Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

WHORM Subject File Code: FO006-06 (Economic Summit, Williamsburg, Virginia, 05/29/1983-05/30/1983) Case file Number(s): 133500-133799

To see more digitized collections visit: https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library inventories visit: <u>https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories</u>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <u>https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-</u> <u>support/citation-guide</u>

National Archives Catalogue: <u>https://catalog.archives.gov/</u>

FIDENTIAL

SYSTEM II 90566 133558CA April 30, 1983 F0006-06

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE SUMMIT GROUP

SUBJECT: Give-and-Take Session with the President May 2, 1983, 11:00 a.m., Cabinet Room

Attached is the background paper sent to the President for the give-and-take session on Summit issues, May 2, 1983, at 11:00 a.m., Cabinet Room. Also attached is the agenda.

CONFIDENTIAL

William P. Clark

Attachment Tab A - Background Paper Tab B - Agenda

cc: The Vice President Donald Regan Edwin Meese James Baker Michael Deaver Beryl Sprinkel Allen Wallis Mark Leland David Gergen Edwin Harper Craig Fuller Richard Darman Michael McManus Charles Tyson Henry Nau

DECLASSIFIED (Boo.3.4(b), E.O. 12958, 88 887 White House, Guidelines, Se 12/3/2019 BYNARA ON DATE

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR

SYSTEM II 90566

GIVE AND TAKE SESSION

ON SUMMIT ISSUES

up instructures for Clarke --

Exchange Market Intervention Policies

May 2, Cabinet Room 11:00 - 11:30 a.m.

1.	Results of Summit Finance	
1.1	Ministers' meeting of 11108 - 11'1"	t ·
	April 29 (2 minutes)	Secretary Regan
2.	Other Countries' Positions at	Startman
	Williamsburg (2 minutes)	Beryl Sprinkel
3	Yen/Dollar Misalignment ?	
	(2 minutes)	M artin Felds tein
4.	General Discussion with the	-Nislana
	President (17 minutes)	discussion
5.	Results of April 28-29 COCOM	
	High-Level Meeting (2 minutes)	William Schneider
6.	Summary and Next Steps (2 minutes)	William Clark

STATEMENT ON THE INTERVENTION STUDY

Statement for

On Friday, April 29, the Summit Finance Ministers, Central Bank Governors, and Representatives of the European Community met in Washington, D.C. and issued the following statement:

Exchange rate fluctuations and their effects on economic performance and international trade have been a matter of concern in each of our countries, and to the international financial community, since 1973, when the transition to widespread floating of exchange rates took place. At the first Economic Summit in Rambouillet, and most recently at last year's Versailles Summit, our governments agreed on the principle that orderly underlying economic and financial conditions are necessary to achieve stable exchange markets. Our governments pledged themselves to pursue economic policies designed to foster convergence in the economic performance of our countries, toward sustainable non-inflationary economic growth and high employment, as a primary means of attaining such conditions.

However, greater convergence toward economic performance of that kind takes time to accomplish and may not always be sufficient to prevent disorderly market conditions. Views have differed among us on the role of foreign exchange market intervention as an additional means of attaining greater exchange market stability, and our practices in this regard have differed widely from country to country and over time. In order to take stock of our experience with foreign exchange market intervention over the decade of floating exchange rates, and to gather evidence on the impacts of such intervention in the past, an international study of the topic was commissioned at the Versailles Summit.

This study, carried out by a working group of officials from our finance ministries and central banks, was completed in January, when the working group submitted its report to our Deputies for review. The scope of the study was limited, as far as possible, to the impacts of intervention. Since that time, the Deputies have discussed its policy implications; their discussions have not been limited to intervention alone. We in turn met this afternoon to review both their points of agreement and the policy issues which remained under active discussion.

We regard the working group's report as a significant and useful addition to the body of information and analysis on this topic, and are therefore making it public today. It distills a great deal of evidence and spans a number of points of view. Our policy-oriented discussions, based on the report, have already resulted in major improvements in our mutual understanding of issues, concepts and objectives related to exchange rate policy and foreign exchange market intervention.

We have reached agreement on the following:

A. The achievement of greater exchange rate stability, which does not imply rigidity, is a major objective and commitment of our countries.

- B. The path to greater exchange rate stability must lie in the direction of compatible mixes of policies supporting sustainable non-inflationary growth. This will be the primary objective of a strengthened multilateral surveillance as agreed in Versailles.
- C. In the formulation of our domestic economic and financial policies, our countries should have regard to the behavior of our exchange rates, as one possible indication of need for policy adjustment. Close attention should also be given to the interactions and wider international implications of policies in each of our countries.
- D. Under present circumstances, the role of intervention can only be limited. Intervention can be useful to counter disorderly market conditions and to reduce short-term volatility. Intervention may also on occasion express an attitude toward exchange markets. Intervention will normally be useful only when complementing and supporting other policies. We are agreed on the need for closer consultations on policies and market conditions; and, while retaining our freedom to operate independently, are willing to undertake coordinated intervention in instances where it is agreed that such intervention would be helpful.

IT IS AGREED TO INTERVENE "WHERE IT IS AGREED ..." (WHICH IT ISN'T) HENCE, BY OUR READING: IT IS AGREED TO INTERVENE NOWHERE CEXCEPT WHERE MKTS ARE DISORDERLY)

Washington, D.C. April 29, 1983

Enny gress is flat we feel good about agreement because Lowould Seldon be "helpful" to us, but the other countries believe it would frequently be "helpful" to than

helpfu

to whor



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY WASHINGTON 20220

April 22, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Williamsburg Summit Preparatory Session on Foreign Exchange Market Intervention

Attached is a background paper discussing foreign exchange market intervention policy. It summarizes the views of other Summit countries, the results of the intervention study agreed at Versailles, and U.S. intervention policy. This will be the subject of our preparatory session on Monday, April 25.

Donald T. Regan

CONFIDENTIAL Attachment

Foreign Exchange Market Intervention Policy

In Williamsburg, you may be pressed by some of your Summit lleagues to agree to intervention by the United States to smooth .ort-term exchange rate movements, or even to change basic exchange rate levels or trends. We do not believe there are economic reasons for the United States to intervene for either of these purposes:

- -- We have no reason to think that short-term exchange rate fluctuations are a real economic problem.
- -- Intervention is simply not capable of changing rate levels or trends.

This is essentially confirmed by the exchange market intervention study agreed to at Versailles (in response to a U.S. proposal). The study concludes:

- Intervention can have a modest, transient impact on exchange rates; but it is basically incapable of changing underlying trends, and attempts to use it for this purpose can be counterproductive.
- It is possible for governments to affect exchange rate levels or trends -- but to do so they must make significant changes in basic economic policies.
- -- If countries are going to intervene, "coordinated" intervention by two or more countries has a bigger impact than the same amount of intervention by a single country; but there are no better economic reasons for this type of intervention.

Moreover, there are potential economic costs to increased U.S. intervention in foreign exchange markets.

- -- It would be an attempt to have the judgement of government officials override the workings of a large and efficient market.
- -- It would distract attention from the task which policy makers should <u>really</u> be focusing on: getting stable and non-inflationary policies in place, and thus bringing about stability in the fundamental determinants of exchange rate behavior.
- -- It would be a waste of the taxpayers' money.
- -- If we began intervening more often, even on a limited basis, it would be difficult to keep this from slipping into frequent and large-scale intervention.
- -- Frequent or large-scale intervention could actually destabilize markets.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED Authority State Treas, Warvers WINARA DATE 12

Therefore, we believe the United States should maintain the basic thrust of current U.S. policy: intervening only to counter "disorderly" conditions in exchange markets. We should keep any

- 2 -

-CONTED

scussions strongly focused on the principle that stability in the underlying economic and financial conditions in major countries is the real basis for exchange rate stability (a principle on which all have agreed). The "multilateral surveillance" process, underway since agreement at the Versailles Summit, is designed to bring about convergence toward sustained, non-inflationary economic growth as a primary means of stabilizing exchange markets.

The views of our Summit partners on intervention vary widely, with:

- -- the French and EC pressing for frequent large-scale intervention to fix or manage exchange rates;
- -- the <u>Canadians</u>, <u>Germans</u> and <u>British</u> arguing that intervention itself is not very important, but that some show of greater U.S. willingness to intervene would help settle markets; and
- -- the Italians and Japanese somewhere in between.

The intervention study and the general topic of intervention will be discussed by Finance Ministers in Washington on April 29. > hope that the meeting will be able to agree on a joint public intervent which defuses the issue and avoids a confrontational discussion at the Summit. We will discuss this with you on Monday, April 25.

CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 2, 1983

White House Summit Coordination Group (Clark/Deaver, Co-Chairmen)

Meeting of May 2, 1983 4:00p.m., Ward Room

Agenda

- 1. Strategy leading up to the Summit
 - a) Role playing sessions.
 - b) Domestic political considerations.
 - c) Plan for May Sherpa Meeting.
 - d) Papers created prior to the Summit.
- 2. Plan for creation of the joint statement
- 3. Press Guidelines

~

- a) Results of meeting with network chiefs.
- b) Sign off on guidelines.
- c) Rentschler group trip to Europe.
- d) Press Plan pre Summit.

THE	WH	ITE	HO	USE
1	WAS	HING	TON	

DATE: 5/2/83 NUMBER: 073298CA

SUBJECT: ____ President's Priorities for Williamsburg Summit

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
ALL CABINET MEMBERS Vice President State Treasury Defense Attorney General Interior Agriculture Commerce Labor HHS HUD Transportation Energy Education Counsellor OMB CIA			Baker Deaver Clark Darman (For WH Staffing) Harper Jenkins		
UN USTR			CCCT/Gunn CCEA/Porter		
CEA CEQ OSTP			CCFA/Boggs CCHR/Carleson CCLP/Uhlmann CCMA/Bledsoe CCNRE/Boggs		

REMARKS:

The attached statement has been forwarded to the President for review.

ATTACHMENTS

OF CLASSIFIED ENCLOSURE 3 2019

133563CA 1120 F0006-06

DUE BY:

RETURN TO:

Craig L. Fuller Assistant to the President for Cabinet Affairs 456-2823 Becky Norton Dunlop Director, Office of Cabinet Affairs 456-2800 CONFIDENTIAL

MERT NO ONLICE

NSC Waiver

die NARADATE H2 3 20

President's Priorities for Williamsburg Summit

The President is looking forward to the Williamsburg Summit with four priorities in mind:

- Mark the real progress that has been achieved in beginning the economic recovery:
 - -- Economic recovery is underway in the United States.
 - -- Some other Summit countries UK, Germany, and and Japan - are experiencing improved economic circumstances.
 - -- The Summit countries' economic policies are more on a converging path than they have been in some time.

Confidence is growing that the recovery will spread to other industrial countries and the developing countries.

- 2. Make clear that only a sustained recovery can help the Summit and other countries, especially in Europe where unemployment has increased for eleven straight years, and in the developing countries where heavy debt obligations will persist for the rest of this decade.
 - -- Artificially stimulating the recovery may only increase expectations of inflation, which already remain high because of lingering concerns about government spending and excessive money creation.
 - -- Acting with steadiness and consistency across a range of policy areas that exploit linkages between the domestic and international economies and re-inforce the impetus to growth means:
 - Bringing inflation down in all countries so as to achieve greater stability in exchange rates.
 - .. Reversing recent protectionist measures so growth can spread to other nations, both industrial and developing.
 - .. Supporting the international financial system so as to maintain vital trade, to enhance recovery in the developed world through exportsand to provide markets for the heavily indebted countries.

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: 0.

OADR

- A sustained recovery requires a longer-term perspective to guide current domestic policy actions and to improve the international trading and financial system:
 - .. Encouraging convergence of domestic economic performance around low inflation and higher output in a medium-term perspective (2-3 years) thereby ensuring greater international monetary stability.
 - . Continuing ad hoc discussions of the relation-"ships between trade and financial issues to encourage over time further liberalization of trade in the GATT, particularly with developing countries, and to seek improvements in the international financial system."
 - . Continued emphasis on fundamental adjustments in both industrial and developing countries to adapt new technology, retrain workers, and reduce inefficiency.
- 3. Stress that if the recovery is to be a sustained one, bringing real economic growth and increased employment, we must avoid the lure of quick fixes and single solutions to complex problems. In particular, we must avoid a new round of world-wide inflation_and rising interest rates.
- 4. Secure broad recognition that the concern of the Summit countries with economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gain, but a reflection of the basic shared values of these countries of individual freedom and economic opportunity and an essential element of their security.
 - -- Economic progress and cooperation reinforce security commitments to maintain peace and defend freedom.
 - -- The common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations in the IEA, OECD, and NATO are good evidence that this recognition is growing.
 - -- In the interest of the free world's security we will work with our allies to restrict the flow of high technology product and knowledge which has a clear and important military application to the East.

CONFIDENTIAL



Document No.

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

012/3/2019

DATE: APRIL 30 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

SUBJECT:

PRESIDENT'S PRIORITIES FOR THE SUMMIT

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT			GERGEN		V
MEESE			HARPER		V
BAKER		•	JENKINS		
DEAVER		V	MURPHY		
STOCKMAN			ROLLINS		
CLARK			WHITTLESEY		
DARMAN	DP	Des	WILLIAMSON		
DUBERSTEIN			VON DAMM		
FELDSTEIN			BRADY/SPEAKES		
FIELDING			ROGERS		
FULLER		A	MCMANUS		6

Remarks:

The attached was forwarded to the President today.

Response: .

5

TTACHMENT

Richard G. Darman Assistant to the President (x2702)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 30, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: "Your Priorities for the Summit

Issue

The paper at Tab A identifies your principal priorities for the Williamsburg Summit.

Discussion

The four points in the paper are consistent with your previous instructions. They have been cleared by the Senior White House staff and summarize for the various government agencies and broader public your leadership intentions at the Summit. We intend to use these points to give structure and overview to the Summit as the preparations proceed.

Since this paper represents the communication of your Summit priorities to the wider public, you may wish to make some changes reflecting your personal expression of these ideas.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the attached paper.

Approve

Disapprove

Attachment Tab A: Priorities Prepared by: Henry Nau

DECI ASSIFIET

Sec. 8.4(b) E.O. 129

taking House

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR CONFIDENTIAL



President's Priorities for Williamsburg Summit

The President is looking forward to the Williamsburg Summit with four priorities in mind:

- First, secure broad recognition that our concern with economic progress is not primarily a matter of matrial gains, but is one of the consequences of our systm of individual freedom and economic opportunity and is also an important source of our capability to provide for the security of the free world.
 - -- Security commitments regarding missile deployments and arms control negotiations reflect our concert for freedom and peace, and are reinforced by improved economic circumstances and cooperation among the Summit countries.
 - -- The common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations in the IEA, OECD and NATO are good evidence that this recognition is growing.
 - -- In the interest of the free world's security we will work with our allies to restrict the flow of high technology product and knowledge which has a clear and important military application to the East.
- 2. Very real progress has been achieved in beginning the economic recovery.
 - -- The Summit countries are beginning a common economic recovery.
 - -- The Summit countries' economic policies are more on a converging path than they have been in some time.
 - -- The economic recovery will be spreading to other industrial countries and the developing countries.
- 3. Only a durable recovery can help Europe, where unemployment has increased for eleven straight years, and the developing countries, ho will have heavy debt obligations for the rest of this decade.
 - -- Artificially stimulating the recovery may only increase expectations of inflation, which already remain high because of lingering concerns about government spending and excessive money creation.

HEDEHTHAT

CONFIDENTIAL

-- Acting with steadiness and consistency across a range of policy areas that exploit linkages between the domestic and international economies and reinforce the impetus to growth means:

2

- .. bringing inflation down in all countries so as to achieve greater stability in exchange rates.
- .. reversing recent protectionist measures so growth can spread to other nations, both industrial and developing.
- .. supporting the international financial system so as to maintain vital trade, particularly for the heavily indebted countries.
- -- A durable recovery requires a longer-term perspective to guide current domestic policy actions and to improve the international trading and financial system:
 - -- Encouraging convergence of domestic economic performance around low inflation and higher output in a medium-term perspective (2-3 years), thereby ensuring greater international monetary stability.
 - -- Continuing ad hoc discussions of the relationships between trade and financial issues to encourage over time further liberalization of trade in the GATT, particularly with developing countries, and to seek improvements in the international financial system.
 - -- Continued emphasis on fundamental adjustments in both industrial and developing countries to adapt new technology, retrain workers and reduce inefficiency.
- 4. If the recovery is to be an enduring one bringing real economic growth and increased employment, we must avoid the lure of quick fixes and single solutions to complex problems. In particular, we must avoid a new round of world wide inflation.



WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

9:00 FRIDAY MORNING

DATE: April 28, 1983 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: April 29, 1983

SUBJECT: President's Priorities at the Williamsburg Summit

		123/1			X N X
	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT			GERGEN .		
MEESE			HARPER		
BAKER			JENKINS		
DEAVER			MURPHY		
STOCKMAN			ROLLINS		
CLARK			WHITTLESEY		
DARMAN	□P	□SS	WILLIAMSON		
DUBERSTEIN			VON DAMM		
FELDSTEIN			BRADY/SPEAKES		
FIELDING			ROGERS		
FULLER			MC MANUS	. 🗸	
	•		NAU		\checkmark

<u>Remarks</u>:

Please provide comments back to Henry Nau (by phone if that is most convenient) by 9:00 a.m. Friday morning. I apologize for the short notice. My office did not receive this until 7:15 p.m.

Thank you.

ATTACHMENT

Richard G. Darman Assistant to the President (x2702)

Response:

MEMORANDUM

SYSTEM II 90561

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1983

CONFIDENTIAL-

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD DARMAN

FROM: WILLIAM P. CLARK

SUBJECT: President's Priorities at the Summit

Attached is the document we discussed this morning, identifying the President's priorities for the Williamsburg Summit. It should be distributed and commented on tonight. My staff will then revise it for presentation to the President at tomorrow's give-and-take session, Friday, April 29, at 10:00 a.m.

Attachment Tab A - President's Priorities

DECLASSIFIED 800.3.4(b), E.O. 12888, as amonded House Gyldelince, Sopt. 11, 20

CONFIDENTIAL Declassify on: OADR 1. First, secure broad recognition that our concern with economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gains, but with strengthening the security of individual freedom and the free world's security.

1

- The common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations in the IEA, OECD, and NATO are good evidence that this recognition is growing.
- In the interest of the free world's security we will work with our allies to restrict the flow of high technology products and knowledge which has a clear and important miliary application to the East.
- Security decisions regarding missile deployments and arms control negotiations must reflect more our concern for freedom than short term economic gain.
- Very real progress has been achieved in beginning the economic recovery.
 - The summit countries are beginning a common economic recovery.
 - The Summit countries' economic policies are more on a coverging path that they have been in some time.
 - The economic recovery of the summit countries gives hope that economic recovery will be spreading to the LDCs soon.
- 3. Only a durable recovery can help Europe, where unemployment has increased for eleven straight years, and the developing countries, who will have heavy debt obligations for the rest of this decade.
- 4. If the recovery is to be an enduring one bringing real economic growth and increased employment, we must avoid the lure of quick fixes and single solutions to complex problems...in particular we must avoid a round of world wide inflation.
 - A durable recovery requires a longer-term perspective to guide current domestic policy actions and to improve the international trading and financial system.
 - --Encouraging convergency of domestic economic performance around low inflation and higher output in a medium-term perspective (2-3 years), therby ensuring greater international monetary stability.

DECLASSIFED NSO Wawer In du Magante 12/3/201

- --Continuing ad hoc discussions of the relationships between trade and financial issues to encourage over time new comprehensive trade negotiations in the GATT in 1985 or 1986 and to seek improvements in the international financial system.
- --Continuing emphasis on fundamental adjustments in both industrial and developing countries to adapt new technology, retrain workers and reduce inefficiency.
- Acting with steadiness and consistency across a range of policy areas that exploit linkages between the domestic and international economies and reinforce the impetus to growth means:
 - .. bringing inflation down in <u>all</u> countries so as to achieve greater stability in exchange rates.
 - .. reversing recent protectionist measures so grwoth can spread to other nations, both industrial and developing.
 - .. supporting the international financial system so as to maintain vital trade, particularly for the heavily indebted countries.



File

securi



President's Priorities for Williamsburg Summit

The President is looking forward to the Williamsburg Summit with four priorities in mind:

The recognition that/economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gains, but a validation of our basic with shouth values of individual freedom and economic intiative, and an essential_element of our security, which also guide our economic relations with the East.

Note that Summit countries are strengthening economic cooperation and beginning a common economic recovery.
as they act this fall to implement security decisions on missile deployments and arms control negotiations.

- Point to substantial analysis, intensive discussion and continuing work in IFA OECD, NATO and other organizations as a result of common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations are immetated with human model of the EA OECON NATO,
- 2. First, it is important to mark the very real progress that have been achieved in beginning the economic recovery:
 - The economic signs are improving not only in the U.S. but also in the UK, Germany and Japan.

The major industrial nations ar more in line with one another in terms of their determination to promote sound conditions for growth and fight inflation than ever before - France is now also on this course.

The improving situation in <u>several</u> countries signals the potential for a solid, widespread recovery, and raises confidence that it will soon spread to other countries in Europe and in the developing world.

Third, if the is the britishing had economic quantity increased
Second, this precovery must be an enduring one (if it is sumplying going to reverse a decade of increasing world inflation and unemployment, we wont increasing world inflation and unemployment.

- Artificially stimulating the recovery may only increase expectations of inflation, which already remain high because of lingering concerns about government spending and excessive money creation.

<u>CONFIDENTIAL</u> Declassify on: OADR DECLASSIFIED

BY dh MARAMATE 12/3/2017

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

- -- Acting with steadiness (no quick fixes) and consistency (no dramatic moves that upset the applecart) across a range of policy areas (no singlepanacea) that exploit linkages between the domestic and international economies and reinforce the impetus to growth. May
 - . bringing inflation down in <u>all</u> countries so as to achieve greater stability in exchange rates.
 - reversing recent protectionist measures so growth can spread to other nations, both industrial and developing.
 - . supporting the international financial system so as to maintain vital trade, particularly for the heavily indebted countries.
 - emphasizing that only a durable recovery (notlike the Carter recovery of 1980) can help Europe, where unemployment has increased for eleven straight years, and the developing countries, who will have heavy debt obligations for the rest of this decade .
- A durable recovery, which means avoiding renewed inflation, requires a longer-term perspective to guide current domestic policy actions and to improve the international trading and financial system:
 - -- Strengthened consultations begun at Versailles to encourage convergence of domestic economic performance around low inflation and higher output in a mediumterm perspective (2-3 years), thereby ensuring greater international monetary stability.
 - Ad hoc discussions of the relationships between trade and financial issues to encourage over time new comprehensive trade negotiations in the GATT in 1985 or 1986 and to seek improvements in the international financial system.
 - Continued emphasis on fundamental adjustments in both industrial and developing countries to adapt new technology, retrain workers and reduce inefficiency.

2

1. First, secure broad recognition that our concern with economic progress is not primarily a matter of material gains, but with strengthening the socurity of individual freedom and the free world's security.

--The common approach taken by the allies to East-West economic relations in the IEA, OECD and NATO are good evidence that this recognition is growing.

--In the interest of the free world's security we will

- work with our allies to restrict the flow of high privrityx
- technology products and knowledge which has a clear & important military application to the East.
- --Security decisions regarding missile deployments and arms control negotiations must reflect more our concern for freedom that short term economic gain.

2. Very real progress has been achieved in beginnning the economic recovery.

--The Summit countries are beginning a commong economic recovery.

--The Summit countries' economic policies are more on a

converging path that they have been in some time.

--The economic recovery of the summit countries gives hope that economic recovery will be spreading to the LDEs oon. 4. If the recovery is to be an enduring one bringing real economic growth and increased employment, we must avoid the lure of quick fixes and single solutions to complex problems... in particular we wunt avoid a round of world wide inflation.

> MBC Waiver my dir 12/3/2017

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON April 28, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE FISCHER FLORENCE GANTT SHIRLEY MOORE

FROM:

SUBJECT:

Attendees of April 29th Summit Preparation Mtg with the President at 10:00am in the Cabinet Room

MARGIE CRAWFORD

MCOD

PROD

2010

Mr. Baker Mr. Deaver Judge Clark Mr. Meese Ken Dam - State for Sec. Shultz Sec. Regan Allen Wallis Beryl Sprinkel Dave Gergen Craig Fuller Ed Harper Dick Darman Mike McManus Henry Nau Chuck Tyson Larry Speakes Marc Leland - Treasury

14

	CORRESPONDENCE DENCE DATE 830427 (FIRST) ALDINE A.	RECEIVED DATE 830	
ORGANIZATION: U. S.	HOUSE OF REPRESENTAT	TIVES	122242
STREET:			F0006-06
ECONOMIC S	GTON PRESIDENT TO INITIA UMMIT IN WILLIAMSBUI DERS TO SOVIET CHAIR!	RG A LETTER FROM MAN ANDROPOV	
AGY/OFF ACTION C LADUBE ORG	CODE TRACKING DA 830429	ATE KD A	830506 CS
STAFF NAME: PRESIDEN COMMENTS:	T REAGAN	MEDIA: L OPID	: LC TYPE: IBA
CODES: REPORT		USER: R ^{93-05-10 TJ}	83-05-12
ADDNUMB 99 DO	5 R 8		B 7.0
e co Celes	(referred to		el Deinee
a cures	con price	ne pent se	regnes

TJ

NSC ID 8303216

133582

F0006-06

ID: 133582CORRESPONDENCETRACKING WORKSHEETPAGE D02INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE DATE 830427RECEIVED DATE 830429(LAST)(SUFFIX)(PREFIX)(FIRST)(LAST)(SUFFIX)THE HONORABLEGERALDINE A.FERRARO TITLE: ORGANIZATION: U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES STREET: STATE: DC ZIP: 20515 CITY: WASHINGTON COUNTRY: SUBJECT: URGING THE HUMAN RIGHT OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION FOR IDA NUDEL AND OTHER SOVIET JEWS AGY/OFF ACTION CODE TRACKING DATE 0 MEDIA: L OPID: LC TYPE: IBA STAEF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN COMMENTS: CODES: REPORT INDIV: USER: · NS (Sommer) A 830510 C 830512 2 99 DOS R (Sucannes) 830512 A \$30527 ~ J.

NSC 8303216

5

3

00

ID: 133582 CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET PAGE D02 INCOMING CORRESPONDENCE DATE 830427 RECEIVED DATE 830429 (PREFIX) (FIRST) (LAST) (SUFFIX) THE HONORABLE GERALDINE A. FERRARO TITLE:

ORGANIZATION: U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

STREET:

CITY: WASHINGTON STATE: DC ZIP: 20515 COUNTRY: SUBJECT: URGING THE HUMAN RIGHT OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION FOR IDA NUDEL AND OTHER SOVIET JEWS

AGY/OFF ACTION CODE TRACKING DATE

STAFF NAME: PRESIDENT REAGAN COMMENTS: MEDIA: L OPID: LC TYPE: IBA

CODES: REPORT INDIV:

USER:



UNCLASSIFIED (Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8314863

Date June 1, 1983

For: Mr. William P. Clark National Security Council The White House

Reference:

To:	Preside	ent	Reagan	From:	Congre		Geraldine	Ferraro
_						+ 73	others	
Date:	April	27,	1983	Subject:	Ida	Nudel		

WH Referral Dated: May 12, 1983 NSC ID# 8303216 (if any)

The attached item was sent directly to the Department of State.

Action Taken:

A draft reply is attached.

A draft reply will be forwarded.

- A translation is attached.
- X An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.

Other.

Remarks:

Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED (Classification)

MAY 27 1983

Dear Ms. Ferraro:

Thank you for the recent letter to the President from seventy-two of your Congressional colleagues and yourself expressing your concern for Ms. Ida Nudel, who has encountered numerous hardships as a result of her efforts to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

The United States Government has taken an active interest in Ida Nudel's case since 1978, when she was denied permission to enigrate from the USSR and was sentenced to four years' exile in Siberia. During the past year, Ms. Nudel's case was cited by the U.S. delegation to the Madrid CSCE Review Conference as a prime example of how the Soviets have failed to honor the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords and her case has been raised with the Soviets via diplomatic channels. Her courage in the face of continued persecution from the Soviet authorities serves as a constant reminder of the plight of all those who stand up for fundamental rights and freedoms in the Soviet Union.

The Department of State has continued to follow closely developments in Ms. Nudel's case since her release from internal exile in March 1982. We share your concern that the Soviet authorities have not acted expeditiously in considering her new application for exit permission. We understand that the Soviet authorities have refused to reinstate her residence permit in Moscow, and also denied her permission to reside in Riga, Latvia. Ms. Nudel is now living in a provincial town in Moldavia, effectively isolated from most of her friends and supporters in Moscow. Unfortunately, Ms. Nudel's difficulties are all-too-typical of the procedural delays and bureauratic runarounds that are encountered by large numbers of Soviet emigration applicants. We do not have information confirming that Ms. Nudel is gravely ill, but we consider it likely that her years of exile in Siberia did exact a toll on her health.

The Soviets maintain that their treatment of Ida Nudel is totally an internal Soviet matter. They also reject our right to discuss her desire to emigrate to Israel, since they acknowledge no direct U.S. interest in matters of emigration to

The Honorable Geraldine A. Ferraro, House of Representatives. a third country. Nevertheless, we are hopeful that the Soviets will relent and at long last permit Ida Nudel to emigrate. Ms. Nudel's name is carried on the Department of State's list of Soviet Jews who have been denied emigration to Israel despite repeated applications. We present this list periodically to high Soviet officials to emphasize U.S. concern for those who are forced to stay in the USSR against their will. The Williamsburg Summit will also present the United States with an opportunity to focus on the plight of Ms. Nudel, and we are hopeful that we will be able to raise her case and the cases of other refuseniks during those talks.

Let me assure you once again that we will persist in taking every appropriate step in support of Ms. Nudel's emigration application and in making the Soviets aware of the ongoing American concern for all those who pursue their basic right of freedom of movement.

Please do not hesitate to contact us in the future if we can be of assistance in this or any other matter.

With cordial regards,

2. 1

Sincerely,

151

Powell A. Moore Assistant Secretary for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 8314863

REFERRAL

DATE: 12 MAY 83

ID 8303216

MEMORANDUM FOR: STATE SECRETARIAT

TO: PRESIDENT

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

SOURCE: FERRARO, GERALDINE A

DATE: 27 APR 83

KEYWORDS: CO

WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT ANDROPOV, YURIY

USSR

HUMAN RIGHTS NUDEL, IDA

SUBJ: LTR FM 73 MEMBERS OF CONGRESS URGING INITIATION OF LTR FM WORLD

REQUIRED ACTION: DIRECT REPLY FURNISH INFO COPY COORDINATE RESPONSE WITH PAULA 03 -----DOBRIANSKY (395-3912)

DUEDATE: 19 MAY 83

COMMENTS:

No

T

0

10

03

FOR MIC

STAFF SECRETARY

Lecewed in S/S-I

May 6, 1983

Dear Joe:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of April 27, cosigned by 72 of your colleagues, on behalf of Ida Nudel and her efforts to obtain permission to leave the Soviet Union.

We appreciated hearing from you and having your recommendation for initiating, at the Williamsburg Summit or other appropriate forum, a letter from world leaders to Soviet Chairman Andropov regarding the human rights of Soviet Jews. Please know that your comments have been shared with the appropriate Presidential advisers for their prompt and careful review.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Kenneth M. Duberstein Assistant to the President

The Honorable Joseph P. Addabbo House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

KMD/CMP/KRJ/sy6(KMD6)

cc: w/copy of inc. to NSC Secretariat - for DIRECT response. WH RECORDS MANAGEMENT HAS RETAINED ORIG. INC.

Letter to all signes

132- 1 *

Congress of the United States

Washington, D.C. 20515

April 27, 1983

The President The White House Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Reagan:

We are writing to call your attention to the plight of Ida Nudel, a Soviet Jew and former Prisoner of Conscience, on the occasion of her 52nd birthday on April 27.

Ida Nudel has been seeking to leave the Soviet Union for more than a decade. Her only living relative is her sister, Elana Fridman, who lives in Israel.

Mrs. Fridman, her husband and son, were allowed to emigrate to Israel in 1972, leaving Ida without family in Russia. Ida Nudel was denied permission to leave with her sister allegedly because she had access to "unspecified secrets" in her job as a food industry cost accountant.

After years of fighting for permission to emigrate, Ida Nudel hung a banner out her apartment window proclaiming "KGB - Give Me My Visa." Three weeks after this display she was convicted of "malicious hooliganism" and sentenced to four years of internal exile in Siberia. She spent a portion of that time living in barracks that housed hardened male criminals and was forced to sleep with an axe under her pillow for protection.

Ida Nudel has worked on behalf of all Soviet refuseniks at great personal cost. She became known as the "Guardian Angel of Soviet Jewish Prisoners of Conscience" for her work in providing food, clothing, reading material and support for Jews who had been sent to labor camps. Constant pressure by Soviet officials did not keep her silent. She continued to fight for the basic human rights to which she and all Soviet citizens are entitled under the Soviet Constitution and the Helsinki Accords.

After she was released from exile in Siberia, Ida Nudel faced continual harassment and abuse. For months she was forced to wander from town to town searching for a place where she might be permitted to live. She was even forced to spend a night on a bench in the Riga train station when authorities refused her permission to live in that city. Denied a permit to live in Moscow, her home, Ida Nudel has finally been permitted to settle in a small town in Moldavia.



VD

Page Two President Reagan

This 52-year-old woman continues to suffer at the hands of Soviet authorities. Despite a chronic heart condition, she lives in an apartment without suitable amenities. She cannot find an appropriate job, although she is trained as an economist. She cannot return to Moscow nor emigrate to Israel, her most fervent desire for the past 10 years.

We call upon you, on the occasion of Ida Nudel's 52nd birthday, to do everything you can to persuade the Soviet government to accept her visa application and allow her to emigrate to Israel.

Specifically, we would like to ask you to initiate, at next month's Economic Summit in Williamsburg, or any other forum you consider most appropriate, a letter from world leaders to Soviet Chairman Andropov urging the human right of family reunification for Ida Nudel and other Soviet Jews in similar straits.

The religious and cultural rights of Soviet Jews are endangered. At the same time, the number allowed to emigrate has fallen drastically. The future of Ida Nudel and her fellow Soviet Jewish citizens is not simply an American concern but concerns all lovers of freedom and human rights.

It is time the Soviet Union lived up to the Helsinki Accords and allowed Ida Nudel to rejoin her only living relative in Israel. It is time for her to enjoy her fundamental human rights.

Sincerely,

We thank you for your concern and support.

GERALDINE A. FERRARO, MC

BARBARA A. MIKULSKI, MC



April 27, 1983

SMITH.

www.io BRUCE MORRISON, MC

TOM LANTOS, MC

Page Three President Reagan

RODINO JR., MC

DANTE FASCELL, MC

LOUIS STOKES, MC

WALGREN, MC

LEHMAN, WILLIAM MC

JACK KEMP MC

BENJAMT MC

Enc BOLAND, MC

EDWIN B. FORSYTHE, MC

WILLIS D. GRADISON JR., MC

aboutiedler

BOBBL FIEDLER, MC

STE MO

EDWARD FEIGHAN, MC

April 27, 1983

WILLIAM F. GOODLING, MC

FAUNTROY, MC LTER E.

ROBERT A. ROE, MC

HARKIN, MC

man NORMAN LENT, MC

GEORGE M. O'BRIEN, MC

lare

BOB CARR, MC

star J L. OBERSTAR MC

KILDEE, DALE MC

CORCORAN, THOMAS MC

MARCY KAP7

ALAN WHEAT, MC

Va. rey BARNEY FRANK, MC

Page Four President Reagan KOSTMAYER, MC YSEK, MC OGO ON. MC KEN KRAMER, MC WILLIAM J HUGHI DAN MICA, HOMAS DOWNEY, MC TORRICELLI, MC ROBERT G. ichae Darne MICH RNES MC MCGRATH RAYMO JR., WYC F WLER. MC bert nu ROBER BIL ARCHER, MC

M IDNEY YATES,

April 27, 1983

EDOLPHUS TOWNS, MC STENY HAYAR MC LOWRY MICHAEL MC TONY Ρ. HALL, MC EVANS, MC STEPHEN SOLARZ, MC JAME R. OLIN, MC

ANTHONY BEILENSON, MC

WILLIAMS, MC

THOMAS FOGLIETTA, MO

all un MAVROULES, MC NICHOLAS

FORTNE STAR MC

J ADD

Isabla

LES AUCOIN, MC

Page Five President Reagan RA. EBERLIN OHN F. MC LARRY SMITH MC G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST, MC walds

MATTHEW J. RINALDO, MC

÷.

April 27, 1983

RICHARD L. OTTINGER, MC JIM LEACH, MC CONTE, ST MC IVIO

BILL GREEN, MC

cc: Powell Moore, U.S. State Department

.

Congressional Record

House of Representatives

REPORT ON TRIP TO ISRAEL AND LEBANON

HON. BARBARA A. MIKULSKI

OF MARYLAND HON. GERALDINE A. FERRARO OF NEW YORK

HON. BARBARA B. KENNELLY

OF CONNECTICUT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 3, 1983

. Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. Speaker, we want to use this opportunity to report to our colleagues on our recent trip to Israel and Lebanon. Our purpose was to go and listen, observe and learn for ourselves the situation in the Middle East. We did not become experts on the Middle East, but this trip did provide a framework and a perspective that can only be obtained by seeing Israel and Lebanon firsthand. We met with a wide range of people

We met with a wide range of people and visited many strategically impor-tant areas—from Beirut to the Golan Heights. We talked with key ministers such as Shamir, Arens, Sadan, Bar-on and their advisers in Israel. We also talked with those with a differing view—Mr. Peres; Peace Now; the Arab mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Freij. In addition, we met with Elana Fridman, the sister of Ida Nudel; with settlers in Judge Sumeria (West Bank); with the Judea Sumeria (West Bank); with the leadership of N'Amat; and with families as we participated in individual family seders at Passover time. In Lebanon, we talked with our Ambassador, with our Marine commander, and with our Marines. We also met with advisor Haddad, chief advisor to President Ge-mayal, and with Palestinian Women

refugees at Shatilla-Sabra. Over the coming weeks we will ad-dress ourselves to many issues con-cerning the Middle East. In this report, we want to comment on Leba-non, Judea Sumeria (West Bank) settlements, the Golan Heights, and Syria.

There is no doubt in our minds that Lebanon now has the will to govern. However, we have serious questions about Lebanon's present capacity to govern, including its ability to protect Palestinian refugees and to insure the security of Israel's porthern bardes security of Israel's northern border. We believe that President Gemayal is taking positive steps to build an army that is capable of assuming responsi-bility for the security of Lebanon. However, we also believe that it will take more than the projected 1 year to build much a force To AU of any direct build such a force. In all of our discussions, both in Israel and in Lebanon, we grew quite concerned about what will be expected in terms of a continued United States marine presence in Lebanon. Our own impression is that it will take at least 2 to 3 years before all multinational forces can be with-drawn from Lebanon. Both the risk of such an ongoing U.S. presence and congressional involvement in such a decision is an issue that we in Con-gress must all look at closely.

This concern is particularly acute not only in the terms of the recent Embassy bombing in Beirut, but also

in terms of continued friction between Israeli and American troops. It is our understanding that such friction could substantially diminished if the United States would adopt the proto-col currently being used by French and Italian troops. By failing to sort out the United States various roles as an ally to Israel, as a negotiator in Lebanon, as a negotiator in the Middle East, and as a peacekeeper in Lebanon, the Reagan administration has rethe Reagan administration has re-fused to adopt standard protocol out of fear that such a move would jeopardize the neutrality of the United States in the Lebanese negotia-tions. Although we can appreciate such a dilemma, the safety of our ma-rines in Lebanon should be a top prior ity and therefore it is essential that ity, and therefore, it is essential that we adopt such a protocol immediately.

In addition, in our talks with both United States and Israeli officials, we strongly urged that communications between the two forces be maintained, and that field commanders be directed to avoid any further agitation. We do want to note how impressed we were with the fine job being done by our marines and by their captain, Jim Mead

Another result of the Reagan admin-istration's confused role in the Middle East is the President's action regard-ing the final delivery of 75 F-16 fighter planes to Israel. While in the Middle East, we learned from discus-sions with Ambassador Lewis and Special Ambassador Draper that slow but steady progress was being made on achieving the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops from Israel. We were shocked that President Reagan blocked the delivery of the F-16's. Not only is the United States breaking a contract with, and a commitment to, Israel, but the Reagan administration is also making a statement that the United States punishes its allies and the good faith negotiators at the table and gives solace to those who refuse to come to the table while the same time building military forces with the help of the Soviets. We join many of our colleagues in calling for the imme-

diate release of the F-16's to Israel. While in Beirut, we also went to Shatilla and Sabra, the sites of the terrible September massacre. These places are called camps, but they are in fact slums, with little visible support from anyone. The United Nations refugee assistance effort is not nearly strong enough in terms of the Pales-tinian refugees. We did not see one UNRA sign pointing to a health station, nor one armband indicating as-sistance was available. We will be writing to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ask for a detailed account of activities. In light of the current conditions in the camps, and the prospects for the future, we are gravely concerned about the health, welfare, and long-term safety of a pop-ulation which is largely comprised of women and children. Palestinian refugees, for far too long, have lived in an unstable social, economic, and political environment: their lives controlled by others.

JUDEA-SAMARIA (THE WEST BANK)

Perhaps the most vivid impression one has when visiting a settlement is that these are not settlements at all in terms of being temporary structures in terms of being temporary structures in a temporary setting. Kyriat Arba, the settlement we visited, is a very perma-nent apartment complex complete with shops and schools. It is also geo-graphically close to Jerusalem and to other population centers. In fact, many of the settlements are compara-ble to commuter suburbs, where young families can find effordable bousing in families can find affordable housing in families can ind altorogable housing in a highly inflated economy, and yet can still work in the city, and only later may embrace a political philosophy. The settlement issue is a very com-

plicated one. The zeal and passion of many setters reflects their belief that they are acting on a biblical impera-tive-to return to what is the core of a Jewish homeland. Israel believes, and our impression confirms, that settle-ments are needed as part of an early warning system for security purposes. Yet, at the same time, there are 700,000 Arabs in this area and no real answers regarding their future. Although there are many proposals, it is still not clear how and who will govern, and how the Palestinians will participate in that government.

These are all issues for negotiation. Unfortunately, we all waited for Hus-sein and now that has fallen through largely because of the Palestinian Lib-eration Organization. This recent action only validates Israel's skepticism about commitments to negotiate a real peace, and increases the likelihood that there will be no solution to the Palestinian problem in the near future. We do believe that there are steps

that can be taken to create an atmos-phere conducive to negotiation. There should be no preconditions, only pro-posals brought to the negotiating table. Preconditions cannot be de-manded only of Israel, as they have been in the past. They must exist for everyone, or there should be none at all.

GOLAN HEIGHTS AND SYRLA

One only has to visit the Golan Heights to understand why Israel can never return this area to the Syrians. It is a very high plateau absolutely studded with machine gun emplace-ments, making Israel an easy target for the Syrians. The military buildup in Syria is perhaps the most serious threat to Israel and to Middle East eace. Syria now has two brigades of SAM-5 missiles manned by Soviets. Unlike the Soviet buildup in Egypt years ago, the presence of SAM-5 missiles in Syria will influence the battlefield, posing a real threat to aircraft and people in Tel Aviv, Cyprus, Turkey, and Jordan. There are also surface-to-air units protecting the pe-rimeters of Syria with 2,000 additional Soviet personnel.

Israel is so concerned about the Syrian buildup that it has called up source reservists to attain a preliminary stage of preparedness. Israel has stated that it will not begin a defen-sive invasion at this time. What the future will bring both in terms of proceedings and debates of the $98'^b$ congress, first session \cdot

Israel and Syria is very unclear. We remain. assume that the Reagan administration is acutely aware of this growing time bomb, and that actions being taken by the U.S. Government in the Middle East are taken within the context of this knowledge.

CONCLUSION

There is much more we could say about our experience in Israel and Lebanon. We will continue to speak with our colleagues informally about our impressions and continue to learn from them and from others deeply involved in the Middle East. We call on the President to clarify the United States role in the Middle East, and to insure that we do not step away from the only democracy and ally in the Middle East-Israel. Minister Bar-on commented, so accurately, that there are no margins of time or space-and we would add safety-in Israel. The the question of the safety of the Palesthreats to it's security are real, and as long as so many deny the right of tion of the Palestinians in Judea-Su-Israel to exist, these threats will meria. We hope that the Palestinians

We applaud the arrival of Secretary of State Shultz in the Middle East, and at the same time note that the United States cannot be seen as the only miracle worker in the region. Evervone with whom we talked viewed the United States as "Mr./Ms. Fix-it." We heard time and time again, if only the United States would talk with Jordan, or if only the United States would pressure Israel, or if only the United States would encourage Egypt. The United States, as the leader of the free world, should be a leader in the Middle East. But at the same time peace will only come if there are free leaders in the Middle East as well. We look forward to that leadership.

Finally, we returned without answers to the Palestinian situation; to tinian refugees in Beirut, or the quesin Judea-Sumeria find a way to speak for themselves, and not through the PLO. We hope that all Arab countries will join Israel in actively seeking to solve the problem, and not merely manage the situation. Similarly, we hope that all Arab countries will demonstrate the leadership that is needed to recognize each other's and Israel's right to exist, and truly bring about peace in the Middle East.

Peaceful coexistence can work. We saw it working in Jerusalem. Under the leadership of Mayor Teddy Kolleck diverse peoples are able to maintain their centuries old traditions while managing to live in a modern world. Each time people succeed in living side by side in peace, we hope that the years of that peace increase, the number of people living in peace grows, and the example of peace spreads to encompass the region and then, the world.

Vol. 129

Congressional Record

House of Representatives

HON. BARBARA A. MIKULSKI

HON. GERALDINE A. FERRARO

HON. BARBARA B. KENNELLY OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, May 3, 1983

• Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. Speaker, we want to use this opportunity to report to our colleagues on our recent trip to Israel and Lebanon. Our purpose was to go and listen, observe and learn for ourselves the situation in the Middle East. We did not become experts on the Middle East, but this trip did provide a framework and a perspective that can only be obtained by seeing Israel and Lebanon firsthand. We met with a wide range of people

We met with a wide range of people and visited many strategically important areas—from Beirut to the Golan Heights. We talked with key ministers such as Shamir, Arens, Sadan, Bar-on and their advisers in Israel. We also talked with those with a differing view—Mr. Peres; Peace Now; the Arab mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Freij. In addition, we met with Elana Fridman, the sister of Ida Nudel; with settlers in Judea Sumeria (West Bank); with the leadership of N'Amat; and with families as we participated in individual family seders at Passover time. In Lebanon, we talked with our Ambassador, with our Marine commander, and with our Marines. We also met with advisor Haddad, chief advisor to President Gemayal, and with Palestinian Women refugees at Shatilla-Sabra.

Over the coming weeks we will address ourselves to many issues concerning the Middle East. In this report, we want to comment on Lebanon, Judea Sumeria (West Bank) settlements, the Golan Heights, and Syria.

LEBANON

There is no doubt in our minds that Lebanon now has the will to govern. However, we have serious questions about Lebanon's present capacity to govern, including its ability to protect Palestinian refugees and to insure the security of Israel's northern border. We believe that President Gemayal is taking positive steps to build an army that is capable of assuming responsibility for the security of Lebanon. However, we also believe that it will take more than the projected 1 year to build such a force. In all of our discussions, both in Israel and in Lebanon, we grew quite concerned about what will be expected in terms of a continued United States marine presence in Lebanon. Our own impression is that it will take at least 2 to 3 years before all multinational forces can be withdrawn from Lebanon. Both the risk of such an ongoing U.S. presence and congressional involvement in such a decision is an issue that we in Con-

decision is an issue that we in Congress must all look at closely. This concern is particularly acute not only in the terms of the recent Embassy bombing in Beirut, but also in terms of continued friction between Israeli and American troops. It is our understanding that such friction could be substantially diminished if the United States would adopt the protocol currently being used by French and Italian troops. By failing to sort out the United States various roles as an ally to Israel, as a negotiator in Lebanon, as a negotiator in the Middle East, and as a peacekeeper in Lebanon, the Reagan administration has refused to adopt standard protocol out of fear that such a move would jeopardize the neutrality of the United States in the Lebanese negotiations. Although we can appreciate such a dilemma, the safety of our marines in Lebanon should be a top priority, and therefore, it is essential that we adopt such a protocol immediately.

In addition, in our talks with both United States and Israeli officials, we strongly urged that communications between the two forces be maintained, and that field commanders be directed to avoid any further agitation. We do want to note how impressed we' were with the fine job being done by our marines and by their captain, Jim Mead.

Another result of the Reagan administration's confused role in the Middle East is the President's action regarding the final delivery of 75 F-16 fighter planes to Israel. While in the Middle East, we learned from discussions with Ambassador Lewis and Special Ambassador Draper that slow but steady progress was being made on achieving the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops from Israel. We were shocked that President Reagan blocked the delivery of the F-16's. Not only is the United States breaking a contract with, and a commitment to, Israel, but the Reagan administration is also making a statement that the United States punishes its allies and the good faith negotiators at the table and gives solace to those who refuse to come to the table while at the same time building military forces with the help of the Soviets. We join many of our colleagues in calling for the immediate release of the F-16's to Israel.

While in Beirut, we also went to Shatilla and Sabra, the sites of the terrible September massacre. These places are called camps, but they are in fact slums, with little visible support from anyone. The United Nations refugee assistance effort is not nearly strong enough in terms of the Palestinian refugees. We did not see one UNRA sign pointing to a health station, nor one armband indicating assistance was available. We will be writing to the Secretary-General of the United Nations to ask for a detailed account of activities. In light of the current conditions in the camps, and the prospects for the future, we are gravely concerned about the health, welfare, and long-term safety of a population which is largely comprised of women and children. Palestinian refugees, for far too long, have lived in an unstable social, economic, and political environment; their lives controlled by others. JUDEA-SAMARIA (THE WEST BANK)

Perhaps the most vivid impression one has when visiting a settlement is that these are not settlements at all in terms of being temporary structures in a temporary setting. Kyriat Arba, the settlement we visited, is a very permanent apartment complex complete with shops and schools. It is also geographically close to Jerusalem and to other population centers. In fact, many of the settlements are comparable to commuter suburbs, where young families can find affordable housing in a highly inflated economy, and yet can still work in the city, and only later may embrace a political philosophy.

The settlement issue is a very complicated one. The zeal and passion of many setters reflects their belief that they are acting on a biblical imperative—to return to what is the core of a Jewish homeland. Israel believes, and our impression confirms, that settlements are needed as part of an early warning system for security purposes. Yet, at the same time, there are 700,000 Arabs in this area and no real answers regarding their future. Although there are many proposals, it is still not clear how and who will govern, and how the Palestinians will participate in that government.

These are all issues for negotiation. Unfortunately, we all waited for Hussein and now that has fallen through largely because of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. This recent action only validates Israel's skepticism about commitments to negotiate a real peace, and increases the likelihood that there will be no solution to the Palestinian problem in the near future.

We do believe that there are steps that can be taken to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiation. There should be no preconditions, only proposals brought to the negotiating table. Preconditions cannot be demanded only of Israel, as they have been in the past. They must exist for everyone, or there should be none at all.

GOLAN HEIGHTS AND SYRIA

One only has to visit the Golan Heights to understand why Israel can never return this area to the Syrians. It is a very high plateau absolutely studded with machine gun emplacements, making Israel an easy target for the Syrians. The military buildup in Syria is perhaps the most serious threat to Israel and to Middle East peace. Syria now has two brigades of SAM-5 missiles manned by Soviets. Unlike the Soviet buildup in Egypt years ago, the presence of SAM-5 missiles in Syria will influence the battlefield, posing a real threat to aircraft and people in Tel Aviv, Cyprus, Turkey, and Jordan. There are also surface-to-air units protecting the perimeters of Syria with 2,000 additional Soviet personnel.

Israel is so concerned about the Syrian buildup that it has called up more reservists to attain a preliminary stage of preparedness. Israel has stated that it will not begin a defensive invasion at this time. What the future will bring both in terms of

No. 59

Contraction in

Israel and Syria is very unclear. We remain. assume that the Reagan administration is acutely aware of this growing time bomb, and that actions being taken by the U.S. Government in the Middle East are taken within the context of this knowledge.

CONCLUSION

There is much more we could say about our experience in Israel and Lebanon. We will continue to speak with our colleagues informally about our impressions and continue to learn from them and from others deeply involved in the Middle East. We call on the President to clarify the United States role in the Middle East, and to insure that we do not step away from the only democracy and ally in the Middle East-Israel. Minister Bar-on commented, so accurately, that there are no margins of time or space-and we would add safety-in Israel. The threats to it's security are real, and as

We applaud the arrival of Secretary of State Shultz in the Middle East, and at the same time note that the United States cannot be seen as the only miracle worker in the region. Everyone with whom we talked viewed the United States as "Mr./Ms. Fix-it." We heard time and time again, if only United States would talk with the Jordan, or if only the United States would pressure Israel, or if only the United States would encourage Egypt. The United States, as the leader of the free world, should be a leader in the Middle East. But at the same time peace will only come if there are free leaders in the Middle East as well. We look forward to that leadership.

Finally, we returned without an-swers to the Palestinian situation; to the question of the safety of the Pales-tinian refugees in Beirut, or the ques-tion of the Palestinians in Judea-Sulong as so many deny the right of tion of the Palestinians in Judea-Su-Israel to exist, these threats will meria. We hope that the Palestinians

in Judea-Sumeria find a way to speak for themselves, and not through the PLO. We hope that all Arab countries will join Israel in actively seeking to solve the problem, and not merely manage the situation. Similarly, we hope that all Arab countries will demonstrate the leadership that is needed to recognize each other's and Israel's right to exist, and truly bring about peace in the Middle East.

Peaceful coexistence can work. We saw it working in Jerusalem. Under the leadership of Mayor Teddy Kolleck diverse peoples are able to mainleck diverse peoples are able to main-tain their centuries old traditions while managing to live in a modern world. Each time people succeed in living side by side in peace, we hope that the years of that peace increase, the number of people living in peace grows, and the example of peace succeeds to encounters the region and spreads to encompass the region and then, the world.

	~	NSC/S	PROFILE	UNC	LASSIFIED		ÍD	83032	16
2. 2.	S	•			•	RECEIV	ED 11 N	1AY 83	15
ro	PRESIDENT		FROM	FERRARO,	GERALDINE				
				KENNELLY	, BARBARA		27 /	APR 83	
				MIKULSKI	, BARBARA A	A	27 2	APR 83	
KEYWORDS:	со			WILLIAMS	BURG SUMMI	r Andre	OPOV, N	YURIY	
	USSR			HUMAN RIC	GHTS	NUDE	L, IDA		,
	LTR FM 73 I LEADERS TO			•			FM WOI	RLD	
ACTION:	**RECOMMEN		3		13 MAY 83	STATUS C	FIL	ES WH	
	FOR ACTION			×	CURRENCE		FOR	INFO	
•	SOMMER						NAU		
							LENCZ	OWSKI	
							DOBRI	ANSKY	۰.
						*. *	RAYMO	ND	
							STEAR	MAN	
COMMENTS	**NSC/S RE	COMMENI	OS SENDING	THIS TO S	STATE FOR	DIRECT RE	PLY		, î
	YES ;	NO	; OTHER						
REF#			LOG		NSC	IFID		(C/	C
CTION OFF	FICER (S)		VED Tech	ACTION REG	QUIRED	DUE	COPII PS, C	es to	
			<u> </u>						
				·	<u></u>			<u></u>	
		•							
TSPATCH						W/ATTCH	FTI.E		(C)

		·	
· * .	NSC/S PROFILE	UNCLASSIFIED	ID 8303216
	•• •	RECEIVE	ED 11 MAY 83 15
то	PRESIDENT FROM	FERRARO, GERALDINE A DOCDAT	SE 27 APR 83
		KENNELLY, BARBARA	27 APR 83
		MIKULSKI, BARBARA A	27 APR 83
KEYWORDS	: CO	WILLIAMSBURG SUMMIT ANDRO	DPOV, YURIY
	USSR	HUMAN RIGHTS NUDE	L, IDA
SUBJECT:	LTR FM 73 MEMBERS OF CONGR	ESS URGING INITIATION OF LTR	FM WORLD
	LEADERS TO ANDROPOV RE HUM	AN RIGHTS OF SOVIET JEWS	
ACTION:	**RECOMMENDATIONS	DUE: 13 MAY 83 STATUS S	FILES
	FOR ACTION	FOR CONCURRENCE	FOR INFO
	SOMMER ,		NAU
			LENCZOWSKI
			DOBRIANSKY
			RAYMOND
			STEARMAN
COMMENTS	**NSC/S RECOMMENDS SENDING	THIS TO STATE FOR DIRECT RE	Rentschler
1	YES) ; NO ; OTHER	Playse have State clean i	~ <i>n</i>
REF#	LOG	with Paula Dobritasky NSCIFID	- Cardon ()
		fe	Enderenter)
CTTON OF	FICER (S) ASSIGNED	ACTION REQUIRED DUE	COPIES TO
4-4	<u>C 5/12</u> Direc		PS Da
Juli	<u>= = ~ Nuc</u>	a fight winish	
		- ngo uper	
	· · · · ·		
ISPATCH _	5/12 Clm -	W/ATTCH	FILE WH (C)

÷- ~