

מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

משרד ראש הממשלה

משרד

הדלק בתיק 1

לשכת ראש הממשלה -

אברהם

7/1985

הדלק בתיק 3



שם: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס - אר

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מחלקה

מס' ח'יק מקורי, יולוס ל.ח.מס.

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STATEMENT ON NEW ISRAELI ECONOMIC REFORM MEASURES

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Prime Minister Peres and his Government for the courage and foresight they have shown in moving boldly to address Israel's serious economic problems.

While the full details of the program have yet to be worked out, and further negotiations with the Histadrut and Manufacturers Association seem likely, the new economic measures already announced are far ranging and include new cuts in government budget expenditures, additional sizeable reductions in consumer subsidies, a realignment of the shekel exchange rate, a reduction in public sector employment, and a three-month wage/price freeze. The new economic measures, if fully and vigorously implemented, represent an important step forward in Israel's continuing efforts to stabilize its economy and restore growth and prosperity.

The United States understands from its own experience the difficulty of taking such decisions. We also recognize that there are no substitutes for forthright action in these circumstances. That is why we are committed to support Israel in this important undertaking with supplemental economic assistance, which we expect will soon be approved by Congress and will be available in a way most helpful to Israel.

✍

4.7.1985

רישום פגישה: ראה"מ - זאב וולפסון  
מיום 4 ביולי 1985

וולפסון:

מוסר מכתב מאיננווי. הסבר למכתב: קשה לדבר בשם ישראל כאשר נציגי ישראל מביעים הסתייגות. מכאן חשיבות ביקורו של נמרוד. הבעיה הייתה קנאה: דני איש נפלא אך אם היוזמה אינה שלו יש לו בעיה עם זה. נפגשתי עם דני ועם תום דיין ונראה שהכל בסדר עכשיו. בפגישתך עם דיין - רצוי שתבשר לו כי אתה שמח שהעניין מתקדם.

ההדים לתכנית הכלכלית שלכם - מצויינים.

בענין אמל"ח לירדן - 80% מההצלחה היתה של קסטן. אם כי בסנאט, הכל מכירים באיננווי כסנטור הבכיר. הסיכויים היום - מעל 50% להצלחת היוזמה. מכאן החשיבות שבגיבוי ראה"מ.

ראה"מ:

תעמוד בקשר עם נמרוד.

וולפסון:

יש בעיות פוליטיות שאתה צריך לפתור אישית. למשל, מודעי מגיע לווינגטון בספטמבר. קסטן ינסה למנוע התנגדות הממשל. הבעיה נותרת לגבי חברים בולטים פחות בבית. חשוב לנצל את מודעי בהקשר זה.

ראה"מ:

אני עצמי אגיע לארה"ב בסוף ספטמבר - ראשית אוקטובר.

וולפסון:

מבקש לשלב בכך פגישה מצומצמת עם כמה מורשים וסנטורים בנושא זה. קסטן מנסה לדחות זאת - ואיננווי מנסה לקדם.



חינוך יהודי בצרפת - מבקש פגישה עם ראה"מ ומודעי לניצול הקרן המשותפת.  
במאמץ מוגבל לעשות הרבה.

ראה"מ:

נשב שלשחנו לאחר ישיבת הממשלה כיום א'.

נמרוח  
נודיע

המשרד	בטחון	ניו-יורק
120	89	25

NEWS SUMMARY - THURSDAY - JULY 4, 1985

\*\*\*WASH. POST-Goshko- David Kimche said yesterday that he believes Syria has the power to free seven kidnaped Americans still held by Shiite Moslem extremists in Lebanon, and he added that if the US asks, Israel probably would try to help the seven by delaying release of some of its Lebanese Shiite prisoners. He said, "We believe that if the Syrians had really been so completely helpful as they've made themselves out to be over this latest episode, we believe they could have done something about the seven." (Article cabled in full)



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 סוג כסחוני.....  
 דחיות.....  
 תאריך וז"ח.....  
 מס' מבקש.....

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25 79 120

WASH. TIMES-O'Leary-The US is considering offering a \$550,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the Shiite terrorists who hijacked TWA Flt. 847. Spokes noted that the secretary of state is authorized by law to provide rewards up to that amount in cases involving international terrorism.

851515



המסרד	בטחון	ניו-יורק
120	89	25

NEWS SUMMARY - FRIDAY - JULY 5, 1985

WASH. POST-Hoffman-Reagan firmly told Assad this week that the US expected his help in winning the release of seven Americans still held captive in Lebanon, administration sources said yesterday. Assad reacted negatively to Reagan's call and "didn't like being told" by the US what he was expected to do. Assad's cool response to Reagan could indicate that he does not intend to be as cooperative in winning release of the seven.









# official text

REMARKS BY  
CHARGE D'AFFAIRES ROBERT A. FLATEN  
AT THE RECEPTION HONORING THE 209TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE  
JULY 4, 1985

MR. PRIME MINISTER, MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, MEMBERS OF THE CABINET, MEMBERS OF THE SUPREME COURT, MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND MANY, MANY FRIENDS. YOUR PRESENCE HERE THIS EVENING IS AN ELOQUENT TESTIMONY TO THE STRENGTH OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND OUR TWO PEOPLES. YOU HONOR HERE MY COUNTRY AND THE IDEALS ON WHICH IT WAS FOUNDED. IT IS MY PRIVILEGE TO BE ABLE TO SHARE WITH YOU THIS EVENING THE STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE 209TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR INDEPENDENCE. I QUOTE:

"THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE ON JULY 4TH, 1776, MARKED BOTH THE BEGINNING OF A NEW NATION AND THE START OF A GREAT EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS. THAT DAY IN PHILADELPHIA A REPUBLIC WAS BORN BASED ON THE IDEA OF LIBERTY FOR ALL. THE 4TH OF JULY IS AMERICA'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION BUT IT IS ALSO A DAY OF IMPORTANCE FOR ANYONE WHO BELIEVES IN FREEDOM. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OPENED GOVERNMENT TO THE PEOPLE AS NEVER BEFORE. EACH INDIVIDUAL WAS ACKNOWLEDGED AS POSSESSING CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS AND THESE RIGHTS IN TURN ENABLED OUR PEOPLE TO TAKE PART IN THEIR POLITICAL SYSTEM. HERE WAS A TRUE REVOLUTION, EMBODYING THE IDEA THAT GOVERNMENT REQUIRED THE CONSENT OF THOSE IT GOVERNED. OVERNIGHT, AMERICANS WERE ACKNOWLEDGED AS CITIZENS OF A FREE LAND WHERE THEY HAD ONCE BEEN ONLY COLONIAL SUBJECTS OF A DISTANT MONARCH.

TO THIS DAY, THIS ELOQUENT DOCUMENT DETAILING THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY IS AS MOVING AS IT IS TIMELY. IT CONTINUES TO HOLD PROFOUND MEANING FOR ALL OF US. WE SHOULD REMEMBER THE WORDS OF JOHN ADAMS WHEN HE WROTE OF ITS SIGNING TO HIS WIFE ABIGAIL AS 'THE MOST MEMORABLE EPOCH IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICA. I AM APT TO BELIEVE IT WILL BE CELEBRATED BY SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS AS THE GREAT ANNIVERSARY FESTIVAL. IT OUGHT TO BE COMMEMORATED AS THE DAY OF DELIVERANCE BY SOLEMN ACTS OF DEVOTION TO GOD ALMIGHTY.'

"THIS INDEPENDENCE DAY, 1985, LET US BE GUIDED BY THE WISDOM OF THE GREAT AMERICAN STATESMAN AND OF ALL OF OUR FOUNDING FATHERS. AS WE COMMEMORATE 209 YEARS OF LIBERTY TODAY LET US PRAY FOR GOD'S BLESSING AND HIS HELP IN SAFEGUARDING THE PRECIOUS LEGACY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE."





AS JOHN ADAMS PREDICTED, AS FREE PEOPLE WE TRY TO REMIND OURSELVES AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR OF THE ORIGINS OF OUR INDEPENDENCE. THE OPENING PHRASES OF OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE ARE VERY FAMILIAR: "WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN UNALIENABLE RIGHTS, AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. BUT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED."

WHAT IS A LITTLE LESS FAMILIAR TO SOME OF US FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE IS THE LIST OF ITS GRIEVANCES AND CONCERNS THAT SUPPORTED THIS ELOQUENT INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT. SOME OF THESE WERE VERY SPECIFIC, BUT THERE ARE SEVERAL THREADS THAT RUN THROUGH THE DECLARATION. THERE ARE SPECIFIC STATEMENTS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES, THERE ARE SEVERAL REFERENCES TO THE ESSENTIAL NEED FOR AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND TRIAL BY JURY. AND THERE IS A CLEAR STATEMENT OF THE NEED FOR THE SUBJECTION OF MILITARY AUTHORITY TO CIVIL AUTHORITY. THESE ARE THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF A GOVERNMENT DESIGNED BY AND FOR THE GOVERNED.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE CONCLUDES THAT: "WE, THEREFORE, ARE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA...IN THE NAME, AND BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOOD PEOPLE OF THESE COLONIES, SOLEMNLY PUBLISH AND DECLARE, THAT THESE UNITED COLONIES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES." TO THIS END THE SIGNORS OF THE DECLARATION PLEDGED "TO EACH OTHER THEIR LIVES, THEIR FORTUNES AND THEIR SACRED HONOR."

IT IS TRADITIONAL IN MANY AMERICAN CELEBRATIONS OF THE 4TH OF JULY, CELEBRATIONS WHICH ARE HELD IN EVERY TOWN, VILLAGE AND COMMUNITY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, TO REMEMBER ALSO THE TIME WHEN OUR NATION, CREATED BY ITS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, CAME UNDER ITS MOST SEVERE STRAIN. IT WAS DURING THAT CIVIL WAR THAT ABRAHAM LINCOLN RESTATED THE COMMITMENT TO OUR IDEALS IN THE FAMOUS GETTYSBURG ADDRESS, AN ADDRESS WHICH IS OFTEN READ AT 4TH OF JULY CELEBRATIONS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. AND I QUOTE THE CONCLUSION OF THAT MEMORABLE ADDRESS: "THE WORLD WILL LITTLE NOTE, NOR LONG REMEMBER WHAT WE SAY HERE, BUT IT CAN NEVER FORGET WHAT THEY DID HERE. IT IS FOR US THE LIVING, RATHER, TO BE DEDICATED HERE TO THE UNFINISHED WORK WHICH THEY WHO FOUGHT HERE HAVE THUS FAR SO NOBLY ADVANCED. IT IS RATHER FOR US TO BE HERE DEDICATED TO THE GREAT TASK REMAINING BEFORE US - THAT FROM THESE HONORED DEAD WE TAKE INCREASED DEVOTION TO THAT CAUSE FOR WHICH THEY GAVE THE LAST FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION - THAT WE HERE HIGHLY RESOLVE THAT THESE DEAD SHOULD NOT HAVE DIED IN VAIN - THAT THIS NATION, UNDER GOD, SHALL HAVE A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM - AND THAT GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE, AND FOR THE PEOPLE, SHALL NOT PERISH FROM THIS EARTH."



IT IS WITH A PROFOUND SENSE OF SATISFACTION THAT, AS I READ FROM THE TEXTS THAT DEFINE THE IDEALS THAT HAVE GUIDED OUR NATION OVER THE YEARS, I KNOW THAT THESE IDEALS ARE SHARED BY THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL. YOU ALSO KNOW THE COST AND THE AGONY OF TRYING TO LIVE UP TO THESE IDEALS. YOU HAVE SHARED WITH US DURING THE PAST THREE WEEKS THE AGONY OF INNOCENT AMERICANS WHOSE FREEDOM WAS BRUTALLY INTERRUPTED. WE ARE THANKFUL TONIGHT THAT THEY ARE FREE, BUT HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN THAT ONE OF THEM WILL NEVER RETURN AND OTHERS REMAIN IN THE HANDS OF KIDNAPPERS. WE HAVE DEEPLY APPRECIATED THE UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT OF ISRAEL DURING THIS ORDEAL.

AT THE END OF THE ORDEAL PRESIDENT REAGAN SAID, AMONG OTHER THINGS, AND I QUOTE: "THIS DRAMA HAS REMINDED US HOW PRECIOUS AND FRAGILE ARE THE FREEDOMS AND STANDARDS OF DECENCY OF CIVILIZED SOCIETIES; HOW GREATLY CIVILIZED LIFE DEPENDS ON TRUST IN OTHER HUMAN BEINGS. BUT HOW THOSE VALUES WE HOLD MOST DEAR MUST ALSO BE DEFENDED WITH BRAVERY...A BRAVERY THAT MAY LIE QUIET AND DEEP, BUT WILL RISE TO ANSWER OUR CALL IN EVERY TIME OF PERIL. FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE HAVE ENEMIES. THEY MUST ALSO HAVE STEADFAST FRIENDS." THOSE OF US WHO ARE GUESTS IN ISRAEL ARE PLEASED TO BE ABLE TO ADD, ON THIS 4TH OF JULY, THAT WE KNOW ISRAEL IS ONE OF THOSE STEADFAST FRIENDS.

MR PRIME MINISTER, I WOULD LIKE TO PROPOSE A TOAST. A TOAST TO A RENEWED COMMITMENT TO OUR SHARED IDEALS OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ALL PEOPLE. AND TO THE CONTINUING CLOSE, FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL, FRIENDSHIP WHICH IS BASED ULTIMATELY ON THOSE SHARED IDEALS.

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THE FIRST PART OF THE BOOK IS A HISTORY OF THE  
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TO THE PRESENT TIME. THE SECOND PART IS A  
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משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

טופס מברק צפון

אל: סמישראל וושינגטון

דף 1 מתוך 3 דפים

סיווג בטחוני: שמור

דחיפות: בהול

03/730

תאריך וזמן רישום:

101

מס. מברק:

לשימוש  
מח  
הקשר

תאריך וזמן חיבור (ימולא ע"י השולח) 16.30 3.7.85  
לידיעת: רוזן.

להלן אגרת רה"מ לנשיא רייגן. אנא העבר האיגרת לתעודתה. המקור בדיפ'.

**יו"ט י - נא פלביא בינצ'ה**

לשכת בר-און

טח רמג ג/א ג/א ג/א  
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ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem

July 3, 1985.

Dear Mr. President;

It was on the 4th. of July 1976 that Americans joined us in a sigh of relief on the release of victims of terrorist air-piracy from Entebbe, Uganda.

On the eve of the 4th. of July 1985 Israelis of all walks of life join you, the American public and the families of the released hostages in a sigh of relief on the safe return of American victims from yet another incident of terrorist air-piracy. This time, too, relief is marred by grief over the brutal murder of an innocent passenger.

~~Eight~~ <sup>Nine</sup> years and several thousand miles apart, both incidents testify to the unity of purpose and common resolve of both our countries to stand firm against terrorism. This recognition underlined our unqualified support for your policy during the crisis and our determination not to undermine it by word or deed. Indeed, throughout the 17-day ordeal we followed with admiration the manner in which the Administration under your leadership handled the problem. It was an inspiration to us all. It was a clear manifestation of Thomas Jefferson's observation -- as true today as ever -- that "the care of human life and happiness .... is the first and only legitimate object of good government."

With this legacy in mind, may I convey to you, on behalf of the people and government of Israel, sincere wishes for a happy Fourth of July and a prosperous 209th. year of Independence.

/2.

President Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
WASHINGTON - DC  
United States of America

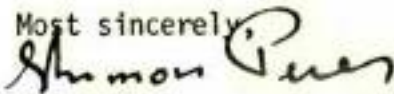
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Every Fourth of July is a testimony to the unlimited horizon of the possible for those dedicated to democracy, justice and human rights. This year, more than ever, the message goes out loud and clear throughout the world, as your vision unleashes human curiosity into the heavens, while not abandoning responsibilities and challenges here on earth. It echoes in our minds and hearts as we stand in awe of America's dynamic new spirit, salute your accomplishments, cherish your friendship and look forward to ever-increasing cooperation.

On a personal note, may I add that the coordination and communication with you personally and with other members of your Administration, have been of my most rewarding experiences in office. I am dedicated to intensifying both. I am convinced that they hold the key to the successful pursuit of peace in our region and prosperity for its inhabitants.

Please convey my warmest personal regards to Mrs. Reagan.

Most sincerely,  
  
Shimon Peres



סגירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אלו המשרד

סיון 1977  
 דף.....מסמך.....דפים  
 סוג כסחובי...סודי  
 דחיסות.....  
 מאריך וזיח...031200 יולי  
 085.....

לשכת רוה"מ.

באגרת לנשיא יש לתקן - מבצע יונתן היה ב-1976 ולא 1977  
 ועל כן יש לשנות במקום eight ל-nine.  
 יש לשנות על כן במכתב המקורי כשתעבירוהו בדואר. באגרת  
 כאן שינינו כנ"ל.

רוח

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ראש הממשלה  
THE PRIME MINISTER

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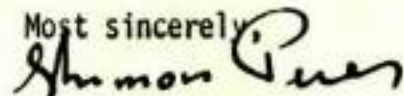


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Please convey my warmest personal regards to Mrs. Reagan.

Most sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Shimon Peres". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Shimon" and last name "Peres" clearly distinguishable.

Shimon Peres

# ידיעות לעתונות

ט"ו בתמוז תשמ"ה  
4 ביולי 1985

דף מס' 3

(לעמ 3) ברכת ראש-הממשלה לנשיא ארה"ב לרגל יום העצמאות האמריקאי:

(ירושלים) 4.7.85- בתשובה לאגרתו של הנשיא רייגן לרגל יום העצמאות האמריקאי, החל ביום ה-4 ביולי, שיגר ראש-הממשלה, מר שמעון פרס, איגרת לנשיא ארה"ב, רונלד רייגן. להלן תוכנה:

"ידידי הנשיא,

היה זה הרביעי ביולי 1976 שעה הארה"ב הצטרפה לאנחת הרווחה שלנו, לרגל שחרור קרבנות הפירטיות הטוריסטיות באויר מאנטבה שבאוגנדה.

ערב הרביעי ביולי 1985, ישראלים מכל רחבי הארץ מצטרפים אליך, אל הציבור האמריקאי ואל משפחות המשוחררים באנחת רווחה לאחר שובם בשלום של אמריקאים, קרבנות הפעילות הפירטית הטוריסטית האווירית הנוספת.

גם הפעם, אנחת הרווחה מלווה באבל על הרצח האכזרי של נוסע חף מפשע. ואם כי התרחשו שני האירועים במרחק של 9 שנים ואלפי קילומטרים, הנה שניהם מעידים על שותפות המטרה ועל הנחישות המשותפת לשתי מדינותינו לעמוד ללא חת כנגד הטרור. הכרה זו הנחתה את תמיכתי הבלתי מסויגת במדיניותך במשך המשבר, ונחישותנו שלא לשבשה במלה או במעשה.

אכן, במשך כל 17 ימי הנסיון הקשה, עקבנו בהערצה אחר האופן בו הממשל האמריקאי, בהנהגתך, טיפל בבעיה. היה בכך ביטוי הולם לקביעתו של תומס ג'פרסון, התקפה עדיין, כתמיד, כי "הדאגה לחיי האדם ואושרו... היא המטרה הלגיטימית הראשונה, אף הבלעדית, של ממשל טוב".

על רקע זה, הרשה לי להביע בפניך בשם העם והממשלה בישראל, איחולים כנים ליום חג מאושר ושנת פריחה בעקבותיו.

כל רביעי ביולי מהווה עדות לאופקים האפשריים הבלתי מוגבלים של אלה המטורים לדמוקרטיה, לצדק ולזכויות האדם. השנה, יותר מתמיד, מסר זה נשמע ברורות ברחבי העולם כולו, שעה שחזונך מזניק את הסקרנות האנושית אל השחקים מבלי להתכחש למחוייבות ולאיתגרים על פני האדמה. מסר זה מהדהד במוחנו ובלבבנו שעה שאנו עומדים נפעמים מול רוחה הדינמית המתחדשת של ארה"ב, מוקירים את ידידותה וצופים לשיתוף פעולה מזהדק והולך.

ברצוני להוסיף על בסיס אישי, כי התיאום והקשר עמך אישית, ועם אזורים בממשלך, נמנים על החוויות המהנות ביותר בכהונתי. אני חש מחויבות להעמקתם בעתיד. אני משוכנע כי בהם טמון המפתח להצלחת החיפוש אחר שלום לאזורנו ורווחה לתושביו.

שלך בנאמנות

(-----)

שמעון פרס."



# Press bulletin

JERUSALEM, 4 JULY 1985

## PRIME MINISTER PERES'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT REAGAN ON FOURTH OF JULY

THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A LETTER SENT BY PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES TO U.S. PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN YESTERDAY (3 JULY) ON THE OCCASION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE DAY:

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

IT WAS ON THE FOURTH OF JULY 1976 THAT AMERICANS JOINED US IN A SIGH OF RELIEF ON THE RELEASE OF VICTIMS OF TERRORIST AIR PIRACY FROM ENTEBBE, UGANDA.

ON THE EVE OF THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1985, ISRAELIS FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE JOIN YOU, THE AMERICAN PUBLIC, AND THE FAMILIES OF THE RELEASED HOSTAGES, IN A SIGH OF RELIEF ON THE SAFE RETURN OF AMERICAN VICTIMS FROM YET ANOTHER INCIDENT OF TERRORIST AIR PIRACY. THIS TIME, TOO, RELIEF IS MARRED BY GRIEF OVER THE BRUTAL MURDER OF AN INNOCENT PASSENGER.

NINE YEARS AND SEVERAL THOUSAND MILES APART, BOTH INCIDENTS TESTIFY TO THE UNITY OF PURPOSE AND COMMON RESOLVE OF BOTH OUR COUNTRIES TO STAND FIRM AGAINST TERRORISM. THIS RECOGNITION UNDERLINED OUR UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT FOR YOUR POLICY DURING THE CRISIS AND OUR DETERMINATION NOT TO UNDERMINE IT BY WORD OR DEED. INDEED, THROUGHOUT THE SEVENTEEN-DAY ORDEAL, WE FOLLOWED WITH ADMIRATION THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP HANDLED THE PROBLEM. IT WAS AN INSPIRATION TO US ALL. IT WAS A CLEAR MANIFESTATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON'S OBSERVATION -- AS TRUE TODAY AS EVER -- THAT "THE CARE OF HUMAN LIFE AND HAPPINESS...IS THE FIRST AND ONLY LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF GOOD GOVERNMENT."

WITH THIS LEGACY IN MIND, MAY I CONVEY TO YOU, ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, SINCERE WISHES FOR A HAPPY FOURTH OF JULY AND A PROSPEROUS 26TH YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

EVERY FOURTH OF JULY IS A TESTIMONY TO THE UNLIMITED HORIZON OF THE POSSIBLE FOR PEOPLE DEDICATED TO DEMOCRACY, JUSTICE, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS YEAR, MORE THAN EVER, THE MESSAGE GOES OUT LOUD AND CLEAR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AS YOUR VISION UNLEASHES HUMAN CURIOSITY INTO THE HEAVENS, WHILE NOT ABANDONING RESPONSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES HERE ON EARTH. IT ECHOES IN OUR MINDS AND HEARTS AS WE STAND IN AWE OF AMERICA'S DYNAMIC NEW SPIRIT, SALUTE YOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS, CHERISH YOUR FRIENDSHIP, AND LOOK FORWARD TO EVER-INCREASING COOPERATION.

ON A PERSONAL NOTE, MAY I ADD THAT THE COORDINATION AND COMMUNICATION WITH YOU PERSONALLY AND WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF YOUR ADMINISTRATION HAVE BEEN AMONG MY MOST REWARDING EXPERIENCES IN OFFICE. I AM DEDICATED TO INTENSIFYING BOTH. I AM CONVINCED THAT THEY HOLD THE KEY TO THE SUCCESSFUL PURSUIT OF PEACE IN OUR REGION AND PROSPERITY FOR ITS INHABITANTS.

PLEASE CONVEY MY WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS TO MRS. REAGAN.

MOST SINCERELY,

SHIMON PERES

# Press bulletin

JERUSALEM, 3 JULY 1985

PRESIDENT SENDS INDEPENDENCE DAY GREETINGS TO REAGAN

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE HAS COMMUNICATED THE FOLLOWING TEXT OF A CABLE SENT BY PRESIDENT CHAIM HERZOG TO U.S. PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN MARKING U.S. INDEPENDENCE DAY:

HIS EXCELLENCY RONALD REAGAN  
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOR MYSELF AND THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL I SEND YOUR EXCELLENCY ALL GOOD WISHES ON THE OCCASION OF AMERICA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY, THE GENESIS OF YOUR GREAT NATION WHICH HAS PLAYED SO CRUCIAL A ROLE IN INSPIRING DEMOCRACY THE WORLD OVER AND NOW LEADS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE HORRIBLE THREAT POSED BY TERRORISM TO LIBERTY AND THE RULE OF LAW, VALUES ROOTED IN THE ETHICAL TRADITION OUR TWO PEOPLES SHARE AND BINDING US IN FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION DEEPLY CHERISHED BY US.

CHAIM HERZOG

PRESIDENT OF ISRAEL

AC/NW

12:45 HOURS



# ידיעות לעיתונות

י"ד בתמוז תשמ"ה  
3 ביולי 1985

דף מספר 3

(לעמ 3) ברכת נשיא המדינה לנשיא רייגן לרגל יום העצמאות של ארה"ב:

נשיא המדינה חיים הרצוג שיגר היום ברכה לנשיא רונלד רייגן לרגל יום העצמאות של ארה"ב שיחול מחר. במברקו כותב הנשיא הרצוג: "בשם עם ישראל ובשמי אני שולח לך את מיטב איחולינו לרגל יום העצמאות של אמריקה, יום הולדתה של אומה גדולה אשר מלאה מאז תפקיד כה מכובד בחיזוק הדמוקרטיה ברחבי העולם והניצבת עתה בראש המאבק נגד הטרור המאיים על ערכי החירות ושלטון החוק. ערכים אלה מושרשים במורשת המוסרית המשותפת לשני עמינו והם הקושרים ביננו בקשרים אמיצים של ידידות ושיתוף פעולה".

לעמ/אב. 14.00



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71: הסברה. סע"ת. לש' מסנכ"ל. יועץ רזה"ם לחקשורת. מספ"א.  
לש' יגד. לע"כ.

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NYT- "Israel's Subtler Battle": Israel has often proved it can mobilize against formidable military threats, now it must prove it can mobilize to meet subtler yet deadly internal threat. The austerity program announced by the Cabinet is not likely to leave people hungry but it must sharply cut living standards if it is to make a difference. In the long run even more belt tightening will be needed. Non-defense government spending must be reduced enough to permit tax cuts. Inefficient public enterprises must be privatized. Most important, the protections and subsidies that make the Government a partner in every private company must be untangled. Is Israel ready for a heavy dose of free-market capitalism? If not, no conceivable help from its friends is likely to save it from stagnation.

NYT- Baker- " Plot With a Twist": When the Americans were first taken hostage the doers of the deed were called hijackers or terrorists. Because news had to come up with an exciting way to describe them. When Mr. Berri took control of the hostages and news people sensed that his motives might be civilized and that no good would come from calling a surrogate kidnapper a kidnapper even if he was pressing for the demands of the terrorists, they had to come up with a more polite word for Mr. Berri and his people. Thus the word for them became captors. Since they were essentially prison guards, the most precise word for them would be "screws". By calling them captors the Newsworld muzzled its instinct to help create the occasional happy ending.

WSJ- Joseph Fogel- ( editorial page staff ) " New Ways to Get at Old Nazis": John Demjanjuk may soon find himself extradited to Israel for alledged Nazi atrocities. His case is on accelerated appeal, experts say he could be on trial in Israel within months. No Nazi war criminal has ever been extradited to Israel . Adolf Eichmann was kidnapped in Argentina by Israeli agents, and tried and hanged in Jerusalem. According to the Israeli press consulate in New York, the same special laws that governed Eichmann's trial and sentence would apply to Mr. Demjanjuk were he to land in Israel. Since 1979 most Nazi prosecution in the U.S. has taken the form of revoking citizenship. Now with the Demjanjuk case the U.S. can try to deport many of these murderers. The Israeli extradition opens up new possibilities for dealing with these Nazis. The Simon Weisenthal center has begun to help individuals seeking money.

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damages from Nazis in civil actions. There is a message in the exploration of these methods successful or not to bring Nazis to trial, that is never too late for justice.

D.N. Nelson- " Their aims are off-target": For those who say that bringing the hostages home and not retaliating is a shameful defeat for the U.S. Let them remember what happened when the Israelis retaliated for the attack on their Ambassador in London. When they invaded Israel and over stayed their welcome it cost them 600 lives. If the Israelis experience holds any lesson for the U.S. it is that blind, massive retaliation is disastrous-not that it prevents future terrorism. With Berri and Assad we have more friends than enemies in the Mideast. The hostages were not freed out of pity for our weakness but fear of our strength.

Voice- Stanley Crouch-" Hostages": The hard fact is that respect comes in political situations from the ability to defend and the willingness to sacrifice blood, knowingly sacrifice blood. Once enemies of the U.S. really understand that the people of this nation have lost all sense of sacrifice, that the so-called "me generation" has resulted in an inability to see that there are common values that must be defended, we might find ourselves in a much more furiously boiling cauldron. Unfortunately the Israelis seem to have gotten us into this one, not by merely being there but by giving in to sentimentality and making an absurd exchange of 1120 prisoners for three of their own.

Post- Lerner- " Little to Celebrate": The symbol to keep in mind from this incident is not the cakes, flowers and farewell parties for the hostages, but the innocent diver who was beaten to death, whose only crime was that of being an American.

Post- Evans/Novak- " Chances are dim for retaliation": The quick release of the hostages will boost Reagan's polls in the short run but to let the brutal murder of Stethem go unanswered would underscore the view among some that there is no firm hand on the rudder. One presidential adviser concluded that the administration is in bad shape even though the President is looking good. One unstated reason for retaliating may be the lives of the other 7 Americans. However to consider this would only show terrorists that to capture more people is still further restraint of the American superpower. In the eyes of the world U.S. and Israel are joint losers in the hostage affair.

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Post- Gergen- "Victims should keep their mouths shut": Finding a version of the Stockholm Syndrome during the Korean war the army devised a code of behavior for prisoners of war. It said they would give their rank, serial, number and name, and make no oral or written statements disloyal to this country or its allies. We have heard the hostages voice sympathy to their captors cause. In the days of terrorism that now engulf us hostages are like POW's. The code of conduct cannot be imposed on citizens as it was on soldiers but it remains the best standard of conduct for all Americans.

Post- Latham- "Syria's Assad is riding high": Assad is the apparent winner in the aftermath of the hostage crisis. But the price for his cooperation could well be Lebanon, eventually letting him realize his goal of sweeping up the land into "Greater Syria". Another price could be allowing him a major role in the Camp David peace process. Such moves of course would antagonize the Israelis. The U.S. still denies that relations between the U.S. and Israel have suffered because of the hijacking. Officials acknowledge that Syria will have to make major concessions in the Camp David accord if he is to get what he wants in Lebanon. Officials believe that Assad is restless about the activities of Hezbollah.

Post- Fallon- "Flags, bands, and a lonely grave." The President visiting the grave of Robert Stethem was great television, just as the hostages welcome was great television. If the President is serious about a battle against terrorism, he should move to isolate Iran by every possible means. The image that remains most from the return of the hostages is the image of a quick kindly kiss from Nancy Reagan for Stethem's sister, and then departure--while three lonely people remained at the grave.

#### Press Reports

NYT- Boyd- pg 1.- The President welcomed home 30 of the 39 hostages to Andrews Air Force Base. In a short ceremony and speech the President vowed that the killers of Lt. Robert Stethem, the Navy diver killed, must be brought to justice. He also promised not to forget the 7 Americans still in Beirut. ( NYT- Transcript of the Presidents speech and pilot John Tertrake who spoke for the hosatges on their arrival) N.D, D.N. )



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NYT- Berger-pg. 1- In sharp contrast to the statements of sympathy for their captors, made earlier, the hostages began expressing feelings of bitterness and vengeance toward the hijackers. Until yesterday the comments the hostages were permitted to make to reporters often suggested approval of their treatment and sympathy with the hijackers principle demands that Israel release the detainees. But yesterday the comments bristled with rage. One person said he does not view the Arab as their saviours or portectors, he said if some of the hostages do he disagrees with them. ( N.D., NYT- Weinraub- " Hostages tell of Anger and Terror Ask for Justice Against their Captors", DN, Post )

DN- Gearty/Hanrahan- The co-pilot of TWA flight 847 got a hero's welcome at his parents home in Long Island. In an impromptu news conference outside his parents home Philip Maresca called the hijacking a terrible crime and said the hijackers should be apprehended and prosecuted. (N.D.)

Post- Allyn Conwell who had spoken as a representative of the hostages throughout the ordeal was replaced by the pilot as spokesperson for the group. The White House was reportedly enraged by his favorable comments about the terrorists. Conwell has extensive oil dealings in the Arab world. Conwell said that he was aware there was some controversy surrounding some of the things he had said, but some of the statements were misinterpreted.

NYT- Wald- The purser on the hijacked flight "saved lives, literally" according to one of the returning hostages. The only person not forced to be seated, she distributed food and water to the hostages and showed at the hijackers when they beat people. ( Post )

Post- Diaries written by hostages during their captivity have been seized by the FBI. They are culling the diaries for clues about the hijackers.

D.N. Rehm/ Joseph Volz- Several TWA hostages have positively identified the two gunmen who hijacked their plane. The FBI is also believed to have a good lead on which of the two men, whom they declined to name, killed the navy diver. Zev Schiff, military writer for Ha'aretz said the two hijackers were Aakal Hamiyeh, and Mustafa Dirani. U.S. officials called the Israeli report credible. Both are said to be opponents of Berri. ( N.D. )



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NYT- Taylor- The State Dept. said today that Lebanon was legally obligated to try the two hijackers or extradite them to the U.S. Unilateral actions might be considered if the Lebanese failed to comply. It said actions would be considered. Knowledgeable sources said that others who helped the hijackers are being investigated too. ( post )

NYT- Shenon- The Reagan administration has rejected a request by the FBI for \$11 million in extra funds for counterterrorism programs. Earlier this year when the Office of Budget and Management submitted the Administration's budget to Congress it added only about \$300,000 in counterterrorism funds to the bureau's budget.

ND- Pollsters say the President has emerged from the 17 day hostage crisis with his vaunted luck and popularity intact, if not strengthened for now.

NYT- The Lebanese government and political leaders expressed outrage over the Reagan administration's plan to take legal and diplomatic action to isolate the international airport here. Prime Minister Karami said that not Hezbollah, but rather the United States is to blame for the violence there. Prime Minister Thatcher said today she would back the U.S. in isolating the Beirut airport. ( N.D., D.N. )

N.D. The Iranian regime of Ayatollah Khomeini played an unexpected and important role in the release of the American hostages. Iranian officials intervened twice to urge the extremist pro-Khomeini Hezbollah group to let the hostages go. It helped to break the last minute snag late Saturday night. The move reflected a cautious Iranian desire to reopen relations with the West and pressure on Teheran from Syrian Pres. Assad according to U.S. officials. ( DN )

NYT- Israel will free 300 mainly Lebanese detainees in a group on Wednesday. Meanwhile Israeli sources said that Shultz expressed thanks to Peres for Israel's cooperation in the crisis. The other 435 detainees will remain in Atlit for the time being. ( Post )

NYT- Friedman- About 1.5 million Israeli workers went on strike today, bringing the country to a partial standstill in protest against the Government's ordered austerity measures. For the most part however

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the public greeted the economic package with relief. The Knesset endorsed the Cabinets emergency economic plan today. Virtually none of those who stayed away from work participated in portests. The beaches were full. ( N.D., Post, WSJ )

N.D. A group of Holocaust survivors and representatives of groups dealing with Holocaust victims criticized the publication in Newsdays stories in which Josef Menegle's son talked about his father.

NYT- Eygptian Parliament passed a law giving Moslem women the right to divorce a husband who takes a second wife.

NYT- Iran and Iraq reported new attacks today along the southern war front.

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# official text

DATE: 07/03/85

## BUSH CALLS FOR COOPERATION TO BATTLE TERRORISM

(Text: London speech) (3,700)

London -- Terrorism, said U.S. Vice President Bush, "is a threat to free and democratic society. We must become more vigilant."

In remarks to the International Institute for Strategic Studies July 3, Bush recalled some terrorist incidents:

The hijacking of an American airplane and the consequent hostage crisis in Beirut, the Frankfurt and Tokyo airport bombings, the slaying of four American Marines in El Salvador, bombings in Madrid and Rome this week, a bombing attempt on the life of Britain's Prime Minister Thatcher, friends of Italy's Prime Minister Bettino Craxi and West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl murdered by terrorists.

Bush noted that President Reagan has put him in charge of a task force "to determine the long-range U.S. response to terrorism. In that regard, the vice president called for stepped-up international cooperation to meet the challenge of terrorism with this resolve" "We will not knuckle under to terrorism; we will not give in to the demands of terrorists; we are determined to defeat terrorism."

Turning his attention toward the upcoming summit, Bush said that the Atlantic Alliance "will be a crucial factor" in determining the success of talks between President Reagan and Soviet Leader Gorbachev in November.

"Whether in deterring aggression or negotiating arms arrangements," Bush said, "our unity is the key to our security and peace."

Bush said that in light of the new Soviet military build-up, "The time has come for the Alliance to investigate the contribution that defenses can make to strategic stability."

Bush said the United States would work with its European partners "to ensure that the Alliance as a whole benefits" from any possible deployment of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), a research program designed to explore whether a more stable basis for deterrence is possible. He emphasized that the defense initiative program "is focusing on short- and medium-range missiles, as well as the intercontinental threat."

The objective of the SDI research program, Bush said, "is to strengthen deterrence, enhance the stability of both the Western Alliance and East-West relations, and help ensure the peace of the world."

On the matter of U.S.-European trade disputes, Bush said, "Trade with Europe is a key to U.S. growth, and trade with the United States is a key to Europe's growth. We must find a way to de-escalate trade disputes."

Bush said there is "absolutely no good reason" to delay President Reagan's call for a new round of trade talks. "The sooner it starts, the better," he said.

Following is the text of Bush's speech, as prepared for delivery: (begin text)

It seems fitting to conclude my seven nation tour by addressing the International Institute for Strategic Studies, an organization which has been an important contributor to the debates that have



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shaped free world policies for more than a quarter of a century.

As I left for Europe ten days ago, there was no short supply of topics to discuss. However, I found that much of what I have discussed these past few days is broader and more general than just a single issue -- the most interesting conversations revolved around the United States' strategic relationship with Europe. Quite clearly, the institute's founders appreciated the value of topics that went beyond the study of foreign policy, economic or defense issues when they gave the organization its name -- International Institute for Strategic Studies.

To understand the importance of our strategic relationship today, one need only think back to conditions at the end of the second World War. The countries of Western Europe lay in ruin. Unemployment was high. Hunger was widespread. Refugees required resettlement. Nothing less than the rebuilding of a continent was required.

However, while rebuilding, another military threat to Western Europe had to be faced. The Soviet Union added to its army and armaments, even as the United States and Britain demobilized, Soviet factories poured forth tanks, aircraft and ships. The Red Army, which never left Eastern Europe, cast an ominous shadow over Western Europe -- part of an effort to undermine democracy in Eastern and Western Europe alike.

The leaders of the victorious democracies understood that these challenges were of such a scope and scale that only a purposeful and comprehensive response would do. Men such as Truman, Marshall, Bevin, Attlee, De Gaulle and Monet and, soon, Adenauer and De Gasperi, rallied the West.

They built an Atlantic community of nations dedicated to the ideals of human freedom and dignity. Under their guidance, democracy took root in countries that had known more than a decade of totalitarian rule. And they laid the foundations for a united Europe and created a new international organization to unite all nations in the work of building world peace.

The result -- within a very few years, the economies of Western Europe not only had recovered, but had reached new peaks of industrial production.

Having learned that division creates weakness, and weakness invited aggression, the post-war leaders also met the Soviet military challenge. And the United States understood that, for the first time in history, oceans no longer constituted a defense. Because a military alliance was a prerequisite for the political and economic health of the free world, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was born in 1949.

The leaders of the post-war world created political, economic and security institutions that have given us two generations of peace, prosperity and freedom.

The founders of the institute had seen -- and participated in -- the meeting of the post-war challenge. And so they understood the importance of a comprehensive -- that is, strategic -- approach to what they knew would be ongoing challenges. Today, the institute carries forward the tradition that the founders started -- a tradition of close attention to the broadest issues facing the West.

It is in the spirit of that tradition that I wish to speak to you tonight -- not about just one aspect or another of the Atlantic relationship, but, comprehensively, about the strategic issues and strategic options of our time.



As did our predecessor, we today face a continuing military challenge from the Soviet Union. In the past, we met that challenge with the strategy of deterrence -- a strategy that has given Europe its longest period of peace in the 20th century.

But as the founders of the Alliance recognized years ago, the requirements for deterrence can change over time. When the Soviet Union in the late 1950s started to deploy its first nuclear armed missiles, the Alliance abandoned the doctrine of massive retaliation with its full reliance on nuclear retaliation to deter conflict.

Massive retaliation was replaced by another approach to deterrence -- the concept of flexible response -- which recognized that the Alliance needed both strong conventional and nuclear forces to sustain deterrence. For decades now, the Alliance has embraced the strategy of flexible response, recognizing that both conventional and nuclear forces are necessary for deterrence.

But the unprecedented build-up of Soviet military power has continued, and thus we must look again at the requirements for effective deterrence beyond the 1980s. The Soviets have built the world's largest army, a modern ocean-going navy, and the world's largest air force. They have developed the world's most advanced capacity to wage chemical warfare.

While threatening all of Europe with an ever-increasing force of SS-20 intermediate range missiles, they have continued to modernize intercontinental-range, land and sea based missile forces. Even more disturbing, the Soviet offensive build-up has been accompanied by a massive investment in strategic defense. The Soviet Union has built the world's largest air defense network. It possesses an extensive civil defense program.

The Soviet Union has deployed an operational anti-satellite interceptor and the world's only anti-ballistic missile system. They have been investigating the defensive potential of advanced technologies such as lasers for more than a decade.

To meet this challenge, President Reagan has launched a strategic modernization program designed to replace our aging force of bombers and land and sea based missiles. The Alliance, meanwhile, has responded to the SS-20 threat by starting deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe.

But President Reagan believes that in the light of the new Soviet build-up, the time has come for the Alliance to investigate the contribution that defenses can make to strategic stability. The Strategic Defense Initiative, or SDI, is purely and simply a research program designed to explore whether a more stable basis for deterrence exists.

We have set demanding standards for SDI research, and the deployment of any strategic defense system is years off. When and if deployment occurs, we would work with our European partners to ensure that the Alliance as a whole benefits. That is why the SDI program is focusing on short- and medium-range missiles, as well as the intercontinental threat.

President Reagan and I want this research to proceed in full consultation with -- and, if they wish, with the participation of -- our allies. Our objective is to strengthen deterrence, enhance the stability of both the Western Alliance and East-West relations, and help ensure the peace of the world.

Arms control negotiations represent another effort on our part to strengthen stability and peace and to restrain the Soviet challenges



to the structure of deterrence.

Last week I met with the Soviet negotiating team in Geneva. I repeated to them our commitment to seeking real reductions in the number of nuclear weapons. Why they refuse to understand how deeply the president desires to reach an effective arms reduction agreement, I don't know. But I would not be honest if I didn't tell you that a shadow has been placed over the arms control process by Soviet violations of the ABM Treaty and the S.A.L.T. agreements covering offensive forces. In close consultations with allied governments, however, President Reagan recently decided that despite this troubling Soviet pattern of behavior, we would continue to adhere to existing accords.

In ordering the dismantling of a Poseidon submarine, the president has gone the extra mile to make the arms control process succeed. The United States will continue to abide by the agreement, but we will closely monitor the Soviet behavior. We will study the Soviet response through mid-November. Then we'll decide our next step. But we would like to see the Soviets begin to comply with agreements they are violating so that we can easily get on with the business of negotiating real reductions in nuclear arsenals.

While we may again hear from the Soviets threats of walkouts, these comments are clearly intended to divide the West. But we learned last year that if we remain united, they will eventually return to the table. And it is at that table that President Reagan and I both hope to see meaningful progress just as soon as possible. And it is possible if we remember the importance of unity. It is a lesson we've learned over and over again as we've faced the Soviet military challenge the last 40 years. And today, as much as ever, it's important that we remain united in meeting our commitments -- both conventional and nuclear -- to the Alliance. Whether in deterring aggression or negotiating arms arrangements, our unity is the key to our security and peace. I know that when President Reagan sits down with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva, that Alliance unity will be a crucial factor in determining the success of that meeting.

Another kind of unity -- economic unity -- is a key to our prosperity. And a great challenge to that unity is coming from rising protectionist pressures on both sides of the Atlantic. I have been in public life off and on for 20 years and I have never had such an uneasy feeling about protectionist pressures on our Capitol Hill.

In a way, protectionism is the product of past success. As our economies have grown over the last four decades, they've become more and more interdependent, and some industries on one side of the Atlantic have found themselves threatened by competition from the other.

Sometimes we've each tried to help by protecting our own companies with trade barriers. This has been particularly true when unemployment has been high, as in Europe today.

But we all know where such "help" can lead. In just the last few weeks we've seen the United States increase tariffs on European pasta in response to European discrimination against American citrus. The community has now replied with higher tariffs on U.S. nuts and lemons. (First the spaghetti war. Now the war on the fruits and the nuts.)

Shouldn't we take this as a warning? Protection can lead to retaliation which can lead to counter-retaliation and so on until the entire edifice of international trade falls, as it did in the 1930s. GATT has a dispute settlement process, but the process has become



virtually paralyzed in the past few years. In the citrus case we saw an example of that paralysis. We have trade differences festering with a number of countries in steel, agriculture and footwear.

Trade with Europe is a key to U.S. growth, and trade with the United States is a key to Europe's growth. We must find a way to de-escalate trade disputes. We must find a way to reduce subsidies to domestic producers and increase market access for foreign producers. This is particularly true for agricultural products. The United States and Europe are on the brink of an agricultural-export subsidy competition. It would be much better if we were to stop now before the bidding starts.

I have told the European leaders I have met this past week -- including President Delors of the EC Commission -- that the United States is eager to work with them for a more open world trading system. But I have also told them that pressures in the United States are intense to respond to what is seen as foreign protection.

So far, President Reagan has resisted these pressures. But there are limits. We cannot ask the American people to support free trade forever unless it is also fair trade, and right now, in too many cases, it's not.

President Reagan has asked for a new trade round. There is absolutely no good reason to put a new round off. The sooner it starts, the better.

And while we're revitalizing the trading system, both Europe and America need to face up to difficult problems at home. For the last four and a half years, the United States has been making hard choices about taxes, social welfare spending, farm subsidies, government regulation of the economy, and a host of other issues. And as far as we've come, we still have a long way to go.

High taxes and strict regulation -- particularly in such economically sensitive areas as hiring and firing -- hurt most the kinds of companies that are the source of most new jobs in today's world -- new companies. By some counts, all the net new jobs in the U.S. in the last two years have come from companies that were less than five years old.

I've heard that some Europeans look at the enormous American economic growth these last few years -- the American miracle, some have called it -- and say, "We could never do that."

Well, the people who say such things may themselves be old and exhausted, but I find it hard to believe Europe is.

I believe it was no accident that Europe was the birthplace of contemporary civilization. The qualities of character and culture that gave the world democracy, the industrial revolution and the concept of human freedom -- those qualities don't tire and grow old. These are characteristics that -- once born -- live forever in the hearts of men.

I know, because Europe gave those qualities to America. And, I am certain that, if Europe is true to its heritage, Europe can again be one of the world's great centers for enterprise and innovation, hope and opportunity.

This brings me to the final element of strategy I want to discuss this afternoon -- the political element. Just as I feel after this week and a half of travel optimism about the continuing strength of European culture and the European spirit, I also come away with a cautious optimism about the strength of European political will.

I don't want to underrate some of the future challenges we face.



No, not at all. But the challenges are not confined to Europeans. Americans as well must face them. We must all face them together.

Our greatest political challenge could stem from our very success. Because the Alliance has served so well for more than a generation, some on both sides of the Atlantic have begun to take it for granted. The signs are several: increasing parochialism and a tendency to "opt out" from responsibilities that are politically unpopular; a continuing flirtation with neutralism, often revealed through equating the United States with the Soviet Union; and a desire for peace so strong that it blinds some to what must be done if peace with freedom is to be preserved.

We, the supporters of the Atlantic community, must oppose those tendencies which, if left unchecked, would erode the fabric of the Alliance from within. Selective commitment for all means security for none. Deterrence would be weakened. If the Alliance's commitment to deterrence is uneven, the Soviets will be only too happy to exploit such divisions for their own purposes.

This is a message President Reagan and I have spread within the United States and many of this audience have spread time and again in Europe. We must keep that work going.

Each generation of leaders has the responsibility to educate new generations as to why the Atlantic Alliance was born and, perhaps more important, why it remains relevant.

The NATO alliance is not simply an end in itself, but a means to an end. We devote so much of our resources to deterrence because world war is unthinkable and so much of what we possess is worth defending. Our individual freedom, our standard of living, our democratic form of government -- every one of these things is worth preserving.

When our administration took office, less than a third of the population of Latin America lived in countries that were democratic or on their way to democracy. Today more than 90 percent do.

The democracies of the West have a duty to support the forces of freedom around the world -- whether in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola or Nicaragua. The courageous freedom fighters in those countries are showing that the wave of history will not carry to triumph the disciples of Marx, but rather the students of Jefferson, Locke and Burke.

Today, unfortunately, you cannot speak of freedom and democracy without discussing terrorism -- a topic that has commanded the world's attention these last two weeks.

We thank God our people are back. But for one of the TWA hostages and the family that mourns his murder, going home meant something far different than for the others.

The TWA hijacking, the bombing in the Frankfurt airport, the explosion of the Air India plane, the bombing in Tokyo Airport, the machine gunning of American marines in El Salvador and the bombings in Madrid and Rome -- those events revolted the civilized world and continue to demand our attention, all the more so because they've come to seem so commonplace.

Hardly a Democratic country has been exempt from the terrorist threat. Britain's courageous prime minister and several other leaders I spoke with this week, including Mr. Craxi and Mr. Kohl, had friends whom terrorists murdered.

It is said by some that terrorism is part of the pride of having an open society, and it is true that the freedoms we have, make our



societies more vulnerable to these attacks. Yet as we all know very well, it is also said that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. Terrorism is a threat to free and democratic society. We must become more vigilant.

Every leader with whom I met this week agreed that, just as civilized nations united against piracy a century ago, today the democracies must work together to defeat terrorism. President Reagan has asked me to head a task force to determine the long-range U.S. response to terrorism.

Close coordination with our allies is certain to be a very, very important element of that response. In the weeks and months ahead, our governments must do more to work together to meet this challenge. But beyond that, we must agree on a central, basic principle. We will not knuckle under to terrorism; we will not give in to the demands of terrorists; we are determined to defeat terrorism.

I have spoken this afternoon of a strategy for the Atlantic community. That strategy is a house with many rooms, but one theme is the center of each room -- and that is, that we should rededicate ourselves to the spirit of unity among our nations. We must stand united against the threat of totalitarian aggression. We must stand united against the pressures of protectionism. We must stand united against terrorism. We must stand united for freedom, united for democracy and the rights of man.

After I leave here tonight, I'll go out to the airport, and when the sun rises, I'll be back in America...in time for Independence Day.

I'll attend a celebration in a tiny rural town, Bristol, New Hampshire. There'll be flags and high school bands and fireworks and prayers of thanks for the return of the hostages. It will be a patriotic occasion.

Something has changed about Independence Day over the last 200 years. When the United States was founded there was, of course, a great deal of animosity towards Britain. Within a little more than 60 years, Lincoln could observe that dislike of Britain had ceased to be a unifying force in America. In this century the United States and Britain have developed an enduring special relationship. We have fought side by side in two wars, and we've come to acknowledge that we stand for the same things in this world; and, come what may, whatever the challenge is, when all is said and done, we stand together.

The Atlantic community faces many challenges today. But what I've seen and heard these past ten days tells me it's strong, as strong as at any time in the last 40 years. With relationships like that between America and Britain to build on, I believe it will be strong and united into the coming decades and the coming century.

(end text)





# official text

DATE: 07/03/85

U.S. AND BRITAIN URGE SUSPENSION OF FLIGHTS TO BEIRUT (350)  
(Text: Bush-Thatcher joint statement)

London -- The United States and Great Britain will jointly seek other nations' agreement to suspend commercial flights to and from Beirut "as an immediate first step" to combat terrorism, U.S. Vice President Bush and British Prime Minister Thatcher announced July 3.

After a meeting, they issued a statement which said both governments endorse bringing pressure on states which "directly or indirectly support terrorism, to cease such support."

The two leaders said they would seek the agreement "of all those states which share their concern for the security of civil aviation" to suspend air service to Beirut International Airport.

Following is the text of their joint statement:  
(begin text)

Vice President Bush and I have considered carefully the subject of terrorism and the threat it poses to civilized and democratic peoples. The governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America declare their determination to work together with all like minded states in combating this evil. In particular, terrorism against international civil aviation and those millions of innocent passengers who today travel by air must be stopped.

As an immediate first step, the governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America will seek the agreement of all those states which share their concern for the security of civil aviation, to suspend all air services between their countries and Beirut International Airport.

The governments of the United Kingdom and the United States of America will also work to enhance the security of civil aviation through all appropriate multinational institutions including the ICAO (International Civil Aviation Organization).

In particular, they endorse the importance of action:

-- To strengthen the International Civil Aviation Organization to enhance its ability to deal with terrorism directed against civil aviation.

-- To bring pressure to bear on those states which, directly or indirectly, support terrorism to cease that support.

-- To improve cooperation among law enforcement authorities to increase their effectiveness to combat terrorists.

-- To seek firmer commitments to enforce existing conventions dealing with crimes against civil aviation, and

-- To work to revitalize the Bonn Declaration of 1978.  
(end text)







# news report

DATE: 07/03/85

REAGAN, GORBACHEV TO MEET NOVEMBER 19-20 IN GENEVA (1005)  
(Article on White House announcement, Shultz briefing)

by Alexander M. Sullivan

USIA White House Correspondent

Washington -- President Reagan and Soviet leader Gorbachev will hold their long-awaited summit meeting in Geneva November 19 and 20.

White House Deputy Press Secretary Larry Speakes said Reagan had authorized him to say the president regards the session as "an opportunity to chart a course for the future" of Soviet-American relations. And Secretary of State Shultz told reporters at a news conference that the president sees the summit "as an opportunity to deepen the dialogue" between the Kremlin and the White House and "to lay the basis for practical steps to improve U.S.-Soviet relations."

Addressing speculation that the first meeting between a U.S. president and a general secretary of the Communist Party since 1979 would be a get-acquainted session, Shultz said that of course the two leaders would get to know one another, and termed that "worthwhile in and of itself." But he said the president believes the best way to do that "is through serious, substantive discussion of the principal issues between our countries."

Shultz said no agenda for the session has yet been worked out, and noted that despite determined preparatory work, the leaders to a certain extent would construct their own agenda through the interplay of their discussions.

The secretary noted, however, that the United States has its own general agenda for contacts with Moscow, which includes nuclear and conventional arms reductions, bilateral opportunities and problems, regional issues, including the Middle East and Afghanistan, and human rights.

The secretary said "it is not wise" to attempt construction of some kind of scorecard to measure tangible results of the session. He said he is sure the two leaders will have "serious, substantive" discussions. "Just how it will go remains to be seen," he said.

Shultz said it is his understanding that both countries are approaching the summit meeting ready for serious discussions. "We have no illusions," he said, "about the distance between U.S. policies and Soviet policies, nor about the fact that our systems are very different" making it difficult to "develop this relationship in a more constructive way."

He called the need to achieve such development "one of the very necessary challenges" for the leadership on both sides. "To work at the problem of finding a way for two different systems to co-exist in this small world that we have...it's important for us to re-double our joint search for ways to reduce tensions (and) lower the dangers of confrontation and conflict. The president hopes from this meeting to make progress in that direction," he said.

Shultz pictured the summit as part of a process, rather than an isolated event. He called it "a very important part" of a continuum which will be preceded "by very determined preparatory effort" by Moscow and Washington, and if the session is successful, will result in an agenda for the future.

In the popular view, the most pressing issue facing the two



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leaders is control of the nuclear arsenals each side fields. The unratified Salt Two strategic arms limitation agreement and its constraint on deployment of offensive weapons expires at the end of the year, and the Geneva negotiations on nuclear arms reduction have thus far, in Shultz' view, made no progress. In fact, Gorbachev has suggested that he will cancel the negotiations if the Reagan administration persists with its intention to pursue research that might lead to a defense against incoming missiles.

Shultz denied suggestions that Reagan will feel special pressure to make concessions because of Gorbachev's remarks, noting that it takes no pressure at all for Reagan "to wish to see the Geneva negotiations move along, and to that end, we have put...interesting and forthcoming proposals on the table and our negotiators...are prepared to negotiate.... We always welcome the opportunity to make a good agreement, but we're not interested in agreement for the sake of agreement, and I don't expect the other side is, either."

Shultz said he expected the subject of terrorism and hijacking, being on everyone's mind, would be a likely topic at the summit. He would not comment on previous U.S. charges that Moscow trained and financed terrorist groups.

At a background briefing July 2, a senior State Department official told reporters that when Secretary of State Shultz and then Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko concluded their latest round of talks in Vienna May 14, the arrangements for the summit had pretty well been completed, though not all the details had been agreed upon.

Further preparations are expected to be made when Shultz meets with the new Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Helsinki in just over four weeks when both are there for ceremonies marking the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. The two are also expected to meet in New York in late September when they will be attending the annual United Nations General Assembly general debate.

The senior official told reporters that he could not say what the agenda for the summit will be "because that hasn't been worked up. And to some extent, I suppose, it will be a self-creating agenda in the sense that you're going to have heads of state who will talk to each other and they will respond back and forth. And just exactly where that goes is not going to be confined by some pre-set agenda. But certainly, we'll want to line out main topics," he said.

He acknowledged that formal agreements may be possible in such areas as consular affairs, commercial exchanges and the like.

"There are a number of areas of that kind where there's been quite a lot of interchange and progress," the senior official said. "If we can work out some things, large or small, that are thought to be in each party's interest, then that's worth doing," he said.



3.7.85  
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אל: יוסי

מאת: נמרוד

הנדון: איכות חיים

משיחה עם דן קרצר:

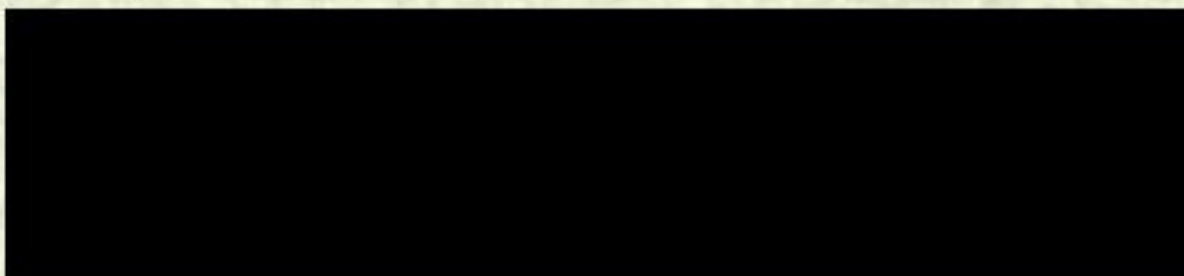
1. בעת ביקור חוסיין בווינגטון מסרו אנשיו לפקידי מחמ"ד כי אין להם ענין ברעיונות השונים במסגרת "איכות חיים".
2. האמריקאים לא היו בטוחים האם הגישה נכונה מאוירת הנכאים אשר אפפה את הביקור באותה עת או שיקפה את המדיניות לאשורה.
3. בבדיקה שערך ה- DCM אצל שר השטחים בשבוע שעבר נתקבלו התשובות הבאות:  
א. החלפת ראשי ערים: חיובי לגבי חברון, רמאללה, אל-בירה ושכם בהנחה שייעשה סימולטנית ועפ"י החוק הירדני, דהיינו, באמצעות הרשויות המקומיות.  
ב. גילה ענין מחודש בהזרמת הסיוע האמריקאי לשטחים דרך ירדן.
4. ה- DCM ביקש לודא כי זו אכן מדיניות הממשלה והשר הבטיח לבדוק עם ראה"מ ולהשיב. יודיעוני בהתאם.
5. בשיחה נפרדת, עדנן אבו-עודה שאל האם ישראל תתיר הקמת תחנת רדיו בשטחים. השגריר האמריקאי תהה האם המלך אכן מעונין בכך. אבו-עודה הבטיח לבדוק.

נמרוד נוביק



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\*\* אלו הם המסמכים שהוצגו לי על ידי המנהל.   
 \*\* נא לקרוא דברי המגיד בשיחת המנכ"ל - ארמוקוס (נר 71 מה-2.7)   
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# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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סודי ביותר/מיד

מל: ממנכ"ל, מנהל מצפ"א

חציפת, הממוס.

א. במסגרת התלבטויות הממשל באשר להמשך, שדיין עוסקים גם  
באופציה צבאית. לדברי מקור צבאי בכיר בבית הלבן זוהי אחת  
האופציות הנשקלות אך תסמונת ויטנאם שדיין משפיעה. (פחות  
משפיע הכשלון באיראן ב-1980 הנחשב כי תאונת דרכים י"י). החשש  
הוא דעת הקהל. אגב, יוג'ין רוסטוב נהסלמד טמה במכללה לבטחון  
של ארה"ב, דיבר באוזני בחוקר על הצורך בשימוש באופציה  
צבאית ובגירוש הסורים ע"י ארה"ב מלבנון, שכן אחרת אין  
משמעות לכוחה של ארה"ב בהפמלדות עם הסובייטים במזרח.  
ב. מקור בכיר במחמ"ד כי ראית ארה"ב היא שאיראן וסוריה  
נאבקות זו בזו על השיטים בלבנון. התרשמותי כי מבחינה  
סודינית אין האמריקאים חשים ייחיתנים בלבנון.

ג. אגב, אנשי הממשל מסתייגים מתוכן פרסום FOREIGN REPORT

מ-20.6.80 (נר 31) בעיקר באשר לקשר הסודי בו אינם בטוחים בביכול

(מה שאין כן האיראני).

לובינשטיין.

תפ: שהח, שהכס, ממנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, סייבל, ד/מרכז, דס, אמנ, מצפ"א





# economic news

DATE: 07/03/85

SHULTZ PRAISES ISRAEL'S ACTIONS TO BOOST ECONOMIC GROWTH  
(Text, Shultz statement at news conference)

Washington -- The United States praised Israel July 3 for taking steps to combat inflation and re-order its economy.

Secretary of State Shultz said the measures announced by the Israeli government "if fully and vigorously implemented" represent an important forward step in Israel's quest for stability and growth.

He told reporters at a news conference that the United States is ready to assist Tel Aviv with supplemental economic assistance "to be used in the way that will be most helpful."

Following is the text of Shultz's statement.  
(begin text)

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Prime Minister Peres and his government for the courage and foresight they've shown in moving boldly to address Israel's serious economic problems. The new economic measures that have already been announced are far-ranging and include new cuts in government budget expenditures, additional sizeable reductions in consumer subsidies, a realignment of the shekel exchange rate, a reduction in public sector employment and three-month wage-price freeze.

The new economic measures, if fully and vigorously implemented, represent an important step forward in Israel's continuing efforts to stabilize its economy and restore growth and prosperity. The United States understands from its own experience the difficulty of taking such decisions as sizeable cuts in the budget. We also recognize that there are no substitutes for forthright action in these circumstances.

That is why we stand ready to support Israel in this important undertaking. The supplemental economic assistance which we expect soon will be approved by Congress and will be available to be used in the way that will be most helpful to Israel." (END TEXT)







# official text

DATE: 07/03/85

**SHULTZ SAYS SUMMIT CAN LEAD TO BETTER U.S.-SOVIET TIES**  
(Transcript: Shultz news conference) (4320)

Washington -- According to Secretary of State Shultz, the summit meeting between President Reagan and Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Gorbachev offers them a chance to discuss a lineup of critical issues, among them hijacking, terrorism, Afghanistan, the Middle East, arms control, and others.

The summit, said Shultz, presents the opportunity to improve the relationship between Washington and Moscow.

Shultz told a news conference **July 3** that Reagan and Gorbachev are likely to "construct their own agenda" on the basis of their personal interaction at Geneva November 19 and 20, but he noted "determined preparatory work" by U.S. and Soviet diplomats will precede the session.

Shultz made these other points:

-- Israel's economic austerity measures represent a forthright effort to achieve stability and growth and will get U.S. financial support.

-- The Beirut airport has become a genuine menace which should be placed "off limits until it makes terrorists off limits."

-- In U.S. discussions with the Soviet Union concerning the Middle East, there is "an important...damage control element" which involves information sharing; in addition to the Arab-Israeli issues, topics have included the Iran-Iraq war, Afghanistan, and the "problems of the Gulf."

-- The United States strongly supports the efforts of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations to resist Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia and "to create a situation where Cambodians will have their country back."

-- The ANZUS (Australia-New Zealand-United States) treaty remains in force, and Washington hopes the problems engendered by New Zealand's unwillingness to accept port calls from vessels with nuclear weapons "will work themselves out."

Following is the transcript of the news conference:

(begin transcript)

**SECRETARY SHULTZ:** President Reagan has often stated his desire to improve our relationship and improve communications with the Soviet government, and to find ways to narrow the differences between us. He sees the planned meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev as an opportunity to deepen our dialogue and to lay the basis for practical steps to improve U.S.-Soviet relations.

At this meeting, of course, the two leaders will, as is said, get acquainted, and that's worthwhile in and of itself. However, as the president sees it, the best way to get acquainted is through serious, substantive discussion of the principal issues between our countries. And as we approach this meeting, and from what I can see the way the Soviet Union will approach this meeting, we will both be wanting to discuss in one way or another these principal issues.

We have no illusions about the distance between U.S. policies and Soviet policies, nor about the fact that our systems are very different systems. So it's a difficult problem to develop this relationship in a more constructive way. At the same time, I think it



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is one of the very necessary challenges to leadership on both sides to work at the problem of finding a way for two different systems to coexist in this small world that we have. So it's important for us to redouble our joint search for ways to reduce tensions, lower the dangers of confrontation and conflict; and the president hopes that from this meeting, we'll make progress in that direction.

I think we have to see that this is an ongoing process. His meeting with the general secretary will be a very important part of it. It will be preceded by, I'm sure, a determined, preparatory effort; and if the meeting is successful, it will result in a kind of an agenda for what should go on in the future. So the meeting needs to be seen as important, but as, at the same time, part of a process that has been going on and will go on before the meeting and will continue afterwards.

Since General Secretary Gorbachev has stated his desire to find practical ways to improve relations, and the president of the United States is also looking in that direction, we hope and expect that both sides will approach this meeting in the same constructive spirit.

If you have any questions, I will be glad to take them.

QUESTION: When you talk about an agenda, do you contemplate that there will be any tangible actions that would come out of this meeting that we could look at and determine whether success had been achieved or not?

ANSWER: I don't think that it's wise to try to construct a scorecard of some kind for success. The fact that the meeting will be held, and it will be a serious meeting -- it will be a substantive meeting, I'm sure; certainly that is our intent, and I am certain that is the Soviet intent and just how the meeting will go remains to be seen. We, obviously, have had much discussion with the Soviet Union about the broad agenda of issues between us, and we'll have more before the meeting, and we'll just have to see how it proceeds.

Q: Could we go over what the substance is and what the broad agenda encompasses, specifically?

A: I can't do that with you because we haven't worked it out. And, to a certain extent, I suppose when you get two heads of state of these two great nations together, that there will likely be an interplay between them, and they will construct their own agenda to a certain extent.

Yet, certainly, we plan to have discussions between ourselves in diplomatic channels that will make an effort, at least, to organize the meeting somewhat; and, obviously, we'll continue to work at things where we've been negotiating on one matter or another. But the whole problem of constructing the way the meeting will work is something that we're now working at.

Q: Mr. Secretary, you'll be seeing the new Soviet Foreign Minister in Helsinki, and presumably in New York, but those are kind of brief encounters by their nature of being one day or so. Do you think it's conceivable, as some of your predecessors have prior to other Summit meetings, to go to Moscow yourself for any -- three days or so of kind of preliminary discussions?

A: Well, there is no plan for anything of that kind. I do look forward to meeting in Helsinki with the new Soviet Foreign Minister and welcome that opportunity to talk with him, get to know him, as I got to know Foreign Minister, now Chairman, Gromyko. So we'll just have to see how it unfolds as to the way in which the preparatory effort takes place.



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We don't know, but we expect, as you suggested, that the new Foreign Minister will come to New York for the U.N. meetings, and that will be a time when he is likely to be here for a little while, and so we'll have opportunities for at least one, perhaps more meetings during that time.

Q: Mr. Shultz, in light of the fact that Mr. Gorbachev has suggested that the Soviets might pull out of the arms control talks since there's no progress, will President Reagan be under any kind of special pressure, do you think, to make some attempts to move that along so that after the summit meeting the Soviets won't walk out of the talks?

A: There is no special pressure, as far as we're concerned. It doesn't take special pressure for the president to wish to see the Geneva negotiations move along, and to that end we have put, we think, quite interesting and forthcoming proposals on the table, and our negotiators are there and prepared to negotiate. So that is our posture, and that's where we'll stay.

As far as agreements are concerned, of course, we'll always welcome an opportunity to make a good agreement, but we're not interested in agreements for the sake of agreement, and I don't expect the other side is either.

Q: Mr. Secretary, on that point, November, as I recall it, is the time when the Soviet moratorium which they announced recently with regard to medium-range missiles is to expire, and November or mid-November is the time when President Reagan has asked for a report about the next decision-making on compliance with SALT II.

In the light of that, do you see this meeting in mid-November as being one that would be some kind of a crucial turning point, not only in the arms control negotiations, but in the field of military programs for the two sides?

A: Well, I think that that's certainly overstating things, and I would deliberately stay away from words like "turning point." But certainly we regard this as a very important meeting, and, as I said, we'll be prepared for serious, substantive discussion there as part of an ongoing process, and that's the way the president will be approaching it.

Q: Over the last four years the president and you have literally grown hoarse telling us that there was no point in having a summit unless there was -- it would be well prepared and have good expectation of having substantive results. What's changed?

A: Well, in the first place, I think that there will be an extensive preparatory effort, so we won't have a situation where two people just get together and say, "Hello," with no preparation. We want to see the meeting prepared for thoroughly, and so do the Soviet Union, so we will do that.

I think that here we have a situation, as I said some time ago, where we have new leadership in the Soviet Union that has clearly established itself. For that matter, we have a new Foreign Minister and a president with his basic term ahead of him and his policies established, and I think under those circumstances it's quite sensible for these two men to meet.

And, as you know, this -- they agreed that it would be a good idea to have a meeting some time ago, and now they have agreed on the time and place for the meeting. I might say that they both have agreed -- that is, they have told each other that they would like to see a more constructive relationship emerge from the meeting, so maybe



the first two conditions having been satisfied, who knows, maybe the third will. But, at any rate, that's the spirit in which the United States will approach the meeting.

Q: The administration has said in the past that it would expect to see some indication of progress in the arms control talks before such a summit meeting could be expected to be successful.

Do you expect that the arms control talks will move in some direction, some positive direction, between now and November, or will they in effect be on hold until after the summit?

A: As far as we're concerned, we're prepared for progress, and, as I said a moment ago, we have strong positions on the table and we have negotiators there ready for the give and take of negotiation.

The fact of the matter is that there hasn't been any real progress in those talks, and that's just descriptive of where they stand, and that's about what you can say on this subject right now.

Q: In two days you depart for meetings with the Asian and the Pacific allies. Does the fact that you're also discussing a Soviet-American summit indicate that you will toughen your stand even further regarding the Asian and Pacific allies? In other words, would the United States ever change its policies concerning the alliances in that region?

A: Well, our policies toward Asia and the Pacific have been developed and they're clear and they're ongoing, and I think basically quite successful, and we intend to continue to pursue them.

And in the trip I will not only go to Southeast Asia and Australia, but also at the same meetings will be the foreign minister of Japan as well as from many other countries, and so it's a good setting for a continual nourishment of something that is basically positive.

We do, of course, have the fact that Vietnam has virtually occupied Cambodia, and we strongly support the ASEAN effort to resist that and to create a situation where Cambodians will have their country back.

Q: Still on the ANZUS, are you going to press for a bilateral relationship with Australia or keep ANZUS the way it is?

A: We have, of course, a strong bilateral relationship with Australia. We will meet in Canberra, the United States and Australia.

Our agenda for discussion will be like the one that typically we had at ANZUS meetings, but under the circumstances with New Zealand's withdrawal of a willingness to have our ships call in New Zealand ports, this has put that aspect of the ANZUS to the side.

However, the ANZUS Treaty remains as it is, and we will continue forward with Australia and hope that in the end the problems with New Zealand will work themselves out, but there's no indication of that.

Q: In recent years the Administration has spoken of Soviet support of international terrorism, specifically Soviet training, arming, financing of terrorist groups.

Is it your current information that the Soviet Union continues to do that, and, if that's the case, might that be a subject at the summit?

A: I think the agenda for the summit is yet to be determined, but certainly the general subject of hijacking and terrorism is a subject that must be on everybody's mind, and probably we'll want to talk about it.

Q: What about the first part of the question?

A: I don't have any comment on it.



Q: Understanding that it's still early for the agenda to be set, does the President nonetheless already know that he wants Afghanistan or the Soviet role in Central America to be in any summit?

A: We generally have a four-part agenda of our own. The Soviet Union has its agenda, but we have talked with the Soviet Union, of course, about arms control issues. They're very important and central. We have a whole set of bilateral opportunities and problems where progress is possible.

We have developed a pattern of discussions with them of what are called regional issues. You mentioned one -- Afghanistan. We had a meeting about Afghanistan with the Soviet officials recently, so regional issues in one way or another are subjects for discussion, and we always carry on our agenda the general subject of human rights. And, as a matter of fact, a basic reason for going to the Helsinki meeting commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Final Act is to call attention to the commitments made in that act by all the governments who are party to it.

Q: If I may, a question and a follow-up on the TWA hij-acking. Now that the FBI has firmly identified the hij-ackers, what will our Government do to prosecute the case? And, if you can respond to that, a follow-up, please?

A: I won't respond to that, so I'll save you the follow-up.

Q: Mr. Secretary, there are reports that Iran played a positive role in securing the release of the TWA hostages. Could you comment on that?

A: Well, it's hard for us to know precisely who said or did what, so I won't make any comment. I think as far as Iran is concerned, we would like to see them try and bring to justice the hijackers they hold from the earlier hijacking in which two Americans were murdered.

Q: Mr. Secretary, on a regional issue, in the summit, about Middle East -- do you think what there will be any agreement between the United States and the Soviet if the Russians did not put into action some of the examples which the State Department mentioned a couple of weeks ago?

A: I'm not following your question.

Q: An example which you said that the Soviet Union should take to prove that they can be helpful in Middle -- in solving the Middle East problem.

A: The Middle East problems are among those that we have discussed from time to time that the Soviet Union, and certainly as in all of these discussions of regional issues, there is an important, you might say, damage control element to those discussions in information-sharing. And, of course, when speak of the Middle East, you -- it's a big place, and there are the excruciating problems of Lebanon right now. There is the Arab-Israeli set of issues. There is the Iran-Iraq war, the problems of the Gulf. So there's a wide array, not to mention Afghanistan. So these issues may very well be discussed.

Q: The Islamic Jihad today has threatened the remaining hostages in Lebanon with a black fate if we go ahead with our plans to shut down the Beirut Airport. I wonder if you have any response to that?

A: We don't respond to threats. But as far as the Beirut Airport is concerned, we have a very clear picture. Here's an airport that over the past decade and a half has been the point of origination or termination or transit of a full 15 percent of all the hijackings



outside the United States, and in the most recent hijacking it became a place from which hijackers were resupplied and supplemented and from which hostages were taken and held.

And so that airport, I think, constitutes a menace. We have said our opinion about that and what we will do, as far as the United States is concerned, we have sent out views out to other governments.

I think there was an outstanding statement made today by Prime Minister Thatcher of the United Kingdom, and Vice President Bush in London, in which the British have stated views very parallel to ours, and we look for a meeting of the so-called Bonn Group. I think it's on the 11th or so, and we want to focus in on the importance of making the Beirut Airport off limits until it makes terrorists off limits.

Q: But will you go ahead, even if it means harm to our hostages?

A: We must think not only about the present but we must think about the future and recognize that we have a place here that has become a genuine menace.

Now, of course, we are very concerned, and have been working in every way we can think of, to obtain the release of the seven hostages now being held and we'll continue to do so.

Q: Was Geneva specifically chosen by the two superpowers to give a particular impetus to the nuclear arms talks taking place there? And could you say whether you think any progress is possible in Geneva between now and November so long as the Soviets continue to demand that the United States give up its Star Wars program or its SDI program as a condition for real negotiations?

A: Not on those conditions. But it's always possible that progress can be made, but there's nothing in the negotiations that's emerged to date that would tell you that that is likely. But our people will continue there, they'll continue to work at it in good faith and with good proposals.

As far as the selection of Geneva is concerned, it's a place that historically has been considered a neutral place where meetings of this kind can be held and there are good facilities. So it's a natural place for this sort of meeting.

Q: Is the question of Poland likely to come up during the summit meeting? There are reports that Mr. Gorbachev has been increasing the threat of Soviet pressure on the persons in Warsaw, is this subject likely to come up?

A: It may very well. It's part of the regional picture, but I can't say what will come up and won't come up. You have to remember that even though the meeting will take place over a period of two days, that's still a limited amount of time, and we will try to use that as effectively as possible and the issues presented by the problems of Poland, we consider to be very important issues. But what will actually come up and how the agenda will be framed, I can't say at this point because we haven't framed it yet.

Q: This morning the L.A. Times said that the State Department was considering a reward to the hijackers. Larry Speakes confirmed that a reward is under consideration.

Can you tell us what, in fact, triggers that reward apparatus? Do you have to say something, do you have to do something, or is it in effect right now?

A: The Congress authorized an appropriated fund in connection with our efforts to develop action on terrorism whereby we're in a position to offer rewards for information leading to the trial and successful prosecution of terrorists, and the authority to put such



rewards forward resides in the secretary of state who will do whatever the president tells him to do, but I will make recommendations, too. When we have something to say on that, we'll say it, but it's an authority we have and it's an interesting way of going about the gathering of information.

We have tried to equip ourselves with the help of Congress to have an ability to throw as wide a net as possible, and that's one possible way to seek a certain class of information.

Q: There's been several references about the hostages to the fact that the people of the United States do not understand or realize the problems or the depth of misery in the Middle East.

As a result of this experience, have you any goal or constructive plan in diplomacy to try to make things better, a better understanding between the United States and the Middle East?

A: I suppose anybody who watched the films that have been shown during the period when the hostages were held in Beirut, by this time is familiar with the destruction which basically the Lebanese have inflicted upon themselves in Lebanon, not only in Beirut but pictures weren't shown, for instance, of Tripoli or other cities. So there is great turmoil there, and it is something that affects anyone, particularly like me who has been there and seen it in better times with a wish that somehow it could be returned to that order. The United States has made, and continues to make, strenuous efforts to do so.

I can't help but wonder if some of those involved, who were so anxious to see the agreement we worked out abrogated, might be scratching their heads and thinking if they might not be better off right now if this stability envisioned in that agreement were present.

As far as the broader issues of the Middle East are concerned, we continue to work hard at the Arab-Israeli issues, and I think with the leadership of King Hussein and President Mubarak, and elements of the Palestinian movement on the one hand and of Israel and Prime Minister Peres on the other, there seems to be some motion, and we are doing everything we can to nourish that.

Of course, in the Iran-Iraq war, there, you have a war where more people have been killed and injured than anything in recent memory and it continues.

There seems to be little that we, as the United States, can do although we try and we have done some things, but it's a very distressing situation.

Q: Is it thinkable or likely that the superpowers one month after the Geneva meeting would allow SALT Two to expire?

A: I don't want to speculate on what might or might not happen as a result of the discussions coming up in Geneva. As I said, the agenda is yet to be established.

I see my keeper here, and so I'll take one question and then I have one other comment I want to make.

Q: The president had said on more than one occasion -- in fact, invited Mr. Gorbachev to come to Washington for the summit. Why has the president decided to give in on this point?

A: I don't think it's a question of giving-in, particularly. I think each party wanted the other to come to its capital, and so this is the first meeting in quite a while. We agreed that the site of Geneva would be appropriate.

I think, in the end, if this moves along in a reasonable way,



there's a great deal to be said for the two most powerful countries in the world having the meeting between their heads of state in their own countries. But on this occasion, it seemed more sensible to go ahead and have the meeting in Geneva.

Now, I have one additional statement that I would like to make before we close.

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate Prime Minister Peres and his government for the courage and foresight they've shown in moving boldly to address Israel's serious economic problems.

The new economic measures that have already been announced are far-ranging and include new cuts in government budget expenditures, additional sizable reductions in consumer subsidies, a realignment of the shekel exchange rate, a reduction in public-sector employment, and a three-month wage price freeze. The new economic measures, if fully and vigorously implemented, represent an important step forward in Israel's continuing efforts to stabilize its economy and restore growth and prosperity.

The United States understands from its own experience the difficulty of taking such decisions as sizeable cuts in the budget. We also recognize that there are no substitutes for the forthright action in these circumstances. That is why we stand ready to support Israel in this important undertaking with supplemental economic assistance. We expect soon it will be approved by Congress and will be available to be used in the way that will be most helpful to Israel.

(end transcript)



סגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

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פגישת המנכ"ל - אוקלי.

נכחו: ציר, עמירם ניר, וילקוקס.

1. אוקלי הודה על ברכת המנכ"ל לרגל שחרור השבויים. אמר שמבצע "קליטתם" בגרמניה לא היה טאטא שכן היה עליהם לעבור בזמן קצר - 24 שעות - על מספר רב של נושאים - בדיקות רפואיות, דיווחים, תדריכים וכד'. על אוקלי הוטל, בין השאר, ארגון הסתם לאנדריוס, לפגישה עם הנשיא.

2. המנכ"ל סיפר שאמר לארמאקוסט שעל ארה"ב וישראל ללמוד את הלקח מהפרשה ע"מ גם לדעת כיצד לפעול, במשותף, במקרים דומים, שלצערנו עוד יקרו בעתיד. באשר לחלק הטכני - אמצעים - הנוגע למטוסי אל על עוסק בכך עמירם ניר. אוקלי ציין שבשיחות שכבר היו לו עם עמירם ניר סוכם מספר דברים. גילה שבחודש פברואר התקיים דיון באתונה בנוגע לאמצעי בטיחות בנמה"ת שט וסוכם מספר סידורי בטחון. מטעבר ששם דבר לא בוצע. היוונים התמרמרו על הצעדים שארה"ב נקטה בגין החטיפה וראו בכך משום תגובה פוליטית, אך לא חלף זמן רב והסגריר כאן הודיע שפסנדריו בותן לנושא עדיפות עליונה ושמוכנים להוציא לפועל האמצעים שכבר סוכם. המנכ"ל אמר שהצענו לארמקוסט להקים JOINT CRISIS TEAM. היתה פרספציה אצל מספר גורמים, על פער, כביכול, בין ישראל וארה"ב וזוהי בדיוק מטרת הסירוריסטים המחשיבים זאת כהישג עבורם, דבר שאטור להניח לו שיקרה. צריך לנהוג בזהירות וע"פ הכלל שאי אפשר לדעת מתי ואיפה הסירוריסטים יכז פעם נוספת. אוקלי הדגיש שהוא תומך בשי"פ בתחום האופרטיבי אך להתנתק מהתקום הפוליטי. הביע בטחון שישראל לא תתנגד שבצורה תהיה פרספציה אחת ובמצאיות אחרת בנוגע לשי"פ בין הצדדים ע"מ שגורמים אחרים, ערבים, יתרחקו מארה"ב כגון מצרים עמה ארה"ב מקיימת שי"פ הדוק בנושא בטיחות מטוסים. צריך להבין, אמר, שממשלות, כגון זו, לא יפעלו מעצמם כנגד הטרור על אף החוטיבציה שלהם לעשות כן. (לא מוציא מכלל אפשרות שהסעודים "שלמו" לסורים ע"מ שיתנהגו כפי שהתנהגו בפרשת החטיפה). כל זה דורש יתר זהירות. המנכ"ל הטעים שאם מביטים על התחום הפוליטי נראה שלמרות שלערבים יש יחסים דוקים עם בריה"מ הם "מחפשים" את הקשר לארה"ב. אוקלי הסביר שכוונתו היתה בתחום כגון שיפעלו נגד ארה"ב משדות תעופה שונים במזה"ת. ניר הדגיש שאם תהיה תודעה בצבור על שי"פ בין ישראל

ס 100 ס 100  
ד.א.ל. מתור. ד.א.ל. דפים  
סוג בטחוני. סנד?  
מיידי  
דחיות.....  
תאריך וז"ח. 032000 יולי 85  
112  
מס' מבק



ס ו ס ס כ ר ק

דף... 2... מחור... 2... דפים

סווג בטחוני.....

דחיות.....

תאריך נד"ח.....

112... מס' מברק.....

וארה"ב לא יגרס בכך כל נזק, בתנאי כמובן שש"פ האופרטיבי ישאר חסוי. אוקלי  
הדבר מוסכם על כולם. הציר מפרט שקיימים 3 תחומים: האופרטיבי - הדיסקרטי, התחום  
הצבוי והתחום הפוליטי. שאל האם האמריקאים חושבים על אמצעים נוספים, כגון לחץ  
על גורמים בינ"ל - האירופאים. אוקלי בהחלט. מספר שהנסיון שנעשה ב"ועידת בון"  
לא עלה יפה. הצרפתים, המסתייגים שכנעו את הגרמנים. הבריטים טרם החליטו. האיטלקים  
חיוביים יותר. היתה דרישה להעלות הנושא על סדה"י. אך לא הגיעו לכך. הציר שאל  
האם ניתן למדינות אחרות לשגר משקיפים. אוקלי השיב שחבר מסובך. הוא רואה את  
הפתרון במעבר לפעילות בקבוצות ממשלתיות בלתי פורמליות ואד הוק אך לא בגופים  
מסורבלים כאיקאיו שהוא גוף המוני. קבוצות כנ"ל יוכלו לפעול במקרה הצורך אפילו ע"י  
סיגור אגרות דיפי, כל אחת לפי יכולתה ורצונה. המנכ"ל שאל מה בנוגע לבוררות.  
אוקלי סיפר שמחכים לחשובות, הפולנים, למרבה האירוניה הודיעו כבר על הפסקת הטיסות,  
לא בגלל ארה"ב כמובן, אלא בשל סיבות בטחוניות. המנכ"ל חדגיש טיש לעשות הכל  
שחבריטים יסכימו לש"פ וימשכו אחריהם את הגרמנים. אוקלי אמר שהפעילות צריכה  
להתמקד בהרחבת המסגרת לעבר גורמים<sup>42</sup> ישראל, אוסטרליה, הודו, יפן, וכד' ע"פ  
הכלל כל אחד לפי יכולתו, ואז תיווצר גם אווירה מתאימה. עבור שעי הקמת קבוצות  
כאלה יש סכוי ליתר הצלחה מאשר בצורות הפורמליים.

אלי אבידן

l.c.



א. מרפי מסר לי את מאמר המערכת המצ"ב מ" Jordan Times " מ- 26.6 (ראת מברק הסגיר משלטון) שקובי הגדירו באוזני כ"מסר קטן מריפאעי".

רובינשטיין

$\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{3}$   $\frac{1}{4}$   $\frac{1}{1}$   $\frac{1}{1}$   $\frac{1}{1}$   $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{1}{2}$



2  
3

108

Jordan Times June 26

3. (U) THE TEXT OF THE EDITORIAL FOLLOWS:

#### OUT OF THE SHADOWS

THE TWA HOSTAGE CRISIS HAS CAST ITS HEAVY SHADOW ON THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT WORK IS CONTINUING ON THE NEXT

STEP IN THE PEACE PROCESS, NAMELY THE ENVISAGED MEETING BETWEEN A JOINT JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN DELEGATION AND U.S. REPRESENTATIVES HERE IN AMMAN. WHEN THE PLO IS READY TO NAME ITS REPRESENTATIVES TO THE DIALOGUE WITH THE U.S., THE PROCESS WILL TAKE AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD. BUT UNTIL THEN NOTHING MEANINGFUL CAN HAPPEN ON THE GROUND. THE WHOLE ISSUE JUST BECOMES A QUESTION OF STALLING AND MARKING TIME.

PROCRASTINATION ON THE PART OF THE PLO IN NAMING ITS ENVOYS TO THE JOINT DIALOGUE IS NOT THE BEST OPTION AVAILABLE TO THEM OR TO US. IT SHOULD NOT MATTER MUCH IF THE U.S. IS PREOCCUPIED WITH THE HOSTAGE CRISIS AND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: JORDAN AND THE PLO HAVE TO PUT THEIR ACT TOGETHER AND STICK TO IT REGARDLESS OF WHAT IS HAPPENING ON THE OUTSIDE.

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X.Y.X



THIS WE SHOULD DO FOR THE SAKE OF MAINTAINING AND STRENGTHENING THE MOMENTUM THAT HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON HAS GENERATED. BUT WE WOULD ALSO HAVE TO DO SOMETHING POSITIVE BECAUSE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE, IF AND WHERE THEY REMAIN, ARE ON PROCEDURAL RATHER THAN OPERATIONAL GROUNDS.

JORDAN AND THE PLO FULLY AGREE ON THE PRINCIPLES FOR A JUST AND HONOURABLE SETTLEMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM. THEY ALSO AGREE ON THE MECHANISM FOR REACHING SUCH A SETTLEMENT. WHY THEN, AND IN WHOSE INTEREST IS IT, TO HOLD UP PROGRESS TOWARDS ACHIEVING THIS GOAL?

BUSY AND PREOCCUPIED AS IT MAY BE WITH THE HOSTAGE CRISIS, THE U.S. WOULD WELCOME ANY NEW EFFORT ON OUR PART, JORDANIANS AND

PALESTINIANS ALIKE, TO PUSH THE NEW PROCESS FORWARD. WE CERTAINLY HAVE NOT HEARD ANYTHING TO THE CONTRARY FROM WASHINGTON, AND IT MIGHT BE AN OPPORTUNE TIME FOR US TO MOVE WHILE ISRAEL PERSISTS IN ITS RELUCTANCE TO HELP THE AMERICANS FREE THEIR HOSTAGES FROM THE SHI'ITES.

THERE IS NOT IN ANY CASE TIME TO WASTE: THE EXTREMISTS IN THIS AREA, WHETHER THEY ARE ISRAELIS OR ARABS, ARE JUMPING AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO WRECK THE CHANCES FOR PEACE. IT WOULD BE A TRAGEDY IF THEY WERE ALLOWED TO SUCCEED, THIS TIME OR AT ANY POINT IN THE FUTURE.

Y-T-T







סגירות ישראל - וועינגטון

2217 2217

דעם... 3... דעם... 3...

אלו

... 1100 בעטון... גלוי...

... 1100 בעטון... גלוי...

85 July 3, 1985... דעם... 3...

... 1100 בעטון... גלוי...

ניו-יורק

בעטון

המסד

19

62

091

אל: הסברה, מע"ח, מצפ"א, ממנכ"ל, יגר, לש' רו"מ, דובר צה"ל. דע: ניו-יורק.  
רמ"ח, קש"ח

NEWS SUMMARY - WEDNESDAY - JULY 3, 1985

THE PRESS REPORTS

Peres Commends US Action

WASH. POST-(Wires)- Peres phoned Shultz Monday to express "admiration for the manner in which the US handled the hostage situation" and to reaffirm "continued support of the Israeli government on anti-terrorism," State Dept. spokesman Kalb said yesterday. Diplomatic sources said Shultz later sent letters to Peres and Shamir praising Israel for its cooperation during the hostage situation.

Israeli Austerity Moves Trigger National Strike

WASH. TIMES-(AP)- Hundreds of thousands of Israelis went on strike yesterday virtually closing down the country to protest emergency economic decrees that will cost the jobs of about 10,000 workers and freeze pay for the rest. But Parliament gave the program strong support in a vote seen as a test of confidence for the nine-month old govt. of Peres.

Israel To Free 300 Lebanese Prisoners Today

PHIL. INQUIRER-Rogers-Israel today will release about 300 of the Lebanese prisoners demanded by the Beirut hijackers and the remaining 435 in the near future. In an interview with Israeli Army Radio, Rabin warned Western nations to tighten anti-terrorist measures and said Israel would not meet the demands of hijackers of foreign airliners. Foreign govts. were making "a serious mistake" if they thought Israel would release "terrorist elements" in response to hijacks, he said.

Assad Idea Broke Hostage Deadlock

WASH. POST-Oberdorfer-In a confidential message to Washington last Tuesday, Assad proposed the artful diplomatic formulation that ultimately resolved the conflict between the hijackers' demands for release of Israeli prisoners and the Reagan administration's refusal to make concessions to terrorists. The Assad message, which followed a flurry of exchanges between Wash. and Damascus in the previous day or two, carefully avoided asking for a formal commitment that Israel would release the 735 Lebanese Shiite and other Arab prisoners it held in return for freeing the 39 Americans. Instead, Assad offered to take the problem of "linkage" on his own shoulders. He stated his willingness both to accept custody of the Americans and then release them, and to give the hijackers a guarantee of his own that Israel would release its Lebanese prisoners.

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סגירות ישראל - וויסניגסון

דף...2...מחור...3...דפים

.....כסחוני

.....דחיות

.....מאריך וז"ח

.....מס' סבר

אלו

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13 63 51

#### Shiites Warn More Anti-US Blows Coming

WASH. TIMES-Reaston-Moslem Shiites who claim to hold seven kidnapped Americans defiantly threatened "more blows" against the US yesterday in the wake of the American promise to "close" the Beirut airport in retaliation for the hijacking. The hijackers had won a "great victory," the Shiites said, and promised to strike again at a time of their own choosing. The Shiites who issued the warning are believed to belong to the fundamentalist organization Hezbollah.

#### Gun Ties Lebanese To Slain Diplomats

WASH. TIMES-(UPI)-A Lebanese man was ordered held for trial after a pistol found in his Paris hideout turned out to be the weapon that killed a US diplomat and an Israeli diplomat, court officials said yesterday. A judge Monday ordered that Georges Ibrahim Abdallah be tried on charges of complicity in voluntary homicide. Mr. Abdallah is considered by police to be a leader of the terrorist group Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction. This group claimed responsibility for both assassinations.

#### Egypt Dismisses Militant Sheikh

WASH. TIMES-(Wires)-Seeking to contain a rising tide of Moslem fundamentalism, the govt. dismissed yesterday Sheikh Hafex Salama who led a campaign for the application of Islamic law in Egypt. Salama heads a group called Islamic Guidance, which ran the affairs of Al-Nour Mosque in Cairo. His supporters say he led the people's resistance at Suez City during an attack on it by Israeli troops in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war.

#### Jordan Establishes People's Militia

WASH. TIMES-(Wires)-The lower house of Parliament approved a new law yesterday establishing a people's militia to support the regular army in defending the country during wartime. The new law will apply to all men aged between 18 and 55, as well as female students; service will be voluntary for other women. Meanwhile, US Embassy sources confirmed that joint US-Jordanian exercises to test Jordan's air defenses began yesterday in Amman. Without disclosing the area, the sources said the exercise involved more than 900 American personnel and an AWACS plane as well as F-16 fighter jets.

#### CIA Chief Labels Iran Responsible For Terror

WASH. TIMES-Diaz-Casey told a conference three months ago that there is enough evidence to hold the Iranian govt. responsible for terrorist acts carried out by radical Shiite groups such as the one that hijacked TWA. "There is today... sufficient evidence that radical Shiite terrorists are responsive to Iranian guidance and receive Iranian support on a constant basis, for us to hold Tehran responsible for their attacks against US citizens, properties, and interests," Casey said. He also named the Soviet Union as the sponsor of the current surge in international terrorism.



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 דף...3...מחור...3...דפים  
 סוג בסחונני  
 מחסות  
 תאריך וז"ח  
 מס' חברה

מגירות ישראל - וויינגטון

אל:      י'      62      י'  
 91      63      18

# Hunt For Nazi Official Turns To Syria

WASH. POST-Mathews-An Austrian accused of sending more than 125,000 Jews to their deaths has become a leading target of American Nazi hunters just as the US has accelerated dealings with Syria, the country that apparently harbors him. Alois Brunner, 73, is considered responsible for decimating Jewish communities in Austria, Greece and France during WWII.

# Egypt Passes Law On Women's Rights: Polygamy Still Allowed For Men

WASH. POST-Dickey-Vowing to make "no encroachment on a man's right to polygamy," the Egyptian govt. passed a new law today recognizing certain basic rights for women. The new legislation is a milestone for women, but also demonstrates Mubarak's desire to avoid a major confrontation with Moslem fundamentalists.

815158



מגירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אלו המשרד

ס.ו.ס. ס.נ.ר.ב.  
דף.....מסמך.....דפים  
סוג בשחוני סודי  
דחיסות  
מסמך ודחיסה 031200 יולי  
085

לשכת רוה"מ.

באגרת לנשיא יש לתקן - מבצע יונתן היה ב-1976 ולא 1977  
ועל כן יש לשנות במקום eight ל-nine.  
יש לשנות על כן במכתב המקורי כשתעבירוהו בדואר. באגרת  
כאן שינינו כנ"ל.

רוח

למח 2  
למח 1+14  
למח 2  
למח 1  
למח 1







July 3, 1985

Dear Shimon:

I would like to offer my thanks, personally and on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, for the assistance and cooperation extended by you and your Government during the TWA hostage crisis. The safe return of our innocent hostages from the captivity they endured is a signal to the nations of the world that refusing to give in to terrorism and to terrorists' demands is the best, and indeed only, way to combat and ultimately eliminate this scourge.

The strong position taken by the Government of Israel against surrendering to terrorism has earned the respect and admiration of all those, both in the United States and elsewhere, who prize those values, such as freedom and justice, which both our countries share.

The ties between Israel and the United States have been strengthened by the ordeal through which we have just passed, frustrating the efforts of those who would see us draw apart. I am confident that you share this view, and look forward, as I do, to working closely together in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald Reagan



3.7.1985

שמעון היקר

אני מבקש להביע תודותי, באופן אישי וכשם הממשלה והעם  
האמריקאים, על העזרה ושיתוף הפעולה שאתה וממשלתך הושטתם לנו בעת  
משבר חטופי T.W.A. שובם של בני הערובה החפים מכל פשע בשלום מהשבי  
אשר עבר עליהם מהווה איתות לאומות העולם כי סירוב להכנע לטרור  
ולתביעת הטרוריסטים מהווה הדרך הטובה ביותר, אכן הבעדית, למלחמה  
ולחיסול המוחלט של תופעה מגונה זו.

עמדתה נחושה של ממשלת ישראל כנגד כניעה לטרור זוכה  
לכבוד ולהערצה של כל אלה, הן בארה"ב והן מחוצה לה, המוקירים ערכים  
כמו חופש וצדק המשותפים לשתי ארצותינו.  
הקשרים בין ישראל וארה"ב התחזקו כתוצאה לנסיון הקשה אשר עבר עלינו,  
ובכך סיכלו מאמצייהם של אלה הרוצים לראותנו מתרחקים אלה מאלה. אני  
משוכנע כי אתה שותף לדעה זו וצופה בתקווה, כמוני, להמשך שיתוף הפעולה  
ההדוק בינינו בעתיד.

שלך בכנות,

רונלד דייגן



# ידיעות לעיתונות

דף מס' 7

י"ד בתמוז תשמ"ה  
3 ביולי 1985

(לעמ 9) נשיא ארצות הברית מודה לראש הממשלה, מר ש. פרס על עזרת ישראל  
בפרשת חטיפת המטוס

(ירושלים) 3.7.-להלן תוכן האיגרת:

"שמעון היקר,

אני מבקש להביע תודתי באופן אישי ובשם הממשל והעם האמריקאי, על העזרה ושיתוף הפעולה שאתה וממשלתך הושתתם לנו בעת משבר חטיפת המטוס.

שובם בשלום של בני הערובה החפים מכל פשע מהשבי מהווה אתות לאומות העולם כי סירוב להיכנע לטרור ולתביעות של טרוריסטים היא הדרך הטובה ביותר, ובעצם היחידה, להילחם ולחסל תופעה מגונה זו.

עמדתה הנחושה של ממשלת ישראל כנגד כניעה לטרור זוכה לכבוד ולהערצה, הן בארצות הברית והן מחוצה לה, של כל אלה המוקירים ערכי חופש וצדק המשותפים לשתי ארצותינו.

הקשרים בין ישראל וארה"ב התחזקו כתוצאה מהמבחן הקשה אשר עבר עלינו, ובכך סוכלו מאמציהם של אלה הרוצים לראותנו מתרחקים אלה מאלה.

אני משוכנע כי אתה שותף לדעה זו וצופה בתקוה, כמוני להמשך שיתוף הפעולה ההדוק בינינו בעתיד.

שלך בכנות,

רונלד רייגן"

לעמ/שא 19.30



# Press bulletin

JERUSALEM, 3 JULY 1985

REAGAN THANKS PERES FOR ISRAEL'S ASSISTANCE IN TWA HOSTAGE CRISIS  
(COMMUNICATED BY THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE)

THE FOLLOWING LETTER, FROM U.S. PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN, WAS TODAY RECEIVED BY PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES (THE LETTER IS DATED 3.7.85):

"DEAR SHIMON,

"I WOULD LIKE TO OFFER MY THANKS, PERSONALLY AND ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR THE ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION EXTENDED BY YOU AND YOUR GOVERNMENT DURING THE TWA HOSTAGE CRISIS. THE SAFE RETURN OF OUR INNOCENT HOSTAGES FROM THE CAPTIVITY THEY ENDURED IS A SIGNAL TO THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD THAT REFUSING TO GIVE IN TO TERRORISM AND TO TERRORISTS' DEMANDS IS THE BEST, AND INDEED ONLY, WAY TO COMBAT AND ULTIMATELY ELIMINATE THIS SCOURGE.

"THE STRONG POSITION TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL AGAINST SURRENDERING TO TERRORISM HAS EARNED THE RESPECT AND ADMIRATION OF ALL THOSE, BOTH IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE, WHO PRIZE THOSE VALUES, SUCH AS FREEDOM AND JUSTICE, WHICH BOTH OUR COUNTRIES SHARE.

"THE TIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THE ORDEAL THROUGH WHICH WE HAVE JUST PASSED, FRUSTRATING THE EFFORTS OF THOSE WHO WOULD SEE US DRAW APART. I AM CONFIDENT THAT YOU SHARE THIS VIEW, AND LOOK FORWARD, AS I DO, TO WORKING CLOSELY TOGETHER IN THE FUTURE.

SINCERELY YOURS,

RONALD REAGAN"

1900 HOURS

/RM  
INST.



משרד החוץ - מחלקת הקשר

אל: וושינגטון

טופס מברק צפון

דף 1 מתוך 2 רפים

סיווג בטחוני: שמור

דחיפות: מיידי

תאריך וזמן רישום: 03/5/85

מס. מברק: 95

לשימוש  
מח  
הקשר

תאריך וזמן חיבור (ימולא עיי השולח) 3.7.85

לידיעת: השגריר.

להלן אגרת מזכיר המדינה שולח לראש הממשלה:

(קשר-נא העבירו הרצי"ב).

לשכת בר-און

ש"י רה"ד גנ"ל ג/א/נא ג'רמ' 1414

השולח: לשכת בר-און אישור מנהל המחלקה: אישור לשכת המנכ"ל: ח"ה  
[לציין תאריך וזמן העברה לקשר]

George Shultz



2/2

July 2, 1985

Dear Shimon:

Please accept my thanks and deep appreciation for the strong support which you and your government and the people of Israel gave us as we worked for the release of our citizens from terrorist hands. The cooperation between our governments during the crisis, defying the attempts of those who would divide us, contributed greatly to the resolution of the situation.

As governments committed to democracy, justice and human rights, the solidarity of America and Israel is a mainstay in the fight against terrorism everywhere.

All nations should benefit from the lesson learned during this ordeal--the security of our people is best guaranteed by refusal to submit to terrorist threats and demands.

I look forward to deepening the close cooperation between Israel and the United States on all the issues with which we are involved, and again take this opportunity to offer to you our gratitude for Israel's stance throughout this latest time of challenge.

Sincerely yours,

/S/

George Shultz



2/2

July 2, 1985

Dear Shimon:

Please accept my thanks and deep appreciation for the strong support which you and your government and the people of Israel gave us as we worked for the release of our citizens from terrorist hands. The cooperation between our governments during the crisis, defying the attempts of those who would divide us, contributed greatly to the resolution of the situation.

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I look forward to deepening the close cooperation between Israel and the United States on all the issues with which we are involved, and again take this opportunity to offer to you our gratitude for Israel's stance throughout this latest time of challenge.

Sincerely yours,

/S/

George Shultz



in the morning

July 2, 1985

Dear Yitzhak:

I wish to take this opportunity, now that our hostages have been safely released, to extend my thanks, both personally and on behalf of the government and people of the United States, for the understanding of your Government. The strong support extended by Israel during this crisis has been of the utmost help in bringing about its successful resolution. Those in the world who would see us succumb to terrorism have been given a message that our two nations remain firmly joined in our determination never to give in to the demands of terrorists. Our cooperative efforts to eliminate the threat terrorism poses to civilization and its values must not cease.

Sincerely yours,

/S/

George Shultz



הלו: 1108, נרו: 67, מ: המשרד  
 דח: ב, 10, ט, תח: 020785, ח: 1830

טמור/בהול

הטגריר

נודה לכם באם תעבירו האגרת למוכיר המדינה שוכץ.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY,

WHILST I WAS ABOUT TO DRAFT MY SINCEREST WISHES FOR THE FOURTH OF JULY, WE RECEIVED THE JOYOUS NEWS OF THE SAFE RELEASE OF THE 39 HOSTAGES.

PLEASE ACCEPT NOT ONLY OUR PROFOUND SENSE OF RELIEF ON THE SAFE RETURN OF THESE U.S. CITIZENS BUT ALSO BY SENSE OF DEEP ADMIRATION FOR THE COURAGEOUS STAND THE PRESIDENT AND YOU ADOPTED AND WHICH UNDOUBTEDLY BROUGHT BROUGHT ABOUT THE SAFE RELEASE. NO BETTER 4TH OF JULY PRESENT COULD HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THE BATTLE AGAINST TERRORISM, IN WHICH WE HAVE BEEN ENGAGED FOR SO LONG, HAS RECEIVED A CONSIDERABLE BOOST AS A RESULT OF YOUR POSITION AND WE HOPE IT WILL GO ON TO FURTHER ACHIEVEMENTS, UNTIL THE SCOURGE OF TERRORISM IS FINALLY ERADICATED.







## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

I HAVE JUST CAME FROM A NOT TOO EASY GOVERNMENT SESSION WHICH LASTED FOR NEARLY 22 HOURS WITH SOME EXTREMELY PAINFULL ECONOMIC DECISIONS. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE ONLY RELIEF WHICH ALL OF US FELT WAS WHEN THE NEWS FINALLY CAME THAT THE HOSTAGES WERE FREED. PLEASE ACCEPT MR. SECRETARY MY HEARTFELT CONGRATULATIONS ON THE 4TH JULY AND ON THE RETURN OF THE HOSTAGES TO AMERICAN SOIL.

I AM CONFIDENT THAT BOTH OUR COUNTRIES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK TOGETHER, IN FRIENDSHIP, FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR OUR REGION AND FOR THE FREE WORLD, FAITHFUL TO OUR COMMON VALUES AND IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM.  
WITH WARM REGARDS ALSO TO MRS. SHULTZ,  
SINCERELY,

YITZHAK SHAMIR

לשכת המנכ"ל.==

תפ: טהח, רהמ, מנככ, ממנככ, מצפא



ס. נ. ר. ס. נ. ר. ס.  
דף 1. מתוך... דפים  
סוג בשחוני... סוד?  
דחיות...?  
תאריך וז"ח. 022200. 11.01.85

070

שה"ח, ממנכ"ל, לשכת המנכ"ל, מצפ"א.

פגישת המנכ"ל - ציארלי חיל (עוזר ראשי למזכיר). השתתף הציר.

1. המנכ"ל אמר שהיה רוצה לשמוע בנושא הקשר בעמותת משבר ותהליך השלום. היל מעיר שהוא 1/1 בעמדת פקוד, אבל יגיב בעמדת המשרד, כאשר לנושא התקשורת הוא הדגיש שחוזר על מה שאמר המזכיר וכפי שנאמר על ידו היינו *SMALL RIDER ON A BIG ANIMAL* בתחילת העניינים התנהלו כשורה. הרגשנו כפי שהמזכיר אמר שהדבר המרכזי, הוא הערור לא ישראל. בצורה זו המזכיר גם השיב על השאלות, התקשורת התעקשה דוקא לדון בישראל - מדוע לא משחררת עצורים. אנו התרחקנו מכך. חשבנו, מתברר בטעות, שנוכל להסתפק בכך שישראל יודעת מה שחיא עושה וקוראת מה שאנו חיינו רוצים, אך לא היתה לנו שליטה על כך וזה הולך לתגובת שה"בט רבין. הוא קרא אותנו כפי שאנו קראנו מגזרים שונים בישראל. ניסינו להשתיק את הנושא של ישראל ולחנך את הצבור כאן. שלא ידע כיצד מתנהגים במקרים כאלה. ככל שהזמן עבר השתלטנו על התקשורת. הצלחנו לשים את "המכסה" על המידע במסך 48 שעות, דבר שלא קרת מאז מלחמת"ה ה-2. הדבר גרם להתרוצצות בקרב הטירוויסטים והסורים - מה בדעת ארה"ב לעשות, הדבר פעל. הספור ב"יושפוטט" (לחץ על יהודים) הוא *OUTRAGEOUS* ובלתי נכון לחלוטין. המנכ"ל. בממשלה החקיים דיון מה לעשות. היו דיווחים מכאן שכאלו ארה"ב מבקשת שחרור העצירים, דבר שהשפיע על המבוכה בישראל.
- השגריר הפרסומים-48 אחרי החטיפה - שישראל מחזיקה בעצורים השועים בצורה בלתי חוקית, וכן דברי בוש בגרמניה, יצרו רושם שכאלו ישראל והטרוויסטים הם על מישור אחד. מדגיש שלא יכול להתבטא מסיבות מובנות. נשאל גם בשחות טלפון מה היה קורה לה ישראל שחררה ללא תמורה מהמחבלים. הדבר שונה כאשר מידע כזה בא ממקורות רשמיים מאשר תקשורתיים. המנכ"ל ציין שראה את כל המידע, שנכנס ממקורות שונים, ושהיה לעיתים מנוגד. היל. היתה בעיה שלא ניתן לפתור גם אם היינו בקשר, גם אז הייתם שומעים ממקורות אחרים. שגריר צריך היה להגיד שאתם עומדים בקשר עם ישראל הפועלת בתאום מלא עם ארה"ב. ציר מדגיש שנוצר ואקום ומעין הרגשת מחנק. חשוב שבמקרים כאלה נחיה בקשר. היל מגיב שהוא לא בטוח שמסכים עם זאת. הציר יתכן, אך ארה"ב יכולה להגיד שהיא מדברת עמנו ושמתליפים מידע. השגריר מצידו היה מטרב להתייחס לנושא העצורים. הציר מזכיר שלדבר הית אימפקט שלילי בדעת הקהל כאן. מציין עמדתו החיובית של המזכיר אך ישנם גם גורמים אחרים.

2. המנכ"ל מעיר שבנוגע לנקודה השניה, תהליך השלום, היתה פגישה טובה עם המזכיר







דף... 1... מתוך... 4... דשים...  
 סוג בשחוני... 36...  
 דחיות... 13...  
 מאריך וזית... 2:7...  
 069... מס' מבקש



14.00

אל: ממנכ"ל, מזא"ר, לשמנכ"ל, מל"מ

להלן דיווח שיחת המנכ"ל ארמקוטס 1.7 בנושא יחסי מזרח - מערב ונושאים נוספים אחדים; במלך זה של השיחה השתתף לצד פנדלטון ווילקוקס, פלמר ט/עוזר המזכיר לנושא הסובייטי ומצדנו השגריר, אבידן והח"מ.

# 1. הנושא הסובייטי.

א. ארמקוטס פתח ואמר כי אין חידושים ביחסי ארה"ב וברית"מ. מכל המגעים במסך החקופה עולה כי התאמתה ההערכה שגרובצ'וב, צעיר ונמרץ, יקדיש בשלב זה עיקר מאמציו לבעיות פנים; אך הממשל לא חזה עד כמה במתירות יפעל באורח פנימי להגברת כוחו. הוא עסוק בחכנסת אנשיו למנגנון, בתחום הכלכלי מטרתו העיקרית להגביר את המוטיבציה של הציבור. הוא מדגיש תכנון ללא שינויים דרמטיים. נושא בו הוא פועל הוא חינוך להימנעות מאלכוהול (יש סטטיסטיקות של שליש מהגברים המשתכרים). בבנין שגארה"ב בבריה"מ, שבונה אותו קבוצת עליית סובייטית, בצהרי היום עובדות רק הנשים. רומנוב, מתחרהו לשלטון, הודח עתה (נמטר שביקש להשתחרר מהפקידו "מסעמי בריאות" ואחד הפרשנים, אמר באירוניה "סעמי בריאות שיש בהם סכנת חיים"). פלמר ציין כי גורובצ'וב רצה בהוצאת רומנוב כיוון שראה בו סיכון, וניצל את שכרותו (הפיכים ספרו כיצד השתכר כלוט בהלסינקי), ויש אומרים וכל מטע האנטי- שכרות נועד נגדו, כמטרה קלה שנשות בריה"מ סולידריות נגדה (מסר למנכ"ל נייר).

ב. ארמקוטס הוסיף, כי במדיניות חוץ ממשיך גורובצ'וב בקו של קודמיו, שלא פעלו בכך נמרצות בגלל סדרי עבודה, והדבר מקל על גרומיקו לשמירת מעמדו. יש תנופה ביחסים עם סין וכן נטיה ליתר חמימות ביחסים עם יפן ועם הודו, כדי להקשות על ארה"ב. יש מגמה גם לחזר אחר האירופים על רקע SOI. התכנית היא הגדלת הייצוא הסובייטי ליפן ב-30-50 ביליון דולר ב-5 השנים הבאות, לעומת 20 ביליון כעת. גרומיקו בביקור קרוב ביפן ירצה לזרז בנושא הטריטוריות הצפוניות. באשר להודו, הסובייטים ערים לכך שתהודים פונים למערב ולטכנולוגיה. אמנם ביקור גנדי במוסקבה היה מוצלח ולכן אין ארה"ב רואה שינויים דרמטיים מיידים ביחסיה עם הודו לטובת הקרוב גם בעקבות ביקור גנדי. הסובייטים אקטיביים יותר בנושא אפגניסטאן, הודו- סין וינהלו ודאי מדיניות יותר פעילה. היו פורומים עם בנושאים איזוריים לרבות אפגניסטאן ודרא"פ, אך לא נחדש דבר. (אמנם קרוקר התרשם מיתר פתיחות סובייטית). באשר לאפגניסטאן לא נחדש הרבה. הסובייטים ממשיכים לתלות הקולר בפקיסטאן. נעשה מאמץ לנחיל להם עמדת ארה"ב באשר לסמל/

מס' 069... מס' מבקש



דפ... 2... מחור... 4... דפים  
סוג בסחובי  
דחיסות  
מאריך ודחיס  
069

על בסיס הגשת לו"ז לנסיגה, קביעת הסדרי בטחון והחזרת פליטים השוהים באפגניסטאן. הובהר להם כי אם לא יתקדמו יהיה הנושא בעיה לגורבצ'וב ואולי ליורשו. ארמקוסט אינו צופה תזוזה. ההודים שעמם שוחחה ארה"ב מנסים לטפל. בנדרי נשלח ע"י גנדי למוסקבה. ארה"ב לא תסכים להכריז על האיזור כ"נייטראלי", הוא איזור אסטרטגי מבחינה.

ג. ארמקוסט מסר כי שולץ יפגוש את גרומיקו בהלסינקי ובארה"ב בסתיו. מניח שאי שם תחייים פסגה (טרם נקבע לו"ז). כנראה לא במסגרת אומיית אלא בנפרד, יעדכונו. בנושא הבילטרלי ארה"ב-בריה"מ אין חידושים. בגינבה לא התקדמו הרבה (שלב ב' מתיים ב 17.7). הסובייטים לא גילו רצון להתקדם, אך לראשונה הסכימו לשמוע דיווח ארה"ב על **דפ**, שאמנם לא שכנע אותם אך נשמע באוירה ללא התנצחות. הסובייטים מוכנים עתה לדבר ב"דיפלומטיה שקטה". ארה"ב מחשיך במחקר בענין **SDI**. בשיחות הסחר (בלדריג') לא היתה התקדמות. היתה נסיגה במפגשי חילות והים (הפנטגון לא רצה לקיים מפגש לאחר הריגת ניקולסון בברלין). ארה"ב במגע עם היפנים בנושא בטיחות אווירית-ארמקוסט סיכם כי גורבצ'וב עושה רושם של מתיר חפישה ובקיא ביחסי ציבור, אך הבירוקרטיה הותיקה שולטת בנושאי החוץ

ד. פאלמר הוסיף כי עתה יש לסובייטים "רונלד רייגן" משלהם בגישה תקיפה בסנים, וכנראה יביא עמו תחכום ומלחמה בשחיתות. מכירות הנשק הסובייטיות גברו, וכן הנכונות לאלימות באפגניסטאן (כ- 500 נפגעים ביום) ובניקרגואה. השאלה האם בוחן גורבצ'וב אפשרויות חדשות או שהוא בבחינת "סוטלוב חדש" - סטליניסט - אינה ברורה. אין פאלמר מוצא אותו אטרקטיבי בכל התחומים. השגריר העיר כי דוברינין העיר שגורבצ'וב לא יבוא לאו"ם וכן היה. כן הודת השגריר על דברי שיפטר באוטבה שהיו הצהרה טובה ביותר מזה שנים רבות. (הערה: א. דוברינין נפגש אתמול עם המזכיר. ב. לשאלה אמר לח"מ פאלמר כי סוקולוב סגנו של דוברינין הוא איש שיחה בתחומים מטוימים, מעניין מדוברינין).

ה. המנכ"ל הודה לארמקוסט ופאלמר על הסקירה ואמר כי אנו נוטים לראות בישראל את המצב במשקפים מקומיות, אך חשובה הפטרספקטיבה. ביחסי ישראל מזא"ר לא חלו שינויים על פני השטח, אך מתחת לפני השטח ישנן תזוזות קטנות. יש הרחבת קשרי סחר ותרבות עם פולין. יותר מבעת היחסים. כנ"ל לגבי הונגריה, יותר מבכל תקופת מאז הניתוק. יש גם שינויים בתחום משפטי עם המזאריים, לרבות החלק הנוקשה כמו צ'כיה וגרמ"ז. היו 4 סגישות עם שגרירים ציכים



דף... 3... 4... דפים  
טוב בשחזר  
דחיות  
האריך וזיה  
069... 069

בתקופה האחרונה באירועים חברתיים לפי הזמנת סגרירותנו. תזוזה קלה גם אצל הבולגרים בכל אלה לא נתקלנו בתופעות אנטישמיות כמו אצל בריה"מ. המזארי"ת מביטות עלינו בעין גם בנושא הטכנולוגיה. אין בכל אלה משום תנועה דרמטית אלא תנועות קלות. אין לדעת אם זה סימן של הקלת הלחץ הסובייטי על מזא"ר כשאנו משמשים ניסוי. טאלמר ציין כי קשה לדעת, כיוון שהפראבדה יצא במאמר נוקשה באשר למדיניות מזא"ר. המנכ"ל אמר כי כל עוד גרומיקו מתפקידו ספק אם גורבצ'וב ישנה חקו כלפינו. הסובייטים חוזרים על צ "אישומים" נגדנו - ש"פ אסטרטגי, השתתפות ב- SOI ונושא VOR .  
ו. המנכ"ל הזכיר ענין רומניה ואמר שאנו בעד המשך MFN ע"י ארה"ב, אחרת יאגפו הרומנים לזרועות הסובייטים עוד יותר. ארמקוסט אמר כי ארה"ב בעד המשך MFN .  
והיו מגעים (דרוינסקי).

ז. המנכ"ל אמר כי עקבנו אחרי ביקור אסד במוסקבה ושמונו לב להעדר תודעה משותפת, אך הסובייטים בדעה אחת עם אסד שהסכם חוסין - ערפאת שלילי. הם חלוקים באשר ל"כשרות" ערפאת. הזיקה בין הסובייטים לאסד נשארה; לאולי התחזקה.  
הערה: דיווח זה נכתב בלילה שלאחר השיחות. הבוקר פורסם דבר מינויו של גרומיקו לנשיא בריה"מ ומינוי מחליפו גם האמריקנים ללא ספק הופתעו מהשינוי (אתמול לא היה רמז לאפשרות זו). הערכתנו היא שהאמריקנים דשמחו לכל חומר על האיש החדש. האם ניתן, גם על יסוד בירוים. עם עולי גרוזיה המכירים אותו או את גישתו, לספק לנו מידע שניתן למסור?

## 2. נושאים אחרים.

נושא ניירובי - : הסובייטים מנסים לנקוט דיסאינפורמציה במסגרת נושא ציונות /גזענות אסור לארה"ב ולאחרים להניח להם, יהיה זה למון קל בעבורם. ארמקוסט אמר כי ארה"ב שותפה לכך ותתאמץ. הח"מ העיר כי יש חשיבות שארה"ב תבטא בבהירות מראש את עמדתה בקשר לעזיבת הועידה, שכן האירופים יסאו אליה עיניים אך לא יעשו בעצמם. יש חשיבות לחזית איתנה. ארמקוסט אמר כי ארה"ב תנקוט עמדה תקיפה ביותר.

ב. המנכ"ל אמר שחשוב לארה"ב וליש ראל אם יופשר המצב במזא"ר לגבינו. בהקשר זה חזכר חשיבות יוגוסלביה, כשניתן לתלות ההפשרה ביציאתנו מלבנון, בחימום היחסים עם מצרים (שהיא חשובה בעיניהם). לכך תהא השפעה על מזארי"ת אחרות ונשמח אם ארה"ב תסייע.



069  
דף... א... מחור... דפים  
סוג כסחוני  
דחיות  
מאריך וז"ח  
069  
מס' מנהל

ארמקוסט העיר שמא החזרת שגמצרים תהא מועד מתאים. פאלמר אמר כי לפני בוא פלניץ לארה"ב דנו קובעי המדיניות ביוגוסלביה והחליטו לא לשנות הקו (דווח בשעתו). האמריקנים העלו לבקשתנו וסגן שה"ח היוגוסלבי אמר כי לא זו העת ללחוץ.

ג. ארמקוסט הזכיר ביקור גנדי וההתקדמות שהיתה (הבטחה כי ינתנו אשרות), והשאלה אם הדבר יבוצע. בנדרי הציע בצאתו בנמל התעופה לטפל בכך. לשאלת המנכ"ל כיצד מוצע לפעול הציע פנדלטון כי שגארה"ב בדלהי תתבקש לבדוק העניין (לאחר המסרים הברורים והציניים למסרו האמריקנים) לפני פניית ישראל באורח רשמי. המנכ"ל ביקש כי יודיעונו תוצאות בדיקתם, מה גם ששמענו שבנדרי כנראה נגדנו, להערת הח"מ כי זו גישה של אנשי משרד -חוץ "קלסיים" שב ואמר ארמקוסט כי זו היתה הערכתם ולכן שוחחו בעת ביקור גנדי גם עם היועצים מסביב לו שאינם באים מאסכולה זו.

רובינשטיין

ל.ל.ל.



מגירות ישראל - וושינגטון

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ד.פ.א. ....מחור. ת.ד.ס

טווג בקחוני גלוי

דמיסות רגיל

מאריך וזית... 09.11.81

מס' מברק

אל:

בטחון

המשרד

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063

ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, מע"ת, רמ"ח קט"ח.

תדרוך דובר מחמ"ד ליום 2.7.81

Q Did you receive any official protest from the Lebanese government against the US measurements taking the airport?

MR. KALB: I don't have anything I can share with you. It is my understanding that the Lebanese ambassador was here at the State Department this morning. But insofar as the discussions, it is something that I don't have at this point to share.

Q Who did he meet with?

MR. KALB: It's my understanding that he met with Assistant Secretary Murphy.

Q Aren't you committed to the same policy of supporting the central government of Lebanon?

MR. KALB: I think what was issued on Saturday night reflecting what has been issued in a similar fashion in recent weeks and months still stands, yes.

Q Any communication in the last day or two between Prime Minister Peres and Secretary Shultz?

MR. KALB: Yes. There was a phone call from the Israeli Prime Minister yesterday to the Secretary. The Prime Minister expressed admiration for the manner in which the United States handled the hostage situation. He expressed the continued support of the Israeli government on anti-terrorism and in the course of the conversation on another subject, the Israeli Prime Minister told the Secretary that he, Mr. Peres, has decided to put the new economic program into effect.

Q What did the Secretary say?

MR. KALB: I have nothing beyond that rundown.

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Q Are they Hezbollah?



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אלו

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Q Bernie, can I ask --

Q Well, you know one of them is.

MR. KALB: Beyond that, George, I cannot be of any help. Jim, did I hear Jim? Jim, do you want a chair here, because you may be mistaken for a spokesman? (Laughter.)

Q There was a question asked about that at a meeting with an American official yesterday who said something like this when the question of the identity of the hijackers came up. He said that they had -- I wish I could remember the exact words but the sense of it was that they had several passports and that we weren't sure of their names and he also said that the United States did not know who pulled the trigger. I'm trying to correlate the statement that you made and what the Secretary said with what the briefer said. You said, "The US knows who did this." Do we know the name of the killer?

MR. KALB: I have nothing on that. I think that the backgrounder you got yesterday had nothing to contribute on that specific point, best as I remember it.

Q Bernie, the background briefer identified one of the three or confirmed the identity of this man, Ali Atwa (?).

MR. KALB: Then I would have to refer you back to that. I have nothing to add to that by way of any identities in any public way.

Q Why didn't we hear what John said?

Q Just that yesterday the official confirmed the identity of the one man, this Ali Atwa, who was the one the Greeks released and who flew over to join the others in Beirut.

Q Yeah, but he wasn't on the plane.

Q There were only two on the plane. He was the third one that joined them.

Q I still haven't got this straight. I still don't see what the correlation between what the Secretary said and what the background briefer said.



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סגירות ישראל - וויינגסון

אלו      ק"פ      63  
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MR. KALB: I got the impression, Jim, if I heard you correctly, that you are really dealing in two different categories, aren't you? One is --

Q No.

Q The briefer did say yesterday that the gentlemen on the plane, the two original hijackers operated under several different names and carried several different passports and that it was difficult therefore to identify them precisely.

Q Yes.

Q A few hours later the Secretary of State said, "Yes, we know who they are."

MR. KALB: Right. And that is what I have echoed and beyond that, I cannot advance it.

Q Okay. We know who they are. Yes, we know there were two hijackers on the plane. Do we know the names of those hijackers and do we know which one pulled the trigger? That's my question.

MR. KALB: I have nothing on that that I can share with you.

Q The Secretary also said last night I believe that there were legal steps underway and there might be additional steps, presumably extralegal. Can you expand on that at all?

MR. KALB: Well, in legal steps, the question has come up in a variety of ways about extradition. Let me deal with that question in a general way -- that the United States expects and will do everything in its power to see that the hijackers and murderers of Robert Stethen are brought to justice, either in Lebanon or in the United States. Now on this question of the general question of extradition, it is important that we utilize every available legal procedure for bringing these individuals to justice, such as the provision for extradition and mutual assistance in criminal enforcement that are contained in international agreements to which Lebanon and the United States are parties. It would be a mistake to ignore these agreements simply because there may be a possibility that others might not live up to their obligations under them. This would seriously weaken both the general structure of international law and the specific anti-terrorism agreements that we have gone to such efforts to produce. We need to assert our rights under these agreements and to insist that others carry out their



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responsibilities under them. As a practical matter, moreover, our efforts will succeed from time to time, either due to the cooperation of a foreign nation or because we are able to arrest the individuals involved. Should our diplomatic efforts fail, we at least have laid a basis for further unilateral efforts in appropriate circumstances.

Q Can you give any further indication of what international agreements you're speaking of? I gather there is no US-Lebanon bilateral extradition treaty.

MR. KALB: Well, what I have by way of a reply is that Lebanon is signatory to the Montreal and Hague Conventions,

which oblige the government of Lebanon to bring to trial and to punish the perpetrators of this crime or to turn them over to a responsible government for trial and punishment. We believe that the government of Lebanon has a responsibility to act under the terms of these conventions.

Q Bernie, as an aficionado of ambiguity you have, by dangling before us this warning that if legal efforts fail, there would be a basis for appropriate unilateral efforts or whatever, are you suggesting the US might want to kill these people?

MR. KALB: I'm not making any suggestions and I'm going to leave that precisely where I left it in the reading of it.

Q The suggestion is that these efforts we're trying are legal. Would the Americans then try efforts that were not legal?

MR. KALB: I'm going to have leave it where I left it.

Q Bernie, have ever discussed this point with the Amal leader, Mr. Berri?

MR. KALB: I don't have anything for you on that.

Q Do you have any comment on the Prime Minister of Lebanon saying that you should close Athens Airport because this hijacking originated in Athens not in Beirut Airport?

MR. KALB: No, I don't.

Q Wouldn't be obliged, if you're going to go through the legal procedures to deal with Lebanon's Justice Minister?

MR. KALB: We deal with the government of Lebanon, yes.



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מגירות ישראל - ווינגסטון

אלו  
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Q So you're saying that the United States will turn to the Justice Minister of Lebanon, Nabih Berri, who was in various times a mediator or negotiator for the hijackers during the course of the past two weeks in the US efforts to secure Lebanon's compliance with these extradition plans?

MR. KALB: The expectation here is that we expect officials of the government of Lebanon to cooperate and to take action.

Q Have you had any positive response to your efforts to effect a boycott of the Beirut Airport?

MR. KALB: My understanding is that a process is underway and I don't have any tally sheet or feedback at this point.

Q Can you detail which countries you have asked to --

MR. KALB: Ralph, I can't other than I think, as it was indicated yesterday, that the United States is approaching other governments and asking them to take steps similar to those that were announced yesterday.

Q But you've had no response from any of those?

MR. KALB: I don't have anything yet by way of a feedback.

Q Could one assume that what you have just told us about the extradition and the government of Lebanon, you expect the Lebanese government to cooperate and take action, was all stated specifically to the ambassador today by Murphy?

MR. KALB: I can make no assumption because I indicated before that I would not be able to divulge anything that took place in the diplomatic exchange.

Q At whose request was that meeting?

MR. KALB: My understanding is that it was at the request of the Lebanese.

Q Various officials in the government have had different perspectives on how much or how little Iran was involved and Shultz hinted that they were involved and a high-ranking White House official said two days ago there is no evidence that they were involved. What is the State Department view?

MR. KALB: I have nothing that I could add to that.

Q Bernie, can you update us on the peace process in the Middle East? Is it lost now in this crisis? Is Murphy going to the Middle East or not? What's happening?



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מגירת ישראל - וושינגטון

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אל:

MR. KALB: Well, Murphy is here, as you know. Most of you know that, obviously. That process, obviously, still continues, the effort to move that peace process forward. You're familiar with some of the events that have taken place -- King Hussein's initiative, the visits by Arab leaders, the visits to the region by Secretary Shultz and Ambassador Murphy and discussions that the United States has had with Israel. We are working toward the goal of direct negotiations between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation this year, and, as you know, there has been progress in that direction.

Q What progress?

MR. KALB: The items that I listed prior to that.

Q Many US officials do acknowledge that the Lebanese government has no control over any part of Lebanon. In that case, how do you expect the Lebanese government to cooperate as far as the extradition is concerned of the culprits of the hijacking?

MR. KALB: Well, it's a realistic question all right, but I have nothing that I can add to what I've said.

Q One question on the broad issue of terrorism in general. Last week some of the television stations in the US showed pictures of a school for terrorism and --

MR. KALB: --A school for terrorism? Where?

Q He doesn't call it terrorism, but this is being run in the South and he came on television and he said that he has been training nationalists of a dozen countries in how to use fuses, explosives --

MR. KALB: --Who has been training? I'm sorry.

Q This particular program was on NBC and various other television station and the director of the school --

MR. KALB: I'm kind of losing you because I don't know where the school is and I don't know the nationality.

Q The school is in Alabama.



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Q Alabama, New Jersey and Miami.

Q Apparently there are many schools of this kind and one of them trained -- (inaudible) -- in this particular school. Is it possible for the US to close down these schools and take some action in pursuit of the general purpose of stamping out terrorism?

MR. KALB: I don't know. I simply do not know. Let me see if I can take a look at that and see if anything may be forthcoming, although I can't assure you of a reply.

Q Bernie, Robert McFarlane on television yesterday mentioned two or three strategic options that the US targets -- "targets" was his word -- that the US was looking at at the present time. Do you have any comment on that as relates to your emphasis on taking legal steps at this time?

MR. KALB: Nothing. I have nothing on that.

Q There was an Israeli radio report that Shultz commended Peres for the way Israel handled the crisis. Is that the case?

MR. KALB: I don't have the exact language, but I think the Secretary yesterday in one interview -- I think he did two yesterday -- addressed that question in one fashion or another and I'd refer you to the text that we have outside.

Q May I followup on the peace process? Can we say that the peace process is not frozen for the time being because of the crisis in Lebanon?

MR. KALB: Absolutely. (Laughter.) Absolutely. It is not frozen. But I cannot give you a temperature reading.

Q Do you have anything to say today on the other seven hostages and the continuing effort to gain their release?

MR. KALB: Nothing other than what has been said up until now about the United States commitment and the demand that the seven be released unconditionally and unharmed.

Q Did the government of Algeria block a rush on the TWO airliner while it was there at the airport?

MR. KALB: I have nothing on that.

Q You won't comment? What was that?

MR. KALB: I have nothing on that.

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דף...מסמך...אדום

סוג מסמך

דחיות

מאריך וזמן

מסמך מס' 111

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Q Can you tell us about the position of the Sixth Fleet now that was in the Mediterranean before the hostages were let go?

MR. KALB: You might try the Pentagon.

Q You can't tell us anything here?

MR. KALB: I can't. George?

Q Do you stand by Mr. McFarlane's remarks concerning the possibility of an attack on the strategic bases in the Middle East?

MR. KALB: That's a variation of Ralph's question in a "Wall Street Journal" article. I have nothing on that.

Q ...Going back to the terrorists now, as far as the extradition treaty is concerned, India and the US have an extradition treaty. Now India has been demanding that five to seven Sikhs held in the US jails who were caught in the plot to kill Rajiv Gandhi. Now is the US going to extradite them to India or not?

MR. KALB: I don't have any immediate information, but let me take a look and see what is possible.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

111



אל: שר האוצר, מנכ"ל האוצר

בתפוח היומי של אחמד נאמר שאחרי מקצת בדיקה את הצדדים  
הפסדים של ישראל, ומבטת את הממשלה על אומץ לבו הנא. ההונאה המסיבה  
למדינה והצדדים היוו אכן יבוצו, זה יהיה צעד חשוב לתקון המצב והבטח  
וזה כל פניו של ישראל. אחר כך ~~ממש~~ צומת מוכנה לעצור עיניו ברק הסל  
(הנולד, הנמצא עתה תחת עיון בקולגים).

זוג פתאום

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מגירות ישראל - וועסינגטון

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## המערד

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מכיל

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אל - : מצפ"נ

סגור

מתוך שיחה עם מקור בכיר בצוות העוזרים לוועדת החוץ בסנט .

אם וכאשר מטוס כלשהו ייחטף במזה"ת (או בכל איזור אחר) על ארה"ב לפוצץ מייד את שדה התעופה בביירות ע"מ למנוע הגעת המטוס לשם וע"י כך למנוע כל הסחבנות במקום הזה. (בכלל, המקור נץ בנושא הטיפול בטרוריסטים והיה מעדיף להרוס את שדה התעופה בביירות עתה, באופן פרמננטי אם אפשר ע"י טלוק מגזל הפקוח ויצירת מכתשים עמוקים למדי במסלולים שלא ניתן למלאם בקלות).

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סגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: מצפ"א

סיוס סדר  
דף... מתוך... דפים  
סוג בטחון  
דחיפות  
תאריך וזמן  
מס' מברק 052

מצפ"א.

דע: ממנכ"ל

לשכת רו"מ

לשכת שר האוצר

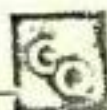
קונגרס: תוספות סיוע (לרבות התוספות לישראל ולירדן).

רצ"ב כתבה בנידון מאת סטיפן גטינגר שהתפרסמה בגליון השבועי של הרבעון הקונגרסיונלי (29.6.85) ושטסבירה היטב את תבעיות שנחעוררו ואת המכסולים בדרך. לעיונכם.

למדן

לחם חתם אשף ג/אגס ג3סא ארוחי טאליס 3113  
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House, Senate Divided:

## Foreign Aid, Water Disputes Delay Talks on Supplemental

The House and Senate failed to resolve differences before the July 4 recess on legislation providing supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1985.

The two chambers are divided by provisions in the bill (HR 2577) on aid to Nicaraguan rebels, economic assistance for Jordan and funding for water projects.

The Senate passed a \$13.9 billion version of HR 2577 June 20 and appointed conferees the same day. The House passed its \$13.4 billion bill June 12, but it did not appoint conferees in time to meet the week of June 24. (Senate action, *Weekly Report* p. 1239; House action, p. 1181)

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., chairman of the Appropriations Committee, said the major stumbling block to agreement appeared to be whether aid for anti-government "contras" in Nicaragua would be handled by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), as the Senate proposed, or by other agencies, as the House required. (*Weekly Report* p. 1141)

House leaders said that they were unwilling to go to conference with the Senate until several issues were close to agreement.

"We're not trying to delay anything," said House Appropriations Committee Chairman Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss. "There just wasn't enough time to deal with it all."

He said the Senate had changed so many provisions in the House bill that it required time to study them. Some, he added, could create problems by infringing on the jurisdiction of House authorizing committees.

For example, several staff aides said that Whitten was not happy with the Senate's provisions regarding water projects such as dams, inland waterways and harbor dredging. The Senate bill would prohibit any federal money from being spent until a cost-sharing agreement was reached be-

—By Stephen Gettinger

tween the administration and state sponsors. Also, as a condition to removing a presidential veto threat, Senate leaders agreed to specific cost sharing requirements for future projects. (Story, p. 1283)

Hatfield, however, said the water projects should not pose an insoluble problem. "I met with Tom Bevill (D-Ala., chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Energy and

**"We're not trying to delay anything. There just wasn't enough time to deal with it all."**

—Rep. Jamie L. Whitten, D-Miss.



Water Development] and the matter is pretty well on track," he said.

Hatfield added that Senate provisions on the water projects were negotiable.

### Foreign Aid Disputes

Rep. Vic Fazio, D-Calif., a member of the House Appropriations Committee, said that a Senate amendment giving \$250 million in economic aid to Jordan could prove controversial, since the House had never considered the matter.

Nicaraguan aid could be difficult to resolve because both the House and Senate had debated the issue at such length before passing their versions of the bill that neither body would be willing to change on the sensitive issue of CIA involvement, he said.

The next move, according to Fazio, was up to the White House. Many House members had voted for aid to the Nicaraguan rebels only after as-

surances that the administration would not demand that it be handled by the CIA, he said, and insistence by the Republican controlled Senate that to do so could cause a revolt by House Democrats who supported the aid.

The bill's most costly provisions, such as \$2.9 billion for farm price support programs, \$3.5 billion for the Social Security Administration, and \$1.5 billion for Israel, are not in dispute. The House provided \$27 million in aid for the Nicaraguan contras and the Senate \$38 million, but the monetary difference would not cause a major conflict, members said.

Members said they expected the two chambers to meet to resolve the issues shortly after Congress returns from the recess July 8.

### Senate Provisions

As passed by the Senate June 20, HR 2577 included the following appropriations and provisions for fiscal 1985:

#### Agriculture, Rural Development

- \$3.9 billion for the Commodity Credit Corporation for price support payments to farmers.
- \$318.9 million for full funding of the food stamp program through the end of the year.
- \$113 million for emergency borrowing authority for the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation.
- Disagreed with a House provision calling for the Farmers Home Administration to suspend foreclosures and payment of interest and principal for borrowers who cannot make payments on loans due to circumstances beyond their control.
- Omitted House language re-



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quiring the Office of Management and Budget to spend an additional \$76 million on the program to feed needy women, infants and children (WIC). The money had been included in a \$1.5 billion appropriation for the program in fiscal 1985, but its release was made contingent upon a budget request. The request was made June 7, making the House provision unnecessary, according to the committee report.

- \$10 million for transporting surplus commodities for distribution to low-income people. The House provided \$4.27 million.

#### Commerce, State and Judiciary

- \$126 million for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration to begin commercialization of land-remote sensing satellites, as mandated in 1984 (PL 98-365). (*Story*, p. 1290; 1984 Almanac p. 185)

- Opposed a House provision that would prevent the Department of Transportation from implementing a rule allowing shipowners to repay federal subsidies in return for being allowed to engage in domestic trade.

- \$12 million in new funds and \$3 million in transfers to hire additional U.S. marshals and attorneys, and to relocate the U.S. attorney's office for the District of Columbia.

- \$1.5 million for additional positions for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

- \$4.3 million for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for the Geneva arms reduction talks.

- \$26 million to restructure the bankruptcy courts. (1984 Almanac p. 263)

- \$244 million to improve security at U.S. embassies. This is \$1 million more than the House recommended; the additional money is for an annex for the U.S. mission in Geneva for the arms control talks. (*Story*, p. 1255; 1984 Almanac p. 114)

- Disagreed with language in the House bill's report that would set up procedural steps the Federal Communications Commission must follow before it can grant licenses for competitors to INTELSAT, the international communications satellite system. The Senate would leave the process up to the administration.

- Removed restrictions on the fees and travel expenses paid to board members of the Legal Services Corporation. These restrictions were adopted in 1982 (PL 97-377) after revelations that some board members

had collected unprecedented consulting fees. (1982 Almanac p. 412)

#### Defense, Foreign Affairs

- \$921 million of the requested \$2.16 billion for military and civilian pay increases for the Defense Department. The bill directed the department to transfer an additional \$946 million for pay raises from existing appropriations.

- \$38 million for non military assistance for the "contra" rebels fighting the government of Nicaragua, without limitations on whether the aid can be distributed by the CIA.

- \$236.7 million for multilateral development banks.

- \$1.5 billion in economic aid for Israel.

- \$500 million in economic aid for Egypt.

- \$250 million in economic aid for Jordan, spread out over fiscal 1985 and the following two fiscal years. The aid is in the form of commodity credits and assistance for public works projects, rather than cash, with a requirement that the administration report periodically on the Middle East situation in order for the funds to be released.

- \$8 million for development projects in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

- \$50 million for the CIA to combat spying at U.S. embassies.

- Prohibited the Soviet Union from occupying its new embassy in Washington until it reimburses the United States for the cost of delays in construction of a new U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

- Denied U.S. funds to any organization that supports, even indirectly, a family planning program that involves forced abortions or involuntary sterilizations, and required the president to determine whether a program does so.

#### Energy and Water Development

- \$63.1 million for 22 new water projects of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and three new projects of the Bureau of Reclamation. Funds cannot be spent until a cost-sharing agreement between local sponsors and the administration is submitted to Congress, and the appropriation lapses if an agreement is not submitted by June 30, 1986.

- Did not include \$5 million provided by the House bill for the Tennessee Valley Authority for a water transmission line in Bristol, Tenn.

- Barred the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission from imposing fees on hydroelectric plants that have contracts allowing the utility to keep all revenues.

#### HUD-Independent Agencies

- Disagreed with a House rescission of \$75 million for public housing operating subsidies. The administration requested rescinding \$253 million.

- \$25 million for the Environmental Protection Agency to begin hazardous-waste control programs required by 1984 amendments to the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (PL 98-616). The House approved \$20 million. (1984 Almanac p. 305)

- Allowed the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to transfer \$3.1 million from other accounts to pay salaries, although the report agreed with a House finding that the agency had ignored budget limits.

- \$110 million for an emergency food and shelter program to be run by FEMA.

- \$40 million for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for cost overruns in the Centaur program to develop booster rockets for launching satellites into higher orbits from the space shuttle.

- \$175 million for compensation payments to veterans. The Senate did not appropriate another \$44 million the House had included for readjustment benefits, since the administration had withdrawn its request.

- \$122.5 million for pay increases for medical personnel in the Veterans Administration, \$30 million less than the House provided but \$50 million more than the administration requested.

#### Interior

- Approved the administration's proposed deferral of \$827 million for purchasing oil for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. (*Background, Weekly Report* p. 355)

- Rejected a proposed \$271 million deferral for construction of additional capacity for the petroleum reserve.

- Approved \$40 million of the administration's request for deferral of \$48.4 million for fossil energy research programs of the Department of Energy.

- Prohibited the Bureau of Land Management and the Forest Service from exchanging land to consolidate holdings in Arizona, New Mexico, Montana, Wyoming, Oregon or North



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Dakota, and required the agencies to submit a request to Congress before exchanging land elsewhere.

#### Labor-HHS-Education

- \$3.5 billion for the Social Security Trust Fund to offset military service credit, for which contributions to the fund were not made before 1957. (1983 Almanac p. 573)

- \$15 million for child abuse and family violence programs and shelters.

- \$148 million for vocational education to implement changes made in 1984 (PL 98-524). (1985 Almanac p. 455)

- \$287 million for Pell grants to low-income college students, to fully fund the program.

- \$720 million for guaranteed student loans, \$55.5 million more than

the administration had requested.

- Rejected the administration's proposed \$4 million deferral for a U.S. Institute of Peace, created by Congress in 1984 (PL 98-525), and directed the administration to make appointments to the board. (1984 Almanac p. 498)

- \$79.5 million for foster care and adoption assistance.

#### Miscellaneous

- \$47.5 million for the House and Senate for increased mail costs and salaries of staff.

- Rejected the proposed deferral of \$30 million for rehabilitation of a rail line between Philadelphia, Pa., and Atlantic City, N.J.

- \$3 million for the Interstate Commerce Commission, to end staff fur-

loughs of one-day per week for the remainder of the year. (Weekly Report p. 639)

- Authorized the Customs Service to establish user fees to support customs operations at small airports.

- \$165.6 million for the Postal Service to help support non-profit, educational and library mailing rates.

- \$12.5 million for the Customs Service to avert layoffs, and \$14.4 million for additional personnel and equipment to combat drug smuggling.

- Disagreed with a House provision that barred the Office of Personnel Management from implementing new rules for determining layoffs.

- \$65.2 million for the Internal Revenue Service, to avert layoffs.

- \$14 million for criminal justice activities of the District of Columbia.

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June 29, 1985 - PAGE 1279



דף...ג...מחור...1...דשים

שוג בשחוני...שסור...

דחישות...גגל...

מאריך וזית...2/1500...21 יולי 1985

045

מס' סוד...

אלו המשרד

ממנכ"ל. מצפ"א. לשכת ראש הממשלה (אנא, העבירו גם לעמנוס ערו).

הנעדר זכרית באומל

בעת פגישתו האחרונה של עמוס ערו עם ליון קירקלנד הוא ביקשו לנסוח ולפנות  
כאמצעות קשריו הבינלאומיים אל הסורים, בנושא הנעדר זכרית באומל. היום  
התקשר קו יונג, עוזרו של קירקלנד ומסר כי בעת שהותו בז'נווה פנה קירקלנד  
כאמצעות קשריו אל הסורים. התשובה שקיבל מן הסורים היתה - הנושא ידוע לנו.  
ערכנו חקירה מקפת אך לא הצלחנו לגלות כל מידע על גורלו.  
קירקלנד התרשם כי היה מאמץ מצד הסורים לתת לו תשובה רצינית ולא מחחמקת.  
כמוכן, איו הוא יכול להעריך אם התשובה היא האמת או לא.  
קירקלנד ביקשני להעביר את התשובה לגורמים המספלים בעניין בישראל.

  
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המסד

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אל: הסברה, מע"ח, מצפ"א, ממנכ"ל, יגר, לש' רוה"מ, דובר צה"ל. דע: ניו-יורק.  
רמ"ח, קש"ח

# NEWS SUMMARY - TUESDAY - JULY 2, 1985

## COLUMNS

**PHIL. INQUIRER-Zeev Schiff**-"The Israelis Now Know Who The Shiites Are" The astonishing thing was that Israel noticed the Lebanese Shiites only when it invaded the country in 1982. It is one of the ironies of Lebanon war that the Lebanon Shiites really owe Israel a debt of thanks. From its downtrodden state, the war has transformed the Shiite community into a central force in Lebanon. Since West Beirut was taken over by the Shiites in Feb. 1984, it was impossible to ignore either the Shiites or their leaders. Three years of Israel's occupation bred the Shiites political awakening. The troublesome question is whether Israel and the Shiites are heading for a clash. If Iran demands a free hand in Shiite territory the clash between Israel and the Shiites in South Lebanon will be inevitable. Israel has two options: one is to continue to rely on the SLA and Shiite strikes will continue and the other is to rely on the Shiites to stop the Palestinians from operating against Israel from Lebanese territory. Amal is probably better because they are Israel's northern neighbors with whom Israel must learn to get along with.

**\*\*\*WASH. POST-George Will**-"With A 'Genteel' Touch" This episode - surely not a crisis, considering the good feeling all around, once the murder was forgotten-passed from the cake and Pepsi leave taking party in Beirut, on to the Damascus Sheraton. There, tributes to just about everybody floated out over flowers that were a genteel touch at the last press conference. This was, we are assured, a genteel terrorist episode except, of course, for the matter of the Navy diver. The US govts. mind was indeed an open book. Its policy was an evenhandedness too scrupulous to notice distinctions (as between America's enemies and allies; between kidnapping and military detentions); Everyone should release everyone held "illegally." US policy proclaimed the symmetry, the equivalence of terrorists kidnapping Americans and Israel detaining persons - all protected by Israeli law who menaced Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon into Israel's northern settlements. The terrorists were dealing from a stacked deck the Reagan administration had helped stack. This time, as every time, US policy regarding retaliation is: "Next time..." This policy is diplomatic Tupperware, cheap and reusable. It has to be, because it is used in all the terrorism episodes it incites. (This article was cabled in full today.)

**\*\*\* WASH. POST-Norman Podhoretz**-"Ransom of Shame" The "link between the two releases is of course exactly what the terrorists sought all along - not primarily to liberate the detainees, whose return home was actually retarded by the hijacking but to humiliate the IS and to arouse American public opinion against Israel. What the American heart and the Israeli heart alike know in this case is exactly what our mutual enemies also know: that they have won and we have lost. In being grateful to Syria, the US becomes the first example of a govt. falling victim to

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מגירות ישראל - וויסנגטון  
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the Stockholm syndrome. Israel has begun to lose its nerve. The loss of nerve poses a greater threat to Israel's survival than all the Arabs put together. In that sense, and living as they do on so narrow a margin of security, this defeat is worse for the Israelis than it is for us. In a broader sense, it is the American loss of nerve that is potentially more dangerous.

#### THE PRESS REPORTS

##### Israeli Cabinet Imposes Severe Austerity Plan

WASH. POST-Walsh- After a marathon meeting, the Israeli Cabinet declared a state of economic emergency today and imposed a new series of severe austerity measures, including an 18.8% currency devaluation, sharp cuts in govt. subsidies of basic commodities, and a three-month wage and price freeze.

##### Israel Sets Release of 300 Prisoners

WASH. POST-Drozdiak-Rabin announced after a Cabinet meeting that Israel would free about 300 of the 735 mostly Lebanese Shiite Moslem prisoners held at the prison camp at Atlit, Israel, within 48 hours. The new release was viewed in Israel as underscoring the widely reported "understanding" with Washington that no more detainees would be released until the Americans were safe.

##### Israel Pleased By Reagan's Response To Crisis

EVENING SUN-(AP)-Peres praised Reagan's response to the holding of Americans by Lebanese gunmen and said he was happy the 39 hostages were delivered safely. Peres, lauded the US administration. "We admire the way the American administration handled this very, very complicated matter," he said.

##### Reagan Gains High Rating In Crisis

\*\*\*WASH. POST-Sussman-Americans overwhelmingly approve of the way Reagan handled the crisis involving TWA Flt. 847, but only about one-third believe that the US response will deter similar acts, according to findings of a Wash. Post ABC News poll. A time when 39 Americans were moving from Beirut to Damascus and eventually to Frankfurt, the poll also showed a sharp, favorable turn of sentiment toward Israel after a period during the crisis when a growing minority favored distancing the US from Israel as a means of stemming terrorism against Americans. Sunday, however, 46% agreed that "Israel helped the US deal with the hostage situation as much as it could," with 37% disagreeing and 17% expressing no opinion. (This article was cabled in full today.)

##### US Moves To Close Airport In Beirut

WASH. POST-Ottaway & Goshko-The US announced yesterday that it is taking "legal action and diplomatic steps" to close down Beirut International Airport in the first stage of its new campaign against terrorists and hijackers operating from Lebanon. A State Dept. official said the US govt. was terminating all services of Lebanon's Middle East Airlines between Beirut and New York immediately as well as those of American and Lebanese cargo carriers that use the Beirut airport.



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## המסר

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דע: סביר - לשי רה"מ, סי - לשי שהב"ט.

בר-און, פזנר, בנצור.

בהמשך מפגשי ההיכרות עם התקשורת (בין היתר עם ריצ'רד כהן - בעל טור ב"פוסט", רובין לויד -  
הכתב הדיפלומטי של NBC וסגן דובר הבית הלבן) ומשיחות שקיימנו במשך השבוע החולף,  
ניכרת ירידה במידת העניין המיידי בנושאים שהיו מרכז ההתעניינות בשבועות החולפים (הרשימה,  
תהליך השלום וכ"ו). בכלל קשתהצביע על נושא מרכזי בתקופה זאת של חופשות, אם כי מפגש  
סולץ - שורצנדרה, הנושא הירא"פי, ושאלת התקציב ממשיכים להיות הנושאים העיקריים המדווחים  
כאן. בהעדר פעילות דיפלומטית עוקבים כאן בענין אחר הנעשה בארץ ובעיקר הדווחים על  
התפגנות בעפולה ותגובות הקהל בארץ בעקבות גל מעשי הטרור. כמה מבני שיחנו הביעו את  
החשש (ולדבריהם זאת גם ההרגשה בממשל) מפני הווצרות דעת קהל עוינת, התגברות חוסר הסובלנות  
והמשך עליית הפופולריות של כתנא הנראים כאן כגורם המציב מכשולים רבים לסכוי לתנועה  
כלשהי בתהליך השלום, מחזק את הגורמים הקיצוניים ומגביל את יכולת התמרון והפעולה של  
הגורמים בממשלת ישראל המעוניינים בתזוזה.

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל: המשרד

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סנס סנס  
דף.....מתוך.....דפים  
סוג בסחוני...סמור  
דחיות...רגל  
תאריך וז"ח...1045.2  
מס' מברק.....

מצפ"א.

חקונגרס (17-28 ביוני) לשלכו 31.

כמובן, גודל תוספת הסיוע לירדן הינו 250 מליון (ולא בליון כפי שכתוב בסעיף א' (2) למדור "הסנט"), ואילו הלחץ מוכן לאשר מינויים של 13 שגרירים נוספים יחד עם פיקרינג (לא 1 כפי שכתוב בסעיף ב' למדור הנ"ל). נפלו טעויות כתיב נוספות, ואתכם הסליחה.

ולסלם  
למדן

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לדעת מה דעת ישראל ורצתה להיות זהירה ביותר. היתה החושה לאמריקנים כי בגלל אופי המקרה בו דורש ישראל בפרטה הקטורה בארה"ב, אם תיכנס ארה"ב לתהליך גלוי לעין עם ישראל <sup>הלאומיות</sup> <sup>linkage</sup> גאטר ע"י כך את הזיקה (linkage). נוצרת דילמה, ואינטסינקטיבית ניסחה ארה"ב לנקוט קו של "נורמליות", במאמץ לחילופי דברים חשאיים בלי הדלפה, ותדבר פעל; עם זאת היה לכך צד בעייתי. שאלה היא כמובן האם היה מקום לבניין "לוח משותף" <sup>לוח משותף</sup> <sup>לוח משותף</sup> ישראל וישראל ששתי המדינות יחד; אדה"בסבה שהדבר יביא לחץ עליה ועל ישראל, וחשוב לשתי המדינות כי לא יוצר linkage. בגלל עקרון ראשוני זה - non linkage - הוחלט בשלילה, כדי לא "להזמין" חטיפות דומות במקומות אחרים. המנכ"ל אמר כי גם אנו רצינו למנוע חזנה של לינקג', ולכן אנו משתדלים עדיין להשיג הסדר בדרום לבנון. <sup>שקטור</sup> <sup>שקטור</sup> השחרור למצב הנתון שם. שולץ אמר, כי קיסינג'ר מדבר עתה נגד שחרור העצורים, דהיינו לינקג' בכיוון הפוך, ואולם המזכיר מבין כי ישראל ממשיכה לפי התכנית, ושמע הבוקר מרה"מ על שחרור השלוש מאות והמסך המדיניות ללא זיקה. השגריר העיר, כי לא הגבנו תחילה בנושא התקטורת כאן, אך הצהרות בתקטורת כגון המאמר ב"רושינגטון פוסט" בקשר לפניה לגופים יהודים <sup>הן</sup> <sup>הן</sup> מסוג הדברים שלא יכולנו לעבור עליהם בשתיקה.

(הערה: ביציאה, להערת הח"מ כי הלחץ צריך להיות <sup>ל</sup> <sup>ל</sup> לאחרונה בין שתי מדינות הכרח שתשתקף לאורך כל הדרך למלכתחילה, אמר המזכיר כי בעוד שהשמיץ את שיקוליהם, מן הסתם יש מקום גם לטיעונים אחרים; ראה גם השיחה עם צירלי היל לאחר מכן - בנפרד).

ב. יחסי ישראל-מצרים, טאבה. המנכ"ל אמר: <sup>ל</sup> <sup>ל</sup> חמצרים שיהיה במכלול הנושאים - כולל טאבה. אנו חשים כי עמדת המצרים היום, דהיינו החזרת השגריר רק לאחר ניסוח כתב הבוררות, אינה חיובית. מבחינתנו ישנו הקושי בשאלת פישור /בוררות. דיברנו על כך גם עם המזכיר בירושלים. אנו סבורים כי יש מקום להטיל על הפנל שיעסוק בנושא לטפל תחילה בפישור למשך תקופת זמן מסוימת (כמו 3 חודשים) ואחר כך, אם הדבר ייכשל תלילה, לעבור לבוררות ע"י אותו גוף. נוסחה זו תאפשר לצאת מן הקפאון. המזכיר אמר, כי ניסה להציע זאת למצרים עוז בקהיר אך לא קנו זאת. בין היתר ניסה בדרך קצת שונה <sup>ל</sup> <sup>ל</sup> מתקנתו כבורר בעינייני עבודה, דהיינו שבורר ששני הצדדים נותנים בו אמון רשאי לעשות כל דבר, הוא מקבל את הראיות פותר בהסכמת הצדדים את רוב. <sup>ל</sup> <sup>ל</sup> דבקטע שנשאר במחלוקת עליו לפסוק. זהו מעין שילוב, כמובן, נחו כאן במיוחד אמון הצדדים, <sup>ל</sup> <sup>ל</sup> לבורר יחליט לבסוף בלי שיושפע משלבים שונים. שה"ח המצרי עצמו בעל נסיון כגון זה (מעבר לכך רוצים: המצרים להגביל <sup>ל</sup> <sup>ל</sup> לבסיס צר ביותר את כל הנושא).



שולץ דיבר על כך עם רה"מ ושה"ח, ונראה לו כי נוסח כזה, בצירוף מנדט מוגדר גם בזמן, <sup>ל</sup>לא <sup>ל</sup>שולץ בעיה. כאן שאל את מרפי לדעתו. מרפי אמר כי לאחר תשובה שלילית ראשונית בדקו טוב עם המצרים, אך מובארכ היה נחרץ, המלה "פישור" כביכול מפחידה, נושא שאין <sup>ל</sup>לדושים להיכנס אליו ותלאו מוחלט. המנכ"ל אמר כי אולי קבע מובארכ עמדה כיון שסבר שיקבל מישראל בוררות בקלות, אך כשהוא רואה עתה את מצב הקפאון, אולי עליו לנסות את הדרך המוצעת על ידינו (פישור העובר לבוררות). שולץ שאל כאן אם ישראל מינתה את הנציג לפנל והמנכ"ל אמר שטרם, וכתשובה לשאלה הוסבר כי מדובר בהליך שכל צד בוחר נציג ושני הצדדים מסכימים על השלישי. כן הוסיף המנכ"ל כי המצרים דורשים להתרכז באבני הגבול ואינם מוכנים לשמוע על מיקום הגבול עצמו, אולי כזוון שחוששים להשלכות לגבי סיני <sup>כ</sup>אין זה גבול שקודש במשך מאות שנים אלא יצירה קולוניאלית/אימפריאלית. שולץ אמר, כי על האמריקנים לשקול ביניהם האם להעלות בפני המצרים את המחשבה שיוטכם על הקומפרומיס ואז תהיה תקופת פישור מוגדרת שלא תהיה ארוכה מדי, ואם בטופה של תקופה זו לא יושג הסדר תקפה בוררות. השאלה היא גם לגבי תוכן ההליך. האם רק אבני גבול. השגריר העיר כי ראוי שהמצרים יבינו שעל ידי החזרת השגריר היו מקלים בדברים רבים, ובמיוחד מגביר אמון. המנכ"ל אמר, כי החזרת השגריר צריך שתהא לפני סיום הקומפרומיס, עם ההסכמה הכללית להליך. העדר שגריר מטמל העדר נורמליזציה ויחא על המצרים לתחזירו. שולץ שאל אם אין המו"מ על הקומפרומיס עלול להימשך זמן רב. המנכ"ל אמר, כי אכן יהיה זה מו"מ קשה, שכן המצרים מתעקשים לצמצם <sup>באזור</sup>אלאבני הגבול, אך הנושא רחב יותר. יתכן שהפתרון יהיה ששני הנושאים יועלו, הן הגבול כדרישתנו והן מיקום האבנים. בהכרח יהיה על המצרים להתפשר. המזכיר אמר כי האמריקנים יחשבו על כך לפני העלאת הנדשא עם המצרים, וכמובן ישמחו לעזור. ככל שיוכלו. כאן סיפר שולץ (מה ששמענו בעבר) כי בביקור אצל חוסיין לקח המלך לשים במפרץ עקבה, והראה לו את ארבע המדינות השוכנות לחופיו; וכששאל המזכיר היכן טאבה הראה לו במסקפת (עד כמה היא קטנה). מכל מקום הוסיף המלך כי באיזור <sup>א</sup>אין במיוחד בעיות. המנכ"ל אמר כי קיונו שבאיזור זה יהיה <sup>ל</sup>ש"ם <sup>ל</sup>גשרים <sup>ל</sup>נחישות לחיירות ע"י ירדן לתועלת עקבה, ולא הושג הדבר. הח"מ העיר כי בחזות השלום עם מצרים מדובר על אוטוסטרדה בין מצרים לירדן. דרך ישראל. חידוש יחסי מצרים - ירדן יכול היה לפתוח פתח לסמליות של <sup>ל</sup>שפ כלשהו באיזור המפרץ, המתבקש מאליו, אך לא הושג הדבר. צעד בכיוון זה יכול היה לעורר אמון במי שנצטבו ושחטרו להם אמון. שולץ סיכם ואמר כי יבחנו ההצעה שתועלתה בקשר לפישור / בוררות.











אלו ווט, נר: 62, מ: המשרד

דח: ב, סג: ס, מח: 020785, וח: 1200

101/בהול

דני בלוק.

הנדון: יאל על.

1. כידוע נקבע המסך דיון ב-12, 11 ביולי.

2. עמוס ערן אמור להשתתף בדיונים אלה.

3. עד אז ייעשה מאמץ לגבש עמדה אשר תוכל לאפשר סיכום מוצלח.  
בברכה

נמרוד נוביק.

מפ: שהח, רהמ, מנככ, ממנככ, מצפא, דרורי, סייבל, שרהתחבורה,  
מנכלתחבורה



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

סודי ביותר

מחוך 4  
מחוך 32

דף 1  
עונק 4

010

מאלי: המשרד, נד: 67, מ: 11511  
מסדח: מ, סג: מ, תא: 020785, יח: 1900

מסודי ביותר/מיידי

מאלי: ממנכ"ל, לשכת מנכ"ל, מצפ"א.

מפגישת המנכ"ל-מרפי

מנכחו: הציר, ווילקוקס.

1. מרפי נ ממשיך השיחה בנושא לבנון/טרור. איסור הטיסות

מלבירות מרם מובטח ואין בכך משום עונש באם ימנע מ- MEA

להגיע לניו יורק, לפריז או לונדון.

המנכ"ל מציין שהדבר יהיה בלתי אפשרי ללא שיתוף פעולה מצד

מצרפת ומדגיש שחשוב להשיג זאת דרך איגוד הטייסים.

מרפי מוכיר שמבחינה היסטורית האמריקאים לא הצליחו, לשכנע את

הטייסים להתמיד בחרם. יש גם נסיון לא טוב עם היוונים בנושא

הזה צריך לעבוד עם ממשלות אחרות.

המנכ"ל מעיר שצריך להכריז על ביירות במקום לא בשום לתעופה

מרפי: - י אחרי מה שקרה עם ספק אם יש עוד צורך בכ"י, ואילו

הציר הוכיח התנהגות האירופאים בעניין המדור הלובי נ רצח

השומרת בלונדון ושאר הי"ב חייב להפסיק לחץ עליהם.

מרפי מסביר שהם היו מסובבים בתהליך (הדיפי) לשחרור החטופים

אך שולץ לא יניח לנושא.

המנכ"ל סיפר שבפגישת אקראי שלו עם המוכיר באולפני ייבוקר

שוב אמריקה י אמר היה שהאפיצודה רק בתחילתה, והוסיף שנושא

התעופה יכול להיות דוגמא טובה ליחסים הדוקים. היה חשוב לקבל

מהאמריקאים תכנית כלשהי שתועבר אדעה לעיון מדוקדק ואחר כך

תוחזר, באמצעות השגרירות, בצרוף עמדתנו

מרפי מביע תמיכה בכך בתנאי ששיתוף הפעולה יהיה דיסקרט



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

פודי ביותר

מתוך 32

דף 2 עותק 4

לחלוטין.

2. המנכ"ל בתשובה, שלדעתו על הסודים לגלות והירות שלא לפעול  
 בעוצמת יתר נגד אמ"ל. ברקע ישנו איראן ובריה"מ. מעיר שלא  
 בטוח באירו מידה הם יצליחו לבלוס (PUSC) הרגשות האנטי  
 אמריקאים או כיצד יפעלו בנגד החיובאללה הם ירצו לרכות  
 בנקודות חיוביות בעיני האמריקאים.

מרפי מעיר שהוא אינו בטוח אם זהו הגורם המכריע עבורם ומציין  
 דברי אסד בפני העולם נגד הסיפות. הוא משער שהסודים פעלו  
 בענין החטופים מנקודת מוצא של האינטרסים שלהם בלבנון -  
 למנוע, בין השאר, התחזקות החיובאללה.

המנכ"ל העיר בהקשר זה שמאובחנת התודדות כלשהי ביחסים  
 המיוחדים שבין הסודים והדרוזים, וישנו מאמץ לחזק את אמ"ל  
 והנוצרים. בקרב האחרונים מנסים לגבש קבוצה במסדה להניע את  
 אמ"ל שיפעל בצורה קולקטיבית. השמעוניסטים, בעיקר פעילים  
 בכיוון זה. המנכ"ל מדגיש שלא נוסה להפריז בכך אך אין גם  
 להתעלם מכך. ג'ונבלאט, ממשיך, מודאג מהתעצמות השיעים ושם  
 הסודים ינסו להוציא מידיו את הישגיו. כל זה אמנם בבחינת  
 ייפכים קטנים, אך הם מצטרפים לתמונה כללית.

מרפי מעיר שלאמריקאים אין מגעים הדוקים עם הדרוזים והם לא  
 ישיירים אלא באמצעות שליחים. שואל בנושא הוצאת שני בסליונים  
 סודיים מלבנון.

ההמנכ"ל משיב על כך שהדבר אינו נוגע לארגון מחדש של הכוחות  
 הסודים בלבנון אלא על מנת לאפשר להם להתאמן.

(?)

מרפי מרכיז שהתחלופה היא אחת לשישה חודשים על מנת למנוע  
 שחיתות. גם המצב התקציבי מעיק. הוא מסכים להערכת המנכ"ל  
 שהסודים יכולים להתפק עם בפרות צבא. השאלה, כיצד ניתן,  
 מבחינת הסודים, להויר דברים בצורה פוליטית - לייצב המצב שם  
 מבלי לעסוק בייפרטים הקטנים. הסודים אינם רוצים להכנס  
 לביררות. תמיכתם באמ"ל הביאה להם הישגים ולא לפלסטיותאים  
 שבי'חית ההצלה' שוחסותם.

ההמנכ"ל מטעים שפוטנציאל ההרס בלבנון גולש מעבר לגבולותיה,  
 והוא מקום מחסה מבעי לסודיסטים. במדינה אין לה חשיבות אלא  
 לכח ההרס שבתוכה. מדגיש שחשוב שישראל וארה"ב יחליפו דעות  
 בענין לבנון ולא רק מבחינה מודיעינית נשדותים, מה שמעניין



\*\*אם ישראל זה השקט בגבול הצפוני. לבנון שכנה שלנו לסוג ולרע \*\*  
 \*\*ולכן חשוב שנדע מה מתרחש שם. זה נשא ישראל היתה רוצה להגיע \*\*  
 \*\*לשיתוף פעולה ולחילופי הערכות לגביה. \*\*

\*\*מרפי מביע תמיכתו בבחינות שהאחד ישלים את השני מספר שאימה  
 \*\*ביקר באן (12.6) והציע הצעות שעמדת ישראל עליהם ידועה הם  
 \*\*שוחחו עם שהבי'ט כשביקר באן שמצידו עמד להיפגש עם ארקהאדט  
 \*\*בנושא הצבת יוניפיל, לא רק בגבול

\*\*המנוכל מעיר שמעט מאד הושג. איימה מנסה לדחוף ואת אך ממה  
 \*\*שראינו עד עתה אנו ספקניים. בעקבות יוניפיל בגבול יופיע  
 \*\*צלי"ב שהוכח כבר מה בוחו, המדובר בצריגדה שיטית בתוך  
 \*\*האובלוסיה הנוצרית. מדיניות ממשרת ישראל המתנגדת ליוניפיל  
 \*\*בדורם תקפה. ישראל מסתמכת על רצועת בטחון ותומכת בכוחות  
 \*\*מקומיים. זוהי האפשרות הטובה ביותר בנסיבות הנוכחיות. הפינים  
 \*\*מלאו תפקיד מבוזר בארגון העריקה מצדייל נהיחידה משתמשת  
 \*\*במתורגמת מאמ"ל. הם הביכו את כולם כולל קאלהאן. זה לא  
 \*\*מגביר את אמוןנו בהם.

\*\*מִדְּרֵי בְּדֻמָּה שָׁרָה קוֹרָה בְּגִלְגַּל הַנִּיגוּדִים בֵּין צַדִּיק וְיוֹנִיפִיר. עֲמֻדָּה \*\*  
 \*\*אֲסֹד כִּלְפֵי צַדִּיק יְדוּעָה. מִסְפַּר שְׂאֵסֵד אֲמֵר לוֹ שְׁעַר שְׂלֵא יִעֲרֹבוּ \*\*  
 \*\*יִיְהִיּוֹ בַעֲיֹתַי וְיֵשׁ לְהֶאֱמִין לוֹ. מֵאִידֶן, אֲסֹד אֲמֵר שְׂאֵס צַדִּיק לֹא \*\*  
 \*\*יִהְיֶה נִיתָן לְדַבֵּר עַל יִיצוּב הַמִּצֵּב, וְשֶׁהוּא יִדְאָג בְּנוֹשָׁא הַחֲדִירוֹת. \*\*  
 \*\*נִיתָן לְסַמּוֹךְ עַל הַסִּדּוּרִים בְּנוֹשָׁא הַבְּקָאֵעַ אֲךָ הַשְּׂאֵלָה אִם יוֹכֵלוּ גַם כִּלְפֵי \*\*  
 \*\*אֲמִי'י.

\*\*מנובל: מדגיש שבגורו המרוחית אין אמ"ל והסורים יכולים למונע  
 \*\*בואם של אנשי אבו מוסה למה שהיה בעבר י'פתחלנד' י'שון  
 \*\*ידיעות שאש"ף עושה מאמצים גדולים לחיזוק כלכלתו, כולל בענין  
 \*\*הכספי, ולא רק למחנות אלא לדרום. נביה בדי אמר לאימה שהוא  
 \*\*מודאג מהנושא הפלסטינאי בצורה

==17'1N 75N00



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

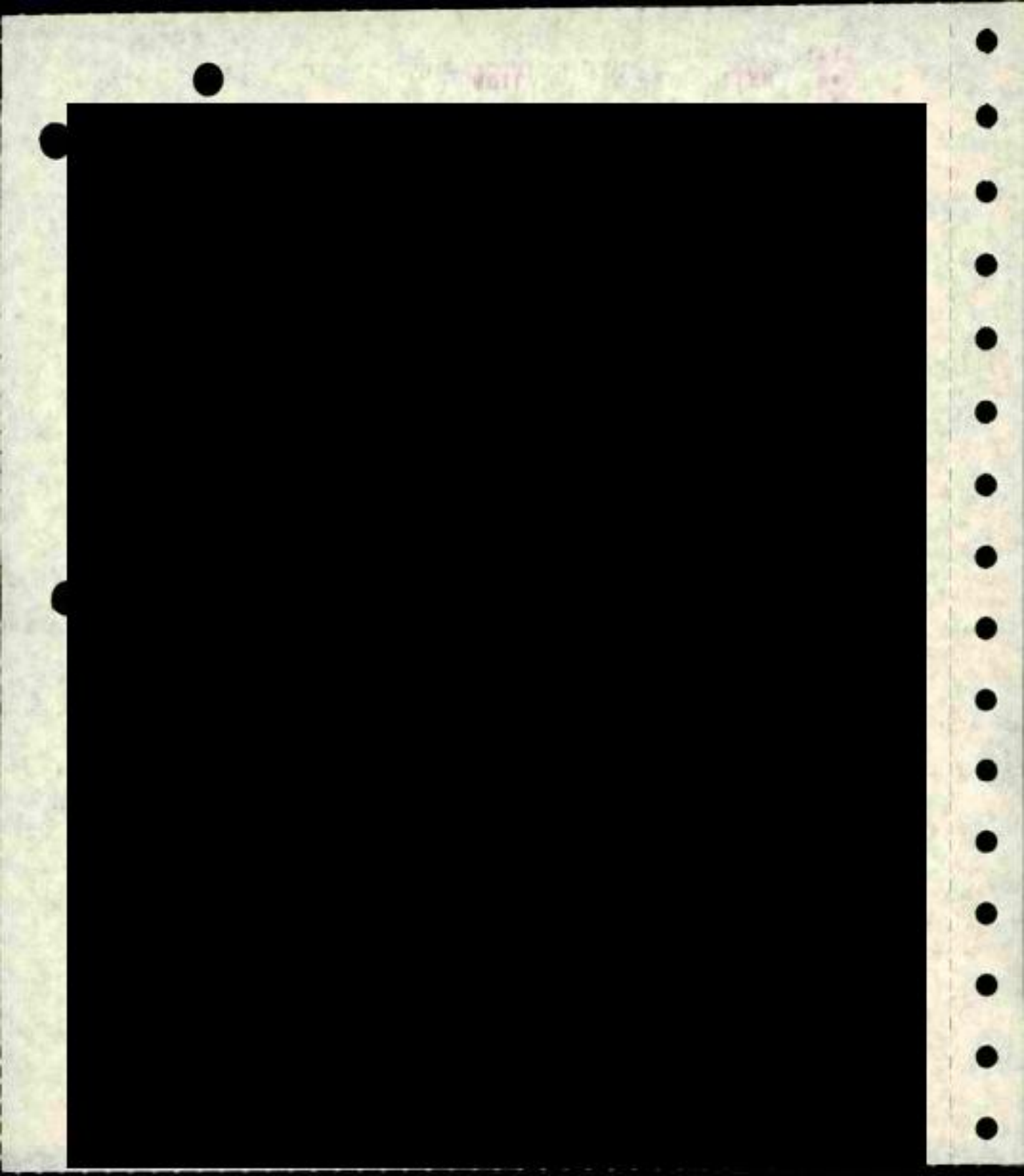
4 מתוך 4	דף 4	**
סודי ביותר	32 מתוך 4	** עותק 4

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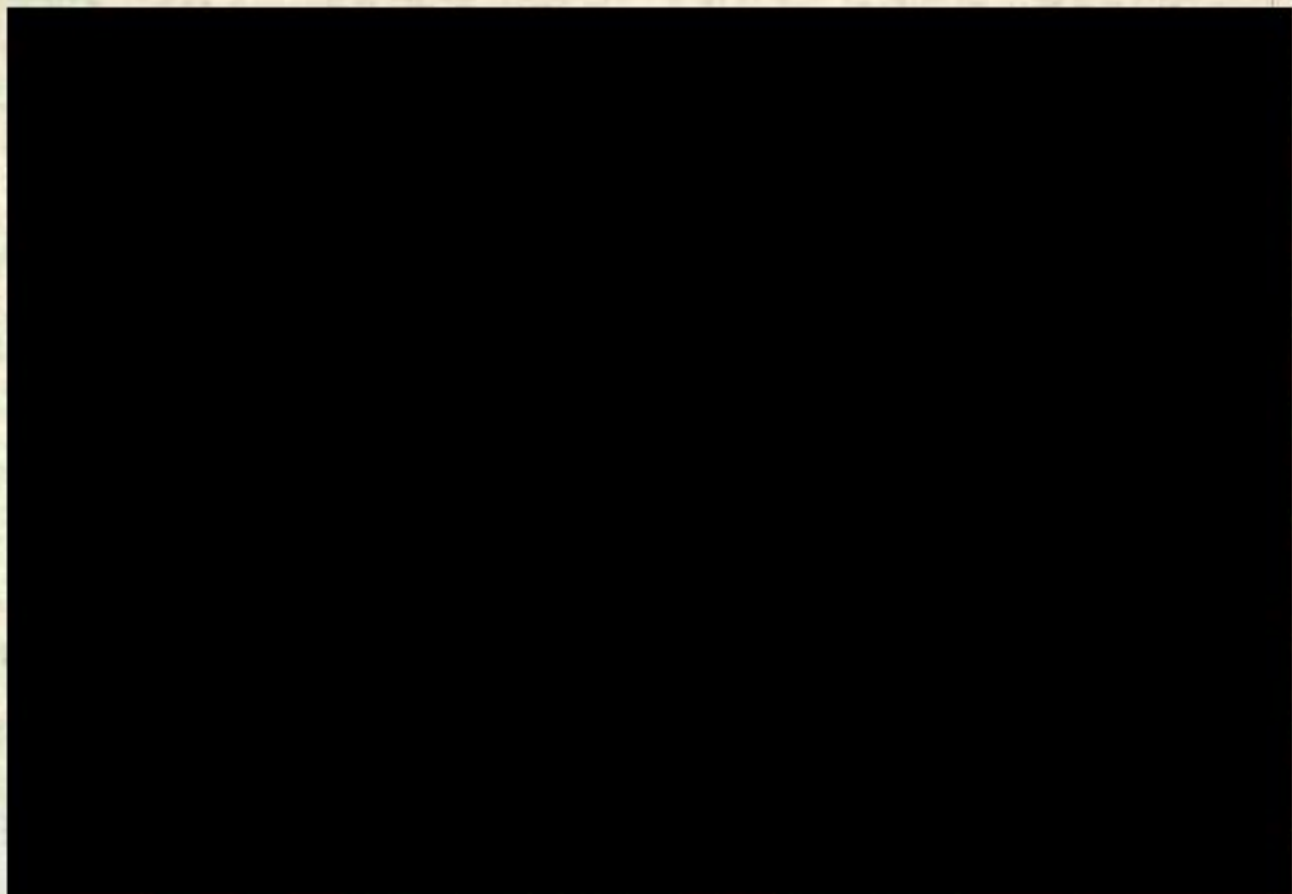




16764 about 20 cm high









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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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אלו וזש, נר: 32, מ: המשדר  
דח: מ, סג: ש, תא: 010785, וח: 1500

שטור/מיד

השגריר.

פלאטון התקשר להביע הערכה על עמדתך בזמן חטיפת המטוס.  
בר-חזן

תפ: שהח, והח, סנכל, ממנכל, מצפח



STOCK MARKET DATA FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1967



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

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מס 1 דף 5 מתוך 32  
עו"ת 3 מתוך 32

מסל: המשרד, נר: 34, מ: 1010785, רח: 2110  
מסל: מ: 30, מ: 1010785, רח: 2110

מסל: ביו"ר/מיד

מסל: ממנכ"ל לשכת המנכ"ל מצפא

מסל: מ"ת המנכ"ל-ארמקוסט

מסל: מצידנו השגריר, והציר, מצידם מדפי וילקוקס ופנדלסון.  
מסל: ממנכ"ל השירות עסקה בתחילתה בנושא המרד ולבנון.  
מסל: 1. המנכ"ל, לאחר דברי ברכה של ארמקוסט, ברח על סיום הפרשה בכי  
מסל: מסוב וטל הצורה שבה הוברס התנהלו השעים שלאחר שה- ORDEAL  
מסל: של החמושים המסיים חשוב שנשוחח על כל הנושא, כולל עם  
מסל: המוכיר, כדי להפיק לקחים לגבי העתיד מאחר וקשה להניח שתופעת  
מסל: ההמורד באה לקיצה. החשוב הוא שנחשוב ונפעל במשותף בשני מישורים:  
מסל: 1. בצורה דיסקרטית- לגופו של ענין, ובמישור הציבורי- כלפי דעת  
מסל: הקהל. 2. הבעיה מכיוון שמתד דעת הקהל באן "ירדה" עלינו על  
מסל: שאנו בביכול לא אסירי תודה לארהב ובכך שהעצירים השיעים  
מסל: 1. נמצאים אצלנו בביכול שלא בצורה חוקית. ניתן היה לפרש טענה כזו-  
מסל: 2. ע"י המדוריסטים כצידוק למעשיהם. מאידך היה עלינו לפעול בקור  
מסל: ארוח ובריהדות מרובה בפרשה הדעת נותנת שבשיש מקרה שאנו גם  
מסל: 3. מסעורב בו צריך היה להפעיל צוות משותף וגם שהציבור ידע על  
מסל: 4. כך, בבחינת "יעשה וגם יראה". השגריר הוסיף שקבלנו הרבה  
מסל: 5. בקריאות אנטישמיות אך גם מידידים שבאילו שהמדוריסטים פועלים  
מסל: 6. כלפי שפעלנו אנו כלפי העצירים השיעים. המנכ"ל המשיך בכך שהיתה  
מסל: 7. ההרגשה שהאמריקאים, מסיבות שונות, העדיפו להסתיר את העובדה  
מסל: 8. שפעלנו בצורה הדוקה המסר, עפ"י זאת לשכנים היה, שבאילו נושא  
מסל: 9. 10. BLACKMAIL משתלם, מה שכמוגן לא היה בכוונת ארהב, ואילו  
מסל: 11. 12. האפקט בתקשורת יצר רושם שלילי ומעוות. מכל מקום זה היה נסיון  
מסל: 13. 14. שצריך ללמוד ממנו שבאילו יש פערים בין ישראל וארהב שנוצלו על-  
מסל: 15. 16. ידי גורמים אחרים.

מסל: 17. ארמקוסט השיב שהמצב היה כפי שידוע לכולם שארהב פעלה במשך כל  
מסל: 18. 19. הזמן לטוב מצב של ליקה מאידך באו סימנים מישראל שבאילו



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 2 מתוך 5  
עותק 3 מתוך 32  
סודי ביותר

מצפים שם שארהב חבקש זאת וכך נוצרה הדיקה הביתית רצויה וזה מה...  
שוקלם בדעת הקהל. נביה ברי השתמש בסיועו אציה זאת וניצלה בשיחות...  
המלפונות עמהם שכני כול ישראל הסבימה כבר לשחרר את העצירים...  
במקרה זה שיחות רהמי פרס עם שולץ היו מועילות והעמידו את...  
הדברים באור נכון. גם את זה צריך ללמוד. ארהב בכל אופן ניסתה...  
למנוע כל קשר בין שתי הסוגיות. ארמקוסט הוסיף שהוא מניח...  
שישראל פעלה כפי שפעלה גם לנוכח דעת הקהל שם וזה מובן משאלי...  
עיי האגיד מה ידוע להם על 5 היהודים, השיב שכפי שפלאמן דיווח...  
בארץ, הם האמדיקאים, פנו לסורים אך לא קיבלו כל תשובה...  
מאסד. מכל מקום האגיד בדמאק ייפגש עם פארוק א-שרע...  
בנידון. בענין אמנת גנבה אמר שחורן בתשובה לשאלות על העמדה...  
שביטאו בעבר...  
המנכל חזר והדגיש חשיבות הגברת שפי בין כל המשרדים והנוגעים...  
בדבר כדי לבלום את הסוד. לישראל יש נסיון בתחום אמצעי ההגנה...  
במאוסים אל על וכן בתחום אבטחת נציגויות ומובנה להתחלק בו עם...  
ארהב, כולל עם אנשי המעופה, שיש להם נסיון בחטיפות מאוסים...  
ממיאמי לעבר קובה...  
ארמקוסט השיב שזה נראה לו כדעיון טוב והוא תומך בכך. המפתח...  
הוא בתחום המודיעין וההדרכה. הדגיש שחשוב שהמנכל ישוחח על כך...  
מסר צאתו עם אוקלי נשוהה בגרמניה...  
הציר חזר על הפרספציה המדיקה שנוצרה בשבמאן בשבוע לא נוצר...  
קשר בין הממשלות והמטעים חיוניות הבטחת הקשר בעיתות...  
מסבר האנסודר הוא שזה קורה בשעה שקיים שפי אסטרטגי...  
2. המנכל הוסיף שישראל ניסתה לפעול גם דרך צינוור האום...  
נאיימה? ולהביא לכך שוביה ברי יסבים להצגה הדדית על הפסקת...  
פעולות האייבה? גם עיי ניתוק הדיקה בין נואה העצורים...  
לחסיפה ברי, שנפגש בשבת עם קוודס, סגנו של איימה, שינה מפעם...  
לפעם טעמו ואף ביקש שלא נעשה זאת נשחרור העצירים. האום היה...  
בבחינת FEET ORAGER ופעל במגמה להדגיש שעליו לקבל תפקיד...  
אפקטיבי יותר-איוכור החלטה 425 ובדי. המנכל חזר על כך שעדיין...  
יש מקום להכדורה כזו. סיפר ששר הבטחון עשוי להמליץ בפני...  
הממשלה על שחרור כ-300 עצירים, אך לא את כולם, כדי למנוע...  
הדיקה בפי שגם ארהב רצתה...  
3. ארמקוסט התייחס להשפעת הפרשה על המצב בלבנון וכן לחלקו של...  
אסד בה מניח שהפרסטיגיה שלו שם עלתה וכן זו של אמל הנמצא...  
במצב לא קל בשל מערכת הקשרים בין החיובאללה ואידאן שטפיי...  
המידע שבידי האמריקאים אמנם קיימו קשר ביניהם המנכל השיב



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 3 מתוך 32 סודי ביותר

שקשה לנבא מה יקרה מחר בלבנון. ניתן להעלות את כל התסריטים  
האפשריים של חיבורים וניגודים בין הצדדים ה-  
PATTERN משתנה מעבר לכך נראה שאם אמנם יצא עם הישגים וזה ישפיע על  
התייצבותו מול האחרים כגון גונבלאם שבדאי לא שמח שבר  
מתחיק הסודים גם הם לא יאפשרו לברי לצבור עוצמה ויפעלו עפ"י  
העקרון של קיום איוון בין כל הגורמים הדרושים עוד לפני חטיפת  
המטוס התקשרו ליצרו ALLIANCE עם הנוצרים בג'יין שלא  
לאפשר לשיעים להשתלט עליה. דני שמעון מדבר על התקשרות כזו עם  
למנוע התחזקות השיעים גונבלאם כלית מודאג מברית בין סודיה  
ואמלי שמסכן הישגיו והוא יפעל לסכלה מכאן שהקליידוסקופ  
בלבנון נע בעקבות פרשת המטוס. באשר לחיובאללה, המנבל המסיר, קשה  
לצפות ביצד יפעלו. צריך לראות מה נמצא בחומר הסודי ע"י שאל  
ביצד האמריקאים קוראים את המצב היום והאם רואים את ברי  
כמי מושיעי או כמסורב בחטיפה.

ארמקוסט השיב שטרם הגיעו למסקנה ברורה עפ"י המידע המצוי עתה  
בידם הם נוטים לראות בחיובאללה כיווסי החטיפה אמלי מסתגר  
נכנס לפעולה בנמחת של בירות כאשר אנשי החיובאללה קיבלו  
לפתע ירגליים קרות. שליטת אמלי בנמחת וביאה לכך שהקבוצה  
הטיקרת של החטופים היתה בידה המחשבה היא שנויה ברי היה  
מעורב חלקית בנושא הריקה וביהשגת נקודות מול אדהו. בסופו של  
דבר הוא יצא מחזק אך לא נראה שהיה בין יוסי החטיפה ציין  
שהמזכיר בדבריו אמר בבית הכבן, נמנע מדבר על ברי בצורה  
הפסקנית פרט לכך שהוא אופורטוניסט. הוא נראה בהשוואה  
לחיובאללה כימתוני יותר.  
מרפי ציין בתשובה לשאלה, שרא ידוע על הקשר בין חיובאללה  
והחטופים הקודמים. לאמריקאים ידוע שהסודים פעלו לפני כמה ימים  
ובכיוון זה ההערכה נכון לעכשיו שקיימות שתי קבוצות  
(FACIONS) של חיובאללה שפועלות לשחרר את אנשי י'הדעוה' (בכנויים).  
ארמקוסט הוסיף שאלה שעלו על המטוס היו מהחיובאללה יותר מאשר  
אמלי ואחד מהם אף דיבר על י'הדעוה' ציין בחיוב גישתו של ברי  
שלא לערב את נושא החטופים בכוונות.

התגורר הדגיש בהקשר זה שחשוב שבדעת הקהל תיווצר תחושה ברורה  
שבנידוי הסודים לעשות לשחרור הנותרים מאחר והם שולטים שם  
לשאלת הציר האם אין לאמריקאים הפרספציה שהסודים פועלים על פיה



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 4 מתוך 5  
עותק 3 מתוך 32  
סודי ביותר

ההצעה וגם ירשת, ארמקוסט השיב שהם ביקשו מאסד להמשיך  
ולמסל בנושא שחרור ה-7 ארהב לא תרפה מבך. מרפי הוסיף שלעיר זו  
מכונסין נגסונו) תמונה בדורה שלהם המנכל ציין היות הבקאע בשליטה  
מחלטה של הסורים בשל נוכחותם הצבאית שם הדגיש שבשהסורים  
מרוצים להשיג משהו יש בכוחם לעשות זאת וזו נקודה שצריך לעמוד  
עליה. ארמקוסט השיב שארהב הדגישא זאת בתחילה היתה מחשבה על  
מחללה, הדבר לא יצא לפועל, אך ארהב תמשיך לעמוד על כך כאן  
הדובר השגריר דברי יריב שאמר שדברי הועבר מסר מאיראן לאחר  
החטיפה בנוגע ל-17 שבבוי'ת.

4. ארמקוסט הדגיש שארהב עוקבת בדריכות אחר המצב והתנהגותו של  
מאסד. היא בוחנת את נושא נמחת' ביירות בשפי עם גורמים ביולי  
אחרים. במגמה למנוע מחומפי מוססים יגיעו לשם ושכוחות השולטים  
שם לא ישתפו פעולה או יזוהו עם החומפיים. המנכל העיר שלחברת  
MEB אין קשר ישיר לארהב אלא לאירופה. המקרה האחרון מתייב גם  
בדיקת עמדת האירופאים. צרפת היא גורם חיוני כיוון שאיר  
פראנס' מקיימת את עיקר הקשר עם ביירות צריך לפעול גם באמצעות  
מאגוד הטייסים על מנת שיתנגד להמדיא למקומות כאלה. ישראל  
מצידה מובנה לשפי. ארמקוסט השיב שסגן הנשיא בוש פועל עתה  
בביוון זה הגרמנים והאיטלקים מובנים לשפי. הבעיה היא שלחברות  
שהמאוריות יש ב-סלו טיסות ליוס האמריקאים ניסו לדבר עמם, אך  
ללא הצלחה. השגריר העיר שהצרפתים לא יסכימו להפסיק את הקשר עם  
בביירות אך צריך לפעול גם עי' התרעה על חוסר אמצעי במיחות  
המסכנים הטיסות לשם.

5. המנכל ציין שישראל פועלת לייצוב המצב בדרום, והיות  
והאוכלוסיה בדובה שיעית היא מנסה להגיע להסכם בלתי ישיר עם  
אמל' לשמור על השקם. הדבר יוצר בעיות, וקיימת הרגשה חזקה  
שהאוכלוסיה שמדרום ללימני (רצועת הבטחון) תועמד במצב קשה אם  
אמל' ירד לשם, ובמקד שישראל תבטל את רצועת הבטחון. אמל' יצטרך  
אז למנוע מהחילבאללה לפעול, ואז יקרה אחד משני'ים: וואשם בשתפי'  
עם ישראל, ואם יניחו להם לפעול יסתכנו בפעולה מצידה. אנו  
שומעים זאת מהאוכלוסיה השיעית. בהקשר ליוניפיל-הוא COUNTER  
PRODUCTIVE, מכיוון שעצם נוכחותו יוצרת מתיחות  
באירוד. המוסיבציה של כל יחידה צבאית היא ההישרדות, ויוניפיל  
לא שונה בכך מאחרים. מכאן שעליהם להיות ביחסים טובים עם  
גורמי הבח. בגון אמל', ולא עם צדל', על מנת שלא לסכל יחסיהם עם  
האחרים. ולכן, מליבתחילה הם מצדדים באמל' נגד צדל', הרואה עצמו  
מופלה לרעה. ונוצרות תקריות. טוב היה לו ניתן שיוניפיל יעבוד



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דף 5 מתוך 5  
 עותק 3 מתוך 32  
 סודי ביותר

עם מטלות סיפר שיש ליוניפיל קשרים עם דאוד דאוד ראש אמל  
 בצור, לכן ישראל עומדת על כך שיטמזו בקשר גם עם צדלי שכן זו  
 מליציה לבנונית. התוצאה שקיימת חסוכות במצב, לעומת זאת יש כמה  
 נקודות אחרות כגון המצב בג'יין כנלי, מאידך ישראל חייבת  
 להתריע שאם ג'יין חיפול ליד השיעים יהיה שם מבח המוני, לכן  
 הציעה ליוניפיל (איימה) שיכניסו אנשיהם לשם, ויוציאו הכוחות  
 האחרים. איימה תמך בכך והעלה זאת בפני אמין שתמך מצידו אך מען  
 שראשית כראמה מתנגד ובן הדבר לא יצא לפועל הדבר מסביר מדוע  
 ישראל רואה ביוניפיל יותר נמל מאשר נכס. המנכ"ל סיפר שטרם  
 בואו ביקר באזור ושוחח עם גנרל לחד על כך באזור האירי קיימת  
 עוינות כלפי צדלי ויש חשש מפעולות אלימות. ישראל ביקשה מאיימה  
 להוציא את מפקד הכח שם. בתשובה לשאלה, אמר המנכ"ל שאמנם צדלי רה  
 לא המרינס או צהלי, אך במצב הלבנוני יש בכוחו להוות קט HOLD  
 בגירה המערבית (אך לא המזרחית) ולמנוע פעולות טרור בדרום.

אלי אבידן

תפ: שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, סייבל, ר/מרכז, רס, אמן, מצפא



טופס מברק גלוי

לשכת הקשר - יו"ר - 11-11-85

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71: הסברה. סע"ח. לש' סמנכ"ל. יועץ רוח"ם לחקירות. סמנכ"א.  
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סמ. מברק

לש' סמנכ"א

11/11/85

החלטה

17-11

News Summary Monday July 1, 1985

Editorials

NYT- "Elegant Lies, Harsh Truths": Lacking a military option, the U.S. had to rely on diplomacy, and in this case, double talk was liberating. It took elegant lies from Ronald Reagan, Nabih Berri, Shimon Peres, and Hafez al-Assad to arrange the release of the 39 hijacked Americans from Beirut. Pres. Assad emerges as the main winner, with new recognition of his dominance over Lebanon. With seven Americans still being hold captive and the rash of aerial terrorism the crisis is still not over. The hardest policy decisions lie ahead. Some things simply cannot be double-talked away.

Post-"shame of appeasement only invites more terror" The U.S. has sustained an unmitigated and humiliating defeat in the hostage crisis. We have negotiated with the terrorists and surrendered to their every demands. The administration praises Syria yet the Syrians sponsored and assisted the terrorist groups which carried out the hijacking and kept the hostages in captivity. The plight of the seven remaining hostages does not diminish the case for retaliation. It adds to it.

N.D. - 29-6-85-" A School for Terrorism": It is difficult to understand how an institution like Frank Camper's Mercenary School can operate legally. They are responsible for training the two Sikhs that blew up an Air India plane. A Justice Dept. official says there isn't any federal law that prevents a school from teaching such paramilitary activities as murder and demolition. There should be.

DN- "They're free at last; now the work begins": There are lessons to learn. There are decisions to make. There are policies to be set and to refine. Reagan's combination of toughness and restraint finally paid off. The Israeli government was in peril of appearing to give in to terrorism. That it could not do. The precedent would have been an invitation to increased savagery against Israelis. Israel stood firm, cool and tough. Assad's role may be viewed as his willingness to move very slowly towards a peace process. It is deeply doubtful he would have acted as he did without Soviet agreement. So that is a possible indication that the Soviets, for the moment anyway, are not of a mind to destabilize farther the Mideast cauldron. For the U.S. one element that must be recommitted to is to effective intelligence. There is a need to strengthen anti-terrorist mechanisms and mobility. There is an imperative on a global scale a commitment to battle terrorism.

חתימה: \_\_\_\_\_ אישור סגן המנהל: \_\_\_\_\_ תאריך: \_\_\_\_\_

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טופס. חברה גלוי

תחלקת הקשר - ג' - י' - 1985

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# Columns:

ND- 30-6-85- Broder- " Firm Policy is Essential on Hostages" Speaking as a journalist who is deeply resistant to government controls on our activities I am prepared to say that playing into the terrorists hands while covering the story is offensive to our professional standards and dangerous to our nation. As a nation our policy from now on has to be to say to any nation that holds Americans hostage they can expect swift and severe retaliatory punishment by U.S. military forces. In the event of a hostage situation the U.S. will immediately end all commerce and travel, Order Americans to leave and if be escort them out. And on the third day retaliatory action will begin.

D.N.- Royko- " Don't be a hostage to your feelings": Americans always want to do something when there is nothing that can be done. They tie yellow ribbons and pray. Yellow ribbons don't work. And praying; The Shiite Moslems are sure God is on their side and will give them a better life if they die and blow some of us to bits. The Lebanese Christians think they are doing God's work when they slaughter Moslems. And the Israelis, who are convinced they are the chosen people, although their neighbors disagree. I've never believed the transient theory that god is dead. But, I'm sure that if He has been listening, He is suffering from a terrible migraine.

## Analysis

DN- Nelson- " Ron's Strategy Pans Out": President Reagan won the rarest kind of victory, a victory of reason over mindlessness, of patience over violence, of statesmanship over terror. Yet the hijackers succeeded too. The released hostages announced on television that they had a new understanding of the Middle East and implied that the American Media and the American government have been onesidely pro-Israel. The hijackers succeeded in sowing seeds of doubt about Israeli actions in Lebanon and U.S. support of those actions. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon resulted in the hijacking. At the time the invasion was justified as punishment for the terrorist attack on the Israeli Ambassador to London. Israel has argued that this kind of swift retribution is the only answer to terror. But in fact it hasn't worked.

DN Drake- " Ron Unscathed, Fares better than Carter": It may be unfair to compare a 17 day crisis to a 444 day seige. There are some obvious differences in the way the two administrations handled the affair. Reagan did not hole up in the White House. He was more forthcoming than expected.



טופס מבדק גלוי

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He pressed ahead with trips to sell his te. reform plan. Over all the White House created an air of steadiness as well as an intimation that down the road, the terrorists would pay a price.

ND- Klurfeld- "For Reagan, Basic Problems Linger": What counts is whether the crisis has been settled in a manner that will discourage future attempts at terrorism. On that score there are experts who believe this was not a presidential triumph. The Shiites were able to get some of their points across. Israel's standing here has been hurt and Syria's improved. One official said that the benefit of the crisis is that it made the public more willing to accept retaliation. But the corollary is that now the American public expects some type of retaliation.

ND- 29-6-85- Klurfeld- "Crisis Promises Clout for Syria": Syrian Pres. Assad is showing the U.S. that it cannot operate in the Middle East without him. If anyone comes out of this crisis looking good it is him. By removing the hostages from Lebanon he is attempting to defuse a situation that has the potential to explode. Now that Assad is going to give the appearance that he is liberating the hostages, says an Israeli official, the question in Jerusalem is: What price is he able to extract from Washington?"

#### Press Reports

NYT- 39 Americans were freed by their Lebanese Shiite captors and delivered to Damascus Syria where they were flown to West Germany. They were driven by convoy organized by the International Red Cross. Their release was worked out with the help of Syrian Pres. Assad. (Post, WSJ, N.D., DN,) NYT-Bernstein pg. 1

NYT- Markham- The hostages arrived in Frankfurt West Germany and were greeted at the airport by Vice Pres. Bush and his wife. 200 relatives and friends were also on hand for their arrival. In a welcoming speech V.P. Bush also recalled the brutal beating of Robert Stethem and praised him as a hero who had died for his country. The U.S. Airforce Hospital in Weisbaden W. Germany was decorated with flags and waiting for the hostages who would be checked out by doctors and allowed to rest before they traveled back to the U.S. (N.D., Post, D.N.)

N.D. S. Friedman- In the end, the fiercest adversaries of American policy in the Mideast--the Soviet Union, Syria and the Shiite Moslems--

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טופס מברק גלוי

החלקת הקשר - 11-10-77

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combined to give the gift of freedom to 39 Americans who had been held hostage for 17 days. In late developments Saturday the U.S. reissued an old policy statement about Lebanon that the Syrians said the Shiites would accept. It didn't really rule out retaliation. Officials say no deals have been struck with the Syrians but they look forward to better relations between the two countries in the future. A senior policy maker speculated that Syria became involved because they prefer calm in Lebanon and is concerned about a rise in Islamic fundamentalism which it opposes. (NYT-Pg. 1 -Gwertzman, Post)

WSJ- Saib- The TWA hijacking ended in a blaze of television lights and Syrias Assad delivered a message. If the U.S. wants results in the Middle East it must include Syria. The real winner to emerge from the crisis is Assad. He manipulated some of the areas most radical forces with a sobering show of power at a time when the U.S., Jordan and Israel are toying with peace plans that don't address Syrias concerns and Assad bitterly opposes. Mr. Berris standing could still be destroyed if Israel refuses to releases the Shiites it is holding. (DN,)

NYT- Friedman- Israeli cabinet discussed today the release of the American airliner hostages but made no decisions when to free the 735 Lebanese and Palestinian detainees whose freedom was the principle demand of the hijackers. Cabinet sources say the U.S. has not pressured them for the release. Israeli officials did not appear to be in any hurry to decide what should be done about their release. An official said the last communication between Israel and Washington was a few days ago. Economic reforms have dominated the Israeli news in the past few days. Peres according to sources told Cabinet colleagues he was prepared to resign if they did not accept stringent budget cuts. (D.N., Post)

NYT- Weinraub- pg.1- In an address to the nation Pres. Reagan welcomed the release of the 39 American airline hostages. He also said, "terrorists be on notice, we will fight back against you in Lebanon and elsewhere". It was not clear from Mr. Reagan's strong words if he was hinting at the possibility that the U.S. would retaliate against the Lebanese Shiites militarily. Shortly afterwards, Sec of State Shultz emphasized the Government's determination to respond to terrorism. (Post, ND, DN, NYT- Transcript of Pres. Remarks)



טופס מברק גלוי

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NYT- Hifner-pg1- At the same time that the hostages were being freed in Syria hooded gunmen packing pistols said they had committed the hijacking to show the world "the ability of the oppressed to confront America". They met reporters and said "America is the great Satan". One man said he and his comrades had hoped to die as martyrs in the hijacking and he warned they would strike again if the U.S. retaliated. (DN, )

NYT- Transcripts of the hostages' news conference in Beirut

NYT- Howe- Relatives of the seven Americans still missing in Lebanon were happy for those released but have vowed to continue the fight to get their own home soon. They hoped that the new diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Syria would help the 7 still being held. (DN, ND, Post)

Post- TWA said it is working through diplomatic channels to get the airplane commandeered by the hijackers back from Beirut. (ND)

NYT- The purser of the hijacked TWA flight 847 Uli Derickson was praised by the released hijackers for her courage and help. False reports had said that she helped the hijackers pick out passengers with Jewish sounding names. (D.N.)

Post- The Stethem family is heartbroken by the loss of their son but happy that the other hostages have been released. One of the released hostages was a friend of Stethems and did not know before that he had been killed. When asked if he had told his captors that he was a friend of Stethems he said he had not brought it up. (WSJ, NYT, DN)

NYT- Eckholm- Experts in the psychological effects of terrorism said yesterday that the benign comments made by some of the 39 hostages about their captors and their political cause both during and after the order, show signs of the Stockholm syndrome. Hostages may come to sympathize with their captors even under gun point. The syndrome is both predictable and understandable under certain conditions. (DN)

DN- Many of the freed hostages left Lebanon carrying copies of the Koran given to them by their captors. One of the pilots said the experience had been a learning one for every one.



טופס חברה גלוי

החלקת הקשר - ג' - יו"ר

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NYT-Boyd-" Picture of Washington as Captive of the Crisis": The White House released new information today after the hostages were safe that detailed their actions through out the past 17 days. It showed that despite appearances to the contrary they were consumed with the crisis. Although from the start they had started a policy of not negotiating apparently that message did not get through to the Shiites for several days. It also indicated that it took several days to make it clear to the Israelis that no concession would be requested for them to release the detainees.

Post- Nabih Berri's American family remained in seclusion while other relatives in the community of 15,000 Shiites in Michigan hailed the Beirut leader for helping to safely free the hostages. Berri's 3 unmarried children and ex-wife packed their bags and disappeared several days ago, because of threats on their life.

DN- The Soviets announced the release of the hostages but at the same time criticized the U.S. for it's "cult of the fist and violence"

NYT- Ayatollah Khomeini said that Pres. Reagan had gone around with his cap in his hand looking for some one to help mediate in the release of the 39 airline hostages that were freed today.

NYT-(special to NYT)- "The Party of God : A Powerful and growing force in For- Iranian force in Lebanon": The Party of God is a pro-Iranian fundamentalist group believed to be responsible for the hijacking. The leader of the group Sheik Amin said the hostages were being held by the hijackers and not formally by the Party of God. But he said they support the cause linked to the incident. The Party is struggling for control of the Shiite regions of southern Lebanon.

ND- Robin Wright- "Peace with Iran may be antidote for Terror": In Islam politics and religion are inseparable. In effect the U.S. is engaged in a war, perhaps the most trying and unconventional conflict it has ever faced. Americas foe is a religious movement not confined to a state or sect however the center of which emanates from Iran. The Shiites desire for the return of historic Jerusalem is primarily because it contains the third holiest site in Islam and less because the Palestinians want a homeland. Many Middle East experts agree that even with the death of Khomeini the rule based on Islam is likely to survive.

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טופס מברק גלוי

החלפת הקשר - ג' - יורק

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NYT- OPEC will begin its annual conference this Friday in Vienna but experts doubt the member countries will be able to stop the slide in oil prices or sufficiently temper the dissension within its ranks. One analyst says he has never seen the out look so bleak. The problem is a challenge to Saudi Arabia and it's goal of maintaining a cohesive group. Experts do not expect the group to break up but concern over its stability has grown.

ND- 29-6-85- U.S. spy agenc recruited Nazi war criminals to gather intelligence on the Soviet Union after WW2 and then helped them immigrate illegally to the U.S., according to congressional investigators. The investigation also revealed the U.S used Klaus Barbie

WSJ- Mark Helpert: ( Book Review of " ALL Fall Down by Gary Sick )  
The book is a rapidly paced, scholarly objective account of American responses to the Iranian revolution and the hostage crisis. As an apparatchik of the National Security Council he makes you feel like you were a fly on the wall eaves dropping during meetings.

NYT- Moshe Brilliant- Zubin Mehta combined his two orchestras--the Ny Philharmonic and the Israeli Philharmonic--into a 220 piece ensemble to perform Berlioz's Symphonie Fantastique in a rousing finale to the American group's five week overseas tour.

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החלפת הקשר

7-85: החלפת הקשר



הסונגרס (17-28 ביוני)

באופן בלתי נמנע התנהלה פעילות הקונגרס בתקופה הנ"ל בצל פרשת חטיפת המטוס והמאמצים שנעשו לשחרור בני הערובה (ראו נא בהמשך). עיקר הפעילות המשותפת בין שני הבתים התמקדה בהתייעצות בנושא חוק התקציב, כאשר החברר עד מהרה ששני "נושאי המפתח" היו הקיצוצים חמוצעים בתקציב חבטחון מזה ובתוכניות החברתיות מזה. לאחר כשבועיים של דיונים עקרים לא הגיעו שני הצדדים לעמק השווה, וההתייעצות התמוטטה, חוץ דיבורים מכל עבר (לרבות טעוקמן מה- OMB) בדבר הצורך בהחלת מסיים חדשים על מנת לגשר על הפערים בין חסנט והבית וכן לצמצם תגרעון הלאומי- וזאת על אף עמדתו המוצהרת של הנשיא לפיה יתנגד לכל מסיים חדשים. ההתייעצות אמורה להתחדש מיידי לאחר הפגרה (בשבוע המתחיל ב-8/7).

שני נושאים שנוגעים לנו ישירות העסיקו את הסנט בתקופה האמורה:

א. תוספת סיוע לישראל ולירדן ;

ב. מינויו של שגריר ארה"ב המיועד לישראל

(א). 1. כמדווח בדיווחו השוטף, התקבל ב-20/6 ע"י מליאת הסנט החלק הכללי ( OMNIBUS ) לתוספות סיוע, ובתוכו תוספת לישראל בסך של 1.5 בליון דולר ( כולו מענק, עם הוראת המחייבת חלוקת מחצית סכומה תוך שלושים לאחר כניסת החוק לתוקף, וחלוקת המחצית השנייה עד תום השנה התקציבית הבאה - דהיינו עד ה-30.9.1986 ).

2. בחוק כפי שהתקבל ע"י הסנט גם נכללה תוספת סיוע לירדו בסך של 250 בליון, אך תנאי תוספת זו שונים באופן משמעותי מאלה שביקש הממשל. אין ב"חבילת" כל כסף במזומנים עבור ירדן - שני השלישים יינתנו בטחורות, וכשליש יוקדם לפרוייקטים. החלוקה תשתרע על פני שלוש שנים תקציביות (ולא שנתיים כפי שהציע הממשל). נקבעו ארבעה מועדי חלוקה ולפני כל אחד

מהם על הממשל לדווח על ההתקדמות בתהליך השלום. נכלל בתיקון קטע מדיני הקובע שאין לספק נשק מתוחכם לירדן לפני פתיחת שיחות שלום עם ישראל, ואילו מזכיר המדינה נאלץ לכתוב מכתב למטפר סנטורים בו הוא מתחייב לפעול למען השגת קונצנזוס רחב טרם הגשת בקשה פורמלית לאספקת נשק לירדן. מובן שכל השינויים האלה באו כדי לאזן בין רצון הסנט לעודד את המלך

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חוקיין בהליכתו לקראת עשיית שלום עם ישראל ובין אכזבתם של הסנטורים מדברי חוקיין בעת ביקורו בווינגטון.

3. יצויין שבגירסאת החוק שהתקבלה ע"י בית הנבחרים, אין תוספת סיוע לירדן, ולעומת זאת בגירסה שהתקבלה ע"י הסנט אין סיוע לקונטרס בניקרגואה. נציגי שני הבתים היו אמורים לקיים התייעצות בשבוע שעבר במגמה להגיע לגירסה מוסכמת, אך מסיבות הקשורות לפוליטיקת פנים, בית הנבחרים סירב למנות את נציגיו. יש לקוות שההתייעצות תתקיים מיד לאחר כינוס הקונגרס מחדש ב-8/7 (בתום פגרת הרביעי ביולי), ע"מ לזרז בין היתר את הטיפול בתוספת הסיוע לישראל.

ב. וועדת החוץ החליטה להמליץ על מינויו של פיקרינג כשגריר ארה"ב בישראל, אך קבוצה של סנטורים שמרנים (עם הסנטור הלמס בראשם) תביאה להפסקת הדיון במליאת הסנט על המינוי (בתוך חבילה של 29 מינויים רשמיים) מאחר והט רוצים במינויים של מספר דיפלומטים שמרניים. הלמס הודיע שאינו מתנגד למינוי פיקרינג (ועוד 1 מתוך ה-29), והדיון יחודש עם כינוס הקונגרס מחדש לאחר הפגרה.

#### ג. בית הנבחרים

1. בשבועיים האחרונים במרכז הדיונים עמד חוק (הרשאה) תקציב הבטחון. היו"ר החדש אספין תימך חוק בצורה שנועדה לשנות התדמית שהדמוקרטים מחלישים את הבטחון האמריקני, אספין הקפיא תקציב הבטחון לרמת 85, אולם נתן לממשל כסף עבור ייצור נשק כימי חדש. במהלך הדיון ניסו הדמוקרטים להגביל את יכולת הנשיא לשלוח צבא לניקרגואה, אולם בשורה של תיקונים החלישו הרפובליקנים את התיקון ולמעשה יצרו פרצות כה רבות עד שדמוקרט בבית סען שפעולת הקונגרס אינה מגבילה אלא מספקת Road Map לממשל להתערבות צבאית.

2. חוק סיוע החוץ (הרשאה) נדון בקצרה במליאת הבית ב-16/6, אולם לא היתה הצבעה או הגשת תיקונים. מחמ"ד מוסיפה להתנגד לחוק בצורה תקיפה. עם זאת, יו"ר ועדת החוץ פאסל נחוש בהחלטתו להביא החוק להצבעה עם שובו של הקונגרס מתפגרה.

3. מיד עם שובו של הקונגרס מתפגרה אמור להתקיים Mark-up של חוק הסיוע בתת-ועדת לפעולות בינלאומיות בוועדת ההקצבות של בית הנבחרים.



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דף... 3... מתוך 3... דפים

סוג בטחוני.....

דחיפות.....

תאריך וז"ח.....

שם מי שברא.....

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4. ועדת החוץ של בית הנבחרים גם אישרה בתהליך מזורז שורה של אמצעים שנועדו להגביר את בטחון שדות התעופה ולהתנות מתן סיוע אמריקני במילו קריטריונים מסויימים בנידון. תגובת מחמ"ד לפעולות הועדה לא היתה נלהבת. אנשי מחמ"ד הצביעו על כך שהקונגרס מתפרץ לדלת פתוחה ושרשות התחבורה בארה"ב חודיעה על תקנות נוקשות יותר בנידון.

5. פרשת חטיפת המטוס הטרידה רבים מחברי הקונגרס אם כי חמלל במליאה בית הנבחרים היה מצומצם למדי. בשיחות רקע שונות שמעו ידידינו והמורשים היהודים הערות שניתן לפרשן כאנטישמיות, הערות אשר הצביעו על חוסר סבלנות ניכר כלפי סירובה של ישראל לשחרר העצורים השיעים במגמה להביא לסיום הפרשה כולה. השגריר נפגש לשיחת רקע עם המורשים היהודים, חברי ועדת החוץ, בכדי להסביר עמדת ישראל.

ל. / .

הקיסור לקונגרס



## המסר

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**מצפן א'**

משיחה עם מרפי בביתו בא"צ.

אין להם שום חדשות מעמאן. התייחס למאמר המביע תסכולים ואשר הופיע  
לפני חמשה ימים. ידאג להעבירו אלינו. התרשמותי שאין התלהבות  
בממשל לחדש בימים חקרובים המלך הירדני. זוהי רק התרשמות וכמובן  
מחר ואחר הפגישה עם המזכיר - נדע יותר.

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## המשיר

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לשלכם 31.

1. פוריה תמכה בטרנר ואחראית למעשי טרנר בעבר.

2. לבנון הינה בשליטתה של סוריה המחזיקה ב-70% משטח לבנון וכל הקורה בה באחריותה הבלעדית של סוריה. הראיה לכך שבשטח החליט, הוא שחרר את החטופים. את אשר אסד עשה שבעת עשר יום אחר החטיפה יכול היה לעשות מיד ולחסוך מטבלט האיום של החטופים.

4. שבעת החטופים הנוספים יכולים להשתחרר אם אסאד רוצה בכך.  
הנא האזראי לאחזקתם ושחרורם תלוי אך ורק בו.

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TWA צרכי הסברה לאחר פרשת

לדעתם אסור היה לישראל להפקיר את הזירה התקשורתית, ואם אישים רשמיים לא יכלו להופיע הרי היה צורך דאוג להופעת ישראלים שאינם מייצגים את הממשלה או להפעיל אישים וארגונים יהודיים. עתה כשנסתיימה הפרשה הם סבורים שעל ישראל לצאת במערכת הסברה נמרצת, וכמו כן להערך להסברה בנושא הסיוע.

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המסרד

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ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, מע"ת, רמ"ח קש"ח.

תדרור דובר מחמ"ד ליום ב 1.7.85

MR. KALB: I think I am going to ask you, Matt, to put those questions to Mike Armacost, who will be prepared to take a broad variety of questions in connection with the hijacking. As I told you, that was on background, and that is the reason that there will be that background session, so that you can put many of those questions before him.

BARRY SCHWEID: A question related to that, and we'd like an on-the-record response, does the US government know if the seven kidnapped Americans are dead or alive, all seven, at this point?

MR. KALB: I have nothing on that.

Q Can you add anything or clarify in any way, the Secretary's comments yesterday that the Beirut Airport -- the inference the Beirut Airport should be closed because it's a --

MR. KALB: Just a minute. Just a second. Barry, I think you might want to explore that with Mike, and I introduce that caveat, because the way you phrased your question I don't want there to be any kind of implication, when you talked -- what was your phrasing?

MR. SCHWEID: I asked if the State Department knows whether the seven Americans left behind in Lebanon were dead or alive.

MR. KALE: That's right.

MR. SCHWEID: All seven, of course.

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MR. KALB: Right. Therefore, I would encourage you to take that up at the 3:15 session. I'm sorry.

Q Bernie, how does the Secretary think the Airport in Beirut can be closed or denied access to hijackers in the future?

MR. KALB: He dealt with that subject several times during the course of the session (at the White House Sunday) and in my discussions upstairs today the suggestion was made, as I have made it ~~several times now in the last few minutes, that that question, among~~ others, might be put to the background session at 3:15 this afternoon here.

Q Can I just respectfully suggest, Bernie, that he didn't clarify at all whether he was suggesting civil action by pilots, controllers, that kind of boycott, or things such as bombing the runways.

MR. KALB: I hear you and I've got to repeat what I've said on that.

Q Do you have anything on anything regarding the hostage situation or are you going to refer all questions to the background this afternoon?

MR. KALB: I will see what the questions are and what I have I will be forthcoming on, to the degree that I can.

MARVIN KALB (NBC): Has the State Department removed Syria from the list of those nations that support international terrorism?

MR. (BERNARD) KALB: Let me see what I have here on that. (Refers to guidance book.) Syria is still on the terrorism list, because according to reliable reports a number of terrorist organizations have received some form of support from Syria, such as being allowed to maintain headquarters or have training facilities there, or in parts of Lebanon under Syrian control. Removing Syria from the list is not under consideration at this time.

Q A followup question, please. Does the State Department know whether the groups or group that was involved, or were involved in the hijacking, indeed, are among those groups who are supported by Syria, or at least allowed to train people there, or financial support, support of any kind?

MR. KALB: I don't have anything for you on that, Barry:



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MAGDA ABU-FADL: Are you concerned that the wording of the statement you just made may be misconstrued by the Syrians so as not to be of any further assistance to help with the release of the remaining seven hostages in Beirut? Or in Lebanon?

MR. KALB: I think that the Secretary, in the course of his news conference last night, alluded to the fact that Syria was making

some kind of contribution in efforts to win the release of the seven. And I think that still stands.

MS. ABU-FADL: So you'd still like them to assist with the release of the seven?

MR. KALB: That's correct.

MS. ABU-FADL: But are you worried that this statement may --

MR. KALB: I am not getting involved in that other part of the question.

Q Bernie, is it established beyond any doubt that the original hijackers were members of and operating for the Hezbollah?

MR. KALB: I can't help you on that. I'm going to have to refer you to (the) 3:15 (briefing).

Q Also, if I might ask another one, things are seldom done for nothing in the Middle East. What's the quid pro quo for Syria helping the United States in this case?

MR. KALB: Uh -- 3:15. (Laughter.)

Q In April the administration stated that Israel's was holding the Shiite prisoners in violation of the Geneva Accords. To what extent did that statement, made to an ally during peace-time, serve as a pretext for the hijacking? Did we give the hijackers their legitimate grievance?

MR. KALB: I can't be drawn into that.

Q Just as a followup, was that something that might be examined during the post mortems of this whole situation?

MR. KALB: I have the same answer.



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MS. LAUN: One other topic. What about Kimche's meetings? Can you give us any guidance on why he's here, what he's going to accomplish?

MR. KALB: (Refers to guidance book.) Well, I do have something here on him. David Kimche's visit here is a reflection of the on-going close consultation and cooperation between the United States and Israel. He came to Washington to continue periodic discussion of global issues of mutual interest. These consultations were initiated with former Undersecretary Eagleburger, and normally take place every six months.

Last autumn, Undersecretary Armacost went to Israel for such talks.

MS. LAUN: Is the United States pleased the Israeli Cabinet has made a decision about releasing more of the Shiites?

MR. KALB: I have nothing on that.

Q Will the hijacking and associated topics be discussed with the visiting -- with Kimche?

MR. KALB: I don't know what the agenda is. One would be surprised if it didn't come up, obviously.

MARVIN KALB: Do you know whether the Department considers this an opportune time to try to involve Syria more actively in peace efforts in the Middle East?

MR. KALB: I have nothing on that. Ralph?

Q There is a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation meeting with the Pope today. Do you know whether the US would consider that delegation to be one that it would be willing to meet with?

MR. KALB: I don't have -- I have nothing on that, Ralph.

Q Are the US plans to meet with such a delegation still on track?

MR. KALB: The plane still exists, yes. But I have nothing that I could circle on the calendar by way of a date.



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MR. KALB: I don't have anything on that.

Q Do you have a comment on IATA's report that came out Friday that the security measures at the Athens Airport have been raised to fully acceptable international standards --

MR. KALB: I do have something --

Q -- in relation to, of course, the travel advisory?

MR. KALB: I do have something on that, that the US will lift its travel advisory when US authorities have determined that the airport is safe for American travelers.

MS. ABU-FADL: Will that be based on, presumably, some experts going to check it out? And when do you expect that to happen?

MR. KALB: I have nothing on when, et cetera, but the determination will be based on the finding made by US experts and authorities.

MS. ABU-FADL: Where's Richard Murphy?

MR. KALB: Here.

MS. ABU-FADL: Is he planning to go to Amman any time soon?

MR. KALB: I have nothing on that.

MS. ABU-FADL: Okay. And just a reminder to get a copy of that statement on Syria, please.

MR. KALB: Copy of what statement on Syria?

MS. ABU-FADL: The one you made earlier on it still being on the list of countries (that support terrorism).

MR. KALB: Oh. Yes. If it's --

MS. ABU-FADL: Thanks.

Q Recognizing that there are still these seven Americans being held in Beirut, does the State Department consider, with the 39 having been released, that the situation is now over?

MR. KALB: No, it does not. The United States wants the release of the seven. I think that has been made emphatically and repeatedly

clear, through the entire process of the hostage episode.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

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מצפ"א.

חטיפת המטוס ו"הקשר לחומייני"

. (27.6.85)

למדן /

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Shiite terrorists who actively support the Khomeini and his strategic designs for global international terrorist activity. What the American people have yet to learn of is the deep involvement of the Khomeini regime in setting the hijacking into motion.

Mr. President, the West has yet to face the fact that the Khomeini regime is a revolution within the Islamic world that is just as significant as the Communist revolution in the Western World. It is just as ruthless, just as authoritarian, and intended to be just as permanent as the Marxist-Leninist revolution itself. As such the Khomeini regime does not depend upon Khomeini himself; it depends upon the ideology of Shiite doctrine, and upon the State-structure which Khomeini has established. Khomeini is an old man; but his revolution is young—and it will grow like a massive cancer unless the West acts affirmatively to eliminate terrorism in its base of operations and theory.

Mr. President, for many months now, I have been deeply concerned about the growing dangers of a conflagration in the Middle East generated not only by Soviet involvement, but also by the radical doctrines of Khomeinism, and other terrorist movements. I have been distressed by the seeming willingness of some elements in the U.S. Government to seek detente and accommodation simultaneously with active elements of both Soviet and Islamic subversion. I think that our entire Middle East policy is on a dangerous course. Our willingness to accommodate, our refusal to face the facts of the growing militancy of Islam, and the growing network of subversion financed from Moscow and Tehran have fueled the Islamic ventures into terrorism, rather than resolving the crisis.

During these months, I have had my staff follow the Middle East situation on a daily basis, studying reports that are available on an unclassified basis, as well as gathering information for me through regional travel and personal contact with individuals directly involved. The facts that they have reported to me directly have been very disconcerting, almost defying belief. I have refrained from speaking out in public on these matters because, frankly, much of the information contradicts widely held beliefs and perceptions on Middle East situation.

Finally, however Mr. President, when the hijacking of TWA 847 occurred, I decided that it was time to bring these matters to public attention for debate and discussion. Our tracking system had already discovered a pattern that indicated that a confrontation was forming. As I will shortly demonstrate, Khomeini's people were already beginning to move early in May. Others may interpret differently the documents I will put in the Record, but I submit that the statements of Iranian and other Islamic of-

ficials reveal a venom and purpose going beyond mere fanaticism.

What we have is an Iranian-inspired and supported conspiracy for State-sponsored terrorism. There may be other facts which are not available to me. I have consciously made a decision that I would not examine classified data or use the results of classified briefings. Nor would I seek classified material of any kind. Once debate and discussions go behind closed doors, then only the American people do not know what is happening. Therefore, I would emphasize that nothing in this analysis is based on "leaks" or classified information.

Indeed, the situation is quite the reverse. When the hijacking occurred, I directed my staff to provide some of our files to the U.S. intelligence community. I was amazed that some of the material was unknown to the intelligence community and has proved to be valuable for the community's own purposes. For that reason some very sensitive material that we have developed from our own sources will not be released until after the safety of hostages has been secured.

The statement that follows will be divided into the following parts: First, the Iranian situation in brief; second, the role of Iran, Syria, and Libya in collaborating on state-sponsored terrorism; and third, documentation on Iran's actions.

#### IRAN'S ROLE IN BRIEF

Mr. President, the central fact that we have to face in the hijacking is that the Khomeini government organized the hijacking of TWA 847. I believe the Khomeini did this for at least three objectives: First, he wanted to strike a blow against the "Great Satan" that is, the United States; second, he wanted to get control of the Shiite community in southern Lebanon, which he terms "the Pathway to Jerusalem"; third, as the self-styled and only Imam of the Muslim world, he wants to use the Lebanese Shiite community to seize Jerusalem and reincorporate the territory of Israel into the Islamic world. He obviously wants to show that it is the Iranian revolution that will liberate the Muslim world.

According to this analysis, Mr. President, it is not strange that Khomeini should be seeking hegemony in southern Lebanon, so far away from Tehran. I conclude that he may be seeking this for strategic reasons: It is the closest territory to Jerusalem, and it has a supply of fighting men. Therefore, he has been very active in trying to heal the divisions between PLO factions and Shiite factions in southern Lebanon. What better way to invade Israel?

It is noteworthy that Khomeini proclaimed June 14—the day that was to be the day of the hijacking—as the "Day of Jerusalem," a day to be observed throughout the Shiite world. It is also noteworthy that on June 23, 9

#### THE HIJACKING OF TWA 847: THE KHOMEINI CONNECTION

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the seizure of the TWA 847 flight from Athens that has shocked the American people is but the most recent terrorist action taken against the United States by the Governments of Iran, Libya, Syria, and their agents.

It is an established fact, beyond contradiction, that the hijackers are



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days after the hijacking, Iran and Libya signed a treaty declaring their intention to establish the Army of Jerusalem to liberate Palestine, an event that caused Iraq to break diplomatic relations with Libya.

Accordingly, I have been informed that he has been sending delegations of Shiite clergy to Lebanon and Damascus, and that they have carried with them millions of dollars for the revolution. Moreover, I am informed that in early and late May there were significant meetings both in the Iranian Embassy in Damascus and in certain places in the Bekaa Valley. Through these meetings, there is evidence that at least one of the key hijackers was recruited, taken to Iran for training on actual Boeing aircraft belonging to Iran Air, and returned to Lebanon.

Specifically these facts appear indisputable: In early May, the Iranian Parliament—the Majlis—appropriated funds equivalent to 100 million Lebanese pounds, about \$65 million, for the so-called Martyrs Foundation. The head of the Martyrs Foundation is an Islamic clergyman with the title of *Hojjat ol-Eslam*, and his name is Karrubi. On May 3, Karrubi led a delegation of other clerics to Lebanon, where they met with the leading radical Shites, including the leaders of the *Hizbollah*, or Party of God, transferring at least half of the money to the local radicals, and leaving the other half with the Iranian ambassador in Damascus.

On May 5, according to my information, about 100 families of Lebanese martyrs were taken to Iran by the Martyrs Foundation. Among this group was one Ali Atwa, whose brother had been killed in fighting 2 months before, and who became one of the three original hijackers of TWA 847. In Iran, Atwa underwent a rigorous terrorist training course at a center near Meshed in Khorassan Province. At Meshed were two Iran Air planes, a 727 and a 707, parked on the runway and used to familiarize hijacker-trainees with cabin layout and controls. Later Atwa went to a special training center for suicide squads at Manzarlyeh Park, close to Khomeini's residence in Tehran. It is reported he spent 3 days there.

On May 17, I am informed, the President of Iran, Ali Khamene'i, delivered a sermon in which he spelled out that one of the objectives of the Khomeini revolution was to regain Palestine and Jerusalem. There were reports from some sources in the Khomeini regime that on Jerusalem Day—June 14—something would happen that would shake the world.

On May 30, the No. 2 official in Iran, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, appointed the head of the Martyrs Foundation, Mr. Karrubi, as a special envoy to Lebanon. Karrubi's mission was ostensibly to quell the warring factions in Lebanese Islam, including establishing liaison with Syrian authorities. About the

first of June, Tehran radio stepped up the tenor of its threats against the United States. On June 3, Karrubi arrived in Beirut for the unity talks. He returned to Tehran on June 6, spouting further threats against the United States.

On June 8 or 9, an Iranian C-130 Hercules aircraft arrived in Damascus carrying high officials of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards, as well as Ali Atwa. By June 10, it is believed that the Iranian officials were in Baalbek working on the actual logistics and operations of the hijack operation. Atwa was next seen in public in Athens pounding on the door of TWA 847 trying to get in; he had been bumped from the passenger list for arriving late, although his comrades were on board. Later the Greek Government released him in exchange for Greek passengers on the plane, and he joined the rest of the hijackers in Algiers.

Mr. President, that is the basic sketch of events as reported to me. The details are developed in part 3, along with public documentation of the situation. But first, it is necessary to describe the background of State-supported terrorism throughout the Middle East.

THE ROLE OF IRAN, SYRIA, AND LIBYA

Mr. President, please indulge my reviewing, in some detail, the conclusions I have reached; I will include nothing that is mere speculation. There is substantial evidence to support what I am about to say. Much of it, as I said earlier, has been shared with intelligence agencies.

It is no secret that Iran, Syria, and Libya play the major role in encouraging, supporting, and often directing terrorist attacks in order to further their own political objectives. These countries, as state policy, provide training and material assistance to international terrorist groups. They also utilize their own assets to conduct terrorist operations against those whom they consider opponents or adversary states. By instigating, supporting, and influencing terrorist violence in the Middle East and other parts of the world, these countries have intensified the threat to U.S. interests and citizens even in incidents in which Americans are not the sole targets.

Much state-sponsored terrorism has occurred in Lebanon. There, radical Lebanese Shias using the name of "Islamic Jihad" have operated with Iranian support and encouragement from Syrian controlled territory. They were responsible for the suicide bombing attacks against the United States and French contingents of the multinational force (MNF) in Beirut which resulted in some 557 deaths. They have been responsible for numerous other terrorist attacks against U.S. citizens in Lebanon.

In Kuwait, members of the Dawa—Islamic Call—network, most of whom have received training and direction from Tehran, successfully carried out six major bombings in December 1983

including a blast that severely damaged the U.S. Embassy. Iran has trained numerous Shia terrorists from most of the Arab nations in the Persian Gulf region.

Mr. President, when Khomeini seized power in Iran in February 1979, Iran became a haven for radical terrorist movements for the first time in her history. These movements shifted location from Cairo, which was their center in the 1960's, to Tehran.

Iran then proclaimed to the Islamic world its revolutionary message. Khomeini's first foreign guest was the PLO chief, Yassir Arafat. Arafat provided thousands of Palestinian terrorists to train the Pasdaran, the Iran Revolutionary Guard. These PLO cadres were followed by terrorists from Thailand to Sudan.

Early in 1979, Muhammad Montazeri, who had close ties to the Syrian and the Libyan regimes, organized the office for the promotion of liberation movements in West Tehran. The office, which was located in one of Ekbatan buildings adjacent to the International Airport, provided facilities for representatives of international terrorist organizations. Although Montazeri was killed in a bomb blast in 1981, his father Ayatollah Hosseyn Ali Montazeri, Khomeini's heir apparent, assumed this role.

Simultaneously, the Iranian regime established the Department of Liberation Movements, headed by Mrs. Suda-beh Sadifi, in the Foreign Ministry. Leaders of the Moslem Brotherhood of Egypt and Sudan were invited to Iran under these auspices.

It has been established that seizure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in November 1979, was organized by Ayatollah Mousavi Khoenja, a leader of the Imam Line students. The Department of Liberation Movements was later reorganized along more secretive lines and its mission continues to be implemented.

In February 1980, the Imam line students sponsored a conference of international terrorists in the Hotel Sina, now Hotel Qhods, in Tehran. The conference was chaired by Khalil Al Vazir, also known as "Abu Jihad," who was deputy commander of the Palestinian terrorist organization Al Fatah. Khalil and Fatah leader Yassir Arafat were longtime close associates. Following this highly visible policy of exploiting the close ties to international terrorist organizations, the Khomeini regime began a more secretive policy away from the limelight.

In September 1981, the Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution was formed in Tehran. The organization consists of some 25 international Middle Eastern terrorist organizations. The Council coordinates the activities of its members and outlines their fundamental strategy and tactics.

Among the key leaders in the Council are the following *Hojjat ol-Eslam* Muhammad Taghi Modaresi, an Iranian



an national, is the chairman. He is the leader of the Islamic Action Party which seeks the overthrow of the Governments of Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar. Hojjat ol-Eslam Muhammad Bagher Hakin, an Iraqi national, is the deputy chairman. He is the leader of the Al Dawa Party of Iraq.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Muhammad Kaboli, an Afghan national, is the coordinator of the pro-Khomeini Islamic forces in Afghanistan.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Hadi Modaresi, an Iranian national, was Khomeini's former representative in Bahrain.

Sadeq Mossavi, an Iranian national, is the son of Khomeini's former representative to Kuwait, Mehdi Mossavi.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Ali Akbar Mohtashemi, an Iranian national, is Khomeini's current representative in Syria.

Jalal Edin Saghier, a Lebanese national, is a prominent Moslem clergyman operating in Lebanon.

Shaykh Abbas Mehri, an Iranian national, is a cousin of Khomeini and his former representative to Kuwait.

Saied Al Hosseini, a Lebanese national, was a former officer in the Moslem militia in Lebanon.

Ahmad Nokhavallah, a Saudi Arabian national, is a prominent Shia leader in the Saudi Shia community.

Mehdi Zarivand is an Iranian Kurdish commander.

The Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution has several committees which are targeted at specific areas of concern. Among these committees are those for: Iraq; the Middle East—Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon; the Persian Gulf—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar; North Africa—Egypt, Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco; Asia—Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Afghanistan; Western Europe; United States.

The committee for Iraq is chaired by Hojjat ol-Eslam Muhammad Bagher Hakin. Its revolutionary activities within Iraq are focussed through the Al Dawa Party, which has a 20-year history of opposition to the governments in power. A founder of Al Dawa was Ayatollah Bagher Sadr, a close friend of Khomeini. Sadr, his sister, and 400 of his followers were executed by the Saddam Hosseyn government. The Al Dawa Party is headed by Hakin who spends a large part of his time in Manchester, England coordinating international support. He collaborates with Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Mehdi Baharal-Omum who organizes Iraqi Moslem militants abroad.

The Iraq committee's military affairs are supervised by Iraqi Col. Sharif Aszari, while Hosseyn Dehghani is in charge of suicide units. These suicide units collaborate with the Islamic Towhid and the Arms of the Islamic Revolution groups operating the Gulf region. There are over 40,000 Iraqi prisoners of war in Iran and the Khomeini regime uses a number of techniques to recruit these Iraqis into armed subversive units in Iraq.

The Middle East Committee was chaired by Shaykh Ragheb Harab, a Lebanese Shia clergyman. After his death, Shaykh Mehdi Jafari, a fellow Lebanese Shia clergyman, assumed the post. The regional command center of the committee is located in Damascus, Syria. Active participants in its regional meetings include Hossein Mossavi, Shaykh Mohammed Hosseyn Fadlallah, Muhammad Khansari who serves as liaison between Damascus-Tripoli-Tehran, Hojjat ol-Eslam Ali Akbar Mohtashemi who is Khomeini's ambassador in Syria, and various other Syrian officers such as Col. Ghazi Kanan who is the Director of the Syrian Armed Forces Intelligence Service and who was the former commander of Syrian Armed Forces in Lebanon.

The Middle East Committee coordinates the activities of a number of regional terrorist organizations. Among these organizations is the Islamic Amal in Lebanon. This group is a splinter group of Shia radicals who grew out of Habi Birri's Amal Party in 1982. The initial break was occasioned by a falling out over Amal strategy between Khomeini's Beirut Ambassador, Hoj Fakhr Rohani, and Birri. The Middle East Committee of the Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution had fully supported the Amal.

The leader of the Islamic Amal, which is a paramilitary force, is Hosseyn Mossavi who is of Iranian descent. His cousin, Mohsen Mossavi who is an Iranian national, was employed in Khomeini's Beirut Embassy. Another cousin, Muhammad Hosseyn Fadlallah is a Khomeini intimate and a key pro-Khomeini preacher in Lebanon. Fadlallah is in charge of Hossein Mossavi's Islamic Amal suicide units and works closely with a fellow Iranian, Mehdi Gharavi. When the split occurred in 1982, the Amal Party's religious leader, Sheykh Muhammad Mehdi Shamseddin joined Hossein Mossavi and the Islamic Amal.

The Islamic Amal became the principle military arm of the Middle East Committee. It operates under a variety of names depending upon the target selected. For example, for some operations against non-Muslim targets, such as the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, the name "Islamic Jihad" is used. Other names used against Muslim targets are "Al Ghods," "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" or "Pasdaran" and "Hezbollah." Islamic jihad terrorists are not confined exclusively to the Middle East as they conduct selected operations against targets in West Europe.

The Committee for the Persian Gulf is chaired by Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohammad Taghi Modaresi. Modaresi established the Amal Party for the Liberation of Bahrain in 1979. Their attempts to overthrow the Bahrain Government have so far proven unsuccessful. Other fronts of activity, however, in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Oman are supported by Modaresi. In

Saudi Arabia, the central figure in the underground movement supported by Modaresi is Ahmad Nokhavallah. The committee also oversees operations of the Islamic Jihad movement under Shaykh Abbas Mehri.

The Committee for Africa is chaired by Omar Almesri, a Tunisian clergyman; Sefavat Abdulmajid, an Egyptian national with possible links to the Moslem Brotherhood.

Rezvan al haj, a Moroccan writer, and Hojjat ol-Eslam Agh Mohammadi, Khomeini's representative in Libya who is charged with monitoring Moslem subversion in Morocco, North Africa, and Nigeria.

In 1983, the Government of Senegal closed the Iranian Embassy and broke diplomatic relations with Iran when they uncovered the Embassy's subversive role in fomenting Moslem opposition within Senegal. In Nigeria, the African Committee was successful in inciting Muslim riots. In Egypt, the committee supports the Al Jihad organization which was responsible for the assassination of President Anwar Sadat. In 1984, the African Committee was responsible for fomenting Muslim rioting in Tunisia and in Morocco.

The Committee for Asia is comprised of pro-Khomeini Afghans, Pakistanis, Turks, Philippine Moros, Fatani in Thailand, Indonesians, and Malaysians. The activities of Khomeini supporters in Malaysia became threatening enough that the Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister lodged a formal complaint.

The Committee for Europe has its main center of operations in London with associated centers in Rome and in Bonn. In London, the operations of this committee are based at the Islamic University Center. The head of the center is Ayatollah Shahabadi. The center serves as the collection point for the Khomeini spy network in England and assists in the formulation of operations on behalf of Tehran in Europe. Also in London and linked to the Islamic University Center's operations is the Iraqi exile political organization of Al Dawa. The head of the organization is Mehdi Al Hakin who is the brother of the leader of the Al Dawa Party in Iraq.

The center for Khomeini's terrorist operations in Rome is the Embassy of Iran to the Vatican. The Iranian Ambassador's name is Hadi Khosrowshahian and the Embassy is located at 361-363 Nomantana Street. The complex consists of a large building with some 60 rooms and several secret exits to adjoining streets. This complex is the main logistical center for Khomeini's terrorist operations in Western Europe. According to Italian police sources and other informed sources, weapons and explosives are stored in this complex for use by terrorist groups planning attacks against West European targets. More than 100 individuals with diplomatic status live in the complex.

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It has been observed that hundreds of trunks with diplomatic seals arrive on Iranian aircraft bound for this terrorist operational center. Owing to the diplomatic status of these trunks, the Italian authorities cannot interfere with their passage for further investigation of the contents. Italian authorities have reported that hundreds of terrorists from black Africa, Pakistan, India, France, Ireland, Scandinavia, and North America come to the Embassy for orders or protection.

It is known that top officials of the Syrian, Iranian, and Libyan intelligence services meet with some frequency in Rome. For example, last year Gen. Ali Doba of the Syrian Intelligence Service met with a key Khomeini intelligence officer, Gen. Ali Fardost, twice in Rome. Fardost had just flown into Rome from Tripoli, Libya after conferring with key Libyan officials. Shortly after this series of meetings, the Libyan terrorists set into operation the well known incident in London in which a British policewoman was murdered during the shooting from the windows of the Libyan Embassy of anti-Qadhafi students demonstrating in front of the Embassy.

In Bonn, Germany, the center of Khomeini's operations is located in the Islamic Institute. The director of this institute is Ayatollah Hosseyn Moghadam. In Paris, the key Khomeini operative is the Charge d'Affaires in the Iranian embassy, Mr. Hosseyn Moseyri, an officer of the Iranian intelligence services. So concerned were the French about Khomeini's operations on French soil that in December 1983, the French Government deported many Khomeini supporters from France. Many of these deportees, together with deportees from West Germany, have gathered in Brussels and are residing there today. Within the last year, more than 100 safehouses used by Khomeini terrorists and sympathizers have been identified and raided by West European authorities. These safe houses were located in Paris, London, Cologne, Rome, Vienna, Madrid, and Athens.

The Committee for North America has its operational centers in both Canada and in the United States. Last year, Shayk Nassari was dispatched from Tehran for an extended visit to North America in order to develop the terrorist infrastructure and operations in the United States and Canada. He is an Iraqi by birth but travels on an Iranian passport and plays a central role in coordinating Khomeini's operations for North America.

Within the past 2 weeks, another Khomeini representative, Shayk Majdeddin Mahalati, was dispatched to visit the United States as the personal representative of Khomeini for the Moslem religious ceremonies of Ramadan. Shayk Mahalati is the son of Ayatollah Mahalati who was an influential pro-Khomeini supporter until his death last year. During the overthrow

of the Shah of Iran's government, Shayk Mahalati was Khomeini's personal representative in the city of Shiraz where he actively coordinated the executions of hundreds of people including many high ranking officers of the Shah's military forces. One wonders why the Department of State granted a visa to Mahalati given his well known terrorist background and his influential position within the Khomeini regime.

The Khomeini regime operates an extensive system of terrorist indoctrination and training in Iran. Among the terrorist training camps in Iran are the following. At the Tarigh Al Qhods Camp, located near Tehran, Iraqi Al Dawa terrorists are trained. At Manzariyeh Park, close to Khomeini's residence in north Tehran, suicide units are trained militarily and indoctrinated ideologically. At Aram Park, a former hotel in Qom, religious and ideological indoctrination is inculcated in young students to prepare them for various terrorist missions. The Parandak Camp, near Tehran, is another important training center. The Beheshtia Camp which is located in Karaj. This latter camp specializes in training female terrorists. Close to 300 women terrorists reside at the camp at any given time with ages ranging from 17 to 35. The women come from all over the Arab world, Pakistan, North America, and Europe. This is the only terrorist training center for women which trains foreigners. There are an additional 10 training camps exclusively for female Iranian nationals. It should be noted that non-Moslems are also trained in these camps.

Among the directors of the Baheshtia Camp is Mrs. Zahra Rahnevad who is the wife of the current Iranian Prime Minister, Mir Hosseyn Mossavi Khameneh. She is approximately 30-years old and was trained in Palestinian guerrilla centers. She also serves as a coordinator of terrorist training programs in Iran.

In Khorasan Province, there is a training camp in Bojnord at the Bojnord Regiment Facility. Also in the Khorasan Province is the terrorist training center near the city of Meshad at Vakilabad. This location was once used for Iraqi prisoners of war but in December 1984 it was converted into a terrorist training center. Near this base is a small airport. On the tarmac are two Iranian airline aircraft which are used for the instruction of terrorists specializing in hijacking. One aircraft is a 727 and the other is a 707. There is another terrorist training camp with an Airbus aircraft for training purposes located near Shiraz.

We shall return to the Vakilabad base and the Manzariyeh Park centers shortly.

DOCUMENTATION ON IRAN'S ACTIONS

Mr. President, in recent weeks a number of reports have been made available to my office from a number of sources in the Middle East and in

West Europe concerning the hijacking of TWA 847. I asked my staff to prepare an outline of the background of the hijacking based on these reports as well as on information reported by the Federal Broadcast Information Service and published daily by the Department of Commerce. These reports are available to the public and are used extensively here in Washington.

Mr. President, as we piece together the outline of the events leading up to the hijacking it becomes clear that the Khomeini regime at the highest levels has been intimately involved, and perhaps even initiated, this crime against innocent American citizens. The American people have a right to know the facts about this terrorist incident so that our Nation can take every appropriate step to ensure that this terrorist crime is not repeated in the future.

In January of this year, the Foreign Ministers of Iran, Libya, and Syria met in Tehran to lay the groundwork for a new anti-American strategy. The countries agreed to escalate terrorism against the United States, our interests, and our personnel and citizens on a global scale. On January 28, the Iranian Foreign Minister was quoted on Tehran Radio as follows:

There are many common views among our countries (Iran, Libya, and Syria). We hope that in the future, with more efforts, other friendly countries such as Algeria and the PDY (Peoples' Democratic Republic of Yemen) will join us.

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Velayati, went on to state that—

The most important objective of these gatherings is closer relations among Islamic countries, especially progressive Islamic countries, in order to seriously confront the problems.

The problems that he was referring to are the United States and Israel.

The following day, in Tripoli, Libya, the JANA news agency reported the following comments by the secretary of the General People's Committee for the Foreign Liaison Bureau, Dr. al Turayki:

He said to the Iranian press before leaving Tehran yesterday, these meetings are only directed against imperialism, Zionism, and reactionary forces allied with it.

He pointed out that such meetings will be more and more expanded, in continuous regular manner, in the three countries through conferences, organizations, and international bodies.

He stressed that Jamahiriya (Libya), Iran and Syria are bound by one revolutionary struggle line and that their viewpoints on different Islamic and world matters are in full harmony.

He went on to say, "The Jamahiriya (Libya) and Syria considered the Iranian revolution, after its victory, a natural ally and that it was a huge asset for the joint struggle against Zionism and imperialism and for the realization of the liberation of Arab and Islamic land."

He pointed out that the Jamahiriya (Libya) was the only Arab country that refused to establish relations with the Shah regime. In his announcement he stressed



that the Islamic revolution is a big gain for the Islamic nation and for world liberation forces.

Following this meeting in Tehran, Colonel Qadhafi formally formed and agreed to finance his first pan-Arab terrorist organization, called the Organization of Arab Revolutionary Forces. The organization, with headquarters in Tripoli, pledged to conduct the Arab struggle for liberating all Arab territories and to confront American imperialism. The liberation of all Arab territories is a code phrase for the reconquest of the territory that is now Israel.

On February 3, Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati met with the leader of the Lebanese Islamic Towhid Movement, Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban. This movement is composed of pro-Khomeini Sunni Muslims in Lebanon. Tehran radio stated in an English language broadcast that day that—

At this meeting, Shaykh Sha'ban stressed the importance of solidarity among all Muslims in Lebanon in expanding their struggle against the Zionist regime (Israel).

Dr. Velayati concurred and said that the Islamic Republic (Iran) has always supported Lebanese Muslims.

Shaykh Sha'ban is a guest of the Islamic Republic on the 6th anniversary of the Islamic revolution (in Iran).

Shaykh Sha'ban's meeting with Velayati followed by one day his visit to the Tariq ul-Quds terrorist training camp near Tehran which I described earlier. It is at this camp that Iraq's recruited by the Al Dawa terrorist movement in Iraq and recruited by the Khomeini regime among Iraqi POW's are trained.

Tehran radio broadcast a report about Sha'ban's visit to the camp on February 4. In the report, the following was stated:

Foreign guests currently in Iran to attend celebrations marking the 6th anniversary of the Islamic revolution, visited the Tariq ul-Quds, POW camp in Tehran today and talked with the POWs.

During the visit of some 200 guests from 65 countries, the Iraqi POWs who had lined up to receive the visitors chanted slogans in condemnation of the Iraqi regime and the Iraqi ruler. The visitors talked about the POWs and enquired about their conditions.

Speaking to the POWs and the guests, Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, the leader of the Islamic Towhid Movement of Lebanon, spoke about the impact of the Islamic revolution on the Islamic movements. The shaykh said the heroic movement of the Lebanese Muslims has made the Zionist regime to realize that it could no longer remain in Lebanon.

Such a victory, he added, has been accomplished under the unity of the muhajidin and the devotion of Lebanese Muslims, who "prefer a courageous death to a life under foreign domination." On the unity of Lebanese Muslims with Iranian Muslims, he said Lebanese Muslims were on the side of the Iranian people in their effort to free all Muslims of the world.

Shaykh Sha'ban praised the Iraqi POWs for having chosen to live an Islamic life. He urged them to use the opportunity of living among Iranian Muslims and take steps towards Islamic principles so in future they would be able to defend Islam and fight alongside other Muslims against Zionism.

I shall return to Shaykh Sha'ban in a few minutes but suffice it to say, Senators should note his pro-Khomeini orientation as a factor in Sunni Muslim politics in Lebanon.

During the month of April, Lebanon was discussed at Cabinet level in Iran. Tehran radio broadcast in English on April 14 a report about a Cabinet session. The report stated that—

Iranian Cabinet met Sunday to discuss latest national and regional developments. Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati discussed the Lebanese situation and said resistance by Muslim forces in Lebanon has thwarted plans the Phalangists wished to carry out after Zionists withdrawal.

Just the day before, on April 13, the Grand Ayatollah Montazeri was reported by the Tehran Domestic Service as having spoken widely about the situation in Lebanon. Grand Ayatollah Montazeri is the No. 2 man in Iran and many observers feel that he will be Khomeini's successor. The report stated that—

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri at various meetings last week referred to the necessity for awareness by the self-sacrificing youth of Lebanon of the conspiracies of world arrogance and Zionism and stressed the need for safeguarding Islamic unity and full understanding among the Lebanese ulama, both Shi'a and Sunni, in the face of the front of blasphemy and Zionist occupiers.

During this week in April, the Khomeini regime was celebrating Army Day which fell on the 18th. A number of international visitors were one the scene to take part in the celebration. One of the visitors was Shaykh Mahdi Shamseddin who is the vice chairman of the Lebanese Shiite Muslim Assembly and one of the key figures in the pro-Khomeini Shiite forces in Lebanon. Earlier, I noted that Shaykh Shamseddin was the Lebanese Amal Party's spiritual leader until 1982 when the Islamic Amal split away under the leadership of Hussayn Musavi. Shamseddin became the spiritual leader of the Islamic Amal following the split.

Shaykh Shamseddin met with the speaker of the Majlis, or Iranian Parliament, Hashemi-Rafsanjani on April 17. On April 21, he was received by Khomeini. On April 24, he was interviewed by Tehran radio which reported in English that—

Vice-speaker of the Supreme Assembly of the Shiite Muslims of Lebanon, Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din criticized the United Nations and the U.N. Security Council for having deliberately winked at the deployment of chemical weapons against Iran's Muslim combatants by the Iraqi Government.

In an interview with IRNA Tuesday, he said the reservation of the United Nations and of other international bodies from explicitly condemning the Baghdad government for such violations of international conventions is a vivid proof that such international bodies have been created principally for safeguarding the interests of the big powers.

He said that immediately after the Security Council had issued a vague resolution in relation with the issue without condemning Iraq, the Supreme Assembly of the Shiite

Muslims of Lebanon condemned the Security Council for its meaningless resolution.

Elsewhere speaking in the same interview, the official of the Supreme Assembly noted that the Islamic Revolution in Iran had left its obvious effects on Lebanon and that it had inspired the Lebanese Muslims to a more determined fighting with the Zionists.

Speaking on the situation in Lebanon he said the Shiite Muslims of Lebanon believe that engaging in negotiation with the Zionists is not to the best interests of the Muslim Arabs and Palestinians. He added that the Lebanese people have long since been convinced that once they should make any concession to the Zionist government, the latter will respond by brutal acts upon Muslims.

The stand of the Islamic Republic of Iran and of Syria and Libya, will be in the best interest of the people of Palestine and the Arabs, he said.

The same day that Shaykh Shamseddin was interviewed was also the day set aside to celebrate the Iranian Revolutionary Guards or Pasdaran. These are Khomeini's storm troopers at the cutting edge of his revolution. They are the ones who have a major base in the Bakaa Valley in Lebanon which is used for terrorist training and terrorist operations such as the destruction of the U.S. Marine Barracks at the Beirut Airport.

On this day, Khomeini delivered a long address outlining his viewpoints and instructing his faithful. One particularly significant passage reflects his view of the Iran as the leader of the revolutionary movement in the Islamic world. It is worth noting:

You should bear in mind that you have made Islam powerful throughout the world and all the noise raised throughout the world that they want Islam, all that is a ray that has emanated from Iran. In the past this did not exist. These rays have gone from Iran to everywhere; and these rays will do their work everywhere. We should safeguard this source; we should protect the center of these rays. You should protect yourselves and should reject and repulse all the satans that want to dominate us, so that Almighty God may multiply his bounties to you, may make them a hundred-fold, that you may become victorious and may protect the wronged ones.

Khomeini's potential successor, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri in a speech on April 27 in honor of the celebration of Army Week and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Day echoed his leader's global perspective. He stated that—

It is appropriate for us to pay greater attention to the global situation of Islam and to the revolution in order to understand the importance of our nation's achievement; and we should prepare ourselves to put up with difficulties and make sacrifices to safeguard this great revolution.

On May 2, the Iranian Foreign Minister met with Shaykh Shamseddin and discussed the Islamic struggle against Israel. Shaykh Shamseddin, for his part, briefed the Foreign Minister on the situation in Lebanon.

Mr. President, the outline of the background of the hijacking now begins to commence in a more direct manner. On May 3, a delegation led by



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Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahdi Karrubi who is the head of the Iranian Martyrs Foundation as well as a member of the Majlis, left for Lebanon with the objective of holding extensive talks with Lebanese ulama and clerics. It is possible that Shayk Shamseddin as the leading spiritual figure among pro-Khomeini was aboard the same flight. On the flight to Damascus were members of the Iranian Foreign Ministry and Majlis as part of the delegation.

The Martyrs Foundation has an extensive war chest in the hundreds of millions of dollars range, possibly more. Its purpose is to give money to the families of fallen terrorists as well as to finance the logistical infrastructure of terrorist training and operations. On his visit, Karrubi is reported to have distributed 100 million Lebanese pounds to advance the radical Shiite cause in Lebanon. This sum might be equivalent to about \$65 million. The money had been appropriated earlier by the Iranian Majlis. Of this sum, half went into Lebanon into the hands of the key pro-Khomeini Lebanese clergy and the other half was left with the Iranian Ambassador at Damascus, Hojjat ol-Eslam Ali Akbar Mohtashemi for distribution as needed. It is unclear whether these funds were delivered as actual money or whether they were delivered in the form of a banking instrument which could be drawn against the Martyrs Foundation accounts held, for example, by the Marine Midland Bank in London or by Credit Suisse in Switzerland.

Among the prominent radical clergy in Lebanon with whom Karrubi met were Shayk Mohammed Mehdi Shamseddin, Shayk Hosseyn Fadlallah, Shaykh Ibrahim Amin, Shaykh Fallah Arghedan, and Shaykh Sobhi Tofaili. Shaykh Fadlallah runs the Beirut branch of the Hizbollah or Party of God. Shaykh Amin runs Hizbollah elements in southern Lebanon and is based in Sidon. Shaykh Arghedan is linked to radical Sunni Muslims in the Sidon area. Shaykh Tofaili runs the Baalbek Hizbollah branch.

According to some reports, Karrubi was rebuffed by Nabl Birri and his Amal group. It is said that Birri is closer to Syria than to Iran. Apparently, Karrubi could not get into southern Lebanon because Birri's Amal declined to provide for his security.

An important event occurred on May 5, an event which, if the reports are true, was central to the initiation of the hijacking of TWA 847. On this day about 100 families of Lebanese martyrs departed for Tehran sponsored by the Martyrs Foundation. Among them was one Ali Atwa one of the three original hijackers of TWA 847. Atwa's family is from the village of Almarek near Sidon. In March of this year, his brother Abdullah was killed in the fighting in the region.

On May 5, the Tehran Domestic Service reported the arrival of this

group of families of Lebanese martyrs as follows:

On the eve of the blessed birthday anniversary of the Lord of the Era (the 12th Imam) may God speed his coming, and by invitation of the foundation for the oppressed of the Islamic Revolution, approximately 100 families of Lebanese martyrs arrived in Tehran this evening and were welcomed by officials from that foundation. A member of a family of one of the Lebanese martyrs, Hajj Abbas Haseyn Mousavi, in an interview with our correspondent said: We are continuing the victorious path followed by Iran which is now present in Lebanon. We are prepared to become martyrs on this path.

With regard to the Lebanese Muslims' operations, which have dealt fatal blows on Israel, the United States and the Phalangists, he said: These blows have been so powerful that they do not leave the way open for them to return. God willing we will, with our determination and steadfastness, deal more deadly blows on the rotten corpse of Israel. We will succeed in cleaning our Islamic homeland from their filthy presence.

Hasan 'Ali Sankor, a resident of Jabal 'Amil in southern Lebanon, said: I come from the land of 'Abbas Ghafar (one of the Shiites' religious heroes) and on behalf of my compatriots I wish to send my greeting to the Imam of the ummah and Imam Musa Sadr.

We, the children of Islam in Jabal 'Amil, have put up a resistance against the Israelis since the start of Israel's aggression against southern Lebanon's pure soil. Our resistance was inspired by guidelines given by Imam Khomeini, the leader of the world's oppressed. We have succeeded in reaching a state whereby we are capable of throwing out all aggressive forces from our country.

On May 7, the delegation led by Karrubi returned to Iran. Tehran Radio broadcast in English a report of its return. It was as follows:

The Lebanese people have a high and revolutionary morale despite the devastations caused by the Zionist invasion, said Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahdi Karrubi upon his return from Lebanon today.

Karrubi, who heads Iran's Martyrs' Foundation, said the morale of the Lebanese people is a source of hope for "the liberation of all occupied territories soon."

Karrubi headed a Foreign Ministry and Majlis delegation to Lebanon during his three-day visit to Lebanon. While inspecting the destructions caused by the Zionist forces in Lebanon, he held talks with Sunni and Shi'a Ulama.

He said talks centered on the Zionist plot to put Sunni and Shi'a Muslims against one another as well as ways to further intensify the struggle against the Zionist forces.

On the activities of the Martyrs' Foundation in Lebanon, Karrubi said the foundation operated three offices in Ba'alabakk, Beirut and in a region recently liberated in southern Lebanon.

Their main function is to provide a pension and to create jobs for the relatives of martyrs.

On May 8, Khomeini received the Information Minister, Mohammad Reyshahri for a special briefing. Reyshahri, whose original family name is Nik, is the head of the Iranian intelligence service with close ties to the Soviet KGB. He has adopted the religious title of Hojjat ol-Eslam but never was part of the real clergy.

On May 14, Khomeini met with the families of Lebanese martyrs. The Tehran Domestic Service reported the meeting as follows:

[Excerpt] Families of Lebanon martyrs who have come to Iran at the invitation of the Shaid Foundation of the Islamic Revolution, together with the families of those martyred, missing and captured in the war from the towns of Garmi, Moghan and Parsabad in Eastern Azarbayjan, and a group of families from Tehran of those martyred missing and captured in the war met Imam Khomeini, the leader of the revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

At the end of this meeting Imam Khomeini responded to the expressions of emotions by the audience.

It appears that Ali Atwa missed this meeting with Khomeini because he was involved in a rigorous terrorist training program. According to reports from informed sources, Atwa, after arriving in Tehran, went to the city of Meshed in Khorasan Province. He was in Meshed for 3 days and then dropped out of sight. He was nearby, however, being trained at the Vakilabad terrorist center about 3 miles away. Earlier, I described this training center and noted that there are two aircraft on the runway of a nearby airport. Apparently, he was practicing for a hijacking.

After 3 weeks of intensive training at Vakilabad, Atwa was then sent to the terrorist training center at Marzariyeh Park, close to Khomeini's residence in Tehran. I noted earlier that this is a training center for suicide squads who receive both military and ideological training. Atwa's state of mind must have been pliable owing to the death of his brother only 2 months before. This camp is commanded by Muhammad Shamkhani and it is reported that Atwa spent 3 days there. We shall return to Atwa's movements in a few minutes.

At some point in early May, the Khomeini regime took a decision to declare the last Friday of Ramadan, June 14, as "Jerusalem Day," and to assist in fomenting ceremonies in the Islamic world to mark this day as a symbol for the objective of the reconquest of Jerusalem and Israeli lands.

On May 17, Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslem 'Ali Khamene'i, the Tehran Friday Imam and the President of Iran, delivered a series of sermons which focussed particularly on Israel and the Palestinian question. He stated clearly that one of the objectives of the Khomeini revolution was to regain Palestine and Jerusalem. He stated in this regard the following:

The outbreak of the Islamic revolution in Iran has upset the permanent equation of the world oppressors with regard to the Palestinian question and brought about a great change in the equation. The Islamic revolution is hostile and opposed to the Zionist state. The Islamic revolution firmly confronts the world oppressors. Therefore, we find that the agents of the world oppressors are today fighting the Islamic revolution instead of fighting the Zionists who usurped Palestine and Jerusalem. This is because



they realize that the Islamic revolution is determined to regain Palestine and Jerusalem.

In a report by the Tehran Domestic Service on Khamene'i's sermons the following was stated:

Tehran's Friday imam referred to the reason for setting up Israel by imperialism, saying: The prime reason for setting up that totalitarian regime was not building houses for a number of Jews, but was rather setting up a province of the Western powers in the heart of the Arab and Muslim countries and thanks to all-round assistance gave Israel such a free hand for carrying out any aggression, greed for glory, insulting the Arabs, initiating war and attack on the Arab countries that already a great many Arab nations have come to believe that Israel should continue to exist.

He added: All the endeavors by 'Abd al-Nasir and the PLO, which also enjoyed Arab support, in confronting Israel got nowhere at all, but only Iran's Islamic Revolution and inspiration from its movements that generated among the Arab nations a feeling of invincibility arising out of Islamic faith—so much so that Muslims in southern Lebanon, without arms and only through reliance on Islamic faith, dealt such a blow at the Israeli aggressors that is unprecedented in the past 37 years of the history of that land—only the Islamic Revolution and inspiration were successful. And when we victoriously conclude Iraq's imposed war we, too, will strike our blows at the Zionists even harder.

Hojjat al-Islam val-Muslemiin Sayyid 'Ali Khamene'i said in conclusion: Rumors about our purchase of weapons from Israel and on the dispatch of a number of Iranian Jews to Israel precisely constitute a new scheme by world arrogance aimed at accusing us of having relations which we deem both religiously unclean and forbidden and also at preventing the exposure of the political collusion between Arab and Muslim leaders and world arrogance; and I tell the world Muslim nations, particularly the Palestinians, to distance themselves from such traitors! It is essential to remind you that every year, on the eve of the ceremonies marking world Jerusalem Day, observed throughout the world at the suggestion of the Islamic Republic, such rumors are disseminated by the imperialist and Zionist mass media.

Senators should note the last sentence which discloses that the Khomeini regime instigated the celebration of Jerusalem Day. Some reports cite statements from the Khomeini regime that on Jerusalem Day, something would happen which would shake the world. The hijacking of our TWA 847 flight appears to coincide with Jerusalem Day planning.

Simultaneously, in Lebanon, the radical pro-Khomeini clergy propagated the same schemes in their Friday sermons. The Tehran Domestic Service reported on this activity as follows:

Friday prayer ceremonies were held in various parts of Lebanon yesterday. According to a Central News Unit dispatch from Beirut, during this week's Friday prayers the mosque imams emphasized the need to continue the struggle against the Zionist regime which has begun certain desperate attempts aimed at bringing about a new compromise agreement similar to that of 17th May between the then Lebanese Government and Israel.

According to this report, the religious scholar Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlul

lah, one of Lebanon's militant ulama, in his prayers sermon at the Imam Rida mosque in the southern outskirts of Beirut, called on Muslims to wage jihad against the Zionist enemy until he is driven from the entire territory of Lebanon. He also urged that the slogan "Forward to Jerusalem" should be adopted in all phases of the struggle against Israel and that the blessed month of Ramadan should be the month of jihad.

He said: Muslims should strengthen their Islamic spirit in order to transfer Islamic resistance to all meek and oppressed countries so that Israel could thereby be expelled wholly from the region. With regard to the bomb outrage in the Muslim quarter of Bi'r al-'Abd in the southern outskirts of Beirut, in which it was recently reported that U.S. and Lebanese counter-intelligence organizations had a hand, the religious scholar Fadlallah called for the trial of the Lebanese president who had cooperated with the U.S. CIA in the massacre of children and women and said: Our struggle is a long one. Once the nation starts to move the ground will shake under the feet of world arrogance.

According to a Central News Unit dispatch, the official spokesman of the Islamic community in the city of Sidon in southern Lebanon, too, in his prayers sermon yesterday at the Al-Bitah mosque in that city said: Islam is a world force of faith which could neutralize all colonialist plots, and the blessed month of Ramadan should be a month of liberation.

In the meantime Shaykh Sa'id Sha'bani, leader of the Islamic monotheistic movement in the city of Tripoli in northern Lebanon in his Friday prayers sermon at the Al-Mansurah mosque in that city declared: It is not permissible to give Israel a chance. We should turn southern Lebanon into an open thoroughfare for launching struggle against Israel. Continuing his prayers sermon, criticizing the Arab compromising regimes, he added: The Islamic resistance in Lebanon has waged battle alone and thereby exposed the compromising Arabs.

Senators should note the references to the sermons of Shaykh Muhammad Hossayn Fadlallah who introduced a slogan, "Forward to Jerusalem." Also to be noted is his reference to the bomb incident at Bi'r al-'Abd which he linked to the CIA. Some U.S. press reporters in recent days have parroted the same unfounded accusation. It is also of importance to note the sermon by Shaykh Sa'id Sha'bani who declared that, "It is not permissible to give Israel a chance." Senators will recall my earlier comments about these Shayks' visits to Iran during the preceding months.

On May 19, the President of Iran, Khamene'i, delivered an address which ridiculed the "empty threats" of the United States. The text of the report on the speech as reported by Tehran Domestic Service is as follows:

Addressing a number of government departments' officials of Ramhormoz and Ramshir, families of martyrs, members of revolutionary foundations, and some local citizens of the two towns today, President Khamene'i referred to recent threats by the U.S. Administration, saying: The threats by American politicians are empty ones.

The president said: The global arrogance has no choice but to accept the fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran is here to stay and that it will not be shaken by threats. We have already proved that we deserve to exist. The nation must feel this fact more

deeply. Today is the day to capitalize on the efforts made over the past several years.

Just 3 days later, on May 22, the President of Iran, Khamene'i, sent a message to Muslim Iranian students in the United States and Canada. Senators should reflect on the statement which was reported in English by Tehran Radio as follows:

President Khamene'i sent a message to Muslim Iranian students in North America calling on them to work for the benefit of the Islamic revolution and their nation.

The students are holding the 17th seminar organized by the Union of Muslim Students Associations in the United States and Canada.

The associations are supporters of the Islamic revolution and are active in promoting the cause of the Islamic Republic abroad.

Khamene'i said at a time when the sworn enemies of Islam were trying to corrupt the youth, Islamic associations were a necessity.

"Do not allow your brothers and sisters who can be the constructors of their revolution, country and the Islamic world, to turn into faithless, unprincipled and ignorant elements," he said.

Referring to the ongoing political process in Iran, the president said "our nation is determined to prove that material powers are soulless, and out to frighten nations, rear hopeless intellectuals and conciliatory pseudo revolutionaries."

He said the Islamic revolution hopes to impress upon them the need to re-evaluate their thinking and future.

"Through your action and speech, your dear ones should take the message of our nation to the students from other countries," he said.

On the same day, Khomeini's second in command, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, cabled the radical clergy in Lebanon and called for Islamic unity and expressed his anxiety over fighting between Muslims there.

On May 28, Tehran Domestic Service broadcast in Persian a diatribe against the United States entitled "Recent Threats by the United States in the Region." The full text is as follows:

During recent days, imperialist media have been carrying out widespread and extensive propaganda concerning the problem of U.S. and French hostages in Lebanon and the possible retaliatory attacks by United States against selected, sensitive targets in Iran.

What is worth noting about this propaganda adventure is that leading U.S. officials have given a clear opinion about this matter. The news started in this way: according to U.S. officials, President Reagan is prepared to issue an order to bomb selected targets in Iran if U.S. hostages are killed by the terrorist members of the Islamic Jihad Organization.

However, it was not clear who or at what level had made this statement. The U.S. State Department spokesman refrained from making a direct statement about this and other more detailed news on this matter, but did not deny such news. He added that the United States will take serious actions against any terrorist activities which are backed by a government.

However it is completely obvious that this informal threat, which this time the rulers of the U.S. Government do not have the courage to formally make, is not the first



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time the threat has been made nor will it be the last.

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has been continuously faced with such threats ever since its creation. Such threats culminated in the U.S. military attack on Tabas which ended in a disastrous defeat. A recent statement by the spokesman for the Islamic Republic's Foreign Ministry says that the U.S. problems in Lebanon and the problem of the kidnapping of a number of U.S. citizens in Beirut are rooted in the aggressive policies of the United States in various parts of the world. The increased awareness of the people in these regions has been intensified against this aggression.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman denied the Islamic Republic's involvement in such incidents. He emphasized it has been proven that a U.S. spy organization was directly ordered by the White House to bomb the B'r al-Abd Mosque in Beirut which caused death or injury to more than 400 innocent people in Lebanon. This act has been strongly condemned by world opinion and even by the people of United States. In fact it is one of hundreds of criminal activities carried out by the United States. Therefore it is understandable why Zionist propaganda affiliated with the United States and officials of this country every so often condemn Iran as the protector of terrorists.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman said that this is based on undeniable facts which imperialist propaganda intends to destroy.

In fact the root of the problem is the United States itself. The foreign policies of the United States and the failure of them abroad have forced the U.S. politicians to launch new adventures and useless boasting in order to remove any seed of doubt in connection with (words indistinct). It is obvious that this method of dealing with problems might fool the people of the United States, but it will not deceive the aware people of this region.

In connection with this matter, the prime minister of the Islamic Republic, Engineer Musavi, said that the United States cannot do a damn thing about these threats or through other actions. We have many times punched the United States in the mouth and we are ready to do this once again over the world. The United States must know that we are able to turn the Persian Gulf into a quicksand for them to drown in.

The speaker of the Majlis, Hajjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rasfianjani, during a general session announced that we once more warn the United States and we are telling the people and the allies of the United States that it will achieve the same results from these threats as it did from the previous ones.

God forbid, the day that our ports become targets for aggression by these international criminals, you can be sure that not even one ship will be able anchor in any of the Persian Gulf ports and there will be no port left to accept such ships. If such a day comes, any responsibility for any crisis following this will be with the great satan. The Islamic Republic will defend itself.

On the same day, May 23, the Security Council of Iran held a session to present the President of Iran, 'Ali Khamene'i, with its annual report. The report of this meeting as broadcast in English over Tehran Radio is as follows:

The Security Council of Iran held a session here Tuesday (23 May) in the presence of President 'Ali Khamene'i and presented him its annual report. The President gave guidelines with regards to the issues

Present in the session were minister of the Interior, 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri; chief of staff of the Armed Forces, Colonel Esmail Solhebi; commander of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps, Mohsen Rezaei; commander of the Committees of the Islamic Revolution, Hajjat ol-Eslam Saleh, and other members of the council.

On the following day, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri met with Lebanese clergy and seminarians in the city of Qom. He delivered a stinging attack on the United States and Israel. The full text as reported by Tehran Domestic Service is as follows and is worthy of careful examination:

A group of Lebanese seminarians and struggling clergymen based in Qom Seminary met Grand Ayatollah Montazeri yesterday afternoon. While expressing their gratitude for his message to the Lebanese ulama in connection with the internal bloody clashes in that country, they presented a report about the latest situation in Lebanon. Then Grand Ayatollah Montazeri praised the sense of responsibility of the struggling seminarians and noted that the efforts made by the Prophet of Islam on establishing unity between the (Qawas and Khazeri) Muslim tribes.

He said: Following the clear order of the Koran and the efforts of the Holy Prophet to establish unity between Muslims, the Jewish tribe, which at the time was the real enemy of the Koran and Islam, started their plot by sending mysterious persons between the two tribes and by reminding them of the previous animosity among Muslims. It was not long before an internal war and bloodshed was about to take place but at this time the holy verse came forth "and hold fast, all together, by the rope which God stretches out for you and be not divided among ourselves."

It warned Muslims against friction and internal clashes in the face of the enemies of Islam. He then noted the recent situation in Lebanon and emphasized that today also the Zionists and other occupying forces have failed before the Lebanese Muslims and have fled because of the unity between the Lebanese Muslims and the struggling Muslim forces. He added: Israel and the United States have concentrated their plots against the unity of the Muslim Lebanese. They have realized that so long as this unity exists between the struggling Muslims, whether Shi'ite or Sunni, all their colonialist efforts will be foiled.

This is why they have urged the people who have certain political goals to organize an internal war between the Palestinian Muslims and groups of struggling Lebanese Shi'ite Muslims using small slights in order to cause incidents in Lebanon, which is still struggling against Israel and its allies, and in order to bring dishonor to Islam and Shi'ism.

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri went on to say: I am sure that the mysterious hands of Israel and the United States are in these plots. They are trying to disgrace Islam and Shi'ism in the Islamic world and to create an everlasting war between the Lebanese Shi'ites and Palestinian Muslims who are at present refugees from their occupied homeland and are guests of the Muslim Lebanese nation.

He then pointed out: Of course we must consider the records of the Muslim and oppressed people of Palestine separately from that of some of their leaders and politicians. If, for example, the Palestinian leaders do not assume the correct position and have different view and attitude toward them,

of the Muslim Palestinian nation or their women and children. He added: I am not saying there are no corrupt or deviate people among the few million Palestinians. It is natural that when a nation is a refugee from its homeland and the Muslim countries do not do their best for them, the youth of such countries take refuge in various countries and places. It is possible that they are overcome with corruption of belief and deviationism. However, the major guilty parties are the heads of the Islamic countries who are unable to defend the rights of the Palestinian people and to provide their ideological and apolitical needs in accordance with the orders of Islam and the Koran.

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri then said: These people who take advantage of the simplicity and purity of our Shi'a brothers and sisters in Lebanon for their own political goals and who have instigated them and have created war and bloodshed between the Muslim Palestinian refugees and a group of Shi'a Lebanese struggling Muslims must realize their mistake. They must know that if they continue with their non-Muslim ways which has caused the (anger) of the messenger of God it is possible there will be such conditions that we will have to separate the records of that small group from that of the Shi'ites. These people must repent and change their ways, and end the bloodshed and killing of Muslims which is unfortunately done in the name of Shi'ism in Lebanon. They must not provide so much propaganda material for the media of the enemies of Islam.

In conclusion, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri noted: They are using the disarming of Palestinians as an excuse for a plot by Israel and the United States which want to make sure that there will be no other forces except the Zionists and the Phalangists in Lebanon. They want to be able to do anything and commit any crime or cruelty without anyone resisting them. I feel sure that today they are saying the Palestinians must not be armed in Lebanon, and tomorrow they will say the Lebanese Shi'ites and all other struggling forces or the Sunnis must not be armed either. The main goal of United States and Israel is the disarmament of all struggling Muslims whether Shi'a or Sunni, Lebanese or Palestinian. Unfortunately this plot is carried out by people who are unaware. In southern Lebanon all the people who wish to combat Israel must be armed, and according to the Koran people who fight with the Zionists are (word indistinct) from God. No one and no official can or should try to prevent the struggle against the Zionists.

It is within the context of this vitriol that Grand Ayatollah Montazeri appointed the head of the Martyrs Foundation, Mr. Karrubi, as a special envoy to Lebanon on May 30. The text of the report by the Tehran Domestic Service on this mission and the text of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri's instructions are as follows:

Following the recent conspiracies of the United States and Israel to create a Muslim civil war in Lebanon, Grand Ayatollah Montazeri has ordered the appointment of Mr. Karrubi, the Imam's representative and head of the Martyr's Foundation, to lead a delegation of experts on the problems of the region to visit Lebanon. The text of Grand Ayatollah Montazeri's order is as follows:

In His exalted name, Your Excellency Hajjat ol-Eslam Mr. Karrubi, the honorable



lengthen his lofty shadow on earth—in the Martyr's Foundation.

Following the big conspiracy of the United States and Israel in Lebanon and the creation of a civil war and bloodshed between a group of Lebanese Shi'ites and Palestinian Muslims, I deem it necessary for your excellency, who recently saw the internal situation of Lebanon and felt the need to get involved, to lead a delegation of well-informed and far-sighted individuals, experts on regional issues, and visit that country in coordination with the Foreign Ministry. Please convey my greetings and my sympathy and concern to the militant ulema and clergymen of Lebanon and all the Muslim and committee forces and combative strata.

Please kindly inform the illustrious gentlemen on my behalf that the edition currently enacted in steadfast and aware Lebanon with the provocation of the United States and the Zionists, is the beginning of a great danger to Islam and Shi'ism and the Islamic movement and the committed clergy in the world of Islam.

From the earliest times of Islam, whenever the Muslims' unity and awareness posed a danger to the enemies of Islam—particularly the Zionists and colonial powers during this century—and whenever the grounds were suitable for Islam to come to power and reorganize the Muslims politically, the colonialists, using their untrained or misled agents, have tried to employ various means and excuses to sharpen sectarian and religious sensitivities in order to turn the Islamic Muslim resistance and its unity of word vis-a-vis the enemies of Islam into divisions, discord, civil war, and bloodshed. God knows what blows have been inflicted on Islam, the prestige of the Koran, and the honor of the Muslims in this respect.

Tell the informed ulema and the honorable and combative clergymen of Lebanon that if they fail to cooperate and do their best in these sensitive circumstances to decisively stop this civil war and bloodshed through self-sacrifice, all the hard work and services of the honorable gentlemen and the selfless and combative youth of Lebanon, who have suffered in trying to awaken the Muslim nation of Lebanon and mobilize them in one rank against the front of blasphemy and Zionism, would be wasted. On the other hand, by the continuation of this bloodshed in the holy month of Ramadan and on the eve of the International Jerusalem Day, which was chosen by a decree of the great leader of the revolution, Imam Khomeyni—may his lofty shadow lengthen in all positive and international aspects of this great day of Islam will be eliminated. It is not far-fetched to think that this was one of the sinister aims of the Zionists in starting this civil war in Lebanon.

Therefore, I, as a seminary student, call upon you, honorable gentlemen, and all Muslim brothers and sisters of that Lebanon, be you Shi'ite or Sunni, Lebanese or Palestinian, to take immediate steps to stop this massacre and bloodshed. The gentlemen themselves and the various relevant Muslim factions should employ any means they deem appropriate and must try to solve the country's internal problems through understanding and negotiations in an atmosphere of fraternity and peace. They should not allow suspicious elements or duped and blind individuals to take charge of affairs in the presence of the well-informed ulema of Islam and all these learned and zealous young men. The honorable gentlemen should organize the movement's affairs, so as to unite and mobilize all forces and resources in full coordination against Zionism and the usurping Israel, this base of global

blasphemy in the region. I beseech Almighty God to grant victory and honor to Islam and the Muslims. My He bring abjectness and destruction to the front of blasphemy and Zionism. May God's peace and salutations be upon his pious servants.—[Signed] Huseyn 'Ali Montazeri, 30 May 1985.

The delegation headed by Karrubi met with the President of Iran, Khamene'i prior to their departure. The text of the Tehran Radio report of this meeting is as follows:

An Iranian delegation leaving for Lebanon on a mediation mission met Thursday with President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i who told them to use every element at their disposal to end the 11-day conflict between Palestinians and the Lebanese Amal militia.

The delegation headed by Hoj. Karrubi, director of the Martyrs Foundation, was ordered to Lebanon by Ayatollah Montazeri. A deputy foreign minister and two Majlis members accompanying Karrubi. President Khamene'i told the group to ask influential personalities in Lebanon to use all their efforts to end the fighting.

He expressed the hope that the delegation will be successful and asked Karrubi to use "any constructive element" to achieve his aim.

Khamene'i condemned the fighting which he said was in the interests of the Zionists, and called for an anti-Zionist unity among all revolutionary forces and the cooperation of Muslim groups.

The president turned to the non revolutionary policies of some Palestinian leaders and said their case was different from the destiny of the Muslim Palestinians.

In an interview with Tehran Domestic Service on May 31, Karrubi stated the following about his mission to Lebanon:

I ask you with due thanks to explain the formation of this delegation to carry out this mission, its objectives, and what expectations you have?

In His exalted name. The delegation that has been assigned and to which I am giving my services includes our elder brother Hojjat ol-Islam Ebrahimi from the office of His Eminence Ayatollah Montazeri; brothers of the Foreign Ministry; and the legal advisers of the Foreign Ministry; and (word indistinct) brothers of the Islamic Majlis; brother Ahmad 'Aziz of the Majlis Foreign Commission; and another member of the Islamic Majlis. Brother Musavi.

The objectives are specific and clear. As you stated, with the victory of the Islamic forces over the Zionists, the plot began in Lebanon and the problems of the civil war and the problem of Shi'ites and Sunnis reared its heads. Of course it is a political game against the aware and revolutionary brothers. It is clear that it is not a religious but a political matter to engage forces so that they may be diverted from the issue of Israel.

On this issue, the Islamic Republic authorities and the officials and policymakers are very sensitive and have formulated their stance right from the beginning. In this regard some steps have been taken and some activity has been initiated. His Eminence Ayatollah Montazeri is extremely sensitive to this issue and he has expressed his concern on the issue. He has stressed this and taken some measures.

The official notice of the departure of the delegation on May 31 was given by the Tehran Domestic Service as follows:

Following the guidance and stress on the need for efforts to end the present clashes among the Muslim factions in Lebanon by His Eminence Ayatollah Montazeri, Mr. Karrubi, the Imam's deputy and director of the Martyrs Foundation of the Islamic Revolution, and high-level delegation left for Lebanon.

The delegation's flight took them to Damascus. The following is the report by Tehran Radio noting the arrival of the delegation in Damascus:

An Iranian parliamentary delegation headed by Hojjat ol-Islam Mehdi Karrubi arrived here today possibly for a week long visit and was welcomed at the airport by the Syrian Foreign Ministry officials, as well as the secretary of that country's parliamentary 'Majlis al-Sha'b'.

In an interview at the airport here Karrubi said he is carrying a message from Iran's prominent theologian Ayatollah Montazeri to President Hafez al-Assad and the Syrian people. He said the Islamic Republic lauds Syria's struggle under Al-Assad's leadership against imperialism and Zionism in the region.

Karrubi and his delegation met with a number of high ranking Syrian officials during this stage of the visit. The following report on Tehran Radio in English describes the delegation's meeting with the Syrian Vice President for Political Affairs, 'Abd al-Hakim Khaddam:

Hojjat ol-Islam Mehdi Karrubi, Imam Khomeyni's representative and head of the Shahid (Martyrs) Foundation, who is here leading a high-ranking delegation appointed by Ayatollah Montazeri, met and conferred with Vice President for Political Affairs 'Abd al-Hakim Khaddam Saturday.

In this meeting regional developments and ways to end the fighting between Palestinians and Shi'ite militias, as well as Muslim unity against the Zionist regime discussed. The Iranian delegation arrived in Damascus Friday May 31. It is here on a commission from Iran's prominent theologian Ayatollah Montazeri to explore the ways and means for ending clashes in Palestinian camps in Beirut.

On the same day, June 1, Karrubi met with the speaker of the Syrian parliament, Mohammad al-Zubi. The following is the report on this meeting by Tehran Radio broadcast on June 2:

The speaker of the Syrian parliament Mohammad al-Zubi, Saturday told an envoy of the Islamic Republic that the two countries should coordinate their foreign policy with regards to the ongoing crisis in Lebanon.

Al-Zubi made the statement in a meeting with Iran's head of the Shahid (Martyrs) Foundation Hoj. Karrubi who is heading a delegation which arrived here Friday to seek ways for ending the fighting between the Palestinians and the Amal militia in Beirut.

The two men discussed regional politics and the role of the two nations with regards to the problems.

In the meeting, Al-Zubi spoke on the recent political developments in the region and explained Syria's policy with regards to the present situation.

He praised Iran's support for the Arab and Palestinian causes and said efforts to solve the Lebanese crisis were worthy of appreciation.

He said it was important to coordinate Syrian and Iranian policy in the interim.



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tional scene and to strengthen bilateral ties. He said such efforts would benefit the common aims of the two countries.

Back in Tehran, on the same day, June 1, Tehran Radio in an English broadcast to Europe carried threats against the United States by several high officials of the Khomeyni regime. The Prime Minister of Iran, Musavi, stated that the United States "cannot do a damn thing" against Iran. The following is the full text of the broadcast:

Last week, America announced (impossibly) and through some official sources that it would launch attacks against some of the Iranian ports in retaliation for the hostage taking of American nationals in Lebanon.

Our political commentator has analyzed the recent statements of the American officials and (word indistinct). Such statements, which were not denied by the official American sources, are another indication of the true character of American imperialists. The Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran in a strong worded response denied the accusation of Iran's involvement in abducting Americans in Lebanon and transferring them to Iran and pointed out that any measure against the Islamic Republic of Iran will be responded severely.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed that the problems of America in Lebanon and the issue of abduction of some nationals of that country in Beirut are at the root of the aggressive and obstructive policies of America in various regimes of the world. Recently, Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the Imam's representative to the Supreme Defense Council, in his pre-agenda speech announced: In case of American aggression against the ports of our country there will not remain any port for ships to anchor in the Persian Gulf.

Mr. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, while calling the recent American threats as blackmail, said: If America has gotten any results from its former threats it will get this time too. The speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly of Iran, by referring to the crisis which will arrive in case of (effecting) America's threats in the region, said: If such an event takes place, America will be liable for any crisis due to this (venture).

At any rate, Mr. Musavi, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, too, told reporters: There is much possibility that the renewed attack of Iraq against the Iranian cities were launched through American instigations. But America cannot do a damn thing: neither by such instigations nor by other measures.

Two weeks ago, an American team, including David Newton, America's ambassador in Baghdad, (word indistinct) into negotiations with the leaders of the Iraqi Ba'athist Party and a few days later the (word indistinct) was initiated again.

After visiting Damascus, the Karrubi delegation headed into Lebanon. A number of meetings were held with prominent radical clergy many of whom had met with Karrubi during his earlier visit in May to Lebanon. The delegation visited southern Lebanon as well and Karrubi also was able to visit in the Ba'alabakk area according to some reports.

The following are reports from Tehran radio on June 2 and June 3 describing Karrubi's arrival in Beirut and his discussions with radical clergy:

A high ranking delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran headed by Hojjat ol-Eslam Mahdi Karrubi, arrived here today where it met and conferred with Lebanese Shiite religious leader Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah. The delegation will discuss ways of ending the fighting between Amal militiamen and Palestinians at refugee camps in Beirut. It will also confer with other Lebanon theologians and religious leaders.

Karrubi, who is head of Iran's Shahid (Martyrs) Foundation had earlier visited Syria where he discussed similar issues with that country's authorities. He termed the talks fruitful.

While in Syria, Karrubi said he held comprehensive talks with Syria's vice president, Abd al-Halim Khaddam and the speaker of that country's parliament, Mahmud al-Zubli.

The Palestinian-Amal clashes in Beirut and ways of ending them were discussed in depth with Syrian officials, Karrubi said.

Karrubi said that Syrian authorities reiterated that the clashes only serve to harm the image of the Islamic forces and that a cease-fire should be put into force at once.

The Iranian delegation headed by Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi met and conferred with Lebanon's Grand Mufti Shaykh Hassan Khalid and discussed with him solutions to put an end to the recent clashes in Palestinian camps, here Sunday.

Expressing the deep concern of Iranian officials over the incident, Karrubi stressed that the Islamic Republic sought a rapid halt to the clashes.

Later, the delegation had a meeting with vice president of the Supreme Council of Shiite Muslims, Shaykh Mahdi Shams al-Din, who hailed Iran's efforts in lauds relevant to Muslims.

Referring to Ayatollah Hoseyn 'Ali Montazeri's message, Karrubi called for a serious confrontation vis-a-vis recent clashes and stressed on the necessity to thwart plots of international arrogance against Muslims.

The delegation also met and conferred with the Lebanese religious figure Sayid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah who called on the Islamic Republic of Iran to further continue its measures to strengthen the unity of Shiite and Sunni Muslims.

It was during this visit that Karrubi was able to further set in motion the plan to hijack an American aircraft. The following is a report by the Tehran domestic service concerning Karrubi's visit to Lebanon:

Karrubi, the Imam's representative and supervisor of the Martyrs Foundation, who is visiting Lebanon at the head of a high-ranking delegation, met with many Islamic figures in Beirut and conveyed greetings from the people and officials of the Islamic Republic and from Grand Ayatollah Montazeri to the Muslim Lebanese people. He then stressed the need for the presence of the ulama on the political scene and the people's support for them. The meeting took place last night at the Lebanese ulama congregation's meeting house.

According to reports from Beirut, Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, one of the militant Lebanese clergymen, emphasized the sacred goals of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the significance attached to such goals by Muslims. He said: Only the solidarity and unity of the Islamic ulama can foil provocations. We must adopt a united stance against any plot aimed at creating divisions and fanning the flames of conflict between the various religions.

According to a Central News Unit report from Beirut, the Iranian delegation has now left for southern Lebanon to inspect the liberated villages. The delegation is to hold

talks with Islamic ulama in the region on ways of ending local conflicts. Karrubi is to make a speech at Imam Reza Mosque in southern Beirut this afternoon on plots hatched by Israel and by global arrogance to deal a blow to Muslim unity.

Karrubi returned to Tehran on June 6. The following is the text of the Tehran radio report of his return from Syria and Lebanon:

Imam's representative and head of the Shahid (Martyrs) Foundation, Hoj. Mahdi Karrubi returned here Thursday. He had led a high ranking delegation appointed by Ayatollah Montazeri to Beirut to try to end the recent clashes in Palestinian refugee camps, there.

In an interview upon his arrival, Karrubi termed the results of his trip as "very good" adding that following our mission, the clashes subsided and now only intermittent fighting is going on.

Karrubi stated that following the Lebanese Muslims' victory over the Zionists and the latter's forced withdrawal from occupied lands in south Lebanon, plots were hatched by foreign powers against the region's Muslims. Armed clashes and religious discord between militant Muslims of south Lebanon was a manifestation of these forces at work.

He said that the delegation sought to delve into the roots of Lebanese issue as a facet of its strategy for neutralizing the conflict and preventing its expansion.

On the role of the Shiite Muslims in expelling the Zionists from south Lebanon Karrubi said that effort are now being exerted by Zionists designed to tarnish the reputation of Shiite Muslims in the region, thus involving them in armed clashes and fanning the flames of religious discord.

The delegation's stance was welcomed by all parties, Karrubi said.

"Since the delegation was appointed by Ayatollah Montazeri, it was received very warmly by the Muslim forces," he added.

Karrubi praised the empathy of Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims for the Islamic Revolution and said that the situation requires a close scrutiny, adding that "we can see that U.S. plots in the deep of the Lebanese issue."

"These meetings and discussions will continue. We hope that following our talks with Syrian officials and along with their efforts to end the conflicts, the regional problems will soon be solved with the victory of Muslim forces," Karrubi concluded.

Deputy Foreign Minister Ali Mohammad Besharati, head of the Majlis commission for foreign affairs Ahmad Azizi and Majlis Deputy Seyed Abbas Musavi accompanied Karrubi in his 5-day trip to Syria and Lebanon.

On or about June 8 or June 9, an Iranian C-130 Hercules aircraft arrived in Damascus carrying an important group of top Iranian military personnel. According to reports, Mohammad Ali Avi'e, chief of staff of the Iranian revolutionary guards was on board. With him was Moselem Reza Aghill, the chief of the ideological section of the revolutionary guards which is the intelligence section. According to the same reports, Ali Atwa, the young man who had come to Iran for terrorist training was aboard the same flight. It is not yet known in what manner he traveled on to Athens to undertake the TWA 847 hijacking.



The purpose of the Avie and Aghill visit was to handle the actual logistics and operations of the hijacking of TWA 847. By June 10, the two were in the Baalbek region of Lebanon in order to assist in the overall operation.

At about the same time Kurrabi was dispatched to Syria and Damascus, the minister of the revolutionary guards, Moshen Rafiqdust, was sent to Libya and to Syria. Rafiqdust was the bodyguard and driver for Khomeini when he returned to Iran to seize power. It is reported that Rafiqdust is married to the sister of the speaker of the Majlis, Rafsanjani. The overt reason given for the trip was discussions over the Lebanese situation.

The following is a report from Tehran radio on May 30 reporting on Rafiqdust's trip to Libya:

Moshen Rafiqdust, the Iranian minister of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps (IRGC) who is visiting Libya Wednesday (29 May) met with 'Abd al-Salam Jallud, member of the Libyan Command Council and presented him with a message from Prime Minister Hossein Mubarek.

At this meeting, while referring to the current developments in Lebanon, Mr. Rafiqdust stressed on the need to bring to an end clashes that have been taking place in Beirut as soon as possible. "In our view, these clashes are a plot to divert the anti-Zionist struggle in Lebanon and harm the results of the resistance of the Muslims in South Lebanon who succeeded in ejecting the Zionist regime from there," he said.

In reference to renewed Iraqi attacks against Iranian cities, the IRGC minister said this development only hardens Iran's resolve for destroying Saddam's regime.

In response, Major Jallud stressed on the need for further coordination between Iran and Libya in view of the current situation in Lebanon and also the imposed Iraqi war.

The following is the report by the Tehran domestic service of Rafiqdust's departure from Libya and arrival in Syria broadcast on June 1:

Mr. Rafiqdust, the minister of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, who went to Libya in an effort to study the situation in Lebanon and to work toward ending the bloodshed in Beirut, left Libya for Syria yesterday afternoon after a 2 day stay in Tripoli during which he met with officials of that country.

The Central News Unit reports that the minister of Islamic Revolution Guards Corps was welcomed by the head of the National Security Organization of Syria, a number of Syrian officials, the ambassador and officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran's Embassy in Damascus. It is noteworthy that Mr. Rafiqdust is taking a written message from our president, Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i to Hafez al-Assad, the Syrian president.

In Syria, Rafiqdust met with many high level officials and presented a message from President Khamene'i to President Hafez al-Assad. The following report from June 1 from Tehran describes his arrival in Syria:

Minister of the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps (IRGC), Moshen Rafiqdust, arrived in Syria Friday night and was welcomed by high-ranking Syrian officials.

Rafiqdust is carrying a message from Iran's President 'Ali Khamene'i for his Syrian counterpart Hafez al-Assad.

The IRGC minister who is travelling the region to help measures for a halt in the bloodshed between Lebanese and Palestinian Muslims, previously paid a visit to Libya.

On June 2, the minister of the revolutionary guards, Moshen Rafiqdust, returned to Tehran from visits to Libya and Syria with high level intelligence counterparts. The following is the report on his return by Tehran radio on June 9:

In another development, Minister of Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps Moshen Rafiqdust who has recently returned from Syria and Libya informed the Majlis speaker of the details of his trip.

At the same time that Rafiqdust returned to Tehran, his chief assistants were in Lebanon working on the hijacking.

Mr. President, such is the basic sketch of the hijacking crisis that my staff has been able to piece together from a variety of sources. While it is a preliminary assessment, the broad contours of the Khomeini regime's regional and global strategy strongly suggest a direct involvement in the hijacking. This view is supported by a number of informed analysts who have been able to assemble evidence which points a finger directly at the Khomeini regime.

During the past 48 hours some hopeful signs have emerged which may lead to the release of the hijacking victims. We can only pray that a positive outcome will soon occur.

In all the press coverage on Middle Eastern events in recent days here in the United States, however, an important event has been overlooked the consequences of which may bring us an intensified attack on the part of the States sponsoring terrorism against these United States. I refer to the treaty of strategic alliance signed in Tripoli, Libya on June 23 between Qadhafi's Libya and Khomeini's Iran. Point No. 6 of the Joint Communiqué released on June 23 states that—

The two sides declare their intention to establish the army of Jerusalem to liberate Palestine, and to form an international Islamic revolutionary league.

Point No. 10 states that

The two sides agree to form a joint political and military committee chaired by the Secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau of Foreign Liaison and by the Iranian foreign minister.

Mr. President, this new development, which was set in motion at the foreign minister's conference in Tehran this past January bodes ill for the free world. It represents a major escalation of the campaign of the states sponsoring terrorism against the United States. We cannot overlook this significant development and we must place it into the context of the global terrorist activity of these states of which the hijacking of TWA 847 is an example.

Mr. President, I could not more fully agree with Secretary of Defense Weinberger's recent statement that "we are at war" with international terrorism.

It is high time that our national strategy be reformulated to deal effectively and decisively with this threat against our Nation and our fellow citizens.

Mr. President, the American people are fed up with terrorism in whatever form it has taken and wherever it has occurred. As we go into our Fourth of July recess, the American people are outraged at the hijacking crisis and its perpetrators. It cannot be denied that the American people demand the most resolute policy to defend their freedom and well being. I know that our great Nation has vast capabilities to respond to the threat posed by international terrorism and the states that sponsor it. Should we not exercise these capabilities in a resolute and decisive manner from this day forward, we will only be inviting a never-ending spiral of terrorist activity against ourselves.

Mr. President, the time for rhetoric has passed. The patience of the American people has been exhausted. We have reached the limit—as President Reagan has so accurately stated. It is time to recur to the traditions of our ancestors who, when the pen failed, took up the sword in order to defend and secure their Liberty.



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מגרימות ישראל - וויסנגטון

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communication between the two govts. during the early days of the hijacking, and Israel' feeling that the administration "played games" by insisting publicly that Israel stand fast while sending signals that it should let the prisoners go. (This article was cabled in full today.)

Israelis Relieved By Release Of US Hostages

CHRISTIAN SCI. MON.-Temko-The Israelis were relieved that the drama appeared to be winding down Sunday evening without their having to explicitly meet the hijackers' demand for a release of 735 Lebanese prisoners. In the longer run, Israeli officials are dismayed at what they see as possible public relations games by Assad, who helped secure the release of the hostages.

Assad's Help May Change US Strategy

\*\*\*WASH. POST-Ottaway-The crucial part played by Syria in resolving the hostage crisis has raised the prospect of a whole new US strategy for dealing with terrorism in the Middle East, and for improving relations with Assad. Assad has now clearly demonstrated his willingness to be "helpful" to the US. A solid rationale has now emerged for the first time for cooperation between Syria and the US - a common perception of the need for a crackdown on uncontrolled Shiite Moslem extremism that threatens the interests of both countries. There may even be a basis for a three-way agreement on this need that could include Israel, which faces the specter of Shiites belonging to Hezbollah. (This article was cabled in full today.)

Israel Reaches 'Moment Of Truth' On Economy

THE SUN-(AP)-The Cabinet debated emergency economic measures yesterday aimed at cutting government spending and braking an annual inflation rate now running at about 400%. Peres warned that his coalition govt. would be unable to function unless immediate steps were taken to heal the economy. Reports of the Finance Ministry's plans indicated harsh steps were being considered to lower the standard of living, including wage cuts, layoffs and a major devaluation of the shekel.

Damascus Shows Its Muscle In Mideast Affairs

\*\*\*WASH. POST-Randal-The administration has chosen to see Syria in black and white terms: not as an essential, if often difficult, force and player in the Middle East but as a Soviet vassal out to thwart US and Israeli policies and to promote terrorism. If nothing else, Assad's active help in freeing the hostages is yet another example that Syria has the power to block and unblock all major decisions in the region. At stake now is a possible change in Washington's appreciation of the situation, which has not been a major concern for Israel in years. (This article was cabled in full today.)



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### Nabih Berri: Voice Of Arab

WASH. POST-Boustany- Skillfully riding the turbulence of Shiite fervor and seizing opportunities, Berri has managed to forge a link between religious radicalism and political demands. Berri's actions in the crisis transformed an act of terrorism into a political feat with regional if not international impact. Despite his many accomplishments over a brief career, Berri has not succeeded in persuading the govt. to make political changes that would give the Shiite community a larger share in decision-making. Sources close to him say that he is now in a good position to improve relations between Lebanese Shiites and the US.

### Ex-Hostage Urges Vigil For Shites: Conwell Empathizes With Arab Prisoners

WASH. POST-Labaton- Conwell said before leaving Beirut yesterday that Americans should not take down their yellow ribbons until Israel releases 735 Arab prisoners it holds, but, later in Damascus, he qualified a similar statement by adding, "if indeed they are not guilty of war crimes or if they are not legitimate war prisoners." Conwell, describing a "genuine affection" for his captors, also said that there is "absolute equality" and "parity" between the Arab detainees in Israel's Atlit prison and the US hostages in Beirut. He said that if the detainees had violated no laws, then Israel had committed "an act of terrorism."

### Military Retaliation Unlikely Option

WASH. POST-Wilson- Reagan last night virtually ruled out military retaliation against Lebanon for the hijacking and settled instead for a vow to launch a global attack on the roots of terrorism. "Vengeance is not a satisfactory basis for policy," said a White House official in confirming that there were no plans to bomb or shell targets in Lebanon to avenge the hijacking and the murder of Stethem.

### Soviets Arrail US Actions In Hostage Release

WASH. POST-(UPI)-The Soviet Union reported the release of the American hostages but said the US handling of it was typical of the Reagan administration's "cult of the fist and violence."

### Iran Ambivalent On Hijack, Despite Its Support Of Lebanese Shiites

CHRISTIAN SCI. MON.-England- The Iranian govt.'s attitude toward the hostage crisis has been ambivalent. It has officially denied involvement in the operation and has condemned the detention of civilians. Iran's ruling Shiite Muslims stress their support for the struggle of Lebanon's Muslims against American "imperialism." "The days the Zionists could abduct innocent Muslims with total impunity are gone," Mr. Rafsanjani said after his meeting with Fadlallah.

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סגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

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המשרד

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אל: ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א

דע: לפרה"מ

א. יועץ רה"מ לטרור היה כאן ונפגש (כפי שמטר לאחר מעשה לשגריר) עם אומקוסט, אוקלי, טייכר קובי ואחרים.

ב. הקשר חסות עם אישים אלה מקוים ע"י השגרירות. הסדר הממלכתי הטוב היה מחייב כי הפגישות יתואמו על ידיה ויקוימו בשיתוף נציגיה, אחת עלול להיסגע מעמד השגרירות בעיני בני השיח האמריקנים ומחילא היכולת לתפקוד הולם כלפיהם.

ג. מניחים שהדברים נעשו מתוך היסח דעת ומבקשים כי יינתנו הנחיות מתאימות לגבי העתיד לנוגעים בדבר, מה עוד שהתופעה חזרה על עצמה.

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סגרירות ישראל - יושינגטון

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דע: ממנכ"ל. לשכת מנכ"ל. מצפ"א

1. בהיותי הבוקר בתוכנית הטלוויזיה "בוקר טוב אמריקה" נפגשתי עם סולץ שהופיע באותה תוכנית. בשיחה שהתפתחה בינינו שיבח מאד את עמדתה של ישראל במשך כל פרשת החטופים. הוא הדגיש שעל אף הלחץ הכבד של דעת הקהל האמריקאי עלינו, ידענו לשמור על העקרון של אי-כניעת לדרישת הסרניסטים, והוא רואה בכך הישג גדול. עוד אמר שלגבי דידו הפרשה לא הסתיימה אלא רק מתחילה והוא נחוש בדעתו שיש לעשות כל מה שניתן כדי להלחם נגד הטרור.
2. יצויין שבתוכנית עצמה דיבר סולץ במילים חמות מאד על שיחוף הפעולת עם ישראל במשך כל הפרשה.

המנכ"ל

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INFORM CONSUIS

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SUBJECT: SECRETARY SHULTZ'S 6/30/85 PRESS CONFERENCE  
ON THE RELEASE OF THE TWA HOSTAGES

FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S PRESS CONFERENCE  
AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE RELEASE OF THE TWA HOSTAGES.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, CAN YOU EXPLAIN WHY SYRIA, A  
COUNTRY THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS OFTEN CRITICIZED FOR  
SUPPORTING TERRORISM, HAS BEEN SO HELPFUL, AND DOES THIS  
INDICATE A CHANGE IN OUR APPROACH TO SYRIA?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I DON'T KNOW THE REASON ALTHOUGH I HOPE  
THAT IT SHOWS THAT SYRIA LIKE OTHER STATES HAS CONCLUDED  
THAT PIJACKING AND TERRORISM IS BAD.

QUESTION: WHAT ABOUT THE SEVEN WHO REMAIN IN LEBANON?  
WHAT HOPES DO YOU HAVE THAT SYRIA COULD BE HELPFUL, AND  
WHAT IS OUR POLICY TOWARD RETALIATION?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: WE'VE DISCUSSED THIS WITH -- THE SEVEN  
WITH SYRIA, AND IT IS OUR IMPRESSION, I THINK BASED ON  
REALITY, THAT PRESIDENT ASSAD IS WORKING HARD ON THAT  
PROBLEM, AND WE ARE GLAD THAT HE'S DOING SO.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE  
POSSIBILITY OF --

QUESTION: CAN YOU STATE OUR POLICY -- THE SECOND PART OF  
THE QUESTION ABOUT RETALIATION.

SECRETARY SHULTZ: NO COMMENT ON THAT.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE  
POSSIBILITY THAT NOW ISRAELI WILL RELEASE ON SOME SCHEDULE  
THE LEBANESE PRISONERS THAT IT'S HOLDING?

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SECRETARY SHULTZ: ISRAEL SAID BEFORE ANY OF THIS HAPPENED THAT IT INTENDED TO RELEASE THOSE PRISONERS, AND I SAW THE DEFENSE MINISTER, MR. RABIN, ON AMERICAN TELEVISION TODAY SAYING THAT THOSE PRISONERS HAD BEEN TAKEN TEMPORARILY -- I THINK THAT WAS HIS WORD -- AND THEY INTENDED TO RELEASE THEM. SO I EXPECT THAT THEY WILL.

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QUESTION: WON'T THAT BE SEEN, SIR, AS A QUID PRO QUO EVEN IF THERE WAS NO DIRECT LINKAGE?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THERE IS NO LINKAGE, AND CERTAINLY WHEN ISRAEL INTENDED TO DO SOMETHING BEFORE THIS HAPPENED, THE HOSTAGE-TAKING SHOULDN'T PREVENT THEM FROM DOING SOMETHING THAT THEY FULLY INTENDED TO DO. SO THERE IS NO LINKAGE THERE, AND I THINK IT'S EXTREMELY IMPORTANT FOR US AND FOR OTHERS WHO ARE COMBATING TERRORISM TO SEE TO IT THAT THE LINKAGE DOESN'T EXIST.

Linkage /

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, ARE YOU SAYING THAT YOU HAD NO TALKS WITH ISRAEL, NO TALKS WITH SYRIA, THAT THIS ALL CAME OUT, OUT OF THE BLUE --

SECRETARY SHULTZ: OF COURSE NOT. OF COURSE, IT DIDN'T.

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QUESTION: WELL, HOW DID IT COME ABOUT?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: WE HAD LOTS OF DISCUSSION WITH MANY GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING ISRAEL, AND OF COURSE IN RECENT DAYS ESPECIALLY SYRIA, AND THROUGHOUT WE HAVE MADE THE POINT THAT THESE HOSTAGES AND THE OTHERS BEING HELD SHOULD BE FREED. AND WE ALSO MADE THE POINT THAT SINCE ISRAEL WAS IN THE PROCESS OF RELEASING THOSE PRISONERS BEFORE THIS HAPPENED, THAT IT WAS QUITE CLEAR THAT, IF ANYTHING, THE HOSTAGE-TAKING WAS IMPEDING A PROCESS THAT WAS ALREADY BEEN UNDERWAY.

היה כמובן  
היה כמובן

QUESTION: SIR, CAN YOU EXPLAIN WHAT -- AT THIS POINT YESTERDAY WHY THERE WAS A DELAY AND WHAT SYRIA'S ROLE WAS IN RESOLVING THE PROBLEM?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THE PROBLEM APPARENTLY WAS THAT THE FOUR HELD BY THE HEZBOLLAH WERE NOT RELEASED TO THE POOL OF THE REST OF THE GROUP OF THE HOSTAGES, AND SO EXACTLY WHY AND WHAT PERSUADED THEM, I DON'T KNOW. I DO KNOW THAT THE SYRIANS CAME TO US LAST NIGHT, AND THEY SAID THEY THOUGHT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WE ISSUED A STATEMENT AND -- ALONG CERTAIN LINES, AND SO WE WORKED UP A STATEMENT THAT REAFFIRMED OUR LONGSTANDING POLICY AND PUT IT OUT.

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QUESTION: DID THEY HELP WRITE THE RELEASE SCENARIO?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THEY SUGGESTED WHAT THEY THOUGHT MIGHT BE HELPFUL IN A STATEMENT, BUT WE WROTE THE STATEMENT. AND, AS I SAID, IT IS A STATEMENT OF THINGS THAT WE HAVE LONG HELD, AND I THINK IT'S AN UNEXCEPTIONABLE STATEMENT.

QUESTION: DO YOU HAVE ANY EVIDENCE OF IRANIAN INVOLVEMENT, EITHER IN THE CREATION OF THE DELAY OR THE RESOLUTION OF THE DELAY BETWEEN YESTERDAY'S ABORTED RELEASE AND TODAY'S RELEASE?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: NO, WE DON'T.

QUESTION: IS THE GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO RETALIATION AS THE PRESIDENT SAID?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: LET ME TELL YOU WHAT OUR POLICY IS. IF I CAN JUST TAKE A MINUTE, ON COMBATTING TERRORISM.

FIRST, IN A DEMOCRACY THERE HAS TO BE AN EFFORT -- THERE HAS TO BE A BROAD UNDERSTANDING IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ABOUT THE NATURE OF THIS THREAT, ITS IMPORTANCE, AND AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHY CERTAIN KINDS OF POSITIONS NEED TO BE TAKEN TOWARD IT. IN PARTICULAR, WHY IT'S IMPORTANT THAT YOU DON'T MAKE DEALS WITH TERRORISTS.

SECOND, WE ARE WORKING VERY HARD AND WITH CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS AT DEVELOPING OUR INTELLIGENCE CAPABILITY, NOT ONLY SO THAT WE ARE MORE AND MORE GOING TO BE ABLE TO FIND OUT WHO HAS DONE SOMETHING AFTER IT TAKES PLACE, BUT MORE IMPORTANT TO SPOT THINGS THAT MIGHT HAPPEN.

IT'S IMPORTANT FOR US TO HAVE THIS CAPABILITY, IT'S IMPORTANT FOR OUR FRIENDS TO HAVE IT, AND THEN IT'S IMPORTANT FOR THERE TO BE A LINKAGE IN AN INTELLIGENCE NET.

THERE HAVE BEEN OVER SIXTY INSTANCES IN THE LAST NINE MONTHS IN WHICH WE HAVE MANAGED TO FIND OUT ABOUT SOMETHING THAT PROBABLY WOULD HAVE HAPPENED, AND EXPOSE IT OR STOP IT OR DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. SO WE ARE HAVING SOME IMPACT. AND I MIGHT SAY THAT THOSE WHO ARE PLANNING AND CARRYING OUT TERRORIST ACTS PERHAPS WOULD BE A LITTLE SURPRISED TO KNOW HOW MUCH WE ARE GETTING TO KNOW ABOUT THEM.

THIRD, OBVIOUSLY, WE HAVE TO DO CERTAIN DEFENSIVE THINGS. RIGHT NOW PEOPLE ARE FOCUSED ON AIRPLANES AND AIRPORTS, AND OF COURSE THAT'S SOMETHING WE'VE BEEN WORKING ON FOR MANY YEARS. AGAIN, WE HAVE TO DO MORE AND WE HAVE TO DO BETTER, BUT THE TECHNIQUES THAT HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED HAVE BEEN WORKING.

TO TAKE AN EXAMPLE, SOME 3,200 WEAPONS OR EXPLOSIVE

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ב. חילוק מילה

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CHARGES OF ONE KIND OR ANOTHER HAVE BEEN SEIZED AT AMERICAN AIRPORTS IN THE LAST 20 YEARS. THERE'S ALSO, OF COURSE, THE QUESTION OF OUR EMBASSY BUILDINGS AND THINGS OF THAT KIND, SO THERE'S THAT KIND OF DEFENSE.

AND, FOURTH, WE HAVE TO DEVELOP OUR CAPABILITY TO TAKE MATTERS OF ACTIVE DEFENSE, SO THAT TERRORISTS MORE AND MORE COME TO REALIZE THAT THERE ARE COSTS TO THEM OF CONDUCTING THESE TERRORIST ACTS AND SO THAT WE ARE IN A POSITION IF WE SEE SOMETHING THAT MIGHT HAPPEN, TO PRE-EMPT IT AND INTERDICT IT.

SO THOSE ARE THE FOUR STRANDS OF OUR POLICY, AND I THINK WE HAVE BEEN MAKING HEADWAY. OBVIOUSLY, IT'S SOMETHING THAT NEEDS TO BE WORKED ON HARD AND CONTINUOUSLY.

QUESTION: THE PRESIDENT SPOKE OF HOLDING THE HIJACKERS ACCOUNTABLE. IS THERE SOME REALISTIC HOPE OF DOING THAT, AND, IF SO, HOW?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: WE CERTAINLY WANT TO FIND IN PARTICULAR WHO IT IS THAT FEAT AND SHOT ROBERT STETHEM. I THINK IN THIS MOMENT OF JOY THAT 39 PEOPLE HAVE BEEN RELEASED, WE HAVE TO REMEMBER NOT ONLY THE SEVEN WE STILL SEEK, BUT WE HAVE TO REMEMBER THAT ONE WAS BEATEN AND MURDERED, AND WE HAVE TO REMEMBER SIX AMERICANS AND FI SALVADORANS SHOT IN FI SALVADOR. WE HAVE TO REMEMBER THE PEOPLE IN THE AIR INDIA PLANE THAT WENT DOWN. YOU HAVE TO REMEMBER THE BAGGAGE HANDLERS IN MARITA AIRPORT. SO THERE'S A LOT OF CULPABILITY OUT THERE.

BUT, AT ANY RATE, TO COME BACK TO YOUR QUESTION, WHO SHOT, AND WE WANT TO FIND OUT ABOUT THAT AND BRING THAT PERSON TO JUSTICE ALONG WITH THE PEOPLE CONSPIRING WITH

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QUESTION: EXACTLY WHAT KIND OF JUSTICE CAN THEY BE BROUGHT TO?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: IF THEY ARE IDENTIFIED, PRESUMABLY THERE ARE PROCESSES OF LAW, AND WE WILL DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO SEE THAT THEY'RE ENFORCED.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, THE PRESIDENT MENTIONED HIS GRATITUDE TO SYRIA FOR ASSISTANCE, AND MR. PERRI (SIC) DID NOT -- AS FAR AS I CAN RECALL, MENTION MR. BERRI. WOULD YOU APPRAISE HIS ROLE IN THIS AFFAIRS IN TERMS OF THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: HE HAS PORTRAYED HIMSELF IN VARIOUS ROLES. HE'S PORTRAYED HIMSELF AS A MEDIATOR. HE'S PORTRAYED HIMSELF AS A PARTY AND A MEMBER OF THE GROUP. SO I THINK WE HAVE TO DO SOME SORTING OUT ABOUT MR. BERRI.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, YOU SAID THAT THERE HAS TO BE A COST TO TERRORISTS. GIVEN THE WORLDWIDE ATTENTION TO THE TERRORIST DEMANDS, THE UNDERSTANDING STATEMENTS BY THE HOSTAGES AND THE LACK THUS FAR OF ANY KIND OF REPRISALS, DOESN'T IT LOOK LIKE THERE'S NO COST TO THESE TERRORISTS, THAT THEY INDEED WON?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I THINK THAT THEY HAVE PAID A PRICE. AND THIS, OF COURSE, IS AN ON-GOING PROPOSITION. THIS FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM. WE'RE VERY MUCH IN THE MIDST OF IT.

SOMEBODY ASKED -- JUST A MINUTE. SOMEBODY ASKED A QUESTION ABOUT THE INDIVIDUALS, AND WE WILL SEEK THOSE INDIVIDUALS.

I MIGHT SAY ALSO THAT 15 PERCENT OF THE HIJACKINGS OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES OVER THE LAST 15 YEARS HAVE EITHER ORIGINATED, ENDED OR COME THROUGH THE BEIRUT AIRPORT. THE BEIRUT AIRPORT HAS BECOME A KIND OF SAFE HAVEN FOR TERRORISTS. AND CERTAINLY IT'S ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE, AND OTHER COUNTRIES, MUST CONSIDER. AS LONG AS BEIRUT IS A HAVEN FOR TERRORISTS, IT SHOULD NOT BE A PLACE FREQUENTED BY THE WORLD COMMUNITY. SO THAT AIRPORT, I THINK, IS SOMETHING THAT WE HAVE TO LOOK AT

VERY CAREFULLY.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, YOU SAID THAT YOU EXPECT THAT ISRAEL WOULD BE RELEASING THE JAPANESE PRISONERS. DO YOU HAVE AN ESTIMATE ON HOW LONG IT MIGHT TAKE BEFORE ALL THE HOSTAGES WILL BE RELEASED?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THIS QUESTION IS ALL SOMETHING FOR ISRAEL TO DECIDE, AND MY STATEMENT IS BASED ON THINGS THAT THEY HAVE SAID.



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QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU CONSIDER THE STATEMENT RELEASED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT LAST NIGHT TO LIMIT THE U.S., THE U.S. AUTHORITY TO RETALIATE OR TAKE ANY ACTION IN ANY WAY?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THE STATEMENT WAS A STATEMENT OF OUR VIEWS ABOUT LEBANON. SIMILAR VIEWS HAVE BEEN STATED MANY TIMES IN THE PAST, AND WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO REAFFIRMING THOSE VIEWS.

QUESTION: OTHER PEOPLE IN THIS BUILDING HAVE SAID THAT THE JURY IS STILL OUT ON ASSAD AND SYRIA. AND WHILE HE'S BEEN REPEFUL IN THIS CASE, THE REAL TEST MAY BE ON WHETHER HE CAN PRODUCE THE OTHER SEVEN. IS THAT HOW YOU SEE IT, THAT THIS IS A SINGULAR INCIDENT OF COOPERATION OR HAS HE REALLY ENHANCED HIS POSITION AND U.S.-SYRIAN RELATIONS.

SECRETARY SHULTZ: PRESIDENT ASSAD HAS BEEN REPEFUL ON OTHER OCCASIONS, YOU REMEMBER, AND HE CERTAINLY WAS ON THIS ONE. WE HAVE PRETTY SOLID INFORMATION THAT HE'S BEEN WORKING ASSIDUOUSLY ON THE PROBLEM OF THE OTHER HOSTAGES, AND SO WE WELCOME THAT.

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QUESTION: WHY WOULD IT NOT BE A GOOD IDEA, MR. SECRETARY, FOR US TO ASK THE ISRAELIS NOT TO RELEASE THE SEVENTE PRISONERS UNTIL WE GET OUR SEVEN KIDNAPPED VICTIMS BACK?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THAT WOULD BE PRODUCING A LINKAGE THAT WE DO NOT WANT TO SEE. OUR HOSTAGES IN LEBANON SHOULD BE FREED. PERIOD. IT'S NOT LINKED TO ANYTHING ELSE. WE DON'T WANT TO LINK IT TO ANYTHING ELSE.

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לחטופי ישראל*

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QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, WHY WAS THERE NOT A MILITARY ACTION IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESCUE THE HOSTAGES ON THAT ONE OPPORTUNITY THAT THE UNITED STATES SEEMED TO HAVE HAD IN ALGERIA?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I'M NOT GOING TO COMMENT ON MILITARY POSSIBLE OPTIONS.

QUESTION: YOU MENTIONED THAT THESE TERRORIST HAVE PAID A PRICE. WHAT PRICE HAVE THEY PAID, SINCE IT SEEMS AS THOUGH THEY HAVE WON WHAT THEY WANTED?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: IRANON AND THE BEIRUT AIRPORT HAS DRAMATIZED ITSELF AS AN OUTCAST BY ITS ACTIONS IN THE WORLD COMMUNITY. CERTAINLY, IRANON IS A PLACE WITH VERY CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF CHAOS. I THINK THAT'S A HEAVY PRICE FOR THAT COMMUNITY TO PAY AND THEY'RE VERY MUCH A PART OF IT, AND THIS ALL IS NOT OVER YET.

QUESTION: A FOLLOW UP TO THAT, ARE YOU CALLING FOR A WORLD BOYCOTT AT THE BEIRUT AIRPORT? IS THE UNITED STATES GOING TO TAKE ANY MEASURES TO PREVENT OTHER WORLD CARRIERS OR OUR OWN CARRIERS FROM FLYING IN THERE? TELL ME PRECISELY WHAT YOU INTEND TO DO ABOUT THE AIRPORT?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: WE ARE GOING TO BE IN TOUCH WITH OUR FRIENDS ABOUT THE AIRPORT. WE HOPE TO DEVELOP A CONCERTED PATTERN OF ACTION. AT ANY RATE, WE HAVE A VERY CLEAR VIEW ABOUT THAT AIRPORT AND I'VE EXPRESSED IT HERE.

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QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, YOU HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT THE PEOPLE WHO SHOT ROBERT STEPHEN AND THE MURDERERS, AND THAT WE'RE GOING TO TRY TO BRING THEM TO JUSTICE. YOU'VE SPOKE THOUGH OF A JURIDICAL SETTING. WE TAKE IT THEN THAT WE'RE NOT GOING TO ATTEMPT TO RETALIATE IN THE SENSE OF VENGEANCE AGAINST, LET'S SAY, A WIDER COMMUNITY?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: VENGEANCE IS KIND OF A VISCERAL FEELING THAT PEOPLE GET. NATURALLY, WE ALL DO. I THINK FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE SORT OF ACTIVE DEFENSE THAT I SPEAK OF, THAT WHAT WE REALLY NEED TO THINK ABOUT IS IMPOSING COSTS AND LOOKING TO THE FUTURE AND PREEMPTING. BUT, AT THE SAME TIME, PEOPLE WHO COMMIT CRIMES -- AND THIS IS CERTAINLY A CRIME IN ANYBODY'S BOOK -- MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, AND WE WILL DO EVERYTHING WE POSSIBLY CAN TO SEE THAT THAT TAKES PLACE.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, I WONDER IF YOU WERE AT ALL DISAPPOINTED WHEN THE HOSTAGES HELD THEIR PRESS CONFERENCE; THAT THEY SEEM TO HAVE NOTHING FAVORABLE TO SAY ABOUT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND ITS EFFORTS BUT A LOT FAVORABLE TO SAY ABOUT THE AMAL?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THEY SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES; THEY'RE ENTITLED TO THEIR OPINIONS. THEY'VE BEEN THROUGH A TRAUMA, AND GOD BLESS THEM AND I'M GLAD THAT THEY'RE ON THEIR WAY HOME.



QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, ONE OTHER QUESTION ABOUT THE IWC -- OR ABOUT THE ACTUAL KILLERS OF OUR MAN. ARE YOU SUGGESTING THAT YOU WOULD TRY TO EXTRADITE THEM THROUGH THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I'M NOT SETTING OUT ANY PARTICULAR JUDICIAL PATH HERE. BUT TO SAY, "HERE IS A PERSON IN CONSPIRACY WITH OTHERS WHO COMMITTED MURDER; COULD FLOOD MURDER AFTER HAVING PERFORMED A FEATING." THAT KIND OF ACTIVITY DESERVES TO BE PUNISHED.

QUESTION: OKAY. BUT THE QUESTION REALLY IS WHETHER YOU'RE GOING TO TRY TO DO IT COVERTLY OR WHETHER YOU'RE GOING TO TRY TO DO IT THROUGH PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: NATURALLY, WE ARE PRINCIPLED PEOPLE. BUT WE BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE DONE.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, COULD YOU TELL US, IN REGARDS TO BEIRUT AIRPORT, AS FAR AS I KNOW THERE ARE ONLY FOUR AIRLINES THAT FLY IN THERE. AND ASIDE FROM MIDDLE EAST AIR, THERE ARE ONLY WEEKLY FLIGHTS. IS THAT A STRONG ENOUGH ACTION TO TELL PEOPLE TO CANCEL -- THREE AIRLINES TO CANCEL WEEKLY FLIGHTS FROM THE AIRPORT?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: WELL, WE'LL SEE HOW THAT WORKS. I THINK, HOWEVER, THAT CLOSING AN AIRPORT THAT HAS TURNED OUT TO HAVE SUCH A HIGH PARTICIPATION IN HIJACKINGS AND WHICH HAS BECOME A PLACE WHERE, IN A SENSE, YOU CAN GO IF YOU HIJACK A PLANE AND GET RE-ENFORCEMENTS, IS A PLACE THAT SHOULD BE ON OUR OFF-LIMITS LIST. THAT'S THE POINT HERE. IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF SORT OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

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OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT. IT'S A QUESTION OF TRYING TO  
CLOSE THE USEFULNESS OF THAT AIRPORT.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THOSE  
WHO HELPS US WILL BE REMEMBERED, AND THOSE WHO DIDN'T  
HELP US WILL BE REMEMBERED. WHO ARE THOSE WHO DIDN'T  
HELP US?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I'M NOT GOING TO GO INTO THAT, BUT WE  
HAVE SOME PRETTY GOOD IDEAS.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, THE PRESIDENT USED SOME FAIRLY  
STRONG LANGUAGE IN DENOUNCING TERRORISM. WHAT IS THERE  
TO COMPEL THEM TO RELEASE THE REMAINING SEVEN AMERICANS?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THEY, I HOPE, WILL RESPOND TO THE SAME  
CONSIDERATIONS THAT MUST HAVE LEAD TO THE RELEASE OF THE  
36 THAT WERE RELEASED TODAY. CERTAINLY, IF THERE IS ANY  
HUMANENESS, THAT SHOULD BE DONE AND IT SHOULD BE DONE  
PROMPTLY. BUT, AT ANY RATE, WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK AT  
IT. AND AS I SAID EARLIER, WE HAVE THE VERY DISTINCT  
IMPRESSION THAT PRESIDENT ASSAD HAS PUT A CONSIDERABLE  
AMOUNT OF WILLPOWER INTO IT, AND WE WILL BE PUSHING HARD.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, IF YOU'RE SO INTERESTED IN  
JUSTICE BEING DONE AND THE IRANIS HAVE BEEN IN  
CAPTIVITY IN ISRAEL FOR TWO YEARS -- SOME OF THEM -- WHY  
DON'T YOU HIDE HERD ON ISRAEL SO THAT THEY ALSO LIBERATE  
PEOPLE WHO WERE TAKEN AS POTENTIAL TERRORISTS AND NEVER  
CHARGED? WE VETOED ANYTHING THAT WOULD HAVE HELPED THEM  
IN THE U.N., AND SO FORTH?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: THE POINT I WANT TO MAKE IN RESPONSE  
TO YOUR QUESTION IS THAT THE PROBLEMS OF PRISONERS IN  
ISRAEL AND THE PROBLEMS OF OUR HOSTAGES IN BEIRUT HAD NO  
CONNECTION WITH EACH OTHER.

QUESTION: (INAUDIBLE).

SECRETARY SHULTZ: WE WORRY ABOUT INJUSTICE ALL OVER THE  
WORLD. BUT IN THE CASE OF HANDLING A TERRORIST INCIDENT,  
THE WORST MISTAKE YOU CAN MAKE, I THINK, OR ONE OF THE  
BAD MISTAKES, IS TO ALLOW TERRORISTS TO ESTABLISH A  
LINKAGE WHERE NONE EXISTS SIMPLY BY ASSERTING IT. AND IF  
WE ALLOW THAT TO HAPPEN, THEN ANYBODY WHO HAS A GRIEVANCE  
ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD CAN GRAB YOU AND A FEW OTHER PEOPLE  
-- FAMOUS PEOPLE LIKE YOU -- AND SAY, THE UNITED STATES  
SHOULD GO REDRESS THIS GRIEVANCE OR WE WON'T LET YOU GO.  
SO WE'RE NOT GOING TO DO THAT. THAT'S THE ANSWER.

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 CN: 13430  
 CHRG: PROG  
 DIST: PTER

I.C. 12356: N/A  
 TAGS: FIER  
 SUBJECT: RELEASE OF TWA HOSTAGES

# 1. PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT AS DELIVERED JUNE 30:

BEGIN TEXT:

GOOD AFTERNOON. THE 39 AMERICANS HELD HOSTAGE FOR 17 DAYS BY TERRORISTS IN IEPANON ARE FREE, SAFE, AND AT THIS MOMENT, ON THEIR WAY TO FRANKFURT, GERMANY. THEY'LL BE HOME AGAIN SOON.

THIS IS A MOMENT OF JOY FOR THEM, FOR THEIR LOVED ONES, AND FOR OUR NATION. AND AMERICA OPENS ITS HEART IN A PRAYER OF THANKS TO ALMIGHTY GOD.

WE CAN BE THANKFUL THAT OUR FAITH, COURAGE AND FIRMNESS HAVE PAID OFF. BUT THIS IS NO MOMENT FOR CELEBRATION. LET IT BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD:

-- THAT THE SEVEN AMERICANS STILL HELD CAPTIVE IN IEPANON MUST BE RELEASED, ALONG WITH OTHER INNOCENT HOSTAGES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES;

-- THAT THE MURDERERS OF ROBERT STEPHEN -- AND OF OUR MARINES AND CIVILIANS IN EL SALVADOR -- MUST BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE;

-- THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR TERRORIST ACTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD MUST BE TAKEN ON BY CIVILIZED NATIONS;

-- THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST ENSURE THAT ALL OUR AIRPORTS ARE SAFE AND THAT CIVIL AIR TRAVEL IS SAFEGUARDED, AND THAT THE WORLD MUST UNITE IN TAKING DECISIVE ACTION AGAINST TERRORISTS, AGAINST NATIONS THAT SPONSOR TERRORISTS, AND AGAINST NATIONS THAT GIVE TERRORISTS SAFE HAVEN.

THIS DRAMA HAS REMINDED US HOW PRECIOUS AND FRAGILE ARE THE FREEDOMS AND STANDARDS OF DECENCY OF CIVILIZED SOCIETIES; HOW GREATLY CIVILIZED LIFE DEPENDS ON TRUST IN OTHER HUMAN BEINGS. BUT HOW THESE VALUES WE HOLD MOST DEAR MUST ALSO BE DEFENDED WITH BRAVERY -- A BRAVERY THAT

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MAY BE QUIET AND DEEP, BUT THAT WILL RISE TO ANSWER OUR CALL IN EVERY TIME OF PERIL. FREEDOM, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE HAVE ENEMIES, THEY MUST ALSO HAVE STEADFAST FRIENDS.

THE UNITED STATES GIVES TERRORISTS NO REWARDS AND NO GUARANTEES. WE MAKE NO CONCESSIONS, WE MAKE NO DEALS. NATIONS THAT HARBOR TERRORISTS UNDERMINE THEIR OWN STABILITY AND ENDANGER THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

TERRORISTS, BE ON NOTICE, WE WILL FIGHT BACK AGAINST YOU, IN IRAN AND ELSEWHERE; WE WILL FIGHT BACK AGAINST YOUR COWARDLY ATTACKS ON AMERICAN CITIZENS AND PROPERTY.

SEVERAL COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN EFFORTS TO FREE OUR FELLOW CITIZENS. SYRIA HAS HAD A CENTRAL RESPONSIBILITY. THE EFFORTS OF THE ALGERIAN GOVERNMENT WERE LIKEWISE AN EXAMPLE OF CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION AGAINST THE DIRECT CHALLENGE OF LAWLESS TERRORISTS. KING FUSSEIN SPOKE OUT EARLY AND FORCEFULLY IN CONDEMNING THE PIJACKING. SAUDI ARABIA ALSO MADE AN EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION. THROUGHOUT THE PAST 17 DAYS, WE HAVE ALSO BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH ISRAEL AND A NUMBER OF GOVERNMENTS IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST, AS WELL AS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS -- ALL OF WHICH DISPLAYED GREAT CONCERN FOR THE SAFETY AND RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. WE WILL REMEMBER, AND OFFER OUR THANKS TO ALL WHO HELPED US AND WHO STOOD WITH US. AND, YES, WE'LL REMEMBER THOSE WHO DID NOT.

WE WILL NOT REST UNTIL JUSTICE IS DONE. WE WILL NOT REST UNTIL THE WORLD COMMUNITY MEETS ITS RESPONSIBILITY. WE CALL UPON THOSE WHO HELPED SECURE THE RELEASE OF THESE TWO PASSENGERS TO SHOW EVEN GREATER ENERGY AND COMMITMENT TO SECURE THE RELEASE OF ALL OTHERS HELD CAPTIVE IN IRAN.

AND, WE CALL UPON THE WORLD COMMUNITY TO STRENGTHEN ITS COOPERATION TO STAMP OUT THIS UGLY, VICIOUS EVIL OF TERRORISM. I JUST WANT TO INJECT A PERSONAL NOTE HERE THAT, LIKE ALL OF YOU, NANCY AND I HAVE BEEN LIVING WITH THESE -- ALL THESE 17 DAYS AND, LIKE YOU, WE'VE BOTH BEEN PRAYING FOR WHAT HAS NOW TAKEN PLACE. AND, LIKE YOU, WE THANK GOD AND WAIT WITH FAITHED BREATH FOR THEIR FINAL ARRIVAL HERE ON OUR SHORES.

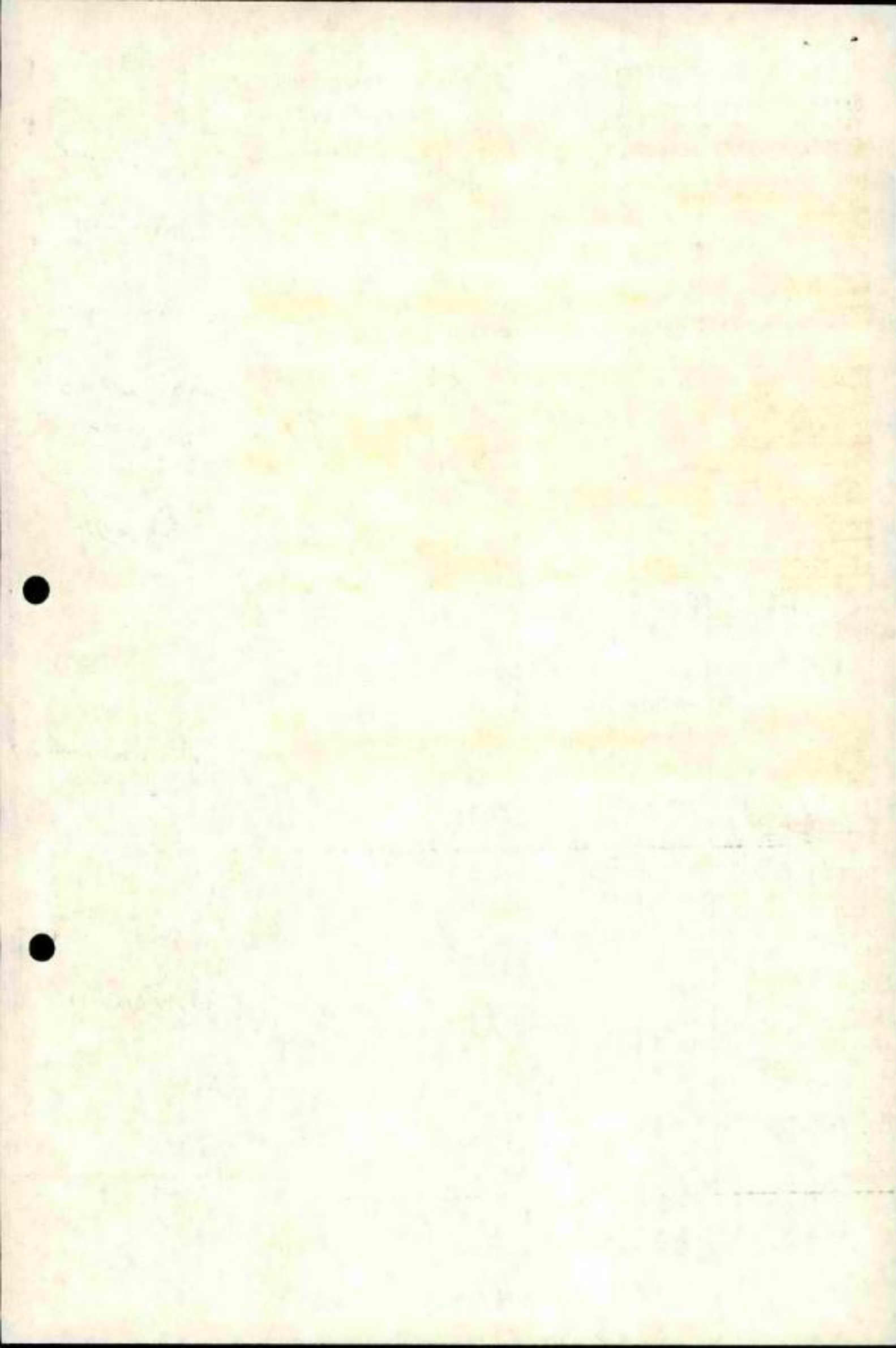
THANK YOU. END TEXT.

2. THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ARE FOR USE WITH THE PRESS IN WASHINGTON ONLY. POSTS SHOULD USE GUIDANCE

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ONLY WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS ON IF ASKED BASIS. POSTS SHOULD NOT USE Q'S AND A'S WITH LOCAL PRESS. ALL IMMEDIATE, SUBSTANTIVE COMMENT ON THESE ISSUES WILL BE MADE IN WASHINGTON. POSTS SHOULD REFER ALL PRESS INQUIRIES TO OFFICIAL STATEMENTS EMANATING FROM WASHINGTON:

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Q. DO YOU EXPECT THE ISRAELIS WILL NOW RELEASE THEIR PRISONERS? ARE YOU GOING TO PROD OR PRESSURE THEM TO DO SO? AND, DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON PRIME MINISTER PERES' STATEMENTS SATURDAY THAT IF THE HOSTAGES REACH THEIR HOMES, THE OBSTACLES WILL BE LIFTED ON HOW TO PROCEED WITH RELEASING THE PRISONERS AT ATLIT?

A. ISRAEL'S POLICY ON RETURNING ITS PRISONERS TO LEBANON IS A MATTER OF RECORD. ISRAEL HAS STATED THAT ITS POLICY IS TO RELEASE THE PRISONERS AS THE SECURITY SITUATION PERMITS IN SOUTH LEBANON. THAT POLICY PREDATES THE HIJACKING.

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התקשרות

-- OUR POSITION IS CLEAR: WE WERE NOT MAKING DEALS NOR ASKING OTHERS TO DO SO.

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Q. MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU BELIEVE, AS SUGGESTED BY AN UNNAMED WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL IN A WASHINGTON POST INTERVIEW FRIDAY, THAT AMERICAN JEWERY SHOULD USE ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF THE ANSAR PRISONERS?

A. OUR POSITION IS CLEAR: WE WERE NOT MAKING DEALS NOR ASKING OTHERS TO DO SO. WE ARE IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL ON THIS MATTER AND I DO NOT THINK THERE IS ANY CONFLICT IN OUR VIEWS WHICH WOULD NEED THE INTERVENTION OF A THIRD PARTY.

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Q. ISN'T ISRAEL REALLY TO BLAME FOR THE HOSTAGE SITUATION BECAUSE IT DIDN'T RELEASE THE ANSAR DETAINEES HEID AT ATLIT? WHY WAS THERE NOT BETTER COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL DURING THE CRISIS?

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A. IN EVERY MAJOR DIFFICULT CHALLENGE, WE ARE IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH OUR FRIENDS THE ISRAELIS, AND WE WERE SO IN THIS CASE.

-I HAVE NOTED THE REPORTS IN THE MEDIA OF FRICTION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL DURING THIS CRISIS. THIS IS ALL WRONG. WE HAVE NEVER BEEN CLOSER THAN WE WERE IN THIS CRISIS. OUR TWO COUNTRIES' POLICIES ON TERRORISM ARE THE SAME. WE MAKE NO DEALS WITH TERRORISTS. WE VERY MUCH APPRECIATE THE SUPPORT WE HAVE HAD FROM ISRAEL FOR THIS POLICY IN THIS SITUATION.

התקשרות  
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Q. COULD YOU SOLVE THE MYSTERY OF SYRIA'S ROLE--WHY DID SYRIA, APPARENTLY SOMEWHAT SUDDENLY, AGREE TO WORK OUT THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES? WAS PRESIDENT ASSAD RESPONDING TO DIRECT APPEALS FROM PRESIDENT REAGAN? WHAT'S THE QUID PRO QUO FOR SYRIA? WAS THERE ANY

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SUGGESTION OF MILITARY OR ECONOMIC PRESSURES AGAINST SYRIA, OR, CONVERSELY, SUGGESTIONS OF POSSIBLE FUTURE U.S. ASSISTANCE?

A. WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF SYRIA THROUGHOUT THIS MATTER. THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT POSITION WAS THAT THIS SITUATION SHOULD BE RESOLVED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT HARM TO THE HOSTAGES.

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-- WE HAVEN'T MADE ANY DEALS. THERE IS NO QUID PRO QUO.

C. DID THE SOVIETS PLAY ANY ROLE IN PRODUCING THE BREAK? WHAT HAPPENED IN THE MEETINGS BETWEEN PRESIDENT ASSAD AND THE SOVIETS?

A. WE CERTAINLY MADE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS THAT WE INSISTED ON THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES. WHETHER THE SOVIETS EXERTED ANY HELPFUL INFLUENCE, WE DO NOT KNOW. BUT THE SOVIETS' PROPAGANDA STIRRING UP ARAB ANXIETIES ABOUT OUR SHIP MOVEMENTS WAS VERY UNHELPFUL.

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C. WEREN'T THE HOSTAGES WERE PAWNS IN THE ONGOING BATTLE FOR CONTROL OF LEBANON BETWEEN AMAL AND HIZBALLAH, AND BY EXTENSION SYRIA AND IRAN?

A. THERE WAS AN ELEMENT OF THAT, BECAUSE OF THE POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE AMAL AND THE MORE RADICAL HIZBALLAH. I THINK THAT WAS ONE REASON FOR THE PROBLEMS IN ASSURING THE SAFETY OF THE HOSTAGES. THIS KIND OF POWER STRUGGLE MAKES IT ALL THE MORE REPREHENSIBLE THAT INNOCENT HOSTAGES SHOULD SUFFER BECAUSE OF THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN LEBANON.

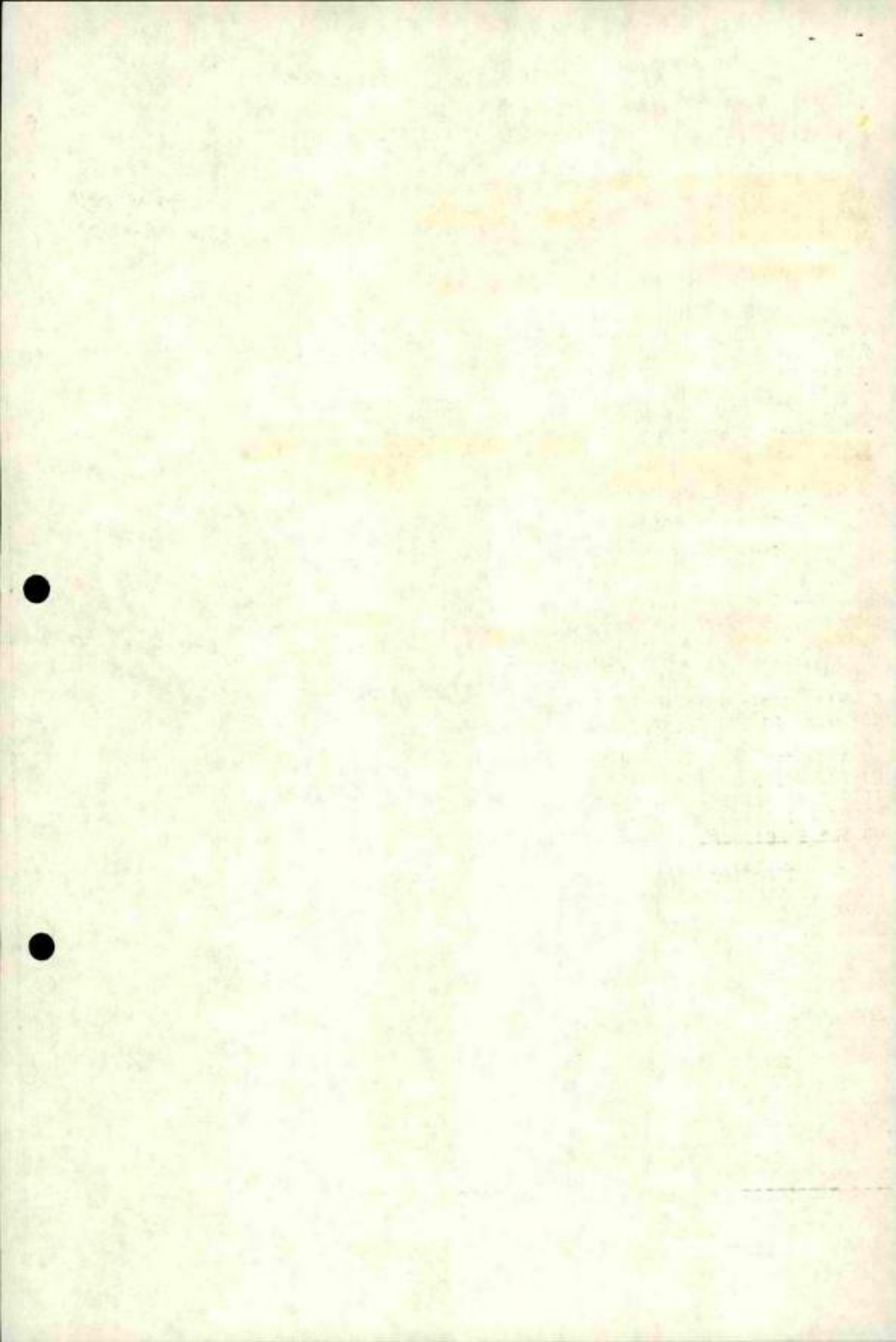
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C. AREN'T THE SEVEN REMAINING PRISONERS ACTUALLY HOSTAGE TO PREVENT US FROM RETALIATING?

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A. THIS IS NOT THE TIME OR PLACE TO COMMENT ON RETALIATION.

- WE HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY SEEKING THE RELEASE OF AMERICANS FEID IN IEBANON EVER SINCE THE FIRST WAS TAKEN SOME SIXTEEN MONTHS AGO. WE WILL CONTINUE THAT EFFORT.

-- THESE AMERICANS WERE TAKEN BEFORE THE TWA HIJACKING AND THE SITUATION IS DIFFERENT. WITH THE TWA SITUATION NAFIR BARRI WAS ABLE TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY. THE IDENTITY AND ATTITUDES OF THE KIDNAPPERS OF THE EARLIER GROUP OF AMERICANS IS MURKY.

Q. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THIS CRISIS, HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE BARRI'S ROLE? WAS MR. BARRI'S ROLE A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE ONE?

A. WE HAVE NOT YET HAD THE CHANCE TO FULLY ANALYZE HIS ROLE.

Q. WHAT HAPPENED TO THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT IN THIS? ARE WE CONSIDERING CUTTING OFF OUR REMAINING AID TO IEBANON?

A. I THINK IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF IEBANON IS NEITHER COHESIVE NOR WAS IT IN CONTROL OF THE SITUATION. KEY MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON PUBLICLY CONDEMNED THIS ACT OF TERRORISM, STATEMENTS WHICH WE APPRECIATED. WE WERE IN TOUCH WITH PRESIDENT GEMAYEL AND OTHERS AND WE HAVE BEEN GRATEFUL FOR THE SUPPORT THEY GAVE US.

Q. WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE ICRC AND THE U.N. IN THE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES.

A. A NUMBER OF PARTIES AS WELL AS GOVERNMENTS PLAYED USEFUL ROLES IN RESOLVING THE SITUATION, PARTICULARLY THE ICRC. WE APPRECIATED THEIR SUPPORT. I WILL LEAVE IT THERE AND REFER YOU TO THE INDIVIDUAL PARTIES FOR COMMENT ON THEIR ACTIONS.

C. WHAT SPECIFIC STEPS IS THE ADMINISTRATION GOING TO TAKE NOW TO PREVENT THE REOCCURANCE OF TERRORIST ACTS, ESPECIALLY THE HIJACKING AND HOLDING AMERICANS AS HOSTAGE? TWO WEEKS HAVE PASSED AND WE HAVEN'T SEEN ANYTHING DONE TO PREVENT FUTURE TERRORISM EXCEPT WORDS. IS THE U.S. COMED TO RHETORICAL SALVOES? IS THE U.S. AN ORATORICAL TIGER?

A. WE ARE TAKING A VARIETY OF STEPS. I REFER YOU TO THE SPEECH EARLIER THIS WEEK BY TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY DOLE WHICH DISCUSSED SOME OF THE MEASURES TO REDUCE THE RISK OF AIRCRAFT HIJACKINGS. WE BELIEVE THE TRAGIC EVENTS OF THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, INCLUDING THE APPARENT TERRORIST BOMBS PLANTED ON TWO FLIGHTS FROM CANADA AND THE BOMBING AT FRANKFURT AIRPORT HAVE HEIGHTENED INTERNATIONAL CONCERN AND AWARENESS TO THE DANGERS OF TERRORISM. EVEN BEFORE THESE EVENTS, WE HAVE BEEN STEPPING UP OUR ANTI-TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN A NUMBER OF AREAS, RANGING

Handwritten notes in Hebrew:

- התנאי בהחלטות
- TWA היתה להגן על
- הקדמה
- התנאי בהחלטות
- התנאי בהחלטות
- התנאי בהחלטות



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FROM OUR ANTI-TERRORIST TRAINING PROGRAM WHICH HAS HELPED TRAIN MORE THAN 1,000 OFFICIALS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, TO INCREASED PHYSICAL SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE GATHERING MEASURES.

-- IT IS MISLEADING AND INACCURATE TO ASSUME WE ARE ONLY DEALING IN WORDS. OUR MOST VISIBLE PRIORITY NATURALLY HAS BEEN TO OBTAIN THE SAFE RELEASE OF THE HOSTAGES. HOWEVER WE HAVE BEEN TAKING OTHER STEPS WITHOUT THE BENEFIT OF PUBLICITY.

Q. ARE WE GOING TO TRY TO TAKE ECONOMIC OR DIPLOMATIC STEPS AGAINST COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT JOIN IN AN INTERNATIONAL ANTI-TERRORISM CAMPAIGN AND/OR CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN AIR LINKS WITH BEIRUT AIRPORT?

A. WE CURRENTLY ARE ENGAGED IN AN INTENSE DIPLOMATIC EFFORT TO PURSUASE LIKE-MINDED GOVERNMENTS TO JOIN IN COLLECTIVE ACTION TO DEAL WITH THE TERRORIST DANGER IN THE WORLD TODAY. THIS WOULD INCLUDE SUCH SITUATIONS AS BEIRUT WHERE WE HAVE AN AIRPORT WHICH HAS BECOME A HAVEN FOR AIRPIRATES. OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WOULD ALSO APPLY TO COUNTRIES THAT SUPPORT OR HARBOR TERRORISTS IN THEIR TERRITORY. WE PREFER MULTILATERAL ACTION AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND WE HOPE AND EXPECT OTHER

NATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR EFFORTS TO COUNTER TERRORISM. BUT WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO TAKE UNILATERAL ACTION WHEN WARRANTED.

Q. WHAT IS YOUR REACTION TO SPECTACLE FRIDAY NIGHT OF THE HOSTAGES BEING TAKEN OUT TO DINNER AND THE STATEMENTS MADE BY SOME OF THE HOSTAGES BEFORE THEY WERE RELEASED THAT THEY WERE WELL TREATED?

A. WE, AND THE CIVILIZED WORLD, EXPECTED THAT THE HOSTAGES SHOULD BE WELL TREATED. THAT WAS NOT THE ISSUE.

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THE ISSUE WAS THE FAILURE TO RELEASE THEM. THE TELEVISED  
AND OTHER STATEMENTS OF REASSURANCES OF COURSE WERE  
WELCOME. BUT THEY SHOULD NOT DIVERT US FROM THE HARSH,  
BRUTAL REALITY OF THE HIJACKING AND THE TAKING OF THE  
HOSTAGES WHICH WAS A CRUEL, CYNICAL AND ILLEGAL ACTION.  
SOME OF THE HOSTAGES WERE BEATEN AND BADLY TREATED AND  
ONE PASSENGER WAS MURDERED. THE SHOW OF IMPROVED  
TREATMENT TOWARD THE END DID NOT MAKE UP FOR THIS.

C. ARE WE CONTINUING EFFORTS IN LEBANON AND WITH THE  
SYRIAN GOVERNMENTS FOR THE RELEASE OF THE SEVEN KIDNAPPED  
AMERICANS REMAINING IN LEBANON?

A. WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN AND WE ARE NOT GIVING UP ON THE  
OTHER SEVEN. WE ARE CONTINUING TO WORK THROUGH A VARIETY  
OF CHANNELS FOR THEIR RELEASE. THE KIDNAPPINGS OF THESE  
AMERICANS AND NATIONALS OF OTHER COUNTRIES ARE ACTS OF  
TERRORISM WHICH NOT ONLY FAIL TO GAIN SYMPATHY FOR THE  
CAUSE OF THE PERPETRATORS BUT ARE CRIMINAL ACTS WHICH  
DESERVE THE CONDEMNATION OF THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL  
COMMUNITY.

2. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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TO RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4603

RUEADWW/WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

RUEPC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5930

INFO RUEHBL/AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE 0156

RUEPC/AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE 0855

RUEHTV/AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE 2560

RUEHRS/AMEMBASSY ALGIERS IMMEDIATE 1325

RUEHNB/AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE 4603

RUEHBS/AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS 8800

RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 3000

RUEHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4556

RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 5723

RUEHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 3203

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F.O. 12356: N/A

SUBJECT: TEXT OF VICE PRESIDENT BUSH'S STATEMENT AT  
FRANKFURT ARRIVAL OF FORMER AMERICAN HOSTAGES

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE VICE PRESIDENT'S  
STATEMENT AT REIN-MAIN AIRPORT UPON THE ARRIVAL OF THE  
39 TWA PASSENGERS RELEASED FROM CAPTIVITY IN BEIRUT,  
JUNE 30.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

"OUR PEOPLE ARE BACK. THEY'RE SAFE AND SOON THEY'LL  
BE HEADING HOME TO THEIR FAMILIES. THROUGH THE DAYS OF  
YOUR ORDEAL AMERICANS BUILT A SPECIAL PLACE IN THEIR  
HEARTS FOR YOU - HOPING, PRAYING EACH DAY FOR YOUR SAFE  
RETURN. YOU'RE BACK AND AMERICA DID NOT COMPROMISE HER  
PRINCIPLES TO GET YOU BACK. FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS  
JOINED TO HELP YOUR FAMILIES IN THEIR TERRIBLE ORDEAL OF  
WAITING - SHOWING THE BEST OF AMERICA. AND TODAY AS THE  
NEWS OF YOUR RELEASE FILLS THE AIR, WE JOIN YOUR  
FAMILIES IN WELCOMING YOU. AT TIMES, FATE REACHES DOWN  
AND TOUCHES A GROUP OF PEOPLE AND YET, SOMETIMES FATE  
BRINGS TRAGEDY AND SUFFERING. WHEN THE TWA FLIGHT 847  
WAS HIJACKED YOU DISPLAYED CHARACTER AND SPIRIT. YOU  
ENDURED THIS CRUEL AND PAINFUL EXPERIENCE WITH COURAGE.  
YOUR COUNTRY IS PROUD OF YOU. BUT THERE WAS TRAGEDY AS  
WELL IN THE BRUTAL MURDER OF ROBERT STEPHEN. I STOOD  
WITH HIS FAMILY WHEN HE RETURNED TO HIS FINAL REST AND  
SAW THE DIGNITY AND SORROW OF HIS MOTHER AND FATHER.  
THEIR SON WAS A HERO WHO DIED IN THE SERVICE OF HIS

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COUNTRY. AND TODAY, SOMEWHERE IN LEBANON, OTHER  
AMERICANS ARE STILL PRISONER. AND EVEN IN THE JOY OF  
YOUR SAFE RETURN CIVILIZED PEOPLE EVERYWHERE CONDEMN THE  
ACTION OF THOSE WHOSE CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR CAUSES THEIR  
ORIEAL TO CONTINUE. TO THEIR FAMILIES WHO CANNOT SHARE  
IN THE JOY OF THIS MOMENT, KNOW THAT OUR HEARTS ARE WITH  
YOU AND THAT WE CONTINUE EVERY POSSIBLE EFFORT TO SEEK  
THE SAFE RETURN OF YOUR LOVED ONES. I AM VERY PROUD TO  
BE HERE. PROUD OF ALL OF YOU. PROUD TO SERVE WITH A  
PRESIDENT WHO SHOWS COURAGE, PATIENCE AND WISDOM IN  
USING THE STRENGTH AND POWER OF OUR GREAT NATION.  
WELCOME HOME. GOD BLESS AMERICA." END TEXT. ARNOLD

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TO ALL WF MONITORING POSTS IMMEDIATE

RUEHPS/USIS PARIS IMMEDIATE

RUFFOM/AMCONSUL MILAN IMMEDIATE

EUBQHQA/USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI IMMEDIATE

INFO RUEBIN/AIT TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

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 CHRG: USIS  
 DIST: USIP

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WF-U07 06/30/85 (1,935)

ON JUNE 30, VICE PRESIDENT BUSH APPEARED ON CBS' "FACE  
 THE NATION." THE FOLLOWING IS AN UNOFFICIAL TRANSCRIPT OF  
 HIS INTERVIEW.

(BEGIN TRANSCRIPT)

WELCOME TO FACE THE NATION. I'M LESLIE STAHL.

WITH US NOW, VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH, JOINING US FROM  
 PARIS. THE VICE PRESIDENT IS EXPECTED TO FLY TO FRANKFURT,  
 WEST GERMANY LATER TO GREET THE HOSTAGES WHEN THEY ARRIVE  
 THERE.

LESLIE STAHL: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, CAN YOU TELL US WHAT  
 ASSURANCES, WHAT UNDERSTANDINGS WERE AGREED TO BETWEEN NABIH  
 BERRI AND THE UNITED STATES, OR BETWEEN PRESIDENT ASSAD OF  
 SYRIA AND THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT THIS  
 RELEASE.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: NO, BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT THERE  
 HAS BEEN FORCEFUL REPRESENTATION IN THE BEST SENSE OF  
 DIPLOMACY, BY OURSELVES AND BY OTHER COUNTRIES, THAT IT WAS  
 THE ONLY CONSCIENABLE THING TO DO TO RELEASE THESE HOSTAGES.  
 AND I HOPE THAT THEY WILL BE RELEASED.

LESLIE STAHL: BUT WERE THERE GUARAN---

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: WE'RE HERE AT A VERY DELICATE  
 MOMENT, I MIGHT ADD.

LESLIE STAHL: I UNDERSTAND THAT. BUT CAN YOU TELL US  
 IF THERE WERE GUARANTEES? I KNOW THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT  
 ISSUED, PUT OUT A STATEMENT THIS MORNING, TALKING ABOUT THE  
 PRESERVATION AND SECURITY OF LEBANON, AN APPARENT ANSWER TO  
 MR. BERRI'S DEMAND THAT WE NOT RETALIATE. WERE THERE ANY  
 OTHER PRIVATE ASSURANCES?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: LESLIE, THAT IS NOT A PLOWING NEW  
 GROUND. WE FELT THAT WAY FOR A LONG, LONG TIME, RESPECTING  
 THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LEBANON. INDEED, I THINK I OUGHT TO MAKE  
 THE POINT THAT THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AS REPRESENTED BY  
 GEMAYEL HAS TRIED TO BE HELPFUL IN THIS REGARD. SO WHEN  
 ASKED TO PUT THAT STATEMENT FORWARD, THAT DIDN'T CAUSE  
 ANYBODY ANY PROBLEMS. SO, I CAN'T GO BEYOND THAT.

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LESLIE STAHL: CAN YOU TELL US WHAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE IS AT THIS POINT TOWARD NABIH FERRI. APPARENTLY HE WANTED SOME PRIVATE ASSURANCES HIMSELF ABOUT HIS ORGANIZATION. IS HE VIEWED AS A HERO? OR, HOW DOES HE FIT INTO THIS PICTURE?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: WE'LL JUDGE THAT WHEN WE SEE WHETHER HE PERFORMS AND WHETHER THESE HOSTAGES GET THEIR FREEDOM. TODAY OR WHENEVER. WE HOPE IT IS TODAY. WE HOPE IT IS IN THE NEXT FEW MINUTES THAT THEY LEAVE. BUT, I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY USEFULNESS IN QUANTIFYING OUR EMOTIONS ABOUT MR. FERRI UNTIL HE DOES WHAT HE SHOULD HAVE DONE SOME TIME AGO, AND WHAT WE ARE HOPING HE HAS NOW DONE OR IS IN THE PROCESS OF NOW DOING, AND THAT IS TO PERMIT THESE PEOPLE, ALL 25 OF THEM, TO LEAVE LEBANON, GO TO SYRIA, AND COME BACK TO FREEDOM.

LESLIE STAHL: OKAY, CAN YOU PERHAPS THEN TELL US MORE ABOUT MR. ASSAD'S ROLE IN ALL THIS, THE PRESIDENT OF SYRIA.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I THINK IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT SYRIA HAS BEEN HELPFUL IN THIS REGARD. THEY ARE NOT THE ONLY COUNTRY THAT HAS, BUT I THINK THAT WHEN CREDIT IS DUE, ONCE THESE PEOPLE ARE OUT OF THERE, I THINK THEY WILL GET CERTAIN CREDIT FOR HAVING BEEN PLAYED, A USEFUL ROLE.

LESLIE STAHL: WHAT ABOUT ISRAEL? WHAT EXACTLY IS OUR UNDERSTANDING WITH THE OFFICIALS IN ISRAEL ABOUT THE RELEASE OF THE SHITE PRISONERS. THERE IS TO SOME EXTENT SOME EFFORTS THAT THEY MAY START RELEASING THEM AS EARLY AS 6:30 TOMORROW MORNING.

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VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I HEARD THE REPORT FROM YOUR CORRESPONDENTS, WHETHER IT WAS TEL AVIV OR JERUSALEM WHEREVER IT WAS. ALL I WOULD SAY, LESLIE, YOU MENTIONED LINKAGE, THERE HAS NOT BEEN LINKAGE. WE HAVE PENT OVER BACKWARDS TO SEE THAT THERE IS NOT LINKAGE. AND I CAN NOT HELP YOU BECAUSE THERE ARE NO GUARANTEES WITH ISRAEL OR ANYTHING OF THAT NATURE. THERE JUST AREN'T.

LESLIE STAHL: MR. BUSH, I CAN TELL YOU THAT CBS IS NOW REPORTING THAT THE HOSTAGES HAVE LEFT THAT SCHOOLHOUSE (INTERUPTION FOR CBS NEWS SPECIAL REPORT).

CONTINUATION... NEGOTIATING. A LOT OF THIS, I MUST TELL YOU, STRETCHES THE IMAGINATION A LITTLE BIT. I THINK EVERYBODY ASSUMES THAT WE HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING, AND IN FACT THAT THERE IS LINKAGE NOW ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE RELEASE OF THE AMERICANS AND THE RELEASE OF THE JAPANESE PRISONERS IN ISRAEL.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I AGREE WITH YOU THAT THERE ARE SOME SUCH ASSUMPTIONS. BUT I AM TELLING YOU THAT THERE HAVEN'T BEEN AND I BELIEVE, AND I KNOW I AM RIGHT, AND WE ARE NOT GOING TO, NO MATTER HOW AGONIZING A HOSTAGE SITUATION, THE UNITED STATES CAN NOT DO WHAT YOU SUGGEST WE HAVE DONE. WE SIMPLY CAN NOT DO THAT. NOW, WE CAN TALK, BUT WE SIMPLY CAN NOT ASK FOR KNUCKLING UNDER TO THE DEMANDS OF HIJACKERS AND WE HAVEN'T DONE THAT. SO, IF IT STRETCHES YOUR IMAGINATION, I AM SORRY BUT THAT IS THE FACT, THAT IS OUR POLICY, THAT IS THE PRESIDENT FEELS ABOUT IT, AND THAT IS THE WAY OUR DIPLOMACY HAS WORKED IN THIS CASE.

LESLIE STAHL: ARE YOU CATEGORICALLY DENYING, FIRMLY DENYING WITH NO LOOPHOLES AT ALL, THAT NO DEALS AND NO ASSURANCES WERE GIVEN TO SYRIA, OR TO NABIH BERRI TO HELP GET THESE HOSTAGES RELEASED.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: NOW WHAT DID YOU SAY? I MISSED WHAT YOU SAID.

LESLIE STAHL: NO GUARANTEES, NO ASSURANCES, NO DEALS MADE.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: YES, THAT'S RIGHT.

LESLIE STAHL: YOU CATEGORICALLY DENY THAT?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I TAKE THE OATH, HOWEVER YOU DO THAT.

LESLIE STAHL: NO DEALS?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: RIGHT.

LESLIE STAHL: LET ME MOVE ON AND ASK YOU ABOUT THE QUESTION OF RETALIATION. I KNOW THIS IS A DELICATE TIME, AND I DO UNDERSTAND THAT. BUT, HAVE THE AVENUES FOR RETALIATING AT THIS POINT BEEN PRETTY MUCH CLOSED OFF? HERE SYRIA HAS NOW BEEN SO HELPFUL. WE HAVE ALWAYS TALKED ABOUT THEM BEING INVOLVED IN SOME OF THESE ACTS OF TERRORISM IN THE PAST.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: LET ME, LESLIE, LET ME ASK YOU TO TAKE THE QUESTION BACK, BECAUSE I AM NOT GOING TO ANSWER IT. NOW HERE, WE ARE JUST REPORTING THAT THESE HOSTAGES ARE AT THE SCHOOLYARI. THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS THAT THEY HAVE BEEN RELEASED, SOMETIMES THE REPORTS PROVE TRUE. I THINK IT WOULD BE A VERY WRONG THING FOR ME TO DO TO RESPOND TO A QUESTION ABOUT RETALIATION. SO WITH RESPECT I HOPE THAT YOU'LL UNDERSTAND THAT THE SENSITIVITY OF THIS MOMENT PROHIBITS ME FROM BEING AS FRANK WITH YOU ON THAT QUESTION AS I WOULD LIKE TO BE.

Handwritten notes in Hebrew:

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LESLIE STAHL: I DO UNDERSTAND MR. VICE PRESIDENT, BUT I WOULD LIKE TO ASK WITH THAT IN MIND, WHY PRESIDENT REAGAN MADE SUCH A TOUGH AND HARD STATEMENT ON FRIDAY WHEN THE RELEASE SEEMED IMMINENT, SUGGESTING THAT WE MIGHT RETALIATE AT THAT POINT.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: WELL, THE REPETITION OF U.S. POLICY IS THE PRESIDENT'S PEROGATIVE. I DIDN'T HERE THE STATEMENT, BUT I UNDERSTAND IT WAS VERY FORCEFUL, BUT IF YOU LOOK TO SEE WHETHER THERE WAS A GREAT NEW GROUND IN THAT IN TERMS OF THE WAY WE WOULD LIKE TO CONDUCT OURSELVES, I THINK THE ANSWER IS NO. BUT THIS WOULD BE, I DON'T THINK IT IS A TOO APPROPRIATE TIME, FRANKLY, IF YOU'LL EXCUSE ME, FOR NOT WANTING TO GET INTO ESCALATING THE RHETORICAL OUTPUT ABOUT WHAT WE MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT DO AS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TOWN THE ROAD.

LESLIE STAHL: OKAY, LET'S CHANGE THE SUBJECT AGAIN. WOULD YOU LIKE TO APOLOGIZE, LET'S SAY, TO JIMMY CARTER FOR SOME OF THE STATEMENTS THAT YOU MADE ABOUT HIS PUSSYFOOTING AROUND AND OTHER SUCH STATEMENTS WHEN HE WAS WAITING AND

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HOPING THAT HE COULD BRING HOSTAGES, THOSE IRANIAN HOSTAGES, COME SAFELY?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: WELL, NO, AND AGAIN, I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO THAT. I THINK THAT LET'S JUST HOPE THAT THESE HOSTAGES WILL BE OUT OF THERE AND OUT OF THERE SOON. AND THEN WORLD OPINION CAN JUDGE AND GO BACK AND TAKE A LOOK OVER OUR SHOULDER AT AN EVENT THAT WAS QUITE DIFFERENT THAN WHAT IS HAPPENING TODAY.

BUT THIS ISN'T THE TIME TO FINGER-POINT, OR TRY TO SAY WHETHER WE DID IT BETTER THAN JIMMY CARTER OR WORSE THAN JIMMY CARTER OR SOMETHING OF THAT NATURE. I AM SORRY, I VIEW THIS WITH TOO MUCH SOLEMNITY TO GET INTO THAT. I THINK THAT I HAVE SAID THAT WE ARE DEALING WITH TWO VERY DIFFERENT SITUATIONS. HERE THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON, TO THE DEGREE IT COULD UNDER PRESIDENT GEMAYEL, HAS CONDEMNED THIS. AND THAT IS QUITE DIFFERENT THAN IN IRAN. BUT THERE IS NO POINT IN FINGER-POINTING WHEN AMERICAN LIVES ARE AT STAKE HERE.

LESLIE STAHL: YOU HAVE BEEN, AS YOU HAVE POINTED OUT, ON A TOUR OF EUROPEAN CAPITALS. YOU ARE NOW AT THE HEAD OF YET ANOTHER TASK FORCE ON TERRORISM. I THINK IT IS THE THIRD SUCH TASK FORCE SINCE PRESIDENT REAGAN CAME INTO OFFICE. I KNOW IT IS A DELICATE MOMENT. WERE CONCLUSIONS REACHED? CAN YOU TELL US WHAT NEW STEPS THE UNITED STATES, YOU FEEL, SHOULD TAKE TO PREVENT THIS FROM HAPPENING IN THE FUTURE.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: NO, I DON'T THINK IT IS TOO DELICATE A MOMENT TO TALK ABOUT THAT AT ALL. I DON'T THINK WE HAVE EVER HAD A TASK FORCE AT THIS LEVEL OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. WHAT I PLAN TO DO WHEN I GET BACK, HAVING TALKED TO THE LEADERS IN EUROPE, AND I WILL HAVE TALKED TO THE HEADS OF SIX COUNTRIES WHEN I GET HOME THIS WEEK, IS TO CONVINCE OUR TASK FORCE TO TELL THEM OF THE COOPERATION THAT WE HAVE BEEN OFFERED FROM THESE COUNTRIES IN EUROPE, AND THEN TO START MOVING FORWARD, WORKING NOT JUST TO BE SURE THAT WE HAVE MAXIMIZED OUR COOPERATION IN OUR OWN BUREAUCRACY, BUT TO WORK WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES. THE TIME IS RIGHT. I CAN TELL YOU THE INDIGNATION IN EUROPE IS ALMOST AS HIGH AS THE INDIGNATION IS IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY. AND WE CAN DO MORE IN TERMS OF AIRPORT SECURITY. WE CAN DO MORE IN CONSIDERING PRE-EMPTION. WE CAN DO MORE IN TERMS OF GETTING A DEFINITION OF WHAT IT IS. WHEN I WAS AT THE U.N. YEARS AGO, YOU COULDN'T EVEN GET A DEFINITION OF WHAT A TERRORIST ACT IS. SO I LOCK FORWARD TO THIS ASSIGNMENT, AND I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE MORE THAN JUST ONE MORE TASK FORCE.

LESLIE STAHL: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, EXCUSE ME FOR INTERRUPTING. I WANT TO ASK YOU ONE FINAL QUESTION BEFORE OUR TIME RUNS OUT. WHAT ABOUT MOSCOW? FIRST OFF, IS IT TRUE THAT A SUMMIT HAS BEEN ALL BUT ARRANGED? CAN YOU CONFIRM THAT FOR US?

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: NO, I CAN'T CONFIRM IT BUT I HAVE INDICATED TIME AND TIME AGAIN THAT I THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE A GOOD LIKELIHOOD THAT A MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE, BUT I CAN'T CONFIRM IT FOR YOU.

LESLIE STAHL: CAN YOU TELL US THAT MR. GORBACHEV WAS HELPFUL IN ENCOURAGING MR. ASSAD TO HELP US BRING THIS HOSTAGE CRISIS TO AN END.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: I AM NOT SURE OF THE ANSWER. I DON'T EVEN KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION LESLIE.



LESLIE STAHL: AS YOU KNOW, MR. ASSAD WENT TO MOSCOW, AND THAT THERE WERE REPORTS THAT MR. GORBACHEV ENCOURAGED HIM TO STEP IN HERE.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: WELL I HOPE SO, BECAUSE THAT WOULD MAYBE THEN OFFER UP A GOOD FUTURE FOR WORKING WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THIS FIELD. AND THIS AN AREA WHERE CERTAINLY THEY HAVE COMMON INTEREST WITH OURS, AND IF THAT IS TRUE, THEN THAT WOULD BE A GOOD SIGN. I DID SEE SOME SOVIET UNION IN GENEVA YESTERDAY AND THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY, AND I THINK THEY DID EXPRESS, THEY DID EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT THE AMERICAN POSTAGES THAT WERE BEING HELD.

LESLIE STAHL: MR. VICE PRESIDENT, WE THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR BEING WITH US, AND WE DO UNDERSTAND FULLY THE COMPLICATEDNESS OF THIS MOMENT. AND AGAIN, THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR BEING WITH US THIS MORNING.

VICE PRESIDENT BUSH: YOU'VE GOT YOUR JOB TO DO AND I'VE GOT MINE LESLIE.

LESLIE STAHL: INDEED. AND THANKS AGAIN.

(END TRANSCRIPT)

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