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## 'Arab Lands Said to Be Turning to China for Arms

By IHSAN A. HIJAZI

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, June 23 — Arab diplomats say that some Arab countries are turning to China for weapons at a time when the Soviet Union appears reluctant to provide arms.

The diplomats say Syria and Libya, Moscow's closest Arab allies, have been negotiating with Beijing to buy sophisticated missiles. Israeli and American officials said this week that Syrian and Chinese officials had been discussing the possible sale of a new shorter-range Chinese missile, known as the M-9, to Damascus.

In the Arab diplomats' view, a crisis of confidence appears to be developing in Arab-Soviet relations over what many Arabs see as a shift in Moscow's policy in favor of Israel and toward closer cooperation with the United States, Israel's main backer.

Criticism in the Arab press of Soviet moves on this issue has prompted an official retort from Moscow and set in motion a publicity campaign to reassure Arabs that there has been no basic change in Soviet attitudes.

### Assad to Visit Moscow

The diplomats said President Hafez al-Assad of Syria plans to visit Moscow soon for talks with Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

Mr. Assad's last trip to the Soviet Union was a year ago. A joint communiqué at the end of that visit said the two countries, joined in a treaty of friendship and cooperation, were to upgrade their military cooperation.

But sales of Soviet military equipment to Syria are reported to have fallen off over the last year, partly over Moscow's insistence on being paid in cash.

President Assad bases his Middle East policy on achieving military parity with Israel. He maintains that this is essential for negotiating a Middle East settlement from a position of strength.

Maj. Gen. Mustafa Tlas, the Syrian

### Some in the region see a shift by Moscow.

Defense Minister, said last month that a balance of military power with Israel was now within reach of his armed forces.

Diplomats said Libya, like Syria, was holding talks with the Chinese for buying M-9 missiles, which are still under development.

### Report of a Soviet Refusal

The two Arab countries are armed with Soviet-built Frog-7, SS-21 and SS-1 surface-to-surface missiles, which have ranges of 37 miles, 62 miles and 150 miles, respectively. The M-9 missile is estimated to have a range of 375 miles.

On Wednesday, As Safir, a daily newspaper in West Beirut, carried reports to the effect that Moscow has refused to supply Syria with the SS-23 missile, which has a range of about 200 miles.

There has been a marked warming of Arab-Chinese relations lately. Libya announced it was investing in a Chinese silk factory in the eastern province of Zhejiang, while Kuwait and Tunisia have set up a joint venture with Beijing to produce fertilizers.

Saudi Arabia, which has no diplomatic relations with any Communist country, has bought CSS-2, or East Wind, ballistic missiles from China. Officials in Riyadh said the weapon is intended to defend Saudi Arabia against the possibility of Iranian attacks.

Arab cooperation with China has been at the expense of the Soviets, who have been building bridges with the Arab world for three and a half decades.

Gennadi I. Gerasimov, spokesman

for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, issued a statement Tuesday rejecting charges in Arab publications about what they called "Soviet complicity with the United States" against the Palestinian cause and in favor of Israel.

Tass, the Soviet press agency, quoted Mr. Gerasimov as emphasizing that Moscow and Washington were in fact discussing measures to stop a step-up in the arms race in the Middle East.

On Tuesday the Soviet Embassy in Beirut released to the press an Arabic translation of an article by the Soviet press service Novosti, explaining recent Soviet overtures toward Israel but emphasizing that they did not constitute a lessening of Moscow's support for the Arab and Palestinian causes.

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## מצע המפלגה הדמוקרטית.

בחמשך לדיוח בלוח - המו"מ בין צוות דוקקים לצוות ג'קסון נמשך ומחריף. הנקודה העקריית בויכוח היא בנושא הפלשתינאים. אנשי ג'קסון תובעים STATEWOOD והגדרה עצמית ודוקקים הבהיר שלא יסכים בשום אופן לשתי אלו וגם לא ל- HOMELAND אנשי דוקקים הטכינו רק להכניס את המלים "זכויות לגיטימיות". לכך לא מסכימים אנשי ג'קסון הרוצים שיהיה כתוב "זכויות לאומיות" ויתכן שבסופו תושמט המלה "לגיטימיות". אנשי ג'קסון ביוזמת זוגבי דורשים גם משפט על "שלמותה הטריטוריאלית" של לבנון.

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ועידת הנשיאים.

מצ"כ דברי שר הבטחון בפני מנהיגים יהודים במסגרת ועידת הנשיאים היום  
ה-24/6.

לואי: גאנר ניו יורק

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24.6.1988

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DRAFT

## ADDRESS BY DEFENSE MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN

TO THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS - NEW YORK

FRIDAY JUNE 24, 1988 - 8:30 a.m.

It is only natural that whenever an Israeli leader, whenever an Israeli member of the government comes over to meet with his colleagues in the U.S. government he meets with the leadership of the Jewish community and tries to share his own views on what are the problems that Israel faces today and normally I hope on the issues that is responsible to run them as part of the collective responsibility of the whole government. Therefore, allow me to share with you the way that I see Israel's defense problems. The War of Independence of Israel formally ended in 1948 but whoever sees the realities that we have experienced in the last 40 years and even today must realize that we are still in the 40 years long war of our independence. It has not been ended yet, and therefore, whoever who has got illusions that we have reached peace and tranquility doesn't see the realities of the region --the realities of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Whenever a Minister of Defense has to formalize the defense policy of Israel he first has to analyze - to define, what are the threats, the threats of our potential enemies by the use of force against us. There are at the present three levels of threats with which Israel has to cope: The first one is the military threat. The threat that is presented by the armed forces of the Arab countries that have not yet reached peace with Israel, that continue to stress that they are at state of war, and allow me to add - they invest a lot of their own resources in preparation for war by increasing their military capabilities. Allow me to say, it is still a threat to Israel and therefore 80% at least of the defense budget of Israel is appropriated - allotted to cope with this threat, we don't need the F-16, the F-16, the Kfir, the 2 tank, and all the more sophisticated kinds of weapons that we should reach, re-develop, or purchase from the United States against the Palestinians in the territories or against the terrorist Palestinian groups that operate against Israel from outside Israel and the territories as administered by us. The second level of threat is the terror. Terror which is carried out by various terrorist groups, until about three years ago there were mainly Palestinian terror groups. As a result of the war in Lebanon Shi'ite extreme-fundamentalistic Islamic groups joined the Palestinian terrorist groups and participate almost in daily violent encounters with our soldiers along the Lebanese border



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in the Security Zone, against the SLA - Southern Lebanese Army, and the Israeli army. And since the 8th of December we face a new phenomenon which we did not experience in the last 39 years of Israel's independence. Whoever causes terrorism he doesn't know what he is speaking about, it is a confrontation - a hostile confrontation with most of the Palestinians that resides in the territories against Israel. It is not carried by typical standard weapons, very few incidents of the use of pistols or rifles or hand-grenades. It is entirely different phenomenon even though that Palestinian terror groups that did not initiate and did not organize them now take the benefit of what happened and in a way try to guide it. When it comes to the first level of threat Israel was and still is in relatively good shape first and foremost, because of the peace between Egypt and Israel. Israel out of the cycle of war, makes the whole difference in the strategic balance in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict in favor of Israel. Allow me to remind you that since 1948 and 1973 there was no war between the Arab countries and Israel that Egypt did not lead them into these wars, once Egypt is outside the cycle of war and let's not forget, it is almost ten years since the Camp David Accord was signed and over nine years since the peace treaty was signed even though not all our hopes and expectations about normalizing relations between our two countries were materialized, the peace between our two countries in the strategic, political meanings is of great advantage - tremendous advantage to Israel.

Iraq stuck in its war? against Iran should leave Syria alone as a potential threat, but the continuation of the war between Iraq and Iran gave new impetus to the arms race in the region and we have faced especially in the last two years, a surge in certain instances toward to be successful, to accelerate the arms race into areas of more sophisticated weapons and I will not spell out all of them, but entirely new area is now a new area of weapons is in the hands of many Arab countries and I refer to the ground-to-ground missiles and even more so we are aware that at least four Arab countries have developed the capabilities of producing chemical gases, chemical means of warfare. ABC had a program from Israel "Nightline", I was one of the first ones to be interviewed and later on I had a breakfast with Mr. Ted Kopel and I asked him a simple question "How can you explain that in the case of four Israeli soldiers hitting two Palestinians, not one of them got killed? Not one of them had a broken bone? And it kept the television time of the United States and Europe occupied for three weeks and when five thousand kids were poisoned to death including children, women, men by Iraqi's chemical warfare intended



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to kill them, they didn't give television time more than one day or one and a half." I told him "I accept the double-standard by which you measure Israel, I would be ashamed if you look at me the way that you look at the Arab countries leaders but lets keep certain proportion." Therefore we face today in Syria and Iraq, Saudia Arabia and I would not be surprised that in the coming future in Lybia - new type of arms. Why they are so important to the Arab countries? Iraq today can fire a missile to Tel-Aviv without leaving Iraqi territory. Saudia Arabia can fire from 1500 kilometers a missile to Tel-Aviv without moving even near the Saudi-Jordanian border. Syria has got its capabilities before hand, and as you know even the United States has no weapon that can intercept a missile once it was fired in the air. No country in the world can intercept tactical missiles which is fired from thousand kilometers from Tel-Aviv once it is fired. The Arab countries to arm themselves with these kind of weapons because they know they can never penetrate Israel's skies, reach our centers of population because of our capabilities of our airforce. Missiles cannot be stopped once when they are fired and no doubt it puts the centers of populations of Israel big targets for the first time since our War of Independence, only then enemy planes succeeded to bomb Tel-Aviv since then in any one of our wars till this moment they have failed to achieve it.

We who are responsible to the defense of Israel - not to cope with the headlines of your media, have to pay great attention vis-a-vis this threat because it might mislead some of the Arab countries leaders, not now, not next year, but in the coming future.

When it comes to the second level of threat - terror, when I took my position as a minister of defense we were bogged down in the Lebanese mud with 15,000 Israeli soldiers. Three years of war in Lebanon failed to unroot terrorism from Lebanon. We succeeded to inflict a ? back to the PLO but after all the question is not one terror organization but to what extent you eliminate a kind of a threat that has to ensure peace to the Galilee. The National Unity Government of Israel took in January 1985 a decision the IDF implemented it in June 1985 by which we focus more clearly, more sharply what is our purpose in Lebanon. To be the policemen of Lebanon? I will not risk one life of one Israeli soldier, if Gemayal will be in power or the brother of him or another one. The IDF was built, its purpose is to make sure that Israel and Israeli security will be safe. The goal is not changed - peace to the Galilee, the system was different. I will not elaborate. Three years passed, instead of 15,000 soldiers in Lebanon

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there are a few hundred on a permanent basis. Terror was not defeated in Lebanon, terror is there and attempts are daily to attack targets in Israel, to attack the Security Zone, but in the last three years after ending our massive military involvement no one Israeli civilian Jew or non-Jew got killed as a result of terror originated from Lebanon. I wish I could say the same about I could say the same about other parts of Israel; 37 Israeli soldier's got killed in fulfilling this mission. Much fewer in number, the painful price was much smaller in the last three years than in the three years that preceded the last three years for the achievement of the goal on which we are all united - peace to the Galilee.

Still daily fighting, just like yesterday morning - another terror group tried to infiltrate and as usual it was stopped-cold and most got killed. Their are terror from the territories their are terror from time to time, terror groups that try to infiltrate from Egypt. We had a terror group that succeeded to take a bus, killed two Israeli women and an Israeli person - they were eliminated. We had attempts from Jordan, the basic difference is that the governments of Jordan and Egypt do or at least try very hard to prevent it. To prevent the use of their own territories for terror groups to infiltrate into Israel. Since the 8th of December, what the Palestinians call the "infatada" what I would call the civilian violence in the territories, the number of terror attacks, the way that we witnessed in '84, '85, '86 were reduced and proportionally the fatal Israeli casualties was reduced proportionally to what it used in the last five years on the average of seven months.



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But this is not the case when we cope with the third level of threats, the violence in the territories. The way that I see it, it is not coping with terrorism. To cope with were initiated by the Arab countries, armed forces we know how. To cope with terrorism we learn and we know. This time we face confrontation with a considerable part, if not the bulk of the Palestinians who reside in the territories; 1.4, 1.5 million I haven't there one lover of Zion. They don't want to be under Israel's rule and they are ready from time to time to struggle against being under us. We have no partners there - partners on any political basis are not aware of any Palestinian group who reside in the territories that accept Israeli rule on under whatever terms. It is a confrontation, hostile confrontation between two entities entirely different in their political aspiration, religion. With that we have to cope. The matter that they have chosen this time is violence but violence not by weapons, standard weapons - stones, petrol bottles, tires, knives, sticks. I believe that only on five occasions their was use of pistol or hand-grenade, in the thousands of events that took place, violent events, in the territories. The purpose of far reaching political goals, is basically the same, that Arab countries armed forces failed to achieve by their were against us, the same as the Palestinian terror groups failed to achieve in their various terror activities against us. It's not the struggle of the students of Paris for reduction of the fees of tuition. It's not the question of, when I served here as Ambassador, black communities rioted to achieve equal civilian rights, it's a confrontation between two hostile national entities. What are/were the problems that we faced. Basically, there were two alternatives: 1) to say we are backing up, we are running away, we are giving in. Since it is civilian violence: women, children, men, ...large-scale. Of course there is a small extreme nucleus, but the bulk of the population identified with them, support them and translate their sympathy from time to time by participation in violent activities. Therefore, one option was to give in, to give in to violence. Because as you know it is not fighting between two armed forces, it's not fighting against armed terrorists - it's fighting against civilian population in large numbers. And the second option was to meet



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violence by force under the circumstances that we had to cope with civilians - violent civilians on a large scale - by uniformed persons. As you know it's not secret since the end of the Six Day War I believed that the achievement of the Six Day War should serve in the absence of peace as the strategic depth of Israel. I was and continue to be for the principles of territories for peace, not like the precedent that we had with Egypt, because for the peace with Egypt we had to give back all the territories not just territories, till the last square inch. The Egyptians did not want Gaza. If you try to give them Gaza today, as a present, they will say, thank you, we do not want to touch it. To uproot and destroy every Israeli settlement in the Sinai, I believe that this precedent by no means should be repeated. Regardless of my opinion of accepting the principle of territory for peace, by no means do I agree to give in to violence. Violence has to be met by force. Whoever gives in, in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict to violence, invites more violence, more terror and increases the threat of war. Therefore, even though I am not a supporter of the whole land of Israel not giving in one inch for peace, I am ready for compromise. But in coping with the violence, by no means to give in. I distinguish between the need to have a political process, at the same time, whenever we are met with violence, to cope with violence, by force. Therefore, I have the unpleasant job to cope with this kind of violence in which there is no simple solution. I know people that know every answer for everything, they can solve everything yesterday, but whenever they had to do it they didn't succeed. But therefore, we military forces of Israel, border police, other security agencies, had a period trial and some errors, I will not deny it. At the present we are coping with the violence in the following way.



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As you know, Judea, Samaria and the Gaza strip are not part of Israel's sovereign soil. All the governments of Israel since the Six Day War kept their legal political status open undecided, undecided unilaterally, and therefore they were put under military government. The Minister of Defense is empowered by the govt. to run these territories. Two military governments. Not all military forces have to get missions. What do they have to achieve by their activities. The missions that I put on the IDF on the military govt. is two fold. 1) to achieve tranquility not a solution. Solution, it is to say, peace with Jordan, solution to the Palestinian problem, deciding the permanent legal political status of the territories can be achieved only in peace negotiations. By military means alone, solutions can not be found. At the same time, the use of force in meeting violence has to achieve first tranquility second effective functioning of the civil administration and the local govt. of the Palestinians that serve the Palestinians. These are the two missions. Today we use three sets of means. All under our laws. Government has to operate within the limits of the law. The first set of means is the military presence and activities to cope with violence. Again the IDF is disarmed in coping with this violence. We do not use the airforce. We don't bomb villages. No artillery, no tanks, no sophisticated weapons. At the worse riots, we use tear gas, rubber bullets, sticks, whatever police we use everywhere and rifles in case of dangers to the soldiers. The second set of means juridical means in accordance to our laws. The fact that we are not coping with terror, the fact that it is much more widespread, not organized I said, it's not led by generals and colonels, it's led by sergeants, lieutenants and captains on the other side (hand). I know that the figures are not pleasant. We have in our jails more than 4000 terrorists, now we have in our military installations over 5000 in addition that were arrested, detained, administratively to prevent the activists that are spread all over to instigate, to organize to participate in the violence. And thirdly, administrative and economic measures. Using all this will require time until we will achieve the two goals, tranquility and effective functioning of the civil administration. In the last two months half of the petrol bottles that are thrown are thrown between the Palestinians among themselves. They try to undermine the local governments, the extremists would like to create chaos, adopting the Leninist-Marxist axiom 'the worse to the people, the better is for us'. They try to bring chaos within the Palestinian community. This is the problem we face and I know to see confrontations between soldiers and border policemen vis a vis civilians including women and children - nobody likes it. Allow me to say the Israeli soldiers don't like it either. They understand they have to do it. Four days ago I met with a group of soldiers, a good unit, 100 soldiers- 30% of them where Yeshivot has their soldiers. You know what it is. People who study in Yeshivot but are ready to serve and are integrated in the military service.



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I made a poll, 80% were privates - 18-19 years old, 20% mao's and officers. Who would like to serve in Lebanon, in Nablus, in Jericho, in Gaza? 100% voted in Lebanon -- no one voted to serve in the territories. And since the 9th of December, when the violent activities started in the territories, 10 Israeli soldiers got killed in coping with the violence in Lebanon, only 1 Israeli soldier was assassinated in Bethlehem - 1 to 10. Every soldier, this unit, every unit, complained why they are not sent to serve along the Lebanese border. We have today thousands of thousands of reservists that have served. All of the soldiers understand why they have to serve there, they understand the meaning, the purpose of why they have to serve there. It does not mean they have to like it. We face more complicated problems than fighting armed forces or fighting terror, because it is a confrontation a hostile one between two national entities. And whoever doesn't understand it doesn't understand the problem. Regardless of what are the political views about a solution, violence has to be met by force. We have to drive home to the minds of the Palestinians to the Arab world, to the international community, that through violence they will achieve nothing. Violence will lead to more suffering to the Palestinians. Therefore, it's an additional problem that for 39 years we did not experience it. It came about I believe as a result of despair and frustration. It did not come as a result of innovation on the part of the PLO headquarters. It sprang from the people, from the Palestinians in the territories. And unpleasant problem, but we must cope with it. Solution or process. Years of force and violence has to be met by force. This is in what Israel is engaged into today in facing its defense problems. I believe that we succeeded in the last 40 years to overcome many difficulties, many problems. If we stick to the basic principle of Judaism:

א'ן דורק'ן א'ן ד'ך

Dont push the end to believe in your right, in your justice, to have patience and endurance and to stick to the basics of what you try to achieve, we shall overcome this problem too.



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Questions

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In answer to questions Rabin replied:

1. I had quiety at least 20 meetings with different kinds of Palestinians, with PLO inclinations, pro-Jordanian inclinations and I said to them, I proposed: You are the biggest Palestinian concentration, both the Palestinians in Judea-Samaria & Goza is 1.4 mil., in Israel we've got over 700,000 who are Israeli citizens - in Jordan 1.2 million -- Why don't you take you own fate and future in your own hands. If there will be a leadership, and we cannot appoint your leaders -- leadership is not appointed from the outside, it has to emerge from the people. If you'll come and say we are your partners -- with us you have to negotiate -- I would have negotiated regardless of which conditions you would have come to us.

In most cases, they smiled, whoever were frank said, "are you crazy dont you know that if any one of use would come up and dare to pretend to be a leader he would be assassinated by the PLO." In the last months I had meetings also with various groups, leaders of extreme Islamic fundamentalist groups, the El-Mujallma El-Islam from Gaza, those who had inclination to the PLO ideas -- brought their opinions and in answer to my question -- one of them said -- and I was amazed that he was courageous to say so while 3 of the leaders were in attendance, said, "you know that the PLO would assassinate him and you will put him in jail. If on the one hand the PLO assassinated and your minister puts him in jail how will you expect leaders." Well he can say so only about the last few months. All of them make it clear that they can be only mailmen In the past I told them that with mailmen I dont negotiate. They are not partners for negotiations. Therefore, leadership, I believe in the long run there will be and what happened since Dec. 9 is the first time since May 15, 1948 the Palestinians that reside in former British-mandated Palestine took the lead in the struggle for their cause. They relied on Arab countries-armed forces, the PLO and terror groups outside the region. For the first time we see them lead their own struggle, how long will it take, will it happen, I tend to believe, that the first time in 2-3-5 years there is such a possibility. And I told them. I said, you have to lead in your struggle. Why dont you replace the driver who lives in villas in Tunisia, 5-star hotels, all over the world. You led the struggle, put yourself in the driver seat. But they are afraid and they know why and not mainly from us but from their own terror groups. This is the reason why the PLO headquarters from Tunis instructed the Palestinians in the territories not to meet Shultz because they fear that through such meetings, local leadership might be developed. And this is the reason at the present that I dont see in my own position - with the PLO, I oppose any negotiations.

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I am ready with any Palestinian that does not come under the Palestinian covenant, and accepts UN 242 & 338 as the sole basis for the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, that renounces and is against violence and terrorism. I believe that in negotiations for peace or any kind of negotiations we need Palestinians to be part of the negotiations otherwise there will be another agreement, like the peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon of May 17, 1983 that was born dead.

2) For Israeli Arabs, there's no doubt that there were implications from what happened in the territories. They explain it simply -- they say they are our own kin -- you've got the right to care about the Jews in the Soviet Union why don't you understand that whenever our people are suffering, we have no right to care, they are our cousins, part of our families. I say I understand but there's a line that you are not allowed to cross. You are Israeli citizens and therefore violence cannot be tolerated. I understand you -- I told them. I said I understand that you can't talk about it but to translate your feelings to violence -- will be met by force. No doubt if you take the Camp David Accords and when you're talking about autonomy and you know that in Hebrew, Begin stressed that Arabs of Eretz Israel and some of the population of the Galilee -- the majority are, Arabs, not Jews not like in the Gaza -- you've got 3000 Jews -- 850,000 Palestinians.

If its autonomy to the Palestinians not limited to what used to be the West Bank and Gaza -- it could be a catastrophe and no doubt we see a tendency of more Palestinian nationalism among the Israeli Arabs and in various cases we saw violence too. In a way, trying to ignore the green line brought the Arabs too together -- the Israeli citizens and those who are not Israeli citizens. If there are no lines and I claim that the line exists in terms that they are Israeli citizens and the Palestinians in the territories and West Bank are not Israeli citizens.

3) Bassam Abu-Sharif; I believe from time to time there are Palestinian tricks. The basis of the PLO, the essence of their philosophy, the core of their existence, the Covenant, is the destruction of Israel and terror and violence -- as the means of achieving their goal. Therefore, the media, the people of Hasbara, have to answer every trick of the PLO. It doesn't change basically where they stand. And on this issue at least in the major parties there is consensus. With the PLO -- we will not negotiate.



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4. Method; They don't call for logistics of support of arms, chain of command, the means by which violence is carried out are very simple: stones, petrol bottles, kids of 8-10-12 years. We caught them preparing petrol bombs, & setting fields on fire. Therefore, there is no need for a chain of command. Generally they instruct the local people to get organized and go. As long as there is a motivation among people and they are not short of means to throw stones, petrol bottles, set fields on fire. When I said organization - instructions are coming by radio, leaflets. Unfortunately, we caught at least 3-4 leaflets that were published by a small printing house owned by a Jew in Jerusalem. In an attempt to transfer money of the PLO we found also that Jews were involved even though they did not know exactly for what purpose.

5. The question of territory. As you know the Government of Israel is basically divided. Every school of thought is legitimate. There is no decision in the government of Israel because we're divided in accordance with a system of the inner Cabinet -- if the Likud party will come, e.g., against the international peace conference, it will fail -- if the Labor will come forth the voting will bring it down. Therefore Israel has no basic position that can be called a government position on these issues. The Prime Minister can speak against it or a minister can speak for it -- and nobody speaks against a Cabinet decision. We have no formal position on the Shultz initiative. We have not said yes; we have not said no. There are personal views but no cabinet decision.

I believe the question of territory we experienced it - militarily - purely - the best defense line to Israel, vis a vis Egypt, was the Suez Canal. Militarily, I can bring all military experts from a pure military point of view - second best better than half ?? - the international boundary which is the border of peace today is the worst that can be drawn on the map between the international border and the Suez Canal. The question is what does peace contribute to the security of a country. What arrangements are made for de-militarization - the kind we have in the context of the peace treaty with Egypt...in the military annex...to come and to say, territory is the only solution to secure Israel is nonsense.



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I heard that somebody here described a threat of the stinger via a via Ben Gurion airport -- total nonsense. For 35 years we land in Eilat airport - and it's close to the border of Jordan - and the stinger can shoot down a plane that lands in Eilat. What is the meaning that we shall not allow any plane to land today in Eilat or to capture Aqaba as a pre-condition to the right to land in Eilat. Only a person that has no understanding of defense, in the realities facing Israel, can come and claim that the real threat to Israel is a stinger at Ben Gurion Airport. Even a private soldier in Israel understands it better than the ones that say so. Therefore the real issue is entirely different. And here, I am not speaking as the Minister of Defense. What we want is a Jewish democratic country not a bi-national state. For me the future of the Jewish people of the whole land of Israel is the basis of our existence. Without recognition of the right of the Jewish people all over the land of Israel there is no explanation of why a Jewish state can be only there - not in Biro Bjam or in Uganda. But the boundaries - not only Jerusalem, beyond security - Jerusalem is the heart and the soul of the existence of the State of Israel. But if it would be 10 kilometers here or there - look at the maps of the Jewish states in the last 4000 years -- always they were on the whole land of Israel. For me, the real issues, for Israel in order to fulfill its Jewish destiny - it must be a Jewish democratic state. This is the guiding light. Second is security. These are the 2 guidelines Everything beyond that is negotiable and I don't want to draw maps.

###

Arlene Behar - NY

real issues, for me, if Israel i

END

*SPNS*

*putting together notes in 13 15  
at time to answer Ed 121  
agreed Ed on 11/12/88*

*217  
J.M.C.*

June 24, 1988

MEMORANDUM

RE: Observations on Capitol Hill

Below is a summary of meetings which took place on Wednesday, June 15 and Thursday, June 16, 1988 for the purpose of assessing the <sup>mood</sup> on Capitol Hill with key leaders.

**Congressman Tom Foley (D) Washington,  
(Majority Leader)**

Observation: Foley believes there are no current serious disruptions in the U.S.-Israel relationship, nor is there sentiment among his House colleagues to punish Israel in any way. He believes that there is a sense of personal "allergy" towards Shamir in particular because Shamir gives the appearance of being totally inflexible. Foley portends future difficulties in the next Congress unless there is demonstrated flexibility on the part of whomever wins the Israeli elections.

**Congressman Ed Markey (D) Massachusetts**

Observations: Markey is about to marry a Jewish physician (Susan Blumenthal) so he is preoccupied a little more than usual with our issues. Markey was a signator of the Mubarak Awad letter to Shamir. Markey was obsessed with defending his signing of said letter as being in the "best interest of Israel" since Israel, in Markey's judgement, was creating a martyr out of Awad. It was a usual "saving Israel from itself" type of analysis. Markey also senses a belief that the current Israeli government is engaged in "massive resistance" against the Palestinians. This term "massive resistance" is my word but it was used by several members of Congress and is a phrase dating back to the American civil



**Markey Continued**

rights movement of the 1950 and 60's and was a term ascribed to the most bigoted and shortsighted of American, Southern governmental leaders in their efforts to resist the civil rights movement of American blacks.

**Congressman Dick Cheney (R) Wyoming**

Observation: Cheney will be the House Republican Whip (replacing Congressman Trent Lott who is running for the Senate in Mississippi) in the next Congress. Cheney was the least openly critical of any Member of Congress, but appeared to be speaking cautiously and guardedly rather than candidly. He expressed complete understanding for the need to restore order before Israel could begin any type of serious negotiation with the Palestinians.

**Senator Daniel Inouye (D) Hawaii**

Observation: Inouye was extremely strong in defense of Israel's actions but also mentioned that there is a sense among some of his colleagues that next year some progress must be made, or at least apparently made, on the issue of the peace process or otherwise Israel is looking inflexible.

**Senator Richard Lugar (R) Indiana**

Observation: Lugar was very vocal in his understanding of the need to restore order but also expressed a sense of disquiet of what next year would bring. He seemed to be expressing the view that some of his colleagues had that Israel must be seen to be moving towards a solution to problems rather than saying it will be unmoveable. Lugar was commenting stylistically as well as substantively in terms of the need for progress.

**Congressman Bill Gray (D) Pennsylvania**

Observation: Gray is currently Budget Committee Chairman and is likely to be the leader of the Democratic Caucus in the House in the next Congress. Gray is the Director of the Platform Committee at the Democratic Convention and alerted us to the Jackson forces' insistence on a pro-Palestinian plank at the Convention but made it clear that the Dukakis forces had the votes to defeat such a plank. Gray, while

**Congressman Lee Hamilton (D) Indiana**

Observation: Hamilton was in the midst of wide speculation in the media and on Capitol Hill about him being extremely well liked by Dukakis and therefore a potential VicePresidential selection and, and even more likely, a Secretary of State in a Dukakis Administration.

Hamilton expressed gratitude at the visit of General Mitzna two weeks prior where Mitzna openly and candidly admitted some of the mistakes that were made in the early stages of the uprising but then also clearly delineated the actual situation that the Israeli's are facing as they attempt to restore order. Hamilton described the Mitzna visit as having made a tremendous impact on him and other Members of Congress, and Hamilton said the mood on the Hill had changed for the better because of that visit.

However, Hamilton expressed continued concerns about detentions and conditions in prison camps. Hamilton further stated that though there was no current immediate disruption in the relationship between the two countries he could foresee serious difficulties unless there were more apparent flexibility in the future. He, as did every other Member of Congress mentioned above, expressed great hopefulness when this reporter speculated on the likelihood of a major effort towards peace by the next Prime Minister - whether it was Likud or Labor which eventually triumphs.



**Gray Continued**

expressing the view of most of the Congressman noted above, namely that there is no current fundamental change in U.S.-Israel relations as they exist in Congress, also expressed foreboding as to what the future would bring. He additionally stated that time and again the South Africa comparison is made between Israel and South Africa by American grass roots black citizens. Gray directly stated that a poll of American blacks would likely demonstrate overwhelming anti-Israel sentiment. Gray expressed concern at these facts and stated that black leadership was much more pro-Israel but he was clearly pointing a finger at "handwriting on the wall".

**Senator George Mitchell (D) Maine**

Observation: Mitchell is running against Inouye (and Senator Bennett Johnson of Louisiana) to be the Majority Leader in the next Congress. Mitchell expressed similar sentiment that there was no current change in relations, but that unless either progress - or the appearance of progress - was made on the Palestinian problem then there were foreseeable problems in the relationship between the two countries, indeed, serious problems.

**Senator John Glenn (D) Ohio**

Observation: Glenn had similar views of his colleagues noted above and further put forward King Hussien (his friend) as a likely party to a peace process in the Middle East and to be a proper dialogue partner on behalf of the Palestinians. He seemed to disagree with the notion that Hussein was in no position "to deal" and Glenn is the only person to, in my recollection, ever describe Hussein as "ballsy".

דחיות: רגיל	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דף: 1
סוג: שמור	טופס פרוק 17	כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן מעור: 24.6.88 15:05		אל: מצפ"א
פס' פרוק: הפסד:		דע:
622	ק' קישור לקונגרס	כאח:

הנדון: בית הנבחרים: פגישות השגריר 22.6

רוברט טוריסלי (דמוקרט מניו ג'רזי, חבר בוועדת המשנה לאירופה ומז"ת) רצה לדעת מדוע מזכיר המדינה ממשיך במאמציו, האם לסובייטים יש חשיבה יצירתית באזור או שהם רק מגיבים לארה"ב והתעניין בהקשר זה במכלול יחסיהם עם סוריה. מעבר לתשובות בנושא המדיני העלה השגריר גם את הקשר הסיני-סורי כמדורח וזאת במקביל לחתירה הסינית לטכנולוגיה אמריקנית. טוריסלי הורה לעוזרו להתעניין בדיווחים במגמה לפנות לקרלוצ'י בנדון, ואמר שהסינים, בתשובה לביקורת מעין זו, שותקים, מחייכים וממשיכים כאילו מאומה לא קרה. עוד התעניין בחשכות הצמצום במספר המטוסים הנרכשים ע"י ח"א, הבטיח לסייע ככל שיוכל דיתבקש לגבי לגבי ההוצאות הבלתי חוזרות, שוחחו על הבחירות הצפויות בארץ. הפגישה התקצרה בגלל דיון במליאה שטוריסלי היה ממוביליו.

צ'ארלי וילסון (דמוקרט מטקסס, חבר בוועדת ההקצבות לרבות ועדות המשנה לפעולות זרות ולתקציב הפנטגון). החלק הראשון בשיחה היקוש לאפגניסטן - וילסון נחשב לפטרונט של המורדים ומבקר שם לעתים קרובות, לאחרונה לפני כשבועיים. בתשובה לשאלות השגריר אמר שלקבוצת המורדים השונות יש תמריץ לא להאבק זו בזו אלא לשמור על חזית מאוחדת. אולם אחד המנהיגים, גובאדין, נראה כמתחזק. הוא מאוד פונדמנטליסטי בדעותיו במידה שאינה מקובלת על האחרים ולכן אם יתברר שידו על העליונה, יתכן ויהיו מאבקים בין הקבוצות אך לדעת וילסון אין איש שיוודע בודאות כעת כיצד יפול דבר. הוא אישית אינו מודאג במיוחד מהקשר הפונדמנטליסטי, הודו היא המודאגת מכך, העיקר לגבי דידו הוא נסיגת הרוסים. המוג'הדין מצליחים אפילו מעל לרצוי - קצב כיבושיהם מקשה על הנסיגה. להערכת וילסון, הממשלה הנוכחית לא תחזיק מעמד אפילו מספר ימים אחרי סיום הנסיגה.

כזכור, וילסון הביע בפורומים שונים (לרבות בפגישת רה"מ בגבעה) כאב על הטיפול בנעשה

תפוצה: 23

סה 2  
גל 3  
גל 1  
היין 1  
גל 2  
הגל 1  
הגל 4  
הגל 3



דתיקות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	24
סוג:		24
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		כאח:
622		

בשטחים. אי לכך בקש השגריר לשמוע את אשר על ליבו. וילסון אמר שנשאר ידיד, כפי שמוכיח סיועו המתמשך לגבי ה"פופאי"; אך כמו רבים אחרים הוא מוטרד ממה שנראה כמצב מתמשך. את דבריו לרה"מ אמר מכיון שהיה חשוב שיאמרו, ואחרי שדבר שלושה עמיתים יהודים נאשו אליו וברכו אותו. לדברי וילסון, חתושבים יודעים שבכל מקרה יטופלו בחרופות, וישראל לא תדבר איתם עד שיהיו כנועים. לדעתו, הליכוד ינצח בבחירות הקרובות אך אינו חושד שהממשלה פועלת בשטחים משיקולים אלקטורליים. לדברי השגריר על העדר פרטנר מצד מנהיגי ערב אמר וילסון שאלו (dehachees) הרוצים להשמיץ את ישראל יאמרו שלא איפשרה למנהיגות להתפתח. הוא אישית מכיר במילכוד בו מתפקדות ישראל אך שואל כמה זמן תוכלו להמשיך ולשלוט על שילדון וחצי איש?

השיחה התקיימה באווירה רגועה וזאת בניגוד להתבטאויותיו בעבר הקרוב.

(24) היצ  
טובה הרצל

תפוצה:

דמיפות: בהול לבוקר 00	שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 1
סוג: גלוי		כתוב: 1
תאריך וזמן חנינה: 23.6.88	מע"ח/מבקרים, מצפ"א	אל:
כס' פרוק: הפער:		דצ:
568	לשכת רוה"מ	פאת: עתונות

מורטון קונדרקי

לשלנו 549 מ-22.6.88

הנ"ל מבקש להפגש גם עם משה ארנס, אורי אור, יוסי בן-אהרון ואפרים סנה.  
אנא הבריכו לנו בבהול מה שסודר לפני יציאתו לארץ ביום ב' הקרוב.  
תודה.

  
יוסי בן-אהרון

לשכת רוה"מ  
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תפוצה: 13-



דחיות: מיידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	ק: 1 פתוח: 3
סוג: גלוי	טופס פרוק	
תאריך יזמן חשוד: 23.6.88		אל: מצפ"א, מע"ת, הסברה
כס' פרוק: מפס"ד: 557		דע: לשכת רוה"מ
		פאת: עתונות

מסמך אבא-סוח

להלן כתבתו של ג'יימס דורסי מה"וושינגטון טיימס" היום, 23.6.88.

ולסי  
עתונות

## Arafat demands direct U.S. talks

By James M. Dorsey  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Palestine Liberation Organization will no longer deal with the United States through intermediaries and is insisting that Washington from now on address itself directly to the resistance movement, a senior aide to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat said yesterday.

The aide, Khaled al Hassan, said in a telephone interview from Tunis that the Reagan administration had yet to respond to an article by Mr. Arafat's chief adviser, Bassam Abu

Sharif, expressing Palestinian willingness to recognize Israel and accept a two-state solution.

Mr. al Hassan said the last message the PLO had received from the Reagan administration was a warning in early May not to attack American personnel or installations abroad in reprisal for the death of Abu Jihad, the PLO's military commander. Abu Jihad was killed in April in Tunis by unknown assailants believed to have been Israeli agents.

"The Americans have to understand that Bassam's article is telling them you have to reconsider your

Four teen-age Palestinian guerrillas are captured as they try to sneak across the border. Page A8.

approach, you have to come and talk to us," Mr. al Hassan said.

"The Americans talk about reality. The Intifada [the Palestinian uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories] is reality; the Intifada is the PLO. We've challenged them for a referendum."

At a Washington Times luncheon yesterday, Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arad said he believed Mr. Abu Sharif's article was primarily designed to sway American public opinion and the administration toward a position more favorable to the Palestinians.

Mr. Arad noted that other individuals in the PLO have come for-

see TALKS, page A8

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שם ג'א' ג'א' ב'ין ג'א' א'א' ג'א' חסמה א'א' א'א' פ'  
תפוצה: 3333 א'א' ג'א' חסמה חסמה

PAGE A8 / THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1988 \*

## TALKS

From page A1

ward in the past with "very progressive" and "peaceful" statements. He recalled that one, Issam Sartawi, was assassinated five years ago for his views by a renegade Palestinian group. "I hope that this is not what is going to happen to Bassam Sharif," Mr. Arad said.

"We all know that Mr. Arafat is interested in establishing a dialogue with the United States. He has been interested in that ever since he ordered the assassination of the American ambassador in Sudan in 1973.

"He's interested in a dialogue and he never hid the fact that he is not interested in a dialogue with Israel. He's interested in a dialogue with the

***"We all know that  
Mr. Arafat is  
interested in  
establishing a  
dialogue with the  
United States."***

— Moshe Arad

United States and that the United States will impose a solution on Israel," Mr. Arad said.

"If this would initiate a debate inside the PLO and among the Palestinians about a realistic assessment of the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians, then it is something ... which indicates ... an attitude and an approach which is not so totally divorced from reality as it is up to now, so extremist, so categorically denying the Israeli right to exist, then it is something which would be a welcome change in the Arab world and among the Palestinians."

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir yesterday rejected the PLO move. "There is nothing new in this document, as it was not new in preceding documents," he said.

The prime minister's remarks contrasted sharply with earlier comments by State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley who described the article as "constructive" and "positive."

Similarly, Agence France-Presse quoted an unidentified Israeli official yesterday as describing Mr. Abu Sharif's article to a group of journalists as being "more constructive than the calls for a hardening of the Palestinian struggle."

Mr. al Hassan, the Arafat aide, said Mr. Abu Sharif's article constituted PLO strategy. He dismissed criticism by some hard-line Palestinian factions as "nonsense."

Mr. Abu Sharif's article, written in uncharacteristically explicit and conciliatory language, recognizes Israel, calls for a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and direct peace talks and suggests an internationally supervised referendum on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip to certify the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people. It was distributed this month to journalists at the Arab summit in Algiers.

Mr. Abu Sharif was accused of "high treason" on Monday by five Syrian-backed guerrilla groups: the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), which is represented in the PLO leadership; Al Fatah Uprising, led by Abu Musa, who broke with Mr. Arafat in 1983; the Popular Struggle Front; the PFLP-General Command; and Partisans of the Islamic Revolution in Palestine.

The publication of Mr. Abu Sharif's article in the Monday edition of the leftist As Safir newspaper provoked the collapse of a four-day cease-fire in the battle between supporters and opponents of Mr. Arafat in the Palestinian refugee camps of the Lebanese capital, Palestinian sources said.

Speaking at a news conference in East Berlin, Mr. Arafat said Tuesday he would answer direct U.S. questions about Mr. Abu Sharif's article but would not do so in public.

"I am prepared ... to hear questions from their [the U.S.] side — but not via a journalist," Mr. Arafat said.

But the PLO leader evaded calls

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3/3

## The Washington Times



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Photo by Ross D. Franklin/The Washington Times

Speaking at a luncheon at The Washington Times yesterday, Moshe Arad, Israeli ambassador to the United States, voiced skepticism over a proposal by the PLO to hold face-to-face meetings with the United States.

by the State Department that he explicitly endorse Mr. Abu Sharif's article.

"When one of my advisers expresses an opinion, it is for him to accept it or to reject it," Mr. Arafat said.

Mr. al Hassan said that experience showed that indirect communications between the United States and the PLO involved the risk of mis-

understandings and therefore the PLO was demanding direct contact.

"It can be a quiet policy, at ambassadorial level or private envoys," he said.

"They have to contact us and say this is our thinking. I don't care about indirect. The time of indirect contacts is gone. Indirect contacts during the past 20 years have gotten us nowhere," Mr. al Hassan said.

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# China Missile Sale Report Concerns U.S.

## *Mideast Proliferation Of Weapons Feared*

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Reagan administration said yesterday it would view "with deep concern" the sale of any Chinese ballistic missiles to Syria and said it would be "especially disturbing" because the Middle East is a "regional hot spot."

State Department spokesman Charles E. Redman said the United States had already raised with China its concern in general about the proliferation of ballistic missiles and noted that the Chinese had recently put on display at international arms shows their new "M family" of surface-to-surface, short-range ballistic missiles.

"We would view the sale of such missiles to Syria with deep concern, as we would the proliferation of other ballistic missile systems," Redman said, while noting that the United States has no information to indicate any Chinese sale of these missiles to Syria is "imminent."

The Israeli press has reported in recent days that Syria is discussing with China the possible purchase of shorter-range ballistic missiles. Israeli leaders have said such a development would be "very serious" for Israel's security but also noted the weapon, designated M9, is not yet in production.

Israeli sources said Israel has not asked the United States to use its influence with the Chinese to head off a possible new missile sale to another Arab government. But they said it is likely Israeli Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin will raise the issue with U.S. officials during his visit here next week.

The Israelis have become increasingly nervous about the proliferation of ballistic missiles in the hands of Arab countries since it became known in March that Saudi

Arabia has purchased Chinese CSS2 missiles with a range of 1,600 miles.

The Saudi action has also heightened U.S. concern, leading the administration to raise with the Soviets and Chinese the issue of curbing their missile sales to Third World countries. U.S.-Soviet talks on the problem are scheduled this fall.

The Chinese M9 missile is thought to have a range of 375 miles, far shorter than the CSS2 but still great enough to hit any target inside Israel. In addition, the M9 is thought to be far more accurate than the CSS2.

However, China may have only tested it for the first time over the past weekend, according to administration sources. "It's still very far from production," one official said.

China has been looking for Mideast customers for the M9, primarily to obtain funds to complete research and development on the missile, according to several sources. It is not clear how Syria, in deep economic trouble, could pay cash for research on, or purchase of, the missiles.

Speculation that Syria in particular is looking for a longer-range ballistic missile is based partly on the fact that it no longer has any hope of obtaining Soviet-made SS23 missiles in the wake of the U.S.-Soviet treaty scrapping all missiles with a range of 300 to 3,000 miles.

Syria already has obtained some SS21 missiles from the Soviets and reportedly has also asked for longer-range SS23s. But the Soviets never shipped any, and are now committed to scrapping them.

China's M9 has about the same range as the Soviet SS23, although it is thought less accurate.

In addition, U.S. and Israeli analysts believe Syria may be turning to the Chinese partly as a political ploy to show Moscow it can obtain arms from other sources, much as Saudi Arabia turned to China after Congress blocked a number of U.S. sales to the kingdom.

They noted that Syrian-Soviet relations have cooled noticeably since Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev came to power and began discouraging Syrian President Hafez Assad from thinking Syria should pursue the goal of achieving strategic military parity with Israel.

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דף: _____	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דחילו: מדידי
מתוך: _____	טופס פרוק	שומר: 1110
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		הפסד: 567
	כאח-טובה הרצל, וושינגטון	476

כית הנבחרים : מטוסים לכרית

לפני מספר ימים, לארי סמית ו-41 מעמיתיו כתבו לנשיא והמליצו שהממשל לא יגיש פורמלית את העסקה (הנמצאת כעת בשלב ההודעה הבלתי רשמית בת 20 יום). דיתכן ויצרפו עוד שמות. השמועה בגבעה אומרת שעם ההודעה הרשמית, יגיש סמית הצעת אי-הסכמה לעסקה, שממשך חזמן לרשותה כמשך ההודעה הרשמית. 30 יום. עוזרו של סמית מעריך שימצאו סנטורים שיאבדו במרץ.

הממשל מקדיש בזמן האחרון מאמצים לקידום העסקה - גננים מהפנטגון תדרך השבוע קונגרסמנים בשבוע שעבר תודרכו עוזריו, תחושת משתתפים בתדרכים היתה שה - assurances אינם מספיקים, שהיתה חזרה על טיעונים קודמים ולא משכנעים, וההממשל מצידו אינו מבין מדוע הקונגרסמנים כועסים על שלא נדרשו מכוונות דרישות והתחייבויות לפני שהממשל החליט על העסקה.

בגבעה מעריכים שנוכח מה שניראה כחוסר פעילות של איפא"ק בנדרון, הממשל סבור שלא צפוי מאבק קונגרסיונלי סביב העסקה ופועל כאילו כבר אושרה.

טובה הרצל

טובה הרצל

האגף 1  
האגף 2  
האגף 3

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האגף 2  
האגף 3

האגף 1  
האגף 2  
האגף 3

תפוצה:

- 36 -



<div> <div>רשימות</div> <div>מניין לכבוד</div> <div>כדי שחזר</div> <div>שמו</div> </div>	<div>מחלקת הקשר</div> <div>10-10-10</div> <div>עו"ס מברק</div>	<div>ר"מ</div> <div>מחלקת</div>
<div>ת"ח</div> <div>231330</div>		א"מ המשרד
<div>נ"ר</div> <div>00630</div>		נ"ר
		מאת: נא"מ

אל : מנהל ארבל 2

מאת : יששכרופ

ביקור גולדינג באיזור - יוניפי"ל

1. התקשר גולדינג הבוקר (23/6), וציין שכידוע לנו, מנדט יוניפי"ל עומד לפוג בתום חודש יולי ולקראת החידוש על המזכ"ל להגיש דו"ח למועבי"ט. לצורך הכנת הדו"ח גולדינג מתכוון להגיע לאיזור.
2. תחילה, יבקר גולדינג בלבנון, ימשיך לדמשק ויערוך ביקור נימוסין קצר ברכת-עמון, ומתכנן להגיע ביום ב' (11/7) כערכ לישראל באמצעות מטוס או"ם. גולדינג מתכנן להישאר שלושה ימים בארץ 12, 13, ו-14 ביולי, ואז לצאת לניו יורק ביום ו' (15/6).
3. גולדינג ביקש פגישות עם שהב"ט רבין וממ' רה"מ פרס לדרך כבעבר על יוניפי"ל, וכן ביקש פגישה עם רה"מ שמיר. ציין שהוא יודע שבינואר רה"מ שמיר לא רצה לפגוש אותו בשל סיבות אחרות אך הוא מקווה שהפעם רה"מ יסכים לקבלו.
4. הבטחתי להעביר בקשותיו לירושלים ולהשיב לו בהקדם.

נא י"ם

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1994

ג. 'יששכר וגו'

טפ השולח:

23.6.88

תאריך:

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל/ווישינגטון טופס פבוק	דף: 1
סוג: ש מ ר		מתוך: 5
תאריך וזמן מעור: 11.30 23 ביוני 88	לשכנו רה"מ, לשכת שר האוצר	אל:
פס' פבוק:	מצפ"א	דע:
הפסיד: 560	רליש השגריר	כאת:

מכתב הסנטורים בדבר סיוע לשלושה מוסדות  
חינוך דתיים בארץ  
מברקו של למדן 552 מ-22

לסעיף 2

בטעות לא צורף למברק הנ"ל מכתב הסנטורים, ואתכם  
הסליחה.

לואיז שימרון

מ.ה. 3  
ה.ה. 3  
ג.נ. 3  
ה.י. 1  
ג.נ. 3  
ל. 3

תפוצה:

23



CLARENCE PELL, RHODE ISLAND, CHAIRMAN

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PAUL S. SARANTIS, MARYLAND  
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GARYL B. CHRISTIANSON, STAFF DIRECTOR  
JAMES P. LUCER, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8225

560

2/5

The Honorable Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you for your response to the letter of March 16, signed by 29 senators, supporting three educational projects in Israel that are important not only to Israelis but to many Americans. The projects are attended by large numbers of Americans as well as Israeli students. As was noted in the earlier letter, the first school, the Machon Alta Lubavitch School in Safed, requires \$4.5 million for badly needed building and dormitory facilities. The second, the Jerusalem Institute of Talmudic research, also is in strong need of a new building, with an estimated cost of \$3.5 million. Finally, the Vishnitz Institution of B'nei Brak has a large capitol construction and operational budget that needs State assistance. The total amount of Israeli assistance required, however, is slight: around \$16 million dollars.

Each of these worthy institutions have more than 60% of their budgets covered by private American donations.

In your letter, you wrote of the sacrifices that the people of Israel have made to return to economic stability and of the budgetary constraints you have had to impose. We are indeed gratified that your economy has improved so dramatically, and are proud of the role that our country was able to play in helping you achieve that.


However, what we are suggesting is a relatively minor expenditure that is small in comparison to the very substantial private and public support for Israel emanating from the U.S. Those of us who signed the March letter were disappointed and perplexed, therefore, by your response. We are now joined by other colleagues who share our concern and our hopes, and we renew our request for funding these projects. Funding could be accomplished, moreover, over more than one year, thereby lessening any budgetary impact.

3/5 560.

Mr. Prime Minister, this request comes from many who have fought to assure the highest possible levels of U.S. assistance to Israel in its struggle to achieve economic strength and stability, and to survive and achieve peace in the Middle East. We strongly urge to reconsider and to take a deeper review of the possibility of responding favorably to this very reasonable request.

Most Sincerely,

\_\_\_\_\_  
Alan Cranston

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Rudy Boschwitz



4/5 560

Richard B. LugerJohn RumblyStrom ThurmondJames A. M. ClareDon NicklesLong PaulPhil HRon WynnSteve SymmsAlan G. FrazierBo KarrowDon StutzJake LammJesse HelmsChuck GrassleyMike McClellanPat RiehlSam Dondos

5/5 560

Dave KarnesBuc RestLeed StevensJohn D. ...Al ...John H. ...Pat ...W. ...John ...

END



דחיפות: מידר	שגרירות ישראל/וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
סוג: שמור		כתוב: 5
תאריך וזמן חיבור: 88 15:00 23 יוני		אל: ממ"ד
פס' פרוק: הפסד:		דצ:
593		פאת: אלי אכידן, וושינגטון.

הפסגה ערכית

לחץ נוסח החלטת הפסגה באלג'יר (במידה ואין בידכם) שקבלנו מארץ במחמ"ד  
ע"פ דיווח השגרירות שט.

אלי אכידן

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10. אלג'יר

תפוצה:

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Subject: Resolutions of Algiers Summit

1. Local Arabic press has published purported full text of the two resolutions approved by Algiers extraordinary summit. Embassy translation as follows:

2. Resolution concerning the International Conference for Peace in the Middle East.

--In accordance with the resolution of previous summits, in particular the Arab Peace Plan approved at the 12th Summit at Fez in 1982 which defined the principles of a just peace to solve the Arab-Israeli dispute and its core, the Palestinian Issue. And in accordance with the resolution of the extraordinary summit held in Amman in 1987 on the holding of an International Conference on the Middle East, the Conference first affirms the following bases:

- A) Withdrawal of Israel from all Palestinian Arab land it has occupied since 1967, including Arab Jerusalem.

- B) Cancelling all annexation measures and eliminating the settlements that Israel has established on Palestinian and Arab land since 1967.

- C) Putting the West Bank and the Gaza Strip under United Nations supervision for a transitional period not to exceed a few months.

- D) Enabling the Palestinian People to exercise its inalienable rights including the Right of Return, Self-Determination, and Establishing an Independent Palestinian National State (with all its capital at Jerusalem) on its territory under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative.

- E) Guaranteeing freedom of worship and religious practice for all religions in their holy places in Palestine.

- F) Providing guarantees of peace from the UN Security Council to all concerned states of the region, including the independent Palestinian State.

-- Second, the conference calls for holding an International Peace Conference on the Middle East under the supervision of the United Nations. The conference should be based on international law and the decisions of the United Nations which require the complete Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab and Palestinian lands and which guarantee the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people of return, self-determination, and national independence. Participating in this conference should be the five permanent Security Council members and all parties to the



593  $\frac{2}{5}$ 

struggle in the region including the PLO on an equal footing and with the same rights as other parties participating.

3. Resolution on support of the uprising. The Conference:

-- Having studied in a spirit of national and historical responsibility the development of the comprehensive uprising of the Palestinian People in the occupied Palestinian territory and having given weight to the resistance in Palestine, Colan and South Lebanon against the Israeli occupation and its oppressive and terrorist application.

-- Having recalled the decision of the Amman Extraordinary Summit of 11/11/87 concerning the Arab-Israeli dispute, particularly concerning the necessity of mobilizing the energies and capacities of the Arab states in order to support forces of the states confronting Israel and concerning the establishment of strategic balance with Israel and the commitment to the decisions of the Summit Conference concerning the bases and foundations of the Arab Israeli struggle.

-- Having expressed highest praise for and pride in the struggle of the Palestinian People and its uprising against the Zionist occupation and that uprising's real effect on the overall framework of the Arab-Israeli struggle and for (the Palestinian People's) adhering to its inalienable national rights under the leadership of the PLO, its sole legitimate representative.

-- Having affirmed its support and backing for the fearless uprising which forms the Palestinian People's unmistakable rejection of occupation, the continuation of which is impossible...and (having affirmed) that a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East region will come only with a settlement of the Palestine Issue, the heart of the dispute. And that settlement should be based on complete withdrawal from all occupied Arab land and guaranteeing the right of the Palestinian People to return, to self-determination, and to establishing an independent state on its territory with its capital at Jerusalem.

The Conference resolves:

-- To commit all kinds of support and help to guarantee the continuation of the resistance and uprising of the Palestinian People against Zionist occupation. That support (should be) within the framework of the PLO in its capacity as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian People and through the PLO, its channels, and international aid channels to support the steadfastness of the Palestinian People in the occupied territories.



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Plan

-- To reject all partial and individual solutions to the Arab-Israeli dispute and to reject plans with deny all basic national rights to the Palestinian People and to consider any plan which does not guarantee the exercise of these rights as a hindrance to efforts for a just peace in the region and an encouragement to the continuation of the occupation and the Israeli obstinancy.

-- To invite the United Nations Security Council to:

- A) Assume its full responsibility toward Israeli violations of the 4th Geneva Treaty in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territory, particularly about committing war crimes noted in articles 49 and 147 such as murder, torture, inhumane treatment, exile, arrest, building colonizing settlements, and attack against holy places...and (UNSC should) call for the Israeli authorities to immediately cease these violations, return exiles to their homeland and apply the decisions of UNSC resolutions 605, 607, and 608.

- B) Work for the immediate end of the Israeli occupation of territory based on the impermissability of seizing territory by force and (work) for eliminating colonies and putting the occupied territory under the temporary supervision of the UN to provide its citizens protection in preparation for the Palestinian People's exercising its basic national rights including return, self-determination, and establishing an independent state on its territory with the capital at Jerusalem.

- To invite the international community to resist the organized official terrorism Israel applies with the support of some international powers against the Palestinian People and its leadership and its violation of the sovereignty of some Arab states and which forms a clear violation of all international laws and accords and of human rights.

-- To invite the government of the United States to change its hostile position toward the Arab nation and toward the inalienable rights of the Palestinian People and (to change) its refusal to recognize the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian People, as a basic party to the Arab-Israeli dispute...and to end its unlimited support to Israel which encourages it to continue the policy of aggression, expansion, and terrorism, thus defying the will of the international community and international law.

-- To assign an Arab Ministerial Committee to support the uprising and to continue holding contacts with the permanent members of the Security Council and with officials of other governments, particularly African and (to hold) contacts with various international societies and related organizations in order to furnish the greatest support and

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assistance to the Palestinian People's uprising and to create a force that will provide momentum to the course of a just and comprehensive peace achieved through holding an International Peace Conference.

-- To apply an information program which the (League's) permanent commission for information concerning the uprising will enact and to invited the information ministers of member states in the Arab Ministerial Committee to hold an urgent meeting to take the necessary measures to execute it in a way that is in keeping with the requirements of the developing uprising and its new factors.

-- To continue to furnish facilities to the PLO and to Palestinians in Arab countries in accordance with the applicable laws.

-- To strengthen relations with all friendly countries which support the Palestinian cause.

K

END

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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דף 1 מחור דפים

סוג בטחוניש מ ו ר

דחיפות מ י ד י

תאריך/ז"ח 22.6.88 - 09:00

מס' מברק

אל : המשרד

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אל : לשכת רה"מ  
לשכת שר אוצר

דע : מצפ"א

מכתב הסנטורים בדבר סיוע לשלושה מוסדות דתיים בארץ

1. השגריר הוזמן אתמול (21.6) להפגש עם הסנטור רוני בושביץ ולדון מחדש בנושא. בו ביום נודע לנו שמקום הפגישה הועבר לחדרו של מנהיג המיעוט בסנט - ובמפתיע השתתפו לא רק דול ובושביץ אלא גם הסנטורים בוב קסטון, גורדון חאמפרי וטד סטיבנס מהמפלגה הרפובליקאית ואף אלן קרנסטון מהמפלגה הדמוקרטית. מצדנו נכחו הח"מ והציר הכלכלי (כנציג האוצר וכן מפני שלסנטורים היה ידוע שבשנה שעברה קסטון הצליח להסדיר סיוע למוסדות דתיים אחרים באמצעות דרור).
2. השיחה התאפיינה בטון חריף ולפעמים בלתי נעים. מההתחלה הודיע בושביץ שבכוונת הסנטורים להגיש את מכתבם לרה"מ בשנית ולדרוש שהבקשה תשקל מחדש - הפעם אל 30 החתומים המקוריים מהצד הרפובליקאי יצטרפו מספר דומה של דמוקרטים, שיגויסו ע"י קרנסטון (המצליף הדמוקרטי). רצ"ב טיוטת המכתב החדש על חתימתם של הסנטורים הרפובליקאים.
3. להלן הנקודות העיקריות :
 

א) בושביץ, אנו מבינים הבעיות שלכם. לא לנו לומר לכם כיצד להוציא את כספכם, אך בכל זאת... כולנו מעורבים בפעולות לטובת ישראל; מאות במליונים של דולרים נשלחים מדי שנה לישראל ולכן הדחייה המוחלטת של מכתבנו הראשון חיתה מכה. אנו מפצירים שתעיינו בבקשה מחדש, אין צורך לתת את העזרה המבוקשת בבת אחת וניתן להאמת על פני מספר שנים.

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שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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דף 2 מתוך דפים

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דחיפות מ י ד י

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

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(ב) האמפרי, הבקשה איננה שגרתית. אנו ואתם ידידים ועל ידידים לעזור לידידים. תראו מה קורה - הסנטור קסטון לדוגמא איפשר לכם להוריד שיעורי הריבית על חובות ה-FMS, דבר שמתמשש דווקא בימים אלה ויש בו כדי לחסוך לישראל ביליון ויותר דולר, תבינו נא את מצבנו - יש לנו בוחרים, ויש להם "GOOD CASE".

(ג) קסטון, מכירים בקשיים, יש לנו קשיים תקציביים דומים - הרי סיימנו לא מכבר (בוועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות, שבקסטון, אבהן בכיר המיעוט) את הדיונים במימון ASHA (לבתי ספר רבתי חולים אמריקאים בחו"ל - כידוע, מוסדות דתיים בארץ נפגשים מנתח מכובד של תכנית זו). כפי שאנו מבינים עמדתך וכפי שאתה מייצג עמדת ממשלתך, עליך אדוני השגריר לייצג גם את עמדתנו כלפי השלטונות בישראל - זה חלק מתפקידך.

(ד) סטיבנס, צר לי שלא העליתי נושא זה בהיותי בארץ בינואר ש.ז. היום עזרנו לכם בוועדת המשנה לתקציב הפנטגון: שינינו את "תיקון ברי" כך שתוכלו להשתתף במכרזים לציווד אישי של חיילי ארה"ב כמו מדינות נאט"ו, בפנייתנו זו אין מדובר ב-QUID PRO QUO, אך בהתחשבות ובמעין איזון כנגד הדברים שאנו עושים לטובת ישראל, דברים שלפעמים מושכים עלינו ביקורת ציבורית. "היאקליט" צריך להשתפר על שני הצדדים של פנקס החשבונות.

(ה) דול נקרנסטון לא התבטאו, די בנוכחותנו יענוני ראשם כאות הזדהות (עם רוח הדברים שהושמעו).

4. השגריר השיב באופן שוטף לדוברים, להלן עיקר דבריו במרוכז: לא זו בלבד שהעביר את המכתב המקורי אלא בחיותו בארץ העלה את הנושא בפני רה"מ וגם שר האוצר. הוא למד סנגוריה על ה-CASE שלהם באופן תקיף ככל האפשר. השר נסים עמד על אותם טיעונים המופיעים בתשובת רה"מ למכתב המקורי (המצוקות התקציביות הגורמות לבעיות חמורות במערכת החינוך, ועצם קיום שביתות במערכת הרפואה הנובעות מאותן מצוקות). נסים נמצא תחת לחץ מתמיד ואדיר מצד חברי הכנסת שלנו מזה ומצד ידידים זרים טובים מזה שהופכים תפקידו לבלתי אפשרי. אין

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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דף 3 מתוך דפים

סווג בטחוני ש מ ו ר

דחיפות מ י ד י

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

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מדובר בחוטר רגישות כלפי ידידים. נסים יודע היטב ומעריך מאוד את החלק שכולכם ממלאים בהיענות הקונגרס לצרכינו. עם זאת הוא סבור שאין לפתוח את התהליך התקציבי בארץ ללחצים ולחשוף אותנו להתערבות שימנעו ממנו (נסים) לבצע כראוי את תפקידו החיוני להבראת המשק.

5. בושביץ טען שבקשתם הנוכחית יוצאת מהכלל ולא ניתן להתייחס אליה יחד עם כל שאר הבקשות והלחצים המופעלים על שר האוצר מצד פרלמנטרים זרים. במשך כמעט עשר שנים כסנטור הוא לא העביר בקשה כזו (ראילו קרנסטון העיר שבמשך עשרים שנה הוא מעולם לא עשה זאת).

6. השגריר הבטיח להעביר לירושלים לא רק המסר של הסנטורים אלא גם רוחו. הוא יעשה למיטב יכולתו ושר האוצר ישקול אותו בכובד ראש.

עד כאן.

א.נ.ר. א.נ.ר.

למדן



\*\* ירצא

שמור

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חוזם: 6/15818

אל: דרוש/620/וינה/255/ני/854/בטחון/317  
 מ:-המשרד/תא:220688/זה:2053/דח:מ/סג:שמ  
 תח: @ גס:מצמא  
 נד: @

שמור/מיידי

ווינגטון, וינה, נאוי'ם/ניו יורק, בטחון

ערן, מתאם שטחים

שיחת נוביק-השגריר מור.

היועץ המדיני לשה"ח קבל לשיחה (20) את השגריר המיוחד במחמ"ד לעניני פליטים מור. נכחו מצדם גם הציר יוז והיועץ לוני ומצונו יהודע ובר.  
 מור הציג מטרת בקורו כסיוור שטח במחנות הפליטים להתרשם ממצבם בעת האינתיפאדה ובן בדיקת פעילות סטו"ת. רשמיו עד עתה קשים ואינו יכול להמלט מההרגשה שהמנהל והצבא מכוידים ידם על האוכלוסיה מעבר לגורש מבחינה בטחונית להשליט סדר. טען שברצועה שמע מגורמי סטו"ת והאוכלוסיה כאחת שבחודש האחרון הכביד צה"ל במתכוון את ידו ושנראה להם שהיחס לאוכלוסיה נקבע עפ"י היחידה הצבאית המשרתת באזור כאשר הנחיות שהבי"ט אינן מיושמות למעשה בשטח. הזכיר האשמות של שמוש צה"ל באמבולנסים מקומיים לחזירה למחנות - הטענה נסתרה ע"י נוביק שהזכיר לאורח כי שימטר עצמו בדק הנושא והגיע למסקנה שמדובר במקרה אחד. כן העלה מור טענה בדבר הפרעות קשות להאכלת ילדים - זריקת חזיזים ורימוני גז לתוך מרכזי האכלה של סטו"ת. נוביק התייחס לטענה בספקנות אך הבטיח להעביר למשהבי"ט ולבדוק. מור התייחס גם לשימוש בעוצר ובסגר; בסטו"ת דווחו לו שהשמוש באמצעי זה הוא EXCESSIVE וכבר עבר את גבול הסביר של השלטת סדר וגולש עתה להתעמרות לשמה באוכלוסיה.

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25/05/2017

1992-1993, 1993-1994, 1994-1995, 1995-1996, 1996-1997, 1997-1998, 1998-1999, 1999-2000, 2000-2001, 2001-2002, 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2006-2007, 2007-2008, 2008-2009, 2009-2010, 2010-2011, 2011-2012, 2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2014-2015, 2015-2016, 2016-2017, 2017-2018, 2018-2019, 2019-2020, 2020-2021, 2021-2022, 2022-2023, 2023-2024, 2024-2025, 2025-2026, 2026-2027, 2027-2028, 2028-2029, 2029-2030, 2030-2031, 2031-2032, 2032-2033, 2033-2034, 2034-2035, 2035-2036, 2036-2037, 2037-2038, 2038-2039, 2039-2040, 2040-2041, 2041-2042, 2042-2043, 2043-2044, 2044-2045, 2045-2046, 2046-2047, 2047-2048, 2048-2049, 2049-2050, 2050-2051, 2051-2052, 2052-2053, 2053-2054, 2054-2055, 2055-2056, 2056-2057, 2057-2058, 2058-2059, 2059-2060, 2060-2061, 2061-2062, 2062-2063, 2063-2064, 2064-2065, 2065-2066, 2066-2067, 2067-2068, 2068-2069, 2069-2070, 2070-2071, 2071-2072, 2072-2073, 2073-2074, 2074-2075, 2075-2076, 2076-2077, 2077-2078, 2078-2079, 2079-2080, 2080-2081, 2081-2082, 2082-2083, 2083-2084, 2084-2085, 2085-2086, 2086-2087, 2087-2088, 2088-2089, 2089-2090, 2090-2091, 2091-2092, 2092-2093, 2093-2094, 2094-2095, 2095-2096, 2096-2097, 2097-2098, 2098-2099, 2099-2100, 2100-2101, 2101-2102, 2102-2103, 2103-2104, 2104-2105, 2105-2106, 2106-2107, 2107-2108, 2108-2109, 2109-2110, 2110-2111, 2111-2112, 2112-2113, 2113-2114, 2114-2115, 2115-2116, 2116-2117, 2117-2118, 2118-2119, 2119-2120, 2120-2121, 2121-2122, 2122-2123, 2123-2124, 2124-2125, 2125-2126, 2126-2127, 2127-2128, 2128-2129, 2129-2130, 2130-2131, 2131-2132, 2132-2133, 2133-2134, 2134-2135, 2135-2136, 2136-2137, 2137-2138, 2138-2139, 2139-2140, 2140-2141, 2141-2142, 2142-2143, 2143-2144, 2144-2145, 2145-2146, 2146-2147, 2147-2148, 2148-2149, 2149-2150, 2150-2151, 2151-2152, 2152-2153, 2153-2154, 2154-2155, 2155-2156, 2156-2157, 2157-2158, 2158-2159, 2159-2160, 2160-2161, 2161-2162, 2162-2163, 2163-2164, 2164-2165, 2165-2166, 2166-2167, 2167-2168, 2168-2169, 2169-2170, 2170-2171, 2171-2172, 2172-2173, 2173-2174, 2174-2175, 2175-2176, 2176-2177, 2177-2178, 2178-2179, 2179-2180, 2180-2181, 2181-2182, 2182-2183, 2183-2184, 2184-2185, 2185-2186, 2186-2187, 2187-2188, 2188-2189, 2189-2190, 2190-2191, 2191-2192, 2192-2193, 2193-2194, 2194-2195, 2195-2196, 2196-2197, 2197-2198, 2198-2199, 2199-2200, 2200-2201, 2201-2202, 2202-2203, 2203-2204, 2204-2205, 2205-2206, 2206-2207, 2207-2208, 2208-2209, 2209-2210, 2210-2211, 2211-2212, 2212-2213, 2213-2214, 2214-2215, 2215-2216, 2216-2217, 2217-2218, 2218-2219, 2219-2220, 2220-2221, 2221-2222, 2222-2223, 2223-2224, 2224-2225, 2225-2226, 2226-2227, 2227-2228, 2228-2229, 2229-2230, 2230-2231, 2231-2232, 2232-2233, 2233-2234, 2234-2235, 2235-2236, 2236-2237, 2237-2238, 2238-2239, 2239-2240, 2240-2241, 2241-2242, 2242-2243, 2243-2244, 2244-2245, 2245-2246, 2246-2247, 2247-2248, 2248-2249, 2249-2250, 2250-2251, 2251-2252, 2252-2253, 2253-2254, 2254-2255, 2255-2256, 2256-2257, 2257-2258, 2258-2259, 2259-2260, 2260-2261, 2261-2262, 2262-2263, 2263-2264, 2264-2265, 2265-2266, 2266-2267, 2267-2268, 2268-2269, 2269-2270, 2270-2271, 2271-2272, 2272-2273, 2273-2274, 2274-2275, 2275-2276, 2276-2277, 2277-2278, 2278-2279, 2279-2280, 2280-2281, 2281-2282, 2282-2283, 2283-2284, 2284-2285, 2285-2286, 2286-2287, 2287-2288, 2288-2289, 2289-2290, 2290-2291, 2291-2292, 2292-2293, 2293-2294, 2294-2295, 2295-2296, 2296-2297, 2297-2298, 2298-2299, 2299-2300, 2300-2301, 2301-2302, 2302-2303, 2303-2304, 2304-2305, 2305-2306, 2306-2307, 2307-2308, 2308-2309, 2309-2310, 2310-2311, 2311-2312, 2312-2313, 2313-2314, 2314-2315, 2315-2316, 2316-2317, 2317-2318, 2318-2319, 2319-2320, 2320-2321, 2321-2322, 2322-2323, 2323-2324, 2324-2325, 2325-2326, 2326-2327, 2327-2328, 2328-2329, 2329-2330, 2330-2331, 2331-2332, 2332-2333, 2333-2334, 2334-2335, 2335-2336, 2336-2337, 2337-2338, 2338-2339, 2339-2340, 2340-2341, 2341-2342, 2342-2343, 2343-2344, 2344-2345, 2345-2346, 2346-2347, 2347-2348, 2348-2349, 2349-2350, 2350-2351, 2351-2352, 2352-2353, 2353-2354, 2354-2355, 2355-2356, 2356-2357, 2357-2358, 2358-2359, 2359-2360, 2360-2361, 2361-2362, 2362-2363, 2363-2364, 23

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1. The first step in the process of the  
 2. development of the new system is the  
 3. identification of the requirements. This  
 4. is done by the user and the system  
 5. analyst. The next step is the design  
 6. of the system. This is done by the  
 7. system analyst. The third step is the  
 8. implementation of the system. This is  
 9. done by the programmer. The fourth  
 10. step is the testing of the system. This  
 11. is done by the user and the system  
 12. analyst. The fifth step is the  
 13. maintenance of the system. This is  
 14. done by the system analyst. The sixth  
 15. step is the evaluation of the system. This  
 16. is done by the user and the system  
 17. analyst. The seventh step is the  
 18. documentation of the system. This is  
 19. done by the system analyst. The eighth  
 20. step is the training of the user. This  
 21. is done by the system analyst. The ninth  
 22. step is the support of the user. This  
 23. is done by the system analyst. The tenth  
 24. step is the upgrade of the system. This  
 25. is done by the system analyst.



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

העלה מספר בקשה:

א. שלא להפריע לעבודה סדירה של מערכת החינוך.

ב. לא למנוע (ע"י עוצר ואמצעים אחרים) שרותי בריאות מאוכלוסית הפליטים.

ג. להפסיק הריסת בתים במחנות עם מעבר המשפחות לזיור חדש.

ד. הביע תקווה לשיפור ביחסי העבודה בין המנהל האזרחי לסו'ת.

יהויזע התייחס לחלק מהטענות שהועלו וציין התייחסותנו לבעית הפליטים בהומניטרית משמע נסיון לשפר תנאי חייהם עד שתתברר הבעיה הפוליטית. המדיניות מבוססת על דיכוי אי השקט מחוץ ונסיון להמשיך ולטפל בבעיות היום-יומיות במישור המקומי מאידך אך עקב המצב הנזיל נמנעים לעיתים השרותים לאוכלוסיה. בנושא סו'ת ציין שצהל מאשים לא אחת ארגון זה בהתססת הכוחות.

נרביק סקר את חלוקת העבודה הקיימת בין משהב"ט למחוז בטיפולם בשטחים ובפליטים. ציין שמספר רעיונות ויוזמות שלנו להקל על הפליטים נדחו ע"י הקהילה הבינלאומית (תוכנית הפיתוח הכלכלי למז'ת שלאחרונה זוכה להתעניינות מחודשת וכן היוזמה לאימוץ מחנות פליטים ע"י מדינות שונות) מבני שיוזמות אלו נראות כנסיון שלנו להתעלם מהמימד הפוליטי שבנושא. לדעתנו בסופו של דבר תתברר בעית הפליטים רק במישור הפוליטי במסגרת פתרון כולל וכל שיעשה עד אז ממילא לא יחזוג מעבר ל- BAND AID TREATMENT.

באשר למדיניות צה"ל כלפי המחנות (והשטחים ככלל) הדגיש שאנן היו חריגים מצערים אן בשום אופן אין מדובר כאן במדיניות ודבר זה הובהר שוב ושוב ובאחרונה לשימטר עצמו שראה בדברים בשטח. אנו מוכנים לשמוע טענותיהם בנושא (ולא רק שלהם) וברור לו שגם שהב"ט עצמו פתוח להיזון חוזר ולראיה פורום ההתזיונות שנקבע אן לפני שבוע בין המתאם גורן לשגריר פיקרינג.

נרביק הבטיח להעביר בקשות מור לגורמים המוסמכים

1. THE COURT

2. THE COURT

3. THE COURT

4. THE COURT

5. THE COURT

6. THE COURT

7. THE COURT

8. THE COURT

9. THE COURT



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

וציין שוב את ההנחיות התקיפות של הדרג המדיני לכוחות  
בשטח שלא להפעיל כוח ואמצעים מעבר לנדרש להשלטת  
סדר.

השיחה נמשכה כשעה וחצי באווירה ננוחה אך ברור שהאווירה  
היתה שונה לחלוטין מזו ששררה בזיונים עם שיפטר.

מצפ"א

מג.ר

תפ: שהח,רהמ,שהבט,מנכל,ממנכל,ר/מרכז,רם,אמן,בירן,מצפא,ליאור,  
מזתים,ברנע,ארבל1,ארבל2,סייבל,ממד

1. THE FIRST PART OF THE REPORT CONCERNING THE  
RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH ON THE  
EFFECTS OF THE TREATMENT OF THE  
SUBJECTS.

2. THE SECOND PART OF THE REPORT CONCERNING THE  
RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH ON THE  
EFFECTS OF THE TREATMENT OF THE  
SUBJECTS.

3. THE  
THIRD PART OF THE REPORT CONCERNING THE  
RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH ON THE  
EFFECTS OF THE TREATMENT OF THE  
SUBJECTS.

4. THE  
FOURTH PART OF THE REPORT CONCERNING THE  
RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH ON THE  
EFFECTS OF THE TREATMENT OF THE  
SUBJECTS.

5. THE FIFTH PART OF THE REPORT CONCERNING THE  
RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH ON THE  
EFFECTS OF THE TREATMENT OF THE  
SUBJECTS.





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TO/A EXTOTT CPP PER IMMED

ALL MISSION/TOUTES LES MISSIONS IMMED

INFO PMOOTT/BURNEY FINOTT/SORRETT PCOOTT/REBERT/BOUCHEER

TNOOTT/LEE CIDAUELL AGRICOTT

DISTR MINA MINT MINE USS DMX DMT DMC EFB UGB PGB RGB RJBA IFB  
LGB GGP EED EPD UED URD PND RND RBD IND IDD IMD CPD JAD GMD  
EEF EEA EEE EPG EPA URR UEE PNR PNJ RWR RVW RBR BCM INF  
GOPS GMR IDA IDR GAA

---TRNTO ECONOMIC SUMMIT:POLITICAL DECLARATION-22JUNE/SOMMET  
ECONOMIQUE DE TORONTO:DECLARATION POLITIQUE-20JUN.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF TORONTO SUMMIT POLITICAL DECLARATION,  
RELEASED BY SSEA AT PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY.CHAIRMAN S SUMMARY  
OF POLITICAL ISSUES TO FOLLOW.QUOTE

#### POLITICAL DECLARATION

##### I.EAST-WEST

1. WE THE LEADERS OF OUR SEVEN COUNTRIES,AND THE REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY,UPEOLD COMMON PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM,  
RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS,AND THE DESIRE OF ALL MEN TO LIVE  
IN PEACE UNDER THE RULE OF LAW.OUR PEOPLES STAND IN SOLIDARITY  
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR EXISTING ALLIANCES FOR THE CAUSE OF  
FREEDOM,TO SAFEGUARD DEMOCRACY AND THE PROSPERITY WHICH IS HAS  
PRODUCED.IN OUR DISCUSSION WE CONSIDERED HOW THESE GOALS AND  
...2



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VALUES COULD BE PURSUED IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

2. WE DISCUSSED A WIDE RANGE OF REGIONAL QUESTIONS AND THESE DISCUSSION ARE CONTINUING THROUGHOUT THE SUMMIT.

3. WE CONFIRMED OUR BELIEF IN CONSTRUCTIVE AND REALISTIC DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION, INCLUDING ARMS CONTROL, HUMAN RIGHTS AND REGIONAL ISSUES, AS THE WAY TO BUILD STABILITY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AND ENHANCE SECURITY AT LOWER LEVELS OF ARMS. WE ALSO REAFFIRMED THAT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE NUCLEAR DETERRENCE AND ADEQUATE CONVENTIONAL STRENGTH ARE THE GUARANTEES OF PEACE IN FREEDOM.

4. IN SEVERAL IMPORTANT RESPECTS CHANGES HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN WESTERN COUNTRIES AND THE SOVIET UNION. SINCE WE LAST MET. FOR OUR PART THIS EVOLUTION HAS COME ABOUT BECAUSE THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES HAVE BEEN STRONG AND UNITED. IN THE SOVIET UNION GREATER FREEDOM AND OPENNESS WILL OFFER OPPORTUNITIES TO REDUCE MISTRUST AND BUILD CONFIDENCE. EACH OF US WILL RESPOND POSITIVELY TO ANY SUCH DEVELOPMENTS.

5. WE WELCOME THE BEGINNING OF THE SOVIET WITHDRAWAL OF ITS OCCUPATION TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN. IT MUST BE TOTAL AND APPLY TO THE ENTIRE COUNTRY. THE AFGEAN PEOPLE MUST BE ABLE TO CHOOSE THEIR GOVERNMENT FREELY. EACH OF US CONFIRMS OUR WILLINGNESS TO MAKE OUR FULL CONTRIBUTION TO THE EFFORTS OF THE  
...3

68. OF 0110

4/11

PAGE THREE/TROIS SMOT0125 UNCLAS/NONCLAS  
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ENSURE THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES TO  
THEIR HOMELAND, THEIR RESETTLEMENT, AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF  
THEIR COUNTRY. WE NOW LOOK TO THE SOVIET UNION TO MAKE A  
CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO RESOLVING OTHER REGIONAL CONFLICTS  
AS WELL.

6. SINCE OUR LAST MEETING, PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE BETWEEN THE  
UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION IN AGREEING TO REDUCE  
NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A MANNER WHICH ACCORDS FULLY WITH THE  
SECURITY INTERESTS OF EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES. THE INF TREATY,  
THE DIRECT RESULT OF WESTERN FIRMNESS AND UNITY, IS THE FIRST  
TREATY EVER ACTUALLY TO REDUCE NUCLEAR ARMS. IT SETS VITALLY  
IMPORTANT PRECEDENTS FOR FUTURE ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS:  
ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTION AND INTRUSIVE VERIFICATION ARRANGEMENTS  
WE NOW LOOK FOR DEEP CUTS IN U.S. AND SOVIET STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE  
ARMS. WE CONGRATULATE PRESIDENT REAGAN ON WHAT HE HAS ALREADY  
ACCOMPLISHED, ALONG WITH GENERAL SECRETARY GORBACHEV, TOWARDS  
THIS GOAL.

7. NONETHELESS, THE MASSIVE PRESENCE OF SOVIET CONVENTIONAL  
FORCES IN EASTERN EUROPE, THE ENSUING CONVENTIONAL SUPERIORITY  
OF THE WARSAW PACT, AND ITS CAPACITY TO LAUNCH SURPRISE ATTACKS  
AND LARGE SCALE OFFENSIVE OPERATIONS, LIE AT THE CORE OF THE  
SECURITY PROBLEM IN EUROPE. THE SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP IN THE  
FAR EAST IS EQUALLY A MAJOR SOURCE OF INSTABILITY IN ASIA.

...4



68-270116

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PAGE FOUR/QUATRE SMOT0106 UNCLAS/NONCLAS

THESE THREATS MUST BE REDUCED. OUR GOAL IS ENHANCED SECURITY AND STABILITY AT LOWER LEVEL OF FORCES, AFTER HAVING ELIMINATED THE PRESENT IMBALANCES. WE SEE THE EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE, EFFECTIVELY VERIFIABLE AND TRULY GLOBAL BAN ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

8. GENUINE PEACE CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED SOLELY BY ARMS CONTROL. IT MUST BE FIRMLY BASED ON RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS. WE URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO MOVE FORWARD IN ENSURING HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOMS AND TO IMPLEMENT FULLY AND STRENGTHEN SUBSTANTIALLY ITS COMMITMENTS UNDER THE HELSINKI PROCESS. RECENT PROGRESS MUST BE ENSHRINED IN LAW AND PRACTICE, THE PAINFUL BARRIERS THAT DIVIDE PEOPLE MUST COME DOWN, AND THE OBSTACLES TO EMIGRATION MUST BE REMOVED.

9. WE PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE COUNTRIES IN EASTERN EUROPE. WE ENCOURAGE THEM TO OPEN UP THEIR ECONOMIES AND SOCIETIES, AND TO IMPROVE RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. IN THIS CONTEXT WE SUPPORT THE CONTRIBUTION AND STRENGTHENING OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS.

10. WE TAKE POSITIVE NOTE TO EASTERN COUNTRIES GROWING INTEREST IN ENDING THEIR ECONOMIC ISOLATION, FOR EXAMPLE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS CAN BE EXPANDED AND SERVE OUR COMMON INTERESTS SO LONG AS THE COMMERCIAL BASIS IS SOUND, THEY ARE CONDUCTED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE BASIC

...5

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6/11

PAGE FIVE/CINQ SMOT0106 UNCLAS/NONCLAS  
PRINCIPLES AND THE RULES OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND  
PAYMENTS SYSTEM, AND ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE SECURITY  
INTERESTS OF EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES.

#### TERRORISM

11. WE STRONGLY REAFFIRM OUR CONDEMNATION OF TERRORISM IN  
ALL ITS FORMS, INCLUDING THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES. WE RENEW OUR  
COMMITMENT TO POLICIES AND MEASURES AGREED AT PREVIOUS SUMMITS,  
IN PARTICULAR THOSE AGAINST STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM.

12. WE STRONGLY CONDEMN RECENT THREATS TO AIR SECURITY, IN  
PARTICULAR THE DESTRUCTION OF A KOREAN AIRLINER AND THE  
HIJACKING OF A KUWAITI AIRLINER. WE RECALL THE PRINCIPLE  
AFFIRMED IN PREVIOUS DECLARATION THAT TERRORISTS MUST NOT GO  
UNPUNISHED. WE APPEAL TO ALL COUNTRIES WHO ARE NOT PARTY TO  
THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS ON CIVIL AVIATION SECURITY, IN  
PARTICULAR THE HAGUE CONVENTION, TO ACCEDE TO THOSE CONVENTIONS.

13. WE EXPRESS SUPPORT FOR WORK CURRENTLY UNDER WAY IN THE  
INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION AIMED AT STRENGTHENING  
INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION AGAINST HIJACKINGS. WE WELCOME THE MOST  
RECENT DECLARATION ADOPTED BY THE ICAO COUNCIL WHICH ENDORCES  
THE PRINCIPLE THAT HIJACKED AIRCRAFT SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO  
TAKE OFF ONCE THEY HAVE LANDED, EXCEPT IN CIRCUMSTANCES AS  
SPECIFIED IN THE ICAO DECLARATION.

...6



68-77 (1)c

7/11

PAGE SIX/SIX SMCT0106 UNCLAS/NONCLAS

14. WE WELCOME THE ADOPTION THIS YEAR IN MONTREAL AND ROME OF TWO INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ON AVIATION AND MARITIME SECURITY TO ENHANCE THE SAFETY OF TRAVELLERS.

15. WE REAFFIRM OUR DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM THROUGH THE APPLICATION OF RULE OF LAW, THE POLICY OF NO CONCESSION TO TERRORISTS AND THEIR SPONSORS, AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

#### NARCOTICS

16. THE ILLEGAL USE OF DRUGS AND THE ILLICIT TRAFFICKING IN THEM POSES GRAVE RISKS TO THE PEOPLES OF SUMMIT COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE PEOPLES OF SOURCE AND TRANSIT COUNTRIES. THERE IS AN URGENT NEED FOR IMPROVED INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN ALL APPROPRIATE FORA ON PROGRAMS TO COUNTER ALL FACETS OF THE ILLICIT DRUG PROBLEM, IN PARTICULAR PRODUCTION, TRAFFICKING, AND FINANCING OF THE DRUG TRADE. THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEM REQUIRES ADDITIONAL INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, IN PARTICULAR TO TRACE, FREEZE AND CONFISCATE THE PROCEEDS OF DRUG TRAFFICKERS, AND TO CURB MONEY LAUNDERING.

17. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION IN VIENNA IN NOVEMBER OF A UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON ILLICIT TRAFFICKING.

18. WE SUPPORTED THE INITIATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR A SPECIAL TASK FORCE TO BE CONVENED TO

...7

68-77 C11c

8/11

PAGE SEVEN/SEPT SMOT8126 UNCLAS/NONCLAS  
PROPOSE METHODS OF IMPROVING COOPERATION IN ALL AREAS INCLUDING  
NATIONAL, BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL EFFORTS IN THE FIGHT  
AGAINST NARCOTICS. ]  
UNQUOTE.

CI-JOINT TEXTE DECLARATION POLITIQUE DU SOMMET DE TORONTO,  
EMIS LORS DE CONF DE PRESSE DU SEAE AUJOURD HUI. RAPPORT DE  
PRESIDENCE SUR QUESTIONS POLITIQUES SUIVRA. CIT.

DECLARATION POLITIQUE

1. RELATIONS EST-OUEST

1. NOUS, DIRIGEANTS DE NOS SEPT PAYS ET REPRESENTANTS  
DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE, DEFENDONS LES PRINCIPES COMMUNS  
DE LA LIBERTE ET DU RESPECT DES DROITS INDIVIDUELS AINSI QUE  
LE DESIR DE TOUS LES HOMMES DE VIVRE EN PAIX DANS UN REGIME-  
DE DROIT. NOS PEUPLES SONT SOLIDAIRES, DANS LE CADRE DES  
ALLIANCES EXISTANTES, POUR SOUTENIR LA CAUSE DE LIBERTE ET  
SAUVEGARDER LA DEMOCRATIE ET LA PROSPERITE QU'ELLE A  
ENGENDREE. DANS NOS DISCUSSIONS, NOUS AVONS CHERCHE COMMENT  
CES OBJECTIFS ET CES VALEURS POURRAIENT ETRE MIS A  
CONTRIBUTION DANS LE DOMAINE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES, EN  
PARTICULIER EN CE QUI CONCERNE LES RELATIONS EST-OUEST.

2. NOUS AVONS DISCUTE DE NOMBREUSES QUESTIONS  
REGIONALES ET NOUS POURSUIVRONS CES DISCUSSIONS TOUT AU LONG  
...8



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TO/A EXTOTT CPP EER IMMED

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ALL MISSION/TOUTES LES MISSIONS IMMED

INFO PMOOTT/BURNEY FINOTT/SCORSET PCOOTT/HEBERT/BOUCHER

TNOOTT/LEE CIDAHULL AFRICOTT

DISTR MINA MINT MINE USS DME DMT DMC EFB UGF POB RCB RCEA IFB

LGB GGB EED EPD UED URD PND RAD RBD IND IDD IMD CPD JAD QMD

EEF EEA FEE EPG EPA URR UEE PNR PSD PSR RWR RWM RBR BCM INP

GGES GMR IDA IDR GAA

RFF OORTL 2126 22JUN

---TRNTO ECONOMIC SUMMIT:CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARY OF POLITICAL

ISSUES-22JUN/SOMMET ECONOMIQUE DE TRNTO:RAPPORT DE

PRESIDENCE SUR QUESTIONS POLITIQUES-22JUN

FURTHER TO OUR REFTL, FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARY  
OF POLITICAL ISSUES (MIDDLE EAST, SOUTH AFRICA, CAMBODIA), RELEASED  
BY SSIA ON JUN20.

QUOTE

CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARY OF POLITICAL ISSUES

THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTS AN AGREED SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSIONS  
ON THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTH AFRICA AND CAMBODIA.

MIDDLE EAST

WE EXPRESS OUR DEEP CONCERN AT THE INCREASING INSTABILITY  
IN THE NEAR EAST. THE CURRENT VIOLENCE IN THE OCCUPIED

...2

68-72 C11c

PAGE TWO SMOTS1055UNCLAS/NONCLAS

10/11  
TERRITORIES IS A CLEAR SIGN THAT THE STATUS QUE IS NOT SUSTAINABLE. AN EARLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT TO THE UNDERLYING ARAB/ISRAELI DISPUTE IS ESSENTIAL. WE DECLARE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE CONVENING OF A PROPERLY STRUCTURED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AS THE APPROPRIATE FRAMEWORK FOR THE NECESSARY NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED. IN THIS PERSPECTIVE WE SALUTE CURRENT EFFORTS AIMED AT ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT, PARTICULARLY THE INITIATIVE PURSUED BY MR. SHULTZ SINCE FEBRUARY. WE URGE THE PARTIES TO COOPERATE FULLY IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION.]

WE HAVE PURSUED OUR CONSULTATIONS ABOUT THE CONTINUING WAR BETWEEN IRAN AND IRAQ, WHICH REMAINS A SOURCE OF PROFOUND CONCERN TO US. WE REAFFIRM OUR SUPPORT FOR SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 598, WHICH WAS ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY. WE EXPRESS OUR WARM APPRECIATION FOR THE EFFORTS OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO WORK FOR A SETTLEMENT ON THIS BASIS AND REITERATE OUR FIRM DETERMINATION TO ENSURE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS MANDATORY RESOLUTION BY A FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTION. WE CONDEMN THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS BY EITHER PARTY, DEPLORE PROLIFERATION OF BALLISTIC MISSILES IN THE REGION, AND RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO UPHOLD THE PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION IN THE GULF.

SOUTH AFRICA

WE DECLARE OUR ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID, WHICH MUST BE

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68-77611e

11/11

PAGE THREE SMOT5105 UNCLAS/NCNCLAS

REPLACED THROUGH A PROCESS OF GENUINE NATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS BY A NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY.

WE EXPRESSED OUR URGENT OPINION ON THREE PARTICULAR MATTERS:

(1) ALL LEGAL OPTIONS AVAILABLE IN SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD BE USED TO SECURE CLEMENCY FOR THE SHARPEVILLE SIX;

(2) THE ENACTMENT OF LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO DEPRIVE ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANISATIONS OF OVERSEAS AID WOULD PLACE SEVERE STRAIN ON THE RELATIONS EACH OF US HAS WITH SOUTH AFRICA;

(3) WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE CURRENT NEGOTIATIONS SEEKING NATIONAL RECONCILIATION WITHIN ANGOLA, AN END TO THE ANGOLA/NAMIBIA CONFLICT, AND EARLY IMPLEMENTATION OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 435.

#### CAMBODIA

AS THE RECENT MESSAGE FROM PRINCE SIHANOUK HAS REMINDED US, THE CONTINUING CAMBODIAN CONFLICT AND THE SUFFERING OF THE CAMBODIAN PEOPLE IS OF DEEP CONCERN. WE JOIN THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD IN CALLING FOR THE PROMPT WITHDRAWAL OF ALL VIETNAMESE TROOPS. WE SUPPORT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN CAMBODIA WHICH WILL PROVIDE FOR CAMBODIAN SELF-DETERMINATION AND LEAD TO THE RE-EMERGENCE OF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT CAMBODIA. UNQUOTE.

2. SUITE A NOTRE REYTEL, VOICI TEXTE DE SOMMAIRE DE PRESIDENCE  
...4

\*

END

16409 *עפ"כ*

\* תאריך : **פגשתי-קחוק-מחלקת הקשר**

\*\* נכנס

\* דף 1 מתוך 1  
\* עותק 1 מתוך 6

\* סודי ביותר

\* חוזם: 6/16409

\* אל: המשרד

\* מ-: רוש, בר: 553, תא: 220688, חז: 1830, דח: מ, ט: 10

\* תח: ג: משרדים

\* נד: ג

\* סודי ביותר/מיוז

\* אל: רהמ' - אישי

\* שר האוצר - אישי

\* לנמענים בלבד

\* בהמשך למברק למזן מס' 552 מהיום: ברצוני לציון כי

\* מאז בואי לרוש. לא נתקלתי בגישה כה תקיפה ולעיתים

\* בוטה כפי שהתנסונו חברי ואני במגישתנו עם הסנטורים

\* ברור לי כי אם לא תהיה היענות ואפילו חלקית לבקשתם

\* הם לא ירפו מלחציהם וחלק מהם כמו סטיונס, עלול אף

\* להכריע לנו וההזדמנויות שובסניו רבות מאד. המפתיע

\* ביותר הוא נוכחותו של מנהיג הרוב סנטור קרנסטון מקליפורניה

\* אשר ציון כי בכונתו להגיע לן-75 חתימות. אני מודע

\* לתקווים שיווצר אן נראה לי שאי-היענותנו עלולה לגרום

\* לנו נזקים ממשיים

\* ארד

\* תפ: רהמ, שרהאוצר



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כאח: יוסף למדן	הפסד: 555 44 : 463 555	

סגט יוסי יוסף חוץ - הקצבות .

הצעת החוק שהוכנה בוועדת המשנה של הסנטור דן איננה חוגשה היום  
במלאת וועדת ההקצבות והתקבלה ללא התנגדות.  
השלב הבא : דיון במליאה . המועד טרם נקבע .

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יוסף למדן

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EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Tel Aviv

June 22, 1988

Mr. Yossi Ben Aharon  
Director General  
Office of the Prime Minister  
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Ben Aharon:

Ambassador Pickering asked me to send you a copy of the transcript of Assistant Secretary Murphy's press conference in Jeddah on June 18. If I can supply anything else, please feel free to ask.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Thomas E. Torrance", written in a cursive style.

Thomas E. Torrance  
Staff Assistant

17.6.88

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31

U.S. OFFICIAL URGES ACTION ON MIDEAST PEACE QUEST  
(Transcript: Murphy news conference at Jeddah)

Jeddah, Saudi Arabia -- U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard W. Murphy conceded in a Jeddah press conference that there is not sufficient time remaining in the administration of President Reagan to solve the problems of the Middle East, but he insisted "there is time to get started talking about solving the problems." Reagan's time in the presidency ends in January.

Murphy, the assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, is visiting U.S. diplomatic posts throughout the Arabian peninsula and conferring with national leaders there.

Murphy said at the June 18 press conference that Secretary of State Shultz's proposal for peace in the Middle East has bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress, and he insisted that "Middle East peace is very precious to us."

In response to a question about the Palestinian uprising, Murphy warned that "no one should take lightly the prospect of another war in the Middle East." He called it "a hot spot in the world."

Regarding the Gulf War, Murphy said American diplomatic efforts are geared "to get a cease-fire established and accepted as quickly as possible." He added that the United States Navy is in the Gulf "to contain the war and to protect American-flagged ships," and to offer distress assistance to ships of other nations under specified conditions.

Asked about Afghanistan, Murphy said the United States expects that the Soviet withdrawal will be carried out completely, "hopefully by the end of this year," and that "Afghanistan will return to its status as a truly independent, non-aligned country which offers no threat to the Soviet Union nor to anyone else."

Following is the transcript of the Murphy Jeddah press conference:

(begin transcript)

Q: Mr. Murphy...we would like to know about the purpose of your visit. What were the results of your discussions with the custodian of the two holy mosques, King Fahd?

A: ...The purpose of my trip is to visit our offices throughout the peninsula. I try to do this once a year. After visiting Saudi Arabia, I will be visiting members of the Gulf Cooperation Council, as well as Yemen and Iraq, in the course of the present trip. We have a number of relations, many different projects and programs between the United States and the kingdom, as well as in several of the other countries, so I have come to familiarize myself with these programs, and see firsthand how relationships are developing. My discussions with the foreign minister this morning and with King Fahd this afternoon covered issues of bilateral relations, the Arab-Israeli peace process and the Gulf War. I had a very good and productive exchange with the king. Prince Saud was also present this afternoon for my meeting with the king, and we covered in considerable detail the peace initiative of Secretary Shultz, the Moscow summit between President Reagan and Secretary General Gorbachev as it affected the Middle East peace process, as it affected the Gulf war. I reviewed

As in London, the deputy spokesman said, delegations representing the Republic of South Africa, the People's Republic of Angola/Republic of Cuba, and the United States will take part in the Cairo meeting. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker will head the U.S. delegation.

The negotiation process has received growing African diplomatic support, Oakley noted, and the new round of talks is scheduled against a background of intensified allied and U.S.-Soviet consultations on southern Africa.

In response to a question, Oakley said Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, will not be represented. "The parties are those we've named," she said. "The United States is mediator between South Africa and a combined delegation representing Luanda and Havana."

#### U.S. BACKS FREE EMIGRATION --

Asked about a reported Israeli effort to force Soviet Jews emigrating with Israeli visas to travel directly to Israel, Oakley said the U.S. position on emigration "remains one of firm support for the principles of freedom of movement and freedom of choice."

She said that Israel and the Soviet Union are well aware of the U.S. position.

#### CHINA SUPPORTS SIHANOUK ROLE IN CAMBODIA --

Oakley reported that Chinese officials have confirmed that the "Khmer Rouge should not have a dominate role in a post-settlement coalition government in Cambodia and that Prince Sihanouk should be the genuine leader of such a coalition."

"We consider this a constructive approach. We believe the Chinese recognize that discredited Khmer Rouge leaders such as Pol Pot cannot play a role in a future Cambodian government," she said.

She could not confirm press reports of a Chinese offer of asylum to individual Khmer Rouge figures.

NNNN



Secretary Shultz's latest trip to the region which was only two weeks ago and then discussed the effects of the Arab summit on the American peace initiative.

Q: ...Can you tell us what is going on inside Iran today, the health of Ayatollah and the internal struggle there when the speaker of the house, Rafsanjani, takes over as the leader of Iran and the Khomeini regime. Can we expect an end or a resolution to the Gulf conflict?

A: I think an American official has to be very humble when he discusses the internal situation within Iran. I don't believe we understand it well. We have no dialogue going on with the government of Iran, and I would hesitate -- I simply can't honestly answer what is going on internally in terms of Mr. Rafsanjani's new position as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, what the significance of that is in terms of succession, of his influence, his role in the future of Iranian politics. I would be misleading you to say that we know -- we don't know.

Q: There have been persistent reports that Ayatollah Khomeini is very sick and about to die and there is an enormous power struggle there. I am sure that as the person responsible for this area, you must have some idea what is going on inside Iran.

A: Well, I certainly have an idea that when reports persist about a man's imminent death for six years, that that death may not be imminent. I don't know whether it is or not. American policy is not founded on the life of a single leader. They have organized, taken steps, to designate a successor to the Ayatollah Khomeini. I assume he will be named when the time comes, when the Ayatollah does die. Exactly what policies will he follow? We know there are rivalries in Iran, in social policy, in economic policy. How the successor will decide on Iran's interests vis-a-vis the war is impossible to predict.

It's been going on eight years now. We are making every effort that we can to bring the war to an end through a combination of our diplomacy and our military presence in the Gulf -- our naval presence -- to contain and get it to a cease-fire as quickly as possible. When you ask about internal Iranian developments and how they affect the prospects for bringing the war to an end, we don't have a good feel for that.

Q: Do you carry anything new on your trip or is it an attempt to save Shultz's initiative? How does the United States view the resolutions of the Algiers summit?

A: I am bringing nothing new. As regards the secretary's initiative, he has made three major visits to the region explaining why we think it is the only workable and realistic plan to get the negotiations started. I have not come to add to that, I have come to answer questions that the leaders of the peninsula may have about the secretary's initiative. He had himself the chance to discuss it with the custodian of the two holy mosques when they were together in Qasim two months ago.

Q: It is known that the United States has very close relations with Israel. With the Palestinian uprising at the moment, we find that America is not being fair in its stance on this situation. Don't you think the United States should have a leading role, being a big power, since Israel listens to the United States....

A: Let me interrupt there, "Al-Kiyaan Al-Sahyuuni" (the Zionist entity), "Ismu L-Dawlah Isra'ii" (the name of the state is Israel). I



say that because so many times I have lectured in the United States and I have testified to the Congress of the United States that the existence of the state of Israel is becoming increasingly accepted in the Arab world. Certainly there is no love affair between the Arabs and the Israelis, but years ago I never saw the name of the state of Israel in the press, for instance here in Jeddah or in some other capitals. It was always described as the "Zionist entity," the "Zionist enemy." And I assert that beginning in 1967, the quotation marks around Israel began to disappear in the press. So, when I hear a question about the "Zionist entity" I have to ask myself "have I been misleading the American public? Is Israel not increasingly being accepted by the Arabs as a reality?"

Q: OK, it's "the state of Israel."

A: The initiative of Mr. Shultz, you see, presents a set of painful decisions, painful to the Israelis and to the Arabs alike. That's the only plan on the table, the only realistic way to go. It's going to be difficult. It's going to be as difficult for the Israelis as it is for the Arabs. So, we think time is running out. There are real dangers in the area, new weaponry, growing population. And we think the plan we have presented does offer hope, if people will agree to negotiate on the basis of (United Nations Security Council Resolutions) 242 and 338, which includes the return of territory for peace. We have offered a structure for those negotiations which can work. But time is wasting. It's not a question of the pressure of the United States on Israel or the pressure of the United States on any party. It's the pressure of this situation in the region on all.

Q: The Arab summit has left the door open for new efforts for peace in the nation. It has adhered to the Arab peace initiative, it has an implied rejection of the Shultz initiative. The secretary has said that after his fourth tour in the region he has reached a deadlock and at the same time the Shultz initiative included a rejection of the PLO delegation as an official delegation to the international conference. This is a very big issue and it could be an obstacle in the face of the initiative. Do you see that there is a necessity for an amendment for Shultz's suggestions and would you consider the viewpoints on this matter?

A: The most important result of the Arab summit was that it did not close the door, as you said. We studied the resolutions, at least those which were published, and we have talked to a number of leaders who attended the summit and they have all assured us that no one rejected, openly or in a secret resolution, the Shultz initiative. The initiative is an outline. It is not a complete plan of how to proceed in terms of the peace process. But, there is no other -- call it -- operational program on the table besides the Shultz initiative. The Fez initiative is an Arab position, arrived at in the summit of 1982. That's a position which we understand the Arabs will bring to the table. Shultz does not dictate to the Arabs. He does not dictate to the Israelis what positions they will bring to the table. It would be foolish. Reagan has published, as long as six years ago, his concept of what peace would involve, in the Reagan initiative of September, 1982. I recommend that you review that if there is any question about the American position, and I repeat, that is the American position, not the Arab position, not the Israeli position. We expect our contribution to be getting people to the table to start negotiating. Negotiations, by definition, are to find ways to bridge



differences, to resolve conflicts and we expect to find several different positions there in that room if we can ever get people to come through the door. So, first of all, I don't think we're discouraged by the Arab summit. In fact, we are encouraged that the door has been left open for the American initiative. Whatever you may hear in the media of various countries the fact is that the leaders with whom we have discussed the initiative are telling us to keep going and are encouraging us to keep moving, and we will.

Q: Do you think that the remaining presidential period for President Reagan will be sufficient for solving the many pending issues, especially the Middle East?

A: When Secretary Shultz published his plan and delivered letters to the prime minister of Israel, the king of Jordan, the president of Syria, that was the first week of March. He accompanied that with a timetable which outlined or projected how we saw the period needed, how we could use the remaining months of the Reagan administration, that gave us eleven months, since the president leaves office next January 21. Almost four of those eleven months are now gone, we have seven months left. Is there time to get started? Yes, there is time to get started. Is there time to solve the problems? No, obviously not. But there is time to get started talking about solving the problem. And I share with you my appreciation, coming directly from Washington, that this is not a partisan issue between Democrats and Republicans in the United States. The secretary has a bi-partisan support, a very broad support for the initiative. That is very precious to us. Middle East peace is very precious to us and should not become what we call a football or a soccerball in our domestic politics and it has not become that.

Q: There was a scheduled meeting with an Iraqi official/delegation before you proceeded to the region. The meeting was canceled at the last minute. What was the reason for canceling that meeting?

A: Yes, a meeting between the Iraqi foreign minister and Secretary Shultz was canceled. It was canceled in protest because an officer of the Department of State had met with Jalal Talabani of the Kurdish PUK. I had a meeting myself with the Iraqi foreign minister earlier this week and I hope to visit Baghdad in the course of my own trip. I believe the Iraqis have subsequently said they didn't see this meeting as destroying our relations but as a blow to it.

Q: Diplomatic analysts here consider that the Shultz plan has to be changed in light of what happened at the Algiers summit, that at least it was a personal diplomatic setback to the Secretary of State and that the Shultz plan cannot proceed the way it is. And, it was regarded in this area that the initiative, somehow, has to be changed, if the peace process is to proceed in the Middle East. And, I don't understand why you are so hopeful about this situation while the reality is this way in this area.

A: I repeat, we have been told that the results of the summit were not a rejection of the Shultz plan. We have never had it accepted. It has not been accepted by Syria, by Jordan or by Israel. But it hasn't been rejected by any of those countries. Now, we have to change the plan, you say. In what sense does the plan have to be changed? It's a way to get negotiations organized or structured. It involves an international conference. It involves transitional negotiations and final status negotiations. Algiers did not reject



any of those elements. So I don't agree with the conclusion, if the conclusion in the area is that the plan has been rejected.

Q: Mr. Murphy, Mr. Arafat was present during the Algiers conference. Is that an indication that Mr. Arafat, at least tentatively speaking, does not reject the Shultz plan?

A: Well, you know we are not in communication with Mr. Arafat. I rely on you to tell me what he is saying.

Q: But he was present during the summit. As you said, nobody has rejected it.

A: Well, I think Mr. Arafat himself has said that since the United States didn't present our plan to him he is not going to reject it to the United States. But he knows the plan, he knows its essence, and he knows our thinking about it from his relations with the Arab leadership with whom we have discussed it.

Q: Mr. Murphy, how do you view the PLO suggestions which were declared by Bassam Abu Sharif, who is close to Arafat, about conducting direct negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis within the framework of an international conference, and the PLO non-objection to holding an international referendum to choose its representatives? Don't you see that the United States, in view of what is going on at the present time in the occupied lands, Shultz should reconsider his efforts concerning peace because of the new reality which the uprising has created?

A: I heard, I think that was Bassam Abu Sharif, yesterday on the Voice of America. The tenor of his statement seems to be like the tenor of a statement published by the PLO just before the summit. It talked about settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli confrontation. It was striking in that it talked about living side by side, acknowledging Israelis have fears just as Palestinians have fears. They acknowledge that Israelis have fears. I don't recall the exact language, but it was striking in the way it discusses that problem. It wasn't the strident rhetoric that we have all seen and heard over the years. So, it's a contribution to a rational discussion of the problem. I don't have any reaction to, in effect, the challenge of the PLO that an international referendum be conducted to pick Palestinian delegates. My only comment on this is that how to organize the representation of the Palestinians is obviously one of the very sensitive issues. There is no point in trying to set up a certain representation which would drive the other party away from the table. I know of no Israeli, to be specific, who would sit with the PLO leadership under the present circumstances. They've all made that plain. It's not just Mr. Shamir, it's not just Mr. Peres. It's throughout the whole Israeli political spectrum with the exception, perhaps, of the small group called "Peace Now" on the liberal side. So, to get the negotiation going you have to have something workable. Palestinians are not going to go there to negotiate with fellow Arabs; they have to negotiate with Israelis. And, if the Israelis won't sit with a certain Palestinian, then it's not a workable, realistic structure for negotiations. So we all have to turn our minds and be creative and think through the problem of how to organize the negotiations. You say the "intifadah" (uprising) has created new facts. A new status quo. You may be right, I'm not sure. The "intifadah" has created a new awareness of the problem internationally. It has created a new pride among Palestinians and perhaps among Arabs, generally. I don't see it has created a new



political strategy on the Palestinians' part. There have been many acts of individual courage but I don't see that out of this loss of life the conflict between the police, the army, and the demonstrators that you have, today, on the table a new political strategy as a result of the "intifadah." And that is not to deprecate, to downplay, to diminish in any way the hopes expressed, the sacrifices that individuals have made in giving their lives. But are there new facts? That's my question back to you. Are there new facts?

Q: If the "intifadah" has not created a new political reality, then why is the United States trying to abort the "intifadah," as many observers in the Middle East think?

A: We stand accused of two things: Of trying to abort the "intifadah" and trying to cope with American domestic politics. As I said earlier, this is not a partisan issue in American domestic politics. The Shultz effort is truly a broad-based effort, we are not trying to abort the "intifadah." We're trying to move the parties to the conflict to the negotiating table. I hope what I said earlier is not misunderstood. I say I don't hear a new strategy in the "intifadah," a new Palestinian strategy coming out of the "intifadah."

It's a demonstration of rejection of the occupation. As Shultz has said the occupation is a dead end. There has got to be a negotiation to solve the problems resulting from the earlier wars, particularly from the 1967 war. We believe that the "intifadah" may have stimulated or may yet stimulate some new thinking. There is no new Israeli strategy either. The "intifadah" may lead to new thinking and move people away from old positions. It's a small neighborhood and the situation can degenerate. When you look at the arsenals of the nations today compared to the war of 1973, certainly compared to the war of 1967, no one should take lightly the prospect of another war in the Middle East. It's very dangerous for all the peoples, for all the states, for America's interests. I think the Soviets feel the same. It's a hot spot in the world which we would all like to play a part in lowering the temperature. But it's not a matter of trying to abort the "intifadah;" if anything, it is trying to use the "intifadah" to say to people "Look, the situation is not tenable, the status quo is not doable. Let's try to get something going, which is peace."

Q: What is the Israeli stand on the Fez plan?

A: I don't recall what they said back in 1982. They noted that the name Israel, they didn't even call it "Al-Kiyaan Al-Sahyuuni" (the Zionist entity) in Fez, was not mentioned in the Fez plan. I think the Fez plan will be brought to the table and get people to come to the table as the Arab position or something close to that. The Israelis obviously don't accept it. They will bring their position. That's what the negotiations are designed to reconcile.

Q: Concerning the ship war in the Gulf region, strikes have started to increase against the United States. Does the United States intend to strike against Iranian positions?

A: What do you mean by "strikes" against the United States?

Q: Against navigation.

A: Our efforts on the diplomatic side are to get a cease-fire established and accepted as quickly as possible, then there wouldn't be attacks on ships. Obviously that would solve the problem and is the first step to end the war. Our navy is there to contain the war and to protect American-flagged ships under a decision which the president approved in April, to offer what we call "distress



assistance" to ships of other nationalities in the Gulf under certain conditions. The governments that own the ships, under whose flags the ships sail, have to agree to it. The ship must not carry cargo which is contraband under the rules of war. The ship must not be serving a belligerent port which would mean an Iranian port, or an Iraqi one should there be an Iraqi port operating again, and the ship's master must request assistance. Finally, one of our ships has to be in the area to come to the assistance of the ship in distress. So we have somewhat extended our protection efforts in the Gulf by that decision in April. I don't think it's appropriate for me to talk about our intentions to strike or not to strike another time at Iran. Iran knows our position, we have made our position very clear publicly. We want the war to end, we expect that our ships will not be attacked. We will certainly come to their defense and to the defense, under the conditions I have mentioned, of the ships of other nationalities. But it's not useful to speculate on what we would do militarily ourselves if someone strikes in a future contingency.

Q: Are you concerned that the instability in the horn of Africa will have a spillover effect in the Middle East?

A: It's been on-going, the problems in Ethiopia, the resistance in Eritrea, the problems in the southern Sudan for many, many years and it has not spilled over directly in terms of the peninsula and the Middle East more generally. It is a volatile situation at the moment -- we acknowledge that -- but it's not a new situation there. It seems to operate under its own dynamics as confrontations involving various governments, some divided internally, some pushing against one another, but it hasn't seemed to spill over across the Red Sea into the peninsula. That's just an observation. I'm not a prophet.

Q: What is the United States' objection to the idea of an international conference on the Middle East that includes the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council?

A: No objection. That's not new, we agree to that. It's part of the Shultz plan. That's why I recommend you read the Shultz plan, that you read the Reagan initiative of 1982. There's a lot of stuff there to work with. That's why I'm optimistic. Only journalists are pessimistic.

Q: Mr. Murphy, Mr. Abba Eban, chairman of the foreign affairs and defense committee of the Knesset, commenting on Shultz's trip, said, "We have won an ally and we have lost a mediator." Does this statement constitute one of the problems that Shultz says is threatening his initiative?

A: Mr. Eban is a very wise man, a man of great experience, within the state of Israel, its political life, and as its representative at the United Nations, as foreign minister. I do not agree completely with that observation, because while it's true our relations with Israel are very close, we also have good friendships in the Arab world. We are able to be a mediator. Now, that ability to be a mediator has to be accepted. It has to be accepted that we will be fair in our handling of the peace process, and there are doubts in certain Arab capitals that we can be fair because of our special relationship with Israel. And I say test us. The only way you're ever going to test us is in a negotiation. I think if you look back over the negotiations that led to the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, both of those parties would say that we were scrupulously fair, and effective as mediators. So I think we can play that role. I have

great respect for Mr. Eban but, in this case, I don't completely agree with him.

Q: Do you have any comments on the Soviets' withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Afghan refugees right to self-determination?

A: We obviously welcome the decision of the Soviets to withdraw its forces from Afghanistan and we expect that that will be carried out completely over the coming months and that Afghanistan will return to its status as a truly independent, non-aligned country which offers no threat to the Soviet Union, nor to anyone else. Just how the Afghan people will decide on their leadership, that is for the people of Afghanistan to decide for themselves. It's not for any outside power to select their leadership or otherwise determine the future to Afghanistan. We welcome the Soviet withdrawal and we expect them to carry it out completely and as quickly as possible, hopefully by the end of this year.

(end transcript)

NNNN



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מיידי	דחיות:	שגרירות ישראל/וויינגטון טופס פרוק	זר: 1
סוג:	גלוי		פתוח: 3
תאריך וזמן חבירה:	22.6.88	אל: לשכת רו"מ	
כס' פרוק:	חפ"ד: 533	דע: מצפ"א, הסברה	
1/3		כאן: עתונות	

דרך הניצוץ

נבקשו להעביר אליכם המכתב דלהלן עם רשימת החותמים המצורפת.

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Jun 22,88 06:04 FAX (415)428-1001■■VOICE (415)652-9710

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## **AN APPEAL FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS**

**Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir  
HaKirya  
Jerusalem, Israel**

We, the undersigned journalists and academics, join with the more than 85 Israeli journalists who have condemned the closure, without any legal process, of the Hebrew-Arabic weekly *Derech Hanitzotz/Tariq a-Sharara*, and the arrest of six of its staff members, Ribhi al-Aruri, Roni Ben Efrat, Ya'akov Ben Efrat, Michal Schwartz, Hadas Lahav, and Assaf Adv.

The maintenance of a democratic society depends on the right to freedom of the press and freedom of expression, both of which are threatened by the abovementioned actions against *Derech Hanitzotz/Tariq a-Sharara*, as well the six-month closure of the Palestine Press Service, the administrative detention of 25 Palestinian journalists, and revocation of foreign press credentials from Glen Frankel of the Washington Post and Martin Fletcher of NBC News.

We urge you to immediately allow the reopening of *Derech Ha-Nitzotz/Tariq A-Sharara* and the Palestine Press Service, and to drop charges and release all Israeli and Palestinian journalists under administrative detention or arrest. Freedom of the press demands no less.



3/3 533

**Signed:**

**William Arveson**  
Prof. of Mathematics  
University of California,  
Berkeley

**Joel Beinin**  
Middle East Report  
Asst. Prof. of History  
Stanford Univ., Palo Alto

**Noam Chomsky**  
Institute Professor  
MIT, Cambridge

**David Finkel**  
Against the Current  
Detroit

**Guardian Newswatch**  
William A. Ryan, editor  
New York

**Morris W. Hirsch**  
Professor of Mathematics  
Univ. of California, Berkeley

**Jane Hunter**  
Editor, Israeli Foreign Affairs  
Sacramento

**Chuck Idelson**  
Reporter  
People's Daily World  
San Francisco

**John Kelley**  
Professor of Mathematics  
University of California,  
Berkeley

**Spencer Klaw, Editor**  
Columbia Journalism Review  
New York

**Smadar Lavie**  
Lecturer in Anthropology  
Univ. of California, Berkeley

**Zachary Lockman**  
Middle East Report  
Assoc. Prof., Harvard Univ.,  
Boston

**Philip Maldari, Director**  
KPFA Public Affairs  
Berkeley

**Mark Mericle, co-director**  
KPFA News Department  
Berkeley

**Mike McGrath**  
Associate Editor  
East Bay Express  
Berkeley

**David Milstein**  
Correspondent  
The Guardian(NY)  
Oakland

**Carlos Muñoz**  
Professor, Chicano Studies  
University of California,  
Berkeley

**Rena Orenstein**  
freelance writer  
San Francisco

**Paul Rauber**  
East Bay Express  
Berkeley

**Forest Rouse**  
Presidential Fellow, Physics  
Univ. of California, Berkeley

**David Sainker**  
Executive Director  
Pacifica Foundation  
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**Donald Sarason**  
Prof. of Mathematics  
University of California,  
Berkeley

**Charles Schwartz**  
Professor of Physics  
University of California,  
Berkeley

**Previn Varaiya**  
Prof. of Electrical. Eng.  
Univ. of California, Berkeley

3/2

Appeal for Freedom of the Press in Israel and the Occupied Territories;  
c/o Emergency Coalition for Palestinian Rights; P.O.Box 8292, Berkeley, Ca. 94707

דחיפות: מידי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 1
סוג: גלוי		כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן תעבור: 21.6.88	אל: מצפ"א, ממ"ד	
כס' פרוק: הפשרד:	דצ: לשכת רוה"מ	
492	כאח: עתונות	

מסמך אש"פ

ראו נא הקטע המצ"ב מה"וושינגטון טיימס"י הכולל גם את תגובתו של מרפי למסמך.

א"ס  
ג' יוס'י

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תפוצה: 2



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492

# PLO confirms policy to recognize Israel

By James M. Dorsey  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

WT

The Palestine Liberation Organization has told a senior U.S. official that an article by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's chief adviser expressing Palestinian willingness to recognize Israel and accept a two-state solution constitutes PLO policy, Palestinian sources say.

The PLO position was communicated via senior Saudi officials to Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy, who is currently on a Mid-east tour, the sources said.

"Contact was made between the Americans and the Palestinians," one said.

The sources said Mr. Murphy had asked the Saudis to ask the PLO whether it stood behind an article by Bassam Abu Sharif, Mr. Arafat's Tunis-based chief political adviser, distributed to foreign journalists covering the Arab League summit in Algiers early this month.

"The answer was yes," said one source.

The sources suggested that Saudi King Fahd played a key role in conveying the PLO position to Mr. Mur-

phy. They said the reply came from Mr. Arafat.

An unidentified senior PLO official was visiting Riyadh at the same time as Mr. Murphy, the sources said. They said the two men did not meet.

The article by Mr. Abu Sharif recognizes Israel, calls for a two-state solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and direct peace talks, and suggests holding an internationally supervised referendum on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip to establish that the PLO is the representative of the Palestinian people.

The article "was striking in that it talked about living side by side, acknowledging Israelis have fears just as Palestinians have fears. ... It wasn't the strident rhetoric that we have all seen and heard over the years. So it's a contribution to a rational discussion of the problem," Mr. Murphy said in a June 18 press conference in Jeddah.

The Palestinian sources said Mr. Murphy made his comment after receiving the PLO message.

Administration sources called Mr. Abu Sharif's article "constructive" but noted that it failed to

address the issue of terrorism.

The sources said the PLO still needs to communicate its new position in a totally unambiguous fashion.

"If the PLO is serious about its position so as to make a practical contribution to the peace process, it can do so in an authoritative way. We have not seen such an authoritative move on the part of the PLO," one source said.

Some sources suggested that a public statement by Mr. Arafat would be authoritative.

The Palestinian sources said Mr. Arafat was under pressure from both the United States and the Soviet Union to state his position unequivocally.

They said the Soviet Union had been aware of Mr. Abu Sharif's article from the moment PLO officials began drafting it in early May.

Soviet backing of the article prevented Syria from making public its opposition to the Palestinian peace move, the sources said.

They said Mr. Arafat had received several letters from Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze since Mr. Abu Sharif's article was distributed in Algiers.

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# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

435/509  $\frac{2}{4}$

June 17, 1988

The Honorable George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

On June 10, 1988 an informal notification for an arms sale to Kuwait was sent to Congress. As you know, the total package of arms includes 40 F/A-18 Hornet Fighter Aircraft, 40 Harpoon missiles, 120 Sidewinder missiles, 200 Sparrow missiles, 300 Maverick missiles, 400 Laser-guided bombs, and 200 cluster munitions. The Hornet is a multi-mission aircraft designed and developed as both a fighter and an attack aircraft which symbolizes America's best technology. We are deeply concerned by the numerical and symbolic quality of this arms sale package.

We are interested in the Administration's rationale and foreign policy objectives regarding this arms sale package. Will the Kuwaitis contribute more overtly to share the burden of protecting their own shipping in the Persian Gulf? Will they play a role in fostering the peace process in the Middle East? What assurances do we have for their longer-term alliance and support in this volatile region of the world? What are the overall policy considerations of this sale?

Moreover, we are concerned about the possibility that the effective combat radius of the F/A-18 for a ground-attack mission could be extended in a way that would permit attacks on Israel. There is the possibility that the F/A-18 combat radius can be increased with extended-range fuel tanks, through basing or deployment of the planes in neighboring countries such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, or Iraq. Accordingly, we conclude that it is critically important to have the assurances of Kuwait that these aircraft will never be based or deployed closer to Israel than they would be at their base in Kuwait and that they will never be based in or deployed to a state bordering Israel. In addition, we should have Kuwaiti assurances that they will not seek refueling aircraft or equipment which could extend the operating range of the F/A-18. The Administration should provide assurances that the United States will not sell such equipment to Kuwait.

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The Honorable George Shultz

June 17, 1988

Page 2.

435/509  $\frac{3}{4}$

Furthermore, we are deeply concerned about the proposed sale of 300 advanced Maverick missiles (200 Ds, 100 Gs) to Kuwait. This is the same missile that was withdrawn from the proposed Saudi arms package last year following strong Congressional objections. The Maverick AGM-65 D and G missile is a day/night, infrared, fire-and-forget weapon. It is a missile we can ill afford to have fall into unfriendly hands. The Maverick has destructive capabilities that far exceed the legitimate security requirements of Kuwait. The selling of these highly reliable and accurate missiles to Kuwait would further contribute to the already dangerous proliferation of advanced weapons in the volatile Persian Gulf. We strongly oppose the combination of F/A-18's and Maverick D and G missiles in this sale.

Mr. Secretary, we cannot afford to have our most sophisticated, sensitive and efficient weapons sold without predictable and desirable consequences. We look forward to an early reply.

Sincerely,

*Dennis DeConcini* *Chairman* *Frank Lautenberg* *Senator* *Barack* *Obama* *Senator* *Clinton* *Senator* *Paul* *Sarbanes* *Bob Packwood* *Senator* *Al* *Moynihan* *Senator* *Cliff* *Wallerstein* *Senator* *Tim* *Wirth* *Senator* *Bob* *Caffery* *Senator* *Sam* *Rankin* *Senator* *Alfonse* *D'Amico*



The Honorable George Shultz  
June 17, 1988  
Page 3.

435/504  $\frac{4}{4}$

Don Regie at the Embassy in Brussels  
Frank Watunga

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END





דף: 2	שגרירות ישראל/ווישינגטון	דחילות:
כתובת: 7	טופס פרוק	סוג:
אל:	תאריך וזמן תגובה:	
דע:	כס' פרוק:	
כאח:	הפסד: 511 437 143	

העקריות שבחקיקה וכן מיזכר בנדון מאת קרלוצי לראש' האגפים והסוכנויות הנוגעים בדבר.

(4) כאשר נגשתי היום לאיננו ותודיתי לו על מאמציו האדירים לטובתנו (גם עניין חקן קרי - דיווח בנפרד) העיר שהוא מקווה כי מר רבין מבין שיעלה לארה"ב 287 מליון ע"מ לאפשר לישראל לחסוך כ - 60 מליון. צחק אצנם, אך בכל זאת... לחשומת ליבכם.

(5) החקיקה על **FAIR PRICING** נכתב בשפה בלתי ברורה - וניתן להבין אותה רק תוך עיון בחוק הפיקוח על ייצוא הנשק. לידיעתכם: -

- סעיף (b) 43 מתייחס להטלים אדמיניסטרטיביים (ADMINISTRATIVE CHARGES)

- סעיף (c) 21: שירותי חוזים (CONTRACT SERVICES)

- סעיף (e) 21 - תח סעיפים (b) ו - (c): ההוצאות החד-פעמיות (CASSET USE CHARGES for R+D)

כל ההטלים האלה יבוטלו (למיטב הבנתי - י.ל.). בנוסף, מוזילים את עלות קורסי הדרכה באמצעות חקיקה זו.

(6) יש לציין שאנו עדיין במחילת הדרך מבחינת התהליך החקיקתי.

- מחר (22.6) הצעת החוק של איננו תוגש למליאת וועדת ההקצבות.

- לאחר מכן תידון במלאת הסנט.

- ולאחר מכן יערך שלב הקונפרנס (וחייבים לדון ב- **FAIR PRICING** מחדש, היות ואינו מופיע בהצעת החוק שהכין הקונגרסמן דייז אובי, יו"ר וועדת המשנה בבית הנבחרים).

(7) בכל אחד מהשלבים הבאים ייתכנו בעיות וצרות בלתי צפויות, סביר להניח שהתהליך יסתיים רק בחודש ספטמבר.

ל מ ד ו

תפוצה:



511/437/43

Fair Pricing

27707/NET

Sec. 589. (a) The last sentence of paragraph (3) of section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by inserting immediately after the phrase "under paragraph (3)" the phrase "or from funds made available on a nonrepayable basis under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act", and by inserting after "Armed Forces of the United States" the phrase "(other than the Coast Guard)".

(b) Section 515(d) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 is amended by striking out "October 1, 1982" and inserting in lieu thereof "October 1, 1989" and by striking out "including" and inserting in lieu thereof "excluding".

(c) Section 43(b) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (1), by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (2) and by inserting a semicolon in lieu thereof, and (3) by adding the following paragraphs at the end of the subsection:

"(3) such expenses are incurred by offices, activities, or other organizational elements of the Department of Defense dedicated solely to carrying out functions under this Act, or are actual out-of-pocket expenses (other than pay and allowances) of personnel temporarily detailed to carry out such functions incurred while so detailed; and

"(4) such expenses are not salaries of members of the Armed Forces of the United States."

(d) Section 21(e) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended—  
(1) by inserting immediately before the semicolon at the end of paragraph (1) (A) "as specified in section 43(b) and section 43(c) of this Act";

(2) by inserting immediately before the semicolon at the end of paragraph (1) (C) "(except for equipment wholly paid for from funds transferred under section 503(a) (3) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or from funds made available on a nonrepayable basis under section 23 of this Act)";

(3) by repealing paragraph (1) (B) and relettering paragraphs (1) (C) and (1) (D) as paragraphs (1) (B) and (1) (C), respectively; and

(4) by striking out "paragraphs (1) (B) and (1) (C)" in subsection (e) (2) and inserting in lieu thereof "paragraph (1) (B)".

(e) Paragraph (1) of section 21(h) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking out "or" at the end of subparagraph (A), by striking out the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting in lieu thereof "; or", and by adding the following subparagraph at the end of the paragraph:  
"(C) in connection with sales of defense articles of a type that are also procured by the Department of Defense for its own use."

(f) This section shall be effective on or after October 1, 1989.



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P.02



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

511/437/43  $\frac{4}{7}$ 

21 JUN 1988

Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations  
Committee on Appropriations  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing to express my support for the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) Fair Pricing Initiative, which is an effort to improve the way that costs are assessed on the Security Assistance program. Fair Pricing would significantly enhance our ability to accomplish the highly important national and DoD mission of military assistance.

The Fair Pricing changes would require the Security Assistance program to reimburse the Military Departments and Defense Agencies only for the incremental costs they incur to administer the FMS program, primarily with regard to countries receiving Military Assistance Program (MAP) or non-repayable FMS Credit assistance (see attachment for additional detail). Under existing law, the Security Assistance program now pays full costs (i.e., a pro-rata share of the Military Departments' fixed costs in implementing FMS as well as a pro-rata share of the total non-recurring research, development, and production costs of U.S. defense systems sold abroad). These are costs that DoD would incur even if the FMS program did not exist.

Enactment of Fair Pricing would increase the defense buying power of countries to whom we are able to provide MAP and non-repayable FMS Credit assistance by 6 percent, and of other countries by 3 percent. This would mitigate in a much-needed way the impact of recent severe military assistance funding reductions. At the same time, Fair Pricing would reduce the Security Assistance contribution to the Defense Budget by an estimated \$278 million in a typical year or about one tenth of one percent of projected FY 1988 Function 050 outlays.

All reductions to the Defense Budget, even of a relatively small amount, are undesirable in these times of declining real resources. However, military assistance funding has suffered much larger funding reductions which have seriously impaired the Defense Department's ability to fulfill its military assistance mission. Furthermore, these funding reductions have serious

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06/21/88 14:10

JUN. 21 '88 12:34 SADFAN SECDEF DSAA COMPT FMD TM1

P.03

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implications for other DoD missions because they have endangered critical foreign military base and access rights, undermined friends and allies' ability to handle military threats to our mutual interests without direct U.S. military support, and, in some cases, increased our reliance on emergency (and usually non-reimbursed) drawdowns from U.S. military stocks to assist friends and allies.

The Unified Commands are on record in advocating changes of this nature. On balance, I have concluded that FMS Fair Pricing is a cost-effective reallocation of resources to accomplish important national and DoD missions. I hope that you will support enactment of FMS Fair Pricing.

Sincerely,

Attachment  
a/s



Same letter to KASTEN  
STEVENS  
STENNIS

✶



# FAIR PRICING PROVISIONS

AUTOMATICALLY WAIVE RECOUPMENT OF NON-RECURRING R&D COSTS FOR ALL MAP AND FORGIVEN FMSCR RECIPIENTS

- CURRENT LAW ALLOWS WAIVERS FOR NATO, JAPAN, AND AUSTRALIA
- AUTOMATIC WAIVERS NOW GRANTED ONLY TO PORTUGAL AND TURKEY AS MAP RECIPIENTS, OTHERS ONLY ON QUID PRO QUID BASIS

ELIMINATE ASSET USE CHARGE FOR ALL

ELIMINATE CONTRACT ADMINISTRATION SERVICE (CAS) CHARGE ON ITEMS WITH ON-GOING DoD PRODUCTION LINE REQUIREMENT FOR ALL

NO REIMBURSEMENTS TO MILDEPS FOR MILITARY SALARIES FOR PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION

- UNTIL 1976, SERVICES COVERED THE SALARIES OF MILITARY PERSONNEL SERVING IN SAOs

REIMBURSE CIVILIAN SALARIES ONLY FOR THOSE OFFICES WHICH WORK SECURITY ASSISTANCE FULL TIME

- UNTIL 1976, ADMINISTRATIVE CHARGES COVERED ONLY CIVILIAN SALARIES OF FULL-TIME SECURITY ASSISTANCE EMPLOYEES

511/437/43

4/6

06/21/88 14:11  
JUN. 21 '88 12:35 SADFAIN SECDEF PSAA COMPT FMD IM1  
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

511/437/43  
81 JUN 1988



MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARIES OF THE MILITARY DEPARTMENTS  
DIRECTOR, DEFENSE LOGISTICS AGENCY  
DIRECTOR, NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY

SUBJECT: FMS Fair Pricing Initiative

Congress is considering legislation which would change the way charges are assessed for Security Assistance program expenses. These changes, known collectively as "FMS Fair Pricing", would somewhat reduce the financial contribution of the Security Assistance program to the Military Departments and Defense Agencies, but would significantly enhance our ability to accomplish the highly important national and DoD mission of military assistance. I support this effort.

I am providing this support in full recognition of the outlay effects on the Defense budget. This is an obviously difficult choice, based on our inability to finance all high priority Defense needs at current budget levels. However, the significant reductions in Security Assistance program levels since 1985 also have had serious impact on our national security objectives.

The Fair Pricing changes still would require reimbursement to the Military Departments and Defense Agencies for the incremental costs they incur to administer the FMS program (see attachment for additional detail). Enactment of Fair Pricing would reduce the Security Assistance contribution to the Defense Budget by about one tenth of one percent of projected FY 1988 Function 050 outlays.

The Unified Commands are on record in advocating changes of this nature. On balance, I have concluded that FMS Fair Pricing is a cost-effective reallocation of resources to accomplish important national and DoD missions.

Attachment  
a/s

cc: Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff

\*

35646



חוזם: 6,15745

אל: המשורד

מ-: אונטה, נר: 66, תא: 210688, זח: 1600, דח: ר, סג: בל

תח: א גס: מצפא

נד: א

בלמס/רגיל

אל מצפ'א

להלן נוסח הצהרת ה-7 בנושא המזה'ת.

WE EXPRESS OUR DEEP CONCERN AT THE INCREASING INSTABILITY IN THE NEAR EAST. THE CURRENT VIOLENCE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS A CLEAR SIGN THAT THE STATUS QUO IS NOT SUSTAINABLE. AN EARLY NEGOCIATED SETTLEMENT TO THE UNDERLYING ARAB/ISRAELI DISPUTE IS ESSENTIAL. WE DECLARE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE CONVENING OF A PROPERLY STRUCTURED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AS THE APPROPRIATE FRAMEWORK FOR THE NECESSARY NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED. IN THIS PERSPECTIVE WE SALUTE CURRENT EFFORTS AIMED AT ACHIEVING A SETTLEMENT, PARTICULARLY THE INITIATIVE PURSUED BY MR. SHULTZ SINCE FEBRUARY. WE URGE THE PARTIES TO COOPERATE FULLY IN THE SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION.

עד כאן

גדעון מאיר

לש

תפ: שהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בירן, מצפא, ליאור, מזת'ים, ר/מרכז, ממד

דחילות: בחול לבוקר	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: _____
סוג: שמור		כתוב: _____
תאריך וזמן חבירה: 212000 יוני 88	לשכת שר הבטחון	אל: מדכ"צ
פס' פרוק:		דצ: מצפ"א
מספר: בטחון 510 436		פאת: ק. קישור לקונגרס

### הסנטורים אינורה וקסטן - וביקור שהביט

מתוך שיחות עם שני הסנטורים הנ"ל:

(1) הסנטור אינורה מציין שבקונגרס הבא (החל בינואר 1989) הוא אמור להתמנות יו"ר וועדת המשנה לתקציב הפנטגון (במקום יו"ר וועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות - סיוע). ברצונו להפגש עם השר בשבוע הבא ולדון עימו במשאלות ישראל העתידיות במסגרת חוק תקציב הפנטגון. קבענו פגישת ליום ד' (29.6) בשעה 10:45 (במלון).

(2) הסנטור קסטן מבקש למסור שהוא ואינורה רוצים לקבל מחקר פרטים על עלות האינתיפדה לצה"ל. הכוונה היא לעלויות הישירות (ולא דווקא העלויות הבלתי ישירות למשק). מן הראוי שהשר יביא מספרים מעודכנים בפירוט המירבי, וגם תחזינת לגבי העתיד. leyle. כנראה חושש שנפנה לוועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות ונבקש תוספת סיוע לכסות הוצאות האינתיפדה.

א. סול  
ל מ ד

שהחיה 2  
גנא 3  
גנא 1  
בין 1  
גנא 2

תפוצה: -36-





שגירות ישראל / וושינגטון

ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 2 מתוך דפים

סוג כטחוני ש.ת.ר

דחיפות מ.ד.י

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

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כלפי חוגים אתניים ודתיים. ארד אמר שלא היה ניתן ללמוד על כך מדברי שוורדנזה לשמיר. עם זאת ברור שהסובייטים מודאגים מהמאורעות בארמניה לא רק לגבי המיעוטים האתניים אלא גם לגבי המוסלמים בבריה"מ. הם רואים זיקה בין המתרחש בקרב הארמנים ומלחמת איראן-עיראק ואף חוששים מהשפעת הפונדמנטליזם הגובר במזה"ת על חמשים (50) המליון מוסלמים באסיה הסובייטית.

(4) לשאלת אובי על המספר המשוער של יהודים שיורשו להגר מבריה"מ, הזכיר ארד הערת גורבצ'וב לאיש **NBC**, טום ברוקוב, בדצמבר אשתקד, לפיה יציאת יהודים ואחרים הינה בגדר **BRAIN DRAIN** וביכולת הסובייטים לווסת אותו בדרכים בירוקרטיות. ייתכן שכ-15,000 יהודים יעזבו את בריה"מ השנה, אך אין אנו מבחינים בהחלטה סובייטית לחזור להגירה המונית של כ-40,000 לשנה כפי שהיתה בשנים מסוימות תחת ברז'נייב.

(5) אובי סיכם חלק זה של השיחה בהעירו שככל הנראה אנו חשים בשיפורים "בשוליים" של התנהגות הסובייטים ועמדותיהם כלפי תהליך השלום וכיו"ב, לכשעצמו אינו יודע מה יעשו הסובייטים בעתיד לבוא אך אין ספק שמתרחשים שינויים "אמיתיים" ויצאי דופן" בבריה"מ. גורבצ'וב הינו איש בעל תכונות מיוחדות מאוד והוא ישנה פני הדברים שם באורח יסודי, בשנות השישים הוא (אובי) לא היה מאמין שיבוא יום והסובייטים ישקמו את בוכארין ויאמרו שספרי ההיסטוריה שלהם אינם אלא קובצי שקרים.

ב. השאלה הפלסטינית

(1) אובי התעניין בהערכותינו לגבי המגמות בשטחים ומקרב הפלסטינים בכלל בטווח המיידי (במשך מחצית השנה הבאה) ואף בטווח הארוך יותר (במשך חמש השנים הבאות).

(2) באשר לטווח המיידי הצביע השגריר על הליאות המסתמנת בשטחים ולעומת זאת החתירה למעשים אלימים יותר בתוך ישראל (בקבוקי תבערה במרכזים עירוניים, הצתת



טגריירות ישראל / וושינגטון

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דף 3 מחוד דפים

סוג כטחוני ש מ ו ר

דו"פנות מ כ ד י

תאריך/ז"ח

מס' מברק

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יערות וכו'), מעשים שיש בהם כדי לחזק את הדעה כי לא מדובר בסכסוך טריטוריאלי אלא קיומי. ארד ציין גם את תוצאות הפסגה באלג'יר והשלכותיהן המכבידות על חוסיין. כ"כ הזכיר מאמצי שר הבטחון לקיים דו שיח עם אישים פלסטינאים (על אף הקשיים). בסיכום אמר שמן הסתם גם אצל הפלסטינים מבינים שאין לצפות להרבה בטרם קיום הבחירות בישראל ובארה"ב וכל עוד הסובייטים אינם מתאמצים יתר על המידה בדבר תהליך השלום.

3] באשר לטווח הארוך יותר הביע ארד דעתו שהפלסטינים יצטרכו לערוך הערכה מחדש ביחס לחוסיין וכן בקשר למו"מ עם ישראל. נדמה שלא יהיה להם מנוס מלהכיר במקומו החיוני של חוסיין בתהליך ומלהויעד לו תפקיד. מעבר לכך, יהיה על אש"פ לשנות אמנתו או להתיר לפלסטינים בשטחים לפתוח במו"מ עם ישראל.

#### ג. מעצרים מנהלתיים ופרשת עוואד

1) אובי ציין שעניין המעצרים המנהלתיים מפריע לו מאד ואינו יכול לתאר עד כמה הנושא מטריד אותו. השגריר מסר שאנו מנסים להקטין מספר חשודים ויהיה אפשר לעשות זאת אם אכן יירגעו הרוחות בשטחים בחדשים הבאים. לבקשת אובי נעביר לו מידע על תקנות המעצרים האלה (על יסוד מברק הסברה/מידע-מזת"ס מה-15.6).

2) באשר למובארכ' עוואד חזר אובי על דברים שהשמיעו באוזני מצנע (מברקנו 258 מה-10.6). הוא מודאג מדחייתנו הפומבית של בקשת שולץ; להערכתו, הגירוש היה/משגה מטופש" מבחינה טקטית; הרמנו במו ידינו פרופיל עוואד בשטחים והענקנו לו תהודה מינתרת בארה"ב. עוד אמר אובי שאחד ממתחריו באיזור בחירתו ביקר בישראל ונפגש עם פלסטינאים, לרבות עוואד - ועתה הוא "מכסח" אתכם, "ובוודאי אינו מקל על החיים שלי". הוסיף שגם לו הכוח (כקונגרסמן) לעשות דברים רבים, אך אינו עושה אותם כי הם טפשיים מהבחינה הפוליטית. ישראל נהגה כפי שנהגה ומצטיירת כאילו אמרה למזכיר המדינה ללכת לעזאזל (השתמש בביטוי עסיסי יותר); התוצאה המעשית היא שישראל נתפסת





דתיקות: מידד	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: _____
סוג: גלוי		כתוב: _____
תאריך וזמן חבול: 88 21 יוני 1900		אל: מצפ"א
כס' פרוק: הפסלד: בטחון, משיין	דע: ס/מקשיח - משהביט, רמשיין - ניו-יורק, נספח הגנה, שאן נציב ייצוא בטחוני-כאן	
42 434 508		פאת:ק. קישור לקונגרס

תיקון ברי

למברקנו 437 (נר 367 למ' בטחון, 371 למשיין)

היום ב-MARK-UP של הצעת החוק לתקציב הבטחון הוכנס חריג לטובת ישראל לתוך התיקון הנ"ל. השינוי הוצע ע"י הסנטור דן אינורה.

בנפרד, דיווח על השתלשלות העניינים והדיון בוועידת המשנה לתקציב הבטחון.

בברכות,  
י. א. ח.  
למדן יוסף

ט"ה 2 י"ד 3 נ"ב 3 א"נ 1 ב"ן 1 ג"פ 2

תפוצה:





# Prospects of a Palestinian-Israeli settlement

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By Bassam Abu Sherif  
Advisor to Chairman Yaser Arafat

Everything that has been said about the Middle East conflict has focused on the differences between Palestinians and Israelis and ignored the points on which they are in almost total agreement.

These points are easy to overlook, hidden as they are under a 70-year accumulation of mutual hostility and suspicion, but they exist nevertheless and in them lies the hope that the peace that has eluded this region for so long is finally within reach.

Peel off the layers of fear and mistrust that successive Israeli leaders have piled on the substantive issues and you will find that the Palestinians and Israelis are in general agreement on ends and means:

Israel's objectives are lasting peace and security. Lasting peace and security are also the objectives of the Palestinian people. No one can understand the Jewish people's centuries of suffering more than the Palestinians. We know what it means to be stateless and the object of the fear and prejudice of the nations. Thanks to the various Israeli and other governments that have had the power to determine the course of our people's lives, we know what it feels like when human beings are considered somehow less human than others and denied the basic rights that people around the globe take for granted. We feel that no people -- neither the Jewish people nor the Palestinian people -- deserves the abuse and disfranchisement that homelessness inevitably entails. We believe that all peoples -- the Jews and the Palestinians included -- have the right to run their own affairs, expecting from their neighbors not only non-belligerence but the kind of political and economic cooperation without which no state can be truly secure, no matter how massive its war machine, and without which no nation can truly prosper, no matter how generous its friends in distant lands may be.

①



The Palestinians want that kind of lasting peace and security for themselves and the Israelis because no one can build his own future on the ruins of another's. We are confident that this desire and this realization are shared by all but an insignificant minority in Israel.

The means by which the Israelis want to achieve lasting peace and security is direct talks, with no attempt by any outside party to impose or veto a settlement.

The Palestinians agree. We see no way for any dispute to be settled without direct talks between the parties to that dispute, and we feel that any settlement that has to be imposed by an outside power is a settlement that is unacceptable to one or both of the belligerents and therefore a settlement that will not stand the test of time. The key to a Palestinian-Israeli settlement lies in talks between the Palestinians and the Israelis. The Palestinians would be deluding themselves if they thought that their problems with the Israelis can be solved in negotiations with non-Israelis, including the United States. By the same token, the Israelis -- and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who has been shuttling to the Middle East for discussions on his peace proposals -- would be deluding themselves if they thought that Israel's problems with the Palestinians can be solved in negotiations with non-Palestinians, including Jordan.

The Palestinians would like to choose their Israeli interlocutor. We have little doubt that we could reach a satisfactory settlement with the Peace Now movement in a month. We know, however, that an agreement with Peace Now would not be an agreement with Israel, and since an agreement with Israel is what we are after, we are ready to talk to Mr. Shimon Peres' Labor Alignment, or to Yitzhak Shamir's Likud Bloc, or anyone else the Israelis choose to represent them.

The Israelis and Mr. Shultz would also prefer to deal with Palestinians of their own choosing. But it would be as futile for them as for us to talk to people who have no mandate to negotiate. If it is a settlement with the Palestinians that they seek, as we assume it is, then it is with the representatives of that people that they must negotiate, and the Palestinian people, by the only means that they have at their disposal, have chosen their representatives. Every Palestinian questioned by diplomats and newsmen of the international community has stated unequivocally that his representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization. If that is regarded as an unreliable expression of the Palestinians' free will, then give the Palestinians the chance to express their free will in a manner that will convince all doubters: arrange for an internationally-supervised



referendum in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and allow the population to choose between the PLO and any other group of Palestinians that Israel or the United States or the international community wishes to nominate. The PLO is ready to abide by the outcome and step aside for any alternative leadership should the Palestinian people choose one.

The PLO will do this because its *raison d'être* is not the undoing of Israel, but the salvation of the Palestinian people and their rights, including their right to democratic self-expression and national self-determination.

Regardless of the satanic image that the PLO's struggle for those rights has given it in the United States and Israel, the fact remains that this organization was built on democratic principles and seeks democratic objectives. If Israel and its supporters in the U.S. administration can grasp that fact, the fears that prevent them from accepting the PLO as the only valid interlocutor toward any Palestinian-Israeli settlement would vanish.

Those fears, as far as I can tell from what has been written and said in Israel and the United States, center on the PLO's to unconditionally accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and on the possibility that a Palestinian State on the West Bank and Gaza would be a radical, totalitarian threat to its neighbor.

The PLO, however, does accept Resolutions 242 and 338. What prevents it from saying so unconditionally is not what is in the resolutions but what is not in them: neither resolution says anything about the national rights of the Palestinian people, including their democratic right to self-expression and their national right to self-determination. For that reason and that reason alone, we have repeatedly said that we accept Resolutions 242 and 338 in the context of the other UN resolutions, which do recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people.

As for the fear that a Palestinian State would be a threat to its neighbor, the democratic nature of the PLO -- with its legislative, executive and other popularly-based institutions -- should argue against it. If that does not constitute a solid enough guarantee that the State of Palestine would be a democratic one, the Palestinians would be open to the idea of a brief, mutually-acceptable transitional period during which an international mandate would guide the occupied Palestinian territories to democratic Palestinian statehood.

Beyond that, the Palestinians would accept -- indeed, insist on -- international guarantees for the security of all states in the region.



including Palestine and Israel. It is precisely our desire for such guarantees that motivates our demand that bilateral peace talks with Israel be conducted in the context of a UN-sponsored international conference.

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The Palestinians feel that they have much more to fear from Israel, with its mighty war machine and its nuclear arsenal, than Israel has to fear from them. They would therefore welcome any reasonable measure that would promote the security of their state and its neighbors, including the deployment of a UN buffer force on the Palestinian side of the Israeli-Palestinian border.

Time, sometimes the great healer, is often the great spoiler. Many Israelis no doubt realize this and are trying to communicate it to the rest of their people. As for us, we are ready for peace now, and we can deliver it. It is our hope that the opportunity that presents itself today will not be missed.

If it is missed, we will have no choice but to continue to exercise our right to resist the occupation, our ultimate aim being a free, dignified and secure life not only for our children but also for the children of the Israelis.

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סגרירות ישראל / רושינגטון

390 - 67

461 המשרד

תאריך/ז"ס 12:00 20 יוני 88

מס' מברק

אל : מצפ"א, משה"ח

דע : ס/מקש"ח, משהב"ט

מאת : יוטף למדן, רושינגטון.

סנט : שולע וטילים סיניים במזח"ת

השלמה נוספת למברקינר 392.

להלן שואלת אינורה בנדון ותשובת המזכיר ( הערה : האיחור בדיווח נובע מכך שתמליל השמיעות התקבל אצלנו ב"המשכים" - אתכם הסליחה ).

למדי  
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390-67

CHAIRMAN INDOYE: Thank you, Senator Leahy. Mr. Secretary, we are receiving reports that the Chinese are still actively supplying Silkworm missiles to Iran, despite the assurance that they have given us that this practice would be discontinued. My first question is: Are they still supplying silkworms to the Iranians; and if so, what are we prepared to do?

SEC. SHULTZ: I haven't checked this recently, Mr. Chairman, but it's my understanding that since we have certain pledges from them, they haven't provided new silkworm missiles to Iran. There may have been support for ones that have been provided earlier, although basically they've always denied that they provided any. In fact, on one occasion one of their officials told me they hadn't provided any and they wouldn't do it any more. But I don't know of any evidence of a continued supply of that particular kind of missile. But I may not be as well posted as you. We've made our views very plain to them as we have on other missiles.

And I might say that I consider it an irony and one of the disturbing things around the world that just as we and the Soviets are eliminating from our arsenals ballistic missiles that go from 500 to 5,500 kilometers, we see other countries who applauded us in doing that, getting ready to produce them and the Chinese producing them and selling them. So that is the reason why I think we must keep pushing on the idea of some sort of ballistic missile technology control regime.

CHAIRMAN INDOYE: Earlier this year we received reports that the Chinese had sold so-called, "CSS-2" missiles to Saudi Arabia and these missiles have a 1,000 and 1,200 miles and can be made nuclear capable.

I've been told that the Saudis have assured us that these missiles will be used only for conventional warheads. How can we verify this?

SEC. SHULTZ: We have gone both to the Saudis and the Chinese about these sales, and we have been given very unambiguous statements to the effect that only conventional warheads are there. Saudi Arabia has decided now to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and that will help in the general inspection possibilities in Saudi Arabia. But we have their absolute word for it, the Chinese word for it, and this prospect of adherence to the NPT Treaty by Saudi Arabia, and those are our -- that's the basis for our current posture.

\*



PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
JERUSALEM

משרד ראש הממשלה  
ירושלים

DIRECTOR GENERAL

המנהל הכללי

June 20, 1988.  
830-3

Mr. D. McBride  
Transtechology  
1503 Ventura Boulevard  
Sherman Oaks, California

Dear Mr. McBride,

We hereby confirm receipt of your letter to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir dated April 4, 1988, the contents of which are appreciated.

The general application of your products, as well as similar ones, is carefully watched by our soldiers according to strict orders and detailed procedures.

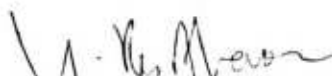
Examples of injuries of civilians are rare. When and if they occur it is only when a situation gets "out of hand" (in exceptional cases - not intentionally.)

You are welcome to monitor the proper usage of your product through any acceptable channel that is available to you, such as the U.S. State Department. At the same time, we shall welcome any training information and facilities that you are able to offer.

In conclusion, we understand and respect your concern and we shall adhere to any guidelines you may provide to ensure the proper usage of your product.

Thank you for your concern and help.

Sincerely,

  
Yosef M. Ben-Aharon

תאריך 16.6.88

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~~הנהגת הרכב~~

נח"ל פנח צ"ח 7X

הנדון מכתב סוכסוכני - הוצאת ארמון

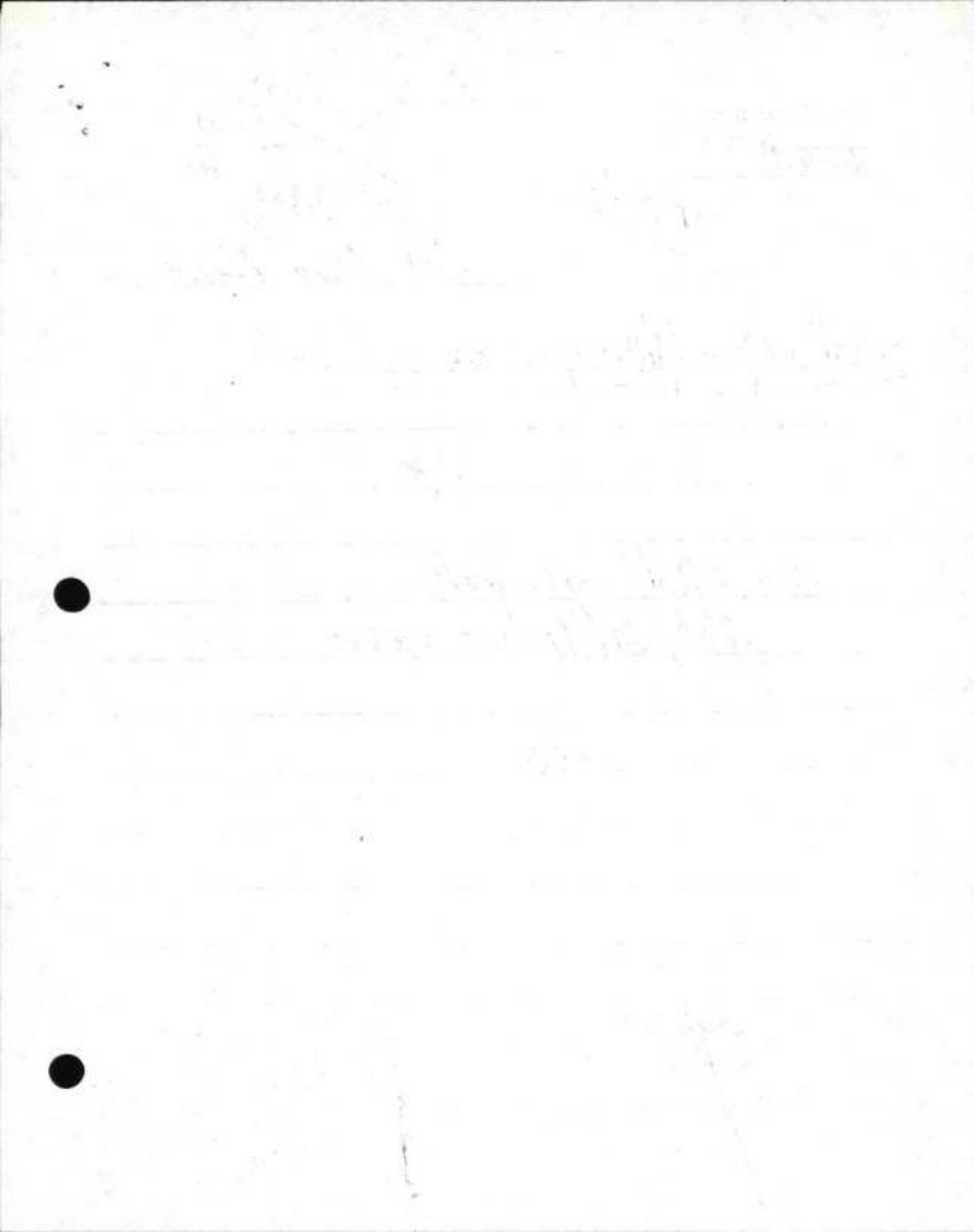
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מסרחה,  
איתח המר  
יוניץ מר הבשחון





Transtechology  
1503 Ventura Boulevard,  
Sherman Oaks, California.

Dear Mr. D. McEride,

We <sup>hereby</sup> ~~appreciate~~ <sup>receipt of</sup> very much and confirm your letter dated April 4, 1988. ~~the contents of which are appreciated~~ <sup>very much</sup>

In response to your letter we would like to clarify the following: -

1. The <sup>general</sup> common application of your products as well as <sup>similar ones</sup> ~~others~~ alike is carefully watched by our soldiers according to strict orders and detailed procedures.
2. Examples of injuries of civilians are rare, and when and if they happen, ~~it will occur~~ only when a situation gets "out of hand" (in exceptional cases - not intentionally.)
3. You are welcome to monitor the proper usage of your product through any acceptable channel that is available to you (U.S. State Department). <sup>by the</sup>
4. We shall welcome any training information and <sup>facilities</sup> ~~assistance~~ that you will <sup>are able</sup> ~~be kind enough~~ to offer.
5. We understand and respect your concern and we shall adhere to any guidelines <sup>the</sup> ~~provided by you~~ to ensure proper usage of your product.

Thank you for your help.

( - )

16/6/88  
TIN  
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April 4, 1988

The Honorable Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Ministry  
Hakirya  
Rehov Kaplan 3  
Jerusalem 91919, Israel

Dear Prime Minister:

Our company values our role in supplying tear gas products to your country. We believe our products serve a valuable role by supplying a less-than-lethal force for use in crowd control. Our Federal Laboratories, Inc. subsidiary in Saltsburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., has been a leading manufacturer of crowd control products to countries throughout the world for many years. We look forward to continuing our longstanding business relationship with your military and police agencies.

At this writing we are receiving many inquiries from individuals, organizations and members of the news media regarding the manner in which tear gas is being used in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. They allege that our products are being grossly misused. Examples of injuries to civilians and children in situations not involving crowd control are cited and are reprehensible, if true. We recognize that this is a very complex issue and that many reports are contradictory. We have no way of determining whether these incidents are isolated or more widespread. Therefore, we must rely on the U.S. State Department to monitor the proper usage of our products and we will continue to do so.

My purpose in writing is two-fold: one, to be certain that you are aware of the allegations which are being made regarding misuse of tear gas; and two, to offer additional training information or assistance in training to you if you feel that this would be of benefit to your personnel. Enclosed is a booklet of the type currently available giving instructions and precautions as to the proper use of the products, as well as first-aid information. Strict adherence to the guidelines in this book must be followed if serious injury is to be avoided.

If there is any way that we may serve you further, please let me know and I will respond immediately.

Very respectfully yours,



Dan McEride  
President

17.6.88





אל:	אני. יעל רחל	התאריך	15.6
מאת:	יעל רחל	חיק מס'	
הנדון:			

מא/ נח

למטה יעל רחל

מא/



הנשלחת הקבועה  
של ישראל לאומות המאוחדות  
PERMANENT MISSION OF ISRAEL  
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

ADDRESS BY  
H.E. MR. YITZHAK SHAMIR  
PRIME MINISTER

BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
AT ITS THIRD SPECIAL SESSION  
DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT

UNITED NATIONS  
NEW YORK  
JUNE 7, 1988



Mr. President,

I congratulate you on your election as President of this special and important Assembly of the United Nations. It is my ardent hope that under your balanced leadership the Assembly will have meaningful and constructive deliberations, and will arrive at positive conclusions that will offer a better future not only for the people of the region in which we live, but for all mankind.

I have the privilege of representing a people with a very long history whose ancient moral code has been adopted by the entire civilized world. Peace, according to this code, is the highest of human ideals. War is a terrible curse that we must do our utmost to remove from the face of the earth.

No one is more aware of the horrors of war than the Jewish people. We have experienced virtually all the sufferings, ravages, brutalities and atrocities that human imagination can invent. Even after regaining independence and sovereignty in our ancient homeland, we have had to fight five wars in defense of our existence and security. There is not a man, woman or child in Israel who does not know the tragic meaning of war. Tens of thousands of our homes have lost a parent, a son or a relative to war, or to terrorist attacks. We all share the pain and agony of war. We all share an overwhelming detestation of war.

That is why we all pray that the deliberations at this session be fruitful and productive. We pray for the success of any effort at disarmament that will reduce tensions and diminish the likelihood of war.

Today, there are at least 25 major and minor armed conflicts in the world in areas of tension and danger. One of these is

the Middle East, a complex and strife-torn region in which the Arab-Israeli conflict is but one of many difficult and tragic problems.

In our case, the core of the problem is the consistent refusal of the Arab states — with the exception of Egypt — to accept the existence of Israel in any boundaries. The moment this refusal is replaced by a willingness to recognize our legitimacy and our permanence, peace between us and our neighbors will have a chance. But, we do not propose to sit idly until that day. As the only country in the Middle East whose very existence is continually threatened, we have a vital interest in reaching agreements that will curtail the arms race and reduce the threat of armed conflict. We must hope that one agreement will beget another, until we completely remove the threat of war and achieve full political accommodation.

The agreements concluded between the US and the USSR, and the further reductions now being negotiated between them, should serve as our example. These agreements are, of course, important in themselves, but they are even more important as testimony to a political will to resolve conflicts through negotiations, and to renounce the use of arms. Israel has taken two initiatives in the same direction.

As early as 1980, we proposed at the General Assembly of the UN the establishment of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in the Middle East, based on free and direct negotiations between the states of the region. We did so in addition to our repeated declaration that Israel would not be the first country to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East. Such zones have been established in Latin America by direct negotiations between the countries of the region. Lately, too, the states



of the South Pacific reached a similar agreement in the same manner. The mode of negotiating these agreements, and the mutual reassurances built into them, are vital components in establishing and maintaining such nuclear-weapon-free zones. This was expressly stressed by the UN Commission headed by the late Prime Minister of Sweden, Dr. Palme.

We made this proposal because we assumed that the process of reaching these agreements and their successful conclusion would in effect serve to reduce not only the risk of nuclear war, but the more real and immediate danger in the region — the prospect of conventional war.

Many have urged us to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty. But we have seen that this treaty has in no way prevented wars between its signatories. It is our view that if establishing and maintaining a nuclear-weapon-free zone can make conventional wars less likely, then its benefits will far outweigh anything that can be gained from a non-proliferation treaty.

We have repeatedly invited the Arab states to negotiate the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone, but they have rejected the idea. They have refused to sit down with us. They have refused to negotiate with us. They have refused to apply the procedures of Latin America and the South Pacific. And they have refused to adopt the recommendations of the Palme Commission on the manner of creating such a zone in the Middle East.

We do not understand this blanket refusal. It reflects a consistent attitude of rejection of any kind of dealings with Israel, even on matters of vital concern to the security and future of the peoples of our region. Nevertheless, our offer

stands. It is testimony to our faith that common sense, logic, and the yearning for peace by the peoples of the Middle East will, in time, induce the Arab governments to come to terms with Israel's existence.

From this rostrum, I would like to address an appeal to the leaders of the Arab states in the Middle East. We are entering an era of greater openness and understanding between former rivals; of accommodation between the great powers, and of unprecedented steps in nuclear disarmament. Let us join this wave of goodwill and seek together a new path that will lead us away from past hostilities and belligerence, and from barren and futile options that are imported from outside. Let us meet and reason together, let us listen to each other directly, let us negotiate even in the present rough seas and not relent until we reach the shores of mutual accommodation, understanding and peace.

We did not let the rejection of our proposal deter us from taking yet another initiative at the UN. In 1986 we proposed to negotiate a reduction of forces in the Middle East. We know that the burden of the arms race is devastating to the economies of all the countries in the region. And it is getting worse.

What the countries in our region are spending for the purchase of arms is alarming and tragic. Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya and Saudi Arabia are among the biggest arms importers in the world. Each of them buys more arms than Israel. Syria alone has four times as many warplanes as Belgium or Hungary, ten times as many tanks as Belgium, and four times as many tanks as Hungary. I mention these two countries because their populations are about the size of Syria's, and they are members of military alliances.



The weight of arms is not only expressed in quantity, but also in quality and destructiveness. We have long been troubled by the supply to some Arab regimes of ground-to-ground missiles of varying ranges, and by reports on the development of such missiles by their own defense industries. As recently as the beginning of August 1987, Iraq announced the development and testing of a missile with a range of 615 km. And missiles have been employed by both Iraq and Iran in the devastating Gulf war. Lately, we have also learned of the supply of intermediate range missiles by China to Saudi Arabia. We never forget that Arab states not bordering on Israel have sent their forces to participate in the wars against us. Neither can we ignore the fact that both Iraq and Iran proclaim that their ultimate aim is to "liberate" the Holy Land and Jerusalem from us.

The arms race is dangerous and costly to us all. Acquisition of arms by one side will only precipitate efforts by the other to acquire more arms. Have we not realized that this cycle is endless; that its price is exorbitantly high; that it will provide no answer to the malaise of our region; that the security of all states in the region can be assured at much lower levels of armaments?

Let us — even as we search for a political settlement — pursue any initiative that can stop and reverse the arms race. It will benefit all the states in the region. It will bring the day of peace closer.

The Government of Israel maintains the deep conviction that the use of chemical weapons is a most odious method of destruction of human life. We are greatly troubled by the introduction of these means of calamity into the Middle East and the world's indifference to the brutal usage of chemical

weapons in causing thousands of innocent victims. The presence and use of chemical weapons constitute a real threat to the peace of our region and to the peace of the entire world. All enlightened peoples should be alarmed by the arbitrary use of these weapons.

Our awareness in Israel of the dangers posed by chemical weapons to humanity as well as our deep concern regarding the proliferation of chemical weapons led my Government to take steps directed at limiting this proliferation. These steps involve strict legal control over the export of any material which may be used in the production of such weapons.

Deriving from Israel's deep concern for the peace and safety of our region and that of the world generally, we have the following proposal. We believe that it is essential for the nations of our region to establish a chemical-weapon-free zone in the Middle East, on the basis of arrangements to be freely arrived at among all the states of the region. In this manner we may safeguard the mutual security of our peoples, as well as the security of the entire region and thus make a major contribution to the cause of world peace.

Lastly, I must decry and protest the employment and production of poison gas in our region. By its own admission, Iraq has used this vicious means of indiscriminate killing in its war with Iran. It is a gross and blatant violation of the Geneva Protocol to which Iraq is a signatory. The use of poison-gas in the Iran-Iraq war has also been established by the Secretary-General of the UN, albeit without identifying the culprit. Syria, too, has built facilities for the production of poison gas, and its leaders have brazenly threatened to use it against Israel.



It is inconceivable that the international community should react to this contemptuous defiance of international agreements with indifference and helplessness. It must, rapidly and resolutely, conclude the protracted negotiations on a convention that will remove chemical weapons from the arsenals of nations, and devise a mechanism of inspection that will assure universal compliance.

Most nations — unlike Israel — are happily not directly confronted by implacable enemies, nor by a threat to their very existence. But, in our shrinking globe security is indivisible. A conflagration in one corner can quickly engulf the world. A nuclear-weapon-free zone and the end of the arms race in the Middle East, and the universal banning of chemical weapons, are urgently needed not only for the sake of the people in our region, but for the sake of all mankind.

It was a Hebrew prophet who, twenty seven hundred years ago, articulated the vision of disarmament and peace. His words "and they shall beat their swords into plowshares", inscribed outside this building, have represented the ultimate ideal of mankind from time immemorial. His vision was the goal of the United Nations at its inception. Let us hope that this session of the United Nations General Assembly will be true to this noble and lofty goal, and help bring us closer to its realization.

ס"נ  
משרד המשפטים  
המחלקה הכלכלית  
תל אביב  
19/6/88

Jerusalem, June 19, 1988

Asia Bennett  
Executive Secretary  
American Friends Service Committee

Dear Asia Bennett,

Thank you for bringing the thoughts of the American Friends Service Committee to our attention in your telegram of May 19th.

As you know, the Government of Israel has always maintained that only a negotiated political solution can bring an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. That is why it hopes that all the Arab regimes will follow Egypt's example, recognize Israel's legitimacy and negotiate without preconditions. Only then can the final status of Judea, Samaria and Gaza be resolved.

Until then, Israel is solely responsible for security in these areas, and must take measures "to maintain the orderly government of the territory" (Article 64, Fourth Geneva Convention). One of these measures has been the expulsion of a few agitators and terrorists. This does not contravene Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which was adopted to prevent deportations of the kind effected by the Nazis in World War II for the purpose of forced labor and extermination, and which is irrelevant in the cases of actively hostile individuals expelled to remove a threat to the safety of the areas' residents. Moreover, candidates for expulsion, like all the inhabitants of the area, have the right of habeas corpus and can appeal to the Israel Supreme Court. In several cases, including a recent one, the Court overturned the government's order.

The case of Mubarak Awad is different. Although once a resident of the eastern sector of Jerusalem, he moved to the United States in 1970, received U.S. residence status in 1973 and U.S. citizenship in 1978. Since 1983 he has entered Israel several times as a tourist on his U.S. passport. His last visitor's permit expired on Nov. 20, 1987. On June 5, 1988 the Israel Supreme Court ruled that through his own actions he had lost his residency status.



To describe Dr. Awad as a "peaceful" opponent of Israel is insupportable. He advocates "non-violent struggle" not as a substitute for the "armed struggle" of the terror organizations, but as a parallel and complementary effort to that of the PLO. He has proclaimed that his aim is identical to that of the PLO, i.e. the dismantling of Israel. In newspaper interviews he admitted participating in illegal acts. According to findings of the Israel government, these acts included incitement to violence.

Every country reserves the right to determine who will enter its borders, and no country allows visitors to participate in contentious political activity of any kind. Israel ordered Dr. Awad's expulsion when it became clear that his presence posed a danger to the country's security. He appealed to the Supreme Court to set aside the deportation order, and his appeal was rejected.

The resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the goal of all peace-loving people. Achieving it is not going to be helped by critics who choose to forget that Israel's vulnerability in the pre-1967 borders invited an assault by its neighbors which threatened Israel's very existence, and that the coming of Judea, Samaria and Gaza under Israel's control was a result of that war of aggression. The cause of peace will most certainly not be advanced by those who support an organization sworn to Israel's destruction.

Sincerely,

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Secretary Shultz

Current  
Policy  
No. 1070

# The Winning Hand: American Leadership and the Global Economy



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs  
Washington, D.C.

*Following is an address by Secretary Shultz before the annual dinner of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Washington, D.C., April 28, 1988*

Some years ago, I wrote a book about my government experience called *Economic Policy Beyond the Headlines*. It was not a best seller. That was a little surprising to me because it must have been the last hardcover book on economics—or any other subject—that sold for \$8.95.

But there was one principle in those pages that expressed my philosophy of government. The key to effective public policy is to interpret the public interest—as it is usually shaped, in the midst of controversy—through an informed and objective understanding of the issues.

Today we are in the midst of a great controversy over our role in a world of rapidly changing technology. Some have even suggested that America is a nation in decline, that we are no longer competitive.

Have we still got what it takes? My answer is a resounding *yes*. An informed and objective understanding of the issues yields only one conclusion: we bring to the table a winning hand. But to play that winning hand, we must be fully engaged in the shaping of the new global economy. And "full engagement," in my dictionary, means the will and the resources to do the job—to

lead the world toward greater economic growth, more coordinated international economic policies, and, above all, openness. These are the keys which unlock the door to a better future for all of us.

## America in a Global Economy

Let me begin with the facts about America's relationship to the global economy.

**Fact number one:** the American economy is increasingly part of the world economy, not an isolated national economy. A long-term process of economic integration and convergence, made possible by postwar trade liberalization, has sharply reduced the importance of national borders in economic affairs. The evidence is all around us, not only in economics but in science and culture as well. And most Americans have begun to understand this fact and adapt to it—not just bankers and economists and public officials but the proverbial man and woman in the street.

A few months ago, I saw a striking sign of economic integration: a headline announcing that "European Central Banks Cut Interest Rates." Of course, I was happy to read that story, but the striking thing was its location—on the front page not only of the *Washington Post* but also of other major newspapers around the country. This was

not "inside-the-beltway" news. You didn't have to search through the middle of the business section to find it. Today the average newspaper reader realizes that his economic prospects depend on developments abroad as well as at home.

**Now, fact number two:** the very process of production crosses national boundaries. Economic integration has not been restricted to the exchange of goods across borders. Today's market for inputs and output is the world. Here, too, Americans have understood the reality. Our business leaders have grasped the opportunities presented by such integration. Firms are establishing a wide variety of international linkages to take advantage of the new technologies and markets around the globe.

In much of contemporary international trade, one branch of a firm is selling to another branch of the same firm located in a different country. According to some estimates, as much as 40% of total U.S. trade may be of this nature. A recent survey indicates that 88% of U.S. manufacturers use foreign components in their products.

It is often difficult to identify what is "national" and what is "foreign." My favorite example is a shipping label for integrated circuits fabricated by an American firm. It said, "Made in one or more of the following countries: Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Mauritius, Thailand, Indonesia, Mexico, Philippines. The exact country of origin is unknown."



**Fact number three:** the globalization of production has been accompanied by the globalization of finance. For example, U.S. income from international assets has increased by \$40 to \$60 billion every 5 years since 1967. The size of international financial markets strains the imagination. The New York Federal Reserve Bank estimates that the daily volume of international financial flows is over \$1 trillion, or about the same as annual U.S. Government expenditures. And by now, everyone is aware of how stock exchanges around the world react to each other with unprecedented speed.

**Fact number four:** the world as a whole and America in particular have benefited from the emergence of the new global economy. Trade accounts for a growing share of the national economic activity of every country. The most rapid economic growth in recent history occurred in the years between 1950 and 1973, when trade was growing most briskly.

What was true for the world was true for America. Our markets abroad and America's per capita income grew faster in the decades of most rapid international economic integration than they have in the more recent past, when the growth of world trade slowed appreciably.

All these facts suggest to me that we are at a turning point. We can play to our strengths. We can catch the curve of the future by recognizing global economic realities, by continuing to reap the benefits of integration and growth. Or we can descend the curve and get off of it by building new and more disruptive barriers between ourselves and the rest of the world, condemning us—and everyone else—to eventual stagnation.

### **A Cycle of Inflation and Disinflation**

Why is it so difficult to make this choice? Why are we reluctant to play the winning hand? Instead of speculating about some mysterious change in our national character, I prefer to look again at the facts. We are beset today by the legacy of a severe cycle of inflation and then disinflation that has troubled the world for nearly two decades.

Accelerating inflation in the 1970s drove real interest rates down to unsustainably low—often negative—levels, providing a powerful incentive to incur debt. Then disinflation in the 1980s pushed real interest rates to unsustainably high levels, producing a sharper-than-expected rise in the real debt-service burdens of borrowers.

This roller-coaster ride badly hurt commodity producers who were caught between rising debt burdens and declining prices for their products. The resulting Third World debt problem continues to exact real hardship from those least able to bear it. And the stagnating economies of the highly indebted developing countries have reduced America's exports.

American farmers also suffered severely from the cycle. By now, we are all too familiar with the story: land values skyrocketed as crop prices rose, and farmers borrowed heavily as the value of their assets increased. But, as inflation was wrung out of the economy and crop prices dropped, disaster struck many farm families. It also encouraged massive agricultural subsidies, here and abroad, that have distorted international trade.

On the industrial side, the rising unemployment rates that accompanied inflation in the 1970s convinced most economists that inflation—a little or a lot—is not the way to reduce unemployment. But the inflation/unemployment experiences of Japan, the United States, and Europe from 1970 to 1985 proved to be quite different. In Japan, there was little or no relationship between unemployment and either the inflation rate or overall economic activity. In the United States, we moved in the 1980s toward the lower inflation and lower unemployment patterns of the pre-1970s. In Europe, however, unemployment increased steadily, seemingly unresponsive to the rate of inflation or to economic activity.

So, if we review the legacy of the period 1970–85, we find heavily indebted developing countries, low commodity prices, and high unemployment, especially in Europe. Added to these trends were wide swings in inflation-adjusted exchange rates, bloated government spending, and large trading imbalances among the industrialized countries.

### **American Leadership**

This legacy goes far to explain some of the debate about our future leadership. The vision of a new global economy, with all of its opportunities, is sometimes overshadowed by the old problems, with all of their pain.

As Secretary of State, I know the costs of engagement are considerable. The foreign affairs budget, which is crucial to our engagement abroad, will never be popular. But that budget is used to defend America's interests—our

security, our economy, our political strength. It fights the drug traffickers and the terrorists. Yet in terms of real dollars, the resources we are committing to these activities have fallen since fiscal year (FY) 1985 by almost a third.

Let me repeat: we must do what is necessary to serve the public interest, through an informed and objective understanding of the issues. Now let's take this test of the public interest and grade the alternatives to full American engagement.

Let me start with the idea we are overextended abroad and, therefore, headed for irrevocable decline unless we cut our security commitments, i.e., the defense budget. Of course, it is true the United States is no longer the preeminent power it was in 1945, when much of the world lay in ruins. But recovery of our allies in Europe and Asia under the American security umbrella must be reckoned as one of the greatest success stories of all times. It will be a sorry day in America when we regard the good fortune of our friends as detrimental to our interests, especially since we have benefited mightily as a result of their success.

I also reject the argument that our defense effort "robs" our industry of its future competitiveness because so much of our research and development effort is defense related. Clearly, there are economies where such things happen—the Soviet Union, which spends an estimated 15% to 17% of its GNP [gross national product] on defense, is a good example—but that is not true of the American economy. Our high-technology sectors are strong, and our pattern of economic growth simply does not support the argument of a long-term, defense-related decline.

In fact, we enjoyed our highest economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s when our military expenditures averaged 9.2% of GNP, a much higher proportion than the 6.7% we spend today. Over the past 10 years, we have had a slightly higher rate of growth than that of Western Europe and Japan, if you average them together, although their military expenditures take a much lower proportion of their GNP than ours.

Now, I am not saying there is a correlation between higher defense spending and growth or lower defense spending and stagnation. I am only saying whatever the reasons for our economic difficulties, our military and political commitments are not among them. The facts are quite different. We certainly have the means—and our allies also have the means—to defend



ourselves and our interests abroad. Whatever our constraints may be, they are not imposed by our economy.

Now, let's examine for a moment another popular argument, that protectionist legislation will cure our trade troubles, a little or a lot. Here history teaches a strong lesson. Every Member of Congress ought to reread the record of the 1920s and 1930s before voting on trade legislation. It is a sad story that cannot be retold often enough. International trade collapsed, not mainly because of the 1929 stock market crash but in considerable part because of protectionist policies of the 1930s which were intended to preserve domestic jobs.

Have we forgotten, too, the political counterpart of this economic disaster? The age of democracy was succeeded by the age of the dictators and then by world war. The enlightened alliances and the open international economic system established in the postwar era nourished our freedom and planted the seeds for the spread of democracy. Now, four decades later, we are witnessing a remarkable global resurgence of democracy, thanks to the universal attractiveness of the democratic ideal. From Central America to the Philippines and Korea, from Africa to Eastern Europe, people want freedom: freedom for themselves, freedom at home, freedom in the workplace, freedom to choose their leaders.

Are we going to throw away this renaissance of free markets, free economies, free societies, and free nations in order to prove we cannot learn from history? Or are we going to reject protection, procedural or otherwise, for what it is—not an insurance policy against the fire of unfair competition but an act of economic arson that eventually burns down everyone's house.

Finally, we ought to take on those who say Americans can no longer compete. What are the signs of such fundamental weakness? The often-cited trade deficit, for example, tells us a lot about the relative rates of growth, macro-economic policies, and exchange rates that existed between the United States and the rest of the world earlier in this decade. But it says nothing that supports the view U.S. manufacturing is in decline. Far from it—U.S. manufacturing output accounts for just as large a share of our GNP as in the past. Productivity growth in manufacturing has been strong in recent years. The boom in U.S. manufacturing exports now in progress shows how competitive American factories have become once again.

So, instead of abusing our self-esteem, let's not lose sight of the real-

ity. As Herb Stein says, "The basic fact about the American economy is that it is very rich. It is not rich enough to do everything, but it is rich enough to do everything important. The only problem is deciding what is important." And the first thing of importance is to look out for our security.

Sometimes, our friends from abroad may see our choices for the future more clearly than we do ourselves. I think the Prime Minister of Singapore, Mr. Lee Kwan Yew, put it best before a joint session of Congress when he said:

There are two scenarios for the 21st century. The first is bleak: If, because of domestic problems, the United States loses the will to maintain open and fair trade, protectionism and retaliation will shrink trade and so reduce jobs. Is America willing to write off the peaceful and constructive developments of the last 40 years that she made possible?

Does America wish to abandon this contest between democracy and the free market on the one hand, and communism and the controlled economy on the other—and this at a time when she has very nearly won this contest for the hearts and minds of the people of the Third World?

Ask the Prime Minister of Singapore. The answer to those questions must be: we are not going to throw away our winning hand just because the game gets challenging.

#### Directions for the Future

A transition to new relationships among the major economic powers is clearly underway. In this transition, the United States is showing the way and we must remain the leader, both economically and politically. Who else can do it? But ours must be a leadership suited to the times. The economic achievements of Europe and Japan now qualify them for much greater responsibility in the global economy. Their productivity, their income, their share of world output and trade admit no other conclusion. Clearly, they must share a commensurate responsibility for maintaining and expanding the openness of the world economy.

Let me be more specific about the directions I would like to see us all take in today's global economy:

**First, the role of government in promoting more vigorous growth around the world.** Every sensible person favors more economic growth. The issue, however, is the role to be played by government in promoting such growth. That role is limited but very

important. Government's responsibility is to provide a stable fiscal, monetary, and legal environment, and then let markets work freely. Such an environment is critical if private entrepreneurship and innovation are to flourish.

Our recent experience has shown this concept works well. President Reagan's insistence that the market, rather than the government, should be the principal force in economic policy has paid off. The so-called misery index, the sum of the inflation rate and the unemployment rate, is down to single digits after more than a decade in double digits. Employment in the United States is at an all-time high—and that's also in terms of the percentage of the population 16 years of age and older. It's at an all-time high, not just numbers. And the largest employment gains have been in higher paying and higher skilled occupations. Nearly two-thirds of the new jobs—some 15 million in the last 5 years—are to be found in managerial, professional, technical, sales, or precision production operations.

So, the idea that governments can dictate all positive economic results should be defunct—though it lingers on in political nostalgia. Government programs did not produce the 15 million new jobs added to the U.S. economy since 1983. Entrepreneurship did it, and mostly small enterprises.

That brings me to the second direction we should all take: I call it constructive international coordination. In a world of interdependent economies, no nation can pursue policies successfully that are widely at variance with the realities of the global marketplace. The political reality, however, is that many nations have been tempted to defy this convergence. None has succeeded. That is why we are faced today with very large international economic imbalances that must be rectified.

Many have looked to the process of international coordination to ease the transition from these imbalances to a more stable world economy. This is a complex undertaking which can succeed if we keep two things in mind:

- First, we and our trading partners must pursue the correct economic policies at home. That means we should work on root causes that interfere with the market, such as overspending, overregulation and overtaxation by governments. I'll have something more specific to say about those policies in a moment.



• Second, coordinated international action should serve to strengthen the market, and encourage those domestic policies that do the same. Coordination, after all, is a process, not a panacea. Through it, we can move in the right direction or in the wrong direction. It would be counterproductive, indeed, if the process of international coordination reinforced wrong-headed protectionism—as will happen; if we protect, they'll protect, and so on, so you have a convergence of policies of the wrong sort—or preserved agricultural subsidies, which in part are kind of a competitive explosion of convergence in the wrong direction, thereby trying to repeal once more the realities of the marketplace.

Now what does constructive coordination require today? All participants in the global economy have roles to play so adjustment of the current imbalances takes place in a climate of growth, not recession. In the United States, our Federal Government spending absorbs savings that otherwise would be available for investment in the private sector. We must bring government spending under control, and the deficit will take care of itself. The budget agreement in the summit was a good first step. Now we need the discipline to hold that agreement in place, and it isn't easy.

Despite the occasional monthly fluctuations, to which we pay too much attention, the fact is the U.S. trade deficit is shrinking—perhaps even more rapidly than many people realize. It has already shrunk about 18% in terms of volume since the third quarter of 1986, and the dollar figures are beginning to follow. This will have a major impact, not only on us but on our trading partners as well. Other countries will face great strains unless their economies and world trade continue to grow as our trade deficit—and their trade surpluses—are reduced.

That is why we have emphasized structural reform and growth in our economic consultations with Germany and the other EC (European Community) countries, Japan, and all our major trading partners. Japan, Germany, and the other OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries must increasingly look to their domestic economies, rather than just exports, for growth. This change of direction is in their interest, not just in our interest.

Some years ago I pointed out the propensity of the Japanese to save more than they invest, with the excess appearing as the net exports needed to

maintain high domestic employment. Recently, the Japanese have begun to make significant adjustments, driven by the realignment of exchange rates and a new commitment to domestic growth. These steps are welcome. We need more of them. They need more of them, too.

Among the anomalies of our times is a Europe that seems content to live with unemployment rates above 10%—even higher among the young—because European social welfare systems have made unemployment almost as desirable as working. But there are very high costs for such policies—costs that go beyond excessive public spending and unproductive use of resources. Above all, there is the human tragedy. When competition in the global economy increasingly demands skill and training, no nation, including ours, can neglect its youth or condemn its next generation to idleness.

Changes in policies that stunt growth are even more crucial for the developing countries with heavy debt burdens. Many debtor countries have run large trade surpluses by cutting investment and imports to the bone, not by creating the market-oriented environment that will allow exports to expand. The austerity required by such a strategy strains their political and social fabric. And as the U.S. trade balance rights itself, debtor countries will face new challenges exporting to the United States.

There, too, we face a very complex process. One side of the coin is that economic growth requires increased investment—investment which can only come largely from private sources. The only way ever invented to attract equity capital—not just debt rollover—is to assure an attractive investment climate. And that means structural reforms to free up markets, promote trade, and encourage private entrepreneurship.

The other side of the coin is the debt problem itself. It is now clear that large increases of official foreign assistance cannot be expected. Further exposure by commercial banks under current circumstances is not in the cards. I am convinced the most creative and least costly solutions will emerge when the debtors and their private lenders work out a solution directly. Let the government not get involved.

Third, and finally, we must all go on the offense for openness—in trade, in investment, in ideas. I want to put it bluntly. Over the last 15 years, we

have found it difficult to do more than fight off destructive protectionism. That's not good enough to meet the challenges of tomorrow. We have got to open markets further, lower trade barriers, and spur on the process of global economic integration.

That is why the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement is so important. This historic accord establishes the world's largest international free trade area, affecting trade of about \$125 billion per year. It will strengthen the economies of both countries, and it will create better jobs in both countries. While the centerpiece of this agreement is the elimination of tariffs on all goods within 10 years, one of the best things about it is the new set of opportunities it provides for the rapidly expanding services sectors of both countries. The agreement also liberalizes trade in agriculture, autos, energy, and government procurement. It sets up an effective mechanism for settling disputes. The benefits for both countries will be the most powerful inducements in our ongoing multilateral and bilateral efforts to liberalize trade.

We also have before us today a tremendous opportunity to open up the global marketplace through the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. There are several crucial areas for reform here, including the extension of international rules to promote the free flow of services and investment and the protection of intellectual property. But I want to focus on one area, which can be the stepping stone to a better future for all mankind.

I'll put it simply: the need for major structural reform in agriculture is overwhelming. Farm programs around the world have become ever more costly to governments and consumers. The OECD estimates the budget costs of support systems and higher prices to consumers in member countries—just the OECD—now approach \$150 billion annually. That is, the subsidy costs plus the higher-than-necessary prices to consumers, added up, it's a \$150-billion-a-year tag.

This cost far exceeds the benefits being transferred to farmers. Farm programs have become increasingly wasteful of resources which could be more productively employed elsewhere. It's a shame, because farmers are about the most hard-working portion of our population, and from the standpoint of the United States, our farmers are inherently very competitive. But they're caught up in this crazy process of competitive subsidies, and here we are with a \$150-billion-a-year price tag.



In the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] negotiations on agriculture we should address the root causes of such distortions: government supports and export subsidies. To achieve equilibrium in global supply and demand, the negotiations must reach agreement to reduce and eventually eliminate these distorting government policies—and that is the U.S. position on the table. We must not be satisfied with patchwork solutions such as market-sharing arrangements. That's bad convergence.

#### America's Spirit

Let me close on this note. I have spoken of America's winning hand—of growth, of coordination, and of open-

ness—as the keys to the future. Whether we play that winning hand, however, depends not only on our wisdom but also on our zest for the game. So in a larger sense, what I propose here goes beyond economic policy. It goes to the spirit of America itself.

Now, 150 years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville detected that spirit when he described Americans as eager for change and self-confident in their ability to master the future. That spirit of adventure—not only our material resources—has brought us into the front rank of nations. Our universities—including MIT—our industry, our farmers, our workers have set world

standards. The common thread tying together these achievements is a sense of adventure, of experiment, of anticipation of the future.

And that's my message. Let's embrace that future with the zest that makes us great. Let's play the winning hand that we hold. ■

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*SHULTZ*

Secretary Shultz

Current  
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# National Success and International Stability in a Time of Change



United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs  
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*Following is an address by Secretary Shultz before the World Affairs Council of Washington, Washington, D.C., December 4, 1987.*

Americans, and people just about everywhere, now know that big changes are underway in the world—changes in virtually every subject from science to superpower relations. So understanding and managing change is crucial. The United States has been trying to do that in recent years. And we've had some success in doing so, because our society thrives on change. We are open to it, and we are ready for it.

The summit which starts next week is one mark of our success. Arms control gets the most attention, but this summit will reflect hard work on human rights, in coping with conflicts around the world, and in trying for a more stable relation between the two superpowers.

We have been doing pretty well. But we cannot be satisfied to rest on our accomplishments. This is a time to try to deepen our understanding of the changes taking place, to look ahead, and to assess what needs to be done if we are to keep control of our own future.

## The World Ahead

Now, at this point in a speech about the world ahead, an audience can expect to be inundated with a tide of vague generalities—words like “interdependence,” exhortations like “the challenge of the global change,” and recitations of the “gee whiz” variety about artificial intelligence, genetic engineering, and robotics.

Maybe it's impossible, but we have to try to talk about the world ahead without getting bogged down in this stultifying vocabulary. In ancient China, when familiar words and ways of thinking no longer accurately described the realities of the day, philosophers spoke of the need to “rectify names” so that concepts would correspond to the new order of things.

This is one of those times. Developments in science and social organization are altering the world profoundly—too profoundly for conventional habits of thinking to grasp. History suggests that mankind rarely understands revolutionary change at the time it is coming about. When concepts eventually catch up with the pace of change, new

definitions and descriptions are applied: the Agricultural Age, the Bronze Age, the Industrial Revolution were named long after the fact.

So if we are in such a time of transformation, what kind of age is it that we are entering? What do we need to know and do about it?

I am not here to offer a definitive analysis of the global trends now underway but to try to survey the present scene—in Emerson's words—from “an original relation to the universe.” In this time of profound change, one of the hardest adjustments to make is intellectual adjustment. We must discard outdated habits of thinking and make room for new possibilities.

First of all, just how different is this era we have entered? From one point of view, it was the 19th century's radical intellectual, ideological, spiritual, moral, and social revolutions that shattered the “eternal verities.” In a way, we have not fully adjusted yet to those epic events.

Today's—and tomorrow's—revolutionary changes are of a different nature. They are characterized by greater size and speed; they are both centrifugal and centripetal in their im-





pact, dispersing yet concentrating activities, influences, and decisions.

First, the very *material substances* that surround us in everyday life are being transformed. Physically, synthetic materials make objects lighter, stronger, and more durable. But they are changing societies and economies, too, because their emergence affects supply and demand for natural raw materials. One new material substance—ceramics—has led researchers around the world to superconductivity at new temperatures which in turn may profoundly alter one foundation stone of all human activity: energy. Another such foundation—food—no longer limits by its production the possibility of world population growth. Biotechnology in agriculture has stood Malthus on his head.

The same scientific progress that has altered the nature of these basic substances has also accelerated the speed of human transactions. *Time and space* are calculated in ever-smaller units. Success in every field depends increasingly upon how quickly ideas can be transformed into reality. The speed at which information flows has already created a global financial market. Markets are no longer places, but electronic networks.

Along with these alterations in substance and speed have come changes in *magnitude*. Scientific, economic, and political matters are global in dimension and enormous in extent. They are outstripping the traditional means by which governments dealt with them. The amount of money that changes hands in the global financial market in 1 day exceeds \$1 trillion—more than the entire budget of the U.S. Government for a year. Such flows transcend national boundaries and can overwhelm rigid economic policies. Manufacturing processes similarly are becoming global in scale. I recently saw a snapshot of a shipping label for some integrated circuits produced by an American firm. It said, "Made in one or more of the following countries: Korea, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Mauritius, Thailand, Indonesia, Mexico, Philippines. The exact country of origin is unknown." That label says a lot about where current trends are taking us.

The thread that runs through all these things is *knowledge*: its discovery, its rapid transmission as information, and the education needed to use it. Access to ideas, no matter where they are developed, becomes the key to scientific and economic progress. For example, the growth sector for employment is the so-called service sector, particularly

in finance, data processing, software, engineering, and management consultation. "Services" is a misleading designation. These activities are centered on ideas but have all the characteristics of the production of what we traditionally call "goods." So it is time, as the ancient Chinese would have recognized, for "a rectification of names."

Changes in materials, magnitudes, knowledge, and the speed of its dissemination—the opportunities offered by these changes are immense—and America and other open societies are beautifully situated to make the most of this era ahead. But there are troubling implications of change to consider as well. Emerson would put it down to his principle of "compensation"—no aspect of progress comes free of some drawback.

For many nations, the emerging era means new problems. Countries which cannot or will not compete in the global marketplace and interact with ideas from other societies will find themselves falling behind the advanced innovators and producers. Some of those countries may be able to absorb what the innovators develop and may register moderate growth. But the quality and technological content of that growth will remain limited by the inability of such countries to adjust to rapid change.

Other nations—single commodity countries and agricultural and industrial subsistence economies—are in danger of becoming marginal participants in, let's call it the "Information Age" economy, living as in eras past. Some lack the human and physical infrastructure to create and exploit economic opportunities. Others are held back by the inflexible nature of their political and social systems.

Yet even those who fall further behind economically can partake of some of the fruits of the new age—fruits that unfortunately are not sufficiently forbidden. Wars in the Third World are being fought with increasing sophistication and firepower. The spread of modern technical skill coincides with the modern resurgence of age-old ethnic, religious, and communal conflict. Beyond the Iran-Iraq war, we see fighting in Sri Lanka, ethnic conflict in Fiji, the devastation of Lebanon, Sino-Indian border tensions, the New Caledonia and Cyprus disputes, and the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict.

Such tensions have always been part of human history. What is new is the heightened possibility that they will become wider and more deadly conflagrations through the misuse of relatively sophisticated weaponry. In the Iran-Iraq war, we see how readily available on the world arms market are missiles such as the Exocet, the SCUD, and the Silkworm. And many developing countries are becoming not just purchasers and users but adept manufacturers of military hardware considered highly advanced only a few years ago.

We have long feared the dangers of nuclear proliferation. Now we face a worldwide diffusion and use of chemical weapons—thus breaching the international moral consensus of more than half a century. But this growing capacity to acquire or produce and employ such weapons unfortunately is not the whole story. Violence itself is undergoing a qualitative change, as terrorists and narcotics traffickers spread new forms of destruction around the world. We now recognize the long, tough battle we are fighting with these modern-day barbarians, equipped with effective weaponry and uninhibited by traditional norms of civilized conduct.

In centuries past, advances in science and technology and warfare often far outstripped the abilities of statesmen and politicians. Today political, economic, and social arrangements must be more closely harmonized with change. Drawing from the example of science, we must create a more just and decent social order from the elements of our understanding. Human society has no unique or preordained social pattern. Our God-given goal is to fulfill ourselves through the social and cultural institutions that we ourselves create and to leave this world a better place than when we entered.

### Guidelines for Dealing With Today's Events

As we face this phalanx of changing conditions, what principles stand out for us? I see three clear guidelines for dealing with the size, speed, and complexity of events today.

First, a society must be open to this new age of knowledge and information; to resist it deadens hope of progress. Today's transformations are products of our own system of openness and creativity. What we face are not vast impersonal "forces" or "trends" that sway us against our will; they are challenges created by our own past achievements. They offer opportunities



for a better future, but only if they can be exploited.

A subsidiary point: the 18th century idea of democracy, with its qualities of openness, freedom, individual initiative, and innovation, remains the best way to deal with the stress and the opportunities of change.

Second, for decisionmakers, the margins for error are diminishing as the consequences of error increase in scope and gravity. Overcentralized plans and decisions increasingly will be inept. Thus the free operation of the marketplace—for goods and ideas—is the far more efficient arbiter of decisions.

And so entrepreneurial initiative in a market environment is the engine of development and change. Global economic problems will keep coming at us in waves; we must remain open as we face them or be swept away.

Third, the global nature of changes in science, in economics, in communication must be matched by political developments, particularly the strengthening and closer association of like-minded nations. To a greater degree than in revolutionary eras of the past, there is a synergistic interaction between scientific and technological advances and political, economic, and social developments, with each enhancing and accelerating the effect of change on the others.

So, today, regional associations of nations are fast becoming an important and effective new milieu for political and economic interaction in the world.

### The Drive Toward Democracy

How do things stand in applying these principles? Not bad. The most stirring political response to the new temper of our time has been the resurgence of democracy and the demand for political openness and participation.

Not so many years ago, democratic nations were thought to be a dwindling and embattled minority; today the idea of democracy is among the most important political forces of our time. Elites in the East and West recognize that advanced economic power comes from a high level of education, an openness to the world, a rational distribution of decisionmaking power, emphasis on individual initiative, decentralization of authority, greater freedom of information and association, and the right of the people to have a say in their own affairs and destiny.

Around the globe we see a powerful impulse toward democratic institutions and values. This recent phenom-

enon was first evident in Spain and Portugal a decade ago. Now, in Latin America, this drive has changed the complexion of the entire continent, from Argentina to El Salvador. In the Philippines, despite serious challenges, we see how tenaciously people are seeking to effect a transition to a new democratic way. In South Korea, there is a dramatic struggle to create new political institutions and achieve the peaceful transition of national leadership through open elections. And the Haitian people will not abide a return to the tyranny they so recently rejected.

Elsewhere the struggle continues, as in South Africa where the structure of apartheid is under increasing siege, and in Afghanistan, Angola, Nicaragua, and Cambodia, where communist oppression has spawned resistance movements fighting for the rights denied them.

For the United States, these trends must be seen not only as an affirmation of the values we hold so firmly but also as a test. The transition to democracy is a difficult and fragile process. And it can be reversed.

Confronted by daunting internal and external challenges, new democracies will look to us for ideas, assistance, and understanding. In response, we cannot shut our eyes or close our doors. If we do, the lamp of democracy will go out in many lands.

### Freedom—Turning to the Market

With the new surge of democratic feeling, others have come to recognize what we have known all along—that democracy and free markets go together. As our free political system looks out for basic justice and opportunity and provides a safety net in case of adversity, our free markets ensure that our economy will function effectively.

Free markets cannot function in an environment of stifling political regulation or interference. Measures that would isolate an economy from the world or disengage it from the global community do enormous harm. The disintegration of the trade and financial structures during the 1930s provides ample evidence on this score.

All nations share a common responsibility, and must work together, to promote market forces and to ensure the maintenance of an open international economic system. The objective

of cooperation is not to achieve a fixed, predetermined result but to ensure that the free market is allowed to function.

Now there is real progress on all fronts here. The nations of Southeast and Northeast Asia were in the vanguard, but now with every passing year we see formerly socialist or command economies, in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, shucking off those rigid and limiting policies and relying more and more on open market practices and individual incentives.

There is progress as well in overcoming the lingering sentiment that governments can get together and somehow dictate economic results. In today's world that simply cannot be done. Markets, not governments, determine economic results, and there is no way to overrule the market more than momentarily—especially given the quantities of goods, services, capital, information, and technology flowing across national boundaries today and everyday.

However, governments can work together to promote procedures which allow markets to work more freely and efficiently—that's what we are doing, for example, in the GATT [General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] trade talks in Geneva, in the annual economic summits, in the structural adjustment program of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development], and through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and other international financial institutions.

The record of economic growth over the past four decades is one of amazing success. But at the same time, there are plenty of problems and challenges facing the world's free enterprise, market economies—just to name a few:

- The size of government—whether measured by spending, or taxation, or regulatory influence, or income redistribution, or price distortions—has become a real burden to the efficient functioning of the market. There are many stories to be told, from the unconscionably expensive and distorting farm programs to the detailed regulation of opening and closing hours of retail stores. But our own recent experience in trying to trim the budget deficit may bring it home most clearly to this audience. Once established, government programs are virtually impossible to eliminate—they spawn their own interest groups and become entrenched. Unless government is to grow without limits, we must find a way to make it shrink.

- The trading imbalances in the global economy represent another



problem and are most likely a symptom of more fundamental imbalances that need to be corrected. I suspect that we, in the United States, are farther along in facing up to our trade deficit than are many other countries whose economic growth has become all too dependent on an export surplus generally related to our deficit. Somehow, people need to realize that it's not possible for every country in the world to have an export surplus at the same time. Our deficit has sort of the residual claimant of everybody else's surplus, and everybody says it must change. And I agree, and it will, and it is, and it could happen relatively fast. And my question is, when it does, are the countries that have been dining out to lunch on it ready?

Our challenge is to adopt policies at home that engender confidence in the strength of the U.S. economy and promote policies overseas that will strengthen the economies of our major trading partners. If we fail, the process of correction is likely to be acute and painful.

- Another problem: the extraordinary cycle of inflation and disinflation over the past two decades has left a legacy of inflated debt, depressed commodity prices, and stagnation in much of the developing world, especially in several countries close to home. The unpalatable mix of seeming political necessities and economic realities has made a debt workout hard slogging. Progress toward efficient, market-oriented solutions to the debt problem has been demonstrated in some key developing countries. But the problem remains a serious one, calling for unusual political resolve in debtor countries and genuine ingenuity in the international community.

Each country must pursue market-oriented policies and get its own house in order if the international economic system is to thrive. This is especially true for the United States as we are the largest player by far. The fact is that our size relative to that of other economies makes getting our house in order far more important for them than their housekeeping is for us. But we are not the only important player, and so others—Japan, Germany, the other OECD countries, the newly industrialized countries, indeed, all trading nations—must contribute to a stronger international system by strengthening their own economies.

### New Political Groupings

A third emerging reality on the world scene is that political, technological, and economic power and influence have

been dispersing horizontally. Ours is no longer a bipolar world—the U.S. and Soviet share of world economic output is decreasing as the growth rates of other countries have been more rapid.

In the future, more nations will have the economic and human resources to contend for political, technological, and commercial influence. Already Brazil, Korea, China, India, Israel, and the countries of ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations], for example, have become movers and shakers in one or more commercial or technological areas. The increasing number of students from developing countries in advanced training programs—India alone has about 10% of the world's total enrollment in higher educational institutions—will put these countries in a position to create and take advantage of technological change.

In this new environment, the importance of regional country and functional groupings has been heightened. Regional, political, and religious blocs of nations—such as the Organization of American States, the Organization of African Unity, South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation, the Non-aligned Movement, and the Islamic Conference—now provide platforms for a number of countries to exercise influence in global affairs. Not always the way we want, but, anyway, it's a vehicle.

Other regional organizations are taking on growing economic and political importance—from the eastern Caribbean to southern Africa, from the Americas to South Asia, from the Persian Gulf to the South Pacific. For example, the Pacific Basin, a region of phenomenal economic growth, is developing a web of cooperative realities. ASEAN is showing the way to regional cooperation and is taking on more and more of a political dimension beyond its initial focus on economic affairs.

Just as with the new trends toward democratization and open economies, these developments in political cooperation are outgrowths of our efforts and aspirations for a better world. The United States led the way after World War II in advocating the importance of the regional approach to the recovery of a devastated Europe.

Today the institutions that resulted are thriving: regional organizations such as the NATO alliance, the OECD, the European Economic Community, and the Western European Union; and functional organizations such as GATT, IMF, the World Bank, and regional

development banks, and the effective functional organizations of the United Nations, such as those dealing with nuclear energy, health, and civil aviation.

This cooperation, which began in large measure by focusing on post-World War II reconstruction needs in Western Europe, is an inspiration and a model for regional and functional approaches to challenges around the world. It is vital to recall that these groupings originated in efforts to reduce barriers. New associations must stay true to that purpose rather than evolve with protectionist enclaves which would spark devastating economic warfare.

Based on the clear success of the regional approach in advancing Western security and economic well-being, we are intensifying our efforts to strengthen regional cooperative efforts everywhere in meeting the common challenges we will face in the Information Age.

### The East-West Dimension

What I have sketched out here is a picture of immense dynamism: of the creative energies of free peoples generating challenges which they—and increasing numbers of those who would emulate them—are meeting with considerable success. The West has no monopoly on clever people, and the world's centers of scientific creativity and economic power are proliferating.

Where in this picture do we find the nations of the communist world? The Soviet Union will remain our central security concern for the foreseeable future. U.S. military strength, our framework of alliances, and our other security ties remain central to peace in the world. But there is also emerging a new dynamism in the East-West relationship.

In this respect, the current ferment in the communist world is a remarkable political development. Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in China, which can be seen to be undergoing a new era of "rectifying names." The opening of a long-closed society to market forces, trade, technology, and ideas is bringing significant benefits for the Chinese people.

Certainly, China and Western democracies are still divided over critical ideological issues. However, China has realized that the future belongs to those who open themselves up to global trends in the dissemination of knowledge, in the international economy, and in popular political participation.

Similar rethinking of old concepts and ways of doing things seems now to

be underway in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. While the ultimate dimensions of this process remain to be seen, its potential importance is great. Despite the constraints of a rigidly centralized society and economy, the Soviet Union is a leading scientific force, for example, in space science, in various fields of medical research, and in theoretical disciplines. Its massive economy, for all its inefficiency, generates a per capita GNP [gross national product] of about \$8,000.

But now Soviet leaders are telling their people that that is not enough—that the system they inherited essentially unchanged from Stalin must be restructured. As General Secretary Gorbachev stated in his June Party Plenum speech, "command forms of managing society put a brake on our movement." Whatever *perestroika* may finally come to mean, the terms in which it has been defined thus far suggest that Mr. Gorbachev and his colleagues understand that a closed society is a dead-end for advanced development. And implicit in the parallel concept of *glasnost* may be a recognition that the free flow of ideas and information which will fuel growth in the future requires greater intellectual and political freedom.

The most telling indicator will be the Soviet human rights situation. The world is looking for results that bear out the rhetoric—not only for the sake of the individuals and families involved but because human rights as practiced at home ultimately are related to international security. For a government that does not respect the rights it has guaranteed to its own people will not respect its international obligations and the general norms of the world community.

There is nothing in the "new political thinking" to date which suggests that the end of the adversarial struggle is at hand. What will "new thinking" mean for the people of Eastern Europe, who continue to strive for greater au-

tonomy in dealing with their daunting socioeconomic agenda? And what about Afghanistan? Will Soviet leaders withdraw their troops and allow the Afghan people to decide by political means what kind of government, economy, and political system they desire? Will the Soviet Union play a constructive role in Cambodia, Korea, southern Africa, and the Persian Gulf?

The winds of change blowing from Moscow may prove as revolutionary as Mr. Gorbachev has declared. But in determining their ultimate impact, historians will look to the answers to questions such as those I've just raised.

But as for us today, the continuing reality before us means that American political resolve must remain constant, our defense posture, robust. With those parameters, the challenge to us is to be sensitive to any opportunities which the changes now underway in the Soviet Union and other communist countries may hold.

### Conclusion

In this time of global challenge and change, nations of the world look intensively and searchingly at the relationship between the United States and the U.S.S.R. That relationship today is meaty and substantial. A major reason for this is that we Americans stand up for our principles and our interests while remaining ready to test and to deal with changing realities in international life. This approach gets results, and we're going to stick with it.

In a world of blurring national boundaries, dispersed power, and new players vying for influence in international affairs, there will be a continuing need for U.S. engagement and leadership.

Our alliances and our friends, and the growing number of regional associations around the world, provide a foundation for problemsolving on the scale demanded by the world ahead.

We must not falter on the economic front. We can take great satisfaction

knowing that the message of economic freedom is at last being heard and acted upon in country after country around the world. If we ourselves yield to the temptation to return to isolation, protection, and structural rigidities, we betray this movement—and general prosperity in the era ahead will be a lost cause.

Economic progress and freedom go hand in hand. New democracies will require continuous support and encouragement. The United States has an immense stake in seeing that the democratic idea works. And those who resist totalitarian governments must be able to know without doubt that they will be able to look to America to back their legitimate pursuit of liberty and justice.

And finally, in this period of profound historical change, both the United States and the Soviet Union must make the most of opportunities to transform the adversarial character of the U.S.-Soviet relationship to one that is better for both our peoples and for the world at large.

We will leave it to the future historians to give our age a name. Our task is to try to throw off outmoded concepts of the past as well as cloudy generalities about the future. What we need to see is the dynamism in the size, speed, and scope of global change. And most of all we need to see that this change is of our doing. We can manage it better than anyone. We have to have the courage to stand fast to our own principles: democracy, free enterprise, the cooperative association of responsible nations.

With this as our vision and guide, we face a bright future, indeed. ■

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ל הגאון רב

הגאון

ה"א

יגדו הרב

לכבוד ר' אהרן

אברהם

לחנניאל - אהרן

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פרנקלין אליאט

אין איין גרויס יאר  
ה'ס' א' קס"ו, חזק  
חבר של ע"א ע"ק  
(ש"ח מציג' הענין)  
נשא רובת משה  
וש' ג' א"א א"א ז"ל.

הענין של חזק  
חזק

(ע"א ז"ל. הענין)  
רובת משה  
ש"ח משה



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W. H. H. & Co.

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1/03/2017

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(Evd 1/10/2)



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