

11

# מדינת ישראל

## משרדי הממשלה

משרד

מס' תיק

שם: משרד ראש הממשלה  
 כתובת: משרד ראש הממשלה - לשכת ראש הממשלה  
 שם תיק: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס ויצחק שמיר - ארצות-הברית

---

מס' מיל מקורי: 3 תקופת החומר: 3/1990-3/1990  
 מזהה פיו: א - 7 / 5022  
 13/11/2012

שם: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס ויצח



**א - 7 / 5022**

מזהה פיו: 43.4/13 - 786  
 מס פריט: 2168853  
 מזהה לוגי: 02-111-02-05-04  
 כתובת: 13/11/2012

מס' תיק מקורי

מחלקה



# טופס מראה מקום להוצאת תעודות יחידות\*

חטיבה מס': 43.4

מיכל מס': 5022/10

תאריך התעודה: 8/3/1990

שם מחבר התעודה: יפאקיה אינאי-רונגו

טיק מס': 7

שם הנמען: \_\_\_\_\_

סוג התעודה (סמן ✓ במקום המתאים):

- מכתב
- מברק
- תזכיר או מיזכר
- דין וחשבון או זכרון דברים משיחה או דיון
- פרוטוקול של שיחה, דיון או ישיבה

\*הטופס ימולא בשני עותקים. העותק הירוק יוכנס לתיק במקום התעודה שהוצאה. העותק הלבן יצורף לתעודה שהוצאה.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 06.03.90

4964

סודי

נכנס

\*\*  
\*\*  
\*\*  
\*\*

חוזם: 3,4964

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/669, מנמת/281

מ-: נוש, נד: 124, תא: 060390, זח: 1330, רח: מ, סג: סו

תז: גס: צפא

נד: ג

סודי / מידי

אל: טמנכ'ל צפ'א

מאת: עודד ערן

ירושלים. שלך 152.

גם רוס וגם האס הסבירו לי אמש, שהודעת הבית הלבן היתה הטובה ביותר שניתן היה להשיג בנסיבות אלו. הכוונה במשפט האחרון של ההודעה היא, על אף הניסוח, היא לקבל ערבויות שלא יהיה שימוש בכספים שלהם תנתן ערבות ממארה'ב מעבר לקו הירוק, בנוסח המכתב שאותו אנו משגרים מידי שנה ל-A.I.D. לגבי השימוש בכספי הסיוע האזרחי. סימור וייך גם הוא אומר שזו הפרשנות שצריך לתת להודעה בעקבות שיחתו עם הנשיא.

ערן.

פא

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





13  
1/3

ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

שגרירות ישראל / נושנגטון

דף מחוך דפים

סווג בטחוני שמור

דחיפות מידי

תאריך/ז"ח 14.3.90 10:30

מס' מברק

אל : גבי פדון, יועץ לראש עיריית ירושלים

מאת : לשכת השגריר, נושנגטון

401

(קשר, העבירונוא בפקס: 249 430 - 02)

רצ"ב תשובת הנשיא בוש למכתב טדי מה- 8/3.

הנש  
לש שגריר

ג 1  
ח 3

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100

האברה  
1

4/3

401 2/3

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1990

Dear Mr. Mayor:

Thank you for your thoughtful and gracious letter. I will always treasure the memory of my visit to Jerusalem, an experience made even more enjoyable because of your personal involvement. But I am simply one of many who are in debt to you. Thanks to your fair and farsighted leadership, and to Israel's exemplary respect for the holy places, Jerusalem remains an inspiration and a source of hope to Jews, Christians and Muslims alike.

I would like to thank you as well for sharing your insights with me. There is much that we hold in common. As you note, the basis of our position remains that Jerusalem must never again be a divided city. We did not approve of the status quo before 1967; in no way do we advocate a return to it now. This was and is the policy of the United States, and it is my policy. Our efforts in the peace process are in no way designed to promote the division of Jerusalem. We would oppose any such effort.

It is also our view that the final status of this most special of cities should be decided by negotiation, and that this negotiation would be facilitated if we were well along the path toward peace. There is thus no intention on our part to focus now on the final status of Jerusalem. It is also our view, just as it has been the view of the United States since 1967, that all sides should be taking steps to get to negotiations and avoiding steps that could prejudice the prospects for these negotiations. It is the pursuit of peace that ought to take priority, for only with peace can Jerusalem truly be open and whole.

3/3

401  $\frac{3}{3}$ 

2

Thank you again for taking the time to write me.  
Barbara joins me in sending our best wishes to  
you and your family.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Teddy Kollek  
Mayor  
City of Jerusalem



2/4  
387  
עורכי הדין המקומים והן לפני עורכי הדין בארץ . נראה לי  
שמבלי לקשור אחד בשני הצהרה מצד אנשי הונדה אמריקה על כוונתם  
לבצע רכישות בארץ צריכה לסיים מבחינתנו את הפרשה .

ב ב ר כ ה ,

א.נויבך



3/4  
387



*Handwritten signature and scribbles at the top right of the page.*

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

ט ו פ ס מ ב ר ק

דף 1 מתוך 2 דפים  
דחיפות : מידי  
סיווג : מידי  
תאריך וזמן חקור :

50/210

1/2

341

דף :  
מתוך :

אל : מנכ"ל האוצר  
חוץ  
תמ"ס  
תחבורה

מאת : ציר כלכלי

הנדון : הונדה

ביום 7/3/90 פגשנו במחמ"ד את Mac Cormick - סגן מזכיר המדינה לנושאים כלכליים.

הוא העלה את נושא שיווק מכוניות הונדה בארץ. לדעתו, ואני מצטט זו תהיה שגיאה לחסום חברה אמריקאית מלשווק את מוצריה בארץ. הוא הוסיף כי לאמריקאים יש מאבק עם האירופאים על שיווק מכוניות מסוג זה באירופה ולכן לא מקובלת עליהם דרישתנו.

באותו יום 7/3/90 פגשנו את Lynn Williams - סגן מנהל ה-U.S.T.R. הוא העלה את נושא שיווק מכוניות הונדה בארץ וציין שמכונה שכ-70% מחלקיה מיוצרים באוהיו אינה יכולה להחשב כמכונית יפאנית אלא אמריקאית. ציין שהונדה ארה"ב הינה היצרן הרביעי או החמישי בגודלו. החברה מייצרת כ-800,000 מכוניות שהם כ-10% מהשוק האמריקאי. נתן לנו להבין את אי שביעות רצונו מעמדת משרדי הממשלה בנדון.

ב-5/3/90 פגשנו את Don Demarino ושני עוזריו ב-Department of Commerce. במהלך השיחה איתם הם העלו את נושא מכירת מכוניות הונדה בארץ. מעבר לכל הטענות שהיו להם נגדנו, הם בקרו אותנו על הטקטיקה שאנחנו נוקטים בנושא זה. להערפתם עצם

711 -



4/4  
387

341

העובדה שמכונניות הונדה תמכרנה בארץ ותראנה בארץ זה הרבה חשוב מאשר מכתב מחברת האם על אספקת חלפים . מכתב מעין זה אינו נדרש (להערכתם) לא תורם דבר מאחר והחברה האמריקאית מחויבת לענין ולא חברת האם, מה גם שהחברה האמריקאית גדולה מחברת האם .

ביום 9/3/90 נפגשנו עם עורכי הדין של החברה בארה"ב אצל הטארי ( W.J Kilberg and J.N Price ) . עורכי הדין ציינו את כל הנקודות הידועות על עצמאות החברה ועל גודלה ביחס לחברה היאפאנית .

במענה לשאלתנו מה כל כך מסובך לשלוח מכתב מעין זה מחברת האם ציינו את הנקודות הבאות :

- א) מכתב מעין זה מהווה אפליה ביחס לחברות אמריקאיות אחרות .
- ב) מכתב כזה יהווה תקדים לשוק המשותף כי הוא יוכיח שזו מכוננית היאפאנית ולא אמריקאית .
- ג) להערכתם הסיבה לדרישת המכתב היא פוליטית ולא עניינית .

כאמור הם חזרו וטענו שהחברה האמריקאית גדולה מהחברה היאפאנית וביכולתה לספק את כל החלפים ולעמוד בהתחייבויות .

במענה לשאלה כיצד תנהג מועצת המנהלים אם חברת האם תחליט משיקולי חרם שלא לשווק לארץ, הם ענו שזו תהיה הסתבכות פוליטית ועסקית ממדרגה ראשונה לחברה האמריקאית אשר תעמוד לדין .

במענה לשאלה על הרכב מועצת המנהלים, לא ידעו ( או לא רצו ) להשיב לנו . מאוחר יותר הועבר לידיעתנו כי כל חברי מועצת המנהלים הם היאפאנים .

לאור האמור לעיל המלצתנו הברורה לרדת מהדרישה למכתב האמור . לא נראה לנו שיש לכך הצדקה, ודרישה זו רק יוצרת כאן לחץ עלינו ומנוף לנגח אותנו בבואנו לדון בנושאים בעלי חיוניות כלכלית רבה יותר .

הגל על דעת השגריר .

ב ב ר כ ה ,

א.נויבך

חוזם: 3,11030

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/1589, מנמת/664

מ-: ווש, נר: 378, תא: 130390, זח: 1630, דח: ב, סג: בל

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, הסברה.

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת,

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון.

להלן דברי הנשיא בוש במסעת בביית הלבן.

Q MR. PRESIDENT, DO YOU REGRET THE OTHER DAY RAISING THE ISSUE OF SETTLEMENTS IN EAST JERUSALEM?

PRESIDENT BUSH: NO, I DON'T REGRET IT. I THINK -- I THINK ALL THE SPECULATION AND COMMENTARY OF THE LAST TEN DAYS HAVE BLOWN THINGS WAY OUT OF PROPORTION.

WHAT I WAS DOING WAS REITERATING UNITED STATES POLICY. BUT LET ME SAY THIS. RIGHT NOW IN ISRAEL, THERE'S INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS TAKING PLACE IN THE POLITICAL SCENE THERE, AND I DO NOT WANT TO LOOK IN ANY WAY LIKE WE'RE TRYING TO MINGLE INTO THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ISRAEL AS THEY ARE GOING THROUGH THIS DIFFICULT POLITICAL PROBLEM RIGHT NOW. RIGHT NOW. AND, SO, I WILL ANSWER NO MORE ON IT. YOU HAVE -- I'LL TRY TO CLARIFY IT BECAUSE YOU HAVE THE FOLLOW-UP. BUT IT'S SO

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

SENSITIVE AND IT IS SO EMOTIONAL THAT I JUST THINK ANY FURTHER SPECULATION ON THIS QUESTION WOULD BE -- CERTAINLY NOT BE USEFUL, GIVEN WHAT'S HAPPENED JUST IN THE LAST FEW HOURS.

Q WELL, CAN I JUST ASK THEN --

PRESIDENT BUSH: YEAH, YOU CAN ASK.

Q (CHUCKLES.) I'M NOT REALLY CLEAR WHY YOU RAISED THE ISSUE AT ALL. WAS THERE A PARTICULAR REASON? IT'S LONG BEEN PART OF US POLICY --

PRESIDENT BUSH: YEAH.

Q -- BUT IT HASN'T BEEN TALKED ABOUT A LOT.

PRESIDENT BUSH: WELL, I UNDERSTAND THAT. THAT'S WHY I WILL SPECULATE NO FURTHER ON IT. I THINK IT IS HIGHLY EMOTIONAL AND -- BUT I THINK ANY SPECULATION AND ANY COMMENTARY AT THIS JUNCTURE -- A LOT OF DEVELOPMENTS SINCE I MADE THAT COMMENT -- WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

פא

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









דתיקות: אילי	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	קד: 1
סוג: 181		פתוח: 2
תאריך וזמן מעור: 13.3.90		אל: מצבא, יולט שרה סמליות
פס' פרוק:		דע:
הכשרה:		
392		פאת: ק. סקיארוס

Handwritten marks and a red 'X' in the top right corner.

ועדת המנהיגים הצעירים של ה- אנט

בערב הפתיחה ב- 3/11 נאמו שני הסטודנטים ברדלי וקסטן (בנוסף לשגריר וחום דיין).  
להלן עיקרי דבריהם:

סטנור ברדלי

- יש למעול בזמירות לגבי השעייה ג'קסון - וויס. (WE WILL GO SLOW ON REPLACING IT)
- וביטול חוקי סחר כלפי בריה"מ.
- יש להשתמש בכל הדמנות כדי להוציא מבריה"מ כל מי שמעוניין לצאת.
- ישמיר לעמוד מאחורי הבטחת בטחונה של ישראל.
- על ה- אנט לעמוד מאחורי ישראל וכן מאחורי הנצרכים והנוזקים בארה"ב.
- סיים דבריו בסיפור לפיו בעת ביקורו בישראל לקח חייל טרמפוסט אשר אמר לו TRUST ME כאשר נתן לו הנחיות להגיע לקיבוץ מסוים. ברדלי סיים דבריו ואמר I DO TRUST YOU.

סטנור קסטן

- אנו עדים לשנויים המתחוללים בכל העולם להוציא המזרח, במזרחית אנו מוצאים נשק בימינו טרור וישראל מאימת אלנו, כארה"ב, החובה לסייע לישראל דוקא בימים אלה. התייחס למתרחש עתה בישראל וציין כי חשוב שהצהרות ארה"ב התייחסו עקרונות וחד משמעיות. עלינו - הקונגרס  
to be there and we will be there.

היום אנחנו רואים ניצבים בפני אתגר - עליית יהודי בריה"מ. מסכים לדברי ברדלי שיש לאפשר לכל יהודי הרוצה לצאת, לעשות כן. שלא תהיה אנט, דלת שנפתחת יכולה להסגר. אסור להזדרז על הטרגדיה של שנות ה- 30. יש להתמקד להעברת החוקים בבריה"מ ורק אח"כ להפסיד את ג'קסון וניק ותוקי סחר אחרים.  
- קסטן מנה 4 תחומי פעילות המעסיקים אותו עתה:

תפוצה: - 36 -

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page.



1990-03-10

20:10

1408039

02

דתימות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	דף: 2
סוג:		כתוב: 2
תאריך ושכח העבור:		אל:
כס' פברק:		דע:
הפסיד:		פאת:
392		

1. 400 מיליון דולר ערבות לדיור - יש לפעול במהירות. בכוונתו להצמיד תיקון Supplemental על סיוע לפנח כדי שזה יעבור מהר. סיפר גם על תנאי החלואה הנוחים.  
 2. הצליח להביא להסכמת הממשל למימון בוסף של 70 מיליון ליישב יהודים בארה"ב.  
 3. הסכם טיסות ישירות - אינו מבוצע נוכח לחץ ערבי. גם ממשלת ארה"ב יכולה להפעיל לחץ (בגדי). מספר סנטורים כבר עושים זאת. התחלנו במכתב (100 סנטורים) ועתה מובן תיקון להפסיק מניס הסחר עם בריה"מ בחידה והטיסות לא יבוצעו (יזמת ספקט).  
 4. יישוב העולים בשטחים - הערבים מתנגדים לכל נושא העלייה ואין להם הזכות להתנגד לעליית יהודים והתיישבותם במולדתם. לכן היה מודאג מקישור עלייה (עיי הממשל) לתחיל השלום. אין לדון בגיאוגרפיה לנתק שני הדברים.

- קיימים קשרים טובים בין 2 המדינות. יש להמשיך הסיוע ל"א"ה המסורתית של ארה"ב. אין זה להשתמש במילות קוד כמו הצורך ב"אגמישות" או "גילוח שרידים", לטובת דמוקרטיה חדשה ע"י מדינות הנמצאות בסכנת. ניתן לתת הלואה לדמוקרטיה החדשה ולהפוך ידידות השל ידידות החופש מבלי לקבל הסיוע ל"א"ה הידידותית המסורתית. ישראל היא בח בריחתנו ויש לטפל בעולים.  
 - יש להפסיק הNonsense לגבי ירושלים. ירושלים היא בירת ישראל מאוחדת וחשאר מאוחדת. הג (ומן שמארה"ב תבין שירושלים תשאר מאוחדת ולא חצויה).

קטן זכה מ- 2500 משתתפי חוצידת, מספר פעמים Standing Ovation ומחיאות כפיים סוערות.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגור

תפוצה:

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

11070

תאריך 14.03.90

\*\* נכנס  
\*\*  
\*\*  
\*\*

שמור

חוזם: 3,11070  
אל: המשרד  
יעדים: וושינגטון/194, מצב/1598, מנמת/675  
מ-: נר: 424, תא: 130390, זח: 1730, דח: מ, סג: שמ  
תח: & גס: צפא  
נד: &

שמור/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א, יועץ תפוצות.

דע: השגריר וושינגטון  
לשכת שה"ח.

מאת: לשכת הקונכ"ל.

בנושא הצהרת בוש על ירושלים-ממשיכים לתדרך ולכוון את הארגונים היהודים לפעולה לעבר הממשל והקונגרס.

כמה פעולות מיוחדות:

ה- JCRC פנה למויניהאן כדי לעודד אותו לכתוב OP-ED בנושא ב- NYT .

הקונכ"ל פנה לאלי וויזל במגמה שיכתוב מאמר (או אף מכתב לנשיא).

הקונכ"ל תדרך את מורט צוקרמן אשר יכתוב בשבוע הבא.

העברנו חומר רלוונטי לג'ק שטיין שביקש לשתף בו את ידידיו בממשל.

הקומיטי ז"ה - ZOA שיגרו מכתבים בנפרד לנשיא בוש.

נציגי ארגונים יהודיים ציינו כי מספר קונגרסמנים שהתבקשו

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

להתבטא פומבית בנושא ירושלים, סרבו מלעשות זאת בעיתוי הרגיש הנוכחי.

לש' קונכ"ל

פא

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

6406 \*\*\*\*\* יסוף תלף ושוחל בע"מ נל 03 5376887

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET

SECRET  
TOP SECRET  
SECRET  
TOP SECRET

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

11043

תאריך : 14.03.90

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,11043

אל: המשד

יעדים: בטחון/635, מצב/1592, מנמת/670, נ"י/612

מ-: נוש, נר: 380, תא: 130390, זח: 1700, דח: ב, סג: בל

תח: א גס: צפא

נד: א

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד

דע: יועץ דוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעט

אמן/מנמת - ו' משמרת, וובר צהל, נ"י-יורק

מאת : עתונות וושינגטון

תדרוך וובר מחמד ליום : 13.3.90

חלק 1 מתוך 4

Q DOES THE APPARENT COLLAPSE OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT  
COMPLICATE THE PEACE PROCESS?

MS. TUTWILER: NO, IT DOESN'T. WE REMAIN COMMITTED  
TO MOVING THIS PROCESS FORWARD. WE THINK THE BASIS  
HAS BEEN LAID TO MAKE PROGRESS, AND WE REMAIN READY  
TO WORK WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IN AN EFFORT  
TO HELP IT REALIZE THE POTENTIAL OF ITS OWN PEACE  
INITIATIVE. IT IS NOT OUR PLACE TO MAKE DECISIONS  
FOR ISRAEL, AND OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT AND MOVE  
FORWARD ON PEACE DEPENDS UPON AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT  
CAPABLE OF MAKING THESE DECISIONS.

Q AND WHAT IF THERE IS, POLITICALLY SPEAKING, NO

DATE

0133

2,110:00:00  
 1:00:00  
 1:00:00  
 1:00:00  
 1:00:00  
 1:00:00  
 1:00:00  
 1:00:00  
 1:00:00

00:00:00

00:00:00

00:00:00  
 00:00:00

00:00:00

00:00:00

00:00:00

DOES THE APPARENT COLLAPSE OF THE BIRABALU GOVERNMENT  
 COMPLICATE THE PEACE PROCESS?

MS. TUBELER: NO, IT DOESN'T. WE REMAIN COMMITTED  
 TO MOVING THIS PROCESS FORWARD. WE THINK THE BASIS  
 HAS BEEN Laid TO MAKE PROGRESS, AND WE REMAIN READY  
 TO WORK WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IN AN EFFORT  
 TO HELP IT REALIZE THE POTENTIAL OF ITS OWN PEOPLE  
 INITIATIVE. IT IS NOT OUR PLACE TO MAKE DECISIONS  
 FOR ISRAEL, AND OUR ABILITY TO SUPPORT AND MOVE  
 FORWARD ON PEACE DEPENDS UPON AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT  
 CAPABLE OF MAKING THESE DECISIONS.

AND WHAT IS THERE AS POLITICAL STEWARDS, NO



ISRAELI GOVERNMENT? WHAT WILL THAT THEN DO TO THE  
POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATIONS?

MS. TUTWILER: OBVIOUSLY, THERE IS A POLITICAL CRISIS  
IN ISRAEL, AND UNTIL THAT IS SORTED OUT, ISRAEL  
WON'T BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A DECISION. THE  
GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IS NOW WORKING THROUGH ITS  
OWN POLITICAL PROCESS AND WILL SORT OUT ITS OWN  
SITUATION. WE OBVIOUSLY WILL BE WATCHING THIS  
PROCESS CLOSELY, AND I AM NOT GOING TO MAKE  
ANY OTHER COMMENTS ON INTERNAL POLITICAL  
DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL.

Q -- AND SINCE THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WILL NOT  
BE IN ANY POSITION, THEN THE POLITICAL CRISIS  
DE FACTO DOES COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATIONS?

MS. TUTWILER: OH, ABSOLUTELY. I COULDN'T TELL  
YOU IT DOESN'T COMPLICATE IT. BUT YOUR FIRST QUESTION  
TO ME WAS DO WE VIEW THIS AS THE END OF THE ROAD?  
MY ANSWER WAS NO.

Q BUT I ASKED WHETHER IT COMPLICATES IT --

MS. TUTWILER: RIGHT. COMPLICATES IT? OF COURSE  
IT DOES. WE RECOGNIZE, AS WE'VE JUST SAID, THAT  
THEY HAVE -- A POLITICAL CRISIS EXISTS TODAY IN  
ISRAEL. AND UNTIL THAT IS SORTED OUT, WE WILL  
NOT BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE -- OR, ISRAEL WILL  
NOT BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A DECISION. WE REMAIN  
READY TO WORK WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL. WE  
REMAIN COMMITTED TO MOVING THIS PROCESS FORWARD.

Q MARGARET, I THINK WE'RE SORT OF OBLIGED TO ASK  
THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, WHICH IS DOES THE UNITED  
STATES FEEL IN ANY WAY, SHAPE OR FORM EVEN  
THE SLIGHTEST BIT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE -- FOR  
WHAT YOU CALLED A POLITICAL CRISIS IN ISRAEL REGARDING  
THE PEACE PROCESS.

MS. TUTWILER: ABSOLUTELY NOT.

Q THE CRISIS HAS BEEN LOOMING SINCE OCTOBER -



ISRAELI GOVERNMENT: WHAT WILL THEY DO TO THE  
POSSIBILITIES OF NEGOTIATIONS?

MR. TUNNICLIFFE: CONSEQUENTLY, THERE IS A POLITICAL CRISIS  
IN ISRAEL, AND UNTIL THAT IS SORTED OUT, ISRAEL  
WON'T BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A DECISION. THE  
GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL IS NOW WORKING THROUGH ITS  
OWN POLITICAL PROCESS AND WILL SORT OUT ITS OWN  
SITUATION. WE OBVIOUSLY WILL BE WATCHING THIS  
PROCESS CLOSELY, AND I AM NOT GOING TO MAKE  
ANY OTHER COMMENTS ON INTERNAL POLITICAL  
DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL.

Q -- AND SINCE THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WILL NOT  
BE IN ANY POSITION, THEN THE POLITICAL CRISIS  
IS FACTS DOES COMPLICATE THE NEGOTIATIONS?

MR. TUNNICLIFFE: OH, ABSOLUTELY. I COULDN'T WELL  
NOT BY DOING Y COMPLICATE IT. BUT YOUR FIRST QUESTION  
TO ME AND DO WE VIEW THIS AS THE END OF THE ROAD?  
MY ANSWER WAS NO.  
BUT I ASKED WHETHER IT COMPLICATES IT --

MR. TUNNICLIFFE: RIGHT, COMPLICATES IT OF COURSE  
IT DOES. WE NEGOTIATE, AS WE'VE JUST SAID, THAT  
THEY HAVE -- A POLITICAL CRISIS EXISTS TODAY IN  
ISRAEL, AND UNTIL THAT IS SORTED OUT, WE WILL  
NOT BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE -- OR, ISRAEL WILL  
NOT BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A DECISION. WE REMAIN  
READY TO WORK WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL. WE  
REMAIN COMMITTED TO MOVING THIS PROCESS FORWARD.

Q MARGARET, I THINK WOULD BE SORT OF OBLIGED TO ASK  
THE FOLLOWING QUESTION, WHICH IS OVER THE QUESTION  
SHE'S ASKED IN ANY WAY, SHE'S ASKED OR EVEN  
THE QUESTION BUT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE -- FOR  
WHAT YOU CALLED A POLITICAL CRISIS IN ISRAEL REGARDING  
THE PEACE PROCESS.

MR. TUNNICLIFFE: ABSOLUTELY NOT.

Q THE CRISIS HAS BEEN LOGGING SINCE OCTOBER --

מושרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

I THINK THE CRISIS HAS BEEN LOOMING SINCE OCTOBER. AND DO YOU CONSIDER THIS NOW A SETBACK? IF YOU ARE NOT, YOU KNOW, DESCRIBE IT IN A DIFFERENT WAY.

MS. TUTWILER: I'M NOT GOING TO CHARACTERIZE IT IN ANY OTHER WAY OR FASHION THAN THE WAY WE HAVE DONE THIS MORNING.

Q WELL, I JUST WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT THE QUESTION AGAIN. DID THE GOVERNMENT FALL BECAUSE OF PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S UNWILLINGNESS TO GO ALONG WITH SECRETARY BAKER'S PLAN AND IDEAS? DO YOU HAVE ANY WORD TO SAY ABOUT THAT? DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY?

MS. TUTWILER: IN ADDITION TO WHAT I'VE SAID THIS MORNING IN REACTION TO WHAT TOOK PLACE? NO.

Q CAN THE UNITED STATES GO AHEAD WITH THE BAKER PROPOSAL, EVEN IF THERE IS A NEW GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL?

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT WE HAVE JUST SAID WAS THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED. WE REMAIN READY TO WORK. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS A POLITICAL CRISIS IN ISRAEL AND WE RECOGNIZE THAT UNTIL THAT IS SORTED OUT ISRAEL WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A DECISION.

Q WHAT I WAS ASKING, THOUGH, IS ARE YOU COMMITTED TO THE DETAILS OF THE BAKER PROPOSAL, OR ARE YOU ONLY COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS?

MS. TUTWILER: WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS, WHICH IS WHY WE WENT DOWN THIS ROAD TO BEGIN WITH LAST APRIL. WE WERE ASKED TO GET ENGAGED BY THE PRIME MINISTER. WE GOT ENGAGED AS I SAID YESTERDAY, IN A BIG WAY. WE REMAIN WILLING, READY TO CONTINUE TO WORK ON WHAT IS AT ISSUE HERE, WHICH IS THE BIG PICTURE, WHICH IS PEACE, TO BRING PEACE TO THIS REGION.

Q -- THE FIVE POINTS AND ALL OF THE ASSURANCES THAT HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO ALL OF THE SIDES IN THE CONVERSATIONS

I THINK THE CRISIS HAS BEEN LOOKING SINCE OCTOBER.  
AND DO YOU CONSIDER THIS NOW A BETTER IF YOU  
ARE NOT, YOU KNOW, DESCRIBE IT IN A DIFFERENT WAY.

MR. TUBNER: I'M NOT GOING TO CHARACTERIZE IT  
IN ANY OTHER WAY OR FASHION THAN THE WAY WE  
HAVE DONE THIS MORNING.

I WOULD JUST WOULD LIKE TO REPEAT THE QUESTION  
AGAIN. DID THE GOVERNMENT FAIL BECAUSE  
PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S UNWILLINGNESS TO GO  
ALONG WITH SECRETARY BAKER'S PLAN AND I WOULD  
DO YOU HAVE ANY MORE TO SAY ABOUT THAT OR DO I  
HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY?

MR. TUBNER: IN ADDITION TO WHAT I'VE SAID THIS  
MORNING IN REACTION TO WHAT YOUR PLACE HAS

DO CAN THE UNITED STATES GO AHEAD WITH THE  
BAKER PROPOSAL, EVEN IF THERE IS A NEW GOVERNMENT  
IN ISRAEL?

MR. TUBNER: WHAT WE HAVE JUST SAID WAS THAT WE  
REMAIN COMMITTED. WE REMAIN READY TO WORK. WE  
RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS A POLITICAL CRISIS IN ISRAEL  
AND WE RECOGNIZE THAT UNTIL THAT IS SORTED OUT  
ISRAEL WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE A DECISION.

WHAT I WAS SAYING, THOUGH, IS ARE YOU COMMITTED  
TO THE DETAILS OF THE BAKER PROPOSAL, OR ARE YOU  
ONLY COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS?

MR. TUBNER: WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE PEACE  
PROCESS, WHICH IS WHY WE WENT DOWN THIS ROAD TO  
BEGIN WITH LAST APRIL. WE WERE ASKED TO GET  
ENGAGED BY THE PRIME MINISTER. WE GOT ENGAGED  
AS I SAID YESTERDAY, IN A BIG WAY. WE REMAIN  
WILLING, READY TO CONTINUE TO WORK ON WHAT  
IS AT ISSUE HERE, WHICH IS THE END STATE,  
WHICH IS PEACE, TO BRING PEACE TO THIS REGION.

4 -- THE FIVE POINTS AND ALL OF THE ASSURANCES THAT  
HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO ALL OF THE SIDES IN THE CONVERSATIONS

MS. TUTWILER: RIGHT.

Q -- THAT HAVE BEEN ALL HELD, DOES ALL OF THAT REMAIN IN PLACE AND IS THAT A -- IS THE US COMMITTED TO ALL OF THOSE DETAILS PENDING A FURTHER DECISION BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT OR IS THERE SOME SORT OF A PARTIAL OR TOTAL WIPING OF THE SLATE, AND WHEN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT RECONSTITUTES ITSELF WILL THE UNITED STATES ESSENTIALLY TRY TO REBUILD A NEW EFFORT AT ACHIEVING A PEACE PROCESS?

MS. TUTWILER: TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTION THIS WAY, SECRETARY BAKER HAS SAID A NUMBER OF TIMES THAT HE BELIEVES THIS IS THE ONLY VIABLE OPTION THAT'S ON THE TABLE. IF SOMEONE WANTS TO COME FORWARD WITH A BETTER OPTION, PUT IT ON THE TABLE. IN TEN MONTHS, NO ONE HAS. I CAN'T ANSWER FOR YOU FUTURISTIC-TYPE QUESTIONS AND SPECULATIVE TYPE QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT IF. I SAID YESTERDAY WHEN ASKED BY BARRY IS EVERY SINGLE, SOLITARY THING THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE LOCKED IN CONCRETE FOREVER, AND I SAID I COULD NEVER PUT MYSELF IN THE POSITION OF SAYING ANYTHING IS LOCKED IN CONCRETE FOREVER. BUT I GO BACK TO THE SECRETARY'S OWN WORDS. IF SOMEBODY HAS GOT A BETTER PROPOSAL, PUT IT ON THE TABLE.

Q BUT JUST FOR THE RECORD, THERE WASN'T ANYTHING HYPOTHETICAL ABOUT THE QUESTION. THE QUESTION WAS WHETHER THE US REMAINS COMMITTED AT THIS MOMENT TO THE CONCRETE DETAILS THAT EXIST AT THIS MOMENT --

MS. TUTWILER: AT THIS MOMENT?

Q -- AND ALL THE ASSURANCES, AND THE ANSWER TO - THAT I HEARD YOU GIVE WAS THAT NOTHING IS LOCKED IN CONCRETE.

MS. TUTWILER: I'VE ALSO -- IF YOU WANT TO PINPOINT IT AND STOP THE CLOCK AT THIS MOMENT, AS

MS. TITMERS: RIGHT.

... THAT HAVE BEEN HELD, DOES ALL OF THAT REMAIN  
IN PLACE AND IS THAT A -- IS HE US COMMITTED TO  
ALL OF THOSE DETAILS PERIODIC A FURTHER DECISION  
BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT OR IS THERE SOME SORT  
OF A PARTIAL OR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE STATE, AND  
WHEN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT RECONSIDERS THESE  
WILL THE UNITED STATES ESSENTIALLY TRY TO REPEL  
A NEW EFFORT AT ACHIEVING A PEACE PROCESS  
NO. TITMERS: TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTION THIS  
WAY, SECRETARY BAKER HAS SAID A NUMBER OF  
TIMES THAT HE BELIEVES THIS IS THE ONLY WAY  
OPTION THAT'S ON THE TABLE IS SOMEONE WANTS TO  
COME FORWARD WITH A BETTER OPTION, BUT IT ON THE  
TABLE. IN THE MEANTIME, AS ONE HAS A CANT ANSWER  
FOR YOU FUTURE-TYPE QUESTIONS AND SPECULATIVE  
TYPE QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT I SAID WAS GREAT  
WHEN ASKED BY BARRY IS EVERY SINGLE, SULLIVAN  
THING THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE LOOKS IN  
CONCRETE FOREVER, AND I SAID I COULD NEVER  
PUT MYSELF IN THE POSITION OF SAYING ANYTHING  
IS LOOKED IN CONCRETE FOREVER, BUT I DO BACK  
TO THE SECRETARY'S OWN WORDS. IN CONCRETE HAS  
GOT A BETTER PROPOSAL, BUT IT ON THE TABLE.

... JUST FOR THE RECORD, THERE WAS A  
ANYTHING HYPOTHETICAL ABOUT THE QUESTION. THE  
QUESTION WAS WHETHER THE US REMAINS COMMITTED  
AT THIS MOMENT TO THE CURRENT DETAILS THAT EXIST  
AT THIS MOMENT --

MS. TITMERS: AT THIS MOMENT?

... AND ALL THE ASSUMPTIONS, AND THE MINDS TO  
... THAT I HEARD YOU GIVE WAS THAT NOTHING IS LOOKED  
IN CONCRETE.

MS. TITMERS: I'VE ALSO ... IF YOU WANT TO FURTHER  
... AND STOP THE ... AT THIS MOMENT, HE



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

I ANSWERED YESTERDAY, THIS VERY MOMENT, THERE IS NOT UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR THIS MOMENT - THAT DOES NOT SPEAK TO 3:00 THIS AFTERNOON. I WON'T PLAY THOSE KINDS OF GAMES. DO YOU SEE WHAT I'M SAYING? BUT FOR RIGHT NOW, AND BARRY ASKED ME YESTERDAY HAD THE UNITED STATES OVER THE WEEKEND SENT ANY NEW ADDITIONAL CHANGES, HAVE ANY CHANGES BEEN SENT OVER, HAD ANY CHANGES BEEN DISCUSSED, AND I ANSWERED IN THE NEGATIVE, NO, THEY HAD NOT. THAT'S STILL TRUE THIS MORNING. WHAT I CANNOT DO IS LOCK MYSELF INTO THAT THERE WILL NEVER BE ANY TYPE OF FUTURE DISCUSSIONS THAT COULD INVOLVE A CHANGE HERE AND THERE. DO YOU SEE WHAT I'M SAYING?

Q BUT, IT OPENS THE OPPORTUNITY -- BY SAYING THAT NOTHING IS LOCKED IN CONCRETE, IT OPENS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR -- AT A TIME WHEN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT SHOULD RECONSTITUTE ITSELF, FOR THE UNITED STATES TO RECAST THE PROPOSAL, TO REDEVELOP SOMETHING, TO GO DOWN A DIFFERENT ROAD PERHAPS ON A DIFFERENT TACK IN SOME SPECIFIC WAY WITHOUT BEING COMMITTED NECESSARILY TO PICKING UP ALL OF THE PIECES WHERE IT LEFT OFF HERE.

MS. TUTWILER: AND MY ANSWER TO THAT IS, IF SOMEONE HAS A BETTER PROPOSAL, PLEASE PUT IT ON THE TABLE. IN 10 MONTHS, THEY HAVE NOT COME FORWARD WITH ONE.

Q MARGARET, THE ISRAELIS REFUSE TO COMPLY (THROUGHOUT THE TIME ?) SINCE MR. BAKER'S POINTS, TO ACCEPT THEM COMPLETELY, AND THEY HAVE THESE ASSUMPTIONS WHICH WERE RESERVATIONS ON THE WHOLE BAKER FIVE POINTS. NOW, YOU CONSIDER THAT THE FIVE POINTS OR THE BAKER PLAN IS THE ONLY (WAY IT CAN ?), OR IS IT SUBJECT TO BE ALTERED TO CONFORM WITH THE ISRAELI ASSUMPTIONS, OR YOU -- YOU ARE LOOKING FOR A NEW INITIATIVE OR A NEW PROPOSAL TO COME?

MS. TUTWILER: I THINK I FAIRLY ACCURATELY HAVE ANSWERED THIS QUESTION IN RESPONSE TO RALPH'S QUESTIONS. I DON'T HAVE A LOT MORE TO SAY TO YOU. THE



I ANSWERED YESTERDAY, THIS VERY MORNING, THERE IS NOT UNDER CONSIDERATION FOR THIS MORNING THAT DOES NOT SPEAK TO THIS AFTERNOON. I DON'T PLAY THOSE KINDS OF GAMES. AS YOU SEE WHAT I'M SAYING BUT FOR RIGHT NOW, AND I'VE ASKED ME YESTERDAY HAD THE OFFICE STAFF OVER THE WEEKEND SENT ANY NEW ADDITIONAL CHANGES, HAVE ANY CHANGES BEEN SENT OVER, AND ANY CHANGES BEEN DISCUSSED, AND I ANSWERED IN THE NEGATIVE, NO, THEY HAD NOT. THAT I STILL TRUST THIS MORNING. WHAT I CANNOT DO IS GO IN THERE AND SAY THAT THERE WILL NEVER BE ANY TYPE OF FUTURE DISCUSSION THAT WOULD INVOLVE A CHANGE HERE AND THERE AS YOU SEE WHAT I'M SAYING?

9 BUT, IT OVERS THE OPPORTUNITY -- OF SAYING THAT NOTHING IS LISTED IN CONCRETE, AT OVER THE OPPORTUNITY FOR -- AT A TIME WHEN THE LABOR GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE CONSIDERING THE LABOR UNITE STATES -- TO REVEAL THE PROPOSAL, TO REVEAL SOMETHING, TO GO DOWN A BIT, TO REVEAL SOMETHING IN A DIFFERENT WAY IN SOME SPECIFIC WAY WITHOUT BEING COMMITTED NECESSARILY TO FINDING OR NOT THE PAGES WHERE I LEFT OFF HERE.

NO, YESTERDAY AND AN ANSWER TO THAT IS, IS BEHIND HAS A BETTER PROPOSAL, PLEASE PUT IT ON THE TABLE, IN 10 MONTHS, THEY HAVE NOT COME FORWARD WITH ONE.

YESTERDAY, THE LABORERS REFUSE TO GO TO THE TABLE, THE FIVE YEAR BARGAINING UNIT, TO REVEAL THEN CONCRETELY, AND THEY HAVE THESE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH TAKE RESERVATIONS ON THE BARGAINING FIVE POINTS. NOW, YOU CONSIDER THAT THE FIVE POINTS OF THE BARGAIN FIVE IS THE ONLY WAY TO GO, OR IS IT SUBJECT TO BE ALTERED TO CONFORM WITH THE LABOR AGREEMENTS, OR YOU -- YOU ARE GOING FOR A NEW INITIATIVE OR A NEW DEAL TO GO?

NO, YESTERDAY, I THINK I THINK YOU WOULD HAVE ANSWERED THIS QUESTION IN RESPONSE TO EACH OF THE FIVE POINTS. I DON'T HAVE A NEW DEAL TO GO TO, THE

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

FIVE PRINCIPLES -- LET'S GO BACK TO THAT MOMENT  
IN TIME -- WERE SIGNED ON TO BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT  
AND BY THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT. SO,  
WHY IN THE WORLD WOULD YOU BE REDISCUSSING  
THOSE? THEY HAVEN'T BEEN DISCUSSED SINCE THEY  
WERE SIGNED ON TO.

Q -- BECAUSE THERE WERE ASSUMPTIONS, THERE WERE  
RESERVATIONS ON THESE THINGS, THE ISRAELIS --

MS. TUTWILER: NO, SIR. THOSE WERE PRINCIPLES  
THAT EVERYONE PUBLICLY SIGNED ON TO. YOU'RE CONFUSING  
THAT, I BELIEVE, WITH ASSURANCES THAT WE HAVE  
BEEN WORKING ON WITH OTHER DETAILS THAT WE'VE BEEN  
WORKING ON. BUT, THE PRINCIPLES WERE PUBLICLY EMBRACED  
BY THE EGYPTIANS AND BY THE ISRAELIS.

עד כאן חלק א'

המשך בנר 381

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, מנוכל, ממנוכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, ום, (אמן),  
בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, דוצ-ים

FIVE PRINCIPLES -- LET'S GO BACK TO THAT MOMENT  
IN TIME -- WERE SIGNED ON TO BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT  
AND BY THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT. SO,  
WHY IN THE WORLD WOULD YOU BE REVISITING  
THOSE? THEY HAVEN'T BEEN DISCUSSED SINCE THEY  
WERE SIGNED ON TO.

Q -- BECAUSE THERE WERE ASSUMPTIONS, THERE WERE

RESERVATIONS ON THESE THINGS, THE ISRAELIS --

MS. TUTTLEBY: NO, SIR. THOSE WERE PRINCIPLES  
THAT EVERYONE PUBLICLY SIGNED ON TO. YOU'RE CONFUSING  
THAT, I BELIEVE, WITH ASSUMPTIONS THAT WE HAVE  
BEEN WORKING ON WITH OTHER DETAILS THAT WE'VE BEEN  
WORKING ON. BUT, THE PRINCIPLES WERE PUBLICLY ENDORSED  
BY THE EGYPTIANS AND BY THE ISRAELIS.

Q --

ANS --

OK

THE COURT: ALL RIGHT, THAT'S ALL. THE COURT WILL  
RECESS FOR THE DAY. WE'LL RECONVENE TOMORROW AT 10:00 A.M.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

11044

14.03.90 תאריך

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,11044

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בוטחון/636, ני/613, מצב/1594, מנמת/672

מ-: נוש, נר: 381, תא: 130390, זח: 1700, דח: 1, סג: 1

תח: @: גס: צפא

נד: @:

בלמס/בהול 1710קר

חלק 2 מתוך 4 המשך לנר 380.

Q MARGARET, WHAT -- DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR JOB WILL BE EASIER NOW IF YOU HAVE A MINORITY GOVERNMENT -- THAT'S WHAT I'M SAYING? I MEAN, EX-PRESIDENT CARTER SAID THAT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT. DO YOU SHARE WITH HIM THIS POINT OF VIEW, OR YOU DON'T HAVE ANY POINT OF VIEW AT THIS MOMENT AT ALL?

MS. TUTWILER: THAT IS A SPECULATIVE TYPE OF QUESTION IS WE HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED, AS I THINK EVERYONE HAS

UP FRONT AND BEEN HONEST, THIS IS A VERY DIFFICULT PROCESS. THERE ARE TOUGH DECISIONS THAT HAVE BEEN TAKEN, THAT HAVE TO BE TAKEN, AND MANY, MANY PEOPLE HAVE BEEN WRESTLING WITH IT. BUT TO KEEP YOUR EYE ON THE BALL, THE IMPORTANT THING HERE IS TO BRING PEACE TO THIS REGION. AND AGAIN, I SAY IF SOMEONE'S GOT A BETTER PROPOSAL, A BETTER IDEA, SECRETARY BAKER HAS BEEN VERY OPEN TO COME FORWARD WITH IT PUT IT ON THE TABLE.

Q MARGARET, WOULD YOU -- WOULD THE UNITED STATES URGE WHATEVER NEW GOVERNMENT EMERGES OUT OF THIS PROCESS TO MOVE QUICKLY TO CONTINUE THE PEACE PROCESS?

מס' 6406 יוקר, נלקח ונמסר ביום 20.03.1990





I MEAN --

MS. TUTWILER: SURE.

Q -- IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THAT YOU WOULD WANT THAT TO HAPPEN.

MS. TUTWILER: ABSOLUTELY.

Q HERE'S A TECHNICAL ONE FOR YOU, MARGARET. AT ONE POINT, PRIOR TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE FIVE POINTS, THE SECRETARY AND YOU WERE SPEAKING ABOUT MAKING THIS PROCESS FAIRLY PUBLIC WHEN IT WAS ALL OVER. NO PROMISES WERE MADE. NOW THAT THIS CHAPTER, AT LEAST, OF THE PROCESS APPEARS TO BE OVER, WOULD YOU MAKE PUBLIC THE -- ALL OF THE ASSURANCES AND DISCUSSIONS -- DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAT HAVE BEEN HELD WITH BOTH SIDES SO THAT WE CAN FIND OUT WHERE THINGS STAND AT THIS MOMENT?

MS. TUTWILER: ANTICIPATING THAT SOMEONE MIGHT ASK ME THAT QUESTION, I HAVE ASKED, AND THE ANSWER IS NEGATIVE. WE PUBLISHED ALL OF THE PRINCIPLES AS WE SAID WE WOULD, AND I APPRECIATE YOUR POINTING OUT WE HAVE NEVER ON THE RECORD SAID THAT WE WOULD PUBLISH ALL OF THE BACK AND FORTH, AND OUR POSITION TODAY IS THAT WE ARE GOING TO REFRAIN FROM DOING THAT.

Q HAVE YOU BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE EGYPTIANS ON THIS AND THEIR INTERLOCUTORS, TO SEE WHAT KIND OF REACTION MIGHT COME OUT OF THAT SIDE, OR FROM THE EPLOF OR FROM THE PALESTINIANS? HAVE YOU SAID ANYTHING TO THEM? DO YOU HAVE ANY WORDS TO SAY TO THEM?

MS. TUTWILER: SECRETARY BAKER HAS NOT SPOKEN TO EITHER OF HIS COUNTERPARTS OVER THE WEEKEND OR YESTERDAY OR TODAY. I FEEL SURE THAT OUR AMBASSADOR WISNER IN EGYPT IS IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE EGYPTIANS, WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. I DON'T HAVE A SPECIFIC FOR YOU, BUT IT WOULD BE HIGHLY UNUSUAL AT THE EXPERT WORKING LEVEL FOR CONVERSATIONS TO BE

I MEAN --

MS. TUTTILER: SURE.

Q -- IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THAT YOU WOULD WANT THAT TO HAPPEN.  
MS. TUTTILER: ABSOLUTELY.

Q HERE'S A TECHNICAL ONE FOR YOU, MARGARET. AT ONE POINT, PRIOR TO THE PUBLICATION OF THE FIVE POINTS, THE SECRETARY AND YOU WERE SPEAKING ABOUT MAKING THIS PROCESS FAIRLY PUBLIC WHEN IT WAS ALL OVER. NO PROMISES WERE MADE. NOW THAT THIS CHAPTER, AT LEAST, OF THE PROCESS APPEARS TO BE OVER, WOULD YOU MAKE PUBLIC THE -- ALL OF THE ASSURANCES AND DISCUSSIONS -- DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAT HAVE BEEN HELD WITH BOTH SIDES SO THAT WE CAN FIND OUT WHERE THINGS STAND AT THIS MOMENT?

MS. TUTTILER: ANTICIPATING THAT SOMEONE MIGHT ASK ME THAT QUESTION, I HAVE ASKED, AND THE ANSWER IS NEGATIVE. WE PUBLISHED ALL OF THE PRINCIPLES AS WE SAID WE WOULD, AND I APPRECIATE YOUR POINTING OUT WE HAVE NEVER ON THE RECORD SAID THAT WE WOULD PUBLISH ALL OF THE BACK AND FORTH, AND OUR POSITION TODAY IS THAT WE ARE GOING TO REFRAIN FROM DOING THAT.

Q HAVE YOU BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE EGYPTIANS ON THIS AND THEIR INTERLOCUTORS, TO SEE WHAT KIND OF REACTION MIGHT COME OUT OF THAT SIDE, OR FROM THE ERROR OR FROM THE PALESTINIANS? HAVE YOU SAID ANYTHING TO THEM? DO YOU HAVE ANY WORDS TO SAY TO THEM?

MS. TUTTILER: SECRETARY BAKER HAS NOT SPOKEN TO EITHER OF HIS COUNTERPARTS OVER THE WEEKEND OR YESTERDAY OR TODAY. I FEEL SURE THAT OUR AMBASSADOR WISNER IN BEYRUT IS IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE EGYPTIANS, WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. I DON'T HAVE A SPECIFIC FOR YOU, BUT IT WOULD BE HIGHLY UNUSUAL AT THE EXPERT WORKING LEVEL FOR CONVERSATIONS TO BE





GOING BACK AND FORTH.

DO YOU EXPECT THEM TO SORT OF FREEZE IN TIME  
THE PROPOSAL, AND ALSO, AS YOU ARE -- AS THE  
UNITED STATES IS GOING, GIVE THE ISRAELIS MORE TIME  
TO ACCEPT IT?

MR. TUTTILER: I DON'T KNOW, SAUL, WHAT THEIR  
REACTION WILL BE, AND I WOULDN'T WANT TO SPECULATE  
ON IT. I HAVEN'T HEARD YET.

SECRETARY BAKER WILL SPEAK  
WITH THE PARTIES AT THIS POINT I MEAN, IS THIS  
AN OCCASION ON WHICH HE WOULD CALL THEM AGAIN  
AND SORT OF SAY WHERE THESE THINGS STAND AT THIS POINT?

MR. TUTTILER: HE HAS NO PLANS TO CALL THEM TODAY.

DO I GO BACK TO MY QUESTION ABOUT THE ASSURANCES.  
YOU SAID SOMETHING -- I SAID IT'S NOT ASSUMPTIONS  
THIS IS ASSURANCES. HAD IT BEEN BECAUSE THE  
ASSURANCES THAT ISRAEL REQUESTED FROM THE UNITED  
STATES WERE NOT GIVEN AS MR. SHAMIR WAS ASKING  
FOR THAT THIS CRISIS, POLITICAL CRISIS IS  
LOOKING AND WILL CONTINUE, BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT  
GIVEN THE ASSURANCES THAT THEY WERE ASKING FOR?  
MR. TUTTILER: AS I STARTED OUT BY SAYING, I'M REALLY  
NOT GOING TO MAKE A LOT OF COMMENTS OR ANY COMMENTS  
ON THE INTERNAL POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL.  
THEY FIRST CAN ANSWER IN THEIR OWN  
REPRESENTING THEIR GOVERNMENT, WHY THEY  
VIEW THEMSELVES IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS.

MARGARET, THIS WHOLE PROCESS STAYED BECAUSE  
OF AN ELECTION PROPOSAL FROM SHAMIR HIMSELF.  
WILL THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY  
IF IT TURNS OUT THAT SHAMIR IS UNABLE TO SUPPORT  
WHAT IS IN FACT HIS OWN PROPOSAL, HIS OWN INITIATIVE  
-- IN TERMS OF, IT'S ALWAYS BEEN ASSUMED THAT  
SHAMIR STANDS BEHIND HIS OWN INITIATIVE.  
IS THERE ANYTHING THAT'S HAPPENED THAT CHANGES  
THAT ASSUMPTION ON THE PART OF THE US

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ADMINISTRATION? MS. TUTWILER: THAT PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR STANDS BEHIND HIS OWN PROPOSAL?

Q YEAH.

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

Q YOU STILL ASSUME THAT HE ACTUALLY STANDS BY - BEHIND HIS OWN PROPOSAL.

MS. TUTWILER: THAT WOULD BE BEST ANSWERED BY THE PRIME MINISTER. WE HAVE NEVER ASSUMED THAT HE WAS NOT WORKING HARD, THAT HE WAS NOT ACTIVELY PURSUING THIS, AND WE'VE SAID THAT MANY TIMES ON THE RECORD. BUT YOU ASK HIM FOR A CLARIFICATION, OR ASK AVI (SP) IF THAT IS HIS POSITION. THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR ASSUMPTION. SECRETARY BAKER -- WHEN WAS IT? -- TWO WEEKS AGO -- WE CAME OUT AND TOLD YOU HAD A 45-MINUTE CONVERSATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. SO, THAT WOULD LEAD ONE TO BELIEVE THAT HE STILL WAS WORKING TOWARDS HIS INITIATIVE TO BRING PEACE INTO THE REGION.

Q A FOLLOW-UP, PLEASE. A GROUND-BREAKING CEREMONY TOOK PLACE TODAY IN EAST JERUSALEM, BUILDING OF A FEW HUNDRED OR THOUSAND MORE HOUSING UNITS IN ONE OF THESE SUBURBS. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THAT?

MS. TUTWILER: I HAVEN'T SEEN THAT REPORT. I'LL BE HAPPY TO LOOK INTO IT AFTER THE BRIEFING.

Q IS THERE ANY REASON AT THIS POINT WHY THE SECRETARY MIGHT FEEL THAT A TRIPARTITE MEETING WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER -- KNOWING THAT IT CANNOT ANNOUNCE ANY NEGOTIATIONS OR ANYTHING -- BUT DOES THE SECRETARY THINK MAYBE IT'S A GOOD IDEA FOR THE THREE PEOPLE TO GET TOGETHER AGAIN AND ASSESS THE SITUATION AND SEE WHERE IT GOES FROM HERE?

MS. TUTWILER: WELL, SINCE THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT

ADMINISTRATION? MS. TUTTLER: THAT PRIME MINISTER SHARIR STANDS BEHIND HIS OWN PROPOSAL.

Q YEAR.

MS. TUTTLER: NO.

Q YOU STILL ASSUME THAT HE ACTUALLY STANDS BY BEHIND HIS OWN PROPOSAL.

MS. TUTTLER: THAT WOULD BE BEST ANSWERED BY THE PRIME MINISTER. WE HAVE NEVER ASSUMED THAT HE WAS NOT WORKING HARD, THAT HE WAS NOT ACTIVELY PURSUING THIS, AND WE'VE SAID THAT MANY TIMES ON THE RECORD. BUT YOU ASK HIM FOR A CLARIFICATION, OR ASK HIM (SP) IF THAT IS HIS POSITION. THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUR ASSUMPTION. SECRETARY BAKER -- WHEN WAS IT -- TWO WEEKS AGO -- WE CAME OUT AND TOLD YOU HAD A 45-MINUTE CONVERSATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, SO, THAT WOULD LEAD ONE TO BELIEVE THAT HE STILL WAS WORKING TOWARDS HIS INITIATIVE TO BRING PEACE INTO THE REGION.

Q A FOLLOW-UP, PLEASE. A GROUND-BREAKING CEREMONY TOOK PLACE TODAY IN EAST JERUSALEM, BUILDING OF A FEW HUNDRED OR THOUSAND MORE HOUSING UNITS IN ONE OF THESE SUBURBS. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THAT?

MS. TUTTLER: I HAVEN'T SEEN THAT REPORT. I'LL BE HAPPY TO LOOK INTO IT AFTER THE BRIEFING.

Q IS THERE ANY REASON AT THIS POINT WHY THE SECRETARY MIGHT FEEL THAT A TRIPARTITE MEETING WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA, REGARDLESS OF WHETHER -- KNOWING THAT IT CANNOT ANNOUNCE ANY NEGOTIATIONS OR ANYTHING -- BUT DOES THE SECRETARY THINK MAYBE IT'S A GOOD IDEA FOR THE THREE PEOPLE TO GET TOGETHER AGAIN AND ASSESS THE SITUATION AND SEE WHERE IT GOES FROM HERE?

MS. TUTTLER: WELL, SINCE THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

OF ISRAEL WE HAVE DESCRIBED IS IN A POLITICAL CRISIS AND NEEDS TO SORT OUT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT I'M NOT SURE EXACTLY HOW THAT WOULD HELP AT THIS PARTICULAR MOMENT IN TIME.

Q MARGARET, YOU SAID YOURSELF THAT THIS IS GOING TO PUT OFF THE PEACE PROCESS FOR SOME TIME. IS THERE A SENSE --

MS. TUTWILER: NO, NO, I DIDN'T SAY THAT -- THAT IT WILL PUT IT OFF FOR SOME TIME.

Q THAT IT WOULD DELAY THE PEACE PROCESS, MAYBE SOME TIME INDICATES A LONGER PERIOD THAN YOU WERE IN FACT TALKING ABOUT. BUT GIVEN THE FACT THAT WE CAN NOW EXPECT A DELAY IN THE PEACE PROCESS IS THERE ANY SENSE OF FRUSTRATION OR -- THAT THE RUG HAS BEEN PULLED OUT FROM UNDER THE UNITED STATES BY INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL?

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

Q NO FRUSTRATION AT ALL?

MS. TUTWILER: I COULDN'T CHARACTERIZE SECRETARY BAKER --

Q PERFECTLY SANGUINE ABOUT THIS?

MS. TUTWILER: I DIDN'T SAY SANGUINE. I DIDN'T SAY FRUSTRATED, AND I HAVEN'T CHARACTERIZED IN ADJECTIVES THE UNITED STATES' VIEW OF THIS OTHER THAN IN THE STATEMENT I STARTED OUT THE BRIEFING WITH, AND THAT'S HOW I PREFER TO LEAVE IT, WITHOUT CHARACTERIZING DISAPPOINTMENT, FRUSTRATIONS, SANGUINITY. WE ARE JUST SIMPLY NOT GOING TO GET INTO THAT. WE --

Q AND WE -- THEN WE ARE PERFECTLY -- WE VIEW THIS WITH PERFECT EQUANIMITY, THEN?

MS. TUTWILER: I SAID THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO MOVING THIS PROCESS FORWARD. I SAID WE REMAIN READY TO WORK. I SAID THAT WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS

8406  
מס' קשר 7071 תשנ"ד 20.10.97 7687333



OF ISRAEL WE HAVE DESCRIBED IS IN A POLITICAL  
CRISIS AND NEEDS TO SORT OUT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT  
I'M NOT SURE EXACTLY HOW THAT WOULD HELP AT THIS  
PARTICULAR MOMENT IN TIME.  
G MARGARET, YOU SAID YOURSELF THAT THIS IS GOING  
TO PUT OFF THE PEACE PROCESS FOR SOME TIME. IS THERE  
A SENSE --

MS. TUTTILER: NO, NO, I DIDN'T SAY THAT -- THAT  
IT WILL PUT IT OFF FOR SOME TIME.

Q THAT IT WOULD DELAY THE PEACE PROCESS, MAYBE  
SOME TIME INDICATES A LONGER PERIOD THAN YOU  
WERE IN FACT TALKING ABOUT. BUT GIVEN THE FACT THAT  
WE CAN NOW EXPECT A DELAY IN THE PEACE PROCESS  
IS THERE ANY SENSE OF FRUSTRATION OR -- THAT  
THE RUG HAS BEEN PULLED OUT FROM UNDER THE UNITED  
STATES BY INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL?  
MS. TUTTILER: NO.

Q NO FRUSTRATION AT ALL?

MS. TUTTILER: I COULDN'T CHARACTERIZE SECRETARY  
BAKER --

Q PERFECTLY SANGUINE ABOUT THIS?

MS. TUTTILER: I DIDN'T SAY SANGUINE. I DIDN'T  
SAY FRUSTRATED, AND I HAVEN'T CHARACTERIZED  
IN ADJECTIVES THE UNITED STATES' VIEW OF THIS  
OTHER THAN IN THE STATEMENT I STARTED OUT THE  
BRIEFING WITH, AND THAT'S HOW I PREFER TO LEAVE  
IT, WITHOUT CHARACTERIZING DISAPPOINTMENT,  
FRUSTRATION, SANGUINITY. WE ARE JUST SIMPLY  
NOT GOING TO GET INTO THAT. WE --

Q AND WE -- THEN WE ARE PERFECTLY -- WE VIEW THIS  
WITH PERFECT EQUANIMITY, THEN?

MS. TUTTILER: I SAID THAT WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO  
MOVING THIS PROCESS FORWARD. I SAID WE REMAIN READY  
TO WORK. I SAID THAT WE RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

A POLITICAL CRISIS IN ISRAEL. I HAVE SAID THAT IT'S NOT OUR PLACE TO MAKE DECISIONS FOR ISRAEL AND THAT WE ARE STILL DEFINITELY ENGAGED, THAT WE RECOGNIZE THAT THEY HAVE A SITUATION THAT IS QUITE DIFFERENT THAN THE SITUATION YESTERDAY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT.

Q IF I MIGHT --

MS. TUTWILER: I UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU'D LIKE ME TO DO.

Q IF I MIGHT PRESS ON, THERE IS A -- THERE'S THIS PROCESS IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS INVESTED A GOOD BIT OF NOT ONLY TIME, BUT PRESTIGE AS WELL AND NOW WE ARE FACED WITH ANOTHER INDEFINITE DELAY IN GETTING ANYTHING DONE AT ALL ABOUT THIS AND WE GREET THIS WITH THIS BLAND PABLUM OF A STATEMENT FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT EVERYTHING IS JUST HUNKY-DORY.

עד כאן חלק ב'

המשך בנר 382

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מונכל, ממנוכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, &(אמן),  
בונצור, מצפא, פרנ, ר'ב'ב, מעת, הסורה, לעמ, דוצ-ים

6406  
יסקי וילקי ושות' בני ברק 03 5376967

A POLITICAL CRISIS IN ISRAEL. I HAVE SAID THAT  
IT'S NOT OUR PLACE TO MAKE DECISIONS FOR ISRAEL  
AND THAT WE ARE STILL DEFINITELY ENGAGED, THAT  
WE RECOGNIZE THAT THEY HAVE A SITUATION THAT  
IS QUITE DIFFERENT THAN THE SITUATION YESTERDAY.  
WE RECOGNIZE THAT.

Q IF I MIGHT --

MS. TUTTILER: I UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU'D LIKE ME TO  
DO.

Q IF I MIGHT PRESS ON, THERE IS A -- THERE'S  
THIS PROCESS IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS INVESTED  
A GOOD BIT OF NOT ONLY TIME, BUT PRESTIGE AS WELL  
AND NOW WE ARE FACED WITH ANOTHER INDEFINITE  
DELAY IN GETTING ANYTHING DONE AT ALL ABOUT THIS  
AND WE GREET THIS WITH THIS GRAND PARLOR OF  
A STATEMENT FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT  
EVERYTHING IS JUST HUMKY-DUMKY.

' 1 300 (nd 1)

352 111 1000

00

DE: WFO, OWSB, HFS, AXFSA, SXCX, XA, JCC, FVAC, S, SGT, GO, S (NAF),  
112 11, AXER, GCI, FCI, S, WAB, POC: G, FCB, F12-10

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

11057

14.03.90 תאריך

נכנס

בלמט

חוזם: 3,11057

אל: המשרד

יעדים: נני/614, בטחון/637, מצב/1595, מנמח/673  
מ-: נוש, נר: 382, תא: 130390, זח: 1700, דח: ב, סג: בל

תח: @: גס: צפא

נר: @

בלמט/בהול לבוקר

חלק 3 מתוך 4

MS. TUTWILER: WE HAVE OUR REASONS, WHICH I AM SURE THAT YOU MAY OR MAY NOT RESPECT. SECOND OF ALL, WE ARE NOT IN THIS TO PLAY A PRESTIGE GAME, JOHN. SECRETARY BAKER HAS DEVOTED THIS TIME AND DEVOTED THIS ENERGY BECAUSE HE FELT IT WAS IMPORTANT, IMPORTANT FOR THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THE REGION AND HE STILL FEELS THAT WAY THIS MORNING, THAT HASN'T CHANGED AT ALL, AND HE IS STILL COMMITTED AND WILL STAY COMMITTED TO TRYING TO FIND A WAY TO BRING PEACE TO THIS REGION. AND THAT'S MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN PRESTIGE OR NON-PRESTIGE.

Q HOW DOES THAT SQUARE WITH THE SECRETARY'S REPORTED STATEMENTS OF A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO THAT HE WAS NEARING THE END OF HIS PATIENCE ON THE WHOLE THING?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T BELIEVE THE SECRETARY SAID THAT. I BELIEVE HE HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED AS SAYING THAT. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT HE SAID ON THE RECORD PATIENCE. I BELIEVE HE SAID, THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW, AND I BELIEVE HE SAID THAT, AT THIS POINT, WE HAD DONE ABOUT ALL THAT

03 5275967, 70 מיקום מלך המעוז, 70 64106







WE WOULD GO, AND THAT TURNED OUT TO BE TRUE, BOBBY  
171

THE SECRETARY -- THE SECRETARY WILL BE WITH  
WELL IN ENGLISH.  
MR. TULLER: MR. TULLER IN AFFIRMATION.

AND INCIDENTALLY MR. TULLER: EARLY WILL BE  
THERE, TOO. IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY OF A FORMAL  
OF INFORMAL MEETING BETWEEN THEM?

MR. TULLER: NONE.

Q NONE.

MARGARET, IN ANOTHER QUESTION, YOU SAID IN ANYBODY  
HAS A BETTER IDEA, LET THEM COME FORWARD. EVIDENTLY  
YOU HAVE -- THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS NO BETTER  
IDEA THAN THE ONE IN THE TABLE, BUT WHEN  
ABOUT OTHER CHANNELS, OTHER VEHICLES IN THE STATE  
DEPARTMENT, LOOKING TO ANOTHER APPROACH, ANOTHER  
LOGISTICAL APPROACH -- THE BUREAU --

MR. TULLER: NO.

Q -- ANY OF -- YOU KNOW, THAT OLD REAR CONFERENCE  
IDEA OF POLICE TALKS WITH ARMY, AND OF THOSE THINGS?

MR. TULLER: NO, WE ARE NOT.

MARGARET, DO YOU THINK -- IS IT -- IN THE ESTIMATION  
IN THE COORDINATION OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
DO YOU THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT'S REVIEW  
REMARK OF EAST GERMANEN MAY HAVE BEEN A FACTOR  
OR ANY MANNER IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CURRENT  
ORIGIN TO WHICH YOU REFERRED?

MR. TULLER: I ANSWERED THAT YESTERDAY -- THE NEGATIVE  
AND THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF ADDRESSED THIS QUESTION  
THIS MORNING, AND I HAVE NOTHING TO ADD TO WHAT  
THE PRESIDENT SAID THIS MORNING WHEN ASKED A SIMILAR

QUESTION.

Q HE DIDN'T SAY IT WASN'T A FACTOR. HE JUST SAID HE STOOD BY WHAT HE SAID.

MS. TUTWILER: I SAID YESTERDAY THAT I WAS NOT GOING TO SAY THAT IT WAS A FACTOR.

Q MARGARET, AIPAC, YOU MIGHT HAVE SEEN, HAS SAID THAT THIS REPRESENTS -- WHAT'S GOING ON WITH THE PRESIDENT'S REMARK ON EAST JERUSALEM REPRESENTS A NEW AMERICAN TILT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AWAY FROM ISRAEL, I PRESUME THEY MEANT. CAN YOU ADDRESS THAT? IS THERE SORT OF A DIFFERENCE IN AMERICAN POLICY ON ISRAEL?

MS. TUTWILER: I REALLY HAVE NOTHING TO ADD TO WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID THIS MORNING. THE PRESIDENT SAID I WAS ONLY STATING US POLICY, AND THAT'S REALLY WHERE I'M GOING TO STAY TODAY.

Q TOGETHER -- THE REMARK ON EAST JERUSALEM WITH THE PERCEPTION, ANYWAY, ON AID AND SHAVING THE EARMARKING AS PERHAPS TAKING MONEY AWAY FROM ISRAEL --

MS. TUTWILER: ACROSS THE BOARD, EVEN-STEVEN, FOR ALL COUNTRIES.

Q BUT I'M TALKING ABOUT PERCEPTIONS, AND THE PERCEPTION OF AIPAC IS THAT THERE HAS BEEN A NEW AMERICAN TILT AWAY FROM ISRAEL, AND I'M TRYING TO GET YOU TO ADDRESS THAT, WHETHER THERE HAS BEEN SUCH.

MS. TUTWILER: NO, THERE HAS NOT. SECRETARY BAKER HAS SAID ANY NUMBER OF TIMES IN TESTIMONY THEY ARE OUR STAUCHEST ALLY, THEY'RE OUR CLOSEST FRIENDS. WE'VE DONE IT A NUMBER OF TIMES. AND ON THE SHAVING OF THE AID, YOU KNOW THAT SECRETARY BAKER SAID IN TWO PUBLIC TESTIMONIES THIS MONTH THAT ONLY -- HE NEVER SAID COUNTRY SPECIFIC, AND WAS VERY CAREFUL TO SAY THIS IS NOT COUNTRY SPECIFIC, BUT IF THE CONGRESS WANTED TO GET WITH THE ADMINISTRATION

0400  
03 5276987 70 07 כרית 9700 7007 \*\*\*\*\*



QUESTION

Q HE DIDN'T SAY I WANT A FACTOR, HE JUST SAID HE WOULD SAY WHAT HE SAID.

MS. TUTTLE: I SAID, I REMEMBER THAT I WAS NOT GOING TO SAY THAT IT WAS A FACTOR.

Q HANDBART, RIGHT, YOU MIGHT HAVE SAID, WAS SAID THAT THIS REPRESENTS -- WHAT'S GOING ON WITH THE PRESIDENT'S REMARK ON EAST JERUSALEM REPRESENTS A NEW APPROACH TIT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AWAY FROM ISRAEL, I REMEMBER THAT YEAR, AND YOU AGREE THAT IS THERE SORT OF A DIFFERENCE IN THE POLICY ON ISRAEL?

MS. TUTTLE: I REALLY HAVE NOTHING TO ADD TO WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID THIS MORNING. THE PRESIDENT SAID I WAS ONLY STATING AN OPINION, AND THAT'S REALLY WHERE I'M GOING TO STAY TODAY.

Q TOGETHER -- THE REMARK ON EAST JERUSALEM WITH THE PERCEPTION, AWAY, ON HIS AND BEHAVING THE CARRIAGE AS THOUGH TAKING MONEY AWAY FROM ISRAEL.

MS. TUTTLE: ACROSS THE BOARD, EVEN-STEVEN, FOR ALL FOUR SIDES. BUT I'M TALKING ABOUT PERCEPTIONS, AND THE PERCEPTION OF AFRIC IS THAT THERE HAS BEEN A NEW APPROACH TIT AWAY FROM ISRAEL, AND I'M TRYING TO GET YOU TO ADDRESS THAT, WHETHER THERE HAS BEEN SUCH.

MS. TUTTLE: NO, THERE HAS NOT, BECAUSE BAKER HAS SAID ANY NUMBER OF TIMES IN TESTIMONY THEY ARE OUR STANFORDST ALLY, THEY'RE OUR CLOSEST FRIENDS. WE'VE DONE IT A NUMBER OF TIMES, AND WE'VE SAID OF THE AIR, YOU KNOW THAT BECAUSE BAKER SAID IN TWO PUBLIC TESTIMONIES THIS MONTH THAT ONLY HE NEVER SAID COUNTRY SPECIFIC, AND WAS VERY CAREFUL TO SAY THIS IS NOT COUNTRY SPECIFIC, BUT IF THE CONGRESS WANTED TO GET WITH THE ADMINISTRATION



WITH THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, AND HAVE IT ACROSS  
THE BOARD -- TOTALLY OVER-STEERING COURSE -- OF  
COURSE THIS HOWE TREATMENT, HE SAID, SUPPORTS THAT

I JUST WONDER, HE SAID -- AS I RECALL  
HE DID NOT SAY THAT HE WAS RUNNING OUT OF PATIENCE  
OR ANGRY LINE THAT, BUT HE DID SAY THAT  
THE POINT IS THAT THERE -- AT SOME POINT, A COUPLE  
THREE WEEKS AGO, THAT THERE ARE A LOT OF OTHER  
POINTS ON THE TABLE FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO GO  
AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT HE -- THAT WAS WHAT HE  
IS GOING TO BE FILLED WITH LOTS OF OTHER  
THINGS OTHER THAN LABOR, THAT WE WOULD LIKE  
AS LONG AS THE LABOR IS WISE TO WORK OUT THEIR POLITICAL  
GAMES, THAT NOW IS A TIME FOR THE GOVERNMENT  
TO TURN TO OTHER THINGS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE COURT  
DURING UP, A MEETING WITH SHERMAN -- ANOTHER  
MEETING WITH SHERMAN IN WAY, THE POINT IS  
-- AND THESE KINDS OF THINGS

HE, HOWEVER, I DON'T WANT YOU TO -- DON'T  
FAITH OF SAYING THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE BOUND  
FROM THIS, IF YOU -- AND YOU -- WITHOUT QUESTION  
-- THOSE PEOPLE -- AS HE SAID YESTERDAY, THE  
MINISTERS WERE NOT SO SERIOUSLY WORRIED WITH  
THIS, THE LABOR GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT HAVE THE  
SITUATION AS WE DESCRIBED IT, AS A POLITICAL  
CRISIS, THAT IS, AND TODAY, THAT IS IN MY  
A REPERCUSSION, EVIDENCE OF HOW HARD THEY  
AND WORKING TO RESOLVE WITH WHICH ROOMS ARE  
VERY, VERY TIGHT QUESTIONS, SO, WHY WOULD YOU  
STOP YOUR EFFORT, PERMISSIBLE THAT OTHERS ARE  
REALLY WORRIED WITH THIS AND THE GOVERNMENT'S  
SAY THAT THAT IS HE SAID -- A LITTLE OF --  
PARAPHRASE, THESE AREN'T HIS EXACT WORDS  
-- THAT THE PARTIES WERE NOT SERIOUS, BUT HE  
NOT SERIOUS -- THEN, YES, THERE WERE OTHER THINGS  
HE WOULD FEEL HIS TIME WITH, HE HAS NEVER  
GOTTEN THAT SERIOUS, OR LEE HAS THAT TIME

I THIS ADMINISTRATIVE, PERHAPS, WOULD THE BOARD  
TO APPOINT A SPECIAL BODY TO BE NITTE EAST





AND YOU REQUESTED TO THEM ABOUT OTHER VEHICLES  
LIKE UNITED STATES OR A FORCE CONSIDERED OF OTHER  
THINGS, WOULD THIS BE THE IDEA THAT MR. CARTER  
FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER IS GOING TO BE GOING TO  
THE AREA, THAT HE WILL BE GIVEN MORE CREDENCE  
OR POSSIBLY MORE VISIBILITY AND OFFICIAL  
SUPPORT, THAT HE COULD CONTACT SOME SHUTTLE OUTLAW,  
LIKE HE DID DURING THE SAID DAVIS, AND  
HE WAS EFFECTIVELY SUCCESSFUL OR TO THAT POINT?

MR. TOWLER: FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER IS IN THE  
AREA RIGHT NOW, HE IS THERE ON A PRIVATE VISIT  
AS A PRIVATE CITIZEN.  
AND IF YOU ELEVATE THIS PRIVATE VISIT, TO BRING  
IT ABOUT SOME SPECIAL VISIT, IN A SPECIAL  
TO -- IMAGINE -- THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED  
STATES -- IMAGINE --

MR. TOWLER: IF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED  
STATES WANTED TO MAKE A SPECIAL VISIT -- YOU  
USED THE TERM -- REGARDLESS OF WHO IT WOULD BE,  
HE WOULD ANNOUNCE THAT HE WISHED TO GO TO, AND KNOWING  
WHO THE PERSON IS.

MR. TOWLER: IN THAT CASE -- FERRARIS  
I MIGHT SAY, IN THAT CASE --  
THE PRESENT GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS IN ISRAEL, PRESENT  
EVIDENCE OF HOW FAR THE ISRAELIS ARE WORTHY TO  
ACHIEVE PEACE UNDER THE BARRER PLAN?

MR. TOWLER: IF THEY WERE Y ARRIVING WITH  
THIS QUESTION, THERE WOULD NOT BE A CRISIS, WOULD  
THERE?

MR. TOWLER: I THAT SAY THAT THE CRISIS STATE  
WELL, I DON'T SAY THAT THE CRISIS STATE  
HELPED BRING ON THE CRISIS BY FORCING THE DECISIONS  
TO THIS POINT.  
MR. TOWLER: NOT TO MY MIND.

MR. TOWLER: THE IDEA WAS TO HELP THE ISRAELIS  
-- YOU CALLED IT THE CENTERED OF ALL YOUR EFFORTS  
YESTERDAY --



NO. TWTWIER: KM-HNK -- (ALTERNATIVELY)

I -- TO HELP THE ISRAELIS IMPLEMENT A PLAN THAT THE UNITED STATES SEES AS A WORTHY, IN FACT THE ONLY OPTION. WHY DON'T YOU -- WHY SEEMIT THE US STOP BACK FROM THIS AND LET THE ISRAELIS WORK OUT THE MECHANISM FOR THESE DECISIONS? WHY DO YOU HAVE TO IMPOSE TERMS ON IT THAT OBVIOUSLY DON'T GO DOWN IN JERUSALEM?

NO. TWTWIER: IN ANY NEGOTIATION, YOU ARE IN A PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING. IT'S NOT -- IT'S NOT WHITE AND BLACK. IT'S NOT THAT SIMPLE. WE HAVE NEGOTIATED WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IN THE FORM OF TRIME MINISTER SHAMIR AND THIS HAS BEEN AN ONGOING NEGOTIATION. I HAVE TO ASK YOU WHAT THE NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE

NO. TWTWIER: KM-HNK -- (ALTERNATIVELY)

NO. TWTWIER: KM-HNK -- (ALTERNATIVELY)

NO

NO. TWTWIER: KM-HNK -- (ALTERNATIVELY)

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

11058

14.03.90 תאריך

וכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,11058

אל: המשרד

יעדים: ני/615, בטחון/638, מצב/1596, מנמת/674

מ-: ווש, נר: 383, תא: 130390, זח: 1700, דח: 1, סג: 1

תח: 2 גס: צפא

2: ד

בלמס/בהול 1710קר

חלק 4 מתוך 4 המשך לנר 380

Q MARGARET, COULD I JUST GO BACK AND CLARIFY ONE POINT ON ISRAEL, PLEASE, AND THAT IS TO ASK YOU IF THE UNITED STATES HAS NO REGRETS THAT IT FINDS ITSELF IN A SITUATION WHERE THE PEACE PROCESS HAS BEEN BROUGHT TO A HIATUS?

MS. TUTWILER: ANYTHING THAT PREVENTS PEACE FROM MOVING FORWARD IN A REGION OBVIOUSLY IS SOMETHING THAT IS NOT APPLAUDED. PEACE IS WHAT IS IMPORTANT HERE. PEACE IS WHAT WE HAVE BEEN WORKING VERY, VERY HARD TOWARDS, TO BRING PEACE TO THIS REGION THAT I THINK EVERYONE WOULD UNANIMOUSLY AGREE IS CRYING OUT FOR PEACE. AND THAT IS ALWAYS SAD, IF YOU ARE UNABLE FOR A MOMENT IN TIME NOT TO MOVE FORWARD ON WHAT IS YOUR ULTIMATE GOAL, THAT SO MANY PEOPLE THERE IN THE REGION WILL BENEFIT FROM.

Q BUT MARGARET -- WHAT ABOUT THE OPPOSITE OF THAT? YOU SAID -- YOU SAID THAT ANYTHING THAT PREVENTS PEACE FROM MOVING FORWARD IS OBVIOUSLY NOT TO BE APPLAUDED. BUT WHAT ABOUT -- I MEAN, HERE YOU HAVE A CASE WHERE THE RULING PARTY AND THE PRIME MINISTER HIMSELF VOTED -- VOTE DIRECTLY FOR PEACE NOT TO MOVE AHEAD. YOU'RE NOT WILLING

6400 \*\*\*\*\* יוקם תלם עותף ערים נח. 7. 03.90





TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THAT, ARE YOU?

MS. TUTWILER: I AM NOT WILLING TO INJECT MYSELF INTO THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS GOING ON CURRENTLY TODAY AND YESTERDAY IN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. THAT'S WHAT I AM NOT WILLING TO DO.

Q BUT MARGARET, IT WAS THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WITH WHICH THIS GOVERNMENT WAS DEALING, AND HIS VOTING AGAINST THE US PLANS FOR PEACE THERE BROUGHT ABOUT THE FALL OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.

MS. TUTWILER: MY UNDERSTANDING -- MAYBE YOU HAVE A PIECE OF INFORMATION THIS MORNING THAT I DON'T -- IS THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT DID NOT VOTE YES AND IT DID NOT VOTE NO. THEY DIDN'T VOTE.

Q MARGARET, INCIDENTALLY, HAVE YOU HAD ANY KIND OF COMMUNICATION ON ANY LEVEL FROM ISRAEL FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, ON THE EVENTS AND WHAT IT HAS -- AND WHAT IT MAY MEAN, AND WHAT IT SAYS?

MS. TUTWILER: SECRETARY BAKER HAS NOT, BUT I AM POSITIVE AT AN EXPERT LEVEL, YES, THERE IS COMMUNICATION S.

Q PLO? ANY CONTACTS IN TUNIS?

MS. TUTWILER: IF AMBASSADOR PELLETRAU HAS HAD A MEETING?

Q YES.

MS. TUTWILER: I DIDN'T ASK. I DON'T KNOW. I'LL BE HAPPY TO ASK.

Q THE GOVERNMENT, WHAT THERE IS OF IT, HAS NOT REACHED OUT AND ASKED THE UNITED STATES TO HOLD ON, BE PATIENT, TAKE -- YOU KNOW. YOU HAVE NOT HEARD ANYTHING LIKE THAT --

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

6406  
משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THAT, ARE YOU?

MS. TUTTLER: I AM NOT WILLING TO INJECT MYSELF INTO THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS GOING ON CURRENTLY TODAY AND YESTERDAY IN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. THAT'S WHAT I AM NOT WILLING TO DO.

Q BUT MARGARET, IT WAS THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL WITH WHICH THIS GOVERNMENT WAS DEALING, AND HIS VOTING AGAINST THE US PLANS FOR PEACE THERE BROUGHT ABOUT THE FALL OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.

MS. TUTTLER: MY UNDERSTANDING -- MAYBE YOU HAVE A PIECE OF INFORMATION THIS MORNING THAT I DON'T -- IS THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT DID NOT VOTE YES AND IT DID NOT VOTE NO. THEY DIDN'T VOTE.

Q MARGARET, INCIDENTALLY, HAVE YOU HAD ANY KIND OF COMMUNICATION ON ANY LEVEL FROM ISRAEL FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, ON THE EVENTS AND WHAT IT HAS -- AND WHAT IT MAY MEAN, AND WHAT IT SAYS?

MS. TUTTLER: SECRETARY BAKER HAS NOT, BUT I AM POSITIVE AT AN EXPERT LEVEL, YES, THERE IS COMMUNICATION.

Q HOW MANY CONTACTS IN TUNISIA?

MS. TUTTLER: IF AMBASSADOR BELLETREAU HAS HAD A MEETING? Q YES.

MS. TUTTLER: I DIDN'T ASK. I DON'T KNOW. I'LL BE HAPPY TO ASK.

Q THE GOVERNMENT, WHAT THERE IS OF IT, HAS NOT REACHED OUT AND ASKED THE UNITED STATES TO HOLD ON, BE PATIENT, TAKE -- YOU KNOW, YOU HAVE NOT HEARD ANYTHING LIKE THAT -- MS. TUTTLER: NO.

Q -- FROM THE ISRAELIS?

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

Q MARGARET, SINCE MR. SHAMIR WAS HERE AND HE HAD 45 MINUTES MEETING WITH MR. BAKER, DID YOU HEAR SINCE HE VISITED HERE FROM HIM HIS COMMITMENT TO HIS OWN PEACE PLAN THAT HE PROPOSED LAST YEAR?

MS. TUTWILER: HE HAS NEVER TOLD SECRETARY BAKER THAT HE WAS NOT FOR MOVING HIS OWN INITIATIVE FORWARD.

Q BUT THE LABOR PARTY ACCUSES HIM, HIS PARTY --

MS. TUTWILER: I'M NOT GOING TO INTERJECT MYSELF INTO THE INTERNAL POLITICS GOING ON IN ISRAEL. SORRY.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THE DECISION BY THE ARAB LEAGUE IN TUNIS TO MOVE THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARAB LEAGUE LATER ON THIS YEAR TO CAIRO?

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

עד כאן

פא

תפ: שהח, טשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, רס, &(אמן),  
בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסורה, לעמ, דוצ-ים

6406 יוקר עליו ומועד כתיבתו 7/1/77





חוזם: 3,9830

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/546, ני/532, מצב/1397, מנמת/589  
מ-: ווש, נו: 315, תא: 120390, זח: 1550, דח: ב, סג: בל

תח: @: סצפא

נר: @

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממר, פרן.

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם  
אמן/מנמת - ר' משמרת, רובר צהל, ניו-יורק,  
מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון.

תדרוך רובר הבית הלבן ליום : 12.3.90

Q. ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF JIMMY CARTER GOING TO THE MIDDLE EAST?

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, WE DON'T HAVE A POSITION ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. HE TOLD US HE WAS GOING. WE TRUST HE'LL KEEP US INFORMED. I'M NOT SURE WHAT HIS SPECIFIC PURPOSES ARE, BUT HE'S FREE TO GO WHEREVER HE WANTS.

CHRIS?

Q. ARE WE CONCERNED ABOUT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO ACCEPT OUR CONDITIONS FOR THE TALKS?

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, IT'S STILL -- THE PROCESS IS STILL CONTINUING. WE'RE STILL TALKING AND WE'RE STILL HOPEFUL.

Q. DO WE THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS ON EAST

JERUSALEM HAVE SET THESE BACK?

MR. FITZWATER: NO. THE PROCESS OF PEACE TALKS IS A LONG AND AN ARDUOUS ONE. THERE HAVE BEEN STOPS AND STARTS AND IT'S STILL CONTINUING. AND WE JUST CONTINUE TO WATCH THE PROCESS AND BE AS SUPPORTIVE AS WE CAN.

Q. MARLIN, ARE THEY MAKING ANY PROGRESS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN GETTING LIBYA TO SHUT DOWN THIS CHEMICAL PLANT?

MR. FITZWATER: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY COMMITMENTS OR ANYTHING LIKE THAT.

Q. WHAT ABOUT THE REPORTS OUT OF WEST GERMANY THAT THEY THINK YOU'RE GOING AT IT IN TOO HEAVY-HANDED A WAY, THAT BEFORE TRYING FULL-BORE YOU OUGHT TO PRESSURE LIBYA TO ALLOW INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION?

MR. FITZWATER: WE THINK WE'RE GOING AT IT JUST THE RIGHT WAY AND MAKING OUR VIEWS CLEAR TO EVERYBODY.

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, מוכל, ממוכל, בוצור, מצפא, פרן, רביב, מעת,  
הסברה, לעמ, סולטן, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, @ (אמן)



... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..

... ..  
... ..

... ..

... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..

... ..

... ..  
... ..  
... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..

... ..  
... ..



**DEPARTURE STATEMENT: PRIME MINISTER KAIFU OF JAPAN  
PALM-SPRINGS, CALIFORNIA / MARCH 3, 1990**

**I WAS VERY PLEASED TO WELCOME MY FRIEND, THE PRIME  
MINISTER OF JAPAN, HERE TO PALM SPRINGS FOR TWO DAYS OF  
VERY USEFUL AND FAR-RANGING DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE  
CRITICALLY IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED  
STATES AND JAPAN.**

338

2/10

- 2 -

**IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, I WANTED TO SEE PRIME  
MINISTER KAIFU AGAIN AND EXTEND PERSONALLY MY  
CONGRATULATIONS FOR HIS VICTORY IN THE RECENT  
ELECTIONS. I ALSO WANT TO EXPRESS MY VERY HIGH REGARD  
AND ADMIRATION FOR THE OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP HE HAS  
GIVEN HIS COUNTRY AND HIS PARTY SINCE HE WAS PROPELLED  
INTO OFFICE JUST SIX MONTHS AGO.**

- 3 -

WE FIRST MET LAST SEPTEMBER, AND IN THE INTERVENING MONTHS WE HAVE SEEN SOME OF THE MOST MOMENTOUS CHANGES IN RECENT WORLD HISTORY. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN COME TOGETHER AND REVIEW THE ENTIRE SCOPE OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP AT THIS TIME OF PROFOUND CHANGE IN THE WORLD.

THERE ARE THREE THINGS THAT ARE VERY CLEAR TO ME:

3/10 338

- 4 -

-- THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN WILL BECOME EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO US AND TO THE WORLD IN THE COMING DECADES;

-- THAT JAPAN IS MOVING RAPIDLY TO ASSUME A LEADING ROLE IN THE WORLD, AS WAS EVIDENT IN PRIME MINISTER KAIFU'S RECENT TRIP TO EASTERN EUROPE AND THE NEARLY \$2 BILLION IN ASSISTANCE THAT HE PLEDGED TO THE NATIONS OF POLAND AND HUNGARY; AND

- 5 -

-- THAT NO MATTER WHERE WE LOOK AROUND THE WORLD --  
FROM EASTERN EUROPE TO PANAMA TO CAMBODIA -- THE UNITED  
STATES AND JAPAN ARE WORKING TOGETHER TO PROMOTE  
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATIONS THAT WILL  
STRENGTHEN DEMOCRACIES AND MARKET ECONOMIES.

OUR MEETINGS THESE TWO DAYS WERE NOT FORMAL  
NEGOTIATIONS.

338

4/10

- 6 -

THIS HAS BEEN AN OPPORTUNITY TO COME TOGETHER AND TAKE  
STOCK OF THE ENTIRE RANGE OF OUR DEALINGS -- FROM  
SECURITY, TO ECONOMICS AND TRADE, TO FOREIGN POLICY --  
AND TO TALK ABOUT WHERE WE ARE GOING -- TOGETHER -- AS  
WE MOVE TOWARD THE 21ST CENTURY.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND I DISCUSSED HOW WE CAN  
EXPAND EVEN FURTHER OUR GLOBAL PARTNERSHIP.



- 7 -

BELIEVE THAT IN THE COMING YEARS WE HAVE A UNIQUE AND CHALLENGING OPPORTUNITY TO EXPAND EVEN FURTHER OUR COOPERATION ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES ACROSS THE BOARD; TO STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL "TRI-ALOGUE" AMONG THE UNITED STATES, JAPAN, AND OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES; TO EXPAND OUR AID COOPERATION TO EMBRACE A LARGER EFFORT AIMED AT PROMOTING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE THIRD WORLD;

338

5/10

- 8 -

AND TO THINK ABOUT HOW JAPAN CAN MORE FULLY PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN THE WORLD'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS.

WE TALKED ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS OF RECENT MONTHS IN EUROPE AND IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE AGREED THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES MUST WORK CLOSELY TOGETHER TO PROMOTE THE SAME KIND OF POSITIVE CHANGES IN ASIA.

END

- 9 -

REAFFIRMED TO THE PRIME MINISTER, AS DID SECRETARY OF DEFENSE CHENEY DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO TOKYO, THAT THE UNITED STATES IS, AND WILL REMAIN, A PACIFIC POWER; THAT THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES THE GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO ITS SECURITY AND POLITICAL ALLIANCE WITH JAPAN; AND THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES MUST CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN OUR DEFENSE COOPERATION.

338

6/10

- 10 -

AT A TIME OF GREAT CHANGE IN THE WORLD, OUR TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY HAS BECOME EVEN MORE IMPORTANT TO INSURING CONTINUED PEACE AND PROSPERITY AS DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS SPREAD ACROSS ASIA AND THE PACIFIC.

WE ALSO DISCUSSED OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP -- ONE OF THE MOST BROADRANGING AND COMPLEX SET OF COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL INTERACTIONS IN THE WORLD. THERE ARE MANY ECONOMIC AREAS IN WHICH WE HAVE CLOSE COOPERATION.

- 11 -

FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE WORKED CLOSELY WITH JAPAN IN DEALING WITH THIRD WORLD DEBT PROBLEMS. WE HAVE ALSO COLLABORATED ON ECONOMIC POLICY COORDINATION, AND WE REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMENT TO THAT PROCESS, INCLUDING COOPERATION IN EXCHANGE MARKETS. WE MUST ALSO REMEMBER, JAPAN IS THE SECOND LARGEST MARKET IN THE WORLD FOR OUR MANUFACTURERS, AND THE LARGEST MARKET IN THE WORLD FOR OUR FARMERS.

338

7/10

- 12 -

OUR EXPORTS TO JAPAN ALREADY TOTAL \$44 BILLION -- ONLY CANADA BUYS MORE FROM US -- AND OUR EXPORTS TO JAPAN ARE GOING UP FASTER THAN OUR SALES TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND HIS GOVERNMENT ARE VERY AWARE OF THE MOOD AND CONCERN IN THIS COUNTRY ABOUT THE CONTINUING IMPEDIMENTS TO FURTHER GROWTH OF OUR TRADE RELATIONSHIP.

- 13 -

EN WITH THE 18 PERCENT GROWTH IN OUR EXPORTS TO JAPAN  
ST YEAR, WE STILL HAVE A \$49 BILLION BILATERAL TRADE  
FICIT. MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT: I WANT TO SEE THAT  
FICIT COME DOWN, NOT BY RESTRICTING OUR MARKETS OR  
NAGING TRADE, BUT BY FURTHER INCREASING OUR EXPORTS  
JAPAN. IN THE COMING MONTHS, OUR COMMON TASK MUST  
TO FURTHER OPEN MARKETS AND EXPAND TRADE.

338

8/10

- 14 -

IN ADDITION TO INCREASING OUR EXPORTS TO JAPAN, OUR  
OTHER KEY TASK IS TO ENSURE THE SUCCESS OF THE  
STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS INITIATIVE THAT WE LAUNCHED  
LAUNCHED LAST SUMMER. WE ARE FACING SOME IMPORTANT  
HEADLINES, AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND I ARE CALLING ON  
OUR OFFICIALS TO REDOUBLE THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE  
MEANINGFUL INTERIM AND FINAL RESULTS. SPEAKING  
FRANKLY, WE MUST MAKE SII AND OUR OTHER TRADE  
DISCUSSIONS A SUCCESS.

- 15 -

WE MUST PUT OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP ON A SOLID FOUNDATION IF WE ARE TO ACHIEVE THE FULL PROMISE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP.

WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE PRESENTED SOME VALID IDEAS ABOUT REMOVING STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS IN JAPAN THAT WILL IMPROVE MARKET ACCESS AND REDUCE OUR TRADE IMBALANCES, AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE JAPANESE RESPONSE.

338

9/10

- 16 -

AT THE SAME TIME, THESE TALKS ARE A TWO-WAY STREET. WE AMERICANS MUST INCREASE OUR SAVINGS, REDUCE OUR BUDGET DEFICIT, PROVIDE MORE INCENTIVES FOR OUR INVESTORS, STRENGTHEN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, AND FOCUS ON PRODUCING GOODS OF THE HIGHEST QUALITY. OUR TASK IS TO MAKE THE AMERICAN ECONOMY EVEN STRONGER AND EVEN MORE COMPETITIVE, AND THAT IS A TASK FOR AMERICA, NOT JAPAN.



- 17 -

MR. PRIME MINISTER, I AM DELIGHTED WE HAD THIS OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS ALL THESE MATTERS, AND I AM CONFIDENT THAT DURING OUR TIME HERE TOGETHER, WE HAVE LAUNCHED A PROCESS THAT WILL CONTINUE THROUGHOUT 1990 AND THE COMING YEARS -- A PROCESS THAT WILL CREATE A BREAKTHROUGH RELATIONSHIP AND LEAD TO AN ERA OF EVEN GREATER COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

338

10/10

- 18 -

TOGETHER, WE MUST MASTER OUR PROBLEMS AND EXPAND OUR OPPORTUNITIES. BY WORKING TOGETHER, IN PARTNERSHIP, THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN HAVE THE CHANCE TO LEAD NOT ONLY OUR TWO PEOPLES, BUT THE WHOLE WORLD, INTO A NEW ERA OF PEACE, FREEDOM, AND PROSPERITY.

TOSHIKI -- MY FRIEND -- THANK YOU FOR COMING AND I WISH YOU A SAFE AND SMOOTH JOURNEY HOME. MAY YOU HAVE GREAT SUCCESS IN YOUR EFFORTS IN THE COMING MONTHS. YOU HAVE MY FULL SUPPORT.

END

# שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

דחיות: מייד	קד: 1
סוג: שמור	כתוב: 2
תאריך ופנ חבור: 12.3.90	אל: אירופה ו, מצפויא
כס' פברק: הפסרד:	דע: ממ"ד
333	פאת: חשגרירות, וושינגטון.

## איחוד גרמניה: היבטים ליגאליים

1. בשיחה (7.3) עם יאנג וקובליץ, העוטקים בנושא גרמניה בלשי היועץ המשפטי במחמ"ד יסקרו את ההיבטים הליגאליים הקשורים בסוגיית איחוד גרמניה.
2. להלן סיכום השיחה:

א. שני מסמכי היסוד הרלוונטים לסוגיית המרכזיות העומדות על סדה"י בהקשר לאיחוד גרמניה הם:

1) הסכם שנחתם בשנת '55 המסדיר את היחסים שבין שלוש המעצמות המערב ורפ"ג. מסמך זה מבטיח לרפ"ג סוברניות מלאה.

2) ה-Settlement Convention. בהסכם זה מבהירות המערביות שאינן מותרות על זכותן על ברלין וגרמניה כמו כן, הן שומרות על זכויותיהן (שאינן מוגדרות) ביחס להסכם שלום ונושא האיחוד (ציינו במאמר מטגר שהמונח המופיע במסמך הוא Reunification ולא Unification. לדבריהם החלטה להשתמש במונח Reunification הינה פוליטית ולא משפטית).

במסמך מופיעה התייחסות לזכות המעצמות בחקשר לגבולות סופיים ~~אצל~~ ברלין.

ב. ארבעת הנושאים המרכזיים (מבחינה ליגאלית ופוליטית) הנוגעים לאיחוד הם: גבולות, הסכם שלום, איחוד וברלין.

### ג. גבולות:

ארה"ב תומכת בקודיפיקציה של הגבולות הנוכחיים. אינם חושבים שהנושא בעייתי. את משמעות התבטאויותיו הבלתי ברורות <sup>של קוהל</sup> להערכת אנשי שיחי לראות בהקשר למערכת הבחירות ברפ"ג. מבחינה טכנית קוהל (הערה: השיחה וחקיימה לפני שקוהל בעת חלקית ללחץ פולין והודיע על חגובו לחעביר החלטה בבוטנטיא) נמצא קוהל על קרקע מוצקה.

### ד. הסכם שלום:

1) לדברי אנשי שיחי החלטה לחתום על הסכם שלום אינה פוליטית. אין בהסכמים שנחתמו

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10



דתיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / ווסינגטון טופס פרוק	קף: 2
סוג:		פתוק: 2
תאריך וזמן העבור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסדי:		
333		פאת:

אחרי המלחמה סעיף שמחייב חתימה על הסכם שלום.

(2) לדבריהם, קיימות אופציות שונות כיצד לטפל בנושא. חדיג'שו כי מקומו של ההבט הליגאלי בהקשר זה תיבנ "relatively modest".

(3) אנשי שיחי ציינו את עמדתה המסוייגת של רפ"ג<sup>מכד</sup>תחוששת ממבול של הביעות<sup>מכד</sup>המדינות שהכריזו מלחמה נגד גרמניה לחתימה על הסכם שלום. המגמה ברפ"ג חייכה לנסות ולפתור סוגיית הסכם השלום בקונטקסט של רבש"א.

(4) אנשי שיחי נמנעו מלהשיב לשאלתי לגבי עמדת ארה"ב. מהערוותיהם הבינותי שארה"ב מגלה הבנה לחשש רפ"ג ולכוננתה לפתור הנושא בצורה גלובאלית בקונטקסט של רבש"א.

(5) אנשי שיחי אינם סבורים שהארבע צריכות לקבל החלטה בקונצנזוס לגבי ה-form של הסכם השלום.

ה. איחוד

(1) בתשובה לשאלתי האם שחי הגרמניה יכולות לחלית על האיחוד מבלי להוועץ בארבע המעצמות ציינו כי מבחינה חוקית לא קיימת חובת הוועצות. מבחינה פוליטית, ברור ששחי הגרמניות תתאמנה הסוגיות הקשורות באיחוד עם הארבע.

(2) בהערות אגב ציינו קיומה של בעיה לגבי משמעות האיחוד.

ו. ברלין

(1) הסוגיות הקשורות למעמד העיר מורכבות ביותר. המדובר בשטח כבוש ע"י שלוש המעצמות. אחריתן מעוגנת בשורת חוקים. כל החלטה לגבי עתיד העיר חייבת להתקבל בקונצנזוס.

(2) על רקע ההתקרבות שיו שתי הגרמנות מתחייבות שורח החלטות באשר לעתיד ברלין<sup>צכמו</sup>: זכויות בחירה, הסדרת זכויות טיטה לעיר ומעמד הכוחות החונים בברלין. (במאמר מסגר ציינו כי שלא כברלין הרי שהכוחות הזריח המוצבים על אדמת רפ"ג נמצאים מכח החלטת ממי רפ"ג שיכולת לבקש לעזוב כל אימת שתרצה.

ז. בטכום ציינו אנשי שיחי כי הגישה המנחה את ארה"ב בתמרון הסוגיות הקשורות באיחוד גרמניה היא להמעיט ככל האפשר בהצבת מכשולים ליגאליים ופוליטיים.

שטיינ

תפוצה:



(3-125D)

10 199 344

2/12

Q Good. Secretary Baker in his testimony ten days ago said he wanted a quick response to his questions to the EIsraelif government about its peace plan. Minister Shamir -- I'm not telling you anything you don't know -- refused to even bring the issue to a vote yesterday. Is that something that just suits us fine and dandy?

2/12

MS. TUTWILER: Number one, Secretary Baker in his testimony said -- I believe his direct quote was that "the time to act is now." He did not define "now." (Laughter.)

As you all know, the Israeli government met yesterday and adjourned the meeting without a decision on the peace process. The United States knows how difficult the issues are that the cabinet ministers are wrestling with. As Secretary Baker has said in testimony, we believe the time to act is now.

We have always been looking for a yes to Prime Minister Shamir's initiative, and that is what we are still looking for. We are still waiting for answers from the government of Israel to the questions we posed. The government of Israel is debating these and we are waiting to hear from the government on how it intends to proceed. They haven't voted yes, they haven't voted no. All that has happened is that they haven't voted.

Our sole objective from the start has been to help the government of Israel implement its own initiative. We have succeeded in making this the centerpiece of all our diplomatic activity.

Q On the subject of definitions, did Secretary Baker discuss -- define what was answer, what was waiting, what was Secretary Baker --

MS. TUTWILER: What?

Q I mean, he didn't define what was now, so did he



3/13

10 199 344

define --

MS. TUTWILER: In his public testimony, he did not put a timeframe on "now."

3/12

Q Has he had any communications, Margaret? In the last --

MS. TUTWILER: Excuse me? What?

Q Has he had any communications with Minister Arons over the last 72 hours?

MS. TUTWILER: No, he has not.

Q Can you tell us what posture he will take --

MS. TUTWILER: Or anyone else in the Israeli government.

Q Sorry. How will he proceed at this point? I know --

\* MS. TUTWILER: Well, we're in the same position we were in on Friday. We are waiting for an answer from the Israeli government.

Q Well, when --

MS. TUTWILER: When that answer comes back, then we would know how to proceed, depending on how the answer is.

Q Do you anticipate any reformulation of the UB proposal?

MS. TUTWILER: No.

Q Do you anticipate anybody in the administration would care to reconsider what the President said about Jerusalem, which some impolite correspondents might point out might have had an impact on Israel's failure to act?

MS. TUTWILER: For the last eight days, I believe this

10 199 344

4/13

administration has answered the Jerusalem question, and we have all been very, very consistent. We have said what our policy is. I know you don't want to replay all that ground today.

4/12

Q Well, I know, but you've managed -- that statement managed to unify both Labor and Likud. If there's any agreement at all in Israel, it's an agreement that East Jerusalem isn't part of the EOcupied Territories.F So, that statement evidently didn't help your cause, the US cause, much.

MS. TUTWILER: Well, what we're looking for is agreement on moving towards peace.

Q Margaret, can you tell us whether there were other --

Q (Off mike) -- East Jerusalem?

Q -- contacts with the Israeli government?

MS. TUTWILER: I'll come right back -- I'm sorry Ralph, what?

Q Can you tell us if there have been other contacts with the Israeli government since yesterday's vote?

MS. TUTWILER: At the working level?

Q At any level.

MS. TUTWILER: Sure.

Q There have been?

MS. TUTWILER: Sure. They go on all the time.

Q Margaret --

Q Did the -- did the --

1990-03-12 21:13

1408039 06

Q Can I follow up Barry's question?

Q Go ahead.

Q Sorry. Margaret, I just want to ask, maybe to follow up what Barry was saying, that there are people -- Shamir himself has been quoted as saying that the President's statements on East Jerusalem have complicated the peace process. Seymour Reich, the head of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, has said the same in an open statement he just released. And Tom Dine, the head of AIPAC, last night, actually delivered a blistering attack on the administration on just that issue. I'm not asking you to comment on any of those, but I would ask you to comment on, do you feel that there is any justification to the argument that the President's statement has complicated Israel's ability to say yes?

MS. TUTWILER: Those are other gentlemen who you've pointed out's interpretation. That obviously is not mine. We, as an administration -- Secretary Baker, particularly, has been working for at least -- what is it? -- eight solid months -- diligently working, hard-ly working, staying engaged, personally spending his own time on this to do something, which is very, very important to that region of the world: try to move forward towards a process that will lead you towards peace in that are of the world.

Q We wouldn't --

MS. TUTWILER: Others --

Q Yes.

MS. TUTWILER: Others can say whatever their reasons are. What we're looking for is an answer, hopefully a positive answer, to move the process forward. And let's remember, this was Prime Minister Shamir's initiative of last April when he came here and visited with President Bush, and they asked us to get engaged. We got engaged, in a big way, and we have done a number of things that they have



asked, a number of things that the Egyptians have asked.

6/12

And we are to appoint, as Secretary Baker said in testimony, there's not a whole lot more really, that we can do, and that's why we're waiting for an answer. And we recognize that this is very, very difficult within Israel for them to reach an answer. We recognize the ministers are wrestling with this. But we also recognize, contrary to all this speculation, they haven't taken a vote, so we're -- we are waiting for a vote from the Israeli government.

6/12

10  
199  
344

Q Margaret --

MS. TUTWILER: Bill has a question.

Q Did the President mean to include East Jerusalem with the occupied territories and other settlements --

MS. TUTWILER: The President --

Q -- on March 3rd?

MS. TUTWILER: The President has said, I have said, Marlin has said, Secretary Baker has said, Dennis Ross has said, we have all stated -- I'd hate to count how many times -- the United States position on Jerusalem. It has not changed. It is the same position. We recognize it as a sensitive issue. We've made clear that Jerusalem should never be divided again. I mean, we can go over all of our policy, it hasn't changed.

Q That being the case, the President apparently meant to include East Jerusalem?

MS. TUTWILER: The President has been very clear on what our policy is on Jerusalem. He has -- our policy has not changed in the Bush administration.

Q You spoke about months of effort by Secretary Baker to move this thing forward and so on. You spoke about that in a

1990-03-12 21:16

1408039 08

7/12

context of addressing the Israeli government. Can you -- can you stand there and tell us that you believe the President's statement of March 5th, I believe it was, contributed to the -- to moving that process forward?

7/12

MS. TUTWILER: I guess what you'd like me to do is get fired. Okay? (Scattered laughter.) And I'm not going to get fired. So, let's all sober up and be very realistic here, okay? I work for the President of the United States. My job is -- and I believe in him, I believe in his policies -- is to enunciate the President's policies, okay? So if you're looking for somebody to criticize the President, I'm not your candidate.

344  
199 ●  
10

Q Can you wait until the elections in Israel?

MS. TUTWILER: Excuse me?

Q Can you wait until you have elections in Israel, or you want to move it -- when you say now -- "now" means after elections -- if there would be elections in Israel?

MS. TUTWILER: The Secretary of State said the time to move is now. I have said he did not define what "now" was. I'm not going to define it this morning.

Q Margaret, if the Israeli government falls, which it is likely to, because of Mr. Shamir's Likud refusal to go along with Secretary Baker, would the fall of the government based on those grounds be interpreted by the US as a no-answer from the Israeli government?

MS. TUTWILER: That is a hypothetical. I have told you what we view the lay of the land as today. We are waiting for an answer. I'm not going to deal with whether the government is or is not going to fall, various party meetings, we're just not going to get into that. And we're waiting for an answer from the Israeli government.

Should some of these things happen that you're describing, as



last week -- I don't see the gentleman who was here, who told me the government was falling that afternoon -- if it ever is, and we hope not, becomes a reality, we'll deal with reality. Okay? That's not the lay of the land today. That's not the case. And our position and policy has not changed since Friday.

8/12

8/12

Q Margaret, General Scowcroft told the other day the Israeli ambassador that the United States regarded East Jerusalem as an occupied territory since '67 but the administration kept, what he said, a friendly silence. Now, what was the reason to raise the issue of East Jerusalem now --

344

199

10

MS. TUTWILER: I haven't seen General Scowcroft's transcript.

Q -- in this very delicate -- pardon me?

MS. TUTWILER: I have not seen General Scowcroft's transcript. I'll be happy to call his office when we finish and get a transcript. Then I would be prepared to have seen what he said and respond to you tomorrow.

Q So, just to follow up, what was the reason for the President to raise this issue at this very delicate moment?

MS. TUTWILER: I have nothing further to add to this subject than what I did for four straight days last week and what I tried to do today.

Q The reason why this process, at least from the Jerusalem point of view, instead of going on, seems to be a little bit, to be stopped or something.

MS. TUTWILER: That's your interpretation. I don't subscribe to it.

Q Why hasn't the Secretary, if -- why hasn't the Secretary been in touch again with, not just Prime Minister Shamir or Arens but perhaps others in the government to sort of get a first-hand

view of what the lay of the land really is and whether he can do anything to move it along?

9/13

MS. TUTWILER: He has experts here who are fully capable of keeping him updated and getting quite knowledgeable first-hand information of what is going on. And the Secretary of State recognizes, as we've said, that the ministers are wrestling with very tough decisions. What benefit would it do of his to call him? He's got experts who can call.

9/12

344  
199  
10

Q He's a very persuasive fellow who gets engaged all the time in --

MS. TUTWILER: But he can't make a decision --

Q -- trying to get people to change their minds on the -- Capitol Hill and other areas.

MS. TUTWILER: He cannot make a decision for Israel. This is Israel's decision.

Q Margaret, I don't know if you answered this question last week. Prime Minister Shamir was quoted as saying that there would be 3,000 or 2,000 more units in East Jerusalem. Did you respond to that? If you didn't, can you -- would you like to make a comment on that?

MS. TUTWILER: I responded on Friday and it wasn't the Prime Minister, it was the Housing Minister, and I said that we respond to Israeli government proposals, not proposals and views of individual ministers.

Q You don't treat the Housing Minister's statement as a statement of the Israeli government, is that what --

MS. TUTWILER: We did this on Friday and this is not -- it's our understanding, and if you go read the record out of Israel, I think you will find the case is what I am saying it is, this is a

10/12 10 199 344

proposal by a minister. This is not an Israeli government proposal.

Q Would you like to comment on the decision of the EArabF League to transfer the Arab League to Cairo?

MS. TUTWILER: No.

Q Margaret, if we can go back to the Middle East. You just mentioned there were contacts on the working level with the Israelis. If I may ask --

MS. TUTWILER: They go on all the time.

Q Yes. Did the Israelis ask for another modification of Mr. Baker's plan before they answer?

MS. TUTWILER: It's a level of detail, as you know, we have refrained from characterizing or getting into, other than we just don't answer those types of questions on what is literally Secretary Baker's questions what are some of the specifics that are being discussed. So, I don't have an answer for you.

Q (This very day?), would Mr. Baker be ready to remodify his plan or his questions?

MS. TUTWILER: That's a hypothetical, I'm not going to walk down that road.

11/12

MS. TUTWILER: In the future -- I can't answer future questions because that's just a hypothetical. I mean, if they came back with one thing, who knows? I mean, I just -- I can't answer that.

199  
344  
10

Q All right, look --

MS. TUTWILER: But this weekend, did we send something new over there? No.

Q No, no. Look, Shamir had a proposal --

MS. TUTWILER: Right.

Q -- the United States dealt with Egypt and the PLO and with Israel. It came up with a compromise. It has things in it --

MS. TUTWILER: We all signed on as the five principals.

Q -- it has things in it Israel doesn't like.

MS. TUTWILER: Right.

Q And that's probably why they didn't act, besides the President's statement. The question is: Will the Secretary remove or try to talk the Egyptians into permitting him to remove a couple of those bones that are in Israel's throat, like the East Jerusalem -- you don't want to get into the issues -- will he change any of the formulation to try to sell it to Israel?

MS. TUTWILER: He is working on the assurances, as you know, that are no surprise, the Israelis have had and the Egyptians have had. We've refrained from on the record going into what specifics those are. And I just can't start doing that today.

Q Are they subject to change?

MS. TUTWILER: I can't -- I would hate to be in a position to ever say anything is locked into concrete forever. I mean, you're in a negotiation.

0-03-12 21:21

12/12

Margaret, the Security Council is debating the -- on  
y,  
ish settlements in the --  
Occupied territories.

344  
199  
10

Okay, in the occupied territories. What is the American  
ich-towards the debate and the outcome of it?

MS. TUTWILER: I don't know what the outcome will be. Our  
y has not changed, and I'm sure that will be our policy on  
oday.



END





3011 2/2



The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations  
166 East 68 Street  
New York, New York 10022-2741  
212 751-4000/FAX: 212 319-4191  
Office of the President

- Sholom D. Comay**  
President
- Alfred H. Moses**  
Chair, Board of Governors
- Mimi Alperin**  
Chair, National Executive Council
- Bruce M. Romer**  
Chair, Board of Trustees
- Robert S. Jacobs**  
Chair, Executive Committee
- Walter F. Gips, Jr.**  
Treasurer
- Jack Lapin**  
Secretary
- David F. Squire**  
Associate Treasurer
- Ira Silverman**  
Executive Vice President

March 9, 1990

Honorable George Bush  
President of the  
United States  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you well know, the question of the future of Jerusalem is a complicated and deeply emotional one. It is for this reason that Dr. Henry Kissinger wisely suggested that Jerusalem be left to the end of the diplomatic process, when a climate of mutual trust had been established between Israel and its Arab neighbors. President Jimmy Carter likewise found at Camp David that it was impossible to achieve agreement between President Anwar Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin on the issue of Jerusalem. Therefore, the issue was deferred for later discussion.

It is thus not surprising that the dedicated efforts that you and Secretary of State James Baker are investing in bringing about Israeli-Palestinian talks to prepare for implementation of the Israeli election plan in the occupied territories may well founder on issues related to East Jerusalem.

While American Jews may be divided, as are the Jews of Israel as to the best approach to peace, they are virtually united on one issue. Jerusalem must continue to remain a physically united city with free access for all faiths to their respective holy places, and the acknowledged capital of the State of Israel. We believe that this is consistent with United States policy.

We are confident that once these unshakable principles are accepted, elections for a self-governing authority held, and final status talks later begun, it should not be impossible to devise a formula whereby the Palestinians will enjoy self-government under a borough system, permitting Palestinian institutions to flourish in the united city of Jerusalem. Then Jerusalem which for centuries was a center of strife, will genuinely live up to its Biblical name, 'Abode of Peace.'

Sincerely,

*Sholom D. Comay*  
Sholom D. Comay  
President

Vice Presidents

- Bernard Abrams**  
Orange County, CA
- Norman E. Alexander**  
Washington
- Mota S. Berger**  
Chicago
- Herbert B. Cohen**  
Atlanta
- Joseph R. Goldstein**  
New York
- E. Robert Goodkind**  
Washington
- David Hirschhorn**  
Baltimore
- Cathy R. Mendelson**  
Los Angeles
- Elaine Petschek**  
Washington
- Robert S. Rifkind**  
New York
- Mary Shapiro**  
Beacon

Honorary Presidents

- Morris B. Abram**
- Theodore Ellenoff**
- Howard I. Friedman**
- Arthur J. Goldberg**
- Philip E. Hoffman**
- Richard Maass**
- Elmer L. Winter**
- Maynard I. Wishner**

Honorary Vice Presidents

- Nathan Appelman**
- Morris H. Bergreen**
- Morton K. Blaustein**
- David B. Fleeman**
- Martin Gang**
- Ruth R. Goddard**
- Andrew Goodman**
- Alan C. Greenberg**
- Raymond F. Kravis**
- William Rosenwald**
- Shirley M. Szabad**
- Elise D. Waterman**

Honorary Chairs,  
National Executive Council

- Max M. Fisher**
- Sol M. Linowitz**

Honorary Chair  
Board of Governors

**Leo Nevas**

Executive Vice Presidents

- Bertram H. Gold**
- John Rawson**

12.3.90 - 1 p.m. 12/11/90 250 p.m. 1/3/91



- סודי -

תש"ן 1990  
י"ד אדר  
11 במרץ

α

60341

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

מאת : ס/מנהל מצפ"א

דף מצפ"א 61

לשבועיים המסתיימים ב- 8.3.90

התנחלויות, ירושלים וערביות לדנו

בעמדת הממשל נגד התנחלויות כפי שהובעה בדרכים שונות בעבר, חלה החרפה בשבוע האחרון.

בעדותו בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות (1/3) נשאל המזכיר על עמדתו לגבי הצעת חוק הסטן-ליידי ביחס לערביות הדיור. המזכיר אמר כי הממשל ישקול מתן ערבויות כאלה אם תתן ישראל בטחונות (ASSURANCES) שלא להקים התנחלויות חדשות ולא לעבות את הקיימות (עד כה לא יצר הממשל זיקה וגם לא התניה בין ההתנחלויות לענייני סיוע וערבויות). המזכיר עוד הוסיף כי יש לשקול את הבעיה שהכסף הניתן לישראל מאפשר לישראל להקצות ממשאביה לתחומים אחרים (FUNGIBILITY). לקראת סוף השבוע ניכר נסיון-מה לרכך את הדברים אולם עקרונית לא חזר בו המזכיר מעמדתו שהוא אכן מצפה לבטחונות מסויימים בטרם יסכים לערבויות.

ב- 3/3, בתשובה לשאלות עתונאים, הצהיר הנשיא בוש שארה"ב סבורה שאין להקים התנחלויות חדשות בגדה המערבית או בירושלים המזרחית. בעקבות פעילות נציגינו בארה"ב מיהר הבית הלבן לרכך את הרושם הקשה של הדברים בהוציאו הודעה לעתונות (לאחר שיחת טלפון שקיים יו"ר ועידת הנשיאים, סימור רייך, עם הנשיא בוש). בהודעה נאמר כי מדיניות ארה"ב כלפי ירושלים לא השתנתה: ארה"ב תומכת בירושלים מאוחדת שמעמדה הסופי יקבע במו"מ, וזכותם של היהודים - כאחרים - להתיישב בה. מדיווחו של רייך עולה שהנשיא הודה שקשירת ירושלים ויו"ש במשפט אחד היתה אכן UNFORTUNATE.





- 2 -

עליה/טיסות ישירות/תיקון ג'קסון-וואניק

- הממשל והקונגרס ממשיכים לתמוך נמרצות בהנהגת טיסות ישירות בין בריה"מ לישראל וכמובן בהגירה החופשית עצמה. השבוע שמענו בנושא התבטאויות חד-משמעיות מהנשיא בוש, סגנו דן קוייל, המזכיר בייקר, סגנו איגלברגר ועוד. המודעה לנטוס כבר החתים מעל 200 חברי הקונגרס על מכתב תקיף (נוסף) לשגריר הסובייטי בנושא. השגריר ארז נפגש לשיחה בנושאים אלה עם הבודת חברי הקונגרס היהודי והסביר ארוכות את תהליך היציאה מבריה"מ, הנסיעה ארצה והבעיות השונות הקשורות בתהליך עד הגעת העולה לישראל. מרבית הדיון נסב על ה- BACKLOG שנוצר במוסקבה וביכולתה של ישראל להלוט מספרי עליה עד גבול מסוים.

- תיקון ג'קסון-וואניק שמש נושא לדיונים השבוע בהקשר של דחיית השעייתו עד שיסכימו הסובייטים להפעיל את הטיסות הישירות, זאת לאחר שסנטור ספקטר שקל להדם חקיקה בנושא. שניים מבכירי הממשל התייחסו לנושא בזהירות רבה ומתוך כוונה שלא לשנות המצב הקיים. נציבת הסחר הרלה הילס אמרה בשימוע בועדת ה- WAYS AND MEANS בביה"נ כי יש לטפל בנושא הטיסות הישירות במו"מ בילטרלי ולא ע"י מו"מ על סחר. ארה"ב הציבה בזמנו תנאים ל- WAIVER של התיקון ואין לשנות אותו עתה או להוסיף תנאים חדשים; ככלל - אין להשור בין שני הנושאים ואין לטפל בו בהקשר מסחרי. דברים דומים אמר גם סגן המזכיר איגלברגר, בעדות בפני ועדת התקציב (6/3). הוסיף כי אין זה סביר שהסובייטים יסכימו לטיסות ישירות בגלל מהלך שכזה. בהערת סוגריים נציין כי אין ספק שבריה"מ מודאגת מההתענינות מחוקקים בפרשיה זו; דאגה זו בלטה ביותר בשיחה שנתקיימה בין הציר גרו ליועץ הסובייטי בוש', ביוזמת האחרון.

- שר ההליטה נתקבל לשיחה אצל המזכיר בייקר (28/2); הודה למר בייקר על סיוע הממשל בעניני העליה והטיסות הישירות, חזר על עמדת הממשלה בנושא אי-הפנית עולים לשטחים וחופש הבחירה במגורים. המזכיר הבטיח להמשיך ולסייע.

הדיאלוג עם אש"פ

עוזר המזכיר קלי בעדותו בפני ועדת המשנה לאירופה ולמזה"ת ייחד פרק מיוחד לדיאלוג עם אש"פ ויתכן שניתן לראות בכך "הכנה" לדו"ח שאמור הממשל להניח על שולחו הקונגרס בהתאם לתיקון מה-ליברמו. להלן הנקודות העיקריות שהעלה:

- הדיאלוג סייע להבהיר לאש"פ את הנחיצות בגישה פרקטית שתביא לתוצאות. התזוזה הנוכחית בתהליך משקפת, בחלקה, את נכונות אש"פ להמשיך בדרך זו. ארה"ב רואה בדיאלוג כלי חשוב שיחסל את הרדיקליזם הפלסטיני, כולל הטרור. שאיפתו של אש"פ להמשיך בדיאלוג יוצרת את האפשרות לתזוזה עתידית לקראת התמתנות וצעדים חיוביים. הדיאלוג חשוב גם לנסיונותינו להשפיע על מדינות ערב לצעוד לקראת השלמה עם היום ישראל - דרך עמדתו המתונה יותר של אש"פ.



- 3 -

- המזכיר בייקר בעדותו בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות אמר כי ארה"ב גורסת שאש"פ עמד ועומד במילוי ההתחייבות שנטל עצמו בג'נבה. ערפאת אינו שולט על כל הפלגים באש"פ, המעורבים מפעם לפעם בפעולות טרור, ולארה"ב לא הוצגה כל ראיה המצביעה על מעורבות ערפאת או עידוד מצידו למעשי טרור.

#### התהליך המדיני

השבוע לא השמיעו אנשי הממשל הצהרות חורגות מהמקובל, תוך שהם מצפים לתוצאות הדיונים בישראל.

המזכיר בייקר, בעדותו בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות (1/3) אמר כי המאמצים להקראת השלום הביאו להתקדמות, אך הסוף עודנו רחוק. בקרוב נדע אם יש סיכויים לרעיון כאשר כרגע המכשול לשיחות הן בעיות סדה"י לשיחות והרכב המשלחת הפלשתינאית. המזכיר גם הצהיר שברור לצדדים שישראל תשב רק עם מי שעמיו היא מוכנה לשבת ולדבר. בראיון עם כתב CNN הוסיף המזכיר כי ברור לכל שהכדור נמצא עתה במגרש הישראלי, אך אין להקבל את הרושם שכוונת ארה"ב להפעיל לחץ על ישראל.

#### סיוע חוץ

- המזכיר בייקר וסגנו איגלברגר התייחסו לנושא בסדרת שימועים על גבעת הקפיטול בשבוע האחרון. שניהם המשיכו להדגיש טיעון שמטרתו להקנות לממשל יתר גמישות בשמוש בכספי סיוע החוץ. איגלברגר אף ציין כי הממשל תומך ב"גילוח שיריונים" לכל המדינות (ולא רק לחמשת הגדולות) כך שתוצר מעין DISCRETIONARY FUND שבה יוכל הממשל "לשחק" באופן גמיש יותר. בשני הבתים נשאלו שאלות התוהות על מידת הנחיצות להגדיל את פרק הסיוע הצבאי ב-11% ולכך ענו המזכיר וגם סגנו שבמספר אזורים השינויים הם מאוד איטיים ושם מסייע הסיוע הצבאי בשמירה על היציבות. בייקר מיקד את תשובתו דווקא על מצרים וישראל ואמר שבמז"ת האיום האיזורי הוא בעייתי ותהליכי הגלסנוסט טרם הגיעו לאזור.

בסופו של דבר, נראה שהפתרון שימצא יהווה שלוב ובחירה מתוך האפשרויות הבאות או חלקן: הגדלת סיוע החוץ, יצירת "קרן מיוחדת" בשליטת הנשיא והיצוצים למדינות מסוימות.

- בהתבטאות במליאת הסנט (28/2) לאחר היוודע תוצאות הבחירות בניקרגואה התייחס דול במרירות למכתב 73 הסנטורים (וילסון-לוין). אמר כי עתה משברור שארה"ב תצטרך להושיט סיוע גם לניקרגואה דמוקרטית, מתסכל אותו לראות כיצד מספר מדינות, מהרגע שהן נכללות בתוכנית הסיוע ממשיכות להבל את כספיהן מבלי כל השר לצרכים המשתנים של ארה"ב.





- 4 -

תחנת "קול אמריקה"

ששה חברי קונגרס יהודיים שלחו לנשיא בוש מכתב בנושא. במכתבם הביעו דאגה מההשפעה האפשרית של תחנת הממסר על נדידת ציפורים ומאובדן שטחי טבע פראי לטובת שטחי אימונים של צה"ל כתוצאה מבניית התחנה. המורשים הביעו תקווה שבעיות אלה תפתרנה לפני שינקטו צעדים בלתי הפיכים למימוש הפרוייקט. המכתב נושא חתימותיהם של המורשים: מל לוי, הנרי וקסמו, ג'יימס שויאר, טוני בילינסון, טד ויס וסם גיידנסון.

שיחות ס/שה"ח בווינגטון

בשיחותיו בסנט העלה ס/שה"ח בפני בני-שיחו תהיות באשר למדיניות ארה"ב כלפי אש"פ וכוונותיה האמיתיות. יש להצטרף שארה"ב אינה פותחת במסע לשכנוע מדינות ערב לנהל מו"מ עם ישראל וככלל, תמוהה האמונה כאילו היים מעין דטרמיניזם הסטורי המוביל להקמת מדינה פלשתינאית ולהכרה באש"פ.

נתניהו סקר את השפעת הגלסנוסט וההתפתחויות באירופה על המז"ת וההשלכות על מדינות ערב. התייחס גם לנושא הטיסות הישירות וקבע כי אי-ממוש ההסכם מערער את אמינות מוסקבה ביחס להסכמים מסחריים וגורם ליצירת פער בין פתיחת שערים מחד למימוש העליה מאידך.

בשיחות עם ס/היועץ לבטחון לאומי גייטס ספר הלה שהמזכיר העלה את נושא הטיסות והאנטישמיות עם עמיתיו הסובייטים במהלך ביקורו במוסקבה. הסכים עם ס/שה"ח שיש לפעול להוצאת היהודים מבריה"מ מהר ולאפשר לכל הרוצה לצאת לעשות זאת.

ס/שה"ח הדגיש שהעדיפות הראשונה מבחינתנו היא העלייה ועלינו להדוף המתקפה הערבית בשני התחומים; העליה והקמת מדינה פלשתינאית. ריצ'ארד האס שהשתתף בשיחה ציין שניתן להשיג מטרות אלה בתנאי שארה"ב תדע לאן פניה של ישראל שכן 10% מהעליה מופנים לשטחים כולל מז' ירושלים, בה רואה ארה"ב חלק מהשטחים.

ס/שה"ח השיב שלא יעלה על הדעת לחלק את ירושלים ויש הזדמנות לתהליך שלום שיהיה מבוסס על בחירות ולא על אש"פ. ישראל זקוקה לתמיכת ארה"ב המשוחררת מלחצים שמפעיל ארגון זה.

אשר לשת"פ האסטרטגי בין ארה"ב לישראל, גרס ס/שה"ח כי יש לרענן התפיסות הקודמות שכן צפויים לחצים לצמצום השת"פ בתואנה שהמתיחות הבינגושית; גייטס הסכים להערכה זו.

נושא שת"פ נדון גם בפגישת ס/השר עם רוהאן, עוזר שר ההגנה לענייני המזה"ת. רוהאן הדגיש במיוחד הדברים הבאים:

1. לארה"ב אינטרסים חיוניים במזה"ת ומכאן חשיבותה של ישראל כבעלת ברית.
2. הירידה באיום הסובייטי מעלה חשיבות הדמוקרטיה וז"א.



- 5 -

3. השנה תוגש הצעת תקציב ראשונה על רקע השינויים באירופה ויש לראות כיצד יעבור בקונגרס.
4. מברר על הרעיון לתת ביטוי פומבי לחשיבות שת"פ.

#### ועידת הנשיאים - סגן הנשיא קוויל

ועידת הנשיאים בראשות היו"ר סימור רייך נפגשה עם סגן הנשיא ב- 6 דנא.

בתחילת הפגישה הביע רייך הערכה לעמדותיו האישיות של קוויל כלפי ישראל והקהילה היהודית. ציין במיוחד את עמדתו בנושא ציונות-גזענות. הביע דאגה מהתבטאות הנשיא בקשר למזרח ירושלים וישוב העולים בה.

קוויל התערב בדבריו על ארבעה נושאים: יהדות בריה"מ (כולל התיחסות לאנטישמיות וטיסות ישירות), תהליך השלום, סיוע החוץ והחלטת ציונות גזענות. כללית, חזר סגן הנשיא על עמדות הממשל הידועות בנקודות אלה. הרא בין השאר לקהילה היהודית לתמוך בממשל לשמור על רמות גבוהות של סיוע חוץ.

בפרק השאלות והתשובות, הודה קוויל שאכן יחסי ישראל וארה"ב עברו מספר מכשולים בחודשים האחרונים אך הפציר בבני שיחו להבין כי למרות השינויים בסגנון, ממשל בוש - כממשל רייגן לפניו מחויב לבטחון ישראל ולשלומה. "אין כל שינוי בעקרונות היחסים ובמחויבות - אנו נהג דרך שונה אך נגיע לאותו מקום".

#### אתיופיה

בשימוע צוות המשימה לענייני רעב של בית הנבחרים על המצב באתיופיה נשתרבו גם שמה של ישראל. היו"ר ציר בית הנבחרים PAYNE מניו-ג'רסי בקש מן הממשל לפנות לישראל (ולבריה"מ) להפסיק סיוע צבאי לאתיופיה. בתשובה, ענה עוזר המזכיר לאפריקה הרמן כהן כי ישראל הודיעה לממשל כי מדובר בקשר מינימלי ביותר. ציין כי גם מדינות ערב מספקות נשק למורדים באריתראה.

#### קנדה

- שה"ח הקנדי שיגר מכתב הזמנה לשר ארנסט לֶבֶקֶר בקנדה ובו הוא מציין את ענינה של קנדה ותמיכתה בתהליך השלום, מדגיש את ההשרים ההדוקים בין שתי המדינות, הזוכים לקידום הן ברמה הרשמית והן הפרטית, לבסוף מבטא ציפיה שהדיאלוג שהוחל בו בניו-יורק בספטמבר '89 יימשך תוך קידום אותם נושאים על סדר היום הביילטרלי. הביקור עצמו, שהיה מתוכנן לסוף מרץ השנה נדחה בשלב זה למועד מאוחר יותר שיקבע בהמשך.



- 6 -

מדין השגרירות באוטבה עולה כי שה"ח קלארק נפגש עם ערפאת "למשך מספר דקות" עתה המתין בלוסאקה לבואו של נלסון מאנדלה מדרא"פ. קלארק הפציר בכל הנראה בערפאת להמשיך ולנהוג במתינות. הנושא הועלה בשאלות בפרלמנט בקנדה ונסקר בתקשורת הקנדית.

ב ב ר כ ה,

משה בר



חוזם: 3,8297

אלה: המשדר

יעדים: נ' 447/בטחון, 474/מצב, 1139/מנמח, 475/מ-

מ-11: ווט, 278: תח, 090390: תח, 1600: דח, 1: סג, 71

תח: גס צפא

ג: 7

בלמס/בהול לבוקו

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד, פרנ.

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם

אמן/מנמח - ר' משמרת, וובר צהל, ניו-יורק,

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון.

תרוך וובר הבית הלבן ליום : 9.3.90

CONTACT THE GOVERNMENT OF EIRAN FOR OVER A MONTH. HAS THERE BEEN ANY OTHER PHONE CALLS PLACED OR ATTEMPTS TO INITIATE DIRECT CONTACTS, OR FOR THAT MATTER INDIRECT CONTACTS, WITH THE GOVERNMENT?

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, I THINK THIS IS WHERE THE FIRST INSTANCE OF APPLYING MY NEW POLICY THAT --

Q I JUST WONDER HAVE THERE BEEN CONTACTS --

MR. FITZWATER: -- THAT WE WON'T SPECULATE. BUT ESSENTIALLY -- THE SITUATION IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS IT'S BEEN. AND YOU'LL RECALL, AGAIN, IN REVIEWING MY STATEMENTS OF A FEW DAYS AGO, THAT WE SAID THERE ARE KINDS OF INDIRECT CONTACTS THAT ARE MADE AND GO THROUGH THIRD PARTIES AND SO FORTH

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

BUT ESSENTIALLY, THE SITUATION'S UNCHANGED.

Q SO YOU WON'T SAY WHETHER OR NOT THERE WERE OTHER ATTEMPTS?

MR. FITZWATER: PATRICK? YEAH, I WON'T SAY.

Q EMIDDLE EASTF. CHANGE THE SUBJECT? THE TIMES HAS A STORY TODAY THAT SUGGESTS THAT THE PRESIDENT'S REMARK SATURDAY ABOUT EEASTF E JERUSALEM WAS INSPIRED BY HIS ANGER AT SHAMIR'S STATEMENT ABOUT A BIG ISRAEL BEING NEEDED FOR ALL THE ESOVIET JEWSF WHO ARE FLEEING, WHICH SUGGESTS THAT IT WAS A VERY DELIBERAT E KIND OF A REMARK. AND I JUST WANTED TO ASK YOU THE QUESTION AGAIN, IS THAT A CORRECT INTERPRETATION OR WAS IT A MISTAKE BY THE PRESIDENT?

MR. FITZWATER: NO, THAT'S NOT TRUE. THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENTS WERE JUST REFLECTING OUR POLICY, BUT THERE IS NO SPECIAL MOTIVATION. IT WAS IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ACTUALLY.

Q WELL, THE QUESTION WAS ABOUT THE EWEST BANKF AND EGAZAF. AND IT'S HIGHLY UNUSUAL EVEN THOUGH IT WAS POLICY FOR A PRESIDENT TO SAY THE WEST BANK AND EAST JERUSALEM IN RESPONSE.

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, IT WASN'T -- THERE WAS NO SPECIAL PURPOSE OR ATTENTION THERE.

YES?

Q WILL YOU CONCEDE THAT IT IS A CHANGE FROM STATED US POLICY? WHEN DID THIS POLICY DEVELOP THAT EAST JERUSALEM FOR JEWS IS NOW CONSIDERED A PLACE WHERE SETTLEMENTS ARE?

MR. FITZWATER: IT'S ALWAYS BEEN OUR -- OUR POLICY HAS ALWAYS BEEN --

Q WHOSE POLICY? OUR MEANING WHAT?

MR. FITZWATER: THE US GOVERNMENT POLICY HAS ALWAYS BEEN --

Q WHEN WAS THAT STATED PREVIOUSLY? I MEAN, THAT'S

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

THE REASON THERE IS CONCERN, BECAUSE IT HAD NEVER BEEN STATED PREVIOUSLY THAT OUR OPPOSITION TO SETTLEMENT S INCLUDED SETTLEMENTS IN EAST JERUSALEM.

MR. FITZWATER: WE HAVE ALWAYS OPPOSED SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

Q AND SO, EAST JERUSALEM IS ONE OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES --

Q YES.

Q -- IT FOLLOWS ONTO THAT?

MR. FITZWATER: THAT'S ALWAYS BEEN OUR POLICY.

Q WHAT'S ALWAYS BEEN -- THAT EAST JERUSALEM IS PART OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES?

MR. FITZWATER: LET ME GO BACK AND GET THE RIGHT WORDS HERE. I DON'T WANT TO MAKE ANY MISTAKES. THE PRESIDENT REITERATED THAT US POLICY TOWARD JERUSALEM IS UNCHANGED. THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS A UNITED JERUSALEM WHOSE FINAL STATUS IS DETERMINED BY NEGOTIATIO NS. THE PRESIDENT ALSO MADE CLEAR US SUPPORT FOR JEWS AS WELL AS OTHERS TO LIVE THERE IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE PRESIDENT ALSO REITERATE D LONG-STANDING US POLICY THAT ALL PARTIES

AVOID UNILATERAL ACTIONS, INCLUDING SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY. THE PRESIDENT USED THE OCCASION OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH MR. REICH TO STATE HIS STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS TO ISRAEL AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL OPPOSE ANY EFFORTS DESIGNED TO FRUSTRATE THE HUMAN RIGHT. THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED HIS ADMINISTRATION'S SUPPORT FOR PROPOSED HOUSING INVESTMENT GUARANTEES PROVIDED THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL CAN WORK OUT ASSURANCES THAT SATISFY THE UNITED STATES ON SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY.

Q BUT THE CONTRADICTION -- THAT'S WHAT STATE COULDN'T RESOLVE YESTERDAY -- YOU'RE AGAINST OCCUPIED

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

TERRITORIES, BUT YOU'RE FOR A UNITED JERUSALEM. SO, UNITED UNDER WHOM, AND THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE THERE NOW, DO THEY LIVE THERE ILLEGALLY UNTIL THE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS?

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, THAT'S TO BE NEGOTIATED.

Q SO, ARE THEY ILLEGAL NOW UNTIL THE NEGOTIATIONS? IS EVERYBODY THERE ILLEGAL?

MR. FITZWATER: OUR POLICY ON OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS CLEAR. MICHAEL?

Q MARLIN, IS THERE ANY OTHER EXAMPLE THAT YOU'RE AWARE OF WHERE A PRESIDENT OR A MEMBER OF THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SPECIFICALLY SAID EAST JERUSALEM AS OPPOSED TO OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

MR. FITZWATER: LET ME -- LET ME JUST BE A LITTLE CANDID WITH YOU HERE. (LAUGHTER.) THERE ARE SOME WORDS YOU CAN'T USE IN DESCRIBING THIS POLICY AND SOME WORDS YOU CAN USE,

AND I'M GOING TO GIVE YOU --

Q SOME OF THE ONES YOU CAN'T USE.

MR. FITZWATER: THESE ARE THE WORDS YOU CAN USE, AND I'M GOING TO KEEP USING THEM.

Q OKAY, BUT DID THE PRESIDENT THEN USE SOME OF THE WORDS YOU CAN'T USE?

MR. FITZWATER: NO, LET ME GIVE IT AGAIN. THE PRESIDENT REITERATED LONG-STANDING US POLICY.

OKAY. DAVID?

Q MARLIN, IF I COULD JUST GO BACK TO THE HOSTAGES FOR ONE SECOND. THE EWEST GERMANSF --

MR. FITZWATER: I'LL COME BACK, SARAH.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

Q -- ARE AS INVOLVED WITH THIS QUESTION AS WE ARE. DO YOU

KNOW WHETHER THE PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR KOHL TALKED ABOUT IT AT CAMP DAVID -- THE HOSTAGE QUESTION?

MR. FITZWATER: RIGHT. I DON'T KNOW THAT. I DON'T. IT WAS NOT -- NOT TO MY KNOWLEDGE, IN MY DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GENERAL AND THE PRESIDENT AFTERWARDS. BUT I WAS NOT IN THAT MEETING SO I CAN'T ABSOLUTELY SAY NO.

נק

תפ: ששה, טשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכו, ממד, רם, (אמן),

בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסברה, דוץ-ים, לעמ





משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

8473

תאריך 10.03.90

וכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,8473

אל: המשרד

יעדים: נני/452, בטחון/479, מצב/1208, מומת/511  
מ-: ווש, נר: 278, תא: 090390, זח: 1600, דח: ב, סג: בל

תח: @ גס: צפא

נר: @

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד, פרן.

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם  
אמן/מומת - ר' משמרת, דובר צהל, ניו-יורק,

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון.

תדרוך דובר הבית הלבן ליום : 9.3.90

בטעות הושמטה השורה הראשונה בנר 278 מווש.

בטעות

יש לקראה כלהלן:

RAFSANJANI SAID THE U.S. HAS BEEN TRYING TO CONTACT...

וכו,

ק

לב

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, @ (אמן),  
בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסברה, דוצ-ים, לעמ

6406  
מקום שלישי בנר מ. ל. 7000000000

1000

1000

10.20.01

10.20.01  
10.20.01  
10.20.01  
10.20.01  
10.20.01  
10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01

10.20.01



נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,8155

אל: המשרד

יעדים: נני/421, בטחון/441, מצב/1103, מנמת/458  
 מ-: ווש, נר: 235, תא: 090390, זח: 1200, דח: 1, סג: 1  
 תח: & גס: צפא  
 נר: &

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד, פרן.

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם  
 אמנ/מנמת - ו' משמרת, דובר צהל, ניו-יורק,

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון.

תדרוך דובר הבית הלבן ליום : 8.3.90

חלק 1 מתוך 2.

Q MARLIN, THERE IS A SERIES, APPARENTLY, OF WHAT ARE BEING CALLED PRIVATE EBUSINESSF INITIATIVES BY AMERICAN AND EEUROPEANF BUSINESSMEN DESIGNED TO TRY TO WARM THINGS UP WITH IRAN. I'M CURIOUS -- I'M TOLD THAT THE WHITE HOUSE HAS BEEN AWARE OF THESE AND MONITORING THEM, BUT I WONDERED IF YOU CAN TELL US ANYTHING ABOUT THE DEGREE OF WHITE HOUSE INVOLVEMENT IN THESE.

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, THIS IS ONE OF THE CATEGORIES OF CONTACTS THAT I TALKED ABOUT LAST WEEK, AND THAT IS THAT THERE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN OR ATTORNEYS OR LAWYERS OR OTHERS WITH PRIVATE CONTACTS IN EIRANF WHO HAVE BEEN INTERESTED IN WORKING





FOR THE HOSTAGE RELEASE IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. SOME HAVE COME TO US. MANY HAVE NOT. YOU MAY RECALL DURING THE IRAN-CONTRA TIME -- INVESTIGATION -- THERE WERE A NUMBER OF STORIES OF BUSINESSMEN BEING CONTACTED BY MR. GHORBANIFAR, AND THAT HE WAS VERY INTERESTED IN CULTIVATING THOSE KINDS OF CONTACTS. AND THOSE KINDS OF THINGS HAVE CONTINUED ON A CONTINUING BASIS. MOST ALL OF THEM, WE HAVE ADVISED THESE -- THESE PEOPLE THAT WE APPRECIATE THEIR INTEREST AND THEIR WELL MEANING EFFORTS, BUT THAT WE GENERALLY DON'T HAVE MUCH OPTIMISM FOR THEIR SUCCESS. SO WE ALWAYS REITERATE OUR POLICY THAT WE DO NOT MAKE DEALS AND -- AND WISH THEM WELL.

Q WHAT IS THE LIFE EXPECTANCY OF THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS PLANT IN ELIBYAF? (SCATTERED LAUGHTER.)

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, WE HOPE TWO NANoseconds, BUT BEYOND THAT, IT'S HARD TO SAY.

HELEN?

Q THE AMERICAN PEOPLE GET NO SENSE THAT THIS WHITE HOUSE HAS BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THE HOSTAGES, TO MAKE ANY REAL AFFIRMATIVE MOVE. NOW DON'T SAY, WE DON'T MAKE DEALS. YOU'VE MADE DEALS ALL ALONG -- DANILOFF, IRAN-CONTRA AND SO FORTH. WHAT IS IT THAT LEADS TO THIS LONG-TIME STALEMATE, FIVE YEARS FOR A HOSTAGE?

MR. FITZWATER: I THINK THE --

Q AND YOU NEVER HAVE ANY PROGRESS REPORT, AND YOU NEVER SEE -- IT ALWAYS SEEMS TO BE BURIED.

MR. FITZWATER: I THINK THAT IN THE EXTENSIVE REMARKS THAT I MADE LAST WEEK, IT WAS QUITE CLEAR -- AT LEAST I HOPE IT WAS CLEAR -- OF THE EXTENSIVE UNITED STATES EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE HOSTAGES. AND I'D LIKE TO REPEAT A GOOD DEAL OF THAT.

AND I'D LIKE TO REPEAT A GOOD DEAL OF THAT.  
UNITED STATES EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE HOSTAGES.  
-- AT LEAST I HOPE IT WAS CLEAR -- OF THE EXTENSIVE  
REMARKS THAT I MADE LAST WEEK, IT WAS QUITE CLEAR  
MR. FITZWATER: I THINK THAT IN THE EXTENSIVE  
NEVER SEE -- IT ALWAYS SEEMS TO BE BURIED, AND YOU  
AND YOU NEVER HAVE ANY PROGRESS REPORT, AND YOU  
MR. FITZWATER: I THINK THE ---  
FIVE YEARS FOR A HOSTAGE?  
IT THAT LEADS TO THIS LONG-TIME STALEMATE,  
-- DANILOFF, IRAN-CONTRA AND SO FORTH. WHAT IS  
WE DON'T MAKE DEALS. YOU'VE MADE DEALS ALL ALONG  
MAKE ANY REAL AFFIRMATIVE MOVE. NOW DON'T SAY,  
HOUSE HAS BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THE HOSTAGES, TO  
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE GET NO SENSE THAT THIS WHITE  
HELEN?

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, WE HOPE TWO MANOSECUNDS, BUT  
BEYOND THAT, IT'S HARD TO SAY.  
AND -- AND WISH THEM WELL.  
REITERATE OUR POLICY THAT WE DO NOT MAKE DEALS  
HAVE MUCH OPTIMISM FOR THEIR SUCCESS. SO WE ALWAYS  
MEANING EFFORTS, BUT THAT WE GENERALLY DON'T  
THAT WE APPRECIATE THEIR INTEREST AND THEIR WELL  
OF THEM, WE HAVE ADVISED THESE -- THESE PEOPLE  
HAVE CONTINUED ON A CONTINUING BASIS. MOST ALL  
THOSE KINDS OF CONTACTS. AND THOSE KINDS OF THINGS  
AR, AND THAT HE WAS VERY INTERESTED IN CULTIVATING  
STORIES OF BUSINESSMEN BEING CONTACTED BY MR. GHORBANI  
-- INVESTIGATION -- THERE WERE A NUMBER OF  
YOU MAY RECALL DURING THE IRAN-CONTRA TIME  
SOME HAVE COME TO US. MANY HAVE NOT.  
FOR THE HOSTAGE RELEASE IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER.

AND THAT IS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN WORKING FOR THE HOSTAGE RELEASE ON A CONTINUAL BASIS. AND WE HAVE LISTENING POSTS AROUND THE WORLD. WE HAVE MET WITH EVERYONE WHO HAS ANY INFORMATION OR DETAILS ABOUT THE HOSTAGES. WE HAVE PURSUED EVERY LEAD. WE HAVE FOLLOWED UP EVERY POSSIBILITY FOR ANY INFORMATION OR ANY WAY TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE. AND THERE ARE NUMBERS -- LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE DEDICATED TO THIS EFFORT IN THE EDEFENSE DEPARTMENT, F THE ECIAP, THE DIA, THE WHITE HOUSE, THE ENSCF, AND THROUGHOUT THE GOVERNMENT.

SO, I WOULD HOPE THERE WOULD NEVER BE ANY QUESTION ABOUT THE UNITED STATES' COMMITMENT. PRESIDENT BUSH SPOKE ON THAT POINT QUITE ELOQUENTLY IN CALIFORNIA, THAT HE IS WILLING TO FOLLOW UP IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE. AND SO THE FACT THAT WE DO NOT HAVE THE HOSTAGES OUT IS -- SPEAKS TO THE NATURE OF THEIR TAKING, SPEAKS TO THE SITUATION IN LEBANON, THE DIFFICULTIES THERE OF LOCATING PEOPLE, AND THE LENGTHS TO WHICH THEIR KIDNAPPERS WILL GO TO PROTECT THEM.

WENDELL -- I'M SORRY, LET ME COME UP HERE TO LESLIE.

Q MARLIN, THE EORLD BANKF IS VISITING EIRANF. THEY WANT TO HAVE SOME LOANS. IF THE UNITED STATES WANTED TO, THEY COULD WEIGH IN AGAINST THESE LOANS. WHAT S THE PRESIDENT GOING TO DO ON THE WORLD BANK?

MR. FITZWATER: I HAVE NO IDEA. (TO AIDE) DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THAT, ROMAN? I'M NOT FAMILIAR WITH ANY WORLD BANK VISIT. I'LL CHECK IT OUT FOR YOU. Q IS THE ADMINISTRATION NOT DISCOURAGING ALL CONTACTS WITH IRAN THAT DON'T REALLY -- THAT AREN'T PREDICATED ON THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES?

MR. FITZWATER: WE GENERALLY GIVE ADVICE ABOUT IRAN AND HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO DEAL THERE. AND CERTAINLY, WE MAKE EVERYONE AWARE OF THE TERRORISM ASPECTS OF IT AND THE TRAVEL ADVISORIES AND ALL OF THAT, SURE. NOTHING HAS CHANGED THERE. WE'RE



AND THAT IS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN WORKING FOR THE HOSTAGE RELEASE ON A CONTINUOUS BASIS. AND WE HAVE LISTENING POSTS AROUND THE WORLD. WE HAVE MET WITH EVERYONE WHO HAS ANY INFORMATION OR DETAILS ABOUT THE HOSTAGES. WE HAVE PURSUED EVERY LEAD. WE HAVE FOLLOWED UP EVERY POSSIBILITY FOR ANY INFORMATION OR ANY WAY TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE. AND THERE ARE NUMBERS -- LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE DEDICATED TO THIS EFFORT IN THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, THE CIA, THE DIA, THE WHITE HOUSE, THE EMSCF, AND THROUGHOUT THE GOVERNMENT.

SO, I WOULD HOPE THERE WOULD NEVER BE ANY QUESTION ABOUT THE UNITED STATES' COMMITMENT. PRESIDENT BUSH SPOKE ON THAT POINT QUITE ELOQUENTLY IN CALIFORNIA, THAT HE IS WILLING TO FOLLOW UP IN ANY WAY POSSIBLE. AND SO THE FACT THAT WE DO NOT HAVE THE HOSTAGES OUT IS -- SPEAKS TO THE NATURE OF THEIR TAKING, SPEAKS TO THE SITUATION IN LEBANON, THE DIFFICULTIES THERE OF LOCATING PEOPLE, AND THE LENGTHS TO WHICH THEIR KIDNAPPERS WILL GO TO PROTECT THEM.

MEMBER -- I'M SORRY, LET ME COME UP HERE TO LESLIE.

0 MARLIN, THE WORLD BANK IS VISITING IRAQ. THEY WANT TO HAVE SOME LOANS. IF THE UNITED STATES WANTED TO, THEY COULD WEIGH IN AGAINST THESE LOANS. WHAT IS THE PRESIDENT GOING TO DO ON THE WORLD BANK?

MR. FITZWATER: I HAVE NO IDEA. (TO AIDE) DO YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION ON THAT, ROMAN? I'M NOT FAMILIAR WITH ANY WORLD BANK VISIT. I'LL CHECK IT OUT FOR YOU. 0 IS THE ADMINISTRATION NOT DISCOURAGING ALL CONTACTS WITH IRAQ THAT DON'T REALLY -- THAT AREN'T PREDICATED ON THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES?

MR. FITZWATER: WE GENERALLY GIVE ADVICE ABOUT IRAQ AND HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO DEAL THERE. AND CERTAINLY, WE MAKE EVERYONE AWARE OF THE TERRORISM ASPECTS OF IT AND THE TRAVEL ADVISORIES AND ALL OF THAT, SURE. NOTHING HAS CHANGED THERE. WE'RE

NOT ENCOURAGING BUSINESS CONTACTS.

BILL?

Q BUT YOU DON'T SEEM TO BE DISCOURAGING THEM.

MR. FITZWATER: WE DO. WE LET EVERYBODY KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THE PROBLEMS ARE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF ANYBODY CAN BE HELPFUL, AS THE PRESIDENT SAYS, WE ENCOURAGE THAT, SURE.

BILL?

Q THERE WAS A WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL TALKING ABOUT THE HOSTAGES A LITTLE BIT EARLIER THIS WEEK WHO SAID THEY KNOW OUR NUMBER. I'M A LITTLE BIT CURIOUS. WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE HOSTAGES, ARE YOU DOING ANYTHING -- TO CONTINUE THAT SAME METAPHOR -- ARE YOU DOING ANYTHING TO INITIATIVE THE PHONE CALL, OR ARE YOU JUST SITTING THERE WAITING BY THE PHONE?

MR. FITZWATER: WE HAVE MADE PUBLIC -- PUBLIC STATEMENTS, PRIVATE STATEMENTS. WE HAVE CHANNELS THAT ARE OPEN, THAT ARE TRADITIONALLY OPEN AND KNOWN BY THEM AND TO THEM AND ABOUT THEM. EVERYTHING IS - THERE ARE ANY NUMBER OF OPPORTUNITIES CERTAINLY.

Q BUT I'M MEAN YOU'RE -- YOU'RE --

MR. FITZWATER: THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS YESTERDAY WERE THAT THEY WERE -- THEY WERE INTERESTED IN BETTER RELATIONS BUT UNWILLING TO NEGOTIATE OR TALK TO US. SO THERE'S NO QUESTION ABOUT THEM KNOWING WHERE WE ARE AND HOW TO GET A HOLD OF US.  
MR. FITZWATER: FROM THIS -- EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK, FROM THIS PODIUM AND A THOUSAND OTHER PLACES.

PATRICK?

Q YOUR COMMENTS YESTERDAY ABOUT THE HOSTAGES CAME

NOT ENCOURAGING BUSINESS CONTACTS.

BILL?

Q BUT YOU DON'T SEEM TO BE DISCOURAGING THEM.

MR. FITZWATER: WE DO. WE LET EVERYBODY KNOW EXACTLY WHAT THE PROBLEMS ARE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF ANYBODY CAN BE HELPFUL, AS THE PRESIDENT SAYS, WE ENCOURAGE THAT, SURE.

BILL?

Q THERE WAS A WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL TALKING ABOUT THE HOSTAGES A LITTLE BIT EARLIER THIS WEEK WHO SAID THEY KNOW OUR NUMBER, I'M A LITTLE BIT CURIOUS. WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE HOSTAGES, ARE YOU DOING ANYTHING -- TO CONTINUE THAT SAME METAPHOR -- ARE YOU DOING ANYTHING TO INITIATE THE PHONE CALL, OR ARE YOU JUST SITTING THERE WAITING BY THE PHONE?

MR. FITZWATER: WE HAVE MADE PUBLIC -- PUBLIC STATEMENTS, PRIVATE STATEMENTS. WE HAVE CHANNELS THAT ARE OPEN, THAT ARE TRADITIONALLY OPEN AND KNOWN BY THEM AND TO THEM AND ABOUT THEM. EVERYTHING IS -- THERE ARE ANY NUMBER OF OPPORTUNITIES CERTAINLY.

Q BUT I'M MEAN YOU'RE -- YOU'RE --

MR. FITZWATER: THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS YESTERDAY WERE THAT THEY WERE -- THEY WERE INTERESTED IN BETTER RELATIONS BUT UNWILLING TO NEGOTIATE OR TALK TO US. SO THERE'S NO QUESTION ABOUT THEM KNOWING WHERE WE ARE AND HOW TO GET AHEAD OF US. MR. FITZWATER: FROM THIS -- EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK, FROM THIS ROOM AND A THOUSAND OTHER PLACES.

PATRICK?

Q YOUR COMMENTS YESTERDAY ABOUT THE HOSTAGES CAME

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE ORGANIZATION WEIGHED  
IN WITH THEIR VERY NEGATIVE COMMENTS ABOUT RUBBING  
OUR --

MR. FITZWATER: YEAH.

Q ANY CHANGED ASSESSMENT AS RESULT OF THAT?

MR. FITZWATER: IT JUST SHOWS THE DIFFICULTIES  
THAT WE FACE IN THE EMIDDLE EASTF, THAT THERE  
ARE COMPETING VIEWPOINTS, ALL DIFFERENT KINDS  
OF STATEMENTS -- YOU NEVER KNOW QUITE WHAT TO  
BELIEVE. AND THAT'S WHY YOUR BOTTOM LINE IS RELEASE  
THE HOSTAGES, LET'S SEE ACTION. Q DO YOU HAVE -  
NEW SUBJECT. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THIS ECUBAF  
CUT-OFF OF ARMS TO ENICARAGUAF AND THE STATEMENTS  
COMING OUT OF THERE? AND SECONDLY, DO YOU  
HAVE ANY GUIDANCE UP THERE ON -- COMPLETELY UNRELATED  
-- EISRAEL'SF PUTTING OFF THIS DECISION ON HOW  
TO MOVE ON THE PEACE PROCESS?

עד כאן חלק ראשון.

17

תפ: שהח, טשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, מונכל, ממנוכל, בונצור, מצפא, פרנ, ר/מרכז,  
ממד, רם, (אמן), רביב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, דוצ-ים



BEFORE THE REVOLUTIONARY JUSTICE ORGANIZATION WEIGHED  
IN WITH THEIR VERY NEGATIVE COMMENTS ABOUT RUBBING  
OUR --

MR. FITZATER: YEAH.

Q ANY CHANGED ASSESSMENT AS RESULT OF THAT?

MR. FITZATER: IT JUST SHOWS THE DIFFICULTIES  
THAT WE FACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THAT THERE  
ARE COMPETING VIEWPOINTS, ALL DIFFERENT KINDS  
OF STATEMENTS -- YOU NEVER KNOW QUITE WHAT TO  
BELIEVE. AND THAT'S WHY YOUR BOTTOM LINE IS RELEASE  
THE HOSTAGES, LET'S SEE ACTION. Q DO YOU HAVE -  
NEW SUBJECT. DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THIS ESCAPE  
CUT-OFF OF ARMS TO ENICARAGUA AND THE STATEMENTS  
COMING OUT OF THERE? AND SECONDLY, DO YOU  
HAVE ANY GUIDANCE UP THERE ON -- COMPLETELY UNRELATED  
-- ISRAEL'S PUTTING OFF THIS DECISION ON HOW  
TO MOVE ON THE PEACE PROCESS?

. JAWAD DAN THE SA

27

0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212,  
0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212, 0-212,

נכנס

גלמס

חוזם: 3,8156

אל: המשך

יעדים: ני/422, בטחון/442, מצב/1104

מ-: ווש, נר: 236, תא: 090390, זח: 1200, רח: ב, סג: בל

תח: גס: צפא

ג: 11

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

תדרוך דובר הבית הלבן ליום : 8.3.90

חלק 2 מתוך 2. בהמשך לנר 235

MR. FITZWATER: ON THE ISRAEL DECISION, OBVIOUSLY WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH THIS PROBLEM FOR SOME PERIOD OF TIME. THERE HAVE BEEN STARTS AND STOPS AND DELAYS. AND WE DON'T LOOK UPON THESE KINDS OF DELAYS AS BEING PARTICULARLY GOOD OR BAD -- IT'S JUST SIMPLY SOMETHING THAT YOU LIVE WITH YOU KEEP GOING AND TRY NOT TO READ TOO MUCH INTO THEM, BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN SO MANY OF THEM. WE'LL STICK WITH THE PROCESS, AND WHETHER IT'S THIS WEEK OR NEXT WEEK OR WHENEVER, WHY, WE'LL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR THE TALKS. Q MARLIN, WAS THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT IN CALIFORNIA ON EAST JERUSALEM A MISTAKE, A GAFFE, OR WAS IT A REFLECTION OF IRRITATION WITH THE ISRAELIS ABOUT THEIR SETTLEMENT CASE?

MR. FITZWATER: NO. THE --

Q NO, WHAT? (LAUGHTER.)

MR. FITZWATER: NONE OF THE ABOVE. THE PRESIDENT

07:10:10  
 1104/128,442/1703,422 1:07:10  
 12:40,2:00,1:00:00,0:00:00,0:00:00,0:00:00  
 0:00:00  
 0:00:00

07:10:10  
 1104/128,442/1703,422 1:07:10  
 12:40,2:00,1:00:00,0:00:00,0:00:00,0:00:00

MR. FITZWATER: ON THE ISRAELI DECISION, GOV. JUSBY  
 WE HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH THIS PROBLEM FOR SOME  
 PERIOD OF TIME. THERE HAVE BEEN STAKES AND STOPS  
 AND DELAYS. AND WE DON'T LOOK UPON THESE KINDS  
 OF DELAYS AS BEING PARTICULARLY GOOD OR BAD  
 -- IT'S JUST SIMPLY SOMETHING THAT YOU LIVE WITH  
 YOU KEEP GOING AND TRY NOT TO HEAD TOO MUCH INTO  
 THEM, BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN SO MANY OF THEM.  
 WELL STICK WITH THE PROCESS, AND WHETHER IT'S  
 THIS WEEK OR NEXT WEEK OR WHENEVER, WHY, WE'LL  
 CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR THE TALKS. MARLIN, WAS  
 THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT IN CALIFORNIA ON BEARS  
 JERUSALEM A MISTAKE, A GAF, OR WAS IT A REFLECTION  
 OF IRRITATION WITH THE ISRAELIS ABOUT THEIR  
 SETTLEMENT CASE?

MR. FITZWATER: NO, THE --

Q NO, WHAT LAUGHTER.

MR. FITZWATER: NONE OF THE ABOVE. THE PRESIDENT

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ISSUED A STATEMENT, OR I ISSUED A STATEMENT ON HIS PHONE CALL TO MR. REICH THE NEXT NIGHT WHICH CLARIFIED OUR POLICY. THE PRESIDENT'S -- THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS WERE MISINTERPRETED IN SOME CORRIDORS, AND WE WANTED TO MAKE THAT INTERPRETATION WAS CORRECT.

Q WHAT IS HIS POLICY ON SETTLEMENTS IN JERUSALEM? DOES HE CONSIDER JEWS LIVING IN JERUSALEM TO BE LIVING IN SETTLEMENTS?

MR. FITZWATER: THE -- (PAUSE WHILE MR. FITZWATER SEARCHES THROUGH PAPERS) -- THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS A UNITED JERUSALEM WHOSE FINAL STATUS IS DETERMINED BY NEGOTIATIONS. THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE CLEAR US SUPPORT FOR JEWS AS WELL AS OTHERS TO LIVE THERE IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, PERIOD. THE UNITED STATES' LONGSTANDING POLICY IS THAT ALL PARTIES AVOID UNILATERAL ACTIONS, INCLUDING SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY.

Q SHE WAS RIGHT?

Q BUT HE DOES CONSIDER -- HE -- YOU ALL -- ALL YOU DID WAS REPEAT WHAT HE SAID OUT THERE, THAT EJEWSEF LIVING IN EAST JERUSALEM ARE LIVING THERE IN SETTLEMENTS.

MR. FITZWATER: THERE'S BEEN NO CHANGE IN OUR POLICY.

Q BUT THAT IS A CHANGE. I MEAN, OTHER PRESIDENTS HAVE NOT CALLED THE JEWS WHO LIVE IN EAST JERUSALEM LIVING IN SETTLEMENTS. THIS IS A CHANGE.

MR. FITZWATER: OUR POLICY IS REFLECTED IN THE WORDS I JUST GAVE YOU.

Q THAT'S A CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS POLICY.

MR. FITZWATER: NO, THAT IS THE SAME POLICY WE'VE ALWAYS HAD. WE DO NOT CONSIDER IT A CHANGE IN ANY WAY.

Q DO YOU HAVE RECENT ASSURANCES FROM EGERMANYF THAT



ISSUED A STATEMENT, OR I ISSUED A STATEMENT ON  
HIS PHONE CALL TO MR. REICH THE NEXT NIGHT WHICH  
CLARIFIED OUR POLICY. THE PRESIDENT'S -- THE PRESIDENT'S  
WORDS WERE MISINTERPRETED IN SOME CORRIDORS,  
AND HE WANTED TO MAKE THAT INTERPRETATION  
WAS CORRECT.

Q WHAT IS HIS POLICY ON SETTLEMENTS IN JERUSALEM?  
DOES HE CONSIDER JEWS LIVING IN JERUSALEM TO  
BE LIVING IN SETTLEMENTS?  
MR. FITZWATER: THE -- ERASE THAT. MR. FITZWATER:  
SEARCHED THROUGH PAPERS -- THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS  
A UNITED JERUSALEM, WHOSE FINAL STATUS IS DETERMINED  
BY NEGOTIATIONS. THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE CLEAR  
US SUPPORT FOR JEWS AS WELL AS OTHERS TO LIVE THERE  
IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. ERIC,  
THE UNITED STATES' LONGSTANDING POLICY IS THAT  
ALL PARTIES HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS, INCLUDING  
SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY.

Q SHE WAS RIGHT

Q BUT HE DOES CONSIDER -- HE -- YOU ALL -- ALL  
YOU DID WAS REPEAT WHAT HE SAID OUT THERE, THAT  
EVERYONE LIVING IN EAST JERUSALEM ARE LIVING THERE  
IN SETTLEMENTS.

MR. FITZWATER: THERE'S BEEN NO CHANGE IN OUR POLICY.  
Q BUT THAT IS A CHANGE, I MEAN, OTHER PRESIDENTS  
HAVE NOT CALLED THE JEWS WHO LIVE IN EAST JERUSALEM  
LIVING IN SETTLEMENTS. THIS IS A CHANGE.

MR. FITZWATER: OUR POLICY IS REFLECTED IN THE  
WORDS I JUST SAID YOU

Q THAT'S A CHANGE FROM PREVIOUS POLICY.

MR. FITZWATER: NO, THAT IS THE SAME POLICY WE'VE  
ALWAYS HAD. WE DO NOT CONSIDER IT A CHANGE IN ANY  
WAY.

Q DO YOU HAVE RECENT ASSIGNMENTS FROM GERHARTY THAT

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

THEY ARE NOT HELPING ELIBYAF TO MANUFACTURE ECHEMICAL ARMSF?

Q WHAT'S THE QUESTION?

MR. FITZWATER: ASSURANCES FROM GERMANY ON THE LIBYAN CHEMICAL QUESTION. THEY HAVE GIVEN US ASSURANCES IN THE PAST ABOUT LAWS TO PROHIBIT THAT. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER WE'VE HAD ANY DISCUSSIONS IN THE LAST DAY OR TWO, BUT WE HAVE HAD THEIR ASSURANCES, YES.

עד כאן.

17

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצוד, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת,  
הסברה, לעמ, דנצ-ים, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, אמן

THEY ARE NOT HELPING ELIBAY TO MANUFACTURE CHEMICAL  
ARMS?

WHAT'S THE QUESTION?

MR. FITZWATER: ARRANGES FROM GERMANY ON THE  
LIBYAN CHEMICAL QUESTION. THEY HAVE GIVEN US ARRANGES  
IN THE PAST ABOUT LAWS TO PROHIBIT THAT. I DON'T  
KNOW WHETHER WE'VE HAD ANY DISCUSSIONS IN THE LAST  
DAY OR TWO, BUT WE HAVE HAD THEIR ARRANGES, YES.

Q

A

Q: ARE YOU SAYING THAT THE ARRANGES FROM GERMANY  
ARE THE ONLY ARRANGES THAT WE HAVE?







# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

\* 7255 \* תאריך : 08.03.90 \*  
\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \*\* יוצא \* 100 ביטוי \*  
\* \*\* \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \*\* \* \* \* \* \*  
\* \*\* \* \* \* \* \*

\* חוזם: 3,7255 \*  
\* אל: ווש/262, מצב/965, מנמח/416 \*  
\* מ-: המשרד, תא: 080390, זח: 1738, דח: מ, סג: 10 \*  
\* תח: @ גס: צפא \*  
\* נר: @ \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* 60308 \*  
\* 100 ביטוי/מדי \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* 13501 \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* אל: וושינגטון לשם שטיין \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* לוב-נשק כימי \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* האם תוכל לברר ממקורותיך מה עומד מאחורי הפרסומים האחרונים \*  
\* בנושא ומה הסיבה לעיתוי הנוכחי, והאם חלו התפתחויות מיוחדות \*  
\* בנושא שגרמו לכך. \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* ס/מנהל פר'ן \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* 17 \*  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, @ (אמן), \*  
\* בנוצור, פרנ, מצפא \*  
\* \* \* \* \*



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך : 08.03.90

6609

נכנס  
\*\*  
\*\*  
\*\*  
\*\*

סודי



מ קבוצת קייסי 12 אמרין

חוזם: 3,6609

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/903

מ-: ווש, נר: 171, תא: 070390, זח: 1700, דח: ר, סג: 10

תח: ג: צפא

נד: בנפרד לבט'

סודי / רגיל

אל: מנכ"ל משהב'ט

דע: רמשי'נ ניו יורק ( בטחון העבירו נא) נציג "כרמל", כאן  
( הועבר )  
מנהל מצפ"א

מאת: עודד ערן

" חצ' "

דיק קלרק סיפר על בעיות בפומגון ואשר למימון הפרוייקט.  
לדבריו, בעקבות הקיצוצים בתקציב והסיכוי שה - ש-S.I.O. לא  
קיבל את בקשתו, התעוררה השאלה בקשר למימון  
ה"חצ'". הטענה של שוללי המימון היא, שממילא אין בכוונתה של  
ישראל ואין ביכולתה הפיננסית, גם לו רצתה בכך, להצטייד בטיל  
וכל כוונתה היא להעסיק מהנדסים. בהעדר החלטה ברורה ישראלית,  
אומר קלרק, יהיה קשה לשמור על רמת המימון.

ערן

17

תפ: שהח, טשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא







מצפ"א  
טל' 3244

- סודי -

י"א אדר  
8 במרץ 1990  
אהב 913.11

60273

הנדון: צפ"א בשבוע המסתיים ב- 8.3.90

1. התנחלויות, ירושלים וערבויות דיור

בשבוע שחלף נרשמה החמרה בעמדת ארה"ב בנושא. מאז אמר המזכיר בייקר כי הממשל יתמוך בבקשת הערבויות רק אם ישראל תספק התחייבויות שאין היא מתכוונת להקים התנחלויות חדשות בשטחים ולהרחיב את הקיימות, לא חזרו בהם דוברי הממשל השונים מעמדה (חדשה) זו. אמנם היו ניסוחים אחרים במשך השבוע אך אלה לא שינו את העמדה העקרונית. בייקר הביע דאגה במיוחד מ"גמישות השמוש" (FUNGIBILITY) בכסף הנתן לישראל. ב- 7 דנא קבע המזכיר כי ההתחייבויות הרגילות של ישראל לא להשתמש בכסף בשטחים יעזרו מאוד אך משתמע בברור שדרושות הבטחות נוספות.

לעומת זאת, מהר הנשיא בוש לרכך את הרושם הקשה שעורר עת אזכר גם את EAST JERUSALEM בקונטקסט זה בדבריו בפאלם ספירנגס, קליפורניה. לאחר שיחה עם יו"ר ועידת הנשיאים רייך, פרסם הנשיא הודעה ובה אמר כי ארה"ב ממשיכה לראות את ירושלים כעיר מאוחדת שמעמדה הסופי יקבע במו"מ. ארה"ב תומכת במגורי יהודים "ואחרים" בירושלים. בשיחה עם רייך הביע בוש צער באשר לרושם הקשה שעוררו דבריו.

2. תהליך מדיני ואש"פ

הממשל האמריקני עקב השבוע בדריכות אחר הדיונים בפורומים השונים בישראל בנושא התהליך והקפיד שלא לאמר דברים החורגים מעבר לקוי המדיניות הרגילים של מחמ"ד.

עם זאת, בנושא אש"פ ראויה לתשומת לבו עדותו של עוזר המזכיר קלי בבית הנבחרים (28/2). בעדות נרשמה התיחסות מפורטת ביותר מזה זמן רב לאש"פ ולדיאלוג:

- הדיאלוג עזר להבהיר לאש"פ מה ריאלי ומה לא בתהליך השלום. אש"פ מודע לצורך לאמץ גישות פרקטיות למצב בשטח.

- התנועה בתהליך השלום שאנו רואים עתה משקפת בין השאר גם כוונות של אש"פ להתקדם באופן ריאלי.



- 2 -

- הדיאלוג - IMPORTANT TOOL במטרה להלחם ברדיקליות ובטרור פלשתינאי.

- אש"פ דן עם ארה"ב ברצינות במושגי בחירות, תקופת מעבר ושיחות פלשתינאיות ישירות עם ישראל; שאיפתו להמשיך את הדיאלוג גרמה למתון עמדותיו.

- הדיאלוג חשוב גם בהקשר לשאיפתנו להשפיע על מדינות ערב לעבר שלום ודו-קיום עם ישראל.

המזכיר, בבית הנבחרים (ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות, 1/3) אמר במפורש כי ארה"ב מרוצה שאש"פ עמד בהתחייבותיו ואינו מעורב בפעולות טרור; אין אש"פ יכול לשלוט על כל פלגיו ופעולות טרור אינן יזומות על-ידו.

### סיוע חוץ

סגן המזכיר איגלברגר אמר בעדות בבית הנבחרים (6 דנא) כי הממשל מתכוון לבקש סך 3 בליון דול עבור סיוע חוץ לישראל. עם זאת, הדיונים בנושא הענקת יתר גמישות לנשיא ושכירת או הפחתת "השריונים" (EARMARKS) נמשכים.

### עליה/ טיסות ישירות

- שר הקליטה נפגש עם המזכיר לשיחה בנושא וקיבל תמיכתו בהגירה לישראל ובהנהגת הטיסות הישירות. השר פרץ חזר על עמדת הממשלה בנושא ישוב העולים ביש"ע והודה לבייקר על סיוע הממשל בנושא.

- הממשל והקונגרס ממשיכים לתמוך נמרצות בהנהגת טיסות ישירות בין בריה"מ לישראל. המורשה לנטוס כבר החתים מעל 200 חברי קונגרס על מכתב פניה בנושא לשגריר בריה"מ.

יש לציין כי הנחיות נתיב (ש.פרנקל) כאילו בעית הטיסות הישירות איננה בעיה למעשה וכי מי שרוצה להגיע אכן מגיע גם בלעדיהן יצרה בלבול בקרב שורות חברי קונגרס היהודים עמם נפגש השגריר ב- 6 דנא. נשאלת השאלה היכן למעשה ה- BACKLOG; מזא"ר ומצפ"א מטפלות בנושא יחד עם נתיב.

- בריה"מ מודאגת מאפשרות של דחית השעית תיקון ג'קסון-ואניק עקב אי-הפעלת הסכם הטיסות הישירות. "נתיב" מתנגדת לקשירת שני הנושאים.

### תחנת "קול אמריקה"

6 חברי קונגרס יהודים (לוי, וקסמן, שוייר, ביילינסון, וייס, גיידנסון) שלחו מכתב לנשיא בוש ובו הביעו דאגתם באשר לפגיעה אפשרית באיכות הסביבה עקב הקמת תחנת המסר של ה-VOA. בקשו התערבות הנשיא במטרה לפתור הבעיות עוד טרם תוקם התחנה. בארץ דחתה הוועדה הארצית לתכנון ובניה החלטה סופית בנושא בחודש נוסף.



יבוא מכונניות הונדה

השגריר בראון הגיש לסמנכ"ל צפ"א T.P. נוסף בנושא ובו בקש (בטון החלטי ביותר) קבלת החלטה חיובית בנושא. בדיון אצל המנכ"ל הוחלט לנסות לקיים סיבוב שיחות נוסף בדרג המקצועי עם האמריקנים בטרם הענקת הסכמתנו לרשיון יבוא.

אתיופיה

בשימוע שקיים "כוח המשימה לענייני רעב" בבית הנבחרים בקש היו"ר ציר קונגרס פיין מניו-ג'רסי מן הממשל לפנות לישראל (ולבריה"מ) להפסיק סיוע צבאי לאתיופיה. עוזר המזכיר לאפריקה כהן ציין כי ישראל הודיעה לממשל כי מדובר בקשר מינימלי ביותר; אספקת נשק קל ופחות מעשרה יועצים.

כושים עבריים

נציגותו של המורשה דיימלי (מעורב מזה שנים בנושא) בקרה השבוע בארץ. נראה שחוקותנו להתקדמות חיובית בנושא עולות על שרטון עקב מגבלות חוקיות בארה"ב ועקשות אנשי הכת בישראל. סלע המחלוקת עתה הוא ה"תעוד מחדש" של אנשי הכת במסמך אמריקני כלשהו וזאת במטרה שיוענקו להם אשרות עבודה.

קנדה

שה"ח הקנדי שיגר מכתב הזמנה לשר ארנס לבקר בקנדה ובו הוא מציין את ענינה של קנדה ותמיכתה בתהליך השלום, מדגיש את הקשרים ההדוקים בין שתי המדינות, הזוכים לקידום הן ברמה הרשמית והן הפרטית, לבסוף מבטא ציפייה שהדיאלוג שהוחל בו בניו-יורק בספטמבר 89 יימשך תוך קידום אותם נושאים על סדר היום הביילטרלי.

הביקור עצמו, שהיה מתוכנן לסוף מרץ ש.ז. נדחה בשלב זה למועד מאוחר יותר שיקבע בהמשך.

משה בר-עז



18

35

מברק יוצא

NNNN

אל:המשרד,

מ-:ווש,נר:212,תא:080390,חז:1530,דח:מ,סג:בל,

בבב

בלמס/מייד

אל : מצפ"א, ממ"ד-בינ"ל 1.

דע : הסברה.

מאת: עתונות, וושינגטון.

רצ"ב דברים שאמר ראש צוות הבית הלבן, ג'ון סוננוו, במרכז ויזנטאל במסגרת ועידת המנהיגות הלאומית ביום 6.3.90.

עתונות

0000

8 ליה סלמה 3 חוה אנהא 1 שהט אוכס 1 אצבס 1 גרם  
 9 באצלה 1 אצלה 1 רביב אצת 1 הסבחה 1 אמתן 1 אצלה 1 תפצלות  
 4 האצת 1 אצת 1 רם אצת 4 4 4

2-5 n/jyf

212

2/8

REMARKS OF WHITE HOUSE CHIEF OF STAFF JOHN SUNUNU, TO THE SIMON  
DRESSENTHAL CENTER, NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE, THE WESTIN HOTEL  
WASHINGTON, DC, TUESDAY, MARCH 6, 1990

GOV. SUNUNU: Thank you very much. Thank you. I do appreciate the chance to come and spend a little time with you. One of the last things I did before I left was touch base with General Scowcroft. He kind of smiled when I told him I was coming out. I didn't know whether that meant "better you than I" or -- (laughter) -- (with a laugh) -- in the nicest sense of that. But I am pleased to be here.

First of all, let me talk about a few items in general. I have asked Richard Haass to join me from NSC just to make sure that as we get to the issues in which both the subtleties and the nuances are critical I want to make sure that I've got somebody here who is an expert that might be able to deal with those kinds of details rather than just tell you we'll get back to you; I thought it would be just easier to get you the answers as directly as I could.

The issues that are critical in these very interesting times are still ones in which the fundamental commitment of this country remains consistent -- it is fundamentally committed to the security of the State of Israel. I think that that has been reiterated as often as is appropriate and is possible, because it is a very important part of what the President, Secretary Baker, General Scowcroft use as the starting point.

But beyond that, as these exciting times, these changes that have been talked about in Europe and the Soviet Union take place, there are other fundamentals that have to be addressed. As you remember, when the President made his State of the Union Address he pointed out that he had a concern for a lot of issues. But one of the ones he underscored was the concern about what he felt was a rising level of anti-Semitism both in this country and around the world.



That concern was raised not only the State of the Union Address, but one of the issues that the President brought forth in the discussions in Malta. He emphasized to Mr. Gorbachev that the reports that we had been getting in that respect were very disturbing to the President and the President wanted to make two points there; number one, our continued support for the principles and the reality of emigration, but the fact also that the conditions within the Soviet Union should be made such that they would recognize that there is a resource base of talented people, of intellectuals, of people who are very much the heart and soul of the strength of the Soviet Union itself, and that Mr. Gorbachev ought not to have policies that encourage anti-Semitic activities or even condone anti-Semitic activities, because that in itself was wrong in itself, but also wrong for the capacity of the Soviet Union to retain its intelligence base. Whether that made a difference or not I cannot tell you, but I can also point out to you that it was re-emphasized by Jim Baker when he met with Mr.

2/2 3/2

Schevardnadze and Mr. Gorbachev in his trips to Moscow. And in fact, the -- an associated issue, the issue that -- going back to the emigration question, the pressure was made -- it was made very clear to Mr. Gorbachev that Secretary Baker and the President are very much concerned about allowing direct flights from the Soviet Union to Israel.

We were very disappointed that that was not supported, that was not responded to in a constructive way. And I assure you that that will also be an item that the Secretary continues to press in the discussions that follow. It is a major concern -- (applause) -- it is a major concern, and it is the kind of issue that is disappointing not to get a constructive response, because frankly it is not that difficult to accommodate, and it is one of those responses that one always wonders as to whether or not that it might be indicative of further problems. But the fact is that it is an issue of primary concern, high priority, and will continue to be pressed.

Finally, if -- you don't have to read very far into the press over the last few days to discover that there are issues of concern out there. I think the President's statement yesterday, following his telephone conversation with Seymour Reich, who is the President of the Conference of Presidents of the American Jewish Organizations, was an effort to make clear the continued commitment to the President on not only the fundamental questions, but that he -- that US policy towards Jerusalem is unchanged and that the United States supports a United Jerusalem whose final status is determined by negotiations.



(3)

That has been the policy; it continues to be the policy. And whatever the nuances of discussions that might have been raised, perhaps unfortunately, in the statements that were made on a variety of other issues, do not in any way at all impact that. And I hope that as the concerns that the administration and the President have towards moving the peace process forward continue, that it is kept in mind that the plan that we are encouraging, that the efforts that we are supporting, followed from the meeting that took place almost a year ago here in Washington, as Mr. Shamir came and made his presentation to the President and asked the President and Secretary Baker to support that approach, which was based on elections. That has been the thrust of what the President and the Secretary have been doing. And we are hopeful that that formula presented by Mr. Shamir can continue to be the basic foundation that moves these issues towards a peaceful reconciliation.

Having said that, let me open this up to to questions and try and address the issues that are of most concern to you. I do apologize that I am operating on a schedule that unfortunately is a typical schedule around here, one that is tight. But we'll try and deal with as many of the issues as we can in the period of time we have.

MR. HAAS(?): Marcie (sp??)

212 4/8

GOV. SUNUNU: Oh, I'm sorry.

Q Thank you. Marcie Goldberg (sp?) from Chicago. Governor Sununu, in light of your comments to the National Association of Arab-Americans calling for, quote, "a foreign policy that is more even-handed," end of quote, I presume in regard to the Middle East, do you feel in any way that might be responsible for some of the President's comments on East Jerusalem?

GOV. SUNUNU: No, not at all. In fact, my comments were one that were also accompanied by admonitions and have continuously been accompanied by admonitions to Arab-Americans and frankly, to all supporters of -- all representatives of Arab governments that come into the White House to talk, that they must be dealing with these issues in a context of moving towards peace, and that that peace requires constructive participation in discussions and a constructive commitment to the reality that the United States policy supports Israel and supports the security of Israel. And the fact that I ask that as that whole process takes place that the climate be one of full participation, I think, is a supportive effort in trying to reach a peaceful conclusion to what is a complex and difficult issue.

Q Governor Sununu, there are reports in the media that the administration is edging towards a two-state solution. Do you foresee, and do you support a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza?

GOV. SUNUNU: No. The policy of this administration is opposed to an independent Palestinian state. It's part of the Republican platform, it's part of the President's position -- (applause) -- and I don't know of one iota of change that has taken place since he established that as the firm position of his -- of -- his firm



(4)

Q What is your position on settlement -- on settlements in the West Bank and Gaza?

GOV. SUNUNU: The President has made it very clear that the policy of the United States continues to be opposed to new settlements and the expansion of settlements. And he has made no bones about making that as a clear statement to Mr. Shamir; and he continues to have that commitment, and he recognizes it may be a point of disagreement between himself and the Prime Minister and the government of Israel, but he has not changed that position.

used in the Soviet Union, especially in Azerbaijan, and that word is extremely frightening to the Soviet Jews. This is a fear of history repeating itself.

GOV. SUNUNU: Sure. Well, let me -- let me emphasize again that it is because we have been hearing the same kind reports that the President addressed that issue rather directly in his discussions at Malta, among others, that it has been one of the major items that Secretary of State Baker has carried as the message from the President, and in the discussions that he has had with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and, in fact, continues to be one of the main issues of contention, differences that we will continue to stress in all the discussions.

There has been a tremendous streamlining in what we can control in terms of the processes associated with allowing for immigration at the embassy and in the offices in Europe that had built up a logjam over the -- in recent times. That effort to streamline continues. But the key issue is the issue of transportation. And I wish I had an answer for you as to how to have a magnificent substitute for the concerns that -- of -- the transportation concerns that have been raised. We will continue to press for the direct flights, but I don't have a better answer for you than that.

Q Thank you.

Q William Friedman (sp?) from Los Angeles. Governor, it's an issue which is not very well known, but there are about 3 [thousand] to 4,000 Jews left in Syria. And they are there for 30, 40 years. They are stuck; they don't get out. And I wonder now that the US and the Syrians have a better relationship in recent months, is there anything -- any plans to help those people to get out?

GOV. SUNUNU: I don't know of any specific efforts in that behalf. Richard, do you?

MR. HAASS: There's two issues. One is to improve the lot of those Jews who are staying in Syria; and that's something that we constantly talk about with the Syrian government. And then we try to make a special effort; for example, there's a fairly sizable number of young Jewish women who live in Syria who can't find husbands. And we try to make a special effort to see if we can't somehow facilitate the free movement of these people, who really face a terribly difficult problem. And that's something that quite regularly we speak about with the government of Syria.

9/8  
212



Q Governor, at the risk of being monotonous, the issue of Soviet Jews one more time.

GOV. SUNUNU: Sure.

Q It's not just an issue of direct flights and convenience -- if I want to stop in Boston on my way to Hawaii on a

vacation. You know, we're talking about a million people who currently want to leave. At the rate of 500 persons a day, it's going to take years to get them out. Gorbachev could be gone by then; pogroms could have happened by then. I think the Arabs have done a very successful job in lobbying Moscow not to have direct flights, not to let them out quickly. Obviously, it's against the interest.

I think we have to call upon the American government to use its pressure, not just for direct flights, but for massive emigration at a much greater pace than 500 a day. I think the American government could offer planes -- could offer transport planes, to do it themselves, to get out thousands a day, rather than getting out 500 a day, number one. Number two, the issue of aid for those who are arriving in Israel.

GOV. SUNUNU: Let me take the first one first. Again, it is because of the concern of the problem of transportation that the pressure has been made for the flights. But beyond that the President, even in his conversation yesterday with Seymour Reich, again reiterated the fact that we have been pressing governments not to oppose -- the Arab governments not to oppose the issues that are associated with emigration. So that has been part of what the President and [Secretary] Baker have been trying to do all along.

I'm sorry -- the last?

Q The issue of making the aid conditional on ---

GOV. SUNUNU: Oh, the aid linkage is not a linkage. And there's a language that I would again ask Richard to be more specific on.

MR. HAAS: We've made it clear that we're prepared to facilitate the -- not only the movement of these people, but their resettlement in Israel. Quite honestly, we want to do so in a way that's also consistent with our other major concern, which is the peace process. And what we said yesterday, and are prepared to do, is to talk with the Israeli government about whether we can come up with a mutually acceptable approach to how we can, you know, make available these housing investment guarantees in a way that the Israeli government can live with, and quite honestly, we can live with.



⑥

No one is making conditional the leaving of these people from the Soviet Union. One should not draw that kind of a connection. This administration and previous administrations have done everything possible to get these numbers as high as possible. And we're going to continue doing that. What we want to see is that when these people arrive in Israel that we not only accomplish that goal, but we don't at the same time set back the other important goal of promoting peace in the Middle East, which is also, I would say, just as much in Israel's interest.

GOV. SUNUNU: I'd add to it also that I think the success that the administration had in raising the emigration quotas, not just minimally but rather significantly, is also part of this overall

effort of understanding how critical the problem is and trying to do what can be done to fulfill our responsibilities. Let me take two more and then I apologize for having to leave.

Q Governor Sununu, J.J. Kaplan (sp?) from Los Angeles. Putting on your hat for a moment as a psychic -- (laughter) -- do you think Premier Gorbachev will be in power a year from now? I think that's something that's on the minds of a lot of people who are keeping an eye on developments in that part of the world.

GOV. SUNUNU: I don't know if I can give you an answer. We certainly hope -- the President really does feel that what Mr. Gorbachev has been able to move forward in terms of perestroika [and] glasnost has been constructive, not only for the Soviet Union but for the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and tranquility in the world. And the progress that is being made almost on a daily basis continues to move in that direction, with the very notable and very critical exception of the issue of anti-Semitism that seems to be itself thriving, unfortunately, in this climate of openness and perestroika. It is that conflict of seeing benefits, but also the same kind of openness creating this kind of terrible situation. I do think, though, that in the absence of a worldwide calamitous kind of situation where the Western European nations and the United States are not able to continue to respond constructively to the changes in Eastern Europe -- in the absence of something that we cannot foresee clearly taking place within the Soviet Union, I think at least on the terms of one year, I would say it's probably a better bet that he will be there than that he won't. And I think that's good.

Q Roger Gracen (sp?) from Baltimore. Mr. Governor, at the risk of appearing a little bit diplomatically impolite, it strikes me that at a certain level our government does tend to speak at times out of both sides of its mouth vis-a-vis standing up for a strong Israel. Our embassy is still in Tel Aviv, the \$400 million loan guarantee has -- we have not had a really forthcoming response from the administration. Foreign aid earmarks are coming under increasing pressure from the administration. And my question of substance regarding Israel is, just what does the administration really think is going to happen to the territories once the Palestinian platform really gains momentum?

7/8

2/12



(7)

GOV. SUNUNU: The important point is that it is not the administration's policy to try and predetermine what is going to happen, and that that process ought to be one in which a constructive dialogue takes place, and that one of the important things that we feel would come out of the plan, as presented by Prime Minister Shamir when he came to the President almost a year ago, was to create a climate, a process, and a discussion mode in which a solution to that issue could be developed with Israel being the principal partner in the discussions. And it is more appropriate for it to take place that way than for somehow the United States to try and predetermine or predispose where that would go.

Q: Governor Sununu, inasmuch as you did say --

GOV. SUNUNU: Yes.

Q: -- that you would accept two more --

GOV. SUNUNU: Well, since there's a man at the microphone, let me take one more as a courtesy and then vanish. (Laughs.)

Q: Thank you very much, Governor Sununu. My name is Simon Fresch (sp?) from Detroit, Michigan. I'd like to ask why the United States, in its talks with Helmut Kohl, doesn't make formal commitments to the -- to Holocaust awareness part and parcel of the reunification process, perhaps even to the extent of including representatives of survivors' groups in the negotiations over German reunification?

GOV. SUNUNU: I must tell you that the process of determining how to deal with what is happening so rapidly in Europe is one that is under constant review. The administration's position is that it is clearly a question, first of all, for the two Germanys to somehow come to an accommodation between themselves as to what they would like to do internally and in terms of structure, and then that that is an issue that ought to be resolved within -- amongst -- with the appropriate participation of the allies within ENATOF.

Now, in each and every case of the allies within NATO, it is certainly felt that the groups that you are talking about have some indirect voice. Now, whether it ought to be extended beyond that framework I suspect will be continually reviewed. But at this point, it has been decided that that mechanism is the one that is most appropriate to the situation as it exists right now. And I'm afraid that the rapidity of change that is taking place there is one in which any deviation from an existing structure would have the process bypass it and end up with a result without having had a voice in it at all.

Thank you very much.

212  
8/8





0198

Q  
4

274

SUMMARY OF MEETING  
VICE PRESIDENT DAN QUAYLE  
CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS  
MARCH 6, 1990  
PLAZA HOTEL

Seymour Reich opened the meeting with remarks to Vice President Quayle commending him for being a strong ally of Israel, from his days on the Armed Services Committee until the present, noting that he has always championed the cause of Soviet Jewry as well. Reich particularly noted Quayle's recent speech at Yeshiva University calling for repeal of the Anti-Zionism resolution in the United Nations and said that his speech at the ADL conference in Palm Beach was excellent and that the media took the remark about the status quo being unacceptable out of context.

Reich also briefly expressed concern about the President's remarks in Palm Springs this past Saturday regarding the settling of Soviet Jewish olim in the suburbs of East Jerusalem. He said that Jerusalem is not the West Bank and Gaza, that Jerusalem is one and united and that that concept is accepted by all parties here in the United States. The President's statement flies in the face of acceptance of this principle by all previous administrations. Reich repeated that Giloh and all the other suburbs are part and parcel of Jerusalem and Israel.

Reich said that the subsequent phone conversation he had with the President was reassuring and pleasing but that the statement issued later by the White House was disturbing and that the Conference is looking to the Vice President for clarification.

Vice President Quayle began by stating that he wished to reassure us that both he and the President understand the special, strategic relationship between the U.S. and Israel and that he wished to address four issues:

- 1) The Soviet Jewish immigrants
- 2) The Peace Process
- 3) Foreign Aid
- 4) Repeal of the Anti-Zionism Resolution

1) Soviet Jewish immigrants

Both the President and the Secretary of State have spoken very directly to both Gorbachev and Shevardnadze to the effect that Soviet Jewish emigration must continue, that it is supported by the United States, including the issue of direct flights. The USSR agreed to this in fact but is now yielding to pressure from Arab states. Quayle expressed alarm by rising anti-semitism in the USSR and said that it needs attention and that they have let the Soviets know that the US is disturbed by it. Quayle conveyed that Gorbachev has promised to quell anti-semitism at every possible opportunity.

2) Peace Process

Quayle began by emphasizing that the peace process in discussion is Shamir's peace process, the very same proposal for elections the Prime Minister brought last May, that it should be received with open arms and that the movement is in that direction. Achieving peace in the Middle East is in the interest of Israel and the United States. Quayle referred to a piece in today's (March 6th) Washington Post by George Schultz that proposes a kind of Jordan-Egypt- Israel



0198

274

(2)

and Palestinian umbrella or loose confederation that would work together for peace. Quayle said that he spoke to President Bush yesterday about the statement on Jerusalem, that there was no ambiguity and no change of U.S. policy with relation to Jerusalem - it is a united city whose status will be ultimately determined by negotiations.

There was, however, ambiguity about the \$400 million loan guarantees for housing for immigrants since the topic wasn't clearly addressed. Quayle said that it was apparent from his talks with Israelis that Israeli would not use those funds for West Bank and Gaza settlements. The issue of fungibility should not be used here since it is an argument that could be used in regard to foreign aid.

### 3) Foreign Aid

The United States will not change its policy of foreign aid to Israel nor is it their wish to reduce the amount. The \$3 billion has many strong supporters in Congress but it is ultimately Congress who decides how much foreign aid will be allocated. The Jewish community has to help Congress retain this. Quayle pointed to Congressman Ray McGrath who accompanied him to the meeting as an example of a staunch supporter of Israel in Congress with regard to aid and reiterated that the United States will not change its policy with regard to financial aid to Israel since it is a democracy surrounded by enemies that needs US help.

### 4) The Anti-Zionism Resolution

Quayle said that he spoke to UN Secretary General de Cueillar who told him that he (the secretary) would be comfortable with a replacement resolution. Quayle, although he'd like to see an actual repeal, feels we could pass a substitute which would do the same thing, in effect. Quayle also spoke to Saudi Ambassador Bandar asking his help on this and received an "OK, we'll see" reply. Most of the responsibility for this resolution lies with the Soviets and work has to be done on them. If Israel wants enhanced legitimacy and credibility, this type of substitute resolution would help a great deal. It would also help further the peace process. The anti-Zionism resolution is left over from the past and should be done away with and there is strong support for this in Congress too. Change is taking place all over the world, democratic elections are being called in many new regions - democracy is coming to Central America but it has always been present in Israel.

### Questions and Answers

Q - Wouldn't it help if the United States would recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and the issue could be put to rest?

A - I myself co-sponsored that legislation with Senator Moynihan in the Senate, but that is not the position of the Administration. Their policy is that the capital is Tel Aviv.

Q - Jim Baker has testified that the PLO has fulfilled the conditions that it declared when it renounced terrorism and recognized Israel's right to exist - how do you see that in light of all the terrorist activities that have taken place in the past year?



0192

Q74

(3)

A - No one is oblivious to the fact that the PLO is still involved in terrorism but the political arena renders this ambiguous. Terrorist attacks do still occur but the discussion turns to what faction committed the act or did or did not Arafat's group participate. From my view point, terror is still being perpetrated against Israel.

Q - The policy hasn't changed but the administration sends out inconsistent signals. What is consistent policy in the public forum, e.g. what is the administration's position on Senator Dole's statement? Policy may be consistent but the public perception is that it is not, and is that what we want to signal to Israel and to the Arab states?

A - Consistency connotes a resolve that people understand, unfortunately, individual incidents, such as the Sheikh Obeid event or the Dole remark or the latest flap about East Jerusalem are used by those who would like to break up that special US-Israel relationship.

There are misunderstandings - in talks between the President and Shamir, each has come away with a different perception of what would happen, say, in the West Bank. This happens when things aren't addressed directly, so problems arise. For example, I was astonished when some went so far as to blame Israel for the murder of the American hostage during the Sheikh Obeid incident - not everyone in the administration agrees with me or the President on this so there was a complicated misunderstanding which had to be straightened out.

Labor and Likud differences also complicate things. I understand what you are saying - there have been some difficult times.

Q - I wish that the President would be as forthright as you are here today - can you convey to the President our concerns? The perception is that the Bush administration is not the Reagan administration, there is not the same feeling that there is a friend in the White House.

A - The administrations are on equal footing, there is not a dime's worth of difference in policy or approach. Reagan and Bush have different leadership styles. Reagan left many details to Schultz and Bush gets more involved himself in the details, is very much his own secretary of state. He will call Shamir himself on something he doesn't like - this way of behaviour can make some staffs nervous. There is no change in principle or commitment - we'll take a different road but we'll end up in the same place.

Q - The "fungibility" statement by the President is disturbing. The New York Times noted that he included not only new settlements but expansion of existing settlements - can you explain what he meant?

A - The policy is that the President opposes new settlements on the West Bank and Gaza. I am very aware of the fungibility statement but I am not aware of what is meant by expansion of existing settlements.

Q - Regarding the replacement resolution for the anti-Zionism resolution - the President should officially request that at the beginning of the next UN General Debate and should try to persuade other heads of state to do likewise. Is that feasible?

A - It is feasible and supportive of our position. De Ceullar will not encourage that but he will not resist. We have to soften up the Soviets on this to be able to make real headway.

End

Betty Ehrenberg

END





38549A



In the Arab-Israeli conflict, working closely with both Israel and Egypt, we have hammered out a framework for an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue to discuss elections for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza. Elections offer a practical step that could launch the kind of negotiating process that could lead to a comprehensive peace -- one based on U.N. Security Resolutions 242 and 338, security for Israel and all states in the region, and the fulfillment of the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people. We are now working intensively on the practical details of getting this dialogue launched. If the parties are prepared to approach this process in a practical and broadminded way, we can make progress.

In Lebanon, we support the constitutionally elected Hrawi government and are working to garner support for the process of reconciliation begun in the Taif accords. In the Persian Gulf, the no war/no peace situation in the Iran-Iraq conflict serves the interests of no one. We continue to support the Secretary General's effort to fully implement U.N. resolution 598 through mediation between the parties.

154 (5) / 3

Terrorism. The Administration is committed to combatting the terrorist threat. Our policy of pressuring state sponsors of terrorism, putting terrorists on trial, and refusing to negotiate with them is central to our long-term success in this struggle. We are working with other countries -- including our European partners and the Soviet Union -- to coordinate and strengthen counter-terrorism efforts worldwide. To enhance aviation safety, we are now negotiating a multilateral treaty to tag plastic explosives. We will continue to seek ways to improve our counterterrorism efforts and protect our citizens abroad; just as we improve our procedures at home.

Our Foreign Buildings request totals \$318 million in FY 1991 budget authority. Highlights of our Foreign Buildings program request include:

- o Capital programs - \$56 million. Included in this request are funds for site acquisition and design for projects in Abidjan, Jerusalem and Tel Aviv (\$13 million), funding for ongoing projects still under construction, and security projects for other Foreign Affairs Agencies (\$13 million).





2/4

185  
2/4

REP. CARR: Well, I had not known that, and it seems to me -- you've precluded the possibility here, but it seems to me that we could use the current building for unclassified activities, and then do something which we need more secure on that available property. That might give us another option.

Anyway, you mentioned in your response to one of Mr. Regula's questions about Jackson-Vanik -- and I'm wondering to what extent that is involved in discussions between Israel and the Soviet Union over direct flights between El Al and Aeroflot. And if it is, are we able to be of help in that area?

SEC. BAKER: Well, we've tried to be of help, congressman. I raised the direct flight issue with Minister Shevardnadze when I was last in Moscow to see if we could get those direct flights going. And as I've said in the past, we support -- strongly support the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. We want to do what we can to try and get those flights going again. So, we're working on that.

REP. CARR: Well, in regards to Soviet emigration to Israel, Congress is soon going to be considering a \$400 million guarantee

HEARING OF THE SUBCMTE ON COMMERCE, JUSTICE & STATE, THE JUDICIARY & RELATED AGENCIES OF THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS CMTE, SUBJECT:---FISCAL---

1991 APPROPRIATIONS CHAIRED BY: REP. NEAL SMITH (D-IA)  
3-3-7 page# 4

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7, 1990

program to help resettle a large number of those Soviet Jews emigrating to Israel. And just as Israel as provided assurances to our government over the years on a variety of fronts that none of the money will be spent outside the green line, apparently they are ready to make similar assurances in the context of the guarantee program. So my question is, given those assurance, will our State Department, will you support this humanitarian program?

SEC. BAKER: The President has expressed our support, congressman, for the proposed housing investment guarantees to help resettle Soviet Jews in Israel provided that the United States and

185  $\frac{3}{4}$

Israel are able to work out assurances that satisfy us on settlement activity. Now, with respect to the particular question you've asked me, I would have to say that that would be a very positive and important step.

4  
4  
J

REP. CARR: Well, I believe it would and, of course, we'd like to have your State Department support for that.

185  $\frac{4}{4}$



308 471

שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון  
טופס פרוק 32

קד: \_\_\_\_\_  
פתוח: \_\_\_\_\_

דחיות: מיידי

סוג: גלוי

תאריך וזמן מעור: \_\_\_\_\_

7 במרץ 1990 13:00

אל: מצפ"א

פס' פרוק: \_\_\_\_\_

הפסיד: \_\_\_\_\_

155

כאת: ק. לקונגרס

ביה"ב : עדות המזכיר בייקר בפני ועדת המשנה לתקציב מחמ"ד.

1. היום לפנה"צ העיד בייקר בפני ועדת המשנה לתקציב מחמ"ד שליד ועדת ההקצבות.
2. מהנושאים הנוגעים לנו: - ערבויות להלוואות לדיור וג'קסון-וניק.

ערבויות להלוואות לדיור

קונגרסמן CARR - בעוד זמן קצר ידון הקונגרס בערבויות להלוואות לדיור עבור יהודי ברה"מ העולים לישראל. כמו שישראל נוחנת ערבויות לכך שהסיוע שמקבלת לא יוצא מעבר לקו הירוק כך תחן ערבות כזו גם לנושא של ערבויות לדיור. האם תתמוך בזה.  
בייקר - הנשיא הביע תמיכתו בערבויות לדיור בתנאי (provided) שארה"ב וישראל יוכלו לעבד assurances לגבי Settlements activity. לגבי השאלה שלך אלי, זה יכול להיות  
.very positive and important step

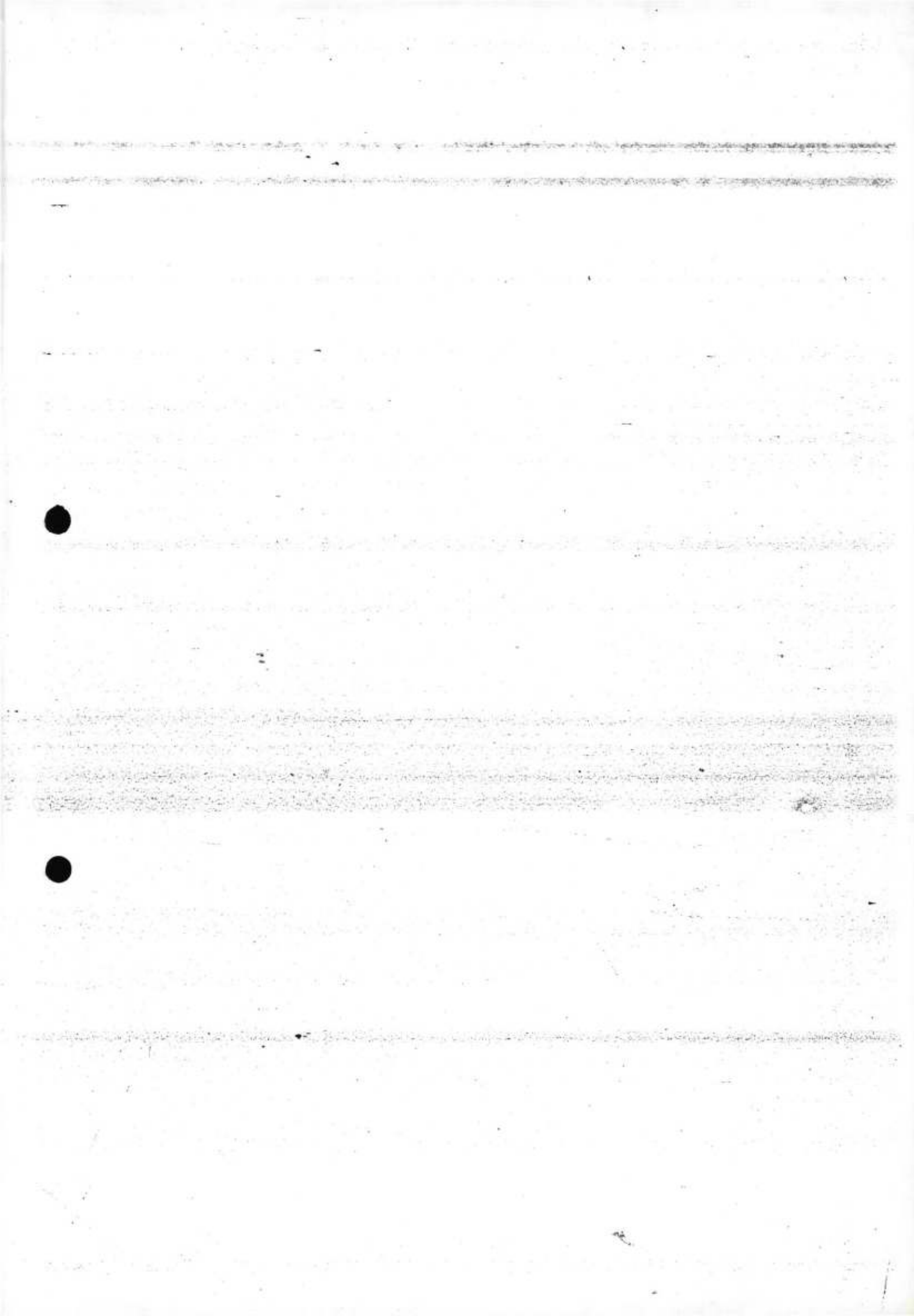
ג'קסון וניק -

קונגרסמן REGULA - בהמשך לשאלתו כיצד ניתן לסייע כלכלית למזא"ר מעבר להמיכה כספית שאל מה בדבר הצנקת MEN לברה"מ.  
בייקר - יש בהחלט לעשות זאת - יש להשעות את ג'קסון-וניק ברגע שנסיים את המו"מ על הסכמי הסחר עם הסובייטים. הם מקלים מאד על היציאה.  
קונגרסמן CARR - שאל על הקשר בין ג'קסון וניק לטיסות ישירות ואל האם ארה"ב תוכל לסייע.  
בייקר - טייענו כבר. סיפר שהעלה הנושא עם שברנדזה בביקורו באחרון במוסקבה. אנו תומכים strongly בהגירת יהודים לישראל. נמשיך לעבוד על נושא הטיסות.

ישראל ונא לא קיבלו  
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה: 36 -

1990-03-07 16:55  
1488039 02







156

2/32

STATEMENT OF  
THE HONORABLE LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER  
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE  
BEFORE THE  
HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE  
MARCH 7, 1990

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE TODAY TO DISCUSS RECENT EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THEIR EFFECT UPON THE INTERESTS AND POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES. I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM A TRIP TO HUNGARY, POLAND, AUSTRIA, AND YUGOSLAVIA IN MY CAPACITY AS COORDINATOR OF U.S. ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE. DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY JOHN ROBSON, WHO IS ONE OF THE TWO DEPUTY COORDINATORS OF U.S. ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE, WENT WITH ME TO HUNGARY, POLAND, AND AUSTRIA. WE DISCUSSED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS WITH LEADERS OF THE COUNTRIES THAT WE VISITED, AND THE WAYS IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES AND ITS FRIENDS AND ALLIES CAN HELP TO MOVE THE REFORM PROCESS FORWARD. I WOULD LIKE TO SHARE MY IMPRESSIONS WITH YOU TODAY.

I. CHANGE IN EASTERN EUROPE

AS THE PRESIDENT NOTED IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, 1989 HAS REPLACED 1945 AS THE FUNDAMENTAL REFERENCE POINT FOR EUROPEAN NATIONS AND FOR THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS. ONLY A YEAR AGO, COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS LARGELY SUBSERVIENT TO SOVIET INTERESTS RULED THROUGHOUT EASTERN EUROPE. THE CLOSED ALLIANCE SYSTEM FORMED BY THE WARSAW PACT AND THE COUNCIL FOR MUTUAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE EFFECTIVELY PRECLUDED NORMAL TIES BETWEEN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE WEST.

TODAY, THAT SYSTEM LIES IN TATTERS. POLAND'S SOLIDARITY-LED GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN JOINED BY A NON-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA LED BY PRESIDENT VACLAV HAVEL, WHO VISITED THE UNITED STATES TWO WEEKS AGO. HUNGARY PREPARES FOR FREE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ON MARCH 25. AND COMMUNIST PARTIES IN EAST GERMANY, BULGARIA, AND ROMANIA HAVE OUSTED THEIR LEADERSHIPS, REPUDIATED THEIR CLAIM TO A MONOPOLY OF POLITICAL POWER, AND AGREED TO MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS THIS SPRING AND SUMMER. FEW DOUBT THAT THESE ELECTIONS WILL RESULT IN THE END OF COMMUNISM AS THE PREEMINENT, POLITICAL FORCE IN EASTERN EUROPE.

THESE HISTORIC EVENTS VINDICATE THE STEADFAST, CONSISTENT POLICY THAT WE AND OUR ALLIES HAVE PURSUED SINCE 1945. A STRONG MILITARY ALLIANCE, THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLURALISTIC SOCIETIES BASED UPON MARKET ECONOMIES, THE RULE OF LAW, AND RESPECT FOR FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE ALL WORKED TO INSURE OUR SECURITY AND OFFER HOPE TO THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE. WE WERE CONFIDENT THAT, GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY, EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS WOULD REASSERT THEIR HISTORIC TIES TO THE WEST.

AS WE CELEBRATE THIS SUCCESS, WE FACE THE CHALLENGE OF DEVISING POLICIES THAT ADDRESS THE NEW REFERENCE POINT OF 1989. ONE AREA OF PROFOUND CONCERN IS HOW THE TRANSFORMATION OF EASTERN EUROPE RELATES TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. CALLS BY EAST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS FOR THE RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM THEIR TERRITORIES, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE ACCELERATED MOVEMENT TOWARD THE REDUCTION OF U.S. AND SOVIET FORCES IN EUROPE. RAPID MOVEMENT TOWARD GERMAN UNIFICATION HAS INTENSIFIED DISCUSSION OF WHAT SECRETARY BAKER HAS TERMED THE NEW ARCHITECTURE OF EUROPE.

OUR CONSIDERATION OF THESE CRITICAL ISSUES, HOWEVER, SHOULD NOT OBSCURE A SECOND, FUNDAMENTAL AREA OF CONCERN -- HOW TO ASSIST THE PEOPLE OF EASTERN EUROPE IN CONSOLIDATING THE REVOLUTION THEY HAVE BEGUN. WE CANNOT UNDERESTIMATE THE CHALLENGE THEY FACE IN INSTITUTIONALIZING DEMOCRACY AND

MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIES. IN POLAND, FOR EXAMPLE, COURAGEOUS ECONOMIC POLICIES EMBRACING CURRENCY AND PRICE REFORM, THE PHASING OUT OF SUBSIDIES FOR INEFFICIENT STATE ENTERPRISES, AND EFFORTS AT PRIVATIZATION HAVE LED TO TEMPORARY SURGES IN INFLATION -- NOW COMING DOWN RAPIDLY -- FOLLOWED BY UNEMPLOYMENT, DECLINING REAL WAGES, AND OTHER ECONOMIC DISLOCATIONS. BOLD REFORMS ARE PRODUCING SIMILAR PROBLEMS IN HUNGARY AND YUGOSLAVIA. EVERYWHERE IN THE REGION, THE DISMANTLING OF INEFFICIENT, OSSIFIED COMMUNIST BUREAUCRACIES IS A SLOW AND FRUSTRATING PROCESS. BUT WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THE MARKET PLACE DOES WORK FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL. THE TRANSITION CAN BE MADE AND WE WILL SEE THAT IT IS CARRIED THROUGH SUCCESSFULLY.

## II. U.S. OBJECTIVES

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR OBJECTIVES IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE? NEARLY A YEAR AGO, IN HIS SPEECH AT HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN, THE PRESIDENT STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE MOVING TOWARD THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF POLITICAL REFORM AND TOWARD ECONOMIC LIBERTY. AS SECRETARY BAKER STATED IN HIS PRAGUE SPEECH LAST MONTH, WHAT IS REQUIRED IS A "NEW DEMOCRATIC DIFFERENTIATION." THIS TERM WAS CHOSEN TO CONTRAST WITH OUR LONGSTANDING POLICY OF EXPANDING CONTACT WITH



COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY DIFFERED FROM THE SOVIET UNION. WE NOW PROPOSE A NEW POLICY STANDARD -- THAT IS, WE WILL TAILOR OUR ASSISTANCE TO THE SPECIFICS OF EACH EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRY AS IT MOVES POSITIVELY TOWARD FOUR OBJECTIVES:

FIRST, PROGRESS TOWARD POLITICAL PLURALISM, BASED ON FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS AND AN END TO THE MONOPOLY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

SECOND, PROGRESS TOWARD ECONOMIC REFORM, BASED ON THE EMERGENCE OF A MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMY WITH A SUBSTANTIAL PRIVATE SECTOR.

THIRD, ENHANCED RESPECT FOR INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO EMIGRATE, AND TO SPEAK AND TRAVEL FREELY.

AND FOURTH, A WILLINGNESS ON THE PART OF EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES TO BUILD A FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. AS THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED IN HIS HAMTRAMCK SPEECH, HOSTILE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AND TECHNOLOGY THEFT ARE NOT FRIENDLY ACTS.

### III. TYPES OF U.S. ASSISTANCE

IN PRACTICE, THE "NEW DEMOCRATIC DIFFERENTIATION" DISTINGUISHES SEVERAL LEVELS OF ASSISTANCE TO EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT NOT ALL OF OUR ASSISTANCE WILL BE CONDITIONAL. AT THE MOST BASIC LEVEL, SOME NATIONS WILL NEED SHORT-TERM EMERGENCY AID TO COPE WITH SEVERE SHORTAGES OF NECESSITIES -- SUCH AS FOOD AND MEDICINE. WE WILL BE THERE TO PROVIDE THIS HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE. THE MEDICAL SUPPLIES WE HAVE PROVIDED TO ROMANIA, AND THE FOOD RELIEF WE HAVE PROVIDED TO POLAND AND WILL BE PROVIDING TO ROMANIA ARE EXAMPLES OF THIS TYPE OF ASSISTANCE.

OVER THE MEDIUM TERM, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF STEPS WE CAN TAKE TO PROMOTE POLITICAL REFORM AND TO PROVIDE SUPPORT IN THE TRANSITION FROM BROKEN DOWN COMMAND ECONOMIES TO HEALTHY MARKET ECONOMIES. IN THE AREA OF DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES, WE ARE PROVIDING, OR SOON WILL PROVIDE, ELECTORAL ASSISTANCE TO ALL COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, DESPITE EVIDENT DIFFERENCES IN EXISTING LEVELS OF COMMITMENT TO MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY. FOR INSTANCE, THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY IS PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO CITIZENS' COMMITTEES IN POLAND IN SUPPORT OF THE LOCAL ELECTIONS SCHEDULED FOR APRIL. U.S. SUPPORT ALSO EXTENDS BEYOND ELECTIONS TO THE FORMATION OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, AID HAS FUNDED A CONTRACT WITH THE

156 8/32

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK IN ALBANY FOR A THREE-YEAR PROJECT TO PROVIDE A PERMANENT CAPABILITY TO STRENGTHEN THE HUNGARIAN LEGISLATURE. FREE SPEECH, FREE MEDIA, AND FREE POLITICAL PARTIES MUST BE GUARANTEED BY LAW, NOT SIMPLY HONORED IN RHETORIC, AND WE ARE MORE THAN WILLING TO HELP IN THESE AREAS.

IT IS ALSO CRITICAL THAT WE PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING TO PROMOTE THE TRANSITION TO MARKET-BASED ECONOMIES. INITIATIVES IN THIS AREA INCLUDE INSTRUCTION IN THE PRINCIPLES OF MARKET ECONOMICS, TRAINING IN FINANCIAL AND ACCOUNTING METHODS, AND SCHOOLING IN PRODUCTIVITY AND MANAGEMENT.

ENVIRONMENTAL ASSISTANCE IS ANOTHER IMPORTANT AREA. THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE CAN ONLY ACHIEVE SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH IF THEY SIMULTANEOUSLY ADDRESS ACCUMULATED ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS THAT, IN SEVERAL REGIONS, HAVE REACHED CRISIS PROPORTIONS. OUR PROJECT TO ESTABLISH THE REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CENTER IN BUDAPEST IS PART OF THIS EFFORT.

AS PART OF OUR MEDIUM-TERM ASSISTANCE EFFORT WE ALSO NEED TO NORMALIZE BILATERAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT RELATIONS WITH NATIONS THAT MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF U.S. LAW. INCREASED TRADE AND THE MOVEMENT OF PRIVATE CAPITAL WILL BE THE MAJOR ENGINES OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND THERE ARE A NUMBER OF INSTRUMENTS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT CAN USE TO PROMOTE TRADE

END

END

- 9 -

156

10  
37

ACCESS TO CONCESSIONAL TRADE PROGRAMS SUCH AS GSP ALSO FITS INTO THE CATEGORY OF TRANSITIONAL ECONOMIC SUPPORT. IN ADDITION, WE BELIEVE THAT INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK CAN PROVIDE IMPORTANT ASSISTANCE IN INTEGRATING EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES INTO THE WORLD ECONOMIC COMMUNITY. WE WILL SUPPORT THE EFFORTS OF THOSE COUNTRIES COMMITTED TO REFORM TO JOIN THESE INSTITUTIONS AS THEY MEET MEMBERSHIP CRITERIA.

THESE REFORMING COUNTRIES ALSO NEED ACCESS TO HIGH TECHNOLOGY. TO MEET THIS NEED, WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH OUR ALLIES IN COCOM ON THE LIBERALIZATION OF CONTROLS ON THE EXPORT OF TECHNOLOGY TO EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WE ARE SEEKING AGREEMENTS WITH OUR COCOM PARTNERS TO PROVIDE ACCESS TO SUCH TECHNOLOGY DEPENDENT UPON RECEIPT OF ADEQUATE ASSURANCES AGAINST THE ILLEGAL DIVERSION OF THAT TECHNOLOGY.

#### IV. U.S. ASSISTANCE TO DATE

U.S. ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE BEGAN LAST YEAR WITH THE ENACTMENT OF THE SUPPORT FOR EAST EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY (SEED) ACT OF 1989. WITH AN OUTRIGHT GRANT OF \$200 MILLION, THE UNITED STATES TOOK THE LEAD IN ESTABLISHING A \$1 BILLION FUND TO STABILIZE POLAND'S CURRENCY. UNDER THE SEED ACT, WE HAVE ALSO PROVIDED EMERGENCY FOOD AND MEDICAL AID TO POLAND. IN ADDITION,

END



- 10 -

156 11/32

WE HAVE PROVIDED TO BOTH POLAND AND HUNGARY ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS AND THE BUILDING OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS; LABOR MARKET AND OTHER TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE; EXPANDED EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES; ASSISTANCE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AND ENERGY PROJECTS; AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING THROUGH THE PEACE CORPS. THE SEED ACT ALSO AUTHORIZED POLISH AND HUNGARIAN ENTERPRISE FUNDS TO HELP PROVIDE NEEDED CAPITAL TO THE PRIVATE SECTORS IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

WHAT GOVERNMENT CAN DO, WE ARE DOING. SOME HAVE SAID THAT WE ARE NOT DOING ENOUGH, THAT WE SHOULD, IN PARTICULAR, BE SPENDING MORE MONEY. THERE HAVE BEEN CALLS IN THIS VEIN FOR A NEW MARSHALL PLAN FOR EASTERN EUROPE. IN RESPONDING TO SUCH CRITICISM, I WOULD SAY TWO THINGS. FIRST, WE ARE, IN FACT, DEVOTING SUBSTANTIAL RESOURCES TO EASTERN EUROPE. FIGURES CAN BE DECEIVING. IF WE USED THE SAME ACCOUNTING METHODS AS SOME OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES -- THAT IS, IF OUR FIGURES INCLUDED LOANS, CREDITS, GUARANTEES, INSURANCE, AND DEBT RESCHEDULING IN ADDITION TO ACTUAL BUDGET OUTLAYS -- OUR OVERALL ASSISTANCE LEVELS WOULD BE SECOND TO NONE.

MORE IMPORTANT IS THE FACT THAT WE ARE NOT DEALING WITH A SITUATION SIMILAR TO POST-WAR WESTERN EUROPE, WHERE WE HAD TO REBUILD A REGION THAT WAS PHYSICALLY DEVASTATED, BUT WHICH

END

STILL POSSESSED THE TECHNICAL SKILLS, PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, AND MARKET EXPERIENCE TO RECOVER QUICKLY. IN EASTERN EUROPE, WHICH IS EMERGING FROM A 45-YEAR TIME CAPSULE AND WHICH LACKS THOSE SKILLS AND INSTITUTIONS, OUR STRATEGY MUST BE DIFFERENT. WE MUST NOT TRANSFER SUBSTANTIAL SUMS, AS WESTERN BANKS DID IN THE 1970S, BEFORE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF TRULY FUNDAMENTAL MARKET-ORIENTED REFORMS. OUR PRIMARY GOAL, AT LEAST IN THE EARLY STAGES, MUST BE TO PROVIDE THE DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION-BUILDING SKILLS AND ENTREPRENEURIAL KNOW-HOW WITHOUT WHICH THE PRIVATIZATION OF THE EAST EUROPEAN ECONOMIES SIMPLY WILL NOT SUCCEED. IN SHORT, WE MUST AIM TO CREATE THE INFRASTRUCTURE OF A MARKET ECONOMY.

V. THE "EASTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKET ACT OF 1990"

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS INTRODUCED LEGISLATION THIS YEAR, UNDER THE TITLE OF THE "EASTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKET ACT OF 1990," TO ADVANCE THE OBJECTIVES AND AUGMENT THE MEASURES I HAVE JUST OUTLINED. THIS LEGISLATION SEEKS AUTHORITY TO EXTEND THE BENEFITS OF THE 1989 SEED ACT TO OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, AND YUGOSLAVIA, AS WELL AS TO AUTHORIZE \$300 MILLION DOLLARS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1991. THIS AMOUNT INCLUDES EXPENDITURES AUTHORIZED FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY UNDER THE 1989 SEED ACT, BUT WE ALSO SEEK AUTHORITY TO ADJUST THOSE EXPENDITURES AMONG DIFFERENT PROGRAMS IN ORDER TO RESPOND

- 12 -

156  
13  
32

ON SHORT NOTICE TO THE NEEDS AND REQUESTS OF THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED. THE LEGISLATION ALSO ALLOWS FOR THE PROVISION OF GSP TO EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHICH MEET THE REQUIREMENTS FOR CONCESSIONAL TARIFF TREATMENT, AS WELL AS PROVIDES AUTHORITY TO MAKE THEM ELIGIBLE FOR OPIC PROGRAMS.

A. THE NEED FOR FLEXIBILITY

IN ADDRESSING THE NEEDS OF THE REGION AS A WHOLE, THE ADMINISTRATION BILL DIFFERS FROM THE APPROACH TAKEN IN THE 1989 SEED ACT IN ONE VERY IMPORTANT, AND WE BELIEVE NECESSARY, RESPECT. IT PROVIDES MUCH NEEDED FLEXIBILITY FOR THE PRESIDENT IN ALLOCATING ASSISTANCE AMONG COUNTRIES AND AMONG SPECIFIC PROGRAMS.

I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONCERN ABOUT FLEXIBILITY IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO EASTERN EUROPE DOES NOT DERIVE FROM ANY POWER STRUGGLE WITH THE CONGRESS. WE BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT ASSISTANCE, TO BE EFFECTIVE, MUST HAVE BIPARTISAN APPROVAL AND FOLLOW THOROUGH CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES. SINCE ENACTMENT OF THE SEED ACT, HOWEVER, WE HAVE LEARNED THAT EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE CAN MOVE WITH A SPEED AND VOLATILITY IMPOSSIBLE TO ANTICIPATE, AND WE WOULD DO WELL NOT TO BE OVER-CONFIDENT OF OUR PREDICTIVE POWERS IN THE MONTHS TO COME. WE CANNOT SAY

- 13 -

156  
14  
32

WITH CERTAINTY WHETHER REFORMS IN A GIVEN COUNTRY WILL PROCEED EVENLY. WE HAVE A CLEAR INTEREST IN INCREASING ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES WHICH ARE IMPLEMENTING MAJOR REFORMS, BUT NEITHER WE NOR THEY ALWAYS KNOW IN ADVANCE WHAT PROBLEMS MAY ARISE, OR WHAT SPECIFIC NEEDS WE MAY BE CALLED ON TO MEET. MOREOVER, WE ALSO HAVE AN INTEREST IN REDUCING ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES IN WHICH REFORMS ARE NOT IMPLEMENTED AND BACKSLIDING OCCURS.

IF THERE IS ONE IMPRESSION I BRING BACK FROM MY RECENT TRAVELS AND MEETINGS IN EASTERN EUROPE, IT IS THAT THINGS ARE CHANGING VERY FAST. IN HUNGARY, FOR EXAMPLE, A NEW DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE OFFICE IN A FEW WEEKS, AND THEIR NEEDS AND PRIORITIES WILL BE DIFFERENT THAN THOSE OF THE OLD COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT. THE OPPOSITION LEADERS WE SPOKE WITH HAVE NOT YET ESTABLISHED ALL OF THEIR ECONOMIC PRIORITIES. THEY CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY WE HAVE NO FLEXIBILITY IN FISCAL YEAR 1990 TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THEIR CHANGED REQUIREMENTS. IN POLAND, THE MAZOWIECKI GOVERNMENT MADE A NUMBER OF NEW REQUESTS OF US FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS. WE ARE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO MEET THESE REQUESTS, BUT THE SEED ACT FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR THIS YEAR GIVE US NO FLEXIBILITY. IN YUGOSLAVIA, WE WERE PERSUADED THAT THE REFORM PROGRAM OF PRIME-MINISTER MARKOVIC OFFERS THE BEST HOPE OF COUNTERING GROWING NATIONALIST CHAUVINISM AND CENTRIFUGAL FORCES. WE WANT TO HELP, PARTICULARLY BY PROVIDING TRAINING

END



- 14 -

- 156

15  
32

AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIC REFORMS. BUT WE CANNOT SHIFT FUNDS AROUND DURING THIS FISCAL YEAR TO LAUNCH A PROGRAM.

WE ARE NOW ASSESSING THE NEEDS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BULGARIA, AND ROMANIA, AND CONSIDERING WHETHER U.S. ASSISTANCE CAN PROMOTE OUR OBJECTIVES OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM. THE ONLY THING I CAN PREDICT WITH CERTAINTY IS THAT WE WILL NEED TO BE ABLE TO SHIFT OUR PRIORITIES AS EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES ELECTS NEW LEADERS AND DECIDES ON NEW POLICIES.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE HAVEL GOVERNMENT TODAY WANTS HELP IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. IN A FEW MONTHS THEY MAY DECIDE THAT DE-COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE IS THEIR TOP PRIORITY, AND WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO RESPOND.

WE WILL BE PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESSES IN BULGARIA AND ROMANIA. IF THE ELECTIONS ARE SUCCESSFUL, WE WILL WANT TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF OUR AID AND USE IT AS AN INCENTIVE TO FURTHER DEMOCRATIZATION AND MARKET-ORIENTED REFORMS.

IN SHORT, WE NEED THE FLEXIBILITY TO BE ABLE TO RESPOND TO THE REQUESTS OF DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED LEADERS. AND WE ALSO NEED TO BE ABLE TO DENY ASSISTANCE IF SOME OF THE REVOLUTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE ARE DIVERTED ALONG THE WAY.

END

156

16  
32**B. THE STRATEGY FOR 1991**

IN DISCUSSING AN ASSISTANCE STRATEGY FOR 1991, WE WANT TO FOCUS OUR EFFORTS ON A FEW KEY AREAS WHERE WE CAN HAVE MAXIMUM IMPACT AND WHERE THE RECIPIENT COUNTRIES LOOK TO THE UNITED STATES FOR LEADERSHIP. WE ALSO WANT TO COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN THE GROUP OF 24, SO AS TO AVOID DUPLICATION OF EFFORTS AND TO MAXIMIZE OUR COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES IN THE ASSISTANCE FIELD. OUR TRAVELS IN EASTERN EUROPE HAVE MADE CLEAR THE NEED TO CONCENTRATE OUR BUDGETARY OUTLAYS IN FOUR GENERAL AREAS OF ASSISTANCE.

- SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, INCLUDING ASSISTANCE TO NEWLY ELECTED LEGISLATURES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT;
- TRAINING AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING SUPPORT FOR MARKET-BASED FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS;
- ASSISTANCE IN CLEANING UP THE ENVIRONMENT; AND
- TRANSITIONAL ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE CHOSEN THE COURSE OF RADICAL ECONOMIC REFORM. THIS LAST CATEGORY WOULD INCLUDE STABILIZATION AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT MEASURES AS WELL AS SUPPORT FOR PRIVATIZATION THROUGH ENTERPRISE FUNDS OR OTHER MEANS OF FACILITATING INVESTMENT IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

WITHIN THESE BROAD CATEGORIES WE NEED THE ABILITY TO CHANGE OUR PRIORITIES DEPENDING ON THE CHANGING REQUIREMENTS OF THE RECIPIENTS AND THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY THE GROUP OF 24 DONOR NATIONS. WE HAVE LED THE WAY IN ESTABLISHING THIS MULTILATERAL BODY, WHICH HAS ALREADY COORDINATED APPROXIMATELY \$13 BILLION IN GRANTS, CREDITS, GUARANTEES, AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. THE G-24 HAS NOW EXPANDED ITS ACTIVITIES TO INCLUDE ASSISTANCE TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, THE GDR, YUGOSLAVIA, BULGARIA, AND ROMANIA. THIS YEAR, HOWEVER, WE ARE NOT ABLE TO MAKE FULL USE OF THAT COORDINATING PROCESS, BECAUSE WE ARE NOT ABLE TO SHIFT FUNDS FROM ONE AREA TO ANOTHER, OR FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER.

IT IS ALSO OUR HOPE THAT THE COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE WILL JOIN IN REGIONAL GROUPINGS, AND WE WILL NEED FLEXIBILITY TO RESPOND TO AND ENCOURAGE THESE DEVELOPMENTS AS WELL. SECRETARY BAKER SAID IN HIS RECENT SPEECH IN PRAGUE THAT THE NEW DEMOCRACIES MAY DETERMINE THAT THEY CAN BETTER SUPPORT AND SUSTAIN THEIR COMMON EFFORT IF THEY DO SO IN CONCERT, PERHAPS THROUGH SOME FORM OF REGIONAL COOPERATION. PRESIDENT HAVEL AND OTHERS HAVE ALREADY OPENED A REGIONAL DIALOGUE. WE BELIEVE THAT VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ARE A NATURAL WAY FOR DEMOCRACIES TO BUILD INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY AND OVERCOME OLD ANIMOSITIES, AND WE WANT TO HAVE THE ABILITY TO SUPPORT SUCH ASSOCIATIONS AS THEY DEVELOP.

156

## VI. A REVIEW OF THE REGION

I WOULD LIKE NOW TO REVIEW SOME OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN THE REGION OVER THE PAST YEAR AND SET OUT SOME OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PLANS FOR THE COMING YEAR.

### A. POLAND

TEN YEARS AGO IN POLAND, THE LEADERS OF SOLIDARITY HELD A VISION OF FREEDOM THAT IS COMING TO FRUITION AGAINST GREAT ODDS. THE POLISH CONSTITUTION NO LONGER GUARANTEES A LEADING ROLE FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THE MAZOWIECKI GOVERNMENT MOVED UP THE DATE FOR LOCAL ELECTIONS TO EARLY MAY. THESE ELECTIONS ARE EXPECTED TO RESULT IN SWEEPING PERSONNEL CHANGES, PROMOTING THE DEMOCRATIC REFORM MOVEMENT ON THE LOCAL LEVEL AND REINFORCING THE ACTIVITY AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL.

THE UNITED STATES IS CAREFULLY MONITORING THE PROGRESS OF POLISH ECONOMIC REFORM. THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN AN AMBITIOUS PROGRAM TO TRANSFORM A COMMAND-STYLE, CENTRALLY-PLANNED ECONOMY TO ONE BASED ON MARKET PRINCIPLES. WE WERE DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY PRIME MINISTER MAZOWIECKI, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER BALCEROWICZ, AND ALL OF THE POLISH LEADERS WE MET IN WARSAW. THEIR ECONOMIC PROGRAM IS DARING, BUT THEY HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THEIR PEOPLE, WHO ARE PATIENTLY ENDURING THE



156

10  
3

PAINFUL MEDICINE OF REFORM. THE MEDICINE IS BEGINNING TO WORK. INFLATION IS FALLING FAST AND THE DEFICIT HAS BEEN BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL BY REDUCING THE STRUCTURE OF STATE SUBSIDIES. WE CAME AWAY OPTIMISTIC THAT, WITH CONTINUED WESTERN SUPPORT, THE POLISH REFORM WILL WORK.

THE SEED ACT AUTHORIZED \$813 MILLION IN ASSISTANCE FOR POLAND, \$539.5 MILLION OF WHICH WAS APPROPRIATED FOR FISCAL YEAR 1990. ANOTHER \$69 MILLION WAS AUTHORIZED JOINTLY FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY. AS I HAVE NOTED, WE HAVE ALREADY DEPOSITED \$200 MILLION IN A POLISH ACCOUNT AT THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK NEW YORK AS THE U.S. SHARE OF THE \$1 BILLION STABILIZATION FUND. THESE FUNDS WERE DISBURSED IN JANUARY. WE HAVE ALSO ALREADY SHIPPED TO POLAND A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF OUR COMMITMENT OF \$125 MILLION IN AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES, AND WILL BE SHIPPING THE BALANCE SHORTLY.

STUDY MISSIONS TO POLAND, AS WELL AS TO HUNGARY, ON TELECOMMUNICATIONS HAVE BEEN CONCLUDED; THE STUDIES ARE IN PROCESS. MONEY APPROPRIATED FOR POLAND AND HUNGARY TO DEVELOP AND STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS HAS BEEN OBLIGATED TO THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY AND SUNY ALBANY FOR A WIDE RANGE OF ELECTORAL AND OTHER INSTITUTION-BUILDING PROJECTS.

156

20  
32

WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF CONSULTING WITH CONGRESS ON THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE BOARDS OF DIRECTORS FOR THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN ENTERPRISE FUNDS. THE APPOINTMENT OF THESE BOARDS WAS DELAYED, WE REGRET TO SAY, BECAUSE OF PROBLEMS INHERENT IN OUR ETHICS RULES, WHICH REQUIRE EXTENSIVE CONSIDERATION AS TO WHETHER CONFLICT OF INTEREST SITUATIONS EXIST. WE HOPE THE CONSULTATIVE PROCESS WILL NOW MOVE FORWARD AND WE WILL BE ABLE TO GET THE ENTERPRISE FUNDS UP AND RUNNING SOON.

WE HAVE ALSO TRANSFERRED FUNDS FROM AID TO USIA FOR DEVELOPING EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL, AND SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES. PROJECT HOPE AND THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS WILL RECEIVE FUNDS BY THE END OF MARCH FOR MEDICAL SUPPLIES. WE HAVE ALSO MADE AVAILABLE \$1.5 MILLION FOR LABOR MARKET TRANSITION IN POLAND AND HUNGARY. AND THE EPA IS CURRENTLY DEVELOPING PROPOSALS FOR MONITORING CLEAN WATER AND CLEAN AIR.

B. HUNGARY

PREPARATIONS CONTINUE IN HUNGARY FOR FREE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS ON MARCH 25. THE RULING COMMUNIST PARTY DISSOLVED ITSELF LAST OCTOBER AND ITS LEGAL SUCCESSOR, THE HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST PARTY, HAS ATTRACTED FEWER THAN 100,000 MEMBERS TO DATE. PRIME MINISTER MIKLOS NEMETH IS DIRECTING HUNGARY'S CARETAKER GOVERNMENT IN THE EFFORT TO MAINTAIN THE ECONOMY

156

21  
32

UNTIL ELECTION OF THE NEXT GOVERNMENT. THERE ARE MORE THAN 50 OPPOSITION PARTIES GEARING UP FOR THE MARCH 25 ELECTIONS, MOST QUITE SMALL. NO PARTY APPEARS CLOSE TO WINNING A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY. THE HUNGARIAN DEMOCRATIC FORUM, THE FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, AND THE SMALLHOLDER PARTY ARE POTENTIALLY THE LARGEST VOTE-GETTERS.

WHEN WE WERE IN HUNGARY, WE MET WITH PRIME MINISTER NEMETH, MINISTER OF STATE POZSGAY, AND OTHER OFFICIALS RESPONSIBLE FOR ECONOMIC REFORM. WE ALSO MET WITH THE LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES WHO WILL NO DOUBT FORM A COALITION GOVERNMENT AFTER THE MARCH 25 ELECTIONS. WE CAME AWAY FROM OUR MEETINGS CONVINCED THAT THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM IS ON THE RIGHT TRACK, EVEN THOUGH IT INCLUDES HARSH MEASURES SUCH AS SLASHING THE DEFICIT BY CUTTING PRODUCER AND CONSUMER SUBSIDIES, TRIMMING DEFENSE EXPENDITURES, AND RAISING RENTS AND TAXES.

HOWEVER, THE NEW, DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE SOME TIME TO GET ITSELF ORGANIZED, AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THEY STICK TO THEIR ECONOMIC PROGRAM IN ORDER TO OBTAIN CONTINUING SUPPORT FROM THE IMF, THE WORLD BANK, AND OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE CREDITORS.

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT IS NONETHELESS CREATING A CLIMATE HOSPITABLE TO U.S. INVESTMENTS. THREE U.S. COMPANIES ALONE -- GENERAL ELECTRIC, GUARDIAN, AND GENERAL MOTORS -- PLAN TO INVEST OVER \$400 MILLION IN THE HUNGARIAN ECONOMY..

WEST GERMANY. THE TIDE OF EAST GERMANS LEAVING THE GDR FOR A NEW LIFE IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC REQUIRES THE GDR AND THE FRG -- AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE SOVIET UNION -- TO DEAL WITH THE TOPIC OF UNIFICATION SOONER RATHER THAN LATER. ELECTIONS IN THE GDR, ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED IN MAY, HAVE NOW BEEN MOVED FORWARD TO MARCH 18. GDR PRIME MINISTER HANS MODROW HAS PROMISED THAT THESE WILL BE FREE AND FAIR CONTESTS. WE WILL JOIN OTHERS IN MONITORING THEM.

CHANCELLOR KOHL, FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS WITH THE WEST, HELD TALKS WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV THE SECOND WEEKEND IN FEBRUARY. IN THOSE MEETINGS, GORBACHEV SIGNALLED MOSCOW'S WILLINGNESS TO PERMIT UNIFICATION OF THE TWO GERMANY'S. AS AGREED IN OTTAWA THE FOLLOWING WEEK, THE FRG AND GDR WILL BEGIN DIRECT TALKS ON UNIFICATION AFTER THE MARCH 18 ELECTIONS IN THE GDR. THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE SOVIET UNION WILL JOIN THE TWO GERMANIES IN BROADER DISCUSSIONS OF THE EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF UNIFICATION. THIS IS A MECHANISM FOR CONSULTATIONS, NOT DECISION-MAKING. WHILE WE HAVE SUPPORTED THE TWO-PLUS-FOUR MECHANISM, IT CANNOT BECOME AN EXCLUSIVE BODY. THE UNITED STATES WILL INSIST THAT OTHER COUNTRIES BE INVOLVED IN DECISIONS WHICH CONCERN THEIR VITAL INTERESTS.



CLEARLY, WE WILL NEED TO FIND SUITABLE WAYS IN WHICH DISCUSSIONS OF CERTAIN EXTERNAL CONCERNS CAN BE BROADENED, AS APPROPRIATE, TO INCLUDE OTHER NATO ALLIES, GERMANY'S NEIGHBORS SUCH AS POLAND, OR EVEN THE THIRTY-FIVE MEMBERS OF CSCE.

IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE EXAMINING WHETHER THE GDR WOULD QUALIFY FOR A WAIVER OF JACKSON-VANIK. WE PLAN TO MOVE FORWARD ON A TRADE AGREEMENT, PENDING GDR SETTLEMENT OF OUTSTANDING CLAIMS, INCLUDING THOSE OF U.S. CITIZENS. ONCE A TRADE AGREEMENT IS SIGNED, THE PRESIDENT COULD GRANT RENEWABLE MFN. EXCHANGE PROGRAMS WITH THE GDR HAVE ALSO BEEN EXPANDED RECENTLY.

E. BULGARIA

SECRETARY BAKER STOPPED BRIEFLY IN SOFIA IN FEBRUARY TO MAKE CLEAR THE U.S. INTEREST IN BULGARIA'S CONTINUING PROGRESS TOWARD FULL DEMOCRACY, THE RULE OF LAW, AND A MARKET-BASED ECONOMY. FREE, DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ARE SCHEDULED FOR JUNE, AND AMERICAN OBSERVERS WILL BE PRESENT.

AS WITH ALL THE REFORMING COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, WE WANT TO SEE DEMOCRATIC IDEALS INSTITUTIONALIZED. IN THIS REGARD, WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE CAMPAIGN OF FORCED ASSIMILATION AGAINST THE ETHNIC TURKISH AND BULGARIAN MUSLIM MINORITIES HAS BEEN

REPUDIATED; INDIVIDUALS WILL BE ABLE TO RECLAIM THEIR MUSLIM HERITAGE AND WORSHIP WITHOUT INTERFERENCE.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ALSO VOTED TO REMOVE THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE OF SUPREMACY FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AND NEW LAWS ON PUBLIC ASSEMBLY AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE BEING DRAFTED. ARTICLES OF THE PENAL CODE WHICH RESTRICTED FREEDOM OF SPEECH HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED. WE HAVE APPROACHED THE BULGARIANS ABOUT THEIR EMIGRATION POLICY IN ORDER TO EXPLAIN THE TERMS OF THE JACKSON-VANIK WAIVER, WHICH PERMITS MFN. THE GOVERNMENT OF BULGARIA APPEARS TO BE OBSERVING A NEW, MORE LIBERAL PASSPORT LAW AND WE ARE CLOSELY EXAMINING THEIR PERFORMANCE IN THIS AREA. WE HAVE ALSO EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN FOR CONTINUED PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES AND THE HOLDING OF FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS.

BULGARIA'S NEW LEADERSHIP HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO MOVING TOWARD A MARKET-BASED ECONOMY. NO LEGISLATIVE CHANGES HAVE YET OCCURRED, BUT REFORM OF LAND OWNERSHIP LAWS AND CURRENCY CONVERTIBILITY HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS PRIORITIES. GATT MEMBERSHIP HAS BEEN PENDING SINCE 1986, AND A WORKING GROUP AT GATT AGREED IN FEBRUARY TO EXAMINE THE APPLICATION.

BULGARIA, LIKE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION, IS A BENEFICIARY OF EXPANDED EXCHANGE PROGRAMS UNDER USIA. BULGARIA HAS SO FAR NOT REQUESTED ADDITIONAL AID.

156 25/3

F. ROMANIA

THE ROMANIAN MARCH TO REFORM WAS MARKED BY BLOODSHED WHEN THE ARMY JOINED THE POPULACE TO OVERTHROW CEAUSESCU AND HIS SECURITATE FORCES FROM POWER IN LATE DECEMBER. THE PATH HAS BEEN DIFFICULT. THE SECRETARY STOPPED IN BUCHAREST IN FEBRUARY TO REMIND ROMANIANS OF OUR INTEREST IN SEEING CONCRETE PROGRESS TOWARD THE BUILDING OF DEMOCRACY AND A MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMY.

IN RESPONSE TO ROMANIA'S URGENT NEEDS RESULTING FROM THE REVOLUTION IN DECEMBER, THE UNITED STATES SENT \$800,000 IN EMERGENCY MEDICAL ASSISTANCE. AND DURING SECRETARY BAKER'S STOP IN BUCHAREST, HE ANNOUNCED OUR OFFER OF AGRICULTURAL ASSISTANCE, INCLUDING 7,500 METRIC TONS OF BUTTER AND 500,000 METRIC TONS OF FEED GRAIN.

IF ROMANIA MAKES PROGRESS TOWARD INSTITUTIONALIZING DEMOCRATIC REFORMS, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO HAVE THE FLEXIBILITY TO RESPOND WITH ADDITIONAL RESOURCES TO ASSIST IN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION-BUILDING AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMY.

G. YUGOSLAVIA

YUGOSLAVIA'S SITUATION IS UNIQUE AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION. THE YUGOSLAVS WERE ABLE TO BREAK FROM MOSCOW IN 1948.

156 2

IN ORDER TO PROMOTE YUGOSLAVIA'S INDEPENDENCE, THE UNITED STATES FOR YEARS HAS PROVIDED THE YUGOSLAYS WITH DIRECT ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE, AND HAS SUPPORTED YUGOSLAVIA'S REQUESTS FOR FINANCING FROM MULTILATERAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. YUGOSLAVIA'S LACK OF ELIGIBILITY UNDER THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT HAS ALREADY BEEN WAIVED AND IT ENJOYS ACCESS TO ALL MULTILATERAL (IMF, IBRD, GATT) AND BILATERAL (MFN, GSP, OPIC, EXIM) MECHANISMS THAT ARE SUPPORTING REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE.

AS I POINTED OUT WHEN WE WERE IN YUGOSLAVIA A FEW DAYS AGO, THE UNITED STATES MAINTAINS A STRONG INTEREST IN THE CONTINUED INDEPENDENCE, UNITY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF YUGOSLAVIA. YUGOSLAVIA'S SIX REPUBLICS AND TWO AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES PRESENT ENORMOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC, HISTORICAL, AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY. THE RATE OF PROGRESS TOWARD DEMOCRATIC PLURALISM HAS VARIED, ALTHOUGH THE OVERALL TREND HAS BEEN POSITIVE. SLOVENIA AND CROATIA WILL HOLD MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS THIS SPRING. BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA AND MACEDONIA HAVE TAKEN IMPORTANT STEPS TOWARD FULL FREEDOM OF POLITICAL ASSOCIATION AND ALLOWANCE FOR ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL GROUPS TO PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS ON EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE COMMUNISTS. THE SERBIAN LEADERSHIP HAS VOWED NOT TO HINDER THE FORMATION OF NON-COMMUNIST POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS.



156

25  
3

TRAGICALLY, THERE HAVE BEEN DEATHS IN KOSOVO PROVINCE, WHERE POLICE AND ETHNIC ALBANIAN DEMONSTRATORS HAVE CLASHED. THE YUGOSLAV AUTHORITIES HAVE ESTABLISHED A COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE KILLING OF DEMONSTRATORS. IF TRUE, REPORTS THAT POLICE UNITS USED LETHAL FORCE INDISCRIMINATELY, WHICH RESULTED IN NUMEROUS DEATHS, WOULD CONSTITUTE SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. WE BELIEVE THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THESE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES IN YUGOSLAVIA IS AN OPEN MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE COUNTRY WHICH PROTECTS INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT OF ALL YUGOSLAVS TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS FREELY. WE STRONGLY UNDERLINED THIS POINT WHEN WE WERE IN BELGRADE.

WE ALSO WELCOME THE BOLD PROGRAM OF MARKET-BASED ECONOMIC REFORM ADVANCED BY PRIME MINISTER MARKOVIC. PRIVATE AND MIXED OWNERSHIP NOW HAVE LEGAL STATUS EQUAL TO THAT OF THE SOCIALIZED SECTOR. THE YUGOSLAV DINAR IS THE FIRST FULLY CONVERTIBLE CURRENCY IN THE REGION, AND THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN IMPORTANT MEASURES TO COPE WITH HYPER-INFLATION, INCLUDING THE LIFTING OF IMPORT CONTROLS AND PRICE CONTROLS. WHEN PRIME MINISTER MARKOVIC VISITED THE UNITED STATES IN OCTOBER 1989, SECRETARY BAKER PROPOSED A PROGRAM OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT SUPPORT TO INCLUDE TRAINING AND ADVISORY ASSISTANCE. WE ARE MOVING AHEAD WITH THIS PROJECT, AND ARE PREPARED TO ASSIST IN OTHER WAYS AS WELL.

#### H. REGIONAL INITIATIVES

THE UNITED STATES HAS ALSO RESPONDED TO THE EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE WITH SEVERAL REGIONAL INITIATIVES. AS I HAVE NOTED, WE ARE ESTABLISHING A REGIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CENTER IN BUDAPEST TO ACT AS A FOCAL POINT FOR COLLECTING INFORMATION ON AND PROVIDING SOLUTIONS TO ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS IN THE REGION. THE EC HAS ASKED TO JOIN IN THIS EFFORT, AND WE EXPECT THE CENTER TO START OPERATIONS LATER THIS YEAR.

WHEN SECRETARY BAKER WAS IN PRAGUE, HE ANNOUNCED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FUND FOR INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AND FREE PRESS TO SUPPORT THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMERCIAL AND NONPROFIT RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING AS WELL AS A FREE PRESS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. THIS FUND WILL PROVIDE LIMITED ASSISTANCE FOR ACQUISITION OF EQUIPMENT, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, TRAINING IN THE USE OF EQUIPMENT, AND DEVELOPMENT OF PROFESSIONAL BROADCAST STANDARDS.

FINALLY, AS THE NATIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE PREPARE FOR MULTI-PARTY ELECTIONS THIS SPRING, THE UNITED STATES IS ASSISTING THROUGHOUT THE REGION WITH PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO PROVIDE TRAINING IN ELECTORAL PROCESSES AND PARTY OPERATIONS, ELECTION TECHNOLOGY, CIVIC EDUCATION, AND INSTITUTIONAL PLURALISM.

## VII. CONCLUSION

THE YEAR 1989 SAW THE MOST DRAMATIC CHANGES ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II. FROM THE JUNE ELECTIONS IN POLAND, IN WHICH COMMUNIST CANDIDATES WERE SOUNDLY DEFEATED, TO THE FALL OF THE CEAUSESCU DICTATORSHIP IN LATE DECEMBER, WE HAVE WITNESSED THE STEADY MARCH OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM, AND HUMAN RIGHTS ACROSS CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION OF EASTERN EUROPE REPRESENTS THE VINDICATION NOT ONLY OF U.S. POLICY DURING THE COLD WAR, BUT ALSO OF THE COMMITMENT OF AMERICAN LIVES IN TWO WORLD WARS TOWARD THE MAKING OF A EUROPE WHICH IS PROSPEROUS, STABLE, AND FREE. SO OUR STAKE IN THE SUCCESS OF THE EAST EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS IS SUBSTANTIAL. WE ARE FACED WITH THE CHALLENGE AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO HELP ASSURE THE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STABILITY WHICH ELUDED THE REGION IN THE WAKE OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND TO CONSOLIDATE THE FREEDOM WHICH WAS DENIED TO EASTERN EUROPE AFTER WORLD WAR II.

IT IS CLEAR THAT A NEW EUROPE WILL DEMAND NEW THINKING AND NEW VISION ON OUR PART. WE HAVE LIVED FOR THE PAST FORTY-FIVE YEARS WITH A DIVIDED EUROPE AND ARE STILL INCLINED TO THINK OF EASTERN EUROPE AS A PLACE APART. BUT THOSE DAYS ARE GONE --



156 30  
3

OR GOING FAST. THE BERLIN WALL HAS COME DOWN. THE IRON CURTAIN HAS BEEN DRAWN ASIDE. WE CAN NO LONGER THINK OF EASTERN EUROPE AS A BLOC. WE MUST NOW THINK OF EACH COUNTRY IN THE REGION IN ITS OWN LIGHT, WITH ITS UNIQUE HISTORY, ASPIRATIONS, AND POTENTIAL. OUR POLICY THEREFORE DEMANDS A NEW DEMOCRATIC DIFFERENTIATION -- ONE BASED ON THE PROGRESS OF THESE COUNTRIES IN MOVING TOWARD DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES WITH MARKET-ORIENTED ECONOMIES.

WE ASK THE CONGRESS TO JOIN US IN A BIPARTISAN EFFORT TO MAKE ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE TO THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN A FLEXIBLE MANNER THAT ALLOWS US TO RESPOND TO CHANGING CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES AS THEY OCCUR IN EACH COUNTRY.





קונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בניו יורק

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

קונסוליה הכללית של ישראל

071750

0249

800 SECOND AVENUE  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

(212) 351-5200

- 12645

בל"מ"ס/רגיל  
103.20

lc

אל : מצפ"א, הסברה, יועץ תפוצות

מאת : האחראית על קשרים קהילתיים-לש' קונכ"ל  
מנהלת לשכת הקונכ"ל

פגישה עם דויד דינקינס

הבוקר נפגש הקונכ"ל עם דויד דינקינס לפגישה<sup>2</sup> נימוסים. בפגישה שהתקיימה באוירה לבבית ואוהדת נכחו גם, מצד ראש העיר, סגניו הגב' ברברה פיף ועוזרו, מר הרברט בלון ומהקונסוליה הח"מ.

מר דינקינס קיבל, לבקשתו, הסבר על תהליך הבחירות בישראל ומשמעותן מבחינת תהליך השלום. מר דינקינס ציין את הצורך בהידברות בין הצדדים זאת במסגרת האוירה הכללית של הידברות בין צדדים עוינים שקיימת היום בעולם כולו.

הקונכ"ל הדגיש את הבעיה הבטחונית החריפה בפניה ניצבת ישראל ואת יחסם של מדינות ערב כלפי העליה המגיעה כיום ארצה, עובדה המוכיחה כי הם אינם מקבלים ואינם מכירים במהותה של המדינה.

יחד עם זאת ציין הקונכ"ל את אמונתו בהתקדמות תהליך השלום, והסיכוי לחילת דיאלוג ישראלי-פלסטינאי.

בנושא דרא"פ הבהיר הקונכ"ל את עמדתנו וכמו כן הדגיש את חשונות הקיום בין ה-PLO וה-ANC.

הקונכ"ל ציין את רצוננו לקיים דיאלוג בין הקהילה השחורה לבין מדינת ישראל, עם ובלי הארגונים היהודיים. מר דינקינס הילה עניין רב בנושא זה וביקש לקדמו. נקבעה פגישה עם עוזרו לצורך קביעת תוכנית עבודה בנושא.

הקונכ"ל ביקש לברר מתי יוכל ראש העיר להענות להזמנות הרבות לבקר בארץ המופנות אליו.

מר דינקינס ציין שיש לו עניין רב בביקור בארץ אך היות והביקור יחייב אותו להעדר מנ"י למשך 10 ימים-שבועיים, הוא מחכוון לתכננו רק בעת שענייני העזרה "יחירו" זאת. דיבר על אפשרות של ביקור לקראת סוף שנת 1990.

אנחנו מודים לך מאוד

בשם מנהל הקונסוליה

בטי ארנברג  
161 אלמנטר

יהודיה כץ-כרמל

7 במרץ 1990  
1 4 5 4 1  
2



דחיות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון טופס פרוק	ק: 2
סוג:		פתוך: 2
תאריך וזמן העבור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		
186		פאת:

ברומפילד: - מעלה הצורך בשינוי שיטת השריון.

איגלברגר: - תשמע ממני רק מילה אחת "גמישות" יארד על ברכיי ואבקש גמישות".

לנטוס: - אתה חוזר על המילה גמישות וכולנו תומכים בגמישות, אך מבקשים הכרה מצד הממשל שיש מצב חדש וחלק מה- *Peace Divided* ינוצל לקידום השלום באותם איזורים. המימשל בהתעקשות עלו גמישות אומר בעצב שצריך לקחת מתכניות קיימות.

איגלברגר: - מאמין שצריך לעבוד ביחד.

גילמן: - אתה מדבר על גמישות ונראה לי שזה אומר לקחת מחברים ולתת לאחרים. מקווה שאין זו הכוונה.

איגלברגר: - בקריאה לגמישות איני מדבר על גילוח או שריון. אני רק מקווה שנמנע מלקבוע איך לחלק הכסף ונותיר גמישות בהתאם להתפתחויות.

א.ס.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה:



מדידי	דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / ווסינגטון טופס פרוק	דף:	1
בלמים	סוג:		כתוב:	2
7.3.90	תאריך וזמן העור:		אל:	מצפ"א
כס' פרוק:			דע:	מזא"ר
186	הפסד:		פאת:	ק. לקונגרס.

ביח"ב: עדות ס/מזכיר המדינה איגלברגר בוועדת החוץ

1. עדות ס/מזכיר וחלק השאלות התמקדו בהתפתחויות במזרח אירופה ודרך התגובה האמריקאית נוכח האתגר שמציבים השינויים שם. במהלך דבריו וחשובותיו שב איגלברגר ותדגיש רצון הממשל ב"גמישות" שתאפשר לו להתאים מדיניותו והמריצים שונים לקצב ההתפתחויות וההבססות הדמוקרטית במזא"ר. נמנע מלהזכיר המושג שריון.

2. לחלו עיקרי דברים בנושא ירושלים וערבויות לשיכון ושהיון.  
א. ירושלים, ערבויות לשיכון

גילמן: - הצהרה הנשיא שקשרת עליה, התנחלות, ירושלים ושאלת הערבויות. איפה אנחנו עומדים? מבקש הבחרה. איגלברגר: - הממשל נחוש בהתייחסו (Strongly support) בעליה לישראל ומעוניין לסייע לישראל בהצלחת הקליטה הנשיא ציין (בזכות ארה"ב) לסייע בתנאי שנושג בטחונות בנושא פעילות ההתנחלות, מבקשים לדעת כיצד ישתמשו בכסף כפי שעושים בשאלת הסיוע הכלכלי. נראה לממשל טבעי שלא יעשה שמוש בכסף להתייטבות העולים בשטחים. בנושא ירושלים ציין שזהו נושא רגיש לישראלים, פלשתינאים וערבים. העיר לא תחולק, צריכה להטאר מאוחדת כשמעמדה יקבע במו"מ.

ב. שריון גמישות

בעדות שקרא (הועבר בנפרד) בפני הוועדה שב וציין הצורך לעצב מדיניות שתענה על צרכי השינוי באירופה ולא תתייחס למזרח אירופה כ"בלוק", אלא כל מדינה לגופו של ענין ולגופו של השינוי (רפורמות דמוקרטיות, מצב זי"א, אוס"י היחסים עם ארה"ב).  
- בתחילתנות לקריאות לאמץ תכנית מצל חדשה, קבע שהבסיסות ב-1990 שונות מאשר לפני 40 שנה ובהכרח צריכה גם האסטרטגיה האמריקאית לסייע <sup>בזמן</sup> שונה כך שתובטח הקמת מוסדות דמוקרטיים.  
- רצון הממשל בגמישות אינו כובע ממאבק כוח עם הקונגרס, אלא מהצורך בחבנה עם הקונגרס שתאפשר לממשל יכולת תגובה חריגה להתפתחויות.

תפוצה: 36

1	1	4	4	1	1	1	1
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---



דחיות:	שגרירות ישראל / ווסינגטון	ק: 1
סוג:	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 2
תאריך וזמן מעור:		אל:
פס' פרוק:		דצ:
הפסד:		
186		כאת:

ברומפילד: - מעלה הצורך בשינוי שיטת השליוח.  
 איגלברגר: - השמע ממני רק מילה אחת "גמישות" יארד על ברכיי ואבקש גמישות".  
 לנטוס: - אחת חוזר על חמילת גמישות וכולנו תומכים בגמישות, אך מבקשים הכרה מצד הממשל  
 שיש מצב חדש וחלק מה- *See Dada* ינוצל לקידום השלום באותם איזורים. המימשל בהתעקשות  
 עלי גמישות אומר בעצב שצריך לקחת מחבניות קיימות.  
 איגלברגר: - מאמין שצריך לעבוד ביהד.  
 גילמן: - אתה מדבר על גמישות ונראה לי שזה אומר לקחת מחברים ולתת לאחרים. מקווה שאין  
 זו הכוונה.  
 איגלברגר: - בקריאה לגמישות אינני מדבר על גילוח או שליוח, אני רק מקווה שנמצא מלפוע  
 איך לחלק הכסף ובתייר גמישות בהתאם להחפתחיות.

ל.ז.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה:

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

4566

תאריך : 06.03.70

\*\* יוצא \*\*

סודי

\*\*

\*\*

\*\*

חוזם: 3,4566

אל: 152/וש, מצב/596, מנמת/252

מ-: המשרד, תא: 060390, זח: 1526, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

סודי/מיידי

וושיןגטון שגריד, ציר

ירושלים

בהמשך לשיוזת רזבינשטיין עם בראון העלתי את נושא ירושלים בשיחתנו וביקשתיו לעשות להורדת פרופיל בסוגיה במימשל ולהימנע מפרוט והרחבת עמדתם בנושא זה שיש בו רק נדי להכביד על סיכויי התהליך המדיני. הוספתי שוברי דובר הבית הלבן שנועדו 'להבהיר' עמדת הנשיא אינם מניחים את דעתנו.

הערתו בובר זכות היהודים להתיישב בירושלים בוקשר של NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT איננה מקובלת עלינו. ליהודים זכות בלתי מעוררת להתגורר בבירת ישראל על כן תוספת כנ'ל איננה מסייעת.

בראון אמר שהוא סבור שחילופי ההצהרות בנושא ירושלים מכביד והוא מקבל גישתנו שיש להוריד פרופיל. אולם הוא בדעה שהורדת הפרופיל צריכה להיות הודית.

בנצור

לש

תפ: שהח, סשהח, דהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ו/מוכז, זוט, @ (אמן), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סי יבל









דף: 1	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	דתיקות: אייבי
כתובת: 4	טופס פרוק 1/4	סוג: גלוי
אל: מצפיה		תאריך וזמן תעבור: 6 במרץ 1990 15:00
דע:		כס' פרוק: הפסד:
כאת: ק. לקונגרס		141

ביהג"ב : עדות איגלברגר בפני ועדת התקציב

- היום (6/3) לפנה"צ הופיע איגלברגר בפני הועדה. עיקר הנושאים שנדונו בחלק השאלות והתשובות היה המשאבים העומדים לרשות הממשל לצרכי סיוע למזאיר, פנמה, ניקרגואה וכן נושא השריונים והצורך במתן גמישות לממשל כדי לנהל את מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית.
- שני נושאים שמענינו הועלו בחלק השאלות והתשובות: סיוע חוץ, יהודי ברה"מ - טיסות ישירות ושטחים.

א. סיוע חוץ

קונגרסמן פנטה (יו"ר הועדה) - בהמשך לדברי הפתיחה בנושא הצעת דול ושינויים בהקצאות משאבי סיוע חוץ, האם הממשל תומך ב-re-allocation של משאבים לטובת מדינות מזאיר, איגלברגר - אנו תומכים ב"גילוח שריונים" across the board ולא רק ל-5 מדינות (כמו בהצעת דול). כך שתיווצר קרן לשמוש עבור צרכים שונים ולא רק למזאיר. הביא כדוגמה המצב הקשה בקריביים והעדר יכולת הממשל להגיש סיוע. כלומר הכספים מקרן כזו לא ילכו רק למזאיר אלא חלק מהם יועבר למדינות כג'מיקה ודומיניקנה. אם תוקם קרן כזו, הממשל יתייעץ עם הקונגרס בפרוטרוט כיצד לנצל הקרן. לא יעשה כל דבר בהיחבא. כלומר מה שהממשל מבקש היא גמישות.

פנטה - האם לאור השינויים המתחוללים אין זה הזמן לשנות הסיוע הצבאי (לטובת אזרחי-כלכלי).

איגלברגר - הסיוע הצבאי (FMS) ניתן למספר קטן יחסית של מדינות ולא יזורים בהם העולם לא השתנה או שנמצאים בתהליך של שינוי מאד איטי. המזהית מהווה דוגמה טובה. שם לא חל כל שינוי.

השאלה היא לגבי מהירות השינוי. אין לו ויכוח עם עצם שאלת הקונגרסמן אולם חם יקח עוד זמן.

תפוצה: 36

2 1 1 1 3 1 2

1 1 1 1 1 1 1

1 1 1 1 1 1 1

דחיות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	קד: 2
סוג:	טופס פבוק 2/4	פתוך: 4
תאריך וזמן העבור:		אל:
כס' פבוק:		דצ:
הפסד:		
141		פאת:

ברמן - יש מידת בלבול (confusion) לגבי עמדת הממשל בנושא השריונים. חשוב לחברי הועדה לדעת מה גרם אשתקד לבעייה. הקונגרס פרנזל (בכיר המיעוט בועדה) טען שהפסגה התקציבית של אשתקד, גרמה להצטמקות התקציבית שהולכה לקיצוצים. אולם האמת היא שישנן סיבות נוספות: א. ה-OMB טעה אשתקד ב-200 מיליון \$ outlay וכך החלה הבעייה. ב. הממשל לא ביקש לתקצב את בנק EXIM וכך חסרו כ-600 מיליון \$.

אינו מבין, היכן בשלב התקצבות, הקונגרס שריון כספים מעבר למה שביקש הממשל. לפיכך, זה מוזר לדבר היום על "גילוח שריונים" כדי לחת כסף לקריביים או להקים קרן כך שתהיה גמישות לממשל. אם כך המצב, "חאמרו לנו במה אינכם מעונינים בבקשה התקציבית שהגשמתם לקונגרס". "ביקשתם 3 ביליון \$ לישראל, 2.3 ביליון \$ למצרים (מנה מסי מדינות נוספות שהממשל ביקש עבורן סיוע) וכו'. הפוקוס של הממשל אינו נכון. יש לבקש adequate funding ולא להתמקד בשבירת השריונים או "גילוחם".

בהמשך שאלתו, ביקש לדעת על השפעת חוסר היכולת לממש סיוע, על מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית. איגלברגר - 1) כשהממשל בא לקונגרס בבקשה לסיוע חוץ, אינו יכול לנקוב במספר כללי אלא לפרט ולהסביר כיצד הוא מתכנן הוצאת הכספים. איננו קוראים לבקשה זו לקונגרס - שריונים. אם העולם משתנה, אנו רוצים להיות במצב שבו נוכל להתאים עצמנו למצב, היינו גמישות. השריונים מגבילים הגמישות.

2) העדר משאבים בהקלט משפיע על מדיניות החוץ. אנו חיים בתוך אילוצים תקציביים - גר'ה והדפיציט וכו'. היינו רוצים במידה כפולה של מימון אולם אין זה מעשי להניח שזה אפשרי. עלינו לחיות במציאות של כלכלה ארה"ב והקונגרס. הייתי רוצה לקבל יותר אך אם איני יכול לקבל יותר אני מעוניין בגמישות.

איני רוצה לקצץ לישראל ומצרים. אולם כאשר אין ביכולתנו לממן הקריבנות אין זה באשמת הממשל אלא מהעדר גמישות.

ברמן - אין בבקשה התקציב (בפונקציה 150) התיחסות לפנמה, ניקרגואה, קמבודיה, דרא'פ (אוסוויציה) והגברת איוש שגרירות ארה"ב במזא'ר. האם יש לקחת נושאים אלה בחשבון ?

תפוצה:

דחיפות:	שגרירות ישראל / ווסינגטון	ק: 3
סוג:	טופס פרוק 3/4	פתוך: 4
תאריך וזמן העור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
תפריד:		פאת:
141		

איגלברגר - להוציא נושא איוש השגרירויות ופנמה ( הנושא בטיפול), כל הבעיות התפתחו לאחר הגשת הבקשה התקציבית, אינו יודע בשלב זה לכמה יזדקקו עבור כל נושא. אם נצטרך לעבור כספית על כל הנושאים הללו, גם "גילוח שריונים" לא יסייע ואז בודאי נזדקק לכספים נוספים. עדיף שיהיה כסף בצד כדי לנוכל להכינו לשעת הצורך. (לצורך גמישות 1).

ב. יהודי ברה'מ

שומר - שאל בנוגע לטיסות ישירות. לקונגרס נאמר ק"י הממשל שאינו יכול לעשות הרבה יותר. שאל מה לגבי האפשרות של קישור בין טיסות ישירות להסכמי סחר.

איגלברגר - לדעתו אין זה *useful to link the two* וזאת מ-2 סיבות :

(1) אין זה סביר שהסובייטים יסכימו לטיסות ישירות בגלל מהלך כזה. תהיה יותר הצלחה לטווח רחוק אם הדבר יעשה באמצעות שיחות-דיאלוג.

(2) ג'קסון וניק *established conditions for waiver* ומסוכן עתה להכניס שינויים או תוספת של *provisions* חדשים, עם זאת בעיית הטיסות הישירות מהווה דאגה לגייטימית בהחלט.

שומר - עליית אנטישמיות בברה'מ. הזכיר דיווחים על אפשרות פוגרום במאי ושאל עד כמה דיווחים אלה אמינים.

איגלברגר - אין ספק שיש עלייה באנטישמיות והיא כנראה בתגובה לגלסנוסט. אולם אינו יכול להתייחס לסכנות כרגע כיון שאינו יודע בדיוק.

שומר - התייחס להצהרת הנשיא בפלם ספרינגס לגבי התנחלויות ומז' ירושלים. תמיד הייתי תחת הרושם שנושא מזרח ירושלים היא נושא נפרד (*separate issue*). נגרם נזק בהעלאת נושא מז' ירושלים על השולחן.

איגלברגר - הייתי מוכן לשאלה כזו. הקריא הודעה מוכנה. עיקריה: הממשל תומך בהגירת יהודים מברה'מ ויעשה כל דבר ליישום ההגירה. אנו מעונינים ב-*assurances* שהעולים מברה'מ לא ייושבו בשטחים. אין בכוונתנו *to link the assurances with aid*. הדגיש בסוף דבריו

תפוצה:

דמי פיות:	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	קד: 4
סווג:	טופס פרוק 4/4	כתוב: 4
תאריך וזמן העור:		אל:
כס' פרוק:		דע:
הפסד:		
141		פאת:

שמדיניות הממשל בנושא מזרח ירושלים remained unchanged.

(3) מעבירים בנפרד התמליל המלא של חלק השאלות והחשובות הנוגע לענייננו.

ישראל ורנאי דרנגר.  
יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה:





(2)

P'fle 11 P'nol - 11/1

REP. SCHUMER: Thank you, very much, Mr. Chairman. I will try to keep my questions brief, without any prologue, or without the usual prologue, anyway, because we have to vote in a couple of minutes and I'd just like to get them in.

143 2/11

I guess my first -- a bunch of my questions, the first bunch relate to the Soviet Union and the condition of the Jewish population and some of the others, Pentacostals, Armenians, in there. We have been told, basically, by administrative spokespeople that -- administration spokespeople -- that they've virtually done everything they can in trying to restore direct flights between Moscow and Israel, and there isn't much more to do. Could you answer why -- if you think it would make any sense to have direct flights linked to some trade agreements that might be signed with the Soviet Union? If so, why so? If not, why not?

MR. EAGLEBURGER: Yes, sir. I won't recite the history of our efforts to get the Soviets to be reasonable on this subject. As you -- I will only say that it was a major subject of conversation between Secretary and Mr. Shevardnadze in their recent meeting.

The answer to the question: I do not think it would be useful, as we proceed to move toward trade negotiations on a trade agreement with the Soviets, to link this, specifically for two reasons, the first of which is I think it is unlikely -- very unlikely that the Soviets would agree, and I think, as a matter of fact, we have -- we are more likely to have success over the longer term in getting these flights started if, in fact, we do it in direct conversations between the two not linked to some other subject, because I think the Soviets will reject it.

Secondly, and equally important, Congressman, but I suspect an argument you won't like much is we've established over a period of time a set of conditions on which we would negotiate with the Soviets on a trade agreement, for example. negotiate with the Soviets on a trade agreement, for example. Jackson-Vanik has set a series of conditions which over time the Soviets have begun to meet. I think it is dangerous for us to get into the business of changing the conditions or adding to conditions as we negotiate with the Soviets or with anybody else, because you never know then what our bottom line is. None of this is to say that we don't have a perfectly legitimate and substantial concern with persuading the Soviets to begin direct flights to Israel. My only point is I think from either of the two arguments I've made it's counterproductive.

REP. SCHUMER: Okay. Second question related to it. We've been hearing all sorts of reports about rising anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. There have been reports of a pogrom planned on May 5th, reports of other kinds of problems. How credible is the threat of violence and is it essential for the United States to speed up the exodus of Soviet Jews because of that?

MR. EAGLEBURGER: Well, there is no question that there has been an increase in anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It is strangely enough probably a consequence of perestroika and glasnost. It is a subject that has been discussed between our most senior

\* \* \*



officials and the Soviet's most senior officials. And, indeed, the Soviets issued a statement -- I think it was last week or within the last two weeks on the issue, which I found interesting that the Soviets had said something publicly on the anti-Semitic problems in the Soviet Union. I can't tell you, congressman, with any knowledge at all whether there is a danger of violence. I just don't know. That there has been an increase in articulated anti-Semitism is no question, and I think it is clearly a factor that has led to the increase numbers of those Soviet Jews trying to leave the Soviet Union.

Speed it up? The system is already operating under fairly heavy pressure. If it can be speeded a bit I suppose that probably makes some sense. But I myself am of the view that it is -- and this is strictly an off-the-top-of-my-head reaction -- that while anti-Semitism -- articulated anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union has increased, there probably is no greater threat of violence than there was before. I -- but that's a personal judgment. I wouldn't want to be held to --

REP. SCHUMER: The final question I have relates to the President's statement in terms of settlements that he made in Palm Springs which has had a series of -- it hasn't had too much attention here but some very serious reverberations in Israel in terms of getting negotiations finally going.

The President had said in Palm Springs that there should be no settlements on the West Bank and East Jerusalem. It had been my understanding that previously our policy had been to say that what happens in Jerusalem as a whole should be determined by negotiations, and it's the feeling at least of some that I have talked to both here and there that, by mentioning East Jerusalem, the President has really done some damage to moving both sides together to sit down and talk to one another, that East Jerusalem had never been on the table before and now it is. A, what's your reading of this situation? B, what can be done to get this roadblock out of the way?

MR. EAGLEBURGER: I think, sir, that there has been a -- there have been some statements that I don't think the roadblock is in the way, but let me -- this is a question I expected I might get and since it's one in which I want to be careful in the answer, let me read you the answer I have here:

As the President made clear in a statement yesterday, the United States strongly supports the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. We will oppose any efforts designed to frustrate that human right. The President expressed our support for proposed housing investment guarantees to help resettle Soviet Jews in Israel, provided the United States and Israel can work out assurances that satisfy the US on settlement activity. We are not linking or conditioning our aid. We are simply seeking assurances from the government of Israel on how the money we provide will be spent. In particular, we feel it is reasonable to ask that housing that our guarantees would support not be located in the territories and that Soviet Jews are not being resettled in the territories.

\* \* \*

(4)

P. L. H.

On Jerusalem, our policy is unchanged. We support a united Jerusalem whose final status is to be determined by negotiations. We urge all parties to avoid unilateral acts that could prejudice or make more difficult diplomacy at this sensitive stage in the peace process.

That's the answer I would like to give to the general question. It is, I think, a statement of the position.

X REP. SCHUMER: And I think that statement would be regarded as somewhat -- at least somewhat reassuring at least, from my hearing it for the first time. I thank you -- thank the Chairman, thank Mr. Eagleburger.

143 4/11

\* \* \*



(5)

143 5/11

Fin 7/10.

**REP. PANETTA:** Lastly, with regards to the Dole proposal -- which, as you know, I guess the main thrust of the Dole proposal is to establish a shift in foreign aid allocations -- I guess what I'm interested in is a clarification. Do you support the thrust of moving aid from earmarked countries that are currently receiving aid to Eastern Europe? Is that the kind of reallocation we ought to be engaged in?

**MR. EAGLEBURGER:** I have to be a little bit broader than that, Mr. Chairman. As Secretary Baker said last week in testimony, we support the idea of shaving earmarks -- not just the five countries that Senator Dole mentioned, but shaving them across the board so we're fair to everybody -- to create a fund which permits us flexibility or targets of opportunity, however you want to describe it. Some of that clearly would go to Eastern Europe, but I can't promise you that it would all go there.

For example, if you look at what we are doing in 1990 in the Caribbean, it's pretty awful, and there is, in our judgment, at least, clearly a need to do more in the Caribbean than we are now capable of doing. So, I can't say to you that it would all go to Eastern Europe. While part of it probably would, a part of it would go to places like Jamaica, Dominica, the countries in the Caribbean, and maybe some other area.

I should make a point here, Mr. Chairman. Obviously, if we had a fund like this we would consult up here in detail before we would go ahead and make the allocation. We're not trying to hide from the need to consult with the Congress as we make these decisions. It is much more difficult to manage the process of shifting, however, when you're facing earmarks. So what we'd like is a much more flexible system which permits us some money that we can move around in consultation with the Congress, but not in the way that's now necessary if you have earmarking.

**REP. PANETTA:** Well, actually, on the way foreign aid is currently broken down, as you know, I think we started in 1980 with security assistance being about 46 percent of the foreign aid total, and now I think it's grown close to 60 percent -- about 59 percent of the total foreign aid budget. And I guess the question is, isn't it time to perhaps reverse that trend and begin to move towards more humanitarian than military assistance?

**MR. EAGLEBURGER:** I think, Mr. Chairman, speaking personally at this stage, it's coming to that time, and I don't think anyone would argue that.

But again, I would make the point, if you look at where the foreign military sales assistance is going, it's a fairly small number of countries; it's a rather large sum. It is in areas -- again, as I tried to make clear in my statement -- where the world hasn't changed yet, or is in the process of very slow change. And as we -- I think -- I don't argue at all that the balance has got to shift over time, and I think with what we see going on in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, clearly the threat picture is changing substantially, but, it is -- I emphasize the word "changing." It isn't that it's all changed. So I think we've got to adjust and we've got to shift. too.



But when we get to the Middle East, for example, which is a large part of our funding, that hasn't changed, that still is a problem. So the question of the change and how rapid it is and how rapid the shift I think depends on a lot of circumstances over which sometimes we have some control, some we do not. But again, I do not argue the fundamental point you make. I think it may take some time, that's all.

REP. BERMAN: This question of earmarks -- I think it's very important for us and the Committee members to understand, and I don't think the administration points out what led to the problem last year. Mr. Frenzel points out the summit agreement; and he speaks to that summit agreement. But the reality is that a number of things happened between that summit agreement and the final

appropriations bill that led to the squeeze that caused the cuts in countries like the EPhilippinesF, and in the ECaribbeanF, and in EAfricaF, and other parts of the world that have caused both the administration and us much concern.

In the first place, there was a \$200 million, I understand, mismatch coming out of OMB when they agreed on an outlay -- on a budget authority figure, they understated the outlays by \$200 million, so that started the problem. Secondly, the administration -- I think somewhat foolishly, and they've corrected it this year -- never put in any money for the Export-Import Bank. Congress has consistently funded that program; the business community lobbies very strongly for that program; there's a lot of arguments for that program. And by not putting in any money for the Export-Import Bank, immediately 500-and-something million dollars of the summit agreement was wiped out by virtue of that action.

There were other problems on the question of allocations between the -- in the 302(b) allocations between the State-Justice-Commerce Subcommittee and the Foreign Operations Subcommittee. But what I don't understand is where, in the whole process of appropriating foreign assistance, the Congress earmarked money, except for possibly a very few small items, that was above what the administration requested. And if the -- if this year, instead of talking about shaving earmarks because of what happened to the Caribbean or

shaving earmarks so we can create a fund of money to give the administration flexibility, why doesn't the administration come forth and ask for that fund so that they can have flexibility or tell us what in your specific requests you don't really mean? You say, fund \$3 billion for EIsraelF, fund \$2.1 billion for EEgyptF, fund a certain amount for EPakistanF, a certain amount for ETurkeyF, a certain amount for the EPhilippinesF; when, in the past, have we earmarked more than the amount that you have asked for in those categories, or in the other areas you've asked for?

So, it seems to me the debate is on the wrong subject. Instead of putting a huge amount of effort into shaving earmarks to increase flexibility, the focus should be on getting an adequate budget to do what you ask for in the specific areas and to give you the flexibility to deal with other areas, 'cause you're right, what happened in the ECaribbeanF, what happened in EAfricaF are terrible stories in terms of what we're trying to encourage with our foreign assistance program. And I don't understand why that argument isn't made, because the argument about earmarks in the end for the administration is going to be a losing argument.

143  
6/11



done with the export/import bank and hopefully have a figure on outlays that's consistent with the budget authority request and let's make the case for the money for the Caribbean and for Africa and for Eastern Europe and in a cooperative fashion, rather than get into this argument about earmarks.

143  
7/11

That's maybe more in the form of a speech than -- although I'd certainly be interested in hearing any comments you have. My question is whether you would be taking a look at the last five years of foreign assistance, where we've gone from about \$19 billion to under \$15 billion since the passage of EGramm-Rudman, even with all the new demands for US aid? You've spoken in the past about the underfunding of the Function 150 Account. Without getting into attributions of blame and fault, can you speak to the effects on US foreign policy of this underfunding and the extent to which our foreign policy and our goals would be impeded by a action by Congress which would underfund foreign aid again this year?

MR. EAGLEBURGER: Congressman Berman, let me try to answer the question in two pieces, and they relate to earmarking, but they go beyond to try to answer your question. First of all, if we can set aside for the moment, whether we're getting enough money or not

enough money. When the administration comes to the Congress with a request for foreign assistance money, economic or military, we can't just walk up there and say we need \$4-1/2 billion and we're going to figure out where we're going to spend it. We've got to give you -- and if we didn't, you'd demand it, and legitimately so -- an idea of where we think the money should be spent. I don't call that earmarking. It certainly isn't. What we're telling you is here's what we think we need, and here's how we think we ought to spend it.

If, in the course of the year thereafter, after we've gotten the appropriation, the world changes and things need to change, we would like to be able to adjust our targets. And that's -- certainly in the course of 1989 and now in 1990, would seem to me, in the world in which we live, even if that wasn't the case in the past, that the world in which we live demands that we have got to have more flexibility. So, in that sense, I would argue that our saying we want to spend money on X and then six months into the year deciding we have to spend it on Y after appropriate consultation on the Hill is one thing. Earmarks make that, as you know, much less possible.

Now, on the broader question of the money available and whether it is enough and whether it's affected our foreign policy, sure, our foreign policy's been affected because we haven't had all the money we would like to spend. I must tell you that on -- in discussions with any number of members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, I am often told that if it comes to a choice between domestic programs and foreign programs, we in the State Department are going to have to understand that we're not likely to win the debate.

\* \* \*

And that leads to my fundamental point, which is, a part of the ability of this country to manage an effective foreign policy depends fundamentally on the economic health of the country. And we are not so benighted, so divorced from that reality that we can't understand in the State Department, and certainly the President of the United States can't understand, that there are limits on our budget flexibility. And we have got to live within constraints that relate to Gramm-Rudman. They relate to a whole host of other issues, but fundamentally they relate to the question of the budget deficit, our ability to get the budget deficit down, to keep the economy of the United States healthy.

And, therefore, I might tell you that we would like to have twice as much as we now are asking for because we could surely run a more effective foreign policy. I know that's unrealistic. And beyond that, I know that in the fundamental questions of managing the foreign policy of the United States, it's counterproductive because if the economy of the country isn't healthy, the President and you people can't get the budget deficit down, in the long run, we're going to be running second-rate to the Japanese and the European Economic Community and any number of other people when you and I both know this country doesn't need to run its business that way and won't, indeed, run its business that way.

So, in the last analysis, Congressman, we have to live within the realities of the economics of the United States and what the Congress of the United States thinks is an appropriate amount for foreign assistance. I would like to have more. If we can't get more because of the realities in which we live, then I'd like to have more flexibility to use what we've got.

I'm not arguing with you that we don't have substantial commitments to countries like Israel and Egypt and I can go through the long list, but I would also argue with you that when we come to a situation such as we now face in the Caribbean, I don't think that's the administration's fault, I think it is the fault of the fact that we're provided very little flexibility. And in that sense, I think earmarks in this new world into which we are moving are an anachronism.

You people up here rightly criticize us for not realizing well enough the new world we're going into. I think that's a two-way street. We've got to get with the program, but a part of that also it seems to me is that the Congress needs to realize that the old ways of doing business are not necessarily going to be the best ways to do business over the course of the next five years. And I haven't answered your question, but it's the best I can do.

REP. BERMAN Well, I have one comment and then one final follow-up question at least on this round. The comment is that there is a flip side of that coin as well -- a case for bilateral and multilateral assistance as part of the process for promoting and ensuring democracy and the stability of democracies of dealing with economic conditions can have a direct impact on our national security and on our economic security. A Caribbean which is functioning, a South America which is doing better, an Africa with the economy -- (audio break) -- has an impact on the health of the American economy. It would be nice to hear that case being made strongly by those who feel that way and who believe that way.

\* \* \*



My question is, the fiscal year 1990 request doesn't reflect a number of things -- should it be reflecting any of these things? First of all, second year aid to Panama, assistance to Nicaragua, contributions to a possible ECambodian-UNF trusteeship, assistance -- or enhanced assistance to the ESouth African black opposition or, hopefully, towards what may be evolving towards a democratic South Africa, and substantial increases in the staffing of the US embassies in Eastern Europe, where all of these things involving joint ventures and commercial operations and programs between American companies and companies in Eastern European countries will be put together. The 150 account as it's presented to us doesn't reflect any of that. Should that be taken into consideration? 143

MR. EAGLEBURGER: Congressman, with the exception of the last point, which is the restaffing of embassies in Eastern Europe and the need for money for that -- let me do the last one first and then come back to the others. Frankly, I don't think -- if we could get our 614 problems straightened out so that the State Department was operating on the amount of money that we thought we were going to get before we got into a battle up here on -- between appropriations and authorizing committees, if we could get that money, we can handle transfers of people into Eastern Europe. That's -- it's costly, but it's manageable if we had the budget we thought we were going to have to -- 9/11

REP. BERMAN: (Off-mike) -- issue of whether the State Department funding is --

MR. EAGLEBURGER: It isn't resolved yet, Congressman, and I'm not -- it's not resolved yet, and it's a Kabuki dance and we've got to get it settled --

REP. BERMAN: Okay.

MR. EAGLEBURGER: -- because it's hurting us badly, I must say. But it's a temporary thing, I devoutly hope. That one I think you set aside. On all of the others you mentioned, should they be in the budget? First of all, I think in every case you mentioned, including the Panama case, these are all issues that have developed largely since the budget was prepared. And I think, frankly, to a degree you make my case with the question.

The answer is I don't know whether -- first of all, I don't know whether we're going to need any second-year funding for Panama. I certainly don't know at this stage what we're going to need for Nicaragua, nor do I with regard to South Africa. These are all possibilities, and if they, in fact, develop, we will have a problem and we will have to come back and talk to you about it. But I can't predict at this point any of them. To put money into a budget and say to you "I don't know if we're going to need it, here are the possibilities," I think we're going to get thrown out of the room.

It comes back to my point. If all of these occur and in large amounts, there's no question we wouldn't have enough money if we shaved earmarks or not, and we'll have to come back. But it would seem to me if some of them occur and they occur in -- if in Panama we decide we need an extra \$100 million next year -- I don't know, just guessing -- if there were a pot of money that was there to be used if we consulted with the Congress beforehand and said,

\* \* \*



(10)

"We now have figured out that in the Panama case we need an additional \$100 million to help their economic recovery or whatever," and could come up to you and say, "There's \$500 million that's sitting there unused and we'd like to use \$100 million of it," but don't have to go through all of the reprogramming problems that arise when it's all earmarked -- and believe me, I learned it with the \$30 million we tried to take from Africa to move into the Panama case where again it just took days. And legitimate arguments -- I'm not arguing that. But it took a very long time to get that settled. If that money were there I think we could deal with it.

But all I'm saying again, congressman, is I don't see how we can come up and ask you for money on -- to come. I don't know whether any of those issues that you raised are, in fact, going to transpire. Sure, we're going to need something for Nicaragua. I don't know how much. We may need something the second year around for Panama. I have no idea whether we will or not. I don't know what we're going to do in South Africa.

So, you have made the point that these are all issues not covered in the budget. I accept the point. I would argue that given the fact that we'd have to be so imprecise anyway, that it would be far better if there were some money set aside we could come back to you and say, "We'd like to use this for this particular project."

REP. BERMAN: Mr. Secretary, I just want to come back to where we left off. Every year there are changes, there are new demands on our foreign aid budget. It is quite easy now to assume that some of the issues that you acknowledge will produce needs that we should be meeting will be coming up in the course of the next fiscal year. To put this existence of a contingency fund as the alternative to funding your request seems to me to make no sense whatsoever. All of a sudden -- it -- it undermines the whole credibility of your initial request. You can make an assumption that a pot of money should exist for flexibility. Come forward with it in your budget, lower your request for specific assistance to countries, and then we can debate those issues. But to say "We think the following countries should get the following levels of assistance but they shouldn't be earmarked because we know we don't really mean it because there's going to be some other demand which will change those", I don't think is the proper approach to take in terms of all of this.

And I'm concerned that --- really, I'm concerned that you in particular, in the context of what has happened over the past five years in foreign assistance, the -- the -- what's going on in this world, would say that that's the kind of budgeting that should come forward. It sounds -- we are making a -- we are pitting -- we are getting into a fight within the community of people who support foreign assistance which serves no particular valuable purpose.

Much better, much more direct to come forward with a lower level of requests if that's --- if you've decided this is the ceiling on foreign assistance and let's debate those than to say, "Oh no. We're coming forward with our full requests but we want to subtract from those requests. I want the flexibility to subtract from those requests" because that's takes us out of the debate.

You cited Africa and Panama as your example, this earmarking didn't happen just out of some -- some weird fetish on the part of Congress. It happened because of differences in priorities. There was tremendous concern. You yourself have talked about the Africa

143

10/11



(11)

1990, in same dollar -- in nominal dollars, 827 billion [dollars], a 29.3 percent decrease, without accounting for inflation. There are many people who think that that foreign assistance and development assistance in that part of the world, the poorest continent, is very important. And while they very well support meeting the needs in Panama, they don't think we should be raiding that part of the budget. Sure enough there's going to be an effort to earmark every aspect of that. The original concerns about Africa came from the fact that the administration was reprogramming from Africa to Central America, back three or four years ago.

I'd really urge the administration to take a different approach to this whole question, get away from this debate about shaving earmarks. If you want to revise your requests for the countries involved, do it and we can debate that. Otherwise, let's come forward with a recognition of what we'll need in terms of supplementals in changed conditions and create that contingency fund over and above the priorities which your own budget reflects in terms of what you're asking for. That's all I want to say. But I'm certainly willing to hear what you want to say.

MR. EAGLEBURGER: No, I -- Mr. Chairman, we've each made our case. I wouldn't think that what I was arguing was that we come up with a budget but say we don't really mean it. All I would say is I think we'd come up with a budget that says, "Here's where we want to spend the money, but we also recognize that we're in a different world now and we may have to readjust as the year goes by."

And on your earlier point of why earmarks in the first place, I won't debate with you. I understand why earmarks became a habit. I think it's a habit that's gotten kind of out of control, frankly, and, that aside, I think you and we both recognize it's a different world we're in, and we're going to have to -- all of us -- are going to have to adjust to that new world and find new ways to deal with it. And one of the things I think that is essential is clearly that we and you are going to have to sit down and talk a lot more about how we manage this process in the coming years, because whatever the solution, I am really concerned that the present process is getting out of whack with the reality that we all have to deal with, if "getting out of whack" is a sufficiently precise term for you.

REP. BERMAN: It just -- it seems to me that I feel like you're -- when I listened to Secretary Baker last week, and even you today, I feel more time is being spent explaining all the reasons why we can't have the foreign assistance program we need because of budget focusing on this question of earmarking than in making the case for what we need to do and getting that into the mix with everything else that's going to be debated in this committee. Because in the end, the problem isn't going to come from people like me who want to see foreign aid get more. The problem is going to come from the people who you didn't choose to argue that much with today -- those who want to cut. And it seems to me that that's where the thrust of the State Department's position, at the very least and I think the President's position as well, should be focused. Anyhow, the hearing is adjourned. I appreciate you coming very much. Thank you.

\* \* \*









תאריך : 03.07.77

5169

דף 1 מתוך 3

נכנס \*\*

עותק 2 מתוך 12 סודי ביותר

\*\*

\*\*\*

\*חוזם: 3,5169

\*אל: המשרד

\*יעדים: מצב/705

\*מ-: ווש, נר: 144, תא: 060390, זח: 2100, דח: ב, סג: 10

\*תח: גס: צפא

\*נד: 8

\*בהול לבוקר / סודי ביותר

\*אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א, מנכ"ל רוה"מ,

\*דע: יועץ מדיני לשה"ח

\*מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

\*שיחה עם היועץ לבטחון לאומי סקורופט.

\*1. נפגשתי (6/3) לבקשתי עם סקורופט כדי להביע בפניו החומרה  
\*שבה אנו רואים את דברי הנשיא, הכורכים נושא ההתנחלויות  
\*ומזרח ירושלים.

\*בדבריי ציינתי כמה מהשגותינו:-

\*א. איננו יודעים מה היו כוונותיו של הנשיא במתן ההצהרה  
\*במועד זה, אך ברור שדברים אלה בשלב כה עדין של המו"מ  
\*המדיני רק מגבירים החשד לגבי מדיניות ארה"ב בנושא התהליך  
\*ומזרח ירושלים.

\*ב. יש בתגובה בארץ, מקיר לקיר כדי להבהיר שדברי הנשיא פגעו  
\*בעצב רגיש ביותר, בנושא לגביו קיימת אחדות לאומית. כדוגמה,  
\*הבאתי החלטת מועצת ירושלים מהיום ודברי קולק. דברי הנשיא,  
\*הוספת, הם שינוי במדיניות ארה"ב שהדגישה תמיד שהעיר צריכה  
\*להשאר מאוחדת.

\*ג. הודעת הבית הלבן מאתמול שפורסמה להבהיר הנושא אין בה כדי

5406 \*מחף עליו שעות, בע"מ 30, 3376067











131 2/5 - 2/5

REP. LEON E. PANETTA  
CHAIRMAN, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET  
OPENING STATEMENT, HEARING ON THE PRESIDENT'S FY 1991 BUDGET WITH  
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE LAWRENCE S. EAGLEBURGER  
MARCH 6, 1990

The House Committee on the Budget is in session for the purpose of a hearing on the President's Fiscal Year 1991 budget with Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger. Mr. Eagleburger is here in place of Secretary of State James Baker, with whom the Committee was unable to arrange a mutually convenient date to testify. Mr. Eagleburger, we appreciate your being here today.

Today's hearing will focus on the President's request for foreign assistance funding. This is an area of the budget that is always very important, but this year, with the dramatic changes taking place in the world and the need for our country to respond to those changes, the budget for foreign assistance has taken on even greater significance than usual.

By way of introduction, Mr. Eagleburger, prior to his current position, served for 27 years, from 1957 to 1984, as a Foreign Service officer. He served in a wide range of posts, including Ambassador to Yugoslavia, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Operations, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, and finally Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. He has received the State Department's highest award, the Distinguished Honor Award.

In 1984, Mr. Eagleburger left the government to become President of Kissinger Associates, Inc., an international consulting company. He was sworn in as Deputy Secretary of State on March 20, 1989.



121 3/5 3/5

Mr. Eagleburger, as you know, the world order is going through a dramatic transformation. The challenge for the United States, it seems, is not only to encourage this dramatic shift to democracy and freedom but also to maintain the responsibility of leadership in making sure that these changes are permanent.

Unfortunately, this challenge occurs at a time when serious questions are being raised about the ability, and the will, of the United States to play the role it has played for some five decades as the political and economic leader upon which much of the world could depend during turbulent times. Our status as the world's largest debtor nation, our continuing large budget and trade deficits, and the political deadlock which has prevented us from addressing these problems head-on have called our leadership into question.

This would be an unwelcome development at any time, but at this particular time, it is potentially tragic.

Mr. Eagleburger, last month the Committee held a hearing at which experts on the changes in eastern Europe told us not only of the need for significant resources but of the need for the United States to take the lead in either providing or assembling those resources. For the most part, they were rather discouraged over the President's proposed budget in this area and disappointed in what they saw as his hesitancy to put the United States out in front of this effort.

We hope to hear from you the Administration's views on this issue, as well as on the other parts of the world where increases in foreign assistance are being sought. It is my understanding that Secretary Baker has now endorsed in principle Senator Dole's idea of



131 4/5 4/5

trimming assistance to some of our old friends in order to provide more help to our new friends. The Committee will want to discuss with you this issue as well.

Finally, we will want to talk to you about the continued emphasis in the President's budget on security assistance at the expense of humanitarian assistance. At a time when peace is breaking out around the world, it would seem that a reversal of that trend would be in order.

Again, Mr. Eagleburger, thank you for coming today. We welcome you to the Budget Committee and look forward to your testimony.

-12-

131 5/5

is less than amounts provided in FY 1985 through FY 1987.

In our single Foreign Military Financing account (FMF), we are requesting \$5.02 billion in budget authority for all-grant military assistance programs, compared with the \$4.83 billion appropriated in FY 1990. For our small but important International Military Education and Training programs (IMET), our request is for \$50.5 million, up from the \$47.2 million appropriated for the current year. In Economic Support Funds (ESF), our request is for \$3.36 billion in grants, compared with \$3.18 billion provided in the current fiscal year. Only our highest priority programs can be met at these request levels.

Our security assistance resources remain essential in complementing our diplomatic initiatives for promoting peace in some of the world's most troubled regions.

Nowhere have our diplomatic efforts been more intensive than in the pursuit of a negotiated solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Over the past year, we have sought to create a process that would break the decades-old confrontation between Israelis and Palestinians, and then broaden the effort into a lasting peace between Israel and the entire Arab world. And we have had results. Working closely with both Israel and Egypt, we have hammered out a framework for an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue in Cairo to discuss elections for Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza. Elections offer a practical step that could launch the kind of negotiating process that could lead to a comprehensive peace -- one based on U.N. Security Resolutions 242 and 338, security for Israel and all states in the region, and the fulfillment of the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people. We are now working intensively on the practical details of getting this dialogue launched. If the parties are prepared to approach this process in a practical and broadminded way, we can make progress.

To help the peacemakers broaden and strengthen their vital and ongoing efforts, we are again requesting \$5.1 billion in combined security assistance for the two Middle East peace partners. That represents about 61% of our total security assistance request. These funds meet military modernization requirements and contribute to economic stability and development objectives.

END



פוזום: 3,5136

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/274, מנמט/287, ני/271, מצב/693  
 מ-: ווש, נר: 138, תא: 060390, זח: 1700, ח: מ, סג: בל  
 תח: גס צפא  
 נד: 8

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד.

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם  
 אמן/מנמט - ר' משמרת, דובר צהל, ני-יורק.

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון.

תדרוך דובר הבית הלבן ליום : 6/3/90

Q MARLIN, GOING BACK TO SATURDAY'S NEWS CONFERENCE AND THE PRESIDENT'S REMARK ABOUT EAST JERUSALEM A MINUTE, IT OCCURRED TO SOME PEOPLE THAT IT MIGHT HAVE -- BY HIS REACTION YESTERDAY, THAT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN INADVERTENT. BUT IT'S NOT REALLY CLEAR WHETHER HE DELIBERATELY MEANT TO SAY THE WEST BANK AND EAST JERUSALEM OR THE WEST BANK AND EGAZAF. I REALIZE THAT OUR POLICY STATES THAT EAST JERUSALEM IS OCCUPIED TERRITORY, BUT DO YOU THINK THAT HE WAS DELIBERATELY INCLUDING THAT WITH THE WEST BANK, OR INADVERTENTLY?

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, AS WE KNOW FROM THE MAIN DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE HAD OF THE MIDDLE EAST HERE, IT'S VERY EASY TO USE WORDS THAT AREN'T NECESSARILY WHAT YOU INTENDED TO SAY. I DON'T

### משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

FRANKLY KNOW ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS AT THAT TIME.

I WOULD SAY THAT HE ISSUED A STATEMENT LAST NIGHT -- I ISSUED A STATEMENT -- ON HIS TELEPHONE CALL TO MR. REICH, THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS TO MAKE CLEAR WHAT THE US POSITION IS ON THESE MATTERS, AND TO USE THE PRECISE WORDS THAT WE THINK ARE IMPORTANT TO -- IN ORDER TO STATE OUR POLICY AND TO -- ALSO TO ENCOURAGE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. SO WE WOULD WANT TO STICK TO THE WORDS IN THAT FORMAL STATEMENT ISSUED LAST NIGHT.

Q SO IF HE ESSENTIALLY HAD TO DO IT OVER AGAIN, HE WOULD NOT HAVE USED THE WORDS HE USED ON SATURDAY BUT WOULD HAVE USED THE ONES IN YOUR STATEMENT WHICH WERE DIFFERENT.

MR. FITZWATER: WELL, THE ONES THAT WERE IN THE STATEMENT ARE THE ONES THAT REPRESENT OUR FORMAL POSITION AND ONES WE WOULD PREFER TO STICK TO.

WENDELL?

Q MR. REICH SEEMED TO -- TALKED TO REPORTERS AFTER YOUR STATEMENT CAME OUT, AND INDICATED THE PRESIDENT WAS -- I DON'T WANT TO SAY APOLOGETIC -- BUT

Q CHAGRINED?

Q -- BUT SOMEWHAT CHAGRINED. I DON'T KNOW, PERHAPS THAT'S NOT THE CASE.

IS THERE MORE ON THE PHONE CALL THAT YOU KNOW THAT YOU CAN GIVE US? DID THE PRESIDENT BASICALLY BACK OFF CONSIDERABLY FROM THAT? WAS HE APOLOGETIC?

MR. FITZWATER: I DON'T -- I DON'T KNOW ABOUT THE DIRECT PHONE CALL IN THE SENSE THAT I WASN'T THERE. I KNOW THE WORDS THAT THE PRESIDENT USED TO CONVEY OUR POLICY, BUT I COULDN'T OFFER ANY REAL ILLUMINATION OF THE CHARACTERIZATION MR. REICH

### משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

GIVES. I SUSPECT, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS EAGER TO PRESENT OUR POLICY AS IT IS. BEYOND THAT, I WOULD NOT -- NOT COMMENT.

DAVID?

Q ANYTHING ON THE LATEST STATEMENT THAT SHAMIR HAS MADE ABOUT CONDITIONS FOR ENTERING INTO NEGOTIATIONS ON NEGOTIATIONS? (SCATTERED LAUGHTER.) DO WE THIS AS A STEP FORWARD, BACKWARD, SIDEWAYS?

MR. FITZWATER: I DON'T HAVE ANY REAL REACTION TO IT. I'M INFORMED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT THEY ARE CONSIDERING THIS RESPONSE. THEY HAVE POSED SOME QUESTIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL APPARENTLY ABOUT IT. WE HAVE NOT YET RECEIVED THE ANSWERS AND CLARIFICATIONS AND SO WE'LL HAVE TO WAIT FOR THAT. BUT IF WE GET POSITIVE RESPONSES, WHY, WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT IT WILL MEAN THE PEACE PROCESS CAN GO FORWARD. AND THAT IS OUR MAIN CONCERN AT THE MOMENT, IS TO GET THE TALKS STARTED.

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, (אמן),  
 ממד, בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ







דחיוניות: <del>מחלקת</del> אבוק	שגרירות ישראל/וויטינגטון	דף: 1
סוג: בלבים	טופס פרוק	כתוב: 7
תאריך ידפן מעביר: S.B. 90	אל: מצפ"א, מע"ת, ממ"ד	
כס' פרוק: הפסרד: בטחון ניו יורק	דע: (הוס'ת) יועץ רוה"מ לחקשורת, יועץ שהביט לחקשורת, לע"מ אמן-אנא-ר' אשאר, דובר צה"ל, ניו-יורק, ית-הלבית	
5 58 96	פאת: עתוכות וויטינגטון	

S.B. 90 תדרור דובר כחפ"ד ליום

Q Has the Secretary had any recent communications with either the Egyptians or the Israelis about the peace process?

MS. TUTWILER: Over the weekend, he has not. As you know, he was in California with the President for the Prime Minister Kaifu's visit from Japan. He left there, as many of you know, and went to his home. He has spent the weekend at home. And he's en route back to Washington right now. That does not preclude, as it always goes on, working level conversations back and forth. Those did go on over the weekend, but the Secretary did not speak to either Foreign Minister Meguid or Foreign Minister Arens.

Q At any level, working level or his level, are there any signs that an agreement is any closer than it was a week ago?

MS. TUTWILER: What I'm going to have to continue doing is refraining from saying whether we are close to agreement, not close to agreement. I don't want to, unfortunately, do that for you today. And we are exactly where we were where we left it on Friday, and where the Secretary left it in testimony on Thursday, is that we are waiting for an Israeli government response, and that is what the lay of the land is.

Q Is there a deadline on the 21st of March for this to happen, or --

MS. TUTWILER: We have never put a deadline on this.

Q No deadline.

Q Margaret, any modification for the proposals presented by Secretary Baker to the Israeli government?

MS. TUTWILER: Was there any what?

Q Modification, any change, in the questions he put to the Israeli government --

MS. TUTWILER: In his testimony of Thursday?

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including the number '2' and various illegible scribbles.

Q No, no, no, on the question of the Arab presentation of the EPalestiniansF in the delegation. Was there any change in the main principles of the --

MS. TUTWILER: That is a detail, as you know, that we have refrained from this podium from discussing, and I must refrain again today.

Q Margaret, Margaret, why is the language used by Secretary Kelly on the Capitol Hill different and being more forthcoming than this podium when it comes to how much optimism is prevailing in the State Department with regard to this trilateral meeting?

MS. TUTWILER: I only saw parts of Assistant Secretary Kelly's testimony, but I find it hard to believe that there is much difference between us. He stays, as you know, in very, very close contact on this issue with Secretary Baker, has worked very, very closely with the Secretary on this and I haven't seen his entire testimony, or read his entire transcript, but I believe that Mr. Kelly, knowing him as I do, has probably said exactly the same thing where we are.

Q Just a follow-up about -- we are not asking about the details of your proposal or question to the the Israelis. We are asking if you had put some modification to it. We are not asking about details; we don't want details.

MS. TUTWILER: What I am not doing today, which I haven't done all along, is getting into, and that is a detail that we have not discussed on the record, other than Secretary Baker in testimony last week said some of the things we were discussing were obviously the agenda and participation. That's as far as he would take it.

Q Margaret, do you have any comment on the Israeli government report over the weekend in the government television that said Mr. Shamir would be responding positively to Secretary Baker's proposal?

MS. TUTWILER: No.

Q Margaret --

Q Is the United States opposed to building --

MS. TUTWILER: (Off-mike aside.)

Yeah, Robert?

Q Does the United States oppose the building of settlements in the suburbs of East Jerusalem annexed by Israel?

MS. TUTWILER: Our position on settlements is well known. You know that we do not believe that settlements are-- can contribute to peace in the region. Our position has not changed. And our position on the Territories has been clear for a long time. There has been no change on our position on the Territories for 23 years.

2  
58  
5  
96



Q Does that cover settlements in the suburbs of East Jerusalem annexed by Israel?

MS. TUTWILER: You know what our definition of territories is, it's the same one we've had for 23 years, and it refers to all territories occupied in 1967.

Q If you are mentioning 23 years, at that time also you considered building settlements illegal; then you retracted on that during the Shultz period. So, are you going back to what you said 23 years [ago]?

MS. TUTWILER: And as you know, this administration, the Bush administration has refrained from characterizing them either as legal or illegal --

Q Why not?

MS. TUTWILER: -- which I will continue to do today.

Q Why not? I mean --

MS. TUTWILER: We have gone through this about 100 times --

Q Well, this is 101. I mean -- (laughter) --

MS. TUTWILER: Hundred and one, you'll get the same answer.

Q -- why you are not pointing the finger --

MS. TUTWILER: Because I work for the President of the United States and my job here is to enunciate his policies as the elected leader in our land and this is his policy, and I will keep enunciating it the way he wants it enunciated until I am instructed to enunciate it differently.

Q Margaret, on something else?

MS. TUTWILER: Yes, Barry?

Q On Nicaragua -- wait a minute.

(Cross talk.)

Q Settlements?

Q Hey, wait a minute, settlements --

Q Marlin Fitzwater suggested on Saturday that we should go back to the State Department to ask what exactly -- and I'm paraphrasing -- what exactly Secretary Baker meant last Thursday in establishing or not establishing a linkage. Was there a linkage -- I mean, reading the text of the Secretary, it's quite clear that he established a linkage. Now, the President said there was no linkage. Marlin Fitzwater said we haven't expressed it in that policy sense and we're not willing to do it at this point. Is there or isn't there a linkage?

MS. TUTWILER: You should have been here on Friday because we spent about 30 minutes on this subject.

Q Yeah, I know, but --

MS. TUTWILER: Well, I have nothing new to add than what I stated on Friday. The President spoke again on Sunday. The Secretary of State spoke on Saturday and I refer you to all three of those transcripts.

Q The Nicaraguans coming --

(Cross talk.)

MS. TUTWILER: Alan has a question.

Q Thank you. Just to follow up what Robert was asking, do you regard East Jerusalem as part of the territory captured in 1967? Do the assurances that you were talking about that would be required for the housing loan guarantees, would that also pertain to building in East Jerusalem?

MS. TUTWILER: Our assurances for the \$400 million loan guarantee, I have said, refer to building new settlements in the Occupied Territories.

Q So, by extension, that does include East Jerusalem?

MS. TUTWILER: You know, as I've just stated, that our policy is and has been the position of this government through Democratic and Republic administrations that -- all territories occupied in 1967.

Q Is Secretary Baker ready to go to Cairo if the meeting will take place very soon during his trip to Africa?

MS. TUTWILER: Secretary Baker is prepared to go to Cairo at any moment after you have the trilateral meeting with the three foreign ministers, which we've always said comes first. And provided that there is agreement and there is reason to go, of course, he would go.

Q Margaret --

MS. TUTWILER: Yes, Alan?

Q -- to follow up my previous question, Mr. Shamir called for the settlement of as many Soviet Jewish immigrants as possible in Jerusalem, both East and West. He said this to reporters and was broadcast on Israel Radio today and it follows in direct response to President Bush's comments over the weekend. Is this a helpful comment?



MS. TUTWILER: Without characterizing whether it's helpful or unhelpful, as you know, as the Secretary has said many times, as the President has, we have stated our policy on settlements in the Territories. There is a difference, but there are differences you can have among close friends, among close allies. This is not something that is new. Let me remind you, this has been our policy for 23 years, and that is our policy. We also, Israel and the United States, agree, and agree strongly, that Jerusalem must be a united city and never divided again --

Q So --

MS. TUTWILER: -- which you also know.

Q So you have huge suburbs and tower blocks all around Jerusalem, ringing those hills on East Jerusalem, and, in your opinion, this is a difference between close friends?

MS. TUTWILER: We have a policy of no new settlements in the Occupied Territories. That does not come as news to you this morning. The President spoke to it -- it was either yesterday or Saturday. I believe it was yesterday. I'm not exactly sure what it

is you're trying to ask me.

Q Well, what I'm trying to ask you is the President says one thing on Saturday and Shamir comes in and says, "We want as many Soviet Jews as possible to go to East Jerusalem" the next day.

MS. TUTWILER: And I think I've answered this.

Q And that's a difference among friends?

MS. TUTWILER: Right. But there's no new difference.

Q -- the US policy, persistent as it was during the 23 years against settlements in the West Bank, did not give any results with the Israeli government. So what do you intend to do?

MS. TUTWILER: What we intend to do is to reiterate our policy as I'm doing right now, as the President has done, as the President did in his meeting with the Prime Minister, as the Secretary of State has done. And that is our policy.

Q Is the Secretary ready to have a meeting in Africa when you haven't had the tripartite instead of having this meeting in Washington? He will have it?

MS. TUTWILER: First, he's willing to have the meeting anywhere that the meeting is ready to be had. Is -- the hang-up should not be the location. What we should do is have the substance resolved so that you can have the tripartite meeting.

Q Margaret, just to clarify. Did you say that the Secretary will attend the first session of the dialogue, Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, in Cairo whenever it will take place?

MS. TUTWILER: What I said, when asked, "Would the Secretary attend the meeting in Cairo?" I said, "Before you can have a meeting in Cairo, you must have the meeting of the three foreign ministers." As we started the day by saying, we are in the position at this moment waiting for the Israeli government's response to the

the latest conversation they had with Secretary Baker when Foreign Minister Arens was there. So that has to fall into place. Then you have to determine whether it's here or Atlanta or whether it is that three ministers meet. And then you would determine whether you go to Cairo or not.

Q So there is no -- the Secretary didn't make up his mind about this session in Cairo?

MS. TUTWILER: He hasn't ruled anything totally in or totally out. What we are concentrating on right now is waiting for a response from the Israeli government. Based on that response, you may or may not go forward with your tripartite meeting, and that meeting, those types of things will be discussed, and others.

Q Can you tell me what will happen if the response from Jerusalem will be negative?

MS. TUTWILER: No, because you -- I just don't want to entertain that -- is -- cross that bridge when you get there. 96,5

Q One more on Jerusalem --

Q Margaret, just out of curiosity --

MS. TUTWILER: If you should be put there.

Q -- you just mentioned a city's name there. Is that --

MS. TUTWILER: I just did it --

Q -- one of the cities that's under consideration?

MS. TUTWILER: Absolutely not. It could be anywhere in the world, but the -- the importance is not where you meet; it's that they meet.

Q Margaret, on Jerusalem, if -- when the Israelis and Palestinians and Egyptians finally get together to talk, if a compromise is reached and those parties agree to keeping the suburbs the way they are, letting Israel retain control of a united Jerusalem and all that, will the United States then agree to that and consider that legal?

MS. TUTWILER: That's something, Connie, that it seems to me would be best appropriated through negotiations, through the parties, and I'm not going to speculate on what they may or may not -- I don't want to, thank you.

96,58,5

7/7

Q Pelletreau is the sole designated channel to the EPLOF.

MS. TUTWILER: Correct.

Q Last week, the Secretary gave the PLO a clean bill of health on terrorism, et cetera.

MS. TUTWILER: Wrong, Barry.

Q Well, he said they're giving up to their commitment. Does that mean the Secretary now can meet with Arafat in ENamibiaF and/or can other people meet with the EPLOF, apart from Pelletreau?

MS. TUTWILER: Pelletreau is our channel, remains our channel.

Q Our only channel -- your only channel?

MS. TUTWILER: Pelletreau is our channel, our only channel, the PLO. And as far as Secretary Baker's testimony last week, he said exactly what he has been saying verbatim for the last 12 months. There was not one word of difference in it.

Q All right. But that seems a record has built up over 15 months, since December '88, where the US has found no evidence that the PLO is not living up to its double commitment --

MS. TUTWILER: That's right.

Q -- that it knows Israel is there, which is the first thing you asked them to do, and the second is to renounce terrorism. That being the case, I'm asking you if Arafat --

MS. TUTWILER: Why we don't upgrade?

Q Is Arafat now eligible to have a dialogue with the Secretary of State perhaps in Namibia?

MS. TUTWILER: When the President and the Secretary of State determine that there should be a new channel, they will announce it.



דתיפות: מיזדו	שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון	קד: 1
סווג: שמור		פתוק: 2
תאריך וזמן תעבור: 5.3.90	אירופה 1 מצפ"א	אל:
כס' פברק: הפסדד:	ממיד	דע:
1/2 108	מ.ד. וושינגטון	פאת:

איחוד גרמנים

1. שיחות בוש - קוהל

א. דסקאי נאט"ו ומערב אירופה במועצה לבטחון לאומי זליקו עמו שוחחתי סכם את השיחות כמועילות במיוחד על רקע ההסכמה שהושגה בין שני האישים לה נתנו פומבי במסיבת העיתונאים שקיימו בסיום המפגש.

ב. הנקודות אותן הדגיש זליקו היו:  
1) גרמניה מאוחדת תשאר חברה מלאה בנאט"ו כולל השתתפות ב-MILITARY STRUCTURE (הערה: הצהרה זו סוגרת לפחות זמנית את האפשרות שמשלת קוהל תתמוך בחברות גרמניה בנאט"ו במתכונת הצרפתית. קרי, המשך חברות במוסדות המדיניים בלבד ש.ש.)  
2) כוננת ארטיב נאשיכו להיות מוצבים בגרמניה המאוחדת כמו גם (לדברי בוש) במקומות אחרים באירופה "AS A CONTINUING GUARANTOR OF STABILITY"  
3) לשטח של גרמז' (במסגרת גרמניה צריך להיות מעמד מיוחד מבחינה צבאית אשר יקח בחשבון האינטרסים הנטורניים הלגיטימיים של כל המדינות הנוגעות בדבר כולל גרמניה

ג. זליקו ציין כי על רקע ההתבטאויות הנשמעות ברפגי באשר לעתיד החברות של גרמניה מאוחדת, חשוב היה לנשיא להשיג מחויבות פומבית של קוהל בנושאים לעיל.

ד. בהתייחסו לסוגיית גבולת המזרחי של גרמניה על רקע המתיחות בין פולין לרפגי ציין זליקו כי הצהרות קוהל בנושא (לפחות ציין לפרוב נושא איחוד גרמניה עם שינויים של הגבולות הקיימים) מספקים. ארה"ב תוסיף היחה שמחה לו קוהל היה נענה לדרישת הפולנים ומעגן בהסכם את החתיבות בנושא האוצר - שיטה יחד עם זאת מודעים לקשיי קוהל לבית להיענות בעיתוי הנוכחי (ערב הבחירות בדצמ') לבקשת פולין. זליקו ציין כי המשל הודאה בקוהל אסלגטי מעוניין לסייע לו לזכות בבחירות.

ה. לדברי זליקו לפולנים (שאינם חוששים מכוונות גרמניה לשנות חגבול) יש "אג' נדה חבויה" אשר מדאיגה את רפגי (וארה"ב). לדברי מעוניינים לנצל חתימה על הסכם להשגת מטרת נוספות (כלכליות ואחרות).

ו. זליקו ציין לסיכום נושא זה כי ארה"ב לא תלחץ על קוהל להיענות לדרישת מזובייצקי. ינסו להבהיר לפולנים שהאינטרס הפולני ילקח בחשבון במסגרת "השתיים פלוס ארבע" וכי לא התקב כל החלטה ללא התייעצות עמם. עד כאן עיקרי שיחתי עם זליקו.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.



|                   |                           |         |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------|
| דמיפות:           | שגרירות ישראל / ווסינגטון | קד: 2   |
| סוג:              | טופס פרוק                 | כתוך: 2 |
| תאריך וזמן הגירה: |                           | אל:     |
| כס' פרוק:         |                           | דד:     |
| הפסיד:            |                           | כאת:    |
| 108 1/2           |                           |         |

2. בנסיון להפיג תשורת חברות נאט"ו (למעט בריטניה וצרפת) על כך שהתכרעות בנושא סידורי הבטחון בעקבות איחוד גרמניה יתקבלו מעל ראשיהן מסרה דוברת מחמי"ד (2.3) על מכתב אותו שיגר בייקר לכל שרי החוץ של נאט"ו ובו תבהיר להם כי נושא האיחוד ונושאים נוספים יידונו במסגרת נאט"ו, וכי המזכיר מצפה לשמוע עמדות עמיתיו בנושא לעיל.
3. יש להניח שביקור רוה"מ איטליה אנדריאוטי (5-7.3) ייוחד ברובו ככולו לדיון בנושא - איחוד גרמניה וחתלכות על אירופה. בראיונות לתקשורת האמריקאית ערב ביקורו תבהיר כי אסור שלשתי הגרמניות תינתן זכות "המלה האחרונה" לגבי איחודן וכן בנושא הגבולות העתידיים.
4. נקודות נוספות ראויות לציון מדבריו היו:
  - (א) אינו מאמין שגרמנית מאוחדת תהווה איום לשלום.
  - (ב) קולן של ארה"ב ומדינות אירופה יצטרך להישמע בהקשר לבעיית גרמניה במיוחד במת שנוגע לחלכות שחיו (לאיחוד) על נאט"ו.
  - (ג) חביע סקפטיות ביחס להסכם שהושג בין בוש לקוהל שישאיר את גרמניה המאוחדת בנאט"ו ויאפשר בו זמנית לכוחות סובייטיים להישאר בגרמני, לדבריו הסיכוי ליישום הסדר זה אינו ריאלי.
  - (ד) הדגיש הצורך בהמשך הקשרים ההדוקים בין ארה"ב לאירופה למרות ירידת האיום ממזרח.
5. עוד זה בא וזה יוצא, רוה"מ אירלנד ונשיאה התורן של המועצה האירופית טיים ביקור בווינגטון במהלכו הצליח להדק הקשר בין הקהילה לארה"ב.
6. לסיכום שהושג, יפגשו נשיא ארה"ב והנשיא התורן של המועצה האירופית ושרי החוץ אחת לחצי שנה.
7. את נכונות הממשל למיסוד הקשר עם הקהילה יש לראות כהמשך לנאומו של בייקר בדצמ' אשתקד בברלין במהלכו התייחס לקהילה (כמו גם לובשאי ונאט"ו) כאלמנטים מרכזיים "בארכיטקטורה" העתידית של אירופה.

שטיינ

תפוצה:

סודי ✓

נכנס \*\*

\*\*

\*\*

\*\*

חוזם: 3,4041

אל: המשרד

יעדים: מצב/537, מנמת/229

מ-: ווש, נר: 97, תא: 050390, זח: 2000, דח: ב, סג: סו

תח: גס: צפא

נד: ג

סודי/בהול לבוקר

אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר'נ

דע: מנכ"ל רוה"מ, יועץ מדיני שה'ח

מאת: שג' וושינגטון.

הצהרת בוש.

1. בעקבות דברי הנשיא בוש, הכורכים נושא ההתנחלויות בירושלים, שוחחתי עם סימור רייך, שדיבר היום אחה'צ עם הנשיא.

בתשובה לדברי הביקורת של רייך, ציין בוש, שלא חל כל שינוי במדיניות ארה"ב וכי שאלת המעמד הסופי של ירושלים יוכרע במו"מ.

הוסיף, שתומך בזכותם של יהודים לחיות בירושלים וכי אין לו כוונה למנוע מאנשים מלגור בירושלים. מודה שדבריו הם UNFORTUNATE ומצטער שקישר את ירושלים בגדמ'ע במשפט אחד. ציין, שיש לנו אמנם חילוקי דעות עם ישראל בנושא ההתנחלויות, אך אין לקשרם דווקא עם ירושלים. על כל הצדדים להמנע מלנקוט צעדים חד צדדים ויש להשאיר המרחב הדרוש למו"מ פוליטי. עם זאת, ווצה לציין, שפעילות של התנחלויות חד צדדיות מסבכות את העניין. אל לנו להתיר ולהרשות שחילוקי הדעות ביננו יאטו את תהליך השלום. הוא יבדוק כיצד ניתן TO DOWNPLAY את הקשר בין ירושלים לגדמ'ע. אין כל כוונה מצידו להביא לשינוי

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מדיניות ארה"ב בנושא. בתגובה לדברי רייך, שהקהילה היהודית מאוחדת בהתנגדותה לשינוי לרעה במדיניות ארה"ב בנושא ירושלים השיב הנשיא, שהוא מקווה שניתן למנוע עימות ויעמוד בקשר עם בייקר על מנת להוציא הודעה מתאימה עוד היום. רייך חזר וציין באזני בוש שאין כל הבדלים או חילוקי דעות בקרב הקהילה היהודית האמריקאית לגבי הצורך להבטיח אחדותה של ירושלים וזכותם של היהודים להתישב בה. כן ציין כי העיתוי ההצהרה היה מאד בלתי מועיל.

2. ועידת הנשיאים תפרסם הודעה בנושא. נעביר בנפרד.

3. במשך היום מקיים שיחות עם מספר סנטורים וחברי קונגרס הידועים כמקורבים לבית הלבן כדי להעמידם על-חומרת ההצהרה.

4. למחר נקבעה לי פגישה (14.25) עם היועץ לבטחון לאומי.

ארד

ל'ב

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







|  |                          |  |
|--|--------------------------|--|
| דחיפות: בהודו לבוקר                        | שגדירות ישראל/וויסינגטון | קד: _____                                  |
| סוג: בא"ס                                  | טופס פרוק                | כתוב: _____                                |
| תאריך נוסח מעור: 18 <sup>00</sup> - 5.3.90 |                          | אל: אנה מלכא<br>אילנה ליה                  |
| כס' פרוק:                                  |                          | דצ: יאז יעקרה רחל (מוסבר)<br>יאז יעקרה ליה |
| הפסד: 100                                  | 1/2                      | כאת: אמיל, וואלינטין                       |
| מגדל: 59                                   |                          |  |

יושאים

רצ'ה האצ'ה הכי האבן

למחרת אנה (18<sup>00</sup>) לפנסיה באבן

איתר האלא אם ס'אלה ר"ק

1 ס'אלה, 2 ס'אלה, 3 ס'אלה, 4 ס'אלה, 5 ס'אלה, 6 ס'אלה, 7 ס'אלה, 8 ס'אלה, 9 ס'אלה, 10 ס'אלה  
 11 ס'אלה, 12 ס'אלה, 13 ס'אלה, 14 ס'אלה, 15 ס'אלה, 16 ס'אלה, 17 ס'אלה, 18 ס'אלה, 19 ס'אלה, 20 ס'אלה  
 21 ס'אלה, 22 ס'אלה, 23 ס'אלה, 24 ס'אלה, 25 ס'אלה, 26 ס'אלה, 27 ס'אלה, 28 ס'אלה, 29 ס'אלה, 30 ס'אלה  
 31 ס'אלה, 32 ס'אלה, 33 ס'אלה, 34 ס'אלה, 35 ס'אלה, 36 ס'אלה, 37 ס'אלה, 38 ס'אלה, 39 ס'אלה, 40 ס'אלה  
 41 ס'אלה, 42 ס'אלה, 43 ס'אלה, 44 ס'אלה, 45 ס'אלה, 46 ס'אלה, 47 ס'אלה, 48 ס'אלה, 49 ס'אלה, 50 ס'אלה

תפוצה: 36

SENT BY:

; 3- 5-80 ; 17:57 ;

4562500-

935456101# 1

→ Ruth Yaron

2/100  
59

## THE WHITE HOUSE

## Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

March 5, 1990

## STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President talked by telephone this afternoon with Seymour Reich, President of the Conference of Presidents of American Jewish Organizations. The President urged Mr. Reich and all those who shared his concern for the Middle East to continue to devote themselves to bringing about as soon as possible a pre-elections dialogue between Israelis and Palestinians. This remains the surest path available to promoting a peace that would ensure Israeli security and the legitimate political rights of Palestinians.

The President also reiterated that U.S. policy toward Jerusalem is unchanged. The United States supports a united Jerusalem whose final status is determined by negotiations. The President also made clear U.S. support for Jews as well as others to live there in the context of a negotiated settlement. The President also reiterated long-standing U.S. policy that all parties avoid unilateral actions, including settlement activity.

The President also used the occasion of his conversation with Mr. Reich to state his strong support for the immigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, and made it clear that the United States will oppose any efforts designed to frustrate this human right. The President expressed his Administration's support for proposed housing investment guarantees provided the United States and Israel can work out assurances that satisfy the United States on settlement activity.

# # #

MAR 1 90 001609

15  
L  
6

|                             |                      |   |                         |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|---|-------------------------|
| מחשב:<br>1576/אי            | נר:                  | משרד<br>הבטחון<br>15:39<br>4 MAR 90 - א"א   | דף:<br>מתור:            |
| תאריך וזמן חיבור:<br>4.3.90 | דרגת דחיפות:<br>רגיל | טופס<br>מברק<br>לפקסימליה   | אל: חשגריר - וושינגטון  |
| סווג כיטחוני:<br>שמור       |                      | לידיעת: נ.צ. פלג/ירון=וושינגטון,<br>רותם/פלטי=ניו יורק, מצפ"א, מעת/חסברה, פצ"ר, מחפ"ש<br>דו"צ, מקש"ח, מזכ"צ, יועמ"ש למערכת הבטחון |                         |
|                             |                      | מאת: איתן חבר, לשכת סגן הבטחון.   |                         |
|                             | בהמשך לשלך:          | בחוובה לשלך:  | סימון המחבר:<br>1576/אי |

50 אל"ש  
א"א (פס"ב)

83

הנדון: מכתב תשובה לנשיא קרטל.

א. לחלו תשובתו של שר הבטחון למכתבו של הנשיא קרטל בענין ג' ברין. אודה לך אם תעבירו בהקדם אל הנשיא קרטל באטלנטה. המכתב המקורי יועבר בדי"פ הקרוב.

ב. ניתן להשתמש בחומר הנילווח למכתב לצרכי החסברה בענין ג' ברין.

ג. תודה.

איתן חבר

א"א של ני 50 אג"מ  
ני ני ~~מכתב~~  
מטה ני 83

2 1 2 1 1 2 1 1 1 2  
מטה/מטה א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א  
מס'ן א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א א"א





THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

-1-

Tel-Aviv, February 27, 1990

The Hon. President Jimmy Carter  
The Carter Presidential Center  
One Copehill  
Atlanta, GA 30307

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter dated 20th, 1989 about Mr. Sha'wan Jabarin. I apologise for the delay in replying to your letter, but considerable time was required in order to carry out a thorough investigation of this case. I enclosed herewith a detailed report of the investigation and its outcome. As a result of this investigation, legal proceedings have been opened against an officer and two soldiers.

Regrettably, the previous information given to you was incomplete. However, now that the investigation has been completed, we are able to furnish you with the enclosed full report.

As you are fully aware, Israel has for the past two years been forced to face an extremely difficult and delicate situation. The soldiers have to deal daily with hostile acts from the civilian population. In dealing with this situation, the soldiers have received clear and specific orders forbidding any unnecessary use of force against the population. These orders are regularly repeated to the soldiers. Unfortunately, we cannot completely avoid the exceptional infringement of these orders by individual soldiers. Every reported case is thoroughly investigated and soldiers who are found to have disobeyed orders are punished accordingly. This happened in the above mentioned case.

I believe that you and Mrs. Carter are planning to visit Israel next month. As always, hosting you in our country is both a pleasure and an honour. I am sorry that I shall not be able to meet you as I shall be out of the country at that time.

Kindest personal regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Y. Rabin  
Yitzhak Rabin  
Minister of Defence

50  
23

153 '5

10/27/90 : 50 R/1

6/2





3  
6

THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

-2-

153 2  
(117622) 50 ebr

Report on the Sha'wan Jabarin Case.

Mr. Sha'wan Jabarin (hereinafter referred to as "Jabarin") was detained on the basis of considerable information gathered by the defence and security authorities. This information indicates that Jabarin is an active senior member of the "Popular Front", an extremist organisation aiming to create an Arab Palestinian State by obliterating the State of Israel. To reach this aim, the organisation engages in all kinds of murderous terrorist acts. The organisation has, for many years, carried out extreme and violent terrorist operations in Israel, the Territories and abroad.

Since December 1979, Jabarin has been detained several times. In 1985 he admitted to recruiting members for the "Popular Front" and directing the recruits to training camps abroad for the purpose of carrying out terrorist acts. Jabarin was brought to trial and sentenced to a total of twenty-four months imprisonment, including a fifteen-month suspended sentence.

Since 1987 Jabarin's activity has increased and intensified and so have his influence and popularity within the population. He has used this influence to direct and guide others in committing disturbances and offences against Israel as part of the uprising.

Jabarin was personally involved in a few events, among them: stone throwing in Hebron in October 1987, formenting disturbances and disorder in January 1988, participating in disturbances organised by his wife in Hebron in May 1988.

Despite previous warnings and arrests, Jabarin continued with his activity. Even while serving time in prison, he did not cease, and engaged himself in recruiting new members to the "Popular Front" and in formenting disorder amongst the prisoners.

Following information about the above mentioned activities, as well as information about intensive hostile activity, which cannot be disclosed for security reasons, a one year administrative detention order was issued against him. Jabarin appealed against the order to a military judge. After considering the arguments and contentions of both sides, the judge stated, inter alia:

"I have examined the contention of the detainee that he is being persecuted unjustly due to his activity in the "Al Haq" Association. Privileged material suggests, however, that all the activities which led to his detention were against the security of the area, while exploiting his senior status. In light of

50  
23





5/2

153 )

THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

-3-

153 )  
 50 5 201

the obvious concern that his release may enable him to engage in substantial prolonged activity, I hereby decide to approve the present detention period of one year."

Mr. Jabarin alleged that he was mistreated by I.D.F. soldiers during his detention on October 10, 1989. Jabarin's attorney, Ms. L. Zemel, notified I.D.F. authorities of these allegations, as did various international organisations. The Judge-Advocate General ordered the Military Police to investigate the allegation.

In the course of the investigation, the investigators examined the allegation as detailed in Jabarin's affidavit, taken by his attorney, Ms. Zemel. They interrogated the soldiers involved, the doctors and the medical orderlies who treated him. According to the findings of the investigation;

On October 10, 1989, at noon, a military unit entered the village of Sa'ir in order to detain Jabarin. According to his allegation, he was beaten by the soldiers during his apprehension at his home. According to the testimonies of the officers and soldiers who carried out the detention, Jabarin refused to accompany them and opposed the arrest compelling the soldiers to apply reasonable force in order to detain him. The soldiers remarked that due to Jabarin's sturdy build the reasonable force required to override his opposition was relatively large. Following the above mentioned incident Jabarin was slightly injured on his head and face.

When he was taken into the car, Jabarin showed additional opposition, and therefore, the soldiers were compelled once again to use reasonable force in order to handcuff him and place him in the car.

As already mentioned, the soldiers were performing the detention according to the authority vested in them by Article 78(a) of the Order relating to Security Provisions, 1970. According to the Order relating to Interpretation (Judea and Samaria) (no. 130), 1967 - Article 22:

"Where authority is given by security legislation, the person authorised as mentioned, and any other person acting on his instructions, may enter at any time into any place and apply for this purpose and for the purpose of carrying out his authority, reasonable force as required by the circumstances, on any person, immovables and moveable property."

These principles were taken from the provisions of the

50  
23





153 J

THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

-4-

153 J  
JINCAN - SO JDI

Israeli Penal Law.

Jabarin alleges that during the car-ride, he was beaten on the head and in the abdomen by the soldiers, who also gripped his testicles.

The investigation of the soldiers disclosed that Jabarin was apparently beaten on the head by the soldiers and slapped on his neck. On the basis of these findings, the Judge-Advocate ordered to bring one of the soldiers to trial before a military court and that two others (one of them an officer) be brought before disciplinary proceedings.

When Jabarin arrived at the Civil Administration Building in Hebron, he was taken to the Hebron police by the soldiers.

He claims that he was told by the soldiers to spread out his legs, and when he refused he was beaten by them. The investigation of the soldiers shows that Jabarin was asked to spread out his legs as part of the usual procedure of body searching of detainees. He refused and the soldiers were obliged to use force in order to carry out their authority and therefore kicked at his legs slightly to force them apart.

Jabarin also claims that one of the soldiers kicked him in the upper part of his body. He further claims that another soldier punched him in the abdomen. The soldiers denied this in their interrogation. Despite this the Judge-Advocate ordered the soldiers to be brought before legal proceedings for these two incidents as well.

According to Jabarin's allegation while he was at the police station, policemen watched him being beaten but did not interfere, and, furthermore, refused to receive his complaint against the soldiers.

This allegation was checked by an investigating officer of the Israel Police, who questioned the policemen that were present. The latter vehemently denied that they saw the soldiers beating up Jabarin. An inquiry showed that during the event, no officer resembling the one described by Jabarin was present at the station. There was also no proof to the claim that the policemen refused to receive Jabarin's complaint against the soldiers.

Jabarin was transferred from the Hebron police station to the detention center. In his allegation he complained of cigarette burns on his ear and hand, caused by the soldiers. No proof of this was found during the investigation and the medical reports made no mention of such burns.

50  
583





153 J

JINAN

50 e/11

6  
2

THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE

-5-

Jabarin claims that at the detention center, he was taken into the toilets, thrown on the floor, trod and jumped on by one of the soldiers. The investigation shows evidence to back up his claim, therefore the Judge-Advocate ordered that a charge-sheet be issued against this soldier (already mentioned above).

As a result of the blows received, Jabarin was injured on his head and chest. He was examined at the Hebron Administration infirmary and sent to the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem, where he was examined again and found to be in good general condition, with no fractures in any part of his body.

He was discharged from hospital and transferred to Dahariya detention center where he was examined by a doctor who decided that he was fit for detention. On October 23, 1989, Jabarin requested another examination. He was re-examined by a doctor who found him in good condition.

Following the above investigation and its findings the Judge-Advocate ordered that the following legal proceedings be initiated:

1. Submission of a charge-sheet against one of the soldiers for the following offences:

Article 65 of the Military Justice Law, 1955 - Maltreatment:

"A soldier who has beaten a person in his custody, or who has beaten a lower-ranked soldier, or if he maltreated them in any way whatsoever, will be sentenced to three years imprisonment."

Article 130 of the Military Justice Law, 1955 - Improper Conduct:

"A soldier of the rank of sergeant or higher who behaved in a way not befitting his rank or position in the army, will be sentenced to one year imprisonment."

2. Submission to disciplinary proceedings regarding an officer and a soldier for maltreatment, contrary to Article 65 of the Military Justice Law, 1955.

50  
23





# official text

03/05/90

## PRESIDENT BUSH COMMENTS ON MIDDLE EAST SUBJECT

Saturday, March 3, 1990

(Excerpts on peace process, aid to Israel, Soviet immigration)

Palm Springs -- Following are excerpts from President George Bush's March 3 press conference at Palm Springs, California.

Q\* Mr. President, there are reports out of Israel that Yitzhak Shamir is prepared to accept the U.S. formula for Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. Do you know anything about that, and if so, what shape will it take?

THE PRESIDENT\* Well, as you know, we have been working on this for eight months. And I certainly -- Jim Baker and I were just talking about it, and I might say I commend him for staying in there, trying to be a catalyst to get this process going.

So we don't know any of the details of that; we just talked to our top officials here. But I hope it's true and I hope we can move forward. And if we do, I'll be glad to salute our Secretary of State and others, including Mr. Shamir, Mr. Mubarak, for hanging in there, trying to get something moving toward peace.

Q\* Has there been any movement, sir? If you don't know about his final commitment, has there been any movement toward acceptance of the U.S. formula?

THE PRESIDENT\* Well, there has over the months. But just like the real world, you take two steps forward and take one step back. I hope we're going to go forward now.

. . . . .



Q\* Will you work to reduce some of the foreign aid to the largest recipients, like Egypt and Israel, so that the United States, can give more to Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and the countries --

THE PRESIDENT\* Well, I am against earmarking. I am for more flexibility. We have had discussions with our congressmen, including the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Some of those discussions encourage the concept of a fund that gives the President the flexibility to determine a certain amount of foreign aid money. So I'm less interested in reducing somebody than I am getting the flexibility so that when you see a country come forward and try to solidify their democracy or work cooperatively with us in the Caribbean as, say, Mr. Manley in Jamaica is doing, we'd like to be able to help him more.

Q\* Would it be a bad signal right now with Israel trying to move toward talks with the Palestinians?

THE PRESIDENT\* Would what be a bad signal?

Q\* Would the reduction of aid to Israel?

THE PRESIDENT\* I don't know that moving towards peace need be totally equated with aid. I mean, we're talking about a quest for peace that comes not just in Israel, but in Egypt and everything else.

So I'm not tying those two subjects. But Israel has some big economic problems, they've got some big problems facing them that require a very generous apportionment of aid money, and they are getting that.

Q\* To follow on the question of aid to Israel, Secretary Baker has suggested that we might tie aid to resettle the Soviet Jews to the Israelis' willingness to not settle the West Bank and to withdraw some of its settlements from the West Bank and Gaza. Then the State Department seemed to equivocate on that. What's your position?

THE PRESIDENT\* Well, I'm not sure there was equivocation. My position is that the foreign policy of the United States says we do not believe there should be new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem. And I will conduct that policy as if it's firm, which it is, and I will be shaped in whatever decisions we make to see whether people can comply with that policy. And that's our strongly-held view. We think it's constructive to peace -- the peace process -- if Israel will follow that view. And so there's divisions in Israel on this question, incidentally. Parties are divided on it. But this is the position of the United States and I'm not going to change that position.

Q\* So will you link aid to resettle the Soviet Jews?

THE PRESIDENT\* I will just simply reiterate that the policy right here -- that we are not going to look favorably upon new settlements.

\*\*\*\*\*

OT1

AAAA

אלו המשרד,

מ-יו"ש, נר: 76, תא: 030390, זח: 2100, דחוב, סג: בל,  
בבב

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אלו מצפ"א, סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"נ

דעומע"ת, הסברה, עתונות ניו יורק ( נר 2 לניו יורק)

יועץ תקשורת רוה"מ ( ימ העבירו נא בהולות)

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון.

בתום שיחת הנשיא בוש עם רוה"מ יפנ, שנה הנשיא, לשאלות  
כתבים.

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטיים בנושאינו.

תשומת לבכם לדברי הנשיא אודות התנגדות הממשל להתנחלויות  
"גדה המערבית ובמזרח ירושלים".

רות ירון

76

2

1/3



76 2

2/3

Q Mr. President, there are reports out of Israel that Yitzhak Shamir is prepared to accept the US formula for Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. Do you know anything about that, and if so, what shape will it take?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well as you know, we have been working on this for eight months. And I certainly -- Jim Baker and I were just talking about it, and I might say I commend him for staying in there, trying to be a catalyst to get this process going. So, we don't know any of the details of that. We just talked to our top officials here. But, I hope it's true, and I hope we can

move forward. And if we do, I'll be glad to salute our Secretary of State and others, including Mr. Shamir, Mr. Mubarak, for hanging in there, trying to get something moving toward peace.

David?

Q Has there been any movement, sir? If you don't know about his final commitment, has there been any movement toward acceptance of the US format?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, there has over the months. But just like the real world, you take two steps forward and take one step back. I hope we're going to go forward now.

Q Will you work to reduce some of the foreign aid to the largest recipients, like Egypt and Israel, so that you -- the United States can give more to Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and the countries that --

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I am against earmarking. I am for more flexibility. We have had discussions with our congressmen, including the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Some of these discussions encourage the concept of a fund that gives the President the flexibility to determine a certain amount of foreign-aid money.

So I'm less interested in reducing somebody than I am getting the flexibility so that when you see a country come forward and try to solidify their democracy or work cooperatively with us in the Caribbean -- as, say, Mr. Manley in Jamaica is doing -- we'd like to be able to help him more.

Q Would it be a bad signal right now with Israel trying to move toward talks with the Palestinians?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Would what be a bad signal?

Q Would the reduction of aid to Israel?

3/3 76 2

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I don't think that -- I don't know that moving towards peace need be totally equated with aid. I mean, we're talking about -- talking about a quest for peace that comes not just in Israel but in Egypt and everything else. So I don't -- I'm not -- I'm not tying those two subjects. But Israel has some big economic problems; they've got some big problems facing them that require a very generous apportionment of aid money, and they are getting that.

(Cross-talk.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Right here -- this gentleman in the middle.

Q To follow on the question of aid to Israel -- Secretary Baker has suggested that we might tie aid to resettle the Soviet Jews to an Israeli willingness to not settle the West Bank and to withdraw some of the settlements from the West Bank and Gaza. Then, the State Department seemed to equivocate on that. What's your position?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I'm not sure there was equivocation. My position is that the foreign policy of the United States says we do not believe there should be new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem. And I will conduct that policy as if it's firm, which it is, and I will be shaped in whatever decisions we make to see whether people can comply with that policy. And that's our strongly held view, and we think it's constructive to peace --

the peace process, to -- if Israel will follow that view. And so there's divisions in Israel on this question, incidentally. Parties are divided on it. But this is the position of the United States and I'm not going to change that position.

Q So will you link aid to resettle the Soviet Jews --

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I -- I will just simply reiterate the policy right here that we are not -- that we are not going to look favorably upon new settlements.

Q Mr. President, regarding the hostages, is there any new movement to report? Is any third country, particularly the French -- there are reports that perhaps French mediators are working on behalf of the US to negotiate with people in -- either Iran or Syria.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Nice try. Let me tell you all something. You people reported that I called Francois Mitterrand to discuss the release of some guy that I'd never heard of before, and we denied it, and you keep coming back at me. I'm not sure -- I think it's good for you to do that, though, because I have said that if I find a way to get these hostages released -- and the way to do it is through quiet diplomacy with the French, the British, the Iranians, or anybody else -- I will do it. I want those hostages out of there. So keep asking, but on this case, the answer to your



XXXX

אלוהמשרד,

מ-1100ש, נר:76, תא:030390, זח:2100, דח:ב, סג:בל,  
בבב

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אלו מצפ"א, סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"נ

דעומע"ת, הסברה, עתונות ניו יורק ( נר 2 לניו יורק)

יועצ תקשורת רה"מ ( ימ העבירונוא בהולות)

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון.

בתום שיחת הנשיא בוש עם רה"מ יפן, ענה הנשיא לשאלות  
כתבים.

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטיים בנושאינו.

תשומת לבכם לדברי הנשיא אודות התנגדות הממשל להתנחלויות  
"גדה המערבית ובמזרח ירושלים".

רות ירון

76

2

1/3



76 2

2/3

Q Mr. President, there are reports out of Israel that Yitzhak Shamir is prepared to accept the US formula for Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. Do you know anything about that, and if so, what shape will it take?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well as you know, we have been working on this for eight months. And I certainly -- Jim Baker and I were just talking about it, and I might say I commend him for staying in there, trying to be a catalyst to get this process going. So, we don't know any of the details of that. We just talked to our top officials here. But, I hope it's true, and I hope we can

move forward. And if we do, I'll be glad to salute our Secretary of State and others, including Mr. Shamir, Mr. Mubarak, for hanging in there, trying to get something moving toward peace.

David?

Q Has there been any movement, sir? If you don't know about his final commitment, has there been any movement toward acceptance of the US format?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, there has over the months. But just like the real world, you take two steps forward and take one step back. I hope we're going to go forward now.

Q Will you work to reduce some of the foreign aid to the largest recipients, like Egypt and Israel, so that you -- the United States can give more to Eastern Europe, Nicaragua and the countries that --

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I am against earmarking. I am for more flexibility. We have had discussions with our congressmen, including the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Some of these discussions encourage the concept of a fund that gives the President the flexibility to determine a certain amount of foreign-aid money.

So I'm less interested in reducing somebody than I am getting the flexibility so that when you see a country come forward and try to solidify their democracy or work cooperatively with us in the Caribbean -- as, say, Mr. Manley in Jamaica is doing -- we'd like to be able to help him more.

Q Would it be a bad signal right now with Israel trying to move toward talks with the Palestinians?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Would what be a bad signal?

Q Would the reduction of aid to Israel?

3/3 76 2

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I don't think that -- I don't know that moving towards peace need be totally equated with aid. I mean, we're talking about -- talking about a quest for peace that comes not just in Israel but in Egypt and everything else. So I don't -- I'm not -- I'm not tying those two subjects. But Israel has some big economic problems; they've got some big problems facing them that require a very generous apportionment of aid money, and they are getting that.

(Cross-talk.)

PRESIDENT BUSH: Right here -- this gentleman in the middle.

Q To follow on the question of aid to Israel -- Secretary Baker has suggested that we might tie aid to resettle the Soviet Jews to an Israeli willingness to not settle the West Bank and to withdraw some of the settlements from the West Bank and Gaza. Then, the State Department seemed to equivocate on that. What's your position?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I'm not sure there was equivocation. My position is that the foreign policy of the United States says we do not believe there should be new settlements in the West Bank or in East Jerusalem. And I will conduct that policy as if it's firm, which it is, and I will be shaped in whatever decisions we make to see whether people can comply with that policy. And that's our strongly held view, and we think it's constructive to peace --

the peace process, to -- if Israel will follow that view. And so there's divisions in Israel on this question, incidentally. Parties are divided on it. But this is the position of the United States and I'm not going to change that position.

Q So will you link aid to resettle the Soviet Jews --

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I -- I will just simply reiterate the policy right here that we are not -- that we are not going to look favorably upon new settlements.

Q Mr. President, regarding the hostages, is there any new movement to report? Is any third country, particularly the French -- there are reports that perhaps French mediators are working on behalf of the US to negotiate with people in -- either Iran or Syria.

PRESIDENT BUSH: Nice try. Let me tell you all something. You people reported that I called Francois Mitterrand to discuss the release of some guy that I'd never heard of before, and we denied it, and you keep coming back at me. I'm not sure -- I think it's good for you to do that, though, because I have said that if I find a way to get these hostages released -- and the way to do it is through quiet diplomacy with the French, the British, the Iranians, or anybody else -- I will do it. I want those hostages out of there. So keep asking, but on this case, the answer to your





SECRETARY BAKER CNN 3.3.90

77

Q: what have you heard from Israel in terms of the reports we are learning as if they...

A: I really just got out the report as we were going out of the press conference so I heard nothing.

Q: Did it sound based on the conversations you have been having up to now as a logical thing, something that surprise you, or...

A: You know I really do not want just to guess, because frankly we do not know whether it is true or accurate, as the president has just said we have been working very hard for 8 months trying to implement Prime Minister Shamir's initiative and if this is true we would certainly welcome that and we think it would clearly be a step towards peace in the Middle East and it would be very very welcomed.

3 2/3

Q: One of the things that seem to be of some question is exactly what the Palestinian delegation will be comprised of? what will be your procedures if this thing we have heard earlier is true?

A: Well, a lot of the procedures will have to be developed during the course of the meeting of the foreign ministers, if that meeting takes place, and of course that meeting can take place only if we get a positive response or an affirmative response from the Israeli government.

Q: You have been tough on the Israelis lately in issuing some pretty strong statements. Do you believe they are... finally ready to sit down and tackle...

A: Well, you know I have to tell you there hasn't been an intention to be tough as some people have interpreted the testimony I have given in front of a congressional committee where I had to answer questions factually and honestly... and tough statements, in my opinion, they were not intended to be tough, it's not our desire to suggest that we are in any way going to pressure Israel, we haven't done that, we don't do that, and frankly I think it has the potential of being counterproductive, so that's not what we are doing. The fact of the matter is, as the President has just mentioned, there is a difference between Israel's government policy on settlements and our policy on settlements, and all I did was articulate really the difference before a congressional committee, so it's not a case of being tough. Some people say: you are being tough by saying to Israel it's their turn to move. That's not being

tough. The ball is in their court now, everybody understands that...

most particularly the Israeli government. So I hope that the wire story is true. It will really be welcomed by people all around the world, if we could take a major step towards peace in the Middle East.

3 77  
3/3

Q: Do you feel, presuming that this thing is true, that conditions truly are...to sit down and make some progress with the palestinians?

A: I FEEL this. I feel there will never be progress towards peace unless the parties themselves are ready to sit down around the same table and begin a dialogue. We first have to get to that point, I also feel that there's not going to be a peace in the Middle East until they accept direct negotiations between the parties. The U.S. had only offered its good offices, and that's exactly what we have been trying to do. We are trying to do it in a manner that is ever minded of the fact that Israel is our strong ally, our strong partner, they have stood shoulder to shoulder with us for a long time, and we have stood shoulder to shoulder with them, and that is going to continue. But it is important that they take this step.

XXX









|                   |                           |         |
|-------------------|---------------------------|---------|
| דחילויות:         | שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון | דד: 2   |
| סוג:              | טופס פרוק 2/2             | כתוב: 2 |
| תאריך וזמן חגורה: |                           | אל:     |
| פס' פרוק:         |                           | דד:     |
| הפסד:             | 55                        | פאת:    |
|                   | 45                        |         |

2. אסיה

- \* סין (ארה"ב)
- \* אסיה-פאסיפיק, שתיים כלכלי (ארה"ב)
- \* אסיה-מתיחות אזוריות (ארה"ב)
- \* קשרים מתפתחים עם יפן ועתיד היחסים עם דרום קוריאה (ישראל)

3. אמלייט

- \* אמרכ"ז, פנמה וטמים (ארה"ב)
- \* בעקבות השבעת הממשלים החדשים (ארה"ב)
- \* קשרי ישראל-אמלייט; קשרי כלכלה ושתיים (ישראל).

הערה: רשימת הנושאים וכותרותיהם אינה סנפית.

2. מבקשים לדעת אם המנכ"ל ישתתף בכל המושבים וכן אם מתבקשות פגישות נוספות עבורו.

3. במושב על המזה"ת מבקשים לדעת אם תשתתף כל המשלחת מהארץ.

ד  
עמרני

תפוצה:



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

2109

תאריך: 03.03.90

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,2109

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/134, ני/99, מצב/287, מנמת/119

מ-: נוש, נר: 57, תא: 020390, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: בל

תח: גס: צפא

נר: ג

בלמס/מיידי

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם  
אמן/מנמת - ר' משמרת, דובר צהל, ניו-יורק

מאת : עתונות וושינגטון

תאריך דובר מחמד ליום : 2/3/90

להלן חלק 1 מתוך 4 חלקים:

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING, BRIEFER: MARGARET  
TUTWILER 12:00 P.M. (EST)/ FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1990

MS. TUTWILER: ARE WE READY? I DON'T HAVE A STATEMENT.  
I'LL BE HAPPY TO TRY TO ANSWER ANY OF THE  
QUESTIONS THAT YOU'D LIKE TO POSE.

Q OKAY. NOW THAT YOU'VE TEED OFF ON THE ISRAELI  
GOVERNMENT, AND THEY'VE -- WITH SOME AMAZING UNITY  
BECAUSE YOU HAVE NOT ONLY MADE SHAMIR MAD  
YOU HAVE MANAGED TO MAKE SHIMON PERES MAD,  
AND HE USUALLY GOES ALONG WITH THE UNITED STATES  
ON VIRTUALLY ANYTHING. DO YOU HAVE SOMETHING  
TO RESPOND NOW? WAS THE -- WHAT WAS THE SECRETARY  
'S INTENTION. IT'S BEEN INTERPRETED AS AN ATTEMPT

6406 יוקר תלק ושולח בקרים כל 00770007

STATE DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
MAY 15 1954

TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL  
FROM THE DIRECTOR

STATE DEPARTMENT  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
MAY 15 1954

RE: [Illegible]

[Illegible text follows, appearing to be a memorandum or report with several paragraphs of text that is mostly unreadable due to blurring and low contrast.]

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.  
HE WOULDN'T BE DOING THAT, WOULD HE?

MS. TUTWILER: ABSOLUTELY NOT. WHAT WE HAVE BEEN  
DOING, AS YOU KNOW AS WELL AS ANYONE HERE  
IS THAT WE HAVE, OVER THE LAST MANY MONTHS  
SUCCEEDED IN MAKING THE PRIME MINISTER'S INITIATIVE  
BE CENTERPIECE OF ALL OUR DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY  
ON THE PEACE PROCESS. THE ISRAELIS HAVE TOLD  
US THAT THEY REGARD THIS AS AN ACHIEVEMENT.  
IN FACT, SECRETARY BAKER HAD ABOUT A 45-MINUTE  
CONVERSATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER YESTERDAY  
AFTERNOON. THIS IS NOT THE FIRST CONVERSATION HE  
HAS HAD WITH HIM. AND THE PRIME MINISTER ONCE  
AGAIN THANKED SECRETARY BAKER FOR ALL OF HIS  
TIRELESS EFFORTS AND THE AMOUNT OF TIME THAT  
HE HAS DEVOTED TO THIS.

OBVIOUSLY, THERE ARE SOME TOUGH DECISIONS THAT HAVE  
TO BE MADE. WE RECOGNIZE HOW TOUGH THESE DECISIONS  
ARE, AND WE HOPE THAT WE WILL ALL BE ABLE  
TO TAKE THE NEXT STEPS TO IMPLEMENT THE PRIME MINISTER'S  
INITIATIVE.

Q IN THAT 45-MINUTE CONVERSATION, WAS THERE  
ANY INDICATION THAT THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER  
WAS NOT ENTIRELY PLEASED WITH WHAT THE SECRETARY  
HAD SAID IN HIS TESTIMONY? WAS THERE ANY SIGN OF  
THAT, OR DID THAT HAPPEN SUBSEQUENT?

MS. TUTWILER: NO, THERE WAS NOT ANY INDICATION  
OF THAT. THERE WAS A CLEAR INDICATION OF  
-- AND IT WAS A NUMBER OF TIMES THAT THE PRIME  
MINISTER -- THIS WAS OBVIOUSLY A PRIVATE PHONE  
CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE TWO GENTLEMEN, THERE WAS  
NO ONE ELSE THERE -- THANKED THE SECRETARY  
FOR HIS TIME AND FOR HIS EFFORT.

AND THE SECRETARY -- BECAUSE THE OTHER QUESTION  
YOU ARE ASKING ME WITHOUT MENTIONING IT IS  
WHAT THE SECRETARY MEANT ON HOUSING YESTERDAY  
-- IS THE SECRETARY MADE CLEAR TO THE PRIME MINISTER

6406  
03 8276987.70 07 יוסף ורדי יוסף ב"ר 07





THAT WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE IMMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS TO ISRAEL. WHEN HE WAS IN MOSCOW, HE TOLD THE PRIME MINISTER, WHICH YOU ALL KNOW BECAUSE HE SAID IT IN PUBLIC TESTIMONY THIS WEEK, HE MADE THIS POINT WITH MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE AND ALSO EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF DIRECT FLIGHTS TO FACILITATE THE SPEEDY EXIT OF ALL THOSE WISHING TO LEAVE. HE SAID WE WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO PROMOTE AND FACILITATE THE EXIT OF SOVIET JEWS WISHING TO IMMIGRATE TO ISRAEL. THEIR ABSORPTION INTO ISRAEL IS SOMETHING WE WELCOME AND SUPPORT. EFFORTS TO STOP SUCH IMMIGRATION, TO MOBILIZE INTERNATIONAL OPINION TO OPPOSE SUCH IMMIGRATION ARE WRONG.

AT THE SAME TIME, OUR POSITION ON SETTLEMENTS IS WELL KNOWN, WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER IS VERY FAMILIAR WITH. WE REGARD THEM AS AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE. AS SUCH, WE DRAW A VERY CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN ABSORPTION OF SOVIET JEWS INTO ISRAEL AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN THE TERRITORIES. BECAUSE OF OUR SUPPORT FOR THE ABSORPTION OF SOVIET JEWS INTO ISRAEL, THE SECRETARY FELT THAT WE COULD SUPPORT -- WHICH WAS THE FIRST TIME, I MIGHT NOTE, THIS HAS BEEN SAID -- THE 400 MILLION IN HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES THAT ARE NOT IN OUR BUDGET. THEY ARE OUTSIDE OF OUR BUDGET. BUT ONLY IF WE COULD GET SOME ASSURANCES RESPECTING SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY.

Q MARGARET, ONE LAST THING.

Q DID YOU GET THE ASSURANCES?

Q SOME ASSURANCES YOU WANT. ALL RIGHT. WELL MAYBE SOMEONE WILL PICK YOU UP ON THAT. MY PROBLEM WITH THIS ALL ALONG HAS BEEN -- MAYBE I'M BEING TOO LOGICAL HERE. THAT'S ALWAYS A PROBLEM WHEN YOU COVER DIPLOMACY. BUT THE EXODUS OF SOVIET JEWS IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL. IN OTHER WORDS, THE UNITED STATES TAKES THE POSITION PEOPLE HAVE









נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,2110

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון / 135, ני / 100, מצב / 288, מנמת / 120  
מ-: נוש, נר: 58, תא: 020390, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: בל

תח: @ גס: צפא

@ נד:

בלמס/מיידי

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם  
אמן/מנמת - ר' משמרת, דובר צהל, ניו-יורק

מאת : עתונות וושינגטון

תדרוך דובר מחמד ליום : 2/03/90

להלן חלק 2 מתוך 4 חלקים

MS. TUTWILER: CORRECT.

Q WHY DOES THAT RIGHT END FOR JEWS WHO WANT  
TO LIVE ON THE WEST BANK WHERE JEWS HAVE  
LIVED FOR 2,000 YEARS UNTIL JORDAN REMOVED  
ALL THE JEWS FROM THE WEST BANK?

MS. TUTWILER: YOU KNOW --

Q WHY DON'T JEWS HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN HEBRON?  
WHY DON'T THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE WHERE  
THEY WANT, SOVIET JEWS AS WELL AS ANY JEWS?

MS. TUTWILER: YOU KNOW THAT OUR POSITION ON





SETTLEMENTS IS WELL KNOWN.

Q I KNOW YOUR POSITION, BUT I WANT YOUR POSITION

MS. TUTWILER: THAT IS OUR POSITION.

Q -- ON THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL. WHY DOES IT END  
AT A CERTAIN POINT? I MEAN --

MS. TUTWILER: WE DIDN'T SAY IT ENDED AT A CERTAIN  
POINT. WE HAVE ADDRESSED OURSELVES TO NEW  
SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND  
WE BELIEVE STRONGLY THEY DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS  
PEACE.

Q THAT'S A PRACTICAL DECISION, BUT IT'S NOT  
-- I DON'T KNOW WHAT PRINCIPLE IT'S BASED  
ON.

MS. TUTWILER: IT'S OUR POLICY.

Q MARGARET --

MS. TUTWILER: THE SAME PRACTICALITY. IT DOES NOT  
CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE.

Q WHEN THE SECRETARY SPOKE TO MR. SHAMIR, DID  
MR. SHAMIR HAVE THE TEXT OF HIS TESTIMONY  
TO THE COMMITTEE? HOW LONG AFTER THE TESTIMONY  
WAS THAT PHONE CONVERSATION?

MS. TUTWILER: SECRETARY BAKER'S PHONE CALL TO THE  
PRIME MINISTER HAD NOTHING TO DO WHATSOEVER  
WITH HIS TESTIMONY. IT HAD EVERYTHING TO  
DO WITH, AS IT HAS IN THE PAST WHEN HE HAS TALKED  
TO THE PRIME MINISTER, DISCUSSING EFFORTS  
TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. IN THE  
CONVERSATION THE SECRETARY DID BRING UP SO THAT  
THE PRIME MINISTER WAS VERY CLEAR ON WHAT THE SECRETARY  
HAD SAID AND THE SECRETARY'S POSITION. BUT THE  
REASON FOR THE PHONE CALL WHICH HAD BEEN DECIDED  
, TO BE HONEST WITH YOU, THE DAY BEFORE, HAD NOTHING





TO DO WITH SECRETARY BAKER'S TESTIMONY.

Q I HEARD THAT -- THAT THE PHONE CALL TOOK PLACE AND IT MAY HAVE BEEN DECIDED THE DAY BEFORE BUT IT TOOK PLACE VERY SHORTLY AFTER THE TESTIMONY AND --

MS. TUTWILER: YOU'RE DRAWING CONCLUSIONS THAT DON'T EXIST.

Q -- AND IT WAS RELATIVELY CONGENIAL, BUT THEN WHEN SHAMIR SAW THE TEXT OF WHAT MR. BAKER SAID, HE HIT THE ROOF.

MS. TUTWILER: I CAN'T CHARACTERIZE THE PRIME MINISTER, WHEN HE SAW A TEXT, AT WHAT POINT IN TIME, AND HIS REACTIONS TO IT.

Q WELL, WHEN WAS THE CONVERSATION, IS MY QUESTION?

MS. TUTWILER: SECRETARY BAKER CALLED HIM SOMETIME LATE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON. I DID NOT PUT A TIME ON IT. I KNOW THAT THE CALL WAS FOR APPROXIMATELY 40 TO 45 MINUTES AS WE HAVE CHARACTERIZED IT, AND I AM ABSOLUTELY POSITIVE THAT THE DECISION TO CALL THE PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN MADE THE DAY BEFORE, HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH HIS TESTIMONY.

Q THE QUESTION OF FUNGIBILITY, WHICH MR. BAKER BROUGHT UP YESTERDAY. ISN'T IT LOGICAL THAT IF THE 400 MILLION HOUSING GUARANTEE IS FUNGIBLE, THEN EVERY LAST CENT OF THE 3 BILLION IN EAIDF WHICH THE UNITED STATES GIVES ISRAEL IS ALSO FUNGIBLE? MS. TUTWILER: I WILL ANSWER THAT THE SAME WAY WE HAVE ALWAYS ANSWERED IT. ON OUR 3 BILLION WORTH OF AID TO ISRAEL, IS THAT OUR GRANT AGREEMENTS WITH ISRAEL SPECIFY THE USES TO WHICH THESE FUNDS MAY BE APPLIED. IN ADDITION, AN AMERICAN LAW REQUIRING THAT CASH TRANSFERS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES BE KEPT IN SEPARATE VERIFIABLE ACCOUNTS HAS BEEN IN EFFECT THE PAST THREE YEARS. ON AN ANNUAL BASIS, ISRAEL PROVIDES THE UNITED STATES WITH DOCUMENTATION SHOWING HOW US ASSISTANCE FUNDS WERE USED. WE MAY AUDIT

Q I HEARD THAT -- THAT THE PHONE CALL TOOK PLACE AND IT MAY HAVE BEEN DECIDED THE DAY BEFORE BUT IT TOOK PLACE VERY SHORTLY AFTER THE TESTIMONY AND --

MS. TUTTLER: YOU'RE DRAWING CONCLUSIONS THAT DON'T EXIST.

Q -- AND IT WAS RELATIVELY CONGENIAL, BUT THEN WHEN SHAMIR SAW THE TEXT OF WHAT MR. BAKER SAID, HE HIT THE ROOF.

MS. TUTTLER: I CAN'T CHARACTERIZE THE PRIME MINISTER, WHEN HE SAW A TEXT, AT WHAT POINT IN TIME, AND HIS REACTIONS TO IT.

Q WELL, WHEN WAS THE CONVERSATION, IS MY QUESTION?

MS. TUTTLER: SECRETARY BAKER CALLED HIM SOMETIME LATE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON. I DID NOT PUT A TIME ON IT. I KNOW THAT THE CALL WAS FOR APPROXIMATELY 40 TO 45 MINUTES AS WE HAVE CHARACTERIZED IT, AND I AM ABSOLUTELY POSITIVE THAT THE DECISION TO CALL THE PRIME MINISTER HAD BEEN MADE THE DAY BEFORE, HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH HIS TESTIMONY.

Q THE QUESTION OF FUNGIBILITY, WHICH MR. BAKER BROUGHT UP YESTERDAY, ISN'T IT LOGICAL THAT IF THE 400 MILLION HOUSING GUARANTEE IS FUNGIBLE, THEN EVERY LAST CENT OF THE 3 BILLION IN AID WHICH THE UNITED STATES GIVES ISRAEL IS ALSO FUNGIBLE? MS. TUTTLER: I WILL ANSWER THAT THE SAME WAY WE HAVE ALWAYS ANSWERED IT. ON OUR 3 BILLION WORTH OF AID TO ISRAEL, IS THAT OUR GRANT AGREEMENTS WITH ISRAEL SPECIFY THE USES TO WHICH THESE FUNDS MAY BE APPLIED. IN ADDITION, AN AMERICAN LAW REQUIRING THAT CASH TRANSFERS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES BE KEPT IN SEPARATE VERIFIABLE ACCOUNTS HAS BEEN IN EFFECT THE PAST THREE YEARS. ON AN ANNUAL BASIS, ISRAEL PROVIDES THE UNITED STATES WITH DOCUMENTATION SHOWING HOW US ASSISTANCE FUNDS WERE USED. WE MAY AUDIT

ISRAELI RECORDS AND DOCUMENTATIONS ON EUS AIDF AND  
USE AT OUR DISCRETION. WHAT SECRETARY BAKER WAS  
ADDRESSING HIMSELF TO, SO THAT WE'RE ALL VERY  
CLEAR HERE, HE WAS NOT ADDRESSING HIMSELF TO THE  
3 BILLION IN AID. AS I HAVE STATED, THIS  
IS AN ADDITIONAL, OUTSIDE OF OUR BUDGET, 400  
MILLION IN LUMP HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES. HE SAID  
AND I'LL REFER YOU TO THE RECORD, AND I'LL  
SAY IT AGAIN TODAY, THAT IT IS REASONABLE  
TO ASK FOR ASSURANCES THAT THAT MONEY, SINCE OUR  
POLICY IS WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN NEW SETTLEMENTS,  
THAT HE BE GIVEN SOME TYPE OF ASSURANCES. THAT  
IS ALL THAT HE SAID. HE WAS NOT ADDRESSING  
HIMSELF, BECAUSE THERE WAS NO REASON TO, TO THE  
3 BILLION.

Q EXCUSE ME, MARGARET. WHAT HE ACTUALLY SAID  
WAS, HE DIDN'T SAY THAT HE WANTED ASSURANCES  
ABOUT THAT MONEY. HE SAID HE WANTED AN ASSURANCE  
THAT EXISTING SETTLEMENTS WOULD NOT BE EXPANDED  
AND NEW SETTLEMENTS WOULD NOT BE BUILT.  
AND HE SAID THAT MONEY IS FUNGIBLE. HE SAID  
THERE'S NO POINT IN GIVING THEM 400 MILLION IF  
THAT JUST FREES OTHER FUNDS (FOR THE SETTLEMENTS?).  
MS. TUTWILER: HE HAS SAID THAT MONEY IS FUNGIBLE  
IN THE PAST. YOU'VE ASKED ME THE QUESTION  
MANY TIMES AND WE'VE ANSWERED IT FOR YOU.  
THERE'S NO REASON TO DEBATE. MONEY IS FUNGIBLE.  
WHAT HE DID SAY -- AND MAYBE MY TRANSCRIPT  
READS DIFFERENTLY THAN YOURS -- I DON'T THINK  
IT IS UNREASONABLE OF US TO ASK FOR SOME ASSURANCES  
THAT THESE FUNDS WILL NOT BE USED TO CREATE  
NEW SETTLEMENTS OR EXPAND OLD SETTLEMENTS IN THE  
OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THAT IS HOW I HAVE A  
DIRECT QUOTE OFF OF THE TRANSCRIPT, AND MAYBE  
IT'S INACCURATE, BUT I DON'T BELIEVE THAT  
IT IS. AND HE CLEARLY WAS ANSWERING A QUESTION  
TO THE 400 MILLION DOLLARS ADDITIONAL NEW  
HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES.

Q MARGARET?



HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES.

TO THE 400 MILLION DOLLARS ADDITIONAL NEW  
 IT IS. AND HE CLEARLY WAS ANSWERING A QUESTION  
 IT'S INACCURATE, BUT I DON'T BELIEVE THAT  
 DIRECT QUOTE OFF OF THE TRANSCRIPT, AND MAYBE  
 OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THAT IS HOW I HAVE A  
 NEW SETTLEMENTS OR EXPAND OLD SETTLEMENTS IN THE  
 THAT THESE FUNDS WILL NOT BE USED TO CREATE  
 IT IS UNREASONABLE OF US TO ASK FOR SOME ASSURANCES  
 READS DIFFERENTLY THAN YOURS -- I DON'T THINK  
 WHAT HE DID SAY -- AND MAYBE MY TRANSCRIPT  
 THERE'S NO REASON TO DEBATE. MONEY IS FUNGIBLE.  
 MANY TIMES AND WE'VE ANSWERED IT FOR YOU.  
 IN THE PAST. YOU'VE ASKED ME THE QUESTION  
 MS. TUTTILER: HE HAS SAID THAT MONEY IS FUNGIBLE  
 THAT JUST FREES OTHER FUNDS (FOR THE SETTLEMENTS).  
 THERE'S NO POINT IN GIVING THEM 400 MILLION IF  
 AND HE SAID THAT MONEY IS FUNGIBLE. HE SAID  
 AND NEW SETTLEMENTS WOULD NOT BE BUILT.  
 THAT EXISTING SETTLEMENTS WOULD NOT BE EXPANDED  
 ABOUT THAT MONEY. HE SAID HE WANTED AN ASSURANCE  
 WAS, HE DIDN'T SAY THAT HE WANTED ASSURANCES  
 EXCUSE ME, MARGARET. WHAT HE ACTUALLY SAID

3 BILLION.

HIMSELF, BECAUSE THERE WAS NO REASON TO, TO THE  
 IS ALL THAT HE SAID. HE WAS NOT ADDRESSING  
 THAT HE BE GIVEN SOME TYPE OF ASSURANCES. THAT  
 POLICY IS WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN NEW SETTLEMENTS,  
 TO ASK FOR ASSURANCES THAT THAT MONEY, SINCE OUR  
 SAY IT AGAIN TODAY, THAT IT IS REASONABLE  
 AND I'LL REFER YOU TO THE RECORD, AND I'LL  
 MILLION IN LUMP HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES. HE SAID  
 IS AN ADDITIONAL, OUTSIDE OF OUR BUDGET, 400  
 2 BILLION. IN AID. AS I HAVE STATED, THIS  
 CLEAR HERE, HE WAS NOT ADDRESSING HIMSELF TO THE  
 ADDRESSING HIMSELF TO, SO THAT WE'RE ALL VERY  
 USE AT OUR DISCRETION. WHAT SECRETARY BARER WAS  
 ISRAELI RECORDS AND DOCUMENTATIONS ON BUS AIR AND

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

MS. TUTWILER: YEP?

Q DURING THE CONVERSATION, DID THE SECRETARY  
ASK OR WAS HE PROVIDED WITH THE ASSURANCES  
THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO GAIN THIS ADMINISTRATION'S  
BACKING FOR THE 400 MILLION LOAN GUARANTEE?

MS. TUTWILER: I CAN'T CHARACTERIZE THAT HE WASN'T  
OR THAT HE WAS. THE BULK OF THE CONVERSATION  
TO BE PERFECTLY HONEST, AS I SAID, WAS ON  
THE PEACE PROCESS. HE DIDN'T GET INTO ANY ELABORATE  
DETAILED DISCUSSION OF WHAT HE HAD JUST  
DONE IN TESTIMONY. THAT WASN'T THE PURPOSE  
OF THE CALL. HE HAS SAID ON THE RECORD, WHICH  
I'VE SAID AGAIN TODAY, THAT ON THE NEW 400 MILLION  
HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES, THAT IT IS, HE BELIEVES  
, NOT UNREASONABLE TO ASK FOR ASSURANCES.

DX

עד כאן חלק ב'

המשך בנר 59

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רס, פ(אמן),  
ממד, בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסברה, לעמ





משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

2121

תאריך : 03.03.90

נכנס

גלמס

חוזם: 3,2121

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/136, נ"י/101, מצב/289, מנמת/121

מ-: ווש, נר: 59, תא: 020390, זח: 1600, רח: מ, סג: בל

תח: & גס: צפא

נר: &

בלמס/מיידי

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם

אמן/מנמת - ו' משמרת, וובר צהל, נ"ו-יורק

מאת : עתונות וושינגטון

תדרוך דובר מחמד ליום : 2/3/90

חלק 3 מתוך 4 חלקים

Q MARGARET?

Q WELL, WAIT, PLEASE --

Q SORRY.

Q -- JUST TO FOLLOW THIS UP.

MS. TUTWILER: MMM-HMM. (ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.)

Q I MEAN I BELIEVE YOU SAID -- I DON'T TAKE

--

Q HE WANTS SOME ASSURANCES.



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

Q -- A TRANSCRIPT OF EVERYTHING HERE, BUT -

MS. TUTWILER: AND I SPEAK FAST. SORRY.

Q NO, NO. BUT THE SECRETARY BROUGHT UP WHAT HE HAD SAID ON THE HILL. I MEAN YOU DIDN'T SAY THAT EXACTLY, BUT THE SECRETARY IN A CONVERSATION WITH --

MS. TUTWILER: MMM-HMM. (ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.)

Q -- MR. SHAMIR BROUGHT UP -- WELL, ONE OF THE THINGS HE BROUGHT UP WAS THIS QUESTION WE'VE JUST BEEN DISCUSSING, AND IT SEEMS ODD TO ME THAT THERE WAS NO FURTHER DISCUSSION THAT, AFTER HAVING TOLD THE COMMITTEE THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD LIKE THESE KIND OF ASSURANCES THAT AT THE FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN THEM, AND HE DIDN'T MAKE AN EFFORT OR THEY WEREN'T VOLUNTEERED. WAS THERE NO DISCUSSION OF THAT?

MS. TUTWILER: NUMBER ONE, THE SECRETARY SAID SOMETHING THAT, IN MY MIND AND, I BELIEVE YOU ALLS', IS NEW AND DIFFERENT YESTERDAY. HE SAID, UP UNTIL YESTERDAY, WE HAD BEEN SAYING WE WERE REVIEWING THE 400 MILLION HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES. HE ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY THAT WE WERE PREPARED TO GO FORWARD TO SUPPORT, TO LEND OUR SUPPORT, TO THIS PARTICULAR INITIATIVE WHICH I GO BACK TO, WHICH IS OUTSIDE OF THE BUDGET. AT THE SAME TIME, HE SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THAT IT WAS NOT UNREASONABLE TO ASK FOR ASSURANCES. I'M NOT GOING TO GET INTO A DETAILED BLOW BY-BLOW OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER. I HAVE SAID THIS SUBJECT WAS DISCUSSED. YOU SHOULD NATURALLY ASSUME THAT THE SECRETARY RESTATED OUR POLICY ON SETTLEMENTS, WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER IS VERY, VERY FAMILIAR WITH. PRESIDENT BUSH AND HE HAD A CONVERSATION ABOUT IT WHEN HE WAS HERE I BELIEVE IT WAS LAST APRIL. THE SECRETARY RESTATED OUR POSITION ON SETTLEMENTS. THE SECRETARY, OF COURSE, TOLD HIM THE GOOD





משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

NEWS, WHICH SHOULD BE VIEWED AS GOOD NEWS  
WE WERE NO LONGER REVIEWING THIS, THAT WE WERE  
PREPARED TO SUPPORT IT, PROVIDE THAT WE HAD  
SOME TYPES OF ASSURANCES.

Q OKAY, MARGARET --

Q WELL WAIT, PLEASE. ISN'T IT TRUE THOUGH THAT  
THE PRIME MINISTER IS PROBABLY THE BEST QUALIFIED  
PERSON TO GIVE THOSE ASSURANCES.

MS. TUTWILER: MM-HMM. (AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSE.)

Q AND DID HE GIVE THOSE ASSURANCES TO THE  
SECRETARY?

MS. TUTWILER: I DO NOT WANT TO ANSWER FOR THE PRIME  
MINISTER. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THOSE ANSWERS  
ARE BEST ANSWERED BY HIM AND HIS GOVERNMENT.

Q BUT ANSWERING FOR THE GOVERNMENT -- THIS WILL  
BE MY LAST QUESTION -- IS, AS A RESULT OF  
THIS CONVERSATION, THE ADMINISTRATION NOW  
READY TO SUPPORT THIS PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE THE GUARANTEE  
FOR THE 400 MILLION?

MS. TUTWILER: IF THIS ADMINISTRATION RECEIVED  
ASSURANCES, IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY VIEW THAT AS  
A POSITIVE AND A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.  
HE SAID YESTERDAY THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT  
THIS NEW MONEY, PROVIDED WE GET ASSURANCES.

Q HAS THE UNITED STATES RECEIVED PRIVATE  
ASSURANCES FROM THE ISRAELIS? HAS SECRETARY  
BAKER OR ANY OTHER US OFFICIAL RECEIVED PRIVATE  
ASSURANCES FROM THE ISRAELIS THAT THEY WOULD NOT  
RESETTLE THE ESQVIET JENSF IN THE OCCUPIED  
TERRITORIES?

MS. TUTWILER: I CANNOT CHARACTERIZE FOR YOU THAT  
SECRETARY BAKER HAS RECEIVED PRIVATE ASSURANCES.

Q MARGARET, IS THE ASSURANCE THAT YOU'RE TALKING

1. The first step in the process of...  
2. The second step is to...  
3. The third step is to...  
4. The fourth step is to...  
5. The fifth step is to...

6. The sixth step is to...

7. The seventh step is to...  
8. The eighth step is to...  
9. The ninth step is to...  
10. The tenth step is to...

11. The eleventh step is to...

12. The twelfth step is to...  
13. The thirteenth step is to...  
14. The fourteenth step is to...  
15. The fifteenth step is to...  
16. The sixteenth step is to...

17. The seventeenth step is to...  
18. The eighteenth step is to...  
19. The nineteenth step is to...  
20. The twentieth step is to...  
21. The twenty-first step is to...

22. The twenty-second step is to...  
23. The twenty-third step is to...  
24. The twenty-fourth step is to...  
25. The twenty-fifth step is to...  
26. The twenty-sixth step is to...

27. The twenty-seventh step is to...  
28. The twenty-eighth step is to...  
29. The twenty-ninth step is to...  
30. The thirtieth step is to...  
31. The thirty-first step is to...

32. The thirty-second step is to...  
33. The thirty-third step is to...  
34. The thirty-fourth step is to...  
35. The thirty-fifth step is to...

36. The thirty-sixth step is to...



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ABOUT SIMILAR TO THE ASSURANCE ON THE 3 BILLION?  
IN OTHER WORDS --  
MS. TUTWILER: ABSOLUTELY.

Q SO THAT THE SAME KIND OF ASSURANCE THAT THEY  
GIVE ABOUT THE 3 BILLION, IF THEY GAVE IT  
ABOUT THE 400 MILLION HOUSING GUARANTEE, THAT  
WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE?

MS. TUTWILER: WE WOULD VIEW THAT AS A STEP IN THE  
RIGHT DIRECTION AND AS A POSITIVE.

Q MARGARET, WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE THE CHANCES  
FOR THE TRILATERAL MEETING IN WASHINGTON?

עד כאן חלק ג'

המשך בנר 60

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, ס(אמן),  
ממד, בונצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעת, הסורה, לעמ

... OF THE ...  
... WORDS ...  
... ABSOLUTELY ...

Q SO THAT THE SAME KIND OF ASSURANCE THAT THEY  
GIVE ABOUT THE ... IF THEY GAVE ...  
ABOUT THE ... HUSING ...  
WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE?

MS. TUTWILER: HE WOULD VIEW THAT AS A STEP IN THE  
RIGHT DIRECTION AND AS A POSITIVE.

Q MARGARET, WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE THE CHANGES  
FOR THE ... MEETING IN WASHINGTON?

A ...

... way

...

... ..  
... ..

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

2122

תאריך : 03.03.90

נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 3,2122

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/137, ני/102, מצב/290, מנמח/122

מ-: ווש, נר: 60, תא: 020390, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: בל

תח: גס: צפא

נד: 0

בלמס/מיידי

אל : מצפא, מעת, ממד

דע: יועץ רוהם לתקשורת, יועץ שהבט לתקשורת, לעם  
אמן/מנמח - ר' משמרת, דובר צהל, ניו-יורק

מאת : עתונות וושינגטון

תריך דובר מחמד ליום : 2/3/90

חלק 4 ואחרון

MS. TUTWILER: NO, I'VE REFRAINED FROM DOING THAT FOR WEEKS, AND I'M GOING TO REFRAIN AGAIN TODAY FROM DOING THAT.

Q NO, I MEAN AFTER THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND THE PRIME MINISTER, ARE THE CHANCES BETTER OR JUST THE SAME, OR WE ARE BACK TO SQUARE ONE OR WHAT?

MS. TUTWILER: IT'S THE SAME QUESTION, I BELIEVE JUST ASKED A LITTLE DIFFERENTLY. I'VE REFRAINED ALL ALONG FROM CHARACTERIZING THERE'S PROGRESS THERE'S NON-PROGRESS. IS, OBVIOUSLY, YOU WOULD HAVE TO BE LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE SECRETARY IS STILL VERY ENGAGED YOU WOULD HAVE TO BELIEVE

6400 \*\*\*\*\* עסקי וולף ושות' כתיב, גל, 07-64007667



0110

0110

0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0

0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0

0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0  
0110:2010.0

MS. TUTTLER: NO, I'VE REFRAINED FROM GOING THAT  
FOR WEEKS, AND I'M GOING TO REFRAIN AGAIN  
TODAY FROM DOING THAT.  
Q NO, I MEAN AFTER THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN  
THE SECRETARY AND THE PRIME MINISTER, ARE  
THE CHANCES BETTER OR JUST THE SAME, OR  
ARE BACK TO SQUARE ONE OR WHAT?  
MS. TUTTLER: IT'S THE SAME QUESTION, I BELIEVE  
JUST ASKED A LITTLE DIFFERENTLY. I'VE REFRAINED  
ALL ALONG FROM CHARACTERIZING THERE'S PROGRESS  
THERE'S NON-PROGRESS. IS, OBVIOUSLY, YOU  
WOULD HAVE TO BE LED TO BELIEVE THAT THE SECRETARY  
IS STILL VERY ENGAGED YOU WOULD HAVE TO BELIEVE

THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS ENGAGED. WHY ELSE WOULD THEY BE ON THE PHONE FOR 45 MINUTES YESTERDAY? AND I ALSO SAID THIS ISN'T THE FIRST TIME THEY'VE TALKED.

Q MARGARET --

Q MARGARET, IN HIS TESTIMONY THE SECRETARY GAVE MR. ARAFAT WHAT APPEARED TO BE A CLEAN BILL OF HEALTH. DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES IS IN THE OPINION THE EPLOF, OR AT LEAST ARAFAT, HAS FULFILLED -- FULLY FULFILLED HIS COMMITMENTS TAKEN IN GENEVA, DECEMBER '88? MS. TUTWILER: THE SECRETARY SIMPLY RESTATED YESTERDAY, CONCERNING THE PLO, WHAT HE HAS SAID SINCE HE'S BEEN SECRETARY OF STATE. AND THE RECORD, IF YOU LOOK AT IT, HE DID NOT SAY ANYTHING NEW OR DIFFERENT. HE SAID, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, THAT FROM TIME TO TIME WE'VE HAD REPORTS THAT WE'VE SERIOUSLY LOOKED INTO THESE REPORTS. HE HAS SAID THAT WHEN WE HAVE HAD CONCERNS THAT WE HAVE RAISED THEM IN TUN IS. AND THERE WAS NOTHING NEW IN WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID YESTERDAY.

Q MARGARET, YOU SAID EARLY ON THAT THE SECRETARY -- AND, OF COURSE, IT'S BEEN SAID MANY, MANY TIMES -- SUPPORTS THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL FOR ELECTIONS ON THE WEST BANK. IS IT THE SECRETARY'S POSITION THAT WHEN ISRAELIS -- IF AND WHEN ISRAELIS MEET WITH PALESTINIANS, THEY SHOULD TALK ONLY ABOUT PROCEDURES FOR HOLDING THOSE ELECTIONS OR SHOULD THE MEETING BE BROADENED INTO A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND PALESTINIAN ASPIRATIONS AND ALL THE OTHER ISSUES?

MS. TUTWILER: HE HAS SAID THAT WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO DO IS TO BEGIN PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S ELECTION PROPOSAL TO HAVE A DIALOGUE, TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE. OBVIOUSLY, THE FIRST THING THAT THEY WOULD DISCUSS WOULD BE ELECTIONS, AND HE HAS NOT ADDRESSED HIMSELF SPECIFICALLY TO

THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS ENGAGED. WHY ELSE  
WOULD THEY BE ON THE PHONE FOR 45 MINUTES  
YESTERDAY? AND I ALSO SAID THIS ISN'T THE FIRST  
TIME THEY'VE TALKED.

MARGARET --

MARGARET, IN HIS TESTIMONY THE SECRETARY GAVE  
MR. ARAFAT WHAT APPEARED TO BE A CLEAN BILL  
OF HEALTH. DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE UNITED  
STATES IS IN THE OPINION THE PLO, OR AT LEAST  
ARAFAT, HAS FULFILLED -- FULLY FULFILLED HIS  
COMMITMENTS TAKEN IN GENEVA, DECEMBER 1983. TWTWILLER  
THE SECRETARY SIMPLY RESTATED YESTERDAY,  
CONCERNING THE PLO, WHAT HE HAS SAID SINCE HE'S  
BEEN SECRETARY OF STATE. AND THE RECORD,  
IF YOU LOOK AT IT, HE DID NOT SAY ANYTHING  
NEW OR DIFFERENT. HE SAID, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION  
THAT FROM TIME TO TIME WE'VE HAD REPORTS  
THAT WE'VE SERIOUSLY LOOKED INTO THESE REPORTS.  
HE HAS SAID THAT WHEN WE HAVE HAD CONCERNS THAT  
WE HAVE RAISED THEM IN TUN IS. AND THERE WAS  
NOTHING NEW IN WHAT THE SECRETARY SAID YESTERDAY.

MARGARET, YOU SAID EARLY ON THAT THE SECRETARY  
-- AND, OF COURSE, IT'S BEEN SAID MANY, MANY  
TIMES -- SUPPORTS THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL FOR  
ELECTIONS ON THE WEST BANK. IS IT THE SECRETARY'S  
POSITION THAT WHEN ISRAELIS -- IF AND WHEN  
ISRAELIS MEET WITH PALESTINIANS, THEY SHOULD  
TALK ONLY ABOUT PROCEDURES FOR HOLDING THOSE  
ELECTIONS OR SHOULD THE MEETING BE BROADENED INTO  
A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT  
AND PALESTINIAN ASPIRATIONS AND ALL THE OTHER  
ISSUES?

MS. TWTWILLER: HE HAS SAID THAT WHAT WE ARE TRYING  
TO DO IS TO BEGIN PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR'S  
ELECTION PROPOSAL TO HAVE A DIALOGUE, TO BEGIN  
A DIALOGUE. OBVIOUSLY, THE FIRST THING THAT THEY  
WOULD DISCUSS WOULD BE ELECTIONS, AND HE  
HAS NOT ADDRESSED HIMSELF SPECIFICALLY TO



TO WHAT WOULD EVOLVE IN THE FUTURE, ET CETERA.  
BUT THE MAIN THING THAT HE HAS BEEN FOCUSING  
ON, TRYING SO HARD, IS TO GET PRIME MINISTER  
SHAMIR'S INITIATIVE IMPLEMENTED, TO GET THE DIALOGUE  
GOING.

Q BUT -- BUT IT SEEMS THAT THERE ARE --

MS. TUTWILER: THERE ARE A NUMBER OF THINGS TO BE  
ADDRESSED OR A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS, ALL OF  
WHICH I CANNOT ANSWER FOR YOU OUT HERE TODAY.

Q WELL, THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT NOT AGREE THAT  
THE WAY TO GET THE DIALOGUE GOING IS TO HAVE  
A CONVERSATION ABOUT SOMETHING OTHER THAN  
ELECTIONS --

MS. TUTWILER: CORRECT. THERE ARE --

Q -- WHICH SEEMS TO BE WHAT THE PLO WANTS, WHAT  
THE EGYPTIANS WANT, WHAT THE PERES PARTY  
WANTS, AND I THINK WHAT THE US GOVERNMENT  
WANTS.

MS. TUTWILER: PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR ANSWERED THIS  
QUESTION HIMSELF WHEN HE WAS HERE, I BELIEVE  
IT WAS ON THE ABC DAVID BRINKLEY SHOW, AND  
I'D REFER YOU BACK TO HIS TRANSCRIPT FOR HIS OWN  
WORDS OF HOW HE ANSWERED IT. AND I WOULD  
TELL YOU THAT ALL OF THESE PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY  
THE THREE FOREIGN MINISTERS, THE PRIME MINISTER  
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN VERY  
ENGAGED, AS WE ALL ARE PAINFULLY AWARE, OVER  
THE LAST MANY MONTHS TO TRY TO GET THIS DIALOGUE  
STARTED.

AND SECRETARY BAKER IS STILL OBVIOUSLY VERY ENGAGED  
AND WILL STAY ENGAGED AS LONG AS HE BELIEVES  
THAT THERE IS A REASON AND HOPE TO DO SO.  
AND THAT STILL IS THE CASE AS OF THIS MORNING.  
HE ALSO SAID THIS WEEK IN TESTIMONY, I CAN'T  
REMEMBER WHICH DAY IT WAS, IS THAT WE ARE

03 5278987-70 עמך עמך חשונה כ"רס 6406

TO WHAT WOULD EVOLVE IN THE FUTURE, ET CETERA,  
BUT THE MAIN THING THAT HE HAS BEEN FOCUSING  
ON, TRYING SO HARD, IS TO GET PRIME MINISTER  
SHAMIR'S INITIATIVE IMPLEMENTED, TO GET THE DIALOGUE  
GOING.

Q BUT -- BUT IT SEEMS THAT THERE ARE --

MS. TUTTILER: THERE ARE A NUMBER OF THINGS TO BE  
ADDRESSED OR A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS, ALL OF  
WHICH I CANNOT ANSWER FOR YOU OUT HERE TODAY.

Q WELL, THE PRIME MINISTER MIGHT NOT AGREE THAT  
THE WAY TO GET THE DIALOGUE GOING IS TO HAVE  
A CONVERSATION ABOUT SOMETHING OTHER THAN  
ELECTIONS --

MS. TUTTILER: CORRECT. THERE ARE --

Q -- WHICH SEEMS TO BE WHAT THE PLO WANTS, WHAT  
THE EGYPTIANS WANT, WHAT THE PERES PARTY  
WANTS, AND I THINK WHAT THE US GOVERNMENT  
WANTS.

MS. TUTTILER: PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR ANSWERED THIS  
QUESTION HIMSELF WHEN HE WAS HERE, I BELIEVE  
IT WAS ON THE ABC DAVID BRINKLEY SHOW, AND  
I'D REFER YOU BACK TO HIS TRANSCRIPT FOR HIS OWN  
WORDS OF HOW HE ANSWERED IT. AND I WOULD  
TELL YOU THAT ALL OF THESE PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY  
THE THREE FOREIGN MINISTERS, THE PRIME  
MINISTER THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN VERY  
ENGAGED, AS WE ALL ARE PAINFULLY AWARE, OVER  
THE LAST MANY MONTHS TO TRY TO GET THIS DIALOGUE  
STARTED.

AND SECRETARY BAKER IS STILL OBVIOUSLY VERY ENGAGED  
AND WILL STAY ENGAGED AS LONG AS HE BELIEVES  
THAT THERE IS A REASON AND HOPE TO DO SO.  
AND THAT STILL IS THE CASE AS OF THIS MORNING.  
HE ALSO SAID THIS WEEK IN TESTIMONY, I CAN'T  
REMEMBER WHICH DAY IT WAS, IS THAT WE ARE

WAITING FOR AN ANSWER FROM ISRAEL. THAT IS THE  
LAY OF THE LAND WE ARE.

Q MARGARET, IN RESPONSE TO ALL OF THIS, THE  
EISRAELISF IMPOSED CENSORSHIP THIS MORNING.

MS. TUTWILER: EXCUSE ME?

Q THE ISRAELIS IMPOSED CENSORSHIP THIS MORNING  
ON ALL REPORTING ON ESOVIET IMMIGATIONF.  
DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THAT? IT'S VERY  
UNUSUAL FOR THEM TO DO SUCH A THING, AS CENSORSHIP  
IS USUALLY IMPOSED ON STORIES RELATING TO  
SECURITY MATTERS IN ISRAEL. MS. TUTWILER: I'M NOT  
AWARE OF THIS PARTICULAR INSTANCE. I'LL BE  
HAPPY TO LOOK INTO IT FOR YOU.

Q YES, PLEASE DO.

Q MARGARET, IN THE CONVERSATION YESTERDAY -

MS. TUTWILER: MMM-HMM. (ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.)

Q -- WITH PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR, WAS THE PART  
OF THE SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY REGARDING THE  
POSSIBILITY OF SHAVING EARMARKS DISCUSSED?

MS. TUTWILER: OFF THE TOP OF MY HEAD, I DON'T  
SPECIFICALLY REMEMBER THAT IT WAS. THERE'S  
NOT A SPECIFIC REASON, TO BE HONEST WITH YOU  
WHY IT SHOULD. IT'S EXACTLY WHAT WE'VE BEEN SAYING  
SINCE DAY ONE WHEN THERE WAS AN OP- ED PIECE  
IN THE NEW YORK TIMES BY SENATOR DOLE. IT  
IS CONSISTENT WITH EVERYTHING THE SECRETARY HAS  
SAID OVER THESE MANY WEEKS FROM WHENEVER THAT  
FIRST SURFACED. Q MARGARET, ON SOMETHING ELSE  
IF WE COULD?

MS. TUTWILER: IF YOU WANT.

MS. TUTWILER: I'VE HEARD THAT RUMOUR, BUT THERE  
IS NOTHING THAT I KNOW THAT'S CONCRETE.

WAITING FOR AN ANSWER FROM ISRAEL. THAT IS THE  
LAW OF THE LAND WE ARE.

Q MARGARET, IN RESPONSE TO ALL OF THIS, THE  
ISRAELIS IMPOSED CENSORSHIP THIS MORNING.

MS. TUTTLER: EXCUSE ME?

Q THE ISRAELIS IMPOSED CENSORSHIP THIS MORNING  
ON ALL REPORTING ON SOVIET IMMIGRATION.  
DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THAT? IT'S VERY  
UNUSUAL FOR THEM TO DO SUCH A THING, AS CENSORSHIP  
IS USUALLY IMPOSED ON STORIES RELATING TO  
SECURITY MATTERS IN ISRAEL. MS. TUTTLER: I'M NOT  
AWARE OF THIS PARTICULAR INSTANCE. I'LL BE  
HAPPY TO LOOK INTO IT FOR YOU.

Q YES, PLEASE DO.

Q MARGARET, IN THE CONVERSATION YESTERDAY --

MS. TUTTLER: (ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.)

Q -- WITH PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR, WAS THE PART  
OF THE SECRETARY'S TESTIMONY REGARDING THE  
POSSIBILITY OF SHAVING EARMARKS DISCUSSED?

MS. TUTTLER: OFF THE TOP OF MY HEAD, I DON'T  
SPECIFICALLY REMEMBER THAT IT WAS. THERE'S  
NOT A SPECIFIC REASON, TO BE HONEST, WITH YOU  
WHY IT SHOULD. IT'S EXACTLY WHAT WE'VE BEEN SAYING  
SINCE DAY ONE WHEN THERE WAS AN OP-ED PIECE  
IN THE NEW YORK TIMES BY SENATOR DOLE. IT  
IS CONSISTENT WITH EVERYTHING THE SECRETARY HAS  
SAID OVER THESE MANY WEEKS FROM WHENEVER THAT  
FIRST SURFACED. Q MARGARET, ON SOMETHING ELSE  
IF WE COULD?

MS. TUTTLER: IF YOU WANT.  
MS. TUTTLER: I'VE HEARD THAT RUMOUR, BUT THERE  
IS NOTHING THAT I KNOW THAT'S CONCRETE.



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS  
IN EAST BEIRUT?

MS. TUTWILER: IN EAST BEIRUT?

Q YES.

MS. TUTWILER: I HAVE THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN  
LEBANON, WHICH UNFORTUNATELY ARE VERY TRAGIC.  
WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE RESUMPTION  
OF FIGHTING IN BEIRUT. WE DEPLORE THE SLAUGHTER  
OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT  
GENERAL AOUN IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS LATEST  
OUTBREAK. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS RECENT FIGHTING  
AND GRIEVOUS LOSS OF LIFE UNDERSCORES THE NEED FOR  
ALL LEBANESE TO UNIFY BEHIND PRESIDENT HRAWI.  
GENERAL AOUN SHOULD ABANDON HIS SENSELESS  
CAMPAIGN.

עד כאן

פא

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, ממרהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, רם, ם(אמן),  
ממד, בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, רביב, מעח, הסברה, לעמ

6405  
מס' תולע עושה תב"ק 70-3376987

DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS  
IN EAST BEIRUT?

MS. TUTTLER: IN EAST BEIRUT?

YES.

MS. TUTTLER: I HAVE THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN  
LEBANON, WHICH UNFORTUNATELY ARE VERY TRAGIC.  
WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE RESUMPTION  
OF FIGHTING IN BEIRUT. WE DEPLORE THE SLAUGHTER  
OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT  
GENERAL AOUN IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS LATEST  
OUTBREAK. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS RECENT FIGHTING  
AND GRIEVOUS LOSS OF LIFE UNDERSCORES THE NEED FOR  
ALL LEBANESE TO UNIFY BEHIND PRESIDENT HRAWI.  
GENERAL AOUN SHOULD ABANDON HIS BENSELESS  
CAMPAIGN.

END

BT

TO: SAC, NEW YORK, FROM: SAC, NEW YORK, (P)  
SUBJECT: MURKIN, NEW YORK, 1/11/68, 100-100000



# briefing

3/2/90

SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER COMMENTS ON MIDDLE EAST SUBJECTS

Thursday, March 1, 1990

(Excerpts on foreign aid budget request, housing loan guarantees, Gaza/West Bank settlements, Soviet immigration, peace process)

Washington -- Following are excerpts from Secretary Baker's testimony before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives. The Chairman was Representative David R. Obey.

SEC. BAKER: I welcome the opportunity to be here this morning and to discuss our foreign policy priorities and our fiscal '91 budget request. Each of you have taken note of the fact that we are meeting in the aftermath of another triumph for democracy down in Nicaragua. And what you have you said with respect to that I think is sufficient.

Let me simply say that we now have the job before us of seeing to it that there is a peaceful transition. That's primarily a responsibility, of course, of the Nicaraguan people, and it's a responsibility that I'm quite certain that they will fulfill, as I testified yesterday before the Senate Budget Committee. At the same time, the United States can play, I think, a role in that. The important thing is that we not divide up here. Having come together on a bipartisan policy approach to this -- to the issue of Nicaragua, it's very important that we not now divide up here into a political debate about who should do what first in terms of effecting a peaceful transition down there, we ought to all work to make certain that that transition takes place.

I've -- two or three weeks, maybe three or four weeks now, Mr. Chairman, ago, I took a trip through Eastern Europe. I went to Czechoslovakia on my way to a ministerial meeting in the Soviet Union, and I noted that in Prague, the old Czech and Slovak Republic is being recreated as a new and vigorous democracy.



United States Information Service  
Tel Aviv, 71 Hayarkon Street, 63432 Tel. 654338  
Jerusalem, 19 Keren Hayesod Street, 94188 Tel. 222376

USIS



In Moscow, I noted the fact that the Communist Party Plenum, which was being conducted at the very time that I arrived, led by President Gorbachev, had abandoned the guarantee of party primacy for the Communist Party, setting the stage, of course, for the beginnings of possible multi-party politics there.

I noted the fact that in Bulgaria and Romania, there were new and vigilant opposition groups pressuring for free and fair elections, all of which represented and represents the birth pangs of democracy.

We went from the Soviet Union to Ottawa, where I worked with my NATO colleagues, the established democracies, to make some progress on arms control and new security arrangements that I think promise us at last the prospect of a Europe that is whole and a Europe that is free, including a democratic Germany as a member of the NATO alliance.

And the Chancellor of the Federal Republic's visit here last week, his visit with the President at Camp David, I think reaffirmed the longstanding United States-German partnership, which is a partnership of free peoples, and reaffirmed that that partnership is going to continue to play a vital role in the future of Europe.

And finally, of course, the democracies of this hemisphere, led by our President, took a very large step forward at the Cartagena summit in an increasingly united campaign to win the war against drugs.

While all of of this was going on, as one of you noted, I can't remember which one now, the welcome news of the release of Nelson Mandela reminded us of the worldwide sweep of the surge toward freedom. And clearly we have a major role in fulfilling the promise of this new age of democracy. After the old dictatorships are swept away, new democracies have got to be built up, and they've got to be built up in a way that they can be sustained. There are very significant major political, economic and security challenges that have to be overcome.

And the message that I took on my trip through Eastern Europe into the Soviet Union, back to Ottawa, and home, Mr. Chairman, was the message the President announced from the very first day he took office. And the message generally is to these people in these emerging democracies and these reforming countries, is that as they travel the road toward democracy and as they face the challenges that they face, they're not going to travel that road alone. The American people and the United States is going to do what we can and what we have within our capabilities to do -- to assist them. We're committed, not just as the outset of that journey, but we are committed straight through until together, we can bring about a new world of peace and freedom.



And this brings me to a brief summary, if I might, Mr. Chairman, of the resources that we think we're going to need for this journey to the new world, our fiscal 1991 budget request. We will need others in addition, thereto, because the pace of change is so rapid as you, yourself, have noted out in your opening remarks, that it could not have been -- many of these things could not have been anticipated last November and December, when his budget was put together.

We're requesting, as you know, \$20.8 billion in discretionary BA for the International Affairs Function, 150. That's an increase of almost 9 percent; it's 8.9 percent over our fiscal '90 levels. For assistance programs under the jurisdiction of this subcommittee, we are requesting \$14.6 billion in discretionary budget authority, which is an increase of about 5.6 percent more than last year.

We see this, Mr. Chairman, as an investment in American leadership. You, yourself, just made the point about the importance of continued American leadership. Let me simply say that I'm not pessimistic about the prospects for continued American leadership in the world. That leadership is wanted, it's desired; it's, in fact, demanded. And I think we continue to be in a position to provide it, primarily as a result of the fact that we continue to enjoy a \$5 trillion gross national product in this country, which is roughly twice the size of the second largest economy.

Our budget contains five assistance initiatives, Mr. Chairman, in addition to a bare bones core program. First of all, in support of the dramatic changes underway in Eastern Europe, which you noted, we seek \$300 million to promote democratic institutions, training and technical assistance, and environmental initiatives and to fund transitional economic support. We have submitted legislation, and we look forward to working closely with you on this proposal.

Second, we seek \$500 million in supplemental fiscal '90 economic support funds for Panama, and I will pick up on your request that we work with you to develop more detail, with respect to the exact nature of the spending, that we would foresee with respect to those funds, and with respect to the details regarding the sourcing of those funds. These funds, generally speaking, would underpin economic recovery through support for business credit, public investment and economic stabilization.

Thirdly, we're requesting 441 million [dollars] in military, economic and counter-narcotics assistance for the Andean countries. This is an initiative that's essential to the President's drug strategy, and after the successful summit at Cartagena, we and our partners look for congressional endorsement of our joint efforts.

Fourth, we are asking for 268 million [dollars] to clear United States arrearages to the multilateral development banks, one component of an effort to clear our arrearages to the United Nations and other international organizations. Over the next decade, we expect the multilateral banks to play a catalytic role in mobilizing financing for developing countries as they undertake growth-oriented reform programs. It's our view, Mr. Chairman, that the United States simply must meet its commitments to these organizations.

And fifth and finally, we seek 70 million [dollars] in supplemental fiscal '90 funds to meet urgent refugee admission requirements arising largely from continued liberalization of Soviet emigration policy.

While these initiatives reflect our most urgent challenges, they really should not come, and we hope they will not come, at the expense of our core programs which have been instrumental in paving the way to 40 years of peace and economic growth under free-market principles.

These modest requests -- 8.4 billion [dollars] in security assistance and 6.6 billion [dollars] in development and humanitarian assistance -- will meet only our highest-priority programs for long-standing friends and valued Western institutions. For additional information, Mr. Chairman, of course I would refer you to my written statement. And I'd like to conclude on this note, and we can go to the Q and A portion of the hearing.

You and Congressman Edwards have both made reference to the fact that in these times of dynamic change, we've got to somehow find the ability to be flexible if we're going to manage this change successfully. We recognize that accountability and sound management are essential to the effective administration of foreign policy, and therefore I'd like to suggest again, as I did yesterday before the Senate Budget Committee, that we propose a new kind -- a kind of new code of conduct, if you will, on foreign assistance. We should look to constructive consultation as the primary vehicle for achieving consensus on program objectives, rather than looking to earmarking.

And let me hasten to add here that I know that this problem of earmarking is not primarily a problem that originates here in this committee. But it is a problem and it's one we need to find an answer to, and one we need to overcome. So I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that together we explore ways to achieve greater flexibility that serves everyone's interest as we deal with these very extraordinary times, and as we deal with these changing priorities.

I know, Mr. Chairman, that you have been supportive in the past of the attempt to limit the practice of earmarking. I look forward to working with you, and look forward to working with the members of your subcommittee to advance a new kind of executive-legislative relationship on this critical issue.

I'd be delighted to respond to your questions.

REP. OBEY: I thank you, Mr. Secretary. Let me simply, before I get to my questions, make two points in response. On the question of earmarking, I agree with you. I certainly do not believe that the Congress ought to simply provide carte blanche to the administration. An interesting fact in history is that if you go back to all of the budgets presented by all of the presidents back to 1946, you find that no congress has ever changed any president's



budget by more than 2 percent. So the Congress does deal often in the margins, and I don't -- and I feel strongly that the Congress as an institution needs to protect the power of the purse, but I don't think in the process they need to tie down every last cent and reduce flexibility to the degree that they have.

I think Mr. Edwards will certainly verify that when we were in conference last year, when he and I were trying to resist additional Senate earmarks, to the best of my recollection, we did not receive the support of a single senator from either party. And I would like to work with you to try to figure out ways that we can resist the add-ons that always come from the Senate, and to minimize the earmarkings which we have in this House, as well.

SEC. BAKER: Well, we very much welcome that, and let me, just if I might, just add there, Mr. Chairman, that we are making it very clear from day one during the course of this budget cycle that we understand the political situation with respect to earmarks. We think we can count votes just as well as people up here can count them. But we are making it very clear that we are willing to stand up and be counted on the issue of total elimination of earmarks. We are willing to stand up and be counted on the issue of shaving earmarks, provided it's done in a non-discriminatory manner across the board, and this is not directed at any particular country or countries. And we are willing to explore the question of creation of maybe a discretionary fund of some kind or enhancement of the foreign assistance budget in some way if that's possible. I just want to make the point that because we are obligated to put numbers by accounts when we send a budget up. I don't want anybody to misunderstand us. We are quite willing to stand up and be counted on the issue of total elimination of earmarks or shaving of earmarks.

REP. OBEY: All right. I thank you. Mr. Secretary, the only other point I would make in response to your statement is that the -- if I were to single out my single biggest disappointment in the administration's request, it is that in a year when we've seen the Warsaw Pact virtually crumble, in a year when certainly the military threat to the United States and our allies is immensely diminished, the administration's budget is simply a replication of last year's request in the sense that it continues to ask for an increase in military aid, and a further conversion of what little remaining military loans there are to outright grants, which, in my judgment, is exactly the wrong way to go, given the changing nature of the threat. No need to dwell on that, but I'm sure we'll have plenty of arguments about it during the year.

I would like to simply turn to some specific questions. In the Middle East, Mr. Secretary --

SEC. BAKER: Could I give you just -- could I briefly respond to that point?

REP. OBEY: Sure.

SEC. BAKER: The changing political environment, as we've noted before, has been a matter of rapid change and much of this change has -- a lot of this change has taken place since this budget began to be prepared back in November. The wall came down on the 9th of November. A lot has happened since then. Panama has happened, Nicaragua has happened -- Bulgaria, Romania, in fact, the GDR, a whole host of other things. And all I'm suggesting, Mr. Chairman, is that the changes that we're seeing don't immediately translate into parallel changes and the need to help our friends and allies. There are still regional threats out there that are not affected by the major geopolitical changes that we think have to be addressed.

REP. OBEY: Okay. Well, why don't we get to those? The Middle East. Mr. Secretary, in your judgment, can we afford to reduce the appropriation to the Middle East below the amounts requested by the administration in the budget this year?

SEC. BAKER: Well, that will depend, as I mentioned earlier, on whether or not we do it in a non-discriminatory manner. We have said -- I testified yesterday to the fact that there is not a significant lessening of the threat to peace in the Middle East. I don't think there is. At the same time, we must find a way to respond to the remarkable changes taking place in Eastern Europe, to the changes taking place in Panama, to the changes taking place in Nicaragua. Therefore, if the Congress were willing to eliminate all earmarks, we'd come up with a formulation that we think would be satisfactory in the light of the threats across the board --

REP. OBEY: I don't think you're going to see the --

SEC. BAKER: -- or we would support, we would support a shaving of earmarks, provided it was done across the board.

REP. OBEY: Well, I don't think you're going to see the Congress just give up its responsibility to make judgments on its own.

SEC. BAKER: I understand that.

REP. OBEY: I mean, the Constitution requires that we make some of those judgments. But I guess my -- let me put my question more specifically. Would the administration have any objection if in our fashioning the congressional response to the administration's budget we specifically made reductions in the administration's budgeted requests for the Middle East?

SEC. BAKER: It depends on how you'd do it, Mr. Chairman. It depends on where you would want to put the money that was generated from those reductions, and it would depend on whether you did it in a manner that was fair and across the board and not directed at a country, or countries, or a particular region.

REP. OBEY: So you're open to potential reductions in Middle East budget --



SEC. BAKER: It depends on how it's accomplished. We'd like to -- we would be happy to -- we would be happy to talk to you about the best way in which we could address the dynamic change that's taking place in Eastern Europe, in Panama, and in Nicaragua and other areas within the context of the limited pie that is available. If you -- if we -- if we're not going to enhance that pie, and we may well not be able to do that, then it's far better, in our view, that we not be presented with a situation where 92 percent of our FMS and 82 percent of our ESF is earmarked, and we have to -- we then have to give short shrift, or zero, to countries -- small countries in the Caribbean that are cooperating with us on -- in the fight against narcotics, to deal with the emerging democracies in Panama and Nicaragua and so forth.

. . . . .

REP. OBEY: On the Middle East, as you know, there are -- the Senate has introduced a bill to deal with the issue of housing guarantees to try to facilitate the movement as fast as possible of Soviet refugees out of the Soviet Union, and to wherever they want to go, including -- including Israel.

What -- how does the administration feel about the bill that's been introduced in the Senate? Would you support --

SEC. BAKER: Mr. Chairman --

REP. OBEY: -- a congressional effort to provide those housing guarantees?

SEC. BAKER: We are reviewing that bill. We have said we see fungibility as a problem here that has to be considered and looked at. I think, without giving you a formal administration position, but suggesting that within the administration, there is probably support for the idea that if there was some assurance -- if the government of Israel could, perhaps, provide some assurances that it would not be engaging in any new or additional settlement activity, it's entirely possible -- that is, settlement activity in the territories -- it's entirely possible that the administration might then be able to support legislation such as this.

REP. OBEY: Well, --

SEC. BAKER: But, we would want those assurances.

REP. OBEY: Well, let me -- let me say frankly that the -- as you know, what we've been told by the -- by members of the Israeli government, is that -- on two occasions in this committee, we've been told that they don't feel they can give those flat-out assurances, although they also assure us that very, very few -- probably less than one percent of the refugees -- will be going to -- or would, in fact, be settling in the West Bank. And, that the government itself is making no effort to promote settlement on the West Bank.

Let me ask you this. Would you -- how would you feel, since I hear some concern expressed about the Senate bill, how would you feel about -- we have a different problem in the House -- Let me explain. Because the Senate does not have the limitation that the House has on credit ceilings under Gramm-Rudman -- with the accountants' games again -- and that means that in order to avoid a point of order problem, any legislation that we would introduce, to avoid the necessity for a budget waiver, would have to make -- would have to give the administration the authority to make that -- to provide those guarantees.

But, after October 1, so that it fell into the next fiscal year and we were not limited to the limits under Gramm-Rudman, since there would be some time that would elapse between -- between now and that point, how would the administration feel about --

SEC. BAKER: I think we would prefer --

REP. OBEY: -- something like that.

SEC. BAKER: I think we would probably prefer that the authority be -- be -- that the authority given begin after October 1, but it wouldn't change our view with respect to assurances on creation of additional settlements or expansion of existing settlements because our policy on that, Mr. Chairman, as I think you know, is of quite long standing. It's a policy that has been embraced by the administrations of both parties in this country. Settlements are not conducive, we don't think -- the creation of additional settlements are not conducive to the peace process. And in fact, we see them as an obstacle to peace and we've made our views known quite clear to the government of Israel. And money, after all, is fungible. So, when you provide housing guarantees, you have no assurance whatsoever that the housing guarantees provided will not simply supplant other money that is then used to support settlements in the Occupied Territories.

REP. OBEY: Mr. Secretary, I hear what you're saying. Let me simply say that I personally -- I think my past record has demonstrated that I agree with your stated concern about the inadvisability of additional settlements on the West Bank. I've held that position for well over 15 years. I, at the same time, think it's very important -- I think, as I'm sure you do, that it's important that we respond to the needs of refugees. And I think it's important that the Congress and the administration work as closely as possible on this so that there is no division in American opinion on the subject, while at the same time responding to those issues. So, I will try to work further with you to see if there is some way that we can deal with this problem to accomplish what I know this Committee would like to accomplish and what I think you would like to accomplish.



SEC. BAKER: We would like to and we do support freer emigration, particularly by Soviet Jews. We have been -- we've just been making that case in Moscow three or four weeks ago. We would like very much to see the El-Al/Aeroflot airline agreement implemented, reestablished or implemented. We encourage that every opportunity we get, but when you talk about furnishing guarantees to build housing, I don't think it's unreasonable for us since it is the policy of the United States -- bipartisan policy of the United States -- it's not unreasonable for us, I don't think, to ask for some assurances that those funds will not be used to create new settlements or expand old settlements in the Occupied Territories.

. . . . .

REP. MCHUGH: I'd like to go to the Middle East and give you an opportunity to briefly summarize where you are at this point in your efforts to get the Israelis and the Palestinians to talk directly, something which is a significant political problem, and here I'd like to commend you again, if I may, for handling this rather sensitive effort in a way which is designed to bring these parties together. But perhaps you can tell us in brief where you are in that process, and are we likely to see talks directly between Palestinians and Israelis shortly?

SEC. BAKER: Let me say, Mr. McHugh, that we have throughout this directed our efforts at trying to implement Prime Minister Shamir's election proposal. He asked us to help produce a Palestinian partner for dialogue and elections. And working with Egypt, we think we've made some headway, but we're not home yet. We have succeeded, I think, in making his initiative the centerpiece of all of our diplomatic activities on this issue over the course of, whatever it is, 8 to 10 months. I hope that that is in and of itself some achievement. It may not be if we're not successful in getting to a dialogue, and therefore we hope very much that we can take it to the next level and actually make implementation possible. We're coming very close to the time when we will know one way or the other whether we're going to have a chance of succeeding or not. We've really done pretty much all we can do, we think, from our end, and we are awaiting a response from the Israeli government.

REP. MCHUGH: So at this point, the next step is for the Israeli government to respond. And what is the specific question to which they are to respond?

SEC. BAKER: Well, the question has to do with a question of how the agenda would be handled at a dialogue, what sort of representation there would be with respect to Palestinians who might attend. Those are the primary issues.

REP. MCHUGH: Has there been agreement --

SEC. BAKER: We will also have to at some point get into the question of participation in such a dialogue, if any, by outside parties and that sort of thing.

REP. MCHUGH: So one of the key questions here is whether Palestinians who live outside of the territories would have any direct role in these talks. Is that --

SEC. BAKER: I think that's too narrow a definition of it, Congressman.

REP. MCHUGH: Why?

SEC. BAKER: Because I don't think it's quite that narrow a question. The question --

REP. MCHUGH: Well, this is a key question, isn't it?

SEC. BAKER: It's an important question. It's -- the question is really how we can bridge the gap that exists between the views of Israelis and Egyptians on that particular issue.

REP. MCHUGH: That's an important question that has not yet been resolved?

SEC. BAKER: Yes, sir.

REP. MCHUGH: One of the things we keep hearing from our Israeli friends is that the PLO continues to sponsor military activity, cross-border attacks against Israel. The Israelis are concerned, as you know, about our dialogue with the PLO for this reason. And it's one of the reasons, undoubtedly, the Israelis resist participation by certain types of Palestinians. And so the question of what the PLO is or is not doing is a very important question in that context. What can you tell us at this point about whether or not the PLO and, more specifically, Mr. Arafat's Fatah wing of the PLO is doing with respect to military activity against Israel?

SEC. BAKER: Mr. McHugh, let me first say that you're quite right when you say there is some concern on that score in Israel and we have made it quite clear in the course of our dialogue with Israelis and Egyptians that all parties understand that Israel will only sit down with people that Israel determines it is willing to sit down with. We start from that and I think everybody understands that. The dialogue that we carry on in Tunis is not a dialogue that is involved in the discussions we're having. It's not -- it is not the channel through which we have carried out the discussions we've had on the peace process and the implementation of the Shamir initiative. We have, from time to time, when there have been incidents, we have raised those incidents through our dialogue in Tunis which is the only channel that we use to talk to the PLO.

We are satisfied that the commitment that was undertaken, I think it was in December of 1988, has been adhered to, and is being adhered to. We are quite conscious of the fact that Yassir Arafat does not control all elements of the Palestine Liberation Organization and there are some elements that are quite hostile to him that are engaged, from time to time, in terrorist acts. But we do not think and we have not received or seen evidence of complicity or encouragement or acquiescence by him of terrorist activity.



REP. MCHUGH: Finally, and then I will turn over to my friend Mr. Lewis, I'd like to be clear, if I could, about your administration's position on the so-called Dole proposal and I've heard what you've said earlier. In principle, you're open to considering shifts in resources so long as it's done fairly.

You've, I think, implicitly suggested that perhaps an across-the-board approach might be appropriate, although Mr. Edwards and others, including me, frankly, would have some reservations about that.

But, what can you tell us about Mr. Dole's proposal specifically? Does his proposal of a five percent cut for the largest earmarked countries meet with approval by the administration? It is an across-the-board approach; is this one of the approaches that might fit within your agenda --

SEC. BAKER: Well, the only real --

REP. MCHUGH: -- a generally acceptable approach.

SEC. BAKER: The only real argument we have with his approach is: It is -- it is direct -- it is country-specific. And --

REP. MCHUGH: Well, that's because these are the largest recipients and --

SEC. BAKER: I understand that, but I don't think that -- I mean, I think that is the -- frankly -- the weakness of limiting it to those five countries. There's a short-fall and we are earmarked to the tune of 92 percent and 82 percent, respectively. And, therefore, if you're going to create a discretionary fund, it would seem to me only reasonable that you would create that fund out of all of the earmarks, not just the earmarks of some countries. So --

REP. MCHUGH: So, a five percent cut on all earmarked countries would be acceptable as a way of finding resources to deal with these new challenges --

SEC. BAKER: Well, if we couldn't -- if we couldn't find them some other way, I've already said here this morning that an elimination of earmarks would be the preferable way. That's not likely to happen, and therefore we would support some sort of shaving of earmarks across-the-board if it was necessary to be able to respond to changing foreign policy priorities; if it was necessary to avoid zeroing out the Jamaicas and the Honduras' and the Guatemalas and the African countries. And you're very interested in Africa, Mr. McHugh, and you know what the economic support funds for all of Africa were last year?

REP. MCHUGH: What?

SEC. BAKER: Fourteen million dollars. For all of Africa. Because there's nobody up here lobbying to earmark African accounts. And there's nobody doing that with respect to the smaller countries of the Carribean, either. And there's nobody doing that with respect to a lot of countries in Latin America. So when you tell us, "Okay, here you are, 92 percent of it's earmarked. Now you go spread the balance among all these other countries" -- the funds aren't there to do it, so there's no way that we as a government, you and we then can respond to the changing foreign policy needs and priorities of the United States.

\*\*\*\*\*

חוזם: 3,1310

אל: המשרד

יעדים: ני/68, מצב/201, מנמת/76

מ-: ווש, נר: 34, תא: 010390, זח: 1930, דח: ב, טג: בל

תח: ט צפא

נד: א

בלמס / בהול לבוקר

אל: מנהל מעת - מנהל מצפא

דע: יועץ תקשורת שהח, יועץ תקשורת רזה מ הסברה, עתונות - ניו יורק

מאת: עתונות, וושינגטון.

ערות המזכיר בביהנב - תקשורת.

1. קבלנו פניות רבות בבקשה לתגובה על דברי המזכיר הבוקר בשימועים.

2. להלן עיקרי תגובתנו :-

א. בנושא הקיצוץ בסיוע החוץ.

- אין ההצעה מכוונת לישראל, אלא לשיטה. ישראל עומדת כעת בפני שני אתגרים הסטוריים - תהליך השלום וקליטת יהודי ברהם - ופגיעה ברמות הסיוע עלולה לשגר מסר שלילי שלא יסייע בקידום אתגרים אלו.

ב. בנושא אשף ומעורבותו בטרור.

- דעתנו על דיאלוג הממשל עם אשף ידועה. דיאלוג זה אינו מקדם תהליך השלום.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

- יש לנו חילוקי דעות ביחס לאשף. על פי המידע שבידינו אשף על פלגיו מעורב בפעולות טרור בתוך ומחוץ לגבולות ישראל.

- הדרך הנכונה לקידום השלום באזורנו היא עי הצמדות ליוזמת השלום של ממשלת ישראל הקוראת לדיאלוג עם הפלסטינים תושבי ישע ולקיום בחירות חופשיות.

ג. בנושא יהודי בריהם וההתנחלויות:

- ישראל חזרה והבהירה במהלך התקופה האחרונה כי אין לישראל מדיניות המכוונת עולים להתיישב בשטחים או בכל מקום שהוא. תהליך הקליטה הישירה מבוסס על בחירה חופשית.

- דברים ברור זו שמע המזכיר אתמול במהלך שיחתו עם שר הקליטה, בה הדגיש הרב פרץ שאין מדיניות המכוונת עולים להתיישבות בשטחים.

3. ידיעות על דבריו של המזכיר, בעיקר בהקשר של אשף ושל ההתנחלויות, שודרו במהדורות החדשות ב - CNN וברדיו.

רות ירון.

ג

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

6406 יוקר ולף ושחר נ"מ מ. 07-64060000





- טודי -

תש"ן ד' אדר  
1990 1 במרץ  
אהב 913.11

59602

הנדון: צפ"א בשבוע המסתיים ב- 1.3.90

1. התהליך המדיני

- בהופיעו ב- 22/2 בפני ועדת החוץ בבית הנבחרים, אמר המזכיר בייקר כי הרכב המשלחת הפלשתינאית וכן סדר היום למפגש הם שניים מן הנושאים שנשארו לפתרון בטרם יתקיים המפגש בקהיר. הביע תקווה ששה"ח ארנס יהא "EQUALLY FORTHCOMING" כעמיתו המצרי בפגישה שנתקיימה ב- 23/2 בין השניים.

- דובר הבית הלבן (23) אמר כי לנשיא בוש היתה שיחת טלפון טובה ומועילה עם רוה"מ שמיר. בשיחות נדונו הטיסות הישירות, אנטישמיות בבריה"מ, התנחלויות ותהליך השלום.

2. אתיופיה

השגריר בראון הגיש T.P לסמנכ"ל צפ"א בהן מסר תקיף אמריקני בנושא:

- תהא זו טעות חמורה מצד ישראל למלא החלל שהותירו הסובייטים.

- אל לה לישראל לספק נשק (MAJOR SYSTEMS) למנגיסטו.

- זהו "סיכון נורא" לספק עזרה דוקא עתה כאשר ממשל מנגיסטו בשיאו של מאמץ עקוב מדם להשאר על כסאו.

3. הסכמי הצבה מראש (STOCKPILING)

בוושינגטון נמשכו השבוע דיונים עם נציגי הפנטאגון ומחמ"ד על הסכמי "ההצבה מראש" של תחמושות אמריקניות בישראל, במסגרת יחסי השת"פ האסטרטגי. הכוונה היא לחתום בראשי תיבות על ההסכם במחצית מארס, בישראל.

4. סיוע חוץ

בשיחה עם מנהל מצפ"א, אמרו ראשי צוות העוזרים של ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות בסנט כי יוזמת הערבנות לדיור תאושר כנראה אך המקטרגים השונים שוקלים "להצמיד" לה תוספת השוללת את נגישות העולים לשטחי יש"ע.



5. נשק למדינות ערב

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

6. תחנת "קול אמריקה"

ועדת המשנה לעניינים בינ"ל בועדת החוץ (בית-הנבחרים) קיימה שימועים בנושא. נגד הקמת התחנה העידו המורשה שוייר מניו-יורק ונציגי החברה להגנת הטבע בישראל וארה"ב, כאשר הם מבססים את נימוקי התנגדותם על איכות הסביבה, הפרעות למטוסי ח"א ונסיבות בינ"ל משתנות המשליכות על על עצם נחיצות התחנה. למולם, הדגיש יו"ר ה-BIB פורבס שדווקא עתה בתקופת אי-יציבות בבריה"מ חשובים שידורי התחנה וכי מכל מקום תעקוב ה-BIB אחר בעיות בהקמת ותפעול האתר.

7. כנס קונכ"לים

נערך השבוע (25-27/2) בווישינגטון בהשתתפות שר הקליטה וסגן שה"ח. נושאים מרכזיים נדונו היו קליטת יהודי בריה"מ, פעילות בקרב ה-GRASS ROOT LEVEL ומקצועיות בהסברה.

8. הכומר אלכס עוואד

הגורמים האמורים להתייחס לבקשת הנ"ל ( אחיו של מובראכ עוואד) לשוב ארצה ולכהן בכנסייה באזור בית-לחם נוטים שלא לאשר לנ"ל כניסה מכיוון שבשנים האחרונות עבר האיש על חוק הכניסה לישראל. בטרם החלטה סופית ממתינים לחוות דעת השגרירות באשר ללחץ העלול להיות מופעל במקרה של החלטה שלילית.

9. קנדה

בארץ בקרו השבוע פול דינלגדיין מהמשרד לסחר חוץ לדיון בענייני סחר בין שתי המדינות, כולל סחר בטחוני. כן ערך ביקור עבודה שגריר קנדה באו"ם איב פורטייה. שה"ח קלרק העביר הזמנה רשמית לשה"ח לביקור בקנדה בסוף החודש.

משה בר

|                                    |                           |                 |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| דמיפות: בהול לבוקר                 | שגרירות ישראל / ווסינגטון | דף: 1           |
| סוג: בלמים                         | טופס פרוק                 | כתוב: 11        |
| תאריך וזמן חבור: 16:00 1 במרץ 1990 |                           | אל: מצפ"א       |
| כס' פרוק: <del>33</del>            |                           | דע:             |
| הפסיד: <del>33</del>               |                           | כאת: ק. לקובגרס |

ביחניב : עדות המזכיר בייקר בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות (1/3)

להלן הנוסח המלא של דברי בייקר (בחלק השאלות-תשובות) בנושא תהליך השלום וערבויות הדיור.

יוליא וקרא' צנעור

2 1 1 1 1 3 2  
 שם קט"ה חמד חמד יסחבט לש ד/אנס בן שיה ד 3 סא  
 חב"ב דמח הסכמה האג"כ דמח סא חס סאן ס"יב  
 1 2 1 4 1 2 1

תפוצה: 36



1990-03-01

21:55

1408039


03

5-1408039

33

6  
11

PLO, Tunis which is the only channel that we use to talk to the





1 - please 7/5/81

33

11

P. McHugh I'd like to go to the Middle East and give you an opportunity to briefly summarize where you are at this point in your efforts to get the Israelis and the Palestinians to talk directly, something which is a significant political problem, and here I'd like to commend you again, if I may, for handling this rather sensitive

[Faint, mostly illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]



2 - (1/2) (1/2) ^

33

(3)  
H

effort in a way which is designed to bring these parties together.

But perhaps you can tell us in brief where you are in that process,

and are we likely to see talks directly between Palestinians and Israelis shortly?

SEC. BAKER: Let me say, Mr. McHugh, that we have throughout this directed our efforts at trying to implement Prime Minister Shamir's election proposal. He asked us to help produce a Palestinian partner for dialogue and elections. And working with Egypt, we think we've made some headway, but we're not home yet. We have succeeded, I think, in making his initiative the centerpiece of all of our diplomatic activities on this issue over the course of, whatever it is, 8 to 10 months.

I hope that that is in and of itself some achievement. It may not be if we're not successful in getting to a dialogue, and therefore we hope very much that we can take it to the next level and actually make implementation possible. We're coming very close to the time when we will know one way or the other whether we're going to have a chance of succeeding or not. We've really done pretty much all we can do, we think, from our end, and we are awaiting a response from the Israeli government.

REP. MCHUGH: So at this point, the next steps for the Israeli government to respond. And what is the specific question to which they are to respond?

SEC. BAKER: Well, the question has to do with a question of

END

3-FILED YDA

33

(4)  
h

HEARING OF THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCMTE/HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS CMTE

SUBJECT: FOREIGN OPERATIONS APPROPRIATIONS, CHAIRED BY: REP. DAVID R.

OBEY (D-WI), WITNESS: SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER

S-4-7 page# 4 THURSDAY, MARCH 1, 1990

how the agenda would be handled at a dialogue, what sort of representation there would be with respect to Palestinians who might attend. Those are the primary issues.

REP. MCHUGH: Has there been agreement --

SEC. BAKER: We will also have to at some point get into the question of participation in such a dialogue, if any, by outside parties and that sort of thing.

REP. MCHUGH: So one of the key questions here is whether Palestinians who live outside of the territories would have any direct role in these talks. Is that --

SEC. BAKER: I think that's too narrow a definition of it, Congressman.

REP. MCHUGH: Why?

SEC. BAKER: Because I don't think it's quite that narrow a question. The question --

REP. MCHUGH: Well, this is a key question, isn't it?

SEC. BAKER: It's an important question. It's -- the question is really how we can bridge the gap that exists between the views of Israelis and Egyptians on that particular issue.

REP. MCHUGH: That's an important question that hasnot yet been resolved?

SEC. BAKER: Yes, sir.

4 - P/Sec 7/12/1

33

⑤  
11

REP. MCHUGH: One of the things we keep hearing from our Israeli friends is that the PLO continues to sponsor military activity, cross-border attacks against Israel. The Israelis are concerned, as you know, about our dialogue with the PLO for this reason. And it's one of the reasons, undoubtedly, the Israelis resist participation by

certain types of Palestinians. And so the question of what the PLO is or is not doing is a very important question in that context.

What can you tell us at this point about whether or not the PLO and, more specifically, Mr. Arafat's Fatah wing of the PLO is doing with respect to military activity against Israel?

SEC. BAKER: Mr. McHugh, let me first say that you're quite right when you say there is some concern on that score in Israel and we have made it quite clear in the course of our dialogue with Israelis and Egyptians that all parties understand that Israel will only sit down with people that Israel determines it is willing to sit down with. We start from that and I think everybody understands that.



33

⑦  
11

ממלכת ישראל - התנחלות

~~Rep. OBEY~~ has ~~has~~ On the Middle East, as you know, there are-- the Senate introduced a bill to deal with the issue of housing guarantees to try to facilitate the movement as fast as possible of Soviet refugees out of the Soviet Union, and to wherever they want to go, including -- including Israel.

that's What -- how does the administration feel about the bill been introduced in the Senate? Would you support --

SEC. BAKER: Mr. Chairman --

housing REP. OBEY: -- a congressional effort to provide those guarantees?

we see SEC. BAKER: We are reviewing that bill. We have said

2-11/11

33

8/11

fungibility as a problem here that has to be considered and looked at. I think, without giving you a formal administration position, but suggesting that within the administration, there is probably support for the idea that if there was some assurance -- if the government of Israel could, perhaps, provide some assurances that it would not be engaging in any new or additional settlement activity, it's entirely possible -- that is, settlement activity in the territories -- it's entirely possible that the administration might then be able to support legislation such as this.

REP. OBEY: Well, --

SEC. BAKER: But, we would want those assurances.

REP. OBEY: Well, let me -- let me say frankly that the -- as you know, what we've been told by the -- by members of the Israeli government, is that -- on two occasions in this committee, we've been told that they don't feel they can give those flat-out assurances, although they also assure us that very, very few -- probably less than one percent of the refugees -- will be going to -- or would, in fact, be settling in the West Bank. And, that the government itself is making no effort to promote settlement on the West Bank.

Let me ask you this. Would you -- how would you feel, since I hear some concern expressed about the Senate bill, how would you

33

9  
11

3-21/1990

feel about -- we have a different problem in the House --  
 Let me explain. Because the Senate does not have the limitation  
 that the House has on credit ceilings under EGramm-Rudman -- with the  
 accountants' games again -- and that means that in order to  
 avoid a point of order problem, any legislation that we would  
 introduce, to avoid the necessity for a budget waiver, would have to make  
 -- would have to give the administration the authority to make that  
 -- to provide those guarantees.

But, after October 1, so that it fell into the next  
 fiscal year and we were not limited to the limits under Gramm-Rudman,  
 since there would be sometime that would elapse between -- between  
 now and that point, how would the administration feel about --

SEC. BAKER: I think we would prefer --

REP. OBEY: -- something like that.

SEC. BAKER: I think we would probably prefer that the  
 authority be -- be -- that the authority given begin after  
 October 1, but it wouldn't change our view with respect to assurances  
 on creation of additional settlements or expansion of existing  
 settlements because our policy on that, Mr. Chairman, as I  
 think you know, is of quite long standing. It's a policy that has been  
 embraced by the administrations of both parties in this  
 country. Settlements are not conducive, we don't think -- the creation  
 of additional settlements are not conducive to the peace  
 process. And



4- (10/11)

33

(10)  
11

our in fact, we see them as an obstacle to peace and we've made  
views known quite clear to the government of Israel. And  
money, after all, is fungible. So, when you provide housing  
guarantees, you have no assurance whatsoever that the housing guarantees  
provided will not simply supplant other money that is then  
used to support settlements in the Occupied Territories.

REP. OBEY: Mr. Secretary, I hear what you're saying.  
Let me simply say that I personally -- I think my past record has  
demonstrated that I agree with your stated concern about the  
inadvisability of additional settlements on the West Bank.  
I've held that position for well over 15 years. I, at the same  
time, think it's very important -- I think, as I'm sure you do,  
that it's important that we respond to the needs of refugees. And I  
think it's important that the Congress and the administration work  
as closely as possible on this so that there is no division in  
American opinion on the subject, while at the same time responding to  
those issues. So, I will try to work further with you to see if  
there is some way that we can deal with this problem to accomplish  
what I know this Committee would like to accomplish and what I think  
you would like to accomplish.

SEC. BAKER: We would like to and we do support freer  
emigration, particularly by Soviet Jews. We have been --  
we've just been making that case in Moscow three or four weeks ago. We

33 <sup>(11)</sup>/<sub>11</sub>

5-Jul-90

would

like very much to see the El-Al/Aeroflot airline agreement implemented, reestablished or implemented.

about

We encourage that every opportunity we get, but when you talk about furnishing guarantees to build housing, I don't think it's

unreasonable for us since it is the policy of the United States --

bipartisan policy of the United States -- it's not unreasonable for

us, I don't think, to ask for some assurances that those funds will

not be used to create new settlements or expand old settlements in the Occupied Territories.

REP. OBEY: Well, I understand your concern. I hope there's

some way that we can work out this problem so that we can, without

turning ourselves into pretzels because of the budget acts, still

deliver on the need to provide that housing if at all possible.

# ידיעות לעתונות

רפ"פ

01# (לע"מ עש"ת) ראש הממשלה מגיב על זכרי מזכיר המדינה האמריקאי, 1.3.90

02.03.90

(נמסר ע"י יונק ראש הממשלה לעינייני ת,שורת)

ירושלים, ה' באדר תש"ן, 2 במרץ 1990 (לע"מ עש"ת 1)

ראש הממשלה, מר יצחק שמיר, הגיב על זכרי מזכיר המדינה האמריקאי, ואמר כי הוא הצטער לעמוד דברים אלה מפי בייקר.

ראש הממשלה אמר "איננו מקבלים עמדה אמריקנית זאת, ובדעתנו לקיים על כך דיון יסודי עם הממשל בארה"ב. ההתניה הזאת בין עניין העליה והבעיה של ההתנהלויות היתה מיותרת לחלוטין", וראש הממשלה מקווה שהמזכיר והממשל האמריקני ישקלו עמדתם מחדש, וכי גם ידידנו בקונגרס יבינו שהתניה זו מיותרת.

לע"מ עש"ת (דף עס" 1)

טב/אל 00:25

תחת

#0

NNNN

# שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון

## טופס פרוק

ק"י: 1  
כתובת: 3

דתיפות: בהול לבוקר

סוג: בלמים

תאריך וזמן חגורה:

1 במרץ 1990 13:45

אל: מצפ"א

פס' פרוק:

המספר:

27

דע:

פאת: ק. לקונגרס

### ביהניב: עדות המזכיר בייקר בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות.

1. היום בבוקר (1/3) הופיע המזכיר בפני ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות בראשות חקונגרסמן אובי. השתתפו הקונגרסמנים: אובי, מקיו, קולמן, מיקי אדוארדס, ג'רי לואיס, פורטר וסילביו קונטי.
2. עדותו הכתובה של בייקר זהה לעדותו בשימועים האחרונים (הועבר אליכם).
3. השימועים התרכזו בנושא הגדלת משאבי סיוע חוץ. היעדים החדשים של מדיניות החוץ בעקבות ההתפתחויות החדשות במז'אר פנמה וניקרגואה.
4. מבחינתנו, מעבר לנושא סיוע החוץ (בנפרד) נדונו 2 נושאים: תהליך השלום וערבוביות דיור ליהודי ברה"מ.
  - א. תהליך השלום
  - מט מקיו - ביקש התייחסותו של בייקר לתהליך השלום במזהית.
  - בייקר - השגנו לרה"מ שמיר פרטנר טלסטיגי לדיאלוג. הצלחנו לתפור יוזמתו ל-centrepiece של מאמצינו. *we have made some headway*. הביע תקווה שניתן יהיה לקדם זאת ל-level הבא. אנו מאד קרובים לזמן שבו נידע האם הצלחנו אם לאו. עשינו כל שביכולתנו. איננו יכולים לעשות יותר ואנו ממתינים עתה לתשובת ממישראל.
  - מקיו - כלומר עתה ממתינים למישראל? מה השאלות הספציפיות שעליהן צריכה ישראל להשיב?
  - בייקר - על ישראל להשיב בנושא כיצד ינוהל סדתי בדיאלוג, הרכב המשלחת ואילו פלסטינים ישתתפו. בנקודה מסוימת נצטרך להכנס לשאלת ההשתתפות החיצונית.
  - מקיו - כלומר אתה מתכוון האם לפלסטינים חיצוניים תהיה הרומה לדיאלוג?
  - בייקר - זו הגדרה צרה מאד.
  - מקיו - מדוע?
  - בייקר - זוהי הגדרה צרה. זו אמנם שאלה חשובה אולם השאלה היא כיצד לגשר על הפער בין ישראל ומצרים וחילוקי הדיעות ביניהן.

תפוצה: 36

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including the number 36 and some illegible text.



|                    |  |         |
|--------------------|--|---------|
| דחיות:             | שגרירות ישראל / וושינגטון<br>טופס פרוק | דף: 2   |
| סוג:               |  | כתוב: 3 |
| תאריך וזמן העבודה: |  | אל:     |
| כס' פרוק:          |  | דע:     |
| הפסד:              |  | פאת:    |
| 27                 |  |         |

מקינו - זה טרם נפתר ?

בייקר - נכון.

מקינו - אנו שומעים מידידינו הישראלים שאשיפ ממשיך בפעילותו טרור מעבר לגבולות ישראל והם מודאגים מהדיאלוג שלנו עם אשיפ. לכן הם מתנגדים להשתתפות פלסטינים מסויימים. האם תוכל לומר מה עושה ערפת ואירגונו הפחית.

בייקר - אתה צודק שיש דאגה בישראל בנוגע לכך. חבהרנו לישראל ומצרים שישראל תשב לדבר רק עם אנשים שהיא מוכנה לשבת איתם זכולם מבינים זאת.

הדיאלוג בתוניס, אינו דיאלוג המעורב בדיונים שאנו מקיימים. אין זה הצינור של הדברותנו בנושא תהליך השלום ויישום יוזמת רה"מ שמיר.

כאשר היו אירועי טרור, העלינו זאת בתוניס יזהו הצינור היחיד להדברותנו עם אשיפ.

אנו מרוצים וההתחייבויות (של אשיפ) *have been adhered to*. ערפת אינו שולט בכל פלגי אשיפ המעורבים בפעולות טרור. איננו חושבים ואין לנו הוכחות של הסכמה או עידוד לפעולות טרור.

ב. ערבויות להלוואות דיור לעולי ברה"מ

אובי - התייחס להצעתם של הסנטורים לייח-קסטן בנדון שהוצגה בסנאט. שאל כיצד הממשל מרגיש לגבי ההצעה והאם יתמוך בה.

בייקר - אנו בוקדים עתה (*reviewing*) את ההצעה. אנו רואים ב-*fungibility* בעייה.

מבלי לתת עדיין עמדה רשמית של הממשל, יש בממשל תמיכה בערבויות. אם ינתנו *assurances* יוי ממשלה ישראל *that it will not be engaged in new settlements activity or expansion of existing settlements.*

יתכן שהממשל יוכל לתמוך בחקיקה זו, אבל נרצה ב-*assurances* כאלה.

אובי - נאמר לי ע"י נציגי ממשלת ישראל שאמנם אינם יכולים לתת *assurances* מאידך, פחות מ-1% מהעולים חתישבו בשטחים ובכל מקרה הממשלה איננה מכוונת העולים לשטחים.

בהמשך, הציג אובי הבעייה של ביה"ב (שאיננה קיימת בסנאט) לפיה יש להם

תפוצה:

|                    |                           |                |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| דחיפות:            | שגרירות ישראל / ווסינגטון | קד: <u>B</u>   |
| סוג:               | טופס פרוק                 | פתיק: <u>B</u> |
| תאריך ושפת העניין: | אל:                       |                |
| כס' פרוק:          | דע:                       |                |
| המסרד:<br>27       | פאת:                      |                |

credit ceiling (עפ"י גר"ח) המחייב budget waiver. כדי למנוע point of order במליאה היה רצוי לקבל administration authority. לאחר מ-1/10 אינם מוגבלים יותר בתקרה. שאל את בייקר מה מעדיף. בייקר יעדיף שה-authority ינתן לאחר ה-1/10 אולם עמדתנו לגבי התנחלות איננה שונה והיא bipartisan ההתנחלויות אינן condusive לחהליך השלום ומשמשות מכשול לשלום. הבהרנו זאת לממשלת ישראל. כסף אחר הכל הוא fungible. איננו רוצים שהכסף האמריקני יתמוך בהתנחלויות.

אובי - אישית מסכים ותומך בדאגת המזכיר לגבי התנחלויות נוספות. יחד עם זאת, חשוב מאד לעגות על בעיית העולים ושהקונגרס והממשל יעבדו יחד על הנושא כדי שלא תווצר מחלוקת בדחיק האמריקנית. אמשיך לעבוד עמכם על הנושא.

בייקר - בעבוד איתכם ונתמוך בהגירה חופשית של יהודים. העליתי זאת עם הסובייטים לאחרונה לפני 3-4 שבועות. היינו מאד רוצים לראות יישום הסכם אל-על-אירופלוט ואנו מעודדים זאת כל הזמן.

אולם בנושא הערבויות אין זה unreasonable לבקש לא להקים התנחלויות חדשות ולא להרחיב הקיימות.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.