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מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

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Rabin Shuffles His Cabinet But Critics Aren't Appeased

By CLYDE HABERMAN
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 31 — With a Cabinet shuffle over the weekend, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin managed to put the most serious political crisis of his year-old Government behind him.

But today he still had to contend with criticism of his leadership and the possible implications of his leadership style for the Middle East peace talks.

The thrust of the complaints, from friend and foe, was that Mr. Rabin had shown few signs of being a take-charge manager of a crisis that has dragged on for three weeks, rooted in squabbles between religious and secular factions in his Labor-led coalition.

If he allowed arguably small-change rivalries to hobble his Government, some critics asked, what did it augur for the day when he might have to rally his nation behind momentous changes that could result from an Israeli deal with the Arabs?

New York
Times
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Is Anyone In Charge?

Aides to the Prime Minister rejected any link between the domestic turmoil and the Middle East negotiations, insisting that the Government had not been weakened and noting that the political concerns were purely internal and had nothing to do with Israel's positions at the peace table.

But for Israeli politicians and commentators, the immediate issue is whether Mr. Rabin looks like a man in charge during a potentially historic period.

The answer from some is no.

"Rabin demonstrated hesitancy and amateurism in handling the crisis," the newspaper Hadashot said, in an assessment shared by many of his critics.

What the bitter wrangling underlined once again is the persistently rickety nature of the Rabin Government, which bills itself as Israel's best hope for peace. Since it came into being last July, it has frequently been at war with itself, and the Prime Minister leaves no doubt that if he could rebuild his alliance from scratch, he would.

The Cabinet Combatants

His coalition is a three-legged stool: his dominant Labor Party, the leftist Meretz bloc and the ardently Orthodox Shas Party. From Day 1, Shas and Meretz have been unable to get along, with Shas accusing the Meretz leader, Shulamit Aloni, of deliberately trying to provoke it with anti-religious remarks, and Mrs. Aloni accusing Shas of sexism and of trying to draw attention away from corruption scandals that swirl around its top officials.

As an added complication, Shas leaders are more dovish on land-for-peace issues than are their rank and file, and so they have felt obliged to take on

Meretz at every turn to fend off criticism from the political right and from other religious parties.

All the bickering drove Mr. Rabin to distraction, but he has not shown himself capable of stopping it.

Above all, he has worked hard to placate Shas and to keep it from walking away, an action that would deprive him of a parliamentary majority, leaving him only with allies who are too far to the left for his taste, and possibly too weak domestically to conclude any peace treaties.

Moving Mrs. Aloni

This latest crisis was prompted by a threat by Shas to quit the coalition unless Mrs. Aloni was removed as Education Minister. After weeks of Sturm und Drang, the Prime Minister finally reordered his Cabinet this weekend, the key feature being a shift of Mrs. Aloni to Minister for Communications and Science and Technology; a Meretz colleague, Amnon Rubinstein, replaced her at the Education Ministry.

Some political commentators say Mr. Rabin is stronger now, arguing that Meretz and Shas, both of which want to stay in power, will think hard before rattling the coalition so jarringly again. But others warn that more tempests are almost inevitable because of the volatile cultural and religious forces at play.

"We are not a love story," Mrs. Aloni acknowledged Sunday night, in what might have been the understatement of the month.

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CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

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חידון: חילופי גברי בצוות הנשיא קלינטון

רצ"ב לעיונכם שלושה מאמרים מה דף שמצאתי אותם מייצגים הדיווחים הרבים
בנושא במהלך סוף השבוע של יום הזכרון האמריקאי:

- מ 30 מאי, פרסים וניתוח על GERGEN.

- מ 31 מאי, ניתוח על משמעות השינוי.

- מ 31 מאי, מאמר עמדה של SAFIRE.

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A Master of the Image

David Richmond Gergen

By MICHAEL KELLY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 29 — Back in March, when Bill Clinton seemed to be riding more or less high, David R. Gergen, the master salesman, sat on the sidelines and marveled at the cleverness of the new President's marketing plan.

Now it is clear how, in contrast to how Clinton presented himself during the campaign, that the Democrats' true agenda

is to reverse the direction set by Ronald Reagan," said Mr. Gergen, who was the White House communications director in Mr. Reagan's first term. "And the irony is that they are attempting to do this by using the same techniques Reagan used."

In that interview the man who was a senior adviser to three Republican Presidents said of the Clinton political operators: "They understand what Reagan understood. They have grasped the essential point that a Presidency attempting change is a campaign, and you have to work it like a campaign."

But the Clinton Administration's "permanent campaign" proved infinitely less successful than the Reagan machine. Where the Reagan White House was a vault of secrets, the Clinton Administration leaks like a Congressional committee. Where the Reagan operation seemed to stage effortlessly propaganda coups like Nancy Reagan's interruption of a televised Presidential appearance to "surprise" her husband with a birthday cake, the Clinton operation has reeled from one public-relations disaster to another.

Now, knowing now that the abiding faith of this city is neither Republicanism nor Democratism, but Insideism, the 51-year-old Mr. Gergen has stepped on as counselor to President Clinton, a role in which Mr. Gergen will shape the Administration's effort to reverse the very policies that he once sold for President Reagan.

The way Mr. Gergen describes his new job it sounds vaguely but powerfully defined, moreso even than when he was Mr. Reagan's communications director.

"When they approached me, they said they were looking for someone who will be at the intersection of

A pragmatist
proves that
Inside-ism is the
capital's ideology.

and politics and communications," he said today in a telephone interview. "They said they would like my judgment to be brought to bear in those roles. They said we would also like you to oversee the communications shop."

Unlike his role in the Reagan White House, Mr. Gergen said, he expects his new job to include contributions on all matters of policy, domestic and foreign. "In the Reagan Administration, I was not, for instance, in the loop on national security," he said. "Here they have assured me that I will be in the loop across the board on policy and thinking through how that policy fits in with everything else. That's why my title is 'counselor.'"

Mr. Gergen's transition caught many politicians flat-footed, but not, of course, Mr. Gergen. Today, as always, he had the spin ready, and Gergen on Gergen was as seamlessly smooth as Gergen on Reagan ever was or Gergen on Clinton promises to be.

Republican? Not Me

"I'm not a Republican," he said. "I've always been a registered independent. I grew up in North Carolina as a Democrat, and I didn't even know any Republicans until I was 21. A lot of people are surprised when I say this, but I got my start in politics in the civil rights movement, working for Terry Sanford, who was then Governor of North Carolina, on these biracial good-neighbor councils that Sanford set up around the state."

Mr. Gergen said that he was "of course" aware that some Republicans would now accuse him of disloyalty and opportunism, but that he was willing to accept that.

Asked about his observation that the Clinton Administration was seeking to reverse the direction set by President Reagan, Mr. Gergen said he believed that "in some areas they are trying to undo some aspects of the Reagan period."

"Let me make it clear," he added, "that I am proud that I worked for

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Ronald Reagan. He did a great deal for this country: brought inflation down, won the cold war, created a lot of jobs. But there were also things that were not addressed in the 1980's such as the pressing social problems and the declining standard of living for the middle class, and I think those things need to be undone."

On the defining difference between the Reagan and Clinton philosophies, Mr. Gergen said he had talked to Mr. Clinton about his economic program and felt "reasonably comfortable" that "he does not consider himself a tax-and-spend Democrat."

On other policies, Mr. Gergen said, "there are many things he is doing that I find strike a positive chord with me: national service, re-inventing Government, welfare reform."

Not So Much an Ideologue

Mr. Gergen's decision is in keeping with a career defined more by pragmatic than ideological concerns. Although he has been a senior adviser to three Presidents Richard M. Nixon, Gerald Ford and Reagan, Mr. Gergen has always been regarded — and he regards himself — as more of a facilitator than an ideologue, more of a man in the middle than of the right.

He made his decision to quit the Reagan White House after inflighting with the press secretary, Larry Speakes, and amid accusations from conservatives that he, along with the chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, was not truly committed to the conservative agenda.

Since leaving the White House, Mr. Gergen has followed a path that is as close to the center as is possible. He has worked, simultaneously, as a fellow at the conservative-dominated American Enterprise Institute and the liberal-dominated John F. Kennedy School at Harvard University. He has been on the boards of bipartisan commissions and directs a domestic-policy group formed by the Aspen Institute whose co-chairmen are Senator Bill Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey, and William J. Bennett, the Education Secretary in Republican Administrations.

As an editor and columnist for U.S. News & World Report and as a commentator on "The MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour" since 1987, Mr. Gergen has adopted a balanced tone. In a recent column he chided Mr. Clinton for "lurching to the left," but also said the President could prove himself "a hall of famer."

Authentic Memoirs of 1980

In a sense, Mr. Gergen was destined for his new job. It was his "100 days" memorandum in 1980 that shaped the communications-driven Reagan Administration and that Clinton advisers studied in the transition.

Much of what worked for Mr. Reagan was designed by Mr. Gergen, who helped techniques that have become clichés, frequent "warm and fuzzy" public events to shape a video image of the President that would override often critical verbal television reports, "spin patrols" to work with the press just before evening deadlines to put a positive turn on White House news and the disciplined hawing to a "message of the day."

Mr. Gergen lives in McLean, Va., with his wife, Anne, and their children, Christopher, 22, a senior at Duke University, and Katherine, 19, a first-year student at Yale University.

He has spent most of his adult life practicing, in one form or another, the craft of selling others on a point of view. He is good at it, a soft but sure-footed talker, who carries his 6-foot-3-inch frame with a loose-limbed casualness that manages to suggest impressiveness without intimidation.

Entering Republican Politics

David Richmond Gergen was born on May 8, 1942, in Durham, N.C. He graduated from Yale in 1963 and Harvard Law School in 1967. He served in the Navy for three and a half years before gravitating into Republican politics as a full-time occupation.

As a speechwriter for Mr. Nixon, and as the scriptwriter for the Republican National Convention in 1972, Mr. Gergen formulated an understanding that in the video age defining the television message meant defining and, thus, winning the national debate.

"We wanted to control what people saw, to the extent that we could," he said in an interview with Hedrick Smith for his book on Washington, "The Power Game." "We wanted to shape it and not let television shape it."

"I mean, large aspects, the public aspects, of government have become staged, television-staged, and there is a real question who is going to control the stage. Is it going to be the networks or the people who work for the candidate or for the President?"

An Offering To the Wolves

A Shuffling of His Staff Buys Time for Clinton

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 30 — It is one of the oldest rites of government: when things are not going well, when the leader is in trouble, a member of his retinue must be sacrificed. At least the wolves will be silenced for a while, and with a bit of skill and a lot of luck, the direction of the whole enterprise can be changed.

News
Analysis

So it was with President Clinton this weekend. The problem, the President has been saying for weeks, is that his program has not been effectively communicated to the public. So there was a certain logic in shoving aside George Stephanopoulos, the young communications director, in favor of David R. Gergen, the old Nixon and Reagan hand, however embarrassing such a symbol of the established order must have been to an apostle of change.

But, in fact, Mr. Gergen, who has been promised as much direct access to Mr. Clinton as he likes, will handle a lot more than communications. As counselor to the President, he seems destined for a role similar to that of Theodore C. Sorensen in the Kennedy Administration — as principal all-purpose adviser.

Thomas F. McLarty Jr., the chief of staff, has survived for the moment, at least partly because of his lifelong friendship with Mr. Clinton. But the

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

...of Mr. Gergen will dilute his power.

There is no magic in personnel changes. Getting rid of John H. Sumnu, George Bush's rough-edged chief of staff, may have tamped down controversies in the White House, but it did not save Mr. Bush's Presidency, whose problems lay in the currents of history, the tides of economics and the character of the man in the Oval Office.

Similarly, it remains to be seen whether Mr. Gergen can make enough of a difference to an Administration that must cope with a society that demands change without undue sacrifice, a political system shorn of discipline and a President who wishes to be almost all things to almost all people, all at the same time.

"Bill Clinton is part of the solution," one of the President's aides said. "But

A tactic of a President under fire.

often he's part of the problem, too." In countries with parliamentary systems, a fresh start is usually sought by relieving one or more ministers responsible for a failed (or at least an unpopular) policy. It happened last week in Britain when Prime Minister John Major ousted the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Norman Lamont, who was the architect, along with Mr. Major himself, of an economic policy that had deepened a recession.

In Washington, however, admissions that policies have failed are as rare as balanced budgets. The Clinton Administration, still young, has attributed its troubles to everything but ill-considered policies: poor communication, lack of focus, inadequate staff work, unfortunate timing and conflicts among the President's aides.

Some of that is true. Lackluster liaison work with Congress cost Mr. Clinton his stimulus package, and discord over trade policy has hampered work

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in a number of crucial areas.

But in the end, the President is responsible for whatever goes wrong, even things he was not aware of. Like the travel office fiasco that Mr. Clinton ascribes to others' decisions. Too many denials of responsibility eventually make Washington and then the country wonder exactly who is in charge.

It was Mr. Clinton who so firmly pledged during his campaign to give the middle class a tax cut and then broke his promise, arguing that fiscal realities had changed, making such a cut impossible.

It was also Mr. Clinton who chose to put the question of homosexuals in the armed forces on the agenda for his first week in office, to nominate Lani Guinier, a law professor with a history of radical writings, for a major Justice Department post, and to emphasize tax increases as much as spending cuts in his campaign to reduce the deficit. Each of those decisions led many of those who considered him a "new" Democrat, and supported him for that reason, to feel tricked, if not betrayed.

How he deals with Ms. Guinier in the weeks ahead may show whether Mr. Clinton is moving back to the middle of the road.

He won in November partly because of his command of the minutiae of dozens of difficult problems, and he went on to impress the pros during the transition by his performance at his economic summit conference. Unlike a merchant in gauzy generalities, like Ronald Reagan, Mr. Clinton cannot easily say others messed up the details.

One of the President's biggest problems, in the view of some of those who have been working closely with him for four months now, is his tendency to talk publicly without adequate reflection. He said in the midst of the muddle over Bosnian policy, for example, that he was on the verge of an agreement with the European allies, but his advisers knew at the time that even a limited agreement was in doubt.

"What the President needs is an enforcer," a member of his Cabinet said, "someone who can keep him in line, keep him from wandering off onto topics that haven't been thought through. I love him — he's my friend — but my goodness, he can't stop talking."

Put another way, what Mr. Clinton

seems to need is someone who can say "no" to him occasionally and possibly to Hillary Rodham Clinton as well. Asked whose job that was, a staff member replied, "Mack McLarty." Asked whether Mr. McLarty did it, the staff member replied, "Not that I know of."

Mr. McLarty has been unable to do another of the jobs often assigned to chiefs of staff: avoiding any nasty little surprises that can knock the White House off balance, like the now-famous \$300 haircut that Mr. Clinton treated himself to while Air Force One sat at the Los Angeles airport.

"You have to be willing to go in there and say, 'No, not now, not this way,'" said a White House chief of staff in another Administration. "You have to give it to your man straight, the best advice you've got, no worrying about

whether you are too blunt.

"But he has to be prepared to let you do that from time to time, and to pay attention when you do. He has the upper hand."

In that sense, it is the President who is responsible for the kind of advice he gets or does not get, and since he has evidently decided to keep the gentlemanly Mr. McLarty in place, some of his staff members hope that he will bring in Harold M. Ickes Jr., the New York political operative, to ask the hard questions in the months ahead.

A hard-bitten man with a confrontational style, Mr. Ickes could nonetheless prove a substantial asset in the battles, this year and next, to enact the taxing and spending plan and medical-care overhaul. But Mr. Clinton himself will have to change his methods first.

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Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Return of The Old Clinton?

WASHINGTON

A couple of weeks ago, White House chief of staff "Mack the Nice" McLarty invited me over because he was concerned about a phrase in this space: the "lurch to the left" that dismayed Republicans and centrist Democrats who had voted for Clinton.

Apparently White House polls were registering an alarming discontent with a President who had promised tax cuts and then proposed tax increases; who had adopted the rhetoric of deficit reduction but put off spending cuts for years; who had come up with "stimulus" spending that was a porcine payoff to big-city mayors.

Because the Republican minority in Congress now represented majority opinion in the country, Clinton's leftward lurch had been checked by Dole & Co.'s filibuster. Middle America's sense of having been double-crossed was reflected in the President's rising "negatives."

Then came Travelgate with its onerous abuse of the F.B.I. and the ludicrous Scalpgate with its relentless ridicule. Bill Clinton was Characterizing himself before the country's eyes.

His hard-hitting Presidency was saved by the two centrist Democratic Davids — Borah in the Senate, McCurdy in the House. Using Borah's resistance as leverage, McCurdy got a needed fig leaf over the tax-and-spend budget. Because the Clinton Presidency was approaching what he called "a near-death experience," McCurdy and unhappy Democrats held their noses and passed a spender's budget. It was not an Act of Congress; it was an act of mercy.

Clinton got the three-pronged message from the polls, the press and the poets: his ideological double-cross

Farewell to leftward lurch?

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would not be tolerated.

Last weekend, he pulled his bloodied communications director and good soldier, George Stephanopoulos, 32, out of the night that covered him and into his sheltering bosom. He substituted someone we had all assumed to be a lifelong Republican, David Gergen, 51, with the prestigious title of Counselor.

"... we are rising above politics... beyond partisanship," said a President who had failed to steamroller the opposition, and whose wife the week before delivered a partisan, class-warfare harangue, "... to search for new ideas, a new common ground, a new national unity."

The mid-course correction (before the near-death experience) was emphasized in urgent background calls. These promised that the choice of Gergen — an aide to Nixon, Ford and Reagan — was not cosmetic but signaled a shift to the ideas of the Old Clinton, campaigner for individual responsibility, welfare reform and the platform of the New Democrats.

Gergen is in an enviable position: he has been given options to buy Clinton-stock at the all-time low. He is a member of the Judson Welliver Society of former White House speechwriters, which automatically softens the hammering from this quarter.

By revealing "I have never been a Republican," he has justified two decades of Pat Buchanan's suspicions and undermined the symbolic value of his appointment to Mr. Clinton; that was Gergen's first communications mistake this time around.

If he denies access to his new client, as he did to President Reagan, on the basis of "He's been hostile to us," that will be unfortunate; if his place at the power table really augurs the comeback of the Old Clinton, that will be good.

Signals are nice, but substance is better. Here are a few questions that will determine if the President has redefined his mission or if, like John Major in Britain, he is merely buying time by shuffling his Kitchen Cabinet.

Does Clinton still intend to press ahead with his plan to raise taxes retroactive to last January while postponing even his modest spending cuts until three or four years from now?

Does Clinton now buy his own budget director Leon Panetta's original proposal of two dollars in cuts for every dollar in taxes to reduce the deficit?

Does Clinton still subscribe to the disavowed but all-too-accurate Tar-noff Doctrine of "we're too poor to lead," or will we see some muscle instead of continued handwringing in the Balkans?

And hardest of all: Does the Old Clinton dare to tell the Other Clinton that price-rigged, low-deductible, demand-generating, taxpayer-subsidized health insurance does not fit into the mainstream he again professes to represent? □

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בלמס/מידי
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דע: ממנכ"ל
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מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - מדיניות חוץ
בהמשך לשלי 1211 מיום 28.5

תדרכו של תת-מזכיר המדינה, פיטר טרנוף, ממשיך לעורר תגובות.

ה-WP (29.5) מביא את דיווח סוכנות הידיעות AP, לפיו הורה מזכיר המדינה, כריסטופר, כי כל ההצהרות הפומביות של עוזרי-מזכירים ומעלה יקבלו את אישורו המוקדם של יועצו, תום דונילון.

וב-WT, שני בעלי טורים, פראנק ופניי, מנהל המרכז למדיניות בטחון, ופט ביוקון, מבקרים את מדיניות החוץ של ארה"ב שפיטר טרנוף נתן לה ביטוי בתדרוך. "דוקטרינת טרנוף", לדבריהם, היא הרסנית ותביא בהכרח למשבר. זוהי מדיניות הנשענת על רצון להגיע לקונצנזוס בינלאומי כדרך לפתרון משברים, וכבר הוכחה כבלתי-יעילה בנושא בוסניה.

הערה: תשומת לבכם, לדבריו של מיודענו פס ביוקון, מי שבמהלך מירוצו לנשיאות הטיף לבדלנות אמריקנית.

תקשורת

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PAT BUCHANAN

President Clinton is headed for a major foreign policy crisis.

It may come with a Serbian assault on Kosovo or Macedonia. It may come with an Iraqi attack on the Kurds. It may come on Korea's Demilitarized Zone. It may come with sudden discovery that Tehran or Pyongyang has acquired an atom bomb. But it is coming. And that day of crisis has been advanced by Mr. Clinton's bumbling in the Bosnian war.

The president's public climb-down from his threat to use air power to punish the Serbs exposed him as the feckless leader of a NATO alliance that is itself a pitiful helpless giant in its own back yard.

But the root cause of the coming crisis is not Mr. Clinton. It is a post-Cold War foreign policy, a policy rooted in hubris, in which the United States issues warnings and lays down markers all over the world, at the same time the U.S. military power to cover those IOUs is fast eroding.

The Bosnian Serbs were the first to call America's bluff.

In the teeth of Mr. Clinton's threats of air strikes, they voted "no" on the Vance-Owen peace plan. When the air strikes never came, the Serbs won their gamble. They know it; the world knows it.

Rejoicing, the Serbs shelled Sarajevo, just for the hell of it. Nothing happened. In the hills above, a Serb fighter told John Burns of the New York Times of his contempt for the United States, even as a NATO plane

Patrick Buchanan is a nationally syndicated columnist.

A crisis waiting to happen

roared overhead: "You see," [Zoran] said, "they dare not risk getting anywhere close to us. They fly to frighten us with their noise, but that's all it is, noise. That's all America has ever been good for here, noise. ... You Americans couldn't even win in Vietnam."

Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic, once so rattled by the threat of U.S. air power that he promised to cut off all supplies to Bosnia's Serbs, has reversed himself. No U.N. troops may police his borders.

In a few brief weeks Mr. Clinton has squandered all the capital put into America's bank by Desert Storm. The myth of America as invincible superpower suffered a blow in Bosnia that will lead to new challenges, from enemies who would relish nothing more than humiliating the United States.

Among the reasons some of us opposed war with Iraq was that a U.S. victory would leave us with new overseas commitments, even as America was engaged in a sweeping post-Cold War disarmament.

Well, America went to war, restored Kuwait to the emir, and smashed Iraq. And the predictable

and predicted came to pass. The United States has four new commitments: to defend Kuwait, to protect the Kurds, to shelter Iraqi Shi'ites from air strikes, and to block Iran's drive for hegemony over the Persian Gulf.

But even as we added these commitments, U.S. military power was being cut by 25 percent, or 500,000 men, a reduction in force equal to Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf's entire army of Desert Storm. Now, Mr. Clinton is making deeper cuts, in Army troops, Air Force wings and Navy ships, even as we are making new commitments, to fight if necessary, in Kosovo and Macedonia.

This is a formula for disaster. Congress never authorized the pre-

ident to go to war over Kosovo, and the United States does not even recognize Macedonia. We have no vital interest in either enclave. And, in survey after survey, Americans have expressed vehement opposition to U.S. military intervention in the Balkans.

Nevertheless, two U.S. presidents have laid down markers, and challenged Belgrade to pick them up. After Mr. Clinton's climb-down in Bosnia, the Serbs may be tempted to do exactly that.

Our coming crisis is a consequence of twin failings: First, our failure to debate and decide on a post-Cold War foreign policy that is both realistic (i.e., consonant with our declining military strength) and rooted in U.S. national interest; second, a failure to consult the American people whose support is indispensable to any foreign policy, and

who wish to reduce, not enlarge, U.S. military commitments.

Last Tuesday, on background, a State Department official outlined "rules of engagement" for a more modest U.S. role in a world where America no longer controls events, as once she did. The White House disavowed and disowned "Brand X" (as the hapless official was dubbed), but Brand X reflected a new global reality that endless bliviations about the "world's lone superpower" cannot hide:

With but 4 percent of the world's population, we cannot impose a Pax Americana. With our own borders open and cities in chaos, we are not about to launch any global Crusade for Democracy. With ethnic tribalism and nationalism raging on three continents, we are not going to impose any New World Order, any time soon.

In 1993, Americans are neither isolationist nor interventionist. While they relish the role of world leader, and wish to stay engaged in the affairs of mankind, they are no longer willing to fight other nations' wars, or pay other nations' bills. They want countries that feed off

foreign aid to stand on their own feet, and they want our wealthy Asian and European allies to start paying for, and providing for, their own defense. While neither the GOP nor the Democratic Party leadership understands this, Ross Perot surely does.

Twenty-four years ago, President Nixon outlined a new foreign policy for the post-Vietnam era. Under the "Nixon Doctrine" America would provide the weapons with which friends and allies defended themselves; but those friends and allies would provide the soldiers, and do the fighting, themselves.

The old Nixon Doctrine offers a basis for a new foreign policy consensus. But the further we travel down this road of increasing our liabilities, i.e., commitments to fight, while reducing our assets, i.e., U.S. military power, the sooner disaster is certain to strike.

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State Department Orders Aides to Clear Remarks

Associated Press

The State Department, which earlier this week disavowed foreign policy remarks by its No. 3 official, has since told top officials they must clear all future public statements through the assistant secretary for public affairs.

At a luncheon Tuesday, Peter Tarnoff, undersecretary of state for political affairs, ignited a controversy by telling reporters this country's need to focus on economic problems will require a diminished U.S. international role. The White House and Secretary of State Warren Christopher quickly distanced the administration from Tarnoff's remarks.

The next day, the State Department's executive secretary, Marc Grossman, sent a memorandum to all top officials entitled "Clearance of Public Remarks." A copy of the memo was obtained yesterday by the Associated Press.

"In order to best coordinate administration and [State] Department public diplomacy, [Christopher] has asked that all public remarks by assistant secretaries and above be cleared by the assistant secretary for public affairs, Tom Donilon," the memo said.

"Public remarks include speeches, testimony, press statements and remarks prepared for photo opportunities. Drafts of public remarks should be submitted to [Public Affairs] as early as possible."

The memo said remarks prepared for Christopher's use were covered, just like any others.

Asked about the memo, department spokesman Richard Boucher called it "just a bureaucratic thing" with no connection to Tarnoff's statements or Christopher's repudiation of them.

"It's not something that has to do with any of the events of this week," Boucher said.

The spokesman added that "all kinds of memos like that" are sent out by State Department officials, related to matters such as circulation of cables from U.S. embassies. Boucher said he could not recall the last time a memo about clearance of public statements went out.

Tarnoff's comments Tuesday to the Overseas Writers Club were made "on background," a device used by officials to conceal their identity with the consent of reporters. He spoke from written notes.

FRANK GAFFNEY JR.

On May 25, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff dispelled any lingering doubts about the Clinton foreign policy. According to the "Tarnoff Doctrine," the United States neither has the resources nor the will any longer to be the leader of the international community — and "our friends" around the world had better get used to it.

In remarks made "on background" to the Overseas Writers Club in Washington, Mr. Tarnoff articulated the vision of an America in decline — preoccupied with domestic economic concerns and increasingly disengaged from international developments — that heretofore could only be inferred from Clinton policies:

"We simply don't have the leverage, we don't have the influence, we don't have the inclination to use force and we certainly don't have the money to bring to bear the kind of pressure that will produce positive results any time soon.

"[Our] approach is difficult for our friends to understand. It's not different by accident, it's different by design. ... We're talking about new rules of engagement for the United States. There will have to be genuine power-sharing and responsibility-sharing."

The key ingredient in the "Tarnoff Doctrine" is its reliance upon "collective security." Put simply, this concept means that the United States will voluntarily decline to act — except in circumstances where U.S. interests are immediately at risk — unless multilateral consensus can be achieved. In Mr. Tarnoff's words:

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the director of the Center for Security Policy, the host of public television's "The World This Week" and a columnist for The Washington Times.

The Tarnoff doctrine

"There may be occasions in the future where the United States acts unilaterally — if we perceive an imminent danger very close to home that can be defended and where the amount of resources that we expend are commensurate with what our interests are. But these will be exceptions."

The results of the first test of this strategy is on vivid display in Bosnia. Mr. Tarnoff tellingly lauded Secretary of State Warren Christopher's trip to discuss Bosnia options with key European allies and the Russian leadership as an example of a "form of leadership that's quite appropriate" in the post-Cold War world: "People were genuinely disarmed by the fact that he was there to consult. He did not have a blueprint in his back pocket. ... He had some things we favored."

Never mind that Mr. Christopher's mission had been described at the time by President Clinton himself as intended to generate allied support for military action against the Bosnian Serbs. Never mind either that the people who were disarmed are not those who should be — the Serbian aggressors in this conflict. Regrettably, the Clinton-Tarnoff emphasis upon consultation, consensus and multilateralism simply had the effect of sealing the fate of the victims of that aggression.

In the process, the administration's abdication of leadership on Bosnia also served to underscore the yawning vacuum of power that is now emerging as the United States

succumbs once more to the temptation to disregard and disengage from its overseas responsibilities. Unpunished Serb transgressions are inspiring other members of the "Radical Entente" — like Saddam Hussein, Kim Il-sung and the mullahs of Tehran — to pursue their respective, malevolent agendas.

As a result, more grief will flow from the "Tarnoff Doctrine" in the future. It embraces, after all, an approach Lady Margaret Thatcher has properly reviled as "leadership by consensus" — an oxymoronic concept doomed to fail. By adopting this strategy, the Clinton administration is poised to recreate the international conditions precipitated by the Carter administration (in which Pe-

see GAFFNEY, page E4

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1/6

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GAFFNEY

From page E1

ter Tarnoff also served as a senior State Department official): An environment in which America continues to have global interests but is perceived to lack the will, if not the resources, to safeguard them and inevitably finds those interests in jeopardy even from what Mr. Tarnoff calls "middleweight powers."

It is instructive that another former Carter hand, Secretary Christopher, chose not to repudiate Mr. Tarnoff or to disassociate himself from the Undersecretary's remarks. While Mr. Christopher did attempt a bit of damage-limitation by blithely telling reporters in the wake of Mr. Tarnoff's remarks that, "There is no derogation of our powers and our responsibility to lead," the Secretary of State on ABC News' "Nightline" subsequently affirmed the essence of the "Tarnoff Doctrine":

"We can't do it all. We have to measure our ability to act in the interests

of the United States, but to save our power for those situations which threaten our deepest national interest, at the same time doing all we can where there's humanitarian concern."

In fact, the surest way to fritter away power and lose influence in the international arena is to try to husband political capital. It is only by routinely exercising leadership that one retains the ability to lead successfully in situations deemed to "threaten our deepest national interest."

The only people who could believe the United States will be better positioned to lead its allies in the wake of the Bosnian debacle and the enunciation of the "Tarnoff Doctrine" are probably the same people who think U.S. economic problems will prove more tractable as America's power and influence over Japan, Germany and other trading partners evaporates. It is a real tragedy — and may prove to be a very costly one — that such people hold high office in the U.S. government at this perilous moment.

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 1 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: יועץ הבית הלבן - דייוויד גרגן

מצ"ב כתבות ה-WP מה-30/5 : כתבת העמוד הראשון (אן דברוי ורות מרקוס)
 אודות מינויו של דייוויד גרגן ליועץ הבית הלבן כצעד ראשון בדרך לשפור
 הסדרים בצוות הבית הלבן.
 כמו כן מצ"ב כתבת פרופיל (דן בלז) אודות דייוויד גרגן.

תקשורת

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GOP Insider to Be Clinton Counselor

Gergen to Have Wide Responsibility

By Ann Devroy and Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Clinton yesterday named David Gergen, who served three Republican presidents, as White House counselor in the first step of a major staff realignment aimed at ending the tumult and disorganization that have characterized the White House in recent weeks.

Clinton, who made the announcement at an early morning Rose Garden news conference, portrayed the appointment of former president Ronald Reagan's communications director to a high-level role in his own White House as a matter of rising above partisan politics to get the best and most experienced person for the job.

Other political observers, in and out of the administration, said it was an effort by a president who realized the need to get an experienced hand in the White House to right a troubled operation, despite his sharp criticism of Washington insiders.

Gergen, who has been editor-at-large at U.S. News & World Report, will assume what officials describe as broad responsibility for the political, strategic and communications functions at the White House. Officials describe the job in terms that make it virtually a shadow to Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty.

Gergen will be part of a five-person senior circle, including the president and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, McLarty and Vice President Gore. While the rest of the staff will report to Clinton through McLarty, Gergen is said to have sought and received a pledge of direct access to the president.

Many Democrats yesterday expressed unease at the prospect of having the man who helped engineer many of Reagan's early victories—tax cuts, domestic spending cuts and the defense buildup—recruited by Clinton to help undo some of them. But Democrats also said they be-

See PRESIDENT, A28, Col. 1

PRESIDENT, From A1

lieved some dramatic change in operations was sorely needed.

Communications director George Stephanopoulos will become a senior adviser to Clinton. A new communications director likely will be named later.

In making the announcement, Clinton made reference to the recent troubles in his White House, many of them self-inflicted, such as the firing of the career travel staff and replacing them with political appointees.

"I have been very concerned that the cumulative effect of some of the things which are now very much in the news has given to the administration a tinge that is too partisan and not connected to the mainstream, pro-change, future-oriented politics and policies that I ran for president to implement," he said.

Clinton called Gergen a "moderate, pro-change patriotic American. The message here is we are rising above politics."

Gergen said his appointment honored Clinton's pledge "to seek a national bipartisan government." He added, "Whatever our politics, it is obvious we must seek common ground."

A senior administration official said the change "sends a strong signal to the centrists in both the Democratic and Republican parties that this president is determined to govern" as the centrist "New Dem-

ocrat" Clinton portrayed himself as in the campaign. "It's clear that there was a mounting concern that he has swerved away from that."

A moderate in his personal views and his politics, Gergen, 51, was known more as a pragmatist than a partisan in the Reagan White House. He had a particular expertise in damage control, a skill in demand in the Clinton White House.

White House officials are trying to portray the Gergen appointment in a way that does not reflect badly on Stephanopoulos. Stephanopoulos, 32, is expected to be an inside adviser and trouble-shooter for Clinton, a role most colleagues said he is better suited for than communications director.

The move also reflected the administration's increasingly strained press relations and was designed, as one senior official said, "to send a signal to the press that this is not a White House that is contemptuous of the press. It is clear that relations between the press and this White House are not good and we needed a practitioner and someone who had a strong and fundamental respect for the press."

Although the change "is not targeted at George," the official added, "it is targeted at the idea that we need some adults here. We are concerned about this rap as well as everyone else, that the operation is too young, too inexperienced, a little too cocky."

One official said Gergen asked for "broad responsibility" to "roam at

President Names

Republican Insider as Counselor in Staff Realignment

will but not have line responsibility" for most of the major functions in the White House.

Asked how he could switch his loyalties to a Democrat so suddenly, Gergen said, "The truth is I'm proud to have worked for three Republican presidents, but in the last eight years as I have gotten the freedom to develop my own voice and views, I have become increasingly focused on the need to get this town to develop bipartisan solutions to the country's problems."

Gergen cited his work on a series of bipartisan groups in recent years as evidence of that commitment. The most recent is the Center for Strategic and International Studies "Strengthening of America Commission" that dealt with controlling the growth of federal spending.

With both Democratic and Republican insiders, the change appeared to play well. Richard Moe, former vice president Walter F. Mondale's chief of staff, called it a "bold move" and a "real plus" for the administration. He said that Gergen, the only senior Clinton aide who will have worked in a previous White House, "will bring a wealth of experience.... It's enormously helpful to have somebody who knows how it works."

Republican strategist Edward J. Rollins called Gergen "the one Republican who could pull it off," adding, "I think it's to his credit that he could put his partisanship aside." The issue is "the people who are already there, are they going to

listen to him and respect him or is he going to get a little chewed up in the process? ... There'll be a little infighting but in the final analysis he'll survive. He's a good infighter," said Rollins, who also worked briefly as director of independent candidate Ross Perot's presidential campaign last summer.

Clinton described the Gergen move as primarily McLarty's idea. Sources said both Clinton, who has known Gergen for a decade, and McLarty had had conversations with Gergen going back at least a month on White House difficulties.

There were extensive consultations over the structure and role of the post that began in earnest Tuesday with a conversation between Gergen and Clinton, the sources said. The talks continued Thursday at a late-night dinner between Gergen and McLarty, and ended Friday night when Gergen met with the First Lady.

Gergen rose through the communications ranks of three Republican White Houses before leaving Reagan's in 1983. Originally a Democrat, he was hired as a staff assistant and head of speechwriting for President Richard M. Nixon and stayed to become Gerald R. Ford's director of communications. In 1980, he followed many of the Ford Republicans, opposed to Reagan's conservatism, to the campaign of George Bush headed by James A. Baker III. When Reagan won, Baker became chief of staff and brought Gergen into the Reagan White House.

Clinton and McLarty have acknowledged in recent days that their unfamiliarity with Washington and White House mores had caused them to mishandle what might have been minor controversies.

In justifying the summary firing of the seven career White House travel office employees, the press office staff talked of potentially grave financial misconduct there and said the FBI had been brought in to investigate. Last week, though, five of the seven were reinstated, at least temporarily. The president's decision to have a haircut aboard Air Force One on the tarmac at Los Angeles International Airport also became a front-page controversy after it was revealed that the stylist normally charges \$200 for a cut and that commuter planes were delayed while Clinton was being trimmed.

Clinton has also complained repeatedly that he has failed to communicate to the American people what he stands for and what direction he is seeking to take the nation.

The Gergen appointment, described by White House officials as part of an effort to improve and strengthen a weak and inexperienced staff, is expected to be followed by other changes. Offices from the political operation to the intergovernmental operation to the administrative operation are expected to be beefed up and strengthened, with a likelihood that Deputy Chief of Staff Mark Gearan will assume a new function over-

ing the intergovernmental affairs and public liaison operation.

Meanwhile, Gergen is expected to restructure the communications operation as one of his first tasks. Officials said he may name one of the current communications deputies to head that operation. Sources said he has not yet decided who will handle the daily press briefings. A senior official quoted McLarty as saying that press secretary Dee Dee Myers "will have a broader role" in the briefings, at least in the short run.

Gergen faces a White House staff now who joined in the two-year effort to get Clinton elected and who will have to swallow any resentment they may feel about answering to a man who not only did not work for Clinton but has spent most of his life working to implement policies Clinton opposes. Before Clinton's news conference, reports of the possible appointment, which surprised many White House officials, went through the White House and Democratic circles like a shot yesterday. Some complained that the move amounted to an acknowledgment that the Democratic president needed to turn to the Republicans to, as one put it, "save his presidency."

White House staff members nervous about their new boss were to a person unwilling to be quoted, even without their names attached. The most that could be extracted, even if not for attribution, was this, from

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Gergen: A Sympathetic Critic Looking for 'New Answers'

By Dan Balz

Washington Post Staff Writer

David Gergen had just concluded a speech at Louisiana State University critiquing the Clinton administration Tuesday night when he found himself talking on a pay phone outside a gas station with White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mac" McLarty. "We'd like you to come aboard," McLarty told him. "It was an offer that wasn't totally unexpected by Gergen, editor-at-large of U.S. News & World Report. He, McLarty and President Clinton had held several discussions that hinted at the move. But it was one that would stun many people in Washington—particularly members of the White House staff, who were caught off guard by yesterday morning's announcement that Gergen would become a counselor to the president with broad portfolio.

The irony was not lost on anyone. To help put his shaky presidency back on track, Clinton was turning to a Washington insider, a veteran of three Republican White House stints and the man who shaped the communications strategy that sold the Reagan revolution to the country in the early 1980s. Now Gergen will serve the man who has vowed to reverse Reaganism.

There may be many reasons why Clinton called on Gergen, but the most obvious is to send a signal that he believes his new administration has lurched too far to the left in its first four months and needs to move to the center as quickly as possible to regain its balance.

As a visible spokesman for the administration, someone who will begin hitting the talk show circuit this morning, Gergen will be preaching centrism, bipartisanship and new solutions—themes Clinton used on the campaign trail but that have been drowned out since he became president.

"I see myself as moderately right of center," Gergen said in a telephone interview yesterday, "but very interested in seeing if there are not innovative new answers. I believe that many of the answers of

the '70s and '80s are stale and we need to move beyond that. . . . The country really wants people in this city to get together and stop all this savage partisanship."

Gergen continued: "I served proudly for Ronald Reagan and think Reagan achieved many good things for the country." Among those, he said, were tackling inflation, creating jobs and helping end the Cold War with his defense build-up.

"I also believe there were many social ills that built up and were unattended during the Reagan and Bush years. I've written about that. What attracts me to Clinton are a lot of the ideas he has for dealing with that," he said.

But as a well-known and nationally visible Republican veteran, who has been paired with Democrat Mark Shields as a commentator on PBS's "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," Gergen soon may find himself in an awkward position inside a Democratic administration.

"I do not want to be involved in partisan political campaigns against Republicans," he said. "I've talked to Mac and the president about this. . . . I'm not going to be out there attacking Republicans. That's not where I'm coming from."

But there is no more political office in Washington than the presidency, and the seam between policy and politics is often impossible to discern. What happens, for example, as the 1994 midterm elections near, let alone decisions affecting Clinton's 1996 reelection campaign? Clinton and Gergen have no road map for making this work.

Although of different parties, Gergen and Clinton have known one another for nearly a decade, having shared many New Year's weekends together at the Renaissance Weekend gatherings of political, news media and business leaders on South Carolina's Hilton Head Island.

Over the years, Clinton has called on Gergen for advice and consultation. One of those conversations came in October 1991, the night Clinton had announced his candida-

cy for president, when the two talked for more than an hour about the campaign ahead.

On the night of Clinton's disastrously long speech nominating Michael S. Dukakis for president in 1988, Gergen dropped off a note for the then-Arkansas governor at his hotel. "It said, 'Chin up. A lot of your friends out there think you're terrific,'" Gergen said.

Over the past few months, Gergen has been a visible but sympathetic critic of the president. The administration, he has said or written recently, has gone from "poor to perilous," lacks a clear philosophy, has a "wobbly" domestic policy that is beginning to infect foreign policy and hired a White House staff that even Clinton has quipped "looks like a Head Start program."

At the same time, he has called Clinton "one of the most gifted men ever to serve in the Oval Office" and warned critics that "America cannot afford the destruction of another presidency." Almost as if advertising for the job he now holds, he wrote in the May 24 issue of U.S. News, "If he [Clinton] doesn't have all the right answers, we should stop jeering, get off the sidelines and help him find them."

Gergen also has urged Clinton in writing to move back toward his roots in the Democratic Leadership Council, and his appointment drew a cheer from DLC President Al From. "I like it," From said. "This is not a child. This is an adult."

This is not the first time Gergen, 51, will serve a president from a different party. When he joined the Nixon administration as a speechwriter in 1971, he came as a Democrat who had voted for Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968.

A graduate of Yale and Harvard Law School, Gergen served until Richard M. Nixon was forced to resign, left government briefly and returned to become communications director in the Ford administration.

In 1981, he was brought into the Reagan White House not as a devoted follower of Reagan, but as part of the more moderate corps loyal to then-Vice President George

DAVID GERGEN: IN HIS OWN WORDS

ON CLINTON:

"Listening to Americans around the country one hears repeatedly: 'Is Bill Clinton tough enough for the job?' While most people are aching for him to succeed—they desperately want the nation to pull itself up—they grow increasingly worried as his presidency still flounders in troubled waters."

"All of us should give him more of a chance... but it is Clinton who must take charge of his own rescue."

—U.S. News & World Report
May 24, 1993



people, he needs a set of principles that people can understand what he is doing."

—ABC News "Nightline"
May 13, 1993

ON POLITICS:

"Something is deeply amiss in our politics: The mystical cord that ties leaders to followers has been severed so that even when men speak from their hearts—as Clinton and Gore did (at the Democratic Convention)—we wonder if they are telling the truth or just manipulating our emotions... We the people owe those that enter the political arena greater understanding and consideration."

—U.S. News & World Report
July 27, 1992

ON REAGAN:

"I think that part of the success of Reagan in the first term depended upon having a mix, a blend of people with different kind of talents, different views, and it certainly included having people from his original constituency, the conservative movement, around him."

—"MacNeil/Lehrer Hour"
Jan. 8, 1985

ON PARTY IDENTIFICATION:

"Long before Bill Clinton came to Washington, the atmosphere in this town was poisoned by excessive partisanship, it's been on both sides. I do think if the president reaches out to more Republicans... if he reaches out more to the moderate and conservative Democrats in his own party... I think he can build a coalition that will govern. I think he will pick off some Republicans."

—ABC News "Nightline"
May 13, 1993

ON CLINTON'S WHITE HOUSE STAFF:

"... the President himself has kidded that his Cabinet looks like America but his staff looks like a Head Start program... As much as I think he needs a few people of much greater experience... I think there's another problem that is probably deeper and that is, more than

—U.S. News & World Report
May 10, 1993

Bush and White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III.

Gergen's communications and strategic skills quickly made him a player in the Reagan White House, where he served until 1983. It was Gergen, for example, who encouraged Reagan to close out his 1980 debate with Jimmy Carter with the line, "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" It was also Gergen who recommended that Reagan's first public appearance after the assassination attempt in 1981 be before a joint session of Congress, a triumphal moment that was crucial in getting Reagan's economic program passed.

But he was far from flawless. In his book "Gambling with History," Laurence I. Barrett recounts an episode that sounds eerily familiar to the sloppiness with which the Clinton White House recently dealt with the firing of its travel office.

The episode dealt with ethics accusations made against Richard V. Allen, Reagan's national security adviser. Gergen's first attempt to brief reporters was filled with misstatements of fact and suggestions that the news media were blowing the incident out of proportion. Hours later he reappeared in the White House briefing room for what Barrett called "a teatime snack of crow."

That kind of experience might have helped Clinton's team avoid some mistakes of late, and it was one reason Clinton and McLarty recruited him.

The first serious contact came last Sunday night, when McLarty called for a "very off the record" discussion in which the chief of staff told Gergen he was seeking someone who could be "at the intersection of politics and policy."

Gergen sensed an offer might be coming, but even after it was made,

he spent hours in conversation with Clinton, Vice President Gore and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, gaining assurances about his role and making certain he felt comfortable with Clinton's agenda. "I really wanted to know whether he saw himself as a DLC New Democrat," Gergen said. "I was reassured on that."

He also talked with Republican friends and with friends in the media, asking, "Do I have a road back to journalism when this latest assignment ends?"

Yesterday, he described his decision to join the administration as one of patriotism. "I hold the old-fashioned belief that when a president asks for help, there is only one good answer: How soon should I start?"

But there is no doubting that the decision to bring him into the White House represents a gamble, not just for Gergen but more fundamentally for the president.

COMPILED BY MEGAN GARVEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 1 יוני 1993

אל: ממ"ד

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

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הנדון: התמודדות מדינות ערב עם ערכים דמוקרטיים

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (תומאס ליפמן 30/5) בנושא התמודדות מדינות ערב עם ערכים דמוקרטיים. ממשל קלינטון, התומך בעידוד דמוקרטיה בעולם ומדגיש את נושא זכויות האדם, נתקל בתגובה צוננת ממדינות ערב חשודות במאבקי כוח עם קבוצות דתיות בעלות נטיות אלימות. מדינות אלו סוענות כי עליהן לנקוט באמצעים קשים ולא דווקא דמוקרטיים כדי למנוע פעילויות טרוריסטיות.

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Arab States Battling Muslim Militants Counter U.S.

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration's foreign policy emphasis on democratic freedoms and human rights is getting a cool reception from some Muslim countries locked in struggles against violence-prone religious militants.

These countries argue that their crackdowns on extremists are necessary in the face of bombings, assassinations and other acts that they perceive as terrorism, not legitimate dissent.

Algeria in particular has rebuffed a public scolding from Assistant Secretary of State Edward P. Djerejian, who told a House subcommittee on May 12 that the roots of the violence plaguing that North African nation lie in "the frustration of a populace whose basic aspirations remain unmet. We continue to believe that structural, political and economic reforms are necessary to satisfy the pressing needs of the Algerian people."

Djerejian also chastised Tunisia, which he said has "dealt too harshly with some of its political opponents." Secretary of State Warren Christopher delivered a similar message to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak during an April meeting in Washington, according to Arab diplomats.

But Egypt has refused to relent in its effort to crush the religious militants who have set off bombs and attacked tourists and government officials. On Thursday, a military court sentenced six of them to death.

When Algerian Foreign Minister Redha Malek met with Christopher the week after Djerejian's comments, he told him that Algeria, while committed to democracy, was under attack from organized, trained groups of militants who are receiving aid from Iran and other foreign nations, Algerian officials said.

Algeria's population is almost entirely Muslim, but the country has operated as a secular state ever since independence. In January 1992, Algeria's ruling High Security Council canceled legislative elections when it appeared that the militant Islamic Salvation Front would win a clear majority and perhaps the two-thirds of the seats required to rewrite the nation's constitution. Cancellation of the elections touched off a wave of bombings, shootings and gun battles between security forces and insurgents that have created an atmosphere close to civil war.

"Islam belongs to the people," Malek said in a dinner toast during his visit. "It is not permissible to allow a political party to monopolize religion... Some wanted to use democracy to subvert it. We brought to a stop the electoral process but not the democratic process."

Malek acknowledged that his country must do more to break out of its economic stagnation and provide opportunity for young people, but he said the first task is to "re-establish the authority of the state and stabilize the situation."

"Democracy is about more than elections," said Algerian Ambassa-

dor Nourredine Zerhouni. "It's about free speech, free association, freedom to worship in your own way and freedom of the press. We are protecting all those against people who would use the electoral system to take them away." He said the Algerians had made their position clear to Christopher.

Zerhouni and other Arab diplomats argued that Egypt and Algeria are targets of an international movement, directed by Iran, to destabilize secular governments in Muslim countries. Many of the insurgents, they said, are young men who went to Afghanistan as volunteers to fight against the Soviet army and are now well trained in weaponry and military tactics.

Stance on Rights

"We're speaking about a few hundred militants bent on violence," an Egyptian official said. "This is terrorism. Would you be happy if the Islamic Salvation Front were ruling now in Algeria? What country do you think would be their Great Satan?"

Last week, the London-based human rights group Amnesty International issued a scathing report accusing Egyptian security forces of "frightening brutality" in their campaign against the militants. "The security forces appear to have been given a license to kill with impunity," the group said.

Such reports about one of this country's closest allies in the Middle East present a dilemma for the Clinton administration, which must

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balance its emphasis on human rights against concern about terrorism and fanaticism, especially if fomented by Iran.

Washington's message to Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt is, "you can't repress your way out of this. You can't use security to solve your political problems," a State Department official said.

Djerejian said the United States is "very concerned about Iran's exploitation of Islamic extremist groups throughout the region" and about the encouragement given to such groups in North Africa by the Islamic regime in Sudan. But Djerejian said "social injustice"—lack of economic, educational and political opportunity—gives the extremists their constituency.

In a May 18 speech outlining the Clinton administration's Middle East policy, Martin S. Indyk of the president's National Security Council said that "decades of neglect and dashed hopes for political participation and social justice have nurtured some violent movements cloaked in religious garb that have begun to challenge governments across the Arab world with the potential for destabilizing the region."

The administration's policy, he said, is "to confront this emerging threat, in part by pursuing peace with vigor, in part by containing extremism throughout the region and in part by holding out an alternative vision of democratic political development and free market economic development," backed up by

help to "friendly governments to create a better life for their people than that offered by the proponents of violence."

The United States has endorsed a proposal to create a High Commissioner for Human Rights to promote democracy and individual freedom worldwide, which is expected to come up at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights June 14-25 in Vienna. But many developing countries, including some U.S. allies, oppose the plan, arguing that in some countries the right to a job, food and shelter is more important than the right to free speech or free press. In their view, collective rights can take precedence over individual rights.

1844:חוזם,אאא

אל:רהמש/40

מ-:ניו יורק,נר:27,תא:010693,זח:1621,דח:ר,סג:בל,

בבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

22733

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

TO: TIKSHORET

2-6

NEWS SUMMARY 1-JUNE-1993

TV COVERAGE

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CNN NOTED THE ARRIVAL IN JERUSALEM ON MONDAY OF NEARLY 200 LIBYANS ON A GROUP PILGRIMAGE.

EDITORIALS

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NYT(CABLED): 'NUCLEAR PEACE FOR PYONGYANG?': WRITER NOTES THE ARRIVAL OF PYONGYANG'S FIRST VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN NEW YORK WEDNESDAY TO MEET WITH STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS; CALLS ON NORTH KOREA TO ALLOW ACCESS TO INTERNATIONAL INSPECTORS TO ITS NUCLEAR SITES; ASSERTS THAT SUCH STEPS WILL GRANT PYONGYANG 'NORMAL' DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND THE OPENING UP OF TRADE AND AID.

COLUMNS

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NYT(B.BLAIR-CABLED): 'LIGHTEN UP ON UKRAINE': WRITER CLAIMS THAT DESPITE ITS DECLARED INTENTION TWO YEARS AGO TO REDUCE ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL, UKRAINE HAS BEEN BUILDING UP ITS ARMY AND NUCLEAR WEAPONRY; ASSERTS THAT WHILE UKRAINIAN LEGISLATORS MAY RATIFY THE STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATY, THEY WILL SURRENDER NO WARHEADS WITHOUT FIRM SECURITY GUARANTEES; ADDS THAT ATTEMPTS BY THE US AND RUSSIA TO DISARM UKRAINE 'SEEMS TO ONLY STRENGTHEN ITS PRO-NUCLEAR SENTIMENT' AND COULD PUSH KIEV TO SEIZE INDEPENDENT CONTROL OF WEAPONS IN ITS TERRITORY AS A NUCLEAR DETERRENT AGAINST RUSSIA.

DN(J.SLEEPER): 'JEWISH LIBERALISM ENDS 60 YEAR RUN': WRITER STATES THAT ANDREW STEIN'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MAYORAL RACE MAKES THIS THE

FIRST MAYORAL ELECTION SINCE 1969 WITHOUT A JEWISH CANDIDATE; CLAIMS THAT THIS MARKS THE PASSING OF THE 60 YEAR JEWISH LIBERALISM IN NEW YORK.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'FOUR YEARS AFTER TIANANMEN, THE HARD LINE IS CRACKING'; 'PEROT'S ORGANIZATION SHOWS FISSURES AND SAGGING MORALE'; 'LONGTIME AFRICAN DICTATOR'S GRIP LOOSENING'; 'CLINTON, SALUTING VIETNAM DEAD, FINDS OLD WOUND SLOW TO HEAL'; 'PATIENTS CITE BIAS IN AIDS COVERAGE BY HEALTH PLANS'. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/RABIN/CABINET: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED): 'RABIN SHUFFLES HIS CABINET BUT CRITICS AREN'T APPEASED': PM YITZHAK RABIN AVERTED A POLITICAL CRISIS BY RESHUFFLING HIS CABINET OVER THE WEEKEND; NOTES THAT MR. RABIN WAS STILL CRITICIZED FOR HIS LEADERSHIP STYLE AND FOR ITS IMPLICATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS; ADDS THAT MR. RABIN HAD SHOWN FEW SIGNS OF BEING A 'TAKE-CHARGE MANAGER' OF THE COALITION CRISIS; STATES THAT AIDES TO THE PRIME MINISTER REJECTED ANY LINK BETWEEN THE POLITICAL TURMOIL AND THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS; QUOTES POLITICAL COMMENTATORS AS SAYING THAT THE CRISIS MAY HAVE STRENGTHENED MR. RABIN AND THAT MERETZ AND SHAS WILL 'THINK HARD' BEFORE DISRUPTING THE COALITION AGAIN.

ISRAEL/IDF/SHOOTING: DN(REUTERS-BRIEF): ACCORDING TO MILITARY SOURCES, THE ISRAELI ARMY IS INVESTIGATING THE DEATHS OF THREE SOLDIERS WHO WERE REPORTEDLY KILLED WHILE PLAYING AN ASSAULT RIFLE VERSION OF RUSSIAN ROULETTE.

ISRAEL/WEST BANK/CLASH: NYT(REUTERS-BRIEF): 'ARMED SETTLERS IN WEST BANK CLASH WITH ISRAELI SOLDIERS': ACCORDING TO SECURITY OFFICIALS, ARMED JEWISH SETTLERS REPORTEDLY CLASHED WITH ISRAELI SOLDIERS IN THE WEST BANK ON MONDAY; NOTES THAT THE SOLDIERS WERE GUARDING A SHRINE SACRED TO MUSLIMS AND JEWS AND THAT THE SETTLERS HAD FIRED SHOTS IN THE AIR IN HEBRON AFTER THE IDF BARRED THEM FROM ENTERING THE AL IBRAHIMI MOSQUE.

ISRAEL/LIBYA/PILGRIMS: NYT(J.GREENBERG-CABLED), ND, DN, NYP: 'IN AN OVERTURE TO AN ENEMY, LIBYAN PILGRIMS VISIT ISRAEL': NEARLY 200 LIBYANS ARRIVED IN JERUSALEM ON A PILGRIMAGE MONDAY FOR A THREE-DAY VISIT TO MUSLIM HOLY SITES; NOTES THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST GROUP PILGRIMAGE BY CITIZENS OF AN ARAB COUNTRY THAT IS OFFICIALLY AT WAR WITH ISRAEL; QUOTES THE SKEPTICISM OF DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER YOSHI BEILIN REGARDING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PILGRIMAGE: 'I'M NOT SURE THIS VISIT IS A HARBINGER OF POLITICAL CHANGE'; STATES THAT THE VISIT WAS REPORTEDLY AMONG THE GESTURES TOWARD ISRAEL AND LIBYAN JEWS ANNOUNCED LAST MONTH BY LIBYAN LEADER COL. MUAMMAR EL-QADDAFI.

IRAQ/OPEC/TAX: DN(BRIEF): NOTES THAT IRAQ HAS URGED OPEC NATIONS TO CUT PRODUCTION AND RAISE PRICES TO COUNTER 'UNJUST' TAXES THE WEST IS REPORTEDLY INTENDING TO IMPOSE ON IMPORTED OIL.

GERMANY/TURKS/BOMBING/ARREST: NYT(S.KINZER),WSJ,ND,DN,NYP: 'GERMANY ARRESTS YOUNG SUSPECT IN BOMBING THAT KILLED FIVE TURKS': REPORTS THAT GERMAN POLICE HAVE ARRESTED A YOUNG MAN ON MURDER AND ARSON CHARGES IN CONNECTION WITH A FIREBOMBING THAT KILLED FIVE TURKS ON SATURDAY; NOTES THAT THE ARREST DID NOT SUPPRESS THE VIOLENCE THAT HAS SHAKEN SOLINGEN OVER THE PAST FEW DAYS.

NEW JERSEY/SHEIK/BOSNIA/ISRAEL: ND(A.DESTEFANO): 'SHEIK URGES ACTION OVER BOSNIA, ISRAEL': REPORTS THAT SHEIK OMAR ABDUL RAHMAN CALLED ON MUSLIMS IN JERSEY CITY ON MONDAY TO AID THEIR BROTHERS IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ISRAEL; NOTES THAT THE SHEIK CALLED EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK A CIA AGENT; ADDS THAT MR. RAHMAN WAS SURROUNDED BY APPROXIMATELY 200 FOLLOWERS.

WASHINGTON/CHRISTOPHER/POSITION: NYT(E.SCIOLINO-CABLED): 'DESPITE HEAT, CHRISTOPHER HAS 'THE TIME OF MY LIFE': REPORTS THAT DESPITE THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S MIXED SIGNALS ON FOREIGN POLICY, AND DESPITE SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S IMAGE OF A 'MAN WEIGHED DOWN,' MR. CHRISTOPHER IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT PEOPLE ARE 'STRUCK BY HOW HAPPY I AM AT MY JOB'; NOTES THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER IS ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S MOST TRUSTED ADVISERS; ADDS THAT THE COMBINATION OF MR. CLINTON'S 'PASSION FOR CONSULTING' AND MR. CHRISTOPHER'S 'PENCHANT FOR LISTENING' TENDS TO DRAW OUT DECISION-MAKING, CITING THE US POSITION ON BOSNIA AS AN EXAMPLE.

CHINA/HARD LINE/CRACKING: NYT(N.KRISTOF-CABLED): 'FOUR YEARS AFTER TIANANMEN, THE HARD LINE IS CRACKING': REPORTS THAT NEARLY FOUR YEARS AFTER THE COMMUNIST CRACKDOWN ON THE STUDENT UPRISING IN TIANANMEN SQUARE, CHINA IS 'IN SOME RESPECTS' PUTTING ITS HARD-LINE ERA BEHIND IT; NOTES THAT SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RESTRICIONS HAVE RELAXED AND THAT THOUSANDS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS HAVE BEEN RELEASED; ADDS THAT THE ECONOMIC BOOM IN CHINA - CITES ITS GNP - HAS ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO THE CHANGE IN CHINA.

PARAGUAY/COLONIES/MENGELE: NYT(J.BROOKE): REPORTS THAT ONE YEAR AFTER GENETIC TESTING CONFIRMED THAT AUSCHWITZ DOCTOR JOSEF MENGELE DIED IN BRAZIL IN 1979, 'MEMORIES SEEM TO BE SHARPENING ABOUT HIM'; ASSERTS THAT THE 37 GERMAN FARMING COLONIES IN PARAGUAY WERE ENOUGH 'TO MAKE A NAZI FUGITIVE FEEL AT HOME', CITING HOHENAU'S NAZI SYMPATHIES.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(S.ENGELBERG-FRONT PAGE): 'PEROT'S ORGANIZATION SHOWS FISSURES AND SAGGING MORALE.'

NYT(A.ROSENTHAL-COLUMN): 'THE CONSTANT HEARTS.'

NYT(M.WALD): 'OPERATORS OF NUCLEAR PLANTS ARE WARNED OF A SAFETY RISK.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, פרנ, מזתי, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3023

אל: רהמש/75

מ:- אטלנטה, נר: 7, תא: 010693, זח: 1210, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: מצפ"א

דע: הסברה מרחבי, קישור לקונגרס - וושינגטון,
הסברה וושינגטון

מאת: קונכ"ל אטלנטה

הנדון: פגישה עם חבר הקונגרס ג'ון לואיס

נפגשתי ב-28 לפגישת היכרות עם חבר הקונגרס ג'ון לואיס (דמוקרט
מג'ורג'יה), שיוצא ב-1, בראש משלחת של הקאוקוס השחור לארץ. בין המשתתפים
מאזורנו חברי הבית בני תומפסון (מיס.) וארל היליארד (אלבאמה).

המשלחת, שמאורגנת כידוע ע"י איפא"ק, תשהה בארץ שבוע. לואיס עצמו יעזוב
ב-6, בשל התחייבויות בווינגטון. זהו ביקורו השלישי של לואיס בארץ.

בעת פגישתנו, זה אך שב מווינגטון, מן הדיונים המתישים על התוכנית
הכלכלית של הנשיא. כסגן "מצליף" הדמוקרטים היה לואיס פעיל מאוד בגיוס
תמיכה בתוכנית. הוא סיפר כי נפרד מחבריו למשלחת, בתום הדיונים בקונגרס
במילים "להתראות בשבוע הבא בירושלים". הוא מעריך כי התוכנית תעבור גם
בסנאט, בסופו של דבר.

בסוגיית חוק סיוע החוץ אמר כי איננו רואה השנה בעיה של ממש, "וזוה ישוט
בקונגרס עם תמיכה רחבה". לגבי העתיד, הוא שותף להערכות כי ייתכנו בעיות.
הוא עצמו מתנגד לכידודה מרצון של ארה"ב בעולם "שהרי נותרנו מעצמת העל
היחידה, והדבר מחייב".

מאותה סיבה הוא גם מצדד בשותפות פעילה של ארה"ב בתהליך השלום באזורנו.

אזור הבחירה של לואיס כולל כ-600 אלף תושבים וכ-200 אלף בוחרים. כ-90
אחוז מן העיר אטלנטה, וכן אזורים נלווים, שייכים לאזורו. הוא נבחר
לקונגרס לראשונה ב-1986.

אריה מקל

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, רביב,
הסברה, @ (ראשהממשלה)

אאאא, חוזם: 1864

אל: רהמש/43

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 40, תא: 010693, זח: 1701, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכבב

שמור/מידי

אל: משהב"ט / מקש"ח, אמ"ן רמ"ח קש"ח

דע: רמטכ"ל, משהב"ט / מנכ"ל, סגן רמטכ"ל, ר' אג"ת, ר' אמ"ן,
רוה"מ / מזכ"צ, אג"ת / רח"ט אסטרטגי, נ"י / רמ"ש"ן.

מאת: נ.צ. וושינגטון / אלוף גיורא רום

סימוכין: 831

הנדון: פגישה עם וולט סלוקום

1. קיימתי היום פגישת הכרות בארבע עיניים עם וולט סלוקום, לאחר מספר פעמים בה נפגשנו בפורומים רחבים יותר.
2. וולט סלוקום הינו סגנו וממלא מקומו של פרנק וויזנר במשרד ההגנה. הוא עורך דין שהיה פעיל בזמן ממשל קרטר, פרש לחיים הפרטיים וחזר עם התחלפות האדמיניסטרציה.
3. הבוקר הוא הושבע לאחר שאושר על ידי הסנט, והוא אולי סנונית המבשרת את השלמת תהליך האישורים המייגע כאן.
4. בתפקידו הוא מנהל את כל הגוף (POLICY AND PLANNING), עוסק באופן יותר ספציפי במרכז אירופה, מזרח אירופה, טורקיה, ישראל וטיוואן. בנוסף הוא עוסק בנושאי פרוליפרציה, בהתבסס גם על נסיון העבר שלו הקשור בהסכמי SALT מדבריו.

5. הפנטגון יתחיל לפעול באורח נמרץ בעוד כחודש.

6. ההשערות, בזמנו, שהפנטגון יחדור באופן גס לתחומי האחריות של מחמ"ד,

לא יתאמתו, ככל הנראה. אספין מעוניין הרבה יותר בעיצוב פנימי של קהיליית הבטחון האמריקאית מאשר לעסוק במדיניות חוץ.

7. יחד עם זאת, במידת הצורך, אספין עוסק במדיניות חוץ כאשר ההקשרים לבטחון ברורים וממדיים. כך הוא המקרה בהקשר של בוסניה, של צפון קוריה וכד'.

8. בנושא בוסניה (נושא בו טיפל באופן אישי) העריך שלא תהיה התערבות אמריקאית. דיבר באופן ברור על הצורך להבדיל בין בעייה אזורית ובין האינטרס האמריקאי להתערב שם בכפוף לעלויות הצפויות. לדעתו הפתרון יוביל לקראת עצירת הלוחמה בשלב שבו הסרבים ירגישו שהשיגו את יעדיהם (דבר שיתכן והם קרובים לו). גם אז יישאר מספיק מקום להקמת רפובליקה מוסלמית, "מגובה" במדינות נוספות שהיו פעם חלק מיגוסלביה. כמובן שאי - אפשר יהיה אף פעם להתגבר על העוינות והאיבה, אבל לדבריו, בבחינה אקדמית של המצב, השוני בין התושבים שם קטן מהשוני שבין הקתולים והפרוטסטנטים בצפון אירלנד.

9. תאר את אספין כאדם המתקשה לעתים לנהל פגישות עם מנהיגים זרים סביב סדר יום מוגדר ומסודר. הוא מעדיף חילופי דברים ברמה יותר גבוהה ומופשטת, להיות קשוב לראייה יותר כוללנית וברורה של הנושא הנדון, ולהשאיר את הערעור ב"רשימת הקניות" למיניהם לדרגי העבודה (בהקשר זה ציין לטובה את פגישת אספין - רוה"מ בה לא עלה אף נושא ספציפי של "נכסים מוחשיים" במהלך השיחה).

10. בנושא ה"חץ" (כחלק מכל נושא הגנה בפני טק"ק) העלה את נושא פערי ההערכה העצומים הקיימים בין עלויות ההצטיידות. נתן לי להבין בצורה שאינה משתמעת לשתי פנים שהערכות עלות אלו הן חלק מהדלק המזין את אש ההתנגדות לתכנית.

סיכום

11. קשה להעריך מה תהיה השפעתו של סלוקום בעניינו, בעיקר בסביבה המשופעת באנשים מהסוג של וויזנר, פרימן, קרטנר וכד' יחד עם זאת הוא מוערך מאוד כאן בעיר בשל ישרו, צניעותו, עניניותו ונחפס כידיד לישראל (היה, אגב, עורך הדין של חלק מהקרנות של אייפאק). נמשיך ונשמור איתו על קשר, גם כשחלקכם תבואו לבקר כאן בעיר.

בברכה,

גיורא רום אלוף

נ.צ. וושינגטון

תפוצה: @ (אמץ), @ (יתום/ממרהמ)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 1863

אל: רהמש/33

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 39, תא: 010693, זח: 1701, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

שמור/מידי

1 יוני '93

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: דויד גרג'ן - יועץ התקשורת החדש

1. הנשיא מינה יועץ תקשורת חדש לבית הלבן - וגם אם מבקריו מיעצים לו, בפומבי ומעל דפי העתונות, מזה זמן-רב לשפר ולייעל את עבודת התקשורת שלו-הרי שבכל זאת, המהלך התקבל בהפתעה.

2. מבקריו החריפים של הנשיא, שעמם נמנים גם נציגי התקשורת הלאומית שהרגישו נדחקים הצידה בגין העדפת התקשורת המקומית (ראה סקירה קודמת בנושא), הגיבו בדר"כ בחיוב על השינוי: מרבית הפרשנים הסכימו שעצם השנוי חשוב באשר משמעותו היא הכרת הבית הלבן ב"קלקולים" ונסיון לפתורם ע"י החדרת בעל מקצוע מוכר ומנוסה שינהל את התפקיד המורכב של העברת מסריו של הנשיא לציבור ושיפור מערכת יחסי הנשיא עם "התקשורת הגדולה".

3. גם על האיוש עצמו התגובות היו בדר"כ חיוביות: מרבית הכותבים ציינו את נסיונו של גרג'ן ומקצועיותו, וזהויו הפוליטי כאיש הזרם המרכזי של הרפובליקנים צויין כיתרון נוסף שיסייע לקלינטון לשנות תדמיתו (המזיקה בקרב בוחריו) כדמוקרט "שמאלני".

עם זאת, מרבית הכותבים לא יכלו להמנע מציון האירוניה שבדבר: נשיא דמוקרטי בוחר לו יועץ תקשורת רפובליקני; נשיא שחרת על דגלו "שינוי" מביא לצוותו "יד ותיקה" - מי ששירת כבר שני נשיאים קודמים; בית לבן שסימן ההיכר שלו היה הגיל הצעיר של יועציו - מזיז את הדובר סטפנופולוס בן ה-31 ומביא תחתיו את גרג'ן בן ה-51, המכיר היטב את וושינגטון וחוקי המשחק שלה, וכ"ו.

מרבית העתונאים גם טרחו לרכז כל התבטאויותיו של גרג'ן - כפרשן ב-PBS וככותב ב-WR ו-USN - המבקרות את ממשל קלינטון.

4. דויד גרג'ן, בן ה-51, שהינו בוגר אוניברסיטאות ייל והרוורד

(משפטים), שימש כיועץ תקשורת וככותב נאומים לנשיאים ניקסון, פורד ורייגן. מאז עזיבתו את תפקידיו בממשל שימש גרג'ן כעורך ובעל טור בשבועון US NEWS - WORLD REPORT וכפרשן בתוכנית החדשות (מקנל-לרר) של PBS-ה.

כמיטב המסורת הושינגטונית של "הדלת המסתובבת" - גרג'ן הינו פקיד שהפך עתונאי שחזר להיות פקיד ממשל...

אם אכן השינוי שנעשה בבית הלבן יהיה משמעותי מבחינת שיפור תדמית הנשיא ומבחינת קשרי הבית-הלבן עם התקשורת - רק ימים יגידו. או, כמו שכתב ביל ספייר (NYT - 31.5)
"...(IT'S A GOOD SIGNAL)...SIGNALS ARE NICE, BUT SUBSTANCE IS BETTER..."

חלק מן המאמרים וכתבות הפרופיל בנושא - הוברקו אליכם בנפרד.

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
רביב, מעת, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 1795

אל: רהמש/41

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 34, תא: 010693, זח: 1624, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממ"ד - ערב 1, כינ"ל 1, מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: ביקור שה"ח אלג'יריה בווינגטון לשלכם 1305

משיחה עם ריילי (אלג'יריה, N.E.A.) ב-28.5:

1. סיכמה את עיקרי דבריו של שה"ח אלג'יריה רדא מאלכ בפגישותיו (בנפרד) עם כריסטופר ודג'רג'יאן כדלהלן:

- צריכים היינו להשעות את הבחירות לפרלמנט משום שפ.י.ס. לא היתה משחקת את המשחק הדמוקרטי (לו עלתה לשלטון י.א.).

- עם זאת, אנו מחויבים לדמוקרטיה. אנו מקיימים דיאלוג (עם המפלגות הפוליטיות) במגמה להשיג קונצנזוס, לקראת כינון תקופת מעבר.

- תקופת המעבר תיפתח בדצמ' 93' ותימשך שנתיים, שלוש. בתקופה זו תכהן ממשלה זמנית, ובסופה תתקיימנה בחירות.

- אנו מאמינים שתהליך זה משקף את רצונו של מרבית הציבור באלג'יריה.

- יש לתת למפלגות זמן להתארגנות.

- לא שכחנו את הצורך בכינון רפורמה בכלכלה. אנו רוצים בליברליזציה, אך לא ניתן להאיץ זאת בשל הערבוביה (DISLOCATION) שנגרמה כתוצאה מהמורשת הסוציאליסטית.

2. מאלכ לא העלה בקשות ספציפיות, והתמקד בהסברת דרכו של המשטר תוך שהתייחס לנקודות המדאיות, עפ"י תחושתו, את האמריקאים. שה"ח אלג'יריה חזר והעלה מסר זה במכלול פגישותיו בווינגטון - בממשל, בקונגרס ועם אנשי מחקר (סטלוף ממכון וושינגטון, שנועד עם מאלכ, אכן שמע דברים דומים. הוסיף ששה"ח אלג'יריה קבע שפ.י.ס. אינו קיים עוד).

3. מאלכ התייחס גם לנושא הסהרה המערבית. בעניין זה לא חידש, לא העלה אג'נדה אלג'ירית מיוחדת, והסתפק בהבעת דאגה. קבע שלא אלג'יריה אין תביעות טריטוריאליות או אחרות במקום. אלג'יריה מבקשת שהאזור יהיה יציב, וסבורה שדחיפת הפוליסריו מעבר לנקודה מסוימת, עליה ביכולתו להסכים, רק תערער את היציבות. לדעת אלג'יריה יש להעמיק את המו"מ בין הצדדים.

4. האמריקאים אמרו שהם אכן מודאגים נוכח המתרחש באלג'יריה. הוסיפו שעפ"י תחושתם, מרוב חתירה לביטחון, המשטר באלג'יריה איבד את הקשר עם המצב אותו צריך להבטיח, וכי האלג'יראים מטפלים בסימפטומים אך לא בחולי עצמו. על המשטר באלג'יריה להגשים רפורמה כלכלית ולהגיע אל הציבור תוך קיום דיאלוג אמיתי.

5. בסיכומו של דבר, כך בת-שיחי, השיחות התנהלו באווירה ידידותית אך בלא שמסרי הצדדים אכן נקלטו, זה ע"י משנהו. כך למשל, לקביעת האמריקאים כי על המשטר באלג'יריה לקיים דיאלוג אמיתי עם הציבור, השיב רדא מאלכ כי דיאלוג כזה אכן מתקיים. לדעתה, לא מן הנמנע שהאלג'ירי אכן מאמין בדבריו, וכי הפער בין הצדדים נותר בעינו בשל הבדלי התרבות הפוליטית היסודיים בין הצדדים. מובן שניתן להעריך גם שמאלכ נותר בשלו משום שהגיע לשליחות הסברה ולא על מנת להשתכנע.

6. אשר למערב הסהרה, האמריקאים אמרו שמבחינתם הבעיה מטופלת באמצעות האו"ם. לארה"ב אין תוכנית משלה ואין היא מעוניינת להתערב בצדדים הטכניים של הפתרון, אך היא מקווה שהבעיה לא תימשך עד אין קץ.

7. ציינה שהיא מודעת לכך שביקור שה"ח האלג'ירי תואר ע"י התקשורת בארצו כאירוע חשוב מאד המסמן התחלה חדשה ביחסי ארה"ב-אלג'יריה. מכל מקום, מבחינת ארה"ב היה זה ביקור ידידותי, שגרתי בתכלית, של עוד שה"ח ממדינה זרה. כדבריה: "בקש לבקר - קבלנוהו - ותו לאו".

8. העריכה, בלא מידע, ששיחת רדא עם שג' ארה"ב באו"ם התמקדה בנושא מערב הסהרה.

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,
סמנכלמזת, מזת1, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 2427

אל: רהמש/53

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 27, תא: 010693, זח: 1546, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א - מנהל הסברה

דע: לשכת סגן שה"ח

מאת: וושינגטון

הנדון: עולי הרגל מלוב

1. במשרדנו התקבלו היום מספר פניות ותמיהות בנושא ביקור קבוצת עולי-הרגל מלוב.

2. ראויות לציון שתי שיחות - האחת מסוזן כהן, אמה של אחת הנספות באסון פאן-אם, והשניה מנשיאת ארגון ההורים נפגעי אסון פאן-אם 103, גב' רוזמרי וולף. שתייהן, כל אחת בנפרד, בקשו להביע מחאתן על הסכמת ממ-ישראל לארח קבוצת עולי הרגל מלוב, ועל קבלתם בטקס רשמי, ע"י שר התיירות, בהגיעם ארצה. בכך, ובדברי רוח"מ כי ייאזת (גם) לקבל את קדאפי אם יבוא לארץ, יש - לדבריהן - משום מתן לגיטימציה לקדאפי ולמשטרו הטרוריסטי. מעבר למחאתן, בכוונת ההורים לפעול כדי להבטיח שמתן לגיטימציה זו לא תעבור בשתיקה.

במסגרת פעולת ההורים, בכוונת הארגון לפנות רשמית למחמ"ד ולפנות לתקשורת (כולל לכתבים ישראלים).

3. גב' סוזן כהן, שבתה בת העשרים נספתה בפגיעה, אמרה כי היא מדברת מתוך כאב עמוק הן כאם שכולה וכן כיהודיה: כואב לה במיוחד שמדינת ישראל היא זו שמתירה כניסת נציגי מדינת טרור לארץ. אמרה שבכוונתה לפנות לארגונים יהודים ולהבהיר להם שכל דיאלוג יהודי-אמריקני עם לוב (התייחסה לכך בעקבות מאמרה של ג'ודי מילר בנוי-רפובליק ומאמרים אחרים לגבי נסיונות קדאפי לייצור הידברות עם יהודים) - יראה ע"י כלל הציבור האמריקני כפגיעה באינטרסים לאומיים אמריקניים, דבר שיבודד את היהודים, כקבוצה, ויפרידם מכלל הציבור האמריקני.

4. נודה להתייחסותכם לנושא. אנא העבירו הצעתכם לתגובה גם לקונסוליות.

ירון-ברקן

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @מנכל, @ממנכל, @מצב, @מצפא,
@רביב, @מעט, @הסברה

אאא, חוזם: 38057

אל: רהמש/1366

מ-: ווש, נר: 2126, תא: 310593, זח: 1330, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/ מיידי

אל: גור, לשכת ס/שה'ח

מצפ'א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: דברי איש השגרירות באמריקנית במוסקבה

לחוזם: 3648, 36492

בדקתי את סעיף ב' במברק הנ'ל ונאמר לי (באופן מוסמך) - להד'מ.

ראשית, שגרירם בדמשק נמצא בחופשה בווינגטון. הם מדברים עמו כאן יומיום והוא לא הזכיר שום פניה סורית כזאת אליו או אל אנשיו.

נכון שהם, האמריקנים, מנסים כל הזמן וברמה הכי גבוהה, לבדוק אפשרות של הקמת ערוץ מקביל (וישיר) אבל הידיעה כאילו הסורים הם שמעלים אפשרות כזו וההצעה, כביכול, לקיים זאת במוסקבה, יסודה בבלבול היוצרות.

שילה

רש

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד,
@ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 38056

אל: רהמש/1365

מ-: ווש, נר: 2125, תא: 310593, זח: 1330, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/ מיידי

אל: ממנכ'ל מצפ'א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: שיחות הכנה על הפלשתינאים

נכון להבוקר, יום ב', אין החלטה סופית של הפלשתינאים להגיע לשיחות
מקדימות לווינגטון. האמריקנים נמצאים במגע יומי עם פייסל חוסייני
מאמינים שהמשלחת תגיע לשיחות המוקדמות (כמעט) בטוחים שהסיכוב הרגיל
יתחיל במועדו.

שילה

רש

2.6.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,

גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,

מזח2, @ (מתאםשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 38055

אל: רהמש/1364

מ-: ווש, נר: 2124, תא: 310593, זח: 1330, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממנכ'ל, מצפ'א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: קונפדרציה

בן שיחו של אוסאמה אל-בז כאן הכחיש באזני שבשיחתם עלתה כאילו הצעה של המצרים לכינון קונפדרציה פלשתינאית-ירדנית. עם זאת אמר שבקרוב הפלשתינאים עצמם 'מסתובבות מחשבות' שנוכח קשיי המו'מ על פתרון- הביניים צריך אולי להתחיל לשוחח על האלטרנטיבות השונות של פתרון הקבע. הדברים לא עלו, כאמור, בשיחות עם המצרים.

שילה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), מצפא, מזתים, מצרים, ממד,
@ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

טובט ניו יורק
קשר ניו יורק

דף: 1
מחיר: 2

סיוג: בלמ"ס

תזוח:

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

חש' מדק:

בסחור - יועץ שחב"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ,
אמ"נ/קש"ח (ימ' העכירונא)

דע:

1229

מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

ISRAEL SHIFTS VIEW ON OCCUPIED LANDS

Emergency Measure to Limit Movement of Arabs May Bring Permanent Split

By JOEL GREENBERG
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 29 — When the Israeli Government sealed off the West Bank and Gaza Strip in late March, it was responding to Palestinian attacks that had killed 15 Israelis that month. Now, what began as an emergency measure is becoming a fixture, and changing entrenched Israeli attitudes toward the occupied territories.

The closing is the longest separation of Palestinians from Israelis since the two populations began mingling after Israel captured the territories in the 1967 war. It is a significant shift from the open-door policies set in the early years of the occupation by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. Now, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has promised that the days of free Arab movement into Israel are over.

To some officials, the separation has sent a clear political signal that the current Labor-led Government, unlike its Likud-led predecessor, is not wedded to the occupied territories.

21.6.
New
York
Times
30-5

איטור:

שם השולח

זמנא - 11-11

31-5-93

לנה כנה סרה מנה מנה
2 1 2
וסה מנה מנה מנה
2 1 2
25

"The headline is: We're on the way out," said Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, a former military governor in the West Bank. "The closing indicates the direction this Government is going, which is separation from the territories through an interim period of Palestinian self-rule."

No Big Happy Family

Gad Ben-Ari, Mr. Rabin's spokesman, said that another lesson of the last two months was that "there is no concept of a Greater Israel in which the Palestinians will live with us like one big happy family."

"The relatively calm public reaction to the Government's decision shows that the illusion of coexistence with the Palestinians, one inside the other, doesn't sell," he said.

The ban prevents most of the 1.8 million Palestinians in the territories from entering Israel and East Jerusalem, including about 100,000 laborers who cannot reach their jobs and whose absence has been keenly felt by Israeli farmers and contractors.

The shutout is not total. The Government has approved the daily entry of 45,000 Palestinians to work on hard-hit construction sites and farms. Temporary passes to Jerusalem have been issued to teachers, students, doctors and businessmen. For noon prayers last Friday, Muslims were permitted into Jerusalem on chartered buses.

But in many ways, the closing has become routine, and separation has been made normal. At some checkpoints between the West Bank and Jerusalem, separate lanes have been created for Israeli and Arab vehicles.

Patrols Beefed Up

To reduce the chances of quick get-aways by Arab attackers, most Palestinians with permits may no longer enter Israel in their own cars, but must instead use specially licensed taxis and buses. Border police patrols have been beefed up to catch workers stealing across the line between the West Bank and Israel. And to help make sure that Jerusalem stays off-limits, the military Government of the West Bank has begun repairing a bypass road around the city that serves Palestinians and links the northern and southern sectors of the West Bank.

After years of economic policies that had forced many Palestinians to seek work in Israel, the Rabin Government is moving to create alternative jobs in the territories. The Cabinet endorsed a plan this week to employ 20,000 Palestinians in public works in the territories over the next two months, at a cost of \$11 million. An additional \$74 million has been earmarked for longer-term projects like classrooms, clinics and water, sewage and telephone lines.

Palestinians call these measures too little, too late, saying that they do not begin to address the economic distress caused by the closing. Shopkeepers in the territories report a sharp drop in customers. Commerce and transportation have been disrupted by the isolation of the West Bank from Gaza and by the blocking of normal passage through Jerusalem. Factories suddenly deprived of income have laid off workers, and families are said to be dipping into meager savings and food supplies to survive.

Also, Palestinians say, the ban on entering Jerusalem severs them from their political, religious and commercial center, and serves Israeli claims to exclusive sovereignty over the city.

Closing Has Broad Support

But if hardships have been increased for Palestinians, the closing has broad support in Israel, where killings by Arabs have been stopped cold. For many Israelis, the heightened sense of security has accelerated an emotional disengagement from the territories that had grown as the strife there intensified.

"I'm in favor of a long, extended closure," said Menashe Ben-Or, a shopkeeper in Pisgat Zeev, a Jerusalem neighborhood that borders on the West Bank. "I've lost business from Arab workmen who used to buy here, but security comes first."

Politicians on both the left and the right interpret the closing as a redefinition of Israel's pre-1967 borders — for good and for bad. Dedi Zucker, a member of Parliament from the leftist Meretz bloc, sees it as a dry run for a political solution. Benjamin Netanyahu, the Likud leader, warns, however, that the move could lead to political separation and a Palestinian state.

But some critics say the closing merely deepens segregation between Arabs and Jews, and with it inequality. "This is apartheid, complete with a pass system," said Meron Benvenisti, an Israeli expert on the territories. "The Arabs are perceived as a work force, and beyond that no one cares what happens to them."

1229

2

2

(2)

אאאא, חוזם: 37361
אל: רהמש/1357
מ-: רהמש, נר: 5, תא: 310593, זח: 1316, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בבבב
31 במאי 1993

שמור / מידי

אל: וושינגטון / קצינת קונגרס
דע: שגריר וושינגטון; משה"ח / מצפ"א
מאת: לשכת ראש הממשלה / יועץ מדיני

הנדון: פגישת חברת קונגרס פט דאנר עם רוח"מ

1. חברת הקונגרס פט דאנר נועדה עם רוח"מ בלשכתו ב- 30 במאי, ושמעה מפיו סקירה מדינית.
2. פט דאנר גילתה עניין ונראתה מרוצה מעצם מפגשה עם רוח"מ.
3. נא דאגו לקיים קשר רצוף עמה במסגרת ה - FOLLOW UP שבודאי אתם מקיימים אחר בקורי אישים בארץ.
4. ד"ש.

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), ממנכל, מצפא

סססס

30.5.93
15:30

מברק נכנס מסווג

303504

ח/ג
(א) / א/א
מ/א
16/5
פ

אאאא, חוזם: 17731
אל: רהמש/ 687
מ-: המשרד, תא: 130593, זח: 1458, דח: ר, סג: שמ,
בבב
600956
שמור/רגיל

910.00

אל: יצחק אורן, לשכת רה"מ

מאת: ס/מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: חברת הקונגרס PAT DANNER

בסוף חודש מאי תגיע ארצה משלחת מנהיגים ^{ה'93} מקנזס-סיטי כשהדמות החשובה שביניהם היא חברת הקונגרס פטרישיה דאנר.

אנו (מצפ"א וקונכ"ל שיקגו) מבקשים, ממליצים שרה"מ יפגוש את הגב' דאנר לשיחה.

הסיבה העיקרית לבקשה: מלבד העובדה שהגב' דאנר הינה חברת קונגרס חדשה ופעילה היא קשורה ללובי הערבי בארה"ב שאף תומך בה כספית ולכן תהיה זו הזדמנות פז להגיע אליה כדי לאזן דעותיה.

המועדים המועדפים לפגישה הם:

30/5 מ-15:30 ואילך
31/5 מ-17:00 ואילך
1/6 מ-14:30 ואילך

ההמלצה למינהל + ס

בני. הם פקולא מניני

מחשבה של המניין, סייץ

אף להנחי כחגיב קויכרס.

התוססו הנוי בשיתוף המליץ

שם ה-5 יהיו גפנים, כמי

שהיא/תוריש לאבנח.

מחתיג שיקול מניני - אורן

לא חושב שצריך לאו-א-א

כוא, אבא אומינג אכסכס

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), מצפא, מאור, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אפי צ'אק
להמוץ + S

בברכה,
מ. ארבל
13 במאי 1993

אאאא, חוזם: 36547

אל: רהמש/1321

מ-: המשרד, תא: 300593, זח: 1805, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

616829

סודי/מיד

111.01

אל: וושינגטון, רבינוביץ

דע: לשכת ס/שה'ח
ס/מנכ'ל ארב'ל

מאת: לשכת ממנכ'ל

הנדון: השתתפות האו'מ בועדת ההיגוי של הרבצ'ד

1. השגריר האמריקאי פנה לממנכ'ל וציין כי האו'מ הביע את רצונו להכנס כמשתתף לועדת ההיגוי של המו'מ הרבצ'ד. האו'מ טען שישראל לא חוזר לא מתנגדת לשיתופו.

2. לדעת האמריקאים עוד מהשנה שעברה, יש להגביל ההשתתפות של גורמים מחוץ לאיזור בועדת ההיגוי אך אם תהיינה התפתחויות שיצדיקו זאת יהיו מוכנים לדון בנושא שנית.

3. בראון ציין שממשיכים להחזיק בדעתם שבוועדת ההיגוי ישתתפו: השושבינים, מחזיקי הפטיש והמשתתפים האיזוריים. הוא המשיך ואמר שהם לא מתלהבים מהשתתפות או'מית אך ביקש לשמוע את דעתנו בנדון והאם ניתנה הבטחה ישראלית כלשהיא.

4. ממנכ'ל השיב לא שטרם נפלה החלטה ולכן נקיים התיעצות בהקדם ונודיעם תוצאותיה.

30 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, ביי, ארב'ל2,

גנור

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 36225

אל: רהמש/1309

מ-: רהמש, נר: 4, תא: 300593, זח: 1504, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/בהול לבוקר

א ל: השגריר, ווש

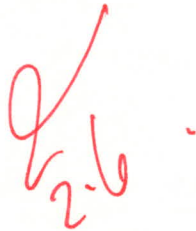
ד ע: שר החוץ

מאת: איתן הבר

הנדון: תודה

א. ראש הממשלה מבקש להודות אישית לכל מי שעסק בשלב זה של אישור סיוע החוץ. הוא נא להעביר תודתו לאנשי השגרירות, הארגונים היהודיים ו"הגבעה".

ב. תודה.



איתן הבר
יועץ ראש הממשלה
ומנהל הלשכה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 36053

אל: רהמש/1305

מ-: המשרד, תא: 300593, זח: 1341, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

616215

סודי/מידי

א ל: וושינגטון, שגריר

ד ע: ציר, שטיין

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

הנדון: איראן G-7

השגריר בראון והציר לארוקו הודיעוני שארה"ב מתעמדת לפעול בנושא האיראני ברוח סיכום הסוגיה בשיחת ס/שה'ח עם סגן מזכיר המדינה טארנוף. עמדת ישראל כפי שבוטאה ע"י ס/שה'ח מקובלת על מחמ"ד.

בנצור.

30 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, מזח1,
ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 36022
אל: רהמש/1304
מ-: המשד, תא: 300593, זח: 1341, דח: מ, סג: בל,
בבב
615923

בלמ'ס/מיד

אל: תפוצה מדינית מצומצמת + צפ'א, מוסקבה, פראג, ורשה, בוקרשט,
בודפשט, ריגה, פריטוריה

מאת: בינ'ל 1

הנדון: עדכון יומי: בינ'ל - מז'ת (30.5)

1. ארה'ב - תהליך

שה'ח כריסטופר בראיון ל-C.N.N. (28/5):

'ALTHOUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE NINTH ROUND DID NOT MAKE
STUNNING PROGRESS, NONETHELESS THEY RESTARTED THE NEGOTIATIONS
AND THEY WERE WORKING ON SUBSTANTIVE AREAS.

THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO PLAY ITS ROLE OF FULL PARTNER.
THERE'LL BE A NEW ROUND STARTING IN JUNE. WE'LL ASK ALL THE
PARTIES TO COME AT THAT TIME AND SOME OF THEM TO COME IN
ADVANCE. WE'RE GOING TO KEEP ON WORKING AT THIS. AND I DON'T
THINK WE'VE MISJUDGED THE PROSPECTS. I THINK THERE CAN BE
PROGRESS IN 1993'.

ובתשובה לשאלה בקשר להעלאת דרג המגעים:

'PRESIDENT CLINTON IS CONSTANTLY INVOLVED IN THAT PROBLEM. I
REPORT TO HIM. I DISCUSS MATTERS WITH HIM. I DISCUSS NEXT
STEPS WITH HIM... I DON'T SEE THAT THIS IS THE MOMENT, FOR
EXAMPLE, FOR ANOTHER CAMP DAVID EFFORT, BUT I DO SEE IT AS AN
IMPORTANT TIME TO BRING THE EFFORT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE
LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES IF YOU WILL, TO BEAR AS A
PARTNER IN THIS PROCESS TO TRY TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS
MOVING FORWARD. AND AS I SAY, I THINK WE'RE GOING TO MAKE
PROGRESS'.

2. ארה"ב - איראן
א. שה"ח כריסטופר בראיון ל-C.N.N., (28/5):

'I THINK THE CONDUCT OF IRAN IS SUCH THAT THEY DESERVE TO BE MADE A PARIAH ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. THEIR CONDUCT IN SPONSORING TERRORISM ELSEWHERE, THEIR CONDUCT IN TRYING TO ASSEMBLE THE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THEIR OWN PEOPLE, THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY, I THINK FULLY JUSTIFY THE ACTION THE UNITED STATES IS TAKING TOWARD IRAN TO ISOLATE IRAN'.

ב. יש לציין שסגן הנשיא האיראני, איתאללה מהאג'ראני, אמר (27/5) בראיון לסה"י של יפן, 'קידו': 'אם ארה"ב תסיר את ההקפאה מעל הנכסים האיראנים אזי יוצרו התנאים לשיחות ישירות בין שתי המדינות... כל שיפור שיחול ביחסים הבילטרליים יהיה תלוי בפעולה שבה תנקוט ארה"ב בעתיד... איראן עשתה כל מה שנתבקש' (כדי לשפר את היחסים). (רויטר מטוקיו 27/5).

3. צרפת - מרוקו

שה"ח הצרפתי, אלן ג'ופה ציין בתום ביקורו במרוקו (28-29) את שאיפת צרפת להתחיל עידן חדש ביחסיה עם מרוקו. ג'ופה נפגש עם המלך חסן, רה"מ ושה"ח ודן עימם בשורה ארוכה של נושאים בינלאומיים ומז'טים. בין הנושאים שהיו צפויים להדון נכלל גם תהליך השלום. שה"ח הצרפתי העלה את רעיון השתתפות מרוקו בכוחות הבינ"ל ביוגוסלביה. (רויטר 26-29, סי'צ 27).

4. גרוזיה - איראן

שה"ח האיראני ולאיתי נפגש עם שברנדזה (27) ושוחח עמו על שת"פ פוליטי וכלכלי בין גרוזיה לאיראן ואמר כי איראן תספק גז טבעי לגרוזיה בתמורה לתה ומוצרים כימיים. הוא הכחיש דווחים, שאיראן עשויה לרכוש מטוסי קרב מגרוזיה (רויטר 27.5).

5. צ'כיה - מצרים

שה"ח הצ'כי הגיע (28) לקהיר לביקור בן 3 ימים. הצהיר כי זהו בקורו הראשון מחוץ לאירופה. השר בירך את התפקיד המוביל של מצרים באזור. עמר מוסא אמר כי השניים ידונו במצב במזה"ת, בבלקאנים ובמזרח אירופה. הוא הוסיף כי מצרים מעונינת לכוון שיתוף פעולה כלכלי ומסחרי עם צ'כיה. (סי'צ 28.5).

בינ'ל 1/ממ'ד

30 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
אירל, מזתל, מצרים, סייבל, גוברין, מזאר

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 35576

אל: רהמש/ 1289

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 715, תא: 280593, זח: 1547, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

22730

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 28-MAY-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYP: 'SADDAM SMELLS AN OPPORTUNITY': WRITER NOTES THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN DEFIED SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S WARNING TO IRAQ AGAINST ATTACKING THE KURDISH ENCLAVE IN NORTHERN IRAQ; ASSERTS THAT SADDAM 'HAS NEVER HESITATED TO PUSH WASHINGTON'S PATIENCE TO THE LIMIT'; ADDS THAT IT IS EASY TO UNDERSTAND WHY SADDAM AND 'OTHER INTERNATIONAL TROUBLEMAKERS WOULD BE INCLINED TO TEST AMERICA'S RESOLVE' NOWADAYS; CITES THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S INACTION IN BOSNIA AS MAKING THE US LOOK 'CONFUSED AND WEAK-WILLED'.

COLUMNS

=====

(THE FOLLOWING TWO COLUMNS ARE PART OF A DIALOGUE ON THE NYT OP-ED PAGE):

NYT(D.KING AND C.BERLET-CABLED): 'THE ADL UNDER FIRE - ITS SHIFT TO THE RIGHT HAS LED TO SCANDAL': WRITERS ASSERT THAT THE ADL IS 'EMBROILED IN A SCANDAL' RESULTING FROM ALLEGATIONS THAT ONE OF ITS RESEARCHERS, ROY BULLOCK, ILLEGALLY RECEIVED POLICE FILES AS PART OF AN ADL EFFORT TO MONITOR A WIDER ARRAY OF GROUPS; ADD THAT THE POLICE INVESTIGATION OF ADL OFFICES IN SAN FRANCISCO AND LOS ANGELES MAY DEVELOP INTO A PROBE OF THE ADL'S 'NATIONWIDE INFORMATION-GATHERING NETWORKS'; ARGUE THAT ADL LEADERS ARE 'REAPING WHAT THEY SOWED' WHEN

THEY 'LUNGED TO THE RIGHT' DURING THE REAGAN-BUSH ERA; ASSERT THAT THE ADL PRACTICED A DOUBLE STANDARD BY ATTACKING CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS WHILE 'IGNORING THE BIGOTRY' OF RIGHT-WING ADL MEMBERS AND SUPPORTERS.

NYT(A.FOXMAN-CABLED): 'THE ADL UNDER FIRE - IT'S A BIG LIE, HAILED BY ANTI-SEMITES': WRITER ARGUES THAT THE ADL HAS BEEN THE TARGET OF A 'BIG LIE' FOR MONTHS, CITING RECENT HEADLINES IN THE NEWS; ASSERTS THAT REPEATED FALSE ALLEGATIONS AGAINST ONE GROUP WILL EVENTUALLY BECOME A WIDELY-REGARDED TRUTH IF REPEATED OFTEN ENOUGH; DEFENDS THE ADL BY STATING THAT THERE IS NO ADL SPY NETWORK AND NO SELLING OF INFORMATION TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS; ADDS THAT UNDERCOVER WORK IS NECESSARY ONLY IN EXCEPTIONAL CASES WHEN DEALING WITH THE SECRET ACTIVITIES OF HATE GROUPS BUT NOT LEGITIMATE ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE NAACP; CITES A RECENT ADL POLL ON ANTI-SEMITISM WHICH FOUND THAT MORE THAN 30 PERCENT BELIEVED JEWS HAVE TOO MUCH POWER AS A POSSIBLE CAUSE FOR RECENT CHARGES AGAINST THE ADL.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'HOUSE GIVES NARROW APPROVAL TO CLINTON BUDGET PROPOSALS'; 'BOMB OUTSIDE UFFIZI IN FLORENCE KILLS SIX AND DAMAGES MANY WORKS'; 'KILLER GETS LIFE AS NAVY SAYS HE HUNTED DOWN GAY SAILOR'; 'PRESIDENT BACKS A GAY COMPROMISE'; 'STEIN, TRAILING BADLY IN THE POLLS, QUILTS NEW YORK RACE FOR MAYOR'. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/JERUSALEM/POLICE/KNIFE: NYP(AP-BRIEF): 'ISRAEL COP SHOOTS KNIFE-WIELDER AT WAILING WALL': ACCORDING TO ARMY RADIO, AN ISRAELI POLICEMAN REPORTEDLY SHOT AN ARAB WOMAN THURSDAY AFTER SHE PULLED OUT A KNIFE DURING A SECURITY CHECK NEAR THE WAILING WALL; ADDS THAT AN ISRAELI WOMAN NEARBY WAS HIT BY A BULLET FRAGMENT.

ISRAEL/PALESTINIANS/DETAINEES/FREED: WSJ(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT ISRAEL FREED 250 PALESTINIAN DETAINEES IN HONOR OF A MUSLIM HOLIDAY; ADDS THAT ARAB RESIDENTS IN GAZA SAID THAT THE ARMY REPORTEDLY TIGHTENED A BAN ON ENTRY INTO ISRAEL SIMULTANEOUSLY.

EGYPT/COURT/MILITANTS/DEATH: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED), NYP: 'A MILITARY COURT IN EGYPT GIVES DEATH SENTENCES TO SIX MILITANTS': REPORTS THAT AN EGYPTIAN MILITARY COURT SENTENCED SIX MUSLIM MILITANTS TO DEATH AND TWO OTHERS TO LIFE IN PRISON ON THURSDAY; NOTES THAT THE TRIAL CHARGED 14 MEN WITH ATTACKING FOREIGN TOURISTS AND ATTEMPTING TO ASSASSINATE INFORMATION MINISTER SAFWAT AL-SHERIF; ADDS THAT PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK OF EGYPT HANDED THE CASE TO MILITARY COURT IN NOVEMBER WITH NO CHANCE FOR APPEAL AS PART OF AN EFFORT TO CRACK DOWN ON ARMED MILITANTS; SAYS THAT THE RECENT ATTACKS ON TOURISTS HAVE DRAINED EGYPT OF ITS USUAL DOLLAR 2 BILLION A YEAR IN TOURISM PROFITS.

WASHINGTON/HOUSE/CLINTON/BUDGET: NYT(D.ROSENBAUM-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'SENATE IS HURDLE': REPORTS THAT THE HOUSE OF

REPRESENTATIVES APPROVED PRESIDENT CLINTON'S BUDGET PLAN THURSDAY IN A 219-213 VOTE; NOTES THAT THE MEASURE WOULD RAISE TAXES TO LOWER THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT; ADDS THAT TWO-THIRDS OF THE TAX INCREASES WOULD BE PAID BY FAMILIES EARNING MORE THAN DOLLAR 200,000 AND THAT NEARLY THREE-QUARTERS WOULD COME FROM THOSE WITH INCOMES ABOVE 100,000 דולר.

WASHINGTON/CLINTON/VICTORY: NYT(R.APPLE-FRONT PAGE): 'A VICTORY MOST PRECIOUS': WRITER NOTES THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VICTORY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THURSDAY WAS 'HARROWINGLY NARROW' AND 'DESPERATELY NEEDED'; ASSERTS THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS GAINED A NECESSARY 'SINGLE-MINDEDNESS' AFTER ITS LEGISLATIVE BLUNDERS OVER THE PAST FOUR MONTHS; ADDS THAT THE PRESIDENT MUST STILL PERSUADE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC THAT THE NEW TAXES ARE FAIR.

WASHINGTON/HOUSE/PENTAGON/VOTE: NYT(A.CLYMER): 'WITHOUT BEING ASKED, HOUSE VOTES EXTRA DOLLAR 1.2 BILLION FOR PENTAGON': REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH THE HOUSE SPENT MOST OF ITS TIME THIS WEEK STRUGGLING OVER THE FEDERAL DEFICIT, IT VOTED TO GIVE THE PENTAGON DOLLAR 1.2 BILLION ALTHOUGH IT REPORTEDLY HAD NOT ASKED FOR IT.

US/WORLD/ROLE/LEAD: NYT(S.HOLMES): 'CHRISTOPHER REAFFIRMS LEADING US ROLE IN WORLD: REPORTS THAT SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER SAID THURSDAY THAT DESPITE THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S FISCAL PROBLEMS, THE US CONTINUES TO TAKE THE LEAD IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

NEW YORK/WTC/BOMB/SUSPECT: ND(K.MCCOY): 'NOSAIR LINK - PHOTOS, FORMULA SEIZED IN '90 POINT TO WTC BOMBING': REPORTS THAT A FORMULA AND DIAGRAM SEIZED FROM THE HOME OF EL SAYYID NOSAIR IN 1990 WERE FOR THE SAME TYPE OF BOMB USED IN THE WTC BLAST; ADDS THAT SINCE MR. NOSAIR WAS CHARGED WITH KILLING RABBI MEIR KAHANE AT THAT TIME, THE EVIDENCE WAS NOT PURSUED.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

NYT(S.GREENHOUSE): 'RENEWAL BACKED FOR CHINA TRADE'.

WSJ(K.WELLS): 'BCCI CREDITORS DESCEND ON STADIUM, BOOING THE BANK LIQUIDATOR'S EFFORTS'.

ND(R.POLNER): 'RADIO CITY POSTPONES JESUS'.

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

SHABBAT SHALOM

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, צפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 34704

אל: רהמש/1269

מ-: המשרד, תא: 280593, זח: 1106, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

615046

סודי/מיד

Handwritten signature in red ink.

אל: וושינגטון / השגריר

מאת: ס/מנהל מצפ"א

רפאל פאלאט מסר כי קדאפי שליט לוב התיר יציאתם של כ-200 עולי רגל מוסלמים לביקור בירושלים.

עולי הרגל הלוביים הנוסעים ב-5 אוטובוסים צפויים להגיע ביום שני הקרוב ובאישור רה"מ ושה"ח. כניסתם תותר על-פי הכללים כולל בדיקות בטחוניות כמקובל.

הודעה על הביקור הצפוי נמסרה אמש ע"י ממנכ"ל לסגן השגריר החדש של ארה"ב בת"א.

לידיעתכם.

28 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,
סמנכלמזח, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רס), @ (אמן),
@ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 35638

אל: רהמש/1293

מ-: ווש, נר: 2123, תא: 280593, זח: 2100, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/ מיידי

אל: ממ'ד-ערב-1, בינ'ל-1, מח' מצרים, מצפ'א

מאת: השג'ווינגטון

הנדון: מצרים- ארה'ב

משיחה עם סרבר (מנהל מח' מצרים, N.E.A.) ב-28/5.

פגישת אסאמה-דג'רג'יאן

1. אסאמה הגיע לווינגטון כדי להרצות במסגרת כינוס מטעם THE SUMMIT COUNCIL FOR WORLD PEACE (ארגונו של הכומר MOON. להערכת בן שיחי, אסאמה לא היה מודע לשיוך זה ולכן הגיע). נצל את שהותו בווינגטון לקיום פגישות בממשל.

2. בפגישתו עם דג'רג'יאן (24/5) השתתפו ארון מילר ובן שיחי. במהלכה דג'רג'יאן תאר את הסיכור התשיעי של המו'מ הביטורלי, ומילר עדכן בהתפתחויות הימים האחרונים בנושא המאמצים לגיבוש הצהרת עקרונות ישראלית-פלסטינית.

3. אסאמה שאל כיצד מצרים יכולה לתרום להאצת המו'מ. האמריקאים בקשו שזו תלחץ על הפלסטינים. בהקשר לכך, האמריקאים הדגישו שבסבוב השיחות האחרון היתה התקדמות, וכי חשוב שהפלסטינים ישובו לשולחן המו'מ SUSTAINED NEGOTIATIONS - תוך נכונות להכנס ל-.

4. אסאמה אמר שמצרים תעביר את המסר. מעבר לכך, המצרי הסתפק בהאזנה לא תרם INSIGHTS, וממילא גם לא אמר דבר בנושא קונפדרציה בין ירדן לפלס' כפי שדווח בתקשורת (ר' אלשרק 25). בן שיחי הוסיף שהמצרים מכירים בכך שהפלסטינים הם ש'פוצצו ' (BLEW UP) את הסיכוב האחרון.

5. סרבר לא היה מעודכן בפרטי פגישת אסאמה-לייק, אך שער שדמתה למדי למפגש עם דג'רג'יאן, משום שלשכת לייק טרחה להתעדכן במחמ'ד בפרטי המסר שהועבר שם לאסאמה.

6. בן שיחי סיכם משמעות פגישות אסאמה: המצרים מייחסים חשיבות לעצם קיומו של דיאלוג קרוב בינם לבין ארה'ב, ואילו האמריקאים מרוצים מכך שמצרים תלחץ על הפלס'.

מצרים-סודאן

7. בן שיחי מעריך שמשבר חלאאיב עלול להמשך זמן רב, משום שהמצרים מעונינים להוסיף ולקיים לחץ על המשטר הפונדמנטליסטי בח'רטום. יחד עם זאת, מעבר לרטוריקה הגבוהה אין מצרים חותרת לעימות צבאי.

מצרים פנים

8. קבע שהאופוזיציה האסלאמית איננה מסכנת את יציבות המשטר, והעריך שהאפיזודה (כדבריו) הנוכחית מעבר לשיאה. הוסיף שמבארך מודע לצורך לשפר את דימוי משטרו בעיני הציבור ופועל בתחומים שונים דוגמת קידום תכניות בריאות באזורים הכפריים. הוסיף ששר הפנים החדש שיפר את מאבקו של המשטר בקיצוניים בכך שהפסיק המעצרים ההמוניים ומסתפק במעצרים ממוקדים.

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
סמנכלמזת, מצרים, סי יבל

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 35600

אל: רהמש/1292

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 780, תא: 280593, זח: 1717, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

28 מאי '93

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: מזכיר המדינה - ראיון CNN

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CNN INTERVIEW: SECY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1993

GENE RANDALL: DESPITE THE EFFORT TO FOCUS ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION FACES A FULL PLATE OF INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS -- FIGHTING IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA, TURMOIL IN RUSSIA, THE SEARCH FOR LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, TO NAME JUST A FEW.

SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER IS AT THE CENTER OF IT. CNN WORLD AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT, RALPH BEGLEITER, IS WITH HIM NOW AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT. MR. SECRETARY, WELCOME.

MR. BEGLEITER: GENE, THANKS VERY MUCH. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS INVITED US TO JOIN HIM HERE IN THE DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION ROOMS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE PLACE WHERE INTERNATIONAL HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AND FOREIGN MINISTERS ARE OFTEN WELCOMED BY THE UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE.

MR. SECRETARY, THANKS FOR JOINING US.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: GLAD TO BE HERE.

MR. BEGLEITER: WE'VE ALL WATCHED OVER THE LAST YEAR OR SO THE TRAGEDY, THE ATROCITIES, THE RAPE, THE PILLAGE, AND SO ON, IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. LAST WEEKEND YOU AND THE ALLIES IN EUROPE AGREED ON A NEW STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE WAR IN BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA.

IF I COULD, I'D LIKE TO HONE IN ON SOME OF THE DETAILS OF THAT, AND SEE IF WE CAN SPELL THEM OUT A LITTLE BIT MORE CLEARLY. ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WAS DONE IN THAT AGREEMENT WAS TO ENDORSE THE CONCEPT OF SAFE HAVENS FOR THE MUSLIMS IN BOSNIA. HOW MANY SAFE HAVENS WILL THERE BE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE UN RESOLUTION CALLS FOR SIX SAFE AREAS OR SAFE HAVENS.

MR. BEGLEITER: WILL THERE BE MORE THAN THAT AT SOME POINT, OR IS THERE ANY EXPANSION CONTEMPLATED?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THAT COULD BE EXPANDED, BUT I THINK THIS IS A CONCEPT THAT'S STILL IN THE PROCESS OF BEING DEVELOPED, IN THE PROCESS OF CLARIFICATION. AS YOU KNOW, IT'S BEING DEBATED AT THE UN RIGHT NOW, AND I THINK QUITE UNDERSTANDABLY THEY ARE LOOKING FOR SOME CLARIFICATION, SOME MORE PRECISION IN THE CONCEPT.

MR. BEGLEITER: HOW MANY TROOPS DO YOU THINK IT WILL TAKE TO POLICE ALL OF THE SAFE HAVENS AND MAKE THEM TRULY SAFE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THAT REALLY DEPENDS UPON THE NATURE OF THE ENDEAVOR THAT'S UNDERTAKEN THERE. I THINK IT CAN BE CONTEMPLATED, FOR EXAMPLE, THE -- SOME OF THE SAFE HAVENS COULD BE OCCUPIED BY, SAY, A THOUSAND TROOPS. SREBRENICA, AT THE PRESENT TIME, HAS ONLY 150 CANADIAN TROOPS. SO IT REALLY DEPENDS UPON THE ATTITUDE OF THE BOSNIAN SERBS, IT DEPENDS UPON WHAT YOU ARE TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH IN THE SAFE HAVEN. I THINK THAT'S THE KIND OF PRECISION THAT THE UN IS CONSIDERING RIGHT NOW IN DEBATING THE RESOLUTION.

MR. BEGLEITER: IS THE US GOING TO PROVIDE ANY TROOPS FOR PARTICIPATION IN THOSE SAFE HAVEN OPERATIONS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE DIVISION OF LABOR HERE, AS THE UNITED STATES HAS INDICATED, IS THAT WE WILL PROTECT THE UN TROOPS IN THESE SAFE HAVENS IF THEY GET INTO TROUBLE; FOR EXAMPLE, IF THEY NEED TO BE RESCUED. BUT WE DO NOT INTEND TO PROVIDE TROOPS THERE.

ONE OF THE TWO PRINCIPLES THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS HAD UPPERMOST AS HE HAS GONE INTO THIS ENTIRE SITUATION IS, FIRST, THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT PUT TROOPS ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA, EXCEPT AS PART OF A WELL- AGREED PEACE SETTLEMENT; FOR EXAMPLE, AS PEACEKEEPERS. HIS OTHER PRINCIPLE IS THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL APPROACH THIS PROBLEM FROM A MULTILATERAL CONTEXT RATHER THAN DOING IT ALONE, RATHER THAN GOING UNILATERALLY. AND SO BOTH OF THOSE THINGS COME INTO PLAY IN CONNECTION WITH THE SAFE AREAS OR SAFE HAVENS.

MR. BEGLEITER: SO THERE WOULD BE NO US TROOPS ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA. WOULD THERE BE TROOPS ON THE GROUND OUTSIDE BOSNIA? FOR EXAMPLE, ON THE BORDER WITH BOSNIA AND SERBIA, AND PERHAPS INSIDE SERBIA?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, AT THE PRESENT TIME, I THINK THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT HAS INDICATED THAT THEY DO NOT WANT TO HAVE ANY UN TROOPS ON THE BORDER BETWEEN BOSNIA AND SERBIA. THE UN HAS TALKED ABOUT HAVING SOME MONITORS THERE. THE UNITED STATES, I THINK, INTENDS TO PLAY A DIFFERENT ROLE; THAT IS, WE'D BE INVOLVED IN AERIAL SURVEILLANCE, OTHER WAYS OF DETERMINING WHETHER OR NOT THE SERBS HAD LIVED UP TO THEIR COMMITMENT TO CLOSE THAT BORDER.

BUT OUR COMMITMENT HERE IS BASICALLY TO USE AIR POWER BY WAY OF SURVEILLANCE RATHER THAN HAVE TROOPS ON THE GROUND.

MR. BEGLEITER: SO THE US WOULD NOT BE ON THE GROUND IN THE SAFE HAVENS, THE US WOULD NOT BE ON THE GROUND ON THE BORDER BETWEEN SERBIA AND BOSNIA. THE US WILL BE PROVIDING AIR COVER, IN A SENSE -- YOU SAID SURVEILLANCE FOR THOSE SAFE HAVENS.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES.

MR. BEGLEITER: IS THERE ANY US ROLE IN CONNECTION WITH THE SAFE HAVENS FOR -- IN TERMS OF PROVIDING SAFETY FOR THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE THERE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NO. OUR COMMITMENT IS TO GO TO THE DEFENSE OF UN TROOPS IF THEY ARE ATTACKED AND IF THEY ASK FOR HELP.

MR. BEGLEITER: SO, THERE'D BE NO -- THERE'S NO US ROLE IN PROTECTING MUSLIMS WHO LIVE IN BOSNIA, FOR EXAMPLE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THAT'S NOT THE ROLE THAT WAS AGREED UPON BETWEEN THE PARTIES AT THE MEETING HERE LAST SATURDAY.

MR. BEGLEITER: IS THE UNITED STATES -- LET ME JUST PURSUE THE QUESTION OF THE TROOPS OUTSIDE BOSNIA FOR A MOMENT. IS THE UNITED STATES CONSIDERING PUTTING MONITORS OR FORCES OF ANY SORT IN KOSOVO OR IN CEDONIA?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WE ARE CONSIDERING SOME SORT OF US MILITARY PRESENCE IN MACEDONIA, BUT I THINK THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THE NATIONS WHO MET HERE LAST SATURDAY INDICATED THAT ANY KIND OF SERBIAN AGGRESSION TOWARD MACEDONIA WOULD BE A MATTER OF THE MOST SERIOUS CONCERN. AND WE WANT TO HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE THERE TO MAKE THAT CLEAR. THE UNITED STATES WILL CONSIDER VARIOUS MEANS BY WHICH WE MIGHT GIVE A SIGNAL OF OUR DEEP CONCERN ABOUT ANY POSSIBLE SERBIAN AGGRESSION TOWARD MACEDONIA.

IF I COULD, RALPH, LET ME JUST INDICATE THE THREE PURPOSES OF THE AGREEMENT LAST SATURDAY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE UNITED STATES. FIRST, WE HOPE TO TAKE STEPS TO CONFINE OR CONTAIN THE CONFLICT. AND FROM THAT STANDPOINT, I THINK HAVING OBSERVERS IN KOSOVO OR HAVING MONITORS IN MACEDONIA COULD BE VERY IMPORTANT. THE SECOND THING WE HOPE TO DO IS TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE SERBS TO TAKE ACTION IN BOSNIA THAT WILL BRING THE PARTIES TO THE TABLE AND BRING THE PARTIES TO AGREEMENT. WE'RE GOING TO BE INSISTENT, WE'RE GOING TO BE, I THINK, VERY EFFECTIVE IN CARRYING OUT THE SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBIA WHICH ARE HURTING AT THE PRESENT TIME, WHICH ARE BITING. AND THIRD, WE HOPE TO TAKE SOME ACTION WHICH WILL STOP THE KILLING, WHICH WILL IMPROVE THE SITUATION THERE AS FAR AS LIFESAVING. AND WE THINK THE SAFE HAVENS, ALTHOUGH THEY'RE BY NO MEANS A PERFECT INSTRUMENT, COULD BE USEFUL IN THIS REGARD.

MR. BEGLEITER: WHAT KIND OF ACTION BESIDE CREATING SIX SAFE HAVENS IN BOSNIA WOULD THERE BE TO STOP THE SHOOTING, THE FIGHTING? SARAJEVO IS A GOOD EXAMPLE. THAT'S ONE OF THE PLACES THAT WOULD BE DESIGNATED A SAFE HAVEN. THERE WAS SHELLING BY THE SERBS THERE TODAY DESPITE A CEASE-FIRE.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK THAT'S SOME INDICATION OF THE DIFFICULTY OF THIS PROBLEM, THAT CEASE-FIRES SEEM TO LAST A VERY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME IN BOSNIA. WE ARE ALWAYS HOPEFUL WHEN THEY'RE ANNOUNCED, BUT WE'RE ALWAYS QUITE SKEPTICAL. WHAT IS NEEDED THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES THAT WILL EXTEND TO THE NATION AS A WHOLE. THAT'S WHAT WE'LL BE STRIVING FOR. THAT'S WHAT WE'LL BE PUTTING PRESSURE ON. BUT IT'S A -- IT'S SUCH A TERRIBLY DIFFICULT PROBLEM BECAUSE OF THE LONG ETHNIC HATREDS THAT COME INTO PLAY THERE, BECAUSE THE PARTIES THEMSELVES SEEM TO BE UNWILLING TO TAKE THE STEPS NECESSARY TO CREATE PEACE IN THEIR COUNTRIES.

MR. BEGLEITER: MR. SECRETARY, PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID ON AUGUST 5TH LAST YEAR DURING THE CAMPAIGN, QUOTE, "I WOULD BEGIN WITH AIRPOWER AGAINST THE SERBS TO TRY TO RESTORE THE BASIC CONDITIONS OF HUMANITY." AND HE ADDED THAT, "...HISTORY HAS SHOWN US YOU CANNOT ALLOW THE MASS EXTERMINATION OF PEOPLE AND JUST SIT BY AND WATCH IT HAPPEN." WHY HASN'T THE US USED ITS AIRPOWER?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE UNITED STATES, I THINK, HAS TAKEN A STRONGER ROLE WITH RESPECT TO BOSNIA THAN THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION HAD. WE'VE BEEN TRYING TO FIND THE BEST WAY TO APPROACH THIS PROBLEM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TWO PRINCIPLES THAT I LAID OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT IS FOLLOWING, THAT IS NO US GROUND TROOPS AND DOING IT MULTILATERALLY. OUR PREFERRED OPTION WOULD BE THE ONE TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO SO THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS COULD DEFEND THEMSELVES AND, SECOND, TO USE AIRPOWER AS A COMPENSATORY MEANS IN THE TIME AFTER THE ARMS EMBARGO WAS LIFTED AND BEFORE THE BOSNIANS HAD ENOUGH EQUIPMENT TO DEFEND

THEMSELVES. AND SO, IN THAT SENSE, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO USE AIRPOWER.

NOW, THAT'S AN OPTION THAT OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE BEEN STRONGLY AND FIRMLY AGAINST. AND I THINK IT -- I'M SURE YOUR AUDIENCE WOULD KNOW THAT WE'RE NOT ABLE TO LIFT THAT ARMS EMBARGO UNILATERALLY.

THAT'S A UN RESOLUTION WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY A UNANIMOUS VOTE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND CAN ONLY BE OVERTURNED BY A VOTE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. SO WE'RE NOT ABLE TO CARRY OUT THAT OPTION, AND WE'RE LOOKING FOR OTHER OPTIONS. THAT OPTION IS STILL ON THE TABLE IF THE OTHER OPTIONS DO NOT TURN OUT TO BE USEFUL.

MR. BEGLEITER: MR. SECRETARY, NO TROOPS ON THE GROUND, NO USE OF AIRPOWER -- EVEN THOUGH PRESIDENT CLINTON SAID DURING THE CAMPAIGN THAT THAT WOULD BE THE FIRST THING HE WOULD DO -- NO LIFTING OF THE ARMS EMBARGO FOR THE REASONS YOU JUST OUTLINED, NO PRESENCE OF US FORCES ALONG THE BORDER BETWEEN SERBIA AND BOSNIA. THE UNITED STATES IS THE SUPREME ALLIED COMMANDER -- AT LEAST THAT'S THE TITLE IT HAS IN NATO -- RIGHT IN EUROPE. IT'S SUPPOSED TO BE THE LEADER OF THAT ALLIANCE. THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO ARE QUESTIONING WHETHER THE UNITED STATES IS EXERCISING THAT LEADERSHIP.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I THINK WE'RE EXERCISING LEADERSHIP IN A WAY THAT IS MOST CONSISTENT WITH UNITED STATES INTERESTS. ON FEBRUARY 10TH, WE ANNOUNCED A PROGRAM, AND WE'VE CARRIED OUT A NUMBER OF ASPECTS OF THAT PROGRAM -- AIRDROPS, WE'VE ESTABLISHED A NO-FLY ZONE, WE'VE ESTABLISHED A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL -- EACH OF THOSE WITH AN EXERCISE OF US LEADERSHIP. THE MEETING HERE LAST SATURDAY IN WHICH WE TOOK THE ACTIONS THAT YOU EARLIER DESCRIBED WAS A MEETING THAT WAS PUT TOGETHER BY THE UNITED STATES. ONCE AGAIN WE SHOWED LEADERSHIP THERE. SO THERE ARE DIFFERENT KINDS OF LEADERSHIP, AND ESPECIALLY WHEN YOU'RE ACTING IN A MULTILATERAL CONTEXT, WHICH WE ARE HERE, I THINK WE'RE EXERCISING THE LEADERSHIP THAT WE CAN. NOW, SOMETIMES THE UNITED STATES WILL ACT UNILATERALLY WHEN OUR VITAL INTERESTS ARE THREATENED. IN THIS SITUATION WE SEE IT -- BECAUSE OF ITS HISTORY, BECAUSE OF ITS GEOGRAPHY, BECAUSE OF THE LONG-STANDING HATREDS, WE SEE IT AS A PLACE WHERE WE SHOULD EXERCISE OUR LEADERSHIP IN A MULTILATERAL CONTEXT.

MR. BEGLEITER: YOU, YOURSELF, SAID A FEW WEEKS AGO IN A CONGRESSIONAL HEARING THAT IN SOMALIA THE HUMANITARIAN DEMANDS, THE NEED FOR A MORAL RESPONSE TO THE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION THERE, WAS ENOUGH TO BRING IN US MILITARY POWER. WHY HASN'T IT BEEN ENOUGH TO BRING IN US MILITARY POWER IN BOSNIA?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THAT WAS A SITUATION WHERE WE THOUGHT OUR MILITARY POWER WOULD BE EFFECTIVE. IT MET THE TEST THAT I'VE LAID DOWN FOR THE USE OF MILITARY POWER. THAT IS THAT THERE WAS

A SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE, ONE THAT YOU PROBABLY ACHIEVE, ONE WHERE THERE WAS AN EXIT STRATEGY AND ONE WOULD -- THAT WOULD HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT PUTTING TROOPS ON THE GROUND IN BOSNIA AT THE PRESENT TIME MEETS THOSE TESTS. AND I MUST SAY, RALPH, I GET AROUND THE COUNTRY PROBABLY MORE THAN MOST SECRETARIES OF STATE HAVE IN THE PAST. I WAS OUT IN MINNEAPOLIS YESTERDAY. AND I SENSE A GOOD DEAL OF SUPPORT. INDEED, I SENSE STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE POSITION OF THE ADMINISTRATION NOT TO PUT GROUND TROOPS INTO BOSNIA AT THE PRESENT TIME.

MR. BEGLEITER: THANK YOU, MR. SECRETARY. WE'LL BE BACK IN A MINUTE TO TALK ABOUT SOME OTHER AREAS.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THANK YOU.

MR. BEGLEITER: PLEASE STAY WITH US.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK.)

MR. BEGLEITER: WE'RE BACK WITH US SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER AT THE DIPLOMATIC RECEPTION ROOMS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

MR. SECRETARY, THERE HAVE BEEN NUMEROUS REPORTS AND INDICATIONS NOW THAT SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNTS OF MONEY HAVE FLOWED ONE WAY OR ANOTHER FROM IRAN TO THOSE WHO ARE ACCUSED OF BOMBING THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN NEW YORK, AND TO THOSE WHO ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THOSE SPECIFIC INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE SUSPECTS IN THE CASE. DOES THE UNITED STATES THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN WAS BEHIND THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WE'RE FOLLOWING THAT SITUATION VERY CLOSELY, RALPH, BUT WE DON'T HAVE ANY FINAL CONCLUSION ON THAT. THAT'S A VERY IMPORTANT LAW ENFORCEMENT MATTER, AND I'M NOT GOING TO COMMENT BEYOND THE FACT THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO GET TO THE BOTTOM OF THAT. WE'RE FOLLOWING THAT WITH VERY AGGRESSIVE INTENT.

MR. BEGLEITER: THE COURTS HAVE OVERTURNED AN ORIGINAL GAG ORDER THAT WOULD HAVE PREVENTED YOU FROM COMMENTING ON IT, BUT YOU'RE CHOOSING NOT TO DO SO BECAUSE IT'S UNDER INVESTIGATION?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES, THAT'S RIGHT. I THINK SOMETIMES WISDOM AND PRUDENCE KEEP YOU FROM COMMENTING EVEN THOUGH YOU ARE NOT RESTRAINED BY THE COURT FROM DOING SO.

MR. BEGLEITER: REGARDLESS OF WHETHER YOU THINK IRAN WAS BEHIND IT OR NOT, OR ARE WILLING TO COMMENT ON THAT, DOES THE US THINK THAT WAS AN INSTANCE OF STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I JUST HAVE TO GO BACK TO THE SAME ANSWER,

UNFORTUNATELY, RALPH. THAT INVESTIGATION IS ONGOING. WE WANT TO BE VERY SURE BEFORE WE REACH A CONCLUSION LIKE THAT.

YOU KNOW, WHEN THAT EVENT HAD FIRST HAPPENED, PEOPLE IN THE MEDIA AND ELSEWHERE JUMPED TO CONCLUSIONS INDICATING THEY THOUGHT IT HAD BEEN SPONSORED BY SERBIA. I THINK, YOU KNOW, THERE IS VERY GREAT DANGER, BECAUSE IF YOU START WITH THAT KIND OF A PREMISE, THEN YOU MOVE TO THE NEXT LEVEL OF WHAT SHOULD WE DO, AND I THINK YOU NEED TO BE VERY SURE BEFORE YOU START DOWN THAT ROAD OF PREMISE, AND THEN FIXING RESPONSIBILITY, AND THEN TAKING ACTION. SO THE UNITED STATES WILL BE AGGRESSIVE HERE IN FINDING OUT WHAT HAPPENED, AND THEN WE'RE GOING TO BE PRUDENT IN TRYING TO ASSESS WHAT WE DO NEXT.

MR. BEGLEITER: THERE IS A NEWSPAPER -- A SEMI-OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT NEWSPAPER REPORT OUT OF EGYPT QUOTING EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK AS SAYING THAT SHEIK ABDUL RAHMAN, ONE OF THE ASSOCIATES OF THOSE SUSPECTED IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING, HAS BEEN, QUOTE, "AN AGENT OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES EVER SINCE HE LIVED IN PESHAWAR" -- THAT'S PAKISTAN -- "TO SUPPORT US EFFORTS AIMED AT DRIVING THE SOVIET UNION OUT OF AFGHANISTAN." HAS SHEIK RAHMAN EVER BEEN AN EMPLOYEE OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, AND IS HE ONE NOW?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I'VE CHECKED AROUND TOWN ABOUT THAT, RALPH. AND I FEEL QUITE CONFIDENT IN SAYING THAT HE HAS NOT BEEN.

MR. BEGLEITER: HE HAS NOT BEEN AN EMPLOYEE OF THE UNITED STATES.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: CORRECT.

MR. BEGLEITER: THERE IS A BROADER PROBLEM, THOUGH, OF THOSE WHOM THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED, COVERTLY AT THE TIME, IN THE WAR AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION THEN IN AFGHANISTAN. USING THE SKILLS, THE TRAINING, PERHAPS EVEN THE EQUIPMENT AND EXPERTISE THAT THEY GOT FROM THE UNITED STATES THEN AGAINST ONE ENEMY, NOW USING IT TO FOMENT WHAT I MIGHT CALL "POLITICAL ISLAM" AROUND THE WORLD -- IN NORTH AFRICA, IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN EUROPE PERHAPS. IS THAT A PROBLEM THE UNITED STATES IS ADDRESSING IN SOME WAY NOW?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES, WE'RE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE FACT THAT IT DOES SEEM TO BE A BREEDING GROUND FOR TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AROUND THE WORLD. AND I THINK WE'RE GOING TO BE PAYING PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THAT. THERE ARE SOME COUNTRIES, UNFORTUNATELY, IN SOME AREAS OF THE WORLD THAT SEEM TO BE SPONSORING MORE TERRORISM, AS IT REACHES OUT WITH ITS UGLY SPOKES OF THE PITCHFORK INTO OTHER COUNTRIES. AND I WOULD SAY THAT WE'RE CONCERNED ABOUT AFGHANISTAN IN THAT REGARD, NOT PARTICULARLY -- NOT SO MUCH THE COUNTRY AS THE INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE THERE IN THE PAST. WITH RESPECT TO IRAN, WE ARE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT STATE-SPONSORED TERRORISM REACHING INTO OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

MR. BEGLEITER: IS THIS A SITUATION IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAD EFFECTIVELY CREATED A MONSTER THAT SPONSORS TERRORISM NOW BY PROVIDING THESE PEOPLE WITH TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT AT AN EARLIER TIME?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I CERTAINLY DON'T THINK YOU COULD SAY THAT WE CREATED A MONSTER. WE CREATED A SITUATION WHERE WE NEED TO BE CONCERNED AS TO WHETHER OR NOT SOME OF OUR TRAINING OR EQUIPMENT IS GOING TO BE MISUSED IN THE FUTURE, BUT WE WERE FOLLOWING A POLICY THAT WAS IN THE INTEREST OF FREEDOM IN THAT SITUATION, AND THE RESULT MAY BE THAT WE HAVE A GOOD DEAL OF SURVEILLANCE NOW TO DO WITH SOME OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE INVOLVED.

MR. BEGLEITER: TOUCHING AGAIN FOR A MOMENT ON IRAN, IS THE UNITED STATES ABOUT TO MAKE ANOTHER MISTAKE WITH IRAN IN TRYING TO CUT IT OFF ENTIRELY AND PERHAPS ENGENDER THE KIND OF HOSTILITY THAT RESULTED IN THE HOSTAGES YOU YOURSELF HAD TO NEGOTIATE TO FREE BACK IN 1979?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE LEVEL OF HOSTILITY IS VERY HIGH RIGHT NOW. I THINK THE CONDUCT OF IRAN IS SUCH THAT THEY DESERVE TO BE MADE A PARIIAH ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE. THEIR CONDUCT IN SPONSORING TERRORISM ELSEWHERE, THEIR CONDUCT IN TRYING TO ASSEMBLE THE WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THEIR OWN PEOPLE, THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY, I THINK FULLY JUSTIFY THE ACTION THE UNITED STATES IS TAKING TOWARD IRAN TO ISOLATE IRAN.

MR. BEGLEITER: IS THERE ANYTHING MORE YOU CAN DO TO THEM TO ISOLATE THEM?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES, THERE ARE, OF COURSE, A NUMBER OF TRADING RELATIONSHIPS THAT THEY'D LIKE TO HAVE. I THINK ONE THING WE CAN DO IS TO BE MORE ACTIVE WITH OUR ALLIES, TO TRY TO PERSUADE OUR ALLIES OF OUR POINT OF VIEW, WHICH WE THINK TO BE CORRECT AND WELL DOCUMENTED.

MR. BEGLEITER: MR. SECRETARY, STAYING IN THE MIDDLE EAST FOR JUST A SECOND, THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS HAVE GOTTEN OFF TO A SLOW START. AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF NO NEGOTIATIONS AT ALL, THE FIRST ROUND CONCLUDED INCONCLUSIVELY, TO PUT IT POLITELY. ARE YOU MISJUDGING THE WILLINGNESS OF THE MIDDLE EASTERN PARTIES, THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS, TO ACTUALLY MAKE COMPROMISES?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I DON'T THINK SO, RALPH. LET ME GO BACK AND JUST RECOUNT FOR A MOMENT WHERE WE FOUND THIS PROBLEM WHEN WE CAME INTO OFFICE. THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE TOTALLY STALEMATED. ISRAEL WAS THE POSSIBLE SUBJECT OF SANCTIONS AT THE UN FOR ITS CONDUCT. I THINK WE ARE MAKING GOOD STRIDES IN WORKING OUR WAY OUT OF THAT PROBLEM. ALTHOUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE NINTH ROUND DID NOT MAKE STUNNING PROGRESS, NONETHELESS THEY RESTARTED

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THEY WERE WORKING ON SUBSTANTIVE AREAS. THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO PLAY ITS ROLE OF FULL PARTNER. THERE'LL BE A NEW ROUND STARTING IN JUNE. WE'LL ASK ALL THE PARTIES TO COME AT THAT TIME AND SOME OF THEM TO COME IN ADVANCE. WE'RE GOING TO KEEP ON WORKING AT THIS. AND I DON'T THINK WE'VE MISJUDGED THE PROSPECTS. I THINK THERE CAN BE PROGRESS IN 1993.

MR. BEGLEITER: IS IT TIME FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON PERHAPS, PRESIDENT ASAD, PRIME MINISTER RABIN, OTHERS AT THE TOP LEVEL TO GET INVOLVED IN THIS PROCESS TO MAKE IT GO SOMEWHERE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, PRESIDENT CLINTON IS CONSTANTLY INVOLVED IN THAT PROBLEM. I REPORT TO HIM. I DISCUSS MATTERS WITH HIM. I DISCUSS NEXT STEPS WITH HIM. WHEN THEY WERE HERE, WE TALKED ABOUT IT FREQUENTLY. SO, HE IS INVOLVED. I DON'T SEE THAT THIS IS THE MOMENT, FOR EXAMPLE, FOR ANOTHER CAMP DAVID EFFORT, BUT I DO SEE IT AS AN IMPORTANT TIME TO BRING THE EFFORT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE LEADERSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES IF YOU WILL, TO BEAR AS A PARTNER IN THIS PROCESS TO TRY TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATIONS MOVING FORWARD. AND AS I SAY, I THINK WE'RE GOING TO MAKE PROGRESS.

MR. BEGLEITER: THANKS VERY MUCH, SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER FOR INVITING US HERE TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT. I'M RALPH BEGLEITER IN WASHINGTON.

END

תקשורת

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, מצפא, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (דוצ), @ (בן עמי/משהבט)

סססס

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

34558

תאריך : 28.05.93

נכנס **

שמו

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חוזם: 5,34558

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/2668, מהמש/1263, אביב/2104, מנמט/2091

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 745, תא: 270593, זח: 1602, דח: מ, סה: שמ

תח: @: סצפא

נד: @:

Handwritten signature in red ink.

שמו/מילד

אל: מצפיא

דע: לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שה"ח, לשכת שר האוצר, מקשי'ח-משהביט
ציר כלכלי-כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות 26/5

1. כאמור אתמול (26/5) הסתלים השלב הראשון בוועדתו של הקונגרסמן אויב
לאישור הסיוע השנתי של ישראל בפרט וסך סיוע החוץ האמריקני בכלל.

2. מעבר לנפשות המדכזיות שפעלו סביב החוק ועל כך בהמשך הרי שהבעיה
העיקרית השנה הינה הצורך וההחלטה להמשיך לקצץ בחוק הסיוע הבלתי פופולרי
שהוא ממילא מצומק והעדר משאבים חדשים לבין שורת צרכים ואינטרסים קיימת
וחדשה של המעצמה היחידה בעולם.

מבחינתה של ישראל משמעות שמירת הסיוע השנתי בכמותו הנוכחית, היינו 3
ביליון דולר היא כמעט בבחינת שחיה כנגד הזרם (המקומי) לאור הצרכים
החדשים העצומים ומקורות המימון המוגבלים.

3. מחויבותו של הממשל כלפי המשך הסיוע לישראל היתה ונותרה נחרצת וחד
משמעית והועברה אף לקונגרס:

'הסיוע לישראל ומצרים הוא 'OFF THE TABLE' ואכן, בקונגרס רווחה תמיכה
כללית בצורך לשמר רמת הסיוע לישראל על רקע תהליך השלום.

עם זאת, נכנס גורם מסבך לתמונת סיוע החוץ והוא הסיוע לרוסיה. לאור כשלון
העברת חבילת התמריץ הכלכלי, לא יכול היה הממשל להרשות לעצמו מבחינה

פוליטית להעביר EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL (ובכך להמנע מלזקוף את ה-1.8
ביליון דולר לחובת הגירעון הפדרלי) ונאלץ לפיכך למצוא מקורות מימון

מתוקצבים.

משך ימים ושבועות התגובה שרווחה בקונגרס היתה כי לממשל אין כל תכנית

עבודה ואין כל מושג כיצד יממן את הסיוע לרוסיה. ברגע שאובי קבע את מועד

ה-MARK-UP (=תהליך הכנת החוק) לאתמול, 26/5 אחה"צ, נכנסו גורמי הממשל

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

להילוך גבוה מאוד, גייסו את ראש ה- OMB, פנטה, את מזכיר ההגנה ואחרים והחלו במלאכת הרכבת מימון חבילת הסיוע הרוסי. עם פתיחת ה- MARK-UP בשנה 16:30 הוסכמה חבילת הסיוע לרוסיה ע"י הבית הלבן מחמ"ד והקונגרס ואובי הודיע עליה חגיגית בתחילת הדיון. עיקרי המימון של חבילת הסיוע לרוסיה הם מתקציב ההגנה (ישראליות שלא נוצלו ב- '93, כספי '94, וכן קיוץ נוסף בתקציב סיוע חוץ).

4. הסיוע לישראל

א. הסיוע השנתי לישראל אושר במלואו כמו מילי שנה, לרבות כל התנאים הידועים. כן אושרו כל הסעיפים הרגילים הנוספים בחוק. (פירוט נעביר מאוחר יותר). עם זאת חל שינוי אחד השנה. לראשונה אין חוזר אין הסיוע לישראל 'משוררין' EARMARKED כל השריוניים בהצעת חוק סיוע החוץ בוטלו. הסיבות שניתנו ע"י אנשי אובי הם:

א. היו"ר החדש של ועדת ההקצבות והקונגרסמן נאטצ'ר מתנגד לשריוניים.

ב. המילטון כיו"ר ועדת החוץ המליצה את המרשימים (AUTHORIZERS) מתנגד (למרות שבהצעת החוק שלו יהיה 'שריון') ל'שריון' החוק ההקצבות.

ג. זהו נשיא ידידותי שהדמוקרטים סומכים עליו ואין חשש שלא יעבירו הסיוע לישראל.

ד. הסיבה הידועה- הממשל זקוק למלוא הגמישות (עתה עם היותו ממשל דמוקרטי), והמשאבים קטנים, ואנחנו בקונגרס סומכים עליו.

ה. המחוקקים היהודים בוועדה ניטה לואי וסיד ליטס התעמתו עם אובי ובמיוחד לואי. לואי הודיעה לאובי שבכוונתה להגיש תיקון שיקרא ל'שריון' את הסיוע למדינות (מילה לא ברורה במקור). לאחר התיעצויות קדחתניות ועימותים קולניים קשים בין לואי לאובי (שבינתיים השלימו ביניהם) סוכם לא לקרוא תגר על אובי. החשש היה שניתן יהיה אולי (לא היה ברור עד הרגע האחרון האם יש מספיק קולות להביס את אובי) לנצח במהלך זה אולם במקביל להפוך את אובי לאוייב כבר בתחילת התהליך של העברת החוק.

אין לשכוח כי ניתן עדיין להכניס ה'שריוניים' בסנאט (התהליך יחל שם כנראה בחודש ספטמבר. עדיין יש סיכוי, אמנם קלוש, להתחלת פעולה במהלך חודש יולי) בינתיים אובי התחייב בפני הקונגרסמן לואי כי עם ביטול השריוניים יגן על ישראל במליאת ביה"ב (ב- 16/6) מפני קיצוצים אפשריים. אמש בסוף ה- MARK-UP, נגשתי לאובי להודות לו. אובי אמר כי עלי להאמין לו שעדיף כך (פוליטית) ללא ה'שריון'. הוסיף: 'אני נשבע שאם לא יהיה חוק הרשאות (שם אמור להיות 'שריון') אני אוסיף את ה'שריון' לישראל בקונגרס עם הסנאט'. את אותם דברים אמר גם ל'ידידים'.

5. להלן עיקרי דבריו של אובי בפתיחת ה- MARK-UP :-

הצעת החוק מהווה שינוי דציני לעומת גישתנו עצמה וכוללת שינוי מהותי בכוון המדיניות:

- הסיוע לרוסיה

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

- קיצוצים עצומים

- השבת הסדר על כנו בין הממשל, המרשיאים והמקציבים ולפיכך ביטול השריונים.

נחזור למילול תפקידים אמיתי:-

לממשל-ניתן גמישות מלאה.

למרשיאים-נאפשר קביעת והגדרת המדיניות.

והמקציבים-יממנו המדיניות.

אני מציג סך תקציב סיוע החוץ לשתי '94 בגובה של 12.943.1 ביליון דולר המהווים 1.405 ביליון דולר מתחת לבקשת הנשיא אני מצטער על חלק מהקיצוצים שנעשו אולם אני מקדם אתכם בברכה לעולם האמיתי.

לאחר שפירט מרכיבי חבילת הסיוע לרוסיה והקיצוץ ב-2 אחוז בכל תכנית עבר לידנו אובי לערוך 'סכומים':-

ESF- הסיוע הכלכלי קוצץ ב-217 מ' דולר. כלומר, לאחר שנעמוד בהתחייבות למדינות המזרח (ישראל ומצרים) ישארו רק 350 מ' דולר לשאר העולם. זה מהווה קיצוץ של 40 אחוז בתכניות מדינות אחרות.

FMF- הסיוע הצבאי. מתוך 3.175 ביליון דולר ולאחר שנעמוד בהתחייבות למדינות המזרח, ישארו רק 51 מ' דולר לשאר העולם.

ציין כי קיבל מכתב ממזכיר המדינה המדגיש הצורך בהמשך התמיכה במדינות המזרח. נעביר בנפרד.

לאחר שברר המיעוט, הקונגרסמן לוינסטון תמך באובי ואמר כי יפעל בקרב עמיתיו הרפובליקנים להשגת תמיכה בחוק, התבקש סטרום טלבוט להסביר המטרות לשמן נועדה חבילת הסיוע לרוסיה וחבי'מ בסך 1.8 ביליון דולר:

א. מרכיבי הסיוע העיקריים המסתכמים ב-1 ביליון דולר

1. השקעה במודרניזציה ליעול ובטיחות של סקטור האנרגיה.

2. יישוב מחדש של קציני צבא רוסיים החוזרים לרוסיה או שאולצו לפרוש. אספקת דיור וכו'.

3. השקעה במעבר מכלכלה קומוניסטית לכלכלת שוק.

4. חילופי מומחים.

ב. כ-300 מ' דולר עבור רפורמות בחבי'מ.

ג. כ-500 מ' דולר עבור קרן הפרטה מיוחדת שתוקם יחד עם שאר המדינות המתועשות (6-7). בסך כולל של 2 ביליון דולר.

צפויים תיקונים להתניית הסיוע לרוסיה אם תמכור נפט, טכנולוגיות נשק

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

וחלקי מערכות נשק למדינות טרוור.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

מג

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), דהמ(0), שהבט(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), מצב(0), ערן(0),
מצפא(1), ר/מרכז(1), ממד(4), רם(0), אמן(0), מקשח/משהבט(0), שרהאנצר(1),
@ראשהממשלה(1)

אאאא, חוזם: 34558

אל: רהמש/1263

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 745, תא: 270593, זח: 1602, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מצפ'א

דע: לשכת רה'מ, לשכת שה'ח, לשכת שר האוצר, מקש'ח-משהב'ט
ציר כלכלי-כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות 26/5

1. כאמור אתמול (26/5) הסתיים השלב הראשון בוועדתו של הקונגרסמן אובי לאישור הסיוע השנתי של ישראל בפרט וסך סיוע החוץ האמריקני בכלל.

2. מעבר לנפשות המרכזיות שפעלו סביב החוק ועל כך בהמשך הרי שהבעייה העיקרית השנה הינה הצורך וההחלטה להמשיך לקצץ בחוק הסיוע הבלתי פופולרי שהוא ממילא מצומק והעדר משאבים חדשים לבין שורת צרכים ואינטרסים קיימת וחדשה של המעצמה היחידה בעולם.

מבחינתה של ישראל משמעות שמירת הסיוע השנתי בכמותו הנוכחית, היינו 3 ביליון דולר היא כמעט בבחינת שחייה כנגד הזרם (המקומי) לאור הצרכים החדשים העצומים ומקורות המימון המוגבלים.

3. מחויבותו של הממשל כלפי המשך הסיוע לישראל היתה ונותרה נחרצת וחד משמעית והועברה אף לקונגרס:

'הסיוע לישראל ומצרים הוא 'OFF THE TABLE' ואכן, בקונגרס רווחה תמיכה כללית בצורך לשמר רמת הסיוע לישראל על רקע תהליך השלום.

עם זאת, נכנס גורם מסבך לתמונת סיוע החוץ והוא הסיוע לרוסיה. לאור כשלון העברת חבילת התמריץ הכלכלי, לא יכול היה הממשל להרשות לעצמו מבחינה פוליטית להעביר EMERGENCY SUPPLEMENTAL (ובכך להמנע מלזקוף את ה-1.8 ביליון דולר לחובת הגירעון הפדרלי) ונאלץ לפיכך למצוא מקורות מימון מתוקצבים.

משך ימים ושבועות התגובה שרווחה בקונגרס היתה כי לממשל אין כל תכנית עבודה ואין כל מושג כיצד יממן את הסיוע לרוסיה. ברגע שאובי קבע את מועד ה-MARK-UP (=תהליך הכנת החוק) לאתמול, 26/5 אחה'צ, נכנסו גורמי הממשל להילוך גבוה מאוד, גייסו את ראש ה-OMB, פנטה, את מזכיר ההגנה ואחרים והחלו במלאכת הרכבת מימון חבילת הסיוע הרוסי. עם פתיחת ה-MARK-UP בשעה 16:30 הוסכמה חבילת הסיוע לרוסיה ע'י הבית הלבן מחמ'ד והקונגרס ואובי הודיע עליה חגיגית בתחילת הדיון. עיקרי המימון של חבילת הסיוע לרוסיה הם מתקציב ההגנה ('שאריות שלא נוצלו ב-93', כספי '94, וכן קיוץ נוסף בתקציב סיוע חוץ).

4. הסיוע לישראל

א. הסיוע השנתי לישראל אושר במלואו כמו מידי שנה, לרבות כל התנאים הידועים. כן אושרו כל הסעיפים הרגילים הנוספים בחוק. (פירוט נעביר מאוחר יותר). עם זאת חל שינוי אחד השנה. לראשונה אין חוזר אין הסיוע לישראל 'משוריין' EARMARKED כל השריוניים בהצעת חוק סיוע החוץ בוטלו. הסיבות שניתנו ע"י אנשי אובי הם:

א. היו"ר החדש של ועדת ההקצבות והקונגרסמן נאטצ'ר מתנגד לשריוניים.

ב. המילטון כיו"ר ועדת החוץ המייצג את המרשיאים (AUTHORIZERS) מתנגד (למרות שבהצעת החוק שלו יהיה 'שריון') 'ל'שריון' החוק ההקצבות.

ג. זהו נשיא ידידותי שהדמוקרטים סומכים עליו ואין חשש שלא יעבירו הסיוע לישראל.

ד. הסיבה הידועה- הממשל זקוק למלוא הגמישות (עתה עם היותו ממשל דמוקרטי), והמשאבים קטנים, ואנחנו בקונגרס סומכים עליו.

ה. המחוקקים היהודים בועדה ניטה לואי וסיד ייטס התעמתו עם אובי ובמיוחד לואי. לואי הודיעה לאובי שבכוונתה להגיש תיקון שיקרא 'ל'שריון' את הסיוע למדינות (מילה לא ברורה במקור). לאחר התיעצויות קדחתניות ועימותים קולניים קשים בין לואי לאובי (שבינתיים השלימו ביניהם) סוכם לא לקרוא תגר על אובי. החשש היה שניתן יהיה אולי (לא היה ברור עד הרגע האחרון האם יש מספיק קולות להביס את אובי) לנצח במהלך זה אולם במקביל להפוך את אובי לאוייב כבר בתחילת התהליך של העברת החוק.

אין לשכוח כי ניתן עדיין להכניס ה'שריוניים' בסנאט (התהליך יחל שם כנראה בחודש ספטמבר. עדיין יש סיכוי, אמנם קלוש, להתחלת פעולה במהלך חודש יולי) בינתיים אובי התחייב בפני הקונגרסמן לואי כי עם ביטול השריוניים יגן על ישראל במליאת ביהנ"ב (ב-16/6) מפני קיצוצים אפשריים. אמש בסוף ה-MARK-UP, נגשתי לאובי להודות לו. אובי אמר כי עלי להאמין לו שעדיף כך (פוליטית) ללא ה'שריון'. הוסיף: 'אני נשבע שאם לא יהיה חוק הרשאות (שם אמור להיות 'שריון') אני אוסיף את ה'שריון' לישראל בקונפרנס עם הסנאט'. את אותם דברים אמר גם ל'ידידים'.

5. להלן עיקרי דבריו של אובי בפתיחת ה-MARK-UP :-

הצעת החוק מהווה שינוי רציני לעומת גישתנו עצמה וכוללת שינוי מהותי בכוון המדיניות:

- הסיוע לרוסיה

- קיצוצים עצומים

- השבת הסדר על כנו בין הממשל, המרשיאים והמקציבים ולפיכך ביטול השריוניים.

נחזור למילוי תפקידים אמיתי:-

לממשל-ניתן גמישות מלאה.

למרשיאים-נאפשר קביעת והגדרת המדיניות.

והמקציבים-יממנו המדיניות.

אני מציג סך תקציב סיוע החוץ לשנת '94 בגובה של 12.943.1 ביליון דולר

המהווים 1.405 ביליון דולר מתחת לבקשת הנשיא אני מצטער על חלק מהקיצוצים שנעשו אולם אני מקדם אתכם בברכה לעולם האמיתי.

לאחר שפירט מרכיבי חבילת הסיוע לרוסיה והקיצוץ ב-2 אחוז בכל תכנית עבר ידידנו אובי לערוך 'סכומים':-

ESF- הסיוע הכלכלי קוצץ ב-217 מ' דולר. כלומר, לאחר שנעמוד בהתחייבות למדינות המזהות (ישראל ומצרים) ישארו רק 350 מ' דולר לשאר העולם. זה מהווה קיצוץ של 40 אחוז בתכניות מדינות אחרות.

FMF- הסיוע הצבאי. מתוך 3.175 ביליון דולר ולאחר שנעמוד בהתחייבות למדינות המזהות, ישארו רק 51 מ' דולר לשאר העולם.

ציין כי קיבל מכתב ממזכיר המדינה המדגיש הצורך בהמשך התמיכה במדינות המזהות. נעביר בנפרד.

לאחר שברב המיעוט, הקונגרסמן לוינסטון תמך באובי ואמר כי יפעל בקרב עמיתיו הרפובליקנים להשגת תמיכה בחוק, התבקש סטרוט טלבוט להסביר המטרות לשמן נועדה חבילת הסיוע לרוסיה וחב'מ בסך 1.8 ביליון דולר:

א. מרכיבי הסיוע העיקריים המסתכמים ב-1 ביליון דולר

1. השקעה במודרניזציה ייעול ובטיחות של סקטור האנרגיה.

2. יישוב מחדש של קציני צבא רוסיים החוזרים לרוסיה או שאולצו לפרוש. אספקת דיור וכו'.

3. השקעה במעבר מכלכלה קומוניסטית לכלכלת שוק.

4. חילופי מומחים.

ב. כ-300 מ' דולר עבור רפורמות בחב'מ.

ג. כ-500 מ' דולר עבור קרן הפרטה מיוחדת שתוקם יחד עם שאר המדינות המתועשות (6-7). בסך כולל של 2 ביליון דולר.

צפויים תיקונים להתניית הסיוע לרוסיה אם תמכור נפט, טכנולוגיות נשק וחלקי מערכות נשק למדינות טרור.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ערן, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (מקשח/משהבט), שרהאוצר, @ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 34515

אל: רהמ/ש/1260

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 742, תא: 270593, זח: 1447, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: מצפ'א

דע: לשכת רה'מ, שה'ח, ס/שה'ח, מנכ'ל, ממנכ'ל

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: סיוע חוץ לישראל

אתמול, 26/5, מאוחר בערב, עבר בהצלחה השלב הראשון של אישור חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות בועדתו של הקונגרסמן אובי - ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות שליד ועדת ההקצבות בביהנ'ב.

אושר הסיוע השנתי לישראל בגובה של 3 ביליון דולר. פרטים מלאים בנפרד. החוק יאושר כנראה במליאת ביהנ'ב ב-16/6.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, @ (ראשהממשלה)

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בלמס/מיד
 25 מאי '93

אל: תפוצת תקשורת
 דע: לש-מתאם הפעולות - חון רובין
 מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

28.5

הנדון: הסגר בשטחים

מצ"ב כתבתו של דויד הופמן (WP) מהכפר ענתא שבנודה, ובה על תוצאות הסגר, ובעיקר על הקשיים הניבעים מניתוקו של הכפר מירושלים.

תקשורת

להח (הח) סטה 1
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23

No Way to Jerusalem

Israel Isolates a Palestinian Village

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service

ANATA, West Bank—On a hillside at the edge of Jerusalem, this Palestinian village has become a crossroads on the way to nowhere.

For generations, families in Anata thought of themselves as part of Jerusalem. They prayed at the al-Aqsa Mosque, they shopped on Jerusalem's Salah a Din Street, and they worked in the schools, hospitals and on the construction sites of the expanding city. Whether under Jordanian rule before 1967 or under Israeli sovereignty since then, the road from Anata always led to Jerusalem.

But on March 31, the road was closed. Prime Minister Yitz-

hak Rabin, responding to a spate of violent attacks on Israelis, sealed off the West Bank and Gaza Strip from the rest of Israel and called for "separation" between Israelis and Palestinians. Jerusalem was closed off in its entirety from the West Bank, and residents of Anata face fines of \$1,200 or imprisonment if they set foot in Jerusalem without Israeli permits.

The closure "until further notice" now has lasted longer than any other in Israel's 26-year occupation of the West Bank. The Palestinians are gone from Israeli streets and construction sites. The wave of stabbings and shootings has subsided, and the closure is being hailed by many Israelis as a successful experiment in cleavage of the two societies, a psychological rehearsal for mutual separation.

The plight of Anata, however, suggests that the reality is more complex. Overnight, the village found its historical ties with Jerusalem disrupted, links that cannot be easily redirected by drawing a new line on a map separating two groups of people.

The deeper fear among villagers in Anata and among Palestinians across the West Bank is that the corridor around Jerusalem is a harbinger of the future—that they will lose their cultural, religious and economic life, even if they win self-rule or independence.

Israel has long vowed that it will not relinquish sovereignty over Jerusalem, but the city's final status is supposed to be settled much later, near the end of the peace talks with the Palestinians.

Moshe Amirav, a leftist on the Jerusalem City Council, said the experience of the closure demonstrates that complete separation of Arab and Jew is unworkable.

"The land is too small, the people are too mixed" for total separation, he said. "You can't separate Gaza from the West Bank, and you can't separate the West Bank from Jerusalem, and you can't separate East Jerusalem from Israel."

Elyakim Haetmi, a right-wing former member of parliament and spokesman for Jewish settlers in the territories, said: "East Jerusalem is the capital of the Arabs. This is a social and economic fact. How can you cut the head off? This shows the impossibility of dividing up the country. It is a lie to the world. It is a hardship and an impossibility."

In addition to being the cultural and economic urban core for Palestinians, Jerusalem is also a transportation axis, since all major routes between the northern and southern West Bank run through the city; the only way to get around Jerusalem is through difficult mountain terrain.

Just when the closure was imposed, Israeli bulldozers started widening a mountainous road in the West Bank that officials said would become a new "bypass" around the city. Again, critics said it was a harbinger of things to come—a way to keep Palestinians out of Jerusalem.

Meron Benvenisti, a former deputy mayor of Jerusalem and social scientist, claimed the road is not to improve traffic but rather to create a "physical split," isolating Jerusalem from the West Bank. Benvenisti charged that the road and the indefinite closure show that while Rabin's government is offering "flowery words" at peace talks in Washington, its "actual measures" in the territories "are creating a violent atmosphere which ... will eventually explode."

The village of Anata is trapped by geography. Except for the road to Jerusalem, there are no other simple exits from the village. The outlying roads to the West Bank are difficult and can take hours to navigate.

Immediately after the 1967 war, Israel annexed East Jerusalem and areas around it. When the new municipal boundary was drawn, outlying Arab villages were excluded because Israel wanted to maximize the Jewish population edge over the Arabs within the enlarged city's boundaries. Anata was left outside the city limits, as part of the West Bank, and its residents were issued blue West Bank license plates for their cars instead of the yellow ones given to Israelis and Palestinians who live in Jerusalem.

But for the most part, the village of Anata continued to see itself as just a suburb of Jerusalem. "All we need, we get from Jerusalem—food, medicine and prayer," said Mohammed Odeh, an 87-year-old retired waterworks supervisor.

The residents of Anata were free to travel into Jerusalem, except for the rare occasions when Israel closed the city briefly because of Jewish holidays. Private bus lines ran into Jerusalem, and even today no markers or lines show where Jerusalem ends and the West Bank begins.

In part, this is the result of successive Likud governments that sought to settle the West Bank with Jews and vowed never to give up Israel's claim over the territory it captured in the Six-Day War. Israel's Likud leaders tried to erase the pre-1967 border between Israel and the West Bank, on maps and in memories.

But the election of Rabin last year brought back the Labor Party philosophy of making territorial concessions. Instead of saying Israel would keep all the occupied lands, Rabin has effectively redrawn the border, at least for people if not for land. The closure put all of Jerusalem's city limits inside Israel, and left outside the 4,500 people of this village.

For the first time in memory, residents said, they now must apply for Israeli permits to travel to Jerusalem, which begins at their doorstep. To get the permits, they must go 10 miles to the military-run Civil Administration headquarters in Ramallah, north of Jerusalem. But to get to Ramallah, they must enter Jerusalem and risk getting caught without a permit, or else take a tortuous back-road detour of 25 to 30 miles. The permits are usually temporary.

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said Zakhi Ziadah, a 46-year-old villager who helps her brothers run the farm. "We need to get a permit every time to market the vegetables. It's hard to use our car with West Bank plates, so we had to hire a driver with a Jerusalem ID card."

An Israeli spokesman said that such complaints from Anata were valid but that nothing could be done as long as the closure remains in effect. On Friday, Israel allowed a limited number of West Bank Palestinians to pray at Jerusalem's al-Aqsa Mosque for one time only, if they took special Israeli buses to and from the site. But only a small number showed up.

Musa Mohammed Rifai, a retired postal worker, was sitting outside the shuttered, graffiti-covered shops in Anata. "I am waiting for my daughter to give birth," he said, "and waiting for a yellow-plate car to get her to the hospital. We're going to take a chance." A dozen men, many of them jobless, milled about, saying they were thinking of a joint protest.

"There are no jobs here," said Rifai. "Usually at this time of day, there would be no men in the streets. Now we are sitting and doing nothing. Our lives depend totally on Jerusalem."

According to the Palestine Human Rights Information Center, an advocacy group, the closure has severely hit Anata and eight other villages outside Jerusalem, where 70,000 residents have had difficulty getting food, paying utility bills to Israeli companies and getting to schools and jobs. The small village health facilities are unable to meet their needs, and facilities in Jerusalem have been put off-limits, the group said.

"We have a vegetable farm with greenhouses, cucumbers, squash,"

F O C U S

FOREIGN POLICY

DICK KIRSCHTEN

MUSLIMS ON THEIR MIND

A newly hawkish Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., is indignant about the West's inaction in response to the religious bloodletting in Bosnia. Since his April 6-10 tour of the Balkan war zone, Biden has passionately urged the lifting of the U.N. arms embargo against the Bosnian forces (predominantly Muslim) that are being battered by the Christian armies of both the Serbs (Eastern Orthodox) and the Croats (Roman Catholic).

"European policy is based on cultural and religious indifference, if not bigotry," Biden scolded when Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 11. In a statement distributed earlier, Biden asserted that the position of Europe's leaders "would be entirely different if the Muslims were the aggressors." And he menacingly added, "This truth is not lost on the Islamic world, which is filled with a rising anger we have not yet begun to understand."

Muslim hostility was a recurring topic of the Judiciary Committee hearings on international terrorism that Biden chaired on April 21-22. The sessions were occasioned by the arrest of Arab suspects in the February bombing of New York City's World Trade Center and the implication of a Pakistani in the fatal shooting of two CIA employees outside the agency's headquarters in January.

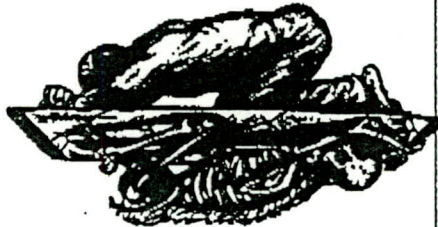
If Biden had waited a week longer, further spice would have been added by reports from Kuwait that a plot to assassinate President Bush during his April 14-16 visit to that country had been broken up the day before his arrival. Kuwaiti authorities now say that they have arrested 16 conspirators, 11 of whom are allegedly Iraqi intelligence agents.

Even so, CIA chief R. James Woolsey duly noted in testimony to Biden's committee on April 21 that Iraq and three other Muslim countries—Iran, Libya and Syria—are on the State Department's list of governments that sponsor terrorism and two others, Pakistan and Sudan, "are on the brink" of making the list.

Woolsey, who'd just returned from a trip that included stops in Egypt, Israel and Italy, said that the CIA is worried by the trend toward "violence by religious extremist groups in the Middle East." He expressed particular concern that Iran funnels "propaganda to the rest of the Islamic world that the United States is a Great Satan whose policy is to 'oppress' Muslims."

With the demise of the Soviet-U.S. superpower rivalry, some geopolitical big thinkers speculate that Muslim religious fanaticism, sometimes dubbed "the Green Menace" because green is the color of Islam, may replace Communism's fading "Red Menace." After all, have not Iran's late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and Iraq's Saddam Hussein—although Hussein is hardly a religious fanatic—led the hate parade in the American news media in recent years?

And doesn't Islam appear to be on the march? The breakup of the Soviet Union created six new nations—Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan—with majority Muslim populations. Islamic movements of the



Iranian sort exist in Afghanistan, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan and Tunisia.

What's more, Congress's Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, in an April report, raises red flags about six Muslim nations. Pakistan is listed as a "de facto" nuclear weapons state, Iran and Iraq as "threshold" nuclear nations and Algeria, Libya and Syria as "countries of concern."

Muslims also are much on the minds of news media trendsetters. *The New York Times*, for example, ran a four-part series, "Muslims in America," the week of May 2. And James F. Hoge Jr., the former daily tabloid publisher who now edits *For-*

ign Affairs, the prestigious journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, early this year commissioned a pair of opposing articles on the question "Is Islam a Threat?" as the centerpiece of his spring edition, which was published in mid-April.

Hoge, in an interview, said that he came up with the idea last fall after reading an article by Leon T. Hadar, a former Israeli journalist who now teaches political science at the American University. At Hoge's request, Hadar stated the case in *Foreign Affairs* that "Islam is neither unified nor a threat to the United States." He contended that the more than 40 Muslim nations, rather than being a monolithic force, represent "a mosaic of many national, ethnic and religious groups competing for influence . . . a kaleidoscope producing shifting balances of power and overlapping ideological configurations that neither Tehran—nor Washington—can control."

Judith Miller, a *New York Times* reporter who's writing a book on Arabs and Islam, countered that "radical political Islam placed atop the societies of the Middle East has created a combustible mixture" that is inimical to "universal human rights (and women's rights in particular), democratic government, political tolerance and . . . peace between the Arabs and Israelis." She warned that "America's mindless, relentless promotion of elections [may] bring to power through the ballot box those who would extinguish democracy in the name of Allah."

Edward P. Djerejian, the assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern and African affairs, addressed that question at a May 12 House hearing. "Islam, one of the world's great religions, is not our enemy," he insisted. But Djerejian conceded that "political Islam takes many forms and varies in its goals from country to country." The Clinton Administration, he said, is "very suspect of those groups who advocate democratic processes . . . and then, once in power, destroy the very process by which they came to power."

In his appeal for the West to come to the aid of Bosnia's Muslims, Biden too makes the point that the Muslim world is far from monolithic. "It is the West, not fundamentalist Iran or radical Libya, that should provide weapons to the tens of thousands of Bosnian soldiers—Muslims, Serbs and Croats—who stand ready to fight for their country," he argues. But the cost of arming the Bosnians, he adds, could be borne largely by the moderate Arab states, including Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, that have "complained bitterly of the embargo and Western apathy." ■

אאאא, חוזם: 33041

אל: רהמש/ 1161

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TO: TIKSHORET

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NEWS SUMMARY 25-MAY-1993

TV COVERAGE

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CNN REPORTED ON THE IDF PARATROOPER SHOOTING ACCIDENT ON MONDAY IN WHICH FOUR ISRAELI SOLDIERS WERE KILLED AND THREE WOUNDED.

EDITORIALS

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NYT(CABLED): 'PLAY TAPS FOR NUCLEAR TESTS': WRITER ARGUES THAT THE PENTAGON'S PROPOSED DECISION TO RESUME NUCLEAR TESTING WILL SET A 'TERRIBLE EXAMPLE FOR WOULD-BE PROLIFERATORS'; COMMENDS A GROUP OF 23 DEMOCRATIC SENATORS FOR URGING PRESIDENT CLINTON TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE US WILL NOT BREAK THE CURRENT MORATORIUM ON TESTS; ADDS THAT THE PROPOSED 15 NUCLEAR TESTS WILL NOT NECESSARILY MAKE NUCLEAR WARHEADS RELIABLE AND SAFE AS ARGUED WHEN THERE ARE OTHER METHODS SUCH AS COMPUTER SIMULATIONS.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'CLINTON AIDES PROPOSE RENEWAL OF CHINA'S FAVORED TRADE STATUS'; 'TOP RIVALS AGREE ON UNIFIED SYSTEM FOR ADVANCED TV'; 'HOSTILITY TO ALLIES' NEW PLAN FOR BOSNIA INCREASES AT UN'; 'A NEW PRESIDENT FOR CITY COLLEGE'; 'DEMOCRATS DROP DONORS' SESSION WITH CONGRESS'. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND, DN: LOCAL. NYP: 'NEW TERROR CELL TARGETS NY POL'; LOCAL.

ISRAEL/IDF/SQUADS/FIRE: NYT(CABLED), WSJ(BRIEF), NYP: 'FOUR ISRAELI SOLDIERS DIE AS SQUADS FIRE ON EACH OTHER': REPORTS THAT FOUR ISRAELI SOLDIERS WERE KILLED ON MONDAY WHEN TWO IDF PARATROOPER SQUADS FIRED ON EACH OTHER IN THE ISRAELI SECURITY ZONE IN SOUTH LEBANON; ADDS

THAT THREE OTHER SOLDIERS WERE WOUNDED, TWO SERIOUSLY; NOTES THAT THE ACCIDENT WAS 'THE MOST SERIOUS MISHAP OF ITS KIND SUFFERED BY THE IDF IN YEARS'; CLAIMS THAT THE CAUSE FOR THE SHOOTOUT WAS UNCLEAR AND THAT THE EPISODE MAY HAVE 'POLITICAL RAMIFICATIONS'; SAYS THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN AND CHIEF OF STAFF LIEUT. GEN. EHUD BARAK WENT TO THE SCENE FOR AN INVESTIGATION; QUOTES RETIRED ARMY GENERAL ORI ORR AS SAYING 'WHEN FOUR OF OUR SOLDIERS ARE KILLED BY OUR OWN SOLDIERS, SOMETHING WAS SERIOUSLY NOT IN ORDER.'

IRAQ/KURDS/CHRISTOPHER: NYT(D.JEHL-CABLED): 'CHRISTOPHER WARNS IRAQI CHIEF NOT TO ATTACK KURDS IN NORTH': REPORTS THAT SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER WARNED SADDAM HUSSEIN ON MONDAY AGAINST IMPLEMENTING AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST KURDS IN NORTHERN IRAQ; QUOTES MR. CHRISTOPHER AS SAYING THAT THE US WOULD BE 'WATCHING VERY CAREFULLY' AND CITES THE UN RESOLUTION WHICH PROHIBITS IRAQ FROM REPRESSING ITS PEOPLE; ADDS THAT STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN RICHARD BOUCHER REITERATED A MARCH 26 WARNING TO IRAQ WHICH GUARANTEED A RESPONSE TO ANY PROVOCATIVE ACTION.

TURKEY/IRAQ/KURDS: WSJ(J.DORSEY-CABLED): 'TURKEY IS LIKELY TO LET ITS LIRA CIRCULATE IN IRAQ'S KURDISTAN AREA': REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO TURKISH AND KURDISH OFFICIALS, TURKEY MAY ALLOW ITS LIRA TO CIRCULATE IN IRAQI KURDISTAN IN A MOVE THAT 'COULD REDRAW THE POLITICAL MAP OF THE MIDDLE EAST'; NOTES THAT THE MOVE COULD LEAD TO THE ECONOMIC INTEGRATION OF TURKEY AND KURDISTAN; ADDS THAT THE REQUEST WAS MADE BY THE KURDS AT A RECENT MEETING WITH TURKISH, BRITISH AND US OFFICIALS IN ANKARA.

NEW YORK/WTC/BOMB: NYP(D.SEIFMAN): 'ARAB TERRORISTS TARGET JEWISH POL': REPORTS THAT THE FBI HAS DISCOVERED A SECOND SET OF TERRORISTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE WTC BOMBING; ADDS THAT ACCORDING TO THE FBI, THE GROUP MAY HAVE ALSO TARGETED BROOKLYN ASSEMBLYMAN DOV HIKIND FOR DEATH; NOTES THAT MR. HIKIND HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY BODYGUARDS SINCE MAY 17.

IRAN/IRAQ/ATTACK: ND(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO AN IRAQI SPOKESMAN, IRANIAN PLANES ATTACKED TWO OPPOSITION GUERRILLA BASES IN IRAQ TUESDAY MORNING.

US/LIBYA/REBELS/AID: DN(AP): REPORTS THAT FORMER US GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS SAID MONDAY THAT THE US SENT LIBYAN REBELS TO IRAQ IN THE 1980S TO OVERTHROW MOAMMAR KHADAFY; SAYS THAT THE OPERATION WAS 'PART OF A DEVELOPING INTELLIGENCE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRAQ AND THE US'; QUOTES HOWARD TIECHER, A REAGAN WHITE HOUSE NATIONAL SECURITY AIDE, AS SAYING THAT THE LIBYAN EXILES ATTEMPTED A COUP AGAINST KHADAFY IN 1984 BUT FAILED.

US/BUSH/KUWAIT/PLOT: NYP(AP): NOTES THAT GEORGE BUSH SAID THAT HE STILL WOULD HAVE TRAVELED TO KUWAIT HAD HE KNOWN ABOUT THE PLOT TO ASSASSINATE HIM.

AUSCHWITZ/NUNS/CONVENT: DN(BRIEF): NOTES THAT ACCORDING TO A WORLD

ZIONIST CONGRESS OFFICIAL, THE NUNS WHO MAINTAINED A CONVENT ON THE GROUNDS OF THE AUSCHWITZ DEATH CAMP HAVE BEGUN MOVING TO ANOTHER LOCATION.

OBITUARIES

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NYT(G.COLLENS): 'JACK GOULD, CRITIC, IS DEAD AT 79 - COVERED TELEVISION FOR THE TIMES.'

LETTERS

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NYT(P.RANDERMAN): 'EXPATRIATE GERMANS LACK A LAW OF RETURN.'

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(K.BRADSHER-CABLED): 'CLINTON AIDES PROPOSE RENEWAL OF CHINA'S MOST FAVORED TRADE STATUS.'

NYT(M.NEWMAN-FRONT PAGE): 'A NEW PRESIDENT FOR CITY COLLEGE.'

NYT(J.WILFORD): 'TRADE OR COLONIALISM? RUINS MAY GIVE ANSWER.'

DN(B.KAPPSTATTER): 'JEWS BLAST HOLIDAY HEARING ON LEE BROWN.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, מזתים, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 32464

אל: רהמש/1152

מ-: המשרד, תא: 250593, זח: 1348, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

613116

סודי/מיד



אל: השגריר וושינגטון

מאת: לשכת ממנכ"ל

הנדון: נושאים הקשורים לרצ'ד

1. בעת פגישתו של שג ארה"ב בראון עם ממנכ"ל (24/5) העלה השגריר את הנקודות הבאות:

א. אשר לבקשתנו TO CONSOLIDATE את קבוצות העבודה בנושאי הפתוח הכלכלי, מים ואיכות הסביבה מוכנים האמריקנים לדון בכך בעת מפגש ועידת ההיגוי ביוני הקרוב. עם זאת דעתם היא שדרך הפעולה הנוכחית עונה על הצרכים ומתפקדת ביעילות.

ב. הקמתה של מזכירות קבועה שתאויש על ידי גורמים שלישיים. גם כאן אמר השגריר שהם מוכנים לדון בנושא בועדת ההיגוי אם זו בקשתה של ממישראל אך הם ממשיכים להאמין כי לרעיון הנ"ל יש מגבלות רציניות.

ג. העלאת רמת הייצוג בועדת ההיגוי. השגריר ציין שאם אנו עומדים על כך שהנושא יידון הם יעשו כך אך הוסיף ואמר שהם ימשיכו לדגול בדרג הייצוג הנוכחי ומצידם אין תכניות להעלותו.

2. ממנכ"ל הודה לשגריר והרחיב את הדבור על מפגש הבק'ן שהסתיים בשבוע החולף בווינגטון. ממנכ"ל ציין את האוירה החיובית בשיחות ואת הגישה העניינית של מדינות ערב וציין שהדים דומים מגיעים גם משאר הקבוצות שהשתתפו בדיונים הרצ'ד.

לשכת ממנכ"ל.

25 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), סי יבל, ערן

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 32438

אל: רהמש/ 1151

מ-: המשרד, תא: 250593, זח: 1339, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

613003

סודי/מיד

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון

מאת: לשכת ממנכ"ל

1. שגריר ארה"ב בראון נפגש אתמול (24/5) עם ממנכ"ל הן כדי להציג את הציר החדש בשגרירות JAMES LAROCO והן כדי לדון בנושאים שונים, נכח סיטון.

2. בראון היה מצוייד ב-T.P בנושא האיראני אותן השאיר לממנכ"ל:

-WE WILL ENGAGE OUR G-7 ALLIES IN A DISCUSSION ON IRAN DURING THE JUNE 25 SUMMIT IN TOKYO AS PART OF OUR EFFORT TO FIND WAYS OF INFLUENCING IRANIAN BEHAVIOR IN A POSITIVE DIRECTION.

-WE CONTINUE TO URGE OTHERS TO USE THEIR ECONOMIC LEVERAGE TO PRESS IRAN TO ADOPT NORMAL STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOR AND ABANDON ITS SUPPORT FOR TERRORISM AND THREAT TO ITS NEIGHBORS AND OTHER REGIONAL STATES.

- WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR OTHER G-7 MEMBERS TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS ON IRAN, AND URGE YOU TO CONVEY THESE VIEWS WELL IN ADVANCE OF THE SUMMIT.

3. בשיחה שהתפתחה לאחר מכן הבהיר בראון שהבקשה האמריקנית היא להסביר לשאר מדינות ה-G-7 את עמדותינו ביחס לנושא האיראני באופן ישיר מבלי לערב את אמצעי התקשורת.

4. ממנכ"ל סקר בפני השגריר פעולות שנעשו על ידינו בעבר וציין במיוחד את הרגישות האיראנית לכל הנאמר והמתפרסם ע"י גורמים ישראלים. לדוגמא הביא ממנכ"ל את ההתבטאות המיוחסת לח"כ אפרים סנה בדבר האפשרות שישראל תפעל כנגד איראן אם המערב לא חוזר לא יעשה זאת. ההתבטאות הזו זכתה

לקיתונות של רותחין בעתונות האיראנית ונאמר בה שיש לדאוג לכך שההתקפה הצבאית הראשונה של ישראל תהיה גם האחרונה.

5. ממנכ"ל הודה לשגריר על הפעילות האמריקנית המתוכננת בקרב ה-7-6. סוכם שמדובר במגעים דיפלומטים ולא במסע פומבי-תקשורתי נגד איראן.

לשכת ממנכ"ל

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד,
@ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 32957

אל: רהמש/1185

מ-: אטלנטה, נר: 44, תא: 250593, זח: 1206, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/רגיל

אל: קונסול לענינים אקדמיים - ניו-יורק

דע: ציר הסברה/וושנינגטון, הסברה-מרחבי,

ממ"ד-ערב 4

מאת: אטלנטה

הנדון: ביקור משלחת פרופסורים אמריקאיים בסוריה

1. משלחת של כ-15 פרופסורים אמריקאים ביקרו באפריל בסוריה ובכווית מטעם ה-NATIONAL COUNCIL ON U.S ARAB RELATIONS. רוב הפרופסורים היו מקולג'ים קטנים באזור דרום מזרח ארה"ב. המשלחת כללה יהודי אחד - ד"ר מרק ברגר מקולומבוס קולג'. משלחת זו היא חלק משורה של משלחות שהארגון הנ"ל מארגן לארצות ערב עבור פרופסורים מקולג'ים קטנים. משלחות אלה יעילות מאוד בקירוב המרצים להבנת הצד הערבי ואנו נתקלים בתוצאות בשטח - בקולג'ים הקטנים מתנהלת פעילות פרו-ערבית ערה כמו סמינרים, הרצאות, מודל הליגה הערבית וכו'.

2. המשלחת קבלה לפני יציאתה תדרוך מג'ון דיוק אנתוני מנהל הארגון. לדברי ד"ר ברגר התדרוך היה אנטי ישראלי באופן בוטה.

3. המשלחת נפגשה עם אישים בצמרת הסורית כמו סגן הנשיא חדאם ורה"מ. לדברי ד"ר ברגר חדאם נתן להם הרצאה ארוכה ובמהלכה היה קר מאוד והביע את הדעות הסוריות הקשוחות המסורתיות. להלן עיקרי דבריו:

א. הדעה הישראלית שולטת בתקשורת האמריקאית.

ב. המדינה הציונית שואפת להתפשט מהנילוס עד לפרת. היא נגד השלום והתהליך.

ג. סוריה מקבלת את קיום ישראל במסגרת קבלתה את החלטות האו"ם.

ד. תקף את העובדה שיהודים מרוסיה יכולים להגר לישראל בעוד פלסטינים מגורשים. הוסיף כי בעצם ליהודים מרוסיה אין סיבה להגר לישראל.

ה. מדיניות המערב מביאה לתסכול ערבי הגובר והולך והוא שמאפשר את התחזקות התנועות הפנדמנטליסטיות. סוריה מודאגת מאוד מהתחזקות הפנדמנטליזם בעולם הערבי ובעיקר במצרים. הגורמים לכך הם בעיקר תסכול ולא דווקא חתרנות

אירנית. ישראל מצידה מנסה להדגיש את האיסלאם כאויב המחליף את הקומוניזם.

ו. הציונות היא גם כן תנועה פנדמנטליסטית, אך איש לא מדבר על קיצוניות יהודית.

ז. תהליך השלום צריך להתבסס על צדק, אך צדק אינו יכול להתקיים כשאר"ב מחזקת את ישראל מעל ומעבר לכל שכנותיה. אר"ב יכולה למלא תפקיד חשוב בתהליך השלום אך לא לכפות על הערבים.

ח. קבוצות יהודיות באר"ב משפיעות על המדיניות האמריקאית לכוון ישראל ונאמנות יותר לישראל מאשר לאינטרסים האמריקאים. בין הערבים לאר"ב היו יכולים להיות יחסים מצוינים ושת"פ פורה לולא ישראל היתה מעורבת בעניין. כדוגמא הביא חדאם את העובדה שלאחר מלח"ע הראשונה הסורים העדיפו מנדט אמריקאי על מנדט צרפתי בסוריה (???)

ט. הסורים לא יבגדו בפלסטינים ע"י שלום נפרד.

י. טוען כי מתקיימת מערכה נגד סוריה ע"י אלה המנסים להשוות בין סוריה ובין עיראק ושרוצים למנוע יחסים טובים בין סוריה לאר"ב. לסוריה עצמה אין כסף לקנות דימוי טוב באר"ב.

4. ד"ר ברגר התרשם כי האנשים ברחוב היו פתוחים וחמים מאוד כלפי האמריקאים. לדבריו נפגשו באוניברסיטת חלב עם פרופסור סורי (המחזיק גם באזרחות אמריקאית) הטוען שנפגש עם פקידים ישראלים בבון.

5. מדבריו של ד"ר ברגר ומעצם קיום המשלחת (משלחות כאלה לסוריה היו נדירות מאוד אם בכלל, בעבר) נראה כי יש מאמץ סורי המתואם עם ארגונים אמריקאים ערבים להגיע לאנשי אקדמיה אמריקאים ולשפר את הדימוי הסורי. הפגישות עם הצמרת הסורית מעידות על החשיבות הרבה שכנראה מעניקים לנושא זה.

6. מבחינת מערך ההסברה הישראלי באר"ב, אולי כדאי לעקוב בצורה מסודרת אחר סיורים כאלה של אנשי אקדמיה לארצות ערב כדי לדעת היכן כדאי להשקיע מאמצים לאיזון.

דוד עקוב

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
רביב, הסברה, מזתים

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 35223

אל: רהמש/1279

מ-: ווש, נר: 2119, תא: 250593, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/ מיידי

187

אל: ס. שה'ח, מנכ'ל, ממנכ'ל, סמנכל כלכלית, מנהל מצפ'א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

מכתב מוברק- לממוענים בלבד

הנדון: דיווח על השקעות ישראל בשטחים

ע'פ המוסכם במסמך הערבויות, מתבקשת ישראל לדווח על השקעותיה והוצאותיה בשטחים מאוקטובר לאוקטובר.

לענין זה היסטוריה בת שנתיים וחצי. ראשיתה בחילוקי הדעות וחילופי הדברים המרים בין שתי הממשלות בקשר לערבויות דאז בסך 400 מליון. הממשל ביקש מידע על היקף השקעותינו מעבר לקו-הירוק ותשובות האוצר ויועץ רה"מ לעניני כלכלה נראו כמתחמקות. הדבר גרם לעכובים חוזרים בשחרור הערבויות וכזכור העיר השגריר שובל הערה שבגינה כמעט הוכרז אישיות בלתי רצויה. לימים הלך והתהדק הלינקג' שיצרו בוש ובייקר בין ההשקעה בהתנחלויות לבין ערבויות הקליטה.

מתוך אי-אמון נוצרו כמה מילות-קוד כגון FUNGIBILITY והיה ברור שגם כאשר יימצא פתרון תהיינה התניות כאלו שלא תאפשרנה זרימת כספים בערכות אמריקנית לגדה ולעזה. בביקור רה"מ אצל הנשיא בוש במיין, סוכם ענין הערבויות בכי טוב אך מימושו נתון באופן מתמשך לשיקול-דעת הנשיא ולהתעסקות בירוקרטית.

מחלקת המדינה העבירה בשבוע שעבר את השאלונים המצורפים כאן. הם הועברו על ידי הציר הכלכלי למשרד האוצר.

מה שתופס מיד את העין הוא הדקדקנות והירידה לפרטים קטנים והברוטליות של הבירוקרטים בבואם למלא אחרי מה שנראה להם כצרכי אדוניהם. אנחנו יודעים מי בישל את שאלון. רצונו להצטיין בודאי מלא תפקיד. השגריר פנה לדרג יותר גבוה שעשה בדיקה נוספת אך חזר ואמר שאין ברירה אלא להתייחס לכל הפרטים האלה כי 'תהיינה שאלות בגבעה וכו'...'.

אנשי האוצר והלשכה המרכזית לסטטיסטיקה אומרים שאין בכלל אפשרות לענות על כל השאלות כפי שהן מופיעות כאן. אבל, דומני שעלינו להמליץ שהשאלון יופקד לשבועות אחדים בידיהם, שנתיחס באופן עניני וניתן סקירה מלאה ככל האפשר, שלא נראה כזה ובעיקר שלא נאמר שיש כאן פגיעה בכבודנו ובעצמאותנו ושאחרי שנמסור מה שנמסור, תהיה פניה של הדרג המדיני שתביא לכך שיסתפקו במה שיש ולא יפתחו במסע הצקות כמו בראשית 91.

A-1

DATA REQUIREMENTS:

ISRAELI NONSECURITY EXPENDITURES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES
BETWEEN 1 OCTOBER 1992 AND 1 OCTOBER 1993

NOT: FOR EACH QUESTION, WE WOULD LIKE ANSWERS BROKEN DOWN BY
TERRITORY: WEST BANK, EAST JERUSALEM, GAZA STRIP, AND GOLAN
HEIGHTS.

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

PROVIDE A LIST OF ALL SETTLEMENTS, WITH POPULATIONS AS OF
1 OCTOBER 1992 AND ESTIMATED POPULATIONS FOR 1 OCTOBER 1993.

2. CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN CIVILIAN STRUCTURES

2.1 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON NEW HOUSING STARTS? HOW MANY
HOUSING UNITS HAS THE GOI STARTED? PROVIDE BREADDOWNS BY APARTMENTS
SINGLE FAMILY HOMES, TOWNHOUSES, DUPLEXES, MOBILE HOMES, AND
THEIR RESIDENTIAL UNITS. HOW MANY HAVE BEEN COMPLETED? IN WHAT
SETTLEMENTS?

2.2 WHAT PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL INVESTMENT IN NEW UNITS UNDER
CONSTRUCTION IS GOVERNMENT-FUNDED?

2.3 ARE CASH BONUSES STILL GIVEN FOR THE COMPLETION OF HOUSING
UNITS WITHIN SEVEN TO 15 MONTHS/ IF SO, HOW MUCH HAS BEEN
ALLOCATED?

2.4 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT BUILDING SCHOOLS? SYNAGOGUES?
COMMUNITY CENTERS? CLINICS? INDUSTRIAL BUILDINGS? GREENHOUSES?
OTHER NONRESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS? HOW MANY AND WHAT TYPES OF
NONRESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS HAVE BEEN CONSTRUCTED?

2.5 WHAT PERCENTAGE OF THE INVESTMENT IN THE NONRESIDENTIAL STRUC
TURES ARE GOVERNMENT- FUNDED?

3. INFRASTRUCTURE

.)92 .7:))-' 5)3)98 '03,5 9, 49- U' :9,'547:589, U' 748,) 5)8 03489D? HOW MUCH DOES ONE KILOMETER OF ROAD COST TO LAY?
TO MAINTAIN?

3.2 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPANT ON CONSTRUCTION OF ELECTRIC LINES?
TELEPHONE LINES, AND GASLINES? ON MAINTENANCE OF SAME?

3.3 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT DIGGING WELLS? LAYING WATER

PIPELINES? HOW MUCH WATER DID SETTLERS USE FOR AGRICULTURE?
FOR DOMESTIC PURPOSES?

3.4 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON LAND ACQUISITION? HOW MUCH
LAND HAS THE GOI ACQUIRED DURING THIS PERIOD? HOW WAS IT ACQUIRED?

4. SUBSIDIES AND BUY BACKS

4.1 WHAT IS THE TOTAL COST OF GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES AND ASSISTANCES
ON NEW HOME MORTGAGES DURING THIS PERIOD, INCLUDING GRANT
PORTION AND INTEREST RATE CONCESSIONS? WHAT IS THE SUBSIDY
PER MORTGAGE, BY PRIORITY AREA? HOW MANY NEW MORTGAGES HAVE
BEEN SIGNED SINCE 1 OCTOBER 1992?

4.2 WHAT IS THE TOTAL COST OF INCOME TAX CONCESSIONS AND OTHER
TAX INCENTIVES FOR RESIDENTS IN THE TERRITORIES? WHAT IS THE
AVERAGE INCOME OF THE SETTLER COMMUNITY? WHAT IS THEIR LABOR
PARTICIPATION RATE?

4.3 WHAT IS THE COST OF TAX BREAKS AND OTHER INCENTIVES FOR SETTLER
INDUSTRIES?

4.4 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON BUY BACKS OF HOUSING UNITS
FROM CONSTRUCTION GUARANTEES?

5. RUNNING COSTS

5.1 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON GENERAL ADMINISTRATION OF
SETTLEMENTS, INCLUDING MANAGEMENT, SALARIES OF SETTLEMENT
OFFICIALS, ACCOUNTING, AND TAX COLLECTION?

5.2 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON SANITATION IN THE SETTLEMENTS?
URBAN PLANNING? PROVISION OF ELECTRICITY AND WATER FOR PUBLIC
FACILITIES? PRIVATE GUARDING AND SECURITY? MAINTENANCE OF
CEMETERIES? MAINTENANCE OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES? MAINTENANCE
OF PUBLIC ASSETS/ ON OTHER LOCAL SERVICES?

5.3 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON PROVIDING PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION
TO THE SETTLEMENTS? ON BUSING SETTLER CHILDREN TO SCHOOL? ON
MAINTENANCE OF BUSES? ON MAINTENANCE OF CIVILIAN AIRFIELDS?

5.4 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON MAINTENANCE OF SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES
, SPORTS AND YOUTH FACILITIES IN THE SETTLEMENTS? ON SALARIES
FOR TEACHERS AND DAY-CARE WORKERS? ON HEALTH SERVICES? ON
RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES? ON OTHER STATE SERVICES?

5.5 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON ALLOCATION OF FUNDS AND PAYMENTS
ON ACCOUNT OF PREVIOUS BUDGETS? ON OTHER NONRECURRENT PAYMENTS?

5.6 WHAT IS THE TOTAL TAX REVENUE COLLECTED FROM THE SETTLER
COMMUNITY, INCLUDING INCOME AND BUSINESS TAXES, RENTS AND INCOME
FROM SALES OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY'S PROPERTY AND ENTERPRISE,

PROPERTY TAX, LAND BETTERMENT TAX, AND VEHICLE LICENCES?

6. GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES

6.1 HOW MUCH HAVE GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES--INCLUDING THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND THE MONISTRIES OF AGRICULTURE, HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION, FINANCE, RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS, LABOER AND SOCIAL WELFARE, INDUSTRY AND TRADE, AND EDUCATION-- AND OTHER GOVERMENT ENTITIES SPENT ON SETTLEMENTS?

6.2 HOW MUCH OF THE NATIONAL WATER COMMISSION'S BUDGET IS DIRECTED TO THE SETTLEMNENTS?

6.3 HOW MUCH OF THE IMMIGRATION ABSORPTION BUDGET IS DIRECTED TO THE SETTLEMENTS INCLUDING FOR LANGUAGE TRAINING, EMPLOYMENT AND HOUSING?

7. PROMOTION

7.1 HOW MUCH HAS THE GOI SPENT ON PUBLICATION OF SETTLEMTN PROMOTIONAL LITERATURE? ON OTHER SETTLEMENT PROMOTIONAL EFFORTS?

7.2 HOW MUCH ON ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELOCATION?

7.3 HOW MUCH ON PROMOTION OF TOURISM TO SETTLEMENTS OR TO SETTLER-RUN FACILITIES , INCLUDING MOUNT HERMON SKI LIFT? LUNA GAL BEACH, ATRQZIA, AND GAZA BEACHES?

7.4 HOW MUCH SPENT ON PROMOTION OF WORK PROGRAMS TO COLLECTIVE SETTLEMENTS THAT INVOLVE FOREIGN YOUTH?

-B-

QUESTIONS REGARDING
PURCHASE OF AMERICAN GOODS AND SERVICES
APPENDIX I

1. PLEASE SPECIFY THE TYPES OF INFORMATION REGRADING THE FUTURE PURCHASING PLANS/ REQUIREMENTS OF ISRAELI INDUSTRY THAT IS BEING MADE AVAILABLE OR WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE FOR DISTRIBUTION TO AMERICAN FIRMS AS SPECIFIED IN APPENDIC I. HOW WILL THIS INFORMATION BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, AND WHICH ISRAELI ORGANIZATIONS HAVE BEEN GIVEN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ENSURING DELIVERY?

2, PLEASE DISCUSS THE FUNDING AVAILABLE TO COVER 50 PERCENT OF THE COST OF U.S. GOODS AND SERVICES EXHIBITIONS IN ISRAEL. IS THERE A LIMIT TO THE AMOUNT WHICH CAN BE SPENT ON AN ANNUAL BASIS? ARE THE NUMBER OF EVENTS LIMITED? HOW WILL THESE FUNDS BE DISBURSED? WHICH ISRAELI ENTITY IS RESPONSIBLE FOR MAKING PAYMENT? DOES THE FUNDING OFFER APPLY TO INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN FIRMS OR ONLY TO U.S. GOVERNMENT GROUP SPONSORED PARTICIPATION? WHICH

ISRAELI ORGANIZATION IS RESPONSIBLE FOR FURNISHING THE LIST OF EXHIBITIONS? MAY THE FUNDS BE USED TO DEFRAY THE COSTS OF U.S DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE SPONSORED TRADE MISSIONS?

3. PLEASE DESCRIBE THE PROCEDURES IMPELMENTED TO KEEP U.S FIRMS APPRAISED OF THE BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES DEVELOPING FROM THE LOAN QUARANTEE PROGRAM. WILL THERE BE INFORMATION ON THE SECTORS RECEIVING FUNDING? WILL THE ISRAELI EMBASSY PROVIDE SPEAKERS FOR SEMINARS AND OTHER OUTREACH EVENTS HELD IN THE UNITED STATES?

4. PLEASE DESCRIBE THE STEPS TAKEN TO MAKE TIMELY INFORMATION ON ALL MAJOR CONTRACT BIDS ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV. IS THERE AN ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ORGA- NIZATION RESPONSIBLE FOR COORDINATING THE EFFORT? IF NOT, HAVE ISRAELI AGENCIES BEEN NOTIFIED TO MAKE THE MAJOR PROJECT INFORMATION AVAILABLE? HOW FAR IN ADVANCE OF THE BID DEADLINE CAN WE EXPECT TO RECEIVE THE INFORMATION?

5. HOW DOES THE ISRAELI FINANCIAL SYSTEM HANDLES THE GUARANTEES. WHAT IS THE LENGTH OF TIME IT TAKES TO REACH THE COMMERCIAL SECTOR?

6. FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS PROGRAM, SHOULD WE CONSIDER THE COMMER CIAL ATTACHE TO BE LOCATED IN THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON?

7. WHAT FUNDING IS AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT THE FORUM CONCEPT? DOES THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A SEPARATE OFFICE IN ASHINGTON? COULD FUNDING BE MADE AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT OUTREACH PROGRAMS SUCH AS MEETINGS WITH AMERICAN BUSINESS GROUPS IN CITIES OTHER THAN WASHINGTON? GOOD QUALITY PRINTED MATER- IALS ARE ESSENTIAL TO ANY COOPERATIVE PROGRAM. WILL THE PUBLI- CATION AND DISTRIBUTION COSTS BE COVERED UNDER THE TERMS OF AMMENDIX I?

8. WHICH ISRAELI AGENCY WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR SUPPLYING IMPORT DATA? HOW OFTEN WILL IT BE MADE AVAILABLE?

תפוצה: (רהמ), @שהח, @סשהח, @מנכל, @ממנכל, @ערן, @מצפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 33223

אל: רהמש/1191

מ-: ווש, נר: 2118, תא: 250593, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מיד

אל: ממ'ד, אגף מז'ת, מצפ'א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: סעודיה, איראן, עיראק

משיחה עם ריידל (N.S.C.) ב-25.5.

סעודיה, איראן

1. בן שיחי נלווה לביקור שר המסחר בראון בסעודיה במחצית הראשונה של מאי. היה זה ביקור ראשון של שר מסחר אמריקאי מאז 82. כן נועד הביקור להסביר לסעודים את מדיניות 'הבלימה הכפולה' כלפי עיראק ואיראן, זאת לאחר שבביקור כריסטופר בפבר' הוסברה להם המדיניות כלפי עיראק, והללו תהו, אותה עת, לגבי גישת הממשל החדש כלפי איראן.

2. הסעודים הביעו שביעות רצון נוכח מדיניות 'הבלימה הכפולה'. לשאלתי ציין ריידל שהסעודים הבהירו לבראון, בעקיפין, כי אינם מעוניינים שהממשל יאשר את עסקת ה'בואינג' עם איראן. בן שיחי הוסיף שבראון הבין את המסר הסעודי, אך הממשל עודנו בוחן את הנושא.

3. בעיקרו של דבר, קרא שר המסחר לסעודים להעניק יחס אוהד לחברות אמריקאיות למול מתחרותיהן האירופיות (ריידל ציין שהאירופים משתמשים בראשי ממשלה כדי לקדם אנטרסים דומים של הסקטור הפרטי). בין השאר נמצאים על הפרק עסקות בנושא תעופה אזרחית ועסקת בליונים בה מתחרה AT AND T עם חברה גרמנית על פרוייקט חידוש רשת התקשורת בסעודיה.

בקור שר החוץ האיראני במפרץ

4. ע'פ מידע ראשוני, ויליאמי לא היה ספציפי ונראה שלא היו באמתחתו הצעות ממשיות לבני שיחו. נראה שביקורו נועד לאזן את ביקור מובארך, ולהגיב גם לאיתותי המדיניות הקשוחה כלפי איראן העולים מושינגטון. בהקשר זה ביקר כנראה לבחון האם יש בקרב המשפ'מ גורמים החולקים על ארה'ב. האיראנים עשויים לגלות גמישות באבו-דאבי אם יסכימו לדון בנושא מעמד איי טומב (עד כה נאותו לדון בנושא אבו-מוסא בלבד). לא ברור האם האיראנים אמנם העלו זאת באבו-דאבי.

5. ציין שהידיעות על ביקור קרוב של פהד בטהראן עולות ממקורות איראנים בלבד ופקפק באמינותן. חזק פקפקו בעזרת השיפור הבא: קודם לפגישת שר המסחר בראון עם שר ההגנה הסעודי סלטאן ביקש השגריר האיראני להוועד עם שר

ההגנה. בצאתו מפגישה זו אמר השגריר בפומבי שהסעודי הסכים עימו כי איראן אינה מדינה המעודדת טרור. סלטאן, מצידו, אמר לבראון שנושא זה כלל לא דובר בינו לבין האיראני.

6. איראן, עיראק

מערכת היחסים בין שתי המדינות מפותלת ומזימתית, כאשר כל אחת מנסה לקדם שלוש, ארבע, אג'נדות באותה עת. על רקע זה, לריידל עדין אין מחוורת לאשורה, משמעות המתיחות שהתעוררה לאחרונה בין שתי המדינות. ציין כי לפני כשנה העיראקים הרחיקו צבאם מאתרי מוג'אהדון שהותקפו לאחר מכן ע"י איראן ולאחרונה העיראקים נקטו עמדה מטעה גם בנושא 'המפלגה הכורדית הדמוקרטית של איראן'.

7. העריך מניעי יסוד ביחסי שתי המדינות.

א. לשתיים עניין בשת"פ טקטי למול הלחץ הבינ"ל הגובר על שתייהן.

ב. מבחינת איראן - צדאם מוחלש עדיף על עיראק פרו-מערבית.

ג. בין השתיים מוסיפה להפריד העויינות הנושנה.

8. ענינו של צדאם בהתקרבות רבה יותר משום שהוא נתון ללחץ בינ"ל כבר יותר. ריידל לא יופתע אם העיראקים אף יסגירו את המוג'אהדון לאיראן.

9. איראן תתקרב לעיראק עד גבול מסוים. תשמח לקבל מוג'אהדון ולתקוף אתרים כורדיים, אך קשה לראות את רפסאנג'ני מבצע פריצת דרך לעבר עיראק ערב הבחירות לנשיאות בארצו.

10. צפון עיראק

ארה"ב בקשה מהאומ' להקפיא את פינוי שומרי האום המוצבים בצפון עיראק ופועלת לגיוס המשאבים הדרושים למימוןם. ארה"ב מוכנה להקצות עד מאתיים מליון דולר אם יאסף סכום דומה מבעלות בריתה.

11. הוצאות המימון גבוהות משום שהסכום מכסה את מכלול פעולות הפיקוח הסיזע והשמדת הנשק הבלתי קונבנציונאלי בעיראק. העריך שהמשבר הפיננסי יפתר כפי שנפתרו קודמיו.

12. מאמר ה'ניו יורק טיימס' (24.5) על מתקפה עיראקית צפויה כנגד הכורדים היה מופרך, ובפועל אין חידוש בהערכות העיראקית במקום. יחד עם זאת, ריידל מרוצה מעצם פרסום המאמר שכן זה אפשר לממשל לפרסם, שום, אזהרות פומביות כלפי עיראק.

13. סעודיה - סיוע כספי

ציין שקשה לתאר עד כמה הסעודים מתנגדים לתפיסה לפיה בעיות המזה"ת צריכות להפתר בעזרת ריאליים סעודיים. הם מוסיפים לעגן התנגדותם זו 'בתמורה' שקבלו מירדן ותימן במהלך משבר המפרץ. לטעמו, העובדה שהסעודים נאותו להעביר לפלסטינים עשרה מליון דולר בלבד, לאחר לחץ נמשך של הממשל, רק ממחישה הרתיעה הסעודית. זו קשורה גם לגרעון בתקציבה. ריידל מעריך שאף מבארך לא יקבל סיוע פיננסי ממשי בעקבות ביקורו האחרון בריאד.

אמיתי.

לבח

תפוצה: שדח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, סמנכלמזח,
מזח1, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רס), @ (אמן)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 33198

אל: רהמש/1179

מ-: ווש, נר: 2117, תא: 250593, זח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: סו ,

בבבב

סודי/ מיידי

אל: ממנכ'ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

1. תודה על מברקך.

לעניין בואם או אי בורם של קרצר ומילר הרי כמו שידוע כבר עכשיו הודעתו של ביל בראון בטעות היה יסודה. הייתי בקשר מתמיד עם דג'רג'יאן. השאלה ניצבה להכרעת המזכיר עד ליום ו' ולקראת מחצית היום החליט המזכיר שלא לקיים את הנסיעה.

2. לעניין בקוריהם של קנטור ובראון הרי בעצה אחת עם אמנון נויבך נפעל לרווח את הבקורים.

3. אשר להתיעצויות עם סמנכל ארבל והשגריר לאום הרי אארח כאן את המשתתפים הישראלים לא. בוקר-עבודה בביתי.

רבינוביץ

רש

תפוצה: שדח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 33152

אל: רהמש/1182

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 734, תא: 250593, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממ"ד - ערב 1, מח' מצרים, מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: הערכות מצריות

להלן משיחה עם אלחסייני עבד אלוהאב, יועץ בשגרירות מצרים (24.5).
תחום אחריותו בשגרירותם - העולם הערבי. במחצית השנייה של שנות ה-80 שרת
בירדן, וקודם לכן - בניג'ר.

סוריה

1. לדעתו, אסד מוכן להעניק לישראל נורמליזציה מלאה אך הוא מחזיק קלף זה
קרוב לחזהו, הן בשל שיטת המיקוח המאפינת את דרכו במו"מ, והן משום שהוא
חושש מעליית נתניהו, ואיננו בטוח שישראל אכן תחזיר לו את כל הגולן
בתמורה לשלום המבוקש על ידה.

2. גורם הזמן איננו משפיע על שיקולי אסד, ושעתו של זה איננה דוחקת.

3. שאיפת הסורים להימחק מרשימת הטרור הינה בבחינת יעד ארוך טווח, אולם
כבר עתה יכולה סוריה להצביע על הישגים משמעותיים ביחסיה עם הממשל.
בהקשר זה שאל בן שיחי מתי לאחרונה קראו דוברי הממשל לסוריה לסגת לבקאע
עפ"י הסכם טאיף, וטען שאף בדו"ח זכויות האדם הוצגה סוריה באור מתון
יחסית.

4. סודאן

המשבר בין מצרים לסודאן סביב אזור חלאאיב הולך ומחריף.
במקום עלולות לפרוץ התנגשויות מזוינות אך לא תתחולל התדרדרות למלחמה
כוללת נוסח מלחמת מצרים-לוב (78'). פוטנציאל המתיחות הקשור באזור חלאאיב
הוא גורם קבוע ביחסי מצרים-סודאן, שמימושו תלוי במערכת היחסים הכוללת
בין שתי המדינות, קרי: בשעה שמערכת היחסים הכוללת תקינה - המשבר רדום,
בשעה של מתיחות כוללת - המשבר "מוצף" על פני השטח.

5. לוב

לדעתו אין סיכוי שקדאפי יתפשר בנושא לוקרבי בשל חששותיו פן היענות

לתביעות ארה"ב תפגע קשות במשטרו. בן שיחי צופה שבעתיד תוחרפנה הסנקציות.

6. בוסניה

אמר, על רקע ההתפתחויות האחרונות במשבר בוסניה, "שהאיש ברחוב", בעולם הערבי, משווה, באורח בלתי נמנע, בין ההתפתחויות הללו לבין הסנקציות המוטלות על עיראק ולוב, ומסיק שהמערב מוסיף להפלות את המוסלמים לרעה (יצויין שלא כדרך, במסגרת זו הערה לפיה המערב שופט לקולא גם התנהגות ישראל בשטחים - טיעון הנשמע בקובלנות ערביות סביב נושא בוסניה).

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצרים, מצפא, מזתים,
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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

LONESOME HAWK

President Clinton's deferral of his proposed air strike against the Serbs could undermine his international clout.

BY SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

BILL CLINTON's leadership in the first great foreign-policy crisis of his Presidency is a study in purpose without power. His moment of decision regarding Bosnia, if there was one, came on Saturday, May 8th, when Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrived at the White House to report to the President on his canvass of the European allies. After learning of their rejection of his initiative, known as "lift and strike"—lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnians and striking the Serbs with air power—the President found himself unarmed.

Clinton had understood the events from the beginning, but he treated their complexities as matters of ratiocination. He gave what he decided were the correct answers to the questions, like a straight-A student, rather than instructing others. His consultations verged on deference. His approach was to grope for a safe path out of the darkness. He knew where his analysis led him, but he would not act on it. His position amounted to public speculation about what he would do, if he could. Grappling with contending visions of the past, he would not define history for his own use. He encountered a cacophony in Congress, which he decided not to quell. And he met with a sophisticated cynicism in Europe, which prevailed in the absence of decisive American leadership.

The debate over Bosnia is enveloped in layers of historical metaphor. For some, it is the Holocaust: never again, they say, should the Western conscience abandon a scorned minority in Europe to genocide. For others, the most reso-

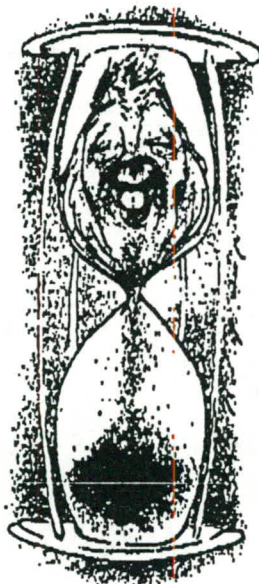
nant past is the period leading up to the Second World War, when America was riven by isolationists and interventionists. In either of these contexts, diplomacy without force takes on the appearance of appeasement. For still others, the

reigning metaphor comes from a more recent war: Vietnam. In their view, intervention in any foreign land threatens to be a quagmire, and any use of force short of immediately overwhelming power that achieves total victory must be scrupulously avoided.

But the nation's political alignments, which rigidly held for a generation, magnetically polarized by Vietnam, have been released by the ending of the Cold War. The Bosnian conflict did not re-create them. On the contrary, hawks granted the plumage of doves and

doves grew sharp talons. (The predominant hawk on Bosnia in the Senate is Joseph Biden, Democrat of Delaware, a onetime sixties idealist; among the leading doves is John McCain, Republican of Arizona, who piloted a bomber and was taken prisoner by the North Vietnamese.) Bombedalled generals spent part of their days arguing that gays would destroy military discipline and another part resisting intervention like dedicated pacifists. And a President who had marched against the Vietnam War contemplated bombing in the Balkans.

In Serbia, historical metaphor has had an even more mesmerizing effect. Yugoslavia was an artificial state imposed on hostile religious and national groups: Croatian Catholics, Serbian Eastern Orthodox, and Bosnian Mus-

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THE NEW YORKER, MAY 31, 1993

lims. Many of the Muslims are more Westernized than their Serb counterparts, and there is no ethnic difference between the two groups. The Muslims are not Turks or Arabs but Europeans, whose ancestors became converts during the Ottoman Empire. Most are secular. Bosnia is like a city-state, centered on cosmopolitan Sarajevo, which was the only place in Yugoslavia where pluralist tolerance and civility truly prevailed.

When Slobodan Milosevic staged a coup in Belgrade, in 1987, he jettisoned the decrepit Communism he had loyally served for a resurgent nationalism. His rise, a symptom of disintegration, accelerated the process. First, Slovenia and Croatia seceded; then Macedonia, Serbia and Croatia were already at war. When that conflict faded, Milosevic's drive for Greater Serbia pushed into Bosnia. Bosnia had been formally organized as a multiethnic democracy precisely to escape Milosevic's tyranny. The Bosnian Serbs, however, envisioned themselves linked by a blood connection to Greater Serbia and pledged to refight the ancient battle against "the Turks," who were in reality their neighbors. In this holy war, the Bosnians suffered an immense disadvantage. The United Nations had imposed an arms embargo against Milosevic's Yugoslavia; yet, despite this, his Army was easily able to supply the Bosnian Serb rebels with weapons. But the Bosnians, lacking a supplier, remained virtually defenseless. All Bosnian men have long been subjected to a year of military training, and their numbers exceeded those of the Bosnian Serb army. But the embargo, while ostensibly universal, was punitive only against those on the defensive: the Bosnians.

The war invaded the American consciousness in the summer of 1992, with reports of concentration camps and televised scenes of murdered

babies. These disquieting images happened to fall into the middle of the Presidential campaign. President Bush adopted a policy of studied indifference. The last thing Bush's campaign strategists wanted was for their candidate to immerse himself in foreign turmoil where American stakes would have to be carefully and lucidly explained. On July 26th, Governor Bill Clinton sought to outflank Bush on foreign policy and dispel the suspicion that he was in the grip of an incapacitating Vietnam syndrome, which Republicans had charged for years was at the core of the Democrats' weakness. Air strikes against the Serbs, Clinton declared, were in order. His stand on Bosnia gave him a novel way to insulate himself against a burdensome political legacy. On October 11th, while he was being assailed as a Vietnam-era "draft dodger," Clinton said he would "consider" lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnians, "since they are in no way in a fair fight with a heavily armed opponent bent on ethnic cleansing." He added, "We can't get in-

volved in the quagmire, but we must do what we can."

After Clinton's election, the Serbian leadership shrewdly maneuvered to undermine a policy they anticipated would be tougher. They agreed to discuss further the peace plan designed by former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and former British Foreign Minister David Owen—Vance representing the United Nations, Owen the European Community. The Vance-Owen plan would divide Bosnia into ten virtually autonomous provinces, in which the contending parties would be isolated. The tenuous multiethnic Bosnian democracy would disappear; what would remain of the central government would have hardly any powers. So the Serbs were in Geneva to bicker over squiggles on the map. At the same time, they continued the offensive for Greater Serbia, since they believed that in the end the map would reflect the facts on the ground.

Clinton was horrified at the prospect of ratifying the carnage. Then he discovered that the Europeans

resolutely opposed the suggestions he had made as a candidate: lifting the arms embargo and initiating air strikes. Thus the President embarked on a meandering journey. In his first statement on the subject as Chief Executive, on February 5th, he expressed his reluctance to embrace the Vance-Owen plan, on the ground that it "might work to the immediate and to the long-term further disadvantage of the Bosnian Muslims." A week later, Clinton worried that "the terrible principle of 'ethnic cleansing' will be validated; that one ethnic group can butcher another if they're strong enough." By the end of the month, stymied by the European resistance to new initiatives, he was encouraging the Bosnians to "engage in negotiations within the Vance-Owen framework." And on March 1st, frus-



"What happens when I become a reality?"

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

trated by Serbian aggression. Clinton began a large-scale airlift of food into beleaguered eastern Bosnia. When, on March 5th, Clinton remarked that the United States "cannot proceed here unilaterally," he was describing at once the necessary condition for action and the principal obstacle to it.

On March 24th, he said, "I am appalled by what has happened there; I am saddened; I am sickened." The next day, under United States pressure, the Bosnians signed the Vance-Owen plan, and Clinton promulgated a no-fly zone over Bosnia. About three weeks later, with the Bosnian town of Srebrenica about to fall to Serbian forces, and with bloody pictures again flooding the network news, Clinton was "outraged" that the Serbs had not signed Vance-Owen. He spoke of a larger danger: "If you look at the turmoil all through the Balkans, if you look at the other places where this could play itself out in other parts of the world, this is not just about Bosnia. On the other hand, there is reason to be humble when approaching anything dealing with the former Yugoslavia." But ten days after that, on April 26th, the President appeared determined to surmount obstacles, declaring, "It is now, I think, clear that the United States and our allies need to move forward with a stronger policy in Bosnia, and I will be announcing the course that I hope we can take in the next several days." Action seemed imminent.

It's sort of a no-brainer," a senior Administration official remarked to me about how to reach the solution to the problem. Clinton's plan was now the one as the one he had suggested during the campaign: lift and strike. Clinton had gone through the intellectual process more intensively than he had during the hurried campaign. Once again, he had cracked the conundrum that stumped others.

"I don't know of any peace settlements that didn't ratify what existed on the ground," the official said. "So much at stake. We don't want to lose. We must have achievable goals. The advantages of lifting the embargo are that it's something we can do; it's a clear goal, and we can succeed in delivering the weapons." If the Croats skim off some of the war, so be it: "Making the argument

that this would increase violence allows the aggressor to continue 'ethnic cleansing' against an outgunned victim." This axiom of European diplomacy is "exquisite condescension," the official said. "There is the right of a recognized government to defend itself. The embargo was imposed before recognition of Bosnia." The Bosnian Serb army, moreover, is not a formidable force—not the fabled partisans of the Second World War but a motley assemblage of thugs, many of whom are usually drunk, and who have taken few casualties. Under the plan, air power would give the Bosnians time to get armed and would also give cover to allied troops, who could easily be armed with superior weaponry themselves. Much of the Serbian artillery could be knocked out. The Bosnian Serbs, even though buttressed by regular Army units, might wilt quickly. They are far below Iraqi standards. There would be no United States ground troops; the Bosnians would do the fighting. "But it's not going to be successful as Americans see success," the official warned. Good won't unconditionally triumph over evil, even if one side should be all good and the other all evil. But a new "balance of power" could be achieved, which would roll back the dream of Greater Serbia. It was this plan that Clinton subscribed to in early May.

First, Clinton turned to Congress. Senator Biden had just returned from a trip on which he had met with Milosevic and with Bosnian leaders, and on April 19th, as chairman of the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Foreign Relations Committee, he had filed a report that was read closely, according to a top official, by the Secretary of State and the President. "Every Bosnian I encountered, government official and common citizen alike, was convinced that they could succeed in defending their country if given the means and supported by airstrikes against Serb artillery," Biden wrote. "However well intentioned, the presence of U.N. relief personnel and peacekeeping forces, by inhibiting stronger Western action, now constitutes more an obstacle than a contribution to the humanitarian relief they were deployed to provide."

On April 27th, ten leaders from the House of Representatives and eight senators sat around a long table in the



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"To be a flamingo, or better still a toucan, in the sixties—that was really something."

White House for three and a half hours. Clinton listed options, from doing nothing to sending in ground troops. "I want to see what you think," he said. According to a well-informed source, each of the eighteen was asked his opinion, in order of seniority. The House Speaker, Thomas Foley, said that whatever was done should receive the consent of Congress. The Senate Majority Leader, George Mitchell, agreed that now was the time for action. No, it was not the time, Lee Hamilton, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, insisted. Perhaps action would be called for at a later date, he said, but now it would only inspire the Serbs to more violence. In any case, Milosevic seemed genuinely interested in making peace. Biden countered that Milosevic was a war criminal, who couldn't be trusted. He urged lifting the embargo and conducting air strikes—the Administration's desired course. Senator John Warner, Republican from Virginia and the constant sidekick of Sam Nunn, the chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, warned that air strikes would not work. Nothing less than invading with five hundred thousand troops would do, and it would still be a quagmire. Ronald Dellums, the chair-

man of the House Armed Services Committee and a left-wing voice from Berkeley, spoke vaguely about defining goals and broader contexts, and then simply said, "Vietnam." Representative John P. ("The P" is for Power) Murtha, Democrat from Pennsylvania and a former marine, vehemently opposed action, time and again invoking Vietnam. But Senator Richard Lugar, who had been the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee when the Republicans were in the majority, argued for force. If "lift and strike" did not produce the desired outcome, he said, then we would have to be prepared to send in troops; once begun, the operation would not be permitted to fail. Then Bob Dole made his contribution: he was for lifting the embargo, for air strikes, and, if that didn't work, for whatever force it took. While seeming to support Clinton, he was also laying down a political marker. Dole, after all, is not just Clinton's nemesis in Congress; he might well be the 1996 G.O.P. Presidential nominee. Those present were keenly aware of the subtext when Dole said to the President, "America's prestige could not tolerate it not working. It would cost you very dearly." Though Dole and Mitchell agreed that if the President requested it

THE NEW YORKER, MAY 31, 1993

they would co-sponsor a joint resolution for force, the meeting ended without the consensus Clinton had hoped for.

A week later, Clinton met with Senator Dale Bumpers, his old friend from Arkansas, who had just returned from the former Yugoslavia. "The chances of getting a resolution through here right now are point-blank zero," Bumpers says he told the President. "The American people know nothing about Bosnia. In the ordinary American mind the Vietnam corollary is almost total." Indeed, a CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll published on April 27th showed that sixty-two per cent of the American people were against any United States military action.

Clinton faced another obstacle in the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Members of Congress who were briefed by Colin Powell were hardly galvanized; rather, they were given cause for discouragement. Repeatedly sent out to make Clinton's case, Powell repeatedly justified his opposition. When he tried to state the Administration's position, he was questioned about his own well-advised dissent. "I haven't changed my views," he boldly told one group of House members. At a meeting of NATO's military committee, also on April 27th, Powell participated in a meeting that condemned any policy for further action. The committee chairman, Field Marshal Sir Richard Vincent, of Great Britain, reflecting his government's position, told a press conference in Brussels, "I am healthily skeptical." The chairman of the Joint Chiefs, a Vietnam veteran, in fact opposed intervention unless it followed his precept of "invincible force." Perhaps more than anyone else, the nation's most powerful general was stricken with the Vietnam syndrome. He had been against the buildup of Operation Desert Shield, precisely because he feared that it would not meet his criterion. Before Clinton was inaugurated, Powell volunteered to him that a Bosnian interven-

cramp. But the problem would not return to the netherworld from whence it came. In April, twelve State Depart-

stay the course. Lake, according to someone privy to the discussion. The President did not recant

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

tion short of five hundred thousand men would fail and that even such a force might not succeed. Clinton had no stomach for confronting Powell, who is the most popular black public official in the country, and whose term, in any case, expires in September. "We all understand what's going on. He's got the President mousetrapped," a Senate aide said. "Powell is being very coy, and he's full of political egotism. I can't remember when a President has been in such a situation." As it happens, Admiral Jeremy M. Boorda, who is in charge of the NATO forces in Southern Europe, does not share Powell's view of military capabilities and prospects, according to the Senate aide, who has spoken to Boorda at length on several occasions. But Boorda expresses his assessment only privately, to United States officials, following strict lines of authority, and declines to be interviewed. Powell's mystique shadows any military enterprise. One senior White House staffer has worried that if anything went wrong in a Bosnian intervention Powell might actually plot to use it politically to damage the President.

In early May, unable to forge a consensus at home, Clinton sent his Secretary of State abroad. Warren Christopher's own position had gyrated over the months, and his oscillations had contributed to a State Department revolt. In the beginning, on February 10th, Christopher had said that the Bosnian crisis "tests what wisdom we have gathered from this bloody century, and it measures our resolve to take early concerted action." Six weeks later, he cast the situation as a waking nightmare that could not be made to disappear. "It's almost terrifying, and it's centuries old," he said. "That really is a problem from hell. And I think that the United States is doing all we can to try to deal with that problem." When Margaret Thatcher called for decisive military intervention, Christopher dismissed her statement as "an emotional response to an emotional problem," as though it were a menstrual cramp. But the problem would not return to the netherworld from whence it came. In April, twelve State Department experts wrote Christopher a letter, which was leaked to the *Times*. "We

are only attempting to end the genocide through political and economic pressures such as sanctions and intense diplomatic engagement," the letter read. "In effect, the result of this course has been Western capitulation to Serbian aggression."

The consistent hawk within the Administration councils were the director of the National Security Council, Anthony Lake; his deputy, Sandy Berger; and Vice-President Al Gore. As Clinton had moved in favor of force, so had Christopher. But when the President dispatched Christopher to feel out European opinion, which was already obvious, he did not empower him to compel adherence. (It is hard to imagine James Baker undertaking a mission without power.) On May 2nd, when Christopher arrived in London, his first stop, he was met with the news that the Bosnian Serb leader, Radovan Karadzic, had agreed to the Vance-Owen plan. Christopher, according to a State Department official, was skeptical about the Serbs' intent. But throughout Europe the signing was greeted with immense relief, as though the crisis were about to end in a flurry of diplomacy. None of the allies agreed with Clinton's options, nor were they particularly eager to discuss them. While Christopher travelled, Slobodan Milosevic addressed the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament to argue that it should support Vance-Owen because doing so would codify a Greater Serbia victory. "One should not gamble away what one has already gained," he admonished. But the parliament decided to consign the plan to a referendum, thus dooming it to certain rejection. The fact of the referendum, however, provided grounds for more European temporizing. There could be no decisions, they told Christopher, until they knew the referendum's outcome: give Milosevic a chance.

So the Secretary reported to the President. Clinton listened to Christopher, as Christopher had listened to the Europeans. Christopher urged him to "stay the course," and so did Anthony Lake, according to someone privy to the discussion. The President did not recant on his stated desire to lift the embargo and order air strikes. But, facing annihila-



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lence, confusion, and reluctance, here and abroad, he decided he would not go to war on all fronts. By professing a position that had become merely an academic opinion, the President sided with the forces of inertia. Already dressed in his golf clothes, he headed for the links.

ON the day before Christopher returned, Haris Silajdzic, the Bosnian Foreign Minister, decided to tour the new Holocaust Museum, in Washington. Silajdzic, a forty-eight-year-old former diplomatic historian, is operating alone out of a hotel on the edge of Georgetown. His wife and six-year-old son live shielded outside Bosnia; he has not seen them in two months. "Europeans think we are not proper Europeans, because we are Muslim, and the Muslims think we are not proper Muslims, because we are European," he says. "Bosnia, it's so exotic."

He is escorted into the museum ahead of the morning crowd—a group consisting mostly of senior citizens and students, in a line that snakes around the building. Inside the dim, industrial environment, Silajdzic walks slowly from exhibit to exhibit, drawing comparisons. "People don't believe you. It couldn't be happening. But it's not over." He points to Bosnia on a map of Europe. "The virus is there," he says. "There are those who say we should not be reminded. It is better to walk through a museum than a concentration camp."

He stops to gaze at a poster promoting "Grossdeutschland, Jal." and he notes the parallel to Greater Serbia. Then he pauses at a display about Munich. "Our people have lived together for hundreds of years," he says. "These savages say we can't live together. These savages try to build walls. In Europe they seem to prefer tribal chiefs to democracy. Easy decisions can be taken by anyone. Europe is silent, a chain of Chamberlains. In fifty years they will condemn it."

Silajdzic sees all the awful pictures and artifacts of systematic death. But what arouses and upsets him most is a quotation he discovers in a section devoted to the negligent role of American policymakers. The words that rivet him were written by Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy, who became the epitome of the postwar establishment. It

was McCloy who advised against sending Allied bombers to destroy Auschwitz. The bombing, McCloy wrote, "might provoke even more vindictive action by the Germans." Silajdzic repeats the line over and over. "So history does not repeat itself," he says, assuming the mantle of the historian: he was in easier times. "But we repeat the same mistakes."

THE diplomatic scurrying continues. In a ritual wailing of hands, Christopher told the House Foreign Affairs Committee on May 18th that Bosnia was, after all, "a morass," and that ethnic cleansing bore no resemblance to genocide. "It's been easy to analogize this to the Holocaust, but I never heard of any genocide by the Jews against the German people."

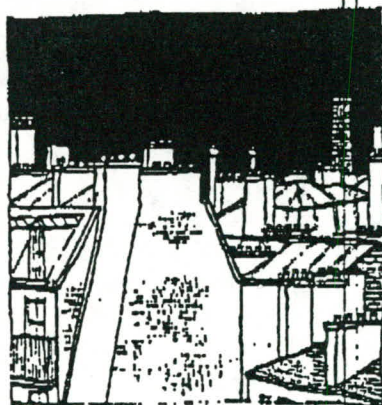
The small crisis is over, but not the larger one. It seems implausible that without force the Vance-Owen plan in its pristine form can be put into effect: it would reduce the Serb share of Bosnia to forty-three per cent, but seventy per cent has already been grabbed. The logic of war always dominates the logic of diplomacy. Low-intensity warfare may go on, but the conquest, barring a radical intervention, belongs to Milosevic. He has won his Greater Serbia, leaving some enclaves in which the Muslims can huddle. While the West frets about containing Serbia, preventing its expansion into Macedonia and Kosovo, the next war may instead be the next round in the Serbs' continuing war with Croatia—settling borders by fighting over bits and pieces of Bosnia.

The rugged—Balkanized, in fact—nature of this episode masks its importance. Bosnia has not been just about

Bosnia. If NATO had any mission after the Cold War, it was to maintain European stability; it has now been revealed to be without purpose. The Europeans, dealing through various international agencies, made gestures of coping, which naturally failed. Ultimately, what they wanted from the United States was partnership in blame. Without the United States to direct it, the Western alliance is little more than an armored vehicle bearing relief. Clinton's post-Bosnian foreign policy confronts the ruin of NATO.

The triumph of Milosevic may mark the true beginning of the post-Communist era. Just as the breakup of Yugoslavia foretold that of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, so may the ascent of the Serbian strongman be a harbinger. Milosevic, not Havel, may be the New Man. A tradition more deeply rooted in the region than democracy may be stirring. If it comes alive, politics will be ruled by demagogic nationalist appeals and by fear and loathing of others. Democracy will be a façade. The Bosnian crisis has already illuminated the West's complacency about its incapacity to act. Authoritarian populism—Le Pen in France, the Republicans in Germany, Perot in America—is on the rise. Such movements may not necessarily gain power, but they consume democratic politics with efforts to pluck and contain them.

In the crisis, the role of master was played not by the American Secretary of State or by the President but by an authoritarian in Belgrade. Clinton sought support for a policy he was not prepared to fight for. His intentions were well meaning, but, finding himself amid political difficulties, he would not take the leap into the unknown. He wished for consensus in a situation that could work only by coercion. Clinton's mandate is to be a domestic-policy President, but if he flutters in foreign policy his Presidency will be fatally undermined. There are few things more dangerous to a President's and a nation's credibility than the suggestion of commitment without putting force behind it. "By prestige I mean the shadow cast by power, which is of great deterrent importance," Dean Acheson, Truman's Secretary of State, wrote in his memoir, "Present at the Creation." Without power, of course, there is not even a shadow. ♦



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Detouring for Peace

*Israel, Palestinians
try an indirect route*

News day
24-5

By Susan Sachs

MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

Tunis, Tunisia — After failing in nine bargaining sessions to produce a single signed agreement, Palestinians and Israelis have decided to try to bridge the gaps between them by negotiating outside the formal peace talks through friendly Arab and American interlocutors.

The active but indirect dialogue, a first since the glacial bargaining began in late 1991, reflects the official Palestinian view here that a joint statement of principles concerning Israeli disengagement from the occupied territories is close at hand.

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Both sides are looking to the United States to play a more active role in the peace talks to bring about faster results and so stifle opposition to the peace process in the occupied territories.

The State Department, which had stayed on the sidelines for more than a year because of Israel's insistence on purely face-to-face contacts with its Arab adversaries, worked closely with Palestinian and Israeli delegates in the last round that ended a week ago. The change occurred after Palestinians broke off negotiations to protest Israel's deportation of more than 400 alleged Islamic extremists in December, freezing the peace process.

Although the deportees remain an emotional issue for many Palestinians

in the occupied territories, Palestine Liberation Organization officials are much more sanguine about the progress of peace talks than their perpetually gloomy delegates from the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"Each time we want them to attend another round of talks, it's a hard sell," Abu Mazen, the PLO official who oversees the bilateral negotiations, admitted in a recent interview here. "This last time the delegation didn't want to go, but we stood firm."

Extracurricular contacts between Palestinians and U.S. State Department officials began a few days after the end of the ninth round of talks. Palestinian negotiators had left Washington on a sour note, after rejecting an American proposal for the joint statement as too pro-Israeli.

Israeli government sources said they, too, are discussing disputed points with the State Department in hopes that the 10th round, tentatively planned for mid-June, might finally focus on the details of interim Palestinian self-rule.

Both sides agreed at the start of the peace process that Palestinians would take control of most functions concerning their daily lives in a first phase, with negotiations on a permanent arrangement to start within three years. The PLO has said it considered the beginning of the talks, in October, 1991, to be the start of the three-year period. Israel

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has not made clear its position on the timing.

"We hope to hammer out the details even before we get to Washington this time," said an Israeli official who spoke on condition of anonymity. "There isn't a big gap now and we want to move forward."

The joint statement, according to Palestinian and Israeli drafts presented at the last round, would set out in general terms the goals of the negotiations, the powers and jurisdiction of an elected Palestinian legislative body during the autonomy phase, and Israel's commitment to negotiate the final status of the occupied territories by a fixed date.

Several PLO officials said the Israeli proposal was a marked advance from earlier discussions and holds promise as an acceptable document. The Israeli draft accepted that the West Bank and Gaza Strip constitute "a single territorial unit" and stated that the final status negotiations would be based on United Nations Resolution 242, which calls for Israeli withdrawal in exchange for peace. But the PLO, which is stage-managing its delegation and retains final say over what the delegates sign, wants more. It wants Israel to state that even in the interim stage of Palestinian autonomy, the underlying foundation of any accord is Resolution 242 — in other words, that self-rule arrangements are a prelude to an Israeli withdrawal from

the occupied territories.

"We have been negotiating about getting Israel to admit that the West Bank and Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem are occupied territory," said Jamil Hilal, a PLO spokesman.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has said he is negotiating on the basis of exchanging land for peace, but is not willing to discuss how much land and how much sovereignty Palestinians should receive before the two sides pass through a period of Palestinian autonomy.

Hilal maintained that the dispute over the wording of a statement of principles is more than a matter of semantics. "If it appears we are negotiating away our land, it would be very bad for us," Hilal said.

In the ninth round, the two sides set up three working groups to start grinding away at the specifics of self-rule, land and water resource management, and human rights. Those groups accomplished little, said PLO and Israeli officials, because of the row over the statement of principles.

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Why Foes Love Him

As Clinton's Problems Grow and Grow,
Republicans Gain in Hope and Unity

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 22 — Bill Clinton's problems in the early months of his Presidency have done wonders for the morale and unity of the Republican Party, which emerged from the 1992 campaign not only defeated but also divided and perplexed about its future:

News Analysis With the President's approval rating below 50 percent in some polls, Republicans are starting to sound cocky.

"Every time he digs himself a hole — and that's been pretty often — it makes a little mound for us to stand on," said Haley Barbour of Mississippi, chairman of the Republican National Committee. "He has done more to unify the Republican Party in 120 days than I'll do in four years, if I last that long."

Edward Rollins, a White House political director under President Ronald Reagan who worked for Ross Perot in last year's Presidential campaign, said, "We may not know what we're for, but we know what we're against, and at the moment, Bill Clinton sums that up."

New York
Times
24-5

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Like centrist Democrats, Republicans fault Mr. Clinton for having run as a "new Democrat," less committed to governmental activism than traditional liberals, but governing as a "tax and spend Democrat," as they call him, in the mold of Lyndon B. Johnson.

In the Republican view, the President has been weakened by the controversy over homosexuals in the military, by his tax proposals, by what they see as something approaching a quota system in filling major Federal jobs, by his uncertain handling of Bosnia and even by smaller things like the haircut

and travel-office ruckuses of this week — things that undercut his image as a populist reformer.

But to take advantage of the openings they believe Mr. Clinton has given them, Republican strategists said in a series of interviews this week, that they must develop alternative policies of their own in areas like medical care and deficit reduction, where Mr. Clinton's proposals, however imperfect his opponents may consider them, clearly address needs that are widely felt among mainstream voters.

"It would be most unwise for us to expect Bill Clinton to do the whole job," said Bill Kristol, chief of staff to former Vice President Dan Quayle. "If we slide back into the Bush approach, defending the status quo, it would be a big mistake, because America obviously wants change."

"We have to articulate our own agenda for reform, and that clearly isn't going to come from our Capitol Hill leaders, who have to spend their time reacting to Clinton, or the national committee."

Needing a Leader

Developing an alternative on medical care will be especially difficult. The subject is notoriously complex, and the party's leading expert, Willis Gradison of Ohio, retired from the House of Representatives in January.

A second problem clouds the Republicans' rose-colored horizon: they remain a party sorely in need of a leader.

Like others, Bob Dole, the Republican leader in the Senate, has been spending some time lately in New Hampshire, where a Republican Presidential primary will take place in less than three years. But most politicians think the Kansas Senator is too old to run for President again; he would be 73 when inaugurated if he won, four years older than Ronald Reagan was when he was first inaugurated. Few Republicans think it would be desirable to turn back to Mr. Bush's generation, even if Mr. Clinton looks too young and callow three years from now.

"Other than Bob Dole, we have no one of national stature," said Senator

Judd Gregg of New Hampshire, who managed Mr. Bush's campaign in that state in 1992. "As long as Ross Perot is filling the role a Republican should be filling — carrying the case against Bill Clinton's policies to the country — we will remain diffuse."

Wanted Something Different

Robert M. Teeter, the scholarly Michigan poll taker who devised much of Mr. Bush's strategy last year, said he was convinced that "there was no big ideological swing" that preordained a Republican defeat. Instead, he said, "people were unhappy and wanted to correct the excesses and the shortcomings of the last dozen years."

"They wanted something different, and they thought Bill Clinton was it," Mr. Teeter said. "Now they're not so sure."

One of the important early tests of their party's health, Republicans argue, will come in next month's special Senate runoff election in Texas, which pits Senator Bob Krueger, a Democrat appointed to replace Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, against Kay Bailey Hutchison, the Republican State Treasurer. She holds a clear lead in the polls. If she wins, Texas will have two Republican Senators for the first time since Reconstruction, and Mr. Clinton will have a conspicuous political black eye.

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Mayoral elections in New York and Los Angeles and the race for governor in New Jersey this year are other contests in which the Republicans appear to have solid chances of scoring upsets. (For the moment, at least, the Democrats seem safe in the Virginia Governor's race.) After that, the 1994 tests, and after that, of course, 1996.

'Republican Rejuvenation'

Sig Rogich, Mr. Bush's media adviser, is back home in Las Vegas, Nev., and he, too, sees signs of what he calls "Republican rejuvenation," which he attributes largely to "visions of growing tax bills to pay for deficit reduction and for medical care."

"But Bill Clinton has a lot of time to turn things around," Mr. Rogich said. "It's not what you have going into an election campaign that counts; it's what you have coming out. It's hard for me to forget that we were at 80 and 90 percent for months, and lost."

Still, the parade of Republicans to New Hampshire began almost as soon as the votes were counted last fall. In addition to Mr. Dole, Senators Phil Gramm of Texas and Richard G. Lugar of Indiana have been there, as well as Representative Robert K. Dornan of California. Former Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and former Gov. Lamar Alexander are due there next week.

"They learned from 1992," said Tom Rath, a Concord, N.H., lawyer prominent in Republican politics. "An interloper can come in here and snatch the initiative. The guy you laughed at can end up walking down Pennsylvania Avenue."

No Basic Organization

But no one — not even former candidates like Jack F. Kemp or Patrick J. Buchanan — has begun even the most basic organization.

Mr. Buchanan, who challenged Mr. Bush in last year's Republican primaries, says he is back in journalism. He has a new radio show and a new foundation, which last weekend sponsored a conference stressing family values.

Abortion remains a contentious issue among Republicans, but the mood seems much less fratricidal. Mr. Kristol says the party has learned anew the importance of not seeming intolerant or exclusionary on social issues, as some thought the 1992 Republican National Convention was.

"Clinton has so identified himself with the cultural left, with taxpayer funding for abortion and gays in the military," Mr. Kristol said, "that he's left a lot of room for us in the middle. We can oppose quotas without seeming Neanderthal on civil rights and favor restrictions on abortion without seeming anti-women."

So far this year, in scattered elections in Wisconsin, Texas and New Jersey, there has been no sign of the showdown between moderate and conservative Republicans that many had feared. But the religious right and the backers of Mr. Buchanan still worry many traditional Republicans who are eager to maintain a solid front.

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nizational charts, but somehow the President himself?

No Democratic lawmakers want to say it aloud for fear of adding to Mr. Clinton's travails. But several have expressed the view that last week's performance by the White House was scary, because of the way it crystallized everything that seems to be wrong: a loss of political judgment, a lack of strategic vision and a White House that now seems much closer to Hollywood than a town called Hope.

Still, Democratic lawmakers believe there is no question that Mr. Clinton will regain the momentum he had in the campaign if he can get his economic package through Congress reasonably intact in the coming few weeks and that many missteps of the early months could be forgotten. Mr. Clinton had a record of learning from his mistakes as Governor of Arkansas, and even his gleeful Republican opponents do not yet dare write him off.

Almost Typecasting

But what many Clinton supporters — members of Congress, staff members and party workers who truly want to see him succeed — say is troubling them is that they see a President who is coming perilously close this early in his term to being typecast in a way that will only reinforce his troubles.

President Gerald R. Ford may have been the best athlete ever to occupy the Oval Office, but after re-

peatedly tripping, he was labeled as a stumbler. After that, every misstep he made, which would have been ignored with any other President, became news and reinforced the stereotype.

Once President Jimmy Carter was labeled as someone who was weak in his handling of the Soviet Union and Iran and could easily be swayed, an attack by a bunny rabbit on his canoe became big news and reinforced the stereotype.

Different Focuses

The same thing seems to be starting to happen to Mr. Clinton. On Saturday he went to New Hampshire to get back to his message of selling his budget. Some of that message did make the papers. But the news programs were also peppered by reports that the press plane hired by the new White House travel office broke down and almost failed to arrive in time for the President's speech. Beyond that, practically every sign alluding to Mr. Clinton's \$200 coif by a Beverly Hills stylist, Cristophe, including one that said "Nice haircut, Bubba," made the papers.

The fate of the White House press plane would normally never be news; the President's latest haircut would normally never be news. But they become news, and crowd out other stories, when the perception has been created that they are somehow revealing of the real character of the President or the White House.

Coming on top of other problems, including the failure of Mr. Clinton's package to stimulate the economy and the revolt in his own party, they are. For what these incidents highlight are the two things that have been sorely missing from this White House from the very start: good sound political judgment and a strategic vision.

When the President suggested that his hair stylist give him a trim aboard Air Force One while the plane sat at Los Angeles International Airport, no adviser or the President himself seemed to recognize that if this story got out the same week he was trying to sell austerity and belt tightening to the American people, it could be very hurtful for him. When White House officials are asked these questions, they answer sheepishly, "No."

Blaming the Press

It seemed little short of bizarre that Bill Clinton and his Hollywood friend Harry Thomason, who together understood and developed the powerful symbolism of the "candidate from Hope," were suddenly going blind and tone deaf to the symbolism of this very same President tying up traffic at the Los Angeles airport for 36 minutes while he had his locks shorn by Mr. Thomason's Beverly Hills coiffeur.

When the White House communications director, George Stephanopou-

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los, was asked to explain this, he blamed the press, saying, "There seems to be some sort of obsession with hide issues." That reinforced the sense of a White House that had lost its political feel.

But this was not an isolated incident of political ineptitude. It came after three months of flip-flopping on how forceful to be on Bosnia, without ever explaining any of the shifts to the American people, including Saturday's agreement with Russia and three other countries.

The latest political miscue also followed Mr. Clinton's unusually mal-

adroit performance at the White House correspondents' dinner, when he used an occasion normally reserved for a little self-deprecating humor to attack the conservative commentator Rush Limbaugh and the Senate Republican leader, Bob Dole, in ways that made him look mean-spirited.

Surprise at Revolt

It also came after the President, who is considered a supreme politician, was confronted by a revolt by conservative Democrats over his budget package. The rebellion seems

to have taken him at least partly by surprise and has left him on the defensive, trying to drum up support from the public by running against a faction of his own party.

Judgment also seemed to have been sorely lacking in the travel office fiasco. It may indeed turn out, as the White House has suggested, that the travel office was not being managed in a professional, or even honest, manner and that the staff deserved to be dismissed. But did it not occur to anyone that replacing that staff with a cousin of the President and a Little

Rock travel agency might smack of conflict of interest and raise doubts about the White House's claim that it was making the change only to produce a cheaper, more efficient travel service for the press?

What made things worse was that, just as with the Baird appointment, when the White House saw that it was losing the public relations battle and its economic message was being drowned out by the travel office controversy, it nevertheless dragged the issue out for three full days.

Instead of quickly cutting its losses to get the press refocused on the budget, it tried to justify hiring the President's relative and favorite travel agency. Only on Friday night did the White House lance the boil and announce that it would not use the Little Rock agency.

"There is no strategic sense with

this White House that things are inter-connected," said Norman Ornstein, Presidential scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. "Everything is dealt with individually. What has been missing from the start is a sense that they have one overriding goal — getting through the President's economic package — and that everything they do and say must be subordinated to and integrated with that objective.

"Instead, you have welfare reform, campaign finance, health care, travel office, haircuts, all being treated separately. No one seems to be coordinating things."

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1184	24-5	מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

Israelis Debate Army's Rights Record in Uprising

By JOEL GREENBERG

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 23 — At a military court in Jaffa last week, an Israeli Army officer listened impassively as a judge sentenced him to three months in jail and three months of work detail for killing a 12-year-old Palestinian boy in the occupied West Bank in November.

The court session was brief. In a matter-of-fact tone, the judge reviewed how the officer, a member of an elite undercover unit, had shot the boy, Amjad Jaber, in the back while chasing stone-throwers who had pelted cars on a highway north of Jerusalem.

The judge said the officer, whom he identified only as Second Lieut. Ofir, had tried to hit the boy in the legs, as required by army rules, but had violated orders that prohibit shooting at stone-throwers under the age of 16. He found the lieutenant guilty of causing death by negligence, which carries a penalty of up to three years in prison.

New York
Times
24-5

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Soldiers Infrequently Punished

The court-martial was an uncommon event. Convictions of soldiers for killing Palestinians have been infrequent during the uprising, in which about 1,100 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli troops since the unrest began in December 1987.

The reason may lie in the army's perception of the uprising, which has evolved from a popular unarmed insurrection into what is increasingly becoming a hit-and-run guerrilla campaign. Instead of the mass protests that dominated the uprising's early years, soldiers are now facing armed attacks, punctuated by spasms of stone-throwing clashes in the streets.

Both the armed attacks and street battles have intensified in recent months, especially in the Gaza Strip. Increasingly, the army is being forced to decide whether it is putting down civilian unrest or fighting a guerrilla war.

According to army statistics, 54 soldiers have been court-martialed and convicted for unjustifiably killing Palestinians during the uprising. Many were found guilty of causing death by negligence and served terms of less than half a year. Others were convicted of illegal use of a weapon, and a few

were found guilty of manslaughter.

A total of 202 soldiers have been convicted for offenses that, aside from killings, have included beatings and other forms of violence, vandalism, and theft. In the Gaza Strip last month, several soldiers were disciplined after Palestinians complained that they had been beaten and their homes vandalized during searches. One soldier received a 56-day sentence for sexually harassing a woman.

The discrepancy between the number of such incidents and the frequency and severity of punishment has provoked bitter debate between the army and human-rights organizations and lawyers. Human-rights groups argue that there is little army accountability for violence against Palestinians, especially in cases of unjustified killing. The army says its standards are strict and that soldiers generally follow orders.

The debate has intensified with a sharp rise recently in the number of Palestinian deaths. According to army figures, 63 Palestinians were killed by soldiers in the first four months of this year, compared with 39 during the same period in 1992; about one-third of the deaths this year have been children age 16 and under. Moreover, the number of these killings exceeds that of Palestinians slain by fellow Arabs for

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alleged collaboration with Israel, contrary to the trend of the last three years.

To Col. David Yahav, the army's deputy advocate-general, soldiers in the occupied territories may not be at war, but they are in serious and constant danger that must be taken into account when investigating killings and punishing violations.

"The soldiers are under pressure, they are under attack in a hostile environment, and our dilemma is to what extent we should pursue a standard criminal investigation when the troops are in such difficult circumstances," Colonel Yahav said. "In a war there aren't such criminal investigations and soldiers aren't court-martialed for causing death through negligence. Yet we investigate every killing and we're tough on the soldiers."

"Despite the more difficult conditions," he added, "our open-fire regulations follow the same legal principles that govern the police in Israel and in Western countries where there is no war."

But human-rights organizations that have studied military policies and interviewed soldiers, like the Israeli group B'Tselem and the New York-based Middle East Watch, assert that the army in fact shows leniency toward its own troops and disregard for Palestinian lives. The leniency runs through firing rules and informal briefings, these groups say, and shows itself in frequent violations of shooting guidelines, cover-ups, lax investigations and mild punishments.

Little Sympathy for Arabs

There is also little domestic pressure on the Government to act in cases of reported wrongdoing by the military.

Early in the uprising, such incidents provoked loud debate when they were publicized by left-wing members of Parliament, then in opposition to the Government led by the Likud Party. Now these politicians are part of the Labor-led governing coalition, and their criticism is muffled.

Also, a recent surge of lethal anti-Israeli violence has hardened public attitudes toward Arab unrest, and Palestinians wield no political power in Israel except to the degree that Israeli

officials and lawmakers choose to plead their case.

Critics like B'Tselem say the army's firing rules have caused needless deaths because they allow soldiers to shoot at suspects who are fleeing and pose no imminent threat to life.

According to the rules, soldiers may fire at the legs of persons suspected of involvement in "dangerous crimes" who ignore both orders to stop and warning shots in the air. These crimes include rock-throwing that poses a mortal danger, membership in a "hostile organization," or life-threatening activity as part of such a group.

In scores of cases the army reported suspects were fatally shot as they fled, at times after throwing stones but in

When is it a crime for a soldier to kill?

some instances after merely painting nationalist graffiti on walls.

By the rules, soldiers may also fire at rioters who endanger their lives — but even then they are supposed to aim only at the legs. Many times, however, they have hit people in the torso and head, including small children.

Army officers say soldiers often hit just the legs. But they acknowledge that bullets go astray because shooting accurately while running after a suspect or aiming at moving stone-throwers can be difficult. Human-rights workers, however, say they have found that soldiers often break army rules, shooting rioters and escaping suspects above the legs and firing at fleeing persons who are not suspected of dangerous crimes.

Yizhar Beer, director of B'Tselem, says these killings have increased in part because of tough statements by the Government and a general Israeli backlash in response to rising Arab violence. "When the situation is depicted as a war, soldiers tend to behave as if they're in a war," he said.

3/12

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24.5.93

בלחס/מיידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: ממנכ"ל

מש"ן - ניו יורק

נספח הגנה - כאן

יועץ תקשורת משהב"ס - בן עמי

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון.

הנדון: "חץ" - דו"ח GAO

במצורף, כתבתו של ג'ו לובצ'ה (עמוד 1) מה- DEFENSE WEEK בנושא "החץ"
ובקורת ה- GAO לגבי הפרוייקט, כולל נושא מימון חתוכיות.
התייחסות נוספת לעניין - במברק ופרד.

רות ירון.

28.5.

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הסברה(2) ר/מרכז(1) ממו(4) רס(1) אמו(4) אומ(1) סייבל(1) משפט(1)

DEFENSE WEEK

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Volume 14, Number 21

Monday, May 24, 1993

Flawed Analysis Mars Tac Air Options In Aspin's Review

BY TONY CAPACCIO

Defense Secretary Les Aspin's options to reduce costly tactical aircraft programs are based on flawed, unclear analysis, according to Air Force documents and Pentagon officials.

As a result of the shaky underpinnings espoused in the Pentagon's bottom-up review, the key decisions about which of six potential multi-billion dollar programs should be purchased will be based more on political considerations than sound analysis, said chagrined officials.

(Continued on page 15)

U.S. Is Paying Israel's Entire Arrow Missile Tab

BY JOSEPH LOVECE

Contrary to popular belief, Washington likely will pay the full cost for a controversial, "Made In Israel," Scud-busting missile, according to U.S. government analysts.

Israel is purportedly paying a \$90 million share of a \$322 million program to develop an advanced version of the controversial Arrow anti-ballistic missile.

But the General Accounting Office has uncovered data suggesting that the program, known as the Arrow Continuation Experiments (ACES), "will likely be funded from U.S. grant aid," according to an April 19 letter to Sen. Howell Heflin (D-Ala.).

GAO also found that development costs for the Israeli Arrow missile are significantly greater than U.S. officials normally reveal. "The United States is funding \$36.6 million in project management costs...[and] also funding additional smaller contracts related" to the program, said the letter, a copy of which was obtained by *Defense Week*.

From 1988 to the end of the ACES project, total Arrow research will cost about \$517 million, of which the U.S. share could total \$483 million, according to GAO figures.

(Continued on page 16)

Hitting The Road, Army Spreads Its Acquisition Reform Gospel

BY ANDREW WEINSCHENK

Just like famed country music star Willie Nelson, the Army's Darold Griffin just can't wait to get on the road again.

Over the last two years, Griffin, one of the Army's top messiahs of acquisition reform, has done two coast-to-coast "Roadshows." His mission? To spread the acquisition reform gospel.

The latest Roadshow ended earlier this month. Now Griffin, the Army Materiel Command's (AMC's) principal acquisition official, is gearing up for more. A version of Roadshow II tours industry this summer and fall. Roadshow III hits the highways in October.

For Willie the road's charm is its promise of wide-open spaces and personal freedom. For Griffin it's the chance to scrub requests for proposals, to sing the praises of concurrent engineering, to reveal the wisdom of performance-based specifications and to conjure visions of the promised land of best-value procurement.

And he's not always preaching to the choir. Change comes hard to an entrenched bureaucracy. And the Army's is more vast and more regulation-bound than most.

Pentagon acquisition reform efforts have seemed as perennial as

(Continued on page 6)

Army Secretary Field Narrowed To Two Officials

BY ANDREW WEINSCHENK

The Clinton Administration has narrowed the field for Army Secretary to two candidates—both Vietnam vets—after having run through a seemingly endless roster of names, according to political sources.

One candidate is Maj. Gen. Edward Baca, the state adjutant general for the New Mexico National Guard. The other is Terrence "Terry" O'Connell, a Washington lobbyist with close ties to the Democratic Party.

As of last week no selection had been made, said political sources tracking the process. But it appeared certain that acting Army Secretary John Shannon will not be

(Continued on page 14)

Washington Picks Up Arrow Tab (From front)

The source of Arrow funding is important because an Israeli official said Jerusalem has decided to buy the system but has not yet identified how to pay for it. Some congressional analysts said they believed Israel would buy Arrow only if the United States foots the bill.

The GAO also found that the U.S. contribution to Arrow has risen significantly since 1988.

Washington funded about 85 percent of the first \$158 million U.S.-Israeli Arrow contract. The Pentagon's stated share of the original program was 80 percent. But according to the GAO letter, "the direct U.S. funding on the first contract is \$125.5 million, and 25 percent of Israel's \$31.4 million share of the contract was funded from U.S. grant aid."

For ACES, Pentagon officials routinely say only that Israel pays 28 percent of the program, but never mention U.S. grant funding or project management costs.

Knowledgeable sources said a classified GAO report for Appropriations Committee Chairman Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) is critical of Arrow program management.

The GAO's findings, culled from information prepared for the report, come as Congress scrutinizes allied contributions to theater missile defense in general and Arrow in particular.

The grant dollars are part of the annual \$1.8 billion foreign aid package to Israel, a Pentagon security assistance expert said last week. "We're allowing them to use the monies that they would normally be allowed to use by law in Israel to pay for just about all of their share."

Israel is allowed to spend \$475 million annually of its foreign assistance money any way it wants, including on Israeli projects like Arrow.

"I don't think it's a secret. I think it's commonly understood," he said.

The source of Israeli Arrow monies may be well known within the arcane world of foreign assistance but it is not common knowledge among congressional analysts and pundits following missile defense. And

the information is not generally volunteered by Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO) officials.

At a May 4 Senate defense appropriations subcommittee hearing, for example, Chairman Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) asked BMDO acting director Maj. Gen. Malcolm O'Neill, "can you tell us what benefits and priority would justify continued investment in the Arrow system?"

O'Neill said one selling point is Israel's contribution to the program: "I'd also like to mention that the Arrow investment is shared between Israel and the United States."

At the same hearing, Sen. James Sasser (D-Tenn.) complained that U.S. allies are not paying their fair share. "If it's a matter of such concern...why aren't our allies contributing more to it?" he asked of purported ballistic missile threats.

Sasser's office recently asked the Congressional Research Service to report on allied missile defense.

O'Neill answered, "If I may comment on why the allies haven't stepped up with as large a role in the SDI program as they maybe should have, I can tell you that the Israelis are playing about as large a role as they can afford to play."

The issue also came up in hearings last year when former BMDO director Henry Cooper implied that Israel was paying its own way on the program.

Cooper in written answers after an April 7 House defense appropriations subcommittee hearing wrote "the total U.S. cost of the ACES missile is \$252 million [now \$322 million], under a 72/28 [percent] ratio" split between the U.S. government and the Israeli government.

Asked about Israel's ACES contribution, an embassy spokeswoman last week said only that "some" ACES funding comes from U.S. aid.

A BMDO spokeswoman said she did not know how Israel funded its share. By press time the spokeswoman had no information on the project management costs. But BMDO officials said Army engineers are working on Arrow and have been traveling to Israel.

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שמור/מיוז

אל: מנחל מצפ"א

דע: ממנכ"ל

הרמשי"ן - ניו יורק

נספח הגנה - כאן

יועץ תקשורת שהכ"ס - בן עמי

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון.

1189 - ונכח
141 - ה"ח
26 - נ"ל

חידון: "החץ"

בהמשך למברקנו האחרונים

9/28.5

1. כאמור, נושא "החץ" שב ועולה על האג'נדה התקשורתית באחרונה - בעקבות כתבות ה- DEFENSE NEWS וה- DEFENSE WEEK יש אלינו מספר פניות בנושא מצד כתבים - חוקרים (ראה להלן) וכתבים הישראליים כאן, תוך התמקדות בתוכניות ההצטיידות הישראלית ובמקורות המימון לפרוייקט.

2. השאלות הנדונות בשתי הכתבות הנ"ל (שהועברו אליכם בנפרד) עולות גם אצל כתבים אחרים.

מיוזענו אד פאווד (חזכור - לאו דווקא לסובה - מכתבתו על פרשת דותן עבור הוול-סטריט ג'ורנל) מכין כתבת תחקיר מקיפה על "החץ" - חשיבות הפרוייקט, דרכי מימונו, דו"ח ה- GAO וכו'. פאווד עזב את ה- WSJ והינו כעת ה- INVESTIGATIVE REPORTER של חשבועון USNEWS & WORLD REPORT, והוא כותב עבורם את כתבת התחקיר בנושא.

3. מאחר ופאווד פנה אלינו וביקש לקבל תדרוך בנדון (ראה שאלותיו המצורפות) נודה על קבלת נקודות להתייחסות. בהתייעצות עם הנספח הצבאי ועם הרמשי"ן כאן - מציעה שנופוש הרמשי"ן והח"מ לתדרוך רקע (חוזר רקע) עם אד פאווד על בסיס התייחסותכם. על דעת הרמשי"ן, מבקשים לקבל לצורך כך את התייחסות "מנהלת חומה" לסעודת המועלות בכתבות הנ"ל ולשאלות המצורפות של אד פאווד נודה להתייחסותכם.

רות ירון

24) 26 שחח(2) סטהיח(1) רחם(1) מנכל(1) ממנכל(1) מצפ"א(2) רביב(1)
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2/2

189



2400 N Street N.W. Washington, DC 20037-1195 • (202) 955-2000

May 24, 1993
Ms. Ruth Yaron
Press Office
Embassy of Israel
Washington, D.C.

Ruth:

Generally, I am doing a story on the Arrow missile system and my questions would fall within these areas:

1. The strategic importance of the ARROW.
2. Whether the Israeli government has made a decision to produce and deploy the system. Trade press reports in the US indicate it has made such a decision.
3. How Israel plans to pay for the system. Does it, for example, intend to seek US funds in addition to the \$3 billion in annual security assistance and economic support?
4. Responses to the General Accounting Office report, which I understand is critical and raises a number of sensitive points.

As always, Ruth, I appreciate your cooperation. Let me know when we can arrange this. I am available at any time.

Sincerely,

Ed Pound

Ed Pound
Reporter
US News & World Report
(O) 202-955-2684
Fax 202-955-2549

1/3

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בלמס/מיד
24 מאי '93

אל: תפוצת תקשורת
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

285

חידון: גמיון ההתקשרות - נשיא ארה"ב לשעבר

מצ"ב חסור של ג'ים הוגלנד (AP) המוצא קשר בין תגובתה של ארה"ב לפיגוע חלובי במסוס פאן-אם, לבין תגובתה לנסיון ההתנקשות בחייו של הנשיא לשעבר, בוש.

בשני המקרים הועבר הסיפול לרשויות המשפטיות, ואילו לדעתו של הוגלנד זו תגובה "פושרת" מדי - לדעתו ארה"ב צריכה, בתגובה למעשי סרור ואכזריות בינלאומיים, להציב בפני ממשלות ומנהיגים מערכת חדשה של ערכים.

תקשורת

24) שוחח (2) משהח (1) רחם (1) מנכל (1) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רכיב (1)
מסבחה (2) ר/מרכז (1) מחד (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומן (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)

31.5.93

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im Hoagland

Punishing Foreign Thugs

ush took the soft approach against Libya for Pan Am 103; now Saddam stalks Bush.

Despite the fact that it is a no-brainer, except for a moment that it is true. Saddam Hussein ordered an assassination attempt against George Bush during Bush's recent visit to Kuwait. Put in the charming official denial from Saddam's henchmen that they would not bother with up somebody who is already dead. When comes the question: What do you do? Is punishment fit an international crime his order? Is a foreign head of state ping to murder a legal matter, an automatic trigger for military retaliation or a national outrage fit only for the court of national opinion?

Clinton administration faces that as its investigation moves toward punishing Saddam's culpability in the al-bomb plot. Ironically, Bush himself the same question three years ago—chose the soft option when presented hard evidence of Libya's involvement in bombing of Pan Am 103.

sh took the legal route, relying on the of international opinion and economic ons. Result: Libya's Moammar Gadhafi e two operatives who ran the plot that 259 persons traveling on an American r are still at liberty. Moral: If the tional crime is big enough, interna-

tional punishment is by comparison almost always insignificant.

Technological advances make international crime more destructive than ever. They also make international detective work more effective than ever. It is international justice that lags behind.

Police work in the Iraqi revenge plot against Bush has just begun. The initial

*The worse the outrage,
the more trivial the
response.*

reports were based on the account of only one of 10 Iraqis being held by Kuwaiti security forces, who are not famed for reading Miranda warnings to prisoners they want to confess.

The plot did not seem to me at first to fit Saddam's usual pattern of terror and cruelty. Even as a gesture, it seemed too empty. He would not have an electorally defeated Bush to kick around anymore. An assassination would end any chance of improving relations with Clinton and getting economic sanctions lifted.

But when I put the question to Massoud Barzani, the Kurdish leader whose survival depends on his ability to read Saddam's acts and motives, Barzani immediately said that the plot sounded credible to him.

Saddam "believes in revenge on people who defy him," Barzani said. "Look at the headlines in the Iraqi press about the death" from natural causes last month of Turkish president Turgut Ozal. "The gates of hell open for another criminal and enemy of Iraq" are among the mildest.

There is some intelligence about Iraqis having been trained to kill Bush, early this year. Interrogation of the Iraqi prisoners by an FBI team seems to have turned up other new corroboration.

Frightening if true. And Clinton will have a hard time finding an appropriately weighted response. Iraq already faces the most effective economic sanctions in history. The West has bombed Iraq massively without dislodging Saddam. He may have gone after Bush believing he personally had nothing to lose.

And Saddam would not have been deterred by the example of American actions against Gadhafi. The Libyan has for 18 months frustrated U.S. demands for the extradition of the men positively identified as having mounted the Pan Am bombing in December 1988. The

3/3

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two fugitives are senior members of Libya's External Security Organization, which is run by Gadhafi's brother-in-law and closest aide, Abdullah Sanousi.

American investigators assembled a persuasive case against the Libyans in the autumn of 1990. In a debate that has remained secret until now, the State Department's counterterrorism office argued that the evidence should be publicized immediately and

military retaliation considered. But the White House—reluctant to distract attention from the coming war against Saddam—decided to send the case to an American grand jury for indictments and then to seek the United Nations sanctions against Libya.

The effect of the decision was to delay public knowledge of the American evidence against the Libyans for a year while the grand jury secretly weighed it. Taking the legal route blocked the more muscular options recommended by some at State.

Clinton will be deciding more than Saddam's involvement as he looks into the alleged plot against his predecessor. Like it or not, as the sole remaining superpower, America has the strongest voice in determining a new set of international values that should guide the behavior of other governments and leaders.

America carries prime responsibility for shaping an effective system of punishment for the criminal violation of these values, in Kuwait, Bosnia, Libya, China and elsewhere. That is not taking on the role of the world's policeman or of the world's moralist. That is simply reaffirming the 200-year-old verity that protecting American citizens—including ex-presidents—necessarily involves supporting American values abroad.

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בלמס/מידי
24 מאי '93

אל: תפוצת תקשורת
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

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135

חנדון: איראן - עירק

מצ"ב כתבתם של ג'פרי סמית ודניאל וויליאמס (WP) ובה על מדיניותה
החדשה של ארה"ב כלפי איראן ועירק.

בעקבות בחינה מקיפה, גיבש ממשל קלינטון אסטרטגיה של "בלימת כפולה"
(dual containment) כלפי שתי המדינות. בכך נוספת ארה"ב את מדיניותה
הקודמת על-פיה חזקה מדינה אחת בכדי לאזן את השפעתה הצבאית והפוליטית
של השנייה.

ישנם סימונים המעידים על התקרבות בין איראן לעירק, ושתייהן גם יחד
מנהלות מדיניות עוינת למערב. לכן, האיוסרס של ארה"ב להבטיח כי שתייהן
תחיינה חלשות במידה שווה ולזמן בלתי מוגבל.

תקשורת

- 8 -

25 (2) סטה"ח (1) רחם (1) מנכל (1) מסנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)
מסברח (2) ר/מרכז (1) מסד (4) רמ (1) אמר (4) אומן (1) סייכל (1) משפס (1)

White House to Step Up Plans to Isolate Iran, Iraq

Administration to Try 'Dual Containment'

By R. Jeffrey Smith
and Daniel Williams
Washington Post Staff Writers

* The Clinton administration has concluded that the leadership of Iran and Iraq will remain hostile to U.S. aims for the foreseeable future and that new steps should be taken to isolate both nations, senior administration officials disclosed last week.

The administration's policy, which officials have dubbed "a strategy of dual containment," emerged from a comprehensive review ordered by President Clinton, officials said. It also reflects advice given by Middle East leaders to Secretary of State Warren Christopher during his visit to the region in February.

Officials said the policy departs from the past U.S. practice of helping to build up one of the countries in hopes of balancing the other's military and political influence. They said the new U.S. objective is to ensure that both Iran and Iraq remain equally weak for an indefinite period.

The administration's principal approach is to ensnare both countries in a tight web of international trade restrictions meant to deprive them of the income and technology they need to develop new armaments, pursue terrorism, foment revolutions or intimidate their neighbors.

Officials acknowledged that Iraq, which already is subject to a global trade embargo imposed by the United Nations, is a much more vulnerable target than Iran, which recently has forged extensive economic ties to Western Europe, China and Russia.

But the administration also plans to step up pressure on its allies to halt trade with Tehran, arguing not only that the income supports Iranian terrorism and foreign subversion but also that Iran's steadily worsening economy and growing debt make it a bad investment.

The new policy stems from "a clear-headed assessment of the antagonism that both regimes harbor toward the U.S. and its allies in the region," said Martin S. Indyk, senior director for Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council, in a speech last week to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Other officials said the administration's decision to treat both countries alike also stems from fresh signs that their longstanding hostility is abating and that they are beginning to work together to thwart U.S. aims. Iran, for example, is continuing to import truckloads of refined Iraqi oil despite U.S. protests and evidently recently obtained a substantial shipment of Iraqi steel, an act that violates the U.N. trade embargo.

U.S. officials also noted that Iran on Wednesday repatriated 200 Iraqi soldiers who had fled to its territory during the Persian Gulf War and said it was interested in future exchanges of prisoners captured during the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War. Several sources said the two countries have started discussing a halt in their efforts to subvert each other and may even wind up turning over rebel leaders based in each other's capitals.

"We may be seeing the beginning of a rapprochement," said one senior official.

Moreover, despite having raised the possibility last winter of improved relations with the new administration, both countries recently have taken steps that further antagonized Washington, officials said.

For example, Iraqi antiaircraft batteries on three separate occasions last week fired at U.S. planes policing a ban on Iraqi aircraft flights in the country's southern region, possibly hinting at a new campaign of provocation. Iraq also recently has stiffened its resistance to U.N. inspections of its capability to produce weapons of mass destruction, diplomatic officials said.

135
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WF 23: 1/2

Iraq, which the Clinton administration has branded a nation that supports international terrorism, actually has been unable to carry out any significant terrorist acts outside its own borders since the Persian Gulf War, officials said.

But the White House is now awaiting the final report of an FBI and CIA investigation into Kuwaiti reports of Iraqi involvement in planning for the assassination of former president George Bush during Bush's visit to Kuwait City last month. The administration has indicated it will act on the reports if proven.

Iran, which Christopher in March labeled a "principal" sponsor of terrorism, is blamed by government experts for at least three international murders this spring. One of those slain was former Iranian ambassador to Italy and Mujahadeen sympathizer Mohammed Hussein Nagdi, another was Turkish investigative journalist Ugur Mumcu,

and the third was a prominent Jewish businessman in Istanbul whose brother worked for Israel's Mossad intelligence agency.

"This is the Iranian state acting," a State Department official said on condition that he not be named. "They seem to have a view that they are exempt from normal rules of the road in international organizations, that as a revolutionary state they can hit any opponents."

The official added that these and other recent Iranian actions have "totally discredited" a widespread hypothesis in 1991 that the release of U.S. hostages by Iranian-backed groups signaled the gradual emergence of a more moderate leadership in Tehran.

In Indyk's speech, a copy of which was obtained from the White House on Friday, the NSC staff member indicated that some details of the administration's policy on Iraq and Iran remain to be sorted out but that Clinton's "general approach" was settled.

The administration does not "seek or expect a reconciliation with Saddam Hussein's regime" in Iraq, Indyk said. Instead, Clinton favors prompt creation of a U.N. commission to investigate Iraqi war crimes and human rights abuses "to establish clearly and unequivocally that the current regime in Iraq is a criminal regime, beyond the pale of international society and, in our judgment, irredeemable."

One element of the administration's new strategy became evident in late April when Vice President Gore and other senior officials met with a visiting delegation from the Iraqi National Congress (INC), an informal legislative body formed by dissidents to develop a unified plan for overthrowing Saddam.

While the Bush administration generally steered clear of the group out of skepticism that its various religious and ethnic components could work together, Indyk said the congress "has succeeded in broadening its base" and allayed some U.S. and allied concerns by pledging to maintain current Iraqi borders.

Washington is now "very keen" to ensure that the INC gets more regional recognition and support, particularly from Persian Gulf nations, a senior official explained on condition he not be named. The aim is in part to "hold out some vision of an alternative, democratic future" in Iraq.

Clinton also is considering "on an urgent basis . . . other ways we can assist the Iraqi people," Indyk said. The administration has begun to press for U.N. human rights monitors inside Iraq and is considering INC proposals to press for removal of the U.N. trade embargo with ethnic Kurds in northern Iraq and to seek humanitarian aid for Shiite groups in southern Iraq.

With regard to Iran, Indyk said, "we do not seek a confrontation but we will not normalize relations . . . until and unless Iran's policies change across the board." He said the administration is concerned that if Iran is left unchecked, its military power and influence within five years could be comparable to Iraq's before its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

"Iran does not yet face the kind of international regime that has been imposed on Iraq," Indyk said. But he added that Washington will "work energetically to persuade our European and Japanese allies, as well as Russia and China," not to allow Iran to build up its military.

Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs Robert Gallucci said the administration is particularly worried about Iran's civilian nuclear power program, which U.S. analysts say is being used as a cover for Iran's acquisition of technology related to nuclear weapons.

"We believe no country ought to cooperate with Iran in the nuclear area," Gallucci told reporters recently, adding that Washington is trying to get Beijing and Moscow to cancel deals to provide nuclear reactors to Iran. Neither country has agreed to suspend the deals, but "our dialogue is continuing," he said.

Washington also has complained to Russia, Ukraine and other countries about the potential sale to Tehran of submarines, advanced antiship missiles and other conventional arms, officials said. It also plans to renew a Bush administration initiative—rebuffed by Japan and Western Europe—to halt sales to Iran of "dual use" technologies capable of both civilian and military application.

Indyk said Iran is "no longer a good commercial proposition," having fallen \$5 billion in arrears on its short-term foreign loans and having achieved a 30 percent rate of both inflation and unemployment.

A senior official said, however, the economic troubles do not pose a threat to the regime's staying power. "There is no serious opposition . . . [or] prospect of it being overthrown."

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בלמס/מיידי
24 מאי '93

אל: תפוצת תקשורת
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

22.5-

הנדון: "עזה תחילה"

מצ"ב מאמרו של ג'רום סיגל (מנחל "הלובי היחודי למען השלום") (WP) ובו
המלצתו לממשל קלינטון להניח על שולחן הדיונים את הצעת "עזה תחילה" במסגרת
ליישם בה ישר את הסדר הקבע.
עפ"י הצעה זאת (הומסרת במאמר בפירוס רב) תוקם מדינה פלשתינית ברצועת
עזה, ובמקביל תופעל תוכנית האוסונומיה ביו"ש. לדעתו, כל השותפים למו"מ
יצאו נשכרים מכך.

תקשורת

- 8 -

24/25 שחח(2) ששהיח(1) רחמ(1) מנכל(1) מנכל(1) מצפא(2) רביב(1)
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Try This in Gaza: A 'Trial' Palestine

How to Give Mideast Peace a Fighting Chance

By Jerome M. Segal

GAZA, THAT desolate strip of land along the coast between Israel and Egypt, is where the Intifada started; is where Hamas is the strongest; it is where socioeconomic conditions are the harshest; and it is that part of the occupied territories that most Israelis would like to get rid of. On a daily basis, Israelis and Palestinians continue to kill each other in Gaza. Yet the solution to the current impasse in Middle East negotiations may also lie in Gaza. By putting the final disposition of Gaza on the negotiating table, the Clinton administration could move both the Israeli-Palestinian and the Israeli-Arab conflicts a giant step closer to full resolution, giving rise to a new dynamic that could weather such political uncertainty.

When the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks resume, presumably in June, they will once again labor within the crippling framework of "phased negotiations." From the start, Palestinians have objected to those restrictions that limit the current talks to negotiation of a five-year interim agreement, with real peace negotiations delayed until the third year of that interim period. In a recent meeting of the Israeli cabinet, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres essentially rejected the Palestinian position, arguing that Israel's interests also support a move to final status negotiations.

Arguing for the creation of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, Peres pointed out that the government of Yitzhak Rabin must recognize that several propitious factors may not endure: Neither King Hussein's health nor Jordan's stability can be taken for granted indefinitely; the Israeli right wing may at some time return to power; Israel's negotiating strength is greater today than it will be after several years of Jewish Palestinian self-rule. Prime Minister Rabin, however, was unmoved. He remains committed to the idea of a testing period of limited Palestinian self-rule.

Yet, emotionally, Israel is ready to do something decisive about Gaza. Rabin himself has expressed the wish that it would disappear, and some members of his cabinet have called for unilateral withdrawal.

For the Israelis the problem is two-fold. There is a way to withdraw from Gaza that still give Israel the benefits of a negotiated settlement, putting in place a govern-

can that withdrawal be done in a way that does not promote increased violence in the West Bank?

For the Palestinians, the Gaza issue is also problematic. The PLO has long been committed to a policy of establishing a Palestinian state in any part of the occupied territories from which Israel withdraws. Yet Palestinians fear that if Gaza's final status is decoupled from that of the West Bank, then Israel might never withdraw from the West Bank. And they fear that the political and socio-economic challenges of a Palestinian state in Gaza may prove too difficult to surmount.

Neither the Israelis nor the Palestinians are going to put forward a Gaza-first proposal, and this is just as well. If it came from either side, it would only exacerbate the fears of the other party. It falls to the Clinton administration to come up with a proposal that can satisfy the concerns of all and that would be addressed not only to the negotiators, but to the Israeli and Palestinian publics as well. The key elements of such a Gaza-first proposal are:

- 1. Israel will in the near term withdraw completely from Gaza, allowing the Palestinians to establish a state, constitutionally committed to peace with Israel.
- 2. This Palestinian state will have as its citizens not just Palestinians in Gaza but those

in the West Bank and East Jerusalem as well, plus those in the diaspora to whom it extends citizenship. The first government will be elected by all Palestinians in Gaza, the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The elections will be supervised by an outside party (e.g., the U.N., the United States).

- 3. The Palestinian government will have two territorial dimensions: it will immediately exercise sovereign powers over Gaza, and it will administer autonomy in the West Bank for a five-year period. In addition, as the government of a new state, it will continue negotiations with Israel over the remaining interim and final status issues.

- 4. The Palestinian state will be demilitarized, except for an internal police force operating in both the West Bank and Gaza. The government will assume responsibility for preventing violence against Israelis.

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■ The Palestinians will be free to pursue in final status negotiations their claim that East Jerusalem should be the capital of the Palestinian state, and in the interim to establish two provisional capitals, one for Gaza and one for the West Bank, joined by a high-speed rail linkage.

■ The new government will also open negotiations with Jordan over possible confederation, an idea endorsed by the PLO and with appeal to both the United States and the Israeli government.

■ The Palestinian state will be eligible for admission to the U.N. and will immediately exchange ambassadors with Israel, the United States and other countries.

■ Israel will allow Palestinian laborers to continue to work in Israel but will reserve the right to seal its borders should that prove necessary to prevent attacks on Israeli citizens.

■ Settlers in Gaza will have the option of living under Palestinian sovereignty or returning to Israel.

■ The United States will commit itself to organizing an international development fund to provide substantial resources for economic development inside Gaza and the West Bank.

The five years of autonomy in the West Bank would be a test period allowing Israel to see what it is like to live alongside a Palestinian state. It would allow the Palestinians an opportunity to demonstrate both their commitment to peaceful coexistence with Israel and their determination to establish a democratic society. Assuming that the Palestinian state met its commitments, after three years the final status negotiations would take up as its central issue the extension of Palestinian sovereignty to West Bank territory.

Were the United States to put such a proposal on the table, it would immediately transform the negotiations into true peace talks. The establishment of a Palestinian state and Israel's commitment to future negotiations over extending its sovereignty would make it easier to negotiate temporary terms for Palestinian authority on the West Bank and to defer consideration of Jerusalem. This major advance for the Palestinians would also make it feasible for Egypt, Syria and Jordan to each provide Israel with a good measure of the so-called "warm peace" it seeks. The proposal would also allow Israel to overcome its conceptual opposition to Palestinian statehood, while giving it an opportunity to test the nature of such a state prior to facing the practical and emotional issues of Palestinian sovereignty on the West Bank.

For the Palestinians, the plan would immediately end their statelessness and produce new structures of political authority that would give the Palestinians the wherewithal to deal with the threat posed by the radical fundamentalist Hamas. With the establishment of a nation state, the Palestinian ethos would evolve from the norms of a nationalist movement, to the familiar imperatives of national interest. Energies would flow towards meeting the challenge of democratic development. And most importantly, this proposal would create a framework of incentives for peaceful passage through the interim stage and on to a lasting peace.

Jerome Segal is a research scholar at the University of Maryland's Institute for Philosophy and Public Policy and director of the Jewish Peace Lobby. He is the author of "Creating the Palestinian State: A Strategy for Peace."

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אל:רהמש/1101

מ-:ניו יורק,נר:633,תא:240593,זח:1550,דח:מ,סג:בל,

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BALMAS/RAGIL

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TO: TIKSHORET

27-5

NEWS SUMMARY 24-MAY-1993

EDITORIALS

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DN: 'HATE, FREE SPEECH AND CITY COLLEGE': WRITER CRITICIZES CUNY OFFICIALS FOR THE INTENDED APPOINTMENT OF CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY'S YOLANDA MOSES AS CUNY'S NEW PRESIDENT; SAYS THAT LIKE PROFESSOR JEFFRIES, MS. MOSES HAS 'INCONSISTENT VIEWS AND DISTORTED VALUES ON FUNDAMENTAL SPEECH ISSUES'; ADDS THAT SUCH ACADEMIC VALUES ARE 'THE LAST THING NEEDED ON A CAMPUS WHERE CLEAR THINKING HAS BEEN IN VERY SHORT SUPPLY.'

NYT: 'GROUNDING STAR WARS': WRITER ASSERTS THAT THE PENTAGON'S DECISION TO SHIFT ITS FOCUS FROM SPACE-BASED ANTI-MISSILE SHIELDS TO GROUND-BASED ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILES IS 'MORE SYMBOLIC THAN SUBSTANTIVE'; SAYS THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATIONS' DOLLAR 3.8 BILLION DEFENSE BUDGET FOR 1994 IS STILL LAVISH; ARGUES THAT CONTINUED RESEARCH ON CONTINENTAL DEFENSES IS REASONABLE BUT THAT DEVELOPMENT AND DEPLOYMENT SHOULD NOT BE RUSHED.

COLUMNS

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NYT(P.READ): 'MUGGED BY THE NUCLEAR HOOLIGANS': WRITER REPORTS THAT THE SIX ENGINEERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE 1986 CHERNOBYL ACCIDENT WERE DESCRIBED AS 'NUCLEAR HOOLIGANS' AT THEIR TRIAL; ARGUES THAT THEIR CARELESSNESS WAS NOT AN ISOLATED INCIDENT BUT THAT RUSSIA NOW ADMITS TO ITS LAX PROCEDURES IN DISPOSING OF NUCLEAR WASTES; BLAMES BOTH THE FORMER COMMUNIST SYSTEM AS WELL AS THE PRESENT BREAKDOWN OF

CONTROL OVER CIVILIAN ATOMIC REACTORS AND DEFENSE FACILITIES IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION.

DN(C.KRAUTHAMMER),ND: 'PLAYING THE NAME GAME WITH DEFENSE': WRITER CALLS DEFENSE SECRETARY LES ASPIN'S 'BURIAL' OF RONALD REAGAN'S MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM A 'SUCCESSFUL FAKE FUNERAL'; SAYS THAT MR. ASPIN MERELY CHANGED THE NAME OF THE DEFENSE PROGRAM TO MAKE IT DEMOCRATIC AND TO PRODUCE A NATIONAL CONSENSUS; SUPPORTS MR. ASPIN'S PROGRAM BUT ADDS THAT DESPITE HIS FOCUS ON GROUND-BASED MISSILE SYSTEMS, THERE IS STILL A NEED FOR MR. REAGAN'S SPACE-BASED SYSTEMS IN LIGHT OF IRAN'S AND NORTH KOREA'S GROWING CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONRY.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'ON WASHINGTON HIGH WIRE, CLINTON LOSES HIS SURE STEP'; 'DESPITE DOUBTS, UN TO SUPPORT BALKAN STRATEGY'; 'MEDICINE SUFFERS AS FEWER DOCTORS DO GENERAL WORK'; 'ACQUITTAL IN DOORSTEP KILLING OF JAPANESE STUDENT'; 'DEFYING REBELS, VOTERS THROG CAMBODIA POLLS'. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/ARMY/OFFICER/COURT: NYT(J.GREENBERG-CABLED): 'ISRAELIS DEBATE ARMY'S RIGHTS RECORD IN UPRISING': REPORTS THAT AN IDF OFFICER WAS SENTENCED IN A JAFFA MILITARY COURT LAST WEEK TO THREE MONTHS IN JAIL AND THREE MONTHS OF WORK DETAIL FOR KILLING A 12-YEAR-OLD PALESTINIAN IN THE WEST BANK IN NOVEMBER; SAYS THAT THE JUDGE REVIEWED 'IN A MATTER-OF-FACT TONE' HOW SECOND LIEUT. OFIR, A MEMBER OF AN ELITE UNDERCOVER UNIT, SHOT THE BOY IN THE BACK WHILE CHASING STONE THROWERS; ADDS THAT THE COURT MARTIAL WAS 'UNCOMMON' AND THAT ISRAELI SOLDIERS HAVE BEEN CONVICTED INFREQUENTLY FOR KILLING PALESTINIANS SINCE THE INTIFADA BEGAN; DISCUSSES HOW THE QUESTION OF PUNISHMENT AND DISCIPLINE OF IDF SOLDIERS HAS PROVOKED A DEBATE BETWEEN THE ARMY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND LAWYERS IN ISRAEL IN LIGHT OF THE RECENT UPSWING IN VIOLENT INCIDENTS IN THE TERRITORIES.

ISRAEL/PALESTINIANS/PEACE: ND(S.SACHS-CABLED): 'DETOURING FOR PEACE': REPORTS THAT ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS HAVE DECIDED TO TRY TO NEGOTIATE OUTSIDE THE FORMAL PEACE TALKS THROUGH ARAB AND AMERICAN INTERLOCUTORS; SAYS THAT SUCH 'ACTIVE BUT INDIRECT DIALOGUE REFLECTS THE OFFICIAL PALESTINIAN VIEW IN TUNIS THAT A JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES CONCERNING 'ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT' FROM THE TERRITORIES IS 'CLOSE AT HAND'; STATES THAT CONTACTS BETWEEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND PALESTINIAN OFFICIALS BEGAN A FEW DAYS AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE NINTH ROUND OF PEACE TALKS IN WASHINGTON; ADDS THAT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT SOURCES HAVE SAID THAT THEY ARE ALSO DISCUSSING DISPUTED POINTS WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

IRAQ/KURDS/ATTACK: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED): 'IRAQ SAID TO PREPARE ATTACK ON KURDS' ENCLAVE IN NORTH': REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO WESTERN DIPLOMATS AND KURDISH MILITARY COMMANDERS, SADDAM HUSSEIN IS PREPARING TO ATTACK THE INDEPENDENT KURDISH ENCLAVE IN NORTHERN

IRAQ IN AN ATTEMPT TO RECLAIM THE TERRITORY SOUTH OF THE NO-FLY ZONE; SAYS THAT OFFICIALS PREDICT THE ASSAULT COULD BEGIN IN THE FIRST WEEK OF JUNE; QUOTES JABAR FARMAN, THE KURDISH DEFENSE MINISTER, AS SAYING THAT IRAQI FORCES HAVE BEEN BUILDING UP OVER THE LAST FEW DAYS IN THE AREAS SOUTH OF ERBIL AND SULAIMANIYA; SAYS THAT THE KURDS ALONG THE FRONT LINES HAVE BEGUN TO FLEE; ADDS THAT THE INCREASE IN IRAQI MILITARY ACTIVITY COMES AT A TIME WHEN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEGUN 'BACKING AWAY' FROM THE KURDS.

IRAN/IRAQ/MILITARY: ND(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT IRANIAN TROOPS AND FLIERS STAGED MILITARY MANEUVERS ON THE SOUTHERN BORDER WITH IRAQ SUNDAY.

WASHINGTON/CLINTON/STUMBLING: NYT(T.FRIEDMAN-CABLED): 'ON WASHINGTON HIGH WIRE, CLINTON LOSES HIS SURE STEP': WRITER ARGUES THAT DESPITE PRESIDENT CLINTON'S REPUTATION FOR HAVING A 'POPULIST TOUCH,' HE HAS BEGUN TO LOSE TRACK OF HOW THE PUBLIC FEELS; SAYS THAT MR. CLINTON HAS BEEN SLOWED DOWN BY STUMBLING BLOCKS SUCH AS THE DEBATE OVER HOMOSEXUALS IN THE MILITARY, THE CONTROVERSY OVER HIS NOMINATION OF ZOE BAIRD FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL, AND THE FAILURE OF HIS STIMULUS PACKAGE; CONTENDS THAT MANY OF THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORTERS ARE WORRIED THAT MR. CLINTON'S PROBLEM MAY NOT BE HIS STAFF, HIS FOCUS, OR ORGANIZATION, BUT HIMSELF; ADDS THAT DEMOCRATIC LAWMAKERS ARE PINNING THEIR HOPES ON THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC PACKAGE, WHICH MAY BE PUSHED THROUGH CONGRESS IN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.

WASHINGTON/CLINTON/REPUBLICANS: NYT(R.W.APPLE-CABLED): 'WHY FOES LOVE HIM': REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PROBLEMS IN THE EARLY MONTHS OF HIS PRESIDENCY 'HAVE DONE WONDERS FOR THE MORALE AND UNITY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'; NOTES THAT MR. CLINTON'S APPROVAL RATINGS ARE BELOW 50 PERCENT IN SOME POLLS; QUOTES GEORGE BUSH'S MEDIA ADVISER AS SAYING THAT THE PRESIDENT STILL HAS TIME 'TO TURN THINGS AROUND'.

US/NORTH KOREA/NUCLEAR: WSJ(J.FIALKA-CABLED): 'US TURNS ATTENTION TO NORTH KOREA': REPORTS THAT THE US IS LAUNCHING A 'MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT' TO DISENGAGE NORTH KOREA FROM ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS PROGRAM'; NOTES THAT TALKS IN NEW YORK BETWEEN US AND NORTH KOREAN OFFICIALS COULD BEGIN NEXT WEEK.

SHEIK/IRAN/FUNDING: DN(REUTERS): REPORTS THAT SHEIK OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN DENIED SATURDAY THAT HE HAD RECEIVED MONEY FROM IRAN IN CONNECTION WITH THE WTC BOMBING IN RESPONSE TO A US NEWS AND WORLD REPORT CLAIM.

IRAN/US/HOSTAGES: ND(BRIEF): NOTES THAT IRANIAN PRESIDENT RAFSANJANI SAID IN AN INTERVIEW WITH TIME MAGAZINE THAT ALTHOUGH IRAN USED ITS INFLUENCE TO WIN THE RELEASE OF US HOSTAGES IN LEBANON, IT RECEIVED NOTHING IN RETURN.

RUSSIA/KUWAIT/ARMS: AP(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT KUWAIT WILL PURCHASE RUSSIAN WEAPONS AND SEND A MILITARY STAFF TO MOSCOW AS PART OF THE

EMIRATE'S PLANS TO SPEND DOLLAR 12 BILLION ON REBUILDING ITS ARMED FORCES.

GERMANY/PRESIDENT/WASHINGTON: ND(BRIEF): NOTES THAT GERMAN PRESIDENT RICHARD VON WEIZSAECKER VISITED THE NEW US HOLOCAUST MUSEUM IN WASHINGTON.

KUWAIT/COLONEL/BUSH/PLOT: NYP(U.DAN): REPORTS THAT A KUWAITI COLONEL, MOUHAMAD HALIFAH-AKLA, WHO FORMERLY HELD A POST IN THE KUWAITI INTERIOR MINISTRY, WAS ACCUSED SUNDAY OF RECRUITING KUWAITI ASSASSINS AND SUPPLYING THEM WITH MR. BUSH'S SCHEDULE LAST MONTH IN KUWAIT; NOTES THAT THE MOTIVE FOR MR. AKLA'S 'TREACHERY' WAS UNCLEAR.

BUSH/KUWAIT/THREAT: DN(BRIEF),ND: REPORTS THAT FORMER PRESIDENT BUSH SAID SUNDAY THAT THE REPORTED PLOT TO ASSASSINATE HIM IN KUWAIT LAST MONTH WAS REAL.

OBITUARIES

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NYT: 'ADM. SIR MARK PIZEY, WORLD WAR II HERO, 93'.

LETTERS

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NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH ARGUES THAT NEW YORK MAYOR DINKINS' WAS HYPOCRITICAL AND INCONSISTENT IN SHOWING HIS SUPPORT FOR THE HOMOSEXUALS BANNED FROM THE ISRAELI DAY PARADE BUT NOT FOR THE GAYS BANNED FROM THE ST.PATRICK'S DAY PARADE.

NYT: ONE LETTER CRITICIZES THE MEDIA'S NEGLECT OF CHRISTIANS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN IRAQ WHO NEED THE WESTERN PROTECTION BEING PROVIDED TO THE KURDS.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(AP): 'CEASE-FIRE SEEMS TO BE HOLDING IN AFGHAN CAPITAL.'

ND(S.SCHNEIDER): 'AUTHOR RECALLS PLEASANT TIMES AT HEBREW ASYLUM.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב 2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 30228

אל: רהמש/1073

מ-: המשרד, תא: 240593, זח: 1218, דח: מ, סג: סו,

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סודי/מיד

אל: וושינגטון

דע: בייג'ינג

השגריר,

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

בראון התעניין בהבטחות שנתן שה'ח סין לשה'ח להימנע ממכירת טילים תוצרת
סין לאיראן וסוריה. שאל להערכתנו למידת שרירותה של ההתחייבות שניתנה ע"י
שה'ח סין.

בנצור.

24 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), ששהח, מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם),
@ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 31468

אל: רהמש/1113

מ-: שיקגו, נר: 100, תא: 240593, זח: 1054, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

אל: סמנכ"ל הסברה, סמנכ"ל תהליך השלום, מנהל הסברה

דע: מצפ"א, ערב 2/ממ"ד, הסברה-ווש', אמיתי-ווש', קונסול אקדמיה-נ"י

מאת: שיקאגו

הנדון: המשלחת הפלסטינית - אוניברסיטת שיקאגו

1. בסימפוזיון בהנחיית הפרופ' רשיד ח'אלידי שנערך באוניברסיטת שיקאגו (21/5) הביאו פרופ' אפרים יער (אוניברסיטת ת"א) והדר' סלים תמרי (אוניברסיטת ביר זית) את ראיית הישראלים והפלסטינים זה את חברתו של זה.

2. בתום הדיון הוצגו ח'אלידי, תמרי והקונכ"ל.

3. תמרי השווה בשבתון באוניברסיטת שיקאגו, חבר המשלחת הפלסטינית לשיחות הרבצ"ד (פליטים) שב מלא סיפוק מאוסלו ולדבריו היתה התקדמות בעליל והוא חש ברצינות הצד הישראלי והגיבוי האירופי. הבהיר לי שהנושא עודנו גלמי אך ניתן לצקת בו תכנים קונקרטים שיביאו להתקדמות בסוגית הפליטים קרי: בנית תשתית במחנות והשלכות הנובעות מכך.

4. בשונה ממנו, לא הותירה רעייתו הדר' סעאד כמאל - חברת המשלחת הפלסטינית לשיחות הדו-צדדיות, ספק, בדבר אכזבתה מהסבב הנוכחי. תימכתה את משנתה בכך שללא ויתורים נוספים מצידנו יקשה על משלחתה להתקדם. סיפרה לי ארוכות על המוטיבציה שהניעה אותה להתקדם מתחומה המקצועי (ארכיטקטורה - מרצה בביר זית) לתחום הקרקעות בה היא רואה את פעילותה העיקרית בשיחות, ככל שהוא סבוך ומערים קשיים.

5. מאוכזב חש גם הפרופ' ח'אלידי אם כי ברמה שונה. הודה שציפיותיו בראשית הסבב היו לפתיחה רצינית של דיון שלא מומש, אך נהירה לו המורכבות והרגישויות וצופה למו"מ מתמשך שיצריך סבלנות רבה. כעס בעיקר על התאום האמריקני-ישראלי שנעשה מראש כשהפלסטינים מחוץ לתמונה.

6. אליבא דתמרי, אוטונומיה תוך איוש ובניית מוסדות פלסטינים יספקוהו בשלב זה. נמנע מלהגדיר את מאויו כמדינה, אם כי לא מן הנמנע שהתייחס לבנייה בפועל של "מדינה שבדרך".

7. ברמה האמוציונלית בלט ההבדל בין ח'אלידי וכמאל בהיותה מריחה ופסימית הרבה יותר. גם בינה לבין בעלה אותו קפצה לבקר לאחר סבב השיחות הופגנו יותר מהבדלי ניואנסים.

8. ח'אלידי ישתתף כנראה רק בחלק מהסבב הבא שכן במחצית השניה של יוני יבוא ארצה להמשיך במחקרו בארכיבים בירושלים וביריחו.

9. בסימפוזיון עצמו בלטה נימת ה-P.C., דהיינו אורית התנגדות א-פריורי לכל מה שריח "כיבוש" נודף ממנו, הגם שניתוחיהם של שני הדוברים (בעיקר של יער) היו ענייניים וטובים.

קורן

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, גנור,
סמנכלמזת, מזת2, רביב, הסברה, ר/מרכז, ממד,
@ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 31563

אל: רהמש/1111

מ-: ווש, נר: 2113, תא: 240593, זח: 2100, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל

דע: לשכת רוהמ', לשכת שהח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

1. עובדת היסוד של הפוליטיקה האמריקאית בתקופה זאת היא הסחרחות אליה נקלעו הנשיא קלינטון וממשלו. מאפייני הסחרחות והגורמים לדינמיקה השלילית המכה בממשל הם שיחת היום בושינגטון ונושא מרכזי בתקשורת האמריקאית.

2. העובדות עצמן כמעט ואינן שנויות במחלוקת: התמיכה בנשיא במשאלי דעת הקהל נשחקה ונשחקה ואחוזי התמיכה בו נמוכים במונחים מוחלטים ויחסיים כאחד. התקשורת הכתובה והאלקטרונית תוקפת את הנשיא, הן באמצעות פרשנויות (בין של בעלי טורים בעתונות ובין אם בתכניות המלל בטלוויזיה) והן בבקורת עתונאית על מעשים ומחדלים של הממשל. סימפטום מובהק לבעיותיו של הנשיא הוא התרחקות של מועמדים ממנו עתה וחששותיהם הגלויים של חברי סנאט וקונגרס הצפויים להתמודדות בנובמבר 1994.

3. בשלב זה ניתן לומר כי הממשל נופל קרבן לדינמיקה השלילית העצמית של המשבר. כיוון שהנשיא וחלק מאנשיו פועלים מתוך תחושה של חולשה נסיגה ופגיעות הם חרדים מפני כל כשלון ויכולתם להנהיג ולהטביע חותם נפגעת.

4. שני מועדים צפויים הם בעלי השפעה חשובה במיוחד על עיצוב מסגרת הזמן שבתוכה יתנהל נסיונו של הממשל להחליץ את המשבר:

א. הצגת תוכנית הרפורמה במערכת הבריאות עליה טורח מזה חודשים הצוות המונהג עי רעיית הנשיא. הצגת תוכנית אטרקטיבית והיכולת להסביר אותה ולהפעיל אותה יוכלו לסייע לנשיא להחליץ מן הסחרחות הנוכחית. אך בקורת על התכנית ובמיוחד על עלותה (הן מצד הרפובליקנים והן מצד קבוצות לחץ אינטרסנטיות) וכשלון בהסברתה יעמיקו את המשבר. מעורבותה של רעיית הנשיא מחריפה את משמעות האתגר הכרוך בהצגת התכנית. נושא זה צפוי לעלות על סדר היום בחדש הקרוב. ראוי לציון שמתח בין הילארי קלינטון והצוות שלה לבין יועציו הכלכליים של הנשיא כבר עלה אל פני השטח. בעיקרו של דבר טוענים יועצי הנשיא שיש לנהוג זהירות ולא להעלות מסים לצורך קידום התכנית בעוד רעייתו וצוותה רוצים בקידומו של פרויקט מרשים.

ב. הבחירות לקונגרס הצפויים בנובמבר 94. הצלחה רפובליקנית ו/או כשלון דמוקרטי ישפיעו השפעה מכרעת על יכולת השליטה של הממשל בשנתיים שלאחר מכן. שיקולי בחירות והערכות לקראתן יהיו גורם בולט יותר מתמיד ב-17

החדשים הבאים.

5. ניתוח קשיו של הממשל מתמקד בגורמים ובאשכולות הגורמים הבאים:

א. תפקודו של הנשיא. בארבעת החדשים הראשונים של ממשלו הוכיח קלינטון ביתר עצמה את מה שהתחוויר כבר במהלך מסע הבחירות: הוא נבון ואינטליגנטי ביותר. תופש בעיות מסובכות, בעל זכרון מעולה וכושר קומוניקטיבי מרשים. אולם חושיו הפוליטיים מטעים אותו לעיתים תכופות מדי. הוא שגה ושוגה בבחירת אנשים וניכשל בטעויות מיותרות. לאחר מספר שבועות בשלטון כאשר נתקל לראשונה בבעיות חזר קלינטון להשען על הצות שניהל את מסע הבחירות שלו. אך היום ברור שגם האדונים קרביל ובגליה אינם מוצאים פתרונות מספקים לבעיותיו של הממשל. הנשיא מתרכז במה שנקרא היום 'מיקוד' או 'התמקדות' דהיינו בחירת יעד אחד או שניים והתרכזות בהם ובמסר פשוט וחד משמעי. שקיעתו המהירה של הנשיא בסקרי דעת הקהל מוסברת, בין השאר, בכך שכיוון שהמרוץ התנהל הפעם בין שלושה מועמדים הרי מראש היו לנשיא רק 43 אחוזי תמיכה ובחלקה היתה זאת תמיכה 'רכה'. בהקשר זה יש להזכיר גם את העובדה שרוס פרו ממשיך לנשוף בערפו של הנשיא.

ב. תפקודו של הבית הלבן. מצוות אנשים מלומדה היא שהנשיא הקיף עצמו בחבורה צעירה וחסרת נסיון גם אם מוכשרת בפני עצמה. יש מסביב לנשיא יותר מדי צעירים ואנשי ארקנסו ופחות מדי 'מנדריני' ואנשים פוליטיים המכירים את וושינגטון ומערכתה. סדר יומו של הנשיא אינו מאורגן כהלכה ופעמים רבות מדי הוא נכשל בהצגת עובדות לא נכונות. ראש צוות הבית הלבן איבד חלק מסמכויותיו תוך כדי נסיון רפורמה אחד, אך ה'מנדריני' הושינגטונים טוענים שלא יהיה מנוס מרפורמות רדיקליות יותר.

ג. מערכת היחסים עם הקונגרס ועם המפלגה הדמוקרטית. כשלונה של חבילת התמריץ הכלכלית היה סימן מובהק ביותר למערכת היחסים הבעייתית עם הקונגרס. מדובר לא רק באופוזיציה האפקטיבית של הרפובליקנים אלא גם בקשיים ביחסים עם סנטורים חברי קונגרס חשובים בין הדמוקרטים. הדבר נובע בחלקו ממתחים אישיים (עם סאן נאן וחבר הקונגרס מאקרדי למשל), וחילוקי דעות אידאולוגיים (דמוקרטים רבים טוענים שקלינטון הציג עצמו כאיש הזרם המרכזי אך הפקיד את מדיניות הפנים בידי האגף הליבראלי) ויותר ויותר בחישוביהם האישיים של מחוקקים המתקשים להשלים עם מדיניות זאת או אחרת. ברי היום שהנשיא ואנשיו טעו שסרכו להתפשר ביחס לחבילת התמריץ שהוגשה לקונגרס. השאלה היא אלו לקחים יופקו מכך לקראת הטיפול ברפורמה בשירותי הבריאות. טענתם של אנשי הזרם המרכזי של המפלגה הדמוקרטית כנד 'שעיתו' של הנשיא מן הקו המרכזי של המובטח לקו ליברלי- מסורתי חוזרת ונשמעת לאחרונה ביתר תוקף. הסנטור ג'ו ליברמן, מי שנחשב מקורב במיוחד לנשיא, נתן לדברים פומבי בעתונות סוף השבוע. מחוקק דמוקרטי חשוב אחר, דיוד בורן מאוקלאומה, חלוק עם הנשיא על שאלת מיסוי הדלק (אולקאומה היא, כידוע, מדינת נפט מובהקת).

ד. בעיות של מדיניות (במובן POLICY). אלו נוגעות לשורה של נושאים בהם טיפל הממשל כשהחשובים בהם נוגעים לכלכלה ולמאמץ העיקרי (המוצדק) של הממשל להחיות אותה. בתחום זה נודעת לדינמיקה העצמית של המשבר חשיבות רבה במיוחד. אבדן אמונה של קהילת העסקים ומעמד ה- CEO'S בנשיא (וסימנים לכך כבר הופיעו) עלול, בפני עצמו, לגרום נזק כבר לכל נסיון הבראה ושיקום.

ה. אסטרטגיית התקשורת של הנשיא והבית הלבן. ניתוח קודם שנשלח על ידי מחלקת העתונות של השגרירות הצביע על כמה ממאפייניה של אסטרטגיה זאת ובהם

הנסיון לדלג מעל הממסדים המסורתיים של התקשורת הלאומית על-ידי קיום קשר ישיר עם התקשורת המקומית צמצום הקשר עם בעלי הטורים והכתבים הבכירים בווינגטון, צמצום מספר מסיבות העתונאים הנשיאותיות וכו'. אחד מתוצאותיה הצפויות של אסטרטגיה זו היא הגישה הביקורתית, שלא לומר עויינת, של ממסד התקשורת הלאומית.

ו. מדיניות החוץ של ממשל קלינטון לא היתה מקור לבעיות וקשיים מיוחדים אך בה בעת גם לא סיפקה לממשל יוקרה או הצלחות. פסגת ונקובר היתה הצלחה בכך שבעקבותיה הוסרה סכנת המשבר בברהמ', אך הממשל מצא עצמו מחויב לחבילת סיוע גדולה המכבידה על תקציבו. מדיניותו של הממשל בבוסניה נחלה למעשה כשלון. הממשל נדחף אל סף התערבות צבאית חלקית ונסוג ממנה לאחר מסעו של המזכיר כריסטופר באירופה, שאינו נתפס כסיפור הצלחה. בסוף השבוע שעבר סיכמו כריסטופר ואורחיו האירופיים על שורת צעדים מנוריים המיועדת לאפשר לממשל לסגת מכל אפשרות של התערבות תחת מעטה דק של הגדרת ייעדים שונה.

6. למצב ענינים זה השלכות ברורות על ישראל:

א. ישראל נמצאת מפסידה מכך שממשל ידידותי ביותר, עימו בנתה מסכת יחסים מצויינת, נחלש.

ב. יכולתו של המשטר להשפיע על אישור חבילת הסיוע לישראל בקונגרס נחלשה.

ג. רצונו ויכולתו של הממשל להשקיע מאמץ ברמות הפוליטיות הגבוהות (בראש ובראשונה הנשיא אך במידה ניכרת גם מזכיר המדינה) בקידום תהליך השלום הישראלי-ערבי פחתו. הממשל נתון בעניינו ובבעיותיו שלו. מדיניות חוץ נחשבת בעניינו נושא המוחזק כבלתי פופולרי ע"י הציבור הרחב. הישגים מובטחים, לא כל שכן הישג ספקטקולרי, ישנו ראייה זאת, אך כל עוד אין הם מובטחים ימדוד הממשל בקפדנות כל השקעה של זמן ומשאבים פוליטיים במזרח התיכון. כמובן אין מדובר בהשקעת המאמץ השוטפת של הביורוקרטיה. זאת צפויה להמשך כרגיל. אך עירובה של הנשיא והמזכיר בעבודתה של הביורוקרטיה יהיה עתה ענין קשה יותר.

7. פרשנים פוליטיים רבים מצביעים על מאפיין חשוב בהסטוריה הפוליטית של קלינטון. הוא כשל פעמים מספר ותמיד הצליח להתאושש. המאמינים בתקפותו של קו זה מצפים להתאוששות, מוקדמת או מאוחרת יותר. הקשיים הנוכחיים אכן פרצו בתקופה מודקמת דיה על מנת לאפשר לממשל להתעשת במועד.

8. בתקופה הקרובה יכין סגל השגרירות דוחות מפורטים משלימים לגבי כמה מן האספקטים המרכזיים של התמונה הכוללת שתוארה לעיל.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 31563

אל: רהמש/1111

מ-: ווש, נר: 2113, תא: 240593, זח: 2100, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל

דע: לשכת רוהמ', לשכת שהח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

1. עובדת היסוד של הפוליטיקה האמריקאית בתקופה זאת היא הסחרחות אליה נקלעו הנשיא קלינטון וממשלו. מאפייני הסחרחות והגורמים לדינמיקה השלילית המכה בממשל הם שיחת היום בושינגטון ונושא מרכזי בתקשורת האמריקאית.

2. העובדות עצמן כמעט ואינן שנויות במחלוקת: התמיכה בנשיא במשאלי דעת הקהל נשחקה ונשחקה ואחוזי התמיכה בו נמוכים במונחים מוחלטים ויחסיים כאחד. התקשורת הכתובה והאלקטרונית תוקפת את הנשיא, הן באמצעות פרשנויות (בין של בעלי טורים בעתונות ובין אם בתכניות המלל בטלוויזיה) והן בבקורת עתונאית על מעשים ומחדלים של הממשל. סימפטום מובהק לבעיותיו של הנשיא הוא התרחקות של מועמדים ממנו עתה וחששותיהם הגלויים של חברי סנאט וקונגרס הצפויים להתמודדות בנובמבר 1994.

3. בשלב זה ניתן לומר כי הממשל נופל קרבן לדינמיקה השלילית העצמית של המשבר. כיוון שהנשיא וחלק מאנשיו פועלים מתוך תחושה של חולשה נסיגה ופגיעות הם חרדים מפני כל כשלון ויכולתם להנהיג ולהטביע חותם נפגעת.

4. שני מועדים צפויים הם בעלי השפעה חשובה במיוחד על עיצוב מסגרת הזמן שבתוכה יתנהל נסיונו של הממשל להחליץ מן המשבר:

א. הצגת תוכנית הרפורמה במערכת הבראות עליה טורח מזה חודשים הצוות המונהג עי רעיית הנשיא. הצגת תוכנית אטרקטיבית והיכולת להסביר אותה ולהפעיל אותה יוכלו לסייע לנשיא להחליץ מן הסחרחות הנוכחית. אך בקורת על התכנית ובמיוחד על עלותה (הן מצד הרפובליקנים והן מצד קבוצות לחץ אינטרסנטיות) וכשלון בהסברתה יעמיקו את המשבר. מעורבותה של רעיית הנשיא מחריפה את משמעות האתגר הכרוך בהצגת התכנית. נושא זה צפוי לעלות על סדר היום בחדש הקרוב. ראוי לציון שמתח בין הילארי קלינטון והצוות שלה לבין יועציו הכלכליים של הנשיא כבר עלה אל פני השטח. בעיקרו של דבר טוענים יועצי הנשיא שיש לנהוג זהירות ולא להעלות מסים לצורך קידום התכנית בעוד רעייתו וצוותה רוצים בקידומו של פרויקט מרשים.

ב. הבחירות לקונגרס הצפויים בנובמבר 94. הצלחה רפובליקנית ו/או כשלון דמוקרטי ישפיעו השפעה מכרעת על יכולת השליטה של הממשל בשנתיים שלאחר מכן. שיקולי בחירות והערכות לקראתן יהיו גורם בולט יותר מתמיד ב-17

החדשים הבאים.

5. ניתוח קשיו של הממשל מתמקד בגורמים ובאשכולות הגורמים הבאים:

א. תפקודו של הנשיא. בארבעת החדשים הראשונים של ממשלו הוכיח קלינטון ביתר עצמה את מה שהתחוויר כבר במהלך מסע הבחירות: הוא נבון ואינטליגנטי ביותר. תופש בעיות מסובכות, בעל זכרון מעולה וכושר קומוניקטיבי מרשים. אולם חושיו הפוליטיים מטעים אותו לעיתים תכופות מדי. הוא שגה ושוגה בבחירת אנשים וניכשל בטעויות מיותרות. לאחר מספר שבועות בשלטון כאשר נתקל לראשונה בבעיות חזר קלינטון להשען על הצות שניהל את מסע הבחירות שלו. אך היום ברור שגם האדונים קרביל ובגליה אינם מוצאים פתרונות מספקים לבעיותיו של הממשל. הנשיא מתרכז במה שנקרא היום 'מיקוד' או 'התמקדות' דהיינו בחירת יעד אחד או שניים והתרכזות בהם ובמסר פשוט וחד משמעי. שקיעתו המהירה של הנשיא בסקרי דעת הקהל מוסברת, בין השאר, בכך שכיוון שהמרוץ התנהל הפעם בין שלושה מועמדים הרי מראש היו לנשיא רק 43 אחוזי תמיכה ובחלקה היתה זאת תמיכה 'רכה'. בהקשר זה יש להזכיר גם את העובדה שרוס פרו ממשיך לנשוף בערפו של הנשיא.

ב. תפקודו של הבית הלבן. מצוות אנשים מלומדה היא שהנשיא הקיף עצמו בחבורה צעירה וחסרת נסיון גם אם מוכשרת בפני עצמה. יש מסביב לנשיא יותר מדי צעירים ואנשי ארקנסו ופחות מדי 'מנדרינימ' ואנשים פוליטיים המכירים את וושינגטון ומערכותיה. סדר יומו של הנשיא אינו מאורגן כהלכה ופעמים רבות מדי הוא נכשל בהצגת עובדות לא נכונות. ראש צוות הבית הלבן איבד חלק מסמכויותיו תוך כדי נסיון רפורמה אחד, אך ה'מנדרינימ' הושינגטונים טוענים שלא יהיה מנוס מרפורמות רדיקליות יותר.

ג. מערכת היחסים עם הקונגרס ועם המפלגה הדמוקרטית. כשלונה של חבילת התמריץ הכלכלית היה סימן מובהק ביותר למערכת היחסים הבעייתית עם הקונגרס. מדובר לא רק באופוזיציה האפקטיבית של הרפובליקנים אלא גם בקשיים ביחסים עם סנטורים חברי קונגרס חשובים בין הדמוקרטים. הדבר נובע בחלקו ממתחים אישיים (עם סאן נאן וחבר הקונגרס מאקרדי למשל), וחילוקי דעות אידאולוגיים (דמוקרטים רבים טוענים שקלינטון הציג עצמו כאיש הזרם המרכזי אך הפקיד את מדיניות הפנים בידי האגף הליבראלי) ויותר ויותר בחישוביהם האישיים של מחוקקים המתקשים להשלים עם מדיניות זאת או אחרת. כרי היום שהנשיא ואנשיו טעו שסרבו להתפשר ביחס לחבילת התמריץ שהוגשה לקונגרס. השאלה היא אלו לקחים יופקו מכך לקראת הטיפול ברפורמה בשירותי הבריאות. טענתם של אנשי הזרם המרכזי של המפלגה הדמוקרטית כנגד 'שעיתו' של הנשיא מן הקו המרכזי של המובטח לקו ליברלי- מסורתי חוזרת ונשמעת לאחרונה ביתר תוקף. הסנטור ג'ו ליברמן, מי שנחשב מקורב במיוחד לנשיא, נתן לדברים פומבי בעתונות סוף השבוע. מחוקק דמוקרטי חשוב אחר, דייויד בורן מאוקלאומה, חלוק עם הנשיא על שאלת מיסוי הדלק (אולקאומה היא, כידוע, מדינת נפט מובהקת).

ד. בעיות של מדיניות (במובן POLICY). אלו נוגעות לשורה של נושאים בהם טיפל הממשל כשהחשובים בהם נוגעים לכלכלה ולמאמץ העיקרי (המוצדק) של הממשל להחיות אותה. בתחום זה נודעת לדינמיקה העצמית של המשבר חשיבות רבה במיוחד. אבדן אמונה של קהילת העסקים ומעמד ה- CEO'S בנשיא (וסימנים לכנן כבר הופיעו) עלול, בפני עצמו, לגרום נזק כבר לכל נסיון הבראה ושיקום.

ה. אסטרטגיית התקשורת של הנשיא והבית הלבן. ניתוח קודם שנשלח על ידי מחלקת העתונות של השגרירות הצביע על כמה ממאפייניה של אסטרטגיה זאת ובהם

הנסיון לדלג מעל המסדים המסורתיים של התקשורת הלאומית על-ידי קיום קשר ישיר עם התקשורת המקומית צמצום הקשר עם בעלי הטורים והכתבים הבכירים בווינגטון, צמצום מספר מסיבות העתונאים הנשיאותיות וכו'. אחד מתוצאותיה הצפויות של אסטרטגיה זו היא הגישה הביקורתית, שלא לומר עוינת, של ממסד התקשורת הלאומית.

ו. מדיניות החוץ של ממשל קלינטון לא היתה מקור לבעיות וקשיים מיוחדים אך בה בעת גם לא סיפקה לממשל יוקרה או הצלחות. פסגת ונקובר היתה הצלחה בכך שבעקבותיה הוסרה סכנת המשבר בברהמ', אך הממשל מצא עצמו מחויב לחבילת סיוע גדולה המכבידה על תקציבו. מדיניותו של הממשל בבוסניה נחלה למעשה כשלון. הממשל נדחף אל סף התערבות צבאית חלקית ונסוג ממנה לאחר מסעו של המזכיר כריסטופר באירופה, שאינו נתפס כסיפור הצלחה. בסוף השבוע שעבר סיכמו כריסטופר ואורחיו האירופיים על שורת צעדים מנוריים המיועדת לאפשר לממשל לסגת מכל אפשרות של התערבות תחת מעטה דק של הגדרת ייעדים שונה.

6. למצב ענינים זה השלכות ברורות על ישראל:

א. ישראל נמצאת מפסידה מכך שממשל ידידותי ביותר, עימו בנתה מסכת יחסים מצוינת, נחלש.

ב. יכולתו של המשטר להשפיע על אישור חבילת הסיוע לישראל בקונגרס נחלשה.

ג. רצונו ויכולתו של הממשל להשקיע מאמץ ברמות הפוליטיות הגבוהות (בראש ובראשונה הנשיא אך במידה ניכרת גם מזכיר המדינה) בקידום תהליך השלום הישראלי-ערבי פחתו. הממשל נתון בעניינו ובבעיותיו שלו. מדיניות חוץ נחשבת בעניינו נושא המוחזק כבלתי פופולרי ע"י הציבור הרחב. הישגים מובטחים, לא כל שכן הישג ספקטקולרי, ישנו ראייה זאת, אך כל עוד אין הם מובטחים ימדוד הממשל בקפדנות כל השקעה של זמן ומשאבים פוליטיים במזרח התיכון. כמובן אין מדובר בהשקעת המאמץ השוטפת של הביורוקרטיה. זאת צפויה להמשך כרגיל. אך עירובה של הנשיא והמזכיר בעבודתה של הביורוקרטיה יהיה עתה ענין קשה יותר.

7. פרשנים פוליטיים רבים מצביעים על מאפיין חשוב בהסטוריה הפוליטית של קלינטון. הוא כשל פעמים מספר ותמיד הצליח להתאושש. המאמינים בתקפותו של קו זה מצפים להתאוששות, מוקדמת או מאוחרת יותר. הקשיים הנוכחיים אכן פרצו בתקופה מודקמת דיה על מנת לאפשר לממשל להתעשת במועד.

8. בתקופה הקרובה יכין סגל השגרירות דוחות מפורטים משלימים לגבי כמה מן האספקטים המרכזיים של התמונה הכוללת שתוארה לעיל.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 31532

אל: רהמש/1110

מ-: ווש, נר: 2109, תא: 240593, זח: 1830, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממנכ'ל

דע: לשכת רוח'מ, לשכת שה'ח, מנכ'ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

היום קיימתי בלווית שילה ונויבך ביקור היכרות פורמלי אצל בריאן אטווד הממונה על AIS. נויבך יוציא דווח מפורט על השיחה, אך שתי נקודות ממנה ראויות להבלטה:

1. לשאלתי לגבי דו"ח הועדה שבראשות סגן המזכיר וורטון לגבי מדיניות הסיוע הכוללת של ארה"ב השיב אטווד כי הסיוע לישראל יתוקצב במסגרת הנוכחית ל-5 השנים הבאות. את המצוקה של השנה הנוכחית מנסים לפתור ע"י הקצאת חלקים מתקציב ההגנה לנושאים שנכללו מסורתית בפונקציה 150 אם יצליחו - מה טוב, ואם לא - יש לנו מקום לדאגה מסויימת.

2. הוא רוצה להגיע ארצה בסתיו. בימים הקרובים יודיע לי מועדים אפשריים.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא

סססס

י.נ. 27

דף: 1 מחיר: 3	נוכס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דח'קות: מידי
אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארצ"ב	סיוג: בלמים	תזוח:
דע: במחון - יועץ שהכ"ט לתקשורת, רו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"מ (ימ' העכירונא)	חש' מברק: 1181	
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק		

The Peace Talks: No Sign of Life, but They're Not Dead

By CLYDE HABERMAN

MANY Israelis and Palestinians cannot shake a nagging feeling that the air is seeping out of the balloon known as the Middle East peace negotiations.

Now back up for a moment. That does not mean the talks are dying. If the recent past is a guide, at least one of the Arab parties will hem and haw for a while, most likely the Palestinians, but in the end everyone will show up for yet another round in Washington some time in June. Who knows? Some sort of agreement is not impossible, such as a declaration of principles stating what the Palestinians and Israelis hope eventually to achieve. Among the charms of this corner of the Middle East is its tendency to sharp mood swings; that which looks hopeless today can suddenly seem quite manageable tomorrow. Certainly, each side is well aware of where solutions lie, and has good reasons to find them.

Still, there is no escaping the fact that stutter-start talks that opened with fanfare in a Madrid palace in October 1991 have gone 9 rounds over 19 months, and have produced nothing of substance. Increasingly, Israelis and Arabs are asking how much longer this can go on.

New York
Times

23-5

Week in
Review

(24) שחח (2) ששה"ח (1) רחם (1) מונכל (1) מונכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)
26 הסברה (2) ר/מכז (1) מסד (4) רט (1) אמל (4) אומל (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)

בסחון/למג 32572-א

Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi, head of the Palestinian delegation and one of its more negative voices, suggested last week that negotiations be suspended so their basic framework could be redesigned. Yossi Beilin, Israel's Deputy Foreign Minister, also fretted, warning that "time is not on the side of peace" but instead favors the rejectionists in each camp. While neither man was articulating an official line, the pessimism that both reflected could hardly be ignored.

Of course, one of the good things about balloons is that they can be reinflated, and Mr. Beilin knew where to look for the air pump: Washington. Forget about progress, he said, unless the Clinton Administration makes good its promise to become a "full partner" in the negotiations, by bumping heads together much as Jimmy Carter did with Egypt and Israel at Camp David in 1978. Otherwise, Israel's main negotiation tracks, with Syria and the Palestinians, will remain stuck.

A Ride to the Rescue?

As matters stand, Syria refuses to spell out what it means by its offer of full peace until Israel commits itself to full withdrawal from the Golan Heights, captured in the 1967 war. And Israel says it will not detail the extent of its withdrawal until it hears a Syrian definition of peace. The short version: You first! No, you!

The Palestinian track defies pithy renditions. The parties are staring at large gaps between their positions on the nature of the Palestinian self-rule being discussed for the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and on the future of Jerusalem. Conspicuously, many Palestinians want to waste no time moving from an interim period of self-rule to a final settlement, which for them means getting their own state under United Nations land-for-

peace resolutions. But Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin says they are galloping ahead when circumstances — and the prevailing rules — call for a trot. Besides, Mr. Rabin flatly opposes a Palestinian state as a menace to Israeli security. First, let's have that interim period for a few years without any talk of territory for peace, he says; then we'll see where it leads. One reason Palestinians dislike this approach is that Mr. Rabin's Labor Government could easily be supplanted by the Likud Party and its yield-little-to-nothing philosophy. As it is, some Likud hawks started warning last week that they feel no obligation to honor any treaty Labor may sign.

So doves like Mr. Beilin say the time has come to call in the Americans. One problem is that the United States seems in no hurry to ride to the rescue, although there is talk that a senior delegation may be sent to the region to smooth the path for Round No. 10. Washington helps those who help themselves, Secretary of State Warren Christopher cautioned last week, saying that "the United States cannot travel this road alone."

There were topsy-turvy elements in all this. Here were Israelis asking for active American participation when for years, under Likud, Israel and many of its American Jewish supporters had resisted such involve-

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ment as likely to turn into unacceptable pressure. And the Palestinians, who long wanted the United States to jump in, have suddenly developed cold feet, accusing the Clinton Administration of collusion with the Israelis.

It is clear that while both sides, at bottom, want to keep talking, they still lack basic trust.

Many Palestinians see any settlement that falls short of perfection as a sellout. Their negotiators must contend with death threats and with differences between the leadership in the territories and the Palestine Liberation Organization in Tunis. And selling peace to the man on the street has not been made easier by Mr. Rabin's deportation of 400 accused Islamic militants to Lebanon, by a two-month-old closing of the territories that has caused economic distress and by a pronounced tendency of late for Israeli soldiers to fire at, and kill, rock-throwing Palestinian protesters, children included.

For his part, Mr. Rabin says that Palestinian negotiators who keep raising human-rights issues dwell on the conflict's symptoms, not its causes, as if the goal were to make nicer occupiers of Israelis instead of getting them to feel confident enough

to pack up and leave. Indeed, from his vantage, the long territorial closing should be seen by Palestinians as the start of their hoped-for disengagement from Israel, not merely as another affliction.

Besides, the Prime Minister has his own troubles, including a Government mired in crisis, a resurgent Likud and polls that show sturdy popular opposition to territorial compromise. Cabinet ministers do not rule out a national referendum on a land-for-peace agreement. They say the polls will turn around once a real deal is on the table. Right now, though, standing under that leaking balloon, no one seems ready to bet the farm on it.

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אאאא, חוזם: 29046

אל: רהמש/ 1037

מ-: המשרד, תא: 230593, זח: 1200, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

610431

סודי/מידי

אל: וושינגטון, השגריר

דע: ציר, שטיין

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

1. התקשר הבוקר בראון למסור שקורצר ומילר לא יגיעו השבוע ואין החלטה על עצם בואם גם אחרי כן.

2. כשפגשתי את בראון ביום ו' בנמל התעופה אמר שקיבל הודעה על הגעתם האפשרית של קורצר ומילר ביום ב' בערב ואף נערך להסדיר פגישותיהם בארץ. מאוחר יותר התקשר לביתי להודיעני שההחלטה על בואם מתעכבת.

3. ביום ה' בשיחה טלפונית עם רוס במחמ"ד, אמר לי רוס שארה"ב תעשה הכל כדי למנוע היווצרות חלל ריק בתהליך המדיני ע"י פעילות כלשהי אך עודם תוהים מה לעשות וכיצד לפעול ושרם נפלה החלטת המזכיר על שיגורם של מילר וקורצר לישראל.

בנצור.

23 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז, גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא, סמנכלמזת, סייבל

דף: 1	טופס מברק	דחיפות: מדי
מחור: 3	קשר ניו-יורק	
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דע: בסחור - יועץ שהב"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ים' העבירונא)		1178
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק		

The Coming Age of Plutonium

By Paul L. Leventhal

For nearly 25 years, the world has depended on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to stop the spread of weapons. But Iraq and North Korea have exposed its dirty secret: It legitimates, even facilitates, production of weapons materials — plutonium and bomb-grade uranium.

The world can close this loophole as the United Nations begins considering the future of the treaty, which ends its 25-year term in 1995. Extension of the treaty must be conditioned on a ban on production of bomb-grade nuclear materials. That won't happen if the international nuclear establishment, which is trying to persuade President Clinton to resume nuclear testing, gets its way on the treaty. It wants the treaty, with all its imperfections, extended indefinitely and

Paul L. Leventhal is president of the Nuclear Control Institute.

New York
Times

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unconditionally. Mr. Clinton must insist on correcting its four major flaws:

• The treaty is supposed to prevent the spread of the bomb but promotes sharing of "peaceful" nuclear technology that produces plutonium. Every reactor produces plutonium, which cannot be made into bombs until it is recovered from wastes. Instead of banning recovery and promoting waste disposal, the pact approves the use of plutonium in bomb-grade form. A nation only has to promise peaceful use and admit inspectors.

Yet the enforcement arm, the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, admits it could miss diversions of plutonium as large as 600 pounds a year, enough for 40 nuclear weapons. These inspectors certified Saddam Hussein's nuclear program peaceful and declared Iraqi conduct under the treaty "exemplary." They were helpless when North Korea said it was quitting the agreement and keeping enough plutonium to make as many as six bombs.

Japan, pleading "energy security,"

is about to import tons of bomb-grade plutonium from Europe and produce many more tons at home. South Korea, less than reassured, wants a peaceful plutonium program of its own. North Korea, using Japan's appetite for plutonium as an excuse,

Ban production of bomb-grade materials.

continues to produce plutonium with technology acquired as a treaty signatory. The region, festering with ancient enmities, could be awash in plutonium.

• The treaty rewards nations that refuse to sign. It permits them to receive "peaceful" nuclear materials and technology from member nations without opening all their nuclear facilities to inspection. Brazil, India,

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Israel and Pakistan have an incentive not to sign the treaty because they qualify for nuclear assistance without it.

• Thirty years ago, the superpowers agreed to negotiate a comprehensive ban on testing. Despite the cold war's end, the negotiations and explosions continue. The treaty does not require a ban and actually permits "peaceful nuclear explosions" by non-nuclear powers. Since some weapons can be built without testing, an essential complement to a ban is a production ban on bomb-grade materials.

• Until recently, international inspectors looked only where countries like Iraq, North Korea and Iran allowed them to look. Embarrassed by bomb programs that proceeded under their noses, the inspectors are ready to look harder. But they lack enforcement power because authority rests with a weak international agency in Vienna. The United Nations Security Council is brought in only after evidence of bomb-making is found.

The nuclear powers must agree to

dispose of plutonium from their dismantled warheads safely and permanently, by recombining it with radioactive waste and burying it deep in the earth. Non-nuclear powers must agree to dispose of plutonium from civilian reactors the same way, and not add to a global glut of plutonium.

Failure to act will insure that commerce in plutonium will blossom into world trade exceeding 300 tons by the year 2000. That's one and a half times the plutonium in all the nuclear weapons on Earth. Unless the United States builds a global consensus to strengthen the treaty, the nuclear confrontation of the cold war will be replaced by nuclear terror of a plutonium age. □

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Jerusalem Journal

More Generals Switching From Bullets to Ballots

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, May 21 — One day in March, Maj. Gen. Amram Mitzna of the Israel Defense Forces took off his uniform, and said farewell to arms after three decades. The next day, Mr. Amram Mitzna was back in his native Haifa, pumping hands and looking for votes in the Labor Party primary for mayor.

It turned out not to be an enormous leap, he says.

His last army assignment put him in charge of long-range planning, which mayors supposedly do as well. And his more than two years as military commander in the occupied West Bank, in the early days of the Palestinian uprising known as the intifada, required as much political savvy as battlefield know-how.

"Side by side with fighting the intifada, we had to deal with Palestinians, with Israeli residents of the West Bank, with politicians, with the media," he said. "Each of these had to be done with sensitivity, which of course is important for a politician."

New York
Times

22-5

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דח'בות/קשר, 31.5.93

Easily Wins Primary

Mr. Mitzna easily won his primary this week, making it likely that he will go on to victory in the November general election. His success may be the first ripple in a nationwide wave, for there is a bumper crop this year of freshly retired generals running for mayor in a dozen cities.

The switch from barracks to back room is as old as Israel itself. These days, closeness between the two cultures is notable at the national level, where Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, army chief of staff during the 1967 war, relies heavily on the military and political advice of the current chief, Lieut. Gen. Ehud Barak.

But a dozen generals running for City Hall at the same time is striking, although everyone can stand at ease, political experts say, explaining the phenomenon not as a sign of surging militarism but as a natural consequence of electoral trends.

Israel has discovered local primaries with a vengeance. In search of candidates with name recognition, the major parties have found a natural resource in career officers, many of whom are already national figures in a beleaguered country where the army commands great respect.

The Generals Are Willing

Besides, the generals are often willing conscripts. "Some of us see political life as a continuation of how to serve the country the best way we can," said Ori Orr, a retired major general who is chairman of Parliament's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee. Should the generals do well in local races this year, more may set their sights on Parliament,

especially as primaries spread on a national scale.

As it is, the Israeli Parliament has its fair share of them. Ten of the 120 members are former career military men. That figure looks larger — more than 10 percent — if one discounts 25 lawmakers who are Arabs or rigorously Orthodox Jews, none of whom serve in the army, or women, who are conscripted but who are all but invisible in the senior ranks.

No Worry About Militarism

Israel's former generals in Parliament span the political spectrum, but tend to cluster at the center. They are also conspicuous in the highest reaches of politics.

There is, of course, Mr. Rabin, who is also Defense Minister. Israel's new President, Ezer Weizman, was Mr. Rabin's deputy in 1967. His predecessor, Chaim Herzog, was also a career military man. So are Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer and the heads of two rightist parties, Rafael Eitan and Rehavam Zeevi. And there is the redoubtable Ariel Sharon, out of power now but always looking for a way back in.

In other democracies, a gathering of eagles and stars on this scale

might set off worried talk about garrison states. Not in Israel. "We've had 45 years of experience for every one to get used to it," said Nahum Barnea, a political commentator for the newspaper Yediot Ahronot. "We've had no juntas."

There has always been cross-pollination between the military and civilian spheres, especially since most Israelis serve in the army, with men doing annual reserve duty into middle age. One result, experts say, is a certain "militarizing" of civilian life and "civilianizing" of the army.

"There's a very deep relationship between the two, and it cannot be any other way because we are involved in a long war," said Yoram Peri, chief editor of the newspaper Davar and a specialist in the subject. "The military will continue to be a major channel into politics."

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of 400 Palestinians in December, an idea that originated with the general. It was he whom Mr. Rabin designated to present the Government's security arguments to the Supreme Court.

Questions can arise about whether some senior officers act on military imperatives or think first how their decisions will look to voters. "I feel we can be quite confident that decisions are not influenced by political considerations, but no one can honestly say 100 percent that it never happens," said Ephraim Sneh, a Labor member of Parliament and a former West Bank military commander.

Such questions arose in November after five soldiers were killed by a misfired missile during a training exercise. A week passed before it was disclosed that General Barak and other top officers had been present. The initial camouflaging of that fact touched off press assertions that the military censor had acted not to protect security interests as much as personal reputations.

Many eyes are now on General Barak, who is reportedly being groomed by Mr. Rabin for future Labor Party leadership.

When Secretary of State Warren Christopher visited Israel in February, General Barak was on hand almost everywhere the American went. After the much-disputed deportation

On that score, specialists say it does not hurt to have former officers in Parliament to keep an eye out. "They have their own sources in the army," said Prof. Menachem Hofnung of Hebrew University, "and so it winds up helping civilian control."

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TO: TIKSHORET

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NEWS SUMMARY 21-MAY-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYP: 'TEACH SADDAM A LESSON': WRITER ASSERTS THAT ACCORDING TO EVIDENCE GATHERED BY US INVESTIGATORS, IRAQ APPARENTLY ORDERED THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON GEORGE BUSH; ARGUES THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION MUST RESPOND TO SADDAM HUSSEIN'S ATTEMPT AGAINST THE FORMER PRESIDENT'S LIFE WITH 'SERIOUS PUNISHMENT'; ADDS THAT US MILITARY ACTION WILL ALSO TEACH 'SADDAM WANNABEES' A LESSON.

NYP: 'CROWN HEIGHTS - WHAT WENT WRONG': WRITER COMMENDS A BROOKLYN FEDERAL JUDGE'S DENIAL OF CITY HALL'S REQUEST TO DISMISS THE LAW SUIT BROUGHT AGAINST CITY OFFICIALS REGARDING THE 1991 POGROM IN CROWN HEIGHTS; EXPLAINS THAT THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN CROWN HEIGHTS CHARGED THAT 'THE CITY WILLFULLY ALLOWED RACIST RIOTERS TO VENT THEIR RAGE' DURING THE FIRST DAYS OF THE POGROM; ADDS THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF CROWN HEIGHTS' JEWS WERE VIOLATED AND CITES THE TESTIMONY OF CROWN HEIGHTS RESIDENTS.

COLUMNS

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NYT(A.ROSENTHAL): 'TRICKLE-DOWN MERCY': WRITER CRITICIZES AMERICAN LOBBYISTS WHO ARGUE THAT THE BEST WAY TO RELIEVE CHINESE CITIZENS FROM COMMUNIST OPPRESSION IS TO ENRICH THEIR ECONOMY THROUGH TRADE; ARGUES THAT BY PUSHING PRESIDENT CLINTON TO AVOID LEVELING TRADE PENALTIES AGAINST CHINA, THE COMMUNIST ORDER THERE WILL ONLY BE STRENGTHENED; ADDS THAT 'AMERICANS WHO BELIEVE THAT DICTATORSHIPS SOFTEN IN A POWERFUL CAPITALIST ECONOMY NEVER GOT TO THE POINT IN HISTORY CLASS WHERE SOMEBODY TOLD THEM ABOUT ADOLF HITLER.'

NYT(N.GLAZER): 'ACADEMIC FREEDOM? ACADEMIC FARCE': WRITER ARGUES THAT PROFESSOR LEONARD JEFFRIES WAS KNOWN FOR 'STRANGE DOCTRINES THAT HAD NO SUPPORT IN SOCIAL SCIENCE OR SCHOLARSHIP' LONG BEFORE HIS INFAMOUS ALBANY SPEECH IN 1991; SAYS THAT IN LIGHT OF THIS KNOWLEDGE, IT WAS 'OUTRAGEOUS' FOR CUNY OFFICIALS TO RETAIN HIM AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK STUDIES DEPARTMENT; ADDS THAT ALTHOUGH MR. JEFFRIES HAS A RIGHT TO FREE SPEECH, HE SHOULD NOT BE REINSTATED AT HIS POST.

ND(A.DEWIND AND L.MARKS): 'US MUST NOT RESTART NUCLEAR TESTS': WRITERS BELIEVE THAT ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT CLINTON APPEARS TO BE LEANING TOWARD RESUMING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING, HIS MIND IS NOT YET MADE UP; ARGUE THAT IF A DECISION IS MADE TO RESUME SUCH TESTS UNDERGROUND, IT WILL ONLY 'FUEL THE FLAMES OF NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT'; ADD THAT MAINTAINING AND ENFORCING LIMITS ON TESTING ONLY FOR SAFETY WOULD BE DIFFICULT; CONTEND THAT THE STRATEGIC ARMS REDUCTION TREATIES 'WILL NEVER GO INTO EFFECT' AND THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WILL LOSE A GREAT DEAL OF POLITICAL SUPPORT AS A RESULT.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'CLINTON ADVISERS OUTLINE BIG SHIFT FOR MALPRACTICE'; 'US AND RUSSIA AGREE ON STRATEGY ACCEPTING SERBIAN GAINS FOR NOW'; 'JOBLESS IN JAPAN - A SPECIAL KIND OF ANGUISH'; 'BRITISH LAWMAKERS APPROVE PACT FORGING GREATER EUROPEAN UNITY'; 'FAILING TO BUILD DUMP, NEW YORK FACES A SHUTOUT'. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

PEACE TALKS/PALESTINIANS/SELF RULE: DN(BRIEF): THE PALESTINIANS' CHIEF NEGOTIATOR SAID THURSDAY THAT THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE TALKS SHOULD BE SUSPENDED UNLESS ISRAEL GRANTS THE PALESTINIANS SELF-RULE IN THE TERRITORIES AND EAST JERUSALEM.

PALESTINIANS/ISRAEL/TERRITORIES: NYP(UPI): REPORTS THAT PALESTINIAN LEADERS ACCUSED ISRAEL THURSDAY OF KILLING ADDITIONAL PEOPLE IN THE TERRITORIES 'AS PART OF AN EFFORT TO COW THEM INTO COMPLIANCE WITH ISRAELI NEGOTIATING POSITIONS'; NOTES THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS REPORTEDLY RESPONDED THAT PALESTINIANS WERE AT FAULT FOR THE RECENT INCREASE IN VIOLENCE; QUOTES THE DEPUTY HEAD OF THE PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATING TEAM AS SAYING 'IT IS UNFORTUNATE THAT INSTEAD OF CREATING A RIGHT AND PROPER ATMOSPHERE TO GIVE THE PEACE PROCESS A CHANCE, RABIN HAS DONE NOTHING BUT DESTROY ANY RAY OF HOPE.'

SYRIA/CONFERENCE/INVESTORS: WSJ(BRIEF): ARAB INVESTORS AND BUSINESS MEN AT A CONFERENCE IN SYRIA REPORTEDLY URGED THEIR GOVERNMENTS TO INTENSIFY THEIR REFORM PROGRAMS IN ORDER TO KEEP UP WITH INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ADVANCEMENTS; NOTES THE ATTENDANCE OF SOME 650 DELEGATES WHO HOLD TOP ECONOMIC AND TRADE POSTS IN THEIR COUNTRIES; ADDS THAT THE FIFTH CONFERENCE OF THIS KIND ENCOURAGED THE ROLE OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, JOINT VENTURES, AND TRADE BETWEEN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

US/IRAQ/WARPLANES: NYT(D.JEHL-CABLED),DN: 'US CITES ATTACKS ON PLANES

BY IRAQ': ACCORDING TO PENTAGON OFFICIALS, AMERICAN WARPLANES PATROLLING THE NO-FLY ZONE OVER SOUTHERN IRAQ WERE MET WITH ANTI-AIRCRAFT FIRE THREE TIMES THIS WEEK BUT DID NOT RETURN FIRE; ADDS THAT IT WAS UNCLEAR WHETHER THE FIRE WAS AIMED AT AMERICAN PLANES; REPORTS THAT THE ROUNDS COULD HAVE BEEN IRAQI ARTILLERY DIRECTED AT REBEL FORCES IN THE SHIITE-DOMINATED REGION; NOTES THAT THE DECISION BY THE US MILITARY NOT TO RESPOND TO THE INCIDENTS INDICATE 'NEW RESTRAINT ON THE PART OF AMERICAN FORCES IN THE REGION.'

BUSH/CLINTON/IRAQ/PLOT: NYP: 'BUSH URGED SLAY-PLOT PROBE': REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO AN ABC-TV NEWS REPORT, GEORGE BUSH CONTACTED THE SECRET SERVICE BECAUSE HE BELIEVED THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION WASN'T TAKING REPORTS OF AN IRAQ ASSASSINATION PLOT AGAINST HIM SERIOUSLY; NOTES THAT MR. BUSH TOLD ABC'S PENTAGON CORRESPONDENT ROBERT ZELNICK THAT THERE WAS 'COMPELLING EVIDENCE' LINKING IRAQ TO THE ATTEMPT ON HIS LIFE IN KUWAIT LAST MONTH.

RUSSIA/SUB/NUCLEAR: NYT(W.BROAD-CABLED): 'RUSSIANS CALL SUB A NUCLEAR DANGER': REPORTS ON THE WARNING ISSUED BY RUSSIAN SCIENTISTS ON THE THREAT POSED BY THE NUCLEAR SUBMARINE WHICH SANK OFF THE COAST OF NORWAY FOUR YEARS AGO; NOTES THAT PLUTONIUM FROM THE KOMSOMOLETS' NUCLEAR WARHEADS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC COULD LEAK AND SPREAD WITHIN A SIXTY MILE RANGE; CONTENDS THAT WESTERN SCIENTISTS HAVE DISCOUNTED THIS ESTIMATE, SAYING THE 'RUSSIANS WERE FANNING PUBLIC APPREHENSION IN AN ATTEMPT TO RAISE MONEY FOR A PROPOSED CLEANUP OF THE COLD-WAR RELIC'.

NEO NAZI/CABLE/TV: ND(R.POLNER),DN: 'NAZI ON TV DRAWS FIRE': REPORTS THAT WHITE SUPREMACIST HERBERT POINSETT'S WEEKLY SERIES ON PUBLIC-ACCESS CABLE TELEVISION FEATURES A NAZI AND CONFEDERATE FLAG; NOTES THAT 'RACE AND REASON' HAS BEEN AIRING ON MANHATTAN CABLE CHANNEL 69 SINCE JANUARY; ADDS THAT MR. POINSETT ARGUES THAT THE HOLOCAUST IS A LIE, THAT BLACKS SHOULD BE RELOCATED TO AFRICA, AND THAT JEWS CONTROL THE MEDIA; QUOTES TOM HALPERN OF THE ADL AS SAYING 'IT'S OUTRAGEOUS, THE BRAZEN RANTINGS OF A TRUE BELIEVER IN THE NAZI CAUSE'; ADDS THAT ON THURSDAY NIGHT'S PROGRAM, MR. POINSETT SAID THAT POLICIES THAT ALLOW PEOPLE OF COLOR TO EMIGRATE TO THE WEST IS 'A POLICY TO DESTROY THE WEST' AND THAT 'THEY SHOULD ALL GO TO ISRAEL.'

PENTAGON/BASE/CLOSING: NYT(E.SCHMITT): 'PANEL EXPANDING LIST FOR BASE CLOSINGS': REPORTS THAT A PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION IS PLANNING TO ADD 20 SITES TO THE LIST PROPOSED BY THE PENTAGON OF MILITARY BASES TO BE CLOSED; NOTES THAT THE PENTAGON ANNOUNCED THE CREATION OF A NEW POST, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY, IN ORDER TO HELP MILITARY INDUSTRIES CONVERT TO CIVILIAN MANUFACTURING.

WTC/BOMB/SUSPECTS: NYT(A.MITCHELL): 'BOMB SUSPECTS USED NOTORIOUS PATH TO US': REPORTS THAT MOHAMMAD AHMAD AJAJ, A SUSPECT IN THE WTC BOMBING, ARRIVED IN THE US FROM PAKISTAN LAST SEPTEMBER WITH PASSPORTS FOR SEVERAL PEOPLE; SAYS THAT ALTHOUGH MR. AJAJ WAS INDICTED BY FEDERAL AUTHORITIES, A FELLOW PASSENGER AND LATER WTC

SUSPECT ENTERED THE US BY DECLARING HE WANTED POLITICAL ASYLUM;
NOTES THAT FEDERAL OFFICIALS SUSPECT 'PAKISTANI COMPLICITY' DUE TO
THE LARGE AMOUNT OF UNDOCUMENTED ALIENS WHO HAVE ENTERED THE US OVER
THE PAST TWO YEARS.

OBITUARIES

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NYT(E.PACE): 'WINSTON BURDETT IS DEAD AT 79; COVERED WORLD AND WAR FOR
CBS.'

NYT(W.SAXON): 'CURT REISS, AUTHOR AND JOURNALIST, 90 - EXPERT ON NAZI
ERA.'

ADS

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NYT(FOUR FULL PAGE ADVERTISEMENT - SPONSORED BY REPUBLIC OF YEMEN): 'A
DIVERSIFIED ECONOMY IS KEY TO YEMEN'S FUTURE'.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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ND(BRIEF): 'KGB SECRETS REVEALED.'

ND(P.COHEN): 'FEDS WANT SECRET JURY FOR NOSAIR KIN.'

NYT(J.MASLIN-FILM REVIEW): 'MOVIES SHOT BY 6 GERMANS IN THE WAR.'

ND(W.DOUGLAS): 'JEFFRIES' FIRST JAM.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
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SHABBAT SHALOM

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, מזתים, @ (מתאמשטחים)

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NEWS SUMMARY 20-MAY-1993

EDITORIALS

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ND(CABLED): 'CAMP DAVID II?': WRITER COMMENDS ISRAEL'S DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER YOSSI BEILIN FOR HIS 'REMARKABLE STATEMENT' AT A MEETING LAST WEEK WITH NEWSDAY EDITORS; QUOTES MR. BEILIN AS SAYING THAT OF ALL THE WORLD'S PROBLEMS TODAY, THE ONE THAT IS PROBABLY THE MOST SOLVABLE IS THE ONE IN THE MIDEAST; CALLS ON THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TO BECOME MORE DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS; ARGUES THAT ALTHOUGH THERE IS A GENUINE CHANCE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT, THE INABILITY OF BOTH PARTIES LAST WEEK TO 'AGREE ON AN AGENDA FOR THEIR NEGOTIATIONS' MAY JEOPORDIZE THE CHANCES FOR SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS; ADDS THAT IF MR. BEILIN IS INDEED CORRECT, A US COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE TALKS WOULD BE A 'GOOD INVESTMENT' OF ITS FOREIGN-POLICY TIME.

COLUMNS

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NYT(W.SAFIRE-CABLED): 'IRAQGATE GIVEAWAY': WRITER CONDEMNS THE ATLANTA BRANCH OF ITALY'S STATE-OWNED LAVARO BANK FOR HELPING TO FINANCE SADDAM HUSSEIN'S MILITARY BUILD-UP WITH BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN LOAN GUARANTEES FROM THE US DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE; SAYS THAT THE GUARANTEES WERE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER'S 'METHOD OF PROVIDING BACKDOOR FINANCING TO IRAQ' TO WHICH CONGRESS WOULD NOT HAVE GRANTED FOREIGN AID; CRITICIZES THE CLINTON JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FOR TRYING TO PROVE ROME'S BANKERS INNOCENT WHEN 'ITALIAN AND AMERICAN INVESTIGATORS KNOW THE OPPOSITE IS TRUE'; ADDS THAT IRAQGATE 'MARCHES ON.'

ND(M.KEMPTON): 'THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE PROFESSOR JEFFRIES - LUCKY STUDENTS': WRITER ARGUES AGAINST CRITICS WHO CONTEND THAT PROFESSOR JEFFRIES IS IRREPLACABLE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK STUDIES DEPARTMENT; REFUTES STATEMENTS WHICH SAY THAT MR. JEFFRIES DID NOT PREACH HATE IN HIS CLASSROOM; SAYS THAT THE PROFESSOR'S 'INTELLECTUAL DEBASEMENT' CAN ONLY TEACH HIS STUDENTS TO FOLLOW IN HIS FOOTSTEPS.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'CLINTON PUTS DOWN DEMOCRATIC REVOLT ON ECONOMIC PLAN'; 'IRAQI TELLS FBI HE LED ATTEMPT TO KILL BUSH, US OFFICIALS SAY'; 'NEW TALLY OF WORLD'S ECONOMIES CATAPULTS CHINA INTO THIRD PLACE'; 'WHITE HOUSE OUSTS ITS TRAVEL STAFF'; 'VITAMIN E GREATLY REDUCES RISK OF HEART DISEASE, STUDIES SUGGEST'. WSJ: 'ARGENTINE AIRLINE SALE SHOWS PRIVATIZATION IS HARDLY A CURE-ALL'; 'WITH COLD WAR OVER, THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IS DISSOLVING'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/RABIN/CABINET: NYT(CABLED): 'WHO REPORTS TO RABIN IN ISRAEL? OFTEN RABIN': REPORTS ON THE CRISIS IN THE RABIN GOVERNMENT BETWEEN THE LABOR PARTY'S TWO COALITION PARTNERS: THE LEFTIST MERETZ BLOC AND THE ORTHODOX SHAS PARTY; CALLS MR. RABIN A 'MINISTER-OF-ALL-TRADES' IN THAT HE HOLDS THE PORTFOLIOS OF EDUCATION MINISTER SHULAMIT ALONI AND INTERIOR MINISTER ARYEH DERI; ADDS THAT HE ALSO HOLDS ONE-FOURTH OF THE PORTFOLIOS AVAILABLE IN THE CABINET AS PART OF HIS EFFORTS TO END THE COALITION CRISIS; NOTES THAT THE THREAT TO MR. RABIN'S PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY MAY HAVE WEAKENED HIS GOVERNMENT AT 'A DELICATE JUNCTURE IN THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS.'

ISRAEL/SYRIA/PEACE: NYP(U.DAN): 'SYRIA: NO PEACE UNLESS ISRAEL SCRAPS ITS NUKES': REPORTS THAT THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT IS DEMANDING THAT ISRAEL GET RID OF ITS NUCLEAR ARMS AS A PRE-CONDITION TO ANY PEACE AGREEMENT; SAYS THAT ISRAELI SOURCES IN JERUSALEM SAID THE SYRIAN DEMAND WAS MADE DURING THE LATEST ROUND OF PEACE TALKS IN WASHINGTON; INDICATES THAT ALTHOUGH 'ISRAEL HAS NEVER ADMITTED IT HAS AN ARSENAL OF ATOMIC ARMS, REPORTS PERSIST THAT IT HAS PRODUCED A STOCK OF NUCLEAR WEAPONRY'; ADDS THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS BELIEVE THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR ARMS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED IN A SEPARATE FORUM.

ISRAEL/TERRITORIES/PLO: DN: 'ISRAEL CREATED PROBLEMS WITH MUSLIM RADICALS - PLO': REPORTS THAT PLO LEADER YASSER ARAFAT SAID THIS WEEK THAT ISRAEL 'HELPED TO CREATE ITS OWN PROBLEMS WITH MUSLIM RADICALS IN THE TERRITORIES'; ADDS THAT MR. ARAFAT ACCUSED ISRAEL OF 'BUILDING UP ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS TO RIVAL THE PLO' AND THEN 'DOING AN ABOUT-FACE' WHEN IT DEPORTED 400 ISLAMIC ACTIVISTS IN DECEMBER; NOTES THAT MR. ARAFAT URGED ISRAEL TO ACCEPT THE CREATION OF AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE.

IRAQ/FBI/BUSH: NYT(D.JEHL-FRONT PAGE-CABLED),DN: ACCORDING TO US OFFICIALS, FBI AGENTS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN TOLD BY AN IRAQI BEING HELD IN KUWAIT THAT HE LED AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE GEORGE BUSH LAST MONTH ON BEHALF OF THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT; ADDS THAT OTHER MEMBERS

OF THE 10 PERSON TEAM BEING HELD IN KUWAIT ALSO ADMITTED TO THE IRAQI INVOLVEMENT; QUOTES A SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL AS SAYING THAT THE INVESTIGATION WILL CONTINUE; STATES THAT A NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL MEMBERS HAVE CALLED FOR MILITARY RETALIATION AGAINST IRAQ IF ITS INVOLVEMENT IS PROVEN.

WTC/BOMB/SUSPECT: WSJ(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT A SIXTH SUSPECT, MOHAMMAD AHMAD AJAJ, WAS INDICTED IN THE WTC BOMBING INCIDENT AND CHARGED WITH CONSPIRING TO PLANT THE BOMB.

WTC/BOMB/FBI: NYT(A.MITCHELL-CABLED): 'FINGERPRINTS BEING STUDIED IN BOMB CASE': REPORTS THAT INVESTIGATORS IN THE WTC BOMBING CASE HAVE GATHERED FINGERPRINT EVIDENCE THAT WILL BE CRUCIAL IN THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN PEOPLE CHARGED IN THE FEB. 26 BOMBING; ADDS THAT FEDERAL AGENTS HOPE TO USE THE EVIDENCE TO INDICT 18 PEOPLE ALTOGETHER; SAYS THAT ATTORNEYS FOR THE DEFENSE PLACE LITTLE IMPORTANCE ON THE NEWLY GATHERED EVIDENCE.

CONGRESS/WARNING/MILITARY/CUTS: NYT(M.GORDON): 'JOINT CHIEFS WARN CONGRESS AGAINST MORE MILITARY CUTS': REPORTS THAT THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF TOLD CONGRESS WEDNESDAY THAT CONTINUED REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY SPENDING COULD JEOPARDIZE THE AMERICAN MILITARY'S ABILITY TO GO TO WAR; NOTES THAT DEFENSE SECRETARY LES ASPIN HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE WEDNESDAY TO ANNOUNCE THE APPOINTMENT OF A PANEL TO EXPLORE THE EFFECTS OF BUDGET CUTS ON THE MILITARY; ADDS THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAD PLANNED TO CUT MORE THAN DOLLAR 120 BILLION IN MILITARY SPENDING OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS.

CARTOONS

=====

NYP: A CARTOON WITH PROFESSOR LEONARD JEFFRIES HOLDING A MONEY BAG WHILE SPEAKING WITH TWO HASIDIC MEN; JEFFRIES SAYS TO THEM: 'SO I FIGURED, YOU GUYS ARE SO CLEVER WITH MONEY MAYBE YOU COULD GIVE ME SOME INVESTMENT TIPS.'

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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WSJ(T.RICKS-FRONT PAGE): 'WITH COLD WAR OVER, THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX IS DISSOLVING'.

NYT(C.HEDGES): 'TURKEY OFF BALANCE AS DEATH ENDS A LONG RIVALRY.'

ND(R.COOKE),DN: 'MARIJUANA WITH A PAST.'

NYP(U.DAN): 'ISRAELI RABBI GOES GUN 'N FOR ROCKERS.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רבי'ב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, פרנ, מזתים, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 27980

אל: רהמש/994

מ-: המשרד, תא: 210593, זח: 1151, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבבב

609524

סודי ביותר/מיד

אל: ו'ש', עבור ממנכ"ל

דע: לשכת ראש הממשלה

מאת: לשי' ס/שה'ח

הנדון: צפון קוריה
לשלך נר 2093

ע"פ הסיכום בשיחת ס/שה'ח עם תת המזכיר טרנוף לא תיעשה שום פעולה לפני
ה-12.6. נסכם על המשך הפעילות לאחר מועד זה ולאחר התייעצות עם
האמריקנים וגורמי מערכת הביטחון.

23-5

בר
21 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, @ (רם)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 28409

אל: רהמש/1009

מ-: ווש, נר: 2100, תא: 210593, זח: 1000, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: אגף מז'ת, מצפ'א, ממ'ד

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: אירן

באגף מז'ת במחמ'ד מופקד נושא אירן בידי מארק פאריס. להלן משיחתי עימו:-
 בחודשים האחרונים נערכת בדיקה מחודשת של המדיניות כלפי אירן, ישנן למעשה
 שלוש גישות. האחת, הרווחת בעיקר בחוגי אקדמיה (ופחות בחוגים מדיניים)
 אומרת שישנם אלמנטים מתונים בצמרת האירנית ואם ארה"ב והמערכ ינהגו בהם
 בפתיחות תהיה לכך היענות חיובית.

השניה אומרת שהתהום היא כה עמוקה ורחבה שלא תתכן כל מערכת יחסים שאינה
 קונפונטציה אגרסיבית. השלישית אומרת שיהיה קשה מאוד להביא לשנוי המשטר
 על-ידי פעולה מבחוץ שכן המשטר מושרש היטב ואין דרך לפעול מולו אלא בצורה
 בה נהגה ארה"ב (ובנות בריתה) במשך כל השנים מול ברית-המועצות. דרך
 אחרונה זו היא הדרך שבה יבחר הנשיא קלינטון והשם שבו מכנים אותה היא
 'בלימה פלוס' (CONTAINMENT PLUS).

היו אנשים בממשל בוש שסברו שרצון טוב יוליד רצון טוב. בממשל החדש ואינם
 גורסים כך. פעילות הבלימה, ההרתעה ולעתים הענישה תתרכז ברשימת
 פשעי-אירן: תמיכתם בטרור, התנגדותם לתהליך השלום, חתרנותם בארצות אחרות
 פרוליפרציה של טילים ונב'ק ופגיעותיהם בזכויות אדם (הבאהזיים רושדי
 וכו').

ארה"ב תשתדל שמדיניותה תהפוך למדיניות שבע המתועשות והנושא יידון במפגש
 הקרוב של ה-G-7. ישתדלו להגיע לנוסחה שאינה אמברגו גמור אך שתטיל בכל
 זאת מגבלות חמורות על הסחר ושתהיינה מגבלות על האשראי החופשי ושיוסכם
 לצמצם מכירת מוצרים וטכנולוגיות שלשמוש כפול (DUAL-USE).

ישנן כבר כמה הסכמות בעניין זה אלא שהרוסים (לדוגמה) מנסים למכור לאירן
 כורי-מחקר ולא ברור עדיין אם אפשר יהיה להניאם מכך.

בשלב זה מקיים המנכ"ל המדיני פיטר טרנוף מגעים תכופים עם עמיתיו באירופה
 ובמתועשות. התחושה היא שבנות בריתה של ארה"ב אינן מוכנות להרחיק לכת
 כמוה. האמריקנים רואים קרן תקווה בחוב הגואה של האירנים.

יתכן שמצבם הכספי לא יאפשר להם הצטיידות צבאית וגרעינית.
 יש להם מה שקרוי 'חובות רעים' וכבר ניכרים (לשמחת האמריקנים) סימני דאגה
 אצל הגרמנים והיפנים.

אשר למכירות האמריקניות: מטוסי בואינג, משאיות וציוד טלקומוניקציה
 הנשיא הוא שיחליט. יש לובי חזק מאד הממעית בערך האסטרטגי של המכירות
 וטוען שאם ארה"ב לא תמכור יעשו זאת אחרים. ההכרעות בעניין זן תיעשנה
 בדרג קבינטי ובהשתתפות מזכירי האוצר והסחר.

בברכה

שילה

יש

תפוצה: שדה, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, פרנ, מזח1,
ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 28710

אל: רהמש/1023

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 629, תא: 210593, זח: 1849, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

כבכב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממ"ד - ערב 3, ערב 1, אגף מז"ת, מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: סעודיה, מצרים

מוייט (I.N.R.) ב - 18.5:

1. העריך שבביקורו האחרון בסעודיה ובמפרציות ביקש מבארכ להשיג סיוע כלכלי ולמנוע סחף, בקרב המפרציות, כלפי איראן (כרקע, וייט הגדיר את סעודיה וכווית כקשוחות ביותר כלפי איראן, עומאן וקטר - הרכות ביותר, ואילו מאע"מ נוקטת עמדת ביניים). לאמריקאים אין פרטים לגבי תוצאותיו הכלכליות של הביקור (קבע שהמצרים והסעודים גם יחד נמנעים, תדיר, מהעברת מידע בתחום זה). לדעתו, לא מן הנמנע שהסעודים הבטיחו למצרים סיוע בסך מאות מליוני דולר - מכוון לפרוייקטים. הערכתו זו נשענת על העובדה שהסעודים חוששים מאד לגורל המשטר במצרים, על רקע מצוקותיו הכלכליות ותסיסת הקיצוניים האיסלאמיים.

2. וייט מוטרד גם לגבי ההתפתחויות הפנימיות בסעודיה. לדבריו, מתרבים הצעירים הסעודים הנענים למסריהם של החוגים האיסלאמיים הרדיקאליים. תופעה זו איננה מנותקת מתמורות במערכת החינוך הסעודית: לפני עשר שנים - שבעים אחוז מכלל הסטודנטים הסעודים למדו בחו"ל ואילו בשנה שעברה - שבעים אחוז מהסטודנטים למדו בסעודיה.

במקביל, מצבה של הצמרת הסעודית איננו מעודד. פחד ועבדאללה אינם בריאים, וכל שרשרת המועמדים לכתר, אחרי עבדאללה, הינם מושחתים. העיר כי על רקע המסורת הוהאבית, השחיתות מזיקה למעמדו של השליט בציבור הסעודי הרבה יותר מאשר מאשר בציבור הכווייתי. חששותיו של וייט לגורל המשטר ממוקדות לטווח של חמש עד עשר שנים.

3. סעודיה איננה פעילה ביותר בתהליך המדיני משום שאין היא סומכת על ישראל והפלסטינים גם יחד ומבקשת להמנע מלהסתבך מפעילות יתר לקידום מהלך העלול להכשל. האיסלאמיים הרדיקאליים מבית יוצרים אף יש אילון לא מועט. לכן סעודיה מעדיפה להמתין, ולסייע לפלסטינים כדי לעודדם להתקדם בתהליך.

אמיתי.

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, מזתים, ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 27392

אל: רהמש/981

מ-: ווש, נר: 2093, תא: 200593, זח: 1100, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבבב

סודי ביותר/מידי

אל : ס/שהח

סיטון - לשכת ממנכל

דע : לשכת ראש הממשלה

מאת: ממנכל

הנדון: צפון קוריאה

1. אמש התקשרו אנשי הקשר למסור שצפון קוריאה מעוניינת
בשיחות לאלתר עם ישראל על כל נושא שתבקש. הצפון קוריאנים מציעים
שיתקיים מפגש הכנה מקדים בבייג'ינג שאם יעלה יפה יהיה לו המשך
בפיונגיאנג. מצידם ישלחו שלושה נציגים בכירים.

2. מבקשים שיקדם למפגש מכתב מרה'מ' לראש ממשלת צפון קוריאה בו
יפרט רה'מ' תביעותיה של ישראל מצפון קוריאה.

בנצור

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 28387

אל: רהמש/1022

מ-: ווש, נר: 2097, תא: 200593, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: רה'מ, שה'ח, ס/שה'ח, מנכ'ל, ממנכ'ל

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: ביהנ'ב חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות

1. אתמול (19/5) זימן יו"ר ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות, הקונגרסמן אובי את חברי הו-=- הדמוקרטים לישיבת הכנה לקראת ה- MARK-UP (הכנת החוק), המתוכנן ליום ד' הבא ה-26/5.

2. להלן עיקרי הישיבה:

אובי פתח הישיבה בהצגת תמונה שחורה ואמר כי יש צורך לקצץ ב-1 ביליון דולר מסך תקציב הסיוע 'מאחר ואנו פוטרם את ישראל ומצרים'. לאחר מכן מנה את כל הפרוייקטים (אחד לאחד) שיהיה צורך לקצץ אם 'נגן על ישראל ומצרים' וכל זאת, עדיין לללא הסיוע לרוסיה. הממשל הציע שניקח 1 ביליון דולר מתקציב ההגנה והמודיעין אולם יו"ר ועדת המשנה לתקציב הפנטגון, הקונגרסמן מורת'ה הביע התנגדותו. אובי ממשיך בדבריו:

'THAT IS WHY I TALKED TO RABIN AND SUGGESTED WE NEED TO GO TO THE FLOOR WITH VOLUNTARY CUT FROM ISRAEL AND EGYPT. IF RABIN DOESN'T ASK FOR IT HIMSELF, HE'S GOING TO GET IT FROM AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUT FLOOR AMENDMENT. 'A FLOOR AMDT WILL PASS BECAUSE THE PRESS IS GOING TO SCREAM ABOUT ISRAEL BEING EXEMPT AND THAT WILL STIR UP OUR CONSTITUENTS AND IT WILL PASS.

'I AM GOING TO GET 1.8 DOLLAR FOR RUSSIA IF I HAVE TO ELIMINATE EVERY OTHER ITEM IN THIS BILL.'

THEN LOWEY SAYS: 'THE AID TO ISRAEL IS BIGGER THAN YOU OR ME OR THIS COMMITTEE, DAVID. IT'S ABOUT THE PEACE PROCESS AND I'M FOR AID TO RUSSIA, BUT THIS IS JUST AS IMPORTANT.'

OBEY: 'I AGREE. WE NEED BOTH.'

23/5

עד כאן.

אובי שוב מנסה להלך אימים על הועדה אולם לא נראה שיוכל לגרום לקיצוץ כלשהו בועדה. הבעיה היחידה בפניה אנו כן עלולים לעמוד היא כפי שאומר אובי-תיקון לקיצוץ - ACROSS THE BOARD (שלא יהיה ביוזמתו) במליאת ביהנ"ב.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

יש

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 28387

אל: רהמש/1022

מ-: ווש, נר: 2097, תא: 200593, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: רה'מ, שה'ח, ס/שה'ח, מנכ'ל, ממנכ'ל

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: ביהנ'ב חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות

1. אתמול (19/5) זימן יו"ר ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות, הקונגרסמן אובי את חברי הו-=- הדמוקרטים לישיבת הכנה לקראת ה- MARK-UP (הכנת החוק), המתוכנן ליום ד' הבא ה-26/5.

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'THAT IS WHY I TALKED TO RABIN AND SUGGESTED WE NEED TO GO TO THE FLOOR WITH VOLUNTARY CUT FROM ISRAEL AND EGYPT. IF RABIN DOESN'T ASK FOR IT HIMSELF , HE'S GOING TO GET IT FROM AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD CUT FLOOR AMENDMENT. 'A FLOOR AMDT WILL PASS BECAUSE THE PRESS IS GOING TO SCREAM ABOUT ISRAEL BEING EXEMPT AND THAT WILL STIR UP OUR CONSTITUENTS AND IT WILL PASS.

'I AM GOING TO GET 1.8 DOLLAR FOR RUSSIA IF I HAVE TO ELIMINATE EVERY OTHER ITEM IN THIS BILL. '

THEN LOWEY SAYS: 'THE AID TO ISRAEL IS BIGGER THAN YOU OR ME OR THIS COMMITTEE, DAVID. IT'S ABOUT THE PEACE PROCESS AND I'M FOR AID TO RUSSIA, BUT THIS IS JUST AS IMPORTANT. '

OBEY: 'I AGREE. WE NEED BOTH. '

עד כאן .

אובי שוב מנסה להלך אימים על הועדה אולם לא נראה שיוכל לגרום לקיצוץ כלשהו בועדה. הבעיה היחידה בפניה אנו כן עלולים לעמוד היא כפי שאומר אובי-תיקון לקיצוץ - ACROSS THE BOARD (שלא יהיה ביוזמתו) במליאת ביהנ'ב.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

יש

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 27450

אל: רהמש/985

מ-: ווש, נר: 2092, תא: 200593, זח: 1000, זח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

Handwritten in red:
118.7
23.5

אל : פרן - משהח

מקשח - משהבט

אמן - מנמת

לשכות/ענף 30 - סאל ערן לרמן, זימ'ר יח' 1049/מר עוזי ארד

מאת : ערן לרמן

הנדון: שיחה עם גארי סיימור (אחראי לנושא תפוצה גרעינית במזהת דרום אסיה ומזרח אסיה במסגרת המחלקה הפוליטית-צבאית במשה'ח, 19 מאי 93).

כללי

1. סיימור, מכר ותיק, משמש כעת בתפקיד בכיר במסגרת המחלקה הפוליטית-צבאית במתכונתה המורחבת (אם הבנתי נכונה, פרד א אכסלגארד כפוף לו כעת). שירת בעבר במשרדו של השגריר קנדי - לענייני מניעת תפוצה - אלא שזה 'נבלע' עי ה-PM. לדעתו, השינויים הארגוניים שטרם הושלמו, יוצרים עומס עצום על גלוצ'י ומקשים על העבודה (בפתח חדרו - קריקטורה שבה מדווח כי שהח כריסטופר הכריז על כל משהח כ-מחלקה פוליטית/צבאית').

בינתיים, בנסיון להיות קוליגיאלי, כריסטופר משלים בשתיקה עם 'פשיטות' של משרד ההגנה על תחומי אחריותו, והממשל כולו מתנהל באורח מאולתר. לפחות לדעתו, הסוכנות לבק'נ ו-פר'נ (ACDA) לא תפורק אלא תמשיך 'להגרר' במצבה הנוכחי - וחבל, כי במסגרת משהח היא היתה יכולה לסייע במשימות חשובות כמו יישום ה-C.W.C.

נושאי מזהת - תהליך הבק'נ

הבנתי מדבריו שרוב עיסוקו כרגע הוא בנושא הקוריאני! והוא מותיר את המעקב השוטף אחר ק. העבודה לבטחון איזורי ו-בק'נ בידי אחרים. עם זאת:

א. היה בקי בהכנות לאירוע הביניים בקהיר - הסדנא בנושא אימות - וציין כי לדעתו, סבאא תסכים להיות מיוצגת תחת שלט של האום (אך בליקס לא יבוא, במקרה כזה, אלא ישלח את סגנו, מחמוד).

ב. גישש פעם אחת, במהלך השיחה, לגבי מידת נכונותה של ישראל להקפאת ייצורו של חומר בקיע, במסגרת הסדר גלובלי (ובהנחה, שלדבריו ממילא אינה ריאלית לשנים הקרובות, שכל X שכל יתר מדינות העולם יחתמו...). הודה ש'יוזמת בוש' בנושא זה מיולי 92 נשכחה מלב, כמעט מיד לאחר שפורסמה, ושהעדיפות חייבת להינתן לעבודה במסלול ה-מו'מ' ה-רבצ'ד, ולתהליך השלום

בכללותו.

איראן

סיימור אינו 'נלהב' ממידת אמינותן של הערכות המודיעין האמריקניות לגבי המאמץ הגרעיני ה-איראני, ולתפיסתו יש בהן מידה של זהירות יתר ('מי שנכווה ברותחין' - עיראק - 'נכווה בצוננין'), ושל נטיה להפרזה בחומרת האיום. מבלי להקל ראש באשר לכוונותיהם של האיראנים יכולתם, לדעתו, עדיין מוגבלת: ונסיונות אמריקנים להזעיק בנושא זה את בעלות הברית, על בסיס טענות מודיעיניות שאינן נתפסות בעיניהן של אלו כאמינות, מביאים לעיתים יותר נזק מתועלת.

נראה לי שאינו סבור שתחנות הכוח הרוסיות יוקמו בפועל בטווח הזמן הקרוב והבינוני, וגם אם ייבנו, אין הן מובילות במישרין ליכולת גרעינית צבאית. הוא עדיין שותף לדעה שפרשת 'הטילים מקזחסטאן' פוברקה עי רוסים לאומניים, וכמו כן, מוצף במכתבים ומסרים מן ה-מג'אהדין בווינגטון לגבי הפעילות האיראנית (רשמית, אסור לו להפגש עם נציגיהם).

התמונה המצטיירת לו היא של פולמוס ב-איראן בין אלו החוששים מהשקעת סרק בנשק גרעיני (שסופה להעלות את חמתם של האמריקנים), לבין אלו המצדדים בפיתוחו. אמרוללהי עצמו נמנה על האחרונים - אם כי נראה שהוא פעיל ובונה בסיס כוח-ומסלול להתעשרות מהירה - לעצמו, משפחתו ובני חמולתו.

בהקשר זה, ביקורת סבאא באתר (קזוין?) של הועדה לאנרגיה אטומית האיראנית עוררה חשש מפיקוח מערבי הדוק מדי - ולכן, הסתייגויות ברמה המקומית, מפעילות 'הועדה'. ביקורת זו התבצעה על בסיס מידע מודיעיני מערבי, ודיווחי המג'אהדין: בניגוד לקוריאנים, האיראנים הסכימו לכך.

צפון קוריאה

כאמור, נושא זה גוזל את מירב זמנו (מצאתיו מתאם מסמך בנושא זה יחד עם מחלקת אסיה במשהח, שיוכל לשמש את רמח אסיה, ווינסטון לורד, בשיחותיו בסנגפור). עם אימוצה של החלטת מועביט 825, המותירה פתח למו'מ' - אך גם מאיימת בסנקציות - החל השלב הקריטי במגעים: הצפון קוריאנים השתכנעו, לפחות, שארהב אכן מעוניינת במגעים ובפתרון, ולא רק ב'מחריחת' זמן עד להחלטה הבאה במועביט.

קשה להם לפענח את הנעשה בפיונג'אנג, אך ממספר רמזים הם מסיקים שניהול המשבר הנוכחי הוא מבחן קריטי ראשון בזירה הבינל עבור בנו ויורשו המיועד של קים איז-סונג, קים ג'ונג איל. הוא הוביל להחלטה על הפרישה מן ה-N.P.T, וכעת הוא נבחן. אם יצליח להשיג תוצאות כלשהן מן המערב, ייזקף הדבר לזכותו, אם המשבר יחריף עד כדי עימות ושימוש בכוח, יפגע הדבר ביוקרתו ומעמדו.

כיוון שלארהב אין תכניות נסתרות להביא לערעור המשטר הקיים בצפון קוריאה (האמריקנים, והדרום קוריאנים, מניחים שהצפון 'ייפול לבד' כפי שאירע באירופה, גם בלי חתרנות מצידם) הרי שהמשבר הנוכחי מקנה לאמריקנים גמישות ומרחב תמרון: קים ג'ונג איל הוא הזקוק להם כעת.

במגמה לנצל יתרון זה, כוננו האמריקנים ערוץ מגע ישיר, באמצעות המזכיר השני בשגרירותם ב-בייג'ינג. בערוץ מועברים מסרים רשמיים בלבד, ללא שיחה או חילופי דברים. הסינים סייעו רבות בהסדרת הנושא: עם עצמם מבינים,

שגירעון צפון קוריאה יוביל למעשי איבה חמורים בסביבתם הקרובה, ו/או לתופעה מקבילה מצד יפן - שני 'תסריטים' שאינם נלהבים מהם.

במשא ומתן עצמו, מציבים האמריקנים לצפון קוריאנים שתי דרישות מחמירות: ויתור על המהלך, חזרה לחיק ה-N.P.T, וחידוש הסדרי הפיקוח הביטורליים שנקבעו בין צפון לדרום. רק אם תיעננה דרישות אלה, תהיה ארהב מוכנה 'לותר' על תרגילי TEAM SPIRIT (למעשה, לארגן אותם מחדש תחת שם אחר...) ולנקוט מחוות נוספות כלפי פיונג'אנג.

בינתיים, ממשיכים גם בלחץ, בהמשך ל-825, בודקים גם אפשרות להחלטה על סנקציות של מועביט, תוך גיוס אותן מדינות העשויות לסייע בנושא זה. בכל הנוגע לאופציה הצבאית. אין איש הלהוט לשימוש בכוח (בייחוד לא הדרום קוריאנים, המצפים ממילא לאיחוד מלא תוך שנים ספורות והנושא הגרעיני אינו מטריד אותם במיוחד...). עם זאת, תגובות אגרסיביות מצד הצפון (טרור, ריכוזי כוחות בגבול) עשויים לגרום להדרדרות, ואז ארהב בודאי תקפוץ על ההזדמנות...

המו'מ' עם הצפוניים, בכל מקרה, מתנהל בנושאי גרעין בלבד - והממשל אף טרח להבהיר להם זאת, באפיקי המגע. נושאים אחרים - ייצוא טקק מעורבות בטרור - יועלו לאחר שנושא זה יבוא על פתרונו (והצפון קוריאנים מבינים שזה מה שיקרה).

הצפון קוריאנים, מצידם, באורח בלתי רשמי (בניסוחו של סיימור, אלו הם 'מסוג הדברים שאפשר לשמוע מ-קים ג'ונג איל אם שזה שתי בירות יותר מדי'...) רומזים שבנושא ה-טקק, להבדיל מסוגיית הגרעין שיקוליהם הם מסחריים לחלוטין, ואם יישלמו להם כראוי - כמה מאות מיליוני דולרים - יהיו (במרומז ובמשתמע) מוכנים לוותר על ייצוא הטילים.

בכל מקרה, לדבריו, ישראל אינה היחידה המודאגת מנושא ה-טקק. בעבר, כאשר צפון קוריאה עסקה ב-'סקאד' לסוגיו, מעטים ראו בכך איום, אך כיום, הטווחים המיוחסים ל-'וו-דונג' מעוררים חרדה, ותחושת דחיפות, גם ב-יפן. סיימור לא דחה על הסף רעיון ש-'נזרק' על דרך ההלצה - ש-יפן תהיה זו שתשלם, מעודפי סחר החוץ שלה (כ 300 מיליון דולר ליום) למניעת תפוצתו של הטיל...

שאלתי אם ניתן יהיה, מבחינתם, לפחות לאותת לצפון-קוריאנים שיעכבו וימתינו בנושא עסקות טקק עם המזתה, עד שיתבהר המצב במסלול הגרעיני. נראה שרשם לפניו את הנקודה.

האמריקנים מודעים היטב לכך שמדינות כמו איראן ו-אוקראינה עוקבות אחר ההתפתחויות המשבר עם צפון קוריאה ושתוצאותיו ישפיעו מאד גם על התנהגותן.

בתום שיחתנו נתקלנו במסדרונות באנשי משלחת ה-בקן המצרית. סיימור, ברוח בדוחה, ציין בין היתר שמטרת מאמציו מול קוריאה היא להוכיח (לערבים...) שלא כדאי לפרוש מן ה-N.P.T. נביל פהמי ענה במעין הלצה, כי הערבים צריכים רק לחכות עד 1995 - ואז (אחרי ה-REVIEW CONFERENCE?) 'כבר לא תהיה N.P.T.', אלא אם תשתנה עמדת ישראל.

עד כאן.

לרמן

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, פרנ, מצפא, ר/מרכז,
ממד

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 27759

אל: רהמש/982

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 566, תא: 200593, זח: 1932, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 20 מאי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך מחלקת המדינה ליום 20/5/93

בתדרוך היום במחמ"ד, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב): -

ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב): -

CAMBODIA

ANGOLA

- יוגוסלביה (הועבר בנפרד למזא"ר 2).

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לענייננו: -

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING / BRIEFER: RICHARD BOUCHER

1:00 P.M., EDT / THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1993

Q OKAY, A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO PRAVDA RAN AN ARTICLE OR ARTICLES REVIVING THE NOTION THAT JEWS ENGAGE IN RITUAL MURDER. THIS IS THE SORT OF ALLEGATION THAT HISTORICALLY HAS TOUCHED OFF BLOODY POGROMS IN RUSSIA, IN THE UKRAINE, AND EASTERN EUROPE GENERALLY. HAS STATE TALKED TO THE RUSSIANS ABOUT THIS? WHAT -- WHAT IS --

MR. BOUCHER: WE HAVE INDEED TALKED TO THE RUSSIANS ABOUT THIS, BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND IN MOSCOW. WE TALKED TO THEM ON THE 6TH AND THE 7TH OF MAY. FOR BACKGROUND, FOR THE REST OF YOU, THE JOURNAL NEWSPAPER PRAVDA ON MAY 5TH PRINTED AN ARTICLE THAT WAS

VIRULENTLY ANTI-SEMITIC. IT GAVE CURRENCY TO THE SO-CALLED BLOOD LIBEL CLAIM THAT JEWS COMMITTED RITUAL MURDERS, A CHARGE THAT WAS USED IN THE CZARIST PAST TO GENERATE ANTI-JEWISH POGROMS. IN AN APPARENT ATTEMPT TO EMBARRASS THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, THE PRAVDA STORY ALSO LINKED THE MURDERS OF THREE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX PRIESTS TO ONGOING EFFORTS BY THE AMERICAN LUBAVITCH JEWISH COMMUNITY AND THE US GOVERNMENT TO GAIN THE RELEASE OF THE SCHNEERSON LIBRARY, A COLLECTION OF 12,000 RELIGIOUS TEXTS SEIZED BY THE BOLSHEVIKS IN 1917. WE HAVE FIRMLY SUPPORTED THE EFFORTS OF THE LUBAVITCH COMMUNITY TO REGAIN CUSTODY OF THESE BOOKS.

NOW, PRAVDA IS NO LONGER THE OFFICIAL PRESS ORGAN OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, BUT IT IS A WIDELY CIRCULATED NEWSPAPER, AND WE ARE THEREFORE CONCERNED THAT ARTICLES SUCH AS THIS THREATEN THE SPIRIT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE IN RUSSIA. BUT WE'RE ALSO ENCOURAGED BY THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY'S STATEMENT ON MAY 14TH THAT DENOUNCED THE ARTICLE. IN THAT STATEMENT, THE RUSSIAN MINISTRY NOTED THAT THE ARTICLE IS, QUOTE, "DESTRUCTIVE IN ITS MANNER, AND FACILITATES THE INFLAMMATION OF NATIONALIST AND RELIGIOUS DISSENSION," UNQUOTE. THE STATEMENT FURTHER SAID THAT THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, QUOTE, "TAKES ALL THE NECESSARY MEASURES FOR THE EFFECTIVE GUARANTEE OF THE RIGHTS OF RUSSIAN CITIZENS, REGARDLESS OF THEIR NATIONALITY OR RELIGION," UNQUOTE.

THAT'S THE RUNDOWN ON THAT.

Q RICHARD, CAN I COME BACK JUST TO CLARIFY YOUR ANSWER TO BARRY ON THIS ANTI-SEMITIC ARTICLE IN PRAVDA? YOU SAY YOU TALKED ON MAY 6TH AND 7TH. COULD YOU SAY WHO -- WHO SPOKE AND -- AND WHERE?

MR. BOUCHER: I DON'T -- WE -- I THINK I SAID ALSO WE DID IT BOTH IN DC AND IN MOSCOW: IN DC ON MAY 5TH, AND -- IT WAS 6 AND 7, OR 5 AND 6?

Q FIVE WAS THE ARTICLE --

MR. BOUCHER: OKAY.

Q -- SIX AND SEVEN WERE THE SPEAKING.

MR. BOUCHER: YEAH. FIVE WAS THE ARTICLE. WE TALKED TO THEM IN WASHINGTON 6TH AND IN MOSCOW ON THE 7TH -- WITH EMBASSIES.

Q DID IT INVOLVE THE SECRETARY WITHIN NORMAL --

MR. BOUCHER: IT WAS WITH EMBASSIES, YES.

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
רביב, מעת, הסברה, גוברין, מזאר1, תפוצות

סססס

1/2

1175

124

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 19 מאי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

23.5

הנדון: ארה"ב - ישראל

מצ"ב כתבת ה-ARMED FORCE JOURNAL (סקוטי פיישר - מאי '93) בנושא יחסי ארה"ב - ישראל. פיישר טוען כי יחסי ישראל - ארה"ב עומדים בפני תקופה מבטיחה - זאת בעקבות היחסים הטובים בין הנשיא קלינטון ורוה"מ רבין - יחסים אשר באו לידי ביטוי בביקור רוה"מ רבין בווינגטון בחודש מרץ. אם בעבר היוותה ישראל מגן לארה"ב בפני הקומוניזם הרי שכיום הברית בין שתי המדינות מתמקדת במיגור הפונדמנטליזם האיסלמי באזור ובאיום העירקי והאיראני. עוד בכתבה על כוונת ארה"ב לערוב לבטחון ישראל בתמורה לויתורים של ישראל במו"מ לשלום - דבר אשר יביא עימו נוכחות אמריקנית מוגברת באזור.

2	1	1	1	1	2	1
עיה	יהא	סלחה	מנח	מנח	מצפא	רקיה
1	1	1	1	1	2	1
1	2	1	1	4	1	4
מנח	הססיה	המכ	מנח	מנח	מנח	מנח

תקשורת

22

2/2

CLINTON-RABIN SUMMIT SPARKS HOPE FOR "PROMISING NEW ERA" IN US-ISRAEL RELATIONS

Scotty Fisher

Israelis are pinning their hopes on what is seen as an evolving new relationship between US President Bill Clinton and Israeli Prime and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin, following Rabin's March summit in Washington with Clinton. Some domestic experts have recently gone so far as to characterize the relationship as the beginning of a "promising new era" for both countries, particularly in the aftermath of the downturn experienced in 1990-1991 between former US President George Bush and Rabin's right-winged predecessor Yitzhak Shamir.

But those who see the relationship between the two countries significantly improving realize it has yet to generate tangible results. Moreover, such benefits will, in any event, be heavily dependent on progress in the Arab-Israeli peace process, and are likely to be constrained by US defense budget cuts. During Rabin's March visit in Washington, the talks primarily focused on redefining the parameters of the evolving partnership between the two countries, although the formulation of new formal agreements was not on the agenda.

In the past, democratic Israel served as a regional bulwark against communism for the US, but the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union have drastically altered the current Mideast reality. Now issues such as the rise and spread of Islamic fundamentalism and the increasing military threat posed by Iran and Iraq dominate the new delineations of the US-Israel alliance.

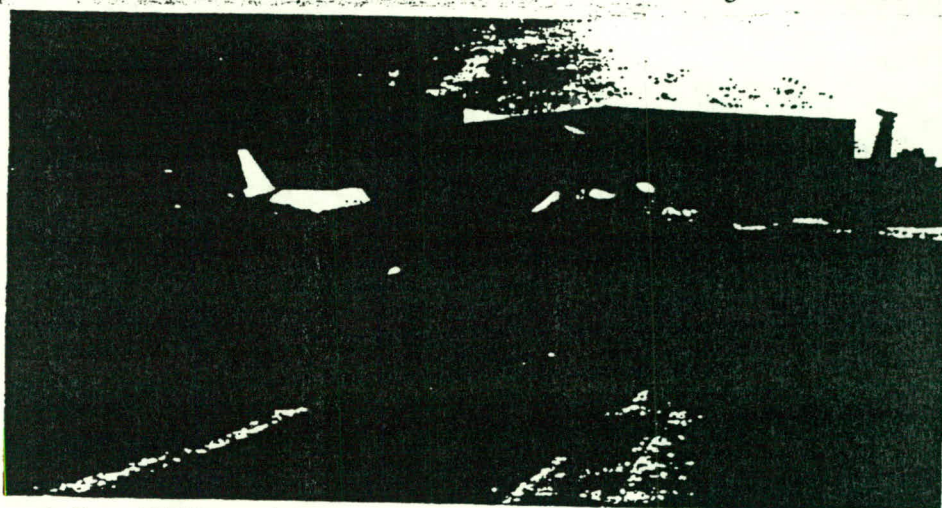
Recently, the US administration has begun to signal its willingness to further embrace Israel as a "strategic ally" in return for a clear showing of Israel's disposition towards progress in the Arab-Israeli peace talks. But it might very well be that the "progress" required, namely gradual but ultimately total withdrawal from the Golan Heights and most of the West Bank, is a price Rabin will not be able to afford, certainly in the short term. With a weakening coalition government and much recent internal terrorism aimed at Israeli civilians, Rabin will be hard pressed by his constituents to forgo his nation's "strategic depth" territories. But there are hints, according to some Israelis, about a US willingness to offer Israel formal security guarantees, and to contemplate a long-term force deployment on the Golan, to facili-

tate an Israeli decision to withdraw from these sites.

Moreover, the possibility of an increased American presence in the Mideast is a very enticing "carrot" for the Israeli government and defense establishment. Israeli defense experts contend that a US presence acts as a significant deterrent to regional Arab aggression and serves as a catalyst for the

to be completed by 1994. Reportedly, during 1992, 30,000 US naval personnel from 50 ships disembarked at Haifa's port.

But it's far from clear sailing for expanded US-Israel defense activities. There is already some US opposition to the plan for Haifa port expansion, and American defense industry antagonism is mounting over increased funding of defense R&D



The first pair of US Air Force F-15 Eagles to undergo Periodic Depot Maintenance at Israel Aircraft Industries returned to their base in Germany in March. Work on the F-15s was done under a contract with a potential value of \$60-million over five years.

Mideast peace process. Thus, Israeli officials are pushing for the continued increase of existing diverse US-Israeli military cooperation, which is equally beneficial to the US. The cooperation includes military training exercises (Mar AF/ID), joint R&D, positioning vast stockpiles of US military equipment in Israeli warehouses, and joint emergency coordination plans.

Home in Haifa?

So far, Rabin has refused to allow the permanent presence of US troops on Israeli soil, but much effort is being invested in other ideas, particularly the proposed conversion of Haifa port into the US Navy Sixth Fleet's official regional "home." In March, US Navy officials visited Haifa to determine whether the port and Israel Shipyard (situated therein) can be retrofitted to service the fleet's aircraft carriers. Currently, state-owned Israel Shipyard provides services to the fleet's helicopter carriers and vessels weighing under 44,000 tons at a cost of about \$8-million per year. Concurrently, the port is undergoing a US-funded, \$15-million expansion scheduled

and other projects in Israel. Concern also has been expressed by US officials regarding the "dangers" involved in technology transfers to Israel, particularly over potential diversions to other countries.

Major sticking points already exist in regard to current Israeli defense technology needs. Foreign press sources recently reported that Israel is seriously considering equipping its new generation of US fighter aircraft, either F-16 or F-18 lighters, with an Israeli radar rather than an American system. The United States' refusal to grant the Israel Air Force (IAF) access to radar software impairs its ability to take full advantage of the system's capabilities. Thus, IAF officials are seriously weighing the option of installing in the aircraft an indigenous radar system originally developed by Israel Aircraft Industries' Elta subsidiary for the aborted Israeli Lavi jet fighter. US manufacturers of the F-16 and F-18 are intensely competing for the Israeli Air Force's \$2-billion procurement contract, which is expected to be awarded by the end of this year. ■

Left
Israeli Defense Minister
Yitzhak Rabin
Right
President Bill Clinton



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תאריך: 19 מאי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - מזה"ת

מצ"ב כתבת ה-MIDDLE EAST INSIGHT (סטיבן שפיגל מרץ - אפריל '93) בנושא
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The New Era in U.S. Middle East Policy

The Clinton Administration Has Several Dilemmas and Challenges...And the Stakes Are High

By Steven Spiegel

"Dateline: March 22, 1974. Amman, Jordan. President Nixon arrived tonight for a meeting of the Middle East Cooperation Council. This semi-annual gathering is being attended by several key leaders of the area, including Israel's Golda Meir, Egypt's Anwar Sadat, Syria's Hafez al-Asad, and of course the host, King Hussein of Jordan. Upon arrival, Nixon announced that he was grateful to have been invited by Middle East leaders to address their gathering on important topics relating to common goals of security and parallel interest in resolving political instability and economic inequality."

Of course, this meeting could never have occurred in 1974 because of Arab hostility toward Israel which was fueled by the support provided by the Soviet Union to radical forces in the region. One impact of the Cold War was to reinforce Arab confidence that they would ultimately emerge victorious. The Arabs were encouraged: Israel could never completely win any conflict in the region because the Soviets supported the Arab states. Similarly, the insecurity of the Israelis was intensified by the frustration of never being able to achieve total victory... or total peace.

On the other hand, while the Cold War prevented total peace, it also limited the possibility of total war: neither superpower would allow its client to be completely defeated. Thus—as the United States demonstrated in its unprecedented airlift to Israel in 1973—it would take extraordinary steps to protect the Jewish state. Likewise (as it showed in its threats to the United States to protect Egypt's Third Army in 1973 and in its repeated confrontations with Israel), the Soviet Union would protect the Arabs from utter and complete humiliation. The Middle East remained stuck in paradox: with each party protected from defeat, the area was doomed to constant war.

Now, with the end of the Cold War, the system that fed these extremes is

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gone. On the one hand, the possibility of genuine and widespread peace with several Arab states has emerged. On the other hand, the danger of total insecurity caused by the spread of mass-destruction weaponry has raised hitherto unimagined dangers. For the Arab states, the end of the Cold War has brought the end of Soviet guarantees and protection. Simply put, the Arab cause no longer has a superpower that will guarantee protection from defeat. In addition, the Arab world has now partaken of its most bitter and deepest internecine conflict in modern times: the Persian Gulf War. In this case, a war occurred which participants and pundits alike believed impossible—one Arab coalition joined with Western states in military action against another Arab party.

Shaken Arab Assumptions

The twin shocks caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf War have shaken Arab assumptions to the core. (After all, it was Israel's patron that won the Cold War.) In addition, Israel is no longer an isolated state. It has contacts throughout the world and diplomatic relations with most countries. Its technical expertise and political clout is welcomed from Latin America to the republics of the former Soviet Union. With all its economic problems, integration into the world community continues. The Arab world, on the other hand, is politically divided, economically declining, and militarily weak.

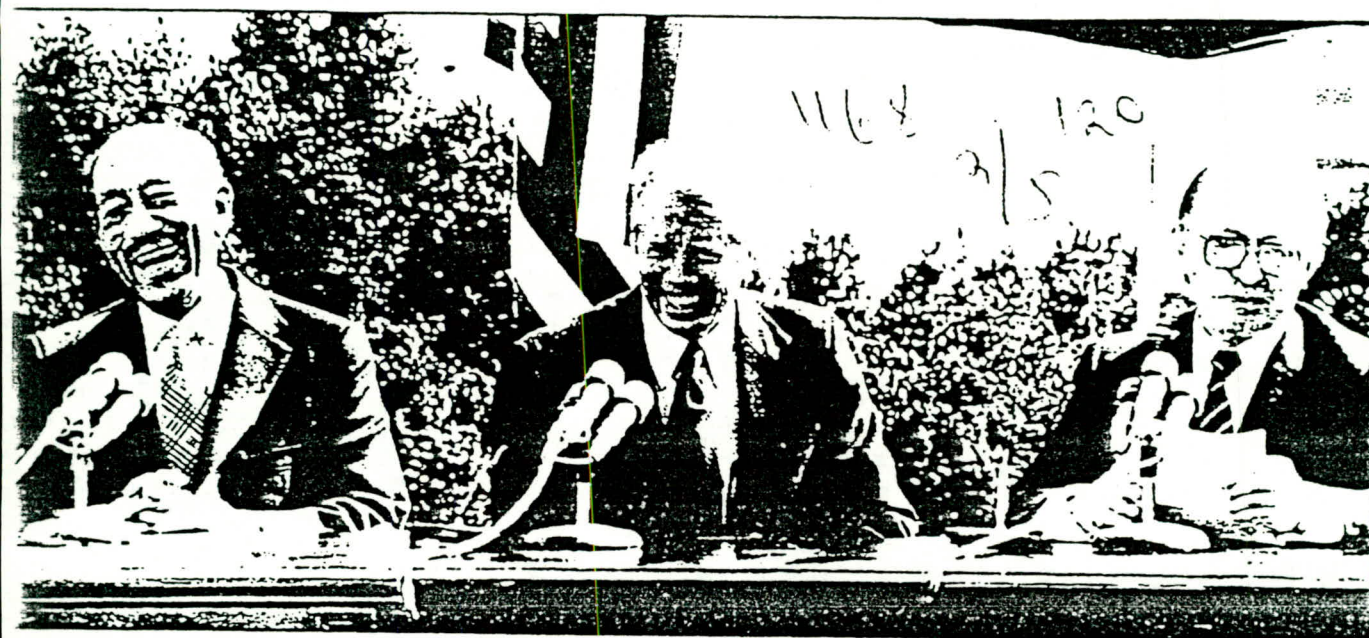
Even the peace process begun in Madrid has not gone according to

Arab plan. While several Arab participants joined because they expected accelerating tension between the Shamir and Bush governments, a new, more flexible government has emerged in Israel and a new American administration has come to office committed to stronger U.S.-Israeli ties. Meanwhile, as poverty and frustration rise everywhere, Islamic fundamentalism endangers all of the region's major regimes.

For Israel, the short-term scene is less bleak. It has broken its decades of isolation. The end of the Cold War has brought new immigrants from East Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Ethiopia. The country no longer faces a superpower adversary. In addition, a new government came to power last June committed to a more flexible diplomatic stance on the peace process, to territorial compromise, and to an expansive policy of economic growth and movement toward a freer market. This policy is intended to permit an increase in job prospects for newly arrived immigrants and for young people entering the job market, thereby allowing Israel to fulfill its historic Zionist mission.

Despite these high hopes, no new diplomatic or economic breakthroughs have been achieved. While a peace process has now begun with several Arab states, these talks were begun by a Likud government now led by more dynamic leadership.

Thus for Israel too, serious problems still remain. The dangers of Islamic fundamentalism threaten to torpedo the promising peace process begun in October 1991. In addition,



Sadat, Carter and Begin: Diplomacy in an era when treaties were a result of personal contacts

he process itself has been slowed by Israeli and American elections, unexpected conflicts such as the deportee controversy, and the growing use of violence by the Palestinians against innocent civilians. Looming over the more positive developments of recent years is the increasing danger of the proliferation of unconventional weapons which could again threaten Israel's existence—especially if Iran develops a nuclear force.

For Arabs and Israelis, the end of the Cold War has brought the possibility of peace between them closer than ever before in history. Yet it has also increased the danger of insecurity symbolized by the proliferation of unconventional weaponry and the breakup of the USSR. The Soviet collapse has left huge stocks of weaponry available amidst poverty and frustration in its wake. As a result, the prospect of radical or fundamentalist regimes being armed in the Middle East with surplus Russian arms is as chilling as the new potential for peace is inspiring.

Common Interests

Arabs and Israelis both face fundamental common interests not present before. The Middle East is no longer pivotal to world politics and the danger of being bypassed in the new era of

trade blocs is ever-present. If the post-Cold War world is to center on North American, European and East Asian trade networks, what role can the Middle East play? How long can the region as a whole rely on oil to retain its significance, especially given an industrialized world progressively oriented to new forms of energy use in an environmentally sensitive era?

The Middle East is noted for its ability to adapt to changing conditions, an ability honed by centuries of conflicts. This reputation for maneuverability has been encouraged by invasions and inter-regional conflict. The Arabs and Israelis adapted superbly to the military-oriented mores of the Cold War. The question is, can they adapt to the economically-oriented rules of the post-Cold War era?

The fledgling new American administration, the first to come to power in the post-Cold War era, faces a Middle East in a new context. On the one hand, Americans and their government are readjusting themselves to the rules of the new era and its concentration on economics, competitiveness, and an attempt to revive the American economic and social infrastructure. This new orientation to domestic problems means that a continued American involvement in the region is no longer guaranteed.

Nonetheless, a variety of pressures continue to attract American attention to the region. Oil remains a fundamental economic interest. In an era oriented to economic concerns, sensitivity to economic and financial dislocations caused by increased conflict in the area cannot be ignored.

In addition to those economic concerns that draw U.S. attention to the area, there is also an identification with the region's religious history. The Holy Land is critical to Christians and Jews alike, and Americans have been fascinated with the peoples of the region and its religious significance.

The potential for Arab-Israeli peace is also particularly attractive to Americans because successive U.S. governments, with the support of public opinion, have been engaged in the area's peace process. Since the prospects of consummating deals have now emerged, few Americans interested in foreign affairs can resist the temptation to complete the task.

A further factor reinforcing American engagement is the astonishing consensus in the region. All parties seek American involvement to facilitate communication and to provide the ideas which may bridge the gaps that divide them in the peace process. The months of stalling in late 1992 only resulted in growing tensions epitomized by the deportee crisis.

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A New American Role

These events reinforced the significance of the American role, and Bill Clinton made it clear that he would be fully engaged in the peace process—for the stakes were too high to leave the parties to their own devices.

Having decided to become involved, the questions of who and how remain. Many administrations have allowed Arab-Israeli negotiations to become so prominent a part of their foreign policy that key players became overwhelmed by the issue. It is arguable, for example, that Jimmy

1168
devote just the *right* amount of time without leaving the Arab-Israeli dispute to become a victim of inattention.

Fortunately, the Clinton administration seems to have resolved this problem by the appointment of an effective mix of officials reappointed from the Bush era and a new group of talented specialists who have arrived with the new president. The new secretary of state's successful visit to the region in February demonstrates that the new team at the National Security Council and the State Department have the potential of working with

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tial voyage into Mideast diplomacy.

If the Clinton administration appears well on its way to solving the "who," it also has moved in the direction of solving the problem of "how." The United States today faces three basic approaches for engagement in the peace process: passive; activist; facilitator.

It is the facilitation role—or what has been called "full partner" by some and "honest broker" by others—which appears to offer the best chance for a positive American contribution. This is an in-between



Reagan, Shamir and Shultz: Defending Israel was a function of the U.S.-USSR Cold War conflict

Carter was so preoccupied with Arab-Israeli negotiations during his first two years that he set an unfortunate precedent implying that agreements could only result from presidential intervention. During the Bush years, the focus of the president and secretary of state on Arab-Israeli negotiations, despite continuing conflicts elsewhere, produced the Madrid talks and the dialogues that followed. However, their attention came at the expense of adjustment to new conditions of the post-Cold War era.

The problem which confronts the Clinton administration then is a "Goldilocks" dilemma: how to become involved at just the *right* level of the American government and to

remarkable effectiveness. The emphasis on "team effort" offers the prospect of overriding the mistakes of the past when American policymaking suffered from the intense engagement of particular figures (e.g. Kissinger, Carter, or Baker) or the tendency to distance itself from the peace process (as occurred during periods of the Reagan era). With a world of competing crises the Arab-Israeli peace process cannot claim the single-minded attention of leading American officials.

The team solution is a viable answer to the problem of apportioning officials' time: it allows the secretary of state the opportunity to play the role of key figure at critical moments—as he obviously did effectively on his ini-

position: the United States does not take major initiatives but offers advice and suggestions behind the scenes to resolve continuing disputes. It facilitates agreements by making it easier for both sides to accept neutral American ideas rather than the positions of their adversaries. Because of the fact that Arabs and Israelis are finally talking to one another, the major problem that confronts American policy is the timing of suggestions, the degree of "facilitation" required, and the specific tactics to be employed on a month-to-month basis.

Close Coordination

The Clinton administration under-

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ands that only through close coordination with Israel can the peace process succeed. Unlike its predecessor, this administration has comprehended the lessons of history. When American-Israeli dissension prevails, peace talks fail as false hopes are created for Arabs and growing fears for Israel. This has been the major innovation to Middle East policy by the Clinton camp in its early days, and it is a crucial one. Coordination between the United States and Israel also serves to remind the Arab parties that time is not necessarily working on their side. Not only is fundamentalism growing, but the failure of the current Israeli government would result in a tougher administration under a revived Likud party.

The basic problems which Israel confronts with each of its neighbors appear resolvable for the first time. Agreements could be reached with Jordan, Lebanon, and even Syria. But the vexing Palestinian problem remains. The current Israeli government is prepared to offer an autonomy agreement that will allow the Palestinians to demonstrate that they can live in peace alongside Israel during a transition period. If the Palestinians, riven by dissension and violence, have failed to take advantage of the flexibility of the new Israeli government, the increasing power of Hamas has further weakened their negotiating team. Yet without an agreement, the power of the negotiators and the PLO-backers will continue to decline.

For its part the PLO can only appear as a viable participant if it backs the autonomy plan, delays its aim for a state, and moves demonstratively to take whatever action it can to end the violence against individual Israelis. If history is any indicator, Yassar Arafat will choose to pursue Palestinian unity instead of a possibility of a breakthrough. Israel desperately seeks a way out of Gaza and its moderate government craves an autonomy agreement, but its flexibility creates controversy at home and it cannot determine what the PLO can offer. Yet the Palestinian question remains the

major impediment to widespread agreement. The Israelis cannot ignore the issue because to do so risks miring their country in endless violence.

The Syrians, Israelis, and Palestinians are thus left in an odd triangle. If Israel deals alone with Syria, the Palestinians could be spoilers or left with no choice but to participate. Asad's reluctance to become another "Sadat" by making a separate peace reinforces the possibility that the Palestinians might well be able to block progress. Should the negotiations reverse themselves and were Israel to find itself dealing alone with the Palestinians, then Syria would be in a position to be left out—or be the spoiler. If Israel is engaged in serious discussions with both the Palestinians and the Syrians, then it would be in an unusual position of being wooed by two Arab players who could only overcome their plight by the unlikely resort to a common position.

The different scenarios for the progress of the talks suggest the essence for the American role as facilitator. The ability of engaged Americans to creatively sketch options for Arabs and Israelis may well determine whether or not these talks succeed. This involves a talent for spelling out the consequences of success and failure. It means that diplomacy must be mixed with prophecy in a way that enables Arabs and Israelis to face the consequences of their acts.

New Perils; New Opportunities

The stakes are high. The failure of the talks will lead to intensified political tensions in the region, the rise of fundamentalism, the acceleration of the local arms race and the increased possibility of mutual destruction. The survival of the peoples of the area depends on the success of the Madrid peace process.

On the other hand, the ability of the local parties to adjust to the new economics of the post-Cold War era offers hope for the resolution of the problems the talks confront. The Arab and Israeli participants in the negotiations both understand that their eco-

nomic and military security depends on a successful resolution of the current discussions. If the Middle East regimes are to compete, if they are to devise new economics, if they are to produce a new level of individual and regional economic cooperation, then they must resolve their current differences. Only economic progress will counter the problem of Islamic fundamentalism, Palestinian nihilism, and growing political instability.

The current Arab and Israeli regimes have proven that they are capable of carefully calculating their own interests. No one survives in this area without an ability to weigh costs and benefits carefully. The end of the Cold War, however, has sharpened the choices between new military and political dangers and new economic opportunities. No one understands this more clearly than the parties themselves, but American policy can provide a useful service by helping the parties to sharpen the alternative futures they confront and therefore the choices they must make today. In this sense, the multilateral talks may grow in importance as the process proceeds. While the bilateral efforts hold the prospects of short-term resolution, it is the multilateral dimension that can ensure the region's future.

The Middle East stands on the brink of new perils and new opportunities. The actions of the parties themselves will determine whether this new era is one of disaster or of prosperity. America can help make a difference by aiding the parties to understand the choices and to adjust to the rules of a new era. That role can be essential, but only the parties themselves can determine their future.

So we return to where we began. President Nixon did not meet with both Arab and Israeli leaders simultaneously. It is not clear whether President Clinton will have the opportunity. He may not meet with a Middle East Cooperation Council or even a summit of Arab and Israeli leaders, but it is progress to say that such a possibility is not *totally* inconceivable. ■

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The State Department official talks in a quiet voice, explaining to a reporter what on first hearing sounds like a bit of arcane political philosophy. "The previous two administrations had drawn a distinction between civil and political rights [on the one hand] and economic, social and cultural rights [on the other hand]." The Bush and Reagan administrations, he says, preferred to call the latter group mere "'goals' or 'objectives.'" The new administration, he goes on, "has decided to drop this distinction because it felt it was leading to needless sterile debate."

Sometimes bombshells sound like pin-drops, and this was one of those occasions. The administration's dry language reflects a fundamental change in the definition of rights that may well affect the way the U.S. conducts foreign and aid policy in areas as far-ranging as Tibet and Bosnia.

The U.S.—and much of the rest of the West—used to divide rights into two categories: fundamental ones, like the rights to freedom of religion, free speech and private property, and a second tier of lesser rights created through legislation. In in-

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ternational
venues—including
many airless
United Nations
meetings—the
U.S. insisted on
that difference.
The U.S. would
make that distinc-
tion every time
Third World coun-
tries argued, for example, that the North-
South divide between developed countries
and poorer ones meant that the North had
to fund the South to fulfill its "right to de-
velopment."

U.N. Piggy Bank

Lately, though, East and West both
have focused on the latter group, pushing
to strengthen collective rights, such as the
rights of ethnic minorities and of women,
and economic rights, such as the rights to
a minimum wage and to economic devel-
opment. At best, the U.S. decision to sign
onto the blurring of such differences
moves the U.N. toward becoming a virtual
piggy bank for underdeveloped nations.

At worst, it marks the beginning of a new
era of confusion over the term "right."
This could render the U.N. incapable of
sorting out the most basic human-rights
problems.

The Clinton administration, of course,
doesn't see it that way. The State Depart-
ment official says that dropping this dis-
tinction is a technical move that will clear
the way for tackling the world's real ills,
such as human-rights violations in China.
But "this strategy won't work," says John
Bolton, who recently departed as assistant
secretary of state for international organi-
zations. "And it won't help us to stop tor-

ture either. It just means that redistribu-
tionist claims for economic assistance are
going to come right back. Instead of de-
politicizing the U.N., all plans for depoliti-
cization will be disrupted."

To watch events on the foreign-policy
front these days is to watch the slow slide
toward international consensus on collec-
tive and economic rights. At the annual
U.N. Human Rights Commission meet-
ings in Geneva, the U.S. always opposed
development and economic rights. It was
often a lone voice in a body whose mem-
bership is dominated by nonaligned and
Third World fans of the notions. In Febru-

ary, though, the U.S. voting pattern
changed.

The U.S. joined with other commission
members in endorsing a resolution defin-
ing "the implementation of the right to de-
velopment." The resolution got right
down to the most important Third World
issue—money. It noted that since "ad-
verse effects of the debt burden on the de-
velopment process . . . continue to be un-
certain," it was time to call for "adjust-
ment programs on the effective enjoy-
ment of economic, social and cultural
rights of developing countries."

Bolder signs of a U.S. shift followed. In
an American "Draft Human Rights Action
Plan" prepared for an international con-
ference on human rights scheduled for Vi-
enna in June, the U.S. focuses on the kind
of collective rights it used to eschew. It de-
votes an entire section to women's rights,
pushing for "the integration of women's
issues into U.N. human rights programs."
There's nothing wrong, of course, with

fighting discrimination against women.
But many who back women's causes feel
that this new focus on special groups
opens a Pandora's Box, inviting all spe-
cial causes to stake their claims in U.N.
documents.

The U.S. also is backing the creation of
a U.N. High Commissioner on Human
Rights. This may well extend the U.N.'s
already voluminous bureaucracy—one so
misguided that it pursues an obsession
with Israel's Palestinian issue while re-
maining deadlocked over China. U.S. offi-
cials have even indicated lately that the
administration "is considering" a push

for Senate ratification of an international
agreement on the rights of the child and
other rights documents, including an In-
ternational Covenant on Economic, So-
cial, and Cultural Rights originally signed
by Jimmy Carter. The State Department
says that such legislative backing would
give these issues "greater standing" in
the world.

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"No, it would cause unprecedented frustration," says Morris Abram, a former permanent representative to the U.N. at Geneva. "Everyone ought to have a house, or a fine education. I'm all for that. But we can't possibly fulfill such commitments."

To measure the distance the U.S. has covered in making this shift, it helps to talk to people like Mr. Abram. Back in the 1960s, he helped Martin Luther King Jr. and Sr. battle segregation; in 1962 he argued the one-man, one-vote case before the Supreme Court.

Yet now Mr. Abram questions the creation of a High Commissioner for Human Rights. He also opposes elevating old goals into "rights." The blunt Southerner has his own reply to countries that mention the right to develop. "I ask them: 'Well, who the hell is stopping you?'"

The U.N. of course has always stood for the widest interpretation of the word "right." As early as 1948, the authors of the body's Universal Declaration of Human Rights—including Eleanor Roosevelt—called for everything from "the right to work" to "the right to rest and leisure." From the start, the Third World focused on these "extra" rights—and bat-

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ted for them. But the U.S. usually fought back. In any case, the deadlock between the superpowers meant that such struggles, while entertaining, scarcely mattered.

These days, the U.N.'s old redistributionist impulse is stronger than ever. At a luncheon with editors of this newspaper, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali cited fostering international recognition of the "North-South" divide as one of the U.N.'s biggest achievements. He also mentioned the environment—another topic popular with poorer countries that want the rich North to finance such luxuries as tougher emission controls in the Third World. And the secretary-general showed no sign of bucking the U.N.'s Third World-dominated membership. "These kinds of things are what they [the Third World] want," he also asked: "What do you want of me? I am a man with 180 bosses."

The Clinton administration clearly hasn't decided just how deeply it wants to enshrine collective rights. But its social bent means it is likely, in the words of the State Department official mentioned

above, to be "comfortable" with the explanation that the rights shift is made for social reasons. The U.N.'s Third Worlders may find support, too, from the American people. In the time since figures like Mr. Abram and Dr. King fought for them, "rights" have proliferated

in America. Shoppers in supermarkets have grown accustomed to seeing "Recyclers' Bill of Rights" over the bottle-return department.

Americans' new fondness for the notion of collective rights has shown up particularly strongly in the case of Yugoslavia. Systematic torture, systematic murder and other violations of individual liberty have been proceeding mass-scale for years in that war-torn country. "Bad things were happening—real time—and no one cared," says one frustrated diplomat. He and others found they had more

luck "selling" Yugoslavia when they couched tragedies there in terms of a collective-rights issue, the rape of women. Court Television, a cable station, aired Bosnians' trials of Serbian soldiers, and invited feminist attorney Catharine MacKinnon to explain all of Bosnia's problems in terms of one group.

Bogus Excuses

For the Clinton administration, the shift may well backfire. That's because many Third World countries would like to use the lever of "cultural rights" to explain away their human-rights abuses. Since Tiananmen Square and before, for example, China has made the argument that Western charges of Chinese human rights violations represented the Western imposition of its values on communist Chinese culture. "Many nations want to raise culture as an excuse for human-rights abuses," says Kenneth Roth, deputy director of the largest U.S.-based human-rights group, Human Rights Watch. They also seek an excuse to delink aid and human-rights considerations.

The confusion on policy was already evident at the preparatory meetings for the Vienna human rights conference. The "prepcoms" lasted weeks longer than intended; divisions were so profound that member countries could scarcely cobble together an agenda.

The result is that observers of all political backgrounds worry that problems like murder, torture or racial discrimination will be lost at Vienna in a political race to establish economic rights and rights of cultural differences. The conference will be the biggest human-rights summit in decades—the guest list includes Nelson Mandela and Jimmy Carter. But many human-rights organizations think the cultural-relativism debate may end up obscuring such real problems as Serbian concentration camps and forced abortions in China. "Mr. Roth of Human Rights Watch is one of those with doubts. 'Our main concern in Vienna,' he confesses, 'is avoiding setbacks.'"

GEORGIE ANNE GEYER

Midcast peace talks, Round 9

After the ninth version of what passes for Middle East peace talks closed here last week, Yossi Beilin, Israel's talented and reasonable deputy foreign minister, was ruminating with a small group of us about the bedevilment of these endless talks.

"If you ask me whether this ninth round has contributed something to the peace process, I would have to say 'No,'" said this attractive young diplomat. "Yet time is running, and it is running very fast. There has never been a better time for peace; the time is ripe — I would almost say that even the solutions are known to all of us."

"But somehow — and this is what is so difficult to get at — we're not getting to it." He shook his head.

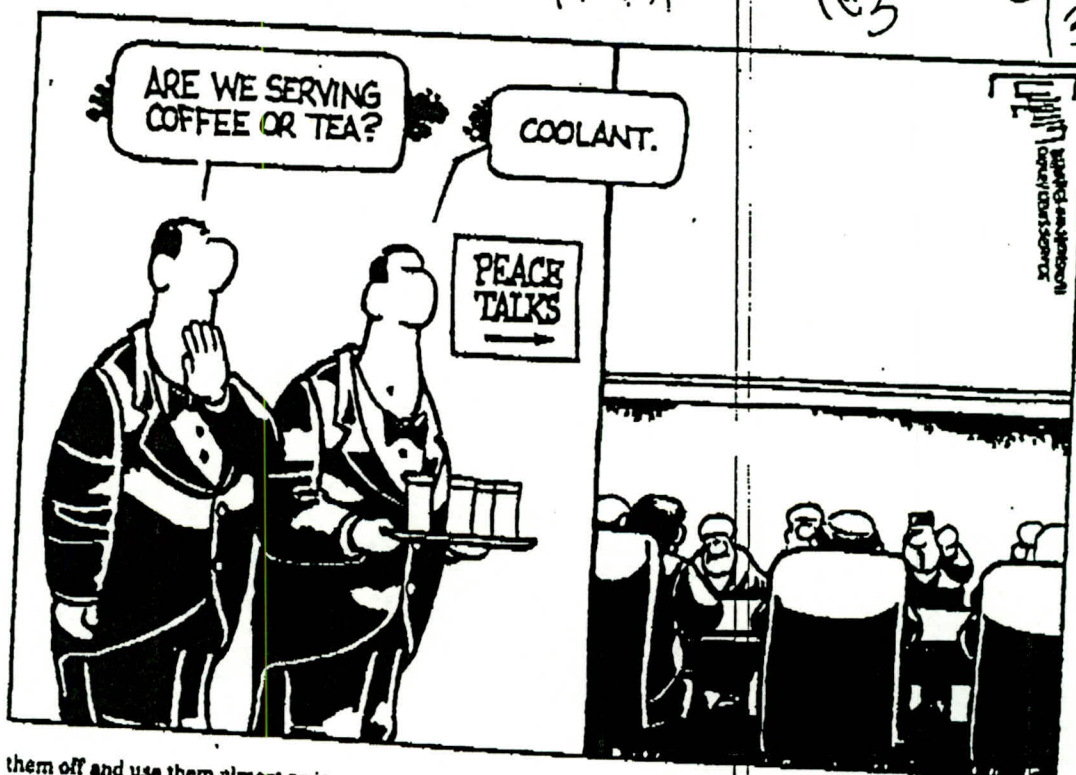
"We don't need another nine rounds," he continued, seeming to grope for solutions to what has come to be the eternally insoluble. "We need to all go home and really think about 'How can we accelerate this process?' so that Americans don't need to go to the Middle East again — and the secretary of state doesn't have to say, again, 'You should come to the table' — and the Palestinians applaud — and we all come to the table and do nothing."

I must make a guilty admission here. Since Secretary of State James Baker III got the impassioned idea that he could actually make peace in the Middle East early in the Bush administration (the madness has been known to strike even pragmatic Texans), I have frankly tried to hold the peace talks at a distance. This was not always easy, since both sides were meeting four blocks from my apartment in downtown Washington — and they were always giving press conferences for the likes of us.

I kept this diplomatic distance not because I did not care about solving the madness that we still euphemistically refer to as "the Middle East problem" — but probably because I cared too much. I could pull out many of the articles I had written as a foreign correspondent on my first visit to the region in 1969, brush

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

WT
19/5



Covering the Middle East becomes a little like a marriage in which the same tendentious and ultimately unresolvable argument has gone on and on for 25 years. The love affair loses, shall we say, a certain romantic edge.

So what really did happen this week? Well, the new big thing was that American diplomats put forth for the first time a two-page, 10-paragraph document, trying to bridge the gap between each side's statements of principles on Palestinian self-rule in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It contained a two-phase, five-year process aimed at establishing an "interim self-government in the third year." President Clinton was even prepared to have his picture taken with all the delegations had there been substantive progress.

There was not. And, this time around, nearly all of the leaders were a little pensive and even occasionally ashamed at their willful negativeness. "The Palestinians do not want to give up the process," one

savvy longtime analyst of the Middle East explained to me, "but the Israelis had promised a list of the men they had deported months ago, and they did not give it. They [the Palestinians] consider that evidence of bad faith."

"Then there is the continued closing of Jerusalem to West Bankers. That drives the Palestinians up the wall and it makes them think the Israelis are stonewalling. Meanwhile, the Palestinians were happy that the Americans had decided to take a more active role — but, back in the territories, every few days there is a strike and continued Israeli shootings of Palestinians."

The peace talk story on some levels finally has moved beyond my early Arab-Israel experience in 1969. Now, as Yossi Beilin rightly says, all the temperamental actors basically agree on the formula: Israeli security; a Palestinian state confederated with Jordan, strengthened economic ties throughout the region, an agreement on water rights, and a compromise with Syria

over the Golan Heights.

And yet, on May 14, all the delegations, who all basically want the same thing, went home—once again to think.

Even Yossi Beilin could not come up with the reasons why it is not all coming together. Part of it is the fact that, whenever one side gets close to agreement, its radicals strike out against moderation. Part of it is personal ego, cultural differences, conflicting ambitions, and even a perverse reliance on the status quo.

One certainty: These rare moments when possibilities open will surely close. "If we are not able to make peace in the coming months," the Israeli diplomat summed up before the Council on Foreign Relations here, "we won't be able to do it next year. The longer we wait, the extremists become stronger, the pragmatic regimes become weaker, and people who remember that wars are in vain become fewer."

"How many conflicts are there in the world to which everyone agrees there is a solution — and yet nothing happens? It drives you crazy!"

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TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 19-MAY-1993

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COLUMNS

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NYP(C.AVITAL-CABLED): 'OPENINGS FOR PEACE': WRITER ASSERTS THAT ALTHOUGH ISRAEL HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS RESOLVE TO ACHIEVE PEACE THROUGH CONCRETE GESTURES BOTH 'ON THE GROUND AND ON THE NEGOTIATING TABLE,' THESE STEPS REMAIN INSUFFICIENT FOR THE ARAB DELEGATIONS; SAYS THAT WHILE ISRAEL HAS EXPRESSED ITS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, HAS PERMITTED THE RETURN OF 30 PALESTINIAN DEPORTEES TO THE TERRITORIES, AND HAS AGREED TO ALLOW FAISAL AL-HUSSEINI TO JOIN THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION TO THE PEACE TALKS, ISRAEL'S FRIENDS ABROAD 'FEAR THAT SUCH ONE-SIDED GENEROSITY COULD JEOPORDIZE OUR SECURITY'; ARGUES THAT ISRAEL SEEKS AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD REINFORCE PEACE AND SECURITY FOR BOTH SIDES; ADDS THAT A LACK OF SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN THE NEXT ROUND OF PEACE TALKS COULD INCREASE THE INFLUENCE OF MILITANT ISLAMIC GROUPS LIKE HAMAS AND ISLAMIC JIHAD.

NYT(I.RABINOVICH-CABLED): 'SMILE WHEN YOU SAY PEACE': WRITER ARGUES THAT THE PUBLICATION OF AN INTERVIEW WITH SYRIAN PRESIDENT HAFEZ AL-ASSAD ON THE NYT OP-ED PAGE LAST WEEK 'BECAME ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS' OF THE RECENTLY CONCLUDED ROUND OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS; SAYS THAT ASSAD'S 'POSITIVE BUT PARTIAL RESPONSE' TO ISRAEL MAY LEAD TO A BREAKTHROUGH IN UPCOMING NEGOTIATIONS BUT THAT THE TREAT OF A STALEMATE STILL REMAINS; OUTLINES THE THREE MAIN ISRAELI CONCERNS WHICH SYRIA WOULD HAVE TO ADDRESS IN EXCHANGE FOR DETAILS ON THE EXTENT OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL; ADDS THAT SYRIA'S DEFINITION OF PEACE REMAINS AMBIGUOUS AND THAT ALTHOUGH MR. ASSAD ARGUES THAT 'THE BALL IS IN THE ISRAELI COURT,' IT IS UP TO BOTH

SIDES TO EFFECT PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

WSJ(A.SHLAES-CABLED): 'THE RIGHTS STUFF': WRITER CONTENDS THAT UNLIKE THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS, THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION DOES NOT DRAW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS, AND ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL RIGHTS; SAYS THAT SUCH A CHANGE IN THE DEFINITION OF RIGHTS MAY AFFECT THE WAY THE US CONDUCTS FOREIGN POLICY; ARGUES THAT IT MAY ALSO CREATE 'NEW CONFUSION' OVER THE TERM, AND 'COULD RENDER THE UN INCAPABLE OF SORTING OUT THE MOST BASIC HUMAN-RIGHTS PROBLEMS'; ADDS THAT THE US BACKING OF THE CREATION OF A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER ON HUMAN RIGHTS MAY EXTEND THE UN'S 'ALREADY VOLUMINOUS' AND MISGUIDED BUREAUCRACY; NOTES ITS OBSESSION WITH ISRAEL'S PALESTINIAN ISSUE AND ITS DEADLOCK OVER CHINA.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'UNITY FOR EUROPE SURVIVES KEY TEST AS THE DANES VOTE'; 'CHINA IS SOWING DISCONTENT WITH TAXES ON THE PEASANTS'; 'ENDING LONG HOSTILITY, US PLANS TIES WITH ANGOLA'S GOVERNMENT'; 'NEW YORK'S BLACKS BACK DINKINS BUT WHITES DON'T, POLL INDICATES'; 'NEWEST AIRLINES FIND CONDITIONS RIPE TO SUCCEED'. WSJ: 'FOR KURDS, AT LEAST, SAFE AREA DESIGNATION PROVIDES PROTECTION'; 'AN ELDERLY GERMAN STILL SEEKS JUSTICE IN HER FATHER'S DEATH'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

LEBANON/IDF/SOLDIER/AMBUSH: WSJ(BRIEF),NYP: ACCORDING TO ARMY OFFICIALS, AN ISRAELI ARMY OFFICER WAS KILLED AND TWO OTHER SOLDIERS WERE WOUNDED IN A GUNFIGHT WITH GUERRILLAS IN SOUTH LEBANON.

GAZA/IDF/PALESTINIANS: NYT: 'ARABS SAY FIVE GAZANS DIED AT ARMY'S HANDS': ACCORDING TO PALESTINIAN WITNESSES, FOUR PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND KILLED BY IDF SOLDIERS IN GAZA TODAY; ADDS THAT A FIFTH ARAB REPORTEDLY DIED OF WOUNDS; SAYS THE INCIDENT BEGAN WHEN APPROXIMATELY 3,000 HAMAS SUPPORTERS GATHERED FOR A MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR A HAMAS FOLLOWER KILLED ON MAY 10.

IRAQ/KURDS/SAFE AREA: WSJ(G.BROOKS-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'FOR KURDS, AT LEAST, SAFE AREA DESIGNATION PROVIDES PROTECTION': WRITER ARGUES THAT IF SAFE AREAS CAN WORK FOR THE KURDS IN NORTHERN IRAQ, IT CAN ALSO WORK FOR THE BOSNIAN SERBS; CONTENDS THAT PARTS OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA SHOULD BE TURNED INTO SANCTUARIES FOR BESEIGED MUSLIMS; REPORTS ON HIS VISIT TO THE KURDISH TOWN AND SAFE AREA OF SULAIMANIYA, WHICH HAS UNIVERSITIES AND ELECTIONS; NOTES THAT THE KURDS' AIM IS AN AUTONOMOUS KURDISH STATE.

WTC/BOMB/SUSPECTS: ND: 'CHEAP BOMB CAUSED MILLIONS IN DAMAGE': REPORTS THAT THE BOMBING OF THE WTC INVOLVED A CONSPIRACY OF AT LEAST A DOZEN SUSPECTS; ADDS THAT THE BOMB COST ABOUT DOLLAR 3,200 TO MAKE AND THAT FEDERAL INVESTIGATORS HAVE TRACED DOLLAR 100,000 MORE WIRED TO SUSPECTS' ACCOUNTS FROM ABROAD.

WTC/BOMB/NOSAIR: ND(REUTERS): 'NOSAIR SAYS HE'S BEING FRAMED IN BOMBING': REPORTS THAT EL SAYYID NOSAIR, THE MUSLIM ACTIVIST

ACQUITTED IN THE MURDER OF RABBI MEIR KAHANE, SAYS AUTHORITIES ARE NOW TRYING TO INDICT HIM IN THE WTC BOMBING; STATES THAT ALTHOUGH MR. NOSAIR ADMITTED KNOWING THREE OF THE SUSPECTS INDICTED IN THE BOMBING, HE DENIED ANY CONNECTION WITH THE INCIDENT.

NEW YORK/JEFFRIES/DAMAGES: NYT(M.NEWMAN),ND,DN,NYP: 'JEFFRIES WINS DOLLAR 400,000 IN DAMAGES': A MANHATTAN FEDERAL JURY ORDERED CUNY OFFICIALS TO PAY PROFESSOR LEONARD JEFFRIES DOLLAR 400,000 FOR VIOLATING HIS FREE SPEECH RIGHTS BY REMOVING HIM FROM THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE BLACK STUDIES DEPARTMENT.

OBITUARIES

NYT(AP): 'HEINRICH ALBERTZ, 78, ANTI-NAZI CLERGYMAN'.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

WSJ(D.BENJAMIN): 'AN ELDERLY GERMAN STILL SEEKS JUSTICE IN HER FATHER'S DEATH.'

NYT(R.COHEN): 'LITERARY PIRACY IS CHARGED IN FRANCE'.

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, מזתים, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
טופס מברק

פקסימיליה

למס/מידי

גרין: 21 במאי 1993
מ: מצפ"א, תפוצות
את: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: סנאט - יהודי סוריה

אנא המכתב המצ"ב אל הנשיא קלינטון, עליו חתומים 73 סנטורים, המביע
אגה מהפחתת מספר אשרות היציאה ליהודי סוריה. יוזמי המכתב, הסנטורים
ראסלי וקנדי, העבירו עותק ממנו גם אל שגריר מצרים בארה"ב (ר' מצ"ב).

בינה
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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

May 19, 1993

The Honorable Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to inform you of our concern over Syria's policy of dramatically reducing the number of exit permits issued to Syrian Jews, a reversal of a commitment made last year by President Assad.

Last spring, President Assad began to grant travel visas to members of the Syrian Jewish community, enabling them to leave the country. However, since last September, virtually no exit permits have been granted to Syria's 1400 remaining Jews who have sought permission to travel. The Syrian government denies there has been a change in policy; it claims the problems are of a bureaucratic nature. We know too well -- from years of fighting for freedom for Soviet Jews -- that such an excuse is neither acceptable nor accurate. President Assad has, as Soviet leaders had, the power to open the gates.

In February, Secretary of State Christopher raised the issue of Syrian Jewish emigration with President Assad. Secretary Christopher reported that President Assad indicated his commitment to the policy of unrestricted travel for Syrian Jews. More than two months have passed since Secretary Christopher's visit, but the gates remain closed to Syrian Jewry.

We are pleased with the resumption of the Middle East peace talks. However, Syria's participation in negotiations with Israel cannot substitute for Syria's promise to allow the Syrian Jewish community the right to travel.

In addition, we remain concerned that Syria continues to provide sanctuary and support to numerous terrorist groups. These extremist groups seek to undermine U.S. interests even beyond the Middle East. In fact, last December, Germany indicted a member of PFLP -- one of the groups hosted by Syria -- in connection with the April 5, 1986 attack which killed two off-duty American soldiers. In addition, many questions remain regarding possible Syrian involvement in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 which resulted in the deaths of 270 people, including 189 Americans.

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Page 2
May 19, 1993
President Bill Clinton

Syria's failure to abide by its promised change in visa policy for its Jewish community, continued support for terrorist groups, as well as its failure to abide by the Taif Agreement by withdrawing from Lebanon last September -- present clear obstacles to closer relations, including removal from the terrorism list.

We urge you to press Syria to honor its commitment to allow Jews the right to travel freely.

We appreciate your commitment on these matters.

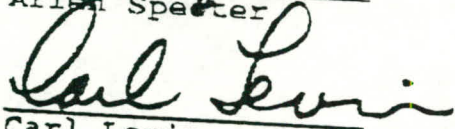
Sincerely,


Edward M. Kennedy


Alfonse D'Amato

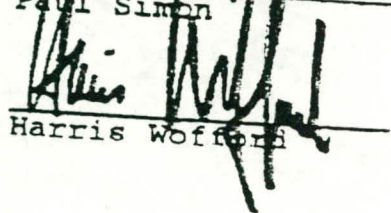

Dennis DeConcini


Arlen Specter


Carl Levin

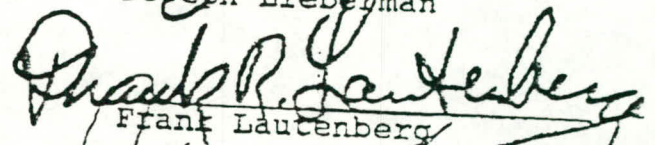

Bob Graham

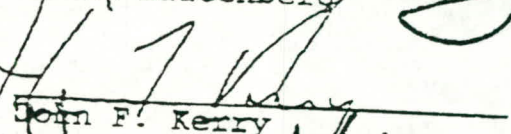

Paul Simon

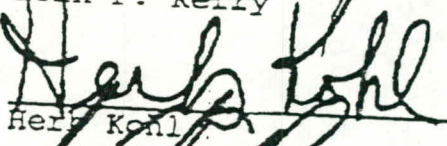

Harris Wofford


Charles E. Grassley

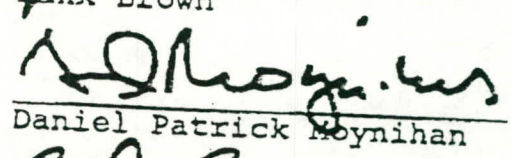

Joseph Lieberman

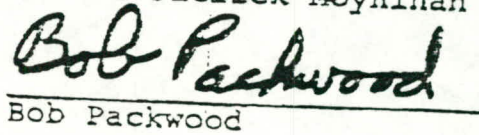

Frank Lautenberg


John F. Kerry


Herb Kohl


Hank Brown


Daniel Patrick Moynihan


Bob Packwood

Page 3
May 19, 1993
President Bill Clinton

Chuck Robb
Charles S. Robb

Bryon L. Dorgan
Bryon Dorgan

David L. Boren
David L. Boren

Bill Bradley
Bill Bradley

John McCain
John McCain

Thomas A. Daschle
Thomas A. Daschle

Connie Mack
Connie Mack

Orrin Hatch
Orrin Hatch

John C. Danforth
John C. Danforth

Carol Moseley Braun
Carol Moseley Braun

Barbara Mikulski
Barbara Mikulski

Richard G. Lugar
Richard G. Lugar

Ernest Hollings
Ernest Hollings

Barbara Boxer
Barbara Boxer

Malcolm Wallop
Malcolm Wallop

Jo Bennett Johnston
Jo Bennett Johnston

John Glenn
John Glenn

Daniel K. Akaka
Daniel K. Akaka

Ben Nighthorse Campbell
Ben Nighthorse Campbell

Donald W. Riegle, Jr.
Donald W. Riegle, Jr.

Russ Feingold
Russell Feingold

Robert Dole
Robert Dole

Larry Craig
Larry Craig

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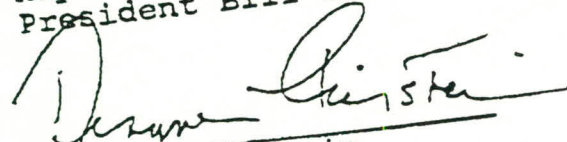
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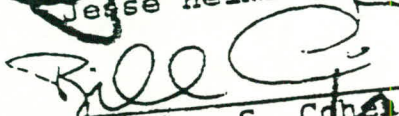
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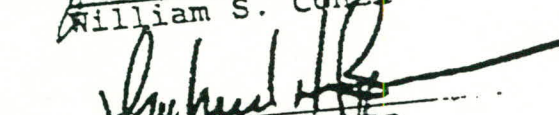
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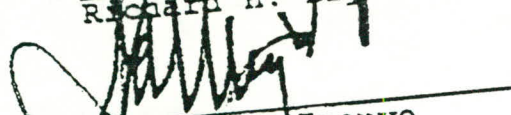
President Bill Clinton


Dianne Feinstein



Jesse Helms

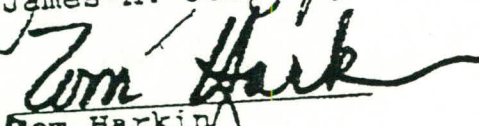

William S. Cohen


Richard H. Bryan


Daniel K. Inouye

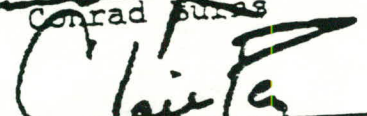

Paul Sarbanes

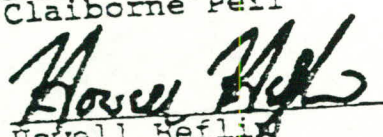

James M. Jeffords

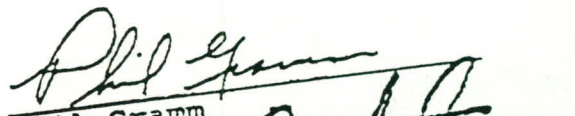

Tom Harkin



Jim Sasser


Conrad Burns

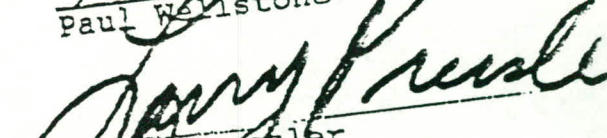

Claiborne Pell

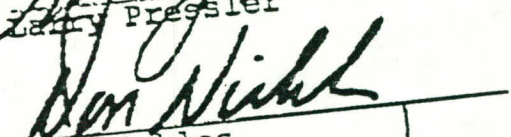

Howell Heflin


Phil Gramm

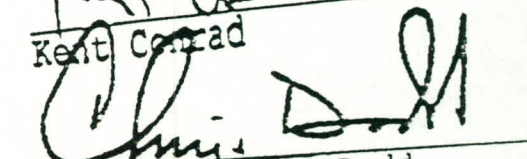

Howard M. Metzenbaum

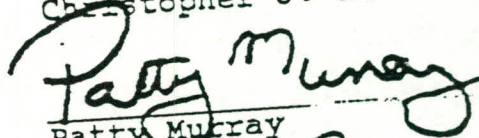

Paul Wellstone

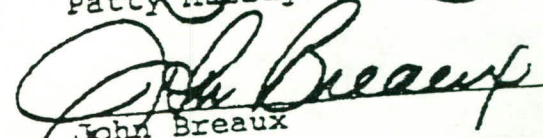

Larry Pressler



Don Nickles

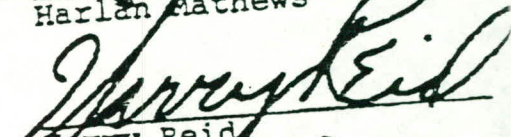

Kent Conrad

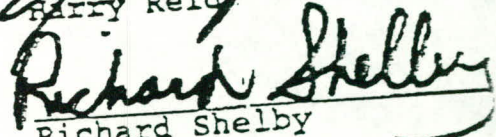

Christopher J. Dodd


Patty Murray


John Breaux


Harlan Mathews

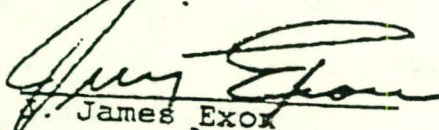

Harry Reid


Richard Shelby

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Page 5
May 19, 1993
President Bill Clinton



Dan Coats

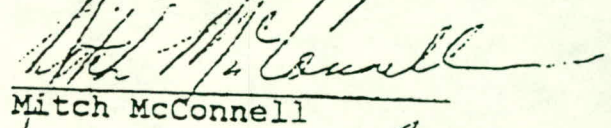

James Exor

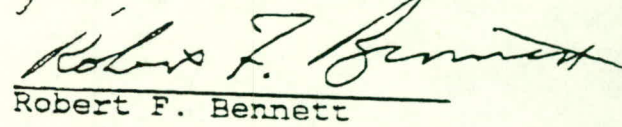

Slade Gorton


Robert Kerrey


Dirk Kempthorne


Christopher Bond


Mitch McConnell


Robert F. Bennett


Thad Cochran

JOSEPH R. BIDEN, JR., DELAWARE, CHAIRMAN

EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASSACHUSETTS
HOWARD M. METZENBAUM, OHIO
DENNIS D'CONCINI, ARIZONA
PATRICK J. LEAHY, VERMONT
HOWELL HEFLIN, ALABAMA
PAUL SIMON, ILLINOIS
HERBERT KOHL, WISCONSIN
DIANNE FEINSTEIN, CALIFORNIA
CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN, ILLINOIS

ORRIN G. HATCH, UTAH
STROM THURMOND, SOUTH CAROLINA
ALAN K. SIMPSON, WYOMING
CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA
ARLEN SPECTER, PENNSYLVANIA
MARK BROWN, COLORADO
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE
LARRY PRESSLER, SOUTH DAKOTA

CYNTHIA C. HOGAN, CHIEF COUNSEL
CATHERINE M. RUSSELL, STAFF DIRECTOR
MARK R. DIBLER, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
SHARON PROST, MINORITY CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

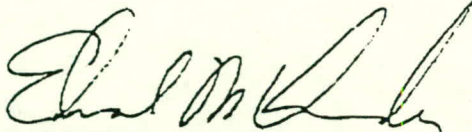
May 21, 1993

His Excellency Walid Al-Moualem
Embassy of the Syrian Arab Republic
2215 Wyoming Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

We enclose, for your information, a copy of a letter signed by 73 United States Senators to President Clinton. The letter urges President Clinton to press your government to honor its commitment to allow Syrian Jews the right to travel freely.

Sincerely,


Edward M. Kennedy


Charles E. Grassley

למס/ח
11/66

בלמס/ח
19/5/93

אל: רוה"מ, ס' שה"ח
מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

בחמשן לשיחת הסלפוןית אני מצרף בזה עותק של המאמר כפי שהופיע היום
ב"ניו-יורק טיימס".

d.s.

איתמר רבינוביץ

כהא שהח 20
1 2 1

NYT

19/5

11/46

Smile When You Say Peace

By Itamar Rabinovich

It is a curious and telling fact that the publication of an interview with Syria's President Hafez al-Assad on this page last week became one of the most important developments of the round of the Arab-Israeli peace talks that ended last Thursday. Mr. Assad's positive but partial response to some of Israel's fundamental concerns may point to the prospect of a breakthrough in these negotiations in the coming months, but offers the lingering threat of a stalemate.

Last summer the Israeli-Syrian negotiations were transformed by the

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dramatic introduction of new positions by the newly elected Israeli Government. Unlike its predecessors, the Rabin Government is willing to accept the principle of withdrawal as part and parcel of a genuine peace with Syria. This new policy was communicated to the Syrian delegation to the Washington talks. The Syrians were also told that in order to get Israel to elaborate on the extent of withdrawal, they would have to address three principal Israeli concerns by:

- Spelling out the nature of the peace they were willing to make with Israel. They were specifically asked to state that such a peace would include normalization — the establishment of full diplomatic relations, open borders and the like. They were likewise asked to indicate that the prospective Syrian-Israeli peace treaty would "stand on its own two feet" — namely, that while forming part of a larger quest for a comprehensive Arab-Israeli settlement, it would not be encumbered by linkage to the other negotiating tracks.

- Agreeing to extensive security arrangements predicated upon mutual-ity and reciprocity, and redressing any decline in Israel's security caused by territorial concessions.

- Engaging in public diplomacy and communicating that a change has occurred in Syria's attitude toward Israel, in order to convey the message of peace to both the Syrian and Israeli publics. This is the only way to create the constituency that is indispensable for peace in this region. In this context, it is significant that to date Mr. Assad's interview has not been published in Syria.

Syria began to respond to this Israeli initiative, but it did so in a slow and incremental fashion. While the two delegations began work on a joint "statement of principles," the prelude to an actual agreement, they were soon bogged down by Syrian

insistence that Israel commit itself to full withdrawal from the Golan Heights as a precondition to any further progress. And while Syrian leaders and spokesmen — headed by Mr. Assad himself — began to speak positively about peace, their endorsement of peace tended to be brief and unenthusiastic.

Upon the resumption of peace talks last month, the Syrian delegation came equipped with a five-word formula — "full peace for full withdrawal." We explained to our interlocutors that although this was positive, it was hardly useful.

It is, of course, significant and encouraging to hear that Syria wants "full peace" with Israel, but this is not enough for Israel; it is crucial to understand what this term actually stands for. It is absolutely clear what a "full withdrawal" from the Golan Heights would be, but does "full peace" signify normalization, or is it merely a glorified nonbelligerency?

It is against this background that the significance of President Assad's interview should be assessed. It was, in the first place, the single most impressive act yet of public diplomacy performed by Syria's President in the context of the peace talks with Israel. He spoke at length, in great detail and positively about peace with Israel and about the urgency of the negotiations. Though this is still a far cry from Anwar Sadat's spectacular public diplomacy, it is considerably more impressive than earlier Syrian acts and statements.

It also does much to meet Israel's concern regarding the relationship between the Syrian-Israeli negotiations and the three other bilateral tracks. Mr. Assad stated that "when the Arab delegations negotiate over particular issues and local problems, each will eventually reach a bilateral agreement with Israel. ... In the end there will be a number of bilateral agreements, but this will not affect the traditional heritage of the parties concerned." This comes quite close to some of the formulations tabled by Israel during the negotiations. How-

אאאא, חוזם: 25900

אל: רהמש/944

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 536, תא: 190593, זח: 1510, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

32787

שמור/מיד

215.02

אל: ר' ממ"ד

דע: הסברה

מע"ת

יועצי תקשורת לרה"מ, שהב"ט

מצפ"א

מאת: עתונות/ניו-יורק

הנדון: הפיצוץ ב'מגדלי התאומים'

1. בשבועיים האחרונים מתרבות בקשות לסיוע במידע וחומר לרקע הקיים ברשותינו על הפיצוץ ב'מגדלי התאומים'.

2. הבקשות מגיעות מהתקשורת הארצית: האלקטרונית והכתובה ומתייחסת למימדים שונים של החקירה כאשר הפניות אלינו נובעות מהנחה -- יותר נכון מבטחון -- שאנו מעורים בפרטי החקירה.

3. בין היתר ניתן למנות כמרכזיים את:

NEW YORK TIMES *

NEWSDAY *

ABC - NIGHTLINE *

CBS - STREET STORIES *

4. נוכל ו/או נרצה לסייע למישהו במשהו?

עתונות/ניו-יורק

יובל רותם

19 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב, מעת, הסברה, מצפא, מזח2, ר/מרכז, מרכזאיסוף, @ (בן עמי/משהבט)

אאאא, חוזם: 26031

אל: רהמש/950

מ-: ווש, נר: 2091, תא: 190593, זח: 1945, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בכבב

סודי/מיידי

18.7

אל: ממ'ד-ערב 3, אגף מז'ת, מצפ'א
מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: איראן

מנאום אינדיק, יועץ הנשיא לבטחון לאומי (במכון וושינגטון ב-19.5 במסגרת נאום כולל על מדיניותו המז'תית של הממשל, שנוסחו ישלח בנפרד), ומשיחה עם וייט (ר' מח' איראן, עיראק, חצי האי ערב, והמגרב. I.N.R. ב-18.5.

1. מדברי אינדיק:

- הממשל ינקוט גיש של 'בלימה כפולה' כלפי איראן ועיראק, שכן שתיהן גם יחד עוינות את ארה"ב וידידותיה במזה"ת.
- תאר את איראן כמדינת טרור, הפועלת לטירפוד התהליך, חותרת תחת משטרים באזור ופועלת להשגת נשק השמדה המונית.

- קבע שהממשל איננו עוין את המשטר באיראן בהיותו אסלאמי, אלא בשל מאפייני מדיניותו הנ'ל. ארה"ב איננה חותרת לעימות עם איראן, אך לא תנרמל היחסים עימה כל עוד זו לא תשנה מדיניותה.

- ארה"ב תפעל לשכנוע הארופאים, הרוסים וסין כי סיוע למאמצי איראן להשגת נשק השמדה המונית או להקלת מצוקותיה הכלכליות איננו עולה בקנה אחד עם האינטרסים שלהן. קיום סנקציות אלו נועד להניע את איראן לשנות את מדיניותה. -ארה"ב תנסה לשכנע את בנות בריתה שחיוני לפעול עתה שכן בתוך חמש שנים איראן עלולה להשיג נשק השמדה המונית שיאיים על ישראל, מדינות ערביות והאנטרסים האמריקאים באזור.

- כיום השעה נוחה לשכנוע הארופאים שכן איראן היא בבחינת השקעה כלכלית גרועה בשל חובותיה ומצבה הכלכלי הקשה.

- זאת ועוד, איראן איננה נתונה למשטר סנקציות נוקשה כעיראק. הצלחה בבלימת עיראק, תוך כשלון המדיניות כלפי איראן תטה את מאזן הכוחות במפרץ באורח מסוכן לטובת איראן. לאור כל זאת יש להשקיע אנרגיה רבה יותר בבלימת איראן תוך כדי שמירה על הסנקציות הננקטות כלפי עיראק. עד כאן מנאום אינדיק.

להלן מווייט:

2. ביקש להסב את שימת לבנו לשלושה מאמרי מערכת שהתפרסמו בעיתון

'יקיהאן' בתחילת אפריל, ובהם נימה אנטישמית חריפה, כולל ציטטות מ'הפרוטוקולים של זקני ציון'. ב-I.N.R. מוטרדים שמא מאמרים אלו מבשרים על שינוי לרעה במדיניות המשטר כלפי הקהילה היהודית.

3. קבע שההערכות הנכתבות בקהילת המודיעין האמריקאית לקראת הבחירות הקרובות למג'לס חוזרות על פזמון משותף לפיו 'מה שהיה הוא שיהיה' קרי המשטר יוסיף לקיים מדיניות רדיקאלית, תהיינה תוצאות הבחירות אשר תהיינה. בכך אין המערחפו וזרים על הטעות, כדבריו, שעשו ערב הבחירות הקודמות עת צפו פרגמטיזציה של איראן בעקבות התחזקותו הצפויה של רפסאנג'ני.

4. וייט עודנו מעריך שרפסאנג'ני הינו גורם פרגמטי ביסודו, המבקש קשר עם ארה"ב משום שהוא מודע היטב כי ללא קשר זה לא יוכל לפתח גם את קשריו עם האירופאים. יחד עם זאת, בפועל רפסאנג'ני נוקט מדיניות רדיקאלית בשל לחצי הרדיקאלים מבית ומשום שהוא חש צורך להפגין נאמנותו לערכי המהפכה.

5. וייט הסכים עם החמ' שבין אם רפסאנג'ני מבקש למעשה לקדם את יעדי חומייני בדרך פרגמטית, בין אם הוא מונע עי' אילוצים, השורה התחתונה האופרטיבית היא מדיניות טרור והתחמשות המסוכנת לאינטרסים של ארה"ב וישראל גם יחד.

6. סיפר שלאחרונה העלה הערכה זו ב-N.S.C. והמליץ שעל ארה"ב לנקוט מדיניות בלימה תקיפה כלפי איראן, תוך ערנות מתמדת לאפשרות של שינוי חיובי במדיניותה של האחרונה. הוסיף שנימה זו רווחת בקרב מומחי המודיעין של הממשל.

7. בהתייחסו לענינה של איראן בעסקת ה'בואינג' קבע כי מוטב שאיראן תרכוש מטוסים אלה בארה"ב, משום שאם הממשל יטרפד את העסקה, חזקה על האיראנים שירכשו מטוסי 'אירבאס' בצרפת. הוסיף כי הוא משוכנע שעסקה זו לא תשפיע באורח כזה או אחר על מדיניות הטרור האיראנית. במקביל, הממון שיוצא לרכש זה ידלל עוד את משאביה הכלכליים של איראן 'ואולי יעודד מהומות כלשהן במשדה' - דברי וייט.

העריך עם זאת, שהעסקה לא תבצע (במשתמע - בשל הסתיגויות גורמים אחרים בממשל. י.א.).

8. התייחס לביקור שה'ח ולאיתי בסעודיה ובמפרציות והעריך כי זה מבקש לדעת מה עלה בביקור מובארך במקום, ולמנוע סחף לכוון ממוש 'הצהרת דמשק' במפגש הקרוב של החתומות על ההצהרה (הצפוי ביוני). לא ברור מה יוכל ולאיתי 'למכור' לבני שיחו.

אמיתי.

לבח

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, מזת1, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (עמית473)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 25986

אל: רהמש/949

מ-: ווש, נר: 2090, תא: 190593, זח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל : ממד

דע : ממנכל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

בשיחה עם דיפלומט בכיר שמדינתו השתתפה לאחרונה במכרז על פרוייקט פיתוח בסוריה עלתה הנקודה המעניינת הבאה. על מנת לזכות בפרוייקט, כך סיפר, צריך היה לשלם סכום נכבד למשפחתה של אשת הנשיא (ככל הנראה, לעדנאן מחלוף).

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מזח: 1, ר/מרכז, ממד,
@ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 25986

אל: רהמש/949

מ-: ווש, נר: 2090, תא: 190593, זח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל : ממד

דע : ממנכל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

בשיחה עם דיפלומט בכיר שמדינתו השתתפה לאחרונה במכרז על פרוייקט פיתוח בסוריה עלתה הנקודה המעניינת הבאה. על מנת לזכות בפרוייקט, כך סיפר, צריך היה לשלם סכום נכבד למשפחתה של אשת הנשיא (ככל הנראה, לעדנאן מחלוף).

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שדח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מזח1, ר/מרכז, ממד,
@ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 25987

אל: רהמש/948

מ-: ווש, נר: 2089, תא: 190593, זח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

240-5

אל : ממנכל

דע : ס/שהח, סמנכל שלום, סמנכל אפאסוק, מקשח - משהבט

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

1. הבוקר קיימתי שיחה בת למעלה משעה עם מר נוגאמי, סמנכל מזת במשהח היפאני, ששהה כאן מאז יום א' להדברות עם מחמד לגבי השיחות הרב-צדדיות. הפגישה התקיימה ביוזמתו.

2. נוגאמי ביקש לעדכן ולהתעדכן. הנקודות העיקריות שעלו מדבריו היו:

א. יפאן תשקיע כ-3 מיליון דולר בעזרה לפלסטינים. היא עשתה זאת, כפי שניתן היה לצפות, בזיקה לקבוצת העבודה בנושאי איכות הסביבה. מדובר בפרוייקטים נוסח ביוב ברצועת עזה. נוגאמי אמר, שחשוב להימנע מיצירת דפוס ותקדים לפיו ינסו הפלסטינים לחלק מהם ומאחרים סיוע כספי לפני כל סבב. סיפר שבקשו מהם עתה סיוע לתשלום משכורות באוניברסיטת ביר-זית.

ב. בשיחותיו חש בשינוי יחס לטובה של האמריקאים כלפי מסלול השיחות הרב-צדדיות.

ג. עדכן אותי לגבי רצונם להצטרף כמשתתף חוץ איזורי נוסף לקבוצת העבודה על פירוק נשק ובטחון אזורי. אמר שהוא מבין את הסתייגויותינו, אך עלינו להבין את הרגישות הקיימת ביפאן לגבי עניינים אלה. רב היפאנים מתייחסים בהסתייגות לשיפור היחסים עם ישראל (בשל הטראומה של '73) ורק מיעוט קטן תומך במדיניות זאת. עמדה ישראלית שלילית בנושא זה כמו בנושאים אחרים יוצרת רושם שמדובר במסכת חד צדדית.

ד. נדרש לשינוי בעמדת סוריה כלפי תהליך השלום מאז הקמת הממשלה הנוכחית בישראל. סיפר ששר החוץ פארוק אל-שרע הזמין עצמו ליפאן אחרי התגבשות קו הממשלה לגבי תהליך השלום וניסה להוכיח כי סוריה אינה מפגרת אחרי ישראל. עוד סיפר כי בניגוד לעבר קיבל שר חוץ יפאני לשעבר פגישה עם אסאד ללא קושי. הפגישה נמשכה שעה וחצי ואסאד דיבר במהלכה בצורה חיובית על תהליך השלום.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
פרנ, יגר, מזת2, ערן, סי יבל, @ (מקשח/משהבט), @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 25791

אל: רהמש/923

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 512, תא: 190593, זח: 1431, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: קונכ"לים - צפ"א

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: השגריר רבינוביץ - בפני ארגון בני-ברית

ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES ITAMAR RABINOVICH
ADDRESS TO THE B'NAI B'RITH BOARD OF GOVERNORS TIME: 1 P.M.
LOCATION: B'NAI B'RITH, 1640 RHODE ISLAND AVE. NW MAY 17, 1993
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ITAMAR RABINOVICH (ISRAELI AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.): THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MR. SHINER--THANK YOU ALL. IT IS INDEED A FAMILY AFFAIR IN THE SENSE THAT IT'S NOT ONLY MY LATE FATHER WHO WAS VERY MUCH ASSOCIATED WITH B'NAI B'RITH, BUT ALSO MY OLDER DAUGHTER, WHO WAS ACTIVE IN BBO--AND I HAVE TO CONFESS TO A TEMPORARY MEMBERSHIP IN, OF ALL PLACES, THE SEATTLE CHAPTER. (LAUGHTER.) AND I LEAVE YOU WITH THE TASK OF PONDERING HOW THAT HAPPENED. (LAUGHTER.) AND IT IS INDEED A DELIGHT TO BE WITH YOU. LET ME VIEW THE FIRST 15 MINUTES OF THIS BRIEFING, MY OPENING REMARKS, AS BASICALLY A PRETEXT AND A PREFACE TO THE QUESTIONS THAT YOU WILL HAVE. I'M A GREAT BELIEVER IN A DIALOGUE AND I THINK THAT IN THE GIVE AND TAKE THAT THE DISCUSSION PERIOD HAS, MORE COMES OUT OF WHAT ONE HAS TO SAY. BUT IN ORDER TO IMPOSE SOME STRUCTURE ON THE EVENT, I WILL BEGIN WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. AND I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE BEEN BRIEFED ON THE STATE OF THE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS BY A SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL, AND I WILL TRY TO PROVIDE YOU WITH AN ISRAELI PERSPECTIVE ON THESE PEACE TALKS--OR I WOULD SAY WITH THE ISRAELI PERSPECTIVE ON THIS PEACE PROCESS, FOCUSING ON THE PREVIOUS ROUND THAT HAS JUST CONCLUDED AND LOOKING FORWARD TO THE NEXT ROUND WHICH WE EXPECT TO HAVE IN JUNE. I CAN THINK OF NOTHING THAT WILL ILLUSTRATE ISRAEL'S PEACE DILEMMA PRESENTLY THAN THE OP-ED PIECE THAT WAS PUBLISHED TODAY IN THE WASHINGTON POST. FOR ISRAELIS AND FRIENDS OF ISRAEL WHO REMEMBER OUR MEDIA PROBLEMS TWO OR THREE YEARS AGO, WITH THE INTIFADA BEING COVERED ON TELEVISION SCREENS AND ISRAELI POLICY CRITICIZED, TO SAY THE LEAST, BY THE MAJOR AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS, AN OP-ED PIECE WHICH GIVES ISRAEL GOOD MARKS AND SAYS THAT THE ONUS OR THE BURDEN IS ON THE OTHER SIDE MAY HAVE SEEMED LIKE A GREAT RELIEF A COUPLE

OF YEARS AGO. BUT IT IS INDICATIVE OF THE PRESENT SITUATION THAT WE ARE IN A PEACE PROCESS, AND A PEACE PROCESS TO SOME EXTENT IS A NON-ZERO-SUM GAME. YOU ARE IN A PEACE PROCESS BECAUSE YOU WANT TO PROMOTE YOUR OWN PURPOSES AND YOU WANT TO MOVE FORWARD THE INTERESTS OF YOUR COUNTRY, OF YOUR SIDE, BUT YOU ARE NEGOTIATING WITH NEGOTIATING PARTNERS, YOU ARE TRYING TO EFFECT A TRANSITION FROM NET CONFLICT TO PEACEMAKING TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION TO A STATE OF COEXISTENCE. AND THEREFORE YOU DEVELOP A BUILT-IN INTEREST IN THE BEHAVIOR OF THE OTHER SIDE. IF THE OTHER SIDE IS NOT CONSTRUCTIVE, IS NOT FORTHCOMING, DOES NOT ENGAGE SERIOUSLY AND WHOLEHEARTEDLY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, THEN THE NEGOTIATIONS MAY NOT SUCCEED. AND IN THIS RESPECT THE FACT THAT THE OTHER SIDE WAS CRITICIZED FOR NOT BEING PRODUCTIVE LAST WEEK WAS GRATIFYING IN A SENSE THAT WE KNOW THAT WE HAVE INVESTED ALL THAT WE COULD, AND WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED GOOD WILL AND ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST IN THAT RESPECT, AND THAT THE OTHER SIDE HAS NOT RESPONDED IN KIND, AND AT LEAST THE OBSERVERS FROM THE SIDELINES SEE THINGS FOR WHAT THEY ARE. BUT IT IS LESS GRATIFYING TO FIND OUT THAT THE OTHER SIDE HAS BEEN LESS THAN FULLY PRODUCTIVE AND THAT THE PEACE PROCESS THAT TOOK SO LONG, SO MUCH CARE, SO MUCH KNOWLEDGE TO PUT TOGETHER AND TO MOVE FORWARD IS IN DANGER OF BEING STALLED IF NOT OF BEING COMPLETELY SIDETRACKED IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. LET ME NOW ELABORATE ON THIS OBSERVATION. THE PEACE PROCESS THAT IS KNOWN AS THE MADRID PROCESS BEGAN IN OCTOBER '91; IT WAS PUT TOGETHER BY THE BUSH-BAKER ADMINISTRATION. AND IT WAS AND HAS BEEN THE ONLY SUSTAINED EFFORT TO RESOLVE THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT FROM THE BEGINNING OF THAT CONFLICT OVER 45 YEARS AGO. AND INDEED IT WAS A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT THAT SUCH A PEACE PROCESS COULD BE PUT TOGETHER. BUT THE ENERGY, THE PROCESS AT WORK, THE FACTORS THAT HAVE GOVERNED THE CONVENING OF THE MADRID PROCESS SUFFICED FOR

JUST THAT. THEY DID NOT SUFFICE FOR A BREAKTHROUGH. AND THEREFORE FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, FROM OCTOBER IN '91, TO THE LATE SUMMER OF 1992, THE PEACE PROCESS WAS CONDUCTED, PROCEEDED, BUT WENT NOWHERE. AND THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, THE PRESENT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, WHEN IT WAS FORMED AND TOOK OFFICE IN LATE JULY, MADE IT ONE OF ITS FOREMOST PRIORITIES TO MOVE THIS PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. IT'S A GOVERNMENT THAT BELIEVES THAT A PEACE PROPERLY DEFINED AND PROPERLY ACHIEVED, THAT IS TO SAY, A PEACE THAT PROVIDES ISRAEL WITH SECURITY, A PEACE PACKAGE THAT ANSWERS OUR NEED FOR PEACE AND COEXISTENCE, BUT DOES NOT NEGLECT THE BASIC REQUIREMENTS OF OUR SECURITY, IS A PRIORITY, PERHAPS THE PRIORITY OF ISRAEL AT THIS TIME. IT WAS NOT THE ONLY PRIORITY SET BY THIS GOVERNMENT. THIS GOVERNMENT ALSO SET TO RECTIFY RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, TO IMPROVE THE ABSORPTION OF THE NEW IMMIGRANTS FROM THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND ETHIOPIA THAT HAVE BEEN COMING TO THE COUNTRY, AND TO PUT ORDER IN OUR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HOUSE. IT HAS DONE VERY WELL ON RESTORING RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE KNOW THE RELATIONSHIP NOW IS VERY CLOSE, VERY GOOD. THERE IS LESS OF AN IMMIGRATION, BUT I THINK MOST OF THE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE PLAGUED THE ABSORPTION OF

IMMIGRATION HAVE BEEN AT LEAST AMELIORATED, IF NOT SOLVED. AND THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM PROCEEDS, NOT ALWAYS AS SWIFTLY AS THE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE WANTED, BUT PROCEED IT DOES. IN THE PEACE PROCESS, THE PEACE PROCESS AS SUCH, THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO MOVE IT FORWARD AND DEFINE A NEW POLICY, AND GAVE US, THE NEGOTIATORS, WHEN WE ARRIVED HERE LAST AUGUST, NEW MARCHING ORDERS ON BOTH THE SYRIAN AND THE PALESTINIAN TRACKS. I AM NOT MENTIONING THE JORDANIAN AND LEBANESE TRACKS, NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT IMPORTANT--IMPORTANT THEY ARE, BUT BECAUSE IT IS A UNIVERSAL BELIEF, AN AGREEMENT, THAT A BREAKTHROUGH IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED IN THE SYRIAN OR IN THE PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATIONS OR IN BOTH OF THEM, AND THAT BOTH THE JORDANIANS AND THE LEBANESE ARE EITHER UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO PROCEED ON THEIR OWN, AND THAT THEY WOULD WAIT FOR THE SYRIANS AND THE PALESTINIANS TO MAKE THE FIRST MOVES. SO WE BROUGHT NEW ELEMENTS INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SYRIA. WE HAVE INDICATED TO SYRIA THAT AS PART AND PARCEL OF A GENUINE PEACE, WE WOULD BE WILLING TO INCLUDE THE ELEMENT OF WITHDRAWAL IN THE PEACE PACKAGE, BUT THAT WE'LL SAY JUST THAT. WE WILL NOT ELABORATE ON THE EXTENT OF WITHDRAWAL, AND WE WILL ONLY ELABORATE ON THE EXTENT OF WITHDRAWAL WHEN THE SYRIANS TELL US IN VERY CLEAR TERMS WHAT THEY MEAN BY PEACE, WHEN THEY INDICATE TO US THAT THE SECURITY PACKAGE THAT IS A SINE QUA NON OF PEACE WILL BE RESPECTED BY THEM, THAT PEACE WITH SYRIA WILL BE PART OF THE QUEST FOR A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT WILL HAVE A LIFE OF ITS OWN, OR TO USE OUR NEGOTIATING JARGON, WILL STAND ON ITS OWN TWO FEET. AND WE HAVE ALSO TOLD THE SYRIANS THAT IF THEY WANT THIS PEACE PROCESS TO MOVE FORWARD, THEY NEED TO ENGAGE IN POSITIVE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, TO INDICATE BOTH TO THE SYRIAN PUBLIC AND TO THE ISRAELI PUBLIC THAT SYRIA HAS CROSSED THE RUBICON, THAT IT WANTS TO BURY THE HATCHET, IT WANTS TO MAKE PEACE, AND TO DO SO IN A VERY PUBLIC WAY. TO THE PALESTINIANS, WE CAME WITH AN AUTONOMY PLAN AND WILLINGNESS TO HOLD ELECTIONS AND TO BUILD A CONCRETE TIMETABLE. LAST SUMMER, WE WERE QUITE SUCCESSFUL WITH THE SYRIANS; WE WERE LESS SUCCESSFUL IN ELICITING A POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THE PALESTINIANS. THE SYRIANS BEGAN TO ENGAGE US, AND WE BEGAN TO DRAFT THE JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES. THE SYRIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATION WAS TRANSFORMED, BECAME POSITIVE, GENUINE, SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS, AND THEN IT REACHED A CERTAIN DEADLOCK BECAUSE THE SYRIANS THEN BEGAN TO INSIST THAT WE TELL THEM THAT WE RECOGNIZE SYRIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE GOLAN AND THAT WE WILL AGREE TO A FULL WITHDRAWAL BEFORE THEY ELABORATE ON ANY OF THE QUESTIONS THAT I HAVE MENTIONED EARLIER. THIS IS NOT OUR POLICY, WE HAVE BEEN REPEATING OUR POSITION, AND IN A SENSE WE BECAME LOCKED IN THIS ARGUMENT LAST FALL, AND WE STILL ARE LOCKED IN IT TODAY. WITH THE PALESTINIANS, THE PROBLEM WAS THAT THE PLO, THE FORCE OR THE POWER BEHIND AND BEYOND THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION NEGOTIATING HERE, REGRETTED THE TERMS ON WHICH IT CAME TO MADRID, AND THROUGHOUT THE SUMMER AND THE FALL INSISTED THAT THE TERMS BE CHANGED, THAT THE PLO BE BROUGHT DIRECTLY TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS REALLY FOCUS ON

STATEHOOD AND NOT ON AUTONOMY. AND FOR THAT REASON, THERE WAS NO ENGAGEMENT ON THE PALESTINIAN TALKS. THEN THERE WAS A HIATUS OF ALMOST FIVE MONTHS IN NEGOTIATIONS, BROUGHT ABOUT BY TWO MAIN FACTORS. ONE WAS THE FUNDAMENTALIST CHALLENGE TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH LED TO THE ISRAELI RESPONSE THROUGH TEMPORARY REMOVAL, OR DEPORTATION. AND THE SECOND AND FRANKLY THE MORE IMPORTANT ONE WAS THE ABSENCE OF A FUNCTIONING U.S. ADMINISTRATION. THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION HAD BEEN DEFEATED, THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION WAS STILL NOT IN, AND IT WAS ONLY IN EARLY FEBRUARY THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION WAS IN, HAD A FOREIGN POLICY TEAM, HAD MADE A DECISION TO DEAL WITH THE ARAB-ISRAELI PROCESS, AND WAS BEGINNING TO HAVE ITS IMPACT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS FELT. AND IT TOOK ANOTHER 10 WEEKS FOR ALL OF THIS TO BE TRANSLATED INTO A RESUSCITATION OF THE PEACE TALKS, ON APRIL 27, WHEN THE DELEGATIONS CAME BACK FOR THE NINTH ROUND OF TALKS IN THIS TOWN. PROGRESS IN THIS NINTH ROUND OF TALKS WAS LIMITED. THE SYRIANS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON THE DEMAND THAT I HAVE MENTIONED EARLIER. WE REALIZED THAT IN A SENSE WE ARE NOT NEGOTIATING, WE ARE BARGAINING, AND WE ARE BARGAINING WITH A VERY EFFECTIVE BARGAINER. THE SYRIAN RULER HAS DEMONSTRATED HIS ABILITY FOR OVER 20 YEARS NOW TO OUTSMOKE MANY PARTNERS IN NEGOTIATIONS. AND WE DO NOT PLAN TO BE OUTSMOKED. WE HAVE PATIENCE, WE WILL BE THERE, WE KNOW WHAT'S ESSENTIAL. AND THERE IS SOME PROGRESS. I JUST WANT TO CITE THE INTERESTING INTERVIEW GRANTED ON MAY 10TH--OR PUBLISHED ON MAY 10TH, THAT THE SYRIAN PRESIDENT GAVE TO A BRITISH JOURNALIST. IT WAS PUBLISHED FIRST IN ARABIC IN LONDON, AND IN A SHORTER VERSION IN THE NEW YORK TIMES DURING THE FOLLOWING WEEK, WHICH IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT STATEMENT BY THE SYRIAN PRESIDENT ON THE PEACE PROCESS, ON THE WHOLE POSITIVE, ON THE WHOLE VERY DETAILED. THERE IS ONLY ONE VERY MINOR PROBLEM. TO DATE, AS FAR AS WE ARE AWARE, IT WAS NOT PUBLISHED IN SYRIA. AND WE WOULD WANT TO WAIT AND SEE THAT THIS IS ALSO BEING BROADCAST TO THE SYRIAN PEOPLE. GOING BACK TO SOMETHING THAT I SAID EARLIER, FOR US THE PUBLIC DIPLOMACY SIDE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS NOT LESS IMPORTANT THAN THE SUBSTANCE BECAUSE FOR PEACE TO LAST, FOR PEACE TO BE MEANINGFUL, IT HAS TO ENJOY A BROAD BASIS OF SUPPORT IN THE POPULATION. THE LATE PRESIDENT SADAT AT THE TIME HAD DEMONSTRATED TO ALL OF US THAT HE NOT ONLY HAD THE VISION, BUT HAD THE SUPPORT AT HOME TO TRAVEL, TO JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM AND TO GO BACK. AND WE NEED TO SEE SOME INDICATIONS OF SERIOUSNESS, NOT THE SAME, BUT SIMILAR, FROM SYRIA. THE PALESTINIANS CAME HERE, AND WE HAVE ACCOMPANIED THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH A SERIES OF GOODWILL GESTURES. WE HAVE TAKEN ONE MEASURE THAT I WILL NOT DEFINE AS A CONCESSION, BUT AS A POLICY DECISION, TO ALLOW FAISAL HUSSEINI TO COME TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, NOT AS A CONCESSION, BUT BECAUSE WE BELIEVE THAT HE IS AN AUTHENTIC, GENUINE LEADER WITH STANDING AND SUPPORT AMONG HIS OWN PEOPLE, AND IF WE WANT TO GIVE THIS DELEGATION A FIGHTING CHANCE, TO GIVE IT THE STANDING, THE AUTHORITY, THE LEGITIMACY THAT IT NEEDS TO HAVE IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH US EFFECTIVELY, WE CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE IDEA RAISED BY

THE UNITED STATES TO HAVE HIM INVITED TO THE DELEGATION WAS ALSO GOOD FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, AND WE AGREED TO THAT. WE WERE HOPING THAT FOR ALL THE MEASURES THAT WE HAVE TAKEN, THE PALESTINIANS WILL RESPOND BY SERIOUSLY ENGAGING US ON THE AUTONOMY OR THE SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY CONCEPT, AND THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO HAVE EARLY RESULTS IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE TO PEOPLE ON THE GROUND THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE. TO PUT IT IN THE STRONGEST OF TERMS, WE ALL SAW THE SAD NEWS FROM THE GAZA STRIP ON TELEVISION YESTERDAY, SO THAT FOUR PERSONS, FOUR PEOPLE, TWO ISRAELIS AND TWO LOCAL PALESTINIANS WERE KILLED BY GUNMEN TRAVELING IN A CAR, WHEN THEY WERE JUST DOING BUSINESS, BUYING AND SELLING VEGETABLES IN THE GAZA STRIP. WE ALSO HEARD REPORTS ABOUT PALESTINIAN CHILDREN BEING HURT. A STOP HAS TO BE MADE TO ALL OF THIS, AND A STOP CAN ONLY BE MADE TO THIS, NOT THROUGH REPRESSION, BUT THROUGH SENDING THE MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE THAT THERE IS A SERIOUS NEGOTIATION, AND THAT THERE IS HOPE, THAT THERE IS A POLITICAL SOLUTION. AND IF THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, AND THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR DICTATING ITS MOVES, DO NOT PARTICIPATE IN THIS MESSAGE, THEY ARE PERPETUATING VIOLENCE. RHETORIC ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS WILL NOT ACHIEVE US ANYTHING. PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL. AND WE VERY MUCH HOPE THAT WHEN WE RESUME, AND RECONVENE HERE IN JUNE, THE SYRIANS WILL COME TO NEGOTIATE AND NOT TO BARGAIN, AND THE PALESTINIANS WILL COME TO ENGAGE US IN SERIOUS DISCUSSION. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE, IN ENDING MY REMARKS, THAT TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. IT'S NOT VERY POLITIC FOR A PARTY PARTICIPATING IN NEGOTIATIONS TO SAY THAT TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE. WE HAVE ALL PARTICIPATED IN THIS OR THAT NEGOTIATION OF SORTS, AND WE KNOW THAT A DEMONSTRATION OF HEALTHY--A HEALTHY DOSE OF DISINTEREST IS GOOD FOR THE END RESULT. BUT WE DO NOT SIMPLY HAVE THE TIME AND THE LUXURY OF ENGAGING IN THESE HISTORICALS OF NEGOTIATIONS. TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE BECAUSE TIME MAY BE RUNNING OUT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND TIME MAY BE RUNNING OUT HERE. YOU ALL, PRACTICALLY ALL LIVE HERE. YOU KNOW THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS A FULL AGENDA OF DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL ISSUES, AND IF THE ADMINISTRATION REALIZES THAT THE PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST--AND I UNDERLINE THE PARTIES--NOT ONE PARTY. THE PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE NOT ABOUT TO (INAUDIBLE) TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IT WILL LOSE INTEREST. IT WILL CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT NOT AT THE HIGH LEVEL THAT IS REQUIRED FOR U.S. ENGAGEMENT IF PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE. AND IF OUR ARAB PARTNERS IN NEGOTIATIONS REALLY WANT TO MAKE PROGRESS, THEY SHOULD ENGAGE BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. THANK YOU VERY MUCH. (APPLAUSE.)

MODERATOR: YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT WE ARE HERE AT AN INTERNATIONAL BOARD OF GOVERNORS MEETING, AND WE HAVE DELEGATES FROM FOUR CONTINENTS WHO ARE VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN THE PEACE PROCESS, AND PARTICULARLY SINCE YOU ARE A PARTICIPANT, MORE THAN INTERESTED IN HEARING YOUR MESSAGE. WE NOW WILL ENTERTAIN QUESTIONS.

Q: MR. AMBASSADOR, CHARLOTTE AND I WERE IN CALCUTTA IN 1966, AT

THE TIME BANGLADESH FORCED 10 MILLION HINDUS TO LEAVE THAT MUSLIM COUNTRY. WE HEARD NO UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION, WE HEARD NO FRONT PAGE IN THE NEWSPAPER, BUT APPARENTLY, INSTEAD OF KILLING TERRORISTS, INSTEAD OF IMPRISONING TERRORISTS, ISRAEL SAW FIT TO DEPORT 400 PRESUMED TERRORISTS AND THE WORLD CONDEMNED THE ACTION WITH GREAT VITRIOL. CAN YOU TELL US, IN YOUR JUDGMENT, WHY THIS DIFFERENCE OF STANDARDS IN EVALUATING ACTIONS OF COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.

AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH: THANK YOU FOR THE QUESTION, JACK. OF COURSE THERE WAS A DOUBLE STANDARD EXERCISED IN THE CASE OF THE HAMAS DEPORTEES, AND OF COURSE WE UNFORTUNATELY HAVE BEEN USED TO DOUBLE STANDARD IN THE WORLD TREATMENT OF THE ARAB- ISRAELI CONFLICT. WE CAN SPEND TIME BEMOANING THE FACT, BUT TO NO AVAIL. AND WE CAN SPEND SOME TIME IN ANALYZING THE FACT TO SOME AVAIL. I THINK THAT THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE INDIAN- BANGLADESHI EXAMPLE THAT YOU MENTIONED EARLIER, AND LET'S SAY OUR, OUR CONFLICT, CAN BE SUMMARIZED UNDER THE FOLLOWING HEADINGS. ONE IS THAT THE WORLD IS MORE INTERESTED IN THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM IN ISRAEL, IN US, IN OUR ISSUE THAN THE WORLD IS INTERESTED IN THE PROBLEM OF BANGLADESH. I'M SAYING THAT AS A NEUTRAL FACT, BUT A FACT IT IS. AND WHEN THE WORLD IS MORE INTERESTED PEOPLE ALSO MAKE COMMENTS AND WRITE EDITORIALS. I THINK ON THE WHOLE WE SHOULD APPRECIATE THE FACT THAT THE WORLD IS INTERESTED IN US. I THINK THAT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFICULT FOR US TO COPE WITH INDIFFERENCE. WE HAVE COPE WITH PERSECUTION AND PREJUDICE AND DOUBLE STANDARD, BUT INDIFFERENCE IS SOMETHING THAT JEWS FIND VERY DIFFICULT TO COPE WITH. THAT IS ONE REASON. THE SECOND REASON IS THAT ISRAEL IS A WESTERN PARLIAMENTARY LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AND IS JUDGED IN THE STANDARDS SET BY ITSELF, FOR ITSELF, IN CONDUCTING ITS OWN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE. AND IT IS NOT JUDGED BY THE STANDARDS THAT ARE APPLIED TO THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES. LET'S SAY OPINION-MAKERS, PUNDITS, INTELLECTUALS, AND OTHERS WHO EXPRESS THEMSELVES IN PUBLIC IN THIS COUNTRY, AND OTHER WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, APPLY TO ISRAEL VERY MUCH THE SAME YARDSTICKS THAT THEY APPLY TO THEMSELVES. THERE WERE MANY SEARCHING QUESTIONS ASKED AFTER THE WACO, TEXAS TRAGEDY, VERY REMINISCENT OF QUESTIONS THAT ARE ADDRESSED TO US AFTER A RAID THAT IS JUSTIFIED, THAT IN WHICH ALL THE QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN ASKED BY THE PEOPLE IN CHARGE WHO, WHO HAD TO MAKE THE DECISION, AND YET THE RAID IS MADE AND OFTENTIMES BYSTANDERS AND INNOCENT CIVILIANS END UP BEING WOUNDED OR KILLED. AND THE CRITICISM EMANATING FROM THIS, DIRECTED TO US, REMINDS ME OF THE WAVE OF CRITICISM THAT YOU HAD IN THIS COUNTRY. THAT IS THE SECOND FACTOR AT WORK. THE THIRD IS THAT, UNFORTUNATELY, ISRAEL IS A STATE, AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE, AS A PEOPLE, STILL ELICIT A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE FROM A VARIETY OF GROUPS. I DON'T THINK IT'S A MAJOR FACTOR. I DON'T THINK THAT WE SHOULD CONDUCT OUR LIVES AND POLICIES IN LIGHT OF THIS FACTOR. BUT IT CANNOT BE TOTALLY IGNORED THAT SOME CRITICS CRITICIZE ISRAEL BECAUSE THEY ARE HOSTILE TO ISRAEL. I WOULD NOT WANT TO RUSH TO A CONCLUSION AND I WOULDN'T WANT TO OVERSTATE THE CASE, AND THERE ARE CRITICISMS

OF ISRAEL THAT IF NOT JUSTIFIED, AT LEAST ARE UNDERSTANDABLE. BUT AT LEAST SOME OF THE CRITICISM DERIVES FROM HOSTILITY. I THINK THESE ARE THE THREE MAIN FORCES AT WORK THAT EXPLAIN WHY THE, WHY OUR ACT OF DEPORTATION WAS DENOUNCED WITHOUT ANY EFFORT TO PUT IT IN PERSPECTIVE, TO RELATE IT TO OTHER FACTORS, AND THE LIKE.

Q: LET ME JUST SAY HOW DELIGHTED WE ARE, THOSE OF US WHO COME FROM OVERSEAS (INAUDIBLE) TO SEE YOU HERE NOW.

AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH: THANK YOU.

Q: I HAVE A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS (INAUDIBLE) MORE THAN ONE, BUT NUMBER ONE, FROM THE STATUS OF ISRAEL, I'M SURE THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION TO BE RELATED TO JERUSALEM AT ALL, OBVIOUSLY, BUT I STILL HAVE A FEELING THAT ULTIMATELY YOUR NEGOTIATIONS WILL EVENTUALLY FIND THAT THAT WILL BE A VERY DIFFICULT ISSUE TO OVERCOME. IS THERE ANYTHING THAT YOU FEEL, THAT AROUND THE WORLD B'NAI B'RITH CAN DO IN TERMS OF (INAUDIBLE) IRRELEVANT, IT'S GOING TO BE AN ISSUE TO BE SETTLED BETWEEN THE PARTIES, AND THERE'S NOTHING THAT WE CAN DO, BECAUSE CERTAINLY THE NON-JEWISH WORLD FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHY JERUSALEM MEANS SO MUCH MORE TO US THAN TO ANYBODY ELSE. THE SECOND QUESTION. IF YOU CAN COMMENT A LITTLE BIT ON ANOTHER CONCERN THAT MANY OF US HAVE WHICH IS THE POTENTIAL PROBLEM OF NUCLEAR MISSILES IN SYRIA, IRAN, AND SO ON. TO WHAT EXTENT YOU CAN COMMENT ON THAT, THANK YOU.

AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH: THANK YOU. ON THE QUESTION OF JERUSALEM, OF COURSE IT WILL BE LAID ON THE TABLE, NOT BY US, AND WILL BECOME AN ISSUE, QUITE EARLY ON. BECAUSE WHEN ONE STARTS DEALING WITH AUTONOMY OR SELF-GOVERNING AUTHORITY AND COMES TO QUESTIONS OF WATER, LAND, VOTING, AND THE FRANCHISE, PRACTICAL QUESTIONS RELATING TO JERUSALEM IMMEDIATELY COME TO THE FORE. THE ISSUE ALMOST CAME TO THE FORE WHEN WE ALLOWED THE PARTICIPATING OF FAISAL HUSSEINI WHO HAS A RESIDENCE IN JERUSALEM, BUT ALSO IN THE WEST BANK, AND FOR US IT WAS NOT THE JERUSALEM ISSUE. AND THERE WERE THOSE WHO THOUGHT IT WAS A JERUSALEM ISSUE, INCLUDING THE OPPOSITION IN ISRAEL. SOMETIMES THE INTERESTING DYNAMIC IS THAT THE ISSUE BECOMES AN ISSUE BECAUSE THE CRITICS OF GOVERNMENT POLICY TURN IT INTO ONE. BUT I THINK FINALLY IT BECAME UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED THAT THIS WAS NOT A JERUSALEM ISSUE. BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO ILLUSIONS, THE ISSUE WILL COME UP, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT, WE HAVE A POSITION AS YOU SAID CORRECTLY, WE'LL DEFEND IT, AND WE SHALL BE ABLE TO USE ANY HELP GIVEN TO US. IT'S A POLITICAL ISSUE, IT RESTS ON PERCEPTION, PUBLIC OPINION, POLITICAL INTERESTS AND SO FORTH. POLITICAL INTERESTS COULD NOT PERHAPS BE CHANGED, BUT PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES COULD. YOU LIVE IN A CATHOLIC COUNTRY, THE VATICAN HAS A POSITION ON JERUSALEM, OTHERS CAN AFFECT OTHER IMPORTANT BODIES WITH OPINION ON JERUSALEM BECAUSE THE DAY FOR USING EVERY INCH AND EVERY GRAM OF INFLUENCE WILL COME, AND I'M DELIGHTED THAT

YOU ARE WILLING TO INVEST THE RESOURCES YOU CAN MUSTER, AND WE'LL NEED THEM. WITH REGARD TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND BALLISTIC MISSILES, THE IMMINENT DANGER FOR A MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRY TO ACQUIRE NUCLEAR ARMS IS NOW, NOW LIES IN IRAN. IRAN IS ACTIVELY PURSUING A NUCLEAR PROGRAM, AND IT MAY HAVE A NUCLEAR DEVICE IF NOTHING IS DONE ABOUT THAT, WITHIN FOUR OR FIVE YEARS, AND IT WILL BECOME A VERY UNPLEASANT MOMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST IF THIS MATERIALIZES. IRAN ALSO ACQUIRES BALLISTIC MISSILES FROM NORTH KOREA, AND IT IS A VERY INTERESTING, AND A VERY WORRYING THOUGHT, THAT THE IRANIANS INVESTED THE MONEY NECESSARY TO INCREASE THE RANGE OF THE NODENG (PHONETIC) MISSILES FROM NORTH KOREA FROM 1,000 KILOMETERS TO 1,300 KILOMETERS. AND ONE NEED NOT BE A GREAT STRATEGIC THINKER TO FIGURE OUT WHERE THE EXTRA 300 KILOMETERS ARE, IN WHAT DIRECTION. SO THIS IS SOMETHING THAT WORRIES US, BUT INCIDENTALLY, NOT JUST US. OTHER STATES IN THE REGION, AND I THINK THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, REALIZE THE DANGER OF THAT, AND I DON'T THINK WE'LL BE ALONE IN HAVING TO CONTEMPLATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF IRAN ACQUIRING BOTH NUCLEAR WEAPONS THE MISSILES NECESSARY FOR DELIVERING THEM. SYRIA HAS AN IMPRESSIVE ARRAY OF SCUD C MISSILES, NOT WITH NUCLEAR WARHEADS, BUT APPARENTLY WITH CHEMICAL WARHEADS, AND WHEN WE GET TO MORE ADVANCED PHASES OF PEACEMAKING WE'LL TALK TO THE SYRIANS DIRECTLY ABOUT THAT. BUT YOU KNOW, THIS SERVES TO ILLUSTRATE THE PURPOSE OF THE PEACE EFFORT. IRAN IS NOT, IS NOT FOR PEACE. IRAN OPENLY CONDUCTS A POLICY THAT DENIES THE VALUE OF THE PRESENT PEACE PROCESS AND TRIES TO ABORT IT. SYRIA IS IN A PEACE PROCESS AND I THINK IT NEGOTIATES SERIOUSLY AND WANTS TO MAKE A DEAL, AND IF I CAN THINK OF THE BENEFITS OF THE DEAL WITH SYRIA, THE ELIMINATION OF A POTENTIAL WAR IN THE FUTURE BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL IN WHICH ADVANCED WEAPONS SYSTEMS LIKE SCUD C MISSILES CAN BE, CAN BE AVERTED, IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PROSPECTIVE FRUITS OF A DEAL BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA. IT IS SOMETHING TO WORRY ABOUT, BUT ALSO A MOTIVE FOR ENHANCING THE EFFORTS TO MAKE A DEAL WITH SYRIA.

Q: I COME FROM SANTIAGO, CHILE. MY QUESTION, MR. AMBASSADOR IS, A COUPLE OF MONTHS AGO, SINCE SEPTEMBER I CAME HERE, AND IT LOOKS THAT THE MAIN PROBLEM IN NEGOTIATING WITH THE PALESTINIANS WAS THE INTERNAL KIND OF TUG OF WAR BETWEEN PLO, HAMAS, AND THE PALESTINIANS WHO LIVE IN THE TERRITORIES. A COUPLE OF MONTHS AFTER IT SEEMS THAT PALESTINIANS (INAUDIBLE) TERRITORIES ARE BEING SWALLOWED BY THE PLO AND THE HAMAS. MY QUESTION IS WHAT'S YOUR OPINION ABOUT THAT ISSUE, AND HOW DO YOU THINK IT WILL BE DEVELOPED IN THE (INAUDIBLE)?

AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH: THANK YOU. I FULLY AGREE WITH YOUR OBSERVATION THAT THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY AND THE FRAGMENTATION OF THE SYRIAN DELEGATION IS ONE OF THE MAJOR OBSTACLES TO MAKING PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN THE CASE OF SYRIA, WE'RE STILL FIGHTING, BARGAINING OVER THE TERMS, BUT THERE IS NO QUESTION AS TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE SYRIAN STATE AND ITS ABILITY TO DELIVER WHEN THE DECISION IS MADE. THIS

עד כאן חלק 1 מתוך 2

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגח), @ (רם), ממד, מצפא, רביב,
מעח, הסברה, מזתים, @ (דוצ), @ (בן עמי/משהבט)

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IS NOT THE CASE WITH THE, WITH THE PALESTINIANS. AND INDEED BOTH HAMAS AND THE PLO HAVE BEEN TRYING TO DWARF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THE TERRITORIES. WE THINK THAT THEY SHOULD BE THE CUTTING EDGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND AS I INDICATED EARLIER, THE FACT THAT WE AGREED TO FAISAL HUSSEINI'S PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS IS PRIMARILY MOTIVATED BY THE WILL TO HAVE AN AUTHENTIC LEADER FROM THE WEST BANK TAKE THE LEAD IN THE DELEGATION AND BECOME OUR CHIEF PARTNER FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS.

Q: MR. AMBASSADOR, I'M THE TOKEN AMERICAN IN THIS (INAUDIBLE) PANEL OF QUESTIONERS HERE. (LAUGHTER.) I'M JOSEPH MORRIS FROM CHICAGO, USA. I'M CHAIRMAN OF B'NAI B'RITH'S COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL, GOVERNMENTAL AND ISRAEL AFFAIRS. MR. AMBASSADOR, MY GOVERNMENT, THE UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION, HAS RECENTLY DECLARED ITSELF A FULL PARTNER, QUOTE, UNQUOTE, IN THE PEACE PROCESS. JUST A COUPLE QUESTIONS ABOUT THAT. FIRST, WHAT DOES THIS MEAN, WHAT IS FULL PARTNERSHIP, AND WHAT CAN FULL PARTNERSHIP MEAN? SECOND, WE JUST SAW THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION PUT ON THE TABLE A SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSAL. IS IT HELPFUL FOR THIS ROLE TO BE ONE OF PUTTING FORWARD SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS AS OPPOSED TO FACILITATING THE PROCESS IN A MORE PROCEDURAL SENSE? AND THIRD, FINALLY, ARE THERE OTHER COUNTRIES, OTHER POWERS NOT IN THE REGION, THAT OUGHT TO BE FULL PARTNERS IN THIS PROCESS?

AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH: LET ME BEGIN WITH, WITH YOUR FINAL QUESTION, AND WITH A BRIEF, WITH A BRIEF NEGATIVE ANSWER. THE UNITED STATES IS NOT ONLY THE SOLE SURVIVING SUPERPOWER ON THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, BUT IS THE ONLY PARTY THAT HAS A STANDING WITH BOTH SIDES TO THIS CONFLICT, WHICH WOULD ENABLE IT TO PLAY EFFECTIVELY THE ROLE OF A FULL PARTNER. AND TO PUT IT FROM A COMPLETELY PARTISAN ISRAELI PERSPECTIVE, IS THE ONLY POWER THAT WE FULLY TRUST IN ORDER TO PUT OUR FAITH IN, AND NOT JUST PERMIT, BUT SOMETIMES EVEN ASK TO PLAY THE ROLE OF AN ACTIVE FULL PARTNER. NOW "FULL PARTNER" IS A TERM THAT WAS INTRODUCED, OR REINTRODUCED INTO THE ARENA A FEW WEEKS AGO, ON THE EVE OF THIS ROUND BY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, WHEN HE CAME TO THE REGION. IT'S A TERM THAT WAS CURRENT IN THE LATE '70S, DURING THE DIPLOMACY THAT PRECEDED THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS, AND IT ESSENTIALLY IS A TERM THAT WAS APPETIZING TO THE ARAB SIDE. WE ARE INTERESTED IN DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS. MOST OF THE ARAB NEGOTIATORS WITH US ARE REALLY INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATING WITH

THE UNITED STATES, AND INCIDENTALLY, ALSO WITH US, AND THEREFORE A LARGER U.S. ROLE IS NORMALLY WELCOME TO THE ARAB PARTNERS. WE TAKE A MORE, I'D SAY A MORE AMBIGUOUS VIEW OF THIS, IN THE SENSE THAT WE INSIST ON DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AS PSYCHOLOGICALLY AND POLITICALLY THE ONLY WAY TO NORMALIZE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE OTHER SIDE TO A CONFLICT, BUT WE RECOGNIZE THAT WITHOUT A U.S. ROLE, AN ARAB-ISRAELI DEAL CAN NEVER BE FINALIZED. THAT EVEN PEACE WITH EGYPT, WITH WHICH WE ARE SO PROUD, WAS EFFECTIVELY ACHIEVED IN THE LAST ROUND THROUGH AMERICAN MEDIATION. CAMP DAVID WAS AN INTERESTING AND UNUSUAL EXERCISE IN AMERICAN MEDIATION. AND THEREFORE OUR VIEW OF THIS ROLE OF THE FULL PARTNER IS, ONE, WE ARE FOR IT; SECOND, IT'S BEEN DEFINED BY THE ADMINISTRATION IN A WAY THAT AGREES WITH US. THIRDLY, WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT IT AS LONG AS THE DIRECTNESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IS NOT AFFECTED. I SHOULD ALSO SAY, IN CONCLUSION, THAT THIS ROLE WILL CONTINUE TO EVOLVE AND RIGHTLY SO, AND A FULL PARTNER IN APRIL IS NOT A FULL PARTNER IN JUNE BECAUSE THE NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED, AND A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT ROLE IS CALLED FOR. BUT GIVEN THE FACT THAT WE HAVE A VERY OPEN, CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS ADMINISTRATION, AND WE HAVE NOT HAD ANY IMPORTANT DISAGREEMENT WITH THIS ADMINISTRATION OVER STRATEGY OR TACTICS SINCE IT TOOK POWER, WE ARE NOT IN THE LEAST WORRIED ABOUT THE ROLE OF A FULL PARTNER.

Q: I THINK OF US FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM HAVE A CERTAIN SENSE OF DEJA VU IN THIS WHOLE QUESTION OF NEGOTIATING A DIFFICULT SITUATION, FOR AS YOU KNOW WE HAVE NORTHERN IRELAND, AND NORTHERN IRELAND HAS A CERTAIN NUMBER OF PARALLELS WHICH I WOULD JUST LIKE TO RAISE TO YOU. THE DIFFICULTY, TIME AND TIME AGAIN, OF REACHING A FINAL (INAUDIBLE) ALWAYS BEEN UPSET BY THE TERRORIST ELEMENT AFFECTING THE POLITICAL PARTIES WHO WERE NEGOTIATING, IN OUR CASE THE PROVISIONALS. THE PROVISIONALS (INAUDIBLE) THEY'RE BEING SUPPORTED BY, I'M AFRAID TO SAY, AN IRISH, MOSTLY NORTH AMERICA. WE THEREFORE HAVE A SITUATION QUITE PARALLEL TO THAT IN HAMAS (INAUDIBLE) THE SOUTH OF LEBANON. THESE FORCES CAN, IN MY OPINION (INAUDIBLE) I THINK IN MOST PEOPLE'S, EFFECTIVELY UNDERMINE REAL SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. I'M THEREFORE ASKING--IT TAKES TWO TO TANGO--I'M THEREFORE ASKING YOU WHY AN APPROACH IS NOT MADE TO THE UNITED NATIONS TO PUT EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON COUNTRIES LIKE IRAN TO MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THEM TO FINANCIALLY AND OTHERWISE SUPPORT THIS FORM OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY (INAUDIBLE) YOU CANNOT NEGOTIATE WITH A GUN PUT AGAINST YOUR HEAD (INAUDIBLE) NEGOTIATORS ON THE WEST BANK, IF THEY THINK THAT TOMORROW THEY'LL BE DEAD.

AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH: THANK YOU FOR THE QUESTION. IT COULD ALSO HAVE BEEN--THE EXAMPLE COULD ALSO HAVE BEEN RAISED WHEN WE WERE TALKING ABOUT DOUBLE STANDARDS. FOR SOME OF THE BRITISH MEDIA THERE ARE TERRORISTS IN IRELAND AND GUERILLA FIGHTERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT-- (LAUGHTER.)

Q: (INAUDIBLE) (LAUGHTER.)

AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH: RIGHT. BUT IN ANY EVENT, I AGREE WITH THE ANALYSIS THAT TERRORISTS, PARTICULARLY SUPPORTED BY STATES WHO HAVE ALL THE PARAPHERNALIA OF A STATE ORGANIZATION, CAN UNDERMINE A PEACE PROCESS, PARTICULARLY A FRAGILE PEACE PROCESS, AND FRAGILE THIS PEACE PROCESS WILL CONTINUE TO BE. I MENTIONED EARLIER THAT IT WAS THE FUNDAMENTALIST CHALLENGE TO THE PEACE PROCESS THAT LED TO THE DEPORTATIONS AND ALMOST DERAILED THIS PEACE PROCESS, AT LEAST DELAYED IT FOR SOME TIME. AND IRAN IS ONE OF THE MAJOR, NOT THE ONLY BACKER OF TERRORISM IN THE REGION. SO WE AGREE THUS FAR. I THINK WE, WE MAY HAVE A SLIGHT DIVERGENCE OR DISAGREEMENT ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF U.N. POLICIES AND SANCTIONS AS AGAINST STATES SUPPORTING TERRORISM. YOU KNOW, THERE ARE SANCTIONS ON LIBYA. THERE HAVE BEEN SANCTIONS ON LIBYA FOR A LONG, LONG TIME OVER THE LOCKERBIE AFFAIR, AND THE TWO INDIVIDUALS IN QUESTION HAVE YET TO BE HANDED (OVER). LIBYA IS UNDER THE PRESSURE AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE LIBYANS FEEL THE HEAT, BUT IT'S BEEN AN AWFULLY LONG TIME, AND THE TWO INDIVIDUALS IN QUESTION ARE STILL THERE. AND I'M JUST DOUBTFUL THAT U.N. MEASURES IN THEMSELVES WILL, WILL SUFFICE. THE UNITED STATES EXERTS PRESSURE ON, ON IRAN. THERE ARE SANCTIONS ON IRAN. THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT SELL IRAN CERTAIN TYPE OF EQUIPMENT. BUT THERE ARE OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD WHO WOULD BE DELIGHTED TO STEP IN AND HAVE THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF SELLING WHAT THE UNITED STATES WILL NOT SELL. IT'S VERY DIFFICULT TO ENFORCE INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS. SO LET ME CONCLUDE BY SAYING THAT WE AGREE ON THE ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM AND WE HAVE YET TO AGREE ON A SOLUTION.

MODERATOR: CAN I RESERVE FOR MYSELF THE LAST QUESTION, PLEASE. WE HAVE BEEN VERY INVOLVED AND INTERESTED AS AN ORGANIZATION IN SYRIA, AND WITH OUR SYRIAN JEWS. AT ONE TIME PRESIDENT ASSAD SEEMED TO AGREE TO LET JEWS, WHOEVER WANTED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, BE ABLE TO LEAVE, AND THEN THERE WAS AN OUTFLOW OF MANY. AND ALL OF A SUDDEN THE GATE SORT OF CLOSED AND THERE'S JUST BEEN A TRICKLE COMING OUT. COULD YOU COMMENT ON THAT, AND IS THAT BEING SOMETHING THAT ASSAD WOULD LIKE TO USE AS A POLITICAL NEGOTIATING CHIP? AND SINCE YOU'RE INVOLVED WITH THOSE SYRIAN NEGOTIATIONS, WE WOULD APPRECIATE HEARING FROM YOU.

AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH: THANK YOU. I WILL BE RATHER ECONOMICAL IN WHAT I SAY ABOUT THIS. THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT BEST BE DEALT WITH--IS BEST DEALT WITH DISCRETELY, AND IT CONCERNS THE FATE OF THOUSANDS OF HUMAN BEINGS, AND I WOULDN'T WANT TO JEOPARDIZE THE PROSPECTS OF ANY OF THEM TO, TO MOVE FROM PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF LIFE TO FREEDOM BY SAYING, BY SAYING TOO MUCH ON THE RECORD. I'LL JUST SAY THAT THIS IS NOT AN ISSUE THAT IS DEALT WITH IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS--HAS BEEN DEALT WITH PRIMARILY BETWEEN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF SYRIA. IT WAS EFFECTIVE UNTIL LAST FALL. CHANGES OCCURRED LAST FALL AND I WOULD PIN MY, MY EXPECTATIONS ON A RESOLUTION OF THE DIFFICULTIES ON U.S. GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY.

MODERATOR: THANK YOU. (APPLAUSE.)

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
מזתים, רביב, מעת, הסברה, @ (דוצ), @ (בן עמי/משהבט)

סססס

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שמור/מייד

אל : רוה"מ
 דע : לשכת שה"ח, ממוכ"ל
 מאת : השגריר, וושינגטון

כמובטח, אני שולח לך בנפרד בפקס. שלושה מאמרים מבין שפע
~~המאמרים שהופיעו בשבועיים האחרונים ומונחים את קשיי~~
~~התפקוד ואת ירידת הפופולריות של הנושא קלינטון.~~
 יחד עם צוות השגרירות אני עובד על מסמך אינטגרטיבי קצר
 שיונח נושאים אלה ואת השלכת התמונה המתקבלת עליו. הנייר ישלח
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Making His Way Out of the Muddle He Made

By GWEN IFILL

AS President Clinton strolled onto the White House Lawn Friday morning for an educational ceremony, he was greeted by the ruffles and murishes of the Marine Band. The day was sunny, the new Ways and Means committee had just passed his package and all seemed well at 11 Pennsylvania Avenue.

"The Music Band has been in especially fine form this morning," the President remarked cheerily. "I woke up them. I was getting to them. I almost felt like a President this morning sure."

It was a long time coming, this sense of comfort. The President seemed more battered than confident recently. His economic package had suffered from what Treasury Secretary Fred Bentsen delicately called a "diffusion of the object" and the President is now determined to regain his focus.

Recognizing that their pitch has lacked an organic theme, the members of Bill Clinton's political brain trust have sketched out a new approach for the President. They hope to restore his standing as a leader with a clear sense of what he was elected to do.

"Out in the real world, people know that things are related, things are integrated," said Paul Begala, political consultant who advises the President. "In Washington, one of the problems is that things are broken down into their component parts. Things are considered in a vacuum, not in context."

Mr. Clinton plans to knit the strands back together by undertaking tasks that he all but ignored during his first weeks in his Administration: traveling outside Washington, hammering away at a single theme and reporters here — wooing the press.

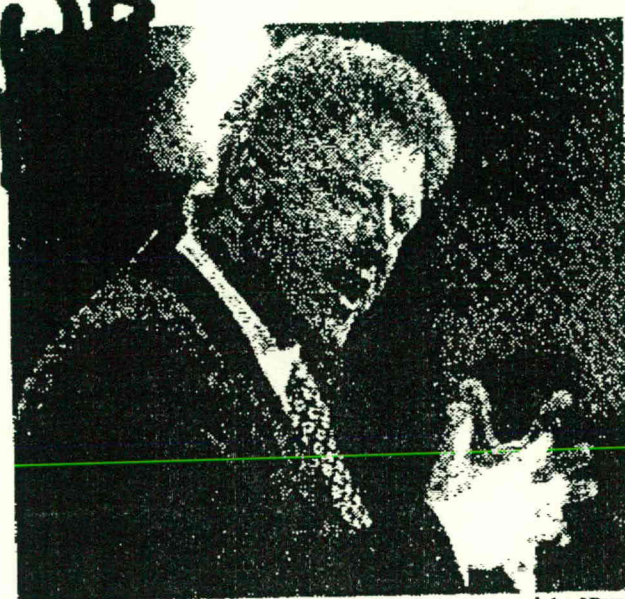
When Mr. Clinton and his Vice President Al Gore decided to package their campaign promises last year, they published "The People's First," a modest little paper in which everything seemed so simple.

The Southern baby-boomers had hit on a simple approach, simple package and an attractive mess. Little did they know how messy it would all become.

The loosely focused Clinton campaign quickly evolved in the famously scattered Clinton Administration. All the ideas detailed so neatly in the campaign came across to Americans as an unwieldy bunch of arbitrary ideas laden with suspicious new taxes.

Mr. Bentsen, in a meeting with reporters, acknowledged as much last week.

"For the past few weeks, you might not have known that we have a four-year \$500 billion deficit reduction package," he said. "You'd think all we were going through was a stack of unrelated bills. But the fact is we're building one item at a time, a deficit reduction



President Clinton promoting his budget plan and domestic agenda in Cleveland last week.

The President will try to return to the strategies of his famously focused campaign.

Mr. Clinton scored an unalloyed victory when the House committee passed his tax package virtually intact. The party-line vote smoothed the way for a measure that would increase taxes for higher income Social Security recipients and wealthier individuals and energy users and increase tax breaks for the working poor.

Administration officials were happy to bask in the glow of their success and even admit to the mistakes they made along the way. They have confessed to fuzziness of purpose, an extended bout of hubris and a fundamental misunderstanding of the balance of power between the opposite ends of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Mr. Clinton and his advisers always saw the common thread that ran through the President's proposals. In them, campaign finance and welfare and health care and urban development grants and college tuition aid and immunization and energy taxes all seemed naturally linked.

Administration goals looked like the worries of the world crammed into a barrel.

When the President announced last week that he would support a measure to create a deficit trust fund to receive all new tax revenues, he showed that he was catching on. It was a symbolic statement, but in the attention it paid to public perception, it was a telling one.

"Until we can prove that we have the discipline to control our budget, I don't think we'll have the elbow room necessary to have the kind of targeted investments we need," Mr. Clinton said at a news conference on Friday.

Road Warrior

Even the measure's sponsors were unprepared for the Presidential endorsement, which was immediately denounced by Republicans as a gimmick. But White House officials were sanguine about the criticism. They wanted a weapon to take on the road when the President travels to California this week, and they got one.

By the end of the week, the White House had produced three senior officials — Mr. Bentsen, budget director Leon Panetta and Laura D'Andrea Tyson, who heads the Council of Economic Advisers — to emphasize the good news.

In the Rose Garden on Friday, Mr. Clinton followed through on the strategy he has devised with his advisers to drive his point home.

On his swing through Illinois, Ohio, New Mexico and California, he will try to build support for his economic policies. At home, he will send muted warnings to Congress.

"We have to win inside by playing outside," one of his advisers said.

But even as the President struggles for discipline, he has had trouble concealing his exasperation when things do not go his way.

"On one day people say, 'He's trying to do too much, he's pushing too hard, he wants too much change,' and then on the other day says, 'Well, he's really not pushing very hard,'" he told reporters, with more than a hint of pique. "I think we're getting good results."

"I love the way all our victories are discounted," he spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, said later.

Yet Mr. Clinton was pleased with the results of the news conference and with his week, his aides said later. The White House had intended to take advantage of a lull in activities in Bosnia to make news only about the economy, no matter what else he was asked.

But the President remains puzzled about some basic vagaries of Washington political life. Admitting error does not come easily to him, and he has learned the hard way that striking out at those who oppose him is often ill advised.

"There is a permanent government here, but there's also a permanent political culture," he told The Washington Post in an interview published Friday. "And I have to learn — it is my job as President to make the most of that instead

The New Republic

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WHITE HOUSE WATCH

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BACK TO BASICS

By Fred Barnes

During the presidential campaign, Bill Clinton was a persistent advocate of public school choice. This not only firmed up his credentials as a "new" Democrat. He actually liked the idea, having installed a school choice program in Arkansas. School choice got a further plug in *Putting People First*, Clinton's campaign book. He pledged to "help states develop public school choice programs like Arkansas's." And in the presidential debate in Richmond, Virginia, last October, Clinton endorsed a variant of school choice: innovative "charter" schools started by teachers under contract to public school authorities. "I can't think we should spend tax money on private schools, but I favor... radical decentralization in giving more power to better trained principals and teachers."

That was last year, when Clinton was playing an outside game, appealing to voters. Now, as president, he's playing an inside game, catering to congressional Democrats, liberal interest groups and his own administration. School choice and charter schools have practically vanished from his agenda. It took sustained lobbying by several White House aides, primarily William Galston, to get charter schools included at all in Clinton's education package. Al From, president of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council and a Clinton adviser, also intervened, going directly to Education Secretary Richard Riley. (The m.c. has championed charter schools.) Even with all that, charter schools wound up far down the list of suggested programs to which states might devote no more than 13 percent of their federal education assistance. Only "collecting and analyzing data" is a lower priority.

Clinton is a prisoner of his governing coalition. As a candidate, he ran from the center out. He was a centrist who also trolled for liberal support. Centrist ideas like welfare reform and middle-class tax relief got top billing. As president, he's governing from the left in. Liberal proposals such as the economic stimulus bill and ending restrictions on abortion come first. And popular centrist ideas such as charter schools are shunned because the coalition opposes them. Why? The coalition's most important member, the Democratic caucus in Congress, is predominantly liberal. So are the interest groups in the party's orbit in Washington (organized labor, feminists, blacks, environmentalists). So is the Clinton administration itself. He is desperate to avoid Jimmy Carter state, Carter ran as a centrist, then tried to govern as one. He failed. Instead

of capitulating to Congress, he confronted his own party members, advocating cuts in cherished pork barrel projects. The left rebelled, challenging his policies at the Party's midterm convention in 1978 and then his renomination in 1980. Wounded, he lost the presidency to Ronald Reagan. Clinton's situation isn't exactly analogous to Carter's. The left, having endured a dozen years of Republican rule, is more chastened now. Largely thanks to Ross Perot, support for spending cuts is greater. But the institutional pull of the governing coalition is still there. And it's dragging him down.

Take the Education Department. The interest group with clout are teachers' unions, the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers. Both endorsed Clinton early in the presidential campaign. School choice and charter schools are not their cup of tea. Thus "there was a distinct lack of enthusiasm for charter schools" at Education, says a Clinton adviser. "Thank God Clinton once endorsed charter schools. Absent that, charter schools probably wouldn't have made it into the administration's education plan at all."

The line item veto, another popular staple of Clinton outside game, has fared worse. Clinton still endorses the idea. "I'm for the line item veto," he told the National Newspaper Association in Boston on April 25. "There are Democrats that are against it and Republicans that are for it." Only the Democratic opponents, especially Senate Robert Byrd of West Virginia, matter. Clinton is afraid to buck them. Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona sought Clinton's help in March when he pressed to give the president a line item veto. Clinton offered not. Weeks after McCain's amendment was brushed aside on a procedural vote, Clinton wrote the senator a disingenuous letter: "I stand committed to my position that the line item veto must be addressed in Congress as free-standing legislation and not as an amendment." In fact, this was new position for Clinton. Since the Senate Democratic leadership won't allow a separate vote, he's off the hook.

Relying on a liberal coalition has gotten Clinton in trouble. Best example: the economic stimulus, now decreased. It's a program, Clinton noted in Boston. "I did not campaign on in the campaign of 1992. I ran a fiscally responsible campaign." Rather, it was concocted on Clinton got to Washington partly as a sweetener to let the congressional Democrats swallow his stab at serious deficit reduction. As such, it worked. But since \$16.3 billion is spending earmarked chiefly for Democratic constituencies, Republicans rebelled. Senate leader Bob Dole was able to hold all forty-three Republicans together in opposition because public pressure the package was nonexistent.

There's a flip side to this embarrassing defeat for Clinton. He could instantly stir public enthusiasm if he proposed the opposite of the stimulus package, namely deep new spending cuts. The public appetite for less government and lower taxes is ravenous now, greater than during the reign of President Reagan, an evangelist for big government. In a recent *ABC/Washington Post* poll by 67 percent of Americans, Clinton insists he's eager

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more cuts. "I will say to you what I say to every day," he learned in Boston. "Send me a list of the things you want cut because we found 200 things that we were cutting that weren't cut in the previous budget, and we're not done yet." In truth, he is done. He's already gotten lists of spending cuts from Republicans and Democrats. He's ignored them for a simple reason. His governing coalition is more hostile to spending cuts than it is to a line when he recommended sweeping cuts during White House budget deliberations, and was rebuffed.

The sad case of the Democratic Leadership Council also reflects Clinton's migration from new Democrat to old, from centrist to liberal, from playing an outside game to concentrating on an inside game. The D.L.C. is the main source of fresh Democratic thinking and is Clinton's natural ideological home. Clinton was D.L.C. chairman until he became a presidential candidate in 1991. Then he centered his campaign on D.L.C. ideas: welfare reform, school choice, middle-class tax cut, etc. Now it looks like the D.L.C. was seduced and dumped by Clinton. It has virtually no role in his governing coalition.

When the Clinton administration staffed up, liberal groups often exercised veto power over potential nominees. Environmentalists barred Lawrence Summers as chief White House economist. Senate Democrats nixed Paul Volcker as Treasury Secretary. But the D.L.C. had no veto. It had to make a herculean effort to get jobs in the second or third tier for its policy experts. Bruce Reed was Clinton's campaign issues director, but he was pushed aside as White House domestic policy adviser for "diversity" reasons. A woman, Carol Rasco, got the job. Reed is her deputy. Elaine Kamarck, who's written coherently on family policy, was passed over for jobs at the Education Department and Health and Human Services Department. Her crime: she once wrote that Hillary Clinton should stay out of the limelight in the campaign. Kamarck finally hooked up with Vice President Gore's staff. Neither of the top officials at the D.L.C.'s think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, got jobs. Will Marshall lost out at the State Department, and Rob Shapiro, an influential economics adviser in the campaign, failed to win an economics post. For them, affiliation with the D.L.C. had become a stigma.

That may soon change. The defeat of Clinton's economic stimulus package has prompted the White House to reconsider its agenda and legislative strategy. Clinton's governing coalition failed him in the Senate. Republicans not only won the vote. They framed the issue better. Dole characterized the stimulus package as pork barrel that would boost the deficit. Clinton cast it as a jobs bill. Worse, Panetta warned publicly that more defeats may follow—on aid to Russia, the North American Free Trade Agreement, parts of his long-term economic program, health care.

Throughout the stimulus package struggle, Clinton's image suffered badly, an especially alarming development at the White House. In a fight with Dole, of all people, Clinton came off as an insider and representative of the old politics. And why not? The Senate floor leader and spokesman for his stimulus package was Byrd, the

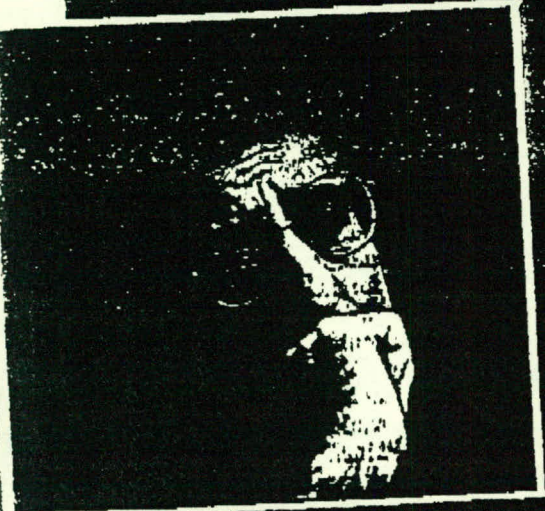
pork barrel king. Proof of Clinton's image trouble came a new poll delivered to the White House that showed Clinton is now falling short of a major political goal, attracting Ross Perot's voters. They're staying with Perot, since they stuck when Perot was saying nice things about Clinton, they're not likely to jump now that he's attacking the president mercilessly.

Clinton has an option: return to his centrist roots. It's ~~entirely~~ ^{entirely} ~~been~~ ^{been} the D.L.C.'s moderate initiatives upgraded. At a White House strategy session on April 23, Clinton asked about all of them: welfare reform, community policing, national service, even charter schools. He talked about reviving themes that worked in the campaign. Al From was among those invited to the meeting. All this signals a shift away from Clinton's governing coalition, but how big a shift is anybody's guess. As Clinton knows, it's risky for a Democrat to govern as a centrist. But times have changed since Carter. Congressional Democrats and liberal interest groups need Clinton more than he needs them. And the president may just be starting to realize it. •

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The hottest topic is when to push health care: Panetta (left) was not on 'message'



DENNIS BRACE—BLACK STAB (INSET) WALLY McNAMEE FOR NEWSWEEK

Close to Overload

As his poll numbers drop, Clinton faces the worry he has taken on too much



Bill Clinton wants it all—and therein lies the problem. Last week, with his health-care plan near completion and his wife and other key advisers pushing for prompt and bold action, Clinton came face to face with the con-

tention that Congress is close to overload. His own budget director told him so, and many leading Democrats agreed. A new **Newsweek** Poll showed that 59 percent of the public thinks Clinton is trying to do too much—and worse, that his job-approval rating has now slipped to 46 percent, the lowest figure for any recent incumbent at an equivalent period of his presidency. Against that bleak backdrop, Clinton faced the all-important decision of just how soon to push ahead with a health-reform plan that is the biggest piece of social legislation since the New Deal. This tactical decision, one White House aide said, is "the hottest topic of internal dispute... we're scared to death about this and praying that we make

the right decision about the timing."

The upshot, at the weekend, was that the administration seemed divided between pragmatists like budget director Leon Panetta, who want the president to play it safe, and idealists like Hillary Rodham Clinton, who want him to go for it all. There are potentially big risks, and big gains, either way. If Clinton pushes forward, taking his case for health-care reform to the voters, he could reignite the optimism of his first days in office and force Congress to do his bidding. But if he fails—if the voters don't rally and Congress doesn't roll—he could lose his political momentum and perhaps his health plan, too. Given his steady decline in the polls, Clinton desperately needs a win. As a result, one White House staffer says, the seemingly narrow ques-

tion of timing may be a defining moment of the still-young Clinton presidency.

The specific issue is an impending collision between the two biggest priorities of Clinton's first year in office, controlling the deficit and health reform. The Clin-

ton deficit plan, now drafted as a mammoth budget bill in the House, is in some danger of coming unraveled. Panetta and other Beltway veterans think its political prospects will only get worse if the administration populates its health-care plan, which will include new taxes, on Congress's plate before the deficit deal is done. "We need every vote we can get," or House leader said last week. "We can't talk about health care financing, or we'll lose a bunch of members."

This was the message th Clinton heard over and over again last week. He heard

NEWSWEEK POLL

Would you favor or oppose additional taxes to pay for reforming and expanding health care in the United States?

CURRENT 3/26

Favor 56% 50%
Oppose 37% 47%

Is Clinton taking on too many issues as president?

58% Yes
36% No

From the **Newsweek** Poll of April 29-30, 1993

first from Panetta, the most prominent "deficit hawk" within the administration. Panetta fairly rocked Washington with a deeply pessimistic—and on-the-record—assessment of Clinton's relations with Congress, warning his boss to hold off on pushing health-care reform until his economic plan had cleared the House and Senate. Panetta also said the North American Free Trade Agreement, which would create a common market with Canada and Mexico, was probably "dead" in Congress, and he added that he was "very nervous" about the nation's economic health. Most

of all, Panetta said, Clinton could salvage his legislative program only if he "defines his priorities" more clearly—which is exactly what many old hands in Washington, and at least some of Clinton's economic advisers, also think.

Mr. Mellow: White House sources said Clinton at first reacted angrily to Panetta's apostasy. But the president was Mr. Mellow the next day, telling reporters that Panetta had "had a bad day" and that he only wanted to "buck him up," not "take him to the woodshed." Clinton also restated his intention to announce his long-awaited plan for health reform on schedule—which means sometime later this month, possibly in a speech before a joint session of Congress on May 25. The White House in fact is already gearing up for a nationwide health-reform blitz complete with multiple appearances by Clinton and Hillary and a specially formed political marketing organization spun off from the Democratic National Committee. This group, modeled on the "interactive" campaigns pioneered by Jerry Brown and Ross Perot, will employ an 800-number for citizen-volunteers and promote the formation of grass-roots coalitions to pressure Congress. And while some are wary of a multimillion-dollar "disinformation" campaign from the special interests, a senior White House aide said, "We have the president, and we have millions of Americans who want the system changed."

That much is certainly true. But what Clinton doesn't have—and it matters a lot—is solid support on the Hill. The problem, in part, is that Senate Republicans are successfully wag-

ing parliamentary guerrilla war against the Clinton program: led by Sen. Bob Dole, the GOP last month managed to wreck Clinton's economic-stimulus package with a filibuster. But the real problem is the Democrats, who must somehow hold the line against the GOP and, it can fairly be said, swallow their doubts about the administration's priorities. Last week—shortly after the president's vow to push ahead on health reform—Rep. Dan Rostenkowski delivered a highly disparaging view of the Clinton health plan. Rostenkowski, who as chair-

man of the House Ways and Means Committee is a pivotal player on both issues, said the administration's health plan was "the domestic equivalent of Star Wars" because it includes "elaborate linkages between several different institutions, none of which exist here or anywhere else."

Although an aide later insisted that Rostenkowski actually supports Clinton's determination to move quickly on health care, there was no mistaking the message in the chairman's stinging choice of words. There is, similarly, little doubt that Rostenkowski

The 'Soul' and Sell of National Service

No Kennedy administration program captured the era's spirit of idealism like the Peace Corps. Bill Clinton was an impressionable Hot Springs, Ark., teenager when the corps was in its heyday, dispatching thou-



THE CALL: At Smith College

sands of young American volunteers overseas to work in developing nations. More than 30 years later, Clinton is trying to launch his own inspirational "signature" program—a plan that offers college scholarship money in exchange for one or two years' work in a public-service job. But converting his dream to policy won't be easy. National service was a cornerstone of Clinton's 1992 presidential campaign. Yet the program he outlined in

New Orleans last Friday is a shadow of last year's sweeping rhetoric. As a candidate, Clinton promoted a plan to make full-ride college loans available to students willing to work or repay the money through payroll deductions.

But the price tag—\$30 billion over the first three years—made the idea a nonstarter. The trimmed-down version (\$3 billion for 150,000 national-service workers by 1997) would make up to \$10,000 in college awards available to anyone over 17 who works one year full-time or two years part-time in a minimum-wage educational, environmental or health job.

Clinton also proposed revamping the federal student-loan program, bypassing banks and establishing a system of direct federal loans. Students uninterested in service could repay the money as a small portion of their annual income rather than a monthly check to a bank. The plan might encourage more young people to take low-paying jobs that address social needs.

Clinton advisers think the universal-loan idea is a political winner. But some of his more tough-minded aides have little use for national service. One of Clinton's consultants regards it as an

idealistic foible of Clinton's. "Every candidate has one of these things," he said. "You humor him and you move on." But Communications Director George Stephanopoulos, among others, championed the program, calling it "the soul of what we ran on."

Waiting game: Opponents have been pecking away at the proposal for months. Veterans groups forced the White House to lower the maximum grant from \$13,000 to \$10,000, just below the amount available through the GI Bill. Banks are unhappy at the prospect of losing the lucrative \$54 billion student-loan market. While the bill should clear the House, the Senate will be tougher. The program's complicated managerial structure—a network of state commissions overseen by a national board—will be denounced by the GOP as an example of Democratic big government. Even Sen. John Breaux of Louisiana, chairman of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council, which Clinton helped found, says the measure won't pass this year. Lawmakers will soon be inundated with a massive health-care reform package. In the Clinton pantheon, job creation, deficit reduction and campaign-finance reform are more urgent priorities. He may have to wait before he can put his signature on an idea close to his heart.

HOWARD FINEMAN in Washington

and many other Democratic leaders see health-care reform as a gargantuan task—too much for anyone legislative year. House leaders have promised to fast-track the budget, and the administration is trying to get Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, to make the same commitment. But the Clinton budget plan contains highly controversial elements, such as a new energy tax and higher taxes on the social-security benefits paid to upscale retirees, and the Ways and Means Committee has barely begun its

work. According to committee sources, Rostenkowski has recently been heard to shout, "Don't talk to me about health care until we're done with [the budget]—don't mix 'em up."

White House aide Bruce Lindsey, one of Clinton's closest advisers, got the same message when he toured Capitol Hill last week. And Hillary Clinton, who briefed a bipartisan group of senators on health reform, reportedly faced tough questioning by Republicans and polite skepticism from some Democrats when she said the

new program would cost less than \$100 billion in new spending. The timing of Clinton's health-care offensive, one White House aide said, must now be regarded as "a real crapshoot, and the fact that the First Lady is running it raises the stakes." The real question is whether Clinton can break the gridlock and get Congress moving again—and that, as always, takes the kind of decision making that only a shrewd and determined president can provide.

TOM MORGANTHAU with ELEANOR CLIFT and MARK MILLER in Washington

Perot: Rattling the White House

White House economic aide Gene Sperling, a Yale-trained lawyer with a sharp eye for weak spots in an opponent's case, has a new task these days: poring over the writings of Ross Perot. Elsewhere in the West Wing, aides are expecting that Perot will oppose Bill Clinton's health-care plan—and are reacting accordingly. They're wondering aloud how much money Perot's data-processing firms have made handling health-care claims. "What's his stake in the system as it exists?" asks one adviser. Even the normally equable president has begun taking an occasional shot at Perot, while his aides debate whether it's time for escalation.

Perot is up on the White House radar screen these days for a simple reason: some fairly startling new survey numbers. The latest are in the **Newsweek Poll**. If the last election were rerun now, the poll shows, Perot would fare noticeably better—while both Clinton and George Bush would do worse. In another new survey, conducted by a bipartisan team of Washington polltakers, 46 percent of those interviewed said they would "consider" voting for Perot again. That's up from 24 percent five months ago. "Perot has become one of the strongest political forces in the country," says Republican polltaker Ed Goess.

As President Clinton jousts with Bob Dole and faces ago-

nizing decisions about Bosnia, taxes and health care, Perot is successfully positioning himself as the Opposition of One. In harsh language, he de-



On screen: Ross and friend.

NEWSWEEK POLL

If the elections were rerun today, whom would you vote for?

	CURRENT	'92 VOTE
Clinton	38%	43%
Bush	31%	38%
Perot	26%	19%

Is Ross Perot's criticism of President Clinton:

35% Generally constructive
49% Just politics

For this Newsweek Poll, Princeton Survey Research Associates interviewed a national sample of 750 adults by telephone April 29-30. The margin of error is +/- 4 percentage points. Some "Don't know" and other responses not shown. The Newsweek Poll © 1993 by Newsweek, Inc.

nounces Clinton and elbows Republicans out of the limelight. Inside the Beltway Dole wins praise, or at least ink, for his sardonic intransigence. But Clinton and his aides know that in the rest of the country Republicans are not the only threat. "They won't say it publicly, but they are obsessed with Perot and his supporters," says one top Democratic polltaker. "It's almost at the level of the hysteria. Every other sentence is how do we get his people?" Perot has sharpened his spiel into a disingenuously simple message: whack spending, balance the books, bust the grip of both parties. He now lumps Clinton with Bush as a promise-breaking dissembler and accuses the administration of "flying blind without instruments." Recent events strengthen Perot's claim that only a genuine "outsider" can remake Washington. Campaign-finance reform—a top Perot issue—won't be sweeping once congressional insiders finish "improving" it. White House attacks on Dole could yield more congressional gridlock, not less. The GOP's nay-saying stance leaves the field open for a vision of salvation. "There's a void out there, and Perot fills it," says Goess.

As usual, Clintonians are of several minds about how to react. One theory is to ignore Perot. He merely divides the opposition, in this view. "He's not hurting us much, but he's

absolutely killing Republicans" by siphoning off GOP support, says Clinton guru James Carville. In addition, Carville contends, the president's main task is to achieve new legislative successes—good notices for his health-care package or final passage of his economic plan—that will convince voters Clinton is the agent of "real change."

But it's now clear that success in Congress depends in part on convincing skittish members that Perot is no colossus. So another, quite different approach is gaining favor: to force a closer examination of Perot's own rhetoric. In 1992 the Texan claimed the high ground on the deficit by proposing a mix of taxes and spending cuts—some of which Clinton mimicked. Now Perot is after the easy score, touting term limits and a balanced-budget amendment and criticizing the notion of tax sacrifice he once championed. "It's about time that the media take a closer look at what he's saying," complained one top White House aide.

So far, Clinton himself mostly has held his fire. That may not last. Newsweek's Poll shows that voters don't think Perot's motives are pure: only a third say his criticism of Clinton is "generally constructive." Most say his attacks are "just politics." In the end, Clinton may have to take on the task of proving that his leading critic is no saint—or at least that he's just another politician.

HOWARD FINEMAN

For the Candidate and the President, Then and Now Are the Same

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton's famous campaign sign, "The economy, stupid," was not posted in his war room in Little Rock, Ark., to symbolize the candidate's success in staying fo-

cused. Instead, it was there as a constant reminder of how hard it was to keep the often-undisciplined Clinton campaign on track.

At a time when the president is under fire for losing his focus and jumping into too many issues at once, White House aides now

chuckle at the comparisons that have been repeatedly drawn between the unfocused President Clinton and the supposedly well-focused Candidate Clinton.

The notion that the Clinton campaign was a finely honed, highly disciplined operation has become, as many of those involved acknowledge, more myth than reality.

In fact, there are some troubling parallels between the campaign and Clinton's first months in office counteracting the idea that if he could only recapture the campaign mode, his problems would be solved. Those parallels suggest there are some persistent problems inherent in Clinton's

rating style that he and his advisers will have to battle constantly to get the kind of success in governing that they had in campaigning.

Every campaign is a constant juggle to stay focused," a Clinton adviser said. "And it's easier to stay used in a campaign than it is as president."

As presidential aides wrestle with the question of how to help the president regain his political balance, they agree that "focus" is an oversimplification of the problems Clinton faces.

More fundamental are tactical missteps in dealing with Congress and Clinton's inability to strike a delicate balance between posing as an outsider giving voice to the public's frustra-

tations about gridlock and being an effective insider who can break the gridlock and implement policies to improve the economy.

If Clinton as president finds it hard to stay focused on the economy or to maintain discipline in his message, the same was true at many points in the campaign.

Clinton generally was a better candidate battling adversity than he was when he was trying to set his own agenda. At this time a year ago, although he had the Democratic nomination in hand, Clinton was in one of the worst troughs of the campaign. Even after he won the California primary in June, he was struggling so much that advisers booked him on the "Arsenio Hall Show" and MTV in

hopes of forcing the public to look at him anew.

One adviser, thinking back, pointed only to the final week in New Hampshire in February, when Clinton was fighting for survival, and the weeks immediately after the Democratic National Convention in July, as the two periods when the campaign and the candidate were truly focused.

Another adviser recalled that it was not until a trio of events—the preparation of a new economic plan, the selection of Sen. Albert Gore Jr. as a running mate and the successful Democratic convention—that Clinton's campaign began to operate efficiently. Even during the fall cam-

See CLINTON, A5, Col. 1

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Clinton Advisers Make Mid-Course Correction

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CLINTON. From A4

paigned, when Clinton was more consistently at his best, he strayed off message and had trouble maintaining his momentum.

If there are complaints today about a White House staff that lacks discipline and organization, the same was true of the early days of Clinton's presidential campaign. The only difference is that the campaign made many of its mistakes in relative obscurity; today's missteps are magnified a thousandfold.

It took almost nine months for Clinton's campaign to get organized. The vaunted war room in Little Rock did not really take shape until after the convention, and only then did Clinton agree to put consultant James Carville in charge of day-to-day operations of the campaign.

For months there were no clear lines of authority, and campaign advisers were driven to distraction by Clinton's style of reaching beyond his inner circle to friends outside the campaign for advice and strategy.

Campaign veterans winced at memories of the early days, when members of the high command were spread from Arkansas to California to Washington to wherever Clinton was campaigning. The decision-making process revolved around chaotic morning conference calls better remembered for their endless banter than for clear orders.

Somehow Clinton prevailed, a combination of his tenacity and ability to learn from his mistakes, as well as the weakness of his opponents and the public's clear desire to change course. Now that the problems are Clinton's, the margin of error for mistakes has been lessened. But the veterans of the campaign take heart from the knowledge that the president is one of his best critics and learns from his mistakes.

White House officials argue that Clinton began a mid-course correction last week. They point to the three days he spent outside Washington—and his upcoming trip to New Mexico and California on Monday and Tuesday—as evidence that he understands the importance of becoming the chief public salesman for his economic program.

They also used the House Ways and Means Committee's passage of the tax portion of the president's economic

plan to argue that Clinton's overall program, despite the loss of the stimulus package, is on track.

Still some are privately gloomy about the course of events. "We have to make the debate between what we stand for and what they [Republicans] stand for," one adviser said.

Aides say the biggest mistake the White House has made so far was not agreeing to a compromise on its stimulus package with Democratic Sens. David L. Boren (D-Okla.) and John Breaux (D-La.). That decision, they say now, allowed the Republicans to filibuster the bill and, in the process, set the terms of the debate.

Despite the success in the House last week, administration officials know that, if they had a real war room in the White House, the sign on the wall would read, "It's the Senate, stupid." Clinton's energy tax faces substantial opposition in the Finance Committee, and his spending initiatives are likely to be scaled back in the name of deficit reduction.

Waiting backstage is the proposal to overhaul health care and the prospect of more proposed taxes and a complicated package that will be easy to attack by opponents and difficult to explain by Clinton and his supporters.

"I don't think he's lost on the economic issues," said Rep. Jim Slattery (D-Kan.). "But the president does need to go directly to the American people and resell his program and resell it every day."

There's no argument about that at the White House, but the real question is, what should Clinton say. That is a problem that has bedeviled Clinton since he launched his candidacy for president in 1991. There are so many things he wants to talk about, and the public sees largely a blur, giving Republicans room to convince voters that what Clinton is really about is raising taxes.

"The most important thing is to say: Here's what this revolution is about; here's how we plan to change America in the next four years," one Democrat said.

But Clinton's advisers have not settled on a strategy for doing that, and aides disagree on the best course. Clinton and his advisers are at least focused intently on that problem. But the real history of Clinton's campaign for the presidency suggests the solution will not be as easy—or as permanent—as the experts would like it to be.

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TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 18-MAY-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYP: 'PALESTINIAN INTRANSIGENCE': WRITER ARGUES THAT THE NINTH ROUND OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS IN WASHINGTON ENDED 'ON A SOUR NOTE'; SAYS THAT THE NOTION THAT ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS ARE CLOSE TO A JOINT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IS 'MOOT'; CLAIMS THAT ISRAEL MADE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS TO GIVE THE TALKS MOMENTUM BUT THAT THE PALESTINIANS BY CONTRAST 'OFFERED NOTHING'; URGES THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S AGREEMENT TO NEGOTIATE WITH A PALESTINIAN DELEGATION HEADED BY AN ARAB WITH CLOSE TIES TO THE PLO AND ITS PERMIT TO ALLOW DEPORTED PALESTINIANS TO RETURN TO THE TERRITORIES.

COLUMNS

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ND(R.VIGILANTE): 'SEND PROF. JEFFRIES PACKING TO PODUNK': WRITER CRITICIZES CLAIMS MADE BY CUNY OFFICIALS THAT THEY REMOVED PROFESSOR JEFFRIES FROM HIS POST AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK STUDIES DEPARTMENT FOR REASONS OF INCOMPETENCE RATHER THAN BIGOTRY; SAYS THAT CUNY SHOULD HAVE 'SENT JEFFRIES PACKING' TWENTY YEARS AGO; ARGUES THAT A UNIVERSITY SHOULD ENFORCE THE PRINCIPLES OF HONESTY AND PRUDENCE AND 'BUILD UP NATIONAL CHARACTER RATHER THAN UNDERMINE IT.'

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'US TO STAY AWAY FROM TALKS AT UN ON WAR IN BOSNIA'; 'SERB IS TAKING SINCERITY TEST'; 'ADMINISTRATION TO FREEZE GROWTH OF HAZARDOUS WASTE INCINERATORS'; 'NEWBORN COUNTRIES TACKLE EMBASSY LIFE IN WASHINGTON'; 'MEDICAL SCHOOLS GAINING AN UNEXPECTED POPULARITY'. WSJ: 'EUROPE'S BORDERS FADE, AND PEOPLE AND GOODS CAN MOVE FREELY'; NATIONAL. ND,DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/INDIA/PERES: NYT(S.HAZARIKA-CABLED): 'ISRAELI LEADS DELEGATION TO INDIA SEEKING ECONOMIC AND ARMS TIES': FM SHIMON PERES ARRIVED IN NEW DELHI ON THE FIRST OFFICIAL VISIT TO INDIA BY AN ISRAELI LEADER IN 40 YEARS; NOTES THE 'RANGE OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL AREAS WHERE THE TWO SIDES COULD COOPERATE' AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES LAST YEAR; QUOTES MR. PERES, WHO LEADS A DELEGATION OF BUSINESS EXECUTIVES TO INDIA, AS SAYING 'THIS IS A MOVING EXPERIENCE FOR US'; REPORTS THAT INDIA AND ISRAEL WILL BE SIGNING SIX AGREEMENTS SEEKING COOPERATION IN THE AREAS OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, TOURISM, AND CULTURE.

ISRAEL/TERRITORIES/ARABS/CLASH: NYP(AP): 'ARAB TEEN KILLED IN CLASH WITH ISRAELI TROOPS': A PALESTINIAN WAS REPORTEDLY SHOT AND KILLED AND FOUR OTHERS WOUNDED BY ISRAELI TROOPS WHOSE JEEP WAS STONED IN THE TERRITORIES MONDAY; ADDS THAT ACCORDING TO ARAB REPORTS, AT LEAST 17 ADDITIONAL PALESTINIANS WERE INJURED IN OTHER ROCK-THROWING CLASHES WITH ISRAELI TROOPS MONDAY.

ISRAEL/GOVERNMENT/INTIFADA/COST: WSJ(A.MARCUS-CABLED): 'LAWSUITS RELATED TO THE INTIFADA GET COSTLY FOR ISRAEL'S GOVERNMENT': REPORTS THAT A PALESTINIAN FAMILY IS SUING THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT FOR APPROXIMATELY DOLLAR 1.9 MILLION FOR DAMAGES REPORTEDLY CAUSED BY A PLASTIC BULLET THAT HIT THEIR SEVEN YEAR OLD DAUGHTER IN GAZA; STATES THAT THE ABU DAHI FAMILY CONTENDS THAT THE GIRL SUFFERED BRAIN DAMAGE AFTER AN ISRAELI SOLDIER FIRED AT HER; CLAIMS THAT THE CASE IS ONE OF A GROWING NUMBER OF LAWSUITS AGAINST THE DEFENSE MINISTRY FOR INTIFADA-RELATED INJURIES.

LEBANON/SUSPENSION/OPPOSITION: NYT(CABLED): 'LEBANON SUSPENDS OPPOSITION PAPERS - CRACKDOWN DENIED': PM RAFIK AL-HARIRI TOLD LEBANESE NEWS ORGANIZATIONS SUNDAY THAT HE WOULD NOT CRACK DOWN ON THEM DESPITE THE GOVERNMENT'S RECENT SUSPENSION OF TWO OPPOSITION NEWSPAPERS; STATES THAT SAFIR, A LEADING DAILY NEWSPAPER WAS TEMPORARILY SUSPENDED RECENTLY FOR PUBLISHING A PROPOSAL REPORTEDLY MADE BY ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW FROM ITS BUFFER ZONE IN SOUTH LEBANON; QUOTES MR. HARIRI AS SAYING 'WE ARE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO COVERAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL. THE GOVERNMENT'S TOP PRIORITY IS TO FREE SOUTH LEBANON FROM THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION.'

US/KOREA/TALKS: NYT(D.JEHL-CABLED): 'US-KOREAN TALKS SOUGHT ON A-PACT': ACCORDING TO STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS, AMERICAN AND NORTH KOREAN DIPLOMATS MET IN NEW YORK ON MONDAY TO BEGIN PLANNING FOR HIGH-LEVEL TALKS IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THE DISPUTE CAUSED BY PYONGYANG'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NNPL TREATY; NOTES THAT THE MEETING BETWEEN STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NORTH

KOREAN MISSION AT THE UN WAS THE FIRST TO BE HELD IN THE US SINCE PYONGYANG'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE NUCLEAR TREATY ON MARCH 12.

WASHINGTON/PENTAGON/ARMS CUTS: NYT(M.GORDON),WSJ(BRIEF): 'PENTAGON STUDY URGES CUTS IN ARMS PROGRAMS': THE PENTAGON REPORTEDLY HAS MORE PROGRAMS TO BUILD WARPLANES THAN IT CAN AFFORD AND ACCORDING TO A STUDY RELEASED MONDAY, IT MUST CANCEL SOME; THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED AT THE REQUEST OF DEFENSE SECRETARY LES ASPIN WHO SAYS THAT DESPITE THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S BUDGET GAP OF APPROXIMATELY DOLLAR 10 BILLION, HE WILL STILL 'PRESERVE MILITARY READINESS'; NOTES PENTAGON PROGRAMS TO DEVELOP FOUR NEW AIR FORCE AND NAVY PLANES.

IRAN/ARSENAL/ADDITIONS: ND(BRIEF): ACCORDING TO INTELLIGENCE SOURCES, IRAN HAS REPORTEDLY RECEIVED DELIVERY OF EIGHT SUPERSONIC, SEA-SKIMMING CRUISE MISSILES FROM UKRAINE 'TO CONTROL THE VITAL TANKER ROUTE INTO THE PERSIAN GULF'; STATES THAT THE PURCHASE OF THE SUNBURN SS N-22 MISSILES IS THE LATEST ACQUISITION IN IRAN'S ARMS PROCUREMENT PROGRAM AIMED AT MAKING IT THE REGIONAL SUPERPOWER.

GERMANY/NEO-NAZIS/TRIAL: NYT(AP): REPORTS THAT TWO GERMANS ON TRIAL FOR A FIREBOMBING THAT KILLED THREE TURKS LAST YEAR CLAIMED THEY BECAME AFFILIATED WITH THE NEO-NAZI MOVEMENT IN GERMANY ONLY FOR FRIENDSHIP; SAYS THAT ALTHOUGH THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT RECENTLY BEGAN A CRACKDOWN ON THE RADICAL RIGHT, VIOLENCE CONTINUES.

NEW YORK/CUNY/JEFFRIES: NYT(M.NEWMAN),ND,DN,NYP: 'JURY FAULTS CUNY OFFICIALS IN JEFFRIES LAWSUIT DECISION': A MANHATTAN FEDERAL JURY RULED MONDAY THAT SIX CUNY OFFICIALS DEPRIVED PROFESSOR LEONARD JEFFRIES OF HIS RIGHT TO FREE SPEECH; ADDS THAT THE JUDGE MUST STILL DECIDE IF MR. JEFFRIES IS ENTITLED TO MONETARY DAMAGES.

ADS

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NYT(FULL PAGE ADVERTISEMENT-SPONSORED BY UJA FEDERATION): 'WE'RE THEIR ONLY HOPE.'

NYT(BRIEF-SPONSORED BY AMERICAN NETUREI KARTA): 'WHY DO YOU VIOLATE G-D'S ORDER? IT WILL NOT SUCCEED.'

LETTERS

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ND: ONE LETTER CRITICIZES THE US, JEWS, DEMOCRATS, AND BILL CLINTON FOR THEIR INACTION IN BOSNIA.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(D.BINDER): 'MELLOW LION OF LITERATURE STALKS VIENNA.'

ND(G.ROBINSON): 'AT LAST, ROTH GETS A JEWISH AWARD.'

NYP(AP): 'ALGERIA GOVERNMENT CRACKS DOWN ON MUSLIM GARB.'

NYP: SEVEN PAGES ON ISRAEL IN TRAVEL SECTION.

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא

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דע: א. רובינשטיין - מזכיר הממשלה

משרד התקשורת - שר, מנכ"ל

ראובן ירדור - מנהלת תומר פקס 03-494914

יועץ משפטי - משה'ח

מאת: ס/מנהל מצפ"א

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הנדון: תחנת ממסר קול אמריקה בערבה

בהמשך למברק מנהל מצפ"א מה-10 דנא

1. התקשר סקוט, המזכיר הראשון בשג'ארה'ב להודיע כי לקונגרס הוגשה הצעת תיקון לביטול (RECISION) ההקצבה להקמת תחנת הממסר ל'קול אמריקה' בערבה. סקוט לא ידע פרטים נוספים על ההצעה כמו גם על הועדה בה נידון הנושא.

2. סקוט התבקש עם זאת להמריץ את תגובתנו להודעת הביטול של הפרוייקט וטען כי ככל שנזדרז יקל עלינו לתבוע את התביעות הנובעות מביטול ההסכם זאת על מנת שניתן יהיה להתייחס אליהן בהצעת החקיקה.

3. נודה לכם אם באמצעות הדסק הישראלי תוכלו לברר מירב הפרטים על הצעת ביטול ההקצבה להקמת התחנה והיכן מצוי הנושא בקונגרס.

פוקס

18 במאי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סי יבל, משפט, @ (מזכיר הממשלה),
@ (שרהתקשורת), @ (מנכלתקשורת)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 24143

אל: רהמש/890

מ-: ווש, נר: 2087, תא: 180593, זח: 1830, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בכב

סודי / מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א, לש' שה'ח

דע: מקש'ח/משהב'ט, לש' רוה'מ

מאת: ק. לקונגרס, וושינגטון

הנדון: הנשיא קלינטון וסיוע חוץ לש'א' 94.

להלן דיווח מפי נשיא איפק'. סטיב גרוסמן, על מידת מחוייבותו של הנשיא קלינטון לשמירת רמת הסיוע לישראל בש'א' 94. אתמול (17.5) נפגשו גרוסמן ותום דיין לא'ע עם ראם עמנואל (אחראי על מערכת גיוס הכספים של קלינטון וקשר עם תורמים) ודיויד וילהלם (יו"ר המפלגה הדמוקרטית). וילהלם סיפר כי בישיבת צוות שהתקיימה השבוע בבית הלבן בנוכחות קלינטון, העלה אחד המשתתפים האפשרות / שאלה של קיצוץ בסיוע לישראל ומצרים כדי לממן הסיוע לרוסיה.

לדברי וילהלם, אשר תיאר את האירוע, הלם קלינטון בחזקה על השולחן התפרץ ואמר הסיוע לישראל IS OFF THE TABLE ואין כל אפשרות לקצץ בסיוע לישראל בשעה שרבין מנהל מו"מ לשלום ונוטל סיכונים. ביקש לא להעלות יותר את הנושא, וילהלם אמר כי הוא כמו גם הנוכחים הופתעו מעוצמת התבטאותו של הנשיא.

עד כאן. אנא שימרו על חסיון המידע.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 24142

אל: רהמש/889

מ-: ווש, נר: 2086, תא: 180593, זח: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי / מידי

אל: ממ'ד - ערב 4, אגף מז'ת, משהב'ט/מחאם הפעולות בלבנון
משפט - אלן בייקר

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: לבנון.

להלן מלכיום (ב- 17.5) בעקבות שיחתו עם ג'יהאד מרתדה (חבר המשלחת
הלבנונית למו'מ הבילטרלי, ב- 15.5):

1. מרתדה אמר כי ההנחיות על פיהן פועלת המשלחת הלבנונית במו'מ כוללות
שלושה לאווים:

א. להמנע ככל האפשר מהעלאת דבר ממנו משתמעת נכונות לנורמליזציה עם
ישראל.

ב. להמנע מלהסכים לדבר שיזכיר את הסכם '83.

ג. להשמר מפני התקדמות במו'מ לפני סוריה.

2. בהתייחסו להצעתנו מה-4.5.93 אמר מרתדה כי אנו שבים ומדברים, במו'מ
עמם, על 'בטחון משותף' (JOINT SECURITY) עם לבנון וכי לוברני רוצה
בהסדרי בטחון משותפים. אך המשלחת הלבנונית לא תוכל להענות לכך בחיוב
משום שמתפיסה זו 'נודף ניחוח' של הסכם '83.

3. להלן הערותי לסעיף 2 לעיל:

א. לדברי לביום, שמאס ומרתדה יודעים על מגעיו עם גורמים ישראליים וברור
לו שמבחינת שמאס הוא משמש כצינור להעברת מסרים. על רקע זה, דברי מרתדה
עשויים לשקף נסיון של הלבנוני להעביר אלינו הסבר מאולץ אודות הסיבות
לדחייתם, למעשה, את הצעתנו.

ב. עם זאת, יתכן שדברי מרתדה אכן משקפים את האופן בו הלבנונים רואים את
תפיסת האיזון וההדדיות המצויה ביסוד הצעתנו. לא מן הנמנע שמתוך ראייה
'מזימתית', הללו רואים בתפיסה זו (ובתוך כך - בעצם ה'תיבה' JOINT
המצויה בכותרת הצעתנו) ביטוי לשאיפה ישראלית לקדם הסדרי בטחון משותפים
לשתי המדינות נוסח הסדרי '83. ראייה לבנונית כזו עשויה לספק את אחד
ההסברים לשאלה - מדוע כללו הלבנונים את יוניפי'ל במסגרת הצעתם בנושא
קבוצת העבודה הצבאית. עד כאן הערותי.

4. לביום ציין ששמע מאמיל לחוד (קודם לסבב האחרון) דברים דומים באשר לשלילת כל הסדר בטחוני משותף עם ישראל, והזכיר כי אסד, בעת שתקף בשעתו את הסכם '83, השתמש בטיעון לפיו הסדרי הבטחון המשותפים פגעו בריבונות לבנון. לביום קבע - במשתמע עפ"י לחוד - כי לבנון לא תסכים לקיומם של סיורים ישראליים - לבנונים בלבנון, או לתחנות התרעה ישראליות שם. לדעתו, ניתן יהיה לשקול הסדרים שיכללו כוחות אמריקנים בדרום לבנון (לא ברור לח'מ אם לביום קלט רעיון זה מהלבנונים . י.א.).

5. שמאס ומרתדה שבו ואמרו ללביום, כולל במהלך הסבב האחרון, כי לבנון 'יאין בעיה' עם ישראל, לאחר שזו שבה והכריזה כי אין לה שום תביעות לגבי שטח מימיה או משאביה הטבעיים של לבנון. 'הכל אומרים' - כך שמאס - 'שלבנון היתה חותמת זה מכבר על הסכם שלום עם ישראל לו יכולה היתה, אך ללבנונים יש מגבלות' (קרי - בעיקר האילוץ הסורי - י.א.).

6. מרתדה ציין שהמשלחת הלבנונית איננה אוהבת לקבל הצעות ישראליות כתובות, משום שמסמכים כאלה מחייבים אותה להצמיד את הערותיה שלה (לחומר הנשלח הביתה) ועולם אין היא יודעת כיצד הערות אלה יתקבלו בבית וע'י הסורים. בעקבות הצעתנו מ-4.5 - המשלחת שגרה הערותיה במקביל להסבר בע'פ של מכאוי, אך הנוסח הסופי של נייר התגובה הלבנוני סוכם בדמשק.

7. במהלך הסבב האחרון, דג'רג'יאן וחרירי קיימו קשר טלפוני יום-יומי, במסגרתו עודד דג'רג'יאן את חרירי לעשות לקידום המו'מ (מרתדה ציין זאת בהקשר של קיום צינוור חלופי, לבנוני-אמריקני העוקף את המשלחת).

8. אליבא ד'מרתדה, שמאס אכן חשש, בתחילת הסבב האחרון, שמכאוי אמור להחליפו, אך חששותיו חלפו בהמשך. מכאוי ניסה, בתחילה להשפיע על הקו שתנקוט המשלחת בשיחות, אך חלרי המשלחת, ובראשם שמאס, שבו וחשפו את אי-בקיאותו בחומר הדיונים עד כה. מכאוי מוערך ע'י חברי המשלחת האחרים כמי שאיננו מבריק במיוחד. יש המלגלגים על מבטאו (טוענים שהוא מדבר בניב 'בסתאוי', המשקף את היותו בן למשפחה מן המעמד הבינוני הסוני - ולא מן המעמד הגבוה. אמו של מכאוי אמריקנית).

להערכת לביום, חרירי מעוניין במינויו של מכאוי כראש המשלחת, אך הסורים לא ירצו בסוני לתפקיד זה, מה גם שהם מרוצים משמאס ומגישתו לנושא הסדרי הבטחון, בנושא זה, שמאס מתואם לחלוטין עם אמיל לחוד המתואם עם סוריה.

אמיתי.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז, גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא, סמנכלמזת, סיבל, משפט

סססס