

מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

לשרד ראש הממשלה

משרד

המשק התיק מט' ז

לשכת ראש הממשלה -

ארה"ב

5/1985

מחלקה

מס' תיק מקורי

6

שם: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס - אר

א - 9 / 4379

מזהה פיו: 43.4/3 - 183
מזהה לוגי: 02-111-01-07-09
כתובת: 1734774 מס פריט: 15/08/2010

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: ה' באייר תשמ"ה

מספר: 26 באפריל 1985

אל : לשכת ראש הממשלה

מאת : מאו"ר

הנדון : פגישת ידידי ישראל מסן פרנציסקו עם רוה"ם.

הקבוצה תבקר בארץ מ-26 במאי ועד 6 ביוני.
מורכבת מאנשי עסקים מרכזיים, עיתונאים ופוליטיקאים. הידועים באהדתם ופעילותם
למען ישראל.

בזמן מבצע של"ג פרסמו מודעות תמיכה גדולות בעיתונים מרכזיים בארה"ב.
בביקור הקודם של הקבוצה (אנשים אחרים חוץ מגולדמן וספרול) נפגשו עם רוה"ם,
שר הבטחון, ועם מר פרס.

גם הפעם מבקשת הקבוצה להפגש עם רוה"ם.

מציעים כתאריך את ה-31 במאי אך אפשרי גם בשאר הימים.

בברכה,
א. צור

EXHIBIT 10725

EXHIBIT 10725

Handwritten signature

Handwritten signature

EXHIBIT 10725

Handwritten signature

Mary Jane Brinton
William M. Brinton
Dorman L. Commons
Cerry Commons
Angela Coppola
David Hyatt
Debby Magowan
Peter A. Magowan
Joseph A. Moore
Edgar D. Osgood
Bert S. Prunty
Lois Prunty
Cara-May Sproul
Robert G. Sproul, Jr.
Kevin Starr
Sheila Starr
A. S. Wilsey
Dee Wilsey
Alejandro Zaffaroni
Lyda Zaffaroni

SAN FRANCISCO FRIENDS OF ISRAEL

PARTICIPANTS IN THE SPRING 1985 TRIP TO ISRAEL

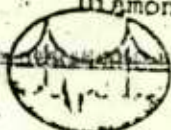
(PARTIAL LIST)

Richard Goldman is Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of Richard N. Goldman & Co., a large insurance company. He is one of San Francisco's outstanding civic leaders and Jewish community leaders. He is currently regional president of AIPAC; on the Board of Directors of the American Committee of the Weizmann Institute of Science, American Joint Distribution Committee, Council of Jewish Federations; Member of the Executive Committee of American Friends of Tel Aviv University; past president of the Jewish Community Federation; and currently a member of the board of numerous civic organizations including the National Symphony, San Francisco Planning & Urban Renewal Association and the World Affairs Council. He is also past chairman of the Haifa-San Francisco Sister City Committee. Rhoda Goldman, Richard's wife, is member of one of San Francisco's oldest and most outstanding families. She has been extremely active in civic and Jewish affairs and is currently chairperson of Mayor Dianne Feinstein's Committee for a Memorial to the Six Million Victims of the Holocaust.

Robert Sproul, Jr. is a senior partner of Thelen, Marrin, Johnson & Bridges, one of San Francisco's largest law firms. A graduate of Harvard law school, he is active in numerous civic activities. He has served as president of the San Francisco Bar Association; Chairman of the Professional Ethics Committee of the State Bar of California; Chairman of the Board of Trustees of First Congregational Church of Berkeley; Financial Chairman of the Lucinda Weeks School for Handicapped Children; and in numerous other capacities. A veteran of the previous San Francisco Friends trip to Israel, he is also a member of a very prominent family. Cara-May Sproul, Robert's wife, will be participating as well.

Bert Prunty is Dean of the University of California, Hastings School of Law. He has served in a number of important government related posts. In addition, he has held visiting appointments at both Hebrew University and the University of Tel Aviv. Lois Prunty, Bert's wife, is an accomplished artist and an active volunteer in numerous art related activities.

Dorman Commons is one of San Francisco's leading business executives. He is currently the vice chairman of Diamond Shamrock Corporation and as senior vice president at both Douglas Oil Company and Occidental Petroleum Company. Subsequently he became president, chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Natomas Company, which later combined with Diamond Shamrock. An active civic leader, he is currently a member



April 1901

Received of the Treasurer of the University of California

of the National Finance Council and the Business Council of the Democratic National Committee. He has served as president of the California State Board of Education and is a member of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce. He has also served on the Advisory Councils of several U.S. presidents. Gerry Commons, Dorman's wife, will be accompanying him.

Kevin Starr is a political and communications consultant and former professor of American Literature at Harvard University. A prolific writer, he was a daily columnist for the San Francisco Examiner for many years. Several years ago, he served as the Executive Aide to the Mayor of San Francisco. He has received numerous awards and honors, including a Guggenheim fellowship and a Danforth Fellowship to Harvard University. His civic activities include serving as a trustee of the San Francisco Art Institute and the Cathedral School for Boys. He is currently co-chairman of the San Francisco/Sydney Sister City Committee.

Howard Dickenson is a senior partner of a law firm based in Napa, Dickenson, Peatman & Fogarty. He is a graduate of the University of California and Hastings Law School and has three grown children. Dawne Dickenson, his wife, is involved in the family business of operating vineyards and cattle ranching together with two of their children.

Carol Ann Grushkin is Director of Sales and Marketing for the San Francisco Collection, Division of H. Shenson International. She previously served as Director of Corporate Gifts and Personal Shopping for I. MAGNIN. She has a B.S. in Speech Pathology from Boston University. Martin Newman, a native of England, has been actively involved in theatre and television. Since 1970 he has co-founded eight restaurant companies and affiliate businesses, as well as been involved in the developing of commercial properties.

Tully Friedman is an attorney and investment banker. He opened the West Coast Corporate Finance Department of Salomon Brothers in 1970. Until 1983, he served as vice president, partner and Managing Director of Salomon Brothers - managing the firm's West Coast Corporate Finance activities. In 1984 he formed his own investment banking partnership, Hellman & Friedman. Ann Friedman is active in civic matters, presently being Chairman Emeritus of Mount Zion Hospital and Medical Center; Director, Chairman of the Investment Committee and a Member of the Executive Committee of the San Francisco Opera Association; and a Director of the World Affairs Council of Northern California.

Mr. Richard Guggenkime

Mr. and Mrs. Antony Tiano

נשיא רשת טלוויזיה נרדין של ס.פ. נהסביב (KQED)

Mr. Nick Martin

Mr. Doug Kahn

מדינת ישראל

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

תאריך: טז' באייר תשמ"ה
7 במאי 1985

מספר:

אל: לשכת רוה"מ ✓

מאת: מצפ"א

הנדון: ביקור הסנטורים פאולה הוקינס

הסנטורית פאולה הוקינס (ר' פלורידה) צפויה לבקר בארץ בין התאריכים 31.5-5.6, אליה יתלווה בעלה, 2 עוזרים ו-3 זוגות ידידים.

נבחרה לסנאט ב-1980 ומתמחה בנושאי ילדים מוכים. סמים, הגירה ומשאבי אנוש.

הסנטורית מורמונית וחברה בוועדת החוץ - תת הוועדה למזה"ת, בוועדה לעבודה ומאבי אנוש ובוועדה לחקלאות ויעור.

בדעותיה תומכת בישראל ומצביעה בעקביות לאשור חוק הסיוע, למרות היותה רפובליקנית ולמרות העובדה שהיתה נתונה בלחץ המפלגה הצביעה נגד עסקת הארוקס.

במסגרת ביקורה מבקשת להפגש עם רוה"מ, קבענו טנטיבית פגישה ליום ב' 3 יוני 85 שעה 0930 ומבקש לאשר קביעה זו.

רצ"ב חומר נוסף בעניין הסנטורית.

ב ב ר כ ה,

ברוך רם

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

Page 1000

212 FLORIDA

Sen. Paula Hawkins (R) Elected 1980, seat up 1986; b. Jan. 24, 1927, Salt Lake City, Utah; home, Winter Park; Utah St. U.



Career Rep. Nat. Committee, 1968; Spec. Advis. Committee, Consum. Affairs, Fed. Energy Admin., 1968; Pres. Commission on White House Fellowships, 1968; Fla. Pub. Svc. Commissioner, 1973-79.

Offices 1327 DSOB, 202-224-3041. Also 701 Semoran Blvd., Rm. 200, Altamonte Springs 32701, 305-339-1980, and 604 Lewis State Bank Bldg., Tallahassee 32301, 904-224-5748.

Committees Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (8th). Subcommittees: Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification (Chairwoman); Agricultural Production, Marketing and Stabilization of Prices; Foreign Agricultural Policy; Nutrition.

Labor and Human Resources (4th). Subcommittees: Labor; Employment and Productivity; Investigations and General Oversight (Chairwoman).

Joint Economic Committee (5th).

Group Ratings and Key Votes: Newly Elected Election Results

1980 general	Paula Hawkins (R)	1,822,460	(52%)	(\$696,969)
	Bill Gunter (D)	1,705,409	(48%)	(\$2,164,560)
1980 runoff	Paula Hawkins (R)	293,600	(62%)	
	Lou Frey, Jr. (R)	182,911	(38%)	(\$320,489)
1980 primary	Paula Hawkins (R)	209,856	(48%)	
	Lou Frey, Jr. (R)	119,834	(27%)	
	Ander Crenshaw (R)	54,767	(13%)	(\$71,626)
	Three others (R)	51,505	(12%)	
1974 general	Richard (Dick) Stone (D)	781,031	(43%)	(\$919,787)
	Jack Eckerd (R)	736,674	(41%)	(\$421,169)
	John Grady (AI)	282,659	(16%)	(\$148,495)

GOVERNOR

Gov. Robert (Bob) Graham (D) Elected 1978, term expires Jan. 1983; b. Nov. 9, 1936, Miami; U. of Fla., B.A. 1959, Harvard U., J.D. 1962.



Career V.P., Graham Co., cattle and dairy production; Chmn. of Bd., Sengra Development Corp., land developers; Fla. House of Reps., 1967-71; Fla. Senate, 1971-78.

Offices The Capitol, Tallahassee 32304, 904-488-1234.

Election Results

1978 gen.	Robert (Bob) Graham (D) ..	1,406,580	(56%)
	Jack M. Eckerd (R)	1,123,888	(44%)
1978 runoff	Robert (Bob) Graham (D) ..	482,535	(54%)
	Robert L. Shevin (D)	418,636	(46%)
1978 prim.	Robert L. Shevin (D)	364,732	(35%)
	Robert (Bob) Graham (D) ..	261,972	(25%)
	Hans G. Tanzler (D)	124,706	(12%)
	Jim Williams (D)	124,427	(12%)
	Three others (D)	161,696	(16%)
1974 gen.	Reubin Askew (D)	1,118,954	(61%)
	Jerry Thomas (R)	709,438	(39%)



FIRST DISTRICT

One of the heaviest concentrations of found in the northern Panhandle court. There are many reasons for this concentration. Gulf of Mexico port, and there has been. United States has held the territory. Gulf here, with a good port at Panama. terrain inland flat and, where swamp bring to this area such huge facilities share of three counties. There is another \$900 million yearly around here, and Congressman Bob Sikes of the 1st district committee on Military Construction. Sikes's philosophy and the interests he was one of those southern Democrats pushing Lend-Lease and instituting Florida history — Sikes continued to than to spend too little on military power in the 1st district. When Sikes was first of the lowest standards of living in the

ton office, 104 SHOB, dial
or House service, January 3,
mental Affairs. Born July 22,
rd University School of Busi-
U.S. Army, 1943-46, Pacific
Bar, 1958; and to practice
Republican State Committee,
ied, two children. Episcopal-
OO S. State St., dial 302-674-
dial 302-573-6291.

489 SROB, dial 224-5042.
ty Member, Senate Commit-
of Delaware, B.A., in history
D., 1968. Admitted to De-
nty Councilman, 1970-72.
OO S. New St., dial 302-678-
6-9275. Wilmington 19801:
45.

Delaware City, Dover, Dover
d Acres, Kent Acres, Laurel,
Rising Sun-Lebanon, Rodney,
nd Woodside East. Dist. pop.

ton office, 1020 LHOB, dial
ry 23, 1947 in Beckley, W.
are, M.B.A., 1973-75. Naval
; Air Medal, Commendation
ndustrial development speci-
State Treasurer, 1976-82.
sn. of Government Finance
Dover 19901: J. Allen Frear
etown: dial 302-865-3334.
King St., dial 302-573-6181.

250 SROB, dial 224-5274.
ity Member, Senate Commi-
1952; LL.B., 1955. Korean
cticing attorney, 1955-71.
Outstanding American of
FICES—Lakeland 33801:
deral Building, 51 S.W. First
rk Ave., dial 904-222-1792.

SEN. PAULA HAWKINS (R FL) of Winter Park. Washington office, 313 SHOB, dial 224-3041. Senate service, January 1, 1981 to January 3, 1987. Born Jan. 24, 1928 in Salt Lake City, Utah. Attended Utah State University. Businesswoman; president, Something Great, Inc. Vice chairman, Republican National Committee, 1972-80; Florida Public Service Commissioner, 1972-80; member, Florida and Orange County Repub. Executive Committees. Married. Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. **STATE OFFICES**—Miami 33130: Suite 817, Federal Bldg., 51 S.W. First Ave., dial 305-350-6952. Tallahassee 32308: Suite 108, 306 East Park Ave., dial 904-681-7430. Winter Park 32790: Suite 100, 501 Wymore Road, (Box 2000), dial 305-628-1738.

[Dem.—13; Rep.—6]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FIRST DISTRICT FLORIDA — CITIES: Bagdad, Bellview, Brent, Callaway, Century, Crestview, De Funiak Springs, Destin, Eglin AFB, Ensley, Ferry Pass, Fort Walton Beach, Goulding, Gulf Breeze, Hiland Park, Lake Lorraine, Longwood, Lower Grand Lagoon, Lynn Haven, Mary Esther, Milton, Molino, Myrtle Grove, Niceville, Ocean City, Okaloosa Island, Pace, Panama City, Panama City Beach, Parker, Pensacola, Pretty Bayou, Southport, Springfield, Tyndall AFB, Upper Grand Lagoon, Valparaiso, Warrington, West Pensacola and Wright. **COUNTIES (5):** Bay (part), Escambia, Okaloosa, Santa Rosa and Walton. Dist. pop. ('82) 512,821.

REP. EARL HUTTO (D FL—1) of Panama City. Washington office, 330 CHOB, dial 225-4136. House service, January 3, 1979 to present. Born May 12, 1926 in Midland City, Ala. Troy State University, B.S., 1949. Northwestern University, graduate studies, 1951. Kappa Delta Pi. WWII svc. in U.S. Navy, 1944-46. Former school teacher and TV sportscaster. Businessman; owner of advertising agency; founder, president and majority stockholder, WPEX-FM. Florida State Rep., 1972-78. Named Conservationist of the Year by Bay County Audubon Society and Woodmen of the World. Named Legislator of the Year by Sunshine State Assn. for the Blind and Florida Assn. for Retarded Children. Married. Baptist. **DISTRICT OFFICES**—Panama City 32401: (P.O. Box 469), dial 904-763-0709. Pensacola 32522: (P.O. Box 17689), dial 904-432-6179. Shalimar 32579: Room 100, Courthouse Annex, dial 904-651-3111.

SECOND DISTRICT FLORIDA — CITIES: Apalachicola, Blountstown, Bonifay, Chattahoochee, Chiefland, Chipley, Cross City, Five Points, Graceville, Havana, Jasper, Killearn, Lake Butler, Lake City, Live Oak, Macclenny, Madison, Marianna, Monticello, Perry, Port St. Joe, Quincy, Sneads, Starke, Tallahassee, Watertown, Wewahitchka, Williston and Woodville. **COUNTIES (25):** Baker, Bay (part), Bradford, Calhoun, Clay (part), Columbia, Dixie, Franklin, Gadsden, Gilchrist, Gulf, Hamilton, Holmes, Jackson, Jefferson, Lafayette, Leon, Levy, Liberty, Madison, Suwannee, Taylor, Union, Wakulla and Washington. Dist. pop. ('82) 513,127.

REP. DON FUQUA (D FL—2) of Altha. Washington office, 2269 RHOB, dial 225-5235. House service, January 3, 1963 to present. Chairman, House Committee on Science and Technology. Born Aug. 20, 1933 in Jacksonville. Univ. of Florida, B.S., 1957. Alpha Gamma Rho, Gamma Sigma Delta, Delta Theta Phi, Blue Key, Gold Key. Korean Conflict svc. in U.S. Army Medical Corps. Farmer. Florida House of Rep., 1958-62. Named One of Five Outstanding Young Men by the Florida Jaycees, 1963. Married. Presbyterian. **DISTRICT OFFICES**—Lake City 32055: 1990-A S. First St., dial 904-755-5657. Marianna 32446: Room 109, Post Office Bldg., dial 904-526-3525. Tallahassee 32301: 227 North Bronough, dial 904-681-7434.

THIRD DISTRICT FLORIDA — CITIES: Atlantic Beach, Baldwin, Fernandina Beach, Hilliard, Jacksonville (part), Nassau Village-Ratliff and Yulee. **COUNTIES (2):** Duval (part) and Nassau. Dist. pop. ('82) 512,692.

REP. CHARLES E. BENNETT (D FL—3) of Jacksonville. Washington office, 2107 RHOB, dial 225-2501. House service, January 3, 1949 to present. Born Dec. 2, 1910 in Canton, N.Y. University of Fla., B.A.; J.D., 1934. WWII svc. in U.S. Army, 1942-47. Silver Star, Bronze Star, Combat Inf. Badge, Philippine Legion of Honor, Gold Cross of Gallantry, French Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur. Admitted to Fla. Bar, 1934. Practicing attorney, 1934-42, 1947-48. Author. Fla. State Rep., 1941. Elected to Infantry Hall of Fame, Ft. Benning Officer Candidate School, 1958. Married. Disciples of Christ. **DISTRICT OFFICE**—Jacksonville 32202: Suite 352, Federal Office Bldg., 400 West Bay St., dial 904-791-2587.



NEWS FROM

PAULA HAWKINS

UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR FLORIDA

Biography

Paula Hawkins, of Winter Park, is the junior United States Senator from Florida. She was elected in 1980.

Mrs. Hawkins is the first woman from Florida to serve in the Senate. She has developed expertise in the areas of missing and abused children and children's rights, drug enforcement, immigration, human resources, foreign relations, labor and agriculture.

Born in Salt Lake City, Utah, Senator Hawkins attended elementary school and high school in Atlanta, Georgia. She also attended Utah State University. In 1982 the University honored Senator Hawkins by conferring upon her an honorary doctorate of humanities.

Senator Hawkins and her husband, Gene, an electronics engineer, moved to Florida 25 years ago. She became active in public affairs at the community level working with civic organizations. In 1972, Mrs. Hawkins won her first statewide election, to the Public Service Commission. She was reelected in 1976 and served as Commission Chairman from 1977 to 1979.

The Hawkins' have three children: Genean, Kevin and Kelley. They are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints.

Senator Hawkins is a Republican National Committeewoman from Florida. In 1981, she was named Republican Woman of the Year by the Women's National Republican Club. Senator Hawkins also received the 1983 Mother of the Year Award for Statesmanship.

Senate Assignments

Committee Memberships:

Foreign Relations Committee

- Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs
- Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs
- Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs

Labor and Human Resources Committee

- Subcommittee on Aging
- Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse
- Subcommittee on Employment and Productivity

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry

- Subcommittee on Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification
- Subcommittee on Agricultural Policy
- Subcommittee on Nutrition

Senator Hawkins is Chairman of:

- Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse
- Subcommittee on Agricultural Credit and Rural Electrification
- Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus

Senate Accomplishments

As a member and chairman of Florida's Public Service Commission, Paula Hawkins became known as a fighter for the citizens of the state. Among her Senate colleagues, Senator Paula Hawkins has earned the same reputation. Many of her bills have become law.

The Hawkins' sponsored Missing Children Act was enacted to help law enforcement agencies utilize the FBI's existing computer system. For the first time, parents can enter a child's name and description into the computer if there is reluctance on the part of local officials to do so. More than 2000 children were found this way last year.

The Missing Children Assistance Act establishes the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children on a permanent basis. This Center will provide information and assistance to individuals and organizations working to find missing children. Senator Hawkins' efforts in this area have earned her the Award for Excellence in Legislative Achievement from Child Find Inc., the nation's leading non-profit organization working to find missing children.

Senator Hawkins has made the fight against illicit drugs a top priority of hers and the Senate. She introduced legislation that became the Diplomacy Against Drugs Act, which blocks foreign aid to countries that produce illegal drugs and fail to devise and implement effective narcotics control programs.

Using personal diplomacy, Senator Hawkins convinced the government of China to stop exporting methaqualone, which is made into Quaaludes, an addictive and commonly abused drug in the United States. She has also urged the President to use whatever means necessary, including U.S. troops, to help Colombia in its efforts to eradicate drug production.

On the domestic side, Senator Hawkins has sponsored the Drugs and Violent Crime Sentencing Act of 1984. The Act will make murder, in connection with production or distribution of an illegal drug, a federal offense carrying a mandatory life sentence with the possibility of capital punishment. Possession of large amounts of heroin or cocaine will also draw a mandatory life term in prison. Harsh punishment is needed to outweigh the tremendous incentives of drug dealing.

To increase awareness of our nation's drug problem, Senator Hawkins founded the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus. The 47 member caucus, one of the largest in the Senate, gives daily drug enforcement speeches on the floor of the Senate and holds field hearings throughout the country to explore drug trafficking operations. At one of the hearings in Miami, the role of the Cuban government in drug smuggling was revealed. Later her hearings revealed the Nicaraguan/Sandinistan role in trading drugs for guns.

Senator Hawkins formulated an eight point program of actions to reduce crime, drug smuggling, and illegal immigration, parts of which were adopted by the President's Task Force on South Florida Crime.

As chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse, Senator Hawkins passed reauthorization legislation for the National Institute on Drug Abuse and the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. The reauthorization mandates the directors of these organizations, for the first time, to study the treatment and prevention of substance abuse in women. In the past, treatment centers were designed to meet male needs and substance dependencies were assumed to be the same regardless of sex. The Senator's bill directs the NIDA and NIAAA to research drug and alcohol abuse among homemakers, single and divorced women, widowed mothers, displaced homemakers, women over 65 and pregnant women. This bill also mandates the production of television commercials to be played during prime time on the scope and treatment of the problem.

Senator Hawkins sponsored legislation to continue a wide variety of services to the elderly provided under the Older Americans Act. The legislation assures that senior citizens will be provided with such essential services as Meals on Wheels, senior community employment, legal assistance, day care, transportation, residential repair and nursing home ombudsman services. New provisions were also added to the Act to give more emphasis to the victims and families of Alzheimers disease and to reflect the growing concern over the problem of abuse of the elderly.

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Hawkins added the P.L.O. amendment to the 1984 Foreign Aid Bill. Her amendment prohibits U.S. negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization until the P.L.O. recognizes Israel's right to exist and rejects the use of terrorism.



NEWS FROM

PAULA HAWKINS

UNITED STATES SENATOR FOR FLORIDA

LEGISLATIVE RECORD

of

U.S. SENATOR PAULA HAWKINS (R-Fla.)

January 1981-October 1984

MISSING AND EXPLOITED CHILDREN

Coauthored the Missing Children's Assistance Act of 1984, which permanently establishes the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children and preserves the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention within the Justice Department. This Act received final passage on October 11, 1984, as part of the omnibus spending bill. The measure also funds a national study on the problem, and a toll-free hotline to coordinate local child safety programs. In 1982, Senator Hawkins' original Missing Children Act became law. That law authorizes the use of the FBI's computer system as a national clearinghouse for information on missing children. It guarantees parents access to the computer to enter a missing child's description if this has not been done by a local law enforcement agency.

Introduced a resolution outlining future legislation which would ensure the right of child victims of sexual assault to have their testimony accepted without corroboration. Also sponsored the National Child Protection Act of 1984. A portion of this measure, the criminal records check of licensed and regulated day care employees, passed the Senate. She also authored a resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that state legislatures should enact reforms to protect the child victims of sexual abuse. This was passed by the Senate on September 29, 1984.

CHILD SUPPORT

Sponsored an amendment which allows child support agencies to be exempt from the Postal Service's \$1 fee for address verification. Second to law enforcement agencies, child support agencies are the primary users of the address verification service. This service is an important tool to help locate parents who are delinquent in their child support payments.

CHILD IMMUNIZATION

Developed legislation to permit continuation of child immunization programs while providing compensation for those few adversely affected by the vaccinations. Sponsored legislation to increase the state grant immunization program by an additional \$9 million a year.

DAY CARE

Led the fight to create a day care facility in the U.S. Senate to be self-supporting and to serve as a model program for businesses. Introduced early in 1983 legislation to encourage, through seed money, hospitals and other health care facilities to establish dependent care centers. In 1981, she was successful in passing legislation that increases the child and dependent care tax credits for low and middle income families.

DRUG ENFORCEMENT

Sponsored the Diplomacy Against Drugs Act, which bans foreign aid to major drug producing countries with poor performance records of drug eradication and control. As Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse and founder and chairman of the Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus, she introduced legislation to ban the manufacture and sale of methaqualone and persuaded the government of Communist China to stop exporting this abused drug.

Requested \$20 million in May 1984 for the Coast Guard to purchase 3 drug enforcement radar balloons. These ship-tethered balloons will be used in the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico.

OFFSHORE OIL DRILLING

Legislatively created a 30-mile buffer zone to protect Florida's Gulf Coast from off-shore drilling in 1983; negotiated a similar arrangement with the U.S. Interior Department for 1985. 85% of the temporary buffer zone created last year has been placed off limits for drilling by the Interior Department so far. Negotiated a 45-mile buffer zone to protect the Atlantic beaches in the current year.

WILDERNESS PROTECTION

Introduced an amendment to the Florida Wilderness Bill which designates 10,000 acres in the Osceola National Forest as a "Wilderness Study Area." This bill passed the Congress and was signed by the President in October of 1984.

CONSUMER ISSUES

While Chairman of the Senate Consumer Affairs Subcommittee, held hearings and introduced legislation to curb credit card fraud and to protect consumers who lease, rather than buy, merchandise such as automobiles or televisions. Introduced legislation to permanently prohibit credit card surcharges, which favor cash customers over card users. Also, renewed her fight to reduce dairy price supports which keep the prices of milk, cheese and butter at artificially high levels.

CONTINUING CARE RETIREMENT COMMUNITIES

Wrote a letter to the Department of Treasury, co-signed by twenty Senators, requesting an exemption to current tax law which allows the IRS to tax elderly residents of continuing care facilities for interest they do not receive. New residents pay a lump sum entrance fee to these facilities which guarantees them lodging and medical care for life. Without an exemption, the IRS could require the residents to pay taxes on interest earned on their entrance fee even though they do not receive interest payments. Decision is now pending before the Treasury Department.

UNITARY TAX

Participated in hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding the impact of the unitary tax. Introduced legislation on October 3, 1984, to prohibit the use of the worldwide combined unitary tax method. This is of particular importance to Florida, which adopted the unitary tax in 1983. Since its enactment, evidence has been compiled demonstrating the extensive harm the tax has done to the state as companies have either cancelled plans to develop in Florida or have moved to other states.

11/28/84

She's not one of the boys

Nor, however, is Sen. Paula Hawkins one of the girls as she travels an unconventional political road trying 'to make a difference'

By SANDRA THOMPSON
 St. Petersburg Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The walls of Sen. Paula Hawkins' outer office in the Hart Building in Washington, D. C., look like a layout for a gossip column in a Republican newsletter. They're covered with photographs of the intensely smiling senator with a small circle of friends: Ronald Reagan, Strom Thurmond, John Warner and his former wife, Elizabeth Taylor. In this last photograph, Liz, in one of her purple dresses worn to complement her world-famous violet eyes, is not smiling. She knows when she's being upstaged.

Paula Hawkins has more than a little of the show-biz blitz about her. It's helped to take her this far: She is one of two women in the U.S. Senate, the first woman senator from Florida, and the only woman senator from anywhere who got there without the benefit of a husband's or a father's political legacy. (The other woman senator is Nancy Kassebaum, a Kansas Republican whose father, Alf Landon, ran against FDR in 1936.)

Today, after three-and-a-half years in the Senate, Hawkins' talent for headlines continues to threaten to dominate her reputation as a political figure. At the beginning of her term, her now-infamous "steak-and-jail" luncheon — a gourmet affair she staged to denounce "truly greedy" food stamp cheats — backfired and drew comparisons between the green-horn senator and Marie Antoinette. After some growing up in office — and, she admits, the hiring of a better press secretary — Sen. Hawkins is still making headlines. Her recent admission of childhood sexual abuse put her on the front page of newspapers across the country; it even put her on Merv Griffin. It has caused observers, even her detractors, to see her as a sensitive, courageous senator who is using her experience as a woman to spotlight issues the 98 percent male senate has ignored — and, thus, to initiate policy change.

The question is: Is Paula Hawkins the person she seems to be — and if so, which one? Naturally, she would choose to be seen as the courageous senator rather than the political featherweight of her early days in the senate. Says press secretary Henry Hicks, who came over to the Hawkins camp two years ago, "She made some errors. She stubbed her toes a number of times. There's nothing to prepare anyone to be a senator. It's on-the-job training."

 Hanging from the doorknob to the inner sanctum — the office of Sen. Paula Hawkins that is not open to the public — is a pair of red leather boxing gloves. The message: Paula Hawkins is a fighter. Inside, you are at first struck by the decor: bright, splashy, walls filled with abstract art. Plants. The senator sits behind a glass desk. Behind her is the American flag, obscured by the vast surrealistic painting hanging behind it. The senator is wearing a brilliant purple suit. Jewelry. That famous maxi-bouffant hairdo. (If she were a male senator, her hairdo would not be mentioned, she would say straight out.) In person, she is more attractive than in

photographs, more vulnerable, more real. She is not intimidating. She is not what one would think of as being traditionally "senatorial." Actually, in an answer to the unformed, subconscious question, "Who does she remind you of?" the first person who comes to mind might be *Cosmopolitan* editor Helen Gurley Brown.

"They had never seen anybody like me up here," Sen. Hawkins says at one point, and one is inclined to agree with her.

In her office today, there is an overwhelming aura of diffuse busy-ness. Papers litter the desk top. Aides call in scheduling; the Senator's flight to California, where she will appear on the *Merv Griffin Show* and *Hour Magazine*, is to leave earlier than expected. The squawk box, carrying the business-at-hand from the Senate floor, croaks with the static of a ship-to-shore radio. An amendment that would cut billions from defense and give it to education, medical research, Medicare, and the environment is being proposed by Sen. Bradley, D-N.J.

IN THE MIST of all the brouhaha, like a bird dog who's caught a scent, Sen. Hawkins snaps into alert. She begins speaking without introduction. "My life is constantly linked to crises. Notice how calmly I handle this. I don't mean to be absent-minded. I usually agree with Bradley, that why it's hard. Everybody here is a born-again balanced budgeter, but he's adding something..."

An aide says she will put in an urgent call to Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker.

The Senator continues to listen with one ear to the squawk box. The initial question of the interview is asked: Did she think the sexual abuse admission would receive so much attention?

"No," she says matter-of-factly. And then the race is on. Sen. Hawkins talks nonstop, in a hoarse voice, and she doesn't let up.

Please see HAWKINS, 8-D

Sen. Hawkins: 'They've never seen anyone like me before.'



A look inside the inner sanctum: bright, splashy and abstract.

Hawkins from 1-D

"I was with a group of professionals who are dealing with this subject every day," she says. "In a discussion prior to the panel, I was told a lot of the parents were going to pull their children out of the case because of the publicity surrounding it and the stigma attached to it — which made me mad." What also makes her mad is the reaction of some journalists who, she says, have asked her, "How could you have revealed something so damaging?"

"With that attitude, what young victim is going to come forward?" she asks. "This society is still involved with making the victim feel guilty and ashamed. Questions like this should be talked about daily."

RESPONSE FROM THE public has been overwhelming and positive. People have been writing and telephoning, applauding her courage and at the same time revealing their own experiences of childhood abuse. One woman called in tears, saying, "You're the first person I've ever told." And, Sen. Hawkins says, following her habit of estimating grassroots opinion in unusual places (she has been reported as crediting political analysis to cab drivers), "I'm still taking my poll in the Senate. I just rode the elevator with somebody — one of the senators' guests — who said, 'The same thing happened when I was six years old, and you're the first person I've told.' In the elevator."

She quotes some statistics — but they're not the right ones. Says press secretary Hicks later, "Sometimes her recall of facts is not always complete when it comes to details." Sen. Hawkins continues, "The statistics are way out of balance; it's got to be nine out of ten girls who are abused."

"And I think it's going to get worse because of the television and media hype towards violence." And now we're going off on one of those Hawkins tangents that can yield such information as that her mother was called 'Mumsey,' twins run in her family (her oldest daughter has a set), and that families receiving aid to dependent children should be able to keep the father in the home. She says she went to look at rock videotapes for her 8-year-old granddaughter, and, "They're all horrible. There are people beating women with chains, leather stuff — it's crazy."

BUT BACK ON the track: "Something needs to be done about the judicial system," she says. "Number one. The bottom line. If the victim of childhood sexual abuse doesn't have a better forum in the court system, they're still not going to win many cases. We have juvenile courts for the offender, but we don't have juvenile courts for the offended. And I think that's wrong." She admits she is not an expert on this facet of the problem — yet — but says, "I'm very sensitive to it. I am probably the best children's advocate in the Senate. Have been since I came."

■ ■ ■
This is how a conversation with Paula Hawkins goes: She shuttles back and forth among random observations, personal details and solid views on issues. Like a tape recorder with a little glitch in the mechanism, she sometimes catches on a word or phrase, and you think for a moment the tape might have run down, but then it starts turning again. The conversation always comes back to two things: her accomplishments in the Senate and what she hopes yet to accomplish there.

She pushed for passage of the Missing Children Act, which provides for a systematic nationwide search for missing children using FBI computer systems. She brought about the just-opened National Center for Missing and Exploited Children in Washington. She is working for more children's shelters and after-school childcare. (For this she wants to see Pinellas County's Latchkey program, which provides after-school childcare in some schools, copied nationwide.) She is chairwoman of the U.S. Senate Drug Enforcement Caucus. She has met with the lieutenant governors who have organized to work for domestic eradication of drugs. (Quips Hawkins, a former lieutenant governor candidate, "I guess they got tired of sitting around waiting for the governors to die.") She introduced the Diplomacy Against Drugs Act to block foreign aid to major drug-producing countries. She worked directly with foreign ministers to stop drug exportation.

SOME OF THE ways Sen. Hawkins works are unconventional. When she approached Pakistani President Mohammad Zia Ul-Haq about photographing heroin labs in his country, she claims she accomplished in a matter of minutes what the State Department had been trying to do for four years. She does not take kindly to bureaucratic processes that bog down action in red tape. She's got to work fast, because, she says, "I don't know how long I'm going to be here."

"She moves fast — so you can't catch her," might be the quip she would use if she were her own opponent. (When she ran for lieutenant governor with Jack Eckerd, she said of Democratic rival Bob Graham, "He's standing on his record so nobody can see it.")

Sen. Hawkins makes sure you see her record. In fact, she seems sensitive that she is being robbed of credit due her.



Sen. Hawkins also made headlines in January 1982 when she was hit on the head by a stage prop during a television taping session. She is shown here leaving Orlando Regional Medical Center a week after the accident.

Make no mistake: "Missing Children was mine in '81," she says. "I introduced that in 1981, long before John Walsh's child disappeared. I keep reading, 'As a result of the Adam Walsh case, Missing Children was passed.' I passed it in the Senate in '81, and the justice department blocked it. So I introduced it again in '82, and then Adam Walsh was reported missing and John Walsh called me."

The Missing Children Act is undeniably Sen. Hawkins'. But in other legislation, she has been accused of taking credit she doesn't deserve. Now, she finds herself crying wolf.

For instance, Hawkins says she passed an amendment to the 1981 Tax Act which gives tax credit for day care. She talks about it with some animation. "I did it with Metzenbaum (Sen. Howard Metzenbaum, D-Ohio), and all the Republicans were saying, 'Why are you doing it with him run run run run' — she makes sounds to signify the angry dog Republican male senators — "and I said, 'Because it's a great idea. This body of august senators knew they were giving tax credit if you made over \$30,000; if you made under, no credit. So, we just turned it around, and made it on a sliding scale — the less you made the more credit you could get — simple. Gee, except we were almost filibustered by one senator."

"I JUST wanted somebody to watch those kids. And I like it if you can give tax credit, then you can choose the center; it's not some big communism place in the sky like they always go crazy with up here."

Then she interjects into a question about feminists' response to the childcare tax credit amendment, "Yeah, well, I got it passed."

But, did she?

"It had broad support. She didn't get it passed," says Patricia Ireland, Florida legal counsel and national board member of the National Organization of Women. A recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* also questions her credit, pointing out that the amendment passed with a vote of 94 to 1 and that the original drafting was done by Sen. Metzenbaum's staff. But Sen. Metzenbaum's press secretary Roy Myers says, "It was strictly a Metzenbaum-Hawkins proposal. Without Hawkins working the Republican side, the amendment — which was opposed by the Reagan Administration — would not have passed."

■ ■ ■
Sen. Hawkins stresses: She is not one of the boys. ("The legislation I've passed has been monumental and unheard of in a body of men," she says. "It's forward-thinking about the family.")

But neither is she one of the girls. Her stand against the ERA, against abortion, and for Reagan Administration economic policies that feminists see as detrimental to women have placed feminists among her severest critics. On last year's voting record, Sen. Hawkins received a score of 36 out of 100 from the National Women's Political Caucus, ten points lower than Sen. Kassebaum — and nearly 30 points lower than the average score for women in Congress. The National Organization of Women will not support her; neither will the Caucus. Concludes Kathy Wilson, national chairwoman, "Her voting record on women's issues is abysmal. We're not at all interested in replacing insensitive men with insensitive women."

SEN. HAWKINS IS touchy about this lack of feminist support. Referring to her work on the childcare

tax credit, she says, "They should be forever grateful — because it took a woman who felt differently towards it — a conservative woman has a better chance of passing it than a liberal woman, because they say, 'Oh, it's a family issue; it's not some feminist liberation that relieves the woman of responsibility for her children, which is garbage anyway.'"

Is a conservative woman senator in a better position to pass family oriented legislation? Some feminist leaders, not surprisingly, say no. ("Tell that to the Democratic women in Congress who were doing it a long time before she came," says Wilson.) But Norman Ornstein, a public University political scientist who specializes in the workings of the Senate, takes a more measured view. "It may be true in this Senate. When you get conservatives talking about government involvement in these areas, it does have more credibility."

■ ■ ■
They've never seen anybody like me up here before. Sen. Hawkins senses a difference in perception of a woman senator. "If you're a man you can be diligent. If you're a woman, you're just a nag," she says. "Every time I see a senator, I have something for him to do. Finally one of the senators said, 'Do you ever come over here to vote without something in your hand?' I said, 'No, it would be a waste of my time. I have to see somebody on immigration, somebody on credit card fraud ... and they're all there. I don't have to spend my life waiting for them to return a phone call.'"

Being a woman senator means high visibility. It means getting noticed and remembered. Sen. Hawkins sat next to a Chinese Communist Party official at a state dinner, and later called him up to enlist his support in getting China to stop exporting quasuludes. (She succeeded.) She remembered her instantly. "Well," she says, "Wouldn't you?" But high visibility also makes her a target that's easy to hit. "If you make a mistake, it's front page. Male senators can make six a day, but if I do, it's big stuff," Sen. Hawkins says.

Says press secretary Hicks, "Sitting over in liberal Claude Pepper's office (for whom he was press secretary before switching to Hawkins), I thought they would never get off her case."

BUT MORE IMPORTANT than the question of how a woman senator is perceived by the press is how she is perceived by her colleagues. "Being a woman is a little bit of a disadvantage because the Senate is still a bit of club," says political scientist Ornstein. "People are judged on the basis of personal characteristics more than in a larger legislative body. Paula Hawkins as a flamboyant outsider started out by digging herself into a hole which probably reinforced the sexism of her colleagues. In the past few years; she has gone a long way in digging herself out."

Ornstein also notes that Sen. Hawkins exhibits a "kind of aggressiveness that is much more tolerated in a male senator."

But when asked about being advised to quiet down, the Senator says emphatically, "I wouldn't have gotten Missing Children passed if I had."

After three-and-a-half years in the Senate, many political observers, including Ornstein, feel that Sen. Hawkins has grown up in the job. Specifically, according to Ornstein, she has become known as a champion of

children and of the family. He says, "She has become somebody who gets noticed, who makes Washington think, who brings about policy."

Sen. Hawkins has good reason for her sensitivity about the senator-as-a woman. She says, "The first question I got when I came up here should have let me know I was in for tough sledding — the ABC guy asked me who was going to do my laundry. Then the *Today Show* came to my house and asked my husband can he cook. Those were the first two questions. Not: 'How can a lady like you get elected in a Democratic state with only \$700,000?' I haven't read a story to this day that says it was a miracle we pulled it off."

Well, how did she do it?

"WELL, I WORKED hard," she says. "I worked hard. I had a good reputation in the state. Everybody knew who I was even though it's a mobile state. They knew I fight and they knew I cared — and I still do both."

(The miracle was helped along by divided Democratic opposition and by the 1982 Republican sweep.)

■ ■ ■

"She keeps moving, and the smoke keeps flying around her," says Gene Hawkins, the senator's husband of 35 years. He is president of Hutto-Hawkins-Peregoy, manufacturers' representatives in electronics with offices in Maitland, Fort Lauderdale and Clearwater. "She's a doer."

When asked what she does when she's not working, Sen. Hawkins for the first time momentarily draws a blank. She seems as though she doesn't have the vaguest idea what is being asked. Then the question registers. "I don't have any time off," she says quickly. She spends weekdays in Washington where she has an apartment in the elite Watergate complex. On weekends, she gives speeches. (Last year she was asked to speak at 3,600 functions. From the ones she accepted, she picked up \$25,000.) Then she flies home to the family's lakeside house in Winter Park and picks up her other role: as wife, mother of three, grandmother of eight. The Hawkins' three children live in the Orlando area: their oldest daughter, who was formerly a legislative aide to former U. S. Rep. Skip Bafalis is a fulltime mother of five; their son is in real estate investment, and the baby of the family, the youngest daughter, was recently married.

"I DON'T TALK about my family," she says abruptly after chatting about her daughter giving birth to twins. "Whatever I do in public life is my business. I'll take the heat — but not my family." In fact, the extent of the erosion of the family's privacy, Gene Hawkins says, is something he did not fully anticipate when his wife became senator. For instance, press secretary Hicks advised Sen. Hawkins to tell her husband about her childhood sexual abuse before it hit the papers. She forgot — and he learned about it in *USA Today*.

Sometimes the Senator's breakneck drive to achieve has to be put in check. "My husband says I can't do anything on Sundays anymore," she says. "He said, 'One day a week you have to spend with your family.' Usually he's a real good team player and does not give me a hard time. But he suddenly got fed up, and we have the wedding..."

The wedding of the senator's youngest daughter was scheduled for the 25th of May — in Winter Park. Also scheduled for the 25th of May was the celebration of Missing Children's Day — in Washington, with President Reagan in attendance. The Senator would have to fly to Florida for the wedding rehearsal dinner Thursday night, fly to Washington Friday morning for the Missing Children's Day ceremony — and back Friday afternoon for the wedding in the Rollins College Chapel. She says, "Here I sit calmly telling how wonderfully my life is going — and I'm wondering if the bridesmaids all got their shoes."

■ ■ ■

The door to Sen. Hawkins' office bursts open, and the sounds of movement and talk from the hall enter the office. An aide tells the Senator that to catch the flight to California she must leave immediately for the airport — and at the same time, she ushers in a chattering group of people: members of the Small Business Administration and the senator's press assistant with her baby niece in a pink dress and nephew in a little suit — all to have their pictures taken with the Senator.

"I can't go and have photographs taken at the same time," Sen. Hawkins says. When she stands up, with her chic suit, she is wearing low-heeled practical shoes. *The better to move fast with.* The Small Business Administration people crowd into the office amid rapid-fire introductions and hand-shaking. The senator smiles intensely. Flashbulbs click. The little boy in the suit doesn't want to have his picture taken and has to be dragged in by his mother. With aplomb the senator lifts up the baby girl for the photograph, and gasps. "This child has a bad cold."

She feels the baby's forehead for fever — and then she is off, one of two women in the U.S. Senate, the only woman Senator to have gotten elected without a political legacy from a husband or father. The senator who was once called "the battling Maitland housewife" is off to do another battle — this time, to sensitize the nation to child abuse via national television. To do what she promised to do in her campaign — "to make a difference."

NS 17

率率

宋宋

幸幸

家 球

5125

77W08 . 0 . 954 . 73 . 0 . 1 . 7N

1400 :05 310585 :NT :W :30 :07

TYPE TYPE

1954年11月 1957

השג"ר א"ר (29.5-1) לשיחת פרידה עם רה"מ' (נכח)

בגד 7. 111 ב' 18 בת 1878

בשיחה מסד רות'מ' על השדרים שכיכל ממוכר באמצעות מר

האנרגיה המצויה יחסי ישראל מצרים, ובעיותיה הכלכליות של

ישראל והאמצעים הנוכחיים לתיקונו. לואיס מסר עיזבון חלקי

על ב קור חוסין בוש בהקשר זה סיפר על ידיעה מודיעינית

ש"י (ממקור הקדוש לאשפי) שערפאת מסר באילו לחוסין רשימה

ס' ה'כ"ד' מ'י'ע"ד' ל'מ'ש'ל'ח'ת' ה'י'ר'ד'נ'י'ת' פ'ל'ס'ט'י'נ'א'י'ת' פ'ר'י'ג'י'א'ו'

החירות והצדקת ארץ ישראל, שצריך להגן עליהם בכל מחיר.

המטרה: בנראת פרופסורים וכו' א. ארעבי כי יעצמא יי

17. ח' ס' 1977 מלוואים בעלים חסות והעלה על נס את 1977

וְתִרְוֶה מִזֶּה שֶׁל הַמַּגִּדִּיר לַהֲיָדוּק יַחֲסִי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲרֵהֵב

1971 01079

21817

91 : ש"ס תרע"ה, מנחם בעל, ממנו נאמר, אפרק/ד, מנחם

3 מחור 1

סיכום בשחוני:

דחיות:

180/0832

תאריך חיד:

מס. מברק:

לש-ט
מס
הקשר

אל: הסכנה, מע"ח, לש' ממנכ"ל, יועץ רוח"מ לחקשורת, סגס"א,

לש' יגד.

דע: וושינגטון

מאח: פחונרה

News Summary May 31, 1985

Columns

NYT-Ze'ev Schiff "Lebanon's Cost to Israel" The costs of the invasion were enormous but maybe some good will come out of it. Israel will not rejoice when the withdrawal is complete. Militarily, Israel's situation has deteriorated. The conflict has worsened the balance of power between Israel and Syria. Damascus has almost doubled its forces and has equipped itself with new Soviet weapons systems that could strike deep into Israeli territory. The Shiites are now enemies and a new arms race has been fueled. Lebanon is now more Arab than ever and the Christians are in a difficult position. As far as Israel is concerned, the war achieved only one thing: it destroyed the infrastructure of the PLO and ousted it from Lebanon. This could have been a real achievement if the PLO ouster ended in negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians or Jordanians. The failure of this happening is both Israel's and the Palestinians fault. Israeli society is now divided and perplexed. The prisoner exchange made the national discord worse. Anti-Arab extremism has become more pronounced and it will get worse as it is spread to schools and youth in general. But many have learned that military might is not much use in trying to reach a political solution.

Editorials-Magazine

The New Republic 6/10 "Trafficking With Terrorists" This is not the first time Israel has released terrorists. At least four times now, convicted and proud terrorists have been released in order to free Israeli soldiers. Israel's tough convictions on these matters are much preferable to its more recent practice. This trade will turn out to be a national tragedy. It will encourage more terrorism. And what will happen to the four Israelis still held in captivity? What will be the price for their release? How will Israel not manage to free the 27 Jewish terrorists held? Israel has lifted the Palestinian extremists morale at a time when it was at an all time low. This is one of those grand gesture of statesmanship that is likely to backfire and backfire badly.

Press Reports

Joint Arab Team Expected To Meet US About Mideast

אל:

97:

ND:

180/0832

תאריך חידוש:
 מס. מברק:
 לימים:
 שם:
 מקום:

NYT-P.1-Gwertzman-An early meeting between the US and a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation to discuss how to arrange talks with Israel, is expected. Hussein told Congressional members that Arafat is willing to name non-PLO members to such a delegation, but he would like some of them to be members of the PNC. He also stated again that the PLO was willing to sit with Israel at a peace conference and negotiate on the basis of 242 and 338. The King also said that the PLO was ready for mutual and simultaneous recognition of Israel. PM Peres reaffirmed Israel's opposition to an international conference. Peres said Hussein's call was "nothing more than a device to evade direct negotiations with Israel." Arafat is said to have agreed to a confederation plan under which Jordan would have all foreign and defense responsibility for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and Palestinians would have "self-determination" in the areas to be regained from Israel. Arafat has not disputed Hussein's remarks but the US is still waiting to hear from the PLO "publicly and unequivocally." Rabin will be in the US Monday for consultations. The administration continues to express strong support for Hussein's statements. Both Israel and the US oppose an international conference but the US is supportive of Hussein's desire to have broader backing."

NYT-special-Peres said that Shultz agreed that an international conference would serve no useful purpose. Mubarak too, has expressed doubts, "actually opposition," to a conference as well, Peres stated.

WSJ-Ignatius-US and Jordanian officials caution that they are still a long way from any breakthrough that would allow direct negotiations between Israel and a Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. Nothing will happen until Arafat speaks out. Hussein has gained assurances of US military and economic assistance, but no major US commitment to the peace process. There seems to be increasing support among Palestinians for Arafat's alliance with Jordan because of attacks by Syrian-backed forces on Palestinians in Lebanon.

Gemayel Confers with Assad

NYT-Hijazi-According to AP, Gemayel said that Syrian forces in Lebanon would help the Lebanese Army end the bloodshed in Beirut. He did not say when the Syrians would move in. (see ND-AP)

NYT-Reuters-Hairdressers in Tripoli resumed work after closing, under pressure, by Islamic fundamentalist militiamen. The hairdressers will only be allow to cut hair. The salons were bombed because men on the salon satffs were dealing with women.

— ПКС

განსაცემის მიხედვით გარდა 300 ლარისა, 1-2

תאריך: 31.5.85 השולח: ד"ר יצחק מנהל המחלקה: חתימה: _____

SLNE5070531 BT*NEA507 05/31/85

(Following FS material not for publication)

MIDDLE EAST REPORTING IN THE U.S. PRESS (2625)

NEW YORK TIMES, BERNARD GWERTZMAN IN WASHINGTON*

Senior American and Jordanian officials said today (May 30) that they expected the next step in the unfolding Middle East peace efforts to be an early meeting between the United States and a joint Jordan-Palestinian delegation to discuss how to arrange direct talks with Israel.

King Hussein told a dozen Congressmen this morning that Yasir Arafat, the Palestine Liberation Organization leader, had told him he was willing to name Palestinians who are not P.L.O. members to the delegation but would like some of them to be from the Palestine National Council. The Council, which serves as a parliament for the P.L.O., is made up of P.L.O. and non-P.L.O. members.

According to participants at the congressional meeting, King Hussein repeated the assertion he made Wednesday at the White House that the P.L.O., after repeatedly refusing to do so, was now willing to sit down at a peace conference with Israel and negotiate on the basis of two key United Nations Security Council Resolutions, 242 of 1967 and 338 of 1973.

Those resolutions have been regarded as the fundamental documents by which Arabs could signify recognition of Israel in return for Israel's return of lands seized in the 1967 war. They are also seen as forming the basis for negotiations, and their acceptance has been the principal United States condition for dealing with the P.L.O.

The King said the P.L.O. was also ready for mutual and simultaneous recognition of Israel, according to the participants in the meeting.

In Israel today, Prime Minister Shimon Peres reaffirmed Israel's opposition to an international conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Mr. Peres dismissed King Hussein's call for such a conference as "nothing more than a device to evade direct negotiations with Israel."

Addressing Israeli security concerns, King Hussein reportedly told the Congressmen that the P.L.O. had agreed to a confederation plan under which Jordan would have all foreign and defense responsibility for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the Palestinians would have "self-determination" in the area to be reclaimed from Israel.

Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. leader, has not disputed King Hussein's statement on Wednesday that he spoke with P.L.O. authorization. But the State Department reaffirmed that the United States wanted to hear the P.L.O. "publicly and unequivocally" accept the two resolutions before it would consider meeting with the organization....

Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Defense Minister, will be in Washington Monday for consultations with Mr. Shultz and others, the Israeli Embassy said....

WASHINGTON POST, DAVID OTTAWAY*

The Reagan administration sought yesterday (May 30) to dispel the impression that it is now ready to participate in a Middle East international peace conference attended by the Soviet Union.

In the process, the administration made clear that there are

still fundamental differences between the United States and King Hussein of Jordan over the framework for holding new peace talks despite initial hopes of a breakthrough after the king's meeting Wednesday with President Reagan.

At the same time, White House spokesman Larry Speakes said the administration remained ready to consider an international conference if "it would lead to direct talks between Jordan, Palestinians and Israelis."

A State Department spokesman said the United States continued to have "major difficulties" with the idea of holding a conference that would include the Soviet Union, and emphasized that no agreement had been reached yet on "a mechanism" for conducting direct Arab-Israeli talks.

Speakes refused to reject the idea of Soviet participation, but noted that "their agenda for the Middle East is quite different from ours."

Reagan, in reply to a question after his meeting with the King at the White House Wednesday, refused specifically to rule out such a conference, saying "we're still discussing this whole matter."

This remark encouraged speculation that the United States was shifting its position on Soviet participation at a conference in response to the king's announcement that the Palestine Liberation Organization was now ready to recognize and negotiate directly with Israel.

Then later Wednesday, U.S. officials said the United States might be prepared to drop its opposition to the holding of new peace talks under "the umbrella" of such a conference.

These comments were sufficient to stir a vehement Israeli protest, prompted by Israel's concern that Washington was indeed changing its longstanding opposition to the holding of a conference that the Soviets would attend....

Yesterday at the daily noon briefing, State Department spokesman Edward Djerejian was repeatedly asked for a clarification of the U.S. position on the international conference.

In seeking to do so, Djerejian inadvertently further confused the issue by saying at one point that the United States would "welcome" any sign that the Soviet Union was ready to play a "constructive role" in the Middle East peace process.

Djerejian quickly added that Washington saw "no evidence that the Soviets are prepared to play such a role" and listed six specific actions it would regard as constituting "constructive behavior" on Moscow's part. These included resuming full diplomatic relations with Israel, ending Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda, improving the treatment of Soviet Jews and ending arms aid to militia groups in Lebanon.

United Press International reported Djerejian's comments as a statement of U.S. conditions for the acceptance of Soviet participation at a Middle East peace conference.

Later, however, another State Department spokesman said the six steps concerned U.S. acceptance of a new Soviet role in Middle East developments generally, and had nothing to do with its participation in an international conference, to which Washington was still opposed....

WALL STREET JOURNAL (MAY 31), DAVID IGNATIUS IN WASHINGTON*

Despite the Mideast peace hopes raised by King Hussein's visit here this week, U.S. and Jordanian officials caution they are still a

long way from any breakthrough that would allow direct negotiations between Israel and a Jordanian Palestinian delegation.

The officials regard the king's statement at the White House Wednesday --when he asserted that the Palestine Liberation Organization is ready to accept Israel's right to exist -- as an interim step that keeps the diplomatic ball rolling. But they stress that it doesn't represent a major concession by anyone -- and won't until PLO leader Yasser Arafat publicly confirms the King's statement.

Jordanian officials describe King Hussein as "not happy, but not desperate" over the outcome of his visit here. He has received U.S. assurances of additional economic and military assistance, but he hasn't gained any major new American commitments to the Mideast peace process....

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR (MAY 31), GEORGE MOFFETT IN WASHINGTON*

Inch by inch, the Middle East peace process moves forward.

When Jordan's King Hussein began this week's unofficial visit to Washington, American officials did not expect any dramatic breakthroughs.

But Hussein's comments after a meeting with President Reagan may have brightened -- at least a bit -- the prospects for talks leading to a Middle East peace settlement.

"We have to be very cautious," says Barry Rubin, a congressional Middle East specialist. "We've been through this before so many times, and things haven't worked out. On the other hand, the Middle East picture is more encouraging now than it's been for 30 years."

In particular, hopes were raised when Hussein said Wednesday that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), apparently reversing its position, had agreed to accept United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for any negotiations with Israel....

Hussein's statements "could be a big step," says Philip Stoddard of the Middle East Institute. "But we've had other potential breakthroughs, only to be set back by subsequent 'clarifications.'"...

BALTIMORE SUN, G. JEFFERSON PRICE IN JERUSALEM*

Israel yesterday (May 30) rejected King Hussein of Jordan's contention that the Palestine Liberation Organization is ready for peace negotiations.

Israeli officials reacting to developments in Washington, where the Jordanian monarch is visiting, also expressed confidence that the Reagan administration was not reconsidering its position against an international Middle East peace conference, as opposed to direct, bilateral negotiations between Israel and its Arab enemies.

"I think the entire issue is an attempt to sidestep the need for negotiations," said Prime Minister Shimon Peres.

Foreign Ministry officials also shrugged off King Hussein's assertion that the PLO would accept United Nations resolutions implicitly recognizing Israel as a move to open negotiations over the future of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza.

Noting that the king said that the PLO would accept all U.N. resolutions, an Israeli official observed, "That includes resolutions that equate Zionism to racism...."

NEW YORK TIMES, IHSAN HIJAZI IN BEIRUT*

President Amin Gemayel held talks in Syria today (May 30) as fighting continued in and around three Palestinian settlements in southern Beirut and the whole of the capital came under shell fire.

Mr. Gemayel and the Syrian President, Hafez al-Assad, have held

four sessions in their current round of negotiations, which began Wednesday.

There was no official word on the talks. But a Moslem radio station here, Voice of the Homeland, reported that Mr. Gemayel and Mr. Assad had discussed assigning a new peacekeeping role to Syrian troops in Lebanon.

The report said that if Syria accepted the role, all Moslem and Christian militiamen, as well the Palestinians in their makeshift settlements, would have to lay down their arms.

Meanwhile, the state-controlled Damascus Radio said in a commentary today that Syria would act firmly to end the circle of violence in Lebanon and help the country recover. The radio did not say how this would be done....

WASHINGTON POST, NORA BOUSTANY IN BEIRUT*

Lebanese President Amin Gemayel held a second round of intensive talks with his Syrian counterpart, Hafez Assad, in Damascus today amid hopes that their deliberations would produce a truce in the continuing fighting here between Shiite Moslem militiamen and Palestinian guerrillas.

Despite a widespread consensus in Lebanon that the all-Syrian Arab Deterrent Force should be redeployed in Beirut, political sources said not dramatic results were expected from the Syrian-Lebanese meeting. Western diplomats in Damascus and Beirut said it was "highly unlikely" that Syrian troops would be rushed in before a political reconciliation was reached and the explosive situation on the ground defused.

Beirut newspaper said Assad had to cut short a visit to Moscow to receive Gemayel, who had narrowly escaped death yesterday when rockets and Soviet-made Sagger guided missiles crashed into the main wing of his presidential palace outside Beirut minutes before he departed for Damascus.

Moscow has been critical of the fighting in and around the Palestinian refugee camps here. Although there has been no confirmation of Assad's reported visit to Moscow, Beirut-based Arab diplomats said that the Syrian leader may have been recalled there to hear the Soviet's views on the situation....

WASHINGTON TIMES (MAY 31), RICHARD BEESTON IN BEIRUT*

A propaganda war has broken out in Beirut between the foreign media and the Shiite militia Amal over the coverage of the 11-day-old "battle for the camps" that police say has killed more than 400 people and wounded 1,700.

The controversy, which has already led to the withdrawal of a number of journalists from Lebanon, was sparked over the weekend by stories circulated worldwide about massacres committed by Shiite militiamen and soldiers of Palestinians in the three camps under siege in Beirut....

Until now, Lebanon has boasted one of the freest presses in the Middle East, and there is not government censorship on news. However, because of the power of Lebanon's militias, there is strong pressure put on local and foreign journalists not to publish information harmful to the various groups.

"I have been working in Lebanon for years under various armies and militias, but never have I felt so threatened and under so much pressure not to report what is going on," confided a French journalist at a recent Amal press conference on the situation inside the camps.

The conference was seen as a move by the Shiite militia to mend

fences with the foreign press corps and to re-establish relations that existed before the latest outbreak of violence....

BALTIMORE SUN (MAY 31), GILBERT LEWTHWAITE IN WASHINGTON*

The fate of the five American hostages in Beirut is shaping up as a possible test of the U.S. willingness to retaliate directly and violently against terrorism.

A news report last week said contingency plans submitted to President Reagan included -- if the terrorists held a proven link to Iran -- the bombing of the Iranian city of Qom, seat of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and center of his Shiite fundamentalist sect.

Neither the White House nor the State Department would comment on the report, carried by Hearst News Service, but both asserted vaguely that the United States "will respond with whatever action we deem most appropriate against those responsible for state-supported terrorism."

The Reagan administration consistently has kept open the option of direct relation, and has deliberately fed the sense of uncertainty that terrorists now face.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, last October 25, gave the most concise outline of the administration's counter-terrorism policy which he said "our responses should go beyond passive defense to consider means of active prevention, preemption and retaliation.

Our goal must be to prevent and deter future terrorist acts."

It was a statement deliberately crafted to put terrorists on notice that the United States had the ability and the will to react dramatically if it so decided. But it immediately produced conflict within the administration, with Vice President Bush and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger appearing less ready to use military force than Mr. Shultz. There was brief confusion, but Mr. Reagan eventually appeared to side with Mr. Shultz's firm approach.

The policy has been consolidated through testimony of various officials on Capitol Hill. That policy appears to be heading for an inevitable test, as administration officials predict increasingly violent terrorism with, as Robert B. Oakley, director of the State Department's office for counter-terrorism and emergency planning, testified to Congress this month, new and "grotesque developments."

WASHINGTON POST, JOE PICHIRALLO AND CARYLE MURPHY*

The FBI conducted extensive surveillance of the Libyan student center in McLean as part of its investigation into an alleged plot by some supporters of Libyan leader Col. Muammar Qaddafi to assassinate at least three Qaddafi dissidents, according to sources familiar with the investigation.

A federal grand jury in Alexandria has heard testimony from five pro-Qaddafi Libyans, and a source said the jury was examining the activities of Libyans connected to the student center. Investigators also are looking at the activities of a Libyan student in the Washington area who recently came to the United States but who is not an official at the center, sources said.

The center, scene of a brief 1982 takeover by Libyan students opposed to Qaddafi, is run by a council of four Libyan students. The chairman of the council, Salem Zubeidy, was among the 15 to 18 Libyans from Virginia, North Carolina, Michigan and Colorado subpoenaed by the grand jury after FBI agents conducted surprise interviews around the country Tuesday night.

Richard C. Shadyac, a longtime attorney for Libyan interests in the country, said yesterday (May 30) that the center is "clean as a whistle" and that there is no assassination plot. "Every perception we

have is that (the grand jury) is trying to put something together," he said.

The grand jury finished hearing two days of testimony last night and all of those subpoenaed were excused. No indictments were returned....

(Preceding FS material not for publication)

NNNN

SLNE5060531 BT*NEA506 05/31/85
WHITE HOUSE REPORT, FRIDAY, MAY 31, 1985 (1,260)
(Mideast, SALT, Yugoslav visit)

SOVIET MIDEAST ROLE WEIGHED --

The United States will weigh its endorsement of a Soviet role in a Mideast peace conference in light of the ultimate benefit in enhancing the prospect of direct Israeli-Arab negotiations, Deputy Press Secretary Larry Speakes said May 30.

Speaking to reporters aboard Air Force One as the president was returning home from Oshkosh, Wisconsin, Speakes praised King Hussein's statement on willingness of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to negotiate a settlement under terms of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. He said Hussein's statement "can have a profound effect on the Middle East peace process. We do think that King Hussein has made a courageous step. His words...were significant."

Repeating the stance that Washington will be studying the proposal's call for an international peace conference, he added, "We found the proposal...interesting. We are looking into it. (His) comments...are an important step in the Middle East peace process." He said Washington will be looking at such a conference "in terms of whether it would lead to direct talks between Jordan, Palestinians and Israelis."

Noting that Hussein's proposal would include the Soviet Union -- as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council -- as a conference participant, Speakes was asked if the United States would join such a meeting.

"It would be something we would look at as we consider whether to support an international conference. The Soviets have previously participated in conferences. Their agenda for the Middle East is quite different from ours. We're studying the idea, the proposal...We would discuss the idea among ourselves and with the Jordanians. It is not a proposal that has come with a great deal of details. We would have to think about the details. We would have to think about the benefits to the process," Speakes said.

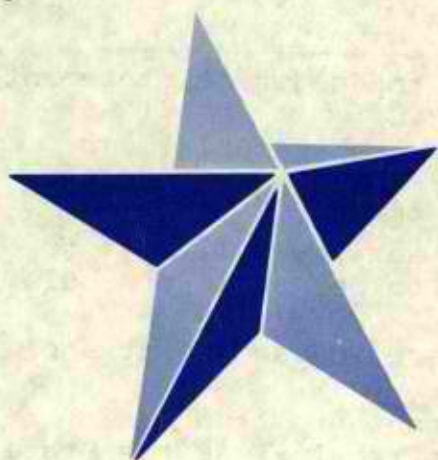
He said until the matter is studied, he could not "really answer the question" of whether Washington would rule out Soviet participation.

Asked if the United States has changed its position on the conference, he said Washington "had previously said we did not think an international conference was the best route in the Middle East. But there are various means of holding" a conference. "How would it be (done)? Where would it be held? Would it be held under the auspices of an existing organization?" He said the question Washington wanted answered is "Would it enhance the peace process and would it lead to direct talks between the Palestinians, Jordanians and Israelis."

SALT DECISION WILL BE REVEALED BY JUNE 10 --

President Reagan will indicate in a report to the Congress on or before June 10 what he has decided to do about continuing to observe the limits imposed on U.S. strategic nuclear missiles by the SALT Two Treaty, Deputy Press Secretary Bob Sims said.

The spokesman said NSC Adviser Robert McFarlane sent a letter to



official text

DATE: 05/31/85

SHULTZ SAYS PALESTINIANS ACCEPT U.N. RESOLUTIONS (3360) (Transcript of Shultz news conference)

Washington -- Secretary of State Shultz has declared that King Hussein's visit to the United States underscores the willingness of the Palestinian people to accept U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for peace in the Middle East.

Speaking at a news conference May 31, Shultz said that the Jordanian king's visit confirms his nation's genuine desire for peace, "which includes, as the king stated, 'proceeding in a non-belligerent environment.'"

Following is the transcript of the news conference*
(begin transcript)

SECRETARY SHULTZ* I want to say a few words, first, about the visit of King Hussein, and what we believe it represents.

The visit has confirmed the partnership of the United States and Jordan which is an essential underpinning of the chances for moderation, security and progress toward peace in the Middle East.

The visit has confirmed our joint commitment to move now "this year," as the King put it, to, as he put it, "negotiate amongst the parties to the conflict between the Arab side, a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, with Israel on the other."

The visit has confirmed that negotiations will pursue, in the King's words, "a peaceful settlement on the basis of the pertinent United Nations Resolutions, including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338." As the King said today, "The Palestinians are willing to accept United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principles they contain as the basis for a settlement."

The visit has confirmed Jordan's genuine desire for peace which includes, as the King stated, "proceeding in a non-belligerent environment." We and Jordan have much still to discuss regarding how we can best arrive at our shared goal of true peace. We certainly agree on the starting point, Resolution 242, with which we can note the President's September 1 initiative is fully consistent.

We continue to believe that the proposed international conference will not contribute to the peace process, but we will continue to seek ways in which international support for direct negotiations can be made evident. There are obstacles between here and the time when King Hussein and his delegation can sit down at the table with Israel, but there is motion today.

The King's visit has given impetus to the process of peace-making. As His Majesty said today, "Time is essential and success imperative."

Questions?

QUESTION* (UPI) Mr. Secretary, how do you intend to follow up the statement relayed by the King that the PLO -- you used the word "PLO" -- you used the word "Palestinian" just now -- that the PLO accepts 242 and 338?

First, is it sufficient, what he has relayed to start a dialogue between the United States and the PLO; and (2) do you intend to meet with the PLO at any time soon?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, as far as the United States is concerned, as the president said in his comments in the Rose Garden,



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

"Our conditions are well known and we will wait for a direct statement from the PLO."

However, I believe the king's statement is a very significant one. We know, obviously, that he has been, over quite a period of time, in close consultation with leaders of the PLO.

Q* Could I just follow that up? When you say you will wait for a direct statement from the PLO, does that have to be public or could it come through private channels?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* I think it has to be where we can see it and the American people can see it.

Q* Mr. Secretary, could I ask you what, apart from the international conference, do you find a major difficulty, as the State Department put it, with the king's proposal? And what would you like to see happen in the days or weeks ahead to keep this momentum -- to accelerate the momentum?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* I don't think of what's been put forward here and what King Hussein has done as representing various kinds of obstacles. Quite to the contrary, I think what the king has done is move the process in a very significant way, and it's the positive things that are so impressive.

Obviously, as realists -- and you have to be a realist -- you recognize that there are many obstacles that we have to overcome, and we have some differences of view. But where we see motion and where we see the identification of a grand objective, where we see the king saying that people in the area, including the Palestinians by now, recognize -- I forget exactly how he phrased it in his address at the American Enterprise Institute -- along the lines that armed conflict is not going to produce a solution, so you have to find a solution some other way. What other way is there? Negotiations is the other way.

Where you see all of those things, it gives you the feeling that where there is motion and where there is that spirit, well, then, we should work on these problems and try very hard to resolve them. The various things that have been done all represent problems, in effect, that people thought in various ways were insuperable but it's turning out that perhaps they're superable after all.

Q* This morning the King said that the next step should be a meeting between the United States and a Jordanian-Palestinian group. Have you been able to work out with the king and his advisors while he's been here any progress on the modalities of that? Presumably, the Palestinians would have to be acceptable to the U.S. for you to sit down with them. Have you made much progress, say, from between this meeting and two weeks ago when you were in Aqaba?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* We've discussed it further, and we haven't got it nailed down by any means. Obviously the key is having the right people there. But I think we've made a little headway on that. I would expect that this is something that, if we can, we would like to put in place fairly soon.

Q* Would you do it yourself or would you more likely have Mr. Murphy -- ?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* No, we're thinking about it as something that Ambassador Murphy and an accompanying group would do on behalf of the United States, assuming that we can put together the right structure of a delegation.

Q* Can I have one more shot at this? Do you have any objections to any non-PLO members who happen to be members of the Palestine National Council?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, we have talked about criteria, and I'm sure there are members of the PNC who are not members of the PLO who could be considered.

What we want, of course, basically, are people of good will, who are thoughtful and responsible, and are truly dedicated to non-violent negotiated solutions, and are truly ready to strive for peace with Israel.

Q* Could I come back for a second to the international conference? The king said today, not in his speech but in an answer to a question, that his vision of the international conference is not one that would oversee direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs, but one which, in effect, gives its blessing in advance, and then leaves the direct negotiations to go. Do you see that as a promising avenue, or is that what you were referring to earlier when you said that that is not something the United States could accept?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* That is something about which we haven't been able to resolve our differences. At the same time, we can understand King Hussein's desire to proceed somehow within the framework of broad international support. And so, at least as we look at it, we should seek ways to find that.

We've discussed it at great length and I fully respect the King's view, and I think I understand what he is proposing. We are not convinced, or we are very skeptical, as I said, that it would achieve the results that we are seeking.

After all, it's not a conference that we want; it is negotiations that we want. The negotiations, as the king said, are between the Arab side, a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, with Israel on the other side. That's the object.

Q* Before meeting with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, would the United States like some assurances from the other side that that kind of a meeting would not become, in itself, a negotiation or an obstacle to direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israel?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* We believe that the agenda for such a meeting ought to focus on the fact that Resolutions 242 and 338 are the basic touchstones on which one would go forward. As I noted, that's fully consistent with the president's September 1 initiative. But of course, we fully recognize that if and when the parties do come to sit around the table with Israel and the Arab side, that they will come with different positions. Otherwise, there wouldn't need to be a negotiation.

The big point, however, is that it is at that table that negotiation should take place, not in anticipation. That's the bargaining table. That's where the negotiations should take place about what arrangements are agreeable to people, as to governance of the territories involved.

Q* Mr. Secretary, King Hussein has said that the Soviet Union should be part of this international umbrella, or context, or whatever, that he wants as a prelude to direct talks. But yesterday the State Department seemed to set some pretty harsh or hard conditions for Soviet participation in Middle East talks. Or did it? What's your feeling about that?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, first of all, as I said, the objective is to have the parties directly involved discuss the issues and try to resolve them. The less preliminaries there are to that, the better. Those who should be involved, of course, should be ones who want to see this process go forward. I believe the evidence is quite clear, at least from things that I have seen, that the Soviet Union, for example, is opposed to the accord that the king worked out with the PLO, just to take an example. So if that's their view, I don't know quite how they are going to make a contribution to what we are trying to achieve. I don't have anything against the Soviet Union as such, with respect to the negotiation, but their attitude toward this has not been a constructive one.

We also did take note of the fact, as an example, that they do not have diplomatic relations with Israel, and there are all kinds of problems in the Soviet Union with such things as Jewish emigration and so on. But the real point here is that the sooner the parties directly involved get to the negotiating table, the better.

Q* Mr. Secretary, in answer to a question today, King Hussein said that although his proposal for a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation may not be identical to the plan proposed by the president on September 1, that he couldn't think of any significant differences between the two. That being the case, does the United States plan to make any new effort to get Israel to accept the president's September 1 plan?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, the president has put forward a set of proposals. That was properly described, I think, as an initiative, rather than a plan. It was a statement about positions that the United States would take at a negotiating table, fully recognizing that others will take different positions. The right answer to this problem is the answer that those directly concerned come up with as a result of negotiations. Not some plan that somebody thinks up. So, the president's effort was to set out some statements that he hoped would help people decide that they should come to the table and discuss their differences. And that remains the case.

Q* Mr. Secretary, if I understand this correctly, the one truly new element in this is the king's assertion that the PLO accepts 242 and 338. And you would like to see something directly from the PLO in that regard.

If that doesn't happen, then would still feel justified in hoping for some concrete progress by the end of this year?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* There are all sorts of ways to move ahead. What we must do is keep working the problem, and try to add, increment by increment, to the progress that has already been made, so that we continue positive movement, first toward the bargaining table and then at the bargaining table, toward a peaceful resolution of the issues. There are more than enough issues to resolve. You have named one. There are a number of others. I'm certain that there are ways to get started, somehow or other, with a proper Palestinian delegation.

Q* Do you believe the time has come for the United States to abandon or modify its policy not to undercut the unratified SALT II Treaty?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* That's a question that is before the president and will be discussed, and I will give my views to the president directly.

Q* Mr. Secretary, to return to King Hussein's visit, the king said this morning that he thought that Syria and the Golan Heights would be appropriate issues or participants in the international conference.

Does the United States share that view that Syria should be involved in the peace process, and will there be an American initiative to talk with Syria in the coming weeks, as there apparently will be this effort to talk with the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* It has long been the U.S. position, and it remains the U.S. position that when -- in Resolution 242 in speaking about territories, refers to all of them, including the Golan Heights. So, that has been our position. We've stated it and restated it many times, and it remains our position today. So if Syria wishes to come and negotiate about that with Israel, well, of course, it's a question of what Israel will decide to do. But our position is that that's a negotiable question.

Q* Mr. Secretary, what has become of the administration's long-studied Middle East arms package, and why is it taking so long to reach a political agreement within the administration?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, I don't think it's a question of reaching an agreement within the administration. I think it's progressed quite well, and I believe that we'll be prepared to say what we have to say on this subject before long.

Q* Would the United States support an international peace conference, away from the Security Council?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, we are trying to think about ways to perform the very legitimate function that the king has in mind, and that in our judgment any way will succeed. And just what they may be, how they may turn out, I don't know, as yet. We're searching, and we have a number of ideas in mind. We haven't found one that is fully satisfactory to us, or to them.

I might say that in all of these things, we are in close consultation with Israel because everybody has to be part of this effort if it's going to succeed.

Q* Mr. Secretary, are you sending King Hussein empty-handed or without any breakthrough, and what's the next step? Is the ball now in the U.S. court?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, I think that the king came here as a man of peace. We had some very constructive discussions with him. I believe that the process was advanced during the course of his visit here, and I hope that the -- when he returns, returns more determined than ever to continue on the road to peace. And I would say, judging from the very powerful address that he delivered to the American Enterprise Institute Forum, that that is very much his view. It's been a most worthwhile visit.

Q* Mr. Secretary, the last time that you helped put together a deal between Israel and a neighboring state, President Assad of Syria was able to savage it very quickly. Are you concerned that the President of Syria can do it again, and what are you doing to make sure that he doesn't?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* It's always a problem that those who oppose peace may be able to sabotage it, and those who favor peace and who work for peace have to do that in a very strong way. And I think we have to recognize that there are security and economic aspects to a move toward peace. There's no way around it.

I might say, when you look at Lebanon today and ask yourself, would Lebanon be better off if the agreement that was negotiated -- and which as you, I think, accurately pointed out, Syria managed to undermine -- but if that had gone forward and Israel had been able to withdraw in an orderly way with the orderly processes envisaged in that agreement, would Lebanon be better off today than it is now? And I think the answer is yes.

And I believe also, as King Hussein stated in his speech, that it must be by now that more and more people in the Middle East conclude that the road of armed violence as a method of addressing their grievances has not worked. And so we should seek another method, and the other method, obviously, is negotiations.

Negotiations can work. People who have major differences of opinion can, if they work at them in good will, resolve them, and, of course, the peace treaty with Egypt and Israel stands there as an example of negotiations working.

Q* Mr. Secretary, King Hussein said the PLO should be directly involved in negotiations. Does the U.S. rule out any direct talks with the PLO, either in preliminary efforts to get talks going or in actual negotiations themselves?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, as I think I've already stated, the U.S. conditions for direct talks ourselves with the PLO have been stated very clearly. They haven't been fulfilled. Maybe they will be. That's one thing. What the U.S. may do -- and of course, it's another thing, who will be sitting at the table, and what Israel's attitude may be toward a delegation that comes.

Q* Why do you think we have not heard a response from the PLO and Mr. Arafat?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* I don't know Mr. Arafat, so I'm not going to speculate on that question, but I do think that King Hussein's representations must be taken very, very seriously as he is in close consultation with Mr. Arafat and his branch of the PLO.

Q* Mr. Secretary, on the 21st of May, two South African commandos were killed and another captured only a few hundred yards from a plant in Angola jointly owned by the Gulf Oil Company and the Angolan Government.

How seriously do you take this incident? Is there anything the United States can do about it, and does it affect your judgment about South Africa's intentions in the southern African peace process?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* It's a matter that we objected to. We have said that to the Government of South Africa, and I think given the fact that South Africa under their accord was presumably out of Angola, it's a setback.

Q* Are you going to do anything about it?

Q* Sir, the president's national security adviser was recently quoted as saying that during the height of the Beirut crisis, the United States could not practice what he described as "agile diplomacy" because of the uncooperativeness between the State Department and the Pentagon. In fact, I think he even said there might be some hostility.

Could you tell me what your reaction to those remarks were and what you're trying to do about it, if anything?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* No. I couldn't tell you what my reactions to those remarks are.

Q* Thank you.

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Thank you very much.

(end transcript)

SLNE5140531 BT*NEA514 05/31/85

SHULTZ SAYS PALESTINIANS ACCEPT U.N. RESOLUTIONS (3360)

(Transcript of Shultz news conference)

Washington -- Secretary of State Shultz has declared that King Hussein's visit to the United States underscores the willingness of the Palestinian people to accept U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 as the basis for peace in the Middle East.

Speaking at a news conference May 31, Shultz said that the Jordanian king's visit confirms his nation's genuine desire for peace, "which includes, as the king stated, 'proceeding in a non-belligerent environment.'"

Following is the transcript of the news conference*

(begin transcript)

SECRETARY SHULTZ* I want to say a few words, first, about the visit of King Hussein, and what we believe it represents.

The visit has confirmed the partnership of the United States and Jordan which is an essential underpinning of the chances for moderation, security and progress toward peace in the Middle East.

The visit has confirmed our joint commitment to move now "this year," as the King put it, to, as he put it, "negotiate amongst the parties to the conflict between the Arab side, a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, with Israel on the other."

The visit has confirmed that negotiations will pursue, in the King's words, "a peaceful settlement on the basis of the pertinent United Nations Resolutions, including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338." As the King said today, "The Palestinians are willing to accept United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principles they contain as the basis for a settlement."

The visit has confirmed Jordan's genuine desire for peace which includes, as the King stated, "proceeding in a non-belligerent environment." We and Jordan have much still to discuss regarding how we can best arrive at our shared goal of true peace. We certainly agree on the starting point, Resolution 242, with which we can note the President's September 1 initiative is fully consistent.

We continue to believe that the proposed international conference will not contribute to the peace process, but we will continue to seek ways in which international support for direct negotiations can be made evident. There are obstacles between here and the time when King Hussein and his delegation can sit down at the table with Israel, but there is motion today.

The King's visit has given impetus to the process of peace-making. As His Majesty said today, "Time is essential and success imperative."

Questions?

QUESTION* (UPI) Mr. Secretary, how do you intend to follow up the statement relayed by the King that the PLO -- you used the word "PLO" -- you used the word "Palestinian" just now -- that the PLO accepts 242 and 338?

First, is it sufficient, what he has relayed to start a dialogue between the United States and the PLO? and (2) do you intend to meet with the PLO at any time soon?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, as far as the United States is concerned, as the president said in his comments in the Rose Garden,

"Our conditions are well known and we will wait for a direct statement from the PLO."

However, I believe the king's statement is a very significant one. We know, obviously, that he has been, over quite a period of time, in close consultation with leaders of the PLO.

Q* Could I just follow that up? When you say you will wait for a direct statement from the PLO, does that have to be public or could it come through private channels?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* I think it has to be where we can see it and the American people can see it.

Q* Mr. Secretary, could I ask you what, apart from the international conference, do you find a major difficulty, as the State Department put it, with the king's proposal? And what would you like to see happen in the days or weeks ahead to keep this momentum -- to accelerate the momentum?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* I don't think of what's been put forward here and what King Hussein has done as representing various kinds of obstacles. Quite to the contrary, I think what the king has done is move the process in a very significant way, and it's the positive things that are so impressive.

Obviously, as realists -- and you have to be a realist -- you recognize that there are many obstacles that we have to overcome, and we have some differences of view. But where we see motion and where we see the identification of a grand objective, where we see the king saying that people in the area, including the Palestinians by now, recognize -- I forget exactly how he phrased it in his address at the American Enterprise Institute -- along the lines that armed conflict is not going to produce a solution, so you have to find a solution some other way. What other way is there? Negotiations is the other way.

Where you see all of those things, it gives you the feeling that where there is motion and where there is that spirit, well, then, we should work on these problems and try very hard to resolve them. The various things that have been done all represent problems, in effect, that people thought in various ways were insuperable but it's turning out that perhaps they're superable after all.

Q* This morning the King said that the next step should be a meeting between the United States and a Jordanian-Palestinian group. Have you been able to work out with the king and his advisors while he's been here any progress on the modalities of that? Presumably, the Palestinians would have to be acceptable to the U.S. for you to sit down with them. Have you made much progress, say, from between this meeting and two weeks ago when you were in Aqaba?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* We've discussed it further, and we haven't got it nailed down by any means. Obviously the key is having the right people there. But I think we've made a little headway on that. I would expect that this is something that, if we can, we would like to put in place fairly soon.

Q* Would you do it yourself or would you more likely have Mr. Murphy -- ?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* No, we're thinking about it as something that Ambassador Murphy and an accompanying group would do on behalf of the United States, assuming that we can put together the right structure of a delegation.

Q* Can I have one more shot at this? Do you have any objections to any non-PLO members who happen to be members of the Palestine

National Council?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, we have talked about criteria, and I'm sure there are members of the PNC who are not members of the PLO who could be considered.

What we want, of course, basically, are people of good will, who are thoughtful and responsible, and are truly dedicated to non-violent negotiated solutions, and are truly ready to strive for peace with Israel.

Q* Could I come back to a second to the international conference? The king said today, not in his speech but in an answer to a question, that his vision of the international conference is not one that would oversee direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs, but one which, in effect, gives its blessing in advance, and then leaves the direct negotiations to go. Do you see that as a promising avenue, or is that what you were referring to earlier when you said that that is not something the United States could accept?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* That is something about which we haven't been able to resolve our differences. At the same time, we can understand King Hussein's desire to proceed somehow within the framework of broad international support. And so, at least as we look at it, we should seek ways to find that.

We've discussed it at great length and I fully respect the King's view, and I think I understand what he is proposing. We are not convinced, or we are very skeptical, as I said, that it would achieve the results that we are seeking.

After all, it's not a conference that we want; it is negotiations that we want. The negotiations, as the king said, are between the Arab side, a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, with Israel on the other side. That's the object.

Q* Before meeting with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, would the United States like some assurances from the other side that that kind of a meeting would not become, in itself, a negotiation or an obstacle to direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israel?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* We believe that the agenda for such a meeting ought to focus on the fact that Resolutions 242 and 338 are the basic touchstones on which one would go forward. As I noted, that's fully consistent with the president's September 1 initiative. But of course, we fully recognize that if and when the parties do come to sit around the table with Israel and the Arab side, that they will come with different positions. Otherwise, there wouldn't need to be a negotiation.

The big point, however, is that it is at that table that negotiation should take place, not in anticipation. That's the bargaining table. That's where the negotiations should take place about what arrangements are agreeable to people, as to governance of the territories involved.

Q* Mr. Secretary, King Hussein has said that the Soviet Union should be part of this international umbrella, or context, or whatever, that he wants as a prelude to direct talks. But yesterday the State Department seemed to set some pretty harsh or hard conditions for Soviet participation in Middle East talks. Or did it? What's your feeling about that?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, first of all, as I said, the objective is to have the parties directly involved discuss the issues and try to resolve them. The less preliminaries there are to that, the better. Those who should be involved, of course, should be ones who want to

see this process go forward. I believe the evidence is quite clear, at least from things that I have seen, that the Soviet Union, for example, is opposed to the accord that the king worked out with the PLO, just to take an example. So if that's their view, I don't know quite how they are going to make a contribution to what we are trying to achieve. I don't have anything against the Soviet Union as such, with respect to the negotiation, but their attitude toward this has not been a constructive one.

We also did take note of the fact, as an example, that they do not have diplomatic relations with Israel, and there are all kinds of problems in the Soviet Union with such things as Jewish emigration and so on. But the real point here is that the sooner the parties directly involved get to the negotiating table, the better.

Q* Mr. Secretary, in answer to a question today, King Hussein said that although his proposal for a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation may not be identical to the plan proposed by the president on September 1, that he couldn't think of any significant differences between the two. That being the case, does the United States plan to make any new effort to get Israel to accept the president's September 1 plan?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, the president has put forward a set of proposals. That was properly described, I think, as an initiative, rather than a plan. It was a statement about positions that the United States would take at a negotiating table, fully recognizing that others will take different positions. The right answer to this problem is the answer that those directly concerned come up with as a result of negotiations. Not some plan that somebody thinks up. So, the president's effort was to set out some statements that he hoped would help people decide that they should come to the table and discuss their differences. And that remains the case.

Q* Mr. Secretary, if I understand this correctly, the one truly new element in this is the king's assertion that the PLO accepts 242 and 338. And you would like to see something directly from the PLO in that regard.

If that doesn't happen, then would still feel justified in hoping for some concrete progress by the end of this year?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* There are all sorts of ways to move ahead. What we must do is keep working the problem, and try to add, increment by increment, to the progress that has already been made, so that we continue positive movement, first toward the bargaining table and then at the bargaining table, toward a peaceful resolution of the issues. There are more than enough issues to resolve. You have named one. There are a number of others. I'm certain that there are ways to get started, somehow or other, with a proper Palestinian delegation.

Q* Do you believe the time has come for the United States to abandon or modify its policy not to undercut the unratified SALT II Treaty?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* That's a question that is before the president and will be discussed, and I will give my views to the president directly.

Q* Mr. Secretary, to return to King Hussein's visit, the king said this morning that he thought that Syria and the Golan Heights would be appropriate issues or participants in the international conference.

Does the United States share that view that Syria should be involved in the peace process, and will there be an American

initiative to talk with Syria in the coming weeks, as there apparently will be this effort to talk with the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* It has long been the U.S. position, and it remains the U.S. position that when -- in Resolution 242 in speaking about territories, refers to all of them, including the Golan Heights.

So, that has been our position. We've stated it and restated it many times, and it remains our position today. So if Syria wishes to come and negotiate about that with Israel, well, of course, it's a question of what Israel will decide to do. But our position is that that's a negotiable question.

Q* Mr. Secretary, what has become of the administration's long-studied Middle East arms package, and why is it taking so long to reach a political agreement within the administration?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, I don't think it's a question of reaching an agreement within the administration. I think it's progressed quite well, and I believe that we'll be prepared to say what we have to say on this subject before long.

Q* Would the United States support an international peace conference, away from the Security Council?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, we are trying to think about ways to perform the very legitimate function that the king has in mind, and that in our judgment any way will succeed. And just what they may be, how they may turn out, I don't know, as yet. We're searching, and we have a number of ideas in mind. We haven't found one that is fully satisfactory to us, or to them.

I might say that in all of these things, we are in close consultation with Israel because everybody has to be part of this effort if it's going to succeed.

Q* Mr. Secretary, are you sending King Hussein empty-handed or without any breakthrough, and what's the next step? Is the ball now in the U.S. court?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, I think that the king came here as a man of peace. We had some very constructive discussions with him. I believe that the process was advanced during the course of his visit here, and I hope that the -- when he returns, returns more determined than ever to continue on the road to peace. And I would say, judging from the very powerful address that he delivered to the American Enterprise Institute Forum, that that is very much his view. It's been a most worthwhile visit.

Q* Mr. Secretary, the last time that you helped put together a deal between Israel and a neighboring state, President Assad of Syria was able to savage it very quickly. Are you concerned that the President of Syria can do it again, and what are you doing to make sure that he doesn't?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* It's always a problem that those who oppose peace may be able to sabotage it, and those who favor peace and who work for peace have to do that in a very strong way. And I think we have to recognize that there are security and economic aspects to a move toward peace. There's no way around it.

I might say, when you look at Lebanon today and ask yourself, would Lebanon be better off if the agreement that was negotiated -- and which as you, I think, accurately pointed out, Syria managed to undermine -- but if that had gone forward and Israel had been able to withdraw in an orderly way with the orderly processes envisaged in that agreement, would Lebanon be better off today than it is now? And I think the answer is yes.

And I believe also, as King Hussein stated in his speech, that it must be by now that more and more people in the Middle East conclude that the road of armed violence as a method of addressing their grievances has not worked. And so we should seek another method, and the other method, obviously, is negotiations.

Negotiations can work. People who have major differences of opinion can, if they work at them in good will, resolve them, and, of course, the peace treaty with Egypt and Israel stands there as an example of negotiations working.

Q* Mr. Secretary, King Hussein said the PLO should be directly involved in negotiations. Does the U.S. rule out any direct talks with the PLO, either in preliminary efforts to get talks going or in actual negotiations themselves?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Well, as I think I've already stated, the U.S. conditions for direct talks ourselves with the PLO have been stated very clearly. They haven't been fulfilled. Maybe they will be. That's one thing. What the U.S. may do -- and of course, it's another thing, who will be sitting at the table, and what Israel's attitude may be toward a delegation that comes.

Q* Why do you think we have not heard a response from the PLO and Mr. Arafat?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* I don't know Mr. Arafat, so I'm not going to speculate on that question, but I do think that King Hussein's representations must be taken very, very seriously as he is in close consultation with Mr. Arafat and his branch of the PLO.

Q* Mr. Secretary, on the 21st of May, two South African commandos were killed and another captured only a few hundred yards from a plant in Angola jointly owned by the Gulf Oil Company and the Angolan Government.

How seriously do you take this incident? Is there anything the United States can do about it, and does it affect your judgment about South Africa's intentions in the southern African peace process?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* It's a matter that we objected to. We have said that to the Government of South Africa, and I think given the fact that South Africa under their accord was presumably out of Angola, it's a setback.

Q* Are you going to do anything about it?

Q* Sir, the president's national security adviser was recently quoted as saying that during the height of the Beirut crisis, the United States could not practice what he described as "agile diplomacy" because of the uncooperativeness between the State Department and the Pentagon. In fact, I think he even said there might be some hostility.

Could you tell me what your reaction to those remarks were and what you're trying to do about it, if anything?

SECRETARY SHULTZ* No. I couldn't tell you what my reactions to those remarks are.

Q* Thank you.

SECRETARY SHULTZ* Thank you very much.

(end transcript)

NNNN

דף... מסמך... 3. דפים

טיוט בטרומי. סידרה...

דחיות... סידרה...

מסמך... סידרה...

מסמך... סידרה... 85 מאי

804... סידרה...

60

המסמך, בטחון, פריס

אל: ממנכ"ל, מצמ"א,

שהביט - פאריס

דע:

שיחה עם מרפי בהשתתפות וילקוקס ואבידן (מחמת קירבת השבת, להלן עיקרי השיחה):

א. מרפי מסר לנו את מסיבת העתונאים של שולץ שנסתיימה שעה קלה לפני כן (מבורקת בנפרד). וילקוקס הדגיש כי היתה בת הבהרה בעניין הוציאה הבינלאומית. (ראה בעניין זה להלן).

סניא פתיחה

ב. שאלתי את מרפי/מה ההתקדמות והחידוש שהוא רואה בביקור חוסין. השיבו מו"מ יסיר עם ישראל, התייחסות פומבית ו- *on The record* לכן (במיוחד בדבר חוסין ב- AEI). כמו כן דברי חוסין, שהיה במגע עם עראפת, על קבלת 242. אבו איאד אמנם פירסם מעין הסתייגות, אך חירדנים אמרו שלגביו זו הצהרה טובה. עראפת שתק לפי שעה. (חירדנים היו אחר במגע טלפוני). חוסין שינה את הסביבה הפוליטית והמחשבתית שלו לעומת העבר. ישנו שינוי בעמדותיו. חוסין כי הוא מדבר בסמכות בשם הפלסטינאים (דבר שלא עשה בחודשים שקדמו) ואומר זאת לאור הסכם 11.2, כלומר, מתוך סמכות שלא היתה לו לפני כן. לשאלתנו אמר מרפי כי אינו רואה מה שאירע כ"פריצת דרך" אך בכל זאת, כאמור, שינוי ה"סביבה הפוליטית". חוסין לא שלל דברי הנשיא לגבי "1985" ולמעשה תמך בכך. לשאלתנו השיב כי האמריקנים אמנם חששו כי הביקור יהיה "רופף", אך בבוא הקלך לווינגטון ראו כי יש שינוי, בכך שחוסין רציני ומוכן להתבטא בפומבי תוך סיעון שמדבר גם בשם אש"פ. לשאלת אם אין כאן נסיון אמריקני להציג הצלחה כדי להראות תזוזה גם אם אינה, השיב שלדעתם יש תזוזה בכל זאת.

ג. בעניין הוציאה הבינלאומית אמר מרפי כי לארה"ב ולירדנים חילוקי דעות בעניין זה. אמנם האמריקנים אינם רוצים להבליט חלוקי דעות אלה, שכן הם מאמינים כי ניתן יהיה למצוא את המסגרת הבינלאומית המתאימה, (או "מכניזם" כדברי הירדנים), אך אינם יודעים עדיין כיצד. בתשובה לשאלה השיב, כי הצטרות מן האנדריאוטים השונים לא יספיקו

לא יספיקו, אך גם אין מדובר על ועידה מהסוג שהירדנים רוצים (חמש חברות מועה"יט) אלא הפתרון יהיה ודאי באמצע. ארה"ב רואה את ברית"מ כמכשול 6 הכללים שהזכירה ארה"ב אתמול, עם זאת, אינם נוגעים לוועידה אלא להשתתפות בתהליך בכלל. וגם אילו מולאו לא בהכרח היו מסכימים לסובייטים. הערנו כי היתה כאן מטוטלת-האמריקנים הרחיקו לכת בנושא הוועידה בדברי הנשיא ותדרוך מרפי, דבר שהצביע על שינוי, וביומיים האחרונים איזנו זאת תחילה בשיחות דיפלומטיות ואח"כ בפומבי. מרפי אמר כי חוסין לא יבוא לירושלים כסאדאת כפי שקיוו, והוא זקוק לתמיכה ולמטריה או ל"לגיטימיות" הבינלאומית. עם זאת אין עדיין החלטה והנושא יידון גם עמנו (הסברנו טעמי התנגדותנו, כולל ג'נבה). לשאלתי אמר מרפי שאין דיונים "אומיים". הזכרתי כי גם קמפ דייויד הוא "וועידה בינלאומית" ולואי ויהיו מוכנים להרכב זה. אגב, בנקודה מסוימת העיר בקשר לוועידה (אנא לא לציטוט): האם יכולתי לומר בתדרוך לאחר דברי הנשיא משהו שונה מדברי

ד. לשאלתי השיב מרפי כי אין עדיין שמות של משלחת ירדנית - פלשתינאית אף כי האמריקנים הבהירו שלא ידונו עם אנשי אש"פ (העיר: אם כי באמנה הם כותבים שכל פלשתינאי חבר אש"פ). הסביר שהמשלחת שיפגשו אינה בהכרח זו שתתייצב לשיחות, והבינונו שכביכול תהיה משלחת "כשרה" יותר מבחינתנו. שתוכל לשבת אתנו, ו"כשרה" פחות שתשב עם ארה"ב לפני כן. הערנו כי המזכיר במסיבת העתונאים דיבר על חברי מל"פ דברי שאינו מקובל עלינו, ואישית הוספתי כי אדם כפרופ' סעיד הייתי פוסל, כשונא ישראל.

ה. לשאלתי על השמועות בענין מכירת נשק (2 טייסות F-20, טילי הוק ועוד) כסידוע לנו כי המזכיר דיבר על הנושא עם מנהיגים יהודים. מרפי אמר כי הגם שרוב הביקור הוקדש לתהליך השלום, דובר גם על מכירות נשק. הנשיא אמר מה שאמר (הערה: אגב, גם המזכיר התייחס לכך שבקרוב יוחלט), וההחלטה תהיה בידי הנשיא השוקל מה ניתן לעשות. לשאלתי אמר שאינו יודע אם תיפול החלטה בימים אלה ממש. הזכרנו עמדתנו העקרונית המתנגדת, וכן העובדה שהדבר ידרוש שוב מירוצ' חימוש שאין לנו כסף לעמוד בכך.

ו. לשאלה אם עלה נושא "איכות החיים" אמר כי שמעו מאתנו זמן הירדנים. אלמצרי ואבו-עודה ייסארו אחרי המלך ויהיו פגישות עמם, בהם ידונו בכך, ויבקשו תשובות בנושא הבנק ועוד. אגב, מסרנו למרפי מספר קריקטורות אנטישמיות מבחילות מ"דסתור" הירדני (קיבלנו מערב 2) מהימים האחרונים כדי שיעיר עליהן.

ד.פ.כ. דפוס
עווג בעסונג
דחיסות
תאריך וזיח
804

אלו

ז. מרפי אמר כי האמריקנים חזרו על התביעה שאש"פ עצמו יצהיר על קיום התנאים שארה"ב הציגה.

ח. חזרנו לשאול האם להערכתו של מרפי הסכמת אש"פ יותר ל-242 כפי שטוען חוסין "אמינה", השיב נראה שהם רצינים יותר מבעבר. הקטל האם כוונת חוסין לועידה בינ"ל בהשתתפות סוריה ובריה"מ או שחותר למשהו מצומצם של הצדדים עליהם מדובר עתה. מרפי ענה שכפי שחוסין הבהיר יש הכרח ב-5 חברות מועבי"ט. ההקשר האו"ם חשוב לו. ~~א-פי זכאו התבטא~~ ~~בניית אי ופאל~~
~~זכאי זלפ~~ ~~אפי נסיון הקבר~~

ט. לשאלה, מה יהיה השלב הבא השיב מרפי כי תהיה פגישה בין ארה"ב למשלחת ירדנית-פלשתינאית, אך אין כל מועד ורק לאחר שימולאו התנאים.

י. שאלנו אם אין דברים שלא נמטרו לנו. הדבר חשוב לאמינות. אמר שאין מה גם שהפן הפומבי הפעם מייצג את הדברים.

רובינשטיין
ב/צ'ס

3 3 12 4 6 1
לוח 11 12 12 12 12 12
לוח 11 12 12 12 12 12

: 70

.....ל.ג.ל.....ד.י.מ.

תאריך: 31.12.1900. ח"ט

תאריך 31.12.1900, ח"ט 85

...803... *Handwritten text*

המשרד

"ועידה בינלאומית".

א. כידוע נוצר ביום ד' רוסס ברור, ומן הסתם גם לא מוטעה באותו שלב, כי האמריקנים סטו מעמדתם הנמרצת עד כה בגד ועידה בינלאומית. כל אדם מן היישוב שהתרשם מתשובתו של הנשיא ומתדרוכו של מרפי צריך היה לסבור כך.

ב. התגובה הישראלית הנחרצת בעניין זה, שבוטאה בדרג מדיני ודיפלומטי בארץ ועל - ידינו כאן, לרבות הדגש בענין זה על אמינותו של המזכיר, תרמה בודאי לחיזוק הטפקות שהיו למזכיר עצמו ואולי גם לאחרים מעמיתיו (אם כי הרבה פחות למזרחני מחמ"ד), ולהסתתה של המטוטלת; ולכן חזרו לנוסחה הפחות מחייבת בתרבה שמזכיר המדינה השתמש בה, אף כי הנושא לא גווע .

ג. כאמור, לדעתי היה לתגובתנו חלק בחזרה ל"איזון" (ראה גם שיחת השגריר - קראפט 798), בניגוד לדברי "חוגים מדיניים" ("הארץ") שייחסו לנו "היסטריה" רחמנא לצלן.

רובינשטיין

2/3/2

[illegible]

אל:

המסרד

תאריך וד"ח. 1830. 31. מאי 85

... (80) ...

אל: ממנכ"ל, מע"ח, ~~ממנכ"ל~~.

לוט עותק מסיבת העתונאים של שולץ מהיום שמסר לנו מרפי.

רובינשטיין

$\frac{y}{1-x} = \frac{3+H}{2x} + \frac{y}{2x}$

PRESS CONFERENCE

BY

THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ

SECRETARY OF STATE

LOY HENDERSON AUDITORIUM

FRIDAY, MAY 31, 1985, 3:00 P.M.

801 2
28

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I want to say a few words, first, about the visit of King Hussein, and what we believe it represents.

The visit has confirmed the partnership of the United States and Jordan which is an essential underpinning of the chances for moderation, security and progress toward peace in the Middle East.

The visit has confirmed our joint commitment to move now "this year," as the King put it, to, as he put it, "negotiate amongst the parties to the conflict between the Arab side, a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, with Israel on the other."

The visit has confirmed that negotiations will pursue, in the King's words, "a peaceful settlement on the basis of the pertinent United Nations Resolutions, including Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338." As the King said today, "The Palestinians are willing to accept United Nations Security

Xx>

2

Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principles they contain as the basis for a settlement."

The visit has confirmed Jordan's genuine desire for peace which includes, as the King stated, "proceeding in a non-belligerent environment." We and Jordan have much still to discuss regarding how we can best arrive at our shared goal of true peace. We certainly agree on the starting point, Resolution 242, with which we can note the President's September 1 initiative is fully consistent.

X X X

801 $\frac{3}{20}$

3

801 $\frac{4}{20}$

We continue to believe that the proposed international conference will not contribute to the peace process, but we will continue to seek ways in which international support for direct negotiations can be made evident. There are obstacles between here and the time when King Hussein and his delegation can sit down at the table with Israel, but there is motion today.

The King's visit has given impetus to the process of peace-making. As His Majesty said today, "Time is essential and success imperative."

Questions?

MR. JIM ANDERSON: (UPI) Mr. Secretary, how do you intend to follow up the statement relayed by the King that the PLO -- you used the word "PLO" -- you used the word "Palestinian" just now -- that the PLO accepts 242 and 338?

First, is it sufficient, what he has relayed to start a dialogue between the United States and the PLO; and (2) do you intend to meet with the PLO at any time soon?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, as far as the United States is concerned, as the President said in his comments in the Rose

XYY

4

Garden, "Our conditions are well known and we will wait for a direct statement from the PLO."

801

5
20

However, I believe the King's statement is a very significant one. We know, obviously, that he has been, over quite a period of time, in close consultation with leaders of the PLO.

QUESTION: Could I just follow that up? When you say you will wait for a direct statement from the PLO, does that have to be public or could it come through private channels?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I think it has to be where we can see it and the American people can see it.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, could I ask you what, apart from the international conference, do you find a major difficulty, as the State Department put it, with the King's proposal? And what would you like to see happen in the days or weeks ahead to keep this momentum -- to accelerate the momentum?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I don't think of what's been put forward here and what King Hussein has done as representing various kinds of obstacles. Quite to the contrary, I think what the King has done is move the process in a very significant way, and it's the positive things that are so impressive.

kx7

5

Obviously, as realists -- and you have to be a realist -- you recognize that there are many obstacles that we have to overcome, and we have some differences of view. But where we see motion and where we see the identification of a grand objective, where we see the King saying that people in the area, including the Palestinians by now, recognize -- I forget exactly how he phrased it in his address at the American Enterprise Institute -- along the lines that armed conflict is not going to produce a solution, so you have to find a solution some other way. What other way is there? Negotiations is the other way.

801
6
20

Where you see all of those things, it gives you the feeling that where there is motion and where there is that spirit, well, then, we should work on these problems and try very hard to resolve them. The various things that have been done all represent problems, in effect, that people thought in various ways were insuperable but it's turning out that perhaps they're superable after all.

QUESTION: This morning the King said that the next step should be a meeting between the United States and a Jordanian-Palestinian group. Have you been able to work out with the King and his advisors while he's been here any progress on the modalities of that? Presumably, the Palestinians would have to be acceptable to the U.S. for you to

XXV

6

80 3
20

sit down with them. Have you made much progress, say, from between this meeting and two weeks ago when you were in Aqaba?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: We've discussed it further, and we haven't got it nailed down by any means. Obviously the key is having the right people there. But I think we've made a little headway on that. I would expect that this is something that, if we can, we would like to put in place fairly soon.

QUESTION: Would you do it yourself or would you more likely have Mr. Murphy -- ?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: No, we're thinking about it as something that Ambassador Murphy and an accompanying group would do on behalf of the United States, assuming that we can put together the right structure of a delegation.

QUESTION: Can I have one more shot at this? Do you have any objections to any non-PLO members who happen to be members of the Palestine National Council?

Y X Y

- 7 -

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, we have talked about criteria, and I'm sure there are members of the PNC who are not members of the PLO who could be considered.

What we want, of course, basically, are people of good will, who are thoughtful and responsible, and are truly dedicated to non-violent negotiated solutions, and are truly ready to strive for peace with Israel.

--MORE--

X x y

801 $\frac{8}{20}$

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, could I come back for a second to the international conference? The King said today, not in his speech, but in answer to a question, that his vision of the international conference is not one that would oversee direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs, but one which, in effect, gives its blessing in advance, and then leaves the direct negotiations to go.

Do you see that as a promising avenue or is that what you were referring to earlier when you said that is not something the U.S. could accept?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: That is something about which we haven't been able to resolve our differences. At the same time, we can understand King Hussein's desire to proceed somehow within the framework of broad international support. So, at least as we look at it, we should seek ways to find that.

We've discussed it at great length, and I fully respect the King's view. I think I understand what he is proposing. We are not convinced, or we are very skeptical, as I've said, that it would achieve the results that we're seeking.

After all, it's not a conference that we want; it is negotiations that we want, and the negotiations, as the King

X+T

said, are between the Arab side, a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, with Israel on the other side. That's the object.

QUESTION: Before meeting with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, would the United States like some assurances from the other side that that kind of a meeting would not become, in itself, a negotiation or an obstacle to direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israel?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: We believe that the agenda for such a meeting ought to focus on the fact that resolutions 242 and 338 are the basic touchstones on which one would go forward. And as I noted, that's fully consistent with the President's September 1 initiative. But of course, we fully recognize that if and when the parties do come to sit around the table with Israel and the Arab side, that they will come with different positions. Otherwise, there wouldn't need to be a negotiation.

And the big point, however, is that it is at that table that negotiation should take place, not in anticipation. That's the bargaining table. That's where the negotiations should take place about what arrangements are agreeable to people, as to governance of the territory involved.

Xxy

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, King Hussein has said the Soviet Union should be part of this international umbrella, or context, or whatever he wants, as a prelude to direct talks. But yesterday, the State Department seemed to set some pretty harsh or hard conditions for Soviet participation in Middle East talks, or did it? What's your feeling about that?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, first of all, as I said, the objective is to have the parties directly involved discuss the issues and try to resolve them, and the less preliminaries there are to that, the better. Those who should be involved, of course, should be ones who want to see this process go forward.

I believe the evidence is quite clear, at least from things that I have seen, that the Soviet Union, for example, is opposed to the accord that the King worked out with the PLO, just to take an example. So if that's their view, I don't know quite how they're going to make a contribution to what we are trying to achieve. I don't have anything against the Soviet Union as such, with respect to the negotiation, but their attitude toward this has not been a constructive one.

We also did take note of the fact, as an example, that they do not have diplomatic relations with Israel, and there are all kinds of problems in the Soviet Union with such things as

XYY

Jewish emigration and so on. But the real point here is that the sooner the parties directly involved get to the negotiating table, the better.

801 $\frac{12}{20}$

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, in answer to a question today, King Hussein said that although his proposal for a Jordanian/Palestinian confederation may not be identical to the one proposed by the President on September 1, that he couldn't think of any significant differences between the two. That being the case, does the United States plan to make any new effort to get Israel to accept the President's September 1 plan?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, the President has put forward a set of proposals. That was properly described, I think, as an initiative rather than a plan. It was a statement about positions that the United States would take at a negotiating table, fully recognizing that others will take different positions. And the right answer to this problem is the answer that those directly concerned come up with as a result of negotiations, not some plan that somebody thinks up. So the President's effort was to set out some statements that he hoped would help people decide that they should come to the table and discuss their differences, and that remains the case.

Xyx

-12-

601 13/20

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, if I understand this correctly, the one truly new element in this is the King's assertion that the PLO accepts 242 and 338, and you would like to see something directly from the PLO in that regard.

If that doesn't happen, would you still feel justified in hoping for some concrete progress by the end of this year?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: There are all sorts of ways to move ahead, and what we must do is keep working the problem, and try to add, increment by increment, to the progress that has already been made so that we continue positive movement, first toward the bargaining table and then at the bargaining table, toward a peaceful resolution of the issues. And there are more than enough issues to resolve -- and you have named one; there are a number of others. And I'm certain that there are ways to get started, somehow or other, with a proper Palestinian delegation.

-- MORE --

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, do you believe the time has come for the U.S. to abandon or modify its policy not to undercut the unratified SALT II Treaty?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: That's a question that will -- is before the

Kxv

13

801 $\frac{14}{20}$

President and will be discussed, and I will give my views to the President directly.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, to return to King Hussein's visit, the King said this morning that he thought that Syria and the Golan Heights would be appropriate issues or participants in the international conference.

Does the United States share that view that Syria should be involved in the peace process, and will there be an American initiative to talk with Syria in the coming weeks as there apparently will be this effort to talk with the Jordanian/Palestinian delegation?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: It has long been the U.S. position, and it remains the U.S. position that when -- Resolution 242 in speaking about territories refers to all of them, including the Golan Heights. So that has been our position. We've stated it and restated it many times, and it remains our position today. So if Syria wishes to come and negotiate about that with Israel, well, of course, it's a question of what Israel will decide to do. But our position is that that's a negotiable question.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, what has become of the Administration's long-studied Middle East arms package, and why

Xxx

is it taking so long to reach a political agreement within the Administration?

801 15
20

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, I don't think it's a question of reaching an agreement within the Administration. I think it's progressed quite well, and I believe that we'll be prepared to say what we have to say on this subject before long.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, would the U.S. support an international peace conference away from the Security Council?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, we are trying to think about ways to perform the very legitimate function that the King has in mind, and that in our judgment anyway will succeed. And just what they may be, how they may turn out, I don't know as yet. We're searching, and we have a number of ideas in mind. We haven't found one that is fully satisfactory to us or to them.

Xxy

15

I might say that in all of these things, we are in close consultation with Israel because everybody has to be part of this effort if it's going to succeed.

801 $\frac{16}{20}$

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, are you sending King Hussein empty-handed or without any breakthrough, and what's the next step? Is the ball now in the U.S. court?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, I think that the King came here as a man of peace. We had some very constructive discussions with him. I believe that the process was advanced during the course of his visit here, and I hope that he -- when he returns, returns more determined than ever to continue on the road to peace. And I would say, judging from the very powerful address that he delivered to the American Enterprise Institute Forum, that that is very much his view. It's been a most worthwhile visit.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, the last time that you helped put together a deal between Israel and a neighboring state, President Assad of Syria was able to savage it very quickly. Are you concerned that the President of Syria can do it again, and what are you doing to make sure that he doesn't?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: It's always a problem that those who oppose peace may be able to sabotage it, and those who favor peace and

X7r

who work for peace have to do that in a very strong way. And I think we have to recognize that there are security and economic aspects to a move toward peace. There's no way around it.

801 $\frac{17}{20}$

I might say, when you look at Lebanon today and ask yourself, would Lebanon be better off if the agreement that was negotiated -- and which as you, I think, accurately pointed out, Syria managed to undermine -- but if that had gone forward and Israel had been able to withdraw in an orderly way with the orderly processes envisaged in that agreement, would Lebanon be better off today than it is now? And I think the answer is yes.

And I believe also, as King Hussein stated in his speech, that it must be by now that more and more people in the Middle East conclude that the road of armed violence as a method of addressing their grievances has not worked. And so we should seek another method, and the other method, obviously, is negotiations.

Negotiations can work. People who have major differences of opinion can, if they work at them in good will, resolve them,

XYY

and, of course, the peace treaty with Egypt and Israel stands there as an example of negotiations working.

801 $\frac{18}{20}$

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, King Hussein said the PLO should be directly involved in negotiations. Does the U.S. rule out any direct talks with the PLO, either in preliminary efforts to get talks going or in actual negotiations themselves?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Well, as I think I've already stated, the U.S. conditions for direct talks ourselves with the PLO have been stated very clearly. They haven't been fulfilled. Maybe they will be. That's one thing. What the U.S. may do -- and, of course, it's another thing, who will be sitting at the table, and what Israel's attitude may be toward a delegation that comes.

QUESTION: Why do you think we have not heard a response from the PLO and Mr. Arafat?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: I don't know Mr. Arafat, so I'm not going to speculate on that question, but I do think that King Hussein's representations must be taken very, very seriously as he is in close consultation with Mr. Arafat and his branch of the PLO.

QUESTION: Mr. Secretary, on the 21st of May, two South African commandos were killed and another captured only a few hundred

XYY

18

yards from a plant in Angola jointly owned by the Gulf Oil Company and the Angolan Government.

801 19/20

How seriously do you take this incident? Is there anything the United States can do about it, and does it affect your judgment about South Africa's intentions in the southern African peace process?

SECRETARY SHULTZ: It's a matter that we objected to. We have said that to the Government of South Africa, and I think given the fact that South Africa under their accord was presumably out of Angola, it's a setback.

QUESTION: Are you going to do anything about it?

QUESTION: Sir, the President's National Security Adviser was recently quoted as saying that during the height of the Beirut crisis, the United States could not practice what he described as "agile diplomacy" because of the uncooperativeness between the State Department and the Pentagon. In fact, I think he even said there might be some hostility.

Could you tell me what your reaction to those remarks were and what you're trying to do about it, if anything?

X77

19

SECRETARY SHULTZ: No. I couldn't tell you what my reactions to those remarks are. (Laughter)

QUESTION: Thank you.

801 $\frac{20}{20}$

SECRETARY SHULTZ: Thank you very much.

(The press conference concluded at 3:35 p.m.)

X-11

דף.....מסמך.....דפים

סוג במחשבי...קוד...

דחיות.....

מסמך ודף...311799

מסמך מס' 798

אלו המשרד

מצפ"א

מפגישת עם ג'ו קראפט:

1. בשיחת שהיתה לו עם שולץ הסתבר לו ששולץ התנגד לכרסום כלשהו בעמדת ארה"ב בנושא הועידה הבינלאומית אך לבסוף הוחלט לנקוט בקו ש"מוכנים לשקול הדבר". אחר מכן, לאור התגובה השלילית שבאה - חזרו לקו המסורתי.

2. בנושא נסק לירדן כנראה שידנו של וינברגר על העליונה - ואכן יש נטיה בממשל לחזקנות לפניה הירדנית.

3. מפי קסוגי שמע ג'ו קראפט שהאמריקאים פנו לערפאת כאילו ע"פ בקשתו - בבקשה שלא ~~הוא יתקשר אליו~~ יברך את המלך על הקו הנבט.

רוח

3+11 4 12 1 3 1 14+1 3
ש 2 2 2 2 2 2 2
1 1 1 1 1 1 1
6

: 78

המשרד

85 תאריך וז"ח, 3.16.00 מאי
 792
 ...
 דחיות, ...
 סוג בסחובי ... גלג.
 דף...!... מתוך... דפים
 85 תאריך וז"ח, 3.16.00 מאי

כ"כ ב - פס"ד של ה"וושפוסט" מאמרו של נורמן פודהורץ.
חוסין ופלסטיןאים: רצ"ב מאמר מערכת ראשי ב"וושפוסט" הבקר.

הראל

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

Beyond Sabra and Shatila

A GAIN PALESTINIANS are dying in Sabra and Shatila. True, it is not September 1982, when Israel's Lebanese Phalangist allies, taking revenge for the killing of their chief, murdered hundreds of civilians whose PLO protectors had been removed from Beirut on the promise—by the United States and Israel, among others—that they would be safe. This time Lebanese Shiite militiamen of Amal are seeking to prevent the slightest rebirth of the "state within a state" that the PLO set up in Lebanon, in the 1970s. But, though there is nothing like the earlier hue and cry, Palestinians are dying in Sabra and Shatila all the same.

The Shiite community is the largest in Lebanon, one of the most socially aggrieved, and the one with the most to lose from a PLO rebirth. Such a development would diminish the Shia community's national place, draw punishing Israeli reprisals, feed its fundamentalist wing and invite further Syrian intrusion. Amal is, in the Lebanese fashion, unforgivably bloody-handed: accounts of its shooting of PLO hospital patients are not softened by accounts of the PLO's shooting of Shiite patients. But the Shiites are not without a political logic of their own.

That leaves, of course, the Palestinians: It leaves them exposed in the Palestinian slums of West Beirut and no less vulnerable elsewhere in southern Lebanon. It is quite possible that the PLO itself, either the Yasser Arafat mainstream associated with Jordan or the Abu Musa group manipulated by Syria, provoked this latest upheaval. But that does not alter the basic fact that the Palestinian people are still rattling around the Middle East, miserable themselves and making life miserable for others.

Enter King Hussein. Eventually the Syrians will have to be brought back into Arab-Israeli diplomacy, but the current minority Alawite regime in Damascus is more immediately concerned with its own survival. The Jordanians are the necessary and only available expeditors on the Arab side. King Hussein has been in Washington, playing an uncharacteristically bold and helpful role.

The king now claims PLO backing for the idea of taking a joint Jordanian-PLO delegation, under the "umbrella" of an international conference including the Russians, into direct peace talks with Israel. These talks would be based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which embody the broad concepts of a settlement, and would be aimed on the Arab side at creating a Palestinian West Bank-Gaza state in confederation with Jordan.

Much diplomatic work remains to be done, not least by the United States, to put this proposal on a firm footing and to match it up with Israeli proposals. In particular, the PLO must come forward to state explicitly its own policy. Presumably few people need to be reminded of the times that positive-sounding arrangements between Hussein and the PLO have crumbled.

But some of the elements stated by the king—acceptance of 242 and 338, direct talks—are, if validated, of tremendous potential value to Israel. Other elements—a seat at a table, a state in confederation with Jordan—are of no smaller potential value to the Palestinians, whose alternative is, after all, Sabra and Shatila. The promise now visible is merely a glow on the far horizon and it remains to be made real, but for that prospect the man responsible is King Hussein.

2. 1925, News America Syndicate

7777 7777

דמי...מס...דמי...

...גלוי...מס...דמי...

...דמי...מס...דמי...

85. May 31. 1500 דמי...

...דמי...מס...דמי...

ניו-יורק

מסמך

המסמך

226

601

778

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

NEWS SUMMARY - FRIDAY - MAY 31, 1985

EDITORIALS

***WASH. POST-31/5-"Beyond Sabra and Shatila" Again Palestinians are dying in Sabra and Shatila. This time Lebanese Shiite militiamen of Amal are seeking to prevent the slightest rebirth of the "state within a state" that the PLO set up in Lebanon in the 1970s. The Shiites are not without a political logic of their own. The Palestinians are still rattling around the Middle East, miserable themselves and making life miserable for others. The King's recent statements for the idea of taking a joint Jordanian-PLO delegation under the "umbrella" of an international conference does not take away from the fact that there is still much diplomatic work to be done. The PLO must come forward to state its own policy. The US must put this proposal on a firm footing and to match it up with Israeli proposals. The man responsible for possible peace is Hussein.

CHRISTIAN SCI. MON.-31/5-"Hussein's Plan" Hussein deserves credit for stepping forward in Wash. to offer another tentative piece for the Palestinian-Israeli talks puzzle. The King's proposal of an international conference leaves the situation far from resolved. Whenever the US has made any progress with the Syrians, Washington has had to bring in the Soviets. Washington may need to seek some area of common interest with the Soviets to ensure cooperation. The King wants to secure in some degree Palestinian rights in the Israeli-occupied territories. He is going about this goal in the only way he finds realistic. This time Washington responded attentively to his visit. If talks are not actually in view, at least the current constructive atmosphere continues.

COLUMNS

***WASH. POST-Stephen Rosenfeld-"In Every Israeli's Heart" So far the Israelis succeeded in controlling the price of admission to a renewed Middle East peace process and setting that price above what Hussein and Arafat have been willing to pay. Israel has had the support of the US in this exercise of political inflation. Notwithstanding Hussein's words in Wash. this week, the prospects of a serious negotiation remain slim. This is the way the Israelis want it. With the split in the Israeli govt. and the weight of other issues, Israelis find it much easier to stay in the rut they know. The current consensus in Israel seems better adapted to living - with every Arab country but Egypt - in an indefinite state of war. Others can press, but only Israelis can finally decide whether to submit to the wrenching that a reach for peace would entail. A prudent person aware of the debilitation of Israel's national life has to hope that the PLO can close the gap.

8 7 3 8 8 8 8

77.....מחור.....דמים

.....110 בשחור'י

.....דמימות

מאריך 11/11

226/601/778

22

WASH. POST-Norman Podhoretz-"Lebanon:Where Irony Abounds" It is indeed ironic that Sabra and Shatila should now once again be under attack, only this time by fellow Moslems acting in open cooperation with Syria. It is indeed ironic that with the death toll likely to run at least as high this time as it did in 1982, the world which rose in righteous outrage then can barely suppress a yawn of boredom today. Perhaps the most ironic of all is that the Israelis are practically gone, and when almost everyone is saying that their invasion of Lebanon has ended in failure, the unfinished business of that invasion is in the process of being completed. To compound this enormous irony, the job is being done not by the Israelis or their Christian allies, but by the Syrians and their Shiite proxies. From the Israeli point of view, a Lebanon in which the PLO is on a Syrian leash is the next best thing to a Lebanon in which there is no PLO at all. Even where the Syrian role in Lebanon is concerned, then, the invasion is turning out to have been a success - in an ironic way as everything in Lebanon seems to be.

THE PRESS REPORTS

Israel Issues Story Of '76 Entebbe Raid

WASH. TIMES-(AP)-An official account of Israel's 1976 rescue of hostages at Uganda's Entebbe airport has just been published by the Israeli army. The 16-page article detailing the raid is an hour-by-hour account in the army's quarterly English-language magazine described as "the first official, declassified account of Entebbe," Lt. Col. Yehude Weinraub, the editor-in-chief, said in a telephone interview. The article appears ironically just one week after Israel traded 1,150 prisoners for the three captured Israeli soldiers.

U.S. Cool To Soviet Role In Mideast Peace Parley

***WASH. POST-Ottaway-The Reagan administration sought yesterday to dispel the impression that it is now ready to participate in a Middle East international peace conference attended by the Soviet Union. There are still fundamental differences between the US and Hussein over the framework for holding new peace talks. A State Dept. spokesman said the US continued to have "major difficulties" with the idea of holding a conference that would include the Soviet Union. Spokesman refused to reject the idea of Soviet participation, but noted that "their agenda for the Middle East is quite different from ours."

Settler Sentenced

WASH. POST-(Wires)-A Jewish settler from the West Bank was sentenced to 22 months in prison for his role in two plots to bomb Palestinian targets. Menachem Neuberger, 29, was the 10th defendant to be sentenced.

170

226-601-328
 תאריך ודירה
 דחיות
 סוג בעלות
 שטח...
 3 דפים

WASH. POST-Boustany-Gemayel held a second round of intensive talks with Assad in Damascus amid hopes that their deliberations would produce a truce in the continuing fighting between Shiite Moslem militiamen and Palestinians. Despite a widespread consensus in Lebanon that the all-Syrian Arab Deterrent Force should be redeployed in Beirut, political sources said no dramatic results were expected from the Syrian-Lebanese meeting. (Wash. Times) - Gemayel said "It's very clear that security can be handled through Syrian forces with the cooperation of the Lebanese army pending the political reforms, which will undoubtedly annoy more than one side."

855158

1-760 960 9-600 600 9-600 600 9-600 600
 2-760 960 9-600 600 9-600 600 9-600 600

אל:

המשרד

ט 8 1 8
1.97... מחזור... 8...
סוג בשחוני. גלגל.
דחיות...
מאריך וזימ...
779

אל - ממ"ד

דע - מצפ"א

א. חוסין ב"אמריקאן אנטרפרייז". להלן עיקרי דבריו לאחר דברי הקדמה על המצב הבינ"ל, הסדר החדש אחרי מלחמת העולם ה-2; חשיבות השגת שלום במזה"ת על בסיס החלטות או"ם 242 ו-338.

1. אם תשאלו אותי האם הפלסטינאים השותפים לכל הסדר הנוגע לאדמתם יקבלו ההחלטות הנ"ל כבסיס לשלום אגיד מה שאמרתי לרייגן: כן, הפלסטינאים מוכנים לקבל 242 ו-338. זוהי פריצת דרך היסטורית במשך 39 שנות מאבק שמנהיגים פלסטינאים מוכנים ללכת בדרך השלום.

2. תכנית החלוקה עיוותה את הפרופורציות של רוב פלסטינאי ברור בפלסטין לעומת "מיעוט של יהודים שבאו מאירופה". כל זאת ללא התייעצויות עם הפלסטינאים. ישראל יצאה ממלחמת 48 עם שטח של 67% מפלסטין והשלימה את יתר 22% במלחמת 67 (כמובן שלא התייחס לכיצד פרצו "פתאום" המלחמות) כל זה יצר תסכול ומרירות אצל הפלסטינאים.

3. יש שינוי בעמדת הפלסטינאים. New trust בין אשי"פ וירדן בעקבות החלטות פאס וכפי שבאו לידי ביטוי בהסכם עמאן. אלה העניקו לירדן ולפלסטינאים בפעם הראשונה אמצעים להשגת שלום. הפלסטינאים מוכנים להביט לעתיד למרות העוול שנעשה להם בעבר. אחרת צפויה סכנה נוראית לאזור כולל ישראל.

4. הצדדים עדיין טקפטיים. הפלסטינאים מחפשים תקווה, הישראלים בטחון (Trust). אנו מאמינים שכתוצאה מקבלת הפלסטינאים את העקרונות להשגת השלום שתשלב הנוכחי בתהליך מוכן בתנאי שישותפו בו מההתחלה ובצורה מלאה שהרי מדובר באדמתם.

5. תהליך השלום צריך להיעשות בוועידה בינ"ל - 5 חברות מועבי"ט וכל הצדדים הנוגעים כולל הפלסטינאים Namely PLO. אם אשי"פ לא צד לסכסוך מי זולתו? זאת על בסיס 242 ו-338 שיאפשר לפלסטינאים הגדרה עצמית במסגרת קונפדרציה ירדנית - פלסטינאית שאושרה ע"י שני הצדדים ועפ"י הנוסחה של "שלום תמורת אדמה" שיעניק בטחון ושלום לכל הצדדים.

6. תשלב הבא צריך להיות פתיחת דיאלוג ^{קי} ארה"ב ומשלחת משותפת ע"מ "להשלים את ההבנה" שצריכה להכין את הקרקע למו"מ לשלום כולל בחסות הוועידה.

7. כשאני מדבר על שלום כולל אני מדבר על סוריה וחגולן, 242 ו-338 נוגעת להם.

ס 222
ד 2...2...מחור...דפיס
סוג בטחוני
דחיפות...
מאריך וזיימ
...279...מברק

8. לארה"ב תפקיד חינוכי להשגת השלום. אני מצפה לשייפ עמה ואחרים ע"מ ליישב הסוגיה במחשית כל עוד הזמן עומד לרשותנו. אני מדבר בשם עמי ובשם נציגי הפלסטינאים. אנו רוצים שלום לטובת היהודים והערבים. הבה נסגור דלת זכרונות העבר המרים ונפתח פתח לעתיד ורוד.

ב. שאלות ותשובות.

- קיפר : מה התרשמותך מהממשל על עקרונות השלום שלך והאם יש שינוי בווינגטון?
חוסין : אני מאמין שהשגנו הבנה טובה יותר על האילוצים שבפנינו ומימדי האתגר. אנו מבינים אחד את השני ניש לנו הרגשה על חשיבות ההזדמנויות שבפנינו.
שי : מה יהיה מבנה הקונפדרציה ואיך יראה השלום ?
תי : זה יראה טוב.
שי : האם תוכל לפרט מה פרוש "מטריה בינ"ל" וכיצד זה מתייחס לברתימ?
תי : זוהי דרך הכרחית למו"מ ישיר בין הצדדים. באשר להשתתפות ברת"מ - זה ברור כשמדובר במעצמה ובחברה קבועה של מועבי"ט. אחרי הכל הבעיה במידה מסוימת "נולדה" באו"מ.
שי : רמה"ג. האם טוריה תצטרף?
תי : זה נתון להחלטתם. הם חלק מהמו"מ לשלום.
שי : בטחונות לירדן (מדברי רייגן). איזה בטחונות קבלתם?
תי : הנושא היה בסדה"י. יש לנו בקשות מוצדקות. נדון בכל האספקטים הקשורים בכך.
שי : אם אש"פ יקבל 242 ויכיר בישראל - למה שלא יאמרו זאת בטומבי והאם ניתן לסמוך על ערפאת?
תי : יש בידי הצהרה שהועבר לידי רייגן ובה עמדת ירדן ואש"פ הקשורה למו"מ בין ארה"ב והמשלחת המשותפת.
שי : האם תסכים ליחסי שלום (שגרירים, קשרים) עם ישראל?
תי : הדבר אפשרי.
שי : מתי יכנסו הצדדים למו"מ ישיר עם ישראל.
תי : בועידה בבינ"ל. היא תזדמנות לכך בין הצדדים וישראל.
שי : מה אנו האמריקאים יכולים לתרום לשלום?
תי : אנו זקוקים להבנתם על בטיס האידאות שלכם שאנו שותפים להן וכן לחמיכה ב-Case שלנו להשגת שלום. עד כאן.

אלי אבירן

1/16

4

12

1

3

1

11/11

3

היה זה סוף
למאמץ
לשם
השגת
שלום
ב-Case
1/16
3/11
2/11
7

2728 2212
01...ד...ג...ד...
...ג...ג...ג...
...ג...ג...ג...
85 May 31. 1500...
...ד...ד...ד...

ניו-יורק

בטחון

המשרד

226

601

778

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

NEWS SUMMARY - FRIDAY - MAY 31, 1985

EDITORIALS

***WASH. POST-31/5-"Beyond Sabra and Shatila" Again Palestinians are dying in Sabra and Shatila. This time Lebanese Shiite militiamen of Amal are seeking to prevent the slightest rebirth of the "state within a state" that the PLO set up in Lebanon in the 1970s. The Shiites are not without a political logic of their own. The Palestinians are still rattling around the Middle East, miserable themselves and making life miserable for others. The King's recent statements for the idea of taking a joint Jordanian-PLO delegation under the "umbrella" of an international conference does not take away from the fact that there is still much diplomatic work to be done. The PLO must come forward to state its own policy. The US must put this proposal on a firm footing and to match it up with Israeli proposals. The man responsible for possible peace is Hussein.

CHRISTIAN SCI. MON.-31/5-"Hussein's Plan" Hussein deserves credit for stepping forward in Wash. to offer another tentative piece for the Palestinian-Israeli talks puzzle. The King's proposal of an international conference leaves the situation far from resolved. Whenever the US has made any progress with the Syrians, Washington has had to bring in the Soviets. Washington may need to seek some area of common interest with the Soviets to ensure cooperation. The King wants to secure in some degree Palestinian rights in the Israeli-occupied territories. He is going about this goal in the only way he finds realistic. This time Washington responded attentively to his visit. If talks are not actually in view, at least the current constructive atmosphere continues.

COLUMNS

***WASH. POST-Stephen Rosenfeld-"In Every Israeli's Heart" So far the Israelis succeeded in controlling the price of admission to a renewed Middle East peace process and setting that price above what Hussein and Arafat have been willing to pay. Israel has had the support of the US in this exercise of political inflation. Notwithstanding Hussein's words in Wash. this week, the prospects of a serious negotiation remain slim. This is the way the Israelis want it. With the split in the Israeli govt. and the weight of other issues, Israelis find it much easier to stay in the rut they know. The current consensus in Israel seems better adapted to living - with every Arab country but Egypt - in an indefinite state of war. Others can press, but only Israelis can finally decide whether to submit to the wrenching that a reach for peace would entail. A prudent person aware of the debilitation of Israel's national life has to hope that the PLO can close the gap.

0 7 3 8 0 8 1 8
0197.....1100.....97
.....1100.....1100
.....1100.....1100

22/6/77
22/6/77

WASH. POST-Norman Podhoretz-"Lebanon:Where Irony Abounds" It is indeed ironic that Sabra and Shatila should now once again be under attack, only this time by fellow Moslems acting in open cooperation with Syria. It is indeed ironic that with the death toll likely to run at least as high this time as it did in 1982, the world which rose in righteous outrage then can barely suppress a yawn of boredom today. Perhaps the most ironic of all is that the Israelis are practically gone, and when almost everyone is saying that their invasion of Lebanon has ended in failure, the unfinished business of that invasion is in the process of being completed. To compound this enormous irony, the job is being done not by the Israelis or their Christian allies, but by the Syrians and their Shiite proxies. From the Israeli point of view, a Lebanon in which the PLO is on a Syrian leash is the next best thing to a Lebanon in which there is no PLO at all. Even where the Syrian role in Lebanon is concerned, then, the invasion is turning out to have been a success - in an ironic way as everything in Lebanon seems to be.

THE PRESS REPORTS

Israel Issues Story Of '76 Entebbe Raid

WASH. TIMES-(AP)-An official account of Israel's 1976 rescue of hostages at Uganda's Entebbe airport has just been published by the Israeli army. The 16-page article detailing the raid is an hour-by-hour account in the army's quarterly English-language magazine described as "the first official, declassified account of Entebbe," Lt. Col. Yehude Weinraub, the editor-in-chief, said in a telephone interview. The article appears ironically just one week after Israel traded 1,150 prisoners for the three captured Israeli soldiers.

U.S. Cool To Soviet Role In Mideast Peace Parley

***WASH. POST-Ottawa-The Reagan administration sought yesterday to dispel the impression that it is now ready to participate in a Middle East international peace conference attended by the Soviet Union. There are still fundamental differences between the US and Hussein over the framework for holding new peace talks. A State Dept. spokesman said the US continued to have "major difficulties" with the idea of holding a conference that would include the Soviet Union. Spokesman refused to reject the idea of Soviet participation, but noted that "their agenda for the Middle East is quite different from ours."

Settler Sentenced

WASH. POST-(Wires)-A Jewish settler from the West Bank was sentenced to 22 months in prison for his role in two plots to bomb Palestinian targets. Menachem Neuberger, 29, was the 10th defendant to be sentenced.

תאריך ודעה
 דחיות
 טווח בטחוני
 מסלול...
 79...
 88...
 601-226

WASH. POST-Boustany-Gemayel held a second round of intensive talks with Assad in Damascus amid hopes that their deliberations would produce a truce in the continuing fighting between Shiite Moslem militiamen and Palestinians. Despite a widespread consensus in Lebanon that the all-Syrian Arab Deterrent Force should be redeployed in Beirut, political sources said no dramatic results were expected from the Syrian-Lebanese meeting. (Wash. Times) - Gemayel said "It's very clear that security can be handled through Syrian forces with the cooperation of the Lebanese army pending the political reforms, which will undoubtedly annoy more than one side."

851515

୧-୩୦ ଯୁଦ୍ଧ ମାତ୍ର ୧୦୦ ଜଣ ମୃତ୍ୟୁ
 ୩୧-୬୦ ଯୁଦ୍ଧ ମାତ୍ର ୧୦୦ ଜଣ ମୃତ୍ୟୁ

מלך: המשרד

אמנון נויבך - לשכת ראש הממשלה.

פגישת ערן - ביל שחרי.

הפגישה סודרה לתאריך הנקוב.

דני בלור
בן שש

11.10.2020 - 11.10.2020

מכירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

המשרד

ס 8 1 8

ד.ל.ל. ... שמואל ... דפיס

סוג בשחוני קודי

דחיפות ... בתול

מספר ודואר מאי - 0900

מספר ...

מ/נ/ל, מ/נ/ל, מ/נ/ל

מכירות נשק לירדן : שלנו 754 .

מאת דאג בלומפילד (מפי, מקור מהימן בפנטגון)
מק - פרליין כן שינה דעתו, ועתה ממליץ על מכירות נשק מיידיות לירדן. ב"חבילה"
פוקלים מסירת מסוסי 20 - פ.

ל מ ד ו

מסר אל

3 1 3 1 1 1
לה ריה לה ריה לה ריה לה ריה לה ריה
האגות 4 3+1 4 4 4 4

המשרד

התקשר אחי קן ביאלקין ומסר לי שאחר שקיבל הודעה מראש ממרשל בריגר, התקשר עמו שולץ ומסר לו:

- (1) במהלך ביקורו במז"ת ביקש לבדוק דרכים לקידום תהליך השלום.
(2) הפגישה עם המלך חוסיין מלאה את הציפיות שהיו לארה"ב ממנו:
הוא milestone חשוב בקידום השלום במז"ת.

3) הצהרותיו של חוסיין על רצונו ביישוב הסכסוך בדרכי שלום וקבלת ההחלטות 242 ו-338 - וכן חידוש היחסים בין ירדן למצרים מוכיחים בעליל שחוסיין רוצה בשלום.

(4) חוסיין עשה מאמצים ראויים לשבח בהשגת הסכמת אשיף למהלכים מדיניים. יש גם שם תבועה בכוון הננון אם כי נשארו שתי בעיות:

(א) טרם נמצאו פלסטינאים מתאימים לשיתופם במנ"מ: הדבר הוא tough but doable

(ב) המלך חוסיין זקוק "למטריה" מתאימה וארת"ב מטפלת עתה בהשגת מטריח זן.

(5) לדעת ארה"ב נמצא המלך במצב vulnerable וצריך לעייע לו. צריך לדאוג לצרכי הבטחון של ירדן על ידי אספקת נשק.

6) העתובות האמריקניות איננה מציגה באופן נאמן את המצב לאשורו, כי יש בירדן שיבוי של ממש ביחסה לתהליך השלום.

(7) שולץ מבקש את העזרה של קו ביאלקין להשגת הסכמת הקונגרס לנשק לירדן. נשק זה בלאו הכי לא יימסר לירדן לפני חודש ספטמבר או אוקטובר השנה. "אם תתנגדו לנשק, אתם תוקעים את אצבעותיכם בעיניו של חוסיין".

סדר סדר
דף... 2... דפים
סוג בטחוני
דחיות
מספר וזיה
760...
מספר

8) קן ביאלקין סיפר לשולץ על שיחתו עם ראש הממשלה ריפעי והביע את
אכזבתו הרבה מהשיחה עמו. ביאלקין הדגיש שלצערו הוא לא מצא שום שינוי
בעמדת ירדן. להיפך, הוא מצא במידה רבה הקשחה של עמדת ירדן שלא מוכנה
בשום פנים ואופן לנהל מו"מ ללא אש"ף. לדעת ביאלקין מתן הנשק ישיג
תוצאות הפוכות. זו תהיה הוכחה שאפשר להשיג סיוע אמריקני גם ללא
התקדמות לשלום. הועידה הבינלאומית איננה פתרון - להיפך היא רק תסבך
את המצב. מתן הנשק יהיה step backwards.

כאן התפתח ויכוח בין המזכיר לביאלקין כשהמזכיר מנסה לשכנע את ביאלקין
שעמדתו איננה נכונה.

לפי ידיעות שבידי ביאלקין, עמד שולץ לשוחח עם עוד מספר מנהיגים יהודיים.

רוזן

1 6 3 4 12 1 3 1 3 1
מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר
מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר
מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר מספר

ד... 1... 3... דפיס

סווג בטחוני. מנהל...

דחיות... כהנא. לבנון.

מסרין וז"ל 1730. 31. מאי 85

7.5.8... מכתב

אל:

המשרד

758

אל: ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א,

דע: ... שהביט - פאריס

בתניהו - פאריס (758/972)

"ועידה בינלאומית"

שיחות עם וילקוקס, קירבי, רודמן.

א. וילקוקס (מנהל מח' ישראל וישראל/ערב).

1. אמרתי כי לשאף דברי הנשיא ותדרוך מרפי ניתן לחוש בשינוי בגישת ארה"ב לנושא זה, שהיתה ברורה ביותר, וזאת בלא התייעצות עמנו. ובידיעת עמדתנו המתנגדת. טען וילקוקס כי לא לתנה דבר. עמדת ארה"ב ביסודה לא תשתנה, אך חוסיין זקוק לתמיכה בינלאומית - ויכולה להיות דרך אחרת לכך מאשר ועידה בינלאומית. אמרתי כי תמיכה בינלאומית כמו גיוס האירופים (כפי שמיארו לפנינו בירושלים) הוא עניין אחד, ויצירת פרספציה של ועידה בינ"ל, שהיא מושג מוכר, הוא עניין אחר, מה גם שאנו מכירים את גישת ארה"ב המתנגדת לוועידה בינ"ל מזה עת רבה. אם גישתם היא כפי שתיאר וכפי שהיתה חיה עליהם לומר זאת גם בפומבי בדרך נאותה, אחרת נוצר רושם ברור שונה. וילקוקס אמר כי הם בודקים צורות שונות לתמיכה בחוסיין, ויכולה להיות דרך טובה יותר מאשר ועידה בינ"ל, ואין הסכמה של ארה"ב להתחייב לוועידה. מצדי חזרתי על גישתנו המתנגדת בחוקף לכך והיא משותפת לכל חלקי הציבוריות הישראלית.

ב. קירבי - (סגנו של מרפי). (י) הבקיא בפרטי התהליך; טען שחלק מן הבעיה הוא סמנטי. המונח "ועידה בינלאומית" קבל משמעות ספציפית בהקשר הערבי, כיון שהערבים משתמשים בו בקונטקסט של הסכם 11.2, והנוסחה כוללת סובייטים ואש"פ. הגדרה זו אינה מקובלת על ארה"ב כיוון שהיא מציגה לפניו שתי בעיות מרכזיות: אש"פ והסובייטים. באשר לאש"פ, הטעמים מדוע הם לא עשו דבר כדי להראות קונסטרוקטיביות (אגב, הגישה המפורטת בנושא הסובייטי נמסרה היום ע"י דובר מחמ"ד). המלך משתמש איפוא בביטוי "ועידה" במשמעות שעליה יש חילוקי דעות, וגם הנשיא התייחס אליה. קירבי מעדיף את הביטוי של המזכיר בא"ע עם חוסיין אתמול (הוברקס בנפרד). דהיינו, "הקשר בינלאומי תומך" לו זקוקה ירדן, דהיינו "רשת בטחון" אך לאו דווקא רעיון "תחוק" כלשהו. עתה על ארה"ב

ס 188 ס 188
דפ... 2... 3... דפ...

אל:

סוג בשחובי...

דחיות...

מאריך ודחיה...

7.58...

217/758

לבדוק כיצד יוסדר העניין.. הדגשתי כי לא זה הרושם שניתן ע"י דברי מרפי בדבר חזוזה.

2. שאלתי את קירבי אם יש דיונים בנושא ערוב האו"ם בתחליך, דבר שהוא בעינינו מוקצה מחמת מיאוס. אמר שהדיונים הפנימיים של האמריקנים כוללים קשת של רעיונות, אך מביאים בחשבון את העובדה שישראל איננה רוצה באו"ם. לשאלתי אם מדברים עם האו"ם הדגיש שהדיונים פנימיים, אך התרשמתי בבירור שבדקים גם את שנושא האו"ם בדיונים בממשל כאמור.

ג. רודמן - (מנהל היחידה לתכנון מדיניות). 1. אמר כי העתונות מגזימה בתיאור של חזוזה אמריקנית.. הדגיש כי נאמר שישנם חילוקי דעות עם המלך, וחילוקי דעות אכן ישנם. אף הוא ציין את הפסקה קנאומו של המזכיר בארוחת הערב כמשקפת יותר את המצב לאשורו. קרי גישה של חיפוש הקשר של תמיכה בינלאומית. הסכים עמי כי מרפי (וכן דברי הנשיא כמובן) יצרו רושם של יותר מזה. העיר כי האמריקנים מאוכזבים מכך שחוסין נוקשה בנושא הועידה בינלאומית, שכן בעקבה סברו כי הוא "יורד" מכך.

2. האמריקנים אינם רוצים באש"פ להערת של לא היה חידוש בדברי חוסין אמר שגם לדעתו אין חידוש גדול, אם כי ערפאת לאחרונה אומר דברים המאפשרים כביכול לאמריקנים לפרש "הגדרה עצמית" בצורה גמישה. רודמן עצמו סקפטי, והדגיש שאינו רוצה לראות את אש"פ במשחק.

3. הסכים. שבדברים הפומביים אתמול נוצר רושם שונה ממה שמתארים בפנינו בשיחות עם הממשל, עם זאת אמר שחוסין לחץ כתמורה לדברים שלו על נכונות למו"ם, וכמו כן הוא מנפנף בשנת 1985 וחשיבותה. חוסין איכזב בכך שלא אמר את הנוסחה של "אי לוחמה" שקיוו ממנו (הערת כי גישתנו היא שלום), אם כי רודמן אינו בטוח אם משהו היה זז גם אילו הצהיר מו: ש"כ.

4. לשאלתי מה ההמשך אמר שאינו יודע. שבדקים אופציות שונות, ידוע להם שהאו"ם מוקצה בעינינו.

5. מצדי אמרתי, כבשיחות אחרות, כי אנו סומכים על הבטחת המזכיר שלא להפתיענו. הסכים כי רצוי שיאמרו לפומבי את הסברם.

6. סיכם כי גישתם העקרונית לא נשתנתה; הם מתנגדים לאש"פ, עם זאת חוסין משמיע "רעשים חיוביים", גם אם לא דיבר על "אי לוחמה".

7. להערת כי היו מי שפירשו דברי מרפי שמסלבים את שני תנאי ארה"ב (כאילו 242 כולל גם את ההכרה) אמר כי זו הערה תקפה.

טגרירות ישראל • וושינגטון

ש 7 2 8 0 8 1 8
ד... 3... ממור... 3... 815

סוג בשחזני.....

דחיסות.....

מאריך ודעים.....

מס' מברע 7.5.8.....

מלו

217/758

8. לא התרשמתי כי הוא צופה להתפתחויות מרחיקות לכת.

הערה: עמדותינו ודאי ייאמרו, מלבד בארץ כמובן, גם ע"י שהב"ט בבואו לכאן
בשיחות המדיניות.


רובינשטיין

שה רהג שהכא אנא א/אנא אלפא אלפא ואלאק אורא 2
ו/אייכ אלגז רס אלן

(1)

41

שגרירות ישראל - רוסינגטון

אלו

המשרד

85 מאי 85
 מאריך וד"ח. 1630-31 מאי 85
 דחיות..... מוודג.....
 טווג בטחוני גלוג.....
 דף...נ...מחור...ז...דפיט
 7.50

אלו ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, ממ"ד

לוט טכסט נאומו של שולץ בא"ע אתמול לחוסיין.

רובינסטיין

2. BEGIN TEXT. YOUR MAJESTIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
 O'BIE AND I ARE VERY PLEASED AND HONORED TO EXTEND OUR
 WELCOME TO OUR GOOD FRIENDS KING HUSSEIN AND QUEEN NOOR.
 THIS OCCASION OFFERS US A CHANCE TO THANK THEM FOR THEIR
 GRACIOUS HOSPITALITY TO US A FEW WEEKS AGO IN AQABA; IT
 IS ALSO AN OPPORTUNITY TO PAY TRIBUTE TO THE IMPORTANT
 AND LONG FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE UNITED STATES.

FOUR DAYS AGO, JORDAN CELEBRATED THE 39TH ANNIVERSARY OF
 ITS INDEPENDENCE. TWO DAYS AGO, PRINCE FAISAL GRADUATED
 FROM BROWN UNIVERSITY, THE HAPPY OCCASION WHICH BRINGS
 THEIR MAJESTIES TO THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS A TIME OF
 REMEMBERING, AND ALSO A TIME FOR LOOKING AHEAD TO THE
 FUTURE -- TO FAISAL'S GENERATION AND THE GENERATIONS
 AFTER.

YOUR MAJESTY, YOUR STATESMANSHIP IS CAUSE FOR ADMIRATION,

UNCLASIFIED

AND YOUR LEADERSHIP IS CAUSE FOR HOPE. YOU HAVE DEFIED THE SKEPTICS AND THE MAY-SAYERS TO PRODUCE POSITIVE AND PRACTICAL MOVEMENT TOWARDS PEACE. YOUR WISDOM AND FORESIGHT HAVE PROVIDED LEADERSHIP IN YOUR HISTORIC BUT TROUBLED REGION.

WE HAVE DISCUSSED TODAY SOME OF THE THORNIEST ISSUES THAT PLAGUE THE MIDDLE EAST. AND WE HAVE SEEN PROGRESS. WE APPLAUD YOUR EFFORTS; WE ENDORSE YOUR DEDICATION; AND THE UNITED STATES SHARES YOUR DETERMINATION TO BRING TO REALITY A JUST, COMPREHENSIVE, AND LASTING PEACE.

LET ME LIST THE PRACTICAL STEPS WHICH YOU HAVE TAKEN IN RECENT DAYS AND WEEKS. WE RECOGNIZE THEM AS REAL ACHIEVEMENTS, AND THEY ARE WINNING JORDAN EVER-WIDENING SUPPORT AMONG THOSE IN COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD WHO HOPE FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

--YOU HAVE RESTORED FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH EGYPT, WHICH IN TURN MAINTAINS ITS PEACE TREATY WITH ISRAEL.

--YOU HAVE REMINDED US ONCE AGAIN THAT TIME IS A WASTING ASSET, THAT PEACE IS NOT SOMETHING FOR ENDLESS TALK BUT FOR ACTION--NOW--THIS YEAR.

--YOU HAVE AFFIRMED A WILLINGNESS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, WITH A JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN DELEGATION ON ONE SIDE AND ISRAEL ON THE OTHER, IN A SUPPORTIVE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT. WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK ON RESOLVING OUR DIFFERENCE REGARDING HOW BEST TO PROVIDE THAT CONTEXT.

--YOU HAVE SPOKEN ELOQUENTLY OF THE NEED TO SECURE THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF A JORDANIAN-PALESTINIAN CONFEDERATION.

--YOU REITERATED YOUR OWN DESIRE, AND THAT OF YOUR PALESTINIAN PARTNERS, FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE PERTINENT UN RESOLUTIONS INCLUDING SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

--FINALLY YOU SPOKE OF YOUR DESIRE TO PROCEED IN A NON-BELLIGERENT ENVIRONMENT.

THE ROAD TO PEACE IS A LONG ONE. MANY STEPS MUST BE TAKEN WITH CARE TO SEE THAT WE STAY ON COURSE. I ASSURE YOU THAT JORDAN WILL NOT TRAVEL THAT ROAD ALONE. THE CAUSE IS TOO IMPORTANT, THE ALTERNATIVES TOO COSTLY TO CONTEMPLATE OTHERWISE. WHILE WE MAY HAVE MUCH STILL TO DISCUSS REGARDING HOW WE CAN BEST ARRIVE AT OUR SHARED

GOAL, WE AGREE ON THE DESTINATION. WE ALSO AGREE ON THE STARTING POINT: WE MUST START WITH RESOLUTION 242, WITH WHICH, WE CAN NOTE, THE PRESIDENT'S SEPTEMBER 3 INITIATIVE IS FULLY CONSISTENT. PLEASE KNOW THAT YOU HAVE A STRONG AND DETERMINED PARTNER ON THE ROAD TO PEACE. THIS JOURNEY WILL HAVE MANY OBSTACLES, BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR US BOTH. WE LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING CLOSELY WITH YOU.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN TRIBUTE TO THEIR MAJESTIES KING HUSSEIN AND QUEEN NOOR. END TEXT.

750

2/2

4 12 1 3 1 1411 3
3-2-2 Corio Corio Corio Corio Corio Corio
: : : : : : :
: -207 64 1024 16 3+1-1
1 1 1 6 3+1-1

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

6971

甲甲

151

110

甲甲

甲甲

甲甲

של: נושא, נר: 947, מ: המשרד
ח: ב, סג: ס, תא: 310585, רח: 1300

סודי בהול לבוקר

למדן

שלך 247

לאחר בדיקה נוספת עם לשכת רוהי'ם' ולשכת שהח הי' להד' י'מ' י'
לשלכם מוצדק ביותר

לא היו דברים מעולם וראת שמועה מרושעת

בר און

תפ: שהח, דהמ, מובל, ממנבל, מצפא, ד/מרכז, ממד, משפט

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בלמים

אל: וושי, נר: 946, מ: המשרד
 דח: ב, ג, ב, תא: 310585, רח: 1300

בלמס בהול

השגריר הציר הדאלי

ייביומון הבוקריי בראש המהדורה הופיעה הכתבה הבאה:
 ייחילוקי דעות וקשיים צפויים בקרוב בין ישראל וארהב כיצד
 לפתוח בעיות האזור כך כתב ממנכ"ל חנן בראון בהערבת מצב
 לדוהימי ולשהח

לכתבנו ש.ש. נודע כי בעססן ואמר שארהב תתמוך במשלחת של ירדן
 נשל הפלסטיןנים למוימי משלחת שמתגבשת והולכת ולא תהיה מקובלת
 על דעתה של ישראל

שלא בעמדת ישראל גם יתמוך הממשל במגעיים מוקדמים בין המשלחת
 הזאת לבין נציגים אמריקניים

מקורות מדיניים בירושלים אמרו לכתבינו כי הם מתרשמים יותר
 ויותר שארהב מדברת בכפל לשון בענייני האזור
 עד כאן

הממנכ"ל התקשר לפלאטון ואמר לו כי אין כל בסיס עובדתי לעניין
 וכי נייר כזה לא נכתב

לשבת בר און

תפ: שהח, רהמ, שהבס, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, ד/מרכי, דס, אמן, מצפא, ממד

אל: 11, נר: 934, מ: המשרד

דח: ר, סג: ש, תא: 300585, זח: 2300

שמו/רגיל

דע: דובינסטין

שלך 709.

תודה. שהבט כבר נמצא בפריס ובקשנו את לשכתו להעביר לו את
המטאלה. יחד עם זאת הנושאים סבירים.
בר און

ת9: שהח, דהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא

(5)

277710

117111

ועידה בינלאומית

בשיחה עם הריסון וטוואה שבאו למסור הטרונסקריפט של דברי רייגן, אמר הריסון, תוך שהוא מדגיש אין לו הנחיות, שבהתייחסותו של הנשיא, יש לדעתו האישיות ניואנס שכדאי לשים לב אליו. עד שנכנס לתפקידו היה משוכנע שעמדתה של ארה"ב נגד נעידה בינלאומית היא החלטית.

הריסון גם היפנה תשומת לב לקמע השות' שם נשאל חוסיין לגבי השתתפות סובייטית בועידה בינלאומית והשיב שאכן זהו הנושא שיוכרז עליו. "AS THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID" הריסון אמר שמוזר לחשוב על רייגן מציע שתוף הסובייטים ולכן הוא מניח שחוסיין כימיה התייחס למשהו אחר. הריסון התעניין כיצד אנו מאמינים יתכונות הפרספציה בעתונות כאן בוושינגטון שחל שינוי בעמדת ארה"ב והצליח ברוח דברי הממנכלי לפרלמנט.

שואה שאל אם אין זה נכון שהמכמנו שועידה כזאת תהיה בסוף
COVER בשלב כלשהו של התהליך. אמרתי שעמדתה של ישראל
ידועה היטב ואת שלילתנו הבענו מספר רב של פעמים.
לשבת בר און

תפ: שהח, רהמ, שהבס, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכו, דס, אמנ, מצפא, מואר, ממד

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

בלמים

אל: ווט, נר: 929, מ: המשרד
 דח: ב, סג: ב, תא: 300585, זח: 1900

סורי/בהול

רוון רובינשטיין

שיחות חוסיין לשלנו

אחרי שקראתי את רשום הצהרותיהם של רייגן וחוסייין התקשרתי
 שוב לפלאטן ואמרתי לו שאני מופתע יותר משעברתי וששמני השאלה
 אצלי התרבו.

הסבתי תשומת לבו לא רק לתשובתו של הנשיא בקשר לוועידה
 בינלאומית אלא גם לתשובתו של חוסייין לשאלתו של וולייס על
 השתתפות סובייטית בוועידה בינלאומית כאשר חוסייין אמר
 'SAYO, כן הסבתי תשומת לבו לדברי הפקיד הנכיר בתדרוך רקע
 על שאלתו של דולדסון כשגם תשובה זו אינה חד משמעית ואינה
 שוללת ועידה בינלאומית.

ספרתי לפלאטן על ידיעה ששמעתי בחדשות לפיה רה"ס אמר שהוא
 איננו מאמין בשינוי עמדה אמריקאית בקשר לוועידה בינלאומית גם
 לאור שיחותיו עם המזכיר.

פלאטן אמר שהוא יעביר מיד את 'השתוממותנו' לוושיןגטון.
 בראון

תפ: שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכר, ממנכל, ד/מרכר, דס, אמן, ממד, מצפא,
 מטפס

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אל: ויש, נר: 927, מ: המשרד
 דח: ב. סג: ס, תא: 300585, רח: 1800

סודי/בהול

רורן, דובינסקיין

בהמשך לשיחתנו, התקשר שוב פלאטן ומסר לפי הנחיות מוויינגטון ולקמן:

1. אין הסכם עם חוסיין בעניין הועידה הבינלאומית.
2. ארה"ב לא דחתה מכל וכל SOME MECHANISM FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

3. ארה"ב תגיע אתנו באופן מלא על צורה שתמיכה כזאת יכולה ללוש לארה"ב יש כמה דעיונות בנושא זה אך שום דבר אינו מגובש

4. מחמ"ד אינה צופה שבמשך הימים שחוסיין עוד יהיה בוויינגטון יושג הסכם עלשהו.

פלאטן הוסיף מספר פעמים שאין כל הסכם לא יהיו לו עדיין פרטים נוספים על השיחות אך נראה לו שהוא יוכל לתדרך אותנו מחר.

בר און

תפ: שהח, רהמ, שהבש, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכי, רס, אמן, המד, מצפא, מואר

6507

**

יציא

**

**

**

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

חל: ווש, נר: 920, מ: המשרד
 דח: ב, סג: ס, תא: 300585, נח: 1700

בהול/סודי

רוזן, רובינשטיין.

פלאטן הקריא לי את תשובתו של הנשיא בענין הועידה
 הבינלאומית.

הגבתי שעמדתנו לוועידה בינלאומית נשארה אותה העמדה כפי שהובעה
 ע"י כל הגורמים בארץ בפני האמריקאים פעמים אין ספור ושלה
 היה שותף המוכיר וכל אנשי שיח'ינו האמריקאים.
 הזכרתי לוש אם זכרוני לא מטעה אותי הגדיר פעם המוכיר ועידה
 בינלאומית כ"קדקס".

הזכרתי כ"כ תשובת אדרייב למזכ"ל האו"ם בענין זה.
 בר-און.

תפ: שהח, דהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ר, מרכו, דס, אמן, מצפא, ממד

6328

**

יוצא

**

**

**

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מ. 897 : המשרד

תח: ד, סג: ס, תא: 300585, רח: 0800

סודי/רגיל

דורן, רובינשטיין.

השגריר לואיס נועד לפגישה פרידה עם ממררה'ם ושה'ח. נכחו בדגדג, טבת והח'ם. לואיס הביע תקווה שיחסי ישראל מצרים ישתפרו בעתיד הקרוב. שה'ח אמר כי המצרים מבחינים בעיקרון בין שלום לנורמליזציה. אנו יודעים שאסאד וערפאת אומרים שמצרים איננה יכולה לבטל הסכם השלום עם ישראל אך מובק נחוש שלא לקדם הנורמליזציה. לואיס הזכיר ביקור שר האנרגיה המצרי בסימן לשיפור ושה'ח אמר שאין די בכך. אמנם כל צעד מסוג זה הוא חשוב יש לעודדו אולם לא די בכך ואסור שיהיה מצב בו ביקור שר מצרי ייחשב 'למבצע'.

בענין תהליך השלום העיר שה'ח כי אנו יודעים היטב מה אומר ערפאת לאנשיו: אל תקחו הצהרות ועמדות ברצינות. הצהרות הפומביות הן סקטיות. האידאולוגיה והפילוסופיה נשארו בעינן. כך מדבר ערפאת בחוגו הקרוב ביותר. ויש לקחת זאת בחשבון. חוסין גם יודע זאת אך הוא משחק את המשחק. אם חוסין סובר שערפאת יהיה מבטל לקידום התהליך הוא שוגג. לואיס העיר כי חוסין יודע שערפאת חלש ושתלותו במלך רבה. שה'ח העיר כי המלך הוא שרדן וזו תכלית מדיניותו. שה'ח סיפר שבסיוני אמר לו לא מכבר שכל מדינה ערבית מחשיבה ביותר יחס אשי'פי אליה. למצרים חשוב שלאשפי תהיה דעה טובה עליה. שה'ח הוסיף שאשפי הוא מבטל בתהליך השלום. אין להשיג עמו דבר אך קשה להשיג בלעדו. אולם אנו עתירי נסיון. בטרם ביקור סאדת בישראל המצב היה גרוע פי כמה. אין להוואש. אך צריך להימנע מעשות מישגים ואל לנו לתת לאשפי לתעתע בנו ובארה'ב. שה'ח

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אמר שהוא יודע הסתייגותו העמוקה של המזכיר מבפני הלשון המקובל בעולם הערבי. שהיה אמר כי השגת השלום היא תהליך ולואיס העיר שאכן כך ואין לזרוז יתר על המידה כדי לא לגרום נזק לעצם התהליך. לואיס עידכן שהיה הידוע לו מביקור חוסין בוויינגטון. חוסין יאמר בנראה משהו כללי ומעורפל על נכונותו למו"ם ישיר. הידונים טרם הציגו לארה"ב רשימה של חברי משלחת ידדנית - פלסטינאים אע"פ שבשיחה עם דיפאטי הוזכרו מספר שמות. ארה"ב תיקבע עמדתה לגבי השלב הבא רק אם תוגש לה רשימה ויובהר שזו מוליכה למו"ם ישיר עם ישראל. מכל מקום ביקור המלך עומד להסתיים בכל הנראה ללא דרמה מיוחדת. לא משבר אך גם ללא פריצת דרך. לואיס סיפר כי מורפי בתידורכיו השתדל למנוע ציפיות גבוהות מדי מהביקור. שהיה סיפר כי בפגישתו עם נציגי הקהילה שאלוהו על מו"ם ישיר עם אש"ף, מתקבל הדושם שאירופה מייחסת יתר מקשל לאש"ף מאשר לירדן. לואיס אמר שזה נכון פרט לברטניה. לואיס שאל ביצד יראה אש"ף בלי ערפאת ושהיה השיב שהארגון יישאר בעיקרו אותו דבר. קדומי נחשב ליורש אך הוא וזה מאד. לואיס אמר שחבש רובה לאהדה ומוחק אמיץ. חולשתו בהיותו נוצרי ובעל דעות חברתיות קיצוניות. לואיס אמר ששוב שישראל איננה מעורבת עוד בהתרחשויות בבירות. שהיה אמר ששם מתחוללת טרגדיה נוראה. לואיס ציטט מעיתון אמריקאי שלבנון כבר איננה מדינה אלא רק רעיון. שהיה העיר כי כך אמר בזמנו למקפרייין שמאן אז לקבל תיאור זה. לואיס אמר שנראה שהסודים אינם יודעים ביצד לנהוג ואין להגיב על המתרחש. שהיה אמר שהשאלה היא האם בכלל יש לסורים יחס לסבל אנוש.

לואיס אמר שמעניין לעקוב בלבנון אחרי התפקיד האירני המורכב. איראן מתחרה בהשפעה הסורית כשהן בנוות ברית במפרץ. שהיה אמר כי יתכן ויש קבוצה קטנה במערך השלטוני האירני הגורסת בחישה בלבנון. לואיס אמר שיש במהדן מחנות יריבים השולחים איתותים סותרים לגבי לבנון. אך מורסם כסף אירני רב. האירנים העבירו לחיזבאללה 30 מליון דולר בעוד שלבארי י'ולאמליי רק כמליון דולר. זה יוצר דיספרופורציה במשאבים והכסף הופך לגורם רציני לאור זאת ביקש בארי ליצור קשר עם לוב אך מגעיו הניבו תוצאות מעטות. לואיס הוסיף שהסורים רוגזים על הלובים על מעורבותם בלבנון. לואיס אמר כי העולם הערבי רווי מחלוקות ויריבויות. אחדות היא בגדר חלום רחוק.

כאן נסבה השיחה על מהות המשאבים בסוריה ובעיראק. בן דובר על ג'ונבלט. שהיה סיפר על ההערצה שהוגים לו הדרוזים בישראל. לואיס סיפר שבדתולומיאו נפגש באחדונה עם ג'ונבלט אחרי שנסע אליו בדרך לא דרך כדי לדבר עמו על נאומי ג'ונבלט שתמכו בפעולות סרוד להן יכולה להיות השלכה על ארה"ב. ג'ונבלט חמק

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מהנושא בערמומיות. לואיס סיפר עוד על תוכניותיו האישיות והעלה זכרונות מביקורי שה'ח בווינגטון. לואיס אמר כי הוא משוכנע שלפחות עם הממשל הנוכחי יחסינו יהיו טובים מאד. שה'ח עמד על הקשרים ההדוקים בין ממשל לישראל. זה ממשל בעל עקרונות שלנו הידברות קרובה מאד עמו.

שה-ח ברך לואיס והודה לו על שיתוף הפעולה.
בנצוד

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

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אל: נוש, נר: 890, מ: המשרד
 יח: ר, סג: ס, תא: 300585, זח: 0800

וסודי/רגיל

דוין, דובינשטיין.

השגריר לואיס נועד לפגישת פרידה עם ממרוה'ים ושה'ים. נכחו
 בגר, טבת והח'ים. לואיס הביע תקווה שיחסי ישראל מצרים ישתפרו
 בעתיד הקרוב. שה'ים אמר כי המצרים מבחינים בעיקרון בין שלום
 לנורמליזציה. אנו יודעים שאסאד וערפאת אומרים שמצרים איננה
 יכולה לבטל הסכם השלום עם ישראל אך מוברק נחוש שלא לקדם
 הוורמליזציה. לואיס הזכיר ביקור שד האנרגיה המצרי כסימן
 לשיפור. ישה'ים אמר שאין די בכך. אמנם כל צעד מסוג זה הוא חשוב
 יש לעודדו אולם לא די בכך ואסאד שיהיה מצב בו ביקור שד
 מצרי ייחשב ילמבצעי.

בענין תהליך השלום העיר שה'ים אי אנו ידעים היטב מה אומר
 ערפאת לאנשיו: אל תקחו הצהרות ועמדות בדצ'נות הצהרות
 הפומביות הן טקטיות. האידאולוגיה והפילוסופיה נשארו בסיין
 כך מדבר ערפאת בחוגו הקרוב ביותר. ויש לקחת זאת בחשבון.
 חוסין גם יודע זאת אך הוא משחק את המשחק. אם חוסין סובר
 שערפאת יהיה מכשיר לקידום התהליך הוא שוגה. לואיס העיר כי
 חוסין יודע שערפאת חלש ושתלותו במלך רבה.
 שה'ים העיר כי המלך הוא שרדן וזו תכלית מדיניותו. שה'ים סיפר
 שבסיוני אמר לו לא מכבר שכל מדינה ערבית מחשיבה ביותר יחס
 אש'פ' אליה. למצרים חשוב שלאש'פ' תהיה דעה טובה עליה. שה'ים
 הוסיף שאש'פ' הוא מבטול בתהליך השלום. אין להשיג עמו דבר אך
 קשה להשיג בלעדיו. אולם אנו עתירי נסיון. בטרם ביקור סאדת
 בישראל המצב היה גרוע פי כמה. אין להוואש. אך צריך להימנע
 מעשות מישגים ואל לנו לתת לאש'פ' לתעתע בנו ובארה'ב. שה'ים

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אמר שהוא יודע הסתייגותו העמוקה של המזכיר מכפל הלשון המקובל בעולם הערבי. שהיה אמר כי השגת השלום היא תהליך ולואיס העיר שאכן כך ואין לזרוז יתר על המידה כדי לא לגרום נזק לעצם התהליך. לואיס עידכן שהיה הידוע לו מביקור חוסין בוויינגטון חוסין יאמר כנראה משהו כללי ומעורפל על נכונותו למו"ם ישיר. ירדנים טרם הציגו לארה"ב רשימה של חברי משלחת ירדנית - פלסטינאים אעיף שבשיחה עם ריפאעי הוזכרו מספר שמות. ארה"ב תיקבע עמדתה לגבי השלב הבא רק אם תוגש לה רשימה ויובהר שזו מוליכה למו"ם ישיר עם ישראל. מכל מקום ביקור המלך עומד להסתיים ככל הנראה ללא דרמה מיוחדת. לא משבר אך גם ללא פריצת דרך. לואיס סיפר כי מורפי בתיירוכו השתדל למנוע ציפיות גבוהות מדי מהביקור. שהיה סיפר כי בפגישתו עם נציגי הקהילה שאלוהו על מו"ם ישיר עם אשפי, מתקבל הרושם שאירופה מייחסת יתר מקשל לאשפי מאשר לידון. לואיס אמר שזה נכון פרט לברטניה. לואיס שאל כיצד יראה אשפי בלי ערפאת ושהיה השיב שהארגון יישאר בעיקרו אותו דבר. קדומי נחשב ליורש אך הוא חולה מאד. לואיס אמר שחשב רובה לאהדה ומוחק אמיץ. חולשתו בהיותו נוצרי ובעל דעות חברתיות קיצוניות. לואיס אמר ששוב שישראל איננה מעורבת עוד בהתרחשויות בבירות. שהיה אמר ששם מתחוללת טרגדיה נוראה. לואיס ציטט מעיתון אמריקאי שלבנון כבר איננה מדינה אלא רק דעיון. שהיה העיר כי כך אמר בזמנו למקפדליין שמאן אז לקבל תיאור זה. לואיס אמר שנראה שהסורים אינם יודעים כיצד לנהוג ואין להגיב על המתרחש. שהיה אמר שהשאלה היא האם בכלל יש לסורים יחס לסבל אנוש.

לואיס אמר שמעניין לעקוב בלבנון אחרי התפקיד האירני המורכב. איראן מתחרה בהשפעה הסורית כשהן בנות ברית במפרץ. שהיה אמר כי יתכן ויש קבוצה קטנה במערך השלטוני האירני הגורסת בחישה בלבנון. לואיס אמר שיש בטהרן מחנות יריבים השולחים איתותים סותרים לגבי לבנון. אך מורס כסף אירני רב. האירנים העבירו לחיבאללה 30 מליון דולר בעוד שלבארי "ולאמלי" רק כמליון דולר. זה יוצר דיספרופורציה במשאבים והכסף הופך לגורם רציני לאור זאת ביקש בארי ליצור קשר עם לוב אך מגעיו הניבו תוצאות מעטות. לואיס הוסיף שהסורים רוגזים על הלובים על מעורבותם בלבנון. לואיס אמר כי העולם הערבי רווי מחלוקות ויריבויות. האחדות היא בגדר חלום רחוק.

כאן נסבה השיחה על מהות המסחרים בסוריה ובעיראק. בן דובר על ג'ונבלט. שהיה סיפר על ההערצה שהוגים לו הדרוזים בישראל. לואיס סיפר שברתולומיאו נפגש באחרונה עם ג'ונבלט אחרי שנסע אליו בדרך לא דרך כדי לדבר עמו על נאומי ג'ונבלט שתמכו בפעולות טרור להן יכולה להיות השלכה על ארה"ב. ג'ונבלט חמק

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מהנושא בערמומיות, לואיס סיפר עוד על תוכניותיו האישיות
והעלה זכרונות מביקורי שהיה בוויינגטון. לואיס אמר כי הוא
משוכנע שלפחות עם הממשל הנוכחי יחסינו יהיו טובים מאד. שהיה
עמד על הקשרים ההדוקים בין ממשל לישראל. זה ממשל בעל עקרונות
אלנו הידברות קרובה מאד עמו.

שהחבר ברך לואיס והודה לו על שיתוף הפעולה.
בנצור

תפ: שהח, דהמ, שהבט, מנכל, ממנכל, ד/מרכו, רם, אמן, ממד, מצפא,
משפט, קידר, מותים

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

אל: ווש, ני, נר: חורם 2163, מ: המשרד
 דח: ר, סג: ש, תא: 300585, יח: 0800

שמור/רגיל

רובינשטיין, למדן קניסל, הראל, לביא

יועצו המדיני של רוחים נמרוד נוביק יוצא לוויינגטון 9/6
 כאורח המכון המסונף לאיפקי שבהנהלת אינדיק בן ירצה נוביק
 בפני ה- E I A. ישמח לעמוד לרשותכם לפגישות ותידרוכים כפי
 שתימצאו לנכון.
 יתכן ותיקבע גם הופעה במועצה ליחסי חוץ בנוו-יודק.
 ישהה בארה"ב עד מוצ"ש 15/6.

מצפ"א

ת: שהח, רהמ, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפ"א

2 / 1
מס' 2

אל: הסברה, מע"ח, לש' ממנכ"ל, יועץ רוח"מ לחקשורת, מספ"א,

לש' יגר.

סיווג בטחוני:

דחיות:

77: וושינגטון

30/430

תאריך חיד:

0791

מס. מברק:

מאח: עזונות

176-011

News Summary May 30, 1985

Editorials

WSJ "Deafening Silence" Something seems to be missing as violence in Lebanon reaches a new crescendo. The latest dispatches say hundreds have been massacred. Where are all the moralists now? They don't blame the Syrian defense minister. They aren't asking for a commission of inquiry and they aren't heaping on the head of Assad the kind of hateful language they leveled at Begin. And they appear to take no notice that Syria's brutality in Lebanon is taking place under cover provided by Moscow.

Columns

ND-Amos Perlmutter "No Cause for Mideast Hope" In the wake of the disastrous war in Lebanon, both the PLO and Israel have undergone changes, none of the particularly for the better. There are few realistic grounds for peace. The situation remains static because of Israel's political instability, disunity among the Arabs and the PLO's weakness. Camp David is a hollow dream. No PLO or Arab leader will negotiate without having the real possibility of an independent Palestinian state on the negotiating table, and that the Israelis are bound to reject.

Press Reports

Hussein Says PLO Agrees on Parlay With Israel

NYT-p.1-Gwertzman-Hussein said the PLO and Jordan were now in agreement on holding peace talks with Israel under the umbrella of an international conference. Hussein also said that after years of refusing to do so, the PLO agreed that the talks be held on the basis of UN resolutions including 242 and 338. The acceptance of these two resolutions has always been a condition for US dealings with the PLO. A senior US official said that the King's statement was significant but that the US would need an "unequivocal" statement by the PLO itself before acting. US officials said Hussein's statements were more forthcoming than expected. In Tunis, AP reported that a spokesman for the PLO said its Central Council endorsed the Hussein-Arafat Accord and approved conditions stressing a PLO role in peace talks and the goal of a sovereign Palestinian state. Hussein says that a conference could produce direct talks with Israel. His aides said that an international conference was needed to avoid ostracism of Jordan in the Arab world.

2 2 97

:ל

סיווג בטחוני:

דחיות:

:97

תאריך ח"ח:

:מא

מס. מברק:

(see NYP; DN-Rehm; WSJ-Ignatius; ND-Klurfeld)

Israeli Legislators Bar War Inquiry

NYT-special-Parliament defeated motions offered to set up a commission of inquiry into the Lebanon war. The Labor Party, when it was in opposition, had demanded a public inquiry. It abstained in the vote today in order to preserve the National Unity Gov't.

Gemayel Escapes Injury

NYT-p.1-Hijazi-Gemayel was reported to have narrowly escaped injury when artillery shells and rockets struck his palace. The source of the rockets and shellfire was not clear. The bombardment was apparently unrelated to the bitter fighting between the Palestinians and the Shiites. After the incident, Gemayel flew to Syria for emergency talks with Assad. There was speculation that Gemayel would ask Assad to send in troops to end the fighting. In another development, the body of Dennis Hill, who has been missing since Monday, was identified. He was said to have been shot six times in the head. Islamic Holy War took responsibility. The caller also said that the group was responsible for the recent kidnappings of three other Westerners. UPI reported that the caller stated "we will not allow anybody to rest" until authorities freed 17 Moslem extremists held in Kuwait. (see NYP-Reuters; DN-UPI)

Iran-Iraq

NYT-Reuters-Iraq said its warplanes attacked Teheran and Tabriz, and a West German cargo ship was hit by a rocket. Iraq said Iranian shelling of Basra killed 3 schoolgirls.

Saudi Official Calls for Price Cuts on Crude

..SJ-Ibrahim-The Saudi oil minister called for price cuts on heavy crude, the first official indication that depressed oil prices were taking a toll on his country, the world's largest oil exporter.

Classic Holocaust Work to be Expanded

NYT-McDowell-Raul Hilberg's classic "The Destruction of the European Jews," will be expanded into three volumes.

ITONUT

חתימה:

אישור מנהל המחלקה:

ET 1018

השולח: 30.5.86

תאריך: 97

המקור: ניו-יורק טיימס, 30.5.86

מאג

המשרד,

0107..3..7188....197

.....טווג בעחוני, טענל

דחיסות מידד

תאריך: 30.1.60 מ"מ: 85

752

ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א

בקור חוסיין - תקשורת

החרטומיות ראטוניות: בעקבות ההצהרות אתמול על מדשאת הבית הלבן - זכה חוסיין לכסוי תקשורתי בולט יחסית ברשתות (בעקר ב-ABC) וכן לעמודי א' בעלוונת הכתובה (בנפרד "וושפוטט" ו"ניו יורק טיימס" מהבקר).

לפני הפרסומים הנ"ל היה קשה לדעת שאכן המלך מבקר בוויטינגטון וסבוה
הפרופיל הנמוך נבעו בין השאר מה - play down הרציני שעשו רוברי
הממשל בכל הנוגע לצפיות מהבקר; מסרובו של חוסיין להופיע בתקשורת
(הסכים רק להופעה אחת - ככל הנראה מחר בבקר) ומשיגרה מסוימת (עייפות?)
מבקורים מעין אלה והרגשת פרשנים וכתבים של *deja vu*, כל הנ"ל
כשהתמקדות הצבורית כאן מופנית לענייני פנים ובראש ובראשונה
ליימהפכת המיסים של רייגן.

הנמונה המסתמנה בעקבות שיחות עם פרשנים וכתבים הינה כדלקמן: עד לפגישת
 שולץ - חסיין ב-28, הערכות הממשל כפי שהועברו לתקשורת היו כאמור
 "ציפיות נמוכות - אין ולא תהיינה הפתעות". ראו נא לדוגמה דברי רקע של
 סלטרו (מברקנו 672 מה-28 מאי) הדוחה רעיון ועידה בינ"ל. אך מאתמול
 בצהריים הדוברים האמריקאים עמלו קשה כדי ליצור רושם אם לא של
 breakthrough אז לפחות של "התקדמות משמעותית" בתהליך השלום חוץ
 הדגשת נכונות חסיין לדבר בשם אש"פ. ניתן להניח כי ה - quid pro quo
 האמריקאי היה שנוי פומבי בנושא הועידה הבינ"ל.

כשבאים לבחון מניעי הממשל נראה לנו כי עמד לנגד עיניהם רצון עז למנוע

4 3+1+1 1 2 4 10 1 2 1 4+1+1 2

[illegible]

דף 2... מתוך 3 דפים
 סוג בשחוני
 תחיות
 תאריך וזמן
 מס' פנקס 752

אלו

"כשלון מובארק 2", כלומר: למנוע היווצרות רושם שחסיין ישוב לרבת עמון בידים ויקות. רושם זה החל כבר להשתרש שלטון ואתמול כתוצאה מתדרוכי מחמ"ד ועל כך יצא כנראה כעסו של המלך ואיומין לקצר בקורו.

זכור לכולנו כמה עמלו קשה דוברי הממשל אחרי בקור מובארק כדי למחוק הרושם של הכשלון, אך הכל לשווא. ומכאן להערכתנו הרצון "לבנות" אווירה של התקדמות סביב חוסיין, לחזקו פומבית, להשאירו בתוך תהליך השלטון ולסייע בבוא העת למאמצי הממשל בקונגרס להשגת הנשק המבוקש.

פרשן ותיק - הנק טרואיט ("בולטימור סאן") - טען באזני כי בהעדר כל אפשרות מצד הממשל להתחייב פומבית למכירת נשק מתוחכם לירדן (בשל התנגדות בגבעה) נשארה רק האופציה לחזקו פומבית ע"י כך שבאים לקראתו בענין הועידה הבינ"ל.

בשחות חדרון לכתבים כמעט התחננו הדוברים לשים דגש יתר על סוגית ועידה בינ"ל כי בטן הכל ההסתיגויות האמריקאיות בעינן עומדות ומהלך זה הוא facade או "כסוי" נוסח ז'נבה 73 שבמסגרתו ניתן לנהל שחות נפרדות. כן בקשו הדוברים מן הכתבים להבליט נכונות המלך לדבר בשם אש"פ אם כי למען הצדק יש לציין דברי מרפי שעמדת עראפאח נשארה "a big IF".

לסכום: מבחינתו של חוסיין ושל הממשל היה זה יום מוצלח בו חיזקו הפרספציה של התקדמות ממשיה ו"משמעותית" בתהליך השלטון (creeping in the right direction" כפי שאמר לי פיל גייילין) והובלט התפקיד החיובי שממלא המלך. כאמור תדמית זו חשובה ביותר הן לחוסיין והן לממשל בעקר בגבעה.

ס 0 8 1 5
 דף...מחור...דטים
 סוג בשחובי
 דחיפות
 מאריך וזיה
 28
 שנת ה'תש"ז

באשר למחלוקת סביב שאלת הועידה הבינ"ל נראה כי הדוברים האמריקאים יעשו
 הכל כדי להמעיט בערכם של חלוקי הדעות עמנו וברוח זו יש לראות תדרכיהם
 לכתבים העוסקים בעינינו וכ"כ הודעת דובר מחמ"ד היום על 6 התנאים להשחתפות
 טוביטית.

אנו מצדנו מדגישים האלמנטים החיוביים שבעמדתנו - בעקר נכונותנו למו"מ
 ישיר עם משלחת ירדנית - פלסטינאית בכפוף לתנאים שנקבעו ע"י הממשלה, תוך
 שאנו מבהירים התנגדותנו לוועידה בי"ל בשחוף מדינות שאינן מקיימות יחסים
 דיפלומטיים עמנו וכ"כ התנגדותנו לכל מו"מ עם אש"פ.

הראל


ע.נ.ס. 888

ד.פ. 1.3... מתוך... דפים

סוג בטחוני... גלוי

דחיות... רגיל

85 May 30 1630 תאריך וזמן

749... מס' מבקש

(2)

אל:

בטחון

581

המשרד,

749

ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א, מע"ת, רמ"ח קט"ח.

Thursday - May 30 - חדרון דובר מחמ"ד ליום

Q -- Ed, do you have anything there that might take us further on the talks that have been held with King Hussein? In other words, what's the next step? Would the US clarify its position on an international conference?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Bernie, let me deal with this in phases, if I may.

Q However you want.

MR. DJEREJIAN: (Refers to guidance book.) Concerning the meetings between King Hussein, the President, the Secretary, and other high-ranking American officials, in respect to the peace process, it is our view that this is a process, and one in which progress is going to be incremental. There is a lot that is positive in the outcome of these meetings, and which offer us much to build on.

King Hussein's statement is an unequivocal reaffirmation of his desire to seek a negotiated settlement and one based on United Nations Security Council's (Resolutions) 242 and 338.

You will note that the King made this affirmation in light of his recent discussions with the PLD. In our view this is progress.

Now, the second part of your question, Bernie, on the international conference, no agreement with the parties has been reached on this issue. As the President said yesterday, the subject of an international conference remains, quote, "Under discussion", unquote, and we have not resolved some differences that we have in views on this. But we are certainly going to continue in these discussions.

And I think it's obvious that we're going to stay in close touch with all of the parties concerned.

Q Well, you have a difference in views. But do you accept the concept of an international conference as a formula, as an approach, as a rubric, for the direct negotiations you want?

..... סוג בשחוני
..... דחיות
..... תאריך וזית
..... משרד מטה

581/ 749

Q Is this going to be pursued in the next few days, with the Soviets, the idea of the conference? I understand there's some meeting to follow up the earlier meeting that Murphy had in Vienna

STATE DEPT. 5/30/85

-4-

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, I don't have anything specific for you on the -- whether or not we're going to discuss this with the Soviets, per se. But we do have -- I think our position on the Soviet role in the peace process is well known, and I would, if I can find it in this tome (guidance book) here, I'd like to reiterate it to you.

However, so far we have seen no evidence that the Soviets are prepared to play such a role.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

0 9 1 8 0 9 1 8

07...3...97

.....110

.....180

.....110

.....110

אלו

581/749

We have spelled out specific actions which, in our view, would constitute constructive behavior. Do you want to follow up on that?

Q Yes. Do you now have anything to say about a meeting with the Soviets, apart from whether this will be or will not be discussed? Is there one scheduled?

MR. DJEREJIAN: You're referring to a meeting with the Soviets on the Middle East?

Q Yes.

MR. DJEREJIAN: Another regional meeting?

Q Yes.

-- MR. DJEREJIAN: -- No, I have nothing on that. I have nothing on that at all.

Q One last question. The senior official yesterday at the White House, briefing reporters, said that a statement from the PLO accepting 242 and recognizing Israel's right to exist would have to be unequivocal and affirmative and direct, I think. Does that have to -- I just want to be clear -- that has to be a public statement, is that correct? That cannot be a note that is delivered through another country, or through a third party, or something of that sort? Is that correct?

Acceptance by the PLO of 242 and 338, and Israel's right to exist, as I understood it, and I just want to be sure I understood it correctly yesterday, has to be a public statement by Mr. Arafat, or some other PLO body? It cannot be a note to that effect, saying, "I herewith endorse what King Hussein had to say in Washington, delivered through some third party"?

MR. DJEREJIAN: It's important, John, to keep two different issues distinct in our minds. I think there's some confusion on this. One is if the PLO clearly and unequivocally accepts our terms, accepts resolutions 242 and 338, and Israel's right to exist, we will begin a substantive dialogue with that organization. That is the American position.

5738 8878
דפים... 13... 4... 97

:74

..... 110

..... 108

..... 107

..... 106

581 / 749

Now, the question of whether the PLO could participate in a joint delegation with Jordan in negotiations with Israel is a matter for all the parties at the table to decide. So, what we have to keep distinct here is the US conditions for entering into a substantive dialogue with the PLO, which is one thing, and then secondly, the question of whether the PLO's role in participation in the peace process, and whether or not it participates in a joint delegation with Jordan, in negotiations with Israel, that's a matter for all the parties at the table to decide.

Q I understand. I'm asking a more narrow question, and I appreciate what you suggested. But does it have to be a public

FEDERAL TRANSCRIPTS 202-347-1400

STATE DEPT. 5/30/85

-6-

pronouncement by the PLO that they accept 242/338 or can it be, pursuant to what King Hussein said yesterday, a note endorsing what King Hussein said on behalf of the PLO, or more explicitly, accepting 242 and 338 without a public statement? That's what I'm trying to determine.

You can take the question if you want. I'm just trying to understand it.

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, no, in terms of our conditions for our entering into a dialogue, we have stated that we want an explicit and public acknowledgement statement by the PLO of its acceptance of UN resolutions 242, 338, and Israel's right to exist. That remains very much the case.

Now, let me see if I can clarify this any further for you.

581/749

Q Does the United States have any proof that Yasser Arafat represents a significant portion of the PLO? Does it concern you that he's not speaking for all the factions? Hussein kept saying, "We have the assurance of Yasser Arafat."

MR. DJEREJIAN: I just refer you to the King's remarks to the PLO that he referred to -- his recent discussions with the PLO and obviously to the February 11 agreement. I think the King's remarks stand on their own. And when he said "we", he said he was talking about Jordan and the PLO and I think we have to maintain that.

Q On that point, if some faction of the PLO should meet the US requirements of 242, 338 and Israel's right to exist, would the United States be prepared to deal with that faction, whether other elements of the PLO endorsed that statement or not?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing for you on that. I have nothing for you on that.

Now, the question of Palestinian representation was discussed in these meetings, but not in any definitive sense. The United States believes that credible Palestinians must be involved at every stage of the negotiations regarding their future. It is evident that there must also be agreement among all the concerned parties on the negotiating partners. Our position, as I said, concerning the PLO is well-known and unchanged.

Q On participation and demonstrating constructive behavior, can you elaborate a bit more on this or go beyond that? What do you want them to do? Support the Jordanian-Palestinian Accord or the Reagan Plan or what?

2728 - 0818
...ב...מ...ב...ד...ד...ד...

מל:

.....ב...ב...ב...

.....ד...ד...ד...

.....מ...מ...מ...

.....ב...ב...ב...

581/749

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, we have made known to the Soviet Union that constructive behavior would include and does include such things as resumption of full diplomatic relations with Israel, the ending of Soviet anti-semitic propaganda, the improved treatment of Soviet Jews, including the right to emigrate, the exercise of Soviet influence to reduce arms supplies to Iran, ending Soviet arms supplies to militia groups in Lebanon, desisting from efforts to obstruct positive moves toward expanding the peace process in the region. So when we talk about constructive behavior --

Q In the most recent formulations of the US formula for talking or negotiating with the PLO, there has been a fourth condition added recently, which you seem to have dropped here, which is, renounce the use of terrorism.

MR. DJEREJIAN: We have had guidance on that in the past and you know, in September, 1975, the US gave assurances to Israel as part of the Sinai II agreements not to recognize and negotiate with the PLO so long as the PLO does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not exist 242 and 338. And consistent with this assurance, that's been our policy, of US officials not to engage in substantive contacts or discussions with them as long as they have not acknowledged these conditions.

What you're talking about specifically, if I understand you, is exactly what?

Q I'll tell you specifically what I mean. One, there's an amendment to the Senate Appropriations Bill which has that phrase.

MR. DJEREJIAN: What phrase exactly. Say it again.

Q Well, the four conditions.

MR. DJEREJIAN: Oh, you're adding terrorism.

Q Yes, and renouncing the use of terrorism. Now the authors of that amendment say that they took that language directly from the speech by National Security Advisor McFarlane and State Department officials who have added it during this administration.

97...7...מחור...13...דפי

אל

.....במחור...110

.....מחור...

.....מחור...110

.....מחור...110

581/749

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, when you're talking about the legislation, per se — and you're talking about the legislation, per se — let me answer your question in two parts. First of all, the United States government position on terrorism is well-known. I think we are in the lead in opposing terrorism and the Secretary, the President, Mr. McFarlane's recent remarks on terrorism and counter-terrorism, I think, they speak for themselves.

It's obvious also that you can't proceed on a peace process if terrorism is an ongoing fact of life. That, again, is another point and in that — I mean, yesterday, I think, the Jordanian government representatives and the King — there was a statement that was made. King Hussein spoke of non-belligerency. He referred to a genuine desire for peace that includes proceeding in a non-belligerent environment. I think this is an important statement on the part of the King and the Jordanians, in terms of the peace

FEDERAL TRANSCRIPTS 202-347-1400

STATE DEPT. 5/30/85

2-3

process as a whole. And the Jordanian party issued a statement at 4:00 o'clock on May 29th — I'm not sure if you're all aware of that. He indicated that when King Hussein spoke of non-belligerency, he referred to a genuine desire for peace. Quote, "That includes proceeding in a non-belligerent environment," unquote.

Now, in our view, his flows from King Hussein's desire for genuine peace through negotiations. It is obvious that to proceed on the peace process in a belligerent environment would be a contradiction in terms. And I would add terrorism, part of your question, to that.

But more specifically, in terms of the legislation, Jim, the administration is firmly opposed to legislating such language and most recently made its views known in letters from the Secretary of State to Senators Lugar and Pell, and to Congressmen Broomfield and Fascell, opposing the inclusion of such restrictions in the FY '86 Foreign Assistance Bill.

The conduct of diplomacy is a unique responsibility of the President. Attempting to codify a nuanced and complex policy is not an appropriate function of the Legislative Branch of the government.

.....טווג בעחוני
.....דחירות
.....תאריך וזמן
.....מס' פנקס

581/749

Q When you put conditions on the PLD to accept 242 you said so that the US will negotiate, or talk to them. You don't say "recognize them". Can you differentiate between these two things?

2728 0818

ד.ד. 10... 13... ד.ד.

..... בטחוני

..... דחייסות

..... חמריך ודחייסות

..... חמריך חמריך

174

581/749

Q Answer the second part. Does 242 recognize Israel's right to exist?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I think it's inherent in the resolution.

FEDERAL TRANSCRIPTS 202-347-1400

STATE DEPT. 5/30/85

2-5

Q If it's inherent in the resolution then why must the PLD do both, accept 242 and explicitly --

MR. DJEREJIAN: It's an explicit recognition of the right of Israel to exist. It's a fundamental issue.

Q And 242 is not?

MR. DJEREJIAN: 242 may be subject to interpretation. But I don't want to go further than that.

Q Would you elaborate on why the President seemed, yesterday, to agree with the King that 1985 was the last chance, or the last, best, chance for peace? Isn't this raising the possibility of a self-fulfilling prophecy or dangerously high expectations that can't be met, then?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, I think the President's remarks, if you take them, and then read what the Secretary said last night at the dinner he hosted for King Hussein, in which he specifically applauded the King's efforts, endorsing the King's dedication to the peace process, and stating that the US shares the King's determination to bring to reality a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace, these are positive elements. And the Secretary went on to list the practical steps which the King has taken recently, which we recognize as real achievements. The restoration of full diplomatic relations with Egypt. Okay? The recognition on both sides, the American side and Jordanian side, that time is a wasting asset, that we need action and we need action this year, if we can get it,

3738 8818
013...13...11...97

17X

.....1100 בעתונת

.....דח"ס 208

.....תאריך 11/11/82

.....מס' 581/749

581/749

affirming the King's willingness for negotiations with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation on one side and Israel on the other, obviously, in a supportive international context. The addressing of the question of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people within the context of the confederation between Jordan and -- a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation.

I mean these are all -- and what I said before, the King's readiness to proceed in a non-belligerent environment.

Q I understand these elements. My question is --

MR. DJEREJIAN: These are all elements which underscore --

Q But are we saying that if they don't bear fruit, they can't? There's something magical about 1985?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, I think there's a recognition that time works against a peaceful settlement.

Q Can I come back to the toast that you just mentioned there? You happened to pick out a phrase that he used last night. The Secretary used the phrase, "a supportive international context," and the King, a few moments later, used the phrase "international conference." Is that really what the argument boils down to now between Jordan and the U.C., that Jordan's going to insist on an international conference and the US is going to try to phrase it in a different way and call it a "supportive international context?"

MR. DJEREJIAN: Well, I think, Ralph, I addressed our position on an international conference.

Q Right. So now I'm asking about an international context. Is that -- are they both really the same thing?

MR. DJEREJIAN: No, it's a serious question. I take it for what you are saying. The bedrock of the American position is to obtain a mechanism which will lead to progress in the peace process and certainly lead to direct talks between the Arabs and the Israelis. That has underlied our efforts throughout this period. The importance of the mechanism and the process, if you go back, is even subsumed in the President's September 1, '82 initiative, which, obviously, remains our preferred approach toward a settlement.

0'91..13.7102..R.97

.....'21002 2110

.....210'07

.....0'11 7'02

.....0'11 '02

17X

581/749

So when you talk about international conference, international context, we have to get back to the basics. We want to see and establish a mechanism that will lead to real progress on the ground and will lead to direct talks between the Arabs and the Israelis.

Q But semantics aside --

MR. DJEREJIAN: I'm not talking about semantics.

Q Well, it's boiling down to a game of semantics here. Is it a context or a conference?

FEDERAL TRANSCRIPTS 202-347-1400

STATE DEPT. 5/30/85

3-2

MR. DJEREJIAN: I've just answered Ralph's question.

Q Not really.

Q For the last two years, outrightly you refused the idea of an international conference. Now the President said, "We will consider, we are discussing." So is there at least a change? Can you admit there's a change of US position toward an international conference?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I've answered the question already.

Q Aren't you seeking some kind of international legitimization, whether it's through the Security Council -- I mean, the five-power security council Hussein mentioned -- or conference umbrella for a number of separate steps, including the Palestinian-Jordanian negotiations with Israel?

MR. DJEREJIAN: We're seeking a process and mechanism that will lead to direct talks between the Arabs and Israelis and lead to a comprehensive peace settlement.

ט ו ר ט
 13...13...13...
 טווג בטחוני
 דחיות
 מאריך ודית
 טווג בטחוני

טגירות ישראל - ודסינגטון

אלו

581/749

Q Including an international conference?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I'll leave it at what I said.

Q Have talks been going on today between members of the Jordanian delegation and State Department officials on such matters as participation in talks and that sort of thing?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I'm personally not aware of any specific talks, but I believe there may be -- there will be further -- there, obviously, are going to be further contacts between the Jordanian and the US side today and, obviously, the main issues will be discussed.

Q Will the Secretary see King Hussein again?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Yes.

Q Can you say when?

MR. DJEREJIAN: Tonight I think there's a dinner and I think there might be something else, but I don't have anything specific.

Q Where's the dinner?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I think it's at where the King's party is staying.

Q Have you received any reaction from the Israelis regarding the US position concerning the international context?

MR. DJEREJIAN: I have nothing.

Q Or maybe you have sort of endorsements in advance for the idea?

MR. DJEREJIAN: No, I have nothing on that.

3441 4 12 1 3 1144 3
 222 2210 2214 2214 2214 2214
 2214 2214 2214 2214 2214 2214

מגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אל:

המשרד

ס ו ש ס
דף.....מחור.....דפים
סווג בטחוני...שסנר...
דחיות.....הגיל...
תאריך ודיח. 30.11.85
מס' מברק...748

מצפ"א

מתגים.

מברקם 864 הצטלב עם מברקי 686.

בהתיעצות עם הציר החלטנו, כאמור להסתפק בטקסט הקצר ובהחלט להתפתחויות ולצורך-
לדאוג למשלוח חומר רקע נוסף.

כירם



שהיה משה מלך מלך מלך

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אלו

המשרד

2212 2222

דף.....מחור.....דפים

סודי.....טווג בטחוני.....

דחיסות.....בחול' לבוקר

מחירין ודיוק

74.2.....

אל: ממנכל.

אנשי אייפייק מוטרים שנציגם בארץ דיבר עם קטשכות בירושלים ונאמר לו כי הודעת
חוסטין מאתמול (29) לאחר הפגישה עם הנשיא רייגן "נתפרה" בין ירושלים לבין
רבת עמון ומהווה בסיס לשיחות עם ירדן ולמכירת נשק לירדן.
על דעת השגריר, אמרנו לאיפייק, להדמ'.

ל מ ד ו

ו.ת.א.מ.

עיה מהא דא ג/אנא גצסו ר/אדסא דא דאס

סגירות ישראל - וושינגטון

אלו

המשרד

85 מאי 30 1330
מאריך ודיוח
דחיסות
מיידי
סוג בשחזר
מחזור
דפים
739
סיכומי מסי

אל :- מצפ"א , ממ"ד

משיחה קצרה עם ארון מילר Policy Planning ב-30 מאי.

ביקור חוסין

1. למילר אין מידע על תוכן השיחות ומהלכן. דבריו מבוססים על בסיון רב בתחום הירדני - פלסטינאי, רשמים ממהלך הביקור וראיית הביקור בקונטקסט רחב ולא כארוע העומד בפני עצמו.
2. עפ"י גישה זו הוא אינו מגלה שינוי בעמדות הצדדים ולא רואה תוצאות דרמטיות בביקור. חשוב, לדעתו, לקחת פסק זמן עד שתאבק ישקע לפני שחורצים משפט. על הרבה דברים שנזרקו לחלל בימים אלה מוטלת חובת ההוכחה במציאות. האינדיקטור הראשי - תגובות אש"פ.
3. מחזיק בדעה שחוסין כלל לא משחק במגרש הישראלי של תהליך השלום, שלב זה טרם הגיע. הוא שקוע במגרש הפלסטינאי - ערבי. דהיינו כיצד מבטיחים שאש"פ קרי, ערמאת לא יפגור אחריה, וכיצד למנוע זעזועים מבחינתו במחנה הערבים-הרחקת "ידידים" והרגזת אויבים. מבחינה אופרטיבית חוסין שואף להעביר הכדור מהמגרש הנ"ל לעבר המגרש של האמריקאים ע"י שכנועם לבחון את הפרוצדורה והתוכן של תהליך השלום. ביתר דיוק כיצד מחברים את האמריקאים עם הפלסטינאים כדי לשמור את המומנטום של התהליך.
4. מכאן שלחוסין עמדו 3 אפשרויות בביקור, לפי סדר עולה של עדיפות:
(א) לבוא עם משהו דרמטי שיתווה הענות לארה"ב כגון בנושא המו"מ הישיר ותחילת מועד תחילתו. שני הדברים אינם קבילים על חוסין בצורתם זו.
(ב) להגיע למשבר ביחסים עם ארה"ב כגון ע"י קיצור הביקור. מילר סבור שלחוסין אין עניין בכך מהסיבה שכל עמלו לאחרונה ירד לסמיון אם כי אישית היתה לו ביקורת על דרך הצגת הביקור ע"י אישיטודורי הממשל.
(ג) הליכה בשביל ביניים וזו האפשרות שבחר.
5. אחרי שחוסין שכנע את האמריקאים בשיחות ובמפגשים קודמים שלא יוכל להתקדם ללא הפלסטינאים הוא בא לשכנעם לקנות את העקרון שכשם שלא יוכל לוחר על הפלסטינאים הוא אינו יכול להוציא עצמו מהכלל ולכן הוא זקוק לחסות בינ"ל כלשהי. לעקרון זה עשויות להיות שתי צורות שקטה עתה לפסוק מי האמיתית בעיניו וחששויות לתחום הפלסטינאי - ערבי :
2/..

739

הכל עולה עולה עולה עולה עולה
עולה עולה עולה עולה עולה