel joined the 1.5 million Palestinians on the occupied lands. About 800,000, or almost one-fifth of the country's population, have gone on a solidarity strike."

PRAVDA carries an article headlined "The uprising continues", characterizing the uprising as a movement of protest against the Israeli authorities' racist policy.

"The people rose against the occupation under PLO banners to reinstate the Palestinian nation in its rights, above all, the right to have a motherland, a sovereign state of its own. But Tel Aviv would not listen to anything of the kind. It pays no heed to the United Nations and to the Palestinians' lawful demands. Nor does it want

to convene an international conference on the Mideast settlement or a just political solution of the issue. Israeli Prime Minister Shamir has branded the sentiments to return to what he called the 'stifling' 1967 borders as 'defeatist'. Israel strives, as before, to down the Palestinians' voice of protest in bursts of submachine-gun fire."

Characterizing the upheavals on the Israeli-seized Arab territories, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes: "This seems to be the most massive action by the Arab population in the entire period of occupation."

"Now", continues the paper, "the Israeli authorities want to punish the lorry driver who deliberately ran into a group of Arabs who were peacefully talking on the sidewalk, killing four. Tel Aviv believes that this incident had triggered off the current unprecedented outburst of anti-Israeli action."

"Deliberate murder is a monstrous fact, of course. But this is hardly the point at issue. It can be asserted with a certain degree of certainty that the situation in the territories which Israel holds occupied has become so tense that it would take less than that for the flames of protest to flare up."

PALESTINIAN FACTOR, AND A MIDEASTERN SETTLEMENT  
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Newspapers say the Palestinian factor is the key element of a Mideastern settlement. Approaching the issue from various angles, Soviet news analysts agree that a lasting peace in the Middle East is impossible without a settlement there.

"December 1987", says IZVESTIA, "has changed many things in the Middle East, or at least changed the world's understanding of what is happening there. It seems, a decisive turning point in the history of the Mideastern conflict is imminent. The December events are but the first thunderbolts of the future storm. There can never be any peace on occupied territories."

"The only way out goes via a fair solution of the Palestinian problem. Practically the whole world (except the Israeli Government) considers that the best and most realistic road would be an international conference on the Middle East under the UN aegis."

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA writes:

"The Soviet Union is not indifferent to the fates of the peoples inhabiting the Middle East. That area is a border one for us, and the military-political situation there tells on our security, and that of our friends and allies."

"International public focuses on the holding of a peace conference on the Middle East. The idea is gaining momentum, since it is becoming obvious that an all-round and fair settlement in that explosive region can only be achieved by a representative international forum."

PRAVDA draws the readers' attention to the fact that in the opinion of the Soviet leadership an international conference should not serve as a cover-up for separate agreements.

"It means that all sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, should collectively take part in searching for a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. The conference must disentangle all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, proceeding from the right of each nation to choose its fate and live within safe and recognized borders. The task now is to pave the way for such a full-fledged international conference. The Soviet Union is prepared to constructively promote it both through the UN Security Council, and contacts with all interested sides, including PLO and Israel."

Speaking about the position of the U.S. Administration, PRAVDA refers, among other things, to its approach to the UN Security Council resolution adopted last week, which censured the Israeli policies and practices on the occupied Arab territories.

"That resolution was unanimously voted for by all Security Council members, except the U.S. representative who abstained."

"When the General Assembly earlier assessed Tel Aviv's arbitrariness on the occupied territories as 'war crimes and an insult for humankind', the U.S. and Israel were the only two countries which voted against. The escalation of terror against Palestinians coincided with the signing of the U.S.-Israeli 'memorandum on mutual understanding'. The document envisages for Tel Aviv a similar status in military co-operation with Washington as that enjoyed by U.S. NATO partners."

"By that", the paper says in conclusion, "the U.S. Administration has demonstrated its open support for the Israeli invaders, and its own unwillingness to search for a Mideastern settlement."

A RELIABLE PLATFORM FOR CO-OPERATION

A public commission on humanitarian co-operation and human rights has been recently established in the Soviet Union. It is functioning within the framework of the Soviet Committee for European security and co-operation, whose activities meet the demands of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act. Fyodor Burlatsky, a scientist and journalist, is the commission's chairman.

Here is a digest of his interview to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIA:

"The spheres for co-operation include sciences - mostly humanities - as well as education, culture and human rights. Having authoritative representatives in all such spheres - people famous in the U.S.S.R. and abroad - we can be efficient partners on the international scene during all kinds of meetings, conferences, dialogues and round-table discussions."

"The main thing for our commission is a new approach to international cooperation. It so happened that long after the signing of the Helsinki Final Act the humanitarian issues and human rights have not been a platform for co-operation but rather an apple of discord, greatly damaging the East-West relations."

"Guaranteeing human rights in every country is a continuous process hinging on many things - above all on the economic development level of a given country, and on its historical traditions, the people's political culture, and the state and social institutions there. And it would be ridiculous to approach each other with one and the same yardstick."

"We would promote a different approach - the one in the spirit of a new thinking. That calls for the East and the West pooling their efforts. Instead of rattling with the sabres of mutual accusations, we would soberly and calmly discuss everything."

"It does not mean, of course, that each side should remain in its home behind bolted doors, engrossed only in its own problems. Co-operation and exchange of experience are needed, and so are consistent guarantees for observing all international law standards, sealed by various UN documents."

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CANADA

**COMMUNIQUE**

851 5/6  
5/6

PRESS RELEASE NO. 59

SITUATION IN THE ISRAELI  
OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

NEW YORK, 23 DECEMBER 1987

COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE NO 59

SITUATION DANS LES TERRITOIRES  
OCCUPES PAR ISRAEL

NEW YORK, LE 23 DECEMBRE 1987

**PERMANENT MISSION OF CANADA  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS**

**LA MISSION PERMANENTE DU CANADA  
AUPRES DES NATIONS UNIES**

351 6/6

Canada's Ambassador to the United Nations, Stephen Lewis, today issued the following statement on behalf of the Government of Canada:

The Ambassador stated that the significant elements of Resolution 605, adopted by the Security Council on Tuesday, December 22, on the situation in the territories occupied by Israel, represent an important contribution to the restoration of peaceful conditions in the territories. The Government of Canada strongly supports the appeal in the Security Council Resolution for the exercise of restraint, the need for which Prime Minister Mulroney has frequently endorsed, most recently in a television interview in Canada.

Canada has repeatedly stated that long years of occupation have led to more acute frustrations on both sides, resulting in the increased violence the world has recently witnessed. The Government deeply regrets this violence.

The Government of Canada calls upon the parties to step back from the violence, emphasizing that restraint is essential for the establishment of peace.

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L'Ambassadeur du Canada auprès des Nations Unies, M. Stephen Lewis, a fait aujourd'hui la déclaration suivante au nom du gouvernement du Canada:

M. Lewis a déclaré que la Résolution 605 adoptée par le Conseil de sécurité le mardi 22 décembre concernant la situation dans les territoires occupés par Israël représente une importante contribution au rétablissement de conditions de paix dans ces territoires. Le gouvernement du Canada appuie fortement la décision du Conseil de sécurité de lancer cet appel à la modération, attitude dont le Premier ministre Mulroney a souvent souligné la nécessité comme il l'a encore fait récemment lors d'une entrevue de la télévision canadienne.

Le Canada a affirmé à maintes reprises que les longues années d'occupation de ces territoires ne pouvaient qu'exacerber les frustrations dans les deux camps, et les montées de violence dont le monde a été témoin récemment en sont le résultat. Le gouvernement regrette profondément cette violence.

Le gouvernement du Canada invite les parties à renoncer à la violence, insistant sur le fait que la modération est une condition essentielle au rétablissement de relations pacifiques.

דחיסות: מילידי	מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק טופס מברק	דף: 1
סוג כחונני: שמור		מחור: 3
תז"ז: 30/430		אל : המשרד, וושינגטון
נר : 0852 184-011		ד ע :
		מאת : נאו"ם

אל : מנהל ארכיב 2  
 דע : משפט : מתני-וושינגטון  
 מאת : יששכרוף

מועבי"ט - יש"ע

1. קיבלתי מכתב אש"ף הרצ"כ מידי ג'ף בוזאקי (ארה"כ) שנשלח כ-24/12 לנשיא מועבי"ט. במכתב בטיפא, מתבקשים מועבי"ט והמזכ"ל לנקוט בפעולה מיידית למנוע "הגירוש של אף פלסטיונאי מהשטחים תחת כיבוש ישראלי", ושמועבי"ט תשקול פעולה מיידית על מנת להשתמש בסמכויותיה לפי מגילת האו"ם לוודא כיבוד הנורמות של משפט הכינ"ל ובמיוחד הוראותיה של אמנת ג'נבה הרביעית.
2. בוזאקי מסר שלא ניכרת, לפי שעה, כל פעילות בקרב הקבוצה הערבית שמעידה על כינוס מועבי"ט בימים אלה, ונראה שהמכתב מיועד להיות אות אזהרה לגבי הצפוי אם אכן יתבצעו גירושים.
3. באותה הזדמנות מסרתי לבוזאקי על כוונתנו להעביר לפיקו המסר שבשלכם חוזם 1184. פיקו נמצא עתה בחופשה ויתכן שיחזור מחר יום ה' או יום ב' בשבוע הבא.

נאו"ם

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including a large signature on the left and several smaller ones with numbers 1, 2, 3, and 2 written above them.

אישור:	שם השולח: ג. יששכרוף	תאריך: 30.12.87
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1987 DEC 24  
المنظمة الفلسطينية للإعلان والإعلام

24 December 1987

252/134 2/3

Excellency,

I am asked by Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring the following to your immediate attention so you may be kept informed of the grave situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. To date, 1700 Palestinians have been detained and are being held in Al Ansar concentration camp, and Dhaahriyah camp which has recently been established.

A wide-reaching curfew has been imposed on almost all of the occupied Palestinian territories, and Israel has raided several Palestinian refugee camps, namely, Jabaliya, Arroub, Fara'a, Amari, Dheisheh and Qalandia. Raids have been carried out against Palestinian towns and villages - Nablus, Toubas, Ramallah, Qalqilia, Al-Khalil (Hebron). In one particular instance all males between the ages of 14 to 60 years, were arrested in the Jabaliya camp and transferred to the Israeli army barracks near Beit Lahya, where they were exposed to the open air and rain between 2200-0800 hours this morning. They were then transferred to Al-Ansar concentration camp. Jabaliya refugee camp is without milk, food and medical services.

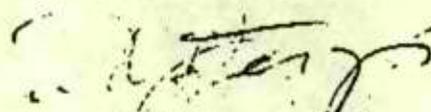
I am asked to draw your attention to the policies adopted yesterday by Israel, the occupying power, as clarified by Defense Minister Rabin, that "all the means at our disposal will be used", further that Israel has decided to "arrest and expel", and that there would be "no mercy shown". In this context the United Nations Security Council and Secretary-General are asked to take immediate action to prevent the expulsion of any Palestinians under Israeli occupation, and that the Security Council should

H.E. The President of the Security Council  
The United Nations  
New York

115 East 65th Street New York, N.Y. 10021 Tel (212) 288-8500 Telex 621082 PLO NY

consider immediate action and invoke the powers vested in it by the Charter of the United Nations in order to ensure compliance with the norms of international law, particularly relevant being the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

Accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

  
Zuhdi Labib Terzi  
Permanent Observer

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\*\* ירצא

שמור

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חודש: 12, 19319

אל: בני/1184, ורוש/914

מ-: המשורר, תא: 291287, זח: 1525, דח: מ, טג: ש

נד: 8

שמור/מיוזי

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ביין

דע: ערך, תחני.

החלטת מועב"ט. שלן 735. (159 לרושינגטון)

א) קיימנו ב-28 לחודש ינון אצל המנכ"ל, בהשתתפות  
 נתניהו, ברנע, סויבל, שוקרון והח"מ. להלן סיכום הדיון:

1) ישראל רואה עצמה בתוקף החוק הבינלאומי הקיים,  
 כאחראית לשמירת החוק והסדר בשטחים ומתכוונת למלא חובתה  
 זו עד שייקבע מעמד הסוכי של שטחים אלה במסגרת תהליך  
 השלום.

2) ישראל מתנגדת להתערבות גורם זר במילוי חובתה הנ"ל  
 ותתנגד לשינוי שליה כלשהו לצורך הכנת הדו"ח שהוטל על  
 המזכ"ל להכינו.

3) ישראל גם תתנגד אם בעת מילוי תשימתו הנ"ל, המזכ"ל  
 יעשה שימוש בגורמים או'מיים הפועלים בשטח (אונטסו,  
 סט"ת וכו') ותראה בשימוש בזה הפרה של המנדט שעל - פיו  
 היא הסכימה למעולת הגופים האלה.

4) ישראל דוחה אמנם את החלטת מועב"ט בכל תוקף אך תשמח  
 בעיתוי מתאים למסור למזכ"ל מתוך כבודו אליו ולתפקידו,

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

הערבדות על מה שקורה בשטחים ועל המעולות בהן היא נוקטת  
לצורך השמירה על החוק והסדר.

ב) מציעים להטיל על ג'רמי יששכרוף שיתקשר עם  
פיקר להתעניין אצלו על כוונות המזכ"ל לקראת הכנת  
הדו"ח ויבהיר לו בהזדמנות זו את המסר המפורט לעיל.

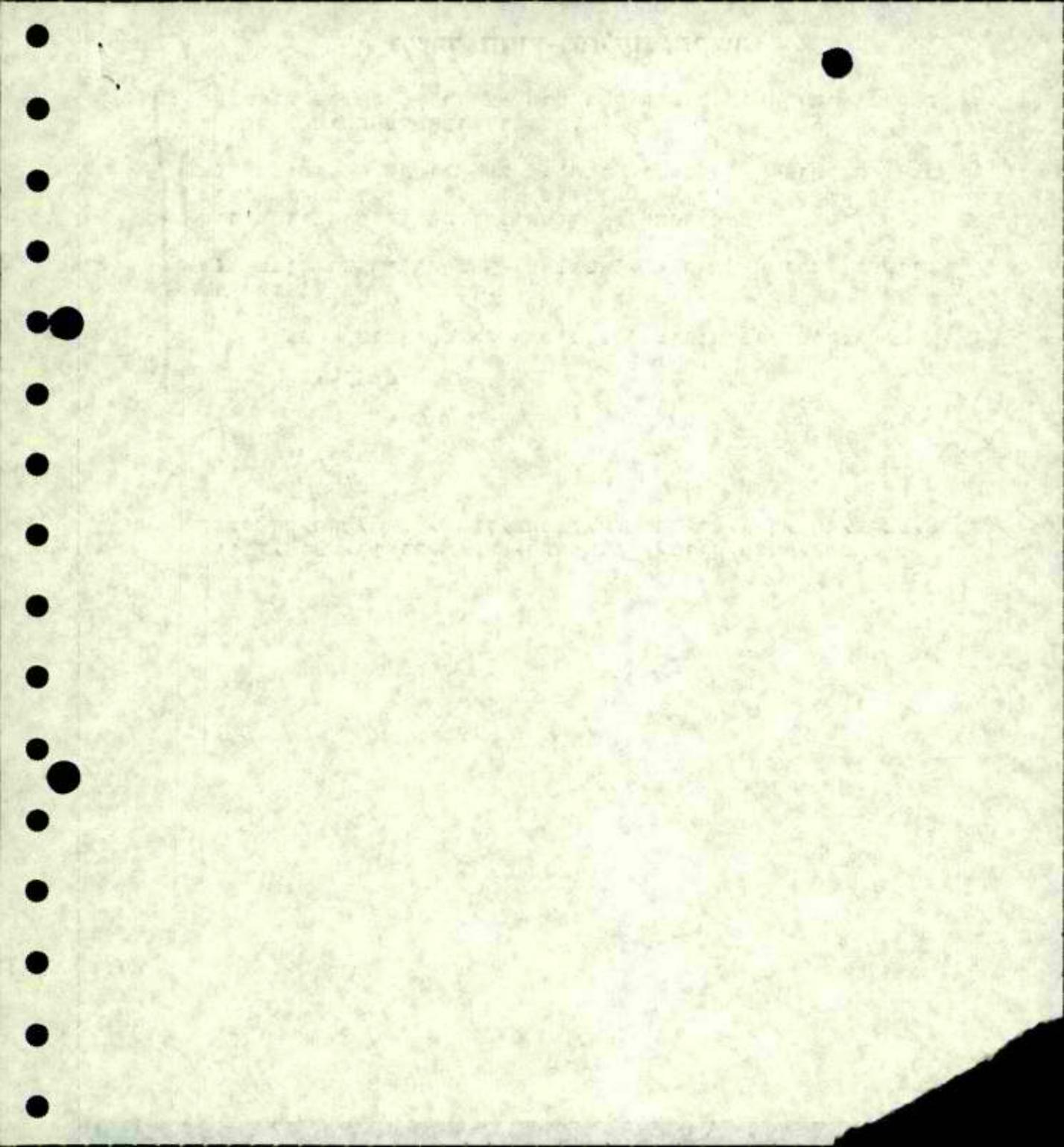
ג) נכון ונבריקן TALKING PAPER לקראת השיחה שתקיים  
עם המזכ"ל באשר יזמנן.

ד) מוצע שתעדכן משלחת ארה"ב על מעולותינו הכ"ל.

מנהל ארבי"ל 2 - משפט

אט

תפ: שחח, דהמ, שהבט, מכנבל, ממנבל, ר/מרכז, רט, אמן, המד, ברנע, ארבי"ל,  
טייבל, משפט, ליאור, מזתים, מתאס שטחים, בירן, מצמא, כהנא



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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30.12.87 תאריך

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חודם: 12,20470

ל:רוש/986

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למזן.

אודה לך אם תבהיר בחוזר מהו הסטטוס המזויק של תקון קרנטטון האומר שהסכומים המוקצים לסיוע הכלכלי לישראל לא יפלו מגובה תשלומי החובות (קרן וריבית) שישראל משלמת.

א. האט זו 'כרוונה' בי כתוב 'ITS THE INTENTION...' או שזה מחייב כשאר חלקי החוק.

ב. קיבלנו זאת במסמן המדובר על סיוע החוץ עד לספטמבר '88 כלומר לשנת התקציב 87-8. האט תקון קרנטטון יפה גם לשנת '89 (או לחילופין האט הוא כלול ב- (CR).

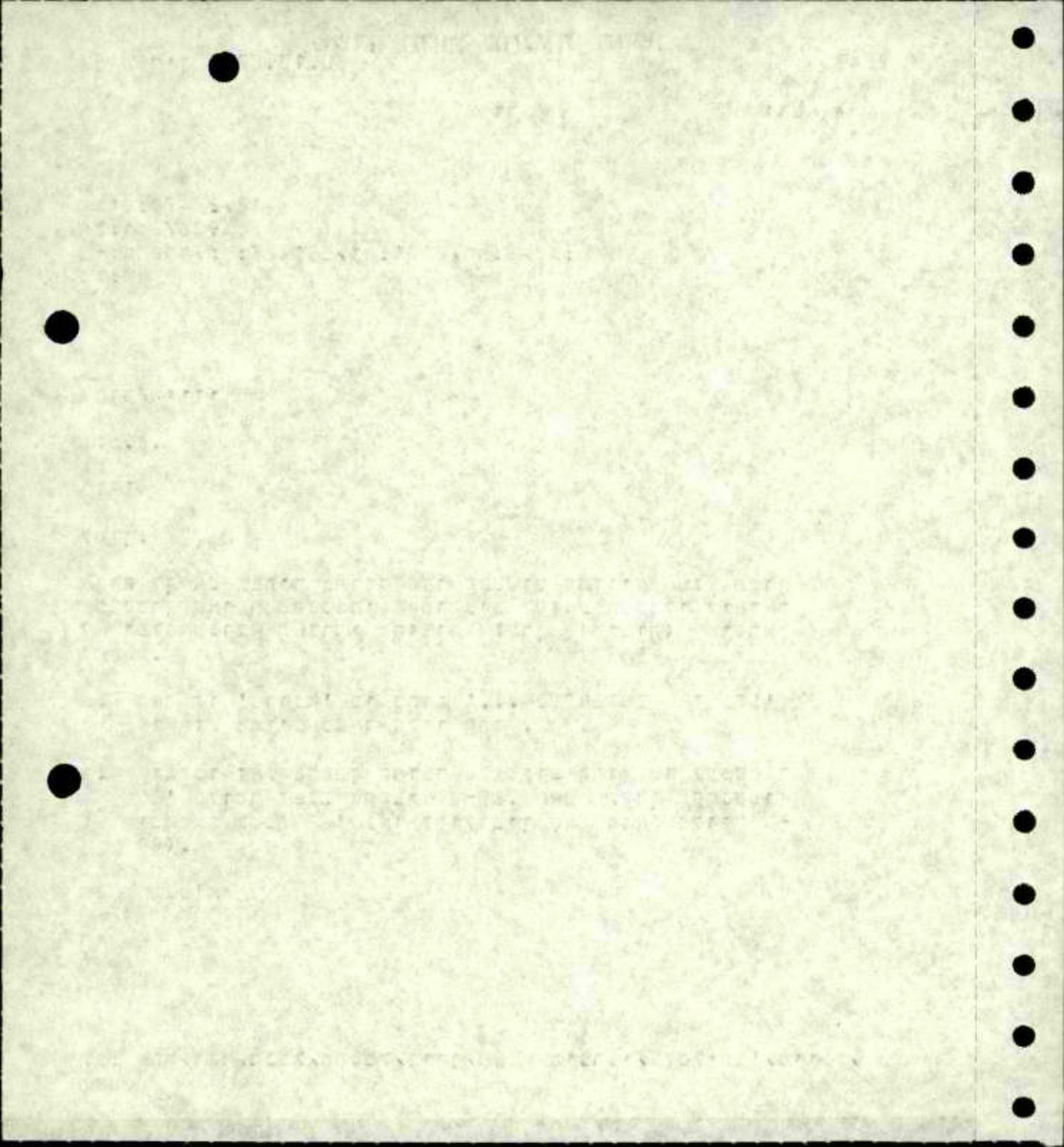
מנהל מצפ"א

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תפ: שח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בירן, מצפא, מינרבי, כלכליתב', סייבל, משפט

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מחלקת הקשר - ירושלים



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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד, 2000

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 דחיפות... מיוזי  
 תאריך וזיח... 27/12/87  
 מס' מברק

יועץ שהבט המשרד

דע: יועץ רה"מ המשרד

מנהל אגף השי, מנהל מע, מצפון, ה-207

המצב בטחוני

להלן תמאז הוסף שהבט רבין ברגי  
 NBC to Meet the Press

יוסי אל

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NBC'S "MEET THE PRESS"  
WITH HOST, ANDREA MITCHELL  
JOINED BY ROBERT KAISER, THE WASHINGTON POST  
AND R. W. APPLE, THE NEW YORK TIMES  
INTERVIEW WITH: YITZHAK RABIN, ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1987

MS. MITCHELL: Good morning. Chris Wallace is on assignment.

Israel has refused to heed appeals from the United States to stop using live ammunition against the Palestinian rioters, saying that the demonstrators are not school boys but terrorists and Israeli officials have lashed out at the world press, accusing reporters of blatant bias.

Well, joining me today, Robert Kaiser of the Washington Post and R. W. Apple of the New York Times. And, let's start with the man responsible for Israel's handling of the demonstrators, Defense Minister Rabin, who joins us today from Tel Aviv.

Minister Rabin, welcome. We are very glad to have you with us today.

MINISTER RABIN: Good morning to you.

MS. MITCHELL: Good morning. The first thing we'd really like to know, as the man really responsible for these tactics, since the United States and much of the world -- many of Israel's friends around the world have condemned the tactics, do you think the tactics have worked and the rioting is now over?

MINISTER RABIN: Well, it's very difficult to say what will be in the future. Basically, let's not forget that for 20 years, by Israel's decision, we left the political, legal status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip open without any unilateral Israeli decision to prove that the only way to solve the complex of issues eastward of Israel -- peace with Jordan, solution to the Palestinian problem -- open, to be decided in the only place where such solutions can be found, around a negotiation table. In the meantime, the territories are under military government and civil administration.

What we have to drive home to the minds, the hearts of the people of the Arab countries, their leaders, the Palestinians, that by wars, threats of wars, terror, public -- public disorder in a violent way they'll achieve nothing.

MS. MITCHELL: Well, Mr. Rabin --

MINISTER RABIN: This is our policy.

MS. MITCHELL: Well, let me ask you this, because many people around the world feel that this has been, for better or for worse, a public relations disaster for Israel and a great boon to the

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END

NBC/RABIN-12/27/87

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(LS)

Palestinians. Now, has this not helped the PLO and really made it much more difficult for King Hussein to get involved in the peace process and really set back the negotiations of which you speak?

MINISTER RABIN: Well, as you are aware, when there was an Arab leader who reached the conclusion that through use of war and terror nothing will be achieved he decided to embark on the course of peace by diplomacy. I refer to President Sadat of Egypt. And, for almost nine years there is a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and there are no problems.

Even before the last weeks -- few weeks there was an opportunity to the other Arab countries' leaders to join. They did not. While I understand that to see the pictures of violence, it's very unpleasant and painful one, but one has to ask himself what is the reason to the violence rather than to deal with the violence themselves.

MS. MITCHELL: Well, you say --

MINISTER RABIN: Therefore --

MS. MITCHELL: You say, sir, that there was an opportunity -- in fact, Prime Minister Shamir praised the results of the Amman Summit, the Arab Summit, saying that they were moderate in tone. They criticized Iran as the major external threat, not Israel.

Now, haven't you, in fact, by your tactics, forced the Arabs into a position where they will again renew their attacks on Israel, the rhetoric against Israel?

MINISTER RABIN: Well, I believe that the Amman Summit meeting of the Arab leaders' countries in way signaled to the Arab world and to the international community that

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(DM)

their main problem was the threat of Khomeinism from Iran and a continuation of the war between the Iraq and Iran. This was not an Israeli decision, this was -- the Arab countries made the decision. No doubt it was understood by many people all over the Arab world that peace with Israel is not the major issue that bothers most of the Arab countries leaders.

MR. KAISER: Mr. Rabin, let's talk about the Palestinian problem in a slightly longer-term context. In this morning's New York Times here, Professor Stanley Hoffmann from Harvard has written a tough article in which he says that either Israel will get rid of the occupied territories or else, and I'm quoting Hoffman, "or else Israel will become another South Africa, depriving the occupied Arabs of the rights Israelis enjoy, doomed to subjugating an alien population that might soon become the majority and driven toward ever harsher measures of repression or expulsion that make a mockery of Israel's original ideals and values." Is that the prospect ahead, and what can be done to avoid it?

MINISTER RABIN: First allow me to say, I reject out of hand any attempt to draw any parallel between South Africa and Israel. What are the purpose of the blacks in South Africa? To have the right for one man for one vote. Tomorrow, if we'll have Israel's sovereignty in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and we'll allow the full civil rights to every Palestinian who resides there, still it will be an overwhelming Jewish majority. Three and a half million Jews and two million Palestinians, those who are Israelis and those who reside in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Therefore, there is no question that anyone has got the right to draw a parallel to South Africa.

What is the real problem? We believe that in the long-run the Palestinian problem solution must be linked to peace with Jordan. Let's not forget that Jordan today is composed of about 60 percent of its present population of Palestinians who came there after 1948 and of course their decedents. Therefore, peace negotiations with Jordan means not only peace on Israel's eastern border, but also to find the solution to the Palestinian problem. We believe that in a context of a Jordanian delegation should be a Palestinian representation, no doubt of among those -- among them -- those who are residing in the territories because their fate and future will be decided there. The PLO is not going to be a partner from Israel's point of view.

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(SP)

MR. APPLE: Now, Mr. Rabin --

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MINISTER RABIN: I believe --

MR. APPLE: Mr. Rabin, excuse me, but we need to move along here. You have rejected out of hand any comparison to South Africa, but it is being said all over Europe, it is being said by leading Jewish spokesmen in the United States, it is being said by politicians in the United States, that South Africa can deal with these kinds of problems, the British government in Ulster can deal with these kinds of problems, even the Shah could deal with these kinds of problems, but somehow, you can't use rubber bullets, you can't use tear gas -- you have to kill people. Why is that?

MINISTER RABIN: Well, I believe that what we have tried and will continue to try in coping with violent public disorder with the minimum measures -- rubber bullets, tear gas -- but whenever our soldiers are endangered, their life is endangered, they are allowed to open fire with live ammunition.

MR. APPLE: Is this poor -

MINISTER RABIN: As the minister --

MR. APPLE: Is this poor riot training on the part of your soldiers? Are they really the kinds of people who should be dealing with this?

MINISTER RABIN: Well, Israel is limited in its resources, and I don't believe that we should have riot police. I believe that basically, the situation can be controlled and will be controlled. From time to time, unfortunately, we have to use live ammunition. We'll try to reduce it to the minimum.

MR. APPLE: Do you think that by --

MINISTER RABIN: Let's not forget --

MR. APPLE: Do you think that by using live ammunition -- excuse me for interrupting -- you are storing up a well of bitterness in this generation of people in Gaza and the West Bank, and in their children and in their grandchildren?

MINISTER RABIN: Well, I believe that the Arab-Israeli conflict has got long roots in the history, and unless there will be a political solution to use of force, or to prevent it by the use of force, will not help to bring better understanding.

MS. MITCHELL: Minister --

MINISTER RABIN: But the same time --

MS. MITCHELL: Minister Rabin --

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MINISTER RABIN: At the same time, don't forget that about 100,000 Palestinians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip today are working in Israel, entertain freedom of movement, no one checks their entrance to Israel, or going out from Israel, or moving from the Gaza Strip to the West Bank. Let's put it in the right proportion.

MS. MITCHELL: Minister Rabin, briefly, we only have a few seconds left. I am told that your own military intelligence is contradicting Israel's assertion that this was not spontaneous, that this was somehow sparked from the outside. But the military intelligence has told you that it was spontaneous, and then exploited by the PLO and other groups. Is that correct, sir?

MINISTER RABIN: Well, the basic tension is there because of the basic situation. The events of the last week started locally, spontaneously, and only after two, three days, the PLO and other terrorist organizations took a ride on the waves of the spontaneous activities.

MS. MITCHELL: Minister Rabin, thank you very much for joining us today.

MINISTER RABIN: Thank you.

END OF INTERVIEW





Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

## In Gaza: Israel's Only Choice

2/3

442 / 715

Its conquests in the Six-Day War of 1967 left Israel in what Abba Eban has called "a state of structural incoherence." Everyone knows it; no one really knows what to do about it.

The 20-year occupation of the Gaza Strip, peopled by hundreds of thousands of sullen and now rebellious Palestinian Arabs, is part of that legacy. So are the riots that broke out there two weeks ago and are now spreading through the West Bank.

Once you have reviewed these truisms, however, the real difficulties begin.

The United Nations Security Council and the U.S. State Department, always quick on the draw when Israel is besieged, are offering the usual admonitions. The State Department, for instance, deplors the use of live

ammunition in riot control. Who doesn't?

But in their immodesty, official U.S. spokesmen forget that not long ago we were grappling with not dissimilar riots and anguishing over the use of deadly force. Have Watts and Kent State been forgotten so soon? When civil order is under attack, its keepers, in most places and times, do what they must to restore it. This is not because they love repression. They do it from the sure knowledge that no grievance was ever settled by the appeasing of mobs.

In any case, Israel is far too strong and determined to be driven out of Gaza or the other occupied territories by gangs of rock-throwing boys. No near neighbor—certainly not Egypt, probably not the other Arab states

either—wants the Israelis to leave. Egypt could be administering Gaza now, as it did before 1967, and probably should be; but Anwar Sadat at Camp David wanted no part of that headache.

Gaza's squalid "refugee camps" are incubating their third generation of displaced Palestinians. These camps rank among the world's true hellholes, along with the slums of Calcutta and the South Bronx. These camps should and could have been dispersed long ago, their unfortunate peoples integrated into other lands and economies, were they not useful symbols of Palestinian irredentism.

In "Arab and Jew," David Shipler describes how Arab youngsters in Gaza cling to idealized images of the ancestral villages in old Palestine

their grandparents fled 30 years ago. "Paradise lost," he calls it. Rarely have any of them seen these places, though they easily could. It is the idyllic myth that counts—fuel for an unappeasable nationalism that grows more reckless as real memories fade with the generations.

In the long run, Israel will have to negotiate a peace settlement accommodating Palestinian Arab aspirations. Abba Eban, again, writes: "If we were to hear that the Netherlands was imposing an unwanted jurisdiction on 4 million Germans or that America proposed to incorporate 80 million Russians into the U.S. against their will, we would assume that they had taken leave of their senses. Yet some people still talk of Israel ruling a foreign population that accounts for

33 percent of its own inhabitants as if it were a serious option."

It is not a serious option. Nor is expulsion—Rabbi Kahane's brutal alternative—a serious option. Not while Israel remains Israel, anyway. None of these possibilities is consistent with Israel's historical identity or democratic values. The Afrikaner option is out.

What then is left? It is easy enough to concentrate on the symptoms and offer paper "solutions," as if Israel were in a position to do something immediate and dramatic. It is not— not so long as the Arab states refuse to deal realistically with the problem. There is only riot control. The less dramatic the riot control is, the better for everyone concerned.

The only thing worse than Gaza as

it is is Gaza as it might be if abandoned to the Palestine Liberation Organization. Judging by past performance, the PLO would do nothing but bully the people and turn the area into a platform for sabotage against Israel. That would only lead in turn to Israeli reoccupation and more bloodshed.

The truth is that for the moment Israel has no useful choice other than to police Gaza and the West Bank as firmly as required and as civilly as circumstances permit.

Meanwhile, Israel should resist the glib international clamor to renounce responsibilities no one else wants and no one else has ever discharged half as humanely. The situation in the territories seems the worst imaginable until you begin to examine the alternatives.

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3/3

442/715

**MARY McGRORY**

W.P.

**Israel's  
Shameful  
Iron Fist**

**Y**OU COULD comb the pages of the Congressional Record for the last 10 days of the session and not find a single reference to the shameful events unfolding in Israel and the occupied territories.

On the West Bank, Israeli soldiers have been clubbing unarmed teen-age Arab demonstrators into the ground. The week before Christmas, having terrorized relatives of patients who were waiting in the courtyard, Israeli troops stormed into an Arab hospital in Gaza and beat up doctors and nurses.

If the 21 killed and scores wounded had been Israelis, you can imagine the outcry. But the casualties were Palestinians, who are voiceless here, and the silence on Capitol Hill was awful.

"We were awfully busy getting out of there," said one member of Congress at a holiday party. "You know, we had contra aid and fairness and all that."

But another said more forthrightly, "Of course, nobody spoke out. We are too intimidated. We are afraid of the Israeli lobby. We are afraid of our Jewish constituency. Some of my Jewish voters are as appalled as I am at

See McGRORY, CB, Col. 4

Mary McGrory is a Washington Post columnist.

what's going on, but they don't dare speak out for fear of the others."

Of the presidential candidates, only Jesse Jackson has spoken out, citing a "betrayal of silence." He spent much of his 1984 campaign fighting charges of anti-semitism, and is not heeded.

Sen. Paul Simon said he would not hesitate to speak out on policy differences with Israel—but forebore to do so in the present instance. Michael Dukakis, who is often more sensible, said, "I think the Israelis can deal with these problems themselves."

That is manifestly not true. Israel badly needs help from her friends, friends who care enough to tell her she is doing everything wrong with the Palestinians, beginning with a refusal to acknowledge that there will never be peace until she deals with the problem of people who were there when the Israelis claimed their own homeland.

The Reagan administration, which is as permissive with Israel as its predecessors, felt obliged to condemn Israeli tactics, calling them "unacceptably harsh." But there was no threat to do anything about it. The president was even-handed in condemning both sides and said nothing about withholding any of the U.S. weapons and funds on which

Israel depends for her survival. Israelis made it official policy during their brutal 1982 invasion of Lebanon that words will never hurt them.

Inside Israel, there is silence. Those Israelis who protested the Lebanon adventure and its attendant barbarities have rallied round their weak leaders. Abba Eban long ago warned his countrymen that annexation of the occupied territories would give Israel the choice of either ceasing to be Jewish (because the Arabs would soon outnumber the Jews) or of ceasing to be democratic (because it dares not confer citizenship on an Arab majority).

In the U.S. Jewish community, which was torn apart over Lebanon, the hardshell loyalists are saying that the demonstrations are the work of "outside agitators" and that the unmasked teen-agers are "terrorists." The more moderate urge Israelis to admit that they have a fundamental problem of justice and decency.

The one thing that has caught the attention of the Israelis was a massive strike by Arabs living in Israel. It was, a resident Arab expert told *The New York Times*, "probably a shock." Israelis, who do not talk to Arabs much, found it hard to believe that Arabs who had been living quietly among them care more about their brother Arabs than their paychecks and their security.

The condescension is inescapable. It is part of the trouble. The Jews have never accepted the Arabs as human beings any more than the Arabs have accepted the existence of a Jewish state.

The Israelis occupied the conquered territories to secure their borders after their great victory in the 1967 war. The territories have been under military rule ever since. The Arabs, some of them living on family land owned for generations, can vote only in municipal elections. They have no self-government. Palestinian youths didn't need the PLO to point out that they were living under apartheid.

A bad situation was made worse by Menachen Begin, who harangued Jews about their God-given rights to the biblical lands of Judea and Samaria and accelerated the pace of Israeli settlement. The prospect of peace with a ratio, in Gaza, of 560,000 Arabs to 2,500 Jews is not powerful. Expulsion of the Palestinians, which is favored by the hard right, would not be tolerated; annexation is, for Abba Eban's reasons, unworkable. Negotiation is clearly the answer.

But as long as they can depend on U.S. aid and the silence of timid politicians, Israel is likely to pretend that no accommodation is necessary and, when human evidence to the contrary rises up, to go on clubbing it.

Handwritten initials: *ל.ר.ל*

סגירות ישראל - וושינגטון

ס.ר.ג. ס.ר.ג. ד.ד. 3. ד.ד. 3. ד.ד. 3.

אל: המשרד

67  
467

745

11  
3

סוג ושחריגים...  
דחפוח...  
מאריך ודתי...  
מסמכים...

אל : מנכ"ל מדיני  
מנכ"ל רה"מ  
לשכת שהבי"ט  
דע : סמנכ"ל לחצפ"א

גרושים - שיחה עם וילקוקס

הציר, כממונה זמני, זומן אל וילקוקס. נכחו היגש מגידם והז"מ

וילקוקס אמר שהממונה זומן למחמ"ד בענין הגרושים. מאחר מידיעות שונות הם למדים שיתכן שיהיו כאלה, וילקוקס אמר שאכן ישראל אחראית לחוק ולסדר אך הגרושים הם טעות והם צורת ענישה חמורה ביותר שנדיו שהיא מופעלה בעולם של היום.  
*It is wrong; it is extremely severe form of punishment, seldom used in today's world.*

אם מישהו עבר עבירה יש להעניש אותו אך שילוחו רחוק מביחו לצמיתות היא ענישה קיצונית שהניא על ישראל גינויים בינלאומיים. ענין הגרושים הובא בעבר למועבי"ט ואם יהיו גרושים במספר משמעותי הדבר ישוב למועבי"ט.

לדעת וילקוקס גירושים גם אינם מעודדים צמיחת מנהיגות חדשה אצל הפלסטינים שכולנו רוצים שתצמח. הגרושים יוכיחו שאין דרך שהפלסטינים והישראלים יקיימו הידברות ביניהם.

היום שגארה"ב, פיקרינג, נפגש עם שהבי"ט ונתן לו מסר דומה. אנו יודעים שאין עוד החלטה על גרושים ולכן פנו אלינו. טרם התקבלה החלטה בנדון.

ה צ י ר השיב שיעביר הבקשה. יהד עם זאת ענה :

(1) הגרושים הם אמצעי חוקי לפי מערכת החוקים הקיימים בישיע ואין אנו נכנסים לויכוח משפטי אם זה נוגד אמנה ג'נבה, אותה אנו מיישמים מבלי להיות חתומים עליה. הגרושים אינם איפוא ללא בסיס חוקי.

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1	4	3	4	1

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2  
B

ס.נ.ר.ג. 2.2.2

דפ... 2... מחור... דפ... 2.2.2

סווג בשחונזי... 2.2.2

דחיסות... 2.2.2

מארין וזיה... 2.2.2

מבוק

(2) כאמור, אין עדיין החלטה לגרש. מירדן נאמר שלא יקבלו מגורשים, אף כי המגורשים הם להלכה אזרחים ירדניים.

(3) הגרושים נעשים כאשר למגורש זכות הגנה משפטית לכל אורך הדרך כולל בג"ץ.

(4) השפעת הגרושים על המנהיגות המקומית הוא בהחלט נושא שפתוח לוויכוח. דווקא גרוש הקיצונים מבין מנהיגי ההתפרעויות עשוי לבודד את המתונים. מי שיוצא לרחוב ונוטל החוק לידינו חייב לדעת החוצאות ולשאח בענשים שאף אחד מהם אינו חדש וננקט בעבר.

וילקוקס ענה שאינם מתווכחים על זכותה של ישראל להגן על החוק והסדר. ההחלטה לקיים המשפטים במהירות הינה מעודדת כי הדבר אומר שנמנעים ממעצר מינהלי שהוא דבר שלילי.

ה צ י ר העיר שכבר ביום וי פנו אלינו אנשי הקשורה ושאלו אם ארה"ב פנתה אלינו בענין הגרושים.

וילקוקס אכן מצער שהתקשורת חייבת להיות ערה על כל מגע דיפלומטי. מכל מקום, אם אנו נשאלים אנו עונים שממשישראל מודעה לעמדתנו בענין.

בחשובה לשאלה וילקוקס על ההשלכות לטווח הארוך יותר. ענה הציר שיש צורך להחרתק מארועי השבועות האחרונים וכי אין חולק על כך בישראל שיש צורך במציאת פתרון. הציר עמד על כך שהחגובות הרשמיות של ארה"ב וחלק מהכיסוי באמצעי התקשורת אינם מועילים לטווח האורך ויש להם השפעה שלילית של "התקפלות לתוך הקונכיה". לגבי ההשפעה על הפלסטינאים השאלה כמובן היא מה יקרה לאוחת מנהיגות מתונה, אם היתה קיימת כזו, ואם אכן צמחה מתוך ההתפרעויות מנהיגות חדשה. לא ברור אם אכן קמה

כזו ואפילו אם נצא מנקודת הנחה שאכן קרה כדבר הזה, הרי שהיא תצטרך להוכיח לאוכלוסיה שיש ויכולתה למצוא תחליפים נאותים לכל מה שהם שוללים כגון עבודה בישראל. אם אכן קיימת מנהיגות מתונה הרי שדוקא אותה יש לחזק עכשיו בכל הצעדים שבמסגרת החוק. עוד טרם פרצו המהומות האחרונות היתה המנהיגות הזו במצב של איום מתמיד והא ראייה שכאשר שולץ ביקר לאחרונה בארץ וביקש להפגש עם אישית מקומיים והדבר לא עלה בידו משום מערכת האיומים מצד אש"ף והקיצונים.

ס ר ט ס  
ד.ף. 3... מתוך 3... דפים

סווג בשחוני... J. J. S. ?

דחיסות... מ. ד. ?

מאריך וצי"ח

מס' פברק

אלו

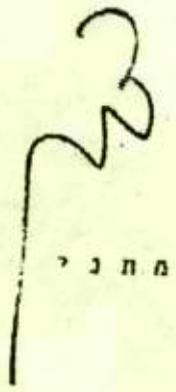
31  
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745 - P

467 - 67

ה ע ר כ ה :

- א. הבקשה שהועברה הייתה בטון מינורי .
- ב. התחושה היא שגרוש במספר קטן מתוך הנחה שלא ייעשה בצורה מחמשת ובמסגרת החוק לא יחקל ביותר מהתגובה שכבר נמסרה. יש להביא בחשבון מאידך המנעות במועבי"ט אם יהיה דיון והחלטה על גרושים.
- ג. הפקידות במחמ"ד כבר מתחילה לגשש על דרכי פעולה מדיניות. אף כי בווריס להם אילוצי המצב הפוליטי כאן ובארץ.



מ ח נ י

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

\* 17560

3667/3

\* תאריך : 25.12.87

\* דן 1 מחון 2

\* עותק 3 מחון 32

סודי ביותר

נכנס

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\* חרזם: 12,17560

\* אל: המשרד

\* מ-: רוש, נו: 705, תא: 241287, חז: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סב

\* נד: 8

\* סודי ביותר/מידוי

\* אל: מנכ"ל מדיני

\* דע - מנכ"ל ממהמ

\* אטמנכ"ל צמ"א -

\* פגישת ראשי מועדון הנשיאים עם סגן המזכיר ורויטהאז

\* משלחת של מועדון הנשיאים בראשות מזרית אייברס אשר  
\* כללה כ-35 מראשי האירגון נפגשה הבוקר עם סגן המזכיר  
\* רויטהאז

\* נכתב: - מרמי, וילקוקס והירש.

\* אייברס פתח בהצהרה שהיטה תמיכה במאמצי ישראל להרגיע  
\* את המצב בשטחים תוך הטלת האחריות הבלעדית על המסיתים  
\* והמתפרטים. בדבריו ביקר קשות הודעת הבית הלבן והודעת  
\* מחמ"ד וציון הסתייגותם ואכזבתם מעמדת הממשל.

\* בתגובתו ציין רויטהאז כי ודאי שמו לב שהודעת מחמ"ד  
\* הייתה יותר מאוזנת מהודעת הבית הלבן וכי על אן הבקורת  
\* - הידיווח והתמיכה בישראל-בממשל- איתנה. עם זאת המצב  
\* בשטחים היום מדאיג מאוד. ההמגנות לדעת ארה"ב היו  
\* סמבנטניות. הוא ביקר השימוש בנשק חם בנסיון לפזר ההמגנות.  
\* הוסיף כי זה נשנה שארה"ב ממליצה בפני ישראל לרכוש  
\* ציוד לטיפול בהמגנות וכי ישראל לא הגיבה להמלצות  
\* אלה. הם מבקשים שישראל תגלה התאפקות מירבית וטיפול  
\* בממגינים. לדברי רויטהאז מדינות אחרות מסעילות שיטות  
\* 'הומניות יותר' בטיפולן בהמגנות רבות משתתפים.

1947

1948

1949

1950

1951

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 2  
עותק 3 מתוך 32

\* בעקבות דבריו של וייטהאד התמתח דיון בו זחה אייבורס  
\* את הערותיו של וייטהאד על היחס הנוקשה מצד ישראל.

\* בחלק זה של השיחה ציין וייטהאד שעמדת ארה"ב היא שהסטטוס  
\* קרו אינו יכול להימשך ריש להפשיט את הקפאון ולהתחיל  
\* התהליך מחדש.

\* בתשובה לשאלה השיב מרמי כי אין לארה"ב מדיניות אחרת  
\* אלא 242.

\* בסיכום ציין וייטהאד כי על אף הסתם הנוכחי-ארה"ב לא  
\* תרפה לאינדיס אלה לקלקל היחסים המיוחדים עם ישראל.

\* בשלב האחרון של השיחה הוא פנה לנוכחים וציין כי מאחר  
\* וידוע לו כי השמעתם בישראל רבה וממשלת ישראל מגלה  
\* ארזן קשבת לדבריהם הוא קורא להם לפעול כלפי ממשלת  
\* ישראל כדי שהיא תמצא זרכים הומניות יותר לטפל במצב  
\* ולצמצם האלימות.

\* כמו כן פנה אליהם להביא את ממשלת ישראל המאוחדת לחידוש  
\* תהליך השלום ולטיין מחדש באפשרות כינוסה של ועידה  
\* בינלאומית.

\* ארן.==

\* חפ: שהח, רחמ, שהוט, ממנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רט, אמן, וירן, מצמא

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Reference is made to the report of the Special Agent in Charge, New York, dated 10/15/54, and the report of the Special Agent in Charge, New York, dated 10/15/54.

The above information was obtained from the New York office and is being furnished to you for your information.

Very truly yours,  
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosed for you are two copies of the report of the Special Agent in Charge, New York, dated 10/15/54.

Very truly yours,  
Special Agent in Charge

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Very truly yours,  
Special Agent in Charge

Enclosed for you are two copies of the report of the Special Agent in Charge, New York, dated 10/15/54.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

3264/1

\* 17557

\* תאריך: 25.12.71

\* דף 1 מתוך 3  
\* עותק 8 מתוך 12  
\* נכנס \*\*  
\* \*\*  
\* \*\*  
\* \*\*

\* חוזם: 12-17557

\* אל: המשרד

\* מ-: רוש, נר: 705, תא: 241267, זח: 1200, זח: מ, טג: טב

\* נד: 8

\* טורי ביוגר/מידוי

\* ראש הממשלה

\* מ'מ' רהמ' ושה'ח

\* ח.ר.1

\* הערכת המצב ולהלן התגובה ביומיים האחרונים של רגיעה  
\* בשטח לאחר האירועים של השבועיים האחרונים ביו"ש  
\* ועזה.

\* 1. ההשפעה המצטברת של זינוחי אמצעי-התקשורת מהארץ ובמיוחד  
\* התמונות הקשות והברוטליות אותן ראו צופי הטלוויזיה  
\* האמריקנית בתקופה הנל- השאירו משקע שלילי מאד על  
\* חדמיתה של ישראל בארה"ב.

\* הדעות הממשל-הן של הבית הלבן והן של מחמד-פורסטו  
\* לא בשל הערכת מצב פנימית של הממשל כי הדעותיהם יוכלו  
\* לתרום להוגעת הרוחות אלא יותר בתגובה על הלחצים שהופעלו  
\* עליהם כחוצאה מדיווחי אמצעי התקשורת ופניותיהם של  
\* שגרירי מדינות ערב-יודותיה של ארה"ב.

\* 2. אין לפרש היעדר התבטאויות מצד סנטורים וחברי קונגרס  
\* כהגנה או תמיכה בעמדתנו. חברי הקונגרס היו עסוקים  
\* במשעו הוגע האחרון לפני צאתם לפגרת חג-המולד בנושאי  
\* תקציו וכלכלה ומדיניות ארה"ב באמרי"ז.

\* התבטאויותיו של חבר הקונגרס לי המילטון שהיתה ביקורתית  
\* שיקפה לדעתו הלכי-רוח בקרב מרבית חבריהבית והסנט

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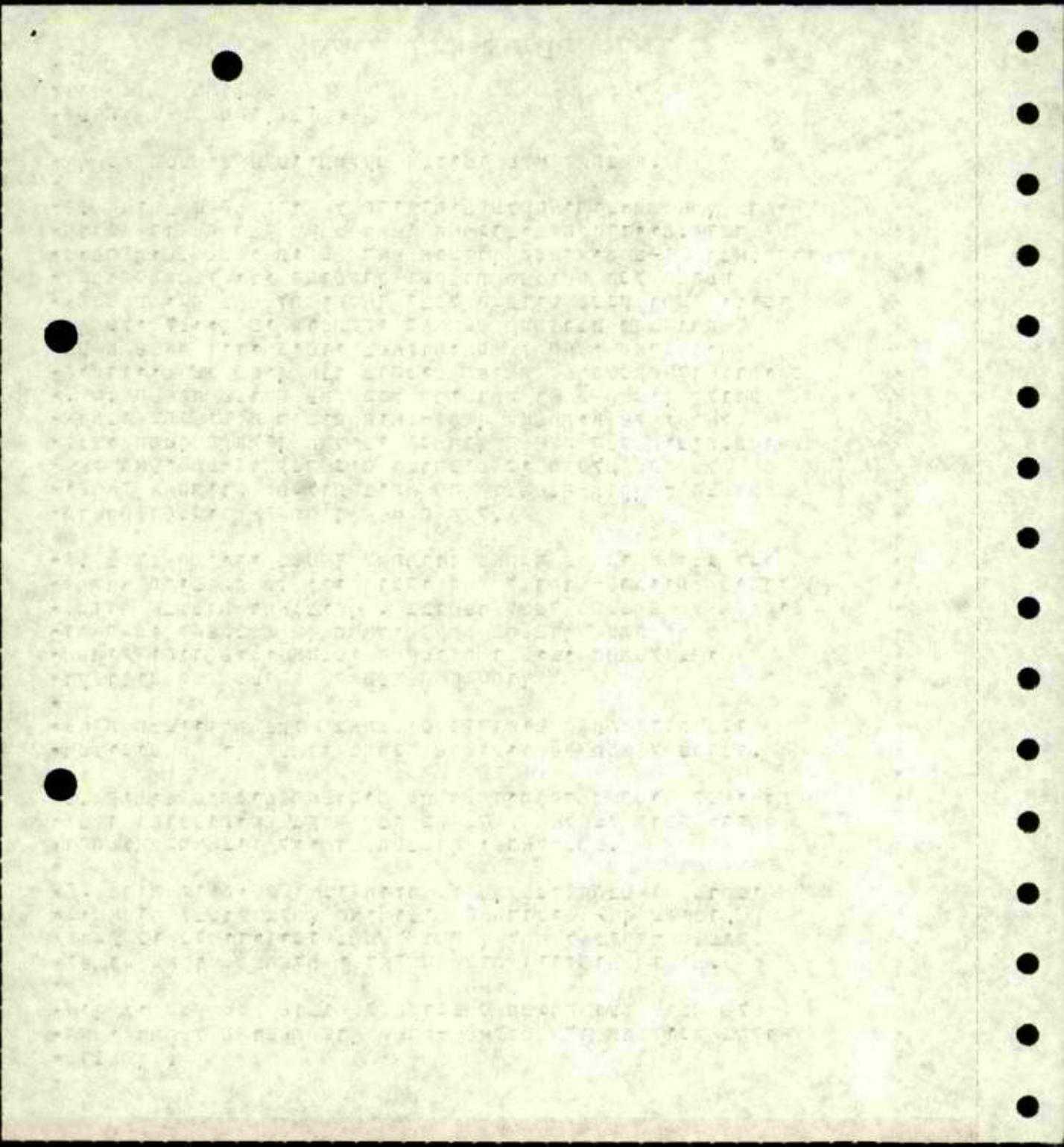
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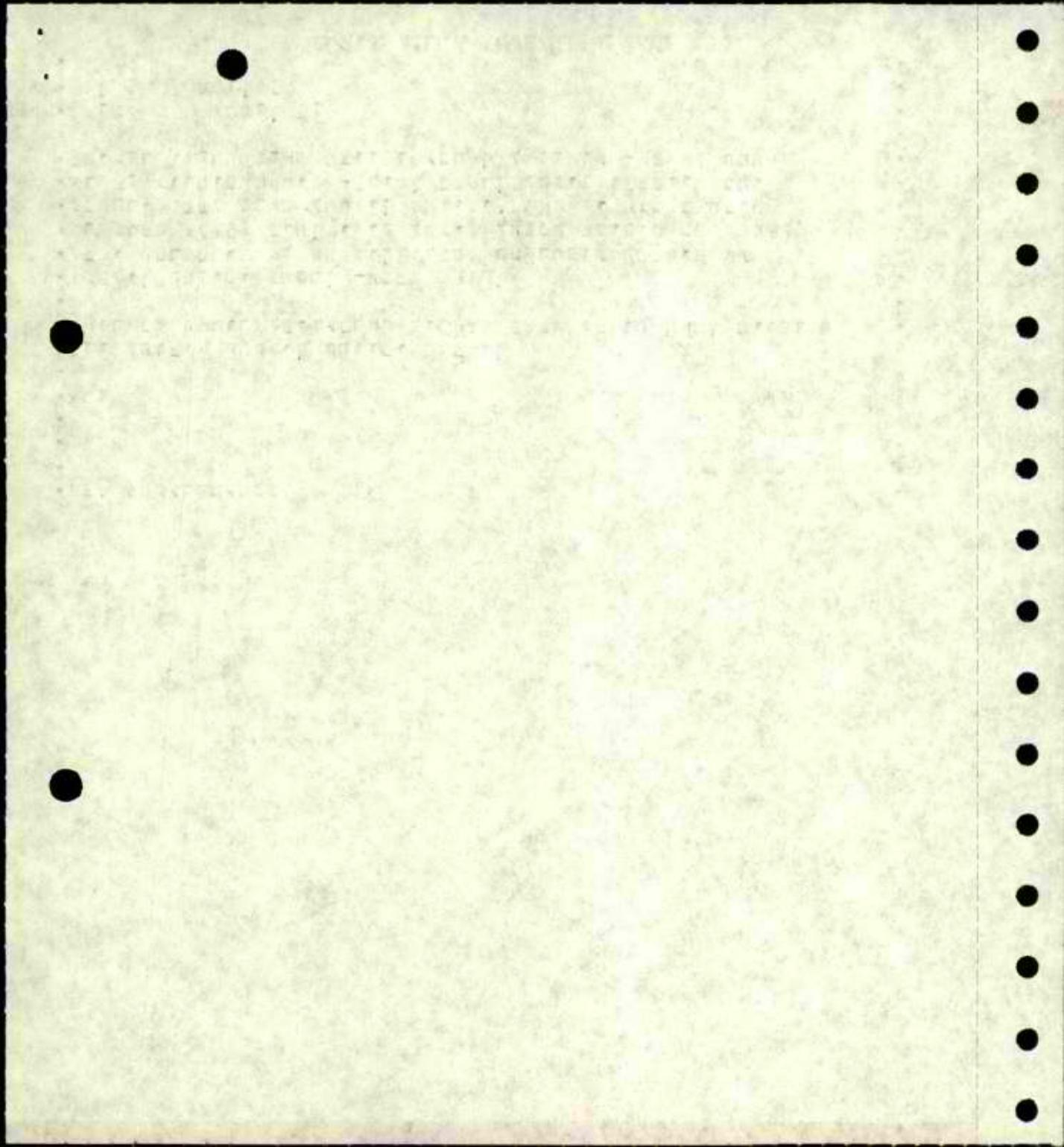
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שגרירות ישראל / נוטינגטון

דף מתוך דפים

אל: המשרד, בטחון, ניו יורק

סוג בטחוני בלמיס

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מס' מברק

אל: מצפ"א, מע"ח, הסברה

דע: י. רה"מ לתקשורת  
י. שהביט לתקשורת  
רמ"ח/קטי"ח  
ניו יורק

האמון  
החילוקי

עלון עיתונות יומי

NEWS SUMMARY DECEMBER 23, 1987

W

COLUMNS:

PATIENCE VS. PANIC; NYT; William Safire; Safire points out that the negative response to Israel's handling the situation in the occupied territories is not well justified as the rioters can make the authorities seem cruel and repressive on TV while their actions are not caught by the camera. Indeed all this finger-wagging at Israel allows Palestinian demonstrators to see that violence will pay off. Safire believes that the time will come when moderate Palestinian Arabs and Arab countries other than Egypt will seek pragmatic ways to achieve peace with Israel.

COMING CRISIS OF ISRAEL; WT; Patrick Buchanan; Buchanan questions whether Israel can remain both democratic and Jewish as it administers the occupied territories. Clearly the cost to Israel of maintaining the occupation is rising unacceptably as Palestinian nationalism is on the rise. Buchanan draws the parallel to the unfairness of the Soviet Union's dominance over many nationalist peoples.

ARAB SUMMITRY, US INTERESTS, AND ARMS SALES; CSM; Bill Taylor; Mr Taylor stresses that arms sales to moderate Arabs states in the Gulf do not pose a threat to Israel as Israel's military capabilities are far more advanced than the opposing Arab countries. Instead, the US should aggressively pursue the Arab-Israeli peace process begun at Camp David and support the ability of the Arab states in the Persian to defend themselves against Iranian conventional military threats, terrorism, and subversion. The US should sell to moderate Arab countries Stingers and F-15s and F-16s.

פירוש פירוש - ב) @ 250 1003 א 1

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## PRESS REPORTS:

ISRAELI FORCE EMBITTERS REFUGEES; WP; Glenn Frankel; The Balata refugee camp in the Gaza Strip is one of the places where the new round of Palestinian violence started. It is also one of the places where Israeli military authorities say they have brought things under control. Palestinian stories of how the Israeli Border Patrol raided homes and shot real ammunition are accounted through interviews with Palestinians by Frankel.

US CHIDES ISRAEL ON HANDLING RIOTS BY PALESTINIANS; NYT; David Shipler; p.1; After days of quiet and unsuccessful diplomatic appeals to Israeli leaders, the Reagan administration today issued an unusual public criticism of the "harsh security measures and excessive use of live ammunition" by Israeli troops who have been confronting Palestinian demonstrators. At least 22 Palestinians have been shot to death in the last two weeks by Israeli soldiers who were attacked with stones during protests in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The protests are widely regarded as the most

serious since Israel captured the territories in the 1967 war. The Reagan administration's criticisms of Israel came after frustration and concern over Israeli leaders' refusal to bend to pleas from Washington on methods of controlling the protests.

FRACTIOUS ISRAELI LEADERS ARE CIRCLING THE WAGONS; NYT; John Kifner; Two weeks of violent Palestinian protests have shaken many Israelis but have had little effect on the domestic political lineup. The reaction of the government in Israel has been somewhat unified - to rally in the face of an outside threat and defend the actions of the army.

US ABSTAINS AS UN VOTE RAULTS ISRAEL; WP; David Ottaway; p.1; The White House condemned both the violent Palestinian demonstrations in and Israel's "harsh security measures" in dealing with the territories while the US abstained as the UN Security Council approved a resolution deploring Israeli policies in the territories.

US CONDEMNS ISRAELIS' TACTICS; Phil; Inq;

HARSH RESPONSE TO ARAB PROTESTS STRONGLY CRITICIZED; Balt Sun; p.1;

ISRAEL STARTS CRACKDOWN ON PROTESTS; Phil; Inq; p.1; Israel shut down four Palestinian colleges and restricted a newspaper yesterday in the opening shot of a promised campaign to take harsher steps to crush the Arab disturbances.

US CRITICIZES ISRAEL, URGES END TO VIOLENCE; CSM; REUTERS

THREE PALESTINIANS DIE AS ISRAELIS PATROL DAY AFTER STRIKE; Balt Sun; p.1;

ARAB UNREST SPREADS INTO ISRAEL'S HEARTLAND; LA Times; Dec 22; p.1;

US CALLS ON ISRAEL TO CHANGE RIOT POLICY; Miami Herald; Dec 22

ISRAEL FAILS TO QUELL PALESTINIAN RIOTS WITH MORE TROOPS; WT; p.1; Israel sent hundreds of additional troops into the West Bank and Gaza Strip yesterday in an effort to put down violence in the occupied territories. The strategy failed when rioting led to another Palestinian death.

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US JEWS EXPRESS CONCERN: WP: American Jewish leaders said yesterday that continued violence between Israeli soldiers and Palestinian demonstrators could demoralize the Jewish community here and erode American support for Israel.

EGYPT THREATENS ACTION OVER ISRAELI CRACKDOWN IN OCCUPIED LANDS: CSM: Egypt is in an awkward position as the only Arab regime that has signed a peace treaty with the "predominantly Jewish state". Israeli actions of the past two weeks, analysts say, reinforce the Arab view that Egypt is unable to moderate Israel's policies or to bring about a settlement to the Palestinian problems, despite its diplomatic ties. Article describes reaction by Egyptian Foreign Ministry and the possibility of severed ties between Egypt and Israel.

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ISRAEL WILL PUNISH 9 OVER HANG GLIDER ATTACK: LA Times: Dec 22: UPI: Three army officers and six enlisted men will be punished for allowing an Arab guerrilla flying a hang-glider to attack an army base in northern Israel last month, killing six soldiers.

US AND ISRAEL SIGN AGREEMENT TO DEVELOP SECRET MISSILE: WT: Martin Sieff: The US and Israel will go ahead with joint development of Israel's Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) after agreeing on a cost-splitting formula, military sources said yesterday. Under the agreement, the US will pay 80% of the development costs and Israel will pay 20%.

FRENCH DEBATE ARMS SALES TO IRAN: NYT: France's arms dealings with Iran, which began in 1983 under Mitterand, continued as late as this summer under his political rival, Chirac, French newspapers reported today.

GERMAN TV HOST QUILTS OVER HIS NAZI PAST: NYT: The 74-year-old host of West Germany's longest-running television talk show resigned today, a week after a magazine reopened his past as a Nazi journalist.

IRAQI JETS STRIKE 4 TANKERS USED BY IRAN FOR STORAGE: AP: Iraqi jet fighters on a rare long-distance raid today bombed and set ablaze four supertankers used for storage at Iran's Larak Island oil terminal in the Strait of Hormuz.

SOVIETS CITE ARMS BAN AS TOPIC FOR GULF TALKS: WP: The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss an arms embargo against the warring parties in the Persian Gulf, Gorbachev told King Hussein today. Moscow has proposed sending a special UN naval force to the gulf to help end the 7-year-old war between Iran and Iraq...Gorbachev also stressed Moscow's interests in convening an international conference on Middle East peace and blamed the US and Israel for the lack of progress in convening it. Both Jordan and the Soviet Union condemned Israel for the violence in the occupied territories.

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אל: ממ'ד ערב 1

זע: שג' קהיר

מאת: אלי אבידן

מצרים

משיחה עם ג'רלד פיירסטון (מצרים / צבאי / NEA

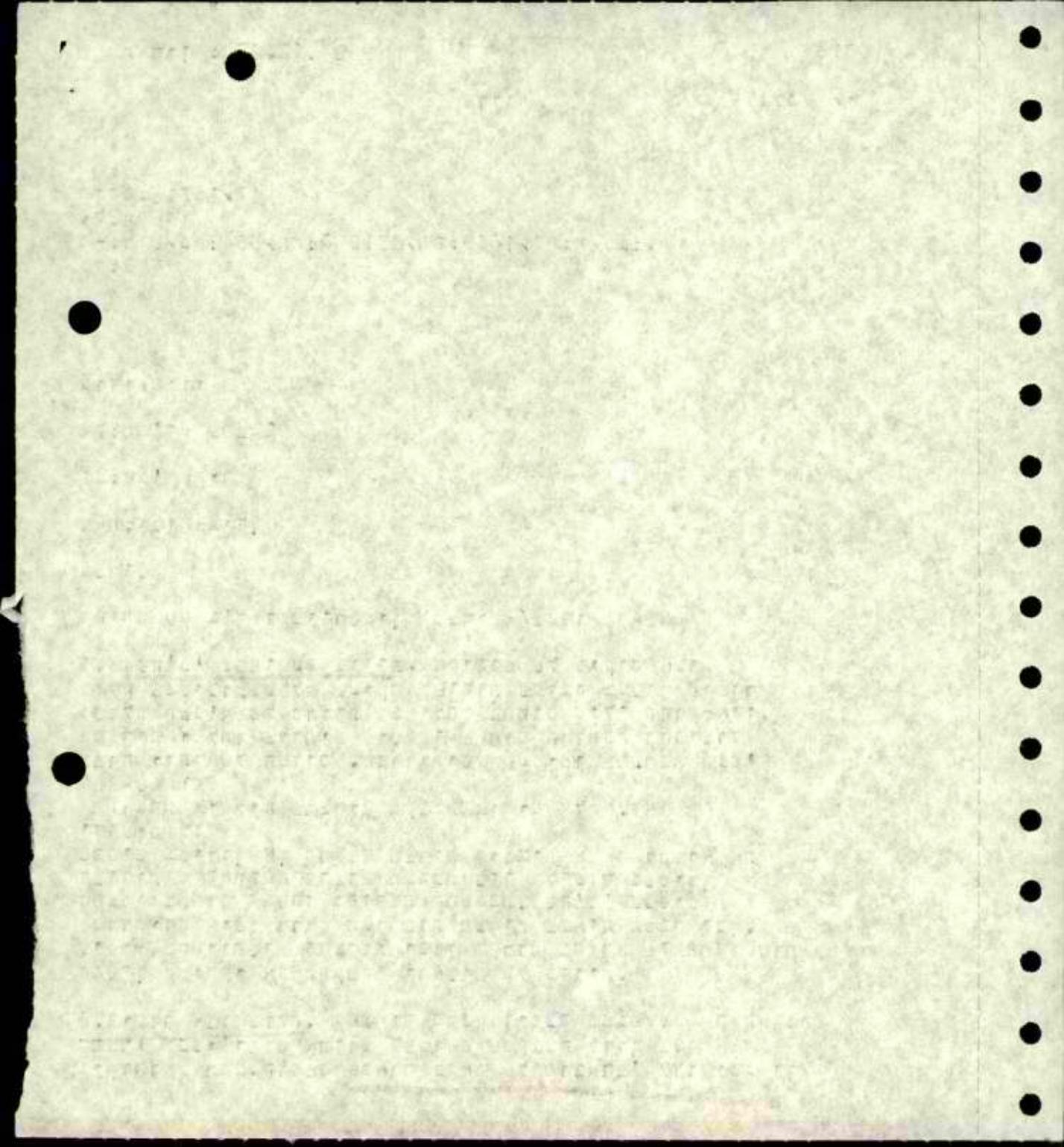
1. שה'מ' צבאי עם כוונת. מהיזום על ביקור אבו גדלה בנסיבות עולה שטיקור השיחות נסובו בענין שיפור יכולת הגנ'א של כוונת ובמיוחד בתחום טילי ההוק-איי. המצרים יפלתו צוותים שיעסקו בתחום ההדרכה והניצול בזה יותו של הכלים. הכוונתים התענינו במערכת הגנ'א

SKY GUARD

מתוצרת איטליה שמצרים מקבלת בימים אלה. לא ידועים לו

פרטים בנידון אך המלצה מצרית חיובית אפשר ותביא את הכוונתים להחלטה לרכוש מערכת כזו ולהעזר בנסיכון המצרי בתחום לימוד והדרכת המערכת. וטה'מ' בנסיבות הנוכחיות אינו רואה מעורבות מצרית צבאית מעבר לכך. שינוי בהחייחנות המצרית יכול לקרות במקרה של התמוטטות המערך העירקי או התקפה איראנית על כוונת.

2. ביקור אבו גדלה. השגריר פרנק ויזנר נפגש עם שר ההגנה מצרי לפני ימים אחדים לפגישה שנקבעה לדון בנושא ביקורו בארה"ב. הוטנס שלאור בואו של מובארק' לוושינגטון



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

צבוע השלישי של ינואר, יזחה ביקורו לחדשי האביב,  
זהיננו מרש-אמריל 68.

ההנחה המשותפת שאין טעם שיצטרף לנשיא מצרים שכן בכך  
חקטן האפשרות לדון עמו בשקט בנושאים סמציפיים. הדעה  
שמרבאדני יעסיק את הקונגרס ויאפיל על אספקטים אחרים  
של הביקור. נשיא מצרים יחתום על מזכר הבנה אסט' בדומה  
לזה שנחתם עם ישראל. אבו גזלה נכון לעכשיו יעסוק בשני  
נושאים מרכזיים (א) המשך הדיון בנושא ה-  
FMS קידום התכנית הנוגעת לטנק ה- MIAI

3. מיידיסטין מצוין שבנושא האחרון הושגה התקדמות בכך  
שהוטנס שטס היצור ב"גנרל דיונמיקס" המשמש את טנקי  
ה- M 60 המשופרים יתאם וישמש את הקר לטנקי ה- MIAI  
בשנות ה-90.

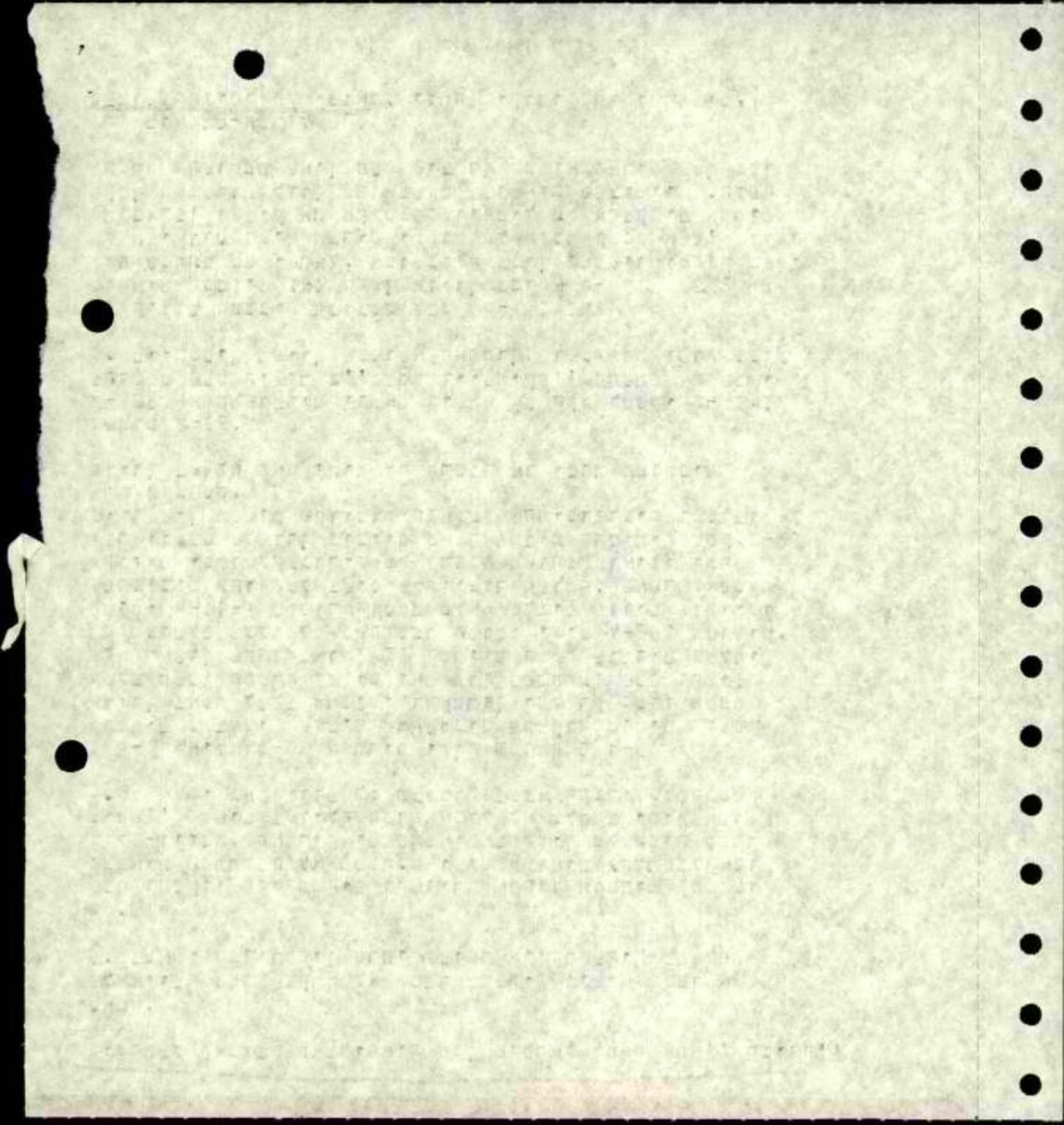
הדיון בשאלה האם יהיה זה הרכבה או יצור משותפים  
טרם הוכרעה.

מיידיסטין מטעים שהויכוח הוא על טרמינולוגיה ובסופו של  
דבר יוטנס על דרך ביניים כאשר מרבית מרכיבי הטנק, כ-70  
אחוזים ימלו לקטגוריה של הרכבה משותפת ואילו יתרת  
המרכיבים תהיה על בסיס של ייצור משותף. כאשר לאספקת  
מטוסי ה-F-16 בזכור הוטנס על 4 שלבים שונים, וזהיננו  
40 מטוסים בכל שלב כשהמספר הסופי יגיע ל-160 מטוסים.  
שלב ראשון שהחל באוקי 87 הסתיים ועתה עומדים בשלהי  
השלב השני המטרה לסיים זאת תוך כשנה עד שנה וחצי.  
הדיון באשר לשלב הרביעי והאחרון יחל רק בעוד מספר  
חודשים. בשני השלבים הראשונים סופקו מטוסים מדגם  
A ו-3 ואילו ה-80 האחרים יהיו מסדרת C ו-8

4. לשאלתי באם ידוע לו תגובות בצבא המצרי על הנעשה  
ביהש"ט השיב בשלילה בנושא כלל לא עלה בשיחות אבו  
גזלה-ויזנר. האמריקאים נמצאים בתהליך של הכרת הצמרת  
הצבאית שהתחלפה לא מכבר. האישים החדשים, הרמטכל אבו  
שנן ומפקדי חילות הים והאוויר לא היו מוכרים להם עד  
כה.

5. בצאתי ממיידיסטין סרתי למיטר אייקר שהיה במשלחת  
של אייב סופר שבקרה לא מכבר במצרים וישראל בנושא  
טאבה.

סיפר על האנזבה האמריקאית מכן שישראל זחתה את 'החבילה'



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

שארם הציעה באשר ליתרונות שישראל תקבל מהסדר שיושג מחוץ לפתוי ביה"ד הבינ"ל האמור להתכנס בסבי' 88. האמריקאים בדעה שלא ניתן ליישב הסוגיה ללא דיון בנושא הריבונות שתמורתה ישראל עשויה היתה לזכות בכמה יתרונות הנראים לרעה במקסימום שניתן להשיג ללא התווינות. המצרים שדעתם לא היתה נוחה מההצעה האמריקאית, בעיקר בנושא רשיונות מעבר, שיטור וכד' אן עקרונית היו מוכנים לדון בה ולדחותה נושא הבוררות למשך 60 יום.

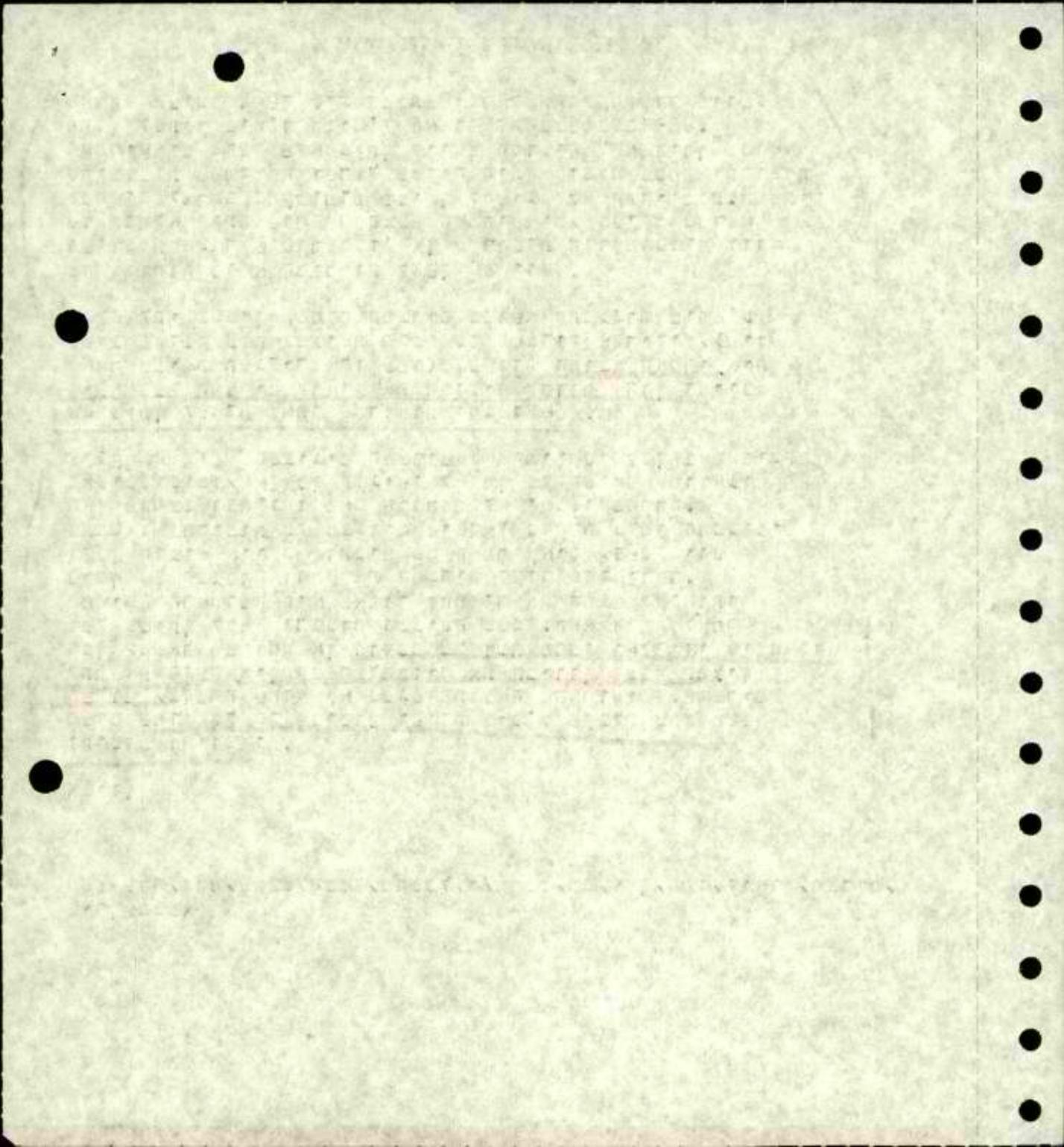
לשאלתי בעניין העמדה המצרים בנושא ההסגרות ביה"ש'ע השיב שהדבר עלה במגישת מרמי עם השגריר אלרידי, (מיד לאחר מגישת השגריר אדו עמו). נקודת המוצא האמריקאית היתה שעל המצרים לראות את הסוגיה לטובה ארוך דהיינו שה ניתן לעשות לאחר שהרוחות ירגעו שם.

איוקר הדגיש שהנציגים המצרים לא התייחסו לכך באם בדעתם להגיב וכיצד, אן כן הדגישו לאורך כל השיחה שמוזאגים מאד מהמצב ובמיוחד באם הרוחות לא ירגעו במהרה. התבטאו בחריפות על הצעדים שישראל נוקטת עלמי המגיינים ולכן הדגיש איוקר שותפים גם האמריקאים, ושכל יום נוסף של הסגרות דוחק את המצרים לקיר עוד יותר. המשימה הראשונה היא כאמור להתזיר את המצב לקדמותו ככל שניתן ללא קורבנות ומגיעה בנפש. השאלה מה לאחר מכן, נשארה פתוחה אן הוסכם על דעת מרמי ואלרידי שיוצרכו לתת את הדעת אין אפשר להתזיר את הבוררות לעבר תהליך השלום, בהנחה שהוא לא נפגש כתוצאה מהארועים. המצרים מצדם עמדו על כך שרינוס ושירות בינ"ל מקבלת עתה משכה זחיפות רחיוניות.

אבידן

תס: שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרנז, רס, אמן, תמד, ליאור, מצריס,  
בירן, מצפא

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המשרד

אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א  
מנהל מצפ"א

הודעת הבית הלבן

לאחר בקשתי לתקן את ההודעה חזר דניס רוס אלי היום לאחר שהוארד בייקר "אהב" את ההודעה ולכן לא ניתן היה להשיג תיקון אצל דובר הבית הלבן. מאידך חפנה את השומת לבי להודעת דובר מחמ"ד בנסינון לאזן יותר את הדברים.

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ת"ח: <b>מה</b> סוג כסחוני:	<b>מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק</b> <b>טופס מברק</b>	ת"ר: <b>11</b> מתור:
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נר : <b>0689</b> <b>147</b>	ר ע : יועץ תקשורת לרה"מ, יועץ תקשורת לשהב"ס, לע"מ, דו"צ, קש"ח וושינגטון	
<b>16</b>	מאת : <b>עתונות, ניו-יורק</b>	

15 miles from New York City, or on Long Island.

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23/12

# CRITICISM OF ISRAEL SHARPENED BY U.S. ON ARAB PROTESTS

## EXCESSIVE FORCE IS SEEN

### Washington Declines to Use Veto to Block Resolution in the Security Council

By **DAVID K. SHIPLER**  
 Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22 — After days of quiet and unsuccessful diplomatic appeals to Israeli leaders, the Reagan Administration today issued an unusual public criticism of the "harsh security measures and excessive use of live ammunition" by Israeli troops who have been confronting Palestinian demonstrators.

The statement, read by the White House spokesman and echoed in milder terms by the State Department, came hours before the United States

declined to use its veto and allowed passage of a United Nations Security Council resolution deploring Israeli actions. The vote was 14 to 0, with the United States abstaining. [Page A6.]

Explaining the decision to abstain, Herbert S. Okun, the American representative, described Israeli measures in the occupied territories as "unacceptably harsh."

#### 22 Palestinians Killed

At least 22 Palestinians have been shot to death in the last two weeks by Israeli soldiers who were attacked with stones during protests in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The protests are widely regarded as the most serious since Israel captured the territories in 1967. Showing signs of extensive planning, the demonstrations have taken on unprecedented scope, involving large numbers of Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza, and also in East Jerusalem and within Israel's pre-1967 borders.

The violence has caused concern in the Reagan Administration, which faces its last year in office without having made clear gains in the Middle East peace process and with no concrete prospects for any.

תאריך: 23.12.87 עם השולח: **פול ג'יימס**, אישור: **1512**

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**Previous Support for Israel**

Paradoxically, an Administration with a record of practically unquestioned support for Israel has found its leverage on this issue almost nonexistent, especially given its aversion to threatening any reduction in the American military and economic aid on which Israel depends.

The Administration's criticisms today appeared designed to chart a middle path between inaction that would damage ties with Arab countries and overreaction that might risk damaging the Israeli-American relationship.

Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, blamed the Arabs as well, saying, "Both sides share a responsibility for this violence." He also condemned the Israeli occupation, the effects of which "are not felt in the territories alone," he said, but "also damage the self-respect and world opinion of the Israeli people."

**Frustration in Washington**

The Reagan Administration rarely criticizes Israel publicly and tried to avoid doing so on this occasion. But American officials were reported to have felt frustration and concern over Israeli leaders' refusal to bend to pleas from Washington on methods of controlling the protests.

At least three State Department officials made specific requests to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin to avoid using

*Continued on Page A6, Column 3*

**Continued From Page A1**

lethal ammunition and make more use of rubber bullets, tear gas and water cannons instead, an Administration official said. In addition, officials reportedly renewed a longstanding suggestion that Israel to train an elite force of riot policemen rather than rely on ill-trained troops.

Often, soldiers and border policemen are sent to riot areas with no weapons other than their automatic rifles, and some have said that they find facing mobs of rock-throwing demonstrators more frightening than their experiences in combat.

**Conflicting Pressures on U.S.**

In the last two weeks, as the demonstrations have spread, the Administration has come under conflicting pressures from both Israel and Arab governments, an official said. Israel urged strongly that the United States use its veto to block the Security Council resolution, as Washington usually does with measures critical of Israel. Consequently, American officials expect Israel to interpret the abstention as a slap in the face.

By the same token, the official said, Egypt and other Arab governments have been lobbying for American intervention to force restraint on the Israelis.

Inside the Administration, officials

## Washington abstains on U.N. resolution.

have debated the appropriate action, with some Middle East specialists reportedly advocating a personal approach to Israeli leaders by Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Mr. Shultz has left the matter to his subordinates.

Last week, Michael H. Armacost, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, and Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, met separately with Mr. Rabin, who was in Washington, to discuss the behavior of Israeli troops. Monday, the United States Ambassador in Israel, Thomas R. Pickering, met with Prime Minister Shamir, but reportedly got no satisfaction.

### 'Negative Consequences' Cited

"I think that people understand the limitations of what you can do because of the special nature of the Israeli-American relationship," said a well-placed Administration official. "But there are long-term negative consequences."

Speaking anonymously, and apparently reflecting a consensus among

Government Middle East specialists, he criticized Israeli authorities for their frequent statements that Arabs understand only force. "After 40 years of living with Israeli Arabs and after 21 years of West Bank Palestinians and Gazans living under their control, they still have not learned to deal with these people as people," he said. "They're not dealing with them on an equal plane. They don't know each other; they don't talk to each other — ever."

Administration officials also expressed concern over the effect of the clashes on peace efforts. As dormant as the process has been in recent months, Middle East specialists believe firmly that a semblance of motion has to be maintained; otherwise, they fear, a sense of stagnation and despair will ignite further violence, perhaps even a military conflict.

"Beyond the impact on individual Palestinians and Israelis," Mr. Fitzwater said, "the continuing violence undermines prospects for serious attempts at economic progress in the territories and the broader peace process."

Phyllis Oakley, a State Department spokeswoman, made a statement that was less pointed in its criticism of Israel. "As we have said since this violence and counterviolence began," she declared, "there is a need for restraint by all parties and a common commitment to deal with the underlying problems and frustrations."

"Neither further disorder nor harsh security measures can contribute to reconciliation, negotiation and peace," Mrs. Oakley said.

At the White House, Mr. Fitzwater declared, "Demonstrations and riots on one side, and harsh security measures and excessive use of live ammunition on the other, cannot substitute for a genuine dialogue."

## China Said to Hold 2d Man Tied to Dissident Magazine

BEIJING, Dec. 22 (Reuters) — The police have detained a second man connected with a New York-based dissident magazine, China Spring, Western diplomats in Shanghai said today.

The Shanghai newspaper Liberation Daily identified the man arrested as Qian Da but gave no details, they said.

The diplomats quoted the paper as saying he was arrested Monday when he tried to enter a court where the other man linked to China Spring, Yang Wei, was sentenced to two years in prison for inciting protests. Mr. Yang, an American-educated student, was convicted of conducting "propaganda for counterrevolutionary ends," the official New China News Agency said.

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# U.N. Council 'Deplores' Israeli Actions in Unrest

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**By PAUL LEWIS**  
Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Dec. 22 — With the United States abstaining, the Security Council adopted a resolution today strongly deploring Israel's handling of the disturbances in the occupied territories.

All 14 other Security Council members voted in favor.

The resolution hammered together over several days of negotiation, "strongly deplores" Israeli policies and practices in the occupied areas that "violate the human rights of the Palestinian people, and in particular the opening of fire by the Israeli Army, resulting in the killing and wounding of defenseless Palestinian civilians."

It also calls on Israel to provide Palestinians in these areas with the protection guaranteed civilians in war under international conventions.

### 'Maximum Restraint' Sought

It calls for "maximum restraint" and asks the Secretary General to examine the situation in the occupied territories "by all the means available to him" and report back to the Security Council by Jan. 20 with recommendations on improving the safety of Palestinians living there.

The resolution is virtually identical to one that the Security Council was to have considered Monday. A last-minute attempt by representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization to toughen the resolution caused that meeting to be adjourned.

After first dropping its objections again today, the P.L.O. made another attempt to stiffen the resolution this evening. Action was delayed again while centrist Arab countries persuaded the organization to soften its position, diplomats said.

American and other diplomats said they thought the P.L.O. wanted to provoke the United States into vetoing the resolution in a bid to identify the Reagan Administration more closely with Israeli policies.

### Criticism by U.S. Delegate

Explaining the decision to abstain, Herbert S. Okun, the American representative, described the measures taken by Israeli security forces to restore order in the occupied territories as "unacceptably harsh." He also said the Reagan Administration believed the riots and demonstrations were "spontaneous expressions of frustration and not externally sponsored."

But he said the United States was abstaining rather than voting for the resolution because it contained "generalized criticism of Israeli policies and practices" and also because it ignored dangers and provocations faced by Israeli security forces.

Arab diplomats generally said they saw the American abstention as

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equivalent to a vote in favor of the resolution and thus a condemnation of Israel. "Abstaining is almost tantamount to voting for, in the American political context," said Clovis Maksoud, the permanent Arab League observer.

Israel rejected the resolution "in its entirety," saying it does not constitute "a reasonable and balanced attempt to address the issues at hand."

Israel's deputy permanent representative, Ambassador Yohanan Ben-El-Mechaieq, told the Security Council that the riots had been instigated by the P.L.O. in order to "prolong and justify a one-sided political debate against my country."

In December 1986 the United States abstained on a Security Council vote deploring the shooting of civilians by Israeli security forces during riots at Bir Zelt University in the West Bank. The United States also abstained in September 1985 when the Security Council criticized Israel's air attack on the P.L.O.'s headquarters in Tunisia.

The resolution today is softer than earlier drafts supported by the P.L.O., which called for "condemnation" of Is-

**The P.L.O. fails to get stronger wording, and the U.S. lets the measure pass.**

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rael and asked the Secretary General to send a special envoy to the occupied territories to help assure the safety of Palestinians there.

The vote today was taken after a confusing diplomatic tussle that began Monday when the P.L.O. and hard-line Arab countries sought to toughen the resolution so that the Reagan Administration would be forced to veto it.

The Security Council assembled Monday in the belief that the Arabs had accepted a resolution virtually identical to the one approved today. But as the Council members arrived the compromise fell apart, with the P.L.O. insisting on tougher language. The meeting broke up in confusion.

Much the same thing happened again today. At midday, when the Security Council meeting was called, members say, they understood that the P.L.O. had dropped its objections and would endorse a text that the rest of the Council would approve with the United States abstaining.

However, new last-minute P.L.O. objections produced a long delay before the meeting finally opened, as Arab delegates sought a new consensus.

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ESSAY | Willam Safire

NYT 23/12

0689

147/16 Patience vs. Panic

**O**ur knee-jerk reaction to pictures of soldiers manhandling demonstrators is to regard the soldiers as brutal and the rioters as heroic. That's not always true.

In Gaza and the territory west of the Jordan River, a score of Palestinian Arab demonstrators have been killed in recent weeks. The bloodshed began with the stabbing of an Israeli and escalated when a traffic accident killing four Arabs was misperceived as retaliation.

As in 1976 and 1981, the disorder has reached deep inside Israel. Arabs holding Israeli citizenship went on strike and demonstrated to show solidarity with their brethren who want to create a Palestinian state out of land within artillery range of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Poignantly, during Christmas season, the violence has affected celebrations in places like Nazareth and Bethlehem.

What brought on the rioting? Gaza is overcrowded and poor, as it has been for years, under both Arab and Israeli rule. And the P.L.O., frustrated by its impotence in the Arab world, foments uprisings and terror, but that is nothing new.

Added to the usual elements is this: Demonstrations often start and grow because the demonstrators see some chance of success. Palestinian Arabs, sensitive to any lack of resolve in Israel, are aware of the divisions in the coalition Government over the calling of a conference that would surely end in major territorial concessions.

Moreover, rioters — including Iran-sponsored terrorists to whom death is not a deterrent — have noted increased Israeli concern for world opinion. Israel is not the Soviet Union or Syria or South Africa, where coverage of ruthless crackdowns is

Why  
time is on  
Israel's side.

blacked out. Demonstrators know that the heaving of a Molotov cocktail is rarely if ever caught by the camera, but the subsequent subduing of the bomb thrower makes the authorities look cruelly repressive on front pages and television. Reprisals to terrorist attack have been restrained, creating an illusion of weakness.

Add to this the urging of police restraint by the U.S. State Department, plus finger-wagging by U.N. nations that machine-gun demonstrators within their borders, plus the hand-wringing of well-meaning Jewish leaders safe in America who are all too ready to ignore Israeli security needs — and we can see why many Palestinian demonstrators are not crazy to hope that violence will pay off.

To enumerate these unintentional incentives to violence is not to call for ruthlessness in the suppression of disorder. The purpose is to find the least worst course in a situation that offers no best course — to find a way least likely to result in the loss of Arab life or the loss of Israeli freedom.

Most Israelis think, with good reason, that a P.L.O. state at their throat would be intolerable, and that territorial concessions in that direction now would only serve to whet the radical Arab appetite. It is not paranoid to think that the P.L.O. and most

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Arab totalitarian regimes want to drive the democratic Jewish state out of the Middle East; it is dangerously irresponsible to assume that today's Palestinian Arab nationalists would be satisfied with a slice of arid land looking at Israeli greenery.

Most Israelis refuse to believe that they are limited to the Three Terrible Choices: (1) ruling over a colony of rightly resentful, disenfranchised Arabs on the West Bank and Gaza; (2) absorbing all those Arabs into an Israel that would ultimately lose its Jewish identity, or (3) driving them across the Jordan River into a Palestinian state on the East Bank.

Another choice will emerge. In time, realistic Arab rulers beyond Egypt will stop trying to distract their people from internal inequality by perpetuating their "holy war." In time, Arab residents of lands adjacent to Israel's borders will be induced to follow pragmatic local Arab leaders who deliver real economic gains rather than submit to intimidation.

Which is wiser — to bet that time is on the side of terror or on the side of reason? Most of Israel's Jewish citizens want to let historical reality take root. That is why they are prepared to deal sternly with disorder within their borders and are likely to begin deporting West Bank troublemakers to the East Bank. That is why they sit tight, behind defensible borders, and await the generation of Arabs who will accept autonomy without sovereignty over disputed lands.

The hard-working, intelligent Palestinian Arabs, long despised and used as pawns by a hostile Arab world, are not destined to be ruled over or absorbed or dispossessed by Israel. They can be lived next to, when they are ready to deal. □

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NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23,

## DIVIDING LINE

# ISRAEL'S COMING PALESTINE CRISIS

**S**OME day, we will beg someone to take this place off our hands, an Israeli military editor remarked bitterly the other day.

He was speaking of Gaza, the tiny strip of Mediterranean coastal land, 28 miles long and six miles wide, wedged between Egypt and Israel, into which are packed some 650,000 Palestinians, a forgotten and impoverished people who became Israel's charges 20 years ago in the aftermath of the Six-Day War.

The fortnight of rioting in Gaza, in which more than a dozen Palestinians have been shot to death, has ripped the bandages off the deepest wound in the Israeli body politic; it has put on the table — perhaps for decision this time, and not just debate — a question that goes to the depth of Israel's soul:

Can Israel remain both democratic and Jewish?

Can Israel rule indefinitely over a million-and-a-half Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza, while denying them the basic rights of Israeli citizenship?

Meir Kahane, the Jewish Defense League extremist, whose "solution" to the Palestinian problem is the expulsion of these people from lands their families have farmed for a millennium, has at least addressed the problem.

The coming crisis of the Israeli state, then, the focus of which is now Gaza, can be summarized in a few words: Israel cannot hold on to the Gaza Strip, and she cannot let go.

Defense Minister Rabin sees three options:

- Israel can annex the

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PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

tiny enclave, and make its 650,000 hostile Palestinians citizens of the Israeli state.

● It can turn Gaza loose, which would bring into being a tiny, independent nation proclaiming itself the "liberated zone" of Free Palestine.

● It can maintain the status quo — a military occupation increasingly ruinous to its reputation in the West and corruptive of its soul.

"This is the beginning of the Palestinian state!" an Arab in Nazareth shouted into the television cameras the other night. No matter the PLO incitation of the Gaza riots, or the direction and support they may have gotten from Tripoli or Baghdad, that statement may not be too far off.

Clearly, the cost to Israel of maintaining the occupation is rising unacceptably — and not only in dollars.

Nationalist militancy and Islamic fervor are growing with each riot; there is a new willingness on the part of the Palestinian young to battle Israeli Army and police; the Jewish people are

increasingly disunited and dispirited by the oparsening occupation; solidarity with the rioters is manifest and growing in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, Lebanon, even in Arab communities inside Israel itself.

The crackdown in Gaza is also forcing a new breach with Egypt, with the U.S., even with parts of the American Jewish community.

While the Labor Party of Foreign Minister Peres has indicated that the future of Gaza, the West Bank, even East Jerusalem, is all negotiable, Prime Minister Shamir's right wing has shown only intransigence.

And that intransigence is rooted in the belief, not unjustified, that turning Gaza loose risks the emergence of a revanchist Palestinian state cheek-by-jowl with Israel and, one day soon, the arrival of Iranian and Soviet advisers in Gaza



### It cannot hold on to Gaza, and cannot let go

towns as close to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv as Dulles airport is to Washington.

In urging friends and allies to be bold, to reach out and take the hand of hostile neighbors, we Americans have a soothing phrase: "You must take risks for peace." We like to say. Among those we have lately counseled to take such "risks" have been the Shah of Iran and President Thieu of South Vietnam.

Nevertheless, it seems self-evident that the Israeli occupation of Gaza cannot long continue.

This is not 1948 or 1967; politically, the Palestinians are now an awakened people; either Israel will have to put them under a permanent state of siege, or let them go.

Annexation of so hostile a population seems out of the question; Israel democracy would choke to death digesting the Gaza Strip.

From South Africa to the West Bank, from Afghanistan to Yugoslavia, race and tribe, nation and faith remain the dominant forces in the 20th Century.

More and more, they are centrifugal forces, pulling apart the multi-ethnic societies and states of the Second and Third World, as they once pulled down the Western empires.

Certainly the Israelis, whose own country was born of an emergent 20th Century nationalism called Zionism, can recognize what is happening in Gaza. No matter how unattractive or frightening Palestinian nationalism may appear, it is a part of the future.

And no one should be viewing that future with greater consternation than Mikhail Gorbachev.

As he sits uneasily in Moscow atop a global Communist empire that contains and confines tens of millions of disbelieving and recalcitrant Moslems and Catholics, Uzbeks and Ukrainians, Poles and Hungarians, perhaps, like Scipio Africanus standing atop the ruins of Carthage, he can limn the outlines of his own country's future.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1987

# Fractious Israeli Leaders Are Circling the Wagons

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Dec. 22 — Two weeks of violent Palestinian protests have shaken many Israelis but have had little effect on the domestic political line-up.

The major immediate reaction of the often fractious coalition Government has been to rally in the face of an outside threat, and defend the actions of the army.

"Those who participate in violent demonstrations must know they are taking a serious risk on themselves," Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin told reporters as he toured Gaza this afternoon.

Israeli soldiers shot and killed a 19-year-old Palestinian demonstrator today in a confrontation with a rock-throwing crowd in the Jabaliya refugee center in the Gaza Strip. And a Palestinian who was wounded earlier died today, raising the death toll to at least 22 in the two weeks of violence.

## Arabs Return to Work

A day after hundreds of thousands of Arabs observed a general strike in the occupied territories and Israel proper, most Palestinians returned to work today, although many towns in the territories observed commercial strikes.

Scattered demonstrations broke out in the West Bank, but an increased army presence appeared to keep many areas relatively quiet. Announcing the reinforcements Monday night, the military command said that its forces had been restrained and that the restraint had been misinterpreted as weakness.

The military tonight barred Al Quds, the largest Arab newspaper, from circulating in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for the next month.

Defense Minister Rabin, a member of the Labor Party, was in Washington during most of the clashes, but declared on his return Monday night that he intended to "adopt steps that will improve order, even if those are painful and will not gain us sympathy in the world."

Another member of the Labor Party, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who earlier caused a furor with a suggestion that the Israeli Army pull out of the Gaza Strip, refrained from public criticism of his rival in the governing coalition, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of the Likud bloc.

"There are disagreements and arguments, but not on the subject of the struggle against terrorism, and not on the subject of preventing blood from spilling and keeping people safe," Mr. Peres said tonight.

## 'Stubbornly Unchanged'

Hanoch Smith, perhaps Israel's most respected pollster, suggested in an interview that the events would have little impact on domestic politics.

"Over all, the picture is stubbornly unchanged," he said. "It is a phenomenon that, when the central Government

**Likud and Labor  
politicians defend  
army's actions.**

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is threatened by violent activities, there is a tendency to support vigorous action. The forces for a harsher line will be more widely heard."

The Israeli right, relatively silent for the last few days, reacted strongly today to the Palestinian protests, particularly to the strike by Israeli Arabs — those who live within Israel's pre-1967 borders and are Israeli citizens.

"The time has come that we, as Jews, first of all should see our rights and our wants to realize our own nationalist desires." Trade Minister Ariel Sharon said, telling reporters that Israelis should stop worrying about how the outside world viewed them.

Ehud Olmert, a Likud member of Parliament close to Mr. Shamir, said that "force must be met with force." He expressed concern that Israeli Arabs might seek to join their areas to any Palestinian state that might be formed.

"Anyone who talks about compromises in Hebron and Nablus is talking about compromises in Jaffa, in Ramla, in Lydda and Jerusalem — there is no difference." Chaim Druckman, another rightist legislator, said today in Parliament.

Roni Milo, a Likud member and Mr. Shamir's adviser on Arab affairs, said the general strike by Israeli Arabs meant that "a longstanding coexist-

ence within the state of Israel is now being put to the test."

One Israeli not surprised by the recent events was Meron Benvenisti, the director of a research group that had made a series of studies critical of Israeli occupation policies.

"We have recreated the old nation of Palestine — the community of Palestinians struggling against the community of Jews," he said. "It's a tribal war. The situation in Gaza is a time bomb — we said it again and again."

#### A Shock to Israelis

Clinton Bailey, an Israeli expert on Arab affairs, said in an interview that the strike on Monday was "probably a shock" to many Israelis.

The Israelis, he said, saw "that Arabs could get their act together to that extent, that they could act with that sense of impunity, not worrying about the economic consequences or even the physical consequences."

Zeev Schiff, a respected military analyst, suggested that the strike by Israeli Arabs indicated that more trouble was in store for Israel.

"This is the first time that the Israeli public has actually seen there is some kind of mutuality between events in the territories and what takes place among Israeli Arabs," he said.

Yoel Marcus, a columnist for the independent newspaper Haaretz, advocated both a tough crackdown and a position of sympathy toward the Palestinians.

"Questions are not lacking, but solutions are," he concluded. "Both they, and us, are in a trap that in the near future has no way out — not for them, not for us. It is sad, but it's the reality."

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המסרד

אל: כנסיות

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לשלנו 583

לידיעתכם, שווין אוונס מתכוון למסור לרה"מ מכתבהחבקש לזוז את פתרון שאלת החכירה, כאשר לפי המידע שבידו המורמונים ענו על כל התנאים.

ככל הידוע חתמו על המכתב הספיקר רייט, מנהיג הרב פולי, מצליף הרוב קנהלו, יו"ר ועדת החוץ פאטל ויו"ר ועדת המשנה לאירופה ומז"ח המילטון. כנראה שאוונס אינו מחפש חתימות נוספות, במחשבה שעדיפים מספר שמות מהסוג שכבר גייס על עשרות רבות של שמות, ואין בדעתו לצאח לחקשורת.

בוזאי תעבירו לידיעת הגוומים המוסמכים הדברים הללו, לשיקולם אם הנטייה היא לפתור את הבעיה בקרוב, לעשות זאת באופן שלא יתפרש ככניעה ללחץ קונגרסיונלי.

(על המכתב סיפר לי עוזר יהודי של אוונס, בבקשה שהדברים יבעיקר היותו המקור לא יובאו לידיעת הקונגרסמן. תודה.)

כנסיות: העבירוונא ההתברקויות הקודמות בנדון לאבנת, חנדה.

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המשרד

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אל: כנסיות  
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לידיעתכם, שוויץ אוננס תתכוון למסור לרה"מ מכתב התבקש לזרז את פתרון עאלת החכירה,  
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כנסיות: העבירו נא ההתברקויות הקודמות בנדון לאבנת, תודה.

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כי במידה לא מבוטלת כח הנשיא במקסיקו ויכולתו לחלק הטבות תלויים במערכת הקיימת.

2. מכאן עברה השיחה להסכם אס"ח עם ישראל. בזמנו חייב גרהם את חתימת ההסכם לאור בעיותיה הכלכליות של ישראל, ובחור "FREE TRADER" הוא מברך על ההסכם החדש עם קנדה ואף חותר להסכם כזה עם מקסיקו. השגריר תהה באם אס"ח עם מקסיקו ניתן להשגה בעתיד הנראה לעין, וגרהם הודה שיגרנסם ללחצים אדירים על המשק במקסיקו. הוסיף שאם כי הוא מתנגד לחוק הסחר המוצע (חוק "פרנטקציניסטי" הנמצא כיום בשלב הקונטרנט), הוא הכניס לו תיקון לפיו ינתן "פאהרי" ("HEAD-START") לכל מדינה מתפתחת שתחתום על הסכם אס"ח עם ארה"ב.

ישראל ונאטו

1. לאחר שהשגריר פרט את מאמצינו להבריא את המשק שלנו, לרבות הקיצוצים בתקציב הבטחון, ציין גרהם שהשנה ביקר בתורכיה, שבאגף הדרום-מזרחי של נאטו. מצא שם בעיות כלכליות רציניות מחד, ומנהיגים נאורים ופרו-מערביים מאידך. לעומתם ניצבים היוונים המונהגים ע"י פפנדראו שהיה "JERK" ככלכלן, ונשאר "JERK" כראש ממשלה (קיימים סימנים שטיפק נשק לסנדניסטים בניקרואה, לדברי גרהם).

2. לאחרונה נפגש הסנטור עם סטודנטים יהודים בטקסס, בדיון<sup>אל</sup> הוא העלה האפשרות של עימות עם הסובייטים וחלקה של ישראל בעימות כזה - נהופתע להנכח ב"איפוס" הצר של הסטודנטים האלה על הסכסוך הערבי - ישראלי. להערכתו, מענינה של ישראל להצטרף לנאטו, כי הרי האינטרסים שלנו והאינטרסים של מדינות נאטו זהים. בשעת עימות עם ברה"מ אין כל אפשרות שישראל תשמור על לטרליות. יתכן שחלק מהעולם הערבי יצדד עם הסובייטים, אך מספר מדינות ערב לא יעשה כך, ומלח האגירי של ישראל יהיה חשוב מאוד - להגן על תורכיה בעת מעשי איבה. ברור שיש לבחון הצטרפותנו לנאטו.

3. השגריר ציין שבימים אלה חתם שהביט על מזכר הבנה חדש שמקנה לנו (כ"יב) ברית גדולה שאינה חברה בנאטו (" רבים מהיתרונות שיש למדינות נאטו (הכנון משותף, תמרינים משותפים, הצבה ואחסון מראש ועוד). עצם רעיון הצטרפותנו לנאטו אינו חדש ויש בישראל התומכים בו. מאידך, ישנם אחרים (גם בישראל וגם בארה"ב) הסבורים שעלינו לחתור לקראת מערכת יחסים שתהיה JUST SHORT OF ברית מלאה.

סגירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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סוג בטחוני

דחיסות

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

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לדעתם, הצטרפות לנאטו חשפיע על מערכות היחסים שלנו עם תורכיה. עם יוון, עם הערבים, עם הסובייטים ועוד - ובכלל זה נפתח דף חדש מבלי לדעת כיצד יסול דבר. מעבר לזאת, התעוררנה בעיות למדינות נאטו. לדוגמא, היה וסוריה תשיג "שויון צבאי" עם ישראל ותפתח במלחמה, מה תעשה מדינות נאטו? הצטרפותנו לנאטו יש בה גם כדי להגביל חופש התמרון שלנו.

4. גרם העיד שהוא מכיר בבעיות. עם זאת, כבכל עסקה טובה, יש יתרונות לשני הצדדים. הרתמות כנחות ישראל תחזק את האגף הדרום-מזרחי של נאטו ואף תחזק את ישראל, במיוחד בעה מעשי איבה מתמשכים. מעבר לזאת היא תקל על "שאלת המימון" (קרי, המשך הסיוע עבור ישראל ברמתו הנכחית) כך שלא יהיה צורך "TO SHOP AROUND THE BARN" למען ישראל. מצד שני, הוא מכיר במגרעות, והגדולה מהן מבחינת ישראל היא אבדן הגמישות בשעת חרום, הרהר בקול רם באם יהיה ניתן לטפל בבעיה זו בכל הסכם עם מדינות נאטו, כך שלא תתבקשה התיעצויות והתערבות בכל מצב.

5. כשלעצמו הוא ניגש לשאלה תוך רצון לקדם גאינטלים של ארה"ב ואף לקדם היחסים בין ישראל ותורכיה. השגריר הגיב שאנו בהחלט בעד קידום היחסים עם תורכיה במישור הצבאי והמסחרי כאחד. מצידו אמר גרם שלנוכח פזורה הקהילה היוונית באמריקה, גילתה ארה"ב יחס של איפה ואיפה - לטובת יוון ע"ח תורכיה. בכוננתו לשים קץ למגמה זו. אם היוונים ילחצו לחמיכה נוספת, למשל לטובת קפריסין, הוא (גרם) "WILL WHIP THEIR ASS": ידרוש הפסקת הסיוע למדינות נאטו המסרבנות לקיים תמונים משותפים עם ארה"ב, וכן ידרוש חקירה בדבר הסיוע שהושיטה יוון לניקרגואה.

6. גרם הזכיר שב-1988 בכוננתו לבקר בברז"מ, נכן לערוך "תחנות ביניים" בתורכיה וביוון. השגריר שאל לגבי אפשרות של ביקור בישראל, ובתשובה אמר גרם שיתכן ביקור בן יום אחד לצד הטיור הנ"ל. עם זאת כרצונו לקיים ביקור רציני יותר בישראל בעוד כשנה. לא חסרים לו תומכים שמעודדים אותו בכוון זה, ויסע בתנאי שיתנו לו לבחור בחברי הפמליה. הוא יקח 6 - 5 יריבים פוליטיים: אם יצליח לשנות את דעתם ולרכוש אותם כידידים, מה טוב; ואם לא יצליח, מה יפסיד? בינתיים הוא נוחן את הדעת לרעיון הצטרפותנו לנאטו ולנמד הנושא, (כחבר בוועדה לשירותים מזוינים), ביקש מחשבות הפנטגון בנושא באמצעות ראש המטות המשולבים.

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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7. השגריר הפציר בו לערוך ביקור אצלנו, ובין היחר לנצל את ההזדמנות להכיר אנשים שעוסקים בשאלות אסטרטגיות, אמר גם שננטה לרכז לו חומר כתוב על ישראל ונאטו, וכן נדאג לכך שבהזדמנות נאותה מומחה ישראלי לתורכיה יבקר אצלו שיכול לתת לו הערכה כיצד תורכיה כמדינה מוסלמית תגיב להידוק יחסיו עם נאטו (עלה שגרהם לא ידע להבחין בין מדינה ערבית לבין מדינה מוסלמית). השגריר אמר שהוא מצא בשיחה זו ענין ואתגר אינטלקטואלי רב. להערכתו יש לנו היום יחסים טובים מאוד עם הממשל ועם הממשד הבטחוני בארה"ב, אך כפי שעולה מבדיקת המסמכים תקופות אזורי "כאלה הן SHORT LIVED בדרך כלל. ולכן מתבקש מאמץ למסד היחסים האלה ולהכניסם למסגרת פורמלית עם תרולת חיים ארוכת טווח.

8. גרהם הסכים, באומרו שכעת יהיה קשה לשפר את מערכת היחסים בין שתי מדינותינו. עם זאת, "הולפים הימים והאנשים", ובודאי יש צורך לפעול למיסוד היחסים.

עצ כג  
גאנת גשמה

למזחיים : אנא תדרוך עדכני על מצב יחסינו. בעיקר יחסינו הצבאיים, עם תורכיה וכן החיחסותכם למחשבות גרהם בנדון.

לממ"ד : אנא חומר באנגלית על ישראל ונאטו. (הבטחנו להעביר לגרהם את הדברים שסטו איזנשטט נשא השבוע בח"א בדבר ברית פורמלית בין ישראל וארה"ב).

יוסף זאבן

למדן

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סודי

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חוזם: 12,16345

אל:רוש/714

מ-:המשרד,תא:231287,חז:1840,דח:מ,טג:ט

ג:ד:ט

סודי / מיוזי

השגריר, הציר

ידיש עזה וכו' - מבול ההצהרות האמריקניות

א. בשיחה עם פיקרינג היום בהשתתפות סופר (שזומנה לנדשאים אחרים) העליתי את אי הכחת העמוקה שלנו ואת צערנו בקשר להצהרותיהם למיניהן ומהצבעתם בומעב"ט. אמרתי כי הדבר בין השאר, נוגד את האתוס האמריקני של הגינות, הדברים פשוט אינם הוגנים בהתחשב בעובדות הידועות להם היטב. פיקרינג אמנם הודה כי חלק מהדברים נובע מהתרשמויות קשות שמסאירות המונות הטלויזיה על עושי מדיניות שם, אך טען כי הוא מנסה לשכנע את אנשי צה"ל מזמן בכך שיש מקום למעבר לאמצעים לא קטלניים, בדומה לנסיון שנכשש בעניין זה בדרום קוריאה למשל. פיקרינג וסופר הוסיפו, כי גם באשר לצעדים, עדיף שלא להכריז מראש על גירושים ומעצרים מינהליים וכו' אלא לחילה לעצור את המתפלעים ויהיה מטפדט אשר יהיה. סופר המליץ על 'כרגטיות'.

ב. בהמשך השיחה אמרתי כי הצהרות ארה"ב משרתות את הקיצוניים מחוזרי המהומות, כשהטלויזיות מלבות זאת בעצם נוכחותן. הזכרתי דברי הנשיא הרצוג בקשר לזקשורת. הוספתי כי עדיף שישקלו דוברי ארה"ב היטב לפני שהם מחליטים על הטפות כלמינו. פיקרינג אמר כי דה"מ נענה בשיחתם לכל פניותיו באשר להודעות מצדנו, והוא מקווה כי הרטוריקה הפומבית בין ישראל לוושינגטון, תרו ושהימים הקרובים גם לא יצריכו 'תוספות'.

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SECURITY INFORMATION

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1977 JUN 20 10 58 AM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



שמור

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חוזם: 12,16288

אל: רוש/707

מ-: המשד, תא: 231287, זח: 1749, דח: מ, סג: ש

נד: 8

שמור/מיוזי

השגריר.

דע: שר התיירות, ראש העיר ירושלים, מנכ"ל מדיני משה"ח.

TRAVEL ADVISORY

א. בשיחה הבוקר עם פיקרינג וטופר (שזומנה ביוזמתם לנושאים אחרים) העליתי, על דעת רוה"מ, בהמשך לדברי ראש העיר בחקשורת ולקוננל ארה"ב, את הנושא. אמרתי כי הדבר אינו מוצק מכל וכל, הם מענישים בזאת את תעשיית התיירות ואת אזרחי העיר - כמובן יהודים וערבים כאחת. וזאת כאשר העובדות מדברות בעדן וירושלים אינה פחות בטוחה מכל עיר בארה"ב שיש בה לפעמים תקרית.

ב. פיקרינג אמר כי יש אהדה לנושא וכי הוא זה שלחץ, כשהודיעו לו מושינגטון ברגע האחרון על הכוונה לכן, להשתמש בהנחיה מ-1982 ולא לפרטם חדשה. על זאת, לדבריו שמע עד כה כי אין ביטולים בבתי המלון, ועלינו להבין את אחריותם לאזרחיהם וכי. השבתי כמתבקש.

ג. אמרתי כי עליהם למצוא דרך לתקן את הדברים בימים הקרובים. אמר שאם במשך הימים הקרובים כולל חג המולד ישרור שקט, ישתדל לעשות משהו בכיוון זה. נחיה ונראה.

ד. ניתן על-ידינו פומבי לעצם הפניה אל השגריר, אך לא לתוכן השיחה מעבר לכן.

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

א. רובינשטיין

צש

תפ: שהח, רהמ, מנכל, מתנכל, בירן, מצמא, שרהתיירות, מנכלתיירות,  
מזכירהמשלה, פטזיקולק

CONFIDENTIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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שגרירות ישראל / נושיונגטון

דף | מחוד | דפים

סוג במחוני בלמיס

אל: המשרד, בטחון, ניו יורק

דחיסות מידי

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132

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תאריך/ז"ח 22-12-87

מס' מברק

אל: מצפ"א, מע"ח

דע: י. רה"מ לתקשורת  
י. שה"ט לתקשורת  
רמ"ח/קטי"ח  
ניו יורק

פכום. עתונות יומי

NEWS SUMMARY DECEMBER 22, 1987

EDITORIALS:

NO PEACE IN THE HOLY LAND: Balt Sun: ...Israel and the existing Arab nations will have to move creatively to deal with the Palestinian question or face constant - and greater - destabilization.

RIOTS IN 'ISRAEL'S SOWETO' CAN'T BE STOPPED BY BULLETS: Phil Inq: Although Israel claims that it is more restrained than any other government in the world in similar conditions, few other governments are confronted with similar circumstances. For what Israel is facing is a rebellion of a generation of Palestinian youths who see no future under an endless occupation that denies them civil, political and economic rights. Article explains the ugly conditions of the Palestinians in Gaza and the permanency of the occupation under Shamir's Likud bloc. Focusing on outside agitation misses the point as the occupation cannot go on forever without terrible costs to Israel and to Palestinians.

ISRAEL'S SUPPRESSOR ROLE: CSM: How long will it take, and how much suffering, before Israel finds a way to free itself from its role of suppressor?..Article points out the reluctance of an occupying power to discuss political settlement until it is certain any negotiations will end to its advantage. Editors also stress Washington's responsibility to play a role for the impasse in the occupied territories. But the future promises only more cycles of violence if the Israelis themselves do not reconsider the notion that suppressive force can work in the Holy Land when it has not worked there or elsewhere before.

התאריך 22-12-87

FROM GAZA TO THE WEST BANK AND BACK: WT: from The Economist of London: Article gives an oversight of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the occupied territories and how each side blames different factors on the unrest. As Israeli's presence in the territories no longer feels temporary, hopes of removing the permanence are fading. And, although the riots may peter out, the question remains, for how long?

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THE MAKING OF GAZA: NYT: AM Rosenthal: Mr. Rosenthal explains the history of the conflict in the occupied territories emphasizing that "unless yesterday is understood, the anguish of today is distorted..." In doing so, he shows how Israel did not bring about the occupation on herself and how the tragedy of Gaza was created by the refusal of the Arab nations to recognize the right of Israel to exist and by their attempt to destroy the Israeli state, beginning at birth. Occupation began as the Israelis were determined to push back the PLO attacks which were based in Gaza before 1967.

PRESS REPORTS:

A GENERAL STRIKE BY ISRAEL'S ARABS DISRUPTS COUNTRY: NYT: p.1: John Kifner: Hundreds of thousands of Arabs inside Israel joined others in the occupied territories today in a general strike protesting Israel's handling of the wave of protests. At least three Palestinians protesters who reportedly threw firebombs were shot and killed by the army on the West Bank.

RIOTS SPREAD TO ARABS IN ISRAEL: WP: Glenn Frankel: p.1: The rioting that has wracked the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip for nearly two weeks spread today to Arab areas inside Israel's borders as most of the country's Arab citizens staged a massive general strike in sympathy with their Palestinian brethren...For the Israeli government, which has long held that its 750,000 Arab citizens are productive and reasonably contented members of this society, it raised the specter of a united front of Palestinians on both sides of Israel's "green line".

ISRAEL HIT BY ARAB SOLIDARITY: CSM: Joel Greenberg: p.1: US URGES RESTRAINT IN ISRAELI REACTION TO PALESTINIAN RIOTING: CSM: US officials worry that Israel has reached a dangerous turning point in dealings with Arabs in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Reagan administration statements about the riots have been restrained and careful not to place blame for starting the cycle of violence on either side. But photos of Israeli soldiers kicking demonstrators and the now-famous TV clip of an Israeli security man shooting after a fleeing crowd have clearly had a sour effect on US attitudes.

VIOLENCE SPREADS THROUGH ISRAEL, 'PEACE DAY': WT: p.1: ISRAELI ARABS JOIN PROTESTS: Phil Inq: p.1: ISRAELI TROOPS AGAIN BATTLE PROTESTERS: Miami Herald: Dec 21. THREE PALESTINIANS KILLED IN WEST BANK: Balt Sun: Robert Ruby: Three more Palestinians were killed yesterday by Israeli troops as Israeli Arabs joined Palestinians' general strike in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. ISRAELI ARAB PROTESTER: 'PART OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE': NYT ARABS TO JOIN PALESTINIANS IN PROTEST STRIKE: Boston Globe: 12-21-87

SUICIDAL TERRORIST ASKS FOR PEACE BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS: WT: The guerrilla survivor of a 1985 attack at Rome airport in which 16 people were killed refused to attend his trial yesterday, saying he wanted to die. He urged Israelis and Palestinians to "put down their damned arms." Mr. Khaled's continued absence could dim the prosecution's hopes that he would shed new light on the inner workings of the Palestinian guerrilla group headed by Abu Nidal.

NO UN VOTE ON ISRAELI ACTIONS: WP: The week long consultations of the 15-nation council ended abruptly when the PLO tried to substitute the word "condemn" for "strongly deplore" in the resolution.

UN MEETING BREAKS UP OVER RESOLUTION ON ISRAEL: NYT:

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SHIITES ATTACK ISRAELI ALLIES IN SOUTH LEBANON: Phil: Inq: AP: Shiite Muslim guerrillas stormed positions of an Israeli-backed militia in southern Lebanon yesterday in a show of support for Palestinian protesters in Israeli-occupied territories.

LEBANESE SHIITES HIT PRO-ISRAEL MILITIA: WP:

CITING TENSIONS, BETHLEHEM MAYOR CANCELS YULE GALA: Phil: Inq: UPI:

UNREST THREATENS BETHLEHEM FESTIVITIES: LA Times: Monday.

SOVIET GIVES EXIT TO PROMINENT JEW: NYT: Alexander Lerner, who has been denied permission to leave the Soviet Union for nearly 17 years, said today that he had been told he could emigrate to Israel.

SOVIET JEW ALLOWED TO LEAVE AFTER 16-YEAR WAIT: WP:

WALDHEIM DOGGED BY WAR RECORD: LA Times: Dec 21: p. 1: 18 months after his election to the mainly ceremonial post, Austrian President, Kurt Waldheim, continues to be dogged by accusations that surfaced early next year as he began his campaign for president: that he has concealed a Nazi past and involvement in atrocities while serving as a lieutenant with the German army in the Balkans.

MOSCOW POLL FINDS LIMIT TO 'GLASNOST': WP: An informal survey of about 400 people here (in Moscow) found that 90 percent of those who responded believe that the Soviet Union does not fully protect their right to freedom of expression.

EGYPT MOVES GINGERLY TO REASSERT ITSELF AFTER YEARS OF ISOLATION, ECONOMIC WOES: WSJ: In the eight years of Egypt's isolation following the signing of a peace treaty with Israel, much has gone wrong...economics, social problems as well as the political problems of a peace with Israel. Since the recent reconciliation in Amman, Egypt has had a second chance to press for a comprehensive peace with Israel, and to take on a new role in Arab affairs.

EGYPT WEIGHS MILITARY AID TO GULF STATES: LA Times: Dec 21: In the ensuing weeks of the Amman summit, there have been discussions between Egypt and Kuwait about a three-phase Egyptian contingency plan for military intervention in the Persian Gulf. The plan itself is still secret, but informed military and civilian sources said the first phase involves a proposal to station Egyptian air defense personnel in Kuwait...

JORDAN KING IN SOVIET, SEEKING IRAN SANCTIONS: NYT: King Hussein went to Moscow today on an official visit in which he is expected to seek support for moves in the UN Security Council to impose an arms embargo on Iran.

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אל: מצפ"א

דע: לשכת רה"מ

לשכת מנכ"ל האוצר

לשכת מנכ"ל משהבי"ט, מקטי"ח - משהבי"ט

רמשי"ן - ניו יורק

הנדון: ה- CR והסיוע לישראל

א. כללי

1. אמש, בשעות הקטנות של הלילה (אור ליום ג') התקבל, לאחר לידה קשה מאוד, ה- CR (החלטת ההמשך, שבה עיקר תקציב ארה"ב לשי"ת 1988). חוכן ה- CR הינו פרי מאמצים כבירים של השבועיים האחרונים מצד המחוקקים לעמוד על הסכומים שהושגו בחודש שעבר עם הממשל לגבי הקיצוצים בתקציב (כ-30 בליון מהגרעון הפדרלי ב-1988) וכן מאבקים עקשים של הרגע האחרון מצד הבית הלבן-בין היתר, להבטיח סינוע לקונטרס (0.8 מליון בסיוע "הומניטרי"). ואף למנוע אימוץ ה- FAIRNESS DOCTRINE לתוך ה- CR כרצון הדמוקרטים ("דוקטרינה" זו נועדה לחייב אנשי תקשורת להציג דעות מגוונות לגבי שאלות פוליטיות, והנשיא מחננד לה נמרצות).

2. רק לאחר שהדמוקרטים ויתרו על שתי נקודות אלה פונתה הדרך לאימוץ ה- CR. בבית הנבחרים הוא התקבל בחודו של קול (209 בעד מול 208 נגד - ובין המתנגדים הדמוקרטים רבים שלא השלימו עם מתן סינוע כלשהו לקונטרס ועם הנוראות אחרות בהחלטה). בסנט היחרון היה גדול בהרבה (59 בעד מול 30 נגד), ומן הסתם הנשיא יחוטט על ה- CR היום (22) או מחר.

ב. הסיוע לישראל

1. חרף חששותינו במשך החדשים האחרונים מקיצוצים אפשריים, מלוא הסיוע עבור ישראל (2.1 בליון דולר בסיוע אזרחי, ו-1.8 בסיוע צבאי) מובטח ב-FARMARKS.

2. בנוסף ל-3 בליונים אלה, יש להנסיף תוספות, הקלות ופוטנציאל מסחרי שנאמדים במאות מליוני דולרים, כלהלן:

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סווג בסחונני לג'ו

דחיפות

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

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מליני דולרים

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א. כספי הסיוע

תיקון ברמן (משי"ב)  
 תיקון ווקסמן (שי"פ איזורי)  
 קליטת עולים  
 כספי **AFSA**

ב. כספי מחמ"ד

משרד "קול אמריקה"

ג. כספי הפנטגון

**AT&T** (מתוך 75 מליון בחוק)  
 מו"פ משותף (מתוך 15 מליון בחוק)  
 פופ-איי  
**CLMAS**

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(אלימניא באמ"ד)  
 (אמ"פ ג'נסקוט כ"ח)  
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91.5

סך הכל 167.5

ד. הורדת שערי הריבית בחובות (חס כ"ו) כ-150 - 100

ה. השתתפות בתכנית העבודה באירופה (פול צ"א) כ-50 כ-150  
 הפציה (ט"ח!) 317.5

3. אח מימדי ההישגים האלה יש למדוד כנגד הקיצוצים בסיוע עבור כל שאר המדינות המקבלות.

הצדק האומ"ם

4. בנוסף, יש להצביע על דברים שאינם ניתנים לשעור או פחות מדויק, כגון העלאת כספי ההמרה מ-300 מליון דולר ל-400, החכרה הדדית, חכירה מסחרית של ציוד צבאי, קבלת עודפי ציוד בחינם, וט"ח צבא אמ"ק (כ"ח לט"ח) וט"ח א"ח.

5. הנוסח הסופי של ה-ER טרם פורסם. עם קבלתו (תוך יום - יומיים) נעביר דו"ח מסכם.

יוסף זמיר  
למדן

הליגה נגד השמצה  
של בני ברית  
המלך דוד 30  
ירושלים 94101  
02—224844  
02—221171



HARRY WALL  
Director, Israel Office

הרי וואל

אין ארץ ישראל

לידיעתך

A. Metzel.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

823 United Nations Plaza  
New York, N.Y. 10017

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Offices  
From: Kenneth Jacobson  
Date: December 22, 1987  
Subject: West Bank - Gaza Violence

In response to the disturbing developments in the West Bank and Gaza in recent days, and the resultant public image problems that have surfaced for Israel in this country, we are attaching several pieces that should be of assistance.

First, a statement by Burton Levinson and Abraham Foxman on the situation.

Second, a number of points giving perspective.

Third, an excellent piece in The New York Times by A.M. Rosenthal.

We understand that in some instances the media have made abhorrent comparisons to the Holocaust or South Africa. The Holocaust analogy on its face is despicable and absurd, and the response -- that the planned annihilation of the Jewish people is not in the least analogous to Israel's problem in dealing with rioters -- should be obvious. Because of the television images, the South African analogy, though equally absurd, may find more receptivity. However, unlike the situation in South Africa, Israel has been long eager to find a political solution to the problem which would provide independence to residents of the area without jeopardizing Israel's security.

Please keep us informed of developments in your region, and if you have any questions please don't hesitate to call me or Janice Ditchek.

KJ/nmh  
Attachments

LYNNE IANNIELLO  
Director, Communications Division

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, Dec. 22....The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today deplored the violence in the West Bank and Gaza and called upon both Israel and the Palestinians to "exercise restraint."

In a statement issued by Burton S. Levinson, national chairman, and Abraham H. Foxman, national director, the League said: "Peace in the Middle East would be better served if those who are condemning the violence would also press the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization to recognize Israel's existence and enter into direct negotiations, as did Egypt."

The ADL leaders said that the "continued intransigence of the Arab states' rejection of Israel and the continued refusal of the Palestinians and their supporters to enter into direct negotiations is the root cause of the violence." They added that the violence "is being fanned and instigated by the PLO, Islamic religious fundamentalists and others who reject negotiations and peace."

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Our 75th Year



## Points for Perspective on the West Bank-Gaza Violence

The disturbances in the West Bank and Gaza reinforce a number of longstanding truths about the region. First, there are problems between Israel and the Arabs, Palestinians in particular, which require resolution as soon as possible.

Second, the problems that are festering can only be resolved through direct negotiations and, while the division in Israel between Labor and Likud is unhelpful in moving the process forward, it is clear that the fundamental obstacle continues to lie in Arab unwillingness to negotiate directly with Israel, and in the PLO's continued aim to destroy Israel.

Third, the PLO, which clearly is inciting and coordinating the current troubles, sees destabilization as a way to block movement toward peace. They ought not be encouraged.

Fourth, the rioting and violence only serve those who would like to force Israel to withdraw without real security or real peace. The reestablishment of stability in the territories will help all those who are serious about resolving the problems and moving the process forward -- Israelis, Palestinians, Egyptians and Jordanians.

Fifth, the US can be most constructive by not giving encouragement to supporters of the PLO, while at the same time recognizing the importance of all parties working constructively towards political solutions. A pro-PLO resolution at the UN will only send the wrong signal: that incitement to violence can weaken Israel and further the PLO cause.

Sixth, recognizing the possibility that it may take some time to negotiate a political solution, the short-term priorities must be to put an end to the tragic loss of life and to restore stability and the rule of law in the territories. This, unfortunately, will require the IDF to maintain a high state of vigilance and, when necessary, the application of force to counter the unrest. At the same time, Israel will continue to work with local Palestinian figures, many of whom wish to see the restoration of calm and stability in the region.

December 22, 1987

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ON MY MIND | A. M. Rosenthal

## The Making of Gaza

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They know that this should not be, that Israeli soldiers should not patrol year after year in alleys of hatred. That was not what Israel was meant to be or do or stand for.

Yes, there is a double standard for Israel. She is judged by higher standards than, say, those Arab neighbors who preach death and hate and slaughter in the name of God. The double standard is not only a matter of pride and duty to Israel's biblical roots but of strength in the world today.

It is the belief that Israel lives by principles of decency that won her essential support in the United States, decade after troubled decade.

And now, newspapers and television screens are aflame with the bitterness of the young men of Gaza, that strip of territory Israel does not want but cannot let go for fear it would become a P.L.O. state. Twenty years of Israeli occupation have only heightened hatred in Gaza, as would another 20.

This is all true. But if there is to be any honest effort toward an end to the misery of Gaza and the tragedy of Israel as occupier, other truths must be faced. So far almost nothing has been said about them. The haters of Israel simply use Gaza as a club against her. Her supporters abroad do little but shake their heads in reprimand or embarrassment.

The one basic truth that must be faced is that the tragedy of Gaza was created by the refusal of the Arab nations to recognize the right of Israel to exist and by their attempt to destroy the Israeli state, beginning at birth.

In 1947, the United Nations, with the backing of every major power, voted to partition the British mandate of Palestine into Israeli and Palestinian states. If the Arabs had accepted that, there would today be a separate Palestinian state 40 years old; Gaza and its people would be part of it.

But the Arab states fell upon Israel and in utter fury tried to kill the old dream and new reality of the Jewish

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### Seeing history whole.

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Egypt took the Gaza strip. Jordan, now admired in the West, seized the West Bank. It also captured most of Jerusalem, defiled Jewish holy places, banned Jews and destroyed hopes of internationalization of the Holy City.

Israel lived within mortar range of the Egyptians, the Jordanians and the Syrians, who had snatched heights overlooking Israel; the mortars were fired. For 20 years, the territory that was to have been a Palestinian state under the U.N. plan was used by the P.L.O. for attacks against Israel, with the approval and support of the Arab occupiers.

Then, in 1967, Israel stunned the Arabs and the rest of the world by trouncing Arab armies. She threw the Jordanians out of the West Bank and Jerusalem, the Egyptians out of Gaza and the Syrians out of the Golan Heights.

Israel found herself in control of territory that had been illegally occupied by the Arab states. Israelis were determined to push back their borders so that they would never again live looking down Arab gun barrels. Thus began the era of Israeli occupation, creating a safer state in the short run but also stoking the hatred — and danger — now being acted out on the dry soil of Gaza, and spreading.

What difference does it make, so many years later? For one thing it cleanses the mind and perhaps the soul to combine sorrow and criticism of Israel with recognition of historic reality.

History is a loaf, not slices of bread. Unless yesterday is understood, the anguish of today is distorted and the peace possible some tomorrow put off indefinitely, perhaps forever.

Peace, which in the end must mean recognition of Israeli security and Palestinian reality, is possible.

Israelis must create a unified government capable of negotiating. Arabs, including Palestinians, must recognize that their attempts to kill the Israeli state in 1948, and almost ever since, led to what is happening today. To pretend Israel brought this on herself is a hypocrisy and falsehood that blocks the future.

The only way to move on is to face the reality and lessons of the past. Otherwise, Arab and Jew are trapped in a cycle and the young men of Israel and Gaza will face each other in hatred year upon year, perhaps for their lifetimes. □

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# בהול

מס' מברק

אל - מנכ"ל מדיני  
 מצמ"א, מע"ח

זע - יועץ רה"מ לתקשורת  
 יועץ שה"ס לתקשורת

מאת -: עתונות - ונסינגטון

להלן הודעה דובר הביח הלבן הבורק :

Fitzwater: We view the continuing violence in the occupied territories with serious concern. It is time for both sides to step back from confrontation before there are more tragic casualties. Both sides share a responsibility for this violence. Demonstration and riots on one side, and harsh security measures and excessive use of live ammunition on the other...cannot substitute for a genuine dialogue. The continuing occupation is exacting a toll on 1.5 million Palestinians in the territories and on Israel as well.

The effects of occupation are not felt in the territories alone. They also damage the self-respect and world opinion of the Israeli people. Beyond the impact on individual Palestinians and Israelis, the continuing violence undermines prospects for serious attempts at economic progress in the territories and on the broader peace process.

The President, of course, has monitored the situation very carefully. He has discussed it with the National Security Advisor and has been involved in the communications that have been made with Israel and with some of the Arab nations. We have stressed that we would like to see an end to the violence. We have asked for restraint in the use of live ammunition and have made our views known in public as well as diplomatic channels.

ב/א/נה  
יוסי גל

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JERUSALEM, Dec. 21 — Hundreds of thousands of Arabs inside Israel joined others in the occupied territories today in a general strike protesting Israel's handling of a wave of protests.

At least three Palestinian protesters who reportedly threw firebombs were shot and killed by Israeli soldiers on the West Bank. Another Palestinian died of his wounds in a Gaza hospital today, raising the confirmed death toll to at least 20 in 13 days of clashes in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

A senior commander said tonight that the Israeli Army would send more troops into the West Bank on Tuesday and that they would be prepared to take "tougher measures" because the "restraint shown in the last two weeks has apparently been interpreted as weakness."

**Arab Laborers Stay Home**

Arab towns and villages in northern Galilee and other parts of pre-1967 Israel were closed down, every shop shuttered, as were those in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem.

More important, the great numbers of Arab laborers who wait on tables, pick vegetables, haul garbage, lay brick and perform most of Israel's menial work stayed home. More than 100,000 workers from the occupied territories go into Israel each day, in addition to the Arabs living there, filling a vital role in the Israeli economy.

The protests in the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, both under Israeli occupation since the 1967 war, reflect the growing frustrations of the long occupation. But the immediate cause was a traffic accident this month in which four Gaza workers died.

Rumors spread that the collision of the Arab vehicle with a truck driven by an Israeli was a reprisal for the stabbing to death of an Israeli in a Gaza market the week before.

Today, as the unrest spread from the occupied territories to Israel itself, it appeared to unite Arabs who are citizens of Israel with those who consider themselves stateless Palestinians.

"This is unprecedented in that it's the first time the Israeli Arabs are following the Arabs in the territories," said Yehuda Litani, an Arab-affairs specialist at The Jerusalem Post. "We've had clashes today in places where there have never been — Jaffa, Abu Ghosh. These places are very quiet."

The outcome is that 2.1 million Palestinians in all of Israel are in the

Continued on Page A8, Column 3



The New York Times/Dec. 22, 1987

Arab communities in Israel, as well as in the occupied territories, were scenes of protest.

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## PROTEST BY ARABS SPREADS TO ISRAEL

Continued From Page A1

first stages of a civil uprising," Mr. Litani went on. "It's 2.1 million Palestinians against 3.5 million Jews. Today there is no difference between Nazareth and Nablus."

The roughly 750,000 Arabs within the pre-1967 borders of Israel have Israeli citizenship, including voting rights. There is one important difference: With a handful of exceptions, they are not allowed to join the armed services. This excludes them from a number of Government benefits.

In this normally voluble, opinionated nation, where almost every facet of life is a matter of heated debate, there has been a strange lack of public pronouncements on the clashes. In part this may be due to the fact that Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the leaders of the Labor Party, have been abroad.

There has been considerable comment in the Israeli press, however.

The independent Haaretz, for example, called the strike by Arabs within Israel "writing on our wall even more serious than the bloody riots of the last two weeks in the territories."

The newspaper added that "it is the Government of Israel that always reminded the Arab minority among us of its distinctive nationality by stubbornly insisting upon registering it on ID cards according to religious, rather than Israeli identity."

The coalition Government led by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has defended the handling of the demonstrations.

"Our situation is like a picture of the giant Gulliver entering into a confrontation with dozens of dwarfs," Mr. Shamir, the leader of the Likud political bloc, said today. "One hand and two legs are tied down, and there are accusations all the time that he is the bully against defenseless people."

The biggest confrontation today came when about 3,000 Israeli Arab residents of Umm al Fahm marched to block the main highway between Hadera and Afula in Galilee. The police used tear gas to break up the crowd.

### Arab Zones Shuttered

In the walled Old City of Jerusalem, the narrow streets in the Arab Christian and Moslem sections were almost empty today. Bethlehem looked like a ghost town. Only days before Christmas, the souvenir shops were shut down. At the refugee camps at the edge of the city, youths stoned passing cars and soldiers.

Mayor Elias Freij, under pressure to cancel the traditional festivities, announced today that he would not hold his annual cocktail party, to which he invites diplomats and Israeli officials.

"We have to show solidarity with our people," said Mr. Freij, a Christian Palestinian. "We cannot have a cocktail party under such a tense situation."

The disorders within Israel reached such normally quiescent groups as the Bedouins of the Negev. A dozen Bedouins were arrested setting up barricades in the road. In Jaffa, near Tel Aviv, Palestinian Arabs threw stones.

"It is not only rare," a police official there said later. "A thing like this does not exist in Jaffa."

Among the dozens of places in and around Jerusalem where clashes broke out was the Arab village of Abu Ghosh on the outskirts of the city, known in local folklore for its loyalty to Israel. Indeed, when Geula Cohen, now a far-right member of Parliament, was in the Zionist underground and escaping the British Army, it was the villagers of Abu Ghosh who hid her.

The army said that two Palestinian youths in the village of Tubas and one in Jenin had been shot dead while throwing firebombs.

### State Dept. Travel Warning

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21 (AP) — The State Department, taking note of the violence of the last two weeks in territories occupied by Israel, said today that Americans visiting these areas should exercise caution.

The advisory urges Americans who visit the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip to contact a United States consular officer on arrival in Israel. They "should be aware that conditions affecting the safety of travelers can change with little warning," it adds.

A department spokeswoman, Phyllis Oakley, noted that an advisory warning Americans about travel to the occupied territories was first issued in March 1982 and remains in effect.

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### Seeing history whole.

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NYT 22/12

# MIDEAST VIOLENCE ALARMS U.S. JEWS

'Anxious and Concerned,' Say  
Some of the Groups —  
Others Defend Israel

By ARIL GOLDMAN

The head of a leading American Jewish group said yesterday that the violence between Israeli soldiers and Palestinian demonstrators should "shock Israel's Government" into aggressively negotiating an end to the Israeli occupation of some Arab lands.

"Israel simply cannot sit in the territories and wait for peace to come," the official, Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, said in a statement. "The status quo sows the seeds of endless conflict."

Taking a similar stand was a group of 30 prominent Jews who issued a statement under the name of the American Committee for Israel Peace Center. Saying that the recent violence left the signers "anxious and concerned," the statement said that the "present situation in the occupied territories illustrates more clearly than ever the urgent need to embark upon peace negotiations."

Among those signing the statement were Prof. Henry Rosovsky, an economist at Harvard, Letty Cottin Pogrebin, an editor at Ms. magazine, and Rabbi Balfour Brickner of the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue in Manhattan.

## Israelis Are Divided

The Israeli Government has been divided over the question of peace talks on the Middle East. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has rejected the call of his Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, for an international conference. Prime Minister Shamir has favored face-to-face negotiations with Israel's Arab neighbors, an unlikely prospect that would most probably lead to the continued occupation of Arab territory.

Several mainstream American Jewish organizations, which have long supported the policies of the Israeli Government in power, have in recent months joined Mr. Peres's call for an international conference.

The first mainstream organization to take that stand was the American Jewish Congress, which in a statement in September warned of violence as the result of "Israeli rule of a resentful Arab population."

"We are unfortunately seeing that explosion," Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, said yesterday.

## Envoy Flies to New York

The Israeli Ambassador to the United States, Moshe Arad, flew to New York late yesterday to address a special meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. The meeting, held last night at the conference's headquarters at 515 Park Avenue, was closed to the press.

Afterward, Morris B. Abram, chairman of the conference, issued a statement supportive of the Israeli Government's handling of the current crisis. "The continuing series of riots and acts of violence in the West Bank, Gaza and other parts of Israel have been planned, instigated and incited by Palestinian terrorist groups led by the Palestine Liberation Organization and Moslem fundamentalists," Mr. Abram said.

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He added, "In the face of this continuing series of provocations, Israel has sought to react with restraint."

In the long term, Mr. Abram said, "there must be dialogue and negotiations around the table between Israel and Palestinian representatives who are prepared to live in peaceful coexistence with Israel."

#### A Warning Against Panic

A similar statement came from Seymour Reich, the president of B'nai B'rith International, who warned that "Israel should not be panicked into hasty actions" as a result of the violence. Such a reaction, he said, "will serve neither peace nor security."

Mr. Reich repeated his organization's call for direct negotiations with Arab leaders to solve the Palestinian situation.

While moderate and left-of-center groups issued statements, vigorous supporters of Israel's hold on the occupied territories were silent. When asked for a comment, Rabbi Avi Weiss, a member of the executive committee of Americans for a Safe Israel, said that the current situation was an opportunity for annexation of the now-occupied Arab lands.

"A firm policy wherein Israel would incorporate Judea, Samaria and Gaza as an integral part of the state," he said, "would lessen Arab expectations and serve as a stabilizing rather than divisive influence."

Rabbi Weiss, however, distanced himself from the extreme nationalist positions calling for expulsion of Palestinians from occupied lands. He said that under annexation Arabs should be given equal rights.

## U.N. Assembly Ends With Vote on Budget

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Dec. 21 — The 42d General Assembly came to a close today with the approval of a two-year budget.

The United States, Australia and Japan abstained, saying \$1.77 billion was too high. Only Israel voted against, largely on the ground that the United Nations has supported the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The United States and its Western allies initially sought unanimous approval for the budget as a sign of support for financial and administrative changes they negotiated with Third World and Soviet bloc members.

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

טגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

ש.ו.ס. ש.נ.ר.נ.

דף...!...!...! דפים

טווג בטחוני... שמור

דחיסות... מול... אקו

מאריך וזי"ח. 1999. 22. דצמבר 87

# בהחל

אל:

612

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המסד

אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א  
אנא דע

הודעת הבית הלבן.

התקשרתי לרוס על מנת להביע פליאה ואכזבה מהודעת הדובר  
אמר שרק חלקים ממנה תואמו עמו. הודעתי לו גם שנשאלתי ועניתי (לפי הקוים שבשלי הגלוי)  
אמרתי שתיקון יועיל והוא ישחדל לעשות זאת בבוקר.  
לפי רוס גם מוריס אברם פנה אליהם באותו טון.

ערו  
צ"ב  
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מאריך וז"ח. 22.10.87  
מדינת ישראל

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אלו

המשרד

אל: מנכ"ל מדיני  
מנכ"ל משרד רה"מ

שיחת מרפי עם השגריר

מרפי זימן השגריר לשיחה בשעה 16.00. נכחו וילקוקס והירש מצידם, ערו ומתני מצידנו.

השגריר פתח וציין שהיום היה יחסית שקט, פרט לתקרית מדרום לחברון באזור שבימים האחרונים שר בו שקט. עזה, ירושלים ויו"ש שקטים, השביחה הכללית עברה. מספר העובדים החוזרים למקומות עבודתם הולך וגדל. המטרה העיקרית של מארגני ההתפרעויות היתה להפר חיי היום-יום. איני יכול לומר שהכל כבר מאחורינו. ו.ו. הוא יום יסוד פתי"ח ויתכן שיטנו הנסיונות להפרות הסדר. מחר מתקיים דיון בכנסת ושהבי"ט יהיה הדובר, הוא יביע צער על אובדן - חיים אך יצהיר שהחזרת הסדר על כנו הוא עניין של בטחון לגבי ישראל שלא תאפשר שאש"ף יהיה זה שישלוט ברחוב או במחנות. רבין יקרא למנהיגים ערבים להרגיע ולמתן דבריהם. הסדר הוא באחריותה של ישראל וזו תמלא חובתה.

מרפי ידוע לנו שרה"מ רוצה לראות כי הסדר שב על כנו. קריאת ארה"ב את המצב היא שהארועים לא התחילו בגלל הסתה מן החוץ אלא היו ספונטניים בשל מתח שהלך והצטבר. התורים והמבוגרים אינם משתיעים יותר והשליטה היא בידי השבאב. מרפי העיר שהשביחה הכללית היתה רק של יום אחד. השגריר אשר שאכן כך והיום שבו לעבודה, השביחה היתה הבעת רגשי הזדהות כלפי ערביי ישי"ע ולא מרי או הצטרפות למאבק. אין למצוא בכך משמעות פוליטית ואינם רואים עצמם זהים לאנשי ישי"ע.

מרפי גם ארה"ב רואה זאת כך.

השגריר, לשאלת מרפי, אמר שבעבר היו שבתות במגזר הערבי הישראלי בשל בעיות תקציב וקיצוצים למשל איגוד ראשי השלטון המקומי הערבי מכה בדרך זו על קיצוץ תקציבי החינוך. אשר למאורעות, כדאי להדגיש את דברי שה"ח שאמר שאפילו בין אלה שיש להם גישות שונות לגבי החתירה אין חילוקי דעות בקשר לכך שישראל לא תכנע ללחצי הסתה ואיומים. הן שהבי"ט והן שה"ח ורה"מ אמרו זאת.

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including names like 'מ.מ.ד.' and 'מ.מ.פ.' and various initials.

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שולג בטחוני  
דחיסות  
מאריך זדייה  
מס' מברק

אלו

2/3 61

מרפי: חסכים אך חוסיף שהידקת בין ישראל וארה"ב אין פרושה שארו"ב לא תשתף את ישראל בדאגתה לגבי ההתפחויות שמשמעותן התדרדרות ביחסי ישראל והפלשתינאים. אולי לא תהיה עוד שביחה כללית בקרוב, אך ישנה כאן מסגרת שנפגעה. סמכות המסגרות המסורתיות הולכת ונשחקת וארה"ב רואה זאת בדאגה. מרפי אמר שאיננו האיש שיכול לייצץ לשהב"ט בענייני צבא והשתלטות על אזרחים והפרות סדר אך אלו לא יעודדו יצירתיות בתהליך אלא יצרו נסיגה. ארה"ב אינה מרגישה שהסטטוס קוו מחזיק מעמד ( *sustainable* ) ואין לארה"ב תשובה. אנו מקווים שהשבויעיים האחרונים יהוו הזדמנות למחשבות רעננות בקשר לתהליך, אך בינתיים הסטטוס קוו המתמשך גורם תסכול ואובדן תקווה בצד הפלשתינאי. המצרים הם כנים ( *genuine* ) בהרגשתם ולכן היו 4-5 הצהרות מצידם. יש דאגה בקהיר. מדיניות ארה"ב ידועה, 242, שטחים תמורת שלום וכו' כספים לשיפור איכות החיים לא יועילו אם אין מצד שני מאמצים בכוון התהליך. זו "צעקה מהלב".

השגריר: אעביר המסר לרה"מ ושה"ח. אף אם נסכים לגבי החיאת התהליך. השאלה היא עם מי? מכאן עבר השגריר לנתח ההודעה שיצאה על ידי הבית הלבן. השגריר הגדירה כבלתי מסייעת כי מטילה אשמה שווה על המתפרעים ואלה שהסיתו ופגעו ועם אלו שחובתם לשמור על הסדר. "דברי נאמרים יותר בצער מאשר בכעס" הדגיש השגריר, התקשורת כאן ובודאי בארצות ערב יפרשו זאת כהבעת נזיפה בישראל, האם על ישראל לוותר על אחריותה בשטחים? מהי האלטרנטיבה שהצהרה זו מציגה? ההפגנות השאירו המשקע שלהן וכל יצעד שיעשה עתה ייחשב כאילו נעשה תחת לחץ המפגינים מחד וממארה"ב מאידך. זה בודאי מרשם לחמשיך בקו הקיים. המסר שנמסר האם יעודד המלך חוסיין לבוא למו"מ? האם הדבר יעודד המצרים? האם יחזק ק"ד? המשיך השגריר לשאול.

מרפי: ההודעה משקפת את הרגשת התסכול שנמטרה לישראל וזה לא השפיע. לממישראל האחריות על החוק והסדר. נמשיך יחזק בדרך המדינית על מנת למצוא פתרון: בטחון לכם. וצדק לפלשתינאים. הארועים פגעו בכך. יש לזכור שהארועים לא באו כתוצאה מנאום של ערפאת או ח'ומייני אר כספים שלהם. השגריר: ההתחלה-אולי היתה ספונטנית אך אש"ף קפץ על העגלה ויש לנו מידע בדוק על כך. מרפי: הרגשתי היא שרוב הישראליים יסכימו שהמאורעות נבעו מתוך התסכול והאומללות והדבה הראשון שיש לעשותו עתה הוא להחזיר לסדר. השגריר: המפקדים בשטח ציינו שאילו מלכתחילה היו נוקטים בכל האמצעים ובתקיפות הראוייה, המהומות היו מסתיימות מוקדם יותר.

Generation Shift

מרפי: חזר שיש פער דורות

ד. 3... מחור. 3... דפים  
טווג בסחוני  
דחיסות  
מאריך ודיח  
מסי מברק

אל:

3/3 611

וילקוקס: התערב ואמר שתפיסת ארה"ב שונה לגבי חגובות. ארה"ב ראתה הפגנות/דרכים להרגעתן בכל העולם ותחושתנו היא שהפלשתינאים לא יורגעו על ידי כוח. הכוח יביא אולי איפוק לזמן קצר. מדכא לראות ילדים בני 17 נפגעים על ידי רובים.  
הסגריר: גם החילים הם באותו גיל.  
הציר: אנו לא שואפים להדמות למדינות משטרה הכולות כוחות מיוחדים גדולים לטפול בהפגנות.  
הסגריר: אין זו תפיסתנו את צה"ל. צה"ל הוא צבא של העם שתפקידו להגן על בטחון ישראל ולא שמירה על סדר אזרחי.

וילקוקס: החשובה היא לפעול נגד הגורמים לתסיסה.  
הציר: טוב שהמצרים גילו דאגה. בהתחשב בסטטוס המיוחד שלה בעולם הערבי, היא צריכה להיות הקול הממתן כדי ליצור אווירה מתאימה להמשך תהליך השלום.

מרפי: DO NOT PRESUME ON THE EGYPTIANS BECAUSE OF THE PEACE TREATY

מלחמה לבנון הכניסה אותם לדאגה רבה ולכן ההודעות.

הסגריר: המלך חוסיין היה צריך להיות מודאג. המלך שאף לתמיכה ונוכחות בישיע. הארועים לא מסייעים לו ואי אפשר להבין השקט והאלם בעמאן. הסגריר הוסיף שכזכור המזכיר בביקורו עזב את ירושלים עם אור מתבהב והמלך לא נענה.  
מרפי: האפקט הסופי של המצב יהיה שלילי.

וילקוקס: לא בלתי נמנע בחיים הפוליטיים שמאירעות כאלה ידרבנו לתוצאות חיוביות ואפשר לנצל אולי המצב ולהוציא מתוך מעז.  
בצאתנו נכנס הסגריר המצרי לפגישה עם מרפי...

מתני



שגרירות ישראל / זושנינגטון

ט ז פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף מתוך דפים

סוג בטחוני שמור

דחיפות רגיל

תאריך/ז"ח 1300 21 בדצמ' 87

מס' מברק

551

המשרד

אל: מנכ"ל מדיני, מנהל מצפ"א

בחירות 88 - מז"ת

הסנטור אלברט גור דואיין אתמול במכניתו של מרוין קאלב. הוא הציג את עצמו כבעל הקו התקיף היחיד במדיניות חוץ והגנה מול כל יתר המועמדים הדמוקרטים וכראשון שתמך במעורבות ארה"ב במפרץ הפרסי. הוא נגד כל שנוי בנוכחות משום שכל נסיגה או שינוי יביאו הישג לתומיניזם ולגורמים המאיימים על בטחון העולם החופשי. בטחון ישראל וארצות הברית. לעומת הקו ה"ניצי" במפרץ מתנגד גור לתמיכה בקונטראס והוא תומך נלהב במכנית השלום של הנשיא אריאס. עקרונית הוא מתנגד לניאו-בדלנות של המפלגה הדמוקרטית לאחר וייטנאם.

בנושא הסובייטי גור אמר כי הוא מזועזע מגישת גורבאצ'וב לנושא היהודי ולזכויות האדם. הוא ציין כי הוא היה המועמד הדמוקרטי היחיד שהשתתף יחד עם משפחתו. בהפגנה בושינגטון. הוא נגד לינקאג' ישיר בין פרוק החימוש לזכויות האדם, אולם לדעתו יש להבהיר לסובייטים שארה"ב לא תסיר את הנושא מסדר היום וכל עוד לא תהיה התקדמות ממשית בענין זה לא תהיה התקדמות בנושאים אחרים המעניינים את הסובייטים כגון כלכלה ומסחר. גור הביע תמיכה בהסכם הסחר החפשי עם ~~ה~~ <sup>קנדה</sup>. הוא תומך בסחר חפשי על בסיס הדדיות ושולל פרוטקציוניזם.

דני בלור

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שמור

\*\* ירצא

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חידום: 12/14241

אל: בני/891, ורש/621

מ-: המשרד, תא: 211287, זח: 1205, דח: ב, ט, ג, ש

נד: 2

שמור/בהחל לבוקר

אל: נאו'ט-ניו יורק - יוחנן בייך  
דע: רוש' (שגריר, ציר)

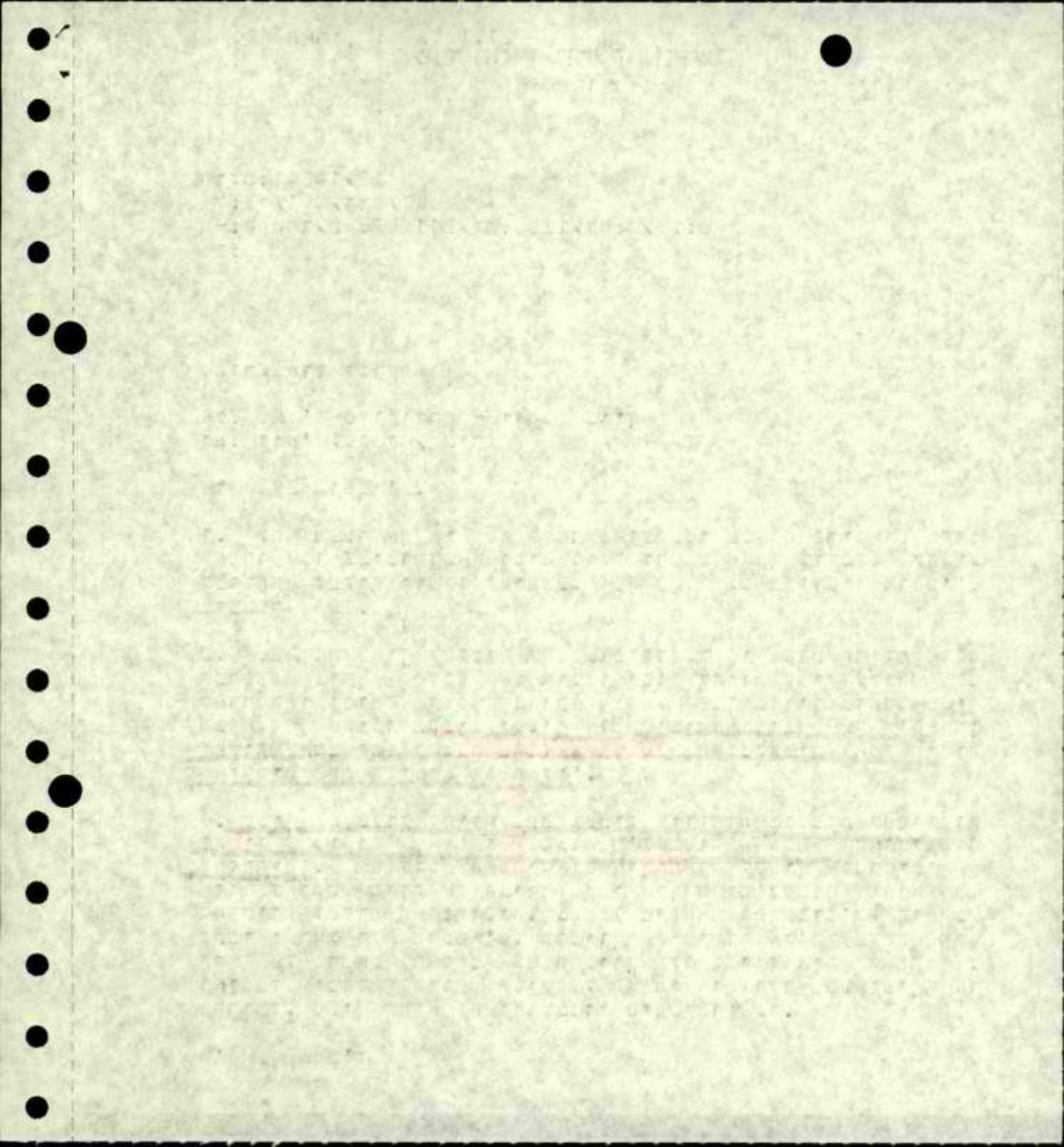
שלך 598 מועבי'ט.

1. זה מצער אף כי קשה לומר שהופתענו שכן האמריקאים חזרו ואמרו לנו בצינורות השונים כולל דרככם שאכן כוונתם להגיע לנרסחה שעליה יוכלו להימנע. כן נהגו גם בדיוני מועבי'ט בדצמבר 1986.

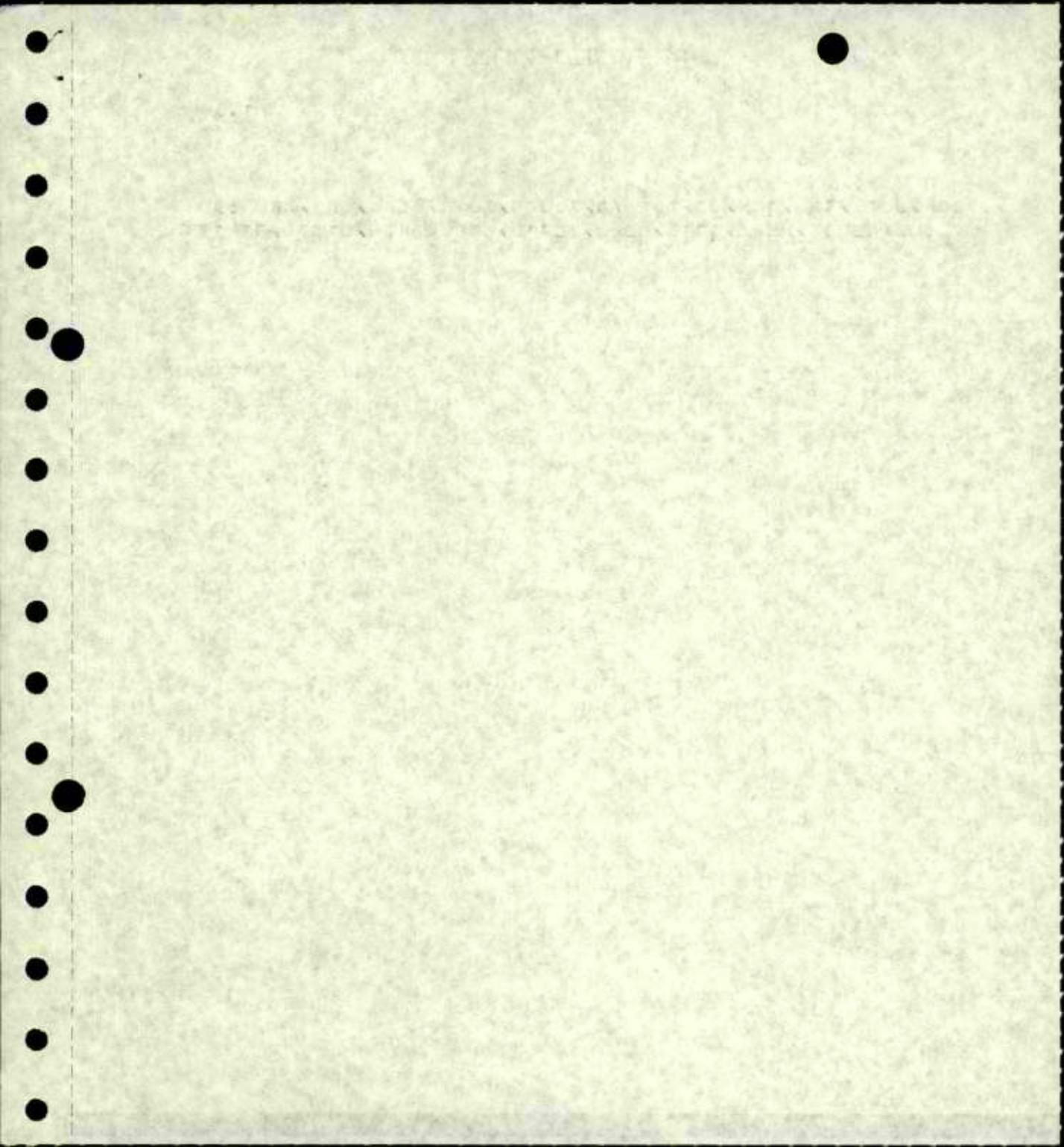
2. עם זאת צריך להזכיר להם שאפילו על פי אמות המידה שלהם הנוסח שצורף לשלכם 595 איננו יכול להיות קביל עליהם גם לאחר התיקונים שהוזכרו באותו מברק. שכן עדיין נותר טעיף מבוא 6 שהינו מקביל לטעיף אוברטיבו 6 ומזכיר על הצורך לשקול אמצעים להגנה IMPARTIAL של האוכלוסיה הפלסטינית האזרחית תחת הכיבוש הישראלי'.

3. טעיף זה עלול להיות כתח נעתיך ליוזמות נוספות לנסיגות להטיל ביקוח או'מי במגמה 'להבטיח הגנת האוכלוסיה האזרחית'. אם לועת האמריקאים אין מקום לטעיף אוברטיבו 6 אזי באותה מידה של הגיון עקבי אין מקום לטעיף מבוא 6. האחריות לשלום האוכלוסיה. גם על פי האמנות הבינ'ל, היא על כתפי ישראל ולא מועבי'ט. הרעיון של ביקוח או'מי על השטחים הוא של ערפאת (ראו נא גם הרעיון שלו בניוזדויק האחרון). ואיננו יכול להיות קביל על האמריקאים ולו בעקיפין או במרומז. טעיף מבוא זה דיו בבדי שיצביעו נגד.

ר' אגף ארבי'ל



תפ: שהח, רהס, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרנז, רס, אמן, ממד, ברנע, ארבל, 27,  
ליארד, מזתיס, מתאסשטהיס, טייבל, משפט, בירן, מצמא, סנהנא/סמנבל





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Q Mrs. Dakley, do you have anything to cool down the speculations, with regard to the -- whether the United States is going to use veto or abstain, in case the Security Council will condemn the Israeli actions in the occupied territory?

MS. DAKLEY: In regard to action at the Security Council, we note that they've debating the situation in the occupied territories for more than a week. Debate resumes this afternoon, and the vote is likely to occur today. Consultations on the draft resolution are continuing, and it would be premature to comment any further.

Q -- Have you received any Israeli requests to not use the veto?

MS. DAKLEY: I don't have --

Q -- I mean, to use the veto.

MS. DAKLEY: I don't have any of the specifics on the diplomatic exchanges that are involved in the debate there.

Q Your travel advisory does not appear to get any stiffer as a result of what's going on over there. You just say, you know, things can change, and so on and so forth. You are saying here, that you are sticking with the same old travel advisory, and not urging Americans to avoid that area?

MS. DAKLEY: No, we're not urging Americans to avoid the area. What we are trying to do is to note that the travel advisory that has been in effect since '82 is still applicable, noting that the situation can change, and urging travelers to exercise caution and to check with the American authorities.

Q Yes, but wait, Phyllis. This is the worst violence that's been in that area, certainly since '82 when you initially issued that, it's gone a considerable distance further than anything

we've seen in the past. And you still feel that, you know, Americans, under some circumstances of checking in with the Embassy, should --

Q Go wandering around?

Q -- just go there?

MS. DAKLEY: Well, what we are saying is that the situation changes daily, that you can't make judgments about what it's going to be or what it has been. We are obviously all aware of the violence. We've been talking about it. We are simply urging that people pay attention to the travel advisory that's been in effect since '82.

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Q Is that because underneath all of this, you have some kind of expectation that this is going to die down very soon, that there's some optimism that underlies this?

MS. OAKLEY: I'm not speculating in any way on what we feel the outcome. I think our position on this is clear. We are concerned, we are asking people to be careful.

Q Phyllis, if the situation changes daily, why doesn't the travel advisory change?

MS. OAKLEY: Well, that's not really a very practical way of going about this. This is why we have given the telephone numbers of the consulate in Jerusalem, the embassy in Tel Aviv, and certainly, the number that people may call in the State Department, so that they can get the latest information that way.

Q Phyllis, is that sentence, that things have been -- "there have been disturbances recently" and "changing day to day", is that new language to the old advisory?

MS. OAKLEY: Yes. I ended with a quote when I gave the telephone number, and I -- if you will recall -- I said this advisory remains in effect. There have been disturbances in these areas recently and the situation is changing from day to day.

Q Phyllis, have the Israelis asked you not to issue a stronger travel advisory?

MS. OAKLEY: I'm not going to speculate or talk about our diplomatic exchanges. We are concerned with the possible dangers to American citizens. That's why we are doing this.

Q Can you give us some guidance on what the United States is specifically asking the Israelis to do? I gather there has been more consultation over the last several days. What is it we want them to do?

MS. OAKLEY: We have been in touch with the highest levels of the Israeli government, and they assure us that they are doing everything possible to avoid further casualties.

Q And do you believe them?

MS. OAKLEY: (does not respond)

Q A question -- this is a question.

MS. OAKLEY: I'm not going to answer that kind of --

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Q Do you have any account -- Mrs. Dakley, do you have any account of American interests in the occupied Arab land that could be threatened by the troubles there?

MS. DAKLEY: No, I don't have anything specific on that question. Yes?

Q Have American officials simultaneously been in contact with Palestinian leaders -- in the West Bank, in Gaza -- trying to cool tensions?

MS. DAKLEY: I don't, again, have any specifics on that. I think we have been asked that question before. We certainly have a range of contacts in the occupied territories. We are urging and hoping restraint will be exercised on all sides.

Q You have indicated that we have been in touch with the highest levels, and they assure us that they're doing all they can to minimize casualties. What are we asking of them?

MS. DAKLEY: I'm not going to get into the details of the specific exchanges on this. We've talked about it last week of being in touch with them. This is further to that.

Q Are we happy with their riot tactics? Are we happy --

MS. DAKLEY: I'm not going to --

Q -- with use of live ammunition against civilians in demonstrations?

MS. DAKLEY: I'm not going to speculate or offer descriptions of our contacts with them. I think the statements speak for themselves.

Q How are they cooperating with the US administration with regard to attempts to cool down the situation?

MS. DAKLEY: I go back to what I said before, that they have assured us that they are doing everything possible to avoid further casualties.

Q Do you have any -- seen any message or have any statement if Egypt withdraws its ambassador from Israel?

MS. DAKLEY: I don't have anything on that.

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Q Phyllis?

MS. OAKLEY: Yes?

Q (Off-mike) -- seen some reports of greater level of organization among these demonstrations. Does the US have any information regarding outside agitation or greater organization regarding this?

MS. OAKLEY: I can't help you with that question.

Q Phyllis, you wouldn't say if the Israelis had asked us to keep the travel advisory what it was, but can you say whether this was discussed in these high-level discussions with the Israelis?

MS. OAKLEY: Again, we don't get into the agendas. All the issues that were discussed, I think, you were aware that we brought this whole situation up with them.

Q When you say "the whole situation," do you mean including the revival of stipulates of the Camp David accords with regard to the autonomy in --

MS. OAKLEY: No. I'm talking here about the situation in the occupied territories. Yes? Finished. Yes, certainly.

Q (Off-mike) -- the thing that I find a little confusing in this -- throughout this issue, you've sort of stepped back from it and given the impression that you think this is an internal Israeli matter and the Israelis are dealing with it. And yet you offer that we've been in touch with the highest levels of the government and they've assured us. I don't understand what the US interest here is. If you could spell out what the US is actually trying to do, what it wants the Israelis to do as they handle these demonstrations.

MS. OAKLEY: I'm not going to get into a long discussion or a specific discussion today of our interests. I think those are basically known and certainly clear to all the people how we feel about the road to peace in the Middle East. Let me repeat that we feel that the demonstrations, this level of frustration, points to the need for efforts to bring about the comprehensive peace. This remains the goal of the United States policy. This is what we feel is necessary. Yes?

Q Phyllis, you're still not answering that question --

MS. OAKLEY: Well --

MS. OAKLEY: -- that's been asked twice. What is it that the United States government would like Israel to do in this case?

MS. OAKLEY: We have stated before, I've said it again today, we're urging restraint on all the parties, and we're hoping that the violence will subside and that the situation can return

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to its former condition, noting that we've got to move to the comprehensive peace that we've all talked about. And I don't have any further details.

Q (off mike)

MS. OAKLEY: Certainly.

Q I wasn't exactly sure, did you say that you didn't know if we had been in contact with Palestinians, or that we hadn't been?

MS. OAKLEY: I said that I didn't have any specifics on our contacts with Palestinians.

Q Could I ask you to take that, if we've been discussing with some of the Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza?

MS. OAKLEY: I've answered that question. I said, through our consulate in Jerusalem, we have widened broad contacts among the population of the occupied territories.

Q Mrs. Oakley, have you gained any new information, with regard to who is directing, if any, the troubles in the West Bank and Gaza?

MS. OAKLEY: I answered that question before when I was asked about specific organizers. I said, I just had no information on that.

X

