

סמל

ט

# מדינת ישראל

משרדיה הממשלת

משרדים

וינט

יחס. פנים - אוכף

מחלקה

סמל (וינט)



שם תיק: לשכת ראש-הממשלה יצחק שטרן - יחסיו ישראל-ארצות-הברית

מזהה פיזי

גל-21/23801

מזהה פריט R0004p04

כתובת: 2-112-4-2-6

תאריך הדפסה 24/02/2020

2/8/90 - 2/5/90

סמל (וינט)  
ט

7/5/810  
8/6/90

# FALLING CREEK SCHOOL

1050 Washington Highway  
ELBERTON, GEORGIA 30635  
404-283-4642 (283-1675 home)

Office of the Principal

August 2, 1990

Dear P.M. Yitzhak Shamir,

I am an elementary classroom teacher working with At-Risk students. I'm doing everything within my power to encourage my students to stay in school and to become good readers.

I have a goal that seems impossible to reach because my students are basically from low-income families. My goal is to have software and computers for all 23 students in my classroom. I've used the computer as an instructional tool, and my students are really motivated with computers.

Because of my students' needs, I am willing to swallow pride and ask for your help. You can help by donating software, computers, financial donations, or give information on how to get help.

To get 23 computers and enough software for my class will cost over \$30,000. Why am I trying to reach such an impossible goal? It's because I care and believe that one teacher can make a difference with your help.

Please send information or donations to:

Sallie Hood's Computer Project  
Falling Creek Elementary School  
1050 Washington Highway  
Elberton, GA 30635

Thank you,

*Sallie M. Hood*

Sallie M. Hood

TJH

009-5-2
✓ 820 (1-2)

לשכת ראש הממשלה  
06-8-1990  
נתקבל

## הconomy חכלית של ישראל בלוס אנג'לס

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



SUITE 1700  
6380 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD  
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90048

TEL. (213) 651-5700  
FAX (213) 651-3123

ב"ז תМОז  
20 ביולי  
אהב 01  
3854  
תשנ"ג  
1990

ל'ג בענין

לכבוד  
מר יצחק שמיר  
ראש הממשלה  
ירושלים

תורה והערכה על שהקדשת מזמן ונהגש אישה נם מר ג'ים  
מיסקול, סגן היוער של ה"בנק או"ם אמריקה". ג'ים בקשי להעביר  
לך אישית את התרומותה הבנה והעמוקה.

רצ'ב לעיונך סכום קצר וראשוני של בקורס חשוב זה בתקופה שאכן נצlich להרחביב בעתיד הקרוב את שתווי הפעולה הכלכלי בין ישראל וקליפורניה באמצעות גשר חדש זה שנציגו הוא ג'ים מיסקול.

אנא, הפה לאנשיך לפני ראות עיניך.

ב גַּבְהָה  
רְאֵן רְוָנוֹן (פְּקָרָה)  
קּוֹנְסָול בְּלָדִי





הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס אנג'לס

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כ"ז חמשה תש"נ  
19 ביולי 1990  
אהב 106.01  
3844

אל : מנהל מCAF

מאת : קונסולילוס אנגלס

הנדון: ביקור גאים מיסקול בישראל

1. מר גאים מיסקול, סגן דיו"ר של ה"בנק אוף אמריקה" ויו"ר לשכת המסחר של לוס-אנג'לס ערך ביקור של 9 ימים בישראל (30 ביוני עד 9 ביולי 1990) במטרה לבדוק הפוטנציאל לשותף פעולה כלכלי בין קליפורניה ומדינת ישראל. אני מונחתי כמלוחה הרשמי מטעם משרד החוץ ובתור שכזה הנני שולח סכום ראשוני וקצר זה.

ככלית ניתן לומר שאעים מיסקול התרשם עמוקות בביקורו הראשון בארץ מהפוטנציאל הטמון בישראל ובמיוחד מרמת רוב האנשים שנפגש ורמת ההשגים שהוצעו לו בשתחים שונים. מיסקול מתכוון לדוח בקרוב מאד על בקוריו בארץ לשלווה מוסדות עקריים: הנהלת ה"בנק אוף אמריקה" (כולל דיו"ר עצמו, דיק רוזנברג שהינו יהודי), ובנפרד לשתי לשכות המסחר של ל.א ושל קליפורניה. כמו כן, יפייך דו"ח מפורט בכתוב. נראה שהדוחות יהיה חיובי ובמגמה ברורה של מימוש מעשי של הפוטנציאל שגילתה בביקורו בארץ.

2. יודגש שמייסקול ואנוכי נפגשנו בזמןנו בבריטניה ומשה 14 שנה שוררת בינינו ידידות, לנו הוא גם מרשה לעצמו לחלק עימי חוויתינו ביתר קלות ולהביע דעתינו ללא חשש, גם כשאנו נעים לאוזן. על רקע זה הנני שמח לציין שבשיחות הרבות עימנו, תוך כדי הביקור ובעיקר לקרה סופו, התרשםתי כי לאיש כוונות רציניות למצוא הדרך והשיטה לשיתוף פעולה כלכלי עם ישראל בואריאציות שונות. התחומים הנראים לו אטרקטיביים במיוחד הינם: חקלאות (בעיקר מחקר ופיתוח חקלאי), תיירות (בעיקר המרשם מהפוטנציאל הטמון באזורי ים המלח), טכנולוגיה, מתקרמת מסווגים שונים (התרשם מאר מביקוריו במפעלים: לו, ראה, אינטל, בי-טכנולוגיות, טולוג ותשתיות אופירית), שוק מוצריים ישראליים מתחברים ובעל ייחודיות בארץ"ב, (נצח כושר המכירה האמריקאי), מחקר ופיתוח בתחוםים שונים ומגוונים (טען שבישראל יש "מה על כל אינטש מרובה" יותר מאשר בכל מדינה אחרת בעולם והתרשם עמויקות מהקומביינציה של מכון ויצמן וחברת "ידע").

procurar maior ex-  
periência e  
maior estabilidade  
e maior estabilidade  
e maior estabilidade



נושא נוסף חשוב ביותר שמחפות במעטם בקצב מהיר הוא - איניות הסביבה (לדעתו העולם הופך "מלוכך" יותר ויותר ומי שיקדיש בעניןelman מאמץ עליון למציאת פתרונות לבניות כאבות אלו, יクトוף הפירות בעתיד). בנושא זה רואה ג'ים בר נרחב לשותה פעולה מיידי ביו קליפורניה וישראל.

הת:rightהם במיוחד מנוסא קליטת העליה של יהודית רוסיה ומהיקף הבניה שקיים בעקבותיה. טען שבתחום זה ניתן לשמר פעולה ללא דיחוי בתנאי שיגש בהקדם מסמך רשמי של משרד השיכון המפרט מהם הדרישות, התנאים וכלי המשחק.

הת:rightים המתיחסים באירופה כולה (המערבית והמצורחת כאחד) נותנים לישראל יתרונות ברורים הוא מבחינה מיקומה האוגרפי, הוא מבחינת הסכמיה המיוחרים עם השוק המשותף ועם ארה"ב והן בעקבות איניות האדם המקומי שעומד לרשותה. כל זאת ניתן לנצל בתחום וביעילות רקידום כלכלת ישראל וחדירתה המורכבת לעולם העסקי הבינלאומי.

4. שני נושאים מדריגים במיוחד את ג'ים מיסקול:

א. הנירת המסובכת ותהליכי האישור הארכיים והמודרניים. מיידר, השכנע שכך הכל המצב בנדון הינו הרבה יותר טוב מאשר שמע וציפה. הסברתי לו ארכיות ביצד נכו לעבור עם ישראל על מנת להגיא ליעילות והשגים מושגים בשיטה. נראה שהבינו ונרגע בנושא זה.

ב. בעית הבתוון והקפאון בתהליך להשתת שלום באזורה. לטענתו, זה הגורם הדומיננטי שעלול להרתיע אנשי עסקים גדולים לשחרר פעולה עם ישראל. מרגע שnochati שנושא זה מטריד את האורה במיוחד החלתי להקדיש את מלא סוף השבוע (שבת וראשון) ל"השתלמות בנושא הבתוון". ג'ים נפגש בנפרד עם אלופי פקוד המרכז והצפוי קבל הסברים מפורטים מהם אישיות ומצוות הבכיר וכמו כן סייר ארכיות בתחום שני הפיקודים הלאו ובעיקר באזרחים הרגשיים. בשבת נפגש עם השר שרן בחולתו וקבע גם ממן סקירה מקיפה בנושא "אסטרטגיית הבתוון של מדינת ישראל" בנוסח לשיחה בנושאים המציגים הטעורים הקשורים למשרד השיכון. נראה כי מיסקול עצמו הופתע לטובה והבין המצב ואת הבעיות האובייקטיביות של ישראל בנדון, אך מיידר עשה רושם שנשאר מודאג עקב העובדה שאינו בטוח שיוכל לשכנע את חברי הגולים, אנשי העסקים האמידים של קליפורניה, שהסיכון הם מחשבים ואל להם לחוש בנושא. אפגש עמו עוד השבוע ואמשיך לסייע לו בעניין.

חשוב מאד להפיץ מסמך רשמי של הממשלה המתפל בשני הנושאים הללו העולדים להרתיע גופים כלכליים בכירים בחו"ל לשחרר פעולה עם ישראל, ככלומר: יש להגדיר ולתאר את השיטה הנכונה לעובדה עם הגורמים השונים בארץ על מנת להגיא להשגים בזמן סביר בנוסף, מומלץ לסכם

REVIEW ARTICLE  
OF  
"THE  
POLITICAL  
ECONOMY  
OF  
THE  
COUNTRIES  
OF  
THE  
EUROPEAN  
COMMUNITY"

הקונסוליה הכלכלית של  
ישראל בלוס-אנג'לוס

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- 3 -

בכתב ובמרובו את כל נושא הבוחן, הערכות, הבהירונות, הזכויות, החובות והתרמיצים הקשורים בשיתוף פעולה כלכלי של איש עסקים זר עם גופים ישראליים ( ממשתתים ופרטיים כאחד ). מסמך זהה עשוי לתרום הרבה להאדרת הבנה והגברת המוטיבציה בקרב השותפים הזרים הפוטנציאליים.

5. רצ'יב תכנית הביקור המעודכנת כפי שהתבצעה למעשה בשטח. נראה שהכתוב מדבר בעד עצמו ומצביע על חכנית מאוזנת שנתקפה במיוחד למידותיו של האורח בהתחשב בנסיבות, רמתו ומעמדו, הנו בבנק והן בלשכות המשחר של ל.א. וקליפורניה.

6. אני תקווה שאכן יצא מושג מבי庫רו של מיסקול בישראל. מבחינתי נשמר עמו קשר שוטף ועשה כל מאמץ שהפוטנציאל הגלום בו וב哥ופים שהינו מייצג לא ירד לאיבוד. מайдך, חשוב מאד שמנכלי המשרדים הכלכליים בהם ביקרנו (האוצר, התמ"ס, השיכון והתיירות) יוציאו בנפרד מסמך שלהם לסכום הביקור, כולל רשותה, הצעות, שאלות וצפויות שיש להם ממייסקול. ברגע שאקבל מסמכים אלה אפגש עמו מידית לדיוון ענייני בנדון ואדרות חזרה בהקרים. דועקה כמה יש לנצל המומנטום ולהקנות בברז' בעדו חם. אנה, הפעם מידע זה לאנשיך לפאי ראות עיניך.

7. ברצוני לנצל ההזדמנות ולהביע הערכתי לכל הגורמים שסיננו בראגון ותאום הביקור. ללא שיתוף פעולה ייעיל זה לא ניתן היה להריץ הביקור בrama שהתבצע. מקווה שנמשיך לשתי פעולה בדרך דומה גם בעתיד.

בצלחה!

בג' דב'ה,  
דו רונן (פkr)

העתק: מנכליים ובעלי תפקידים בכירים ביזועים  
בכירים שנפגשו עם האורח



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VISIT TO ISRAEL OF MR. JIM HISCOLL - VICE CHAIRMAN BANK OF AMERICA  
30 JUNE - 9 JULY 1990

Saturday, 30 June

16:00 - Arrival at Ben Gurion International Airport.  
16:20 - Proceed to Jerusalem - the King David Hotel.  
19:00 - Dinner with Mr. Irvin Fields.  
Overnight at the King David Hotel, Jerusalem.

Sunday, 1 July

09:00 - Meeting with Mr. Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem and his staff.  
10:00 - Prayer at Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Meeting with Patriarch Michelle Saba  
13:00 - Visit to Hebron.  
13:45 - Proceed to Bethlehem.  
14:15 - Visit to the Church of Nativity.  
15:15 - Return to Jerusalem.  
15:30 - Visit "Yad Vashem", Martyrs' and Heroes' Memorial of the Holocaust.  
16:30 - Tour of Jerusalem (including Israel Museum, Mount Scopus and the Western Wall).  
20:00 - Dinner with Dr. Yaacov Cohen, Deputy Director General for Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and additional high-ranked officials.

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Monday, 2 July

07:30 - Breakfast with Mr. Gideon Patt, Minister of Tourism and his staff.  
09:00 - Working meeting with administration of the Investment Authority.  
11:30 - Meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Shamir.  
12:30 - Leave for Beit Shaan.  
14:00 - Meeting with Mr. Shlomo Ben-Lulu, Head of the regional council of Beit Shaan, and presentation of economic projects.  
18:00 - Return to Jerusalem.  
20:30 - Dinner with representatives of the Cholic Church

Tuesday, 3 July

07:30 - Meeting with representatives of the Jerusalem Development Foundation and the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce.  
09:00 - Working meeting with the staff of the Ministry of Tourism.  
10:30 - Business meeting at the Bank of Israel with the Governor of the Bank of Israel Michael Bruno.  
12:30 - Lunch with Mr. Zvi Koren, Director General, Ministry of Industry and Trade, and key staff members.  
14:00 - Leave for Masada  
Visit Masada and tour of development sites around the Dead Sea  
18:00 - Return to Jerusalem  
21:30 - Attend the Sound and Light Show at the Tower of David

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Wednesday, 4 July

07:30 - Breakfast with Mr. Eli Yunes, General Accountant, Ministry Finance  
09:00 - Visit Industrial Park "Hachotzvim" - including "Luz" and Int factories  
11:00 - Leave for Tel Nof  
12:00 - Visit Tel Nof - to be followed by lunch  
14:00 - Visit the "Science Park" at Nes Tziona (Biotechnology)  
16:00 - Visit the Weizman Institute of Science and Yeda Company  
18:00 - Proceed to Tel Aviv  
19:30 - Reception at the Embassy of the United States of America  
21:00 - Interview for Yediot Aharonot newspaper  
23:00 - Return to Jerusalem

Thursday, 5 July

07:30 - Leave for Tel Aviv  
08:30 - Visit Israel Aircraft Industries  
11:00 - Meeting with Mr. Yitzhak Modai, Minister of Finance and key st members  
12:30 - Lunch with Mr. Danny Gellerman, President of the Israeli Federat of Chambers of Commerce  
14:00 - Meeting with Dov Lautman, President of the Manufacture Association  
16:00 - Visit Beit Hatefutsoth, Museum of the Jewish Diaspora  
17:00 - Visit with Yigal Erlich, Cheif Scientist  
18:00 - Return to Jerusalem  
20:30 - Dinner with Mr. Amiram Sivan, CEO Bank Hapcalim

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Friday, 6 July

07:30 - Leave for Tel Aviv  
08:30 - Meeting with Ed Mylavsky, representative of the BIRD Foundation  
09:30 - Business meeting with administration of Bank Hapoalim  
11:15 - Business meeting with administration of Bank Leumi followed by lunch  
13:30 - Business meeting with administration of Bank Discount  
15:30 - Meeting with Mr. Shlomo Lahat, Mayor of Tel Aviv - Jaffa  
16:30 - Meeting with Mr. Shimon Peres, M.K., Chairman of the Israel Labor Party  
17:30 - Meeting with Minister of Police and the Environment Ronni Milo and Director General Mr. Marinov  
20:00 - Dinner with K.M. Uriel Lynn and a group of high level bankers and scientists  
23:00 - Private party at the home of Rachel Federman  
01:00 - Return to Jerusalem

Saturday, 7 July

09:30 - Tour of the West Bank accompanied by the Commander of the Central Region Yitzhak Mordechai and his staff  
12:00 - Tour of the Old City and the Temple Mount accompanied by a catholic priest  
17:00 - Meeting with the Minister of Housing, Ariel Sharon, at his ranch in Southern Israel.  
21:00 - Reception at the home of Hasia and Yalu Shavit with 80 leaders and businessmen.  
01:00 - Return to Jerusalem.

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Sunday, 8 July

06:00 - Leave for a visit to the Northern part of Israel.  
07:30 - A visit to Caesaria  
09:00 - Visit the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth.  
11:00 - Meeting in Zefat with the Commander of the Northern Region Yossi Peled.  
12:30 - Visit the Northern Border of Israel, lunch at the Division Headquarters.  
14:30 - Visit the holy site of Kfar Nachum on the shore of lake Kinneret.  
15:30 - Visit to Kibbutz Degania A, including "Tulgat" factory.  
16:30 - Return to Jerusalem.  
19:30 - Concluding Cocktail.  
20:30 - Concluding ceremony and signing of an agreement of mutual cooperation with the Jerusalem Chamber of Commerce.

Monday, 9 July

06:00 - Leave for Ben Gurion International Airport.  
07:50 - Departure by Swissair, flight no. 333

Jerusalem,

February 11, 1990.

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820(1-2)✓

Dear George,

I was pleased to learn from your letter of January 25 that you are seriously trying to come here in May 1991. We shall all be delighted to receive you then - but why wait so long?

We are living in a fast moving world of rapid change. As one of the chief protagonists of Soviet Jewry's right to "come home", you should be here this year to see them arriving in large numbers every day.

Of course, this development poses problems for us, but these are wonderful problems, which we are tackling with all the means at our disposal.

Shulamit and I send best wishes to Helena and you.

Sincerely,

Yitzhak Shamir

The Hon. George P. Shultz  
Honorary Fellow  
Hoover Institution  
on War, Revolution and Peace  
Stanford, Calif. 94305-6010  
U S A

*File # 667-7  
11/24/90*

**HOOVER INSTITUTION**  
ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE  
Stanford, California 94305-6010



GEORGE P. SHULTZ  
HONORARY FELLOW

January 25, 1990

*820 (1-2) ✓*

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter. I am delighted to hear of your complete and rapid recovery from surgery.

And, of course, I am thrilled by the great emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. Teddy Kollek has invited me to visit Jerusalem in May of 1991 to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Jerusalem Foundation and his 80th birthday. I am going to try very hard to attend. I will keep you informed of my plans as the time draws closer.

With warm personal regards to you and Shulamit,

Sincerely yours,

George P. Shultz

His Excellency Yitzhak Shamir  
via Ambassador William A. Brown  
American Embassy  
Tel Aviv, Israel

17

RUDEN, BARNETT, McCLOSKY, SMITH, SCHUSTER & RUSSELL, P.A.

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665-10

12/18/90

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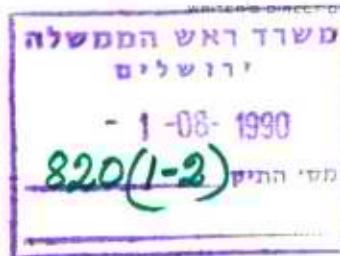
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July 23, 1990

The Honorable Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister  
Prime Minister's Office  
Ha Kirya  
Jerusalem, Israel



Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

On behalf of the Religious Action Center, Senator Harry Reid (D-Nevada), my wife and I, I want to thank you for the time you spent meeting with us earlier this month.

The events occurring in the world today, and particularly those in the Middle East, are of the utmost importance and significance not only to the survival of the Jewish people, but for the survival of the world as we know it today.

I know how much knowledge and insight the Senator and the entire group gained from our meeting. These personal exchanges are invaluable in further cementing the relationship between our two countries. I will do my part to see that these exchanges continue. Towards that end, I plan on coming back to Israel in late November or early December with Senator Connie Mack (R-Florida). I will contact you to schedule a meeting with the Senator. I look forward to seeing you then.

Shalom,

Jerome C. Berlin

11/12  
IRVING MOSKOWITZ, M.D.  
4744 North Bay Road  
Miami Beach, Florida 33140  
(305) 532-0137 (305) 674-0934

File

July 5, 1990

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir  
Office of the Prime Minister  
Jerusalem  
Israel

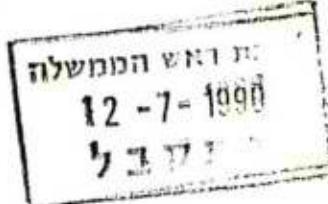
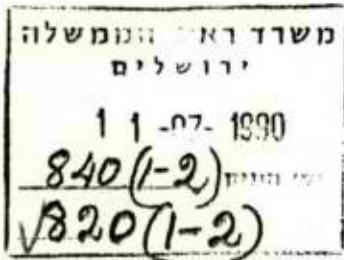
Dear Prime Minister Shamir:

According to the enclosed article in the New York Times of July 5, 1990, which is a follow-up of a previous major article in the New York Times on the same issue, U.S. military policy makers need more land on territorial U.S. in order to properly train military personnel for the use of present day and future military battlefield weapons. However, U.S. policy makers claim that Israel has too much land for the same purposes, even though Israel's enemies are real and at its borders, while America's enemies are imaginary and thousands of miles away. There is a lesson for Israel in this.

Very truly yours,

I. M.  
IRVING MOSKOWITZ, M.D.

Enclosure





ראש העירייה  
رمץ אל-מַבָּשָׁל  
MAYOR OF JERUSALEM

✓820 (1-2)  
161-1

March 8, 1990  
Adar 11, 5750  
D/2

90  
2/10/90  
The President of the United States of America  
Mr. George F. W. Bush  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

In these days when all Israelis are united in their deep concern over recent American statements on Jerusalem, I am encouraged to write you as I recall the privilege I had of taking Mrs. Bush and you through the city on your visit in Israel in 1986.

In June 1967, in spite of our messages to King Hussein through your ambassador and through the United Nations that Israel had no intention of initiating hostilities against Jordan, we were unprovokedly attacked from the Jordanian occupied part of Jerusalem, an occupation followed by an annexation that was not recognized by any country except Pakistan. After the war ended, the city was united as it had been for 4000 years and its municipal boundaries were somewhat enlarged, in the main incorporating uninhabited areas of rocky hills. In the past 22 years, the city has grown considerably. The number of Jews has increased from almost 200,000 to 340,000 and the Arab population has doubled from 75,000 to 150,000. This necessitated a massive effort to build housing for both Jews and Arabs. Homes for the Jewish population were built all over the city including in areas that had been under Jordanian occupation. Over 30,000 families now live in these areas. No Arabs were dispossessed in order to build these homes. Parts of this land had been Jewish owned before. In the northern extremity, within the new municipal borders, Jewish villages existed prior to 1948, when their inhabitants were forced to leave by the invading Jordanian army.

While the Jewish settlers in the occupied West Bank did get considerable incentives, none were given to families who made their homes within the city's boundaries. They acquired their homes under the same conditions as those living in Tel Aviv, Haifa and other parts of the country. A certain number of Russian immigrants, as well as immigrants from other countries, including many from the United States, now live in these neighborhoods. It is a fact that these new neighborhoods have become an integral part of the undivided city and are quite distinct from the settlements in the West Bank, the nearest of which is miles away.

*✓ ✓ ✓* *✓ ✓ ✓*

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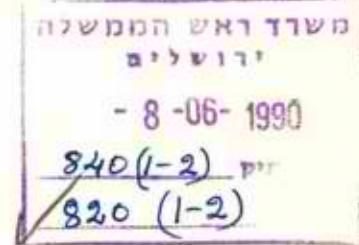
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\*ALSO ADMITTED IN FLORIDA

May 29, 1990

WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER:

Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister  
State of Israel  
Hakirya Complex  
Jerusalem, Israel 91999



Dear Prime Minister:

I just want to acknowledge your letter of May 17 and also bring to your attention a letter that I recently sent to President George Bush, as well as a column that I published in the New York Post on the subject matter we have been discussing.

At the risk of repeating myself I want you to know that I strongly believe that you are making a serious error in counting on continued vetoes by the United States in the United Nations. Israel was fortunate that the President made clear that placing United Nations observers or other forces in Israel and the occupied territories was not acceptable to the United States. Believe me, each new resolution at the United Nations attacking Israel will be opposed with less vigor by the United States than the previous one. Once the United States jumps the veto hurdle subsequent jumps will be progressively easier.

To the United States, Israel appears to be thoroughly intransigent, intransigent to the point of being "macho", as we say in the United States. An example of this is Israel's seeming unwillingness to put forward its best arguments in a consistent way. For years now, I have urged you, former



prime ministers and as many members of the Israeli government as I have had contact with to provide a public relations budget to your Consul General in New York City. This budget would allow you to take monthly full-page ads in The New York Times for the purpose of responding to unfair hostile attacks made on Israel by practically every country in the United Nations, and that occasionally includes the United States, and inform the American public, Jewish and Christian, of Israel's side of the story.

Even your letter would indicate to me that you are living in a dream world when you are able, with a straight face, to say, "In general, these are wonderful days for our nation". I personally cannot think of many more hazardous days for Israel than currently exist. The American Jewish community is enraged at what it perceives to be a callous Israeli government, a failure of the Israeli political system and a refusal of the old guard of both the Likud and Labor parties to accept the demand of 80% of the Israeli public's expression in support of electoral reform.

There is turmoil and a hint of anarchy loose in the world and that can cause severe difficulties for Israel if it does not get its house in order.

I urge you to give more thought to these problems and reassess your own position.

All the best.

Sincerely,



Edward I. Koch

EIK/ft  
Encl.

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\*ALSO ADMITTED IN FLORIDA

May 25, 1990

WRITER'S DIRECT NUMBER:

George Bush  
President of the United States  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

You suggested when last we met that I write to you if I believed there was something to be said on an important matter. I am writing to you with deep respect on a matter of the gravest concern to me and millions of Americans and others throughout the world.

The relationship between the State of Israel and the United States since its inception during the administration of Harry S. Truman and continuing through yours has been a special one of support, even if on occasion there were differences in the foreign policies of Israel and that of our country. We always understood that Israel, a democracy formed by the tattered remnants of history's most murderous period, would have to endure constant threat of attack by Arab countries and by Arab terrorists. Twenty Arab countries even now are in an official state of war with Israel. And I, like Jews and non-Jews, have disagreed with certain of the actions taken by Israel, but at the same time we understand that thousands of young Israelis have laid down their lives on the battlefield in four wars and that tens of thousands more, including innocent civilians, have been injured. Undoubtedly the Israelis have on occasion

exhibited a fortress mentality perhaps similar to that of the British when they stood alone in 1940.

Nevertheless, on balance, indeed overwhelming balance, the democratic air breathed in Israel is so different from that breathed in so many of these Arab states where they kill one another based upon religious schisms, e.g., Lebanon.

Why this prelude? It is to try to convey to you the importance of continued U.S. support of that tiny Jewish nation. I fear that the statements made by yourself and others in your Administration convey increasing hostility towards a beleaguered ally. I am sure you don't see it that way, but let me briefly cite chapter and verse.

Your reference, not so long ago, conveying your opposition to Jewish residence in East Jerusalem, as well as on the West Bank; your Administration's criticism of Israel in the most recent incident where a lunatic Israeli shot and murdered eight Arabs, implying that it is Israel's government's actions that provoked the incident, yet no one in your Administration or the world at large castigates the Jordanian government for the action, not of a lunatic Arab but someone who willfully, for purposes of revenge, attempted to assault, maim and murder, with knife and gun, ten innocent French civilians.

Now to refer to the past: When an Egyptian soldier on duty shot, murdered and maimed innocent Israeli tourists in the Sinai, where was world denunciation of Egypt and President Mubarak? There was none, nor did Israel ask that there be such a response against the Egyptian government or President Mubarak. Mubarak apologized, the Israelis accepted the apology and understood that it was neither his fault nor that of the Egyptian government. Prime Minister Shamir apologizes on behalf of the Jewish nation for the act of a lunatic and the cascade of denunciation continues.

Some will say that the change in the Administration's attitude towards Israel comes as a result of a better relationship between the United States and the U.S.S.R., so that our need for a strong ally in the Middle East is lessened. If that is true then will we not go down in history as fair weather friends? Would you want that appellation applied to your Administration?

The latest matter, not yet finalized but clearly being considered and floated in the press, is the contemplation by Secretary of State Baker of support for an Arab resolution

at the United Nations to station in Israel and on the West Bank United Nations forces. Such an act would be an outright assault upon the sovereignty of the State of Israel, and worse, would encourage every Arab on the West Bank to increase his and her participation in rioting so as to involve the United Nations even further in the affairs of Israel and the occupied territories.

I urge you for the reasons that I have described and because I would hope that you would want to be remembered, as President Reagan is, for having supported and stood by our only ally in the Middle East, the State of Israel, to consider the broader implications of these issues. In the event that such a resolution is brought before the Security Council, I urge you to direct that the United States delegate cast a veto.

All the best to you and Barbara, and I hope your brief holiday is filled with joy and covered with sunlight.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "EIK" above "Koch".

Edward I. Koch

EIK/ft

## ED KOCH



I HAVE been mulling over the Israeli government's controversial decision to encourage and finance the settlement of Orthodox Jews in the Christian quarter of Jerusalem.

My initial reaction was that it was a stupid thing to do and, in fact, I sent a letter to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir conveying that sentiment. But I have had second thoughts. Why? Well, not that it was in the interest of the State of Israel to anger its friends by taking such an action, but from an ethical point of view, the residence of Orthodox Jews in the old Christian quarter should not be condemned. It may have been strategically foolish, but it should not give offense for any other legitimate reason.

When Jesus walked the earth, only Jews lived in the entire city, except for their Roman conquerors. Today the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Christian quarter are not Christians but Moslems. In fact, when the city was ruled by Jordan, for the 19 years prior to the Six Day War, the Christians were discriminated against by the Moslems. Following the Six Day War, Israel unified the city and opened it up to all faiths.

The Jordanian government banned Christians from buying real estate. It compelled Christian schools to close on Moslem holy days. It encouraged the construction of mosques next to churches to curtail Christian expansion.

Jordan treated the Jews far worse. The Jordanian government prompted a campaign of mass desecration of Jewish monumenia. Jewish graves on the Mount of Olives, thousands of years old, were desecrated and their tombstones used in latrines by Jordan's legionnaires. Jews from every country were denied access to their holy sites, including the Western Wall. Jews living in the Jewish quarter of the city were expelled, and every synagogue in the quarter was destroyed.

After the Six Day War, the Jews initiated a policy of religious pluralism and tolerance that flourishes today. Christians and Moslems now administer their own holy places.

What about the hostel at the center of the current controversy? Hasn't Israel interfered with a Christian holy place by helping Orthodox Jews obtain the lease? The answer is no. It is not a holy place. It is a dilapidated, abandoned residence. And while the land it sits on is owned by the Greek Orthodox Church, the rights to lease the property have been held by an Arab named Mahran Matossian for decades. The fact that Matossian sold his rights to Jews hardly warrants protest. In fact, it's ludicrous when you consider that the Israeli Knesset and the Jerusalem central synagogue also are situated on land owned by the Greek Orthodox Church. So why now this assault on Jews and Israel?

Why did the Israeli government deny that it loaned money to lease the hostel, as it did until forced by the press to admit it? Without denying its actions, it would have further jeopardized Matossian's life. The government of Jordan

has issued a law that condemns to death any Arab who sells or leases land to Jews. Talk about restrictive covenants! But does this barbarous decree upset the rest of the world? No.

Since 1976, more than 200,000 Christian and Moslem Arabs have died in religious wars that are still going on in places like Lebanon but basically ignored by the rest of the world. Arabs kill other Arabs by the score in Gaza and on the West Bank because of their alleged collaboration with Israel. Is there condemnation of that at the United Nations? No. But when the Jews defend Israel and take the position that there is no place in Israel that should be declared "Judenrein" — barred to Jews — the world engages in a frenzy of denunciation against the Jewish state.

In my letter to Prime Minister Shamir criticizing his government's timing on the hostel matter, I raised a far more important issue. "You have to know what is the bottom line with respect to United States' positions on ultimate guaranteed secure borders. Is it still the Rogers Plan, with its minor rectifications or the pre-'67 border and a special status for Jerusalem which would end Israel's total sovereignty over that city? If that is the position of the United States today and the outcome that the United States will seek to achieve . . . then you cannot enter those negotiations. It would be too perilous for the State of Israel, and if you have to go it alone, relying on Israel's own resources and whatever it is that we in the Diaspora can muster for you, then so be it."

I am tired of the Jew-bashing taking place throughout the world. Thank God, Jews have the State of Israel to protect them and give them sanctuary. Others might like to see the Jews effectively commit suicide by sacrificing Israel's secure borders. But it will never happen. Suicide is against our

## *Not even Christian quarter of Jerusalem*

Jerusalem, February 13, 1990.  
668-7

820 (1-2) ✓

Dear Senator Bond,

Thank you for your letter of February 1.

It gave me much pleasure to receive you and the members of your delegation on your recent visit to our country. I always welcome the opportunity of exchanging views with our American friends. Such personal contacts help to strengthen the relationship between our two nations.

I wish you every success.

Yours sincerely,

Yitzhak Shamir

Senator Christopher S. Bond  
United States Senate  
Washington DC 20510-2503  
U S A

668-7  
1372/90

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2503

February 1, 1990

His Excellency Yizhak Shamir  
Prime Minister of Israel  
Kiryat Ben-Gurion  
Jerusalem

820(1-2)

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Thank you very much for your generous hospitality in giving the Anti-Defamation League Delegation so much of your time when we called on you on Monday afternoon. It was a great honor for me personally and for all of us to have the opportunity to hear your candid discussion of current affairs affecting the State of Israel.

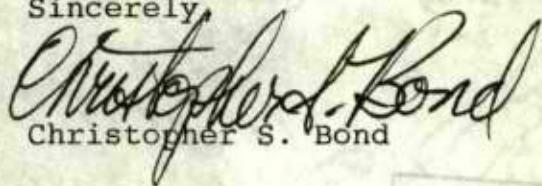
We do congratulate you on the important progress you are making to privatize and open up the economy to the free market forces as well as your continued state of military readiness.

I hope that we will be able to see significant progress towards the peace process which you outlined this past year in the near future. I believe it is very important for us in order to maintain the strong support that Israel now has in the United States Congress.

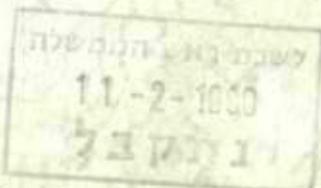
I can assure you that I will do what I can to encourage private sector assistance from the United States to create jobs, provide housing and assist with financing of the necessary projects in Israel, along with the continued U.S. Government support. My good friend Stuart Raskas and I certainly appreciated your allowing us to take pictures with the Israel-USA tie. We hope it will continue to symbolize the close working relationship for many years to come.

We wish you health, happiness and peace in the New Year.

Sincerely,

  
Christopher S. Bond

CSB/emb



Jerusalem,

February 26, 1990.

680-7

✓820(1-2)

009-5-2

Dear Senator Danforth,

Thank you for your letter of February 6, which I read with interest.

I was not aware of the work of your friend Chief Rabbi Sholom Rivkin of St. Louis, and the newly established Seminary Machon Nacha Rivkin.

As a result of your letter I have called for a report on the institution and its projects.

For various reasons it is not always possible to provide facilities such as you recommend, but we shall do what we can.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

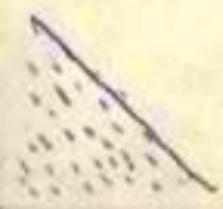
Yitzhak Shamir

Senator John C. Danforth  
United States Senate  
Committee on Commerce,  
Science and Transportation  
Washington DC 20510-6125  
U S A

Harry

- 1) Pse confirm receipt.
- 2) Ask M. Hadarot if they know anything about Machor Kirkin.

i .



JOHN C. DANFORTH  
MISSOURI

*John C. Danforth*  
f.m./j

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

February 6, 1990

His Excellency Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister of Israel  
Hakiria Romema  
Jerusalem, Israel 91950

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

There are times in a man's life when his heart prompts him to become involved in the affairs of someone he knows, respects and admires. Such is my position regarding Chief Rabbi Sholom Rivkin, an esteemed leader of the Jewish community of St. Louis and a dear and valued friend of mine.

Rabbi Rivkin is involved in the newly established Hebrew Teachers Training School and Seminary in Jerusalem, Machon Nacha Rivkin. His involvement is one of the spirit and one of the emotions because the seminary bears his beloved late mother's name --a name which is renowned and revered in the American Jewish community.

Machon Nacha Rivkin is in the midst of its first year of existence, with an enrollment of 25 young women from the United States as well as other parts of the world. Its standards of excellence in instruction are so high and its start so auspicious, that students who attend for the year are granted college credits in the United States. In fact, applications for the 1990-91 school year will more than triple its student body. Indeed, the girls are so inspired that some plan on remaining in Israel on a permanent basis.

Unfortunately, the building which they are now using can only accommodate 40 students and, therefore, is completely inadequate for their use next September. I am, therefore, asking you as a personal request, to help and use your good offices in the providing of a building in Jerusalem suitable for the 100 students which Machon Nacha Rivkin expects to have registered by September 1991.

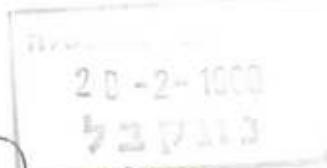
I am greatly cognizant of the favor I am asking, and in my own behalf, as well as Rabbi Rivkin whose heart is so bound up in the success of this fledgling institution, I am deeply appreciative.

Thank you for your kind consideration.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

*John C. Danforth*



Jerusalem,

August 14, 1990.

920-7

820 (1-2) ✓

Dear Senator Specter,

I thank you for your letter of 25 July, 1990.

Since you wrote me, it so happens that I addressed publicly an appeal to President Asad to negotiate directly with us. Our approach to Syria is consonant with our policy that calls for direct negotiations with all neighboring Arab states. We will continue to adhere to this policy and try to bring about its fulfilment.

I appreciate your keen interest in this issue and in advancing peace in our part of the world.

Sincerely,

Yitzhak Shamir

Senator Arlen Specter  
United States Senate  
Washington DC 20510  
U S A

Dear Senator Specter,

I thank you for your letter  
of 25 July, 1990.

You may have

Since you wrote me, it so happens that I ~~am~~ addressed publicly an appeal to President Asad to ~~engage~~ negotiate directly with us. ~~This~~ Our approach to Syria is consonant with our policy that calls for direct negotiations with all neighboring Arab states. We will continue to ~~follow~~ ~~this~~ adhere to this policy and try to bring about its fulfillment.

I appreciate your keen interest in this issue and in advancing peace in our part of the world.

Sincerely  
Y. Shami

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

July 25, 1990

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir  
c/o Embassy of the State of Israel  
Washington, D.C. 20008

820 (1-2)

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I think you will recall our meeting of last January when I urged you to consider a meeting with Syrian President Asad to be convened under the auspices of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Since our meeting, I have discussed this idea with President Bush, Secretary of State Baker and others in the United States. While no one has made any commitments on the subject, I think it is fair to say that there is at least some interest in exploring this idea.

Since Israel has a new Foreign Minister, I have written to Foreign Minister David Levy on this subject and I am enclosing a copy of my letter to him. As noted, I discussed this subject with Defense Minister Moshe Arens when he was in Washington last week so I am sending him a copy of these letters as well.

I urge you to consider this idea.

I look forward to another meeting with you at the earliest opportunity.

My best.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter

AS/kr  
Enclosures

cc: Foreign Minister David Levy  
Defense Minister Moshe Arens



United States Senate

Foreign Minister David Levy      WASHINGTON, DC 20510  
c/o Embassy of Israel  
Washington, D.C. 20008  
July 25, 1990

Dear Mr. Foreign Minister:

My heartiest congratulations on your appointment to the position of Foreign Minister of Israel.

I urge for your consideration a summit meeting between Israel and Syria to be convened by the United States and the Soviet Union with Israel and Syria then to engage in direct negotiations.

This is a subject which I have discussed for several years with United States, Israeli and Syrian officials. I have had an opportunity to meet with President Asad of Syria on three occasions. In our most recent meeting in January 1990, I noted a significant shift in his prior position. Immediately before that meeting, U.S. Ambassador Djerejian advised me that President Asad had recently stated that he would be willing to attend an "international conference" convened by only the U.S. and U.S.S.R. in contrast to President Asad's previous position that he would attend such a conference only if convened by the five super-powers including Great Britain, France and China. That change of President Asad's position was, of course, highly significant since there would no longer be a four to one imbalance against Israel if only the United States and the Soviet Union were the convening parties.

When I saw Prime Minister Shamir a few days later, I advised him of President Asad's shift in position. Prime Minister Shamir stated that he had not known of that shift. I know that Israel's position has consistently been against an "international conference" although Prime Minister Shamir had agreed to such an arrangement several years ago at the specific request of then-Secretary of State Schultz.

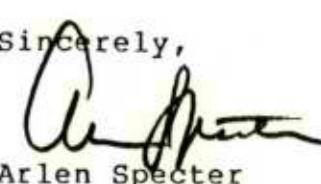
In light of what appears to be an impasse in the Mideast peace process, I urge you to give serious consideration to such an Israeli-Syrian summit. I prefer to call it an Israeli-Syrian summit rather than an "international conference" to avoid the previously-used unpopular term.

I had an opportunity to meet with Defense Minister Arens when he was in Washington last week and we discussed this issue, so I am sending him a copy of this letter as well as a copy to Prime Minister Shamir.

I hope we have an opportunity to meet to discuss this and other important issues of mutual concern in the near future.

My best.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter

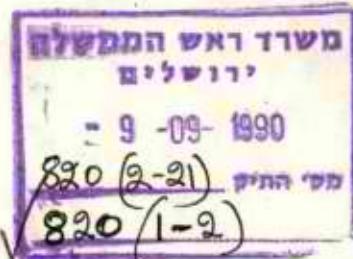
AS/kr

cc:      Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir  
            Defense Minister Moshe Arens

File copy of

The **IN** Group  
"Intelligence Now"

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:  
Robert A. Felburg



11945 Maplecrest Street  
Moorpark, Calif. 93021  
(805) 523-0523

August 27, 1990

President George Bush  
Kennebunkport, Maine 04046

Dear President Bush:

This is a follow-up to my August 13th letter which I hope you received (copy of said letter is attached).

While you are admirably handling the Iraqi crisis with great firmness, restraint and diplomacy, I find one thing lacking.

You repeatedly stress that you will not tolerate Iraqi harm to the American hostages. Why not include in your statements all our allies' hostages? That would certainly prove to be a moral booster for our allies.

I do not believe that when we win the inevitable shooting war with Iraq that we should withdraw our military presence from the Middle East. I do not believe we should be based permanently in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait. I do believe we should locate

George Bush, President  
August 27, 1990  
Page 2

permanently in the southern one-third of Iraq including getting control of all their oil wells and relocating all Iraqis to the northern two-thirds of their country. This will guarantee the stabilization of all Middle Eastern countries and our control of moderate world oil prices. Thusly, we would provide a buffer between Iraq and the kingdoms of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Certainly Saddam planned on becoming the new Hitler and conquering all twenty tiny and weak Gulf countries. And now he is trying to unite all Arab countries behind him to wage World War III against Israel. The nuclear holocaust that will follow an attack on Israel will result in the destruction of all Arab countries who attack Israel.

A strong U. S. presence in the Middle East and the destruction of the Iraqi nuclear and chemical and biological warfare capability and its armed forces will guarantee peace.

Finally, as Saddam Hussein insists, let's include Israel in the peace formulae.

George Bush, President  
August 27, 1990  
Page 3

My suggestion is that with all the Palestinians in Israel and Jordan demonstrating against the United States and the enlisting of 100,000 Palestinians in the Iraqi armed forces to fight America, let's recognize who are friends and who our enemies are.

In the interest of peace, I suggest we encourage Israel to relocate all Palestinians from the West Bank, Gaza and Israel to Jordan and make room and housing for the million Russian Jews wanting to migrate to Israel. These Russian Jews are now subject to Pogroms in Russia again.

Let's stop placating the Arabs and let's strongly demand permanent peace between the Arabs and Israel. A U. S. firm and permanent presence in the area can finally guarantee peace and security for our loyal ally, Israel. The Palestinians can make a permanent and productive life in Jordan in an area 100 times larger than Gaza and the West Bank. The Palestinians in their

George Bush, President  
August 27, 1990  
Page 4

role as our enemy, must now forfeit the luxury of trying to drive the Israelis into the sea.

If King Hussein of Jordan fears his countrymen becoming a tiny minority by this proposed exodus of Palestinians from Israel, he could split Jordan into two states, one Palestinian and the other for Jordanian Arabs.

Respectfully,

*Robert A. Felburg*  
ROBERT A. FELBURG

CC: President Bush, The White House  
National Security Advisor - Washington, D.C.  
C.I.A. McLean, Virginia

Robert A. Felburg  
11945 Maplecrest St.  
Moorpark, CA 93021

August 13, 1990

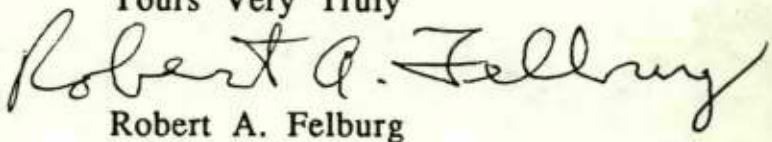
President Bush  
Kennebunkport, ME 04046

Dear Sirs:

Before the Iraqi locate our 3500 Americans and other foreign hostages in Baghdad and around their chemical warfare and nuclear plants, don't you think we should make a pre-emptive air strike with conventional or nuclear bombs to win this war now?

Similar to the Iraqi blitzkreig over Kuwait, I suggest we hit their chemical warfare and nuclear plants and all their tanks along the Kuwait-Saudi border now, and possibly Baghdad!

Yours Very Truly

  
Robert A. Felburg

RF:bk

# The Chicago Committee

Sponsored by The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

July 30, 1990

7/11-10  
1990  
RFB

משרד ראש הממשלה  
ירושלים  
- 6-08-1990  
820(1-2) מס. התיק  
112-1-8

Yitchak Shamir  
Prime Minister of the State of Israel  
Office of the Prime Minister  
3 Kaplan, Kiryat Ben-Gurion  
Jerusalem, 91919 Israel

Dear Prime Minister Shamir:

On behalf of the Chicago Committee of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, I would like to invite you to appear as a featured speaker with the Committee during the 1990 program year. It would be our pleasure and honor to host you.

The Chicago Committee is composed of the most senior and influential business, financial, academic and other professional leaders from Chicago and the surrounding region. The Committee meets regularly with the most prominent national and international figures to discuss important issues in international affairs. The enclosed directory provides a sampling of recent speakers for the Chicago Committee and a list of the current membership.

Our program features luncheon meetings, although we do have occasional breakfast and dinner gatherings as well. Our speakers normally address the group for thirty minutes and then respond to questions from the members. All sessions are strictly off-the-record, allowing guests to speak with absolute candor.

We do hope you are able to accept this invitation in principle. Our staff will then contact your office to arrange a mutually convenient date and other particulars.

We hope to have the honor of including you in our program. We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

*James F. Beré*  
James F. Beré  
Chairman  
The Chicago Committee

Enclosure

116 S. Michigan Ave.  
Chicago  
Illinois 60603  
(312) 726-3860  
Fax (312) 726-4491

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President  
The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations



Founded 1922

820 (1-2)

6

לשכת ראש הממשלה  
24-10-1989  
נ.ה. ג. ב. ל.

JIMMY CARTER

17 October 1989

To Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir

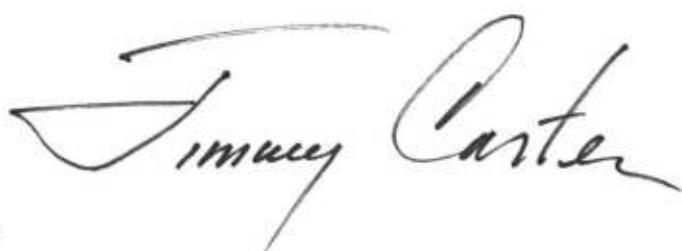
I appreciate your past response to my concerns about human rights issues in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and was especially pleased to learn of the release of Terry Boullata. As you know, I have been deeply committed to supporting human rights advocates and organizations around the world, and I fully support the right of such individuals and groups to operate freely and without fear of persecution.

Please allow me to bring to your attention the case of Sha'wan Rateb Abdallah Jabarin, a human rights worker recently placed in detention. I am especially concerned about Mr. Jabarin because he reportedly was so severely mistreated while in custody that his condition warranted hospitalization. He was apparently then removed to an unknown location. My concerns are heightened since Mr. Jabarin has serious health problems for which he needs daily medication.

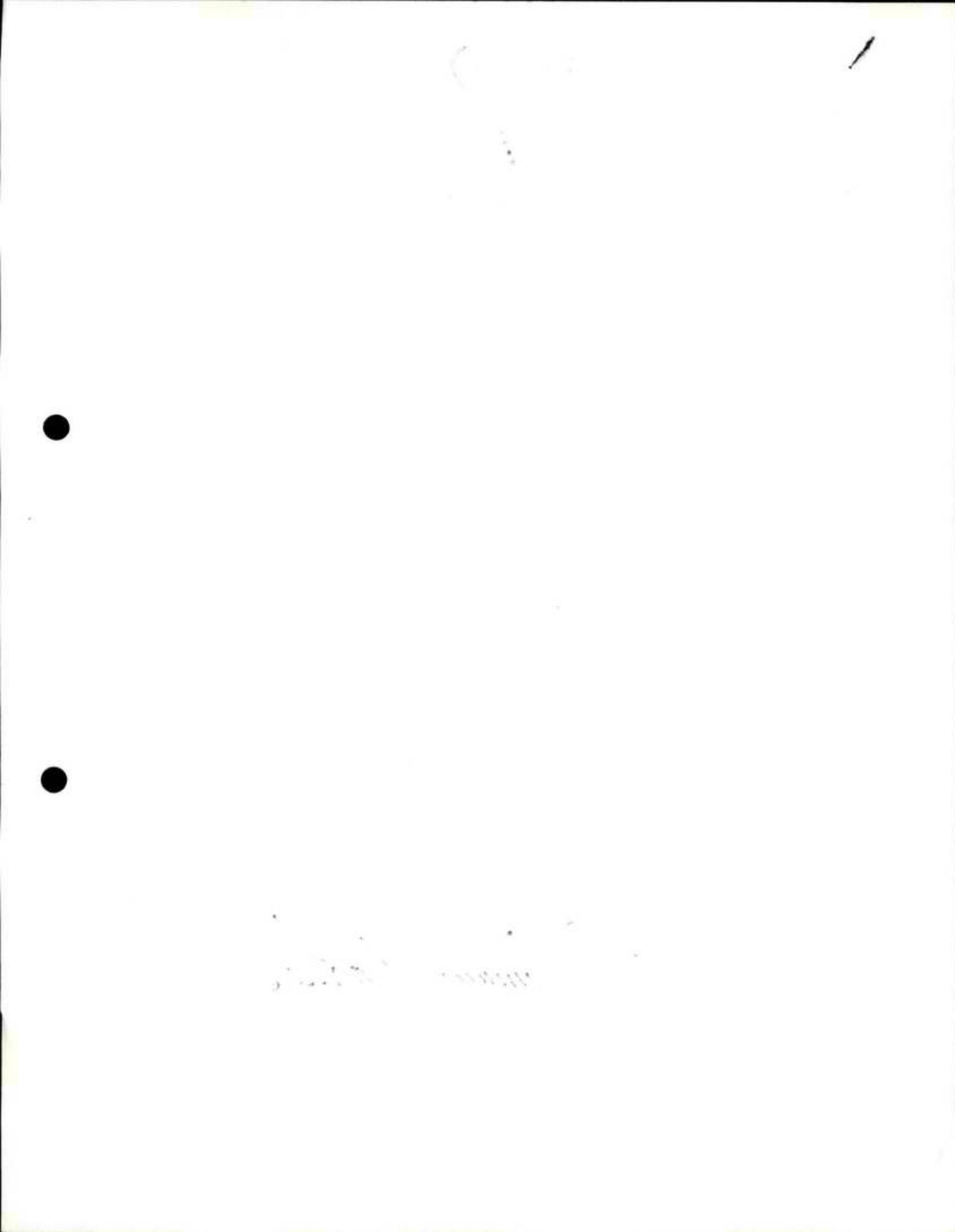
I urge you to investigate immediately the case of Mr. Jabarin, to ensure that he receives all necessary medical treatment and if it has not already been done, to notify his family of his whereabouts and condition. Finally, unless he is formally charged with specific illegal acts, I appeal to you for Mr. Jabarin's release.

Thank you for your immediate consideration of Mr. Jabarin's present precarious condition. I look forward to hearing from you on these matters.

Sincerely,



Mr. Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister  
Office of the Prime Minister  
Hakiriya, Ruppin Street  
Jerusalem 91919, Israel



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אלן: מילון ערך-ו-לארט למד. פג' 9

## הבדון: מכר גkontנירס גן, אקרטן

הניל, דנוקרט נשי-יורק (יהודי), יוקד בארץ כנושדים 90/5/6 – 30/4/2008 גבעת אל מונטג'יו מדינז'יו מילאנו.

ההנחות, החברה ורשותה הוחרה של בית הנבחרים (רשותה המשנה  
כ. רופא ועוד מ- איז'ז) כבית הנבחרים ופעיל אודז בירושא  
יהודי אמרופיה. נפשו ורונה עם שכיס אטידפה מנהיגו  
ככלא.

אנו מודים לך על כל הקורס. שום נימוסין  
קצתה (10 דנ"ר) וציבור צעדים מוקדמים  
מצביע.

## אודה באישורך

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Embassy of the United States of America

Tel Aviv, Israel

May 1, 1990

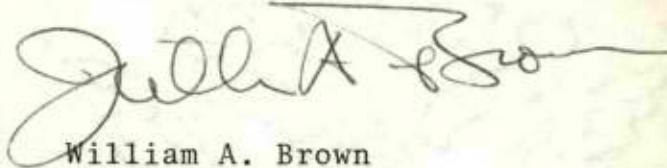
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820 (1-2)

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Secretary of Defense Cheney has asked that I forward the attached message concerning the postponement of his visit to Israel.

Sincerely,



William A. Brown  
Ambassador

His Excellency  
Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister  
State of Israel  
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

When former Minister of Defense Rabin visited me in January, we discussed plans for my trip to Israel in mid-May 1990. Unfortunately, recent changes in my schedule and unforeseen circumstances have made it necessary to postpone these plans.

The United States-Soviet Union Summit that was originally scheduled for June 1990 has now been moved to begin in late May. These important discussions will directly affect our global strategy and military force structure into the next century. The significance of the outcome of the summit makes it necessary that I devote my full attention to planning for this occasion. In addition, the daily demands of monitoring next year's defense budget and its movement through our legislative process continues to consume a large portion of my energies, and to leave Washington for an extended period of time at this juncture would not be prudent.

This change in plans does not diminish the tremendous importance I assign to the close relationship between the defense establishments of Israel and the United States. The Department of Defense continues to support fully a strong and secure Israel and our mutual goals for peace and stability in the Middle East.

I have been looking forward to visiting Israel and sincerely regret being unable to follow through on my original plans. I have asked my staff to look for alternative dates for a visit at the earliest opportunity.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Dick Cheney

APR 24 '90 11:55

P.2

## JCRC ISRAEL MISSION PARTICIPANTS

Robert Bender  
Executive Director, American Red Cross

592  $\frac{2}{2}$

Carlos Cuevos (& Ariene Stringer)  
City Clerk, Clerk of the Council

John Flateau  
Senior Vice President, Affirmative Action, Urban Development Corporation

Judith Johnson  
Director of Curriculum, Nyack Public Schools

Michael Miller  
Executive Director, JCRC

Peter Ohm (& Gemma Ohm)  
Chairman, Korea News

Nancy Palumbo  
Executive Assistant, Office of Communications, NY State Senate

David Pollock  
Associate Executive Director, JCRC

Deborah Sale  
Chief of Staff, Office of Lt. Governor

John Scanlon (& Julianne)  
Daniel J. Edelman Associates

Vicki Streifeld  
Press Secretary & Special Counsel, Office of City Council President

Theodore Strigles  
Attorney, Dimas and Johnston

Michael Trunzo  
Downstate Political Director, NY Republican State Committee

Charles Uribe (& Lauren Uribe)  
Chairman of the Board, AJ Contracting

Michael Miller  
David Pollack

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JERUSALEMמשרד החוץ  
ירושלים6465  
בלמ"ס/  
אַהֲבָה 106.01.101

820 (1-2)

א.ל.:

הנדון: משפטם של מנהיגי הטרור

ה - J.C.R.C. שס נ"ז רשות גדרת הארגונים והאזרחים של יהרhot אריה"ב, מארגן מדי שכת משלחת מנהיגים נ"ז יודקית הכללת מילוט עירוני, תקשורת (מקומית וארצית), קהילות אתניות, חברי קונגרס ובר'.

בחירת המשתתפים נסמכת על מעמדו הנווטי וסיכון בעtid של האיש. בעבר מוכיחה שהחק נבד ממתתפי המשלחות בעבר הגיעו לעמדות עצרת באריה"ב.

משה"ח רואה בפועל זה את אחת מפעולות ההסבה המדינית היותר מועלות שנעשתה כזום.

בראש המשלחת יעמור מר מיריק מלך מנכ"ז שס ה - J.C.R.C. (זובנו של הרב ישראל מלך - לשעבר יו"ר ועידת הנשיאות).

כודה לך אם תאות לפגוש את חברי המשלחת בירם -

זגב' חנה דבר ממא"ד ט - 303651 וו.המ"מ בט - 303562 מרכיבים את הטיפול בזושא.

בבזבז  
אפי בז-מתויה  
מה, עפוד אמריקה, משה"ח 19 באפריל 1990

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JERUSALEMמשרד החוץ  
ירושלים64957  
בלמ"ס/  
אהב 106.106

אל:

הנדון: משלחת ג. - C.R.C. - ארבעה

ה - C.R.C. של נ"י רבת גדרת הארגונים האידזוריים של יהדות ארה"ב, מארגן מדי שנה משלחת מנהיגים ניו יורקית הכוללת מים מסדר עירוני, תקשורת (מקומית וארצית), קהילות אתניות, חברי קונגרס וכ'.

בחירת המשתתפים נסמכת על מעמדו הנווכתי וסיכויו בעתיד של האיש. העבר מוכיח שהליך נכבד משתתפי המשלחות בעבר הגיעו לעמדות כמרת בארץ"ב.

משה"ח רואה בפועל זה את אחת מפעולות ההסברה המדינית היוטר מוצלחות שנעשו כיום.

בראש המשלחת יעמוד מר מיכאל מילר מנכ"ל של ה - J.C.R.C. (ובנו של הרב ישראלי מילר - לשעבר י"ר ועידת הנשיאים).

גודה לך אם תארת לפגוש את חברי המשלחת ביום -

יזגבי, חנה דביר ממאו"ר טל - 303651 זהה"מ בטל - 303562 מרכזים את השיפול בנושא.

מח' צפונ אמריקה, משה"ח 19 באפריל 1990  
ב- מטה צבאי  
אפיק בון-

1011  
1011

משלחת ג'ון ג'ון (ט. ג'ון ג'ון) - J.C.R.C. - ארבעה

The Brookings Institution



Conrad  
OCT 10 1989  
10/25/89

1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. / WASHINGTON D.C. 20036-2188 / TELEPHONE: (202) 797-6000

820(1-2)

October 5, 1989

Mr. Martin Indyk  
The Washington Institute for  
Near East Policy  
Capitol Place  
50 F Street, N. W.  
Suite 8800  
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Martin,

Pursuant to my letter of September 25, 1989, concerning the Working Group on Arab-Israeli Peace that I am organizing, I am enclosing a brochure about the Chateau d'Esclimont, where the first session will be held on March 18-20. You will also find the final list of invited participants. An earlier list that was sent to you had been prepared for discussions with the Ford Foundation. We were only able to invite a somewhat smaller number of participants, and the final list is therefore slightly different.

If I have not already heard from you, please let me know as soon as possible if you will be able to participate. My fax number is (202) 797-6003, if that is a convenient way for you to communicate.

Sincerely,

Bill

William B. Quandt  
Senior Fellow

(5-1) 053

Proposed Working Group on Arab-Israeli Peace  
Potential Participants

Dr. Ziad Abu Amr  
Bir Zeit University

Mr. Joseph Alpher  
The Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies

Dr. Abd al-Munim Said Aly  
Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies

Ms. Helena Cobban  
George Mason University

Mr. Faisal Husseini  
Arab Studies Society

Mr. Martin Indyk  
The Washington Institute for Near East Policy

Dr. Ahmad Khalidi  
London, England

Dr. David Kimche  
The Eisenberg Group

Dr. Bassma Kodmani-Darwish  
Institut Francais des Relations Internationales

Dr. Viktor Kremeniuk  
Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada  
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Dr. Georgii Mirsky  
Institute of World Economy and International Relations  
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Professor Vitaly Naumkin  
Institute of Oriental Studies  
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

Dr. Mohamed Rabie  
Center for Research and Publishing

Dr. Ghassan Salame  
Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique

Dr. Nabil Sha'ath  
Arab Experts

Mr. Meir Shitreet  
Jewish Agency

General Ephraim Sneh  
The Golda Meir Association

General Aharon Yariv  
Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies

Dr. Dov S. Zakheim  
System Planning Corporation

SEP 29 1989

The Brookings Institution



*Fax to Babi ✓*  
*Discuss w. Sm/Bow/Jam.*

1775 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE N.W. / WASHINGTON D.C. 20036 / CABLES: BROOKINST / TELEPHONE: (202) 797-6000

*Foreign Policy Studies Program*

September 25, 1989

Mr. Martin Indyk  
The Washington Institute for  
Near East Policy  
Capitol Place  
50 F Street, N. W.  
Suite 8800  
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Martin,

During the past year, there have been a number of highly visible meetings between Israelis and Palestinians. On the whole, these seem to have been helpful in breaking down barriers to dialogue and in demonstrating the centrality of these two parties in finding a way toward a comprehensive Arab-Israeli peace. So far, however, such meetings do not appear to have produced much beyond statements of general principles. Nor is it clear that there has been much follow-up.

Since I believe in the importance of Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, and I am also interested in sustained analytical efforts to address core issues of a negotiated settlement, I approached the Ford Foundation earlier this year with a request to support a Working Group on Arab-Israeli Peace. The Ford Foundation staff has now agreed to recommend support for the first two meetings of this Working Group.

The idea is a simple one. Once or twice a year, a group of no more than twenty-five -- mainly Israelis and Palestinians, but also Americans, Soviets, Europeans and other Arabs -- would meet to discuss political, security and economic issues involved in an overall settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Participants would primarily be policy-oriented academics, some with former government experience. With few exceptions, I prefer not to include government officials, since the idea of the Working Group is to allow a wide-ranging examination of alternative approaches. Discussion should not be bounded by known government positions. Participants will, therefore, be invited on an individual basis, not as members of delegations.

September 25, 1989  
Page Two

Prior to each meeting, a certain amount of written material will be circulated to each participant, which will help to serve as a point of reference for discussions. A number of individuals will be asked to help organize the discussion of specific topics that fall within their areas of expertise.

On occasion, I may also invite representatives of one or another party to the conflict to join us for part of a session so that we can examine issues in depth with someone with direct responsibility in the conflict. All the proceedings will be off-the-record. We will not seek publicity for these meetings. Substantive ideas of interest will be recorded in a Working Group report to be circulated on a limited basis after the meeting.

The model I have in mind for this Working Group would include elements of the Pugwash and Dartmouth meetings. As you probably know, these groups have been meeting over the years to explore issues of arms control and U.S.-Soviet relations in an atmosphere conducive to a free exchange of views.

I am writing to you now in the hope that you will agree to participate in this Working Group. Our first session will be held on March 18-20, 1990. It will last for two and one-half days and will focus on political and security issues involved in a settlement. The group will also try to define issues that should be addressed in future meetings. We may want to commission some studies or discussion papers as well.

The meetings will take place at Le Chateau d'Esclimont, a lovely sixteenth-century estate about one hour from Paris. The facilities for a small Working Group such as ours are perfect; the atmosphere is conducive to both serious working sessions and informal talks; the food is superb; and there is privacy.

If you are able to participate, we will of course cover coach air fair to and from Paris, plus all other travel expenses, plus accommodations for two nights at Le Chateau d'Esclimont.

September 25, 1989  
Page Three

A tentative outline of the schedule for the first session of the Working Group is attached, along with a partial list of invitees. Needless to say, there will doubtless be some adjustment in schedule and participants. I would, however, like to get your agreement in principle to join the Working Group and to participate in the first session on March 18-20, 1990. If for any reason that date does not prove to be feasible, I would like you to try to keep April 22-24 free as long as possible as well.

I hope you will be able to join us. I am sure the Working Group will be a valuable experience and may even be able to make some contribution, however modest, to the search for ideas that can facilitate Middle East peacemaking. Let me know at your earliest convenience if you will be able to participate. If you have any questions, do not hesitate to call or write.

Sincerely,



William B. Quandt  
Senior Fellow

Preliminary List of Invitees

Israel: Aharon Yariv, Jaffee Center; Joseph Alpher, Jaffee Center; David Kimche; Meir Shitreet; Ephraim Sneh.

(Alternatives: Naomi Chazen; Yair Evron; Shai Feldman; Shlomo Gazit; Galia Golan)

Palestinians: Nabil Sha'ath; Faisal Husseini; Ziad Abu Amr; Ahmed Khalidi; Mohamed Rabie.

(Alternatives: Yezid Sayigh; Ibrahim Dakkak; Hani al-Hassan; Kaled al-Hassan; Salim Tamari; Radwan Abu Ayash; Jamil Tarifi; Ziad Abu Ziad)

Americans: Martin Indyk; Helena Cobban; Geoffrey Kemp; Dov Zakheim; Stuart Eizenstat.

(Alternatives: Harold Saunders; Samuel Lewis; Henry Siegman)

Soviets: Vitaly Naumkin; Evgenii Primakov; Viktor Kremeniuk.

(Alternatives: Irina Zvighelskaya; Robert Makarian; Georgii Mirsky; Sergei Rogov)

Other Arabs: Abd al-Munim Said Aly, Egypt; Ghassan Salame, Lebanon; Bassma Kodmany, Syria; Ahmed Mango, Jordan.

Others: Bill Ury, Harvard; Susanne Lane, Brookings; Ford Foundation; France; Britain.

Possible special guests: Abu Iyad; Gennadi Tarazov or Alexander Zotov; Dennis Ross or Dan Kurtzer; Usama al-Baz; Adnan Abu Odeh; Nimrod Novick.

### Tentative Schedule

#### First Day

Early afternoon	Arrive at Le Chateau d'Esclimont, Ablis, France
4:00 -- 7:00 pm	First session: Introduction; purpose of the Working Group; presentation on security issues in an overall settlement.
8:00 pm	Dinner

#### Second Day

9:00 -- 11:00 am	Discussion of security issues
11:15 am -- 1:00 pm	The Role of Third Parties in Security Arrangements
Lunch	
4:00 -- 7:00 pm	Presentations on political formulas for an overall settlement: Israeli and Palestinian perspectives
Dinner	[Possible guest speaker after dinner]

#### Third Day

9:00 -- 11:00 am	Discussion of political issues
11:15 am -- 12:30 pm	Conclusions; agenda for the next session in fall 1990 (economic issues).
Lunch	
Afternoon departure.	

THE GOVERNMENT SECRETARY  
Jerusalem, Israel



מזכיר הממשלה  
ירושלים

March 12, 1990

820(1-2)

Ambassador Morris Abram  
Permanent U.S. Representative  
to International Organizations  
Geneva

Dear Morris,

I read with great interest, excitement, respect and a deep sense of historic gratitude your statement of March 6, 1990, on Zionism and racism in the UN Commission on Human Rights. I will share it with the Prime Minister.

God bless you,

Cordially,

  
E. Rubinstein

(5-1) 358

6 37 775



UNITED STATES MISSION TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS  
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

(EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY)

46TH SESSION OF THE UN COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

S T A T E M E N T

BY

AMBASSADOR MORRIS B. ABRAM

AGENDA ITEM 21 - RACISM

March 6, 1990



(Check Against Delivery)

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6 37 228.

Madame Chairman:

As a young boy growing up in Fitzgerald, Georgia, I saw racism with my own eyes. I lived in a segregated world. We had racially segregated schools, drinking fountains, bathrooms, and restaurants. No area of public life was left untouched. Both the folkways and the laws of my state were completely fitted to this perverse ideology.

The basis of racism is the belief in the inherent superiority of a particular race and its right to domination. Webster's Dictionary defines racism as "the assumption that...traits and capacities are determined by biological race and that races differ decisively from one another." If you need a working definition of racism, look at Nazi Germany. As a young lawyer at the Nuremberg trials, I came face to face with the enemy. And that enemy was the ultimate manifestation of racism.

When I first sat on a segregated trolley, I knew that racism was evil. I knew it viscerally and I knew it intellectually. I saw that it debased and degraded the dignity of men -- all men. I knew that racism was repugnant to me as an American, that it stood in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of American democracy.

But I am not only an heir to the tradition of Jefferson and Lincoln. I am also an heir to the tradition of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. And as a Jew reared on the values of the Torah, the Jewish Declaration of Human Rights, I had an obligation to fight racism.

Why? Because the essential message of Judaism, its Golden Rule, diametrically opposes racism. The Commandment to love thy neighbor as thyself means -- if it means anything -- that all men are created equal. It means, as the Bible so often exhorts, that we extend kindness to the stranger. Exodus: "Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, seeing you were strangers in the land of Egypt." Leviticus: "You shall have one law, the same for the stranger as for one of your own country." This overwhelming concern for outsiders, the hallmark of the Jewish tradition, is the exact opposite of racism.

This empathy for the outsider exists notwithstanding the natural solidarity of Jews. As the Talmud says: "All Israel is responsible, one for the other." The Jewish

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commitment to the stranger stands out even more given the historical vulnerability of Jews. Each year on Passover, when Jews recall their deliverance from slavery, the Hagaddah reminds: --"In every generation they arise to destroy us." Jews recognize that because their existence has been so precarious, they need a sanctuary -- a place of refuge.

The Jewish connection to the land of Israel is primordial, continual and eternal. The name of this yearning is Zionism. It is as much an expression of the Jewish tradition as the belief in One God, and it has been at the center of the Jewish religion for three thousand years -- long before its modern manifestation as an international political movement.

The meaning of Zionism lies in its name. The historic Zion was a hill in ancient Jerusalem. It became synonymous with the City that King David established, and with the place where King Solomon built the Temple. The psalmist sat by the waters of Babylon and swore "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." And, in explanation of the unbreakable link between Judaism and Zionism, the Prophet Isaiah proclaimed: "And it shall come to pass in the last days...for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."

In the modern era, Zionism became the name for the national movement of the Jewish people that gave political expression to these ancient religious stirrings. But Zionism is more than an expression of ethnic pride of an oppressed people striving for the same rights as any other. The mother of my five children, herself not a born Jew, captured the essence of the link between Judaism and Zionism when we were at Nuremberg in 1946. Upon seeing the remnants of Hitler's camps straggling through Germany, unwanted anywhere except by their own people in Palestine, she turned to me and said: "A Jew is either a Zionist or without a heart."

The dream of Zionism is one of universal peace. The Zionist view articulated by the prophets was not limited to the good of Israel. Rather, it had an important universal component. "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore." Based as it is on these prophetic ideals, Zionism has been a model for all honorable national liberation movements. It has successively embodied a yearning for, a striving for, and finally an achievement of, tolerant nationalism.

5 37 dk

- 3 -

Madame Chairman: In my lifetime, I have known both racism and Zionism. The meaning of each term should be clear to all of us. And they are total contradictions.

The modern State of Israel is the realization of the Zionist idea. Whatever its failings, it cannot be branded racist. Anyone can be a Zionist. Indeed, anyone can be a Jew. There are black Jews and brown Jews, yellow Jews and white Jews. There are Jews from the East and Jews from the West. During the past ten years, Israel has absorbed several thousand black Jews from the horn of Africa, accepting them as full-fledged citizens. Would a racist country of white people have taken such action, at considerable expense and risk?

Moreover, Israel is a country more devoted to equal rights than any other in the Middle East. Christians and Moslems, Orientals and Westerners sit together in the Israeli Knesset. How many Jews, I wonder, sit in the Parliaments of those countries who are at war with Israel? As Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the former United States Representative to the United Nations, so eloquently stated on the floor of the General Assembly: "In logic, the State of Israel could be, or could become, many things, theoretically including many undesirable things, but it could not be and could not become racist unless it ceased to be Zionist."

Nevertheless, the United Nations General Assembly on November 10, 1975, passed its infamous resolution 3379, which stated "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." This is a lie as absurd and outrageous as the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which were distributed by the Czars, and which have resurfaced with every new wave of anti-Semitism in Russia.

Nor is this infamous resolution a cluster of idle words. Its sponsors well knew that the International Convention for the Elimination of Racism brands racist acts a crime. They have attempted to classify the essence of Jewry and the Jewish State as infected with criminality, and thus to replay Hitler's themes. And it is more than coincidence that this disgraceful General Assembly vote occurred on the thirty-seventh anniversary of Kristallnacht, Hitler's massive visitation of death and destruction on German Jewry.

The United Nations was founded in the wake of the defeat of Hitler's crimes, the result, in part, of his pernicious brand of racism. It would be an awful twist of

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- 4 -

history if the United Nations became the executor of Hitler's prophecy, and incidentally, branded as a criminal Hitler's longest and most persistent opponent -- Winston Churchill -- who proudly proclaimed that he was a Zionist.

This resolution was -- and is -- a disgrace. It blights this organization and each of its sponsors. And it is a blot on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

As we enter a new decade, let us call upon the General Assembly to erase the lie that taints our organization just as surely as the segregation of my youth tainted the American democracy.

Thank you, Madame Chairman.

820(1-2)

Mr. President,

I want first to wish you, and Mrs. Bush, as well as your family and the American people a very happy holiday and a successful New Year.

We have been following the firm and resolute way you handled matters, from the Malta summit, through the revolutionary events in Eastern Europe and especially in Panama. We are relieved and happy that the Panama operation is over, and we share your grief over the loss and injury of so many soldiers and civilians.

Rumania is a terrible example of what can happen when a dictatorship falls. But it also shows that even a regime like Ceaucescu's cannot stand against the will of the people.

These are great days for freedom and democracy and we, in Israel, rejoice together with our American friends.

In our corner of the world things are relatively quiet and we are continuing our efforts to achieve some progress on the peace process, in cooperation with your Administration.

We join you in the hope that the New Year will be a year of progress, peace and happiness for all mankind.

1275 AG-175  
ORRIN G. HATCH  
UTAH

KEVIN S. MCGUINNESS  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

135 RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
TELEPHONE: (202) 224-5251

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

COMMITTEES:  
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RESOURCES  
JUDICIARY  
INTELLIGENCE  
OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY  
ASSESSMENT  
SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON SECRET MILITARY  
ASSISTANCE TO IRAN  
AND THE NICARAGUAN  
OPPOSITION

December 6, 1989

His Excellency Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister of Israel  
71 Hayarkon Street  
Tel Aviv, Israel  
APO NY 09672

820 (1-2)

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

We share a common friendship with a most uncommon man, Rabbi Baruch Korff, of Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, formerly of Washington. He was among the first to welcome me many years ago when I first arrived in Washington, and has become a good and close friend. I have asked Rabbi Korff to convey to you the substance of the long discussion we had at lunch in the Senate Dining Room, on Tuesday, December 5. I found some of the ideas we discussed quite intriguing. Although the propositions are hypothetical, they may reveal a trend worthy of explanation.

I trust my dear and noble friend explicitly, and I deeply value his guidance and advice on foreign policy matters, especially with regard to my responsibilities on the Senate Intelligence Committee and Judiciary Committee. I trust you will appreciate both the urgency and sensitivity of our discussion. All this is in an exploratory stage and may greatly benefit the cause of peace in the Middle East.

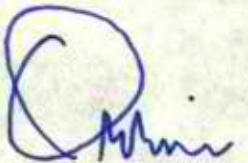
I have not always had the opportunity of professing my high regard for you and your patriotism. No man should be faulted for loving his country and his people. I only wish that there were more here in the United States who had the spirit, dedication, and love for my country that you have for Israel.

I would appreciate any comments you would have to offer following Rabbi Korff's visit with you, and your guidance for one who is committed to Israel's best interests. The Rabbi is making this journey to Israel, his fourth this year, on my behalf, and I would appreciate all the courtesies that may be shown to him. He is leaving on Tuesday, December 12, out of New York, and arriving on December 13, at 3:35 in Tel Aviv. You might wish to make arrangements for someone to meet him upon his arrival and conduct him to his home in Jerusalem.

His Excellency Yitzhak Shamir  
December 6, 1989  
Page 2

I cannot close this letter without also telling you that other members of the committees on which I serve would be greatly interested in the ideas that Rabbi Korff will discuss with you.

Sincerely,



Orrin G. Hatch  
United States Senator

OGH:kme

לחייפות:	ישראל/ו.ג.טון	ל:
סילוג:	טופס פלאק	14. פתרון:
אזור יזון חנוך:	אל: מצפיה	
22 בדצמ' 1989 14:30		
פס. סביק:	דע: ח. הורוביץ - לשכת רה"מ תפוצות	
מספר:	could you see the contact & meet me? guitar or?	
555	סא"ת: ק. לكونגרס	

פנימית הסנטור הצעי

במהלך למכות הסנטור להריים (שהועבר בדייף עייני לשכת השגריר) בבקשת כי יפגוש את הרוב ברור קורץ, המקשר הבוקר מגינס ראש משרד של הסנטור, עפיי בקשה הצעית וביישן לבדוק האם התקבלה מוגבה בלשונג לבקשתו

הסביר לו שהמכתב הועבר ללשכת רה"מ ואמור להגיע ביוםים אלה אולם לאור אישפוזו של רה"מ בבי"ח קיימת בעיה.

מגיננס אמר כי לא היה מודע לכך והוותיף כי יזדו לנו מאי אם נוכל ליצור קשר עם הרוב ברור קורץ השווה בארץ עוד כשבועיים (טלפון 098-635-0202) ובשביר לו חמאב.

אולי ה. הורוביץ יכול לפגוש את הרוב קורץ ובכך להיענות לבקשתו של הסנטור.

בזודה לחובבכם בראשית השבוע הבא. הסנטור הצע' מתענין באישית בקשר.

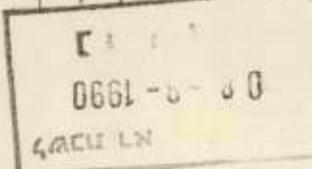
יורם אטינגר

תפוצה: - 36 -

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Lee J. Baker  
David Baker  
John D. Baker  
Kenneth E. Baker

Baker & Baker

REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS

July 30, 1990

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir  
Office of the Prime Minister  
3 Caplan Street  
Kiryat Ben-Gurion  
P O Box 187  
Jerusalem, Israel 91919



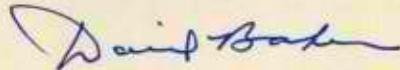
Dear Prime Minister:

In connection with the recent trip of South Carolina Governor Campbell, and our small group, I am happy to forward to you an editorial in the July 19, 1990, issue of the "State" Newspaper, Columbia, S.C. It is the largest newspaper in the State of South Carolina.

I mentioned several weeks ago to Mr. Lee Atwater, concerning the lack of a visit of the Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker, to the State of Israel. I urged him to talk to the President to encourage such a visit.

In thinking back about the record of President Reagan, and what he has done with the State of Israel, I would like to make a suggestion, for what it is worth. I suggest that you invite former President and Mrs. Reagan to Israel and present him with some honor. I believe it is proper and due in light of his steadfast support for the State.

Very truly yours,



David Baker

DB/gs

Enclosure

1966-1967 9

# The Israeli connection

WHEN it comes to inventiveness and creativity, the Israelis are among the best. The high-tech country they have developed on Middle East desert sand in just over four decades is solid proof.

The emigration of Soviet Jews, many of them scientists and skilled professionals, is expected to enlarge Israel's pool of talent. Recently, Gov. Carroll Campbell and state Agriculture Commissioner Les Tindal discussed with Israeli officials ways of tapping that expertise for the benefit of South Carolina. The focus was on research and development projects in the fields of reforestation and aquaculture.

Reforestation is especially significant to this state as a result of Hurricane Hugo, which laid waste countless acres of valuable forest

land. Timber losses were estimated at \$1.06 billion.

A slow but significant agricultural development of the '80s in South Carolina was diversification into areas such as aquaculture. That healthy trend continues. Last month, a California company announced plans to spend \$6.5 million to build a 9,000-square-foot hatchery-nursery for clams and lease 4,000 acres of mud flats from the state near Folly Beach. By 1994, the enterprise hopes to produce 46 million shellfish a year with a wholesale market value of \$11.5 million.

Israel is one of the United States' staunchest, most reliable military allies. Economic and scientific covenants that individual states work out with Israel benefit all parties and strengthen the close ties that have long existed between the two countries.

either state agency officials nor city officials must register as lobbyists in half of all states. For the first time, South Carolina, state agency lobbyists report their fiscal year expenses to the state.

Though California has levied fines of \$90,000, South Carolina and 36 of the states with lobbying laws have never imposed fines on a lobbyist.

Lobbyists are supposed to report the

See S.C., 11-D

6-to-1. The AP survey found more than 42,500 registered lobbyists at state capitols, an increase of 20 percent from the Council of State Government's registry four years ago when Ronald Reagan was in office.

"That new federalism Mr. Reagan gave

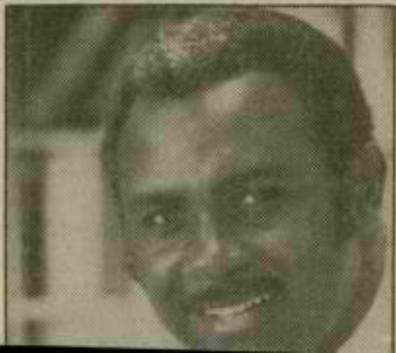
sons. Yet leaving out lobbyists from the way a bill becomes a law is like having a road map with only interstate highways. They are the access ramps, back roads, shortcuts, cut-offs and detours.

Lobbyists outnumber lawmakers nearly 6-to-1. The AP survey found more than 42,500 registered lobbyists at state capitols, an increase of 20 percent from the Council of State Government's registry four years ago when Ronald Reagan was in office.

"That new federalism Mr. Reagan gave

See Persuaders, 11-D

# mystique of invincibility



cast the race as a simple choice between an arch-conservative who is consumed with fringe causes and out-of-touch with the needs of the state, and a progressive workhorse devoted to education, health care, the bread-and-butter concerns of working families.

"That's where my message is: working families need a better break," Gantt said.

Republicans want a very different race, casting it as a struggle between a principled conservative and trusted

**B** Baker & Baker

REAL ESTATE DEVELOPERS

P.O. Box 12397 - Columbia, SC 29211-2397



Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir  
Office of the Prime Minister  
3 Caplan Street  
Kiryat Ben-Gurion  
P O Box 187  
Jerusalem, Israel 91919



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DANTE B. FASCELL, FLORIDA,  
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GEO. W. CROCKETT, JR., MICHIGAN  
SAM GEJDONSEN, CONNECTICUT  
MERVYN M. DYMALLY, CALIFORNIA  
TOM LANTOS, CALIFORNIA  
PETER H. KOSTMAYER, PENNSYLVANIA  
ROBERT G. TORRICELLI, NEW JERSEY  
LAWRENCE J. SMITH, FLORIDA  
HOWARD L. BERMAN, CALIFORNIA  
MEL LEVINE, CALIFORNIA  
EDWARD F. FEIGHAN, OHIO  
TED WEISS, NEW YORK  
GARY L. ACKERMAN, NEW YORK  
MORRIS K. UDALL, ARIZONA  
JAMES McCLURE CLARKE, NORTH CAROLINA  
JAIME B. FUSTER, PUERTO RICO  
WAYNE OWENS, UTAH  
HARRY JOHNSTON, FLORIDA  
ELIOT L. ENGEL, NEW YORK  
ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA, AMERICAN SAMOA  
DOUGLAS H. BOSCO, CALIFORNIA  
FRANK McCLOSKEY, INDIANA  
DONALD M. PAYNE, NEW JERSEY  
JOHN J. BRADY, JR.  
CHIEF OF STAFF

WILLIAM S. BROOKFIELD, MICHIGAN  
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

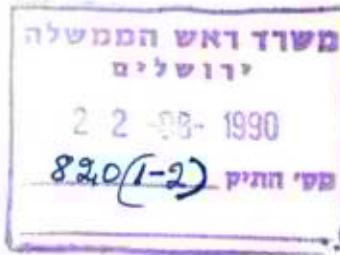
One Hundred First Congress  
Congress of the United States  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515



July 17, 1990

JOHN R. SINCLAIR  
MINORITY CHIEF OF STAFF

The Honorable Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister  
3 Kaplan Street  
Kiryat Ben-Gurion  
P.O. Box 187  
Jerusalem 91919  
Israel



Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

On behalf of Representatives Henry Waxman and Eliot Engel, I want to take this opportunity to thank you for taking time to meet with us during our visit to Jerusalem earlier this month.

We felt that we had an open and frank discussion with you on the status of current and future U.S.-Israeli relations, on the peace process and on other matters of mutual concern. Given the many demands upon your time we very much appreciated the extra time you provided us.

Thank you again for your time. We look forward to seeing you here in the United States.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE J. SMITH  
Member of Congress

LJS:jw

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ארכון מ

רשות הדואר  
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## 199 ראש הממשלה מר יצחק שמיר הכנסת ירושלים

## גפן יאל רונן פתח-תסובה

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**FELLOWSHIP CHURCH**  
P.O. Box 181191  
Casselberry, Florida 32718  
(407) 699-1011

May 30, 1990

Prime Minister Shamir  
Prime Minister's Office  
Jerusalem, Israel



Dear Prime Minister Shamir,

Recently I have become gravely concerned with the shift of U.S. policy relative to Israel. I have written to President Bush and to the senators representing my state expressing my concern and encouraging them to reconsider these changes. In addition, let me take this opportunity to express to you that many Americans love Israel and are actively involved in efforts aimed at securing stability and peace for you. Specifically, I want to speak a word of encouragement at this time when there appears to be an almost unified voice of opposition to Israel from the nations.

I am convinced that the G-d of your fathers has regathered you to Eretz Israel and that He will preserve you there. We here continually pray for your strength, vigilance, and perseverance. May G-d bless you.

Very respectfully yours,

*Kenneth E. Garrison*  
Kenneth E. Garrison  
Pastor



A Messianic congregation serving the Holy One of Israel in Messiah Yeshua

DOVER TOWNSHIP  
PENNSYLVANIA  
DUE APRIL 1  
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STATE OF ILLINOIS



7/17  
✓

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

LEE PRESTON

Representative in The General Assembly  
3rd Representative District

Chairman, Select Committee on Children

1739 W. Greenleaf Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60626  
312/743-6564

State Capitol  
Springfield, Illinois 62706  
217/782-5986

June 16, 1990

Honorable Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister  
of the State of Israel  
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Shamir:

Congratulations on your confirmation as Prime Minister, Labor and Social Affairs Minister and Environment Minister of the State of Israel. I wish you every success as you face the difficult tasks ahead for you and for Israel.

Best wishes and my prayers for a lasting and just peace.

Respectfully yours,

Lee Preston  
Lee Preston

LP:bl

משרד דאיין 13 שדרות דוד 11

29-06-1990

112-1-1

820(1-2) ✓



Bank of America

809-10  
6/9/90

James P. Miscoll  
Vice Chairman

August 21, 1990

Mr. Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister  
Minister of Environmental Affairs and  
Minister of Labor and Welfare  
Prime Minister's Office  
3 Kaplan Street  
Kiryat Ben-Gurion  
P.O. Box 187  
Jerusalem 91919, Israel

Dear Prime Minister Shamir:

My recent trip to Israel was a resounding success, both for me personally and for the organizations I represent, namely Bank of America, the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, the California State Chamber of Commerce, and the California Council on Science and Technology.

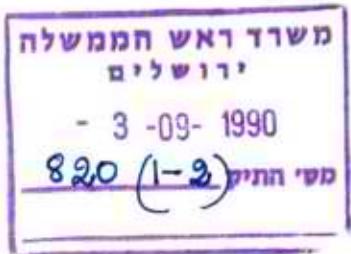
Many opportunities for future business and cooperation were discovered and discussed. I look forward to developing these in the near future.

Our discussions were of particular interest to me. I deeply appreciate your willingness to see me during a very busy time for you.

Thanking you for your hospitality and wishing you and Israel all possible good things, I remain, with Shalom,

Very truly yours,

*J. P. Min.*



ORRIN G. HATCH  
UTAH

KEVIN S. MCGUINNESS  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

135 RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
TELEPHONE: (202) 224-5251

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

COMMITTEES:  
LABOR AND HUMAN  
RESOURCES  
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INTELLIGENCE  
OFFICE OF TECHNOLOGY  
ASSESSMENT  
SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON SECRET MILITARY  
ASSISTANCE TO IRAN  
AND THE NICARAGUAN  
OPPOSITION

January 18, 1990

His Excellency Yitzhak Shamir  
Prime Minister of Israel  
71 Hayarkon Street  
Tel Aviv, Israel  
APO NY 09672



Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

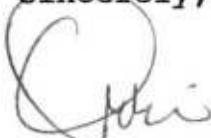
I had the pleasure of dining with our friend Rabbi Baruch Korff on his return to Washington. He briefed me on his visit with you. Thank you so much for taking time to meet personally with the Rabbi and listen to his message. Rabbi Korff is one of the most underestimated assets of our nation. He, more than anyone else, saved the institution of the presidency from collapse in time of great national crises. For this alone, the entire nation owes him a debt of gratitude.

I, for one, see nothing inconsistent in his sanguine loyalty to his country and dedication to Israel. He is privy to much that goes on in Congress, and I find him a most trustworthy ally.

In closing, I want you to know that at his urging, I was pleased to accept the cochairmanship of the Joint Commission on the American Promenade in Israel along with the invitation from Ehud Olmert. I have also invited President Bush to join you as a patron of this significant tribute to the United States.

Again, thank you for the courtesy you have shown my friend and me, and I look forward to working with you in the future.

Sincerely,



Orrin G. Hatch  
United States Senator

OGH:kme



1-1015-4  
2-1015-1

ה

יא' בתמוז תש"ז  
4 ביולי 1990  
סימוכין 2-6-721-2

(ז-1) 028

סנטור ג'ו ליברמן

הסנטור הזרוע מקו נטיקאט, נבחר ב- 1987 דמוקראט, מהאסכולה של SCOOP ג'קסון(Clinton) כລימור ליבראל בענייני פנים ונש בענייני חוץ.

יהודי שומר מצוות, גאה שאינו מסתיר את יהדותו.

היה סגן המושל של מד' נטו בטרם נבחר לפנאי.

כיו"ס אין יו"ש באחד מהוועדות הראשיות מבחיננו אך ראוי לציוו שחבר בוועדה לאיכות הסביבה ולא מון הנמנע שיתיחס לסוגיית תחנת המasser. בغالל מחויבותו לישראל כבר גילתה פעילות בענייננו והתבלט במיוחד בשל החקוק שהעביר יחד עם הסנטור מק בדבר השעית הדיאלוג עם אש"פ. ניתנו לומר שאילולא תיקו זה לא היה מנוגן כלשהוא על הממשלה לחיבב אותם להפסיק את הדיאלוג עם אש"פ.

בביקורת זה עומד בראש משלחת מטעם הבונדס אך ינהל שיחות מדיניות בנפרד. בבדיקה זו נפגש כבר עם שח"ל, לוי והתרשם רבות ממנו. ביום שישי עומד לטוס לקהיר ולהפגש עם מובארק.

Jerusalem, February 8, 1989.  
719-5

Senator George J. Mitchell  
United States Senate  
Washington DC 20510

820 (1-2)

Dear Senator Mitchell,

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, to acknowledge with thanks your letter of January 17, and in reply to convey to you the circumstances leading to the deportation order against Professor Tayseer Aruri

1. Mr. Aruri was born in 1945, and for the last few years has been living in El Bira, where he was a lecturer at the Bir Zeit University. He is known to be a senior activist in the Palestinian Communist Party. In 1972, after a five-year stay in the Soviet Union for the purpose of study, he returned to Judea and Samaria in the framework of family reunification.

2. Since the end of the 1970's Mr. Aruri has held senior positions in the Palestinian Communist Party. His membership in the organization included involvement in operational activities. For example:

- A. In April 1974 he was arrested after a branch of the Palestinian National Front and the military arm of the Communist Party was uncovered. In the investigations that followed his arrest, Mr. Aruri refused to cooperate with the interrogators, and therefore administrative arrest warrants were issued against him, which were in due course extended to January 1978.
- B. During his detention he continued with his subversive activities, and even checked possibilities for military action by the Palestinian Communist Party. After his release from prison in 1978 he renewed his activities in the Party and even strengthened his position within it.

C. Ever since the beginning of the "Intifada" Mr. Aruri was one of the central figures in directing the disturbances. Together with others in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza District who belong to the various PLO organizations, he instigated disturbances against law and order, nationalistic agitation, incitement and also organized and directed activities of national committees which were declared illegal.

D. A notebook containing information relating to his central role in the organization of the Intifada was found in his possession during his current detention. Among other things also in his possession were reports dealing with the activities of the national committees, stressing their central role in creating and escalating disruption of law and order and violent confrontations with the army, as well as a report about activists wanted for planning evasion of the security authorities.

3. We are well aware that deportation is a very harsh measure, and therefore we resort to it only after we are absolutely convinced that we have no other way of stopping a person's subversive activities. Based on the above information and past experience, there is no doubt that Mr. Aruri's detention would enable him to continue his subversive activities within the prison, as he has done in the past, and even to play an important role in directing the activities of others in the prison. The deportation of Mr. Aruri will significantly restrict his subversive activities.

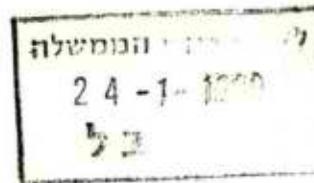
4. The deportation order that was served on Mr. Aruri was confirmed by the Advisory Committee to GOC Central Command. Mr. Aruri has appealed to the Supreme Court against this order, and his case is still pending.

Yours sincerely,

Arye Mekel  
Adviser to the Prime Minister  
on Political Affairs

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510



January 17, 1989

Mr. Yitzak Shamir, Prime Minister  
Office of the Prime Minister  
Hakiriya, Rupin Street  
Jerusalem, 91919  
Israel

820(1-2)

Dear Prime Minister Shamir:

I am writing to express my concern about the August 17 deportation order issued against Professor Tayseer Aruri.

Professor Aruri, a physicist at Bir Zeit University, was arrested on August 8, 1988. Although I have no personal knowledge of this matter, Amnesty International, which has adopted him as a Prisoner of Conscience, reports that Mr. Aruri was not formally charged or tried by any court before he was ordered deported. The apparent cause for this action, according to Amnesty, was Professor Aruri's peaceful political activities.

If these allegations are true, they are cause for serious concern. As you are aware, the United States opposes a policy of deportation, a practice outlawed by the Geneva Convention of 1949. I would like to underscore this U.S. position.

I urge you to inquire into this matter and, if the facts are as alleged, ask that you obtain reconsideration of the deportation order against Professor Aruri. Thank you for your attention to this matter.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

*George Mitchell*  
George J. Mitchell

ירושלים, כב' באב תחש"ג  
13 באוגוסט 1990

8.26 (1-2)

אל: חי'ב צחי חנగבי, חכנאח, ירושלים  
סאות: לשכת ראש הממשלה

חשיבותו אבטחונית של שטח

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בגדוף הקטע מה- ג.ג. סיימס מ-5.7.90.

4.5 מיליון אקרדים הם שטחה של ישראל בק"ץ חירוק, חילנו  
20,000 קמ"ר, או 20 מיליון דונם, וד"ל.  
הபכו תוכנו בין יוזעי רת"מ.

בברכה,

יששכר קצין  
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WE ARE GOING TO GET A LOT OF  
TIME, WHICH WE CAN USE

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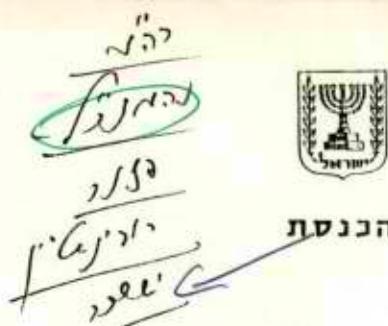
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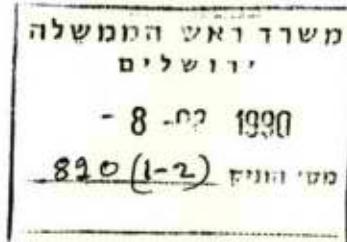


ה: 09-8-1990  
נתקבל

ירושלים, יי' במנחם-אב התש"ן  
1 באוגוסט 1990  
[ סימן : אן-174-1-1 ]

ל כ ב ו ד  
ראש - הממשלה  
מר יצחק שמיר  
י ר ש ל י מ

ל כ ב ו ד ,



### הנדוון: חשיבותו ההיסטורית של שטח

מצורף קטע מן העתון "ניו-יורק טיימס" מיום 5.7.1990. נושא הכתבה: מאמצי הצבא האמריקאי לצרף 4.5 מיליון אייקרים ברחבי ארה"ב לשטחי האש והאימונים שלו, בטענה שתוספת השטח חיונית להכנת הצבא למלחמה.

אני מביא את הנושא לידי עתך מושם משמעותו ההיסטורית:

הצבא האמריקאי, בתקופה של ירידת המתח הבין-מעצמי וללא איום ממשי כלשהו על ארה"ב - רואה חשיבות עליונה בהרחבת שטחי האש שלו, ובהיקף עצום.

צא ולמד מהי משמעויהם ההיסטורי של אזוריו יהודה ושומרון מבחינה היסטורית למלחמה עתידית - כאשר מדובר בזירה דוויתית-עוינית, בשטחים מצומצמים בהרבה יחסית לגודל הצבא, ואל מול איום מתחuid של תורקנות ערבית.

ב ב כ ח ,

ח"כ צחי הנגבי

# Land-Buying Drive by Pentagon Runs Into Stiff Resistance in West

By TIMOTHY EGAN  
Special to The New York Times

ELLENBURG, Wash. — The Pentagon is pressing its biggest land-buying since World War II, seeking to add nearly 4.5 million acres to its 25 million acres nationwide.

But opposition, led by several groups of Western land users that normally do not get along, has forced the Pentagon to table at least two of the biggest plans for base expansion and to send several others back to the drawing board.

While it may seem out of place for the military to be trying to expand its land holdings when the armed forces are being reduced and bases are folding elsewhere, Pentagon officials say faster, more sophisticated weapons coming into use require more space for training and war simulation. They add that the prospect of base closings in Europe means that more air space and public land will be needed in America for troop training and war exercises.

"We're training for the Super Bowl on a 50-yard field," said Capt. Rex

Rackowitz, commander of the Fallon Naval Air Station in Nevada, which is seeking to expand its bombing range by 181,000 acres. He added that most of the air station's targets were established in the 1950's and designed for airplanes that could turn a very tight circle.

## As Much Land as Indiana

The land being fought over is mostly desert and sage country in the West, public land once considered virtually useless but now prime recreation country for hunters and hikers, grazing land for cattle and sheep, and valuable wildlife habitat for species threatened by urban encroachment.

"Years ago, the desert was just the desert and nobody worried about it," Captain Rackowitz said. "When we started out here, Nevada had barely 100,000 people. Now there's more than

a million. I wish there was some other alternative. But we badly need the extra space."

Under Federal law, a branch of the service cannot add more than 5,000 acres to its land base without Congressional approval. Most of the land being fought over is managed by the Bureau of Land Management, a division of the Interior Department, and military ownership would require few major purchases.

Critics say the expansion plans, some of which date from the early days of the Reagan Administration's military buildup, have not changed with the decline of the cold war. They point out that if the acquisition of 4.5 million acres being sought by the military was approved by Congress, the Pentagon would control more land — nearly 30 million acres, roughly the size of Indiana — than the 26 million acres of national parkland in the lower 48 states.

"People are just sick and tired of the military taking whatever land they want," said Robert Fulkerson, director of Citizen Alert, a Nevada-based group that is fighting the expansion plans. "This time around, there's no way they are going to get this land without a fight."

## War Games and Broken Windows

Here in central Washington, as in the 12 other states where proposed base expansions have stirred resentment, environmentalists and ranchers have joined forces in an unusual alliance to fight the Pentagon.

For years the ranchers of this arid, wind-scrubbed desert have lived with the sound of artillery fire and helicopter gunships. War games were as much a part of the scenery as red mesas and coyotes' yelps.

When world tensions eased, the ranchers expected to share the land with fewer soldiers and tank columns.

Instead, the Army wants to add 63,000 acres to the 193,000-acre Yakima Firing Range. The cattle ranchers say the land is valuable for grazing. Environmentalists say live artillery shells

and lumbering tanks threaten wildlife, increase erosion and bring the thunder of war games closer to the communities in the Kittitas Valley. Those who live near the range have long complained of broken windows and shattered eardrums from the simulated combat of the Army's 8th Infantry Division.

## Ranchers Losing Grazing Land

Some ranchers, who have fought the Federal Government over wilderness proposals and wildlife refuges, are against the base expansions because they say the amount of privately owned land in the West has continued to shrink. In their view, the Government owns far too much already.

"Somebody has to slow down the land appetite of the United States Government," said Steve Halley, president

of the Washington Cattlemen's Association. "Cattlemen are losing grazing land all over, mainly because the Government is grabbing it."

Mr. Halley, who grazes cattle on land just across the Columbia River from the Yakima Firing Range, is a decorated Vietnam War veteran and a strong supporter of the Army. "We are in no way anti-military," he said. "But the Pentagon just has this shopping list of land. If they are allowed to take it, our livelihoods could suffer."

Some Pentagon officials say cattle and sheep could continue grazing on the lands once they are under military control. But ranchers have ridiculed that idea, saying it poses a severe safety hazard for cowboys and their cattle to be in a war zone.

Several of the transfer proposals have been bottled up this year in the

New York Times

July 5, 1990

House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs' Subcommittee on Public Lands, which is headed by Representative Bruce F. Vento, Democrat of Minnesota. Most lawmakers from the states concerned have lined up with those opposing the expansion plans.

Mr. Vento has accused the military of damaging the land they already use for bombing ranges and war games. He said tank tracks from maneuvers conducted by Gen. George S. Patton in the early 1940's still marred the desert of Southern California.

Mr. Vento also said the Pentagon's expansion plans were out of sync with the reduction of superpower tensions. "They need to rethink their entire strategy before they go ahead with any more of these wholesale withdrawals of public land," he said.

In the last year, the Defense Depart-

ment has been closing bases near urban areas and moving many of the troops and training exercises to the open spaces of the Western bases.

Public opposition has forced the military to delay plans in two of the states that are targets for the biggest expansions, Montana and Idaho. In the high plains of eastern Montana, the National Guard sought 718,000 more acres for war games. But in May, when the state refused to finance a study on the environmental effects of the proposal, the plan was put aside.

In Idaho, the Air Force has been seeking to expand its bombing range in the desert of the Snake River Plateau from 100,000 acres to more than a million acres.

Environmentalists, ranchers and Idaho politicians of both parties have lashed out at the plan, saying it would

put a huge section of southern Idaho off limits to most of the public and would litter the land with live ammunition.

"The threat of losing everything has brought all of us together," said Bill Brackett, a fourth-generation Idaho rancher.

Air Force officials said that although the Idaho plan would be re-evaluated, they still needed to at least double the space for bombing raids.

"Range expansion now is probably more critical than prior to the reduction of cold war tensions," said Capt. Sig Adams, an Air Force spokesman at the Pentagon.

In World War II, an Army battalion needed only 4,000 acres for adequate training. But a modern battalion, with its M-1 tanks racing along at 50 miles an hour, needs more than 80,000 acres, Pentagon officials say.

## לשכת ראש הממשלה

ירושלים, 1' בכסלו תש"נ  
4 בדצמבר 1989 ס' מוכן: 1-דש-397-7

820(1-2) ✓ ← אוניברסיטאות: שר החוץ, פרופ' משה ארנס,  
ו. ו. ← מרדען רובין, היושב הכלכל, בראש הממשלה

שלום רב ,

ראש הממשלה ביקשתי מהעיר אליכם זיכרו של היועץ  
האמריקאי לוועדה הכלכלית המשותפת ארה"ב - ישראל,  
להענותיכם.

ברכה,

## יוסף אחימאיר מנהל לשכת ראש הממשלה



## מצידות הממשלה

ירושלים, א' בכסלו ה'תשמ"ג  
29 בנובמבר 1989

שם ג. ר

אל: ראש הממשלה  
ממלא מקום ראש הממשלה ושר האוצר

מאת: מזכיר הממשלה

שלום רב,

השגריר בראו נטה לי את התזכיר המצח"ב, שנכתב לאחרונה ע"י ד"ר הרברט סטיין היועץ האמריקני לועדה הכלכלית המשותפת ארה"ב-ישראל, ושעניןינו המלצה לתכנית לדפומת מبنית משק הישראלי, מתוך חשש שהוא יהיי תוצאות כבדות. השגריר הוסיף, כי דעת המומחים הישראלים שונת מחייבת המצב הנוכחי (קטנים שני ושלישי במיזח), אך ביקש ליחס תשומת הלב לדעתו של סטיין, שהוא כלכלן מובהק וידיד ישראל (הוא בשעתו ככזה ע"י שולץ לחתימת ההבראה של 1985).

בברכה,

אליקם דובי נשטיין

Memorandum on the Economy of Israel  
by Dr. Herbert Stein

In response to the remarkably successful stabilization effort of 1985, productivity growth in Israel spurted for a while. Growth did not continue, however, and a period of stagnation set in. Now unemployment has risen, and while that might be understandable as part of a process in which workers move from inefficient to more efficient employments, the development of more efficient enterprises seems to be languishing. Perhaps Israel will now experience some cyclical recovery, but I do not see the signs of a durable movement to more rapid productivity growth.

Stagnation in the Israeli economy would have serious consequences, as the Israeli Government undoubtedly recognizes. It will complicate the absorption of the Soviet Jews, on whom Israel is counting. It will accelerate the emigration of some of Israel's most valuable workers. It will cause divisiveness and demoralization. It may generate a demand for inflationary measures that could bring back the terrible conditions of the early 1980s.

I think that the revival of economic growth in Israel should now be regarded as a matter of grave emergency, akin to the inflation emergency of 1985. Surely Israel faces this problem in difficult domestic and international circumstances, but one cannot count on the circumstances becoming more favorable if the problem is put off until later.

As I review the discussions in the JEDG, there has always been agreement on the general character of the measures needed to follow the stabilization program and to restore growth. These included tax reform, privatization, liberalization of capital markets, freeing of international trade and deregulation. Steps have been taken in all of these directions. But it seems to me that the steps have been disappointingly slow, and that this is at least partly responsible for the slow revival of productivity.

I appreciate that a program of structural reform cannot be put into effect overnight, as the stabilization program could be. I think, however, that a comprehensive action plan of structural reform, including specific steps to be taken on a specific time schedule, could be formulated and enunciated. This would be a way of mobilizing public support or, at least, finding out whether support exists. It would provide direction to all the branches of the Israeli Government that must participate. It would enable the Israeli public to hold the Government accountable for performance and would reduce the uncertainty in the private economic sector.

I hope that the Israeli Government will think about the possibility of drafting such a plan and what it would look like. Obviously, if such a plan is to be drafted, the Israeli Government will have to do it. But we would like to be helpful in any way we can.

16700  
820 (1-2) ✓

Jerusalem, August 31, 1989.  
505-7

Dear Senator,

I am most grateful to you for your letter of August 9, and for the enclosed material, which I read with much interest.

This letter gives me the opportunity of expressing our appreciation for your attitude, for your forthrightness and your support of Israel's positions and actions.

We have to continue the struggle against terrorism wherever it rears its ugly head. It is important that in this matter, as in others, the United States and Israel should work together, and should be seen to be working together.

We hope that as a result of our capturing Sheikh Obeid we shall bring back our boys who have been held hostage in Lebanon, and that the American hostages, too, will be released.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Yitzhak Shamir

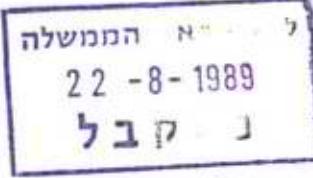
Senator Arlen Specter  
United States Senate  
Washington DC 205 10  
U S A

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

August 9, 1989

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir  
c/o Embassy of Israel  
Washington, D.C. 20008



820(1-2)

Dear Prime Minister Shamir:

I think you may be interested in proceedings on the Senate floor yesterday concerning the propriety under international law for kidnapping and forcible abduction as those definitions relate to U.S. and Israeli activities.

The enclosed materials quote the decision by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1886 upholding the propriety of a kidnapping and a 1952 decision by Justice Hugo Black, a noted civil libertarian, upholding forcible abduction.

For many years, I have advocated exercising long-arm jurisdiction to bring terrorists to the United States for trial as we recently did in the Fawaz Younis case.

As you will note in my floor statement, I then related the U.S. abduction of Fawaz Younis and the earlier abduction by the State of Illinois of Kerr to the arrest of Sheikh Obeid by Israel.

This issue provided occasion for a number of Senators including Senators Nunn, Heinz, Boschwitz, Warner, D'Amato and Wilson to speak favorably about Israel.

My best.

Sincerely,

  
Arlen Specter

AS/kr  
Enclosure





United States  
of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 101<sup>st</sup> CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 135

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 2, 1989

No. 107

## House of Representatives

The House met at 11 a.m.

The Chaplain, Rev. James David Ford, D.D., offered the following prayer:

We remember in this our prayer, O gracious and loving God, those who look to today and tomorrow with any anxiety or worry or fear. We know that Your power is sufficient for all our needs, and Your peace can give us an assurance of comfort that the world cannot give. May Your grace alleviate the cares of the day and give us that vision of hope which passes all human understanding. Hear our prayer, O God. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Pursuant to clause 1, rule I, the Journal stands approved.

Mr. STANGELAND. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 1, rule I, I demand a vote on agreeing to the Speaker's approval of the Journal.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the Chair's approval of the Journal.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. STANGELAND. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 300, nays 105, not voting 26, as follows:

(Roll No. 2011)

YEAS—300

Ackerman	Andrews	Archer	Espay	Kostmayer	Porter	Schneider	Thomas (GA)
Akaka	Annunzio	Aspin	Evans	LaFalce	Poshard	Schumer	Thomas (WY)
Alexander	Anthony	Atkins	Fascell	Lancaster	Price	Sharp	Torres
Anderson	Applegate	AuCoin	Fazio	Lantos	Purcell	Shaw	Torricelli

Barnard	Feighan	Laughlin	Porter	Schneider	Thomas (GA)
Bartlett	Fish	Leath (TX)	Poshard	Schumer	Thomas (WY)
Bateman	Flake	Lehman (CA)	Price	Sharp	Torres
Bates	Fippo	Leland	Purcell	Shaw	Torricelli
Beilenson	Foglietta	Levin (MI)	Quillen	Shuster	Towns
Bennett	Ford (MI)	Levine (CA)	Rahall	Siski	Traficant
Bereuter	Ford (TN)	Lewis (GA)	Ravenel	Skaggs	Traxler
Bevill	Frank	Lipinski	Ray	Skeen	Udall
Bilbray	Frost	Lloyd	Regula	Skelton	Unsoeld
Biggs	Gallo	Long	Richardson	Slattery	Valentine
Bonior	Garcia	Lowey (NY)	Rinaldo	Slaughter (NY)	Vander Jagt
Borski	Gaydos	Luken, Thomas	Ritter	Smith (FL)	Vento
Bosco	Gejdenson	Lukens, Donald	Robinson	Smith (IA)	Visclosky
Boucher	Gephart	Manton	Roe	Smith (NE)	Volkmer
Boxer	Gibbons	Markey	Rose	Smith (NJ)	Walgren
Brennan	Gillmor	Martinez (NY)	Rostenkowski	Snowe	Walsh
Brooks	Gilman	Martinez	Roth	Solars	Watkins
Broomfield	Gingrich	Rowland (CT)	Rowland	Spence	Waxman
Browder	Glickman	Matsui	Rowland (GA)	Spratt	Weiss
Brown (CA)	Gonzalez	Mavroules	Roybal	Staggers	Weldon
Bruce	Gordon	Mazzoli	Russo	Stallings	Wheat
Bryant	Gradison	McCurdy	Sabo	Stark	Whitten
Bustamante	Gray	McDermott	Saiki	Stenholm	Wilson
Byron	Green	McEwen	Sangmeister	Stokes	Wise
Callahan	Guarini	McHugh	Sarpalius	Studds	Wolpe
Campbell (CA)	Gunderson	McMillen (MD)	Sawyer	Swift	Wyden
Campbell (CO)	Hall (OH)	McNulty	Saxton	Synar	Wylie
Cardin	Hall (TX)	Meyers	Scheuer	Tallion	Yates
Carper	Hamilton	Mfume	Schiff	Tauzin	Yatron
Carr	Hammerschmidt	Miller (CA)			
Chapman	Hansen	Miller (WA)			
Clarke	Harris	Mineta	Armeny	Hastert	Penny
Clement	Hatcher	Moakley	Baker	Hefley	Rhodes
Coleman (TX)	Hawkins	Mollohan	Ballenger	Herger	Roberts
Combest	Hayes (IL)	Montgomery	Barton	Hiller	Rogers
Conte	Hayes (LA)	Moody	Bentley	Holloway	Rohrabacher
Conyers	Henry	Morella	Bilirakis	Hopkins	Roukema
Costello	Hertel	Morrison (CT)	Billey	Hunter	Schaefer
Coyne	Hoagland	Morrison (WA)	Brown (CO)	Inhofe	Schroeder
Crockett	Hochbrueckner	Mrazek	Buechner	Ireland	Schuette
Darden	Horton	Murtha	Bunning	Jacobs	Sensenbrenner
Davis	Houghton	Myers	Chandler	James	Shays
de la Garza	Hoyer	Nagle	Clay	Kolbe	Sikorski
DeFazio	Hubbard	Natcher	Clinger	Kyl	Slaughter (VA)
Dellums	Huckaby	Neal (MA)	Coble	Lagomarsino	Smith (MS)
Derrick	Hughes	Neal (NC)	Coleman (MO)	Leach (IA)	Smith (TX)
Dicks	Hutto	Nelson	Coughlin	Lewis (CA)	Smith (VT)
Dixon	Jenkins	Nowak	Courter	Lewis (FL)	Smith, Denny
Donnelly	Johnson (CT)	Oakar	Cox	Lighthfoot	(OR)
Dorgan (ND)	Johnson (SD)	Oberstar	Craig	Machtley	Smith, Robert
Downey	Johnston	Obey	Crane	Madigan	(NH)
Dreier	Jones (GA)	Olin	Dannemeyer	Marlenee	Smith, Robert
Durbin	Jones (NC)	Ortiz	DeWine	Martin (IL)	(OR)
Dwyer	Jontz	Owens (NY)	Dickinson	McCandless	Solomon
Dynamis	Kanjorski	Owens (UT)	Dorman (CA)	McCullum	Stangeland
Dyson	Kaptur	Pallone	Douglas	McCrery	Stearns
Early	Kasich	Panetta	Duncan	McGrath	Stump
Eckart	Kastenmeier	Parker	Edwards (OK)	McMillian (NC)	Tauke
Edwards (CA)	Kennedy	Patterson	Pawell	Michel	Thomas (CA)
Emerson	Kennelly	Payne (NJ)	Fields	Miller (OH)	Upton
Engel	Kildee	Payne (VA)	Frenzel	Molinari	Vucanovich
English	Kleczka	Pease	Gallegly	Moorhead	Walker
Erdreich	Kolter	Pelosi	Gekas	Murphy	Weber
Espay	Kostmayer	Perkins	Goodling	Nelson	Whittaker
Fazio	LaFalce	Pickett	Goss	Parris	Wolf
Fazio	Lancaster	Pickle	Grandy	Pashayyan	Young (AK)
Fazio	Lantos		Hancock	Paxon	Young (FL)

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

## NOT VOTING—26

Berman	Hefner	Rangel
Boehlert	Hyde	Ridge
Burton	Lent	Savage
Collins	Livingston	Schulze
Cooper	Lowery (CA)	Shumway
DeLay	McCloskey	Sundquist
Dingell	McDade	Tanner
Florio	Oxley	Williams
Grant	Packard	

□ 1125

So the Journal was approved.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

## PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE

The SPEAKER. Will the gentleman from California [Mr. CAMPBELL] please come forward and lead the House in the Pledge of Allegiance.

Mr. CAMPBELL of California led the Pledge of Allegiance as follows:

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. LUNDREGAN, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a joint resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S.J. Res. 57. Joint resolution to establish a national policy on permanent papers.

## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill, H.R. 2990, and to include extraneous matter along with tables and charts.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

## DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES, AND EDUCATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1990

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 2990) making appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education, and related agencies, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1990, and for other purposes; and pending that motion, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that general debate be limited to not to exceed 1 hour, the time to be equally divided and controlled by the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] and myself.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question was on the motion offered by the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. NATCHER].

The motion was agreed to.

□ 1129

## IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill, H.R. 2990, with Mr. SHARP in the Chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent the bill was considered as having been read the first time.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the unanimous-consent agreement, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. NATCHER], will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. NATCHER].

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

(Mr. NATCHER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Chairman, as you know, this bill, H.R. 2990, provides appropriations for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services and Education, and also for 17 related agencies.

Mr. Chairman, it has been a distinct honor and a privilege for me to serve on the Appropriations Committee with my friend, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE], the ranking minority member on this subcommittee and the ranking minority member on the full Committee on Appropriations.

The same applies to every member of the subcommittee on both sides.

Mr. Chairman, we are friends on this subcommittee, and I want the Members to know that we have never had a vote on the subcommittee, a vote whereby we have had differences of any description in the markup of this bill.

□ 1130

It requires from 11 weeks to 14 weeks to bring this bill out to the full committee. This is a good bill, Mr. Chairman, and we recommend it to the House.

Today we are under our section 302 ceilings in both budget authority and outlays. The bill appropriates \$155 billion for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education and related agencies.

Of this amount, only \$43,139,000,000 is for discretionary programs. The balance of it is mandatory programs—entitlements. We defer action and hold funds in reserve totaling \$2,030,000,000 in this bill, Mr. Chairman, for unauthorized programs, programs that we believe will be authorized sometime during the balance of this calendar

year. This includes funds for the child care initiative.

I think we and the other members of the subcommittee did the right thing when we held in abeyance, \$2,030,000,000 to protect this bill. Not only that, for the programs that may be authorized in the future.

Mr. Chairman, I have served with my friend, the distinguished gentleman from Mississippi, my chairman [Mr. WHITTEN] on this committee for 35 years. He is also a member of our subcommittee. He always helps us and we appreciate it.

Mr. Chairman, H.R. 2990, which we present to the House today, makes appropriations for the fiscal year 1990 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education and for 17 related agencies, including the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the Railroad Retirement Board.

The bill includes appropriations totaling \$155,192 million for these departments and agencies, which is \$4,301 million over the amounts requested by the President, and \$13,398 million over the comparable amounts available for 1989. This amount includes advance appropriations of \$16,772 million for fiscal year 1991 for various public assistance entitlements such as Medicaid, aid to families with dependent children, supplemental security income, and black lung benefits.

Entitlement programs, whose funding levels are determined by authorizing legislation, comprise more than 72 percent of the bill's total appropriations. The bill includes \$112,053 million for these entitlements, an increase of \$2,335 million above the amount requested by the President and \$10,676 million above the amounts available for these programs in fiscal year 1989.

For discretionary programs, whose spending is controlled through the annual appropriations process, the bill includes \$43,139 million for fiscal year 1990, which is an increase of \$1,966 million over the President's budget and \$2,722 million above the amount available for fiscal year 1989. In addition to these amounts, consideration of \$657 million of budget estimates for 1990 has been deferred because reauthorizations have not yet been enacted for these programs. These unauthorized programs include refugee and entrant assistance, family planning, and the ACTION agency. The committee has reserved funds for these programs, as well as for new program authorizations such as the child care initiative and increased funding for Head Start.

In addition to the amounts appropriated in the bill, large sums are automatically appropriated each year for labor, health and human services, and education programs without consideration by the Congress during the annual appropriations process. The principal items in this category are the unemployment compensation, Social

Seahy	Murkowski	Sarbanes
Evans	Nickles	Shelby
Eberman	Packwood	Simon
Kear	Pell	Simpson
Atsunaga	Riegle	Specter
Skulski	Robb	
Moynihan	Roth	

The PRESIDING OFFICER. A quorum is present.

## VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is, Is it the sense of the Senate that debate on S. 1352, a bill to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1990 and 1991 for military functions of the Department of Defense and to prescribe military personnel levels for such Department for fiscal years 1990 and 1991, and for other purposes, shall be brought to a close? The yeas and nays are automatic under the rule. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll. Mr. CRANSTON. I announce that the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. ASSER], is necessarily absent.

Mr. SIMPSON. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS] and, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WALLOP], are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WALLOP] would vote "yea." The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. SKELBY). Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 84, nays 13, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 159]

## YEAS—84

Arms	Exon	Mack
Strong	Ford	Matsunaga
ucus	Fowler	McCain
ntsen	Garn	McConnell
en	Glenn	Metzenbaum
gaman	Gore	Mikulski
nd	Gorton	Mitchell
ren	Graham	Moynihan
chwitz	Gramm	Nickles
aux	Grassley	Nunn
an	Harkin	Packwood
mpers	Hatch	Pell
nick	Hatfield	Pressler
ns	Hefflin	Pryor
fee	Hollings	Reid
ts	Humphrey	Riegle
hran	Inouye	Robb
en	Johnston	Rockefeller
rad	Kassebaum	Roth
nston	Kasten	Rudman
ato	Kennedy	Sanford
forth	Kerrey	Sarbanes
chle	Kohl	Shelby
oncini	Leahy	Simpson
id	Levin	Specter
enici	Lieberman	Thurmond
enberger	Lott	Warner
	Lugar	Wirth

## NAYS—13

deley	Jeffords	Simon
d	Kerry	Symms
on	Lautenberg	Wilson
nz	McClure	
ns	Murkowski	

## NOT VOTING—3

er	Stevens	Wallop
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The PRESIDING OFFICER. On this vote the yeas are 84, and the nays 13. Three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn having voted in

the affirmative, the motion is agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, may I have the attention of Senators?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will be in order.

## VISIT TO THE SENATE BY THE SPEAKER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS

Mr. MITCHELL. The Senate today is honored by the presence, at the rear of the Chamber just outside the door to the Democratic Cloakroom, of the Right Honorable Bernard Witherfall, the Speaker of the British House of Commons.

I hope all Senators will join me in extending a warm welcome to the Speaker, and will come up and introduce themselves momentarily.

Mr. Speaker, welcome.  
(Senators rising, applause.)

## NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEARS 1990 AND 1991

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, we are now ready to proceed on amendments. It would be my hope that those Senators who are involved in the impeachment proceedings could be recognized, and handle their amendments here in the next hour.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I thank the Chair. I thank my distinguished colleague from Virginia.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is not in order, if the Senator from Pennsylvania will suspend.

The Senator from Pennsylvania is entitled to be heard. The Senate will be in order.

The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have at the desk three amendments, Nos. 597, 598, and 599 which relate to a single purpose, and that is to provide for intelligence so that we may make a determination of where hostages are located, a determination as to what it would take to rescue them, and a determination as to what resources it would take to bring their malefactors, the criminals, the terrorists who have taken them into custody to the United States for trial under our long arm jurisdiction.

This is a subject, Mr. President, that I have spoken about at considerable length on this floor and in committee sessions through the introduction of legislation which has passed the United States Senate, to extend our so-called extraterritorial jurisdiction to authorize the FBI for example, as in the case of Fawaz Yunis, to reach outside the United States to take ter-

rorists into custody, bring them back to the United States to take terrorists into custody, bring them back to the United States for trial, as Fawaz Yunis was when he was tried and convicted in a Federal court here in Washington, DC, and sentenced to life in prison.

Mr. President, there are a variety of procedures that the United States and other peaceful nations can undertake in order to try to deal with the problems of international terrorists. But one of the approaches is a diplomatic approach. Of course, at the present time, there are intensive efforts being made—

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a brief question? Has the Senator sent the amendments to the desk or called them up?

Mr. SPECTER. I have the amendments at the desk and I have decided to speak about them for a few moments before I seek unanimous consent to have a summary amendment which comprehends all three of them.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question then?

Mr. SPECTER. I would yield with unanimous consent that I do not lose my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, it is the intention of the managers of the bill at an appropriate time to question each amendment as to its germaneness. As soon as the Senator from Pennsylvania provides the desk and the managers with copies, that will be ascertained.

Mr. SPECTER. These amendments have been at the desk for some time. They are at the desk, I have inquired of the Parliamentarian, and have had a determination that they are germane. They call upon the Secretary of Defense as well as the Director of the CIA to file certain reports as to the amount of funding necessary to find our hostages, to—

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I simply invade the time of the distinguished Senator—

Mr. SPECTER. Wait a minute, I do not yield the floor unless I maintain—

Mr. WARNER. To finish the second part of my question.

Mr. SPECTER. I want it understood that I maintain my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania has the floor.

Mr. SPECTER. I am glad to yield to my colleague, if it is understood that I do not lose any right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I was not in any way trying to impede, but to ask the second part of the question and wish to just inform the Senator from Pennsylvania by virtue of the question that it is our intention to follow this procedure with each Sena-

tor so those Senators observing the proceedings here can prepare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania may proceed.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank my colleague from Virginia. I am aware of the germaneness rule. I have checked with the Parliamentarian in advance. I have received the opinion that the amendments are germane because they call upon the Secretary of Defense for certain action along with the Director of the CIA, and they are not binding. So they have been deemed to be germane.

Mr. President, as I was saying, what these amendments seek to do is to obtain a determination as to what additional funding would be necessary to have additional human intelligence, to be able to find where our hostages are located, so that we can do more to secure their release so that we do not have a tragedy of the assassination, the execution, the brutal murder, apparently, of Colonel Higgins as reported in the last couple of days.

I share the anxiety of all Americans over the fate of Joseph Cicippio and the other hostages. Reports from Lebanon yesterday indicated that the threat to kill Joseph Cicippio had been postponed for 48 hours. Mr. Cicippio, a Pennsylvanian, was serving as the deputy comptroller of the American Embassy in Beirut when he was kidnapped by the Revolutionary Justice Organization almost 3 years ago, on September 12, 1986. I spoke with Joseph's brother, Thomas Cicippio, earlier this morning and am extremely troubled by the anguish that the family is being forced to endure. In this regard, I support the position stated by the President earlier today that he is leaving no stone unturned in seeking a resolution to the current standoff and believe that under this amendment, we will be able to dedicate additional resources toward this end.

Mr. President, there are a variety of procedures where we can deal against terrorism. As I was saying, one of them is the diplomatic line. There are intensive efforts being undertaken at the present time through diplomatic channels. There are possibilities of economic sanctions which might be imposed, perhaps as to a blockade of Beirut to try to put pressure on those in Lebanon who accommodate the terrorists.

There are other alternatives, Mr. President, such as taking action against a nation which sponsors terrorism. A nation which comes to mind as behind the murderers of Colonel Higgins and holding others hostage is the nation of Iran.

We do know that in 1986 forceful action was taken against Libya when there was very solid evidence that Libya was involved in a terrorist incident resulting in the death of an American soldier in a discotheque in West Berlin.

And it may be, Mr. President, that the option of action against Iran is something that will have to be very, very seriously considered especially if the assassinations, executions or murders of Americans continue, among those who are held hostages.

Regarding the response of the newly elected President of Iran, President Rafsanjani, expressing regrets about the execution of Colonel Higgins, we appreciate that expression, but there is some reason to wonder about the sincerity of the leaders in Iran. There is a succinct statement in today's Washington Post which sets it forth in a very cursory way.

President Rafsanjani has shown growing sensitivity to his personal image abroad, as evidenced by his immediate retraction of remarks made May 5th calling for American, British, French citizens to be killed for every Palestinian death in the Israeli-occupied territories.

Now, Mr. President, it is fine to make peaceful statements, but I think it is unfortunate to have to retract remarks like that, and to have made remarks like that in the first place. Today's Post also has a front-page story, "Killings in Austria, Emirates Laid to Iran." It has some very detailed statements as to activities of Iran in worldwide terrorism.

There is a companion story which relates to "Austria Said To 'Kowtow' To Iran In Murder Case."

The matter is succinctly set forth in the first paragraph as follows:

The unresolved murder in Vienna nearly 3 weeks ago of three Iranian Kurdish activists has aroused criticism from the press and opposition politicians that Austria's Government is avoiding condemnation of suspected Iranian involvement because of fear of retribution.

When you put these events, Mr. President, together with known activities of the Iranians in sponsoring and in backing terrorism, there is an enormous question as to how much more Western civilized society can tolerate in terms of what Iran is doing. But whatever ultimate proofs may be established on the incident in Austria, whatever may be ultimately established as to the sabotage on flight 103—establish that the responsibility of whatever group or nation may be behind that—Mr. President, I do believe that there is a great deal more which can be done by the United States in terms of financing and human intelligence to locate our hostages so that we may take appropriate action.

It is an intolerable situation, Mr. President, that the most powerful nation in the history of the world stands helpless when its citizens are being held hostage. It is just an intolerable situation that we are not locating those hostages, to make a determination as to whether they can be rescued with reasonable safety. It is an intolerable situation when there are warrants of arrest outstanding for terrorists, such as warrants of arrest outstanding for terrorists who hijacked

TWA flight 847, and that more is not being done to find the locale of those terrorists and to bring them to justice.

Mr. President, the response of our country to terrorism has been, frankly, pitiful. We have a long series of terrorist activities which have gone undetected and unpunished, in terms of finding the perpetrators.

In April of 1983 the U.S. Embassy was bombed in Beirut and 16 U.S. citizens died. A few months later in October of 1983 the U.S. Marine barracks was bombed in Beirut; 241 Marines lost their lives. Since 1985 four Shiite terrorists are believed to have taken 12 hostages in Lebanon. We know the tragedy aboard TWA flight 847 with Robert Stethem, the naval diver that was brutally murdered. We know the incident of the *Achille Lauro*, resulting in the death of Leon Klinghoffer; the failure of the Italians to let us have Abu Abbas. The failure of the Yugoslavians to extradite Abu Abbas to the United States. We know of the killing of almost 300 innocent citizens aboard Pan Am flight 103.

Mr. President, the one success story that the United States has had on the issue of terrorism has been the incident involving Fawaz Yunis, who was brought to the United States for trial and for conviction. That is a very, very important victory, Mr. President, and one that we ought to try to emulate for the future. Fawaz Yunis was involved in the hijacking of an airplane where U.S. citizens were involved. His identity was determined; he was lured onto a boat in the Mediterranean by the FBI. He was taken into custody in what was essentially stated an abduction. He was brought back to the United States for trial. He was tried in the Federal courtroom a few blocks from where we stand. He was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Mr. President, I think it is important that there be an understanding of the rule of law and the international law on the appropriate, proper activities in taking people into custody like terrorists and bringing them back to the United States for trial, or to any country which exercises long-arm jurisdiction.

Mr. President, a landmark case in this field was established back in 1886 when the Supreme Court of the United States, in a case captioned *Kerr versus Illinois*, found such conduct appropriate in apprehending suspects. As set forth on page 438 of the United States reports, the Supreme Court articulated the facts, and I will get the citation of the volume in a moment.

The defendant being in the city of Lima in Peru, after the offenses were charged to have been committed, was in fact kidnapped and brought to this country against his will.

In that context, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that it was appropriate to bring *Kerr* to trial. That opinion has been upheld, Mr. President, in a longer series of cases,

one of which the opinion was written by a noted Libertarian, Justice Hugo Black, in 1952, where the rule of Kerr versus Illinois was upheld. I think it is worthy to focus on the exact language where Mr. Justice Black says at page 522 of 342 U.S. reports:

The power of the Court to try a person for a crime is not impaired by the fact that he was brought within the court's jurisdiction by reason of forcible abduction.

This issue, Mr. President, was thoroughly aired when the legislation was enacted by the Congress in 1986, introduced by this Senator, which makes it a violation of U.S. law to maim, assault, or murder a U.S. citizen by terrorists anywhere in the world.

This principle has been discussed at length in a series of hearings in the Judiciary Committee, in the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, when the remedy was commented upon by former Secretary of State Shultz, by Director Webster of the CIA, by former Attorney General Meese, by legal counselor Abraham Sofaer. Without putting all of their comments into the RECORD, Mr. President, the essence of it is that there is an agreement that where there can be a surgical strike, where we have identified a terrorist, where we have probable cause to believe that he has committed acts in violation of the laws of the United States by long-arm jurisdiction, that it is appropriate and sound as a matter of U.S. public policy to go in and arrest that individual.

Mr. President, I suggest that such activity ought to be expanded by the United States and that we ought to do whatever it takes by way of human intelligence of which it is totally insufficient—the CIA is very strapped for funds—to move forward along this line to locate our hostages, to locate the terrorists for whom there are warrants of arrest outstanding, and to use this as a very important tool to bring these villains, these brutal criminals back to the United States for trial.

Mr. President, the celebrated situation where Israel took action against Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid was carried out in a similar way. It was an exercise of long-arm jurisprudence against Sheik Obeid, who had violated the laws of Israel and in fact has violated the laws of the United States as well. According to the reports, Sheik Obeid is a party to the kidnaping of Colonel Higgins.

Israel, Mr. President, used the same approach exercising extraterritorial jurisdiction in taking Sheik Abdul Karim Obeid into custody for continuing terrorist acts against Israeli citizens including the holding of Israeli hostages.

This is a justification under international law which differs from the obvious fact that Israel is in a state of war and Sheik Obeid was a few miles from Israeli borders and was in fact engaged, planning, and carrying out terrorist activities.

It is plain, Mr. President, that under international law, Israel had the right to take Sheik Obeid into custody, as the United States Government had the right to arrest Fawaz Yunis in the Mediterranean and just as the State of Illinois had the right to arrest Kerr and abduct Kerr in fact from Peru back in the 1830's.

Mr. President, when Israel was successful in their bold raid to free hostages in Entebbe in 1976, Israel was widely praised and Israel has been praised for its successes in fighting against terrorism.

But when a country like Israel makes an aggressive effort against terrorism, it is impossible to guarantee that every act is to be successful.

In our international fight against terrorism, Mr. President, it seems to this Senator that more is going to have to be done by way of resources and there is going to have to be more aggressive action. It is simply not enough to sit back after William Buckley is brutally murdered in Lebanon and do nothing, or Peter Kilborn is brutally murdered and do nothing or Robert Stethem is brutally murdered by terrorists and do nothing, and Leon Klinghoffer is brutally murdered and do virtually nothing, and to stand back when our marines and the U.S. citizens at the Embassy have been so brutally murdered.

Mr. President, this really is minimal activity, and what my resolutions call for, is to call upon the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Central Intelligence Agency to make a report by September 1 to the Senate Committee on Armed Services, the House Committee on Armed Services, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and the House Permanent Committee on Intelligence on efforts to locate American hostages in Lebanon, the resources dedicated to locating these hostages and how additional resources in terms of funds and personnel can be effectively utilized to locate these hostages and obtain their release.

I would suggest that a nation with the wealth of the United States can well afford to put more into human intelligence to find out where these hostages are located and more into human intelligence to find out where the terrorists are located, especially those for whom we have warrants of arrest and to take the necessary action to bring them to justice through the statutes which the Congress has passed in 1984 and 1986.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a brief observation?

Mr. SPECTER. I will with unanimous consent that I do not lose my rights to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I commend the Senator from Pennsylvania for this amendment. I have been very concerned for some time about whether we are allocating enough of our in-

telligence resources to what I would call on-the-ground human intelligence. We have no doubt the best intelligence capabilities in the world in terms of our technical intelligence, without getting into detail on that.

But I sometimes have the haunting fear that, as we became more and more inclined to technical intelligence, and as we get better and better, we may be slighting our human intelligence. No matter how advanced we became technically, there is no substitute in situations like we have just been through, the horrors we have been through, with this murder of Colonel Higgins, if it did occur and whenever it occurred, there is no substitute for having people who are on the ground. It is riskier, it is tougher, it is more dangerous, in almost every respect, but I think we need to reassess our human intelligence capabilities.

I am not reaching any conclusions. It may be that we have done everything we can do. But I do believe the Senator brings up a very good point.

I also would like to say that I think we ought to be very cautious about our criticism of what Israel has done. Certainly all of us have questions. Certainly, we want to be able to have a dialog with Israel and find out some of the things they may have known and may still know that we do not know. But I think we ought to be very cautious: It is not easy dealing with terrorism, and they are sitting right there next door at all times. Had Israel's recent actions produced the opposite results, if there had been a complete release of the prisoners, we would be then saying it was a marvelous action.

We have applauded in the past when they have been successful.

So we ourselves ought to be very cautious, and I think we ought to also review our capabilities in human intelligence and so I would be very much in support of the Senator's amendment.

If he would yield just a moment beyond that, we have been unsure for a long time where Colonel Higgins was held. We have been unsure at points about even what country he was in. We are unsure now as to whether he has been murdered. We are unsure whether photos are real. We are unsure about the dates.

I am not saying all of that could have been easily answered, but I am saying we ought to be asking some soul-searching questions about whether we can do better.

I remember about 3 years ago when we had a hostage taking on an airplane, this has probably been 3 or 4 years ago, and at that stage I raised an awful lot of questions about when a plane was sitting on a tarmac for a good many days what kinds of capabilities we had in identifying the people who perpetrated it, and I found out that our capabilities in that re-

spect were very limited. I will not go into more detail on that subject.

But there are some tough questions that need to be asked.

In the meantime, as much as we deplore the events that have taken place, I think we ought to be cautious about rushing to judgment in terms of what the Israelis have done, and I think we ought to also recognize that they may very well be holding an individual who has been involved in killing or kidnapping a number of Americans. We do not know that yet. We do not have proof. But we ought to ascertain that before we leap to conclusions.

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, will the Senator yield without losing his right to the floor?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania has the floor.

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If the Senate will be in order, the Senator from Pennsylvania has the floor.

Mr. SPECTER. I will yield to my colleagues, and the Senator from Minnesota asked me first, if I may do so without losing my right to the floor, and I so ask unanimous consent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, if the Senator will just yield to the Senator from Virginia for a minute, at some point I would like clarification of exactly what it is we are considering. There are three amendments at the desk. The Senator has not called them up. I have been handed a copy of what purports to be a fourth. And at some point I would like to address some of the technical aspects of these amendments.

Now, could the Senator enlighten us as to what procedure he desires to follow and when?

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, when the time is right I intend to call amendment No. 597 for consideration of the Senate.

Mr. WARNER. That would be the pending amendment when the time is right.

Mr. SPECTER. When the time is right.

Mr. WARNER. I hear Senators addressing "we agree with the Senator."

I certainly concur in the observations of the distinguished chairman about the State of Israel surrounded 360 degrees constantly by terrorist groups. We have to take that into consideration when we examine certain actions that they have.

But I want to get into specifics here as soon as we can about this amendment, and I would hope the Senator would direct the Senate's attention to the exact document that is under consideration at the earliest possible time.

Mr. SPECTER. Well, I have directed the Senate's attention to a specific document.

But I would be willing to yield to the distinguished Senator from Pennsylva-

nia, my colleague, Senator HEINZ, without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. President, I just want to commend my friend and colleague from Pennsylvania, Senator SPECTER, for an extremely learned and thoughtful analysis both of the history of terrorism, the status of both domestic and international law, and the capability and capacity of our intelligence service to do as good a job as we would like them to do.

I do not think I have had an opportunity in the many hours that I have spent on this floor to hear one of our colleagues give as careful and reasoned an analysis and to propose such a rational and appropriate solution.

I might add that this is extremely timely not just because the DOD authorization is on the floor but because the life of a constituent of Senator SPECTER's and mine, Joe Cicippio, hangs in the balance. As we stand here, the minutes are ticking away and perhaps less than 48 hours from now the perpetrators of the absolutely heinous murder of Colonel Higgins may perpetrate another on our constituent Joe Cicippio.

It is completely accurate, as my colleague from Pennsylvania has said, that we have not been able to do as much as we would like, but that, as he also says, it is not true that we can do nothing.

If there was one argument—and it is a small one—I would have is that when he listed the large number of encounters that our servicemen and U.S. nationals have had with terrorists, where we have been successful, I would add one other successful example to the list and that is Libya, where we learned, beyond reasonable doubt, of Libyan involvement in blowing up our servicemen in Germany, and we took effective action directed at the perpetrators of that in Tripoli, including Mu'ammar Qadhafi. This country does have the knowledge and it does have the capability to take action against those who would take American lives.

Obviously, I think it is very important that whoever holds Joe Cicippio understands clearly that we have that capacity and capability and that there are many of us in the Senate who are going to urge or demand that the President take just as strong an action in the case of Mr. Cicippio and anybody else who might be next as we took in the case of Libya. And that means, Mr. President, so there is no mistaking it, the use of force to exact retaliation, retribution on anybody who is guilty. I hope that those who are listening are under no illusions, that we can do it, and we will do it.

I am very pleased the President has been reviewing every type of option, that all are on the table, be they covert or overt, including the use of strong and deadly force.

I thank my colleague from Minnesota as well as my colleague from Pennsylvania for yielding. But the hours and minutes are ticking away and I do not want them to be ticking away against the life of Joe Cicippio.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield?

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I have quite a bit more to say. It is the lunch hour and many of my colleagues have other commitments. I would be delighted to yield to the distinguished Senator from Minnesota, again if I may do so without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I agree with the statements of both the Senators from Pennsylvania as well as the distinguished chairman of the Armed Services Committee, Senator Nunn.

The free world simply cannot exclude the use of force in dealing with terrorism. If we do so, we give terrorism a free ride; we, in fact, license terrorism. If you remove the penalty from terrorism, civilized society will suffer.

The New York Times yesterday ran a very fine editorial in this regard. And in it, it said:

As a matter of principle and common sense, Israel and other nations subjected to terrorism have a right to pre-emptive and punitive action. Yes, that includes military operations for both rescue of hostages or kidnapping of terrorists. Yes, there are risks, sometimes tragic, for the innocent.

Without that right of self-defense, civilized nations would all be held hostage by the most brutal.

Mr. President, that New York Times editorial said it well and said it conclusively; it also stated American policy. As some of my predecessors here on the floor have stated, it is the American policy to react and to react with force to terrorism. Libya has been cited as case No. 1. When we found that the Libyans indeed were responsible for acts of terrorism in Berlin, we took very harsh and punitive action.

Another case is that of the *Achille Lauro*, which was also cited. When we established that Abu Abbas was the mastermind of that act of terrorism, we found him on an Egyptian plane, forced that plane down in Italian territory, and took him into custody. Regrettably, he was later released.

In a third case, when we determined that Abu Nidal was undertaking an effort to spread terrorism to the western Hemisphere, the FBI snatched Mahmud al-Abed Ahmad in Venezuela. President Reagan authorized such "snatch, grab and deliver operations" in January 1986.

Should we have allowed terrorism to spread to the Western Hemisphere? Should we reward terrorism by inaction? Should we criticize those who take active roles against terrorism? Should we equate those active roles against terrorism with the acts of the

errorists themselves? I think that would be a serious mistake, Mr. President.

The Senator from Pennsylvania has mentioned case No. 4, Fawaz Yunis, who blew up a Jordanian airliner. I do not believe any American lives were lost, but terrorism indeed occurred. Our forces lured him on to a boat and eventually abducted him and tried him, as the Senator from Pennsylvania has noted.

Grenada is case No. 5. When we saw American lives in jeopardy, we acted. We must use force selectively and judiciously, but we must use it to respond to terrorism. That is American policy. It does not tolerate terrorism.

This is what the President means, in my judgment, when he says that we will hold those committing acts of terrorism responsible. American actions have proven that this is our policy.

I was frankly, somewhat surprised and disappointed by the President's remarks, which appeared to equate to some degree, Israel's counterterrorism with acts of terrorism by the Hezbollah. Certainly, that should not be one.

Furthermore, breaking off the President's schedule and heightening the attention given to terrorism is not, in my judgment, the way to bring terrorism to heel.

I also must say that I consider the remarks of some who link the possible death of Colonel Higgins to the abduction of the Sheikh to be not helpful. First, it is not at all clear that the Colonel is dead, and I hope that he is not. Second, the claim of his execution as first made at the time of the very regretful downing of the Iranian airplane. As I recall, terrorists also said on number of occasions that another American, Mr. Buckley, had been killed.

It is my hope that the Colonel is still alive. I would simply point out that equating an act against terrorism with an act of terrorism does not contribute to the war against such uncivilized behavior. Instead I associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from Pennsylvania, the Senator from Georgia, and the Senator from Indiana who spoke before the press, as well as Senator McCONNELL of Kentucky, who stated those who fight terrorism cannot be held responsible for terrorism.

Mr. President, I indeed agree with that position.

Mr. WARNER. Will the Senator yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota has the floor.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. I agree with the inclusion, "without the right of self-defense, civilized nations would all be held hostage by the most brutal."

I ask unanimous consent the entire New York Times editorial from which just quoted be printed in the Record. There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

(From the New York Times, Aug. 1, 1989)

BLAME Hezbollah

Who is responsible for the killing of Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins of the Marines, if indeed he has been killed? Was Israel right or wrong in kidnapping Sheik Abdul Obeid, whom it believed to be a terrorist perhaps involved in the colonel's kidnapping? What should the United States do now?

Early last year, a faction of the Shiite Hezbollah kidnapped Colonel Higgins, a member of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization in Lebanon. It contended that he was an American spy, but produced no evidence. Last week Israel abducted Sheik Obeid, insisting he was a terrorist leader. Immediately, the group holding the colonel threatened to execute him unless the sheik was freed. Yesterday the colonel's kidnappers announced that they had carried out their threat and distributed a videotape that they said showed his hanging.

Hezbollah, a group that proclaims loyalty to Iran, deserves full blame if the colonel's death occurred as reported. Iran, with influence over Hezbollah, would also bear responsibility.

Israel's abduction of the sheik in no way excuses Hezbollah's killing of an innocent man. The terrorist faction, calling itself the Organization of the Oppressed on Earth, merely used the abduction as a justification.

Bob Dole, the Senate minority leader, did not help clarify matters. "Perhaps a little more responsibility on the part of the Israelis one of these days would be refreshing," he said. Nor did the U.N. Security Council. It correctly called for the release of all hostages, but in so doing, it equated abducting Colonel Higgins with kidnapping Sheik Obeid.

As a matter of principle and common sense, Israel and other nations subjected to terrorism have a right to pre-emptive and punitive action. Yes, that includes military operations for both rescue of hostages or kidnapping of terrorists. Yes, there are risks, sometimes tragic, for the innocent.

Without that right of self-defense, civilized nations would all be held hostage by the most brutal. How else can terrorism be contained in places like Lebanon, where no central government can enforce justice, or in countries like Iran and Libya, which give succor to terrorists?

But the questions here is not only one of principle but of effectiveness. If the Israeli goal was to abduct the sheik to set up an exchange for captive Israelis, is that a wise practice? Did Israel think there was a good chance the fanatical Hezbollah would approve an exchange? These are hard questions that Israel needs to address.

Israel does not consult the United States in advance of such operations. And Washington wisely does not seek such involvement. Only if Israel were to link its actions to the fate of Americans should Washington be advised. Nothing now suggests that Israel tied Sheik Obeid's future to Colonel Higgins's.

President Bush yesterday expressed his "outrage." He has to do more, quickly. First, he needs to put the blame squarely on Hezbollah and its sponsor, Iran. Second, he has to warn Hezbollah against carrying out its latest threats to kill more hostages—a warning that Hojatolislam Rafsanjani, the new President of Iran, who seems to want improved relations with the West, needs to heed as well.

Mr. WARNER. Would the Senator from Pennsylvania allow the Senator from Virginia to very briefly propound a question to the Senator from Michigan?

Mr. SPECTER. Without losing my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WARNER. I say to my friend from Minnesota, I associate myself with his remarks. We must always bear in mind the State of Israel literally for 360 degrees around its border is faced with most unusual circumstances. When we judge their actions we have to, the best we can, put ourselves in their position, living in that type of environment in sharp contrast to the relative security that we have in the United States enjoy.

Would my colleague not agree with that observation?

Mr. SPECTER. As long as I do not lose my right to the floor, Mr. President, this is fine with me.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Yes, I do.

Mr. WARNER. I thank the Senator. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from New York had asked for leave to interrupt briefly. He has other commitments and I would yield to him, again on the understanding I do not lose my right to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I ask the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, Senator SPECTER, to be included as a cosponsor of this amendment.

Mr. President, I want to compliment Senator SPECTER for bringing this matter to the floor of the Senate; for saying loudly and clearly that it is about time we began to ascertain what we are doing with the billions of dollars of assets that we have authorized and appropriated in the intelligence area.

I, for one, find it absolutely shocking that we do not have a better command of the hostage situation, not only to the seizure of Colonel Higgins but all of the others as well, some of whom have been held for 3 years or more.

Mr. President, I think it is about time that we began to demand an accounting of those committees who are charged with the responsibility of ascertaining that we are getting some results. Because it is pretty tough to go back and to justify to the American public time after time the statement that these terrorists are just a dark shadowy group.

How many times do we have to wait for these incidents to take place before we see to it that the assets that we are funding begin to develop and bear some fruit.

I have not seen it.

Mr. President, I want to take this occasion to say that Israel did exactly what it should have done in taking preemptive action against terrorists. If a nation or group sponsors terrorism, if they are promoting terrorism, then they should be at risk. And it is about

time that the United States began to do more than spout rhetoric and pay lip-service. We keep saying that we are going to defend ourselves and our people, but we have been doing a pretty poor job up until now.

I have faith in our President and I think some people have misread him. I think he has the intestinal fortitude to do what should and must be done. This is one Senator who will support whatever action our President chooses to take, including the use of military force. Some people say, "Oh, do you mean that you would place at risk other lives by this?"

I would suggest that if we do not take some real action, risking lives is exactly what we are going to be doing; not only those who are held hostage now but we are going to precipitate a situation where terrorists will believe that they can continue to act and the United States will remain nothing more than a big, helpless giant.

Mr. President, before I conclude, let me say that there is no doubt in this Senator's mind that the terrorists attempted to mask the true circumstances of the murder of Colonel Higgins. We have heard from reports abroad, that there is a good likelihood that the colonel was killed some time ago. For anyone to say: Mabye he is alive is speaking nonsense. What poppycock. The terrorists actually masked the killing of the colonel.

They did not want to make a trade. Do you want to trade when you give somebody 24 hours? They could not trade because Colonel Higgins in all likelihood had already been murdered.

They can disprove this by making available the body of the colonel, but they haven't.

I think, Mr. President, it is about time for us to say to the Iranian leaders that we are going to hold you responsible for these acts of terrorism, because the evidence is conclusive and overwhelming in situation after situation. We should tell them to be prepared to pay the price.

We have the ability. I think the American people will support our President if he decides to use force.

Let us understand that state-sponsored terrorism and the use of these groups by the Iranians and other governments is nothing less than war. We have to be realistic and understand that sometimes the use of deadly force is absolutely necessary if we are going to defend our people and their legitimate interests. I support the distinguished Senator from Pennsylvania, Senator SPECTER, in his undertaking of this amendment and his courage in coming forward and placing this in the public view for discussion. We cannot continue to do nothing and give further encouragement to Iranians and others who have used this form of dreadful war. And that is what it is, it is a dreadful war which terrorists are waging on humanity.

I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania and thank him for his courtesy.

Mr. WILSON. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield for a question?

Mr. SPECTER. I ask how much time I have left, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Thirty-eight minutes remain.

Mr. SPECTER. I do yield for a question.

Mr. WILSON. I thank my friend from Pennsylvania. Not at all parenthetically, Mr. President, I commend him for the amendment that he is proposing. I ask my friend from Pennsylvania, he is a member of the Intelligence Committee. I am not. I do not wish that in responding he violate any security or confidence.

But to establish the facts, we do not know at the present time whether or not Colonel Higgins is alive and we do not know whether or not he was executed as is contended by the Hezbollah. Is that correct.

Mr. SPECTER. I would respond to the distinguished Senator from California by saying that all I know about Colonel Higgins is what I read about him in the newspaper and that is, it appears that he has been executed. However, when the execution occurred, we do not know for sure.

Mr. WILSON. I would ask my friend what I am sure will seem a rhetorical question. It seems to me this makes a rather compelling case for the amendment that he is pressing.

The question, I suppose, would be: Does he agree? Obviously, he does because he is offering the amendment.

Let me then ask him this question. The Israeli Government has conducted a raid and they have abducted Sheik Obeid. In the New York Times editorial to which the Senator from Minnesota made reference, the statement is made that a democracy, a civilized nation, is required to defend itself and in fact the quote is that, in terms of the options available, "Yes, that includes military operations for both the rescue of hostages or kidnapping of terrorists."

Is it not true, I would ask my friend from Pennsylvania, that Sheik Obeid has been very clearly identified as the mastermind of terrorist operations, including the abduction of Western hostages, including American citizens?

Mr. SPECTER. I would respond to my friend from California by saying that the information which we have received is just that.

Mr. WILSON. Does my friend agree with the New York Times, and I will tell him that I do, that a civilized nation, in order to defend itself and avoid risking the taking of further of its citizens as hostages, is fully justified in conducting the kind of operation that resulted in the kidnapping of this terrorist chief?

Mr. SPECTER. I would say to my friend from California that there is no question about the propriety of Israel's conduct under international law for a number of reasons. One reason is that Israel continues to be in a state of war with the nations in the Mideast,

with the exception of Egypt, and that the response of Sheik Obeid is in the context of self defense. Beyond that where you have specific acts of criminality, the extra territorial jurisdiction is something that Israel can rely upon, just as the United States relied upon extra territorial jurisdiction in the case of Fawaz Yunis.

One of the things I think people do not understand and it is a message I have brought forward on a number of occasions that the Supreme Court of the United States in very blunt language in *Kerr versus Illinois* said it was appropriate in law enforcement—this is language of the law enforcement in 1886—to kidnap and bring to his country and against his will. Kerr was in Peru and then another civil libertarian Justice Hugo Black said in 1952 that it was appropriate to bring a person into the jurisdiction of a State by "forcible abduction."

So that when we are dealing with criminals, they do not have to be a terrorist. They can be guilty of much lesser offenses, as these two cases involved, Kerr being a fraud case; that is a hardball matter and that kidnapping and forcible abduction is appropriate.

When Israel took that action, and many have criticized Israel for taking that action, it was entirely consistent with international law, with United States law, with recognized principles even for those who were noted civil libertarians.

Mr. WILSON. I thank my friend and, in fact, I think he has very eloquently, complete with citations, made the point that is in the New York Times editorial "without that right of self defense civilized nations would all be held hostage by the most brutal."

Let me ask a further question of my friend: Given the fact that some of the criticism of Israel has been on the basis that there was not adequate consultation with the United States about what the impact of this abduction of Sheik Obeid might mean in terms of American interests, would he agree that it is also quite arguable that if we are seen in the United States as essentially controlling decisions of the Israeli Government, that that would in itself have a very, very dangerous effect in terms of prompting the Hezbollah and other terrorist organizations to seize yet more Americans to bring greater pressure upon this Government in order to in turn bring pressure upon Israel?

Mr. SPECTER. The distinguished Senator from California raises a very good question which I will answer in a couple of ways. One is that Israel is a sovereign nation and has a right to defend itself. As the distinguished Senator from Virginia pointed out, it is surrounded 360 degrees by hostile forces on all sides, and it has to make its own decisions for its own self defense.

Second, if Israel starts to clear its judgments with the United States, it

mply makes the United States a party to the action. It makes the United States involved. It is analogized to the 1981 action by Israel in taking out the Iraqi nuclear reactor where the action was independent so that there was no complicity or involvement by the United States.

If Israel is to check every movement of the United States, it goes against its sovereignty and it makes the United States, in effect, a party to that action.

It seems to this Senator that when the news of Colonel Higgins' assassination broke 2 days ago there was great concern and there was great anguish all over the world, including in the U.S. Congress. There were a number of responses which were made. This Senator refrained from saying anything. I could go back to the books and analyze the situation and deal with it in a principle context with the citations of authority as to what the United States ought to do by way of threats, abduction, if necessary, to bring these terrorists to justice and what Israel had done.

Some people responded critically of Israel because of the horrible situation which, apparently, the result of which fell Colonel Higgins. Some criticized the United States for not telling it what to do. Israel was not under any obligation. In fact, it did the United States a favor in not communicating that information. It was under no obligation to do so. In fact, it would put the United States in a compromised position. What happens next? Are we to check with us on everything? Are we our brother's keeper?

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I thank my friend from Pennsylvania. I think his response is a correct one. I do not wish to take more of his time. I would say there seems to be a swelling torus on this floor. I would associate myself with the remarks not only of the Senator from Pennsylvania but those that I heard made by the Senator from Georgia, the Senator from Virginia, and the eloquent comments from the Senator from Minnesota.

It seems to me that we should not rush to judgment in a situation where there is, in fact, a justification cited by the Senator from Virginia for our ally to make its own decisions based upon its own needs and also we should respect, as has the Senator from Pennsylvania, on the consequences if, in fact, we were seen as dealing in effect with an agent of the United States. There is a very grave danger, in my judgment, that the United States could be subjected to the kind of pressure that would lead to the taking of more hostages. I think, Mr. President, that the amendment offered by the Senator from Pennsylvania is a very, very good thing, not only because of what it proposes to do in bringing a defect in our own intelligence apparatus, our own capacity. I think in referring the amendment, he has also

focused very wisely upon the setting in which we find ourselves in the Middle East.

I thank him for the generosity in yielding some of his time to my questions, and I thank him for his amendment which I support.

Mr. WARNER. Will the Senator from Pennsylvania yield for the purposes of letting the Senator from Virginia concur in his observations that we should not have an informal coordination between two sovereign nations on this issue of covert action.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I will conclude here in a few moments. I would like to thank my distinguished colleagues. There has been a parade of Senators who have come to the floor to support the amendment.

I am especially grateful to the distinguished Senator from Georgia, Senator NUNN, for his comments about the need for more HUMINT, which is the abbreviation for human intelligence. I think that is especially significant because the Senator from Georgia serves on the Intelligence Committee as I do. While we obviously cannot make any disclosures as to what we know in the secret proceedings of the Intelligence Committee, it is appropriate to make the comment that we do need more human intelligence; that the grave difficulty of locating our hostages, those great difficulties are very well known.

I think it very important, Mr. President, that there be a clear understanding of the propriety of action of the United States in taking someone like Fawaz Yunis in custody. As the Supreme Court said, it is appropriate to engage in a kidnapping under those circumstances; appropriate to engage in a forcible abduction under those circumstances so that we can see the power of a law enforcement tool when we take somebody in custody pursuant to a warrant of arrest. There has emerged from this discussion some support for broader action perhaps against Iran.

At this moment this Senator is not prepared to endorse that action. I do not do so because I am not privy to all of the facts which the President has available. I think that is really an executive decision. I do agree however, with my colleague, Senator HEINZ, who pointed out to the second success on Libya beyond Fawaz Yunis. I made a comment about that in my earlier remarks when discussing the possibility of action as to Iran. I believe that the comments which have been made by my colleagues on the floor today not only go to support the thrust of this amendment for more human intelligence so we can have more law enforcement a la the Fawaz Yunis case. Senator NUNN has made the comment that we should not be critical of Israel and when Senator WARNER has made the comment about the 360-degree encircling of Israel. Senator D'AMATO has spoken forcefully about the propriety of Israel's action, as has Senator WILSON and as has Senator BOSCHWITZ.

and Senator HEINZ as well. The record will show specifically what each has had to say, that is important in terms of the relationship between the United States and Israel, but it is important as to the propriety of extraterritorial jurisdiction to bring terrorists to justice.

AMENDMENT NO. 597

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, at this time I do ask that amendment No. 597 be formally considered by the Senate. I ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, it may be that the Senator from Pennsylvania's amendment, the report he is calling for was just too much because I see the Senator from Minnesota has lost his stack and I understand they represent reports, but the amendment the Senator from Minnesota just endorsed also requires a report. I happen to think it is a very important report. I think all of us ought to be aware of it. You cannot have too many reports as we have just witnessed.

I say in all seriousness I think this is a necessary report. I frankly had already discussed with the chairman of the Intelligence Committee, Senator BOREN, the need to get into this area in the Intelligence Committee more than we have done. There has already been a good bit of attention. But I think this is a very timely set of observations by the Senator from Pennsylvania. I urge the Senate to support the amendment.

May I ask the Senator from Pennsylvania first, though, whether this amendment would also dispose of the other two amendments? It is my understanding the Senator has combined those. Is that correct.

Mr. SPECTER. Yes. I intend to only call up 597 and I do not intend to proceed as to 598 or 599.

Mr. NUNN. Does the Senator feel it would be appropriate for him to withdraw those other two amendments?

Mr. SPECTER. I am glad to do so at this time.

Mr. NUNN. We are trying to shorten our list here as the Senator from Minnesota shortens his stacks over there.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I do ask for the yeas and nays on 597.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. First the clerk will report the amendment.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER] proposes an amendment numbered 597:

At the appropriate place, insert:

It is the sense of the Senate that the Secretary of Defense and Director of Central Intelligence shall report by September 1, 1989, to the Senate Committee on Armed Services, the House Committee on Armed Services, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence on efforts to locate American hostages in Lebanon, the resources dedicated to locating these hostages and how additional resources, in terms

August 2, 1989

of funds an personnel, can be effectively utilized to locate these hostages and obtain their release.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, does the Senator believe he needs the yeas and nays on this amendment? The reason I ask is because we were in very late last night. We have a whole lot of amendments. If we are going to have the yeas and nays, I would at least like to try to have several of them at one time. We have two different impeachment panels meeting and we are trying to be sensitive at the request of the leaders to their time. I guess my question to the Senator is, does he need the nays and yeas?

Mr. SPECTER. I do need the yeas and nays, but I will be glad to defer the vote and will be glad to stack it on a 10-minute vote later in the day.

Mr. NUNN. Will the Senator be amenable to any time in the next couple hours?

Mr. SPECTER. Yes, I would be.

Mr. NUNN. For the benefit of Members, what I would prefer to do is to see that we have another amendment that has to be voted on, try to combine them and have a 15-minute and a 10-minute rollcall.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Virginia put that in the form of a request?

Mr. SPECTER. Before the Senator does that, if he would yield, I would suggest—I am on the Hastings impeachment panel. We have tried to work out the stacking at 5:30. We have Judge Hastings himself on cross-examination. We are about to resume in another 20 minutes.

Mr. NUNN. What time does that resume? It may be that we would be better off having this rollcall vote now.

Mr. SPECTER. That resumes at 1:30. There is time consistent with the duties of the impeachment committee, but I would be glad to put it off.

Mr. NUNN. Under those circumstances unless I have a leadership objection, it might be better to go ahead and vote while we are in recess. I hope we do not have very many rollcall votes today because if we do, we are going to have a hard time getting through this list of amendments even after cloture. If the Senator could suspend for a couple minutes and let the Senator from Minnesota begin, we would like to get the view of the majority leader on this as to the timing.

Mr. SPECTER. I do ask for the yeas and nays, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 653

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment. Is the Senator from Minnesota seeking consent to temporarily set aside the

amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania?

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. I do. I seek that consent, to set aside the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Hearing none—

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, what was that request?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the consideration of the amendment at this time by the Senator from Minnesota?

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, is the amendment germane?

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, if I may—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair has not had the opportunity to review the amendment.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, if I may—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment has not been filed.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I am willing to stipulate that the amendment is not germane. I will speak about it for just a moment or two, if I may, and then withdraw the amendment. I understand that in the very strict postcloture environment the germaneness of amendments is very strictly scrutinized.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

Mr. President, I will speak briefly—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment first.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Bosc-  
hwitz] proposes an amendment numbered  
653.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

#### SEC. . TERMINATION OF CONGRESSIONAL REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) TERMINATION.—Effective on January 1, 1991, any requirements imposed by law for the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of a military department, or any other officer of the Department of Defense to submit a report to Congress (or to any committee of Congress) is terminated.

(b) POLICY CONCERNING EXCEPTIONS.—It is the policy of Congress that any exception to the provisions of subsection (A) will be enacted by law on a case-by-case basis and should only be made if (i) there is a unique and compelling rationale or requirement for requiring the report to be submitted and (ii) efforts to reduce unnecessary or redundant reporting requirements have been made and such a report is still justified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CONRAD). Is there objection to the consideration of the amendment?

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I reserve the right to object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia reserves the right to object.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, was this amendment filed by the time of the cloture deadline?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota has sent an amendment to the desk. If the Senator from Minnesota had this amendment previously filed, it would be appropriate for him to call up that amendment.

Mr. NUNN. I ask the Chair, was this amendment previously filed?

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. If the Senator will yield, this is amendment 428, and it was appropriately filed.

Mr. NUNN. But it is not germane.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I am not the Parliamentarian. It is not for me to say that it is or is not germane, but I believe it is not germane.

Mr. President, if the Senator from—

Mr. NUNN. I do not want to cut the Senator off from the debate, but I would prefer that—I do not want to make a point of order until he has had a chance to speak on it. If the Senator would withhold further unanimous consent, then at some point I may need to make a point of order on this amendment.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, has the amendment now been reported?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, perhaps—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to consideration of the amendment which was not timely filed?

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I would have to object.

#### AMENDMENT NO. 428

(Purpose: To reduce the number of reports which the Department of Defense is required to submit to the Congress.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Then the clerk will report the amendment that was timely filed.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Bosc-  
hwitz] proposes an amendment numbered  
428.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

#### SEC. . TERMINATION OF CONGRESSIONAL REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) TERMINATION.—Effective on January 1, 1991, any requirement imposed by law for the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of a military department, or any other officer of the Department of Defense to submit a report to Congress (or to any committee of Congress) is terminated.

(b) POLICY CONCERNING EXCEPTIONS.—It is the policy of Congress that any exception to the provisions of subsection (A) will be en-

ted by law on a case-by-case basis and could only be made if (i) there is a unique and compelling rationale or requirement for requiring the report to be submitted and (ii) efforts to reduce unnecessary or redundant reporting requirements have been made and a report is still justified.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Perhaps we need the Chair to clarify at this point that it is the Chair's understanding that the Senator from Georgia reserves the right to object on the grounds of germaneness to this amendment. Is the Chair correct?

Mr. NUNN. The Chair is correct. Mr. President, I do not have any real big problem with this amendment. I think the Senator is going to make some good points. But I think we have to maintain some degree of consistency. If we start waiving on these amendments we are going to have a very bad time.

Mr. WARNER. I join the distinguished manager.

Can the Senator give us some approximation of the time?

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Eight minutes. I yield to the distinguished floor leader and the distinguished Republican leader that I wanted to offer the amendment, immediately rather than taking a long speech in advance of the amendment, and then offering it, which would have been very much in order. I wanted to do this in a way that was straight and up front.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, the amendment I have called up has to do with reports Congress requires on the Pentagon.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a brief moment? The Senator from Pennsylvania I understand is willing to have a voice vote on the amendment if we could dispose of it while he is here.

Mr. SPECTER. If I may say, I had voted for the yeas and nays because of my view that there is more credence and force to an amendment when the yeas and nays are ordered. The distinguished majority leader has asked that I reconsider that request in the light of a very crowded calendar which the Senate faces on this bill. I am prepared to do that because I know what the facts are. We were here until very late last evening and to avoid it, as much as I would like to have the yeas and nays, in view of Senator TCHELL's request and the status of the bill, I ask, Mr. President, unanimous consent that the yeas and nays be voted.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is ordered.

Mr. MURKIN. Mr. President, if I may, I express my gratitude to the Senator from Pennsylvania in my behalf and in behalf of all Members of the Senate for his courtesy and cooperation on that.

Mr. SPECTER. I thank the majority leader very much.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, at some point I would want to address the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER] with a technical observation by the Senator from Virginia.

Mr. SPECTER. If my colleague will yield to finish this, to have a voice vote to conclude the matter, we should be able to do so in a matter of a minute or two. If it takes 15, I will be back to the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to resuming the consideration of the Specter amendment? Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT NO. 597

Mr. WARNER. Mr. president, at the appropriate time will the Senator entertain a question from the Senator from Virginia?

Mr. SPECTER. I do so now.

Mr. WARNER. As we know, the Senator from Pennsylvania and I served together on the Intelligence Committee. I shall read the amendment which calls for a report by the Secretary of Defense by September 1, 1989, on the resources dedicated to locating these hostages and how additional resources in terms of funds and personnel can be effectively utilized to locate these hostages and obtain their release.

It is the opinion of the Senator from Virginia that such a report should be in the form of a classified annex. It would be my intention to modify this amendment assuming it is adopted in the conference to reflect that but I would want beforehand to allow my good friend and colleague to observe this recommendation and make his comments.

Mr. SPECTER. I believe that is a constructive suggestion. I accept it.

Mr. WARNER. I thank the Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator KASTEN be listed formally as a cosponsor, and also that Senator D'AMATO be listed formally as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, this week we saw a bizarre, ugly, and incomprehensible action take place in Lebanon. An innocent American serving on a peace mission was brutally hung in full view of a video camera. We don't know whether Lieutenant Colonel Higgins was murdered this week, as portrayed by the fanatic, terrorist group known as Hezbollah, or whether that killing took place some time ago.

If, in fact, Lieutenant Colonel Higgins was killed in cold blood by Hezbollah terrorists, as we have reason to believe he was, it outrages everyone in the civilized world and must be harshly and unequivocally condemned. I have enormous respect for Lieutenant Colonel Higgins. An American on a United Nations peacekeeping mission in Lebanon, he was interested only in serving his country and the cause of peace in Lebanon. All of us deplore the death of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins—a true American hero—who distinguished himself in his service to our country. We grieve with his wife, Maj. Robbin Higgins, and his daughter, Christine. His death should deepen our resolve to do whatever we must to assure the safety and well-being of all of our citizens.

Mr. President, to me Hezbollah is nothing more than a band of savages. It has chosen to characterize this murder as an act of retaliation in response to the capture of Sheik Obeid by Israel. Obeid is a leader of Hezbollah, which is an enemy of our country and the entire civilized world.

Sheik Obeid was captured by the Israelis in an attempt to free hostages from the United States and other countries. Israel's decision to take action to free those captives is in sharp contrast to the wait and see policy followed by most free nations around the world, which has proven to be totally ineffective.

This week, Mr. President, comments were made on the floor of the U.S. Senate, that suggested that somehow Israel shared in the responsibility for the assassination of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins. When I heard them, I was shocked and disappointed. Those kinds of statements serve the case of fanaticism and terror. Those kinds of comments question the common mission of the United States and Israel to search for a world free of intimidation and fear. Such criticism is misplaced and counterproductive. It is wrong and unfair.

We all feel outrage and despair at the murder of yet another innocent American in Lebanon. But our anger must be directed at those responsible for this heinous crime—at Hezbollah, which claims to have killed an innocent American on a mission of peace—not at Israel.

To suggest that it was Israel that caused Hezbollah to kill Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, is to buy in Hezbollah's cynical and misguided propaganda. Many Americans have lost their lives in Lebanon and elsewhere to terrorists, despite what Israel does or doesn't do. In fact, it was the same Hezbollah that claimed credit for the truck bombing in 1983 in Lebanon that caused the loss of 241 marines, and the car bombing of our Embassy in Lebanon in 1984 that again took innocent American lives.

Moreover, Americans have continuously been the victims of terrorist attacks, from the bombing of the Pan Am flight over Scotland to the attack on the *Achille Lauro* and other incidents too numerous to name. Americans, because of what America stands for in the world, will probably continue to be targets of terrorism. To ascribe any one incident to Israel's actions is simply wrong.

It is also dangerous. It plays directly into the hands of our enemies. Hezbollah would like nothing more than to drive a wedge through the close alli-

ance enjoyed by America and Israel by blaming Israel for Hezbollah's slaughter of innocent Americans. It suits Hezbollah's purposes to commit these despicable acts and try to lay the blame at Israel's door. We should not buy into that twisted logic.

We cannot second guess Israel's decision to seize Sheik Obeid. Israel and her citizens have been directly threatened by Obeid and took action to defend herself. He has been implicated in the kidnapping of Americans as well as Israelis. He is a military leader of the Hezbollah, the main force resisting Israel's presence in southern Lebanon.

Nations whose citizens are victimized by terrorists continuously face the issue of whether to take preemptive or other action in their own defense. One of the options available is the use of military operations to rescue hostages or capture terrorists who victimize their citizens. To totally forgo those options would leave civilized nations at the mercy of terrorist groups and their state sponsors, with very little ability to act in their own behalf.

America has taken such actions in the past, when we lured a hijacker onto an American boat when he fled Lebanon to avoid capture and punishment for his crime. The United States has worked with Colombia to seize drug traffickers. President Reagan bombed Libya in response to Libya's bombing of a German discotheque which took the lives of American soldiers abroad.

Mr. President, the President has been meeting with his advisers on what steps the United States should take in light of the apparent assassination of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, and the threat to kill yet another American within the next 24 hours. We must make it clear that we will hold those who carry out such cold-blooded murders responsible for their actions. We must make it clear that no option, including military retaliation, has been ruled out—against terrorist murderers or their state sponsors. We must also use every diplomatic means available to us to put a stop to this barbaric behavior from here on out. Clearly, we should develop a more effective policy for dealing with terrorism and stop blaming Israel for the dastardly acts of terrorists.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The amendment (No. 597) was agreed to.

Mr. SPECTER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. WARNER. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 428

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, is the amendment that I have offered

now the regular business of the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct. The pending business of the Senate is the amendment of the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, the purpose of this amendment is simple. It is an attempt to bring under control the flood of reports Congress now requires of the Pentagon.

Congressional reports are definitely a growth industry Congress now requires almost 20 times as many reports from the Pentagon as it did in 1970, many of which duplicate information found somewhere else or involve Congress in a lot of micromanagement.

My amendment would simply terminate all current reporting requirements and set down guidelines for future reports Congress requests. Obviously, Congress can still mandate reports that are vital. This amendment simply provides that those reports be requested on a case-by-case basis and only be requested if: First, there is a unique and compelling rationale or requirement for requiring the report to be submitted; and second, efforts to reduce unnecessary or redundant reporting requirements have been made and such a report is still justified.

The need for this amendment is clear. In its effort to oversee the Pentagon, Congress has become a micromanager that can't manage. Congress has imposed some 1,500 separate laws or regulations dealing with procurement, 100 committees and subcommittees have some part of the oversight of the Pentagon, and the demand for reports has grown astronomically—from a mere 36 in fiscal year 1970 to an overwhelming 661 in fiscal year 1989.

These 661 reports consume an astounding 370 man-years of time to prepare, at an estimated cost to the taxpayer of nearly \$36 million. That is double the 182 man-years and \$18 million spent on reports just 2 years ago. This year, one report alone cost nearly \$2 million to prepare. The average cost of a report was \$54,000. That is almost twice the average family's income: Congress spends it on one report.

Mr. President, stacked next to me are approximately 5½ feet of Defense Department reports which respond to congressional reporting requirements for this fiscal year—the one we are in now. And these are only the unclassified reports. If I could bring the classified reports on to the floor, the stack would be approximately twice as high. How many of us are going to read even a single one of these reports? How many of us have ever made use of these reports which we compel the Defense Department to produce?

I regret to say that it looks like next year's stack will rival this one. The House Defense Department authorization report for fiscal year 1990 lists 215 new separate reporting requirements, a 36 percent increase from last year's 158 mandated reports. This includes a requirement to report on how

successful the marketing effort is for the dental plan for Defense Department dependents and a report on the sale of books and magazines by military exchanges.

More reports will be requested by the Senate. Then new reports will be required by the Appropriations Committee of both Chambers. At the current rate, we will easily surpass the 661 reports required in 1989.

Not surprisingly, we have gotten involved in a level of detail unimaginable in 1970. The reports requested for the 1988 fiscal year included a report on morale and recreation programs and two reports on the supervision of nurses.

The growth in reporting requirements has exceeded any reasonable need for information. Indeed, Mr. President, some of these reports may continue to be submitted because no one takes the time to read them and decide they are no longer useful.

My amendment would address that situation by requiring Congress to make a specific request for each report, and not just set up a stream of annual reports that may or may not be of use.

Is there, for instance, a need for the Pentagon to report to Congress on the health of the domestic textile industry? I suspect that report has more to do with protecting our workers from foreign competition than protecting our soldiers from foreign enemies.

Is there a need for a special report on all research and development contracts made during the preceding 6 months which exceed \$50,000? The same information is maintained by the Federal Procurement Data Center and is available to the public.

Is there really a need for the Secretary of Defense to report biennially to Congress on special pay for health professionals? These kind of reports do not improve our management of the Pentagon. They only waste money and distract us from our more important responsibilities of oversight.

I repeat, Mr. President, the time has come for us to become part of the solution, not part of the problem. If we really want to curb the growth in reports, we should begin with this amendment. It is, to be sure, only a first step, but it will lay down the principle that Congress should manage, not micromanage.

Mr. President, I want to illustrate to my colleagues how many reports the various agencies of Government must make to the Congress. There is here a booklet about reports required by Congress. This is a booklet of 175 pages. There are approximately 20 or 30 reports on each page, and so there are approximately 4,000 or 5,000 reports which must be submitted to Congress from agencies each year.

Six hundred and sixty-one reports have to be submitted by the Department of Defense to the Congress this year. This stack before me, which so

לשכת ראש הממשלה  
PRIME MINISTER'S BUREAU

Jerusalem, September 6, 1990.  
813-10

820 (1-2) ✓

112-1-7 ✓

Mr. Mark Weinberg  
Director of Public Affairs  
Office of President Ronald Reagan  
2121 Avenue of the Stars 34th Floor  
Los Angeles, California 90212

Dear Mr. Weinberg,

I have pleasure in sending you herewith the two enclosed photographs, duly autographed by Prime Minister Shamir.

The Prime Minister sends his best wishes to President Reagan and to you and Mr. Jon Hall.

Yours sincerely,

*Yosef Achimeir*  
Yosef Achimeir  
Director

813-10  
6/9/90



OFFICE OF RONALD REAGAN

890 (1-2)

112-1-7

August 21, 1990

Your Excellency:

We would be most appreciative and deeply honored if your office would be so kind as to forward the enclosed photographs to the Prime Minister for his personal signatures. As I am certain you can understand, these photographs have great personal meaning and would be even more cherished if the Prime Minister could inscribe them.

If it is possible to honor this request, please return them to:

Mark D. Weinberg  
Director of Public Affairs  
Office of President Ronald Reagan  
2121 Avenue of the Stars 34th floor  
Los Angeles, California 90212

Thank you for your kind consideration.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mark D. Weinberg".

Mark D. Weinberg  
Director of Public Affairs

His Excellency Moshe Arad  
Ambassador of Israel  
3514 International Drive, NW.  
Washington, D.C. 20008

File

✓820 (1-2)

Jerusalem, February 26, 1989.  
368-7

Dear Morris,

Thank you for your very detailed and interesting letter of 27 January 1989.

I have asked Yossi Ben-Aharon to maintain contact with Malcolm Hoenlein with regard to this matter. I appreciate your delicate and careful handling of the issue and the way you responded to the questions and proposals that were raised by your interlocutor.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Yitzhak Shamir

Mr. Morris Abram  
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison  
1285 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10019  
U S A

Jerusalem,

February 20, 1989.

357-7

820 (1-2)

Dear Morris,

I have learnt with mixed feelings the news of your appointment as United States Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva. On the one hand, we are very proud that your talents and abilities have been recognized, and that you will be serving the American Administration, and the American people. My regret is that we, the Jewish people, will no longer be able to utilise these very qualities for our cause.

But, our best wishes go out to you for success in all you will be doing in your important new role. The United States could not have found a better man for the post.

I am sure that we shall meet from time to time, and that our friendship and good relationship will be maintained and developed.

Sincerely,

Yitzhak Shamir

Mr. Morris Abram  
Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison  
1285 Avenue of the Americas  
New York, NY 10019  
U S A

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SAMUEL J. SILVERMAN  
NORMAN ZELENKO  
COUNSEL

DOMINIQUE FARGUE\*\*  
EUROPEAN COUNSEL

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\*NOT ADMITTED TO NEW YORK BAR.  
\*\*CONSEIL JURIDIQUE IN FRANCE ONLY.

820 (1-2)

359  
20/2/89  
בתקב"ל  
02-2-1989  
9.7.1.7  
My dear Prime Minister -

1/26/88

The recent dinner in  
my honor in Jerusalem was  
a memorable event for me. And  
the marvelous book bestowed is  
a treasure - especially with the  
personal inscription from you.  
much is happening here.

I see Secretary Baker under  
Secretary Engelbrey and President  
Bush tonight. All will await your new initiatives.  
With my deepest respect to you

Sincerely,  
Morris

Jerusalem, May 24, 1990.  
817-7

✓820 (1-2)

Dear Vice President,

Thank you for your letter of April 19, and for sending me a copy of the study "Democracies in Crisis". I have glanced through it, but look forward to reading it thoroughly at an early opportunity.

Right now I am fully engaged in an aspect of our democratic process - the task of formation of a government, which is by no means easy. The difficulties we have encountered have prompted a growing public demand for a change in our election system and our system of government.

There are moves in the Knesset to introduce some change in regard to the one per cent threshold, and also the authority vested in the Executive branch of the Government. Many of our people favour some change by evolution. We appear to be at the beginning of such a process.

I hope Mrs. Mondale and you are well, and send you our warm greetings.

Yours sincerely,

Yitzhak Shamir

Vice President Walter F. Mondale  
2200 First Bank Place East  
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55402  
U S A

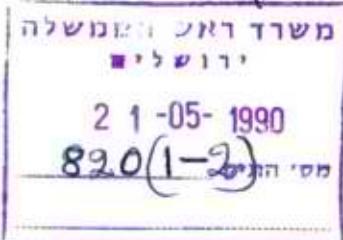
WALTER F. MONDALE  
2200 FIRST BANK PLACE EAST  
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55402  
(612) 340-5690



April 19, 1990

9.4.90. 17  
pre. prepare  
pre. approve  
app. app. PM.

The Honorable Yitzak Shamir  
c/o Embassy of Israel  
3514 International Drive, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008



Dear Prime Minister:

I want to make sure that you receive a copy of the new book, *Democracies in Crisis*. It is the result of a two-year project by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, which I chair.

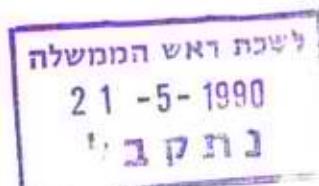
Your country is one of three that is featured in this book. The study focuses on three countries—Botswana, Costa Rica and Israel—that have managed to build successful democratic institutions despite the odds against them. The example of your country demonstrates that, even in regions of crisis, a democratic nation is able to survive and flourish.

This book is a timely study and I hope many people will find it to be useful reading. I think you will agree that the case studies in this book offer many valuable lessons for other emerging democracies throughout the world.

With best wishes,

Walter F. Mondale

WFM/llp  
Enc.



The  
Chicago  
Committee

1990



Sponsored by  
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116 South Michigan Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60603

# The Chicago Committee

# Statement of Purpose

The Chicago Committee is a group of senior business and professional leaders from the Chicago area concerned with the serious problems confronting the United States. The Committee meets regularly:

To present to the members distinguished leaders in our own and foreign governments, as well as leading personalities in business, the press and academic circles, for off-the-record discussions of vital issues affecting the international relations and foreign policies of the United States;

To analyze and discuss the ideas presented;

To conduct other related activities selected by the Executive Committee to further inform members on world affairs.

The Committee is sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, a nonpartisan organization founded in 1922 to inform citizens of this area through addresses by leading statesmen, discussion groups and other activities, of significant international issues and their bearing on American foreign policy.

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James F. Beré (left) with The Honorable Robert A. Mosbacher, U.S. Secretary of Commerce, at the annual black-tie dinner, December, 1989.



Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir with Lester Crown at a luncheon, April, 1989.



Marjorie Benton (left) with Rita E. Hauser, U.S. Chair, International Center for Peace in the Middle East at a luncheon, March 1989.



FBI Director William S. Sessions (left) with Elmer Johnson at a luncheon, September, 1989.



David M. Roderick, former Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, USX Corporation with John Richman at a luncheon, February, 1989.



(From left) John Madigan, John F. Akers, Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, IBM Corporation, David Rudd and Lois Wille.

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# Meetings 1989

## CHICAGO COMMITTEE

January 24, 1989

Luncheon

PIET KOORNHOF

*Ambassador of South Africa to the United States*  
"South Africa, Prospects for the Future"

February 15, 1989

Luncheon

DAVID M. RODERICK

*Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, USX*  
Corporation

"Two Thirds Are Always Awake"

March 20, 1989

Luncheon

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

*Editor, National Review*

"America's European Policy—A Conservative Perspective"

March 31, 1989

Luncheon

RITA E. HAUSER

*U.S. Chair, International Center for Peace in the*  
Middle East, and Senior Partner, Stroock & Stroock  
& Lavan

"Next Steps in the Middle East Peace Process"

April 10, 1989

Luncheon

YITZHAK SHAMIR

*Prime Minister of Israel*  
"Israel's Quest for Peace"

April 26, 1989

Breakfast

PAUL KENNEDY

*Author: The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*  
"Decline and Response—How America Can Compete"

May 2, 1989

Luncheon

ROBERT H. BORK

*John M. Olin Scholar in Legal Studies, American*  
Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research  
"George Bush, Politics, and the Constitution"

June 13, 1989

Luncheon

DR. Q.K.J. MASIRE

*President of the Republic of Botswana*  
"Investment and Business Opportunities in Botswana"

June 16, 1989  
Luncheon  
REZA PAHLAVI, II  
Shah of Iran  
"The Iranian Tragedy: Will There Be An End"

September 13, 1989  
Luncheon  
WILLIAM S. SESSIONS  
*Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation*  
"The FBI's Responsibilities in International Drug  
Trafficking"

September 19, 1989  
Reception  
ROGER FAUROUX  
*Minister of Industry and Regional Planning in France*  
"France at the Outset of 1992"

October 23, 1989  
Luncheon  
EDWARD J. DERWINSKI  
*Secretary of Veterans Affairs*  
"An Insider's Look at Washington"

November 6, 1989  
Luncheon  
JOHN F. AKERS  
*Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer,  
International Business Machines Corporation*  
"Forging Industry-Led Policy to Address Global Realities"

November 9, 1989  
Luncheon  
JOHN E. ROBSON  
*Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury*  
"Confronting New Doubts About Foreign Investment"

November 13, 1989  
Luncheon  
LARRY D. WELCH  
*Chief of Staff, United States Air Force*  
"Adjusting to World Change: A Report from the USAF"

December 12, 1989  
Black Tie Dinner  
ROBERT A. MOSBACHER  
*Secretary of Commerce of the United States*

# Directory of Members 1990

Membership in the Chicago Committee is by invitation only.

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*Navistar International Transportation Corporation*

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Lester Crown  
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Managing Director  
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Vice President, Corporate Affairs  
Eli Lilly and Company

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President & Chief Executive Officer  
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Terry Diamond  
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Partner  
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President  
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Alan Dixon  
United States Senator

Wesley M. Dixon, Jr.  
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President  
Midwest Stock Exchange, Inc.

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R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company

James R. Donnelley  
President - Corporate Development  
R. R. Donnelley & Sons Company

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Tribune Broadcasting Company

John Duff  
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Robert Duncan,  
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Daniel J. Edelman  
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