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מדינת ישראל

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משרדי הממשלה

משרדי

פ.א.ן

חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה - לשכת ראש הממשלה

תת חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה

שם תיק:

רה"ם פרס - נסיעת ראש הממשלה לאורה"ב - אוקטובר 1985

סימול מקורי: 14 תקופת החומר: 10/1985-10/1985
מזהה פיזי: 4404 / 13 - N
28/10/2010



שם: רה"ם פרס - נסיעת ראש הממשלה לא

א - 13 / 4404

מס פריט: 1766271 מס 43.4/3 - 354
28/10/2010 כתובות: 02-111-01-08-03

מזהה פיזי:

מזהה לוגי:

מחלקה

נו, יתק מתי

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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.

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ביקור רה"מ ב

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ב. בתחום הכלכלי.

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2. סיווג בחידוש ובינונו יחסים דיפלומטיים.
3. תמיכה ביזמת רה"מ ותהליך השלום בין ישראל לשכנותיה.
4. יוזמה של ממשלה _____ במאז"ת.
5. קשרי בטהון.
6. יהדות.
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עמום מס' טלפונ

שגרירות בריטניה בארץ - 03-249171

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

שגרירות ישראל בלבנון: 004419378050
9378366

השגריר: יהודה אבן

שגרירות הולנד בארץ: 03-257377

השגריר: H.E. MAARTEN T.S. VAN BERCKEL

שגרירות ישראל בהאג: 0031706478050/51/52

השגריר: יעקב נחושתן

שגרירות מערב-גרמניה בארץ: 03-243111

השגריר: H.E. WILHELM HAAS

שגרירות ישראל בבודפשט: 00492288231

השגריר: יצחק בר-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.

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.

□ 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)

יום ג' - 15 אוקטובר

הַדָּגָשִׁים	הַאֲרוֹעַ	פִּרְוָעָה	עַתּוֹת	מספר סדרי
א	ב		א	
1) טקס צבאי מלא 2) פרוטט הטקס עיין נספח א'	טקס פרידזה מרהי'ם ברחבת הטקס בגין הורדים בירושלים	07:00		1
מטוס חייא	המראה במסוק לנובי'ג	07:10		2
1) שגריר ישראל בווינה וראש הקהילה היהודית ימתינו בשדה. 2) משך קבלת הפנים כ-15 דקות.	נחתת בוינה	11:00 (זמן וינה)		4
זמן נסיעה משוער למלוון	זמן הגעה למלוון בווינה	11:45		5
	מנוחה במלוון	13:00-12:00		6
עם כל חברי הלשכה	ארוחות צהריים	14:15 - 13:00		7
	פגישה עם וילי ברנדט	14:45-14:15		8

יום ג' - 15 אוקטובר (המשך)

מספר	סדרי	עתוויה	פִּרְוָט	הָאָרְוָעָה	הַדָּגָשִׁים
9	א	18:00-15:00	1) השתתפות בדיבוני הלשכה	ב	א
10		19:00-18:15	מסיבת עיתונאים במועדון העתונות הלאומי.		
11		20:00	ראיון לטלוויזיה האוסטרית.		
12		-21:00	קבלת פנים לבאי האינט-נציוול - מפעם רה'ם אוסטריה. במשרדו של רה'ם אוסטריה		
13	אוח"כ		ערב - בבית סמי מולכו.		

יום ד' - 16 באוקטובר

מספר	עתוי	פִּרְוּס	הָאָרְוֹעַ	הַדָּגָשִׁים
סדרי	א	ב	ב	א
1	09:00-08:00	ארוחת בקר עם רה'ם שוודיה-אולף פלמה.	ב	א
2	10:15-09:30	פגישה עם רה'ם אוסטריה.	פִּגְאָה תְּקִיִּים בַּמְשֻׁרְד רַה'ם-אַוסְטְּרִיה.	ב
3	11:00	הمراה משדה תעופה וינה לווישינגטון	1) משך הבסיעה לשית 2) הטיסה במטוס ח'יא 3) העתוי זמן - וינה	
4	-15:30	בחיתה ב-ווישינגטון	1) הנחתה בשדה תעופה אנדרוֹס 2) העתוי-זמן אורה'יב	

יום ד' - 16 באוקטובר (המשך)

ה ד א ש י מ	ה א ר ו ע	פ י ר ו ט	ע ת ו י	מ ס פ ר
א	ב		א	ס דו ר י
	טקס קבלת פנים באנדראיוס ע"י ונסיעה למלוון גראנד שרתון, בוושינגטון. D.C.		16:30-15:30	5
	מנוחה ותדריך במלוון		18:00-16:30	6
א ג א מ)	קבלת פנים מטעם רה'ם לחברי הקונגרס - בשגרירות ישראל בוושינגטון. D.C. (במסגרת קבלת הפנים יעניק רה'ם תעוזות הוקה לנציגי הكونגרס טיפ אונגיל וסטראום טרמונץ. התעוזות הוכנו ע"י		20:30-18:30	7
1) רה'ם יצטרף לאירוע לאחר קבלת הפנים בשגרירות. 2) רה'ם ישא דברים באירוע 3) מתוכנן שריה'ם ישאר באירוע כשעה אחת לפחות באם יחליש אחרת 4) לבוש - המזומנים פרט לרה'ם והפמליה שלו - BLACK TIE. 5) משר הנסיעה מהשגרירות למקום דקודת האירוע ב	השתתפות בק'יף ואירוע מטעם ה - א.כ.ט		22:00-21:00	8

יום ה' - 17 אוקטובר

ה ד ג ש י ס	ה א ר ו ע	פ י ר ו ט	ע ת ו י	מ ס פ ר
ס דו ר י				
א	ב		א	
בארבע עיניים.	ארוחת בוקר עם מזכיר המדינה	09:00-07:30	1	
	פגישה עם סנטורים בכירים (במלון).	10:30-09:30	2	
כולל אינטואט	פגישה עם הנשיאות (במלון)	11:45-10:45	3	
במלון	איפאיק	12:15-11:45	4	
14:15-14:00 (1) 14:40-14:15 (2)	פגישה עם הנשיאות	14:40-14:00	5	
	יציאה משותפת לעתונות	14:45-14:40	6	
	טקס הענקת דיר כבוד לנשיא עי' מכון ויצמן במדשאת הבית הלבן.	15:00-14:45	7	
	תק绍ורת ישראלית במלון	16:15-15:30	8	

יום ה' - 17 באוקטובר (המשך)

ה ד ג ש י מ	ה א ר ו ע	פ י ר ו ט	ע ת ו י	מ ס פ ר
א	ב		א	ס דו ר י
	פגישה עם ועדת משותפת של הסינט וביית הנבחרים		17:30-16:15	9
במלון	פגישה עם ליין קירקלנד		18:15-17:45	10
	פגישה עם אלכסנדר הייג		18:30-18:15	11
על פי בקשה מחמید	אפשרות פגישה עם שר האוצר ביביך		19:00-18:30	12
באולם בניימין פרנקלין במחמید	ארוחת ערב מטעם מזכיר המדינה שולץ		19:30	13
	NIGHTLINE	תק绍ת	23:30	14

יום ו' - 18 אוקטובר

מספר סדרי	עתוי	פִּרְוָט	הָרְוָע	הַדְּגָשִׁים
1	07:20-07:00	ב	Morning News - .C.B.S.	א
2	08:40-07:30	ארוחת בקר עם מזכיר ההגנה, וינברגר בפנטגון במתכונת של ארוחת עבודה		
3	09:30-08:45	פגישה אישית עם מזכיר המדינה שולץ.		במחמיהד - משרד המזכיר
4	10:45-09:30	פגישת עבודה עם שולץ.		במחמיהד - חדר 1105
5	11:15-10:45	רָאֵיָה לְטָלוּזִיה הִישְׁרָאֵלִית		הריאון יתקיים במחמיהד
6	12:30-11:30	AEI		הארוע יתקיים במלון הילטון וושינגטון

סִינְדִּי

- 8 -

יום ו' - 18 באוקטובר (המשך)

מספר סדרי	עתויי	פִּרְוּט הָרְוָע	הַדָּגָשִׁים
7	13:30-12:45	ארוחת צהרים קלה תקשורת - ווושינגטון פופט + ניוז וויק.	במלון ב
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 אנדריוו	

יום ו' - 18 באוקטובר (המשך)

מספר סדרי	עתוי	פִּירוֹט	הָרֹעַ	הַדָּגָשִׁים
11	15:30	המראת לבניו-יורק.	ב	א
12	16:30	נחיתה לבניו-יורק.	רהיימ יתקבל בשדה התעופה ע"י האב' ברנדה קונורס מחליקת המדיינה, והאב' בובי מרגוליס משלכת ראש העיר	
13	17:30	הגעה למילון.		
14	17:57	זמן כבישת השבת.		

יום ו' - 18 באוקטובר (המשך)

מספר סדרי	עתוי	פִּרְוּט	הָרֻוּחַ	הַדָּשִׁים
15	18:00	השתתפות בתפילה בבית הכנסת (כולל דברי ראש הממשלה למתפללים).	ב	א
16	-20:30	ארוחת ערב מטעם אדר בرونפמן	ב'	1) פrust המשתתפים עיין נספח ב' 2) הארוחה מתקיים במלון

יום שבת, 19 אוקטובר

מספר סדרי	עתוי	פִּירּוּס	הָאָרְנוּעַ	הַדָּגָשִׁים
1	08:00	ארוחת בקר עם ראש העיר - קוזי	ב	א
2	10:00	פגישה עם דוד סווידר	ב	במלון
3	13:00	צחרים עם קו ביאלקין	ב	במלון
4	16:30	אפשרות פגישה עם ברדשו	ב	1) נשיא RCA 2) במלון
5	17:00	פגישה עם ארתור בלפר	ב	במלון
6	20:30	ארוחת ערב מטעם הבונדס	ב	1) מלון הילטון, השדרה ה-6 ורחוב 54, כאולם שריצבון 2) כ-500 מודזמנים 3) רהיטים ישא דבריהם כ-20 דקות

יום א' - 20 באוקטובר

מספר	עתוויה	פירוט	הארועה	הדאשין
סדרי	א	ב	ב	א
1	09:15 - 07:45	ארוחת בוקר עם מנהיגים יהודים (נצח 3 הסמינרים) (Yeshiva U, Hebrew Union, ITS)	הארוחה התקיימה במלון	א
2	11:20-10:00	תקורת - הכנות וראיון טלוויזיה עם דוד ברינקלி ABC	השדרה השבעית, פינת רח' 66.	ב
3	14:30-13:00	ארוחת צהרים עם סופרים	1) במלון 2) פרוט המשתתפים עיין נספח א'	
4	17:00-15:30	קייפ מיוחדת ל-רהיימ מطعم ראש העיר קוֹז'	1) כ-350 מנהיגים בכירים מניין- ירוק, פילישראום, אנשי עסקים כלכניים יהודים ומיועוטים. 2) קבלת הפנים מתקימת ב- Gracie Mansion 3) משך הנסיעה כ-15 דקות	
5	18:00	קייפ כללית לכל באי העצרת מطعم ראש העיר קוֹז'	1) קבלת הפנים מתקימת במודאו לאמנויות מודרנית (מול מלון רהיימ)	
6	21:30-20:00	עצרת נוער יהודי	1) בהאנטר קולגי 2) פרוט עיין נספח ד'	

יום א' - 20 באוקטובר (המשך)

ה ד ג ש י ס	ה א ר ו ע	פ י ר ו ט	ע ת ו י	מ ס פ ר
א	ב		א	ס דו ר י
א)		ארוחת ערב אצל ליליאן וסטיב שלום	-21:30	7
1) הארוחה מתקיים בשדרה חמישית בית מס' 641				
2) פרוט משתתפים עיין נספח				
3) משך הארוחה				

יום ב' - 21 באוקטובר

ה ד ג ש י מ	ה א ר ו ע	פִּרְוט	עֲתָווִי	מִסְפַּר
א	ב		א	סְדָרִי
		ארוחת בקר עם ה-וול סטריט ג'ורנל	09:00 - 08:00	1
		מברחה והכנות לנאום באו"ם	11:30-09:00	2
1) הנאום עשוי להדוחות בחצי שעה עד שעה, מאחר ורהיימ הינו הנואם השמיני בראשימה		נאום רהיימ באו"ם	12:30-12:00	3
2) חייכ אלובי תחלוה לרהיימ בנסיעת הממלון לאו"ם				
3) משך הנאום כ-15-20 דקות				
4) פרוט עיין וסתה ה'.				
		תקשורת - פגישה עם כתבים ישראליים	14:30-13:30	4

יום ב' - 21 באוקטובר (המשך)

מספר סדרי	עתווים	פִּרְוטָה	הָרֹעַ	הַדָּגִים
א	ב	ב	הָרֹעַ	א
5	15:00	פגישה עם נשיא דאייר		1) הפגישה עם נשיא דאייר בווולדרה אסתוריה בפרק אוניברסיות רחוב 50.
6	20:30 - 17:30	טקס מתן דרי כבוד למשפטים ל-רהיימ מטעם אוניברסיטת ניו-יורק		1) פרוט - עיין נספח ו'.
7	21:00 - 20:40	חזרה למלוון 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-מ	השתתפות באירוע של ארץ ישראל היפה		1) הארווע בחשתפות האבי אורה הרצוג, אשת נשיא המדינה 2) הזמנה בתיק 3) הארווע מתחילה ב-19:00 אך המשך עד לשעות הקטנות של הלילה

יום ג', 22 אוקטובר

הַדָּגְשִׁים	הַאֲרוֹעַ	פִּרְוּט	עַתּוֹת	מִסְפַּר
א	ב		א	סְדִידִי
	NBC Today Show	הופעה ב-	07:00	1
במלון		ארוחת בוקר מטעם חגיג כרמן ואלייעזר רפאלי	09:00-08:00	2
1) במלון 2) משתתפים - מורייס אברהם, גרי גודמן ועוד 6.		קונפּרְנֵס על היחסות הסובייטית	10:00-09:00	3
רחוב 58 מערב 356 ערוץ 13		תקשורת - מקניל, לזר ריפורט	11:00	4

יום ג' - 22 באוקטובר

מספר סדרי	עתויי	פִּרְוָט	הָרְוָע	הָדָשִׁים
	א	ב	ב	א
5	14:00-12:45	ארוחת צהרים עם אנשי תקשורת בכירים של הניו-יורק טיים.	ב	א) רח' 43, מערב 229 2) פרוט - עיין נפקח ח'.
6	16:15-15:15	פגישה עם נשי פיבנד		
7	18:00-17:00	פגישה עם קיסינגייר		במלון
8	19:30-16:30	תקשרות - פגישה עם לאל ווימוט - במלון.		
9	22:00-20:00	ארוחת ערב בבית השגריר נתניהו		1) השדרה ה-5, 1010 2) מושב הנסיעה לבית נתניהו

יום ד"ה - 23 באוקטובר

הַדָּגָשִׁים	הַאֲרוֹעַ	פִּרְוּס	עֲתָווִי	מִסְפָּר
א	ב		א	סְדוּרִי
במלון	פגישה עם וולטר מונדייל ונathan לאנדאו		08:30-07:30	1
1) במלון 2) פרוט עיין נספח	ארוחת בקר עם אילני כלכלה (לא יהודים)		09:30-08:30	2
מקס פישר, גורג קלינין, גורדזון זקס, ריצ'רד פוקס, קריס גרטמן	National Jewish Coalition	פגישה עם ה-NCJ	10:45-09:45	3
		פגישה עם קנצלר קול	11:45-11:00	4
		פגישה עם רה"ם בריטניה הגב' תיאצ'יר	12:00	5
פרוט עיין נספח ט'	צחרים ב-או"ם מטעם מזכיל האו"ם		15:00-13:15	6

יום ד' - 23 באוקטובר (המשך)

מספר	עתוי	פִּרְוֵט	הָרְוָע	הַדָּשִׁים
סדרוי	א	ב	ב	א
7	15:30	פגישה עם רה'ם דנמרק	ב	עפ'י בקשה דנמרק
8	19:00-18:00	מנוחה במלון		
9	19:10	קייפ מטעם ריגאן לראשי מדינות המבקרים	1) בולדורף אסטרויה 2) פרוט עיין נספח יי.	
10	21:00	אפשרות - ארוחת ערב עם רה'ם קנדיה אפשרות - ערב פנוי.	טרם אושר	

יום ה' - 24 באוקטובר

מספר	עתוי	פִּרְוּעַ	הָאָרֶבֶע	הַדָּגָשִׁים
סדרוי	א	ב		א
1	07:00	תקשורות - Good Morning America		
2	09:00-08:00	פגישה עם מועדון הנשיאים בפרק אונג'ו-מס' 515 כ-100 משתתפים		
3	10:45-09:45	פגישה עם ראש מדינה		
4	11:00	נאום הנשיא ריג'אן פרוט עיין נספח ג'יא.		
5	12:45-12:00	פגישה עם ראש מדינה		
6	14:30-13:00	תקשורות - אРОחות צהרים מעם הקונסול הכללי משה יגר עם אנשי תקשורת בכירים במלון		
7	15:00	השתתפות בטקס 40 שנה לאו"ת פרוט עיין נספח ג'יב.		
8	16:30	פגישה עם מזכיר הארים פרוט עיין נספח ג'יא.		
9	18:30-17:30	תדריך לטלוויזיה, קול ישראל וגלי צהיל		
10	20:30	המראה לפрезидент משיית (1) מטוס ח'יא (2) זמן ארה"ב (3) משך הנסיעה לשדה תעופה		

יום ו' - 25 באוקטובר

מספר סדרי	עתוי	פירוט	ארועה	הdag'im
	A	נחיתה בפריז	08:30	דמן פריז ב
		הגעה למילון		
		ארוחת צהרים עם מיטראן		רהיימ ועורך שני נלוויים
		פגישה עם פביוס		

יום שבת - 26 באוקטובר

ה ד ג ש י מ	ה א ר ו י	פ י ר ו ט	ע ת ו י	מ ס פ ר
א	ב		א	ס דו ר י
תקשורת				
		פָּגִישׁוֹת בְּמִלּוֹן		
		הַמְּרָאָה מִפְּרִיד	19:30	
(זמן ישראל)		נַחַתָּה בִּישראל -	21:30	



י"א בתשרי ח' טמ"ו

19 בספטמבר 1985

אל : ד"ר יוסי בילין/מזכיר הממשלה
 מר יעקב היבל/לשכת מנכ"ל משרד רה"מ
 מר ברוך אפלבאום/ראש לשכת רה"מ

הנדון: ביקור ראש הממשלה בחו"ב

בערך יום כפור פגשתי את מортימר צוקרמן (MORTIMER ZUCKERMAN). במקור הוא איש עסקים בתחום ה-REAL ESTATE והבנייה - ונכנס ממשקי עסקיו העתונאות.

לאחרונה השתלים על NEWS WORLD REPORT S. U. והפך עצמו ל-CHAIRMAN OF THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF של העיתון הזה. הוא קנה לו מעמד בקהל הpolloitic להנוכח מעורבותו בעיתון 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 שהוא במספר מפגשים רחבים עם פרם אין הם מכירים אישית.

לחשומת לבכם: 1. אני بعد קיום הפגישה, אבל יש לשוקל היטב באיזה הרכב לקיימה וכי יהיה המזומנים, זאת בכלל מעמדו המיחודה בעולם העסקי
 והתקשרות.

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

3. מציע להזמין את מרווין ג'רוזפסון לאוועו מפגש (שסיפר לי על שפגש את צוקרמן באותו בילת פנים אצל נתניהו, ואשר מזכיר לפוטו).

אשומך לסייע מכאן בכל הקשור להכנות הביקור, לפי בקשתכם. (פרטים ומקומות שהותי בחו"ב, אפשר לקבל אצל רבקה בלשכת העתונאות).

בברכה,
 י.ר.
 ד"ר ישראל פלא

מנהל לשכת העתונות הממשלתית



ירושלים: בית אגרון, רחוב הלל סל' 243161

Cables: MEMPRESS, Jerusalem

מברקים:

תל-אביב: רחוב איתמר בן-אví 9 סל' 216222

Cables: MEMPRESS, Tel-Aviv

מברקים:

יהדות ברית המועצות - קווים להתבטאות

1. מדינת ישראל אינה רואה את ברית המועצות כאויב. יש לנו עניין היהודי בברית המועצות ובעלותם ארצה ולא ויתרנו על קשרית קשרית עם ברית המועצות במישור הדיפלומטי.
2. מהימנותה של ברית המועצות בכבוד הסכמים תמדד ביכולתם לעמוד בהתחייבותה הבין לאומיות. כל פגיעה ביודים ובזכותם לשוב לארצם כמווה כהפרת התחייבות בין לאומיות של ברית המועצות.
3. מעבר לכל הוויכוחים האידאולוגיים - פוגעת הנשירה בסיכון היציאה של אלה שנותרו עדיין מאחרי מסך הברזל. הנשירה מספקת עילה נוחה לשפטונות בריה"ם לא להתיר יציאת יהודים. על כן צריכים כל העוסקים בדבר להתאחד בהתנגדות לנשירה ובתמיכה בעלייה לישראל.

נקודות לדין עם ראשי הסמינרים

1. להעלות את הבעיה הדתית של יהדות אריהיב - התפלגות לשני מחנות עזיניות שהשתיכו אליהם לא יוכלו או לא ירצו להתחנן אלה באלה. קרי; קהילה המורכبة מכיתות.
2. לא די בשאלת "מה טוב לנו ולשכמתנו", אלא "מה טוב לכל ישראל".
3. הסכמה על תחילת תקופה לחיפוש המוסכם בעיקר בעניינים של נוהל ונימוסים מבלתי 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 הנוכחי.

ב. אין מקום לסקירות מדיניות או פוליטיות במפגש זה.

ג. הדגש הוא על קשר חדש בין מדינת ישראל ליהדות אשר באופן מסורתי אינו כוללם בمعالם הממוסד (סטודנטים מכל גזען, תלמידים, תבונת נוער וכו').

נקודות

א. פער הדורות - יש הבדל עצום בין דרכם, הדור הנוכחי, לבין דורנו, דור האבות. אין הכוונה לפער הגילאים הקיימים תמיד בין אבות לבניהם, בין מיסדים למשיכם, אלא להבדל שבין חייו הגולת לחיי המדינה.

לפנינו קום המדינה, חלקנו כולנו נסיוון אחד, אלה שגרו בישוב הארץ ישראלי ואלה שגרו בגולה חייו כנתינים של ריבונות דלה ובכלה היה לכולנו נסיוון יהודי משותף.

משמעות המדינה קם איתה אם ההבדל בין נסיוון החיים הישראלי - העצמאי - לנסיוון החיים של הגולה המשיך עדין את מטבחנות העבר.

כל אחד מכם נדרש להכיר ולהזכיר מה היו חייו היהודים? האם יסתפק בזיהות יהודית או יעדיף את האתגר והמשמעות - לחיות וליצור הריבונות היהודית.

ב. עליה - ישנן הרבה סיבות לעלות הארץ. חלון סיבות ישראליות יהודיות; שהרי אין זה סוד שעתידה של ישראל תלויות באיכות ובכמות העליה שתבא. כשם שעליות העבר עיצבו את אופיה של ישראל, כך תקבעה עליות העתיד את גורלה ועתידה של המדינה שיש לנו. מובן לנו כי אין להתעלם מקשדים ודילמות. כך לשם דוגמא אנו רוצים את מיטב כוחות העם אצלונו ומайдך אנו רוצים גולת חזקה מספיק - שתמצעה די כוחות פנימיים כדי להלחם ברגע התתבוללות המשמיך בנו בכל פה.

מניעים אחרים הם המנגעים האישיים, כל אדם וסיבותיו עימיו. למי קשיי משפחה ולמי רגשות רוחניים עדים הקוראים אותו לארץ האבות ולמדינת הבנים.

אם תשאלו אותי למה לבוא, אתן לכם סיבה אחת בלבד. בואו כי רק במדינת ישראל, רק שם אצלונו, יש ליודי מקום ואפשרות לחיות בשלמות חיים יהודים. רק אתגר קיבוץ הגלויות חושף את כולנו לעושר החיים היהודי ויצירת הדורות. רק תחת הר בונות הישראלית ניתן למצוא חכמים חדשים למשימות לאומיות. רק במדינת עצמאית ניתן להתמודד עם האחריות השלמה, למצוא מהו צבא יהודי וכי צד מקימים ומקיימים כלכלת יהודים, מהו שוטר היהודי ואפילו מהו ראש ממשלה שלנו.

אל תטוו בדברי; אין בכוונתי להטעות איש, לצייר תמונה ורודה שאינה מסקפת בכוונה את המציאות המורכבת. אלא שהבדל אחד יש בין הוצאות הישראלית לבין כל הוצאות השבעולים. הן הוצאות שלנו ולבן הן הוצאות הטובות ביותר בעולם. וזאת על כן הפעם פתוחה לכם לבוא ולהגנות מהן יחד איתנו.

ג. עד היום עסכנו - ואנחנו עדים ווסקים - בבנייה הבניין היהודי, ביצירת המסדרת והמכשירים שישרתו את העם. משימות העתיד תהינה קשות פי כמה. עליהם יהיה להתמודד עם התכניות של אונן מסגרות, עם ערכי החברה היהודית בכלל והחברה הישראלית בפרט. לשם כך אנו זוקים לכל עדרה, לכל עירוי דם. אל תאמינו לטענות כי בהקמת המדינה הוגשים החזון ותמו האתגרים - נהפוך הוא: הם רק תחילו. מה יהיה אופיה של המדינה דמוקרטי או אחר? כיצד חייו האזרחים אלה עם אלה בנכור ובשנה או בסובלנות והבנה. אם ניתן לקיצנות להשתלט על חיינו או נשתיית את הפלורליזם כיסוד לבניין כולם. אין לי תשובות מוחלטות ועד משמעיות. אבל ברור לי כי ליהדות העולם בכלל וליהדות אריהיב העיירה בפרט שמור מקום מרכזי באוטם מאבקי ערכיים ואידאולוגיים.



ועדת החוץ וחבתו הירושידאש

הַבְּנָה

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

לכבוד
מר בועז אפלבאום
סנהל לשבח ראש הממשלת

ברוך יקר,

ד"ב התיכון הראשון של ג'ארם רה"מ.
דראייתי להרשים 2-3 דקודות של הcosa הבלתי-בינלאומי
בראשם הראם.

אשר לסירום בשום פנים אין להשמיע ניסוחי צ'רצ'יל
וליבקולן שהושמעו במעופדים רבים יותר דרמטיים בעבר,
(הצלת האנושות או קיומה של ארה"ב!).

אם הופיעו הלקוחות לאחר מכן אזכיר להם את מילויו.

בְּבָבָה

一山茶 一山茶

1920-1921

1921-1922

1922-1923

1923-1924

1924-1925

1925-1926

1926-1927

1927-1928

1928-1929

1929-1930

1930-1931

1931-1932

1932-1933

1933-1934

1934-1935

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

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 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, 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 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

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."

סבירותם של ישראל - וושינגטונ

אל המשרד + ב' י. וורק

ת. 9.9.9. 9.9.9.
דבָּר... מִתְּהִלָּה... דָּבָר
בְּלֹא בְּשָׁמְלָה... בְּלֹא בְּשָׁמְלָה
דָּבָר... דָּבָר... דָּבָר...
תָּאַרְיֵין וְצִיּוֹן. 27.10.1925. 85

199

633

אל :- ארבעיל 2

גאוויים ג'ו ג'ו רוק

פגישת רה"ם עם רה"ם הוזרו

לחותים 1654

פנינו לCONDARA שהבטיח לפועל.

23

1070

אל: גינו יזרק קובך כל
וושינגטון - שגריר

812

לשיום ב- 27 בספטמבר 1985 תאריך וזמן דישום **מ. כבירק** מס. **א/31/143**

דע: גירז זורק - נתגיהה
לשכת רוחם - היכל

ביקור רוח, מ- 558 נר של

במהלך למבוקש שבסוגיה נלכדו שלדים טנטיטיביים של התכנית כפז שהייתה באהיתם בראויים

בגוף המכנייה נקבעות עליהן אבו מבקשים מענה וננקודות אשר תסוכמנה כאן

כגנ'ישן ג'ילן נ', 22 ספטמבר,

גרדה לחת היחסותן בחוזר לשאלותינו.

ב' זט

1 1 1 3 1 2
אליך אלה נני יה נון רון רון

ברוך רם

השוויה: ברנאר רם

אישור מנהל המנגנון:

אישור לשכת המנכ"ל:

ולגין מארין זובן היבריה למסר

תאריך וזמן חיבור (ימולא עי השלוח) 27 בספט' 1985

2/81

1/31/8

24.9.85

- 1 -

חכנית ביקר רה"מ בווינה וב-ארה"ב

יום ז' - 14 אוקטובר

לילה

טכש פרידה מרהי"ם - טכש צבאי מלא.

המראה - במטוס חי"א

הגעה לוינה - (קבלת עיי שגריר ישראל).

בסיעה למלוון (איזה?).

פגישת תדרוך עם שגריר ישראל בוינה.

2/...

3/11 1731/8

- 2 -

יום ג' - 15 אוקטובר

ארוחת בוקר (?). 08:00

תקשורת 09:00

10:00

11:00

12:00

12:30

12:30

השתתפות בדיוני הלשכה

13:00

13:30

14:00

ארוחת צהרים (עמ?).

15:00

16:00

17:00

18:00

19:00

השזופות בדיוני הלשכה ופגישות עם אישים (מי?).

20:00

השתתפות בקייפ מטעם הלשכה ונאום רה"ם.

21:00

- אפרות - תדרוך לכתבים גלוים.

21:45

22:00

23:00

4/11 183/8

- 3 -

יום ד' - 16 באוקטובר

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

השתתפות בדיוני הלשכה

המראה: -
הפסודות א-לפויו (נפvl לה עט מיטראן)
אפשרות-ב' ישר ל-ארהיב (ללא פגישה עם מיטראן).

המראה מפוגז

גחיתה בארהיב (זמן ארהיב).

טקס קבלת פנים רשמי.

הגעה לוושינגטון.

19:00 פגישת תדרוך עם השגריר.

20:00

21:00 (?) ארוחת ערב מטעם ה - UJA.
(זמן ארהיב)

5/11 1831/1

- 4 -

יום נ' - 18 אוקטובר

יום ה' - 17 אוקטובר

אפשרות חכמת בוקר בטלביזיה

ארוחת בוקר

ארוחת בוקר עם פרשנבים בכיריהם

ארוחת צהרים ונאום עלי

12:00

14:00 מס' 1 מושב עתונאים עם הנשיא

1 מעה תקשורת
WASHINGTON POST NEWSWEEK

הבראה לנין-יורק

קונטיג'יל מטעם רוחהיהם לחברוי קונגרס בשגרירויות

* לְאַבְּקָרָה

כשעה וחצי ראיאונות לטלביזיה הישראלית בדינו נגלי אהייל

* כוונת מילן ליג'אנטס

אפשרות-ארוע מטעם הנשיה לבבון גופית

גושאים לשיבוץ

- פגישה עם הנשיא.
- פגישה נוספת עם הנשיא.
- פגישה עם מזכיר ההגנה וינגרט.
- פגישה עם מזכיר המדינה שולץ.
- ועדת משותפת של בית-הגבחרים.
- אפשרות פגישה עם TASK FORCE + שולץ.
- אפשרות פגישה עם APPAC.
- אפשרות פגישה עם הקוקס היהודי.
- אפשרות פגישה עם סגן הנשיא BUSH.
- אפשרות פגישה עם הסנטור אינזוי.
- תידרכו לכתבים ישראלים לאחר הפגישות
- האחרוניות עם הנשיא.

יום שבת - 19 לאוקטובר

ניו-יורק

בית כנסת - * ני' פֵּרְשַׁטְּלָבָּן זַיְדָן בֵּית כְּנָסָת

תקשורה - (שעתיהם) פגישה אישית.

פגישות עם: - קיסינגר, קומו (מושל ניו-יורק),
בשיא קרייזלר, איקוקה, רוחטין. (הלאן גַּעֲזָרְלִין)

ערב: - ארוחת ערב עם הבונדס. - ני' פֵּרְשַׁטְּלָבָּן זַיְדָן זַיְדָן ?

* ני' פֵּרְשַׁטְּלָבָּן זַיְדָן זַיְדָן ?

7/11 1831/8

- 6 -

יום א' - 20 לאוקטובר

אפסן זה ארהיימן יהונתן (3 ג'נינגרט)

08:00
09:00

10:00

ראיון טלוויזיה עם ברינקלி דוד (ABC).

11:00
12:00
12:30

צהרים עם סופרים

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

קייפ מיוחدة ל-רהיימן אצל ראש העיר קור

16:00
17:00

קייפ כללית לבאי העצרת אצל קור

18:00

19:00

מיפגש עם נוער יהודי/עליה

20:00

8/11 1331/6

- 7 -

יום ב' - 21 אוקטובר

7:30
08:00
08:15
08:30
09:00
09:45
10:00

ארוחת בוקר פרויקט עצמאיות -
(יתבצע רק אם שולץ יהיה - הערכה שלי).

11:00

12:00
13:00

נאום רה'ם בעצרת אויים

14:00

15:00
16:00

מפגשים עם ראשי מדיניות

17:00

חואר כבוד באוניברסיטה ניו-יורק

17:00

ז'ילזון זילזון

18:00

19:00

20:00

20:30

21:00

21:30

22:00

8/...

9/11 1831/6

- 8 -

אנו מודים לך על מילוי תפקידך
אנו מודים לך על מילוי תפקידך
ולכבודך

יום ג' - 22 לאוקטובר

7:30
8:00
8:15

ארוחת בוקר עם נציגים בכירים של התקשורת האמריקאית.

8:30
09:00
09:45
10:00

מיפגשים עם ראשי מדינות.

11:00

ארוחת צהרים עם מועדון הנשיים.

12:00

13:00

13:15

14:00

14:30

15:00

16:00

מיפגשים ב-או"ם

17:00

18:00

18:30

19:00

19:30

תידרור לתקשורת (לינגו)

20:00

ארוחת ערב בבית נתניהו. *

21:00

22:00

10/11 18/10

- 9 -

יום ד' - 23 אוקטובר

תקשורת	07:30
	08:00
	08:00
ארוחת בוקר עם אילן כלכלה - *	09:00
לא יהודים.	09:15
פגישה עם פ' (בבית פרטי).	09:30
סיוור ברוחבות ניו-יורק	10:00
פגישות עם ראשי מדיניות.	10:30
	10:45
פגישות עם ראשי מדיניות.	11:00
	11:30
	12:00
פגישות עם ראשי מדיניות.	13:00
	13:15
אשפזח - צהרים ב-או"ם מטעם מצ"ל האו"ם.	15:00
	16:00
פגישות עם ראשי מדיניות	17:00
תדרוך לתקשורת הישראלית קייפ מטעם הנשי ריביגן.	18:00
	18:15
	19:00
	20:00

10/...

יום ה' - 24 אוקטובר

חזרה מנינו-יורק לארכז.	20:00
תדרוך לטלביזיה, רדיו וגלי צהיל.	18:00
תדרוך לטלביזיה, רדיו וגלי צהיל.	19:00
תדרוך לטלביזיה, רדיו וגלי צהיל.	17:00
תדרוך לטלביזיה, רדיו וגלי צהיל.	16:00
אזכרה ב-או"ם.	15:00
ארוחת צהרים עם נציגי התקשורת.	13:15
ארוחת צהרים עם נציגי התקשורת.	14:00
ארוחת צהרים עם נציגי התקשורת.	14:45
נאום ריאגן בעצרת האו"ם.	11:00
	12:00
ארוחת בוקר וסיור במפעל בלונגן איילנד (מסוק).	09:00
ארוחת בוקר וסיור במפעל בלונגן איילנד (מסוק).	09:45
ארוחת בוקר וסיור במפעל בלונגן איילנד (מסוק).	10:00
ארוחת בוקר וסיור במפעל בלונגן איילנד (מסוק).	10:00
ארוחת בוקר וסיור במפעל בלונגן איילנד (מסוק).	10:30
	07:30
	08:00
	08:30

דרכונים: בהול-להזעיק במו"מ סוג כסות: שטר	מחלקה הקשורה ג'י-יירוק טופס מבורך בחול	דג: <u>1</u> מחר: <u>3</u> <u>3</u>
תז"ה: <u>27900</u>	אל: <u>בנזר-מאפ"א</u>	
נ"מ: <u>0660</u>	רע: <u>סמיר-סמרה"מ, רוזן-וושינגטונ, נחבייה-גאו"מ</u>	
זאת: <u>קונכ"ל</u>		

ביקור רה"פ

לשין ס-27 בספטמבר

1. באולם הפליטים שאין חפיפה בין לוח הזמנים שהברך
לכם לבין שלכם מבקש שתחקרו לפי לוח הזמנים שלנו כי נחקרה
לבעז מינוחים עם כל הגורדים.

2. עדכוניים נוספים:

שבח, 19 באוקטובר

בֵּית הַכְּנָסָה

5TH AVENUE SYNAGOGUE

ביהכ"ג האורחוזודוקסי החשוב בעיר שאליו הולכים ראיי המדינה בזואם. נצעה במרקם הליכתה.

ארוחת הערב לבוגנדס תהיה אירוע גדול בהשתתפות 300-400 איש, פגישה עבודה עם החקנורה שבת עולמה לעורר כאן עזות, כל הבעיות שנקבעו לשבת יכוננו על ידינו בקרים ידידותיים אצל רה"ם במלון.

יום א', 20 באוקטובר

אחר החב' נציג'ן אה המנהיגים היהודים ובן אה הסופרים ונודיעם רישומ'ה מصحاب'ם כשקובל חשבו'ה.

מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק

רף: 2

טופט מברק

מתק: 3

המיופר:

סודם כטבוגרוי:

תזכ"ה:

אל:

מספר:

דע:

0660
142

מתק:

יום ג", 22 באוקטובר

הביקור בוגראותן מוכרת להתבצע ביום זה. אי אפשר להעבידרנו- ליום ה" ב" רח"מ לא יספיק לחזור במועד לנאום ריביגן באו"ם. זהה לpermach שנקבל מסוק מהפעלה.

עם מועדון הנשיים נקבעה איזוחה בוקר ביום ה" 24 באוקטובר. ואחרי נאום ריביגן תהיה איזוחה אחרות בס" ניו-יורק פיטס". ואילו ביום ג", 22 באוקטובר, תהיה איזוחה אחרות עם אנשי קוסורה בכיריהם. גם רשות המשתתפים באירוע זה נubby בקרוב.

יום ד", 23 באוקטובר

פגישתם עם אנשי כלכלה, בנקאות ועסקים לא יהודים בכיריהם מארגנת. דשים משתתפים נבריק בקרוב.

לסידור ברוחבות ניו יורק לא נותר זמן כי האכגית דחوتה בלאו הבי, מה עוד שדריך להמתין להשכבות לגביה פגישות באו"ם וצריך לשמר על זמן לצורך זה. בנוסף לכך, התיעצנו עם צאיגי ארבענים יהודים ואין לנו בטחון שאפשר לארגן זאת באירוע מכביד.

3. מידות לאורך לבוש לטקס באוניברסיטה ניו-יורק.

הברק נא שניה המידות (שלר 1037), שכן מספרי המידות אינס בדרורים. ביחוד השורה האחורונה לגביו אורך הגלימה.

איסור:

שם התצלום:

תאריך:

מחלקה הקשר נס-1-1106

נש: 3

טופט מברק

מספר: 3

דוחות:

סולם בשרות:

חדות:

אל:

מספר: 0660

דעת:

145

שם:

4. סערת ההוריקן שחלפה על הפייר היום גרמה לסגירהם כל המשדרדים ולעיכוב בעבודתנו כי קשה היה לטבוע את האנשיים שחייפזו. גם סוף השבוע הארוך בוגל סוכות פפריע, אך מקרים להבריק פירומת חכנית מעודכנת ביום רביעי, 2 באוקטובר, עם פריטים נספחים שיקבעו בינהיים, ושאנו מחייב לחשובה בקשר אליהם.

יגור

ארצורה:

שם השולח:

27/9/85

זרירר:

30

102

רchipotot:	מחלקה חקשור ניו-יורק	ד"ה - 1
טיגיד	טופש מביך	מזור: 3
סודג נטולות:		
סודג		
תז"ח: 041330	אל. כנזור מZF'A	
נ"ר: 0558	ג.ע. טמיר מורה"ם, רוזן וושינגטון, בתכניהו נאו"ס	
104 ~ 111	זאת קונכיל ניו-יורק	

ביקור רה"ט. שלך 1636

להלן שדר טננטיבי של התכנית במצבת הנוכחית. עוד יחולו בורדי שינועים בשיבוץ לוח הזמנים:

יום ו', 18 באוקטובר

אוחה"ז. הגעה

עֲמָלֵךְ מִתְּבָרְגִּין

סעודת שבת. טرت נקבע

21.00 קבלת פניות וشيخת בית הקונכ'יל יגר לאנשי כלכלה, מסחר ובנקאות ישראלים ראשית. כ-40 איש.

שבט. 19 באוקטובר

בקר. בית הכנסת

ארוחת ערב משותפת לבוגנדס ולטנקייטן.

יום א', 20 באוקטובר

ברינקלி טוא 12.00-10.00

13.00-12.00 שיחת עט מנהיגי הזרמים הדתיים היהודים (מתהינги לרשימת אברט בורג).

14.30-13.00 ארוחת צהרים ושיחת עם סופרים, אקדמאים ו互動קסוואלים (הרשימה בהננה).

17.00-15.00 כפ' לרוח'יט מטעם ראש עירייה קו"ץ' .

18.00 קפ' לראטי מדיניות וממשלות מטעם קוץ'.

עכרת נוער יהודי.

ג'וח ר', 21 באוקטובר

וול סטראיט ג'ורנלי 09.45-08.30

נכואם רה"מ בעצרת האו"ם (לאחריו פגישה עם כהביס יسرائيلים). 12.00

16.15-15.00 סוישות באו"ם.

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

אינטראקטיבי

שם השולח:

ח'אריך:

730 अन्तर्का निक्की लोड फॉर्म लेट अन्तर्का

רחלנות:	מחלקת הקשר ניו-יורק	2
סודג בטחונתי:	טופש מבראק	3
תדיות:		אל
סס/ 124	נ"ג	220

יום ג'. 22 באוקטובר

13.00-08.00 ביקור במפעלי גראומן

14.30-13.15 פגישה עם מועדון הנשיים או עט אנשי תקשורת בכיריהם (ר' יומם ה').

18.00-15.00 פגישות בARIO'ם.

19.30-18.30 סיום פאנאצ'ה

20-00 ארכוחה רבית האזרחי גוטמן

יום ד', 23 באוקטובר

08.30-08.00 פגישת עם כתביים ישראלים

09-45-08-30 פג'ישה עם אכדי כלכלה ועסקים (לא-יתורתיים)

10.00 **פָּגַעַת בְּאָנוֹת (נִגְבָּאת עַ"ז, פְּרַבְּפָ"ט)**

13.00-11.00 גיורם גאו"מ

15.00-13.15 אביגדור אברגנט מושען מזב"ל בגו"ח

מגנטיזם גאולוגי 18.00-15.00

18.00-19.00

בבלטן בלאטן מושב כרמאנשא	18.00
אַלְמָנָה עַלְמָנָה	18.15

קברון 19.00

Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com on 08-09-2016

"פְּנִימָה אַמְּבִדָּה" בְּאַ-לְּוֹלֶה בְּזִבְּחָה 14.45-13.15

מתק גאנז'ר 15.00

גאנט 19.00

111-21

מגנטיזם טרמי ובראנו

. 15518 8100 8.8.19

...the greater the need for grace. 2

וְאֵין עַל יְהוָה כִּי-יְהוָה בְּכָל-בָּרָא.

3. פגשיה בע מנהיגים בכיריהם של ארכיטקטורה שוכנת (לא רק טהורים וחילופים),

•(בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

תואגיד: שם השולחן: איסטרו:

דוחות:	מחלקה הקשדר נ"ו - י"ר	ז
סוג במחובב:	טופט מברק	מזהר:
תזכ"ח:		אל:
מספר:	855	יע.

ג. רשימת פגישות מיעודות עם ראש ממשלה ומדיניות בטיפול נאו"ם ותוכרכן בńפurd כשייהו פרטיים.

ה. לא ניחן להחליפה מועדי טקס מתן תואר כבוד באוניברסיטה נ"י כי אוזמן כבר חודפסו ומורפצוות.

ה. פרסיט על מכונת הארווחה אצל נתניהו ומספר המזומנים יוכרכו על ידו בńפurd.

ג. רה"ם מתקבש לשאת דברים באירועים חכאיים:

1. כבני אנשי הכלכלה, מסחר ובנקאות ישראליות

2. בפגישת המשותפת לאנשי בונץ' ועקבגנ

3. עצרת נוער יהוד

4. נאות בעצרות האו"ם

5. נאות של 15 דקות בעקבות הענקת תואר ד"ר כבוד ועוד דברי ברכה קצרות באירועה הערב יותר מאוחר

6. בפגישה עם מועדון הנשייאים

7. בחגיגת עם אנשי כלכלת לא-יהודים

ז. וחדר לטדרור רל אימטלדו החירוצית רחרוויה. וטרידן מאור אה לא ימרטו פרלטיה רארניאת על-ידי אף גורט ללא תיאום אמכו. נגרמים קשיים מיותרים.

יגר

אישור:

שם השולח: מ. גבר

תאריך: 24.9.85

הנפקה: דצמבר 1940, מס' 24, ס. 573.

המשורט

אל: מצפיה
דעת: ליט. רהימן

ביקורת רה"ם.

קובבי מהביהת חלון התקשר לומר כי הגם שביתהן לתכנית כללית כמי שמסדרו לבו למועד 17-18 ג'נינגר, ערם הצלicho "ילחצץ" מפקידות חבשיה מועד מדויק של השיטה עם הנשיה, ובשלב זה מניחים שב-18 בבוקר. ביקשנו מצדנו בכל לשון מונילקופט כי הפייסות יהיו בו-70, כדי לאפשר גמישות בשאר התכנית, אך אין בטחון שהדבר יושג בغالל אילוצי הנשיה. אמריקנים מציעים כי חסיה פגיפה גם עם פגן הנשיה. אכן מניחים כי הדבר מקובל עליהם.

רוביינשטיין

ל' פ' י' ק' מ' נ' א' כ' ו' ש' ב' מ' י' כ' ו' ש' ב'

10032 200 600 100 200 300
1 3 1 3 2

עקבם היחסים בין יהודים וערבים חיובי. השואה הימה באירופה.

האזור הצרובי, שעליה כחוצה מהגבורה האנטישמיות במערב ראה כערבי צייר בעלי ברית טבעית ולא חרט על דגלו אח בישולם.

בזמן של היהודים לארץ הפך אותה, תוד זמן קצר, משמה לאזור מפומת הזכות לכוח אדם. ערבים רבים הגיעו לא"י חור חיפוש מקור פרנסה. כפרים שנעלו במאה ה-19 אוכלו מחרש לאחר שהיהודים עלו ארץ.

היחסים בין יהודים לערבים בא"י נעשו מתחים על רקע ההבדלים בהשכלה, במנהגים ובמעסוקה והחש העברי מפני עלייה גדולה, ובשנות ה-30 התגברה העזה שהתרו למתה הוא חלוקה טריטוריאלית של א"י. הימה זו המלצת ועדת פיל ב-1937.

ב-1947, לאחר השואה הבוראה והחרפה היחסים בין יהודים לערבים בא"י החליטה עזרת האומות על הקמת שתי מדינות בא"י המערבית. היהודים קיבלו העזה זו למרות הגבולות הקשים שהוצעו. הערבים ויתרו על האפשרות שנחנכה להם, לראשונה בתולדותיהם, להקים מדינה משלהם בא"י.

ב-1967 פרצה מלחמת ששת הימים בעקבות סגירת מצרי טירן על-ירדן מצרים ואי יכולתו של המערב לעתור בהתקה לישראלי מבוע ذات. לישראלי לא הימה שום כוונה לכובש שטחיה במלחמה זו והיא בקשה מן החלק חוסיין שלא יתעורר במלחמה זו. רקבו המלחמה והתערכו של סוריה וירדן, עצמה ישראל ברוח הגולן, ככל חצי הארץ סיני ובגדה המערבית.

מיד אחרי המלחמה בירני 1967, קיבלה ממשלה ישראל החלטה מרחיקת לכת שידיברה על שלום מיידי עם מדינות ערב, מלבד שפירות המלחמה יישארו בידיה. העזה שהוערתה למדינות ערב על-ירדי ארה"ב נרחה וחתם זאת התקיימה. ועידה חרטה באוקטובר 1967 וקבעה את שלושת הלאוויות: לא מומ, לא שלום, לא הכרה.

ישראל המשיכה במאציה להגיא לモ"מ ישיר ולא זכתה בתגובה אורה עד לביקורו ההיסטורי של הנשיא סאדאת בירושלים.

מסגרת קמף דיוויד איפשרה פחרון הולם לבעה הפלשתינאית, אך גם מסגרת זו בדחתה הן על-ירדי ירדן והן על-ירדי הפלשתינאים.

במהלך השנים הרוצעו פחרונות רבים לפלשתינאים - פונקציונליים, טריטוריאליים, קבועים וזמןניים - והם דחו את כולם.

אין לישראל עניין בסיטוטים קווים. אלו מציעים לשנותו, להכנס למהלך חדש של שלום.

בה לא נIAS עצמבו, הבה לא נIAS שלבים מסוימים, אלא נIAS פנים אל פנים, ישראל ידרן והפלשטים ינדבר שלום.

אם יש יד מושתת, ישראל לא תשרבנה ריקם. אם אין יד מושתת - ישראל מושיטה אם ידרה.

אנו קוראים לירדן ולפלשטים לבוא מיד לשולחן המ"מ, ללא תנאים מוקדמים, ולשים קץ אחוי ולתמים, למצב המלחמה.

אנו מוכנים גם לוועידה בין-לאומית, במקרים שכל משותפותה יהיה בעלות יחסים דיפלומטיים עם ישראל.

המלך חוסיין דיבר על בני אברם. הגיעו העת להשלים ביניהם. אנו שכנים, קרובים ואין בינינו איום דורות. בהיסטוריה העולמית הפכו חלקוות הרכה יותר ממושכו שלום. אין לנו צורך בהכנות חיותרות. אין לנו צורך בשלביהם פסיקולוגיים. השלום ביןינו יכול לעשות מהפכה אמיתית בזרת התיכון ולהפוך אותו מזכרונו רחוק של ערש ההרכות למרכז חרבותי מפלה ומחסום.

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 unbiased 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."

10/10/83
JL 10/10/83

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. ^{If} 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 result 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, ~~and~~ ^{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

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be brought within the scope of negotiations. 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 over-all 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.

Conventional
In the realm of non-~~controllable~~ 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 ~~dissemination~~ ^{distribution} 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~~ 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 ~~cause~~ ^{reduce} 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

long 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.

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

Past four decades
of the ~~IsraeL Government~~ 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

It is our contention that the continuation of such
world output. ~~will not be effective/that~~ 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.

P A clear lesson that can be drawn from this SAD con-
on NAMS affirms 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 urge 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~~ ^{Even a} 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.

ירוחם, 1.10.1985

- 1 -

1. הנאים באורים יתרוך צולו בתהליכי השלום.

א. חלק א' - 5 דקות (לוקח בחשבון אם את דברי חוסין על הצורך להתחבש על כל החלטות האורים שקדמו ל-242 ול-338).

1) הדגשת - הפרת הסכמי שביתת הנשך שנחתמו ב-1949 עם מצרים, ירדן וسورיה, שמו קץ לתוקפנות שנועדה למנוע את הקמתה של מדינת ישראל ולחסלה בעודה באיבה.

לצטט מהסכם שביתת הנשך את העקרונות שהמשמעות שלהם היא שלמעה כבר עד נקבעה הפסקה מצב מלחמה.

2) מאז, לא פסקה התקופנות שנועדה לכפות על ישראל תנאים שיביאו לחיסולה. תוקפנות רוויתם דם ותלאות בהיקף מחריד - (מלחמות ופָרָרָה)

ב. חלק ב' - התמורה המהוותית - 5 דקות

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

2) השקט בגבול הישראלי-ירדני שהתרחש מאז שנת 1970, מאז פסקה לוחמת הערור מכוון ירדן.

3) הסכם קמפ-דייויד, המהווה מסגרת של עקרונות:-

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

(-) לפיתרון הבעיה הפלשתינית על בסיס הסדר ביןיהם של אוטונומיה בשלב ראשון.

(-) להשכנת שלום בין מצרים לישראל.

4) הסכם שלום בין מצרים לישראל, אשר יסודתו מוצקים עד היום, ולמרות הקשיים שהצטברו בתקופה האחורה, ישנן התפתחויות חיוביות לביסוס היחסים ההדדיים ונכונות לפתח את הבעיה שעוד נותרו בחלוקת. שלום זה, מהוות מפנה היסטורי ממדרגה ראשונה, גם בגל מעמדה המוחוד של מצרים בעולם ובאזור וגם בכלל היותו שלום הראשון עם המדינה הערבית האגדולה ביותר וראש גשר להגעה להסכם שלום כולל.

5) נוכנות ממשלה ישראלי-מוניים ישר ובהקדם האפשרי עם ירדן, על בסיס החלטות מועצת הביטחון 242 ו-338 וללא תנאים מוקדמים.

6) נוכנות ירדן, בהצרכו החשובה מדרגה ראשונה והמברכת של המלך חוסיין, למוניים ישר עם ישראל להשכנת שלום, על בסיס 242 ו-338 וללא תנאים מוקדמים.

7) הכרת ישראל כי מצרים שעימה נחתם הסכם שלום וכי ארהיב השותפה להסכם זה, יכולות להוות גורמים מרכזיים חיוביים להנעה תחילה שלום באזרע שיהיה בר סיכויים להתחלה, לקיום ולהצלחה.

8) מערכת היחסים דה פקטו הקיימת בין ישראל לירדן (אשרים פתוחים, הדקה בין ערביי הגדה ועזה לירדן ועוד).

ג. חלק ג' - 5 דקות

המכשולים שיש להסיר כדי שלתחילה שלום יהיה סיכוי הצלחה והוא יהיה אמין ומורץ כדי לסקל כל סיכוי למוטטו בעודו באיבו, מצד גורמים המעורבינים בכך.

הריעונות:

א. חסות בינוי יכולה להיות רק של מדיניות שיכולה ומעורבינה לתרום לתחילה ולגרר לפיה צורך בין חילוקי דעת על בסיס של אי נקייה עד מה עויינית וחסורת פשות כלפי אחד מהצדדים למוניים הישיר. שתהיה הרגשה לכל צד ולא רק לצד אחד שישomi לפנות.

ב. הבסיס הוא מוניים ישר ללא תנאים מוקדמים, ככלומר, שכל צד יוכל לשים על השולחן את רעיונותיו ותכניותיו - הכל פתוח לדיוון.

ג. בפתרון הבעיה הפלשתינאית כולבו מעורבינים ועל זה ישראל התחייב בקמפה-דייז. משיקולים דמוגרפיים וביטחוניים, חשוב גם לישראל וגם לירדן שפיתרון הקבע יהיה במסגרת ירדן, ופתרון בינויים עד לפתרון הקבע יהיה במסגרת משותפת לישראל ולירדן.

ד. ברור לנו ששלחת ירדן למוניים צריכה ליעזג גם את הפלשתינאים, שהיו צריכה לכך לכלול נציגות שתיעציג את הפלשתינאים ותהיה לכך שלחת ירדנית-פלשתינאית. אולם שלחת אחת ולא מוגרת לשתי שלוחות נפרדות - כיון שהמוניים צריכים להיות בין מדיניות ולא בין מדיניות לארגון כלשהו, והשלוחות למוניים צריכות לנוהל את המוניים ולצעוד בביטחון להשכנת שלום על כל צדדיו:-

- 1) באוירה של הפקת מצב לוחמה על כל גווניה.
- 2) באוירה של הפקת טרור על כל גווניו.
- 3) ללא תנאים מוקדמים.
- 4) על בסיס החלטות מועצת הביטחון 242 ו-338.
- 5) על בסיס הכרה ברורה שככל צד מנהל מווים עם מדינה ריבונית ועצמאית.

ד. חלק רביעי - חזון - 3 דקות

1. נוצרה קרקע פוריה לפתרון הסכום ולהשגת שלום כולל בין ישראל לשכנותיה עוד בעשור ה-80.
2. בל נחמי'ן הזרמו היסטוריות ובן ניתן אפשרות לכוחות השחור לנתח הזרמו'ות ذات ולזרדר אותנו חזקה למלחמות ולטבל של מלחמות ללא תוחלת. (להכניס פסוק מהאים...).
3. כאן, מעל במות הארגון שהוקם ע"י המדינות שהצילו את העולם מאימת גרמניה הנאצית - אשר כתוכאה ממנה גם הושמד שלישי העם היהודי - אני קורא למלך חוסיין ולשאר מנהיגי מדינות ערב לדבר פנים אל פנים ובהקדם, כדי להגשים את חזון הנבאים
4. אין לי ספק כי בכך החזון והאמונה נוכל לפתח את חילוקי הדעות ולהציג את עמנו וכל עמי הארץ לשלו', לשגשוג, ליחס שכנות טובות 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 been plunged ~~into~~ ^{give her} ~~entirely from~~ 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~~ ^{is from Egypt}
The quest for peace has accompanied the Jewish people from the Exodus to the birth restoration of its independence in and the State of Israel from its birth. Our Sages guided us that we should "seek peace and pursue it". This 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 agreed to repel an onslaught, all hostile actions across the borders of Israel, Egypt and Syria were
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 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 ambience in which the open bridges policy between the two countries could flourish and the Camp David process could be initiated.

Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel in
The Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel should be seen and recognized as a breakthrough in the Middle East.

and a milestone in the history of the 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 an isolated episode. Rather let us 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.

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 framework~~ ^{capable of paving} ~~address by H.R.H~~ ^{nostrum} ~~King Hussein of Jordan to this distinguished forum~~ ^{H.M} ~~assembly~~ ² 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 the~~ ² ~~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 side to the conflict. Israel welcomes the support of these countries to direct negotiations between her and the Arab States who 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 by the two parties negotiating, this on the basis of impartiality and not a ^{at the balance} ~~one-sided unilateral~~ ^{other} ^{in particular} ~~in lack of equal~~ public policy which precludes any objectivity, and which

Reformulation

bears with it the seeds of failure. ~~which has helped 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, 18).

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 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 preliminary ~~meant to preclude~~ ^{is} a-priori conditions determining the outcome. Israel maintains an open-door~~

~~of the negotiations,~~

negotiation chamber at any time, here and has

- 5 -
negotiations which would start this year.

policy regarding peace

Direct negotiations with A JORDANIAN PALESTINIAN delegation
which will agree to peace on the basis of U.N. resolutions

Mechta

242 AND 338, with no preconditions

After we have met 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 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, ~~for the sake of the adversary of the~~
~~hierarchy of the international ~~weak~~ church but in the~~
~~torrents of diverse theological downpours.~~

The need for a solution to the Palestinian problem which we

all ~~aspire~~ long for, and to which we pledged our support in Camp David is clear to
us all. ~~My~~ The Government of Israel, committed ~~ourselves~~ ^{itself} to the "recognition
"must also recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and
their just requirements. In this way the Palestinians ~~will~~ participate in

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

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 that the ~~final~~ ^{final} ~~solution~~ ^{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.

but the negotiations have to be carried out by sovereign states:

This whole have, because of its controllability, should be written in clearer language and more explicit formulation.

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 ~~push us~~ plunge us

back into the abyss of useless and senseless wars and bloodshed. From this

podium I call on King Hussein of Jordan to

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."

1/10/11
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 the most ~~wonderful~~ ^{with} ~~enticing~~ gift we can ~~give~~ offer 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 ~~give~~ ^{end the Arab-Israeli conflict, offer to ready} the United Nations our willingness to make peace. It is a challenge to all of us, Arabs and Israelis, statesmen ^{with no differences of religion (Arab and Jewish)} and laymen, men and women,

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 ~~has to~~ ^{must} achieve this goal. History demands it, morality ^{overcomes} commands it, our common belief in ~~the~~ ^{inspires us} divine origin of our respective religious traditions points us in this direction. Let us give our peoples peace.

We are peace to all our peoples.

As Like Ben Gurion before Israel's Provisional State Council, 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, from responsibility towards the future most for us one 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 suspicions and fears. But let the word go forth from here, that there must be peace.

the peace treaty with Egypt

~~have gone~~
~~Naia~~
~~on~~
~~Mezra~~
~~to you~~
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.

Today for his hall

I call on all member states of the UN, but above all, to
our Arab neighbors to let us embark on 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
time

mark for a safe passage

Draft

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

Points and issues.

I

The State of the United Nations

~~the cause~~ also some

Forty years are a fleeting moment in history, but ~~at times~~ also some 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 ~~to~~ ^{enacted} to the promised land, it received ~~the~~ ⁱⁿ ma ke nd the covenant of the Commandments, guiding it and enlightened ~~humanity~~ ^{it} until as ~~their~~ ^{it} supreme moral charter until this day.

¶ Forty years ago the United Nations arose out of the wasteland of ~~war~~ ^{fire} covered with the cinders of the victims of Hitler's hell. 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 organization 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 ~~absolute~~ ^{exemplary} 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 participated ^{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 great expectations~~

The failure of the United Nations to transform its Charter principles into a binding code of international conduct, regulating the relations between its members, has been the central ~~theme of this debate~~ ^{topic}. Indeed the way the United Nations has evolved, seems to bear out a prediction by Montesquieu ^{that} 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 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 ~~dis~~ ^{ach} ~~sonance~~. 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 ~~clumsy~~ ^a heavy-footed and ~~light-minded~~. The quantity of its wordy ~~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, and ~~misunder~~ ^{cumulating in the holocaust} resolutions, distorting the facts, barring the prospects of peaceful settlement ~~and~~ and spreading ~~defamatory~~ ⁱⁿ ~~denunciatory~~ 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~~, 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 ^{troopers} ~~troopers~~ went on an organized rampage, demolishing ~~Jewish~~ ^{the} property and burning their places of worship throughout ~~Germany~~ ^{the country}. These fires were the prelude to the ~~world wide~~ ¹⁴ ~~conflagration~~ ^{years later}, which engulfed the whole world. Out of the ashes, from the scorched earth arose the United Nations pledged "to practice tolerance and ~~to~~ ^{to} promote and encourage respect for human rights." This ~~anti~~ ^{anti} ~~racist~~ ^{anti} ~~antisemitic~~ resolution encourages ~~not~~ ^{the} respect, but abuse and hatred worthy of those who had plunged the world into the abyss of war and millions of my people into the Nazi furnaces. To call the Zionist movement, one of the first ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~national~~ ^{universal} ~~liberation~~ movements of this century, racist is a travesty of common decency and ~~unheard~~ ^a ~~shameful~~ ^{gross} ~~perersion~~ of the struggle against racial discrimination in which the Jewish people, one of its principal victims, participated. The ~~United Nations~~ ^{United Nations} Resolution of the ~~United Nations~~ ^{United Nations}

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

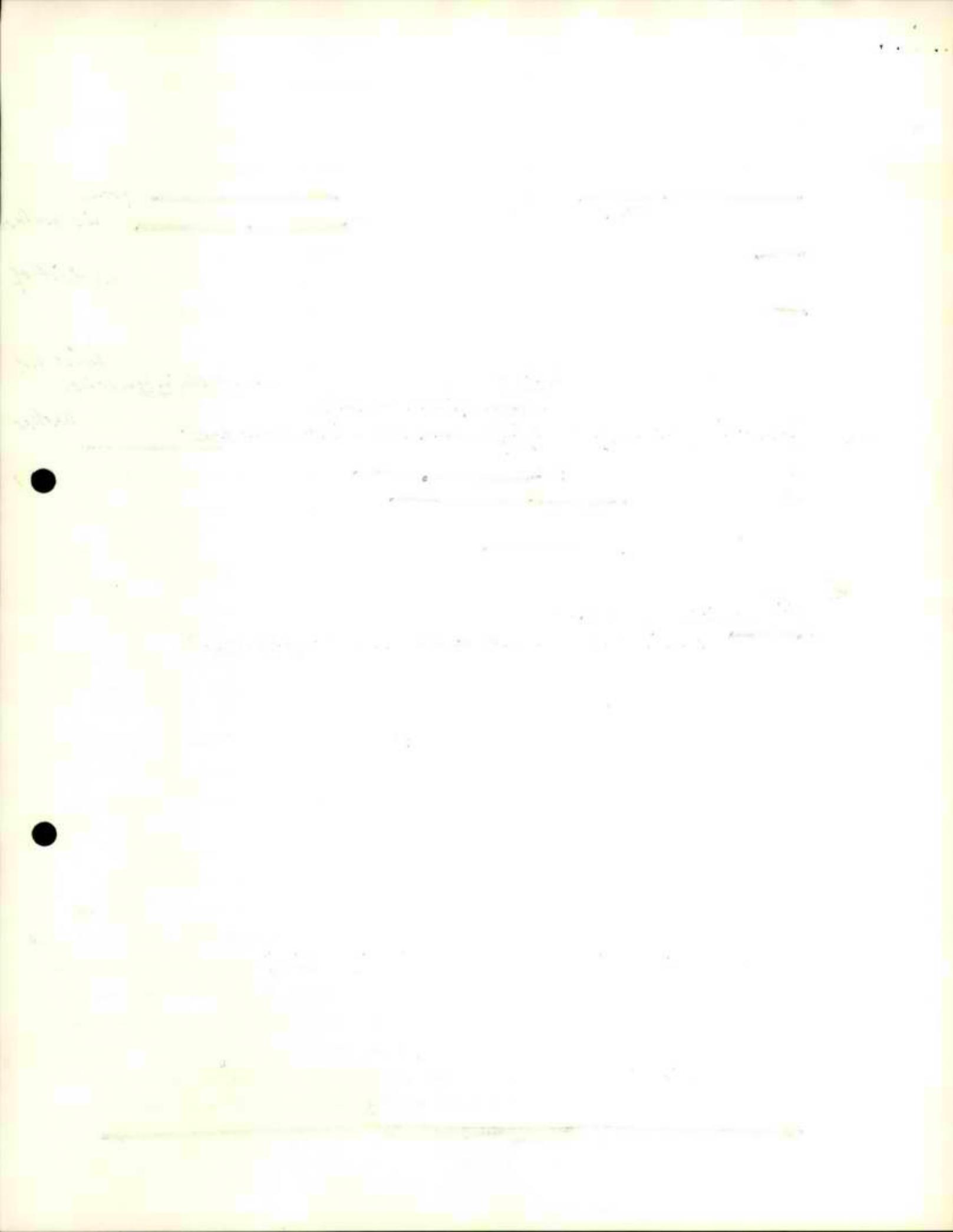
I have not come here to refute the mass of totally ~~hurled~~ ^{from certain quarters} ~~malicious allegations~~ ^{hurled} ~~against my country~~ ^{by certain quarters} ~~quarters with perennial regularity, nor do I intend to enter into another round of rancorous exchanges.~~ ^{here} ~~My aim is to promote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

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

Basic concepts

1. From the basic concepts 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 the a world of peace and the universality of the human destiny. No U.N. resolution formulated the call ^{universal} 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 in history. These 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-Israeli relations.



-4-

Israel relations. Its disavowal would invite unmitigated disaster. Its fulfillment invoke bountiful blessing for all the peoples of the Middle East.

2. It was the awareness of the torment that had been inflicted on the Jewish people; it was the eruption of an elementary sense of justice to provide the remnants of the holocaust with a safe haven, it was the recognition that only sovereign independence can assure the physical and spiritual survival of the Jewish people, which moved the United Nations in its momentous decision of November 29th, 1947, to recognize ~~the right of the Jewish people to~~ ^{ib} ^{to return to} national independence and sovereign statehood in its ancient homeland.

Among the many voices, ~~who~~ ^{the} ~~as~~ ⁱⁿ who expressed these motivations, was also that of the Soviet representative Andrei Gromyko, today the President of the Soviet Union, who said: "The Jewish people had been closely linked to Palestine for a considerable period in history. As the result of the war the Jews as a people have suffered more than any other people. The total number of the Jewish population who perished at the hands of the Nazi executioners is estimated at approximately six million. The Jewish people were therefore striving to create a state of their own, and it would be unjust to deny them this right."

3. The root cause for the unsettled situation was the decision of the Arab states to frustrate the United Nations decision of 1947 by the recourse to ~~the use of force~~ ^{armed aggression}. Their armies marched from all sides on the emerging State of Israel. ~~It~~ ^{They} openly declared war, not only against Israel, but also against the United Nations, which was not prepared to defend its ^{own} decision. This initial failing has left a deep mark on the evolution of events in the Middle East. — Since the inception of its independence Israel's national existence has been assailed by war, innumerable acts of hostility, by heinous acts of terror and a constant torrent of verbal abuse. The United Nations ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~itself~~ ^{itself} ~~to the~~ ^{themselves} acquiesced in a situation where the Arab ^{advocates} claimed for ~~it~~ ^{themselves} the rights of war and ~~for~~ ^{from} Israel the duties

of peace.

4. Continuation basic concepts

4 The principles and provisions of Israel's Declaration of Independence

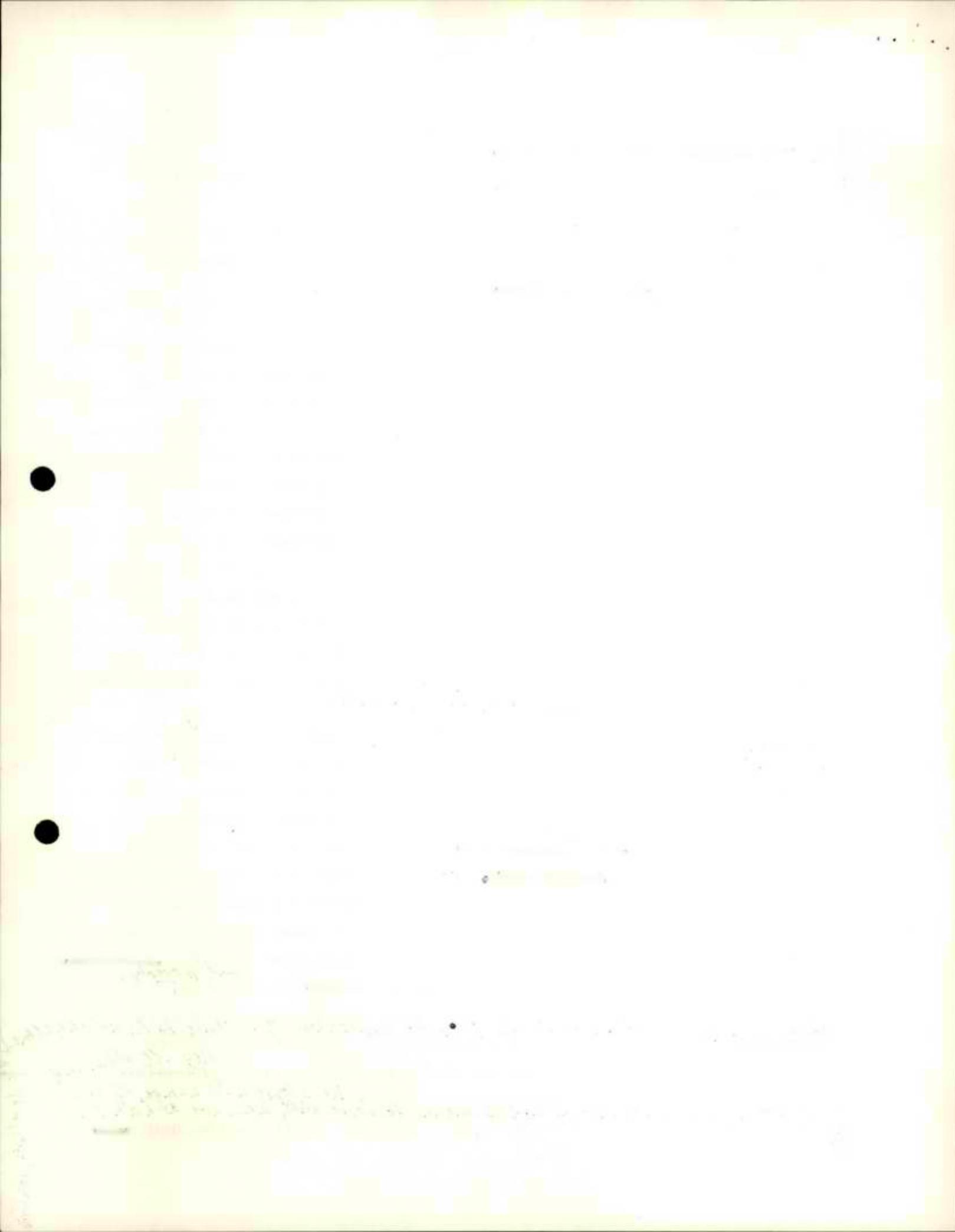
Quote a few appropriate parts.

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 [REDACTED] 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 11th, 1949.*

5. Israel's relations with the "Three worlds", West, East and so called ^{the} 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 is not only a theological belief, but an imminently practical necessary approach [REDACTED] 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. The problems of pollution and population of and poverty.

development of urban centers, of the application of science to agriculture, 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 can be known to us and the means to cope with them are at hand. The United Nations was founded, when man was still earthbound.



Since ~~then~~ he has reached out into ~~the universe~~ space and his global outlook has changed. Convincing evidence ~~recently~~ ^{by} ~~achieved~~ ^{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."

6. W But meanwhile we live in a ~~tria~~^{fragmented} tripartite world, and have to cope with the ~~existing~~^W political realities. Israel is part of the Western democratic world by 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 history*

The Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states were in the ~~past~~ ^{present} ~~and the~~ ^{now} not unknown territory on Israel's political map. Until 1967, when the Soviet Union ~~and the~~ ^{now} and its allies, with the laudable exception of Rumania and the regrettable addition of Yugoslavia, severed their diplomatic relations, Israel enjoyed normal, and at times friendly ties, with all of them. The process of Soviet-Israeli alienation, which began in the midfifties, when the Soviet Union progressively aligned 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.

The imbalance prevailing in Soviet policies in the Middle East, ~~and helping~~ extending their friendship ~~exclusively~~ to the Arab side, increases not only the ~~regional~~ tensions, but deprives the Soviet Union of any ~~status~~ ~~position~~ diplomatic influence on the ~~a~~ peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The fact that Moscow boycotts Israel diplomatically, defames it publicly, offends it by harrassing Soviet jewry; and pains it by the refusal to let Soviet Jews go freely to Israel, impairs gravely the ability of the Soviet Union to play a constructive role in the peace process.

4 The resumption of the dialogue between the Soviet Union and Israel is not only an indispensable requisite for the normalization and restoration of their relations, but no less a necessary means for the reduction of dangerous tensions in the area. Such a step could prepare the ground for the Soviet Union to make ~~positive~~ ^{constructive} contributions to the advance of peace and stability in the Middle East; reduce the danger of superpower confrontation; and alleviate the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Relations with the countries of the Third World. Assume that Foreign Ministry can supply a choice of texts. Suggest to present Israel's struggle for independence as part and precursor of the great colonial liberation movement in which the United Nations played an imminent role as catalyst which changed the political and human face of the world. The swift and massive emergence of dependent peoples from national slavery into the bright of sovereign identity, is undoubtedly one of the most stirring and gratifying achievements of the United Nations. It is matched by its accomplishments in the fight against want and disease in the developing countries.

III. Israel's peace program. by himself
Assume that PM will wish to deal with this central part of his speech. Suggested headings: Impediments and impulses of the peace process. Impediments: continuance of belligerence; the all or nothing attitude; refusal to enter into direct face to face negotiations; the illusion of Israel as a passing apparition; the deep seated rancours; the growing fanaticism; the role of the terror organization as principal saboteur of peace efforts; the contentious refugees and the interrefined rivalries.

(X) see attached file.

Re-spreading by military means
Impulses: Alleviating awareness that military solution of conflict
(1) 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 ~~planned~~ ~~is~~ 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 Implementation Resolution 242; Camp David framework accord.: Israel agreed to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; 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 and to determine by the end of a transitional period of five years the final status 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.

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
4 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 ~~solutions~~ 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. ~~state that~~ ^{AsL} was the vision of the people of Israel throughout its long and toruous march through history. It is the vision that upheld its spirit ~~H~~ and animated it in its return to its ancient homeland. The time is ripe and the opportunity is at hand to transform ~~justly~~ ^{Logico} 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 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: ACT. ~~fact~~

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 ~~repeatedly~~ 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.

*Q.V.O.
Nonambitiously
for terrorism*

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.

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 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. Plan. 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 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.

for both Now, I call on both our peoples as one: let us focus on *Peace*—
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 world 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} *inspiring example*
~~of envy to others.~~ *a course 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 it is acquiring vast quantities of advanced Soviet weapons in* Should Syria demonstrate a new strategic outlook, we shall gladly welcome her at the negotiating table. *key to option* *order to launch* *continuing* *of aggression*

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.

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 from / oxy.

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 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, ^{and} 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 ^{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 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. ^(one time) *such a direct meeting will be to conduct*
- 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.

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3. 8. 11.

13

- 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~~ willing to reciprocate this call. *do the same*

- 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).

משרד - הבשורה - הкриיה - ת"א
מחרט נמר מ"ש ב: דף 01
טופס מברך לפקסים מיליה: (225):
מחרט נמר (2): אל: רמש"ן - אברהם בן יוסף - נבי ירושה -
לען ובן בלבב: (10): 15.16:40
לידיעות: דרגת דחיפות:
בחול: סוג בטחון:
עד סודיו ועד בכלל:
מאט: לשכת ראש הממשלה
סימון המחבר: : בהמשך לשלך: : בתשובה לשלך: : שמור
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הנדון: חומר הרצאה - ראש הממשלה

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1. מצ"ב חומר בנדנו.

2. אבא העבר חומר זה לעיון דיביוד סוייר
טל' : 3853 - 288 - - בית
ר' 212 - 245 - 0047 משרד

3. אבא אישורך על העברת החומר וקבלתו.

October 14, 1985

PRIME MINISTER'S ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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In 1948, the Palestinians could have had a state alongside Israel. Yet they rejected the 1947 Partition Plan adopted by this organization. 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.

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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.

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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.

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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.
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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.
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- 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 if 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.

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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.

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 if willing to reciprocate this call.

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.

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.

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.

curb irresponsibility
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 Israel's 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!

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.

* 27. (1) 15000 2. (1) 15000 3. (1) 15000 4. (1) 15000

Large numbers of people are leaving the city to go to the suburbs. *
People are moving to the suburbs because they want to live in a smaller, more peaceful place. Many people are buying houses in the suburbs because they can afford to pay less for a house there. Some people are moving to the suburbs because they want to be closer to their work or school. Others are moving to the suburbs because they want to have more space for their families and pets. Some people are moving to the suburbs because they want to live in a more rural area with less traffic and pollution. Overall, the trend of people moving to the suburbs is a significant factor in the growth of the suburbs.

1937-2

receptor, receptor - signals to spine (B1) - right side *
This is the only signal only

~~Then just go, what can I do. If I know you want me to
. Me to +, what does what you~~

WYDKE ~~WYDKE~~, 1000 1/2 100, 1000 1/2 100, *
1000 1/2 100, 1000 1/2 100, 1000 1/2 100, *

Peru - when 3° pink. opp. green & blue - Peru - cork *

tell right off the pocket and repeat just like *

What can we do to reduce the risk of getting sick? *

138 17th October 1941

113 1st pk - next 113 1st pk & Met - next

1. *U. S. Fish Commission, 1874-1881* (1887). *Report of the U. S. Fish Commission, 1874-1881* (1887).

Now when would it ever be the first & the last!

כָּגָרָכָה

נְקָנָה

לְקָנָה וְלְקָנָה

Topic A, Bed 136, cabinet, September
From: Gideon Hailevi

10 October 1985

Re: P. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 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6. when referring to Israel's spiritual heritage and the teachings of the prophets there should be and will be more elaboration including prophecies of judgement swords into plowshares, psalm 46 etc sufficient to support within the relevant parts in my draft.

7. The desire and aspiration to see up to Israel Egypt peace should be expressed more specifically.

In reference to the inhabited areas note should be made:

1. The Israel Arab conflict should not be singled out ^{as} the root cause of all the illness in the Middle East, enlisting it from Israel to culpability for (un)true history is the Palestine problem this must cause the framers to make an observance

of the Charter and customs and traditions the denial of the principle of right of negotiated settlement

10. Terrorism The Fatah should be recommended again to end with endorsement of this or a version "verbesserter" by any future prophet.

11. The speech will be closely followed by the Israeli public, and not only by an international audience. It must therefore also speak to the hearts and minds of our people here