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מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

משרד

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כת רה"מ יצחק רבין - ארצות-הברית

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ארכיון המדינה

משרד ראש הממשלה

טופס מראה מקום להוצאת תעודות יחידות*

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מיכל מס':	7736 / 11
תאריך התעודה:	_____
שם מחבר התעודה:	_____
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סוג התעודה (סמן X במקום המתאים):	
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1993
7/3/1993
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*הטופס ימולא בשני עותקים. העותק הירוק יוכנס לתיק במקום התעודה שהוצאה;
העותק הלבן יצורף לתעודה שהוצאה.

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טגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
סופס מברק

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 8 מרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: סקירה יומית 6-7/3

בהמשך לסקירה היומית (ראה מברקנו נר 333) מצ"ב הכתבות.

תקשורת

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Rabin Accused of Faltering in Efforts to Curb Israel's Economic Woes

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YITZHAK RABIN

... "like a family ... in bankruptcy"

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, March 6—In last summer's Israeli election, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's slogan was "Israel is waiting for Rabin." He promised to "change the national order of priorities" by slashing subsidies for Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and declaring war on unemployment.

Today, the view among many politicians and analysts here is that Israel is still waiting for Rabin. After seven months in office, he appears to have had little impact on

efforts to reduce joblessness or to shrink the government's entrenched role in business and finance.

By some measures, Israel seems to be thriving nonetheless. Economic growth has been strong for the last two years, propelled by an influx of Jews from the former Soviet Union and a crash housing-construction program. After two decades of breathtaking price increases, inflation recently subsided to single digits. And Rabin succeeded in securing \$10 billion in U.S.-backed loan guarantees, which will improve Israel's global credit

status and boost investment at home.

Still, Rabin has faced growing criticism that he has been ineffective in dealing with unemployment and has failed to tackle long-term structural reform of the economy. At stake, analysts say, is not only Rabin's political future, but Israel's economic independence.

The country imports \$5 billion a year more than it exports. In the past, it has effectively covered the gap through foreign aid, including \$3 billion annually from the United States. But economists and politicians warn that such assistance

could dwindle and that Israel needs to stand on its own feet.

This week, U.S. Ambassador William Harrop warned that it is "not prudent" for Israel to rely on American aid, and he cautioned that "it may prove difficult" to maintain the assistance at current levels. Harrop complained that "the pace of reform" in Israel's economy "has been slow, in fact rather disappointing."

Rabin has acknowledged such difficulties. "We are like a family which is in bankruptcy and mendicancy, and we aren't capable of maintaining a level of sustenance for it," he said recently. "Seven to 8

percent of the budget comes from American assistance. Without [more] income from export, we will borrow more, and again we will fall upon the Americans. If we don't increase the national cake, we will quarrel over the crumbs."

Israel seems torn between the socialist ideals of its founders and its mounting pressures to modernize and adapt to global free markets. In the early years, Israelis were mobilized to build and defend their nation through agricultural collectives, the Histadrut labor fed-

See ISRAEL, A30, Col. 1

Rabin Said To Lag on Economy

ISRAEL, From A35

eration, the army and the government. Now, although Israel still has high defense expenses, the grip of these institutions is being weakened by domestic and international economic forces.

Eli Sagl, director of Economic Models, a Tel Aviv consulting firm, said the country is leaving behind a period when former generals were appointed to run mammoth government-owned companies beholden largely to Histadrut and is moving toward a period in which a younger generation of professional managers and entrepreneurs will oversee high-technology firms.

"The old ways broke down," he said. "Socialism broke down everywhere in the world."

But vestiges of the old system still abound, and critics say Rabin and his Labor Party have been loath to junk them.

Collective enterprises such as the kibbutz movement are deeply in debt. Israel's arms export industry has lost many of its markets. Little progress has been made in selling off state-owned banks. Rabin's reform efforts in one area—the troubled Kupat Holim health fund—have run into resistance from the Histadrut, which is affiliated with the health fund. One day, Kupat Holim workers registered their protests not by going on strike but by giving away medicines for free.

"The government of Israel is a pile of disconnected parts, and a pile of parts does not make a machine," said Alvin Rabushka, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, free-market advocate and critic of Israel's reliance on outside aid. Israel's system was invented by Rabin's Labor Party, he said, and "it's pretty hard to renounce your past. Rabin's done nothing, and in my view he'll continue to do nothing."

In his first weeks in office, Rabin cut government-subsidized housing in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip by half. Many Israelis had complained that such settlements were receiving government help while other social needs went unmet. Rabin also curbed a housing-construction program started by former housing minister Ariel Sharon that had resulted in a supply of vacant homes in distant corners of the country, far from jobs.

While slowing the construction boom, Rabin has tried to redirect money into roads, communications and other projects. He slightly trimmed Israel's traditionally high tax rates, shifted some of the budget toward social needs and approved a free-trade zone for exports.

Aside from these measures and the U.S. loan guarantees, however, Rabin's government seems to have lost its economic momentum.

For months, Rabin and his cabinet ministers have quarreled over how to cope with unemployment. The 420,000 immigrants who arrived in the last three years swamped the labor force. At the same time, Israelis born during a baby boom following the 1967 Middle East war were entering the job market, along with a growing number of working women.

Despite Rabin's repeated expressions of impatience over unemployment, policy makers in his government have all but blocked any large-scale program of subsidized jobs. Only a modest sum has been set aside for temporary jobs at archaeological sites and in tree planting.

Rabin has frequently insisted that he wants to get the government out of the business sector. "I do not want to be a factory owner," he has said. But critics accuse him of taking little action. Last fall, for example, the government created a state-owned company to build a \$1.5 billion north-south highway, only weeks after Rabin had called for selling off all such state-owned enterprises "once and for all."

In a new report, the International Monetary Fund expressed "disappointment" about "the failure to date to get a serious program of privatization in Israel underway."

After a stock-market scandal a decade ago, the government invested billions of dollars to nationalize banks under a plan that was supposed to lead to privatizing the banks within 10 years. Although the deadline is at hand, none of the major banks has been sold. Recent plans to sell 20 percent of the largest, Bank Hapoalim, were postponed after complaints that not enough had been done to limit the banks' reach into business fields.

"One can't escape the feeling that until recently the government didn't want to sell the banks," said Marshall Sarnat, director of the capital markets project at the Floersheimer Institute here and a professor at Hebrew University. Sarnat said Israeli leaders "have failed to face up to the really big problems" in privatization: making the companies competitive and wresting them from political control. "It starts with the government ministry which controls the company, and controls the very lucrative appointments to the board of directors," he said. "When Labor came into power, the vested interests were shifted to the new Labor ministers."

3/11

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It Was Terrorism, But Whose?

One thing is certain about matters relating to the Middle East: First impressions are often misleading. This needs to be borne in mind as the investigation into the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York moves forward from the arrests of several apparent Muslim fundamentalists. There are tenuous links — perhaps circumstantial, perhaps incriminatory — between some of the suspects and atrocities here and abroad and to an organization whose history of terrorism reaches back before World War II.

The arrests of Mohammed Salameh and one suspected accomplice narrows the focus of the investigation into the massive bomb blast a week ago. The combination of Muslim fundamentalist suspects, explosion on a significant anniversary in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, a radical Islamic cleric and apparent ties to sensational terrorist murders all suggest Middle Eastern links. But the apparent choice of explosive and some of Mr. Salameh's startlingly amateurish mistakes leave room for doubts about the complicity of foreign intelligence agencies or professional terrorists. Well-trained terrorists don't rent vehicles in their own names, leave behind their telephone numbers or obligingly expose themselves to arrest for a \$200 refund.

Mr. Salameh's clumsy behavior before and after

the explosion has revealed some intriguing links to the past. He attends a mosque in Jersey City where Sheik Omar Abdul-Rahman, suspected of complicity in the murder of Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat, frequently preaches. He shared an address with the man acquitted of the murder of the militant Rabbi Meir Kahane but jailed for related crimes. Sheik Abdul-Rahman is accused by Egyptian authorities of violence against Coptic Christians, foreign tourists and moderate Muslims. His sect is an offshoot of the long-bloody Muslim Brotherhood, which is now trying to be respectable.

The upshot of all this is that federal and New York investigators can discard a lot of possible motives for the explosion. They can concentrate their efforts on Mr. Salameh and his associations. But they are properly cautious about making tempting leaps to sensational conclusions that would make great headlines or juicy sound bites.

It is highly unlikely the investigation will stop with the suspects already in custody. But how far the conspiracy reaches — whether to Sheik Abdul-Rahman's followers in this country, to his adherents in Egypt, to vengeful Iraqis — remains a tantalizing question. Answers are a lot closer than investigators expected just a few days ago, but not all are in yet.

Trade Center Probe Is Far From Done

Despite Arrests, Authorities Have Few Clues in Story of Bombing

By Jim McGee
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, March 6—After a week of investigation, and news briefings that have created the perception that the FBI and New York Police Department have cracked the case of the most serious terrorist bombing in U.S. history, authorities say they still may be a long way from determining who, or what, blew up the garage under the World Trade Center.

Five people were killed and more

than 1,000 injured in the blast. Officials told the Daily News that workers sifting through the rubble today may have located a sixth body. Charles Markish, director of the center, said blood was found on the garage level where Wilfredo Mercado, 37, had been working when the blast occurred. Mercado has been missing since the explosion.

Mohammed A. Salameh, the Jordanian-born man arrested Thursday and charged with "aiding and abetting," is considered a relatively

marginal figure in the attack, and law enforcement officials acknowledge that evidence against him is largely circumstantial.

A second man, Ibrahim A. El-gabrowni, is being held on a charge that he obstructed justice when federal agents came to search his home after finding Salameh had listed his address on a driver's license application. It is not clear what evidence, if any, there is that he was involved in the bombing and

See NEW YORK, A8, Col. 1



OMAR ABDUL RAHMAN
... no proven link to suspects

WP 7/3 F.P.

5/11 1062, 166

Authorities Still Have Few Clues In Story Behind N.Y. Bombing

NEW YORK, From A1

he has not been charged in the larger case.

At the same time, despite widespread news media speculation fueled by anonymous official sources, authorities say they have no hard evidence that the explosion grew out of an organized plot by Muslim fundamentalists.

Discoveries of fraudulent passports and chemicals seized Friday in a Jersey City warehouse have contributed to the impression that officials are progressing swiftly in the case. Yet informed official sources stress that the clues, while tantalizing, still have not given them a clear idea of what occurred.

New York FBI chief James Fox said in an interview today that he plans to hold a "general strategy meeting" Sunday with senior officials involved in the investigation to discuss what to do next. "We are kind of regrouping here," Fox said.

Salameh, who lived in a quiet residential neighborhood in Jersey City, is in solitary confinement at a federal correctional facility in Manhattan and is fasting during the day in observance of the month-long Islamic religious holiday of Ramadan, his attorney said.

Senior law enforcement officials acknowledge that the case against him is, at best, circumstantial. But "we believe he is a knowledgeable participant," New York City Police Chief Raymond W. Kelly said in an interview today.

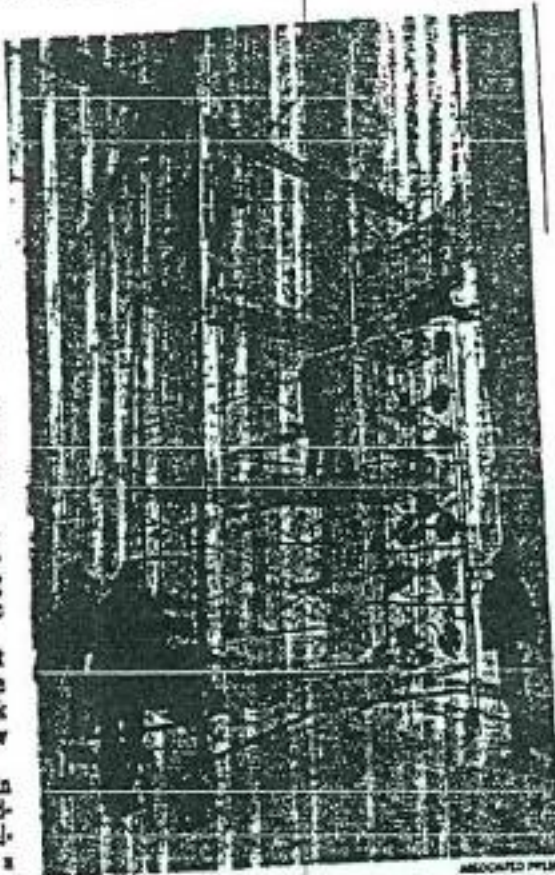
The week's flurry of events also suggested that an earlier act of violence—the 1990 assassination of radical Zionist Rabbi Meir Kahane—may have some relevance to the current investigation. Elgabrowni is a cousin of Sayyid A. Nosair, who was acquitted in Kahane's murder, but was convicted on weapons charges related to the crime and is in Attica state prison. While searching Elgabrowni's home, agents said they found fraudulent passports for Nosair and his family. "It is certainly causing us to reexamine the facts of that case," Fox said.

Salameh's arrest, after investigators determined that fragments found at the blast site came from a van he had rented, led President Clinton and acting Attorney General Stuart M. Gerson to praise the FBI. But the case thus far also had pointed to holes in the government's efforts to monitor illegal immigrants in this country even when—like Salameh—they already are known to the FBI for possible terrorist connections. Salameh, who entered this country in 1988 on a tourist visa and simply stayed on after it expired, "was on a list of people who had some dealing with Nosair," Kelly said.

New York and national news media today reverberated with new details—provided to reporters by law enforcement officials—about progress in the investigation.

Authorities informed reporters Friday of what they had seized from a storeroom they said had been rented in Salameh's name, including several hundred pounds of chemicals stored in cans. When mixed with other materials, officials said, the chemicals can be used to fabricate high explosives. After the news was conveyed to reporters, federal prosecutors filed an itemized list of what was seized as a sealed court record.

Salameh's court appointed attorney, Robert E. Precht, charged the daily news briefings provided by Fox and Kelly had created a "circus atmosphere" that "generated a wave of prejudicial pretrial publicity."



Workers at World Trade Center replace glass destroyed in blast. Crews are working around clock to reopen building.

Lost in the headlines, he argued, is the "transparently weak" case that Salameh was involved in the bombing. There is "no evidence to contradict" Salameh's assertion that the van he rented was stolen from him the day before the explosion, Precht said.

"This is precisely the type of environment where you have this overwhelming pressure on federal authorities to get quick results, and you have the federal authorities making public statements and congratulating themselves for their work... where miscarriages of justice result," Precht said.

The close relationship between the news media—particularly in New York—and investigators has influenced at least one investigative step in the case so far—the timing of Salameh's arrest after a newspaper report revealed details of the discovery of the van fragments—and also has moved public perceptions beyond what officials can prove about who might be responsible for the bombing.

Persistent news reports have linked Islamic cleric Omar Abdul Rahman to Salameh and the bombing, despite repeated statements by senior officials that there is no evidence to support this contention. Rahman, who sometimes preaches at the Jersey City mosque where Salameh is said to have worshiped, is believed by the Egyptian government to be the spiritual leader of a violent Islamic sect in that country. Reportedly now in Detroit, Rahman is the subject of immigration proceedings in Newark.

Spokesmen for Rahman have denounced the World Trade Center attack, and no indication has been presented thus far by authorities that he and Salameh were acquainted.

6/11

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6/3

7/11
102
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Egyptian Cleric Has Inspired Violence

Jersey City Mullah Helps Fuel Attacks on Tourists in His Homeland

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, March 5—Egyptian cleric Omar Abdul Rahman, who has been a focus of attention following last week's bombing of the World Trade Center in New York, has helped inspire an Islamic fundamentalist movement in Egypt whose bombings and killings of Western tourists have recently posed a threat to the stability of Egypt's secular government.

Anonymous American police sources have said the suspect in the bombing, Mohammed Salameh, worshipped at the mosque in New Jersey where Abdul Rahman preaches, although mosque spokesmen have denied any significant link to Salameh. Today, the 54-year-old Abdul Rahman issued a statement in which he "unequivocally denounced the bombing" of the Trade Center, adding that such an act "could not have been done by a true Muslim."

But such an aversion to violence is not always reflected in the sermons and religious edicts, or *fatwas*, that



OMAR ABDUL RAHMAN
... leads Egypt's Islamic Group

Abdul Rahman records on cassette tapes and ships back to Egypt for circulation among his supporters. Abdul Rahman reportedly is a prominent spiritual leader for the *Gamaa Islamiya*, or Islamic Group, which

has been challenging the Egyptian government, most recently with attacks on foreign tourists and Egypt's lucrative tourist industry.

On his tapes, Abdul Rahman ralls against what he calls the "corrupt," "repressive" and "un-Islamic" government of President Hosni Mubarak. Although the cassettes may not explicitly call for violence against those he describes as "enemies of Islam," Egyptian officials and an independent scholar who have heard the lectures said they leave little doubt in the minds of his listeners that "action" should be taken.

There are differing reports on whether Abdul Rahman has explicitly sanctioned the attacks on tourists. But the cleric has been quoted in press interviews as saying that tourists "spread corruption and unlawful sexual activities, transmit disease and AIDS across the country and try to destroy Islamic values." They should, he has added, "stay away

See EGYPT, A24, Col. 5

Egyptian Mullah Fuels Violence in Homeland

EGYPT, From A23

from our country. They must allow us to keep our moral values."

In an interview with the Reuters news service on Feb. 22, Abdul Rahman said he wishes Mubarak the same fate as his predecessor, Anwar Sadat, who was gunned down by Islamic fundamentalists in 1981. There was no immediate evidence that Abdul Rahman has called explicitly for Mubarak's killing.

Most of the Islamic Group's vitriol has been directed against Mubarak's government, so-called "secularist" Egyptians and this country's large minority of Coptic Christians. All of these are seen by Islamic extremists as obstacles to their declared goal of making Egypt into a purist Islamic state ruled solely by Islamic law, or sharia.

But up to now, there has been little or no warning from the Islamic Group that the United States had become a legitimate target for violence in revenge or retaliation for its policies. The group has castigated the United States for a "double standard" toward Arab states as opposed to Israel and for tacit support of the Algerian military's 1992 takeover of power to prevent an electoral victory by a militant Islamic movement. Most recently, the group has accused Washington of not doing enough to rescue Bosnian Muslims from Serb attacks.

But these condemnations are no different from those made by other fundamentalist groups in the region, including those that reject violence, or even by officials of Arab governments.

Meanwhile, as they sift through clues that might show a connection between the Islamic Group and those responsible for the New York blast, U.S. law enforcement officials may note an unusual coincidence: Within hours of the New York explosion, another bomb went off in a crowded cafe in downtown Cairo.

That explosion—blamed by Egyptian security officials on "extremists"—killed three persons and wounded 16 others, including two Americans. It appeared to mark an escalation in extremist attacks, since it was the first such attack in central Cairo, and followed warnings to tourists to avoid the capital city.

"It is a very interesting coincidence that they took place on the same day," said Egyptian sociologist Saadoddin Ibrahim. He suggested the two blasts could have been "orchestrated to make the biggest possible impact on decision-makers both here and there" in the United States.

But callers to Western news agencies have made conflicting claims about the Islamic Group's involvement in the cafe explosion. In the Upper Egypt town of Assiut, a spokesman for the group told the Associated Press that it had carried out the bombing. Hours later, another spokesman telephoned the Cairo office of Reuters to say that the Islamic Group had had nothing to do with the explosion, "whether near or far."

This conflict lent weight to assertions by Egyptian security officials and other analysts that the Islamic Group is a splintered organization. Its members share the same broad goal of turning Egypt into an Islamic state, but its military cadres are said to work in small, discrete cells.

The Islamic Group was formed in the 1970s among university students and was tolerated by the government as a counterweight to leftists. In 1980, its leaders joined forces with another organization, Islamic Jihad, to plot a coup. Their conspiracy led to the 1981 assassination of Sadat and the murder of about 100 policemen in Assiut.

The two groups subsequently split, and Abdul Rahman, who was tried and acquitted on charges of complicity in Sadat's death, was named leader of the Islamic Group, according to a close observer of the movement who asked not to be named.

8/11
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'Islamic fundamentalist groups make U.S. policy in Mideast more difficult

By Mark Matthews
—Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The suspected role of one or more Muslim radicals in the World Trade Center bombing exacerbates U.S. policy makers' problems in grappling with the growing influence of fundamentalist Islam in Middle Eastern politics.

Officially, the United States draws a distinction between hatred-fueled violence and the political movements that seek to make Islam paramount in political and cultural life in much of the Middle East and beyond.

But that distinction has proved hard to put into practice, particularly when Islamic movements threaten the stability of allies the United States counts on to help protect its interests.

And efforts to view the phenomenon dispassionately may be sorely tested if, as some analysts fear, Islamic radicals open a second front in the United States in their war against the West.

Policy-makers confront a number of competing pressures, not least of which is the likelihood that a terror-

ist act will inflame public opinion and sway official U.S. reaction.

America's closest friends in the Middle East — Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia — already feel threatened by Islamic fundamentalism to the point of cracking down in various ways. This has made it virtually impossible for the United States to be a consistent champion for human rights, the rule of law, and democracy in the region.

Islamic radicals in many countries oppose the Middle East peace process, the existence of Israel and what they see as the encroachment of corrupt Western customs. And violent fringes engage in or sponsor acts of terrorism ranging from the spectacular, such as bombings, to the merely brutal, such as attacks on Western tourists.

Three episodes illustrate the problem:

For a decade, the United States backed the Mujahedeen, which included radical Islamic elements, seeking to overthrow the Soviet-backed government of Afghanistan. Their eventual victory has thrown that country into factional chaos. Worse, in the view of regional lead-

ers, Muslims from other countries who helped the war have returned to foment trouble at home.

When Algeria's military voided last year's election victory by a Muslim fundamentalist party, the United States joined other countries in acquiescing.

The United States joined in the condemnation of Israel's expulsion of 400 Palestinians linked to Hamas, a radical Islamic movement that Israel and the United States agree to exclude terrorists. Yet it accepts, for now, Israel's refusal to return all the deportees immediately. In an added twist, American diplomatic contacts with members of Hamas recently were halted because they complicated the peace process.

It wasn't until last year that the United States came up with a clear policy statement on the growing regional movement.

In a Washington speech that still stands as American policy despite the change in administrations, Edward Djerejian, assistant secretary of state for the Middle East and South Asia, rejected the idea that Islam itself posed a threat to the West.

"The U.S. government does not

view Islam as the next 'ism' confronting the West or threatening world peace. . . . The Cold War is not being replaced with a new competition between Islam and the West.

"We detect no monolithic or coordinated international effort behind these movements," he said. Other officials point out that Saudi Arabia, a close ally, is a deeply conservative Islamic regime.

The speech went on to support the broadening of political participation in the Middle East, but cautioned, "While we believe in the principle of 'one person, one vote,' we do not support 'one person, one vote, one time.'"

Mr. Djerejian said the United States differs with those who practice terrorism, oppress minorities, preach intolerance, or violate internationally accepted standards of conduct regarding human rights. It also differs, he said, "with those who substitute religious and political confrontation for constructive engagement with the rest of the world."

For those and other reasons, he said, the United States is on bad terms with the secular governments of Iraq and Libya.

"We're not posing ourselves in opposition to Islam, or those who want to govern under the principles of Islam," an official involved in framing the policy stresses.

Various harsh crackdowns on fundamentalists in the region have drawn criticism from the United States, but never enough to interfere with the bedrock relationship between the United States and its close allies.

Even with Syria, American diplomats separate their "human rights dialogue" from higher-priority work on the Middle East peace process.

Policy-makers, the official said, realize that "a big chunk of the region has little tradition of democracy," and the United States says it respects local traditions.

He acknowledges that the United States will face "a dilemma" in the future if a militant Islamist party wins power democratically.

U.S. officials explained their acquiescence in Algeria's move last year by saying Islamists had no intention of maintaining democracy once they used it to achieve power.

But to the Arab world, the perception was that democracy is sup-

ported except when the winners are Muslims," said Asad AbuKhalil, a scholar-in-residence at the Middle East Institute who also teaches at Georgetown University.

This only aggravated hostility toward the West, he said. He advocates "consistent, universal support for democratization and standards of human rights" regardless of who benefits.

Analysts who see radical Islam as the one of the most serious threats to the United States in the region suggest the United States abandon any push for democracy in the region.

"There's a conundrum that needs to be worked out," says Robert Section of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy. "And that is that if democracy is to be a pillar of foreign policy, in the Mideast there is a problem of promoting opposition to pro-Western regimes. The principal opposition to pro-Western regimes in the Middle East is Islamic fundamentalism."

"There's no evidence that the opposition to pro-American autocrats are themselves democrats," he said. policy makers

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B. Sun 6/13

Iran moves to make Georgia energy hub in trade for arms

By James M. Dorsey
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

TBILISI, Georgia — Christian Georgia and Muslim Iran seem strange bedfellows, yet leaders of the two nations are forging an economic alliance and may cooperate militarily.

Recent visits by senior officials to both Tbilisi and Tehran produced a series of accords that could turn Georgia into an energy transit hub for Iranian oil and natural gas and lead to the sale to Iran of Georgian-made warplanes of Soviet design.

In the latest exchange, a high-level delegation from Iran's Defense Ministry last week visited Georgia's Sukhbi 25 jet factory near Tbilisi.

"The Iranians looked at our military equipment," said Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Khovanishvili.

Bent on becoming the premier power in the Caucasus and Central Asia, Iran sees Georgia as its key to the region.

"Iran was one of the first countries to recognize Georgia. It is very active in the Caucasus and very important to us," said Levan Arslanidze, head of the Georgian Foreign Ministry's Asia department.

For its part, Georgia is looking to Iran to help it escape the embrace of Russia, the region's superpower. Relations between Georgia and Russia are strained because of Russian backing for separatists in Abkhazia, an autonomous Black Sea republic created by Lenin on Georgian territory in 1922.

Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze made Iran his first foreign country that he visited after returning to his native Georgia last year.

Deprived of raw materials from Russia and hard pressed for cash, Georgia is seeking ways to restart its airplane production and export both its Su-25s and the Jag 48 six-seat executive jet, Foreign Ministry officials said.

Western diplomats think Iran is willing to supply the necessary aluminum to produce the planes in exchange for Georgian willingness to sell them to Iran.

Georgia would, however, still remain dependent on Russia for the Su-25's electronics.

"The aircraft factory is working. We still have sufficient spare parts in stock," said Deputy Industry Minister Givi Dalakvadze.

Georgian officials suggested

Georgia may try to sell the planes to Iran through Russia in a bid to shield itself from international criticism.

"It's a good and healthy idea. It would be a joint venture," said Russian Ambassador Alexander Zernsky.

Iranians recall fondly that, as Soviet foreign minister, Mr. Shevardnadze was the first foreign envoy to meet with the late spiritual leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

"We have a pragmatic approach. We need a balance to Russia. We need gas and oil. That is why Shevardnadze's first visit abroad was to Iran," Mr. Aslatsol said.

During the visit, Iran offered to sell Georgia 70 billion cubic feet of gas a year — an estimated 25 percent of its total need — as well as chemicals, food and clothes, the officials said.

Georgian dreams of becoming an international energy hub are pinned on hopes that an international consortium, including Chevron and British Gas, will opt to transport oil from Central Asia through Georgia to Europe.

Iran already has expressed interest in financing expansion of the



Black Sea port of Poti and modernization of the Georgian refinery in Batumi.

In addition, the oil and gas pipeline linking Azerbaijan with Georgia is expected to be extended to Iran. Iran and Georgia are also drafting plans to build a highway from Poti via the Azeri capital of Baku to Tehran.

Turkey gains might as moderate middle ground

by Andrew Borowiec
in Turkey and the Middle East

Muslim but secular Turkey is emerging as the dominant power and a pillar of U.S. policy in a region where Europe meets Asia amid turmoil and political uncertainty.

Turkey faces a debilitating Kurdish insurgency and the threat of Islamic Shiite fundamentalism from Iran. Yet it has become a major factor in the Balkans, among the former Soviet republics of Central Asia and in U.S. policy planning toward Iraq.

NEWS ANALYSIS

President Turgut Ozal, who had a warm personal relationship with former President George Bush, was the first foreign head of state to be received by President Clinton.

A pragmatic businessman with extensive U.S. contacts, Mr. Ozal remains a passionate Turkish nationalist who believes in giving a "Turkish identity" to the many Turkic peoples who are grappling with post-communist difficulties in the former Soviet Union.

He believes that economic cooperation is the key to the success of the vast area where Turkey is confronting daunting problems.

"Turkey begins 1993 as the most powerful country in the Balkans," said Oys Ahgencoglu Mughisaddin, a

political science professor in Ankara. "I am not speaking of its military power but of its natural resources, its demographic potential and its development efforts."

Sold Helene Carrere d'Encausse from the French Academy in Paris: "Disdained by Europe, Turkey is in the process of becoming a great regional power by intensifying its activity in Central Asia and the Black Sea area."

Many American experts concur and, at least until now, the Clinton administration has followed the guidelines established by Mr. Bush and his advisers.

Paul Wolfowitz, undersecretary of defense for policy in the Bush administration, said this week that because another confrontation with Iraq seems inevitable, "it is terribly important to bring Turkey into the [policy] process."

Turkey was one of the first countries to join the anti-Iraq coalition in 1990.

"Turkey plays a crucial role in Central Asia, toward Ukraine, in the Black Sea. It has a lot to say about the situation in Yugoslavia and Iran," Mr. Wolfowitz said at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

"We should be serious in supporting the forces of moderation if we are serious about stopping Islamic extremists," he said.

In addition to the Marxist Kurdish

emergency plaguing southeastern Turkey, militant Islam is considered a serious threat — although so far it appears to have been successfully contained.

"Because our people are Muslims, they are an obvious target of fundamentalist provocation," said Alparlan Turkes, a former deputy prime minister who now heads the conservative National Movement Party.

Turkey is extending its activities in formerly Soviet Central Asia to stifle "nostalgia for communism," but Ankara is not capable of carrying the economic burden alone, he told editors and reporters of The Washington Times.

For some time, Turkey has been torn between its European vocation instilled by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, founder of the republic in 1923, and its ancient links with the Middle East.

Its position astride Europe and Asia has led to a perpetual soul-searching and a feeling that the West, particularly Western Europe, does not want Turkey in its midst.

"Turkey is neither a Western nor a Muslim nation, it is neither Asian nor European," according to Niyazi Berkes, a Turkish Cypriot sociologist. "Europe has never considered itself as including Turkey, and if we think the contrary, no one but ourselves believes it."



CORE OF ANCIENT EMPIRES

Turkey is at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa.

Geography: More than 301,000 square miles — as big as Texas with Maryland and West Virginia thrown in. Occupies Asia Minor, between the Black and Mediterranean seas, and controls the straits between them. High mountains ring the interior plateau on all sides but the west, where rolling plains descend to mild, fertile coasts.

People: Estimated 1991 population 58.6 million — a bit more than the United Kingdom. Ethnic groups: Turks, 80 percent; Kurds, 17 percent. Languages: Turkish (official), Kurdish, Arabic. Religion: 98 percent Muslim.

Capital: Ankara. Cities: Istanbul (8.7 million residents), Ankara (2.6 million), Izmir (1.7 million), Adana (nearly 1 million).

History: Turkey, now a NATO member, has been a secular republic since 1924. From 1453 until the end of World War I, it was the center of the Ottoman Empire and ruled most of the Middle East. After the fall of Rome in the Fifth century, Constantinople (Istanbul) was the center of the Byzantine Empire for 1,000 years. Before that, it was part of Greek civilization and earlier cultures to the dawn of farming in pre-biblical times.

Map by Henry Christophers / The Washington Times

11685:חוזם,אאא

אל:רהמ/ש/392

מ:-ניוירוק,נר:219,תא:080393,זח:1439,דח:ר,סג:בל,

בבב

9,233388

9,753100

22493

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

TO: TIKSHORET

Handwritten signature in red ink.

NEWS SUMMARY 8-MARCH-1993

COLUMNS

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NYP(R.EVANS-R.NOVAK): 'CLINTON-ASSAD-RABIN DEAL ON GOLAN?': WRITERS PREDICT THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON MAY MEET WITH SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASSAD ON HIS UPCOMING VISIT TO EUROPE; STATE THAT THE KEY TO US-SYRIAN RELATIONS IS THE APPARENT WILLINGNESS OF PM RABIN TO RECOGNIZE SYRIAN 'SOVEREIGNTY' OVER THE GOLAN, IN EXCHANGE FOR A SYRIAN PEACE PLEDGE FULLY BACKED BY THE US; CLAIM THAT PRESIDENT ASSAD IS LOOKING FOR A 'SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP' WITH WASHINGTON; STATE THAT PM RABIN CANNOT AFFORD THE POLITICAL RISK OF 'BARGAINING AWAY' THE GOLAN, UNLESS THE ISRAELI PUBLIC IS CONVINCED THAT DAMASCUS HAS A SEPARATE UNDERSTANDING WITH THE US; ASSERT THAT PM RABIN WANTS PUBLIC RECOGNITION FROM THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION THAT ISRAELI PARTNERSHIP WITH THE US PARALLELS THAT OF BRITAIN; CLAIM THAT ISRAEL ALSO WANTS ADDITIONAL TECHNOLOGY AND INTELLIGENCE EXCHANGES AND MORE STOCKPILING OF US MILITARY HARDWARE IN ISRAEL.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: CLINTON MAY USE DIVERSITY PLEDGE TO REMAKE COURTS; LOOKING FOR ALLIANCE, CLINTON COURTS THE CONGRESS NONSTOP; BOMB SUSPECT'S PATH TO PIETY AND ELUSIVE DREAMS; JAPAN DEBATES BROADER POWER FOR CONSUMERS; SUBURBAN SUPERSTORES COME TO NYC SHOPPERS. WSJ: 'BAL-KAN DILEMMA: WHILE WORLD WATCHES BOSNIA, ITS NEIGHBORS MAY START THE NEXT WAR'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: WTC BOMBING SUSPECT.

ISRAEL/UNRWA/CRITICISM: NYT(J.GREENBERG-CABLED): 'ISRAELI ARMY SAYS UN OFFICIAL FAILED TO AID JEW': ISRAELI OFFICIALS SAID ON SUNDAY THAT THEY WERE CONSIDERING FILING A COMPLAINT AT THE UN ABOUT ONE OF ITS OFFICIALS, WHO WAS ACCUSED BY THE IDF OF HAVING FAILED TO ALERT SOLD-

TERS AFTER SEEING A LOCAL CROWD STONE AND SHOOT AN ISRAELI MOTORIST TO DEATH IN GAZA; AN UNRWA SPOKESMAN SAID THAT THE OFFICIAL ARRIVED ON THE SCENE BY CHANCE, AND THEN 'SHE REPEATEDLY TRIED TO GET CLOSE BUT WAS PREVENTED FROM DOING SO BY THE CROWD'; THE SPOKESMAN ALSO ASSERTED THAT THE OFFICIAL THEN 'SPED OFF TO THE NEAREST LOCATION ... IN ORDER TO RAISE ALARM OVER THE PHONE'; 'RIGHT-WING' POLITICIANS DEMANDED THE IMMEDIATE EXPULSION OF THE UN OFFICIAL, WHILE MK URI ORR SAID THE OFFICIAL SHOULD BE SUSPECTED IF THE ACCUSATIONS WERE CONFIRMED; NOTES RECENT TENSIONS BETWEEN THE IDF AND UNRWA OFFICIALS IN THE (ADMINISTERED) TERRITORIES.

GAZA/ISRAELI/STABBED: NYT(REUTERS-BRIEF): A JEWISH SETTLER FROM GAN OR IN GAZA WAS STABBED TO DEATH ON SUNDAY SHORTLY AFTER IDF AUTHORITIES LIFTED THE CLOSURE ORDER IN THE AREA.

ISRAEL/ARAB-AMERICAN/ARRESTED: NYT(BRIEF),WSJ(BRIEF): ISRAELI AUTHORITIES REPORTEDLY ARRESTED A FOURTH ARAB-AMERICAN ON SUSPICION OF TIES WITH THE HAMAS MOVEMENT IN THE TERRITORIES; THE SUSPECT WAS DETAINED SEVERAL DAYS AGO, AND IS BEING QUESTIONED ABOUT INVOLVEMENT IN ANTI-ISRAELI ATTACKS; ACCORDING TO AP, CITING ARAB REPORTS, THE SUSPECT IS ANWAR HAMDAN FROM THE CHICAGO AREA.

ISRAEL/SADDAM/PLOT: DN(AP): ACCORDING TO A REPORT IN THE LONDON-BASED SUNDAY TIMES, FIVE ISRAELI SOLDIERS KILLED BY A STRAY MISSILE DURING A TRAINING EXERCISE IN NOVEMBER WERE REHEARSING TO ASSASSINATE SADDAM HUSSEIN; SAID REPORT ALSO CLAIMED THAT ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE AGENTS OPERATED IN WESTERN IRAQ, TRYING TO LOCATE SCUD MISSILE SITES AIMED AT ISRAEL; SAID ASSASSINATION PLAN WAS CANCELED AFTER THE ACCIDENT BECAUSE THE PLOT WAS BASED ON A SINGLE OPPORTUNITY TO KILL SADDAM AND COULD NOT BE COMPLETED WITHOUT THE SOLDIERS WHO DIED.

DN: A PHOTOGRAPH OF A WOMAN DRESSED UP LIKE A CLOWN FOR PURIM, STANDING IN FRONT OF A GUARD OUTPOST IN HEBRON.

EGYPT/BOMBING/ARREST: NYT(AP): THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT NEWS AGENCY REPORTED ON SUNDAY THAT A SUDANESE WAS ARRESTED IN THE BOMBING OF A COFFEE SHOP IN CAIRO THAT KILLED THREE PEOPLE IN FEBRUARY; THE SUSPECT WAS ARRESTED WHILE TRYING TO TAKE A FERRY TO SUDAN.

SABENA/HIJACKING/THREAT: NYT(AP): A BELGIAN SABENA AIRLINER ON ITS WAY TO ISRAEL WITH 147 PEOPLE MADE AN UNSCHEDULED LANDING IN BELGRADE AFTER THE AIRLINE RECEIVED A WARNING THAT FOUR TERRORISTS WOULD HIJACK THE PLANE; SAID PLANE CONTINUED ON ITS WAY AFTER A SEARCH BY THE YUGOSLAV POLICE FOUND NO EVIDENCE OF TERRORISTS.

AFGHANISTAN/PACT: NYT(AP): AFGHANI GOVERNMENT AND REBEL LEADERS SIGNED A PEACE PACT ON SUNDAY IN ISLAMABAD AND AGREED ON A POWER-SHARING PLAN AIMED AT ENDING A YEAR-LONG CIVIL WAR.

PALESTINIAN/TRIAL/FBI: NYT(J.P.FRIED): AN FBI AGENT DENIED ON SUNDAY THAT HE WAS TESTIFYING FALSELY ABOUT THE MAJOR FINGERPRINT EVIDENCE SAID TO SHOW THAT KHALED MOHAMMAD EL-JASSEN, A PLO OFFICIAL, ATTEMPT-

ED TO BOMB THREE ISRAELI SITES IN MANHATTAN 20 YEARS AGO; THE DEFENSE LAWYER FOR MR. EL-JASSEN CLAIMED THAT THE FBI HAD FALSIFIED THE SUPPOSED MATCH BETWEEN MR. EL-JASSEN'S FINGERPRINTS AND TWO PRINTS FOUND ON THE BOMBS.

WTC/BOMBING/JORDAN: NYT(C.HEDGES-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'BOMB SUSPECT'S PATH TO PIETY AND ELUSIVE DREAMS': ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE BACKGROUND OF MOHAMMAD SALAMEH AND HIS RELATIVES WHO CURRENTLY RESIDE IN JORDAN AND A SMALL VILLAGES IN THE TERRITORIES; QUOTES ALI MOHAMMED SALAMEH, A COUSIN OF THE BOMBING SUSPECT, AS SAYING: 'HE WAS A GENTLE MAN. HE WOULD NOT COMMIT SUCH AN ACT. HE WAS NOT A PERSON OF VIOLENCE'; NOTES THAT THE CHILDHOOD OF MOHAMMED SALAMEH, 'LIKE THOSE OF MANY PALESTINIANS OF HIS GENERATION', WAS 'RUDELY INTERRUPTED' BY WAR AND THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION OF THE TERRITORIES; QUOTES THE MOTHER OF MOHAMMED SALAMAH AS SAYING: 'THE JEWS!! THIS IS FROM THE JEWS, WHO HAVE DONE THIS AND BLAMED MY SON. YOU WILL SEE THAT HE IS INNOCENT... MY SON IS BEING PERSECUTED'.

NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED): 'AT SUSPECT'S BIRTHPLACE, SHOCK': ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE REACTION OF LOCAL RESIDENTS FROM THE VILLAGE OF BIDDIYA IN THE TERRITORIES, WHERE MOHAMMED SALAMEH WAS BORN.

NYT(P.STEINFELS): 'MANY VARIETIES OF FUNDAMENTALISM (MUSLIM, JEWISH, CHRISTIAN AND HINDU)'.

DN(AP): EGYPTIAN FM AMR MOUSSA SAID ON SUNDAY THAT IF THE US DECIDES TO DEPORT SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN, HE WOULD FACE CRIMINAL CHARGES IN CAIRO; MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS IN EGYPT REPORTEDLY VOWED TO TARGET FOREIGN INVESTORS AS WELL AS TOURISTS IN THEIR CAMPAIGN TO WEAKEN THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY.

DN(M.FINNEGAN): UP TO ONE DOZEN JEWS LED BY RABBI AVI WEISS DEMONSTRATED OUTSIDE THE MOSQUE WHERE BOMBING SUSPECT MOHAMMED SALAMEH REPORTEDLY WORSHIPPED IN JERSEY CITY (NEW JERSEY); QUOTES RABBI WEISS AS SAYING: 'WE WILL NOT FORGIVE AND WE WILL NOT FORGET. TERRORISM IS LIKE A CANCER THAT HAS TO BE CUT OUT AT ITS SOURCE'; LOCAL MUSLIMS COMPLAINED THAT THEY WERE BEING TAINTED WITH STEREOTYPES AND WARNED OF AN ANTI-ISLAMIC BACKLASH FROM THE ARREST OF MR. SALAMEH.

NYP(B.TAUBMAN): 'BLIND SHEIK (RAHMAN) HAS NOTHING BUT CONTEMPT FOR AMERICA'.

NYP(D.BRODERICK): 'MAYOR (DINKINS) SAYS NEWSDAY LEAK HURT HUNT FOR BOMBING CONSPIRATORS'.

NYP(U.DAN): 'IRAN LINK EYED IN WTC TERROR BLAST': MIDDLE EAST AND AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE EXPERTS BELIEVE THAT SUSPECTED BOMBER MOHAMMED SALAMEH MAY HAVE BEEN RECRUITED BY AN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST GROUP THAT ORIGINATES IN IRAN; US AND ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES REPORTEDLY OBTAINED 'EXTENSIVE EVIDENCE' FOLLOWING THE BOMBING OF THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN ARGENTINA THAT IRAN HAD CREATED A LARGE-SCALE TERRORIST NETWORK, BUT REMAINED QUIET ABOUT THE ORGANIZATION IN OR-

DER TO PROTECT SURVEILLANCE OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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ND(P.J.SLOYAN-CABLED): 'ALL TOO FOREIGN: CLINTON LET OTHERS SET COURSE ON BOSNIA'.

MICHAEL STOLTZ
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רחמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וח'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, פרנ, מזתים, בייך, ארבל1

סססס

11686:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמט/390

מ:-ניו יורק,נר:218,תא:080393,זח:1439,דח:ר,סג:בל,

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9,233388

9,753100

BALMAS/RAGIL
26120

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 6-7-MARCH-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYP(6): 'ROOT OUT THE TERROR CELLS': WRITER COMMENDS THE FBI FOR DEVELOPING SOME 'EARLY BREAKS' IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING, BUT CALLS ON THE ORGANIZATION TO CONTINUE ITS INVESTIGATION OF THIS AND OTHER FOREIGN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN THE US; CRITICIZES THE STATE DEPARTMENT FOR ALLOWING SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN TO ENTER THE COUNTRY ON A TOURIST VISA; NOTES THE CAREER AND BACKGROUND OF SHEIK RAHMAN AND HIS ISLAMIC JIHAD ORGANIZATION IN EGYPT; STATES THAT THE MURDER OF RABBI MEIR KAHANE SHOULD HAVE LED TO A WIDE-SPREAD INVESTIGATION OF ARAB TERRORIST CELLS IN AMERICA.

COLUMNS

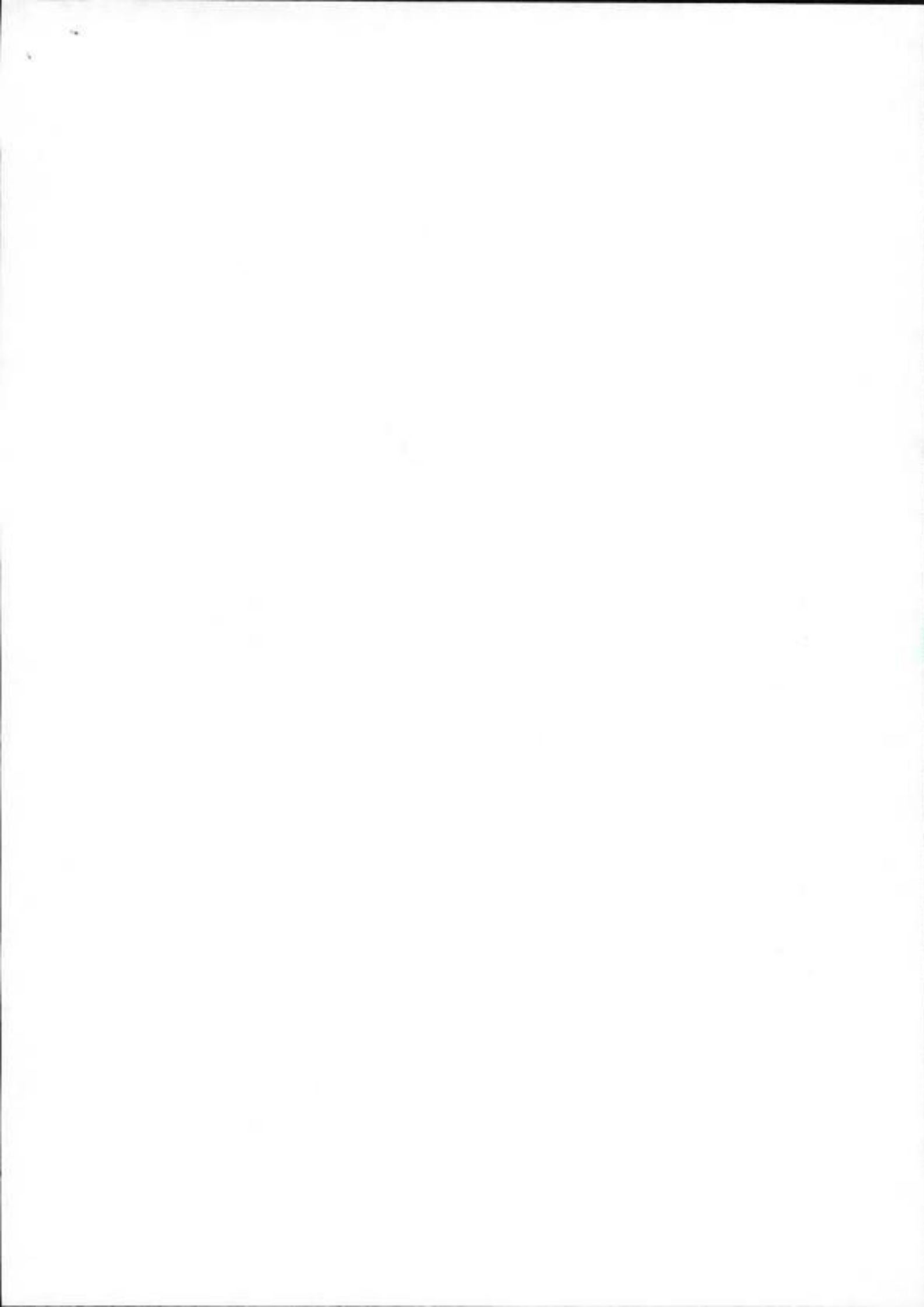
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ND(7-H.J.BARKEY): 'THE PERILS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM': WRITER BELIEVES THAT THE BEST WAY TO COMBAT TERRORISM IS BY 'DEMYSTIFYING' THE ACT OF TERROR AND REDUCING IT TO WHAT IT REALLY IS: A CRIMINAL ACT; RECOMMENDS AGAINST ADOPTING EXTRAORDINARY SECURITY MEASURES OR CONTEMPLATING CHANGES IN FOREIGN POLICY INTENDED TO PLACATE VARIOUS TERRORIST GROUPS; CALLS ON THE FBI AND OTHER SECURITY AGENCIES TO INCREASE MONITORING OF SAID GROUPS IN AMERICA.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT(6): AGENTS STEP UP SEARCH FOR BOMBING SUSPECT'S LINKS; FBI INQUIRY FAILED TO DETECT ANY SIGN OF ATTACK; US PLANNING AID TO HELP SHORE UP YELTSIN'S POSITION; UNEMPLOYMENT DECLINES TO 7 PERCENT IN PAY-ROLL RISE. NYT(7): ASPIN IS PREPARING LIST FOR NEW SET OF BASE CLOSINGS; MUSLIMS IN THE US FEAR AN UPSURGE IN HOSTILITY; TARGETING URGED IN ATTACK ON AIDS; PATIENTS FOOTING THE BILL AMID CANADIAN CUTBACKS. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.



IDF/LEBANON/ATTACK: NYT(7-I.HIJAZI-CABLED): ISRAELI HELICOPTER GUNSHIPS ATTACKED A GUERRILLA BASE ALONG THE LEBANESE COAST NEAR SIDON, REPORTEDLY WOUNDING FOUR PEOPLE IN THE RAID; AN IDF SPOKESMAN SAID THAT THE SITE WAS A BASE FOR THE PFLP-GC; LEBANESE SOURCES SAID THAT AN OFFICER OF THE FATAH WING OF THE PLO WAS KILLED ON SATURDAY IN AN AMBUSH NEAR THE SITE OF THE ISRAELI ATTACK; LEBANESE POLICE LINK THE ATTACK TO A FEUD BETWEEN FATAH AND THE FATAH REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL LED BY ABU NIDAL.

ISRAEL/US/LOAN GUARANTEES: NYT(7-C.HABERMAN-CABLED): 'ISRAEL SET TO USE US LOAN GUARANTEES': ARTICLE CLAIMS THAT ISRAEL PLANS TO USE THE FIRST DOLLAR 1 BILLION IN US LOAN GUARANTEES WITHIN THE NEXT MONTH, TO IMPROVE TELECOMMUNICATIONS, POWER GENERATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE; QUOTES US AMBASSADOR WILLIAM HARROP AS SAYING: 'THE COMMITMENT OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE TO ISRAEL IS NOT IN QUESTION, NOW OR IN THE FUTURE, BUT IT MAY PROVE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN OUR ECONOMIC AID AT ITS CURRENT HIGH LEVEL'; SOME ISRAELIS AND AMERICAN JEWS ACKNOWLEDGE THAT TALK ABOUT ISRAELI ENTITLEMENT TO AID 'MAY NOT SIT WELL' WITH WASHINGTON AT A TIME WHEN FOREIGN AID IS UNPOPULAR; NOTES THE DEBATE DURING THE BUSH ERA OVER THE LOAN GUARANTEES.

ISRAEL/ARABS/US/DIPLOMACY: NYT(7-E.SCIOLINO-CABLED): 'THE ISRAEL-ARAB SOAP OPERA: ACTORS CHANGE, PLOTS DON'T': ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES THAT HAVE OCCURRED SINCE THE NEW CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS TAKEN OFFICE, WITH REGARD TO THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS; SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER REPORTEDLY SENSED A NEW SERIOUSNESS ABOUT MAKING PEACE ON THE PART OF SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASSAD DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO DAMASCUS; CLAIMS THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER IS DETERMINED TO BEFRIEND RATHER THAN BULLY THE PARTIES, HOPING THAT BY LISTENING CAREFULLY HE CAN WIN THE TRUST OF BOTH SIDES AND ELICIT THEIR IDEAS FOR BRIDGING THE GAPS.

US/IRAN/TERRORISM: NYT(7-REUTERS): STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ISSUED A STATEMENT ON FRIDAY THAT DESCRIBED IRAN AS THE WORLD'S 'MOST DANGEROUS STATE SPONSOR OF TERRORISM'; SAID STATEMENT ALSO ACCUSED THE IRANIAN INTELLIGENCE OF BEING INVOLVED IN ASSASSINATION IN EUROPE AND BOMBINGS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND LATIN AMERICA.

EGYPT/MILITANTS/INDICTED: NYT(7-AP),ND(BRIEF): EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES IN CAIRO INDICTED 49 SUSPECTED MUSLIM MILITANTS ON SATURDAY FOR ATTACKS ON FOREIGN TOURISTS; SOME OF THOSE ACCUSED COULD FACE EXECUTION IF CONVICTED BY A MILITARY COURT THAT CONVENES ON TUESDAY.

CUBA/CASTRO/POWER: NYT(7-REUTERS): CUBAN LEADER FIDEL CASTRO SAID IN AN INTERVIEW BROADCAST IN HAVANA ON FRIDAY THAT IF THE PRICE FOR THE US TO LIFT ITS ECONOMIC EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA IS HIS DEPARTURE FROM POWER, HE WOULD BE READY TO NEGOTIATE THIS WITH THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION.

WTC/BOMBING/INVESTIGATION: NYP(6): 'PLOTTERS MAY HAVE SERVED UP SALAMEH DELIBERATELY: SOURCE': ACCORDING TO SOME TERRORIST EXPERTS,

WTC BOMBING SUSPECT MOHAMMED SALAMEH MAY HAVE BEEN 'LEFT HOLDING THE BAG' AFTER THE INCIDENT, WHILE HIS COLLEAGUES PROBABLY LEFT THE COUNTRY; MR. SALAMEH WAS STILL REFUSING ON FRIDAY TO COOPERATE WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

NYT(7-D.SONTAG-FRONT PAGE): 'MUSLIMS IN THE US FEAR AN UPSURGE IN HOSTILITY'.

NYT(6-R.D.MCFADDEN-FRONT PAGE): 'AGENTS STEP UP SEARCH FOR BOMBING SUSPECT'S LINKS'.

NYT(6-R.BLUMENTHAL-FRONT PAGE): 'FBI INQUIRY FAILED TO DETECT ANY SIGN OF ATTACK'.

ND(7-S.SACHS): 'JORDAN KEEPS ITS DISTANCE FROM A CITIZEN': ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE BACKGROUND OF MOHAMMED SALAMEH AND HIS FAMILY IN THE (ADMINISTERED) TERRITORIES AND JORDAN; QUOTES JORDANIAN INFORMATION MINISTER MAHMOUD AL-SHARIF AS SAYING: 'THE ALLEGED SUSPECT HAS BEEN LIVING IN THE US FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS, AND WE SHOULD NOT BE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS BEHAVIOR'.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

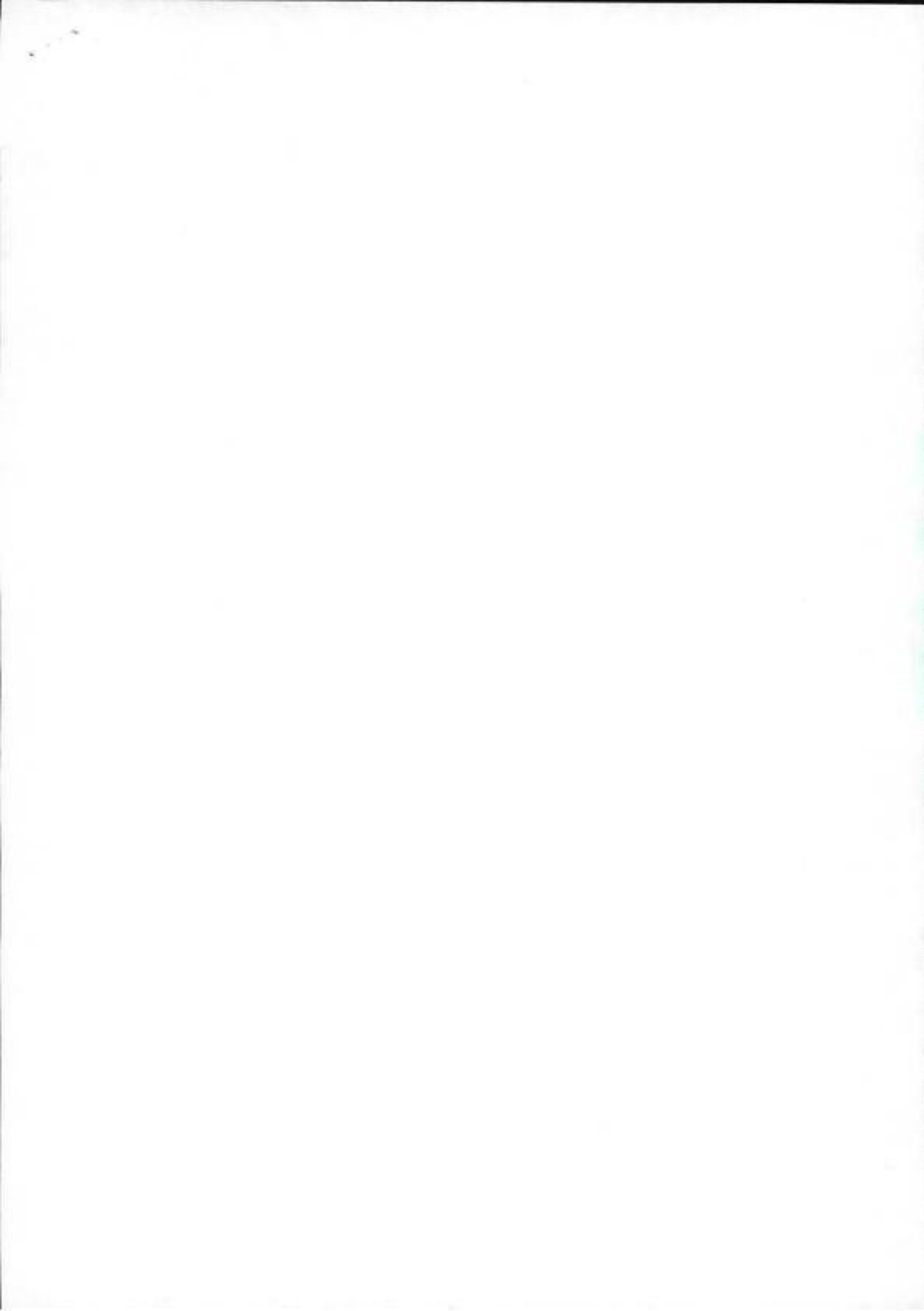
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NYT(7-N.C.NASH-CABLED): 'ARGENTINE GIVES MISSILE PARTS TO US FOR DISPOSAL'.

MICHAEL STOLTZ
ITONUT-NY

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

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 11845

אל: רהמש/408

מ-: שיקגו, נר: 36, תא: 080393, זח: 1108, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכב

שמור/מידי

אל: מז"ת 2

מצפ"א

מע"ת

דע: עיתונות - ווש',

הסברה - ווש',

עיתונות - נ"י

מאת: שיקאגו

הנדון: עצורי החמאס - שיקאגו

1. רשתות הטלויזיה והרדיו לא מרפות מהדרישה למידע באשר לכתב האשמה כנגד ג'ראד וצ'לאח.

2. לכך מתווסף דיווח עויין של ה, שיקאגו טריביון" (8/3) - השניים הם "דגי רקק" שמעמדם נופח כדי להצדיק מדיניות רבין ביחס לגירוש ה-400 ולקידום התיזה שבסיסי החמאס הם בארה"ב.

3. הכתב טום האנדלי טוען ש"מעריכים מחדש" את מעמד השניים.

4. מעצר אנוואה חמדאן מגביר את הצורך במידע מידי, התייחסות ל"הערכה מחדש" ולהגשת כתב האשמה.

קורן

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מעפא, סמנכלמזח, מזת2, רביב, מעת, הסברה, סיבל, @ (עמית475)

סססס

10971: חוזם, אאאא

אל: רדמ/ש/371

מ-: לונדון, נר: 78, תא: 080393, זח: 1015, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

60656

שמור / מידי

110.70

697

אל: ממ"ד/ערב 2 - לשנו

הנדון: פלס'-תחליך

להלן "שש הנקודות" כפי שהוצגו לבריטים ע"י אש"פ בתוניס:

2/10/78

רה"ח

1) U.S. TO DECLARE THE DEPORTATIONS WERE ILLEGAL.

2) AT NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS U.S. TO BE FULLY COMMITTED TO RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, AS WELL AS TO TAKE INITIATIVES ON THE PEACE FOR LAND IDEA AND ON THE NECESSITY TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT JERUSALEM.

תקום ע"י אש"פ
אל "נקיטת יזמה"
אל יע' ויאמין/אום
(24/10/78)

3) NOT TO REVERT TO DEPORTATION PRACTICES AT A LATER DATE.

4) IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE TERMS OF RESOLUTION 799, TO TAKE AGREED UPON STEPS TO ACCELERATE THE RETURN OF THE DEPORTEES.

יחזקאל

5) TO RETURN SIZABLE NUMBERS OF PALESTINIANS DEPORTED SINCE 1967.

6) TO TAKE CONCRETE, BROAD AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES WITH REGARD TO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

ציר-יועץ/לונדון
אילן ברוך

5 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמו), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממוד, סביר,
אירופה, ערן, מצפא, מזתים, רביב, הסברה,
סייבל, @ (לוברני), @ (מתאמשטחים)

סכסס

אאאא, חוזם: 11887

אל: רהמ"ש/412

מ:- וושינגטון, נר: 346, תא: 080393, זח: 2017, דח: מ, סג: שט,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

א ל: פר"נ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: בק"נ במזה"ת- סמינר ב- MIT (18-19.2)

כללי:

1. רצ"ב סדה'י (יגיעכם בנפרד בפקס נר-1065) של הסמינר אשר הפגיש (זו השנה השניה) ישראלים ומומחים אמריקאים לדיון בנושאי פרוליפרציה ובקרת נשק.

2. במוקד הדיונים כמו-גם בשיחות המסדרון עמדה סוגיית הפרוליפרציה הגרעינית בכלל (לקחי עיראק, איראן וכו') והצעדים שעל ישראל לנקוט כדי לתרום את חלקה לבלימת מירון החימוש הגרעיני על רקע ועידת ה-NPT ב-95. (הדים לדיון בנושא הגרעיני תמצאו במאמרים שפרסמו אבנר כהן וראובן פדהצור ב"דבר" ו"ידיעות אחרונות").

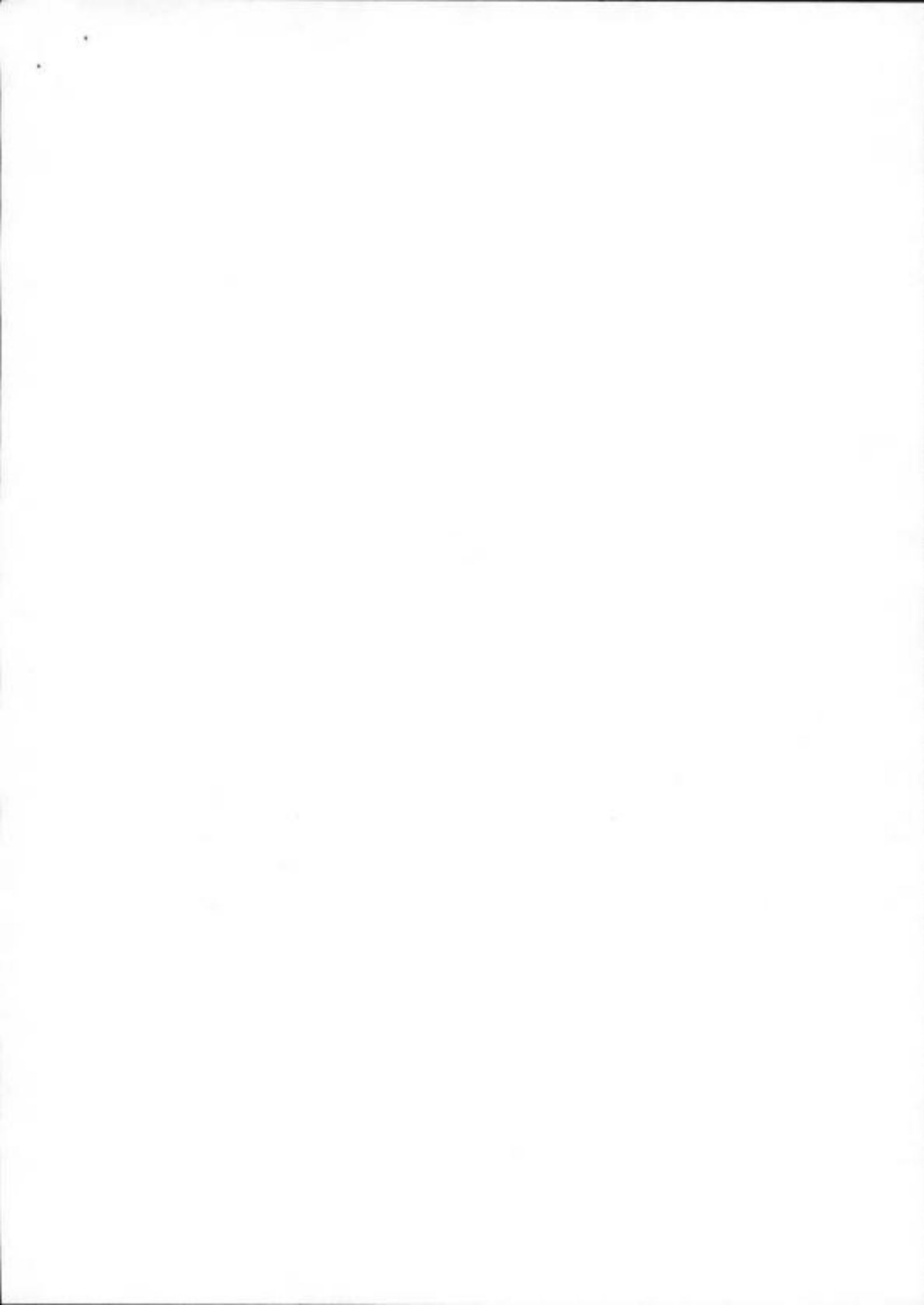
3. אחת המטרות העיקריות בארגון הסמינר היתה לחשוף בעיקר פוליטיקאים מישראל לחשיבה האמריקאית בנושאי פרוליפרציה. משיחות שקיימתי עם חברי הכנסת חזן וסנה התרשמתי שהכנס השיג מטרותיו. משיחות עם מארגני הסמינר התרשמתי שבכוונתם לנסות ולמסד מפגשים אלה.

תוכן הדיונים:

להלן יסוכמו נקודות עקריות מדברי חלק מהמשתתפים:

ג'ים לינארד (LEONARD)

נושא הרצאתו: THE CHEMICAL WEAPON CONVENTION AND THE LINKAGE WITH NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL



1. סבור שלא ניתן לבטל טענת מצרים בדבר קיום לינקאז' בין CW לנשק גרעיני. יש צורך לבחון אופי הלינקאז' (קרי האם מדובר בלינקאז' פוליטי, אסטרטגי או תעמולתי).

2. לא רק בעולם הערבי גם בארה"ב מקבלים הרעיון בדבר קשר מסוים בין כל ה-WMD ואמצעי השיגור. לשאלתו האם יש תקפות צבאית להנחה לעיל השיב שלהערכתו יש תקפות מסוימת.

3. סוריה השיגה יכולת הרחעתית כימית נגד האפשרות של מכה ראשונה ישראלית. סבורים שליכולת שהשיגו יש ערך אסטרטגי.

4. הסכנה שישראל WILL INVOKE יכולת גרעינית הינה תיאורטית אלא אם כן מדינות ערב יאימו להשמדה. סבור שאפשרות זו היא בשליטתם הבלעדית של הערבים.

5. הזכיר טענה ערבית לפיה יכולתה הגרעינית של ישראל אינה מיועדת לשימוש נגדם אלא כמטריה המאפשרת לה להוציא לפועל מדיניות התפשטות. אינו סבור שתפיסה זו הינה נחלת רוב מדינות ערב. אותן מדינות שסבורות שזו אכן מטרת הנשק הגרעיני שברשת ישראל מעונינות להשיג יכולת CW. עמדה זו קיבלה חיזוק בעקבות הממצאים שהתפרסמו בספרו של סימור הירש. לדבריו ההנחה שהעלה לגבי היקף הארסנל הגרעיני הישראלי עורר במצרים השאלה: מדוע זקוקה ישראל לארסנל צבאי רחב היקף?

6. לסיכום הנקודה לעיל, טען שבמונחים צבאיים הקשר בין CW לנשק גרעיני חלש אך לא ניתן לבטל כליל.

7. אשר לקשר הפוליטי יש לראות זאת כ"עובדת חיים". ציין כי מצרים מובילה בנושא. הקשה האם ישראל תוכל לעשות משהו בתחום הגרעיני שיאפשר למצרים לעשות משהו בתחום הכימי?

8. התייחס בהקשר לעיל לנאום שה"ח בפריז ב-13.1 שלדבריו היווה חזרה על עמדותיה המוכרות של ישראל. לדבריו לא היה בתוכן הנאום כדי לשנות עמדת מצרים. סכם באומרו: "כעת יש לישראל ולנו בעיה להביא את מצרים לחתום על CWC". הוסיף כי לא ברור לו מה תהיה עמדת סוריה במידה ומצרים תחליט להצטרף.

ספקטור

1. סקר את החדשות הטובות והרעות בנושא הפרוליפרציה הגרעינית בעקבות סיום המלחמה הקרה.

2. בקטע שבו התייחס לחדשות הפחות טובות התעקב על איראן. להערכתו המאמץ אותו היא מרכזת להשגת יכולת גרעינית נמצא בשלביו הראשונים. "ממה שידוע לי אין לפי שעה ממה להיות מודאג". הדגיש כי חשוב להבהיר מה יקרה במידה ואיראן תצליח לרכוש יכולת גרעינית. יש לעשות מאמץ למנוע ממנה טכנולוגיה.

3. טען כי סוריה מתעניינת בהשגת יכולת גרעינית אם כי לפי שעה ההתקדמות בנושא היא מועטה.

דאן (DUNN)

1. נושא סקירתו היה: הארכת ה-NPT . נושאים לשנת 95 .
2. ערך מאזן של ה-NPT . בצד השלילה ציין הנקודות הבאות: חברות מדינות (צ' קוריאנה, עיראק איראן) שמחויבותן ל-NPT במקרה הטוב בסימן שאלה, קיום מצבים מסוימים שבהם עצם החברות במשטר מקנה תחושת שליטה/פיקוח על מירון החימוש (עיראק החליטה להמשיך חברותה כחלק מתרגיל הונאה), השארת מדינות מפתח (אלז'יריה, ישראל, הודו ופקיסטאן) מחוץ למשטר, חולשת מנגנון הפיקוח היעדר אמצעי הענשה (סנקציות) נגד חברות שהפרו את האמנה.
3. בצד החיוב מנה הנקודות הבאות: הצטרפות למעלה מ-100 מדינות יצרה נורמה. עובדה זו הפחיתה הדחף לרכישת יכולת גרעינית. בקונטקסט המזה"תי האמנה תרמה לריסון מצרים וסעודיה שיכולה (לו רצתה) לרכוש יכולת גרעינית (הוסיף בהערת ביניים שה-NPT NORM לא מנע ממדינות מסוימות לנסות ולהשיג נשק גרעיני אך הן נאלצו לעשות זאת בחשאי). המשטר האט תכניות גרעיניות ובו זמנית הגדיל הקושי והמחיר ואפשר למדינות אחרות להגיב. הנורמה הפכה נסיונות למכירה לרכישת יכולת לבלתי לגיטימית. (עובדה זו תקל על המאמץ הבינ"ל במידה ואיראן תפר האמנה). P-5 כבסים לפיקוח בינ"ל ובסים לחיזוק האמנה.
4. אשר לוועידת ה-NPT ב-95, ציין כי ההחלטה להאריך האמנה לפרק זמן בלתי מוגבל טעונה הסכמה של 80 ומעלה חברות. העריך שארה"ב ואירופה (מז'-ומע') ורוסיה יתמכו בהארכה ארוכה ככל האפשר. קבוצת מדינות בעולם השלישי עליהן נמנות מדינות כגון מכסיקו ואינדונזיה מבקרות את האמנה, מדינות ערב ואפריקה מרכיבות קבוצה נוספת הממקדת עניין בשתי מדינות דרא"פ וישראל (כ-20 מדינות נמנות על קבוצה זו. הגדירן כ-SINGLE ISSUE STATES).
5. בין השיקולים שישפיעו על החלטת החברות לתמוך בהארכה לזמן ארוך: דאגת המדינות הלא גרעיניות מהמשך מהמצב הנמשך של אפליה, דרישת הלא גרעיניות מחמש הגרעיניות להתחייב להשמיד הנשק הגרעיני שברשותן ואיסור על ניסויים גרעיניים, החלטת אוקראינה להמשיך ולהחזיק בנשק הגרעיני עלולה לעורר התנגדות מז' ומע' אירופאיות להארכה בלתי מוגבלת, BACKSLIDING של דרא"פ כתוצאה משינוי במצב הפנימי עובדה שתגרום להתנגדות מדינות אפריקה להארכה בלתי מוגבלת. "PERCEIVED LACK OF ISRAEL RESTRAIN" תחליש המיכת הערביות המתונות באמנה.
6. בדיון בעקבות הסקירה, טען יאיר עברון שהצלחתה היחסית של ה-PTN נבעה ממבנה המערכת הבינ"ל (בתקופת המלחמה הקרה) שמנעה הפצת נשק גרעיני. השינוי שחל במערכת הבינ"ל יצור צורך במיכניזמים רגיונליים.
7. דייויד קיי (KAY) התייחס (בהקשר לוועידה ב-95) ליכולת לפקח על פעילותה הגרעינית של דרא"פ בעבר. סיפר על הצעת דרא"פ למכור לארה"ב את כל האורניום המעשיר שברשותה. לדבריו, ה-ANC תוהה אם זה צעד נכון. ביקר את הממשל על שטרם השיב בחיוב להצעה.

דייויד קיי (KAY)

1. להלן הלקחים שמנה בעקבות הגילויים בעיראק:

- א- השגת יכולת גרעינית אפשרית תוך התראה קצרה.
- ב- PILOT SCALE TECHNIQUE מאפשרת בתוך פרק זמן סביר לייצר כמות גדולה של אורניום מעשר.
- ג- ניתן להתגבר על בעיות הקשורות ל- WEAPONIZATION .
- ד- למדינות רבות בעולם השלישי הטכנולוגיה וכ"א הדרושים לפיתוח כושר גרעיני.
- ה- היכולת העיראקית בתחום: PROJECT MANAGEMENT SKILLS הקטין תלותה בגורמי חוץ. סבור שלמדינות נוספות בעולם השלישי יכולת דומה.
- ו- לכל מדינה יש גישה למידע דרוש בתחום הגרעיני. עיראק, וכמוה רבות ממדינות העולם השלישי מכשירות סטודנטים במערב.
- ז- עיראק רכשה יכולת הונאה אסטרטגית וטקטית.
- ח- נכונות גורמים במערב למסור יידע וציוד .
2. הוסיף כי פיקוח על ייצוא יכל להתאזר ולייקר פיתוח תכנית גרעינית. חילופי מידע עשויים לסייע בגילוי תכניות גרעיניות (ציין בהקשר זה כי בתוך הממשל האמריקאי לא היתה חלוקת מידע לגבי הנעשה בעיראק).
3. נקודות נוספות מסקירתו המעניינת של קיי מופיעות בכתבה שפורסמה (בעקבות הסמינר) ב"ידיעות אחרונות".

ריצ'ארד בארנט (BARNET)

1. להלן נקודות מסקירתו בה התייחס בין השאר לערעור הסדר העולמי בעקבות התמוטטות בריה"מ ומשמעות הסביבה הגלובאלית החדשה לגבי נשק גרעיני:
- א- חילק את העולם בין אלה המעוניינים לפתח סדר חדש לאחרים להם יש סדר"י משלהם ולכן אינם מעוניינים בקביעת סדר חדש.
- לאותן מדינות הנמנות על הקבוצה הראשונה יש עניין בהקטנת תפקיד הנשק הגרעיני.
- ב- נראה שהרציונל לפיתוח נשק גרעיני כיום ישים פחות מבעבר.
- "קל היה למכור הצורך בנשק גרעיני כשהיתה מלחמה קרה והיה איום".
- ג- הרעיון שנשק גרעיני יכל להרתיע פרובוקציה לא גרעינית נראה כיום בלתי אפשרי. ציין בהקשר זה שארסנל הנשק הגרעיני האמריקאי אינו רלוונטי כלל לפתרון משבר בוסניה.
- ד- הסבירות לשימוש בנשק גרעיני במשברים איזורים גדלה. "השימוש בנשק גרעיני הינו אקט לא רציונלי". יחד עם זאת ניתן להבחין בהתגברות האי רציונליזם ביחסים הבינ"ל.
- ה- לארה"ב וליתר המדינות המעוניינות בבניית סדר עולמי חדש עניין

בדה-לגיטימציה של נשק גרעיני.

ו- יש ליצור סביבה שבה החמריץ לשימוש בנשק גרעיני יהיה קטן. יש להשתמש בלחצים כלכליים ותמריצים להקטין תפקיד הנשק הגרעיני.

אכסלגארד:

1. סקר העקרונות והמודיליטיס של קבוצת עבודה לבק"ג ובטחון איזורי.
 2. להלן נקודות עקריות מסקירתו:
 - א- דיוני ק. הע. (והתהליך המולטילטרלי בכלל) קשורים ומשלימים התהליך הבילטרלי.
 - ב- ציין עקרון הקונצנזוס והעובדה ש- 12 מדינות ערביות נוטלות חלק בדיונים. הגדיר האוירה כעניינית ופרודוקטיבית.
 - ג- תאר השלב שבו אנו נמצאים כשלב ההיכרות ההדדית שנועד להביא האיזור לרמה שבה ניתן יהיה לנהל דיון מהותי.
 - ד- הדגיש כי המדובר בתהליך של צעד אחר צעד. "יש מטרות שאפתניות אך נעשה זאת בהדרגתיות". תאר את סדה"י כמקיף.
 - ה- בהקשר לתוכן הדיונים ציין שמצרים הציעה לקיים דיון במטרות לטווח ארוך קרי דיון בנשק הגרעיני בידי ישראל.
- ישראל לעומת זאת הדגישה הצורך במטרות לטווח קצר קרי CBM'S.
- ציין כי הסכמת ישראל במפגש מוסקבה לפרט עמדתה בסוגיית היעדים לטווח ארוך.

ג'ף קמפ (KEMP)

1. התייחס ללינקאז' הקיים בין מטרות AC תהליך השלום ובטחון המפרץ (צורך בלום מגמות איראן ועיראק).
2. בהתייחסו לאיראן ציין היות המשטר חלש מושחת בלתי מאורגן ומסוכן. מתוך חשש להחקפה צבאית ו/או אמברגו מבצעת איראן מדיניות רכש קונבנציונלי מטרפת. "רוכשים כל מה שניתן במחיר מציאה".
3. את בלימת איראן ועיראק ניתן לבצע ע"י שיפור הסכמי הבטחון הבילטרליים בין ארה"ב למפרציות ומכירות נשק. בהקשר האחרון ציין הצורך בהבחנה בין מכירה לספוק צרכי בטחון לגיטימיים ובין מכירות שנועדו לשמור על מקומות עבודה.
4. אינו צופה שארה"ב תשנה (בטווח הקצר) עמדתה לגבי בניית יכולת צבאית במפרץ.
5. המשך תהליך השלום הינו מפתח לאסטרטגיה האמריקאית במפרץ. הצלחת התהליך יהיה לדבריו, אירוע רב משמעות שתפגע באיראן ועיראק החוששות משלום בין סוריה לישראל.

6. הצלחה בתהליך חיונית לתהליך AC רציני.

7. מנקודת מבטם של ישראל ומדינות ערב לא ניתן להשאיר את איראן מחוץ להסדרי AC.

8. הערבים לא ישנו עמדתם לפיה זקוקים לבטחונות לגבי אופי הנשק הגרעיני של ישראל.

9. מעריך שסוגיית הגרעין הישראלי תעלה בהקשר למאמץ לבלום התכנית הגרעינית האיראנית. השאלה שארה"ב תצטרך לעלות עם ישראל היא באיזו מידה יש לישראל אינטרס לסייע לארה"ב לבלום איראן. ציין בהקשר זה האפשרות להקפאת ייצור חומר גרעיני והבהרות ביחס למקום הנשק הגרעיני באסטרטגיה הישראלית כויתורים אפשריים מצד ישראל א-פרופו המאמץ לבלימת איראן.

ברד גורדון (GORDON)

1. להלן נקודות עקריות מדבריו:

א- סוגיית הנשק הגרעיני של ישראל LOOMS LARGE על רקע ועידת ה-NPT ב-95.

ב- ישראל מתחילה להבין שלא תוכל להשאיר מחוץ לנורמות גלובאליות קרי מחוץ משטר הנון-פרוליפרציה.

ג- א-פרופו נאום שה"ח פרס בינואר (חתימה על CMC) ציין כי ישראל הבהירה שכל הנושאים כולל גרעין יהיו על השולחן כאשר המסגרת לדיון היא ק. הע. לבק"נ ובטחון איזורי.

ד- מטרת ארה"ב בועידת ה-NPT תהיה להאריך המשטר ללא הגבלת זמן. אחת הבעיות בהקשר זה תהיה הנשק הגרעיני הישראלי.

ה- מצרים (הרואה לינקאז' בין נשק גרעיני ל-CMC) מעונינת שישראל תעשה צעד בנושא הגרעיני. ציין כי למצרים תהיה השפעה על עמדת מדינות רבות בעולם השלישי. טענת מצרים היא שלא תוכל להסכים להארכת ה-NPT לפרק זמן בלתי מוגבל כל עוד לא כל המדינות (קרי ישראל) אינן מצטרפות לאמנה. מעריך שמצרים תחמוך בהארכה לפרק זמן מוגבל. במידה ומצרים תעשה נפשות לעמדתה צופה שבועידה תהיה קבוצת מדינות שתתנגד לעמדת ארה"ב. סבור שסביב נושא ההארכה של ה-NPT תהיה מחלוקת בין ארה"ב לישראל.

ו- תחום נוסף בעייתי קשור למחויבותם לשמירת הפער האיכותי של ישראל במובן הרחב והגבלות על העברת טכנולוגיות בשל מדיניותם בתחום הפרוליפרציה. חילוקי הדעות מוצאים ביטויים בתחום מחשבי העל.

ז- סוגיית הגרעין הישראלי עלולה להיות מכשול להארכת ה-NPT. כמו-כן הדבר יקשה על ארה"ב TO DAMPEN תכניות גרעיניות במדיניות אחרות.

ח- לאור האמור לעיל נשאלת השאלה על ישראל להקטין האמפאקט של המצאות הנשק הגרעיני ברשותה וסירובה להצטרף ל-NPT. אינו סבור שעל ישראל לשנות מדיניות העמימות. לשינוי המדיניות קרי הודעה על המצאות נשק גרעיני תהיה

השפעה שלילית. ההודעה תיתן לגיטימציה למדינות ערביות להשיג יכולת גרעינית.

ט- מנה הצעדים שלדעתו ישראל יכולה לעשות כדי להקטין הלחץ עליה: חזרה על הצהרתנו לגבי מדיניותנו לטווח הארוך, חזרה על הצהרה בענין CTB, נכונות לדיון על אימות (בהקשר לנקודה האחרונה טען שזה יסייע לערבים להבין איזה סוג משטר אימות יקום במזה"ת בבוא העת).

י- צעדי ביניים שעל ישראל לנקוט: יישום יוזמת בוש בהקשר להפסקת ייצור ורכישת חומר גרעיני (ציין שהיוזמה לא עוסקת במה שיש לישראל. טען בהקשר זה כי דימונה הינו מתקן מזדקן) סבור שיוזמת בוש תהפוך ליוזמת קלינטון. "ישראל יכולה להחליט שמספיק זה מספיק". החלטה להקפיא המשך ייצור חומר גרעיני תראה ע"י ארה"ב כצעד רב משמעות. הדבר יסייע לארה"ב להשיג מטרותיה בתחום הפרוליפרציה כמו-כן זה יאפשר להתיר הרסן בתחום העברת טכנולוגיה. לדבריו, סגירת דימונה ניתן לעשות ע"י הודעה חד צדדית שתבטיח לנו שליטה על החלטתנו ותאפשר לנו במקרה הצורך לחזור בנו.

יא- הקפאת ייצור חומר גרעיני כיום תקשה על הערבים לנסות ולהשיג יכולת דומה. כמו-כן הצעד יאפשר הקמת משטר אימות שיוכל להגיע בתהליך הקמת איזור מפורז מנשק גרעיני: המו"מ על האימות יקח זמן. כאשר בתקופת המו"מ נוכל להמשיך בתפעול דימונה.

עד כאן נקודות עקריות מדברי חלק מהמשתתפים בסמינר.

ניירות שחולקו בסמינר, ישלחו בדיפ.

שטיין

תפוצה: שחח, ששחח, @ (רהמ), @ (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, פרנ, מצפא,
סייבל, משפט

סססס

11883:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמ/410

מ:-ווינגטון,נר:344,תא:080393,זח:1934,דח:מ,סג:בל,

בבב

בלמס/מידי

א ל: מצפ"א

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: עדות דג'רג'יאן בפני ועדת החקצבות

MARCH 9, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: MITZPA
FROM: CHERYL AMITAY, CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS

RE: MARCH 9, 1993, HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE FOREIGN
OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING (CHAIRMAN OBEY D-WI)
REGARDING FISCAL YEAR 1993 FUNDING PROPOSAL FOR FOREIGN
ASSISTANCE
WITNESS: EDWARD DJEREJIAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR NEAR EAST AFFAIRS

OVERVIEW OF HEARING:

WHILE THE CONTENT OF THIS HEARING WAS EXPANSIVE, NOT MUCH
INSIGHT EMERGED FROM DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES. HOWEVER, DJEREJIAN
SEEMED MORE FORTHCOMING AND RELAXED IN HIS POSITION UNDER THE NEW
ADMINISTRATION THEN HE HAD IN PREVIOUS APPEARANCES. PRESENT AT THE
2 AND 1/2 HOUR LONG HEARING WERE THE FOLLOWING MEMBERS: DEMOCRATS
CHAIR OBEY, YATES (IL), TORRES (CA), LOWEY (NY), SERRANO (NY) AND
RANKING REPUBLICANS LIVINGSTON (NY).

INITIAL STATEMENTS

IN OBEY'S OPENING STATEMENT, HE THREW OUT A LOT OF ISSUES THAT
CONCERNED HIM; SEVERAL OF WHICH HE QUESTIONED DJEREJIAN ABOUT
LATER. HE NOTED THE UNITED STATES' "UNEVEN HISTORY OF INVOLVEMENT
IN THE AREA", CHARACTERIZED BY AN ACTIVE INVESTMENT OF POLITICAL
CAPITAL UNDER PRESIDENT CARTER, WANING PROGRESS UNDER PRES. REAGAN
AND A RESURGENCE OF ADVOCACY UNDER THE LAST ADMINISTRATION. OBEY
STATED THAT CONSTANT INVOLVEMENT IN THIS REGION IS NECESSARY AND HE
CONGRATULATED DJEREJIAN ON THE PENDING RESUMPTION OF PEACE TALKS.
CITING A DOLLAR 100 BILLION FIGURE OF TOTAL CUMULATIVE U.S. AID TO
THE REGION HUNDREDS OF U.S. PERSONNEL LOST IN ME PEACE KEEPING
EFFORTS (INCLUDING THE PERSIAN GULF), THE NEGATIVE ECONOMIC EFFECTS

OF THE SECONDARY AND TERTIARY ARAB BOYCOTT TO U.S. BUSINESSES, AND DOMESTIC OIL PRICE FLUCTUATION, THE U.S. "HAS A RIGHT" TO EXPECT RESULTS FROM THE PEACE PROCESS (WHICH WILL IN TURN REDUCE THE NECESSITY FOR SO MUCH AID). RANKING MINORITY LIVINGSTON MIMICRED OBEY'S SENTIMENT THAT MIDDLE EAST PEACE IS NOT ONLY IMPORTANT FOR WORLD PEACE, BUT ALSO FOR THE U.S. TAXPAYER.

"WE CAN'T ASSUME THAT WE WILL FOREVER PROVIDE THAT PORTION (36 PERCENT) OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO THIS REGION" OBEY CONTINUED. THE ADMINISTRATION, PARTICULARLY THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT NEEDS TO START MAKING ADJUSTMENTS IN THEIR LONG-TERM FMF PROGRAMS THAT OBLIGATE A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF AID BE GIVEN TO ISRAEL AND EGYPT. OBEY FURTHERMORE GRIPE THAT THE EGYPTIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IS VIEWED AS POURING MONEY INTO A "BACK HOLE" AND THAT IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT ISRAEL CAN GET ITS OWN ECONOMIC HOUSE IN ORDER. FINALLY, WHILE SUPPORTING THE IDEA OF AID TO JORDAN AS BEING IN THE U.S. BEST INTERESTS, OBEY EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT JORDAN'S POSSIBLY STILL ASSISTING IRAQ DESPITE U.S. RESTRICTIONS.

DJEREJIAN'S WRITTEN STATEMENT (WHICH WILL BE SENT) REVIEWED THE STATUS OF THE UNITED STATES RELATIONS AND INTERESTS WITH THE VARIOUS MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES FOLLOWING THE SECRETARY OF STATES RECENT TRIP. FURTHERMORE THE STATEMENT GENERALLY UPDATED THE PROGRESS OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS CULMINATING IN COMMITMENTS FROM ALL PARTIES TO CONTINUE TALKS IN WASHINGTON IN APRIL. (THERE WAS A 3/4 PAGE PASSAGE ABOUT THE CHRISTOPHER AND RABIN'S SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING THE DEPORTEES.) THE REST OF THE STATEMENT FOCUSED ON BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SPECIFIC MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES; RELATIONS WHICH CHRISTOPHER FELT ENCOURAGED BY AS A RESULT OF HIS TRIP. THE ROLE OF THE U.S.'S ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN THESE RELATIONSHIPS WAS ALSO TOUCHED UPON BRIEFLY.

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

AS I INTIMATED BEFORE, NOT TOO MUCH NEW INFORMATION WAS REVEALED DURING DISCUSSION. NONETHELESS, I WILL SUMMARIZE POINTS MADE BY DJEREJIAN OR REPRESENTATIVES ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING ISSUES: ARAB ISRAELI PEACE TALKS, AID TO JORDAN, THE ARAB BOYCOTT, ECONOMIC REFORM IN ISRAEL AND EGYPT AND ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE.

PEACE TALKS

REP. YATES ASKED IF THE PLO WERE INVOLVED IN THE PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATORS' DECISIONS. DJEREJIAN REPLIED THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT DEALS ONLY WITH THE PALESTINIANS WHO ARE ON THE NEGOTIATING TEAM. DJEREJIAN EXPRESSES HIS CERTAINTY THAT THE PALESTINIANS ARE COMMITTED TO THE NEXT ROUND OF PEACE TALKS; FURTHERMORE, STATEMENTS BY ARAFAT THAT HE HAS SEEN INDICATE THAT ARAFAT ALSO SUPPORTS THE PROGRESS. DJEREJIAN CONCEDED, HOWEVER, THAT THE PLO IS AN UMBRELLA ORGANIZATION, HOUSING EXTREMISTS GROUPS SUCH AS HAMS, HIZBOLLAH, ISLAMIC JIHAD, ABU NIDAL'S GROUP ETC. WHO DO VEHEMENTLY OPPOSE THE PEACE PROCESS. (YATES HAS SUGGESTED THAT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING WAS AN ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE FURTHER MIDDLE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.) HOWEVER, DJEREJIAN STRESSED ONLY HE MODERATE GROUPS WITHIN THE PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP ARE REPRESENTED ON THE DELEGATION.

LATER, REP. SERRANO ASKED WHAT POSITION THE PLO WOULD PLAY IN AN EVENTUAL PALESTINIAN STATE'S LEADERSHIP, AND HOW WOULD SUCH AN ENTITY CHANGE THE REGION'S BALANCE OF POWER. IN RESPONSE DJEREJIAN EXPLAINED THE NEGOTIATION'S TWO TRACK APPROACH (WITH THE PALESTINIAN TRACK UNDER THE JORDANIAN ONE) DESIGNED TO ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF THEIR BEING NO FORMAL PALESTINIAN LEADERSHIP. AS "FINAL STATUS" TALKS WILL NOT BEGIN, ACCORDING TO THE ESTABLISHED RULES, UNTIL THE THIRD YEAR OF THE ISGA, (TO ALLOW A TRANSITIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT PHASE) IT IS TOO EARLY TO SPECULATE WHAT THE FINAL PALESTINIAN RESULT WILL BE LIKE.

REP. TORRES ASKED IF SIGNIFICANT GAPS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA HAVE BEEN BRIDGED REGARDING THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. DJEREJIAN RESPONDED THAT HE "HAS LEARNED PAINFULLY NEVER TO USE THE WORD 'OPTIMISM' REGARDING THE ARAB/ISRAELI CONFLICT" BUT THAT BOTH PARTIES ARE COMMITTED AND "ENGAGED IN A VERY SERIOUS WAY". MR. CHRISTOPHER "CLEARLY HEARD ASSAD'S INTENT FOR A PEACE NEGOTIATION AND RABIN

2

DEMONSTRATED ISRAEL'S STRONG INTENT ALSO.

REP. TORRES ASKED WHETHER OR NOT A DIALOGUE EXISTED BETWEEN THE U.S. AND THE PALESTINIANS REGARDING THE DEPORTATION ISSUE, SUGGESTING THAT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH THEM MIGHT HAVE DIFFUSED THE SITUATION. DJEREJIAN RESPONDED THAT WHILE PRIOR CONSULTATIONS DID NOT OCCUR, THE DELEGATION WAS INFORMED IN A TIMELY MANNER. FURTHERMORE, BECAUSE THE "DEPORTATIONS WERE PERCEIVED AS AN OBSTACLE" TO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, CHRISTOPHER QUICKLY ENGAGED RABIN FOR A SPEEDY RESOLUTION. THE RESOLUTION STATED A PROCESS THAT WILL RETURN ALL DEPORTEES BY THE END OF 1993 AND THEREBY SUPPORTS THE UN SECURITY RESOLUTION 199, CALLING FOR THE RETURN OF ALL DEPORTEES. DJEREJIAN ADDED THAT WHILE THE PALESTINIANS ARE STILL ANGRY, CLAIMING THAT THE SECURITY RESOLUTION CALLS FOR THE DEPORTEES "IMMEDIATE" WITHDRAWAL "A LOT OF UN SECURITY RESOLUTIONS ARE PASSED AND NOTHING HAPPENS!" FURTHERMORE, WHILE CHRISTOPHER VISITED, DJEREJIAN CLAIMED THAT RABIN DISPLAYED A LESS STRIDENT ATTITUDE REGARDING THE DEPORTATIONS THAN HE HAD BEFORE, CALLING THE POLICY "UNPRECEDENTED" AND AN "EXCEPTION".

REP. LOWEY, WHO DEMONSTRATED PARTICULARLY UNABASHED SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL IN HER COMMENTS, QUESTIONED THE LEVEL COMMITMENT THAT COULD BE EXPECTED BY ISRAEL AND THE U.S. FROM NON-DEMOCRATIC REGIMES SUCH AS SYRIA, (FEARING FUTURE LEADERS RENOUNCING PEACE WITH ISRAEL). CHRISTOPHER REPLIED THAT WHILE THERE ARE NO GUARANTEES PER SE WHAT FUTURE REGIMES WOULD DO, BUT THAT IT "SEEMS CERTAIN THAT ANY REGIME WOULD BE COMMITTED TO PEACE; THE FRUITS OF PEACE WILL BE SO APPARENT THAT WHOEVER COMES TO POWER WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO RENEGE." FURTHERMORE, DJEREJIAN STATED THE PRESENT LEADERS OF ALL PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE "PEOPLE IN PLACE WHO CAN MAKE HARD DECISIONS TO MAKE PEACE". EVEN THE ISRAELIS HAVE SAID THAT ASSAD, FOR EXAMPLE, IS AN INTERNATIONAL LEADER THAT LIVES UP TO HIS COMMITMENTS, DEMONSTRATED BY THE 1974 DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT. FINALLY, LETTERS OF ASSURANCES, WHOSE DETAILS DJEREJIAN WOULD NOT COMMENT ON HAVE BEEN ISSUED TO THE PARTIES, INCLUDING ISRAEL, TO GUARD AGAINST A DESTABILIZING CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP. "OUR OVERALL CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL IS STEADFAST",

DJEREJIAN CONCLUDED.

AID TO JORDAN

THIS TOPIC DOMINATED THE EARLY PORTION OF THE QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD. OBEY EXPRESSED DISMAY AT MISINFORMATION THE CONGRESS HAD RECEIVED REGARDING THE SUPPOSED CUT OFF MILITARY AID TO JORDAN ESTABLISHED OVER A YEAR AGO. OBEY CITED DELAYS IN THE SHUT OFF OF AID AND THE RESUMPTION OF DELIVERY AS REPORTED BY A CLASSIFIED GAO REPORT. THE REPORT, WHICH OBEY ASKED DJEREJIAN TO DECLASSIFY, STATES CONCLUSIVELY THAT THE U.S. PROCURED MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO JORDAN DURING THE GULF WAR. THEREFORE OBEY CONCLUDED, THAT DESPITE HIS FEELING THAT THE REQUESTED DOLLAR 50+ MILLION IN SECURITY ASSISTANCE IS "KEY", HE WILL NOT SUPPORT IT IF MISINFORMATION IS NOT CORRECTED. LIVINGSTON AND YATES CHIMED IN THEIR AGREEANCE.

YATES ALSO ASKED ABOUT JORDAN'S CONTINUED TRANSPORTS TO THE EMBARGOED IRAQ. DJEREJIAN VEHEMENTLY DEFENDED JORDAN CLAIMING THAT SINCE JUNE 1992, JORDAN HAD STEPPED UP SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ

3

THROUGH VARIOUS MEANS WHICH HAVE RESULTED IN A "DROP-OFF IN ILLICIT TRADE WITH IRAQ." FURTHERMORE, HE STRONGLY MADE THE CASE FOR AIDING JORDAN. HE LAUDED JORDAN'S ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS, AS BOTH PARTICIPANT AND CHEERLEADER ENCOURAGING OTHER ARAB PARTIES TO CONTINUE TALKS. HE ALSO CITED RECENT DEMOCRATIC REFORMS IN JORDAN. FINALLY, HE CITED THE INCREASED ECONOMIC HARDSHIP IN JORDAN CAUSED BY HER LOSING A MAJOR TRADING PARTNER (IRAQ).

THE ARAB BOYCOTT/SETTLEMENTS/LOAN GUARANTEES

REP. LIVINGSTON ASKED IF THE ONCE PROPOSED AGREEMENT THAT THE ARAB STATES WOULD SUSPEND THEIR BOYCOTT IS ISRAEL HALTS SETTLEMENTS IS STILL PENDING. DJEREJIAN REPLIED THAT THE ARAB BOYCOTT WAS ON THE TOP OF CHRISTOPHER'S AGENDA DURING HIS MIDDLE EAST VISIT, PARTICULARLY WITH THE GULF STATES OF SAUDI ARABIA AND KUWAIT. CHRISTOPHER STRESSED THE NEED FOR ITS DISMANTLEMENT NOT ONLY FOR ITS OWN MERIT, BUT IN TERMS OF ITS CREATING AN OBSTACLE TO THE PEACE PROCESS AS WELL AS HURTING U.S. BUSINESSES.

THE GCC, ACCORDING TO DJEREJIAN, AGREED TO REMOVE U.S. COMPANIES FROM ITS BACK LIST AND TO ADD NO OTHERS. FURTHERMORE, OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES SEEM POSITIVE TOWARDS THE PROSPECT OF ENDING THE BOYCOTT. FURTHERMORE, HE CITED THE POSITIVE SIGNS OF THE E.C., GERMANY AND JAPAN HELPING TO LIFT RESTRICTIONS AND THE CESSATION OF ISSUING "ISRAEL ONLY" PASSPORTS. HE CONCLUDED THAT THERE'S BEEN "SOME PROGRESS BUT MUCH MORE HAS TO BE DONE". (REP. LOWEY CAGILY OBSERVED THAT THE UAE, KUWAIT AND SAUDI ARABIA, IN THEIR QUEST FOR ARMS "AREN'T SHY" ABOUT BUYING WEAPONRY FROM U.S. COMPANIES THAT HAVE SOLD TO ISRAEL...)

THE ISSUE OF SETTLEMENTS WAS ADDRESSED IN A SEPARATE CONTEXT THAN THE ARAB BOYCOTT DESPITE THE FRAMING OF LIVINGSTON'S QUESTION. OBEY LATER ASKED DJEREJIAN TO COMMENT ON A 1993 FY "TERRITORIES REPORT". DJEREJIAN SAID THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT HIS COLLEAGUES TO GIVE A FULL ACCOUNTING OF THE SETTLEMENT SITUATION IN

THE TERRITORIES BUT THAT HE COULD BRIEFLY MAKE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS: THERE HAS NOT BEEN A TOTAL FREEZE IN SETTLEMENT - 9,000 UNITS UNDER CONSTRUCTION ARE BEING COMPLETED - BUT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS CANCELED THE CONTRACTS FOR 5000 UNITS. FURTHERMORE, NO NEW UNITS HAVE BEEN BUILT. ARRANGED SUBSIDIES FOR GIVEN FOR POLITICAL REASONS, (IE POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS") HAVE CEASED ALTHOUGH SUBSIDIES FOR HOUSING IN AREAS THAT HAVE SECURITY PURPOSES STILL EXIST.

THE SETTLEMENT ISSUE SPURRED OBEY TO BRIEFLY BRING UP THE LOAN GUARANTEES USE IN ISRAEL. DJEREJIAN RESPONDED THAT THE SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF THE FIRST 2 BILLION GIVEN WILL GO TOWARDS THE CREATION OF AVAILABLE FOREIGN EXCHANGE, INFRASTRUCTURE AND NON-SECURITY ACTIVITY IN THE TERRITORIES, CONSISTENT WITH THE ACT'S PROVISIONS. FURTHERMORE, A JOINT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GROUP WILL BE CONDUCTING FURTHER REVIEWS ON THE USES OF THE LOANS.

ECONOMIC REFORM IN ISRAEL AND EGYPT

HINTED BY HIS OPENING REMARKS, OBEY EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE CONCERN OVER THE RATE OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL (THOUGH MORE REGARDING EGYPT). VIA CASH FLOW FINANCING, EGYPT, HE

4

CLAIMED, HAS ALREADY OBLIGATED BILLIONS IN AID TO PURCHASE MILITARY EQUIPMENT. (DOLLAR 1.36 BILLION IN '94, DOLLAR 854 MILLION IN '95, DOLLAR 534 MILLION IN 96) HENCE THE APPROPRIATION PROCESS IS REALLY A FARCE, BECAUSE ITS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE CUTS. (OBEY HAS STATED, HOWEVER, THAT FULL FUNDING FOR ISRAEL AND EGYPT IS TO BE EXPECTED IN THE NEXT FOREIGN AID BILL). DJEREJIAN AGREED THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM AND SAID THAT A PEACE AGREEMENT WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY ALTER THIS EQUATION. ALTHOUGH "IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO CONTINUE SIGNIFICANT AID LEVELS TO EGYPT AND ISRAEL", THE PROMISED ECONOMIC REFORMS IN THESE COUNTRIES MUST BE EXAMINED.

AFTER A LENGTHY DISCUSSION REGARDING EGYPT'S INTERNAL ECONOMIC CRISES, OBEY CITED ISRAEL'S QUESTIONABLE ABILITY TO PAY BACK HER LOANS, AND AGAIN CITED HER INABILITY TO GET "HER ECONOMIC HOUSE IN ORDER" DJEREJIAN DEFENDED ISRAEL'S CONTINUES REFORMS. DJEREJIAN CITED ISRAEL'S CAPITAL MARKET LIBERALIZATION, HER NEW EXCHANGE RATE MECHANISM, THE 1992 RISE IN GDP TO 6.4 PERCENT . AND THE LOWEST INFLATION RATE FOR YEARS FOR 1992, 9.4 PERCENT . DJEREJIAN DID CONCEDE THAT ISRAEL HAS MADE LITTLE PROGRESS IN THE PRIVATIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SECTOR. ULTIMATELY, OBEY STILL WASN'T TOO IMPRESSED, MAINTAINING THAT IT "DOESN'T SENSE TO ENCOURAGE ISRAEL TO KEEP PURCHASING WEAPONS". OBEY CITED A SUNDAY MARCH 8, WASHINGTON POST ARTICLE WHICH CLAIMED THAT "RABIN'S GOVERNMENT HAS LOST ITS ECONOMIC MOMENTUM". THE ARTICLE MENTIONED ISRAELI ECONOMIC PROBLEMS INCLUDING REFORM EFFORTS IN HEALTH POLICY BEING RESISTED, INCREASING DEBT WITH COLLECTIVE ENTERPRISES AND "KIBBUTZIM", AND A NEWLY CREATED GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION TO BUILD THE NORTH/SOUTH HIGHWAY JUST DAYS AFTER A RABIN PROCLAMATION TO GET "GOVERNMENT OUT OF BUSINESS". DJEREJIAN RESPONDED THAT WHILE HE COULDN'T SUBSTANTIATE THAT ARTICLE, IT'S TRUE THAT ISRAEL IS HAVING DIFFICULTY PRIVATIZING PUBLIC SECTOR PROJECTS.

QUALITATIVE EDGE

DJEREJIAN STATED THE ADMINISTRATIONS "STAUNCH" SUPPORT IN MAINTAINING ISRAEL'S MILITARY QUALITATIVE EDGE AT LEAST TWICE IN THE HEARING. REP LOWEY ASKED IF ISRAEL STILL HAS THIS EDGE IN LIGHT OF THE MANY EXISTING THREATS TO ISRAEL INCLUDING OUTSIDE SUPPORT TO HAMAS, AVAILABLE WEAPON TECHNOLOGY ETC. DJEREJIAN ASSURED HER THAT THE "CLINTON ADMINISTRATION IS ABSOLUTELY COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING IT AGAINST ANY POSSIBLE AGGRESSOR". "ISRAEL'S CAPABILITIES, GIVEN ITS MILITARY EQUIPMENT, PERSONNEL TRAINING, AND INTELLIGENCE..." GIVE HER A SECURE ABILITY TO DEFEND HERSELF TODAY. IN THE FUTURE, HE STATED, THE CONCERN WOULD BE IRAN ATTAINING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION OR THE LIKE.

MISCELLANEOUS

OTHER QUESTIONS DISCUSSED BRIEFLY CONCERNED AID TO LEBANON GETTING TO WHERE ITS INTENDED, U.S. POLICY TOWARD IRAQ, IRAN'S CONTINUED BELLIGERENCE, LIBYA'S ISOLATION PUNCTUATED BY A QUIET KADAFI AND ARMS SALES TO THE REGION.

עד כאן קונגרס.

תפוצה: שוח, סשוח, @ (דחמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, כלכל יחב'

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 11877

אל: רהמש/409

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 343, תא: 080393, זח: 1917, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכב

שמור/מידי

אל : מצפ"א ממ"ד

דע : שג' לונדון

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: מגעי בריטניה - אש"פ

1. בהמשך לדווחים בתקשורת הישראלית על כך שארה"ב מעודדת ממ' בריטניה להעלות דרג שיחותיה עם אש"פ שותחתי עם מקור מקורב לתהליך אשר (כצפוי) הכחיש תוכן הדווחים לעיל. טען שארה"ב לא שותחה על הנושא לעיל עם ממ' בריטניה.

2. אשר למגעים הצפויים בין שר המדינה במשה"ח בריטניה הוג עם אנשי אש"פ, איש שיחי. ציין שבריטניה מקיימת קשור רצוף עם אש"פ. בדרגים נמוכים. טען שדרג המשלחת האשפ"ית שתועד עם הוג אינו גבה.

3. איש שיחי שלל הערתי על כך שהחלטת שה"ח בלגיה להעלות ייצוג אש"פ והפגישה הצפויה בבריטניה משקפים מגמה. לדבריו, יש כאן צירוף מקרים לא מתוכנן.

שטיין

תפוצה: שדח, סשחח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז, גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא, סביר, איר, מזתים, @ (עמית475)

סססס

11872:חוזם,אאא

אל:רהמ/401

מ:-ושינגטון,נר:337,חא:080393,זח:1909,דח:מ,סג:בל,

בבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת ושינגטון

הנדון: אדוורד דג'רג'יאן:

כהנ

פאליטיקן אבא דא

המלחמה הזאת, המצב בארץ

אבא דא, והיחסים האוטומים (האבא)

(4-5)

השיחה הזאת, הישא.

השיחה הזאת, הישא, מאטער

השיחה הזאת, הישא, מאטער

השיחה הזאת, הישא, מאטער

השיחה הזאת, הישא, מאטער

השיחה הזאת, הישא, מאטער

THE FOLLOWING IS THE OPENING STATEMENT OF EDWARD DJEREJIAN AT THE HEARING OF THE FOREIGN SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE. QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS FOLLOWED THIS STATEMENT, AND THEY ARE AVAILABLE IF YOU WOULD LIKE THEM SENT TO YOU.

HRNG OF THE FOREIGN OPS SBCMTE OF THE HSE APPROPRIATIONS CMTE
RE: MIDEAST PEACE TALKS / CHMN: REP. DAVID R. OBEY (D-WI) /
WITNESS: EDWARD DJEREJIAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NEAR
EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1993

MR. DJEREJIAN: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, CHAIRMAN OBEY AND
CONGRESSMAN LIVINGSTON, FOR YOUR REMARKS. I WILL TRY TO ADDRESS
ALL THE ISSUES THAT YOU'VE RAISED.

THANK YOU FIRST FOR INVITING ME TO MEET WITH YOU AND THE
DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE. THIS IS MY FIRST
APPEARANCE BEFORE THE HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE, AND I
APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY.

AS YOU KNOW, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER RETURNED 11 DAYS AGO FROM HIS
FIRST FOREIGN TRIP OVERSEAS AS SECRETARY OF STATE, A TRIP THAT
TOOK US TO EGYPT, JORDAN, SYRIA, SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, CYPRUS,
LEBANON, ISRAEL, THEN TO GENEVA, WHERE SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MET
WITH RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV, AND FINALLY TO BRUSSELS
WITH MEETINGS WITH THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL. WITH YOUR
PERMISSION, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO BRIEFLY REVIEW FOR THE
SUBCOMMITTEE THE STATUS OF OUR RELATIONS AND INTERESTS IN THE
MIDDLE EAST, LARGELY ALONG THE LINES THAT YOU'VE INDICATED AN
INTEREST IN, FOLLOWING THE SECRETARY'S TRIP, AFTER WHICH I'LL BE
HAPPY TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

I WILL ENDEAVOR TO BRING YOU UP TO DATE ON THE PEACE PROCESS AND
ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH SOME OF THE COUNTRIES IN THIS
TURBULENT REGION, FOCUSING ON THE ROLE OF OUR — THAT OUR
ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE HAS PLAYED IN THOSE RELATIONS.

יבמא
9/3

PRESIDENT CLINTON ASKED SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER TO TRAVEL TO THE MIDDLE EAST WITH SEVERAL IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES IN MIND. FIRST, TO DEMONSTRATE HIS BELIEF THAT THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS PRESENTED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR REAL PROGRESS IN THE PERIOD AHEAD, AND CONVERSELY TO SIGNAL OUR AWARENESS THAT THIS IS A REGION WHICH, IF LEFT UNATTENDED, CAN DO MUCH HARM TO VITAL US INTERESTS. AND YOU YOURSELF, MR. CHAIRMAN, HAVE POINTED OUT WHAT SOME OF THOSE INTERESTS ARE.

THE SECOND BASIC PRIORITY WAS TO PROMOTE OTHER MAJOR OBJECTIVES OF OUR POLICY IN THE REGION, CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND BROADER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE REGION, THE PROMOTION OF AMERICAN BUSINESS AND COMMERCIAL OPPORTUNITIES ABROAD, AND THE NEED TO END THE SECONDARY AND TERTIARY ASPECTS OF THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT, REASSURANCE TO OUR ALLIES THAT WE WOULD EXPECT IRAQ'S FULL COMPLIANCE WITH ALL UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, AND RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANCE THAT WE ATTACH TO LEBANON'S CONTINUING TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD FULL INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER RETURNED FROM THE TRIP SATISFIED THAT WE MADE PROGRESS ON THESE ISSUES, WHICH ENABLES US TO MOVE FORWARD TO MEETING THESE OBJECTIVES IN THE PERIOD AHEAD.

LET ME JUST MENTION BRIEFLY ON THE PEACE PROCESS. SINCE THE EIGHTH ROUND OF BILATERALS ADJOURNED IN MID-DECEMBER, THERE HAS BEEN A HIATUS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. PRESIDENT CLINTON SENT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER TO THE MIDDLE EAST LAST MONTH NOT ONLY TO REENERGIZE AND REACTIVATE THE PEACE TALKS, BUT ALSO TO ASSESS THE DETERMINATION AND THE COMMITMENT OF THE PARTIES TO THE GOAL OF A NEGOTIATED PEACE.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY ESPECIALLY WANTED TO EMPHASIZE THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO A FULL PARTNERSHIP ROLE IN THIS COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT PROCESS IF -- AND THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THE DEFINITION OF FULL PARTNERSHIP -- IF THE PARTIES COME TO THE TABLE PREPARED TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS AND MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS IN ORDER TO NARROW THE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM.

MUCH WORK NEEDS TO BE DONE. NOT ONLY ARE THE SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES STILL FAR APART, BUT THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT HAS MADE MORE DIFFICULT BY THE RESURGENCE OF VIOLENCE DIRECTED AGAINST ISRAEL BY TERRORISTS AND BY THE DEPORTATION OF THE HAMAS ACTIVISTS.

NOW, THE SECRETARY RECOGNIZED AND ACTED ON THE SPECIFIC CHALLENGE OF THE DEPORTEES ISSUE IN THE EARLIEST DAYS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, AND HE ENGAGED IN INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO MOVE THE ISSUE OFF DEAD CENTER. AND I HAVE OUTLINED THE DETAILS OF THIS IN MY STATEMENT, AND I WILL

NOT REPEAT THEM. BUT I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT TO FOCUS ON HOW MUCH THE SECRETARY AND THE PRESIDENT HAVEAGED THEMSELVES ON THIS ISSUE TO MOVE AHEAD AND REFOCUS THE PARTIES ON RESUMING NEGOTIATIONS AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE.

THE SECRETARY'S DISCUSSIONS WITH ARAB LEADERS WERE POSITIVE AND SUBSTANTIVE. EACH OF THEM EMPHASIZED PRIVATELY THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AND THEIR STRONG INTENT TO RETURN TO THE TABLE OF NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. EQUALLY IMPORTANT, THEY ALL SAID THE SAME THING PUBLICLY, AND THUS PLACED THEIR COUNTRY SQUARELY BEHIND AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS IN THESE TALKS.

IN DELIVERING LETTERS TO EACH OF THE LEADERS FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON, THE SECRETARY FOCUSED ON THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY, WHICH BEAR REPEATING HERE. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE PROCESS OF PEACANG LAUNCHED AT MADRID, INCLUDING THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND THE LETTERS OF ASSURANCES PROVIDED BY THE US GOVERNMENT TO EACH PARTY. OUR POLICY REMAINS DIRECTED AT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED THROUGH DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE TO HELP NARROW AND OVERCOME THE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES ALONG THE LINES I INDICATED EARLIER.

IN PLAYING THIS ROLE SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER CHARACTERIZED IN FULL PARTNER, HE STRESSED THAT IN NO WAY WOULD WE SUBSTITUTE OURSELVES FOR THE PARTIES THEMSELVES BUT, RATHER, WE WOULD ASSIST THE PARTIES WHO ARE ENGAGED IN DIRECT FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS AS AN ACTIVE INTERMEDIARY, AN HONEST BROKER, A FACILITATOR IN HELPING TO MOVE THE TALKS FORWARD AND TO NARROW SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES.

THE PARTIES APPRECIATED THE CONTINUITY IN US POLICY WHICH THIS APPROACH INDICATED. AND I'M GLAD TO HEAR FROM YOU, MR. CHAIRMAN, THE IMPORTANCE YOU ATTACH TO THE CONTINUITY OF US FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. THE PARTIES WERE BUOYED BY THE WILLINGNESS OF THE US TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE, AND THEY INDICATED THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT SUCH A ROLE WOULD NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR THE DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN THEMSELVES.

I THINK THE SECRETARY'S TALKS IN ISRAEL, WHICH I'VE OUTLINED AGAIN IN MY STATEMENT, WERE VERY PRODUCTIVE, VERY SUBSTANTIVE AND MEANINGFUL. THEY TOUCHED ON A RANGE OF BILATERAL, REGIONAL, AND PEACE PROCESS ISSUES. AND THE SECRETARY'S TALKS BENEFITED FROM HIS PREVIOUS ENGAGEMENT WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN AT THE VERY EARLIEST DAYS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, WHERE THEY BOTH DEALT WITH ONE ANOTHER TO -- ON THE DEPORTEE ISSUE. AND I THINK THE ISRAELI-US UNDERSTANDINGS THAT EMANATED FROM THAT SHOW THAT THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL WERE ABLE TO PRODUCE A POSITIVE RESULT TO HELP DEFUSE THIS ISSUE AND TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS

FORWARD. SO THROUGH THAT EFFORT, A POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP WAS BEGUN, CHARACTERIZED BY MUTUAL TRUST AND PERSONAL RAPPORT, THAT AS A RESULT OF THIS VISIT THE SECRETARY HAD IN THE REGION PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT BASIS FOR PRIME MINISTER RABIN'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON THIS MONTH.

THE SECRETARY'S DISCUSSIONS WITH PALESTINIAN LEADERS WAS ALSO VERY FRANK AND SUBSTANTIVE, AND THE PALESTINIANS EXPRESSED THEIR CONTINUED CONCERNS ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. AND THERE WAS AN EXTENSIVE DISCUSSION OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES INVOLVING THE NEGOTIATIONS ON INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS AND THE FINAL STATUS TALKS.

AFTER THESE DETAILED EXCHANGES WITH BOTH THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS, WE LEFT THE REGION PERSUADED THAT THERE WAS BROAD AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON THE STEPS THAT WERE NEEDED TO RESTART THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

IN SUM, THE SECRETARY'S TRIP ALLOWED US TO REFOCUS THE PARTIES ON RESUMING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO SENSITIZE THE PARTIES THAT IT IS TIME TO DELVE INTO SUBSTANCE, AND THAT THE US WILL BE THERE TO ASSIST THEM TO REACH AGREEMENTS.

AGAIN, I WILL REFER YOU TO THE STATEMENT IN TERMS OF THE CHARACTERIZATION OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH EGYPT, ISRAEL, LEBANON, AND JORDAN AND SYRIA. LET ME MUST MAKE ONE POINT ON LEBANON.

THE SECRETARY IDENTIFIED AS ONE OF HIS OBJECTIVES THE RECOGNITION OF THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED BY THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT IN RECONCILING AND RECONSTRUCTING THAT WAR-TORN NATION. HIS DRAMATIC VISIT TO BEIRUT, THE FIRST BY AN AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE SINCE 1983, UNDERScoreD OUR CONTINUING SUPPORT FOR LEBANON'S EFFORTS TO RESTORE ITS ECONOMY AND TO REGAIN FULL CONTROL OF ITS TERRITORY AND ITS POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, AND IT WAS WELCOMED BY THE LEBANESE LEADERSHIP AS A POWERFUL SYMBOL OF THE US COMMITMENT TO LEBANON. WE CONTINUE TO SUPPORT FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF BOTH THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT OF THE TAIF ACCORDS AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL NON-LEBANESE FORCES FROM LEBANON. AND THE SECRETARY MADE THIS CLEAR DURING HIS TRIP.

IN LEBANON, MR. CHAIRMAN, WHAT I'D LIKE TO BRING THE COMMITTEE'S ATTENTION TO, KEY TO THE EXTENSION OF GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IS THE MAINTENANCE OF A STRONG LEBANESE ARMED FORCES. THE LEBANESE ARMY HAS TRADITIONALLY SOUGHT TRAINING FOR MANY OF ITS SOLDIERS IN THE WEST, INCLUDING IN THE UNITED STATES. IT REMAINS OUR HOPE THAT WE CAN RESUME ACCEPTING A NUMBER OF LEBANESE OFFICERS AND ENLISTED PERSONNEL FOR TRAINING IN THIS COUNTRY UNDER THE IMET PROGRAM, AND WE WOULD APPRECIATE CONGRESS' SUPPORT IN THIS ENDEAVOR.

MY STATEMENT ALSO ADDRESSES THE VISIT TO THE ARABIAN PENINSULA,

MR. CHAIRMAN, THE IMPORTANT STATEMENT AND DISCUSSIONS THAT THE SECRETARY HAD WITH THE SAUDI LEADERSHIP AND THE KUWAITI LEADERSHIP, AND THE VERY STRONG MESSAGE THAT THE SECRETARY DELIVERED IN TERMS THAT WE EXPECT IRAQ TO FULFILL ALL OF ITS OBLIGATIONS IN COMPLYING WITH THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS FULLY.

IF I MAY JUST CONCLUDE BY JUST TOUCHING ON OUR ONGOING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, WHICH IS OF KEY INTEREST TO THIS COMMITTEE. THROUGH OUR BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, WE HAVE ENGAGED MIDDLE EASTERN GOVERNMENTS IN ADDRESSING THEIR ENDEMIC ECONOMIC TROUBLES. THROUGH OUR ENCOURAGEMENT OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION, EGYPT, JORDAN, MOROCCO AND TUNISIA ARE UNDERTAKING STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMS IN COOPERATION WITH THE IMF. FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, WE HAVE PROVIDED ROUGHLY DOLLAR 3 BILLION IN SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL AND DOLLAR 2.27 BILLION TO EGYPT ANNUALLY, AS YOU WELL KNOW. AND BECAUSE OF DECLINING OVERALL LEVELS, THESE PROGRAMS HAVE GROWN PERCENTAGE-WISE IN COMPARISON TO THE TOTAL US SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM, AS YOU MENTIONED.

BOTH PRESIDENT CLINTON AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAVE GONE ON RECORD REGARDING THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING THE AID TO ISRAEL AND EGYPT AT THE CURRENT LEVELS. WE REMAIN STEADFAST IN OUR COMMITMENT TO DIRECT SUBSTANTIAL FOREIGN AID RESOURCES TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL, TO SUPPORT FOR EGYPT'S VITAL ROLE IN THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF THE REGION, AND TO PROMOTION OF COMPREHENSIVE AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. I'LL BE GLAD TO DISCUSS THIS ASPECT OF OUR PROGRAMS AND, AS YOU SAID, YOU WANTED TO DISCUSS REFORM IN EGYPT AND REFORM PROGRAMS IN ISRAEL.

AND YOU'LL SEE THAT MY STATEMENT CONCLUDES WITH A COMMENT ON FUNDAMENTAL VALUES AND, BASICALLY, THE SITUATION IN THE REGION WHERE BECAUSE, WE BELIEVE, OF THE INCREASING BURDENS ON THESE SOCIETIES TO MEET THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEMANDS OF THEIR PEOPLE, IN CERTAIN COUNTRIES HIGH RATES OF DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH, THE VERY HEAVY DEFENSE BURDEN THAT ALL THESE COUNTRIES ARE BEARING, THE ISSUES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE THAT ARE VERY PRESSING ISSUES IN THESE COUNTRIES, WE ARE WITNESSING A RESORT TO EXTREMIST SOLUTIONS IN CERTAIN OF THESE SOCIETIES. AND IT SEEMS THAT PART OF OUR OVERALL STRATEGY, MR. CHAIRMAN, IN TERMS OF WORKING FOR AN ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME PROVIDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO CERTAIN COUNTRIES TO REFORM THEIR ECONOMIES AND GET ON WITH DEMOCRATIZATION AND BROADER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND ATTACK THE ISSUES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE, THAT PERHAPS SOME OF THESE EXTREMIST TENDENCIES CAN BE CONTROLLED AND THESE PEOPLE CAN PROSPER.

OBVIOUSLY, IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL IN ATTAINING AN ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE SETTLEMENT, THE DEFENSE BURDENS OF MANY OF THESE COUNTRIES WILL THEN GEOMETRICALLY BE REDUCED BECAUSE THE THREAT ASSESSMENT WILL HAVE BEEN CHANGED CATEGORICALLY AND THESE FUNDS CAN BE THEN

USED FOR ECONOMIC SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THESE SOCIETIES. AND I'M SURE THAT YOU SHARE THAT THIS IS ONE OF THE GREATEST FRUITS OF PEACE THAT COULD BE ATTAINED IN THE REGION.

IN THIS RESPECT, WHAT WE ARE DOING IN THE PEACE PROCESS, WHICH IS COMPLEMENTARY TO BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS, ARE THE MULTILATERAL TALKS THAT ARE GOING ON, WHICH INVOLVE SOMETHING LIKE 35 COUNTRIES, MR. CHAIRMAN, IN WHICH WE ARE PROVIDING THE BUILDING BLOCKS THAT ONCE PEACE IS ACHIEVED BETWEEN THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS, THERE WILL BE VARIOUS FORA WITH WIDE INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION INVOLVING ALSO INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN MANY DIFFERENT COUNTRIES TO HELP THE COUNTRIES IN REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, IN ARMS CONTROL, IN ENVIRONMENT, REFUGEE MATTERS, AND WATER ISSUES. SO THIS IS THE CONCOMITANT OF PEACE, WHICH IS PART OF THE MADRID PROCESS: THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND THE MULTILATERAL TALKS AND THESE WORKING GROUPS.

WITH THESE PRELIMINARY COMMENTS, MR. CHAIRMAN, I'D LIKE TO CLOSE MY INTRODUCTORY REMARKS -- AGAIN, MY STATEMENT HAS MORE DETAILS IN IT -- AND GO TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, מצפא, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, מזתים, @ (דוצ)

סכסס

אאאא, חוזם: 11847

אל: רהמט/399

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 333, תא: 080393, חז: 1807, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,253407

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת יומית 6-7.3.93

ישראל

דיוויד הופמן (WP 7.3) מתאר את ציפיות הקהל הישראלי ממשלת רבין, ומסכם כי שבעה חודשים לאחר הבחירות "ישראל עדיין מחכה לרבין". הופמן מתאר את מצבה הכלכלי של ישראל ומצטט את דברי שגריר ארה"ב בישראל: כי יתכן שארה"ב תצטרך לקצץ בסיוע לישראל. הכתבה מתמקדת במצב הכלכלה הישראלית.

טור

כתבות סוף השבוע בנושא הפגוע בניו-יורק עסקו בעיקר בשאלה מי עומד מאחורי הנחת הפצצה. מאמר המערכת של ה-BS (6.3) טוען כי ברור כי הנחת הפצצה קשורה למזה"ת אך אין לדעת בודאות מי עומד מאחוריה. ג'ים מק'גי (WP 7.3) טוען כי אין כל עדות מוצקה כי אכן ארגון מוסלמי פונדמנטליסטי עומד מאחורי הנחת הפצצה.

כתבת ה-WP (קרייל מרפי 6.3) מתארת את דמותו של עבדול רחמן אשר עומד בראש המסגד בו התפלל סלמה, החשוד בהנחת הפצצה בניו-יורק. עבדול-רחמן משתייך לארגון פונדמנטליסטי מצרי אשר התקפותיו על תיירים מערביים במצרים הפכו לאיום על יציבות מצרים לאחרונה. כתבת ה-BS (מרק מתיוס 6.3) עוסקת באיסלם הפונדמנטליסטי אשר השפעתו הולכת וגוברת במזה"ת, ומאיימת על יציבות הקשרים של מדינות האזור עם ארה"ב.

איראן - גרוזיה

גיימס מ. דורסיי (WT 6.3) מדווח מטיבליסי על שיתוף הפעולה הכלכלי בין איראן וגרוזיה, עוד מוסיף דורסיי כי יתכן גם שיתוף פעולה צבאי בין שתי המדינות.

תורכיה

כחבתו של אנדרו בורוויק (7.3 WT) עוסקת בתפקיד החשוב אותו ממלאת תורכיה בשל מיקומה הגיאוגרפי. לתורכיה תפקיד חשוב לגבי הנעשה בבלקן, לארה"ב אינטרס בתורכיה בשל קרבתה לעירק וכן חשובה קרבתה לרוסיה.

הערה: הכתבות מועברות אליכם בנפרד.

תקשורת

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, מזתים, פרנ, @ (בן ארי/תיירות)

סססס



אאא, חוזם: 11848

אל: רהמש/ 398

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 332, תא: 080393, זח: 1807, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/ מיידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

Handwritten signature in red ink.

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת יומית 8.3.93

סוריה

אנא תשומת לבכם למספר כתבות חשובות בנושא סוריה אשר הופיעו היום, פרוט הכתבות בהמשך והכתבות נשלחו בנפרד.

נורה בוסתני (WP) מדווחת מדמשק על מדיניותו המשתנה של אסד אשר מעוניין בהסדר עם ישראל אשר יתבסס על נסיגה של ישראל מרמת הגולן. הנשיא אסד התייחס לשיחתו עם הממשל האמריקני ורמז כי ימשיך בשיחות השלום אך לא בתנאים עליהם הכריזה ישראל כהכרחיים לכל הסכם בין המדינות. סוריה מעוניינת בשלום של סולידריות עם ישראל ולא ביחסים דיפלומטיים מלאים וקשרי מסחר כפי שהתנתה ישראל. ההערכות הן כי אסד לוחץ להגיע להסכם עם ישראל מחשש שמשוהו ישתנה באזור וההזדמנות להסכם תוחמץ. אבנס ונובאק (WP) דנים באפשרות של פגישת קלינטון - אסד באירופה בקיץ בקרוב.

אין כל אישור רשמי לפגישה אך ברור כי במהלך ביקור כריסטופר בסוריה נוצרה הדברות ממשית בין וושינגטון ודמשק שבה המפתח הוא נכונותו של רוג'מ רבין להכיר בריבונות הסורית על רמת הגולן. כדי להבטיח היציבות הפוליטית של ממשלת רבין צריכה ארה"ב להגביר את קשריה עם סוריה כערוכה לשלום עם ישראל.

נורה בוסתני (WP) מדווחת מדמשק על שמועות לגבי התערערות מצבו הבריאותי של אסד. בעקבות שמועות אלו עולה השאלה מי יהיה המנהיג הבא של סוריה? אסד מעוניין להכתיר את בנו באצל, מהנדס וסרן בצבא, תחתיו, אך הדעות בסוריה המפקקים ביכולתו של באצל להנהיג את המדינה.

טרור

בכתבות נרחבות בעיתונים על משפחתו של סלמה, החשוד בהנחת הפצצה במרכז הסחר העולמי: פלשתינאים אשר נמלטו לירדן לאחר מלחמת ששת הימים. בראיונות עמה, מתארת אותו אמו של סלמה כנער ביישן ושקט אשר חלם להצליח בארה"ב ואינו טרוריסט או פונדמנטליסט. (WP כתבת העמוד הראשון גמאל חלבי מירדן, USAT ברוס פרנקל) מקורות טוענים כי יקח זמן רב עד שיוכלו לדעת בבירור מהו הרכב הפצצה שהוטמנה במרכז הסחר העולמי ושאר פרטי הפיגוע. ערביי

ארה"ב חוששים מתגובות עויינות של הציבור האמריקאי ומקרה אחד של ונדליזם
כבר ארע בניו-ג'רזי.
מצרים הכריזה כי במידה וארה"ב תגרש את עבדול רחמן לתחומה הוא יועמד לדין
במצרים. (בטני קנדל וברוס פרנקל USAT) מאמר המערכת של ה-WT דן בנושא
הטרור בכלל ובפרט - בנסיון מנהיג הסרבים בבוסניה לאיים על דעת הקהל
האמריקאית כי הטרור הינו תוצאה ישירה של התערבות ארה"ב בנושאי חוץ.

הערה: הכתבות מועברות אליכם בנפרד.

תקשורת

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעח, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, פרנ, מזחיים

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 11739

אל: רהמט/405

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 321, תא: 080393, חז: 1619, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

A.1.3.

אל: מזא"ר 1

ממ"ד

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: רוסיה- תמונת מצב

משיחה (4.3) עם סונטאג (ראש דסק רוסיה ב- INR) שיוחדה רובה ככולה למצב הפנימי ברוסיה.

להלן נקודות עקריות:

א. דברי ילצין לעתון איזווסטיה (3.3) על כך שראשי הצבא דחקו בו לאחוז באמצעים הדרושים כדי לטפל במשבר צריכים להדאיג. סבור שדרישה זו רצינית יותר מהצהרת ילצין (על רקע מאבקו ברשות המחוקקת) על כוונתו לממש את "האופציה הסופית" במידה ומאמציו להשיג פשרה עם מתנגדיו יכשלו.

ב. לשאלתי האם יילצין יוכל לסמוך על תמיכת הצבא (בהנחה ויחליט לממש את "האופציה הסופית") ציין כי להערכתו אין לראות את הצבא ויחידות הבטחון כיחידה מגובשת שתהיה מוכנה במידת הצורך להתייצב מאחורי ילצין במידה והלה יחליט להעזר בהם כדי לכפות על רוסיה פתרון שיהיה לשביעות רצונו. צופה במקרה כזה להתפרקות המסגרת לעיל. בתרחיש מעין זה העריך שחלק הארי מהצבא ושירותי הבטחון יתייצבו מאחורי ילצין אשר (לאחר שיחלצו לעזרתו) יהפוך לשבוי ועושה דברים. מהלך דברים זה ינחית מכת מוות על תהליך הרפורמות הפוליטיות והכלכליות.

ג. לשאלתי האם יילצין יוציא לפועל איומיו (לנקוט בצעדים חמורים) במידה ולא יעלה בידו לכפות רצונו על הקונגרס השיב כי נסיון העבר מוכיח על נכונותו להתפשר ברגע האחרון.

ד. איש שיחי סבור כי ילצין הינו מנהיג מיואש שאינו נהנה מתמיכת המחוקקים ומנהיגי הפרובינציות. במידה ויצליח במאבקו הנוכחי יאלץ לפנות לכוחות מבחון (קרי צבא וכוחות בטחון).

ה. לשאלתי האם יש סיכוי שילצין או לחילופין מתנגדיו יוותרו על דרישותיהם השיב כי להערכתו הסיכויים לכך קטנים. חזבולטוב והמחוקקים התומכים בו מאמינים שהצליחו לדחוק את ילצין לפינה. העריך האיום על ילצין כעת עולה על חמישים אחוז. הוסיף כי אינו רואה בשלב זה אינדיקציות לנכונות מצד

חזבולטוב לפשרה.

ו. מבחינת מגמות, טען איש שיחי כי בשנים האחרונות ניכרת החלשה הדרגתית במעמד יילצין. מסיבה זו יכל חזבולטוב להחליט ברגע האחרון להתפשר עם ילצין ולנסות בשלב מאוחר יותר להשלים משימתו.

ז. לשאלתי האם השארותו של ילצין או העלמותו מהזירה ישפיעו על עתיד הרפורמות הפוליטיות כלכליות העריך כי יילצין אינו קריטי לגבי ההתפתחות הפוליטית-כלכלית של רוסיה. אינו סבור שהליכתו תביא לשינויים משמעותיים בטווח הארוך שכן, הכוחות שפועלים ומשפיעים על המגמות לטווח ארוך פועלים מחוץ למוסקבה.

ח. בתשובה לשאלתי לגבי הסיכויים לאשרור START 2 העריך שהקונגרס יאשרר בסופו של דבר את ההסכם. הוסיף כי נושאי מדיניות חוץ נוספים (הטריטוריות הצפוניות ומשבר ביוגוסלביה) מחזקים בבני ערובה למאבקי כוח פנימיים. לקטיגוריה זו הוסיף גם את סוגיית מדיניות מכירות הנשק האגרסיביות. רואה בכך ביטוי לכוחו של הקומפלקס התעשייתי - צבאי.

ט. לשאלתי לפרש העמדה שנוקט יילצין במשבר בוסניה העריך כי שלא בנושא אישור START 2 לו מייחס ילצין חשיבות (ולכן יעשה כל מאמץ שהקונגרס יאשררו) הרי שמשבר בוסניה אינו בעדיפות עליונה מבחינתו. מסיבה זו מוכן להתחשב בעמדות יריביו הפוליטיים המייחסים חשיבות "לקשרים ההסטוריים" בין רוסיה לסרבים. איש שיחי הסביר אפשרי נוסף לעמדת יילצין הוא שעמדת יריביו מספקת לו תירוץ לבצע מדיניותו ארוכת הטווח שהיא שותפות עם סרביה באיזור חשוב מבחינת רוסיה.

י. לסיכום, העריך כי למערב קרי לארה"ב אין כל השפעה על המאבק המתנהל כיום בין יילצין ומתנגדיו. "הרבה לא ניתן לעשות כדי לשנות מאזן הכוחות ברוסיה". עד כאן עיקרי שיחתנו.

שטיין

תפוצה: שוח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, גוברין,
מזאר, 1, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (עמית 524)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 11704

אל: רהמ"ש/417

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 319, תא: 080393, זח: 1435, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/רגיל

11.3

א ל: מצפ"א

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: פגישת השגריר עם סנטור פיינגולד

השגריר נועד ביום ה' (4.2) עם הסנטור ראס פיינגולד, דמוקרט מוויסקונסין, אשר הביס בבחירות האחרונות את הרפובליקני קסטן. לפיינגולד קשרי משפחה לישראל והוא ידידותי, על אף תמיכת הקהילה היהודית בד"כ בקסטן במהלך הבחירות. עוזרתו של פיינגולד שנכחה בפגישת התגוררה בישראל 4 שנים ומדברת עברית סבירה. השתתפו מצידנו דרגר והח"מ.

פיינגולד ביקש לשמוע את הערכת השגריר על הקורה בסוריה ועל התקדמות המו"מ עם סוריה. השגריר ציין שלדעתו המו"מ כולו יהיה הנושא המרכזי בחדשים הקרובים, לאחר שלא התקדם בקצב הראוי מאז ראשיתו במדריד ועד הקיץ האחרון. כלפי סוריה היתה ספקנות בסיסית מצידנו אולם במהרה למדנו, מחד, שהפלסטינים התחרטו על הסכמתם למדריד ומאידך שעם סוריה יש, אולי, אפשרות להתקדם. האוירה בשיחות עמם השתפרה ואנו הצבענו לראשונה באוקטובר האחרון על נכונות לכלול את המונח "נסיגה", תוך המנעות מפירוט עד לאחר שנשמע מהם כיצד הם רואים את משמעות השלום. מאז אנו עובדים על עיבוד הטיוטא שבינינו לכינם. עדיין נותרו נושאים כבדי משקל בינינו, ביחוד כאלה המתאייחסים לשלום ולשטחים. אסד אינו מאמין ביחסי ציבור ובדרמה, כסאדאת. נחוצה מעורבות גדולה יותר של ארה"ב, אשר למעשה לא היתה מעורבת ביותר בתקופת הבחירות והמעבר בין הממשלים. השגריר ציין כי אסד השקיע רבות ביחסיו עם הממשל הקודם של בוש - בייקר. לשאלת פיינגולד על ביקור כריסטופר בסוריה השיב השגריר כי אסד היה "מושקע" מאוד בממשל הקודם, של בוש וביקר, וכי כעת פעלו הסורים ליצור יחסים טובים עם כריסטופר.

פיינגולד סיפר כי בשיחה עם כריסטופר היה האחרון EFFUSIVE בתארו לטובה את מסעו לישראל.

בינה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, מזתל, 1,

גנור, סייבל, משפט, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 11697

אל: רחמש/ 391

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 318, תא: 080393, זח: 1432, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמס/ מידי

אל: רה"מ, שה"ח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

8/10/13

הנדון: סוריה

חשומת לבכם למאמרה של נורה בוסטאני בווינגטון פוסט 8.3.93.

(מקוויטס זיקויס)

המאמרים מועברים בנפרד ע"י העיתונות.

רבינוביץ

חפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (דהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא

סססס

אאא, חרזם: 11848

אל: רחמ/ש/398

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 332, חא: 080393, חז: 1807, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת יומית 8.3.93

סוריה

אנא תשומת לבכם למספר כתבות חשובות בנושא סוריה אשר הופיעו היום, פרוט הכתבות בהמשך והכתבות נשלחו בנפרד.

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אין כל אישור רשמי לפגישה אך ברור כי במהלך ביקור כריסטופר בסוריה נוצרה הדברות ממשית בין וושינגטון ודמשק שבה המפתח הוא נכונותו של רוח"מ רבין להכיר בריבונות הסורית על רמת הגולן. כדי להבטיח היציבות הפוליטית של ממשלת רבין צריכה ארה"ב להגביר את קשריה עם סוריה כערוכה לשלום עם ישראל.

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טרור

בכתבות נרחבות בעיתונים על משפחתו של סלמה, החשוד בהנחת הפצצה במרכז הסחר העולמי: פלשתינאים אשר נמלטו לירדן לאחר מלחמת ששת הימים. בראיונות עמה, מתארת אותו אמו של סלמה כנער ביישן ושקט אשר חלם להצליח בארה"ב

ואינו טרוריסט או פונדמנטליסט. (WP כחבת העמוד הראשון גמאל חלבי מירדן, USAT ברוס פרנקל) מקורות טוענים כי יקח זמן רב עד שיוכלו לדעת בבירור מהו הרכב הפצצה שהוטמנה במרכז הסחר העולמי ושאר פרטי הפיגוע. ערביי ארה"ב חוששים מתגובות עוינות של הציבור האמריקאי ומקרה אחד של ונדליזם כבר ארע בניו-ג'רזי.

מצרים הכריזה כי במידה וארה"ב תגרש את עבדול רחמן לתחומה הוא יועמד לדין במצרים. (בטני קנדל וברוס פרנקל USAT) מאמר המערכת של ה-WT דן בנושא הטרור בכלל ובפרט - בנסיון מנהיג הסרבים בבוסניה לאיים על דעת הקהל האמריקאית כי הטרור הינו תוצאה ישירה של התערבות ארה"ב בנושאי חוץ.

הערה: הכתבות מועברות אליכם בנפרד.

תקשורת

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב, מועת, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (רוצ), אומן, סי יבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, פרנ, מזתים

סססס

said essentially the same thing. He had come to the Middle East on a "fact-finding mission" and had discovered "an unusual opportunity," he told leaders of American Jewish groups in a Jerusalem hotel. "Every place I have gone over the last week, there was a common theme: that this is a unique opportunity for a breakthrough."

In the period between the two visits, much has changed and little has changed.

On the side of change, first of all, there is a new Administration, infused with the hope and optimism that come with looking at an old problem for the first time. At every stop, Mr. Christopher stressed continuity, but he also told his hosts that the Clinton Administration would play a new, more active role as a "full partner" with the other players — not that of mediator or arbitrator but of facilitator or intermediary, he said, somewhat elliptically.

Second, the new Administration inherits a framework for negotiations forged by Mr. Baker that all parties accept. The habit of talking seems to have survived an increase in violence in the occupied territories, the deportation by Israel of 400 Palestinians to Lebanon and a stalemate in the talks themselves. The parties were on their best behavior during Mr. Christopher's visit, eschewing the shrillness of the past.

Third, the Prime Minister of Israel is no longer the curmudgeonly Yitzhak Shamir but the more flexible Yitzhak Rabin. Mr. Bush and Mr. Shamir despised and mistrusted each other, and the Bush Administration

faulted Mr. Shamir for taking actions that did not take American interests into account. By contrast, Mr. Rabin, who is to visit Washington at the end of this week, wants a better relationship with the United States, and has tentatively begun to prepare the Israeli public for the return of all or part of the Golan Heights to Syria.

Fourth, Mr. Christopher senses a new seriousness about making peace on the part of Syria's President, Hafez al-Assad. Some of Mr. Christopher's aides suggest that Mr. Assad's firmness about his commitment to an

eventual settlement may put the Syrians and Israelis closer on issues of substance.

On the negative side, the main obstacle to peace remains the impasse in the Israeli-Palestinian talks. The two sides have very different views of what they want from "interim arrangements" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. And the Palestinian negotiators, with their loss of grass-roots support in the occupied territories, their internal divisions and their fears of being killed if they make too many concessions, are weaker than when

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the talks started.

Even in the more promising Israeli-Syrian talks, there is no evidence that the two sides have gone much beyond the point of agreeing to shake hands or drink coffee together. In the most recent talks, Israel and Syria danced around each other on the issue of "full peace" in exchange for "full withdrawal" from the Golan Heights, and there are differing opinions within Mr. Christopher's team on whether Mr. Assad has moved a step further since then. The Israeli press made much of Mr. Assad's willingness to accept a withdrawal in phases, but that has long been the Syrian position — if Israel will make a commitment to total withdrawal.

Even if Mr. Assad is prepared to move forward with Israel, there are no illusions in Washington that he is prepared to strike a separate deal and leave the Palestinians hanging. The legitimacy of Mr. Assad's regime among his fellow Arabs, including the wealthy Arab oil states that send him generous aid, is based on his claim to be the protector of Palestinian and Arab rights.

In the end, the fundamental test of success is not whether the players agree to meet, but whether they make the painful decisions that will lead to peace. "It was a ritual before, a propaganda game and the players assumed the negotiations weren't going to succeed," said Shibley Telhami, professor of government at Cornell University. "When you assume that, you play the game and bargain to improve your position when they fail. You don't take risks. The strategy should change now because for the first time you can have an agreement. But the parties still haven't adjusted and the question is whether they will."

Mr. Baker threatened and twisted arms to get the parties to move from fixed positions. Mr. Christopher, by contrast, is determined to befriend rather than bully, hoping that by listening carefully he can win the trust of the parties and elicit their ideas for bridging gaps.

Perhaps that approach will work. One illustration of how important it is to listen and how elusive the signals can be is the current Israeli thinking about the Golan Heights, terrain that Israelis have been told for 25 years is crucial for their security. A senior Israeli military official told journalists traveling with Mr. Christopher that a complete withdrawal would not compromise Israel's security, as long as there are adequate safeguards. Mr. Rabin followed a few days later with a speech to leaders of American Jewish organizations in which he said the precedent of giving up territory for peace with Egypt "will not be broken." The comments seemed to offer new flexibility, and the American side touted them as positive signs.

That was until the Israelis pointed out that the military official misspoke and that Mr. Rabin had inadvertently put an extra "not" in his sentence.

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Israel Set to Use U.S.

Loan Guarantees 7-3

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By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, March 6 — For many months they held center stage in United States-Israeli relations, becoming a barometer of how the countries were getting along.

President George Bush withheld them from Israel to punish one Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, then handed them as a reward to a triumphant new leader, Yitzhak Rabin.

Now, with political squabbles set aside, Israel is about to go to market using the much-disputed American loan guarantees, which will make it easier for this country to borrow up to \$10 billion over the next five years to help generate jobs for a large influx of new immigrants.

The first \$1 billion in these American-backed loans are expected within a month, and Finance Minister Avraham Shohat says they will be used for telecommunications, power generation, roads and other infrastructure improvements.

While the United States is not putting up its own money — only its assurance that it will cover bad debts should the Israelis default — it will closely monitor how the borrowed cash is spent. Most of all, American officials say, they want to be sure that none of it

winds up in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, as Washington believes was the case under Mr. Shamir two years ago with a smaller batch of American-guaranteed loans.

Mr. Shohat has reportedly acknowledged to American Jewish leaders that Israel's spending habits "will be under a microscope" for quite a while.

Loan guarantees aside, questions have arisen about how much longer Israelis can count on the substantial amount of regular American aid — \$3 billion a year — that their leaders have come to expect as their due. In recent weeks, they have heard fresh American warnings that while the aid looks safe for 1994, they had better not take it for granted in following years.

"The commitment of the American Government and people to Israel is not in question, now or in the future," William C. Harrop, the United States Ambassador to Israel, said on Thursday. "But it may prove difficult to maintain our economic aid at its current high level."

On Friday, the State Department distanced itself from Mr. Harrop's remarks, saying that "he was not speaking on instructions" from Washington. Nonetheless, the Ambassador merely echoed what the Israelis had already heard from others, including members of Congress.

NY Times

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The \$3 billion a year amounts to 3 percent of Israel's Government budget and 5 percent of its gross national product, but Israelis disagree among themselves about how indispensable that total is.

Rabin to Meet Clinton

Not vital at all, say some, conspicuously rightists who argue that the less that Israel depends on Washington's largesse, the less vulnerable it will be to American pressure to give up settlement activity and land in the territories. But that is not the view of the present Government, and when Mr. Rabin leaves next week for the United States and a first meeting with President Clinton, one of his priorities will be to nail down existing aid levels.

A few weeks ago, staging the equivalent of a pre-emptive strike to protect the assistance, the Prime Minister said Israel "is entitled, more than entitled" to the \$3 billion it has been getting since the mid-1980's. Joining the refrain, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said inflation had cut the value of the aid package by about one-third over the years.

Moreover, Israeli officials note that relatively little of this money ends up in Government coffers.

Can the Israelis expect aid to flow unabated?

Of the total, \$1.3 billion is considered economic aid, but it goes right back to Washington to repay old Israeli debts for military purchases. Of the \$1.8 billion in military aid, more than 70 percent must be spent on United States-

made equipment and weapons, and thus, the Israelis argue, it helps create American jobs.

Even so, some Israelis and their American Jewish supporters acknowledge that talk about Israel's entitlement may not sit well in Washington at a time when foreign aid is unpopular and other countries also demand American attention. Israel, the largest single recipient, accounts for 20 percent of the total foreign-aid budget, and even a supporter like Senator Daniel K. Inouye, Democrat of Hawaii, has warned against thinking "it will go on forever."

On a recent visit, Mr. Inouye proposed new forms of assistance, like an American-Israeli project to expand the port of Haifa so United States warships in the Mediterranean could berth there for maintenance and repairs.

Questions about Israeli dependence on Washington also extend to the loan guarantees, which provide Israel favorable bank terms that it probably would not receive on its own: 30-year borrowing, low interest rates and no repayment of the principal for the first 10 years.

The terms are so good that Mr. Shohat recently asked the Israel Bonds organization, which had raised a record \$1.2 billion worldwide last year, to scale back its own more costly borrowing by about 20 percent.

But the Israel Bonds president, Meir Rosenne, argues that unlike the case with the money he raises, "there are strings attached" to the American loan guarantees: In future installments, the United States could deduct spending in the territories that it considers unacceptable, and theoretically Mr. Clinton can scrap the guarantees entirely at any point, even out of dissatisfaction with Israel's economic performance.

While the new Administration is considered a friend here, somber possibilities were brought home when Ambassador Harrop observed that the pace of economic change "has been slow, in fact rather disappointing."

אאא, חוזם: 9748

אל: רהמ/ש/322

מ-: המשרד, תא: 070393, זח: 1214, דח: מ, סג: סו,

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ד.ג.

סודי/מיד

אל: וושינגטון, השגריר

דע: רומא

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

בשיחה עם שגריר איטליה במפגש הסגל הדיפלומטי עם שה"ח סיפר כי שגרירותם בדמשק (שהייתה הראשונה לדווח בזמנו על מגמת הנשיא אסאד להיענות להזמנת המזכיר בייקר להשתתף בוועידת שלום), מדווחת שביקור כריסטופר בסוריה עלה יפה בגלל הנמכת הציפיות שקדמה לו. משהגיע המזכיר לדמשק והודיע על כוונת ארה"ב להיות פעילה במו"מ באורח אקטיבי קיבלו זאת הסורים כמחווה שיש בה כדי לקדם ענינה של סוריה בהשגת יעדיה במו"מ עם ישראל. מכאן לדברי השגריר הנכונות המיוחסות לאסאד להידרש להצעות אשר תועלינה ע"י ארה"ב במהלך המו"מ.

כזכור אמר לי דג'רג'יאן עת ליוותיו משדה התעופה לירושלים שהוא פרש עמדת אסאד בשיחתו עם המזכיר כמוכנות להסכים לרעיונות של גישור שיועלו ע"י ארה"ב.

בנצור

7 במרץ 1993

חמוצה: שהח, סשהח, @רהמ), @שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ר'אגת), @רם), @אמן), ממוד, מצפא,
סייבל, משפט

אאא, חוזם: 10016

אל: רהמש/ 331

מ-: המשרד, תא: 070393, זח: 1402, דח: מ, סג: סו,

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ד.ג.ר

סודי/מיד

אל: וושינגטון, הציר

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

הנדון: צוות השלום, שלך נר 2025

1. בעת שהותם בארץ שח לי דג'רג'יאן כמתואר במברקך הנ"ל.
2. סיפר שהמזכיר קשוב קשב רב לדעות ומחשבות צוות השלום, שהם עובדים כתוצאה במעין קולגיאט, ושכל אחד חש עצמו בן חורין להביע דעה ומחשבה. מאידך, הוסיף, ובל נטעה באיש. משנתגבשה דעתו היא יציגה ויקדמה בנחישות המירבית.
3. העולה מהנ"ל, זו חשיבותו הגדלה והולכת של צוות השלום ושל תשומתם לעיצוב המדיניות כמיטב המסורת הדיפלומטית. ומצד שני מזדקר המזכיר כמי שמשקף במדיניותו את סך הכל שיקול הדעת, החבונה, הידע והנסיון המוסדיים.
4. דפוסי עבודה חדשים אלה מעלים ממילא לאין שיעור משקל מגעיכם היומיומי עם צוות השלום.

בנצור.

7 במרץ 1993

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 9294

אל: רהמש/ 313

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 290, תא: 050393, זח: 1858, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מיידי

אל: לש' רה"מ (האבר)

דע: לש' שה"ח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

להלן בהמשך למברקנו 2027.

רבינוביץ

להלן הנייר שהוכן ע"י הנספח הכלכלי:

תאריך: 03.03.93

סימוכין: 990

הנדון: ראשי פרקים לרוה"מ - הנושאים הכלכליים

נייר זה מיועד לסקור את ראשי הפרקים והרקע לנקודות לשיחה בתחום כלכלי, אשר יתכן ויועלו במהלך פגישת רוח"מ עם הנשיא או עם אישי ממשל אחרים הערה כללית: יש חשיבות רבה להצהרה נשיאותית, כי להצהרות מעין אלה יש כח וחשיבות לעתיד. יחד עם זאת צריך לעשות הבחנה בין נושאים שהם לשיחה בלבד בין הנשיא לרוה"מ לבין נקודות המיועדות להצהרה. הצעה להצהרה נשיאותית בנושא הכלכלי:

חוסנה הכלכלי של מדינת ישראל מהווה גורם מייצב חשוב במזרח התיכון. לחזקה הכלכלי של המדינה, תהיה חשיבות לתהליך המדיני במזה"ת. ארה"ב כאחד הנדבכים לחיזוק הדמוקרטיה והחופש וקליטת העולים ממדינות חב"מ.

הצעה לראשי פרקים אפשריים לשיחה.

- מערכת היחסים הכלכליים בין ישראל וארה"ב מתפרסת על תחומים הבאים:
- א. הסכם הסחר החופשי והסחר בין שתי המדינות.
 - ב. השקעות הון ותנועות הון בין שתי המדינות.
 - ג. קרנות מחקר ופיתוח משותפות.
 - ד. הסכם למניעת כפל מס.
 - ה. הסיוע הכלכלי והצבאי השנתי בסך 3 מיליארד דולר.
 - ו. הערבויות לקליטת העליה מברה"מ בסך של 10 ביליון דולר.
 - ז. המאבק בחרם הערבי.
 - ח. שיתוף פעולה כלכלי בין ישראל וארה"ב למדינות חבר העמים.

להלן ראשי פרקים לכל אחד מהתחומים הנ"ל:

א. הסכם הסחר החופשי בין ישראל וארה"ב, ההסכמים עם מקסיקו וקנדה ותנועת הסחר בין המדינות.

- ההסכם בין ישראל וארה"ב נחתם ב 1985.

- ההסכם בין ארה"ב וקנדה נחתם ב 1987. (ב 1992 ארה"ב יצאה לקנדה וייבאה ב 100 ביליון דולר) ההסכם בין ארה"ב ומקסיקו נמצא בתהליכי אשרור.

ארה"ב מהווה ארץ יעד לסחורות ישראליות והקף היצוא הישראלי למדינה זו ב 1992 הסתכם בכ 3.7 ביליון דולר. היבוא לישראל מארה"ב הסתכם בכ 3.4 ביליון דולר.

עיקר היצוא מישראל לארה"ב: מינרלים ומוצרים כימיים ב 2.5 מיליון דולר. טקסטיל ומוצרי טקסטיל, 210 מיליון דולר, יהלומים, תכשיטים ואבנים יקרות 1.5 ביליון דולר, מוצרים אלקטרוניים וחשמלים 850 מ' דולר. עיקר היבוא מארה"ב: גרעינים לסוגיהם 290 מ' דולר, מוצרים מינרלים 215 מ' דולר, פלסטיק וגומי 100 מ' דולר, נייר קרטון ותאית 110 מ' דולר, פנינים, תכשיטים ואבנים יקרות 110 מ' דולר, מתכות לסוגיהם 200 מ' דולר, מוצרי אלקטרוניקה 1200 מ' דולר, כלי רכב, טייס וציוד הובלה 350 מ' דולר, מכשירים אופטיים, ציוד רפואי וכלי נגינה 200 מ' דולר.

האינטרס הישראלי: הגברת הסחר בין שתי המדינות, הסרת מחסומים ומגבלות ועידוד הקשרים העיסוקיים, תוך ניקוז היתרונות שנוצרו בהסכם NAFTA גם אל ההסכם עם ישראל.

ב. השקעות הון ותנועות הון בין שתי המדינות.

שוק ההון האמריקאי הפך בשנים האחרונות למרכז לגיוס ההון לחברות ועסקים ישראלים. חברות ישראליות מגייסות הון בבורסה בניו - יורק, מפעל הבונד מוכר אג"ח בכ 1 - ביליון דולר לשנה ובנקים ישראלים פועלים בשוק האמריקאי.

האינטרס הישראלי - טיפוח קשרים עסקיים אלה התורמים במקביל לשתי המדינות.

ג. קרנות מחקר ופיתוח משותפות.

קימות היום 3 קרנות משותפות לישראל ולארה"ב. קרן תעשיתית, BIRD,

קרן חקלאית BARD וקרן מדעית BASF. בכל אחת מהקרנות כ 110 מ' דולר והם מעמידות מדי שנה בין 5 מ' דולר ועד 12 מ' דולר למחקר ופיתוח.

האינטרס הישראלי:

- הגברת שיתוף הפעולה וחשיפת הכושר הטכנולוגי האזרחי הישראלי לתעשייה האמריקאית. מהלך זה יכול להתנהל תחת מטריה של נציבות משותפת תפעל בשלושה כיוונים:

- (1) חשיפת הטכנולוגיה הישראלית לתעשייה האמריקאית.
- (2) שיתוף התעשייה הישראלית בטכנולוגיה אמריקאית.
- (3) מציאת מקורות ואמצעים להגברת המחקר והפיתוח המשותף לשתי המדינות.

ד. הסכם למניעת כפל מס.

ההסכם נחתם ע"י שתי המדינות לאחרונה והוא מיועד ליצור נדבך נוסף ביחסים הכלכליים שבין שתי המדינות. זהו הסכם אשר מיועד לאפשר לאנשי עסקים ולחברות ישראליות לפעול בצורה יעילה יותר ללא שיקולי מס מיותרים.

האינטרס הישראלי: אשרור מהיר ע"י הקונגרס של ההסכם.

ה. הסיוע הכלכלי - צבאי.

הממשל בתקציבו החדש ייעד סכום זהה לזה של שנים קודמות, כלומר 3 ביליון דולר. יחד עם זאת האירועים מבית עשויים ללחוץ לקיצוץ מסוים במסגרת הנ"ל.

האינטרס הישראלי - שמירה על המסגרת. (ראה נספח בנדון).

ו. הערבויות לקליטת העליה.

סכום הערבויות הראשון מגוייס בימים אלה. לערבויות תהיה תרומה בייצוב מטריית מט"ח למשק הישראלי.

האינטרס הישראלי - ששיעור הסיבסוד בו תחויב ישראל יהיה עפ"י המוסכם עם הממשל הקודם.

ז. המאבק בחרם הערבי.

החרם הערבי המשני הוא אקטיבי עדין וחברות רבות נמנעות מלקשור קשרים או להקים עסקים בישראל. המנעות זו פוגעת ביכולת ליצור קשרים עסקיים הולמים.

האינטרס הישראלי - מאבק מדיני כנגד המשך ההפעלה של החרם, בעיקר בימים אלה כאשר מדובר על הורדת מגבלות הסחר, והשתלבות ישראלית בקהילה הבין לאומית.

ח. שיתוף פעולה כלכלי למדינות חבר העמים.

מדינות חבר העמים זקוקות לסיוע כלכלי, אך הם גם מהוות שוק פוטנציאלי להשקעות כלכליות ושוק למוצרי צריכה שונים.

שילוב נכון של הידע והקשרים הישראליים עם ההון והעוצמה הכלכלית יכול לתרום להגברת היצוא האמריקאי והישראלי ויתרום למדינות חבר העמים.

האינטרס הישראלי - הגברת מסגרת שיתוף הפעולה בין שתי המדינות ויצירת מכשירים משותפים לערבויות ומימיון יצוא למדינות חבר העמים.

להלן הנייר שהכין נספח ההגנה

הנדון: סדר היום הבטחוני

1. נושאים הקשורים בתחום הביטחון עשויים לעלות ברבות מפגישות רוח"מ, מעבר לאלו המוקדשות באופן מובהק לנושא הביטחון, לאמור, הפגישות עם מזכיר ההגנה.
2. מסמך זה יציע ראייה כוללת שמתוכה תיגזרנה נקודות לשיתוף עם בני השיח השונים.
3. המזה"ת הינו אחד מארבעת האזורים שלגביהם מתקיימים אינטרסים אמריקאיים מיוחדים (האחרים: אירופה, מזרח אסיה ומרכז אמריקה).
- יחודו בכך שהוא מכיל בתוכו את עתודות הנפט הידועות יחד עם פוטנציאל מתמיד של יציאה משליטה בשל אופיין המיוחד של חלק מהאזורים השייכות למזה"ת (המוגדר כאן בפי דרגי העבודה "FROM MARAKESH TO BANGLADESH").
4. לטווח הארוך, נראה שארה"ב מנסה לייצב את מדיניותה על שלושה עמודי תווך: סעודיה, מצרים ותורכיה, כאשר כל אחת מהן, כידוע, סובלת מחולשות פנימיות בהווה ולעתים אף יותר מכך, בעתיד.
5. ישראל נתפסת בקונטקסט קצת שונה. הן כמדינה שהצליחה ליצור זהות רעיונית, היסטורית וערכית בינה ובין ארה"ב והן כמדינה ששמה משמש כעלה תאנה לשורה אינסופית של תהליכים דסטרוקטיביים במזה"ת (אין בשלוש שורות אלו יומרה להסביר את הנושא המורכב הרבה יותר של יחסי ארה"ב - ישראל).
6. במסגרת התפיסה האמריקאית שמצב העולם עבר מסבסוך מרכזי בין שתי מעצמות על לאוסף של סכסוכים אזוריים שהמזה"ת הוא אחד מהם (ולא הדחוף ביותר!), יש צורך לנסות ולאתר את הבעיות המקומיות, דבר שהתחיל באיזורנו, והדברים ידועים.
7. ברור לכן, שהתהליך המדיני הוא לב - לבו של המתרחש והיחסים הבטחוניים לעשור הקרוב יגזרו מאופיו של ההסדר שיושג או מאופי כל תפנית אחרת שתתרחש. מכיוון שאנחנו נמצאים כרגע בזמן מעבר ממצב צבירה אחד ("טרם ההסדר") למצב צבירה חדש ("לאחר ההסדר" או "לאחר המשבר"), קשה, בנקודת

הזמן הנוכחית למסד קשרים בטחוניים המערכניים אג'נדה ששמשו אותנו בעשר השנים האחרונות, ושכל הנראה, הולכת ומאבדת את הרלבנטיות שלה.

8. איבוד הרלבנטיות, עם זאת, הוא חלקי. נשמטה לנו אולי הקרקע הקונספטואלית, אולם יחד עם זאת השכילה מערכת הביטחון לייצר מכניזם יחסים כזה שלא קשה כיום, כאשר מתקיים רצון הדדי ומוגדר הרציונל, להופכו למעשים בשטח.

9. שני נושאים עשויים להיות מתאימים להיות בסיס להתווית אפשרות של שתוף פעולה בין שתי הידידות בעתיד. שני נושאים אלה נגזרים הן מכך שיש בהם מידה רבה של חפיפה בין ראיית העולם של שתי המדינות והן מכך שהם בעלי אופי מניעתי, הגנתי, אופי הבא לנסות ולהקטין אפשרויות סכסוך חמורות בעתיד.

10. שני הנושאים הינם:

א. המלחמה בפרוליפרציה.

ב. הכנת המזה"ת כאזור בעדיפות להגנה בפני טק"ק עם ראשים לא קונבנציונליים עם דגש על הגנת קבע לישראל.

המלחמה בפרוליפרציה

11. נושא זה הולך ועולה בסולם החשיבות של מדיניות החוץ / בטחון של ארה"ב. התרשמותי היא שמדובר כאן בממשל המתכוון להידרש לכל האמצעים כדי לעצור תהליכי פרוליפרציה ואולי אף במקרים מסוימים, לנסות ולהחזיר את השד לבקבוק.

12. נושא זה הוא אינטרס מובהק של ישראל. יתכן שיש לנו סיבות מדוע לא לגלות התלהבות יתר אולם בשלב מסוים לא תהיה לנו ברירה אלא לתפוס את השור בקרניו. אני סבור שהביקור הנוכחי עשוי להיות הזמן המתאים.

המלחמה בפרוליפרציה מקיפה נושאי מודיעין, ל"פ, כלכלה ואף מבצעים. עוסקים בה כאן בעיר רשויות רבות ויש כאן כר נרחב לשיתוף פעולה.

הגנת המזה"ת בפני טק"ק

13. בחרתי לנסח כך את הכותרת כאשר אין לי ספק שהאינטרס האמריקאי (כפי שכבר ציינתי) מכסה שטחים נרחבים הרבה מעבר לישראל.

מבחינתה של ישראל, עומדת כאן ההחלטה איך לישב בין שני משתנים נמצאים זה לזה, לאמור, תפיסת הבטחון שלנו שגרסה תמיד עצמאות מוחלטת בהתמודדות עם איומים קיומיים, זאת מול המשאבים הגדולים הנדרשים לייצר עצמאות זו לנוכח האיום החזוי. החל מסוגיית האתראה המוקדמת, דרך יירוט באויר וכלה בכל שאר הנדבכים הקשורים באופי הלחימה הנדון.

14. להערכתנו, נכון יהיה לראות את סוגיית ההגנה בפני טק"ק כחלק מ"העיסקה הכוללת" שתיווצר ב"מצב הצבירה" הבא אליו אנו צועדים. יש לישראל בתחום זה סדרה של הישגים לא מבוטלים ונכון יהיה לנסות וליצור הליכה משותפת לקראת יצירת מצב הגנתי שבמידה ולא יתקיים, עשוי להכניס אלמנט לא מייצב לאזור שהיה ויהיה רגיש תמיד.

15. איני יודע מה יהיה הצורך המבצעי של ארצות אחרות באזור. אני סבור שהצורך המבצעי שלנו צריך להיות הגנה מתמדת בפני טק"ק, רצוי מאוד בשילוב עמוק של ה"חץ" (בהנחה שיצלחה) החל משנת 2000.

16. גם אם לא מדובר על החלטה ברורה וסופית בביקור הנוכחי, נכון יהיה להתחיל ולזרוע את הזרע במחשבה המדינית / בטחונית כאן בווינגטון, ובעיקר לשמוע את תפיסתם לגבי הרעיון.

נושאים נוספים

17. בנוסף, חשוב שהביקור הנוכחי יתן חיזוק למגמה שהסתמנה בששת החדשים האחרונים, לאמור, חיזוק מחויבותה של ארה"ב לבטחונה של ישראל וליתרון האיכותי הדרוש לה כדי לממש יכולת זו. יתר על כן, חשוב שנקבל אשרור של הממשל הנוכחי למרכיבים של מדיניות זו כפי שהתפתחו בתקופה זו, ושחשוב שיחולו הן על הקשרים הבטחוניים והן על הקשרים הכלכליים.

18. מכל האמור לעיל נגזרים נושאי השיחה במפגשים הצפויים.

19. נושאי שיחה (בתחום הביטחון) מול הנשיא

א. הסיוע הבטחוני לישראל עם הסבר קצר על חשיבות ה OSP כמרכיב חיוני בשמירת היתרון האיכותי.

ב. קבלת הנשיא את העמדה האמריקאית של תמיכה פעילה בשמירת היתרון האיכותי של ישראל במובנו הרחב.

ג. העלאת התזה של שיתוף פעולה בשני הנושאים שתוארו לעיל, פרוליפרציה והגנה בפני טק"ק (אולי עם אזכור תמיכתנו הברורה ב"חץ").

ד. עדכון הנשיא בעקרון שסוכם בדבר ה TECHNOLOGY UPGRADE , בעובדה שהוקם מכניזם משותף אמריקאי - ישראלי לטפל בו ובכך ש :

1. הנושא הועלה בשיחת רוה"מ עם מזכיר המדינה.

2. הנושא יעלה בפגישת אחה"צ של רוה"מ עם מזכיר ההגנה בצורה מפורטת.

20. נושאי שיחה (בתחום הביטחון) מול מזכיר המדינה.

א. הסיוע הבטחוני לישראל כולל ה OSP .

ב. סוגיית היתרון האיכותי.

ג. תקווה להתקדמות ממשיית בתחום ה TECHNOLOGY UPGRADE .

ד. הבנה מחמדי"ת לנושאי יצוא בטחוני של ישראל לא כתחרות מול השוק האמריקאי אלא ככלי ביצירת חוסן כלכלי ישראלי, נדבך חשוב ביכולתה של ישראל לקבל החלטות בתחום המדיני.

ה. נושאי שת"פ בעלי משמעות בטחונית המצויים בחלקם במגרש המחמד"י (פרוליפרציה, הרפובליקות המוסלמיות, מענה לאיום האירני).

21. נושאי שיחה (בתחום הביטחון) מול מזכיר ההגנה

א. תפיסתו את האיום והמענה מנקודת המבט האמריקאית (יעשה זאת וודאי ביזמתו מיד בפתיחת המפגש).

ב. עיקרי האיום מנקודת מבטנו.

ג. המחויבות האמריקאית ליתרון האיכותי.

ד. הסיוע הבטחוני.

ה. שת"פ בנושאי פרוליפרציה והגנה בפני טק"ק עם ראשים נבקי"ם.

ו. מתן חיזוק למכניזם שהוקם לעסוף ב - TECHNOLOGY UPGRADE (עם ציון עמדתה הברורה של ישראל באשר להקפדה על "כללי המשחק").

ז. שאיפה לפתיחות רבה יותר של הזרועות מול מערכות נשק שפותחו בישראל באותם מקרים בהם חוסך הדבר השקעות ניכרות שלהם במחקר ופיתוח.

ח. הבעת תודה על ה DRAW - DOWN , הערכה על ההיקף הנוכחי של ה - PRE - POSITIONING (ציון אמריקאי המצוי בישראל) ותקווה שישראל תוכל להסתייע בציון ה EXCESS המתפנה כתוצאה מהקטנת הסדר"כ האמריקאי כמקור לפינוי משאבים לחיזוק יכולותיה העצמיות.

ט. הצורך בהגברת השת"פ הצבאי תוך תקווה לדיאלוג עם סנטקו"מ שידגיש את הצורך בראייה אינטגרטיבית של המזה"ת (מבלי להחליש הזיקה לאקו"מ).

י. נושאי מודיעין.

22. נושאים לשיחה (בתחום הבטחון) מול היועץ לבטחון לאומי

א. האיום האירני ושת"פ בנושא.

ב. שת"פ בנושא מלחמה בפרוליפרציה והגנה בפני טק"ק.

ג. המחויבות ליתרון האיכותי.

ד. שת"פ בנושא מלחמה בטרור ובסמים.

23. נושאים לשיחה מול יו"ר המטות המשולבים

א. תפיסתו את המשמעויות של הירידה המתמדת בתקציבי ההגנה כאן.

ב. תפיסתו את נושא יוגוסלביה.

ג. דרכים להגברת השת"פ הצבאי.

ד. פתיחות של הזרועות מול מערכות נשק שפותחו בישראל באותם מקרים בהם

חוסך הדבר השקעות ניכרות שלהם במחקר ופיתוח.

24. סיכום

מסמך זה הינו הצעה לסדר היום מנקודת מבטי כאן בושינגטון. אין לי ספק שתתווסף אליו הראיה מירושלים / ת"א. אני מקווה שהביקור יסתיים הן בהצהרה נשיאותית על עקרונות והסכמה ברמת המזכירים לתרגם עקרונות למעשים.

גיורא רום

להלן הנייר שהכין הנספח המדעי:

4 מרץ 1993

שיתוף פעולה בנושאי מדע וטכנולוגיה ישראל - ארה"ב

1. שיתוף הפעולה בנושאי מדע וטכנולוגיה בתחום האזרחי מתפרס על תחום רחב מאוד של נושאים ומוסדות. (קיים גם שת"פ הדוק בתחום מערכת הבטחון בנושאים הנ"ל. ברם, השת"פ הבטחוני הינו מחוץ למסגרת הנושאים הנדונים במסמך זה).

2. שיתוף פעולה בין מוסדי:

המוסד הישראלי	המוסד בארה"ב	סטטוס השת"פ
2.1 משרד האנרגיה מחקרים משותפים בנושאים הקשורים בפצלי שמן. המחקרים הסתיימו.	DOE	בין השנים 85-92 נערכו
2.2 מוסדות רפואיים בישראל כ-5.7 אחוז מתקציב ה-NIH למחקרים בינ"ל.	NIH	היקף מענקי המחקר לישראל 5.25 מליון דולר (ב-1990).
2.3 המשרד לאיכות בנושאים: הסביבה טיפול בפסולת, פסולת רעילה, מיחזור מים וכו'. שיתוף פעולה נמשך לשביעות רצון שני הצדדים.	EPA	סימפוזיונים והעברת מידע
2.4 הקרן הדו-לאומית למחקר	NSF	מחקרים באמצעות קרן BSF.

2.5 קרנות למחקר ופיתוח משותף ארה"ב ישראל:

BSF הקרן הדו לאומית למחקר.
BIRD הקרן הדו לאומית למו"פ תעשייתית.
BARD הקרן הדו לאומית למו"פ חקלאי.

2.6 אקדמיה - קשר ישיר ושוטף בין אוניברסיטאות ומוסדות מחקר.

3 קשרים רב לאומיים:

באמצעות NIBIRD התפתחו קשרי עבודה על נושאים משותפים בין ישראל ומצריים בנושאים רפואיים (אפידמולוגיה), חקלאיים (פרטים בנספחות החקלאית). בחודש נובמבר התקיים ב-NIH וושינגטון כנס של מדינות במזה"ת בהשתתפות ישראל, תורכיה, מצריים, ירדן, לבנון, טוניסיה, מרוקו, וכן ארה"ב, קנדה ו-WHO. נושא הכנס: מחקרים משותפים בפרזיטולוגיה, ובמחלות טרופיות האופייניות לאזור.

4 ועדה עליונה לטכנולוגיה מתוחכמת - HIGH TECH COMMISSION

4.1 מטרות הועדה:

- א. הועדה מטפלת בנושאי מדע וטכנולוגיה מתוחכמת במישור האזרחי בלבד.
- ב. הועדה תתן חסות ותתווה קווים מנחים להסכמים הספציפיים שנחתמים בין המוסדות בשתי הארצות.
- ג. הועדה תתווה מדיניות שנועדה להעמיק ולהרחיב את השת"פ בנושאי טכנולוגיה מתוחכמת ויישומה התעשייתי באמצעות הסכמים בין התעשייה בארה"ב ומפעלי המו"פ בארץ. בדרך זו השגי המו"פ הישומי בארץ יחשפו בפני התעשייה בארה"ב. ומאידך המו"פ בארץ יהנה מהפוטנציאל השוקי הקיים בארה"ב.
- ד. הועדה תתווה מדיניות לפתח פרויקטים טכנולוגיים גדולים בעלי חשיבות לאומית ו/או בעלי חשיבות לפתוח ולפתרון בעיות באזורנו בנושאים כגון:

חקלאות מדברית

שיטות השקיה

התפלת מים

רפואה

אנרגיה. (אנרגיה סולרית) וכו'.

4.2 כאמור לעיל מומלץ ליחד את תחום הפעילות של ועדה זו לנושאים אזרחיים בלבד. השת"פ בתחום הבטחוני ימשיך להתבצע במתכונות ובמסגרות הקיימות.

עד כאן

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), שהח

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בלמס/מיירי
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אל: מצפ"א
 דע: לשכת שה"ח, לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שר האוצר
 מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: ביקור הסנטור ליידי
 =====

רצ"ב דיווח מפורט שהעביר הסנטור ליידי ליו"ר ועדת ההקצבות הסנטור בירד,
 על מסעו במזה"ת ואשר הוכנס גם לרקורד הקונגרסיונאלי.

יכול - יו"ר, יו"ר, יו"ר
 יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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X REPORT ON TRIP TO MIDDLE EAST

• Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, from February 6 to 14, I visited Israel, Egypt, and Jordan in my capacity as chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee. My purpose was to discuss the Middle East peace process, to explain the upcoming review of U.S. foreign assistance and the need for reform, and to conduct oversight of U.S. foreign assistance programs in the area. I ask to include in the RECORD at this point the report on my trip which I submitted to the distinguished chairman of the Appropriations Committee. The report follows:

U.S. SENATE
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
Washington, DC, February 24, 1981.

Hon. ROBERT C. BYRD,
Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, U.S.
Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR BOB: Enclosed is a report on my trip to the Middle East during the February recess. The trip was of great value in my work as chairman of the Foreign Operations subcommittee, particularly in light of the need to reform the foreign aid program. I believe my discussions with Secretary Christopher on my return, just prior to his departure for the Middle East, were also of importance to his preparations.

With best regards,
Sincerely,

PATRICK LEAHY,
Chairman,
Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

CODEL LEAHY VISIT TO ISRAEL, EGYPT, AND JORDAN

Senator Leahy, chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, visited Israel, Egypt and Jordan between February 6-14. Senator Leahy was accompanied by Mrs. Leahy, Ellen Lovell, his Administrative Assistant, and Eric Newsom, majority clerk, Foreign Operations subcommittee. The purposes of the trip were:

To discuss with leaders of Israel, Egypt and Jordan the Middle East peace process, the problem of the deportees and Secretary Christopher's upcoming visit to the region;

To explain the upcoming review of U.S. foreign assistance and the need for reform; and

To conduct oversight of U.S. foreign assistance programs in the area, including the Israeli immigrant absorption loan guarantee program.

In preparation for the trip, Senator Leahy met with Secretary of State Warren Chris-

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topher and Deputy Secretary of State Clifton Wharton, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs Edward Djerejian, Israeli Ambassador Zalmon Shoval, Egyptian Ambassador el Sayed, and Dr. Osama el Bazi, Advisor to President Mubarak of Egypt. In addition, Senator Leahy was briefed by U.S. intelligence officials on the Middle East situation.

Upon his return to the United States, Senator Leahy met Secretary of State Christopher and Assistant Secretary of State Edward Djerejian to review his discussions with Middle East leaders and to present Secretary Christopher with his assessment of the situation prior to the Secretary's own trip to the region beginning February 17. Senator Leahy also met Palestinian Spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi in Washington immediately after his return to continue discussing the views of the Palestinians, and with Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres.

ISRAEL

In Israel, on February 8 Senator Leahy met U.S. Ambassador William Harrop in two separate meetings prior to discussions with Israeli officials. Senator Leahy then met Jewish Agency head Simcha Dinits and subsequently Finance Minister Avram Shohat to discuss the U.S. loan guarantee program to assist Israel to absorb immigrants, primarily from the former Soviet Union. The discussions centered around Israel's plans for using the loan guarantees, and Senator Leahy's intention to monitor the program closely to ensure full compliance with U.S. conditions in providing the guarantees.

Later, Senator Leahy met with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to discuss the peace process and the problem of the deportees. In order to be able to discuss sensitive matters relating to the deportees, the meeting was restricted to the Senator, Prime Minister Rabin and a notetaker from each side. The Senator then proceeded to a meeting with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to continue discussing the Middle East peace process. Central Bank Governor Jacob Frankel participated in the discussion, and there was a detailed review of the economic and fiscal reform measures Israel needs to carry out to be able to absorb the influx of immigrants and to use the U.S. loan guarantees effectively. Senator Leahy visited the Israeli Knesset and met Likud Party leader Binyamin Netanyahu, also to discuss the peace process and the deportees. Finally, after a brief meeting with former Likud Party Defense Minister Moshe Arens, Senator Leahy met a group of Palestinian peace negotiators at a dinner hosted by Molly Williamson, U.S. Consul General in Jerusalem. This produced an intense discussion of the state of the peace talks, Palestinian concerns about the lack of progress, the problems created by the deportations, and the role the Palestinians hope the Clinton Administration will play.

Unfortunately, plans Senator Leahy had made to visit the Gaza Strip the next day to visit a major AID project there had to be canceled on the advice of Ambassador Harrop because of security concerns. Several Palestinians had been shot by Israeli security forces over the previous few days and there were daily incidents in Gaza. Instead, the Consul General arranged for Senator Leahy to visit several AID projects in the West Bank intended to assist Palestinians. The delegation also toured Israeli settlements in the territory and received briefings from Consulate staff on Israeli settlement activities. Senator Leahy also met West Bank Palestinians to hear their views on Israel's actions and role in the territories and their disillusionment with the peace talks. The delegation also visited a Palestinian ref-

ugee camp to listen to Palestinian complaints and to see projects AID is carrying out to alleviate conditions.

EGYPT

Wednesday, February 10, Senator Leahy met U.S. Ambassador William Harrop in Cairo to discuss Egypt's role in the Middle East peace process. Senator Leahy then had a lengthy meeting with President Hosni Mubarak in which the Middle East peace process was discussed, as well as a general review of the situation throughout the region. President Mubarak indicated he wished to continue the discussion later, and invited Senator Leahy to have breakfast the next morning. Subsequently, Senator Leahy met Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces General Halaaby and members of his staff and Defense Minister Tantawi to discuss US-Egyptian security relations and U.S. military assistance levels. This was followed by a long meeting with Foreign Minister Amr Mousa to continue in depth discussions of the peace talks and the problem of the deportees. After this meeting Senator Leahy sent a message to Amman, Jordan requesting meetings with King Hussein and the Prime Minister.

The morning of Thursday, February 11, Senator Leahy delayed his plans to travel to Upper Egypt to review AID projects and met with President Mubarak over breakfast to continue discussions about the peace process and other regional matters of concern. The delegation then left for Aswan to inspect and to be briefed on the \$140 million AID project to replace all twelve turbines at the High Dam, one of the largest U.S. aid projects in Egypt. The project appears to be proceeding smoothly. The Delegation then traveled to Luxor where it was met by Peter Dorman, Director of the University of Chicago project financed by AID. The delegation met the American staff over dinner at Chicago House to be briefed on the US-financed programs run by the University of Chicago, and the next day was given a tour of the program by Chicago House staff. In the meantime, messages continued to be exchanged between the delegation and the U.S. embassy in Amman concerning the change in schedule that would permit Senator Leahy to fly to Jordan to meet the King.

JORDAN

February 13, the delegation traveled to Amman, where Senator Leahy first met Ambassador Harrison to get prepared for his meetings with Jordanian leaders. Senator Leahy then met with Prime Minister Bin Shaker to discuss issues related to the peace talks, US-Jordanian relations and U.S. military and economic assistance to Jordan, as well as Jordanian enforcement on U.N. sanctions against Iraq. This was followed by a meeting with King Hussein to continue discussions on the same subjects. The talks continued over lunch hosted by King Hussein and Queen Noor.

PEACE TALKS

All parties recognize that the peace talks are temporarily stalled by the Israeli action to deport over 400 West Bank Palestinians, allegedly supporters of the terrorist Islamic extremist group Hamas. Television images of the Palestinian deportees huddled in freezing weather on a hillside in Lebanon have aroused public opinion throughout the Arab world, even among secular Arabs not given to supporting Islamic extremists. It has become politically impossible, according to all Arab parties who met with Senator Leahy, for the Palestinian negotiators to return to the talks until there is a more acceptable solution to the deportee issue.

Israel and some Arabs tend to see the problem of the deportees as primarily a difficult

task for diplomacy and not as a mortal danger to the peace process. In this view, the challenge is essentially to find further steps, such as expedited review and return of deportees in an accelerated time period, and that the fortuitous occurrence of the Muslim religious holiday of Ramadan provides the necessary time for diplomacy to produce this solution. Others, especially the Palestinians, argue that the problem of the deportees presents serious risks to the continuation of the peace process. The already building anger among Palestinians over the lack of results from the Madrid talks is now becoming a rage that makes it unlikely the Palestinians can return to the talks unless the problem of the deportees is resolved in a process that will result in compliance with UN Security Council Resolution 799.

It is clear that without a resolution of the deportee issue, there is a major risk to the peace process. All sides agree that the present is a unique opportunity to achieve substantial progress in the talks, but that most of the Arabs, particularly the key parties of the Palestinians and Syria, cannot or do not dare return to the bargaining table without some resolution of the deportee issue tolerable to Arab opinion.

Israel also appears to believe major negotiating accomplishments are possible in 1993, possibly even achievement of a general peace settlement. The Israelis say they understand Israel must take risks to have peace, and they are prepared to take risks for real peace. The Israelis say they accept the land for peace formula, but not all land, and the peace must be genuine, not merely non-belligerency. The Israelis say they are ready to negotiate a self government authority in the West Bank for an interim period of coexistence before negotiations on a final settlement of the status of the territories.

The views of nearly all parties with whom Senator Leahy met in the Middle East indicate that the Arab parties as well as at least ready to make real compromises with Israel, including acceptance of peace treaties and diplomatic relations, if Israel is prepared to withdraw from territories occupied during the 1967 war and subsequently. The Palestinians seem genuinely committed to accept a self government authority that falls short of their initial demands for most of the trappings of sovereignty.

All the ingredients for progress appear to be present, assuming two critical conditions are met: 1. There is some compromise on the deportees that will make it politically (and physically) safe for the Palestinians to resume the talks; and 2. The United States plays a leadership role in bringing the parties together and assisting the process to move forward. The only way to know whether these assumptions are warranted is for the U.S. to engage in a sustained, high level effort to get the Madrid talks resumed and to lend its good offices to helping the sides find solutions. Such a major U.S. diplomatic and political effort cannot be guaranteed success in such a high risk endeavor as the Middle East peace process. But it is absolutely clear there is no chance whatsoever for peace without the leadership of the Clinton administration.

THE ABSORPTION LOAN GUARANTEES

Israel is presently raising the first \$2 billion in financing using the U.S. loan guarantees. The Government plans to concentrate the assistance on building basic infrastructure, job creation and stimulation of economic growth. A central precondition to success in the immigrant absorption effort is thorough economic reform. Israel needs to liberalize its trade and investment regimes, achieve greater privatization of its economy, achieve greater discipline in government ex-

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penditures and fiscal policy, and in general reduce the direct role of government in the economy. All these actions will require politically difficult decisions. Failure to achieve reform will undermine the effect of the \$10 billion loan guarantee program, and could drive the cost of the program upward.

Under the arrangement agreed between President Bush and Prime Minister Rabin last summer, the reduction in the amount of loan guarantees to be made available to offset Israeli Government expenditures on settlements will not apply to construction prior to October 1, 1992. This is regrettable because the original Leahy-Kasten Compromise would have made the offset effective as of January 1, 1992. If the Rabin Government does complete or sell the housing units presently under construction or ready for occupancy, the Israeli settler population of the territories could increase significantly, perhaps by as much as 50%.

The Foreign Operations subcommittee plans to hold hearings on the loan guarantee program as part of its oversight responsibility.

REVIEW OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

When the intention of the Congress and the Administration to undertake a top to bottom review of U.S. foreign aid programs was explained, all parties in Israel, Egypt and Jordan reacted with concern. All made the case for continued aid at present or even higher levels in the case of Jordan, though both Israeli and Egyptian leaders acknowledged that they could not expect the U.S. to continue its currently high levels of military and economic assistance indefinitely. Both argued strongly that U.S. assistance has major policy implications, as well as serving national security and economic needs. *

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
טופס מברק

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 5 מרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת

בהמשך לסקירת התקשורת (ראה מברקנו נר 506 רצ"ב הכתבות).

תקשורת

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Mubarak Cautions Islamic Extremists

Egypt Will Meet Violence With 'Heavy Hand'

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, March 4—Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak today defended what he called his government's "very heavy hand" against Islamic extremists who use violence, and expressed confidence that their activities, while not about to disappear, have peaked in Egypt.

He also ruled out further political liberalization as a way to combat Islamic political activism, saying he fears political and religious turmoil from such a move at a time when Egypt is undergoing major economic restructuring, and does not want to put his country "in a collapse" like some others in the region.

Mubarak's comments, in an interview with The Washington Post, came hours before U.S. authorities announced the arrest of a suspect in the New York World Trade Center bombing who they allege associated with Egyptian Islamic radicals now living in the United States.

When Mubarak was told tonight of the suspect's arrest, he said it illustrated his earlier contention that religious extremism is a global phenomenon. "This proves that ter-

rorism is becoming a plague spreading all over the world, and it would call for international cooperation to resist this unhealthy phenomenon," he said through a spokesman.

"For a certain period of time, it was thought it's some sort of local phenomenon concentrating in the Middle East. But now we believe this shows it's not a local phenomenon. It's spreading," he added.

Mubarak's discussion of his government's struggle with Islamic extremists was the most authoritative description so far of Egypt's strategy for dealing with the growing appeal of so-called political Islam and with a recent deadly wave of violence by Islamic extremists.

Over the last 10 months, such violence has killed scores of Egyptian civilians and police. Islamic extremists also have targeted foreign tourists, three of whom have been killed, as a way of undermining the government by striking at its main source of income.

Citing Algeria, whose military government is engaged in daily gun battles with Islamic extremists, and Iran and Sudan, where militant Is-

See MUBARAK, A26, Col. 1



BY MICHAEL LEVIN—THE WASHINGTON POST

Mubarak rules out further political liberalization, saying it might provoke religious turmoil.

1055, 53

3/28

Mubarak Warns Islamic Extremists

MUBARAK, From A23

Islamic politicians have come to power, Mubarak cast Egypt as a front-line country upholding democratic standards in a region where Islamic activists are increasingly threatening established regimes.

While many Egyptians support a tough line against Islamic extremists who use violence, a large number of business leaders, journalists and intellectuals have also urged greater political openness here as a way to create a more credible secular alternative.

These Egyptians are uncomfortable with what they see as moves by Mubarak's government that undermine democratic standards in a bid to counter Islamic politicians, even those who seek to attain power peacefully, such as the Muslim Brotherhood.

Such government measures have included adopting a tougher anti-terrorism law, sending those accused of extremist violence to military courts and, most recently, enacting new restrictions on election procedures in professional associations. Such groups recently have come under the control of nonviolent Islamist politicians through elections.

The use of torture by security police, widely documented by local and international human rights groups, is also seen as contributing to a growing cycle of violence between police and Islamic extremists who cite torture as a reason for their regular attacks on security officials.

Egypt, a key U.S. ally, is the only

Arab country to have made peace with Israel and was a major participant with Western allies in Operation Desert Storm. Mubarak is scheduled next month to visit Washington, where he will be the first Arab leader to meet President Clinton.

Many political observers here say the current wave of extremism is the biggest domestic challenge Mubarak—who saw his predecessor, Anwar Sadat, assassinated by Islamic extremists—has faced in his 11 years as Egypt's leader.

Mubarak said he was "not worried" about Islamic extremists, whom he described as part of a global phenomenon of religious-inspired extremism. "I tell you something: Even the Copts and the Christians, they have fundamentalists," he said.

"It seems it's a phenomenon, something all over the world. But most of the media is concentrating on Egypt, or on the Islamic people. I don't fear [fundamentalists]. Believe me, I don't fear," he said.

Mubarak said he was "very confident" about Egypt's struggle with extremists. "There will be some ups and downs" in their activities in the next few years, he added. "But it will not increase more than that. I think they reached the maximum."

If they continue to attack tourists, he added, "I'll be very strict with them. I'm very strict with these people for the sake of the country and the people."

"That's why I put them before a military court, because a military court is much quicker. Much quick-

er. Because the civil courts have lots of cases," he added.

Responding to those who urge liberalizing Egypt's political system, including allowing nonviolent Islamic activists to form political parties, he said: "If I am not a responsible man, I would say the same thing. If I [were] not the head of state, not a man responsible for the whole country, I could agree to do such steps."

But he said he feared Islamic activists would form a religious-based party and act "as if they are Muslims and the other people who have not joined this religious party are not Muslims."

"Secondly, the Copts are going to form a party," he said, referring to Egypt's Coptic Christians, who form a 10 percent minority in the country of 58 million people. And "they are going to fight each other. I'm not ready for that. . . . I don't need that now. I'm not ready to see this fighting on a religious basis, because religion is very dangerous" when used as a political platform.

Algeria, he said, is "meeting great difficulties . . . because the former president left everything wide open. No control. No restrictions. We are not rich countries. We are from the Third World. . . . We have to improve our economy, and give political freedom on a gradual basis whenever we are very stable in our economy."

"So for the experience of what's going on around us, I have to be careful whenever I make a decision. I don't want to put the country in a collapse like what's happening in the whole area."

Militant Islam Battles Against Western Values

Violence on Fringe of Fundamentalist Renewal

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Foreign Service

Across the Middle East, the muezzin's plaintive wail increasingly has become a call not only to prayer but to political action and a reassertion of Islamic values over the ways of the West.

The response in most cases has been renewed devotion to Muslim teachings and traditions, such as their ban on alcohol or requirement for modest dress. But when resurgent Islam, with its powerful appeal, has intersected with the extreme edges of nationalism or frustrated ethnic pride, the mix at times has exploded into violence, often directed at the United States.

Most Americans got their first experience with Islamic militants in 1979, when Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi of Iran was toppled from his U.S.-protected throne by a forbidding religious leader, or imam, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Within months, "students following the imam's line" had seized the U.S. Embassy and taken American diplomats hostage. Like Khomeini, they were driven by an anti-Western Persian nationalism enraged by years of second-class status for Shiite Muslims in the Middle East and embittered by the shah's drive to force-feed secular Westernization to Iranians.

In the succeeding decade, Islamic renaissance as a religious force and Islamic militancy as a political force have spread across the Middle East, their characteristics largely determined by the circumstances and issues of each country. The result has touched the majority Sunni branch of Islam as well as the Shiite sect more commonly associated with the acts of terrorism that have dramatized Islamic militancy in the West.

Perhaps nowhere more than in Lebanon has violence emerged from the assertion of Islamic ways over those from the West. Lebanon's Shiite Muslims, long downtrodden at home and inspired toward revenge

by the Iranian revolution, sought out Western hostages in the mid-1980s to gain attention and, in their minds, mark points against Israel, Europe and the United States. Hezbollah, or the Party of God, remains a frequent combatant against Israeli troops and Israel's proxy Lebanese militia in the strip of southern Lebanon that Israel occupies and calls its security zone.

Many experts attribute the rise of Islam as a social and political force to the failure of secular nationalist governments that for the most part followed colonial rule in the Middle East. In Algeria, for instance, the militant and now largely underground Islamic Salvation Front has flourished in an atmosphere of despair produced by 30 years under the National Liberation Front, the guerrilla organization that won independence from France but was unable to win prosperity for its followers.

Similarly, the Islamic Resistance Movement, known by its initials as Hamas, has developed into a strong anti-Israeli guerrilla force as many young Palestinians lose patience with Yasser Arafat's secular Palestine Liberation Organization and its long-delayed dream of an independent Palestinian state.

In Syria, the traditional Muslim Brotherhood blossomed as an extreme political group partly in reaction to President Hafez Assad's failure to live up to the anti-Israeli Arab

nationalist rhetoric on which his Baath Party government based its appeal. The response was a massive 1982 repression in the city of Hama, a Brotherhood stronghold where whole neighborhoods were leveled by Syrian army artillery.

Egypt, long regarded as one of the Islamic world's most tolerant countries, gave birth to the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928, mostly out of opposition to British colonial rule and the consequent Western influence. The Brotherhood in Egypt has gained key positions in a number of professional groups and opposition parties, but has avoided the violence once associated with its name.

Egyptian Islamic extremists sprang into the headlines again in 1981, however, when Muslim nationalists assassinated President Anwar Sadat over what they charged was his sellout to Israel at Camp David. More recently, militants organized in what they call Islamic Groups have killed foreign tourists in a campaign against the Western-oriented government of President Hosni Mubarak.

For some, these radical acts have meant martyrdom, such as that of Lebanese Shiite zealots driving truckfuls of explosives into U.S. and Israeli targets in Lebanon. For others, such as Hamas underground operatives, they have meant cold murder, putting bullets through the head of a captured Israeli border policeman.

For the majority of Muslims, however, these acts of political extremism seem no more representative of their religion than the Waco, Tex., confrontation seems of Christianity. Among this majority, political concerns are more prosaic than revolutionary. Islamic fundamentalists in Saudi Arabia, for example, have displayed their most vivid concern about seeping Western influence, such as a desire of Saudi women for the right to drive. Their protests, often delivered by petition, have been over the royal family's reluctance to close the already isolated desert kingdom to non-Muslim customs.

But the pull of Islam as a powerful force for political change has become so evident in a number of countries that it has been used as a tool in decidedly nonreligious enterprises.

President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, for instance, bases his rule on the determinedly secular Baathist philosophy, first expounded by a Christian thinker from Syria. But he did not hesitate to appeal to his countrymen's religion as a way to stir up emotions against the United States during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Iraqi television repeatedly juxtaposed scenes of U.S. soldiers dancing to rock music with panoramas of the Great Mosque at Mecca, the message being that Islam's holiest site was being desecrated by infidels invited in by Saudi Arabia.

WP
5/3
1055,53 4/28

Similarly, the CIA played to Afghans' traditional and Islamic sentiments in promoting and helping organize a decade-long guerrilla war that eventually drove the Soviet army from Afghanistan and, in the view of many experts, contributed to the Soviet empire's breakup.

Israel also allowed Islamic fundamentalism to grow in Gaza and the West Bank—and encouraged its rise, according to some reports—as a rival to Arafat's PLO in the late 1980s. Israel then regarded the secular, nationalist PLO as Israel's main enemy and the chief instigator of Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation.



1. ALGERIA

The Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), legalized in 1989, won 49 percent in the first round of the general election in December 1991. A military-led council took power, cancelled the elections, arrested most FIS leaders. Party supporters have carried out bombings and attacks on the army.

2. TUNISIA

The government has refused to legalize the Ennahda (Renaissance) party, but it still won broad support in a 1989 election. Since 1990 the party has been repressed, its newspaper closed and members arrested after clashes with police and the discovery of alleged plans for "Islamic revolution."

3. EGYPT

Extremists operate in localized cells but identify themselves as members of an organization called the

Islamic Group. The radicals killed more than 70 of their countrymen last year and in late 1992, they widened their targets to include foreign visitors.

4. WEST BANK AND GAZA

The fundamentalist Islamic Resistance Movement, or Hamas, which rejects coexistence with Israel, is winning the support of many Palestinians fighting Israeli occupation.

5. JORDAN

The Islamic Jihad group has claimed credit for cross-border attacks on Israel, and its leader called for attacks on western targets during the Persian Gulf war.

6. LEBANON

Hezbollah, a Shiite Muslim group, is supported by Iran, operates against Israeli-backed forces in the south.

SOURCES: Washington Post research; the Economist

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Domestic Terrorism Unusual in Recent Years, Authorities Say

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

If the World Trade Center bombing turns out to have been a terrorist attack, it would be the first act of domestic terrorism this year and the most lethal such incident in 17 years, federal law enforcement officials said yesterday.

No official FBI determination has been made that the massive explosion was motivated by or meant to influence political events, and authorities said considerable mystery surrounds just what the suspect arrested yesterday and his likely colleagues may have had in mind.

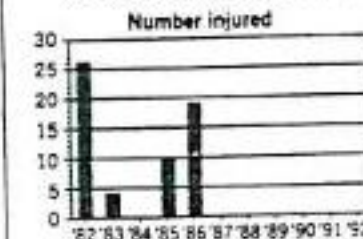
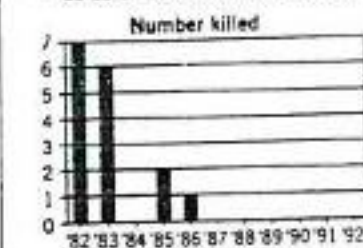
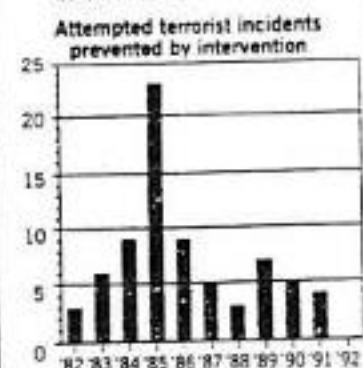
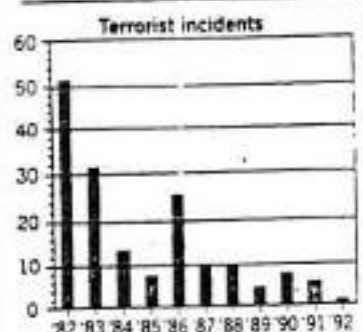
But one senior FBI official, speaking on condition that he not be named, said "I don't think there's much question" in Washington that last Friday's explosion was a terrorist act.

The bombing, which killed five people, injured more than 1,000 and inflicted hundreds of millions of dollars worth of physical damage and losses to New York businesses, is clearly one of the most dramatic bombings to occur in the downtown region of a major American city, according to federal statistics.

Although it occurred on the second anniversary of the liberation of Kuwait by U.S. and allied forces in the Persian Gulf War, officials said they did not know whether a pro-Iraqi impulse was behind the explosion.

Law enforcement officials and independent experts cautioned against speculation that the blast might be the first of a wave of new terrorist bombings in the United States. They said that in recent years, such incidents have occurred less frequently than in the 1970s and early 1980s.

U.S. TERRORIST ACTIVITY



SOURCE: Federal Bureau of Investigation
BY CLARICE BORDO—THE WASHINGTON POST

According to a tally published by the FBI, 162 terrorist incidents have caused a total of 16 deaths and 59 injuries since 1982. But only 26 such incidents occurred in the last five years and none of these caused injuries or fatalities.

"We have seen a steady decline" in domestic terrorism, said FBI spokesman William Carter. The agency defines a terrorist incident as a "violent act . . . against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian populations or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."

The last terrorist bomb explosion to cause substantial fatalities within the continental United States occurred in a coin-operated locker at the main terminal of LaGuardia Airport on Dec. 29, 1975. Eleven people were killed and more than 70 were injured in the blast, which authorities said was carried out by members of a Croatian nationalist group.

Scattered terrorist incidents during the 1970s and 1980s stemmed from domestic opposition to the Vietnam War or U.S. military involvement in Central America. Separatist groups or sympathizers in Puerto Rico have been a more steady source of domestic terrorism, but their attacks have been confined largely to the island itself, officials said.

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1055,53
6/28

"Terrorism has generally been low in the United States because we don't have many home-grown separatist organizations," said Bruce Hoffman, a terrorism expert at the Rand Corp. in Santa Monica, Calif. He added that foreign-bred groups wanting to influence U.S. policy have frequently targeted American assets overseas, both out of convenience and a fear of apprehension if they were to operate on U.S. territory.

FBI statistics show that 74 potential incidents of domestic terrorism have been "prevented" by the government since 1982, including 23 in 1985 and 19 more in the past five years. These figures do not include attacks on abortion clinics, which FBI officials do not consider terrorist acts.

"Our domestic violence tends to be caused by personal quarrels, not political causes . . . because the U.S. political system tends to be co-optive," said Brian Jenkins, a terrorism expert with Kroll Associates, a private investigation firm.

Terrorists have little hope of winning public support or leniency if caught here, Jenkins added. He said many foreign-bred groups that committed terrorist acts on U.S. soil were not attempting to influence the government, but merely targeting other such groups operating in the United States.

"They just use U.S. territory as the battleground," he said.

1055
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7/28

Man Charged in Trade Center Bombing

Rented Van Leads Police to Suspect

By Malcolm Gladwell
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, March 4—Federal agents today charged Mohammed A. Salameh, a Jordanian-born man living in Jersey City, with involvement in last Friday's bombing of the World Trade Center.

Salameh was arrested in Jersey City this morning after investigators determined that a van he had rented on Feb. 23 had carried the bomb. He was brought to federal court in Manhattan this evening and charged with "aiding and abetting" the destruction of the World Trade Center complex "by use of an explosive device causing the death of at least five individuals."

According to the complaint read during the hearing, investigators today searched a Jersey City address traced through a telephone number Salameh gave on the rental agreement and found what they characterized as bomb-making equipment as well as explosives residue.

A slight, bearded man who was dressed in a gray sweatsuit, Salameh said little during the proceedings, which were translated for him into Arabic, except to repeatedly ask "why?" Robert Precht, a federal public defender representing Salameh, said the suspect had declared himself "completely innocent of the charges." A bail request was denied.

The FBI and New York City police released no information about Salameh, who appeared to be in his mid-twenties. Precht



BY GERALD MARTEAU—THE WASHINGTON POST
Acting Attorney General Stuart M. Gerson, left, with FBI chief William S. Sessions, said more arrests may come in Trade Center bombing.

Jordan and had been in this country about five years.

But indications from law enforcement officials, and the fact that Salameh was charged with "aiding and abetting" rather than more specific involvement in the blast, pointed toward an ongoing investigation.

A senior law enforcement official, who

■ Mubarak says he will use "heavy hand" against Islamic extremists. Page A23

asked not to be identified, said that "this has all the appearances of being a terrorist act."

The official said that investigators believe the bombing may have been connected to the second anniversary of Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait at the end of the Persian Gulf War, and speculated that Salameh was a "surrogate" for others connected with Middle Eastern terrorist groups.

Police searched several New York area locations today, apparently in connection with the case, including the Brooklyn apartment of Ibrahim Elgabrowni, the brother of Sayyid A. Nosair, who was acquitted of the 1990 shooting of Zionist extremist Rabbi Meir Kahane. Elgabrowni was arrested and charged with obstruction of justice this morning after allegedly hitting an FBI agent during the search, according to his attorney. Police would not comment on the object of the search.

At a news conference this afternoon in Washington to announce the Salameh arrest, acting Attorney General Stuart M. Gerson hinted that more arrests may be forthcoming. "It's a remarkable day in the history of the FBI," Gerson said.

Today's dramatic arrest of Salameh, which follows a week in which police and federal agents repeatedly expressed pessimism about the early solution of the case, stems from what investigators said was a series of lucky and totally unexpected developments.

According to the documents filed by the FBI at the hearing today, Salameh rented a Ford Econoline Van in his own name from a

See ARREST, A17, Col. 1

F.P.
5/3
WP

1055,53
8/28

Rented Van Leads Police

to Bombing Suspect

1055, 53
9/28

ARREST, From A1

Ryder truck rental agency in Jersey City three days before the bombing. Several hours after the noontime explosion Friday, he returned to the agency and reported that the van had been stolen from a nearby grocery store parking lot.

Later that evening, the FBI said, "an individual identifying himself as Salameh" went to a Jersey City police station and reported the rental van stolen. He "stated that he had attempted to report the theft the previous evening," the FBI said, "but had been unable to because he did not have the license plate number of the van."

On Tuesday or Wednesday of this week, investigators sifting through the rubble in the parking garage under the World Trade Center found fragments of a vehicle with an identification number corresponding to the number of the missing van, which had been listed in a nationwide computer directory of stolen vehicles. From the position and appearance of the pieces, investigators strongly suspected that the fragment had come from the vehicle that carried the bomb.

The senior law enforcement official said the suspicion that Salameh was involved was confirmed when the rental documents that he had handed over the Ryder clerk when first reporting the van stolen were found to have traces of chemical nitrates, which is common to many explosives.

It was unclear why the FBI and police, having already identified the van and Salameh, did not arrest him immediately. Nor was it clear why they chose this morning to arrest him, although some details of the discovery of the rental van were published this morning in New York Newsday.

This morning, Salameh returned to the agency with police documents confirming that he had reported the vehicle stolen, and asked for return of the \$400 deposit he had placed on the vehicle when he rented it. As he left the agency and walked toward a nearby bus-stop, he was arrested by the FBI.

Asked why Salameh would have been so naive as to rent the truck in his own name, report it stolen to the agency and the police, and return twice to the agency to attempt to retrieve his deposit, the senior law enforcement official said: "Who knows. Just because he's a terrorist doesn't mean he's a brain surgeon. . . . Call it good investigating."

The FBI complaint read tonight in court said that Salameh had provided a telephone number "in connection with the rental agreement" that was traced to a person named Joseph Hadas at a Jersey City address.

A search of the Hadas apartment this afternoon had discovered "among other things, a letter addressed to the defendant, tools and wiring, and manuals concerning antennae, circuitry and electromagnetic devices."

"A law enforcement officer trained as a bomb technician has examined these materials," the FBI said, "and concluded that they constitute evidence of a 'bomb maker' at the location. Lastly, a dog trained in the detection of explosives responded positively to a closet space within the apartment."

Apparently no one was at the apartment when the FBI arrived, and officials provided no further information as to the identity of Hadas.

"This investigation clearly is not finished," said James Fox, head of the FBI's New York office at a news conference tonight. "But a large first step has been taken."

"I hope that the citizens of our city will take some comfort in knowing that if we had to have this kind of disaster that we are equal to meeting it," said New York Mayor David N. Dinkins.

As of this evening, police had released few details about what several law enforcement sources said they believe to be Salameh's ties to radical Islamic fundamentalists.

One hint, however, came from the fact that the FBI also searched several homes in the New York area, including that of Nosair's brother.

Nosair, who is now in prison on weapon and assault charges connected to the Kahane slaying, attended the Jersey City mosque headed by radical Islamic cleric Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, who has been living in exile in New Jersey for the past two years. Rahman was acquitted in Egyptian court of involvement in the 1981 assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. He has been under investigation by U.S. law enforcement officials for possible involvement in a number of crimes, including the shooting of a Brooklyn man and the killing of Kahane. U.S. immigration officials confirmed that in 1991 they took action to expel Rahman from the country, but said the proceedings are still pending before an immigration judge.

According to some media reports, Salameh, like Nosair, attended Rahman's Masjid al-Salam mosque. But at a news conference tonight, officials of the mosque denied any involvement with the bombing or any radical movement and said they had no knowledge of Salameh.

The federal official said Salameh was "not unknown" to the FBI.

Michael Warren, who was Nosair's attorney and who identified himself as representing Nosair's brother, denied any connection yesterday between his client and Salameh.

"A whole lot of innocent people are getting dragged into this," Warren said. "It's a thinly veiled disguise on the part of the FBI to make a scapegoat of people who are simply practicing religious individuals."

Today's arrest was a dramatic development in the bomb investigation, which federal agents had publicly said they believed could drag on for months.

1055, 53 10/28

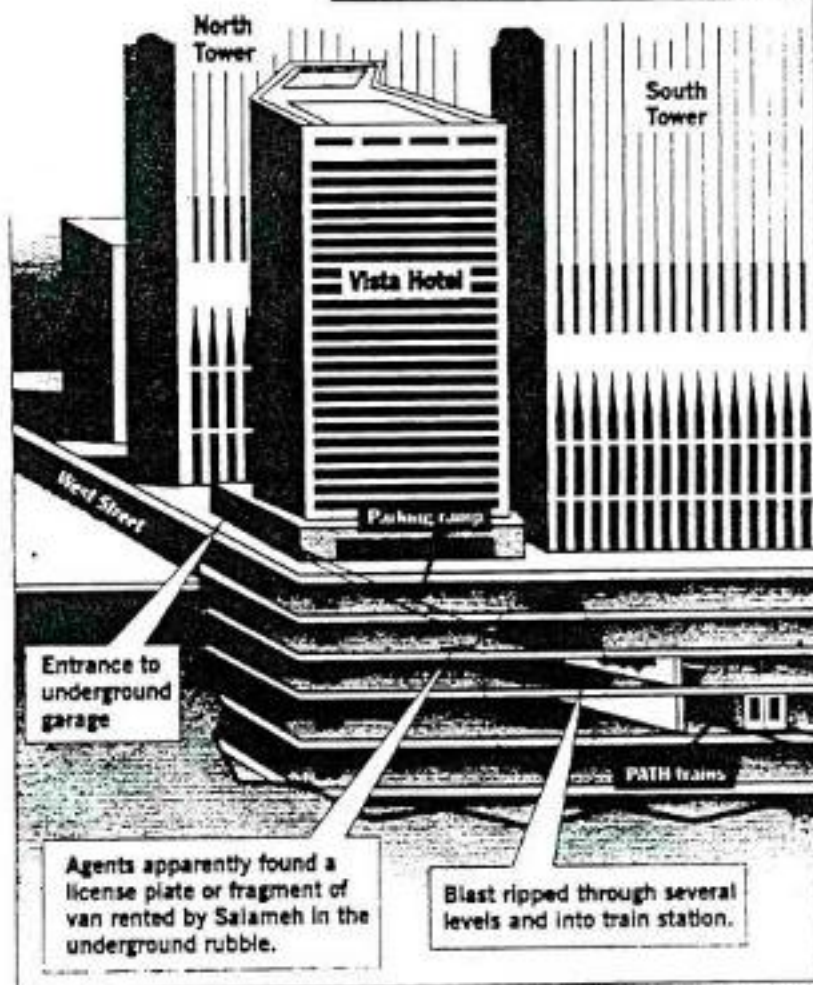
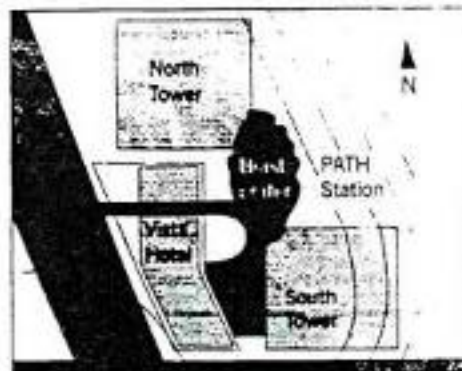
The blast, which killed five and injured more than 1,000, was so powerful that it destabilized the entire area around the site of the explosion, meaning that investigators had not yet begun the kind of intensive examination of the bomb site that usually is necessary to yield important clues.

In the case of the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Scotland 4½ years ago, for example, it was not until four months after they began sifting through the wreckage of the plane that investigators found a tiny electronic component that enabled them to definitively link the bomb to Libyan terrorists.

What was unusual about the critical pieces of the van found by federal agents was that they were nowhere near the "seat" of the explosion that still remains inaccessible to investigators. Instead they were on the periphery of the site, among the easiest pieces of evidence for the agents to retrieve.

UNDER THE WORLD TRADE CENTER

Federal agents arrested and charged 26-year-old Mohammed A. Salameh yesterday in the Feb. 26 bombing of the World Trade Center. Clues from the underground site of the blast led agents to the suspect.



BY JOHN ANDERSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

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5/3

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1055, 53

11/28

Muslim arrested in NYC bombing

Trade Center suspect linked to radicals

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Federal authorities yesterday arrested a Muslim fundamentalist in connection with the bombing of New York City's World Trade Center, cementing suspicions that the deadly blast was the work of terrorists.

Mohammed Salameh, 26, of Jersey City, N.J., was taken into custody by 10 FBI agents after he tried to reclaim a \$400 deposit on the rental van used Friday in the Trade Center explosion, federal law enforcement sources said.

He was formally charged with the bombing during a late-night arraignment before U.S. District Judge Richard Owen in Manhattan and is scheduled for a preliminary hearing March 13. Judge Owen told Mr. Salameh, described as a Palestinian born in Israel, that penalties for the crime are "very severe, in-

cluding a possible death penalty."

"This investigation clearly is not finished, but a large first step has been taken," James Fox, head of New York's FBI office, said last night, adding that it was not known if Mr. Salameh had constructed the bomb.

FBI agents arrested Mr. Salameh, who had reported the van stolen, without incident after finding traces of nitrate on the rental agreement, the sources said. Similar traces had been discovered at the blast site.

A federal law enforcement official who asked not to be identified said that the bombing was "definitely terrorist-related" and that additional suspects, all believed to be Muslim fundamentalists, were being sought.

Sources said Mr. Salameh is known to FBI counterterrorism specialists.

Federal officials charged in a complaint that Mr. Salameh "did aid

and abet the damage of the World Trade Center complex by use of an explosive device causing the death of at least five individuals."

Appearing in court in handcuffs and wearing a gray sweat shirt and white pants, the slightly built, 5-foot-6 defendant was ordered held without bond after an interpreter read the charges from the judge to him in Arabic.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Gilmore Childers called the bombing "the single most destructive act of terrorism on American soil." He argued against any bail. "The safety of the community is an issue. . . . If we let him out he could be on a plane to Iceland, England or anywhere else."

"Obviously the hysteria that is surrounding this case was in evidence at the hearing," said Mr. Salameh's court-appointed attorney.

see SUSPECT, page A10

1055, 53

12/28

SUSPECT

From page A1

Robert Precht, after he failed to gain his client's release on \$5 million bail.

Federal authorities said in an affidavit that FBI agents and a bomb-sniffing dog turned up bomb-making equipment during a search of the house Mr. Salameh listed on the rental form for the van. The equipment, Mr. Fox said, included "tools, wiring, antennae, circuitry and other bomb-making equipment."

Mr. Fox said the dog detected traces of explosives in a closet at the house, which he said belongs to Josie Haddis, who was not further identified.

The explosion last Friday in a garage beneath the Trade Center's 110-story twin towers killed at least five persons and injured more than 1,000. One man is missing. The bomb caused extensive damage, including a crater 100 feet wide and four stories deep.

A motive has not been made public. Some federal law-enforcement officials have noted, however, that the blast occurred on the second anniversary of the U.S. ouster of Iraq's army from Kuwait. Investigators are trying to determine if Iraq's Saddam Hussein or his followers are connected to the blast.

Acting Attorney General Stuart M. Gerson declined to comment on the reasons behind the blast during a news conference yesterday.

"Suffice it to say that we're interested in more than the single indi-

vidual who has been apprehended," he said.

Mr. Salameh is believed to be a member of the El Salam Mosque in Jersey City, whose members have been linked to the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and the 1990 slaying in New York City of Rabbi Meir Kahane, the founder of the militant Jewish Defense League, according to federal law enforcement sources.

FBI agents investigating the Trade Center blast have focused on the mosque membership and, the sources say, searched the apartment of one longtime member, El Sayyid Nosair, the former New York maintenance worker who was acquitted in the Kahane killing.

During the search, Ibrahim Gabrowny, a mosque member who was described as Nosair's brother, was arrested on obstruction charges when he allegedly hit an agent. Mr. Gabrowny is scheduled for arraignment today.

Another mosque member drawing FBI attention is Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who was acquitted in the Sadat murder and was questioned but not charged in the Kahane case. He is believed to have a large following of Muslim fundamentalists in this country and Egypt.

The sheik, who is blind and lives in Jersey City, is considered the spiritual head of the Egyptian revolutionary group el-Islamiya, but he has denied any involvement. He faces deportation on charges that he lied on a visa application to enter this country in 1990.

When Nosair was arrested in 1990

for the Kahane killing, New York City detectives found in his apartment numerous weapons, bomb-making manuals, an outdated breakdown of Israeli military strength, stolen New York license plates, passports, driver's licenses in a variety of names, and a bullet-riddled target board.

They also located several articles describing the Sadat assassination.

The Salameh arrest came, according to the sources, after FBI agents and New York Police Department bomb experts pieced together fragments of a van believed to have carried the explosives into the Trade Center. Investigators reconstructed the vehicle's identification number and traced it to the rental company.

The sources said the van was rented three days before the explosion.

Paul Mascitelli, owner of a Jersey City car dealership that shares an office with the Ryder truck-rental agency where Mr. Salameh was arrested, told the Associated Press that the man tried to reclaim his cash deposit several times. He said Mr. Salameh visited the office last Friday shortly after the Trade Center explosion but was turned away.

Mr. Mascitelli said Mr. Salameh returned on Monday and was told he needed a police report of the theft. When he returned yesterday morning, he was given \$200 and was arrested after he left the office, Mr. Mascitelli said.

The arrest was first confirmed by White House spokesman George Stephanopoulos during an afternoon briefing.

WT 5/3

1055, 53

13/28

Rental van led to capture

By Michael Hedges
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The first clues to the man arrested yesterday in the bombing of the World Trade Center came from charred chunks of metal in the blast crater that were traced to a yellow Ryder van.

While law enforcement analysts scrutinized the debris, the man who had rented the van, Mohammed Salameh, 26, was trying to get back his \$400 deposit by claiming the vehicle had been stolen.

He returned to the Jersey City, N.J., rental lot at least twice before his arrest.

Mr. Salameh returned to the non-descript DIB Leasing Inc. lot for the final time yesterday morning. He haggled with DIB workers, including two undercover FBI agents. He was given \$200, left the lot and was arrested a block away.

The swift arrest of a suspect in the worst terrorist bombing in U.S. history was a combination of deft analysis by law enforcement technicians and a puzzling lack of caution on the part of Mr. Salameh, officials said.

"I can't say why he kept going back to the rental lot. It's a good question," said an FBI official in New York. Mr. Salameh returned yesterday despite a story in the morning New York Newsday that said a van rented from the Jersey City lot was suspected of carrying the bomb.

He rented the van in his own name Feb. 23, three days before the bombing.

The Jersey City lot is on a major highway and is across the Hudson River from the World Trade Center.

Mr. Salameh reported the van stolen Friday shortly before the explosion.

see CAPTURE, page A10



Photo by Ruth Fremson The Washington Times
FBI Director William Sessions (right) and acting Attorney General Stuart Gerson announce yesterday's arrest.

1055 53

14/28

CAPTURE

From page A1

son, which killed at least five persons and injured more than 1,000.

An FBI computer team formed two months ago went to the scene with laptop computers within hours of the blast and linked up with the bureau's mainframe in Washington.

By early this week, crime-scene experts were starting to winnow the universe of possible bomb carriers to the small Ryder van. From the beginning of the investigation, technicians believed a van or small truck had been needed to carry sufficient explosives to cause the devastation.

It is estimated that several hundred pounds of explosives were used.

On Wednesday, police said the center of the blast was on a parking ramp, leading to speculation that the van or truck was moving at the time of the explosion.

By then, the distribution of fragments of the Ryder van had con-

vinced technicians that it had been the bomb carrier.

FBI agents found scraps of the van's chassis from which they determined the vehicle identification number. They used that number to trace the van's registration, which led them to the Jersey City lot. Mr. Salameh's name was on the rental agreement, said an employee interviewed by telephone.

A parking slip on which an attendant had written a partial license number corroborated the growing evidence that the van had been used.

The laptop team ran the information through the FBI's main computer, identified Mr. Salameh as a Muslim fundamentalist, and got his address, the names of his colleagues and other details, the FBI said.

The FBI team in New York City was equipped with 12 laptops, a portable generator, a tent, freeze-dried food and bottled water.

By the time the FBI focused on the lot, employees there had turned Mr. Salameh away at least twice. They told him they couldn't return

his deposit without a police report on the theft.

On one visit, he left the rental agreement. It was found to be covered with nitrates like those that coated the debris at the blast site.

Nitrates are produced by the explosion of dynamite, experts said. Their presence on the agreement added to the FBI's evidence that Mr. Salameh was their man.

Yesterday, agents went to the lot before it opened and waited.

"The FBI was here this morning before I got here. They said they had a game plan," the lot manager told reporters.

Mr. Salameh arrived later in the morning. An FBI agent posing as a Ryder employee asked him about the van. He signed a statement saying it had been stolen from a ShopRite supermarket in Jersey City. He left the lot and was arrested.

Cleric in probe defied INS ban

By Michael Hedges
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, a Muslim fundamentalist leader being investigated in the World Trade Center bombing probe, was living in New Jersey despite being "denied admission" to the United States by immigration officials in 1992.

Under federal law, those denied admission are allowed to enter the country until a hearing can be held before an immigration judge. That hearing was held in January, but a judge's ruling was still pending.

Sheik Abdel-Rahman had been on a State Department list of those associated with terrorist groups as far back as 1990 and should never have been allowed in the United States, according to a 1990 report in the New York Times.

His ability to stay in the United States despite his widely reported links to terrorist groups — and the Immigration and Naturalization Service decision to deny him admission in 1992 — points up weaknesses in U.S. immigration laws also exposed by the recent case of suspected CIA killer Mir Aimal Kansi, experts said.

"Alien smuggling" through New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport "has passed the crisis level, with hundreds of aliens with bogus documents or no documents at all arriving and claiming 'asylum,'" INS District Director Benedict Ferro wrote in Rome earlier this month.

Mr. Ferro's cable was first reported in The Washington Times on Saturday.

"A disturbingly high percentage of people arriving by air with no legitimate documentation are people from areas where there is a terrorist environment," said one INS official working overseas. "The chances of stopping any terrorist from entering the U.S. right now are nearly zero."

Sheik Abdel-Rahman had slipped into the United States in May 1990 from Khartoum, Sudan, on a tourist's visa despite being on a list of people

1055, 53
with ties to terrorist groups, according to the New York Times. That story quoted a State Department spokesman, saying immigration officials made a "mistake."

But INS officials yesterday denied that a mistake had been made, saying it was not clear Sheik Abdel-Rahman was on a list of those linked to terrorism. "That has not been resolved yet," said an INS official.

In any case, in April 1991, Sheik Abdel-Rahman applied for, and received, immigrant status on the basis of being a religious leader. But in July 1991, immigration officials revoked his green card after charging him with misrepresenting himself on his visa application and "crimes of moral turpitude."

Those "crimes" included polyg-

amy — since he lives in New Jersey with three wives — and passing a bad check in Egypt.

He later left the United States and returned to Egypt.

When he returned to the United States on March 6, 1992, he was denied admission, and his immigrant status was revoked, according to INS spokesman Duke Austin.

But under U.S. immigration procedures, being denied admission does not mean someone is turned back at the border.

Mr. Austin said Sheik Abdel-Rahman was placed on "exclusion status," meaning the government was moving to have him sent out of the United States. He was allowed to enter the country until a hearing could be held and a decision made by

an immigration judge.

Last year, about 15,000 persons arrived at JFK with either no documents at all or fraudulent documents. Most immediately request political asylum.

Under present law that means they cannot be removed from the country until given a hearing — under present backlogs, in 14 to 18 months, officials said.

"In many cases, including that of Kansi, the claims are pathetically transparent," said an INS official. "He had no real grounds to claim political asylum. But it takes us at least a year to schedule a hearing."

In the Kansi case, he had been in the United States eleven months before the CIA headquarters shootings he is alleged to have committed.

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15/28

Bombing suspect connected with Islamic radicals

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

Mohammed Salameh, the suspect arrested yesterday in connection with the bombing of the World Trade Center, is believed to be a Palestinian born in Israel with radical Islamic fundamentalist ties.

Police sources said Mr. Salameh, 26, worships at a New Jersey mosque through which he has contacts with a radical group accused of involvement both in the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and the New York killing of radical Rabbi Meir Kahane in 1990.

Mr. Salameh, who lived in an apartment building in Jersey City, across the Hudson River from New York City, is thought to be in the United States on an Egyptian passport.

During Mr. Salameh's arraignment last evening, his lawyer, Robert Precht, a federal public defender, said his client had been in the country for five years and did not have a good understanding of English.

Witnesses at the Ryder truck office where Mr. Salameh rented the van in which the World Trade Center bomb was supposedly carried described his English as thickly accented.

Jersey City police told the FBI that Mr. Salameh — who stands about 5 feet 6 inches tall and has black hair and a black beard — regularly attends the El Salam Mosque in Jersey City.

The mosque's head — Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman — is regarded as the spiritual leader of the Islamic fundamentalist group that assassinated Mr. Sadat.

The sheik is a 54-year-old blind Muslim cleric living in New Jersey. Sheik Abdel-Rahman commands a following in Egypt that analysts compare to that of the late Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran; his message includes calls to eradicate anyone who stands in the way of Islam.

Sayyid A. Nosair, 37, a naturalized U.S. citizen of Egyptian birth, worshipped at the same mosque before he was accused of killing Mr. Kahane in



Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman preaches at a Jersey City mosque attended by the bombing suspect.

a New York City hotel.

Although Nosair was acquitted of fatally shooting Mr. Kahane, he was convicted of related weapons and assault charges and is serving a 22-year prison term.

Police are investigating whether more than coincidence links the Kahane slaying, the Trade Center explosion and the Islamic temple where suspects in both crimes worshipped.

New York City police arrested Nosair's brother, Ibrahim Gabrowni, after he interfered with their search of Nosair's apartment yesterday in connection with the Trade Center bombing.

Mr. Gabrowni, an Islamic fundamentalist, attends the Farouq Majid, a Brooklyn mosque under the leadership of Sheik Abdel-Rahman during his self-imposed exile from Egypt.

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16/28

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THE SUN

FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1993

N.Y. bombing suspect may be linked to radical Islamic group

By Mark Matthews
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — The arrest of a suspect yesterday in a world-riveting bombing brings home to the United States the impact of a growing fundamentalist religious movement that is sending tremors through the Islamic world's political order.

A radical Islamic group linked — so far, indirectly — to the World Trade Center bombing is believed to have been behind the October 1990 assassination of the speaker of the Egyptian Parliament and to have carried out other armed attacks against Egyptian security officials and Western tourists.

Egyptian authorities say the group, Al Gama'a al-Islamiya, draws support from Iran and Sudan. U.S. officials, however, say they haven't been able to confirm any external aid.

The suspect arrested in connection with the bombing, Mohammed

Salama of Jersey City, N.J., reportedly attends a Jersey City mosque where an Egyptian fundamentalist theologian, Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, preaches.

Sheik Rahman, a spiritual leader to members of Al Gama'a al-Islamiya, was charged in Egypt with playing a role in the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el Sadat but was acquitted.

He had issued a "fatwa," or condemnation, of Sadat, which was not deemed sufficient evidence to convict him.

A member of the same El Salam mosque in Jersey City, El Sayyid Nosair, was tried and acquitted in the 1991 assassination of radical Israeli Rabbi Meir Kahane but was convicted on lesser charges.

Brian Jenkins, an expert on terrorism with Kroll and Associates, a security consulting firm, said it was unlikely, based on what is known about the World Trade Center bombing suspect, that he acted with state



REUTERS

Fundamentalist Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman preaches at mosque reportedly attended by suspect in New York bombing suspect.

sponsorship, given the apparent amateurishness of the operation.

For a nation to bomb the World Trade Center would be tantamount to an act of war, he said.

"That a decision of that political consequence would be left to amateurs to carry out would be extraordinary," he said.

But the arrest of a suspect yesterday brings the United States "right back into Middle East terrorism," pushing the spread of radical Islam from North Africa to Southwest Asia to the forefront of public discussion, Mr. Jenkins said.

The fundamentalist movement has already threatened to derail the U.S.-sponsored Middle East peace process as a result of Israel's deportation of 400 Palestinians linked to the radical group Hamas.

Mr. Jenkins said the New York bombing puts the U.S. "politically back where we were a decade ago."

Al Gama'a has conducted a campaign of terror in Egypt, where the moderate government of President Hosni Mubarak has launched peri-

odic crackdowns against Islamic radicals.

The group was believed to be responsible for the assassination of Assembly Speaker Rifaat El Magoub in 1990.

According to the latest State Department report on terrorism, to be published this spring, Al Gama'a conducts armed attacks against Egyptian security forces and other officials, as well as against Coptic Christians, Western tourists and Egyptian opponents of Islamic extremism.

Egyptian officials have told U.S. authorities that tape recordings of Sheikh Rahman's meetings with fellow fundamentalists are sent to Cairo, where they incite violence against the government.

Radical Islamic groups are increasingly evident throughout the Middle East, where they threaten the established political order and campaign against secular customs.

Fundamentalist cry: 'Death to America'

USA TODAY reporter Jack Kelley recently visited a Cairo mosque where taped messages were played from Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, a fundamentalist leader whose followers have been linked to the World Trade Center bombing. Kelley's report:

CAIRO — Daily prayers are taking on a new sound at the popular Masjed al-Tawheed mosque here.

"Death to America! Death to the Jews!" an angry Sheikh Fawzi Said yelled to the cheers of thousands last month. "A curse on the Christians! America must pay!"

His message isn't falling on deaf ears, fueling what many fear is a global wave of terror. Many here are being led by Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, a fundamentalist Islamic preacher now living in New Jersey, whom U.S. officials want deported to Cairo.

Fundamentalists here are pointed in their attacks.

Says Ziyad Abughneima, spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood, a moderate fun-

damentalist group: "The USA regime are liars."

Experts say the United States and its allies — with the exception of Israel — have not taken Abdel-Rahman and his movement seriously.

"The West seems to be ignoring the implications of fundamentalism," says Tel Aviv University terrorism expert Anat Kurz. "They don't seem to understand the dangers."

Fundamentalists associated with Abdel-Rahman are considered so dangerous that undercover Egyptian police, who are reported to be working with Western intelligence agencies, regularly monitor sermons here at Said's mosque.

Abdel-Rahman owns a seven-story office building converted into a makeshift worship center, packed with thousands of worshipers who come to hear his recorded prayers and pronouncements.

Hundreds more listen to huge loudspeakers outside.

They pray on sidewalks, in muddy median strips, or in the oil-filled work bays of the Mistr Gas Station next door on small



PREACHES TERROR: Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, who lives in Jersey City, is in the USA under self-imposed exile.

pieces of artificial turf. Traffic comes to a near standstill. Side streets are blocked off.

But fundamentalism, although powerful, does not speak for all Muslims.

"The fundamentalists say they are changing this state into an Islamic one, but we are already Islamic. Do they have a new Islam?" asks Samir Antar, 40, of Cairo's Imbaba Fever Hospital. "Fundamentalists cover their political move-

ments under the brilliant guise of Islam."

Adds Sheikh Miki Abdul Aziz, 57, of the nearby El-Sofa Mosque: "The government must kill all of them. They are terrorists. They are not true Muslims."

Fundamentalists vow they will not be stopped.

Says Abughneima: "The Islamic awakening has begun. We want Islam spread all around the world."

1055,53

18/28

USA Today

5/3

1055, 53

19/28

N.J. mosque denies ties to suspect

By Bethany Kandel
USA TODAY

JERSEY CITY — Members of a Jersey City mosque reportedly linked to the suspect arrested in the World Trade Center bombing say they want no part of it.

"Nobody knows him," says Mohammed Abdula, 33, a worshiper at the Masjid Alsalam mosque, of Mohammed Salameh, who was arrested Thursday after he tried to reclaim a rental deposit on a van destroyed in the blast.

"If he does this by himself, as a Muslim, it's the wrong way. These are innocent people," says Abdula, speaking of the five people killed and the more than 1,000 injured in the blast that shook the World Trade Center last Friday. "Why he did this? This is against Islam."

Another worshiper, Moustafa Sleim, 17, said such actions were not representative of those who practice his religion. "Our religion is peace. We do no bombing. Our religion refuses what this guy did, if he did it."

Mohammed Nagib, an Egyptian native and spokesman for the mosque, refused to answer reporters' questions. "The thing you are concerned with is something I believe is not true," he said, as he blocked access to the area in the mosque where worshipers were praying. He said he had never heard of Salameh.

Among those known to have worshiped there are Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, a radical Muslim cleric, and El-Sayyid Nosair, currently serving seven to 23 years for crimes related to the November 1990 slaying of Jewish extremist Rabbi Meir Kahane.



By Robert Deutsch, USA TODAY

IN JERSEY CITY: Mohammed Nagib, spokesman for the Masjid Alsalam mosque, wouldn't answer questions as he guarded the area where worshipers were praying. He said he had never heard of Mohammed Salameh.

Abdel-Rahman, of Jersey City, is living in self-imposed exile in this country following his acquittal a decade ago in the 1981 assassination of President Anwar Sadat.

Jersey City Mayor Brett Shundler said he didn't want people to "think Jersey City is a hotbed of this kind of activity — 99% of the immigrants here left their politics back home."

He said he hoped no one draws broad conclusions about Egyptian immigrants from the actions of a few. "Most don't share the feelings of a small minority of individuals," Shundler said.

► Bombing index, 3A

USA Today 5/3

1055, 53

20/28

Terrorism gets a face; public confronts its anger

The nation must respond to terrorist threats aggressively but not with blind rage.

With the arrest of a suspect in the World Trade Center bombing, a week of frustration and uncertainty crystallized Thursday on New York's streets into a new emotion: anger.

That's what happens when an inhuman act is matched with a human face.

Five innocent people dead. Hundreds injured. Tens of thousands of lives shaken. Hundreds of millions of dollars up in smoke. All for a fanatic's cause.

But now that a suspect is in custody, it's time to take a deep breath, not leap to new, potentially false conclusions.

Only a few days ago, many suspected that Serbians were behind the bombing. Some would have gladly bombed Belgrade if a connection had been found.

Now, though, it is a Muslim fundamentalist who's charged. And the National Council on Islamic Affairs is

pleading for calm.

The plea should be heeded. Many will condemn everyone of the suspect's religion or background, based on a stereotype of Muslims as uniformly radical.

Islam certainly has its share of fanatics and terrorists — personified by the likes of Ayatollah Khomeini and Saddam Hussein. Mainstream Islam preaches peace and most Muslims are victims, not perpetrators, of terrorism.

Blaming them is as foolish as blaming every Irishman for IRA bombings.

Acts of violence against Arab-Americans arose during the gulf war; Japanese-Americans were interned in World War II; many German-Americans had to change their names in World War I.

The nation regretted each incident.

Let's hope all those guilty of the crime will be found and punished.

But let us pray that all the innocent will be protected.

► Behind the arrest, 1A

\$3 billion aid may be cut,

U.S. envoy tells Israelis

WT

5/3

1055
53

21/28

By Howard Golier
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

TEL AVIV — The U.S. ambassador to Israel said yesterday that Washington may have to cut its \$3 billion in annual aid to the Jewish state.

Ambassador William Harrop sharply criticized the pace of economic reform in Israel, the biggest recipient of U.S. aid, and suggested

it was not prudent for one country to rely on another for 7 to 8 percent of its national budget.

"The commitment of the American government and people to Israel is not in question, now or in the future. But it may prove difficult to maintain our economic aid at its current high level," Mr. Harrop told Tel Aviv businessmen.

He cited the warnings of U.S. senators who said during visits to Israel

last month that U.S. foreign aid was likely to be cut overall because of domestic demands, a drive to reduce the U.S. deficit and changes in the world.

This reinforced the importance of sparking the Israeli economy, Mr. Harrop said.

Despite Israel's relative prosperity and high growth rate, its economy was mired in regulations, bureaucracy, and state and quasi-state

ownership that would have to be reduced to attract private investors from abroad, he said.

"The government is changing national economic priorities. It is committed to further deregulation and promotion of the private sector. But the pace of reform has been slow — in fact, rather disappointing," Mr. Harrop said.

He urged Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's government to carry out its

announced intentions to privatize state companies.

Mr. Rabin's Labor Party swept the right-wing Likud from power in June, partly on a pledge to speed privatization and spark the economy. But it has yet to sell off any major state-owned enterprises, including banks and the national telephone monopoly.

"Privatization of a major government-held bank or enterprise would

send a strong signal to the international economic community," Mr. Harrop said.

Israeli officials said Sen. Daniel Inouye, the Hawaii Democrat who heads the subcommittee on defense spending, assured them last month that Washington would not cut the \$1.8 billion in military aid and \$1.2 billion in economic aid it plans to provide in fiscal 1994, which starts in October.

But, aware of Washington's efforts to trim the U.S. deficit, Finance Minister Abraham Shohat has warned Israelis not to be complacent about the dollars the country receives.

WT 5/3

ORRIN HATCH

1055, 53

U.S. commitment to Israel tested

Israel's adversaries are obstructing the peace process in order to test the Clinton administration's commitment to Israel's security. The goal is to divide the United States and Israel and to maneuver us into using our influence to deliver unwarranted Israeli concession. We must not fall into that trap.

The prime example of this tactic is the Palestinian boycott of further face-to-face talks until Israel agrees to repatriate the 396 Hamas terrorists exiled to Lebanon. Before the administration allows itself to be influenced by the frantic criticism of Israel in Washington and by U.S. allies at the United Nations, it should ask some basic questions.

First, who are the Palestinian deportees? They are not one-time offenders who deserve rehabilitation and a second chance but self-avowed ideologues committed to using terrorism to destroy the state of Israel.

The Hamas covenant states that "the liberation of all Palestine, from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River, is the highest possible strategic goal" and that "Israel will exist and continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before."

Article 13 of the covenant rejects all "alternatives, and so-called peace solutions." It states, "there is no solution to the Palestinian question except through jihad. Initiatives and proposals, and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors." In fact, Hamas frequently condemns and threatens Palestinian groups who support the peace process.

Orrin Hatch, Republican and senior senator from Utah, has served on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the Select Committee on Intelligence.



Illustration by Ned Levine © 1993 Los Angeles Times Syndicate

The United States must steadfastly resist calls to pile onto the anti-Israeli bandwagon at the United Nations. Americans have had enough of U.N. moral equivalency.

In leaflet number 65 of its underground publications, Hamas proclaimed "every Jew and Jewish settler is a target to be killed, whose blood and money are for the taking." Apart from the few who were

misidentified by Israeli authorities, almost all of those who were expelled to Lebanon were extremely active in the political and military wings of Hamas, which has conducted 11 terrorist attacks in the last

22/28

year alone. In one attack, a Hamas death squad in Jaffa ambushed and killed three Israeli aluminum workers, one of whom was virtually decapitated.

Second, how do Arab regimes handle their political opponents? Some of Israel's critics have compared its recent expulsions to Iraq's or Libya's handling of dissidents. Yet, most Mideast dictators use not expulsion but execution as their principal tactic.

In February 1982, when the Muslim Brotherhood led an uprising in the Syrian town of Hama, President Hafez Assad dispatched armed forces led by his brother and equipped with artillery, tanks and aircraft to crush the rebellion. An estimated 10,000 Syrians were killed, but Syria escaped sustained international condemnation. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had been similarly brutal toward dissident Kurds and Arab Shi'ites. Inter-factional violence is common within the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The "blame Israel first" crowd at the United Nations operates on a blatant double standard. Israel is unrelentingly criticized if it deports self-avowed terrorists to another country while certain Arab regimes only get their wrists slapped even when they dispatch their opponents to the other world.

The fact is that the Middle East is not the Middle West. It's a rough neighborhood, and it would be a travesty to penalize a democracy for taking strong actions to protect itself against those who would destroy democracy.

Third, how can the United States best advance the Arab-Israeli peace process? Historically, progress has taken place when Jerusalem and Washington had a shared understanding of Israel's security require-

ments and Israel had full confidence in the American-Israeli security relationship. Creating those conditions should be a key focal point of the new administration's approach.

Since July 1992, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has released 800 Palestinian detainees as a goodwill gesture, blocked construction of 7,000 housing units in settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, accepted the principle of an Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights as part of a peace treaty with Syria, furthered discussions on a wide range of bilateral issues with Jordan, and has continued to develop proposals that would give Palestinians in the occupied territories larger administrative authority.

Israel has gone the extra mile, but the Syrians and the Palestinians have not reciprocated. Instead, Arab negotiators want to test the new administration's willingness to pressure Israel into taking back the Hamas exiles. During the recent talks with Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Mr. Assad dangled the prospect of restarting bilateral talks but has not explicitly broken the linkage between fresh talks and the deportees. If the administration takes the bait, it will only reinforce Arab determination to obstruct the talks in hopes of further gains.

It is imperative that we stand firmly with Israel to demonstrate that the United States will not "deliver" Israeli concessions and that the Arab side has no recourse besides meaningful talks and mutual compromise. Once we have proven that obstructionism will not create an American-Israeli split, we can move gradually into a phase of more active mediation.

Above all, the United States must steadfastly resist calls to pile onto the anti-Israeli bandwagon at the United Nations. Americans have had enough of the U.N. moral equivalency between victims and aggressors in the war in Bosnia. We should not allow this practice to spread to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

1055

53

23/28

GAZA'S BURDEN WEIGHS HEAVILY

Recent killings
renew talk of
ending occupation

By Doug Struck
Jerusalem Bureau

JERUSALEM — A spate of killings has again prompted Israel to ask how it can rid itself of the Gaza Strip.

The stabbing Monday of 11 Israelis in Tel Aviv by a Gaza worker and the mob-led slaying of a Jew in a Gaza Strip refugee camp the next day have renewed calls in Israel that the 25-year occupation of the Gaza Strip be ended.

The strip, a pathway for warriors between Asia and Africa for three millenniums, is inhabited by about 775,000 Palestinians, more than half a million of them refugees from Arab-Israeli wars since 1948, and their children and grandchildren. It is one of the most heavily populated, squalid places in the world.

"We cannot solve the problem of Gaza," Health Minister Haim Ramon said yesterday. "Israel should declare it will withdraw unilaterally."

Such calls have drawn a chorus of agreement—and dissent—amid frustration at the increasing violence in Gaza.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who said recently that he wished Gaza would drop into the sea, would like to disengage from the tar baby of Gaza. But he wants withdrawal as part of a peace agreement with Palestinians, who refuse to treat Gaza separately from the occupied West Bank. An agreement does not seem near.

"There is no escaping recognizing the fact that a solution to this is first of all political," Mr. Rabin said this week.

Israeli troops have ruled the thin, crowded strip on the Mediterranean coast 35 miles south of Tel Aviv since 1967. The occupation has strangled its economy and led to impoverishment and violence among the Palestinians there.

On Monday, a Gaza worker said to be frustrated by unemployment killed two Israelis and wounded nine on a busy Tel Aviv street. On Tuesday, a Jewish utility worker mistakenly drove into the Rafah refugee camp and was stoned and then shot to death.

The latest attacks prompted another of the frequent closings of the Gaza Strip, barring from their jobs the 30,000 Palestinians whose work in Israel is the economic lifeblood for the area.

Authorities said yesterday that they would lift the restrictions Monday. But they promised new restrictions that will further cut the number of workers allowed to leave Gaza. That number is already down to half of its peak of 60,000.

This week's attacks also have prompted Israeli settlers' groups to urge Jews to open fire whenever their cars are hit with stones thrown by Palestinians.

A motorist near Jerusalem did that Tuesday, shortly before the settlers' groups made their call, and killed a bystander, a 75-year-old Palestinian.

Many Jewish civilians carry guns, and Israeli security authorities reportedly are worried about vigilante shootings. The police surprised Palestinians by making an arrest in the Tuesday shooting last night. A 33-year old Israeli truck driver who said he fired five shots at stone throwers is being held.

"The law permits use of a weapon only in a life-threatening situation," said Ehud Barak, the army chief of staff. "The conditions during which a civilian can open fire are defined in law and absolutely clear."

But political figures in Israel acknowledged that the Gaza Strip will continue to produce violence and misery as long as the resented occupation continues.

"The situation is intolerable and cannot continue," said Shlomo Buhbut, a Labor Party member of

ON ISRAEL

B. Sun

5/3

1055

53

24/28

the Knesset, or parliament. "It may cause a second Lebanon. . . . There is no other alternative [but withdrawal] for the sake of peace."

Mr. Ramon, who first advocated withdrawal in 1987, said that if no peace agreement can be reached with the Palestinians, Israel should announce a scheduled withdrawal from Gaza within a year or two.

"The occupation of the Gaza Strip is damaging Israel militarily, economically, socially and humanely," he said in an interview yesterday. "The frustration is growing."

But withdrawal would bring many problems, say critics of such a move. Gaza, which is not patrolled by the army, could become a center for terrorism, as it was before Israel captured the territory from Egypt in 1967, they say, and, if sealed off from Israel at its borders, could fall into even more desperate economic straits.

"It's very easy to wash one's hands of this collection of human suffering and thereby ignore responsibility for its creation," columnist Meron Benvenisti wrote in the Hebrew daily Ha'aretz.

There also is the question of who would take Gaza. Israel does not want it to become the nucleus of a Palestinian state, but neighboring Egypt, which administered the strip from 1948 to 1967, does not want to get back an area of festering social problems.

Israel's right wing, which has at

OCCUPIED GAZA

- The Gaza Strip, currently under Israeli occupation, has an area of 143 square miles (about twice the size of Baltimore)
- Estimated population: 775,000 (550,000 Palestinian refugees, 225,000 Gazans) and 3,500 to 5,000 Jewish settlers
- For centuries until 1917 the area was part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire
- 1917 to 1948: Governed by Great Britain under the British Mandate in Palestine
- 1948 to 1967: Egyptian military administration
- 1967 to present: Israeli occupation
- Average per capita income (1990): \$780
- Unemployment rate: 30-40%



times considered Gaza a part of a "greater Israel," says more force, not withdrawal, is needed to meet the violence in Gaza.

Binyamin Netanyahu, the leading candidate to lead the opposition Likud bloc in the next election, called for a "doubling and tripling" of the arming of Israelis in response to the recent attacks.

Gonen Segev, a Knesset member from the conservative Tsomet party, called the idea of withdrawal "absurd."

"Gaza is part of Israel," he said. "The moment the standard of living of the residents there improves, things will get better. If we withdraw from Gaza, there will be murders of thousands of residents."

Rarely mentioned in the debate are the 18 small Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip, armed camps surrounded by barbed wire and electric fences where 3,500 to 5,000 settlers live.

Most settlers moved there to stake a Jewish claim to the Gaza Strip. Any attempt to evict them forcibly would recall the political anguish of the removal of Israeli settlers from the Sinai Peninsula when it was returned to Egypt more than a decade ago as part of the Camp David accords.

"We cannot run away from the real problem, which is the Palestinian problem," said Batya Hersh-kowitz, a spokeswoman for the Gaza Coast Regional Council, a settlers' group. "We must live here and see to it that terrorist organizations do not murder."

The prospect of further internal bloodletting among factions in Gaza also has given the Palestinians pause. Disputes between the mainstream Fatah faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization and fundamentalist Muslim followers of Hamas have resulted in killings, and some have predicted a fierce struggle for control in Gaza if the Israelis leave.

"If Israel withdraws from Gaza without prior notice, it will be a criminal act," said Haydar Abd al-Shafi, head of the Palestinian peace negotiators and a Gaza resident, said this week.

"Palestinians are not enthusiastic" about withdrawal, said Palestinian journalist Nasser Atta. They do not want Israel to shed Gaza without giving autonomy to the West Bank, he said, since Gaza must depend on the West Bank for political stability and economic support.

"There's no economic base in Gaza to support the population. There's not enough land. There's no industrial base," he said. "You have to have a comprehensive solution."

1055
53
25/28

U.S. Airdrops

THE WASHINGTON POST

in Bosnia Highlight Pitfalls of Intended Neutrality

By Daniel Williams
Washington Post Staff Writer

The uneven beginning to the U.S. airdrop over eastern Bosnia underlines the pitfalls, and perhaps the impracticality, of limiting American involvement in a hot war to a neutral, humanitarian project.

The Clinton administration has identified humanitarian relief projects as a basis for future American military intervention abroad. In effect, it is meant as a kind of intervention without taking sides.

But the Bosnian experience so far has shown how even such intended neutrality can influence the course of a war.

U.S. airdrops over Bosnia began five days ago and, in that time, the Serbs have launched a tank-led assault on the town of Cerska, one of the targets for American relief. In other places, famished Bosnians are reported to have had trouble reaching the supplies.

It is difficult to verify whether the Serbs have stepped up their attacks in response to the airdrops that, despite the operation's professed neutrality, have been aimed up to now at benefiting the beleaguered Muslim population. It is certain, however, that when the deliveries arrived, the Serbs did not pull back to let the food pass to the enemy. Rather, their attacks grew in ferocity.

As a laboratory for humanitarian intervention, Bosnia presents an especially harsh venue. Food, or more precisely starvation, is a weapon in the civil war there. Serbs in particular have systematically deprived Muslim towns and villages of food with the goal of driving away the civilian population and weakening armed defenders. To get involved in supplying food is to get involved in an aspect of the war.

"I'm not sure there is such thing as a politically neutral act in the Balkans, and the airdrop

is certainly not politically neutral," said Robert Hunter, an analyst at the Center for Strategic Studies and an adviser on foreign policy to President Clinton's election campaign.

Yesterday, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a U.N. human rights envoy to Bosnia, accused the Serbs of "intensifying ethnic cleansing," the policy of deliberately driving Muslims from their homes by terror. "There are hundreds of accounts of massacres of civilians, burning of homes and attacks on refugees trying to flee the area" of the airdrops, said the envoy, who is a former Polish prime minister.

Thousands of refugees were reported fleeing to Muslim-held areas. Such reports present the Clinton administration with a dilemma: having pledged to ease the delivery of food to the needy, is it then willing to punish the Serbs for terrorizing the recipients? But if the United States punishes the Serbs will not the veil of neutrality be stripped away, leading the country fully into the conflict?

"What has to be explored is whether humanitarian relief is really an evasion of responsibility," said Patrick Glynn, an analyst at the American Enterprise Institute.

The Serbs attacked Cerska because it is a passage depot for arms supplies to the surrounding Muslim-held countryside, according to Fred Cuny, a consultant to relief organizations who returned recently from seven weeks in Bosnia. In recent weeks, Serb forces have permitted an occasional land convoy of food to reach other places in Bosnia, but there is no guarantee that when the attack on Cerska ends supplies will not be cut off elsewhere.

Cuny described Serb military tactics that, in his view, routinely incorporate hunger as a tool. The Serbs attack outlying villages surrounding larger towns, causing the residents to flee. The larger towns, filled with refugees, are then besieged with artillery, and access to food is cut. A

cease-fire may be called to let women and children evacuate, but the siege is reimposed until the town surrenders or Serb forces move in.

Some reports from Bosnia say Serb forces took advantage this week of a Muslim scramble to collect airdropped food supplies to break through lines at Cerska. Yesterday, the Serbs offered safe passage to refugees fleeing Cerska.

Privately, State Department officials say there are no immediate plans to use air power to drive the Serbs away from airdrop zones or silence artillery. Rather, the United States promoted a U.N. statement Wednesday that condemned the Serb military offensive and asked the U.N. secretary general to send peacekeepers to eastern Bosnia.

Pentagon officials continued to paint the airdrop operation as a success, citing intelligence reports that most of the bundles appear to have landed on or near designated zones. They acknowledged, however, that there is little reliable information on the dispersal of the food in Muslim enclaves.

"We can't guarantee at any point in time which has a particular bundle," said Col. James Pardew, assistant director of intelligence for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in a briefing for reporters yesterday. "... But we are getting increasing evidence that the materials are reaching those in need in this area."

Pardew said an amateur radio operator reported that 11 of 30 bundles have been recovered in the Muslim enclave of Zepa, the target of Monday night's airdrop. But he also cited reports in the Bosnian press that due to heavy fighting Muslims in Konjevici, the target of Tuesday's drop, had collected just two of 18 bundles located by defenders of the enclave. U.S. aircraft returned to the site Wednesday night for another attempt, but Pardew said he had no information on its outcome.

Staff writer John Lancaster contributed to this report.

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20/20

WT 5/3

1055, 53

27128

East Europe feels neglected as U.S. focuses on Russia

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

As the date of the U.S.-Russian summit approaches, Eastern European capitals worry that the Clinton administration is paying too much attention to Moscow at the expense of the other "new democracies."

The stakes involve security and stability in a potentially unstable

NEWS ANALYSIS

part of Europe, Eastern European diplomats say, as well as the increasingly precarious positions of governments in the face of growing popular impatience with the difficulties of economic transition.

Concern about the diminishing importance of Eastern Europe is said to have been the main reason for Polish President Lech Walesa's offer of Warsaw as the site of the planned April 4 summit between President Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Mr. Walesa made the offer on Wednesday in a telephone call to Mr. Clinton.

According to an official Polish statement, the discussion — through

an interpreter — centered on the location of the summit and the "changes taking place in Central and Eastern Europe, with particular reference to the Polish point of view."

Polish sources said that choosing an Eastern European capital such as Warsaw would be a clear signal of Washington's interest in the area and would mean "a new way of looking at a new Europe."

"It would symbolize a new world order, something original and not the usual Vienna-Helsinki-Geneva routine," one source said. The three cities have been traditional sites for international conferences.

The Polish offer came against the background of considerable frustration among Eastern European diplomats with what they describe as a limited response to their problems by the Clinton administration.

A recent appeal for a "clear signal of support" by Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic has yet to evoke official interest in Washington, according to Eastern European sources.

"We are starting from scratch. We don't even know who the author of the new policy for Eastern Europe is and whether there is such a policy,"

a senior diplomat said.

During the Cold War, Moscow's satellites were generally dealt with in relation to the Soviet Union and its military threat to the West, although that attitude changed considerably with the growth of the Polish Solidarity opposition in 1980 and its subsequent suppression.

Now, many Eastern European capitals think their countries are being neglected in favor of Russia, which is emerging as the major U.S. partner in the area.

This perception, according to diplomatic sources, has caused considerable unease in Eastern Europe, where most governments still feel extremely fragile and where reforms are causing growing hardship among the population.

"This is not a complaint of children who feel unloved," one diplomat said. "If stability in Europe is the aim of this administration, it cannot work without stability in Eastern Europe."

Most Eastern European capitals fear ethnic and frontier conflicts as well as growing tension between Russia and Ukraine, with the resulting spillover across their borders.

WP

5/3

1055, 53

28/28

138 Reported Missing in U.S. Spy Flights

Total From '50s-'70s Missions Grows as Russians Release Data

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Throughout the past year, reports have been trickling out of the State and Defense departments about Americans lost years ago on secret Cold War espionage flights over the Soviet Union. Now information about incidents both nations kept secret for a generation is coming in a flood.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin began the public discussion by saying last summer that 12 Americans shot down on previously unacknowledged spy missions in the 1950s were taken prisoner. Intelligence experts said at the time that the number of Americans unaccounted for from that period was probably closer to 50.

A few months later three independent investigators—James D. Sander, Mark A. Sauter and R. Cort Kirkwood—published "Soldiers of Misfortune," a book that documented several previously secret incidents in which U.S. aircraft vanished on spy missions, with no word on the fate of their crews.

In January, the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs put the number of Americans still unaccounted for in such incidents at 133, based on information from the Defense Department. Now two news organizations say the number is 138, citing information from formerly classified documents stored at the National Archives.

The number is likely to grow as the Pentagon's Task Force Russia continues its examination of the archives of the former Soviet Union, Defense Department officials said.

With Russian cooperation, Task Force Russia has been combing prison records and other documents in the former Soviet Union for information about Americans held there during the Cold War.

According to coordinated reports last night on ABC's "Prime Time Live" and in the forthcoming edition of U.S. News & World Report, at least 24 men were killed on 31 aerial spy missions between 1950 and 1970, and 138 remain unaccounted for.

The Defense Department lists 133 whose fate is unknown from 13 "aircraft incidents," a Pentagon official said. "Soldiers of Misfortune" said "more than 100 American lives and 20 U.S. airplanes have been lost in action during similar peacetime reconnaissance operations since 1945."

Until recently, neither Washington nor Moscow had acknowledged the spy flights or the shootdowns, except for the highly publicized downing in 1960 of pilot Francis Gary Powers in his high-altitude U-2 plane. Now, "we admit it, the Russians admit it, the planes went down," a well-informed official said.

Nothing in the program indicated that any of the Americans remain alive. Yeltsin told the Senate committee in a letter last June that "today there are no American citizens forcibly held on the territory of Russia," but he indicated that some Americans who found their way there during one conflict or another had stayed on as private citizens.

Alan Ptak, then a deputy assistant secretary of defense, told the Senate committee late last year that U.S.

investigators had focused on 10 shootdowns between 1950 and 1965 whose crew members remain unaccounted for. He said it was possible that some of those men survived long enough to be taken prisoner and that "second-hand evidence" indicated some had been captives but "we lack conclusive evidence."

According to U.S. News and "Prime Time Live," which worked together on the story, the U.S. spy flights—not in high-altitude U-2s but in more conventional aircraft—deliberately flew into Soviet airspace "to determine the location and capabilities of coastal air defenses."

The secrecy of the missions, the reports said, hampered rescue of downed fliers. After a C-118 aircraft went down with nine crewmen aboard in June 1957, State Department lawyer Samuel Klaus said "intelligence agencies of the government" insisted "no legal action should be pursued" because the risk of exposure was too great. Those nine crewmen were released after several days of interrogation, according to U.S. News.

In other cases, the reports said, the government lied to families of the missing men to cover up the nature of their missions. While the Pentagon was telling family members of a downed C-130 crew that "every effort" was being made to recover the men, Assistant Secretary of State Foy D. Kohler was telling his boss, John Foster Dulles, that "no purpose will be served by further communication" with the Soviets, U.S. News said.

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1053 - P-1
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Ag. 3

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ר"מ לבנון

מצ"ב ראיון עם רו"מ לבנון, רפיק חריירי, מתוך ה- MIDDLE EAST INSIGHT (ג'ורג' נדר ינואר - פברואר '93). הראיון עוסק בשיקום לבנון, בבעיית הפלשתינאים בלבנון וכן בנושא המורחקים.

תקשורת

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1053, 50

2/4



Prime Minister Rafiq B. Hariri of Lebanon

by George A. Nader

Middle East Insight: After two decades of ongoing civil strife, invasion, and local and regional crises, Lebanon is emerging with most of its basic infrastructure destroyed and human resources drained. Mr. Prime Minister, how do you intend to deal with this challenging task of putting the country back in order? What are your priorities? What are your options?

Hariri: After the seventeen year long civil war we had here, as you said, the infrastructure has been destroyed. The Lebanese themselves need to get together again. After the Taif agreements things have been better. But it needs to be strengthened more and more. The priorities of the government are so many at the same time. We cannot say that our priority is only electricity and television, because schools are a priority, hospitals are a priority. Internal consolidation is also a priority. The Israeli occupation of the South is a priority to deal with, too. In fact, our priorities go horizontally, not vertically. So everything is a priority, and I am trying with my government to work out everything together at the same time. We cannot say that now we want to deal with the economic problem and leave the political problem aside. We cannot do that. This is a luxury we cannot afford right now.

MEI: Mr. Prime Minister, certainly a man like you, with tremendous credibility, reputation, and described as one of the most successful business leaders in the world, as well as a great philanthropist, does not need new resources or fame. In a very dangerous country where two presidents-elect and a score of prominent leaders have been assassinated in the past decade, what really motivates a man like you for this mission?

H: I think I can make a difference. I believe I can make a difference in my country, and I believe that consciously I cannot sit and watch what is going on in Lebanon while I can do something. I have tried in the last ten years to help and I have I think. But, when I found out that it was a must that I become the prime minister and everybody asked me to, I found that I could not refuse.

MEI: Your appointment as prime minister was certainly welcomed in the past two to three months by the majority of Lebanese, as evidenced by the sudden improvement in the Lebanese pound's posi-

George A. Nader is President of Middle East Insight.

3/4

and the stabilization of the security situation among other things. However, one of the outstanding financial problems in Lebanon has been the government continuing to spend money while it fails to collect revenues from its people.

H: How do you intend to correct this problem?

MEI: Exactly. How do you intend to correct this problem?

H: We already are. We have started taking several steps toward collection and we are collecting money and the revenue has been increased tremendously.

MEI: Lebanon used to be, a few years ago, a center of Middle East business and a haven for tourism, education, etc.... Now Lebanon has, as you well know, a very bad image from the outside.

H: We are trying to change that.

MEI: As you well know, American citizens are still forbidden to visit the country.

H: Yes, we would love to see them here in Lebanon now. Things are different and we are determined to change our image and change things inside of Lebanon. We have done lots of things during these two months.

MEI: Have you been discussing this matter with your government and the American administration?

H: No, I did not discuss it because I want to do something on the ground and then I will discuss something I already did, not something I will do.

MEI: What do you think it will take to rebuild or help reconstruct Lebanon and how can Lebanon's Arab and Western friends help in the process? Why has this help so far been slow in coming?

H: You can't say slow in coming. You know I have been in office only two months and two

months nothing in the age of the country. We are doing a lot of things and we are doing them. Besides, we are not building our plan on foreign grants only. We are planning and we certainly need bridge financing from many industrial countries. But, we are not a bankrupt country. We are a country mismanaged and disorganized because of the war, not because we were born like that. We used to have a very good economy, and, despite the war, our economy is, relatively speaking, not bad. We need grants, we need soft loans, and we need commercial loans and we are

going to use everything, all resources, to rebuild the country. How long will it take? It will take some time because the war destroyed a lot of things. But Lebanon is credit worthy. Lebanon always pays its debts.

MEI: A new world order has emerged after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. The Middle East has

certainly been affected by those developments as witnessed by the Gulf War and the peace process. How is Lebanon affected by these developments as a whole and how does Lebanon fit or how would it like to fit in this emerging world order?

H: You know we are a democracy and we are part of the free world. We would like to see the new world order—which we see represented by the United Nations—and the decrees that came from the United Nations, implemented.

MEI: How would you characterize the relationship between Lebanon and Syria now and how do you...

H: Friendly, friendly.

MEI: ...see the future progressing?

H: Lebanon cannot live with an atmosphere of enmity between Lebanon and Syria. It's not wise. We are neighbors. We have a lot of interests together and we have to deal with the Syrians as

1053,50

friends and in brotherhood. But, we should take our independence into account. So far, till now, since I came to office, I have not found from the Syrians anything but their assistance.

MEI: What impact, barriers, and influence does the presence of non-Lebanese military forces have

on your country as well as the existence of 200,000 to 400,000 Palestinians? What do you intend to do with them? How do you intend to handle this?

H: You know, first of all, we are trying to implement [UN Resolution] 425. This will help the whole situation a great deal. For the Palestinians, I would love to see them back in their country.

MEI: And about the Syrian presence?

H: The Syrian presence as you said is a Syrian presence, it is not a Syrian occupation. It is with the agreement of the Lebanese government. Right now, they are backing us and they are helping us. We will deal with them when the time comes.

MEI: The bilateral talks between Lebanon and Israel that form part of the peace process do not seem to be advancing very far.

H: It is not because of us.

MEI: Some believe that very little progress can occur before real progress on other fronts, specifically between Syria and Israel....

H: No, no. It is not true. Maybe Israel is acting like this, but from our side we are ready. We have no problems. We are ready to fulfill an agreement to imple-



Hariri in his office

ment 425 despite the negotiations between Syria and Israel.

MEI: So you really don't link it to any progress with Syria?

H: No we don't. We are ready to implement 425 immediately.

MEI: Which brings us to a new, timely problem: Israeli deportation to Lebanon of more than 400 Palestinians. Lebanon's refusal to

permit their entry has attracted concern and international attention. Would you explain more the Lebanese position?

H: It's very simple, very simple. Israel decided to deport these people to our country without our permission, so we say no, period. It is very simple.

MEI: There has been some confusion about the area where they are staying. They say it's no man's land, but in reality, what is it?

H: It is a land occupied by Israel that is under their fire.

MEI: How far are you willing to go and how long are you willing to spend....

H: To the end. To the end. We'll not back down.

MEI: Finally, what does Lebanon expect from the new U.S. administration, and, being a responsible leader in this part of the region, what advice would you like to give the new people in Washington?

H: To give the peace process attention, real attention. This is in the interests of the United States. An unstable country in the region is not in the interests of the United States. We would like to see President Clinton looking at it very carefully and we are ready to cooperate with him.■

4/4

1/4

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
טופס מברק

ד.ג.ל.

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 5 מרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ג'ונתן פולארד

מצ"ב שתי כתבות ה-B.J.T. (ג'יימס בסר ורבי אבי וייס 26/2) בנושא ג'ונתן פולארד, בעקבות החלטת נקרא"ק (NJCRAC) שלא לשלוח מכתב לנשיא קלינטון בעניינו.
בסר טוען כי תומכי פולארד התוקפים את הארגונים היהודים ומפעילים לחץ כבד על הקהילה גורמים יותר נזק מאשר מביאים תועלת.

תקשורת

(1) רביב	(2) מצפא	(1) מחנבל	(1) מנכל	(1) רחם	(1) טשהיח	(2) שחה	(25)
(1) רס	(4) מסד	(1) חרבי			(2) הסברה	(1) מטת	
			(1) סייכל	(1) דני	(1) אוחן	(4) אמן	24

Pollard's Supporters Do Him A Diservice

JAMES BESSER
Washington Correspondent

I have a confession to make: I have spent six years covering Jewish politics, but I have tried my best to avoid writing on the subject of Jonathan Jay Pollard, the American defense analyst convicted of spying for Israel and now serving a life term for his confessed misdeed.

From the beginning, the Pollard case has been a snare for journalists. There are real issues here, legal and humanitarian — but it is increasingly difficult to get at them because of the raw emotionalism and the occasional demagoguery hovering around the edges of the movement that has evolved to support Mr. Pollard.

The most straightforward articles about the Pollard case provoke angry letters and vitriolic calls; the mere suggestion that this is a complex issue and not an open and shut case of blatant official anti-Semitism generates accusations of betrayal and that old canard, self-hate.

This is not to slander all of the people involved in the movement to win Mr. Pollard's release. Many are genuinely driven by their sympathy for Mr. Pollard's suffering, if not for his crime. At its best, that movement reflects the rich humanitarian impulse at the heart of Jewish life.

But it's the "worst" that makes me reluctant to write about the Pollard case — the manipulation of visceral Jewish fears, the cynical-seeming use of Mr. Pollard's unfortunate situation as a cover for other, less compassionate agendas, the use of political litmus tests.

In a land where Jews continue to enjoy unprecedented liberty and affluence, Mr. Pollard's imprisonment can be twisted into "proof" that Jews are no better off now than a half century ago.

To Jews who subscribe to the "things never change" philosophy of Jewish life, the fate of Jonathan Pollard seems like the ultimate answer to the assimilationists and the liberals; it is the ir-

refutable confirmation of a peculiar kind of ghetto mentality.

Objectivity and sober analysis, to these people, represent a kind of treason.

Last week's plenum of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) provided a fascinating illustration of these dynamics. After a contentious formal debate and hours of behind-the-scenes maneuvering, NJCRAC delegates voted by secret ballot not to change longstanding agency policy and not to send a letter to President Clinton calling for a review of the case with a view towards commutation.

But the vote was close — and the debate, which became the overwhelming focus of the plenum, left a residue of anger that is unlikely to go away for a long time. Many participants said that although they support

commutation of Mr. Pollard's sentence on humanitarian grounds, they resented the pressure tactics of the pro-Pollard camp and the amount of time spent at the conference on this one issue.

In a way, the movement to free Mr. Pollard has become self-defeating because some of its most ardent advocates demand too much of the rest of us.

It is not enough for us to express simple humanitarian concern for this tortured man, one of many thousands caught up in an uneven, sometimes unfair judicial system and a barbaric penal system. Some of Mr. Pollard's supporters seem to demand our acknowledgement of mitigation in his crime, or even our affirmation of his status as a kind of hero whose selfless actions saved lives in the Gulf War and helped prevent the nightmare of an Iraqi A-bomb.

Continued On Page 16

Mr. Pollard's most zealous supporters do their cause a great disservice by speaking in hyperbole.

2/4

1052
49

Besser On Pollard

Continued From Page 14

This immediately separates the pro-Pollard forces from the great mass of Jews who may have sympathy for him as a person paying a severe penalty for his mistakes —but who are unwilling to rewrite the history of his crime and punishment, or turn this into a *Jewish* cause.

The fact is, Mr. Pollard's punishment is not a modern-day Dreyfus case, as some have suggested. While anti-Semitism may have been a factor, his sentence is almost certainly not the harbinger of a new era of anti-Semitic persecution, as others have argued.

The gulf is also widened because Mr. Pollard's more extreme supporters seem to spend as much time attacking the organized Jewish world as they do arguing the case for his release.

Mr. Pollard's most zealous supporters do their cause a great disservice by speaking in hyperbole, by exaggerating and distorting the facts of the case, by insisting that we accept every last one of their premises — or be relegated to the status of just another self-hating, scared-of-his-shadow Jew.

Jews — leaders, activists and even reporters — want to be fair to Mr. Pollard, despite the emotional baggage that we all carry when approaching this case. But achieving balance and fairness is difficult when everybody is yelling, and when disinformation is dished out by the ton.

Such action may be satisfying for some participants in this movement, and it may be useful for those who seek to foster an exaggerated sense of insecurity among American Jews, — but it will do little to win the release of Jonathan Pollard. □

3/4

1052

49

Let Pollard's Critics Look Into His Eyes

News On Pollard
Continued From Page 16

RABBI AVI WEISS
Special to the Jewish Times

Jonathan Pollard was not prepared for the news I brought him last week during an impromptu and unscheduled visit to Marion (Illinois) Penitentiary.

This most recent visit was the most difficult since I began visiting him in August, 1988. I had to bring him the news that the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) had voted not to send a letter to President Clinton asking for a review of Pollard's case with an eye toward commutation. I knew Jonathan would be disappointed, deeply disappointed; and I didn't want him to suffer alone.

We embraced and sat opposite each other. I reached out to hold his hand as I always do throughout my visits, in order to provide the simple human connection that Jonathan's solitary confinement denies him, as it is intended to do.

Within minutes I told him: "Jonathan, we were turned down by NJCRAC."

His head dropped; his eyes glistened; we sat in silence. My thoughts wandered to the delegate from Miami who had risen in the NJCRAC debate to declare about Jonathan: "I feel absolutely no moral or legal obligation to help a common criminal." Sitting in silence near Jonathan, I thought of the callousness of that remark and the absence of any mercy toward a fellow Jew that it shamelessly revealed.

Gradually Jonathan began to share his pain. "I feel punch drunk. I've been in battle for eight years, every day is a battle. Every day I rise is a victory. Sometimes the depression is so deep I can't get up. I don't feel like going on. I make it only because of determination; I know the consequences of surrender."

Rabbi Avi Weiss is national president of The Coalition for Jewish Concerns — Amcha — and senior rabbi of The Hebrew Institute of Riverdale, N.Y.

"I'm surprised by not personalizing the case. If I took this personally I would have ground up a long time ago," Jonathan declared. "This is not just a case of Jonathan Pollard but a case of Jewish empowerment."

Soon Jonathan's words began to flow. His immediate reaction, one of emotional despondency, gave way to fury at NJCRAC's action. The theme he returned to over and over was that of empowerment, specifically, who speaks for the Jewish community?

"I'm proud and deeply thankful for all the support I did receive from various NJCRAC delegates. I know it's difficult to stand up and speak truth to power. The vote established the fact that even in an organization whose leadership has been so civil toward me, the membership is making its views felt. This can only be for the good as far as the Jewish community is concerned."

"What should be kept in mind is that the grass-roots Jewish community is not divided on this issue," Jonathan explained. "The vote, which revealed a badly divided NJCRAC, clearly suggests that the organization does not reflect the Jewish community's consensus toward me. The propriety of my low opinion of many in NJCRAC leadership has been reconfirmed."

He said that "in the final analysis this vote did more to discredit NJCRAC than it did to hurt me. It's time for representative government in the Jewish community. The vote is a slap in the face of the ordinary Jew, the rabbinate and over 100 other secular organizations which have come to my defense. I think it's time for the Jewish community to draw some lessons from NJCRAC's disdain for it."

And then Jonathan laughed. There he was in the hell-hole of Marion, having just heard the devastating news that NJCRAC had abandoned him, and he laughed. Besides, Jonathan declared, "I don't want to be confused

with anyone who actually takes them seriously. True, I'm concerned about what message this sends to the President. If NJCRAC doesn't want to deal with this issue, why should the President?" He paused and then said forcefully, "We'll just have to rededicate our efforts to show the President what the grass-roots community thinks about this case."

NJCRAC leaders were portrayed by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency report as the victims and Pollard and his supporters as the victimizers. But while they go home every night, Jonathan is in his eighth year of solitary confinement in the toughest prison in this country. Even if NJCRAC delegates felt aggrieved by Pollard supporters who had criticized them, should they have retaliated against Jonathan himself?

Time was passing quickly. We spoke of family, of dreams. I had brought my tefillin. In recent months Jonathan had not donned them. Overzealous guards would split the boxes open and Jonathan could not endure their desecration. This time, however, he felt inclined to put them on. As he stood and recited the Sh'ma, I said the prayer I said daily: "God in heaven, bless Jonathan Pollard; sustain him, carry him and help him move from darkness to light, from imprisonment to freedom."

I could hear the clang of the outer doors. The guard was coming to escort me out. Seven hours had passed quickly and the visit was over.

I looked into Jonathan's eyes. Kabbalists say that the eyes are the gateway to the soul, they reveal true inner feelings. I could see that Jonathan had been wounded, deeply wounded, and was reaching deep into his soul for the energy to go on.

As I left the prison — the 28th time I had been there visiting Jonathan — it occurred to me that no member of the NJCRAC Pollard committee had ever visited him. I wish those NJCRAC delegates would only look into his eyes. □

Continued On Page 17

מחיר: 3	קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות: מדי
אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב, מצבא, מא"פ	סיוג: כלמ"ס	תזח:
דע: כטחור - יועץ שהב"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ימ' העכירונא)	חש' מדק: 1047	מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

Suspect in Bombing Is Linked To Sect With a Violent Voice

By ALISON MITCHELL

Mohammed A. Salameh, the suspect arrested yesterday in the bombing of the World Trade Center, is said by law-enforcement officials to be a follower of a blind Muslim cleric who preaches a violent message of Islamic fundamentalism from a walk-up mosque in Jersey City.

The Muslim cleric, Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman, who stood trial in Egypt a decade ago in the assassination of President Anwar el-Sadat, has emerged as the spiritual leader of a movement that the Egyptian Government contends is behind dozens of violent attacks in Egypt, including a spate of shootings of foreign tourists.

Another Violent Link

The sheik has also been linked to El Sayyid Nosair, an Egyptian currently serving 7 to 23 years for crimes related to the slaying of Rabbi Meir Kahane, the Israeli right-wing leader.

Mr. Nosair frequently worshipped at the Jersey City mosque and at the sheik's former mosque in Brooklyn. And Department of Motor Vehicles records obtained for Mr. Salameh show him living at one time at the same apartment building as Mr. Nosair.

Whether the sheik had any connec-

tion to the World Trade Center bombing is unknown. His name did not come up publicly. In private, law-enforcement officials said only that they knew Mr. Salameh was a follower of the radical cleric and that the link between the men was stronger than simply attendance at the mosque.

"I think the F.B.I. is still trying to figure out just how direct or tenuous this is," said one government official, speaking on the condition of anonymity. The sheik's lawyer, Barbara Nelson, said her client was "out of town" and had last been in Jersey City about a week ago. It was a week ago today that the explosion rocked the World Trade Center.

"There have been a lot of accusations hurled at my client, but I've never seen anybody produce any evidence other than speculation," she said.

At a news conference at the mosque

5-3

N.Y. Times

Front page

אישור:

שם השוכח:

תאריך:

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1047

in Jersey City yesterday, members denied that Mr. Salameh worshiped there. "We don't have any personal knowledge of him," one member, Mohammed Magib, said. "We are sure and positive that the claim being made against the mosque is absolutely false."

Mr. Magib adamantly defended its members, saying the mosque had "no affiliation with any foreign government."

"The mosque is an independent Islamic institution," he said after a three-hour prayer service. "It is not associated with any organization both inside or outside the United States."

"We are outraged at the way this mosque is being assaulted by the media and others," Mr. Magib said. "The media and the F.B.I. have apparently found their scapegoat. They were under intense pressure to make an arrest."

Yesterday, Federal agents investigating the bombing also searched an apartment at 57 Prospect Park South.

Continued on Page B3, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

west in Brooklyn. That address is the one given for Mr. Salameh on a recent driver's license and one of those given for Mr. Nosair before the Kahane assassination. At the address yesterday, a man described as a relative of Mr. Nosair was arrested and charged with punching one of the agents.

The United States Government is seeking the sheik's deportation, and the F.B.I. is also investigating him in

connection with three slayings in the United States.

Sheik Abdel Rahman, who was acquitted of Sadat's murder, slipped into the United States in 1990 on a tourist visa. He eluded detection even though he was on the official United States terrorist list and widely regarded in Egypt as a spiritual leader of several radical underground Islamic extremist groups known collectively as Islamic Jihad, or holy war. The groups advocated violent revolution against the Egyptian Government.

He became a charismatic preacher in mosques along Atlantic Avenue in Brooklyn and in New Jersey. His followers are growing and thought to number in the thousands in the New York area and in Egypt, where his speeches are brought back on cassette tapes.

The 55-year-old cleric can appear almost a helpless figure, blind, with one eye without a pupil, the other an empty socket. But his message — aimed particularly at the young — is a violent one, calling for the murder of "infidels" and the creation of a pure Islamic state in Egypt.

"All his enemies are infidels," said As'ad AbuKhalil, adjunct professor of Middle East politics at Georgetown University, who has listened to the cleric's cassettes and describes them as fiery sophisticated speeches and rambling monologues. "All are descendants of apes and pigs who have been feeding from the banquet tables of Zionism, Communism and colonialism. Those three seem to occupy a lot of his energies."

A Warning Broadcast

In one message broadcast recently over the Lebanese radio station of the Iranian-backed Party of God, the sheik warned that President Hosni Mubarak would suffer the same fate as his predecessor, Mr. Sadat.

The sheik's calls for violence were delivered to an insular world distrustful and resentful of outsiders, and at first attracted little attention among

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1047

United States law-enforcement officials. But the Federal Bureau of Investigation took an interest in him in 1990 when Mr. Nosair was charged with killing Rabbi Kahane.

The cleric was investigated but never charged in the killing, and Mr. Nosair was acquitted of murder but sentenced to 7½ to 22 years in prison on gun possession, assault and coercion charges. But government officials say the F.B.I. is still looking into a possible connection between the sheik and three slayings in the United States including the murder of Rabbi Kahane.

Increased Attention

The sheik has also drawn increased attention from the Egyptian Government, in the wake of a marked increase in attacks by Muslim militants on Coptic Christians, foreign tourists and Egyptian Government officials. Egyptian officials contend

the cleric is behind dozens of those attacks.

The United States Government is now trying to deport the sheik. He is charged with misrepresenting himself on his visa application by failing to disclose that he is a polygamist and that he was convicted and sentenced in Egypt in 1987 for falsifying a check, according to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The cleric was stripped of his green card in August 1992 for failing to respond to the immigration service charges.

But the attention of the United States and Egyptian Governments has only increased the cleric's stature and following. Mr. AbuKhalil said. "My impression is that with every dramatic act his following is increased," he said. "With the Kahane assassination, more people showed up to hear him. His next Friday sermon is going to be pretty crowded."

3/3

דף: 1 מחיר: 3	נופס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות: מירי
אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב		סיוג: כלמ"ס
דע: בסחון - יועץ שהכ"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ימ' העכירונא)		תזח:
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק		חש' מדיק: 1046

In Israeli's Unusually Brutal Death, Usual Lessons

5-3

N.Y.
Times

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, March 4 — Even in this land where stabbings, shootings and stone-throwings have long stopped causing surprise, Yehoshua Weisbrod's death this week knocked the wind out of many people.

It was brutal.

Mr. Weisbrod, an accountant in Tel Aviv for an Israeli fuel company, entered the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip on Tuesday to make a business stop at a service station in Rafa, near the border crossing into Egypt.

For most Israelis, Gaza might as well be the moon, a forbidding, life-threatening place visited only by the very adventurous or the very foolish. If Gaza is the moon, Rafa, teeming and destitute, is its far side.

Mr. Weisbrod apparently felt that way, for he asked a soldier at a nearby Jewish settlement for the safest route to the service station. He did not follow the directions, though. He made a wrong turn, and instead of a relatively safe bypass road, he found two things: a seethingly hostile Palestinian neighborhood, and death.

Stoned by Dozens

While all the details are not clear, the Israeli authorities say Mr. Weisbrod was set upon by dozens, perhaps scores, of rock-throwing Palestinians who saw him simply as the enemy.

In this cascade of stone and fury, he was struck in the head. He lost control of his car, smashed into a barrier and then sat behind the wheel, helpless and possibly unconscious.

Two armed men reportedly approached the car. According to the newspaper Hadashot, quoting an unidentified resident in the area, one of the gunmen asked, "Where's the prey?" Whether or not that part of the story is accurate, this man fired several rounds from a submachine gun, hitting Mr. Weisbrod in the head, chest and stomach.

He died on the spot.

His wife and five children were not the only mourners this week, Jewish or Arab. In Tel Aviv, two Israelis were stabbed to death by a young Palestinian on a knife-wielding rampage. In

(1) רביב (2) מצפא (1) ממנכל (1) מנכל (1) רחם (1) סטה"ח (2) שחח (25)
(1) רס (4) ממד (1) מרכוז (1) דעמ"ג (2) הסברה (1) מעת (25)
דחיון/קפ"ס (1) סייבל (1) אומן (1) אמל (4)

2

All sides argue that it just shows they were right all along.

2
3



The New York Times

In Rafah, residents were put under house curfew.

Jerusalem, an elderly Arab man was shot to death by a Jewish motorist who is still at large, and who may or may not have been hit by stones before he fired; that situation is unclear. In the walled Old City, two Jews were stabbed in separate incidents, and near Bethlehem a young Arab was shot by Israeli soldiers after a stone-throwing incident.

Time for Stock-Taking

All week, the headlines were about blood, and for many in Israel, especially after the Weisbrod killing, it was a time for stock-taking.

Perhaps the main lesson thus far is that there seem to be no new lessons.

Those Israelis opposed to talking peace with the Arabs said that the killings prove they were right, that it is impossible to negotiate with such people. More dovish Israelis, whose numbers may have dipped in the last few days, said the violence proves they were right, for it will end only with a political settlement.

Jewish settlers in the occupied territories said that it proves that they were

right, and that the only thing an Arab understands is a bullet. Some of their leaders in Gaza and the West Bank called on Israelis to open fire on any Arab throwing a stone — "even if our existence is not in danger," one of them said. This brought army declarations that it is right in its handling of the Palestinian uprising, plus an army warning that it would deal sternly with anyone taking the law into his own hands.

Israelis who would have liked to withdraw from Gaza yesterday said it proves they were right. Those who insist that there first be a negotiated peace settlement and calm withdrawal said it shows that they were right in their fear of disorder.

Palestinians said the latest incidents prove that they were right in saying the only just solution is an end to the 26-year-old Israeli occupation.

House Curfew Imposed

After the killings, Rafah residents were put under house curfew, and the entire Gaza Strip was closed off, preventing thousands of workers from leaving for jobs in Israel. This amounts to collective punishment against innocent people, Palestinian leaders said, and the Arab League in Cairo protested what it called Israel's "war of starvation" against Gazans.

Bulldozers that were rushed suddenly to Rafah suggest strongly that before long the army will seal up houses there in reprisal, and perhaps demolish some. If the past is a guide, Palestinians will protest and say they were right to call Israel unjust, and many Israelis will not care, saying they are right and recalling that dozens of people in Rafah had stoned Mr. Weisbrod while no one tried to rescue him. "There was not even one righteous

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(3)

man in Sodom," the Israel radio said, quoting an unidentified army officer.

With more than a touch of weariness, Zeev Schiff, a columnist and military expert for the liberal newspaper Haaretz, talked about the Sisyphean nature of the conflict and responses to it like the temporary shutting of Gaza. "In another few days, the closing will be lifted and the story will repeat itself," he said. "The pressure cooker in Gaza will continue to boil."

And so probably will the violence, others said, even as Mr. Weisbrod was buried on Wednesday, his 44th birthday. Some news accounts felt a need to point out that the Hebrew characters for 44 are the same ones used to form the word for blood.

3
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9134:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רחמט/293

מ:-ניוירוק,נר:175,תא:050393,זח:1353,דח:ר,סג:בל,

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9,233388

9,753100

22488

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

TO: TIKSHORET

g.3

NEWS SUMMARY 5-MARCH-1993

TV COVERAGE

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PBS CHARLIE ROSE INTERVIEWED NYT CORRESPONDENT JUDITH MILLER AND TERRORIST EXPERT NEIL LIVINGSTONE (DISCUSSED THE ARREST OF A MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALIST FROM NEW JERSEY); ABC NIGHTLINE REPORTED ON THE ARREST OF A MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALIST IN THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER (INTERVIEWED NYC POLICE COMMISSIONER THOMAS KELLY).

COLUMNS

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WSJ(S.EMERSON-CABLED): 'THE SNAKE OF TERROR IN OUR GARDEN': WRITER STATES THAT THE US HAS BECOME A 'MAJOR HAVEN' FOR RADICAL ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS, WITH EXTENSIVE INFRASTRUCTURES USED TO COORDINATE TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES; NOTES THE BACKGROUND OF SEVERAL FUNDAMENTALIST GROUPS IN THE US AND SHEIK OMAR RAHMAN; QUOTES SHEIK RAHMAN AS SAYING: 'THE MUSLIMS MUST KILL THE ENEMIES OF ALLAH, IN EVERY WAY AND EVERYWHERE, IN ORDER TO LIBERATE THEMSELVES FROM THE GRANDCHILDREN OF THE PIGS AND APES WHO ARE EDUCATED AT THE TABLES OF THE ZIONISTS, THE COMMUNISTS AND THE IMPERIALISTS'; CALLS ON THE US GOVERNMENT TO 'GET SERIOUS' ABOUT ENFORCING CIVIL LAWS ALLOWING DENIAL OF ENTRY TO THE US OR EXPULSION FOR NON-CITIZENS WHO HAVE GIVEN 'MATERIAL SUPPORT' OR FUNDS TO TERRORIST GROUPS.

ND(N.C.LIVINGSTONE): 'THE HIGH-TECH FACE OF TERRORISM': WRITER CLAIMS THAT TERRORISTS IN THE NEAR FUTURE MAY USE HIGH-TECH DEVICES, SUCH AS COMPUTERS, TO CONDUCT THEIR ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE WEST; BELIEVES THAT THE FUTURE TERRORISTS WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK OUT LOCATIONS THAT ARE READILY ACCESSIBLE TO NEWSPAPERS AND THE ELECTRONIC MEDIA IN ORDER TO PUBLICIZE THEIR CAUSES.

PRESS REPORT

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HEADLINES: NYT: JERSEY CITY MAN IS CHARGED IN BOMBING OF WORLD TRADE CENTER AFTER RENTED VAN IS TRACED; WHITE HOUSE SHUNS BIGGER AMA VOICE IN HEALTH CHANGES; SERBS REPORTED WILLING TO ALLOW MUSLIMS TO LEAVE OVERRUN AREA; SUSPECT IS BOMBING IN LINKED TO SECT WITH A VIOLENCE VOICE; US SPLIT ON GAY LIFE. WSJ: 'THE STING: SHORT, TANGLED TRAIL LEADS TO BOMB SUSPECT TIED TO AN ANGRY SHEIK'; NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: FBI ARRESTS BOMBING SUSPECT.

ISRAEL/MURDER/'LESSONS': NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED): 'IN ISRAELI'S UNUSUALLY BRUTAL DEATH, USUAL LESSONS': ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE STONING AND MURDER OF ISRAELI BUSINESSMAN YEHOSHUA WEISBROD BY (LOCAL) PALESTINIANS IN GAZA ON TUESDAY; NOTES THE FATAL STABBING OF TWO ISRAELIS BY ANOTHER LOCAL RESIDENT FROM GAZA IN TEL AVIV; MENTIONS THE VIEWS OF BOTH 'LEFT-WING' AND 'RIGHT-WING' ISRAELIS AND (LOCAL) PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRITORIES WITH REGARD TO THE RECENT ATTACKS; NOTES THE REACTION IN ARAB COUNTRIES TO THE CLOSING OF GAZA FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME.

US/ISRAEL/AID: WSJ(BRIEF): US AMBASSADOR WILLIAM HARROP SAID THAT WASHINGTON MAY HAVE TO REDUCE ITS DOLLAR 3 BILLION ANNUAL AID TO ISRAEL; AMBASSADOR HARROP ALSO REPORTEDLY CRITICIZED THE PACE OF ECONOMIC REFORM IN ISRAEL.

US/HAMAS/RESTRICTION: NYP(D.ORIN): SENATOR ALFONSE D'AMATO INTRODUCED A BILL ON CAPITOL HILL ON THURSDAY WHICH WOULD BAR MEMBERS OF THE HAMAS MOVEMENT FROM ENTERING THE US; NOTES THE BACKGROUND AND RECENT ACTIVITIES OF HAMAS; QUOTES SENATOR D'AMATO AS SAYING: 'IT IS APPARENT THAT HAMAS HAS ESTABLISHED AN EXTENSIVE SUPPORT NETWORK IN THE US TO AID ITS REIGN OF TERROR IN ISRAEL'.

NEW JERSEY/BOMBING/ARREST: NYT(A.MITCHELL-FRONT PAGE-CABLED), WSJ, ND, DN, NYP: 'SUSPECT IN BOMBING IS LINKED TO SECT WITH A VIOLENT VOICE': ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE BACKGROUND OF MUHAMMAD A. SALAMEH, THE SUSPECT ARRESTED ON THURSDAY IN THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN MANHATTAN; MR. SALAMAH IS SAID BY LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS TO BE A FOLLOWER OF SHEIK OMAR ABDUL RAHMAN, A BLIND MUSLIM CLERIC WHO PREACHES A VIOLENT BRAND OF FUNDAMENTALISM FROM A MOSQUE IN JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY; NOTES THAT SHEIK RAHMAN HAS ALSO BEEN LINKED TO EL-SAYYID NO-SAIR, THE MAN ACCUSED OF KILLING RABBI MEIR KAHANE; QUOTES ONE MEMBER OF SAID MOSQUE AS SAYING: 'WE DON'T HAVE ANY PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF HIM (SALAMAH). WE ARE SURE AND POSITIVE THAT THE CLAIM BEING MADE AGAINST THE MOSQUE IS ABSOLUTELY FALSE'; NOTES THE BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL VIEWS OF SHEIK RAHMAN.

NYT(R.BLUMENTHAL-FRONT PAGE), ND, DN, NYP: 'INSISTENCE ON REFUND FOR A TRUCK RESULTS IN AN ARREST IN EXPLOSION'.

ND(P.NEWKIRK-W.DOUGLAS): 'WE'RE SCAPEGOATS, CITY MUSLIMS SAY: ISLAMIC COMMUNITY BITTER, SKEPTICAL ABOUT ARREST'.

DN(B.BELL): 'EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT (SADAT) WAS THE MOST NOTED VICTIM'.

DN(C.W.BELL): 'BOMBING COWARDLY - NEW YORK MUSLIM BIG (IMAM AYUB ABDUL-BAKI'.

NYP(M.KRIEGL): 'FRAIL ZEALOT MAY HAVE REPEATED THE SINS OF THE PAST'.

NYP(B.HOFFMANN-R.PARASCANDOLA): 'HOUSES OF WORSHIP MOSQUE-ING TERROR?'.

NYP(M.JUFFE): 'PAIR (SALAMA AND RAHMAN) INSPIRED BY BLIND SHEIK OF TERROR'.

EL AL/RAPE/ACCUSATIONS: ND(J.W.QUEEN): YEHIEL EYNI, THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF EL AL AIRLINES IN NEW YORK, SURRENDERED TO AUTHORITIES ON THURSDAY TO FACE CHARGES THAT HE RAPED AN EMPLOYEE AT JFK AND THEN THREATENED TO KILL HER IF SHE TOLD ANYONE; LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS ARE ALSO INVESTIGATING ALLEGATIONS THAT THE MAN SEXUALLY ABUSED A NUMBER OF OTHER FEMALE EMPLOYEES SINCE 1988.

OBITUARIES

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NYT: 'ALBERT J. SMITH, 78, DIES; THWARTER OF NEO-NAZI PARADE IN SKOKIE'.

LETTERS

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NYT: FOUR LETTERS WHICH CRITICIZE THE ISRAELI DEPORTATION OF SEVERAL HUNDRED (LOCAL) PALESTINIANS TO LEBANON AND CHARGE THAT ISRAEL IS IN VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR SAID ACTION.

NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH NOTES THAT KUWAIT DEPORTED UP TO 300,000 PALESTINIANS FOLLOWING THE GULF WAR; QUESTIONS WHY KUWAIT WAS NOT CRITICIZED FOR THE SAME REASON.

MICHAEL STOLTZ
ITONUT-NY

SHABBAT SHALOM

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

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178202: 28

588/תמ"מ, 548/ת"ל, 677/תשנ"א, 305/תשמ"ג, 374/תשנ"ב: ת"מ

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777M/710W

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7א: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

1752-1757 : 187

מאת: מרת ורד/17-177

הגדה : מוצר הסיווד הפקטור ר'מגדל הפארמאס

4. היממה האחרונה הייתה מהיזתר עמוסות בתקופה האחרונה.

2. פניות רבות קיבלנו לתידורים וביאורים מכל אמצעי התקשורת, דשתות ועיתונים, ברמה ארצית וביתר שאת ברמה המקומית.

017197 אצולו וקו שני מצמדם וקרן קרן

* בקשה ש'נשדך' גורמי תקשורת כאן עם מומחים ואנשי מקצוע בתחום הטירור שנעשה בהצלחה יחסית בתוכניות טלוויזיה ו - TALK SHOW.

* בקשה לתידורכי רקע, קבלת חומר וסקירות כתובות על האיסלאם, הפונדמנטליזם השקפותיו ומטרותיו.

4. כל 7 הרשתות המקומיות וכל 4 עתונות
בכתבותיהם ובדווחיהם, בהשקפות האיסלאם
הקיצוני, בטרור, בטרור האיסלאמי
בישראל, במזה"ת, באירופה ועתה גם בארה"ב.

5. הסברתית, שהתרחש ב - 24 שעות האחרונות , נראה כמו "סדנה לימודית מזורזת על הפונדמנטליזם והטרור האיסלאמי לאמריקאים".

6. עטות ארוך, נצטרך לעבוד שלב כמו אחרי דצת כהנא, בה נטען שאל לסכסוך במזה"ת להגיע לניו-יורק.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

מתנות/בן-בן

כ"ב

1993 4703 5

אֵלֶּה

תפ: שהח (2), סשהח (1), רהמ (0), שהוט (0), מנכל (1), ממנכל (1), מצב (0), ר/מרכז (1),
גנור (1), ר'אגת (0), רם (0), אמן (0), ממד (4), מזתים (1), מצפא (1), רביל (1), מעת (0),
הסברה (3), דנצ (0)

אאאא, חוזם: 9296

אל: רהמש/312

מ-: ווש, נר: 2027, חא: 050393, זח: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: לש' רוהמ' (הבר)

דע: לש' שה'ח

מאת: השגריר - וושינגטון

הנדון: ביקור רוה'מ

1. לקראת בקורכם בושינגטון קיימנו פגישות בבית הלבן ובמחמ'ד. כמו כן קיימתי דיון עם הצוות המדיני בשגרירות לדיון בדגשי הביקור.

2. להערכתי, יש לייחד את השיחה עם הנשיא לנושאים הבאים: הגדרה מחודשת ומחוזקת של 'היחסים המיוחדים' בין ארה"ב לישראל בעת הזאת, תהליך השלום, מעמדה האסטרטגי של ישראל ובכלל זה התייחסות לשת"פ האסטרטגי בין שתי המדינות כולל הצעות 'לקפיצת מדרגה' ביחסים וכן לנושא הפרוליפרציה, הסיוע הכלכלי לישראל, שת"פ מדעי והקמת ועדה להיו-טק. בנפרד נזירות שהוכנו בנושא זה ע"י נספח ההגנה, הציר הכלכלי והנספח המדעי.

3. לפגישה עם הנשיא קלינטון והצוות הבכיר שלצידו יוקצו 3 שעות. הפגישה תתחיל בפורום מצומצם כאשר מאוחר יותר יצטרפו אליה משתתפים נוספים. בצד הנושאים המדיניים העיקריים מצפה הנשיא לכך שבחלק זה של הפגישה יידונו גם באילוצים הפנימיים הפוליטיים והכלכליים בפניהם ניצבים הממשלה והממשל. מאנשי מחמ'ד הבנתי שהנשיא מקווה שרוה'מ יציג את תפישתו לגבי מהות החסדר הרצוי לישראל במסלולים הסורים והפלסטינים (כאשר נהירה להם ההבחנה בין השניים).

4. המשך השיחה ראוי שיחמקד בתהליך השלום, בסקירה על מצב השיחות היעדים של ישראל ושיחוף הפעולה עם ארה"ב ותפקידה בשיחות ברוח דברי רוה'מ למזכיר המדינה בביקורו בארץ. בוודאי תעלינה גם מחשבות ישראל כיצד לקדם השיחות.

5. פרק חשוב בשיחה יוקדש לשת"פ האסטרטגי ישראל-ארה"ב, מוצע לפתוח דיון זה בחילופי דעות ברמה האסטרטגית. הנשיא נכון להעמיק השת"פ, וכדאי לבוא עם הצעות מוגדרות שגם יענו על סדר היום המדיני אסטרטגי של ארה"ב. ברוח זו אני ממליץ לשקול הרעיון של נספח ההגנה לשת"פ ישראלי-אמריקאי למניעת הפצת טק'ק ופרוליפרציה באיזור.

6. בנושא הכלכלי חשוב להודות לנשיא ולמימשל על המשך הסיוע הכלכלי והצבאי לישראל במיוחד בימים של קיצוץ בתקציב האמריקאי. כדאי לשקול שימוש בעזרים ויזואלים (טבלאות ותרשימים) להציג חלקו של הסיוע בכלכלה הישראלית ותרומתו למשק. הנשיא מוכן להצהיר על המשך הסיוע לישראל, וכדאי לנצל

הזדמנות זו להתבטאות נשיאותית.

7. בענין הקמת הועדה המשותפת ל-HIGH-TECH ראו נא נייר הנספח המדעי. במשה'ח נעשית עבודת מטה בנושא. בענין זה אני רוצה להוסיף את דברי הרקע הבאים לנייר של היועץ המדעי:

א. כשהנשיא דיבר בזמן מסע הבחירות על הקמת ועדה כזאת הוא חשב על השקעת משאבים (יזמים פרטיים) אמריקאים במחקר לפיתוח בישראל לצורך הרחבת ייצור (ויצירת מקומות עבודה) בשתי המדינות.

ב. סגן הנשיא מתעניין במחקר של חקלאות מדברית ובשיתוף פעולה בתחום זה.

ג. לטעמי, ניתן להציע מסגרת אינטגרטיבית רחבה שתקיף את מכלול הנושאים.

8. בתום הפגישה עם הנשיא תפורסם הודעה. נציע לאמריקאים שההודעה תורכב משני חלקים מרכזיים: האחד, חזרה על מחויבות ארה"ב לישראל לבטחונה ולרווחתה, היחסים המיוחדים בין שתי המדינות. השני, בסיס לעתיד, השיחות שקיימת עם הנשיא והבנות שהושגו לגבי רצוננו להמשיך ולקדם תהליך השלום, תודת ישראל למעורבות האמריקאית, אופי המעורבות האמריקאית בהמשך. פרק זה ראוי שיכלול התייחסות קצרה להעמקת השת"פ האסטרטגי, המשך הסיוע ברמתו הנוכחית וכו'. קבעתי הן עם אנשי המועצה והן עם אנשי מחמ"ד פגישות עדכון לגבי סדר היום בחלק השני של השבוע הבא.

רבינוביץ.

תמוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 9141

אל: רהמ"ש/305

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 171, תא: 050393, זח: 1352, דח: מ, סג: שט,

בבב

31323

שמור/מיד

261.04

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

דע: וושינגטון

מאת: עתונות/ניו-יורק

הנדון: מעצר החשוד בפיצוץ ב'מגדל התאומים'

1. היממה האחרונה היתה מהיותר עמוסות בתקופה האחרונה.
2. פניות רבות קיבלנו לתידרוכים וביאורים מכל אמצעי התקשורת, רשתות ועיתונים, ברמה ארצית וביתר שאת ברמה המקומית.
3. לפניות אלינו היו שני מימדים עיקריים:
* בקשה ש'נשדך' גורמי תקשורת כאן עם מומחים ואנשי מקצוע בתחום הטרור שנעשה בהצלחה יחסית בתוכניות טלוויזיה ו - TALK SHOW.
* בקשה לתידרוכי רקע, קבלת חומר וסקירות כתובות על האיסלאם, הפונדמנטליזם השקפותיו ומטרותיו.
4. כל 7 הרשתות המקומיות וכל 4 עתוני ניו-יורק הירבו מאוד לעסוק בכתבותיהם ובדיווחיהם, בהשקפות האיסלאם הקיצוני, בטרור האיסלאמי בישראל, במזה"ת, באירופה ועתה גם בארה"ב.
5. הסברתית, שהתרחש ב - 24 שעות האחרונות, נראה כמו "סדנה לימודית מזורזת על הפונדמנטליזם והטרור האיסלאמי לאמריקאים".
6. לטווח ארוך, נצטרך לעבור שלב כמו אחרי רצח כהנא, בה נטען שאל לסכסוך במזה"ת להגיע לניו-יורק.

עתונות/ניו-יורק

יובל רותם

5 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @רהמ), @שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ר'אגת), @רם), @אמן), ממד, מזתים,
מצפא, רביב, מעת, הסברה, @דוצ)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 9226

אל: רחמט/308

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 272, תא: 050393, ח: 1536, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמט/מידי

4/3/93

אל: מצפ"א, מז"תים, הסברה

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

9.3.

הנדון: שימועים - הדו"ח השנתי על ז"א
=====

1. היום ה-4/3/93 קיימה ועדת המשנה לז"א שליד ועדת החוץ בביהנ"ב, בראשות הקונגרסמן לנטוס שימועים בנושא הדו"ח השנתי של מחמ"ד לז"א. במהלך השימועים נכחו הקונגרסמנים: בירויטר (בכיר המיעוט), סויר, כריס סמית, אולימפיה סנו.

2. מטעם הממשל העיד השגריר ג'יימס בישופ. כן העידו: ג'יימס אוד'י מנהל משרד "אמנסטי" בושינגטון והולי בורקהולטר מנהלת משרד "H.R. WATCH" בושינגטון.

3. העברנו אתמול לכל משרדי חברי ועדת המשנה לז"א (11 במספר) את תגובתנו לדו"ח מחמ"ד. שוחחתי גם עם לנטוס וגם עם עוזרו בוב קינג כדי להבטיח מבחינתנו מהלך השימועים.

4. המזה"ת:

בחלק השאלות והתשובות לאחר עדות בישופ עלה נושא המזה"ת בהקשר של סעודיה וכווית החבות קיומן לארה"ב והעדר מנוף כלפיהן בתחום ז"א מצד ארה"ב (ע"י קונגרסמן לנטוס) בהיבט של סובלנות דתית כלפי הנצרות במיוחד במצרים (ע"י קונגרסמן כריס סמית) - והעובדה שחלה התדרדרות בעולם המוסלמי. לאחר מכן ביקש לנטוס מבישופ לסקור מצב ז"א במספר מדינות במזה"ת כסוריה לוב ואירן. בחלק זה ישראל והשטחים כלל לא הוזכרו. נציג "אמנסטי" באורח חולף ובסוף דבריו הזכיר את ישראל בין מדינות המקבלות סיוע צבאי שיש לעקוב אחר מצב ז"א אצלן. נציגת "H.R. WATCH" - הזכירה ישראל בין מדינות - ידידות לארה"ב (סעודיה תורכיה) שיש לקיים PUBLIC ACCOUNTING לגבי ז"א אצלן.

5. שני נציגי אירגוני ז"א קידמו בברכה והתייחסו להקמת משרד ז"א בפנטגון. הוסיפו כי אין להתעלם ממכירות נשק בהקשר זה - הן מכירות צבאיות והן אזרחיות.

6. המדינות העיקריות בהן התמקד הדיון בשימועים: - סין, בוסניה, סומליה, בורדיסטן העירקית, סודן.

7. בנפרד מעבירים סיכום מפורט על מהלך השימועים (שהוכן ע"י שריל אמיתי)

וכן העדויות.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, מזתים,
ביין, ארכל2, סייכל, משפט, רביב, הסברה

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 9214

אל: רחמט/294

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 265, תא: 050393, זח: 1519, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 5 מרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

ל.ג.י.

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת יומית 5.3.93

טרור

החשוד בהנחת הפצצה בניו-יורק הובא אתמול לביהמ"ש והואשם בפיצוץ מרכז המסחר העולמי במנהטן.

החשוד, מוחמד סלמה, חשוד בהשתייכות לארגון מוסלמי פונדמנטליסטי מצרי. החקירה בנושא עדיין נמשכת ובבדיקים כיווני חקירה שונים בנושא, כולל קשר לפרשת רצח כהנא בשנת '90 ו/או השערה כי הנחת הפצצה קשורה ביום השנה השני לנסיגת עירק מכווית.

החקירה מתמקדת במסגד אליו משתייך סלמה, בראשות שייך עומר עבדל רחמן הנחשב למנהיג הרוחני של קבוצה מצרית מהפכנית "אל איסלמיה" הקשורה ברצח סאדאת.

הנשיא מוברק הכריז במצרים על מדיניות יד קשה כלפי ארגונים מוסלמים קיצוניים. (קרייל מרפי WP)

אדוארד קודי (WP) מתאר את הארגונים הפונדמנטליסטים במזה"ת אשר פעילותם טרוריסטית-פוליטית והנלחמת כנגד ערכי המערב. הם מנסים להפוך את מדינות ערב למוסלמיות קיצוניות ולהפיץ את האיסלם בעולם. הפונדמנטליזם למרות כוחו אינו מייצג את כל המוסלמים.

נושא זה הינו הנושא המרכזי בתקשורת הכתובה והאלקטרונית.

ארה"ב - ישראל

כתבת ה-WT (הווארד גולר מישראל) מדווחת על דברי הארופ בדבר האפשרות שארה"ב תקצץ בסיוע לישראל.

הסנטור אורין האטץ' (WT) דן בנושא יחסי ארה"ב - ישראל על רקע שיתות השלום.

לדבריו ישראל בוחנת את מחוייבות הנשיא קלינטון לישראל בנושא חידוש שיתות השלום, ועל ארה"ב להמנע מלהכנס למלכודת בנושא יחסי ישראל והערבים כפי שכבר קרה בבוסניה.

ישראל

דאג סטארק (BS) מדווח מירושלים על ארועי האינתיפאדה האחרונים בישראל ובעקבותם עולה השאלה של סיום שלטון הכיבוש בעזה.

סרביה

דניאל ויליאמס (WP) מדווח על הסיוע האווירי האמריקני לבוסניה וסבור כי זוהי דרכה של ארה"ב לבטא מעורבותה באזור: ע"י סיוע לפרויקט הומניטרי בלבד.

מזרח אירופה

אנדרו בורויק (WT) מדווח כי בירות מזרח אירופה מודאגות מסיוע ארה"ב לרוסיה. לדבריהן יציבות באזור מזרח אירופה אינה קשורה ברוסיה בלבד.

שונות

ארגוני חדשות מדווחים על 138 נעדרים אמריקנים בטיסות ריגול באזור רוסיה במהלך המלחמה הקרה. זאת עפ"י מסמכים מהארכיב הלאומי. (WP תומאס ליפמן)

הערה: הכתבות יועברו אליכם בנפרד.

תקשורת

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב, מעת, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן, סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, פרנ, גוברין, מזאר1, מזאר2

סססס

8981:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמש/287

מ-:וושיןגטון,נר:245,תא:050393,זח:1135,דח:מ,סג:בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מיידי

להלן חלק 2 מתוך 2

המשך לנר 244

E.g.

SOME PRESS REPORTS YESTERDAY.

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, ON THE GAZA ISSUE, I THINK I'VE ANSWERED THAT QUESTION PREVIOUSLY. THE REAL WAY OUT TO END THE VIOLENCE THERE IS REALLY TO GET ON WITH THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE TALKS AND TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THOSE TALKS, AND THAT THE PEOPLE SEE THAT THERE'S PROGRESS BEING MADE -- BECAUSE I THINK THAT WILL BE A TREMENDOUS CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE WHEN THE PEOPLES IN THE REGION ALSO SEE THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE AND THAT THERE IS HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

ON THE SPECIFIC ISSUES THAT ARE BEING SPECULATED ABOUT ON GAZA'S TEMPORARY, IF YOU WILL, A TEMPORARY STATUS FOR GAZA, AGAIN, I HAVE NO COMMENT ON THAT OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT THE STATUS OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES IS OBVIOUSLY THE FOCAL POINT OF NEGOTIATIONS. AND THAT, AGAIN, THAT'S WHERE THE FOCAL POINT OF EFFORT SHOULD BE AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS SO WE CAN GET AWAY FROM THE VIOLENCE.

IN TERMS OF THE KURDS, WE HAVE AGAIN -- PROVIDE COMFORT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SECURITY ZONE IN THE NORTH WERE ALL MAJOR EFFORTS, AND ARE MAJOR EFFORTS TO HELP PROTECT THE KURDISH PEOPLE FROM REPRESSION, FROM SADDAM HUSSEIN AND HIS REGIME. AND WE THINK THAT THOSE EFFORTS HAVE MET WITH SUCCESS IN TERMS OF STAVING OFF WORST CASE SCENARIOS. AND DURING THIS WINTER, DESPITE DELIBERATE IRAQI EFFORTS TO SABOTAGE RELIEF EFFORTS, YOU KNOW, FOOD HAS BEEN GETTING IN AND RELIEF EFFORTS AND TRUCK CONVOYS HAVE BEEN GETTING IN TO THE KURDISH POPULATION IN NORTHERN IRAQ. AND THAT IS VERY IMPORTANT.

BUT CERTAINLY, ONE OF THE KEY OBJECTIVES WE'VE HAD IS TO ALLEVIATE THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE IN IRAQ FROM SADDAM HUSSEIN'S REPRESSION, BE THEY -- WHEREVER THEY ARE IN IRAQ, IN THE NORTH OR IN THE SOUTH -- AND THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE THROUGHOUT IRAQ.

MODERATOR: THIS MUST BE THE LAST QUESTION -- MAKE IT FAST, HAMDI.

Q HAMDI FOUAD, AL AHRAH NEWSPAPER. HAVE YOU BEEN INFORMED,

OFFICIALLY OR UNOFFICIALLY, THAT THE ISRAELI ARE REALLY READY TO WITHDRAW FROM GAZA, AND WOULD YOU WELCOME EGYPT FOR A UN PLAYING ROLE. WHILE YOU ARE NOT RESUMING THE DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO, ARE YOU RE-ASSESSING YOUR POSITION CONCERNING THE DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO?

MR. DJEREJIAN: AGAIN, ON GAZA, THE FOCAL POINT OF TALKS ON GAZA SHOULD BE AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. AND THE TALKS BETWEEN THE PARTIES, IN THIS CASE, OBVIOUSLY, THE TALKS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE JOINT PALESTINIAN- JORDANIAN DELEGATION -- THAT'S THE FOCAL POINT OF DISCUSSION ON GAZA, IN TERMS OF ITS FUTURE.

IN TERMS OF THE US-PLO DIALOGUE, OUR POSITION REMAINS CLEAR ON THAT. THE VERY REASONS FOR WHICH THAT DIALOGUE WAS BROKEN HAVE NOT BEEN SATISFIED BY THE PLO, AND UNTIL THE REQUIREMENTS THAT WERE SET DOWN ARE MET, THERE IS NO CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN NOW TO RESUME DIALOG WITH THE PLO.

MODERATOR: UNFORTUNATELY, WE HAVE JUST RUN OUT OF TIME, AND I'D LIKE TO THANK AMBASSADOR DJEREJIAN FOR SPENDING THIS TIME WITH US THIS MORNING. THANK YOU.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדח, סשדח, (רהמ)@, (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, (ר'אגת), (רם)@, (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
סמנכלמזח, רביב, מעת, הסברה, (דוצ)@

סססס

(2)

"Mack" McLarty, the White House chief of staff. In addition, he says, Mr. Gore is "just an excellent source of counsel in several different ways and areas."

Those areas aren't the ones that are emerging as the defining issues of the Clinton presidency — taxes, deficit reduction, health care — which remain the domain of Mr. Clinton himself and, in the case of health care, of Mrs. Clinton. Instead, they are second-tier issues, but ones over which Mr. Gore has been given an unusual degree of control for a vice president.

For example, White House officials say the vice president was personally responsible

for the approximately \$1 billion in new-technology initiatives included in President Clinton's economic-stimulus plan. The first draft of the stimulus package didn't contain any new investment in technology, but Mr. Gore prevailed over deficit hawks, such as Leon Panetta, budget director, and his deputy, Alice Rivlin.

Going through budget accounts line-by-line, the vice president argued that the money, which includes more research grants for university scientists and U.S. businesses and funds for energy-efficiency programs, would pay long-term dividends while giving Mr. Clinton's plan a futuristic spin.

At the same time, Mr. Gore argued to make sure his pet projects were funded. He added an extra \$111 million for developing a superfast computer network, a project he promoted for years in the Senate. And he insisted that the president's national service proposal, which would allow youths to work off college loans, include an environmental corps to perform such tasks as cleaning river banks, fixing urban parks and building nature trails.

Mr. Gore led the way in pressing for an energy tax to take the form of a levy on the heat-content of different forms of

energy. He pushed for such other proposals as raising grazing fees and phasing out low-cost sales of timber from federal lands, as well as for some smaller environment-related proposals.

Foreign-Policy Role

In foreign policy, the most striking indicator of Mr. Gore's importance is the role played by his top foreign-policy adviser, Leon Fuerth. Mr. Fuerth is a full member of the so-called Deputies Committee, the interagency group that manages major foreign-policy issues and crises, and he heads an interagency task force on sanctions on Serbia — a key element of the Clinton strategy for settling the bloody war in the former Yugoslavia. By contrast, former Vice President Dan Quayle had a separate national-security staff that was largely shut out of Bush administration decision-making.

Mr. Gore himself, Mr. McLarty says, was a potent voice lobbying for the airlift to Bosnia. "He felt that it was the right approach, that it would help de-logjam some of the blockades on the ground," the chief of staff says.

1041

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The vice president was also chosen to meet last weekend with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic. His task was a sensitive one: to tell the Muslim leader that, despite Mr. Clinton's tough campaign talk, the U.S. would not intervene militarily to rescue the Bosnians. The official explanation for the meeting was that Mr. Gore had a "pre-existing relationship" with the Bosnian leader. Privately, officials say, they wanted the meeting to receive less publicity than if Mr. Izetbegovic had met

with Mr. Clinton, in order to shield the president from any possible recriminations; at the same time, with Mr. Gore delivering the message, there was no question of its authority.

Mr. Gore attends the president's morning intelligence briefing as well as Mr. Clinton's meetings with foreign leaders. And he has made his own foreign-affairs priorities clear to the staff: technology, the environment and nonproliferation.

Different Perspective

Several factors have helped Mr. Gore carve out his niche in the administration. One is that he has the Washington-insider perspective that Mr. Clinton himself and several members of his team lack. In addition, the president has little interest in the details of environmental and technology policy, making it easy for him to code those areas to Mr. Gore. The vice president also has made an important ally in Mr. McLarty, going out of his way to help the former Arkansas business executive and his wife adjust to their move here.

Of course, there's also the highly visible social time spent with the Clintons themselves. The first couple dined at the Gores' Arlington, Va., home with Prince Charles last month; just last week, the Clintons and Gores took in the show at the Birchmere, a popular local folk-bluegrass club.

In White House meetings, Mr. Gore is

forceful in his arguments on "his" issues, but often will remain quiet during more general policy debates. And while his aides are pleased at White House efforts to portray him as an important force in administration councils, they don't want to be seen as too obviously touting his role; they, and Mr. Gore himself, are keenly aware that his status could swiftly plummet if Mr. Clinton views him as competing for attention.

Self-deprecation may be the best defense. Tuesday night, in a phone conversation broadcast on NBC-TV's "Late Night with David Letterman," the host asked Mr. Gore how he should be addressed. Said the vice president: "Your Adequacy" is OK."

—Carla Anne Robbins contributed to this article.

(3)

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2
2

ister's intense personal commitment to a treaty with Syria, the Americans feared he might be too delighted — and try to sidetrack the autonomy talks with the Palestinians.

If anything, however, Mr. Christopher ended up more frustrated with the Palestinians than Mr. Rabin was. In his meeting with Palestinian leaders he showed great impatience with their inability to make any decisions.

They only wanted to talk about the return of their brethren deported by Israel and stranded in a Lebanese no man's land. Israel had already gone far to meet those concerns. But they kept demanding concessions they knew Israel could not and would not give. Finally, Mr. Christopher offered a generous solution — including U.S. pledges to speed up the deportees' return, oppose future deportations and support various U.N. resolutions prized by the Palestinians — and told them to take it or leave it.

The immediate upshot of the Christopher Mideast tour was that the key

parties agreed to switch negotiating priorities. They are now readying the fast track for a Syrian-Israeli deal and have relegated the tedious but still critical talks on Palestinian autonomy to a slower lane.

Arabs and Israelis alike praised Mr. Christopher's first outing on terrain that has proved either a graveyard or a springboard for his recent predecessors. He gave away nothing to the Syrians, was tough with the Palestinians and prodded the Israelis. His only tactical mistake was a failure to pay enough attention to Shimon Peres, the Israeli Foreign Minister, whose power now rivals or exceeds Mr. Rabin's in the ruling Labor Party and whose ideas on regional issues like economic development and arms control deserve a better hearing.

Mr. Christopher has begun to reveal a wily negotiating and public relations style. Taking a page from Henry Kissinger's script on how to lower expectations, he started his Mideast trip saying that he was going out there only to listen. He brought home the possibility of much more. □

The gift of
gradualism
for Israel.

1/3

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
טופס מברק

לשכת - 1039
לשכת - 39

ד.ג.3

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 4 מרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: יהודי תימן

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WASHINGTON JEWISH WEEK (לארי קוהלר 25/2) המתארת את רשמי ביקור הכתב בתימן וחיפוש אחר היסטוריה יהודית בתימן. זוהי, כזכור, הכתבה השניה של לארי קוהלר בנושא.

תקשורת

1

26	שהח (2)	סטיח (1)	רהם (1)	מנכל (1)	מנכל (1)	מצפא (2)	רכיב (1)
25	מעת (1)	הסברה (2)	דעת (1)	מ/מרכז (1)	מסד (4)	רס (1)	
26	אמו (4)	אוסו (1)	סייבל (1)	דו-יח (1)			

יג.3

RECOLLECTIONS

Today's Yemen echoes with a Jewish past

Its dusty history mixes pride and persecution

by Larry Cohler

Senior Writer

Jamal Nu'man, the commercial attache at Yemen's embassy in Washington, was positively effusive when I applied for a visa to visit his country on behalf of the *Washington Jewish Week*.

"It's great you're going," he enthused. "Your writing can help encourage Jewish travel to Yemen because, you know, Yemen is a country with a lot of Jewish history. For many years, it was even ruled by Jews, and many Yemenis are aware of having a Jewish past in their own backgrounds."

In Sanaa, Yemeni officialdom acknowledged that past openly, and with a streak of pride — although this was often accompanied by a gloss over the numerous persecutions and oppressions Jews had suffered under Muslim rule in Yemeni history.

Professor Yusef Mohammed Abdullah, vice president of the government's General Organization of Antiquities, Manuscripts and Museums, spoke floridly about the Queen of Sheba's visit to

King Solomon and of Abi A Karib Asad, the most famous of Yemen's ancient kings, who converted to Judaism at the end of the 4th century A.D.

"We hypothesize that many of the people at the time followed the king into Judaism," he said. Though he hastened to add there was no proof that the population as a whole became Jewish, he asserted that Yemen's modern day Jews probably descended from those who did. "This means the Jewish community in Yemen is indigenous," he said proudly.

But on a rocky hillside in the southern town of Ta'iz, what is perhaps Yemen's most revered Jewish site has lately been paved over and turned into a schoolyard.

Under a corner of the lot, deep beneath the concrete, Shalom Shabazi, Yemen Jewry's towering spiritual leader, poet and kabbalist lies buried. Generally, Yemenite Jewry did not sanctify its personalities, following the rabbinic dictate. "The righteous need no monuments; their teachings are their memorial."

Shabazi was the only exception.

"We did all we could to get

them to preserve the site," lamented Hayim Tawil, president of the International Committee for the Rescue of Yemen Jewry, a U.S.-based group, "but we were unable to stop it."

The schoolyard, which was constructed in 1990, covered the old Jewish cemetery in

Jews once ruled Yemen

which Shabazi was buried. Previously, Yemeni Jews and even Muslims would make pilgrimages to the modest site where a small spring gurgling up from underground was thought to be invested with curative powers by Shabazi's presence. According to Abdullah, right up to the time of the spring's destruction, parents would bring sick children to wash them in it and change their clothes.

Toward the end, American Jews of Yemeni origin also came to the site with increas-

ing frequency, which may have played a role in its destruction. According to an unconfirmed account related to one Western diplomat in Sanaa, the tract was owned by a military officer who noted with concern the foreign attention it received. Apprehensive that this interest would lead to calls to expropriate the land for a national monument, he reportedly offered it to the neighboring girls school at a handsome price.

For all the lamenting of Shabazi's admirers over this loss, it is unlikely that Shabazi himself would have been much concerned. In his lifetime, which spanned the 17th century, Shabazi witnessed and memorialized in verse the mass exile of Yemen Jewry to Mauza in the remote Tihama region in 1679; the Orphans Edict, under which the children of Jews whose parents died were snatched away from their families and raised as Muslims; and the Latrine Edict, which designated Yemeni Jews as the cleaners of public sewers and latrines.

More than anyone else, he rendered in verse the cries and agonies of a wounded people and their burning

hope for salvation. Yet he always drew a sharp dichotomy between the spiritual and the physical, with the former centered most of all in Zion:

Deep in exile, my feet are sinking.

If only I were able, I would go up and become as one With the gates of Zion, the glorious ones ...

My heart is in Yemen, yet my soul took flight, Thirsting for the fair land like a hind.

In contrast to the grave of Shabazi, the Jewish sites of Aden, south Yemen's fabled port on the Arabian Sea, stand pretty much as they were in 1949 when the city served as the point of assembly for nearly all Yemen Jewry to be flown to Israel.

King Solomon Street still runs through the former Jewish quarter in the city's Tawahi section, as does Banin Street, named after one of the city's richest old Jewish merchant families. The Bani family house itself still stands there, poking prominently forward toward the road, thrust out in front of all the other houses on the street.

See YEMEN, page 25

who had also converted." They had
Sinha related. "Under the restrictive Japanese
allowing their
counterparts. AS one visited

YEMEN

From page 9

The city — with its fresh, salty breezes from the Arabian sea, its wide streets and parks, and ramshackle, vaguely Mediterranean style architecture — contrasts starkly with the stench, dust and narrow alleys of Sanaa. Controlled from 1839 to 1967 by the British, who made it into a cosmopolitan commercial and strategic port, the city nose-dived economically under the hardline Marxist government that ran it as the capital of South Yemen after independence.

But culturally, its well educated residents never ceased viewing themselves as more sophisticated and progressive than tribal North Yemen. Even today, with unification of the two Yemens bringing many more traditionalist Islamic influences from the north into the city, most women walk the streets without veils, and many of them work outside the home — a legacy of the former south's Marxist secularism.

Roaming Aden's streets, Semeh Kadi, of the Yemen

Jewish Federation, chortled with delight as he found his own childhood home. Kadi, head of the American-based group, recalled walking from Sanaa across the mountains all the way to Aden with his family in 1939, when he was eight, and living there for 10 months before proceeding to Palestine.

Searching out sights he had last seen as a child, the 70-year-old Kadi stopped at the former Bani home and recalled how poor women throughout the quarter would flock there on major Jewish holidays to receive a dress and a rupee each. Coming upon an attractive local cinema, he immediately identified it as the former Jewish school.

Local residents, by and large, greeted the enquiries of this former Jewish Adenite about Jewish haunts with smiles and, among the older ones, reminiscences about old Jewish neighbors. But then, a young man began haranguing them about talking to "Jews from Israel who were here to spy" and said he was going off to call the police.

We beat a hasty retreat. But before that happened, Ahmed

See YEMEN, page 26

3/3
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YEMEN

From page 25

Abu Bakr ben Yosef, a pleasant 60-ish man with a cane, related that there were two local residents still living in Aden who had been born and raised in the Jewish community. Both had converted to Islam long ago, he said.

Nargis Sinha, a half-Chinese, half Yemenite woman who had returned to Aden recently after some three decades in the United States, said one of those individuals had died just two weeks earlier.

"She was my neighbor," said Sinha with an indescribable accent — a product of her dual heritage, plus years spent in New Jersey and South Carolina. She had returned to manage the family enterprise, Aden's only Chinese restaurant.

"She married a Parsee man who had also converted," Sinha related. "They had a beautiful daughter whom I

grew up with."

The other person who grew up in the Jewish community was now elderly, ailing and reclusive; he was not interested in talking to anyone about his earlier background, Sinha said.

Like Aden, Sanaa also contains a virtually unchanged Jewish quarter now totally bereft of Jews. But the Magen David designs still framing the exteriors of some of the mud brick buildings of the Al-Gha quarter reveal its Jewish past even as its modern Muslim residents walk through the narrow warrens and alleys.

Begun in the late 17th century, Al-Gha was a site outside the old city to which Jews were consigned when the ruling imam allowed them to return to Sanaa after a one-year exile in Mauza. Before then, Jews had lived among their Muslim neighbors in the city proper.

Under the restrictive dispensation allowing their return, Jews were forbidden from building their new homes higher than those of nearby Muslims. This requirement led to an expanse of squat closed-in mud brick homes with few reaching higher than two sto-

ries. The interiors are marked by an ingenious drive to make the maximum use of limited space, with numerous cubby hole rooms tucked into corners, small portals half-way up the walls leading to other small rooms, and a virtual network of interconnected basements and tunnels.

According to Reynaud Allaile, a French researcher now living in the Jewish quarter, this arrangement allowed the women to visit each other's homes without taking to the streets. Allaile's landlord, a 90-year-old Yemeni, still recalls his old Jewish tenants with sentimental affection and even speaks some Hebrew from those days, the Frenchman related.

Today, in the shadows of narrow dirt alleys, the laughing, dark haired Muslim children at play are barely distinguishable from their Jewish counterparts. As one veiled young woman hurries home with groceries and sheets of hot Yemeni bread tucked under her arms, the area suddenly feels as Jewish as before. For a moment, one can easily imagine what it was like as Shabbat approached. ■

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תאריך: 4 מרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: המשך שיחות השלום

מצ"ב כתבת ה- FORWARD (לייוויד סברסקי 26/2) בנושא המשך שיחות השלום.
הכתבה מנתחת את ביקור מזכיר המדינה במזה"ת ואת הסיכוי להסכם שלום בין
ישראל וסוריה.
עוד בכתבה דברי שר החוץ, פרס בוזשינגטון כי השלום הינו חנושא היחיד על
פיו תשפט ממשלת העבודה.
למענת הכתב זמנו של רוה"מ רבין דוחק ועליו להציג תוצאות בנושא תהליך
השלום.

תקשורת

(27) עתה (2)	טפה (1)	רחם (1)	מנכל (1)	מסנכל (1)	מצפא (2)	רביכ (1)
הסברה (2)	הסברה (2)	סייבל (1)	מסנכל (1)	ר/מרכוז (1)	סמד (4)	דס (1)
אוס (1)	אוס (1)	סייבל (1)	מסנכל (1)			

Bizarre Bazaar

By DAVID TWERSKY

Secretary of State Christopher and his team went to the Middle East "in a listening mode." The Americans wanted to hear terms for the various schemes which have been percolating since we were all interrupted by the American election. Mr. Christopher may now recommend that President Clinton appoint a special envoy to carry messages back and forth between Jerusalem and Damascus. That's one way to interpret the statement by a senior administration official just prior to Mr. Christopher's departure last week that Washington would upgrade its role from "honest broker" to "full partner" in Mideast peace making efforts.

Mr. Christopher's trip should help set the stage for a resumption of peace talks in March or April. Prime Minister Rabin will come to Washington in March to meet with Mr. Clinton. Egypt's President Mubarak, and Syria's President Assad, also want to meet with the new American leader. The administration wants to restart the talks with a new urgency and momentum. Officials are aware that while Mr. Clinton has just begun his four year term, Mr. Rabin's government could unravel well before its four years expire. Foreign Minister Peres told the National Press Club this week that peace is the "single issue" on which the "Labor government will be judged." Arab governments are also threatened by the status quo — with Islamic fundamentalism gaining in Egypt — but they can wait longer than Mr. Rabin.

That explains why Mr. Clinton sent Mr. Christopher to the Mideast for his first official trip abroad. To clear the decks, Mr. Christopher had to get the deportees issue resolved, allowing Mr. Rabin to climb down from his decision to expel the terrorists, and the Palestinians from their decision to boycott talks until all the Hamas deportees are returned. He further demonstrated American resolve toward Israel by stating that no cuts in foreign aid were being considered this year; and for the Iraqi foe by reassuring the Arab, as well as Jewish, sides to the peace talks that changes in American policy toward Iraq depended on Saddam Hussein being removed from office.

Watching the Palestine Liberation Organization maneuver had its amusing aspects, especially when Yasser Arafat, in search of someone "bad" enough to neutralize his extremist Hamas and far-left critics, went to Baghdad to confer with an old ally, Mr. Hussein, who told him to

stick with the peace talks. Meantime, various Palestinian officials have floated "trade" proposals: to return to the talks if Faisal Hussein of Jerusalem is allowed to join the negotiating team; or if Israel agrees to refrain from further expulsions. The Americans told their Palestinian interlocutor, Hanan Ashrawi, to get her people back to the table. The Americans told the Israelis to make some concessions on the ground to ease the extremist pressure among Palestinian grass roots.

While Messrs. Rabin and Christopher were establishing their relations over the deportees, the Syrians quietly maneuvered to establish their own relationship with the Clinton administration. Wary after Mr. Clinton's anti-Syrian campaign

*Israel and Syria
are 'close to
a deal' says
one insider.*

rhetoric, Damascus is presenting itself as indispensable to progress toward peace, and helped prevent escalation of the initial Arab threats to boycott the talks until the deportees issue was resolved. Mr. Assad choked off the flow of Jews escaping Syria — with hardly a peep from the new administration — apparently convinced he would be paid again by Washington when he reopened the gates. He has also continued to build his offensive capabilities, including surface to surface missiles acquired from North Korea, and looked the other way when Hezbollah, the Shi'ite pro-Iranian group in Lebanon, resumed shelling Israeli and Israeli-allied positions in northern Israel and southern Lebanon.

Mr. Rabin chose to blame Iran for the Hezbollah attacks, preferring to wait for messages Mr. Christopher might bring him from Damascus. The Israelis have developed their own view of the Syrians; they believe Mr. Assad wants a peace agreement based on a total Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, although he may be prepared to initial a partial deal — an end of belligerency accord — in exchange for a partial withdrawal. The assessment here is that Damascus and Jerusalem are closer than ever to initialing a preliminary agreement, perhaps in the form of a joint declaration of principles.

"They're close to a deal," insists an analyst here close to the Christopher and Israeli teams. "The Syrians still want it to say 'full withdrawal' but a lot is in there already, including phases, withdrawal and peace."

At the Press Club, Mr. Peres said Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights "will be a result of ... the nature of peace and the parameters of security." In regard to the Palestinians, Mr. Peres said he saw a demilitarized West Bank and Gaza Strip connected economically to both Jordan and Israel and politically to Jordan. The foreign minister angered Jewish settlers in the administered territories when he said a political agreement did not depend on evacuating them, saying they could live under a limited Palestinian or confederated sovereignty. "There are not so many, and there is Arab life under Israeli sovereignty," he said. "There can be Jewish life under non-Jewish sovereignty."

Pulling all this off won't be easy. Once the parties return to the table — Mr. Hussein reportedly said this week that it wasn't "rational" to talk about abandoning the peace process — Israel will have to assess its security situation with Syria in light of new circumstances. When Israel began the process that led to Camp David and the withdrawal from Sinai, America was able to make side payments to Israel in the form of cash and a security package. Neither cash nor arms is likely to play a similar role this time. Even normal aid probably won't survive more than a year at present levels. And the imminent resumption of regional arms control talks means Israel's economic problems, territorial margins, and what one Israeli analyst calls its "posture of nuclear ambiguity" may be on the table at the same time.

For his part, Mr. Rabin keeps insisting he won't give up the Golan Heights unless he knows what kind of peace Syria is offering. Skeptics argue the change in Syria is "strategic," limited to its wish to reach an understanding with Washington. According to this view, the Syrian conception of peace is like the Soviet conception of detente during the early '70s — managed competition. That's why the talks will likely address how to "engineer" Israel's self defense capability as it pulls back. But for Mr. Rabin to market concessions to Syria, he needs to persuade dubious voters that a deal will change the region, not merely formalize the long and often interrupted cease-fire of the past 45 years.

FORWARD

26/2

אאאא, חוזם: 7948

אל: רהמש/250

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 144, תא: 040393, זח: 1339, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

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9,233388

9,753100

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שטור/מיד

261.04

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

דע: וושינגטון

מיאמי - בלטיאנסקי

מאת: עתונות/ניו-יורק

Eg. 3.

הנדון: מעבנו בתקשורת - סקירה תקופתית

1. הדו"ח סוקר התקופה מ - 26 פברואר ועד 4 מרץ 1993.

2. סדר יום מאוד לא שיגרתי העסיק את אמצעי התקשורת.

א. הסיפור המרכזי הראשון הוא הסיפור המקומי של העיר ניו-יורק שהדיו חובקים את כל היבשת ודווח בכל העולם: הפיצוץ הקטלני ב'מרכז העולמי המסחרי' ששיתק את תחתית העיר ניו-יורק ביום שישי שעבר וריכוז תשומת לב עצומה בהיקפה. לצערי, נאלצתי לעמול קשה בשני מישורים.

* סיוע בעיצה טובה כנציג מדינה ה"מבינה" בעניני טרור.

* הכחשה נמרצת של שמועות הקושרות אותנו -- ובעיקר את המוסד -- להליכי החקירה.

ב. הסיפור המרכזי השני הוא סיפור העיירה WACO בטקסס, שם התבצר מאז יום ראשון מנהיג כת מטורף שקטל בעזרת מאמיניו כמה סוכנים פדרלים שבאו לפרקו מנשק ולעצרו. אמריקה נשטפה בסיפור אימה של מנהיגים וכתות מיסטריות.

3. נושאי החוץ נדונו שוב בשולי העניין פרט להתרחשויות בבוסניה-הרצוגובינה הזוכים לכיסוי חריג בהיקפו כבר שבוע שני ברציפות.

נושאים נוספים: הפוליטיקה באיטליה, סומליה, מאבק הכוחות ברוסיה,

- הבאתו למנוחות של הפעוט בן השנתיים מליברפול, אנגליה.
4. בנושאי הפנים, פרט לשני הסיפורים המרכזיים, התקשורת המשיכה לעסוק בתוכנית הכלכלית של הנשיא, ולקראת הרפורמות במערכת הבריאות.
5. נושאינו, עניין קטן ביותר, ובשוליים:

הרצח בתל-אביב

רצח שני הישראלים בדרום תל-אביב דווח בקצרה באלקטרונית ברמה ארצית ומקומית ללא פרשנות מרחיבה פרט לרשת ABC שטענה כי בתגובה החליטה ישראל להעניש באופן קולקטיבי את כל תושבי עזה. התקשורת הכתובה עסקה בנושא גם ב - 2 - 1 - 3 במרץ, בהיקף מצומצם.

להלן קיום מרכזיים מהתקשורת:

- * פרק נוסף במעגל האלימות בין ישראלים ופלשתינים.
- * משמעות חריגה לרצח, כי התרחש בתל-אביב.
- * הסגר על עזה נתפס כצפוי, כאשר לרוב מובא ציטוט דה"מ שהסגר לא יוטל לזמן ארוך.
- * ציטוט נרחב לדברי דה"מ שלטות ארוך קיים רק פתרון מדיני/פוליטי.
- * הובאו דברי השרים רמון ורעזי שקראו לנסיגה חד צדדית מעזה.

ביקור מזכיר המדינה

סיום ביקורו של מזכיר המדינה באיזורינו היה דומה בדפוס הכיסוי התקשורתי שלו כמו בימי הביקור כולו. מעט מאוד כיסוי מהשטח ועוד פחות עניין בקרב העיתונאים כאן. רק העתון N.Y.T ורשת CNN השתדלו לדווח באופן יומיומי על מסעו. לבסוף, רוב הניתוחים עסקו יותר במזכיר המדינה וביצועיו במסעו הראשון לתו"ל מאשר ברצון להבין מה הושג מבחינה תכנית באיזורינו. אגב, הוא צריך להיות מאוד מרוצה מהתקשורת המאוד מפרגנת לה הוא זכה.

דמיאניוק/שביתת רעב

מספר התייחסויות בתקשורת הכתובה וב - CNN בנושא שביתת הרעב של דמיאניוק שהביאה למספר טלפונים של עיתונאים לשמוע מה באמת קורה בנושא מאשר לכתוב ולדווח בסוגיה.

עיתונות/ניו-יורק
יובל רותם
4 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, @רהמ), @שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעח, הסברה, @לעמ), מקצב2, @רוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @רם), @אמן), מצפא, @ראשהממשלה)

סססס

7671:חוזם,אאא

אל:רהמט/241

מ-:ניוירוק,גר:136,חא:040393,זח:1058,דח:ר,סג:בל,

בבב

9,233388

9,753100

BALMAS/RAGIL

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 4-MARCH-1993

TV COVERAGE

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CNN REPORTED ON THE REACTION AMONG (LOCAL) PALESTINIANS IN GAZA TO THE FATAL STABBING OF TWO ISRAELIS IN TEL AVIV (INTERVIEWED FAMILY MEMBERS OF THE ASSAILANT).

COLUMNS

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NYT(L.H.GELB-CABLED): 'ASSAD'S SURPRISE': WRITER CLAIMS THAT PRESIDENT ASSAD TOLD SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO DAMASCUS THAT HE 'WOULD NO LONGER INSIST ON INSTANT OR EVEN EARLY ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL' FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS; NOTES THAT BOTH SIDES STILL HAVE TO AGREE ON THE MEANINGS OF 'TOTAL WITHDRAWAL' AND 'TOTAL PEACE'; BELIEVES THAT JERUSALEM IS PREPARED FOR A 'NEAR-TOTAL PULLOUT' FROM THE GOLAN, NOT A TOTAL ONE; IMPLIES THAT PRESIDENT ASSAD MADE THIS 'CONCESSION' IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH A NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW CLINTON ADMINISTRATION; STATES THAT (DAMASCUS) 'KNOWS THAT THE ONLY WAY TO THE AMERICAN HEART IS THROUGH PEACE WITH ISRAEL'; NOTES THE 'DEAL' SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MADE WITH THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO JERUSALEM; ASSERTS THAT THE RECENT CHRISTOPHER TOUR OF THE MIDDLE EAST RESULTED IN A CHANGING OF THE NEGOTIATING PRIORITIES - A SHIFT FROM A FOCUS ON PALESTINIAN AUTONOMY TO AN ACCORD BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: BOSNIAN MUSLIMS FLEEING VILLAGES UNDER SHELLFIRE; AMA IS SOFTENING STAND ON CHANGES IN HEALTH SYSTEM; FLINTSTONES AND PROGRAMS LIKE IT ARE NOT EDUCATIONAL, FCC SAYS; TURNING THE DESKTOP PC INTO A TALK RADIO MEDIUM; JARUZELSKI IS NOW SORRY HE ORDERED MARTIAL

LAW; 3 POTENTIAL TENANTS RECONSIDERING MOVE TO THE WORLD TRADE CENTER. WSJ: 'STALLING OUT: AFTER YEARS OF GROWTH IN US CAR MARKET, JAPANESE SURGE IS OVER'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

IRAN/ARREST/DRUG ADDICTS: NYT(BRIEF): ACCORDING TO A DAILY NEWSPAPER IN TEHRAN, AN ESTIMATED 60 TONS OF ILLEGAL DRUGS HAVE BEEN CONFISCATED AND 47,000 ADDICTS ARRESTED IN IRAN SINCE LAST MARCH; UNOFFICIAL ACCOUNTS INDICATE THAT DRUG USE IS ON THE RISE IN IRAN, ESPECIALLY NEAR THE AFGHAN AND PAKISTANI BORDERS; IRANIAN DOCTORS ATTRIBUTE THE INCREASE TO WIDESPREAD POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

IRAQ/HEALTH CARE: WSJ(BRIEF): FOREIGNERS TREATED IN IRAQI HOSPITALS ARE NOW REQUIRED TO PAY THEIR BILLS IN HARD CURRENCY; ACCORDING TO IRAQI HEALTH OFFICIALS, 90 PERCENT OF HOSPITAL EQUIPMENT IN THE COUNTRY IS NOT OPERATING BECAUSE OF A LACK OF SPARE PARTS.

KUWAIT/OIL PRODUCTION: WSJ(BRIEF): ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL OIL PRODUCTION STATISTICS, OUTPUT IN KUWAIT IS RISING MUCH FASTER THAN GENERALLY ESTIMATED, AT A RATE OF TWO MILLION BARRELS A DAY; KUWAITI INFORMATION MINISTER SAUD NASSER AL-SABAH SAID ON WEDNESDAY THAT KUWAIT WOULD PUSH FOR A HIGHER PRODUCTION ALLOTMENT IN THE SUMMER.

CIS/DEFENSE INDUSTRIES: WSJ(BRIEF): ACCORDING TO A CIA REPORT, SOME EX-SOVIET REPUBLICS ARE SETTING UP THEIR OWN DEFENSE INDUSTRIES BY USING FORMER SOVIET FACILITIES THAT ARE ON THEIR TERRITORY; SAID REPORT NOTED THAT RUSSIA, UKRAINE, GEORGIA, UZBEKISTAN AND KAZAKHSTAN ARE PRODUCING MAJOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT.

GERMANY/NEO-NAZIS/CRACKDOWN: NYP(AP): GERMAN POLICE RAIDED MORE THAN 60 APARTMENTS (IN BONN) BELONGING TO SUSPECTED MEMBERS OF AN OUTLAWED NEO-NAZI GROUP AND ARRESTED SEVEN RIGHT-WING ACTIVISTS IN A MURDER INVESTIGATION.

LETTERS

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NYP: ONE LETTER WHICH CRITICIZES THE UN FOR FAILING TO NEGOTIATE THE RELEASE OF ISRAELI MIAS HELD IN LEBANON.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYP(M.WEISS-L.CELONA-L.STANDORA): '(WORLD TRADE CENTER) BOMBERS' INTERNATIONAL LINK ALMOST CERTAIN'.

WSJ(M.K.FRISBY-B.ROSEWICZ-CABLED): '(VP) GORE, ADDING EFFICIENCY STUDY TO HIS PORTFOLIO, HAS CARVED OUT A SIGNIFICANT ROLE FOR HIMSELF'.

MICHAEL STOLTZ
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהט), @ (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעח, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, פרנ, מזחיס, @ (מתאמשטחים), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 8194

אל: רהמש/263

מ-: בוסטון, נר: 25, תא: 040393, זח: 1349, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכב

שמור/מיד

Handwritten signature in red ink.

אל: ווש, מז'ת 2, מצפ'א

דע: סמנכ'ל שלום, ציר הסברה, ארב'ל

מאת: הקונכ'ל בוסטון

הנדון: סמינר על שתוף פעולה כלכלי בתקופת המעבר - פרוייקט לני האוזמן באוניברסיטת הרברד (בי'ס לממשל ע'ש קנדי).

1. האוזמן קיים ב-26/2-24 סמינר בן 17 שעות עבודה בנושא.

2. השתתפו ישראלים (3), ירדנים (4) ופלסטינים (3). מישראל: פרופ' חיים בן שחר, אהרון קליינמן, רות קלינוב. ירדנים: ג'וואל ענני (הוצג כחבר משלחת לשיחות), שני שרי עבודה לשעבר ואקדמאי. פלסטינים: מחמוד אל קאשה (עזה) מאהר אל-קור (הוצג כיועץ כלכלי לערפאת) ואורטני.

3. הסמינר הוגדר ע'י האוזמן כמצויין. התמקד על השלמת שלב המעבר. גובשו המלצות של הקבוצה בנושאים כשליטה פלסטינית על כלכלת השטחים, אינטגרציה כלכלית של ישראל במז'ת, סחר חופשי, ראורגניזציה במסוי ועוד.

4. דו"ח מלא בכחב על הכנס יפורסם סביב 1.5. הבטיח לנו עותק.

5. האוזמן גם דווח לי קצרות על בקורו בישראל ובאזור אותו הגדיר כמוצלח מאד.

6. תכניותיו בעתיד - תכנון פרוייקטים לטווח ארוך בשיתוף צוותים ישראלים-פלסטינים-ירדנים תוך התמקדות על הבריאות, מימון ומוסדות האוטונומיה.

7. על יעדי, מגמות ונטיות האוזמן ומסגרתו דווח לכם בעבר.

8. לידיעתכם.

יעקב לוי.

תפוצה: שזח, סשחח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, גנור, מזתים, ביון, רביב, הסברה, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 7851

אל: רחמש/246

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 187, תא: 040393, זח: 1248, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/מיד

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

ל.ג. 9

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת יומית 4.3.93

ארה"ב - סין

מפקידי ממשל אמריקניים וממסמכים רשמיים עולי כי סין ייצאה קרוב לשני מליון רובים לארה"ב בין השנים '91 - '89, כמו כן הקימה ורכשה סין חברות בארה"ב במטרה לרכוש טכנולוגיה צבאית אמריקאית. בכך, סין הפכה לספקית הזרה הגדולה ביותר של נק"ל לארה"ב. צבא סין הפך מצבא גרילה לצבא מצוייד היטב של 3 מליון איש ומעריכים כי במאה הבאה תהפוך סין למעצמה המובילה באסיה.

(גון פומפרט WP מהעמוד הראשון)

טרור

ב- WT קובץ מאמרים של בעלי טורים (קאל תומאס, מונה צ'ארן וארנולד בייצמן) בנושא הטרור בניו-יורק. האמריקאים מוטרדים מהגעת הטרור לארה"ב וחוששים מהתרחבות התופעה. ארנולד רייצמן סבור כי את הפעצה לא הניח אף אחד מהגורמים שלקחו אחריות לאחר הפיצוץ, אלא צוות מיומן של ממשל דיקטטורי.

בוסניה

כתבות רבות היום עוסקות בסיוע האווירי שמגישה ארה"ב לבוסניה ובתאור הנעשה בבוסניה. (הארי סאמרס WT, מאמר המערכת של ה-WT, גון לנקסטר ואן דבורי WP, ג'ין קירקפטריק BS ומרק מתיוס BS)

עירק

כתבתו של ביל גרין (WT מהעמוד הראשון) עוסקת בספקות לגבי מספר ההרוגים העירקיים במלחמת המפרץ. ההערכה האחרונה הינה נמוכה במיוחד ומדברת על כ- 1500 הרוגים.

סומליה

מאמר המערכת של ה-WP מדווח על המצב בסומליה עם חזרת שגרירה המיוחד של ארה"ב, רוברט אוקלי, מסומליה.

שונות

דובר מחלקת ההגנה לשעבר ועוזר המזכיר, פיט ויליאמס, נמצא במו"מ עם מספר רשתות לגבי אפשרות עבודתו ככתב באחת מהן. (אל קמן WP)

מרטין זיף (WT) מדווח על מועמדים חדשים לתפקידים במחלקת המדינה. ארבעה מתוך שישה מועמדים של מזכיר המדינה כריסטופר לתפקידים במחלקת המדינה הינם עובדי שרות החוץ לשעבר.

הערה: הכתבות יועברו אליכם בנפרד.

תקשורת

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 6782

אל: רהמש/202

מ-: המשרד, תא: 040393, חז: 1244, דת: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

530940

שמו/מיד

אל: וושינגטון - ק' לקונגרס

מאת: מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: סיוע לישראל (ולמצרים)

1. מעבירים בנפרד (בפקס) שני דפים מתוך פירסום של המשרד הקונגרסיונלי לתקציב (CB0) בשם 'הקטנת התקציב' (מפברואר ש.ז.). דפים אלה דנים על צמצום הסיוע וההצעות מתאפסות על ישראל ומצרים, כמוטבות הגדולות של הסיוע האמריקאי. בין היתר נטען כי הסיוע האזרחי נקבע ברמה המאפשרת לישראל להחזיר חובותיה לממארה'ב מידי שנה ומאחר והיום סיוע זה גבוה מהסכום השנתי הדרוש להחזר החוב ניתן לקצו ב-40 מיליון דולר החל משת"א 1994 ובמשך חמש השנים הבאות לחסוך ביליון דולר (מן הסתם, ע"י קיצוצים חולכים וגדלים). אם הסיוע למצרים יקוצץ במקביל, תחסוך ארה"ב 690 מיליון דולר נוספים במשך חמש השנים הבאות. יתר על כן, מועלים רעיונות, חמורים עוד יותר מבחינתנו, במגמה לקצץ בסיוע הצבאי (לדוגמא, להכריח את ישראל ומצרים לבטל התקשרויות שכבר קיימות).

2. נודה להתייחסותכם למסמך זה והערכתכם לגבי האימפקט שלו וקבילות הרעיונות המועלים בו.

מנהל מצפ"א

4 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלמזח, מצרים, ר/מרכז, ממז, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 8254

אל: רהמש/ 274

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 235, תא: 040393, זח: 1832, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/בהול לבוקר.

אל: ארופה 1, מצפ'א.

דע: ממנכ'ל, סמנכ'ל ארופה.

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

ד.ג.ר.

בלגיה - אש'פ

התקשר קרצר ממחמ'ד ומסר שהתכוונו להורות לשגרירותם בבריסל לפנות לבלגים בענין משרד אש'פ, אך הבלגים הקדימו אותם והעלאת דרג המשרד כבר ארעה. אמנם לא ניתן סטטוס דיפלומטי למשרד אך הנציגות תקרא מעתה משלחת פלסטינאית ולנציג תנתן הגנה דיפלומטית כי הוא מואמן כדיפלומט למאוריטניה. בהודעה הבלגית נאמר שזו הערכה אישית לערפאת על מתינותו...

שילה.

חפוצה: שדח, סשדח, @ (רהט), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
@ (ר'אגח), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא, סביר,
אירופה, מזתים, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

5/03/1993

10:36:02

בהול

אאא, חוזם: 8254

אל: בסחון/593

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 235, תא: 040393, חז: 1832, ב, 10: שם, בבב

אל: אגתל8/רמחתא'ס

אל: שר הבסחון

אל ראש הממשלה

שמור/בהול לבוקר.

אל: ארופה 1, מצפ'א.

דע: ממנכ'ל, סמנכ'ל ארופה.

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

בלגיה - אש'פ

התקשר קרצר ממהמ'ד ומסר שהתכוונו להורות לשגרירותם בבריסל לפנות לבלגין בענין משרד אש'פ, אך הבלגים הקדימו אותם והעלאת דרג המשרד כבר ארעה. אמנם לא ניתן סטטוס דיפלומטי למשרד אך הוציגות תקרא מעתה משלוח פלסטינאית ולנציג תנתן הגנה דיפלומטית כי הוא מואמן כדיפלומט למאוריטניה. בהודעה הבלגית נאמר שזו הערכה אישית לערפאת על מתינותו...

שילה.

2/13

0000

אאא, חוזם: 7640

אל: רהמ/ש/226

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 168, תא: 040393, זח: 1042, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

כבכ

שמור/בהול

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

מאת: הציר, ושינגטון.

הנדון: דג'רג'יאן - שמועה.

הודעת קול-ישראל מהבוקר, כאילו עומד דג'רג'יאן לשוב לאזור כדי לשכנע את
הפלשתינאים להשתתף בשיחות אינה, חוזר אינה נכונה.

שילה.

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגה), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
סייבל, משפט, רביב, הסברה, סמנכלמזח, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

דג'רג'יאן.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
סופס מברק

124

1030 - N'
29 - G₂

L. S.

בלמס/מייד
תאריך: 3 מרץ 1993
אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

חנדון: סקירת ידיעות

בהמשך למברקנו, נר 124 מצי"ב הכתובות.

תקשורת

(26) פתח	(2) ספה	(1) רחם	(1) מנכל	(1) מסוכל	(1) מצפא	(2) רביב
מסח	(1) המבר	(2) לעס				
אמן	(4) אום	(1) סיבל	(1) דוב-ים	(2) סרכז	(4) מסד	(1) דס

was one of the more than 200 vehicles that happened to be parked in the garage at the time of the explosion. That's where explosion

Jim Hoagland

Terrorism: 'Statements' in Blood ...

NEW YORK—The bomber who blasted the World Trade Center on Friday and the gunman who randomly murdered two motorists waiting to drive into CIA headquarters in Virginia in January have this in common: Exactly who got hurt did not matter to them.

These killers did not explain their bloody acts, which is an explanation of sorts. These assassins sought symbols, not specific revenge on individuals or changes in policy. The identity of those hurt are mere details for the terrorist who kills and maims in this anonymous fashion.

The World Trade Center bombing may yet turn out to be the work of a deranged individual with what the newspapers will call a "personal" grudge, or of a criminal gang. Nonetheless, this bombing was a calculated act of terrorism: a blow against the human spirit and a violation of the mind. It does not need a complicated political motive to wear this label.

The usually bustling twin towers of the World Trade Center stood silent and empty early this week, turned into powerful symbols of the terrorist's capacity to disorder society in the blink of an eye.

In the terrorist mind, that symbolism is probably more important than the actual damage, death and suffering that the bomb inflicted. Rage against the established order has been converted into recognition and reaction by hated authority. The chains of injury and insult—or perhaps only impotence and insignificance—have been momentarily broken.

In the terrorist mind there is no such thing as an innocent bystander. Small children or kindly grandmothers who wander into harm's way are all part of the hated context. They belong to the smoldering history that must be reversed at all costs.

The women and children who died in the My Lai massacre were strangers, as were the passengers aboard Pan Am 103 and the Port Authority workers at the trade center. In these circumstances, symbols are neither innocent nor guilty; they are available to make a menacing point and to offend the universe.

In cities plagued with car bombs—Beirut and Beirut, for example—terrorists establish their own perverse order. Checking into a hotel you insist on a room located away from the street—away, that is, from the site of the next, inevitable blast. You learn to walk warily, crossing streets or retracing your steps and making long detours to avoid walking past specific makes and models of cars favored by the bombers.

And if you are a journalist you find yourself sooner or later wittingly talking to people who order and carry out killings, torture or abduction in the name of their larger political or personal justice. In such encounters, the Palestinian assassin, the Jordanian intelligence officer or the Serbian war-

lord use words instead of bullets to attack the established frame of reference. The goal is the same. The terrorist asserts unique access to justice.

Abu Nidal, the Palestinian renegade who has indiscriminately murdered for profit and for personal revenge across the globe, once told me

"It is assumed that to understand the destructive act we must try to understand the grievances that lay behind it."

In Baghdad that he was sure Americans would gradually come to understand why he had no choice but to spill blood to make Arab leaders and the rest of the world pay attention to his revolutionary cause. His "statements" were really "statements," he said.

That is the trap for the media and the experts in dealing with terrorist acts on the run. There is a temptation to explain too much—to accept at least some of the terrorist's frame of reference and to pass it on as explanation. It is assumed that to understand the destructive act we must try to understand the grievances that lay behind it, however exaggerated they may seem to us, and give them weight.

But those explanations are abstractions, easily manipulated for ulterior purposes. Reality lies in the individual suffering and loss produced by their "statements" written in the blood of bystanders. That suffering cannot be explained away or excused by a litany of accumulated grievances.

Abu Nidal was wrong. The Middle East terrorists leaped in the intervening years that symbolic violence and disconnected retaliation for past wrongs turned Americans against their cause. George Habash and AMF Lynd, architects of the terrorist strategy of the early 1970s, said as much to me in interviews in recent years (Abu Lynd was himself assassinated two years ago by an Abu Nidal operative, who had the inevitable explanation of years of injustice ready).

At this writing, we do not know what "statements" the trade center bombing and the CIA shootings were intended to make. But we can be sure of this: There is no justification, or justice, in these crimes. For CIA and its allies revolutionary gains do not balance the scales when lives are destroyed. We should condemn these acts, not explain or understand them.

WP
3/3

1030 29
3/24

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

... And the Isolationist Trap

While federal agents search to see whether the finger that triggered the Manhattan bomb lies in Serbia or Iran, President Clinton's aides worry that one reaction will be an increase in public resistance to U.S. intervention in wars and squabbles around the globe.

The fall of the Soviet Union undermined already weak American voter support for foreign aid long before Friday's World Trade Center disaster. Clinton's repudiation of his hold campaign promises of military intervention in the Balkan civil war shows that he is quite aware of popular fears about the United States getting dragged into bloody messes abroad.

Thus, if the bomb is tied to foreign-based terror, the public response might not demand an eye for an eye. Instead, the impact on voters may propel Clinton toward post-Cold War isolationism in keeping with American tradition.

"That would be most unfortunate," we were told by a key administration official who is directly involved in trying to solve the New York mystery. It would both limit American global influence and make it look as though the world's only superpower could be scared off by terrorists.

The trail to a foreign terrorist source is not yet close to being uncovered, according to federal officials seeking to unravel it. But several incidents that are related to state terrorism and have occurred in the recent past are now under intense study within the national security bureaucracy.

One such incident was a flood of threats less than a year ago to blow up the U.S. embassy in Belgrade and to assassinate Ambassador Warren Zimmerman. Zimmerman, whose campaign against Serbia's ethnic cleansing of Bosnia and Croatia was vocal and high profile, was recalled from Belgrade last May as a strong signal of Washington's displeasure with Serbian conduct. The Bush administration was forced to send two special security aides to Belgrade to travel with the ambassador everywhere he went during his last months there. He has now been replaced.

Officials here do not waste time trying to figure out why Serbian fr-

antics would choose this moment to attack the World Trade Center, just as the Clinton administration has pulled back from the strongly anti-Serbian rhetoric the president used in his campaign. "That question is logical," one official told us, "but you must remember that logic doesn't move much in these things. For terrorists, nothing is too far-fetched."

Also being scrutinized are the disturbing similarities to last year's attack on the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires. In neither case did the perpetrators announce their intentions ahead of time or flash a warning; in neither was there a credible claim of taking credit for success.

The blowing up of the Israeli embassy has not been solved, but Bush administration officials are convinced it was connected to Iranian state terrorism. It showed the polished finesse of Islamic fundamentalist car bombers in the Lebanon-based Hezbollah movement, which has tight links to Iran.

Anti-interventionist voter reaction that may follow the Manhattan outrage could intensify if what is happening in the former Yugoslavia today is watched tomorrow in the former Soviet Union. Some Clinton aides fear there will be a burgeoning of the small wars now waged in the old union. They predict that Russia's new claim to the right of intervention will slide its former domain will heighten the state of world disorder—but not disorder that directly threatens the security of the United States.

That could mean trouble for Clinton. With the nation's attention fixed on the economy at home and the president's economic program, he may encounter new difficulties in fashioning an active foreign policy. Sen. Richard Lugar, a respected Republican voice on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told us that a "great number of Americans seem disinterested in what is happening abroad." Most politicians agree.

If the feds put the blame on foreign terrorists for the Manhattan bombing, the president may have to talk fast to prevent this lack of interest from hardening into isolationism.

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WP

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5/24

ADELMAN*From page 61*

That, in turn, is due to three factors: (1) the international terrorist network has dried up; (2) terrorism has proven politically unproductive; and (3) anti-terrorism technology and intelligence-gathering are improving fast.

For decades, an international terrorist network was said to be a figment of conservatives' conspiracy inclinations. By now it's been proven to have been real.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin released documents last May that prove how the Soviet Union did organize and underwrite the international terrorist network.

Yip Yeltsin aide Sergei Shakhrai told of "thousands" of documents showing that the KGB had armed terrorist groups in past decades, spending some \$20 million each year to help key terrorist groups. That's a hefty contribution to organizations that used mostly small arms and fairly primitive bombs.

Mr. Shakhrai released one document on how Soviet weapons were supplied, as the papers themselves put it, "to carry out operations

against American and Israeli personnel in third countries and to carry out acts of sabotage and terrorism."

One recipient of this allocation was the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Based in Syria, the group opposes Yasser Arafat as behaving too gingerly toward Israel and America. The U.S. government described the Front as "one of the most violent Palestinian terrorist groups."

Other documents reveal a communist "division of labor" to foster terrorism. The East Germans — having shown a proclivity for this type of work during Nazi times — specialized as spies.

Czechoslovakia furnished small arms and bombs used so effectively, while Bulgarian agents swung their deadly umbrellas to kill foes in Western Europe, and may have helped the 1981 assassination attempt on the pope. These and other Warsaw Pact states set up camps for Palestinian and other terrorists to hone their skills. Now all this has shut down.

As in other international activities, a worldwide network is critical to keep the activity going effectively. This Saddam Hussein learned when calling for anti-Western terrorism

before Desert Storm broke, and no one came.

Second, the political ineffectiveness of terrorism has become evident. Libya's Muammar Gadhafi, the Irish Republican Army, German and Italian gangs, Palestine Liberation Organization killers and other despicable types have learned that holding hostages and blowing up buses or buildings arouses, not sympathy and accommodation, but anger and resistance toward their political goals.

Fortunately, even terrorists have a modicum of rationality. Aside from the nihilist and anarchists in their midst, leaders do realize that killings get them nothing but castigation and repulsion.

Third, the technological and intelligence balance has tilted, from the terrorists to the law enforcers. Decades of European and Middle East terrorism has spurred better detection techniques, while the end of the Cold War has freed up agents to become human detectors.

So my argument goes. Let's hope that — whatever investigators uncover in the World Trade Center blast — these arguments prove true. And that this event remains, however sickening, an isolated one.

WT

3/3

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29

6/24

KEN ADELMAN

More terror in the wings?

Has big-time terrorism come to America... with Friday's big blast in the World Trade Center? Most people suspect so. But I suspect not.

"This is a new problem," New York Gov. Mario Cuomo said right afterward. Just what New York needs — a new problem, as if it can conceivably cope with its existing problems.

Yet, if confirmed as a bombing — which Mr. Cuomo assumed when quipping: "It looks like a bomb. It smells like a bomb. It probably is a bomb." — then this is a "new problem" for New York and for America.

Until now, we've been surprisingly spared from big-time terrorism. This is more than surprising, given how terrorism has struck devastatingly most everywhere else. Not just Lebanon and Israel, but Britain, France, Italy and Germany have endured anguishing terrorist assaults.

As Israel's main ally and the prime democratic and secular state, America could have expected more terrorist acts launched by Muslim groups than other countries. As among the world's most open societies, America would be easiest for any outside terrorist group to penetrate.

Finally, as a highly urban society, America can be easily crippled. New York City, after all, barely gets by under ideal conditions.

Being there last week reminded me how a small snowfall — like a partial subway strike, or one of a thousand other common disruptions to which modern cities are prone — practically immobilizes the place.

Hence the real fear that terrorism has now begun there. Sunday's New York Times editorial put the prospect starkly: "If confirmed as an international act of political violence, the Trade Center explosion would signify that America has lost its innocence as a place relatively immune to the kind of bombings and other terrorist acts now sadly routine elsewhere around the world."

The Times' editorial then deadpanned: "That's a genuinely alarming prospect, given the fragility of daily life in big American cities."

So why do I suspect no wave of terrorism here?

Primarily because I suspect fewer waves of terrorism anywhere.

see ADELMAN, page G-4

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

B. Sun

3/3

1030

29

7/24

The Bomb's Grim Lesson

By CARL T. ROWAN

It had to happen — this grotesque imposition of terrorism upon America.

Throughout the war against Iraq I expected something akin to last Friday's bombing of the World Trade Center in New York. But America was on guard during "Desert Storm," and any terrorist act at that time would immediately have been attributed to Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

But now this "world-class hit" on the Trade Center gives us gruesome evidence that America's skyscrapers, train stations, airports, water supplies and sports arenas are not immune to the political madness that have made killing fields of Beirut, Cairo, Frankfurt, London, Paris, and Bogota, Colombia.

More than 18 telephone calls have been made to New York police by individuals and groups claiming credit for the sophisticated blast at the Trade Center. That ought to be a sobering commentary on the numbers of groups and people who wish to destroy the United States.

First suspicions have been hurled at the Serbians, who may have been preparing for weeks to deliver a wicked dose of terrorism at the first moment of U.S. intervention in the civil war in the former Yugoslavia. Some think President Clinton's decision to airlift food and medicine to the desperate people of Bosnia gave the Serbs or Croats the "bombs away" signal.

But what if this huge wound to the heart and pride of America has nothing to do with Bosnia? Do we get inflamed over speculation that this act of terror is the delayed re-

venge of Saddam Hussein and Iraqis who know how many of their people were killed when the U.S. rained missiles and bombs on Baghdad?

Some note that the Hezbollah (Islamic Jihad) is to car bombs what the Swiss are to watch-making. It is possible that Hezbollah is wreaking revenge for Desert Storm, which they see as nothing more than a U.S. effort to tighten its grip on Middle East oil.

Speculation as to who ordered the Trade Center bombing runs from the Irish Republican Army to Puerto Rican nationalists (the FALN) to Colombian drug dealers, and many others. There are even whispers that a U.S. "ally" could have staged this bombing so as to intensify U.S. hatred of some of the groups mentioned above.

Terrorists spread distrust within the ranks of their foes. The Trade Center bombing offers us no lesson as to whom we should hate with greater passion. But it tells us plenty about the limitations of America's ability to pacify people in conflict and control events in every corner of the globe.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, most Americans have lived under a delusion that "we are the only real superpower left," thus only we can neutralize the warlords of Somalia, mute the tribal passions of Yugoslavia, impose a pax Americana in virtually any corner of the globe.

The terrorists are telling us that there are stark limitations on even America's use of military superiority, especially nuclear arsenals. The Iraqis know that they can never

challenge conventional U.S. forces. The Soviets decided that they could not now match a U.S. lurch into star wars technology. But terrorists from many weaker, troubled lands think that they can exact a horrendous price for any U.S. effort to control world events through military force.

The lesson now is that the U.S. must never abandon diplomacy until there is absolutely no hope beyond trying to invoke military power. Our armies, intelligence squads, police units are not big enough to protect all the U.S. targets of terrorists.

The macho line is to denounce terrorism and declare that we Americans are not frightened and can never be intimidated. That seems like great local politics, but it only dares those who are aggrieved to the point of near-insanity to see how many bombings it takes to intimidate us.

We must identify and give proper trials and punishment to bombers and other terrorists. At the same time, we must be sure that we do not wage war on the weak of the world while we tolerate the sins and outrages of countries we regard as racial brothers, or as privileged beyond the reach of U.S. military assault.

The United States needs a great corps of diplomats now more than it did in the most chilling days of the Cold War. We ought to use them in ways that get us away from any bomb-for-a-bomb scenario.

Carl Rowan is a syndicated columnist.

1030 29 8/24

KANSI CHRONOLOGY

- D**ates in the case of Mir Ahsan Kansi, charged with capital murder, first-degree murder and other offenses in the shooting deaths of two men and wounding of three others outside CIA headquarters.
- DEC. 4, 1990—Kansi is granted a United States visa in Karachi, Pakistan.
 - FEB. 27, 1991—Kansi enters the United States through John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York.
 - APRIL-MAY—Kansi works for Ace Movers in Arcola in Loudoun County and moves into a room above the business on Route 50.
 - JULY-AUGUST—He begins working for Budget Movers, also in Arcola.
 - FEB. 3, 1992—Kansi applies for asylum in the United States.
 - FEB. 12—The Immigration and Naturalization Service grants Kansi a one-year work permit.
 - MAY-JUNE—Kansi begins working for a gas station in Northern Virginia.
 - AUGUST-SEPTEMBER—He goes to work as a courier at Excel Courier Inc. in Herndon and moves into a Reston apartment with Zahed Ahmed Mir.
 - JAN. 10—Kansi buys a Colt AR-15 .223-caliber assault rifle and an East German Makarov 9mm semiautomatic pistol at David Condon Guns, in Chantilly.
 - JAN. 16—Kansi returns to the gun store to pick up the Makarov pistol. He also buys a Beretta .25-caliber semiautomatic pistol.
 - JAN. 18—Kansi goes to the gun store so that he can talk with a salesman about exchanging the Colt AR-15 for an AK-47-type assault rifle. Kansi orders a bulletproof vest from a company in North Carolina.
 - JAN. 22—Kansi, accompanied by Mir, buys a Chinese-made Norinco AK-47-type assault rifle and ammunition at the gun store, trading in the AR-15. He goes to AAA Guns in Fairfax City to buy five unloaded magazines for the assault rifle.
 - JAN. 25—Five people are shot, two fatally, outside CIA headquarters in Langley. Kansi buys a one-way ticket to Karachi.
 - JAN. 26—Kansi catches a flight from National Airport to Kennedy Airport, where he boards his connecting flight to Pakistan.
 - JAN. 28—Mir reports Kansi missing to Fairfax police and tells police that he last saw Kansi on the day of the shootings.
 - JAN. 29—Kansi arrives at his family's home in Quetta, Pakistan.
 - JAN. 30—Kansi calls Mir to say that he will not be returning to their Reston apartment and that someone will come for his belongings.
 - FEB. 7—Kansi leaves his family home in Quetta.
 - FEB. 8—Police search the Reston apartment. They find an AK-47-type rifle, which Mir had told them about, and several other weapons.
 - FEB. 9—Authorities announce that ballistics tests show Kansi's AK-47-type rifle is the weapon used in the shootings and that Kansi has been charged with capital murder.
 - FEB. 17—Two FBI agents leave for Pakistan to assist in the Pakistani search for Kansi. An international search continues.

Throughout his stay in the area, Kanai used several variations of his name, including "Mir Aimal Kana," "Mir Aimal" and "Mir Aimal Kana," according to INS officials and the owner of Budget movers.

Some of his acquaintances also called him "Khan," a common name intended to tease him about his family's roots in the Baluchistan province, which is considered an unsophisticated area by some Pakistanis.



MIR AIMAL KANAI

... may have been upset about Borealis

"The problem is understanding what's true about him. He is somewhat of a mystery."

— Robert F. Horan Jr.
Fairfax commonwealth's attorney

who did not live there. "We always called him 'Khan,'" said the owner of Budget. "He never liked that."

In August or September last year, Kanai was able to get a job as a courier at Excel Courier Inc. by showing his driver's license and proof of insurance, company officials said. Owner Christian Marchetti said Kanai worked long hours, earning as much as \$700 a week. "He was a very good worker and a very nice guy," Marchetti said. "He would bring muffins on a Monday, and when you would thank him, he would blush and turn away."

At some point last year, probably in the fall, Kanai moved into the one-bedroom Reston apartment of Zahed Ahmad Mir, who allowed him to sleep on the floor, sources said.

At least 15 days before the shootings, Kanai apparently began preparing for a violent act.

From Jan. 10 to Jan. 22, he visited David Condon Guns in Chantilly four times to choose and then buy ammunition, two handguns and a Colt AR-

15 assault rifle, which he exchanged for a AK-47-type assault rifle.

On Jan. 18, he apparently used Mir's credit card to order a bullet-proof vest by mail from a company in North Carolina. Also during this period, he visited second gun store, A&A Guns in Fairfax City, to buy additional ammunition magazines.

About this time, as Bill Clinton was about to be sworn in as president, Kanai told Mir that he wanted to "make a big statement" by shooting up the CIA, the White House or the Israeli Embassy, according to Horan.

Shortly before 8 a.m. on Jan. 25, as commuters were waiting in the left-turn lanes on Dolley Madison Boulevard (Route 123) leading into the CIA complex, a man jumped from a car, wielding an AK-47-type assault rifle.

In a matter of minutes as he walked between the cars, he put the rifle near the windows and pulled the trigger. Then he sped away.

Staff writers Patricia Davis and Bill Miller contributed to this report.

9/24

1030

29

Personality of Suspect In Shootings at CIA Is Hard to Pin Down

KANAI, From A1

among Northern Virginia's expatriate Pakistani community.

Investigators now have a possible motive for the rush-hour shootings: Kanai was unhappy about the treatment of Muslims in Bosnia and wanted to "make a big statement" by shooting up the CIA, the White House or the Israeli Embassy.

Interviews with investigators, co-workers and acquaintances in the Washington area reveal conflicting portraits of Kanai. Was he gentle and shy, as some acquaintances say, or bitter and angry? Was he lazy or a hard worker willing to put in long hours?

"The problem is understanding what's true about him," said Fairfax Commonwealth's Attorney Robert F. Horan Jr. "He is somewhat of a mystery."

Kanai is being sought in an international manhunt on charges including capital murder and first-degree murder in the Jan. 25 killings of two men and wounding of three others. All but one were CIA employees.

Few people apparently got to know Kanai well during his stay in the Washington area. A Muslim who regularly bought halal chicken and other specially prepared Muslim foods, his life was centered on the area's Pakistani community, which totals about 60,000 people. He spent much of his time in the Herndon-Reston area, which has a mosque, an Islamic center and several Pakistani-owned shops.

Kanai moved among the homes of acquaintances, living in at least four places in Loudoun and Fairfax counties, according to interviews. He often slept on apartment floors.

Officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service said Kanai probably entered the country on Feb. 27, 1991, at John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York using the name Mir Aimal Kanai.

Soon afterward, he turned to the Pakistani community for help. Saifraz Patal-Dia, who said he met Kanai through a mutual friend and is from Kanai's home town of Quetta, Pakistan, said he allowed him to sleep on the floor of his Reston apartment for about two months.

Patal-Dia said he knows little about the circumstances surrounding Kanai's arrival. Police are investigating the possibility that Kanai paid \$2,000 to \$5,000 for phony documents and other arrangements to help him get into the country. Horan said.

In the spring of 1991, Kanai worked briefly at Ace Movers, a company owned by another Pakistani immigrant and based at the time in the Loudoun County town of Arcoia, according to the owner. "He helped out three or four times at best," the owner said.

Well-groomed and speaking fairly good English, Kanai gave an impression of being educated, according to workers. But he also seemed unsure about what he wanted to do in the future, the owner of the company said.

Kanai was allowed to move into a room above the moving company for about \$150 a month rent. Soon, he began to seem different from the company's other workers, in part because he did not appear to need

money. While others worked long hours to pay bills or save money for relatives in Pakistan, he already had bought a Honda automobile for more than \$8,000 cash by the time he arrived at Ace, the owner said. During his stay, Kanai apparently owned three cars, including a Nissan and an Isuzu truck.

The money might have come from an inheritance. Members of Kanai's family in Pakistan have said in interviews that he was given about 2.5 million rupees (about \$100,000) when his father died four years ago.

Kanai also set himself apart by making it clear he did not like physical labor, which surprised the other workers because Kanai is part of the Pashtun tribe, which lives near the Afghanistan border.

"Most of the guys who live in that area are tough and hard," said the owner of Ace, who added that Kanai had indicated he wanted to study computer science or start a business. "He was a softie."

About July 1991, Kanai began working for Budget Movers, a fledgling moving company also based in Arcoia and owned by a man who sometimes worked for Ace. Kanai worked at Budget until about May 1992, the owner said.

Budget's owner said Kanai joined his company because he wanted to make an investment. In time, Kanai lent him several thousand dollars to buy a truck, he said.

Kanai sometimes irritated people during political discussions because he criticized Pakistan's government, the owner said. Kanai, who received a master's degree in English from Balochistan University, was once involved with a militant nationalist movement among Pashtuns. "He never liked Pakistan," the owner said. "People didn't like that."

The owners of both Budget and Ace moving companies talked about Kanai on the condition that they would not be identified. Both said they were worried that their reputations and businesses would be harmed by association with Kanai.

About September 1991, Kanai left Arcoia, and it is unclear where he moved. He listed his address as 409 Arkansas Ave. in Herndon, but residents said he never lived there.

Because business was unsteady, Kanai worked irregular hours for Budget. By about May 1992, he decided to get another job, the owner said.

Law enforcement authorities and one of Kanai's former bosses said Kanai began working at a Northern Virginia gas station and living in a room in the back. It is unclear where the station is located.

Kanai, who had a driver's license, used it to buy weapons from a gun store in Chantilly. In February 1992, a year after his arrival, he obtained a renewable one-year work permit after applying for asylum at an INS office in Arlington.

2/4

1030 11/24
29

WP

3/3

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1/4

Kansi's Shadowy Stay in U.S. Leaves a Hazy Portrait

By Robert O'Harrow Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

About 4 p.m., eight hours after the fatal shootings outside the CIA's Langley headquarters, Mir Aimal Kansi calmly walked into Crescent Groceries a few miles away in Herndon to buy a one-way ticket to Pakistan.

"He just walked in and he asked us, did we sell the tickets," said Mohammad Yousof, owner of the store where Kansi, the alleged gunman in the Fairfax County shootings, was a regular customer.

To arrange the ticket, Yousof, a Pakistani immigrant, called his Arlington store for Kansi,

who got on the phone to reserve a seat to Karachi. A worker in the Arlington store then called Super Travel, an Alexandria travel office also owned by a Pakistani immigrant. Kansi then paid \$740 in cash for the ticket, promising to return the following afternoon.

When Yousof gave Kansi the ticket about 1:30 p.m. the next day, "He said, 'Call me a cab,'" Yousof said. "I said, 'You are a regular customer. . . . If you want, I live in Alexandria. I can give you a ride.'"

Kansi got into Yousof's Caprice Classic for the ride to National Airport, wearing olive-colored slacks and only a sweater over his shirt. He was

carrying no luggage. "I ask him, 'You are going to Pakistan with no gifts or anything?'" Yousof said. "He said, 'No, I don't need anything.'"

About 5 p.m., as investigators were passing out thousands of sketches of a dark-haired killer described by witnesses, Kansi's TWA flight left for New York.

"He was quiet. Nothing special," Yousof said. "I did not have even the slightest notion of suspicion."

A month after Kansi, 28, fled the country on a Pakistan International Airlines jet, details are beginning to emerge about his unsettled life

See KANSI, A35, Col. 1

U.S. severs relations with contacts in Hamas

WT 3/3

1030
29

2/24

APRIL 1, 1993
JERUSALEM

The United States had maintained until recently "a variety of contacts" with the Muslim fundamentalist group Hamas, which the State Department is linking with terrorism in an upcoming report, a spokesman said yesterday.

The contacts by U.S. diplomats in the Middle East "go back some time," said Richard Boucher, the State Department spokesman. The contacts dealt with developments in the Islamic world.

Responding to reporters' questions, he said the U.S. Embassy in Jordan recently had been instructed

"not to continue those contacts," Mr. Boucher said he did not know why.

It was learned that U.S. diplomats in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv also had been in touch with Hamas, which claimed responsibility for fatal attacks on Israeli soldiers in the occupied territories late last year.

Israel responded to the violence in December by deporting to Lebanon 415 Palestinians suspected of links to Hamas. A few were repatriated after having been misidentified.

A total of 396 remain in tents in south Lebanon, their detention cited by Palestinian negotiators as reason for resuming U.S. efforts to reopen a Middle East peace conference in Washington in April.

ington in April.

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev announced last week in Geneva that invitations will be issued anyhow. The other participants in the negotiations are Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria.

In a report on terrorism due April 1, the State Department discusses a number of terrorist acts committed by Hamas in 1992, officials said.

"This group's violent activities increased dramatically during 1992, and the group used increasingly lethal tactics, such as roadside explosives and car bombs," the Office of Counterterrorism said.

Hamas was formed in 1988, and its activities did not warrant discussion until they increased dramatically in number and sophistication last year, the office said.

Mr. Boucher explained the contacts this way:

"In the past, given our interest in developments in the Islamic world, particularly developments in political Islam, our embassy in Amman has maintained a variety of contacts to discuss those kinds of issues.

"We don't have a political dialogue with Hamas, and given the current situation, we have instructed our embassy not to continue those contacts."

Mr. Boucher said the United

States did not maintain similar contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization at the same time.

The U.S. dialogue with Yasser Arafat's PLO was suspended in 1990 on allegations that a faction had attempted a terrorist attack on a Tel Aviv beach.

Asked when the talks with Hamas had begun, Mr. Boucher said he did not know. "We've always been interested in developments in the region, so I would expect they go back some time," he said.

He said the contacts were cut off "in the last week or so."

Last week, Mohammed Hazzel, a senior Hamas official, disclosed that he and Ibrahim Ghoshe, the group's

spokesman, had met twice earlier in the week in Amman with Eric Gaudin, the U.S. Embassy's political officer.

Mr. Hazzel and Mr. Ghoshe also met with the British, French, Italian and German ambassadors.

In Tunis, the PLO deplored the meetings. "It's shocking, it's astonishing," said Bassam Abu Sharif, an advisor to Mr. Arafat. "It shows that the American policy toward the Middle East peace process is totally illogical."

Hamas and the PLO are rivals for the allegiance of Palestinians who live in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

B. Sun

1030

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13/24

3/3

U.S. ends contact with Islamic group

From Wire Reports

WASHINGTON — The United States said yesterday that it had ended contacts between its diplomats in the Mideast and the militant Islamic fundamentalist group Hamas.

"In the past, given our interest in developments in the Islamic world and particularly in developments in political Islam, our embassy ... in

Amman made a variety of contacts with people to discuss those issues," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher told reporters.

"Given the current situation, we have instructed our embassies not to continue those contacts," he added.

Mr. Boucher was unable to give details on why the contacts were ended. But a U.S. official said it was because of "the violence and the efforts of Hamas to destroy the peace

process."

Masked Arab gunmen killed an Israeli in the occupied Gaza Strip yesterday, and an Israeli driver whose truck was stopped in Jerusalem shot an elderly Palestinian to death.

The violence came a day after a Palestinian from the Gaza Strip rampaged through a commercial district in Tel Aviv, fatally stabbing two Israelis and wounding nine.

Soldiers sealed off the coastal strip yesterday.

The name of the Israeli killed was not released. Army and Arab reports said he was slain after accidentally straying into the Rafah refugee camp. Palestinians from the camp stoned his car and it crashed, Arab reports said. Then two masked Palestinians drove up and opened fire at the Israeli, hitting him several times, they added.

Many Israelis Say Time Has

1030 29

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, March 2—First came the gruesome television report Sunday about a Palestinian killed for allegedly cooperating with Israeli authorities. After the announcer warned parents to avert the eyes of their children, the television showed the dead man and his wounds in a Gaza Strip morgue.

He and five others were slain by Palestinians over the weekend in Gaza as suspected "collaborators."

Then came Monday morning and a stabbing spree in an industrial section of Tel Aviv. An unemployed 19-year-old Palestinian carrying two knives suddenly attacked and killed two Israeli Jews, including a recent immigrant from the former Soviet Union, and injured eight others. The attacker, Ziyad Silma, was then beaten with iron bars by an angry crowd of Israelis before being taken away by police.

Today, as 30,000 Gaza workers were temporarily barred from going to their jobs in Israel, the violence flared again. An Israeli drove his car unaccompanied through the Rafah Palestinian refugee camp. He was hit with stones thrown by Palestinians and, after crashing into a wall, was shot in the head by masked assailants, Palestinians said. The army said the man had been warned not to drive through the area without an escort.

These recent events, all centering on the Gaza Strip, have reignited a long-running debate in Israel about whether the time has come to unilaterally abandon Gaza, a narrow slice of Mediterranean coastline that is home to more than 700,000 Palestinians, many of them impoverished and living in refugee camps.

It is not a new idea, but it has taken on a new intensity in recent months in the wake of attacks on Israelis by Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, which had its origins in Gaza. While Israeli Jews express deep reservations about returning the Golan Heights to Syria and ambivalence about self-rule for Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, a large and growing segment of the population is fed up with the seemingly endless problems stemming from Gaza, according to politicians, pollsters and other analysts.

Come to Cast Off Gaza

"What's happened in the past few months is a cumulative process, the development of an overwhelming majority in the country for not having to deal with the Gaza issue," said Naomi Chazan, a member of parliament from the leftist Meretz bloc. While she said she opposes any unilateral pullout, she added that public opinion is pointing toward "withdrawal, and potentially unilateral withdrawal, from Gaza. There is a growing sentiment, 'What do we need Gaza for?'"

"The sentiment becomes very strong after the events in the last week," she said.

Health Minister Chaim Ramon, the leading proponent of a pullout from Gaza, renewed his campaign today for Israel to quit the area it captured in the 1967 war. Israel cannot sustain the status quo in Gaza, he said, "not because there are once in a while some [people] coming to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and killing our citizens. But we cannot give any solution to the situation there."

Israel lacks the billions of dollars required to alleviate squalor and hopelessness in Gaza's shantytowns, with their chronic high unemployment and primitive facilities, he said.

After the Tel Aviv killings, Prime

Minister Yitzhak Rabin ordered the strip sealed off for a few days, but he cautioned that a long-term closure would only increase frustration. Zeev Schiff, the influential military correspondent for the daily newspaper Haaretz, wrote today that "the routine reaction of sealing off Gaza indicates not a small amount of helplessness. This reaction repeats itself, and hasn't helped even one bit to solve the problem of knife stabbings. In a few days the closure will be lifted and the story will repeat itself. The pressure cooker of Gaza will continue to boil."

Rabin has opposed a unilateral departure and said it must be linked to the West Bank as part of a negotiated settlement with the Palestinians.

"The notion of a unilateral withdrawal defies what lies behind a negotiated settlement," Chazan said. "What we want to do is regularize our relations [with the Palestinians], not run away from them."

She echoed concerns of others that a pullout would lead to a Beirut-style conflict among Palestinian factions. "We have a responsibility to ourselves, and to the Palestinians, that when we withdraw, we transfer power. We have to do it to a legitimate authority, and that can only be through a negotiated settlement."

Ramon acknowledged that a pullout could create instability in Gaza, but he said at least "this will not be under Israeli sovereignty. The alternative is a worse one: We will forever be with this problem."

14/24

WP

3/3

15/24

1030

29

Islamic Drug Abuse Court Comes Informally to Terms

COURTROOM, From A19

Mohammadi explained that since the trial had been delayed a couple of hours, Pahlavani's lawyer had had to 'save. So the judge read into the record a one-page letter from the lawyer appealing for clemency since the defendant was elderly. He argued that Pahlavani was not a dealer but had been an addict for 50 years.

Seated throughout the proceedings, the defendant kept looking at a visitor and shrugging as if to say "What can I do?" He gave conflicting answers to the judge's questions, and sometimes no answer at all. He found the drugs under the carpet in his home after a funeral for his brother, he said, and didn't know how they'd gotten there.

The prosecutor noted Pahlavani was a second offender, having been caught with opium eight years earlier.

The guilty verdict appeared inevitable, with the judge noting after the trial that "this defendant admitted to the charges."

Apparently still confused, Pahlavani asked: "Am I going to be released or executed?"

Under Iranian law, the most he could get was life imprisonment, but Mohammadi said after the proceedings that because of Pahlavani's age, he would give him 20 to 25 years. He might get out earlier through amnesties offered by Iran's spiritual leader on holidays, the judge said.

Court officials did not dispute Pahlavani when he said he had never conferred with his attorney. In a conversation after the trial, Mohammadi said that death sentences—liberally applied in drug-trafficking cases in Iran—are automatically sent to the supreme court for review and lawyers can appeal all sentences to that court.

Asked if he did not think the death penalty overly severe for nonviolent drug offenses, Mohammadi replied: "Are you saying that they are not against anybody? Do you have any idea how much heroin is needed to make a healthy person an addict? One quarter of a gram!"

"So one gram of heroin would make four persons an addict. And 30 grams, 120 persons. So you're dealing with the lives of 120 persons, all of whom have family, relatives, in society."

Islamic Drug Court Blends Sternness, Informality

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

TEHRAN—Mohammad Pahlavani waddled stiffly into Tehran's Revolutionary Narcotics Court. After 10 months in prison, his trial on charges of possessing 42 grams of heroin and nearly 60 grams of opium was to start.

Wearing a borrowed cardigan over his prison clothes and shoes too big for his feet, the short, stocky cigarette vendor said he was "68 or maybe 70" years old. He complained that "his legs and back hurt" and he was missing several teeth.

Court officials agreed to let a reporter sit in on Pahlavani's trial, which they selected, in an attempt to demonstrate that their clergy-run Revolutionary Courts, which hear cases in-

volving drugs, "political" offenses and "crimes against God," are not the peremptory forums charged by Western critics.

It was difficult to tell whether Pahlavani's trial, which resulted in a guilty verdict and a 25-year prison sentence, was typical. But it offered little to counter criticism that these courts give short shrift to Western standards of due process.

Tehran's narcotics courts are located in the affluent northern sector. Pahlavani's trial took place in a small office equipped with two desks side by side and several chairs lined along three walls. A large potted plant and pictures of Iran's past and current spiritual leaders, Ayatollahs Ruhollah Khomeini and Ali Khamenei, were the only decorations.

Judge Hossein Mohammadi, an engaging,

talkative man of about 40, sat at one desk, which held files, an empty teacup and a sugar bowl. A member of Iran's Shiite Muslim clergy who wore a black turban and open-necked shirt, he said he studied law at Tehran University.

Pahlavani's 20-minute trial was conducted in an informal manner: first a summary of the charges and the police investigation read by the seated prosecutor, then the judge's questioning of the defendant about why he used drugs, where he got the drugs found in his home, and how much he had paid for them.

No witnesses were called, the seized drugs were not displayed, and the defendant's court-appointed lawyer, whom the defendant said he had never met, was not present. Pahlavani was not shackled or handcuffed.

Re: COURTROOM, ARI, Col. 5

1030
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16/24

Afghanistan, Pakistan Cited as Opium Sources

IRAN, From A28

access along Iran's desolate, hilly 420-mile border with Afghanistan and Pakistan, the government built a 240-mile asphalt road. It placed watchtowers and sensors along the frontier, relocated some border villages that had been assisting traffickers, and erected concrete walls across border roads to block what sometimes are caravans of up to 40 heavily armed trucks loaded with morphine or opium and attempting to enter Iran, according to Zargar.

Iran's leaders also drew up tough legal punishments for trafficking that are administered by the Revolutionary Courts, whose proceedings have been denounced by Western and U.N. human rights monitors for their lack of Western-style due process and their swiftly applied death sentences. Of 884 executions reported in the local press in 1991, for example, 670 were for narcotics trafficking, according to a 1992 U.N. human rights report.

Zargar, a member of Iran's ruling Shia Muslim clergy, complained

that instead of giving Iran credit for its drug-fighting efforts, Western countries plagued by drug abuse criticize its human rights record.

"We have a complaint to these European countries," he said; "98 percent of our effort is to prevent trafficking to their countries" because the bulk of "Afghanistan's and Pakistan's drug production goes to Europe. But instead of their appreciation, they accuse us of eliminating human rights."

Some U.N. officials, and some diplomats in Tehran, agreed that Iran is making a credible attempt to stop trafficking through its territory. "I think they are doing a big effort," said Giorgio Giacomelli, the Vienna-based executive director of the U.N. International Drug Control Program. "I've been all along the border where they have built something like a Chinese Wall. They really mean business. ... I cannot but be impressed."

An Ankara-based Western official who monitors narcotics trafficking in the area cited lack of first-hand information, however, and said: "To be honest, we don't know a whole lot

about Iran. But he added that "there is still a flow of heroin and morphine base coming overland through Iran."

However, he said that these "ton quantities" of drugs passing through Iran are less than the "multi-ton quantities" flowing out of Afghanistan and Pakistan. He called the latter "an open tap of morphine."

"Whether [Iran's] enforcement has increased, I don't know. Maybe they are doing more," the official said. "If they are, nobody knows about it."

Interviews with staff and residents at Qarchak indicated that—as in the West—poverty, unemployment, family quarrels and just plain loneliness contribute to drug abuse here. Air-conditioning repairman Reza said he, like others, began smoking opium after having financial problems, "and my family didn't pay any attention to me. So I began to feel lonely and to use drugs."

"Emotional problems or feeling loneliness in society are the biggest reasons" for using drugs, said social worker Zahra Mahloji, one of two women on Qarchak's staff who try to mend frayed ties between residents and their families.

"But emotional problems cannot be the only reasons because we have people with emotional problems who are not addicts," Mahloji added. "We have a saying in Persian: 'Every nut is round, but not everything round is a nut.'"

Apparently still
confused, Mo-
hammad Pahlavezi
asked: "Am I going
to be released or
executed?"



18/24

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rope, according to Western narcotics officials.

This makes illegal drugs relatively cheap in Iran, selling in its eastern provinces of Khorasan and Baluchistan-Sistan at about "the price of sugar," a Western traveler to those areas said.

Iranian officials said they are trying hard to keep their country out

of the smuggling business. Poppy cultivation was banned shortly after the 1979 revolution, which called drug use "a souvenir of imperialism." In the late 1980s, interdiction at the border was stepped up, and Iran now spends about \$10 million annually on this effort, Zargar said.

To give security forces better

See IRAN, A23, Col. 1

Islamic Iran Wages War on Domestic Drug Abuse

IRAN, From A19

observer said, "because it affects the image of a happy theocracy they like to have."

Meanwhile, accounts by Iranians are conflicting. Some say drug abuse shot up dramatically in the early years after the 1979 Islamic revolution, but tapered off in the mid-1980s. Others say it is rampant and growing, particularly among the young.

The first stop for new residents at Qarchak, built eight years ago in a former factory 10 miles south of Tehran, is "detox"—a small, dark, smoky room bare of furniture except for a wall-mounted television. Newcomers spend 10 days here coping with withdrawal, although many have already passed their worst days in jail, where they were initially held after arrest.

About 100 men of various ages sat, crowded together, on blankets on the floor, with their possessions in bags next to them. Some had shaved heads and some sat in a stupor with the haunted, withered look of a long-time addict. Doctors see them daily, camp director Mohammad Shams Mohammadi said.

"Addiction was not a crime in the shah's time," Mohammadi said, and

"the treatment of addicts was based on methadone. But after some time, addicts get addicted to methadone itself and so it doesn't help. It was done in hospital."

With methadone rejected as treatment after the revolution, "there is no role for the hospital, because [drug use] is a crime," he said. "There is no need for methadone. Our experience is good."

A recent tour of Qarchak arranged by the authorities was thorough and open, but obviously had been well prepared. All the Persian-language signs had hand-printed English translations attached, and the residents, apparently under instructions, were sitting on their beds, at work, or using recreational facilities. Conversations with them were not restricted, but were done through a government interpreter. Although no tension was noticeable, most residents did not look very happy.

"The food is good, you can take a bath anytime you want, and the library is open anytime," said an unsmiling Ahmad Hahvati, 38, a truck driver who was in the library reading a history of Iran's Kermanshah province. He was arrested after police found opium in his truck and

determined through a blood test that he had been using the drug.

Repeat offenders are sent to prisons, where sentences depend on the court. At Qarchak, the usual stay for opium users is two months. It can accommodate 2,500 male residents, but on a recent day there were only 900—the youngest 18, the oldest 60. Reflecting national trends, 65 percent had been smoking opium and the rest using heroin or hashish, Mohammadi said.

Some had been found under the influence of drugs in public, and some said they had turned themselves in because they wanted to get off drugs. But according to Mohammadi, "most of them are informed on to the police by family and neighbors," sometimes through a telephone hotline set up for the public to report drug activity.

Ali Reza, 30, an air-conditioning repairman and daily opium-smoker for eight years, said he turned himself in 20 days ago. "I knew I must remove my addiction and that if I did not, I would die," said Reza, who sat expressionless on an upper bunk in a spartan dormitory.

The main hangar-like building of the camp, the biggest of 13 such centers run by Iran's Social Welfare Department, also includes a sports

room, vehicle repair shop, bakery, clinic, sewing room for tailors, and mosque. Residents with a trade spend their days in the workshops, and the others perform services for the camp. Inmates can watch television, read newspapers, and receive visitors on Fridays.

Sitting in the handicrafts room with a photograph of the Mona Lisa pinned to his camel, Gholam Chirah, 34, was painstakingly reproducing the famous portrait with his own paintbrush. He said he had been smoking opium "because of emotional problems," and "the police arrested me in the street because of my physical situation."

Mohammadi's 70-member staff runs the camp without guards or guns. "This place is not a prison. We don't treat [residents] as prisoners, but of course, being away from their family is a hardship," he said. "Those who come here, it's the first time they are arrested. We treat them as patients. We try to find the reasons for their addiction."

One big reason for drug abuse in Iran is its proximity to Afghanistan and Pakistan. Massive quantities of opium and morphine base, from which heroin is made, stream from those countries into Turkey and Eu-

Islamic Iran Wages War on Drug Abuse

Rehabilitation Centers, Prisons Have Equal Roles

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

TEHRAN

Farshad Moghaddam had already lost his job selling insurance and had been on heroin a year when he got high one day and went for a walk in Tehran's central square.

In a country where drug users—casual or habitual—are regarded as criminals, Moghaddam was quickly arrested. As a first-time offender, the court ordered him to Qarchak Rehabilitation Center, rather than prison, to kick his habit.

At Qarchak, where a sign reminds, "Saving an addict is not only saving an individual—it's saving Islam," the cure is cold turkey. "For the first few days I was very upset. I was sick. I was thinking only about drugs," said Moghaddam, 44. "But after five days, it was okay. I think it's the best way here."

With Iran sitting astride one of the main routes of heroin and opium trafficking from East to West, the Islamic revolutionary government is battling the problem of drug addiction

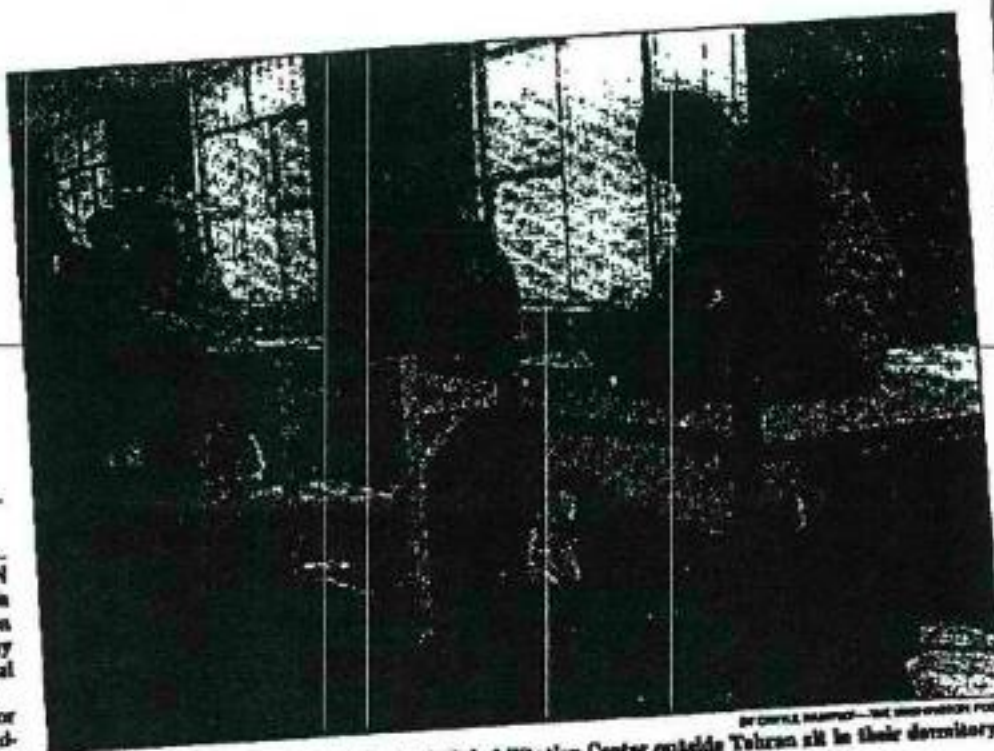
among its own people. There are no reliable figures of drug abusers here, but officials claim it is a problem they are bringing under control through a mixed program of border interdiction, tough criminal sentences for smugglers and repeat drug abusers, and programs like Qarchak.

Ahmad Zargar, executive director of Iran's Anti-Narcotics Headquarters, estimated that this country of nearly 60 million people has at most a half-million addicts—a term used here

for any users—with decreasing numbers of youthful drug abusers. According to the government, 60,996 addicts were arrested between March 1991 and March 1992, but only 35,699 in the 11 months prior to February 1993.

Some Western observers, skeptical that drug abuse is on the decline, estimate there may be 2 million addicts in Iran. Iranian officials may play down the problem, a Western

See IRAN, A22, Col. 1



Some of the 800 residents of the Qarchak Rehabilitation Center outside Tehran sit in their dormitory.

By Caryle Murphy—The Washington Post

20/24

20

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3/3

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Nonproliferation test shapes up in North Korea

WT 3/3

1030 2/24
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3. Michael Breen
WASHINGTON TIMES

SEOUL — The standoff between North Korea and international nuclear inspectors is leading some analysts to question whether anything can be done to stop Pyongyang from manufacturing nuclear weapons.

"This is terra incognita for us," said Leonard Spector, a nuclear non-proliferation specialist at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The issue, he said, is a "prolonged setting process for the future of non-proliferation. It's really important."

Most North Korea-watchers say it is unlikely that the North could be pressured to drop the program with

out a fundamental change in its stated goal of communizing the entire Korean peninsula.

Such a change is unlikely as long as a 41-year-old leader Kim Il-sung is alive.

Defense scholar Lee Ki-tak at Seoul's Yonsei University suggested that Mr. Kim, even if he wanted to, may not be as free to abandon the project as is generally thought.

"Some civilians in the North talk about conceding to international pressure, but the military resists it very strongly. This may be a dilemma for Kim Il-sung," he said.

The prospect of the country's communist leaders, Kim Il-sung and his son Kim Jong-il, with their fingers on the button, is sending shivers down the spine of the global community.

If Pyongyang is successful in developing a nuclear weapons program, neighbors South Korea and Japan almost certainly would react by pursuing their own programs, analysts say.

Fearful of such a balance of terror in Northeast Asia, U.S. military planners devised some worst-case-scenario options, including a commando strike on North Korea's nuclear facilities.

But South Korea has vetoed the use of force against its belligerent and unpredictable neighbor.

CIA Director James Woolsey said in Senate testimony last week that North Korea may have enough plutonium for at least one atomic bomb and that it has developed a missile with a range of about 600 miles.

With its eagerness to earn foreign

currency and willingness to sell to any buyer, North Korea is "almost in a class by itself in the proliferation world," he said.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has made several inspection trips to Yongbyon, the North Korean nuclear site, but has demanded permission to check two facilities that it believes are used for storing dangerous nuclear waste.

The IAEA's director-general, Hans Blix, is reportedly pushing the inspection in an effort to restore the credibility of the nuclear watchdog after it missed vital elements of Iraq's program.

North Korea has angrily refused. It says the facilities are for non-nuclear military use.

Experts in Seoul see a familiar pattern in the North Korean refusal

and expect that, after propaganda use has been made of its stand against the "United States and its puppets," Pyongyang will let the inspectors in.

"I expect they'll accept the special inspections by the end of April, when Team Spirit is over," said nuclear analyst Kim Tae-woo. North Korea claims that Team Spirit — the annual U.S.-South Korean war games, which start this month — is a rehearsal for a nuclear attack.

The question is whether the IAEA, even with the help of U.S. spy satellites, will be able to identify all the facilities.

North Korea is believed to be riddled with tunnels, a protection against spy satellites and U.S. bombers, which flattened much of the country during the Korean War.

PAUL GREENBERG

Taking a first step into the big muddy

This is how it begins — with a symbolic gesture, an air drop. No danger at all. Americans are assured. The country has the word of Bill Clinton on it. There are "no combat implications whatsoever," the commander-in-chief purred after meeting with the United Nations' Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Their combined assurances are enough to give anybody the willies.

If that's not enough to make you nervous, note our other Clausewitzes speaking of "acceptable" risk and telling the rest of us not to worry: Delaware's Joe Biden is all for the air drops. So is Les Aspin, the new, green defense secretary. Also George Stephanopoulos, spin Ph.D. He says the operation can be undertaken without exceptional risk. Why is it that all these assurances fill some of us with trepidation? Could it be that they're not coming from anybody in uniform?

The C-130 air transports are expected to drop supplies to isolated pockets of Bosnia's Muslims, who have been cut off by the Serbs, and maybe to the Serbs, too. The beneficiaries are not entirely clear — like so much else about this operation. For example, the transports will be operating above 10,000 feet, supposedly beyond the range of Serbian anti-aircraft, but maybe not. In any case, high enough so that the air drops need not be overly accurate.

The Serbs are said to have surface-to-air missiles that can hit slow-flying transports at any height. Suppose they do. Will jet fighters then be dispatched to attack the missile bases? Or a few thousand troops to join the international peace-keeping effort?

It's been said 50,000 troops will be needed to enforce any agreement among Bosnians, Croats and Serbs. The next estimate, if Vietnam is any guide, will be 100,000. Americans have been up this road before. Gen. William Westmoreland was always asking for another 100,000 to wind up Vietnam. Even the first step, the first joint in this familiar, racheting up process, should set off alarm bells in Americans' memory.

This decision should have been expected. It's a perfect example of the Clintonesque — it comes shrouded in assurances. It amounts only to a gesture, it is full of danger, and it isn't very clear. Much like calling a Social Security tax a spending cut — lifting the ban on homosexuals in the military but not lifting the funding not to tax the middle class — preparatory to taxing it. Please remember that this military air drop is not — repeat, not — a military operation.

Once again Bill Clinton is taking an action calculated to please all —

...while but one that may complicate matters for a long, long time.

What we have here is the reverse of the successful strategy used against Saddam Hussein in Kuwait:

Instead of a long period devoted to organizing a united, international effort, the West commits troops piecemeal. Surely no one thinks the United Nations' peace-keeping force of some 4,000 troops is sufficient to keep the peace.

Instead of gathering a massive, overwhelming force sufficient to root the aggressor, there is talk of only 10,000 American troops — and an initial commitment of only transport planes. It looks like the old, incremental approach à la Indochina. Will we never learn?

And finally, instead of taking a clear moral stand and demanding that aggression be punished, one of the chief suspects in this wave of

What we have here is the reverse of the successful strategy used against Saddam Hussein in Kuwait.

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Jerusalem Democrat Gazette in Latet, back and a nationally syndicated columnist.

WT 22/24
1030 3/3
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terror — Radovan Karadzic, leader of Bosnia's rampaging Serbs — is invited to New York for peace talks. Talk about mixed messages: The United Nations establishes the first war crimes tribunal since the end of the Second World War, then invites the chief architect of Ethnic Cleansing to parley. It's not unlike opening negotiations with the accused at Nuremberg.

The same State Department that put Radovan Karadzic on its list of suspected war criminals — along with various other military chiefs, tains and prison camp commandants — sees no problem with Dr. Karadzic's coming to New York. Our distinguished visitor could be met on the tarmac by one official with official greetings and another with a warrant for his arrest. Dr. Karadzic could conduct negotiations from his cell and, if found guilty, at the end of a rope. Not very likely. Such a response to evil would be entirely too clear-cut for the ambiguous Age of Clinton, which is more New Covenant than Lonesome Dove.

What's needed is the kind of united front that only a couple of years ago upset the calculations of another aspiring Hitler — Iraq's Saddam Hussein. But who now has the vision to unite the world in such a common effort? Who has the contacts and the experience?

I guess it would be unspeakably statesmanlike, and intolerably bipartisan, for Bill Clinton to create a new, combined military and diplomatic mission to handle this growing crisis — and ask George Bush to head it.

But—in terms of ambitions and needs—she is quite worthy of the comparison. Given Mrs. Clinton's dedication, the long hours of grueling meetings and strategy planning for a health care reform plan, the conferences and round tables, the memos and phone calls to the Hill, the nonstop resourcing of "experts" nationwide—around the West Wing, she is makeup-less and all business. They say—she is a perfect ER off-prime.

In humor and levity though, inspiring images and stirring words, she's quite right. She isn't up to Rooseveltian standards of grace and ease. Maybe she's going to be throwing out the ball at the Cubs game next month, but so far, The Public Hillary—caught on C-SPAN and observed by reporters behind the velvet ropes—has seemed tight-lipped, sharp-focused, guarded. It's as though she is constantly worried that somebody, somewhere, might be making a Chelsea joke.

Yesterday, she seemed just slightly more relaxed, more at ease—her shoulders seemed bouncy, without the last four week's yuppie-in-the-yoke strain—gassing to the caucuses or caucuses or whatever, about health care reform. She wore a red suit and a comfy smile. Her hands were clasped tightly, and hanging down. The U-shaped conference tables were full of members who seemed thrilled to see her, thrilled she cared to come and talk, energetically take notes while they each spoke.

"I find with the Clinton administration," said Rep. Charlie Rangel after his meeting with her, "they are very pleasant about listening, but they don't ever seem to give up anything."

Arriving at one grim place after another—hospitals and community colleges that all remotely resemble that dreary '60s modern box where she went to high school in Park Ridge, Ill.—in her Technicolor suits and wireless microphones, The Public Hillary has conversations with average American citizens, one by one. Often, they have been waiting in place for hours. She is patient too, and looks intently in their faces while they speak. Even while a score of TV cameras are pointed at her, just a few feet away, she is patient and focused, remarkably locked in unremarkable conversation that has utterly mesmerized her audience.

"And what kind of health care plan do you have?"

"And how much do you pay month?"

Over the past weeks, she has made a grand trudge around the Eastern Seaboard—New York, Philadelphia, New York, Boston—spreading gloom and concern about our wretched health care system, an earnest missionary in high-necked suits, seeming at times like the Salvation Army sister in "Guys and Dolls." Over and over and over.

"At what point do we stop covering these?" one reporter asked yesterday.

Within a month of becoming First Lady, Betty Ford—who visited the White House yesterday, to talk to Mrs. Clinton about substance-abuse programs as a part of health care reform—was able to speak confidently about her views on draft dodgers, the equal rights amendment, her relationship with her husband, her former psychiatrist, her previous seven-year marriage to a man named William Warren, tranquilizers, her kids smoking dope, couples living together instead of marrying. "I hope never to evade questions," Ford said.

Perhaps, to feel truly comfortable with the role of First Lady, you have to leave the limelight. As a girl and

young woman, Mrs. Ford had studied under Martha Graham, had wanted to be a dancer. Nancy Reagan and Pat Nixon were both actresses—one professional, one amateur. (The Nixons, in fact, met at the Whittier Theater—both auditioning for the same play.)

In public demeanor, Mrs. Clinton far more resembles Rosalynn Carter, who was scintillating and shy as a child, and the valedictorian of her high school class. Mrs. Clinton, who has not held elected office since college, is not shy but has always been reticent to talk openly about herself, her private life. She has so far been as reluctant as Barbara Bush to candidly discuss her views, which may

1030 29
23/24
ven vary from her husband's, for all anyone knows. Perhaps it's the lawning of a post-confessional age, and Hillary Clinton will fit right in.

On Capitol Hill, where no one conceals anything, she certainly does.

"We haven't designed it yet," she said yesterday of the health care reform package, expected to be a modified version of a modified version of managed competition, after dodging the two inquiries into tax hikes.

"We are looking at all the options," she said.

"We are trying to look at every single issue and then make decisions about what is the best American response to design a system that will

take care of those issues. Health care to be available to all Americans has to understand the kind of problems every American faces."

And: "I'll have to postpone answering questions like that until the president is ready to announce the plan."

Hillary Clinton, Buckling Down

This Is One First Lady
Who Clearly Means Business

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

The burden seems a little heavy on her in recent public appearances. Usually presidents are the ones who start to wear the office on their faces. Nixon's jowls began hitting his shoulders. Carter couldn't stop that twitchy smile. Bush looked shell-shocked. In the case of the Clintons, it's Hillary who has looked more sober, more serious and seriously burdened as her deadline for a health care reform package approaches.

"I told her that 100 days does not mean Saturdays and Sundays and holidays," said Rep. Kweisi Mfume (D-Md.), after her meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus yesterday.

And what did she say?

"Tell my husband."

A few weeks ago, it seemed weird and groundbreaking and extremely important to see Hillary Rodham Clinton power-walking down the corridors of the Capitol, ambling for television cameras with the likes of senators. Now . . . it's becoming routine. She comes. She ambles. Along the walls, people still fall over themselves with enthusiasm and curiosity—gawking as though she were Robert Redford or Cher. But as the novelty of the style wears off, the reality of the substance becomes apparent: The Public Hillary's a hard pol to warm up to.

She's still news but says nothing newsworthy. She speaks in bromides and political platitudes.

And physically, The Public Hillary sometimes appears as mechanical as her language. Yesterday outside a Rayburn Building office, she stared straight ahead like somebody experiencing neck pain. She dodged two questions about higher taxes to pay for health care. She spoke briefly, but in a manner that matched such dry orators as Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell in solemnity and very, very, very long sentences:

"I think it's always important to hear what the members of Congress hear from grass roots," she said, "and what I've heard today that's particularly important, from both the Black Caucus and the Hispanic Caucus, is how people are underserved right now, and the health indices about well-being

See FIRST LADY, B4, Col. 1

Hillary's Heavy Load

FIRST LADY, From B1

for populations of rural areas and inner-city areas clearly demonstrate that we are not doing as good a job as we should be doing in providing access to quality, affordable care right now, and in order for whatever plan the president presents to be a universal one, you have to understand the particular problems that individuals and groups are confronting already."

Gaaaaaaa. Saving the country as it's going down the drain takes lung power. And hard work. Even before Ash Wednesday last week, there was a grave Lenten feeling settling in around our First Lady at various visits and appearances. Bill Clinton may have bags under his eyes, but Hillary looks like she's carrying the psychic load. A week and a half ago at a tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt in New York City, she was unsmiling, joyless. In front of an audience of well-wishers and enthralled Hillary Fans, she referred to her troubled year on the campaign, the unfair attacks against her and criticism—although victorious, she still seems to be smarting—and then explained her feelings of unworthiness at being compared in the same sentence to Mrs. Roosevelt.

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24/24

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 3 מרץ 1993

אל: ממ"ד, מא"ס

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

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חנדון: הודו - ישראל

מצ"ב כתבת ה- DEFENSE NEWS (ויויאק רגוואנשי 15-21/2) בנושא האפשרות כי ישראל תמכור לחודו מזל"טים (UAV).
ישראל והודו עדיין לא קיבלו החלטה בנושא העסקה אך נראה כי שיתוף פעולה בנושא הבטחוני יתרום לשתי המדינות.

תקשורת

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NIVEK RAGHUVANSHI
in Tel Aviv News

NEW DELHI, India — Israel is discussing an offer to sell India two unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) capable of instantly sharing intelligence data in enemy territory, according to Indian Defense Ministry sources.

A team of Israeli experts from Lod-based Malat Unmanned Aerial Vehicles, a subsidiary of the state-owned Israel Aircraft Industries (IAI), visited here in December and briefed officials of the Indian Army and Air Force, potential users of the UAVs, Indian sources said.

The systems offered to India include the third-generation Searcher long-endurance

multimode UAV and Ranger multipurpose tactical UAV.

According to Indian Defense Ministry sources, India is considering the Israeli offer because Lod-based IAI has offered a complete package, including IAI-developed software, electro-optics, aerodynamics and other capabilities.

Although India has not made any decision on the Israeli offer, defense cooperation with Israel would benefit both countries, Indian Defense Ministry sources said. India's entry into the UAV market also would bolster its Pilotless Target Aircraft program based at India's Aeronautical Development Establishment in Bangalore, the Defense Ministry sources said,

although scientists at the establishment claim they are close to developing their own system.

The program may need Western equipment to gather intelligence data.

Arjun Dey, a spokesman for the Confederation of Indian Industry here, said Feb. 9 that a team from IAI, including defense experts, was scheduled to visit Feb. 13 to negotiate with the Indian government. Israel also is participating for the first time in India's Truth International Engineering Trade Fair, scheduled here Feb. 14-21.

Meanwhile, although defense industry officials in Israel refused to elaborate last week on any possible technology transfers or cooperation agreements involving In-

dia, the officials agreed that a potential deal could represent vast economic significance for Israel's increasingly wavering defense exports.

Moreover, the recent signs of India's interest in Israeli UAV activity comes as many Israeli electronics and other high-tech firms are showing cautious interest in Indian markets, according to Rachella Weinstein, director of regional marketing and projects at the Israel Export Institute's Marketing Division in Tel Aviv.

Weinstein said institute officials are planning an October trip to India for 40 Israeli companies in a joint venture with In-

See INDIA, Page 28

India, Israel Discuss Buy of Unmanned Vehicles

INDIA, From Page 20

rael's Ministry of Industry and Trade, including those specializing in "the whole spectrum of electronics, telecommunications, data communications, electro-optics, software and avionics."

Officials from Elbit Ltd., Haifa, and IAI refused to comment on reports of possible cooperation in UAV industries. A Rafael official who requested anonymity said his firm's representatives are not directly involved in any negotiations with India, and that Haifa-based Rafael would only be involved as a subcontractor providing payload components if a UAV agreement is reached.

The anticipated Israeli offer to sell UAVs to India is being opposed by scientists of the Aeronautical Development Establishment, which is preparing to produce its own pilotless vehicle.

Jayaraman Jayaraman, an expert on India's remotely piloted vehicle project at Aeronautical Development Establishment, denied Feb. 11 that India is buying UAVs from Israel

and that his firm is seeking a collaboration with Malat for joint UAV production in India.

According to Jayaraman, India is continuing its remotely piloted vehicle project and his firm is nearly finished producing it. He said there is heavy demand for the vehicles in India and that the country plans to export them in the near future.

There is a large demand from forward Indian Army units for remotely piloted vehicles that were successfully used by Israel during its 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

UAVs can replace expensive manned aircraft in combat roles, reducing the risk for pilots. They allow for close surveillance of high-threat areas, alerting the commander instantly to new battlefield development without the risk to expensive manned aircraft and human lives.

The Indian UAV effort began soon after the conflict, but cost overruns and inadequate technical information have delayed the project. With the Indian program nearing production, Indian scientists who have been

working on the project for the last 10 years wonder why the government is considering buying the Israeli UAV at this stage.

Indian officials blame delays in the UAV program on funding shortfalls and the long list of specifications submitted by various potential users. While the Indian Army wants a remotely piloted vehicle in a surveillance role with a remote-controlled TV camera mounted in the belly, the Air Force just wants a surveillance UAV.

Meanwhile, the Indian Navy wants to use the vehicle for sea surveillance based on a different design.

"Now that [the] Israeli offer is there, I hope it prompts our bosses to rush to [India's Defense Research and Development Organization] to release more funds to complete the project," a scientist said.

Correspondent Sharon Parnes contributed to this report from Tel Aviv, Israel.

Defense News 1027 2/3
28/2
F.P.

Iran Seeks To Join Arms Export Club

By PHILIP FINNEGAN
Defense News Staff Writer

ABU DHABI, United Arab Emirates — Iran is pushing hard to increase its arms exports as nearly five years of peace and dwindling domestic military requirements have forced cutbacks in defense production.

Iran also is converting a number of its defense plants to the manufacture of commercial goods, according to Defense Minister Akbar Torkan, and other senior defense officials.

From 1980 to 1988, Iran was locked in a fierce war with Iraq that spurred huge purchases of arms from abroad and substantial increases in Iran's domestic arms production capability.

But domestic needs have fallen sharply since a cease-fire in July 1988. "Now our stocks are enough that we can export," Torkan said in a Feb. 14 interview here.

Army munitions and arms offer the greatest potential for foreign sales. "We are producing mostly infantry weapons," Torkan said. "We are not as skilled in the production of navy and air force equipment."

During an interview at the 1993 International Defense Exhibition here, Torkan declined to say whether Iran has begun to export arms to other countries.

U.S. experts contacted in Washington said they were not certain if Iran has been successful in making export sales and were skeptical of its marketing efforts. Iran is an unpopular and threatening country to the Arab nations of the Persian Gulf, and the low-technology equipment it offers is likely to be unattractive to Gulf states that can afford the best, according to one expert who requested anonymity.

Nor are Gulf countries likely to buy Iranian arms.

See IRAN, Page 21

U.S. Experts Doubt Iran's Export Ability

IRAN, From Page 1

to purchase Iranian equipment simply to placate Iran. "There are other ways to placate Iran than to buy some of their equipment," said the expert.

Another expert agreed. "They do not have a competitive edge. This whole arms supply relationship is political and in the current Middle East atmosphere it is not likely [that Arab states would purchase Iranian arms]," Shireen Hunter, deputy director of Middle East studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said in a Feb. 18 interview.

Nonetheless, the country's presence here among 350 companies from 34 countries reflects the importance Iran places on earning a share of international arms markets.

"We want to show what we have done in the past few years," Jafar Mohaghegh, the head of Iran's exhibition at the International Defense Exhibition, said Feb. 15. Iran's expertise in the repair and maintenance of sophisticated Western weaponry such as Hawk air defense missiles and TOW anti-tank missiles has increased substantially, he said. The range and quantity of Iranian military production also has risen.

Iran's state-owned defense industry, the Defense Industries Organization, is offering its latest equipment for export, including the domestically designed Nazeq 10, a ground-to-ground rocket first produced two years ago. The rocket can carry a 250-kilogram (550-pound) warhead and is fired from a mobile launcher similar to that built for early versions of the Soviet-designed Frog missile.

In addition, Iran is offering older missiles, such as the Zafar 2.75-inch ground-to-ground rocket and the Rad antitank missile, which were developed by reverse engineering of Western and Eastern designs.

The Defense Industries Organization's communications

group is offering its newest products developed within the last three years, including a digital radio relay and man-pack Very High Frequency radio communication systems. It also produces vehicular communications systems, tactical receivers and transmitters, and advanced tactical radios.

Iranian officials maintain their position in the Middle East should give them a natural advantage in reducing the transportation costs of bulky ammunition. Moreover, with Iran's purchases from both Eastern and Western weapon suppliers, the country produces both types of ammunition. East bloc 122mm artillery shells, AK-47 Kalashnikov rounds and submachine gun rounds as well as NATO standard ammunition.

While pursuing exports, the Defense Industries Organization also has been converting idle defense facilities to produce civilian goods, according to Iranian officials.

"After the war, we had a lot of military production so we have been working on conversion," Hamid Tahatabaei, deputy manager for the foreign commercial department of the Defense Industries Organization ammunition group, said Feb. 15. For example, the ammunition group is involved in commercial tasks such as the melting, casting and rolling of metals.

The Chemical Industries Group, a maker of explosives, is producing paint and anti-freeze and processing cotton. A. Seveh, the manager of the group, said, in a Feb. 15 interview.

The marine industries group, which built landing craft and fast patrol boats during the war with Iraq, now derives about half of its revenue from the sale of fishing boats, shrimp brine tanks and fiberglass chairs for buses and stadiums.

Staff Writer David Silverberg contributed to this report from Washington.

1027

3/3

5652:חוזם,אחא

אל:רהמט/169

מ:-ניוירק,גר:101,תא:030393,זח:1133,דח:ר,סג:בל,

בבב

9,233388

9,753100

22478

BALMAS/RAGIL
26120

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 3-MARCH-1993

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: ENCLAVE IN BOSNIA REPORTED TO FALL AFTER US AIRDROP; PEROT CONTINUES HIS CAMPAIGN, ON CAPITOL HILL; NBC NEWS CHIEF STEP-PING DOWN AMID TROUBLES; BROAD BRIBERY INVESTIGATION IS ENSNARING THE ELITE OF ITALY; OPENING OF TOWERS UNLIKELY TO OCCUR UNTIL NEXT MONTH; ALABAMA RELEASES MAN HELD ON DEATH ROW FOR SIX YEARS. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/GAZA/WITHDRAWAL: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED): '2 ISRAELIS URGE CON-SIDERATION OF GAZA PULLOUT': HEALTH MINISTER HAIM RAMON AND INTERIOR MINISTER ARYEH DERI SAID ON TUESDAY THAT ISRAEL SHOULD CONSIDER A UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL FROM GAZA, CITING SECURITY REASONS; QUOTES MIN-ISTER RAMON AS SAYING: 'WE ARE NOT RUNNING FROM A KNIFE, BUT THE TRUTH IS THAT WE HAVE NOTHING TO KEEP US THERE. WE DON'T WANT TO AN-NEX GAZA. THAT IS FOR SURE. SO WE ARE SUFFERING BECAUSE OF IT, AND FOR WHAT?'; PM RABIN RECENTLY RESTATED HIS BELIEF THAT ISRAEL COULD ONLY LEAVE GAZA AS PART OF AN OVERALL PEACE AGREEMENT; OPPOSITION LEADERS, INCLUDING MK DAVID LEVY, SAID THAT TALK ABOUT WITHDRAWING FROM GAZA WAS A SIGN OF 'GOVERNMENT DESPAIR' AND 'LOSS OF CONTROL'; CLAIMS THAT THE REMARKS BY MINISTERS RAMON AND DERI 'UNDERScore A WEARINESS AMONG ISRAELIS AND THEIR DESIRE TO BE RID OF (GAZA)'; NOTES THAT THE IDF SEALED OFF GAZA, KEEPING 30-40,000 (LOCAL) PALESTINIAN WORKERS FROM REACHING THEIR JOBS IN ISRAEL.

ND(AP),DN(AP): ARAB GUNMEN REPORTEDLY KILLED AN ISRAELI BUSINESSMAN IN GAZA ON TUESDAY; AN ISRAELI DRIVER WHOSE VEHICLE WAS STONED IN JERUSALEM SHOT AND KILLED A (LOCAL) PALESTINIAN.

US/HAMAS/MEETING: WSJ(BRIEF),NYP(D.ORIN-BRIEF): STATE DEPARTMENT OF-FICIALS ACKNOWLEDGED ON TUESDAY THAT US DIPLOMATS HAVE HELD MEETINGS

WITH HAMAS ACTIVISTS IN AMMAN; SAID OFFICIALS NOTED THAT THE CONTACTS HAD GONE ON FOR 'SOME TIME' AND WERE HALTED 'IN THE LAST WEEK OR SO'; NOTES THE BACKGROUND AND RECENT ACTIVITIES OF THE HAMAS MOVEMENT IN ISRAEL.

ISRAEL/GIRL/GANG: NYP(AP): ISRAELI POLICE HAVE REPORTEDLY BROKEN UP A GANG OF YOUTH THIEVES - LED BY A NINE-YEAR-OLD GIRL - WHO WORKED IN SEVERAL SHOPPING MALLS IN HAIFA; ACCORDING TO POLICE, THE YOUNGSTERS STOLE GOODS AND CASH WORTH A FEW HUNDRED DOLLARS.

RUSSIA/MIGS/MALAYSIA: WSJ(AP): RUSSIA, COMPETING WITH THE US TO SELL ADVANCED JET FIGHTERS TO MALAYSIA, AGREED TO ACCEPT PART OF THE PAYMENT FOR THE MIGS IN PALM OIL, FABRICS AND OTHER GOODS; MALAYSIAN DEFENSE OFFICIALS INSISTED THAT NO AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED TO BUY THE MIGS.

MANHATTAN/IRAQI/TRIAL: ND(P.BOWLES),NYP: US DISTRICT COURT JUDGE JACK WEINSTEIN DECIDED ON TUESDAY NOT TO POSTPONE THE TRIAL OF A SUSPECTED IRAQI TERRORIST WHOSE LAWYERS SAID WOULD BE UNABLE TO RECEIVE A FAIR TRIAL BECAUSE OF THE MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE BOMB BLAST AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN MANHATTAN; JUDGE WEINSTEIN HAS ALSO ORDERED THE PLO NOT BE MENTIONED IN FRONT OF THE JURY.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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WSJ(A.IGNATIUS-CABLED): 'RUSSIAN LAWMAKERS OPPOSED TO START II PLEDGE FIGHT AS HEARINGS ON PACT BEGIN'.

MICHAEL STOLTZ
ITONUT-NY

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 5068

אל: רהמ/ש/143

מ-: המשרד, תא: 030393, זח: 1420, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבב

529335

בלמ'ס/רגיל

2.3

אל: וושינגטון - אמיתי, שטיין

הנדון: תגובת החמאס על הכוונה להכניסו לרשימת ארגוני הטרור בארה"ב

להלן תגובת מחמד נזאל, נציג החמאס בירדן, ל'אל-שרק אל-אוסט' (27/2), על הכוונה להכניס את תנועת החמאס לרשימת ארגוני הטרור בארה"ב לשנת 1993:

'אין אנו מוצאים הגיון בהכנסת החמאס לרשימת הטרור. אין שום עדויות לכך שהתנועה ערכה פעולות מחוץ לשטחים הכבושים. חוץ מזה, עפ"י החוק האמריקאי - כפי שאנו מבינים אותו - נכללים ברשימה רק ארגונים אשר עורכים פעולות בניגוד לאינטרסים או לאישים אמריקאים - דבר אשר החמאס לא ביצע, לא בתוך ולא מחוץ לשטחים הכבושים. המשיך ואמר: 'בכל מקרה, החמאס היא תנועת שחרור לאומית ופועלת במסגרת החלטות האו"ם, אשר מבטיחות לאנשים בשטחים הכבושים את הזכות להתנגד לכיבוש, והיא לא תתן כל תשומת לב לכל סיוגים אחרים, לא משנה מה מקורם.'

עד כאן.

ערב 2

3 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שוח, סשה, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שחבט), מצפא, סמנכלמזת, מזח2, @ (מתאפשטחים), ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (יועזרהמ/טרור)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 6108

אל: רחמט/192

מ-: ווש, נר: 2014, תא: 030393, זח: 1630, דח: מ, סג: סו,

כבכ

סודי/ מירי

אל : ממנכ"ל

דע : לש' שה'ח, לש'רה'מ

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: תהליך השלום

1. מאז שובי מן הארץ הספקתי לקיים פגישה (פרטית בביתו) עם ג'רג'יאן וכן עם לייק, ברגר ואינדיק במשרדו של אינדיק. הפגישות עסקו בסיכום מסעו של המזכיר באזור ובהכנות לקראת ביקור רה'מ. ג'רג'יאן מסר לי אתמול טלפוןית כי הם (במחמ'ד) עוסקים בגיבוש עמדתם ובהמשך השבוע כאשר י שלימו את התהליך, ירצו לקיים פגישה ושיחה ממצה איתי. בינתיים ייפגשו היום שילה ושטיין עם אנשיו של ג'רג'יאן וידווחו בנפרד.

2. תמונת הביניים העולה מן השיחות עד כה היא זאת :

א. סיפוק ושביעות רצון ממסע כריסטופר.

ב. חשש מן העובדה שהמימד הפלסטיני של תידוש השיחות טרם יוצב.

ג. הערכה שהסיכוי להתקדמות עם תידוש השיחות הוא באפיק הסורי, אך בצידה גם הערכה שצפוי מיקוח קשה באפיק זה.

ד. ציפיה לכך שתחול תזוזה כלשהי גם באפיק הפלסטיני.

רבינוביץ

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

סייבל, משפט, מגל/הסברה, @ (ראשה ממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חרוזם: 5895

אל: רהמש/170

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 124, חא: 030393, חז: 1520, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכבב

9,233388

9,753100

9,250890

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

ד.ג.ס.

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת יומית 3.3.93

טרור

הטרור בניו-יורק זוכה לגינוי ע"י בעלי טורים שונים אשר מייחסים את הנחת הפצצה לטרוריסטים הקשורים באחד ממוקדי החוץ בהם מעורבת ארה"ב בעולם.

הכתבה המובילה בנושא (בעמוד הראשון של ה-WT) מביאה דברי חוקרים החושדים כי הפיגוע נעשה ע"י החמאס או ע"י החזית העממית של ג'ורג' חבש.

ג'ים הוגלנד (WP) מגנה את הטרור כדרך ביטוי ויוצא נגד דברי אבו נידאל אשר טען כי הטרור מהווה הצהרה ודרך למשיכת תשומת לב לרעיון מסויים. אוונס ונובק (WP) מדגישים את התנגדות הציבור להתערבות ארה"ב בבעיות חוץ שונות, אשר גדלה על רקע הטרור בניו-יורק. כמו כן הם משווים את הפיגוע בניו-יורק לפיגוע בשגרירות ישראל בארגנטינה לפני שנה.

קן אדלמן (WT) טוען כי ארה"ב, אשר הינה בעלת ברית חשובה של ישראל, צפויה לטרור מצד קבוצות מוסלמיות.

כתבת ה-WP מהעמוד הראשון (רוברט אוהרו) אודות היריות ליד מפקדת ה-CIA, משחזרת את צעדיו של היורה, מיר איימל קנסי, לאחר הרצח ומנסה לתהות על דמותו ומניעיו. בכתבה אזכור לדברי חברו לחדר של קנסי, על כוונותיו לפגוע (גם) בשגרירות ישראל בווינגטון.

ארה"ב - חמאס

דובר מחלקת המדינה, ריצארד באוצ'ר, הודיע אתמול על ניתוק קשרי ארה"ב עם החמאס. הקשרים עם החמאס נעשו בעיקר דרך שגרירות ארה"ב בירדן ובאוצ'ר סירב לפרט את הסיבה להפסקתם. מקור אמריקאי טוען כי הסיבה לניתוק הקשרים היא אלימות החמאס ומאמצי

הארגון לחבל בתהליך השלום. (בארי שווייד מה-WT וכתבת ה-BS) עוד בכתבות על כוונת הממשל לכלול החמאס ברשימות ארגוני הטרור, במסגרת הדו"ח השנתי הצפוי בראשית אפריל.

ישראל

דייוויד הופמן (WP) מדווח על אירועי הטרור האחרונים בישראל אשר המוקד לכולם הוא ברצועת עזה. אירועי הטרור האחרונים מעלים בציבור הישראלי הדוורים לגבי נסיגה מרצועת עזה.

מדינות ערב

קרייל מרפי (WP) מדווח מטהרן על בעיית הסמים באיראן.

נשק גרעיני

מייקל ברין מסאול (WT) מנתח את הסיכויים שצפון קוריאה תעתר ללחץ המערב לוותר על התוכנית הגרעינית שלה.

סרביה

הטור של פול גרינברג (WT) יוצא נגד הסיוע האמריקאי לסרביה ומתריע כי ארה"ב עשויה להסתבך בפרשייה ארוכה אשר תתבע מחיר אותו האמריקאים אינם מוכנים לשלם.

ארה"ב - פנים

אשת הנשיא הילארי קלינטון עסוקה בתכנית הבריאות ונראה כי היא כורעת תחת העול. (מרתה שריל WP)

הערה: הכתבות יועברו אליכם בנפרד.

תקשורת

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב, מעת, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן, סיביל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, פרנ, אסיה, בטמח, מזאר2, מזתים, @ (מתאסטטים), @ (בןארי/תיירות), @ (יועץרהמ/טרור), @ (עמית473), @ (עמית760), @ (ראשדממשלה)

אאא, חוזם: 5874

אל: רהמש/182

מ-: פרנציסקו, נר: 9, תא: 030393, זח: 1204, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/רגיל

אל: מצפ"א, כנסיות

דע: ווש' - ברקן, גרנות

מאת: סן-פרנציסקו

הנדון: פולארד

בהמשך לשיחת הקונכ"ל קני-טל עם הארכיבישוף הקתולי של סן פרנציסקו ג'ון קווין (מברקנו נר 64 מ- 20.1.93) שיגר האחרון (שהינו מהמנהיגים הקתולים הבולטים בארה"ב) מכתב לנשיא קלינטון בענינו של ג'ונתן פולארד. במכתבו מבקש קווין מהנשיא לבדוק אפשרות מתן חנינה לפולארד על בסיס הומניטרי, אקט שיהווה לדבריו סימן למחילה ופיוס כלפי אדם שהודה כי שגה וששילם כבר מחיר יקר.

מעבירים בפקס עותק המכתב (נר 1004).

בברכה

דן ארבל

הפוצה: שדח, סשדח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, כנסיות, @ (נבו/מטרהט),
@ (מזכירה ממשלה)

סססס

ד.ג.3.

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8217:חוזם:אאא

אל:בסחון/597

מ:-ווש,נר:2025,תא:030393,חז:1620,חמ:סג,סו, בבב

אל:אגת87/רמחתא'ס

אל:שר הבסחון

אל ראש הממשלה

סודי/מיידי

אל:ממוכיל, מנהל מצפ'א

מאת:הציר, וושינגטון

צוות השלום

בשיחה עם איש צוות השלום סיפר על הסגנון החדש שמכנים כריסטופר בהשוואה לקודמו. המזכיר הוא איש מתייעץ ומתעניין ומיטיב להקשיב וכאשר הוא דן בנושאים הוא מכנס בד"כ את הצוות כולו. עם זאת נוצרה בתוך הצוות היררכיה ברורה ומעמדו של אד דג'רג'יאן עלה לאין שיעור והוא בלי שום ספק הראשון בתוך הקבוצה הזאת. דג'רג'יאן גם נתלווה אמש לכריסטופר לשני תדרוכים נפרדים בועדת החוץ של הבית ובעדת החוץ של הסנאט. שתי הישיבות היו סגורות. כריסטופר הרבה לדבר בשבח הצוות ובעניינים המהותיים נתן לדג'רג'יאן לדבר. לסם לואיס משקל סגולי אישי, אבל הוא אינו 'מבצעי', אלא עוזר לנסח מחשבות. יש אולי חספוס מסויים ביחסים עם נציג הבית-הלבן-אינדיק, בתוך חבורת השלום.

האנשים המקורבים ביותר למזכיר הם דונילון והג' בת' ג'ונס, שהיתה עד לאחרונה בתפקיד ציר בבון. בין שניהם הם מהווים קומבינציה של 'צירלי' היל ומרגרס סטווילר מבחינת הקרבה למזכיר וההשפעה עליו.

על כל פנים, נראה כאילו הצוות החדש-ישן בעינייך שלום עובד על הנושא לא רק בהרמוניה אלא בהתלהבות.

שילה.

6/3

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04/03/1993

09:04:41

1 MAR 93 A002355

אאאא, חוזם: 6108

אל: בסחון/416

מ-: ווש, נר: 2014, תא: 030393, חז: 1630, דח: מ, סג: סו, בבב

אל: אגת87/רמחתאים

אל: שר הבסחון

אל ראש הממשלה

סודי/ מידי

אל : ממנכיל

דע : לשי שהיח, לשירה'מ

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: תהליך השלום

1. כאז שובי מן הארץ הספקתי לקיים פגישה (פרטית בביתו) עם ג'רג'יאן וכן עם לייק, ברגר ואינדיק כמשרדו של אינדיק. הפגישות עסקו בסיכום מסעו של המזכיר באזור ובהכנות לקראת ביקור רה"מ. ג'רג'יאן מסר לי אתמול סלפוןית כי הם (במחמ"ד) עוסקים בגיבוס עמדתם ובהמשך השבוע כאשר יסלימו את התהליך, ירצו לקיים פגישה ושיחה ממצה איתי. בינתיים ייפגשו היום שילה וטטיין עם אנשיו של ג'רג'יאן וידווחו בנפרד.

2. תמונת הביניים העולה מן השיחות עד כה היא זאת :

א. סיפוק ושביעות רצון ממסע כריסטופר.

ב. חשש מן העובדה שהמימד הפלסטיני של חידוש השיחות טרם יוצב.

ג. הערכה שהסיכוי להתקדמות עם חידוש השיחות הוא באפיק הסורי, אך בצידה גם הערכה שצפוי מיקוח קשה באפיק זה.

ד. ציפיה לכך שתחול תזוזה כלשהי גם באפיק הפלסטיני.

רבינוביץ

2/6

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אורה
כ-
136
895

אאאא, חוזם: 6122

אל: רהמש/185

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 155, תא: 030393, זח: 1821, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: TRAVEL ADVISORY FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT - JORDAN

ד.ס.ג.

US DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY/SPOKESMAN

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MARCH 1, 1993

STATEMENT BY RICHARD BOUCHER, SPOKESMAN

INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO THE US GOVERNMENT SUGGESTS THAT THERE MAY BE A HEIGHTENED THREAT AT THIS TIME OF TERRORISM AGAINST AMERICANS IN JORDAN, PARTICULARLY AMERICANS TRAVELING ON TOUR BUSES.

AMERICANS LIVING IN OR TRAVELING TO JORDAN ARE ENCOURAGED TO REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE US EMBASSY IN JORDAN REGARDING THIS THREAT SITUATION.

WHILE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT TERRORIST EVENTS MAY OCCUR FOR WHICH WE HAVE NO FOREWARNING SHOULD SPECIFIC AND CREDIBLE INFORMATION ON A THREAT TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BE RECEIVED, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WILL PROVIDE INFORMATION FOR TRAVELERS AND OTHER CONCERNED PARTIES.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

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

@ (ר' אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), מוצפא, רביב, מעת,
הסברה, @ (דוצ), @ (בן עמי/מושבת), @ (ראשדומשלה)

סכסס

אאאא, חוזם: 5968

אל: רחמנ/184

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 137, תא: 030393, זח: 1635, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/רגיל

אל: מצפ"א, הסברה

מאת: ציר הסברה וושינגטון

5.5

הנדון: מעמדינו בשעה זו לאחר ביקור בריסטופר

בהמשך לדיון קונכלים

דומה כי מוסכם על כל המתדינים כי ביקור המזכיר במזה"ת לא זכה לבולטות של ממש בציבוריות האמריקנית. הדווחים בנושא היו עניינים ולא זכו לבולטות מיוחדת אפילו באותם עתונים ששלחו כתב עם המזכיר. דומה כי הציבור בארה"ב אינו מתעניין בעיתוי הנוכחי יתר על המידה בדיפלומטיה המזרח תיכונית של ארצו. לא רק התקשורת אלא גם הציבור הקשוב עימו אנחנו בקשר לא גילה עניין רב במיוחד בביקור, היתה פה ושם התעניינות אולם ניתן היה לחוש שאין צפיות גדולות ומכאן עניין גדול בביקור. יתכן שהדבר הוא תולדת המאמץ המימשלי להוריד ציפיות. אולם סביר יותר להניח שבהעדר משבר במזה"ת מחד ולמול קשיי השעה כאן מאידך נמצאים נושאינו בעדיפות נמוכה מאד אצל ציבורים רחבים.

נמרוד ברקן.

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רחמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, רביב, מעת, הסברה, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

ד"ר: 1 מחיר: 8	איש וזכר קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות: מדי
אל: תפוצת תקשורת אר"ב		סיוג: כלמ"ס
		תזוח: טט 2102
		מס' מדקי
דע: כסחור - יוצר שח"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ים' העבירונא)		1093
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק		

Arab Kills 2 Israelis in Stabbing Spree in Tel Aviv

By CLYDE HABERMAN
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, March 1 — A young Palestinian went on a knife-wielding rampage today on Tel Aviv streets, stabbing two Israelis to death and wounding eight others before being caught and beaten by bystanders who turned him over to the police, the Israeli authorities said.

Twelve hours after the attack, the Israeli Army said that starting Tuesday it would indefinitely seal off the occupied Gaza Strip, where the 19-year-old assailant lived and which he had left this morning using a Government-issued permit.

The closing most directly affects some 30,000 Gazans who work each day in Israel. Before the army announcement, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin cautioned that it was "illogical" to keep the volatile coastal strip closed for long, no matter how appealing many Israelis find the idea, and insisted that the best hope for ending violence was "a political solution" through the stalled peace talks.

It was not clear what had motivated the attacker, who was identified as Ziyad Silmi. According to relatives in Gaza, Mr. Silmi belongs to the militantly anti-Israel Islamic Holy War group. Tel Aviv police officers said Mr.

Silmi, who paints cars for a living, had acted on his own, running amok out of anger over his inability to find work. But an Islamic Holy War leader in Syria, Faizi al-Shukaki, asserted that the Tel Aviv stabbings were part of his group's "resistance against the Zionist occupation," and he warned of more attacks until Israel returned all of the 400 Palestinians deported to Lebanon three months ago.

All the deportees, described by Israel as security threats, belong either to Islamic Holy War or, far more commonly, to the militant group of Islamic fundamentalists known as Hamas.

Right-wing Israeli politicians urged

N.Y.
Times

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אישור:

שם השוכח:

אמ"נ - ניו יורק

2-3

(2) טחח (2) טחח (1) דחס (1) סנכל (1) סנכל (1) סנכל (1) רביב (1)

(1) סנכל (2) סנכל (1) סנכל (1) סנכל (1) סנכל (1) סנכל (1) סנכל (1) סנכל (1)

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that checkpoints leading from Gaza be closed and that Israel break off peace negotiations with the Palestinians and Arab states, which the United States and Russia hope to restart in April after a four-month hiatus. On the left, some politicians said Israel should withdraw unilaterally from Gaza, with or without a peace agreement accompanying security arrangements.

But Mr. Rabin rejected advice from both ends of the political spectrum, telling a parliamentary committee that the Middle East talks had to continue and that it would be impossible for Israel to leave Gaza without first reaching a political settlement with the Palestinians.

It was too early to tell if the Tel Aviv killings would have more of an impact on the peace talks than other incidents in a three-month spate of violence that

has been unusually grim even for a land long accustomed to such troubles. In early December extremists claiming to belong to Hamas killed four Israeli soldiers and a border policeman. Those killings led directly to the mass deportations of Palestinians that have been widely deplored overseas but that Israel defends as a legitimate response to terrorism.

Since the expulsions in mid-December there has been a rise in clashes between Israeli soldiers and residents of the occupied territories, with about 50 Palestinians shot and killed by soldiers in street disturbances over the last 10 weeks—a death rate not seen in several years. And lately, as part of this cycle, there has been a fresh spate of Israeli deaths as the result of Arab knifings and rock-throwing in both Israel and the territories.

Witnesses to today's incident said Mr. Silmi raced along streets in a Tel Aviv commercial district and stabbed people indiscriminately with two knives that he was carrying.

The slain victims were identified as Natan Azarys, a 35-year-old barber, and Gregory Abramov, 27, a recent immigrant from the former Soviet Union.

Mr. Silmi, who was chased down by bystanders, received hospital treatment for light injuries as the result of beatings by his enraged captors.

Other Arab workers were also held by the police. As two of them were being pushed into a van, dozens of angry Israelis reportedly tried to attack them, shouting "Death to the Arabs!" and forcing the police to send in reinforcements to prevent anti-Arab assaults.

15923
29/29

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CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

1029

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הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו יורק

31244
בל"מ"ס/מ"ד
261.02

אל: מנהל מע"ת
מנהל לע"מ

דע: מצפ"א
הסברה

לשכת שה"ח - יועצת תקשורת, ראש לשכה
לשכת רה"מ - יועץ תקשורת, ראש לשכה
לשכת שהב"ס - יועץ תקשורת
דובר צה"ל - סא"ל משה פוגל

מאת: עתונות/ניו-יורק

(Handwritten signature and initials)

הנדון: מנהל חדש - ישרן לסוכנות הידיעות
NICOLAS TATRO

בהמשך למברקי בסימוכין נר: 592 מ - 23 פברואר 1993, רצ"ב חודעת סוכנות
הידיעות A.P. על המינוי מאושר סופית, היום 2 מרץ.

עתונות/ניו-יורק
יובל רותם
2 במרץ 1993

(Handwritten notes in Hebrew, including names and dates)

10587 appointments

M-AP Appointments, 0270

Tatro Named Bureau Chief in Israel; Eliason Moves to Hong Kong

NEW YORK (AP) — Nicolas B. Tatro, deputy international editor for The Associated Press, has been named the AP's chief of bureau in Israel, succeeding Marcus Eliason who moves to Hong Kong as news editor.

The changes were announced Tuesday by AP President Louis D. Boccardi.

Tatro, 46, is returning to the Middle East, where he previously worked as the AP bureau chief in Israel from 1983 to 1990. From 1977 to 1983, he held assignments as chief Middle East correspondent based in Beirut, chief of bureau in Tehran and news editor in Cairo.

He was appointed deputy international editor, based in New York, in 1991 after completing a year's study as a University of Michigan Journalism Fellow.

A native of Chicago and a graduate of the University of Florida, Tatro worked on The Gainesville (Fla.) Sun and the Daytona Beach News Journal before joining the AP in Miami in 1971.

Eliason, 46, succeeded Tatro in Jerusalem when he took his leave of absence for study.

He joined the AP as a newsman in Tel Aviv in 1968 and worked in Israel for 14 years, including assignments as Jerusalem correspondent and Tel Aviv news editor. He also worked in Paris from 1978 to 1980. In 1984 he transferred to London and in 1988 became news editor there. He held that post until his appointment as chief of bureau in Jerusalem.

A native of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, Eliason was a reporter for the Jerusalem Post before joining the AP.

AP-DS-03-02-93 1324EST

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2/2

3982:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רחמט/114

מ:-ניו יורק,נר:71,תא:020393,זח:1353,דח:ר,סג:בל,

בבבב

9,233388

9,753100

22470

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 2-MARCH-1993

EDITORIALS

NYP:'THE GLOBAL TERROR NETWORKS': WRITER NOTES THAT NUMEROUS TERROR-IST GROUPS AROUND THE WORLD THAT HAVE BEEN ACTIVE OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS, INCLUDING THE GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION AND THE JAMAH'AH AL-IS-LAMIYA IN EGYPT; MENTIONS THAT ISRAEL 'CONTINUES TO CONFRONT TERROR-ISM EVERY DAY'.

PRESS REPORTS

HEADLINES: NYT: FOOD STAMP USERS UP SHARPLY IN SIGN OF WEAK RECOVERY; 400 LAW AGENTS ARE IN STANDOFF WITH TEXAS CULT; INQUIRY IS PRESSED ON CASE OF BLAST AT TRADE CENTER; MUCH BOSNIAN AID MISSED ITS TARGET; A LEGAL THRESHOLD IS CROSSED BY GAY COUPLES IN NEW YORK. WSJ: 'OFF THE AIR: NBC NEWS PRESIDENT, BURNED BY STAGED FIRE AND GM, WILL RESIGN'; 'LOCAL PUBS ARE A THING OF THE PAST FOR MANY IN ENGLAND'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

TEL AVIV/ARAB/STABBING: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED),WSJ(BRIEF),ND,DN(AP), NYP:'ARAB KILLS 2 ISRAELIS IN STABBING SPREE IN TEL AVIV': A (LOCAL) PALESTINIAN FROM GAZA FATALLY STABBED TWO ISRAELIS AND WOUNDED EIGHT OTHERS ON MONDAY IN TEL AVIV BEFORE BEING CAUGHT BY SEVERAL BYSTANDERS; IDF AUTHORITIES SAID THAT GAZA WOULD BE SEALED OFF INDEFINITELY AS A RESULT OF THE ATTACK; AN ISLAMIC JIHAD OFFICIAL IN SYRIA CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STABBINGS AND WARNED OF MORE ATTACKS UNTIL ISRAEL AGREED TO REPATRIATE ALL 400 PALESTINIAN DEPORTEES IN SOUTHERN LEBANON; SEVERAL 'LEFT-WING' POLITICIANS SAID THAT ISRAEL SHOULD UNILATERALLY WITHDRAW FROM GAZA, WHILE 'RIGHT-WING' POLITICIANS URGED

THE RABIN GOVERNMENT TO BREAK OFF PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES.

IRAQ/UN/SHIIS/EXECUTIONS: ND(BRIEF),DN(T.CZUCZKA): 'UN PROBE: IRAQ KILLING SHIITES': ACCORDING TO A UN INVESTIGATOR, IRAQ HAS EXECUTED HUNDREDS OF SHII RESIDENTS FROM ITS SOUTHERN MARSHLANDS OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS; MAX VAN DER STOEL, SAID UN OFFICIAL, CLAIMED THAT IRAQI AGENTS PROVOKED INTERNAL DISSENT AMONG LOCAL RESIDENTS IN SOUTHERN IRAQ 'THAT REPORTEDLY LED TO 2,000 DEATHS IN LATE 1992'; AN IRAQI GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID THAT THE UN REPORT WAS 'INSPIRED' BY IRAN, 'WHICH COMES TO THE SURFACE WHENEVER THE DATE OF THE DEBATE AT THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL COMES CLOSER'.

NYT(P.LEWIS-CABLED): 'SENIOR AMERICAN AT UN LEAVES, TRADING ACCUSATIONS WITH CHIEF': RICHARD THORNBURGH, A FORMER US ATTORNEY GENERAL, SURRENDERED HIS POSITION OF UN UNDER-SECRETARY GENERAL FOR ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT, AND RELEASED A REPORT LISTING WHAT HE SEES AS ADMINISTRATIVE WEAKNESSES AT THE UN AND BLAMING SOME ON UN SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS-GHALI; MR. THORNBURGH ACCUSED THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF WEAKENING STAFF MORALE BY DOWNGRADING OFFICIALS IN HIS DEPARTMENT AND UNDERMINING EFFORTS TO IMPROVE EFFICIENCY BY NOT ALLOWING HIM TO DISMISS UNNEEDED EMPLOYEES.

CIS/NATO/MILITARY STRUCTURE: WSJ(BRIEF): THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE CIS SAID ON MONDAY THAT SIX EX-SOVIET REPUBLICS ARE CONSIDERING WHETHER TO ESTABLISH A JOINT MILITARY STRUCTURE THAT WOULD BE SIMILAR TO NATO.

OPEC/OIL/PRODUCTION: NYT(AP): KUWAIT, IRAN AND QATAR ANNOUNCED ON MONDAY THAT THEY HAD REDUCED OIL OUTPUT TO COMPLY WITH A PRODUCTION CUT AGREED TO LAST MONTH BY OPEC.

IRAQI/TRIAL/MANHATTAN: NYT(J.P.FRIED): '20 YEARS LATER, IRAQI FACES TRIAL IN CASE OF 3 BOMBINGS THAT FIZZLED': A HEARING WILL BE HELD ON TUESDAY IN A FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT IN BROOKLYN TO DETERMINE WHETHER PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER HAS MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR KHALID DUHAM AL-JAWARI, AN IRAQI NATIONAL CHARGED WITH PLANTING THREE BOMBS IN MANHATTAN IN 1973, TO RECEIVE A FAIR TRIAL; LAWYERS FOR MR. AL-JAWARI SAID THAT THE PRESS COVERAGE OF THE BOMBING ON FRIDAY HAS CREATED AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH A FAIR TRIAL WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(S.ERLANGER-CABLED): 'TREASURE HOUSE (KAZAKHSTAN) LOST BY SOVIETS OPENS TO THE WEST'.

WSJ(E.JENSEN-FRONT PAGE): 'OFF THE AIR: NBC NEWS PRESIDENT (MICHAEL GARTNER), BURNED BY STAGED FIRE AND GM, WILL RESIGN'.

MICHAEL STOLTZ
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדה, סשה, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (ליעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סיבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (יחוי'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3515

אל: רהמש/82

מ-: לונדון, נר: 23, תא: 020393, זח: 1448, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי



אל : ממד/ערב 4

מאת : לונדון/ציר יועץ

הנדון : סוריה - ארה"ב

אל ווסט 1.3 :

1. ממקורות מוסמכים בממשל האמריקני, נודע על פגישה אפשרית בין קלינטון
לאסד בשנה הקרובה, אך מועדה ומיקומה תלויים בהתקדמות ממשית בשיחות
השלום.

2. המקורות הבהירו כי קלינטון יהיה מוכן להפגש עם אסד בווינגטון, אם
יחתם הסכם שלום ישראלי - סורי. הדגישו כי קיום הפגישה לא נדון באופן
רשמי בעת ביקור כריסטופר בדמשק.

עד כאן

אילן ברוך

2 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שחח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, סביר,
אירופה, מצפא, סייבל, משפט, רביב, הסברה, סמנכלמזח

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3629

אל: רהמש/84

מ-: המשרד, תא: 020393, זח: 1756, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

528483

סודי/מיד

910.00

אל: רושינגטון - ציר

מאת: מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: תהליך השלום

להלן מתוך שיחה עם מקור בכיר בשג'ארה'ב:

1. האמריקאים מודאגים מהשינויים בעמדת הפלסטינים מאז ביקור המזכיר ויתכן שהדבר יעכב את הוצאת ההזמנות לחידוש שיחות השלום. יתכן שניתן יהיה לפתור בשבועות הקרובים את הבעיות שהתעוררו ובכלל זה המקור מעריך באופן אישי שאין להוציא מכלל אפשרות ביקור נוסף של המזכיר לאיזור אם יגיע למסקנה שזה מה שמתבקש.

2. לדברי המקור, בבוקר לפני שהמזכיר עזב את הארץ (25.2) הוא נפגש פעם נוספת עם פייסל אל-חוסייני. הלה אמר שהוא שלם עם (COMFORTABLE WITH) הצעותיו של המזכיר - ותשובה זו, בין היתר, היתה ביסוד הודעת המזכיר בג'נבה שהוא ועמיתו הרוסי עומדים להוציא הזמנות לחידוש השיחות הבילטרליות בחודש אפריל.

3. הופתעו איפוא מהתפנית המהירה והשלילית בעמדת הפלסטינים ומהידיעות כביכול שהופצו ע"י אש"פ לפיהן ישראל חזרה בה מחלק מהסיכומים שהושגו עם המזכיר. אנשי אש"פ הפיצו 'ידיעות' אלו בקרב האירופאים ע"מ להצדיק את השינוי בעמדת הפלסטינים. האמריקאים כאן אינם יודעים אם מקור הטיעון בתונים או בשטחים (ביחוד בעזה) אך טרחתו להבהיר לפונים אליהם שאין לו יסוד. בהקשר זה מעריך המקור שהמזכיר לא יהיה מוכן לפתוח מחדש את הסיכומים שהושגו עם רה"מ.

4. בתשובה לשאלה, אמר המקור כי עתה אין בטחון שהאמריקאים (והרוסים) ישגרו הזמנות לחידוש השיחות. היו מעדיפים להיות בטוחים מראש שהפלסטינים ייענו בחיוב - ובאשר למדינות ערב (סוריה, לבנון, ירדן) כולן אמנם הביעו ענין לחזור לשלחן הדיונים אך אף אחת מהן לא אמרה בבירור שתעשה זאת ללא

הפלסטינים. אי לכך נעשה עכשיו מאמץ אינטנסיבי מאחורי הקלעים להשיג הסכמתם של הפלסטינים.

למדן
2 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
סמנכלמזח

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 4226

אל: רהמש/122

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 96, תא: 020393, זח: 1908, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

תאריך: 2 במרץ 1993

א ל: מצפ"א

ד ע: משהב"ט / המקש"ח

נספח צה"ל / וושינגטון (הועבר)

מאת: קישור לקונגרס, וושינגטון

הנדון: ביקור ועדת המשנה למתקנים צבאיים

בפגישה שקיימתי היום עם JOHN RESKOVAK, עוזרו של קונגרסמן דייב מק-קרדי (בראשיתה השתתף גם מק-קרדי בטרם יצא להצבעה), מסר לי הלה כי בכוונת הועדה, אשר מק-קרדי עומד בראשה, לצאת בפגרת הפסתא לסיור בכמה מדינות ובהן ישראל. רשימת הקונגרסמנים שיצטרפו לסיור טרם נקבעה סופית ומשרדו של מק-קרדי יודיענו הרשימה בהקדם האפשרי. רעייתו של מק-קרדי ועוזרו הנ"ל יצטרפו אליו. הטיסה תהיה במטוס של חה"א האמריקני.

מסלול הסיור: איטליה, יוגוסלביה, תורכיה, סוריה (לפחות ל-STOPOVER), ישראל, תזרה לדרום איטליה ומשם למרוקו.

המועדים בהם מבקשים לבקר בארץ: 7-8 באפריל. העמדותי את רסקובאק על בעית הלו"ז (פסח) והוא יבדוק אם ניתן לשנות את תאריכי הביקור בישראל על חשבון אחד היעדים האחרים בסיור.

מכל מקום, מבקשים לעמוד בסיורם בארץ על תהליך השלום, לבקר במתקנים צבאיים ולבדוק את נושא ה-PRE-POSITIONING. בימים הקרובים יעבירו בקשותיהם המפורטות לפגישות וסיורים. מבקשים להפגש עם אישים מהרמה הגבוהה ביותר האפשרית.

אודה על התייחסותכם בחוזר. להזכירכם, קונגרסמן מק-קרדי היה עד לאחרונה יו"ר ועדת המודיעין של הבית והודת בידי הספיקר פולי. עם זאת, הוא ידיר נאמן לישראל השוקד על שיקום מעמדו.

בינה

תפוצה: שדח, סשדח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, @ (מקשח/משדבט)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3585

אל: רהמט/106

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 52, תא: 020393, זח: 1014, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מא"ס 1.

מרכז מצב - כחן, קופמן

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: סומליה

לשלכם 1355 מ- 25.2



להלן תגובת מחמ"ד לשאלות במברקכם לעיל:

1. העוסקים בנושא סומליה רואים בעיה בטחונות משמעותית בביצוע הצעתו של אייבי נתן. להערכתם עלול בית החולים והצוות הרפואי להיות יעד לפיגוע.
2. אשר לאבטחת הצוות הרפואי, ארה"ב לא תוכל להקצות כוחות להגנה על המתקן והצוות.
3. המליצו שנבדוק האפשרות לעבוד עם/באמצעות הארגונים הפרטיים הנמצאים בשטח.

שטין

תפוצה: שדח, סדח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, יגר, מאפל, בטמח

סססס

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Please Turn to Page A6, Column 1

Continued From First Page

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No Consensus

There is no consensus on which one may have been responsible for the blast. All, however, agree that the IRA is the least likely candidate. "New York is where they raise their money," says a top U.S. official. "Why would they make trouble there?"

Iraq and Libya both have strong reasons to attack the U.S., but even stronger reason to fear American reaction. "After Pan Am 103 and the sanctions, the Libyans would probably not want to have their

fingerprints on anything against Americans," says Mr. Cannistraro, the former CIA official. "As for Iraq, they'd have to know that the U.S. reaction would be massive," he says.

Mr. Cannistraro is in the minority in his view that Serbs are likely candidates, but he is not alone. Xavier Raufer, terrorism editor for the French newspaper L'Express and the author of a new book on the Balkans, says, "What the CIA tends to ignore is that if the Serbs are involved they don't need to create a terrorist group. Their army [the former Yugoslav army] has been in the business of terrorism since the 1950s." To hold off the Soviet army, Mr. Raufer says, the late Yugoslav leader Marshal Tito created a secret army of partisan terrorists. "He placed them in capitals all over Europe and told Moscow that they'd be activated if the Soviet army ever moved against Yugoslavia. If they were in Europe why not in the U.S.?" he asks.

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As for the Colombians, Pablo Escobar, longtime head of the Medellin cartel who escaped from prison last July, has used car bombs recently in Bogota. But it is considered doubtful he would be attacking the U.S. right now. The international war on drugs is clearly a much lower priority for President Clinton than it was for President Bush and Mr. Escobar's troubles these days are much closer to home.

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until 1:35. A call at 2:15 warned (falsely) of a bomb in the Empire State Building, leading to its evacuation, and dozens of other calls came in after that. That pattern of calls suggests "a bunch of cranks," as one terrorism analyst put it.

FBI investigators in New York initially suspected the bombing might be linked to a trial just getting under way in Brooklyn federal court. Nearly 20 years ago Khalid al Jawary planted three car bombs in New York City, according to a federal indictment. The bombs were all discovered and defused without injuries, but Mr. al Jawary, said to have been a member of the Black September group that killed Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich, got away. Two years ago, he was arrested in Italy and extradited to the U.S. for his trial.

Although there were suspicions that Palestinian terrorists linked to Mr. al Jawary might have bombed the Trade Center, some authorities discounted that idea. Charles Rose, assistant U.S. attorney who is prosecuting the case, said in an interview that "I personally don't believe it." He, as well as terrorism analysts, pointed out that Palestinian terrorists have no track record of linking bombings to court cases.

Analysts noted that last week marked the second anniversary of the U.S. liberation of Kuwait following the Iraqi invasion; as one of them put it, "Saddam Hussein would love to have pulled this one off." But

besides the risk of massive retaliation by the U.S. that this would involve, the Iraqis have a history of bungling attempts at terrorism in the U.S. Two years ago, for example, an Iraqi diplomat in New York tried to arrange the assassination of an Iraqi dissident living in California. But the FBI, by tapping phone lines, learned of the scheme, and arrested the would-be killer in Modesto, Calif., before he even had a chance to draw his gun. "The Iraqis are a bunch of amateurs" as far as terrorism in the U.S. goes, says Mr. Ackerman, the former CIA agent.

But suspicions about terrorist groups linked to Iran are running high. For one thing, the Iranian terror apparatus, one of the largest in the world, is still "alive and well," as one analyst puts it, while the capabilities of other groups have declined. In addition, many aspects of the Trade Center bombing have all the earmarks of Iranian-linked terror groups, such as Hezbollah. These groups have made a deadly specialty of the tactic of massive car bombing, using it repeatedly throughout the world.

In addition, Iranian-linked groups often try to fuzz up authorship of a particular operation in order to escape retribution. And the bombing of the Trade Center closely parallels an operation in Buenos Aires last year, when the Israeli Embassy was largely destroyed by a car bomb, killing scores of people. Though the perpetrators of that bombing haven't been caught, terrorism analysts blame Iranian-linked groups.

Testing Clinton?

"My suspicion is that the Iranians are

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testing our new president," says Mr. Ackerman, the former CIA agent. He notes that President Reagan appeared strong by bombing Libya, and President Bush recaptured Kuwait. "But the Iranians could be trying to make President Clinton appear weak by bombing the Trade Center and getting away with it," Mr. Ackerman says. Such testing for psychological advantage "would be typical" of the Iranian groups, he adds.

There is another reason suspicions fall on Iran-linked groups—a bombing they are believed to have carried out in the U.S. with impunity. Three years ago the wife of the commander of the USS Vincennes, the U.S. warship that shot down an Iranian Airbus jet, was driving her van in San Diego when a bomb blew the vehicle up. She escaped unhurt. FBI agents strongly suspect an Iranian terrorist group seeking revenge for the Airbus downing. But to this day, the FBI has been unable to make any arrests in that case.

But for all these theories, analysts of this kind of violence don't rule out any possibility altogether at this early stage. Brian Jenkins, senior managing director of Kroll Associates, corporate security consultants, recalls investigating the bombing of a Pan American World Airways terminal in Los Angeles in 1974. "We spent a lot of time trying to figure out who did it, what their political motives were," he says. "It turned out to have been done by a psychotic whose grievance was that he was arrested some time ago on a morals charge."

—Neil Barsky in New York and Carla Anne Robbins and Joe Davidson in Washington contributed to this article.

WSJ

דף: 1 מחור: 5	טובס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות: מירי
אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארץ-ב, מרצב"א, מנח"ק, זא"ה	סווג: כלמ"ס	תזח: 0114-
דע: בסחור - יועץ שחכ"ס לתקשורת, רו"צ, אמ"כ/קש"ח (ים' העבירונוא)	מש מדקי	1004
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק		

Explosive Theory

Bombing in New York Bears Some Hallmarks Of Mideast Terrorists

A Motive Remains Unclear In Blast That Killed Five And Injured 1,000 or More

Businesses Find New Offices

By WILLIAM M. CARLEY

NEW YORK — The bomb blast that drilled a four-story hole in a primary symbol of American commerce was eloquent in its message of dread. But as the lethal explosion at the World Trade Center reverberated through the national psyche, experts analyzing the bombing began to move toward some surprising theories about who may have done it and why.

The attack doesn't have the earmarks of a lone fanatic at work, terrorism analysts say. The tremendous power of the bomb, its strategic placement to knock out much of the lighting, power and communi-

cations in the World Trade Center, and its huge success in disrupting lower Manhattan bear all the characteristics of a professional terrorist operation.

"This was a world-class hit," says Mike Ackerman, a former Central Intelligence Agency agent whose Miami firm provides terrorism consulting to U.S. corporations.

But if that is the case, why hasn't a terrorist organization made a convincing claim of responsibility? Some experts suggest that whoever planted the bomb may be withholding clarification deliberately, as a way to amplify doubt, discord and confusion. That, they say, is a hallmark of some Middle Eastern terror organizations—particularly groups linked to Iran—and those groups have emerged as some analysts' top suspects.

Several experts also discounted speculation that the attack might be the work of Serbians angered by U.S. positions on the former Yugoslavia, particularly plans to airdrop food and medicine. The airdrop plans were announced only about a week ago, and it usually takes months to plan a major terrorist bombing. First, huge amounts of explosives have to be gathered surreptitiously to produce a blast of this magnitude. In addition, detonators, timers and the right kind of wiring have to be secretly obtained, and plans for placement of the bomb have to be worked out.

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2002/03/01

(2) 72" x 80" (1) 101" x 80" (4) 101" x 80"

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Please Turn to Page A6, Column 1

Continued From First Page

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until 1:35. A call at 2:15 warned (falsely) of a bomb in the Empire State Building, leading to its evacuation, and dozens of other calls came in after that. That pattern of calls suggests "a bunch of cranks," as one terrorism analyst put it.

FBI investigators in New York initially suspected the bombing might be linked to a trial just getting under way in Brooklyn federal court. Nearly 20 years ago Khalid al Jawary planted three car bombs in New York City, according to a federal indictment. The bombs were all discovered and defused without injuries, but Mr. al Jawary, said to have been a member of the Black September group that killed Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich, got away. Two years ago, he was arrested in Italy and extradited to the U.S. for his trial.

Although there were suspicions that Palestinian terrorists linked to Mr. al Jawary might have bombed the Trade Center, some authorities discounted that idea. Charles Rose, assistant U.S. attorney who is prosecuting the case, said in an interview that "I personally don't believe it." He, as well as terrorism analysts, pointed out that Palestinian terrorists have no track record of linking bombings to court cases.

Analysts noted that last week marked the second anniversary of the U.S. liberation of Kuwait following the Iraqi invasion; as one of them put it, "Saddam Hussein would love to have pulled this one off." But

besides the risk of massive retaliation by the U.S. that this would involve, the Iraqis have a history of bungling attempts at terrorism in the U.S. Two years ago, for example, an Iraqi diplomat in New York tried to arrange the assassination of an Iraqi dissident living in California. But the FBI, by tapping phone lines, learned of the scheme, and arrested the would-be killer in Modesto, Calif., before he even had a chance to draw his gun. "The Iraqis are a bunch of amateurs" as far as terrorism in the U.S. goes, says Mr. Ackerman, the former CIA agent.

But suspicions about terrorist groups linked to Iran are running high. For one thing, the Iranian terror apparatus, one of the largest in the world, is still "alive and well," as one analyst puts it, while the capabilities of other groups have declined. In addition, many aspects of the Trade Center bombing have all the earmarks of Iranian-linked terror groups, such as Hezbollah. These groups have made a deadly specialty of the tactic of massive car bombing, using it repeatedly throughout the world.

In addition, Iranian-linked groups often try to fuz up authorship of a particular operation in order to escape retribution. And the bombing of the Trade Center closely parallels an operation in Buenos Aires last year, when the Israeli Embassy was largely destroyed by a car bomb, killing scores of people. Though the perpetrators of that bombing haven't been caught, terrorism analysts blame Iranian-linked groups.

Testing Clinton?

"My suspicion is that the Iranians are

5/5

1004

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testing our new president," says Mr. Ackerman, the former CIA agent. He notes that President Reagan appeared strong by bombing Libya, and President Bush recaptured Kuwait. "But the Iranians could be trying to make President Clinton appear weak by bombing the Trade Center and getting away with it," Mr. Ackerman says. Such testing for psychological advantage "would be typical" of the Iranian groups, he adds.

There is another reason suspicions fall on Iran-linked groups—a bombing they are believed to have carried out in the U.S. with impunity. Three years ago the wife of the commander of the USS Vincennes, the U.S. warship that shot down an Iranian Airbus jet, was driving her van in San Diego when a bomb blew the vehicle up. She escaped unhurt. FBI agents strongly suspect an Iranian terrorist group seeking revenge for the Airbus downing. But to this day, the FBI has been unable to make any arrests in that case.

But for all these theories, analysts of this kind of violence don't rule out any possibility altogether at this early stage. Brian Jenkins, senior managing director of Kroll Associates, corporate security consultants, recalls investigating the bombing of a Pan American World Airways terminal in Los Angeles in 1974. "We spent a lot of time trying to figure out who did it, what their political motives were," he says. "It turned out to have been done by a psychotic whose grievance was that he was arrested some time ago on a morals charge."

—Neil Barak in New York and Carla Anne Robbins and Joe Davidson in Washington contributed to this article.

WSJ

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
סופס מברק

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בסמך 7

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בלמס/מידי

חאריך: 1 מרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: חידוש שיחות השלום

מצ"ב כתבת ה- WT (סמיה נקהול מקהיר 28/2) בנושא הלחץ שמפעילה ארה"ב על ישראל והפלסטינאים לחזור לשולחן השיחות.
ישראל הסכימה באופן עקרוני להצעת מזכיר המדינה כריסטופר אך הפרטים והניסוח הסופי ידונו עם גורמים אמריקאיים רשמיים בירושלים.

2.3

תקשורת

(26) טוח (2) סמיה (1) רחם (1) סוכל (1) סוכל (1) ספא (2) רביב (1)
מעט (1) חסברה (2) לעמך (1) סוכל (1) סמך (4) רס (1)
אמל (4) אומל (1) סייבל (1) דוצ-יס (1)

U.S. pushing Israel to bring exiles home, reopen peace talks

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28/2

By Samia Nakhoul
AP/REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

CAIRO — The United States is trying to nudge Israel and the Palestinians into accepting a plan that would allow the stalled Middle East peace talks to resume, Palestinian sources said yesterday.

The plan was put together by Secretary of State Warren Christopher

during his visit to the Middle East last week, the sources said.

In Jerusalem, Mr. Christopher met with Palestinians and Israelis Tuesday and Wednesday in a bid to end the dispute over Palestinians expelled by Israel into Lebanon in December.

The sources said the proposals include:

- A U.S. statement that the depor-

tations are illegal.

- The accelerated return of the deportees in compliance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 799, which calls for the return of the remaining 396 Palestinians expelled from the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip Dec. 17.

- A commitment from Israel not to carry out any deportations in the future.

- The return of a sizable number of other Palestinians deported since 1967.

- An agreement by Israel to stop human-rights violations in the occupied territories.

- A U.S. commitment that the next round of peace talks in Washington will focus on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338. These say that, in principle, Israel should withdraw from land

captured in the 1967 Middle East war in return for peace — the main basis of 16 months of talks between Israel, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinians.

Israel has not accepted that Resolution 242 applies to the talks with the Palestinians, but says it applies to negotiations on the final status of the territories, which are to take place later.

The sources said Mr. Christopher told the Palestinians after he saw Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin for two hours that Israel had agreed "in principle" to the proposals and that details and a final text would be negotiated with U.S. officials in Jerusalem.

The Israelis objected to the wording of some of the proposals. They rejected the phrases "binding commitment" and "compliance" with Resolution 799. They also objected to a discussion of Jerusalem, which Israel has declared its capital.

STEFAN HALPER

Leaving aside, for the moment, the question of whether the nation will buy President Clinton's \$500 billion economic program of tax increases and spending cuts, it is clear his proposals made no new FOBs (Friends of It) at the Pentagon, where he plans cut defense spending by \$88 billion over the next four years. This, in addition to the \$50 billion cut imposed by the Bush administration's recognition of the Soviet collapse, has left the defense establishment reeling as no foreign adversary possibly could.

In the next fiscal year, military spending would total \$277.7 billion, a cut of \$6.7 billion from President Bush's adjusted budget. The totals for the next three years are projected to be \$272.6 billion, \$264.9 billion and \$249.1 billion.

The Defense Department budget, critically the whipping boy of Democratic presidents and liberal activists, is often the first step for

Stefan Halper is a former White House and State Department official and a nationally syndicated columnist.

No FOB's at the Pentagon

the newly elected looking for dollars to fund their electoral promises. In this regard, the president has quickly put to rest any lingering doubts about what kind of democrat — new or old — he is.

Mr. Clinton's proposals will shrink the defense budget to 3 percent of GNP, the smallest percentage since Harry Truman oversaw the near dissolution of the armed forces after WW II — and lived to regret it when he couldn't field even a full rifle division to resist Chinese and North Korean aggression on the 38th parallel in 1950. Bill Clinton joins John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter who, in turn, enacted deep cuts in the military to fund electoral commitments only to confront unexpected foreign crisis

and incur considerable extra cost mobilizing to meet them.

For his part, the new president, who has now focused on the economy, has positioned defense and international security issues so they are considered, primarily, in budgetary terms. Although denied by his administration for obvious reasons, dollars, not functions and objectives, will determine the scope and effectiveness of American defense capability in the Clinton years. This not only flies in the face of the dangerous international reality surrounding us, it also denies the lessons of history that have shown over and over again that war (and the ability to make it) is an extension of politics and that without the ability to project power it is difficult, if not impossible, to influence events to protect the national interest.

But most of all, the president and his men simply haven't thought this through in their rush to compile the numbers for his State of the Union Address (just four weeks into his presidency) and for the 1994 defense budget that is in the final stages of decision.

In the broadest sense, many military theorists, including, for exam-

ple, James Woolsey, at his confirmation hearings as Mr. Clinton's director of central intelligence, believe that the threats the United States faces in the post-Soviet era are less predictable and potentially more dangerous than before. They raise the general question of how the defense budget can be cut while the United States underpins NATO, gives teeth to a peripatetic U.N. secretary general, supports regional allies and forces the ill-mannered Saddam Hussein, Somali warlords — not to mention the merely unpleasant — like the arthritic Mandarin rulers in Beijing — to adhere to minimal standards of international conduct.

In more specific terms, the program is unsound because it contemplates a shift from the Reagan-Bush era superpower capabilities to one of four options that contemplates increasingly greater power projection based on an analysis of the threats we face. The four optimal force strengths and capabilities were developed last year by now-Defense Secretary Les Aspin when he was the Democratic chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. At that time, after extensive anal-

ysis, he and his committee recommended a force structure called Option C that could respond to regional crises, terrorism, nuclear and chemical proliferation, humanitarian and peacekeeping needs with the required combination of military assets. The bottom-line cost in fiscal 1997 was \$270 billion. Both the capabilities and the cost were less than that selected by the Bush administration.

Regardless, Option B costing \$245 billion in fiscal 1997 is today's defense budget number. When questioned at a Pentagon briefing, officials were unable to explain why the secretary had suddenly chosen another force structure and could not dispel the belief that the structure had been chosen based on cost, not the prior careful analysis.

And so, amidst all the pomp and flurry of the new administration's massive public relations campaign lurks an iron spine — an equation that quietly distills the choices and the limits Mr. Clinton's policy will impose on America's international role.

We can only hope that events abroad will conform to Mr. Clinton's budget. Somehow, it doesn't seem likely.

**ELMO ZUMWALT
JAMES ZUMWALT**

Economic antidote for loss of power

Our countrymen seem satisfied with the planned huge reductions in appropriations to support U.S. military power. As our capabilities decline, we should take note of some of the factors that continue to make the world a dangerous place and consider nonmilitary alternatives to reduce the risks to U.S. interests.

• Russian hardliners continue to seek the downfall of President Boris Yeltsin, to restore the discipline of dictatorship, to resume military superpower status, and to confront U.S. interests.

• Communist China, practicing perestroika without glasnost, is restoring capitalism while retaining dictatorship. As a result, its burgeoning economy make it feasible to increase both strategic nuclear and conventional military capabilities. Over time, U.S. interests will suffer.

*Such cooperative
U.S.-Russian
ventures would bring
about a convergence
of U.S. and Russian
national interests.*

• Four ruthless dictators in the Third World continue to seek enhancement of their military power. North Korea's Kim Il-sung is developing a nuclear weapons capability while maintaining a highly trained conventional force. Syria's President Hafez Assad continues to seek military superiority over Israel. Libya's President Muammar Gadhafi is acquiring chemical weapons and fosters terrorism. Iraq's Saddam Hussein seeks lifting of the U.N. sanctions and prepares to regain military prowess.

• Ethnic wars in several former Soviet nations and in former Yugoslavia could draw in other nations.

• The most immediate threat to the Free World is Iran's effort to acquire nuclear weapons and to spread its influence through the Muslim world and terrorism in the Free World in the guise of fanatical religious fundamentalism.

With our rapidly decreasing capability to deter aggression or deal with it, other actions need to be considered which Americans are likelier to support than they are to call for a reversal of our military decline.

We discuss just one of these today.

The largest undeveloped oil and gas reserves in the world today are in Russia. Attempts by U.S. corporations to enter into joint ventures with Russian entities to develop these resources are not proceeding expeditiously. The Russian government has failed to provide the codification of a legal system in which contracts can be enforced and contract disputes fairly resolved. Interested corporations have been reluctant to risk capital in such a climate.

Intelligent U.S. policy would deal with this problem in two ways. First, every diplomatic effort should be made to provide assistance and advice to Russia to achieve the necessary legal regime. Second, pending that achievement, the U.S. government should work with the Japanese government to provide joint guarantees of the loans that corporations would need to develop Russia's oil and gas reserves.

The fruits of such a policy would be as follows:

• The huge oil and gas resources of Russia, delivered by joint venture pipelines to Siberian ports, would provide a major alternative source for the United States and Japan, freeing them from dependency on Mideast oil.

• The creation of the new source would reduce the strategic significance of the Middle East. The United States would have greater flexibility in that area, permitting strong support for democratization of regimes there.

• The influx of dollars into Russia and the employment created by such joint ventures would facilitate President Yeltsin's efforts to convert from a statist to a free economy. By improving the general economic situation, the currently increasing yearning of Russians for the "good old days" of dictatorship would be reversed and democratization enhanced.

• The cooperative U.S.-Russian ventures would bring about a convergence of U.S. and Russian national interests that would provide the combined power and influence to better contain the military and political threats cited above.

Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., a retired Navy admiral, was chief of naval operations. James G. Zumwalt, his son, is a lawyer who served on active duty as a Marine infantry officer.

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MORTON KONDRACKÉ

Defense cuts that

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leave us vulnerable

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Intelligence and congressional experts agree the world's likeliest short-term threat of mass destruction is a rocket-launched chemical weapons attack in the Middle East. Yet U.S. defensive programs to deal with the threat are in jeopardy from budget cuts.

An order from top-level aides to Defense Secretary Les Aspin reportedly has saved a drone-launched anti-missile project and a ship-based system from being canceled, but funding and priority for all so-called "boost phase intercept" programs is likely to be deeply slashed.

The Clinton administration plans to cut the Strategic Defense Initiative ("star wars") budget from \$6.8 billion proposed by President Bush down to \$3.8 billion.

Assigned to cut itself nearly in half, the Pentagon's SDI Office reportedly has tried to save the programs dearest to its heart — notably, the Army's THAAD (Theater High-Altitude Area Defense) system — and the politically sensitive National Missile Defense (NMD) system to protect land-based missiles in the United States.

But neither of them is designed to deal with the most realistic short-term threat: a missile-launched chemical or biological attack by

Iraq, Iran, Libya or Syria against Israel, Saudi Arabia or a U.S. base in the Mideast or Europe.

And systems designed to deal with this threat — super-fast missiles able to catch attacking missiles in their initial "boost" phase — have been downgraded by SDI bureaucrats in the Pentagon to "follow-on" status. Funding for all projects in this category has dropped from \$1.3 billion to \$400 million for fiscal 1994.

Theater systems like THAAD will get \$1.6 billion and NMD \$1.4 billion, uncut from the Bush levels.

In Governmental Affairs Committee hearings last Wednesday, Sen. John Glenn, Ohio Democrat, said "chemical and biological [weapons] are likely to be our most hideous problem in the immediate future. Any graduate student can make a plant to put these weapons together, unlike nuclear weapons." CIA witnesses concurred, noting that Iran, Syria, North Korea and Iraq all are working on such weapons.

The delivery systems of choice for such weapons, experts agree, are the SCUD used in the Iran-Iraq war, variations on the SCUD such as the missiles fired against Israel by Iraq, and newer missiles such as China's M9 and North Korea's SCUD-C, which has been sold to Syria.

In a Jan. 13 op-ed piece in the New York Times, scientist Robert Jastrow and former diplomat Max Kampelman argued that an attacker easily could load up a few dozen SCUDs with bomblets containing nerve gas or mustard gas and fire them at Israel or Saudi Arabia and "devastate a city's population."

Experts say it's also possible that Libya, Iraq or Iran might fire bomblet-laden missiles at a U.S. base in Europe or the Persian Gulf.

It would do little good to fire the Patriot, THAAD or U.S.-Israeli Arrow missiles at the incoming targets, Messrs. Jastrow and Kampelman said, because these defensive weapons strike the attacker in mid-course or in descent, after it has already released its thousands of bomblets.

"The only defense against clusters is one that destroys SCUDs in their boost phase seconds after launch," Mr. Jastrow and Mr. Kampelman wrote. They were arguing for a space-based sensor system, "Brilliant Eyes," and a space-based interceptor system, "Brilliant Pebbles," but said rockets launched from the ground, ships, aircraft or drones would be a good short-term alternative.

"Brilliant Pebbles," the favorite

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call and is a nationally syndicated columnist.

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"THIS TIME THE PENTAGON WENT THE WAY WITH TUCIA CUTS!"

program of Reaganite conservatives (and opposed by most Democrats), has been nearly eliminated from the Clinton budget, along with other exotic technologies such as lasers and

other directed-energy weapons.

In a Feb. 4 memo from the acting head of the SDI Office, Army Gen. Malcolm O'Neill, funding for boost-phase intercept projects was to be

"halted," but some of it reportedly was ordered restored by Deputy Defense Secretary William Perry and Undersecretary John Deutch.

Options for boost-phase intercept include a ship-based missile to be launched by an Aegis cruiser; a drone-based system called Talon/Raptor being worked on with Israel; an air-launched missile; and a ground-based system. Mr. Perry and Mr. Deutch specifically ordered that Talon/Raptor and the naval system be saved, but an SDI spokesman said they had been "moved back" in priority from an "acquisition" category to a "follow-on" category whose funding has been drastically cut.

The O'Neill memo made it clear the SDI Office's top priority was THAAD, designed to protect U.S. forces abroad from nuclear attack, and NMD, which would protect American land-based missiles.

These ground-based systems, preferred by Democrats as an alternative to Reaganite space systems, were designed to deal with a receding threat from the former Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, the threat from Iran, Iraq and other Mideast bad guys is not receding, but the means to deal with them is.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
טופס מברק

י-ס 1004
מחן - 4
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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 1 מרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - ישראל

מצ"ב הטור של אריק בריינדל (28/2 WT) בנושא יחסי ארה"ב - ישראל.
הנשיא קלינטון קיבל תמיכה רבה מיחודי אמריקה בבחירות לנשיאות וכעת הינו
מחוייב להפגין יחס אוהד וקשוב לבעיות ישראל.
לדברי בריינדל קיימת בעיה עם התמונה שמקבל קלינטון על ישראל והבעיה
הישראלית - ערבית, בשל כך יתכן כי בקרוב ישחזרו החלטותיו של קלינטון
בכיוון פחות אוהד ישראל.

ד.3.

תקשורת

(26) מנה (2) מנהיג (1) רה"מ (1) מנכ"ל (1) מנכ"ל (1) מצפ"א (2) רביב (1)
טט (1) הסברה (2) דעת (1) מרכז (1) מסד (4) דס (1)
אמן (4) אומן (1) טייבל (1) דוצ-ים (1)

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ERIC BREINDEL

Jewish support for Bill Clinton in November reversed a trend toward the right that had defined Jewish voting patterns in presidential elections since Ronald Reagan's 1980 victory over Jimmy Carter.

Jews, of course, had "always" voted Democratic — which is to say they'd done so, in overwhelming numbers, since the 1932 presidential candidacy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Indeed, Jewish support for the Democrats had been so consistent and disproportionate as to discourage major GOP efforts to compete for Jewish votes and financial support.

The perception that President Carter was less than friendly to Israel — and highly sympathetic to the concerns of Israel's Arab adversaries — created the climate for the 1980 shift. Ronald Reagan — widely deemed a friend of Israel "by instinct" — managed to secure an unprecedented 40 percent of the Jewish vote in 1980. And the GOP continued to fare reasonably well among Jews throughout the 1980s — even in the race between George Bush and Michael Dukakis.

President Bush, of course — for entirely legitimate reasons — came to be viewed as far less friendly to Israel than any U.S. president since Dwight Eisenhower. The good relations that had defined the Reagan years all but disappeared under Mr. Bush, who even went so far as to raise the ugly specter of dual loyalty in discussing American Jewish attempts to lobby Congress over U.S. loan guarantees to Israel.

Mr. Clinton, therefore, in view of his own avowed sympathy for Israel — and in light of Al Gore's Capitol Hill track record as a staunch friend of the Jewish state — didn't have a tough time persuading American Jews who'd shifted rightward to abandon any residual sympathy; they

Clinton's ear on Israel

may have felt for the GOP

Thus, Mr. Clinton's vote among Jews this past November apparently exceeded 80 percent — a return to FDR-era numbers.

So, are Jews who backed Mr. Clinton — animated primarily by faith in his sympathy for Israel — now in a position to rest easy?

Not clear.

Mr. Clinton himself, it would seem, continues to nurture a fundamentally friendly disposition toward the Jewish state. And certainly, Washington's recent decision to fight a U.N. effort to condemn Israel after Jerusalem deported 400 Hamas terror operatives from Gaza and the West Bank reflected a decided U.S. policy shift.

It's hard to imagine George Bush blocking a similar U.N. condemnation vote.

But on the underlying issue of how the Clinton administration actually views the Arab-Israeli dispute, there is reason for concern.

The State Department, headed by Warren Christopher and Peter Tarnoff (the new undersecretary of state for political affairs) can't be viewed as any friendlier to Israel than was James Baker's Foggy Bottom.

Indeed, the one key Bakerite who has stayed on as a consultant, Dennis Ross, headed the Policy Planning staff under Mr. Baker and was the former secretary of state's principal in-house Middle East expert. Mr. Ross' influence continues: He even traveled to the region with Mr. Christopher this past week.

Most distressing, however, is the presence in Mr. Clinton's inner circle of a number of Jews — including the president's personal liaison to the Jewish community, Sarah Ehrman — who are closely identified with a dovish sect: Americans for Peace Now.

The Peace Now movement is a fringe-left element within Israel. In Jewish political life here, Americans for Peace Now are an even more marginal proposition. The group is not part of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. Many of its leading adherents believe in recognizing the PLO and in creating an independent PLO state on the West Bank and in Gaza.

This stance, needless to say, is so far from the American Jewish consensus on the question of the PLO that it has rendered the entire Peace Now operation incapable of establishing itself as a serious force in Jewish life.

Among the other inner-circle Clintonites active in Americans for Peace Now are Peter Edelman, husband of Hillary Rodham Clinton's celebrated ally, Marion Wright Edelman. Peter Edelman is reportedly under consideration for a ranking Justice Department post. In addition, there's White House aide Eli Segal, formerly a senior Clinton campaign official.

None of these folks — and this is a charge that Israel's sympathizers frequently level at U.S.-based Peace Now activists — ever manifested any particular interest in Israel's plight prior to their effort, under Peace Now's auspices, to force Jerusalem toward territorial concessions.

Thus, if President Clinton continues to get his news on Israel from Miss Ehrman and Messrs. Edelman and Segal — and from State Department bureaucrats working under Warren Christopher — it's difficult not to wonder whether the new administration won't soon begin to pursue policies that don't differ markedly from those of George Bush.

Eric Breindel is the New York Post's editorial editor.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון
טופס מברק

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 1 מרץ 1993

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: מינויי ממשל קלינטון

מצ"ב דיווחו של אל קמן (WP 1/3) בנושא מינויים חדשים בממשל קלינטון.
תשומת לבכם למינוייה של אליזבת ג'ונס לעוזרת מזכיר המדינה.

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תקשורת

(26) שהח (2)	מח"ח (1)	רמ"מ (1)	מנכ"ל (1)	סנכ"ל (1)	מצפ"א (2)	דבי"ב (1)
מטח (1)	הסברה (2)	ד"ר (1)	מרכז (1)	מסד (4)	רס (1)	
אמן (4)	אוסן (1)	טייבל (1)	דוצ-ים (1)			

Lineup in Flux for Reno's Prospective No. 2

As Attorney General-designate Janet Reno prepares for her confirmation hearing this month, the list of contenders for senior deputy positions in the Justice Department seems in constant flux.

The "state du jour," as one wag put it late last week, had Washington lawyer and former U.S. attorney Charles P.C. Ruff Jr. back in the running for the No. 2 spot. It was thought that Ruff had dropped off the list because he had failed to pay Social Security taxes for his one-day-per-week household help—he has since paid \$3,000—but sources say he remains "in play."



Washington lawyer Kenneth R. Felnberg, recently mentioned as a possible pick, has fallen from the ranks of top candidates.

Look for Boston lawyer Eleanor D. Acheson, granddaughter of former secretary of state Dean Acheson and, much more importantly, Wellesley classmate and longtime friend of Hillary Rodham Clinton, to be offered a senior policymaking job at Justice.

Cynthia LeBow, former general counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee and more recently Clinton campaign issues director in California, is said to be a strong contender for the legislative affairs post along with Ralph Nease, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Nease ran the effort that derailed the 1987 nomination of Robert H. Bork to the Supreme Court.

In the Pipeline for FERC Job

■ Who would want to spend three or four years listening to lawyers argue about interstate pipelines, wholesale electricity prices and the environmental impact of hydroelectric dams?

Richard Flynn, apparently. The chairman of the New York Power Authority was spotted inside the Beltway on Friday, reportedly seeking the chairmanship of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, where four of the five seats are soon to be vacant.

And Did You Hear the One...?

■ It's getting so that politicians are using the Clinton administration's snail-like pace on appointments as warmup material for their speeches. Speaking to a Federal Aviation Administration aviation forecast conference last week, Rep. James L. Oberstar (D-Minn.) said he had a forecast: Sometime in the next four months, a new FAA administrator would be appointed.

Oberstar, chairman of the House Public Works and Transportation aviation subcommittee, then added, "Things are moving slowly over there while we do diversity."

Christopher Gets Executive Assistant

■ Veteran Mideast hand A. Elizabeth Jones, deputy chief of mission in Bonn since August, has become executive assistant to Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher. Jones, who was deputy chief of mission

in Islamabad and spent most of her career in the Mideast, accompanied Christopher on his recent trip to the region.

New York lawyer Lillian Fernandez, an adviser on international trade policy to Pfizer Inc., and former executive director of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, is going to the White House as special assistant to the president for legislative affairs, working on, among other things, trade and domestic issues.

Kathryn J. Way, who headed former Delaware governor Michael N. Castle's state office here and who worked with domestic policy adviser Carol Rasco and then-Gov. Bill Clinton on health care and welfare overhaul issues for the National Governors' Association, is back with them again. She'll work for Rasco as a special assistant to Clinton on welfare overhaul and other issues.

Ex-Aids to Dukakis to Join OMB

■ Harvard Law School Prof. Christopher F. Edley Jr., a former Carter White House domestic policy aide and issues adviser to Michael S. Dukakis during his 1988 presidential bid, is headed back to Washington to join a veteran crew of senior policy deputies being assembled by Office of Management and Budget Director Leon R. Panetta. Edley is said to be in line for the program associate director job handling economics and government.

Elaine K. Shocas, a lawyer with the American Federation of Teachers, and former aide to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) is a likely bet to become executive director of the office of U.N. ambassador Madeleine K. Albright at the State Department.



MADELINE K. ALBRIGHT

Time Enough for His Friends

■ Some people pride themselves in keeping up with friends. President Clinton has elevated the practice to an art form.

On his first Sunday morning after becoming, as they say, Leader of the Free World, and presumably a busy person, Clinton read the morning paper and called old friend and Washington divorce lawyer Maria Tucker to compliment her on a favorable profile in The Washington Post Magazine.

"How do you get such good press?" Clinton joked. Tucker, a longtime friend of the Clintons and a member of the transition team, had a meeting later that day at the White House, and Clinton suggested she drop by the Oval Office afterward.

When she arrived, Clinton was hanging pictures with aides and arranging the office. He took her over to his desk, bare except for the magazine, and asked her to autograph it. He made another joke about the nearly 7,000-word article. She asked if he really read the whole thing. "I read every word," he said. "Here. Want to give me a quiz?"

—Al Kamen

1003
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Avoiding the Quagmire in Bosnia 1002 2/2

As a way to devise an honorable diplomatic role for the United States backed by nonmilitary, largely economic pressures, the Clinton administration's position on the Bosnian negotiations is extremely skillful and deserves support. Yet we must take care lest its enforcement provisions land the United States in a morass from which extrication will be difficult.

For Bosnia is not a nation in any except a geographic sense. It is composed of Greek-Orthodox Serbs, Catholic Croats, and Croats and Serbs who under Turkish occupation converted to Islam. There are no Bosnians per se. It remains a mystery why it should ever have been thought that the same ethnic groups that had refused to coexist in a relatively large Yugoslavia would be able to coexist in tiny Bosnia.

The best solution would have been a U.N. or European Community trusteeship for Bosnia, which would have permitted the introduction of an international force. Because none of the various nationalities would have had to submit to each other but to a presumably neutral international authority, this might have either prevented or ameliorated the civil war. But to believe that the appalling results of that conflict can now be reversed by a negotiated settlement that all the parties, in Secretary of State Warren Christopher's words, would "voluntarily embrace" is an illusion.

There are two basic military options. One would be massive pressure to undo the Serbian gains of the past year and redraw the borders in the plan proposed by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen (a plan that is not a "solution" but a stopgap attempt to reduce Serb-conquered territory and prevent worse depredations and suffering, at least for a time). The other would be a significant military commitment to at least keep the parties from overthrowing the Vance-Owen arrangement or a variation of it.

But if the United States opts for altering the situation on the ground by military means, it will face the dilemma of Vietnam—an open-ended commitment with no visible exit. If it undertakes a major enforcement role, it will be on the road to an embarrassment similar to that in Beirut.

A third option is to punish Serbia for its atrocities by aerial attacks. This option should be kept open to deter and to punish a new round of ethnic cleansing and other outrages. I would also favor air drops to besieged Muslim communities. None of these measures could undo past transgressions, however.

The Clinton administration's strategy seems to be to persuade the reluctant Muslims to acquiesce in the loss of territory by promising to protect them against renewed Serbian aggression. A figure of 30,000 peace-keepers has been

mentioned, half of whom would be supplied by the United States.

U.N. enforcement has a plausible ring to it. It derives from the Wilsonian notion of collective security, which assumes that on issues of peace, the interests of all key actors and their willingness to

"Collective security" assumes parallel interests and similar willingness to take risks. That is emphatically not the case in Bosnia.

take risks run parallel. That is emphatically not the case in Bosnia, however, where not all countries—and surely not all parties—perceive the same threat or are willing to run similar risks.

Precisely because of the stopgap nature of the Vance-Owen plan, enforcing it on the ground could turn into a nightmare. The Serbs will, no doubt, seek to link their enclaves together and sooner or later join their area to Serbia itself in quest of their centuries-old dream of a greater Serbia. The Muslims will attempt to reconquer territories from which their populations were expelled. Though the Croats have not been heard from, it would be amazing if they remained quiescent for long. The central government, with limited but real powers proposed in the Vance-Owen plan, will be a weak reed for enforcement purposes.

In these circumstances, it is difficult to believe that the 10 proposed ethnic enclaves in Bosnia can be protected by the small force envisaged. Either more troops will have to be sent, or the enforcement mechanism will be seen to be impotent.

It eludes me why the United States should supply half the entire peacekeeping force in this morass in the center of Europe. If such a force is created, by far its dominant element should be European. If Europe is not willing to preserve the peace and human rights on its own territory, the United States may be walking into a heartbreaking trap by attempting to act as a substitute.

The operation and composition of the proposed enforcement mechanism raise all the problems of collective security mentioned earlier. The administration plan obviously foresees a major role for Russia, both in the negotiations and presumably in the enforcement. But it is

already clear that Russia's attitude is not identical with America's, nor can it be. Serbia has been Russia's most dependable historical ally. Russia went to war in defense of Serbia in 1914, even though Russia had no national interest in the immediate issue.

The present Russian government, already under attack for neglecting its national interest and for excessive subservience to the United States, is in no position to bring real pressure on Serbia. We must take care not to recreate in the name of enforcement the alignment prior to World War I, with the Catholic regions of Croatia and Slovenia on the Western side, Greek-Orthodox Serbia supported by Russia, and Bosnia a no-man's-land in between.

Like millions, I am disgusted by Serbian conduct. I applaud Christopher's eloquent call for a standard for the fair treatment of minorities. He is right to invoke the impact on our consciences of accepting such brutality. And yet, when American lives are being risked, American foreign policy must define the national interest being served. In this world of upheaval, there are many events offensive to our values in which we are unable to interpose military force and for the easing of which we apply many measures short of war. Some of these measures are available in Yugoslavia—the tightening of sanctions on Serbia, for example. But the near-permanent stationing of American forces in the Balkans requires a clearer demonstration of the national interest.

Any U.S. participation in enforcement should be confined to aerial measures. It will not avoid the dilemma of America's standing between reluctant parties, but it will reduce the danger of American forces becoming hostages. Moreover, if we are serious about participating in enforcement, we should recognize that it must not be improvised. Bases and command machinery will be needed. Most of these will have to be in Italy. A meaningful step would be to explore what bases are available and what command machinery can be created now for either enforcement of the Vance-Owen plan or for possible reaction to ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, Macedonia or Bosnia. We will then know at least what our real possibilities are.

It fell on me to have to end a war started by previous administrations with the highest of motives and the widest possible support. Knowing the anguish of such an effort, I would hate to see another idealistic administration slide into a comparable quagmire.

The writer, former secretary of state, is president of Kissinger Associates, an international consulting firm with business interests in many countries abroad.

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BALMAS/RAGIL
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TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 1-MARCH-1993

TV COVERAGE

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CNN REPORTED ON THE STABBING OF NINE ISRAELIS BY A (LOCAL) PALESTINIAN NEAR THE TEL AVIV CENTRAL BUS STATION (1).

EDITORIALS

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NYP: 'TERRORISM'S CHALLENGE': WRITER CALLS ON FEDERAL AUTHORITIES TO ACT QUICKLY TO ENSURE THAT SECURITY PRECAUTIONS THAT HAVE BECOME ROUTINE IN ENGLAND AND ISRAEL ARE NOT NEEDED IN THE US.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: OFFICIALS STUDYING BOMB CLUES SEEK SEVERAL FOR QUESTIONING; BUSINESSES PLAN TO CARRY ON AFTER EXPLOSION; US PLANES START DROPPING RELIEF SUPPLIES TO BOSNIANS; CLINTON'S ECONOMIC PLAN FINDING RESPECT FROM CORPORATE AMERICA; 4 US AGENTS KILLED IN TEXAS SHOOTOUT WITH CULT. WSJ: 'EXPLOSIVE THEORY: BOMBING IN NEW YORK BEARS SOME HALLMARKS OF MIDEAST TERRORISTS'; NATIONAL. ND,DN: LOCAL. NYP: SADDAM AND THE WORLD TRADE CENTER.

TEL AVIV/ARAB/STABBING: NYT(AP-BRIEF): A (LOCAL) ARAB APPARENTLY ARMED WITH SEVERAL KNIVES STABBED AND KILLED TWO ISRAELIS AND WOUNDED AT LEAST SEVEN OTHERS ON MONDAY IN SOUTH TEL AVIV; ISRAEL RADIO REPORTED THAT BYSTANDERS MANAGED TO CAPTURE THE ASSAILANT AFTER HE STABBED THE VICTIMS.

ISRAEL/EGYPT/VISIT: DN(BRIEF): OSAMA EL-BAZ, A SENIOR ADVISER TO EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT MUBARAK, MADE A SURPRISE VISIT TO ISRAEL ON SUNDAY TO DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS AND THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE PALESTINIAN DEPORTEES IN LEBANON; MR. EL-BAZ ALSO REPORTEDLY EXPLORED THE POSSIBILITY OF ARRANGING A SUMMIT MEETING BETWEEN PM RABIN AND PRESIDENT MUBARAK, ALTHOUGH AIDES TO PM RABIN SAID THAT THE

IDEA DID NOT COME UP DURING THE TALKS.

ISRAEL/PALESTINIANS/CRITICISM: ND(S.SACHS): ARTICLE DESCRIBES PALESTINIAN CRITICISM OF ISRAELI SECURITY METHODS IN THE (ADMINISTERED) TERRITORIES, INCLUDING THE DETENTION OF LOCAL RESIDENTS AND THE DESTRUCTION OF HOMES; AN IDF SPOKESMAN DEFENDED THE ISRAELI PRACTICE, CITING THAT WEAPONS, INCLUDING HAND GRENADES AND PRIMITIVE BOMBS, HAVE BEEN FOUND IN SAID HOMES; NOTES A RECENT IDF SECURITY OPERATION CONDUCTED IN KHAN YOUNIS; THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATES WHO MET WITH US SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER ON HIS RECENT VISIT TO JERUSALEM REPORTEDLY PLEADED FOR HELP IN IMPROVING CONDITIONS IN THE TERRITORIES.

IRAQ/SHIIS/OFFENSIVE: DN(BRIEF): ACCORDING TO A NEWSPAPER IN LONDON, HUNDREDS OF IRAQI SHIIS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN AN OFFENSIVE BY MILITARY UNITS LOYAL TO BAGHDAD IN THE MARSHLAND OF SOUTHERN IRAQ; MANY OF THE HUNDREDS OF RESIDENTS DIED IN NIGHTTIME ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENTS; SAID NEWSPAPER ALSO CLAIMED THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN HAS ORDERED THE SOUTHERN WATERWAYS POISONED.

MANHATTAN/BOMBING/IRAQ/LINK: NYP(U.DAN-M.WEISS): 'BOMBING CAME 2 YEARS TO THE DAY AFTER US VICTORY': FEDERAL AUTHORITIES SAY THAT THEY ARE INVESTIGATING THE POSSIBILITY THAT MIDDLE EAST TERRORISTS PLANTED THE BOMB IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN MANHATTAN TO AVENGE THE US-LED MILITARY OPERATION AGAINST IRAQ IN 1991; FBI AGENTS HAVE REPORTEDLY DISMISSED AS SUSPECTS MORE THAN 50 CALLERS CLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BOMBING IN THE NAME OF AN ARRAY OF POLITICAL CAUSES.

WSJ(W.M.CARLEY-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'EXPLOSIVE THEORY: BOMBING IN NEW YORK BEARS SOME HALLMARKS OF MIDEAST TERRORISTS': ARTICLE QUOTES VARIOUS TERRORIST ANALYSTS, MOST OF WHOM CLAIM THAT THE RECENT EXPLOSION AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER IN MANHATTAN 'DOES NOT HAVE THE EARMARKS OF A LONE FANATIC AT WORK'; SAID ANALYSTS SUGGEST THAT WHOEVER PLANTED THE BOMB MAY BE WITHHOLDING CLARIFICATION DELIBERATELY, AS A WAY TO AMPLIFY DOUBT AND CONFUSION; NOTES SEVERAL TERRORIST GROUPS, INCLUDING THE IRA, HIZBOLLAH AND SEVERAL PALESTINIAN MOVEMENTS, THAT HAVE REASON TO CONDUCT SUCH A LARGE-SCALE OPERATION IN THE US; CLAIMS THAT SUSPICIONS ABOUT TERRORIST GROUPS LINKED TO IRAN 'ARE RUNNING HIGH', WITH SOME FBI AND CIA OFFICIALS NOTING THAT MANY ASPECTS OF THE EXPLOSION AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER ARE SIMILAR TO PREVIOUS CAR-BOMBINGS CONDUCTED BY HIZBOLLAH IN LEBANON; QUOTES MIKE ACKERMAN, A FORMER CIA AGENT, AS SAYING: 'MY SUSPICION IS THAT THE IRANIANS ARE TESTING OUR NEW PRESIDENT. BUT THE IRANIANS COULD BE TRYING TO MAKE PRESIDENT CLINTON APPEAR WEAK BY BOMBING THE TRADE CENTER AND GETTING AWAY WITH IT'.

NYT(R.D.MCFADDEN-FRONT PAGE): 'OFFICIALS STUDYING BOMB CLUES SEEK SEVERAL FOR QUESTIONING'.

NYT(D.JEHL): 'A LACK OF DEFINITIVE CLAIM FOR ATTACK BAFFLES (US) OFFICIALS'.

DN(J.CAPECI): ACCORDING TO WILLIAM KUNSTLER, DEFENSE LAWYER FOR

KHALID DUHHAN AL-JAWARY, A FORMER MEMBER OF BLACK SEPTEMBER WHO IS SCHEDULED TO GO ON TRIAL ON THURSDAY FOR PLANTING BOMBS IN CARS PARKED OUTSIDE TWO LOCATIONS IN MANHATTAN IN 1973, THE RECENT PUBLICITY FROM THE EXPLOSION AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER WILL PREJUDICE HIS CLIENT'S CHANCE FOR GETTING A FAIR TRIAL; MR. KUNSTLER IS SEEKING TO HAVE THE TRIAL POSTPONED.

SPAIN/ISLAM/NOSTALGIA: NYT(A.RIDING): ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE GROWING NOSTALGIA AMONG MANY SPANIARDS AND TOURISTS FOR THE 'GLORY' OF ISLAMIC SPAIN; NOTES THAT A LARGE NUMBER OF INTELLECTUALS RESIDING IN SOUTHERN SPAIN HAVE CONVERTED TO ISLAM.

PBS/BLACKS/DOCUMENTARY/CRITICISM: NYT(R.BERNSTEIN): 'DOUBT MARS PBS FILM OF BLACK ARMY UNIT': ARTICLE NOTES RECENT CRITICISM OF A PBS DOCUMENTARY ABOUT THE LIBERATION OF THE DACHAU CONCENTRATION CAMP BY BLACK US SOLDIERS; SEVERAL JOURNALISTS AND WAR VETERANS CONTEND THAT THAT A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE FILM, THE ROLE OF BLACK SOLDIERS FROM THE 761ST BATTALION IN THE LIBERATION OF TWO CAMPS, 'IS SIMPLY NOT TRUE'; WNET CHANNEL 13 IN NEW YORK HAS REPORTEDLY ASKED ITS PBS AFFILIATES NOT TO BROADCAST THE DOCUMENTARY WHILE IT LOOKS INTO CERTAIN ALLEGATIONS ABOUT THE FILM.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(S.SCHMEMANN): '(RUSSIAN PRESIDENT) YELTIN SUGGESTS RUSSIAN REGIONAL ROLE'.

MICHAEL STOLTZ
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), דוצ-ים,
צנזורצבאי, אומן, סיבל, משפט, תפוצות,
גנור, @ (וח'ב), ר/מרכז, ממוד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, פרנ, סמנכלמזח, מזתים

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אל:רהמט/51

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BALMAS/RAGIL
26120

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 27-28-1993

Handwritten signature and initials in red ink.

TV COVERAGE

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NBC MEET THE PRESS INTERVIEWED SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER (DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AND HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST - 28); CNN REPORTED ON THE SUCCESSFUL TEST OF THE ARROW MISSILE SYSTEM IN ISRAEL (28).

EDITORIALS

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NYT(28): 'IRAN'S NUREMBERG LAWS': WRITER CLAIMS THAT THE CLERIC LEADERSHIP IN IRAN HAS APPROVED A SECRET AGENDA FOR THE PERSECUTION OF THE BAHAI FAITH; NOTES A SECRET CODE APPROVED BY THE SUPREME REVOLUTIONARY CULTURAL COUNCIL IN 1991 WHICH DENIES EMPLOYMENT AND SCHOOL ENROLLMENT TO ANY IRANIANS WHO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES AS BAHAIS; COMPARES THE CURRENT TREATMENT OF THE BAHAIS IN IRAN TO THAT OF JEWS IN NAZI GERMANY IN 1935.

DN(27): 'REVIVING THE MIDEAST TALKS': WRITER COMMENDS SECRETARY WARREN CHRISTOPHER AND RUSSIAN FM KOZYREV FOR ATTEMPTING TO REVIVE THE STALLED MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS; BELIEVES THAT ALL OF THE PARTIES INVOLVED, INCLUDING THE PALESTINIANS, WILL AGREE TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN APRIL; PRAISES SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FOR ACCOMPLISHING THIS 'WITHOUT DEMANDING ANY CONCESSIONS FROM ISRAEL'; QUOTES PM RABIN AS SAYING: 'IT IS VERY LIKELY THAT THIS YEAR WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST FATEFUL AND IMPORTANT IN THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL. THERE IS A CHANCE THAT 45 YEARS OF WAR WILL COME TO AN END, THAT PERHAPS THERE WILL BE AN END TO THE BLOOD AND THE TEARS'.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT(27): 'BLAST HITS TRADE CENTER, BOMB SUSPECTED; FIVE KILLED, THOUSANDS FLEE SMOKE IN TOWERS'; MANY ARE TRAPPED FOR HOURS IN DARKNESS AND CONFUSION; PRESIDENT CLINTON URGES MORE RUSSIAN AID; MANHATTAN IS HELD IN THE GRIP OF TRAFFIC SNARLS AND ANXIETY. NYT(28): 'INQUIRY INTO EXPLOSION WIDENS; TOWERS ARE SHUT INDEFINITELY'; COL-

LEGES LURING BLACK STUDENTS WITH INCENTIVES; CONGRESS HEARS THE PUBLIC AND MOVES BEHIND CLINTON; CASUAL WORKDAY CHOICES PROVE FATAL TO FIVE. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/DEMJANJUK/HUNGER STRIKE: NYT(28-C.HABERMAN-CABLED): 'A HUNGER STRIKE THREAT IN ISRAELI NAZI GUARD CASE': CONVICTED NAZI WAR CRIMINAL JOHN DEMJANJUK HAS REPORTEDLY DECLARED A HUNGER STRIKE TO PROTEST THE DELAY IN A DECISION ON HIS APPEAL TO THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT; MR. DEMJANJUK WILL BEGIN A WATER-ONLY DIET ON MONDAY; QUOTES A DEFENSE LAWYER FOR MR. DEMJANJUK AS SAYING: 'WE JUST WANT TO REMIND EVERYONE THAT HE IS IN PRISON SEVEN YEARS AND THAT HIS APPEAL IN THE SUPREME COURT HAS BEEN PENDING FOR FIVE YEARS'; NOTES SOME ISRAELI PRESS REPORTS WHICH CLAIM THAT THE FIVE JUDGES HEARING THE CASE ARE IN THE FINAL STAGES OF OPINION-WRITING.

ISRAEL/CASINO/DONALD TRUMP: NYP(U.DAN): NEW YORK BUSINESSMAN DONALD TRUMP SAID THAT HE WOULD BUILD A LARGE CASINO-HOTEL IN TABA IF HE CAN NOT OBTAIN A LICENSE FROM THE GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL; NOTES THAT MR. TRUMP MET WITH ISRAELI OFFICIALS IN NEW YORK ON THURSDAY; GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN JERUSALEM HAVE REPORTEDLY INVITED MR. TRUMP TO VISIT ISRAEL FOR ONE WEEK IN APRIL TO DISCUSS THE CASINO PROPOSAL.

CHRISTOPHER/VISIT/ACCOMPLISHMENTS: NYT(28-BRIEF): ARTICLE NOTES THAT THE CHANCES 'ARE NOW GOOD' THAT ALL PARTIES TO THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS WILL RESUME NEGOTIATIONS IN APRIL, CITING AN UNDISCLOSED AMERICAN DEAL WITH THE PALESTINIANS TO 'DEAL' WITH THE DEPORTATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE TERRITORIES; NOTES THAT KUWAIT REBUFFED SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WHEN HE PRESSED THE EMIR TO LIFT THE ARAB BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL.

NYT(28-E.SCIOLINO-CABLED): 'ON THE ROAD, CHRISTOPHER IS FINDING HIS FOOTING': ARTICLE NOTES THAT SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER 'BEGAN TO DEFINE HIMSELF' ON HIS RECENT TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST AND EUROPE AND SHED HIS IMAGE AS THE 'COLORLESS' NO. 2 TO SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE; MR. CHRISTOPHER IS REPORTEDLY SMILING MORE, MAKING HIMSELF MORE ACCESSIBLE TO REPORTERS AND TRYING TO ACT 'ROBUST'; STATES THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, UNLIKE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER, IS 'A FACILITATOR, A PUBLICLY INVISIBLE CATALYST WHO USES TRUST RATHER THAN FEAR TO MOVE THE PARTIES FORWARD, CULLS WORKABLE IDEAS FROM WHAT THEY SAY AND RELIES ON THEIR FRIENDS TO PRESS THEM TO BE FLEXIBLE'; MR. CHRISTOPHER HAS REPORTEDLY ADMITTED TO HIS CLOSE FRIENDS THAT HE IS NOT VERY GOOD AT 'SCHMOOZING' AND WOULD NEVER PRETEND TO BE; NOTES THE REACTION OF SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WHEN HE ENTERED A CHILDRENS EXHIBIT AT YAD VASHEM.

CAIRO/EXPLOSION: ND(28-BRIEF): MUSLIM EXTREMISTS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY ON SATURDAY FOR AN EXPLOSION THAT TOOK PLACE IN A CROWDED COFFEE SHOP IN CAIRO ON FRIDAY NIGHT; SIXTEEN PEOPLE, INCLUDING TWO AMERICANS, WERE INJURED IN THE BLAST.

IRAQ/SANCTIONS: NYT(27-M.GEORGY): 'UNDER HUSSEIN'S GAZE, SANCTIONS BITE': ARTICLE DESCRIBES HOW THE ONGOING UN SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ

ARE AFFECTING THE IRAQI PEOPLE; MANY IRAQIS REPORTEDLY HOPE THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WILL IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH BAGHDAD AND EASE UN SANCTIONS.

NORTH KOREA/IAEA/INSPECTION: NYT(27-REUTERS): NORTH KOREAN OFFICIALS REJECTED ON FRIDAY A NEW DEMAND BY THE IAEA THAT PYONGYANG OPEN TWO OF ITS MILITARY SITES FOR INSPECTION; SAID OFFICIALS DENOUNCED THE UN DEMAND AS A VIOLATION OF ITS SOVEREIGNTY; QUOTES ONE NORTH KOREAN OFFICIAL AS SAYING: 'OUR COUNTRY WILL IN NO WAY ACCEPT THIS RESOLUTION, WHICH DEMANDS SPECIAL INSPECTIONS OF TWO MILITARY SITES WHICH HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH NUCLEAR ACTIVITIES'.

UN/PANEL/INTERVENTION: NYT(27-P.LEWIS-CABLED): AN INTERNATIONAL PANEL OF FINANCIAL EXPERTS HAS RECOMMENDED THAT THE UN PREPARE FOR A SUBSTANTIAL EXPANSION OF ITS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS AND PUT ITS FINANCING ON 'SOUNDER FOOTING'; SAID PANEL ALSO RECOMMENDED THAT THE UN SET UP A UNIFIED PEACEKEEPING BUDGET FINANCED BY A SINGLE ANNUAL ASSESSMENT ON MEMBER GOVERNMENTS, BACKED BY A DOLLAR 400 MILLION REVOLVING FUND TO PAY START-UP COSTS; SAID PANEL WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION WITH THE SUPPORT OF UN SECRETARY-GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS- GHALI; NOTES THAT SEVERAL COUNTRIES WERE FALLING BEHIND IN PAYMENTS TO THE UN, INCLUDING ISRAEL AND IRAN.

JEWS/BRIT/EASTERN EUROPE: NYT(28-RELIGIOUS NOTES): ARTICLE DESCRIBES A BROOKLYN-BASED JEWISH ORGANIZATION, KNOWN AS FREE, WHICH HELPED TO PERFORM CIRCUMCISIONS ON JEWISH MALES WHO WERE REARED IN THE FORMERLY COMMUNIST EASTERN BLOC.

ART/WWII/EXHIBIT: NYT(28-H.MITGANG): ARTICLE DESCRIBES AN ART EXHIBIT ENTITLED 'ASSAULT ON THE ARTS: CULTURE AND POLITICS IN NAZI GERMANY', WHICH IS CURRENTLY BEING HELD AT THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY IN MANHATTAN.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(27-W.J.BROAD-BOOK REVIEW): 'NEW BOOK SAYS US PLOTTED TO KILL TOP NAZI SCIENTIST'.

NYT(28-R.D.MCFADDEN-FRONT PAGE): 'IMPACT EXPANDING: TWO WORKERS MISSING - NO PLASTIC EXPLOSIVES HAVE BEEN FOUND'.

NYT(27-D.JEHL): 'A TOOL OF FOREIGN TERROR (CAR BOMB), LITTLE KNOWN IN THE US'.

ND(28-P.BOWLES): 'BOMB CULPRIT: 1 OF 2 PLASTICS: TERRORISTS PREFER C-4 AND SEMTEX'.

MICHAEL STOLTZ
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שחת, סשהח, @ (רדמ), @ (שחבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעח, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), דוצ-ים,
צנזורצבאי, אומן, סייבל, משפט, תפוצות,
גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, פרנ, סמנכלמזח, מזחיים

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 2605

אל: רחמש/65

מ-: ווש, נר: 2005, תא: 010393, זח: 1920, דח: ב, סג: סר,

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סודי/בהול לבוקר

אל: משהב'ט / מקש'ח

דע: משהב'ט/מלמ'ב

ח'א/רמ'ט, רוה'מ/מזכ'צ, אמ'נ/קש'ח/רע'נ ר', מש'נ/

מש'נ 1 א'/אילן אילת

כאן: שגריר

מאת: נ.צ וושינגטון/אלוף גיורא רום

סמוכין: 717

הנדון: אי הארכת האמנה לק. קישור אפצ'י

1. חבוקר בשעה 1000 לערך קיבלנו הודעה מקש'ח דבא'א כי הם אינם יכולים להאריך את האמנתם של קציני הקישור שלנו בחברות מקדונל דגלאס, מרטין מרייטה וג'נרל אלקטריק.

2. כשעה אחר כך הגיע מכתב רשמי בפקס המפרט שהואיל ועסקת 18 המסוקים הסתיימה אין יותר הצדקה להמשך שהותם.

3. מספר דקות אחר כך קיבלנו דיווחים מקציני הקישור במקדונל דאגלאס ומרטין מרייטה שאנשי הבטחון של המפעלים נכנסו לחדריהם והחלו למיין את הספרות והחומר הנמצא שם.

4. הסיבה שנמסרה כאן לעוזר נספח אויר ע'י קש'ח צבא'א בתגובה לשאלתו על 'פשר הזריזות' - 'הם מעוניינים לסייע בהובלת החומר חזרה לארצ'.



6. שוחחתי על כך עם גנרל אוונס, ראש מודיעין הארמי. לדבריו, נמסר לו ביום שישי האחרון כי אין הצדקה יותר להמשיך החאמנה אולם הוא 'לא ידע באילו פעולות עומדים לנקוט'. הבטיח לי ללמוד את הפרטים ולחזור אלי מחר בבוקר.

7. אני שולח למקש'ח את נוסח מכתב הפסקת האקרויטציה שהגיע לנספחות חבוקר ברץ מיוחד כשעה לאחר הגעת הפקס. (הערה-נוסח המכתב הועבר למקש'ח בנפרד בנר 16 לבטחונ).

8. נעדכנכם מחר.

יש

תפוצה: @ (נבו/ממרהמ)

סססס



אאא, חוזם: 2123

אל: רהמש/60

מ-: ווש, נר: 2004, תא: 010393, זח: 1710, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מידי

א ל: ממנכ"ל, ממ"ד

ד ע: לש' רוה"מ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

-- מ כ ת ב מ ו ב ר ק --

הנדון: תהליך השלום - בעקבות ביקור כריסטופר

משיחה עם מקור מקורב לתהליך:

1. סוגיית המורחקים: הממשל ממשיך מאמציו לסגור בפני הפלסטינים כל דלת אפשרית בנושא המורחקים כך שלא תותר בידם אלא אופציה אחת והיא חזרה לשולחן המו"מ. פגישת כריסטופר - קוזרוב והודעה על חידוש השיחות באפריל הינה חלק מהמגמה לעיל. מקווים שביקור המשלחת הפלסטינית במוסקבה (ככל הנראה בראשות ערפאת) תסגור דלת נוספת. לפני ביקור המשלחת יבהירו לרוסים העמדה אותה מעוניינים שקוזרוב יבהיר לפלסטינים.

2. חידוש השיחות הבילטרליות:

א. הכוונה לחדש השיחות מיד אחרי שבוע הפסח (15-16.4). טרם נפלה החלטה מתי לשגר ההזמנות. במילים אחרות, האם לעשות זאת לפני או אחרי ביקור רוה"מ. יש הסבורים שעדיף לשגרן לפני הביקור בין היתר מתוך כוונה להסיר את נושא המורחקים מסדה"י. שיגור ההזמנות קודם לבואו של רוה"מ יאפשר לצדדים לנצל הביקור לדיון הדרכים לקידום התהליך.

ב. אשר למעורבות ארה"ב בתהליך, איש שיחי צופה לאי הכנות לגבי פירוש המושג FULL PARTNER. מניח שהמושג יצר וייצור בהמשך הדרך ציפיות מצד הערבים אותם יתקשו להגשים. ועוד בהקשר זה, איש שיחי הוסיף כי בכוונה ארה"ב בהמשך התהליך לגשר במידת הצורך על הצעות שיעלו הצדדים. התייחס בהקשר זה למו"מ עם הפלסטינים. קודם לכן יצטרכו לשקול מתי להעלות עמנו (ועם הפלסטינים) הערותיהם לגבי המודל. טרם החליטו אם יעשו זאת במהלך ביקור רוה"מ (במקרה כזה המשימה תוטל על המזכיר) או אחריו.

ג. שתי המטרות העקריות אותן ירצו להשיג בסיבוב החשיעי הן:
1) ENGAGEMENT משמעותי ותכליתי ביננו לפלסטינים. (הסכמה על אג'נדה).

(2) השלמת הצהרת העקרונות ביננו לסורים.

ד. לסיכום, ציין כי ינסו למלא את הזמן עד לחידוש השיחות (בשעה שבועות) בפעילות שתכשיר את הקרקע. ציין, בחקשור זה, את ביקורי רבין ומובארך ואת אפשרות (?) לביקור חוסיין. לא הוציא מכלל אפשרות התייעצויות עמנו בעקבות ביקור רוה'מ.

שטיין.

חפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, גנור, ר/מרכז

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 2123

אל: רהמש/60

מ-: ווש, נר: 2004, תא: 010393, זח: 1710, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מירי

א ל: ממנכ"ל, ממ"ד

ד ע: לש' רוח'מ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

-- מ כ ת ב מ ו ב ר ק --

הנדון: תהליך השלום - בעקבות ביקור כריסטופר

משיחה עם מקור מקורב לתהליך: (א.מ.)

1. סוגיית המורחקים: הממשל ממשיך מאמציו לסגור בפני הפלסטינים כל דלת אפשרית בנושא המורחקים כך שלא תותר בידם אלא אופציה אחת והיא חזרה לשולחן המו"מ. פגישת כריסטופר - קוזרוב והודעה על חידוש השיחות באפריל הינה חלק מהמגמה לעיל. מקווים שביקור המשלחת הפלסטינית במוסקבה (ככל הנראה בראשות ערפאת) תסגור דלת נוספת. לפני ביקור המשלחת יבהירו לרוסים העמדה אותה מעוניינים שקוזרוב יבהיר לפלסטינים.

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שטיין.

תפוצה: שדה, סשה, @ (רחמ), מנכל, ממנכל, גנור, ר/מרכז

סססס

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



1013

שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

בלט/רגיל
1/3/93

1/5

אלו מצפ"א
מאת: ק. לקונברט

הנדון: סיוע חוץ לישראל

הבוקר 1/3/93, קיים אובי כבידי שנה שימועים לעדים פרטיים נציגי ציבור בנושא סיוע חוץ.

רציב הרשימה של העדים (לחם חוקצבו נ דקות בלבד להצגת עמדותיהם) הכוללת את תום דיין מאיסיק, חליל ג'וזפאן מ-NAAA (חלה ושלח חליטה), ולינדה חלר קאס מ'שלום עכשיו' - אר"י. כן הופיעו נציגי אירגונים לבנוניים מעבירים בדי"ש עדויות איסיק, NAAA, 'שלום עכשיו' ונציגי האירגונים הלבנוניים.

יו"ר: ל. איצני, י. ר.
יהודית ורנאי ורנאי

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FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING,
AND RELATED PROGRAMS SUBCOMMITTEE
MONDAY, MARCH 1, 1993
ROOM H-308 CAPITOL
10:00 A.M.

9/5
1013

PUBLIC WITNESSES & MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

<u>A.M.</u>	<u>ORGANIZATION</u>	<u>WITNESS</u>
10:00	UNICEF	Dr. Richard Jolly Deputy Exec. Director for Programs
10:05	U.S. Committee for Refugees	Roger P. Winter Director
10:10	Holt Int. Children's Services	L. Susan Cox, Director of Development
10:15	The Alliance for Child Survival	Chuck Woolery Director
10:20	American Colleges of Nurse-Midwives	Mary Ellen Stanton Senior Policy Analyst
✓ 10:25	AIPAC	Thomas A. Dine Executive Director
✓ 10:30	Nat. Assoc. of Arab Americans	Khalil E. Jahshan Executive Director
✓ 10:35	Americans for Peace Now	Linda Heller Kamm Member, Board of Directors
10:40	InterAction	Carol Capps, Chair Advocacy Subcommittee
10:45	Bread for the World	David Beckman President
10:50	U.S. Overseas Cooperative Development Council	Ted Weihs Executive Director
10:55	The Population Institute	Werner Fornos President
11:00	Justice for Turkish Cypriots	Kenan H. Yaman President
11:05	Manatos and Manatos	Andrew E. Manatos President

1013 3/5

11:10	American Hellenic Institute	Eugene T. Rossides Special Counsel
✓ 11:15	American Task Force for Lebanon	George T. Cody, Ph.D. Exec. Director
11:20	Assembly of Turkish American Associations	Orhan M. Suleiman Capitol Region Vice President
11:25	International Advisers, Inc.	William H. Taft Former U.S. Ambassador to NATO
11:30	The Burma American Fund	Sao Ying Sita Executive Director
11:35	Hon. Anthony C. Beilenson	Member of Congress
11:40	Migration and Refugee Services	Rev. Richard Ryscavage Executive Director
11:45	AT International	Andrew Maguire President
11:50	Helen Keller International	Dr. David French Medical Adviser
11:55	Results	Sam Harris Executive Director
12:00	Institute of Public Administration	Dwight Ink President Emeritus
12:05	Int. Union Against Tuberculosis & Lung Disease	John White, Ph.D. Immediate Past President, American Lung Assoc.
12:10	Defense Rations Manufacturing	Terry D. Bevels (record)
12:15	The Center for Victims of Torture	John P. Salsberg Washington Rep.
12:20	Sierra Club	Nancy Wallace Washington Director, Int. Population Program
12:25	U.S. Export Council for Renewable Energy	Scott Sklar Executive Director
12:30	Friends of the Earth	Brant Blackwelder Vice President

1013 4/5

12:35	U.S. Committee for the U.N. Environment Programme	Michael D. Granoff President
12:40	National Resources Defense Council (for the record)	Glenn T. Prickett Senior Associate
12:45	American Wind Energy Assoc.	Michael L. Marvin Director of Governmental & Public Affairs
12:50	National Wildlife Federation	Barbara J. Bramble Director, Int. Programs
12:55	River Conservation International	Stephen Gates President
1:00	Campaign to Oppose the Return of the Khmer Rouge	Craig Etcheson Executive Director
1:05	Georgetown University	Rev. William L. George, Office of the President
1:10	The Debt for Development Coalition, Inc.	Robert L. Clodius Director
1:15	Environmental Defense Fund	Bruce M. Rich Senior Attorney
1:20	Croatian-American Association	Luke Misetic Executive Director
1:25	Diocese of St. Maron-U.S.A.	Chor-Bishop Seely Beggiani Chairman
1:30	The Nature Conservancy	John Sawhill President & Chief Executive Officer
1:35	American Council for Nationalities Services	Wells C. Klein Executive Director
1:40	Nat. Assoc. of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges	Dr. J. Dean Jansma Associate Dean & Director, Int. Programs, Pa. State Univ.
1:45	The Kurdish Library	Dr. Vera Seaudin Saadpour Director

1:50	Foundation for International Community Assistance	Lawrence Yancoitch Technical Support Manager
1:55	Dartmouth Medical School Dept. of Community & Family Medicine	Dr. Nils Daulaire Technical Support Manager
✓ 2:00	National Alliance of Lebanese Americans	Toufic Baaklini Chairman, Government Affairs
✓ 2:05	Council of Lebanese Americans	Dr. Imad Hage Chairman, Government Relations

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