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מדינת ישראל

10

משרד הממשלה

משרד

מס' תיק

חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה - לשכת ראש הממשלה

תת חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה

שם תיק:

רה"מ פרס - נסיעת ראש הממשלה לארה"ב - אוקטובר 1985

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שם: רה"מ פרס - נסיעת ראש הממשלה לא

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מס' פריט: 1766271 43.4/3 - 354

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כתובת: 02-111-01-08-03 28/10/2010

מחלקה

מס' תיק מקורי

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IF YOU WANT PEACE, PREPARE TO MAKE IT NOW

By Shimon Peres

November, 1985

For over four decades, the Middle East seemed to be condemned by a Sisyphean curse. Trying to extract itself from the abyss of periodic wars, it finds that whenever it reaches the summit of the mountain and peace appears to be within reach, it rolls back into a diplomatic deadlock or worse, into another round of violence.

In 1977, after a carefully orchestrated diplomatic move, President Sadat's peace initiative broke onto center stage. Its uniqueness was not in the form of a concession or even a compromise. Rather, it stemmed from the fact that this was the first and only real peace offer to come from an Arab leader. Israel, who has been making such offers continuously for 30 years, did not hesitate, and invited President Sadat to Jerusalem to proclaim his vision before the people, the Knesset and the Cabinet. Within less than two weeks both sides entered direct negotiations based on a promise of no more war. Anxiety and suspicion gave way to hope. The peace treaty between Israel and Egypt was designed to be the first step in a general peace accord in the Middle East. Instead, thus far, it turned out to be a single and isolated episode. We were not deterred by this, and continuously strove to enlarge the peace process and proceed with Jordan. Recently we saw the signs of a promising opening in Jordan. We hope that our mutual efforts can break the deadlock and cut the Gordian knot which choked all peace efforts.

Our plan is based on the universal premise that peace is the best deterrent of war, and consequently that the search for peace is our foremost task as leaders and human beings.

Let us consider what the process might look like. The first step for the initiation of the process would be greatly facilitated were all sides to renounce the use of violence, any kind of violence. In such an atmosphere, all states concerned can convene around a negotiating table in any location which is mutually agreed upon. In this spirit I reaffirm my willingness to go to Amman for the first round of the negotiations.

It is my belief that two guidelines should serve us in our negotiations. The first is that the negotiations should be carried out in an environment free of external pressures and preconditions. Let us draw a line on past rhetoric and reason together, creatively, each side willing to seriously consider all suggestions put forth. Secondly, let us negotiate directly, Israel and any Arab country willing to commit itself to peace.

The question of Palestinian representation has frequently been depicted as an example of Israeli obstinacy. The record speaks for itself. We have recognized the right of non-PLO Palestinians to participate in the negotiations. These mutually agreed representatives would be an integral part of the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

Several Arab states have often said that they consider an international umbrella as a useful catalyst for the talks. We welcome the support of all states in our effort to reach a peace treaty. Indeed, we call on all permanent members of the Security Council to reaffirm their commitment to the U.N. Charter by helping the parties to come into direct negotiations, even if through an international form. Such a forum will comprise those permanent members of the United Nations Security Council who maintain diplomatic relations with all the negotiating states.

However, help and support should not be confused with negotiation. Nothing should undermine the direct nature of the talks.

The objective of these negotiations should be peace between Israel and the Arab states, as well as the resolution of the Palestinian problem. The negotiations will encompass all aspects of peace and may produce intermediate as well as permanent arrangements. In the spirit of conciliation and compromise, I am convinced that honorable and mutually agreed upon solutions can be reached.

We embark on this road to peace with no illusions. There are formidable obstacles which we will have to contend with, but the importance of the cause demands that we proceed; our peoples demand it; it is their right. Let us not be hindered by semantics. What the preliminary international arrangement is called and what form it might eventually take are less important at present than that it should be talked about. Let us overcome the tendency to procrastination on the one side and millenarianism on the other. Good ideas in the Middle East have usually built-in obsolescence, but a small expression of hope and a larger expression of encouragement from the world community could make peace a reality.

A general and comprehensive peace in the Middle East is much more than a political necessity; it is the fulfilment of an age-old destiny. The descendants of the two sons of Abraham will dwell once more together, fulfilling their historic mission and able to take their rightful place among the family of nations. The two cultures, Judaism and Islam, and the two national movements, Zionist and Arab, will be able to allocate their resources to the development of the cradle of humanity, to make the deserts bloom, and, above all, allow the war-weary inhabitants of the region to reach their full potential.

יו"ח

לפי המלך יוסף

המלך

המלך יוסף

28.11.



עוֹתֶק מִס' _____
סִימוּכִין:

סֻבֵּי
- 1 -

בִּיקוּר רַה"מ ב _____

מ _____ עַד _____

הַיִּשְׁגִּים שֶׁישׁ לַהֲשִׁיג בַּבִּיקוּר:

א. בתחום המדיני.

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- .2
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ב. בתחום הכלכלי.

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ג. בתחום הבטחוני.

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ד. בנושא היהודים.

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--- עותק מס' סימוכין:

סובי
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ה. בתחום המדעי/טכנולוגי - תעשייתי.

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1. בתחום התיקשורת.

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בִּיקוּר רַה"מ ב _____

מ _____ עַד _____

נושאים לשיחה אישית של רה"מ עם _____

1. ה"אני מאמין" המדיני כלכלי וחברתי של רה"מ.
2. סיוע בחידוש וכינון יחסים דיפלומטיים.
3. תמיכה ביוזמת רה"מ ותהליך השלום בין ישראל לשכנותיה.
4. יוזמה של ממשלת _____ במזה"ת.
5. קשרי בטחון.
6. יהדות.
7. _____
8. _____

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עוֹתֵק מִס' _____
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סוֹבֵי
- 1 -

בִּיקוּר רה"מ ב _____

מ _____ עַד _____

נושאים ש _____ עשוי להעלות

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ב. במסגרת הכלכלה

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ג. במסגרת הבטיחות

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 - 1 -

שִׁמוֹת מִס' טֶלֶפֿוֹן

שגרירות בריטניה בארץ - 03-249171

השגריר: H.E. CLIFFORD WILLIAM SQUIRE. CMG. LVO

שגרירות ישראל בלונדון: 004419378050
 ישר 9378366

השגריר: יהודה אבנר

שגרירות הולנד בארץ: 03-257377

השגריר: H.E. MAARTEN T.S. VAN BERCKEL

שגרירות ישראל בהאג: 0031706478050/51/52

השגריר: יעקב נחושתי

שגרירות מערב-גרמניה בארץ: 03-243111

השגריר: H.E. WILHELM HAAS

שגרירות ישראל בבון: 00492288231

השגריר: יצחק בן-ארי

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Text of address by Prime Minister Shimon Peres to the United Nations General Assembly

Mr. President, let me begin by congratulating you on the assumption of the presidency of the General Assembly on this anniversary of the UN. We have already had the occasion to witness your wise and experienced hand in the stewardship of this body.

The world in which the UN was born was torn between two conflicting feelings. There was shock and grief in the wake of death and holocaust. But there was also a gleam of hope. Hope for a new era of freedom. For a world free of oppression, of discrimination, of racism, of apartheid. Above all, for a world free of war – for the reign of peace.

Nothing reflects the universal idea of Judaism more than the noble idea of nations united, a United Nations. This ideal rests, as our forefathers taught us, on the three pillars that support the world: on justice, truth and peace. Yet, this great vision is shadowed by inescapable concerns. As Jews we bear heavy memories. As Israelis, we confront national dilemmas.

Search the map of Western civilization across the ages – not a place will be found where Jews were not persecuted. Save for the New World, you will find yourselves marching along the trail of Jewish blood and tears, tracing the chronology of Jewish martyrdom.

This Mr. President, was the history of my people for two thousand years. Until there came a point, when the Jews tired of dependence on the hatred or the tolerance of others, to settle their fate.

This is the very essence of Zionism. Jews were no longer willing to court the favour of others, and to contend with the force of their fear. Israel was created not only as a home for persecuted Jews the world over, but also as the last refuge from any need to justify their Jewishness.

HERE IS the hope of the people of Israel: To finally be masters of their own fate, true to their own heritage, sovereign in their own land, free to practise their faith and continue their contribution to a world that rejected them.

Zionism is thus a victory over racism.

When the dawn finally came, an ancient language was given a new reality. From across distance and time, Jews gathered anew. A wasteland was made to bloom. The unskilled wandering Jew turned artisan, farmer, scientist and soldier, rebuilding his home with a new found

**Our enemy is not a people, a race,
a religion or a community
Our enemy is belligerency,
hatred and death**

pioneering spirit.

True to our heritage, we set out to secure a safe haven not only for those who fulfilled their dream by making Israel their home, but also for those yet deprived of that right. In that tradition still today, we pray that all Jews who yearn for Zion – be they in the Soviet Union, Ethiopia, Syria or elsewhere – be permitted to reunite with their destiny.

I call upon the Soviet leaders: let our people go. Empty the prisons of people whose sole crime is loyalty to Jewish tradition and pursuit of the Zionist dream. Individuals like Scharansky and Begun. This call exceeds ordinary political considerations. It reaches the depth of human dignity and the source of human rights.

A PEOPLE reborn, we faced poverty, desert, isolation and the challenge of moulding the ingathered into one nation. We never expected to be surrounded by hostility. Seeking coexistence with our neighbours, we found that the revival of two national movements – the Jewish and the Arab – produced conflict rather than cooperation.

Recently, it has manifested itself in the form of international terrorism.

Indeed, in our region, terrorism is at war with peace.

Terrorism is bent on injuring the peace process, but we have an equal determination: It will not stop progress toward peace.

We reject the absurd claim that resisting terrorism – rather than terrorism itself – undermines efforts for peace.

I would like to express from this podium my deep sorrow and sincere condolences to Mrs. Klinghoffer and



her bereaved family, who are at this very moment grieving the death of their father – an innocent victim of senseless cruelty.

Mr. President, nobody brought more tragedy on the Palestinians than PLO terrorism. Our enemy is not a people, a race, a religion or a community. Our enemy is belligerency, hatred, and death.

We know that there is a Palestinian problem. We recognize the need to solve it honourably. We are

convinced that there is no solution but through diplomatic means. From this rostrum, I call upon the Palestinian people to put an end to rejectionism and belligerency. Let us talk! Come forth and recognize the reality of the State of Israel, our wish to live in peace and our need for security. Let us face each other as free men and women, across the negotiating table.

Let us argue, but not fight. Let us arm ourselves with reason, let us not

reason with arms.

Ever since the beginning of the dispute between us, we have urged our Palestinian neighbours to reach an accommodation.

For all these years, our hand remained outstretched in vain, and the reply we heard was the echo of our own voices.

When President Sadat came to Jerusalem, the course of history for all of us was changed. He found Israel willing, open and as courageous as he was in the pursuit of peace. The world looked on in wonder as a conflict which had seemed insoluble for more than thirty years turned soluble in less than one.

Between the 48 million Egyptians and 4 million Israelis there is today peace. Peace with Egypt was to accomplish several objectives:

□ Sinai was returned to Egypt.
□ A solution to the Palestinian problem, in all its aspects, was to be reached. It was agreed that full autonomy to the residents of the territories could be a promising step in that direction.

□ Peace between Egypt and Israel – never intended to be an isolated episode – was to become the cornerstone of a comprehensive peace strategy in our region.

□ Peace between us was to be filled with constructive content.

This treaty survived tests none of us foresaw. Its full implementation is a challenge and a hope.

We turn to our Egyptian friends with the invitation to breathe life into our relations and to raise our peoples' spirits; let us not allow gloom and doom to overshadow our worthiest accomplishment; let us make our peace a success – a source of encouragement to others.

THE MOST COMPLEX issue – yet the most promising – involves our neighbour to the east: the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. An issue confined not only to borders, it reaches across peoples and states. Its settlement should also comprise the resolution of the Palestinian issue.

Middle East archives are filled with negotiating plans, but its diplomacy is short of negotiating partners. Thus, this is the hour for decisions and statesmanship.

I invite this organization to depart from the tired and timid norm and to fulfil its destiny as enshrined in its walls, by ushering the parties to the conflict into a new diplomatic initiative.

Let all parties to the dispute facilitate a new phase in Arab-Israeli peace by renouncing – and putting an end to – the use of violence.

This new initiative should be based on the following principles:

1. The objective of these negotiations is to reach peace treaties between Israel and the Arab states, as well as to resolve the Palestinian issue.

2. Neither party may impose preconditions.

3. Negotiations are to be based on UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and on willingness to entertain suggestions proposed by other participants.

4. Negotiations are to be conducted directly, between states.

5. If deemed necessary, these negotiations may be initiated with the support of an international forum, as agreed upon by the negotiating states.

6. This gathering can take place before the end of this year, in Jordan, Israel or any location, as mutually agreed upon. We will be pleased to attend an opening meeting in Amman.

7. Negotiations between Israel and Jordan are to be conducted between an Israeli delegation on the one hand and a Jordanian – or a Jordanian-Palestinian – delegation on the other, both comprising delegates that represent peace, not terror.

AWARE OF the nature of this undertaking, I propose the following as a possible blueprint for implementation:

□ Negotiations may produce in-

termediate as well as permanent arrangements. They may deal with the demarcation of boundaries as well as the resolution of the Palestinian problem. The Camp David Accords provide a possible basis for the attainment of these objectives.

□ The permanent members of the Security Council may be invited to support the initiation of these negotiations. It is our position that those who confine their diplomatic relations to one side of the conflict exclude themselves from such a role.

□ This forum, while not being a substitute for direct negotiations, can offer support for them. Indeed, nothing should undermine the direct nature of these negotiations.

□ In order to expedite this process, the agenda, procedure and international support for negotiations can be discussed and agreed upon at a meeting of small working teams to be convened within 30 days.

MR. PRESIDENT, distinguished delegates, let us put this process into motion. Let us shield this flickering hope from threatening winds. Let us not consign this moment of hope to the fate of missed opportunities.

Let us look our younger generation in the eye and vow to do all that is humanly possible so that never again will a young boy die in a war we failed to prevent.

The sons of Abraham have become quarrelsome, but remain family nevertheless.

Destined to live side by side, from time immemorial till the end of time; sharing a past of mutual enrichment; struggling through a present of suspicion and conflict; holding to a separate – yet common – desire for a better future – we are ready to enter it with no hesitation.

I hereby proclaim: The state of war between Israel and Jordan should be terminated immediately. Israel declares this readily in the hope that King Hussein is willing to reciprocate this step.

MR. PRESIDENT, let us not confine the horizons of our vision to the limits set by what is history-proven. For the future holds yet untold possibilities for peace and prosperity for our war-torn lands.

In the words of the prophet: "... and the desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory ... and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of Hosts." (Haggai, 2: 7, 9)

13.10.85

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יום ג' - 15 אוקטובר

| מספר סדורי | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|------------|---------------------|--|--|-----------------------|
| א | ב | ג | | |
| 1 | 07:00 | טקס פרידה מרה"מ ברחבת הטקס בגן הורדים בירושלים | (1) טקס צבאי מלא (2) פרוט הטקס עיין נספח א' | |
| 2 | 07:10 | המראה במסוק לנתב"ג | | |
| 3 | 07:30 | המראה לוינה | מטוס ח"א | |
| 4 | 11:00 (זמן וינה) | נחיתה בוינה | (1) שגריר ישראל בוינה וראש הקהילה היהודית ימחינו בשדה. (2) משך קבלת הפנים כ-15 דקות. | |
| 5 | 11:45 | זמן הגעה למלון | בוינה | זמן נסיעה משוער למלון |
| 6 | 13:00-12:00 | מנוחה במלון | | |
| 7 | 14:15 - 13:00 | ארוחת צהריים | | עם כל חברי הלשכה |
| 8 | 14:45-14:15 | פגישה עם וילי ברנדט | | |

יום ג' - 15 אוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|-------------|---|----------------------------|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 9 | 18:00-15:00 | (1) השתתפות בדיוני הלשכה | דיוני הלשכה יתקיימו בארמון | |
| 10 | 19:00-18:15 | מסיבת עיתונאים במועדון העתונות הלאומי. | | |
| 11 | 20:00 | ראיון לטלויזיה האוסטרית. | | |
| 12 | -21:00 | קבלת פנים לבאי האינטר-נציונל - מטעם רה"מ אוסטריה. | במשרדו של רה"מ אוסטריה | |
| 13 | אח"כ | ערב - בבית סמי מולכו. | | |

יום ד' - 16 באוקטובר

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|-------------|-------------------------------------|---|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 1 | 09:00-08:00 | ארוחת בקר עם רה"מ שוודיה-אולף פלמה. | | |
| 2 | 10:15-09:30 | פגישה עם רה"מ אוסטריה. | הפגישה תתקיים במשרד רה"מ- אוסטריה. | |
| | | | | |
| 3 | 11:00 | המראה משדה תעופה וינה לווינגטון | (1) משך הנסיעה לשי"ת (2) הטיסה במטוס ח"א (3) העתוי זמן - וינה | |
| 4 | -15:30 | נחיתה ב-ווינגטון | (1) הנחיתה בשדה תעופה אנדלוס (2) העתוי-זמן ארה"ב | |

יום ד' - 16 באוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ס |
|-------|-------------|---|---|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 5 | 16:30-15:30 | טקס קבלת פנים באנדריוס ע"י ונסיעה למלון גרנד שרתון, בווינגטון D.C. | | |
| 6 | 18:00-16:30 | מנוחה ותדריך במלון | | |
| 7 | 20:30-18:30 | קבלת פנים מטעם רה"מ לחברי הקונגרס - בשגרירות ישראל בווינגטון D.C. (במסגרת קבלת הפנים יעניק רה"מ תעודות הוקרה לנציגי הקונגרס טיפ אוניל וסטרום טרמונץ. התעודות הוכנו ע"י אגס) | | |
| 8 | 22:00-21:00 | השתתפות בק"פ וארוחה מטעם ה - U.S.A. | <p>(1) רה"מ יצטרף לארוע לאחר קבלת הפנים בשגרירות.</p> <p>(2) רה"מ ישא דברים בארוע</p> <p>(3) מתוכנן שרה"מ ישאר בארוע כשעה אחת אלא באם יחליט אחרת</p> <p>(4) לבוש - המוזמנים פרט לרה"מ והפמליה שלו - BLACK TIE.</p> <p>(5) משך הנסיעה מהשגרירות למקום הארוע ב דקות</p> | |

יום ה' - 17 אוקטובר

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|-------------|--|---|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 1 | 09:00-07:30 | ארוחת בוקר עם מזכיר המדינה | בארבע עיניים. | |
| 2 | 10:30-09:30 | פגישה עם A.C. במלון. | | |
| 3 | 11:45-10:45 | פגישה עם סנטורים בכירים (במלון) | כולל אינוואי | |
| 4 | 12:15-11:45 | איפא"ק | במלון | |
| 5 | 14:40-14:00 | פגישה עם הנשיא | 1 (14:15-14:00) פגישה 4 עיניים 2 (14:40-14:15) פגישת עבודה | |
| 6 | 14:45-14:40 | יציאה משותפת לעתונות | | |
| 7 | 15:00-14:45 | טקס הענקת ד"ר כבוד לנשיא ע"י מכון ויצמן במדשאת הבית הלבן. | | |
| 8 | 16:15-15:30 | תקשורת ישראלית במלון | | |

יום ה' - 17 באוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ ר י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|-------------|--|------------------------------|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 9 | 17:30-16:15 | פגישה עם ועדה משותפת של הסינט ובית הנבחרים | | |
| 10 | 18:15-17:45 | פגישה עם ליין קירקלנד | במלון | |
| 11 | 18:30-18:15 | פגישה עם אלכסנדר הייג | | |
| 12 | 19:00-18:30 | אפשרות פגישה עם שר האוצר בייקר | על פי בקשת מחמייד | |
| 13 | 19:30 | ארוחת ערב מטעם מזכיר המדינה שולץ | באולם בנימין פרנקלין במחמייד | |
| 14 | 23:30 | תקשורת NIGHTLINE | | |
| | | | | |

יום ו' - 18 אוקטובר

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|-------------|-----------|--|---------------------------------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 1 | 07:20-07:00 | | Morning News - .C.B.S. | |
| 2 | 09:40-07:30 | | ארוחת בקר עם מזכיר ההגנה וינברגר בפנטגון | במתכונת של ארוחת עבודה |
| 3 | 09:30-08:45 | | פגישה אישית עם מזכיר המדינה שולץ. | במחמ"ד - משרד המזכיר |
| 4 | 10:45-09:30 | | פגישת עבודה עם שולץ. | במחמ"ד - חדר 1105 |
| 5 | 11:15-10:45 | | ראיון לטלוויזיה הישראלית | הראיון יתקיים במחמ"ד |
| 6 | 12:30-11:30 | AEI | | הארוע יתקיים במלון הילטון ושינגטון |

יום ו' - 18 באוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|-------------|--|-----------|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 7 | 13:30-12:45 | ארוחת צהרים קלה תקשורת- וושינגטון פוסט + ניוז וויק. | במלון | |
| 8 | 14:00-13:30 | מסיבת עתונאים כללית במלון | | |
| 9 | 14:45-14:00 | פגישה עם פרשנים בכירים במלון | | |
| 10 | -15:00 | יציאה לשדה תעופה אנדריוס | | |
| | | | | |

יום ו' - 18 באוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|---------|------------------|--|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| | | | | |
| 11 | 15:30 | המראה לניו-יורק. | | |
| 12 | 16:30 | נחיתה בניו-יורק. | רה"מ יתקבל בשדה התעופה ע"י הגב' ברנדה קונורס ממחלקת המדינה, והגב' בובי מרגוליס מלשכת ראש העיר | |
| 13 | 17:30 | הגעה למלון. | | |
| 14 | 17:57 | זמן כניסת השבת. | | |

יום ו' - 18 באוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|---------|---|--|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 15 | 18:00 | השתתפות בתפילה בבית הכנסת (כולל דברי ראש הממשלה למתפללים). | (1) בית הכנסת נמצא בפינת רח' 62 והשדרה החמישית (כ-7 בלוקים מהמלון). 5 דקות נסיעה 10 דקות הליכה. | |
| 16 | -20:30 | ארוחת ערב מטעם אדגר ברונפמן | (1) פרוט המשתתפים עיין נספח ב' (2) הארוחה תתקיים במלון | |
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יום שבת, 19 אוקטובר

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|---------|-------------------------------|---|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 1 | 08:00 | ארוחת בקר עם ראש העיר - קוצ'י | במלון | |
| 2 | 10:00 | פגישה עם דוד סוייר | במלון | |
| 3 | 13:00 | צהרים עם קן ביאלקין | במלון | |
| 4 | 16:30 | אפשרות פגישה עם ברדשאו | (1) נשיא RCA (2) במלון | |
| 5 | 17:00 | פגישה עם ארתור בלפר | במלון | |
| 6 | 20:30 | ארוחת ערב מטעם הבונדס | (1) מלון הילטון, השדרה ה-6 ורחוב 54, כאולם עריצון (2) כ-500 מוזמנים (3) רה"מ ישא דברים כ-20 דקות | |

יום א' - 20 באוקטובר

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ ר י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י מ |
|-------|---------------|---|--|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 1 | 09:15 - 07:45 | ארוחת בקר עם מנהיגים יהודיים (נציגי 3 הסמינרים) (Yeshiva U, Hebrew Union, ITS) | הארוחה תתקיים במלון | |
| 2 | 11:20-10:00 | תקשורת - הכנות וראיון טלוויזיה עם דוד ברינקלי ABC | השדרה השביעית, פינת רח' 66. | |
| 3 | 14:30-13:00 | ארוחת צהריים עם סופרים | (1) במלון (2) פרוט המשתתפים עיין נספח ג' | |
| 4 | 17:00-15:30 | ק"פ מיוחדת ל-רה"מ מטעם ראש העיר קוץ' | (1) כ-350 מנהיגים בכירים מניו-יורק, פלישראום, אנשי עסקים כלכלנים יהודים ומיעוטים. (2) קבלת הפנים מתקימה ב- Gracie Mansion (3) משך הנסיעה כ-15 דקות | |
| 5 | 18:00 | ק"פ כללית לכל באי העצרת מטעם ראש העיר קוץ' | (1) קבלת הפנים מתקיימת במוזאון לאמנות מודרנית (מול מלון רה"מ) | |
| 6 | 21:30-20:00 | עצרת נוער יהודי | (1) בהאנטר קולג' (2) פרוט עיין נספח ד'. | |

יום א' - 20 באוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר סדורי | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|---------------|---------|----------------------------------|---|-------------|
| א | ב | ג | | |
| 7 | -21:30 | ארוחת ערב אצל לייליאן וסטיב שלום | (1) הארוחה מתקיימת בשדרה חמישית בית מספר 641 (2) פרוט משתתפים עיין נספח (3) משך הנסיעה | |
| | | | | |
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יום ב' - 21 באוקטובר

| מספר סדורי | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|---------------|--------------|---------------------------------|---|-------------|
| | א | ב | ג | |
| 1 | 09:00- 08:00 | ארוחת בקר עם ה-וול סטריט ג'ורנל | | |
| 2 | 11:30-09:00 | מנוחה והכנות לנאום באו"מ | | |
| 3 | 12:30-12:00 | נאום רה"מ באו"מ | <p>1) הנאום עשוי להדחות בחצי שעה עד שעה, מאחר ורה"מ הינו הנואם השמיני ברשימה</p> <p>2) ח"כ אלוני התלווה לרה"מ בנסיעה מהמלון לאו"מ</p> <p>3) משך הנאום כ-15-20 דקות</p> <p>4) פרוט עיין בספח ה'.</p> | |
| 4 | 14:30-13:30 | תקשורת - פגישה עם כתבים ישראלים | | |

יום ב' - 21 באוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ס |
|-------|---------------|---|--|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 5 | 15:00 | פגישה עם נשיא זאיר | (1) הפגישה עם נשיא זאיר בוולדורף אסטוריה בפרק אוניופיות רחוב 50. | |
| | | | | |
| 6 | 20:30 - 17:30 | טקס מתן דר' כבוד למשפטים ל-רה"מ מטעם אוניברסיטת ניו-יורק | (1) פרוט - עיין נספח ו'. | |
| 7 | 21:00 - 20:40 | חזרה למלון ומנוחה | | |
| 8 | 21:00 | ארוחת ערב מטעם ידידי אוניברסיטת בן-גוריון | (1) במלון (2) פרוט עיין נספח ז' (3) משך הארוחה כ-שעה | |
| 9 | 22:30-ה | השתתפות בארוע של ארץ ישראל היפה | (1) הארוע בהשתתפות הגב' אורה הרצוג, אשת נשיא המדינה (2) הזמנה בתיק (3) הארוע מתחיל ב-19:00 אך נמשך עד לשעות הקטנות של הלילה | |

יום ג', 22 אוקטובר

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|-------------|--|--|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 1 | 07:00 | הופעה ב- NBC Today Show | | |
| 2 | 09:00-08:00 | ארוחת בקר מטעם חגי כרמון ואליעזר רפאלי | במלון | |
| 3 | 10:00-09:00 | קונפרנס על היהדות הסובייטית | (1) במלון (2) משתתפים - מוריס אברהם, גרי גודמן ועוד 6. | |
| 4 | 11:00 | תקשורת - מקנל, לרר ויפורט | רחוב 58 מערב 356 ערוץ 13 | |
| | | | | |

יום ג' - 22 באוקטובר

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ ר י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ם |
|-------|-------------|--|---|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| | | | | |
| 5 | 14:00-12:45 | ארוחת צהריים עם אנשי תקשורת בכירים של הניו-יורק טיימס. | (1) רח' 43, מערב 229 (2) פרוט - עיין נספח ח'. | |
| 6 | 16:15-15:15 | פגישה עם נשיא פינלנד | | |
| 7 | 18:00-17:00 | פגישה עם קיסינג'ר | במלון | |
| 8 | 19:30-16:30 | תקשורת - פגישה עם לאלי ווימות' - במלון. | | |
| 9 | 22:00-20:00 | ארוחת ערב בבית השגריר נתניהו | (1) השדרה ה-5, 1010 (2) משך הנסיעה לבית נתניהו | |
| | | | | |

יום ד' - 23 באוקטובר

| מספר סדורי | ע ת ו י א | פ י ר ו ט ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ס ג |
|---------------|--------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | 08:30-07:30 | פגישה עם וולטר מונדייל ונתן לאנדאו | במלון |
| 2 | 09:30-08:30 | ארוחת בקר עם אילי כלכלה (לא יהודיים) | (1) במלון (2) פרוט עיין נספח |
| 3 | 10:45-09:45 | פגישה עם ה-National Jewish Coalition | מקס פישר, גורג קליין, גורדון זקס, ריצארד פוקס, כריס גרסטן |
| 4 | 11:45-11:00 | פגישה עם קנצלר קול | |
| 5 | 12:00 | פגישה עם רה"מ בריטניה הגב' ת'אצ'ר | |
| 6 | 15:00-13:15 | צהריים ב-אוי"מ מטעם מזכ"ל ה-אוי"מ | פרוט עיין נספח ט'. |

יום ד' - 23 באוקטובר (המשך)

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ס |
|-------|-------------|---|--|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| 7 | 15:30 | פגישה עם רה"מ דנמרק | עפ"י בקשת דנמרק | |
| | | | | |
| 8 | 19:00-18:00 | מנוחה במלון | | |
| 9 | 19:10 | ק"פ מטעם רייגן לראשי מדינות המבקרים | (1) בוולדורף אסטוריה (2) פרוט עיין נספח י'. | |
| 10 | 21:00 | אפשרות - ארוחת ערב עם רה"מ קנדה אפשרות - ערב פנוי. | טרם אושר | |
| | | | | |

יום ה' - 24 באוקטובר

| מספר | עתוי | פירוט | הדרגות |
|-------|-------------|--|--|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג |
| 1 | 07:00 | תקשורת - Good Morning America | |
| 2 | 09:00-08:00 | פגישה עם מועדון הנשיאים | בפרק אוניו-מס' 515 כ-100 משתתפים |
| 3 | 10:45-09:45 | פגישה עם ראש מדינה | |
| 4 | 11:00 | נאום הנשיא רייגן | פרוט עיין נספח י"א. |
| 5 | 12:45-12:00 | פגישה עם ראש מדינה | |
| 6 | 14:30-13:00 | תקשורת - ארוחת צהריים מעטם הקונסול הכללי משה יגר עם אנשי תקשורת בכירים | במלון |
| 7 | 15:00 | השתתפות בטקס 40 שנה ל-אוי"מ | פרוט עיין נספח י"ב. |
| 8 | 16:30 | פגישה עם מזכ"ל האו"ם | פרוט עיין נספח י"ג. |
| 9 | 18:30-17:30 | תדריך לטלויזיה, קול ישראל וגלי צה"ל | |
| 10 | 20:30 | המראה לפריז משיית | (1) מטוס ח"א (2) זמן ארה"ב (3) משך הנסיעה לשדה תעופה |

יום ו' - 25 באוקטובר

| מספר | ע ת ו י | פ ר י ר ו ט | ה א ר ו ע | ה ד ג ש י ס |
|-------|---------|------------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| סדורי | א | ב | ג | |
| | 08:30 | נחיתה בפריז | זמן פריז | |
| | | הגעה למלון | | |
| | | ארוחת צהריים עם מיטראן | רה"מ ועוד שני נלווים | |
| | | פגישה עם פביוס | | |
| | | | | |

יום שבת - 26 באוקטובר

| מספר סדורי | עתוי | פירוט | הארוע | הדגשים |
|---------------|----------------|-------------|-------|--------|
| א | ב | ג | | |
| | תקשורת | | | |
| | פגישות במלון | | | |
| 19:30 | המראה מפריז | | | |
| 21:30 | נחיתה בישראל - | (זמן ישראל) | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |



י"א בחש"י חשמ"ו
19 בספטמבר 1985

אל : ד"ר יוסי ביילין/מזכיר הממשלה
מר יעקב היכל/לשכת מנכ"ל משרד רה"מ
מר בועז אפלבוים/ראש לשכת רה"מ

הנדון: בקור ראש-הממשלה בארה"ב

בערב יום כפור פגשתי את מורטימור צוקרמן (MORTIMER ZUCKERMAN). במקור הוא איש עסקים בתחום ה-REAL ESTATE והבניה - ונכנס כמשקיע לעסקי העתונות.

לאחרונה השתלט על U.S. NEWS WORLD REPORT והפך עצמו ל-CHAIRMAN וה-EDITOR-IN-CHIEF של העתון הזה. הוא קנה לו מעמד בקהיליה הפוליטית לנוכח מעורבותו בעתון ואף הוזמן להשתתף בקבלת פנים אצל ביבי נתניהו.

במהלך הפגישה סיפר לי כי הוא יארח ב-20 באוקטובר לארוחת צהרים את ראש-הממשלה בעת ביקורו כאן. הוא "מודה" שלמרות שהיה במספר מפגשים רחבים עם פרס אין הם מכירים אישית.

לחשומת לבכם: 1. אני בעד קיום הפגישה, אבל יש לשקול היטב באיזה הרכב לקיימה ומי יהיו המוזמנים, זאת בגלל מעמדו המיוחד בעולם העסקים והתקשורת.

2. האיש בעל השקפת עולם ליברלית (במשמעות האמריקאית של המילה), לפיכך יכול להיות שניתן לגייסו לדברים נוספים.

3. מציע להזמין את מריון ג'וזפסון לאווז מפגש (שסיפר לי על שפגש את צוקרמן באותה קבלת פנים אצל נתניהו, ואשר מקורב לפרס).

אשמח לסייע מכאן בכל הקשור להכנות הביקור, לפי בקשתכם. (פרטים ומקומות שהותי בארה"ב, אפשר לקבל אצל רבקה בלשכת העתונות).

ב ב ר כ ה,

ד"ר ישראל פלג

מנהל לשכת העתונות הממשלתית



| | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-----------|
| JERUSALEM: Beth Agron, Hillel Street Tel. 243161 | בית אגרון, רחוב הלל טל' 243161 | ירושלים : |
| Cables: MEMPRESS, Jerusalem | מברקים : | |
| TEL-AVIV: 9, Itamar Ben-Avi Street Tel. 216222 | רחוב איתמר בן-אבי 9 טל' 216222 | תל-אביב : |
| Cables: MEMPRESS, Tel-Aviv | מברקים : | |

יהדות ברית המועצות - קוים להתבטאות

1. מדינת ישראל אינה רואה את ברית המועצות כאוייב. יש לנו ענין ביהודי ברית המועצות ובעליהם ארצה ולא ויתרנו על קשירת קשרים עם ברית המועצות במישור הדיפלומטי.
2. מהימנותה של ברית המועצות בכיבוד הסכמים תמדה ביכולתם לעמוד בהתחייבותיה הבין לאומיות. כל פגיעה ביהודים ובזכותם לשוב לארצם כמוה כהפרת התחייבות בין לאומית של ברית המועצות.
3. מעבר לכל הויכוחים האידאולוגיים - פוגעת הנשירה בסיכויי היציאה של אלה שנותרו עדיין מאחרי מסך הברזל. הנשירה מספקת עילה נוחה לשלטונות בריה"מ לא להתיר יציאת יהודים. על כן צריכים כל העוסקים בדבר להתאחד בהתנגדות לנשירה ובתמיכה בעליה לישראל.

נקודות לדיון עם ראשי הסמינרים

1. להעלות את הבעיה הדתית של יהדות ארה"ב - התפלגות לשני מחנות עוינים שהמשתייכים אליהם לא יוכלו או לא ירצו להתחתן אלה באלה. קרי; קהילה המורכבת מכיתות.
2. לא די בשאלה "מה טוב לנו ולשכמותנו", אלא "מה טוב לכלל ישראל".
3. הסכמה על תחילת תהליך לחיפוש המוסכם בעיקר בענינים של נוהל ונימוסים מבלי לוותר על אמונות, לשם הקטנת האיבה.

נקודות לנאום ראש הממשלה בכנס הנוער

ר ק ע

א. על הנאום להיות מוקדש כולו לדרשה ציונית-יהודית תוך מתן דגש על הדרישות אותן דורש ראש הממשלה - ודורש העם מן הנוכחים בני הדור הצעיר.

ב. אין מקום לסקירות מדיניות או פוליטיות במפגש זה.

ג. הדגש הוא על קשר חדש בין מדינת ישראל לקהילות אשר באופן מסורתי אינן כלולות במעגל הממוסד (סטודנטים מכל גוון, תלמידים, תנועות נוער וכו').

נקודות

א. פער הדורות - יש הבדל עצום בין דורכם, הדור הצעיר, לבין דורנו, דור האבות. אין הכוונה לפער הגילים הקיים תמיד בין אבות לבנים, בין מיסדים לממשיכס, אלא להבדל שבין חיי הגולה לחיי המדינה.

לפני קום המדינה, חלקנו כולנו נסיון אחד, אלה שגרו בישוב הארץ ישראלי ואלה שגרו בגולה חיו כנתינים של ריבונות זרה וככאלה היה לכולנו נסיון יהודי משותף.

משקמה המדינה קם איתה גם ההבדל בין נסיון החיים הישראלי - העצמאי - לנסיון החיים של הגולה הממשיך עדיין את מתכונת העבר.

כל אחד מכם נדרש להכריע ולבחור מה יהיו חייו היהודים? האם יסתפק בזהות יהודית או יעדיף את האתגר והמשימה - לחיות וליצור הריבונות היהודית.

ב. עליה - ישנן הרבה סיבות לעלות לארץ. חלקן סיבות ישראליות יהודיות; שהרי אין זה סוד שעתידה של ישראל תלוי באיכות ובכמות העליה שתבא. כשם שעליות העבר עיצבו את אופיה של ישראל, כך תקבענה עליות העתיד את גורלה ועתידה של המדינה העתידה שיש לנו. מובן לכולנו כי אין להתעלם מקשיים ודילמות. כך לשם דוגמא אנו רוצים את מיטב כוחות העם אצלנו ומאידך אנו רוצים גולה חזקה מספיק - שתמצא די כוחות פנימיים כדי להלחם בנגע ההתבוללות המשמיד בנו בכל פה.

מניעים אחרים הם המניעים האישיים, כל אדם וסיבותיו עימו. למי קשרי משפחה ולמי רגשות רוחניים עזים הקושרים אותו לארץ האבות ולמדינת הבנים.

אם תשאלו אותי למה לבוא, אתן לכם סיבה אחת בלבד. בואו כי רק במדינת ישראל, רק שם אצלנו, יש ליהודי מקום ואפשרות לחיות בשלמות חיים יהודים. רק אתגר קיבוץ הגלויות חושף את כולנו לעושר החיים היהודים ויצירת הדורות. רק תחת הרי בונות הישראלית ניתן למצוא תכנים חדשים למשימות הלאומיות. רק במדינה עצמאית ניתן להתמודד עם האחריות השלמה, למצוא מהו צבא יהודי וכיצד מקימים ומקיימים כלכלה יהודים, מהו שוטר יהודי ואפילו מהו ראש ממשלה משלנו.

אל תטעו בדברי; אין בכוונתי להטעות איש, לצייר תמונה ורודה שאינה משקפת נכונה את המציאות המורכבת. אלא שהבדל אחד יש בין הצרות הישראליות לבין כל הצרות האחרות שבעולם. הן הצרות שלנו ולכן הן הצרות הטובות ביותר בעולם. וזאת על כן הזמנה פתוחה לכם לבוא ולהנות מהן יחד איתנו.

ג. עד היום עסקנו - ואנחנו עדיין עוסקים - בבנית הבניין הישראלי, ביצירת המסגרת והמכשירים שישרתו את העם. משימות העתיד תהיינה קשות פי כמה. עליכם יהיה להתמודד עם התכנים של אותן מסגרות, עם ערכי החברה היהודית בכלל והחברה הישראלית בפרט. לשם כך אנו זקוקים לכל עזרה, לכל עירוי דם. אל תאמינו לטענות כי בהקמת המדינה הוגשם החזון ותמו האתגרים - נהפוך הוא: הם רק התחילו. מה יהיה אופיה של המדינה דמוקרטית או אחרי? כיצד חיו האזרחים אלה עם אלה בניכור ובשנאה או בסובלנות והבנה. האם ניתן לקיצונות להשתלט על חיינו או נשתית את הפלורליזם כיסוד לבנין כולו. אין לי תשובות מוחלטות וחד משמעיות. אבל ברור לי כי ליהדות העולם בכלל וליהדות ארה"ב הצעירה בפרט שמור מקום מרכזי באותם מאבקי ערכים ואידאולוגיה.



ועדת החוץ והבטחון
היושבת ראש

הכנסת

ירושלים, כ"ה בתשרי התשמ"ו
10 באוקטובר 1985

לכבוד
מר בועז אפלכאוס
מנהל לשכת ראש הממשלה

בועז יקר,

ר"ב התיקון הראשון של נאום רה"מ.
ראיתי להוסיף 2-3 דקות של הנושא הכללי-בינלאומי
בראשית הנאום.

אשר לסיום בשום פנים אין להשמיע ניסוחי צ'רצ'יל
ולינוקולן שהושמעו במעמדים הרבה יותר דרמטיים בעבר,
(הצלה האנושות או קיומה של ארה"ב!).

את הסיוטות האחרות אעביר הלילה אחרי התיקון.

ב ב ר כ ה ,

אבא אבן

527-528

The world in which the United Nations was born forty years ago was torn between two conflicting moods. There was shock and grief at the spectacle of death and devastation left behind by the war. But there was also a bright gleam of hope. Hope for a new birth of freedom. For an era of justice and equality. For the liberation of subject peoples. For an enlargement of human dignity. Above all - for peace! The most eloquent passage in our Charter called for an end to "the scourge of war which twice in our generation has brought untold havoc to mankind".

Humanity had survived the most destructive agony in all its history. Surely the lessons of this tragedy would bring all nations and peoples together in the quest for a new international order liberated from enslavement, misery and war!

The Jewish people had a particularly intense reason for sharing this hope. Our people had been the victim of a Nazi massacre so vast in scale, so savage in nature that language itself could not fully describe its meaning. The hope of peace was cherished most passionately by those who had suffered most from war.

We all know, Mr. President, that the United Nations has not been able to realise all the prayers and hopes which filled our hearts four decades ago. We are a world of 170 nation-states which cannot realistically rely on international organizations for their physical defence. It is a world in which military power, stimulated by the new technologies, has become more destructive than anyone could have imagined fifty years ago. Nuclear power is not controlled - except by the instinct of the Great Powers to ensure their own survival. The idea of world community is still less strong than the idea of national sovereignty. There is now a theoretical possibility of food, health and education for all the world's inhabitants, since productivity knows no limits. But potentiality is one thing. Reality is another. Hunger, disease and illiteracy are still the lot of many millions. The gap between the affluence of the few and the misery of the many has not been closed - or even substantially narrowed. Nations are not yet equal - either in the blessings of prosperity, or in the burden of want.

To express human solidarity through the processes and institutions of an international system is not going to be an easy task. It will not be swiftly achieved. Perhaps we should have realised forty years ago that an international order would have to evolve. It could not be born in a single moment

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the plane was the cold, crisp air. It felt like a fresh blanket after a long, hot journey. I looked around at the vast, open landscape stretching out before me. The horizon was a thin line in the distance, separating the land from the sky. The ground was a mix of brown and green, with patches of dry grass and small, dark rocks scattered across it. I took a deep breath, feeling the cool air fill my lungs. It was a strange sensation, like I had been transported to a new world. I walked a few steps, my feet sinking slightly into the soft earth. The sun was low in the sky, casting a warm, golden glow over everything. I felt a sense of peace and tranquility that I had never experienced before. It was as if all my worries and problems had been left behind in the plane, and I was now starting a new chapter in my life. I looked back at the plane, which was now just a small speck in the distance. I knew that I would never see it again, and that was both sad and freeing. I turned back towards the horizon, ready to embrace whatever came next.

As I walked, I noticed the ground beneath my feet. It was a mix of soft earth and small, dark rocks. The texture was different from anything I had ever felt before. I took a few more steps, feeling the cool air fill my lungs. It was a strange sensation, like I had been transported to a new world. I looked back at the plane, which was now just a small speck in the distance. I knew that I would never see it again, and that was both sad and freeing. I turned back towards the horizon, ready to embrace whatever came next. The sun was low in the sky, casting a warm, golden glow over everything. I felt a sense of peace and tranquility that I had never experienced before. It was as if all my worries and problems had been left behind in the plane, and I was now starting a new chapter in my life. I walked a few more steps, my feet sinking slightly into the soft earth. The horizon was a thin line in the distance, separating the land from the sky. The ground was a mix of brown and green, with patches of dry grass and small, dark rocks scattered across it. I took a deep breath, feeling the cool air fill my lungs. It was a strange sensation, like I had been transported to a new world. I looked back at the plane, which was now just a small speck in the distance. I knew that I would never see it again, and that was both sad and freeing. I turned back towards the horizon, ready to embrace whatever came next.

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of shock. But that is no reason for abandoning the vision. The United Nations, for all its failings, is still the only institution which portrays mankind in its organic unity. Here, and only here, our one hundred and sixty two flags come together in equality of rights and obligations. And nobody who speaks for Israel here can forget that the first vision of universal peace was proclaimed by the Hebrew prophet of Jerusalem in words which are engraved on the wall of this very building: "Nation shall not lift up the sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more".

Mr. President:

Israel offers whatever a small, free nation can bring to the causes enshrined in our Charter. We urge the global powers to seek co-existence and mutual understanding - not cold war or dangerous rivalry. Divergences in ideologies and social systems are not about to disappear. This does not mean that they must collide or explode. An arms control agreement would be a solemn and effective way for the USA and the USSR to celebrate the anniversary of an organization of which they were the principal founders.

We applaud the spectacular increase of national freedom in these forty years. Our numbers have grown from 52 to 162 - largely through the emergence of so many peoples in Asia, Africa and the Western Hemisphere from colonial rule or tutelage. And if respect for human rights and opposition to racial discrimination - including anti-semitism - are not yet universal, there is, at least, more consciousness and preoccupation about them than ever before. *The world's conscience must not go to sleep again!*

But while small nations can and should give their best counsel and judgment to the solution of the great universal issues, their chief duty is to work for the peace and stability of the regions of which they are a part. Israel is an inseparable part of the Middle East - of its past history, its present reality and its future destiny. It is in that spirit that I come to this rostrum to express Israel's position and attitudes on peace in the Middle East.

Mr. President,

The quest for peace has been the central theme of Israel's policy since the establishment of our state. In our Declaration of Independence, David Ben-Gurion, who was to become our First Prime Minister, declared: "We extend our hand in peace and neighbourliness to all the neighbouring states and nations, and invite them to cooperate with the Independent Jewish State for

the common good of all. The State of Israel is prepared to make its contribution to the progress of the Middle East as a whole." Mr. President, we stand by those words now as we did then. For thirty years our hand remained outstretched in vain, but the only reply we heard to our call for peace was the sound of our own echo. During this time we had to stand guard — and too frequently fight, to secure our survival, sustained by the hope for peace and the justice of our cause. What we mean, of course, is peace with Israel in the Middle East — not peace in the Middle East without Israel.

1973

The agreements signed after the [^]Yom Kippur War brought a halt to all hostile actions across the borders of Israel, Egypt and Syria. They have been scrupulously honoured. They remain firm. These, together with the quiet along the border with Jordan since 1970, when the war of terrorism against Israel from Jordanian territory ceased, created the conditions in which the open bridges policy between the two countries could flourish, and the Camp David process could be initiated.

The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, concluded in 1979, should be recognized as an historic milestone in the history of our region. The stature of Egypt in the Arab world, and its place in the international community, give that treaty a world-wide significance. This treaty must serve as a bridge to peace between Israel and the other neighbouring Arab states.

Let us not allow the peace between Egypt and Israel to be an isolated episode. Let us instead make it a step in a ladder which will lead us out of conflict to a lasting and stable peace in every part of the Middle East.

The Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty rests on solid foundations of mutual interest. I am aware of the difficulties, frustrations, anxieties and tensions which come and go in that relationship. They must be dealt with seriously and reciprocally. There have recently been some positive moves towards strengthening bilateral relations. If there are outstanding issues, there is also a mutual commitment and willingness to solve them peacefully *and directly*.

Mr. President

The Government of Israel has called on all its Arab neighbours to join it in direct negotiations without prior conditions based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. These resolutions alone paved the way to the 1979 *Egyptian-Israeli* peace agreement. They alone can pave the way to further accords. I renew

this call from this podium, especially in the wake of the recent significant and praiseworthy address by His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan to this distinguished forum, in which he publicly agreed to negotiate directly with Israel without prior conditions. Together with the consistent and tireless help of the United States of America, ~~and~~ of those Arab states who are bent on peace and reconciliation, and of other countries who are willing to encourage a negotiated peace, we can rekindle the flame of peace.

Israel recognizes the importance and the potential contribution to the peace process of those countries which have diplomatic relations with all states which are parties to the conflict. Israel would welcome the support of these countries for direct negotiations between her and those Arab states who sincerely seek a stable and lasting peace in the area. Clearly, an international setting for the peace process has merit and promise only if it is constituted by states which want to help bring the different positions closer in a spirit of objectivity and impartiality.

Mr. President:

Negotiation is the key to peace. it is vain to seek a solution of complex substantive problems without negotiations. Experience has shown that it is only when they face each other directly ^{that} ~~do~~ contending nations realize their full capacity of conciliation and mutual understanding.

The prophet Isaiah, who in the best Hebrew prophetic tradition spoke truth to power and gave us the message of peace which I have already quoted, ^{also} indicated that peace is not self-generated. It arises from human reason and discourse. It was Isaiah who said:

"Come now, and let us reason together" (1, 18).

It was Isaiah who said:

"That they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together" (41, 10).

Other exponents and architects of peace have understood this - Kant and Ghandi, Martin Buber and Martin Luther King. The basis for ^{Peace} ~~negotiations~~ is direct negotiations without prior conditions. Each party can put on the table

all thoughts and suggestions, all its positions and ideas. Everything is negotiable, but nothing can be dictated. Everything must be agreed.

Today, the urgent subject on the Middle East agenda is the initiation of a direct negotiation process. The United States of America, playing a helpful role, has been trying for months to set the process in motion, but is constantly hampered by questions regarding Palestinian representation and attempts to impose a-priori conditions determining the outcome. Israel maintains an open-door policy regarding peace negotiations which could start this year - before the end of 1985. I mean direct negotiations with a Jordanian Palestinian delegation which will agree to peace on the basis of U.N. resolutions 242 and 338, with no prior conditions.

After we have met directly with Egyptian representatives on the highest levels and together signed a peace treaty, it would be inconceivable to retreat to procedures leading only to indirect exchanges with sterile results. It is important to emphasize that the problem for Israel is not the wording or title given to any particular forum. While we fully agree that there are regional problems which can be solved under an international umbrella such as issues of economic relations or security cooperation, it would be useless and counter-productive to operate under an international umbrella composed of powers with sharply divergent interests who would need mediators between themselves before they could help anyone else to achieve conciliation. And those who confine their diplomatic relations to one side of a conflict are surely to be considered as having excluded themselves from an international role.

The need for a solution to the Palestinian problem is an aim to which we pledged our support in Camp David. It is of high importance. The Government of Israel committed itself to the principle that the solution "must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements, and that in this way the Palestinians would participate in the determination of their own future." This is our commitment. We stand by it. A solution to the Palestinian problem is not only an essential element in any agreement. It is also a concrete necessity dictated by reality, demography and security for both Israel and Jordan, as well as the other Arab states. It is essential for obvious reasons that the permanent solution of the Palestinian problem be in a Jordanian context. It is enough to look at the

and through the negotiations, all the parties have agreed to a final settlement, and nothing can be done but to accept it.

Today, the Government of the United States is in a position to make a final settlement of the situation, and it is the duty of the Government to do so. The Government has a responsibility to the people of the United States, and it is the duty of the Government to act in the best interests of the people. The Government has a responsibility to the people of the United States, and it is the duty of the Government to act in the best interests of the people. The Government has a responsibility to the people of the United States, and it is the duty of the Government to act in the best interests of the people.

After we have been directly hit by the representatives on the highest level in the United States, we must be able to act in the best interests of the people. The Government has a responsibility to the people of the United States, and it is the duty of the Government to act in the best interests of the people. The Government has a responsibility to the people of the United States, and it is the duty of the Government to act in the best interests of the people. The Government has a responsibility to the people of the United States, and it is the duty of the Government to act in the best interests of the people.

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physical, political and human map of the area to understand why this is necessary. Until a final agreement is reached, any interim solution should likewise be based on a joint Israel-Jordanian context in which Jordan will have a central role.

It is clear to us that the Jordanian delegation to the negotiations would have to represent the Palestinian people and include Palestinian representatives. It will therefore be a Jordan-Palestinian delegation. But the negotiations must, of course, be carried out by sovereign states.

There is now enough fertile ground for the seeds of peace between Israel and all its neighbours to bloom well before the end of this decade. Let us not miss this historic opportunity. Let us not allow the forces of violence to plunge us back into an abyss of senseless war and bloodshed. From this podium I call on King Hussein of Jordan to agree to talk with me face to face, thus proclaiming and showing to the entire world that we aim for peace in direct negotiations, and to thus realize the Lord's promise which we repeat on our Holy Days: "And I shall bring peace to the earth and a world of happiness to all its inhabitants."

By the very act of direct encounter we shall have gone far to remove the psychological barrier of fear and mistrust which separated us in the past. Our spokesmen have been exchanging words of criticism and blame from this rostrum for many years. But what is our task? To blame each other for our problems or to find ways of solving them? What was the United Nations supposed to be? A microphone for censure - or an instrument for conciliation?

This is a crucial moment for all member-states, but especially for Israel and for the Arab states. To them I say: "You and we are destined inescapably to be neighbours. History, geography, ancient memories and modern necessities confer this fate upon us. We are not here in any individual right: We are the spokesmen of our peoples, the trustees of their lives and hopes. Let us take the blessings of all peace-loving nations with us as we move towards a future to be shared in peace."

political, political and human way of life, so much so that it is
necessary, until a final agreement is reached, any further action should
be based on a joint Israeli-Jordanian committee in which Jordan will
have a central role.

It is clear to me that the Jordanian delegation to the negotiations would
have to represent the Palestinian people and not the Palestinian resistance
movement. It will therefore be Jordan-Palestine and not Jordan-Palestine
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Their position is that the Jordanian delegation to the negotiations would
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country for many years. But what is our task? To blame each other for our
problems or to find ways of solving them? What was the United Nations
supposed to do? A settlement for coexistence - or an instrument for reconciliation?

There is a very real moment, or at least a moment, for Israel
and the Arab States. To me, I say "Yes" and we are destined to coexist.
To be more precise, history, geography, and modern necessities
confront us with a choice. We are not here in any individual right. We are the
children of our people, the people of the land, the people of the land.
The creation of all people-loving a state with its own power and influence
to be shared in peace."

1070

אל: גיר יורק קונג'ל
רושינגטון - שגריר

812

דף 1 מתוך 11
סודי ביותר

דחיפות: מידי

תאריך וזמן רישום 27 בספט' 1985

מס. מברק 1431/א

לשימוש
בח
הקשר

דע: גיר יורק - נתניה
לשכת רוה"מ - היכל

ביקור רוה"מ שלך נר 558

בהמשך למברק שבסמוכין להלן שלד טנטטיבי של התכנית כפי שהיא נראית כרגע מכאן.

בגוף התכנית נקודות עליהן אנו מבקשים מענה ונקודות אשר תסוכמנה כאן
בפגישה ביום א' 29 ספט'.

נודה להתייחסותך בחוזר לשאלותינו.

מצפ"א

2 להח 1 רהמ 3 חנל 1 חנל 1 חנל 1 חנל

השולח: ברנר רם אישור מנהל המחלקה: אישור לשכת המנכ"ל:

(לציון תאריך וזמן הגירה לפשר)

תאריך וזמן חיבור (ימולא ע"י השולח) 27 בספט' 1985

2/11
24.9.85

1831/א

- 1 -

חכניה ביקור רה"מ בוינה וב-ארה"ב

יום ד' - 14 אוקטובר

לילה

טכס פרידה מרה"מ - טכס צבאי מלא.

המראה - במטוס ח"א

הגעה לוינה - (קבלה ע"י שגריר ישראל).

נסיעה למלון (איזה?).

פגישת חדרון עם שגריר ישראל בוינה.

יום ג' - 15 אוקטובר

| | |
|-------|---|
| 08:00 | ארוחת בוקר (?) |
| 09:00 | תקשורת |
| 10:00 | השתתפות בדיוני הלשכה |
| 11:00 | |
| 12:00 | |
| 12:30 | |
| 12:30 | |
| 12:30 | ארוחת צהרים (עס?) |
| 13:00 | |
| 13:30 | |
| 14:00 | |
| 15:00 | השתתפות בדיוני הלשכה ופגישות עם אישים (מי?) |
| 16:00 | |
| 17:00 | |
| 18:00 | |
| 19:00 | השתתפות בק"פ מטעם הלשכה ונאום רה"מ. |
| 20:00 | |
| 21:00 | |
| 21:45 | אפשרות - תדריך לכתבים נלויים. |
| 22:00 | |
| 23:00 | |
| 4:00 | |

יום די - 16 באוקטובר

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| ארוחת בוקר עם? | 07:30 |
| | 08:00 |
| | 08:30 |
| תקשורת | 09:00 |
| | 09:30 |

השתתפות בדיוני הלשכה

המראה: -
אפשרות א' - לפי יו' (לפגישה עם מיטראן)
אפשרות ב' - ישיר ל-ארה"ב (ללא פגישה עם מיטראן).

~~המראה מפריז~~

נחיתה בארה"ב (זמן ארה"ב).

טקס קבלת פנים רשמי.

הגעה לווינגטון.

פגישה תדרוך עם השגריר. 19:00

20:00

21:00 (?) ארוחת ערב מטעם ה - USA.
(זמן ארה"ב)

5/11 1831/1

- 4 -

יום ה' - 17 אוקטובר

יום ז' - 18 אוקטובר

ארוחת בוקר

אפשרות תכנית בוקר בטלביזיה

12:00

ארוחת צהרים ונאום AEI

ארוחת בוקר עם פרשנים בכירים

13:00

13:30

מסיבת עיתונאים עם הנשיא 14:00

1 שעה תקשורת
WASHINGTON POST NEWSWEEK

המראה לניו-יורק

קוקטייל מטעם רה"מ לחברי
קונגרס בשגרירות

* נא לא להגיע
שעה כניסת השבת

כשעה וחצי
ראיונות לטלביזיה הישראלית
רדיו וגלי צה"ל.

* רה"מ לא ילקח חלק

פגישת חדרון עם השגריר
באוי"ם והקונכיל של ניו-יורק -
במלון.

אפשרות-ארוע מטעם הנשיא
לכבוד רה"מ.

* ערב-טרם נקבע. נא לא בואו אף
לא לא מיליון א בביד יומדי
וכן אם יבוא אחי מאוחרים זה נא לא
חוסדור גדיה הקנא

נושאים לשיבוץ

פגישה עם הנשיא.
פגישה נוספת עם הנשיא.
פגישה עם מזכיר ההגנה וינברג.
פגישה עם מזכיר המדינה שולץ.
ועדה משותפת של בית-הנבחרים.
אפשרות פגישה עם ה-TASK FORCE + שולץ.
אפשרות פגישה עם AIPAC.
אפשרות פגישה עם הקונגרס היהודי.
אפשרות פגישה עם סגן הנשיא BUSH.
אפשרות פגישה עם הסנטור אינוויי.
תידורן לכתבים ישראלים 'אחר הפגישות
האחרונות עם הנשיא.

יום שבת - 19 לאוקטובר

ניו-יורק

בית כנסת - * נח מויזעל אינא ביה נכס.

תקשורת - (שעתיים) פגישה אישית.

פגישות עם: - קיסינג'ר, קומו (מושל ניו-יורק),
נשיא קרייזלר, איקוקה, רוהטין. (המשא ומתן) אע"פ/ו

ערב: - ארוחת ערב עם הבונדס. - נקני אלא סכום תע"א

* האם סינאוי פגילו זא נושאין?

7/11 1831/A

יום א' - 20 לאוקטובר

מפגש עם מנהלים יהיו (3 הסניפים)

08:00
09:00

10:00

ראיון טלפזיה עם ברינקלי דוד (ABC).

11:00
12:00
12:30

צהרים עם סופרים

13:00
14:00
14:30
15:00

קי"פ מיוחדת ל-רה"מ אצל ראש העיר קור

16:00
17:00

קי"פ כללית לבאי העצרת אצל קור

18:00

19:00

מיפגש עם נוער יהודי/עליה

20:00

יום ב' - 21 אוקטובר

תקשורת { 07:30
08:00
08:15
08:30
09:00
09:45
10:00

ארוחת בוקר פרויקט עצמאות -
(יתבצע רק אם שולץ יהיה - הערה שלי).

11:00

נאום רה"מ בעצרת או"ם

{ 12:00
13:00

הצגת סרט ונפיל

14:00

מיפגשים עם ראשי מדינות

{ 15:00
16:00
17:00

תואר כבוד באוניברסיטת ניו-יורק

ואולחם צוק

{ 17:30
18:00
19:00

20:00

20:30

21:00

21:30

22:00

* בואו א' וקבצ
אם במקום זרוע
בו וזמנים הפגיו
אם וואסלויא פאנץ

9/11 1831/א

- 8 -

יום ג' - 22 לאוקטובר

* ביום א' יולאט אט אצט
ביום שני אט העקו קאמ
א ביום ה'

תקשורת

07:30
08:00
08:15

ארוחת בוקר עם נציגים בכירים של התקשורת האמריקאית.

08:30
09:00
09:45
10:00

מיפגשים עם ראשי מדינות.

11:00
12:00

ארוחת צהרים עם מועדון הנשיאים.

13:00
13:15
14:00
14:30
15:00

מיפגשים ב-אויים

16:00
17:00

תידורח לתקשורת (א' ו' אט)

18:00
18:30
19:00
19:30

ארוחת ערב בבית נחניהו.

20:00

21:00

22:00

* עוז לא בור די יולאט אט
ביום א' (אט) אט אט אט אט

יום ד' - 23 אוקטובר

| | | |
|--|--|-------|
| | תקשורת | 07:30 |
| | | 08:00 |
| | | 08:00 |
| * מוזיאון ה' דוגל סיגור הארמון, יו אדס כמה "עמק" י' אדס מרוא | ארוחת בוקר עם אילי כלכלה - לא יהודים. | 09:00 |
| | | 09:15 |
| * מוזיאון ה' א' ופאליה וואלדן-המקור נפאליה באו"מ מרוא ע' א' ווא"מ | פגישה עם פ': (בבית פרטי). | 09:30 |
| | | 10:00 |
| | | 10:30 |
| | | 10:45 |
| * בילוי א' וואלדס אס י' ווא"מ וסיור א' ווא"מ לפא אדס | סיור ברחובות ניו-יורק | 11:00 |
| | | 11:30 |
| | | 12:00 |
| | פגישות עם ראשי מדינות. | 13:00 |
| | | 13:15 |
| | אפשיבות - צהרים ב-אוי"מ מטעם מזכ"ל ה-אוי"מ. | 15:00 |
| | | 16:00 |
| | פגישות עם ראשי מדינות | 17:00 |
| | | 18:00 |
| | תדורך לתקשורת הישראלית | 18:15 |
| | ק"פ מטעם הנשיא רייגן. | 19:00 |
| | | 20:00 |

יום ה' - 24 אוקטובר

07:30

08:00

08:30

09:00

09:45

10:00

10:00

10:30

11:00

12:00

13:00

13:15

14:00

14:45

15:00

16:00

17:00

18:00

19:00

20:00

ארוחת בוקר וסיור במפעל . ' בלונג איילנד (מסוק) .

נאום רייגן בעצרת ה-או"ם.

ארוחת צהרים עם נציגי התקשורת.

אזכרה ב-או"ם.

תדרוך לטלביזיה, רדיו וגלי צה"ל.

חזרה מניו-יורק לארץ.

1801-1802. Total 1801 1802 1803 *

[illegible][illegible]

Table - see Index or Appendix - back &

1705

[illegible]

* ביום זה יאכלו כל העם
בחדש אלול

| | | | |
|---------|--|------|--------------------|
| ר"ח: 1 | מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק | | רחיבות: |
| מחור: 3 | טופס מברק | | בהול-להזעיק במוצ"ש |
| | | | סוג במחור: |
| | | | שם: |
| א ל : | בנצור-מצפ"א | בהול | תז"ח: 271900 |
| ר ע : | סמיר-ממרה"מ, רוזן-ווישינגטון, נחניהו-נאו"מ | | נר: 0660 |
| מאת : | קונכ"ל | | 145:011 |

ביקור רה"מ

לשלח מ-27 בספטמבר

1. באותם הפריטים שאין חפיפה בין לוח הזמנים שהברקה לכם לבין שלכם מבקש שתחקנו לפי לוח הזמנים שלנו כי נחשד לבצע שינויים עם כל הגורמים.

2. עדכונים נוספים:

שבת, 19 באוקטובר
בית הכנסת הוא ה-
בית"נ האורתודוקסי החשוב בעיר שאליו הולכים ראשי המדינה בבואם. נמצא במרחק הליכה.
ארוחת הערב לבוגדס תהיה אירוע גדול בהשתתפות 300-400 איש.
פגישת עבודה עם החקשור בשבת עלולה לעורר כאן בעיות.
כל הפגישות שנקבעו לשבת יכוננו על ידינו ביקורים ידידותיים אצל רה"מ במלוננו.

יום א', 20 באוקטובר

אחר החג נזמין את המנהיגים היהודים וכן את הסופרים ונודיעכם רשימה משתתפים כשנקבל תשובה.

אישור:

טס רשולח:

האריך:

מהמח 2
מהמח 3
מהמח 3
מהמח 1
מהמח 1
מהמח 1

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------|--|-------------|
| דף: 2 | מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק | | דחפוב: |
| מתוך: 3 | טופס מברק | | סוג כסחוגי: |
| א ל : | | | תז"ח: |
| ד ע : | | | נר : |
| מאת : | | | 0660 145 |

יום ג', 22 באוקטובר

הביקור בגראומן מוכרח להתבצע ביום זה. אי אפשר להעבירו ליום ה' כי רח"מ לא יספיק לחזור במועד לנאום רייגן באו"ם. זאת למרות שנקבל מסוק מהמפעל.

עם מועדון הנשיאים נקבעה ארוחת בוקר ביום ה', 24 באוקטובר. ואחרי נאום רייגן תהיה ארוחת צהריים עם ה"ניו-יורק טיימס". ואילו ביום ג', 22 באוקטובר, תהיה ארוחת צהריים עם אנשי הקסורה בכירים. גם רשימה המשתתפים באירוע זה נעביר בקרוב.

יום ד', 23 באוקטובר

פגישה עם אנשי כלכלה, בנקאות ועסקים לא יהודיים בכירים מתארגנת. רשימה משתתפים נבריק בקרוב.

לסיור ברחובות ניו יורק לא נותר זמן כי ההכנות דחוסות בלאו הכי, מה עוד שצריך להמחין לחשובות לגבי פגישות באו"ם וצריך לשמור על זמן לצורך זה. בנוסף לכך, החיעצנו עם נציגי ארגונים יהודיים ואין לנו בטחון שאפשר לארגן זאת כאירוע מכובד.

3. מידות לצורך לבוש לפס באוניברסיטה ניו-יורק. הברק נא שניה המידות (שלך 1037), שכן מספרי המידות אינם ברורים. ביחוד השורה האחרונה לגבי אורך הגלימה.

אישור:

עם השולח:

האריך:

מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק

טופס מברק

רפ: 3-

מקור: 3-

דחיפות:

סדר במחלקה:

תז"ח:

א ל :

נר :

ר ע :

0660

145

מאת :

4. מערה ההוריקן שחלפה על העיר היום גרמה לסגירת כל המשרדים ולעיכוב בעבודתנו כי קשה היה למצוא את האנשים שחפשונו. גם סוף השבוע הארוך בגלל סוכות מפריע, אך מקוים להבריך מיומה חכנית מעודכנת ביום קביעי, 2 באוקטובר, עם פריטים נוספים שיקבעו בינתיים, ושאו מחכים לחשובות בקשר אליהם.

יגר

אישור:

טס השולח:

27/9/87

תאריך:

| | | |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------|
| דף: 1 | מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק סופס מברק | רשימות: |
| מחוד: 3 | | מללד |
| | | סדרג בטחונות: |
| | | סודי |
| א ל כנצור מצפ"א | | תז"ח: 241330 |
| ר ע. סמיר ממרה"מ, רוזן וושינגטון, נתניהו נאו"ס | | נר: 0558 |
| והא קונכ"ל ניו יורק | | 124 - 111 |

ביקור רה"מ. שלך 1636

א. להלן שלד טנטיבי של התכנית במצבה הנוכחי. עוד יחולו בודאי שינויים בשיבוץ לוח הזמנים:

יום ו', 18 באוקטובר

אחה"צ. הגעה

~~ערב. בית כנסת~~

סעודת שבת. טרם נקבע

18

21.00 קבלת פנים ושיחה בבית הקונכ"ל יגר לאנשי כלכלה, מסחר ובנקאות ישראלים ראשיים. כ-40 איש.

שבת. 19 באוקטובר

בקר. בית כנסת

ארוחת ערב משותפת לבונדס ולמנהל: ~~בית כנסת~~

יום א', 20 באוקטובר

12.00-10.00 ברינקלי שוץ

13.00-12.00 שיחה עם מנהיגי הזרמים הדתיים היהודים (ממתינים לרשימת אברים בורג).

14.30-13.00 ארוחת צהרים ושיחה עם סופרים, אקדמאים ואינטלקטואלים (הרשימה בהכנה).

17.00-15.00 קפ' לרה"מ מטעם ראש העיריה קוץ'.

18.00 קפ' לראשי מדינות וממשלות מטעם קוץ'.

20.30 עצרת נוער יהודי.

יום ב', 21 באוקטובר

09.45-08.30 וול סטריט ג'ורנל

12.00 נאום רה"מ בעצרת האו"ם (לאחריו פגישה עם כתבים ישראלים).

16.45-15.00 מניחות באו"ם.

21.30-17.30 טקס מתן תואר ד"ר כבוד באוניברסיטת ניו-יורק ולאחר מכן סעודת ערב.

| | | |
|--------|-----------|--------|
| חאריך: | שם השולח: | אישור: |
|--------|-----------|--------|

2 3 3 1 1 1 1 730
 2 3 3 1 1 1 1 730

| | | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|---------|
| רחיפות: | מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק טופס מברק | ד"ר: 2 |
| סוג כטחוני: | | מחור: 3 |
| תז"ח: | | א ל : |
| נר : 558/124 | | ד ע : |
| | | מא : |

יום ג'. 22 באוקטובר

13.00-08.00 ביקור במפעלי גראומן
14.30-13.15 פגישה עם מועדון הנשיאים או עם אנשי חקשורת בכירים (ר' יום ה').
18.00-15.00 פגישות באו"מ.
19.30-18.30 טיום מאגאזין.
20.00 ארוחת בכית השגריר נתניהו.

יום ד'. 23 באוקטובר

08.30-08.00 פגישה עם כתבים ישראלים
09.45-08.30 פגישה עם אנשי כלכלה ועסקים (לא-יהודים)
10.00 פגישה באו"מ (נקבעה ע"י ממרה"מ)
13.00-11.00 פגישות באו"מ
15.00-13.15 ארוחת צהרים מטעם מזכ"ל האו"מ
18.00-15.00 פגישות באו"מ
18.15 עתונות
19.00 קבלת פנים כללית מטעם הנשיא ריגן

יום ה'. 24 באוקטובר

08.00-07.15 פגישה עם גב' לאלי ווימות'
09.45-08.30 ארוחת בוקר עם מועדון הנשיאים או עם בכירי חקשורת (ר' יום ג').
14.45-13.15 ארוחת צהרים "נצח-דורק סידמס"
15.00 טקס באו"מ
19.00 יציאה

פריטים שטרם שובצו:

1. פגישות אישיות עם: קיסנינג'ר, איאקוקה, קואומו, קרדינג' או קונר.
2. אירוע עם אגודת ידידי אוניברסיטת ב"ג.
3. פגישה עם מנהיגים בכירים של קבוצות אתניות שונות (לא רק שחורים והיספנים, אלא גם אסיאנים, איטלקים ואחרים).

אישור:

שם השולח:

חא"ר:

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------|
| רחיפה: | מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק טופס מברק | דף: 3 |
| סרג בסחובי: | | מחור: 2 |
| תז"ח: | | א ל : |
| גר : 558 / 184 | | ר ע : |
| | | נאוו : |

ג. רשימת פגישות מיועדות עם ראשי ממשלות ומדינות בטיפול נאו"מ וחוכק כנפרד כשיהיו פרטים.

ד. לא ניתן להחליף מועדי טקס מתן תואר כבוד באוניברסיטת נ"י כי הזמנות כבר הודפסו ומופצות.

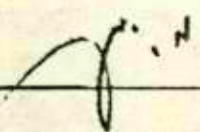
ה. פרטים על מתכונת הארוחה אצל נתניהו ומספר המוזמנים יוברקו על ידו כנפרד.

ו. רה"מ מתבקש לשאת דברים באירועים חבאית:

1. בפני אנשי הכלכלה, מסחר ובנקאות ישראלים
2. בפגישה המשותפת לאנשי בונדס וממשלת
3. עצרת נוער יהודי
4. נאום בעצרת האו"מ
5. נאום של 15 דקות בטקס הענקת תואר ד"ר כבוד ועוד דברי ברכה קצרים בארוחת הערב יותר מאוחר
6. בפגישה עם מועדון הנשיאים
7. בהגישה עם אנשי כלכלה לא-יהודים

ז. וחשוב לטדריך רייל מלתחדתו השנווולות רחרוזה. וטריז חאר אח לא נהרעו פרעסיה רחרנית על-ידי אף גורם ללא תיאום אתנו. נגרמים קשלים מיותרים.

יגר



אל:

המשרד

ס 1 ס 2
ד...1...2...3...דמים
סווג בטחוני. סודי.
דחיות... מזדג.
מאריך וז'הסמל 24. ספטמבר 85
573
מס' פנר

26

אל: מצפ"א
דע: לש. רה"מ - למכותבים בלבד.

ביקור רה"מ.

קובי מהבית הלבן התקשר לומר כי הגם שניתן לתכנן כללית כפי שמסרו לנו למועד 17-18 ביוני, טרם הצליחו "לחלץ" מפקידות הנשיא מועד מדויק של השיחה עם הנשיא, ובשלב זה מניחים שב-18 בבוקר. ביקשנו מצדנו בכל לשון מוילקוקס כי הפגישות יהיו ב-17, כדי לאפשר גמישות בשאר התכנית, אך אין בטחון שהדבר יושג בגלל אילוצי הנשיא. האמריקנים מציעים כי תהיה פגישה גם עם סגן הנשיא. אנו מניחים כי הדבר מקובל עליכם.

רובינשטיין

שיטתו פאילא (א) ב.
41 יק פילא

סמל גש 2
גש 3
הה 3
גש 1
סמל 1

100
עמ' 100
היחסים בין יהודים וערבים חיובי. השואה היתה באירופה.

החזון הציוני, שעלה כחוצאה מהתגברות האנטישמיות כמערכ ראה כערבני א"י בעלי ברית טבעית ולא חרט על דגלו את נישולם.

בואם של היהודים לארץ הפך אותה, תוך זמן קצר, משממה לאזור מפותח הזקוק לכוח אדם. ערבים רבים הגיעו לא"י תוך חיפוש מקור פרנסה. כפרים שנעזבו במאה ה-19 אוכלסו מחדש לאחר שהיהודים עלו ארצה.

היחסים בין יהודים לערבים בא"י נעשו מתוחים על רקע ההכדלים בהשכלה, במנהגים ובמעסוקה והחשש הערבי מפני עליה גדולה, ובשנות ה-30 התגבשה הצעה שהפתרון למחל הוא חלוקה טריטוריאלית של א"י. היתה זו המלצת ועדת פיל ב-1937.

ב-1947, לאחר השואה הנוראה והחרפת היחסים בין יהודים לערבים בא"י החליטה עצרת האו"ם על הקמת שתי מדינות בא"י המערבית. היהודים קיבלו הצעה זו למרות הגבולות הקשים שהוצעו. הערבים ויתרו על האפשרות שניחנה להם, לראשונה בחולדותיהם, להקים מדינה משלהם בא"י.

ב-1967 פרצה מלחמת ששת הימים בעקבות סגירת מיצרי טירן על-ידי מצרים ואי יכולתו של המערב לעמוד בהבטחתו לישראל למנוע זאת. לישראל לא היתה שום כוונה לכבוש שטחים במלחמה זו והיא ביקשה מן המלך חוסיין שלא יתערב במלחמה זו. בעקבות המלחמה והתערבותן של סוריה וירדן, מצאה עצמה ישראל בריח הגולן, ככל חצי האי סיני ובגדה המערבית.

מיד אחרי המלחמה ביולי 1967, קיבלה ממשלת ישראל החלטה מרחיקת לכת שדוברה על שלום מידי עם מדינות ערב, מבלי שפירות המלחמה יושארו בידיה. ההצעה שהועברה למדינות ערב על-ידי ארה"ב נדחתה ותחת זאת התקיימה ועידת חרטום באוקטובר 1967 וקבעה את שלושת הלאוים: לא מו"מ, לא שלום, לא הכרה.

ישראל המשיכה במאמציה להגיע למו"מ ישיר ולא זכתה בחגובה אוהדת עד לביקורו ההיסטורי של הנשיא סאדאת בירושלים.

מסגרת קמפ דייוויד איפשרה פתרון הולם לבעיה הפלשתינאית, אך גם מסגרת זו נדחתה הן על-ידי ירדן והן על-ידי הפלשתינאים.

במהלך השנים הוצעו פתרונות רבים לפלשתינאים - פונקציונליים, טריטוריאליים, קבועים וזמניים - והם דחו את כולם.

אין לישראל ענין בסטטוס קוו. אנו מציעים לשנותו, להכנס למהלך חדש של שלום.

הבה לא ניאש עצמנו, הבה לא נציע שלבים מסובכים, אלא ניפגש פנים אל פנים, ישראל ידרן והפלשתינאים ונדבר שלום.

אם יש יד מושטת, ישראל לא תשיבנה ריקם. אם אין יד מושטת - ישראל מושטה את ידה.

אנו קוראים לירדן ולפלשתינאים לבוא מיד לשולחן המו"מ, ללא תנאים מוקדמים, ולשים קץ אחת ולתמיד, למצב המלחמה.

אנו מוכנים גם לוועידה בין-לאומית, בחנאי שכל משתתפותיה יהיו בעלות יחסים דיפלומטיים עם ישראל.

המלך חוסיין דיבר על בני אברהם. הגיעה העת להשלים ביניהם. אנו שכנים, קרובים ואין בינינו איבת דורות. בהיסטוריה העולמית הפכו מחלוקות הרבה יותר ממושכות לשלום. אין לנו צורך בהכנות מיותרות. אין לנו צורך בשלבים פסיכולוגיים. השלום בינינו יכול לעשות מהפכה אמיתית במזרח התיכון ולהפוך אותו מזכרון רחוק של ערש התרבות למרכז תרבותי מפרה ומחסיס.

01/1/62

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Speaking before you today I would like to address the two extremes of the spectrum of political life; terrorism and peace. Ever since its birth 37 years ago Israel has been actively engaged in fighting the former and relentlessly pursuing the latter. While both issues are of primary national and domestic importance, both have an important international component. Without international cooperation there is no effective way to fight terrorism; without an international effort in support of peace it is liable to remain beyond reach. In the Middle East, in the case of the Arab-Israeli conflict terrorism plays simultaneously two destructive roles. On the one hand it viciously attacks innocent people, men, women and children; on the other it continuously blocks all efforts to reach a political solution to the Arab-Israeli question.

Terrorism has manifested itself, under one guise or another, across the globe for hundreds of years, but has received world attention only in the last forty years. In one way or another it has affected all seven continents and there is scarcely a country today which can claim to have been untouched by its murderous and destructive effects. Modern terrorism is no respecter of ideology as the recent tragic events in Lebanon so clearly demonstrate. It has taken place on the ground, in the air, and recently on the seas. With the benefits of modern mass media it impinges on human consciousness with ever-increasing force. To adapt a famous Churchillian epigram: Never have so few succeeded in causing so much concern to so many. Recent studies have shown that no less than 80 countries in the world have been either the targets of terrorism or the locale where terrorist acts have been perpetrated. If we need any more proof that terrorism is no longer the problem of an individual state, we have to look no further than beyond the doors of this

building. These immense security efforts to which we have become subjected by necessity serve as a clear indication that terrorism is truly an international and transnational problem. But we as individuals are not the target of terrorism - civilized society, and above all democracy, is the target and hostage of terrorism.

In his masterpiece, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Edward Gibbon, writing some 200 years ago, asked: "The savage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilized society, and we may well inquire with anxious curiosity whether Europe is still threatened with a repetition of those calamities which formerly oppressed the arms and institutions of Rome." It should be borne in mind that it took the continent of Europe some 800 years to recover, in terms of organization, technical skills and living standards, from the calamity. Writing on the verge of the industrial revolution, Gibbon thought that he could answer with a reasonably firm negative. Today, 200 years later, we

cannot be sure. Technological developments which could not have been dreamt of even 50 years ago, give terrorists today the fire-power previously associated only with armies. Countries which provide terrorists with the weapons of destruction and the infrastructure and support to carry their barbarous actions of murder and destruction are giving these forces of evil the power to constantly torment US.

These aspects, taken together with the international composition of terrorist groups and the collaboration among them are proof that terrorism is not a purely national phenomenon which can be eradicated at a national level. It is an international assault - an open and declared war against civilization itself - and hope of victory against this common enemy rest only in an international alliance of the civilized countries.

There are those governments, some of them even represented in this gathering, that sadly, yet persistently, confuse terrorists with idealists

pursuing such noble causes as national or regional independence. I cannot believe, and therefore firmly reject the notion that a terrorist under any guise can be an idealist or that the objective can ever justify terrorism.

Terrorism is the deliberate and premeditated cold-blooded exaction of violence. Terrorism does not employ violence as a necessary evil but as a desirable, indeed preferable, form of activity. Terrorists reject politics as the normal and acceptable method by which communities can resolve their conflicts. For them violence is not a last resort weapon and method to be used in extremes. Rather, it is the outright and flagrant rejection of the entire political process. Indeed, they have never shown any desire, or the will to engage in a political process. In their constant resort to violence terrorists reject the corner-stones of western political thinking expressed in the social contract theories of Hobbes and Locke, which saw violence and treated it as the antithesis of politics, as a form of action characteristic of the

archaic "state of nature". Politics as a means to avoid barbarism is one of the lubricants of the wheels of civilization. In rejecting politics terrorism seeks to make civilization helpless, and ultimately may destroy it.

One of the worst failings of some countries which have their representatives here, has been the appeasement of terrorist organization and granting it the privileges, status and recognition of a legitimate government. To add insult to injury some of the governments have been themselves the victims of terrorism, and when their interests were at risk fought back, proclaiming to all their right to self-defense. But, when other governments chose to exercise their right of self-defense, those governments joined in a chorus of condemnation. Those governments should remember a prediction made by Montesquieu that "Governments begin to deteriorate with the decay of principles on which they are founded." It is inconceivable to place democratic governments and their officers on the same moral standing as terrorists.

While terrorism is a problem for many countries, for most it is a marginal problem which breaks out infrequently and sporadically, seldom escalating beyond the level of criminal action, rarely transgressing their national borders, and in most countries private citizens are the indirect victims and spectators to this senseless glorification and use of violence.

In Israel this is not the case. For us it is a major problem. It is constant in its manifestation, it frequently assumes barbarous proportions, frequently transgresses our national borders, and worst of all, makes our citizens, innocent men, women and children, its hostages and victims. We shall not tolerate this state of affairs. As a responsible government, we shall protect our citizens by all measures we think appropriate. And when all other measures fail, when responsible governments fail to carry out their duty of protecting tourists and diplomats, when some provide a safe haven to terrorists for training and planning their attacks we, exercising

the internationally recognized right of self-defense, and carrying out our obligation to our population, shall strike at the culprits, whoever they are and wherever they are hiding, with all force.

I call on all delegates to this conference to join hands in the war against terrorism to build the environment in which unilateral action is no longer necessary, because concerted effort and international cooperation will put terrorists rather than innocent civilians on the defensive and on the run. Together we can pursue and persecute them until they cease their violence and reject it, accept our norms as civilized states, and pursue their aims by political means.

12 years ago Israel was the victim of an unprovoked surprise attack by its two neighbors, Syria and Egypt. While no war has any benefits intrinsically, this one - like only a few others - brought about a fundamental structural change in the political realities of the region of

the Middle East. Following the war, President Sadat of Egypt realized that the use of force was no solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and that direct negotiations were the only means to resolve the problem. He therefore embarked on a voyage of peace to Jerusalem, which after a period of negotiations culminated in a peace treaty between Israel and Egypt.

Before signing a peace treaty, several interim agreements were signed between Israel, Egypt and Syria in which there was determination to bring to a halt all hostile actions across the borders of Israel, Egypt and Syria. These agreements were enforced and indeed, since 1974, there were no hostile actions taken across these borders. Israel's other front, with Jordan, had remained quiet since 1970, and for the past fifteen years no terrorist attack came from across the border. In fact, a state of de facto peace was maintained between the two countries. It was only in such an environment, free of war, under threat of war or terrorism that a peace process could be

initiated between Egypt and Israel. This Peace Agreement provides a framework of principles for a lasting peace between Israel and her neighbors based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338; to the solution to the Palestinian problem on the basis of an interim autonomy agreement in the first stage, and to a peace between Israel and Egypt.

The Peace Treaty between Israel and Egypt stands on solid ground, and despite some vibrations and recent problems, remains firm. There have recently been renewed efforts to resolve the outstanding differences between the two countries, and there are positive indications to a move in the right direction.

The Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel is a turning-point of historic dimensions. It was a peace agreement between Israel and the most important Arab nation, and because of Egypt's regional and international stature can also serve as a catalyst and bridge to peace with all other Arab states who wish to join the march on the road to peace.

Following the important address made recently by H.R.H. King Hussein to the U.N. General Assembly, I would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm Israel's position.

We welcome direct negotiations between Jordan and Israel based on U.N. Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 without pre-conditions. While there is no substitute for direct negotiations, we believe an international forum, composed of states who have diplomatic relations with both sides, may be conducive to resolving some differences. It is essential, however, that the states participating be willing to contribute to moving the process, when requested to do so by the negotiating parties. This in a fair and unbiassed fashion keeping an open mind towards both parties.

Regarding the Palestinian Question: It is important to emphasize that we are all interested in solving the problem. Israel recognizes the importance in the Peace Treaty with Egypt. We feel that for both demographic and security reasons, it is important for Jordan and Israel that the final solution to the

Palestinian problem be in a Jordanian context. Likewise, an interim solution should be in a joint Israeli-Jordanian framework.

It is clear to us that the Jordanian delegation must also represent the Palestinians, and therefore has to include a that will represent them. The delegation will therefore be a Jordanian-Palestinian one. It will be a single delegation and not a framework for two separate ones, since the negotiations have to be between sovereign states and not between states and one organization or another.

In order to have any chance of success, we feel that the negotiations themselves can only take place in a state of termination of belligerency of all kinds, the cessation of all acts of terrorism, with no preconditions, on the basis of U.N. Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, and on full recognition that each side is negotiating with a sovereign state.

There is now a window of opportunity through which the light of hope shines on the region. I call on King Hussein to make concrete his promises

by agreeing to meet with me face to face, soon, any time, anywhere he would

like. I am confident that once we start the negotiation process we shall reach

peace, for from peace one cannot escape. Let us make Isaiah's prophecy a

reality and ensure that "National shall not lift sword against nation."

Q'1 a/c 31e

Ever since the dawn of history war has brought death, destruction and untold suffering to the human race. In the twentieth century it has acquired global dimensions, and in the nuclear age it threatens the lives of hundreds of millions of people and, indeed, the very survival of human society and civilization as we know it. ^{IP} One of the principal underlying causes of war is the uncontrollable arms race which plagues today many of the countries in the world. The arms race, be it conventional or nuclear, generates anxiety, suspicion and fear about the motivation of others, and its results ^{creates} an environment characterized by a high degree of instability. It poisons the international atmosphere, adversely affects all aspects and levels of domestic ^{and} international political relations, ^{creates} ~~and creates~~ obstacles for the practical implementation of the peaceful coexistence of states as reflected in the United Nations Charter. It hinders the process of improving and changing relations among states on the basis of mutual understanding, mutual cooperation and equality. But above all, it promotes mistrust and fear, thus adversely affecting international security.

Nuclear weapons pose today the gravest danger to mankind. The ongoing efforts to halt and reverse the nuclear arms race should be intensified and further aspects of nuclear arms build-up should

be brought within the scope of negotiations. ^{JP} The possibility of the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries poses an ever increasing danger to the security of the international community and runs counter to the security interests of all states, nuclear and non-nuclear alike. In Israel we believe that the most effective way of halting proliferation is the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Middle East. Like the one in Latin America, if not more so, the Middle East nuclear-free zone will make a substantial contribution to the security of the zonal states and to international peace and security in general. The nuclear-free zone should be based on mutually binding obligations freely arrived at among all states of the region concerned. It should also involve public commitments by the nuclear weapon states not to use nuclear weapons against the states of the zone and to respect its status.

Although nuclear disarmament should be the most urgent overall target, the qualitative and quantitative arms race in the field of conventional weapons - which constitutes the bulk of military expenditure in the world and a major burden to national economies is at the regional level a most immediate threat to security. Thus, while general disarmament agreements remain the ultimate goal regional arms control and disarmament measures on the conventional level should be vigorously sought and pursued. Since all such measures have to be agreed in direct and free negotiations between

all the regional states, it is imperative for the success of their outcome that all states are ready to participate constructively. Lasting international security has to be based not on mutual fear or deterrence, but on mutual confidence.

Mankind is at present facing the greatest challenge of the century. The level and speed of the arms race are bound to increase the danger of war. The outbreak of a nuclear war would jeopardize the very existence of all mankind. During this decade peoples will be confronted with new technological, economic and social challenges that will be made far more complex if the arms race continues unabated.

In the realm of non-^{Convention}~~convertible~~ weapons, the recent use of chemical weapons by Iraq in its war with Iran serves to further strengthen our conviction that the complete and effective prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons and their ^{Distribution}~~destruction~~ should remain a high priority task. Ongoing efforts should be accelerated for the early conclusion of an international convention to this end.

Examining several regional contexts we find that there are situations where confidence-building is an ongoing process, others where there is relatively little confidence yet, or where confidence is almost non-existent, and others where a confrontational relationship, accompanied by the accumulation of large arrays of armaments and marked by military preparedness, necessitates urgent measures for the initiation of the confidence-building process, which should be carried out on a step-by-step basis.

While the final objective of confidence-building measures is indeed confidence itself, which contributes to strengthening the security of states, its achievement should not be made a pre-condition for the initiation of the confidence-building process.

It is common knowledge that many, if not most, problems of security and the perceptions thereof derive from regional factors and elements. This leads to the conclusion reached and adopted by the State of Israel that a regional approach to confidence-building is both desirable and feasible - we ^{therefore} ~~the more~~ firmly believe that within the purview of global disarmament efforts there is considerable scope for regional initiatives and for practical action on a regional basis. regional disarmament should be viewed as a necessary complement to global measures and an important constituent in the step-by-step approach to global disarmament.

We therefore call for the initiation of a process by which agreed-upon confidence-building-measures will be established

through free and direct negotiations by all the states in the region. These will greatly ^{reduce} ~~raise~~ fears, suspicions and anxieties and in turn will add to greater rationality and stability, they will be an additional important step enhancing the attainment of our long⁶ sought-after objective of peace and security for all peoples of the Middle East.

On the conventional level we strive that there should be undiminished security at the lowest possible level of armaments and military forces, so that at no stage does ~~any~~ state or group of states gain any unilateral military advantage and so that security is assured equally for all regional states.

In the present economic situation in the world, the economic fortunes of all states are now tied inextricably and irreversibly together dictating, it would seem, co-operation and the coordination of strategies for mutual benefit.

It is imperative to find solutions to the problems impeding the technological, economic and social development of the developing countries. Additional human material and financial resources are needed to solve the problems in such fields as raw materials, energy, food production and environmental protection.

P Development, in its broadest sense, refers to social and economic changes in society leading to improvements in the quality of life for all at the most basic level.

It means providing for every person the basic material requirements for a productive and dignified existence.

The opportunity for a highly advantageous revision of priorities in global resource allocation away from armaments toward economic and social development has been clearly apparent since the early years of the post-war era, yet one of the more conspicuous features of the ^{Past four decades} ~~Israeli Government's foreign policy~~ has been the

consistency and magnitude of the global military effort.

In 1984, world military expenditure was as much as (Sipri Yearbook 1985) or approximately per cent of

world output. ^{It is our contention that the continuation of such} ~~unjustifiable~~ the negative effects

of such a situation are socially harmful, economically

unjustifiable, politically counterproductive, ecologically

hazardous and morally intolerable. ^{Furthermore, we believe that} its continuation

will impede the world-wide prospects of economic growth and

delay the developmental process with serious socio-economic

consequences, particularly for the developing countries.

^{A clear lesson that can be drawn from this sad experience on arms affairs is that}
Development at an acceptable rate would be hard if not

impossible to reconcile with a continuation of the arms

race. There is a close relationship between disarmament

and development. Progress in the former would help greatly

to the realization of the latter. Therefore ^{we view that} resources

received as a result of the implementation of disarmament

measures should be devoted to the economic and social

development of all nations and contribute to the bridging of

the economic gap between developed and developing countries.

If only a small fraction of the quantum of resources devoted to armaments would be channelled to development, radical improvements could be made in the quality of life of millions around the world. ^{Even a} ~~the~~ minor curtailment of the arms race would permit, for the first time, the kind of massive transfer of resources from destruction to construction and to productive development and economic growth world-wide.

ג. (ס) - 10/1
ירושלים, 1.10.1985

1. הנאום ב-אוי"ם יתרכז כולו בתהליך השלום.

א. חלק א' - 5 דקות (לוקח בחשבון גם את דברי חוסיין על הצורך להתבסס על כל החלטות ה-אוי"ם שקדמו ל-242 ול-338).

(1) הדגשת - הפרת הסכמי שביתת הנשק שנחתמו ב-1949 עם מצרים, ירדן וסוריה, ששמו קץ לתוקפנות שנועדה למנוע את הקמתה של מדינת ישראל ולחסלה בעודה באיבה. לצטט מהסכמי שביתת הנשק את העקרונות שהמשמעות שלהם היא שלמעשה כבר אז נקבעה הפסקת מצב מלחמה.

(2) מאז, לא פסקה התוקפנות שנועדה לכפות על ישראל תנאים שיביאו לחיסולה. תוקפנות רוויית דם ותלאות בהיקף מחריד - (מלחמות וטרור)

ב. חלק ב' - התמורה המהותית - 5 דקות

(1) ההסכמים שנחתמו לאחר מלחמת יום הכיפורים, שקבעו כי יפסקו פעולות האיבה בגבולות בין ישראל למצרים וסוריה. (מאז שנת 74 לא היו פעולות איבה בגבולות עם סוריה ומצרים).

(2) השקט בגבול הישראלי-ירדני שהשתרר מאז שנת 1970, מאז פסקה לוחמת הטרור מכיוון ירדן.

(3) הסכם קמפ-דייביד, המהווה מסגרת של עקרונות:-

(-) לשלום בין ישראל לבין שכנותיה על בסיס החלטות מועצת הביטחון 242 ו-338.

(-) לפיתרון הבעיה הפלשתינאית על בסיס הסדר ביניים של אוטונומיה בשלב ראשון.

(-) להשכנת שלום בין מצרים לישראל.

(4) הסכם השלום בין מצרים לישראל, אשר יסודותיו מוצקים עד היום, ולמרות הקשיים שהצטברו בתקופה האחרונה, ישנן התפתחויות חיוביות לביטוס היחסים ההדדיים ונכונות לפתור את הבעיות שעוד נותרו במחלוקת. שלום זה, מהווה מפנה הסטורי ממדרגה ראשונה, גם בגלל מעמדה המיוחד של מצרים בעולם ובאזור וגם בגלל היותו השלום הראשון עם המדינה הערבית הגדולה ביותר וראש גשר להגעה להסכמי שלום כולל.

- (5) נכונות ממשלת ישראל ל-מו"מ ישיר ובהקדם האפשרי עם ירדן, על בסיס החלטות מועצת הביטחון 242 ו-338 וללא תנאים מוקדמים.
- (6) נכונות ירדן, בהצהרתו החשובה ממדרגה ראשונה והמבורכת של המלך חוסיין, ל-מו"מ ישיר עם ישראל להשכנת שלום, על בסיס 242 ו-338 וללא תנאים מוקדמים.
- (7) הכרת ישראל כי מצרים שעימה נחתם הסכם שלום וכי ארה"ב השותפה להסכם זה, יכולות להוות גורמים מרכזיים חיוביים להנעת תהליך שלום באזור שיהיה בר סיכויים להתחלה, לקיום ולהצלחה.
- (8) מערכת היחסים דה פקטו הקיימת בין ישראל לירדן (גשרים פתוחים, הזיקה בין ערביי הגדה ועזה לירדן ועוד).

ג. חלק ג' - 5 דקות

המכשולים שיש להסיר כדי שלתהליך השלום יהיו סיכויי הצלחה והוא יהיה אמין ומוצק כדי לסכל כל סיכוי למוטטו בעודו באיבו, מצד גורמים המעוניינים בכך.

הרעיונות:-

- א. חסות בינ"ל יכולה להיות רק של מדינות שיכולות ומעוניינות לתרום לתהליך ולגשר לפי צורך בין חילוקי דעות על בסיס של אי נקיטת עמדה עויינת וחסרת פשרות כלפי אחד מהצדדים ל-מו"מ הישיר. שתהיה הרגשה לכל צד ולא רק לצד אחד שיש למי לפנות.
- ב. הבסיס הוא מו"מ ישיר ללא תנאים מוקדמים, כלומר, שכל צד יכול לשים על השולחן את רעיונותיו ותכניותיו - הכל פתוח לדיון.
- ג. בפתרון הבעיה הפלשתינאית כולנו מעוניינים ועל זה ישראל התחייבה בקמפ-דייויד. משיקולים דמוגרפיים וביטחוניים, חשוב גם לישראל וגם לירדן שפיתרון הקבע יהיה במסגרת ירדן, ופתרון ביניים עד לפתרון הקבע יהיה במסגרת משותפת לישראל ולירדן.
- ד. ברור לנו שמשלחת ירדן ל-מו"מ צריכה לייצג גם את הפלשתינאים, והיא צריכה לכן לכלול נציגות שתייצג את הפלשתינאים ותהיה לכן משלחת ירדנית-פלשתינאית. אולם משלחת אחת ולא מסגרת לשתי משלחות נפרדות - כיוון שה-מו"מ צריך להיות בין מדינות ולא בין מדינות לארגון כלשהו, והמשלחות ל-מו"מ צריכות לנהל את ה-מו"מ ולצעוד בבטחה להשכנת שלום על כל צדדיו:-

- (1) באוירה של הפסקת מצב לוחמה על כל גווניה.
- (2) באוירה של הפסקת טרור על כל גווניו.
- (3) ללא תנאים מוקדמים.
- (4) על בסיס החלטות מועצת הביטחון 242 ו-338.
- (5) על בסיס הכרה ברורה שכל צד מנהל מו"מ עם מדינה ריבונית ועצמאית.

ד. חלק רביעי - חזון - 3 דקות

1. נוצרה קרקע פוריה לפתרון הסכסוך ולהשגת שלום כולל בין ישראל לשכנותיה עוד בעשור ה-80.
2. בל נחמיץ הזדמנות היסטורית ובל ניתן אפשרות לכוחות השחור לנתץ הזדמנות זאת ולדרדר אותנו חזרה לתלאות ולסבל של מלחמות ללא תוחלת. (להכניס פסוק מתאים...).
3. כאן, מעל במת הארגון שהוקם ע"י המדינות שהצילו את העולם מאימת גרמניה הנאצית - אשר כתוצאה ממנה גם הושמד שליש העם היהודי - אני קורא למלך חוסיין ולשאר מנהיגי מדינות ערב לדבר פנים אל פנים ובהקדם, כדי להגשים את חזון הנביאים
4. אין לי ספק כי בכח החזון והאמונה נוכל לפתור את חילוקי הדעות ולהצעיד את עמנו וכל עמי האזור לשלום, לשגשוג, ליחסי שכנות טובה ולביטחון הדדי.

When the United Nations was founded in 1945 the world was in ruins, but humanity was full of hope. Hope for freedom, hope for justice, hope for human equality and dignity. The message of hope which the United Nations Charter, and the measured tones of its preamble and opening statement of purpose and principles, sent to all the war-weary peoples of 1945 engendered idealist optimism (in many circles) around the world. For the Jewish people, with the fresh memories of Nazi persecution and for hundreds of thousands of survivors the new organization projects another hope for a better world. After having ^{gave her} ~~been plunged~~ ^{emerged from} into the most terrible of wars in the annals of man, men and women raised their heads, out of the ashes of destruction hoping to establish a world in which people would be free from fear, enslavement and wars; a world of peace.

^{from Egypt} The quest for peace has accompanied the Jewish people from the Exodus ^{to the birth of the State of Israel} ~~to the birth of the State of Israel~~ ^{from its birth} ~~from its birth~~. Our Sages guided us that we should "seek peace and pursue it". This ^{objective} ~~guideline~~ has been the central theme of all Israeli Governments. In our Declaration of Independence, David Ben-Gurion, who was to become our first Prime Minister, declared: "We extend our hand in peace and neighborliness to all the neighboring states and nations, and invite them to cooperate with the Independent Jewish State for the common good of all. (The State of Israel is prepared to make its contribution to the progress of the Middle East as a whole." We stand by the words now as we did then. For thirty years our hand remained outstretched in vain, and the only reply we heard to our call for peace was the sound of our own echo. During this time we had to stand guard and too frequently

fight to secure our survival, sustained only by the hope for peace and the justice of our cause.)

When Israel had again to repel an onslaught,
The agreements signed after the Yom Kippur War which brought to a halt *all* hostile actions across the borders of Israel, Egypt and Syria were scrupulously honoured and remain *ed intact agreements* firm. These, together with the quiet along the border with Jordan since 1970, when *the Jordanian government took effective* the war of terrorism against Israel from Jordanian territory *ceased*, created the *climate* in which the open bridges policy between the two countries could flourish and the Camp David process could be initiated.

from now onwards the meaning of this term has generally known
The Peace Treaty between Egypt AND ISRAEL *is* should be seen and recognized as a breakthrough and a milestone in the history of the *Middle East* world. Both because of the stature of Egypt in the Arab world and the international community, and because *they* can serve as a bridge to peace between Israel and its neighboring Arab states.

Let us not make the peace between Egypt and Israel and isolated episode. Rather let us ^{use} make it instead ^{as} a step ^{on} a ladder which will lead us all out of the state of conflict to a lasting and stable peace.

The Israeli-Egyptian Peace rests on solid and sound foundations, and despite the difficulties, frustrations, anxieties and oscillations, there are

2 { recently positive moves in the direction of strengthening the bilateral relations and a mutual willingness and commitment between the Governments of Israel and Egypt to resolve the outstanding issues peacefully.

No.1
H.M.
Hussein did not say this.
The Government of Israel has called on all its Arab neighbours to join it in direct negotiations with no preconditions based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which are the only ones that paved the way to a peace agreement. We renew this call from this august podium, especially in the wake of the recent significant and ^{capable of paving} ~~praiseworthy~~ address by ^{H.M.} ~~H.R.H.~~ King Hussein of Jordan to this distinguished ^{assembly} ~~forum~~, in which he publicly agreed to sit and negotiate directly with Israel with no preconditions. Together with the consistent and tireless help and support of the United States of America and the moderate Arab coalition ^{AND ALL the countries which are willing to solve the conflict} we can ~~rekindle~~ ^{extinguish} the flame of peace.

100
Requires reformulation
Israel recognizes the importance and the potential contribution to the peace process of those countries which have diplomatic relations with all states which are side to the conflict. Israel welcomes the support of these countries to direct negotiations between her and the Arab States who ^{sincerely} ~~truthfully~~ seek a stable and lasting peace in the area. Clearly ^{AN INTERNATIONAL SETTING} has merit only if it is composed of states who want to contribute and help bring the different positions closer when the need arises by the two parties negotiating, ^{which is perfectly} ~~this on the basis of impartiality~~ and not a one-sided ^{and unbalanced} ~~unilateral~~ public policy which precludes any objectivity, and which

bears with it the seeds of failure. *which is helpful contribution to the success of the peace process.*

At the entrance to the UN building there is a wall dedicated to the prophet Isaiah, who in the best Hebrew prophetic tradition spoke truth to power. His message was to become universal, and this is why the United Nations chose to honor him and his message of peace.

But Isaiah was not only the prophet whose vision of universal peace inspired the thoughts of Kant and Gandhi, of Martin Buber and Martin Luther King. He also believed that peace cannot be a diktat, that peace is a product of human reason and discourse. It is Isaiah who said,

'Come now, and let us reason together' (1, 13).

It is Isaiah who said,

'That they may see, and know, and consider,
and understand together' (41, 10).

The basis for negotiations is direct negotiations with no preconditions. That is, each side can put on the table its plans, thoughts and suggestions. Everything is negotiable.

Today, the central issue on the Middle East Agenda is the initiation of a direct negotiation process. The United States of America playing a helpful role, has been trying for months to set the ^{is} process in motion, but is constantly hindered by questions regarding Palestinian representation and attempts to impose preliminary meant to predetermine a-priori conditions determining the outcome. Israel is ready to enter the of the negotiation maintains an open-door

negotiation chamber at any time, here and now

negotiations which could start this year.

policy regarding peace

Direct negotiations with a JOYANIAN PALESTINIAN delegation which will agree to peace on the basis of U.N. resolutions 242 AND 338, with no preconditions

negotiation

After we have ^{negotiated} ~~not~~ directly with the Egyptians

and together signed a peace treaty, it is inconceivable to regress

to a setting which will lead to indirect negotiations. It is important to

emphasize that the problem for Israel is not the title given to the forum.

While we fully agree that there are regional problems which can be solved under an international ^{framework} ~~umbrella~~ such as issues of economic or security

cooperation, it is of no use to operate under an international ~~umbrella~~ which is divided by the lines of conflict, with states who do not have

diplomatic relations with Israel, ^{protected against the ~~adversity~~ of the} ~~inequality of the international ~~weather~~ which has in the~~ ^{torrents of adverse rhetorical downpours.}

The need for a solution to the Palestinian problem which we all long for, and to which we pledged our support in Camp David is clear to us all.

We, the Government of Israel, committed ourselves ^{itself to the "recognition"} that the solution

"must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements. In this way the Palestinians ^{and the participation will of the Palestinian people} ~~would~~ participate in

the determination of their own future." ^{of} This is our commitment. We stand

by it. A solution to the Palestinian problem is not a condition, it is a

necessity of reality, demography and security for both Israel and Jordan, as

well as the other Arab states. It is essential ^{to reach} that the ^{settlement} ~~final~~ solution to

this problem be in a Jordanian context, and until such a stage is reached,

the interim solution should be based on a joint Israel-Jordanian context in

which Jordan will have a central role.

It is clear to us that the Jordanian delegation to the negotiations has to represent the Palestinian people and include its representatives, and will therefore be a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

*This whole
have, because
of its centrality,
should be
rewritten in
clear language
and more explicit
formulation.*

but the negotiations have to be carried out by sovereign states

in the negotiations
all its
of all
and its kind;
on the
sovereign

There is now fertile ground in which the seeds of peace between Israel and all its neighbours can bloom before the end of this decade. Let us not miss this historic opportunity and allow the forces of evil to plunge us back into the abyss of useless and senseless wars and bloodshed. From this podium I call on King Hussein of Jordan to

me face to face, thus proclaiming and showing to the entire world that we aim for peace in direct negotiations, and to thus realize the Lord's promise which we repeat on our Holy Days, "And I shall bring peace to the earth and a world of happiness to all its inhabitants."

There is a danger of a serious loss since the Regle

I am confident that with the power that seeking peace gives us we will be able to overcome all obstacles and lead our people together with other nations of the world towards peace and prosperity. Let us ^{present} give the United Nations ^{with} the most ^{enticing} wonderful gift we can ^{offer} give it on its 40th. anniversary.

Until now the UN has dealt with the Arab-Israeli conflict more than with any other international issue. Let us now ^{invited the Arab States, offer to} give the United Nations our ^{readiness} willingness ^{to make peace} to make peace. It is a challenge to all of us, Arabs and Israelis, statesmen and laymen, men and women, ^{citizens} with no ^{with no differences of religious race and color} differences of religion, race and color.

It is a challenge to our wisdom, to our humanity, to our love of mankind, to our commitment to justice. Let us now move towards this goal, let us make peace. Our generation ^{must} has to achieve this goal. History demands it, morality commands it, our ^{our common} common belief in ^{inspires us} the divine origin of our respective religious traditions points us in this direction. Let us ~~give our peoples peace.~~

We owe peace to all our peoples.

An Like Ben Gurion before Israel's Provisional State Council, ^{here is no solemn occasion} I stand before you here at the United Nations. I appeal to you, the leaders of the Arab states, ~~whether you are in this hall or not~~, and extend my hand to you in peace. From peace one cannot escape, ^{he} from responsibility towards the future one ^{must not evade} cannot ~~flee~~, even if one leaves this hall when one does not want to hear the voice of the other side. We have our differences, we have our disagreements, we harbor longtime ^{rancors} suspicions and fears. But let the word go forth from here, that there must be peace.

the Peace Treaty with Egypt

have made peace together
proved that this psychological barrier of fear and suspicion can be overcome. Let us therefore come and reason together. Let us do what previous generations did not find it possible to do - and let us not blame each other. Instead, let us make peace, and lead our peoples to the safety and prosperity that is their right and our duty.

- 8 -

today from this hall

I call on all member states of the UN, but above all, to
our Arab neighbors to let us embark on ~~renew~~ the exciting Journey to Peace, today,
from this hall, with the blessings of all peace-loving nations, so that
future generations, if they ever remember what we have said here, would
be able to say: this was their finest hour.

This is
history

made in a safe passage

Draft

Suggestions for Prime-Minister's address to the United Nations
commemorating the 40th anniversary of its foundation.

Points and issues.

The state of the United Nations

I #

Forty years are a fleeting moment in history, but ~~at~~ ^{also some} times decisive periods in the life of nations. The trek of the Jewish people from bondage to freedom lasted forty years. On its way through the wilderness ^{it} to the promised land, it ^{entered} ~~received~~ the covenant of the Commandments, guiding it and enlightened ^{man kind} ~~humanity~~ until as ^{its} ~~their~~ supreme moral charter until this day.

Forty years ago the United Nations arose out of the wasteland of war, covered with the cinders of the victims of Hitler's hell. ^{fine!} The victorious war-time allies vowed to erect an edifice of world peace, strong in its foundations, united in its purpose and effective in action. The members of the new ^{world} ~~organi-~~ zation undertook in their Charter "to settle their international disputes by peaceful means and to practice tolerance and live together as good neighbours." They intended the United Nations "to be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations." Has the United Nations fulfilled the high hopes which the peoples of the world ^{had} placed in it? The Secretary General of our organization has answered the question with ^{exemplary} ~~admirable~~ frankness in his report to this session. The United Nations, he warned, would degenerate into a "rambling, contentious slum, a breeding ground of endless new troubles and disasters, unless it devised a working political system in which all participate ^{a system} ~~that~~ will make our planet run more evenly in the interests of all its inhabitants."

~~The failure of the United Nations to live up to the
grand expectations~~

The failure of the United Nations to trans^{pose} ~~form~~ its Charter principles into a binding code of international conduct, regulating the relations between its members, has been the central theme of this debate. Indeed the way the United Nations has evolved, seems to bear out a prediction by Montesquieu ^{has} "governments begin to deteriorate with the decay of the principles on which they are founded."

The more the United Nations disregards the principles and purposes of its Charter, the more its members transform it ~~into~~ into a flood-lit arena of word wielding gladiators, all the more this potential tower of strength becomes an ^{abode} ~~abode~~ of impotence. Instead of advancing the cause of peaceful settlement, it magnifies, sharpens and perpetuates existing differences. Instead of "harmonizing the action of nations", it accentuates their ^{discord} ~~discord~~. Instead of adopting resolutions, facilitating dialogue and compromise, it produces piles of political manifestos of singular bias and imbalance. The dead weight of the stockpile of illconceived and illmeaning resolutions has made the United Nations ^{colossal} ~~colossal~~ heavy-footed and tight-minded. The quantity of its wordy ^{resolutions} ~~resolutions~~ stands in reverse proportion to the quality of its effective solutions.

In this warfare of words Israel in particular has been singled out as a target for verbal assault, ^{culminating in the adoption of} ~~and misguided~~ resolutions, distorting the facts, barring the prospects of peaceful settlement ~~and~~ spreading ^{defamatory} ~~defamatory~~ insinuations. Permit me, Mr. President, to dwell briefly on one example, probably the crassest of all. Ten years ago this Assembly adopted a resolution equating Zionism with racism ^{ism} ~~ism~~, an allegation of boundless malice and unsurpassed absurdity. The day it committed this insult to the Jewish people and injury to itself, coincided with the 37th anniversary of the Chrystal Night, where the Nazi ^{storm} ~~troopers~~ went on an organized rampage, demolishing ^{the} ~~Jewish~~ property and burning their places of worship throughout ^{the country} ~~the country~~. These fires were the prelude to the ^{worldwide} ~~worldwide~~ conflagration, which engulfed the whole world. ^{From the} ~~From the~~ scorched earth ^{arose the} ~~arose the~~ United Nations pledged "to practice tolerance and ~~to~~ to promote and encourage respect for human rights. This ^{is} ~~is~~ resolution encourages ^{not} ~~not~~ respect, but abuse and hatred worthy of those who had plunged the world into the abyss of war and delivered millions of my people into the Nazi furnaces. To call the Zionist movement, one of the first ^{universally recognized} ~~and first~~ national liberation movements of this century, racist is a ^{grotesque} ~~travesty of common decency~~ and ^{shameful} ~~unheard of~~ perversion of the struggle against racial discrimination, in which the Jewish people, one of its principal victims, participated. ~~Resolution~~

victims, prides itself to take a leading part. Resolution.....
~~is a sad aberration and a stain on the~~ *from*
 remarkable condemnation of the United Nations ~~concern for the~~ *in matters*
~~of human rights.~~ For the sake of truth and justice, for
 the sake of the unimpaired prosecution of the fight against *the evil of*
~~racism,~~ wherever it occurs, the United Nations must remove
 this stain from its record.

I have not come here to refute the mass of totally *fabricated*
 malicious allegations *hurled* against my country *from certain quarters*
~~with perennial regularity, nor do I intend to enter into another~~
round of rancorous exchanges. I have come here to promote peace and not to engage in
~~sterile polemics. My aim is to outline my government's~~
~~program for peace, permit~~ *outlining my government's*
 Mr. president, to summarize briefly the basic concepts guiding
 Israel's policies.

I. List of headings to be elaborated in the text.

II. Basic concepts.

1. ~~Our~~ *from the basic concepts of Israel's position.*
 principles of our spiritual heritage and the experience of
 our history. 2700 years ago Israel's prophets proclaimed the vision
 of the equality of all human beings, the end of wars, of a world
 of peace and the universality of the human destiny. No U.N.
 resolution formulated the ^{universal} call for disarmament more poignantly
 and passionately than Psalm 46: "He maketh war to cease until the
 the end of the earth; he braketh the bow and cutteth the spear
 in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire."
 The immortal words of Isaiah: "Nation shall not lift sword
 against nation", are engraved in the wall facing the entrance
 to this building. They are engraved in the memory of our people,
 who have suffered more from the lifted sword than many other nations.
These words were *'No More War'*
 in history. words echoed in the vow: "No More War", solemnly pronounced
 by the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt from the rostrum of
 our Knesseth and reiterated by the Prime Minister of Israel. A vow
 which became a binding undertaking, enshrined in the treaty of peace
 concluded *between* our two countries. The vow of Jerusalem: "No More War"
 was one of the most auspicious events in the annals of Arab-
 Israel relations.

advantages

of peace.

4. Continuation basic concepts

- 4 The principles and provisions of Israel's Declaration of Independence quote a few appropriate parts.

Refer to the four principles of Israel's policy at home and abroad presented by Ben Gurion in one of his first speeches in the Knesseth ~~in 1948~~ in 1948.

Refer to Sharett's speech before the General Assembly at the occasion of Israel's admission to U.N. membership. Addressing himself to the Arab people he declared that Israel was deeply aware of the common destiny uniting it with them forever. Israel had no higher ambition or a more urgent task, than to attain a relationship of good neighbourliness and friendly collaboration with the peoples of the Middle East. He pledged that Israel would strive to live up to the noble record of Jewish tradition. He referred to the historical coincidence of Israel's admission on the day the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the lifting of the Berlin blockade entered into force, and hoped that both events would lead to a reduction of tension between the great powers. Both the United States and the Soviet Union had supported Israel's struggle for statehood and welcomed its admission to the United Nations. *on May 14, 1949.*

5. Israel's relations with the "Three worlds", West, East and so called *Third World* basic Jewish concept: Universal destiny of mankind, a one world vision. Natural for the people that has bequeathed to the world monotheism, the faith in one all embracing providence.

This not only a ~~theological belief~~ *vision*, but an imminently practical necessary approach ~~to~~ *to* tackle the acute problems which are of planetary scope. The issues which concern mankind in the final years of the twentieth century are of such vast, critical, perilous, as well as promising dimensions, that they require ~~global solutions~~ *and poverty.* The problems of pollution and population of

food production and distribution, of desertification and rural *developments of urban renewal, of the application of science to the development of equitable availability of energy, water resources and raw materials, of the use or abuse of nuclear power, they all demand the application of a one world strategy. The scope and nature of these problems are known to us and the means to cope with them are at hand.* The United Nations was founded, when man was still earthbound.

of developing countries

Since ~~then~~ ^{he} he has reached out into ~~the universe~~ ^{the universe and} his global outlook has changed. Convincing evidence ^{was provided} recently ^{by} the first Arab astronaut who participated this year in a United States space mission. Prince Sultan Salman al Saud of Saudi Arabia said: "On the first and second day of the flight, we were noticing our countries, saying 'that's my home' By the third day, you see only continents. By the fifth day, you see only the Earth-it becomes one place, your home."

But meanwhile we live in a ^{fragmented} tripartite world, ^{divided into 159 national} and have to cope with the existing political realities. ^{we have to cope} Israel is part of the Western democratic world by ^{its} political outlook, its social concepts, shared values and cultural affinity. Describe the nature of its relations with the United States, which extend far beyond political, economic and defence exigencies. Refer to the Jewish connection, which ^{with} all the deep commitment of American Jewry to Israel is only one of the ties, that link the ~~the~~ peoples of the United States and Israel.

Refer to Israel's relations with Western Europe with special reference to its relations with the European Community.

On Israel's relations with the East suggest following line: ^{is in 1947}

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states were in the ^{post} ~~not unknown territory~~ on Israel's political map. Until 1967, when the Soviet Union ~~and the Arab states~~ and its allies, with the laudable exception of Rumania and the regrettable ^{able} addition of Yugoslavia, severed their diplomatic relations, Israel enjoyed normal, and at times friendly ties, with all of them. The process of Soviet-Israel alienation, ~~which~~ ^{which} began in the midfifties, when the Soviet Union progressively aligned ^{it} itself with the Arab states against Israel, has culminated since the Six Day War in a number of crises, affecting not only Israel but also the relations between the superpowers. The Soviet military presence in Syria has created a particularly hazardous situation with Soviet ^{military} personnel and installations confronting the Israeli forces deployed on the Golan heights.

The fact that the Soviet strategic border with Israel runs somewhere in the vicinity of Kuneitra, enjoins both governments, and of course, Syria to consider their moves with utmost prudence.

is mentioned in his organization

Impulses: ^{Re spreading} awareness that ^{by military means} military solution of conflict ^{is} ^{as} unattainable and attempt to force the issue by war will have disastrous consequences; war fatigue of the peoples; their yearning for peace; the example of the peaceful settlement between Israel and Egypt with ^Egypt having broken the Arab taboo; the blunting of the oil weapon; the fear of an all encompassing wave of fundamentalist fanaticism; the determination of Israel and of Jordan, shared by the silent majority of the Palestinians, to reach a peaceful solution of the conflict.

The marchroute to peace and stability.

The great contribution of the Israel-Egyptian peace to the stability of the area, establishing a zone of peace stretching from the headwaters of the Jordan to the sources of the Nile. Israel ^{offer} ~~planned~~ to settle the outstanding question between the two countries in accordance with ^{their} mutual rights and obligations under the peace treaty. Both sides should tackle without further delay the existing differences and irritations extending from the status of the tiny enclave of Taba to the full implementation of all provisions regulating the civilian activities and diplomatic relations between the two countries.

The Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli complex.

Enumerate Israel's undertakings ^{under} the Palestine part of the Camp David framework accord.: Israel ^{to implement UN Resolution 242} agreed to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; ~~and~~ to support the establishment of a self-governing authority for the West Bank; ~~it agreed~~ to participate with Jordanian forces to assure the security of the borders ^{the five (states)} and to determine by the end of a transitional period of five years of the areas in negotiations conducted among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and the elected representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, and to conclude a peace treaty with Jordan.

Are there any other examples in diplomatic history where a state subjected to more than 37 years of warfare, from which it emerged victorious, accepted voluntarily, in advance of negotiations, such a wide range of commitments and binding guidelines?

[?] Israel willing to enter into direct negotiations right here and now in accordance with these provisions or any others

agreed to by the parties.

The role of the international community in these negotiations. We welcome U.S. participation in view of its balanced policy and its positive contribution to the attainment of ~~the~~ peace between Israel and ~~Jordan~~ ^{Egypt}. Call upon other powers, maintaining relations with both sides and committed to an equitable, realistic peaceful settlement of the conflict, to encourage the ~~overcome~~ ^{perhaps to} the existing obstacles ^{they could watch} the progress of the negotiations ~~observers~~, if so desired, ^{by} accredited observers, or a representative of the Secretary General reporting to the Security Council.

Syria-Israel, Offer negotiations with Syria. Recognize Syria's predominant interest in the stability of Lebanon, a concern shared by Israel. Recall that they had been successful negotiations between Syria and Israel ^{if} the Armistice agreement of 1949, the separation of forces agreement of 1984.

Refer to the unbridled arms race, sapping the resources of the countries involved, providing the great powers with opportunities of manoeuvre and pressure, mortgaging the freedom of action and above all adding dynamite to the brimfull Middle Eastern powderkeg.

2
Propose within the framework of peace ^{the establishment of} a joint international peace and development fund, to which the states in the Middle East would contribute a sizable percentage of the savings on their military budgets. A fund in which all states that are willing to contribute to the ~~solution~~ of the burdening problems in the area, shall be invited to participate.

Conclude with the endorsement of Hussein's vision of a Middle East living in peace. ^{As} state that ^{As} was the vision of the people of Israel throughout its long and tortuous march through history, it is the vision that upheld its spirit and animated it in its return to its ancient homeland. The time is ripe and the opportunity is at hand to transform ^{to go} ~~justly~~ this vision into a living reality.

* page 7 bottom.

special para should be devoted to the scourge of terror. In this connection mention the failure of the United Nations to take effective measures. On the contrary it provided a forum for the legitimization of one the worlds foremost leaders of international terror: Revolver-toting Arafat, addressing from this rostrum the General Assembly. The United Nations, instead of helping eradicate the plague of terror, which afflicts Arab countries, as well as Israel, the Western World and recently even the Soviet Union, the United Nations provides it with a platform and sanctuary.

It tolerates its perpetrators and condemns those who act against ^{it} in the exercise of their legitimate right of self-defence. It bows its head before the terrorist and points ^{accusing} its finger ^{at} those who fight it.

Refer ^{to} Israel's right of self-defence, not only enshrined in the UN Charter, but in explicit U.N. Declaration on Principles of International Law adopted on October 24, 1970 which stipulates: "No State shall organize, foment, finance, incite or tolerate subversive, terrorist or armed activities directed towards the violent overthrow of the regime of another State." Likewise the U.N. Definition of Aggression of 14 December 1974 states in article 3(g) that: "the sending by or on behalf of a State of armed bands, groups, irregulars, mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another State is an act of aggression."

Call for a world-wide Alliance to Combat: A.C.T. ~~(act)~~

October 14, 1985

PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The world in which the United Nations was born forty years ago was torn between two conflicting moods. There was shock and grief at the spectacle of death and devastation left behind by the war. But there was also a bright gleam of hope. Hope for a new birth of freedom. For an era of justice and equality. For the liberation of subject peoples. For an enlargement of human dignity. Above all -- for peace!

Nothing reflects more accurately the universal view of Judaism, than the noble idea of a United Nations. This idea rests -- as our forefathers taught us -- on the three pillars that support the world: on justice, truth, and peace. Yet, this great vision is accompanied by deep concern. As a Jew, I bear heavy memories. As an Israeli, I am faced with difficult national dilemmas.

Search the map of Western civilization throughout the ages -- not a place will be found where Jews were not persecuted. Save for the new world, you will find yourselves marching along the trail of Jewish blood and tears, tracing the chronology of Jewish martyrdom.

For 2000 years, when the Jewish people were scattered over the four corners of the earth, wherever they were, the prayers of the Jew angered, his teachings irritated, his customs enraged.

He was hated when walled in a ghetto, and was hated when he left it. He was hated when weak, and hated when strong. He was hated as a poverty-stricken peddler, and was hated as a wealthy merchant. He was hated when he preserved his identity, and was hated when he tried to assimilate. Even when he tried to forget his roots and pretended to be like his neighbor, he was reminded of his ancestry and hated all the same.

This, Mr. President, was the history of my people for 2000 years. Until there came a point, when the Jews became tired of being dependent upon the hatred or love of others in determining their fate. This, Mr. President, is the very essence of Zionism. Jews were no longer willing to court the love of others, and to contend with their enmity. Israel was created not only as a hope for persecuted Jews the world over, but also as the last refuge from the need to justify their Jewishness. To finally be masters of their own fate, true to their own heritage, sovereign in their own home, free to fully practice their faith, and proud of their contribution to a world that rejected them.

Zionism is a victory over racism, a victory that was accomplished with tremendous effort. An ancient language was revived in a new reality. Separated by distance and time, Jews gathered anew. A wasteland was made to bloom. The unskilled wandering Jew

turned artisan, farmer, scientist, and soldier, rebuilding his ancient home with a newfound pioneering spirit.

A people reborn, we faced poverty, a desert land, isolation, and the challenge of molding the ingathered into one nation. We never expected to be surrounded by hostility. Hoping for coexistence with our neighbors, we found that the revival of two national movements -- the Jewish and the Arab -- produced conflict rather than cooperation.

Throughout their darkest hours, the Jewish people were sustained by their belief in God and their search for peace. Yet, whenever peace appears remotely possible, the hydra of violence raises its ugly head, aiming to extinguish any ray of hope.

Recently, it has manifested itself in the form of international terrorism.

Indeed, in our region, terrorism is at war with peace. It is the murder of hope.

Yet, while terrorism is set on injuring the peace process -- it cannot and will not kill it.

Those who confuse terrorism with an expression of idealism; violence with the pursuit of a noble cause -- legitimize the enemies of peace.

On the other hand, the effort to eradicate terrorism is an integral part of the struggle for peace. It is for this reason that one is appalled by the absurd suggestion that fighting terrorism -- rather than terrorism itself -- undermines efforts for peace.

More than most nations, my country and my people have been singled out as the target of vicious terrorist attacks. Perhaps more than any other country, we were forced to resort to measures of self-defense in territories under our control as well as away from home.

Certainly, no less than any other nation, we stand firm in our resolve to frustrate these efforts; protect our people and insulate peace from this destructive evil.

We are equally determined in our fight against terrorism, as we are in the pursuit of peace.

Yet, more than once, terrorism has struck at those searching for peace in our region. Lately, terrorism has taken on a racist form.

P.L.O.
Responsibility
for Terrorism

Separating Jews from others on a highjacked airplane; executing an innocent elderly gentleman on a highjacked ship for the sole reason of a Jewish-sounding name; these are racist manifestations of terrorism employed by the PLO.

As we fight terrorism, our enemy is not a people, a race, a religion, or a community. Our enemy is belligerency, hatred, and terror. We know that there is a Palestinian problem. We recognize the need to solve it honorably. We are convinced that there is no solution but through diplomatic means.

From this rostrum, I call upon the Palestinians: Put an end to this monstrous terrorism. Let us talk! Come forth and recognize the reality of the State of Israel; its wish to live in peace and its need for security. Let us face each other as equals, as free men and women, across the negotiating table. An Israeli delegation on one side, and Palestinian members of a Jordanian -- or a Jordanian-Palestinian -- delegation on the other.

Let us argue, but not fight. Let us be armed with reason, not reason with arms.

Ever since the beginning of the dispute between us, a hundred years ago, we have persistently urged our Palestinian neighbors to reach an accommodation, compromise and peace.

Our Declaration of Independence includes the sincere plea of David Ben-Gurion to the Palestinians, as well as to our other neighbors, to cease attacks and hostilities, and sit down to talk peace. We have since consistently called upon them to turn a deaf ear to agitation by others, willing to further their own fantasies and objectives by fighting to the last Palestinian.

For all these years, our hand remained outstretched in vain, and the only reply we heard was the sound of our own echo. The in response came in the language of terrorism and rejection. This terrorism -- painful though it has been -- did not injure us alone, but even more so, it injured ^{more} the Palestinians themselves.

In 1948, the Palestinians could have had a state alongside Israel. Yet they rejected the 1947 Partition Plan adopted by this organization. ^{and they went to war to destroy us and the U.N. Resol.} War replaced tranquility, as tragedy replaced hope.

Thereafter came five wars, all allegedly launched in the name of a solution to the Palestinian problem. They left behind victims -- not solutions. Thence came the challenge to the regime in Jordan, and the crumbling of central authority in Lebanon. Destruction solved nothing.

When President Sadat came to Jerusalem, the course of history for us was irreversibly changed. He found Israel generous, open and as courageous as he was in the pursuit of peace. The entire world looked on in wonder as a conflict which had seemed insoluble for over thirty years, found its solution in less than one. The Canal was reopened; the conflict was solved.

Our country borders on four Arab states. The largest, to the south, is Egypt.

Peace with Egypt was to accomplish several objectives:

- The international boundary was restored, as we returned to Egypt all the territories and the strategic assets therein. There remains a tiny area in dispute to be resolved by agreed procedures.
- A solution to the Palestinian problem, in all its aspects, was to be reached through a joint effort. We had both reached the conclusion that the most promising first step in achieving this objective would be to accord autonomy *according to Camp David* to the residents of the territories.
- Through our joint efforts, peace between Egypt and Israel was to become the cornerstone of a comprehensive peace strategy in our region.
- By common agreement, peace between us was to be filled with constructive content in all areas of bilateral relations.

This treaty has been put to tests none of us wished nor foresaw.
It survived tragic events neither of us anticipated.

to the
Now, I call on both our peoples as one: let us focus on *Place*
that which we value most, and not yield to passing events. That
which remains to be settled -- let us resolve with good will.

to the
Let us breathe life into our relations; let us raise our
peoples' spirits; let us not allow gloom and doom to overshadow our
greatest accomplishments; let us make peace a success -- *inspiring* *example*
of envy to others. *a source to be followed by others*

Our northern neighbor, the smallest of all, is today also
the most tragic. Lebanon, which knew how to unify the incompatible,
is today a torn land, the blood of whose sons is needlessly being shed.
In the face of mounting suspicions that Israel coveted Lebanon's
territory or waters, we evacuated Lebanon once the security of our
northern population was assured.

Today, we propose that all remaining foreign forces leave
Lebanon, allowing this land to heal its wounds. Only the Lebanese
can solve Lebanon's problems.

Syria, our neighbor to the northeast, attacked us three times. Yet war accomplished nothing, save for more victims, bitterness and increased hostility. While Syria has occasionally demonstrated tactical restraint, its strategic rejectionism remains unchanged.

If 13 acquiring vast quantities of advanced Soviet weapons in order to launch another war against us
Should Syria demonstrate a new strategic outlook, we shall gladly welcome her at the negotiating table. *keep the option of war alive*

The most complex problem -- yet the most promising of all -- involves our neighbor to the east: the Kingdom of Jordan. A problem confined not only to borders, but involving three peoples and two states. Its settlement *includes* the resolution of the Palestinian issue.

None of us have a ready-made solution, nor a simplistic formula. The most we can hope for, at this point, is an agreed starting-point, not an accepted finishing line.

The Middle East archives are as filled with plans, as Middle East diplomacy is short of negotiating partners. This is the hour for statesmanship and leadership -- not the time for bureaucratic legalities.

Handwritten text, possibly a list or notes, located in the upper left quadrant of the page. The text is faint and difficult to decipher.

Handwritten text, possibly a signature or a short note, located in the middle right section of the page.

I call upon all parties to the dispute to facilitate a new phase in Arab-Israeli peace by renouncing the use of violence and putting an end to all acts of terrorism.

body/for/ocg.

I call upon this house to part with norm and to fulfil its destiny as enshrined in its walls by ushering the parties to the conflict into a new diplomatic initiative.

This initiative should be based on the following principles:

1. The objective of these negotiations is a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan and a resolution of the Palestinian problem.
2. Negotiations to be conducted directly, between an Israeli delegation on the one hand, and a Jordanian, or Jordanian-Palestinian delegation on the other.
3. Neither party may impose pre-conditions. Negotiations are to be based on a mutual willingness to entertain any suggestion proposed by either party.
4. These negotiations are to be based on the only commonly accepted basis: United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.
5. If deemed necessary by the parties, these negotiations may be initiated with the support of an international forum, *in the following manner!*
 - a. Such a gathering can take place within the next 60 days, at any location, as mutually agreed upon.

Cognizant of the ambitious nature of this undertaking, I propose the following as a possible blueprint for implementing what should become a joint Israeli-Jordanian^{Palestinian} venture.

- Since the ultimate objective is to sign a peace treaty and resolve the Palestinian problem, negotiations may produce intermediate as well as permanent arrangements, and may deal with the demarcation of boundaries as well as the resolution of the Palestinian problem.
- While ~~it is imperative that~~ ^{The} negotiations ^{will} be carried out by sovereign states, ~~we~~ ^{we} recognize that the Jordanian or Jordanian-Palestinian delegation may include Palestinians ~~from the West Bank and Gaza, or~~ ^{all} other Palestinians ^{as mutually agreed/}
- The states gathered around the negotiating table should be Jordan and Israel, with the support of the United States and Egypt. Other permanent members of the Security Council ~~will~~ ^{may} be invited to support the initiation of these negotiations. It is our position that those who confine their diplomatic relations to one side of the conflict, exclude themselves from such a role.
- Based on the acceptance of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 333 by all participants, this ^(one time) meeting is to act as a support rather than a substitute for direct negotiations. ^{Indeed, nothing should undermine the direct nature of these negotiations.} The only function of such an opening meeting will be to introduce the direct negotiations.
- In order to expedite this process, the agenda, procedure and international support for negotiations can be discussed and agreed upon at a meeting of two small Israeli and Jordanian -- or Jordanian-Palestinian -- working groups to be convened within 30 days.

- Such negotiations can take place in Amman or Jerusalem, or any other location to be mutually agreed upon by both parties. We would be pleased to attend an opening meeting in Amman.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates,

Let us put into motion this process -- painful though it may be. Let us shield this flickering hope from threatening winds. Let us not sentence this moment of hope to the fate of missed opportunities.

Mr. President, this is the moment of truth for us all. We are ready to grasp it with no hesitation. I hereby proclaim Israel's willingness to end immediately the state of war with Jordan, provided King Hussein ^{is} ~~if~~ ^{do the same} willing to reciprocate this call.

- Such negotiations can take place in Amman or Jerusalem, or any other location to be mutually agreed upon by both parties. We would be pleased to attend an opening meeting in Amman.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates:

Let us not confine the horizons of our vision to the limits of what is history-proven. For the future entails yet untold possibilities for peace and tranquility for war-torn lands.

Let us bring estranged brothers to drink from one fountain -- the fountain of peace. Let this house, for once, part from norm, and seek to fulfill its destiny, enshrined on its walls.

In the words of the prophet: ". . . and the desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory . . . and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts."
(Haggai, 2: 7,9).

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| מחשב: | נר: | מתוך 13 |
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הנדון: חומר הרצאה - ראש הממשלה

15 OCT 15 17:15 '85

1. מצ"כ חומר בנדון.
2. אנא העבר חומר זה לעיון דייוויד סוייר -
טל': 3853 - 288 - 212 - בית
0047 - 245 - 212 - משרד
3. אנא אישורך על העברת החומר וקבלתו.

ל/ח 10/15
ל/ח 10/15
ל/ח 10/15

244

October 14, 1985

PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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Our country borders on four Arab states. The largest, to the south, is Egypt.

Peace with Egypt was to accomplish several objectives:

- The international boundary was restored, as we returned to Egypt all the territories and the strategic assets therein. There remains a tiny area in dispute to be resolved by agreed procedures.
- A solution to the Palestinian problem, in all its aspects, was to be reached through a joint effort. We had both reached the conclusion that the most promising first step in achieving this objective would be to accord autonomy to the residents of the territories.
- Through our joint efforts, peace between Egypt and Israel was to become the cornerstone of a comprehensive peace strategy in our region.
- By common agreement, peace between us was to be filled with constructive content in all areas of bilateral relations.

This treaty has been put to tests none of us wished nor foresaw. It survived tragic events neither of us anticipated.

Now, I call on both our peoples as one: let us focus on that which we value most, and not yield to passing events. That which remains to be settled -- let us resolve with good will.

Let us breathe life into our relations; let us raise our peoples' spirits; let us not allow gloom and doom to overshadow our greatest accomplishments; let us make peace a success -- a source of envy to others.

Our northern neighbor, the smallest of all, is today also the most tragic. Lebanon, which knew how to unify the incompatible, is today a torn land, the blood of whose sons is needlessly being shed. In the face of mounting suspicions that Israel coveted Lebanon's territory or waters, we evacuated Lebanon once the security of our northern population was assured.

Today, we propose that all remaining foreign forces leave Lebanon, allowing this land to heal its wounds. Only the Lebanese can solve Lebanon's problems.

Syria, our neighbor to the northeast, attacked us three times. Yet war accomplished nothing, save for more victims, bitterness and increased hostility. While Syria has occasionally demonstrated tactical restraint, its strategic rejectionism remains unchanged. Should Syria demonstrate a new strategic outlook, we shall gladly welcome her at the negotiating table.

The most complex problem -- yet the most promising of all -- involves our neighbor to the east: the Kingdom of Jordan. A problem confined not only to borders, but involving three peoples and two states. Its settlement comprises the resolution of the Palestinian issue.

None of us have a ready-made solution, nor a simplistic formula. The most we can hope for, at this point, is an agreed starting-point, not an accepted finishing line.

The Middle East archives are as filled with plans, as Middle East diplomacy is short of negotiating partners. This is the hour for statesmanship and leadership -- not the time for bureaucratic legalities.

I call upon all parties to the dispute to facilitate a new phase in Arab-Israeli peace by renouncing the use of violence and putting an end to all acts of terrorism.

I call upon this house to part with norm and to fulfil its destiny as enshrined in its walls by ushering the parties to the conflict into a new diplomatic initiative.

This initiative should be based on the following principles:

1. The objective of these negotiations is a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan and a resolution of the Palestinian problem.
2. Negotiations to be conducted directly, between an Israeli delegation on the one hand, and a Jordanian, or Jordanian-Palestinian delegation on the other.
3. Neither party may impose pre-conditions. Negotiations are to be based on a mutual willingness to entertain any suggestion proposed by either party.
4. These negotiations are to be based on the only commonly accepted basis: United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.
5. If deemed necessary by the parties, these negotiations may be initiated with the support of an international forum.
6. Such a gathering can take place within the next 60 days, at any location, as mutually agreed upon.

Cognizant of the ambitious nature of this undertaking, I propose the following as a possible blueprint for implementing what should become a joint Israeli-Jordanian venture.

- Since the ultimate objective is to sign a peace treaty and resolve the Palestinian problem, negotiations may produce intermediate as well as permanent arrangements, and may deal with the demarcation of boundaries as well as the resolution of the Palestinian problem.
- While it is imperative that negotiations be carried out by sovereign states, we recognize that the Jordanian or Jordanian-Palestinian delegation may include Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza, or other Palestinians as mutually agreed/
- The states gathered around the negotiating table should be Jordan and Israel, with the support of the United States and Egypt. Other permanent members of the Security Council will be invited to support the initiation of these negotiations. It is our position that those who confine their diplomatic relations to one side of the conflict, exclude themselves from such a role.
- Based on the acceptance of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 by all participants, this meeting is to act as a support rather than a substitute for direct negotiations. Indeed, nothing should undermine the direct nature of these negotiations.
- In order to expedite this process, the agenda, procedure and international support for negotiations can be discussed and agreed upon at a meeting of two small Israeli and Jordanian -- or Jordanian-Palestinian -- working groups to be convened within 30 days.

- Such negotiations can take place in Amman or Jerusalem, or any other location to be mutually agreed upon by both parties. We would be pleased to attend an opening meeting in Amman.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates,

Let us put into motion this process -- painful though it may be. Let us shield this flickering hope from threatening winds. Let us not sentence this moment of hope to the fate of missed opportunities.

Mr. President, this is the moment of truth for us all. We are ready to grasp it with no hesitation. I hereby proclaim Israel's willingness to end immediately the state of war with Jordan, provided King Hussein is willing to reciprocate this call.

- Such negotiations can take place in Amman or Jerusalem, or any other location to be mutually agreed upon by both parties. We would be pleased to attend an opening meeting in Amman.

Mr. President, distinguished delegates:

Let us not confine the horizons of our vision to the limits of what is history-proven. For the future entails yet untold possibilities for peace and tranquility for war-torn lands.

Let us bring estranged brothers to drink from one fountain -- the fountain of peace. Let this house, for once, part from norm, and seek to fulfill its destiny, enshrined on its walls.

In the words of the prophet: ". . . and the desire of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory . . . and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts."
(Haggai, 2: 7,9).

I call upon all parties to the dispute to facilitate a new phase in Arab-Israeli peace by renouncing the use of violence and putting an end to all acts of terrorism.

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October 13, 1985.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

THE U.S. AND ISRAEL:

A UNIQUE MODEL OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT

Despite the absence of any resemblance in language, size, power or international standing, relations between the United States and Israel continue to be a unique phenomenon in international experience. I doubt whether there is another country in the world which enjoys as much support and attracts as much interest among broad sectors of the American people, among a large majority in Congress, and within the administration itself, as does Israel. At the same time, I wonder whether there is another country in the world in which the United States is viewed with such favor -- by left, center and right -- as it is in Israel. It has been suggested that Israel is the only country in the world which, despite American aid, remains pro-American.

This is a relationship not only between two governments, but between two peoples. There is no correlation between Israel's size (on a home globe it is impossible to insert the full name into the tiny space) and the attention it seems to attract as reflected by media coverage.

Similarly, in American policy, Israel occupies a place far in excess of its political and economic weight.

The questions which thus arise on both sides of the ocean are: What is the secret of these relations; where are they leading us?

There is an interesting resemblance between the unique histories of these two peoples. The Israeli experience seems to replicate, in geographical miniature, elements of the American historical experience. The history of Israel, like that of the United States, is a history of immigrants, of pioneers, of ingathering, of new borders and shores; a history paved with suffering and hope. Although the United States represents the building of a new continent, and Israel the rebuilding of an ancient land -- over both their histories shines a banner, freshly painted, of colorful innovation. Both spell a departure from routine. No other country was created as the United States, and no other people was reborn as the Jewish people in its old-new home.

There is also a profound curiosity as to what each people will do with its uniqueness -- the United States with the magnitude of its greatness, and Israel with the magnitude of its problems and challenges.

In the eyes of the Jewish people, a people so enamored of history, the United States is an exception in its historical memory. As a people whose land was conquered more than 30 times by great powers, from Babylonia to Britain, we stand in awe of the United States, the first power which has the potential for building an empire as large as any known in history, but which firmly rejects this notion. It is the only power which fought more wars for others than for itself, and extended a helping hand to the vanquished instead of exploiting victories to satisfy material needs. The United States is the richest power on earth, and the only one throughout history to remain generous rather than protectionist over its economic wealth.

It is also the only power in which no dictator or absolute ruler ever emerged -- and never imposed its will on other nations.

America is thus not only a great world force, but a fascinating historical precedent.

I believe that Israel, too, is viewed by many Americans not only as a historical exception, but also as politically unique. No other nation has been confronted with so many dangers in the last century, yet sustained its unqualified practice and dedicated promotion of democratic principles.

The Jewish people, exiled from their homeland -- succeeded in reuniting there two thousand years later. One third of the entire Jewish people were exterminated in the gas chambers -- yet the remaining two-thirds stubbornly maintained their national identity. They came to a wasteland -- with little fertile soil and even less water -- and made it bloom again. A people without a homeland, dispersed, small in size, came to live in a tiny, poor land, within a hostile and violent environment that forced us into battle five times in the course of a third of a century.

The relationship between the United States and Israel is first and foremost a relationship between two historical exceptions, in which the vast country observes with deep satisfaction the accomplishments of a small yet free country, as the small country follows with admiration the exciting evolution of a new model of political and economic greatness.

Both the United States and Israel seek to disprove -- and in my opinion, have succeeded in doing so -- the claim that democracy is an ineffective form of government. In its struggle with the world's largest Marxist regime, Soviet Russia, which claims to have found the truth in economic management, the U.S. has demonstrated that, economically too, democracy can be superior. Israel, which has fought wars against states governed by authoritarian regimes, has proved that, even in war, democracy can prevail.

One should not forget that the ongoing struggle in our world is an ideological contest, no less than a political one. The United States and the Soviet Union are not in competition for markets or natural resources alone. They are engaged in a contest for the human soul, searching for the answer to the great question: which of the two patterns of life, democracy or communist totalitarianism, bears the greater hope for the future.

In this respect, Israel is a star (of David) in the galaxy of democracy.

The relations between the United States, as the world's leading democracy, and Israel, as a solitary democracy in its region, do not follow the usual pattern. Israel is not a member of any strategic alliance. No American army is stationed on its soil. None has participated in its wars.

X Although the national interests of both countries are not ^{always} identical, there exists a close strategic cooperation between our two countries. The United States and Israel share a strategic understanding -- if not with regard to our enemies, at least with regard to the dangers we face: international terrorism; the outbreak of war in the Middle East; and super-power military involvement in our region.

Terrorism has become the international plague of our times. It represents a form of violence that knows no defined battle fronts, organized armies, or agreed rules. Its potency lies in its irresponsibility; the same irresponsibility which has long characterized armed bandits. Yet, while bandits are dealt with by domestic laws, police force, and courts of law, international terrorism faces no such authority. It can run rampant because the world as a whole does not have what each of its national components does. Whatever international "constitution", international "police force", and international courts that exist lack the authority stemming from the monopoly over the use of force claimed by those in power in each country.

Today the commitment to the eradication of terrorism, in all its forms, and the willingness to mobilize efforts and resources for such effort, constitute one important link of close American-Israeli cooperation.

A second, equally important, area of agreement between Israel and the United States is the commitment to expanding the peace process in the Middle East. The United States recognizes the importance of avoiding the impression that American pressure on Israel can be a substitute for direct negotiations between the parties to the dispute. Once convinced that the U.S. will 'deliver' Israel, Arab parties may lose any incentive to moderate positions and negotiate in good faith. To be stable, peace cannot be the result of external pressure. Peace that is the product of coercion will not survive the removal of the coercive force. Moreover, coercive force is bound to fail when imposed on a people which has demonstrated throughout its history the resolve not to yield to coercion.

- 7 -

The above suggests that US-Israel relations -- where sympathy and strategy, values and interests, uniqueness and exception, have merged -- demonstrate that such a model of international relations can succeed even under testing circumstances. Indeed, it is my firm conviction that present realities stand as a shining example of harmony between two nations -- so different yet so close.

These relations have added a new dimension to the norm of diplomacy and international conduct. In the final analysis, they seem to demonstrate that democracy is not only a just and proper world-view, but also a desirable way of life.

Consequently, the only promising course is mediated negotiation. Here, Israel recognizes America's uniqueness as a fair mediator and honest broker. As such, Israel has full confidence in America's intentions, as we try to persuade it of the justness of our positions. At the same time, Israel supports American efforts to improve relations with Arab states, provided such efforts do not undermine Israel's own security.

Unfortunately, this does not apply to the Soviet Union, which has adopted a one-sided policy in the Middle East. It has placed its entire weight on the side of the Arabs, especially the most radical among them. By so doing, it has excluded itself from playing any constructive role in resolving the conflict.

X ^{cuts irresponsibly}
Moscow has ~~been~~ generous in providing the Arab world with enormous quantities of advanced weapon systems at low cost, as well as with instructors to train and shape strategies and tactics. Yet, I do not believe that the Soviet Union seeks to become directly militarily involved in Middle East wars. One may assume that despite the absence of pressure from domestic public opinion, the Soviet Union has learned the lesson of Afghanistan. Obviously Israel has a clear interest in preventing yet another war. But, should our efforts fail and war erupt, we are committed to defending ourselves with no external involvement. Once provided with those means which we are unable to produce alone -- we wish to see no American or other soldier fight on our behalf. This is a national consensus. This is a solid, time-proven and battle-tested commitment. Consequently, a credible and successful Israeli deterrence emerges as a common interest to those eager to avoid super power involvement in regional conflict. It is clearly yet another common objective for the U.S. and Israel.

PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH AT ANDREWS AIRPORT

Mr. Secretary,

I come to you today from Jerusalem, our eternal capital, the city of peace -- sacred to all three monotheistic religions -- and would like to greet you, the people of America, in the name of the State of Israel.

In all the world, there are no two nations, like ours, so similar and kindred in spirit -- despite differences in size, in history, and in character. There are no two states, like ours, which are such staunch partners in our moral creed, our desire for world peace, and our concern for the rights and welfare of the individual human being created in the image of God. There are no two peoples, like ours, who better reflect the immortal principles handed down to us by our forefathers: "On three pillars rests the world: on justice, on truth, and on peace."

These principles were echoed by your founding fathers when they established man's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as the cornerstone of America's political faith.

You -- Americans, the disciples of the author of the Declaration of Independence; and we -- the people of the Book -- are charged with the responsibility of maintaining this constructive partnership: for the sake of the peoples of the United States and Israel; for the sake of the peoples of the Middle East; and for the sake of mankind.

On June 30, 1922, both houses of Congress adopted a resolution, later signed by President Warren Harding -- "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of the national home for the Jewish people."

President Ronald Reagan, the members of his Administration, and the two houses of Congress today -- continue to consistently support us in our struggle to achieve a life of security and peace. The human warmth which pulsates within you, the sense of responsibility which guides you in favor of true values and faith -- these continue to uphold us in our economic development, our political efforts, and our hopes for the future.

For all this -- I thank you!

October 14, 1985.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS ON THE WHITE HOUSE LAWN

I am grateful to the Weizmann Institute for providing me with the opportunity of expressing to you, Mr. President, the deep admiration and gratitude of the people of Israel.

In a country as pluralistic as ours, where the national consensus is preserved for and expressed only on rare occasions, you have won the hearts of our entire people.

We admire your leadership because it gave American greatness a new dimension;

Because it has introduced a new solidarity to the free world;

Because it has enhanced the desire for knowledge in the realm of science;

Because it has demonstrated a moving friendship for the new and old Israel.

On a personal note, may I add that as one who has had to take decisions affecting the lives of young soldiers, I appreciate both your correct instinct and decisive reaction to the unfolding drama in the East Mediterranean last week, as a manifestation of real leadership and courage.

Twelve months ago, when we met here, I felt that I was standing at a landmark, at a new beginning. You then extended your unqualified support for some of Israel's ambitious plans.

Since then -

We took the necessary decisions and action and removed the Lebanon war from the agenda of Arab-Israel relations;

We called on our own people to tighten their belts in order to stabilize our economy, reduce inflation and deficits. Our judgement and action proved to be in accordance with your advice.

We launched a major effort to clear misunderstandings in our relations with Egypt, in order to transform our peace treaty into a viable precedent for the whole region;

We suggested a new policy to our closest neighbors, the Arab residents of the West Bank and Gaza, concerning their quality of life and our policy on settlements;

We confronted the agony of terrorism without losing hope that peace would destroy terror, before terror would destroy peace.

Some of these objectives have already been accomplished. We continue in our efforts to accomplish others as well.

Today, looking ahead to yet another challenging year, we stand ready to take bold steps in no less challenging directions. And I trust, Mr. President, that we shall have the benefit of your continued support and cooperation in promoting them all.

The first objective is the most challenging of all: making peace. With our hand of peace extended across the Jordan River, we call upon our eastern neighbor to heed and accept this sincere invitation. We should not miss the opportunity of putting an end to belligerency, and of entering honourable negotiations. Nor should we hesitate to do so face to face and in full view of the rest of the world.

We are ready to meet without preconditions, without losing time, at any suitable location, be it Amman, Jerusalem, or Washington; to listen to any proposal, to create an atmosphere of understanding and conciliation.

Let us bear the cost of peace in preference to the price of war.

Our second objective is to move economically, from stabilization to growth. A country like ours which is not endowed with natural resources, and is burdened with a security problem out of all proportion, has to survive on its motivation, its brains and travail. We have been fortunate - and are grateful to you - for your continued assistance and support in reaching both objectives.

Finally, Mr. President, we would like to join hands with the U.S.A. in an appeal to the heart of our fellow-men. We welcome the opportunity to participate in amplifying the voice of democracy and echoing its values, as we address those who are denied its reality yet yearn for it. In so doing we reaffirm our commitment to strive for a world free of discrimination, free of oppression, free of starvation, free of terror.

Mr. President, Chaim Weizmann, a world renowned scientist, was our first President. He believed that ancient prophecy and modern science, together reaching across the gulf of generations, could set our small nation on the road to development of its highest values. The Weizmann Institute is a living proof of that vision.

The Weizmann Institute, which has gained high repute in the world of basic research and advanced technology, is proud to bestow upon you, Ronald Reagan, President of the U.S.A., an Honorary Doctorate of the Institute in recognition of your proven ability to lead a great country to even greater heights by seeking new horizons of real and great promise. Your search for a more stable and safer world has unleashed human curiosity into the heavens in pursuit of wisdom and knowledge, as well as of untold opportunities.

* עמי החסידים בין יחזיקו ארבעה חילוקי. (השלישי היה בארבעה)

* החזון (הז'אן), שגורו נחלקו ממשלה, (האנטיסמית) המדובר ואלו בדברי אלו בל
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בברכה

מאת

ג'צ"ח 1181 רפאל

1. It appears that the trend of the night is to evade by all means any controversy and to let law this creates impression that it attempts to avoid the real issues of course, account should be taken of the fact that this is an address, made at a solemn occasion, but if it is too subtle, the it loses its effect and weakens the message.

And even the most vegetarian version will not

And even the most vegetarian version will not prevent hasty forage rebuttal.

6. when referring to Israel's spiritual heritage and the teachings of the prophets there should be a little more elaboration in-
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7. The desire for peace in Egypt should be

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11. The speech will be closely followed by the
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