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SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES AIPAC'S ANNUAL REPORT HIGHLIGHTING
LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE PAST YEAR

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63176

AIPAC

THE AMERICAN ISRAEL PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

August 8, 1989

J. Sir

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

AIPAC's Annual Report highlighting legislative activities of the past year reflects a remarkable record of Congressional advancements in the U.S.-Israel relationship. Your name appears on pages 12, 42, 63, 67, and 68 of this report, which was distributed to our leadership and 3,000 of our key members, plus delegates who recently attended our annual Policy Conference.

Your active role in helping to enhance U.S.-Israel ties is deeply appreciated. If we can be of any assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call on us.

With best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Tom
Thomas A. Dine
Executive Director

Ester Kurz
Ester Kurz
Legislative Director

Enclosure

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AIPAC 1988



100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

S. CON. RES. 142

Congratulating Israel and Egypt on the tenth anniversary of the Camp David accords.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 13 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 7), 1988
Mr. BOSCHWITZ (for himself, Mr. PELL, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. GORE, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. SIMON, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. KERRY, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. DOLE, Mr. METZ-ENBAUM, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. DeCONCINI, Mr. BOND, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. TRIBBLE, Mr. BOREN, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. INOUE, Mr. BUMPERS, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. REID, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LEVIN, and Mr. BIDEN) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

SEPTEMBER 14 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 7), 1988
Reported by Mr. PELL, without amendment

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Congratulating Israel and Egypt on the tenth anniversary of the Camp David accords.

100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. J. RES. 451

Commending the State of Israel and its people on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the independent State of Israel.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 8, 1988
Mr. LANTOS (for himself and Mr. LOTT) introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

JOINT RESOLUTION

Commending the State of Israel and its people on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the independent State of Israel.



ANNUAL REPORT

1988



American Israel
Public Affairs Committee

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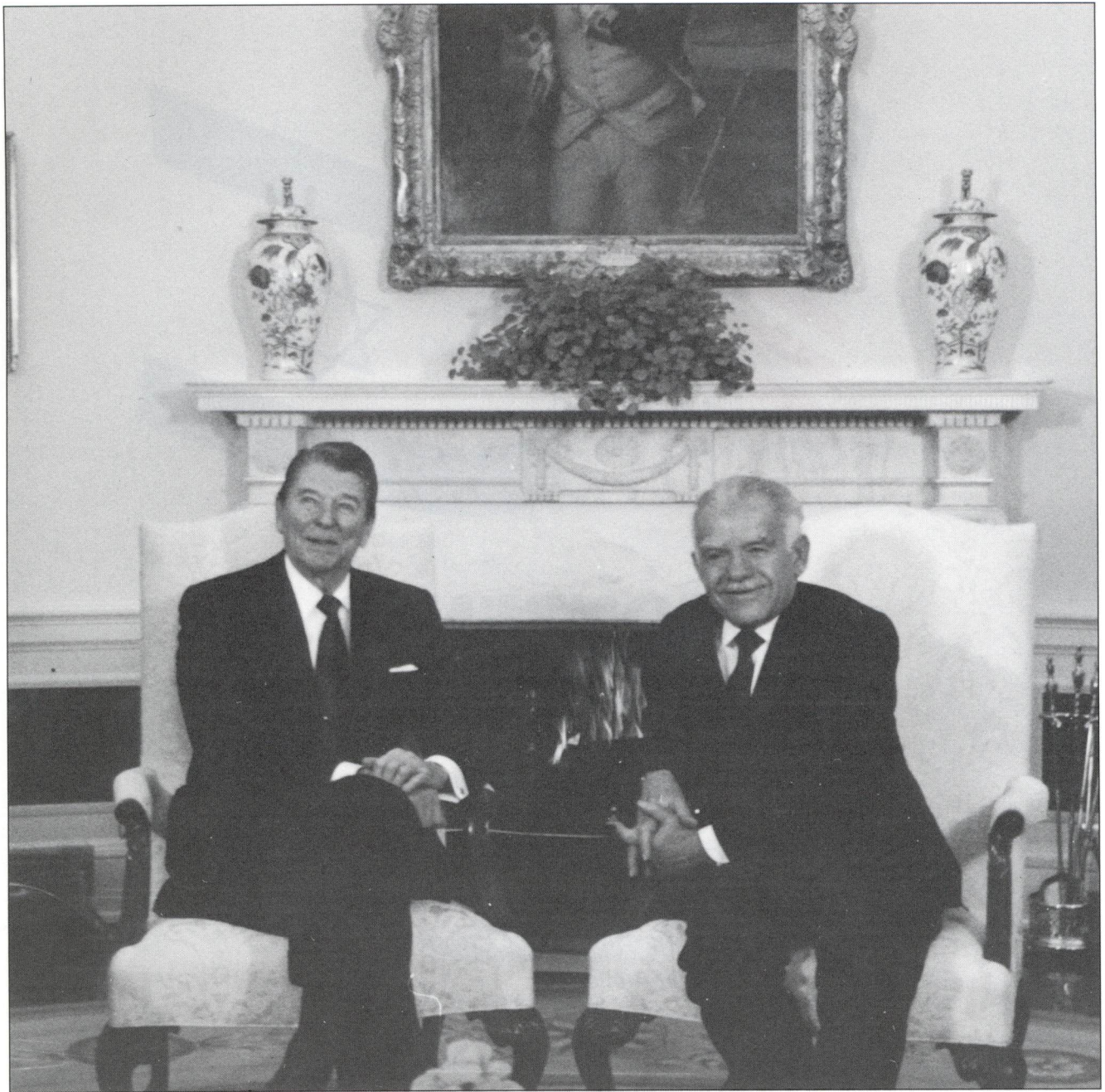
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Nathaniel Lack



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President Ronald Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir met in Washington in early 1988 to discuss the peace process in the Middle East.



INTRODUCTION

*"Our relationship with Israel
is in our mutual self-interest"*

President Ronald Reagan

The United States-Israel relationship was broadened and strengthened in 1988. The Congress, the Administration, and political candidates from both parties across the nation worked to deepen that relationship which was reinforced by continued strong American popular support for Israel.

President **Ronald Reagan** summarized this situation when he stated:

"Our relationship with Israel is in our mutual self-interest. But a narrow calculation of interest is not the sole basis of the bond between our nations. At its heart is a moral obligation on our part to do whatever is necessary to defend and protect Israel."

Despite the year long continuation of the Palestinian uprising (intifada) in the West Bank and Gaza and hostile media attention to Israel's attempts to maintain law and order in the territories, the Reagan Administration and the Congress reflected widespread American support for Israel and worked together to enact a series of wide ranging pro-Israel provisions.

Congress appropriated \$3.0 billion to Israel in all-grant aid—\$1.2 billion in economic assistance and \$1.8 in military aid. The funds were included in the first free-standing foreign aid appropriations bill to pass since 1981, rather than in an omnibus appropriations measure called a Continuing Resolution.

In addition to the aid levels, Congress passed over two dozen other pro-Israel provisions. For the first time, the Administration proposed and the Congress approved a "fair pricing" amendment to the foreign aid bill which will enable Israel to save approximately \$90 million on its next purchase of F-16's from the United States. Congress also stipulated that Israel's economic assis-

tance be made available during the first thirty days of the fiscal year and that Israel be permitted to spend \$400 million of its military assistance in Israel.

The Administration and the Congress underscored the importance of strategic cooperation with Israel by enacting a series of measures to substantially enhance this relationship. The United States is particularly interested in Israeli research in the field of anti-tactical ballistic missiles (ATBM). Congress supported a Memorandum of Agreement in this field signed by Secretary of Defense **Frank Carlucci** and Israeli Defense Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** by appropriating the funds to continue research and development of Israel's Arrow ATBM program and other related projects.

Congress also passed legislation appropriating funds for Israel's Popeye air-to-ground missile program and its purchase by the United States. Israel's status as a Major Non-NATO Ally was codified, which will foster even closer future defense relations.

As the Reagan Administration drew to a close, steps were taken to institutionalize the special strategic relationship between the U.S. and Israel. A Memorandum of Understanding was signed calling for the continuation and enhancement of the Joint Political Military Group and Joint Security Assistance Planning Group meetings.

Congress continued its efforts to limit the amount and type of sophisticated military technology made available to Israel's enemies. Members of Congress expressed their concern about the proliferation of weapons in the region and criticized Saudi Arabia's purchase of weapons from Great Britain and China. Members of Congress also negotiated a compromise with the Administration that allowed a U.S. missile sale to Kuwait to proceed, but only after Maverick-D missiles were withdrawn from the package and other safeguards were instituted.

Despite attempts by anti-Israel groups to promote their agenda during the American elections, both the Republican and Democratic parties adopted pro-Israel planks in their platforms and both Vice President **George Bush** and Governor **Michael Dukakis** repeatedly stressed their support for strong relations with Israel.

Events in the United States took place within the framework of continued changes in the Middle East. King **Hussein** of Jordan took himself out of any negotiations over the status of the West Bank and Gaza in July. This complicated the task of finding a suitable Arab negotiator and intensified the need to bring West Bank and Gaza Arabs more directly into the process.

Secretary of State **George Shultz**, after rejecting PLO Chairman **Yasir Arafat**'s request for a visa to speak at the United Nations, later announced his intention to open a dialogue with the PLO after **Arafat** declared that he accepted Israel's right to exist, accepted United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 and renounced the use of terrorism.

After a lengthy election and negotiating process, **Yitzhak Shamir** became Israel's Prime Minister as head of a new National Unity Government. Thus, as the year ended, new administrations in Washington and Jerusalem were being formed to face the difficult issues confronting both governments in the years ahead.

President-elect **George Bush** declared his determination to work with Israel for peace, to "energize the peace process in the Middle East, so that Israel and her neighbors can fulfill at least the vision of turning swords into plowshares." To this end he stated that "U.S.-Israeli cooperation is fundamental to our strategic interests. No threat, no stone thrown, is strong enough to divide us. No wedge will be driven between us....[O]ur partnership [with Israel] holds the key to peace in the Middle East."



Congress passed a free-standing foreign assistance appropriations bill for the first time in seven years.

Congress passed a free-standing foreign assistance appropriations bill (H.R. 4637) for the first time in seven years. Since 1981, foreign aid appropriations had been included as part of an omnibus appropriations package called a Continuing Resolution (CR). This year's legislation provides \$3 billion in all-grant aid to Israel as well as numerous other pro-Israel amendments (see Appendix for full list of provisions).

One of the most important new provisions in the 1988 foreign aid bill, known as "fair pricing", gives the President limited authority to waive non-recurring research and development costs associated with foreign military sales.

Passing the foreign aid bill is a year long process. The legislation is debated and voted on in numerous subcommittees and committees and on the floors of both houses. The process begins with the President's budget request and concludes with the passage by both Houses of the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Conference Report.

Budget

The Administration's annual budget submission kicks off the foreign aid process. The budget proposal sets forth the President's priorities on how federal funds should be spent and estimates on the levels of revenues the government anticipates receiving in the coming fiscal year.

Foreign aid requests are included in the spending request for "International Affairs" (Function 150). This Function sets the ceiling for the amount that Congress may authorize and appropriate for all international programs.

Unlike previous years, the budget submission for fiscal year (FY) '89 was determined earlier by an Administration-Congressional budget "summit" held in November, 1987. The "summit" took place because Congress and the Administration had been unable to agree on a budget for FY '88, and the need for action was dramatically underscored by the stock market crash of October 19, 1987. The Reagan Administration insisted on higher defense spending, lower amounts for certain domestic programs and lower tax levels. Democratic leaders in the House and Senate argued that it would be impossible to reach the deficit targets set by the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law without additional revenues and without some cuts in defense spending.

After weeks of negotiations, both sides agreed to a two-year budget package of spending cuts and revenue increases designed to reduce the deficit by \$33 billion.

This two-year proposal set most limits for FY '89 spending, including those for the International Affairs Function.

Because spending for International Affairs had been drastically cut in previous budgets, the negotiators agreed to increase Function 150 by 2% in FY '89.

The President's budget submission for FY '89 adhered to the agreement for Function 150. The Administration requested \$18.1 billion in Budget Authority (BA) and \$15.6 billion in Outlays (O). This overall request included Administration support for \$3 billion in aid to Israel.

Secretary of State **George Shultz** testified before both the Senate and House Budget Committees to reaffirm support for the Administration request. **Shultz** told the committees that by supporting both Israel and Egypt, U.S. foreign assistance promotes peace in the Middle East. He added that U.S. assistance helps produce a better quality of life for Palestinians in the West Bank.

When the House Budget Committee marked up its Budget Resolution, it accepted report language offered by Reps. **Howard Wolpe** (D-MI) and **Don Sundquist** (R-TN) calling for a "continuation of the current levels of assistance to those countries covered by the Camp David Accords." Senate Budget Committee Chairman **Lawton Chiles** (D-FL) included the same language in the Senate version of the Budget Resolution.

The House passed the Concurrent Budget Resolution for FY '89 by a vote of 319-102 in late March. The Senate passed the Resolution 69-26 in early April. The \$1.1 trillion federal budget included the 2% increase in foreign assistance funding over FY '88 levels.

These totals enabled Congress to fully authorize and appropriate the assistance requested for Israel, while remaining within the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets and thus avoiding across-the-board cuts in all programs.

Foreign Aid Authorization

The Foreign Assistance Authorization bill allocates the maximum amount of funds that may be spent for individual programs and sets policy guidelines. The House passed a two-year authorization bill (H.R. 3100), including one for FY '89, on December 10, 1987 by a vote of 286-122.

Although a similar bill was approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1987, it was never voted on by the full Senate. As a result the actual authorization for foreign aid was inserted into the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill as a special technical provision.

Foreign Aid Appropriations

The FY '89 Foreign Assistance Appropriations bill (P.L. 100-461) was the first foreign aid appropriations measure passed by Congress and signed by the President since 1981. This legislation includes \$3 billion in aid to Israel in fiscal year 1989 - \$1.2 billion in economic aid and \$1.8 billion in military aid - as well as numerous other pro-Israel amendments.

House

The appropriations process began in March in the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations which held approximately two months of hearings on the foreign assistance bill. The Subcommittee heard from both Administration witnesses and public witnesses, including the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).

AIPAC's Executive Director **Thomas Dine** and Legislative Director **Douglas Bloomfield** testified before the Subcommittee on April 27. **Dine** spoke about the moral and strategic importance of Israel to the United States. He noted Israel's respect for human rights and its free democratic society, which allows its Arab citizens the right to vote. **Dine** spoke of the rising threat to Israel by its neighbors and the effectiveness of U.S. assistance to the Jewish state.

The Subcommittee met on May 5 to review and "mark up" the Foreign Assistance Appropriations bill. There was a rare degree of bipartisan cooperation during the Subcommittee's consideration of the bill, largely because the contentious budgetary money issues were decided at last year's budget summit. Chairman **David Obey** (D-WI) and Ranking Member **Mickey Edwards** (R-OK) lead the way in securing the full funding request for Israel, as well as many other pro-Israel provisions. One important provision, introduced by Chairman **Obey**, provided the same Congressional authority over third party transfers of arms sales that now exist over direct U.S. sales. The full Appropriations Committee approved the bill in unprece-



AIPAC's Thomas Dine and Douglas Bloomfield testified in support of \$3 billion in aid to Israel during a House Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee hearing. Pictured are from left to right, Chairman David Obey (D-WI), Matthew McHugh (D-NY) and Bill Lehman (D-FL).

dented bipartisan harmony on May 19.

The House took up consideration of the bill on May 25. Numerous amendments to the bill were scheduled to be debated including an amendment by Rep. **James Traficant** (D-OH) which would cut the foreign aid spending bill by up to 10%. **Traficant's** amendments, however, were never taken up since he was not present in the House chamber when his amendments were scheduled to be considered. **Traficant** explained that his absence was unavoidable and that he would bring up similar provisions when the FY '90 bill is considered in 1989.

The House then overwhelmingly passed the FY '89 Foreign Aid Appropriations bill by a vote of 328-90 (D 209-38, R 119-52). This was the largest margin of approval of aid since the Marshall Plan was approved after World War II (see vote in Appendix).

Senate

The Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations began consideration of the FY '89 Foreign Aid Appropriations bill in June.

AIPAC's **Dine** and **Bloomfield** testified before the

Subcommittee on June 14. **Dine** called aid to Israel a wise American investment. He noted that, "U.S. assistance to Israel has made a concrete difference in Israel's struggle to retain economic stability, and has been accompanied by some of the toughest austerity measures ever imposed by a democracy in a compressed period of time."

Secretary **Shultz** testified before the Subcommittee two days later. He supported the \$3 billion in aid to Israel, noting that the assistance "played a key role in keeping peace in [the Middle East]."

The Subcommittee considered the bill on June 20. Subcommittee members began by praising outgoing Chairman **Daniel Inouye** (D-HI) for his work as a leader of the subcommittee for the past 17 years.

Sens. **Inouye** and **Robert Kasten** (R-WI) presented an overall bill that included \$3 billion in aid to Israel and an important new provision called "fair pricing". This authorized the President to waive certain fixed costs, including non-recurring research and development costs, associated with foreign military sales and could save Israel close to \$90 million in the coming years. Both provisions were adopted unanimously by the Subcommittee. The full Ap-

ropriations Committee considered and approved the bill on June 22.

During the markup in the Appropriations Committee, Sen. **Tom Harkin** (D-IA) sponsored an amendment, which was accepted by the committee, that would require Congressional notification of all missile sales regardless of their dollar value. Under current law, sales under \$14 million do not require Congressional notification.

A second amendment accepted by the committee was sponsored by Sen. **Frank Lautenberg** (D-NJ). It authorized the sale of U.S. defense equipment from stocks to foreign countries and allowed the purchaser to spread the payment over the life of the contract. Currently such purchases must be paid for at the time the order is placed.

Sens. **Inouye** and **Kasten** guided the bill to passage in the Senate. During Senate floor debate, Sen. **Dennis DeConcini** (D-AZ) offered an amendment banning the sale or delivery of Maverick-D or -G missiles to Kuwait. The Administration had submitted formal notification of a \$1.9 billion sale to Kuwait earlier that day which included these advanced missiles, despite expressed Congressional opposition to their inclusion (*see Fueling the Arab Military Buildup chapter*). The bill passed the Senate on July 7 by an overwhelming vote of 76-15 (D 41-4, R 31-11) (*see Appendix for vote*).

Conference

The Foreign Operations Conference met on September 22 for a marathon 14-hour session that concluded at 5 a.m. the next morning. The Conference Committee settled most differences between the House and Senate versions of the appropriations measure.

The items of concern to the pro-Israel community which were settled by the Conference Committee included:

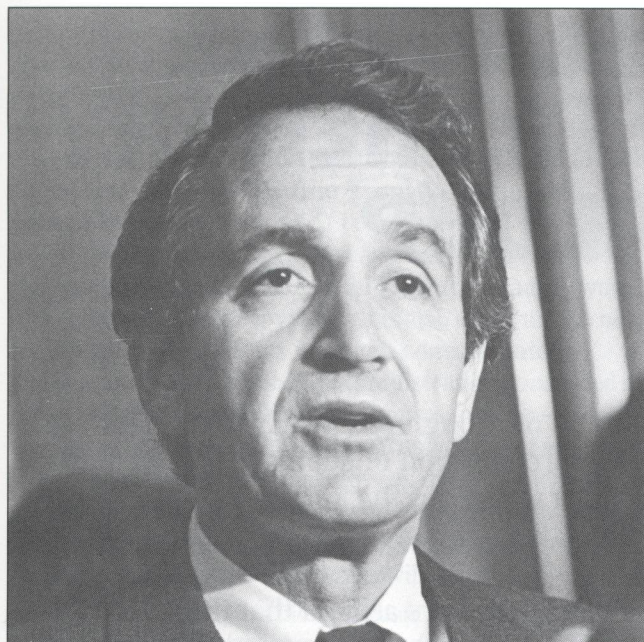
- The **Inouye/Kasten** fair pricing provision which was not included in the House version of the bill, was amended after strenuous objections were raised by Chairman **Obey** and others about the scope of the amendment. The provision was modified to apply to Israel and Egypt only for their current F-16 acquisition programs. **Obey** believed it should apply only to Israel to help offset the costs of canceling the Lavi, but Sens. **Inouye** and **Kasten** successfully urged that Egypt be included as well. As a result, Israel is expected to save about \$90 million on its next purchase of F-16's.
- After objections were raised by Rep. **Charles Wilson** (D-TX), the conferees modified the **Harkin** amendment to require congressional notification of only air-to-ground and ground-to-air missile and launcher sales - regardless of the dollar value of the sale. This provision will enable congressional



Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-HI), outgoing Chairman of the Senate Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, was a key player in moving the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill through the Senate.

sional review of sales of Maverick and Stinger missiles.

- Senate language was adopted earmarking \$28 million to resettle Soviet and other refugees from the Soviet Union in Israel. The House had appropriated \$27.5 million.
- The Conference Committee determined that NATO and Major Non-NATO Allies will be permitted to lease certain defense articles from U.S. commercial suppliers if the President determines that policy justifications exist for these items to be provided by commercial lease rather than government to government. The House had previously made such an option available only to Israel and Egypt.
- The Conference Committee adopted the Senate requirement, authored by Sen. **DeConcini**, that Qatar return all illegally acquired Stinger missiles before it can buy any additional U.S. weapons. The effective date of this prohibition was delayed to April 1, 1989. In the meantime the Administration committed itself to no further arms sales to Qatar.
- The committee agreed to accept the compromise worked out between Congressional opponents of the \$1.9 billion Kuwaiti arms sale and Administration officials. Sen. **DeConcini**'s amendment prohibiting the sale or delivery of the Maverick missiles was dropped from the bill (*see Fueling the Arab Military Buildup chapter*).



Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA) sponsored legislation which would require Congressional notification of all missile sales, regardless of their dollar value.

Sens. **Inouye**, **Barbara Mikulski** (D-MD), **DeConcini**, **Harkin**, **Lautenberg**, **Kasten**, **Alfonse D'Amato** (R-NY), **Don Nickles** (R-OK) and **Arlen Specter** (R-PA), and Reps. **David Obey** (D-WI), **Matt McHugh** (D-NY), **Sidney Yates** (D-IL), **Bill Lehman** (D-FL), **Bob Mrazek** (D-NY), **Mickey Edwards** (R-OK), **Jerry Lewis** (R-CA) and **John Porter** (R-IL) played important roles in reaching agreements on these issues and drafting the final bill.

The House passed the Foreign Aid Appropriations Conference Report 327-92 on September 28. The Senate continued to add numerous amendments to the bill before it passed on September 30.

Sen. **Claiborne Pell** (D-RI), Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Sen. **Jesse Helms** (R-NC), Ranking Member, were the chief sponsors of several successful Senate amendments to the Conference Report. One called on the U.S. to urge our European allies to halt missile sales to the Middle East. The two Senators also sponsored an amendment that would impose harsh economic sanctions on Iraq in response to Iraq's use of chemical weapons against its Kurdish population (see section on Chemical Weapons).

Helms offered an amendment prohibiting the U.S.

from assisting China's missile program, including the sale or use of satellites which utilize American technology, as long as the PRC sells ballistic missiles to Iraq, Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Libya. The Senate adopted the amendment by voice vote.

Ultimately all Senate amendments to the Conference Report were rejected by the House, although sponsors of the various amendments indicated that they would raise these subjects again in the 101st Congress. Reps. **Stephen Solarz** (D-NY) and **Obey**, in arguing against the **Helms** amendment, stated that the imposition of restrictions on the Chinese would, contrary to the intent of the amendment, only encourage them to sell arms in the Middle East. **Solarz** noted that "if you do not want countries like Libya and Iran and Iraq to have Chinese missiles, the best way to prevent that from happening is to reject the Senate amendment."

The Senate agreed to support the original legislation so that a "clean bill" could be sent to the President for signing before the midnight deadline. The bill was sent to the President for signing at 11:57 p.m. on September 30, the last day of the fiscal year.

Administration Cuts

Two months after the Foreign Assistance Appropriations bill became law, several leading Administration officials led by Deputy Secretary of State **John Whitehead** examined the possibility of obtaining funds for needed programs by reducing earmarked funds across the board by 2%. This would have cost Israel \$36 million in military funding.

According to the Foreign Assistance Act, the Administration can shift funds within the foreign assistance budget - regardless of earmarks - if it is "vital" to U.S. security interests (Section 614). The Administration, long opposed to the Congressional practice of earmarking wanted to shift \$60 million, or 2% of the earmarks, to five countries, Jordan, El Salvador, Honduras, Portugal and Thailand.

Members of Congress quickly expressed their opposition to this proposal including House Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chairman **Obey**, Ranking Member **Edwards** and **McHugh** who met with **Whitehead** on the issue. Incoming Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chairman **Patrick Leahy** (D-VT) and Ranking Member **Kasten** also made their strong opposition known to the Administration.

As of December 31, the Administration had not acted on the proposal.



FUELING THE ARAB MILITARY BUILDUP

"I think it is imperative that the Saudis understand that if such an 'East Wind' ever blows, it will reap a hurricane, not only from Israel, but from the United States."

Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX)

Many members of Congress vocally expressed their view that the proliferation of sophisticated weapons in the volatile Middle East was not in the long-term interests of the United States, of the nations in the region or of those countries making such sales.

Throughout the year, members argued that the focus of U.S. efforts should be to stop the regional arms race rather than feed it. Rep. **Barney Frank** (D-MA) stated on the House floor on July 11 that "the more we help Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and others to use their enormous oil wealth to acquire increasingly more sophisticated weapons, the greater, the more crushing the economic burden is on Israel....its [the Administration's] arms sales policy, encouraging the sale of arms to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and others without urging them to a constructive role in the Arab-Israeli peace process is a very grave error."

Members stressed the need for the United States not only to limit its own sales, but to also persuade our Western allies, China, the Soviet Union and others to work for peace instead of peddling increasingly lethal weapons to the region.

For example, Rep. **Mel Levine** (D-CA) spoke out on the House floor on July 11 against the reported \$30 billion British arms package to Saudi Arabia. He stated that the British Government acted "without principle and in unfettered pursuit of profit.... Clearly, there is no legitimate rationale for these enormous arms purchases. Except perhaps to satisfy the Saudi addiction to Western weapons."

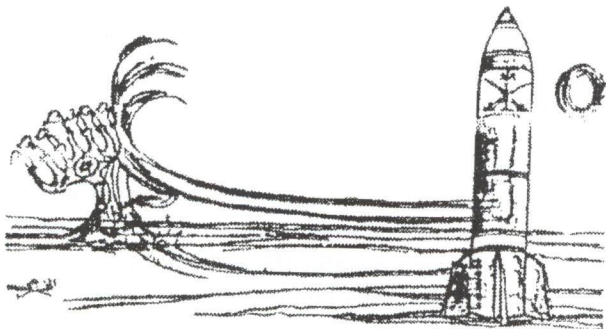
At a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East hearing on July 27, **Levine** added that he does not understand why "we are not crying out over this enormous sale, not because we might have lost money, but because this sale will ultimately destabilize the region."

In addition, **Levine** pointed out that the U.S. does not produce all the weapons that the Saudis reportedly wanted to buy from Great Britain. **Levine** stated that the two principal items in the Saudi/British sale were minesweepers, which the U.S. does not produce, and the British equivalent of the F-15E (the Tornado), which the U.S. does not export to non-NATO countries.

He concluded, "if that's the case, and those are the two principal component parts of this sale, the Saudis would have gone elsewhere anyway." It is also important to note that thus far the sale has not been consummated.

Despite the concerns, the Administration continued its policy of selling sophisticated weapons to Arab states, including major packages to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf states. Congress carefully examined each set of proposals and only fought against those which did not meet a series of guidelines. These guidelines are meant to establish that each potential sale will:

- Ensure that America's most sophisticated military technology and advanced tactics are not shared with America's enemies — as occurred when Stinger missiles reportedly fell into the hands of Iranian and Hezbollah extremists in Lebanon.
- Encourage Arab states to demonstrate a cooperative attitude toward American political and diplomatic initiatives.
- Slow down the escalating Middle East arms race. In 1987, Arab states, excluding Egypt, budgeted \$42.66 billion for arms—ten times the total Israeli defense budget.
- Preserve Israel's qualitative military edge in the face of continuing hostility of its neighbors.



Saudi sentiment - This cartoon appeared in the Saudi Arabian newspaper Al-Jazira and was reprinted in the Apr. 27 edition of Yediot Ahronot, an Israeli daily. It shows the "wind" from a Saudi Chinese-built "East Wind" intermediate-range ballistic missile blowing over a menorah bearing the Star of David.

Saudi Arms Sale

Congress received informal notification on March 18 of the Administration's plan to sell to Saudi Arabia a \$325 million operation and maintenance contract for its AWACS program, 200 Bradley fighting vehicles and support items worth \$500 million.

Only one week later, news reports published that the Saudis had secretly purchased Chinese CSS-2 intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBM). The CSS-2, called the "East Wind" by the Chinese, is capable of carrying nuclear, chemical or biological warheads and has a range of nearly 2,000 miles. The capability and range of the CSS-2 makes the missile a destabilizing factor in the Middle East.

Although the Saudi government stated that the missile would help deter potential Iranian aggression, the government-controlled Saudi newspaper *Al-Jazira* ran a cartoon which expressed the view that the missiles are designed to wipe out the State of Israel. The cartoon represents the missile embossed with the Saudi coat of arms blowing down a menorah with a Star of David, the symbol of the State of Israel.

Sens. **Howard Metzenbaum** (D-OH), **Rudy Boschwitz** (R-MN) and **Bob Packwood** (R-OR) sent a letter to Secretary of State **George Shultz** on March 31, signed by 55 Senate colleagues, asking him to link the Administration's proposed sale to the Saudis to their withdrawal of the Chinese intermediate range missiles. The letter stated, "In light of recent revelations about Saudi Arabia obtaining Chinese intermediate range ballistic missiles, we strongly believe that our current policy toward arms sales to Saudi Arabia must be re-examined. Therefore, we hope that the Administration will not move forward at this time with the AWACS package."

The 58 Senators were "also deeply concerned that the Saudis hid the fact that they possess these [Chinese] weapons. This situation raises serious questions about the possibility of the Saudis compromising the security and technology of sensitive weapons systems."

In a separate letter, Senate Foreign Relations Chairman **Claiborne Pell** (D-RI) urged the Administration to hold back on a sale of arms to the Saudis. He asked that the "United States do everything possible to prevent unnecessary and unjustified arms transfers" to the Middle East. **Pell** requested that **Shultz** "make available the best information we have on the kinds of warheads which might be used with these weapons and "a thorough assessment of the present state of the Saudi military...."

Ranking Member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee **Jesse Helms** (R-NC) was disturbed by the apparent failure of U.S. intelligence services to detect the



Sen. Phil Gramm (R-TX), pictured with Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, called for certification that the Saudis did not possess chemical, biological or nuclear weapons before any arms sales were made to the Saudis.

Chinese missiles on Saudi territory. **Helms** pointed out that "Senate consent to previous sales of sophisticated weapons to the Saudis has been provided on the basis of assurances of close cooperation between the military and intelligence services of Saudi Arabia and the United States."

Reps. **Charles Schumer** (D-NY), **Larry Smith** (D-FL), **Connie Morella** (R-MD) and 187 Members of the House sent a letter on April 25 to **Shultz** urging the Administration "to withdraw pending U.S. arms sales to the [Saudi] Kingdom...until Congress has had an opportunity to assess the changed circumstances. Selling Saudi Arabia more American weaponry at this time would reward Saudi deceit."

The Representatives contended that Saudi possession of Chinese CSS-2 missiles not only undermines U.S. strategy "to promote and sustain Israel's 'qualitative' military advantage over the quantitative advantage of its hostile neighbors...but dangerously alters the entire military equation of the Middle East."

Despite the bipartisan Congressional concerns, the Administration gave formal notification of the \$825 million arms package to Saudi Arabia in April.

Although Congress did not vote to block this sale, the controversy surrounding the Saudi purchase of the Chinese missiles continued.

Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs **Richard Murphy** testified before a special meeting of two House Foreign Affairs Subcommittees on May 10 that the Chinese-built missiles do "not improve the security of Saudi Arabia," that they have a greater range than is needed to deter Iranian aggression, and contribute to a destabilizing proliferation of missiles in the region.

Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R-TX), together with Sens. **Carl Levin** (D-MI) and **Sam Nunn** (D-GA), introduced a floor amendment on May 16 to the FY '89 Defense Authorization Bill requiring that before making any arms sales to Saudi Arabia, the President must certify to the Congress that the Kingdom has not acquired chemical, biological, or nuclear warheads for the missiles. The legislation passed the Senate by voice vote.

Gramm told his Senate colleagues: "I think it is imperative that the Saudis understand that if such an 'East Wind' ever blows, it will reap a hurricane, not only from Israel, but from the United States. ... Anytime we are debating an arms sale to Saudi Arabia or any other country in the Middle East that has acquired this missile, we want certification that they do not have the capacity to put chemical, biological or nuclear warheads on the East Wind missiles." **Gramm** added that failure to so certify would automatically block any arms sale to the Saudis.

The issue of Saudi acquisition of the CSS-2's was raised again when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee took up the nomination of **Walter Cutler** to be U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia on May 12. **Cutler** was named to replace Ambassador **Hume Horan**, who was dismissed from his post due to the fact that the Saudis were reportedly offended by **Horan's** inquisitive questioning of the secret missile purchase.

Various Senators probed the extent of **Cutler's** knowledge of the acquisition, the failure of U.S. intelligence to uncover the activity, the wisdom of proceeding with an arms sale to the Saudis at this time due to the revelations, and the extent of Saudi cooperation with U.S. policy objectives in the Persian Gulf. Sen. **Paul Sarbanes** (D-MD) focused on the need to verify the absence of nuclear, chemical, or biological warheads in the Saudi military arsenal. Sen. **Larry Pressler** (R-SD) expressed concern over the potential threat chemical warheads would pose to Israel. Sen. **Boschwitz** asserted that Saudi Arabia is a "weak reed" on which to base U.S. policy in the Middle East.

While Secretary of State **Shultz** was in China to meet with Chinese leaders, Rep. **Levine** and 115 House colleagues sent a letter to **Shultz** on July 14 expressing concern over China's arms sale policy to the Middle East.

The State Department cabled the letter to **Shultz** in Beijing.

The letter noted, "In the past 18 months, China had demonstrated an apparent disregard for the implications of its arms transfers to this volatile region. Its sale of Silkworm missiles to Iran continues to pose a grave threat to international shipping in the Persian Gulf as well as to U.S. ships and personnel. Its sale of the CSS-2 missiles to Saudi Arabia created an extremely troubling precedent by introducing an intermediate-range ballistic missile into the Mideast, one which can be equipped with either chemical or nuclear warheads. Finally, reports have been circulating that China may be considering a sale of ballistic missiles to Syria and that Libya might seek to procure Chinese missiles."

The Members specifically suggested that future United States cooperation with China in technological and military matters will be jeopardized unless this indiscriminate arms sales policy is halted.

On July 26, Senate Minority Leader **Robert Dole** (R-KS), along with Sens. **John McCain** (R-AZ), **Frank Murkowski** (R-AK), and **Dan Quayle** (R-IN), offered a Sense of Congress Resolution as an amendment to the FY '89 Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Appropriations Bill (H.R. 4782). The amendment called on China to "immediately halt the sale of ballistic missiles and other offensive weapons to all nations of the Middle East and Persian Gulf...[and] discontinue discussions regarding potential sales of M-9 short-range ballistic missiles and other armaments under development." The resolution passed by 97 to 0.

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East focused its attention on this issue at a hearing held on July 27. Rep. **Benjamin Gilman** (R-NY) noted that "the proliferation [of sophisticated missiles in the Middle East] is going to escalate and will escalate future conflicts, making them more deadly and more costly and increasing the risks for all of the parties involved."

Assistant Secretary of State **Murphy** acknowledged that ground-to-ground missiles increase the danger of surprise attack, increase the number of countries likely to be involved in a future conflict, raise the risk of accidental war and the likelihood that civilians would be the targets in such wars. When asked what the U.S. was doing about this problem **Murphy** added that the U.S. has asked China to "participate in bilateral discussions of the missile proliferation issue. They have not yet agreed, but they are willing to consider our request."



Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) introduced an amendment to the FY '89 Foreign Aid Appropriations bill which would have prohibited the sale or delivery of Maverick-G and -D missiles to any country bordering the Persian Gulf.

Kuwait Sale

The Administration informally notified Congress of its intent to sell \$1.9 billion in sophisticated weaponry to Kuwait on June 10.

The package included 40 sophisticated F/A-18 Hornet fighter-bombers, 200 Maverick AGM-65D and 100 Maverick-G air-to-ground missiles, 200 Sparrow air-to-air missiles, 120 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, 40 Harpoon anti-ship missiles, laser guided bombs and cluster munitions.

The Maverick-D utilizes an imaging-infrared guidance system which enables it to be effective day and night and in poor weather conditions. A 125-pound standard high-explosive warhead, it is designed for use against armored targets such as enemy tanks. The Maverick-G missile is the naval version of the Maverick-D. Utilizing the same infrared seeker as in the D version, the Maverick-G's 300-pound blast-penetration warhead is used primarily against large targets, including warships and concrete bunkers.

Secretary of State **George Shultz** defended the sale before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations on June 16. At this hearing, Sen. **Frank Lautenberg** (D-NJ) expressed his "concerns about this sale," specifying that "the effective combat radius for a ground attack mission could be extended for an attack on Israel."

Sen. **Lautenberg** specifically asked **Shultz** about assurances that Kuwait would not use the weapons against Israel. He mentioned that the F-18's could be equipped with extended range fuel tanks, and they could be based in other countries which are within range of Israel.

Shultz conceded that the Kuwaitis could base the planes outside their territory. He added that he would "see about" getting assurances that the effective range would not be extended.

Sen. **Dennis DeConcini** (D-AZ) voiced his concern over the arms sale because "This type of package is headed for so small a country...It would appear that arms sales have replaced diplomacy in our foreign policy." **DeConcini** then asked how Kuwait has assisted in the Middle East peace process and if they contribute to the PLO. **Shultz** replied that they have not "been prominent one way or the other" in the peace process.

Sen. **Arlen Specter** (R-PA) asked about "preconditions" on the Kuwait arms sale. He suggested that the U.S. first "...get Kuwait to recognize Israel's right to exist." Sen. **Robert Kasten** (R-WI) expressed concern that the F/A-18 planes would be a threat to Israel.

Soon after the hearing, Sen. **DeConcini** initiated a letter on June 17 to Secretary **Shultz** questioning "the Administration's rationale and foreign policy objectives regarding this arms sale package" (see list on page 15).

Referring to the security threat posed to Israel, the letter stated, "we are concerned about the possibility that the effective combat radius of the F/A-18 for a ground attack mission could be extended in a way that would permit attacks on Israel....Accordingly, we conclude that it is critically important to have the assurances of Kuwait that these aircraft will never be based or deployed closer to Israel than they would at their base in Kuwait and that they will never be based in or deployed to a state bordering Israel."

The letter also noted that the Maverick missiles are among those which "we can ill afford to have fall into unfriendly hands. The Maverick has destructive capabilities that far exceed the legitimate security requirements of Kuwait."

Opposition to the proposed sale to Kuwait also grew in the House of Representatives. In a press statement released on June 14, Rep. **Howard Berman** (D-CA) at-



Major Congressional opposition to the Administration's plan to sell Kuwait \$1.9 billion in sophisticated weaponry centered around the Maverick-D missile, pictured above.

tacked the sale as flawed because it gives the mistaken impression that Kuwait shares our strategic interests "...First, Kuwait has not supported the peace process in the least and so has not earned our strategic cooperation. Second, the United States acts as though arms sales were the sole currency of its foreign policy and that is just plain stupid."

Reps. **Larry Smith** (D-FL) and **Vin Weber** (R-MN) initiated a letter to President **Reagan**, signed by 65 House colleagues, which said "We believe that a sale of this nature is not in the long-term interest of the United States and, therefore, urge you to refrain from formally presenting this plan to Congress at this time."

The June 21 letter also noted "The Kuwaitis have failed to support the Middle East peace process and are one of the staunchest advocates of the Arab boycott of Israel. Furthermore, at the Algiers summit, numerous Arab countries, including Kuwait, reportedly made new financial commitments to the PLO to support the unrest in Israel."

Despite the growing opposition, the Administration formally notified Congress of its intent to proceed with the sale on July 7. Congress had 30 days, following the formal notification, to block or modify the sale. If Congress failed to act within this timeframe, the sale would proceed.

In an effort to mute Congressional opposition, National Security Advisor **Colin Powell** met with key Senators to discuss the proposed sale to Kuwait. Some of the legislators suggested that it might be possible to arrange a compromise if the Maverick-D missiles were dropped from the proposed package.

Dissatisfied with the Administration's response to their requests to delete the Maverick missiles, Sens. **DeConcini**, **Howard Metzenbaum** (D-OH), **Claiborne Pell** (D-RI), **Lautenberg**, **Tom Harkin** (D-IA), **Paul Sarbanes** (D-MD), **Carl Levin** (D-MI), and **Specter**, **Bob Packwood** (R-OR), **Alfonse D'Amato** (R-NY), **Pete Wilson** (R-CA), and **William Roth** (R-DE) offered an amendment on July 7 to the FY '89 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill to prohibit the sale or delivery of all Maverick-D and -G missiles to Kuwait for FY '89. The amendment passed the full Senate by voice vote (*see Foreign Aid chapter*).

The original language of the amendment offered by Sen. **DeConcini** would have prohibited the sale or delivery of Maverick-G and -D missiles to "any country bordering the Persian Gulf."

DeConcini referred to the potential sale of the Maverick G and D missiles as "introducing a very new capability in that part of the Gulf in a very volatile region ... it is a missile we can ill afford to have fall into unfriendly hands."



Sens. **Frank Lautenberg** (D-NJ), center, and **Howard Metzenbaum** (D-OH), left, pictured with AIPAC officer **Harriet Zimmerman** at the AIPAC Policy Conference, helped lead opposition to the proposed sale of Maverick missiles to Kuwait.

He concluded, "we don't know of any European countries that have a missile comparable to this, so it is not the old argument, that they will go buy it from the French, the British or somebody else; this is not a possibility."

Sen. **Specter** called the Maverick a "unique weapon" and "there ought to be a basic precondition before such weapon sales are even considered; that the Arab nations requesting the weapons renounce the use of force and recognize Israel's right to exist".

Sens. **Kasten** and **Lautenberg** also spoke in support of the amendment. Sens. **John Chafee** (R-RI), **Daniel Evans** (R-WA), and **Richard Lugar** (R-IN) opposed the amendment and worked out a compromise which extended the prohibition only to Kuwait.

That same day, the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittees on Europe and the Middle East, and Arms Control, International Security and Science held a joint hearing on the entire proposed arms sale to Kuwait.

Members expressed their concern about the sale, noting its size, the current tensions in the region and the lack of Kuwaiti support for U.S. and Western interests as main areas of concern.

Rep. **Smith** questioned "the Reagan Administration's tendency to employ multi-billion dollar arms sales as its principle instrument of diplomacy. This misguided ap-

proach fails to take into consideration our long-term policy goals, and exacerbates one of the most troubling phenomena taking place in the region today—the spiraling arms race.”

Rep. **Tom Lantos** (D-CA) said that “the Ministry of Defense of Kuwait is honeycombed with PLO operatives.”

Chairman **Dante Fascell** (D-FL), **William Broomfield** (R-MI), **Christopher Smith** (R-NJ) and **Ben Gilman** (R-NY) all spoke out against the proposed sale.

Although the major opposition to the sale centered around the Maverick-D’s, Congress was not able to remove them from the package without Administration compliance. By law, Congress had to accept or reject the entire sale. Critics of the sale, therefore, decided to oppose the entire package in the hopes that the objectionable elements would be removed.

A bipartisan Resolution of Disapproval (H.J.Res. 609) against the entire package was introduced by Reps. **Larry Smith**, **Levine**, **John Kasich** (R-OH) and **Weber** on July 12. The Resolution soon received over 100 cosponsors.

At a news conference announcing the Resolution,

Weber said, “I firmly believe it is not in U.S. interests to militarily arm nations that continue to financially support terrorist organizations dedicated to the destruction of our strongest ally in the Middle East. Nor is it wise to add two new weapons systems to a region that has been the scene of a spiraling arms race.”

Richard W. Murphy, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, attempted to defend the proposed sale at a hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East on July 27. Instead, however, **Murphy** told the committee, “What’s happened over the past years is that we have tried to use arms sales to influence political decisions on the peace process...and, let’s be blunt, it hasn’t worked.”

After extensive negotiations between Administration officials and Members of Congress, Reps. **Smith** and **Levine** announced on August 3 that Congress and the Administration had reached a compromise on the proposed sale to Kuwait. According to **Smith** and **Levine**, the compromise on the arms package now satisfies the legitimate defense needs of the Kuwaitis, while reducing its potential



Rep. **Dante Fascell** (D-FL), center, Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, seated with Committee members **William Broomfield** (R-MI), Ranking Minority Member, and Rep. **Lee Hamilton** (D-IN), right, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East. Rep. **Larry Smith** (D-FL) is in the foreground.

SENATORS WHO SIGNED DECONCINI LETTER TO SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ ON JUNE 17

<i>Sen. Brock Adams</i>	<i>(D-WA)</i>	<i>Sen. Frank Lautenberg</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>
<i>Sen. Jeff Bingaman</i>	<i>(D-NM)</i>	<i>Sen. Spark Matsunaga</i>	<i>(D-HI)</i>
<i>Sen. Rudy Boschwitz</i>	<i>(R-MN)</i>	<i>Sen. Daniel Moynihan</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Sen. Quentin Burdick</i>	<i>(D-ND)</i>	<i>Sen. Bob Packwood</i>	<i>(R-OR)</i>
<i>Sen. Alfonse D'Amato</i>	<i>(R-NY)</i>	<i>Sen. Claiborne Pell</i>	<i>(D-RI)</i>
<i>Sen. John Danforth</i>	<i>(R-MO)</i>	<i>Sen. Donald Riegle</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>
<i>Sen. Dennis DeConcini</i>	<i>(D-AZ)</i>	<i>Sen. Terry Sanford</i>	<i>(D-NC)</i>
<i>Sen. Christopher Dodd</i>	<i>(D-CT)</i>	<i>Sen. Paul Sarbanes</i>	<i>(D-MD)</i>
<i>Sen. Daniel Inouye</i>	<i>(D-HI)</i>	<i>Sen. Paul Simon</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>
<i>Sen. John Kerry</i>	<i>(D-MA)</i>	<i>Sen. Pete Wilson</i>	<i>(R-CA)</i>

as an offensive threat to the region or to Israel.

Smith noted the "unprecedented manner in which Congress was consulted by the Administration" with regard to this arms sale proposal. "Hopefully," he added, "this Administration will continue this trend of consultation in order to ensure that U.S. arms sale policy is aligned with and complements our long-term policy objectives."

The Resolution of Disapproval, which had garnered the support of 167 cosponsors, was subsequently dropped. *The major provisions of the compromise include:*

- 1) *The timetable for the delivery of the F-18's was extended.* The U.S. will begin delivery of the aircraft in January 1992. By June 1993, Kuwait will receive 8 two-seat fighter-trainers and 28 single-seat fighter aircraft for a total of 36 aircraft. Kuwait will receive an additional 4 F-18's in 1994, bringing the total number to 40.
- 2) *Kuwait will be required to return one American-built A-4 aircraft for every F-18 it receives.* This one-for-one arrangement ensures that the size of Kuwait's air force will not exceed its current level.
- 3) *Kuwait will not be permitted to purchase Maverick-D missiles.* Originally, the proposed sale called for 100 Maverick-G's and 200 Maverick-D's. As a result of the compromise, Kuwait will receive 300 Maverick-G's and no Maverick-D's.
- 4) *The timetable for the delivery of the Maverick missiles was extended.* The agreement calls for 4 Mavericks to be delivered with each F-18 until the summer of 1993, when the U.S. will transfer the approximately 160 remaining missiles.
- 5) *Secretary of State Shultz signed a letter of assurance which outlines numerous guarantees on the use of the weapons in the package.* Kuwait will be prohibited from procuring the equipment necessary to give the F-18's in-flight refueling capabilities.

ties. Kuwait will also be prohibited from transferring any of these weapons to third countries or basing them there.

Rep. **Levine** termed these written assurances "clearer, cleaner and more satisfying" than any assurances received verbally.

The Senate was not involved in helping to develop the compromise. The **DeConcini** language banning the sale or transfer of Maverick missiles to Kuwait was still part of the Senate version of the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill. When the bill went to conference, Senate conferees supported the total ban on the sale of Mavericks. House conferees supported the compromise agreement worked out with the Administration. By the time the conference ended on September 23, Senate conferees voted to accept the House brokered compromise and drop the Senate prohibition.

M-1A1 Tanks to Egypt

The Reagan Administration informed Congress in late February of a proposed \$2 billion co-production deal that would allow Egypt to build M-1A1 Abrams tanks jointly with General Dynamics' Land System Division. According to the proposed plan, Egypt will assemble up to 555 of the tanks through 1996. The tank production and research costs will be covered by the U.S. aid granted to Egypt. Egypt will not be allowed to sell any M-1A1's to other countries without the prior approval of the U.S. government.

The 65 ton M-1A1 is considered to be the most technologically advanced tank in the world. Unlike the standard M-1 tank, the M-1A1 is armed with a 120mm cannon and improved fire control systems. In addition, the M-1A1 fea-

tures enhanced crew protection and improved armor. It has never been exported or produced outside the United States.

In a letter to Secretary of Defense **Casper Weinberger**, Rep. **Albert Bustamante** (D-TX), a member of the House Armed Services Committee, expressed what he called "serious concerns" over the proposal and questioned whether "Egypt even needs such a top line tank for its defense."

The deal will proceed, however, with production expected to begin in 1991 or 1992.

Qatar's Stingers

Members of Congress were deeply troubled by Qatar's illegal acquisition of U.S. made Stinger missiles. The discovery that Qatar had 18 of the shoulder-fired missiles, which are not permitted by U.S. law to be transferred from an initial buyer to a third country, clearly indicated the ex-

istence of a black market trade of the weapon. Qatar has refused to return the missiles or allow access to serial numbers located on each missile which would enable investigators to trace the source of Qatar's purchase.

During a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East hearing on July 27, Rep. **Ben Gilman** (R-NY) expressed concern over Qatar's lack of cooperation with the United States' investigation. (**Murphy** only replied that Qatar was not cooperating.)

Qatar's lack of cooperation with the U.S. government prompted Sen. **Dennis DeConcini** (D-AZ) to author legislation to prohibiting the sale of any U.S. weapons to Qatar until the missiles were returned. In the conference committee, the prohibition was delayed until April of 1989 to grant more time to diplomatically influence Qatar to return the missiles. The Administration has verbally committed itself against any sales to Qatar before the legislation goes into effect.



M-1A1 Tank

**REPRESENTATIVES WHO COSPONSORED H.J.RES. 609
RESOLUTION OF DISAPPROVAL REGARDING \$1.9 BILLION
ARMS SALE TO KUWAIT**

<i>Gary Ackerman (D-NY)</i>	<i>Bernard Dwyer (D-NJ)</i>	<i>Martin Lancaster (D-NC)</i>	<i>Peter Rodino (D-NJ)</i>
<i>Michael Andrews (D-TX)</i>	<i>Don Edwards (D-CA)</i>	<i>Tom Lantos (D-CA)</i>	<i>Robert Roe (D-NJ)</i>
<i>Frank Annunzio (D-IL)</i>	<i>Mickey Edwards (R-OK)</i>	<i>William Lehman (D-FL)</i>	<i>Roy Rowland (D-GA)</i>
<i>Beryl Anthony (D-AR)</i>	<i>Ben Erdreich (D-AL)</i>	<i>Mickey Leland (D-TX)</i>	<i>Martin Sabo (D-MN)</i>
<i>Douglas Applegate (D-OH)</i>	<i>Mike Espy (D-MS)</i>	<i>Norman Lent (R-NY)</i>	<i>Patricia Saiki (R-HI)</i>
<i>Chester Atkins (D-MA)</i>	<i>Lane Evans (D-IL)</i>	<i>Sander Levin (D-MI)</i>	<i>Thomas Sawyer (D-OH)</i>
<i>Les AuCoin (D-OR)</i>	<i>Dante Fascell (D-FL)</i>	<i>Mel Levine (D-CA)</i>	<i>James Saxton (R-NJ)</i>
<i>Cass Ballenger (R-NC)</i>	<i>Vic Fazio (D-CA)</i>	<i>Tom Lewis (R-FL)</i>	<i>Daniel Schaefer (R-CO)</i>
<i>Charles Bennett (D-FL)</i>	<i>Edward Feighan (D-OH)</i>	<i>Marilyn Lloyd (D-TN)</i>	<i>James Scheuer (D-NY)</i>
<i>Howard Berman (D-CA)</i>	<i>Hamilton Fish (R-NY)</i>	<i>Mike Lowry (D-WA)</i>	<i>Claudine Schneider (R-RI)</i>
<i>Tom Bevill (D-AL)</i>	<i>James Florio (D-NJ)</i>	<i>Connie Mack (R-FL)</i>	<i>Bill Schuette (R-MI)</i>
<i>James Bilbray (D-NV)</i>	<i>Thomas Foglietta (D-PA)</i>	<i>Buddy MacKay (D-FL)</i>	<i>Charles Schumer (D-NY)</i>
<i>Michael Bilirakis (R-FL)</i>	<i>Barney Frank (D-MA)</i>	<i>Thomas Manton (D-NY)</i>	<i>Clay Shaw (R-FL)</i>
<i>Don Bonker (D-WA)</i>	<i>Martin Frost (D-TX)</i>	<i>Edward Markey (D-MA)</i>	<i>Christopher Shays (R-CT)</i>
<i>Robert Borski (D-PA)</i>	<i>Dean Gallo (R-NJ)</i>	<i>Matthew Martinez (D-CA)</i>	<i>Gerry Sikorski (D-MN)</i>
<i>Barbara Boxer (D-CA)</i>	<i>Robert Garcia (D-NY)</i>	<i>Robert Matsui (D-CA)</i>	<i>Norman Sisisky (D-VA)</i>
<i>Joseph Brennan (D-ME)</i>	<i>Samuel Gejdenson (D-CT)</i>	<i>Robert McEwen (R-OH)</i>	<i>David Skaggs (D-CO)</i>
<i>George Brown (D-CA)</i>	<i>Richard Gephardt (D-MO)</i>	<i>Raymond McGrath (R-NY)</i>	<i>Louise Slaughter (D-NY)</i>
<i>Hank Brown (R-CO)</i>	<i>Benjamin Gilman (R-NY)</i>	<i>Matthew McHugh (D-NY)</i>	<i>Lawrence Smith (D-FL)</i>
<i>Terry Bruce (D-IL)</i>	<i>Neut Gingrich (R-GA)</i>	<i>Alex McMillan (R-NC)</i>	<i>Robert C. Smith (R-NH)</i>
<i>Dan Burton (R-IN)</i>	<i>Dan Glickman (D-KS)</i>	<i>Daniel Mica (D-FL)</i>	<i>Lamar Smith (R-TX)</i>
<i>Albert Bustamante (D-TX)</i>	<i>Bart Gordon (D-TN)</i>	<i>John Miller (R-WA)</i>	<i>Stephen Solarz (D-NY)</i>
<i>Sonny Callahan (R-AL)</i>	<i>Fred Grandy (R-IA)</i>	<i>Norman Mineta (D-CA)</i>	<i>Fernand St. Germain (D-RI)</i>
<i>Benjamin Cardin (D-MD)</i>	<i>Bill Grant (D-FL)</i>	<i>Guy Molinari (R-NY)</i>	<i>Don Sundquist (R-TN)</i>
<i>Thomas Carper (D-DE)</i>	<i>William Green (R-NY)</i>	<i>James Moody (D-WI)</i>	<i>Patrick Swindall (R-GA)</i>
<i>Bob Carr (D-MI)</i>	<i>Tony Hall (D-OH)</i>	<i>Bruce Morrison (D-CT)</i>	<i>Mike Synar (D-OK)</i>
<i>Bob Clement (D-TN)</i>	<i>Claude Harris (D-AL)</i>	<i>Robert Mrazek (D-NY)</i>	<i>Lindsay Thomas (D-GA)</i>
<i>William Clinger (R-PA)</i>	<i>Dennis Hastert (R-IL)</i>	<i>Stephen Neal (D-NC)</i>	<i>Esteban Torres (D-CA)</i>
<i>Howard Coble (R-NC)</i>	<i>Paul Henry (R-MI)</i>	<i>Bill Nelson (D-FL)</i>	<i>Robert Torricelli (D-NJ)</i>
<i>Tony Coelho (D-CA)</i>	<i>Dennis Hertel (D-MI)</i>	<i>James Oberstar (D-MN)</i>	<i>James Traficant (D-OH)</i>
<i>Ronald Coleman (D-TX)</i>	<i>George Hochbrueckner (D-NY)</i>	<i>Major Owens (D-NY)</i>	<i>Bruce Vento (D-MN)</i>
<i>Cardiss Collins (D-IL)</i>	<i>Steny Hoyer (D-MD)</i>	<i>Wayne Owens (D-UT)</i>	<i>Harold Volkmer (D-MO)</i>
<i>Lawrence Coughlin (R-PA)</i>	<i>William Hughes (D-NJ)</i>	<i>Leon Panetta (D-CA)</i>	<i>Henry Waxman (D-CA)</i>
<i>James Courter (R-NJ)</i>	<i>Duncan Hunter (R-CA)</i>	<i>Nancy Pelosi (D-CA)</i>	<i>Vin Weber (R-MN)</i>
<i>Jack Davis (R-IL)</i>	<i>Andrew Jacobs (D-IN)</i>	<i>Claude Pepper (D-FL)</i>	<i>Ted Weiss (D-NY)</i>
<i>Robert Davis (R-MI)</i>	<i>Tim Johnson (D-SD)</i>	<i>David Price (D-NC)</i>	<i>Alan Wheat (D-MO)</i>
<i>Peter DeFazio (D-OR)</i>	<i>John Kasich (R-OH)</i>	<i>Carl Pursell (R-MI)</i>	<i>Pat Williams (D-MT)</i>
<i>Ronald Dellums (D-CA)</i>	<i>Jack Kemp (R-NY)</i>	<i>Arthur Ravenel (R-SC)</i>	<i>Howard Wolpe (D-MI)</i>
<i>Joseph DioGuardi (R-NY)</i>	<i>Joseph Kennedy (D-MA)</i>	<i>Bill Richardson (D-NM)</i>	<i>George Wortley (R-NY)</i>
<i>Brian Donnelly (D-MA)</i>	<i>Gerald Kleczka (D-WI)</i>	<i>Thomas Ridge (R-PA)</i>	<i>Ron Wyden (D-OR)</i>
<i>Byron Dorgan (D-ND)</i>	<i>Joseph Kolter (D-PA)</i>	<i>Matthew Rinaldo (R-NJ)</i>	<i>Sidney Yates (D-IL)</i>
<i>Wayne Dowdy (D-MS)</i>	<i>Ernest Konnyu (R-CA)</i>	<i>Donald Ritter (R-PA)</i>	<i>Gus Yatron (D-PA)</i>
<i>Richard Durbin (D-IL)</i>	<i>Peter Kostmayer (D-PA)</i>	<i>Tommy Robinson (D-AR)</i>	<i>Don Young (R-AK)</i>



Israel's proven technological expertise and innovative track record has made her a natural partner for cooperation on ATBM systems.

The strategic relationship between the United States and Israel was substantially enhanced in 1988. The Administration continued and enhanced the strategic cooperation discussions between the two countries and signed a historic Memorandum of Agreement formally institutionalizing the bilateral strategic relationship. Congress passed and the President signed new legislation that builds upon previous laws and tightened the bilateral partnership. Most Congressional initiatives in this field were contained in the Defense Authorization and Appropriations Acts for Fiscal Year 1989.

The Defense Authorization Act House

Rep. **Les Aspin** (D-WI), Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, developed a draft authorization bill which contained many items to help advance the U.S.-Israeli strategic relationship. One of the most important of these is the authorization of funding for Israel's Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile (ATBM) program, which was included within the overall funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

Due to its own defense requirements, Israel has been at the forefront of the research and development of systems to defend against the increasing threat of ballistic missiles. Israel's proven technological expertise and innovative track record have made her a natural partner for cooperation on ATBM systems.

"Such cooperative research efforts take on even greater importance in a region like the Middle East, where ballistic missiles and chemical weapons are a reality and the threat is growing," said Lieutenant-General **James Abrahamson**, former director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization in a speech at a joint U.S.-Israeli military conference in Israel this year.

Secretary of Defense **Frank Carlucci** and Israeli Defense Minister **Yitzhak Rabin** signed a Memorandum of Agreement in late June which formalized U.S.-Israeli cooperation on the research, development, testing and evaluation of the ATBM program.

Under the agreement, the U.S. will finance 80 percent of the program's development cost and Israel 20 percent. The U.S. will own the technology developed by Israel although Israel will be able to use it for its own defensive needs.

The major project in this category is the Israeli Arrow program. While the details of the Arrow project are highly classified both in Israel and the United States, the system is envisioned as a defense against Soviet and Chinese offensive ballistic missiles currently deployed in Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The ability of these countries to produce and stockpile chemical weapons has added to the already destructive threat of such missiles.

The second SDI-related program in the bill is Battle Management Test Bed, which will simulate wartime sce-

narios and conflict resolution.

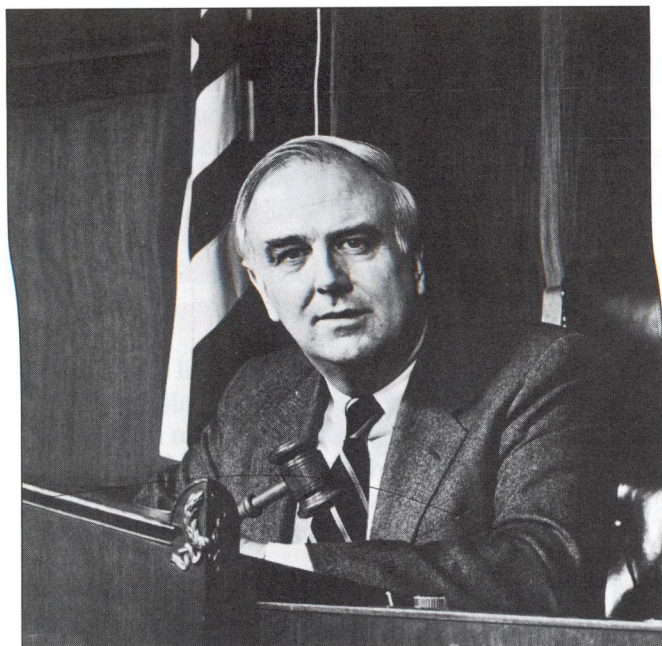
The third program is the Rail Gun Technology program. The Rail Gun is intended to provide an effective alternative to chemically powered guns and rockets which utilize conventional explosive warheads. The U.S. and Israel have already begun negotiations on this new high-speed space-gun. This weapon will be capable of destroying incoming ballistic missiles, even in their terminal phase, by firing a miniature guided projectile at very high speed which will destroy the target through kinetic energy yielded by impact with the target.

According to the U.S. Army, the Rail Gun is less expensive than traditional concepts of ballistic missile defense, has quicker reaction time, and can fire multiple shots at the same target which increases its lethality. The Rail Gun can also be used as an effective anti-tank weapon. The Pentagon is currently seeking to develop new and innovative anti-tank systems.

Chairman **Aspin's** Committee draft also authorized \$8.347 million for procurement of the Israeli Popeye Air-



U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci (right) walks away from his helicopter transport with Israeli Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin (center) after landing at Ramon Air Force Base in the Negev Desert. Also pictured are Israeli Chief of Staff Dan Shomron (left) and U.S. Ambassador to Israel Thomas Pickering (behind Carlucci).



House Armed Services Chairman Les Aspin (D-WI)

to-Ground Missile. Over the life of the program, if it is fully implemented, procurement of the Popeye could result in over \$1 billion for Israeli industry over a 10-12 year period.

The Israeli produced Popeye missile, currently called "Have Nap" by the U.S. Defense Department, is a television-guided missile that can be launched from aircraft against targets at distances exceeding 50 nautical miles. The 3,000 lb. Popeye missile, which carries a 750 lb. conventional warhead, is currently produced by the Rafael Corporation and deployed by the Israeli Air Force.

The U.S. Air Force has considerable interest in procuring the Popeye for potential use on its fleet of B-52 Bombers. The Popeye has a significantly greater range than the AGM-130, the weapon currently being considered as an alternative to Popeye.

Lt. General **George Monahan**, former Air Force Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Acquisition, endorsed Popeye, saying that the missile could provide a conventional role overseas which would be "very useful to theater commanders." **Monahan** said that approximately 100 B-52G's are scheduled to be converted to a conventional role from their current nuclear role. "The B-52G's would function as a highly mobile platform for the precision-guided Have Nap (Popeye) [for] use against key targets such as bridges and small buildings."

The Committee bill also contained \$5 million for the purchase of Israeli-designed and produced 120mm mor-

tars, as well as \$35 million for ammunition for the mortar program.

Rep. **Aspin's** draft bill authorized \$12.001 million for the Israeli produced Cobra Laser Night Acquisition System (C/L/NAS). This is a night targeting system for the U.S. made Cobra helicopters to assist in attacking targets at night or in other low visibility situations.

The bill also included a \$100 million authorization for the **Balanced Technology Initiative (B.T.I.)**, which allows for the purchase of off-the-shelf foreign defense equipment for inclusion in the U.S. arsenal. This program is open to Israeli purchases.

All of these initiatives were adopted by the Armed Services Committee during its mark-up of the Defense Authorization Bill in March. Rep. **Aspin** successfully offered two additional amendments during that mark-up which further strengthened America's strategic relations with Israel.

His first amendment was designed to make Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA) status more permanent for those allies which had already received this designation. Such a designation allows nations to partake in cooperative defense ventures previously restricted to NATO allies.

Aspin's amendment requires the Secretaries of State and Defense to report to Congress only should they wish to make changes in the list of those nations holding that status. Israel was first named a MNNA on January 27, 1987. The other nations holding this status are Egypt, the Republic of Korea, Australia and Japan.

Chairman **Aspin's** second amendment directs the Defense Department to establish a procurement office in Israel to facilitate improved understanding between the United States government and Israeli defense industries. The office would help match up the needs of our armed forces with Israeli military hardware.

All of the provisions that enhanced strategic ties with Israel were incorporated in the bill accepted by the Armed Services Committee on April 5, 1988.

During the House debate on the bill, Chairman **Aspin** offered an "en bloc" amendment containing two additional pro-Israel provisions. One of these provisions was an amendment by Rep. **Jack Davis** (R-IL) that declares that countries with a Free Trade Area agreement signed with the U.S. before February 29, 1988 should be treated as if they were domestic for the purpose of Defense Industrial Base (DIB) reform. Without this proposal, Israel would have had difficulty complying with a substantial number of new procurement laws.

The second amendment contained in **Aspin's** "en bloc" amendment had been offered by Rep. **Dan Burton** (R-IN). It was designed to "fence" (set aside) \$75 million for

the Israeli Arrow program. The Committee assumed that these funds would be spent by the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO) for the Arrow without specifically mandating it. **Burton's** amendment ensured that these funds would be spent for this program.

In addition, during House consideration of this bill, several amendments that might have damaged strategic relations with Israel were either deleted or modified.

The House passed its version of the FY '89 Defense Authorization Bill on May 11 by a vote of 252 to 172.

Senate

The Senate Armed Services Committee began its mark-up of the Defense Authorization Bill during the week of April 17. The bill, drafted under the auspices of Chairman **Sam Nunn** (D-GA), contained most of the pro-Israel provisions included in the original House version. The bill authorized funds for the ATBM program, procurement of the Popeye, C/L/NAS, and funded B.T.I. at \$301 million. The bill did not include the 120 mm mortar program or the ammunition for these mortars.

On a separate, Popeye-related matter, Senate Armed Services Committee Ranking Member **John Warner** (R-

VA) led an effort to enact a DOD reprogramming request of \$17 million for the Popeye missile program. These funds are to be allocated for second phase testing and evaluation of the Popeye system. Sen. **Carl Levin** (D-MI) played a key role in helping to make these funds available.

During the Committee's mark-up of the bill, Sens. **Levin** and **Pete Wilson** (R-CA) offered two amendments which had been sponsored by Chairman **Aspin** in the House. These amendments made MNNA status permanent for those nations which already had this designation and mandated that a defense procurement officer be stationed in Israel.

Sen. **Alan Dixon** (D-IL) successfully offered the amendment offered by Rep. **Davis** in the House to make it easier for Israel to comply with a number of new defense procurement laws.

Chairman **Nunn** and Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R-TX) proposed an amendment that would have repealed the "Berry Amendment," a protectionist law designed to protect American domestic industries from foreign competition. Under current law, only NATO countries are currently eligible for waivers of some provisions of the Berry Amendment.



Sen. Armed Services Chairman Sam Nunn (D-GA) (left) and Ranking Minority Member John Warner (R-VA) (right) worked to strengthen the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship.



Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci addresses a Policy Conference audience. Pictured from left to right are AIPAC Executive Director Thomas Dine, Carlucci, AIPAC President Ed Levy and Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee Les Aspin (D-WI).

The **Nunn-Gramm** amendment sought to open up procurement opportunities for other countries that had previously been unavailable. The Armed Services Committee approved the measure, but it was deleted from the bill by the full Senate by a two-to-one margin.

The Senate Armed Services Committee reported out its version of the Defense Authorization Bill on May 4, 1988.

During Senate consideration of the bill, Sen. **Howard Metzenbaum** (D-OH) introduced an amendment, which passed by voice vote, to codify agreements related to the 1987 sale of F-15's to Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia would be prohibited from possessing more than 60 F-15 fighter aircraft at any one time, (and therefore cannot receive the 12 F-15's purchased in 1987 unless they use them to replace older planes). The amendment also prohibits the U.S. from selling or transferring to Saudi Arabia the advanced F-15E with a ground attack capability.

Following reports that Saudi Arabia had purchased advanced CSS-2 long-range missiles from China, Sen. **Gramm** offered a related amendment to the bill, which

was cosponsored by Sens. **Levin** and **Nunn**. It mandates a Presidential certification to Congress before the President proceeds with any future arms sale to a country which possesses CSS-2 ballistic missiles. The amendment passed by voice vote (*see Fueling the Arab Military Buildup chapter*).

The Senate subsequently passed the Defense Authorization Bill on May 27 by voice vote.

Authorization Conference

The House-Senate Conference, which worked out the differences between the two versions of the bill, accepted all of the pro-Israel provisions passed by both Houses. It was approved by both Chambers on July 14, by a vote of 229-183 in the House and 64-30 in the Senate.

The President vetoed the FY'89 Defense Authorization bill on August 3 because of issues unrelated to the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship. President **Reagan** objected to provisions dealing with arms control issues and the funding for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

After the Presidential veto, Congress worked out a

compromise version of the bill which addressed the President's major objections.

The new bill, which included all of the pro-Israel provisions contained in the original version, passed both Chambers on September 28. President **Reagan** signed this version of the authorization bill the following day.

Defense Appropriations

House

The House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Rep. **William Chappell** (D-FL), appropriated funds for most of the projects covered in the authorization bill. The Appropriations bill contained \$100 million for the ATBM program to be funded through the SDI program. Reps. **Charles Wilson** (D-TX) and **Joseph McDade** (R-PA) led the effort to secure \$8.347 million for the procurement of the Popeye AGM system.

The House passed its version of the Defense Appropriations Bill, H.R. 4781, on June 21 by a vote of 360 to 53.

Senate

The Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Sen. **John Stennis** (D-MS), also appropriated \$100 million for the ATBM program, but stipulated that these funds be controlled by the Army rather than by SDIO.

The Senate bill included procurement of the Popeye in the "joint stand-off weapons" (JSOW) account, which could have had the effect of killing the program. On the other hand, the Committee appropriated \$10 million for research and development for the Popeye system.

The Senate bill contained an amendment offered in the Subcommittee by Sen. **Daniel Inouye** (D-HI) that provides Israel the same exemptions from the "Berry Amendment" that NATO countries receive. Unlike the broader Nunn-Gramm effort to repeal the Berry amendment, Sen. **Inouye's** amendment specifically grants Israeli companies waivers to bid on limited defense items in the same manner that NATO nations may bid competitively.

Sen. **Inouye** said, "[t]he role Israel plays in the southern flank is just as important as that of the NATO countries....If anything, it [the exemption] will lower costs."

The **Inouye** amendment was supported by Ranking Member **Ted Stevens** (R-AK) and Sen. **Bennett Johnston** (D-LA) and passed by voice vote.

Stevens added, "I think they [Israel] should have the same standing as NATO countries...Israel has always been considered part of the southern flank. In fact, I don't know why they are not part of NATO."

The Senate overwhelmingly adopted the \$283 billion

Defense Appropriations bill - H.R. 4781 - by a vote of 90 to 4 on August 11. The Senate Defense Authorization bill was attached, by reference, to the Appropriations bill.

Appropriations Conference

Many of the battles over specific appropriations were fought out during the House-Senate Defense Appropriations Conference rather than during the mark-up of the appropriations bill by each body.

Both the House and Senate had appropriated \$100 million for the ATBM program, but differed on which agency should control the program. The Conference Committee ultimately raised the appropriated level for ATBM to \$114.9 and gave responsibility for the program to the Army, under the supervision of the SDIO.

These funds include continued work on demonstration tests of the Arrow, the first of which is scheduled for spring, 1990.

The House version contained \$700,000 less than the Senate for research and development of the "Rail Gun" technology. The Conference eventually accepted the higher Senate amount for this program.

The House bill had called for direct funding of the Popeye program, while the Senate had adopted a provision funding it through an account which could have hampered the entire program. The Conference ultimately accepted the House position for direct funding of Popeye procurement at \$8.347 million, as well as an additional \$10 million for research and development of this air-to-ground missile system.

The Conference eventually accepted the **Inouye** amendment on the "Berry Amendment," and Israel is now eligible for specific waivers from certain provisions of the Berry Amendment.

The Senate version of the bill contained \$301.1 million for the Balanced Technology Initiative (B.T.I.), which allows for the purchase of off-the-shelf foreign defense equipment for inclusion in the U.S. arsenal. The House bill appropriated \$100 million for the B.T.I. The Conference ultimately appropriated \$238 million for this program.

Final Passage

The final Defense Appropriations Conference Report, which passed the House by a vote of 327 to 77 on September 30, and the Senate by a voice vote the same day, included the following items of interest:

- Funding for the "Arrow" Anti-Tactical Ballistic Missile System, through the Army, under supervision of SDIO (\$114.9 million);



The Israeli produced Cobra Laser Night Acquisition System is used to assist the U.S. made Cobra helicopter in attacking targets at night or in low visablity situations.

- Full procurement funding for the Popeye Air-to-Ground Missile (\$8.347 million), Research and Development of Popeye (\$10 million);
- Procurement of the 120mm Mortar program. This contract is among the largest ever given to an Israeli company by the U.S. military. Originally cut from the FY '89 defense budget, it was restored by House Armed Services Subcommittee on research and development procurement (\$5 million);
- Funding for the purchase of ammunition for the 120mm Mortar (\$33.5);
- Funding for NATO/Major Non-NATO Ally Cooperative research and development (\$154 million);
- Funding of the Israeli-produced C/L/NAS (Cobra Laser Night Acquisition System) Night Targeting System development program for the U.S.-made Cobra helicopter. This system is used to assist helicopter gunships in attacking targets at night or in low visibility situations (\$12.001 million);
- Funding for the Balanced Technology Initiative (\$238 million);
- Procurement of the SINCGARS (Single Channel Ground Airborne Radio System) radio program - a contract recently awarded to a production team including Tadiran of Israel and U.S. General Dynamics Corporation (\$237.877 million);
- Funding of the Foreign Weapons Evaluation program, which tests among others, Israeli weapon systems for possible inclusion in the U.S. arsenal by the Senate (\$15.364 million);
- Funding for the research and development of the Hyper-velocity Rail Gun (\$51.7 million);
- Funding for the European Workload Program (EWP) which allows foreign countries to bid for NATO repair projects. Israel was made eligible for inclusion in the EWP in 1987.
- House Report language directing the U.S. Army to test the Israeli produced 105mm Kinetic Energy anti-armor ammunition for possible procurement by the U.S. military.
- Exemption of Israel from some protectionist barriers in the "Berry Amendment."

Key players in assuring the success of the Appropriations Conference included: Sens. **Johnston**, **Inouye**, **Jim McClure** (R-ID), **Stevens**, and Reps. **Chappell**, **Wilson**, and **McDade**. In addition to the conferees, Sens. **Dan Quayle** (R-IN) and **Pete Wilson** (R-CA) interceded on behalf of the "Arrow" ATBM program at a critical time in the appropriation process.



CHEMICAL WEAPONS

*"Palestinian commandoes
have chemical weapons
and will not hesitate
to use them."*

PLO commander of "Force 17"

Although the Administration and the Congress expressed great concern throughout the year about the extensive proliferation and use of chemical weapons by radical Arab regimes, the Congressional session ended before legislation could pass to deal with this threat. The Reagan Administration pursued international limits on the export of chemical weapons through the Australia group, a group of countries committed to limiting the spread of chemical weapons. Congress debated various proposals addressing the chemical weapons problem, but ultimately ran out of time before any bill was finalized. The 101st Congress will no doubt return to this issue in 1989.

Chemical weapons originate from the same compounds as agricultural pesticides, making their production and use easy for even the smallest of nations. Unlike conventional weaponry, chemical weapons need only be deployed in the vicinity of the intended targets. The weapon's properties can be active for days and its effects are almost impossible to contain.

A nation like Israel, which places a high value on human life and depends on a citizen army, is particularly vulnerable. A chemical attack on the heavily populated Tel Aviv-Haifa corridor or a mobilization center for reservists could be devastating. This is a problem that confronts not only Israel but all U.S. strategic interests in that part of the world.

Chemical weapons are not new in the arsenals of Middle Eastern countries. In the 1960's, Egypt used chemical weapons in Yemen and Libya used poison gas against Chad during 1986 and 1987. Both Iraq and Iran engaged in chemical warfare during their eight-year conflict.

Even the PLO boasts that it possesses chemical weapons. The commander of the PLO's special operations "Force 17", **Mahmoud Natour** said in a statement published in the *Jordan Times* earlier this year "Palestinian commandoes have chemical weapons and will not hesitate to use them."

Many of Israel's enemies have deployed surface-to-surface ballistic missiles capable of delivering a chemical payload well beyond the battleground, placing innocent civilians in danger.

Syria and Libya are known to possess chemical weapons production facilities as well as a substantial inventory of chemical warheads.

The State Department issued a statement on September 14 that Libya is preparing to manufacture poison gas. State Department spokesman **Charles E. Redman** expressed that it is a "particularly worrisome development in view of...the general record of irresponsible behavior" by Libyan President **Moammar Gadhafi**.

Sen. **Jesse Helms** (R-NC) said "it is fair to assume that his [Gadhafi's] chief target would be the State of Israel." He added that since the "terrorist nations" of the region "have been frustrated in their efforts to obtain nuclear

weapons to use against Israel," they have "turned to the poison gas as a substitute mass murder weapon."

Sen. **Robert Dole** (R-KS), called for an ultimatum against companies involved in the transfer of chemicals or production equipment to "targeted" countries, "Let's make that real trade-off: Do business with Gadhafi- and you can 'kiss goodbye' to any business you want to do with America."

Iraq also came under heavy fire from Congress and the Reagan Administration in 1988 for its use of poison gas against large numbers of its Kurdish civilians.

Sen. **John McCain** (R-AZ), discussed the fact that Iraq's use of chemical weapons could lead to large scale weapon proliferation. "If we let poison gas be used against the Kurds today, it will almost certainly be used against Israel or Saudi Arabia in the years to come."

Rep. **Mel Levine** (D-CA) said we need to "scream loudly...so that the Iraqis and the international community will not be able to misjudge our intentions."

Rep. **James Bilbray** (D-NV) drew a parallel between the situation in the Middle East and **Hitler's** Germany. He said that we can't sit by while an entire race is exterminated. He pointed to the hesitation of Americans to take



Iranian doctors and a United Nations representative inspect an x-ray of a victim of an Iraqi chemical weapon attack.

action in 1939 and said that we cannot use the excuse, that unilateral sanctions put us at a disadvantage, to keep from getting involved now.

Several resolutions and bills were introduced condemning the proliferation of chemical weaponry in the Middle East.

Sen. **George Mitchell** (D-ME), introduced a resolution, co-sponsored by 43 Senators, which condemned the use of chemical weapons by Iraq. It passed the Senate by a vote of 91-0 in June.

Another anti-chemical warfare bill was introduced in the Senate by Sens. **Helms**, **Dole**, **Rudy Boschwitz** (R-MN), **Jake Garn** (R-UT), **John Heinz** (R-PA), **William Cohen** (R-ME) and **Warren Rudman** (R-NH) which would impose sanctions against firms involved in the transfer of chemical agents to Iraq, Iran, Syria or Libya. The legislation would also cover chemical production equipment and technology.

In the House, Rep. **Howard Berman** (D-CA) initiated a resolution which unanimously passed the House Foreign Affairs Committee, condemning the use of chemical weapons by Iraq and expressing strong concern over Iranian use of chemical weapons. The resolution also called on the President to pursue an international ban on chemical weapons. A similar resolution was introduced by Rep. **Jim Bates** (D-CA) with 218 co-sponsors. Neither resolution was voted on by the full House.

Sen. **Claiborne Pell** (D-RI) and 7 other Senators introduced the Prevention of Genocide Act of 1988 on September 8.

The bill called for economic sanctions against Iraq; cutting off commodity and other credits to Iraq; banning the sale of items which are subject to export controls; and requiring the United States to vote against loans to Iraq by international financial institutions and prohibit importation of Iraqi oil.

"While people are gassed, the world is largely silent... Silence, however, is complicity," **Pell** said. "A half century ago, the world was also silent as Hitler began a campaign that culminated in the near extermination of Europe's Jews. We cannot be silent to genocide again."

Sens. **Wendell Ford** (D-KY), **William Proxmire** (D-WI) and **Helms** spoke in favor of the **Pell** bill. **Proxmire** was concerned that groups "in countries with hostile domestic opposition groups," such as the PLO, will eventually realize that the use of chemical weapons may be a "tactical and strategic asset." The bill passed the Senate by voice vote on September 9.

Because of Administration objections to the bill, it was redrafted using substantially weaker language. **Pell** and **Helms** then offered it as an amendment to the Senate



Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA), pictured here with Prime Minister Shaimir, led efforts in the House to impose sanctions on Iraq because of their use of chemical weapons.

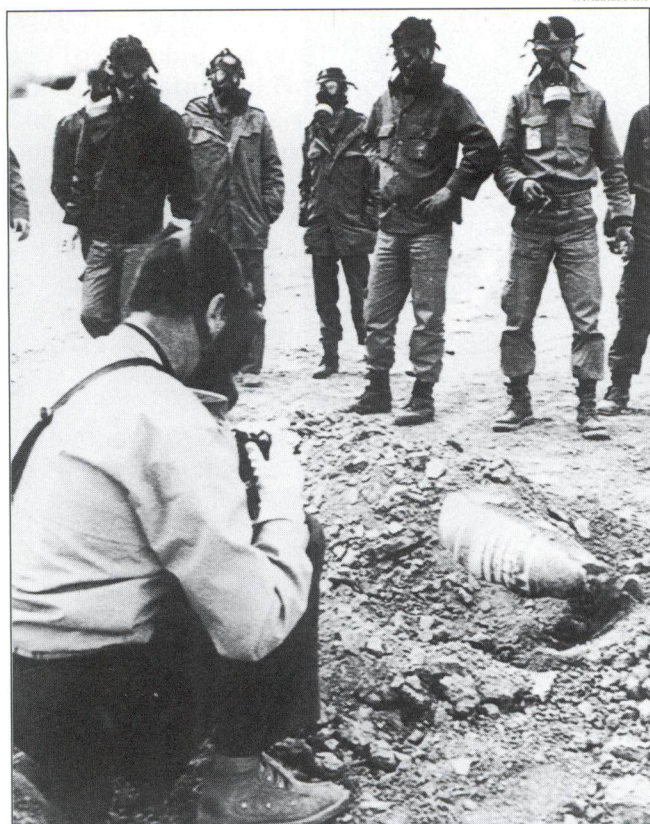
Foreign Aid Appropriations Conference Report. Despite the new text, the Administration still strongly opposed the imposition of sanctions. The amendment was dropped from the Conference Report due to concern that it would endanger passage of the entire bill.

Pell and **Helms** attempted to add a similar version of the Iraqi sanctions bill as an amendment to the Omnibus tax bill. In an effort to simplify the tax bill, however, the Iraqi sanctions amendment, together with all other non-germane measures, were eventually dropped in conference with the House.

In the House, Reps. **Lantos** and **Porter**, introduced a bill, "condemning Iraqi use of chemical weapons and imposing sanctions against Iraq." The bill, which had 12 co-sponsors, was very similar to the original Senate-passed **Pell** bill.

Porter called Iraq's illegal use of poison gas a "new level of human rights abuse not seen since the Cambodian or Nazi genocides."

The bill encountered problems similar to those which occurred in the Senate. In an effort to mitigate Administration opposition, the Chairman of the House Foreign



Affairs Committee **Dante Fascell** (D-FL) introduced a new version of the Lantos/Porter bill which only called for limited sanctions against Iraq. After prolonged debate, the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the new version.

The redrafted bill prohibited government and commercial arms sales to Iraq, as well as dual use items on the commodity control list. Two amendments were introduced and accepted by the Committee; the first by Rep. **Stephen Solarz** (D-NY) prohibiting the sale of any chemical to Iraq which may be used in the production of chemical weapons. The second by Rep. **Ben Gilman** (R-NY) prohibited the export of goods and technology that would significantly add to Iraq's military potential.

The bill passed the House on September 27 by a vote of 388 to 16.

Although both Houses of Congress overwhelmingly passed versions of an Iraqi sanctions bill, the two bodies were not able to reconcile differences in their two bills before the Congressional adjournment deadline.

Iraqi chemical bomb being photographed by a member of the United Nations fact-finding mission in Southern Iran. The bomb failed to explode after it was dropped during an air raid.

MISSILES WITHIN RANGE OF ISRAEL THAT ARE CAPABLE OF CARRYING CHEMICAL WEAPONS

COUNTRY	MISSILE	RANGE (km)
Egypt	Condor	800
	Scud-B	280
	Scud-B Modified	560
Iraq	al-Husayn	650
	al-Abbas	900
	Condor	800
	SS-12	900
Libya	MB-EE	up to 1000
	Ittissalat	500
Saudi Arabia	CSS-2	2700
Syria	M-9	600
	SS-21	120
	Scud-B	280



*"Israel has the most
dynamic trade union
movement in the
Middle East."*

AFL-CIO

The U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area (FTA), signed in March, 1985, was designed to eliminate trade barriers between the two countries over a ten-year period. Both nations have gained from the initial reduction of those tariffs. Since the agreement was signed three years ago, trade between the United States and Israel has grown approximately 22.5% to an annual level of \$4.91 billion.

A number of disputes arose this year which had the potential of weakening the FTA; however, each was successfully negotiated. The U.S.-Israel FTA was also protected in this year's omnibus Trade Bill.

Trade Bill

The Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 included two significant amendments designed to protect the FTA: one exempted the FTA from mandatory cumulation provisions of previous legislation; the other resolved inconsistencies between provisions in the trade bill and the FTA agreement.

Mandatory cumulation is a concept designed to protect American industries from imports of a specific product from many sources. If many nations export an item to the United States in sufficient quantity to harm our domestic industry, the International Trade Commission (ITC) is obliged to assess the collective damage to the U.S. industry and potentially impose tariffs on all countries' exports. Israeli companies, which sell a relatively small percentage of goods in any category to the United States, were being assessed tariffs on items that were causing damage to U.S. industries because of the large quantity of other countries' exports. More importantly, the law mandating such "cumula-

tion" by the ITC passed after the Free Trade Agreement was negotiated; thus, Israeli negotiators were unable to address the issue as part of their negotiations.

Sens. **Daniel Moynihan** (D-NY) and **Bob Packwood** (R-OR) offered an amendment during the conference committee deliberations on the 1988 Trade Bill to exempt the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Area Agreement from these mandatory cumulation provisions. Despite opposition from both the House and Senate conference chairmen and the active opposition of United States Trade Representative **Clayton Yeutter**, the **Packwood/Moynihan** amendment was adopted in a 5-4 vote by the Senate conferees and a 7-6 vote by the House.

Chairman **Lloyd Bentsen** (D-TX) and Sen. **Packwood** also successfully offered an amendment to the trade bill which protects the U.S.-Israel FTA from contrary provisions in the trade bill. Chairman **Dan Rostenkowski** (D-IL) and Rep. **Sam Gibbons** (D-FL) offered an identical amendment in the House. The amendment states that in the event that there is an inconsistency between a provision in the trade bill and the U.S.-Israel FTA, the language of the FTA will prevail.

After several parliamentary maneuvers over final passage of the trade bill, Congress passed and the President signed the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 on August 23.

Tariff Disputes

Representatives from the Departments of State, Commerce and the Office of the U.S. Special Trade Representative met in Tel Aviv on June 8 with Israeli Industry and Finance Ministry officials as part of the biannual meetings on the Free Trade Area Agreement.

The meetings centered on discussions about Israel's "tama tax", an Israeli customs practice imposing a purchase tax on the price of imports. In addition, certain tax exemptions for Israeli manufacturers were raised.

After prolonged negotiations, Israel agreed, in November, to phase out the disputed import barriers.

Voice of America

Both Houses of Congress approved the FY '89 Commerce, Justice, State, Judiciary and Related Agencies Appropriations Conference report on September 27. This bill



Senate Finance Committee Ranking Member Robert Packwood (R-OR), seen here with AIPAC delegates to the Policy Conference, fought to protect U.S.-Israel FTA from contrary provisions in the trade bill.

contained \$33 million for the construction of a Voice of America (VOA) transmitter in Israel. The legislation was signed into law by President **Reagan** on September 30.

The total cost for the VOA program in Israel is projected to be between \$265 and \$310 million. The first transmission is scheduled for 1992.

During a March 23 hearing of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, State, Justice, the Judiciary and Related Agencies, Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting **Malcolm Forbes** said, "There is no question in our mind that this project is the most important in the last twenty years" because of the "importance of the Middle East region." He noted that the \$35 million request for FY '89 was the "bare-bones minimum" necessary for the project.

When asked by Rep. **Harold Rogers** (R-KY) what Israel would receive in return for its cooperation on the VOA project, **Forbes** responded that "Israel did this as a favor to the U.S." He added that Israel was the only country in the region willing to accept the transmitter on its soil.

Chairman **Ernest Hollings** (D-SC) and Ranking Member **Warren Rudman** (R-NH) of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State, the Judiciary and Related Agencies led the effort to include \$35 million for the VOA transmitter in Israel. The House bill would not include funding for the project until the authorizing legislation passed.

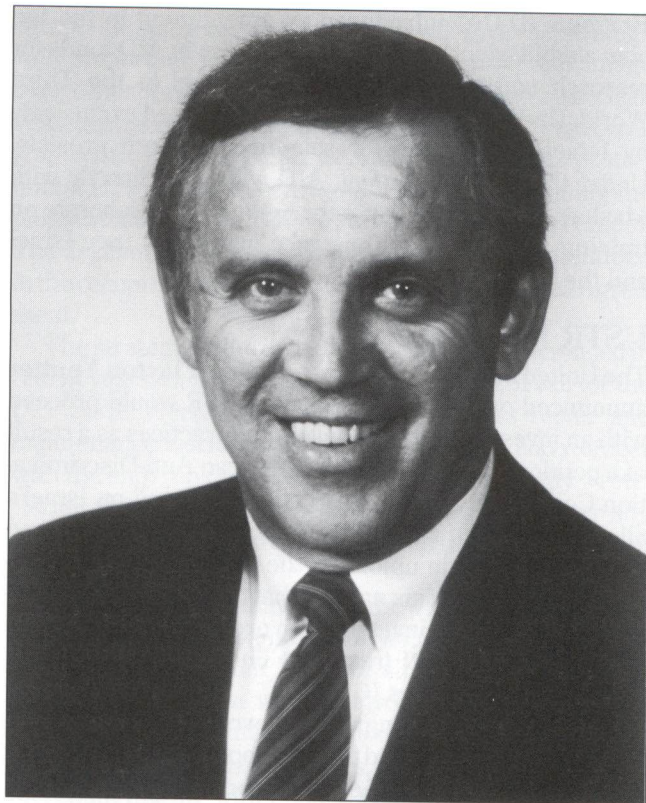
Largely due to budget constraints, the House-Senate Conference committee compromised on \$33 million in funding for the transmitter in Israel.

Binational Agricultural Research and Development (BARD)

The Binational Agricultural Research and Development (BARD) fund was established in 1977 to utilize American and Israeli expertise in resolving common agricultural problems. Leading scientists from both countries share and expand agricultural skill and productivity through joint research. BARD projects are funded by the interest earned from a \$110 million endowment created by equal contributions of \$55 million from each nation.

Since its establishment, BARD has compiled an impressive record of agricultural achievements for both countries. Projects have studied plant protection, animal production, water management and other mutually beneficial agricultural programs.

In light of the success of BARD projects and the number of additional projects that could fall under its purview if there were additional funding, Sens. **John Melcher** (D-MT), **Patrick Leahy** (D-VT) and **Mitch**



Sen. Warren Rudman (R-NH) led efforts to include \$33 million for the Voice of America transmitter in Israel.

McConnell (R-KY) successfully introduced an amendment to the Agricultural Appropriations bill which would have increased BARD's U.S. endowment by \$2.5 million. This would have been matched by an equal share from the Government of Israel.

Melcher termed this funding increase "essential to the continued success of this highly cost-effective program." He stated that research funded by BARD has resulted "in a return on investment of something like 500 percent."

The BARD funding was deleted, however, during the House-Senate Conference on the bill largely due to opposition from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and Rep. **Jamie Whitten** (D-MI), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee.

Cooperative Development in the Third World

A \$5.6 million cooperative agreement to provide Israeli training and technical assistance to developing countries using U.S. funds was signed on May 25 by **Alan Woods**, administrator for the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), and Israeli Ambassador **Moshe Arad**. This cooperative venture began in 1984 when Rep. **Howard**

Berman (D-CA) introduced an amendment to the foreign aid bill which earmarked \$5 million in AID funds for research and training projects by Israel in the Third World. Until this year, those funds were used exclusively by Israeli universities for scientific research projects. Under this new agreement, AID will work directly with Mashav, Israel's Development Agency, to collaborate on training and technical assistance programs. (See Israel and the World chapter.)

USTR Investigation

The United States Trade Representative **Clayton Yeutter** announced on August 27 that the USTR would proceed with an investigation of Israel's labor practices as a result of a petition filed by the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). The petition focused on Israel's alleged abuses of Palestinian workers' rights to join and participate in trade unions in the Administered Territories. Israel is one of six nations that the U.S. Trade Representative agreed to investigate in order to continue those nations' special tariff treatment under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP).

Ten Democratic Congressmen wrote to the U.S. Trade Representative and asked that he support the ADC petition: **John Conyers** (MI), **George Crockett** (MI), **Ronald Dellums** (CA), **John Dingell** (MI), **Mervyn Dymally** (CA), **Walter Fauntroy** (DC), **Charles Hayes** (IL), **Nicholas Mavroules** (MA), **Donald Pease** (OH), and **James Traficant** (OH). **Mavroules** later withdrew his support.

The AFL-CIO, which had asked **Yeutter** to investigate labor practices in Burma, Haiti, Liberia, Malaysia and Syria, did not support the ADC's petition against Israel. The AFL-CIO, which normally brings most complaints to the USTR, "found serious errors in the petition...Israel has the most dynamic trade union movement in the Middle East. They are allowed so long as they do not seek to act as fronts for terrorist acts against Israel. That seems like a reasonable position for a government to take."

The State Department opposed the USTR decision to investigate Israel's labor practices, particularly in the West Bank and Gaza. The State Department declared that an investigation into alleged Israeli labor rights violations is not legitimate because of the unresolved status of the territories.

Reps. **Dante Fascell** (D-FL) and **Howard Berman** (D-CA), and **Euginia Kemble**, Executive Director of the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute, denounced the USTR's decision to investigate Israel at a press conference in September.

Fascell said, "I would not welcome an investigation

just to prove that I was innocent."

Berman argued that Israel's inclusion on the list of [nine] countries whose labor practices were to be investigated, "gives aid and comfort to those who are attempting to distort Israel's image in the United States, and it makes a mockery of a law designed to encourage less developed countries to provide internationally recognized workers' rights to their own people."

Berman also called attention to the fact that there are countries whose abuses are documented, but were not being investigated by USTR, whereas Israel's labor practices are "patently exemplary."

Other members of Congress released statements on the issue at the press conference. Rep. **Mel Levine** (D-CA) called for the renunciation of the "misguided decision...which fundamentally jeopardizes U.S.-Israel relationship by seemingly placing a wedge between these two allies and democracies." Rep. **Don Bonker** (D-WA) termed the USTR's decision "political" and "irresponsible" and said that the petition should have been dismissed "out of hand."

Pointing out that "Congress did not intend for the USTR to be free to engage in capricious, politicized decision-making as to which countries should be reviewed," Rep. **Ted Weiss** (D-NY) said, "[b]y its most recent decision, the Administration has exposed, once and for all, the charade in which it engages."

Eleven other Democrats, **Charles Schumer** (NY), **Barney Frank** (MA), **Joe Moakley** (MA), **James McClure Clarke** (NC), **Sam Gejdenson** (CT), **Mel Levine** (CA), **Edward Feighan** (OH), **Howard Berman** (CA), **John Spratt** (SC), **Albert Bustamante** (TX) and **Henry Waxman** (CA) signed a letter to Vice President **George Bush** asking him to "take steps to reverse it [the decision to investigate Israel] immediately." They said they were "astonished to learn that Israel was included in the same category with regard to labor practices as...countries with harsh authoritarian regimes without any similar commitment to organized labor."

The letter claimed that this decision "hand[s] those who seek to do Israel harm a major public relations victory without any apparent rationale," adding that, "this action does a terrible disservice to our strongest ally in the Middle East, a vital democracy with the longest record of commitment to fair labor practices."

Individual members of Congress also wrote to the Trade Representative's office expressing discontent with his decision.

Sen. **Phil Gramm** (R-TX) wrote **Yeutter** strongly urging him to reconsider the decision to investigate Israeli labor practices: "As you know, allegations such as

these surface occasionally, mostly from virulently anti-Israel organizations. The apparent reliance on such charges as the basis for action by the United States government is extremely difficult to understand, particularly in light of the fact that both the AFL-CIO and the United Nations International Labor Organizations have rejected the same allegations."

Sen. **Steven Symms** (R-ID) wrote that it is "absurd" to investigate Israel's labor practices since "Israel is the only nation in the Middle East with a powerful, independent, multi-ethnic and non-denominational trade union movement. ... it would be a serious mistake for the United States to add credence to disinformation about the denial of workers rights in Israel by convening formal hearings 'to investigate' the charges."

Rep. **Paul Henry** (R-MI) asked **Yeutter** "not lose sight of the strength of the labor movement in Israel" and "guard against falling into the trap of needlessly politicizing an already difficult situation...the rights of labor and the strength of the labor union movement within Israel are in some ways more advanced than in our own country."

Israel Shipyards

Following a decision by the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, President **Reagan** has directed changes in

certain shipping regulations which will give the strategically important Haifa Shipyards a 50% price advantage over other foreign ports in attracting civilian American vessels in need of repair. U.S. law requires a 50% tax on all ship repairs at foreign ports. Elimination of this protectionist U.S. tariff is in conformity with the continuing implementation of the U.S.-Israel Free Trade Agreement. The decision came after a similar provision was identified in the recently signed U.S.-Canada Free Trade Area Agreement.

The strategic value of the Port of Haifa has increased in recent years. In addition to serving as a port of call for the U.S. Sixth Fleet, Haifa Shipyards provides repair and maintenance work for the U.S. Navy. A U.S. Navy officer with the ship repair unit of the Sixth Fleet recently wrote, "Israel Shipyards has excelled in performance over any ship repair facility I have contracted in the Mediterranean area."

Two years ago, Haifa Shipyards, which employs nearly 1000 workers, was bankrupt. It was resuscitated due to the need of the Israeli Navy for ship repair and maintenance capabilities, as well as patrol and missile boat construction. The recent U.S. action will enhance the economic viability of the shipyards, while providing the U.S. merchant marine with quality, cost-competitive service.



U.S. Naval Ships regularly make port calls in Israel for repairs and other needed services.



THE UPRISING, PEACE PROCESS AND PLO

"American support should not be used as a lever to force Israel's leaders to adopt policy which they see as dangerous to the national security of their country."

*Letter sent by 11 Senators to
Secretary of State, George Shultz,
March 14*

Violent demonstrations by the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza strip continued throughout 1988. While Israel endeavored to quell the violence and set the stage for political negotiations, leaflets distributed by the Unified Leadership of the Uprising, backed by the PLO, advocated increasing the intensity of the violence by "purifying [the] internal front from the filth of agents and traitors" and "letting the Molotov cocktails pour down on the heads of the American Zionist enemy soldiers." Regrettably, many deaths on all sides have resulted, including the fire-bombing of a civilian bus by **Arafat's** Fatah group in which three Israelis died.

Many members of Congress voiced concerns about the difficult situation Israel was in and the level of violence. Members also expressed the view that Israel had no choice but to restore order before any peace process could resume and that the only way to end the uprising is to find a political solution to the overriding issues.

Rep. **David Obey** (D-WI), Chairman of the House Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, stated on the House floor, "As serious...as some of the incidents have been...they pale by comparison to examples of other recent brutalities in the Middle East. The killing of thousands by Syria in the Hama massacre and the killing of Palestinians in Lebanon by Amal are two examples."

Sen. **Malcolm Wallop** (R-WY) argued that "Israel's stern measures to restore order in the territories must be taken in context ... The rioters are not children throwing pebbles and shouting epithets. They are mobs throwing Molotov cocktails."

Rep. **Bill Nelson** (D-FL) returned from a trip to Israel, including a visit to the West Bank, in March and said that "there was some overreaction by Israeli troops, but they are trying to drive home to their troops not to use force except when lives are

threatened...I am firmly convinced that that country (Israel) has known war for so long [and] greatly wants peace. And it is important that the United States stand by Israel in this very rough time."

Rep. **Connie Morella** (R-MD) returned from a trip to Israel in June. She stressed the importance of recognizing the complexity of the situation. **Morella** said that "we are not going to be able to solve the problems in three months or even a year, and we are going to have to realize that and work accordingly."

Members of Congress have criticized the media's coverage of the uprising as sensationalist and unfair and have cited an increase in constituent concern as a result.

Sen. **Paul Sarbanes** (D-MD), in an interview with the *Washington Jewish Week* in March, accused the media of going for "the dramatic moment rather than the historical explanation."

Sen. **Howell Heflin** (D-AL) charged in a February speech to the Anti Defamation League that television coverage of the Palestinian unrest has created a "distorted, one-sided perception" of the Arab-Israeli conflict and that Palestinian demonstrators have "become more sophisticated in their use of the media... and have learned how to stage a better riot - one that looks better on television."

Rep. **Jack Buechner** (R-MO), who did not travel to the West Bank or Gaza during his 1988 trip to Israel, explained that "every time a Congressman or other official visits one of the areas of unrest, a crowd gathers, the media is there and a riot might ensue."

Israel's decision to deport **Mubarak Awad**, a Palestinian activist with American citizenship whose visa had expired, prompted criticism by some members of Congress.

Rep. **George Brown** (D-CA), along with 36 Representatives, sent a letter to Israeli Prime Minister **Yitzhak Shamir** urging him to reconsider the deportation decision. Rep. **David Bonior** (D-MI) introduced a resolution in the House, with 21 cosponsors, calling for Israel to drop all charges against **Awad**.

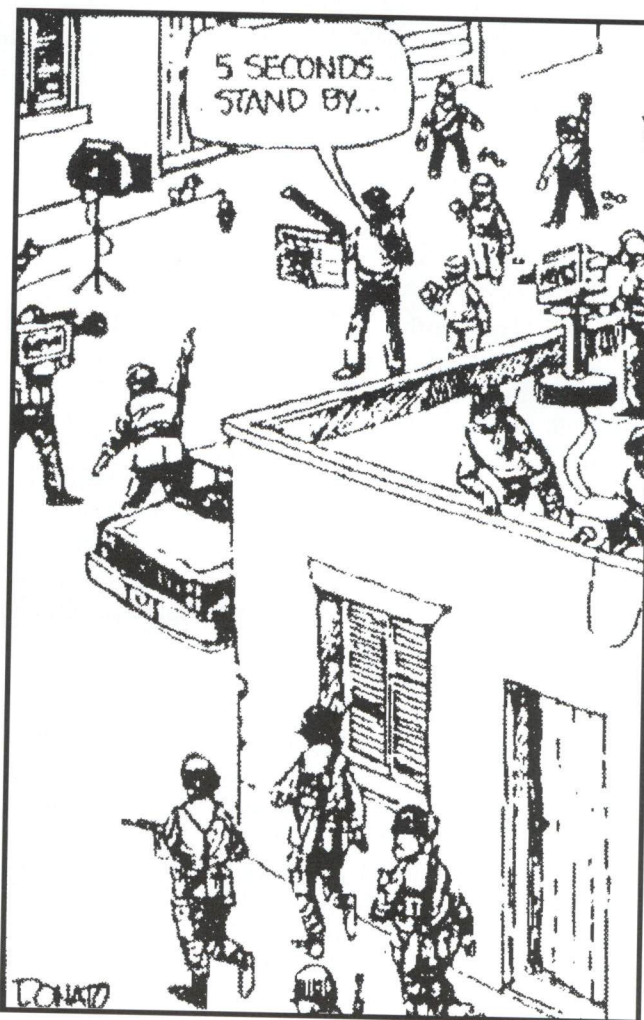
Shamir responded by outlining **Awad's** role in inciting violence in the territories and explaining the circumstances surrounding the expiration of **Awad's** visa. **Shamir** stressed that "steps to expel Mr. **Awad** were taken only after it became clear that his presence poses a danger to the country's security and to the safety of its inhabitants." After his deportation, **Awad** spent the remainder of the year in the United States criticizing Israeli policies.

Peace Process

Despite the violence and a PLO attempt on his life, Secre-

tary of State **George Shultz** vigorously pursued efforts to achieve peace in the region. During his four trips to the Middle East, **Shultz** met with top leaders from Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Syria. **Shultz's** efforts to meet Palestinians from the territories were rebuffed. The salient points of the **Shultz** initiative included:

- 1) Peace negotiations to be based on U.S. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338;
- 2) Direct bilateral negotiations to focus first on an interim settlement with final status negotiations to begin one month after its finalization;
- 3) Transitional period to begin three months after completion of interim settlement and to last for three years;
- 4) International conference attended by the five permanent Security Council members and the parties to the conflict to precede and facilitate the convening of direct negotiations. The conference may not dictate nor veto an agreement among the participants;





From left to right, Reps. Howard Berman (D-CA) and Connie Morella (R-MD) along with House Majority Whip Tony Coelho (D-CA) met with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres during their visit to Israel in 1988.

- 5) Palestinians to be represented as a part of a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation.

Reps. **Larry Smith** (D-FL) and **John Kasich** (R-OH) sent a telegram signed by 40 members of Congress to **Shultz** on February 26. The legislators praised **Shultz's** peace efforts and expressed "support for U.N. resolutions 242 and 338 and the Camp David Accords and for direct negotiations between Israel and its neighbors without preconditions."

Sens. **Chic Hecht** (R-NV), **Jesse Helms** (R-NC) and nine other Senators sent **Shultz** a letter on March 14, stating "We believe that Administration officials should refrain from public criticism of the [Israeli] Prime Minister's negotiating stance in regards to various peace proposals...The people of Israel, better than anyone else, understand their own security needs....American support should not be used as a lever to force Israel's leaders to adopt policy which they see as dangerous to the national security of their country..."

Reps. **Mel Levine** (D-CA), **Charles Schumer** (D-NY), **Vin Weber** (R-MN) and **John Miller** (R-WA) together with 131 other Members sent a letter on March 31 expressing support for **Shultz's** efforts to reinvigorate the Middle East process. The Members voiced concern over

the unwillingness of Arab states, with the exception of Egypt, to negotiate with Israel. A similar letter, signed by 22 Senators, was initiated by Sens. **Dennis DeConcini** (D-AZ) and **Pete Wilson** (R-CA).

One of the most controversial Congressional letters in support of **Shultz's** peace efforts was initiated by Sens. **Carl Levin** (D-MI) and **Rudy Boschwitz** (R-MN) on March 3. A total of thirty Senators, including some of the strongest supporters of Israel in the Senate, commended **Shultz** for his "effort to break the dangerous Middle East stalemate, a stalemate that has led to the current cycle of violence and counter-violence." The thirty Senators expressed their displeasure that, "with the exception of Egypt, no Arab state has demonstrated willingness to ... recognize Israel and [make] peace with it. As for the Palestinians, they not only refuse to recognize Israel, they have refused to meet with you during your visit."

The Senators complimented Israel for "its commitment to Resolution 242 and the "land for peace" formula in a tangible way" by returning Sinai to Egypt. However, while praising Israel, the Senators also expressed their "dismay" over a quote in the *New York Times* in which "Prime Minister Shamir had said that '... this expression of territory for peace is not accepted by me.'"

The letter expressed the "hope that the Prime

Minister's statement did not indicate that Israel is abandoning a policy that offers the best hope of long-term peace. Israel cannot be expected to give up all the territory gained in 1967...[but] peace negotiations have little chance of success if the Israeli government's position rules out territorial compromise."

Despite Congressional protests, **Shultz** agreed to meet on March 25 in Washington with **Edward W. Said** and **Ibrahim Abu Lughod**, two American citizens of Palestinian birth, who are members of the Palestinian National Council, which considers itself the legislative body of the Palestinian nationalist movement. **Bassam Abu Sharif**, a close advisor to PLO Chairman **Yasir Arafat**, declared that **Arafat** had authorized **Said** and **Abu Lughod** to meet with **Shultz**.

Reps. **Levine** and **Benjamin Gilman** (R-NY) wrote a letter to **Shultz** in which they praised his efforts on behalf of peace, but expressed concern over his decision to meet with the members of the PNC. They wrote that it would be "unwise to take any steps which might jeopardize American credibility in the peace process at this especially sensitive point in time."

In a similar letter to **Shultz**, Rep. **Schumer** wrote that "until the PLO puts an end to violence and recognizes Israel's right to exist with secure and defensible borders, negotiating with the PLO runs counter to our aims of achieving a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Middle East."

Throughout the year, Members of Congress expressed their regrets that no Arab state, other than Egypt, had been willing to negotiate with Israel and make peace. Rep. **Smith** wrote a letter in January to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak urging him to exercise his "renewed influence in the Arab world to garner support for a political solution to the Palestinian question and revive the stalled process."

Rep. **Tom Lantos** (D-CA) stated at a House Foreign Affairs Human Rights Subcommittee hearing in March, "The underlying issue is the unwillingness of the Arab states...to accept its [Israel's] legitimacy, to acknowledge its right to exist."

Sen. **Alan Cranston** (D-CA) said in May that "It is essential that this peace be expanded. Arab nations need to end their forty-year refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist and cease their active boycott campaign of economic isolation."

Rep. **Mike Andrews** (D-TX), in an August 13 news release, stated that "the fact remains that there can be no easing of tensions until the Palestinians and the Arab nations recognize that taking steps toward compromise is the only way to end their 40-year cycle of bloodshed and

violence. ...Real resolution of the conflicts can only come when the Palestinians and Arab states seriously and realistically recognize Israel's right to exist."

Sen. **Dale Bumpers** (D-AR) also addressed this issue in August noting that "Israel receives much more attention to the way it is handling its disturbances than would an Arab country.... Arab countries must follow Egypt's lead and recognize Israel's right to exist within safe and secure borders."

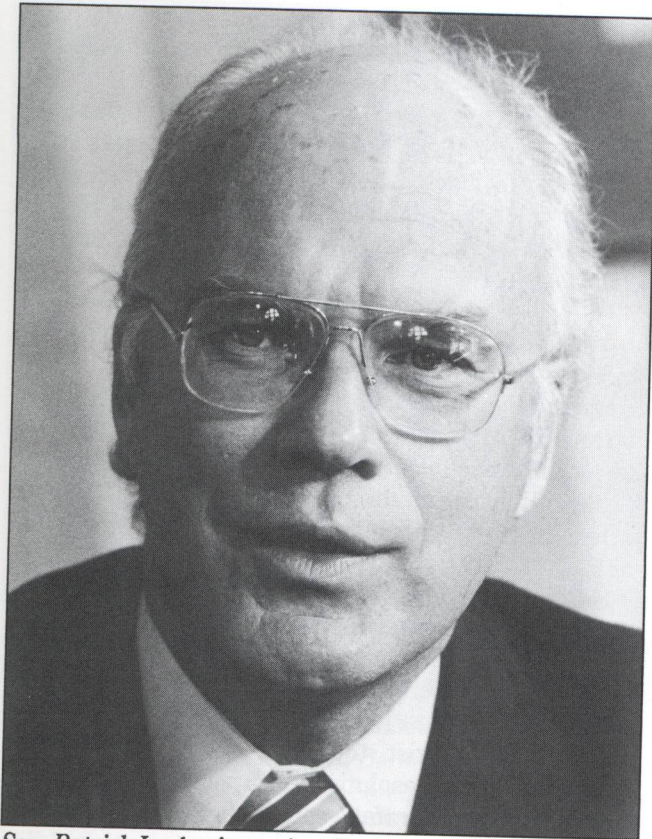
U.S.-PLO

Since the signing of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty in 1979, disagreements have arisen within the U.S. Administration and Congress as to who would serve as a representative for the Palestinian people in the peace process. That debate culminated in the U.S. Administration's decision in December to begin a dialogue with representatives of the PLO.

The November 1988 Palestine National Council (PNC) meeting in Algiers demonstrated once again the PLO's commitment to its longstanding positions. During the meeting, **Arafat** declared the creation of a Palestinian "state in exile." The PLO refused to recognize explicitly Israel's right to exist, to accept unconditionally U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and to renounce terrorism. **Arafat's** coupling of U.N. Resolutions



Rep. Larry Smith (D-FL), seen here speaking at the Policy Conference, led House efforts to deny a visa to Yasir Arafat.



Sen. Patrick Leahy, incoming Chairman of the Senate Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, led efforts in the Senate to deny a visa to Yasir Arafat.

242 and 338 with Palestinian self-determination and statehood without recognizing the legitimacy of Jewish self-determination, and **Arafat's** invoking the "Palestinian right of return" underscored his continued rejection of Jewish statehood.

Subsequently, **Arafat** asked to address the UN General Assembly in New York on December 1. According to the 1947 United Nations Headquarters Agreement, the United Nations has the right to request entry to the United States for any person it wishes to address the U.N.

Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives wrote to Secretary of State **George Shultz** urging him to deny **Arafat** a visa. They advocated invoking the right of the United States to "control the entrance of aliens" to the U.N. Headquarters District in such a manner as to "safeguard its own security".

The Senate letter, initiated by Sens. **Dennis DeConcini** (D-AZ), **Patrick Leahy** (D-VT), **Charles Grassley** (R-IA), and **Alfonse D'Amato** (R-NY), was signed by 51 Senators (*see Appendix for list*). The House letter, initiated by Rep. **Jack Kemp** (R-NY), was signed by 36

Representatives.

The letters stressed the fact that **Arafat** and the PLO were responsible for several terrorist attacks against American citizens and facilities abroad. The letters called for the denial of a visa for **Arafat** until such time as he and the PLO have recognized Israel's right to exist, accepted resolutions 242 and 338 and changed the text of the PLO charter which calls for the destruction of Israel. Both letters clearly stated that **Arafat's** statements in Algiers did not satisfy these conditions.

In response to the Congressional plea, the Secretary of State assured Congress that the Department would give **Arafat's** application the "severest and utmost scrutiny."

Kemp, in a follow-up letter to **Shultz**, said "the United States clearly has both the legal authority and the moral obligation to deny the leader of a terrorist organization any request for such a visa...The U.S. will send a strong signal to the terrorist leaders on the PLO Executive Committee and around the world that the U.S. supports a peaceful resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and rejects terrorists as inadmissible parties to negotiations."

Members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee also sent a letter to **Shultz** in opposition to granting **Arafat** a visa. This letter, initiated by Rep. **Benjamin Gilman** (R-NY) and signed by 15 Republican Representatives, maintained that to allow **Arafat** into the United States would serve as implicit recognition of the "legitimacy of the Palestinian resolution" issued at Algiers. The Members stated that this would "bestow tacit approval upon this unilateral attempt to shortcut any negotiated peace settlement".

Soon after, on November 26, Secretary of State **George Shultz** denied **Yasir Arafat** a visa to enter the United States to address the United Nations General Assembly. This act was taken in accordance with U.S. policy to bar entry to persons posing security risks to the United States. The decision, according to the State Department communique, was based on "convincing evidence" that **Arafat's** close associates and the Fatah faction he controls "have engaged in terror against Americans and others...since the PLO claimed to forswear the use of terrorism in the Cairo Declaration of November 1985." President **Ronald Reagan** endorsed the decision, pointing out that to allow **Arafat** into this country "would have sent out the wrong signal. That we were patsies."

Both Houses of Congress sent letters to **Shultz** commending his action.

A total of 74 Senators and Senators-elect signed letters initiated by Sens. **DeConcini** and **Grassley** to **Shultz** strongly commending him "for the courage...[he] showed in articulating this issue."

Sen. **DeConcini** forcefully defended the decision to deny **Arafat** a visa on ABC's Nightline program. He stated that the decision was "a plus for humanity, a plus against terrorism, and a plus for Mr. **Shultz** and this Administration to stand very firmly against terrorism without any equivocation."

In an interview on ABC's Good Morning America, Sen. **D'Amato** referred to the PLO, saying, "[n]ow these aren't freedom fighters when you kill defenseless people, invalids; when you blow up an airplane and kill a six-month old baby."

"**Yasir Arafat** is a terrorist, whether we like to say it or not," **D'Amato** declared, "...until he renounces terrorism and until those people who are responsible for the killing of innocent American citizens are brought to justice we have an absolute obligation to say that we're not going to yield to this. And if the U.N. wants to hear him, why then they'll have to hear him someplace else."

Members of the House also sent letters of thanks to the Secretary of State and President-elect **George Bush** for the decision to deny the visa. The letters were circulated by Reps. **Larry Smith** (D-FL.), **Albert Bustamante** (D-TX.), **Dan Burton** (R-IN) and **Kemp** and were signed by

68 other Representatives and Representatives-elect. The House letters termed the decision to deny **Arafat** a visa "a blow against terrorism and a positive step for Arab-Israeli peace."

Following the decision to deny **Arafat** entry to the United States, the U.N. General Assembly voted 151-2 to condemn the U.S. decision and decided to convene a special session of the U.N. in Geneva.

U.S. Opens Dialogue with PLO

Arafat subsequently met in Sweden with 5 American Jews to discuss what steps needed to be taken to gain American acceptance. The meeting was denounced by mainstream American Jewish organizations and Israel. Following the meeting, held a week before **Arafat** was due to speak in Geneva, the PLO Chairman released a statement which prompted **Shultz** to say that the PLO still has a "considerable distance to go" before the U.S. would recognize it. The Swedish Government strongly encouraged **Arafat** to fulfill the U.S. prerequisites for a dialogue in his statement before the U.N. session in Geneva.

The overall reaction to **Arafat's** speech at the U.N. session in Switzerland was that he had said little that was new





Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Claiborne Pell (D-RI), center, and Ranking Minority Member Jesse Helms (R-NC), right, expressed concern over whether the PLO would live up to its Geneva pledge. Also pictured is Committee member Joseph Biden (D-DE), left.

and that he had still not fulfilled the U.S. government's prerequisites for recognition.

After further negotiation, **Arafat** held a press conference the following day in order to "clarify" the PLO's position. He issued a statement which U.S. Secretary of State **Shultz** stated fulfilled the U.S. preconditions for talks with the PLO.

In his statement, **Arafat** declared that he accepts "the right of all parties concerned in the Middle East conflict to exist in peace and security, including the state of Palestine, Israel and other neighbors, according to Resolution 242 and 338...and that we totally and absolutely renounce all forms of terrorism."

After the **Arafat** press conference, **Shultz** authorized U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia **Robert Pelletreau** to begin discussions with representatives of the PLO. **Shultz** emphasized that the meetings should not be construed as negotiations. He called them a first step in an on-going process and emphasized that "the United States commitment to the security of Israel remains unflinching."

Congress reacted with caution to the Administration's decision to engage in direct talks with representatives of the PLO. Members of Congress differed as to whether the PLO actually met the intent of the three conditions which were originally set by former Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger** in 1975 as preconditions to establishing direct contact.

Sen. **George Mitchell** (D-ME), the newly elected Ma-

jority Leader, said that **Arafat** had taken a preliminary but "significant step toward advancing the peace process...In light of the PLO's record, however, it must be viewed with caution, and these words must of course be matched by deeds."

"This is good news and the right path to follow," said Sen. **Claiborne Pell** (D-RI), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. **Pell** cautioned that "we best be very careful that the PLO continue to show real seriousness and be wary of any deception."

Rep. **Dante Fascell** (D-FL), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said it would take "definitive and verifiable actions to convince me and the Foreign Affairs Committee" that talks with the PLO were worthwhile. **Fascell** also pledged that the U.S. would not "attempt to impose a settlement on Israel."

Rep. **Bill Green** (R-NY) said that "explicit in the Administration's decision to open discussions with the PLO is its reliance on **Arafat's** commitment" to renounce all forms of terrorism. "Thus, the Administration must make it clear that all talks with the PLO will terminate with the first act of Palestinian terrorism. Otherwise we shall simply have been duped by the PLO."

Reps. **Mel Levine** (D-CA) and **Charles Schumer** (D-NY) held a press conference at which they expressed skepticism about **Shultz's** decision to open a substantive dialogue with the PLO.

Levine said, "By requiring that these basic standards

be met, we have obtained from the PLO a set of important promises. The test will now be whether the PLO's acts are consistent with those promises." The PLO must convince the Israelis, not the Americans, of its sincerity, they must call on the Arab States to "lend public support to the peace process, they should repudiate sections of the PLO charter, cease all infiltrations into Israel and "move to end the violence in the West Bank and Gaza."

Levine continued, "This decision will not drive a wedge between our two nations or in any way diminish the depth of American support for Israel."

Schumer said that "one very good thing that occurred...was that [the **Shultz** decision] puts pressure where it should be, on the Arab world. We will see whether rhetoric becomes reality." He also commented that the Israelis expect action, not words to ease their concerns. "No amount of words will salve the wounds if another car bomb blows up and some wing of the PLO takes credit for it"

Rep. **Vin Weber** (R-MN) and 15 Republican House colleagues sent a letter to Shultz which "reaffirm[s] the commitments the U.S. has made to our best ally in the region, Israel" in light of the U.S. decision to begin a "substantive dialogue" with the PLO.

The letter calls on **Arafat** to renounce certain sections of the PLO Charter and to convince Arab nations of the necessity for recognition of Israel's right to exist within secure borders. The letter concludes, "We firmly believe the primary commitment of the U.S. must not change...A change of semantics cannot replace the shared interests and beliefs between the U.S. and Israel. We remain unwavering in our support for this friendship."

Sen. **Helms** wrote a letter to **Shultz** expressing "deep... regret [over] the Administration's decision to initiate diplomatic contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization. This hurried decision risks reversing gains made by this Administration in the war against terrorism and threatens the cause of peace in the Middle East."

Helms added, "the Palestine Liberation Organization is one of the world's most notorious terrorist operations... Scores of innocent men, women and children—including Americans—have lost their lives as a result of terrorism conducted or orchestrated by the PLO. The PLO has repeatedly and specifically targeted American citizens."

U.N. PLO Observer Mission

The Palestine Liberation Organization has maintained both an "information" office in Washington D.C. and a U.N. Observer Mission in New York for nearly a decade.

The Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 declared that "the PLO and its affiliates are a terrorist organization and a threat to the interests of the United States and its allies." The law

mandated the closure of both PLO offices. The Washington office was closed on December 3, 1987.

The Arab League protested the proposed closings. A U.N. General Assembly resolution condemning the U.S. decision to close the PLO offices was passed 148-2.

Rep. **George Crockett** (D-MI) and 17 other Representatives also introduced a bill calling for the repeal of the section of the State Department Authorization Bill that called for the PLO office closings.

The State and Justice Departments nevertheless chose to uphold the law and began the process of closing the N.Y. office.

The PLO disregarded the U.S. position and the organization's Observer Mission remained illegally open. New York District Attorney **Rudy Guiliani** filed suit in District Court to enforce the closure order.

Reps. **Larry Smith** (D-FL) and **Dan Burton** (R-IN) initiated a letter to their House colleagues asking them to contact the Justice Department in order to urge continued support of the Congressional decision to close the PLO offices.

In early July, U.S. District Court Judge **Palmieri** ruled on three elements of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 in early July. The judge declared that the provision which would close down the PLO's office at the United Nations violated U.S. obligations under the terms of the U.N. Headquarters agreement. Thus, the PLO was allowed to maintain its mission office in N.Y. However, he decided that closing the Washington office of the PLO had been constitutional. In addition, he ruled that the PLO could not receive or spend funds in the United States.

Sen. **Bill Roth** (R-DE) called on the Attorney General and the Justice Department to "proceed expeditiously" to appeal the judge's ruling allowing the N.Y. office to remain open. **Roth** stated that he is "convinced that its reasoning is erroneous" and that "failure to overturn the decision of the court would establish a grave precedent" on issues not only related to the PLO case."

Sen. **Charles Grassley** (R-IA), the original sponsor of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987, said "the Justice Department was told not to appeal the U.S. District Court's decision in *United States v. Palestine Liberation Organization*, on the basis of some unspecified 'foreign policy consideration'. Can anyone tell me of a more serious foreign policy concern than that of keeping professed world terrorists off our shores?" He continued, "The work of Congress may not be over yet on this issue...Congress cannot simply rollover and let the Executive Branch pick and choose among the laws it will enforce."

Despite the opposition of **Roth**, **Grassley** and other members, the decision has not been appealed and the U.N. Observer mission in New York remains open.



CELEBRATIONS

Israel celebrated both the 40th anniversary of her independence and the 10th anniversary of the Camp David Peace Accords in 1988. The Reagan Administration and Congress also commemorated these events.

"Israel is and will continue to be a close and friend and respected ally of the United States...Our relationship is deeply grounded in common interests, shared values and our democratic systems ...[O]ur friendship is unshakeable."

Sen. George Mitchell (D-ME)

Israel's 40th Anniversary

During Israeli Prime Minister **Yitzhak Shamir's** visit to Washington in March, Vice-President **George Bush** reemphasized the deep-seated bonds of friendship between the two countries. At a dinner in **Shamir's** honor, **Bush** stated, "We are and will remain strategic partners - politically, militarily and economically....This cooperation signals to all in the Middle East that no wedge will be driven between the United States and Israel because Israel is our friend and strategic ally....We are proud to call ourselves Israel's oldest, strongest and most trusted friend and ally at this, Israel's 40th anniversary."

The leadership of the House of Representatives including Majority Leader **Thomas Foley** (D-WA), Minority Leader **Robert Michel** (R-IL), House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) Chairman **Dante Fascell** (D-FL) and HFAC Ranking Member **William Broomfield** (R-MI), and Reps. **Tom Lantos** (D-CA) and **Trent Lott** (R-MS) authored H.J. Res. 541, a joint resolution "commending the State of Israel and its people on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the reestablishment of the independent State of Israel." It passed both the House and the Senate by voice votes on Yom Ha'atzmaut, April 21-22.

The Resolution was accompanied by a Special Order honoring the occasion sponsored by Reps. **James Scheuer** (D-NY) and **Ben Gilman** (R-NY). In the Senate, Sens. **Carl Levin** (D-MI) and **Rudy Boschwitz** (R-MN) requested that time be set aside for Senators to speak in honor of the occasion.

REPRESENTATIVES WHO SPOKE OUT IN HONOR OF ISRAEL'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY

<i>Frank Annunzio</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>	<i>Martin Lancaster</i>	<i>(D-NC)</i>
<i>Douglas Applegate</i>	<i>(D-OH)</i>	<i>William Lehman</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>
<i>Les Aspin</i>	<i>(D-WI)</i>	<i>Mel Levine</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>
<i>Les AuCoin</i>	<i>(D-OR)</i>	<i>Marilyn Lloyd</i>	<i>(D-TN)</i>
<i>Cass Ballenger</i>	<i>(R-NC)</i>	<i>Trent Lott</i>	<i>(R-MS)</i>
<i>James Bilbray</i>	<i>(D-NV)</i>	<i>Mike Lowry</i>	<i>(D-WA)</i>
<i>Michael Bilirakis</i>	<i>(R-FL)</i>	<i>Connie Mack</i>	<i>(R-FL)</i>
<i>William Broomfield</i>	<i>(R-MI)</i>	<i>Matthew Martinez</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>
<i>Albert Bustamante</i>	<i>(D-TX)</i>	<i>Robert Matsui</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>
<i>Benjamin Cardin</i>	<i>(D-MD)</i>	<i>Romano Mazzoli</i>	<i>(D-KY)</i>
<i>Bill Chappell</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>	<i>Raymond McGrath</i>	<i>(R-NY)</i>
<i>James Clarke</i>	<i>(D-NC)</i>	<i>Matthew McHugh</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Tony Coelho</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>	<i>Thomas McMillen</i>	<i>(D-MD)</i>
<i>Lawrence Coughlin</i>	<i>(R-PA)</i>	<i>John Miller</i>	<i>(R-WA)</i>
<i>James Courter</i>	<i>(R-NJ)</i>	<i>James Moody</i>	<i>(D-WI)</i>
<i>Michael DeWine</i>	<i>(R-OH)</i>	<i>Constance Morella</i>	<i>(R-MD)</i>
<i>Byron Dorgan</i>	<i>(D-ND)</i>	<i>Nancy Pelosi</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>
<i>Robert Dornan</i>	<i>(R-CA)</i>	<i>Claude Pepper</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>
<i>Richard Durbin</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>	<i>Owen Pickett</i>	<i>(D-VA)</i>
<i>Bernard Dwyer</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>	<i>Charles Rangel</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Roy Dyson</i>	<i>(D-MD)</i>	<i>Peter Rodino</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>
<i>Ben Erdreich</i>	<i>(D-AL)</i>	<i>John Rowland</i>	<i>(R-CT)</i>
<i>Mike Espy</i>	<i>(D-MS)</i>	<i>James Scheuer</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Dante Fascell</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>	<i>Claudine Schneider</i>	<i>(R-RI)</i>
<i>Vic Fazio</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>	<i>Bill Schuette</i>	<i>(R-MI)</i>
<i>Edward Feighan</i>	<i>(D-OH)</i>	<i>Gerry Sikorski</i>	<i>(D-MN)</i>
<i>Martin Frost</i>	<i>(D-TX)</i>	<i>David Skaggs</i>	<i>(D-CO)</i>
<i>Benjamin Gilman</i>	<i>(R-NY)</i>	<i>Louise Slaughter</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Bart Gordon</i>	<i>(D-TN)</i>	<i>Lawrence Smith</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>
<i>Frank Guarini</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>	<i>Fernand St. Germain</i>	<i>(D-RI)</i>
<i>George Hochbrueckner</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>	<i>Louis Stokes</i>	<i>(D-OH)</i>
<i>Frank Horton</i>	<i>(R-NY)</i>	<i>Mike Synar</i>	<i>(D-OK)</i>
<i>Steny Hoyer</i>	<i>(D-MD)</i>	<i>Robert Torricelli</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>
<i>James Jeffords</i>	<i>(R-VT)</i>	<i>Henry Waxman</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>
<i>Dale Kildee</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>	<i>Ted Weiss</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Peter Kostmayer</i>	<i>(D-PA)</i>	<i>Howard Wolpe</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>
<i>Robert Lagomarsino</i>	<i>(R-CA)</i>		

Members of both Houses praised Israel's democratic institutions, Israel's desire for peace in the region and the fruitful relationship between the U.S. and Israel. In total, 73 Representatives and 39 Senators spoke in support of the U.S-Israeli relationship.

House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman **Dante Fascell** (D-FL) opened the Special Order in the House:

"The establishment of the State of Israel represents the fulfillment of a historic promise to the Jewish people, who suffered numerous national tragedies including the unspeakable horror of the Holocaust. Since its establishment, Israel has endured a recurring set of dangerous challenges to its security, including a constant state of belligerency from most of her neighbors, numerous unprovoked wars, and economic difficulties arising from the need for high military budgets and scarce natural resources...H.J. Res. 541 recognizes the important partnership the United States and Israel have forged over these past 40 years and how that partnership has helped to advance mutual policy objectives and international security generally."

Sen. **Levin**, who led the discussion in the Senate, stated:

"Israel is a strong and dependable American ally, in an area where our Nation has all too few friends or allies. Israel has fulfilled many of the dreams of its founders...Looking back it is amazing to contemplate what Israel has accomplished despite the ongoing state of war. It has maintained a vibrant democratic system, an independent judiciary, a free press and a commitment to fundamental rights...In medicine, education, science, the arts, agriculture, cybernetics, and in virtually every other area of human endeavor, Israelis have made contributions far out of proportion to their numbers."

10th Anniversary of Camp David

Both houses of Congress unanimously adopted a Concurrent Resolution on September 19 commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Camp David Accords.

The Resolution credits the "flexibility of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who was willing to propose the return of the entire Sinai Peninsula, an oil rich area twice the size of Israel" along with the "courage of Egypt-



David Ben Gurion reading Israel's Declaration of Independence, May 14, 1948.

SENATORS WHO COMMEMORATED ISRAEL'S 40TH ANNIVERSARY

<i>Lloyd Bentsen</i>	<i>(D-TX)</i>	<i>David Karnes</i>	<i>(R-NE)</i>
<i>Kit Bond</i>	<i>(R-MO)</i>	<i>Robert Kasten</i>	<i>(R-WI)</i>
<i>Rudy Boschwitz</i>	<i>(R-MN)</i>	<i>Frank Lautenberg</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>
<i>Bill Bradley</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>	<i>Patrick Leahy</i>	<i>(D-VT)</i>
<i>Quentin Burdick</i>	<i>(D-ND)</i>	<i>Carl Levin</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>
<i>William Cohen</i>	<i>(R-ME)</i>	<i>Howard Metzenbaum</i>	<i>(D-OH)</i>
<i>John Danforth</i>	<i>(R-MO)</i>	<i>George Mitchell</i>	<i>(D-ME)</i>
<i>Thomas Daschle</i>	<i>(D-SD)</i>	<i>Daniel P. Moynihan</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Dennis DeConcini</i>	<i>(D-AZ)</i>	<i>Donald Riegle</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>
<i>Alan Dixon</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>	<i>William Roth</i>	<i>(R-DE)</i>
<i>Christopher Dodd</i>	<i>(D-CT)</i>	<i>Terry Sanford</i>	<i>(D-NC)</i>
<i>Robert Dole</i>	<i>(R-KS)</i>	<i>Paul Sarbanes</i>	<i>(D-MD)</i>
<i>John Glenn</i>	<i>(D-OH)</i>	<i>James Sasser</i>	<i>(D-TN)</i>
<i>Bob Graham</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>	<i>Richard Shelby</i>	<i>(D-AL)</i>
<i>Phil Gramm</i>	<i>(R-TX)</i>	<i>Paul Simon</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>
<i>Charles Grassley</i>	<i>(R-IA)</i>	<i>Arlen Specter</i>	<i>(R-PA)</i>
<i>Tom Harkin</i>	<i>(D-IA)</i>	<i>Lowell Weicker</i>	<i>(R-CT)</i>
<i>John Heinz</i>	<i>(R-PA)</i>	<i>Pete Wilson</i>	<i>(R-CA)</i>
<i>Gordon Humphrey</i>	<i>(R-NH)</i>	<i>Timothy Wirth</i>	<i>(D-CO)</i>
<i>Daniel Inouye</i>	<i>(D-HI)</i>		

tian President Anwar el-Sadat who was willing to travel to Jerusalem" for achieving peace between their two countries. Furthermore, nations "unwilling to enter into direct bilateral negotiations" are criticized for continuing "to maintain a state of war against Israel."

The Resolution congratulates "Israel and Egypt for a decade of peace based on the Camp David Accords," and "calls upon other Arab states and Palestinians to follow the example of Israel and Egypt, to join the peace process, to renounce the state of war and acts of violence, and to enter into direct negotiations with Israel to achieve a just and lasting peace."

The House version, H.Con.Res. 364, was initiated by Reps. **Peter Kostmayer** (D-PA), **Edward Feighan** (D-OH), **Michael DeWine** (R-OH) and **Vin Weber** (R-MN) along with 50 cosponsors. During a House Foreign Affairs Committee mark-up of the resolution, **Feighan** called the Camp David Accords a "watershed event in the Middle East" which provided a "reliable framework for the peace process." Rep. **Ben Gilman** (R-NY) stated that "peace

can be forged in that part of the world if parties sit down together." **Gilman** added that the Arab nations must recognize Israel if peace is going to be won in the region.

The Senate version, S.Con.Res.142, was initiated by Foreign Relations Committee Chairman **Claiborne Pell** (D-RI) and Sen. **Rudy Boschwitz** (R-MN) and was co-sponsored by 33 others. **Pell** noted, "the peace between Israel and Egypt has withstood the strains of territorial disputes between the parties, the invasion of Lebanon, the assassination of President Sadat and the orchestrated boycott of Egypt by her Arab brethren." He added that peace in the Middle East "will take courage...Sadat, Begin and Carter possessed these qualities in great measure."

Boschwitz stated that, "unfortunately, the other parties to the conflict (other than Israel and Egypt) have yet to see the wisdom that was chartered in the Camp David Accords...Even today Palestinian and other Arab leaders continue to reject the clearest and straightest way to resolve the conflict; recognition of Israel's right to exist, followed by direct negotiations with Israel."



WORLD JEWRY

Almost 19,000 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union in 1988. Despite the increase from previous years, these numbers are still fewer than the 51,000 allowed to leave in 1979.

The Reagan Administration continued to place a high priority on obtaining freedom of emigration for Soviet Jews.

President **Ronald Reagan**, in fact, raised human rights issues very forcefully with General Secretary **Mikhail Gorbachev** during his May visit to Moscow. In addition, **Reagan** held a series of meetings with Soviet human rights and religious activists, refuseniks, and members of divided families to demonstrate American concern and support for their efforts to secure their freedom. At every high level meeting between U.S. and Soviet officials the issue of Soviet Jewry was raised.

Members of Congress continued to stress that respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms by the Soviet Union is an essential factor in the development of friendly relations and cooperation with the United States. Despite its new policy of glasnost, the Soviet Union continues to deny many basic rights to its citizens, including freedom of movement, the right of minorities to enjoy and practice their cultures, language, heritage, history, and religion, and the right to emigrate.

Although there has been a noticeable increase in Soviet Jewish emigration - - from the 914 refuseniks allowed to leave in 1986 to the 18,965 who emigrated in 1988 - this number is still far short of the record number: 51,320 in 1979. While this is a most hopeful trend, it is important to remember that there are still tens of thousands of Soviet Jews who are denied permission to leave and countless more who would apply if there was not a punishment for doing so.

The House of Representatives on May 24, 1988 passed H.Res. 455 which protested continued human rights violations by the Soviet Union and called upon the President to use the May

summit meeting as "an opportunity to stress the inherent link between respect for human rights and the achievement of lasting peace." The resolution was introduced by **Gus Yatron** (D-PA), Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs on Human Rights and International Organization and passed the House by a vote of 411 - 0.

Members of Congress stressed the importance of Soviet Jewish emigration and human rights during their visits to the Soviet Union. Reps. **Gilman**, **Tom Lantos** (D-CA), **Sam Gibbons** (D-FL), **Don Pease** (D-OH), **J.J. Pickle** (D-TX), **Thomas Sawyer** (D-OH), **John Miller** (R-WA), **Guy Vander Jagt** (R-MI), **William Clinger** (R-PA), and **Thomas Coleman** (R-MO) met with several refuseniks during a trip to Moscow and Leningrad in January.

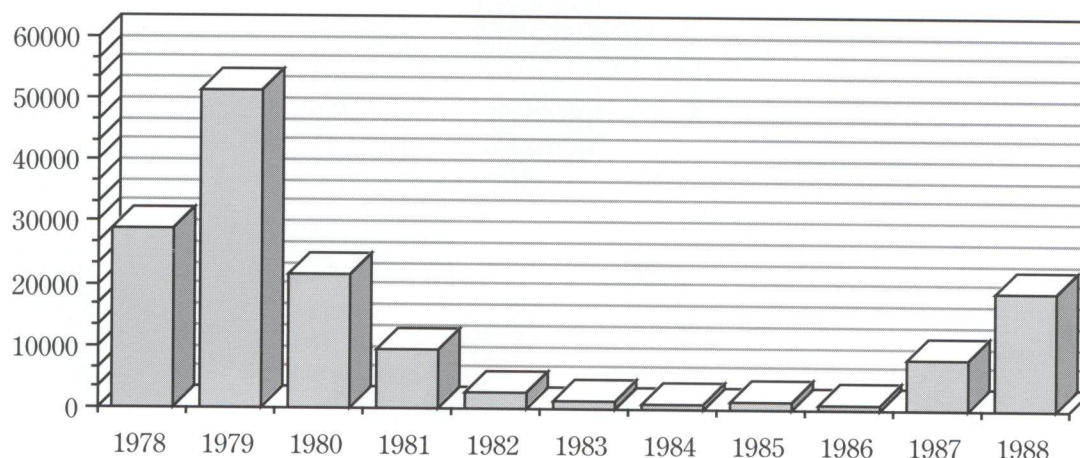
Gilman said that the most significant message the refuseniks provided was "that while glasnost and perestroika sound good, there has been minimal movement in improving human rights behind the Iron Curtain. ... Their plea to us was that we must continue in our efforts in the Congress, and they were so proud of the efforts of so many of our colleagues in the House of Representatives in continually raising our voices to try to convince the Soviet authorities to change their hard-nosed approach to the human rights issue."

Sens. **Alan Cranston** (D-CA), **Sam Nunn** (D-GA), **Carl Levin** (D-MI), **Alan Simpson** (R-WY), and **William Cohen** (R-ME) visited the Soviet Union in March. In their meetings with **Gorbachev** and **Shevardnadze**, they raised the issue of emigration and the problems refuseniks face. **Levin** submitted a list of refuseniks to Ambassador



Sen. Carl Levin (D-MI), seen here at the AIPAC Policy Conference, submitted a list of refuseniks to the high-ranking Soviet officials on his March visit to Soviet Union.

SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRATION OVER THE LAST 11 YEARS



Anatoly Dobrynin and other Soviet officials in Moscow.

Reps. **Ron Wyden** (D-OR) and **Lane Evans** (D-IL) participated in a Passover seder with refuseniks and U.S. Embassy personnel at Spaso House, the American Ambassador's residence in Moscow. They stressed that their presence in the Soviet capital and their efforts to meet with refuseniks and Soviet officials should be viewed as a clear indication of America's continuing concern for the fate of those Soviet Jews and other minorities who wish to exercise the right to emigrate.

In an effort to improve U.S.-Soviet relations, General Secretary **Gorbachev** has allowed some relaxation in Soviet emigration policies. [see graph]

Sen. **Lloyd Bentsen** (D-TX) explained the improving situation, in part, to continued pressure by the American people. **Bentsen** stated in a floor speech on Feb. 22 that, "the credit for the increases in emigration belongs not to **Mikhail Gorbachev**, but to the millions of Americans who have shown their solidarity with Soviet Jews. The modest improvements in emigration would not have occurred without the pressure from those of us who have made this issue a high priority in United States-Soviet relations."

Rep. **John Porter** (R-IL), co-chairman of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, also stressed the need for continued American vigilance. He commented in a floor speech on Feb. 23 that although the current easing of restrictions "is a very important concession, it is only a start. They must go farther and drop it altogether from the Soviet law. Keeping this restriction in the law books provides the Soviets with the option to use it in the future, depending on only their momentary whims."

Kurt Waldheim

During the past two years, Austrian President **Kurt Waldheim** has met with leaders in Moslem countries, but was not invited to any Western or Eastern bloc countries. To this date, the ban has been strictly enforced. The Austrian president is barred from entering the United States because of evidence that he participated in atrocities and the deportation of thousands of Jews and others in the Balkans during World War II.

Waldheim met with **King Hussein** in Jordan, and officials in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan in 1987. In June 1988, **Waldheim** met with **King Fahd** and senior Saudi officials and with President **Hafez Assad** of Syria and leading



Rep. Ron Wyden (D-OR), right, and a Soviet Jewish refusenik enjoy Passover seder at Spaso House in Moscow.



Reps. Lane Evans (D-IL), center, participated in a Passover seder in Moscow with refuseniks Irena and Yuli Kasharovsky, backs to the camera.

officials in Kuwait in October 1988. **Waldheim** hosted **Yasir Arafat** before the year's end, and a Presidential spokesman said their "discussions went well in a cordial and friendly atmosphere."

When Turkish President **Kenan Evren** and Prime Minister **Turgut Ozal** planned to host **Waldheim**, Rep. **Tom Lantos** (D-CA) initiated a cable to protest the proposed meetings. It was signed by five additional members of the Europe and Middle East Subcommittee—Reps. **Larry Smith** (D-FL), **Mel Levine** (D-CA), **Edward F. Feighan** (D-OH), **Gary Ackerman** (D-NY), and **Ben Gilman** (R-NY). **Waldheim** received a downgraded official welcome from the Turkish President, and his meeting with **Ozal** was cancelled.

Ethiopian Jewry

Between 10,000 - 15,000 Jews remain stranded in Ethiopia's Gondar Province. Today these Jews desperately want to be reunited with their families in Israel. Members

of Congress have been active in seeking their freedom.

Rep. **Gary Ackerman** (D-NY) sent a letter on May 26, co-signed by 40 members of Congress, to **Ide Oumarou**, the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, regarding the plight of Ethiopian Jews. This letter encouraged the prompt observance of the rights of emigration and family reunification.

Rep. **Henry Waxman** (D-CA) hoped that the Canadian government, which provides both famine relief and development assistance to Ethiopia, might have additional influence to help obtain emigration permits for those Jews wishing to leave the country. **Waxman**, joined by 12 House and Senate colleagues, sent letters to **Joe Clark**, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, Canadian Ambassador **Allan Gotlieb**, and Member of the Parliament **Reginald Stackhouse** urging them to raise the issue of Ethiopian Jews with Ethiopian President **Mengistu Haile Mariam**.



ISRAEL AND THE WORLD

"Once again Israel remained our staunchest ally in the U.N., supporting our position 80% of the time in the General Assembly."

Sen. Robert Kasten (R-WI)

Israel gained greater acceptance within the international community in 1988. There were fewer anti-Israel discussions and votes in the United Nations than in the past and many anti-Israel resolutions were defeated. Secretary of State **George Shultz**, Assistant Secretary for International Organizations **Richard Williamson** and United Nations Ambassador **Vernon Walters** led a campaign to gather support for Israel in the U.N., opposed efforts to expel Israel from various U.S. specialized agencies and vetoed one-sided resolutions considering Israel in the Security Council.

Israel voted with the United States more often than any other country at the fall 1988 United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). Israel voted with the United States 80% of the time, surpassing Great Britain, the second-ranking nation, which had a record of 79.2%.

Sen. **Robert Kasten** (R-WI), author of the 1983 legislation which obligates the Administration to present the U.N. voting records to Congress each year, noted "Once again Israel remained our staunchest ally in the U.N., supporting our position 80% of the time in the General Assembly."

An effort to remove Israel from the U.N. failed to garner the necessary votes in the 43rd General Assembly session. This was the eighth attempt since 1982 to ostracize Israel from the world community. After the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen introduced a resolution to strip Israel's UN credentials, Norway presented a motion before the General Assembly not to act on the Arab-sponsored resolution.

This year's session witnessed the largest jump ever in support of Israel with 15 additional countries voting to block the resolution. 95 countries voted to block the resolution; 41 countries voted to pass the measure; seven countries abstained; and 16 countries were absent.

Again, Egypt was the only Arab nation to vote against the resolution. Last year Jordan had voted "absent," however this year the Jordanian representative voted in favor of the resolution.

The Eastern Bloc countries did not vote as a bloc. Once again, the Soviet Union voted against Israel. Hungary changed its previous vote of "absent" to voting against the Arab-sponsored resolution. This year Romania also voted for Israel.

Japan

Continued Japanese compliance with the Arab boycott of Israel has lead to several congressional actions urging an end to that compliance. Section 2209 of the trade bill "encourages the Government of Japan in its efforts to expand trade relations with Israel and to end compliance by Japanese commercial enterprises with the Arab economic boycott of Israel." A similar provision was contained in the Foreign Aid Authorization bill which passed the House but never passed the Senate.

Although trade between Israel and Japan remains negligible in proportion to the total foreign trade of each country, there have been some hopeful signs of improving relations. After a decade of stagnation, trade between Japan and Israel more than doubled from less than \$400 million in 1985 to \$880 million in 1987. Trade grew by more than 20% in 1988 and will total approximately \$1.2 billion this year. Although Israel's exports are still dominated by diamonds, high-tech manufactured products are a growing proportion of Israel's exports to Japan.

Japanese Foreign Minister **Sosuke Uno** became the first Japanese Cabinet minister to visit Israel when he came to Jerusalem in late June. Sixteen Japanese delegations, from businessmen to musicians, have toured Israel this year, compared to only a few last year. Trade delegations have exchanged visits, and Tokyo sponsored a cultural Japan Week in Israel.

Africa

The Israeli flag was raised at the Israeli Embassy in Nairobi on December 30, 1988, thus reestablishing diplomatic relations between Israel and Kenya.

With the restoration of relations with Kenya, Israel maintains diplomatic relations with a total of ten African countries - Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zaire, Liberia, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Togo and Egypt.

These and other African countries receive much-needed development assistance from Israel in the areas of agriculture, health, education and industry. Although Israel has no diplomatic relations with Mozambique, talks have been going on between the two countries for more than a year. Israel will receive economic aid from the United States for its participation in establishing an irrigation project in Mozambique.

After a 15-year break in diplomatic relations, Israel is providing economic aid to Ethiopia. The aid is mainly in agriculture, focusing on irrigation projects to improve agricultural yields in Ethiopian arid zones.

A \$5.6 million cooperative agreement to provide Israeli training and technical assistance to developing countries using U.S. funds was signed on May 25 by **Alan Woods**, administrator for the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), and Israeli Ambassador **Moshe Arad**.

This cooperative venture began in 1984 when Rep. **Howard Berman** (D-CA) introduced an amendment to the foreign aid bill which earmarked \$5 million in AID funds for research and training project by Israel in the Third World. Up to this year those funds were used exclusively by Israeli universities for scientific research projects. With this new agreement, AID will work directly with Mashav, Israel's Development Agency, to collaborate on training and technical assistance. **Berman** said that two important functions are served by the program it "transfers Israel's success in using technology to solve its own development problems to assist those in less developed countries, and it helps break down the diplomatic isolation Israel has faced in Third World countries. U.S. interests are also advanced significantly by this program. It will serve to enhance humane and successful economic development which strengthens our role and image in this part of the world."

The program brings Israeli technical experts to developing nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to solve problems, primarily agricultural and health-related in such fields as arid land agriculture, biological pest control, human health, food production engineering, plant biotechnology, and veterinary science.

In addition, Israel has implemented a highly successful program with black South Africans, bringing them to Israel for training them. This year 53 black South Africans are participating in four courses in Israel, ranging from community development and nation-building to childhood development and the advancement of women in society.

South Africa

The House, sensing the need for a tougher sanctions

policy against South Africa, passed H.R. 1580 which called for a total U.S. trade and investment embargo against the African nation. When the House Foreign Affairs Committee began consideration of HR 1580, Rep. **Howard Wolpe** (D-MI), Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Africa Subcommittee, sponsored revisions in the original bill, which had been introduced by Rep. **Ron Dellums** (D-CA).

Despite the modifications, most Republicans in both Houses voiced their strong opposition to tougher sanctions and President **Reagan** indicated that he would veto the bill.

The Israeli diamond industry was concerned by a provision in the bill which would bar the importation into the United States of any article grown, produced, extracted or manufactured in South Africa - except for strategic minerals necessary for U.S. defense or industry.

Wolpe provided assurances that diamonds cut and faceted in Israel would not be affected by the proposed bill. He inserted report language that declared "if [articles] have been significantly transformed [in a third country], then there is no bar on shipment" into the

United States.

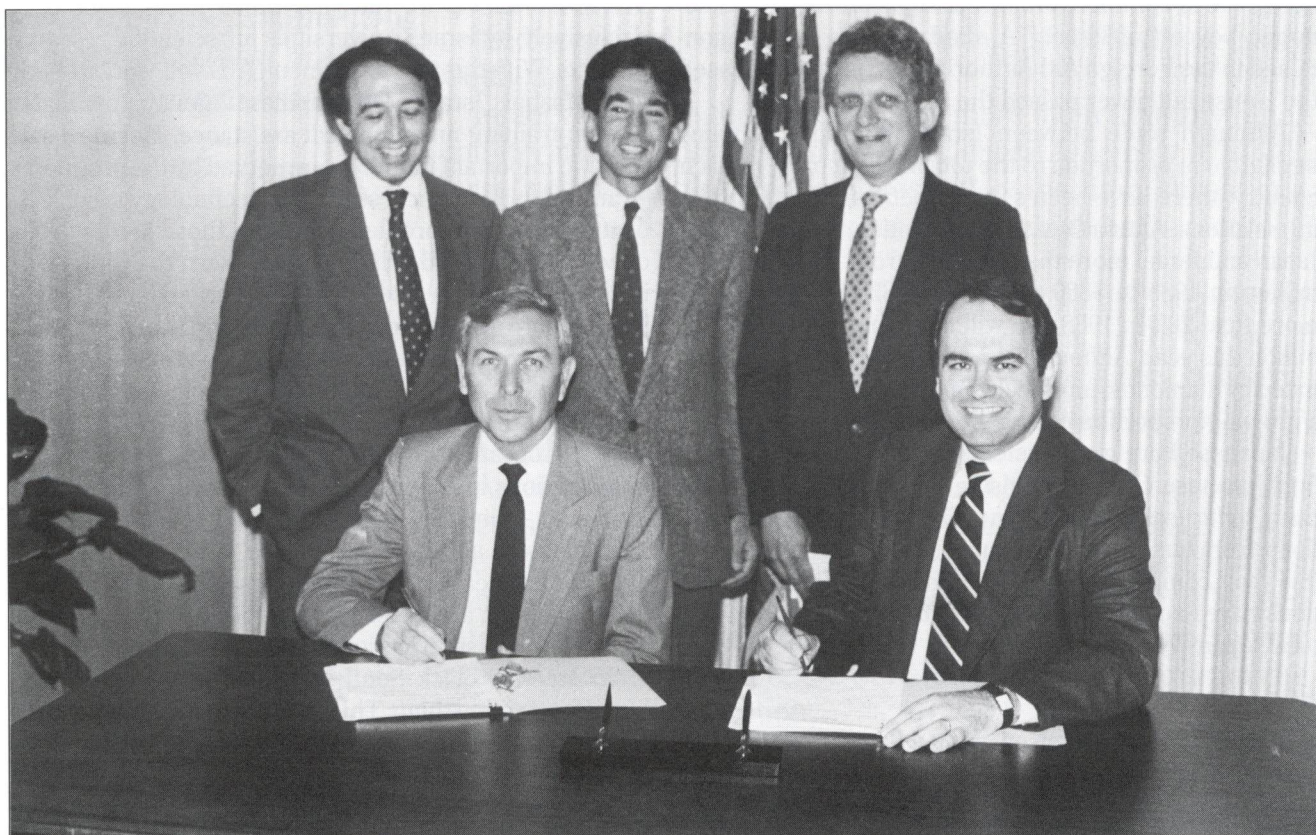
The bill passed the House on August 11 by a partisan vote of 244-132.

Sens. **Edward Kennedy** (D-MA) and **Lowell Weicker** (R-CT) introduced S 2378, a bill identical to the version passed by the House.

Other than **Weicker**, the bill received little support from Senate Republicans. Although the bill had passed comfortably in the House, it seemed certain that there would not be enough votes in to override the threatened Presidential veto.

Sens. **Cranston** and **Simon** were able to have the **Wolpe** language on substantial transformation of articles in third countries included in the Senate report.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee eventually passed the bill by a partisan vote of 10-9. But as it became increasingly obvious that there would not be enough votes to override the threatened veto, the bill was never brought up on the Senate floor. It is likely that a similar measure may be reintroduced in 1989.



Left to right, Reps. Howard Wolpe (D-MI), Mel Levine (D-CA) and Howard Berman (D-CA), watch as Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. Moshe Arad and AID Director Alan Woods sign a \$5.6 million Cooperative Development Agreement to provide Israeli training and technical assistance to developing countries using U.S. funds. The program was initiated by Berman.



GENOCIDE CONVENTION TREATY

*"We gather today to
bear witness to the past
and learn from its awful
example to make sure we
are not condemned to
relive its crimes."*

President Ronald Reagan

President **Harry Truman** sent the Genocide Convention to the Senate for its "advice and consent" on June 16, 1949. The Convention was written in response to the horrors inflicted on the Jews in Europe by the Holocaust and aims to prevent the destruction of any national, ethnic, racial or religious group by defining and outlawing genocide and establishing procedures for trying and punishing violators. It took almost four decades before the Senate finally gave its formal advice and consent to ratification by an overwhelming 83 - 11 vote on February 11, 1986.

Sen. **William Proxmire** (D-WI) delivered over 3,300 Senate addresses on this subject over the last 19 years. Sen. **Proxmire** declared that genocide is "the most vicious, the most cruel, the most terrible crime imaginable. It is the planned, premeditated destruction of an entire ethnic, racial, or religious group. Of course, the preeminent example was the deliberate murder of six million Jews by Hitler's Nazis in Europe before and during World War II."

Implementing legislation needed to be adopted in order for the Convention to be in force and for domestic law to conform to its provisions. The Genocide Convention Implementation Act of 1988, H.R. 4243, was introduced by Rep. **Peter Rodino** (D-NJ) and passed in the House of Representatives by voice vote on April 25, 1988. The Senate Judiciary Committee approved the proposed legislation, introduced by Sen. **William Proxmire** on Holocaust Remembrance Day, April 14, 1988. The draft implementing legislation had 59 signatures by early October.



Reps. Jack Buechner (R-MO), John Porter (R-IL) and other national leaders look on as President Reagan signs the Genocide Convention Implementation Act.



Sen. Thad Cochran (R-MS) and his wife lay a wreath at the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising Memorial.

Fear of a controversial amendment that would provide for the death penalty for genocide crimes slowed progress of the implementing legislation in the Senate. Sen. **Strom Thurmond** (R-SC), a strong opponent of the genocide treaty, wanted "to add capital punishment for those guilty of the offense of genocide." Such an amendment would have killed the bill because many supporters of the treaty were so strongly opposed to the death penalty.

A compromise was agreed upon just days before the end of the 100th Congress. The Proxmire Act, S.1851, passed by voice vote on October 14, 1988.

President **Ronald Reagan** signed the Genocide Convention Implementation Act on November 4. **Reagan** said, "We gather today to bear witness to the past and learn from its awful example to make sure we are not condemned to relive its crimes." Thus, four decades later, the United States joined 97 other nations of the world in outlawing genocide.



CONGRESSIONAL TRIPS TO ISRAEL

"If Israel is ever to feel comfortable in peace, it must know that it is living within borders it feels are defensible."

Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-WV)

Over the years, hundreds of Members of Congress and their staffs have visited Israel. Such trips enable Members of Congress to gain new insight into Israel's political, military, and geographic complexities. Members are able to see projects that could be of benefit to their interests or their districts. No amount of briefings could substitute for seeing an Israeli agricultural project which could have an immediate application to agricultural projects in a Member's district. The best way to understand the strategic relationship is to spend time with the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) or go to the plants that produce equipment that plays such a vital role in the defense of both the United States and Israel.

After seeing the Middle East's only democracy, experiencing its rich culture, and getting a sense of its size, terrain and different lifestyles, Members of Congress generally gain a better understanding of the importance of strong U.S.- Israel ties.

In 1988, 11 Senators, 46 Representatives and 2 Senators-elect and Representatives-elect traveled to Israel. They traveled with state and congressional delegations or under the auspices of local Jewish organizations.

Reps. **Howard Berman** (D-CA), **Tony Coelho** (D-CA), and **Connie Morella** (R-MD) traveled to Israel together in May. After their return they commented on the current situation in the West Bank and Gaza.

Berman stated, "More and more Israelis are talking about a need for compromise...The Palestinians seem unable to adopt a pragmatic and nonviolent" approach. They are either "not willing or not courageous enough" to compromise.

Coelho called the trip "very educational and constructive" ... Although obviously there's unrest you would not know there was a conflict going on without going to the territories."



Rep. Connie Mack (R-FL) and family get a briefing on the strategic importance of Israel.

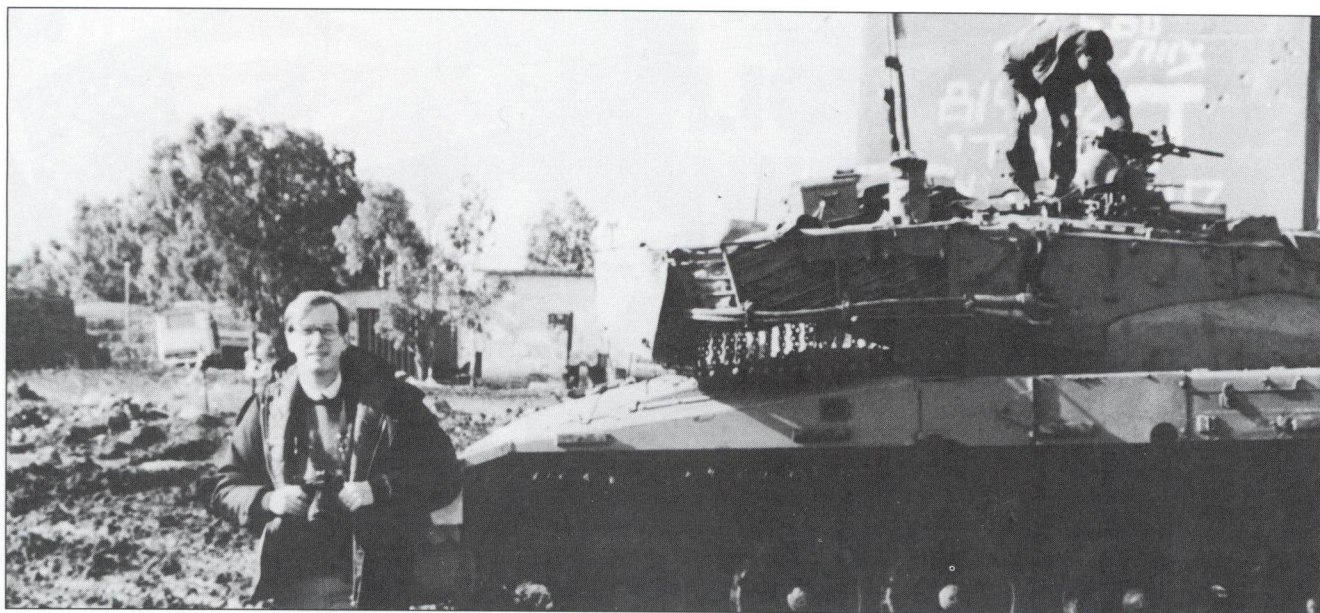
Morella said, "Although some Palestinian Arabs expressed their desire for peace and negotiations, they refused to recognize Israel's right to exist." She also discussed U.S. involvement in Israel's decisions on how to handle the uprising, stating that "the United States is a friend and should be helpful...but should not impose a solution."

Rep. **Bill Nelson** (D-FL) also discussed the uprising stating, "I am firmly convinced that Israel has known war for so long and greatly wants peace. It is important that the United States stand by Israel in this very tough time."

Sen. **Alfonse D'Amato** (R-NY) said that the current situation "cries out for a political solution...We have a very special relationship with Israel... and we have to take

SENATORS VISITING ISRAEL IN 1988

<i>Sen.-elect Richard Bryan</i>	<i>(D-NV)</i>	<i>Sen. Robert Kasten</i>	<i>(R-WI)</i>
<i>Sen.-elect Conrad Burns</i>	<i>(R-MT)</i>	<i>Sen. Larry Pressler</i>	<i>(R-SD)</i>
<i>Sen. Kent Conrad</i>	<i>(D-ND)</i>	<i>Sen. John Rockefeller</i>	<i>(D-WV)</i>
<i>Sen. John Chafee</i>	<i>(R-RI)</i>	<i>Sen. Warren Rudman</i>	<i>(R-NH)</i>
<i>Sen. Alfonse D'Amato</i>	<i>(R-NY)</i>	<i>Sen. Arlen Specter</i>	<i>(R-PA)</i>
<i>Sen. John Danforth</i>	<i>(R-MO)</i>	<i>Sen. Ted. Stevens</i>	<i>(R-AK)</i>
<i>Sen. Phil Gramm</i>	<i>(R-TX)</i>		



Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-WV) gets a first hand look at an Israeli tank.

REPRESENTATIVES VISITING ISRAEL IN 1988

<i>Rep. Gary Ackerman</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>	<i>Rep. Sander Levin</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>
<i>Rep. Howard Berman</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>	<i>Rep. Mel Levine</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>
<i>Rep. Terry Bruce</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>	<i>Rep. Jim McCrery</i>	<i>(R-LA)</i>
<i>Rep. Jack Buechner</i>	<i>(R-MO)</i>	<i>Rep. Matthew McHugh</i>	<i>(R-NY)</i>
<i>Rep. Tony Coelho</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>	<i>Rep. Connie Mack</i>	<i>(R-FL)</i>
<i>Rep. Jim Courter</i>	<i>(R-NJ)</i>	<i>Rep. Lynn Martin</i>	<i>(R-IL)</i>
<i>Rep. George Darden</i>	<i>(D-GA)</i>	<i>Rep. Connie Morella</i>	<i>(R-MD)</i>
<i>Rep. Jack Davis</i>	<i>(R-IL)</i>	<i>Rep. Bill Nelson</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>
<i>Rep. Tom DeLay</i>	<i>(R-TX)</i>	<i>Rep. Wayne Owens</i>	<i>(D-UT)</i>
<i>Rep. Michael DeWine</i>	<i>(R-OH)</i>	<i>Rep. Michael Oxley</i>	<i>(R-OH)</i>
<i>Rep. Joseph DioGuardi</i>	<i>(R-NY)</i>	<i>Rep.-elect Donald Payne</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>
<i>Rep. Richard Durbin</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>	<i>Rep. John Porter</i>	<i>(R-IL)</i>
<i>Rep. Mervyn Dymally</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>	<i>Rep. Arthur Ravenel</i>	<i>(R-SC)</i>
<i>Rep. Jack Fields</i>	<i>(R-TX)</i>	<i>Rep. Tom Ridge</i>	<i>(R-PA)</i>
<i>Rep. Floyd Flake</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>	<i>Rep. Jim Saxton</i>	<i>(R-NJ)</i>
<i>Rep. Barney Frank</i>	<i>(D-MA)</i>	<i>Rep. Claudine Schneider</i>	<i>(R-RI)</i>
<i>Rep. Dean Gallo</i>	<i>(R-NJ)</i>	<i>Rep. James Scheuer</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Rep. Dennis Hastert</i>	<i>(R-IL)</i>	<i>Rep. Norman Shumway</i>	<i>(R-CA)</i>
<i>Rep. Joel Hefley</i>	<i>(R-CO)</i>	<i>Rep. Norman Sisisky</i>	<i>(D-VA)</i>
<i>Rep. Paul Henry</i>	<i>(R-MI)</i>	<i>Rep. David Skaggs</i>	<i>(D-CO)</i>
<i>Rep. George Hochbrueckner</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>	<i>Rep. Larry Smith</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>
<i>Rep.-elect Harry Johnston</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>	<i>Rep. Stephen Solarz</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Rep. Martin Lancaster</i>	<i>(D-NC)</i>	<i>Rep. Barbara Vucanovich</i>	<i>(R-NV)</i>
<i>Rep. Tom Lantos</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>	<i>Rep. Henry Waxman</i>	<i>(D-CA)</i>



Reps. Tom DeLay (R-TX) and Rep. Jack Fields (R-TX), accompanied by Rep. Jim McCrery (R-LA), give Prime Minister Shamir a gift from their Houston constituents.

advantage of it." He added that it was "irresponsible" for Members of Congress to bring the media with them when visiting the West Bank and Gaza refugee camps.

Rep. **Jack Buechner** (R-MO) described his most significant experience during his visit to Israel as "a stop at an absorption center, where we saw immigrant kids from...the Soviet Union and Ethiopia. It was a very special moment. It told us that we were in a very special place."

Rep. **Jack Davis** (R-IL) also criticized the media coverage of the rioting. He stated, "the electronic media" is giving a "distorted" portrayal of life in the territories at a level "far out of proportion to similar events in other parts of the world."

Rep. **Arthur Ravenel** (R-SC) maintained that Israel is taking "reasonable action" in the territories and should

not submit to the demands of Palestinian extremists. "If you give up the high ground and put yourselves in a militarily indefensible position, you are liable to find yourselves once again without a homeland."

Sen. **John D. Rockefeller** (D-WV) was most impressed during his visit with the Golan Heights and the Judean Hills and the strategic importance those areas hold for Israel. "Standing at those Heights and looking down directly into Israel's agricultural heartland was an unforgettable experience...The Judean Hills surrounding Jerusalem offer the perfect launching site for an invasion of the country, as has happened so often in the past. If Israel is ever to feel comfortable in peace, it must know that it is living within borders it feels are defensible," Rockefeller said.



POLICY CONFERENCE

*"Let us make sure
that 40 years from today,
we - our sons and daughters...
can look back on the 80th
anniversary and be able to say
that Israel is more strong,
more free, more permanent
than it was 40 years ago."*

Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (D-LA)

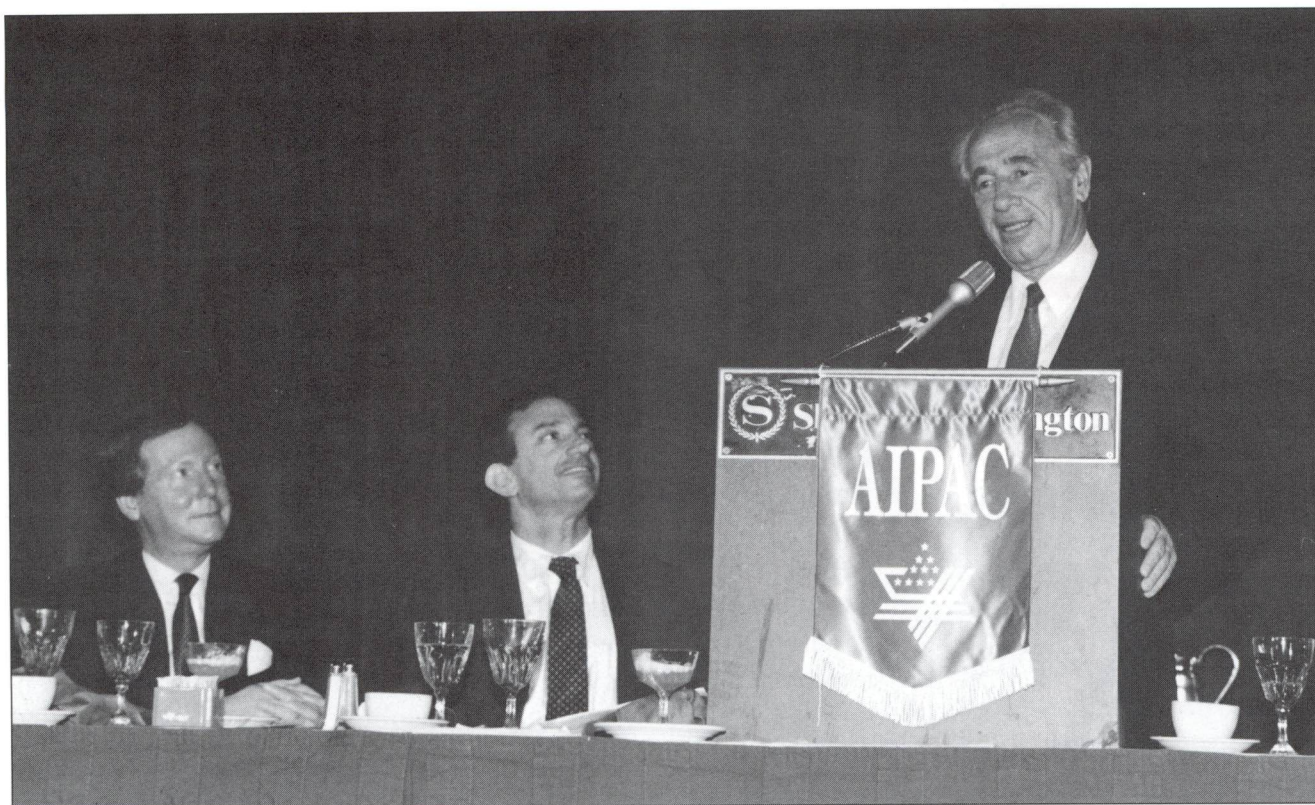
Members of Congress, key Administration and Israeli officials and over 1200 delegates and 320 students from 60 campuses from every state in the U.S. participated in AIPAC's 29th Annual Policy Conference May 15-17.

A record 90 Senators (50 Democrats, 40 Republicans), 206 Representatives (113 Democrats, 93 Republicans) and their staff participated in at least one of the scheduled Policy Conference functions. Members met with constituents at the banquet, the reception on Capitol Hill, and in private lobbying meetings scheduled by AIPAC.

The conference began with the presentation of a special award to **Benjamin Netanyahu**, Israel's outgoing U.N. Ambassador. **Netanyahu** noted that "[t]o get the Arab world to recognize Israel's right to exist, you have to first get them to accept the inevitable fact of Israel's existence, you have to change their perception that Israel will somehow disappear...."

Netanyahu stressed the need for Israel to retain the Jordan River as a defense boundary. He said that to relinquish this would allow Arab control of five strategic passes giving access to Israel's major population centers and control of high points overlooking Israel's airfields. He said that those who are urging Israel to unilaterally withdraw from the territories are making a "tragic mistake."

Secretary of Defense **Frank Carlucci** gave a major address on the close strategic relationship between the United States and Israel. **Carlucci** expressed his admiration of the Jewish state's accomplishments saying that Israel "has proven a faithful friend in a turbulent region." In light of the increasing proliferation of ballistic missiles in the Middle East, Israel has been working closely with the United States to develop anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) technology. **Carlucci** noted that projects like Israel's Arrow ATBM system "hold great promise for Israel, and



Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres addresses an AIPAC Policy Conference audience as Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-KY), (left) and AIPAC Executive Director Thomas Dine (center) look on.

will provide valuable contributions to our own research in strategic defense."

He told the standing room only crowd that Israel is one of four nations now working with the United States on a government-to-government basis on the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). "That testifies to the advanced state of Israel's technological base, and its ability to employ technological advances to strengthen its defenses."

Carlucci concluded, "The close relationship between the United States and Israel will continue to be a source of strength to both nations...It must, because for both the United States and Israel the stakes are high."

Rep. **Les Aspin** (D-WI), Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee also praised U.S.-Israel strategic relations. He said that this relationship has been characterized by "remarkable and steady growth," especially between the military forces of the two countries. The relationship is reliable, unlike some U.S.-NATO relationships, Aspin stated.

Aspin then highlighted numerous areas of conflict between the U.S. and our NATO allies that do not exist between the U.S. and Israel including trade, burden shar-

ing and support for U.S. military operations.

He noted that in the future despite the occasional friction that can exist among allies, there would be additional port visits, more sales of Israeli weapons to the U.S. and more U.S. military equipment in Israel.

For the second year in a row, Israeli Foreign Minister **Shimon Peres** addressed the delegates on the prospects for peace in the Middle East. **Peres** stressed the urgency to move forward in a peace process. He spoke of the issues that unite Israel's political parties rather than those being raised in the Israeli election campaign. He noted that the Israeli Government is united on several basic principles: the indivisibility of Jerusalem; the rejection of a return to the pre-1967 borders; opposition to a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza and the need to keep the Jordan River as Israel's first line of defense.

Peres noted that both major parties agree that the best solution to the Palestinian problem is within a Jordanian-Palestinian framework "since most Jordanians are Palestinians and since all Palestinians, without exception, on the West Bank are Jordanian citizens and Jordan is their legitimate government."



Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. Moshe Arad and Sen. Howell Heflen (D-AL) discuss Middle East issues at the AIPAC Policy Conference.

The Labor Party leader and former Prime Minister emphasized the need for a militarily strong Israel committed to the pursuit of peace. "The past calls for an immensely strong Israel; the future calls for an Israel immensely dedicated to peace in the Middle East."

AIPAC President **Ed Levy**, commenting on the uprising in the territories and the media reaction to it, said that although the uprising had been thoroughly scrutinized in the mass media, supporters of Israel should not forget that the state's existence itself represents a miracle.

In his annual address to conference delegates, AIPAC Executive Director **Thomas Dine** spoke of the role that the U.S.-Israel relationship plays in furthering peace in the Middle East.

Dine stated that "the most important role for the United States is to bring to the table an Arab partner prepared to discuss in a serious manner alternative ideas for realistic political solutions...." He pointed out that the cornerstone of any peace process is a consistently strong and close relationship between Washington and Jerusalem. That "relationship...serves the higher interests of both countries."

Sens. **Mitch McConnell** (R-KY) and **Bennett Johnston** (D-LA) were the keynote speakers at the Monday night banquet. Both expressed their desire to see the U.S.-Israel relationship continue to grow, praised its success in nation building and urged its supporters to persevere.

McConnell noted that the margin of error for Israel is very small. "There are enemies on Israel's borders that threaten. There are enemies with long-range missiles that threaten. There are demographic trends in Israel that threaten. Israel's own increasing internal divisions threaten, and the strain is unrelenting."

"This small margin of error is why so many supporters of Israel, like myself, are sensitive to any criticism of Israeli policy believing that any criticism saps Israel's energy for dealing with the dangers she faces."

Johnston called the rebirth of a Jewish state after 2,000 years "a wonder of history" and "an incredible success," bringing democracy and freedom to a land which had never known them.

Johnston said that he followed the events in the territories "with concern, sometimes with approval, some-

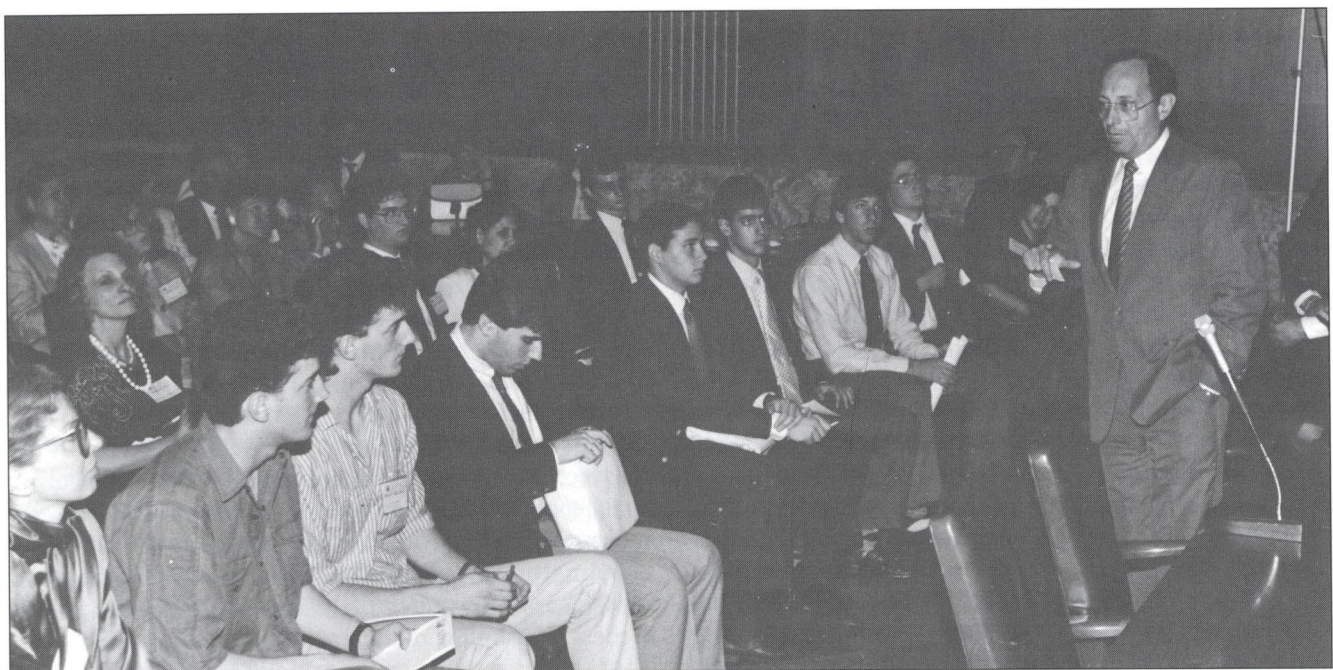


times with vague disapproval, and sometimes...with confusion." He said that "it is not easy to have a clear opinion about what ought to be done," however the chief role of a friend ought to be "to give loyalty, and to give support...."

Johnston noted that Israel was born 40 years ago "out of a tragedy," and has been "an experiment that succeeded beyond the wildest dreams of anyone....Let us make sure that 40 years from today, we - our sons and daughters...can look back on the 80th anniversary and be able to say that Israel is more strong, more free, more permanent than it was 40 years ago."

Other major speakers at the conference included the Governor of Virginia **Gerald Baliles**, Assistant Secretary of State **Richard Williamson**, former under Secretary of State **William Schneider**, the campaign managers for the 1984 Reagan/Bush and Mondale/Ferraro Presidential campaigns **Edward Rollins** and **Bob Beckel** respectively, and Reps. **Bob Carr** (D-MI), **Dan Glickman** (D-KS), **Matthew Martinez** (D-CA), **Norm Sisisky** (D-VA), **Larry Smith** (D-FL), **Jack Buechner** (R-MO), **Dick Cheney** (R-WY), and **Constance Morella** (R-MD).

Rep. Dick Cheney (R-WY) was the key speaker at an AIPAC Policy Conference lobbying workshop.



Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) addresses his constituents, including numerous student members, during a Policy Conference lobbying session.



1988 NATIONAL ELECTIONS

The presidential campaigns of both Vice President **George Bush** and Massachusetts Governor **Michael Dukakis** pledged to improve and build upon the solid relations the United States has developed with Israel.

Both major political party platforms contained strong pro-Israel language.

These pledges were reflected in the fact that both the Democratic and Republican platforms supported continued military, economic and moral support for Israel. The parties differed, however, in the process used to develop these statements and the specificity and length of the actual platforms.

Democratic Party

Under the leadership of Democratic National Party Chairman **Paul Kirk** and Platform Chairman Governor **James Blanchard** (MI), the Democrats decided to write a brief platform containing broad statements of party policy. This was in direct contrast to past platforms which had expressed each concept in great detail.

The Democrats held a series of meetings around the country to solicit testimony. The session devoted to foreign policy and defense was held in Alexandria, Virginia and was chaired by former Governor **Chuck Robb** of Virginia. **Thomas Dine**, Executive Director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) submitted testimony. Reps. **Steven Solarz** (D-NY) and **Bill Richardson** (D-NM) spoke on behalf of including strong support for Israel in the party platform.

Rep. **Richardson** was later named one of the Platform Committee's co-chairs in charge of foreign policy issues. The chairman of the drafting sessions was Rep. **Bill Gray** (D-PA).

The first draft of the Democratic Platform was written by **Ted Sorensen**, a close associate of President Kennedy. Reps. **Gray** and **Richardson** worked closely with representatives of the **Dukakis** campaign, especially **Madeline Albright** and former Rep. **Michael Barnes** (D-MD) to ensure that the strongest possible language in support of Israel be included in the platform. They were assisted during the drafting stages by Reps. **Sandy Levin** (D-MI), **Robert Matsui** (D-CA), **Mary Rose Oaker** (D-OH) and **Pat Williams** (D-MT).

Prior to approving a final platform, the Democrats held two drafting sessions in Machinaw, Michigan and Denver, Colorado.

After debating the exact language, the Platform Committee agreed to the following position:

"... we believe that this country, maintaining the special relationship with Israel founded upon mutually shared values and strategic interest, should provide new leadership to deliver the promise of peace and security through negotiations that has

been held out to Israel and its neighbors by the Camp David Accords..."

The first real challenge to the pro-Israel language was presented at the Denver session. Advocates of Palestinian statehood, led by **James Zogby**, Executive Director of the Arab American Institute, worked to alter the platform. They hosted a luncheon featuring **Mubarak Awad**, an American citizen of Palestinian origin who was forced to leave Israel after his visa had expired, and actress **Margot Kidder**.

During the session devoted to foreign policy, **Zogby** and a **Jackson** delegate from Vermont, spoke on behalf of changing the platform language to include "... mutual recognition, territorial compromise, and self-determination for Israelis and Palestinians. ... [to] guarantee the security of Israel, the realization of Palestinian aspirations and regional stability." **Zogby** based part of his argument on the fact that eight state Democratic party platforms contained various statements in support of the Palestinian cause.



Rep. Sander Levin (D-MI) and Madeline Albright, seen here at the AIPAC Policy Conference, played key roles in drafting the pro-Israel language of the Democratic Platform.



Rep. Charles Schumer (D-NY) spoke in opposition to the pro-Palestinian state platform amendment, which was offered at the Democratic National Convention.

Sen. **Bob Graham** (D-FL) and Rep. **Levin** spoke in opposition to the proposed amendment. They pointed out that the term "self-determination" was used synonymously with that of a Palestinian state by **Yasir Arafat** and many others. The amendment, they stated, would also undermine the next Administration's diplomacy by creating expectations for a Palestinian state which would not be fulfilled.

The delegates defeated the proposed substitute by voice vote and the pro-Israel language was included in the draft platform and presented to the full party convention in Atlanta, Georgia.

The issue of Palestinian statehood was raised again at the National Democratic Convention in Atlanta. **Zogby** and Rep. **Mervyn Dymally** (D-CA) spoke on behalf of the same amendment discussed in Denver. Sen. **Daniel Inouye** (D-HI) and Rep. **Chuck Schumer** (D-NY) spoke in opposition to any changes.

Sen. **Inouye** told the convention that the "words of [the minority plank] amount to a vicious kick in the teeth of America's interests in that part of the world. By adopting this minority plank we could well sow the seeds of destruction of America's only reliable and dependable ally in the Middle East."

Rep. **Schumer** called the minority proposal "duplicious." He said that supporters of the minority plank "stood history on its head.... In fact, there is one reason

and one reason alone why there is not peace in the Middle East: the intransigence of Israel's neighbors."

The delegates who supported the minority plank realized that they would lose by over a 2-1 vote and agreed to withdraw the substitute language before bringing it to a vote. As a result, the pro-Israel plank remained part of the Democratic Platform.

Republican Party

The Republican party platform was lengthier than its Democratic counterpart and thus contains more detailed and specific pro-Israel provisions.

The Republicans wrote their platform in New Orleans during the week prior to the National Convention.

Sen. **Robert Kasten** (R-WI), Rep. **Jerry Lewis** (R-CA) and Gov. **Kay Orr** (R-NE) were the co-chairs of the Platform Committee. **Kasten** assumed the responsibility of preparing the initial draft of the foreign policy and defense sections of the platform. He assembled the team which developed the original draft, including most of the pro-Israel provisions, which were used as the initial document during the deliberations in New Orleans.

The co-chairmen of the foreign policy platform task force were Rep. **Bill McCollum** (R-FL) and former Rep. **Tom Loeffler** (R-TX); Rep. **Guy Molinari** (R-NY) was an active participant. All strongly supported the pro-Israel provisions and even helped to strengthen the language during the drafting process. In addition, Vice President Bush's foreign policy advisors, especially **Bill Schneider**, **Dennis Ross**, Ambassador **Richard Fairbanks**, **Paul Stevens** and **Philip Hughes** played important roles.

Thomas Dine testified on behalf of including strong pro-Israel provisions in the Republican platform. Former Sen. **John Tower** (R-TX) also spoke out on behalf of the pro-Israel plank.

There was a brief discussion on whether to include a provision in support of arms sales to "moderate Arab states", but this motion was easily defeated.

The Republican platform on the Middle East states:

- The foundation of our policy in the Middle East has been and must remain the promotion of a stable and lasting peace, recognizing our moral and strategic relationship with Israel. More than any of its predecessors, the Reagan-Bush Administration solidified this partnership. As a result, the relations between the United States and Israel are closer than ever before.
- We will continue to maintain Israel's qualitative advantage over any adversary or coalition of adversaries.

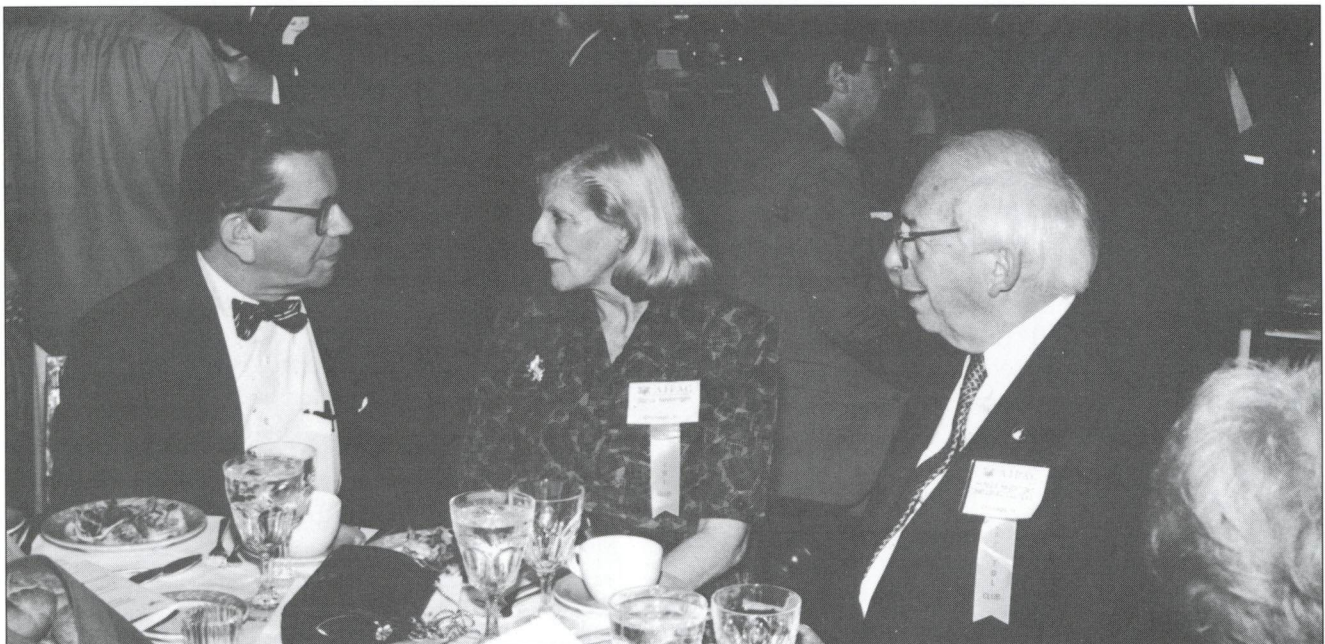
- We will continue to solidify our strategic relationship with Israel by taking additional concrete steps to further institutionalize the partnership. This will include maintaining adequate levels of security and economic assistance; continuing our meetings on military, political and economic cooperation and coordination; prepositioning military equipment; developing joint contingency plans; and increasing joint naval and air exercises. The growth of the Soviets military presence in the Eastern Mediterranean and along NATO's southern flank has demonstrated the importance of developing and expanding the U.S.-Israel strategic relationship.
- We oppose the creating of an independent Palestinian state; its establishment is inimical to the security interests of Israel, Jordan and the U.S. We will not support the creation of any Palestinian entity that could place Israel's security in jeopardy.
- Republicans will build upon the efforts of the Reagan-Bush Administration and work for peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors based upon the following principles:

A just and lasting peace is essential, urgent, and can be reached only through direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab nations.

Peace treaties must be reached through direct negotiations and must never be imposed upon unwilling partners.

The PLO should have no role in the peace process unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, renounces terrorism, and removes language from its charter demanding Israel's destruction.

- Under Republican leadership, the United States will explore every opportunity to move forward the peace process toward direct negotiations as long as the security of Israel is not compromised. Much work remains to establish a climate in the Middle East where the legitimate rights of all parties, including the Palestinians, can be equitably addressed.
- We recognize that Israel votes with the United States at the United Nations more frequently than any other nation. The Reagan-Bush Administration supported legislation mandating that if the U.N. and its agencies were to deny Israel's right to participate, the United States would withhold financial support and withdraw from those bodies until their action was rectified. The Republican Party reaffirms its support for the rescission of U.N. Resolution 3379, which equates Zionism with racism. Failure to repeal that resolution will justify attenuation of our support for the U.N.
- Republicans will continue to build on the Reagan-Bush achievement of increased security cooperation with the pro-Western Arab states. We recognize that these Arab nations maintain friendly relations with the United States in the face of potential retaliation attempts by radical elements in the Middle East.



Presidential candidate and Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL), left, enjoys the company of two constituents at the AIPAC Policy Conference banquet. Another candidate, Sen. Al Gore (D-TN), not pictured, was also in attendance at the banquet.



President Ronald Reagan and President-elect George Bush.

In addition, the Republican platform section dealing with America's defense supported strategic cooperation between the United States and Israel. Specifically, the section on defense supported Israel's "Arrow" anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) program:

- In response to the dangerous proliferation of ballistic missiles, a joint U.S.-Israel effort is now underway to produce the world's first anti-tactical ballistic missile system, "Project Arrow."

Presidential Candidates Speak Out

The presidential candidates expanded upon the pro-Israel planks contained in their respective platforms throughout the campaign. **George Bush** and **Michael Dukakis** repeatedly stressed their firm support for improved U.S.-Israel relations, the importance of strategic relations with

Israel and their personal commitment to Israel's continued security.

Both candidates spoke to a convention of the B'nai B'rith in Baltimore on September 7. Each used the occasion to express their views on the Middle East.

Vice President **Bush** stressed his strong support for strategic cooperation with Israel. He declared that Israel was "not just the object of our sympathy and our goodwill but a full-fledged partner with the United States. A partner fully capable of contributing to our security."

He explained the benefits of the strategic relationship, mentioning "joint planning on mutual threats in the Mediterranean, ... prepositioning of [American] supplies and building an infrastructure to deal with emergencies ... [and] the United States and Israel engage in joint military exercises."

He mentioned that the two nations are partners in

developing new technology, especially in the military field and restated his support for the Arrow project.

Bush stated that "our partnership holds the key to peace in the Middle East." The Vice President added that before the United States had any discussions with the PLO, it must "accept UN resolution 242, recognize Israel's existence, abandon terrorism, and change its covenant calling for Israel's destruction."

Finally, **Bush** made clear his opposition to an independent Palestinian state, which he declared would be a threat to the security of Israel and Jordan and contrary to American interests.

Governor **Michael Dukakis** was equally strong in his support of the "special relationship with Israel. I want to strengthen that relationship; to build upon it; and to work together with the leaders of Israel, and with Arab leaders who are willing, to protect democracy and further the cause of peace throughout the Middle East."

He repeated his opposition to the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism and his strong support for "the strategic partnership with Israel; a partnership that makes both countries stronger".

Governor **Dukakis** attacked the Republican administration for their arms sales policies to Arab nations still at

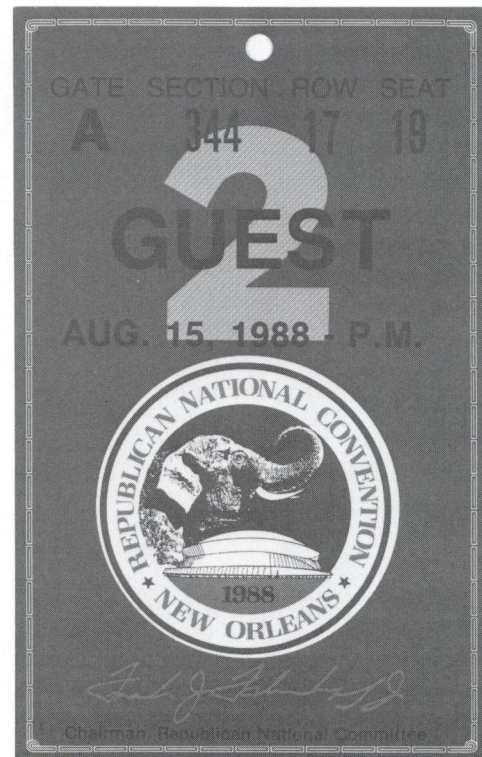
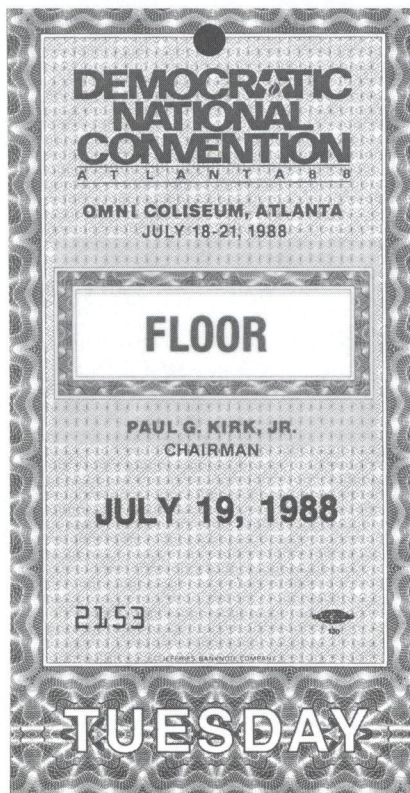
war with Israel and declared that "**Lloyd Bentsen** and I are going to say 'no' to Arab shopping lists that endanger the security of Israel."

Dukakis also attempted to distinguish himself from his Republican opponent by stressing his support for Israel's sovereignty over Jerusalem as its "undivided capital", rejecting allegations that Israel violates labor rights and by declaring that he would not have gone to Bitburg cemetery in Germany.

Like **George Bush**, **Dukakis** discussed the peace process. He said that "only the parties to the conflict can make peace. And that settlement must come through direct negotiations. No settlement that is unacceptable to Israel will be acceptable to the United States."

He agreed with **Bush** that "there can never be a role for the PLO unless it renounces terrorism in word and deed; unless it accepts U.N. resolutions 242 and 338; and unless it clearly and explicitly renounces its own covenant which states that peace can only come at the price of Israel's right to exist."

He added that "a **Dukakis** Administration will never recognize a unilateral declaration of a Palestinian state or government in exile."





100TH CONGRESS TRANSITION

DIED

Sen. **Edward Zorinsky** (D-NE) succeeded by **David Karnes** (R) who was subsequently defeated by former Gov. **John Kerrey** (D).
 Rep. **Sala Burton** (D-CA) succeeded by **Nancy Pelosi** (D).
 Rep. **Dan Daniel** (D-VA) succeeded by **Lewis Payne** (D).
 Rep. **Stewart McKinney** (R-CT) succeeded by **Chris Shays** (R).
 Rep. **Jim Howard** (D-NJ) succeeded by **Frank Pallone** (D).
 Rep. **Melvin Price** (D-IL) succeeded by **Jerry Costello** (D).
 Rep. **John Duncan** (R-TN) succeeded by son **John Duncan, Jr.** (R).
 Rep. **Bill Nichols** (D-AL) died on 12/13/88. His seat is currently vacant and will be filled in a special election early 1989.

RETIRED

Sen. **Lawton Chiles** (D-FL) succeeded by Rep. **Connie Mack** (R).
 Sen. **Daniel Evans** (R-WA) succeeded by former Sen. **Slade Gorton** (R).
 Sen. **William Proxmire** (D-WI) succeeded by **Herbert Kohl** (D).
 Sen. **Robert Stafford** (R-VT) succeeded by Rep. **James Jeffords** (R).
 Sen. **John Stennis** (D-MS) succeeded by Rep. **Trent Lott** (R).
 Sen. **Paul Trible** (R-VA) succeeded by former Gov. **Charles Robb** (D).
 Rep. **Robert Badham** (R-CA) succeeded by **Chris Cox** (R).
 Rep. **Mario Biaggi** (D-NY) succeeded by **Eliot Engel** (D).
 Rep. **Edward Boland** (D-MA) succeeded by **Richard Neal** (D).
 Rep. **Ken Gray** (D-IL) succeeded by **Glenn Poshard** (D).
 Rep. **Ed Jones** (D-TN) succeeded by **John Tanner** (D).
 Rep. **Delbert Latta** (R-OH) succeeded by **Paul Gillmor** (R).
 Rep. **Dan Lungren** (R-CA) succeeded by **Dana Rohrabacher** (R).
 Rep. **Peter Rodino** (D-NJ) succeeded by **Donald Payne** (D).
 Rep. **Sam Stratton** (D-NY) succeeded by **Michael McNulty** (D).
 Rep. **Fofo Sunia** (D-AS) succeeded by **Eni Faleomavaega** (D).
 Rep. **Gene Taylor** (R-MO) succeeded by **Mel Hancock** (R).
 Rep. **George Wortley** (R-NY) succeeded by **Jim Walsh** (R).

RETIRED/APPOINTED TO BUSH CABINET

Rep. **Jack Kemp** (R-NY) appointed Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and succeeded by **Bill Paxton** (R).
 Rep. **Manual Lujan** (R-NM) appointed Secretary of Interior and succeeded by **Steve Schiff** (R).

ELECTED TO OTHER OFFICES

- Rep. **Bill Boner** (D-TN) elected Mayor of Nashville and succeeded by **Bob Clement** (D).
Rep. **Judd Gregg** (R-NH) elected Governor of New Hampshire and succeeded by **Chuck Douglas** (R).
Rep. **Buddy Roemer** (D-LA) elected Governor of Louisiana and succeeded by **Jim McCrery** (R).

ELECTED TO SENATE

- Rep. **James Jeffords** (R-VT) replaces retiring Sen. **Robert Stafford** (R-VT) and succeeded by **Peter Smith** (R).
Rep. **Trent Lott** (R-MS) defeated Rep. **Wayne Dowdy** (D-MS) to replace retiring Sen. **John Stennis** (D-MS) and succeeded by **Larkin Smith** (R).
Rep. **Connie Mack** (R-FL) defeated Rep. **Buddy MacKay** (D-FL) to replace retiring Sen. **Lawton Chiles** (D-FL) and succeeded by **Porter Goss** (R).

APPOINTED TO SENATE

- Rep. **Dan Coats** (R-IN) to replace Sen. **Dan Quayle** (R-IN). His House seat is currently vacant and will be filled by special election in early 1989.

ELECTED VICE-PRESIDENT

- Sen. **Dan Quayle** (R-IN) succeeded by Rep. **Dan Coats** (R-IN).

DEFEATED IN SENATE BID

- Rep. **Don Bonker** (D-WA) succeeded by **Jolene Unsoeld** (D).
Rep. **Beau Boulter** (R-TX) succeeded by **Bill Sarpalius** (D).
Rep. **Hal Daub** (R-NE) succeeded by **Peter Hoagland** (D).
Rep. **Wayne Dowdy** (D-MS) succeeded by **Mike Parker** (D).
Rep. **Mike Lowry** (D-WA) succeeded by **Jim McDermott** (D).
Rep. **Buddy MacKay** (D-FL) succeeded by **Cliff Stearns** (R).
Rep. **Dan Mica** (D-FL) succeeded by **Harry Johnston** (D).

DEFEATED INCUMBENTS

- Sen. **Chic Hecht** (R-NV) succeeded by Gov. **Richard Bryan** (D).
Sen. **David Karnes** (R-NE) succeeded by former Gov. **Robert Kerrey** (D).
Sen. **John Melcher** (D-MT) succeeded by **Conrad Burns** (R).
Sen. **Lowell Weicker** (R-CT) succeeded by **Joseph Lieberman** (D).
Rep. **Bill Chappell** (D-FL) succeeded by **James Craig** (R).
Rep. **Jack Davis** (R-IL) succeeded by **George Sangmeister** (D).
Rep. **Joseph DioGuardi** (R-NY) succeeded by **Nita Lowey** (D).
Rep. **Ernest Konnyu** (R-CA) succeeded by **Tom Campbell** (R).
Rep. **Fernand St. Germain** (D-RI) succeeded by **Ron Machtley** (R).
Rep. **Mac Sweeney** (R-TX) succeeded by **Gregg Laughlin** (D).
Rep. **Patrick Swindall** (R-GA) succeeded by **Ben Jones** (D).

101ST CONGRESS FRESHMAN MEMBERS

SENATE

Connecticut - **Joseph Lieberman** (D) defeated Sen. **Lowell Weicker** (R).
 Florida - Rep. **Connie Mack** (R) succeeds retiring Sen. **Lawton Chiles** (D).
 Indiana - Rep. **Dan Coats** (R) succeeds Sen. **Dan Quayle** (R).
 Mississippi - Rep. **Trent Lott** (R) succeeds retiring Sen. **John Stennis** (D).
 Montana - **Conrad Burns** (R) defeated Sen. **John Melcher** (D).
 Nebraska - former Gov. **Robert Kerrey** (D) defeated Sen. **David Karnes** (R).
 Nevada - Gov. **Richard Bryan** (D) defeated Sen. **Chic Hecht** (R).
 Vermont - Rep. **James Jeffords** (R) succeeds retiring Sen. **Robert Stafford** (R).
 Virginia - former Gov. **Chuck Robb** (D) succeeds retiring Sen. **Paul Trible** (R).
 Washington - former Sen. **Slade Gorton** (R) succeeds retiring Sen. **Dan Evans** (R).
 Wisconsin - **Herbert Kohl** (D) succeeds retiring Sen. **William Proxmire** (D).

HOUSE

Alabama, 3 - Vacant seat, to succeed Rep. **Bill Nichols** (D), will be filled by special election in early 1989.
 American Samoa - **Eni Faleomavaega** (D) succeeds Rep. **Fofu Sunia** (D) (non-voting Delegate).
 California, 12 - **Tom Campbell** (R) succeeds Rep. **Ernie Konnyu** (R).
 California, 40 - **Chris Cox** (R) succeeds Rep. **Robert Badham** (R).
 California, 42 - **Dana Rohrabacher** (R) succeeds Rep. **Dan Lungren** (R).
 Florida, 4 - **Craig James** (R) defeated Rep. **Bill Chappell** (D).
 Florida, 6 - **Cliff Stearns** (R) succeeds Rep. **Buddy MacKay** (D).
 Florida, 13 - **Porter Goss** (R) succeeds Rep. **Connie Mack** (R).
 Florida, 14 - **Harry Johnston** (D) succeeds Rep. **Dan Mica** (D).
 Georgia, 4 - **Ben Jones** (D) defeated Rep. **Pat Swindall** (R).
 Illinois, 4 - **George Sangmeister** (D) defeated Rep. **Jack Davis** (R).
 Illinois, 22 - **Glenn Poshard** (D) succeeds Rep. **Ken Gray** (D).
 Indiana, 4 - Vacant seat, to succeed Rep. **Dan Coats** (R), will be filled by special election in early 1989.
 Massachusetts, 2 - **Richard Neal** (D) succeeds Rep. **Ed Boland** (D).
 Mississippi, 4 - **Mike Parker** (D) succeeds Rep. **Wayne Dowdy** (D).
 Mississippi, 5 - **Larkin Smith** (R) succeeds Rep. **Trent Lott** (R).
 Missouri, 7 - **Mel Hancock** (R) succeeds Rep. **Gene Taylor** (R).
 New Hampshire, 2 - **Chuck Douglas** (R) succeeds Rep. **Judd Gregg** (R).
 New Jersey, 3 - **Frank Pallone** (D) succeeds Rep. **James Howard** (D).
 New Jersey, 10 - **Donald Payne** (D) succeeds Rep. **Peter Rodino** (D).
 New Mexico, 1 - **Steve Schiff** (R) succeeds Rep. **Manuel Lujan** (R).
 New York, 19 - **Eliot Engel** (D) succeeds Rep. **Mario Biaggi** (D).
 New York, 20 - **Nita Lowey** (D) defeated Rep. **Joseph DioGuardi** (R).
 New York, 23 - **Michael McNulty** (D) succeeds Rep. **Sam Stratton** (D).
 New York, 27 - **Jim Walsh** (R) succeeds Rep. **George Wortley** (R).
 New York, 31 - **Bill Paxon** (R) succeeds Rep. **Jack Kemp** (R).
 Nebraska, 2 - **Peter Hoagland** (D) succeeds Rep. **Hal Daub** (R).
 Ohio, 5 - **Paul Gillmor** (R) succeeds Rep. **Delbert Latta** (R).
 Rhode Island, 1 - **Ron Machtley** (R) defeated Rep. **Fernand St. Germain** (D).
 Tennessee, 2 - **Jimmy Duncan** (R) succeeds Rep. **John Duncan** (R).
 Tennessee, 8 - **John Tanner** (D) succeeds Rep. **Ed Jones** (D).
 Texas, 13 - **Bill Sarpalius** (D) succeeds Rep. **Beau Boulter** (R).
 Texas, 14 - **Gregg Laughlin** (D) defeated Rep. **Mac Sweeney** (R).
 Vermont, 1 - **Peter Smith** (R) succeeds Rep. **James Jeffords** (R).
 Washington, 3 - **Jolene Unsoeld** (D) succeeds Rep. **Don Bonker** (D).
 Washington, 7 - **Jim McDermott** (D) succeeds Rep. **Mike Lowry** (D).



Rep.-elect Donald Payne (D-NJ), left, and Reps. James Courter (R-NJ), Jim Saxton (R-NJ) and Dean Gallo (R-NJ) met with Israeli Prime Minister Shamir on an ADL trip in 1988.

SENATORS UP FOR RE-ELECTION IN 1990

<i>Sen. William Armstrong</i>	<i>(R-CO)</i>	<i>Sen. Jesse Helms</i>	<i>(R-NC)</i>
<i>Sen. Max Baucus</i>	<i>(D-MT)</i>	<i>Sen. Gordon Humphrey</i>	<i>(R-NH)</i>
<i>Sen. Joseph Biden</i>	<i>(D-DE)</i>	<i>Sen. Bennett Johnston</i>	<i>(D-LA)</i>
<i>Sen. David Boren</i>	<i>(D-OK)</i>	<i>Sen. Nancy Kassebaum</i>	<i>(R-KS)</i>
<i>Sen. Rudy Boschwitz</i>	<i>(R-MN)</i>	<i>Sen. John Kerrey</i>	<i>(D-MA)</i>
<i>Sen. Bill Bradley</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>	<i>Sen. Carl Levin</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>
<i>Sen. Dan Coats</i>	<i>(R-IN)</i>	<i>Sen. James McClure</i>	<i>(R-ID)</i>
<i>(Special election... Winner must run again in 1992)</i>		<i>Sen. Mitch McConnell</i>	<i>(R-KY)</i>
<i>Sen. Thad Cochran</i>	<i>(R-MS)</i>	<i>Sen. Sam Nunn</i>	<i>(D-GA)</i>
<i>Sen. William Cohen</i>	<i>(R-ME)</i>	<i>Sen. Claiborne Pell</i>	<i>(D-RI)</i>
<i>Sen. Pete Domenici</i>	<i>(R-NM)</i>	<i>Sen. Larry Pressler</i>	<i>(R-SD)</i>
<i>Sen. James Exon</i>	<i>(D-NE)</i>	<i>Sen. David Pryor</i>	<i>(D-AR)</i>
<i>Sen. Albert Gore</i>	<i>(D-TN)</i>	<i>Sen. John D. Rockefeller</i>	<i>(D-WV)</i>
<i>Sen. Phil Gramm</i>	<i>(R-TX)</i>	<i>Sen. Paul Simon</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>
<i>Sen. Tom Harkin</i>	<i>(D-IA)</i>	<i>Sen. Alan Simpson</i>	<i>(R-WY)</i>
<i>Sen. Mark Hatfield</i>	<i>(R-OR)</i>	<i>Sen. Ted Stevens</i>	<i>(R-AK)</i>
<i>Sen. Howell Heflin</i>	<i>(D-AL)</i>	<i>Sen. Strom Thurmond</i>	<i>(R-SC)</i>
		<i>Sen. John Warner</i>	<i>(R-VA)</i>



*Si Kenen, the founder
and first Executive Director
of AIPAC passed away on
March 23, 1988*

The following eulogy was given by AIPAC Executive Director **Thomas A. Dine** March 25, 1988 at Temple Sinai in Washington, D.C. :

"He was our friend and confidant. Most important, he was our leader and mentor. He knew what he wanted — Israel's restoration and survival. He knew how to channel his commitment to that cause — the establishment and running of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). He experimented on the way — in journalism, in political action, in his garden.

Si Kenen involved himself in issues that few others dared. He walked where only a few had walked before.

He was a committed labor activist. When he came to my house eight years ago this month to talk to me about coming to AIPAC, he proudly showed me his AFL-CIO membership card.

He was a committed Zionist. When **Si** was in the sixth grade, he gave a spontaneous speech to his class, predicting "the Jews would have their own state in Palestine at last." In recounting this incident, **Si** would say with relish that he ran home to tell his parents and their houseguest, **Henrietta Szold**. "Why don't you do something about it?" Mrs. **Szold** asked. "Tell all your friends." **Si** did for the next 70 years, committed to the cause of Israel's reestablishment and to America's partnership to that nation-state.

He was committed to America's democracy, always finding ways to improve it. In Ohio, he championed the poor and exploited. In Washington, he was a lifelong devotee of the Americans for Democratic Action. In 1943, he changed from reporting happenings to making events, leaving newspaper work to become information director for the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs in New York City. He once said to me that he made that change to help strengthen democracy.

AIPAC is Si's greatest achievement. A political organization was created where no political infrastructure had existed before. A Jewish organization was created in a cold world, a world where Jews had been abandoned. An organization was put together by one person, aided only by a few.

Si experimented. Out of the lab work of everyday practical experience came principles. These principles are relevant today, they are the fundamentals by which AIPAC and the American pro-Israel community operate.

I want to reiterate those now, because for me these principles are the very best way I know to praise a man for the good life he has led — and to say that good life is still living in this generation by us and will be handed down to the next.

Si believed in service, in public service. He championed many causes, but he gave everything he had to lobby on behalf of one, Israel. He saw that service as part of an unending struggle, "to close a dark chapter in Jewish history." We too, are committed to that service, of turning a new page illuminated by redemption and regeneration.

Si set a style. He was soft spoken in his smartness, gentle in his dealings with policy makers, self-confident in presenting his case. On Capitol Hill, he quietly went from office to office, keeping a low profile. Beneath that lean exterior, however, brightly burned the interior light of Zion. We, too, are committed to this way and this passion.

Si conveyed the truth. Owing to his newspaper background, he was constantly gathering information and communicating that material. I remember the first time I heard him speak. I thought he was a machine gun, shooting out fact after fact, enhancing his arguments. He approached Israel with factual answers, not guilt, not bending the truth. This principle is embodied today in the weekly *Near East Report* which he founded in 1957 and in *Myths and Facts*, a publication with over 1,000,000 copies printed and in circulation. We are committed to making AIPAC the resource for policy makers and policy advocates, and we are diligently at work communicating the facts to the generation next coming to the fore.

Si mastered the workings of Capitol Hill. He advised on foreign policy substance, he advised on legislative process. Not only are we committed to continuing that professional mastery, but have extended that scope to the Executive branch as well.

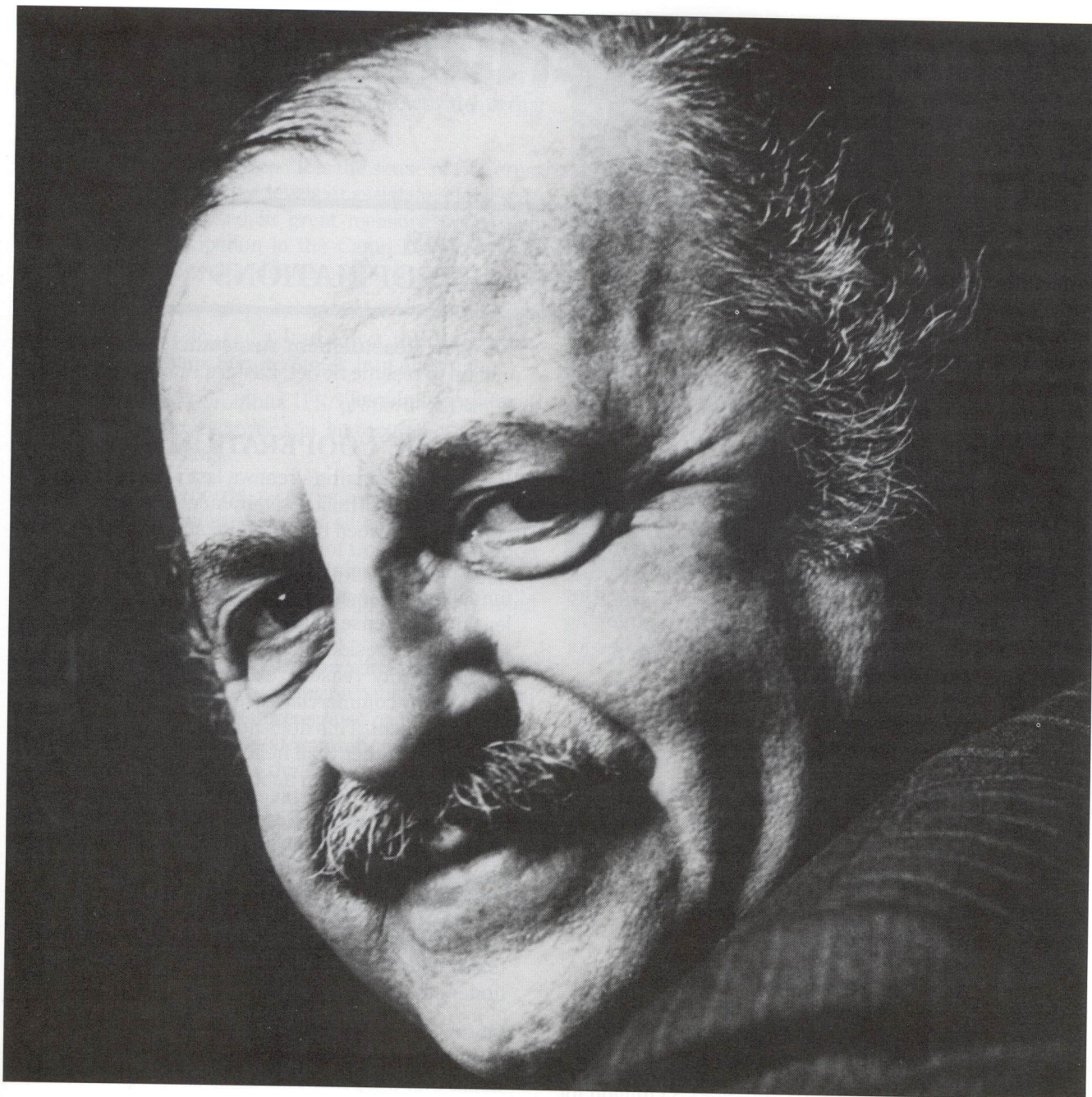
Si always said that the best lobby gets behind the Congress, not in front. He acted this principle out. He was a confidant of the leadership; he worked closely with them. AIPAC planted a forest outside of Jerusalem to honor Si on his 80th birthday. In typical Si fashion, he wanted a reception on Capitol Hill on that occasion, so that

we could also honor Israel's friends in Congress. But there was more to this principle. The Yom Kippur War broke out on a Saturday. On Sunday morning, I left my home early to go to the AIPAC office to volunteer. There were three volunteers there that lonely day — **Morris Amitay**, then with Senator **Ribicoff's** office, **Pete Lakeland**, with Senator **Javits**, and I, with Senator **Church**. We gathered facts to be distributed to Capitol Hill offices on Monday; we worked on a Congressional resolution, putting the U.S. foresquare behind the Israel Defense Forces. And I will never forget Si. When we had finished the drafting, he calmly said, "I'll call Hugh and Hubert tonight with it." That was Senators **Hugh Scott** (R-PA) and **Hubert Humphrey** (D-MN). The resolution quickly passed both houses. We, too, are committed to making friends and working closely with them on behalf of our cause.

Si brought people together. Politicians whose only common ground was support for Israel worked as one. He built bridges between the Executive and Legislative branches; he built bridges between the Senate and the House; he built bridges between Republicans and Democrats. We are committed to that bridge building; we are committed to keeping Israel a bipartisan issue.

Si preached Jewish unity. He knew from it came political strength. In his book, *Israel's Defense Line*, he entitled one of his chapters, "American Jews Close Ranks." This meant Jewish leaders and organizations, this meant as well Jewish Members of Congress. He recounted for me story after story of disunity, of organizational and personal competitiveness. I once asked him if **Jacob Javits** was the Jewish Member of Congress he had most admired. He never specifically answered. Instead he told me about Rep. **Adolph Sabath** of Chicago who consistently challenged Rep. **John Rankin**, opposing the Mississippian's taunts and virulent anti-Semitism on the House floor and in the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee. **Sabath** and Si tried to mobilize against **Rankin**, particularly after **Rankin** questioned the right of Jews to live as first-class citizens in these United States. "Why don't they go back to where they come from — be it Palestine or Germany or the Soviet Union?" Si then made his story more graphic by a comparison. He said he went to Rep. **Sol Bloom** of Brooklyn for help. **Bloom**, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, however, refused to enter such a debate. Si felt **Sabath's** campaign had been hurt by **Bloom's** lack of unity, lack of team play with his fellow Jew. We, too, are committed to Clal Yisrael, to the UJA banner, "We are one," to lobbying with one voice.

And finally, Si taught the Jewish community that if it



wanted to be a part of the process of American foreign policy making, it had to be politically involved. Deeply so. That is the essence of our democracy' that is Si's essential legacy. We are, of course, committed to this principle in every way.

He was our friend and neighbor. He was our colleague — even up to the very end. He was our leader in our common struggle to overcome adversaries and to strengthen Washington's relationship with Jerusalem.

He was a national and Jewish treasure.

Si loved his garden at his house in Virginia. What he grew in Washington and across the nation still grows. He is one man of who it can truly be said his heritage lives on. We are the inheritors. To this great son of Israel, we are all his children — and it is upon us to carry on the cause.

Thanks Si — and Shalom. "

APPENDIX

KEY PROVISIONS FY 1989 FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATIONS

ECONOMIC

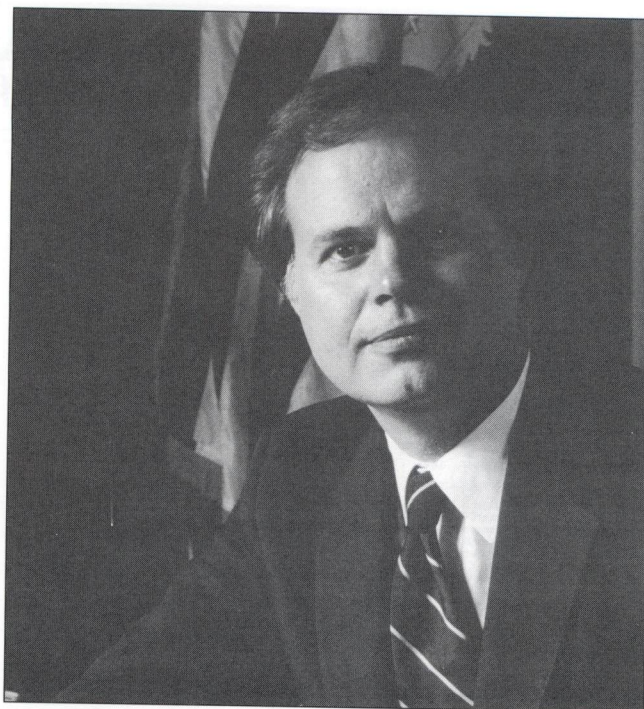
- **ESF to Israel** - earmarks \$1.2 billion in Economic Support Funds (ESF) for Israel, available on a grant basis, as a cash transfer in the first 30 days of the fiscal year.
- **FMS to Israel** - provides \$1.8 billion in all-grant Foreign Military Sales (FMS) assistance.
- **Advanced Weapons Systems Programs (Offshore Procurement)** - provides that no less than \$400 million in FMS funds be made available for use in Israel for advanced weapons systems (and close-out costs for the Lavi) and up to \$150 million in the United States for research and development costs.
- **Fair Pricing** - gives the President the authority, after October 1, 1989, to waive non-recurring R & D costs and certain administrative costs associated with Israel and Egypt's purchase of F-16 aircraft. Israel is expected to save close to \$90 million on its next F-16 purchase.
- **West Bank/Gaza Funding** - Provides \$15 million in ESF funds for the West Bank and Gaza Program to be channeled through the Asia and Near East regional program.
- **Middle East Regional Cooperation Projects** - earmarks \$5 million in ESF funds for Israel and Egypt for regional cooperative scientific and technological projects.
- **Cooperative Development** - provides \$5 million for cooperative projects involving U.S., Israel and developing countries.
- **Assistance for Poland** - provides that up to \$500,000 of non-convertible Polish currencies held by the U.S. be made available for the reconstruction, renovation and maintenance of the Research Center on Jewish History and Culture of the Jagiellonian University of Krakow, Poland. This was established for the study of events related to the Holocaust in Poland.
- **Refugee Resettlement Assistance** - earmarks \$28 million to resettle Soviet, Eastern European and other refugees in Israel.

STRATEGIC COOPERATION

- **Reciprocal Leasing** - renews last year's authority to permit leasing of military equipment on a reciprocal no-cost basis between the United States and Israel.
- **FMS Commercial Leasing** - permits use of FMS funds by NATO and Major Non-NATO allies for the leasing of defense articles from U.S. commercial suppliers, if the President determines foreign policy or national security reasons exist for these items to be provided by commercial lease rather than government to government. This does not include Major Defense Equipment, other than helicopters and other types of aircraft having civilian application.
- **Depleted Uranium Rounds** - prohibits the sale of these antitank shells to any country which is not a NATO ally or a Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA), except Pakistan.
- **Stinger Ban** - prohibits the transfer of Stinger missiles to any country in the Persian Gulf with an exemption, under strict conditions, for Bahrain.
- **Qatar Stingers** - requires Qatar to return all illegally acquired Stinger missiles before it can buy any additional U.S. weapons. This takes effect April 1, 1989.
- **Congressional Missile Review** - requires Congressional notice of all air-to-ground and ground-to-air missiles regardless of the dollar value of the sale.
- **Third Party Transfers** - provides the same Congressional authority over third party transfers that now exist over U.S. direct sales and prevents an Administration from bypassing Congress by routing arms transfers through third countries.

POLITICAL/DIPLOMATIC

- **IAEA** - stipulates that the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) may receive funding only if "Israel is not denied its right to participate in the activities of that Agency."
- **Egypt-Israel Relations** - "It is the sense of Congress that the recommended levels of assistance for Egypt and Israel are based in great measure upon their continued participation in the Camp David Accords and upon the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty."
- **Prohibition on Aid** - prohibits direct or indirect aid to Angola, Cambodia, Cuba, Iraq, Libya, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, South Yemen, Iran or Syria.
- **PLO Funding** - prohibits U.S. proportional share of funding for PLO activities in international organizations and programs.
- **U.N. Voting Records** - requires an annual report comparing U.N. voting patterns of all countries with the United States. States in a Sense-of-Congress resolution that no funds should be appropriated to any country which has a consistent record of opposing the United States in the United Nations.
- **No recognition or Negotiation with the PLO** - "No employee of or individual acting on behalf of the United States Government shall recognize or negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization or representatives thereof, so long as the Palestine Liberation Organization does not recognize Israel's right to exist, does not accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and does not renounce the use of terrorism."
- **Prohibition on Bilateral Assistance to Terrorist Countries** - bars U.S. bilateral assistance to any country on the State Department's terrorism list.



Sen. Robert Kasten (R-WI), Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, was instrumental in securing the numerous pro-Israel provisions in the foreign aid bill.

I would like to thank Richard Collins and Jim Bond for their help. Thank you.

SENATORS SIGNING DECONCINI, LEAHY, GRASSLEY, D'AMATO LETTER TO DENY A VISA TO YASIR ARAFAT

<i>Sen. William Armstrong</i>	<i>(R-CO)</i>	<i>Sen. David Karnes</i>	<i>(R-NE)</i>
<i>Sen. Max Baucus</i>	<i>(D-MT)</i>	<i>Sen. Robert Kasten</i>	<i>(R-WI)</i>
<i>Sen. Lloyd Bentsen</i>	<i>(D-TX)</i>	<i>Sen. John Kerry</i>	<i>(D-MA)</i>
<i>Sen. Rudy Boschwitz</i>	<i>(R-MN)</i>	<i>Sen. Frank Lautenberg</i>	<i>(D-NJ)</i>
<i>Sen. Quentin Burdick</i>	<i>(D-ND)</i>	<i>Sen. Patrick Leahy</i>	<i>(D-VT)</i>
<i>Sen. Lawton Chiles</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>	<i>Sen. Carl Levin</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>
<i>Sen. Alfonse D'Amato</i>	<i>(R-NY)</i>	<i>Sen. John McCain</i>	<i>(R-AZ)</i>
<i>Sen. Thomas Daschle</i>	<i>(D-SD)</i>	<i>Sen. James McClure</i>	<i>(R-ID)</i>
<i>Sen. Dennis DeConcini</i>	<i>(D-AZ)</i>	<i>Sen. Howard Metzenbaum</i>	<i>(D-OH)</i>
<i>Sen. Alan Dixon</i>	<i>(D-IL)</i>	<i>Sen. Daniel Moynihan</i>	<i>(D-NY)</i>
<i>Sen. Christopher Dodd</i>	<i>(D-CT)</i>	<i>Sen. Frank Murkowski</i>	<i>(R-AK)</i>
<i>Sen. Robert Dole</i>	<i>(R-KS)</i>	<i>Sen. Don Nickles</i>	<i>(R-OK)</i>
<i>Sen. Dave Durenberger</i>	<i>(R-MN)</i>	<i>Sen. Larry Pressler</i>	<i>(R-SD)</i>
<i>Sen. James Exon</i>	<i>(D-NE)</i>	<i>Sen. William Proxmire</i>	<i>(D-WI)</i>
<i>Sen. Wendell Ford</i>	<i>(D-KY)</i>	<i>Sen. Dan Quayle</i>	<i>(R-IN)</i>
<i>Sen. John Glenn</i>	<i>(D-OH)</i>	<i>Sen. Donald Riegle</i>	<i>(D-MI)</i>
<i>Sen. Albert Gore, Jr.</i>	<i>(D-TN)</i>	<i>Sen. William Roth</i>	<i>(R-DE)</i>
<i>Sen. Bob Graham</i>	<i>(D-FL)</i>	<i>Sen. Warren Rudman</i>	<i>(R-NH)</i>
<i>Sen. Phil Gramm</i>	<i>(R-TX)</i>	<i>Sen. Paul Sarbanes</i>	<i>(D-MD)</i>
<i>Sen. Charles Grassley</i>	<i>(R-IA)</i>	<i>Sen. James Sasser</i>	<i>(D-TN)</i>
<i>Sen. Orrin Hatch</i>	<i>(R-UT)</i>	<i>Sen. Alan Simpson</i>	<i>(R-WY)</i>
<i>Sen. Chic Hecht</i>	<i>(R-NV)</i>	<i>Sen. Arlen Specter</i>	<i>(R-PA)</i>
<i>Sen. John Heinz</i>	<i>(R-PA)</i>	<i>Sen. Steven Symms</i>	<i>(R-ID)</i>
<i>Sen. Jesse Helms</i>	<i>(R-NC)</i>	<i>Sen. Malcolm Wallop</i>	<i>(R-WY)</i>
<i>Sen. Gordon Humphrey</i>	<i>(R-NH)</i>	<i>Sen. Pete Wilson</i>	<i>(R-CA)</i>
<i>Sen. Daniel Inouye</i>	<i>(D-HI)</i>		

**REPRESENTATIVES WHO SIGNED LETTERS TO
PRESIDENT-ELECT BUSH AND SECRETARY OF STATE SHULTZ
TO DENY A VISA TO YASIR ARAFAT**

Democrats

Frank Annunzio	(D-IL)
James Bilbray	(D-NV)
Albert Bustamante	(D-TX)
Benjamin Cardin	(D-MD)
Richard Durbin	(D-IL)
Dennis Eckart	(D-OH)
Ben Erdreich	(D-AL)
Edward Feighan	(D-OH)
Martin Frost	(D-TX)
Ralph Hall	(D-TX)
James Hayes	(D-LA)
Tim Johnson	(D-SD)
James Jontz	(D-IN)
Tom Lantos	(D-CA)
William Lehman	(D-FL)
Sander Levin	(D-MI)
Mel Levine	(D-CA)
* Nita Lowey	(D-NY)
Matthew Martinez	(D-CA)
Robert Mrazek	(D-NY)
* Mike Parker	(D-MS)
Tommy Robinson	(D-AR)
Robert Roe	(D-NJ)
James Scheuer	(D-NY)
Gerry Sikorski	(D-MN)
Lawrence Smith	(D-FL)
Lindsay Thomas	(D-GA)
Henry Waxman	(D-CA)
Ron Wyden	(D-OR)

Republicans

Richard Armey	(R-TX)
Cass Ballenger	(R-NC)
Beau Boulter	(R-TX)
Jack Buechner	(R-MO)
James Bunning	(R-KY)
Dan Burton	(R-IN)
Sonny Callahan	(R-AL)
Howard Coble	(R-NC)
James Courter	(R-NJ)
Joseph DioGuardi	(R-NY)
Robert Dornan	(R-CA)
Elton Gallegly	(R-CA)
Dean Gallo	(R-NJ)
Benjamin Gilman	(R-NY)
Newt Gingrich	(R-GA)
Fred Grandy	(R-IA)
William Green	(R-NY)
Dennis Hastert	(R-IL)
Duncan Hunter	(R-CA)
James Inhofe	(R-OK)
* Craig James	(R-FL)
Jack Kemp	(R-NY)
John Kyl	(R-AZ)
Robert Lagomarsino	(R-CA)
Tom Lewis	(R-FL)
Bob Livingston	(R-LA)
Connie Mack	(R-FL)
Bill McCollum	(R-FL)
Raymond McGrath	(R-NY)
John Miller	(R-WA)
Guy Molinari	(R-NY)
Ronald Packard	(R-CA)
* Bill Paxon	(R-NY)
Thomas Ridge	(R-PA)
Matthew Rinaldo	(R-NJ)
James Saxton	(R-NJ)
Bill Schuette	(R-MI)
Jim Sensenbrenner	(R-WI)
Norman Shumway	(R-CA)
Denny Smith	(R-OR)
Patrick Swindall	(R-GA)
Vin Weber	(R-MN)
George Wortley	(R-NY)

JOINT RESOLUTION COMMENDING ISRAEL ON ITS 40TH ANNIVERSARY

One Hundredth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

*Began and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the twenty-fifth day of January,
one thousand nine hundred and eighty-eight*

Joint Resolution

Commending the State of Israel and its people on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the reestablishment of the independent State of Israel.

Whereas the State of Israel redeems the Biblical promise to the Jewish people of the homeland from which they were exiled for 2,000 years;

Whereas the establishment of the State of Israel as a homeland for the Jews followed the slaughter of more than 6,000,000 Jews during the Holocaust;

Whereas the United States helped in the creation of the State of Israel by extending diplomatic relations to the State of Israel upon its proclamation of independence on May 14, 1948;

Whereas since its establishment 40 years ago, Israel has rebuilt a nation, forged a new society, and created an economic, cultural, and intellectual infrastructure that is nothing short of miraculous;

Whereas despite the heavy costs of six wars, terrorism, international ostracism, and economic boycotts, the people of Israel have relinquished neither their desire to live in peace with their neighbors nor their democratic ideals;

Whereas at great social and financial costs, Israel has absorbed hundreds of thousands of Jews from countries throughout the world, many of them refugees from Arab countries, and fully integrated them into Israeli society;

Whereas the world, particularly the less developed countries of Latin America and Africa, has benefited tremendously from Israeli advances in agriculture, medicine, and industry;

Whereas the United States and Israel have always maintained a special relationship based on mutually shared democratic values, strategic interests, and moral bonds of friendship and respect; and

Whereas the American people have shared an affinity with the people of Israel and regard Israel as a strong and trusted ally and important strategic partner: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States—

(1) hails the historic milestone of 40 years of existence of the reestablished, independent State of Israel;

(2) praises the people of Israel for their remarkable achievements in building a new state and society and maintaining the only democracy in the Middle East in the face of constant belligerence by her neighbors;

H. J. Res. 541—2

(3) notes with deep satisfaction the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the United States and the State of Israel which have meant so much to both countries; and

(4) extends the warmest congratulations and best wishes to the State of Israel and its people for a peaceful and successful future.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

*Vice President of the United States and
President of the Senate pro tempore.*

APPROVED

MAY - 6 1988

Ronald Reagan



Reps. Gary Ackerman (D-NY) and Ben Gilman (R-NY), and some New York constituents met with Israeli Prime Minister Shamir during his visit to the United States.

AIPAC

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