

14

מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

משרד

חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה
 תת חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה - לשכת ראש הממשלה
 שם תיק: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס ויצחק שמיר - ארצות-הברית

סימול מקורי: 2 תקופת החומר: 10/1990-10/1990
 מזהה פיזי: א - 1 / 5024 15/11/2012

שם: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס ויצחק

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מס' תיק מקורי

מחלקה

אאא, חוזם: 8770

אל: רהמש/679

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 272, תא: 141090, חז: 1505, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/בהול להזעיק

אל: מנהל ארבל 2

דע: לשכת שר החוץ

המשנה למנכל

סמנכל צפא

הציר שטיין - וושינגטון

מאת: יוחנן ביין נאומ

הנדון: מועביט החלטת הממשלה

1. פיקרינג התקשר הבוקר. לא ידע פרטי החלטת הממשלה וקראתי אותה בפניו.

ל האם נקבל את המשלחת ולא נשתף פעולה, או שבכלל לא נקבל. אמרתי כי בהודעת הממשלה נאמר במפורש ש"ישראל לא תקבל...".

ברור לכן שלא יתקבלו כמשלחת ואינני סבור כי יש טעם במשחקי מילים. המזכ"ל הרי לא ירצה לעשות צחוק ממשלחתו. החלטת מועביט היא החלטה פוליטית שאינה מורה לישראל אלא לפעול בהתאם לאמנת ג'נבה - וכמובן "מגנה במיוחד את פעולות האלימות של כוחות הבטחון של ישראל". ההחלטה מבקשת שהמזכ"ל חוזר המזכ"ל ימסור לה דוח עד סוף אוקטובר שיכלול את ממצאיו ומסקנותיו. כל השאר אינו מחייב - הודעת המזכ"ל המצוטטת ע"י נשיא מועביט, וכן פרשנות הנשיא לגבי ירושלים ושטחים כבושים אינם חלק מן ההחלטה ואין להם כל כח מחייב.

אמרתי גם שיש לקרוא את מצב הרוח בישראל כשעל גבולנו, בבירות נהרגו רק אתמול כ-200 איש ע"י כוחות סוריים ואיש אינו פוצה פה ומצפץ.

סיכמנו כי יש להתרכז עתה במצב הנתון - החלטת מועביט 672 קיימת וכן החלטת הממשלה. חשוב להתרכז עתה בצעדים פרגמטיים להפגת המתח.

פיקרינג אמר כי אישית ממליץ שנאמר כי יש עתה לתת לועדת הבדיקה שלנו לדווק ולדווח על ממצאיה והמלצותיה - ואז נחליט יחד כיצד להעביר הממצאים ויזו מידה נרצה לתאם אז עם המזכ"ל.

העיר כי חבל שנהחלטת הממשלה (סעיף 3) יש התייחסות ל"שטח כבוש". אמר כי טיעוננו שאין סמכות לאום בירושלים אינה משום שאין היא שטח כבוש אלא משום שהיא בירתה המאוחדת של ישראל - ובריבונות ישראל. החלטת מועביט לא טענה בירושלים היא שטח כבוש ורק נשיא מועביט בהודעתו - שאין לה כל מעמד משפטי - אמר זאת.

2. התקשר זאן קלוד איימה, מסרתי לו ההודעה. אמר שיעבירה למזכ"ל.

חזרתי בפניו על הטיעונים בדומה לפיקרינג. הוספתי כי אין לפעול עתה יחד כדי לא להביא לעימות עם מועביט. אם המזכ"ל רוצה לדעת העובדות - ייתן נא לועדת הבדיקה שלנו, שהחלה כבר בעבודתה, להגיע לחקר העובדות ולהמליץ המלצותיה. חשוב שמועביט תדע כבר עתה שאין לה כל סמכות בירושלים וכדאי להבהיר זאת כבר בשלב הנוכחי.

המזכ"ל, אני מקווה, יוכל לדווח למועביט כפי שנתבקש, בסוף אוקטובר גם ללא ועדה לאיזור.

צילצל שוב כעבור שעה ואמר שהעביר למזכ"ל, המבקש לראותנו מחר (יום ב') ב-

10:30 או ב-15:30. בחרתי כמובן באפשרות השניה כדי "להרוויח" עוד כמה שעות.

3. מצפה להנחיותיכם הבהולות לשיחה עם המזכל.

ברכות

יוחנן ביינן.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, e(רהמ), e(שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
e(רס), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, ברנע, ארבל2,
סולטן, מזתים, סייבל, משפט, הדס, איר1, איר2

סססס

אאא, חו זס: 8312
אל: רהמש/648
מ: המשרד, תא: 141090, זח: 1518, דח: מ, סג: סב,
נבב
86292
סודי ביותר / מידי

אל: וושינגטון
מ.שילה, שטיין

בפגישת שה'ח - השגריר בראון הכוקר על החלטת מועבי'ט (דיווח בנפרד) אמור
היה בראון לקרוא מה-T.P המועבר בזה. מפאת קוצר הזמן הדבר לא עלה בידו.

I LOOK FORWARD TO TALKING TO YOU SOON.

I ALSO LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING SOME OF YOUR CREATIVE
IDEAS ON THE PEACE PROCESS.

DENNIS HAS TOLD ME OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH EITAN BENTSUR,
AND I WAS ENCOURAGED BY WHAT I HEARD.

LET'S TRY TO FOLLOW UP SOON.

אמרת לבראון שכפי שהבהרתי לדניס רוס בניו-יורק שה'ח דבק ביוזמתה
המדינית של ממשלת ישראל והוא נותן דעתו ללא לאות לגיבוש רעיונות לקידום
התהליך המדיני לכשיווצרו התנאים לכך.

בנצור

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, e(רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא

סטסט

10/11/10

אאא, חוזם: 7938

אל: רהמש/640

מ-: ווש, נר: 2109, תא: 131090, זח: 1600, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/בהול להזעיק חרב חרב חרב

אל : מנהל מצפא - לעיניו בלבד

מאת: ערן, וושינגטון

מועביט.

רוס מסר לי (1515) שהמזכיר החליט לא להתקשר טלפונית אלא להעביר מסר דרך בראון. במסר כותב בייקר כי מצא לנכון לפנות אל שהח בעקבות החלטת מועביט שכן הוא מניח שישראל היתה מעדיפה שלא תהיה החלטה כזו.

ארהב תמכה בהחלטה שכן לדעתה על ישראל היה להיות מוכנה לאירוע מסוג זה ולא להיות במצב שבו נאלצה להרג 19 פלשתינאים. מאידך סייף המזכיר, לא תהיה ארהב מוכנה לתת ידה לפעילות של מועביט שתשחק לידי צדאם חוסיין. הוא חייב להיות מוקד הפעילות והדבר נכון הן מנקודת ראותה של ארהב והן מבחינתה של ישראל. אם תקבל ישראל את המשלחת יעזור הדבר להחזיר את הפוקוס אל עבר צדאם חוסיין. ישראל קיבלה משלחת דומה בעבר ומבחינה זו הדבר לא יהווה תקדים. אחרת, מציין המזכיר, ישראל תשאר במוקד ההתעניינות והיא תושווה לצדאם חוסיין וכמובן שזה לא נחוץ לא לארהב ולא לישראל.

ארה"ב רוצה לחזור למועביט עוד השבוע ולקבל החלטה נוספת כנגד עיראק והוא מקווה שהדבר יתאפשר.

המזכיר מוסיף כי הוא מקווה לשמוע משהח בנושא תהליך השלום בעקבות הרעיונות המעודדים שהעביר בנצור.

אנא העבר לגורמים הנוגעים לדבר.

ערן

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7926

אל: רהמש/635

מ-: ווש, נר: 2108, תא: 131090, זח: 1400, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/בהול חרב חרב

אל : מנהל מצפא

מאת: ערן, וושינגטון

(א) החלטת מועביט.

קראתי בפני רוס (1330) את הודעת דובר משהח. הוספתי שאיני יודע איך ננהג כלפי המשלחת אך שאנו רואים בחומרה שרבוכם של כמה עקרונות בפעם הראשונה לתוך החלטות מועביט ואת התקדים המסוכן שנוצר על ידי כך. רוס אמר שיתכן ויציע לבייקר להתקשר לשהח על מנת לנסות ולשכנעו לנקוט במתינות מתוך מגמה לסיים פרשה זו במהירות ולמנוע אזכורה של ישראל בנשימה אחת עם עיראק כמסרבות לבצע החלטות מועביט. רוס אמר שיודיעני תוך השעות הקרובות על החלטת המזכיר.

(ב) לבנון.

קראתי בפני רוס ובנפרד סגנו ביל ברנס את הודעת לוברני. רוס וברנס אמרו כי ההודעה טובה וברוח זו יתבטאו גם הם. עון נמצא למיטב ידיעתם בשגרירות הצרפתית ויתכן שיבקש מקלט פוליטי בצרפת. בשעה זו נמשך הירי בין תומכי עון והכוחות שנכנסו למובלעת. לשאלתי אמר רוס כי עוד לפני חדש קיבלו איתות מהסורים שזה מה שיקרה. אמרו לסורים כי אין זה מעניינה של ארהב לתת אור ירוק וכי הסכנה שתשומת הלב תופנה מהמשבר העקרי. (הערה: מטון דברי רוס ניתן היה להבין שהסורים לא קיבלו מסר חד-משמעי בדבר התנגדות ארהב (ע.ע.).

ערן

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן,
ר/מרכז, @ (רס), אמן

סטסט

אאא, חוזם: 7822

אל: רהמש/621

מ-: ווש, נר: 2103, תא: 121090, זח: 1700, דח: ר, סג: סב,

נכב

סודי ביותר/רגיל

אל: מנכ"ל ראה'מ

מנכ"ל משה'ח

ארועי הר-הבית - גישת הנשיא.

קונגרסמן מל לוין אמר לי כי שמע משני מקורות שונים האחד יהודי מקליפורניה שאליו התקשר בוש ישירות אחרי הארוע, והשני הכתב הדיפלומטי של אחת מרשתות הטלביזיה הגדולות, כי חמתו של בוש בוערת בו על ישראל אחרי ארועי הר-הבית וכי הוא עושה מאמץ ניכר כדי למנוע התפרצות בפומבי עליה.

יון

תפוצה: @ (רהמ)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7822

אל: רהמש/621

מ-: ווש, נר: 2103, תא: 121090, חז: 1700, ר: ח: ר, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/רגיל

אל: מנכ"ל ראה'מ

מנכ"ל משה'ח

ארועי הר-הבית - גישת הנשיא.

קונגרסמן מל לוין אמר לי כי שמע משני מקורות שונים האחד יהודי מקליפורניה שאליו התקשר בוש ישירות אחרי הארוע, והשני הכתב הדיפלומטי של אחת מרשתות הטלביזיה הגדולות, כי חמתו של בוש בוערת בו על ישראל אחרי ארועי הר-הבית וכי הוא עושה מאמץ ניכר כדי למנוע התפרצות בפומבי עליה.

ערן

תפוצה: e(רהמ)

ססס

אאא, חוזם: 7816

אל: רהמש/620

מ-: ניורק, נר: 267, תא: 121090, חז: 1806, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/בהול לבוקר

אל: סגן שה'ח נתניהו

דע: שר החוץ, המנכל, המשנה למנכל, סמנכל צפא, מנהל ארבל 2
הציר - וושינגטון

מאת: יוחנן ביין - נאום

הנדון: מועביט-שטחים.

לשיחותינו הטלפוניות

1. משיחותי החוזרות עם פיקרינג מסתבר שהזעם בממשל גדול. לדעתם שיחקה ישראל לידי סדאם חוסיין (ואש'פ) בכך שלא מנעה את התקרית בירושלים - ואין חשוב באיזו מידה היתה יזומה ועל ידי מי - ובכך שתגובתה באש חיה הביאה ורכנות רבים.

עמדה דומה מציגים הבריטים והקנדים, כשהאפריקנים נגררים, מקבלים את עמדות המערב ומתפארים בפנינו (אתיופיה) שהצליחו להתנתק מתכתיב הבלמ'ז העויין.

2. פיקרינג אומר כי נקלעו למצב עגום, מטרם לשמר את ה'קואליציה' נגד תוקפנות סדאם חוסיין. התקרית בירושלים, לדבריו, מאיימת על מטרה זו כשאש'פ ואחרים שואפים להציג קרע ערבי-אמריקני, ואמריקני-ישראלי.

3. אנו מנסים להסביר לכל ש"קואליציה" אין פירושה הסכמה בכל נושא. יש הסכמה במאבק נגד תוקפנות עירק, ואין הסכמה בנושא סיכסוך ישראל-ערב. אי הסכמה זו לא תפרק את הש'פ כיוון שמטרתו היא שמירה על עצם קיומן של מדינות המפרץ וסעודיה, הזקוקות להגנה האמריקנית שבלעדיה במוקדם או מאוחר יפסיקו להתקיים בכלל. ארה"ב זקוקה להם כדי להבטיח מקורות נפט - ויש כאן שותפות אינטרסים שאין בינה לבין הסיכסוך באיזורנו ולא כלום.

4. פיקרינג אומר כי אינו תולק על כמה מההנחות דלעיל אך ישראל עצמה, לדבריו, אשמה במצב שנוצר - יעתה יעדס הוא מניעת נזק ככל האפשר. חשוב להם שלא להיאלץ להטיל וטו ולכן חותרים להחלטה שאמנם לא תימצא חן בעיני ישראל שלהערכתם נוכל לעמוד בה, ושהיו כבר החלטות גרועות יותר שארה"ב נמנעה עליהן ולא הטילה וטו.

5. ההחלטה המתגבשת - ועדיין תלוי בהחלטת אש'פ האם יקבלוה, והסכויים לדברי פיקרינג והבריטים הם כ-60 אחוז בלבד - תביע במבוא הזדעזעות כללית מהאלימות "סביב חרם אל שריף ומקומות קדושים אחרים בירושלים" ותגנה במיוחד את "הפעולות האלימות של כוחות הכיטחון הישראלים...".

תהיה בה בקשה שהמשלחת שיוזם המזכ"ל (לא מועבי'ט) תמסור דו"ח לפני סוף אוקטובר שיכלול מסקנות - ובמקביל תאזכר בהחלטה עם ההודעה של המזכ"ל "כפי שהועברה למועביט באמצעות נשיא מועביט".

בהודעת המזכ"ל הנל (ולא בהחלטה של מועבי'ט) ייאמר שהמזכ"ל הסביר לחברי מועביט שכוונתו היא שהמשלחת תבדוק את הנסיבות סביב האירועים הטראגיים וירושלים ו"התפתחויות דומות בשטחים הכבושים", וכן שהמזכ"ל הצהיר שהמשלחת תנסה לקבוע

WHAT MIGHT BE DONE TO ENHANCE THE SAFETY AND PROTECTION
OF THE PALESTINIAN CIVILIANS LIVING IN THE OCCUPIED
TERRITORIES.

זאת תוך ציון כי בהתאם לאמנת ג'נבה, ישראל, הכוח הכובש, היא הסמכות העיקרית.

6. הבלמזיות מנסות להיא לכך שיהיה גינוי רק לישראל וכי תהיה התיחסות מפורשת יותר להודעת המזכל בדבר תפקוד המשלחת והמלצותיה. האתיופי טוען כי האפריקנים החליטו לראות עצמם עצמאיים ולא מחוייבים ע"י החלטות הקוקוס הבלמז'י והם מסכימים, לדבריו, עם הגישה האמריקנית-בריטית.

7. ה"תרגיל" הבריטי-אמריקני ברור: - מנסים לגלות "גמישות" ע"י ההפרדה בין גוף הצעת ההחלטה לבין הודעת נשיא מועבי'ט שתכלול את הודעת המזכל הנ"ל. סבורים שע"י כך הולכים לקראתנו ככלי האפשר, ונותנים לנו אפשרות לגמישות במהלכינו הבאים.

8. מחשבות לפעולה:

א. כפי שאמרתי לך ראוי לשקול עתה פניה בדרג גבוה (שה'ת-בייקר, או רה"מ-בוש) ולומר כי היינו סבורים כל הזמן שענינם של האמריקנים הוא הימנעות מיצירת לינקג' ולשם כך שנתמיד במדיניות ה'פרופיל הנמוך' שלנו. מה שקורה עתה הוא שמועבי'ט וארה"ב נופלים בפח של סדאם חוסיין-ערפת, יוצרים לינקג', משלמים לערבים במטבע ישראלי, והם שמעלים את ישראל לכותרות, תוך ציפיה שאנו נחלק מסכות גאז ונמשיך להתזיק ב"פרופיל נמוך". ברורה לנו הדילמה האמריקנית, גם אנו מעוניינים בשמירת האחדות נגד סדאם חוסיין, אך אין פירושו שכל חברי "הקואליציה" חייבים להסכים על כל בעיות ולס. הם מאוחדים במאבק נגד תוקפנות עירק - ואינם מסכימים בונשא הסכסוך ישראלי-ערבי.

לא נסכים לשבת בשקט, כשבמועביט מתדיינים על מתיר העור שלנו. לא כך אנו מבינים "פרופיל נמוך" תוך לקיחת סיכונים גדולים...

גם אם מהלך זה לא יביא לתוצאות מיידיות, הוא יחייב צעדי רגיעה כלפינו לעתיד מצד ארה"ב.

ב. לגבי המהלכים לאחר קבלת הצעת ההחלטה:

1) ברורים כל השיקולים נגד קבלת שליח. אך אם אמנם נודיע שלא נקבל את שליח המזכ'ל-אזי אין ספק שתהיה תוך שבועים ישיבת מועביט נוספת שתיקרא לפעולה כדי לאלץ את ישראל לבצע הוראת מועבי'ט. הקיצור, יתחיל תהליך - בדומה להחלטות בנושא עירק-כווית שבסופו, במקרה הרע הצעות להפעלת פרק 7 וסנקציות, בנוסף תיפתח תקופת מאבקים בינינו לבין ארה"ב. זהו ללא ספק קו החשיבה האשפי/ערבי ולכן מבקשים להכליל בגוף ההחלטה תפקידי ביצוע של משלחת המזכ'ל.

2) כדי לסכל מזימות אלה ניתן לראות את ההחלטה ברוח בית הילל. בהחלטה נעמה אין הוראות ביצוע. המשלחת היא לא מטעם מועבי'ט ולא על פי ההחלטה וכחית, אלא תוצאה של החלטת המזכל שנתקבלה על פי הודעת הדובר, כבר לפני ימים אחדים. אם נודיע שאנו מסכימים לקבל את רונלד ספייירס (אמריקני, שקט ומתון שאינו רודף כותרות) שלא על בסיס החלטת מועבי'ט ונתנה את ביקורו בכך שידווח למזכ'ל ולא למועביט - ובעל פה ושה TERMS OF REFERENCE של ההודעה הנשיאותית לא מחייבות אותנו, לא יגרם לנו כנראה שום נזק. האיש בודאי יקבע שישראל בתוקף כל האמנות הבני'ל היא האחרית, כי ראוי לקצר השת"פ עם מוסדות האום - ואן.די.פי. וססות - באיזור, וכי יש להתקדם במאמצים לשלום שרק בהם יימצא פתרון וכו'.

3) על כל פנים עלינו לגבש עמדה כבר עתה כיוון שאין ספק שסמוך להחלטת מועביט היום או מחר, ניקרא את המזכל שימסור לנו על תכניותיו ויבקש היענותנו.

ברכות,

יוחנן ביינ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רם), אמן, ממד, סי יבל, משפט, סולטן, מזתים,
בנצור, מצפא, ברנע, ארבל2, הדס, איר1, איר2, הדס, מאפ1

סססס

אאא, תוזם: 7742
אל: רהמש/608
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 176, תא: 121090, זח: 1054, זח: ב, סג: בל,
בבב
בלמס/בהול להזעיק

אל: מנהל מצפ'א (בהול להזעיק)

דע: מקש'ח - משהב'ט / מיידי

מאת: ק. קונגרס

תקיקה : סיכום הנושאים הנוגעים למערכת הבטחון

● נושאים חדשים .

1. בחוק סיוע חוצ/ הקצבות.

-חלוקה מוקדמת(מופיע בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

-הגדלת PRE-PO ב-100 מליון דולר(מופיע בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

-OSP בגובה של 475 מליון דולר (מופיע בשני הבתימ)

-אפשרות שימוש ב-200 מליון דולר מכספי ESF לרכישת ציוד בטחוני (מופיע בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

-שחרור מהיר של ציוד צבאי עבור ישראל ותורכיה(מופיע בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

-משיכת ציוד ממלאים בסכ 700 מליון דולר (בכוונת הסנטור אינוייה להגיש התיקון במליאת הסנאט בעת הדיון ואישור חוק סיוע חוצ/הקצבות).

● 2. בחוק תקציב הפנטגון

א. הרשאות

-עבודה באירופה - תע'א- (מופיע בנוסח ביהנ'ב. מצוי עתה בקונפרנס בין שני הבתימ).

-תיקון ביל שניידר אומבודסמן - (מופיע בדו"ח ביהנ'ב כמלווה את החוק- מצוי עתה בקונפרנס בין שני הבתימ)

ב. הקצבות

-עבודה באירופה- תע'א- (מופיע ככל הנראה בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

- אינ בידנו עדיין נוסח הצעת החוק של חוק תקציב הפנטגון/הקצבות(הסנטור אינוייה) לפיכך איננו יודעים אלו נושאים נוספים הוכללו בחוק.

ב. נושאים ' ישנים ' המופיעים בחוקי תקציב הפנטגון/הרשות והקצבות.
 ' חצ '
 ' פופי '

TALD

C-L-NAS

FWE

מו'פ משותף לנאטו

הערה: את המספרים הסופיים נעביר רק לאחר העברה סופית של החוקים .

ג. לו'ז

חוק כספי הפנטגון/הרשות- מצוי זה השבוע השני בקונפרנס בין שני הנתיים

ב. חוק תקציב הפנטגון/הקצבות-

ביהנ'ב- החוק יובא לדיון במליאת ביהנ'ב ככל הנראה היום יום ר' (12.10) סנאט- אתמול (11.10) נדון החוק במליאת וועדת ההקצבות.

ד. כל האמור לעיל במברקנו זה הוא בנוסף לחקיקות הנוספות בחוק סיוע חוצ שכבר הוברקו אליכם.

יהודית וורנאי דרנגר

דא

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, @ (שהבט), בנצור, מצפא, סייבל, @ (מקשח/משהבט)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7742
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אל: מנהל מצפ'א (בהול להזעיק)

דע: מקש'ח - משהב'ט / מידי

מאת: ק. קונגרס

חקיקה : סיכום הנושאים הנוגעים למערכת הכטחונ

א. נושאים חדשים .

1. בחוק סיוע חוצ/ הקצבות.

-חלוקה מוקדמת(מופיע בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

-הגדלת PRE-PO ב-100 מליון דולר(מופיע בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

-OSP בגובה של 475 מליון דולר (מופיע בשני הבתימ)

-אפשרות שימוש ב-200 מליון דולר מכספי ESF לרכישת ציוד בטחוני (מופיע בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

-שחרור מהיר של ציוד צבאי עבור ישראל ותורכיה(מופיע בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

-משיכת ציוד ממלאים בסכ 700 מליון דולר (בכוונת הסנטור אינוייה להגיש התיקון במליאת הסנאט בעת הדיון ואישור חוק סיוע חוצ/הקצבות).

2. בחוק תקציב הפנטגון

א. הרשאות

-עבודה באירופה - תע'א- (מופיע בנוסח ביהנ'ב. מצוי עתה בקונפרנס בין שני הבתימ).

-תיקון ביל שניידר אומבודסמן - (מופיע בדו'ח ביהנ'ב כמלווה את החוק- מצוי עתה בקונפרנס בין שני הבתימ)

ב. הקצבות

-עבודה באירופה- תע'א- (מופיע ככל הנראה בנוסח הסנאט. יידון בקונפרנס)

- אינ בידנו עדיין נוסח הצעת החוק של חוק תקציב הפנטגון/הקצבות(הסנטור אינוייה) לפיכך איננו יודעים אלו נושאים נוספים הוכללו בחוק.

ב. נושאים 'ישנים' המופיעים בחוקי תקציב הפנטגון/הרשות והקצבות.
' חצ'
' פופי'

TALD

C-L-NAS

FWE

מו'פ משותף לנאטו

הערה: את המספרים הסופיים נעביר רק לאחר העברה סופית של החוקים .

ג. לו'ז

א. חוק כספי הפנטגון/הרשות - מצוי זה השבוע השני בקונפרנס בין שני הבתי

ב. חוק תקציב הפנטגון/הקצבות -

ביהנ'ב - החוק יובא לדיון במליאת ביהנ'ב ככל הנראה היום יום ו' (12.10)
סנאט - אתמול (11.10) נדון החוק במליאת וועדת הקצבות.

ד. כל האמור לעיל במברקנו זה הוא בנוסף לחקיקות הנוספות בחוק סיוע חוצ
שכבר הוברקו אליכם.

יהודית וורנאי דרנגר

דא

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, @ (שהבט), בנצור,
מצפא, סי'בל, @ (מקשה/משהבט)

סססס

3 או 6
7 או - 2

7505: תוזם: אאאא

אל: רהמש/597

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 174, תא: 111090, חז: 1753, מ: סג: כל,

בבב

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: ניו יורק

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

להלן חלק 1 מתוך 2.

תדרוך דובר מחמ"ד ליום: 11.10.90

TE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING, BRIEFER: MARGARET TUTWILER
08 P.M. (EDT), THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1990

המשבר במפרץ

MARGARET TUTWILER: OKAY, WE READY? I SAID YESTERDAY THAT --
OR I DID YESTERDAY REFRAIN FROM DISCUSSING THE SPECIFICS OF THE
EVACUATION FLIGHT OF SOME OF OUR AMERICANS TRYING TO GET OUT. I'D
SAID YESTERDAY I WOULD GO INTO THE DETAILS TODAY, AND I'D LIKE TO DO
SO.

APPROXIMATELY 321 PEOPLE, ABOUT 270 OF THEM UNITED STATES
CITIZENS AND THEIR FOREIGN-BORN FAMILY MEMBERS, WERE EVACUATED FROM
KUWAIT AND IRAQ YESTERDAY ABOARD A US-CHARTERED IRAQI AIRWAYS FLIGHT
THAT ARRIVED IN LONDON THURSDAY MORNING AT 1:26 A.M. EASTERN
STANDARD TIME.

THE RETURN FLIGHT TO THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN MOVED BACK TO
FRIDAY TO ALLOW PASSENGERS TIME TO REST AFTER THEIR DELAYED ARRIVAL
IN LONDON. THE RETURNING US-CHARTERED 747 TO RALEIGH-DURHAM IS NOW
EXPECTED ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

WE ARE PROFOUNDLY DISTURBED BY SEVERAL ASPECTS OF YESTERDAY'S
EVACUATION. THE IRAQIS DID NOT ALLOW A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE
UNITED STATES EMBASSY IN BAGHDAD TO ACCOMPANY THE EVACUEES FROM
KUWAIT TO BASRA. HOWEVER, SOME FOREIGN SERVICE NATIONALS WERE
ALLOWED TO MEET THESE INDIVIDUALS AT THE BASRA AIRPORT. THEY ALSO
RENEGED ON THEIR PROMISE TO PROVIDE A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE IRAQI
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO ASSIST THE BUS CONVOY FROM KUWAIT.

IRAQI SOLDIERS CONFISCATED THE ONLY MANIFEST THE PASSENGERS
HAD, MAKING IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO KNOW HOW MANY PEOPLE DEPARTED
FROM KUWAIT TO BASRA, HOW MANY PEOPLE WERE PREVENTED FROM LEAVING BY
THE IRAQIS, AND HOW MANY PEOPLE DECIDED NOT TO GO AS A RESULT OF
IRAQI HARASSMENT.

YESTERDAY MORNING, 10 BUSES DEPARTED KUWAIT FOR A THREE-HOUR RIDE TO THE BASRA AIRPORT THAT TURNED INTO A 10-HOUR ORDEAL.

INSTEAD OF TAKING THE DIRECT ROUTE TO BASRA, THE 10 BUSES WERE REDIRECTED BY THE IRAQIS TO THE REGENCY HOTEL IN KUWAIT CITY.

UPON ARRIVAL, REALIZING THAT THEIR DESTINATION HAD BEEN CHANGED, AN UNKNOWN NUMBER OF PASSENGERS PREFERRED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES, RATHER THAN RISK WHAT THEY BELIEVED MIGHT RESULT IN CAPTURE, DETENTION, OR WORSE -- BE AT THE HANDS OF THE IRAQIS.

THE REMAINING PASSENGERS WERE FORCED OUT OF THE BUSES AND INTO HOTEL ROOMS WHICH HAD BEEN RESERVED IN ADVANCE BY THE IRAQIS. THERE THEY WERE INTERROGATED AND HARASSED BY IRAQI SECURITY FORCES FOR THREE HOURS AT THIS HOTEL. THEY DEPARTED ABOUT 12:00 NOON LOCAL TIME AND PROCEEDED ON TO THE BORDER CHECKPOINT AT SALWA, WHERE THEY WERE QUESTIONED AND HARASSED AGAIN. SOME EVACUEES TOLD US THAT THEY WERE THREATENED WITH WEAPONS. THE CONVOY WAS DELAYED WITHOUT FOOD AND WATER FOR ANOTHER THREE HOURS.

WE DO NOT KNOW -- WE DO KNOW, I'M SORRY -- THAT 306 PASSENGERS ARRIVED IN BASRA IN THE BUS CONVOY. ALL BUT SEVEN WERE ALLOWED TO BOARD THE PLANE FOR BAGHDAD. AT THE BASRA AIRPORT, THE IRAQI AUTHORITIES CHALLENGED THE DOCUMENTATION OF EIGHT PASSENGERS. ONE PASSENGER WAS ALLOWED TO PROCEED ON TO BAGHDAD BECAUSE HE WAS ILL. THE OTHERS WERE RETURNED TO KUWAIT CITY.

WHEN THE PLANE ARRIVED IN BAGHDAD, AN AMERICAN WOMAN, HER JORDANIAN HUSBAND, AND THEIR TWO CHILDREN, AND THE ILL AMERICAN MALE WERE REMOVED FROM THE PLANE AND WERE REPORTEDLY TAKEN TO THE MANSOUR MELIA HOTEL. TWENTY-TWO PEOPLE BOARDED THE PLANE IN BAGHDAD, INCLUDING 17 AMERICANS AND 5 BRITISH CITIZENS. THE PLANE FINALLY DEPARTED BAGHDAD FOR LONDON AT 8:05 P.M., EASTERN STANDARD TIME.

WE BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 270 AMERICAN CITIZENS AND THEIR FOREIGN-BORN FAMILY MEMBERS WHO WILL PROCEED ON TOMORROW'S FLIGHT TO RALEIGH-DURHAM.

IN LIGHT OF YESTERDAY'S EVENTS, I THINK YOU CAN UNDERSTAND THAT WE DO NOT WANT TO ASSIST THE IRAQIS IN THEIR QUEST FOR INFORMATION ABOUT AMERICAN CITIZENS BY PUBLICLY PROVIDING MORE SPECIFIC NUMBERS THAN WE HAVE PROVIDED IN THE PAST OF AMERICANS WHO ARE IN KUWAIT AND IRAQ. I CAN TELL YOU THAT NONE OF OUR MEDICAL CASES WERE ALLOWED TO DEPART ON YESTERDAY'S FLIGHT AND THAT, IN CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS REPORTS, THAT WE HAVE ALSO RECEIVED REPORTS NOW THAT THE IRAQIS WILL NOT ALLOW MEN OVER THE AGE OF 55 TO DEPART. YESTERDAY'S SINISTER MANIPULATION OF INNOCENT LIVES BY THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT AGAIN DEMONSTRATES ITS WILLINGNESS TO DISREGARD EVERY RECOGNIZED INTERNATIONAL STANDARD OF HUMANITARIAN CONDUCT. YESTERDAY'S BEHAVIOR WAS SIMPLY OUTRAGEOUS.

Q A QUICK QUESTION AS TO -- WELL, A COUPLE OF THEM SHOWED THERE ARE LOTS OF QUESTIONS, BUT APART FROM THIS PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT AND YOUR EXPRESSED OUTRAGE, WHAT IS THE US GOVERNMENT DOING ABOUT THIS? ARE YOU GOING TO PERHAPS ASK THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO APPROVE A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING IRAQ'S BEHAVIOR? HAVE YOU FILED PROTESTS WITH THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT, A FORMAL PROTEST IN BAGHDAD? HAVE YOU CALLED ANYBODY IN HERE? THAT SOUNDS, YOU KNOW, MORE THAN JUST A STATEMENT.

MS. TUTWILER: I UNDERSTAND. YESTERDAY OUR CHARGE, MR. WILSON, WAS ON MORE THAN ONE -- AT MORE THAN ONE TIME DURING THE DAY IN THE

FOREIGN MINISTRY PROTESTING THIS, RAISING HIS CONCERNS, TRYING TO WORK OUT THESE -- "GLITCHES" SOUNDS LIKE A WORD TOO TRIVIAL TO USE -- BUT THE ORDEAL THAT THESE PEOPLE WERE BEING PUT THROUGH. SO HE SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME YESTERDAY, AND I WOULD CHARACTERIZE IT AS A COMBINATION OF PROTESTING THIS IN ADDITION TO TRYING TO WORK IT OUT AND DEMANDING THAT THIS STOP AND THAT THESE AMERICANS BE ABLE TO PROCEED.

Q DID HE CALL FOR ANY UN ACTION?

MS. TUTWILER: THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT, BARRY, WOULD BE A PRESIDENTIAL DECISION, NOT MINE. I HAVE NOT HEARD, THOUGH, OF THE PRESIDENT OR THE STATE DEPARTMENT GETTING READY TO PROCEED ON A UN SANCTION CONCERNING THIS.

מועבי"ט

Q I DIDN'T MEAN A SANCTION NECESSARILY. I MEANT JUST SORT OF THE ACTION THAT YOU'RE PREPARED TO TAKE AGAINST ISRAEL FOR ITS TREATMENT OF PALESTINIANS. THIS MISTREATMENT OF AMERICANS, I WONDERED IF IT REQUIRED A CALL FOR SOME UN SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION?

MS. TUTWILER: IF IT DOES, BARRY, I HAVEN'T HEARD THAT SUGGESTED IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

Q DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT AT THE UN CERTAIN ARAB STATES ARE HOLDING THE LINE ON A TOUGHER RESOLUTION IN ORDER TO MAKE THE UNITED STATES VETO A RESOLUTION?

MS. TUTWILER: I'VE HEARD THAT THEORY, BUT I'VE HEARD ANY OTHER NUMBERS OF THEORIES ALSO, JOHN. AND, AS I'M SURE YOU'RE PROBABLY AS UP TO SPEED ON THIS AS I AM, THE UN MET LAST NIGHT UNTIL, I BELIEVE, THEY FINALLY LEFT AROUND 4:15 A.M. THEY HAVE NOT YET -- IT'S MY UNDERSTANDING -- THIS MORNING COME BACK IN TO SESSION.

WE ARE NOW -- THE UNITED STATES IS NOW WORKING OFF OF A UK DRAFT. THAT DRAFT HAS STILL GOT MANY WORDS, DIFFERENT PARTS OF IT THAT ARE BEING DEBATED, DISCUSSED, ET CETERA. AND SO, THAT IS CURRENTLY WHERE WE ARE. AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED KINGDOM IS CHAIRING THE PRESIDENCY RIGHT NOW AND THERE ARE MANY -- THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT RUMORS, AND DIFFERENT COALITIONS, AND DIFFERENT THINGS IN MOTION IN THIS SITUATION, AND IT'S STILL VERY FLUID. AND SO, I CAN'T TELL YOU THAT ONE OF THEM IS MORE CORRECT, TO BE HONEST, THAN THE NEXT.

Q WELL, DOES IT SEEM TO THE UNITED STATES THAT CERTAIN ARAB COUNTRIES ARE BEING PARTICULARLY OBSTRUCTIONIST?

MS. TUTWILER: I CAN'T POINT THE BLAME, TO BE HONEST WITH YOU, AT ANY ONE COUNTRY. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF THINGS -- IS THE BEST I CAN DESCRIBE IT -- IN PLAY AT THE UNITED NATIONS CONCERNING THIS RESOLUTION --

MS. TUTWILER: -- BY A NUMBER OF PEOPLE.

Q I WONDER IF YOU STILL HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE SO-CALLED

MODERATE ARAB COUNTRIES, IN FACT THE PEOPLE THAT ARE PART OF -- THE COUNTRIES THAT ARE PART OF YOUR ANTI-IRAQ COALITION? HAVE EGYPT AND OTHERS DROPPED OFF? DO YOU STILL HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE WEST? IS FRANCE SUPPORTING, INCREDIBLY ENOUGH, BOTH THE US AND THE YEMEN RESOLUTION? IS CANADA OFF THE --

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT I'M --

Q -- OFF THE TRUCK? I MEAN, WHO'S LEFT, BESIDES THE BRITISH, SUPPORTING THE US RESOLUTION?

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT I'M NOT GOING TO DO, BARRY, IS SPEAK FOR OTHER GOVERNMENTS. THIS HAS BEEN A VERY FAST-CHANGING SITUATION. I THINK IT WOULD BE VERY INAPPROPRIATE FOR ME TO SAY WHERE THE CANADIANS ARE, WHERE THE FRENCH ARE, WHERE THE BRITISH ARE, ET CETERA. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT AS YOU KNOW -- (ASIDE) -- WHAT TIME DID THEY END THE NIGHT BEFORE, ABOUT 2:00 A.M. (RETURNING.) LAST NIGHT AT 4:15, THIS IS SOMETHING THAT IS REQUIRING AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF EFFORT AND WORK.

SECRETARY BAKER YESTERDAY SPOKE AGAIN WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHEVARDNADZE. HE HAS SPOKEN A NUMBER OF TIMES TO FOREIGN MINISTER DUMAS. HE SPOKE WITH HIM AGAIN TODAY. HE HAS SPOKEN TO FOREIGN MINISTER DE MICHELIS. HE HAS SPOKEN TO AMBASSADOR PICKERING. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF DIFFERENT THINGS GOING ON, BUT I CANNOT -- AND I THINK IT WOULD BE INNAPPROPRIATE. I KNOW WHAT YOU'RE ASKING ME; I KNOW ALL OF THE BACK AND FORTH AND WHERE THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES ARE, BUT FOR ME TO STAND HERE AT 12:25 AND SAY WHERE THEY ARE, IT COULD BE CHANGING WHILE I'M TALKING.

Q WELL, THE --

MS. TUTWILER: BECAUSE THEY CHANGED A NUMBER OF TIMES YESTERDAY.

Q BUT WHAT'S THE GENERAL THEME? IS HE TRYING -- IS THE US TRYING TO HOLD THE LINE ON THE US-BRITISH VERSION NOW?

MS. TUTWILER: THE UNITED --

Q OR IS THAT FIGHT OVER? ARE YOU NOW -- DO YOU NOW HAVE TO GIVE EVEN MORE GROUND? YOU'VE GIVEN GROUND TO THE BRITISH, AND NOW ARE THE BRITISH AND THE US GOING TO GIVE GROUND TO EGYPT? AND WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO END UP?

MS. TUTWILER: WHEN WE ENDED LAST NIGHT, THE UNITED STATES IS SUPPORTING THE UK DRAFT, AND THEY HAVE NOT RECONVENED THIS MORNING YET -- THAT I WAS NOTIFIED BEFORE I CAME TO BRIEF. AND THAT IS WHERE THE UNITED STATES WAS WHEN THIS ENDED LAST NIGHT AFTER 4:00 A.M. THAT'S WHERE WE ARE WHEN WE STARTED AGAIN THIS MORNING.

Q ONE OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE US DRAFT AND THE BRITISH DRAFT WHICH YOU NOW SAY YOU ARE SUPPORTING IS THAT THE US DRAFT HAD A CLAUSE WHICH REGRETTED THE ATTACKS ON UNARMED WORSHIPERS. THE BRITISH DRAFT DOESN'T HAVE THAT ANY MORE. DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER REGRETS THE ATTACKS ON UNARMED WORSHIPERS?

MS. TUTWILER: I HAVE THE MOST -- I BELIEVE THE MOST CURRENT DRAFT IN FRONT OF ME, ALAN. AND WHAT I'M NOT GOING TO DO IS GO THROUGH -- BECAUSE THEY COULD BE CHANGING IT RIGHT NOW IN A MEETING THAT I'M NOT PRIVY TO -- IS TO GO THROUGH, AS I REFRAINED FROM

YESTERDAY WHEN SOME GENTLEMEN SAID "ISN'T THIS NOW OUT, ISN'T IT IN?" I JUST THINK IT'S NONPRODUCTIVE, TO BE HONEST, SINCE IT IS CHANGING SO RAPIDLY AND THERE'S SO MUCH IN PLAY IN NEW YORK FOR ME TO COMMENT ON SPECIFIC PARTS.

Q -- AND THEN I'LL SHUT UP. DO YOU THINK THAT THE UNITED NATIONS, IN ADDITION TO CONDEMNING THE ISRAELI EXCESSIVE USE OF FORCE, SHOULD ALSO REGRET THE ATTACKS ON WORSHIPERS?

MS. TUTWILER: AS I BELIEVE I SAID YESTERDAY, AND IN THE LATEST UK DRAFT THAT I HAVE, IT STILL HAS THE LANGUAGE -- IF THIS IS STILL WHERE IT IS -- OF CONDEMNING THE VIOLENCE. AND AS WE'VE SAID EVERY DAY, THAT INCLUDES EVERYONE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE VIOLENCE.

Q SO IT'S NOW A KIND OF GENERALIZED CONDEMNATION OF VIOLENCE PARTICULARLY, BUT IT ONLY REALLY SINGLES OUT, BY NAME, ISRAEL.

MS. TUTWILER: THE PHRASE THAT I'VE HAD ON THE US TEXT AND THE UNITED KINGDOM TEXT, HAS ALWAYS BEEN, "CONDEMNS THE VIOLENCE." I HAVEN'T SEEN IT MORE SPECIFICALLY, BUT MAYBE YOU HAVE A DRAFT WHERE IT WAS.

Q WHEN WORSHIPERS ARE SINGLED OUT, DOES THAT INCLUDED ONLY JEWISH WORSHIPERS, OR DOES IT ALSO INCLUDE MOSLEM WORSHIPERS OUTSIDE OF THE MOSQUE?:

MS. TUTWILER: I THINK THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSED THAT ON BEHALF OF ALL OF US WHEN HE SAID THAT PEOPLE'S RELIGIOUS SITES SHOULD BE SACRED, AND I WOULD REFER YOU BACK TO WHAT HE SAID -- I BELIEVE IT WAS MONDAY, OR TUESDAY -- AND HE OBVIOUSLY, NORM, SAID "OF ALL FAITHS."

Q WHAT HAS BEEN THE EXPLANATION FROM THE US TO ACTUALLY REFUSE TO GO ALONG WITH THE SECURITY COUNCIL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY TO INVESTIGATE THAT? HISTORICALLY, WHAT HAS BEEN THE REASON, EXPLANATION FOR THAT?

MS. TUTWILER: THAT IS SOMETHING THAT BARRY ASKED ME YESTERDAY, AND I SAID THAT I WAS GOING TO REFRAIN FROM ENTERING INTO THAT DEBATE UNTIL THIS WAS RESOLVED, AND SO I'M NOT GOING TO GET INTO THAT TODAY. THAT IS OBVIOUSLY ONE OF THE THINGS THAT HAS BEEN -- BEING HASHED OUT UP IN NEW YORK, AND I'M NOT JUST GOING TO GET INTO IT.

Q MARGARET, THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME, ACTUALLY I'M SAYING IT, THERE HAS BEEN A PREVIOUS SITUATION.

MS. TUTWILER: I KNOW THAT.

Q BUT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE PREVIOUS SITUATION, WHAT WAS THE EXPLANATION THEN, IF YOU ARE AWARE OF IT OR IF YOU CAN TELL US, AS TO WHAT IT IS -- WHAT WAS THEN THE RATIONALIZATION, THE RATIONALE, BEHIND IT, AND MAYBE WE CAN TRACK IT TO THIS SITUATION, NOW?

MS. TUTWILER: THE UNITED STATES, I BELIEVE IT WAS SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, SUPPORTED THE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL SENDING -- I CANNOT REMEMBER THE GENTLEMAN'S NAME -- ON A FACT-FINDING MISSION. THAT WAS OUR POSITION. I'M NOT SURE WHAT IT IS YOU WANT ME TO SAY FURTHER THAT THAT. OUR POSITION IS WELL-KNOWN, IT WAS MADE PUBLIC. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY -- I BELIEVE IT WAS IN '87, BARRY? -- THE

PREVIOUS TIME BEFORE THAT?

Q NO --

MS. TUTWILER: IT WAS ONE TIME BEFORE. IT WAS '87, OR '86.

Q CAN I -- ACTUALLY -- ACTUALLY JUST LAST SPRING WHEN DURING THE KILLING OF SEVEN PALESTINIANS AT RISHON LEZION, THERE WAS ALSO A PROPOSAL TO SEND A SECURITY COUNCIL COMMISSION, AND THE US OPPOSED IT. I'M TRYING TO UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS THE EXPLANATION THEN? WAS ONE PROVIDED AT THE TIME?

MS. TUTWILER: THE UNITED STATES POSITION HAS BEEN TO SEND, IS MY UNDERSTANDING IN THE PREVIOUS TWO TIMES, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S OFFICE ON A FACT-FINDING MISSION. THAT IS OUR POSITION.

Q YOU'RE NOT ANSWERING MY QUESTION, MARGARET.

MS. TUTWILER: I'M TELLING YOU THAT THAT IS OUR POSITION. I DON'T HAVE TO DEFEND IT. THAT IS OUR POSITION. YOU KNOW THAT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE ON THIS. YOU KNOW THAT THIS IS SOMETHING THAT IS BEING DISCUSSED AT THE UN RIGHT NOW. AND I'M JUST SIMPLY NOT ABLE TO GET INTO THAT PART OF THE DEBATE THAT'S GOING ON IN NEW YORK.

Q OKAY. AND DO YOU HAVE A REACTION TO ISRAEL'S INVESTIGATION?

MS. TUTWILER: WE HOPE THAT THE ISRAELI DECISION TO SET UP AN INQUIRY COMMISSION INTO THE TRAGIC EVENTS ON THE TEMPLE MOUNT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES ARE BETTER PREPARED AND EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN HANDLING DISTURBANCES OF THIS NATURE.

Q IS IT THE FEELING HERE THAT YOU ARE LOOKING FOR A FORMULA WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTABLE TO ISRAEL MUCH MORE THAN ACCEPTABLE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS, WHO WOULD LIKE VERY MUCH TO INVESTIGATE WHAT MY COLLEAGUE SAID, YOU KNOW, THE CONTINUOUS ATTACKS ON THE PALESTINIANS, THE RISHON LEZION MASSACRE WHERE NOBODY WAS SENT, AND NOW THERE IS A HURDLE ABOUT SENDING ONE PERSON WHO COULD POSSIBLY VISIT THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND OTHER PEOPLE'S OFFICE, AND THIS IS MY ASSUMPTION, AND, YOU KNOW, MAKE A LITTLE STORY ABOUT THIS AND THEY COME BACK WITH NOTHING, YOU KNOW, TO DETAIL THE ISRAELI CONSTANT INFRINGEMENT OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE'S RIGHTS THERE.

MS. TUTWILER: SO WHAT'S YOUR QUESTION?

Q MY QUESTION IS, YOU KNOW, IS THIS -- YOU ARE LOOKING FOR A FORMULA JUST TO PLEASE ISRAELIS, OR ARE YOU LOOKING FOR A FORMULA TO GO ALONG WITH THE WILL OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY?

MS. TUTWILER: MY ANSWER IS GOING TO HAVE TO UNFORTUNATELY BE THE SAME ANSWER I'VE GIVEN EARLIER THIS MORNING. I AM NOT GOING TO AT THIS BRIEFING ENGAGE IN THIS PORTION OF THE DEBATE THAT IS GOING ON AT THE UNITED NATIONS.

Q NO -- THIS MORNING, AS THERE HAS BEEN MORE BEATING, MORE WOUNDING, AN INCREASE IN VIOLENCE AGAINST THE PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, AND THE ISRAELIS ARE STILL OVER INSIDE THE GREEN LINE OF 1948, ARE YOU CONCERNED THAT THIS

MIGHT GO OFF HAND, AND EVERYBODY IS TALKING ABOUT IT IN ISRAEL, THAT IF YOU -- THERE WILL BE NOTHING DONE TO STOP THE ISRAELI INFRINGEMENT ON THE PALESTINIANS?

MS. TUTWILER: THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED EARLIER THIS WEEK, OUR AMBASSADOR AT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS EXPRESSED, OUR SECRETARY OF STATE HAS EXPRESSED OUR CONCERN ABOUT RESTORING CALM IN THIS SITUATION, OUR CONCERN ABOUT VIOLENCE IN THIS SITUATION. SO I'M NOT SURE WHAT IT IS YOU ARE TRYING TO ASK ME. WE HAVE NEVER REFRAINED FROM EXPRESSING OUR CONCERN.

Q YOU MENTIONED EARLIER THAT THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED THE BRITISH DRAFT. DOES THE UNITED STATES ALSO --

MS. TUTWILER: AS OF THIS MOMENT IN TIME.

Q DOES THE UNITED STATES ALSO SUPPORT THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR'S PROPOSAL FOR A SEPARATE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT THAT WOULD SPELL OUT THE MISSION BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO THE REGION?

MS. TUTWILER: AS I TRIED TO ARTICULATE, WE ARE CURRENTLY THIS MORNING ON THE UK DRAFT. I BELIEVE I ALSO SAID THERE ARE PORTIONS OF THAT THAT ARE STILL BEING DISCUSSED, DEBATED; WHETHER IT'S A SINGLE WORD, IT'S A GROUPING OF WORDS, IT IS A POSITION. SO THAT IS NOT, OBVIOUSLY, A TOTALLY AGREED UPON DRAFT, BUT THAT IS THE DRAFT RIGHT NOW THAT THE UNITED STATES IS WORKING ON. BUT I CANNOT TELL YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT WILLING, SHOULD IT BE ASKED, TO MAKE CHANGES IN THE UK DRAFT, AS EMBRACING IT IN TOTO, AND IN FACT, THE UK DRAFT, IF YOU HAD IT BEFORE YOU, HAS CERTAIN BRACKETS, ET CETERA. SO IT'S NOT A TOTALLY CLEAN DOCUMENT YET.

Q WHAT ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT -- THE IDEA OF A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT?

MS. TUTWILER: I UNDERSTAND THAT QUESTION. THAT GETS INTO ME ANSWERING WHETHER THIS IS GOING TO EVOLVE IN THE FINAL OUTCOME WILL BE YOUR VOTING ON A PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT OR ARE YOU VOTING ON A RESOLUTION. THAT, TO MY KNOWLEDGE, IS NOT RESOLVED YET.

מתב שה"ח-ערביות לדיון

Q I'M SORRY, COULD WE ASK ONE MORE QUESTION ABOUT THE -- ABOUT ISRAEL. YOU'VE BEEN RELUCTANT TO ANSWER DIRECTLY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE OCTOBER 2ND LETTER.

MS. TUTWILER: THE LEVY LETTER?

Q -- PARTICULARLY ON THE QUESTION OF WHETHER IT INCLUDES EAST JERUSALEM. NOW, HAVING READ THE LETTER, I TAKE THE WORDS "UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT ISRAEL PRIOR TO JUNE 5TH, 1967" AS INCLUDING EAST JERUSALEM. IS MY INTERPRETATION CORRECT?

MS. TUTWILER: YOUR INTERPRETATION IS THAT THE LETTER SAYS "BEYOND THE GREEN LINE JUNE 1967" AND THAT IS CORRECT -- BEYOND THE GREEN LINE. YOU KNOW THAT IS HOW WE CONSTANTLY EXPRESS THIS.

Q MARGARET, THE TERM "BEYOND THE GREEN LINE"

AND THE "JUNE 5, 1967" ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE SAME SENTENCE. THEY'RE NOT EVEN INCLUDED IN THE SAME PARAGRAPH. THE PLACE IT TALKS ABOUT THE GREEN LINE IS WHERE IT SAYS -- LEVY REAFFIRMS OR CONFIRMS THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S PREVIOUS STATEMENTS THAT IT WOULD NOT SETTLE PEOPLE BEYOND THE GREEN LINE. THOSE STATEMENTS DIDN'T INCLUDE EAST JERUSALEM.

SO, DOES THAT MEAN THAT -- YOU KNOW, IS EAST JERUSALEM IN OR OUT OF THAT PARAGRAPH?

MS. TUTWILER: I BELIEVE, AND CORRECT ME IF I'M WRONG, BUT THAT IT IS UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED AS A HISTORICAL FACT, WHAT IS BEYOND THE GREEN LINE JUNE 5, 1967.

Q YES, INDEED.

MS. TUTWILER: IF I'M INCORRECT, THEN CORRECT ME.

Q BUT THAT DOESN'T APPEAR ANYWHERE IN THE LETTER. THAT'S THE PROBLEM.

MS. TUTWILER: THE LETTER CLEARLY, IN THE COPY THAT I HAVE, DOES HAVE "BEYOND THE GREEN LINE JUNE 5, 1967."

Q YES, BUT IT SAYS --

MS. TUTWILER: YOUR COPY DOESN'T SAY THAT?

Q IT SAYS THAT -- IT SAYS THAT AT ONE POINT, IF MAYBE WE CAN PURSUE THIS. BUT AT ANOTHER POINT, IT THEN SAYS THAT THE FUNDS INVOLVED IN THE HOUSING GUARANTEE WILL NOT BE APPLIED OR USED IN TERRITORIES THAT WERE NOT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT PRIOR TO JUNE 5, 1967.

Q THE QUESTION IS WHERE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT SAYS IT WILL NOT SETTLE SOVIET JEWS BEYOND THE GREEN LINE. AND IT IS NOT CLEAR TO ME THAT THE ISRAELIS, WHO ANNEXED EAST JERUSALEM ON ABOUT THE THIRD DAY OF THE WAR, STILL CONSIDER EAST JERUSALEM TO BE BEYOND THE GREEN LINE. I --

MS. TUTWILER: I GUESS THE ONLY THING I CAN DO IS REFER YOU TO SECRETARY BAKER'S RESPONSES TO THESE QUESTIONS, WHEN HE SAID THAT THIS LETTER SATISFIES OUR CONCERNS CONCERNING OUR DOLLAR 400 MILLION HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEE.

YOU KNOW AND I KNOW THAT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GOOD FRIENDS OVER SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY. BUT THIS LETTER WAS A NEGOTIATED LETTER CONCERNING SPECIFICALLY THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEE.

Q THEN IS IT A FAIR -- IS IT A FAIR ASSUMPTION, MARGARET, TO SAY THAT THE LETTER MEANS, IN THE US OPINION, THAT THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION HOUSING GUARANTEE WILL NOT BE USED TO SETTLE SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRES IN THE DISPUTED TERRITORIES, BUT THAT THERE IS NOTHING IN THE LETTER THAT PRECLUDES THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT FROM CONTINUING SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY IN THOSE AREAS SO LONG AS IT DOESN'T USE MONEY FROM THAT DOLLAR 400 MILLION GUARANTEE.

MS. TUTWILER: SECRETARY BAKER ANSWERED THAT QUESTION ON FRIDAY AND SAID THAT THIS LETTER WAS NEVER INTENDED TO DO WHAT YOU'RE ASKING, AND HE WAS VERY CANDID ABOUT ANSWERING THAT.

BUT ON THE 400 MILLION (DOLLARS), HE WAS VERY SPECIFIC IN SAYING IT DOES SATISFY OUR CONCERNS.

Q SO IT APPLIES ONLY TO THE 400 MILLION (DOLLARS)?

MS. TUTWILER: CORRECT.

Q MARGARET, IF THERE'S A SOVIET JEW -- LET'S SAY HIS NAME IS BORIS ABRAMOVICH -- COMES TO BEN GURION AIRPORT TOMORROW MORNING, HE -- HE LANDS, HE GETS HIS PAPERS, AND HE GOES UP TO EAST JERUSALEM AND HE MOVES INTO AN APARTMENT THERE. IS THAT A VIOLATION OF THIS ASSURANCE?

MS. TUTWILER: THAT WOULD BE THAT YOU'RE ASKING ME A TOTAL HYPOTHETICAL, ALAN. THIS LETTER SECRETARY --

Q WE'RE TALKING ABOUT BORIS ABRAMOVICH, THAT I HAPPEN TO KNOW DID THE SAME THING YESTERDAY.

MS. TUTWILER: THEN YOU KNOW SOMETHING THAT I DON'T KNOW -- (LAUGHTER) -- AND YOU KNOW THAT THIS LETTER, SECRETARY BAKER BELIEVES, SPEAKS FOR ITSELF; YOU KNOW THAT THIS WAS A NEGOTIATED LETTER; YOU KNOW THAT HE FEELS THAT THESE ASSURANCES WENT FURTHER THAN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN WILLING TO GO, AND HE -- HE BASICALLY BELIEVES THE LETTER SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

MS. TUTWILER: CAN I TELL YOU THAT ONE PERSON IS -- IS GOING TO DO WHAT YOU SAY YOUR FRIEND DID YESTERDAY AND THAT IT'LL NEVER, EVER HAPPEN? I'M NOT GOING TO SAY THAT.

Q THE QUESTION IS, WHAT DOES THE -- WHAT DOES THAT PARTICULAR ASSURANCE THAT IT IS NOT THE POLICY OF THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO SETTLE SOVIET JEWS BEYOND THE GREEN LINE, WHAT DOES THAT ACTUALLY MEAN?

I MEAN, PEOPLE -- SOVIET JEWS ARRIVE, THEY HAVE RELATIVES THAT ARE THERE, AND THEY GO AND LIVE IN PLACES. DOES THAT COME UNDER THIS LETTER, DOES THAT COME UNDER ISRAELI GOVERNMENT POLICY?

MS. TUTWILER: I JUST ANSWERED THAT. THAT WAS JOHN GOSHKO'S QUESTION. THIS LETTER SPECIFICALLY WAS NEGOTIATED CONCERNING THE 400 MILLION (DOLLAR) HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEE. IF YOU'LL REMEMBER, BACK IN TESTIMONY, SECRETARY BAKER SAID THAT YES, THIS ADMINISTRATION

עד כאן חלק 1.

תפוצה: שח, סשה, (רהמ), (שהנט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
(רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, רניב,
מעת, הסברה, (דוצ), (נוה/משהנט), אמן, מזתים

7504:חוזם, אXXX
אל:רהמש/598
מ:-וושיןנטון, נר:175, תא:111090, חז:1754, מ:סג:בל,
נכב
בלמס/מיידי

להלן חלק 2 מתוך 2 של נר 174

WOULD SUPPORT THE CONGRESS IN THIS PROVIDED WE GOT ASSURANCES.

AS YOU KNOW, HE'S BEEN WORKING THESE MANY, MANY MONTHS. THEY UNFORTUNATELY DID NOT HAVE A GOVERNMENT FOR A WHILE. WHEN HE MET WITH THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, HE'S HAD -- NOW HAD, I BELIEVE, THREE MEETINGS, THIS IS A RESULT OF THE ASSURANCES THAT HE SAID MANY MONTHS AGO THAT HE WOULD GET.

THAT DOES NOT CHANGE, ALAN, AS I TRIED TO ADDRESS A MINUTE AGO -- THERE IS A DIFFERENCE, A WELL-KNOWN DIFFERENCE, BETWEEN THESE TWO CLOSE NATIONS AND GOOD FRIENDS CONCERNING SETTLEMENTS.

Q WELL, I REMEMBER SECRETARY BAKER SAYING IN TESTIMONY THAT MONEY WAS FUNGIBLE. WHERE DOES THAT STAND NOW?

MS. TUTWILER: IT STANDS EXACTLY WHERE IT WAS THAT DAY. MONEY IS FUNGIBLE.

Q CAN -- CAN I HAVE ONE MORE -- ONE MORE ON THIS, MARGARET? WHAT, THEN, HAPPENED TO THE PREVIOUS US POLICY OF -- OF OPPOSING FURTHER SETTLEMENTS IN THE '67 OCCUPIED TERRITORIES --

MS. TUTWILER: THAT HASN'T CHANGED.

Q -- OTHER THAN THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION?

MS. TUTWILER: THAT HAS NOT CHANGED.

Q OKAY, WELL THEN, WHAT ABOUT THE STATEMENT OF PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR LAST WEEK THAT A NEW SETTLEMENT, NEW NEIGHBORHOOD, WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN WHAT IS CONSIDERED EAST JERUSALEM AND WHAT YOU JUST SAID NOW IS OUTSIDE OF THE GREEN LINE.

MS. TUTWILER: IT GOES EXACTLY BACK TO WHAT I'VE ALREADY SAID. THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL, AS YOU KNOW VERY WELL, HAVE A DISAGREEMENT CONCERNING SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY. THAT IS ONE SUBJECT, OKAY? THAT IS WELL KNOWN. THOSE ARE LONG-STANDING POLICIES. THERE'S A DIFFERENCE.

ON THE 400-MILLION (DOLLAR) HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEE, SECRETARY BAKER IS VERY SATISFIED OF THE ASSURANCES THAT HE AND MINISTER LEVY NEGOTIATED OUT THAT IS IN THIS LETTER CONCERNING THIS ONE PORTION OF MONEY -- THE 400-MILLION (DOLLAR) HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEE. YOU'RE TRYING TO MIX THE TWO. THEY ARE NOT MIXED.

Q BUT THEN, CAN YOU REFER US TO AN ANSWER OF YOURS WHERE REALLY YOU REFERRED TO THE FUNGIBILITY? WHAT IF THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION WERE PUT IN A -- IN AN INTERIOR MINISTRY?

MS. TUTWILER: ALAN ASKED ME ABOUT SECRETARY BAKER'S TESTIMONY. I SAID IT TO NORM. YES, IT'S STILL RELEVANT. BUT THESE ARE THE ASSURANCES THAT SECRETARY BAKER HAS SAID HE IS VERY SATISFIED WITH, THAT HE WORKED OUT WITH MINISTER LEVY CONCERNING THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEE.

Q MARGARET, IN WHAT WAY DO THOSE ASSURANCES GO BEYOND PREVIOUS ASSURANCES GIVEN BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT ON HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES?

MS. TUTWILER: I'LL HAVE TO GO BACK AND RESEARCH IT ALL FOR YOU, BOB. I DIDN'T BRING THAT WITH ME. BUT HE SAID THAT HE BELIEVES IT DOES. DENNIS ROSS HAS SAID THAT HE BELIEVES IT DOES. I JUST DON'T HAVE IT FOR YOU, AND I'LL BE HAPPY TO GO BACK AND RESEARCH -- I DON'T HAVE AT MY FINGERTIPS ALL PREVIOUS ASSURANCES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE.

Q MARGARET, MR. SHAMIR HAS CREATED A NEW FACT OF LIFE WHEN -- A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO BY SAYING THAT HE WILL BUILD A NEW SETTLEMENT IN EAST JERUSALEM.

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT WERE THEY?

Q DO YOU THINK THAT THESE ASSURANCES BY MR. LEVY ALSO APPLICABLE TO MR. SHAMIR BECAUSE IT LOOKS LIKE TWO VOICES COMING OUT?

MS. TUTWILER: THIS IS THE SAME QUESTION JUST -- KEEPS GETTING RE-ASKED.

MS. TUTWILER: I'M GOING TO KEEP ANSWERING IT THE SAME WAY. THERE IS A KNOWN DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THESE TWO CLOSE FRIENDS CONCERNING SETTLEMENTS. OKAY? THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEE HAS A NEGOTIATED, SPECIFIC LETTER BETWEEN THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS ON ASSURANCES ON THAT MONEY.

תפוצה: שהח, טשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהנט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, רביב,
מעט, הטברה, @ (נוה/משהנט), @ (דוצ), מזתים, @אמן

13

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

1110 - 1/2

גלוי - מידי
אל: מצפ"א
מאת: ק. לקונגרס

ביחנ"ב, האירוע בהר הבית

רצ"ב מכתב ששוגר לנשיא בוש ב- 11/10 בזחיתח 7 קונגרסמנים הקורא לנשיא לא להזעלם מהסיבות המקוריות לאירוע ולהציגן בצורה לא נכונה.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

-7

להח³ /ס/שהח צהנ' מנ'ס מנ'ס אנ'ס¹ אנ'ס¹ אנ'ס²

רבויב¹ מנ'ס¹ המכרה²

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

October 11, 1990

The Honorable George Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

1118 $\frac{2}{2}$ *add column*

Dear Mr. President:

We write to express our hope that any U.S. statements about the tragedy in Jerusalem would acknowledge that the tragedy was set in motion by a potentially deadly assault by Palestinians on Jews whose only offense was to be praying at one of Judaism's holiest sites, the Western (Wailing) Wall. Such an assault on those engaged in religious observance is deeply offensive and obviously highly inflammatory.

To ignore the origin of the tragedy is a serious misrepresentation of what occurred, and we respectfully request that any future U.S. statements reflect the full circumstances of the tragedy.

Sincerely,

Bill Green
Bill Green, M.C.

John Porter
John Porter, M.C.

Norman Lent
Norman Lent, M.C.

Hamilton Fish
Hamilton Fish, M.C.

Raymond McCreath
Raymond McCreath, M.C.

Lynn Martin
Lynn Martin, M.C.

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**The American Jewish
Committee**

Institute of Human Relations
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Office of the President

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October 10, 1990

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

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to express our dismay over the efforts undertaken by the Administration to craft a Security Council resolution condemning Israel for what took place on the Temple Mount on Monday.

Although we well understand your interest in maintaining the impressive coalition of nations arrayed against Iraq, we are concerned that this worthy goal not be allowed to override the United States' customary hesitancy to endorse one-sided attacks against Israel, which are so often the product of Security Council deliberations.

The facts surrounding Monday's incident appear somewhat unclear to this day. What is clear, however, is that 45 Israeli border policemen were faced with thousands of angry Palestinian Arabs who pelted tens of thousands of Jewish worshippers with stones, bottles, and iron sticks. The resulting loss of life was and is a cause of great concern not only to us, but to the Israeli government. The Ministry of Police has already conducted an internal investigation, and an independent Commission of Inquiry has been appointed to look into the matter. These efforts demonstrate Israel's commitment to justice, and the rule of law, though they have been hardly recognized by the world community.

Mr. President, if the United States appears to prosecute Israel for the sake of maintaining a coalition, only Saddam Hussein and the advocates of "linkage" will be strengthened, while the United States leadership of anti-Iraq forces will be called into question.

We urge you, in the strongest possible terms, to continue your efforts to resolve the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait -- efforts which we have vigorously supported -- and to refuse to allow the regrettable incident on the Temple Mount to become the rallying point which shifts attention to Israel and away from Iraq's act of naked aggression.

Thank you for your attention to our views.

Respectfully,

Shalom D. Comay
President

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001113/26

בלמס/בהול לבוקר.

אלו מצפ"א, תפוצות, סמנכ"ל בנצור.

דע: פלג רושינגטון

ביין-נאו"ס

מאתו ס' הקונכ"ל/מרדכי ידיד

אירוועיס בהר הבית.

בהמשך למברקנו 1099.

רצ"ב מכתב יו"ר נקרא'ק לנשיא בוש המביע הסתייגותו מעמדת ארה"ב במועב"ט.

מרדכי ידיד

Handwritten notes in Hebrew and English, including phrases like "מכתב", "נקרא", "במועב"ט", and "המביע הסתייגותו".

National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council

443 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10018-7322

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October 10, 1990
The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are deeply dismayed by the U.S. action at the U.N. Security Council in supporting passage of a resolution condemning the Israeli response to the recent riots in Jerusalem. The scope and nature of what appears to have been both a premeditated attack by Arab rioters on worshippers at Judaism's holiest site on a Jewish holy day when thousands had gathered at the Western Wall, and an assault on law enforcement authorities, including the use of knives and incendiary devices, suggest that the Israeli response may indeed have been reasonable under the circumstances. We believe it was a serious error to rush to judgment in condemning our sister democracy before an appropriate independent body, the formation of which was announced earlier today by Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, was given an opportunity to investigate these tragic events. We join with Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek and others in Israel who have expressed their profound regret over the loss of life to the rioters and the injuries of many more, Jews and Arabs alike.

We have strongly supported the Administration's policies in response to Iraq's actions in the Persian Gulf. We also share your view that there is no linkage or parallel between Iraq's brutal crushing of a member state of the U.N. and the situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Efforts by Saddam Hussein to raise the intensity of debate on the Palestinian issue are a transparent and cynical attempt to deflect attention away from his naked aggression. We fear that in joining with those forces at the U.N. which routinely use that forum to isolate Israel diplomatically, including Arab states cooperating with the U.S. in the Persian Gulf, the Administration may be contributing to the very phenomenon that you seek to avoid, namely diversion of central attention away from Iraq's aggression.

We believe that instead of voicing a precipitous condemnation of Israel, U.S. policy would be better served by making it clear to the Arab states and their supporters that the use of the U.N. as a vehicle for continually heaping opprobrium on Israel must be ended, once and for all. It is high time for the Arab states and the Palestinians to end their 42 year state of war with Israel and to begin negotiations toward a political settlement that will resolve the issues dividing them.

Very respectfully yours,
cooperation in the common cause of Jewish community relations

- Arden E. Shekter, Portland, OR
- Frederick N. Frank, Pittsburgh
- Shirley Y. Joseph, Buffalo
- Donald E. Lefsch, Miami
- Michael N. Newman, St. Louis
- Steven Schwartz, White Plains
- M. William Shulz, New Haven
- Arnold Sweet, Dallas
- Barry Ungar, Philadelphia
- Merid Volpert, Los Angeles
- Waynard Wisnial, Chicago
- David Leberbaum, Detroit
- Albert E. Arant, Washington, DC
- Jordan C. Sand, Cleveland
- Lewis D. Cole, Louisville
- Avron Goldman, Washington, DC
- Irvy Kane, Cleveland
- Jacqueline K. LeVine, Monmouth NJ
- Theodore R. Mann, Philadelphia
- Michael A. Petala, Miami
- Bernard M. Trager, Bridgeport
- Leah M. Weinstein, Boston
- Bennett Yanowitz, Cleveland
- Lawrence Rubin
- Albert D. Chermi
- AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
- A. Kani Friedman, James G. Orlowicz
- AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
- Theodore R. Mann, Julian Salter
- ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
- Melvin S. Berg, Seymour, N.Y.
- MAZSABA
- Carmela K. Kaimanovic, Thelma G. Wolf
- JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
- Herbert Magidson, Emanuel Muntz
- JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U.S.A.
- Herbert D. Green, Murray L. Rosen
- NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
- Jean Brons, Lynn Levy
- UNION OF AMERICAN
- HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
- Morris J. Goren, Albert Yonson
- UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH
- CONGREGATIONS OF AMERICA
- Sidney Kessler, David Levine
- UNITED SYNAGOGUES OF AMERICA
- WOMEN'S LEAGUE
- FOR CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM
- Elyse Avramick, Scott M. Kaplan
- WOMEN'S AMERICAN ORT
- Raeze Feldman, Ruth Tattai
- Marie Abrams, Louisville
- Roger Ausbach, Portland, OR
- Irving Blank, Richmond
- Jack B. Blumstein, Wilmington
- Paul D. Bolman, Detroit
- Melvin Celler, Hartford
- Barry Cohen, Alameda County, NJ
- Albert Damb, Cleveland
- Rabbi Aron Feinstein, Monmouth NJ
- Stephen H. Gell, Washington, DC
- Roberta Gluck, Miami
- Lawrence Gold, Atlanta
- Ronald Goldsmith, Kansas City
- Alvin Goldstein, Central NJ
- James Gordon, Springfield, MA
- Ruthellen Harris, San Francisco
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- Paul Berger, Washington, DC
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- Marcia Goldstone, CRC Directors Assn
- Mariela Gorn, AJCRIJ
- Allen Goroff, Boston
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- Rum Popkin, Haddon
- Nan Rich, Miami
- Theodore R. Selen, San Francisco
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- Norman D. Tires, Rhode Island
- Jerry Wagner, Hartford
- Herbert Wandler, Chicago
- Matthew S. Washberg, San Francisco
- Bernard S. White, Washington, DC
- Jerry Yanowitz, Oakland

7250, חוזם: אאא
 אל: רהמש/553
 מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 167, תא: 101090, חז: 1701, מ: סג: שמ,
 בבב
 שמור / מיידי

אל: מצפ'א, ממ'ד.
 מאת: שג' וושינגטון

ארה'ב וסוגיית הלינקאז'

1. אירועי הר הבית העלו פעם נוספת את סוגיית הלינקאז' שבין משבר המפרץ והבעיה הפלסטינית.

2. במסיבת עיתונאים שקיים הנשיא (9.10) הבהיר בתשובה לשאלה כי אינו רואה קשר בין שני המשברים. הוא הוסיף כי מאמצי צדאם חוסיין להשיג תמיכה במאמציו לכרוך את שני המשברים לא הצליח (?). הנשיא העריך כי גם בעקבות אירועי הר הבית לא יצליח צדאם במשימתו. באותה נשימה הדגיש את האינטרס (אמריקאי) הנמשך בפתרון בעית פלסטין ויישום החלטות מועבי'ט.

3. התייחסות הנשיא בנאומו בעצרת להזדמנויות שתפתחנה לפתרון הסכסוך הישראלי - ערבי לאחר נסיגתה ללא תנאי של עיראק מכווית, הולידה תגובות עיתונאיות שפירשו את דברי הנשיא כמבטאים תמיכה בלינקאז'.

4. במסיבת העיתונאים שקיים לאחר נאומו, דחה הנשיא את הפרשנות לדבריו. הוא ניסה להבהיר כי לא חל שינוי בעמדתו. בוש חזר על המשפט מתוך נאומו בו ציין כי לאחר נסיגתה ללא תנאי של עיראק מכווית
 "THERE MAY BE OPPORTUNITIES..."

5. התבטאויות הנשיא בשתי ההזדמנויות לעיל בנושא הלינקאז' אינן ממצות עמדת הממשל בסוגיית.

6. את עמדת ארה'ב בנושא הלינקאז' ניתן לסכם כדלקמן:

א. לא קיים לינקאז' אופראטיבי בין שני המשברים. ר'ל ארה'ב ממקדת את מאמצייה ביצירת חזית בינ'ל רחבה שתביא לנסיגתה ללא תנאי של עיראק מכווית (כמאמר מסגר יצויין ששלושת היעדים הנוספים אותם הציב בוש בתחילת המשבר גם בעל חשיבות משנית. ההנחה היא שהשגת המטרה הראשונה תסלול את הדרך להגשמת יתר שלוש היעדים שמתוכם שחרור בני הערובה יזכה לעדיפות מבחינת הממשל). כל נסיון להסיט תשומת הלב עלול לחבל במאמץ האמריקאי. יצויין כי אירועי הר הבית נתפסים ע'י הממשל כאיום על המאמץ להמשיך ולשמור על חזית בינ'ל אנטי עיראקית רחבה ככל האפשר שנמרכזה תמיכת מדינות ערב.

ב. קיים לינקאז' קונצפטואלי כמו גם SEQUENTIAL LINKAGE בין שני המשברים. בהופיעו בפני נציגי הקהילה הערבית - אמריקאית (26.9) הבהיר הנשיא:

"WE MUST ALSO RESIST HIS ATTEMPT (SADDAN HUSSEIN'S) TO LINK THE ISRAELI INVASION WITH OTHER CONFLICTS. THERE ARE OTHER REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND THEY ARE SERIOUS AND THEY HAVE GOT TO BE RESOLVED AND WE'VE GOT TO DO OUR LEVEL BEST TO BE CATALYSTS FOR THE SOLUTIONS... ONCE THE GULF CRISIS IS ON ITS WAY TO RESOLUTION

OF COURSE WE WANT TO GO FORWARD WITH THE PLACE PROCESS".

ג. סיומו המוצלח של המשבר יצור נקודת מוצא נוחה לקידום תהליך השלום. אירועי הר הבית יהוו תמריץ לממשל להירתם במשנה מרץ לקידום התהליך המדיני.

ד. באיזכור הסכסוך המזה'תי מעוניין הממשל לשגר מסרים למספר כתובות:

1) לישראל על כך שהתהליך לא איבד מחשיבותו. גם אם מבחינה אופרטיבית הנושא אינו זוכה לדחיפות בטיפול הרי שאל לה לישראל לזנוח המאמץ לקידום התהליך. נזכיר בהקשר זה את דברי המזכיר לשה'ח בשיחתם בושינגטון על כך שכדי להדוף לחצי בריה'מ והקהיליה האירופית לחיפוש אלטרנטיבות ליוזמת רוה'מ בדמותה של ועידה בינ'ל על ישראל להראות כמי שמנסה לחלץ התהליך מקפאונו.

2) למדינות ערב (במיוחד אלו התומכות במאמץ האמריקאי ובראשן מצרים וסעודיה) על כך שגם בעיצומו של המשבר לא שוכחת ארה'ב נושא הסכסוך ולכשיסתיים (או כפי שהנשיא ציין בשלבי סיומו) בכוונת ארה'ב להפנות מאמציה למציאת פתרון לכעיה הפלסטינית. במילים אחרות ארה"ב מעוניינת להבהיר למדינות ערב שיש אלטרנטיבה למדיניות צאדס חוסיין וכי התמיכה בעמדתה תשתלם.

7. כפי שניתן לראות הממשל מהלך בהתייחסותו לנושא הלינקאז' על חבל דק. מחד גיסא לא יכול הממשל להראות כמי שתומך בעמדת צאדס חוסיין (המנסה להסיט תשומת הלב מהמפרץ) מאידך גיסא הנשיא במיוחד על רקע אירועי הר הבית אינו יכול להתעלם מהבעיה הפלסטינית וזאת, בנוסף לרצונו להבהיר למדינות ערב תמיכת ארה'ב בעמדתן בדבר הצורך לקדם תהליך השלום. הדילמה לעיל אינה ניתנת לפתרון מבחינת הממשל.

8. לסיכום המשבר במפרץ מציב אתגר קרדינלי בפני הנשיא הנחוש בדעתו להכנס לספרי ההסטוריה כמי שהניח את היסודות לסדר עולמי חדש. פתרון מוצלח של משבר המפרץ יגביר בטחונו העצמי ונחישותו להמשיך במאמץ לנטרל מוקדי סכסוך נוספים העלולים לאיים על הסדר הבינ'ל החדש. ההתקדמות (על רקע ההתקרבות האמריקאית - סובייטית) בפתרון משברי אפגניסטן וקמבודיה תאפשר לשתי המעצמות (שישלימו ככל הנראה בחודשים הקרובים את היעדים שהציבו לעצמם בנושאי ספיקוח על החימוש איחוד גרמניה ואירגון סדר אירופאי חדש) להפנות מאמציהן לפתרון הסכסוך.

שטיין

לכנמס, לכנממ, לכנמ, טבהש (@), מהר (@), חהש, חהש: הצופת, אפצמ, דממ, נמא, סר (@)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 6953

אל: רהמש/518

מ:-ווש, נר: 2079, תא: 101090, זח: 1100, דח: ב, סג: סו,

נכב

סודי / בהול לבוקר

אל: מנכ"ל משהב'ט, מקש'ח משהב'ט

דע: מנהל מצפ'א

מאת: עודד ערן

סיוע לישראל.

ברתולומיו התקשר כרגע להודיע שהוחלט לשחרר את ה - F-15 ואת זרוז ההצבה
מראש. צ'ייני יודיע על כך אישית לשהב'ט ותוך כמה ימים ישוגרו ה -
NOTIFICATION.

הם מנקשים לשמור על הידיעה כחסויה עד אשר צ'ייני יתקשר עם שהב'ט
הודעות ישוגרו לקונגרס.

ערן.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, e(רהמ), e(שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
e(רם), אמן, בנצור, מצפא, e(מקשח/משהבט)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 6912

אל: רהמש/516

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 148, תא: 101090, חז: 1117, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבב

בהול/שמור

אל: ממנכ"ל

ארב"ל 2

השגריר ביינ, נאו"ם ניו-יורק

מאת: עודד ערן

ארועי הר הבית - מועבי"ט

בשיחות אתמול (לצורך הצגת שילה) עם בולטון וקרצר העלינו את הנושא ועמדת ארה"ב. בולטון אמר שהנשיא והמזכיר כועסים על ארועי הר הבית ועל השימוש המופרז בכוח. ההנחיה שקיבלו היא לתמוך בהצעה שהוברקה בנפרד.

תנגדות היתידה היא ליצירת לינקג' בין המפרץ לסכסוך הישראלי - ערבי. והנוכחנו עם השנים על התמיכה והעידוד הניתנים בהצעה למסיתים והוספנו שאולי לדברים פומביים ולעתיד נכונה הגישה של אי יצירת לינקג', אך אלו שעמדו מאחרי ההתפרעות ההמונית והאלימה רצו במפורש בלינקג' והחלטה מסוג זה רק תעודד אותם. שיגור שליחים ולא חשוב מטעם מי, רק ילבה את היצרים ויעודד ארועים מסוג זה. מעבר לכך, ירושלים אינה שכם וחברון ונכונותנו לקבל שליח של המזכ"ל בעבר אינה תקדים.

בולטון אמר שהם מבקשים לסיים הפרשה הזו מהר ככל האפשר. הם והבריטים ניסו ככל יכולתם, אך אין תמיכה אפילו בקרב בנות הברית (צ"ן במיוחד את שה"ח קנדה שלחץ על החלטה מהירה).

הבוקר התקשר רוס בענין אחר ושוב העליתי את הנושא בעיקר בהקשר השליח (הבאתי לתשומת ליבו דברי ראה"מ). רוס חזר על טיעוני בולטון על רצונם בסיום מהיר של הפרשה והדגיש שהשליח, לפי הטקסט, יוצא ל"איזור" ולא מצויין ששליחותו היא לירושלים.

עודד ערן

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, e(רהמ), e(שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, e(רם), אמן, ממד, סייבל, משפט, סולטן, מזתים, בנצור, מצפא, כרנע, ארבבל, הדס, איר, איר2

סססס

WORLD SEEKS PEACEFUL MEANS TO COMPEL IRAQ TO WITHDRAW

(Background briefing at FPC 10/10/90)

By Norma S. Holmes
USIA Staff Writer

Washington -- The world community is placing a high priority on resolving the gulf crisis -- "a clear case of naked aggression; the invasion by a strong state of a weaker state -- in a peaceful manner rather than by naked force," a U.S. official said October 10.

"Fundamental to resolving that conflict must be the means to compel Iraq to respect U.N Security Council (UNSC) resolutions; withdraw completely from Kuwait; gain nothing from its aggression, and do this short of having it go to war," the official said.

The official responded to questions by foreign journalists at the U.S. Information Agency's Foreign Press Center here on the condition that he not be identified.

Asked if recent statements by Egyptian generals that Egyptian troops would not participate in an offensive against other Arabs signal a crack in the alliance against Iraq, the official answered that "on August 8, President Bush said almost the same thing."

The United States, as did other countries, sent forces to Saudi Arabia "on a purely defensive mission at the request of Saudi Arabia," the official said. "I don't think there are any cracks there."

Asked about attempts to link resolution of the gulf crisis and the Palestinian question, the official said the United States "does not think we should delay dealing with the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq -- given the clear consensus of the world community that this has to be reversed -- while we try to deal with one of the most intractable problems the world has ever seen."

"We did not put the gulf issue at the top of our Middle East agenda, replacing the effort to get a dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis. It was Saddam Hussein's actions that did that," the official said.

In response to a question about the killing of more than 19 Palestinians in Jerusalem October 9, the official said that senior U.S. officials have expressed great concern and "are very upset that there could be a use of force to such a degree, with such an apparent insufficiency of strength and preparation for dealing with this kind of tragedy," he said.

"This kind of incident dramatizes the kind of problem that's

involved in continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories; and the sort of problem that has long been recognized by the president and the secretary of state when they say that the status quo is untenable," the official added.

While stressing that "we need to get back to that issue," the official said it is important that Iraq not be allowed to exploit and manipulate this incident.

"The problem of Palestine is an extraordinarily important problem for world peace," the official emphasized, adding that the U.S. position "is that that issue must be addressed on its merits. It must involve consideration not only for the security of Israel and neighboring Arab states, but also the legitimate political rights of the Palestinian people."

Asked about discussions at the United Nations on the killings, the official said that the United States "is quite prepared to accept a resolution not authored by the U.S. but which is acceptable and consistent with the main lines of our policy toward Palestine."

Asked why the U.S. opposes sending a mission from the Security Council to the occupied territories to examine the situation, the official said the United States supports an investigation by U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. "The U.S. has had a considerable question in our mind about making the Security Council a permanent court," he explained.

Questioned on the visit to Baghdad by Yevgeniy Primakov, the USSR president's special envoy and member of the USSR Presidential Council, the U.S. official said preliminary reports indicate that he "made it clear that the Soviet Union, like the other permanent members of UNSC, expect to see Iraq completely comply with the UNSC resolutions."

Asked if the United States has a deadline for sanctions against Iraq to work, the official pointed out that sanctions "have only been in place two months."

"I would hope the world community has a greater degree of patience," he said. Nevertheless, he added, "the sanctions are a national disaster" for Iraq. "In effect, this country has been living without an income for two months. Iraq was broke at the start of this crisis. That's one of the reasons Iraq invaded Kuwait -- because it was broke, and nations of the world had ceased to provide credit to Iraq. Iraq is very close to being without money...."

"Frankly, our embargo on imports is considerably less important than our embargo on exports," he said, noting that "it is not U.S. policy to prevent Iraqi babies from getting baby formula -- that is a bit of fancy propoganda."

Evidence that export sanctions are working can be seen from the breakdowns taking place in some of the industrial plants, he said. "We know that the Iraqis are looking around for some desperately needed military spare parts. But the fact is, they're not going to have the money to attract these kinds of goods. Iraq has really only one significant source of foreign exchange earnings, and that is from oil exports."

NNNN

אאא, חוזם: 6664
אל: רהמש/482
מ-: המשרד, תא: 101090, חז: 1349, דח: ב, סג: סו,
בבב
2963
סודי/בהול

אל: וושינגטון
הממונה

הנדון: ערבויות דיור

למברק ירון נר 145

אתמול (9.10) תידע שגארה'ב את המנכ"ל ואת ס/מנכ"ל צפ"א ופר'ן לגבי
האפשרות של פירסום מכתב השר למזכיר בייקר מה- 2.10.

מקביל ועוד לפני- כן התקשר הסגן בשגרירות עם הח'מ בנדון). הובהר להם
לדעתנו יש לתאם עמנו כל מהלך בקשר למכתב (כי מדובר במכתב משר לשר)
ואין לפעול בצורה נמהרת וחד- צדדית.

בקשנו איפוא שיתיעצו עמנו מראש. קבלו על עצמם להעביר את המסרים
לוושינגטון.

מנהל מצפ"א

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, e(רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 6342
אל: רהמש/432
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 145, תא: 091090, חז: 2047, חב: סג: שמ,
בבב
שמור / בהול לבוקר

אל : מנהל מצפ"א
דע : סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופר"נ
מאת: עיתונות וושינגטון
הנדון : ערבויות לדיור

למען הסדר הטוב, מפנה את תשומת לבכם :

א. לדברי מזכיר המדינה (מאתמול) כי ישחרר לפרסום את תוכן מכתב הערבויות
יתן לו ע"י שה"ח.

ב. להתייחסות דוברת מחמ"ד לנושא (היום) כי המכתב "ישוחרר" לעיתונאים
כנראה כבר -מחר- לאחר ש"...מטעמי נימוס בין חברים טובים, נודיע להם שאנו
מתכוונים לשחרר את המכתב ובאיזו שעה נעשה זאת..." . כלומר, אין מדובר על
התייעצות עמנו -באם- להתיר את המכתב, אלא רק -הודעה- על הכוונה והעיתוי.
כמו כן, הודיעה טטוילר שעם פרסום המכתב יפרסמו גם את הפרטים המשלימים על
התהליך המעשי של מתן הערבויות.

רות ירון.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא, כהן,
כלכליתב', אוצר

סססס

7250: חוזם: אאא

אל: רהמש/553

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 167, תא: 101090, זח: 1701, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור / מידי

אל: מצפ'א, ממ'ד.

מאת: שג' וושינגטון

ארה'ב וסוגיית הלינקאז'

1. אירועי הר הכית העלו פעם נוספת את סוגיית הלינקאז' שבין משבר המפרץ והבעיה הפלסטינית.

2. במסיבת עיתונאים שקיים הנשיא (9.10) הבהיר בתשובה לשאלה כי אינו רואה קשר בין שני המשברים. הוא הוסיף כי מאמצי צדאם חוסיין להשיג תמיכה מאמציו לכרוך את שני המשברים לא הצליח (?). הנשיא העריך כי גם בעקבות אירועי הר הכית לא יצליח צדאם במשימתו. באותה נשימה הדגיש את האינטרס (האמריקאי) הנמשך בפתרון בעית פלסטין ויישום החלטות מועבי'ט.

3. התייחסות הנשיא בנאומו בעצרת להזדמנויות שתפתחנה לפתרון הסכסוך הישראלי - ערבי לאחר נסיגתה ללא תנאי של עיראק מכווית, הולידה תגובות עיתונאיות שפירשו את דברי הנשיא כמבטאים תמיכה בלינקאז'.

4. במסיבת העיתונאים שקיים לאחר נאומו, דחה הנשיא את הפרשנות לדבריו. הוא ניסה להבהיר כי לא חל שינוי בעמדתו. בוש חזר על המשפט מתוך נאומו בו ציין כי לאחר נסיגתה ללא תנאי של עיראק מכווית
"THERE MAY BE OPPORTUNITIES..."

5. התבטאויות הנשיא בשתי ההזדמנויות לעיל בנושא הלינקאז' אינן ממצות עמדת הממשל בסוגיית.

6. את עמדת ארה'ב בנושא הלינקאז' ניתן לסכם כדלקמן:

א. לא קיים לינקאז' אופראטיבי בין שני המשברים. ר'ל ארה'ב ממקדת את מאמציה ביצירת חזית בינ'ל רחבה שתביא לנסיגתה ללא תנאי של עיראק מכווית מאמר מסגר יצויין שלושת היעדים הנוספים אותם הציב בוש בתחילת המשבר הינם בעל חשיבות משנית. ההנחה היא שהשגת המטרה הראשונה תסלול את הדרך להגשמת יתר שלוש היעדים שמתוכם שחרור בני הערובה יזכה לעדיפות מבחינת הממשל). כל נסיון להסיט תשומת הלב עלול לחבל במאמץ האמריקאי. יצויין כי אירועי הר הכית נתפסים ע"י הממשל כאיום על המאמץ להמשיך ולשמור על חזית בינ'ל אנטי עיראקית רחבה ככל האפשר שבמרכזה תמיכת מדינות ערב.

ב. קיים לינקאז' קונצפטואלי כמו גם SEQUENTIAL LINKAGE בין שני המשברים. בהופיעו בפני נציגי הקהילה הערבית - אמריקאית (26.9) הבהיר הנשיא:

"WE MUST ALSO RESIST HIS ATTEMPT (SADDAN HUSSEIN'S) TO LINK THE ISRAELI INVASION WITH OTHER CONFLICTS. THERE ARE OTHER REGIONAL CONFLICTS AND THEY ARE SERIOUS AND THEY HAVE GOT TO BE RESOLVED AND WE'VE GOT TO DO OUR LEVEL BEST TO BE CATALYSTS FOR THE SOLUTIONS... ONCE THE GULF CRISIS IS ON ITS WAY TO RESOLUTION

OF COURSE WE WANT TO GO FORWARD WITH THE PLACE PROCESS".

ג. סיומו המוצלח של המשבר יצור נקודת מוצא נוחה לקידום תהליך השלום. אירועי הר הבית יהוו תמריץ לממשל להירתם במשנה מרץ לקידום התהליך המדיני.

ד. באיזכור הסכסוך המזה'תי מעוניין הממשל לשגר מסרים למספר כתובות:

1) לישראל על כך שהתהליך לא איבד מחשיבותו. גם אם מבחינה אופרטיבית הנושא אינו זוכה לדחיפות בטיפול הרי שאל לה לישראל לזנוח המאמץ לקידום התהליך. נזכיר בהקשר זה את דברי המזכיר לשה'ח בשיחתם בושינגטון על כך שכדי להדוף לתצי בריה'מ והקהיליה האירופית לחיפוש אלטרנטיבות ליוזמת רוה'מ בדמותה של ועידה בינ'ל על ישראל להראות כמי שמנסה לחלץ התהליך מקפאונו.

2) למדינות ערב (כמיוחד אלו התומכות במאמץ האמריקאי ובראשן מצרים וסעודיה) על כך שגם בעיצומו של המשבר לא שוכחת ארה'ב נושא הסכסוך ולכשיסתיים (או כפי שהנשיא ציין בשלבי סיומו) בכוונת ארה'ב להפנות מאמציה למציאת פתרון לבעיה הפלסטינית. במילים אחרות ארה'ב מעוניינת להבהיר למדינות ערב שיש אלטרנטיבה למדיניות צאדס חוסיין וכי התמיכה בעמדתה תשתלם.

7. כפי שניתן לראות הממשל מהלך בהתייחסותו לנושא הלינקאז' על חבל דק. מחד גיסא לא יכול הממשל להראות כמי שתומך בעמדת צאדס חוסיין (המנסה להסיט תשומת הלב מהמפרץ) מאידך גיסא הנשיא במיוחד על רקע אירועי הר הבית אינו יכול להתעלם מהבעיה הפלסטינית וזאת, בנוסף לרצונו להבהיר למדינות ערב תמיכת ארה'ב בעמדתן בדבר הצורך לקדם תהליך השלום. הדילמה לעיל אינה ניתנת לפתרון מבחינת הממשל.

8. לסיכום המשבר במפרץ מציב אתגר קרדינלי בפני הנשיא הנחוש בדעתו להכנס לספרי ההסטוריה כמי שהניח את היסודות לסדר עולמי חדש. פתרון מוצלח של משבר המפרץ יגביר בטחונו העצמי ונחישותו להמשיך במאמץ לנטרל מוקדי סכסוך נוספים העלולים לאיים על הסדר הבינ'ל החדש. ההתקדמות (על רקע ההתקרבות האמריקאית - סובייטית) בפתרון משברי אפגניסטן וקמבודיה תאפשר לשתי המעצמות (שישלימו ככל הנראה בחודשים הקרובים את היעדים שהציבו לעצמם בנושאי ספיקוח על החימוש איחוד גרמניה ואירגון סדר אירופאי חדש) להפנות מאמציהן לפתרון הסכסוך.

שטיין

לכנמס, לכנממ, לכנמ, טבהש (@), מהר (e), חהשס, חהש: הצופת, אפצמ, דממ, ומא, (e) סר

סססס

אאא, חו זס: 6672
אל: רהמש/485
מ-: המשרד, תא: 101090, חז: 1358, מ:מ, סג: שמ,
בבב
שמור/מידי

ערן

בשיחת ס/שה'ח עם בראון הביע פליאה על השמוש של הנשיא בוש במונח
'פלסטין' והביע התקוה שלא מדובר בשינוי מדיניות.

לשכת ס/שה'ח

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, מזתים,
סייבל, משפט

סססס

אמא, חוזם: 6307
אל: רהמש/417
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 130, תא: 091090, זח: 1551, דח: ב, סג: בל,
בכב
בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

דע: ניו-יורק

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון

חלק 1 מ 2

להלן תדרוך דובר מחמ"ד ליום: 9.10.90

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING
BRIEFER: MARGARET TUTWILER
12:16 PM/ TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1990

MS. TUTWILER: READY? WHAT I THOUGHT I'D DO FIRST IS GIVE YOU ALL AN UPDATE ON OUR LATEST FLIGHT, ET CETERA, ON IRAQ AND KUWAIT SINCE THIS WEEKEND.

AS MANY OF YOU KNOW, A US-CHARTERED 747 FLIGHT TO EVACUATE US CITIZENS AND THEIR DEPENDENTS FROM IRAQ AND KUWAIT WILL DEPART ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10. AT THIS TIME, THE IRAQIS HAVE SAID THAT THE PLANE WILL ONLY BE ALLOWED TO LAND IN BASRA. IN THE EVENT THAT THIS IS THE CASE, OUR EMBASSY IN KUWAIT HAS MADE ARRANGEMENTS TO TRANSPORT ALL PASSENGERS FROM KUWAIT TO THE BASRA AIRPORT.

SO FAR, ABOUT 400 INDIVIDUALS, AMERICAN CITIZENS AND THEIR FOREIGN-BORN FAMILY MEMBERS, HAVE SIGNED UP FOR THIS FLIGHT. THERE ARE NO PLANS AT THIS TIME FOR ANOTHER FLIGHT. WE WILL CONTINUE TO ASSIST WITH THE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS FOR THOSE UNITED STATES CITIZENS THAT WISH TO DEPART IRAQ AND KUWAIT AND ARE ALLOWED TO DO SO BY THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT.

THREE MORE UNITED STATES CITIZENS HAVE BEEN ROUNDED UP BY THE IRAQIS IN KUWAIT. TWO OF THE AMERICANS WERE SEEN BY AN EMBASSY OFFICER AT THE MANSOUR-MELIA HOTEL IN BAGHDAD ON SUNDAY. THE OTHER AMERICAN WAS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO THE REGENCY HOTEL IN KUWAIT CITY.

THAT BRINGS OUR ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF AMERICANS BEING HELD BY THE IRAQIS TO AT LEAST 104. THE IRAQIS STILL HAVE NOT PROVIDED US WITH A LIST OF THE AMERICANS THAT THEY HAVE DETAINED AND WHERE THEY ARE, OR HAVE THEY BEEN ANY HELP AT ALL IN EVACUATING ANY OF OUR 69 SPECIAL MEDICAL CASES THAT WE'VE TOLD YOU ALL ABOUT PREVIOUSLY. WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE REPORTS OF HOUSE-TO-HOUSE SEARCHES IN KUWAIT FOR AMERICAN CITIZENS.

AND OTHER THAN THAT, THAT IS MY UPDATE ON THAT.

Q AND ON THE 747, IT STILL IS DUE TO ARRIVE ON THE 11TH IN

RALEIGH-DURHAM?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T KNOW WHERE IT'S GOING TO ARRIVE. (TO STAFF.) -- WHERE'S IT GOING TO ARRIVE, RICHARD? RALEIGH-DURHAM?

RALEIGH-DURHAM, THE 11TH.

Q COULD I ASK A QUESTION ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON THE HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES HE MADE?

MS. TUTWILER: MM-HMM.

Q HE SAID THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING -- OR IN HIS NEWS CONFERENCE, HE SAID THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE AGREED NOT TO USE THOSE FUNDS FOR SETTLEMENTS BEYOND THE GREEN LINE. IS WHAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT SAID SINCE THEN ABOUT NEW SETTLEMENTS IN EAST JERUSALEM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THAT UNDERSTANDING?

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT WE -- AS HE ALSO MENTIONED YESTERDAY, JIM, IS THAT HE WAS GOING TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO YOU THE LETTER THAT HE AND FOREIGN MINISTER LEVY WORKED ON. WE'RE NOT ABLE, WE DON'T THINK, TO BE ABLE TO DO THAT TODAY, BUT WE HOPEFULLY WILL BE ABLE TO DO IT THIS WEEK, AS EARLY AS TOMORROW. AND IN HIS REMARKS YESTERDAY, HE SAID TO YOU ALL THAT HE WOULD LET YOU ALL BE THE JUDGE OF THE ASSURANCES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN THIS PARTICULAR LETTER. SO I AM KIND OF IN THE SAME POSITION TODAY.

Q AND IF THERE IS A MISUNDERSTANDING OR A DIFFERENCE IN UNDERSTANDING OF THIS, DOES THE ADMINISTRATION STILL PLAN TO GO AHEAD WITH THE LOAN GUARANTEE?

MS. TUTWILER: NUMBER ONE, I DON'T BELIEVE THAT SECRETARY BAKER BELIEVES THAT THERE IS A MISUNDERSTANDING, AND THAT'S WHY HE WANTS TO MAKE THE LETTER AVAILABLE TO YOU ALL AND LET YOU ALL BE THE JUDGE OF IT -- AS HE SAID YESTERDAY -- AND CONSIDER IT YOURSELVES. AND SO, I CANNOT GO A STEP FURTHER FOR YOU THEN AND SAY THAT, YES, THIS CHANGES SOMETHING. NOTHING'S CHANGED IN HIS OPINION.

Q HOW COME IT TAKES MORE THAN A DAY TO PUT OUT THE LETTER? I MEAN, DON'T YOU HAVE A XEROX MACHINE AVAILABLE?

MS. TUTWILER: WE HAVE A XEROX MACHINE, BUT COMMON COURTESY AMONG GOOD FRIENDS IS TO LET THEM KNOW THAT WE ARE PLANNING TO MAKE THIS AVAILABLE AND AT WHAT TIME WE'RE PLANNING TO. WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO REACH THEM THIS MORNING, AND I THINK THAT YOU WOULD AGREE WITH ME THAT'S JUST COMMON COURTESY.

Q THE FACT THAT YOU SAY THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING, BAKER THINKS THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING, YOU'RE SAYING THAT AFTER THE ISRAELI ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE ADDITIONAL HOUSING FOR JEWS IN EAST JERUSALEM. SO WE CAN TAKE YOUR COMMENT AS BEING VERY CURRENT; THAT IS, IN THE WAKE OF THAT ANNOUNCEMENT BAKER BELIEVES THERE IS NO MISUNDERSTANDING. IS THAT CORRECT?

MS. TUTWILER: MM-HMM -- (AFFIRMATIVE) -- AND HE BELIEVES WHEN YOU READ THE LETTER THAT YOU WILL AGREE WITH HIM.

Q WELL, BUT THE LETTER WAS DONE LAST WEEK. WE'LL READ IT AND WE'LL GET THE --

MS. TUTWILER: BUT THE LETTER IS VERY SPECIFIC.

Q RIGHT, WE'LL MAKE OUR JUDGMENTS ON THAT, THOUGH.

MS. TUTWILER: MM-HMM.

Q YOU KNOW, MARAGARET, IT'S NOT --

MS. TUTWILER: WAIT ONE SECOND. BARRY HAD A QUESTION.

Q (CAN I TRY ?) THAT EIGHT DAYS AGO, THE PRESIDENT AT THE UN THREW OUT A PROPOSITION THAT IF THE IRAQIS PULL OUT OF KUWAIT UNCONDITIONALLY, THAT MAYBE --

Q IS THIS ON THE SAME TOPIC?

Q IT'S SORT OF THE SAME TOPIC. IT'S ALL TIED INTO THE PALESTINIAN THING, AND -- AND THAT IF THE IRAQIS PULL OUT UNCONDITIONALLY, THEN MAYBE YOU COULD ADDRESS THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. HAS THERE BEEN ANY RESPONSE FROM THE OTHER SIDE, ANY INDIRECT OR WHATEVER INTEREST SHOWN BY BAGHDAD IN THAT PROPOSITION?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T BELIEVE THAT YOUR PARAPHRASE OF EXACTLY WHAT THE PRESIDENT'S UNITED NATIONS SPEECH SAID IS EXACTLY ACCURATE. I THINK YOU'VE TAKEN IT A LITTLE FURTHER THAN THE PRESIDENT DID. AND THE SECOND PART OF YOUR QUESTION IS THE PRESIDENT JUST THIS MORNING WAS VERY CLEAR ON LINKING THESE TWO SUBJECTS, WHICH IS HIS POLICY, WAS HIS LAST POLICY LAST WEEK, AND IS HIS POLICY THIS WEEK. SO EXACTLY WHAT IS THE SECOND PART OF YOUR QUESTION?

Q THERE'S ONLY ONE PART OF MY QUESTION. YOU'RE REPHRASING MY STATEMENT OF WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID. YOU CAN PHRASE IT ANY WAY YOU WANT.

MS. TUTWILER: (IT'S DIFFERENT ?) ON ACCOUNT OF HOW HE DID IT.

Q DID THE IRAQIS RESPOND DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY TO THE US STATEMENT OF LAST WEEK BY THE PRESIDENT? IS THERE ANY INDICATON OF ANY IRAQI INTEREST?

MS. TUTWILER: WELL, I THINK THEY RESPONDED PUBLICLY. I CANNOT REMEMBER THE GENTLEMAN WHO DELIVERED THEIR SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS. THEIR AMBASSADOR, I BELIEVE, HAD A TERRIBLE NOSEBLEED --

Q HE GOT A BLOODY NOSE, YEAH.

MS. TUTWILER: -- AND SOME IRAQI OFFICIAL THERE AT THE UNITED NATIONS DELIVERED, I BELIEVE WHAT YOU WOULD CHARACTERIZE AS

Q ABOUT THE US NOTION THAT IF IRAQ WITHDRAWS, THEN YOU'LL HAVE -- THEN MAYBE THE CONDITIONS WOULD BE RIGHT FOR SETTLING THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING FROM BAGHDAD?

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M MS. TUTWILER: -- THAT BAGHDAD IS VERY WELL AWARE OF OUR POLICY, WHICH WAS ENUNCIATED AGAIN THIS MORNING BY THE PRESIDENT. AND AS FAR AS THE POINT YOU ARE TRYING TO, I BELIEVE, GET ME TO ACKNOWLEDGE IS THAT SOMEHOW THE PRESIDENT LINKED THE TWO. HE DID NOT. AND HE AGAIN THIS MORNING -- WHEN ASKED BY YOUR COLLEAGUES AT THE WHITE HOUSE WERE WE LINKING IT, WHAT IS OUR POLICY -- THE PRESIDENT WAS VERY, IN MY OPINION, VERY ARTICULATE ON SAYING WHAT HIS POLICY IS, IN THAT, NO, THESE TWO ISSUES ARE NOT LINKED, BUT THAT HE DOES ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THE PALESTINIAN -- WHAT DID YOU JUST CALL IT?

PROBLEM OR ISSUE -- DEFINITELY IS SOMETHING THAT IS OF CONCERN TO THIS ADMINISTRATION, IS OF CONCERN TO AMERICA, AND SOMETHING THAT, AT THE RIGHT TIME, WOULD BE ADDRESSED, BUT THAT THE TWO ARE NOT LINKED. AND SECRETARY BAKER HIMSELF HAS SAID THIS.

Q WHETHER I THINK IT'S LINKED OR NOT IS REALLY IMMATERIAL. I MEAN, ALL I'M ASKING YOU IS --

MS. TUTWILER: WELL, IT'S IMPORTANT TO US IS THAT THE IRAQIS NOT THINK IT'S LIKELY.

Q -- DO THE IRAQIS -- HAVE THE IRAQIS SHOWN ANY INTEREST IN THE DE-LINKED US PROPOSITION THAT THESE TOTALLY SEPARATE ISSUES -- THAT THE SECOND OF THESE TOTALLY SEPARATE ISSUES COULD BE DEALT WITH IF THEY TAKE CARE OF THE FIRST MATTER, WHICH IS WITHDRAWING FROM -- FROM KUWAIT. HAVE THE IRAQIS SHOWN ANY INTEREST IN THIS?

MS. TUTWILER: NOT THAT I AM AWARE OF.

Q MARGARET, YOU MISQUOTED THE PRESIDENT A BIT. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, THERE SEEMED TO BE A NEW FORMULATION. HE DIDN'T SAY "THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE," HE SAID, "THE PALESTINE QUESTION."

MS. TUTWILER: NO, I WAS SAYING WHAT BARRY -- I WAS SAYING WHAT BARRY SAID.

Q I KNOW, BUT YOU WERE -- YEAH, AND IT WOULD SEEM TO BE A NEW FORMULATION. WAS ANY SIGNAL MEANT? I DON'T RECALL ANY US OFFICIAL DESCRIBING THIS ISSUE AS A PALESTINE QUESTION BEFORE.

MS. TUTWILER: I'M NOT -- I'M SURE, JIM, IF THERE WAS AN INTENTIONAL NEW SIGNAL, I'LL BE HAPPY TO ASK THE WHITE HOUSE FOR YOU OR GET HELEN TO ASK FOR YOU. I -- I CAN'T ANSWER THAT FOR YOU. I DON'T KNOW. IT'S SOMETHING I DIDN'T CATCH.

Q MARGARET, A FOLLOW-UP ON THE HOUSING GUARANTEES. IS IT SECRETARY BAKER'S UNDERSTANDING, AND THE DEPARTMENT'S UNDERSTANDING, THAT, AS PART OF THOSE GUARANTEES, ISRAEL WILL NOT SETTLE THE SOVIET IMMIGRANTS IN EAST JERUSALEM?

MS. TUTWILER: IN THE -- IN THE LETTER WHICH YOU WILL SEE, AND NOW I'M PARAPHRASING, BECAUSE WE'RE GOING TO PUT OUT THE ACTUAL TEXT, THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION IN HOUSING GUARANTEES IS NOT TO BE USED IN AREAS OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL SINCE 1967. WE HAVE ASSURANCES FROM ISRAEL TO THAT EFFECT.

Q DOES THAT INCLUDE EAST JERUSALEM?

MS. TUTWILER: AREAS OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL SINCE 1967. THAT IS OUR STANDARD POLICY.

Q SO YOU'RE SAYING YES?

MS. TUTWILER: IT IS HOW WE ARTICULATE IT EVERY TIME WE'RE ASKED.

Q SO, BUT YOU'RE SAYING YES?

MS. TUTWILER: I'M ARTICULATING OUR POLICY IN THE EXACT WORDS AND WAY THAT IT HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY.

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Q -- THAT ASSURANCE IS THE SAME ASSURANCE THAT THEY ALWAYS GIVE IN THE ANNUAL AID, THAT THEY WON'T USE THE MONEY OUT IN THOSE AREAS. BUT SECRETARY BAKER SAID LAST WEEK THAT THE ASSURANCES WENT BEYOND THAT, AND THAT THEY WOULD NOT -- THEY HAD PROMISED NOT TO SETTLE JEWS IN SPECIFIC AREAS. COULD YOU ADDRESS THAT?

MS. TUTWILER: I'M GOING TO ADDRESS IT THE WAY THAT I'VE BEEN ASKED TO ADDRESS IT, WHICH IS, THE SECRETARY IS GOING TO MAKE AVAILABLE TO YOU ALL -- I'VE EXPLAINED, WHICH I THINK IS VERY REASONABLE, WHY WE CANNOT TODAY. HOPEFULLY AS EARLY AS TOMORROW MORNING, I WILL BE ABLE TO PUT THIS IN YOUR HANDS, AND THEN WE WILL SEE, AND I'D BE -- IT WOULD BE BETTER TO ANSWER QUESTIONS AFTER YOU HAVE SEEN, ALLEN, EXACTLY WHAT THE ASSURANCES ARE AND WHAT THE LETTER OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL IS AND THE SECRETARY.

Q MARGARET --

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO BITS AND PARTS OF IT TODAY UNTIL YOU'VE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE THE LETTER.

niko Q MARGARET, ON THE -- ALSO ON ISRAEL -- CAN YOU TELL US WHAT THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO DO ABOUT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION THAT IS BEING CIRCULATED AT THE UN BY CUBA, YEMEN AND A NUMBER OF OTHER COUNTRIES CONCERNING THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM IN ISRAEL?

MS. TUTWILER: I CAN'T BE MUCH MORE HELP TO YOU THAN THE PRESIDENT WAS THIS MORNING. THE SECURITY COUNCIL WENT INTO SESSION, I BELIEVE IT IS AT 11:00 AM THIS MORNING. THEY ARE NOT DUE TO CONCLUDE, I DON'T BELIEVE, UNTIL 3:00 PM THIS AFTERNOON. AND THE PRESIDENT SAID THIS MORNING AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE THAT HE WOULD NOT -- AT THAT MOMENT WHEN HE WAS SPEAKING -- BE ABLE TO SAY WHAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD OR WOULD NOT SUPPORT. WHETHER IT WILL BE A RESOLUTION, WHETHER IT WILL BE A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IT'S JUST UNDETERMINED AND IT'S BEING WORKED RIGHT NOW IN NEW YORK.

Q IN OTHER WORDS, YOU HAVE NOT DECIDED WHETHER TO SUPPORT THE DRAFT RESOLUTION THAT IS BEING CIRCULATED?

MS. TUTWILER: WELL, MY UNDERSTANDING, JOHN, IS THERE ARE A NUMBER OF THINGS THAT ARE BEING CIRCULATED, ONE OF WHICH IS A PRESIDENT-OF-THE-SECURITY COUNCIL LETTER. THAT'S ONE AVENUE. ANOTHER AVENUE IS A RESOLUTION. THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT FORMS THAT THE RESOLUTION IS NOW IN, AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS IN SESSION, SO IT FIRST STARTS OUT WITH: WHAT IS IT THEY'RE GOING TO END UP WITH AS THEIR PROPOSAL? THEN A -- THE PRESIDENT WILL MAKE A DECISION BASED ON THE LANGUAGE, THE TEXT, WHAT IT IS. WE'RE JUST IN A POSITION RIGHT NOW, WE CAN'T ANSWER THIS FOR YOU.

Q IS THERE A -- IS THERE A UNITED STATES PREFERRED VERSION OF A RESOLUTION OR ONE THAT WE HAVE DRAFTED AND ARE CIRCULATING EITHER PUBLICLY OR SUB ROSA?

MS. TUTWILER: TOM PICKERING, OUR AMBASSADOR AT THE UNITED NATIONS, HAS THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S VIEWS ON THIS.

Q IF YOU HAVE SAID THIS -- IF THIS HAS BEEN COVERED BEFORE, PARDON ME -- BUT WAS THE INTENTION ORIGINALLY TO RELEASE THE LETTER? THE -- BACK TO THE HOUSING SITUATION.

MS. TUTWILER: THERE WAS NEVER AN INTENTION NOT TO RELEASE IT.

Q SO IT ISN'T IN RESPONSE TO SOME SITUATION?

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

Q HAS BAKER TRIED TO BE IN TOUCH WITH LEVY TODAY? HAS HE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH --

MS. TUTWILER: NO, IT'S BEING HANDLED AT A DIFFERENT LEVEL.

Q OKAY. AND ON THE ISSUE OF ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE OF YESTERDAY AND THE DAY BEFORE -- OR YESTERDAY --

MS. TUTWILER: MM-HMM?

Q -- HAS BAKER TRIED TO BE IN TOUCH WITH ANY OF HIS COUNTERPARTS IN THE REGION? AND DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAVE AN ASSESSMENT FOR WHAT THAT KIND OF ACTIVITY MIGHT DO TO THE OTHER THINGS THE US IS TRYING TO HOLD TOGETHER RIGHT NOW?

MS. TUTWILER: THE SECRETARY, TO MY KNOWLEDGE, HAS NOT BEEN IN TOUCH WITH ANY OF HIS COUNTERPARTS IN THE REGION. FOREIGN SECRETARY HURD CALLED THE SECRETARY EARLY THIS MORNING -- THE UK IS SHARING THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL CHAIR RIGHT NOW -- AND HE WAS SPECIFICALLY DISCUSSING WITH HIM WHAT IS GOING ON AT THE UN, WHAT JOHN DANCY WAS ASKING ME ABOUT.

AS FAR AS OTHERS IN THE REGION, I'M NOT AWARE IF SECRETARY BAKER HAS TALKED TO ANY OF HIS OTHER COUNTERPARTS.

Q THE SECOND PART OF MY QUESTION WAS, DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAVE AN ASSESSMENT FOR WHAT AN OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND JERUSALEM HAS ON THE GREATER -- OR THE OTHER ISSUES THAT ARE AT WORK NOW, THE DIFFERENT COALITIONS THE US IS TRYING TO HOLD TOGETHER ON THE PERSIAN GULF, PARTICULARLY THE ARAB COUNTRIES. ARE YOU STARTING TO HEAR FROM THOSE?

MS. TUTWILER: I CAN'T SAY THAT WE HAVE SPECIFICALLY STARTING TO HEAR FROM, BUT THERE ARE -- THERE ARE SOME I'M AWARE OF, YES, THAT HAVE, THROUGH OUR AMBASSADORS, SENT CABLES IN OF THEIR OPINIONS ABOUT THIS. I'M FAMILIAR WITH ONE THIS MORNING. I CANNOT TELL YOU, THOUGH, THAT I KNOW OF EVERYONE WHO IS SENDING IN THEIR OPINIONS THROUGH OUR AMBASSADORS. BUT OBVIOUSLY, IT AFFECTS THE REGION, IT -- THE PRESIDENT THIS MORNING THIS MORNING SAID THAT -- HE DESCRIBED IT AS A GREAT SADNESS, AS A TRAGEDY. HE SAID THAT HE REGRETTED THE LOSS OF LIFE. HE SAID THAT HE DEPLORED THIS VIOLENCE. I THINK THAT IT IS OF CONCERN TO A GREAT NUMBER OF PEOPLE, WHETHER YOU'RE THERE IN THE REGION OR YOU'RE THE UNITED STATES OR THE UNITED KINGDOM, IT IS DEFINITELY OF CONCERN.

Q BUT DOES IT POSE A THREAT TO THE TYPE OF COALITION THAT THE US GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO HOLD TOGETHER ON THE PERSIAN GULF? DOES IT DESTABLIZE --

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T HAVE ANY EVIDENCE TO POINT ME IN THAT DIRECTION AS OF THIS BRIEFING.

Q IS IT MAKING IT HARDER -- IS IT MAKING YOUR LIFE HARDER, AS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ATTEMPTS TO PURSUE ITS POLICY IN THE GULF, THIS INCIDENT THAT OCCURRED YESTERDAY IN JERUSALEM?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T HAVE EVIDENCE THAT WOULD TELL ME THAT IT HAS MADE IT MORE DIFFICULT. I HAVEN'T SEEN ANYONE, SINCE THIS TRAGEDY YESTERDAY, STAND UP AND SAY, "AHA! WELL, THAT MAKES EVERYTHING OKAY IN KUWAIT AND THE BRUTAL AGGRESSION THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN KUWAIT." I HAVEN'T SEEN THAT TYPE OF REACTION AT ALL.

Q MARGARET, DOES THE US HAVE ANY VIEW ON WHETHER IT WAS A DELIBERATE PROVOCATION, AS MAINTAINED BY THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT?

MS. TUTWILER: NO. THERE ARE ANY NUMBER, BILL, AS YOU KNOW AND AS WE KNOW, OF REPORTS THIS MORNING OVER "THIS PROVOCATION, THAT PROVOCATION; THIS CAUSED THAT, THAT CAUSED THAT." NO, WE'RE NOT IN A POSITION TO SAY ONE IS RIGHT OR ONE IS WRONG. IT IS PROBABLY SOMETHING THAT ALL THE FACTS WILL PROBABLY NEVER BE KNOWN, EXACTLY WHAT CAUSED THIS.

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BUT THE PRESIDENT DID SPEAK FOR OUR COUNTRY THIS MORNING IN EXPRESSING HIS SADNESS, CALLING THIS A TRAGEDY, WHICH IT WAS. HE ALSO EXPRESSED THAT IT IS PARTICULARLY SADDENING, GIVEN THE SANCTITY OF HOLY PLACES, AND OBSERVANCES WERE SHATTERED BY THIS VIOLENCE. HE TALKED ABOUT THE MUTUAL RESPECT THAT PEOPLE MUST HAVE OF OTHER FAITHS AND OF THEIR HOLY SITES AND THEIR HOLY SHRINES. BUT AS FAR AS WHO'S TO BLAME, I AM NOT IN A POSITION, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, TO SAY WHO IS TO BLAME.

Q IT JUST SEEMS THE US MAY HAVE A VESTED INTEREST IN DETERMINING WHETHER THIS IS INDEED SOMETHING DESIGNED TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN US AND THE ARAB NATIONS WITH WHOM WE'RE CURRENTLY WORKING.

MS. TUTWILER: WE'VE HEARD THAT, AND WE'VE HEARD I THINK AS MANY REPORTS AS YOU HAVE HEARD, MAYBE NOT ALL OF THEM, AND AS I THINK YOU WOULD AGREE WITH ME, THE FACTS IN THIS CASE ARE IN DISPUTE.

Q MARGARET, THAT MEANS THAT THE US DOES NOT ACCEPT THE ISRAELI ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED?

MS. TUTWILER: I HAVE NOT SEEN, BARRY, AN OFFICIAL ISRAELI GOVERNMENT FINAL ACCOUNT --

Q PAGE ONE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES, THEY DESCRIBE -- THEY SAY THAT THE ROCK THROWERS DID NOT USE THE HOLY SITE FOR HOLY PURPOSES. THEY USED IT TO THROW ROCKS.

MS. TUTWILER: MMM-HMM. (AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSE.)

Q AND OF COURSE THEY RESPONDED, AND OF COURSE THE PRESIDENT SAYS THE (RESPONDANTS ?) SHOULD HAVE SHOWN MORE RESTRAINT. BUT SO FAR AS THE ISRAELI ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED, YOU SAY WE DON'T HAVE ALL -- YOU, NOT WE -- THE US DOESN'T HAVE ALL THE FACTS?

MS. TUTWILER: I SAID THAT THE FACTS ARE IN DISPUTE AND MAYBE THIS -- ALL THE FACTS WILL NEVER BE KNOWN. I HAVE SAID THAT THERE ARE ANY NUMBER OF REPORTS OUT THERE. YOU'RE READING ONE NEWSPAPER; I COULD GET YOU TEN OTHERS WITH OTHER REPORTS. I HAVE NOT MYSELF, AND I WOULD FIND IT AN EXTREMELY FAST-WORKING, EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT IF THEY HAVE GOT ALL THE FACTS ASSEMBLED 12 HOURS LATER AND THAT THEY'VE COME OUT WITH AN EQUIVOCAL INVESTIGATION AND STATEMENT,

"HERE IS EXACTLY HOW THIS HAPPENED."

Q YEAH, I KNOW. THEY JUST HAVE A BASIC ACCOUNT OF WHAT THEY SAY HAPPENED. AND OF COURSE DETAILS WILL REMAIN ELUSIVE FOREVER. BUT THEY BASICALLY SAY -- I MEAN THIS IS NOT ONE NEWSPAPER'S ACCOUNT; THIS IS A NEWSPAPER QUOTING THE POLICE, THE ISRAELI POLICE, AND THEY SAY THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED. NOW, DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT KNOW DIFFERENTLY? DOES IT HAVE ANY QUARREL WITH THE BASIC THRUST OF THE ISRAELI ACCOUNT OF WHAT HAPPENED?

MS. TUTWILER: I'VE ANSWERED WHAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S VIEW OF THIS IS -- THAT THE FACTS ARE IN DISPUTE, THAT WE HAVE SEEN ANY NUMBER OF REPORTS AND THAT I DON'T HAVE ANY CONCLUSIONS FOR YOU OR, AS I BELIEVE BILL WAS ASKING ME, WHO'S TO BLAME.

Q (YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT'S ?) THE MOTIVE, AND I'M GOING TO DESCRIPTION. LET ME ASK YOU ONE OTHER THING IF I MAY.

MS. TUTWILER: WALT HAS A QUESTION.

Q THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE ISRAELIS SHOULD HAVE USED MORE RESTRAINT. DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAVE SOME TACTIC THAT THEY WOULD HAVE SUGGESTED THE ISRAELIS USE INSTEAD OF RESPONDING THE WAY THEY DID? HOW SHOULD THEY HAVE RESPONDED?

MS. TUTWILER: THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO DETERMINE. BUT THE SECRETARY SAID IT YESTERDAY, AS I KNOW YOU KNOW, AND THE PRESIDENT RESTATED IT AGAIN THIS MORNING.

Q YOU MEAN THEY RESPONDED EXCESSIVELY BUT YOU'RE NOT SAYING WHAT THEY SHOULD HAVE DONE, RIGHT?

MS. TUTWILER: THE SECRETARY SAID YESTERDAY THAT ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES NEED TO BE BETTER PREPARED FOR SUCH SITUATIONS AND NEED TO ACT WITH GREATER RESTRAINT, PARTICULARLY WHEN IT COMES TO THE USE OF DEADLY FORCE.

Q MARGARET, CAN I PLEASE ASK YOU ON THIS PARTICULAR --

Q SADDAM HUSSEIN SAID, I THINK TODAY, THAT HE HAS A NEW MISSILE --

MS. TUTWILER: RIGHT.

Q -- CAPABLE OF REACHING OUR TROOPS AND REACHING --

MS. TUTWILER: ISRAEL.

Q -- ISRAEL. I WONDER IF YOU COULD TELL US WHETHER WE BELIEVE THIS IS SO, AND DOES IT CHANGE THE DYNAMIC OF THE SITUATION THERE IN A WAY THAT CONCERNS US?

MS. TUTWILER: AGAIN I'M GOING TO RETREAT INTO WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID THIS MORNING. HE SAID THIS WAS ANOTHER BELLICOSE STATEMENT AND THAT IT WAS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE AND THAT HE WAS NOT GOING TO ENGAGE IN FURTHER CONVERSATION CONCERNING THIS LATEST STATEMENT OUT OF SADDAM HUSSEIN.

Q YEAH, BUT I'M ASKING YOU WHETHER THERE IS A NEW --

MS. TUTWILER: I KNOW YOU'RE ASKING ME A DIFFERENT QUESTION.

Q -- MISSILE, AND ARE OUR TROOPS IN MORE DANGER THAN THEY WERE -- THAN WE MIGHT HAVE THOUGHT BEFORE?

MS. TUTWILER: I'LL TAKE YOUR QUESTION.

Q I ACCEPT THAT IT'S A BELLICOSE STATEMENT.

MS. TUTWILER: I'LL TAKE YOUR QUESTION.

Q YES. I WOULD LIKE ACTUALLY TO ASK YOU BACK ON THE JERUSALEM ISSUE. WHAT IS THE OFFICIAL US GOVERNMENT REACTION TO THE ACTUAL KILLING OF 19, 21, WHATEVER NUMBER OF PALESTINIANS AT THE HAND OF ISRAELIAN SETTLERS YESTERDAY?

MS. TUTWILER: THE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED THIS MORNING, IF YOU TAKE THAT AS THE OFFICIAL REACTION, OUR REACTION.

Q IT'S DEPLORING THE VIOLENCE, IS THAT WHAT MY --

MS. TUTWILER: I THINK THIS WILL BE THE THIRD TIME I HAVE SAID IT HERE. THE PRESIDENT SAID IT ONCE --

Q WELL, KEEP -- TRY IT THE FOURTH TIME, MARAGARET.

MS. TUTWILER: -- THIS MORNING. HE EXPRESSED HIS SORROW AT THIS TRAGEDY. HE DEPLORED THE VIOLENCE. HE DEEPLY REGRETTED THE LOSS OF LIFE. AND YOU CAN GET THE FULL TRANSCRIPT FROM THE WHITE HOUSE.

Q OKAY, BUT MY QUESTION, PLEASE, MARAGARET: VIOLENCE -- I MEAN VIOLENCE ON BOTH SIDES? I WANT -- I MEAN I AM TRYING TO GET AN ANSWER TO THE KILLING OF 21 HUMAN BEINGS --

MS. TUTWILER: AND I THINK I'VE EXPRESSED THAT.

Q -- AND IS IT DEPLORING THE VIOLENCE? IS THAT --

MS. TUTWILER: I THINK I'VE EXPRESSED IT.

Q SORRY?

MS. TUTWILER: I THINK THAT WE HAVE EXPRESSED IT. HOW MORE -- HOW MORE ADEQUATE CAN YOU --

Q NO, I AM NOT ASKING, I'M JUST -- I MEAN I DON'T WANT YOU TO SAY PARTICULAR THINGS.

MS. TUTWILER: WELL, WHAT ARE YOU ASKING ME?

Q USUALLY THERE IS A STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE VIOLENCE OR SOMETHING LIKE THAT. I WANT TO KNOW IF THERE IS SOMETHING DIFFERENT --

MS. TUTWILER: IT DEPLORED THE VIOLENCE.

Q DEPLORING THE VIOLENCE.

MS. TUTWILER: IS THAT GOOD ENOUGH? DEPLORED.

Q MARGARET, I MEAN -- (INAUDIBLE) -- GOOD ENOUGH.

Q COULD I ASK YOU ABOUT IRAQ FOR A MOMENT?

MS. TUTWILER: UH-HUM (IN AFFIRMATION).

Q MR. PRIMAKOV HAS RETURNED FROM IRAQ AND HAS SAID THAT

עד כאן חלק 1 מתוך 2

תפוצה: שהח, טשהח, (רהמ), (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
(רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, מזתים,
רביב, מעת, הסברה, (דוצ), (נוה/משהבט)

סססס

6328: תוזם, אאאא
אל: רהמש/418
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 131, תא: 091090, זח: 1551, זח: ב, סג: בל,
בבב
בלמ"ס / בהול לבוקר

מתמ"ד חלק 2 מ 2 - המשך לנר 130

PRESIDENT GORBACHEV WILL BE BRIEFING PRESIDENT BUSH BY LETTER. HAS THAT LETTER ARRIVED? HAS THE PRESIDENT BEEN -- BUSH -- HAS PRESIDENT BUSH BEEN BRIEFED ON THE PRIMAKOV MISSION TO IRAQ AS YET?

MS. TUTWILER: LET ME CHECK FOR YOU.

Q WOULD IT COME THROUGH STATE, DO YOU KNOW? HAS IT?

MS. TUTWILER: LET ME CHECK.

Q IN REGARD TO THESE VARYING ACCOUNTS, WILL THE UNITED STATES, WILL THE STATE DEPARTMENT UNDERTAKE ITS OWN EFFORT TO SATISFY ITSELF ON WHAT HAPPENED? WILL WE DO OUR OWN STUDY -- EXAMINATION OF WHAT HAPPENED?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T KNOW. I'LL BE HAPPY TO ASK THE BUREAU.

Q MARGARET, THAT WAS A PERFECTLY RELEVANT QUESTION, ALTHOUGH HE BACKED OFF. YOU'RE AMBIGUOUSLY DEPLORING VIOLENCE. THE QUESTION -- AND IT'S GOOD ONE -- IS THE ADMINISTRATION DEPLORING VIOLENCE BY BOTH SIDES? DOES IT HOLD ONE SIDE ACCOUNTABLE? DOES IT HOLD BOTH EQUALLY --

MS. TUTWILER: I'VE ANSWERED IT.

Q NO, YOU HAVEN'T. WHERE --

MS. TUTWILER: DON'T PLAY WITH THE QUESTION OF WHO'S TO BLAME.

Q YOU'RE DEPLORING -- YOU'RE DEPLORING THE VIOLENCE. ARE YOU DEPLORING THE ACTS OF VIOLENCE BY THE PALESTINIANS, THE ISRAELIS, OR BOTH?

MS. TUTWILER: BARRY, A TRAGEDY HAPPENED YESTERDAY.

Q BUT I'M ASKING YOU WHAT YOU'RE DEPLORING.

MS. TUTWILER: TWENTY-PLUS PEOPLE ARE DEAD. WE HAVE SAID THAT THIS IS A TRAGEDY; THAT IT IS SAD. WE HAVE DEPLORED THE VIOLENCE. I HAVE ANSWERED YOUR QUESTION THIS MORNING AND I HAVE ANSWERED BILL PLANTE. I'M NOT GOING TO PLAY THE GAME: WHO'S MORE GUILTY, WHO'S TO BLAME. THIS IS A VERY TRAGIC SITUATION.

Q IT'S NOT A GAME. IT'S NOT A GAME. IT IS A BIGGER THAN --

MS. TUTWILER: DEPLORING THE VIOLENCE. WHY CAN'T YOU TAKE IT AT FACE VALUE THAT THE PRESIDENT DEPLORED THE VIOLENCE OF YESTERDAY?

Q BECAUSE SOMETIMES --

MS. TUTWILER: A LOT OF PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN IT ON ALL SIDES.

Q BECAUSE SOMETIMES EVEN THE UNITED STATES REACTS VIOLENTLY TO PROVOCATION. THE QUESTION IS: DID SOMEBODY PERPETRATE THE VIOLENCE, OR ARE BOTH SIDES -- WELL, YOU'RE NOT GOING TO ANSWER. THIS IS POINTLESS.

MS. TUTWILER: IT'S BACK TO THE SAME QUESTION.

Q IT IS -- WELL, BUT DON'T -- DON'T SAY IT AS IF, YOU KNOW, SOMEONE IS MINIMIZING THE LOSS OF LIFE, OR THAT YOU'VE SOMEHOW ANSWERED THE QUESTION. YOU AND THE PRESIDENT HAVE NOT ANSWERED --

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT I HAVEN'T --

Q IF YOU WANT TO SAY AMBIGUOUSLY YOU DON'T LIKE VIOLENCE, THAT'S FINE. WHAT THE QUESTION GOES TO --

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT I HAVEN'T ANSWERED FOR YOU --

Q -- WAS ONE SIDE -- ARE YOU DEPLORING ONE SIDE, THE OTHER, OR BOTH?

MS. TUTWILER: WE ARE DEPLORING THE VIOLENCE IN YESTERDAY'S TRAGIC INCIDENT. WHAT I HAVE REFRAINED FROM DOING FOR YOU -- AND I DON'T BELIEVE THE PRESIDENT DID IT -- IS TO SAY THAT WE, SITTING HERE IN THE UNITED STATES, 16 HOURS LATER, ARE IN A POSITION TO BE JURY AND JUDGE AND HAVE EVERY FACT BEFORE US OF EXACTLY WHAT PROVOKED THIS, WHO'S GUILTY, WHO'S INNOCENT. AND I'M NOT GOING TO GO DOWN THAT PATH.

Q (OFF MIKE.)

MS. TUTWILER: IT WOULD BE TOTALLY IRRESPONSIBLE OF ME TO DO SO.

Q BUT WHY NOT DEPLORE THE VIOLENCE ON BOTH SIDES?

MS. TUTWILER: I'VE SAID THAT. HOW MANY TIMES DO YOU WANT ME TO SAY IT? I JUST DID.

Q NO, YOU HAVEN'T.

Q YOU HAVEN'T.

MS. TUTWILER: WE DEPLORE THE VIOLENCE IN YESTERDAY'S TRAGIC INCIDENT BY EVERYONE WHO PARTICIPATED IN IT. THAT'S THE SECOND TIME I'VE SAID THAT TODAY.

Q NO, BUT MARGARET --

Q -- I HAVE TO ASK YOU A QUESTION, PLEASE, MARGARET.

MS. TUTWILER: I BET YOU DO. (LAUGHTER.)

Q WHAT -- I MEAN, WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES THE STATE DEPARTMENT

OR THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL OR THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF JERUSALEM COULD FIND WHICH WOULD JUSTIFY KILLING 20 HUMAN BEINGS? WHY DON'T YOU GO OUT AND SAY, "WE CONDEMN VIOLENCE, PALESTINIAN VIOLENCE OR THE ISRAELI KILLING?" I MEAN, IF -- AGAIN, IF YOU WANT TO BE AMBIGUOUS, IT'S FINE. YOU COULD. BUT, I MEAN, WHAT EVIDENCE CAN BE THERE FOUND TO ACTUALLY JUSTIFY THE KILLING OF 20 HUMAN BEINGS?

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT ARE YOU ASKING ME?

Q I AM ASKING YOU, WHY DO YOU NOT CONDEMN THE ISRAELI KILLING OF 20 HUMAN BEINGS?

MS. TUTWILER: I HAVE TOLD YOU THAT WE DEPLORE THE VIOLENCE IN YESTERDAY'S TRAGIC EVENT. THAT'S WHAT I'VE SAID, ABOUT ALL THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THAT VIOLENCE. I DON'T KNOW HOW MANY MORE -- HOW MUCH MORE I CAN ARTICULATE THIS, TO SAY THAT THE PRESIDENT REGRETTED THE LOSS OF LIFE, HE SAID THAT HE EXPRESSED HIS DEEPEST SADNESS, THAT IT WAS A TRAGEDY. I MEAN, I DON'T UNDERSTAND WHAT ELSE YOU WOULD LIKE ME TO SAY.

Q WHAT I AM TRYING TO FIND OUT, MARGARET, IS THE PERSON WHO THROWS A ROCK AND MAY HAVE WOUNDED HUMAN BEINGS UNJUSTIFIABLY, IS TO BE DEPLORED EQUALLY AS THOSE WHO USE M-WHATEVER, AMERICAN MACHINE GUNS, TO KILL 20 PEOPLE? THAT'S WHAT I'M TRYING TO GET AT.

MS. TUTWILER: AND SECRETARY BAKER ANSWERED THAT QUESTION YESTERDAY ON THE ISRAELI USE OF FORCE, AND SO DID THE PRESIDENT TODAY. SO WHAT IS IT YOU WOULD -- WHAT ELSE YOU WOULD LIKE US TO SAY?

Q I DON'T THINK THERE IS ANY --

MS. TUTWILER: I'LL -- GO GET THE TRANSCRIPTS. THEY DID.

Q MARGARET, YESTERDAY THE SECRETARY SAID THAT ISRAEL NEEDS TO BE BETTER PREPARED AND TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN HANDLING DISTURBANCES. WHAT DOES "BETTER PREPARED" MEAN? WHAT DOES HE MEAN BY THAT?

MS. TUTWILER: BARRY ASKED ME THAT A LITTLE EARLIER, AND I SAID THAT THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO DETERMINE.

Q HE ASKED YOU ABOUT RESTRAINT. I ASKED YOU ABOUT "BETTER PREPARED." WHAT DOES THAT MEAN?

MS. TUTWILER: I HAVE IT IN THE SAME COMMENT THAT THE SECRETARY MADE. HE SAID ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES NEED TO BE BETTER PREPARED FOR SUCH SITUATIONS AND NEED TO ACT WITH GREATER RESTRAINT. IT'S THE SAME SENTENCE, TO ME.

Q THAT MEANS -- DOES THAT MEAN -- "BETTER PREPARED" -- DOES THAT MEAN MORE POLICE, FEWER POLICE, MORE TROOPS, HEAVIER --

MS. TUTWILER: THAT WOULD BE SOMETHING FOR THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO DETERMINE.

Q HAS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT EVER GIVEN ANY ADVICE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL ON HOW IT MIGHT BETTER -- BE BETTER PREPARED, AND HOW IT MIGHT EXERCISE RESTRAINT?

MS. TUTWILER: I DON'T KNOW, BUT I'LL BE HAPPY TO ASK THE EXPERTS IN THE BUREAU OR SEND A CABLE TO OUR AMBASSADOR OR OUR CHARGE, AND SEE IF THEY HAVE. I JUST DON'T KNOW.

Q THANK YOU.

Q MARGARET, A QUESTION BACK ON THE -- YOUR OPENING ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE FLIGHTS, FOR JUST A SECOND --

MS. TUTWILER: MM-HMM (IN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT).

Q -- JUST TO CLEAR SOMETHING UP.

MS. TUTWILER: ONE FLIGHT.

Q THE FLIGHT -- I'M SORRY, A SINGLE FLIGHT. WILL ANY OF THE PEOPLE ON BOARD THE FLIGHT WHO ARE COMING OUT OF THE AREA BE COMING FROM BAGHDAD, OR WILL ALL OF THOSE PEOPLE BE COMING FROM -- YOUR STATEMENT SEEMED TO INDICATE THEY'D ALL BE COMING FROM KUWAIT CITY TO BASRA, AND THEN GETTING ON THE PLANE, OR WILL THERE BE SOME FROM BAGHDAD AS WELL?

MS. TUTWILER: MY UNDERSTANDING IS HOW YOU'VE JUST EXPRESSED IT, BUT IF -- I'LL DOUBLE-CHECK WITH YOU WITH THE CONSULAR AFFAIRS PEOPLE. MY UNDERSTANDING, IT'S KUWAIT CITY, BUT LET ME DOUBLE-CHECK IT, OKAY, AND MAKE SURE.

Q OKAY. AND THEN LET ME ASK YOU ONE MORE THING ABOUT -- RELATED TO THE HOSTAGES. THE IRAQI FOREIGN MINISTER SAID YESTERDAY THAT ALL OF THE HOSTAGES COULD LEAVE IF THE UNITED STATES AGREED TO PROMISE NOT TO ATTACK IRAQ. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THAT STATEMENT?

MS. TUTWILER: WE'VE GONE THROUGH THAT BEFORE. OVER THE LAST EIGHT WEEKS, THEY'VE MADE THAT COMMENT ANY NUMBER OF TIMES, AND THEY KNOW VERY WELL WHAT OUR POLICY IS AND WHY WE ARE THERE IN THE GULF.

Q ON THE SAME SUBJECT. LAST WEDNESDAY OR THURSDAY OR SO, RICHARD SAID THE ITINERARY OF THIS FLIGHT WOULD BE BAGHDAD-KUWAIT CITY-BAGHDAD-LONDON. IS THE NEW ITINERARY BASRA-LONDON?

MS. TUTWILER: IT'S MY UNDERSTANDING. THEY HAVE CLOSED THE AIRPORT -- (TO STAFF) RIGHT? -- IN KUWAIT CITY, AND SO THEY SAY THEY CAN'T LAND PLANES THERE EVEN THOUGH THEY CONTROL THE AIRPORT. AND SO, WE ARE HAVING TO TAKE OUT THESE AMERICANS TO BASRA.

Q HAS STATE RESPONDED AT ANY POINT TO THE -- THE ARAFAT-KING HUSSEIN INITIATIVE? THEY SEEM TO BE TRYING TO WORK SOMETHING OUT TO GET --

MS. TUTWILER: THE ARAB SOLUTION?

Q THE ARAB SOLUTION.

MS. TUTWILER: I AM NOT AWARE, BARRY, THAT THEY HAVE PUT OUT SOMETHING. OVER THE WEEKEND, I KNOW THAT ARAFAT WAS IN AMMAN AGAIN. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT'S THE FIRST TRIP. I HAVEN'T SEEN SOMETHING THAT THEY'VE PUT OUT THAT THEY CALL THE "ARAB SOLUTION," TO BE HONEST WITH YOU, SOMETHING SPECIFIC TO RESPOND TO.

Q I DON'T KNOW IF THEY HAVE -- I DON'T KNOW IF THEY HAVE, BUT THERE'S A COMMENT, YOU KNOW, GENERAL IMPRESSION THAT THE TWO OF

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THEM, IF I TELL YOU THAT THEY ARE SEIZING ON WHAT BUSH AND THE SOVIETS AND THE FRENCH AND THE BRITISH SAID, YOU'D PROBABLY TELL ME THEY'RE NOT LINKED. SO LET'S FORGET LINKAGE, BUT THEY SEEM TO SCENT SOME OPPORTUNITY TO NEGOTIATE. THEY SEEM TO SCENT SOME OFFERING FROM THE WEST AND THE SOVIETS TO GET OUT OF THIS MESS THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS. I JUST WONDERED IF THE STATE DEPARTMENT APPROVED OR HAD SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT WHAT ARAFAT, AND, TO A LESSER DEGREE, KING HUSSEIN ARE TRYING TO PUT TOGETHER?

MS. TUTWILER: WHAT WE HAVE SAID ALL ALONG CONCERNING KING HUSSEIN, HE HAS MADE MANY TRIPS, AS I REMEMBER -- ABOUT 10 DAYS AGO HE WAS I BELIEVE IN MOROCCO. WE HAVE SAID THAT ANY EFFORTS BY ANYONE WOULD BE WELCOMED, BUT THAT HOWEVER, DOES NOT CHANGE OUR POLICY AND THE POLICY OF STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATION NINE SANCTIONS. SO I DON'T KNOW SOMETHING SPECIFIC THAT HE AND ARAFAT CAME OUT WITH THIS WEEKEND, BUT I DO KNOW THAT IT WAS WITHOUT QUESTION THE ENTIRE -- PRACTICALLY THE ENTIRE WORLD IS SUPPORTING THE UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS AND IS SAYING THAT IRAQ MUST WITHDRAW FROM KUWAIT AND THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT MUST BE RESTORED.

Q MARGARET, LEADERS OF EGYPT AND SYRIA SAID YESTERDAY THAT THEIR TROOPS, WHICH WERE PART OF THE MULTINATIONAL FORCE IN THE GULF, WOULD BE USED SOLELY DEFENSIVELY, TO DEFEND SAUDI ARABIA, AND WOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN AN OFFENSIVE ACTION AGAINST IRAQ. HAS THAT BEEN THE UNITED STATES' UNDERSTANDING ALL ALONG OF THE ROLE THAT THOSE TROOPS WOULD PLAY?

MS. TUTWILER: THAT WOULD BE BETTER ADDRESSED AT THE PENTAGON AND SECRETARY CHENEY, I BELIEVE YOU WERE THERE YESTERDAY, ADDRESSED A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS CONCERNING OUR PURPOSE IN THE GULF, OUR TROOPS, WHY THEY WERE THERE, AND HE RE-ENUNCIATED OUR POLICY ON WHY THEY WERE THERE IN SAUDI ARABIA. BUT THAT SPECIFIC IS, I BELIEVE YOU'RE GETTING ME TO ARE -- WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN MADE PUBLIC -- ARE THE COMMAND STRUCTURE AND RULES OF ENGAGEMENT, ET CETERA, AND YOU'RE JUST GOING TO HAVE TO ASK THE PENTAGON.

Q WELL, THE SECRETARY WAS IN EGYPT AND ALSO IN SYRIA. DID HE NOT COME BACK WITH AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT ROLE THEIR TROOPS WOULD PLAY?

MS. TUTWILER: THE SECRETARY WAS THERE AS THE SECRETARY OF STATE, NOT OUR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE. AND IN THE MEETINGS THAT I ATTENDED, HE DID NOT GET INTO ANY TYPE OF MILITARY DISCUSSIONS, WHICH IS WHAT THAT QUESTION IS IN MY MIND.

Q I WANT TO GO BACK TO THE LINKAGE. I KNOW IT'S BEEN SAID THAT THERE IS NO COMPARISON BETWEEN THE OCCUPATION OF THE TWO. BUT JUST FOR THE RECORD, CAN THE UNITED STATES GIVE SPECIFIC REASONS WHY THERE IS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN VIOLENT RESISTANCE BY PALESTINIANS AGAINST ISRAELI OCCUPATION AND VIOLENT RESISTANCE BY KUWAITIS AGAINST IRAQI OCCUPATION, AS A PRINCIPLE? CAN YOU TELL US --

Linkage
MS. TUTWILER: WE DON'T HAVE ANY TROUBLE WITH IT AT ALL. THE PRESIDENT HAS ADDRESSED THIS. THE SECRETARY OF STATE ADDRESSED IT. THE TWO ISSUES ARE, IN OUR MINDS, TO USE BARRY'S WORD, NOT LINKED, AND WE'RE NOT GOING TO LINK THEM, AND THERE IS NO INCONSISTENCY IN THE UNITED STATES' POLICY. THE UNITED STATES HAS LONG SUPPORTED, WORKED FOR, AND WILL CONTINUE (TO WORK) FOR A MIDDLE EAST PROCESS.

THIS SITUATION IN KUWAIT IS NOTHING MORE THAN AGGRESSION AND A TOTALLY DIFFERENT SITUATION. AND NO, WE ARE NOT GOING TO DO

COMPARISONS AND TO TELL YOU THAT THE TWO ARE ONE AND THE SAME; THEY'RE NOT.

Q I UNDERSTAND. SO THE BASIC -- THE BASIC POINT OF DISTINCTION THAT YOU MAKE IS THAT THE IRAQI OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT IS THE PRODUCT OF PURE AGGRESSION, WHEREAS THE ISRAELI --

MS. TUTWILER: WELL, I DON'T THINK THERE'S ANY DOUBT ABOUT THAT.

Q NO, I'M NOT QUESTIONING YOU, I JUST WANT TO GET IT ON THE RECORD WHY THEY'RE DIFFERENT, THAT'S ALL. AND -- IS THAT CORRECT, THE PURE AGGRESSION -- THE AGGRESSIVE NATURE OF THE OCCUPYING FORCES?

MS. TUTWILER: THESE TWO THINGS ARE VERY DIFFERENT THINGS. AND WE ARE NOT DOING COMPARISONS. THE PRESIDENT HAS REFRAINED FROM DOING THAT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS. IN FACT, I DON'T BELIEVE YOU CAN FIND MANY WORLD LEADERS, OR CERTAINLY RESPONSIBLE WORLD LEADERS, WHO HAVE TOLD YOU IT'S ONE AND THE SAME. IT'S SIMPLY NOT. AND THAT IS OUR POSITION.

Q A FEW WEEKS AGO A GROUP CALLED THE NATURAL RESOURCES DEFENSE COUNCIL HERE RELEASED A CIA DOCUMENT FROM 1979 THAT THEY GOT UNDER THE FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT THAT DISCUSSED WHETHER THAT MYSTERIOUS FLASH OFF SOUTH AFRICA IN '79 WAS A NUCLEAR BLAST, AND WHETHER IT WAS SOUTH AFRICA, ISRAEL, OR SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL TOGETHER.

HAS THE STATE DEPARTMENT SINCE THEN COMMENTED ON THE CONCLUSIONS IN THAT STUDY, AND IF NOT, AT THE TIME -- THE STUDY SAYS -- THE CIA STUDY SAYS THE STATE DEPARTMENT NEVER CONCURRED WITH THE INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE THAT IT WAS A NUCLEAR EXPLOSION. WHAT'S THE CURRENT STATE DEPARTMENT ASSESSMENT?

MS. TUTWILER: I HAVE NO IDEA.

Q MARGARET, CAN I ASK YOU ABOUT THE -- ON THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION -- WHAT IS THE PROCEDURE NOW TO BE FOLLOWED? HAS ISRAEL ACTUALLY RECEIVED THE MONEY?

MS. TUTWILER: WHEN WE PUT OUT THE LETTER, WE WILL PUT OUT FOR YOU THE LITERAL PROCEDURE AND HOW THIS IS WORKED THROUGH AID, ET CETERA. AND I WILL PUT OUT EVERY BIT OF INFORMATION AND LITERAL STEPS FOR YOU AS SOON AS WE PUT OUT THE LETTER. THERE'S A PROCEDURE THAT GOES ALONG WITH THE LETTER.

Q OKAY, JUST A FOLLOW-UP TO THAT. SINCE THERE SEEMED TO BE SOME DIFFERENT INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTER, IS THERE A LIKELIHOOD THAT THE -- THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION ACTUALLY WILL NOT BE HANDED OVER TO ISRAEL?

MS. TUTWILER: NOT THAT I'M AWARE OF.

Q -- I WONDER IF YOU HAVE ANY UPDATE ON THE STATUS OF THE TERRORIST THREAT TO AMERICAN INTERESTS THAT GROWS OUT OF THE GULF CRISIS? YOU AND RICHARD HAVE PUT OUT PERIODIC STATEMENTS --

MS. TUTWILER: RIGHT.

Q I WONDER IF THERE'S ANYTHING NEW ON --

MS. TUTWILER: A SPECIFIC?

Q YEAH, IS THERE A SPECIFIC THREAT? AND ON THE GENERAL CITINGS BY OUR INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY --

MS. TUTWILER: UH-HUH. (AFFIRMATIVE.)

Q -- OF TERRORIST OPERATIVES, DO WE HAVE ANYTHING NEW ON THAT?

MS. TUTWILER: THE LAST TIME I DID THIS, THERE WAS NOT A SPECIFIC. (TO MR. BOUCHER) RICHARD, WHEN WE WERE OUT OF TOWN LAST WEEK DID YOU CITE A SPECIFIC? NO, NOTHING SPECIFIC.

Q BUT, HOW ABOUT THE OVERALL ACTIVITY, WHICH I THINK RICHARD HAD SAID WAS SIGNIFICANT, IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST? IS THERE ANYTHING --

MS. TUTWILER: I KNOW THAT WE HAVE PUT OUT MORE THAN ONE NOTICE ON THIS. AND, IN FACT, I'M NOT SURE THAT IT WAS EVEN A TRAVEL WARNING; IT WAS MORE OF A PUBLIC NOTICE THAT WE HAVE DONE AT LEAST -- THAT I CAN THINK OF -- TWO OR THREE TIMES TELLING PEOPLE THAT IN THE PAST, IN TIMES OF HEIGHTENED TENSION -- AND THIS IS CERTAINLY A MORE HEIGHTENED TENSION THAN IN THE RECENT PAST -- THAT, YES, TERRORIST ACTIVITIES DO INCREASE AND THAT THERE IS A HEIGHTENED CONCERN ON THE BEHALF OF OUR GOVERNMENT OF POSSIBLE TERRORIST ACTIVITIES.

BUT IN THE TIMES THAT I KNOW OF THAT WE DID IT, THERE WAS NOT A SPECIFIC TO GO WITH IT; IT WAS JUST TO MAKE SURE THAT WE WERE ALERTING OUR PUBLIC TO TAKE CERTAIN PRECAUTIONS, TO BE CAREFUL. WE HAVE DONE SPECIFIC TRAVEL ADVISORIES ALL ALONG THROUGHOUT THIS GULF CRISIS, COUNTRY SPECIFIC.

BUT THE TERRORIST ONE, I'M AWARE OF ABOUT THREE TIMES WE'VE DONE IT. BUT I WILL CHECK TODAY TO SEE -- I'M SURE IF THERE WAS A SPECIFIC, THOUGH -- TO BE HONEST WITH YOU -- WE'D PUT IT OUT.

MS. TUTWILER: LAST WEEK WE DID HAVE A VERY CREDIBLE AND SPECIFIC ONE IN THE PHILIPPINES. AND WE PUT IT OUT IMMEDIATELY. IN FACT, WE PUT OUT THE STREET NAME, WE PUT OUT A LOT OF SPECIFICS WITH IT. SO, I FEEL CERTAIN -- THERE'S NOT A DOUBLE STANDARD HERE -- WE DO IT FOR THIS AREA JUST AS FAST.

Q I WASN'T SUGGESTING ANY CRITICISM OR DOUBLE STANDARD.

MS. TUTWILER: I KNOW YOU WEREN'T.

Q I MEAN, JUST TO PUT ASIDE THE SPECIFIC THREAT, THE OTHER PART OF MY QUESTION, EVEN IF THERE ISN'T A SPECIFIC THREAT, IS THE GENERAL THREAT THAT IS NOT SPECIFIC, THAT JUST IS MADE UP OF US NOTICING THE ACTIVITY OF THESE --

MS. TUTWILER: CORRECT.

Q -- TERRORIST AGENTS RUNNING AROUND LOOKING AT OUR BASES AND THINGS -- IS THERE ANY CHANGE IN THAT SINCE RICHARD LAST SPOKE?

MS. TUTWILER: NOT THAT I'M AWARE OF. AS YOU KNOW, THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN TO THIS AND SAID THAT THIS TERRORISM THREAT IS OF DEEP CONCERN TO HIM. HE HAS ADDRESSED HIMSELF TWICE TO THE TERRORISTS WHO WERE IN OMAN (SIC) AT THAT PARTICULAR RALLY ABOUT

THREE WEEKS AGO.

SO, WE ARE DEFINITELY AWARE OF IT. BUT RHETORIC, TERRORIST
RHETORIC
AND SOMETHING SPECIFIC THAT WE KNOW OF, THAT WE COULD WARN PEOPLE
ABOUT, THAT WE COULD, YOU KNOW, DO SOMETHING ABOUT, I DON'T THINK
THAT I KNOW OF THAT WE HAVE. BUT IS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
DEFINITELY AWARE OF IT AND VERY CONCERNED ABOUT IT? ABSOLUTELY.

Q TERRORISTS IN OMAN OR AMMAN?

MS. TUTWILER: AMMAN, I'M SORRY.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING ON THE VISIT OF THE YEMENI FOREIGN
MINISTER THIS MORNING?

MS. TUTWILER: NO.

עד כאן
עיונות

תפוצה: שהח, טשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רס), @אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, מזתים,
רביב, מעת, הסברה, @ (דוצ), @ (נוה/משהבט)

טסטט

U.S. EXPERTS SEE GROWING RISK IN NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

(Glenn, Zumwalt, Bundy voice concerns)

By Paul Malamud
USIA Staff Writer

Washington -- Democratic Ohio Senator John Glenn expressed concern at a Senate hearing October 9 that India and Pakistan might resort to nuclear arms to settle their political differences.

Glenn chaired a hearing of the Senate committee on governmental affairs on international weapons proliferation.

Testifying before Glenn were William Colby, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency; McGeorge Bundy, former presidential national security advisor in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations; retired Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, former chief of naval operations; and Henry Sokolski, deputy for non-proliferation policy in the Department of Defense.

Calling the present "a time of great International instability," Glenn warned that "a war could break out at any moment in the Middle East, involving weapons of mass destruction."

"A thousand miles to the East of Iraq," Glenn continued in his opening remarks, "lies another tinderbox, where Pakistan and India -- with their growing nuclear capabilities -- are inching toward what might well become their fourth and most nightmarish war."

Tensions persist in other regions as well, Glenn said. "Though nobody knows what future lies ahead for South Africa, the threat of a civil war in a country widely believed to be capable of making nuclear weapons is surely enough to cause international alarm. Meanwhile," Glenn added, "nuclear weapon-related activities in North Korea are creating new dangers of proliferation throughout East Asia, and what will be the options for Japan if its Korean neighbors and Taiwan go that route?"

Glenn acknowledged that Pakistani cooperation with the United States to repulse the invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet troops had been significant; however, he complained that "despite our multibillion-dollar effort to satisfy Pakistan's 'sense of insecurity' and shore up its 'confidence,' Pakistan now stands before the world as a de facto nuclear weapon state."

In his opening statement, Bundy warned that "the world has been losing the battle against proliferation."

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Bundy said, has not stopped nations that really want to have nuclear weapons from

obtaining them.

"Iraq is not believed to have a (nuclear) bomb at hand" at the moment, Bundy added.

However, Zumwalt said, Iraq may well have a nuclear weapon in two to four years. Even if Saddam Hussein leaves Kuwait, Zumwalt warned, "he will be back."

The allies should "consider" eliminating all of Saddam Hussein's chemical, biological and nuclear programs, Zumwalt said. Anything else, he cautioned, would be only a "short-term victory."

If Saddam Hussein uses "additional violence," Bundy said, the United States should consider pre-emptive attacks on his weapons of mass destruction.

However, Colby said he felt that Iraqi missiles -- in their current state of development -- are essentially a "terror weapon," of limited efficiency and strategic usefulness which in any event would make Iraq subject to "enormous retaliation."

In a free-wheeling discussion, Glenn expressed concern that Saddam Hussein might use missiles with chemical warheads to strike Israel, in the hopes that Israel would then retaliate and that that action would force the Arab states in the region to show solidarity with Iraq.

Zumwalt said that, in his view, Iraq managed to frustrate Iran's war aims by using missiles against Tehran -- backing up their use with the implication that they could carry chemical warheads in the future.

"If we let Iraq achieve some of his (Saddam Hussein's) war aims (in Kuwait as well), it will show that proliferation succeeds," Zumwalt emphasized.

The senators and all four witnesses agreed that, by now, strategic proliferation concerns include chemical, biological, and sophisticated conventional weapons, such as diesel submarines, as well as nuclear weapons.

Zumwalt said that the spread of sophisticated diesel submarines in the fleets of developing nations pose a potential threat to U.S. regional forces, and even to the mainland.

However, Bundy said, there is also reason to believe that proliferation is obviously self-defeating. Weapons of mass destruction don't help nation-states achieve their important goals, he said.

For one thing, Bundy noted, such weapons are extremely

expensive to maintain and modernize and, in the end, in political terms, all you get is a "draw."

As a sign of "hope," Bundy cited accounts that Brazil and Argentina may manage to avoid a nuclear rivalry.

Colby said that the use of intelligence sources and on-site inspections can lend effective support to nuclear nonproliferation regimes, once they are achieved. Zumwalt agreed that it may be possible to help control proliferation of such weapons and their delivery vehicles, by emphasizing political cooperation with the Soviet Union through the United Nations.

Questioned by Glenn as to whether the United States should finally cut off aid to Pakistan in light of its nuclear capability, Zumwalt said "we need to take a very hard look at continuation of aid."

Glenn said he felt that the policy of continuing to aid Pakistan in spite of its nuclear program, in recent decades, has been "the biggest sham in U.S. history."

Glenn said that "at the moment" the United Nations is the "best hope" to focus on the threat of all weapons of mass destruction.

In response to Glenn's questioning, Sokolski said that "right now the administration is intensely reviewing" the Pakistan aid question.

Also, Sokolski said, the Bush administration is "applauding" attempts by the government of Germany to control the exports of materials used to produce weapons of mass destruction.

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אאא, חוזם: 6120
אל: רהמש/411
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 126, תא: 091090, זח: 1322, דח: ב, סג: בל,
בבב
בלמס/בהול

אל : חדר מצב

דע: תפוצת תקשורת (בהול עבור משהב"ט), ניו-יורק

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון

1. בשעתיים האחרונות ב-CNN דווחים על דברי צאדס חוסיין הנוקר (?), כי כידי עיראק "טיל חדש" המסוגל לפגוע במטרה המרוחקת מאות ק"מ וכי הוא ישתמש בנשק חדש זה נגד ישראל כדי לנקום "הדם הפלסטיני שנשפך באל-קודס אתמול" מדברים אלה עלה בבירור איום ישיר על ישראל.

2. לפני כמה דקות סיים הנשיא בוש מסיבת עתונאים (על התקציב) שנמהלכה רש גם להגיב על דברים אלה של צאדס חוסיין תגובת הנשיא הייתה כי הוא אכן שם-לב שצאדס חוסיין נעשה יותר "מלחמתי" (BELICOSE) בהתבטאויותיו... ארה"ב תדע להגן על האינטרסים שלה... איני רוצה TO OVER-REACT ולהגיב בחומרה... (התמליל המלא של הדברים יועבר בנפרד מאוחר יותר).

3. הערה: תגובת הנשיא הייתה "רכה" ולא התייחסה ישירות לאיום על ישראל שבדברי צאדס חוסיין.

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רס), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (דוצ), @ (נוה/משהבט)

ד"ס

אאא, חוזם: 6337

אל: רהמש/443

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 141, תא: 091090, חז: 2047, מ: סג: שמ,

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שמור / מידי

אל : מצפ"א

דע : ארב"ל 2

הנדון : עמדת ארה"ב בעקבות אירועי הר הבית.

1. בשיחה (9.10) עם ארון מילר הביע חשש מכך שאירועי הר הבית עלולים להוות תחילתו של מיפנה לרעה מבחינת המאמץ האמריקאי להמשיך ולשמור על החזית הבינ"ל בכלל והערבנית בפרט נגד צאדאם חוסיין.

2. האירועים יחזקו את הטיעון אותו מנסה צאדאם חוסיין למכור לגבי הלינקאז' בנו שני המשברים. חלק מהאירופאים, הסובייטים ומדינות ערב הנוטות לתמוך עוני צאדאם חוסיין (הצורך בפתרון הבעיה הפלסטינית והמוטר הכפול) עלולות לתמוך באופן אקטיבי ברעיון הלינקאז' אשר לו מתנגדת ארה"ב מחשש שהדבר יחבל במאמץ במפרץ.

3. הבעיה האופרטיבית בפניה ניצבת ארה"ב היא אופן הצבעתה בדיון מועבי"ט במידה ולא יצליחו להביא לנוסח הצעת החלטה שתהיה מקובלת עליהם.

4. ציין כי ארה"ב מודעת למאמץ אש"פ לבודד את ארה"ב.

5. לדבריו הטלת וטו אמריקאי תחשב לנצחון מבחינת צאדאם חוסיין ואש"פ, דבר אותו מעוניינים למנוע. "הטלת וטו תהיה מעשה התאבדות". - עד כאן דברי מילר.

6. הערה: עיקר מאמצי הממשל מכוונים כיום לשמירתה של החזית הבינ"ל הרחבה שבמרכזה תמיכת בריה"מ ומעורבות אקטיבית של מדינות ערב. אירועי הר הבית נתפסים ע"י הממשל כמסכנים את שלמות המשך אחדותה של החזית האנטי-עיראקית מכאן שארה"ב תהיה מוכנה לספוג ביקורת מצד ישראל בגין הסכמתה לתמוך בנוסח הצעת החלטה אנטי-ישראלית ובלבד שתוכל לשמור על אחדות המחנה האנטי-עיראקי.

שטיין

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, ממד, @ (רם), אמן, מצפא, ארב"ל, מזת"ם, מעת, הסברה, לעמ, @ (נוה/משהבט), @ (פדון/עיריה)

סססס

EXPERTS URGE STEPS TO END MIDDLE EAST CRISES

(Middle East Institute annual conference wrapup)

by Norma Holmes

USIA Staff Writer

Washington -- The invasion of Kuwait "was caused by financial pressures on a country that, militarily, was able to do something about it," according to Dr. Paul Jabber, vice president of Bankers Trust Company.

"Here we had a country -- the second largest oil producer in OPEC that over the last several years owed somewhere between and 60 to 80 or 90 billion dollars to non-Arab as well as Arab creditors," says the former financial consultant on Iraq with the World Bank.

An added cause of Iraq's aggression, says the former resident consultant on international affairs for the Rand Corporation, was that Iraq has remained outside of the mainstream of world trade. He predicts that a post-Saddam-Iraq would be more open to the West.

Examining underlying causes of the gulf conflict at the 44th annual meeting of the Middle East Institute in Washington, Jabber called for "a new deal" to close the gap between haves and have-nots and bring more stability to the region.

The 1990 MEI annual conference at the National Press Club drew over 600 international participants who focused on political, economic and military issues and solutions to current conflicts in the region.

Dennis Ross, director of policy planning staff the Department of State at the annual banquet spoke on "U.S. Policy in the Middle East: The Persian Gulf Crisis and Beyond." The keynote speaker, Los Angeles Times correspondent Robin Wright, spoke on "New Realities in the Middle East", and five panels discussed the gulf crisis, weapons proliferation, Middle East economies, Israel and the Palestinians, and political change and realignment in the region. The Middle East Institute is a private organization founded in 1947 to foster American understanding of Middle East societies, cultures, religions and interests.

Speaking on Middle East economies in transition, Jabber said Saddam Hussein's move on Kuwait has created "an earthquake of tremendous proportions" that is going to reshape the politics and the economies of the Middle East.

In his remarks on Middle East Economies in Transition, Jabber

At present, Rill said, the civil fines imposed on such business practices amount to 1.5 percent of the sales in the affected market. There have been unconfirmed Japanese press reports that the Tokyo government is considering hiking that fine to 3 percent.

"In our very strong view, that's not sufficient to deter" the practices, Williams said. "We want to see much higher penalties."

Rill pointed out that, in the United States, the cap on penalties for such practices is one million dollars or twice the gain derived from the violation, whichever is higher. The European Community uses a cap of 10 percent of worldwide sales and Germany limits penalties to three times the gain derived -- all "well thought-out policies," he said.

Within a month, Rill added, he expects a report outlining the possible recourse the United States might have under the Sherman Antitrust Act against foreign companies that participate in monopolistic activities such as price fixing. He said legal decisions have created precedents that would allow the law's international application, particularly if the foreign companies have U.S. offices.

On the U.S. side, Williams said, there has also been progress in areas of importance to the Japanese. For example, U.S. export regulations have been relaxed, more emphasis is being placed on improved education and antitrust restrictions on U.S. international joint ventures may soon be removed, if Congress approves a pending bill.

The bill would remove the threat of treble damages from "legitimate productive joint ventures" which had previously hung over U.S. companies attempting to work with Japanese firms, Rill said. The bill would limit legal awards to actual damages if a court finds a U.S. firm in violation of antitrust law, he said. Rill said the bill is expected to pass.

Since the SII agreement contains no enforcement provisions, Williams said, both delegations are committed to scheduled discussions as a "structured and disciplined follow-up mechanism."

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said while the gulf crisis did not create all these economic problems, it has imposed unprecedented economic burdens on all Middle East nations and "aggravated the fundamental long-term issues facing the international economy today."

A protracted crisis for developing nations, he warned, will only magnify the present impact on those already swept up in the wake of rising oil prices; loss of remittances from guest workers; displaced workers and disrupted trade and tourist flows.

"For the economies of the Middle East -- the majority of the area -- the best possible outcome of this confrontation is one that happens quickly," Jabber said. "Whether it ends politically or militarily the sooner it ends the better for these economies and people."

In a summary on the impact of the crisis on other developing nations, Jabber said the "worst possible outcome" would be "a protracted crisis with a substantial threat emanating from Iraq. That would be crippling for the economies of Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Turkey and countries of North Africa."

Dr. Imren Aykut, Minister of Labor of Turkey, estimated the total costs of the crisis at between five and seven billion dollars. She said some compensation is expected but "everyone should be prepared for short term sacrifices in the crisis for long term gain, and Turkey is taking its fair share in this regard." An even greater economic concern for her country, she said is for "its allies would support Turkey in creating a greater international market for its products."

Aykut also stressed the need for labor-importing nations to develop policies which recognize the rights of guest workers. She said the need to import labor to the region is chiefly due to the exclusion of women from paid employment. While they have had little voice in the crises of the region, she said "nevertheless women and children suffer most of the consequences."

Dr. Hooshang Amirahmadi, of Rutgers University, a specialist on urban planning in Iran said while Iran inherently is a very wealthy country, it has been in recession since 1977. He said while the crisis may increase Iran's oil revenues an estimated annual 75.5 billion dollars as oil prices rise, "economic growth is not just around the corner, and the Iranian government has recently sought economic policy assistance from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank."

Saunders: a

In a panel on Israel and the Palestinians in a New Middle East, Dr. Harold Saunders said the two centers of crisis in the

Middle East "are linked in the sense that they are intertwined; emotions fueled in one are exacerbated in the other." But it is the diplomatic or policy meaning of the word 'linkage,' "that has come into play in Washington," said Saunders, adding that the diplomatic usage of the word "linkage" is not widely understood. Saunders, a former Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, is now a Brookings scholar and consultant on conflict management.

"The (diplomatic) question of linkage is whether governments formally link the solution of one problem to the solution of another. Is there a quid pro quo relationship?"

"Formally dealing with the Gulf crisis while dealing with a resolution to the Arab-Israeli crisis" complicates the whole process beyond measure," said the one-time participant in the Camp David negotiations.

Saunders called for a change in political climate, urging that people outside structure of government consider actions to start the peace process going. "No one is working at a scenario for a political settlement," Saunders said.

"You move governments from the bottom up, not just from the top down. Moving governments isn't just the responsibility of government, but of bodies politic," Saunders said. He called on the body of experts to begin at the conference to construct such a scenario.

Meron Benvenisti, director of the West Bank Database Project in Jerusalem, said a viable scenario such as the one Saunders suggested "must begin with where the Israeli and Palestinian communities are now." He called for the elimination of meaningless slogans, saying they are "cop outs; they have nothing to do with (present) reality."

Beginning with present realities, he said can happen "only by trying to manage conflict so that both sides respect each other's rights. Only then will they begin to achieve basic understanding," Benvenisti said.

Michael Sterner, of the IRC Group, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, analyzed the economic costs of conflicts in the region and said the volume of conventional arms sales to the Middle East will rise this year from "less 40 to well over 50 billion dollars a year."

About 13 percent of the gross national product of all the economic activity of the Middle East goes for conventional arms, including all the expenditures on long range missiles and military related equipment, Sterner said. He noted that "25 people out of every thousand in the region wear a military or a

para-military uniform. This is about three times the ratio of any other developing region in the world."

In his address on U.S. policy in the Middle East, Ross also stressed that any arrangement for the future must first address the need for more economic progress in the Arab world and accommodate the pressures for broader political participation and try to reduce some of the other conflicts in the area."

"Real security in the end, can't be based only on military power. It has to get at the causes of the conflict," Ross emphasized.

"The coalition put together today to counter Saddam's aggression gives us hope about how we might work multilaterally to choke off proliferation, to begin to reduce arms transfers to a region already laden too heavily with arms," Ross said.

Fred Axelgard, director of the Office of Weapons Proliferation Policy in the Department of State,

said the U.S. emphasis on obtaining a global verifiable ban on chemical weapons at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament this year has contributed significantly to the emerging international "nonproliferation ethic."

"But the cause of nonproliferation is very much an ongoing struggle, Axelgard said, stressing the importance of international cooperation and monitoring, "constant vigilance and continual refinement of control mechanisms and tactics."

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WORLD PRESS OPINION : VIOLENCE IN JERUSALEM, GULF
(Roundup of editorials)

Leading newspapers around the world continue to focus editorially on the U.N. condemnation of Israel's handling of the October 8 violence in Jerusalem and its effects on the gulf crisis.

Following are excerpts from some of those editorial comments:

OKAZ, SAUDI ARABIA:

The American stance...should be well-cultivated by the Arabs who should grab the opportunity to utilize it in a unified Arab stand for the Middle East problem. With the unanimous condemnation, Saddam missed the opportunity that he was looking for...to use (the Palestinian cause) as a stumbling block for other problems in the region.

STRAITS TIMES, SINGAPORE:

In an unfortunate turn of events, a link has been established between Kuwait and Palestine. It is necessary to ensure that the link does not play into Iraqi hands, that is, that the legitimate Palestinian issue does not become a justification for President Saddam's occupation of Kuwait. The two problems will have to be addressed simultaneously on the irreducible understanding that Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait cannot be conditional on a resolution of the Palestinian issue.

LE MONDE FRANCE:

The task was delicate and the stakes important.... The United States had to avoid placing its Arab partners in an impossible position while defending Israeli interests. The twofold objective was reached and U.S. diplomacy can claim a new tactical success.... The United States tried its utmost to limit the damage to its Israeli protegee.... Is it a complete success? Not really, since any condemnation of Israel creates problems on the U.S. domestic front.

DE VOLKSKRANT, THE NETHERLANDS:

The unanimous decision by the Security Council is a victory for Washington. Israel had, with its bloodbath on the Temple Mount, maneuvered its most important ally, the United States, into an extremely difficult position....Washington has succeeded in preserving unity within the Security Council, something of great importance for the Gulf crisis.

JYLLANDS-POSTEN, DENMARK:

Saddam Hussein has consistently tried to draw parallels from

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אל: המשרד,

מ-: רושינגטון, נר: 0115; תא: 081090; דח: 1856; דח:מ: סג: כל,

בכבכ

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 8.10.90

זמן חיבור: 17:00

אל: חפוצת תקשורת

דעו: ניו-יורק

מאת: עתונות, רושינגטון

JOINT PRESS CONFERENCE US-AUSTRALIA MINISTERIAL MEETING
SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER; FOREIGN MINISTER GARETH EVANS
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DICK CHENEY; MINISTER OF DEFENSE ROBERT RAY
GARDEN ROOM, BLAIR HOUSE/WASHINGTON, DC/MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1990

Q Would you comment on the latest losses of helicopters in the Gulf? There's also been crashes of jets -- if there is any relationship to the suitability or lack of suitability of these aircraft for the desert.

SEC. CHENEY: No, I think the most recent incidents involve an RF-4 that crashed in southern Saudi Arabia and the loss of two helicopters off one of our amphibious helicopter carriers in the Gulf of Oman. It's always a tragedy any time we lose personnel and lose equipment. The problem we have, when you're operating that kind of equipment in those kinds of conditions, is that there is a certain amount of risk involved. Operating at sea off the Straits of Hormuz and the Gulf of Oman isn't that different from operating at sea elsewhere in the world. And I don't believe there are any -- without knowing more about the specific instance involved, I don't believe that there are any unique circumstances there that we don't face when we have our personnel operate under difficult conditions all over the world.

Q So the casualties aren't too high, sir?

SEC. CHENEY: Any casualty is a casualty that you'd rather not have. At this point, we have not announced final casualties because a search-and-rescue effort is still underway at sea and because we never announce those kinds of things until we have more information.

Q I'm talking about since Operation Desert Shield. I mean, there's been a lot of helicopter crashes.

Handwritten notes in Hebrew and English at the bottom of the page, including the words "Desert Shield" and "helicopter crashes".

SEC. CHENEY: Any loss of life, the US military personnel, is something that we try to the very best of our ability to avoid. And I don't think you'd ever find a Secretary who would say that it's acceptable to lose lives. But when you're operating the kind of equipment we operate under the kinds of conditions we do, maintaining the level of readiness that's required for modern combat, there are, in fact, from time to time accidents. And that's part of maintaining the quality force that we do today.

Q Mr. Cheney, you said you discussed the forces that are arrayed on both sides in the Persian Gulf region. Could you bring us up to date on how many Iraqi forces are in the region and how many forces are opposing them at this point in time?

SEC. CHENEY: I'll give you -- I think the exact numbers are classified, but I'll give you some ballpark figures. That the Iraqis have deployed in Kuwait and in southern Iraq well in excess of 350,000 personnel -- more than 20 divisions; that that includes well over 3,000 tanks, significant numbers of artillery, armored personnel carriers, et cetera.

On the allied side, there are now in country, in the area, for the US, in excess of 175,000 personnel. That includes what's deployed in the Gulf, in the Red Sea, as well as on land; that's air, naval, Army and Marine forces. In addition to that, of course, the Saudis have all of their forces in the area -- significant numbers. The -- some 25 nations have deployed either naval or air or ground forces in the region. The Egyptians, the Syrians, the Moroccans; other Arab nations have made contributions to the ground force as well.

So there is a substantial force deployed now on the allied side as well as what the Iraqis have deployed in southern Iraq and Kuwait.

Q Secretary Cheney, yesterday a prominent member of the national security community, Zbigniew Brzezinski, argued that the force structure that the US has deployed in the Persian Gulf area reflects an overly optimistic reliance on airpower to offset the quantitative advantages on the ground that Iraq would have in the event of war. And he argued that there's no historic precedent for airpower being able to assume this job, and that in fact, in the event of war, the US would suffer tens of thousands of casualties.

Could you address this point since it's one that many within the community have made as well?

SEC. CHENEY: Well, I -- first of all, I've got great respect for Zbigniew Brzezinski. I've known him for many years, and he did a commendable job as National Security Advisor a few administrations back. I am inclined to rely first and foremost upon the Chiefs, upon the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General Colin Powell, and upon our CINC in the area, General Schwarzkopf, for their advice on what kinds of forces are required to undertake the assignment they've been given.

- 3 -

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The mission they've been given is to deter further aggression by Saddam Hussein, to defend Saudi Arabia and our other friends in the region should deterrence fail, and to enforce the UN-voted sanctions in conjunction with our other allies that have deployed forces to the region. And we'll be guided by their judgment on what kinds of forces are required, what size of forces are required, and what kind of support those forces need.

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אאא, חוזם: 4308
אל: רהמש/287
מ-: המשרד, תא: 071090, זח: 1351, זח: ב, סג: סו,
בבב
סודי/בהול

אל: וושינגטון - הממונה שילה

דע: מקש'ח

הנדון: עסקת הנשק לסעודייה ועבוי הסיוע עבור ישראל

1. מרוב מברקים לא ברור לנו העיקר. לפיכך הנריקו-נא בחוזר חוזר בחוזר, לאחר התייעצות עם הנוגעים בדבר בשגרירות:

א. הערכותיכם (על סמך מידע בדוק, ככל האפשר) לגבי המסתמן בדבר העיסקה מחד ועבוי סיוענו (כולל מחיקת החוב) מאידך.

● המלצותיכם לגבי המשך הפעולה בשתי החזיתות האלו הן בממשל והן בקונגרס.

2. עלינו להביא כל המלצה לאישור, בטרם פעולתכם. לכן נא להמתין לקבלת הנחיותינו לגבי המשך.

3. בהזדמנות זו העבירו-נא את רשימת בקשותינו המופצת על ידיכם בקרב המחוקקים ואחרים.

מנהל מצפ'א

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, @ (מקשח/משהבט)

אאא, חוזם: 5139

אל: רהמש/334

מ-: ווש, נר: 2060, תא: 081090, חז: 1400, חז: ב, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי / בהול לבוקר

אל: מנהל מצפ' א'

דע: מקש'ח משהב'ט

מאת: עודד ערן, וושינגטון

סיוע לישראל. שלך 2059.

א. המברקים שנשלחו מהשגרירות בדבר העסקה הסעודית, הסיוע לישראל ומחיקת החוב, מבוססים על מידע בדוק. ממברקים אלו עולה, לדעתנו, והדברים נאמרים אחרי התייעצות בשגרירות, התמונה הבאה:

קיימת תחושה אל אי נחת בקונגרס כלפי העסקה הסעודית גם במתכונתה הנוכחית. הדברים מצאו ביטוי בפגישות הקונגרסמנים עם צ'ייני ובשימועים בשני צידי הקונגרס. מאידך, למיטב ידיעתנו, אין כרגע הצעה של DISAPPROVAL אף כי הדברים עשויים להשתנות ובאיפא'ק, למשל, שוקלים אפשרות של הצעה כזו לגבי אחד ממרכיבי העסקה, בין השאר, ע'מ לאותת למימשל כי לא פס כוחו של הארגון, גם ע'מ לאותת על מורת רוחו משרוך הרגלים של המימשל בנושא הסיוע הנטחוני וגם ע'מ לשלח אותות למימשל לגבי חלקה השני של העסקה הסעודית שבוודאי יוגש בינואר-פברואר '91. להערכתנו, לא צפויה הכשלתה של העסקה הנוכחית, אף כי יתכן שפריט זה או אחר יוכשלו.

ב. המימשל החליט ככל הנראה לכרוך את העסקה הסעודית בסיוע לישראל ומיותר ממקור אחד נודע לי, כי הוחלט לעכב את הטיפול בבקשותינו עד אשר יתברר גורל העסקה הסעודית. ברור מכאן, שאין לנו מה לחפש במישור המימשלי וממילא היקף החקיקה המוצעת עולה על כל מה שניתן לצפות מהמימשל גם לו גילה זה נדיבות החורגת מגדר הרגיל. לכן אנו מרכזים עתה מאמצינו בוועדת ההקצבות בתקווה שכל הרעיונות שהוגשו לחקיקה יועברו. עוד לפני כעשרה ימים הברקנו לכם רעיונות אלו כפי שהם. התחלנו בין שתי ועדות המשנה, זו של ליייה וזו של אינוייה.

בין המחוקקים קיימת תחושה שהמימשל אינו עושה דיו ואף מדיף רוח צוננת כלפינו מול נחישותו להעביר הן את העסקה הסעודית והן את שמיטת החוב צרים. לו'ז לפעילות ועדת ההקצבות בסנט עדיין אינו ברור ונבריקו מידי כסיוודע לנו. על כולנו מקובלת ההערכה, שעלינו להשיג את מירב הסיוע הצבאי עוד במהלך חייו של קונגרס זה, ע'מ שהמימשל לא יוכל 'למכור' לנו שוב מרכיבים שונים כתמורה להסכמתנו בשתיקה לעסקה הסעודית בגילגולה השני, היינו, בתחילת '91.

ג. מחיקת החוב למצרים אינה מעוררת אהדה רבה, אם להשתמש בלשון המעטה. להערכתנו, הסיכוי שגם לנו יושמט החוב הוא קטן ביותר. מאידך מקובלת על כולנו ההערכה, שיש להציג הנושא מסיבה טקטית.

ד. כרגע לא נראה לנו שיש צורך בפעולה כלשהי המצריכה את אישורכם. כאמור, אנו מתרכזים בפעילות המיועדת להעביר את מרכיבי הסיוע לישראל בוועדת ההקצבות. בהמשך, ע'פ הצורך, נחליט באם יש צורך בפעולה רחבה יותר בסנט ובבית הנבחרים וכמובן ניידע אתכם.

ערן.

= א'

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהנט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, @ (מקשח/משהנט)

סססס

אאא, חו'ז: 4279

אל: רהמש/284

מ-: המשרד, תא: 071090, זח: 1321, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבב

9,250890

שמור/בהול

אל: וושינגטון - הממונה

דע: מנכ'ל תיירות

הנדון: ארה'ב: TRAVEL ADVISORY לשטחים

א. להלן מתוך שיחה עם פאריס בשגרירות ארה'ב:

1. נכון לאמש (מוצ'ש) טרם קיבלו את נוסח האזהרה. ידעו שדבר מתבשל אך למדו על פירסום האזהרה רק הבוקר (07:10) בחדשות 'קול ישראל' (באנגלית).
 2. כרקע, יש לציין כי לפני כעשרה ימים עוזרת המזכיר לעניינים קונסולריים, אליזבת טמפוסקי העידה בשימועים בגבעה והמחוקקים 'ירדו עליה חזק' (ROASTED HER) בטיעונים שערב פלישת עיראק לתוך כווית לא נתנה מחמ'ד אזהרות מספיקות לאזרחי ארה'ב באיזור וכתוצאה מכך נמצאים כיום בידי העיראקים כאלפיים בני ערובה אמריקאים. שימוע זה הכניס את טמפוסקי והממונה עליה איוואן סלין ל'טראומה' כאילו הם אחראים ללכידת בני הערובה.
 3. בעקבות זאת, דיווחה השגרירות כאן ביום א' שעבר על ההחלטה לחלק מסכות גז ותגובתה המיידית של מחמ'ד היתה שיש לפרסם TRAVEL ADVISORY המזהיר לגבי ביקורים בישראל. השגרירות התנגדה לרעיון והציעה שלכל היותר תפורסם אזהרה שתתייחס לאיזור כולו.
 4. כאמור, נוסח האזהרה שהתפרסמה לא היה בידי פאריס בעת השיחה, אך על סמך התיאור בקול ישראל, הוא מעריך שמחמ'ד קיבלה חלק מהמלצות השגרירות אך יחד עם זאת היא ניצלה את הזדמנות לשלב לתוך ה-ADVISORY מרכיבים מתוך האזהרה שדובר עליה מזה חדשים (ועליה הברקנו לא פעם) בדבר ביקורים בשטחים, כאשר העילה לכך ניתנה גם ע"י העלייה באלימות בעת האחרונה.
- עו כאן מדברי פאריס.
- ב. אחרי השיחה הנ'ל התקשר התורן בשגרירות ארה'ב והודיע שהתקבל נוסחי ה-ADVISORIES ושהוא מעבירו בפאקס. כפי שתראו אין אחד אלא שניים, כאשר השני המתייחס לאיזור מזה'ת כללי וקצר ואינו אלא חזרה על אזהרה קיימת.
 - ג. נודה לכל פעולה הנראית לכם כדי להקל על רוע הגזרה.

מנהל מצפא

כהן, מזתים, ש(שוכל/תיירות)

סטטט

4254, חו זס: אאאא

אל: רהמש/286

מ-: המשרד, תא: 071090, זח: 1233, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

9, 250890

בלמ'ס/מיד'י

אל: וושינגטון

דע: נציגויות צפ'א

הנדון: הודעת מחלקת המדינה של ארה"ב למבקרים באזורנו

1. להלן ידיעה מסוכנות רויטרס כפי שהתפרסמה הבוקר (7.10) בעיתון 'הארץ':

מחלקת המדינה מזהירה את אזרחי ארה"ב: 'הרוצים לבוא לישראל - קחו בחשבון חלוקת ציוד נגד גזים'. 'יש להימנע מביקור בשטחים עד להודעה חדשה'. מחלקת המדינה של ארה"ב הודיעה אתמול כי על אזרחים אמריקאים לנהוג בזהירות בעת ביקוריהם במזה"ת, בדרום אסיה ובצפון אפריקה וקראה להם להימנע מלהיכנס לשטחי הגדה המערבית ורצועת עזה. מחלקת המדינה יעצה לאזרחים אמריקאים המתכננים ביקור בישראל, להביא בחשבון כי ממשלת ישראל החליטה לחלק לתושבי המדינה ערכות מיגון מפני התקפת לוחמה כימית.

בחוברת ייעוץ לענייני תיירות שהוציאה לאור מחלקת המדינה נאמר: 'המתח הגואה בעקבות הפלישה הצבאית של עירק לכוויית יכול להוביל להפגנות או לפעולות אחרות העלולות להיות מכוונות נגד ארה"ב ונגד אזרחיה'. 'האזרחים האמריקאים, שיש בכוונתם לבקר באזורים אלו, נקראים שלא להוציא מכלל אפשרות שינויים פתאומיים במצב הביטחון באזור. בשל האירועים האלימים האחרונים והמתח הגואה בגדה המערבית וברצועת עזה, מיעצת מחלקת המדינה לכל אזרחי ארה"ב להימנע מביקורים באזורים אלו עד להודעה חדשה'. בחוברת נכתב כי אירועים אלימים היו גם בחלקה המזרחי של ירושלים וכי על אזרחי ארה"ב לנהוג משנה זהירות גם בעת ביקורם בה.

מחלקת המדינה הדגישה כי ישראל תפתח בחלוקת מסכות מגן מפני גזים לאזרחיה בשל האיום של שימוש בנשק כימי מצד עירק. 'על אזרחי ארה"ב להביא זאת בחשבון בעת שהם מתכננים טיול לישראל', נאמר בחוברת של מחלקת המדינה. חוברות דומות קודמות שהוציאה מחלקת המדינה לתיירים אמריקאים התייחסו כנה שבביקורים במדינות נוספות במזה"ת בהן מדינות כמפרץ הפרסי: עירק, כוויית, ירדן, סעודיה, תימן, בחריין, קאטאר, האמירויות הערביות המאוחדות ומאוריטניה.

עד כאן

2. במבוק נפרד התייחסות ותגובה של סגן שה'ח נתניהו לפרסומים בנושא כפי ששודרה בראיון שנתן ליומן חדשות הבוקר בקול ישראל.

הסברה

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סייבל, סולטן, מזתים, כהן, רביב, מעת, הסברה, @ (שוכל/תיירות)

אאא, תוזם: 4280
 אל: רהמש/285
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 071090, זח: 1321, דח: ב, סג: בל,
 נבב
 9,250890
 בלמ'ס/כהול

אל: וושינגטון

דע: נציגויות צפ'א

הנדון: ארה'ב: TRAVEL ADVISORY לשטחים

1. סגן השר רואיין בנדון ב'יומן החדשות' בשעה 07:00 היום (7.10). להלן בראשי פרקים תשובותיו לשאלות המראיין (שלום קיטל):

- מדובר בהמלצה ולא בהוראה האוסרת על ביקורים בשטחים. כ'כ האזהרה מתייחסת לאיזור מזה'ת כולו. ייתכן אמנם שהיתה עליה באלימות בשטחים לאחרונה אך אין להשוות המצב הנוכחי שם כיום למצב לפני שנה-שנתיים. אין סכנה יייר השומע להוראות הבטחון. האסון בלוקרבי גרם לכך שהקונגרס דרש מהממשל לפרסם אזהרות כל פעם שקיים סיכון של מעשי טרור בכל מקום שהוא. מבחינה זו ישראל הינה המקום הבטוח בעולם. באשר לחלוקת המסכות (שככל הנראה תרמה לפירסום האזהרה) ייתכן שקיימת אי-הבנה: אנו חיים בעידן חדש, ל-4 (ארבע) מדינות באיזור יכולת כימית, ואסור לנו להתעלם מזאת אפילו אם ההצטרפות של השימוש ביכולת זו נמוכה מאוד. הימצאות המסכות בבית דומה להימצאות מטף מים נגד אש למרות שהסיכויים לשריפה נמוכים מאוד.

2. נתניהו נשאל מה בדעת ישראל לעשות בנסיבות ובתשובה אמר שבעבר ניהלנו שיחות עם ממארה'ב בנושא אזהרות כאלה.

3. שאר השאלות נגעו באפשרות של לחץ אמריקאי על ישראל אחרי פתרון המשבר במפרץ. נתניהו התייחס למחשבות ארה'ב בנושא 'הסדר החדש' במזה'ת שנועד להבטיח יציבות באיזור. לשם כך תייכים לטפל בשורשי אי-היציבות באיזור מחד, ומאידך לחזק את ישראל כדמוקרטייה היחידה באיזור וכעוגן היחידי ליציבות במזה'ת.

4. כתבות בדבר האזהרה מהעתונות בנפרד.

פ'א-הסברה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהנט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
 @ (רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סי'בל, סולטן,
 מזתים, כהן, רניב, מעת, הסברה, @ (שובל/תיירות)

ססט

אאא, חוזם: 4765

אל: רהמש/301

מ-: המשרד, תא: 081090, חז: 1359, חד: מ, סג: סו ,

בבב

2899

סודי/מידי

103.01

אל: וושינגטון

TRAVEL ADVISORY

שוחחתי הבוקר עם השגריר בראון להביע מורת רוחנו והפתעתנו מהתדריך לנוסע שהוצא ע"י מחמ"ד ולתבוע ממחמ"ד לשקול מחדש את הפצתו. אמרתי לבראון שהתדריך נוגד ההערכות שאנו שומעים באחרונה מהממשל על השינוי לטובה במצב בשטחים, ירידה ברמת האלימות והנפגעים וכו'. על כן תמוה שבעתיים שדוקא על רקע הירידה המשמעותית באלימות, מוציאה זרוע אחרת של מחמ"ד מסמך הנוגד ההערכה הנ"ל.

הוספתי שבאשר לבדיקות בגשר אלנבי ובנתב"ג שהן כורח מציאותנו הבטחונית, הנהגנו שורה של הקלות וזאת בעקבות פנייתו שלו, שהולידו היוועצות וטכוס יצאה של המשרדים הנוגעים בדבר. התיחסנו למענותיהם, ועשינו כמיטב יכולתנו פר התנאים עד גבול הפגיעה בצרכי הבטחון. הערתי, ששר התיירות הטיל את מלוא כובד משקלו למען שיפור התנאים בנתב"ג בכל הנוגע לטיפול בתיירים על רקע בטחוני.

בראון הגיב שאכן התדריך לנוסע הינו תולדה של חילופי דברים בינו לביננו, נכון שהוא עצמו הצביע על השיפור במצב בשטחים וירידת רמת האלימות אך אין בכך להבטיח שלומם ובטחונם של אזרחי ארה"ב.

ידוי האבנים נמשך ובאחרונה שמע על מגמת התרמה של סחורות אמריקאיות. כן טען שחיפושים קפדניים על גופם של תיירים אמריקאים נושאי שם ערבי נמשכים כבעבר. שהמקרים של מעצר תיירים ואי הודעה בזמן ובמועד לשגרירות ולקונסוליה האמריקאית נמשכים וכך גם זרם התלונות בעטיים. לכך נתווספה גם הודעה על חלוקת מסכות גז. צרוף כל אלה על רקע המשבר המתמשך במפרץ, גרמו להוצאת המדריך בעיתויו ובניסוחו. רמז, שמנסחי התדריך רצו כודאי 'להבטיח אגפיהם' כנגד ביקורת קונגרסיונלית ברם, אין ספק שקבלו אישור ברמה הבכירה ביותר. חזרתי ובקשתי מבראון, נוכח הנזק הנוסף שעלול להיגרם לתיירות לישראל בשל תדריך זה, להעביר תביעתנו לשקול מחדש התדריך וביטולו.

בנצור

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהנט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סייבל, כהן,
טולטן, מזתים, כלכליתא', שובל/תיירות, @ (מזכירהממשלה)

סססס

4764: חו"מ: אאא

אל: רהמש/302

מ-: המשד, תא: 081090, חז: 1359, חמ: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

9, 250890

שמור מ"ד

ושינגטון, הממונה, השגריר אוטכה, קונכל צפא

דע: יוסי שובל, תיירות

פעילות למען עידוד התיירות לישראל

אחת. מחמד פרסם אתמול (6/10) TRAVEL ADVISORY מיוחד הקורא לאזרחי ארהב שלא לבקר בישראל תוך פירוט ארוך של הסיבות והנסיבות המיוחדות להמלצה. סעיף נוסף מזהיר אזרחים אמריקאים מפני אפשרות לפעולות טרור נגדם באירופה והמזת על רקע המשבר במיפריץ.

הנדעה חמורה זו מהווה נידבך נוסף למשבר הקשה הפוקד את התיירות לישראל קבל מימדים מדאיגים.

קיימת דאגה מיוחדת מפני התגובות וההתנהגות של הקהילות היהודיות בצפא ואלו מיתבטאות במכת ביטול ביקורים מתוכננים, כולל אלה של מישלחות גדולות במתכונת 'מישלחות ההיזדהות' הידועות.

שתיים. בשלב זה הבענו מורת רוחנו והפתעתנו מתדרוך מחמד ותבענו לשקול מחדש הפצתו, נוסף לכך אנו מבקשים מכל ראשי הנציגויות להתגייס באופן מיוחד למען עידוד התיירות לישראל בשעה קשה זו. את המהלכים יש לתאם עם ראשי לשכות התיירות במקומותיכם ועם ציר ההסברה בושינגטון.

שלוש. מוצע שהנציגויות תיפעלנה בדרכים הבאות:

א. גיוס מנהיגים יהודיים בולטים באזוריכם, שיצאו לישראל באופן מופגן במיסגרת הצגת דוגמא אישית.

ב. שיגור מישלחות סקר מטעם הקהילה כדי לעמוד על המצב מקרוב ולדווח. במקרים שהדבר ניתן - להחיות את המשלחות הגדולות שבוטלו/נידחו.

ג. גיוס רבנים כדי שיטיפו בדרשות השבת למען נסיעה לישראל.

ד. גיוס אירגונים יהודיים שיפעילו השפעתם בקהילה.

ה. גיוס כמרים וגורמי כנסייה אוהדים שיצאו בהצהרות למען תיירות לישראל במיוחד על רקע חג המולד המתקרב.

ו. נסו לאתר עיתונאים העוסקים בתיירות כדי שיבואו ארצה לסקר המצב.

ארבע. כל רעיון ומעשה נוספים יתקבלו בברכה. אנא דווחו על פעולותיכם לנו וליוסי שובל במשרד התיירות.

מצפא

@(רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, תפוצות, סולטן,
מזתים, כהן, כלכליתא', כלכליתב', סייבל,
רביב, הסברה, @ (מזכירהממשלה), @ (שובל/תיירות)

סססס

6308, תוזם: אאא

אל: רהמש/429

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 124, תא: 091090, זח: 1321, זח: ב, סג: כל,

בבב

9,250890

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

אל : מנהל מצפ"א

דע : תפוצת תקשורת

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון

רצ"ב ה-TRAVEL ADVISORY שמחמ"ד פירסם אתמול בשנית ולאחר השנויים המתאימים בעקבות אירועי אתמול בהר הבית. תשומת ליבכם לשינויים הבאים-

1. ב-T.A הכללי הכללת פיסקה מיוחדת ומורחבת על ישראל כולל ציון התלטת הממשלה לחלק מסיכות הגז לתושבי ישראל, תוך הדגשת הודעת הממשלה כי אין הדבר מהווה תחילת מצב חירום.

2. ב-T.A המיוחד לנושא השטחים - הכללת פיסקה מיוחדת ומורחבת על האירועים האלימים אתמול בהר-הבית.

1. TRAVEL ADVISORY, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE, BUREAU OF CONSULAR AFFAIRS, WASHINGTON, DC, MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1990.

MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA AND SOUTH ASIA - WARNING
THIS REPLACES THE PREVIOUS ADVISORY, ISSUED OCTOBER 5, 1990.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ADVISES ALL US CITIZEN RESIDENTS OF AND TRAVELERS TO THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTH ASIA, AND NORTH AFRICA THAT INCREASED TENSIONS DUE TO THE IRAQI MILITARY INVASION OF KUWAIT MAY LEAD TO DEMONSTRATIONS OR OTHER ACTIONS THAT MAY BE DIRECTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. AMERICANS ARE URGED TO KEEP IN MIND THE POSSIBILITY OF SUDDEN CHANGES IN THE SECURITY SITUATION WHEN MAKING TRAVEL PLANS FOR THESE AREAS.

TRAVELERS AND RESIDENT AMERICANS THROUGHOUT THE REGION SHOULD EXERCISE CAUTION AND CONTACT THE NEAREST US EMBASSY OR CONSULATE TO REGISTER THEIR PRESENCE AND RECEIVE INFORMATION ON THE LOCAL SITUATION.

TRAVEL ADVISORIES RELATED TO THE PERSIAN GULF SITUATION ARE ALREADY IN FORCE FOR THE FOLLOWING COUNTRIES: BAHRAIN, IRAQ, KUWAIT, MAURITANIA, QATAR, SAUDI ARABIA, THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES, AND YEMEN.

ISRAEL, LIKE THE OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION, IS AFFECTED BY THE RESULTING UNSTABLE CONDITIONS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF HOSTILE ACTION. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL HAS DECIDED TO BEGIN DISTRIBUTING GAS MASK KITS TO ALL RESIDENTS OF ISRAEL STARTING OCTOBER 14. THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL STRESSES THAT THE DISTRIBUTION DOES NOT CONSTITUTE THE BEGINNING OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY, NOTING THAT THE DISTRIBUTION, WHICH HAS BEEN PLANNED FOR SOME TIME, WILL BE

ACCOMPLISHED OVER A TWO-MONTH PERIOD. AMERICANS SHOULD TAKE THIS SITUATION INTO ACCOUNT IN PLANNING TO VISIT ISRAEL.

FOR MORE DETAILED INFORMATION, TRAVELERS ARE URGED TO CONSULT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE'S CURRENT TRAVEL ADVISORIES FOR THE COUNTRIES THEY WISH TO VISIT, INCLUDING THE TRAVEL ADVISORY ISSUED ON THE WEST BANK, GAZA STRIP, AND EAST JERUSALEM.

EXPIRATION: INDEFINITE.

2. TRAVEL ADVISORY TEXT (REVISED), NO. 90-115, RE: WEST BANK, GAZA STRIP AND EAST JERUSALEM, ISSUED BY THE US DEPARTMENT OF STATE, BUREAU OF CONSULAR AFFAIRS, MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1990.

WARNING --

THIS REPLACES THE PREVIOUS ADVISORY, ISSUED OCTOBER 5, 1990.

DUE TO RECURRENT DISTURBANCES AND INCREASED TENSION IN THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ADVISES ALL US CITIZENS TO AVOID TRAVEL TO THESE AREAS UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE. US CITIZENS WHO MUST TRAVEL TO THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP SHOULD BE AWARE OF CONTINUING UNREST AND TENSION, INCLUDING STONE-THROWING, WHICH CAN AFFECT VISITORS.

US CITIZENS SHOULD ALSO BE AWARE THAT RECENT EVENTS ELSEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAVE SPARKED ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENTS AND THREATS IN THE TERRITORIES. SOME PAMPHLETS HAVE URGED ATTACKS ON AMERICAN AND WESTERN INTERESTS. IF TRAVEL TO THE WEST BANK IS UNAVOIDABLE, TRAVELLERS SHOULD CONSULT WITH THE CONSULATE GENERAL IN JERUSALEM AND IN THE CASE OF TRAVEL TO THE GAZA STRIP, WITH THE EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV.

AMERICANS RESIDING IN THESE AREAS SHOULD EXERCISE PARTICULAR CAUTION. THEY SHOULD ALSO REGISTER WITH THE EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV OR THE CONSULATE GENERAL IN JERUSALEM.

THERE HAVE BEEN DISTURBANCES IN EAST JERUSALEM, INCLUDING A VIOLENT ONE ON OCTOBER 8. UNTIL THE SITUATION STABILIZES, TRAVELLERS ARE URGED TO AVOID EAST JERUSALEM. IF AMERICANS DECIDE THEY MUST TRAVEL INTO EAST JERUSALEM THEY SHOULD CHECK FIRST WITH THE CONSULATE GENERAL FOR AN UPDATE ON SECURITY CONDITIONS. TO AVOID DIFFICULTIES, TOURISTS SHOULD BE VIGILANT WHILE USING PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION OR WHILE TRAVELLING BY CAR, AND WHILE PARKING IN LES FREQUENTED AREAS OF THE CITY.

UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES, AMERICANS SHOULD AVOID DEMONSTRATIONS, PROTEST ACTIVITIES, AND OTHER SITUATIONS THAT HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO LEAD TO VIOLENCE. AMERICAN TOURISTS SHOULD CARRY THEIR US PASSPORTS AT ALL TIMES.

AMERICANS ARRESTED OR DETAINED IN THE WEST BANK OR GAZA ON SUSPICION OF SECURITY OFFENSES ARE OFTEN NOT PERMITTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH CONSULATE OFFICIALS, LAWYERS OR FAMILY IN A TIMELY MANNER DURING THE INTERROGATION PERIOD OF THEIR CASE. YOUTHS WHO ARE DETAINED MAY BE TRIED AS ADULTS. THE EMBASSY IS NOT NORMALLY NOTIFIED OF THE ARRESTS OF AMERICANS IN THE WEST BANK BY ISRAELI AUTHORITIES, AND DELAYED ACCESS OCCURS.

ISRAEL HAS STRICT SECURITY MEASURES WHICH MAY AFFECT VISITORS. PROLONGED QUESTIONING AND DETAILED SEARCHES MAY TAKE PLACE AT THE TIME OF ENTRY AND/OR DEPARTURE AT BOTH THE ALLENBY BRIDGE FROM

JORDAN AND BEN GURION AIRPORT. AT THE ALLENBY BRIDGE, AMERICAN CITIZENS WITH ARAB SURNAMEN ARE REQUESTED TO DISROBE DURING SEARCHES, AND MAY ENCOUNTER DELAYS OR OBSTACLES IN BRINGING IN CAMERAS OR ELECTRONIC EQUIPMENT.

DURING SEARCH/QUESTIONING, ACCESS MAY BE DENIED TO US CONSULAR OFFICES, LAWYERS, OR FAMILY. SHOULD QUESTIONS ARISE AT THE ALLENBY BRIDGE, AMERICANS SHOULD TELEPHONE THE CONSULATE GENERAL IN JERUSALEM FOR ASSISTANCE AT (02) 253-288. IF QUESTIONS ARISE AT BEN GURION AIRPORT, AMERICANS SHOULD PHONE THE EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV AT (03) 654-338.

FOR OTHER INFORMATION RELATING TO TRAVEL IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA AND SOUTH ASIA, TRAVELLERS SHOULD REFER TO THE TRAVEL ADVISORY ISSUED ON OCTOBER 8, 1990.

EXPIRATION: INDEFINITE

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, טשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל,
ממד, @ (רס), אמן, מצפא, מזתים, מעת, הסברה,
לעמ, כלכליתא', @ (דוצ), @ (נוה/משהבט),
@ (שובל/תיירות), @ (מזכיר הממשלה)

סססס

213

TRAVEL ADVISORY - WEST BANK, GAZA STRIP AND
EAST JERUSALEM (THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES) - WARNING

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07 OCT '90 16:06 FOREIGN MINISTRY JERUSALEM

P.3/3

SUBJECT: PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT ON TRAVEL IN WESTERN
EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST

1. THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ADVISED THE PUBLIC ON
SEPTEMBER 7 OF A HEIGHTENED THREAT FROM IRAQI-SPONSORED
TERRORISM.

2. EVIDENCE CONTINUES TO ACCUMULATE THAT IRAQI-SPONSORED
TERRORISM MAY OCCUR IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WHILE IRAQ MAY
SUPPORT TERRORIST OPERATIONS AT LOCATIONS THROUGHOUT THE
WORLD, THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED
ABOUT POSSIBLE TERRORIST ATTACKS IN EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE
EAST.

3. WHILE INFORMATION DOES NOT SUGGEST THAT AMERICANS
TRAVELLING ABROAD ARE THE SPECIFIC TARGETS OF POSSIBLE
IRAQI-SPONSORED TERRORISM, AMERICANS OVERSEAS SHOULD
EXERCISE CAUTION, PARTICULARLY WHEN IN OR NEAR U. S.
MILITARY OR CIVILIAN FACILITIES OR AT OTHER FACILITIES
COMMONLY IDENTIFIED AS "AMERICAN."

מברק יוצא

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אל: המשרד,

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 1060, תא: 051090, זח: 1500, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמס / רגיל

משה"ח - נר 1060

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

בטחון - נר 99

דע: בטחון - שהב"ט, נווה, דו"צ

ניו יורק - נר 27

ניו יורק

דף 1 מתוך 2

מאת: עתונות, וושינגטון

ראו נא הטור של צ'רלס קראוטהמר התוקף אזכור הסכסוך הערבי-ישראלי בהקשר המשבר במפרץ בנאומו של הנשיא בוש באו"מ.

רות ירוו.

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Washington P
4.10.Charles Krauthammer

... And Stumbles

As usual, Margaret Thatcher had it right. On her recent U.N. visit, she stated Western aims in the Gulf: not just unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, but reparations for the devastation and punishment for the criminals who ordered the invasion.

Thatcher's point is that this is more than just a fight for cheap oil. It is also a fight for a principle: aggression doesn't pay, and, worse, it gets punished. If that lesson is delivered early, the post-Cold War era could turn into a long era of peace.

George Bush had been struggling for weeks to make this principled case. Then Monday at the U.N. he seriously undermined it with a vacillating offer of a "diplomatic" Gulf solution. "In the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait," he declared, "I truly believe there may be opportunities for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences."

What can this possibly mean? Before Aug. 2, Kuwait tried desperately to settle its differences with Iraq by negotiation. Iraq answered with invasion. Bush's gesture can only be a signal to Iraq that after withdrawal it can return to demands for the Rumaila oil fields, Bubiyan Island, a chunk of the Kuwaiti treasury and a say in Kuwait's government.

But surely after its aggression, Iraq can have no more claims against Kuwait than Germany can have against the Sudetenland. On the contrary, Kuwait now has serious claims against Iraq. Otherwise, how have we deterred the next thug from invading, withdrawing from, then negotiating with his neighbor?

Bush went on to offer Saddam another reward for good behavior. Iraqi withdrawal, he declared, would create the opportunity to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict. For two months Saddam had been trying to lend legitimacy to his seizure of Kuwait by linking it to Israel's occupation of the West Bank. For two months Bush had resisted the linkage. Now he is sending a signal to Saddam that playing his cards right could, with American assistance, make him a hero of Palestine.

The linkage between Iraq's occupation of Kuwait and Israel's occupation of the West Bank is fraudulent. The correct analogy is between the two victims of aggression, Kuwait in 1990 and Israel in 1967, both victims of war begun by powerful neighbors explicitly intent on wiping them off the map. The only difference is that Kuwait lost the war and is indeed being eradicated. Israel fought and won.

To compare the resulting unsought Israeli occupation of the West Bank to Iraq's deliberate and unprovoked seizure of Kuwait is pure cynicism. Saddam is engaged in systematically pillaging, depopulating and destroying Kuwait as a society. Israel controls the West Bank, but has left it socially, economically and culturally intact.

After his speech, President Bush denied that he

was trying to create any linkage between the occupation of Kuwait and the Arab-Israeli dispute. There is, after all, something bizarre about suggesting that when one Moslem country swallows another, the Jews should be asked to pay the price. But surely the president is not so naive as to believe that his speech did not broadcast a signal to Baghdad: withdraw today, be rewarded tomorrow.

After all, what does a "diplomatic" solution mean if not a bargain in which both sides come out with something? Yet the whole premise of American policy has been that aggression cannot get any reward—hence Thatcher's insistence on reparations and war crimes trials—or it will be repeated. Is that not what Bush's vaunted post-Cold War order is about?

It is not good enough to say I didn't mean it. The administration also says it didn't mean the signals it sent to Saddam before the invasion. But they did their damage. The State Department, down to Ambassador April Glaspie, met Saddam's bullying with a sympathy and an acquiescence that could only be taken as encouragement. Saddam concluded, reasonably, that swallowing Kuwait would elicit no American response. An administration with such a sorry history of signal-sending should be more careful about creating linkages it later denies.

If this week's signal was wrong, the timing was worse. Just a week earlier, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze had delivered a stern warning to Saddam to get out of Kuwait or else. The Security Council had voted an air blockade. Under American direction, the world was closing in on Saddam.

Throughout the crisis all the players have taken their lead from the United States. Our message, so then consistent, had been that Saddam had two choices—withdrawal or war. It is an important message, because only if it is believed is there any chance that Saddam will choose withdrawal.

Now that Bush has wavered, others are following suit. Tuesday, the Saudi foreign minister delivered a speech at the U.N. that was one long linkage between Kuwait and Palestine. On the same day, the chief of the Soviet General Staff delivered a firm warning to the United States against contemplating war.

Wall Street got the message too. In two days after the president's speech, the price of oil fell \$5.50 on rising hopes of a "diplomatic" solution.

Were they overreading the president? Hardly. In the Middle East all communication is by signal and code word. The Middle East is a semiotic minefield where a misplaced nuance can break a policy or bring down a government. This administration, we are told, is composed of big boys who know this well. If so, they should watch their language. If they don't mean what they say, they shouldn't say it.

SECRET
TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE
DATE: 12/15/50
SUBJECT: STATEMENT

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TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE
DATE: 12/15/50
SUBJECT: STATEMENT

UNCLASSIFIED CONFIDENTIAL

THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE HAS TWO MAJOR OBJECTIVES IN ITS FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAMS: TO PROMOTE PEACE AND SECURITY AND TO PROMOTE HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS.

TO PROMOTE PEACE AND SECURITY IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD BY WORKING TO IMPROVE U.S. PEACEKEEPING, PEACE-MAKING AND CRISIS PREVENTION FUNCTIONS, BY ENCOURAGING ACTIVE USE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S GOOD OFFICES AND BY THE REQUEST OF INVITED COUNTRIES, LOGISTICAL ASSISTANCE.

TO ESTABLISH A NEW SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AT THE U.N. BY ENCOURAGING THE U.S. TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN THE U.N. EFFORTS TO DEAL PHASEDLY WITH THE MAJOR ISSUES OF THE 1950'S, INCLUDING INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND COMMERCE, THE ENVIRONMENT, DEVELOPMENT, TERRITORY, AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

PROMOTE A NEW WAY OF CONDUCTING DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS WITHIN THE U.N. SYSTEM TO ELIMINATE REDUNDANT PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES AND INSURE THAT THE U.N. SYSTEM OPERATES IN THE MOST EFFICIENT MANNER POSSIBLE -- WE CALL THIS A "MILITARY DOLLAR".

ENSURE THE AVAILABILITY OF SUFFICIENT RESOURCES TO THE U.N. FOR IT TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY AND EFFICIENTLY BY PROMPT PAYMENT OF FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE U.N.

PROMOTE PEACE AND SECURITY IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

JOINT EFFORTS HAVE CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE END OF TENSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND GENERAL AFRICA, AND ARE

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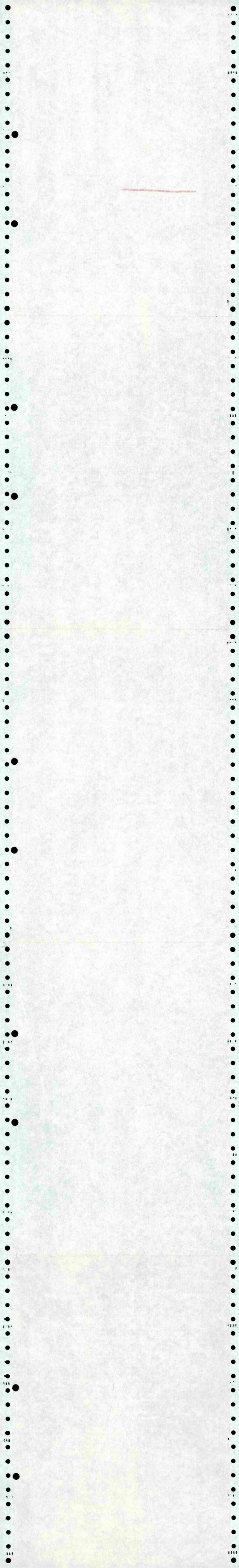
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אאא, חוזם: 3837

אל: רהמש/252

מ-: ווש, נר: 2044, תא: 041090, חז: 1320, חז: ב, סג: סב,

נבב

סודי ביותר/בהול לבוקר

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

מקשח משהבט

מאת: שגרירות וושינגטון - עודד ערן.

העסקה הסעודית

לפני כמה ימים התקשר מזכיר ההגנה צ'ייני לקונגרסמנים סמית ולוין וביקש לשכנעם לתמוך בעסקה המקוצצת. על פי הצעתי ביקשו השניים פגישה מורחבת וזו התקיימה הבוקר בנוכחות פאסל, לנטוס, לוין, סמית, טוריצ'לי, פהן וגילמן (המילטון הוזמן אך לא הגיע).

מל לוין פתח באומרו שהוא וחבריו תומכים במדיניות הממשל במפרץ ומטרתם גישה אינה לבקר או להחליש את עמדות הממשל בנושא זה. כאשר הוצגה עסקת החירום הראשונה הם לא אמרו מילה אחת בגנותה אך הם מתקשים לשתוק מול ההיקף האדיר של העסקות המוצעות עתה על ידי הממשל. הם פונים אל צ'ייני מתוך הכרה שהוא כעמית לשעבר מבין את מצוקתם וכידיד ישראל שגילה יושר והגינות בעבר יש לו בודאי אוזן קשבת לדאגותיה. הקבוצה מבקשת לדעת איך ניתן לשמר על יתרונה האיכותי של ישראל ומה מקבלת ישראל מתוך בקשותיה הלגיטימיות (הקונגרסמנים צוידו מבעוד מועד הן ברשימת בקשותינו והן בהחלטות הממשל עד כה והחקיקה שעברה כבר בתת ועדת ההקצבות בסנאט). לוין אמר שפנה לשגרירות הישראלית וזו מסרה לו שחלק ניכר מהבקשות עדיין בעיון. לוין הוסיף שעוד יותר מאי ההענות לבקשות הוא מודאג מהטונים הצורמים שנישמעים לאחרונה בין ירושלים וושינגטון והוא בדעה שאין מתאים יותר מצ'ייני להרגיע את האוירה, דבר הנחוץ במיוחד על רקע המשבר הנוכחי. במיוחד קשה לו להבין, ציין לוין מדוע ישראל נישאת AT ARMS LENGTH לוי ציין גם כי נודע כי הממשל עכב את העברת מטוסי ה - F-15 לישראל עד שהקונגרס יאשר העסקה הסעודית.

פאסל (יו"ר ועדת החוץ של בית הנבחרים) אמר כי אתמול בשימועים על העסקה לא קיבל תשובות מספקות מדוע יש צורך בעסקה ועל אף שנראה לו שהעסקה תאושר הוא נשאר נספקותיו הן לגבי הצורך בה, והן לגבי התשובות לישראל. גם גילמן טרף אל פאסל בהדגשת הצורך לענות לישראל על בקשותיה.

קונגרסמן סמית ציין עקרי בקשותיה הספיציפיות של ישראל, ואמר שישראל גם אם תקבלן לא תוכל לשמור על יתרונה האיכותי (צ'ייני קטע דבריו ' ' WHAT IS THE OPTION JUST TO WALK AWAY FROM S.A ?). לנטוס ברמן וטוריצ'לי אמרו שיש אופציות. לנטוס וטוריצ'לי דיברו בהרחבה על אפשרויות של החכרת הציוד, ושמירתו של ציוד אחר שימכר תחת פקוח הדוק של ארה"ב. לנטוס אמר שהוא מעריך מאד את דרך פעולתו של צ'ייני ולדעתו הוא מזכיר ההגנה הטוב ביותר בשנים האחרונות, אך באשר לעסקה הוא שולל העברה הציוד במכירה ומדגיש את האפשרות של החכרה. כאן פתח לנטוס בנאום בן כמה דקות שכלל שימוש במילים בנות ארבע אותיות על הסעודים והצהרותיהם הנגטיביות כלפי ישראל. 'אני איני אומר בפומבימה דעתי עליהם ומוטב שארה"ב, שלה השפעה על הסעודים תורה להם לבלום פיותיהם'.

צ'ייני נתן סקירה על המצב במפרץ, גיוס והצבת הכוחות האמריקאים והכוחות האחרים (מצרים וסוריה עומדות להשלים את הצבת הדיביזיה שלהן, ומצרים שוקלת הצבת דיביזיה שניה, אמר). באשר לישראל הוא ציין כי נתן אשור להעביר את שתי סוללות הפטריוט מ'עורו' ובאשר למרכיבי הבקשה הישראלית הוא מקווה לתת תשובות תוך ימים (פאסל בחצי לצון ביקש לקבלן עד יום שני הקרוב בשעה 10:00). צ'ייני התייחס בחיוב לרעיון של ה - DRAW-DOWN

מאירופה אף כי המספר 700 מיליון דולר לא הוזכר. הוא ציין ששנטור קסטן מחפשו וכנראה שזה בנושא זה. כמובן דיבר בחיוב על ההצבה מראש. לגבי שניהם ציין שהבעיה העיקרית היא יכולת השינוע (LIFT CAPABILITY) מאחר וזו מגויסת כולה להעברת ציוד לכוחות במפרץ.

צ'ייני אזכר גם את מחיקת החוב המפרצי, ולוין אמר שהוא תומך בכך והוסיף שזו הוכחה שהוא וחבריו מבקשים לסייע למימשל אך רוצים לראות גם הבנה לצרכי ישראל. לארי סמית אמר ששמע על עיסקת נשק בסך 400 מיליון דולר הנרקמת עם סוריה וצ'ייני ש'כמעט נפל מהכסא' לפי אחד הנוכחים טען שאין לכך שחר. סמית גם אמר לצ'ייני שיש לנצל את המצב הנוכחי וללחוץ על מדינות ערב התומכות בארה"ב לשנות את מדיניותן ולהכיר בישראל. סמית אמר שהוא שם לב, והוא מציין זאת לחיוב שהנשיא דיבר על סכסוך ישראל ערב ולא על הסכסוך הישראלי-פשתינאי.

לסיכום: הרגשת חלק מהנוכחים היא שצ'ייני ביקש יותר לשמוע מאשר להשמיע והוא התחמק ממתן תשובה לחלק ניכר משאלותיהם וטענותיהם אך הם העבירו לו מסר ברור לגבי צרכינו. הם, לדבריהם הם, השאירו אצלו הרושם שאין צפויה הכשלת העיסקה אך שהם יעקבו בקפדנות אחרי ההענות לצרכי ישראל.

ערן.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רס), אמן, בנצור, מצפא, @ (מקשח/משהבט)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3727
 אל: רהמש/216
 מ:- ווש, נר: 2043, תא: 031090, חז: 2030, דח: מ, סג: סב,
 בבב
 סודי ביותר -- ח.ר.ב -- מיידי

אל: מנכ"ל משהב'ט
 מקש'ח / משהב'ט
 מנהל מצפ"א

להלן נקודות משיחה עם דיק קלרק

- א. ההוראה לדחות תאריך מסירת ה - 15 F ניתנה על ידי בייקר שרצה לעכב ההודעה עד שתאושר העיסקה הסעודית.
- ב. כבר התחילו להגיע תגובות רוגזות מהפנטגון על החקיקה שאושרה אתמול בנת ועדת ההקצבות. קלארק מציע ש'נהדק' את החקיקה כך שלא תהיינה כל 'אי הבנות' מצד הפנטגון.
- ג. הוא שלח היום מזכר לקימט שבו הוא מציע לקיים את מפגש 'גאות' בתחילת נובמבר, כפי שתוכנן. הוא בדיעה שתהיה זו טעות לבטלו אך חושש שמישהו מעליו יחשוב אחרת.
- ד. קלארק אמר שלא אתרו העברת טילים למשגרים ב - 2 H אך הם מודאגים מאפשרות שיגור ממשגרים שעליהם אין להם כל שליטה מנחינה מודיעינית.
- ה. הצבתם של הכוחות האמריקאיים תושלם רק בסוף חודש אוקטובר.
- ו. להערכתו חידוש היחסים בין בריטניה לאיראן כולל עסקה לגבי בן הערובה טרי וויט. הוא 'מריח' עסקה רחבה יותר לגבי שאר החטופים.
- ז. מתכוון לשגר סגניתו אליזבת וורויל בשבועות הקרובים לישראל לדון בנושא ה - M.T.C.R. יודיענו תאריכים מדוייקים.
- ח. בביקורו המתוכנן של בוש בסוף נובמבר לאזור (לשהות עם הכוחות האמריקאים לרגל ה - THANKSGIVING יכללו קרוב לוודאי יונות אחרות. בשלב זה ידוע על תורכיה.

ערן.
 אי=

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

7327:חוזם, אאאא
אל:רהמש/566
מ-:וושיןגטון, נר:170, תא:101090, זח:2130, מ:סג:בל,
בבב
בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 10.10.90

אל: סמנכ"ל צפ"א ופרנ
דע: מצפ"א, לש-שה"ח, ניו-יורק
מאת: עתונות, וושיןגטון

להלן נוסח מכתב שה"ח למזכיר המדינה בנושא הערבויות לדיור כפי ששוחרר
היום לפרסום ע"י מחמ"ד

T OF OCTOBER 2, 1990 LETTER FROM ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER DAVID LEVY
US SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER, RELEASED BY THE US DEPARTMENT OF
TE, WASHINGTON, DC/ WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1990

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I APPRECIATED THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS WITH YOU IN DETAIL THE
RANGE OF ISRAELI CONCERNS REGARDING THE SITUATION IN THE GULF. IT
WAS REASSURING TO HEAR YOU REAFFIRM THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED
STATES TO ISRAEL AND TO THE MAINTENANCE OF ITS QUALITATIVE EDGE.

I WAS PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED TO HEAR YOUR VERY STRONG
REAFFIRMATION OF AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY, AND THAT
IN THIS TIME OF DANGER, ISRAEL CAN COUNT ON THE UNITED STATES TO
STAND BY ITS COMMITMENT AND RESPOND AS APPROPRIATE.

JIM, I WAS IMPRESSED WITH YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF ISRAEL'S NEEDS
AND YOUR EFFORTS TO ADDRESS THEM IN AN ORDERLY, TIMELY, AND
COORDINATED FASHION.

IT IS A VERY HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY THAT WE BOTH SHARE, AND I
LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU CLOSELY ON THIS.

IN THIS RESPECT, OUR DISCUSSION ON THE ISSUE OF HOUSING
INVESTMENT GUARANTEES PRODUCED RESULTS. AS I SAID IN OUR MEETINGS,
I CAN CONFIRM THAT THE OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL
WITH RESPECT TO THE ABSORPTION OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE SOVIET UNION
IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR IN HIS
JUNE 27, 1990 LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH, AND THE STATEMENT BY
MINISTER OF HOUSING SHARON ON JUNE 25, 1990, NAMELY, THAT THE
GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL'S POLICY IS NOT TO DIRECT OR SETTLE SOVIET JEWS
BEYOND THE GREEN LINE.

CONSISTENT WITH THE TRADITIONAL ASSURANCES WHICH THE GOVERNMENT
OF ISRAEL PROVIDES IN OUR ASSISTANCE AGREEMENTS, AS WELL AS THOSE IN
THE "IMPLEMENTATION AGREEMENT, SEPTEMBER 1980, BETWEEN THE

GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL ON BEHALF OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ACTING THROUGH THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT", USES OF THE HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES WILL BE RESTRICTED TO THE GEOGRAPHIC AREAS WHICH WERE SUBJECT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL'S ADMINISTRATION PRIOR TO JUNE 5, 1967. I ALSO WANT TO RECONFIRM WHAT I TOLD YOU IN RESPONSE TO YOUR QUESTION THAT NO SPECIAL INCENTIVES EXIST TO ENCOURAGE SOVIET JEWISH IMMIGRANTS TO SETTLE BEYOND THE GREEN LINE, NOR ARE WE PLANNING TO PROVIDE SUCH INCENTIVES IN THE FUTURE.

AS I KNOW YOU WILL BE REPORTING TO CONGRESS ON THIS LOAN PROGRAM, LET ME SAY FURTHER, I AM PREPARED TO AGREE THAT WE WILL PROVIDE YOU PERIODICALLY WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S BUILDING PLANS FOR HOUSING FOR IMMIGRANTS INCLUDING SPECIAL FINANCIAL INCENTIVES. I WILL ALSO USE MY BEST EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ANNUALLY AS COMPLETE INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE ON THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL'S FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY, AND PERIODICALLY AS WELL TO INFORM YOU OF ANY GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY.

I BELIEVE THAT THESE POINTS, THESE UNDERSTANDINGS, WILL HELP US FURTHER THE GREAT CHALLENGE OF ABSORPTION OF SOVIET JEWS IN ISRAEL.

ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, I WOULD LIKE TO THANK PRESIDENT BUSH AND YOU PERSONALLY FOR THE EXTENSION OF THIS HOUSING LOAN GUARANTEES PROGRAM.

SINCERELY, DAVID LEVY. (SIGNED "DAVID".)

END

פ 10

תפוצה: שהח, טשהח, (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, בנצור, מצפא

טטטט

ISRAELI MINISTER'S LETTER TO BAKER MADE PUBLIC

(Text: Levy letter on housing guarantees 10/2/90)

Washington -- The State Department October 10 released to the news media the text of a two-page letter, dated October 2, from Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy to Secretary of State Baker which outlines Israeli assurances concerning the use of a 400 million dollar U.S. housing loan guarantees.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said it had always been expected the letter would be made public, but its publication was delayed to extend Israel "the courtesy" of having one of Baker's staff members talk with Israeli foreign ministry officials about its release. That occurred just minutes prior to the October 10 news briefing, Tutwiler said.

She described it as "a negotiated letter" which Levy and Baker worked out in New York. In it, Levy said it was not the policy of the government of Israel to "direct or settle Soviet Jews beyond the green line," and the Israeli foreign minister assured Baker that "no special incentives" exist or will be offered to Soviet Jewish immigrants to do so.

The technical procedure for setting into motion the housing loan guarantees was outlined in a written statement issued later by Tutwiler. Officials from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) will consult with Israeli officials on the actual housing needs of new Soviet immigrants to Israel and on Israeli plans to meet these needs, her statement said.

"Once agreement has been reached on these factors, Israel will then negotiate directly with U.S. financial institutions for the loans," the statement continued. "The United States government, under the authority given it by Congress, will guarantee repayment to the lenders in the unlikely event that Israel fails to repay these loans, up to a maximum of 400 million dollars."

Following is the text of the Levy letter to Baker:

(BEGIN TEXT)

Dear Mr. Secretary: (Jim)

I appreciated the opportunity to discuss with you in detail the range of Israeli concerns regarding the situation in the Gulf. It was reassuring to hear you reaffirm the commitment of the United States to Israel and to the maintenance of its qualitative edge.

I was particularly gratified to hear your very strong

reaffirmation of America's commitment to Israel's security, and that in this time of danger, Israel can count on the United States to stand by its commitment and respond as appropriate. Jim, I was impressed with your understanding of Israel's needs and your efforts to address them in an orderly, timely, and coordinated fashion.

It is a very heavy responsibility that we both share, and I look forward to working with you closely on this.

In this respect, our discussion on the issue of housing investment guarantees produced results. As I said in our meetings, I can confirm that the official policy of the Government of Israel with respect to the absorption of immigrants from the Soviet Union is in accordance with the statement by Prime Minister Shamir in his June 27, 1990, letter to President Bush, and the statement by Minister of Housing Sharon on June 25, 1990, namely, that the Government of Israel's policy is not to direct or settle Soviet Jews beyond the green line.

Consistent with the traditional assurances which the Government of Israel provides in our assistance agreements, as well as those in the "Implementation Agreement, September 1980, between the Government of Israel on behalf of the State of Israel, and the United States of America acting through the Agency for International Development," uses of the housing loan guarantees will be restricted to the geographic areas which were subject to the Government of Israel's administration prior to June 5, 1967. I also want to reconfirm what I told you in response to your question that no special incentives exist to encourage Soviet Jewish immigrants to settle beyond the green line, nor are we planning to provide such incentives in the future.

As I know you will be reporting to Congress on this loan program, let me say further, I am prepared to agree that we will provide you periodically with the Government's building plans for housing for immigrants including special financial incentives. I will also use my best efforts to provide annually as complete information as possible on the Government of Israel's financial support for settlement activity, and periodically as well to inform you of any government settlement activity.

I believe that these points, these understandings, will help us further the great challenge of absorption of Soviet Jews in Israel.

On behalf of the Government of Israel, I would like to thank President Bush and you personally for the extension of this housing loan guarantees program.

(signed) David Levy (David)

(END TEXT)

NNNN

מסמך: מכתב לוי לבייקר

ההלוואה תנוצל רק באזורים שבהם שלטנו לפני 5.6.67

"ארוני היקר, מזכיר המדינה:

...היה זה מרגיע לשמוע מפיד אישור מחודש של מחויבות ארה"ב לישראל, ולשמירה על יתרונה האיכותי ... בהקשר זה, הריון שלנו על סוגיית הערבויות להשקעות בדור, הניב תוצאות. כפי שאמרת כי גישותינו, המדיניות הרשמית של ממשלת ישראל ביחס לקליטת ער לים מבריה"מ תואמת את קביעת ראש הממשלה, יצחק שמיר, במכתבו לנשיא בוש מ-27.6.90, ואת קביעת שר השיכון שרון ב-25.6.90, דהיינו שאין הממשלה מפנה או מיישבת יהודים סובייטים מעבר לק הירוק.

בהתאם לערבויות הרגילות שממשלת ישראל מעניקה במסגרת הסכמי הסיוע שלנו, ובהתאם לערבויות שב'הסכם הביצוע, ספטמבר 1980, בין ממשלת ישראל, בשמה של מדינת ישראל, לבין ארצות הברית של אמריקה, על ידי הסוכנות לפיתוח ביד'לאומי, הרי שימוש בערבויות למלוח השיכון יוגבל לאזורים הגאוגרפיים שהיו בשלטון ממשלת ישראל לפני ה-5 ביוני 1967. אני רוצה גם לאשר את מה שאמרת לך במענה לשאלתך, שאין כל תמריצים מיוחדים לעידוד ער לים יהודים סובייטים להתיישב מעבר לק הירוק.

מאחר שאני יודע כי תרווח לקונגרס על תוכנית המלוח הזו, אוסיף ואומר כי אני מוכן להסכים לכך שנספק לכם מעת לעת את תוכניות הבנייה שהממשלה מתווה לשיכון העולים, ובכלל זה תמריצים פינאנסיים מיוחדים.

אני מאמין שהנקודות האלה, ההבנות האלה, יסייעו לנו לקדם את האתגר הגדול של קליטת יוצרי בריה"מ בישראל ... שלך, רוד לוי."

12.10.90 8722

12411:חוזס,אאא
אל:רהמש/900
מ-:המשרד,תא:171090,זח:1925,דח:ב,סג:שמ,
בבכ
שמור/בהול
אל : ווש'
השגריר

להלן נוסח בלתי מוסמך של מכתב השר למזכיר המדינה מהיום (17.10.90).
נוסח זה כבר הועבר לידי שג' ארה"ב כאן, ולכן אין צורך להעבירו לנמען.
המקור החתום 'ועבר דיפ'.

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 17, 1990
86726

DEAR JIM,

IN THE WAKE OF VARIOUS PUBLICATIONS, SOME OF THEM WITH DIFFERING AND PERPLEXING INTERPRETATIONS OF MY LETTER TO YOU OF OCTOBER 2, 1990 WITH REGARD TO THE HOUSING INVESTMENT GUARANTEES, I WISH TO DEFINE OUR POSITION:

YOU ARE WELL AWARE THAT IN THAT LETTER THERE IS NO UNDERTAKING, EITHER DIRECT OR INDIRECT, TO REFRAIN FROM CONSTRUCTION IN JERUSALEM -- OR TO LIMIT CONSTRUCTION WITHIN JERUSALEM -- OR ANYWHERE ELSE, INCLUDING JUDEA, SAMARIA AND GAZA.

THIS POSITION FINDS ITS FULL EXPRESSION, CLEARLY AND UNEQUIVOCABLY, BOTH IN THE CONVERSATIONS WE HELD TOGETHER AND IN YOUR LETTER TO ME OF SEPTEMBER 21.

PERMIT ME TO QUOTE MY WORDS FROM THE RECORD OF OUR CONVERSATIONS WHICH WE HELD IN WASHINGTON ON SEPTEMBER 5, 1990, AS FOLLOWS: 'MY GOVERNMENT HAS AN IDEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION. IF YOU THINK THAT WE WILL CHANGE OUR CREDO ON THE BASIS OF WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WAS ELECTED BECAUSE OF THESE INVESTMENT GUARANTEES, YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN.' ELSEWHERE IN THE RECORD, I REPEATED AND EMPHASIZED: 'IF YOU EXPECT THE GOVERNMENT TO DECLARE THAT IT WILL HALT THE SETTLEMENT ENDEAVOR AND THAT NO ONE WILL SETTLE IN THE TERRITORIES -- THAT WILL NOT BE.' INDEED, YOUR REACTION WAS: 'YOU ARE NOT REQUIRED TO TAKE ANY STEP WHICH CONTRADICTS YOUR PLATFORM AND YOUR POSITION.'

MOREOVER: IN YOUR LETTER TO ME OF SEPTEMBER 21,

1990, YOU WRITE INTER ALIA: 'I LISTENED VERY CAREFULLY TO WHAT YOU TOLD ME IN WASHINGTON.... YOU PLACED PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON NOT BEING PUT IN A POSITION ... TO GIVE UP THE PRINCIPLE OF SETTLEMENTS.' YOU CONCLUDED YOUR LETTER BY REEMPHASIZING THAT YOU HAD MY COMMENTS TO YOU VERY MUCH IN MIND. IN THE COURSE OF THE LETTER YOU SAID THAT YOU HAD ISRAEL'S 'CONCERNS VERY MUCH IN MIND' ... 'AND NOTWITHSTANDING OUR STRONG OPPOSITION TO SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY, I HAVE MADE AN ATTEMPT TO AVOID PUTTING YOU IN A POSITION WHERE A BASIC PRINCIPLE OF YOUR GOVERNMENT IS BEING OVERTLY CHALLENGED.'

IN THE LIGHT OF THIS, JIM, WE AGREED THAT THE FUNDS DERIVING FROM THE LOAN, WHICH IS GUARANTEED BY YOUR GOVERNMENT, WILL BE USED IN KEEPING WITH THAT COMMITMENT GIVEN BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL, YEAR BY YEAR, UPON RECEIPT OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND GRANTS FROM THE UNITED STATES. THIS COMMITMENT STATES THAT '... USES OF THE GRANT SHALL BE RESTRICTED TO THE GEOGRAPHIC AREAS WHICH WERE SUBJECT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL ADMINISTRATION PRIOR TO JUNE 5, 1967.'

THIS COMMITMENT HAS NOT -- AND HAS NOT HAD IN THE PAST -- ANY BEARING WHATSOEVER ON THE QUESTION OF ISRAEL'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER JERUSALEM.

THE STATUS OF JERUSALEM WAS DETERMINED IN THE JERUSALEM LAW WHICH STATES THAT JERUSALEM, WHOLE AND UNDIVIDED, IS THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL.

JERUSALEM IS NOT DIVIDED EITHER BY A WALL OR BY ANY SEPARATING LINE.

MY DEAR JIM, THE TWO OF US AGREED AT THE OUTSET OF OUR TALKS THAT THE BASIS OF OUR WORK WILL BE POSITED ON TRUST AND CREDIBILITY. HENCE I THINK IT CORRECT TO HAVE TAKEN THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SET THE RECORD ABSOLUTELY STRAIGHT, BOTH IN LETTER AND IN SPIRIT.

LET US NOT PERMIT EXTRANEOUS INTERPRETATIONS TO UNDERMINE THIS BASIS, WHICH IS SO ESSENTIAL TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND BETWEEN US PERSONALLY.

SINCERELY YOURS,

DAVID LEVY

"אין שום התחייבות להימנע מבנייה בי-ם או להגבילה"

כותב שר החוץ לוי במכתב הבהרה לבייקר

להלן מכתבו המלא של שר החוץ, דוד לוי, למזכיר המדינה האמריקאי, ג'יימס בייקר, שנועד להבהיר את מכתב הערבות:

ג'ים בייקר.

בעקבות פרסומים שונים, ובהם פרשנויות שונות ותמוהות למכתבי אליך בעניין הערבות, אני מבקש לקבוע: היטב ידוע לך כי במכתבי אליך מיום 2 באוקטובר 1990 אין שום התחייבות - לא במישור ולא בעקיפין - להימנעות מבנייה בירושלים או אף להגבלת הבנייה בירושלים, או בכל מקום אחר - לרבות יהודה, שומרון ועזה. קביעה זו באה על ביטויה המלא, באורח חד ובהיר, הן בשיחותינו המשותפות והן במכתבך אלי מיום 21 בספטמבר. הרישה לי לצטט את דברי מתוך פרוטוקול השיחות, שקיימנו בווישינגטון ב-5.9.1990, כדלהלן:

"לממשלתי יש בסיס אידיאולוגי. אם סבור אתה שאנו נשנה את ה"אני מאמין", שעל יסודו נבחרה הממשלה, בשל ההלוואה הזו - דע כי זה לא יקרה". ובמקום אחר בפרוטוקול אני שב ומדגיש: "אם אתה מצפה כי הממשלה תצהיר כי היא תפסיק את מפעל ההתיישבות, וכי איש לא יתיישב בשטחים - זה לא יהיה".

תגובתך אכן היתה: "אינכם נדרשים לעשות צעד, הנוגד את מצעכם ועמדתכם". יתר על כן, במכתבך אלי מיום 21 בספטמבר 1990 אתה כותב, בין השאר: "הקשבתי קשב רב למה שאמרת לי בוואשינגטון. שמת רגש מיוחד על כך, שטמשלתך לא תימצא במצב, שבו היא מתבקשת לוותר על עקרון ההתנחלויות. ההערכות שהשמעת, דוד, חרותות היטב בתודעתך".

ובהמשך אתה מציינ: "מתוך מודעות לראגותיך ולמרות התנגדותנו החזקה לפעילות התנחלותית, עשיתי מאמץ למנוע מצב, שבו ייקרא תיגר על עיקרון בסיסי של ממשלתך". לאור זאת הסכמנו, ג'ים, כי השימוש בכספי ההלוואה, אשר לה ערבה ממשלתך, ייעשה על-ידי אותה מוחייבות, הניתנת על-ידי ממשלת ישראל מדי שנה בשנה, עם קבלת הסיוע האזרחי של ארה"ב. התנחלות זו אומרת כי השימוש בכספי הסיוע וכן השימוש בהלוואות לריזור ייעשה באזורים הגיאוגרפיים, שבהם שלטה ישראל לפני 5 ביוני 1967.

להתחייבות זו אין, ולא היתה בעבר, נגיעה כלשהי לשאלת ריבונותה של ישראל על ירושלים. מעמדה של ירושלים נקבע ב"חוק ירושלים" לאמור: "ירושלים השלמה והמאוחדת היא בירת ישראל". ירושלים אינה חצויה, איפוא, לא על-ידי תומה ולא על-ידי קו מפריד כלשהו.

ג'ים בייקר, הסכמנו שנינו בפתח שיחותינו כי בסיס עבודתנו יוסתת על אמון ואמינות. לכן, ראיתי לנכון להעמיד במכתבי זה את הדברים, כמו את רוח הדברים, על דיוקם המלא. כל נגיעה לפרשנויות זרות לערער בסיס זה, שהוא כה חיוני ביחסי מדינותינו וביחסינו האישיים.

שלך בכנות, דוד

3542:חוזם,אאאא
אל:רהמש/204
מ:-וושיןגטון,נר:74,תא:031090,זח:1345,מ:סג:בל,
נכב
כלמס/מיידי

אל : תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

דע: ניו-יורק

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון

ADDRESS TO THE NATION BY PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH ON THE BUDGET
OVAL OFFICE/THE WHITE HOUSE/WASHINGTON, DC
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1990

PRESIDENT BUSH: TONIGHT I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT A PROBLEM THAT HAS LINGERED AND DOGGED AND VEXED THIS COUNTRY FOR FAR TOO LONG, THE FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT.

THOMAS PAYNE SAID MANY YEARS AGO, "THESE ARE THE TIMES THAT TRY MEN'S SOULS." AS WE SPEAK, OUR NATION IS STANDING TOGETHER AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AGGRESSION. BUT HERE AT HOME, THERE'S ANOTHER THREAT, A CANCER, GNAWING AWAY AT OUR NATION'S HEALTH. THAT CANCER IS THE BUDGET DEFICIT. YEAR AFTER YEAR, IT MORTGAGES THE FUTURE OF OUR CHILDREN. NO FAMILY, NO NATION CAN CONTINUE TO DO BUSINESS THE WAY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN OPERATING AND SURVIVE. WHEN YOU GET A BILL, THAT BILL MUST BE PAID. AND WHEN YOU WRITE A CHECK, YOU'RE SUPPOSED TO HAVE MONEY IN THE BANK. BUT IF YOU DON'T OBEY THESE SIMPLE RULES OF COMMON SENSE, THERE'S A PRICE TO PAY.

BUT FOR TOO LONG, THE NATION'S BUSINESS IN WASHINGTON HAS BEEN CONDUCTED AS IF THESE BASIC RULES DID NOT APPLY. WELL, THESE RULES DO APPLY. AND IF WE FAIL TO ACT, NEXT YEAR ALONE, WE WILL FACE A FEDERAL BUDGET DEFICIT OF MORE THAN DOLLAR 300 BILLION, A DEFICIT THAT COULD WEAKEN OUR ECONOMY FURTHER AND COST US THOUSANDS OF PRECIOUS JOBS. IF WHAT GOES UP MUST COME DOWN, THEN THE WAY DOWN COULD BE VERY HARD. BUT IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE THAT WAY. WE CAN DO SOMETHING. IN FACT, WE HAVE STARTED TO DO SOMETHING. BUT WE MUST ACT THIS WEEK WHEN CONGRESS WILL HOLD THE FIRST OF TWO CRUCIAL UP OR DOWN VOTES. THESE VOTES WILL BE ON A DEFICIT REDUCTION AGREEMENT WORKED OUT BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE BIPARTISAN LEADERS OF CONGRESS. THIS BUDGET AGREEMENT IS THE RESULT OF EIGHT MONTHS OF BLOOD, SWEAT AND FEARS, FEARS OF THE ECONOMIC CHAOS THAT WOULD FOLLOW IF WE FAIL TO REDUCE THE DEFICIT.

OF COURSE, I CANNOT CLAIM IT'S THE BEST DEFICIT REDUCTION PLAN POSSIBLE. IT'S NOT. ANY ONE OF US ALONE MIGHT HAVE WRITTEN A BETTER PLAN. BUT IT IS THE BEST AGREEMENT THAT CAN BE LEGISLATED NOW. IT IS THE BIGGEST DEFICIT REDUCTION AGREEMENT EVER. HALF A TRILLION DOLLARS. IT'S THE TOUGHEST DEFICIT REDUCTION PACKAGE EVER WITH NEW ENFORCEMENT RULES TO MAKE SURE THAT WHAT WE FIX NOW STAYS FIXED, AND IT HAS THE LARGEST SPENDING SAVINGS EVER, MORE THAN DOLLAR 300 BILLION.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT AND LEADERS OF THE

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS HAVE AGREED TO REAL CUTS THAT WILL BE ENFORCED BY LAW, NOT PROMISES. NO SMOKE. NO MIRRORS. NO MAGIC ACT, BUT REAL AND LASTING SPENDING CUTS.

THIS AGREEMENT WILL ALSO RAISE REVENUE. I'M NOT AND I KNOW YOU'RE NOT A FAN OF TAX INCREASES. BUT IF THERE HAVE TO BE TAX MEASURES THEY SHOULD ALLOW THE ECONOMY TO GROW. THEY SHOULD NOT TURN US BACK TO HIGHER INCOME TAX RATES AND THEY SHOULD BE FAIR. EVERYONE WHO CAN SHOULD CONTRIBUTE SOMETHING, AND NO ONE SHOULD HAVE TO CONTRIBUTE BEYOND THEIR FAIR SHARE. OUR BIPARTISAN AGREEMENT MEETS THESE TESTS, AND THROUGH SPECIFIC NEW INCENTIVES, IT WILL HELP CREATE MORE JOBS. IT'S A LITTLE KNOWN FACT THAT AMERICA'S BEST JOB CREATORS AND GREATEST INNOVATORS TEND TO BE OUR SMALLER COMPANIES, SO OUR BUDGET PLAN WILL GIVE SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED COMPANIES A NEEDED SHOT IN THE ARM.

JUST AS IMPORTANT, I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS AGREEMENT WILL HELP LOWER INTEREST RATES. AND LOWER INTEREST RATES MEAN SAVINGS FOR CONSUMERS, LOWER MORTGAGE PAYMENTS FOR NEW HOMEOWNERS, AND MORE INVESTMENT TO PRODUCE MORE JOBS. AND THAT'S WHAT THIS AGREEMENT WILL DO.

AND NOW, LET ME TELL YOU WHAT THIS AGREEMENT WILL NOT DO. IT WILL NOT RAISE INCOME TAX RATES, PERSONAL OR CORPORATE. IT WILL NOT MESS WITH SOCIAL SECURITY IN ANY WAY. IT WILL NOT PUT AMERICA'S NATIONAL SECURITY AT RISK. AND MOST OF ALL, IT WILL NOT LET OUR ECONOMY SLIP OUT OF CONTROL.

CLEARLY, EACH AND EVERYONE OF US CAN FIND FAULT WITH SOMETHING IN THIS AGREEMENT. IN FACT, THAT IS A BURDEN THAT ANY TRULY FAIR SOLUTION MUST CARRY. ANY WORKABLE SOLUTION MUST BE JUDGED AS A WHOLE, NOT PIECE BY PIECE. THOSE WHO DISLIKE ONE PART OR ANOTHER MAY PICK OUR AGREEMENT APART, BUT IF THEY DO, BELIEVE ME, THE POLITICAL REALITY IS: NO ONE CAN PUT A BETTER ONE BACK TOGETHER AGAIN.

EVERYONE WILL BEAR A SMALL BURDEN, BUT IF WE SUCCEED, EVERY AMERICAN WILL HAVE A LARGE BURDEN LIFTED. IF WE FAIL TO ENACT THIS AGREEMENT, OUR ECONOMY WILL FALTER, MARKETS MAY TUMBLE, AND RECESSION WILL FOLLOW.

IN JUST A MOMENT, THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY LEADER, SENATOR MITCHELL, WILL OFFER WHAT IS KNOWN AS THE "DEMOCRATIC RESPONSE," OFTEN A REBUTTAL. BUT NOT TONIGHT. TONIGHT, THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP AND I ALL SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE IN SUPPORT OF THIS AGREEMENT.

TONIGHT, WE ASK YOU TO HELP US MOVE THIS AGREEMENT FORWARD. THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP AND I BOTH HAVE A JOB TO DO IN GETTING IT ENACTED. AND TONIGHT I ASK FOR YOUR HELP. FIRST, I ASK YOU TO UNDERSTAND HOW IMPORTANT -- AND FOR SOME, HOW DIFFICULT -- THIS VOTE IS FOR YOUR CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS. MANY WORRY ABOUT YOUR REACTION TO ONE PART OR ANOTHER. BUT I KNOW YOU KNOW THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WHOLE.

AND SO SECOND, I ASK YOU TO TAKE THIS INITIATIVE. TELL YOUR CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS YOU SUPPORT THIS DEFICIT REDUCTION AGREEMENT. IF THEY ARE REPUBLICANS, URGE THEM TO STAND WITH THE PRESIDENT. URGE THEM TO DO WHAT THE BIPARTISAN LEADERSHIP HAS DONE -- COME TOGETHER IN THE SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE TO SOLVE THIS NATIONAL PROBLEM. IF THEY'RE DEMOCRATS, URGE THEM TO STAND WITH THEIR CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS. ASK THEM TO FIGHT FOR THE FUTURE OF YOUR

KIDS BY SUPPORTING THIS BUDGET AGREEMENT.

NOW IS THE TIME FOR YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO HAVE A REAL IMPACT. YOUR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN NEED TO KNOW THAT YOU WANT THIS DEFICIT BROUGHT DOWN, THAT THE TIME FOR POLITICS AND POSTURING IS OVER, AND THE TIME TO COME TOGETHER IS NOW.

THIS DEFICIT REDUCTION AGREEMENT IS TOUGH, AND SO ARE THE TIMES. THE AGREEMENT IS FAIR, AND SO IS THE AMERICAN SPIRIT. THE AGREEMENT IS BIPARTISAN, AND SO IS THE VOTE. THE AGREEMENT IS REAL, AND SO IS THIS CRISIS.

THIS IS THE FIRST TIME IN MY PRESIDENCY THAT I HAVE MADE AN APPEAL LIKE THIS TO YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. WITH YOUR HELP, WE CAN AT LAST PUT THIS BUDGET CRISIS BEHIND US AND FACE THE OTHER CHALLENGES THAT LIE AHEAD. IF WE DO, THE LONG-TERM RESULT WILL BE A HEALTHIER NATION, AND SOMETHING MORE. WE WILL HAVE ONCE AGAIN PUT OURSELVES ON THE PATH OF ECONOMIC GROWTH. AND WE WILL HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT NO CHALLENGE IS GREATER THAN THE DETERMINATION OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. THANK YOU, GOD BLESS YOU, AND GOOD NIGHT.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהנט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
@ (רם), אמן, ממד, בנצור, מצפא, רניב, מעת,
הסנרה, סולטן, @ (דוצ), @ (נוה/משהנט)

טסט

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'Opportunities' for Peace in the Gulf

United Nations yesterday. President Bush sketchily but unmistakably outlined a sensible diplomatic solution for the Persian Gulf crisis. His words provide a basis for talks, if Saddam Hussein has the sense to respond before it's too late.

Mr. Bush's initiative supplies a needed third component to the global strategy for reversing Iraqi aggression. To the pressure provided by economic sanctions and the military buildup, the President adds fair terms for a durable peace.

Mr. Bush spoke in a diplomatic code that might have eluded most listeners. He spoke of "opportunities" that could arise "in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait." He then listed three main opportunities.

First, he suggested that Iraq and Kuwait could "settle their differences permanently." Decoded, this means resolving longstanding disputes involving the control of oil fields that straddle the present border, and jurisdiction over strategic islands in the gulf. It's not clear whether the phrase also extends to negotiations on the future government of Kuwait.

Second, he called on "the states of the gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability." Washington means three things by this: destroying chemical weapons and their means of pro-

ducing, curbing the spread of nuclear technology and negotiating the size and composition of military forces. It's clear the U.S. would want to subject the first two to international inspection. It's also clear, but unsaid, that Israeli chemical and nuclear-weapons capabilities would be included in such talks.

Third, "for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel." That means two things: ending the present state of war, with Arab states recognizing the state of Israel; and reaffirming the U.S. commitment to fostering direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.

All three pieces fit together. Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait cannot by itself restore stability to the gulf. Stability requires limiting war-making capabilities in the region. Israel will not even begin to consider limits on its forces or nuclear and chemical weapons capabilities unless it is in the context of a general Middle East peace settlement. And Arabs would find it difficult to limit their own military forces without constraints on Israel.

With Saddam Hussein still to propose any serious settlement terms, Mr. Bush was wise not to spell out his own meanings. But he has now revealed enough of his hand to put the burden of the next negotiating move clearly on Iraq.

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ON MY MIND | A. M. Rosenthal

Our Ally, the Killer

Consider, please, this story of two Middle Eastern presidents:

One of them murders and tortures his own people, invades his neighbors, swears death to Israel, trains terrorist gangs and dispatches them to foreign lands. The planes, tanks, and missiles of mass destruction he commands were sold to him by the West and the Soviet Union. The United States now recognizes him as a deadly threat, marshals a world coalition against him, threatens him with war, and debates only how to end his life and rule — quickly through war, or slowly through the hunger of his people.

The other Middle Eastern president murders and tortures his own people, invades his neighbors, swears death to Israel, trains terrorist gangs and dispatches them to foreign lands. The planes, tanks and missiles of mass destruction he commands were sold to him by the West and the Soviet Union. The United States now sends its Secretary of State to visit him, welcomes him as an important ally, and talks about his being part of the great new Middle Eastern order.

But wait — there is one difference between Saddam Hussein, our enemy, and Hafez al-Assad, our ally. The dictator of Syria bears inescapable responsibility for the deaths of far more Americans — including 189 blown apart in the bombing of Pan American 103.

Relatives of Americans whose lives ended over Lockerbie see their country consort with and make an ally of Syria. Kathleen R. Flynn, mother of John Patrick Flynn, murdered in the air at 21, wrote to John H. Kelly, an Assistant Secretary of State:

"Am I missing something? Is Syria not on the State Department's list of countries that sponsored terrorism? Is not President Assad the same man who has protected and supported Ahmad Jibril, the terrorists responsible for the bombing of Pan Am 103? Are not the atrocities committed by this Syrian leader well documented by our State Department?"

Mr. Kelly is the Middle Eastern expert famous for trying to quiet Congressional fears of Saddam Hussein, just before the invasion of Kuwait. His reply has come yet from Mr. Kelly. But when Secretary of State James Baker visited Mr. Assad, he did talk to him about Pan Am 103. The United States has asked before that Syria expel from Damascus the Palestinian terror gang headed by Jibril. Around the world, intelligence agents are convinced that this gang destroyed the plane with an Iranian contract and Syrian contrivance.

Straight faced, Mr. Assad said that

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if sufficient evidence is presented he will take action, maybe.

The evidence is in his mirror. For years President Assad paid and trained the Jibril gang. Someday, Mr. Assad may order the death of Jibril, to shut his mouth. But in any Western court of law, the President of Syria would be convicted as an accessory to murder, before and after the fact.

Yes, I know the official answer — American national interest is to gather as many Arab allies against Saddam Hussein as possible. This is the Washington version of the old Middle Eastern cynicism that the enemy of my enemy is my friend.

The problem is that time after time this "pragmatism" works violently against American national interest, not for it. The reason is that the U.S. refuses to tell the world the truth — we need this particular dictator for a while, but he is no less a murderer to

A tale of the Middle East. ①

day then yesterday, and soon will be a threat to us again.

So, after a short while, the rationalizations begin. Well, he may not be so bad after all; you cannot hold a grudge forever; you can do business with this fellow; he is not like the others. Already it is said about Mr. Assad, as it was about Nasser, Saddam Hussein and a procession of Iranian politicians.

The new and inexperienced Israeli Foreign Minister, David Levy, is sending shivers into some of his colleagues by whispering that maybe Mr. Assad will turn out to be a reasonable type. There is a long list of American and Israeli politicians who were willing to ignore Mr. Assad's river of blood for the dream that they could pacify him. They are gone; Mr. Assad is not.

Saddam Hussein and Hafez al-Assad are creatures of the only form of society the Arab Middle East has known — dictatorship. They hate each other because of colliding ambitions to be the biggest Arab dictator.

Dictatorships are inherently unstable. Unstable dictators with huge armies are inherently dangerous. We forget that and arm them to kill us.

We learned it again with Saddam Hussein. One day, we will learn it still again, from Hafez al-Assad.

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BUSH, AT U.N., SEES HOPE IN DIPLOMACY IN THE GULF CRISIS

SEEMS TO SHIFT EMPHASIS

While Continuing to Berate Iraq, the President Offers a Hint of Conciliation

By MAUREEN DOWD

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Oct. 1 — Stepping back from the tough tone of recent days, President Bush told the constellation of world leaders gathered here today that he was hopeful that there may be a diplomatic solution to the Persian Gulf confrontation.

Addressing the opening session of the General Assembly, where Iraqi delegates sat listening near Kuwaiti delegates in the alphabetically ordered chamber, Mr. Bush continued to insist that "the annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand." He referred to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq as "the dictator."

"Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throwback to another era, a dark relic from a dark time," he said in the General Assembly Hall. "It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction." [Transcript, page A12.]

A Carrot of Conciliation

But he told reporters later that he was not pressing for the idea — raised on Friday by his national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft — of another Security Council resolution that might include an explicit mention of military force. And in his speech, which was received with respectful applause, the President offered a carrot of conciliation to Iraq.

"In the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe there may be opportunities," he said, "for Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently, for the states of the gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability, and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel."

An Implicit Link

At the recent meeting in Helsinki with the Soviet President, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Mr. Bush brushed off a question about Mr. Hussein's attempt to link the invasion of Kuwait with the dispute over Israel's occupation of land that Syria and Jordan lost in the 1967 Middle East war. He said the solution of the debate over a homeland for Palestinians was a matter "separate and apart" from the Kuwaiti invasion. But today, in what appeared to be a gesture to Mr. Hussein, the President implicitly linked the dispute by men-

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Bush, at U.N., Sees Hope for Diplom

Continued From Page A1

...in the same sentence of his speech.

It could not be determined whether Mr. Bush's new emphasis on a diplomatic solution and his mention of the Arab-Israeli conflict was intended to provide the Iraqi leader with a face-saving opportunity, or, indeed, whether Washington had any reason to believe that Mr. Hussein was seeking such an opportunity. A senior Administration official said that all the President was trying to do today was "to remind people that the diplomatic option is still our preferred option."

At the same time the official said the Administration was not abandoning its policy of keeping the gulf conflict and the Arab-Israeli conflict separate. The official said the Administration was simply trying to signal to the Arab world some of the diplomatic opportunities that would exist after an unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.

Administration officials said the President's speech was written before Mr. Scowcroft unveiled the idea of a new, tougher United Nations resolution on Friday.

From the beginning of the conflict Mr. Bush has blended the diplomatic glove with the military fist, seeming sometimes to favor one approach and then the other.

President François Mitterrand of France made a similar link in a peace proposal he offered last week at the

Nerves were frayed, but the traffic jams expected around the United Nations never materialized. Page B4.

United Nations that was designed to appeal to the Iraqi President.

Mr. Mitterrand expected that an Iraqi promise to withdraw from Kuwait would be sufficient to start negotiations, which could also deal with the division of Lebanon and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

On Sunday, Mr. Hussein responded by saying that he would talk to France but that he would not withdraw his forces from Kuwait. He reiterated that before negotiations could begin, all Western forces would have to withdraw from the Persian Gulf and an independent Palestinian state would have to be established.

Speaking to reporters after his speech today, Mr. Bush said he might have offered a shift in emphasis but denied that it showed any "flexibility" in his attitude toward Mr. Hussein.

Optimism for an Iraqi '180'

He said his whirlwind round of meetings this weekend with other leaders had given him "a little optimism" that Mr. Hussein might "do a 180 and get out," referring to a 180-degree turn.

He said the rare united stance of nations against Iraq, combined with the economic sanctions, might persuade the mercurial Iraqi President to suddenly change his mind and let Kuwait go, just as he abruptly caved in to Iraq by conceding much of what the two nations had fought over for eight years.

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macy in the Gulf

Mr. Bush said he had heard from other leaders here "rather optimistic words on two points."

"One, that Saddam Hussein is beginning to understand that it is not against the world -- he against the world," he said. "And secondly, more optimism in various quarters that the sanctions are really beginning to bite hard."

Thatcher's Comments Raised

Asked about the comment today by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain that Article 51 of the United Nations Charter gives the allies sufficient authority for military action, Mr. Bush said he agreed. But he added that the United States had been careful to seek more specific authorization for halting and boarding ships.

"You may remember," he said "that we waited until we got a resolution before interdicting ships that more directly confirmed the right to do that."

In his speech, Mr. Bush tried to assure other leaders that the American presence in the gulf is not permanent. "We seek no advantage for ourselves," he said, "nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary."

After a 35-minute meeting with Mr. Bush this afternoon, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, echoed Mr. Bush's hopeful note.

"We and the Administration believe that there is still a chance for a peaceful settlement," Mr. Shevardnadze said. "And we are ready to work to..."

gather to achieve such a peaceful settlement."

House Backs Gulf Policy

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1 — The House overwhelmingly approved a joint resolution today that supports President Bush's current policy in the Persian Gulf, but stops short of endorsing future military action against Iraq.

Despite concern expressed by a number of lawmakers about the possibility that the United States might engage in a full-scale war with Iraq, the resolution passed by a 380-to-29 vote.

Today was the first time since Iraq invaded Kuwait on Aug. 2 that the House or the Senate had put the weight of Congress behind the American deployment in the gulf.

The measure, which is nonbinding, now goes to the Senate for its consideration.

action, where a similar resolution is pending. It also withholds open-ended authority for the President to use military force in the gulf. A Senate vote is expected on Tuesday.

Some lawmakers wanted to send a signal to the White House that they are not necessarily prepared to see the United States go to war in the gulf.

Job hunting? Check today's Times.

NYT

U.S.-SOVIETS REAFFIRM PLEDGE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY

(Text: Joint U.S.-Soviet statement)

New York -- The United States and Soviet Union October 3 issued a joint statement repledging themselves to peace and security in a changing world. The statement reaffirmed a resolution agreed to by the two countries last year which was adopted by the U.N. General Assembly.

Following is the text of the joint statement:

(begin text)

The 45th session of the United Nations General Assembly is taking place amidst the most profound changes in international affairs that have occurred since the second World War. The confrontational nature of relations between East and West is giving way to a cooperative relationship and partnership. The U.N. is fast becoming a real center for agreed common actions and the Security Council is reestablishing its crucial role in the maintenance of international security, peaceful settlement of disputes, and prevention of conflicts. Yet there remain many challenges to meet and problems to solve on the way to a peaceful and prosperous future.

Reaffirming the resolution presented last year by the United States and Soviet Union and unanimously adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, our two countries will attach special importance in the United Nations and its specialized agencies and programs to promoting practical, multifaceted solutions to the issues of international peace and security, political, economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems.

To accomplish this we will pursue cooperation with all memberstates in attainment of the following:

- strengthen the U.N.'s efforts to promote international peace and security in all its aspects by working to improve U.N. peacekeeping, peace-making and crisis prevention functions, by encouraging more active use of the Secretary General's good offices and, at the request of individual countries, electoral assistance;
- establish a new sense of responsibility at the U.N. by encouraging the trend away from rhetorical excess toward efforts to deal pragmatically with the major issues of the 1970's, including transnational issues like narcotics, the environment, development, terrorism, and human rights;
- promote a new way of conducting diplomatic efforts within the U.N. system to eliminate duplicative programs and activities and ensure that the U.N. system is utilized in the most efficient manner possible -- we call this a "unitary U.N.;"

-- ensure the availability of sufficient resources to the U.N. for it to function effectively and efficiently by timely payment of financial obligations to the U.N.

PROMOTING PEACE AND SECURITY IN ALL ITS ASPECTS

Joint efforts have contributed significantly to the easing of tensions in Southern Africa and Central America, and are part of efforts to prepare a peaceful settlement in Cambodia. But serious problems still remain. Our search continues for workable solutions to conflict and instability in the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Afghanistan, and El Salvador.

In the Persian Gulf, we face a most serious threat to the integrity of the emerging international system. The United States and the Soviet Union are working together with other members of the Security Council to fashion a concerted response, unprecedented in U.N. history, to this crisis. The swift reaction of the international community to Iraq's dangerous and unwarranted aggression serves as a sobering reminder to any future aggressor; the international community will not tolerate the kind of wanton aggression which Iraq has committed. We call upon all United Nations member to continue to support the sanctions invoked by Security Council Resolution 661 and 670 until Iraq abides by the call of the Security Council to withdraw its forces from Kuwait immediately, totally and unconditionally. We call also for the restoration of the legitimate government of Kuwait.

The rapidly changing structure of international relations requires a United Nations that, while remaining faithful to its original purposes, can also respond flexibly and effectively to new challenges as they occur, like drugs, the environment, and the need to ensure the protection of human rights.

Tangible examples of the U.N. movement away from divisive rhetoric and political excess were last December's special session of the General Assembly on Apartheid and the resumed session last month, where the world community underscored its resolute opposition to apartheid while agreeing, by consensus, on a positive approach based on dialogue among all South African parties. We will work for equally positive results at the General Assembly this year.

The U.N. Special Session on International Economic Cooperation in April 1990 also reflected the growing convergence of views worldwide on the need for more effective approaches to national economic development, in the context of a supportive international economic environment. Our two countries will continue working together to promote further convergence in this direction. We will also support efforts to ensure careful and pragmatic preparation for the 1992 Conference on

Environment and Development. We want to see the Conference fashion a realistic action plan to set the U.N.'s course in the coming decades.

Another area in which the U.N. is actively promoting peaceful change is in facilitation of free and fair elections. U.N. assistance in Namibia and Nicaragua was dramatically successful, and there are many other situations where the U.N.'s services are being requested. Our two countries will work with other U.N. members and the Secretary General to structure a U.N. electoral assistance process to enable the organization, at the request of countries concerned, to carry out effectively this important new effort.

PROMOTING A UNITARY U.N. AND ASSURING NEEDED FINANCIAL RESOURCES

An important area of our bilateral and multilateral cooperation has been the administration and management of the United Nations, particularly its budget. As major contributors to the United Nations, we believe it is essential that all views on the budget are taken into account, and that the agreement of all major contributors is required in order to improve the budget.

For there to be consensus, the U.N. system must improve the settings of priorities and improve coordination among various U.N. programs. The aim should be to eliminate duplicative programs and activities and ensure that the various components of the United Nations are utilized in the most efficient manner possible. For priority setting and coordination to be effective, members will need clearer and more comprehensive data on what the U.N. and the specialized agencies are doing with assessed and voluntary contributions.

Our two countries provide an important element of U.N. resources. As such, we recognize our responsibility to pay assessments promptly so that the United Nations has the resources required to perform the tasks as expeditiously as possible, keeping in mind the necessity of strengthening the administrative and budgetary reforms that have taken place in recent years.

We intend to work for further enhancing the efficiency of the executive machinery of the organization.

ESTABLISH A NEW SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE

The challenges before the international community and the U.N. are great. So, too, are the opportunities for more and better multilateral cooperation to confront and master the problem of our time.

In all spheres of U.N. activities the renunciation of sterile

and rigid positions dictated by ideology rather than by practicality constitutes an essential prerequisite for creating an atmosphere of confidence within the United Nations among all United Nations members.

The United Nations can play a leading role on issues of global concern. We will actively support efforts throughout the U.N. system; to implement and strengthen the principles and the system of international peace, security and international cooperation laid down in the Charter.

(end text)

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כבב
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אל: נציגויות

שחרור עצירים מכלא אל-ח'יאם.

1. ביום שני ה-1 באוקטובר שעה 12:00 לפי שעון לבנון (11:00 לפנה"צ לפי שעון ישראל) שיחרר הגנרל לחד 40 עצורים מכלא אל-ח'יאם, רובם בני העדה השיעית. השחרור באמצעות ה'צלב האדום הלבנוני'.
 2. השחרור בוצע ע"י הגנרל לחד כצעד הומניטרי חד צדדי שבא כהענות לבקשות האוכלוסייה ב'אזור הכטחון' וכמחווה שלו לתושבי דרום לבנון. הגנרל לחד מביע את תקוותו כי השחרור יסייע לפתרון בעיית השבויים ובני הערובה הלבנון.
 3. אם תתנקשו ע"י גורמים דיפלומטיים או ע"י עתונאים להגיב על הפרסומים שמקורם ב'אזור הכטחון' השיבו נא שישראל מברכת על צעדו זה של הגנרל ומצטרפת לתקוותו שהשחרור יקדם פתרון בעיית השבויים והנעדרים הישראליים ובני הערובה המערביים.
 4. אם תשאלו אם מהלך זה הינו חלק מעיסקה כלשהי הנרקמת בין גורמים שונים (ישראל, איראן, ארה"ב וכו') - השיבו נא בשלילה והדגישו כי המדובר בצעד הומניטרי חד צדדי של הגנרל לחד.
2. להלן תגובת הבית הלבן בנושא

WE WELCOME THE RELEASE OF THE 40 SHIITE MUSLIM PRISONERS IN LEBANON. IT IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR POSITION THAT, FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS, ALL PERSONS BEING DETAINED WITHOUT LEGAL BASIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST SHOULD BE RELEASED IMMEDIATELY. OUR PARTICULAR CONCERN IS QUITE NATURALLY THE AMERICANS BEING HELD HOSTAGE IN LEBANON, AND WE CALL UPON ALL PARTIES TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO EFFECT THEIR IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE. AS PRESIDENT BUSH HAS INDICATED, THE RELEASE OF AMERICAN HOSTAGES WOULD HELP IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTING TO THAT RELEASE.

עד כאן

הסברה/מידע

תפוצה: שהח, טשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל, אוקיאניה,
מצרים, מצפא, אסיה, מאפ, אמלט, מזתים, מזאר,

BAKER SAYS U.S. SATISFIED WITH ISRAELI ASSURANCES

(400-million-dollar loan guarantee cleared)

By Russell Dybvik

USIA Diplomatic Correspondent

New York -- Under an agreement worked out privately by Secretary of State Baker and Israeli Foreign Minister David Levy, the United States is now prepared to extend a 400-million-dollar housing loan guarantee to Israel, Baker told a New York news conference late October 2.

Congress approved funding for the program earlier this year, but its implementation has been held up by the Bush administration pending receipt of Israeli assurances that the money will not be used to fund the settlement of new immigrants to Israel in occupied territories.

"Minister Levy and I have arrived at an understanding which satisfies the concerns that we have had with respect to that particular issue," Baker told a questioner. "The government of Israel will be providing us with certain assurances having to do primarily with settlement activity," he said.

While Baker did not provide details of when or how he and Levy worked out the agreement, they had an extended discussion of the issue during a 90-minute meeting September 26 at Baker's hotel here in New York. Afterwards, a senior U.S. official told reporters that while they did not resolve the issue, there was "a better understanding between the two" and they wanted "to try to settle this as quickly as possible."

At his news conference, the secretary offered the following "general summary" of what the two governments have agreed upon.

First, the Israeli government will formally confirm a recent statement by Minister of Housing Sharon that "it is the policy of Israel that immigrants will not be settled beyond the Green Line," Baker said. The Green Line is the demarcation between Israel and the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

Israel will also furnish the United States with information "regarding financing of settlements and settlement activity generally," Baker said.

"There will be a recognition that there are no special incentives to encourage people to settle outside the Green Line and that none are planned," the secretary added.

"And there will be the usual and traditional assurances that have been given to the United States in its other assistance programs to the end generally that the funding will not be used in the territories," Baker told reporters.

"Our concerns are satisfied by these assurances," the secretary said. While he acknowledged there is "a major difference of opinion" between the United States and Israel on the question of settlements, Baker emphasized "these assurances were not designed solely with the thought in mind that they would restrict the development of settlements, but rather that they would not, as a consequence of our providing 400 million dollars in housing loan guarantees, lead to an increase in settlement activity."

Baker rejected one questioner's suggestion the U.S. acceptance of the assurances gives Israel a "green light" to create new settlements, pointing out that they "go considerably beyond the traditional assurances" that Israel has provided the U.S. with respect to the use of American aid in the territories.

Asked if the assurances apply to East Jerusalem, Baker replied: "Look carefully at what I said in answer to the question and you'll be able to draw your own conclusion."

The secretary was also asked about recurring reports that an Iraqi military strike against Israel would prompt a swift U.S. military response.

"I would hope that there would be international outrage at another instance of unprovoked aggression by Saddam Hussein," Baker said. "The commitment of the United States to Israel's security is unshakeable, and there should be no question about it."

"If anything like that were to happen," the secretary continued, "I think that there would certainly be an appropriate response by the United States."

He cautioned reporters not to "deduce anything beyond what I've said," adding his words "were chosen carefully."

NNNN

U.S., Israel agree on housing loan guarantee

By JIM ANDERSON

UNITED NATIONS (UPI) — The United States has agreed to provide Israel with \$400 million in housing loan guarantees for Soviet emigres on the condition that the housing is not sited in the occupied territories, Secretary of State James Baker said Tuesday.

Baker said at a newsconference that the United States received assurances that the housing would not be located beyond the "green line," Israeli-recognized lands occupied from Jordan during the 1967 war.

As described by Baker, those assurances mean that the money would not be spent in East Jerusalem or in the West Bank and Gaza. Baker said the Israelis would monitor the agreement and report to the United States.

In addition, Baker said, the Israelis guaranteed that they would provide "no special incentives" to induce recent Soviet emigres to settle in the occupied territories.

The idea that Israel would displace Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories alarmed some Arab countries. There are about 120,000 Soviets emigrating to Israel each year.

U.S. officials said the assurances given to Baker are the strongest limitations that the Israelis have ever given to the United States, limiting their right to build new civilian settlements in occupied territories.

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אל:רהמש/175

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בלמס/מידי

אל: הסברה, מעת, מצפא

דע: ציר הסברה - ווש'

מאת: הסברה-עתונות ני

להלן סיכום פגישת שר החוץ דוד לוי עם עיתונאים ישראלים עם תום ביקורו
בעצרת האו"ם 2.10.90

בפגישה שנערכה היום בין שר החוץ לכתבים ישראלים, דיבר השר על הסיכום
שנעשה עם הממשל האמריקאי בנוגע לערבויות אותן תקבל ישראל עבור קליטת
העולים. עפ"י ההסכם תקבל ישראל ערבויות אמריקאיות למטרות שיכון ובינוי
לעולים מבריה"מ בסך 400 מיליון דולר. השר לוי אמר שהיו דברים עליהם
יכולנו להתחייב ויש דברים, שנאמרו גם לבייקר, שעליהם איננו יכולים
להתחייב. כאשר להתחייבות שלא ליישב עולים חדשים ביהודה שומרון ובחבל עזה
כמדיניות ממשלה מכוונת, אמר השר, כי כל יהודי רשאי להתישב בכל מקום בו
ירצה והממשלה לא תאסור או תעמוד למכשול בפני יהודים הרוצים לעשות כן,
אולם כאשר להכוונה ומתן תמריצים מיוחדים, ליישוב העולים במקומות אלו,
הרי שאין מדיניות כזו.

במסגרת הדיונים, הועלתה דרישה אמריקאית לקבל פירוט מראש על ההשקעות
באיו"ש. השר לוי בהתייחסו לנושא, העלה את ההסתייגויות כפי שהועברו
לאמריקאים, היינו, אין בישראל תקציבים אזוריים והעובדה שגרה באזורים
אלו אוכלוסיה ישראלית הזכאית לתקציבים. עם כניסת ההסכם לתוקף, תעביר
ישראל לארה"ב מידע (לא דיווח) על הדרך בה נעשה שימוש בכספים, וזאת כחלק
ממערכת החלפת מידע בין ידידים, כך תאר זאת השר. השר לוי התייחס בדבריו
למאמץ הכן אותו עשו שני הצדדים בכדי להגיע להסכם.

בעקבות שאלה, לגבי הזיקה בין פתרון הסכסוך במפרץ ופתרון הסכסוך
הישראלי-ערבי בעקבות נאומו של נשיא ארה"ב באו"ם (הערכה שעלתה במספר
עיתונים), אמר שר החוץ, שאין שום קשר בין השניים וזה גם מה שנאמר לו
חותיו. כמוכן שעם סיום המשבר במפרץ, ברור שאזורנו ימשיך לעניין
ולהעסיק את העולם כולו. אי לכך יש לחפש את הדרך, הכיוון הנכון ולגבש
הבנות. השר לוי המשיך ואמר שבנושא זה של תהליך השלום יש לחשוב בצורה
חדשה ורעננה (כדברי שה"ח הסוביטי בפגישתו עם השר) כמו כן העלה השר
רעיונות חדשים שהתקבלו, ובניהם:

א. פעולה להפסקת הלוחמה
ב. להשתמש ברעיון האירופי והאמריקאי ליצירת בסיס של פיתוח כלכלי כגשר
להבנה בין מדינות בדרך לשלום. בהמשך דבריו אמר השר שהוכח שדרך כפייה על
ישראל לא מובילה לשום מקום.

השר לוי דיבר עוד על שיחותיו עם שרי החוץ של קנדה (דיבר בחום על ישראל)
ושל מצריים (אחרי המפרץ נמשיך לקידום תהליך השלום).

לסיכום ביקורו, אמר שר החוץ, שהיה שותף לארוע בינ"ל, עם רכוז עצום של
גורמים ונושאים. השר חש שניצל כר פעילות נרחב זה לישראל, בצורה
המכסימאלית, הן במפגשים, חיזוק קשרים ויחסים, העלאת רעיונות, קידום
נושאים משותפים, שיפור האווירה והיחסים עם שרי חוץ רבים. זו היתה
הזדמנות פז לאמר את דברי ישראל ברבים, באווירה מסייעת לישראל, הדברים
הועברו בצורה תקיפה בנושא הביטחוני ובצורה עדינה מנחינת כמיהתה של ישראל

לשלום.
 השר צ'יין שהוא חוזר בהרגשה טובה, עם סיפוק. ימשך טיפוח הקשרים עם שרי
 חוץ וזאת גם על דעתם, על מנת ליצור קשר ישיר ואמיץ.
 השר הביע את תודתו והערכתו לשיתוף הפעולה לו זכה מצוותי המשלחת לאו'ם
 והקונסוליה ומהעומדים בראשן - השגריר כ'יין והקונכל סביר, שתרמו כולם מעל
 ומעבר להצלחת הביקור. סיים בדברי תודה ופרידה חמים לשגריר משה ארד.

הסברה / עתונות.

תפוצה: שהח, טשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל,
 ממד, @ (רס), אמן, מעת, הסברה, @ (קלוורי),
 לעמ, דוצ-ים, @ (דוצ), צנזורצבאי, מצפא,
 @ (מתאמסטחים), מזאר

סססס



official text

October 2, 1990

U.N. RESPONSE TO IRAQI AGGRESSION "WITHOUT PRECEDENT"
(Text: Bush U.N.G.A. remarks 10/1/90)

United Nations -- President Bush says that with the passage of eight major resolutions concerning the Persian Gulf, "the U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent."

Everyone hopes that military forces dispatched to the gulf to enforce U.N. sanctions against Iraq and to defend Saudi Arabia, will never have to be used and can "be brought home as soon as the mission is accomplished." The United States seeks a "peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome" in the gulf, the president told the United Nations General Assembly October 1. "But, the world's key task -- now, first and always -- must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded."

Bush said today there is a "real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security." Critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations, he said, has been the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. "The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the



promise of mutually shared understanding," he said.

On other points, Bush said:

-- "We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples."

-- "We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking and on refugee and peacekeeping efforts around the world."

-- "Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes...and the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally."

-- "The U.S. supports the use of sanctions to compel Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of medicine, and of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. Our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq. We do not wish for them to suffer. The world's quarrel is with the dictator who ordered the invasion."

Following is the text of the president's remarks, as prepared for delivery:

(BEGIN TEXT)

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic session of the General Assembly.

Forty-five years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day.

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit can't be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life of purpose -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed.

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding.

The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has to come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union has taken many dramatic and important steps to participate fully in the community of nations.

When the Soviet Union agreed with so many of us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt that we had indeed put four decades of history behind us.

We are hopeful that the machinery of the United Nations will no longer be frozen by the divisions that plagued us during the Cold War. That, at long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls.

That, at long last, we will be able to build a new world based on an event for which we have all hoped -- an end to the cold war.

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century. Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August.

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, and the United Nations. Iraq's leaders should listen: It is Iraq against the world. Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The U.S. supports the use of sanctions to compel Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of medicine, and of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. Our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq. We do not wish for them to suffer. The world's quarrel is with the dictator who ordered the invasion.

Along with others, we have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government. The American people -- and this president -- want every single American soldier brought home as soon as the mission is completed.

Let me also emphasize that all of us here at the United Nations hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: For Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. But, the world's key task -- now, first and always -- must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all nations with chemical weapons capabilities sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order, and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations.

The year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium.

And ten years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind.

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in

hometown or homeland but in humanity itself.

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics:

Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence.

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas -- North, Central and South -- can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free."

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail. I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in International cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are ten more years until the century is out. Ten more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us. Ten more years to help launch a new partnership of nations. And throughout those ten years -- and beginning now -- the United Nations has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful United Nations. And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.

Now is the time to set aside old debates, old procedures, old controversies, and old resolutions. It's time to replace polemic attacks with pragmatic action.

We have shown that the United Nations can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the United Nations can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the United Nations is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking,

and on refugee and peacekeeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. These calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the U.N. Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a special coordinator for electoral assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. electoral commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all states is central to the future of this organization, and to the new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean Peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished secretary general, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the United Nations.

The United States is committed to playing its part, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less.

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this Hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations --but as the nations of the world united.

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations.

The United Nations is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

(END TEXT)

WNXE203 10/02/90

QUANDT: IRAQ CAN WITHDRAW OR FACE MILITARY ACTION

(Transcript: Quandt Telepress Conf. 10/1/90) (3230)

Washington -- Dr. William Quandt, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, says that time is running out for a peaceful resolution to the gulf crisis unless Iraq accepts the United Nations demand to free Kuwait.

"I think there probably is some time before a decision needs to be made on the use of military force -- maybe one or two more months -- to see if the pressures of the embargo, the diplomatic isolation and the growing possibility of military action can bring about a change in Iraqi policy," Quandt said in a USIA-sponsored Telepress Conference with interlocutors in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, October 1.

"But if Saddam Hussein does not change his position and accept the fundamental principle of Kuwaiti independence," he said, "then I think there will be military action, and he will be forced to give up Kuwait, and he will be defeated."

Quandt, a former member of the U.S. National Security Council and a recent president of the Middle East Studies Association, has written numerous books on the Middle East.

Following is a transcript of the discussion:

(BEGIN TRANSCRIPT)

MR. IBRAHAM: Dr. Quandt, on behalf of the group of journalists, I would like to welcome you on this dialogue and thank you for giving us this part of your valuable time. I wonder whether you are interested in giving an opening statement.

DR. QUANDT: Well, I don't have any special remarks to make except to perhaps say that what is happening in your part of the world is of great importance to all Americans. We read about the events there with a great deal of concern. We hope that a solution to the crisis can be found in the very near future.

MR. al-JOHARI: Good evening from Saudi Arabia. I am Hamed al-Johari (phonetic) from Okaz newspaper. I would like to inquire about the opinions of Americans and opinions of American politicians as to what would constitute the idea of solution to the crisis in the Middle East, in their opinion.

DR. QUANDT: I think you're talking about the Iraq-Kuwait crisis not the overall Middle East crisis. Did I catch that in the question?

MR. al-JOHARI: The crisis between Iraq and Kuwait and the idea of solution for getting out of this crisis peacefully.

DR. QUANDT: I think that the resolutions of the United Nations spell out the basic principles that need to be respected. First, Iraq has to agree to withdraw its military forces from Kuwait and to allow Kuwait to be reconstituted as a normal state with its own legitimate government. I don't think that there's any bargaining or negotiation over that principle. Secondly, the hostages that are being held in Iraq would have to be released without any further conditions.

Third, Iraq has to agree to abide by the principle in the United Nations charter of not resorting to force to settle its disputes with its neighbors. That means that there has to be some removal of the threat of force from Iraq's foreign policy.

Those are the basic principles. Exactly how they might be implemented and what security arrangements might be agreed upon, once those principles have been accepted by Iraq, it could be negotiated. I think it's important to understand that from the American point of view, there really isn't any flexibility with respect to those three principles.

MR. ALOZOD: Good morning. This is Ahmed Alozod (phonetic) from Al-Yaum (phonetic) daily newspaper.

In your opinion, Dr. Quandt, is there still hope or is there still a possibility for diplomatic solution to this crisis or diplomatic solution still possible in view of the economic sanctions and now the newly imposed air embargo? Are there any other diplomatic solutions in the offing despite the fact that Iraq is still refusing to withdraw from Kuwait?

DR. QUANDT: It's very difficult to be optimistic about a nonmilitary resolution of the crisis, because until now Iraq has refused to accept the basic principles that Kuwait has a right to be an independent country. Therefore, I think we are seeing more talk of the possibility of military action by the United States and its partners to force Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

But I think there probably is some time before the decision needs to be made on the use of military force, maybe one or two more months, to see if the pressures of the embargo, the diplomatic isolation and the growing possibility of military action can bring about a change in Iraqi policy.

If Saddam Hussein does not change his position and accept the fundamental principle of Kuwait independence, then I think there will be military action and he will be forced to give up Kuwait and he will be defeated.

(Technical difficulties in telephone connection.)

QUESTION: I am from Arab News. I have a question. How would you explain the (inaudible) Yemen, Jordan and Sudan? In the (inaudible) controversy, how would you foresee the future Arab (inaudible) relations, Arab-Israeli conflict and Arab international relations? Thank you.

DR. QUANDT: I'm not sure I can give you any in-depth explanation of the positions of either Yemen or Sudan. I think Jordan is the country I perhaps have some better understanding of. There I think the situation is fairly -- clearly, the position of Jordan reflects a public sentiment that has favored Iraq, in large measure because Iraq has managed to make a linkage between the Gulf crisis and the Palestinian issue.

I think the linkage is artificial and unrealistic, but it has had an effect on the Palestinians who feel very desperate and feel very abandoned by the international community. So I think Jordan reflects a very special political climate. I feel sympathetic with the Palestinians who resent the fact that their problem with Israel is ignored while the world pays so much attention to the Gulf crisis.

I think Yemen has more to do with special historical issues between Yemen and Saudi Arabia and Sudan, I think, is just a question of Iraqi money changing hands, nothing more to it.

But the broader question of interrelations is very important. I think we have to expect for a long time now that the relations among Arab states are going to be deeply strained; that there will not be an Arab consensus on the Gulf or on any other major issue for some time in the future. But I think that it's not the first time that the Arab World has been divided over an important issue.

So it doesn't cause me a great deal of concern. I think that the Arab World, like any other part of the world, has its moments of differences and its moments of greater agreement. This is a moment of deep division.

May I just complete the answer on the Arab-Israeli conflict, please? When this present crisis is over, and I hope that is soon, I think there is a chance -- I repeat, just a chance, a possibility -- that the United States and its European allies

and the Soviet Union and a number of key middle eastern countries will consider the possibility of a Middle East peace conference that will address several issues.

One of them will be the Arab-Israeli conflict. Clearly, we need to get serious about bringing that conflict to an end and through negotiations.

The second issue that would need to be addressed by the same parties would be a control of weapons of mass destructions, the missiles, nuclear weapons, chemical weapons.

A third topic for very serious consideration would be the economic development of the region using the resources of the region to promote greater economic stability.

Finally, and perhaps most difficult, would be to begin to introduce the theme of greater respect for human rights in the region, such as the Conference on peace and security in Europe tried to develop a standard of human rights for the countries of Europe.

I think the time is coming when the Middle East should also recognize that there are certain minimal standards of human rights that must be respected if the countries are going to partake in the international order that is evolving in the aftermath of the Cold War.

So I think there is a lot to be done after this crisis, both to bring an Arab-Israeli peace, in arms control and economic development, and a greater respect for human rights in the Middle East. It's a very big agenda, but this crisis should remind us that it's an essential agenda. If we don't address those topics, we'll have another crisis of this sort some time in the future.

QUESTION: Dr. Quandt, I would like to follow up on some of the things you said in your comments about the Arab-Israeli conflict. Can it be said, sir, that there is some kind of a relationship between what is happening in the Gulf now and the Arab-Israeli conflict? Do you think that Israel is taking advantage of the conflict and using that opportunity to bring in more Soviet Jews to settle into Israel?

Is it also taking advantage of the crisis in the Gulf to practice more repressive measures against the intifada in the occupied territories? Is it also taking advantage of the crisis to implement its plan or its transfer conspiracy of expatriating the Palestinians from Palestine and occupied territories?

DR. QUANDT: Of course, Israel is hoping that it can benefit from the crisis in pursuing some of its well-known objectives.

That is no surprise. Two of the three points mentioned by the questioner I would agree with. Certainly, Israel is trying to bring in as many Soviet Jewish immigrants as possible during this period. In fact, more than 100,000 have now arrived during this year alone.

Of course, yesterday Soviet-Israeli relations were raised to a higher level. So, yes, I would say Israel is trying to accelerate the process of bringing in Soviet Jews. That will continue with or without this crisis. But because of the crisis, no one is perhaps trying to do very much about that issue.

The second point of whether the Israelis are being more repressive in the occupied territories, it's hard to say that they are being any more repressive. The number of people being killed, for example, has gone down. But the number of houses demolished recently has gone up.

I would say that basically it's more of the same. The Israelis are quite determined to try to bring the intifada to an end. They will use whatever measures they think necessary. Again, it is, I think, true that the main difference is that the rest of the world simply isn't taking much notice of what Israel does these days. But they haven't fundamentally changed their strategy. They were quite tough before and they're quite tough now.

On the last point of the transfer plan, I honestly don't see any evidence that that is being implemented now. In fact, somewhat surprisingly, I would say that the debate in the Likud Party about whether the Palestinian issue should be solved in Jordan, so-called Jordan, Palestine idea, has dropped from public discussion. In fact, Prime Minister Shamir has made a number of statements saying that Jordan stability is very important to Israel and that there is no interest in seeing Jordan being stabilized and have the Palestinians come to power in Jordan.

So I don't think that the third point is a serious one now, but the first two certainly are. They have the effect, of course, of making the long-run solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict much more difficult.

QUESTION: Good afternoon, Dr. Quandt. You were saying at the moment a political solution to the current crisis is remote and that a military option could only be the solution to the problem.

Whatever the outcome of that military option against Saddam Hussein, would you favor or recommend American military presence in Saudi Arabia and in the Gulf? Or, better still, do you recommend or foresee the formation of a sort of NATO-like occupation or military occupation in the region?

DR. QUANDT: I would hope that when the crisis is over, that the security of the region could be protected with the following elements. First, in Kuwait, I think there should be some kind of a peace-keeping force, probably under U.N., United Nations, auspices and with a component of forces from Arab countries. That I think would help deter a future Iraqi threat to Kuwait.

Second, in Saudi Arabia itself, I hope that most of the American military forces will eventually leave. That, of course, depends to some extent on the conditions that exist after the crisis is over. But I would think that Saudi security could be best protected by some increase in military assistance to Saudi Arabia, some presence of advisors and technicians from the United States and other countries to ensure that the military equipment that is in Saudi Arabia is maintained and ready for use in the event that there is a future threat.

Then I would think that the American naval forces in the vicinity of the Gulf would also remain. But I personally do not favor a large-scale combat presence of American forces in Saudi Arabia after the crisis is over.

On the third point, I do not believe that a NATO-like organization is possible in the Middle East nor is it desirable. There is today an opposition to Iraqi aggression that unites a number of countries in the Gulf, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, along with others in the international community, including the United States.

That common interest will continue as long as Iraq continues to be a threat. But I don't think that's a solid enough basis for creating anything as formal as an alliance. I would use the word "coalition" instead. There will be some common interest when the crisis is over in making sure that Iraq does not emerge again as a country that can threaten its neighbors. But that's different from talking about a fully institutionalized alliance such as NATO. That I don't expect nor do I think it's necessary.

MR. ABAS: Dr. Quandt, I am Mr. Abas (phonetic) representing the Shark al Awsat (phonetic) newspaper and Al Majala (phonetic) magazine.

I have just returned from the front lines in Saudi Arabia. From what I have seen there, the situation strongly suggests the availability of a military solution. I want to ask your opinion about that military solution.

Do you think it will remain limited to the liberation of Kuwait or will it extend beyond (audio difficulties) of Kuwait as some experts have suggested in some of their analyses and

predictions to extend to perhaps drawing a new map for the Gulf area or specifically redrawing the border lines for Jordan?

Can you give me a clear explanation of Syria's position and the fact that it abandoned what has been traditionally known as Arab radicalism and specifically the position taken traditionally by Libya, Algeria and Yemen?

Second, Dr. Quandt, I would like to ask you your opinion about what has been the reaction and the opinion of mainstream Americans to the statement that was made by Saddam Hussein which lasted seventy-six minutes?

Also, I want to ask you, number three, whether you think the Arabs will continue to agree to maintain their common interests after the end of Saddam Hussein's regime?

DR. QUANDT: Well, it's, of course, very difficult to predict what the military option would look like. At a minimum, it will have as an objective forcing Iraqi troops out of Kuwait. To do that, presumably some military targets within at least southern Iraq would also be involved.

But I don't think at this point the American planners are thinking in such grand terms as to try to redraw a map of the Middle East. Certainly, we would be very concerned if the current Gulf crisis were to turn into an Arab-Israeli war, for example.

People have talked about this possibility of Iraq moving its forces to Jordan and thereby changing the nature of the conflict. That would be strongly resisted from an American standpoint. We don't want to see Jordan caught up in this conflict if it becomes a military conflict.

So there's a strong preference for keeping the focus on the situation in Kuwait and to dealing with the military option in terms that would not, in the end, fundamentally redraw the map of the Middle East. Although, we would, of course, hope to reduce Iraq's military power if military conflict results.

Just briefly on the point about Syria. It seems to me that the most obvious explanation for Syria's position is the very deep and intense rivalry that exists between the Syrian and Iraqi regimes. This is an opportunity for Syria to help weaken its main rival in the region. In that sense, the ideology is much less important than the interest of the regime.

On the question of Saddam Hussein's long speech to the American public, I can tell you, quite frankly, that very few people

here paid any attention to it. There was no strong reaction of any sort because most people simply saw it as nothing more than propaganda and, therefore, paid very little attention to it.

Finally, on the question of whether the group of Arabs that oppose Saddam Hussein will continue to cooperate when the crisis is over --

(End of side one of tape.)

DR. QUANDT: I'm afraid I only have a little bit more time now.

QUESTION: I would like you to answer this question. What would you think of the initiative put forward by the French president addressing the United Nations General Assembly? What do you think of the Iraqi response to that and the American wants to?

DR. QUANDT: Well, I think there is some element of interest in what President Mitterrand talked about in the sense that he took the position of strongly condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, but at the same time held out the future prospect of a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and tried, I guess, to link the two crisis by saying that if the Iraqis were to withdraw at a later date, there would be a Middle East peace conference and then Saddam Hussein could even, in a sense, be given credit for helping to set the stage for a broader Middle East peace settlement.

I don't expect the United States to state its position in exactly the same way. But I do think there is some understanding here and in the Soviet Union and among the Europeans and certainly among the Arabs that when the Gulf crisis is over, we simply must turn our attention to the negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

So maybe there is something that could be explored. Perhaps the Iraqis are trying to signal a certain interest in this by the way they are now treating the French hostages. But I think we need to see a much more explicit Iraqi acceptance of the basic principle of unconditional withdrawal before there will be much more interest in developing the idea of a Middle East peace conference for the Arab-Israeli conflict.

(END TRANSCRIPT)

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official text

October 2, 1990

U.N. RESPONSE TO IRAQI AGGRESSION "WITHOUT PRECEDENT"
(Text: Bush U.N.G.A. remarks 10/1/90)

United Nations -- President Bush says that with the passage of eight major resolutions concerning the Persian Gulf, "the U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent."

Everyone hopes that military forces dispatched to the gulf to enforce U.N. sanctions against Iraq and to defend Saudi Arabia, will never have to be used and can "be brought home as soon as the mission is accomplished." The United States seeks a "peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome" in the gulf, the president told the United Nations General Assembly October 1. "But, the world's key task -- now, first and always -- must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded."

Bush said today there is a "real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security." Critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations, he said, has been the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. "The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the



promise of mutually shared understanding," he said.

On other points, Bush said:

-- "We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples."

-- "We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking and on refugee and peacekeeping efforts around the world."

-- "Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes...and the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally."

-- " The U.S. supports the use of sanctions to compel Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of medicine, and of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. Our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq. We do not wish for them to suffer. The world's quarrel is with the dictator who ordered the invasion."

Following is the text of the president's remarks, as prepared for delivery:

(BEGIN TEXT)

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks a new and historic session of the General Assembly.

Forty-five years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its brightest day.

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've seen a century sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give way to a new era of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit can't be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much the same things: The chance to live a life of purpose -- the chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work of their hands, their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power to succeed.

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was designed -- as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the emergence of a stronger United Nations. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding.

The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has to come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union has taken many dramatic and important steps to participate fully in the community of nations.

When the Soviet Union agreed with so many of us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt that we had indeed put four decades of history behind us.

We are hopeful that the machinery of the United Nations will no longer be frozen by the divisions that plagued us during the Cold War. That, at long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls.

That, at long last, we will be able to build a new world based on an event for which we have all hoped -- an end to the cold war.

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century. Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August.

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, and the United Nations. Iraq's leaders should listen: It is Iraq against the world. Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The U.S. supports the use of sanctions to compel Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of medicine, and of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. Our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq. We do not wish for them to suffer. The world's quarrel is with the dictator who ordered the invasion.

Along with others, we have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government. The American people -- and this president -- want every single American soldier brought home as soon as the mission is completed.

Let me also emphasize that all of us here at the United Nations hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: For Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently; for the states of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the states and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. But, the world's key task -- now, first and always -- must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all nations with chemical weapons capabilities sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the United States and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order, and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace and reduce arms.

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations.

The year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium.

And ten years from now, as the 55th Session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind.

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in

hometown or homeland but in humanity itself.

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics:

Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence.

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas -- North, Central and South -- can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free."

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail. I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in International cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are ten more years until the century is out. Ten more years to put the struggles of the 20th century permanently behind us. Ten more years to help launch a new partnership of nations. And throughout those ten years -- and beginning now -- the United Nations has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful United Nations. And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.

Now is the time to set aside old debates, old procedures, old controversies, and old resolutions. It's time to replace polemic attacks with pragmatic action.

We have shown that the United Nations can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the United Nations can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the United Nations is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking,

and on refugee and peacekeeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. These calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the U.N. Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a special coordinator for electoral assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. electoral commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all states is central to the future of this organization, and to the new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean Peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished secretary general, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the United Nations.

The United States is committed to playing its part, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less.

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this Hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations --but as the nations of the world united.

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations.

The United Nations is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

(END TEXT)

KNXE203 10/02/90

QUANDT: IRAQ CAN WITHDRAW OR FACE MILITARY ACTION

(Transcript: Quandt Telepress Conf. 10/1/90) (3230)

Washington -- Dr. William Quandt, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, says that time is running out for a peaceful resolution to the gulf crisis unless Iraq accepts the United Nations demand to free Kuwait.

"I think there probably is some time before a decision needs to be made on the use of military force -- maybe one or two more months -- to see if the pressures of the embargo, the diplomatic isolation and the growing possibility of military action can bring about a change in Iraqi policy," Quandt said in a USIA-sponsored Telepress Conference with interlocutors in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, October 1.

"But if Saddam Hussein does not change his position and accept the fundamental principle of Kuwait's independence," he said, "then I think there will be military action, and he will be forced to give up Kuwait, and he will be defeated."

Quandt, a former member of the U.S. National Security Council and a recent president of the Middle East Studies Association, has written numerous books on the Middle East.

Following is a transcript of the discussion:

(BEGIN TRANSCRIPT)

MR. IBRAHAM: Dr. Quandt, on behalf of the group of journalists, I would like to welcome you on this dialogue and thank you for giving us this part of your valuable time. I wonder whether you are interested in giving an opening statement.

DR. QUANDT: Well, I don't have any special remarks to make except to perhaps say that what is happening in your part of the world is of great importance to all Americans. We read about the events there with a great deal of concern. We hope that a solution to the crisis can be found in the very near future.

MR. al-JOHARI: Good evening from Saudi Arabia. I am Hammed al-Johari (phonetic) from Okaz newspaper. I would like to inquire about the opinions of Americans and opinions of American politicians as to what would constitute the idea of solution to the crisis in the Middle East, in their opinion.

DR. QUANDT: I think you're talking about the Iraq-Kuwait crisis not the overall Middle East crisis. Did I catch that in the question?

MR. al-JOHARI: The crisis between Iraq and Kuwait and the idea of solution for getting out of this crisis peacefully.

DR. QUANDT: I think that the resolutions of the United Nations spell out the basic principles that need to be respected. First, Iraq has to agree to withdraw its military forces from Kuwait and to allow Kuwait to be reconstituted as a normal state with its own legitimate government. I don't think that there's any bargaining or negotiation over that principle. Secondly, the hostages that are being held in Iraq would have to be released without any further conditions.

Third, Iraq has to agree to abide by the principle in the United Nations charter of not resorting to force to settle its disputes with its neighbors. That means that there has to be some removal of the threat of force from Iraq's foreign policy.

Those are the basic principles. Exactly how they might be implemented and what security arrangements might be agreed upon, once those principles have been accepted by Iraq, it could be negotiated. I think it's important to understand that from the American point of view, there really isn't any flexibility with respect to those three principles.

MR. ALOZOD: Good morning. This is Ahmed Alozod (phonetic) from Al-yawm (phonetic) daily newspaper.

In your opinion, Dr. Quandt, is there still hope or is there still a possibility for diplomatic solution to this crisis or diplomatic solution still possible in view of the economic sanctions and now the newly imposed air embargo? Are there any other diplomatic solutions in the offing despite the fact that Iraq is still refusing to withdraw from Kuwait?

DR. QUANDT: It's very difficult to be optimistic about a nonmilitary resolution of the crisis, because until now Iraq has refused to accept the basic principles that Kuwait has a right to be an independent country. Therefore, I think we are seeing more talk of the possibility of military action by the United States and its partners to force Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

But I think there probably is some time before the decision needs to be made on the use of military force, maybe one or two more months, to see if the pressures of the embargo, the diplomatic isolation and the growing possibility of military action can bring about a change in Iraqi policy.

If Saddam Hussein does not change his position and accept the fundamental principle of Kuwait independence, then I think there will be military action and he will be forced to give up Kuwait and he will be defeated.

(Technical difficulties in telephone connection.)

QUESTION: I am from Arab News. I have a question. How would you explain the (inaudible) Yemen; Jordan and Sudan? In the (inaudible) controversy, how would you foresee the future Arab (inaudible) relations; Arab-Israeli conflict and Arab international relations? Thank you.

DR. QUANDT: I'm not sure I can give you any in-depth explanation of the positions of either Yemen or Sudan. I think Jordan is the country I perhaps have some better understanding of. There I think the situation is fairly -- clearly, the position of Jordan reflects a public sentiment that has favored Iraq in large measure because of the linkage between the Gulf crisis and the Palestinian issue.

I think the linkage is artificial and unrealistic, but it has had an effect on the Palestinians who feel very desperate and feel very abandoned by the international community. So I think Jordan reflects a very special political climate. I feel sympathetic with the Palestinians who resent the fact that their problem with Israel is ignored while the world pays so much attention to the Gulf crisis.

I think Yemen has more to do with special historical issues between Yemen and Saudi Arabia and Sudan, I think, is just a question of Iraqi money changing hands, nothing more to it.

But the broader question of interrelations is very important. I think we have to expect for a long time now that the relations among Arab states are going to be deeply strained; that there will not be an Arab consensus on the Gulf or on any other major issue for some time in the future. But I think that it's not the first time that the Arab World has been divided over an important issue.

So it doesn't cause me a great deal of concern. I think that the Arab World, like any other part of the world, has its moments of differences and its moments of greater agreement. This is a moment of deep division.

May I just complete the answer on the Arab-Israeli conflict, please? When this present crisis is over, and I hope that is soon, I think there is a chance -- I repeat, just a chance, a possibility -- that the United States and its European allies

and the Soviet Union and a number of key middle eastern countries will consider the possibility of a Middle East peace conference that will address several issues.

One of them will be the Arab-Israeli conflict. Clearly, we need to get serious about bringing that conflict to an end and through negotiations.

The second issue that would need to be addressed by the same parties would be a control of weapons of mass destructions, the missiles, nuclear weapons, chemical weapons.

A third topic for very serious consideration would be the economic development of the region using the resources of the region to promote greater economic stability.

Finally, and perhaps most difficult, would be to begin to introduce the theme of greater respect for human rights in the region, such as the Conference on peace and security in Europe tried to develop a standard of human rights for the countries of Europe.

I think the time is coming when the Middle East should also recognize that there are certain minimal standards of human rights that must be respected if the countries are going to partake in the international order that is evolving in the aftermath of the Cold War.

So I think there is a lot to be done after this crisis, both to bring an Arab-Israeli peace, in arms control and economic development, and a greater respect for human rights in the Middle East. It's a very big agenda, but this crisis should remind us that it's an essential agenda. If we don't address those topics, we'll have another crisis of this sort some time in the future.

QUESTION: Dr. Quandt, I would like to follow up on some of the things you said in your comments about the Arab-Israeli conflict. Can it be said, sir, that there is some kind of a relationship between what is happening in the Gulf now and the Arab-Israeli conflict? Do you think that Israel is taking advantage of the conflict and using that opportunity to bring in more Soviet Jews to settle into Israel?

Is it also taking advantage of the crisis in the Gulf to practice more repressive measures against the intifada in the occupied territories? Is it also taking advantage of the crisis to implement its plan or its transfer conspiracy of expatriating the Palestinians from Palestine and occupied territories?

DR. QUANDT: Of course, Israel is hoping that it can benefit from the crisis in pursuing some of its well-known objectives.

That is no surprise. Two of the three points mentioned by the questioner I would agree with. Certainly, Israel is trying to bring in as many Soviet Jewish immigrants as possible during this period. In fact, more than 100,000 have now arrived during this year alone.

Of course, yesterday Soviet-Israeli relations were raised to a higher level. So, yes, I would say Israel is trying to accelerate the process of bringing in Soviet Jews. That will continue with or without this crisis. But because of the crisis, no one is perhaps trying to do very much about that issue.

The second point of whether the Israelis are being more repressive in the occupied territories, it's hard to say that they are being any more repressive. The number of people being killed, for example, has gone down. But the number of houses demolished recently has gone up.

I would say that basically it's more of the same. The Israelis are quite determined to try to bring the Intifada to an end. They will use whatever measures they think necessary. Again, it is, I think, true that the main difference is that the rest of the world simply isn't taking much notice of what Israel does these days. But they haven't fundamentally changed their strategy. They were quite tough before and they're quite tough now.

On the last point of the transfer plan, I honestly don't see any evidence that that is being implemented now. In fact, somewhat surprisingly, I would say that the debate in the Likud Party about whether the Palestinian issue should be solved in Jordan, so-called Jordan, Palestine idea, has dropped from public discussion. In fact, Prime Minister Shamir has made a number of statements saying that Jordan stability is very important to Israel and that there is no interest in seeing Jordan being stabilized and have the Palestinians come to power in Jordan.

So I don't think that the third point is a serious one now, but the first two certainly are. They have the effect, of course, of making the long-run solution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict much more difficult.

QUESTION: Good afternoon, Dr. Quandt. You were saying at the moment a political solution to the current crisis is remote and that a military option could only be the solution to the problem.

Whatever the outcome of that military option against Saddam Hussein, would you favor or recommend American military presence in Saudi Arabia and in the Gulf? Or, better still, do you recommend or foresee the formation of a sort of NATO-like occupation or military occupation in the region?

DR. QUANDT: I would hope that when the crisis is over, that the security of the region could be protected with the following elements. First, in Kuwait, I think there should be some kind of a peace-keeping force, probably under U.N., United Nations, auspices and with a component of forces from Arab countries. That I think would help deter a future Iraqi threat to Kuwait.

Second, in Saudi Arabia itself, I hope that most of the American military forces will eventually leave. That, of course, depends to some extent on the conditions that exist after the crisis is over. But I would think that Saudi security could be best protected by some increase in military assistance to Saudi Arabia, some presence of advisors and technicians from the United States and other countries to ensure that the military equipment that is in Saudi Arabia is maintained and ready for use in the event that there is a future threat.

Then I would think that the American naval forces in the vicinity of the Gulf would also remain. But I personally do not favor a large-scale combat presence of American forces in Saudi Arabia after the crisis is over.

On the third point, I do not believe that a NATO-like organization is possible in the Middle East nor is it desirable. There is today an opposition to Iraqi aggression that unites a number of countries in the Gulf, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, along with others in the international community, including the United States.

That common interest will continue as long as Iraq continues to be a threat. But I don't think that's a solid enough basis for creating anything as formal as an alliance. I would use the word "coalition" instead. There will be some common interest when the crisis is over in making sure that Iraq does not emerge again as a country that can threaten its neighbors. But that's different from talking about a fully institutionalized alliance such as NATO. That I don't expect nor do I think it's necessary.

MR. ABAS: Dr. Quandt, I am Mr. Abas (phonetic) representing the Shark al Awsat (phonetic) newspaper and Al Majala (phonetic) magazine.

I have just returned from the front lines in Saudi Arabia. From what I have seen there, the situation strongly suggests the availability of a military solution. I want to ask your opinion about that military solution.

Do you think it will remain limited to the liberation of Kuwait or will it extend beyond (audio difficulties) of Kuwait as some experts have suggested in some of their analyses and

predictions to extend to perhaps drawing a new map for the Gulf area or specifically redrawing the border lines for Jordan?

Can you give me a clear explanation of Syria's position and the fact that it abandoned what has been traditionally known as Arab radicalism and specifically the position taken traditionally by Libya, Algeria and Yemen?

Second, Dr. Quandt, I would like to ask you your opinion about what has been the reaction and the opinion of mainstream Americans to the statement that was made by Saddam Hussein which lasted seventy-six minutes?

Also, I want to ask you, number three, whether you think the Arabs will continue to agree to maintain their common interests after the end of Saddam Hussein's regime?

DR. QUANDT: Well, it's, of course, very difficult to predict what the military option would look like. At a minimum, it will have as an objective forcing Iraqi troops out of Kuwait. To do that, presumably some military targets within at least southern Iraq would also be involved.

But I don't think at this point the American planners are thinking in such grand terms as to try to redraw a map of the Middle East. Certainly, we would be very concerned if the current Gulf crisis were to turn into an Arab-Israeli war, for example.

People have talked about this possibility of Iraq moving its forces to Jordan and thereby changing the nature of the conflict. That would be strongly resisted from an American standpoint. We don't want to see Jordan caught up in this conflict if it becomes a military conflict.

So there's a strong preference for keeping the focus on the situation in Kuwait and to dealing with the military option in terms that would not, in the end, fundamentally redraw the map of the Middle East. Although, we would, of course, hope to reduce Iraq's military power if military conflict results.

Just briefly on the point about Syria. It seems to me that the most obvious explanation for Syria's position is the very deep and intense rivalry that exists between the Syrian and Iraqi regimes. This is an opportunity for Syria to help weaken its main rival in the region. In that sense, the ideology is much less important than the interest of the regime.

On the question of Saddam Hussein's long speech to the American public, I can tell you, quite frankly, that very few people

here paid any attention to it. There was no strong reaction of any sort because most people simply saw it as nothing more than propaganda and, therefore, paid very little attention to it.

Finally, on the question of whether the group of Arabs that oppose Saddam Hussein will continue to cooperate when the crisis is over --

(End of side one of tape.)

DR. QUANDT: I'm afraid I only have a little bit more time now.

QUESTION: I would like you to answer this question. What would you think of the initiative put forward by the French president addressing the United Nations General Assembly? What do you think of the Iraqi response to that and the American wants to?

DR. QUANDT: Well, I think there is some element of interest in what President Mitterrand talked about in the sense that he took the position of strongly condemning Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, but at the same time held out the future prospect of a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and tried, I guess, to link the two crisis by saying that if the Iraqis were to withdraw at a later date, there would be a Middle East peace conference and then Saddam Hussein could even, in a sense, be given credit for helping to set the stage for a broader Middle East peace settlement.

I don't expect the United States to state its position in exactly the same way. But I do think there is some understanding here and in the Soviet Union and among the Europeans and certainly among the Arabs that when the Gulf crisis is over, we simply must turn our attention to the negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

So maybe there is something that could be explored. Perhaps the Iraqis are trying to signal a certain interest in this by the way they are now treating the French hostages. But I think we need to see a much more explicit Iraqi acceptance of the basic principle of unconditional withdrawal before there will be much more interest in developing the idea of a Middle East peace conference for the Arab-Israeli conflict.

(END TRANSCRIPT)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(New York, New York)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 11:45 A.M. EDT
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

General Assembly Hall
United Nations Headquarters
New York, New York

October 1, 1990

Mr. President. Mr. Secretary General. Distinguished delegates
to the United Nations:

It is a great privilege to greet you today as we begin what marks
a new and historic session of the General Assembly.

Forty-five years ago, while the fires of an epic war still raged
across two oceans and two continents, a small group of men and
women began a search for hope amid the ruins. They gathered in
San Francisco, stepping back from the haze and the horror to try
to shape a new structure that might support an ancient dream.

Intensely idealistic, and yet tempered by war, they sought to
build a new kind of bridge, a bridge between nations, a bridge
that might help carry humankind from its darkest hour to its
brightest day.

The founding of the United Nations embodied our deepest hopes for
a peaceful world. And during the past year, we have come closer
than ever before to realizing those hopes. We've seen a century
sundered by barbed threats and barbed wire give way to a new era
of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

The Revolution of '89 swept the world almost with a life of its
own, carried by a new breeze of freedom that transformed the
political climate from Central Europe to Central America, and
touched almost every corner of the globe.

That breeze has been sustained by a now almost universal
recognition of a simple, fundamental truth: The human spirit
can't be locked up forever. The truth is, people everywhere are
motivated in much the same ways. And people everywhere want much
the same things: The chance to live a life of purpose -- the
chance to choose a life -- in which they and their children can
learn, grow healthy, worship freely, and prosper through the work
of their hands, their hearts and their minds.

We're not talking about the power of nations, but the power of
individuals. The power to choose, the power to risk, the power
to succeed.

This is a new and different world. Not since 1945 have we seen
the real possibility of using the United Nations as it was
designed -- as a center for international collective security.

The changes in the Soviet Union have been critical to the
emergence of a stronger U.N. The U.S.-Soviet relationship is
finally beyond containment and confrontation, and now we seek to
fulfill the promise of mutually shared understanding.

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The long twilight struggle that for 45 years has divided Europe, our two nations, and much of the world has to come to an end. Much has changed over the last two years. The Soviet Union has taken many dramatic and important steps to participate fully in the community of nations.

When the Soviet Union agreed with so many of us, here in the United Nations, to condemn the aggression of Iraq, there could be no doubt that we had indeed put four decades of history behind us.

We are hopeful that the machinery of the United Nations will no longer be frozen by the divisions that plagued us during the Cold War. That, at long last, we can build new bridges, and tear down old walls.

That, at long last, we will be able to build a new world based on an event for which we have all hoped -- an end to the Cold War.

Two days from now, the world will be watching when the Cold War is formally buried in Berlin. And in this time of testing, a fundamental question must be asked. A question not for any one nation -- but for the United Nations. And the question is this: Can we work together in a new partnership of nations? Can the collective strength of the world community, expressed by the United Nations, unite to deter and defeat aggression?

Because the Cold War's battle of ideas is not the last epic battle of this century. Two months ago, in the waning weeks of one of history's most hopeful summers, the vast, still beauty of the peaceful Kuwaiti desert was fouled by the stench of diesel and the roar of steel tanks. Once again the sound of distant thunder echoed across a cloudless sky. And once again the world awoke to face the guns of August.

But this time, the world was ready. The U.N. Security Council's resolute response to Iraq's unprovoked aggression has been without precedent. Since the invasion on August 2nd, the Council has passed eight major resolutions setting the terms for a solution of the crisis.

The Iraqi regime has yet to face the facts. But as I said last month: The annexation of Kuwait will not be permitted to stand. This is not simply the view of the United States. It is the view of every Kuwaiti, the Arab League, and the United Nations. Iraq's leaders should listen: It is Iraq against the world. Let me take this opportunity to make the policy of my government clear. The United States supports the use of sanctions to compel Iraq's leaders to withdraw immediately and without condition from Kuwait. We also support the provision of medicine, and of food for humanitarian purposes, so long as distribution can be properly monitored. Our quarrel is not with the people of Iraq. We do not wish for them to suffer. The world's quarrel is with the dictator who ordered the invasion.

Along with others, we have dispatched military forces to the region to enforce sanctions; to deter and if need be defend against further aggression. We seek no advantage for ourselves. Nor do we seek to maintain our military forces in Saudi Arabia for one day longer than is necessary. U.S. forces were sent at the request of the Saudi Government. The American people -- and this President -- want every single American soldier brought home as soon as the mission is completed.

001015/3

3

Let me also emphasize that all of us here at the U.N. hope military forces will never have to be used. We seek a peaceful outcome -- a diplomatic outcome. And one more thing -- in the aftermath of Iraq's unconditional departure from Kuwait, I truly believe that there may be opportunities: For Iraq and Kuwait to settle their differences permanently; for the States of the Gulf themselves to build new arrangements for stability; and for all the States and peoples of the region to settle the conflict that divides the Arabs from Israel. But, the world's key task -- now, first and always -- must be to demonstrate that aggression will not be tolerated or rewarded.

Through the U.N. Security Council, Iraq has been judged by a jury of its peers -- the very nations of the Earth. Today, the regime stands isolated and out of step with the times, separated from the civilized world not by space, but by centuries.

Iraq's unprovoked aggression is a throw-back to another era, a dark relic from a dark time. It has plundered Kuwait, terrorized innocent civilians, and held even diplomats hostage. Iraq and its leaders must be held liable for these crimes of abuse and destruction. But this outrageous disregard for basic human rights does not come as a total surprise. Thousands of Iraqis have been executed on political and religious grounds, and even more through a genocidal, poison gas war waged against Iraq's own Kurdish villagers.

As a world community, we must act -- not only to deter the use of inhuman weapons like mustard and nerve gas -- but to eliminate the weapons entirely. That is why, one year ago, I came to the General Assembly with new proposals to banish these terrible weapons from the face of the Earth.

I promised the United States would destroy over 98 percent of its stockpile in the first eight years of a chemical weapons ban treaty, and 100 percent -- all of them -- in 10 years, if all nations with chemical weapons capabilities sign the treaty.

We've stood by those promises. In June, the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed a landmark agreement to halt production, and to destroy the vast majority of our stockpiles. Today, U.S. chemical weapons are being destroyed.

But time is running out. This is not a merely bilateral concern. The Gulf crisis proves how important it is to act together -- and to act now -- to conclude an absolute, worldwide ban on these weapons. We must also redouble our efforts to stem the spread of nuclear weapons, biological weapons, and the ballistic missiles that can rain destruction upon distant peoples.

The United Nations can help bring about a new day, a day when these kinds of terrible weapons -- and the terrible despots who would use them -- are both a thing of the past. It is in our hands to leave these dark machines behind, in the dark ages where they belong, and to press forward to cap a historic movement towards a new world order and a long era of peace.

We have a vision of a new partnership of nations that transcends the Cold War. A partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. A partnership united by principle and the Rule of Law, and supported by an equitable sharing of both cost and commitment. A partnership whose goals are to increase democracy, increase prosperity, increase the peace and reduce arms.

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001015/3

And as we look to the future, the calendar offers up a convenient milestone, a signpost by which to measure our progress as a community of nations.

The Year 2000 marks a turning point, beginning not only the turn of the decade, not only the turn of the century, but also the turn of the millennium.

And ten years from now, as the 55th session of the General Assembly begins, you will again find many of us in this Hall, our hair a bit more gray, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or any less confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind.

I see a world of open borders, open trade, and -- most importantly -- open minds. A world that celebrates the common heritage that belongs to all the world's people, taking pride not just in hometown or homeland but in humanity itself.

I see a world touched by a spirit like that of the Olympics: Based not on competition that's driven by fear, but sought out of joy and exhilaration and a true quest for excellence.

I see a world where democracy continues to win new friends and convert old foes, and where the Americas -- North, Central and South -- can provide a model for the future for all humankind -- the world's first completely democratic hemisphere.

And I see a world building on the emerging new model of European unity. Not just Europe, but the whole world -- "whole and free."

This is precisely why the present aggression in the Gulf is a menace not only to one region's security, but to the entire world's vision of our future. It threatens to turn the dream of a new international order into a grim nightmare of anarchy, in which the law of the jungle supplants the law of nations.

That is why the United Nations reacted with such historic unity and resolve. And that is why this challenge is a test we cannot afford to fail. I am confident we will prevail. Success, too, will have lasting consequences -- reinforcing civilized standards of international conduct, setting a new precedent in international cooperation, brightening the prospects for our vision of the future.

There are ten more years until the century is out. Ten more years to put the struggles of the 20th Century permanently behind us. Ten more years to help launch a new partnership of nations. And throughout those ten years -- and beginning now -- the U.N. has a new and vital role in building towards that partnership. Last year's General Assembly showed how we can make greater progress towards a more pragmatic and successful U.N. And, for the first time, the U.N. Security Council is beginning to work as it was designed to work.

Now is the time to set aside old debates, old procedures, old controversies, and old resolutions. It's time to replace polemic attacks with pragmatic action.

We have shown that the U.N. can count on the collective strength of the international community. We have shown that the U.N. can rise to the challenge of aggression, as its founders hoped it would. And now in this time of testing, we must also show that the U.N. is the place to build international support and consensus for meeting the other challenges we face.

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5

The world remains a dangerous place. And our security and well-being often depends, in part, on events occurring far away. We need serious international cooperative efforts to make headway on threats to the environment, on terrorism, on managing the debt burden, on fighting the scourge of international drug trafficking, and on refugee and peacekeeping efforts around the world.

But the world also remains a hopeful place. Calls for democracy and human rights are being reborn everywhere. These calls are an expression of support for the values enshrined in the U.N. Charter. They encourage our hopes for a more stable, more peaceful, more prosperous world.

Free elections are the foundation of democratic government, and can produce dramatic successes, as we have seen in Namibia and Nicaragua. And the time has come to structure the U.N. role in such efforts more formally. And so today, I propose that the United Nations establish a Special Coordinator for Electoral Assistance, to be assisted by a U.N. Electoral Commission comprised of distinguished experts from around the world.

As with free elections, we also believe that universal U.N. membership for all States is central to the future of this Organization, and to the new partnership we've discussed. In support of this principle, and in conjunction with U.N. efforts to reduce regional tensions, the United States fully supports U.N. membership for the Republic of Korea. We do so without prejudice to the ultimate objective of reunification of the Korean Peninsula, and without opposition to simultaneous membership for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Building on these and other initiatives, we must join together in a new compact -- all of us -- to bring the United Nations into the 21st Century. And I call today for a major, long-term effort to do this. We should build on the success of our distinguished Secretary General, my long-time friend and colleague, Javier Perez de Cuellar. We should strive for greater effectiveness and efficiency of the U.N.

The United States is committed to playing its part, helping to maintain global security, promoting democracy and prosperity. My Administration is fully committed to supporting the United Nations, and to paying what we are obliged to pay by our commitment to the Charter. International peace and security -- and international freedom and prosperity -- require no less.

The world must know and understand: From this hour, from this day, from this Hall -- we step forth with a new sense of purpose, a new sense of possibilities. We stand together, prepared to swim upstream, to march uphill, to tackle the tough challenges as they come -- not only as the United Nations -- but as the nations of the world united.

Let it be said of the final decade of the 20th Century: This was a time when humankind came into its own. When we emerged from the grit and the smoke of the industrial age to bring about a revolution of the spirit and of the mind, and began a journey into a new day, a new age, and a new partnership of nations.

The U.N. is now fulfilling its promise as the world's parliament of peace. I congratulate you. I support you. And I wish you Godspeed in the challenges ahead.

אאא, חוזם: 1330

אל: רהמש/80

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 34, תא: 011090, חז: 2043, חב: ב, סג: שמ,

בכב

בהול לבוקר / שמור

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: פמליית שה"ח - גורן - ניו - יורק, עתונות - ניו - יורק.
מע"ת, הסברה, ממ"ד

מאת: עתונות - וושינגטון

נאום בוש - הסכסוך הישראלי - ערבי

1. בעקבות האזכור המז"תי לגבי הסכסוך הערבי - ישראלי בנאום הנשיא, קבלנו פניות עתונאיות רבות בבקשה לתגובה.

2. הפרשנות המיידית שניתנו ע"י כתבים (בשידורים הישירים ב-CNN וב -
בדוחי הסוכנויות וכו') היו שדבריו של הנשיא מהווים שינוי משמעותי
בעמדת הממשל ובקישור (לינקאג') הסכסוך הישראלי - ערבי לסכסוך העיראקי -
כווית.

חלק מן הפרשנים ראו בכך משום איתות חיובי לעיראק בבחינת - אמ תיסוגו
מכורית והמשבר הנוכחי יפתר בדרכי שלום, נוכל מאוחר יותר לדבר על פתרון
מתאים גם לגבי סכסוכים כמו זה הערבי - ישראלי.

פרשנים אחרים ראו בכך לא רק איתות לצדאם - חוסיין אלא גם לסובייטים
ולאירופים (בעקבות הצעת מיטראן ותגובתו המדווחת של חוסיין להצעה) כי
הנשיא מנסה בכל כוחו להביא לפתרון המשבר בדרכים פוליטיות ולא להדרש
לפעולות צבאיות.

3. בעקבות הפניות העתונאיות הרבות, שוחחתי עם עוזרו של פיצוטר (דובר
הבית הלבן נמצא בניו-יורק, כמובן) והפניתי תשומת - ליבו לפניות הרבות
ולפרשנות הקונה לה אחוזה בקרב העתונאים.

אמר כי אין פרשנות זו מקובלת עליהם וכי אין בדברי הנשיא משום לינקאג',
אלא ביטוי לתפיסתו כי יש לפתור בדרכי שלום הסכסוכים השונים במזה"ת.

אמרתי כי אם - כך בודאי ימצאו דרך, גם באמצעות דובריהם בניו-יורק,
להבהיר זאת לכתבים הרבים הפונים.

4. מעתונאים שפנו שוב אחה"צ לפמליית הנשיא - ומשו"ת של הנשיא כתבים -
הפרשות הנ"ל הוכחשה לגמרי. הנשיא בשו"ת לכתבים נפנף לעברם בנוסח נאום -
הכחיש הפרשנות וטען כי "... אתם קוראים יותר מדי בטקסט... אין כוונה
כזו...".

רות ירון

לבח

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל,
ממד, @ (רס), אמן, מצפא, מעת, הסברה

טטטט

אאא, חוזם: 1183
אל: רהמש/69
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 23, תא: 011090, חז: 1608, דח: ב, סג: שמ,
בכב
שמור/בהול

אל: מנהל מצפ"א
אורן, גורן - ניו-יורק

מאת: עודד ערן

דברי נוש בעצרת (1.10).

בעקבות הטלפונים שהגיעו לשגרירות ובעיקר לדוברת רות ירון, המפרשים את הדברים כ- LINKAGE בין פתרון משבר כווית וסכסוך ישראל-ערב, פניתי לריצ'רד האס בנדון. האחרון אמר כי אין כל קישור בין הדברים ובודאי שלא זו היתה כוונת כותב הנאום (רמז לעצמו - ע.ע.) ונושא הנאום, אולי חזונם ותקוותם למצב שאחרי פתרון משבר כווית.

ביקשתי מהאס כי כך יבהירו לפונים אליהם.

ערן

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל,
ממד, @ (רט), אמן, בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת,
הסברה, סולטן

סטסט

אאא, חוזם: 1063
אל: רהמש/59
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 14, תא: 011090, זח: 1456, ב, סג: בל,
נכב
בלמס/כהול

אל : מנהל מצפ"א יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט, פמליית שה"ח ניו יורק

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת : עתונות, וושינגטון

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK/STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY
MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1990

ON SEPTEMBER 30, THE PRESIDENT DECIDED TO PROVIDE TWO PATRIOT AIR DEFENSE FIRE UNITS TO ISRAEL ON AN URGENT BASIS UNDER PROVISIONS OF THE LAW THAT ALLOW FOR EMERGENCY MILITARY ASSISTANCE FROM U.S. MILITARY STOCKS. THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION FOLLOWED NOTIFICATION OF CONGRESS ON SEPTEMBER 29. THE PATRIOT SYSTEM WILL HELP ISRAEL TO UPGRADE ITS AIR DEFENSES, INCLUDING AGAINST AN INCREASED THREAT FROM BALLISTIC MISSILES IN THE IRAQI INVENTORY. IN MAKING THIS DECISION, THE PRESIDENT REAFFIRMED HIS STRONG COMMITMENT TO U.S.-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP AND TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL.

עד כאן
עתונות

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל,
ממד, @ (רם), אמן, בנצור, מצפא, רכיב, מעת,
הסברה, לעמ, @ (זוצ), @ (נוה/משהבט)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 1180

אל: רהמש/71

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 25, תא: 011090, זח: 1608, ח: מ, סג: שמ,

כנב

שמור / מיידי

אל: מא"פ 1

דע: מצפ"א, תפוצות

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

אתיופיה

1. במהלך שיחות סמנכ"ל הדס עם אנשי אפריקה במועצה לבטחון לאומי (מילר, פרייזר) וס. עוזר המזכיר היקס, נדון בהרחבה נושא אתיופיה במיוחד על רקע פגישת בייקר-טספאי דינקה.

2. להלן עיקרי הדברים:

- רואים פגישת מזכיר המדינה עם עמיתו האתיופי כפגישה טובה שכסתה קשת של נושאים.

פרייזר הוסיף דברי הערכה אישיים לטספאי דינקה, הנתפס כאן כאדם שיש להקדיש לו זמן ודמות מקצועית עמה ניתן לעבוד (כל זאת לעומת קאסה קאבדה המתואר ע"י פרייזר כמסוכן ומזיק-י.ע).

- אין לראות בפגישה שינוי או פריצת דרך ביחסי שתי המדינות. קיום הפגישה נובע מהכרתם שלפניהם טיפוס אחר שניתן לעבוד איתו על רקע תמונת המצב באתיופיה: קפאון צבאי מחד, ועצבנות, מאידך, בחוגי ה- EPLF המאבד חברים ותמיכה עקב הסכסוך במפרץ.

כל זה נותן פתח לפעילות מדינית (גם אסייס יעשה השבוע בווינגטון-י.ע).

- הפגישה שקיימו עם שה"ח דינקה והמשך המגעים עם אסייס השבוע מיועדים לבדוק הדרך להתקדמות כאשר ברור שיוזמת קרטו שבקה חיים ושני הצדדים רוצים ומבקשים מעורבות וחסות אמריקאית רשמית לשיחות ביניהם. ארה"ב תהיה מוכנה למעורבות כזו אם תוכח ברצינות הצדדים.

בנושא היהודי, ציינו שמעלים יציאת היהודים ככל הזדמנות וכי להערת שה"ח דינקה כי הישראלים מרוצים מקצב היציאה ענה בייקר שלא זה מה ששומעים מאיתנו.

3. סמנכ"ל הדס תאר התפתחות היחסים עם אתיופיה ומצב יציאת היהודים. מסר שאין ישראל מושיטה סיוע צבאי לאתיופיה וכי אין מומחים צבאיים ישראלים באתיופיה.

לשאלת ס/ע. המזכיר היקס כיצד ארה"ב יכולה לסייע, ציין הצפייה האתיופית לשיפור היחסים.

על-כך השיב היקס שרואים בפגישה איתות נדיב ועתה ממתנינים לראות כיצד יגיבו האתיופים.

עמרי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, e(רהמ), e(שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,
e(רס), אמן, ממד, הדס, מאפ1, בנצור, מצפא, תפוצות

סססס