

מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

לשכת ראש הממשלה

משרד

המשק **מתיק** מס 1

לשכת ראש הממשלה -

ארה"ב

4/1985

המשק בתיק מס 3



שם: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס - אר

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מחלקה

מס' תיק מקורי

4

סגירות ישראל - וועינגטון

אלו

המשרד

ס ר פ ס

ד...ל...מחור...?...דעים

...ווג בשחזני...קוד?

...דעיות...A...?

מאריך וזיי...1990.24.אפריל 85

...531...משי

אלו סמנכ"ל, קידר, מצפ"א, מ"ד

משיחת היכרות עם אנני רסאל, סגנו הבכיר של מרפי, בהשתתפות טיבל ווליקוקס (23).

א. אין כנראת סיכוי רב לקיום פגישה מרפי עם ירדנים - ערבים פלשתינאים בסיבוב זה.

ב. לעומת זאת יש פצילות בקשר ליחסי ישראל - מצרים, כשהאמריקאים מנסים לטייע ל"חבילה" שלא תיראה כ"כניעה" של אחד הצדדים (קרקצ'קו הוא כנראת המרכזי בחשיבה בנושא זה).

ג. לפי הבנת אגף המז"ת מובארב מבין שהדרך היחידה לחזור לחנמגת העולם הערבי היא דווקא בחיזוק תהליך השלום, שכן הנסיונות בכיוון ההפוך לא צלחו כפי שרצו, עיראק וצפון תימן לא חידשו את היחסים כפי שמצרים קיוותה.

ד. ריפאעי מרבה לדגור על ועידה בינ"ל וזה הנושא העיקרי במחלוקת בינו לאמריקאים.

ה. מטרת פגישות מרפי בדמשק בעיקר "החזקת קוים פתוחים" אך גם ( ביקשו לא להתיחס לכך) טיפול בנושא השבויים שבידיהם. הוסתעו שהטורים מנהלים בשבועות האחרונים מערכה בעחונות נגד ריפאעי וירדן ( נוכח הידיעות שריפאעי קרוב לסורים).

ו. טארק עזיז העיראקי טען באוזני מרפי כי האמריקנים אינם מבינים את האיראנים המטורפים ואת הצורך להילחם בהם עד חרמח (בכך רמז, בלי להודות במפורש, כי יש הצדקה ללוחמה כימית).

ז. בשיחות אבן ג'ייד ושה"ח שלו אבראהימי העלו הנשיא והמזכיר את תהליך השלום. האלג'יראים לא חייבו את עצמם אך לא חזרו על הרטוריקה של חזית הסירוב כבעבר. התפתחות פרגמטית. אבראהימי נשאל אם יתמכו במשלחת ירדן ופלשתינאים שאינם אש"ם ולא השיב בשלילה. כמ"ן ס"ן מציג מ"ע עם פ"מ ס"מ מ"ל מ"ל

2.92... 2... דפים  
שוגג בטלפוני  
דחיסות  
מריץ ודיים  
531

ח. העלינו האימוץ ע"י פתיחת אל רצח כספי בירושלים ופתיחת המחבלים, ושאלנו כיצד הדבר מתישב עם גישת עראפת המנסה להיראות שותר שלום. רפאל השיב כי אין חידוש בכך טעראפאט מדבר בכל הלשונות.

ט. מרפי העלת בירדן את הנושאים של שיתוף הפעולה הפרקטי, ראשי ערים, בנק וכדומה. האמריקנים מקוים שיש סיכוי טוב יותר עם ממשלה בראשות ריפאעי הקודמת היתה חלשה מדי.

י. בשיחה זו ואחרות הודינו על נאום המזכיר באיפא"ק ( כאן, באגף המז"ח, תזכרנו כי בנושאים ה"ערביסטים" כמובן לא כל מלה מקובלת עלינו, ברמז לנושא מכירות הנשק לערבים, אך כי ראינו את הנאום בכללו בחיוב).

יא. רפאל שאל איך נראה בעינינו מצב יחסי ישראל-ארה"ב. אמרנו כי בשנתיים האחרונות במיוחד, היתה תקופה של התרחבות בתחומים רבים שלא היתה כדוגמתה (שתי"פ אסטרטגי, אזור סחר חופשי וכו'), ותחושת אחוז. חדגשנו כמובן הצורך בקבלת הטיוע הנוסף שגם אם לא בשמחה אנו מבקשים אותו, אין מנוס כך בגסיבות תקיימות וכדי למנוע מצב קשה.

רובינסטיין

למה היה זה...  
למה זה...  
למה זה...  
למה זה...



שגרירות ישראל - רוסינגטון

אלו מסרד

ס ד פ ס

דפנים 2... מתוך 2... דפים

סוג במחובי 777

דמי פוח מילדי

תאריך וצי"ח 24 1600

מסי חבר 530

אותנו בקשה לתכנית אינדיה.

יש לקחת בחשבון כי עמא נוסף שטרם הוכרע בתוך חמישהל הוא התוספת

למצרים. כרגע מדובר על סכום של 185 מיליון דולר אך מובארק לחץ להגיע

לסכום של 500 מ' דולר. במישל יצור כנראה לקבל החלטה על מצרים במקביל להחלטה ביחס

אלינו וזה יכול לגרום לעיכוב מה.

הלפרין

תפוצה: שגריר, צור, ירעץ מדיני, קונגרס, כלכלה.

מה היה של מארס, שנהאוק, של 300  
ע וויץ אפיק

טגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

(6)

אל:

ה מ ש ר ד

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 . . . . . ט ו ו ג ב ט ח ו נ י ג ל ו ג  
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מצפ"א.

תסנטור אינוויה וסיוע לישראל.

רצ"ב חתבטאות בנידון שנשא אינוויה ב-17/4 בסנט, וכמו כן מאמר שהתפרסם בגליון  
 האחרון של ה- Congressional- (כרך 16, מסי 43 מה-20.4.84).  
 Quarterly

למדו יו"ר  
 מרס

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become the weight which crushes freedom and democracy in Israel.

I do not suggest, Mr. President, that the continued existence of the state of Israel is in danger. Israel is a heavily indebted—but not an impoverished—country. Israel has a strong industrial and scientific base which has enabled Israeli manufactured and agricultural products to compete on the world market. It has the physical plant and the intellectual capital to regain control of its economy.

Only recently, however, under the national unity government, has Israel had the political will and decisiveness of leadership to deal with economic problems of such magnitude. We welcome that change, and we support the measures being taken by the new Government to right the upset economy. Because of these measures, because of the political courage exhibited by Prime Minister Peres and his Cabinet, it is proper to regard Israel today as a country which is doing what is required to restore growth and stability to its economy. It is a highly developed economy which has sustained high levels of growth in the past and is now going through a difficult period of adjustment. The times are still hard, however, and the people of Israel continue to struggle.

Mr. President, in some respects, the people and Government of Israel are besieged by an economic challenge as threatening to the fabric of Israeli society, to the preservation of democracy, as any war or conflict of the past. Today Israel owes to foreign governments and institutions nearly \$24 billion, an amount which is nearly equal to its annual GNP and is 678 percent of Israel's annual export earnings. Israel's foreign debt service today is almost \$4 billion per year; about \$1 billion of that goes to service its debt to the U.S. Government, almost all of which was contracted for arms purchases. Debt service now consumes over 40 percent of the entire Israeli Government budget and has brought hard currency reserves to a perilously low level. In point of fact, if the danger of a rapid withdrawal of short-term deposits is taken into consideration, Israel has net negative reserves.

In fiscal year 1985, Israel will repay to the United States \$158 million in principal and \$1,018 million in interest. Over the next several years, these amounts will increase, reaching a peak of \$1,146 million in principal and interest in 1991. If the repayment schedule on Israeli debt to the United States is not changed, by the year 2020, Israel will have paid \$28,897 million in principal and interest to the United States.

It must be emphasized, Mr. President, that most of this debt is in the form of foreign military sales credits—debt Israel incurred for military hardware which is in the front line of defense of American interests in the Middle East. The burden of debt, and

**ISRAEL IS IN PERIL**

Mr. INOUE, Mr. President, Israel is in peril.

Economic and financial forces threaten to do what hostile neighbors, with their combined military might have been unable to achieve in three wars and 37 years of unremitting armed antipathy toward the Jewish national homeland. Israel stands today militarily strong and confident in her ability to defeat her adversaries on the field of combat, but fearful and concerned that economic weakness and the almost insurmountable difficulty of confronting a complex array of financial problems may fundamentally alter the character of Government and society in Israel.

Mr. President, we must address the contradiction that Israel, in order to avoid destruction by more numerous and better equipped adversaries, has been forced to spend itself close to ruin. We must act—in our own interest—to ensure that debt does not

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its impact on Israel security and stability cannot—and should not—be held separate from the very interests the FMS credits were intended to serve. I need not remind my colleagues that those interests were—foremost—American interests.

Additional amounts of course, are owed to other governments, international financial institutions, and private institutions. In sum, as has often been noted, Israel's per capita debt is the highest in the world.

The rather daunting prospect of repaying this debt is compounded by the recognition that the external factors which caused Israel to go so far into debt have not changed. In the past 10 years, three severe blows have been delivered to the Israeli economy. First, the cost of petroleum sharply increased following the return of the Sinai and its oil to Egypt under the terms of the Treaty of Peace of 1979. The cost of energy imports have increased from \$100 million in 1972 to \$1.5 billion in 1984.

Second, defense spending has grown from \$1.5 billion annually in 1972 to \$5 billion today. To maintain its own deterrent and defense capability in the face of an enormous Arab buildup, financed both by petrodollars and by the Soviet Union, Israel was forced to increase its defense expenditures four-fold. This increase could not be met with current revenues; Israel was compelled to borrow to live.

Mr. President, I would note that the U.S. Government has not been unaware of this cost to Israel. At the beginning of the Reagan administration, in 1981, at an Appropriations Committee hearing, the Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Mr. James Buckley, was asked what impact the provision of advanced military equipment, such as enhanced F-15's or AWACS, to Arab countries would have on Israel. His response was, "We believe that that additional threat can be met through the purchase of additional F-15's or F-16's or other mixes that the Israeli military may believe to be necessary or desirable."

As I noted at the time, Mr. President, the implications of this policy were ominous. In effect, the policy of responding to Arab requests for increasingly more costly and more sophisticated arms was pursued in a way which ensured that Israel would fall further and further into debt. I put it to the Under Secretary of State at the time, and I put it to the Senate now, that such a policy knowingly engaged Israel in a war of economic attrition which it could not possibly win. The Arab countries, with their enormous oil wealth could afford the best; Israel, already indebted, could not afford to keep up.

I would ask all who question the origin of Israel's economic plight to look at the record—at our record, Mr. President. In our hearing, the Under Secretary of State freely admitted and

openly recognized that: First, U.S. arms sales to Arab countries increased the threat to Israel, and second, that Israel would have to purchase additional arms—very expensive arms, F-15 and F-16 aircraft—to offset that threat. Left unsaid, of course, was that Israel would have to go further into debt to finance those purchases. In a war of economic attrition, it would be Israel who would take heavy casualties.

Mr. President, it is not by mere coincidence that Israel finds herself today spending nearly one-half of the Government budget on debt servicing and that she is confronted today by Arab forces which have increased their arms spending by 700 percent since 1972. It is not by mere coincidence that Israel has become indebted while the four largest importers of arms in the world are all Arab countries: Libya, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq.

This, Mr. President, is the most severe of the blows which have been dealt to the Israeli economy over the past 10 years. Gradually, incrementally, of necessity, Israel has mortgaged control over her economy to her creditors, the largest of whom is the United States. The accumulated debt, arising from the necessity of matching arms purchases of her adversaries, has diminished the national sovereignty Israel has fought so courageously to defend. The structure of the debt—large amounts of principal to be repaid, at high interest rates, for a protracted period—undermines the Government's ability to deal with the current crisis.

The Government of Israel is acting to correct the imbalances in the economy. The people of Israel are making further sacrifices to reduce their economic vulnerability.

A freeze has been put in effect on all public sector employment. The Israeli Minister of Finance has told the Senate that 15,000 public employees will lose their jobs because of budget cuts.

Inflation has been reduced through the imposition of a wage and price freeze. To achieve this end, Israelis have cut worker compensation by nearly 20 percent. Together with the impact of minidevaluations, real purchasing power has been cut by 40 percent over the past 6 months.

The Israeli Cabinet has approved a new series of taxes which it hopes will reduce pressures on foreign exchange reserves and enhance revenues. Knesset approval is believed to be imminent.

The Cabinet is also working on a new law that would enable the Bank of Israel to pursue a more independent and more restrictive monetary policy.

Government spending has been sharply reduced, with subsidies alone to be cut by \$1.2 billion by the end of April. Newly enacted legislation holds Government officials responsible for staying within the budget.

Mr. President, it is beyond doubt that the Government of Israel will take the appropriate measures, difficult though they may be. Prime Minister Peres and key members of the Cabinet are united in their recognition that fundamental changes are necessary and in their resolve to see that these improvements are achieved.

Mr. President, our Government is addressing the economic difficulties of the State of Israel. It is widely anticipated that the administration will soon request supplemental assistance to help Israel meet its economic emergency. The administration, in cooperation with Israeli officials, is seeking to contribute to the resolution of problems and structural imbalances affecting the economy. I applaud those efforts and intend to support supplemental funding for assistance to Israel.

It is my considered judgment, however, that measures which address only the economic emergency—and not its underlying causes—fall short of what is required. Such measures, while necessary to meet the crisis at hand, will not forestall its recurrence, nor will they give the necessary confidence to the Israeli people that their economic future is sound. Furthermore, by attending almost exclusively to the crisis of the present, these measures do not pay sufficient regard to the necessity of strengthening the longer term economic viability and political stability of Israel.

Therefore, Mr. President, I have informed my colleagues of my intention to introduce an amendment which would reduce the interest rate on existing U.S. military loans to Israel from the present weighted interest rate of 12 percent to a new rate of 5 percent. That, by the way, is the interest rate the United States now charges on military loans under the concessional FMS programs to countries in economic difficulty.

This amendment would achieve several important objectives:

It would reduce the onerous future debt burden faced by Israel. As I noted, interest on Israel's outstanding debt to the United States now has a weighted average of 12 percent. If this rate were changed to 5 percent, interest charges to Israel over the life of the existing loan portfolio would be reduced by \$8,417,296,780.

The Government of Israel would be strengthened in its ability to handle both emergency and long-term economic concerns. Today, 47 percent of Israel Government spending is budgeted for debt service. A 5-percent interest rate on U.S. military loans would cut Government spending on debt service in half. In turn, this would reduce the need to borrow to finance debt and increase the availability of funds for defense and other essential services.

The people of Israel would be strengthened in their conviction that

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the United States supports them and recognizes the very real sacrifices they have made for peace in the Middle East. Moreover, Israelis would know that the United States has recognized the contribution Israel has made to our defense.

Mr. President, I would like it fully understood that my amendment does not cancel or forgive the repayment of debt by Israel. Under my proposal, Israel will repay every penny of principal that it has borrowed from the United States in military loans. Moreover, it should be understood that my amendment only reduces the interest rate charges for existing loans; the Secretary of the Treasury would still collect \$4.4 billion in interest on outstanding FMS loans to Israel.

The amendment would require the appropriation of approximately \$3.9 billion, which is the present value of interest payments which would be forgone. Because only the present value of money due and payable through the year 2000 and beyond is required for appropriation, this amount will reduce Israel's debt service charges by some \$2.5 billion.

Mr. President, this is an extraordinary and an unprecedented step. It is, nonetheless, the appropriate measure. Aid to Israel is not included in the Department of Defense appropriations bill. Were that the case, aid to Israel and Israel's contribution to U.S. strategic interests could be compared directly to U.S. aid to NATO and to NATO's contribution to U.S. strategic interests. I am confident that such a comparison, which would highlight the \$129 billion in annual U.S. expenditures in support of European security, would be highly favorable to U.S. assistance to Israel.

I do not suggest that we should put aid to Israel into the DOD appropriations bill; I do suggest that we make a realistic appraisal of the importance of Israel to U.S. interests in the Middle East and then act accordingly. From that perspective, we would soon recognize that what I propose is quite modest indeed.

Mr. President, let me conclude by addressing those who have raised concerns that my proposal to "buy-down" the interest rate on Israeli loans sets a precedent which other countries will seek to take advantage of. They are absolutely right; it does set a precedent. The precedent is that the United States will not place an unsupportable burden on a country which is a democracy that is based upon meaningful elections and free and open debate, which observes and defends human rights, and which shares the fundamental human values of our people.

Along the arc of instability which stretches from Pakistan through Iran and the Middle East and on through the Horn of Africa, there is one country—just one—which shares and practices daily the democratic principles which govern our own country. In the Middle East, a region which has been

fertile ground for the seeds of terrorism and tyranny, Israel has been a constant defender of freedom and democracy. The people of Israel, at great cost in blood and treasure, have done their utmost to preserve their security and independence. U.S. interests in the stability of the Middle East dictate the necessity of helping to maintain Israel as an independent, democratic nation with a bright future of economic and human development.

Mr. President, that is the intention and the objective of my amendment. I would urge my colleagues to support this effort to help Israel help itself.

— X

Foreign Policy Notes:

## Inouye Plan Would Give Israel Additional \$3.9 Billion in Aid

Sen. Daniel K. Inouye, D-Hawaii, has proposed a long-term aid plan for Israel that would cost the United States \$3.9 billion, on top of regular and emergency aid that Congress already is considering.

Outlined in a Senate speech on April 17, the Inouye plan would retroactively reduce the interest rate on \$9.4 billion in past loans that the United States made to help Israel buy weapons. The average interest rate on those loans is 12 percent. Inouye's plan would reduce the rate to 5 percent by appropriating, in one chunk, the current value of the total difference, estimated at \$3.9 billion. Because of expected inflation, that change would save Israel \$8.4 billion in interest payments to the United States through the year 2014.

Israel would still pay the United States all the principal on the outstanding loans and \$6.4 billion in the reduced interest charges.

Inouye acknowledged that his proposal "is an extraordinary and unprecedented step," but he insisted it is "quite modest indeed" considering Israel's importance as a U.S. ally.

Congress is considering \$3 billion in regular economic and military aid to Israel in fiscal 1986, plus a special \$1.5 billion emergency aid supplemental to be spread over fiscal 1985-86.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has approved all that aid as part of its fiscal 1986 foreign aid authorization bill (HR 1555), which is expected to reach the House floor on April 30. (*Weekly Report* p. 633)

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in writing its aid bill (S 960), approved the regular \$3 billion but deferred action on the \$1.5 billion emergency aid, at the request of the Reagan administration.

Inouye's proposed aid concession would be in addition to those amounts, which he said would not address the "longer term economic viability and political stability of Israel."

A long-time booster of Israel, Inouye said he would offer his proposal as an amendment to the first 1985 supplemental appropriations bill to be considered by Congress. He is the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

סדר סדר  
ד. 91... סמול... 3... דסים  
סוג בטחוני גלוי  
דמינות  
תאריך נדיים 241400 אפר 85  
584

(8)

אל:

המשרד

חממנכ"ל, מצפ"א. דע: הסברה.

הבקור בניסברג

ב"וושפוסטיי תבקר תוצאות סקר דעת קהל הרצ"ב. על פי הסקר הפומבולריות של הנשיא (542 המרוצים מדוד הסקנדו) הינה הנמוכה מאז אוקטובר 68.

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# Majority Opposes Cemetery Visit

## Most Americans Polled Want Reagan to Cancel Bitburg Stop

By Barry Cosman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

By a slim majority, Americans disapprove of President Reagan's scheduled visit to a German military cemetery and want him to cancel it, according to a nationwide Washington Post-ABC News public opinion poll.

The poll also shows a drop in the public's overall evaluation of Reagan's handling of the presidency—his "approval rating." In the poll, which revealed sharp divisions in the population by gender, age and party affiliation, 54 percent said they approved of Reagan's performance as chief executive, his lowest rating since October 1983.

The survey, conducted Monday night, is the first public poll to measure response to the clamor over Reagan's trip to West Germany next week. It finds that the nation is sharply divided over the visit to the cemetery, over the way Reagan and his advisers have dealt with the matter and over the news media's handling of it.

Fifty-one percent of the people interviewed said they disapprove of Reagan going to Bitburg cemetery, where a number of Nazi SS troops are buried along with other German soldiers. Thirty-nine percent said they approve of the visit, and the remainder offered no opinion.

That question and others elicited sharp partisan differences, with 57 percent of the Republicans interviewed expressing approval of the visit to the cemetery, but 63 percent of the Democrats saying they disapprove. Among independents, 51 percent said they disapprove.

American Jewish leaders and others, including 53 senators, have urged the president not to go Bitburg. Many critics charge that a visit to a cemetery where SS troops

The Washington Post-ABC News public opinion poll on attitudes toward President Reagan's planned visit to Bitburg cemetery was conducted by telephone Monday evening. In all, 1,019 people in the continental United States, selected at random, were interviewed.

The sample was adjusted slightly to conform with Census Bureau figures for the overall

population in regard to age, education, race and gender.

Theoretically, in 19 cases out of 20, a poll of 1,019 people is subject to a margin of sampling error of about 3 percentage points. Practical difficulties in polling may introduce other sources of error, so it cannot be stated with certainty that the poll's findings are within that range.

are buried would serve, in effect, to dishonor the memory of the victims of the Nazi Holocaust.

Reagan, who intends to lay a wreath at the cemetery, maintains that he is not dishonoring Holocaust victims and that he is acting in the name of reconciliation 40 years after the war.

Overall, the public tends to accept Reagan's position: 51 percent of the people interviewed said he would not be dishonoring Holocaust victims, compared with 33 percent who said he would be and 16 percent who said they are not sure.

The public is more evenly split over whether the ceremonies at Bitburg would dishonor American soldiers who fought against the Germans in World War II. Fifty-one percent said the wreath laying

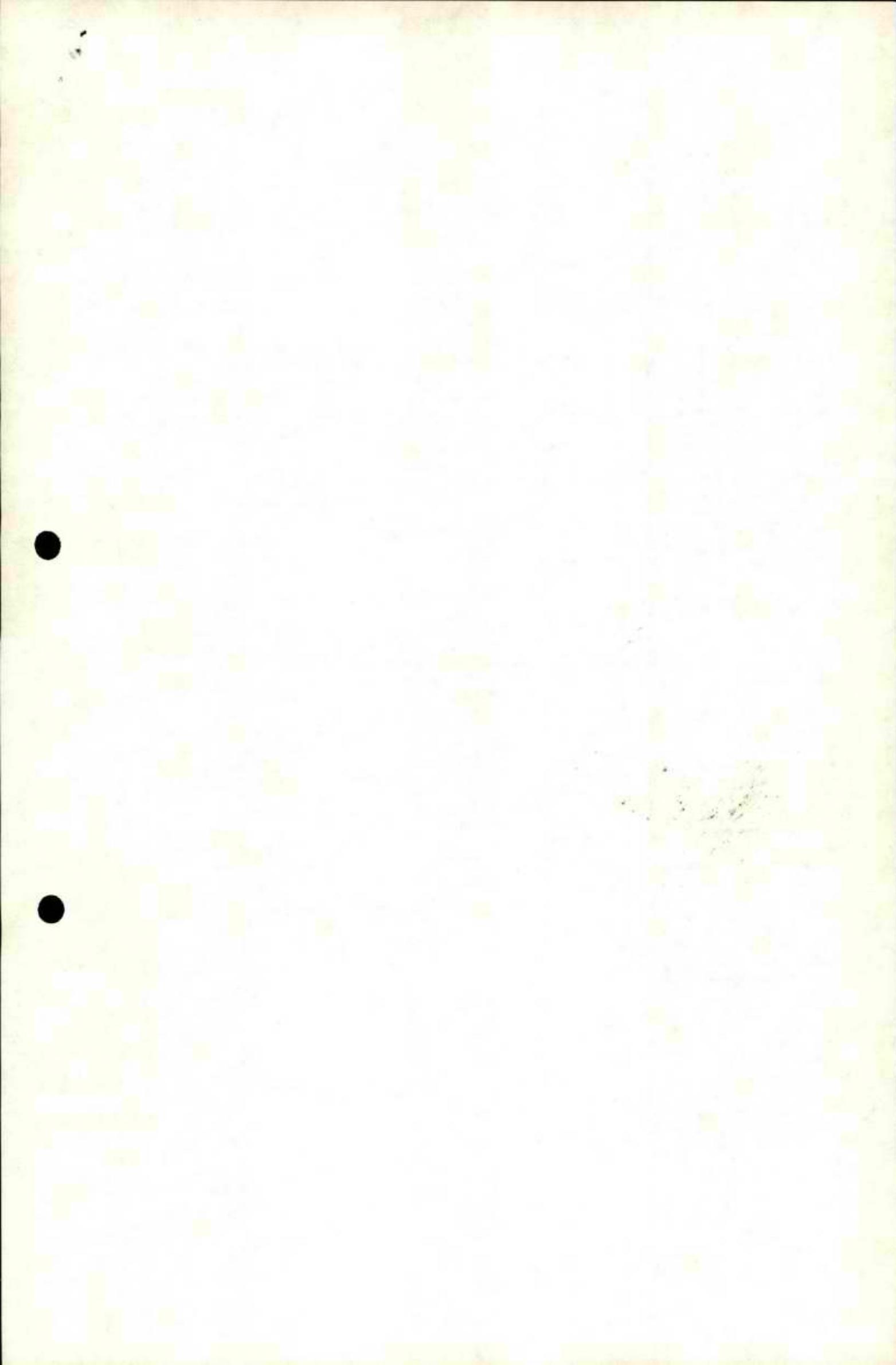
would not have such a symbolic effect; 45 percent said it would.

The poll also found people extremely divided over Reagan's plans to visit Bergen-Belsen, a Nazi concentration camp that was added after the furor over the trip to Bitburg cemetery.

About a third, 34 percent, said that by going to Bergen-Belsen, Reagan "is doing enough to meet the objections" to the ceremonies at Bitburg. But 21 percent seemed to feel that Reagan is caving in under criticism, taking the view that a visit to the concentration camp is "more than he should be doing."

The largest single group, 37 percent, said that visiting Bergen-Belsen is "not as much as Reagan should be doing" to cancel out objections to the Bitburg trip.

Wash Post



594  $\frac{3}{3}$

People were first asked whether they had heard about the Bitburg cemetery visit (84 percent had) and whether they approved or disapproved of it. The arguments for and against the trip were then put forth, and, toward the end, people were asked:

"Suppose you were giving advice to Reagan today: Would you tell him to go ahead with his plans to visit Bitburg cemetery, or would you tell him to cancel his visit there?" With respondents dividing sharply along partisan lines, 52 percent said Reagan should cancel the visit and 44 percent said he should not.

Older Americans, possibly because they have keener memories of World War II, are far more likely than younger ones to criticize the Bitburg visit. Among people over 60 years old, 61 percent said he should cancel the visit and 29 percent said he should go ahead with it. Among the youngest group interviewed, however, those between 18 and 30, 53 percent said he should visit Bitburg.

Women opposed the cemetery visit by 56 percent to 40 percent but men split 49 percent in favor and 47 percent opposed.

Reagan's approval rating was at 68 percent in a Post-ABC News poll in January. It was 62 percent favorable in February and 60 percent in late March.

In this new poll, 45 percent said the nation's news media were paying too much attention to the proposed Bitburg visit, 10 percent said they were not paying enough attention.

polling assistant Kenneth E. John contributed to this report.

# WASHINGTON POST-ABC NEWS POLL

TOTAL DEMOCRATS INDEPENDENTS REPUBLICANS

Q. Suppose you were giving advice to Reagan today: Would you tell him to go ahead with his plans to visit Bitburg cemetery, or would you tell him to cancel his visit there?

Visit Bitburg	44%	34%	43%	61%
Cancel visit	52	62	53	35
No opinion	4	4	4	4

Q. Some American Jewish leaders and others have criticized Reagan's plans to visit Bitburg, saying he is in effect dishonoring the memory of millions of victims of the Nazi Holocaust. Reagan says the visit to Bitburg is to observe postwar U.S. friendship with West Germany and does not dishonor the Holocaust victims. Which of these views is closer to your own?

Dishonoring memory of victims	33%	41%	36%	16%
Observing postwar friendship	51	41	47	72
Other/No opinion	16	18	17	12

Q. Reagan has said that German soldiers buried in the Bitburg cemetery were victims of the Nazis just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps were. Do you agree or disagree with that statement?

Agree	47%	36%	50%	59%
Disagree	45	55	42	33
No opinion	8	9	8	8

Q. Would you agree or disagree if Reagan lays a wreath at Bitburg, he will in effect be dishonoring American soldiers who fought against the Germans in World War II?

Agree	45%	57%	43%	29%
Disagree	51	40	52	67
No opinion	4	3	5	4

Q. Do you think the White House has handled the situation surrounding the president's trip in a proper manner or not?

Handled in a proper manner	47%	40%	47%	58%
Not handled in a proper manner	41	47	40	32
No opinion	12	13	13	10

Q. Would you say the American TV news programs and newspapers have paid too much attention to Reagan's plans to visit Bitburg cemetery, not enough attention, or about the right amount?

Too much attention	45%	35%	45%	58%
Not enough attention	10	13	9	6
About right amount	42	47	42	35
No opinion	3	5	4	1

Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Ronald Reagan is handling his job as president?

Approve	54%	28%	59%	84%
Disapprove	42	68	36	14
No opinion	4	4	5	2

Figures are from a Washington Post-ABC News telephone poll of 1,019 adults interviewed April 22.

Wash Post



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המשרד      בסחון      ניו-יורק  
 520      422      127

אל: הסברה, מעיית, מצפ"א, ממנכ"ל, יגר, לשי רה"מ, דובר צה"ל. דע: ניו-יורק. רמ"ח, קש"ח

NEWS SUMMARY WEDNESDAY APRIL 24, 1985

PALESTINIANS SAY THEIR GOAL WAS TO FREE PRISONERS

WASH POST Two Palestinians guerrillas captured when the Israeli Navy sank their ship said yesterday their mission was to hijack a bus and seize hostages in an effort to obtain the release of 150 Palestinians jailed by Israel.

THE RUSSIANS ARE'NT COMING !

(UPI) WASH POST A Russian Tank T-54 was found in a Baltimore MD. parking lot yesterday, it turned out, the tank is the property of the Egyptian Army and was being taken to Teldine Continental Motors in Michigan for "reverse engineering" = producing spare parts for other tanks - according to a statement issued by the Egyptian Embassy.

ISRAELI STAFF PROTESTS RED SEA HOTEL'S SALE TO CLUB MED CHAIN

(AP) L.A. TIMES Israeli Hotel employees barricaded themselves in a luxury red sea hotel along with their families and threatened Monday to burn it down to protest it's lease to a French resort chain.

MAJORITY OPPOSES CEMETERY VISIT

H. SUSSMAN WASH POST By a slim majority Americans disapprove of President Reagan's scheduled visit to a German Military cemetery and want him to cancel it, according to a nation wide Washington Post- ABC News public opinion poll.

OP-ED

BITBURG : THE LESSON GOT LOST

R. COHEN WASH POST Now that the statement is hopelessly muddled, and Reagan goes to Germany as a president representing something less than all his people. It is still not too late to change matters, to cancel the trip to Bitburg and substitute something else. The president could honor the German Anti-Nazi movement. He could honor the Germany of Hegel and Beethoven... to salute such a nation, the president must first unify his own. This is now Reagan's obligation.

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520 - ס'  
422 - ג'  
127 - נ'

A DISASTER DEvised BY DEaver

J. LOFTON WASH TIMES With Mike Deaver the chief Choreographer of President Reagan's foreign trips, the Nazi cemetery flap was bound to happen. And the only real surprise is that this calamity occurred later than sooner. Mr. Deaver, after all is a man who is more concerned about whether grave markers are colored coordinated with the President's tie, than one concerned about whose names are on the grave markers.

REAGAN COULD TURN IT AROUND

K. E. GRUBBS JR. WASH TIMES Some of us and I include Reagan in this special band of incorrigibles, are constitutionally incapable of seeing a crisis as anything other than an opportunity. The Bitburg scheduling foul-up is a Godsend, a chance for Reagan to make his imprint on history with morally realigning words, a chance to send cadences of guilt and redemption over a new landscape of liberty.

פיליפ

הנהגתו של דיוניסיון - 1-2  
הנהגתו של דיוניסיון







משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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סודי ביותר

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מל: המשרד, נד: 517, מ: 118  
דח: ד, סג: מ, מא: 240485, רח: 1200

סודי ביותר/רגיל

רהמ' שהח, שר האוצר.

להכרך נוביק 116

1. התקשר אחי הבוקר סנטור בייזן. מסר שהוא CO-SPONSOR של  
הצעת אינדייה. אמרתי לו שאנו מאד מודים על היוזמה אך טעדיפים  
לחכות עד לאחד ביקוד טולץ בארץ.

הוא הדגיש ש:-

א. מטרת הצעתנו בנושא הדיבייט היא להזק את הסיכויים להענות  
חיונית ולא לפגוע חס וחלילה בקבלת הסכום שביקשנו.  
גם אם ההצעה שלהם להורדת הדיבייט מתקבל ביחס לדיבייט לשנה  
אחת בלבד, הרי עגם אז יהיה רדוח של חצי בליזן דולר כהסכון  
בדיבייט. (הסכום הוא למעשה קטן יותר).

הגשת ההצעה תמקד את המיפול בבקשתנו וחייב את הממשל ליסור  
היוזמה.

1. באשר לעיתוי הגשת הצעתם, הוא יתאם הכל אחנו כדי שלא לפגוע  
בסיכויים שלנו לקבל את כל הסכום המבוקש בבקשתנו  
המקודמת, ובזונתו רק להגדיל את הסכום הכולל.

2. מסרתי לו על הפגישה היום עם אינדייה ונדע כמובן להיות אתו  
בקשר.  
לודן

9פ: שהח, טנכל, טמנכל, מצפא, דודרי, אוצר

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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סודי ביותר

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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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מלך יוסף, נר"ו 216, מ"ו המשרד  
דח"ב, סג"ס, תא"י 240485, זח"ו 1500

ד"ר/בהול טפל

מלך יוסף השגריר רוונן, הציר דני הלפרין  
לעניינם בלבד / חר"ב

מאת: נמרוד נוביק - לשכת רוה"ס

השגריר, הלפרין - לעניינם בלבד/חר"ב.  
לשכתם 1467 על דעת כל הגורמים מוצע לבקש דחיית סיפוק לפחות  
עד לאחר ביקור סוכץ באדץ.

העקרונות המנחים:

א. יוזמה ברוכה.

ב. לא לכתב נגד הממשל בכלל והמוכיר בפרט.

ג. עצמאות שמה.

ד. נמרוד נוביק, לשכת דאה"ס.

תפ"ו שהח, רהמ, מנבלאוצר, מנבל, מסנכל, מצפא



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

DENNY SMITH  
OREGON

April 24, 1985

His Excellency Shimon Peres  
Prime Minister of Israel  
c/o Embassy of Israel  
Washington, D. C. 20008

Dear Prime Minister Peres:

It was an honor to meet with you on our recent visit to Israel.

My wife, Kathleen and I had a wonderful week in your beautiful country, and look forward to a return visit in the future.

Your kindness is very much appreciated and we wish you much success in all of your future endeavors.

Again, thank you for the wonderful hospitality.

Respectfully,  
Denny

Denny Smith  
Member of Congress

DS:kp

April 23, 1985

His Excellency  
Shimon Peres  
Prime Minister of the  
State of Israel  
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Please accept my best wishes on the special occasion of the 37th anniversary of the modern birth of the State of Israel.

Israel's struggle for freedom has a special significance for the American people and all those who share our democratic tradition and love of liberty. For the past 37 years, the United States has been a steadfast friend and supporter of Israel. That firm support will continue because it is grounded in the shared traditions and values of our two great peoples. Israel and the U.S. are allies in the defense of freedom. Let me take this opportunity to personally reaffirm our commitment to Israel's security and well-being.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

/s/

Ronald Reagan

# Press bulletin

JERUSALEM, 24 APRIL 1985

MESSAGES TO PRIME MINISTER ON ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE DAY  
(COMMUNICATED BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE)

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

HIS EXCELLENCY SHIMON PERES,  
PRIME MINISTER OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL,  
JERUSALEM.

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER,

PLEASE ACCEPT MY BEST WISHES ON THE SPECIAL OCCASION OF THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MODERN BIRTH OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

ISRAEL'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM HAS A SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND ALL THOSE WHO SHARE OUR DEMOCRATIC TRADITION AND LOVE OF LIBERTY. FOR THE PAST 37 YEARS THE U.S. HAS BEEN A STEADFAST FRIEND AND SUPPORTER OF ISRAEL. THAT SAME SUPPORT WILL CONTINUE BECAUSE IT IS GROUNDED IN THE SHARED TRADITIONS AND VALUES OF OUR TWO GREAT PEOPLES.

ISRAEL AND THE U.S. ARE ALLIES IN THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM. LET ME TAKE THIS OPORTUNITY TO PERSONALLY REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY AND WELL BEING.

WITH WARMEST REGARDS, SINCERELY,  
RONALD REAGAN.

\*\*\*\*\*

(לעמ 4) מברק ברכה של נשיא ארה"ב, רונלד ריגן לרה"מ

(ירושלים) 24.4- להלן נוסח מברק הברכה ששיגר נשיא ארה"ב לראש הממשלה:

"ראש ממשלה יקר,

אנא קבל איחולי הלבביים לרגל יום העצמאות ה-37 למדינת ישראל.

למאבקה של ישראל לחופש נודעת חשיבות מיוחדת לעם האמריקאי ולכל השותפים למסורת הדמוקרטית ולאהבת החרות. משך 37 השנים שעברו היתה ארה"ב תמיד ידידה ותומכת בישראל. תמיכה זו תימשך גם בעתיד כי היא מעוגנת במסורות ובערכים המשותפים לשני עמינו הגדולים.

ישראל וארה"ב הן בנות-ברית בהגנה על החרות. הרשה לי בהזדמנות זאת לאשר אישית, מחדש, את מחוייבותנו לבטחונה ולרווחתה של ישראל.

באיחולי החמים ביותר, שלך,

רונלד ריגן".

WILLIAM E. DANNEMEYER  
39TH DISTRICT CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEES:  
ENERGY AND COMMERCE  
JUDICIARY



WASHINGTON OFFICE  
1214 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BLDG  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515  
(202) 225-4111

DISTRICT OFFICE  
1235 NORTH HARBOR BOULEVARD  
SUITE 100  
FULLERTON, CA 92632  
(714) 992-0141

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

April 23, 1985

His Excellency Shimon Peres  
Prime Minister of Israel  
& Embassy of Israel  
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Prime Minister Peres:

It was a true honor to visit with you during our recent trip to your country.

I thought you might find of interest the enclosed weekly news column, released by my congressional office, summarizing my thoughts about the visit to Israel.

Many thanks for your hospitality and our informative session. Much success to you in dealing with the problems Israel faces.

Respectfully yours,

William E. Dannemeyer  
Member of Congress

WED:lag

Enc.

# Congressman Bill Dannemeyer



## WASHINGTON REPORT

DAVE ELLIS (714)992-0141  
JOHN SHELK (202)225-4111

### REFORM, U.S. AID AND THE ISRAELI ECONOMY

What happens to the economy of a country when the money supply grows at a markedly greater rate than the economy? In two words: rampant inflation. With runaway inflation, the very fabric of a society is stretched to the breaking point, even though most of the wages and prices are indexed to the inflation rate.

We went to Israel over the Congressional Easter recess, (not at taxpayer expense I hasten to add), leaving from New York on Sunday, April 7 and returning Monday, April 15. When we left, it cost 860 Israeli shekels to buy one U.S. dollar. When we returned the same purchase required 901 shekels. A 4.6% decrease in the value against the U.S. dollar in eight days! Inflation in Israel is running at the rate of 12-15% per month even though the government recently froze most prices. How can such a thing happen?

About twenty years ago the Israeli government adopted a law which permitted up to 20% of the annual national budget to be financed by direct borrowing from the Israeli national bank. This provision was not utilized until about five years ago when resorting to it became necessary because rising public spending forced by continued government borrowing from the available pool of credit in Israel had pushed interest rates to unacceptably high levels. Permitting a government to print money to finance public spending in this fashion is not unlike permitting a drug addict to have access to an almost unlimited supply of narcotics and at the same time hoping he will kick his habit.

Fortunately, for the people of Israel, the head of the Israeli National Bank and the Israeli Director of Finance both have recommended to the Knesset that this ability to borrow money directly from the national bank be phased out over three years. For the sake of the stability of the economy of Israel, it is hoped that the Knesset will adopt this recommendation. Until it is adopted, the pursuit of social justice in Israel will be delayed and rampant inflation will continue with a consequent threat to the economy of that country.

Defense costs in Israel consume 27% of its annual national budget. Interest on its national debt of \$24 billion U.S. dollars costs another 18% and repayment of debt consumes an additional 14% (1983 figures). This leaves a shrinking percentage for financing all other costs of government.

Defense costs in Israel are unavoidable. The country is facing a threat from the north, Syria, with ten million people and a 500,000 person army. The Russians are providing arms for Syria, paid for with Arab oil money. Jordan, to the east of Israel, another Arab country, is still in a state of war with Israel. Fortunately for Israel, a peace treaty has been concluded with Egypt to the south which hopefully will be respected. All Israeli men and women, aged 16-70, serve in the armed forces. Each person serves three years active duty and the balance in reserve. Its standing army of 50,000 is called upon to protect the country for 24-48 hours after which full mobilization is accomplished. Each reservist annually serves one month of active duty with the military. The person's civilian pay continues during this interval.

A good question for any U.S. taxpayer is, why should the U.S. be involved in assisting Israel? (During FY1985, the U.S. provided \$2.6 billion in assistance to Israel -- \$1.2 billion in economic assistance and \$1.4 billion for military sales). The answer is twofold:

- (1) Israel has established a pluralistic democracy assuring full respect for human rights and providing religious, political and economic freedom; and,
- (2) the willingness of the Israeli people to defend their freedom and resist Soviet expansionism since the modern State of Israel was established in 1948 has won the respect of the world.

Israel does not ask the U.S. for American military personnel. Only for military equipment and technology to permit it to be a part of the free world.

When time permits, I would like to travel to Jordan to get that nation's perspective on solving the Palestinian question in Judea and Samaria. This area, the West Bank, presents a major problem which some believe almost defies solution. Patience, mutual respect and time will hopefully permit a resolution of this thorny conflict between the children of Ishmael, the Arabs and Isaac, the Jews, that goes back to the time of Abraham.

רמ"ד 4 מתוך 1

אל: הסברה, מע"ת, לש' מסנב"ל, יועץ רוח"ם לחקירות, מספ"א.

לש' יג

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ממא: קתונר

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מס. מברק:

News Summary April 23, 1985

Editorials

DN "Stop, Mr. Reagan-and Consider" Reagan was misled by the German Gov't, disserved by his staff. But the final decision is his. The consequences are his. His presence at the graves of the SS will be taken as an implication that those SS men could be forgiven. Never.

ND "Cancel Reagan's Cemetary Visit" Reagan's trip to German has turned into an embarrassment not only for the White House but for the entire nation. Reagan must abandon his visit to Bitburg. Reporedly, Reagan is under pressure from Kohl to attend Bitburg. But the bitter anti-Nazi demonstrations that are sure to greet Reagan's arrival at Bitburg aren't likely to prove politically advantageous to Kohl-or Reagan.

Columns

NYT-Schanberg-Sometimes Presidents and policy makers, caught and distracted by their geopolitical balancing acts, seem to lose the memory of the great strength that is derived from being a "moral nation." "eisel implored Reagan "to do something else, to find another way."

NYP-Podhoretz "The Worst Effect of Bitburg Visit" Reagan's intrasigence in refusing to cancel the Bitburg visit is hard to understand. He has changed his mind on other things, for example, against Syrian instigation for the attacks on our troops in Lebanon, he promised to attack, but did not. Only on Bitburg are his feet in concrete. What makes this incident so serious is that it undermines the very foundation on which Reagan's foreign policy is based the idea that there is something special, unique about totalitarian states. Reagan is treating Nazi Germany as if it were just another country involved in war.

ND-Barth-"Reagan Shames America by Visiting Nazi Graves" Reagan's "spirit of reconciliation" is as selective as his sense of history. The "veterans bloc" and the Jewish bloc" lost meaning to Reagan once he won his last race. What matters is Reagan is the hospitality afforded by the Kohl Gov't to US nuclear missiles. There is an election in Germany next month. Dead Germans don't vote but their offspring does.

NYT-Orrin Hatch "Reject the Genocide Convention" There is every reason to reject the Genocide Convention in its present form. Hostile nations could make trouble for the "S and its allies with the Convention. Imagine the year 1990 and the Israeli PM is in NY. He gets arrested for genocide

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לשם  
הקשר

:DND

against the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank. He is to be turned over to the International Penal Tribunal of the UN. Israel is a favorite target of the Arab states and the UN. This fantasy could become harsh reality if the US endorses the Convention. We are all opposed to genocide, but the Genocide Convention, as proposed, is unacceptable.

DN-Buckley-"Breslin vs. Lehrman: Is Nothing Sacred?" Breslin was the noisiest voice in town after word got out that Lehrman converted. There can't be any higher price our public men pay than that of exposure to cynics, who for reasons not readily explained cannot understand what it is that happens to people, even public people, when they believe they have heard the word of God.

Press Reports

PLO Planned Raid on Tel-Aviv

NYT-AP-A commander of the PLO in Amman said that guerrillas aboard a freighter sunk by Israel had been on their way to launch an attack on the military headquarters in Tel Aviv. (see ND-combined)

Palestinian Found Guilty in Deaths of 2 Israelis

NYT-special-A Palestinian resident of a refugee camp in the occupied West Bank was convicted of the murder of two Israelis six month ago. Last week, an Israeli soldier was sentenced to life in prison for firing a rocket at a busfull of Arabs in Jerusalem. Ben-Shimon said he was acting in revenge for the muder of the two murdered Israelis.

US-Israel Trade Pact

NYT-Tolchin-The US and Israel signed a trade agreement intended to eliminate all trade tariffs between the two nations in ten years. The agreement was signed by Brock and Ariel Sharon in Washington. Dan Halprein said the agreement will increase trade between the two countries.

Lebanon

NYT-Mijazi-(photo of Geagea announcing a cease-fire) The Christian militia that had been fighting with Moslems around Sidon announced a cease-fire but artillery exchanges continued after the agreement awas supposed to take place. Each side blamed the other of not adhering to the cease-fire.

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Sana Hassan in Israel

NYT-p.2-Friedman-Sana Hassan, daughter of an ex-Egyptian Ambassador to the US went to Israel years before peace. She is still in Israel doing post-doc research. She recently completed a book about her experiences and it will be serialized in Yediot Ahronot. She states that Israelis don't understand that Egyptians are also disappointed in what happened to the peace process. She believes that the Begin Govt did everything in its power to antagonize Egypt's Arab neighbors. She is however, encouraged by Peres's latest response to Egypt. Hassan is a staunch advocate of Palestinian rights. She sees Israel as a very Mideastern country, with certain European enclaves, like the kibbutzim and the universities.

Kohl Will Not Suggest Alternative to Bitburg

NYT-Markham-A close aide to Kohl said Reagan gave Kohl a firm promise that the US would not change its plans for a visit to Bitburg. Kohl impressed on Reagan the importance of the visit for himself. West German and US officials attribute the problems to the fact that the details were originally agreed upon at too high a level, without the advise of experts.

NYT-special-Moynihan urged Reagan to cancel his visit to Bitburg in a speech on the Senate floor. (see DN-Rainie)

NYP-Seifman-City Councilman Noach Dear vowed he would go to Germany and embarrass Reagan if he visits Bitburg.

Reagan Aide Nixed Earlier Jewish Appearance

New York Magazine-Intelligencer-Thurcher-Micheal Dever, whose plans ignited the recent uproar, apparently also nixed pleas from Republicans for the President to visit the new West Point Jewish Chapel. Messe thought it was a great idea, but Dever disagreed. A Jewish leader suggested that Reagan's aides thought he over extended himself towards the Jews during the campaign and didn't get enough in return.

Mengele

NYT-Shenon-A Justice Dept. official said that Mengele would probably be captured. Neal Sher, said he believes Mengele is alive and that he will probably get caught. He spoke at the Inagural Cermony of the American Gathering of Holocaust Survivors, in Philadelphia. (see NYP-DN)

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 לשם זיהוי

:מאח

Israeli Pizzas and other Foreign Products Can't Get Into US

WSJ-p.1-Hall-20,000 Israeli pizzas can't get off the boat. Hundreds of food products that had been freely let into this country are now barred. The reason is that the Gov'e is trying to protect the powerful domestic sugar industry. In the process, many unpowerful importers are getting hurt and angry. But not all the food imported has sugar in it.

Book Reviews

NYT-Gross-Imagining Hitler by Alvin Rosenfeld and Inside the Vicious Heart by Robert Abzug are reviewed. Imagining Hitler is a brief survey of fictional accounts of Hitler. Inside the Vicious Heart tells of the experiences US Jews had inside the camps.

Cartoons

DN-Evers-Reagan is tied to a spit, like a pig. The fire underneath says "Bitburg."

NYT-Rigby-Huge letters reading "Don't Go" are in the background of Reagan and his top advisors. Reagan says "G'mon guys, think! There must be a way out of this mess!"

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Handwritten notes in Hebrew:   
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 נחמה ע"מ א"ת

דייר נמרוד נוביק, לשכת ראש הממשלה - לנמען בלבד

אל - על

בהמשך לשיחתנו הטלפונית:

מאז ה - 1 במרס לא חלה כל חזוזה, למרות ההבטחות שניתנו בשם ראש הממשלה לליין קירשנבד.  
 אל - על ממשיכה בתרגילי דחיה שיוצרים רושם בצד השני כי <sup>1.5</sup>אמינות להבטחותינו ואין כל כוונה  
 רצינית לסיים מיידית את הסכסוך על בסיס שני העשונות שקבע ראש הממשלה: החזרת כל העובדים,  
 ללא יוצא מן הכלל ופטרון השאלות שנשארו שנויות במחלוקת על ידי בוורות מוסכמת ומחייבת  
 מבלי להכנס לנבכי מערכת היחסים הפנימית ב"אל-על" הרי ברור שהנהלת אל-על בניו-יורק  
 מתנגדת לפטרון המוסכם, ובאמצעות עורך דינה האמריקאי, שהוא כשלעצמו מטליח אדומת עבר  
 האיגוד המקצועי, נוקטת בכל דרך אפשרית למנוע ישוב הסכסוך.

אי אפשר עוד להמשיך בדרך זאת, בשבוע השני של מאי מתכנסת בווינגטון מועצת ה - AFL-CIO  
 ואם עד אז לא יהיה פטרון, קשה יהיה למנוע קבלת החלטה על חרם על ה"בונדס" שמטענות נזק  
 כספי מידי של עשרות מיליוני דולרים, הרש מטעל שנבנה בעמל רב של שנים, קשה יהיה לחקו,  
 והשלכות חמורות על האמינות העסקית של ה"בונדס" בארה"ב. גם אם נקבל ללא ערעור את מטפרי  
 "אל-על" על החסכון שנגרם להם מאז השבתה, הרי הנזק שכבר נגרם ל"בונדס" בהמנעות מרכישת  
 ומחידוש אגרות כבר עולה על כל חסכון שיש ל"אל-על" והטלה חרם הגדיל נזק זה במידה חמורה.  
 זאת, מלבד הנזק המדיני וההסברתי לטווח ארוך שיגרם ליחסים שבין ממשלת ישראל לבין המועצת  
 העבודה האמריקנית.

אין מוצא אחר מאשר עמידה על הסיכום שקבע ראש הממשלה, והפקעת ניהול המו"מ מתבלעדיות של  
 "אל-על" ועורך דינה האמריקני. כשם שהממשלה מתערבת במו"מ על שכר של חברות ממשלתיות  
 אחרות כך היא יכולה לעשות גם בעניין "אל-על", למרות היותה פורמלית בסמכות כונס נכסים.  
 שהרי הממשלה קיבלה החלטות בענייני "אל-על" גם במבנה המשפטי הקיים, כגון הטיטות בשבת,  
 כדי להבטיח סיום מהיר של הרשה יש למנות נציג מטעם רוה"מ או רומ"מ ושר האוצר או של  
 הממשלה שישתחף במו"מ בסמכות מלאה ויבטיח את סיומו המהיר. בכל מקרה יש להורות ל"אל-על"  
 חד-משמעית כי בהגישה הבאה עם המכונאים יש להביא לסיום המרשה, להחזיר את כל העובדים  
 ולקבוע את הבוררות, ויש להמשיך את המו"מ עד שייצא עשן לבן, וללא הפסקה.

דני בלון

תמוצה: סגיר, ציר, ציר כלכלי בלבד

ממ המ דוד דוד / אבא / אנה גוט



2728 178  
1015...2...מחוק...97  
.....בסמוך  
.....דחיסות  
.....מאריך וזייח  
.....מסי סבר

אלו

394/493

MR. KALB: I have, in the most generous of ways, just a few moments ago, told you as much as I cannot.

Q I don't think it was overly generous so let me ask you this: Does other stops in the Middle East, apart from Yad Vashem, depend on the outcome of Mr. Murphy's talks?

MR. KALB: I have not, in any way, shared any kind of itinerary with you beyond the 14th and the 15th.

Q But that wasn't my question.

MR. KALB: And so I have left that as something of a question mark and that's —

Q You're not really responding. The question is whether Murphy's trip will have a bearing on the Shultz travels, too.

MR. KALB: That's a nice try and I'm going to stand by —

Q It's not a nice try, it's a question.

MR. KALB: All right. It's a nice question and I'll stay away from that question as well.

Q So you won't answer it?

MR. KALB: I'm not going to offer any ideas that presuppose a linkage between achievement or lack of achievement and itineraries.

Q That's good.

Q Can you steer us away from the today Washington Post story quoting U.S. officials that the visit was not successful? Can you say no or yes?

MR. KALB: I decline the invitation to become something of a diplomatic chauffeur. I won't steer you in either direction. You can make your own assessments because I have absolutely nothing to contribute to that assessment or any kind of assessments you choose to make on the Murphy trip.

מאמר זה מובא כאן כפי שפורסם ב"הארץ" - 1977

אלו  
המשרד

(12)

ש.ר.ק. 200  
ד.ד. 2... 2... ד.ד. 2...  
סווג בסחובי... שמו...  
דחיסות... רגיל  
מאריך וזיית... 1415 23 אפר' 85  
489  
מס' מברק...

אל :- מצפ"א, ממ"ד

משיחה עם פיטר ברלי Burleigh מסגניו של האריס באגף מזח"ת ה-INR.

1. ברלי היה ממשלחתו של אובי שנפגשה לאחיונה עם ערפאת בסיורה במזח"ת. הדגיש שהוא עצמו לא השתתף בשיחה ("הרי לא הייתם - ישראל - מאשרים") וכל מה שדווח לגביה בא מפי אובי והאחרים. אגב, הוא צורף למשלחת לא מטעם INR או גוף ממסלי אחר אלא בתוקף היותו בזמנו קצין קשר בין ועדת ההקצבות למחמ"ד תחת בוב פלאטן.

2. המשלחת חזרה עם מטרים מעורפלים ובהחלט לא חד משמעיים. הוא עצמו נוטה לראותם באור פסימי בשעה שחברי הקונגרס פחות חמורים. אובי התבטא שבהשוואה לפגישה ב-77 הרי הפעם ערפאת לא טרק הדלת. המסר הברור והחמור עפ"י ברלי הוא ש-3 המשתתפים בתסריט הנוכחי מצרים, ירדן ואש"פ אינם משדרים על גל אחד. מצרים היחידה המדברת בעקביות על כך שהמהלך הבא אחרי, הקמת משלחת ירדנית - פלסטינאית וכינון דיאלוג בינה לבין ארה"ב חייב להיות שיחות ישירות עם ישראל. ירדן ואש"פ מתנגדים. מפגישותיהם הנפרדות עם אנשי אש"פ והירדנים עולה ראיתן השונה ולעיתים המנוגדת. ירדן מדברת בקול אחד ושהושגה לכאורה הבנה עם ערפאת ב-2 מכלולים :  
(א) לירדן שמורה המנהיגות.

(ב) נושא החוץ והבטחון יהיו בריבונותה ואחריותה.  
ערפאת חמקני (Elusive) ומוכן רק להכיר בכך שבאופן כללי לחוסין תפקיד מוביל אך קיים שוויון באשר ליתר, משלחת וקונפדרציה. ברלי חזר והדגיש שחוט השני בדברי ערפאת הוא שהדיונים עם ירדן בנושאים הנ"ל יימשכו וטרם סוכמו. בהקשר זה ברלי מציע לשים לב לכך שהועדה המרכזית של"פפתח" שהתכנסה בבגדאד הפכה לגוף המרכזי לעומת הירידה במעמדו של הועד הפועל של אש"פ (הדגשה זו שמעתי גם באגף של פיטר רודמן). הירדנים חזרו גם על החשיבות שמיחסים לכינוס ועידת ג'ינבה כסמל והתפזרות לדיון ממשי בקבוצות עבודה.

3. נושא זה עלה בעקיפין בפגישה עם זייד רפאעי. החרשמו מאישיותו ונחישותו. רה"מ ירדן הגיב בצחוק על כך שהמשלחת העלתה בפניו את נושא קש"ד או קרבנתו לסוריה. רפאעי טען לאורך כל הדרך שאי אפשר להוציאה ממעגל הפעילות המדינית וצריך לחשוב כיצד To accomodate Syria אין לז פתרון או הצעה לכך. בנתיים הוא פועל במסגרת הנחיות המלך, לשמור על קשר רצוף ופתוח עתה בעיקר ב-2 נושאים :

אל:

- (א) להפיג תחושה שירדן פועלת מאחורי גבה ונגד האינטרסים של דמשק.
- (ב) להפסיק או לפחות לצמצם את פעילות הטרור והפיגועים הבאים משטחה.

4. נשק. הירדנים העלו נושא הרכש. טענו שחייבים להיות במצב של מוכנות צבאית במיוחד שמא מצפון (סוריה) תפתח הרעה. טענו, על בסיס נתונים שהקריאו, שלנוכח אספקת האמל"ח הסובייטי לסוריה מאז 82 נוצרה עדיפות של כלים בכל בטוחים ביחס של 6:1. ביחוד עמדו על הצורך בהשגת טילי הוק ניידים, החלפת החימוש במטוסי F-5 וקבלת F-16.

5. סוריה, הביקור היה מדכא. נפגשו עם ה"ד א.ס. שינן בפניהם שלא השגת איזון אסטרטגי עם ישראל סוריה לא תכנס לשום מהלך פוליטי. לשאלה מתי זה יקרה ומי יחליט וכיצד השיב "בקרוב" לא, הזכיר כלל רמה"ג. פארוק א-שרע' וזועבי (יו"ר הפרלמנט) דקלמו מהכתב עיקרי מדיניות אסד.

6. INR לעומת NEA. בשיחה ארוכה העלה היריבות ההיסטורית בתהליך קבלת הערכות והמלצות לביצוע מדיניות. הסביר שעיקרה נובע, פרט לראיה שונה לעיתים, מכך שלאחר שהפוליטיקאים במחמ"ד יצאו עם נייר עמדה קשה להם מבחינת אישית ויוקרתי לקבל ביקורת או הערות והם תמיד מבקשים מ-INR <sup>את</sup> ה-Opportunities שבו. בתוך כך ציין שבשעה שמורטון אברמוביץ ראש ה-INR החדש עדיין מגשש בין הזרועות השונים במחמ"ד יתרונו, לעומת קודמו, הוא שהיא מקורב למקבלי ההחלטות שבמחמ"ד, אך לעומת זאת קשריו עם ה-C.I.A. וה-D.O.D. רופפים וכך נפגעו הקשרים בין הזרועות הנ"ל ל-INR.

אלי אבידן  
f/c

מרת רחמייה שיהיה מ/א/א  
מרת רחמייה שיהיה מ/א/א  
מרת רחמייה שיהיה מ/א/א





# Telegram

NO. WDS.—CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	THIS MESSAGE WILL BE SENT AS A TELEGRAM UNLESS IT IS OTHERWISE INDICATED.	PRESS		OVER NIGHT TELEGRAM
			GWA 332066		DPR	NPR	

Send the following message, subject to the Telegraph Company's conditions, rules and regulations, which are on file with regulatory authorities.

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April 15, 1985

187 <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub>

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
 President of the United States  
 The White House  
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I know how deeply you feel about the Holocaust. You did not have to advise your Secretary of State to support my efforts in behalf of Raoul Wallenberg, but you did. You did not have to hold a historic Rose Garden signing ceremony for the legislation making Raoul Wallenberg the second honorary citizen of the United States in our nation's history, but you did. You did not have to invoke the memory of Wallenberg in the context of the nightmare of the Holocaust on so many occasions, but you did.

I can testify to how you felt about the Second World War — its criminals, its heroes, and its victims. I was with you at our military cemetery at the Normandy beaches when you paid tribute to the American and Allied heroes who gave their lives to defeat Hitler's tyranny and to return free and open and democratic societies to the people of Western Europe.

You are about to make a symbolic mistake of colossal proportions. In friendship, goodwill, and respect, I urge you to announce today that you will, first, pay tribute to the American and Allied heroes of the Second World War by visiting a cemetery where they rest and by not visiting a cemetery where Nazi troops are buried, and that you will, second, visit Dachau to remind Germans, Americans, and the whole world of the nightmare of the Holocaust. To do anything less would be an affront to the dead, an insult to the living, and a betrayal of your own values.

Cordially,

Tom Lantos  
 Member of Congress

3/13

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

487  $\frac{3}{3}$

April 19, 1985

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

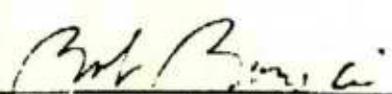
Dear Mr. President:

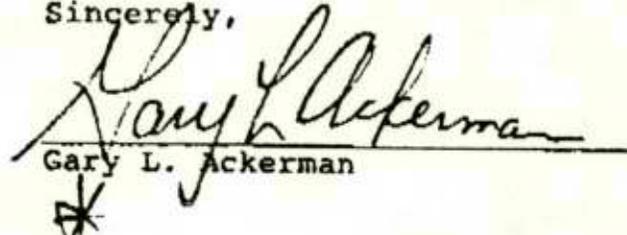
We are writing with respect to your upcoming visit to Germany from April 30-May 10. Although we recognize your desire to work toward full reconciliation with our German allies, we believe it is inappropriate to visit the cemetery in Bitburg where soldiers from the elite Nazi guard, the SS, are buried. We believe that a ceremony at this cemetery would be a dishonor to the American soldiers who fought to save the world from Hitler's deadly campaign, as well as for victims of the genocide perpetrated by the Nazis.

We feel that a ceremony to commemorate the death of even one individual who participated in the Nazi war crimes would denigrate the significance of your trip. As you know, many of us would have preferred that your original itinerary include a stop at the Dachau concentration camp, the site where tens of thousands of innocent victims lost their lives to the Nazis. However, a visit to such a site does not obviate the insult of the ceremony at Bitburg.

Reconciliation is a goal which all Americans can support. However, at the same time, we firmly believe that retaining our commitment to remembering the victims of this terrible period in history cannot be overshadowed. We fear that could easily be the result of the planned ceremony at Bitburg. The crimes which took place during the Holocaust are of such great magnitude that the United States, as the leader of the free world, must maintain a vigilant respect for those Americans and Europeans who lost their lives to the Nazis. Therefore, the act of laying a wreath at the tombs of the Waffen SS is a particular affront to countless Americans, and other people throughout the world, whose closest relatives and friends lost their lives during World War II. Therefore, we respectfully urge you to remove the Bitburg ceremony from your itinerary and replace it with a visit to a site which would signify your commitment to remembrance in addition to reconciliation.

Sincerely,

  
Robert A. Borski

  
Gary L. Ackerman

2722 2212

דעם.....דעם.....דעם.....דעם

.....גלגל.....גלגל.....גלגל

.....גלגל.....גלגל.....גלגל

.....גלגל.....גלגל.....גלגל

.....גלגל.....גלגל.....גלגל

אלו

ניו-יורק

בטחון

המטרד

123

391

476

אל: הטברה, מעיית, מצטיא, ממנכ"ל, יגר, לשי רוה"מ, דובר צה"ל. דע: ניו-יורק.  
רמ"ח, קשיח

NEWS SUMMARY APRIL 23 1985

OP-ED

IN MIDEAST IT'S 'YANKEE COME BACK'

L.A. TIMES R. STRAUS AND K. WOLLACK President Reagan had two demonstrable foreign-policy failures in his first term, Lebanon and the Arab-Israeli peace plan of September 1982. To some extent the former may have been unavoidable. The latter was more self-inflicted. But in both cases the President walked away unscathed. He must know that if he is'nt extremely cautious this time around, he probably won't be three times lucky.

THE PRESS REPORTS

U.S. IS URGED TO REVIVE MIDEAST EFFORT

D. OTTAWAY J. GOSHKO WASH POST Two Arabs called yesterday for a greater U.S. effort to revive the Mideast peace process amid reports that Ass't Secretary of State Murphey was having problems with his mission to the region to find new ways of involving Jordan and the Palestinians in expanded talks. Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan said that there has been an "apparent movement" by President Reagan, and Sect. Gen of the Arab League Klibi called on to the U.S. to take advantage of "new positive elements" in the Arab stands toward peace talks.

U.S. ISRAEL SIGN TRADE AGREEMENT The U.S. and Israel signed an agreement yesterday that will eliminate all trade barriers between them within 10 years, a move that President Reagan hailed as adding "a new dimension to the special relationship between our countries".

ISRAELI SHIP SINKS FATAH ATTACK FORCE KILLING 21

(UPI) WASH POST Palestinians commandos in a merchant ship sunk Saturday night by an Israeli missile boat were members of Fatah. The ship was sunk about 100 miles of the Israeli coast, killing the captain and twenty guerrillas who were on a terrorist mission.

— 11/11

Handwritten notes and signatures at the bottom of the page, including a large signature that appears to be "אברהם" and other illegible markings.



(11)

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665



לשכת ראש הממשלה

סודי

22/4/85

דהת/אכל

אל: השגריר מאיר רוזן  
הציר דני הלפרין

לעיניהם בלבד/חר"ב

מאת: נמרוד נוביק, לשכת ראה"מ

רצ"ב מכתב ראה"מ אל המזכיר שולק. אנא העבר לתעודתו  
עוד היום.

בתודה ובברכה,

נמרוד נוביק

רה"מ שרת ה"פ יואל טייטלבוים (איווהנק ישרא)

214  
6065

ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem

April 22, 1985.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Thank you for your letter of April 7, 1985 and the opportunity to benefit from the experience and knowledge as well as the professional and friendly advice of Professors Herb Stein and Stanley Fischer.

Finance Minister Moday and I have given thorough consideration to the elements of the ten-point framework developed by Stein, Fischer and Emanuel Sharon. It was further discussed in our most recent Cabinet session (on Sunday, April 14, 1985) which was part of a series of sessions dedicated to a comprehensive review of our economic policy.

Both the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Israel continue to study the implications of the framework in order to evaluate its operational dimensions and to suggest the required cabinet decisions.

Cognizant of the time constraints that are involved, I would like to share with you at this point some observations about the various elements, bearing in mind that the process is still in motion and the decisions required are far-reaching. As they relate to the corresponding points in the framework, they are:

1. The Government, along with the Bank of Israel, will set quarterly inflation targets. These will serve as guidelines to the Ministry of Finance for updating the budget and to the Bank of Israel for its monetary policy. If possible, the consent of the social partners will be secured.
2. As you know, the budget for this year has been enacted. The Ministry of Finance will set quarterly targets for expenditures, revenues and deficits, taking into account the inflationary targets. Each quarter the Ministry will conduct a detailed performance review, will analyze deviations and recommend to the cabinet corrective measures as deemed necessary.
3. The budget law, as enacted by the Knesset, incorporates disciplinary measures for strict implementation.

/2.

The Honorable  
George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
Washington  
United States of America

3/4  
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ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

- 2 -

4. As described to you by Minister Moday during your most recent meeting, the amendments to the Bank of Israel law will gradually restrict the amounts of loans given to the government to finance its budget with a three-year objective of ruling out such loans altogether. These amendments are under consideration. They will be ready by the end of April. We hope the Knesset will enact them by the end of May.
5. As specified in #1 above, the Bank of Israel has agreed to adopt inflation targets of budget updating as guidelines for its monetary policy. In so doing, it will also have to take into account the need to keep adequate real interest rate on credit to the private sector so as not to severely disrupt private sector economic activity while not losing control over the private sector's rate of unemployment.
6. The Bank of Israel will set monetary targets consistent with the inflation targets. The specific monetary aggregates and interest rate margins are under consideration and will be suggested by the Bank within the next month.
7. Our commitment to increase export competitiveness involves a policy that sustains an adequate real exchange rate. This rules out any appreciation of the shekel.
8. The government intends to make government debt tradable. The Ministry of Finance will offer a plan for implementation by the end of June.
- 9-10. Points 9 and 10 reflect intentions which we fully share. However, timing and methods of implementation are still to be determined. I hope that by the beginning of June, at the JEDG meeting in Jerusalem, we shall be able to be more explicit on these issues, and elaborate on some additional ideas.

I am convinced that the steps taken thus far, coupled with the measures detailed above, will yield positive results. However, their short-term effect on our foreign currency reserves will not be apparent to a significant extent for quite some time. Consequently, evidence of American support for our efforts will provide an important signal to the financial community, as it contributes to improving our reserve situation during this transitional period.

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665

ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

- 3 -

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to express my admiration of, and gratitude for the far-sighted position and firm support expressed in your speech yesterday. This additional evidence of the unique state of U.S.-Israel relations under the stewardship of President Reagan and yourself -- unprecedented in their closeness and depth -- is most reassuring to us all.

I look forward to greeting you here in May.

Sincerely,



Shimon Peres



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665

ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem

April 22, 1985.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

Thank you for your letter of April 7, 1985 and the opportunity to benefit from the experience and knowledge as well as the professional and friendly advice of Professors Herb Stein and Stanley Fischer.

Finance Minister Moday and I have given thorough consideration to the elements of the ten-point framework developed by Stein, Fischer and Emanuel Sharon. It was further discussed in our most recent Cabinet session (on Sunday, April 14, 1985) which was part of a series of sessions dedicated to a comprehensive review of our economic policy.

Both the Ministry of Finance and the Bank of Israel continue to study the implications of the framework in order to evaluate its operational dimensions and to suggest the required cabinet decisions.

Cognizant of the time constraints that are involved, I would like to share with you at this point some observations about the various elements, bearing in mind that the process is still in motion and the decisions required are far-reaching. As they relate to the corresponding points in the framework, they are:

1. The Government, along with the Bank of Israel, will set quarterly inflation targets. These will serve as guidelines to the Ministry of Finance for updating the budget and to the Bank of Israel for its monetary policy. If possible, the consent of the social partners will be secured.
2. As you know, the budget for this year has been enacted. The Ministry of Finance will set quarterly targets for expenditures, revenues and deficits, taking into account the inflationary targets. Each quarter the Ministry will conduct a detailed performance review, will analyze deviations and recommend to the cabinet corrective measures as deemed necessary.
3. The budget law, as enacted by the Knesset, incorporates disciplinary measures for strict implementation.

/2.

The Honorable  
George P. Shultz  
Secretary of State  
Washington  
United States of America

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ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

- 2 -

4. As described to you by Minister Moday during your most recent meeting, the amendments to the Bank of Israel law will gradually restrict the amounts of loans given to the government to finance its budget with a three-year objective of ruling out such loans altogether. These amendments are under consideration. They will be ready by the end of April. We hope the Knesset will enact them by the end of May.
5. As specified in #1 above, the Bank of Israel has agreed to adopt inflation targets of budget updating as guidelines for its monetary policy. In so doing, it will also have to take into account the need to keep adequate real interest rate on credit to the private sector so as not to severely disrupt private sector economic activity while not losing control over the private sector's rate of unemployment.
6. The Bank of Israel will set monetary targets consistent with the inflation targets. The specific monetary aggregates and interest rate margins are under consideration and will be suggested by the Bank within the next month.
7. Our commitment to increase export competitiveness involves a policy that sustains an adequate real exchange rate. This rules out any appreciation of the shekel.
8. The government intends to make government debt tradable. The Ministry of Finance will offer a plan for implementation by the end of June.
- 9-10. Points 9 and 10 reflect intentions which we fully share. However, timing and methods of implementation are still to be determined. I hope that by the beginning of June, at the JEDG meeting in Jerusalem, we shall be able to be more explicit on these issues, and elaborate on some additional ideas.

I am convinced that the steps taken thus far, coupled with the measures detailed above, will yield positive results. However, their short-term effect on our foreign currency reserves will not be apparent to a significant extent for quite some time. Consequently, evidence of American support for our efforts will provide an important signal to the financial community, as it contributes to improving our reserve situation during this transitional period.

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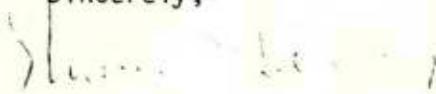
ראש הממשלה  
III PRIME MINISTER

- 3 -

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to express my admiration of, and gratitude for the far-sighted position and firm support expressed in your speech yesterday. This additional evidence of the unique state of U.S.-Israel relations under the stewardship of President Reagan and yourself -- unprecedented in their closeness and depth -- is most reassuring to us all.

I look forward to greeting you here in May.

Sincerely,



Shimon Peres

April 22, 1985

His Excellency  
Shimon Peres  
Prime Minister of the  
State of Israel  
Jerusalem

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

As you celebrate the 37th anniversary of Israel's independence, I would like to extend to you my warmest greetings.

It is significant that this year also commemorates the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, which brought suffering to the world and the great tragedy of the holocaust to the Jewish people. Israel's rebirth after the cruelties of the holocaust is an example to all those who love freedom. Israel is a living illustration of what courageous and committed people can accomplish against all odds. As Israel embarks on its 38th year of statehood, I can assure you that it can rely on the continuing friendship and support of the United States.

Sincerely,

/s/

George P. Shultz

24.4.85

MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE SHULTZ

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER,

AS YOU CELEBRATE THE 37TH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL'S INDEPENDENCE, I WOULD LIKE TO EXTEND TO YOU MY WARMEST GREETINGS.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT THIS YEAR ALSO COMMEMORATES THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE END OF WORLD WAR II, WHICH BROUGHT SUFFERING TO THE WORLD AND THE GREAT TRAGEDY OF THE HOLOCAUST TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE. ISRAEL'S REBIRTH AFTER THE CRUELITIES OF THE HOLOCAUST IS AN EXAMPLE TO ALL THOSE WHO LOVE FREEDOM. ISRAEL IS A LIVING ILLUSTRATION OF WHAT COURAGEOUS AND COMMITTED PEOPLE CAN ACCOMPLISH AGAINST ALL ODDS.

AS ISRAEL EMBARKS ON ITS 38TH YEAR OF STATEHOOD, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT IT CAN RELY ON THE CONTINUING FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SINCERELY,  
GEORGE P. SHULTZ

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(לעמ 5) מברק ברכה של מזכיר המדינה האמריקאי, ג'ורג' שולץ

(ירושלים) 24.4- להלן נוסח מברק ברכה ששיגר מזכיר המדינה האמריקאי, ג'ורג' שולץ, לראש הממשלה:

"ראש הממשלה היקר,

לרגל חגיגות מלאת 37 שנים לעצמאות ישראל, ברצוני להביע בפניך את איחולי הלבביים.

חשיבות נודעת לכך כי השנה מציינים אנו גם את מלאת 40 שנים לתום מלחמת העולם השנייה, מלחמה של סבל לעולם ושואה גדולה לעם היהודי. תקומתה של ישראל לאחר זוועות השואה היא מופת לכל אוהבי החירות. ישראל היא המחשה למה שאומץ ומחוייבות של עם יכולים להשיג.

בראשיתה של השנה ה-38 לעצמאות ישראל, הנני יכול להבטיחך ישראל תוכל לסמוך על ידידותה ותמיכתה של ארצות הברית.

שלך,

ג'ורג' שולץ".

לעמ/אנ/רבג 13.55

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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בהמשך לשלנו מהיום.

לואיס סיפר היום בצהריים שלפי דווח שראה הבוקר הרוב נגד פרפאת  
במושב ובגדד היה מסיבי.

לואיס העיר באופן אישי שנראה לו שלאורך זה לא יהיה מנוס מפסק  
ומן במאמצים להויו את תהליך ויהיה צורך להמתין ולראות מה  
יעשה חוסיין במצב שנוצר.

בר-און. ==

תפ: שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכו, רס, אמן, ממד, מצפא



EMBASSY OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Tel Aviv

April 23, 1985

His Excellency  
Shimon Peres  
Prime Minister of the  
State of Israel  
Jerusalem

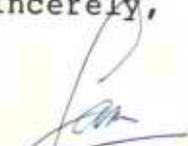
Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

I wanted to be sure you saw the full text of  
Secretary Shultz' speech to the American Israel  
Public Affairs Committee on April 21.

I think you will agree that it is an eloquent  
expression of his views, and certainly of my own.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,



Samuel W. Lewis  
Ambassador



מזכירות הממשלה

ירושלים, י' באייר התשמ"ה  
1 במאי 1985

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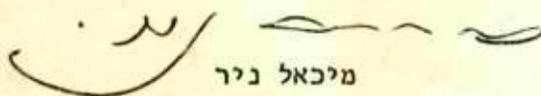
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ראש-הממשלה ביקשני להעביר לעיונכם את נאום  
מזכיר המדינה האמריקני בפני הלובי האמריקני-ישראלי  
ביום 21.4.85.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

  
מיכאל ניר



# official text

APRIL 22, 1985

SHULTZ'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE:

ON APRIL 21, SECRETARY OF STATE DELIVERED THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IN CRYSTAL CITY, VIRGINIA.

(BEGIN TEXT)

WE AMERICANS ARE UNITED BY VALUES AND IDEALS THAT HAVE GUIDED US SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THIS NATION. WE SEEK TO PRESERVE AND PROMOTE FREEDOM -- FREEDOM TO VOTE, FREEDOM TO SPEAK, WRITE, THINK, AND WORSHIP AS ONE CHOOSES. WE BELIEVE IN TOLERANCE, AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN PARTICULAR. WE BELIEVE IN JUSTICE AND EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW. WE ARE COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AS THE BEST, IF NOT THE ONLY WAY TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS, WELL-BEING, AND DIGNITY OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN.

WE HAVE ALSO UNDERSTOOD THAT TO PURSUE THESE NOBLE GOALS, WE HAVE TO BE STRONG ENOUGH TO DEFEND OUR COUNTRY AND OUR WAY OF LIFE AGAINST AGGRESSION. AND WE MUST HAVE AN EQUALLY STRONG COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. A WORLD OF PEACE OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR THE SPREAD OF FREEDOM; AND A WORLD OF FREEDOM OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR LASTING PEACE.

IN THE LATTER HALF OF THIS CENTURY, BOTH THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE HAVE COME TO DEPEND ON AMERICAN STRENGTH. THERE CAN ONLY BE PEACE WHEN POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS KNOW THAT THEY CANNOT HOPE TO ACHIEVE THEIR AIMS THROUGH WAR. IN THE MODERN WORLD, THAT MEANS THAT AMERICA, AS THE STRONGEST DEMOCRACY ON EARTH, HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO STAND WITH THOSE WHO SHARE OUR HOPES AND DREAMS.

THESE PRINCIPLES INFORM EVERY ACTION WE TAKE IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY. TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT HOW OUR IDEALS, OUR MORALITY, AND OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WORLD APPLY TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL AND TO OUR HOPES FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, ALMOST FOUR DECADES AGO, BECAUSE OF MORAL CONVICTIONS DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. WE KNEW OF THE CENTURIES OF PERSECUTION SUFFERED BY THE JEWS, AND WE HAD WITNESSED THE HORROR OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST. NO DECENT AMERICAN COULD FAIL TO SEE THE JUSTICE AND NECESSITY OF A JEWISH STATE WHERE JEWS COULD LIVE WITHOUT FEAR.

BUT THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL ALSO HAD A WIDER SIGNIFICANCE. CERTAINLY, AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL HAS BEEN A MORAL RESPONSE TO CENTURIES OF PERSECUTION. BUT THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL ALSO MARKED THE ENTRANCE ONTO THE WORLD STAGE OF A NEW DEMOCRACY, A NEW DEFENDER OF LIBERTY, A NEW NATION COMMITTED TO HUMAN PROGRESS AND PEACE. IN A WORLD WHERE SUCH NATIONS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THE EXCEPTION RATHER THAN THE RULE, THE CREATION OF ISRAEL WAS A HISTORIC AND BLESSED EVENT.



United States Information Service  
Tel Aviv, 71 Hayarkon Street, 63903 Tel. 654338 ext. 204  
Jerusalem, 19 Keren Hayesod Street, 94188 Tel. 222376

WHEN LINCOLN SPOKE AT GETTYSBURG OF REDEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, HE WAS SAYING THAT THE SURVIVAL OF LIBERTY DEPENDED ON PEOPLES' FAITH IN LIBERTY. ISRAEL'S SUCCESS AS A THRIVING DEMOCRACY HELPS SUSTAIN OUR FAITH IN THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE NOT ONLY IN AMERICA BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. TODAY THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY ARE MORE ALIVE THAN WHEN ISRAEL WAS FOUNDED. THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD THAT ARE DEMOCRATIC OR ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY IS GROWING. I BELIEVE THE EXAMPLE OF ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THIS HEARTENING TREND.

NO WONDER, THEN, THAT THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL HAS GROWN SO STRONG OVER THE YEARS. OUR ORIGINAL MORAL COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL HAS NEVER WAVERED, BUT OVER THE YEARS AMERICANS HAVE ALSO COME TO RECOGNIZE THE ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL -- AS A PARTNER IN THE PURSUIT OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, AS A PEOPLE WHO SHARE OUR HIGHEST IDEALS, AND AS A VITAL STRATEGIC ALLY IN AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE WORLD. THE MORAL AND PERSONAL BONDS THAT TIE US TOGETHER HAVE STRENGTHENED US BOTH. AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, THE UNITED STATES HAS MAINTAINED ITS UNWAVERING SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY FOR NEARLY FOUR DECADES. UNTIL PEACE WAS MADE WITH EGYPT, ISRAEL WAS COMPLETELY SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE FORCES SINCE ITS BIRTH, AND IT HAS HAD TO FIGHT FOUR WARS IN LESS THAN FORTY YEARS TO DEFEND ITS VERY EXISTENCE. WE KNOW THAT THE GOALS WE SHARE WITH THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL -- FREEDOM, AND PEACE -- CANNOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS BOTH AMERICA AND ISRAEL ARE STRONG. THAT IS WHY WE ARE COMMITTED, AND ALWAYS WILL BE COMMITTED, TO HELPING ISRAEL PROTECT ITSELF AGAINST ANY COMBINATION OF POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS. AND THAT IS WHY WE MUST ALWAYS MAKE CLEAR TO THE WORLD -- THROUGH OUR MATERIAL AND MORAL SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, OUR VOTES AT THE UNITED NATIONS, AND OUR EFFORTS FOR PEACE -- THAT WE ARE A PERMANENT, STEADFAST, AND UNSHAKABLE ALLY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

EVERY YEAR WE PROVIDE MORE SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL THAN TO ANY OTHER NATION. WE CONSIDER THAT AID TO BE ONE OF THE BEST INVESTMENTS WE COULD MAKE -- NOT ONLY FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY, BUT FOR OURS AS WELL. EVEN AS WE DEVELOPED OUR OWN BUDGET AND WORKED WITH ISRAEL ON ITS ECONOMIC PROGRAM, WE NONETHELESS WENT AHEAD WITH A MAJOR INCREASE IN OUR SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR ISRAEL.

THIS IS A STATEMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT; IT REFLECTS OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHO OUR FRIENDS IN THE WORLD ARE, WHO CAN BE COUNTED UPON IN TIMES OF CRISIS. AMERICANS KNOW THAT WE HAVE NO MORE RELIABLE FRIEND IN THE WORLD THAN ISRAEL.

OUR COMMON INTERESTS AFFORD US AN OPPORTUNITY -- AND A NECESSITY -- TO WORK TOGETHER ON MANY ISSUES.

WE FACE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE COMMON THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL BOTH KNOW WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SPREAD OF SOVIET POWER -- NOT JUST TERRITORY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, BUT THE VERY WAY OF LIFE FOR WHICH BOTH OUR NATIONS HAVE SHED SO MUCH BLOOD AND MADE SO MANY SACRIFICES.

THE CONTINUING PERSECUTION OF JEWS AND OTHER MINORITIES BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS AN ABOMINATION. AND WE IN AMERICA KNOW THAT A THREAT TO THE RIGHTS OF JEWS ANYWHERE IS A THREAT TO THE RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLES ANYWHERE. IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY, JEWS ARE NOT FREE TO PRACTICE THEIR RELIGION, OR TO TEACH HEBREW OR YIDDISH TO THEIR CHILDREN; THEY ARE ACTIVELY DISCRIMINATED AGAINST THROUGHOUT THE GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY.

IN THE FACE OF THIS INJUSTICE, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF JEWS SEEK TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION. MANY WANT TO SETTLE IN ISRAEL. BUT SOVIET AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO RESTRICT JEWISH EMIGRATION, AND ONLY A TINY NUMBER ARE ALLOWED TO LEAVE. THOSE WHO HAVE SOUGHT EMIGRATION AND BEEN DENIED EXIT VISAS OFTEN SUFFER ADDITIONAL PERSECUTION; THOSE WHO STAND UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS RISK PRISON, OR CONFINEMENT IN SO-CALLED

"PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS." THE UNITED STATES IS DOING ALL IT CAN TO URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO SET THE JEWS FREE. NOTHING THE SOVIETS COULD DO WOULD MORE CONVINCE US OF THEIR DESIRE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS THAN TO RELEASE ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY, AND OTHERS, AND GRANT SOVIET JEWS THEIR RIGHT TO EMIGRATE.

IN ADDITION TO DENYING HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME, THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALSO CONSISTENTLY SOUGHT TO UNDERMINE THE STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF BOTH ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES. TODAY THEY SEEK TO INCREASE THEIR INFLUENCE IN EVERY CORNER OF THE GLOBE, INCLUDING WITHIN THIS HEMISPHERE.

TODAY WE ARE TRYING TO CHECK SOVIET-BACKED AGGRESSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. EVERYONE IN THIS AUDIENCE, AND SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL ACROSS THE COUNTRY, KNOW THAT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AMERICA IS COMMITTED TO THE SECURITY OF ITS DEMOCRATIC ALLY.

WE ALL UNDERSTAND THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE FROM STRENGTH, NOT FROM WEAKNESS. WE ALL UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR CONSTANT VIGILANCE AGAINST AGGRESSORS HEAVILY ARMED BY THE SOVIET UNION. THOSE WHO TRULY UPHOLD THESE PRINCIPLES, WHICH ARE THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY, WILL SEE THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORTING THESE SAME PRINCIPLES ELSEWHERE. THE SECURITY OF SO VITAL A REGION AS CENTRAL AMERICA IS CRUCIAL TO THE GLOBAL POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES. LET THERE BE NO ILLUSIONS: A FAILURE TO CONTAIN COMMUNIST AGGRESSION SO CLOSE TO HOME WILL ONLY ERODE THE SECURITY OF ALL OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY, THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS RADICAL ALLIES CONTINUE TO BLOCK PEACE AND TO THREATEN THOSE WHO SEEK IT. THEY EXERT INFLUENCE BY THEIR ABILITY TO INTIMIDATE WITH GUNS AND THROUGH THE TERRORISTS THEY SPONSOR AND DIRECT. THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL CAN WORK TOGETHER TO HELP ENSURE THAT SUCH ATTEMPTS FAIL.

STRATEGIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL HAS BECOME A FORMAL, INSTITUTIONALIZED PROCESS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY GROUP TO IMPROVE COOPERATION SO THAT WE CAN RESIST THREATS TO OUR COMMON INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THIS KIND OF COOPERATION HAS BEEN LONG OVERDUE. TODAY IT IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP. THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE

AMERICANS ARE COMMITTED TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL BECAUSE WE WANT TO ENSURE THAT THE JEWISH NATION, AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE, NEVER AGAIN FACE A THREAT TO THEIR VERY EXISTENCE. BUT OUR PERMANENT COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY SERVES ANOTHER, RELATED GOAL, AS WELL: THE GOAL OF PEACE.

MILITARY MIGHT HAS PREVENTED DEFEAT ON THE BATTLEFIELD, BUT TRUE SECURITY AND PEACE CAN COME ONLY WHEN ISRAEL HAS GAINED THE ACCEPTANCE AND RECOGNITION OF ITS NEIGHBORS. THAT IS WHY, EVEN AS WE ASSIST ISRAEL'S CAPACITY TO DEFEND ITSELF, THE TOP PRIORITY OF OUR EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS TO PROMOTE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

WE HAVE LEARNED MANY IMPORTANT LESSONS OVER THE YEARS. ONE OF THEM IS THAT A STRONG, VISIBLE, AND PERMANENT AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR PEACE. THE HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT SHOWS, WITHOUT QUESTION, THAT MOVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS CAN ONLY COME WHEN THERE IS NO DOUBT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL.

IT CAN ONLY COME WHEN NO ONE IN THE ARAB WORLD OR ELSEWHERE HAS ANY DELUSIONS ABOUT THE CENTRAL REALITY THAT AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL CAN NEVER BE WEAKENED. ISRAEL HAS DEMONSTRATED BEYOND DOUBT THAT IT WILL NOT BEND OR CHANGE ITS POLICIES IN THE FACE OF MILITARY OR TERRORIST THREATS. NOR WILL THE POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES EVER YIELD TO TERROR OR INTIMIDATION. ON THIS PRINCIPLE, THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL STAND TOGETHER SOLID AS A ROCK. SO OTHERS SHOULD NOT MISS THE POINT: THERE ARE NO MILITARY OPTIONS. THERE ARE NO TERRORIST OPTIONS. THE ONLY PATH TO PROGRESS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS THAT OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

NEGOTIATIONS WORK. WE HAVE TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF THIS TODAY IN THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. THIS RELATIONSHIP IS THE CORNERSTONE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. WE MUST BUILD UPON IT. THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP ITSELF MUST GROW AND BE STRENGTHENED. AND OTHERS MUST LEARN FROM THE EXAMPLE THAT EGYPT AND ISRAEL HAVE SET. PRESIDENT

4

MUBARAK IS COMMITTED TO PEACE. OTHERS MUST JOIN HIM. WE ARE GLAD THAT KING HUSSEIN HAS RE-ESTABLISHED JORDAN'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH EGYPT. THE PROCESS OF BUILDING PEACE MUST CONTINUE, AND THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO HELPING THE PARTIES MOVE FORWARD.

IN RECENT MONTHS THERE HAS BEEN MUCH ACTIVITY. MANY PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES ARE WORKING TO FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS.

TODAY, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS, THERE ARE SIGNS OF A NEW REALISM AND A NEW COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF KEY REGIONAL ACTORS.

PRIME MINISTER PERES HAS MADE CLEAR ISRAEL'S DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE WITH JORDAN WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS, AND HE HAS EXPRESSED HIS GREAT RESPECT FOR KING HUSSEIN. THE KING HAS ALSO CALLED FOR PEACE; HE HAS UNDERTAKEN AN EFFORT TO ORGANIZE THE ARAB SIDE TO NEGOTIATE PEACE WITH ISRAEL ON THE BASIS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242. THERE IS ALSO MOVEMENT IN THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY TOWARD GREATER REALISM. AND PRESIDENT MUBARAK HAS PLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN PROMOTING NEGOTIATIONS.

BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS TRUST US, AND THEY SEEK OUR HELP. THEY FIND REASSURANCE IN OUR PARTICIPATION AS THEY FACE THE RISKS AND CHALLENGES OF PEACE. SUCH AN AMERICAN ROLE IS INDISPENSABLE.

WE ALSO KNOW THAT THOSE ARAB NATIONS THAT ARE MOVING TOWARD PEACE ARE TAKING RISKS. RADICAL FORCES IN THE REGION USE TERRORISM AND THREATS OF WAR NOT ONLY AGAINST AMERICANS AND ISRAELIS, BUT AGAINST RESPONSIBLE ARABS WHO HAVE WORKED TO BRING EGYPT BACK IN THE ARAB FOLD AND WHO HAVE SOUGHT TO PROMOTE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

AS KING HUSSEIN TOOK STEPS TO MOVE WITH THE PALESTINIANS TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, WE SAW JORDANIAN DIPLOMATS KILLED; WE SAW JORDANIAN AIRLINES OFFICES BOMBED. THOSE WHO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE SHOULD KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL HELP THEM DEFEND THEMSELVES. THE UNITED STATES MUST CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THOSE WHO SEEK NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS AGAINST THOSE WHO PROMOTE VIOLENCE AND OPPOSE PEACE.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE RICHARD MURPHY IS NOW IN THE REGION, ON THE PRESIDENT'S BEHALF, EXPLORING PRACTICAL STEPS THAT MIGHT BE TAKEN TOWARD PEACE. BUT WHATEVER OPPORTUNITIES MAY EMERGE, NO ONE IN THE REGION OR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD CAN HAVE THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT ABOUT AMERICA'S POLICY: ISRAEL'S VITAL INTERESTS WILL NEVER BE COMPROMISED; ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL AND SECURITY WILL NEVER BE PUT AT RISK.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE ALSO MADE CLEAR OUR CONCERN FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. LASTING PEACE AND SECURITY FOR ISRAEL WILL REQUIRE A JUST SETTLEMENT FOR THE PALESTINIANS THAT ASSURES THEIR DIGNITY AND LEGITIMATE RIGHTS. HOW IRONIC AND TRAGIC IT IS, THEREFORE, THAT THOSE WHO CLAIM TO ACT ON BEHALF OF THE PALESTINIANS HAVE CONTINUED TO BLOCK NEGOTIATIONS -- THE ONLY COURSE THAT CAN ACHIEVE A JUST SETTLEMENT FOR THE PALESTINIANS.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE ARABS TO LET NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED. NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE ARABS TO LET KING HUSSEIN COME FORWARD. THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO DIRECT NEGOTIATION; THE LONGER THIS TRUTH IS EVADED, THE LONGER THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE THE VICTIM. THOSE WHO CHASED ILLUSIONS OF "ARMED STRUGGLE," THOSE WHO ENGAGED IN TERRORISM, THOSE WHO THOUGHT THAT SOVIET SUPPORT WOULD INTIMIDATE THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL, HAVE ONLY BROUGHT DEATH TO INNOCENTS AND PROLONGED THE SUFFERING OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. SUCH METHODS HAVE ACHIEVED NOTHING CONSTRUCTIVE, AND NEVER WILL.

BUT THE WAY IS OPEN FOR PROGRESS -- EVEN EARLY PROGRESS -- AND WE KNOW WHAT THAT WAY IS. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S INITIATIVE OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1982 REMAINS THE MOST PROMISING ROUTE TO A SOLUTION. OUR POLICY WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY SIX FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN THE YEARS TO COME:

-- FIRST, WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK A LASTING PEACE THAT RESPECTS THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF ALL THE PARTIES.

-- SECOND, THE UNITED STATES WILL OPPOSE VIOLENT AND RADICAL CHALLENGES TO PEACE AND SECURITY. WE WILL OPPOSE GOVERNMENTS OR TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS OF WHATEVER STRIPE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND OUR ARAB FRIENDS IN THE REGION.

-- THIRD, UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD THE PLO IS

UNCHANGED: WE WILL NEVER RECOGNIZE OR NEGOTIATE WITH ANY GROUP THAT ESPOUSES VIOLENT SOLUTIONS OR REFUSES TO ACCEPT RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 OR RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST.

-- FOURTH, THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE A GENUINE, LASTING PEACE IS THROUGH DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL. NO OTHER PROCEDURES CAN SUBSTITUTE. NO OTHER APPROACH WILL GET ANYWHERE. NO FURTHER PLANS OR PRELIMINARIES ARE NEEDED. THERE IS ONE AND ONLY ONE PLACE TO NEGOTIATE -- AT THE TABLE, FACE TO FACE.

-- FIFTH, WE WILL SUPPORT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BY WHICH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE CAN ACHIEVE THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND JUST REQUIREMENTS. WE WILL NOT SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, NOR WILL WE SUPPORT ANNEXATION OR PERMANENT CONTROL BY ISRAEL.

-- SIXTH, AND FINALLY, WE WILL ALWAYS INSIST ON ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST IN PEACE BEHIND SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS. AS PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1982, "IN THE PRE-1967 BORDERS, ISRAEL WAS BARELY 10 MILES WIDE AT ITS NARROWEST POINT.

THE BULK OF ISRAEL'S POPULATION LIVED WITHIN ARTILLERY RANGE OF HOSTILE ARAB ARMIES. I AM NOT ABOUT TO ASK ISRAEL TO LIVE THAT WAY AGAIN. THE UNITED STATES STANDS FIRMLY BEHIND THAT SOLEMN COMMITMENT.

IF ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER, WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE.  
THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE

WE KNOW THAT PEACE IS ESSENTIAL TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY. BUT THERE IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT ELEMENT TO THAT SECURITY. THE STRENGTH OF ISRAEL ALSO DEPENDS ON THE STRENGTH OF ITS ECONOMY. ISRAEL MUST WORK TO OVERCOME ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. BECAUSE OF OUR OWN DEEP INTEREST IN A STRONG, HEALTHY, AND SECURE ISRAEL, WE WILL ALSO DO OUR PART IN WAYS WE CAN BE MOST HELPFUL.

WE IN AMERICA KNOW WHAT IT IS LIKE TO LIVE THROUGH DIFFICULT ECONOMIC TIMES. ONLY IN THE PAST THREE YEARS HAVE WE BEGUN TO PULL OURSELVES OUT OF THE SPIRALING STAGFLATION OF THE LATE '70S. WE ALSO KNOW HOW HARD IT IS TO MAKE THE TOUGH POLITICAL DECISIONS AND THE SACRIFICES NEEDED TO PUT AN ECONOMY ON A STABLE PATH OF GROWTH WITHOUT INFLATION. WE KNOW FIRST-HAND HOW TOUGH IT IS TO CUT THE BUDGET. YET THESE TOUGH DECISIONS MUST BE MADE.

THE ISRAELI ECONOMY IS A SPECTACULAR SUCCESS STORY. THE ISRAELI STANDARD OF LIVING HAS RISEN STEADILY AND REMARKABLY. ISRAELI GOODS COMPETE SUCCESSFULLY IN THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MARKETS. IN FACT, IN 1984 ISRAEL INCREASED ITS EXPORTS BY 12.5 PERCENT, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY REDUCING ITS IMPORTS BY 2.5 PERCENT. IF THE UNITED STATES HAD DONE THE SAME, OUR TRADE DEFICIT WOULD BE MORE THAN 80 BILLION DOLLARS LOWER THAN IT IS TODAY.

STILL, THE ISRAELI ECONOMY FACES REAL PROBLEMS. ISRAEL IS CONSUMING MORE THAN IT PRODUCES AND ITS ECONOMY IS BESET BY A LARGE NATIONAL DEBT, UNTENABLE BUDGET DEFICITS, STRUCTURAL RIGIDITIES, AND POWERFUL INFLATIONARY FORCES. THERE ARE NO QUICK SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS -- YET ISRAELIS HAVE PROVED DURING THE STATE'S EARLY DECADES THAT THEY WOULD PULL TOGETHER TO BUILD AND MAINTAIN A DYNAMIC, GROWING ECONOMY. ISRAEL HAS ALL THE QUALITIES NEEDED FOR ECONOMIC SUCCESS: AND EDUCATED, DYNAMIC PEOPLE; IMPRESSIVE CAPACITIES FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES, AND OUTSTANDING UNIVERSITIES. ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN PREVIOUS YEARS WERE A TESTAMENT TO THE PUBLIC SPIRIT, BRAVERY, CREATIVITY, AND TALENTS OF ITS PEOPLE. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THOSE SAME QUALITIES TODAY HOLD OUT THE PROMISE OF FUTURE PROSPERITY.

BUT ISRAEL MUST PULL ITSELF OUT OF ITS PRESENT ECONOMIC TRAUMA. AND THE ISRAELI PEOPLE MUST DO IT THEMSELVES; NO ONE CAN DO IT FOR THEM. ISRAEL WILL NEED SUPPORT AS IT MAKES THE NEEDED ADJUSTMENTS, AND HERE THE UNITED STATES CAN AND MUST HELP. BUT OUR HELP WILL BE OF LITTLE AVAIL IF ISRAEL DOES NOT

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TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO CUT GOVERNMENT SPENDING, IMPROVE PRODUCTIVITY, OPEN UP ITS ECONOMY, AND STRENGTHEN THE MECHANISM OF ECONOMIC POLICY. ISRAEL AND ITS GOVERNMENT MUST MAKE THE HARD DECISIONS. PRIME MINISTER PERS AND FINANCE MINISTER MODAI HAVE SHOWN COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP; THEY DESERVE SUPPORT, HERE AND IN ISRAEL, FOR THIS EFFORT.

FROM 1981 TO 1984, THE UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED ALMOST 9.5 BILLION DOLLARS IN AID TO ISRAEL. IN 1984, AID TO ISRAEL MADE UP MORE THAN A QUARTER OF OUR ENTIRE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM. YET WE MUST ALL UNDERSTAND THAT THIS AID CANNOT REALLY HELP UNLESS ISRAEL MAKES HARD AND FAR-REACHING DECISIONS FOR STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT.

THE UNITED STATES CAN ALSO HELP ISRAEL IN OTHER WAYS, OVER THE LONG TERM, TO ACHIEVE THE ECONOMIC SUCCESS ISRAEL IS CAPABLE OF ACHIEVING. TOMORROW, FOR INSTANCE, THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL WILL SIGN THE FREE TRADE AREA AGREEMENT. THIS WILL GUARANTEE ISRAEL COMPLETELY OPEN ACCESS TO THE WORLD'S LARGEST AND MOST DIVERSE MARKET. IN 1983, THE UNITED STATES IMPORTED ALMOST 1.5 BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF ISRAELI PRODUCTS. THE FREE TRADE AREA AGREEMENT WILL STRENGTHEN OUR TRADE PARTNERSHIP EVEN FURTHER.

AND WE HAVE CREATED A JOINT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GROUP FOR A CONTINUING DIALOGUE ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE ISRAELI ECONOMY AND ON WAYS THAT OUR COOPERATION CAN HELP.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE FREE, THE VENTURESOME, THE EDUCATED, AND THE CREATIVE. THE ISRAELI PEOPLE ARE ALL OF THESE. THEIR FUTURE IS BRIGHT.  
AMERICA'S PLEDGE

IN THE YEARS TO COME, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES WILL STAND TOGETHER IN DEFENSE OF OUR SHARED VALUES AND IN SUPPORT OF OUR COMMON GOALS. OUR TWO PEOPLES HAVE THE SAME VISION OF A BETTER WORLD -- A WORLD OF PEACE AND FREEDOM, WHERE THE DIGNITY OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN IS RESPECTED BY ALL NATIONS. THE EVILS WE SEE ALL AROUND US TODAY -- TERRORISM AND THE STATES THAT SPONSOR IT, THE PERSECUTION OF JEWS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE OUTRAGES AGAINST ISRAEL IN THE UNITED NATIONS -- THESE ONLY STRENGTHEN OUR DETERMINATION.

EVERY YEAR THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS VISIT YAD VASHEM -- THE MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST. I WILL GO THERE AGAIN NEXT MONTH. THE IMAGES OF JEWISH SUFFERING AT NAZI HANDS STILL BURN IN OUR MEMORIES. OUR PLEDGE AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II WAS SIMPLE: NEVER AGAIN. AND OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL IS THE LASTING EMBODIMENT OF THAT PLEDGE.

OUR TWO NATIONS KNOW THAT ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS INDEED THE PRICE OF LIBERTY. THE WORLD WILL BE SAFE FOR DECENCY ONLY IF MEN AND WOMEN OF DECENCY HAVE THE COURAGE TO DEFEND WHAT THEY CHERISH. SECURITY AND STRENGTH ARE THE FOUNDATION OF SURVIVAL -- AND OF ANY SERIOUS FOREIGN POLICY. THEY ARE ESSENTIAL NOT ONLY FOR THE DEFENSE OF LIBERTY BUT FOR ANY HOPES FOR PEACE. THOSE WHO WOULD THREATEN PEACE AND FREEDOM MUST KNOW THAT THE CHAMPIONS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM STAND STRONG, AND UNITED.

AMERICA AND ISRAEL HAVE LEARNED THIS LESSON. TOGETHER, WE WILL SET AN EXAMPLE FOR ALL FREE PEOPLES: WE WILL WORK TIRELESSLY FOR PEACE AND FOR A BETTER WORLD.

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מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

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News Summary April 22, 1985

Editorials

DN-"Welcome Back to America" Bernard Lamport and his family has arrived back to the US from the USSR. The Kremlin did not make things easy for Lamport. He recieved a visa not as an American but as a Jew. There are hundreds of thousands of Jews who wish to leave but they are denied that basic human right, despite the fact that Russia says it guarantees the right to leave. It's the height of hypocrisy.

Columns

DN-Royko "Reagan Risking a Second Front" Jerome Glickman was a US soldier in 1945. He was badly injured and 20 of his men died in Bitburg. Reagan's proposed visit to the German town has Glickman in a cold rage. It appears that if Reagan does lay his wrath, he is going to have even a tougher job of reconciliation on this side of the ocean.

Press Reports

Shultz Says Arabs Hurt Palestinians

NYT-p.1-Gwertzman-Shultz declared that Arab leaders were prolonging the suffering of Palestinians by not supporting direct negotiations between Israel and Jordan. He said that "there are signs of a new realism and a new commitment on the part of key regional actors." But his remarks seemed to reflect the administration's annoyance with the failure of most Arab leaders to encourage Hussein to negotiate with Israel. The Israelis refuse to deal with PLO members and Murphy is trying to get a list of Palestinians that would be acceptable. No list has been given to him, but he has been told that the US should deal directly with the PLO. Shultz said this would not occur until the PLO recognized Israel. Shultz spoke to an AIPAC audience. The audience was very warm, seemingly trying to draw a distinction between the deep resentment over Reagan's visit to Bitburg and a continuing appreciation of the Administration's policies toward Israel.

June Deadline Set for Israeli Withdrawal

NYT-p.1-Kamm-Rabin announced that the Cabinet decided to complete the withdrawal of troops by June. However, Israel will still maintain such military presence as deemed necessary for defense of its border region. (see DN-combined)

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Israeli Navy Sinks Guerrilla Boat

NYP-Israel's Navy sunk a boat carrying 28 guerrillas-20 drowned. The terrorists were said to be planning to carry out attacks during celebrations on Independence Day.

Dissident Shiite Leader Killed

NYT-Reuters (Photo of sandbags around Red Cross center near Sidon. The Red Cross is preparing for the worst while fighting takes place.) A dissident Shiite militia leader, Ali Ayoub, was killed in fighting, hours after the Sunni Moslems called for an end to the fierce fighting.

Rebels Aid Ethiopian Jews

ND-UPI-About 3000 black Jews have abandoned their homes in central Ethiopia because of government persecution and have fled to rebel-held territory near the Sudanese border. The Jews wish to emigrate to Israel and said that their life has been hell since most of the other Jews left. After Operation Moses, their land was taken away as well as their animals and other possessions. In Israel, Herzog disputed reports that Zionist groups paid Nimeiry and other Sudanese officials \$56 million to allow the airlift. (see DN)

Israel Backs Free-Trade Zone

NYT-Reuters-The Israeli Cabinet approved of the establishment of a US-Israel free trade zone.

Salute to Israel Parade

NYT-Gross (photos of parade in DN; NYP; ND, NYT all had extensive coverage) Several hundred thousand spectators lined 5th Ave for the Salute to Israel Parade. Many politicians took part in the events and criticized Reagan's Bitburg visit in interviews. Koch campaign buttons and balloons outnumbered Israeli flags.

Reagan Visit Criticized at Holocaust Survivors Ceremony in Philadelphia

NYT-J.1-Stevens Survivors of the Holocaust cheered loudly as Menachem Rosensaft called for Reagan to cancel his trip to Bitburg. He called for an intensification of the campaign to stop Reagan. Thousands of survivors took part in the ceremony. (see photo J.1; DN; NYT)

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Kohl Says Shame of Nazis Persists

NYT-Markham-p.1-(photo of Kohl at Bergen-Belsen) Kohl said he accepted German's "historical responsibility for the crimes of Nazi tyranny." He spoke at a ceremony commemorating the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the camp. Survivors from Israel, the US and elsewhere made the emotional pilgrimage. Most survivors said it was outrageous that Reagan will go to Bitburg. (see DN; NYP; WSJ-Thurow)

3 Rabbis Defend Reagan

NYP-Three Orthodox rabbis representing a conservative Jewish organization, Jews for Morality, said they deeply deplored the attacks on Reagan. They believe that Reagan made a mistake but it must be viewed in light of all the support he has given Jews.

Arab League Symposium

NYT-The Arab League opens a 3-day symposium entitled "Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Arab Territories." Participants include Bruno Kreisky, Lord Caradon, Jesse Jackson and Venessa Redgrave. The meetings will take place in Washington DC.

Sudan Envoys in Libya

NYT-Reuters-Two members of Sudan's Military Council went to Libya for talks on improving relations. Sudan messages dealt with "the brotherly relations between the two peoples and ways to develop them."

Neo-Nazis

ND-Ciolli-Despite recent arrests of neo-Nazis, the FBI is continuing a top-priority domestic security surveillance of heavily armed white supremacist bands that may be planning terrorist acts. The groups want a "pure white Christian country."

New Nazi Scandal Rocks Royal Family

NYP-wire-London newspapers uncovered evidence that a brother-in-law of Prince Phillip was a general in the SS.

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מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

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Book Reviews

NYT 4/21-Sanders reviews "Diaspora; An Inquiry Into the Contemporary Jewish World." For those who wish to put the age-old ambiguities of the Diaspora behind them, the Jewish state beckons. But the US also represents a phenomenon unique in the past 2000 years. Jews here feel completely at home. The book does not discuss Israel or the US but the other Jewish communities in existence. In Europe, only France has a robust Jewish life. The book discussed the repression of Jews in the Soviet Union. (by Howard Sachar)

NYT-4/21-R.W. Apple reviews "The Pride and the Fall; Iran 1974-79" by Anthony Parsons. The former British Ambassador to Iran wonders what went wrong. He believes that the Shah never understood that the changes he brought were deeply resented. He states that because of all the money to be made with Iran, Britain missed the signs that a revolutionary movement was gaining strength.

NYT-4/21-Hughes reviews "If Not Now, When?" by Primo Levi. Levi has become an Italian Man of Letters. His newest novel tells of the Zionist underground fighters during the Holocaust.

NYT-4/21-Lelchuk reviews "Past Continuous" by Yaakov Shabtai. The book marks a new plateau in Hebrew literature. It offers some hard looks at the moral and psychological interior of Israel over the past several decades-and some revelations.

Israeli Coins-Stamps

NYT-4/21-1948 Israeli coins cost \$300. But that shouldn't be an insurmountable amount to the dedicated collector of stamps. Israeli stamps portray the rich heritage of the nation.

Letters

NYT-Survivor of Buchenwald writes of his experiences in the camp and of how they have the US to thank for their lives.

NYD-4/20-The issue of freedom for Soviet Jews remains unresolved, writes Herbert Kronish, Chairman, Coalition to Free Soviet Jews. It would be wrong to lessen efforts to gain their release because of rumors.



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רמיח, קשיח

NEWS SUMMARY MONDAY APRIL 22, 1985

EDITORIALS

CHEAPENING THE HOLOCAUST

WASH POST Some things cannot be cheapened, the horror of what was done in Europe 40 years ago cannot be cheapened. It mocks the vanities and political preoccupations of the moment. It will mock our president too, unless he is now able to articulate true American feeling on the subject.

THE PRESS REPORTS

ISRAELI CABINET APPROVES LAST STAGE OF PULLOUT

E. WALSH WASH POST Israel's cabinet voted (18 to 3) to implement the last stage in Israel's three-stage troop withdrawal from Lebanon and said it will be completed by early June.

PRO-ISRAEL LOBBY JOINS PROTEST

JOHN GOSHKO R. ATKINSON WASH POST The main pro-Israeli lobbying group asked president Reagan yesterday not to "shame the victims of Nazi tyranny" by visiting a german military cemetery next month, and death camp survivor Elie Wiesel said West German Chancellor Kohl should release Reagan from his pledge to make the trip.

HUSSEIN TO SEEK U.S. ARMS, MEDIATING ROLE

D. NEFF WASH TIMES King Hussein of Jordan will come to Washington in late May to meet with President Reagan to discuss how to begin peace talks with Israel and to seek advanced weapons.

MUBARACK HUSSEIN PRAISED BY SHULTZ

D. DOUBRAVA WASH TIMES Declaring that Israel's security depends upon a just settlement of the Palestinian question, Secretary of State Shultz yesterday hailed the efforts of the Arab moderates, particularly Jordan's King Hussein to revive the long stalled talks on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

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PARAGUAYANS DOUBT MENGELE'S PRESENCE

(UPI) WASH TIMES Nazi hunters say they are convinced that Mengele, the world's most notorious war criminal still believed to be at large, is hiding in the south American nation of 3.3 million. Government officials deny the claim.

3,000 ETHIOPIAN JEWS REPORTED TO HAVE FLED THE REBEL AREA

(UPI) PHIL INQ About 3000 black Jews have abandoned their homes in central Ethiopia because of government persecution and have fled into rebel-held territory near the Sudanese border, a rebel spokesman said today.

FATAH LEADER TURNS ASIDE U.S. PLAN

(WR) THE SUN Aranking Palestinian guerrilla leader said yesterday that the PLO has rejected as "insolence" new U.S. proposals to promote Arab-Israeli peace talks.

PEACE PROCESS CROWS OUT OF MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT

DAVID HOROWITZ is one of the winners in the Chris Sci Mon essay contest on the subject "Peace 2010", in his fictional account, he shows how the two Germanies seized the diplomatic initiative in the Middle East during the period when both the US and the USSR were going through periods of economic stress.

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ממנכ"ל. מצפ"א.

ביקור הנשיא בגרמניה

מציב מכתב ראשי איפאייק לנשיא ריגאן בנידון. בעת הנאומים ביום הראשון הצטרפו יו"ר ועדת החוץ של בית הנבחרים, פאסטל, וג'יק קמפ ליוזמה זו וקראו לנשיא שלא ללכת לבית הקברות בביסברג.

קני-טל (11)

רצת שהה מנת מ/מט מרמזו מוואב אלג אוהאק  
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# AIPAC

THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

April 21, 1985

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As an organization committed to Jewish dignity and survival, we speak to you as friends to friend, from our hearts to your heart. We seek to convey our message to you, Mr. President, because you have demonstrated through your whole life a commitment to human decency, compassion, and understanding. You are a good friend of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. We know your deep feelings about the Holocaust.

As human beings, as Americans and as Jews, we join millions of our fellow citizens in calling upon you to cancel your visit to the Bitburg military cemetery. We profoundly agree with the statement, "That place, Mr. President, is not your place. Your place is with the victims of the SS."

It is a sign of strength, not weakness, to correct this injustice. To honor those SS soldiers who spread terror and death under the sign of the skull and crossbones dishonors their victims -- the Jews and the American GIs they slaughtered only 30 miles away at Malmedy, and it dishonors those Germans who are today working to build a democratic and free Germany. To honor those SS murderers could well ignite a resurgence of neo-Naziism in Germany and elsewhere. To visit their graves would be an outrage against human decency which cannot and must not be ignored.

As it has been said, "The issue here is not politics, but good and evil." Mr. President, do not shame the victims of Nazi tyranny.

*Robert H. Asher*  
Robert H. Asher  
President

Sincerely,  
*Thomas A. Dine*  
Thomas A. Dine  
Executive Director

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THE COMMITTEE OPPOSES IMMEDIATE ACTION TO MENTALLY IMPAIR COMMUNIST



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TALKING POINTS  
FOR  
AMBASSADOR WILLIAM E. BROCK

SIGNING CEREMONY

UNITED STATES - ISRAEL FREE TRADE AREA AGREEMENT

April 22, 1985

-- Ladies and Gentlemen, I am pleased that you could be with us to share in this historic occasion. It is also a pleasure for me to welcome the Minister of Industry and Trade of the State of Israel, Minister Ariel Sharon to Washington to share in this event.

-- Let me take a moment to introduce to you several of our other distinguished guests:

Israeli Ambassador Meir Rosenne  
Congressman Sam Gibbons  
Congressman Dan Rostenkowski  
Senator Bob Packwood  
Senator Jack Danforth

-- This is a very special day in my tenure as the United States Trade Representative. In just a few moments, Minister Sharon and I will be signing the United States-Israel Free Trade Area Agreement. This act formally will conclude a year and a half of negotiations between our two countries on the Agreement, which will eliminate all trade barriers between the United States and Israel by January 1, 1995.

-- This signing represents an historic occasion for the United States, for we have never negotiated a bilateral agreement that covers so many areas of trade. It is particularly important to us because the first agreement of this kind that we have negotiated was concluded with Israel.

-- We believe that this agreement will result in significant expansion of our bilateral trade and may also stimulate further investment in each other's markets. At present, our two way trade totals \$3.5 billion. I sincerely expect this figure to at least quadruple over the next few years.

-- For the United States, the agreement will provide duty free access to an \$8 billion market where we currently face relatively high duties and certain non-tariff barriers. We also face a tariff disparity resulting from an Israeli agreement with the European Community. Today's agreement

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will ensure that American firms can compete fairly and competitively in the Israeli market. I believe that Israel will also gain significantly from this agreement.

-- Let me give you a thumb-nail sketch of the agreement, so you have some idea of the nature of this achievement.

- 1) The agreement will eliminate all tariffs on all products traded between the United States and Israel by January 1, 1995. The vast majority of these products will reach a zero duty within the next four years.
- 2) Non-tariff barriers to trade will also be eliminated. These barriers are rapidly replacing tariffs as the most protective element in international trade.
- 3) The agreement builds upon our existing international obligations under the multilateral trading system, but expands upon those obligations in a number of areas. One key example is in the area of trade actions taken for balance of payments reasons.
- 4) The Free Trade Area with Israel also strengthens currently accepted trade disciplines in a number of areas. We believe that the agreement is precedent setting not only as the first free trade area that the United States has entered into, but also because it covers a number of areas which heretofore have never been addressed in a free trade area. These include the issues of trade-related investment performance requirements, such as local content requirements, intellectual property rights and trade in services.

-- In the area of services trade, the FTA includes a separate declaration to liberalize services. We will also be signing this Declaration on Services today. This Declaration reflects the priority the United States and Israel assign to developing a more open trade regime for services. It will provide a framework for the conduct of services trade between the United States and Israel; moreover, it is designed to serve as a possible model for future multilateral negotiations on trade in services.

-- After we sign the agreement this afternoon, we will submit it formally to the Congress for their review. This review by both Houses of Congress will involve an up/down vote with not amendments. It must be completed within sixty (60) legislative days from the date the President transmits it to Congress.

-- With the support of the Cong

for the Agreement, we will

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begin implementing the Agreement on September 1 of this year.

- The fact that we have been able to achieve the negotiation of such a complex agreement in so short a time is a testament to the political will of both parties and our commitment to the principles of free trade. I might add that particularly strong bonds of respect and friendship have developed between the two negotiating teams during these negotiations. Personally, I want to add that am very pleased to have worked closely with former Minister of Trade and Industry Gideon Patt in the early months of these negotiations. I hope, Minister Sharon, that you extend my regards and thanks to Minister Patt.
- Again, I thank you for this very special opportunity to meet with you and celebrate this historic day.
- Let me ask Minister Sharon if he would like to say a few words.

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To:

Uri Polonsky / Danny Halperin

Fr:

Nancy Reagan

Re:

Presidential Statement

# Pages:

2

Office of the  
U.S. Trade Representative  
(202) 395-3417

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450 - D  
370 - G  
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Presidential Statement  
On  
U.S.-Israeli Free Trade Area

I and friends of Israel everywhere take great pleasure in congratulating Ambassador Brock and Minister of Industry and Trade Sharon on the U.S.-Israeli Free Trade Area Agreement. The signing of this historic agreement caps nearly one and one half years of intensive and highly productive discussions. These talks have deepened our understanding of each other's economies and trading systems. And this agreement adds a new dimension to the special relationship between our countries.

The Free Trade Area Agreement is without precedent. It is the first such agreement entered into by the United States which fully meets the definition of free trade areas in terms of the scope and degree of reciprocal access. When fully implemented in January 1995, the agreement will eliminate restrictions on all trade between the United States and Israel--trade which in 1984 amounted to \$3.6 billion dollars. The agreement also contains unique provisions relating to trade in services and investment which will serve to further liberalize our bilateral economic relations.

This agreement opens up new prospects for the United States and Israel. Both our countries will derive substantial benefits through the unrestricted access it provides to each other's markets. More broadly, however, the agreement is an important milestone in our efforts to liberalize trade. We hope that it also will serve to encourage greater liberalization of the multilateral trading system and that it will help us move ahead in our continued attempts to expand world trade. I want to thank the chief negotiators, Danny Halperin from Israel and Doral Cooper from the United States and their respective teams for a job well done.

The United States has a basic commitment to Israel's economic well-being, and we have pledged to continue to help Israel fulfill its great potential. In my discussions with Prime Minister Peres last fall we explored ways to address Israel's pressing economic problems. We agreed that the Free Trade Area will be instrumental in helping Israel put its economy back on a foundation of vigorous, self-sustaining growth. I am confident that as this agreement is implemented the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area will prove to be one of the cornerstones of Israel's future economic development program.

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The Free Trade Area Agreement symbolizes once again our two countries' deep community of interest and our shared values and aspirations for a better future. It underscores the importance of Israel to the United States as an ally, as a trading partner and as a friend; and it underscores the U.S. commitment to Israel's security and prosperity.

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320 - 60  
190 - 40

ODE TO AN FTA

By: Lev L. Playingfield

Doral and Dan  
Alster and Platt.  
To you fine people  
A tip of the hat.

To Semedar, Gingrich,  
Polonsky and Eiss.  
To the private attorneys  
who gave some advice.

To Rosental, Gabay,  
To Shark and to Coyle.  
To all the participants --  
Devoted and loyal.

To Shehory and Adams,  
To Cohen and Keim,  
To the many, many others  
Who gave of their time.

Working together, both  
Night and day,  
You consummated the  
First -- and only -- U.S./Israel FTA.

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450 - P'  
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Continued

In the minds of many,  
 You left almost nothing undone,  
 Except perhaps dumping and CVD --  
 But then, you did cover 201.

$\frac{9}{10}$  201  
 450 - 0'  
 370 - 0'  
 120 - 0'

You considered "Services,"  
 Although that's later to be debated.  
 Never mind.  
 Everyone's elated.

The U.S. was tough on subsidies;  
 It hard to say who came out best:  
 Israel gives up its Export Funds,  
 but, aha, it gets the injury test.

Now that may dampen, just a bit, U.S. industry's  
 Elation.  
 But then again there's always --  
 Cumulation.

You even conformed to  
 Art. XXIV of the GATT.  
 No one before has ever  
 Done that.

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In the minds of many,  
You left almost nothing undone,  
Except perhaps dumping and CVD --  
But then, you did cover 201.

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You considered "Services,"  
Although that's later to be debated.  
Never mind.  
Everyone's elated.

450 - D'  
370 - G>  
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It hard to say who came out best:  
Israel gives up its Export Funds,  
but, aha, it gets the injury test.

Now that may dampen, just a bit, U.S. industry's  
Elation.  
But then again there's always --  
Cumulation.

You even conformed to  
Art. XXIV of the GATT.  
No one before has ever  
Done that.

\*  
X

And so intrepid souls,  
Our thank's be to thee,  
For by 1995 it will all be --  
Duty-free.

$\frac{10}{10}$

450 - D'  
370 - G2  
120 - J'

But ponder a bit,  
Amidst all this bilateral fun;  
Soon we'll have to interpret --  
Just what you have done!

\*

טגרירות ישראל - וועסינגטון

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97.1... מתוך... דטים  
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מבוק

המסד, 449  
בטחון 369

ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, מע"ת, רמ"ח קטי"ח.

תדרוך דובר מחטי"ד ליום שני 22.4.85

I have a short statement on the occasion of the concluding of the U.S.-Israel free trade agreement. United States Trade Representative William Brock and Israel Minister of Industry and Trade Ariel Sharon will formally conclude a free trade area agreement between the two nations at a signing ceremony to be held today at 2:30 p.m. in the Longworth House Office Buildings, room 1108. A free trade area agreement, or FTA, requires each country to remove trade barriers with respect to the other. We consider the agreement an important and positive step in the development of our bilateral economic ties.

Q Do you have any comment on the Israeli decision to withdraw their troops from Lebanon on the 1st of June -- complete their withdrawal?

MR. DJEREJIAN: We welcome the Israeli reaffirmation of its intention to withdraw all its troops from Lebanon. A complete Israeli withdrawal to the international border is in the interest of all parties. We would welcome the extension of Lebanese central government authority over all Lebanese territory.

Q What about the military zone? Do you have any comment on the military zone or the Israeli warning that they will go back any time into Lebanon?

MR. DJEREJIAN: All I can say on that is that we have consistently favored the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, the extension of Lebanese authority over all Lebanese territory and security for the Israel-Lebanon border, preferably through mutually-agreed security arrangements.









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טווג בטווגני  
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תאריך וזיה  
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אל:



8. ישנה ביקורת על אשיפ בלי אזכור שמו (כחוסם מוים) (עמי 11).  
אגב, מתשובה לשאלה בדבר התיחסותו לפגישת חברי משלחת אובי עם ערפאת  
ענה (, אישיתיי) כי לדעתו אין זה הדבר הנכון לעשותו. בהתיחסות  
ספציפית לאשיפ (עמי 13), נוסף על התנאים האמריקאים הידועים למוים עמו  
מוטעמת התנגדות מטעם נוסף: אימוץ פתרונות אלימים.

9. המזכיר מדבר על זכות ישראל לחיות בגבולות בטוחים ומוכרים (נוסחה  
המוכרת לנו מ-242). אנשי איפאיק מספרים כי בטיוטה קודמת דובר על  
גבולות, בטוחים וכני הגנה (XXX דד-דד-דד-דד XXX) "DEFENSIBLE"  
כתכנית ריגן. אך בנוסח הסופי נשמרה נוסחה 242- ועם זאת הוסף  
הקטע מנאום הנשיא ריגן מ-1.9.82 בדבר אי חזרה למצב של לפני 1967.  
ישנה נוסחה תכנית ריגן בקשר לאי תמיכה במדינה פלסטינאית  
אך גם לא בסיפוח או שליטה מחמדת של ישראל.

10. ישנו רמז למכירת נשק לירדן (עמי 11) - על, אלה הנוטלים סיכונים  
למען שלום לדעת כי ארה"ב תסייע להם להגן על עצמם ( וזאת לאחר הקטע  
בדבר פגיעות בירדנים בקשר לצעדים שנקט חוסינ). אגב, בכך אולי גם רמז  
תקיף כלפי הסורים. מתשובה לשאלה בנושא מכירת נשק לערבים לא חייב  
שולץ את עצמו אך דומה שסביר להניח מתשובתו כי מכירות נשק לירדן  
תעלה שוב על הפרק.

11. בנושא הכלכלי: הנוסחה המוכרת לנו של המזכיר (עמי 16) - דהיינו  
ייתגן סיוע אך בעקבות החלטות קשות שלנו.

12. אגב, לדברי איש איפאיק נכתב הנאום עיי אגפו של רודמן במחמיד  
ונדחתה טיוטה מקבילה של אגפ מזית.  
בסיכום, נאום שביסודו (גם אם בנקודה זו או אחרת ניתגן לדקדק) - אחד  
החיוביים ששמענו וראוי למי שנשאו.

רובינשטיין. =



העיר

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 4. ד... 4.4  
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העיר

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העיר

1. ד... 1.1  
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 8. ד... 8.8  
 9. ד... 9.9  
 10. ד... 10.10

423<sup>2</sup>/<sub>420</sub>

As Prepared for Delivery

THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL:

PARTNERS FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

ADDRESS BY

THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

SECRETARY OF STATE

BEFORE THE

ANNUAL POLICY CONFERENCE OF

THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

CRYSTAL CITY, VIRGINIA

SUNDAY, APRIL 21, 1985

EMBARGOED UNTIL DELIVERY, SCHEDULED FOR APPROXIMATELY 2:30 P.M.,  
EST, APRIL 21, 1985. NOT TO BE PREVIOUSLY CITED, QUOTED FROM,  
OR USED IN ANY WAY.

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423  $\frac{3}{20}$

We Americans are united by values and ideals that have guided us since the founding of this nation. We seek to preserve and promote freedom -- freedom to vote, freedom to speak, write, think, and worship as one chooses. We believe in tolerance, and religious tolerance in particular. We believe in justice and equality under the law. We are committed to democratic government as the best, if not the only way to protect the rights, well-being, and dignity of all men and women.

We have also understood that to pursue these noble goals, we have to be strong enough to defend our country and our way of life against aggression. And we must have an equally strong commitment to international peace and security. A world of peace offers the best hope for the spread of freedom; and a world of freedom offers the best hope for lasting peace.

In the latter half of this century, both the defense of freedom and the achievement of peace have come to depend on American strength. There can only be peace when potential aggressors know that they cannot hope to achieve their aims through war. In the modern world, that means that America, as the strongest democracy on earth, has a responsibility to stand with those who share our hopes and dreams.

X

When Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg of rededication to the cause of freedom, he was saying that the survival of liberty depended on peoples' faith in liberty. Israel's success as a thriving democracy helps sustain our faith in the democratic way of life not only in America but throughout the world. Today the principles of freedom and democracy are more alive than when Israel was founded. The number of countries around the world that are democratic or on the road to democracy is growing. I believe the example of Israel and the United States has something to do with this heartening trend.

No wonder, then, that the friendship between the American people and the people of Israel has grown so strong over the years. Our original moral commitment to Israel has never wavered, but over the years Americans have also come to recognize the enormous importance of Israel -- as a partner in the pursuit of freedom and democracy, as a people who share our highest ideals, and as a vital strategic ally in an important part of the world. The moral and personal bonds that tie us together have strengthened us both.

AK

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These principles inform every action we take in our foreign policy. Today, I would like to talk about how our ideals, our morality, and our responsibilities in the world apply to our relationship with Israel and to our hopes for peace in the Middle East.

The United States supported the creation of the State of Israel, almost four decades ago, because of moral convictions deeply rooted in the American character. We knew of the centuries of persecution suffered by the Jews, and we had witnessed the horror of the Nazi Holocaust. No decent American could fail to see the justice and necessity of a Jewish state where Jews could live without fear.

But the founding of the State of Israel also had a wider significance. Certainly, America's support for Israel has been a moral response to centuries of persecution. But the birth of Israel also marked the entrance onto the world stage of a new democracy, a new defender of liberty, a new nation committed to human progress and peace. In a world where such nations have always been the exception rather than the rule, the creation of Israel was a historic and blessed event.

✱

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America's Commitment to Israel's Security

For all these reasons, the United States has maintained its unwavering support for Israel's security for nearly four decades. Until peace was made with Egypt, Israel was completely surrounded by hostile forces since its birth, and it has had to fight four wars in less than forty years to defend its very existence. We know that the goals we share with the people of Israel -- freedom, and peace -- cannot be achieved unless both America and Israel are strong. That is why we are committed, and always will be committed, to helping Israel protect itself against any combination of potential aggressors. And that is why we must always make clear to the world -- through our material and moral support for Israel, our votes at the United Nations, and our efforts for peace -- that we are a permanent, steadfast, and unshakable ally of the State of Israel.

Every year we provide more security assistance to Israel than to any other nation. We consider that aid to be one of the best investments we could make -- not only for Israel's security, but for ours as well. Even as we developed our own budget and worked with Israel on its economic program, we nonetheless went ahead with a major increase in our security assistance for Israel.

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This is a statement of our commitment; it reflects our understanding of who our friends in the world are, who can be counted upon in times of crisis. Americans know that we have no more reliable friend in the world than Israel.

Our common interests afford us an opportunity -- and a necessity -- to work together on many issues.

We face, for example, the common threat posed by the Soviet Union. The American people and the people of Israel both know what is at stake in the struggle against the spread of Soviet power -- not just territory and natural resources, but the very way of life for which both our nations have shed so much blood and made so many sacrifices.

The continuing persecution of Jews and other minorities by the Soviet government is an abomination. And we in America know that a threat to the rights of Jews anywhere is a threat to the rights of all peoples everywhere. In the Soviet Union today, Jews are not free to practice their religion, or to teach Hebrew or Yiddish to their children; they are actively discriminated against throughout the government and society.

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We all understand the need to negotiate from strength, not from weakness. We all understand the need for constant vigilance against aggressors heavily armed by the Soviet Union. Those who truly uphold these principles, which are the foundation of Israel's security, will see the vital importance of supporting these same principles elsewhere. The security of so vital a region as Central America is crucial to the global position of the United States. Let there be no illusions: A failure to contain Communist aggression so close to home will only erode the security of all our allies and friends around the world.

In the Middle East today, the Soviet Union and its radical allies continue to block peace and to threaten those who seek it. They exert influence by their ability to intimidate with guns and through the terrorists they sponsor and direct. The United States and Israel can work together to help ensure that such attempts fail.

Strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel has become a formal, institutionalized process. We have established the Joint Political-Military Group to improve cooperation so that we can resist threats to our common interests in the Middle East.

\*

In the face of this injustice, hundreds or thousands of Jews seek to leave the Soviet Union. Many want to settle in Israel. But Soviet authorities continue to restrict Jewish emigration, and only a tiny number are allowed to leave. Those who have sought emigration and been denied exit visas often suffer additional persecution; those who stand up for their rights risk prison, or confinement in so-called "psychiatric hospitals." The United States is doing all it can to urge the Soviet Union to set the Jews free. Nothing the Soviets could do would more convince us of their desire to improve relations than to release Anatoly Shcharansky, and others, and grant Soviet Jews their right to emigrate.

In addition to denying human rights at home, the Soviet Union has also consistently sought to undermine the strategic interests of both Israel and the United States. Today they seek to increase their influence in every corner of the globe, including within this hemisphere.

Today we are trying to check Soviet-backed aggression in Central America. Everyone in this audience, and supporters of Israel across the country, know that in the Middle East America is committed to the security of its democratic ally.

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This kind of cooperation has been long overdue. Today it is an important part of our strategic relationship.

### The Challenge of Peace

Americans are committed to the security of Israel because we want to ensure that the Jewish nation, and the Jewish people, never again face a threat to their very existence. But our permanent commitment to Israel's security serves another, related goal, as well: the goal of peace.

Military might has prevented defeat on the battlefield, but true security and peace can come only when Israel has gained the acceptance and recognition of its neighbors. That is why, even as we assist Israel's capacity to defend itself, the top priority of our efforts in the Middle East is to promote Arab-Israeli peace through negotiations.

We have learned many important lessons over the years. One of them is that a strong, visible, and permanent American commitment to Israel offers the best hope for peace. The history of the Arab-Israeli conflict shows, without question, that movement in the peace process can only come when there is no doubt of our commitment to Israel.

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It can only come when no one in the Arab world or elsewhere has any delusions about the central reality that America's support for Israel can never be weakened. Israel has demonstrated beyond doubt that it will not bend or change its policies in the face of military or terrorist threats. Nor will the policies of the United States ever yield to terror or intimidation. On this principle, the United States and Israel stand together solid as a rock. So others should not miss the point: There are no military options. There are no terrorist options. The only path to progress, justice, and peace in the Middle East is that of direct negotiations.

Negotiations work. We have tangible evidence of this today in the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. This relationship is the cornerstone of the peace process. We must build upon it. The Egyptian-Israeli relationship itself must grow and be strengthened. And others must learn from the example that Egypt and Israel have set. President Mubarak is committed to peace. Others must join him. We are glad that King Hussein has re-established Jordan's diplomatic relations with Egypt. The process of building peace must continue, and the United States is committed to helping the parties move forward.

In recent months there has been much activity. Many people on both sides are working to further the peace process.

DK

- 40 - 423 <sup>12</sup>/<sub>22</sub>

Today, for the first time in years, there are signs of a new realism and a new commitment on the part of key regional actors.

Prime Minister Peres has made clear Israel's desire to negotiate with Jordan without preconditions, and he has expressed his great respect for King Hussein. The King has also called for peace; he has undertaken an effort to organize the Arab side to negotiate peace with Israel on the basis of Security Council Resolution 242. There is also movement in the Palestinian community toward greater realism, and President Mubarak has played a constructive role in promoting negotiations.

Both Arabs and Israelis trust us, and they seek our help. They find reassurance in our participation as they face the risks and challenges of peace. Such an American role is indispensable.

We also know that those Arab nations that are moving toward peace are taking risks. Radical forces in the region use terrorism and threats of war not only against Americans and Israelis, but against responsible Arabs who have worked to bring Egypt back in the Arab fold and who have sought to promote negotiations with Israel.

~~A~~

As King Hussein took steps to move with the Palestinians to the negotiating table, we saw Jordanian diplomats killed; we saw Jordanian Airlines offices bombed. Those who take risks for peace should know that the United States will help them defend themselves. The United States must continue to support those who seek negotiations and peaceful solutions against those who promote violence and oppose peace.

Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy is now in the region, on the President's behalf, exploring practical steps that might be taken toward peace. But whatever opportunities may emerge, no one in the region or throughout the world can have the slightest doubt about America's policy: Israel's vital interests will never be compromised; Israel's survival and security will never be put at risk.

At the same time, we have also made clear our concern for the Palestinian people. Lasting peace and security for Israel will require a just settlement for the Palestinians that assures their dignity and legitimate rights. How ironic and tragic it is, therefore, that those who claim to act on behalf of the Palestinians have continued to block negotiations -- the only course that can achieve a just settlement for the Palestinians.

K

- 42 - 523 <sup>15</sup>/<sub>20</sub>

Now is the time for the Arabs to let negotiations proceed. Now is the time for the Arabs to let King Hussein come forward. There is no alternative to direct negotiation; the longer this truth is evaded, the longer the Palestinian people are the victims. Those who chased illusions of "armed struggle," those who engaged in terrorism, those who thought that Soviet support would intimidate the United States and Israel, have only brought death to innocents and prolonged the suffering of the Palestinian people. Such methods have achieved nothing constructive, and never will.

But the way is open for progress -- even early progress -- and we know what that way is. President Reagan's initiative of September 1, 1982 remains the most promising route to a solution. Our policy will continue to be guided by six fundamental principles in the years to come:

-- First, we will continue to seek a lasting peace that respects the legitimate concerns of all the parties.

-- Second, the United States will oppose violent and radical challenges to peace and security. We will oppose governments or terrorist organizations of whatever stripe in their efforts to undermine the State of Israel and our Arab friends in the region.

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-- Third, United States policy toward the PLO is unchanged: We will never recognize or negotiate with any group that espouses violent solutions or refuses to accept Resolutions 242 and 338 or recognize Israel's right to exist.

-- Fourth, the only way to achieve a genuine, lasting peace is through direct negotiations between the Arab states and Israel. No other procedures can substitute. No other approach will get anywhere. No further plans or preliminaries are needed. There is one and only one place to negotiate -- at the table, face to face.

-- Fifth, we will support a negotiated settlement by which the Palestinian people can achieve their legitimate rights and just requirements. We will not support the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, nor will we support annexation or permanent control by Israel.

-- Sixth, and finally, we will always insist on Israel's right to exist in peace behind secure and recognized borders. As President Reagan said on September 1, 1982, "In the pre-1967 borders, Israel was barely 10 miles wide at its narrowest point."



The bulk of Israel's population lived within artillery range of hostile Arab armies. I am not about to ask Israel to live that way again." The United States stands firmly behind that solemn commitment.

If Israel and the United States continue to work together, we can make progress toward peace.

#### The Economic Challenge

We know that peace is essential to Israel's security. But there is another important element to that security. The strength of Israel also depends on the strength of its economy. Israel must work to overcome its economic problems. Because of our own deep interest in a strong, healthy, and secure Israel, we will also do our part in ways we can be most helpful.

We in America know what it is like to live through difficult economic times. Only in the past three years have we begun to pull ourselves out of the spiraling stagflation of the late '70s. We also know how hard it is to make the tough political decisions and the sacrifices needed to put an economy on a stable path of growth without inflation.

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- 45 - 423 <sup>17</sup>/<sub>20</sub>

We know first-hand how tough it is to cut the budget. Yet these tough decisions must be made.

The Israeli economy is a spectacular success story. The Israeli standard of living has risen steadily and remarkably. Israeli goods compete successfully in the major international markets. In fact, in 1984 Israel increased its exports by 12.5 percent, while simultaneously reducing its imports by 2.5 percent. If the United States had done the same, our trade deficit would be more than \$80 billion lower than it is today.

Still, the Israeli economy faces real problems. Israel is consuming more than it produces and its economy is beset by a large national debt, untenable budget deficits, structural rigidities, and powerful inflationary forces. There are no quick solutions to these problems -- yet Israelis have proved during the State's early decades that they could pull together to build and maintain a dynamic, growing economy. Israel has all the qualities needed for economic success: an educated, dynamic people; impressive capacities for research and development of new technologies, and outstanding universities. Israel's economic achievements in previous years were a testament to the public spirit, bravery, creativity, and talents of its people. I have no doubt that those same qualities today hold out the promise of future prosperity.



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But Israel must pull itself out of its present economic trauma. And the Israeli people must do it themselves; no one can do it for them. Israel will need support as it makes the needed adjustments, and here the United States can and must help. But our help will be of little avail if Israel does not take the necessary steps to cut government spending, improve productivity, open up its economy, and strengthen the mechanisms of economic policy. Israel and its government must make the hard decisions. Prime Minister Peres and Finance Minister Modai have shown courageous leadership; they deserve support, here and in Israel, for this effort.

From 1981 to 1984, the United States has provided almost \$9.5 billion dollars in aid to Israel. In 1984, aid to Israel made up more than a quarter of our entire foreign aid program. Yet we must all understand that this aid cannot really help unless Israel makes hard and far-reaching decisions for structural adjustment.

The United States can also help Israel in other ways, over the long term, to achieve the economic success Israel is capable of achieving. Tomorrow, for instance, the United States and Israel will sign the Free Trade Area Agreement. This will guarantee Israel completely open access to the world's largest and most diverse market.



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In 1983, the United States imported almost \$1.5 billion worth of Israeli products. The Free Trade Area Agreement will strengthen our trade partnership even further.

And we have created a Joint Economic Development Group for a continuing dialogue on the problems of the Israeli economy and on ways that our cooperation can help.

The future belongs to the free, the venturesome, the educated, and the creative. The Israeli people are all of these. Their future is bright.

#### America's Pledge

In the years to come, Israel and the United States will stand together in defense of our shared values and in support of our common goals. Our two peoples have the same vision of a better world -- a world of peace and freedom, where the dignity of all men and women is respected by all nations. The evils we see all around us today -- terrorism and the states that sponsor it, the persecution of Jews and other minorities in the Soviet Union, the outrages against Israel in the United Nations -- these only strengthen our determination.

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Every year thousands of Americans visit Yad Vashem -- the memorial to the victims of the Holocaust. I will go there again next month. The images of Jewish suffering at Nazi hands still burn in our memories. Our pledge at the end of World War II was simple: Never again. And our support for Israel is the lasting embodiment of that pledge.

Our two nations know that eternal vigilance is indeed the price of liberty. The world will be safe for decency only if men and women of decency have the courage to defend what they cherish. Security and strength are the foundation of survival -- and of any serious foreign policy. They are essential not only for the defense of liberty but for any hopes for peace. Those who would threaten peace and freedom must know that the champions of peace and freedom stand strong, and united.

America and Israel have learned this lesson. Together, we will set an example for all free peoples: We will work tirelessly for peace and for a better world.

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# official text

APRIL 22, 1985

SHULTZ'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE:

ON APRIL 21, SECRETARY OF STATE DELIVERED THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IN CRYSTAL CITY, VIRGINIA.

(BEGIN TEXT)

WE AMERICANS ARE UNITED BY VALUES AND IDEALS THAT HAVE GUIDED US SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THIS NATION. WE SEEK TO PRESERVE AND PROMOTE FREEDOM -- FREEDOM TO VOTE, FREEDOM TO SPEAK, WRITE, THINK, AND WORSHIP AS ONE CHOOSES. WE BELIEVE IN TOLERANCE, AND RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN PARTICULAR. WE BELIEVE IN JUSTICE AND EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW. WE ARE COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT AS THE BEST, IF NOT THE ONLY WAY TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS, WELL-BEING, AND DIGNITY OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN.

WE HAVE ALSO UNDERSTOOD THAT TO PURSUE THESE NOBLE GOALS, WE HAVE TO BE STRONG ENOUGH TO DEFEND OUR COUNTRY AND OUR WAY OF LIFE AGAINST AGGRESSION. AND WE MUST HAVE AN EQUALLY STRONG COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. A WORLD OF PEACE OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR THE SPREAD OF FREEDOM; AND A WORLD OF FREEDOM OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR LASTING PEACE.

IN THE LATTER HALF OF THIS CENTURY, BOTH THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM AND THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE HAVE COME TO DEPEND ON AMERICAN STRENGTH. THERE CAN ONLY BE PEACE WHEN POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS KNOW THAT THEY CANNOT HOPE TO ACHIEVE THEIR AIMS THROUGH WAR. IN THE MODERN WORLD, THAT MEANS THAT AMERICA, AS THE STRONGEST DEMOCRACY ON EARTH, HAS A RESPONSIBILITY TO STAND WITH THOSE WHO SHARE OUR HOPES AND DREAMS.

THESE PRINCIPLES INFORM EVERY ACTION WE TAKE IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY. TODAY, I WOULD LIKE TO TALK ABOUT HOW OUR IDEALS, OUR MORALITY, AND OUR RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE WORLD APPLY TO OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL AND TO OUR HOPES FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, ALMOST FOUR DECADES AGO, BECAUSE OF MORAL CONVICTIONS DEEPLY ROOTED IN THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. WE KNEW OF THE CENTURIES OF PERSECUTION SUFFERED BY THE JEWS, AND WE HAD WITNESSED THE HORROR OF THE NAZI HOLOCAUST. NO DECENT AMERICAN COULD FAIL TO SEE THE JUSTICE AND NECESSITY OF A JEWISH STATE WHERE JEWS COULD LIVE WITHOUT FEAR.

BUT THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL ALSO HAD A WIDER SIGNIFICANCE. CERTAINLY, AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL HAS BEEN A MORAL RESPONSE TO CENTURIES OF PERSECUTION. BUT THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL ALSO MARKED THE ENTRANCE ONTO THE WORLD STAGE OF A NEW DEMOCRACY, A NEW DEFENDER OF LIBERTY, A NEW NATION COMMITTED TO HUMAN PROGRESS AND PEACE. IN A WORLD WHERE SUCH NATIONS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THE EXCEPTION RATHER THAN THE RULE, THE CREATION OF ISRAEL WAS A HISTORIC AND BLESSED EVENT.



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WHEN LINCOLN SPOKE AT GETTYSBURG OF REDEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM, HE WAS SAYING THAT THE SURVIVAL OF LIBERTY DEPENDED ON PEOPLES' FAITH IN LIBERTY. ISRAEL'S SUCCESS AS A THRIVING DEMOCRACY HELPS SUSTAIN OUR FAITH IN THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE NOT ONLY IN AMERICA BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. TODAY THE PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY ARE MORE ALIVE THAN WHEN ISRAEL WAS FOUNDED. THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD THAT ARE DEMOCRATIC OR ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY IS GROWING. I BELIEVE THE EXAMPLE OF ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES HAS SOMETHING TO DO WITH THIS HEARTENING TREND.

NO WONDER, THEN, THAT THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL HAS GROWN SO STRONG OVER THE YEARS. OUR ORIGINAL MORAL COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL HAS NEVER WAVERED, BUT OVER THE YEARS AMERICANS HAVE ALSO COME TO RECOGNIZE THE ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL -- AS A PARTNER IN THE PURSUIT OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, AS A PEOPLE WHO SHARE OUR HIGHEST IDEALS, AND AS A VITAL STRATEGIC ALLY IN AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE WORLD. THE MORAL AND PERSONAL BONDS THAT TIE US TOGETHER HAVE STRENGTHENED US BOTH.

AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, THE UNITED STATES HAS MAINTAINED ITS UNWAVERING SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY FOR NEARLY FOUR DECADES. UNTIL PEACE WAS MADE WITH EGYPT, ISRAEL WAS COMPLETELY SURROUNDED BY HOSTILE FORCES SINCE ITS BIRTH, AND IT HAS HAD TO FIGHT FOUR WARS IN LESS THAN FORTY YEARS TO DEFEND ITS VERY EXISTENCE. WE KNOW THAT THE GOALS WE SHARE WITH THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL -- FREEDOM, AND PEACE -- CANNOT BE ACHIEVED UNLESS BOTH AMERICA AND ISRAEL ARE STRONG. THAT IS WHY WE ARE COMMITTED, AND ALWAYS WILL BE COMMITTED, TO HELPING ISRAEL PROTECT ITSELF AGAINST ANY COMBINATION OF POTENTIAL AGGRESSORS. AND THAT IS WHY WE MUST ALWAYS MAKE CLEAR TO THE WORLD -- THROUGH OUR MATERIAL AND MORAL SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL, OUR VOTES AT THE UNITED NATIONS, AND OUR EFFORTS FOR PEACE -- THAT WE ARE A PERMANENT, STEADFAST, AND UNSHAKABLE ALLY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

EVERY YEAR WE PROVIDE MORE SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL THAN TO ANY OTHER NATION. WE CONSIDER THAT AID TO BE ONE OF THE BEST INVESTMENTS WE COULD MAKE -- NOT ONLY FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY, BUT FOR OURS AS WELL. EVEN AS WE DEVELOPED OUR OWN BUDGET AND WORKED WITH ISRAEL ON ITS ECONOMIC PROGRAM, WE NONETHELESS WENT AHEAD WITH A MAJOR INCREASE IN OUR SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR ISRAEL.

THIS IS A STATEMENT OF OUR COMMITMENT; IT REFLECTS OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHO OUR FRIENDS IN THE WORLD ARE, WHO CAN BE COUNTED UPON IN TIMES OF CRISIS. AMERICANS KNOW THAT WE HAVE NO MORE RELIABLE FRIEND IN THE WORLD THAN ISRAEL.

OUR COMMON INTERESTS AFFORD US AN OPPORTUNITY -- AND A NECESSITY -- TO WORK TOGETHER ON MANY ISSUES.

WE FACE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE COMMON THREAT POSED BY THE SOVIET UNION. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL BOTH KNOW WHAT IS AT STAKE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SPREAD OF SOVIET POWER -- NOT JUST TERRITORY AND NATURAL RESOURCES, BUT THE VERY WAY OF LIFE FOR WHICH BOTH OUR NATIONS HAVE SHED SO MUCH BLOOD AND MADE SO MANY SACRIFICES.

THE CONTINUING PERSECUTION OF JEWS AND OTHER MINORITIES BY THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT IS AN ABOMINATION. AND WE IN AMERICA KNOW THAT A THREAT TO THE RIGHTS OF JEWS ANYWHERE IS A THREAT TO THE RIGHTS OF ALL PEOPLES ANYWHERE. IN THE SOVIET UNION TODAY, JEWS ARE NOT FREE TO PRACTICE THEIR RELIGION, OR TO TEACH HEBREW OR YIDDISH TO THEIR CHILDREN; THEY ARE ACTIVELY DISCRIMINATED AGAINST THROUGHOUT THE GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY.

IN THE FACE OF THIS INJUSTICE, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF JEWS SEEK TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION. MANY WANT TO SETTLE IN ISRAEL. BUT SOVIET AUTHORITIES CONTINUE TO RESTRICT JEWISH EMIGRATION, AND ONLY A TINY NUMBER ARE ALLOWED TO LEAVE. THOSE WHO HAVE SOUGHT EMIGRATION AND BEEN DENIED EXIT VISAS OFTEN SUFFER ADDITIONAL PERSECUTION; THOSE WHO STAND UP FOR THEIR RIGHTS RISK PRISON, OR CONFINEMENT IN SO-CALLED

"PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITALS." THE UNITED STATES IS DOING ALL IT CAN TO URGE THE SOVIET UNION TO SET THE JEWS FREE. NOTHING THE SOVIETS COULD DO WOULD MORE CONVINCING US OF THEIR DESIRE TO IMPROVE RELATIONS THAN TO RELEASE ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY, AND OTHERS, AND GRANT SOVIET JEWS THEIR RIGHT TO EMIGRATE.

IN ADDITION TO DENYING HUMAN RIGHTS AT HOME, THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALSO CONSISTENTLY SOUGHT TO UNDERMINE THE STRATEGIC INTERESTS OF BOTH ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES. TODAY THEY SEEK TO INCREASE THEIR INFLUENCE IN EVERY CORNER OF THE GLOBE, INCLUDING WITHIN THIS HEMISPHERE.

TODAY WE ARE TRYING TO CHECK SOVIET-BACKED AGGRESSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA. EVERYONE IN THIS AUDIENCE, AND SUPPORTERS OF ISRAEL ACROSS THE COUNTRY, KNOW THAT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AMERICA IS COMMITTED TO THE SECURITY OF ITS DEMOCRATIC ALLY.

WE ALL UNDERSTAND THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE FROM STRENGTH, NOT FROM WEAKNESS. WE ALL UNDERSTAND THE NEED FOR CONSTANT VIGILANCE AGAINST AGGRESSORS HEAVILY ARMED BY THE SOVIET UNION. THOSE WHO TRULY UPHOLD THESE PRINCIPLES, WHICH ARE THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY, WILL SEE THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF SUPPORTING THESE SAME PRINCIPLES ELSEWHERE. THE SECURITY OF SO VITAL A REGION AS CENTRAL AMERICA IS CRUCIAL TO THE GLOBAL POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES. LET THERE BE NO ILLUSIONS: A FAILURE TO CONTAIN COMMUNIST AGGRESSION SO CLOSE TO HOME WILL ONLY ERODE THE SECURITY OF ALL OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY, THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS RADICAL ALLIES CONTINUE TO BLOCK PEACE AND TO THREATEN THOSE WHO SEEK IT. THEY EXERT INFLUENCE BY THEIR ABILITY TO INTIMIDATE WITH GUNS AND THROUGH THE TERRORISTS THEY SPONSOR AND DIRECT. THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL CAN WORK TOGETHER TO HELP ENSURE THAT SUCH ATTEMPTS FAIL.

STRATEGIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL HAS BECOME A FORMAL, INSTITUTIONALIZED PROCESS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED THE JOINT POLITICAL-MILITARY GROUP TO IMPROVE COOPERATION SO THAT WE CAN RESIST THREATS TO OUR COMMON INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THIS KIND OF COOPERATION HAS BEEN LONG OVERDUE. TODAY IT IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP. THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE

AMERICANS ARE COMMITTED TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL BECAUSE WE WANT TO ENSURE THAT THE JEWISH NATION, AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE, NEVER AGAIN FACE A THREAT TO THEIR VERY EXISTENCE. BUT OUR PERMANENT COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY SERVES ANOTHER, RELATED GOAL, AS WELL: THE GOAL OF PEACE.

MILITARY MIGHT HAS PREVENTED DEFEAT ON THE BATTLEFIELD, BUT TRUE SECURITY AND PEACE CAN COME ONLY WHEN ISRAEL HAS GAINED THE ACCEPTANCE AND RECOGNITION OF ITS NEIGHBORS. THAT IS WHY, EVEN AS WE ASSIST ISRAEL'S CAPACITY TO DEFEND ITSELF, THE TOP PRIORITY OF OUR EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS TO PROMOTE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

WE HAVE LEARNED MANY IMPORTANT LESSONS OVER THE YEARS. ONE OF THEM IS THAT A STRONG, VISIBLE, AND PERMANENT AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL OFFERS THE BEST HOPE FOR PEACE. THE HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT SHOWS, WITHOUT QUESTION, THAT MOVEMENT IN THE PEACE PROCESS CAN ONLY COME WHEN THERE IS NO DOUBT OF OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL.

IT CAN ONLY COME WHEN NO ONE IN THE ARAB WORLD OR ELSEWHERE HAS ANY DELUSIONS ABOUT THE CENTRAL REALITY THAT AMERICA'S SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL CAN NEVER BE WEAKENED. ISRAEL HAS DEMONSTRATED BEYOND DOUBT THAT IT WILL NOT BEND OR CHANGE ITS POLICIES IN THE FACE OF MILITARY OR TERRORIST THREATS. NOR WILL THE POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES EVER YIELD TO TERROR OR INTIMIDATION. ON THIS PRINCIPLE, THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL STAND TOGETHER SOLID AS A ROCK. SO OTHERS SHOULD NOT MISS THE POINT: THERE ARE NO MILITARY OPTIONS. THERE ARE NO TERRORIST OPTIONS. THE ONLY PATH TO PROGRESS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS THAT OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

NEGOTIATIONS WORK. WE HAVE TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF THIS TODAY IN THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. THIS RELATIONSHIP IS THE CORNERSTONE OF THE PEACE PROCESS. WE MUST BUILD UPON IT. THE EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONSHIP ITSELF MUST GROW AND BE STRENGTHENED. AND OTHERS MUST LEARN FROM THE EXAMPLE THAT EGYPT AND ISRAEL HAVE SET. PRESIDENT

MUBARAK IS COMMITTED TO PEACE. OTHERS MUST JOIN HIM. WE ARE GLAD THAT KING HUSSEIN HAS RE-ESTABLISHED JORDAN'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH EGYPT. THE PROCESS OF BUILDING PEACE MUST CONTINUE, AND THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO HELPING THE PARTIES MOVE FORWARD.

IN RECENT MONTHS THERE HAS BEEN MUCH ACTIVITY. MANY PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES ARE WORKING TO FURTHER THE PEACE PROCESS.

TODAY, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS, THERE ARE SIGNS OF A NEW REALISM AND A NEW COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF KEY REGIONAL ACTORS.

PRIME MINISTER PERES HAS MADE CLEAR ISRAEL'S DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE WITH JORDAN WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS, AND HE HAS EXPRESSED HIS GREAT RESPECT FOR KING HUSSEIN. THE KING HAS ALSO CALLED FOR PEACE; HE HAS UNDERTAKEN AN EFFORT TO ORGANIZE THE ARAB SIDE TO NEGOTIATE PEACE WITH ISRAEL ON THE BASIS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242. THERE IS ALSO MOVEMENT IN THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY TOWARD GREATER REALISM. AND PRESIDENT MUBARAK HAS PLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN PROMOTING NEGOTIATIONS.

BOTH ARABS AND ISRAELIS TRUST US, AND THEY SEEK OUR HELP. THEY FIND REASSURANCE IN OUR PARTICIPATION AS THEY FACE THE RISKS AND CHALLENGES OF PEACE. SUCH AN AMERICAN ROLE IS INDISPENSABLE.

WE ALSO KNOW THAT THOSE ARAB NATIONS THAT ARE MOVING TOWARD PEACE ARE TAKING RISKS. RADICAL FORCES IN THE REGION USE TERRORISM AND THREATS OF WAR NOT ONLY AGAINST AMERICANS AND ISRAELIS, BUT AGAINST RESPONSIBLE ARABS WHO HAVE WORKED TO BRING EGYPT BACK IN THE ARAB FOLD AND WHO HAVE SOUGHT TO PROMOTE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

AS KING HUSSEIN TOOK STEPS TO MOVE WITH THE PALESTINIANS TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, WE SAW JORDANIAN DIPLOMATS KILLED; WE SAW JORDANIAN AIRLINES OFFICES BOMBED. THOSE WHO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE SHOULD KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL HELP THEM DEFEND THEMSELVES. THE UNITED STATES MUST CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THOSE WHO SEEK NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS AGAINST THOSE WHO PROMOTE VIOLENCE AND OPPOSE PEACE.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE RICHARD MURPHY IS NOW IN THE REGION, ON THE PRESIDENT'S BEHALF, EXPLORING PRACTICAL STEPS THAT MIGHT BE TAKEN TOWARD PEACE. BUT WHATEVER OPPORTUNITIES MAY EMERGE, NO ONE IN THE REGION OR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD CAN HAVE THE SLIGHTEST DOUBT ABOUT AMERICA'S POLICY: ISRAEL'S VITAL INTERESTS WILL NEVER BE COMPROMISED; ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL AND SECURITY WILL NEVER BE PUT AT RISK.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE ALSO MADE CLEAR OUR CONCERN FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. LASTING PEACE AND SECURITY FOR ISRAEL WILL REQUIRE A JUST SETTLEMENT FOR THE PALESTINIANS THAT ASSURES THEIR DIGNITY AND LEGITIMATE RIGHTS. HOW IRONIC AND TRAGIC IT IS, THEREFORE, THAT THOSE WHO CLAIM TO ACT ON BEHALF OF THE PALESTINIANS HAVE CONTINUED TO BLOCK NEGOTIATIONS -- THE ONLY COURSE THAT CAN ACHIEVE A JUST SETTLEMENT FOR THE PALESTINIANS.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE ARABS TO LET NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED. NOW IS THE TIME FOR THE ARABS TO LET KING HUSSEIN COME FORWARD. THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE TO DIRECT NEGOTIATION; THE LONGER THIS TRUTH IS EVADED, THE LONGER THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE THE VICTIM. THOSE WHO CHASED ILLUSIONS OF "ARMED STRUGGLE," THOSE WHO ENGAGED IN TERRORISM, THOSE WHO THOUGHT THAT SOVIET SUPPORT WOULD INTIMIDATE THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL, HAVE ONLY BROUGHT DEATH TO INNOCENTS AND PROLONGED THE SUFFERING OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. SUCH METHODS HAVE ACHIEVED NOTHING CONSTRUCTIVE, AND NEVER WILL.

BUT THE WAY IS OPEN FOR PROGRESS -- EVEN EARLY PROGRESS -- AND WE KNOW WHAT THAT WAY IS. PRESIDENT REAGAN'S INITIATIVE OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1982 REMAINS THE MOST PROMISING ROUTE TO A SOLUTION. OUR POLICY WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY SIX FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN THE YEARS TO COME:

-- FIRST, WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK A LASTING PEACE THAT RESPECTS THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF ALL THE PARTIES.

-- SECOND, THE UNITED STATES WILL OPPOSE VIOLENT AND RADICAL CHALLENGES TO PEACE AND SECURITY. WE WILL OPPOSE GOVERNMENTS OR TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS OF WHATEVER STRIPE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND OUR ARAB FRIENDS IN THE REGION.

-- THIRD, UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD THE PLO IS

UNCHANGED: WE WILL NEVER RECOGNIZE OR NEGOTIATE WITH ANY GROUP THAT ESPOUSES VIOLENT SOLUTIONS OR REFUSES TO ACCEPT RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 OR RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST.

-- FOURTH, THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE A GENUINE, LASTING PEACE IS THROUGH DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL. NO OTHER PROCEDURES CAN SUBSTITUTE. NO OTHER APPROACH WILL GET ANYWHERE. NO FURTHER PLANS OR PRELIMINARIES ARE NEEDED. THERE IS ONE AND ONLY ONE PLACE TO NEGOTIATE -- AT THE TABLE, FACE TO FACE.

-- FIFTH, WE WILL SUPPORT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BY WHICH THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE CAN ACHIEVE THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND JUST REQUIREMENTS. WE WILL NOT SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, NOR WILL WE SUPPORT ANNEXATION OR PERMANENT CONTROL BY ISRAEL.

-- SIXTH, AND FINALLY, WE WILL ALWAYS INSIST ON ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST IN PEACE BEHIND SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS. AS PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1982, "IN THE PRE-1967 BORDERS, ISRAEL WAS BARELY 10 MILES WIDE AT ITS NARROWEST POINT.

THE BULK OF ISRAEL'S POPULATION LIVED WITHIN ARTILLERY RANGE OF HOSTILE ARAB ARMIES. I AM NOT ABOUT TO ASK ISRAEL TO LIVE THAT WAY AGAIN." THE UNITED STATES STANDS FIRMLY BEHIND THAT SOLEMN COMMITMENT.

IF ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER, WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE.  
THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGE

WE KNOW THAT PEACE IS ESSENTIAL TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY. BUT THERE IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT ELEMENT TO THAT SECURITY. THE STRENGTH OF ISRAEL ALSO DEPENDS ON THE STRENGTH OF ITS ECONOMY. ISRAEL MUST WORK TO OVERCOME ITS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. BECAUSE OF OUR OWN DEEP INTEREST IN A STRONG, HEALTHY, AND SECURE ISRAEL, WE WILL ALSO DO OUR PART IN WAYS WE CAN BE MOST HELPFUL.

WE IN AMERICA KNOW WHAT IT IS LIKE TO LIVE THROUGH DIFFICULT ECONOMIC TIMES. ONLY IN THE PAST THREE YEARS HAVE WE BEGUN TO PULL OURSELVES OUT OF THE SPIRALING STAGFLATION OF THE LATE '70S. WE ALSO KNOW HOW HARD IT IS TO MAKE THE TOUGH POLITICAL DECISIONS AND THE SACRIFICES NEEDED TO PUT AN ECONOMY ON A STABLE PATH OF GROWTH WITHOUT INFLATION. WE KNOW FIRST-HAND HOW TOUGH IT IS TO CUT THE BUDGET. YET THESE TOUGH DECISIONS MUST BE MADE.

THE ISRAELI ECONOMY IS A SPECTACULAR SUCCESS STORY. THE ISRAELI STANDARD OF LIVING HAS RISEN STEADILY AND REMARKABLY. ISRAELI GOODS COMPETE SUCCESSFULLY IN THE MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MARKETS. IN FACT, IN 1984 ISRAEL INCREASED ITS EXPORTS BY 12.5 PERCENT, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY REDUCING ITS IMPORTS BY 2.5 PERCENT. IF THE UNITED STATES HAD DONE THE SAME, OUR TRADE DEFICIT WOULD BE MORE THAN 80 BILLION DOLLARS LOWER THAN IT IS TODAY.

STILL, THE ISRAELI ECONOMY FACES REAL PROBLEMS. ISRAEL IS CONSUMING MORE THAN IT PRODUCES AND ITS ECONOMY IS BESET BY A LARGE NATIONAL DEBT, UNTENABLE BUDGET DEFICITS, STRUCTURAL RIGIDITIES, AND POWERFUL INFLATIONARY FORCES. THERE ARE NO QUICK SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS -- YET ISRAELIS HAVE PROVED DURING THE STATE'S EARLY DECADES THAT THEY WOULD PULL TOGETHER TO BUILD AND MAINTAIN A DYNAMIC, GROWING ECONOMY. ISRAEL HAS ALL THE QUALITIES NEEDED FOR ECONOMIC SUCCESS: AND EDUCATED, DYNAMIC PEOPLE; IMPRESSIVE CAPACITIES FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES, AND OUTSTANDING UNIVERSITIES. ISRAEL'S ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN PREVIOUS YEARS WERE A TESTAMENT TO THE PUBLIC SPIRIT, BRAVERY, CREATIVITY, AND TALENTS OF ITS PEOPLE. I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THOSE SAME QUALITIES TODAY HOLD OUT THE PROMISE OF FUTURE PROSPERITY.

BUT ISRAEL MUST PULL ITSELF OUT OF ITS PRESENT ECONOMIC TRAUMA. AND THE ISRAELI PEOPLE MUST DO IT THEMSELVES; NO ONE CAN DO IT FOR THEM. ISRAEL WILL NEED SUPPORT AS IT MAKES THE NEEDED ADJUSTMENTS, AND HERE THE UNITED STATES CAN AND MUST HELP. BUT OUR HELP WILL BE OF LITTLE AVAIL IF ISRAEL DOES NOT

TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO CUT GOVERNMENT SPENDING, IMPROVE PRODUCTIVITY, OPEN UP ITS ECONOMY, AND STRENGTHEN THE MECHANISM OF ECONOMIC POLICY. ISRAEL AND ITS GOVERNMENT MUST MAKE THE HARD DECISIONS. PRIME MINISTER PERS AND FINANCE MINISTER MODAI HAVE SHOWN COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP; THEY DESERVE SUPPORT, HERE AND IN ISRAEL, FOR THIS EFFORT.

FROM 1981 TO 1984, THE UNITED STATES HAS PROVIDED ALMOST 9.5 BILLION DOLLARS IN AID TO ISRAEL. IN 1984, AID TO ISRAEL MADE UP MORE THAN A QUARTER OF OUR ENTIRE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM. YET WE MUST ALL UNDERSTAND THAT THIS AID CANNOT REALLY HELP UNLESS ISRAEL MAKES HARD AND FAR-REACHING DECISIONS FOR STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT.

THE UNITED STATES CAN ALSO HELP ISRAEL IN OTHER WAYS, OVER THE LONG TERM, TO ACHIEVE THE ECONOMIC SUCCESS ISRAEL IS CAPABLE OF ACHIEVING. TOMORROW, FOR INSTANCE, THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL WILL SIGN THE FREE TRADE AREA AGREEMENT. THIS WILL GUARANTEE ISRAEL COMPLETELY OPEN ACCESS TO THE WORLD'S LARGEST AND MOST DIVERSE MARKET. IN 1983, THE UNITED STATES IMPORTED ALMOST 1.5 BILLION DOLLARS WORTH OF ISRAELI PRODUCTS. THE FREE TRADE AREA AGREEMENT WILL STRENGTHEN OUR TRADE PARTNERSHIP EVEN FURTHER.

AND WE HAVE CREATED A JOINT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GROUP FOR A CONTINUING DIALOGUE ON THE PROBLEMS OF THE ISRAELI ECONOMY AND ON WAYS THAT OUR COOPERATION CAN HELP.

THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE FREE, THE VENTURESOME, THE EDUCATED, AND THE CREATIVE. THE ISRAELI PEOPLE ARE ALL OF THESE. THEIR FUTURE IS BRIGHT.

#### AMERICA'S PLEDGE

IN THE YEARS TO COME, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES WILL STAND TOGETHER IN DEFENSE OF OUR SHARED VALUES AND IN SUPPORT OF OUR COMMON GOALS. OUR TWO PEOPLES HAVE THE SAME VISION OF A BETTER WORLD -- A WORLD OF PEACE AND FREEDOM, WHERE THE DIGNITY OF ALL MEN AND WOMEN IS RESPECTED BY ALL NATIONS. THE EVILS WE SEE ALL AROUND US TODAY -- TERRORISM AND THE STATES THAT SPONSOR IT, THE PERSECUTION OF JEWS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE OUTRAGES AGAINST ISRAEL IN THE UNITED NATIONS -- THESE ONLY STRENGTHEN OUR DETERMINATION.

EVERY YEAR THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS VISIT YAD VASHEM -- THE MEMORIAL TO THE VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST. I WILL GO THERE AGAIN NEXT MONTH. THE IMAGES OF JEWISH SUFFERING AT NAZI HANDS STILL BURN IN OUR MEMORIES. OUR PLEDGE AT THE END OF WORLD WAR II WAS SIMPLE: NEVER AGAIN. AND OUR SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL IS THE LASTING EMBODIMENT OF THAT PLEDGE.

OUR TWO NATIONS KNOW THAT ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS INDEED THE PRICE OF LIBERTY. THE WORLD WILL BE SAFE FOR DECENCY ONLY IF MEN AND WOMEN OF DECENCY HAVE THE COURAGE TO DEFEND WHAT THEY CHERISH. SECURITY AND STRENGTH ARE THE FOUNDATION OF SURVIVAL -- AND OF ANY SERIOUS FOREIGN POLICY. THEY ARE ESSENTIAL NOT ONLY FOR THE DEFENSE OF LIBERTY BUT FOR ANY HOPES FOR PEACE. THOSE WHO WOULD THREATEN PEACE AND FREEDOM MUST KNOW THAT THE CHAMPIONS OF PEACE AND FREEDOM STAND STRONG, AND UNITED.

AMERICA AND ISRAEL HAVE LEARNED THIS LESSON. TOGETHER, WE WILL SET AN EXAMPLE FOR ALL FREE PEOPLES: WE WILL WORK TIRELESSLY FOR PEACE AND FOR A BETTER WORLD.

מגירות ישראל - ורשינגטון

אל:

ה'ל"ב

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 סוג בטווי.....17/10  
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ממנכל, מזח, מצא, ממד  
 מפי פלטרו ס/עוזר המזכיר/מזית (20).  
 מסעות מרפי ועוד.

א. אינו אופטימי לגבי שכיח קוחי במסעו הנוכחי של מרפי. האינדיסיה  
 לככ- העובדה שערפאת סמ ונסע לניו דלהי. ידוע כמ מן העבד שכאשר ערפאת  
 מדגיש שלא בוח ואינו רוצה לחייב עצמו, הוא נוסע לקצוי ארצ. אילו  
 היה משהו ממשי מתרחש היה נשאר בשטח.

ב. תוצאה חיובית אפשרית מסיוור מרפי הנוכחי אולי תהיה בכל זאת שתזוזה  
 ביחסים הביטורליים ישראל/מצרים, אפ כי אטית (אגב, הנושא ממשיכ לעננינ  
 את מזכיר המדינה שהעלהו בעצמו בשיחה עם חכי אב ב-19. וודאי יש מקום  
 להעלותו בפגישות שיהיו לו בארצ במאי).

ג. פלטרו טענ שדיפאעי טוב לקידום תחליכ השלום והמגע עם ישראל  
 כיוון שמהיותו מי שנשא ונתן עמנו (אמנם חשאי) בעב, אינ  
 לו עכבות לגבי הנושא.

ד. בביסור בנ גידיד להעכת פלטרו היו החובשאויוח בנושא תחליכ השלום  
 לא חיוביות כפי שאולי ניסו אחרים לקראנ.

רובינשטיין



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issue here is not politics, but good and evil."

NYI-4/21 "Whistling Past the Graveyard" James Reston-Reagan doesn't avoid booby-traps, he digs in deeper. Reagan has never been noted for his study of history or for his sensitivity. But what is more disturbing is his recent resort to deception. Kohl was not responsible for the failure of Reagan to stop at the most tragic symbol of mass murder of this century. Reagan's staff must take some responsibility. Much will depend on Buchanan. He will have considerable influence on what Reagan says and does. It is in this field that the President has stumbled so badly.

Press Reports

Elie Weisel Pleads With Reagan to Cancel Trip to Bitburg

Weisels speech upon his acceptance from Reagan of a Gold Medal was covered in full in all NY Newspapers. Headlines in DN & NYP.

NYT-p.1-Weinraub-In the silence of the packed Roosevelt room Weisel told Reagan that his place was with "the victims of the SS." Tension was running high. Marshall Breger had sought to limit Weisels speech to 3 minutes and to delete direct criticism of Reagan. Donald Regan later told Weisel he could say whatever he wanted for as long as he wanted. Breger would not comment later. The White House was embarrassed over the decision to go to Bitburg and changed the ceremony from a room that holds 300 to a room where the guests number 40. Many in the room cried when Weisel spoke. Reagan also spoke, he told of his commitment to the Jewish people, Israel, and discussed the Nazi horrors. (see transcript of Reagan's speech in all papers)

DN-4/21-Kramer-A number of survivors talks about their experiences in the camps.

NYT-4/20-Shanon-Weisel is stunned by Reagan's refusal to change his mind about Bitburg. He met with Reagan. Reagan explained that he has political considerations. Weisel said that the past week has been a nightmare. He believes Reagan was pained by the controversy and wants to get out of it.

Kohl Praises Reagan

NYT-p.1-4/21-Kohl said he was gratified that Reagan had not changed his plans to go to Bitburg for it showed that Reagan was a "friend"

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Of the Germans." Some say young Germans feel "bitter" over the controversy surrounding Reagan's plans. Markham (see DN-UPI)

Bergen-Belson Chosen as Site for Reagan Visit

NYT-Photo of Bergen-Belson, 1945. Women living in makeshift shelters. At least 40,000 Jews died in that camp. (see DN-Burton; description of Bergen-Belson on day of liberation; NYP)

Members of Holocaust Council Will Not Resign

NYT-McFadden 4/21-p.1-Despite feelings of deep anguish, the members of the Holocaust Council will probably not resign. "We now see the work of the council even more important," Hyman Bookbinder said. He also said Reagan had time to change his mind. In Tel-Aviv, Gideon Hausner said the visit to Bitburg would be a "victory for Hitler beyond the grave."

Begin Reacts

NYT-UPI-Begin spoke for the second time in two days, criticizing Reagan for his planned visit to Bitburg. Begin said Reagan was a great friend of the Jewish people and Israel, "But in this case he was ill advised, and all of us are very sorry about it."

Cartoons

DN-4/21-Lovers-Reagan calling up his P.R. Dept't while shooting bullet through his foot.

NYT-4/21-Eliphant-Reagan putting wreath at Bitburg. "And Others," ghosts of survivors in background.

Camp David-Labor vs. Likud

NYT-Week-in Review-Freidman 4/21-Underlying last week's political row over Weizman's trip to Cairo was a clash between two very different conceptions of what the peace process between Israel and its neighbors should be about. Shimon Shamir, Israel's leading expert on modern Egypt says, "The whole peace process is at stake in this debate." The Egyptians made it clear that in order for relations to thaw and the long-awaited summit to take place, Israel must accept arbitration over Golan. Likud refuses to do this because they do not feel negotiation

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process has been exhausted and because they realize Israel has a weak case. Likud never really regarded Camp David as a cornerstone for a wider Mideast peace. Likud did everything they could so that promises for autonomy on the West Bank for Palestinians would not come to be, in fear of a seperate Palestinian state. Weizman and Peres see Camp David as a starting point for a wider peace including Jordan and the Palestinians. Peres believes the word "peace" has lost its meaning among Israelis because of the cool Egyptian-Israeli relations. Perhaps if things get better, the Israeli public will be ready for the second stage of this process. Both Egypt and Israel has legitimate complaints about the other. Both Likud and Labor ended the week itching to get rid of the other. Peres appears to be in the stronger position.

Pope and Jewish Leaders Mark Improved Ties

NYT-4/21-Dionne-A group of Roman Catholics and Jewish religious leaders celebrated the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Second Vatican Council. The Pope spoke. A prominent Jewish leader from Italy criticized the Pope for his meetings with leaders of Europe's right.

Lebanon

NYT-4/21-Hijazi-20 people were reportedly killed in fighting in and around Sidon. Christian militiamen fired on Palestinian refugee camps and Moslem villages. Syria apparently does not disapprove of what has been happening in West Beirut because of suspicions that supporters of Arafat have tried again to reestablish themselves as a power in the city. (see DN-17)

Saudi Arabia-Water

NYT-4/21-Sciolino-Saudi officials consider water self-sufficiency as part of a strong national defense. An extraordinary desalting project now meets most of the country's needs. But Western geologists say the Saudis continue to waste water at an alarming rate, and the underground water under large cities is hopelessly polluted.

Sudan

NYT-4/21-Week in Review-Miller-Voices of dissent and criticism now abound in Sudan. But some are questioning whether democracy can really come to pass in a country with so many problems. Democracy depends on an end to the civil war but the leader of the rebel force refused to negotiate.



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דג'ל/שומר

ווש'ננאון

דע: אנ' י'ת

דוב'נשטיין

'יקול אמריקה' י'

1. סלך 341 הצטלב עם שלנו בנדון. אכן הבוקר הגיעו ההסכמים השונים כולל זה עם ה- S.B.C. נשמח במונן לקבל עותק נוסף.
2. טוב במונן שאמרת את האמור בסעיף ב' למברקך.
3. בשלנו מאתמול תשובה לענין ב'יקול משלחת הסקר ומכאן שהמועד המתאים לנו הוא במחצית השנייה של חודש מאי ועוד נעמוד עסך בקשר בנושא.

מצפא.

נפ: שהח, דהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, משפמ

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אל : ממרוה"מ שר החוץ,מנכ"ל,ממנכ"ל,מנהל מצפ"א

פגישת ח"כ אבן - מזכיר המדינה

ח"כ אבן נפגש עם מזכיר המדינה היום 19/4. נכחו פלטרו, וילקוקס,השגריר,הציר,סיבל.

ביקור במז"ת

שולץ : תחילה התכוונתי לבוא רק לארועי השואה אך לויס היה בדעה שכדאי לנצל הביקור לשיחות. אחר כך טענו מובראק וחוסיין שאם אני מבקר בישראל אני צריך לבקר גם אצלם. כך התרחב הביקור.

כלכלה

אבן : ארה"ב וישראל נמצאות ביחסים מעולים עתה הן בתחום סיוע,תמיכה בטחונית,סיוע במוסדות בינ"ל,וחתימת אסי"ח. יש הרגשה שיתוף אינטרסים אף כי כמובן אין הסכמה במאת האחוזים.

בראש דאגותיה של ישראל נמצא עתה הנושא הכלכלי. ממשלת ישראל מנסה להחיל Restraints. אנו קיצצנו בתקציב הבטחון כולל צמצום ברכישת נשק, זאת בזמן שהסכנה הבטחונית לישראל לא פחתה.

בהטלת גזרות יש עלינו מגבלות מסוימות לרבות קיום הבחירות להסתדרות ב-13/5. עם כל מאמצינו לא נוכל לעבור את השנתיים הבאות ללא סיוע אמריקני נוסף.

שולץ : אנו מבינים את הצורך במתן סיוע חירום. אנו רואים את הסיוע כגשר שיאפשר לכם לעבור מקרקע יצוקה לקרקע יצוקה. הבעיה שלפני בנית הגשר צריכה להיות קיימת קרקע יצוקה. אנו נסייע לישראל אך נדרוש קיום קרקע כזו לפני מתן הסיוע.

אבן : בישראל אנו חייבים לעבוד על בסיס של הסכמה לאומית. אנו באותו הזמן חייבים לתת לבנקים הבינ"ל הרגשה שישראל הינה עסק מוצלח. אנו אכן עסק מוצלח - מדינה קטנה שמייצאת בסכום הקרוב ל-12 ביליון ואנו דומים במבנינו הכלכלי יותר ליפן או שוויץ, מאשר למדינות העולם השלישי.

הצבור שלנו דורש קצוצי תקציב לפני שנפנה שוב לצבור בדרישת וויתורים. על כן נאלצנו לקצץ בתקציב הבטחון על כל הכאב שכרוך בכך. רוה"מ פרס פועל בשיטת קונסוס לאומי, אין דרך אחרת עבורינו.  
לבנון

אבן : הנושא השני על סדר יומה של ישראל הינה הנסיגה מלבנון. לבנון דומה לכוורת דבורים אך ללא דבש. בדעתנו לעבור לשיטת ההרתעה באמצעות פעולות גמול נידות.

שולץ : האם תשאירו כוחות כלשהם בלבנון ?

אבן : הנושא נמצא במחלוקת בישראל, אך הקו המנחה הינו להימנע ממצב בו נשלוט באוכלוסייה.

אם נשלוט באוכלוסייה נאלץ לנהל את השטח ובהכרח מידי פעם להעניש ואז לפנינו מעגל אלימות. אף על פי שיש מחלוקת בארץ לגבי תחילת המלחמה אין מחלוקת לגבי הצורך ביציאה. שולץ : מתי תושלם ?

אבן : אנו מנסים לא להודיע על תאריכים, אך להערכתנו עד תחילת יוני לא נהיה שם. יחד עם זאת חשוב ששכנינו ידעו על נכוונותינו ויכולתינו לנקוט בפעולות הרתעה אם יש צורך.

לפי ההגיון פעילות השיעית צריכה להסתיים עם יציאתנו. להבדיל מאש"פ אין לשיעים וזכוה היטורי איתנו על הזכות על ארץ ישראל. שולץ : שגרירנו בלבנון ברטולומניו אמר שלדעתו פעילות הטרור השיעית נובעת ממאבק פנימי למנהיגות השיעים בתוך לבנון.

תהליך השלום

אבן : ישראל מברכת על פעילות ארה"ב למען תהליך השלום. נוכחנו במשך השנים שאין תחליף למו"מ ישר. אין כל טעם לנסות להשיג הסכמה לגבי 242, גבולות, ונושאים אחרים לפני מו"מ, מו"מ מקדמי הינו האויב של מו"מ אמיתי.

טוב איפוא שמובראק מתרכז בפרוצדורה לקיום מו"מ. הסכם ישראל-מצרים הוכיח שכאשר צדדים נפגשים למו"מ יש דינמיקה משלו שיכול להביא להסכם.

אנו נהיה מוכנים לנהל מו"מ עם משלחת ירדנית-פלסטינאית אך אנו זכאים לדרוש שלא נמצא עצמנו יושבים בשולחן אחד עם אלו שהרגו ילדינו במעלות ומבקשים להמשיך ברצח. דרכו של מרפי כיום נראית לנו כדרך נכונה אך חייבים לעמוד על כך שלא תהיינה מו"מ שלא בהשתתפות ישראל. אנו דוחים את הרעיון למו"מ מצרי-ירדני-אמריקאי וכמו כן את היוזמה המוזרה לגבי כנון ועידה בינ"ל. יש אכן תזווה ירדנית-פלסטינאית אך הם עדין לא זזו מטפיק. העובדה שהם שינו עמדותיהם הינה עוד הצלחה לעקשות הישראלית והאמריקאית בדרישה להכרה ב-242 ונהול מו"מ ישר. כנראה שהערבים מרגישים שהזמן כבר לא פועל לטובתם וחשוב איפוא שנמשיך לעמוד על העקרונות מאחר ורק זה הביא אותם לתזווה כלשהיא.

שולץ : דעתנו הינה שיש לפעול למען כנון משלחת פלסטינאית אשר תורכב מפלסטינאים אשר יהוו נציגים לגיטימיים של הפלסטינאים אך ללא תווית של אש"פ. הרגשתנו שבעולם הערבי יש דרישה שקבוצת אנשים כזו תצטרך לקבל

Implied Support

של אש"פ או שחוסייין יצטרך לקבל אשור כזה של אש"פ. עדין לא ברור לנו אם ערפאת מסוגל או מעונין לתת אשור כזה. בו בזמן אנו פונים לממשלות ערביות אחרות בבקשה שיתמכו בצעד כזה. אנו זוכים להגברת ההיענות בתחום זה.

אבן : על אש"פ לשלם את המחיר של האידיאולוגיה שלו. לנו זה לא משנה אם עמדת אש"פ נובעת מאימפוטנטיות או מזדון. התוצאה היא חיינו הרך. כל ישראלי נושא עמו

אל:

התרשמויות ברורות לגבי מהות אש"פ.

הצרה היא שערביי הגדה ועזה לא למדו את הסכם ק.ד. אילו היו עושים זאת היו נוכחים שיש בהסכם יתרונות רבים עבורם. הם השליכו ההסכם הצדה מבלי לבדוק אותו. שולץ : אחד האלמנטים המושכים ביותר בהסכם ק.ד. הינו הקביעה לקיום בחירות. אבן : הערבים הפלסטינאים חמיד נהגו לדחות הצעות ולאחר כמה שנים להביט עליהם בעררה.

ישראל-מצרים

שולץ : לפי דרישתכם אנו ממשיכים להעלות את הטעון שלאיכות יחטי ישראל-מצרים השפעה רבה על המשך תהליך השלום. אנו מעודדים מהנעשה בתחום ישראל-מצרים. מה הוכל לספר לי על כך ?

אבן : לפי דעתי מצרים עתה צריכה לעשות יותר משענה בעקבות נכונותינו לטגת מלבנון. בעבר, גם במסגרת שיחתי עם מובראק, תלו הכל בנטיגה מלבנון אולם עמה הם מתנהגים בקמצנות רבה בכל הקשור להידוק היחסים הביטורליים. הם לא החזירו את השגריר ולא החיו את ההסכמים איתנו. מאיזר הם כן מנסים להרבות במפגשים וכנראה יבקשו גם ממני לארגן משלחת פרלמנטרית. חייבים לפעול למען יתר חילופי אנשים והידברות. מובראק ניסה לשים את מרכז הכובד בנושא תהליך השלום ולא ביחסים בילטרליים.

הפגישות האחרונות היו חשובות ולפי דעתי יש טיכוי לקיום פגישת פיסגה אף כי אני לא בטוח מתי. חשוב ביותר שפגישה כזו תתקיים וכזכור פגישות בגין-סאדאת היו חשובות ביותר להתקרבות בין שתי המדינות.

שולץ : המצרים מאמינים שאתם בכנות מתכוונים לטגת מלבנון.

אבן : ישראלים רבים טוענים שטרם נפנה אליהם למען יקריבו יותר למען שלום עם ערבים נוספים, חשוב להוכיח להם שההסכם עם מצרים הינו בעל ערך.

שולץ : זאת נקודה חשובה ומשכנעת ואנו טוענים זאת גם למצרים וגם למדינות ערב אחרות.

אבן : המצרים מנסים לשחק בנושא חילוקי הדעות בתוך ישראל ואכן יש חילוקי דעות כאלו אך הם לא רלוונטיים לגבי המציאות כיום. אין שום סבה שיראליים יקרעו עצמם לגזרים על נושאים שאינם עומדים על סדר היום. יש לנו דרך ארוכה עד שנאלץ להכריע בשאלות כאלו, ייתכן אף הסדרים זמניים או ביניים בדרך. בינתיים הערבים לא העמידו למולינו האתגר שיאלץ אותנו להכריע בשאלות קשות.

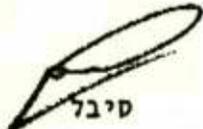
שולץ : אך עליכם לשכנע את חוסיין שקיימת בממשלת ישראל נכונות לנהל מו"מ על בסיס של ריטוריה חמורת שלום. המפתח להערכת הינו התהליך; לא נחוצה לנו עוד תוכנית, יש מאות כאלו, מה שנחוץ הינו להביא את הצדדים לשולחן המו"מ. ברגע שיתחילו מו"מ כזה לדבר תהיה דינמיקה משלו.

ס ו ס ס  
דף... 4... מחור... 4... דפים  
סוג בסחובי  
דחיפות  
תאריך וז"ח  
מס' מברק... 415

אל:

- 4 -

להערכת ארה"ב הזמנה לועידה הבינ"ל היא הזמנה לקרקס ולא למו"מ. זאת הבהרנו לכולם.  
אבן : אל-בז הבהיר שגם מצרים לא מתלהבת משתוף הסוביטים.  
עד כאן.  
לאחר הפגישה השגריר הציג את רובינשטיין כנכנס לתפקיד הציר ואת סיבל כעוזב את  
תפקידו ועומד להתמנות כנראה ליועץ המשפטי של המשרד. המזכיר בירך את שניהם וסיפר  
כי הוא עומד למנות את אייב סופר כיועץ משפטי של מחמ"ד.

  
סיבל

תפוצה : שגריר, ציר, אבידן, סיבל, כהן.

ארה"ב רה"מ איתן מילר מ-10:30 אמש רחמי"ל מאת איתן  
רצון מתיא צירי

ש ז נ ט

דף.../...ממוך...דפים

סווג בטחוני. קודי ביוחן פקסי

דחיות...ק"ד?

תאריך וז"ח...1800..19. אפר' 85

415

אל : ממרוהיים שר החוץ, ממנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, מנהל מצפ"א

פגישה ח"כ אבן - מזכיר המדינה

ח"כ אבן נפגש עם מזכיר המדינה היום 19/4. נכחו פלטר, וילקוקס, השגריר, הציר, סיבל.

ביקור במז"ת

שולץ : תחילה התכוונתי לבוא רק לארועי השואה אך לויס היה בדעה שכדאי לנצל הביקור לשיחות. אחר כך טענו מובראק וחוסטין שאם אני מבקר בישראל אני צריך לבקר גם אצלם. כך התרחב הביקור.

כלכלה

אבן : ארה"ב וישראל נמצאות ביחסים מעולים עתה תן בתחום סיוע, תמיכה בטחונית, סיוע במוסדות בינ"ל, וחתימת אס"ח. יש הרגשת שיתוף אינטרסים אף כי כמובן אין הסכמה במאת האחוזים.

בראש דאגותיה של ישראל נמצא עתה הנושא הכלכלי. ממשלת ישראל מנסה להחיל Restraints. אנו קיצצנו בתקציב הבטחון כולל צמצום ברכישת נשק, זאת בזמן שהסכנה הבטחונית לישראל לא פחתה.

בהטלת גזרות יש עלינו מגבלות מסוימות לרבות קיום הבחירות להסתדרות ב-13/5.

עם כל מאמצינו לא נוכל לעבור את השנתיים הבאות ללא סיוע אמריקני נוסף.

שולץ : אנו מבינים את הצורך במתן סיוע חירום. אנו רואים את הסיוע כגשר שיאפשר לכם לעבור מקרקע יצוקה לקרקע יצוקה. הבעיה שלפני בניית הגשר צריכה להיות קיימת קרקע יצוקה. אנו נסייע לישראל אך נדרוש קיום קרקע כזו לפני מתן הסיוע.

אבן : בישראל אנו חייבים לעבוד על בסיס של הסכמה לאומית. אנו באותו הזמן חייבים לתת לבנקים הבינ"ל הרגשה שישראל הינה עסק מוצלח. אנו אכן עסק מוצלח - מדינה קטנה שמייצאת בסכום הקרוב ל-12 ביליון ואנו דומים במבנינו הכלכלי יותר ליפן או שוויץ, מאשר למדינות העולם השלישי.

הצבור שלנו דורש קצוצי תקציב לפני שנפנה שוב לצבור בדרישת וויתורים. על כן נאלצנו לקצץ בתקציב הבטחון על כל הכאב שכרוך בכך. רוה"מ פרס פועל בשיטת קונסוס לאומי, אין דרך אחרת עבורינו.

לבנון

אבן : הנושא השני על סדר יומה של ישראל הינה הנסיגה מלבנון. לבנון דומה לכוורת דבורים אך ללא דבש. בדעתנו לעבור לשיטת ההרתעה באמצעות פעולות גמול נידות.

שולץ : האם תשאירו כוחות כלשהם בלבנון ?

אבן : הנושא נמצא במחלוקת בישראל, אך הקו המנחה הינו להימנע ממצב בו נשלוט באוכלוסייה.

ד...ד...ג...מתוך...ד...דפים

סוג בשחוני

דחיות

תאריך וז"ח

415...מס' מבק

אל:

אם נשלוט באוכלוסייה נאלץ לנהל את השטח ובהכרח מידי פעם להעניש ואז לפנינו מעגל אלימות. אף על פי שיש מחלוקת בארץ לגבי תחילת המלחמה אין מחלוקת לגבי הצורך ביציאה שולץ : מתי תושלם ?

אבן : אנו מנסים לא להודיע על תאריכים, אך להערכתנו עד תחילת יוני לא נהיה שם. יחד עם זאת חשוב ששכנינו ידעו על נכוונותינו ויכולתינו לנקוט בפעולות הרחעה אם יש צורך.

לפי ההגיון פעילות השיעית צריכה להסתיים עם יציאתנו. להבדיל מאשי"פ אין לשיעים וכוח היטורי איתנו על הזכות על ארץ ישראל. שולץ : שגרירנו בלבנון ברטולומניו אמר שלדעתו פעילות הטרור השיעית נובעת ממאבק פנימי למנהיגות השיעים בתוך לבנון.

חהליך השלום

אבן : ישראל מברכת על פעילות ארה"ב למען חההליך השלום. נוכחנו במשך השנים שאין תחליף למו"מ ישיר. אין כל טעם לנסות להשיג הסכמה לגבי 242, גבולות, ונושאים אחרים לפני מו"מ, מו"מ מקדמי הינו האויב של מו"מ אמיתי.

טוב איפוא שמובואק מתרכז בפרוצדורה לקיום מו"מ. הסכם ישראל-מצרים הוכיח שכאשר צדדים נפגשים למו"מ יש דינמיקה משלו שיכול להביא להסכם.

אנו נהיה מוכנים לנהל מו"מ עם משלחת ירדנית-פלסטינאית אך אנו זכאים לדרוש שלא נמצא עצמנו יושבים בשולחן אחד עם אלו שהרגו ילדינו במעלות ומבקשים להמשיך ברצח. דרכו של מרפי כיום נראית לנו כדרך נכונה אך חייבים לעמוד על כך שלא תהיינה מו"מ שלא בהשתתפות ישראל. אנו דוחים את הרעיון למו"מ מצרי-ירדני-אמריקאי וכמו כן את היוזמה המוזרה לגבי כנון ועידה ביני"ל. יש אכן תזווה ירדנית-פלסטינאית אך הם עדין לא זזו מטפיק. העובדה שהם שינו עמדותיהם הינה עוד הצלחה לעקשות הישראלית והאמריקאית בדרישה להכרה ב-242 ונהול מו"מ ישיר. כנראה שהערבים מרגישים שהזמן כבר לא פועל לטובתם וחשוב איפוא שנמשיך לעמוד על העקרונות מאחר ורק זה הביא אותם לתזווה כלשהיא. שולץ : דעתנו הינה שיש לפעול למען כנון משלחת פלסטינאית אשר תורכב מפלסטינאים

אשר יהוו נציגים לגיטימיים של הפלסטינאים אך ללא תזווה של אשי"פ. הרגשתנו שבעולם הערבי יש דרישה שקבוצת אנשים כזו תצטרך לקבל Implied Support

של אשי"פ או שחוסייין יצטרך לקבל אשור כזה של אשי"פ. עדין לא ברור לנו אם ערפאת מטוגל או מעונין לתת אשור כזה. בו בזמן אנו פונים לממשלות ערביות אחרות בבקשה שיתמכו בצעד כזה. אנו זוכים להגברת ההיענות בתחום זה.

אבן : על אשי"פ לשלם את המחיר של האידיאולוגיה שלו. לנו זה לא משנה אם עמדת אשי"פ נובעת מאימפוטנטיות או מזדון. התוצאה היא חיינו הך. כל ישראלי נושא עמו

ס פ ס ס נ ר ק

דף... 3. מתוך... 4. דפים

סוג כסחוני.....

דחיות.....

תאריך ד"ח.....

415 טס" סברק.....

אל:

התרשמיות ברורות לגבי מתות אש"פ.

הצרה היא שערביי הגדה ועזה לא למדו את הסכם ק.ד. אילו היו עושים זאת היו נוכחים שיש בהסכם יתרונות רבים עבורם. הם השליכו ההסכם הצדה מבלי לבדוק אותו. שולץ : אחד האלמנטים המושכים ביותר בהסכם ק.ד. הינו הקביעה לקיום בחירות. אבן : הערבים הפלסטינאים חמיד נהגו לדחות הצעות ולאחר כמה שנים להביט עליהם בעררה.

ישראל-מצרים

שולץ : לפי דרישתכם אנו ממשיכים להעלות את הטעון שלאיכות יחטי ישראל-מצרים השפעה רבה על המשך תהליך השלום. אנו מעודדים מהנעשה בתחום ישראל-מצרים. מה תוכל לספר לי על כך ?

אבן : לפי דעתי מצרים עתה צריכה לעשות יותר משענה בעקבות נכונותינו לסגת מלבנון. בעבר, גם במסגרת שיחתי עם מובראק, תלו הכל בנטיגה מלבנון אולם עתה הם מתנהגים בקמצנות רבה בכל הקשור להידוק היחסים הביטורליים. הם לא החזירו את השגריר ולא החיו את ההסכמים איתנו. מאיזך הם כן מנסים להרבות במפגשים וכנראה יבקשו גם ממני לארגן משלחת פרלמנטרית. חייבים לפעול למען יחר חילופי אנשים והידברות. מובראק ניסה לשים את מרכז הכובד בנושא תהליך השלום ולא ביחסים בילטרליים.

הפגישות האחרונות היו חשובות ולפי דעתי יש סיכוי לקיום פגישת פיטגה אף כי אני לא בטוח מתי. חשוב ביותר שפגישה כזו תתקיים וכזכור פגישות בגין-סאדאת היו חשובות ביותר להתקרבות בין שתי המדינות.

שולץ : המצרים מאמינים שאתם בכנות מתכוונים לסגת מלבנון.

אבן : ישראלים רבים טוענים שטרם נפנה אליהם למען יקריבו יותר למען שלום עם ערבים נוספים, חשוב להוכיח להם שההסכם עם מצרים הינו בעל ערך.

שולץ : זאת נקודה חשובה ומשכנעת ואנו טוענים זאת גם למצרים וגם למדינות ערב אחרות.

אבן : המצרים מנסים לשחק בנושא חילוקי הדעות בתוך ישראל ואכן יש חילוקי דעות כאלו אך הם לא רלוונטיים לגבי המציאות כיום. אין שום סבה סיראליים יקרעו עצמם לגזרים על נושאים שאינם עומדים על סדר היום. יש לנו דרך ארוכה עד שנאלץ להכריע בשאלות כאלו, ייתכן אף הסדרים זמניים או בנייים בדרך. בינתיים הערבים לא העמידו למולינו האתגר שיאלץ אותנו להכריע בשאלות קשות.

שולץ : אך עליכם לשכנע את חוסיין שקיימת בממשלת ישראל נכונות לנהל מו"מ על בסיס של טריטוריה תמורת שלום. המפתח להערכת הינו התהליך; לא נחוצה לנו עוד תוכנית, יש מאות כאלו, מה שנחוץ הינו להביא את הצדדים לשולחן המו"מ. ברגע שיתחילו מו"מ כזה לדבר תהיה דינמיקה משלו.

ס ו ס ס ס כ ר ק

דף... 4... מחורן... 4... דפים

סוג בטחוני

דחיפות

תאריך וז"ח

מס' מברק... 415

אל:

- 4 -

להערכת ארה"ב הזמנה לועידה הבינ"ל היא הזמנה לקרקס ולא למו"מ. זאת הבהרנו לכולם.  
אבן : אל-בז הבהיר שגם מצרים לא מתלהבת משתוף הסובייטים.  
עד כאן.

לאחר הפגישה השגריר הציג את רובינשטיין כנכנס לתפקיד הציר ואת סיבל כעוזב את  
תפקידו ועומד להתמנות כנראה ליועץ המשפטי של המשרד. המזכיר בירך את שניהם וסיפר  
כי הוא עומד למנות את אייב סופר כיועץ משפטי של מחמ"ד.



סיבל

תפוצה : שגריר, ציר, אבידן, סיבל, כהן.

ארה"ב רה"מ הודיעה לימים אלו שגם מצרים לא מתלהבת משתוף הסובייטים  
אבן : אל-בז הבהיר שגם מצרים לא מתלהבת משתוף הסובייטים



# official text

April 22, 1985

## JEWISH HERITAGE PROCLAMATION

FOLLOWING IS AN APRIL 19 RELEASE FROM THE WHITE HOUSE:  
JEWISH HERITAGE WEEK, 1985

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
A PROCLAMATION

THOSE WHO SET OUT TO DESCRIBE JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN CIVILIZATION SOON LEARN HOW ENORMOUS IS THEIR TASK. THE JEWISH PEOPLE HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE WEST ITS FUNDAMENTAL SPIRITUAL VALUES. THEY INTRODUCED THE WORLD TO MONOTHEISM AND TO THE HIGH ETHICAL PRINCIPLES EXPRESSED IN THE TEN COMMANDMENTS AND THE WRITINGS OF THE PROPHETS. THE OTHER GREAT RELIGIONS OF THE WEST -- CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM -- CAN RECOGNIZE THEIR ROOTS IN JUDAISM. WESTERN LITERATURE OWES MANY OF ITS MOST INSPIRING THEMES AND ALLUSIONS TO THE HEBREW BIBLE. GREAT JEWISH THINKERS -- FROM PHILO OF ALEXANDER, TO MAIMONIDES AND SAADYA GAON, TO SPINOZA AND MARTIN BUBER -- HAVE ENGAGED IN POWERFUL SYMBIOTIC DIALOGUE WITH CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM WRITERS TO ADD VITAL INSIGHTS TO THE WESTERN PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITION. IN ADDITION, INDIVIDUAL JEWS HAVE MADE EXTRAORDINARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ARTS, LITERATURE, SCIENCES, AND HUMANITIES.

YET THROUGHOUT HISTORY THE JEWISH PEOPLE HAVE ENDURED COUNTLESS BLOODY MASSACRES FROM THE INQUISITION TO POGROMS THROUGHOUT EUROPE. NONE OF THESE REMOTELY APPROACHES THE GENOCIDAL UNDERTAKING OF THE NAZIS WHO PLANNED THE WHOLESALE DESTRUCTION OF EUROPEAN JEWRY. IN OUR OWN TIME THIS PLAN WAS CONCEIVED AND, BEFORE WE COULD STOP IT, IT HAD TAKEN THE LIVES OF SIX MILLION JEWISH MEN, WOMEN, AND CHILDREN.

EVEN AS WE HERALD THE GLORY OF THE JEWISH HERITAGE, WE COMMEMORATE AS WELL JEWISH SUFFERING IN THIS ERA. IT IS UP TO US TO SHOW THE WAY OUT OF THIS SHAMEFUL CYCLE. WE MUST REMEMBER THE SINS OF THE PAST AND REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO SHAPING A FUTURE MARKED BY TOLERANCE, RESPECT, AND COMPASSION. WE MUST REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE PROPOSITION THAT THE HOLOCAUST WILL REMAIN A SOLITARY HORROR AND THAT ITS LIKE WILL NEVER BE REPEATED.

JEWS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD HAVE JUST CELEBRATED PASSOVER, THE HOLIDAY THAT MARKS THE EXODUS FROM EGYPT AND THE DELIVERANCE FROM SLAVERY. THE JEWISH PEOPLE CAME FORTH FROM THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE AND FLOWERED WITH AN ABUNDANCE OF



United States Information Service  
Tel Aviv, 71 Hayarkon Street, 63903 Tel. 654338 ext. 204  
Jerusalem, 19 Keren Hayesod Street, 94188 Tel. 222376

CREATIVITY WHICH HAS MAINTAINED ITSELF UNTIL THE PRESENT DAY. WE LEARN FROM THIS THAT THE EMERGENCE FROM SLAVERY TO FREEDOM CAN RELEASE POWERS HIDDEN WITHIN THE HUMAN SPIRIT, AS THE JEWISH PEOPLE HAVE ONCE AGAIN SHOWN SINCE THE END OF THE NAZI TERROR. THE FAITH IN GOD AND IN THE JEWISH PEOPLE WHICH SUSTAINED THEM THROUGH THESE TRIBULATIONS HAS INFUSED NEW LIFE INTO THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN AMERICA AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

IN RECOGNITION OF THE SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS TIME OF YEAR FOR AMERICA'S JEWS, IN TRIBUTE TO THE CONTRIBUTIONS THEY HAVE MADE TO AMERICAN LIFE, AND IN AN EFFORT TO FOSTER UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF THE CULTURAL DIVERSITY THAT HAS MADE AMERICA A UNIQUE SOCIETY, THE CONGRESS, BY SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 17, HAS DESIGNATED APRIL 21 THROUGH APRIL 28, 1985, AS "JEWISH HERITAGE WEEK" AND AUTHORIZED AND REQUESTED THE PRESIDENT TO ISSUE A PROCLAMATION IN OBSERVANCE OF THIS EVENT.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, DO HEREBY PROCLAIM APRIL 21 THROUGH APRIL 28, 1985, AS JEWISH HERITAGE WEEK. I CALL UPON THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, AND INTERESTED ORGANIZATIONS TO OBSERVE THAT WEEK WITH APPROPRIATE CEREMONIES AND ACTIVITIES.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I HAVE HEREUNTO SET MY HAND THIS 19TH DAY OF APRIL, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD NINETEEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIVE, AND OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THE TWO HUNDRED AND NINTH.

RONALD REAGAN

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מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

טופס מברק גלוי

97 סדר 4

אל: הסברה, מע"ת, לש' ממנכ"ל, יועץ רוח"ם לחקשורת, סגפ"א.

לש' יגד

סיווג בטחוני:

דע: רוסינגטון

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107-11

News Summary April 19, 1985

Editorials

WSJ-"About Cemeteries" Micheal Dever is getting the blame for not knowing that 30 SS troopers are buried at Bitburg, or if he did, for not seeing that they carried a dangerous symbolism. But if Reagan can be accused of insensitivity, some of his critics might be equally guilty of political cynicism. Reagan intended a friendly gesture. In Europe there is even a nastier game afoot. Russia calls the West German Gov't neo-Nazis. Even the Holocaust memorial at Buchenwald, in East Germany, conveys that message. A V-E Day commemoration last week did not mention Jews at all. Reagan walked into this buzz saw innocently.

NYP-"Getting Off the Hook: More Than White House Deserves" Here's some advise to Reagan: when in a hole, stop digging. He's already alienated everyone from the American Legion to the American Jewish community. His defense of the ceremony at Bitburg made things even worse. To compare the German war dead with the death of camp inmates on the ground that they were both victims of Nazism was spectacularly tasteless. Reagan should not go to the cemetery and start fresh. It will offend the West Germans but not more than the continuation of the controversy will.

NYP-"Lest the True Meaning be Lost" To forget the Holocaust would be to profane the sacrifice of all who died during the Nazi regime of horror. That is the singular importance of hte Holocaust Museum, soon to be constructed at Battery Park City.

Columns

WSJ-Wolf Blitzer "Jews in Ethiopia: US Cared This Time" Today's direct and very active cooperation in helping rescue Ethiopian Jews is in marked contrast to the documented abandonment of European Jewish refugees before and during WW II. The recent airlift of Jews from Sudan was a combined State Dept., Pentagon, CIA operation and was actively promoted by Bush and authorized by Reagan personally. The US had been extremely supportive. All this suggests that the lessons of the Holocaust have been learned. Israel exists for all Jewish refugees. Had Israel been around during the Holocaust, no doubt the US would have been more willing to get Jews there. US Jewry has become more politically powerful and will never again want to take the blame for inaction. Also, many Jews now work in the State Dept., unlike the 1930's and 40's. This time the US Gov't didn't care about any political fallout. Times have changed.

מאריך: \_\_\_\_\_ אישור כנהל המחלקה: \_\_\_\_\_

טופס מברק גלוי

מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

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DN-Royko "Ron Concentrated on Wrong Camp" Reagan didn't want to dredge up bad feelings at a time when the US is trying to show the Germans that we are good friends. This may make sense to people like Pat Buchanan, the razor fanged right-winged top PR advisor to Reagan. But the logic confused many others. Laying a wreath at the graves of SS troops is carrying reconciliation a bit too far. They say that politics is the art of compromise. Is this the highest example of that art?

ND-Anderson "Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are Causing Static" According to internal congressional memos, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have been broadcasting "unacceptable material...characterized as anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic or even anti-Western." Heavy handed propoganda tends to be counterproductive.

ND-Zander "Conversion Issue May Dim Prospects for Lew Lehrman" Lehrman's conversion from Judaism to Catholicism amounts to a bucket of cold water on any plans he might have for election in the near future. The change is a shock to his image, even if he says he has been thinking about it for years. In his last campaign, Lehrman went out of his way to assure Orthodox Jews of his faith.

Press Reports

Reagan Likens Nazi War Dead to Camp Victims

NYT-p.1-Boyd (Photo of Weisel talking at a memorial service as Shultz looks on) Reagan, standing by his decision to lay a wreath at Bitburg, said most of the soldiers buried there were as much victims of Nazism as the inmates of the concentration camps. His remarks immediately stirred a burst of new criticism. He said the men were drafted into service to carry out the hateful wishes of the Nazis. Reagan said it would be hurtful to German-US relations if he cancelled the ceremony at the graveyard. "And all it would do is to leave me looking as if I caved in, in the face of some unfavorable attention." Reagan also said the average of of the men buried there is 18, but a White House spokesman did not know where Reagan got that information. (see text of Reagan's remarks-NYT; DN-Jackman; ND-Waldman; NY-Lathem)

NYT-p.1-Clines-Elie Weisel pleaded with Shultz to dissuade Reagan from inflicting "pain and shame" on Americans by visiting a cemetery where Nazis are buried. Weisel will receive the Congressional Gold Medal, the highest Medal a civilian could receive. Reagan is to present it and Weisel is thinking of not accepting it.

טופס מברק גלוי

מחלקת הקשר - ניו-יורק

דפים 3 תמוך 4

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NYT-Reuters-Israeli leaders paid tribute to the six million Jews killed by the Nazis and strongly condemned Reagan's plans to visit Bitburg. Newspapers also assailed Reagan's decision. (see Photo of Israelis standing attention, on the road, during a 2-minute siren in tribute to the six million-ND)

NYT-special-Jewish groups and their leaders sharply criticized Reagan for his recent remark equating Nazi soldiers with the victims of the Holocaust. Schindler called it a "distortion of history, a perversion of language and a callous offense."

NYT-News Analysis-Weinraub-Despite his reputation as a dazzling performer, Reagan has made a series of often inexplicable misstatements over the years that have angered many of his constituencies, mired him in political trouble and dismayed even his close associates and admirers. Conservative analysts and some close aides acknowledge that he seems to suffer from some sort of historical blindspot. Reagan comes from Hollywood and many think he see's America as a movie, always looking for heroic endings.

Bonn Praises Reagan on Cemetery Visit

NYT-Markham-West German officials expressed satisfaction at Reagan's apparent determination to lay a wreath at Bitburg.

Karami in Syria

NYT-Hijazi-Karami went to Syria to discuss the deteriorating political situation with Assad. In another development, the VP for administration at American University. George Sayegh is a Greek Orthodox Christian from Triopli. The reason for his abduction is not clear. (see DN-AP; ND-AP)

Sudan

ND-combined-In an attempt to reunify the nation, the leader of Sudan offered to establish the country's predominantly black southern region as a single political entity, Sudan radio said.

Algerian Leader Assails Morocco

NYT-Guertzman-The President of Algeria voiced concern about the growing tension in North Africa, accusing Morocco of spurning chances for a political settlement of the 10 year old conflict in the Western Sahara.



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מגירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אלו המשרד/חל-אביב

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דחיסות בחול ליום א' בבוקר

מאריך וז"ח... 1400 19 אפריל 1985

מחלקת מטה מברק

מזכיר הממשלה די"ר י. ביילין

דע: ממנכ"ל. ס/מנכ"ל כלכלי

מזכ"ל החשדורות י. קיסר באמצעות א. אלון, מחק לקורים ביניל של החשדורות

אל - על

בהמשך לשיחתנו הטלפונית ולאחר התייעצות עם דן הלפרין ועם נציג החשדורות אליעזר רפאלי ועל דעתם:

אין כל ספק שהנביח של העובדים היא חרגיל "ספונטני" שאורגן על ידי הנהלת "אל-על" בניו יורק, על פי עצה כמה מיועציה.

יש הכרח חיוני ומיידי בהמשק התרגיל הזה מיידית, שכן אם תגונב על כך שמועה לאיגודים, הם יפעילו מיד את כוונת החרם נגדנו ללא כל היסוס. גם שום איגוד אחר לא יסכים לייצג את העובדים הללו.

העבודה האמריקנית, מביעה מנייה של עשרות מיליוני דולרים ב"בונדס", ומביעה בכל טעולות החשדורות בארה"ב שחללו לאחרונה לשל <sup>ה</sup>החשדורות רצינית.

לדעתנו, יש הכרח להורות מיד ל"אל-על" לחדש ללא דיחוי את המו"ם עם איגוד המכונאים. לתחזק מיד את כל העובדים ששבו לעבודה ולתקנתם - ~~למחלקת המטה~~ ~~למחלקת המטה~~ ~~למחלקת המטה~~ ולזהעביר את כל השאלות השנויות במחלוקת לבוררות, ללא סייגים והתחכמויות. כבר עתה חנזק חספי הישיר "סנגרם ל"בונדס" עולה על כל רווח שהיה ל"אל-על", וחנזק החסברתי והמדיני המצטבר אינו ניתן לביטוי כספי, אבל הוא חסור ביותר.

דני בלור

היה שיהי מנט מ/מנט ברות סטיה סטיה  
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אל : מצפ"א, ממ"ד

אש"פ-ירדן. משיחה עם ארון מילר (עבר מ- IMA) האחראי על נושא הסכסוך - Policy Planning

1. שליחות מרפי נתפסת לא רק כ- Exploration אחר אישים פלסי במסלחת עתידה אלא התרשמות בשטח ומ"כלי ראשון", האם עקרונית ניתן להזיז את תהליך השלום לאור המגוון אצל הצדדים השונים כגון מידת ש"פ בין אש"פ וירדן, תמיכה ערבית בתהליך השלום (תביקורים בסעודיה וטוריה) וכמובן עמדת ממשלת ישראל. הבינותי שהמימצאים הנ"ל ישמשו את האגף בראשות מיטר רודמן להערכת מצב.

2. הרשמים הראשונים ממרפי שלפי שעה אין למסלחת בראשותו תחושה נכונה של מידת התבנה בין אש"פ וירדן בנושאים מרכזיים של ייצוג ומדינה (Stakehood). באשר לנושא השתתפות הפלסי במסלחת העלה מילר בעיה שעלולה להתעורר עבור ישראל וארה"ב היה ויימצאו אישים פלסי שאינם יאנשי אש"פ מוצהרים". סביר למדי שגורמים כנ"ל (לדוגמה פריג'י) יאלצו בתוקף הנסיבות לקום ולהצהיר שהם תומכים במטרות אש"פ, קבלו ברכתו ולמעשה יהוו נציגיו, מעין תעודת בטוח עבורם להשתתף במהלך כזה.

3. בתגובה לשאלה אחרת אמר מילר שגם הוא מייחס חשיבות ל-3 ונאי אש"פ שהוצגו ע"י האני אלחסן זכאי שהציג המסלחת המסוחפת לירדן ולאש"פ. בסירות המתוכנן במדינות ערב. נגאים אלה מקובלים בדיכ גם על ירדן;

א) שני הצדדים, אש"פ וירדן כל אחד מסיבותיו הוא לא רואים כשלב ריאלי מו"מ ישיר עם ישראל. יעד המרכזי הוא ארה"ב, דהיינו מה ארה"ב מוכנה "לעשות עבורנו" (הערבים).

ב) שני הצדדים וביחוד ירדן זקוקים לחמיכה ערבית. פרוש הדבר שלא ניתן יהיה לעקוף את המכשול הטורי. ממשלת זייד רפאעי (רי להלן) היא מן הביטויים לכך.

ג) יש לעשור את כל מהלך למסגרת של שלום כולל. בהקשר זה מילר מעיר שהלחץ הירדני סביב ועידה בינ"ל אינו מן השפה ולחוץ, הגם שהתייחסות למעמדה אינו תואמת את זו של טוריה (ובריה"ם).

4. הערכתו האישית היא שציפיותיו של חוסיין אינן מרחיקות לכת מדי והוא יסתפק בשלב זה בתזוזה אמריקאית כלשהי לעבר הפלסי קרי אש"פ ע"מ שערפאת יהיה במצב של תליכה נוספת ויותר ברורה לעבר 242. מכל מקום חוסיין רציני בעמדתו שלא יזוז ללא אש"פ.

5. המצב באש"פ עוד יותר מסובך. ערפאת נמצא בשלב עדין ולא יכול להרשות לעצמו פילוג נוסף, הפעם בפת"ח עצמו, היה וירחיק לכת. מילר נוטה להעריך, ללא תימוכין מוצקים, שערפאת נלחם מעין "מלחמת מאסף". דהיינו הוא מספיק ריאליסט להבין שליומרותיו (מדינה עצמאית וכו') אין כיסוי - ירדן לא תניח לככורה "בשותפות" שלא להזכיר את ישראל. הוא יסתפק אם כן ב"סמלים" - דגל, דרור (וגם לימוזינה הוסיף בצחוק).









