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Like It or Not, We Must Lead

By Michael Mandelbaum

WASHINGTON
Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff caused an uproar recently when he said the United States was withdrawing from its role as international leader.

The chief problem with American foreign policy, however, is not what he said but what the Clinton Administration has not said.

Unlike cold war Administrations, whose central international goal — the containment of the Soviet Union — was fixed, the Clinton Administration must devise and present its own vision of American purposes in the world. It has not done so.

To dispel the doubts the speech raised at home and abroad, the Administration must explain why our international leadership continues to be required, and, more importantly, to what ends.

New York

Times

Op-Ed

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על-מנת - יורק

Mr. Tarnoff rightly noted that we have entered a new era in which American cooperation with other countries will be a major theme. This has not, however, reduced the need for American leadership. The two go together, because virtually any important international goal will require U.S. leadership to achieve.

Operation Desert Storm was the prototype. Although the campaign was a truly multinational effort, the United States took the lead in organizing the victorious coalition and contributed most of the fighting forces. Without American political and military leadership, Saddam Hussein's army would still be in Kuwait.

In a speech in Minneapolis a few days after Mr. Tarnoff's remarks, Secretary of State Warren Christopher did emphasize the importance of U.S. leadership. But neither he nor President Clinton has ever adequately answered the important question that follows: leadership for what?

There are three areas of international affairs of surpassing importance where U.S. leadership is required.

The first is Russia. A stable, peaceful Russia is the key to stability and peace in Europe and Asia. The best guarantee of a Russia at peace with its neighbors is the maintenance of a democratic regime in Moscow. But President Boris Yeltsin's democratic Government is unlikely to survive unless it succeeds in the difficult transition it has undertaken from a centrally planned to a market economy. Western economic assistance can help to ease that transition.

Here the Administration has taken the lead in what inevitably will be a protracted and difficult multinational effort to keep Russia on the path to free markets and democracy. Democracy in Russia is in the interest of all countries. All should, and many will, contribute to achieving it. But we will have to organize the effort and make a significant financial contribution to it.

The Administration has said and done little about the second great international task: the creation of a new security order. Even with the

cold war at an end, an American military presence of some kind is needed in Europe and the Pacific. The purpose is no longer deterrence but reassurance.

American military forces prevent the creation of a vacuum that the major powers of each region would be tempted to fill for fear of what their neighbors might do. As long as the U.S. maintains the security treaty with Japan, for instance, the Japanese will feel protected against hostile developments in the policies of their nuclear-armed neighbors, Russia and China, and will see no reason to increase their own military forces dramatically.

Consequently, the Russians and the Chinese will not feel the need to arm against the prospect of a remilitarized Japan. The withdrawal of American forces from the Pacific would raise anxieties in each country about the other two. Similarly, in Europe, without an American military role of some kind Germany would have to recalculate its security requirements, which would produce unease and perhaps sharp departures from existing military policies among its neighbors. Only the U.S.

can provide reassurance because only U.S. military forces are politically acceptable to all the major European and Asian countries.

The third international task for which U.S. leadership is indispensable is the expansion of the global trading system. Broadened trade is crucial for global economic growth, without which the developing world will remain poor, democracy will fail throughout formerly Communist Europe and social tensions will rise in the West.

The main vehicle for global trade expansion, the Uruguay Round of negotiations, has dragged on for more than six years. The U.S. is not the party most responsible for the delay, nor are we the most egregious violators of free-trade principles.

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The Europeans have put up protective walls around their products, particularly in agriculture; the East Asians subsidize their exports and have formal and informal barriers to imports. Japan, with its huge trade surpluses with the rest of the world, poses special problems.

Nonetheless, as the world's largest economy, its largest market and the country with the most powerful tradition favoring freer trade, the U.S. has a particular responsibility for keeping the cause of trade expansion alive

and well. American leadership involves making many concessions for the sake of the world trading system as a whole.

Achieving these three goals is the condition for addressing other important issues. Protecting United States interests in the Middle East will require an active policy. The spread of nuclear weapons poses a continuing threat. The international community must learn how to deal with ethnic conflict before it reaches the murderous dimensions it has attained in the former Yugoslavia, the Caucasus and the Sudan. And the West is doing less than it should to promote democracy and free markets in the formerly Communist countries other than Rus-

Where is Clinton's leadership and vision on foreign policy?

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sia, notably Ukraine.

Other countries would welcome American leadership in the three major areas of concern: Americans will have to be persuaded that they are vital. There is already public resistance to sending money to Russia.

As for international security, Americans were willing to pay for a policy of deterrence because its purpose was obvious and plausible: to meet the danger the Soviet Union presented. Reassurance is a far less compelling objective. It involves not standing up to a belligerent bully but preventing a sequence of events that might lead to friction between countries far from North America.

The expansion of trade is always difficult in a democracy because its benefits, though considerable, are spread among all citizens and accrue over the long term, while the price, although lower in the aggregate, is paid in the short term by those whose jobs are jeopardized by foreign competition. The aggrieved naturally organize to block trade expansion.

Thus the immediate challenge for the architects of the Clinton foreign policy is to rally public support for leadership in the three crucial areas. If they do not meet it, what has come to be known as the Tarnoff doctrine, with its connotation of American weakness and retreat, could become a self-fulfilling prophecy, with tragic consequences for the whole world. □

Michael Mandelbaum, a foreign policy adviser to Bill Clinton's Presidential campaign, is professor of American foreign policy at The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.

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IF WE MECHANIZE,
we need to accept the
fact that many
Palestinians will go
hungry,' says Ezra Sadan,
an expert on the
Palestinian economy.

"We turn the machine on and then go to eat lunch," says Mr. Lichter. In addition, tomato pickers no longer climb ladders to reach the tall-growing tomatoes; they do the picking from electric carts that raise and lower the farm workers at the press of a button. "It's possible to get by without the Arabs," says Mr. Lichter, "but only if you use technology."

The Israeli government, clearly interested in doing away with the need for cheap farm labor, has appointed a committee to study the automation of agriculture and come up with financial inducements to encourage farmers to mechanize. Minister of Agriculture Yaakov Tzur says he won't permit more than 12,000 Palestinian farm laborers to return after the closure of the West Bank and Gaza is lifted. And he rejected requests by farmers to increase the number of Thai laborers permitted to work in Israel.

"Farmers are starting to reconsider how they operate. We have to think beyond this closure and down the road to [Palestinian autonomy], when we'll be competing with Palestinian farmers," says Yeshay Folman, chief scientist at the Ministry of Agriculture and head of the new committee. "Advanced technology that enables us to develop sophisticated high-quality crops may be the only way for us to compete with the Palestinians, who will still have easy access to cheap labor."

Ishaia Segal, director of the Institute of Agricultural Engineering, estimates that ending Israel's dependence on

cheap labor through the widespread introduction of mechanical aids and machines will take about \$5 million over five years.

At the En Habesor farm, Menachem Cohen is convinced that automation can help attract Jewish workers, who have traditionally shunned the difficult work and menial tasks associated with the industry. His tomato greenhouse, filled with labor-saving devices and machines, requires far fewer workers.

Standing on an electric cart developed by the institute, he demonstrates how the machine, with the aid of two sensors, automatically steers itself between the plants, saving 30% in labor costs. The greenhouse doors open electronically and a sunshade automatically slides over the roof of the greenhouse whenever outside temperatures get too hot.

"Farms are always going to need workers, but the idea is to reduce the number. My workers take eight days to pick a ton of tomatoes while workers in other greenhouses need 12 to 15 days," says Mr. Cohen.

For the Palestinians, Israel's attempt to end its reliance on manual labor could be economically devastating. "Approximately 4,000 Israeli families depend on farming for their livelihood, and maybe 1,000 of them have been seriously affected economically by the closure. On the Palestinian side, however, we're talking about at least 20,000 families who are directly affected and thousands more indirectly," says Ezra Sadan, an expert on the Palestinian economy and the head of the Volcani Center. "If we mechanize, we need to accept the fact that many Palestinians will go hungry."

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: סיוע החוץ לישראל

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WJW (לארי קוהלר 3/6) בנושא סיוע החוץ לישראל. בעקבות הקיצוצים בתקציב האמריקני וחקריאה בעיתונות להפסקת סיוע החוץ, מצפים תומכי ישראל בארה"ב שישראל תוותר על הסיוע האמריקני.

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תקשורת

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Pro-Israel voices urging Israel to renounce arm

Critics of suggestion say motives political, not economic

by Larry Cohler
Senior Writer

This spring, calls for reducing U.S. aid to Israel have been sounded again through the print media. How can Israel continue to expect such levels while pressure on the foreign aid budget elsewhere grows daily? these voices demand.

But wait: These voices are not those of the usual anti-Israel suspects. Instead, they belong to the fiercely pro-Israel New York Times columnist A.M. Rosenthal; to Mitchell Bard, former editor of the *Near East Report*, the newsletter of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and to Hirsch Goodman, centrist editor of the Israeli publication *Jerusalem Report*, among others.

Even Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii), among the Senate's strongest pro-Israel voices, gently suggested recently that Israel prepare for aid reductions he seemed to deem inevitable after next year.

Israel's basic annual aid package seems safe for upcoming fiscal 1994. The administration, citing the importance of supporting Israel during the Middle East peace process, strongly backed the \$3 billion aid to Israel and \$2.1 billion to Egypt — customary since the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty — at a House mark-up of the for-

At that session Rep. David Obey (D-Wis.), the subcommittee chairman, warned that the increased demands from Russia and the other countries of the former Soviet Union would soon require cuts across the board. And he is not alone.

"It would be foolish to think it could go on forever," Inouye told *The Jerusalem Report* last March during a visit to Israel. The United States might instead offer an enhanced "partnership" in military projects to compensate for aid cuts, he said.

Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.), chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, told *The Washington Times* in April that he was considering reducing aid to Israel and Egypt to help finance the Russian aid program. "It's not an entitlement program," he said. "If we give 10 percent less, it's still the biggest aid recipient in the world."

Asked about the implications for Israel and Egypt of the increased pressure on the foreign aid budget from Russia Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), the House majority leader, told *The Wall Street Journal* last April, "Everybody's going to have to be willing to be flexible and give for the good of the whole."

After urgent inquiries from pro-Israel activists, Gephardt added a week later that Congress would also have to "take into account" the effect any reduction might have on the Middle East peace process.

Many pro-Israel advocates, speaking off-the-record, say they have been trying to give Israel and its lobby in Washington, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the same message — but to no avail.



Sen. Daniel Inouye

"I think they should be thinking pro-actively and creatively about it, because they will have many problems after FY (fiscal year) '94," said one of those who has been involved in pro-Israel activism the longest. "But I've gotten nowhere. It's the traditional Israeli refusal to look forward."

"They say, we'll wait until we're not funded. And then they'll use up political capital ... But what Israel forgets is that the biggest positive they have going for them is that aid to Israel is a consensus issue in Congress, not a divisive one."

Like a number of other pro-Israel advocates, this activist noted that U.S. economic aid to Israel basically finances Israel's ability to pay off its debt to the United States (from loans it took to help pay for the 1967 and 1973 wars. And that debt burden, they noted, is scheduled to decrease in the coming years as Israel pays off the principal. Why shouldn't Israel preempt the pressure in Congress by agreeing to reduce its economic aid as its debt schedule goes down, they ask.

Hirsch Goodman, editor of *The Jerusalem Report*, has gone much further. Israel, he says, should unilaterally give up the full \$1.2 billion it receives in economic aid. Given Israel's economic growth rate of 6 percent last year and the current economic conditions in the United States, "It would be good for Israel-American relations in the most profound sense ... After all, what are friends for?" he has written.

Most of these pro-Israel advocates of aid reductions for

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Israel stress that the reductions should be restricted to the annual \$1.2 billion in economic aid, not the \$1.5 billion Israel gets in military assistance.

But Steven Grossman, president of AIPAC, warned against any talk of reducing aid to Israel while the peace process hangs in the balance. "At a time when Israel is taking meaningful risks for peace, having a clear commitment on aid is an essential ingredient for giving Israel the confidence to take risks," he said.

According to Grossman, President Clinton personally assured him recently that he would fight to maintain aid levels to Israel "because nothing is more important to move the peace process forward."

Even talk of possible reductions in the future were out of line, Grossman said, because, "No one can predict where the peace process will go — or the role the United States may take on as guarantor of the peace process."

Grossman argued that the strategic rationale for maintaining aid to Israel remained compelling, too, due to the emergence of "the Islamic threat" in the region. And domestically, he noted, "Eighty-five percent of the aid is spent in the United States."

But AIPAC, too, came in for criticism for refusing to look ahead — in part because its own institutional clout and *raison d'être* have been closely tied to its success in maintaining and even in-

"It illustrates the dependency of American Jews on Israel's dependency," said one activist. "What they're really about is playing the [Washington] game. And aid is a way of keeping score. So [agreeing to cut aid] is kind of like taking a dive."

A former official with the lobby admitted, "Some of us treated it as a game, independent of the Israeli government. It was our achievement. We were going out for our own institutional achievement Today, think there has to be a dialog about getting Israel off the dole."

Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jew-

ish Congress, agreed that a cut in aid now would have "the most damaging consequences" for the peace process. But he spoke of his "visceral sense" that "this aid has turned into a burden as far as the Israeli economy is concerned."

If Israel were to ever actually accede to reducing the aid, "It would create a very serious institutional problem" for the pro-Israel lobby, which has based much of its appeal to its constituency on

But critics of the aid cut proponents do not quite believe this. Some charge that at least a few have another goal in mind: undermining the Middle East peace process and the Labor Party-led government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Others say merely that this will be the effect, regardless of the aid cutters' intent.

In the harshest exchange yet on the issue, Robert Lifton, president of the American Jewish Congress, dismissed A.M. Rosenthal's stated rationale for urging aid reductions on Israel in a column last March as a kind of smokescreen.

"We should not be fooled by talk of weaning Israel away from what Mr. Rosenthal called '[Israel's] musty socialist dogma,'" Lifton wrote in his occasional newsletter last month. "The real reasons behind this tack are less noble and more political: to stop a peace process which has as its underlying premise Mr. Rabin's willingness to yield territory captured by Israel in 1967."

"In Israel," explained Lifton, "a cut in aid would be used as ammunition by those who advocate holding on to the territories to prove that if Israel cannot rely on the U.S.

commitment to aid, it certainly cannot rely on a commitment to support Israel's security if it relinquishes territory. In the Arab world, a reduction in aid would weaken Israel's negotiating position by being seen as a U.S. strategic decision to distance itself from its long-time ally in the region and so damage the peace talks."

In addition, the increased economic pressure on Israel from an aid reduction "could hurt Mr. Rabin's prospects for reelection in 1996 and perhaps even open the door for a Likud takeover earlier than that," Lifton wrote.

Supporters of cutting aid to Israel "want to gnaw away at the ability of the [U.S.] government to influence Israel by ridding it of the economic leverage that aid provides," Lifton charged further in an interview with the Israeli daily paper *Ha'Aretz*.

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Opponents say cutting Israel's economic aid could undermine peace talks

creasing foreign aid to Israel, the critics said.



Columnist A.M. Rosenthal

an adversarial stance toward the administration, he said.

Most of the pro-Israel figures advocating aid reductions say Israel, not America, should initiate them in a phased manner to preempt the near certainty of U.S. reductions for fiscal 1995. Israel should do this, say the proponents, for the sake of its own sluggish economic reforms and political independence.

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Rosenthal did not mince his words in response. "He's a fool," the columnist said of Lifton. "The idea that I'd get involved in a covert plot against Israel's government is simply paranoid and idiotic."

Even Israeli officials took note of Rosenthal's column as the most prominent of a bevy of such voices. One expressed concern that "these kind of ideas would be endorsed by people who are no friends of Israel as legitimization."

In the column, published last March, Rosenthal termed the idea of Israel cutting its aid request, at least for non-military assistance, "one of the best gifts Israel could give itself and the U.S., and the sooner the better."

"At a time when the U.S. is cutting back on aid to some countries and facing new costs in the Bosnias and Somalias," wrote Rosenthal, "it does not seem fitting for Israel and its American friends to insist on the same package."

But in the same column, Rosenthal also urged his readers to see an article by Norman Podhoretz in *Commentary* deploring Israel's approach to the Middle East peace process. Rosenthal also alluded to former President George Bush's use of aid to pressure Israel to stop its settlement drive in the West Bank and bring it to the peace process during the tenure of Likud leader Yitzhak Shamir, Rabin's predecessor.

In an interview, Rosenthal stressed, "The fact is, the idea [of reducing aid] was suggested to me entirely by people in Labor, not Likud. It came from economists and officials in the Labor government," said Rosenthal. He declined to identify them.

Noting that his column never called for the United States to cut the aid, but for Israel to voluntarily initiate

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reductions, Rosenthal added. (Lifton) can't even read." In fact, he said, "I think I would be — I would be opposed to Congress initiating any cuts If it comes from Congress it it can carry unpleasant overtones."

Lamenting Rosenthal's "personal invective," Lifton said, "I'm glad to see he's now saying Congress should not cut aid to Israel. That's good."

Lifton dismissed the columnist's contention that he had made that clear from the beginning. "It was a position shocking to his readers, and logically unrelated to 'socialist dogma,'" said Lifton. With more than 400,000 new immigrants from the former Soviet Union and Ethiopia to absorb, the need to maintain its aid level now would stand even if Israel was "a maximum capitalist society," he said.

Lifton maintained that Rosenthal's real agenda was evident in his reference to Podhoretz's attack on the Israeli Labor government's peace stand in the same column.

Robert Lowenberg, president of the rightist Institute for International and Strategic Studies in Israel, has written that Israeli leaders' refusal to

give up U.S. aid and the vulnerability to pressure that accompanies it betrays these leaders' loyalty to a cause more important to them than Israel's security.

"If U.S. aid is worth risking literally everything Rfor], what other thing not mentioned, is more important than 'everything,'" he wrote in 1990. "Of course, it is the Zionist dream:

socialism The territorial question, in all its aspects, prevents what would otherwise be the natural emergence of the nation's real agenda, the economy."

As for U.S. pressure, Lowenberg said, "it is a function of Israeli pressure for economic aid."

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

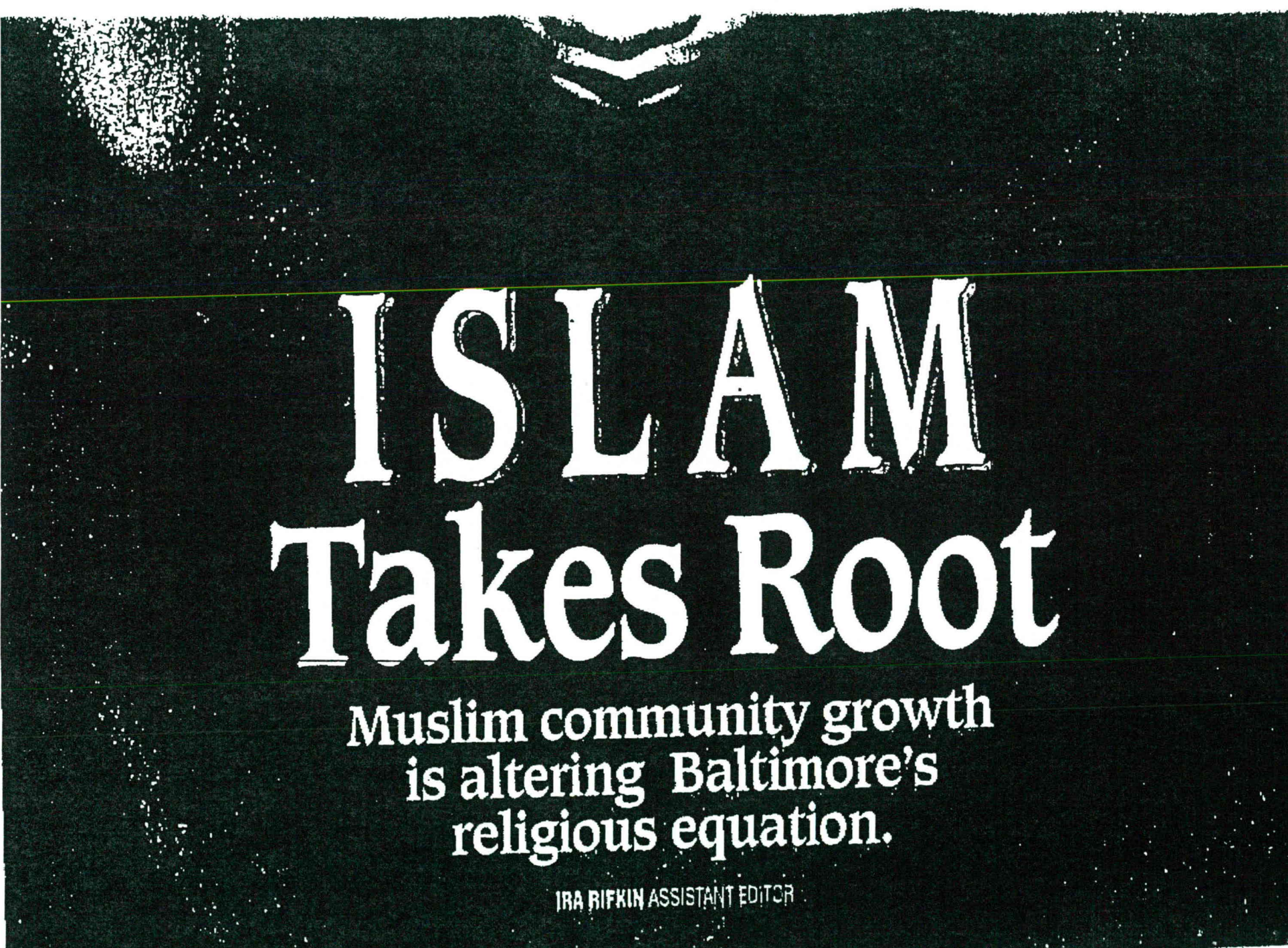
הנדון: הקהילה המוסלמית בבולטימור

מצ"ב כתבת ה-BALTIMORE JEWISH TIMES (אירה ריפקין 28/5) בנושא הקהילה המוסלמית בבולטימור. החולכת וגדלה ומשנה את המאזן הדתי בעיר. עוד בכתבה על יחסי היחודים והמוסלמים בעיר.

תקשורת

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יחסי היחודים



ISLAM Takes Root

Muslim community growth
is altering Baltimore's
religious equation.

IRA RIFKIN ASSISTANT EDITOR

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y 1 p.m., the parking lot at the Islamic Society of Baltimore in the county's Westview Park area begins to fill. It's Friday, the Muslim Sabbath, and the faithful are arriving for *salat al-ima*, the weekly communal prayer service.

As they file into the mosque, the most male worshippers exchange the traditional Muslim greeting: "*salaam laikum*" — peace be with you in Arabic. Many drop a few dollars into the two collection boxes placed at the entrance to the worship hall. One box is earmarked for the mosque; the other for the Muslims of Bosnia.

A fair number of the more than 300 men on hand for the service wear the traditional clothes of their South Asian and Middle Eastern homelands. Most, however, while also foreign-born, are in western attire and more than a few wear sweaters. Perhaps 20 are American-born converts to Islam, and except for three or four Caucasians, they are African-Americans.

About 50 women are also present, sequestered behind a high wooden partition. All the women are covered from head to toe in loose, foreign-style garments. Like the men, all are shoeless. Few children are present.

The service lasts less than an hour, and consists of set prayers and a sermon by the *imam*, the Muslim term for the man — and it's always a man — who directs the service. No prayer books are used: everyone recites from memory the appropriate words in Arabic. Islam's liturgical language.

On this day, barely a week after a massive homosexual rights demonstration in Washington, 31-year-old Imam Bashir Arafat, a graduate of the Islamic University of Damascus, Syria, delivers a sermon in English that castigates gays and lesbians.

"To marry the same sex is abnormal," he says. "This is hated by Allah and by all the prophets."



The face of Islam: In Baltimore, most Muslims are African-American, such as 10-year-old Anana Amatullah and her mother Najah. At left, is Aishe Muhammed, photographed praying at Masjid Al-Inshirah. PHOTOS BY MARY CARDELLA

AIDS, he adds, "is one of the punishments of Allah" for homosexual behavior, and if Muslims do not oppose gays and lesbians this "punishment of Allah will be on everyone." Among the congregation, heads nod in agreement.

More prayers follow the sermon, and immediately after, most of the men leave quickly to return to their jobs. Some, however, linger outside the prayer hall. As they chat in their native languages, the men nibble on baklava and other sweet, Middle Eastern pastries.

Just yards away, meanwhile, workmen are constructing new buildings for the fast-growing congregation. Among

the structures to be built on the mosque's seven-acre site is a *minaret*, the tower from which faithful Muslims are called to prayer five times daily. A planned new worship hall will accommodate 1,200 people.

Surpassing Jews

While no one can say with certainty how fast the Baltimore area's Muslim population is growing, everyone connected with the community insists the growth rate is accelerating — just as it is nationally.

Current estimates of the size of the Baltimore community range from 5,000 to as many as 15,000. Nationally, the Muslim population is generally said to be somewhere around 3 million or 4 million, although other estimates range from a low of 1.4 million to a high of 6 million. (Worldwide, there are about 1 billion Muslims).

At least two-thirds of American Muslims, like the vast majority of those at the Islamic Society of Baltimore, are immigrants — people from Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Turkey, Malaysia, Iran, the Arab countries, sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere — who have come here to obtain an American education and a piece of the American dream.

The remainder of the American Muslim population is comprised of American-born converts, the overwhelming majority of them blacks who generally live and worship apart from their immigrant co-religionists because of cultural, economic and theological differences.

Given Islam's growing numbers in the United States — and the converse falling off in size of the American Jewish community — many demographers predict that the American Muslim population will surpass the nation's Jewish population sometime early in the next century.

Just what this ultimately will mean to American Jewry's influence and position in the society is uncertain. Increasingly, though, Jewish leaders are attempting to reach out to American Muslims in an effort to understand a religion that they say most American Jews only think of as an alien faith associated with Israel's enemies and political fanaticism.

"This is something the Jewish community needs to pay attention to," says Jerome Charnes of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

"As Muslims gain a higher profile in this country, they will undoubtedly seek to have their needs addressed. If nothing else, we need to know what those needs are and how our pluralistic soci-

ety may change because of this." (See accompanying story).

Black Muslims

The Islamic Society of Baltimore represents the face of immigrant Islam in this area. But it by no means represents the majority of the area's Muslims.

Unlike the national picture, the majority of Baltimore's Muslims are not from recent immigrant stock. Here, the numbers are inverted and about 70 percent of the Muslims are African-Americans.

Their number also appears to be rapidly growing.

"We get 10, 15 converts a month," says Imam William Shaheed of Masjid Ul-Haqq, the largest of the half-dozen or so, largely black Muslim mosque communities in Baltimore.

"I see Islam growing rapidly," adds Melvin Bilal, an African-American Muslim who ran for Maryland lieutenant governor in 1986 as a Republican. "I run into people all the time who I went to school

with or know from around town who have converted to Islam."

Islam's foothold in the local black community dates back to at least the 1940s, when the late Elijah Muhammad of the Nation of Islam began coming to the city and preaching to small groups of blacks. But it was not until the 1960s — thanks in good measure to the charisma and drawing power of Malcolm X — that the Nation of Islam began to attract large numbers of Baltimore blacks.

For many Jews, the Nation of Islam is equated with anti-white and anti-Semitic rhetoric personified by the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, the movement's current head.

But in the late '60s and early '70s, it meant self-respect and self-determination to many blacks tired of the discrimination and poverty they saw destroying the African-American community. By adopting Islam, these blacks took on a new identity and a new lifestyle — one they viewed as closer to their pre-slavery, African origins.

"When I first went to a Nation of Islam mosque I was highly impressed," recalls Eric El-Amin, a Baltimore City Health Department official who became a Muslim some 20 years ago. "Other than in sports, I had never seen people work so well together to achieve something good."

"The Nation of Islam stood out. They had schools, businesses; they were successful at empowering themselves. At the time, there was nothing matching the Nation of Islam as far as accomplishments goes in the Afro-American community. There was a cohesiveness there — black nationalism, a holistic approach to life, healthy diet, brotherhood, sisterhood, discipline — that I did not see elsewhere in black organizations."

Derrick Amin, 42 and also a Muslim for 20 years, noted another aspect of Islam's appeal to blacks, most of whom come from strong Christian backgrounds.

"Christianity teaches that men are sinful," says Mr. Amin, an energy management consultant. "Islam does not say

that. Islam defines man as a noble being who has the potential to do harm to himself, but who is still a noble being."

"That positive image is very important to African-Americans because as a people we have basically been defined as negative beings in this society. When an African-American hears that Islam deems him to be the crown of creation, it's irresistible."

Eric El-Amin and Derrick Amin both came to Islam through the Nation of Islam, as did the majority of black Muslims in Baltimore. But like the majority of Baltimore's African-American Muslims, both men are no longer associated with the Nation of Islam.

The break came in the mid-1970s, when Warith Deen Mohammed took over the Nation of Islam upon the death of his father, Elijah Muhammad, and turned the movement on its head.

In place of "the deceptive character of the white man," racial separation and black nationalism, Warith Deen Mohammed taught that race was insignif-

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icant because Islam embraced everyone. He and his followers abandoned the Nation of Islam in favor of joining orthodox Islam's dominant Sunni branch.

Today, most former Nation of Islam followers are highly critical of Rev. Farakhan and those that still follow him. They question the Nation of Islam's distinct theology — Elijah Muhammad called himself a prophet, a notion mainstream Muslims consider heretical — and its continued emphasis on black separatism.

They also say that the Nation of Islam, which has an estimated 10,000 members nationwide, has ceased to be influential in Baltimore — even though young men neatly dressed in dark suits and bow ties can still be seen on North Avenue hawking the group's newspaper.

"We're as different as day and night today," says Imam Shahheed, whose mosque, Masjid Ul-Haqq (masjid is Arabic for mosque) was once the Nation of Islam's Temple Six.

Differences Abound

Mosques are independent entities that attract congregants on the basis of ethnicity, culture, economics and the degree of religious discipline expected.

Masjid Al-Inshirah, a new congregation housed in a two-story brick structure on Liberty Road near the city-county line, reflects the liberal side of Baltimore's black Muslim community.

Many of Masjid Al-Inshirah's 45 or so members (there is no official membership) became Muslims through the Nation of Islam, as did its prayer leader, Imam Mutee A. Mulazim.

Today, however, they soundly reject the Nation of Islam and are oriented toward the mainstream of American society. Many members are business people and professionals, and their brand of Islam is very much rooted in popular African-American culture.

Instead of Middle Eastern sweets, at Masjid Al-Inshirah worshippers eat fried

chicken and fried fish, corn and greens after the service.

Women sit separately in the rear of the prayer hall and cover their hair with scarves, but makeup is also permissible, "oldies" dances are part of the social schedule and women take on some responsibilities for the mosque's activities.

"In some masjids, you won't even hear the women talk," says Tiye Mulazim, the imam's wife. "They're even discouraged from coming to the masjid."

"Culturally, that sort of exclusion doesn't make sense for us. Don't forget women have been the backbone of the African-American church."

At Masjid Al-Inshirah, members — like all observant Muslims — reject alcohol and drugs, gambling, extra-marital sex and lifestyles ruled by materialism. By most standards, their social and often their political views would be considered very conservative. The week prior to Imam Arafat's sermon against gays and lesbians, Imam Mu-

lazim also strongly preached against homosexuality.

Yet within the Muslim context, Masjid Al-Inshirah is considered quite liberal.

In contrast, at Masjid Ul-Haqq — which attracts about 400 people to the Friday mid-day communal service — the level of religious discipline imposed is far greater and the ambience is distinctly more foreign, even though the congregation includes few immigrants.

For example, African- and Asian-style clothing is far more common and some women can be seen wearing veils that leave only their eyes exposed.

"This masjid is orthodox Sunni," says Faruq Shaheed (no relation to Imam Shahheed), as he sits in the dining hall of Masjid Ul-Haqq, located on a stretch of West Baltimore's Wilson Avenue now renamed Islamic Way. "In Islam you can't compromise... Its principles were laid down by almighty God, Allah, and you can't compromise with any of that."

"We're not trying to be Americans."

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We're trying to be Muslims. If America won't let me be a good Muslim, then I won't be an American."

Adds Imam Shaheed: "We don't worship Islam the way we want to. We have to practice it the way the Koran [Islam's scriptural text] and the prophet Muhammad instruct us."

Assimilation Woes

Differences are also evident within the immigrant Muslim community. While most foreign-born Muslims in Baltimore are associated with the Islamic Society of Baltimore, some prefer African-American mosques and a small number of mostly Pakistani immigrants are associated with the missionary-oriented Ahmadiyya Muslim center on Garrison Boulevard.

Imam Mubasher Ahmad, the Ahmadiyya movement's first full-time missionary in Baltimore, said that about 100 families are associated with his center, a few of whom are African-American and Caucasian converts.

"We very much believe that Islam should be presented in a persuasive way," says Imam Ahmad, who came to the U.S. from Pakistan in 1969 and is active in Baltimore interfaith circles. "My work is to go anywhere I get an opportunity to present the teachings of Islam."

However, other Muslims often regard Ahmadiyya Islam as an heretical sect. In Pakistan, a constitutional amendment bars Ahmadiyya Muslims from holding public office and considers them a non-Muslim minority.

But the differences between Ahmadiyya Islam and the Muslim main-

stream, maintains Imam Ahmad, are "really political in nature" and "have no meaning" in the American context.

Other differences also exist within the immigrant community. Imam Arafat of the Islamic Society traces many of them to the cultural differences that immigrants from Muslim nations as diverse as Algeria and Indonesia bring with them to the U.S., where they find themselves

thrown together in mosque communities — and lumped together in the eyes of their non-Muslim neighbors.

"Many Muslim immigrants were exposed to only one way of thinking [in their native country] with no interaction with other Muslim communities," he explains. "A lot of what they did in the past was by habit and not true Islam...A multi-cultural society is new for them."

While many African-American Muslims reject much of secular American culture, the immigrant community often embraces it. Imam Arafat worries about the effect this will have on future generations.

Imam Arafat says he believes that the immigrants' exposure to American pluralism is for the good. His concern is that the lure of assimilation will prove too strong and that immigrant Muslims will shed Islam in favor of fitting into the America landscape.

He worries that for these people — and, in particular, their American-born children — Islam will become little more than a cultural heirloom.

Still, he remains optimistic.

"A lot of Muslims who never went to a mosque in their native homeland do so here," Imam Arafat says. "They come for their children. They want them to remain tied to their culture."

Smiling, Imam Arafat notes that the young seem interested in preserving the basics of Islam, even if they are anxious to shed the cultural trappings of their parents' native lands.

"That's what counts most anyway," he concludes. "So we focus on the understanding of Islam because that is often misunderstood — by Muslims as well as Americans." |

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A Jewish Muslim

As Barbara Volk, she lived in Baltimore's Forest Park section when it was a Jewish neighborhood and she attended Beth Tfiloh religious school when the congregation was still on Garrison Avenue. A fond memory is sitting in synagogue and playing with the fringes of her father's tallit. She even married a fellow Baltimore Jew.

Yet today, her name is Aisha Sharif and she is a rarity on the American religious scene — a Jewish convert to Islam. In 28 years as a Muslim, she says she has only met a "tiny handful" of other Jewish converts to Islam.

For Ms. Sharif, now 50 and working as a newspaper reporter in York, Pa., conversion to Islam followed a complete rejection of Judaism and middle-class Jewish life, of which she is highly critical.

Living in Berkeley, Calif., in the early 1960s, Ms. Sharif became involved with left-wing student groups she now says "are better left unnamed. I was very radical."

Alienated from her roots, Ms. Sharif — who did not want

her photo published — describes her flirtation with radical politics as "part of a massive search to find another way" of life. But politics did not provide the answer. Her husband — they are now divorced and she declined to give his name — was already exploring Islam, and Ms. Sharif, who says she has always had a strong belief in God, followed suit.

In 1965, in New York, she became an orthodox Sunni Muslim. In 1967, in Baltimore, she joined the Ahmadiyya Muslim sect. One of her sons is now married to the daughter of Imam Mubasher Ahmad, who leads the Baltimore Ahmadiyya community. In 1975, Ms. Sharif adds, her sister also converted.

Ahmadiyya Muslims, she says are "relatively open to Jews" and have fully accepted her. However, Jews, she says, "are shocked" by her conversion. "They don't understand it," although some are "very interested and want to talk about it." |

-I.R.

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A Tentative Dialogue

Baltimore is a leader in
Jewish-Muslim relations
— but talking about the
Middle East is a no-no.

IRA RIFKIN ASSISTANT EDITOR

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America is shedding its
Judeo-Christian char-
acter for what some
say will be a Judeo-
Christian-Muslim identity.

Brandeis University professor
Jonathan D. Sarna, among others, be-
lieves that this can only result in a loss
of status and political power for Ameri-
can Jewry.

"While Jews may not be able to do any-
thing about the realignment of Ameri-
can religion and the growth of American
Islam," Mr. Sarna wrote in *Moment* mag-
azine, "the way they respond to these
challenges may make a great deal of dif-
ference."

Jewish communal interest in under-
standing Islam and engaging in dialogue
with American Muslims is in its begin-
ning stage.

"American Jews are complacent about
our position and power," says Rabbi Gary
M. Bretton-Granatoor, director of the Re-
form Union of American Hebrew Con-
gregations' interreligious affairs
department.

"We figure we've got great public in-
fluence and that's that. But American de-
mographics are changing in many ways,
and while it won't happen tomorrow, we
could lose some of our power in a decade
or two. The Jewish community has to face
up to the fact that the Muslim commu-
nity is growing, and growing fast."

Two factors are often cited as getting
in the way of American Jewish-Muslim
interaction — and both groups have dif-

ficulty putting them aside.

The first is the situation in the Middle
East, where Israeli Jews have been fight-
ing predominantly Muslim Arabs for
much of this century. Anti-Western vio-
lence associated with Palestinians, Ira-
nians and others labeled fundamentalist
Muslims complicates the picture.

Muslims, and even some Jewish lead-
ers, say that Jews — and all Americans
— are too quick to buy into the stereo-
type that all Muslims are anti-Western,
anti-Israel, anti-Jewish religious fanatic-
ism.

But it is undeniable that on the ques-
tion of the Middle East, Muslim senti-
ment tends to favor the Arab position,
just as Jewish sentiment is overwhelm-
ingly in support of Israel.

"Our sympathy will naturally be to-
ward the Palestinians who lost their land
and their homes," says Pakistan-born
Imam Mubasher Ahmad, an Ahmadiyya
Islam missionary in Baltimore.

It is also true, both Jewish and Mus-
lim leaders agree, that Muslims harbor
as many stereotypes about Israel and
Jews as Jews have about Islam and the
Muslim world. American Muslim pub-
lications rile against "Zionism," just as
Jewish ones warn against the dangers of
"Islamic fundamentalism."

The second factor keeping Jews and
Muslims apart is race. This is particu-
larly the case with African-American
Muslims. While some of this stems from
the anti-white, anti-Jewish rhetoric of
the Nation of Islam, much of it stems
from the same racial antagonisms that
have kept apart black and white Ameri-
cans of all religions.

Despite the obstacles, some attempts
to bring Jews and Muslims together have
taken place.

The UAHC, the American Jewish
Committee and the National Jewish
Community Relations Advisory Council
have all taken some steps toward creat-
ing bonds with American Muslims.

On a local level, Jewish leaders in a
few cities — Los Angeles, Detroit and
New York, among others — have estab-
lished working relations with local Mus-
lim officials. Baltimore has emerged as
a surprise leader in Jewish-Muslim dia-
logue, despite the relatively small size of
the local Muslim community.

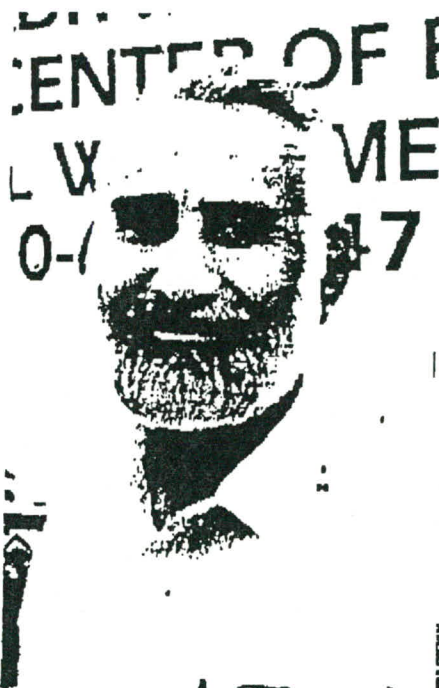
The Baltimore Jewish Council,
through its participation in the Maryland
Interfaith Legislative Committee, has
been involved in dialogue with Muslims
on the issue of alcohol and drug abuse,
and has sponsored a forum on Muslim-
Jewish relations.

In addition, the BJC has arranged a
joint visit by Muslim and Jewish day
school students to a synagogue and a
mosque. A prominent local African-Amer-
ican Muslim, Earl El-Amin, a Baltimore
Urban League official, has been nomi-
nated for this year's annual Stanley
Sollins Award, given by the BJC to out-
standing Jewish and non-Jewish com-
munity leaders.

Independent of the BJC, a few local
rabbis have also invited Muslims to ad-
dress their congregations.

Avoiding Strife

When Jews and Muslims talk about
dialogue and cooperation, they always



Imam Mubasher Ahmad:
Muslims "naturally" sympathize
with Palestinians.



Imam Basher Arafat:
Multi-cultural society is new
to many Muslim immigrants.

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stress working together on common issues and setting aside, for now, any discussion of the Middle East and other sensitive issues. "We are here now and what happens in the Middle East and elsewhere is not important to our lives here," notes Imam Ahmad.

Instead, they talk about domestic social problems such as crime, poverty, health care, the breakdown of family life and religious freedom. Muslim and some Jewish groups have also found common ground in the situation in Bosnia, where B'nai B'rith and other Jewish organizations have supported U.S. intervention to help Bosnian Muslims.

Nearly always, though, it is liberals in both communities who seek each other out for the purpose of building political coalitions.

The irony is that even relatively liberal Muslims hold conservative social viewpoints that are more in line with those of Orthodox Jews. Muslim leaders say that because Islam and Judaism are theologically far closer than either of the two faiths are to Christianity, there is even more reason for observant Jews and Muslims to get together.

"It's a coalition that's waiting to happen," says the BJC's Dena Shapiro, who spearheads the agency's Jewish-Muslim contacts.

A rare example of Orthodox Jewish-Muslim cooperation does exist in Baltimore, however. The Vaad HaKashrus, the kosher certification group known by its Star-K symbol, has worked with Muslim officials to solve problems stemming from some common dietary laws of Judaism and Islam.

When it comes to organization, the Muslim community is "in some ways where we were 50 years ago," says Rabbi Aryeh Meir, an interreligious affairs specialist for the American Jewish Committee.

But Muslims are organizing to push their aims. "Islam has the right to be thought of in this nation in the same way as are Christianity and Judaism," said Salam Al-Marayati, the Iraqi-born director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council in Los Angeles.

"The goal is for Islam to become a full partner in American life."

There are some within the Jewish community who argue that helping American Muslims is ultimately self-defeating; that a strengthened Muslim community will only hurt Jews and U.S. policy toward Israel.

Rabbi Bretton-Granatoor rejects that position.

"Sure there are people who say don't help them, they'll get organized and vote as a bloc in opposition to us," he maintains. "But we've got to learn to talk to each other, and yes, there will be times that we have domestic and geopolitical differences. But that's part of the whole American experiment in pluralism."

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב ושיחות השלום

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מצ"ב כתבת ה-WJW (סאם סקולניק 27/5) בנושא חשיבות שלום בין ישראל ומדינות ערב לארה"ב.
עפ"י דו"ח קרן הרטייג' - משבר בשיחות השלום בין ישראל והערבים אינו מהווה איום לאינטרסים הלאומיים של ארה"ב. במונחי הבטחון הלאומי האמריקני שלום בין ישראל והערבים הינו בחשיבות נמוכה לעומת יציבות באזור המפרץ הפרסי.
עוד בכתבה על תפקיד ארה"ב בקידום תהליך השלום.

תקשורת

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הסברה (2) ר/מרכ (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומן (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)
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אניק

Think tank report downplays peace talks

Heritage Foundation stresses U.S. interest in Israeli strength

by Sam Skolnik
Special to WJW

A potential breakdown in the Arab-Israeli peace talks does not pose as serious a threat to U.S. national interests as do possible challenges from Iraq or Iran, according to a report to be released this week by the Heritage Foundation.

The annual report, entitled *A Safe and Prosperous America: A U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy Blueprint*, explores various U.S. national security challenges and ranks them in order of importance.

While many of the security interests involve the Middle East, successful resolution of the U.S.-mediated Arab-Israeli negotiations, scheduled to resume here in June, is not listed as "vitally" important, according to the Heritage report. The Heritage Foundation is a Washington-based, conservative think tank.

"In terms of national security, the Middle East peace talks are not as important as Persian Gulf stability," said James Phillips, senior policy analyst for Middle East affairs for the foundation, re-

ferring to the recurring expansionist intentions of the two major powers in the region, Iraq and Iran. Possible capture of vast reserves of oil by either of the countries would be seen as threatening "vital" U.S. interests. An example is Saddam Hussein's 1990-1991 grab at Kuwait, according to Phillips.

The study also de-emphasizes the popular notion that it is important for the United States to stress democratic development and reform in allied and developing countries, friendly and unfriendly alike, including in the Middle East. In the first chapter of the report, editor Kim R. Holmes elaborates:

"While supporting democracy and humanitarian causes in some places of the world serves the national interest, doing so indiscriminately throughout the world does not. Whether Western-style democracy exists in Algeria, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Somalia, or Zaire is not important to U.S. interests."

"If you focus only on the trappings of democracy, you may open up a Pandora's box," said Phillips. He referred to the possibility of

radical, anti-American forces using elections in some of these countries to claim power, creating new, more despotic and intolerant regimes, and further weakening U.S. influence.

Concerning American interest in prospects for Middle East peace, Phillips said that maintaining strong U.S.-Israeli ties is vital; possibly more so than the signing of peace treaties between Israel and neighboring Arab countries, which, if not entered into in good faith, could be violated or broken. "One of the best guarantees of peace is a strong Israel," he said.

Geoffrey Aronson, Associate Director at the Foundation for Middle East Peace, believes both the United States and Middle Eastern countries involved realize that much rides on the outcome of the talks, now in their tenth round. "The search for peace between Israel and the Arabs is intimately related to concerns about non-conventional warfare in the Middle East," he said.

Aronson also credits Washington with initially pushing the talks forward and keeping them going. "Had it not been for American energy,

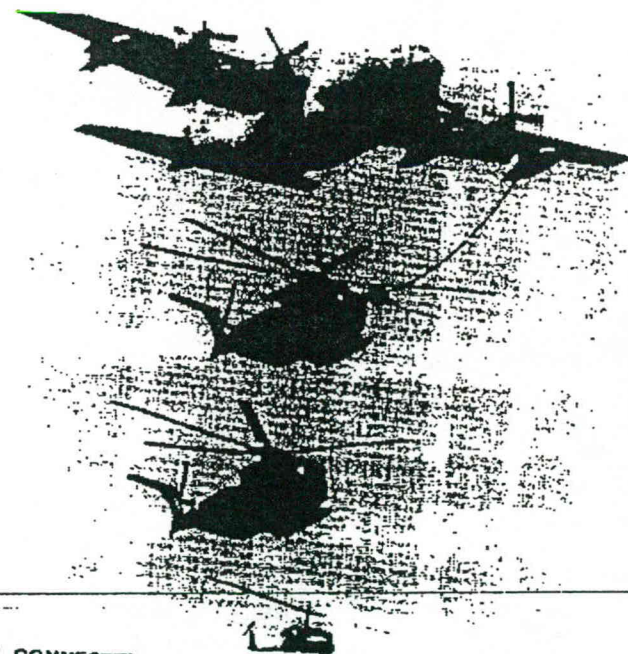
WELL-CONNECTED — An Israeli Hercules C-130 transport refuels a Sikorsky CH-53 helicopter as two more choppers fly in formation during a recent demonstration. A Heritage Foundation report due this week says maintaining Israel's military power remains in the U.S. national interest.

Israel State Press

(the peace process) would not have happened," he said. And, unlike the authors of the Heritage Foundation report, he believes continued high-level involvement by the Clinton administration is necessary for a successful resolution to the talks.

Phillips disagreed, suggesting that the United States appoint an "ambassador-at-large" to deal with the parties during the peace process, and that Secretary of State Warren Christopher and President Bill Clinton only

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HERITAGE

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intervene in the talks when they are deadlocked. "(Clinton) can have more effect if he holds himself to special points in the process," Phillips said.

Besides, he said, Clinton has "too many other issues on his plate" to spend an inordinate amount of time on the talks.

While Phillips believes that the talks may serve a valuable purpose down the road, possibly helping to create a longer-lasting peace between the age-old adversaries, the report seems to question the utility of the talks themselves, saying that "... today America need not worry as much about instability in the Middle East, and thus need not be as con-

cerned with establishing peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors."

Israeli security can be greatly enhanced, said Phillips, by continued funding for the joint U.S.-Israel "Arrow" anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM) system. The project, which is being paid for by both the United States and Israel over a five year period, is costing a total of \$270 million, of which the U.S. will pay about 72 percent, he said.

"The Arrow appears to be one of the best things in strategic defense (development) at this time," said Phillips, who claimed it will easily outperform the Patriot anti-missile system, which gained public attention during the Persian Gulf War and Iraqi Scud missile attacks against Israel and Saudi Arabia.

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - איראן ועירק

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WJW (דור גולד 3/6) בנושא מדיניות ארה"ב כלפי איראן ועירק. ממשיך קלינטון החליט על מדיניות של "הבלימה הכפולה" שכן מאחר ועירק ואיראן נתפסות כאוייבות האינטרס האמריקני באזור ולכן הוחלט על התמודדות במקביל עם שתיהן. הכתבה מעלה את השאלה האם מסוגלת ארה"ב להתמודד במקביל עם שתי המדינות הללו?

9/13/93

תקשורת

23 (25) שחח (2) ששה"ח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (1) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רכיב (1)
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ש. רחמ

Does Pentagon ^{2/3} 1124, 91 have resources to contain Iraq and Iran?

by Dore Gold

Jerusalem Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM — Iran's air attacks on Mujahedeen Khalq opposition bases in the interior of Iraq last week coincided

with the previous announcement of a new American policy toward the Persian Gulf.

Unlike its predecessors who sought at various times to tilt the balance of power in the Middle East in favor of either Iran or Iraq, depending on fluctua-

tions in the balance of power, the Clinton administration has adopted a policy of dual containment of both of these Middle Eastern powers.

Dual containment, according to Dr. Martin Indyk, senior di-

rector for Near East and South Asia on the National Security Council, is based on an assessment of both the current Iraqi and Iranian regimes as hostile to American interests in the region.

For example, the growing appreciation in Washington of the long-term threat posed by Iran might have led some to believe that the United States would eventually have to build up Iraq again as a bulwark against Iranian power. And President Clinton, in fact, gave an interview to *The New York Times* in January, from which it was inferred that his administration might be willing to reach a modus vivendi with Saddam Hussein as long as Iraq observed United Nations' resolutions.

But Indyk has revealed in an address to the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, which he used to head, that the administration views Saddam as a virtually permanent adversary of America: "Our purpose is deliberate: It is to establish clearly and unequivocally that the current regime in Iraq is a criminal regime, beyond the pale of international society and, in our judgment, irredeemable."

The new Clinton policy comes at a time when it is extremely difficult to evaluate whether Iraq or Iran poses the greater danger to American interests. For example, two years after Desert Storm, Iraq by no means resembles a crushed, defeated country, on the verge of breakup, needing support against a menacing Iran.

During April, Gen. Joseph Hoar, chief of the U.S. Central Command, testified before the

House Armed Services Committee, indicating the degree to which Iraq had restored a surprising degree of its military power, despite ongoing U.S. sanctions:

"Much of the Iraqi military-industrial infrastructure has been rebuilt. Iraq now has the capability to manufacture ammunition, infantry weapons, mortars, and artillery ... Clearly, Iraq has the military capability to conduct short-term corps-level offensive operations against Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. To counter such an Iraqi attack effectively would require a coalition effort."

Previously, Baghdad had launched multi-divisional operations with air support against its internal opposition, according to Hoar. In fact, the Iraqi Air Force began to fly regularly after a previous attack by Iranian Phantoms on Mujahedeen bases 80 kilometers into Iraq during March 1992.

In recent weeks, Iraq appeared poised to re-invade its Kurdish areas, despite the existence of the northern no-fly zone patrolled by Allied aircraft. But Hoar's testimony indicated that from the standpoint of the U.S. military, Iraq is not only a threat to its own Kurdish and Shi'ite populations, but now able to challenge neighboring states to such an extent that, again, a coalition defense would be necessary as in the Gulf War.

While the United States is not ready to wash its hands entirely of the Islamic regime in Iran, it still has serious differences with Teheran in at

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least five different areas. It is by no means a possible partner for the Americans against Iraq given current military trends: "despite Iraq's recovery," Hour noted, "Iran may in the long term become the single greatest threat to peace and stability in the Central Region."

And Indyk ticked off the five areas where Iranian behavior conflicts with U.S. interests already:

- Teheran's role as the foremost sponsor of international terrorism;
- Its undermining the Arab-Israeli peace process;
- Its subverting Arab governments friendly to Washington;
- Its seeking to dominate the Persian Gulf with its enhanced military capability; and
- Its determination to obtain a mass-destruction weapons capability including clandestine nuclear weapons.

Given these conditions, it is

not surprising that the Clinton administration reached the conclusion that it was pointless to look for the lesser devil among the two Persian Gulf powers.

Indyk presented a connection between the Gulf and Arab-Israeli sectors of the Middle East: Our approach begins with a concept of interdependence between the eastern and western halves of the region. Thus, containing the threats posed by Iraq and Iran in the east will impact on our ability to promote peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors in the west; similarly, promoting ... peace in the west will impact our ability to contain the threats from Iraq and Iran.

It is doubtful whether Indyk thinks that Arab-Israeli peace is directly linked to American access to bases in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait. Given his expressed concern if the balance of power should shift again in favor of radical forces, he may have had in mind Syria's future alignment — as pro-Egyptian or in the camp of

Iran and Iraq.

If Syria is the link between the peace process and Gulf security, then Hafez el-Assad will have earned himself considerable leverage with Washington despite the collapse of Soviet power.

The Clinton team's new Gulf policy has reduced the chances of there being another Iran-gate or Iraq-gate. But Clinton's real problem will be resource-gate — the fact that dual containment will require greater reliance on American power projection, precisely at a time when the U.S. defense budget will be deeply slashed.

If the American forward presence in the Middle East is reduced in coming years, dual containment will require that the regional balance of power will be primarily preserved by U.S. Middle Eastern allies. This new reality will have to be factored into any future American-Israeli dialogue.

The writer is the director of the U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy Project, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University.

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: לש' סגן שה"ח

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: מעורבות ארה"ב בשיחות השלום

מצ"ב הטור של דאג בלומפילד (3/6 WJW) בנושא המעורבות האמריקנית בשיחות השלום. עד לאחרונה חששה ישראל מפני השתתפות ארה"ב בשיחות אך לארונה חל מהפך בגישת ישראל ובביקורו של סגן שר החוץ, יוסי ביילין, בווינגטון הוא פנה לממשל קלינטון בבקשה להרחיב את מעורבותו בשיחות כדי לנסות ולהחיות את השיחות. ממשל קלינטון אינו שם את הסכסוך הישראלי ערבי בראש סדר העדיפויות של מדיניות החוץ שלו מכיוון שחוסר היציבות באזור אינו נראה כמאיים עוד על האינטרסים של ארה"ב בעידן שלאחר המלחמה הקרה. תפיסה זו הינה מוטעית לדעתו של בלומפילד והיא גורמת לארה"ב שלא למהר ולגלות מעורבות עמוקה מדי בשיחות.

13.6

28 (2) שחח (2) שחח (1) רחמ (1) מנכ"ל (1) מנכ"ל (1) מצפא (2) רכיב (1) (2) 28 (2) סכבה (2) מוכד (1) מחד (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומ (1) סייכל (1) משפט (1) צנורצבאי (1)

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Risks of U.S. peace role

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One of the more perplexing issues for Israel in the current peace negotiations is the level of American involvement. Israel and her friends have long been wary that an American seat at the table would leave Israel outnumbered and outgunned. But that could be changing.

Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin was in Washington last month urging the Clinton administration to take an expanded role. His message was that there is no real movement in the negotiations and unless they get a new breath of life, they could die. Reportedly, Beilin received a more favorable response from Bush administration holdovers than from the Clintonites.

There can be no doubt that these talks would not even be going on were it not for American initiative. Even those of us who questioned the motivations and the goals of President George Bush and Secretary of State James

That Shamir desired peace is not questioned. But on what terms? Many questioned whether he was prepared to make the necessary compromises to achieve peace. That doubt prevailed among the Arabs but also extended to Shamir's political opponents in Israel as well as the U.S. government and many American Jews.

During the mid-1980s, Israel's national unity government was deeply divided over peace policy. Doves in the government were convinced that nothing could be accomplished without strong U.S. pressure on their own government and privately urged the Reagan Administration to get involved. Secretary of State George Shultz was pushed from both directions by the two Israeli camps and their respective American supporters.

President Bill Clinton, unlike his predecessor, is not obsessed with foreign policy in general or punishing Israel in particular. His foreign policy plate is already fuller than he would prefer, with issues like Bosnia, Russia and trade ranking ahead of the Middle East. In this post-

Cold War era, many feel the Arab-Israeli conflict is not as threatening to international stability as it once was. (That assumption is a dangerous mistake in view of efforts by Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria and others to get nuclear weapons, other unconventional weapons and the missiles to deliver them.)

Beilin has reportedly said the Madrid formula limiting U.S. involvement was designed with one man in mind — Yitzhak Shamir. More accurately, it was designed for two men. The other was George Bush.

Shamir's politics made him a reluctant partner, but policy aside he also understood the personal component of the equation. Bush came to office with longstanding hostility toward Israel, and his personal clashes with Shamir — as well as those of Secretary Baker — only made things worse.

The problem extended far beyond Shamir. Bush and Baker stirred extensive distrust among friends of Israel on Capitol Hill and in the American Jewish community. It was widely feared that Bush, with his longstanding pro-Arab sympathies, would use the Madrid process to impose terms on Israel.

But now there are new governments in both countries, and the level of friendship, trust and cooperation is once again high. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin made peace a central priority for his government, something that may prove a long-term

See BLOOMFIELD, page 20

Washington Watch

by Douglas M. Bloomfield

A. Baker III cannot deny their contribution. They dragged reluctant neighbors to the peace table and began the task of moving from peace process to peace negotiations.

Ever since, U.S. involvement has posed a continuing dilemma for all. The question has never been whether but always how much.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir wanted the United States to convene the talks and disappear. He subsequently admitted his strategy was to draw out the talks as long as possible. The Arabs wanted the Israelis to disappear and the United States to stay and negotiate with them, and then impose the results on Israel.

Without Shamir's support, Reagan and Shultz found themselves stymied and expressed their frustration in a final symbolic act when the United States recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization in December 1988.

The Israeli doves now hold major seats in the Israeli government and are openly trying to get the U.S. more involved. They are convinced that without it, nothing can happen. Israel and the Arabs, left to themselves, will argue endlessly, they say, but never really negotiate much less reach agreements.

They believe that unless the negotiations show some realistic chance of success, the United States will lose interest and the talks will end.

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BLOOMFIELD

From page 19

strength and a short-term weakness.

Rabin has acknowledged that no agreement between the Arabs and Israelis has been achieved without U.S. involvement, and he would welcome an expanded U.S. role in the current talks to prevent their break down. But he is not ready to give the United States a seat at the table, as happened at the Camp David negotiations with Egypt. He wants the talks to remain between Israel and the Arabs, with no one else in the room. That was a major U.S. and Arab concession to Shamir and is an essential element of the Madrid Formula, and Rabin — unlike Beilin — does not want to see this arrangement reopened.

"Beilin feels Rabin is too cautious and timid and needs U.S. prodding," said an Israeli diplomatic source. He added that it was "not clear who (Beilin) was speaking for," himself, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres or the government.

Neither Peres nor Rabin has publicly disclaimed the re-

marks though sources say Rabin was unhappy with Beilin.

Rabin has agreed to "full partnership" for the U.S. in the talks, which the Palestinians demanded. Secretary of State Warren Christopher has said that does not mean the U.S. intends to become a negotiator but only offer ideas and suggestions of its own. Nonetheless, the partnership is yet to be fully defined, and each party has its own perception — and fears — of what the term means.

Rabin's clear political need for progress at the Washington talks and the U.S. promise of greater involvement can have the negative effect of encouraging Arab foot-dragging. Israel has made a number of concessions to the Palestinians, only to have them respond with demands for more.

American impatience and the growing competition for U.S. attention elsewhere could further encourage an Arab strategy of drawing out things to force more Israeli concessions and strain U.S. patience in the hope it will be forced to pressure Israel.

A higher U.S. profile, if not handled properly, can also encourage the unchanged Arab goal of eliminating direct negotiations with Israel and dealing with the Jewish state only through the U.S. government.

While Rabin welcomes greater U.S. involvement, he is well aware of the need for the United States to tread the fine line between constructive suggestions and the temptation to pressure the party over which it has the greatest leverage. There is also an important domestic political component for Clinton.

The Administration has so far been willing to devote time and effort to the negotiations, but it is unclear how much political capital it will risk. It is not likely to take a higher profile unless it is convinced that Rabin wants this U.S. role; equally important, the U.S. feels the pro-Israel community will support such a move, something it has not done in the past.

Aggressive U.S. involvement in Mid East peace negotiations, even with successful results, has already proven politically costly to two presidents. ■

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: סימפוזיון בנושא השלום במזה"ת

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WJW (סאם סקולניק 3/6) אודות סימפוזיון בנושא השלום שאירח חבר הקונגרס החדש אלברט וויין באזור הבחירה שלו במרילנד. הסימפוזיון כלי משתתפים ממחלקת המדינה ומשירות המחקר של הקונגרס (CRS). בכתבה תיאור הדיון הפורה והדעות השונות בנושא.

תקשורת

2-8 (2) שחח (2) משהיח (1) רהמ (1) סנכל (1) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)
הסברה (2) ד/מרכז (1) סמד (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומן (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)
צנזורצבאי (1) ז/ר כ'נס 2-1

2/3 1121

Exchange 'lively' but not hostile

New congressman hosts Middle East briefing

by Sam Skolnik
Staff Writer

Freshman Rep. Albert R. Wynn (D-Md.), ventured into Arab-Israeli affairs last Monday, hosting a symposium on Middle East peace prospects which featured speakers from the U.S. State Department and the Congressional Research Service (CRS).

About 60 people attended the briefing, held in Wynn's Silver Spring district office. Wynn, a Largo attorney and former state senator who represents sections of both Montgomery and Prince George's counties in the recently redesigned 4th district, said he was eager to offer his constituents an opportunity to hear some of the same information he receives regularly as a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The crowd, composed of both Jewish and Arab constituents, provided a "lively exchange" of views during the question session at the end of the briefing, according to Wynn. However, he added that the discussion was held in an "intellectual context as opposed to an adversarial context."

"I think it's important for people of goodwill to appreciate these complexities," Wynn said, adding that he plans to hold more public briefings as the U.S.-mediated Arab-Israeli talks progress.

Dr. Robert Lieber, chair of the department of government at Georgetown University, also participated as a panelist. He said that for the Middle East peace talks — set to resume here later this month — to have a good chance to succeed, the U.S. presence must be both felt and respected, and also that the Palestinian Arabs must overcome their "disarray" and division.

Lieber noted the direct historical correlation between high-level U.S. involvement — i.e., Secretary of State or above — in past Middle East negotiations, and their ultimate success. He said the lack so far of similar involvement by either Secretary of State Warren Christopher or President Bill Clinton concerns him because the parties might not take the process as seriously as they should.

"It seems very unlikely that President Clinton will invest the amount of time needed to instill confidence," said Lieber. He also stressed the importance of the parties' recognition that the chief U.S. negotiator has a direct line to the president, to "deliver on promises or threats." Although Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs, Edward Djerejian, is highly respected, Lieber is not sure if he carries enough diplomatic weight alone.

WTW

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Lieber also noted what he believed to be the relative disarray of the Palestinian negotiating team and its lagging effect on the talks. "The Palestinians have been divided among themselves," he said, pointing to the policy struggles which have occurred between the negotiators in Washington and their de facto Palestine Liberation



Rep. Albert Wynn

Organization leaders in Tunis.

"For any peace negotiations to succeed, you need strong negotiators," he said. On a positive point, he mentioned the recent addition of Faisal al-Husseini, a political leader from east Jerusalem who the Israelis recently allowed to join the Palestinian delegation at the talks, and what he said was the positive effect Hussein's presence has had so far.

Carol Migdalovitz, a Middle East research specialist with CRS, while a bit more sanguine about the prospects for peace, realizes the "complexity" of negotiating with four different adversaries — Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinians — simultaneously, each with different aims and political concerns. It is, however, in Israel's case, "the only way to peace," she said.

Migdalovitz, who also spoke at the Monday briefing, takes issue with the belief that a stronger U.S. presence is vital to the success of the talks. While American prompting and support has up to now proved valuable, "at some point the parties will have to bite the bullet, sit down and reach an agreement" on their own.

While she acknowledges there is "an awful lot on the table," Migdalovitz believes this to be a positive indication, saying that the talks "haven't dried up yet."

Marc Sievers, a Middle East specialist at the State Department, also spoke.

Samuel H. "Buddy" Sislen, executive vice president of the Zionist Organization of America, Louis D. Brandeis district, thanked Wynn for hosting the event. "While there are plenty of differences to work out between all sides, I am more comfortable now with U.S. policy than ever before," Sislen said after the district briefing.

Jack Serber, head of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington, agreed: "This forum reflected the problems of varying perspectives and differing feelings of rights, which is an integral part of the peace process. People are coming together who have been enemies for decades. Americans need to understand each other."

According to a press release issued by Wynn's office, his district includes comparatively large numbers of both Jewish and Arab Americans. The congressman's office estimated that about two-thirds of those attending the briefing were Jewish, the rest of Arab extraction.

Wynn, who pronounced himself pleased with the turnout, said "peace will only be achieved through the major parties in the Middle East, but this kind of forum was a good exchange of ideas for my constituents."

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88 כ"ב

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - איראן

מצ"ב כחבת ה-WT מהעמוד הראשון (וורן סטרובל) וכחבת ה-WP (גון גושקו) -
10/6 בנושא מאמצי ארה"ב למנוע ממדינות העולם למכור נשק וטכנולוגיה
לאיראן.
מזכיר המדינה, וורן כריסטופר, פנה למדינות מערב אירופה בבקשה שלא למכור
ציוד וטכנולוגיה לאיראן, אשר לטענת כריסטופר, מהווה איום עיקרי בנושא
החיתום הגרעיני.
מדינות אירופה הסכימו עם כריסטופר כי יש מקום לגישה חדשה לאיראן.

13.6

תקשורת

WT 10/6
F.P.

Christopher attacks Iran's arms buildup

Urges curbs on dual-use-item sales

By Warren Strobel
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ATHENS — Secretary of State Warren Christopher asked Western Europe yesterday to curb sales of sophisticated equipment to Iran to help block Tehran's acquisition of nuclear and other advanced weapons.

While the United States has made similar unsuccessful entreaties in the past, Mr. Christopher and his aides said members of the European Community agreed that a new approach to Iran may be needed.

Iran, the secretary of state said, is "the most worrisome" of countries

involved in proliferation "and the one that Europe can most directly influence."

"We need to adopt a collective policy of containment," he said. "Iran must be persuaded to abandon its nuclear, chemical-biological and missile programs."

Mr. Christopher's proposal focuses on sales of "dual-use" items like telecommunications equipment and computers that have both civilian and military uses, State Department officials said.

see IRAN, page A10

• Iran's president faces an increasingly restive populace. A10.

IRAN

From page A1

The 12-nation EC agreed to a joint study of policy toward Tehran, which will be completed in September.

The U.S. officials said the Clinton administration may turn down an application by the Boeing Co. to sell 16 commercial jets and parts to Iran, a deal potentially worth \$900 million.

Mr. Christopher advised President Clinton to reject the sale, which would provide hundreds of jobs to a troubled American industry.

The secretary of state made his appeal on Iran at an EC meeting in Luxembourg. He then flew to Greece for a meeting today of the NATO alliance that will be dominated by the nonstop conflict in former Yugoslavia.

Mr. Christopher and the European diplomats unveiled no fresh proposals to end that blood-drenched tragedy. Instead, after months of trans-Atlantic bickering about what to do, they seemed to go out of their way to emphasize "unity," even where little exists.

Foreign Minister Niels Helweg Petersen of Denmark, the EC's current president, said the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia remains "the centerpiece" of European policy.

"Yes, there are nuances" of difference with the United States, he said. "But there is agreement on the basics."

But Mr. Christopher made it clear that Washington remains unwilling to endorse the plan — which would divide Bosnia's ethnic groups into 10 semiautonomous provinces — or any other, until Muslims, Croats and Serbs have signed on. Bosnia's Serbs rejected the Vance-Owen proposal after the Bosnian Muslims accepted it late, reluctantly and under foreign pressure.

The U.S. initiative on Iran grew out of the Clinton administration's recent decision to pursue a policy of "dual containment" against Iran and

Europe, especially Germany, is a major supplier of industrial equipment to Iran.

Iraq, rather than trying to balance the two Persian Gulf powers as have previous administrations.

Mr. Christopher said that because Iran's economy is in trouble, it is more vulnerable than before to Western pressure.

The secretary made a lengthy presentation to his colleagues, detailing U.S. evidence of Iran's involvement in terrorism and weapons proliferation, a senior State Department official said.

He made it clear that the United States is willing to share intelligence in the future.

Europe, especially Germany, is a major supplier of industrial equipment to Iran's theocratic government.

The Europeans resisted similar proposals for curbs from the Bush administration. And in March, U.S. attempts to block Iran from receiving World Bank loans were simply ignored.

European leaders have argued for a more conciliatory policy, saying this might have a moderating effect on the government of Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

But Mr. Petersen sounded a different note yesterday.

"Developments in Iran are worrying to both" Europe and the United States, the Danish foreign minister said. "We see here the threat of the buildup of the means of mass destruction. We share anxiety about this."

The senior State Department official said that several ministers agreed with Mr. Christopher that their current policy may be outdated.

"The carrots haven't resulted in any changed behavior," the official said.

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ture commercial relations with Tehran's revolutionary government.

Although Christopher and Petersen insisted the United States and the Europeans are in broad agreement over Bosnia, their comments showed that Washington and its allies have not resolved a disagreement over a key element of proposals for ending the three-sided war there. That involves a plan formulated by U.N. mediator Cyrus Vance and the EC's David Owen for ending the bloodshed among Bosnia's Serb, Muslim and Croat factions by dividing the republic into 10 semiautonomous, communally based provinces.

Petersen cited the declaration by

EC foreign ministers Tuesday calling the Vance-Owen plan "the centerpiece of European Community policy." He said all other steps being pursued by the international community—among them the maintenance of sanctions against Serb-controlled Yugoslavia for aiding the Bosnian Serbs and a U.N. call for establishing safe havens to protect Bosnia's beleaguered Muslims from Serb attack—must be regarded as interim measures designed to foster implementation of the Vance-Owen plan.

However, U.S. officials contend that the Vance-Owen plan has virtually no chance of success because the Serbs, who have seized about 70

percent of Bosnia by force, refuse to accept the U.N. formula.

U.S. officials accompanying Christopher said that the danger of arms proliferation is of particular concern to the Clinton administration and that Christopher is seeking opportunities to raise it whenever possible.

While giving no details, the officials said U.S. intelligence evaluations of Iran's activity in development of mass-destruction weaponry and its involvement in terrorist activity against moderate Middle East governments put it high on the list of regimes that Washington believes should be subjected to pressure.

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כ"ג - 87

ד' - 6

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: נאום - ניו יורק

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: מאמצי ארה"ב להרחבת מועצת הבטחון של האו"ם

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP מהעמוד הראשון (ג'וליה פרסטון 10/6) בנושא מאמצי ארה"ב להרחיב את מועצת הבטחון של האו"ם ולכלול את יפן וגרמניה כחברות קבועות. המטרה הינה לעצב מועצה אשר תיטיב להתמודד עם משבר של תקופה שלאחר סיום המלחמה הקרה והכלכלה היפנית והגרמנית הפכו לבעלות השפעה מרכזיות בתקופה החדשה. הצעת ההתרחבות נתקלת בהתנגדות מצד בריטניה וצרפת - חברות מרכזיות במועצת הבטחון.

תקשורת

(25) שהח (2) ששה"ח (1) רהמ (1) מנכל (1) מחנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)
הסברה (2) ר/מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמח (4) אומח (1) סייכל (1) משפט (1)
צנזורצבאי (1)

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U.S. Seeks to Expand U.N. Security Council

Permanent Seats for Germany, Japan Face French, British Opposition



MADELEINE ALBRIGHT
... ambassador lays out U.S. case

By Julia Preston
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, June 9— The United States has begun what promises to be a long and difficult diplomatic campaign to expand the U.N. Security Council to include Japan and Germany as permanent members.

The objective is to reshape the council to respond to the post-Cold War era, when the economic clout of Japan and Germany has made them major global players—along with the five World War II victors that have been the council's permanent members since the United Nations was founded in 1945.

But by pressing on behalf of Germany and Japan, Washington is heading for a clash with Britain and France, two key European allies that oppose expansion and, as permanent council members, can block it with their vetoes. The council's two other permanent members, China and Russia, have shown little

enthusiasm for giving Germany and Japan equal status.

In addition, most of the debate over expansion of the 15-member council must take place in the 183-nation General Assembly, which includes a group of Third World governments eager to see power flow to the majority rather than the few rich nations that make up the permanent Security Council membership.

This could make the expansion process a diplomatic marathon. U.S. officials said results are unlikely before the United Nations celebrates its 50th anniversary in 1995.

Previous administrations resisted Security Council expansion, Madeleine Albright, the U.S. am-

See UNITED NATIONS, A26, Col. 1

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F.R.

U.S. Wants to Expand Security Council In Uphill Battle for Germany, Japan

UNITED NATIONS, From A1

bassador here, said in a speech Tuesday night before the Foreign Policy Association in New York. "The Clinton administration, by contrast, believes that Japan and Germany should be made permanent members."

Clinton had mentioned this desire during his campaign, and Secretary of State Warren Christopher supported the idea at his confirmation hearing. But the administration's diplomatic initiative did not officially get underway until last month, after review of the issue.

That review focused on two major benefits of an enhanced role for Germany and Japan: a wider sharing of sharply increasing costs associated with U.N. peace-keeping operations and future participation by German and Japanese troops in those operations. Both outcomes would absorb some of the military and financial burden assumed by the United States.

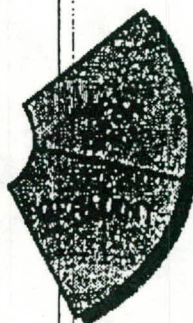
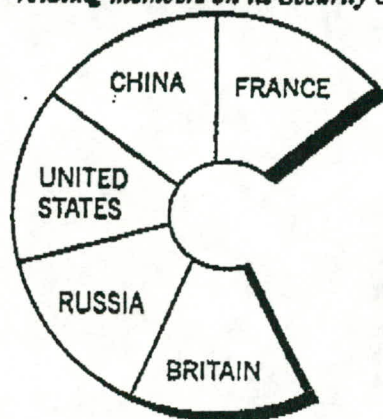
The administration's policy review was forced in part by a request from U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali that member states draft plans for Security Council reform by June 30. He is to present a single plan to the General Assembly this fall.

Albright said the United States "will be careful not to sacrifice the council's new-found effectiveness on the altar of reform." U.S. officials said they have not yet decided whether to seek veto power for Japan and Germany, but they appeared to be leaning in that direction.

Albright did not take any position on an array of other proposals that have been floated at the United Nations to expand the council to give more influence to Third World and

EXPANDING THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The United Nations has had five permanent members and 10 rotating members on its Security Council since 1965...



... and is to consider adding two more permanent members.

THE WASHINGTON POST

other nations. These nations are now represented on the council by 10 rotating memberships with two-year terms.

The Security Council is the U.N. body charged with maintaining international peace and security, and it has been at the center of the recent sharp increase of peace-keeping operations.

Britain and France staunchly oppose bringing new permanent members onto the council, the one forum where they still enjoy near-superpower status. "To increase the number of its members too much would diminish its power of decision," said France's U.N. ambassador, Jean-Bernard Merimee.

British officials have warned the United States that if they throw open the question of council membership, other nations in the General Assembly may see fit to cancel the permanent members' veto power or add several new members, making it unwieldy.

"We're not trying to pick a fight,"

a U.S. official said. "We simply believe that over the long run it will be a better council if it better reflects reality."

Japan has aggressively sought to be included on the council, since the United Nations is the one world forum where it could translate its economic power into global political influence. Germany has been more coy, saying in effect that it would accept the seat if called upon to take it.

Intense political debates are still underway in Germany about whether it should try to become a major world power or focus its influence on Europe, especially the emerging post-communist countries in Eastern Europe.

The only other time the council was expanded was in 1965, when it went from six to 10 nonpermanent members.

Staff writer R. Jeffrey Smith in Washington contributed to this report.

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 84 / ק
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 112

בלמ"ס / רגיל

9.6.93

אלו מצפ"א
 דע: מקש"ח/משהב"ס
 נטפח הגנה - כאן
 רמש"ן - ניו יורק
 מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנד"ן: סיוע צבאי וזכויות אדם

רצ"ב כחבה מהיום 9.6 ב- W.P על בדיקה בה החל הפנטגון בנוגע להענקת סיוע צבאי וז"א כמדינות המקבלות.
 עיקר הביקורת היא סביב נושא ה- IMET - תכנית הסיוע לאימונים אולם גם הסיוע הצבאי עצמו - FMF יעבור בדיקה הנ"ל, בעקבות דו"ח אמנסטי בנדון, המתייחס בין השאר לישראל.

ישראל - ורנאי דרנגב
 יהודית ורנאי דרנגב

להח' (נהא) 2
 סהה 1
 מנהל 1
 מנהל 2
 כביב 1
 מנהל 1
 הסברה 2
 י/מסכ 1
 מנהל 4
 מנהל 1
 (2)

Pentagon Reviews Foreign Military

Aid to Address Human Rights Concerns

212

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By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

Spurred by new evidence that the United States helped trained foreign military officers who later committed human rights abuses, the Defense Department has begun an internal policy review of the program that provides security assistance to foreign governments.

U.S. officials said the review was prompted partly by allegations from human rights groups that 45 of the Salvadoran military officers implicated recently by the United Nations in massacres of unarmed civilians during the 1980s graduated from a U.S. Army academy established to promote democracy and human rights in Latin America.

The Defense Department's review is expected to encompass the curricula at several U.S. training academies for foreign military officers as well as the criteria for de-

ciding which countries receive U.S. military equipment and training, according to an official familiar with the review.

The Clinton administration has been pressured by human rights groups to change two key programs established to promote stability, democracy and human rights among U.S. allies: the International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program and the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) Program.

The programs entail extensive training of foreign military officers and police forces in a wide variety of operations as well as gifts or cut-rate sales of U.S. military equipment.

Amnesty International USA yesterday released a report alleging that 20 major recipients of U.S. security assistance under IMET and FMF have engaged in "recurring abuses," contrary to a legal requirement that no such aid go to nations with a consistent pattern of

"gross human rights abuses." Included in Amnesty's list are such key U.S. allies as Egypt, Turkey, Israel, Thailand and the Philippines which together are slated to receive \$3 billion in security assistance funding under the administration's proposed budget for fiscal 1994.

Amnesty's report also questioned continued military training and assistance to countries such as Morocco, Honduras, Iran and Jordan, which have troubled human rights records but back certain U.S. foreign policy aims, give the U.S. military access to their territory or support regional military operations.

"One [human rights] standard is applied to the special friends of the United States and another is applied to other countries," said Jim O'Dea, director of Amnesty's Washington office. "We would like to see the U.S. government get back on the

of credibility in its human rights policy."

Much of the security assistance program is a legacy of the Cold War, when the U.S. military put top priority on ensuring the survival of governments battling communist-backed, local insurgencies and terrorists—even though some of the governments were known to use brutal methods of repression.

In recent years, the IMET and FMF programs have placed added emphasis on assisting counternarcotics operations, and this year the Clinton administration proposed to add \$50 million in security assistance funds for education, training, enforcement and verification efforts aimed at halting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

The administration also proposed to trim foreign grants of military equipment by 21 percent and make small cuts in IMET funding to some of the countries on Amnesty's list.

But officials said the administration has not yet proposed any major restructuring of the Army's School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Ga. Roughly 20 percent of IMET funds for Latin America are spent at the School of the Americas, which states that it "systematically advocates human rights awareness" while each year training 1,600 officers from 16 Latin American countries in military operations and psychological warfare.

"I don't think anybody can make a case that the school is making a useful contribution now," said one Pentagon official. "The question is, can we turn it around?"

In defense of the school, an Army official recently wrote to Sen. John Breaux (D-La.) that "to implicate the school for crimes committed by some of its former students would be a disservice."

78 - G2

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: באו"ם - ניו יורק

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: זכויות אדם

מצ"ב המאמר של מזכ"ל האו"ם בוטרוס בוטרוס ראלי (9/6 WP) בנושא מצב זכויות האדם בעולם. בוטרוס ראלי טוען כי למרות ההתקדמות העצומה בנושא בחצי המאה האחרון, חדר נושא זכויות האדם לעמוד בראש סדר העדיפויות של המדינות השונות בעשור האחרון. הנושא, למענתו, היה בסדר עדיפות נמוך יחסית כי ניתנה עדיפות לזכויות בסיסיות כגון: מזון, מחסה, בריאות והשכלה. הטענה היתה כי בחברה בה חסרים האנשים זכויות בסיסיות - נושא ז"א הופך להיות חסר משמעות. בוטרוס ראלי קורא למדינות העולם לפעול להתזרת הנושא לראש סדר העדיפויות ולמנוע מקרים של הפרת זכויות אדם.

9.13.6.

תקשורת

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מצולת יביד מנה הסברה בלמה למלה נס וו.

Boutros Boutros-Ghali

'Democracy Is the Guarantor of Human Rights'

Great progress has been made in human rights over the past half-century, but today their underlying concepts are not so secure as they have been in the recent past. Ten years ago virtually every state in the world accepted human rights as an appropriate area of international concern. Today, this is no longer true.

The idea of universal human rights is under assault from strong cultural, political, religious and ethnic pressures. Many governments are inclined to define human rights in the manner most convenient to suiting their own political interests. Others understandably point out that human rights as traditionally defined hold little meaning for people who lack the fundamental necessities of food, shelter, health and education.

The United Nations Charter requires the world organization "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small." In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted and proclaimed by the U.N. General Assembly.

Ever since then, the range of protection has widened: Slavery, genocide, torture and discrimination have been specifically addressed. Groups to be protected have been more sharply defined: refugees, stateless persons, indigenous

people, women, children and the most vulnerable. At the same time, the concept of human rights has been expanded: from the rights of the individual person to civil and political rights. From economic, social and cultural rights to the right of development in all its aspects and the right to live on a healthy planet.

Striking new departures on behalf of human rights have occurred just in the past year. Human rights have been integrated into peace-keeping and peacemaking functions, as in the case of the Truth Commission investigation in El Salvador and the monitors stationed in that country. The neglected needs of special populations are starting to be recognized, notably through the United Nations' Year of the Indigenous Peoples. The flexibility of the charter has been used to establish, for the first time, an international tribunal to deal with war crimes charges made during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. New forms of cooperation with regional organizations are proving possible, as demonstrated by the current U.N.-Organization of American States observer team in Haiti. And a new department in the secretariat has been established to deal with requests for electoral assistance. In the short period of its existence, the department already has responded to requests from 46 countries. Next must come practical support for political parties, a free

press, an independent judiciary and grass-roots associations.

At the World Conference on Human Rights, which will open in Vienna June 14, member states of the United Nations will convene with governmental and nongovernmental organizations and human rights activists. As this gathering takes place, we must not lose sight of the people who are its purpose: the writer who fears the state, the mother who sees her sons' and daughters' lives and prospects frustrated by bureaucrats, the villager who knows that a beating—or worse—lies in store for him.

How do we speak to these people from the exalted platform of a world conference? How do we gain their trust and deserve their respect? I see four elements: universality, development, democracy and the U.N. itself.

Universality is the crux of the human rights system. It means global accession to, and ratification of, the principal international human rights treaties. Our contemporary human rights system is heir to demands for human dignity throughout history and across cultures. It expresses the enduring elements of the world's great philosophies, religions and cultures. Today it builds upon modern science and advanced technologies, while enabling all peoples to participate in the shaping and sharing of the world in which they live.

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We must remember that forces of repression often cloak their wrongdoing in claims of exceptionalism. But the people themselves time and again make it clear that they seek and need universality. Human dignity within one's culture requires fundamental standards of universality across the lines of culture, faith and state.

Second, development has a true claim to be considered as a human right. Freedom of the press has little value for a population that is largely illiterate. Nations that formerly denied the connection are coming to accept the mutually reinforcing nature of civil, political and economic rights. It would be good for rich countries to acknowledge in an open forum that they too often have overlooked basic developmental needs and that human rights cannot flourish or receive respect in a society of desperately poor people.

Democracy is the guarantor of human rights. The poorer a society, the less it concerns itself with human rights. The further it goes along the path of socioeconomic progress, the more fully it observes human rights. But this should not mean that human rights must wait in line behind development. The best way to cultivate a citizen's readiness to participate in the development of his or her country is by recognizing human dignity and human rights. The material

means of progress can be acquired, but human resources—skilled and spirited workers—are indispensable.

The quality of performance required for development cannot be attained unless the society believes in and defends human dignity. Respect for the rights of an individual is the best way of arousing that person's energies and commitment. And only a society of democratically protected human rights can offer the stability that can sustain development over time. Open societies enable the people to hold their governments accountable. Only societies committed to free expression can expose those in power who seek to hide acts of intimidation and corruption.

Both the principles and the practices of human rights are under stress. This is a time for serious discussion, for quiet diplomacy and step-by-step problem-solving.

Solutions cannot be imposed from the top down. Proposals for new bureaucracies, high-level positions, more procedures and permanent forums, as admirable and well-intentioned as they are, may only arouse discontent and resistance at a time when liberality and leeway are called for. This is a year for dialogue.

The writer is secretary general of the United Nations.

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

13.6

הנדון: השינויים בתכניות סיוע החוץ של ארה"ב

מצ"ב כתבת ה-BS וכתבת ה-WT (מרטין זיף) - 9/6 בנושא השינויים בתוכניות ובמטרות סיוע החוץ האמריקני כפי שהודיע עליהם ראש מחלקת סיוע החוץ (AID) החדש, בריאן אטווד. אטווד, אשר סבור כי ארה"ב מסייעת ליותר מדי מדינות, הודיע על העדיפויות החדשות בסיוע החוץ: עידוד צמיחה כלכלית, תמיכה בתכניות בריאות, תכניות תכנון ילודה ותכניות להגנה סביבתית ותמיכה בדמוקרטיה. העדיפויות החדשות משקפות, לדברי אטווד, את תוצאות הדו"ח של עוזר מזכיר המדינה, קליפורד וורטון, בנושא סיוע החוץ.

תקשורת

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Foreign aid chief plans to refocus, redirect funds

Reuters

WASHINGTON — The United States wants to revamp its foreign aid programs, concentrating on fewer programs and focusing assistance in areas where it could make a real difference, a senior official said yesterday.

Brian Atwood, the Clinton administration's newly appointed administrator of the Agency for International Development, said the agency was trying to do too much and was spreading its resources too thin.

"I want to make sure we have a fire hose approach rather than a sprinkler," he said.

He defined AID's new priorities as promoting economic growth, supporting health and population control programs, helping protect the environment and backing democracy. He said AID was operating in 108 countries but probably only had the resources to operate in 50.

The Clinton administration is studying how to reform AID and intends to make its findings public.

Mr. Atwood said the agency's disaster relief division was working well and only last year helped avert a major famine in southern Africa. But other parts of the agency were unwieldy and bureaucratic, unable to respond fast enough to new needs.

Partly as a result, the agency had been embroiled in a series of embarrassing mini-scandals which had undermined public support for foreign assistance.

Mr. Atwood said he would be traveling to former Soviet republics this month to look at ways of using aid there more efficiently.

One idea was to place AID representatives in more provincial cities in Russia and other republics instead of having them all in Moscow. Another was to concentrate aid resources on certain key areas where reform had a real chance of success.

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WT 9/6

Agency sets 'partner' criteria for aid

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

U.S. aid to countries that aren't "a good partner" for the United States may be cut off as the troubled Agency for International Development struggles to redefine itself and survive, the agency's new boss said yesterday.

J. Brian Atwood, the Clinton administration's new head of the scandal-ridden agency, unveiled a sweeping new strategy to make AID more cost-effective and relevant to U.S. foreign policy goals.

"AID has programs in 108 countries and we have the resources today to operate efficiently in no more than 50," he told reporters.

"I'm concerned that we're in too many sectors," Mr. Atwood said. "I want us to have a fire hose approach [to development] as opposed to a sprinkler approach."

"Our money is going down so we're going to have to go through some kind of triage process. We're going to have to cut country pro-

grams and we're going to have to look at who is a good partner for us. ... We can't work everywhere."

Mr. Atwood said that the reconfigured agency would have four major global missions: to promote economic growth, protect the environment, care for health and population, and promote democracy. AID was seeking new strategies to integrate its programs in pursuit of these goals, he said.

New criteria for countries to retain or expand their AID programs would require government expenditures on development as opposed to security programs. More open and "transparent" political societies would be required as opposed to dictatorial and censored ones, the AID director said.

"There is a direct relationship between our ability to get development done and the openness of a society," he said.

The agency would also decrease activities and focus resources more, Mr. Atwood pledged.

In the post-Cold War era and at a

time of huge federal budget deficits, Mr. Atwood acknowledged AID's budget was shrinking and its continued existence is in question.

"This is not only a troubled agency, it's an agency at risk," he said.

The \$7-billion-a-year, 3,400-person agency has seen its role shrink with the end of the Cold War and has come under fire for expensive, corrupt and inefficient procurement procedures. Its Bush administration director, Ronald Ross, was slammed for his alleged indulgence in expensive perks and inadequate management.

Earlier last year, a presidential commission sharply criticized AID for not responding to the challenges of promoting democracy in Eastern Europe. It recommended merging the agency into a streamlined State Department.

Mr. Atwood is an experienced Washington insider. He was assistant secretary of state for congressional affairs in the Carter administration and ran the National

Democratic Institute for International Affairs before heading President Clinton's transition team at the State Department.

"There isn't more corruption in the world today, but there is more corruption being exposed," Mr. Atwood said. "Part of the reason AID has gotten into trouble with the American people is because we have been dealing with corrupt governments."

The new strategy reflected the conclusions of a major report on the future of the State Department and its related agencies, prepared under the supervision of Deputy Secretary of State Clifford Wharton, Mr. Atwood said.

"We're getting a reduced amount of development assistance" approved by Congress, Mr. Atwood said.

AID's proposed operating budget for fiscal 1994 is \$512 million, the same as in fiscal 1993. The previous fiscal year, the operating budget was \$485.2 million.

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תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

דע: משהב"ט - מקש"ח

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

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הנדון: ה"ח אמוסטי בנושא סיוע חוץ אמריקני למדינות

המפרות זכויזת אדם

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WZ (אנדרו בורוויק) וכתבת ה-WP (ג'פרי סמית) - 9/6 בנושא
דו"ח אמנסטי על מדינות המפרות זכויות אדם ומקבלות סיוע חוץ מארה"ב.
אמנסטי טוענת כי הסיוע למדינות אלו הופך את ארה"ב לשותפה להפרת זכויות
האדם והיא דורשת מארה"ב להבטיח שהסיוע ינתן רק למדינות השומרות על
זכויות האדם.

אמונתי מצינת שלוש מדינות עיקריות המפרות זכויות אדם: מצרים טורקיה
וישראל והיא מפרטת את הפרת זכויות האדם בישראל: עינויים פסיכולוגיים
ופיסיים המסתיימים לפעמים במוות, מעצרים מנהליים ללא משפט, חוסר צדק
במשפטים וגירוש אלפי פלשתינאים.
בעקבות הדו"ח החלה מחלקת ההגנה בבדיקת תוכניות סיוע חוץ וצפויים בקרוב
קיצוצים בסיוע למדינות שונות.

תקשורת

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Amnesty: U.S. aid misused to oppress

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The United States is spending billions of dollars on military and security assistance to countries that often use the money and equipment to oppress their own citizens, Amnesty International charged yesterday.

The human rights organization said the United States has inadvertently become an accomplice to torture and persecution and called on the Clinton administration and Congress to use their leverage overseas and adopt stringent monitoring procedures.

"Congress and the administration should demand that such equipment is not used, that recipients of aid should not violate human rights," said Curt Goering, acting executive director of Amnesty's U.S. branch.

One of the key elements in Mr. Clinton's election campaign was a new focus on human rights and democracy in foreign policy.

Amnesty's report detailing violations by 21 countries relying on U.S. military assistance pointed out the contradictions between the intentions of aid programs and the way they are used.

The money, equipment and training are channeled through two main programs: Foreign Military Financing (FMF), which provides allies with grants, military equipment and related technical services; and International Military Education and Training (IMET), mainly concerned with training.

Both programs are intended "to foster human rights and democratic

values and institutions."

"Despite the fact that the stated goals for much of this assistance is the promotion of democracy and human rights, many of the recipients of U.S. security assistance continue to be responsible for gross violations," Amnesty International's special report said.

Among the main violators of human rights, according to Amnesty, are three key recipients of U.S. military and security aid, Egypt, Turkey and Israel, whose combined annual assistance is close to \$6 billion.

There has been a "severe deterioration" of human rights in Egypt, Mr. Goering said, resulting "in thousands of people arrested for political reasons, the widespread use of torture, arbitrary arrests and detention without charge or trial."

Egypt faces a major terrorist challenge from Islamic fundamentalists financed by Iran and trained in Somalia.

Israel's violations "include the use of psychological and physical torture sometimes resulting in death, administrative detention without trial, unfair trials, and the deportation of thousands of Palestinians," Amnesty said.

Turkey, which gets \$3.1 billion in U.S. military aid, has used U.S. equipment to torture prisoners, says Amnesty, which has long accused Turkey of "widespread torture, detention without charge or trial."

"We would like the U.S. government to get back on the road of credibility in human rights," said James O'Dea, Amnesty's Washington office director.

Pentagon Reviews Foreign Military Aid to Address Human Rights Concerns

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

Spurred by new evidence that the United States helped trained foreign military officers who later committed human rights abuses, the Defense Department has begun an internal policy review of the program that provides security assistance to foreign governments.

U.S. officials said the review was prompted partly by allegations from human rights groups that 45 of the Salvadoran military officers implicated recently by the United Nations in massacres of unarmed civilians during the 1980s graduated from a U.S. Army academy established to promote democracy and human rights in Latin America.

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Amnesty's report also questioned giving continued military training and assistance to countries such as Morocco, Honduras, Bahrain and Jordan, which have troubled human rights records but back certain U.S. foreign policy aims, give the U.S. military access to their territory or support regional military operations.

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: מצפ"א

דע: ממוכ"ל
לש' סגן - שה"ח

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

13.6

הנדון: הנשיא קלינטון

מצ"ב הטור של דיוויד ברודר (WP 9/6) בנושא משבר המנהיגות של הנשיא קלינטון.
ברודר מתאר את דעותיהם של מנהיגים אירופאיים אשר חוששים למנהיגות הממשל האמריקני ומשווים את הנשיא קלינטון לנשיא לשעבר, ג'ימי קארטר.
ארה"ב מייצגת עבור מדינות העולם יציבות, חוזק ואפשרויות עבודה בעוד אירופה מתמודדת עם אבטלה גוברת, חוסר יציבות של הממשלים חשונים וצמיחה לאומנות. משבר המנהיגות של הנשיא קלינטון מנפץ תקוות רבות שניתלו בו עם בחירתו ולצערן של ברודר לא ניתן להגדיר את המשבר הזה כמשבר ראשוני וחולף.

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תקשורת

22

David S. Broder

'Another Carter'?

In less than five months in office, President Clinton has succeeded in uniting the NATO allies, along with the leaders of the major trading nations and the former Soviet empire. Unfortunately, they are united in their dismay at what they see happening to America's president and America's capacity to lead.

The dizzying descent of Clinton's political standing in the two weeks this column was on vacation is a calamity that reaches beyond our borders, given the economic decline and the weakness of leadership in other major nations around the globe. No American looking at the spectacle in Washington from abroad can feel anything but anxiety about this presidential meltdown.

Most of my time away was spent happily walking and biking on Ireland's west coast, but the end of the trip included a conference in Paris of business executives, economists and current and former political leaders from a dozen European and Asian nations. The question they asked over and over, was: "Do we have another Jimmy Carter on our hands?"

They admire the humanitarian work Carter has done since he left the White House. But the Georgian is remembered overseas as a man who seemed out of his depth in the presidency, who could not master the contending forces in domestic politics or take a clear measure of the international threats—and as a man who seemed dogged by adversity.

The prospect of seeing that pattern repeated by the former governor of Arkansas is almost unendurable to them. Even though the Cold War is over, they see a desperate need for American leadership. And the signs that Clinton may lack the skills or the domestic support to provide that leadership frankly scare the hell out of them.

To understand why, you have to make a mental adjustment that I found difficult. You have to see the United States, not as most Americans do, as a nation beset by problems and maybe headed down the chute, but as a citadel of economic and political strength in a world of stumbling economies and faltering leaders.

It is startling to be told that no major economy is growing as fast or generating jobs as well as the United States is today. But the figures are irrefutable. Europe is enduring the worst recession since the 1930s, and the slowdown has hit Japan as well. Meantime, the United States has been slowly climbing since the recession hit bottom more than two years ago.

Unemployment in Europe is over 10 percent and soaring. While I was in Paris, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development predicted that joblessness in its 24 member nations would jump from 32.5 million to 36 million this year. An OECD official warned of a "social explosion" from frustrated job-seekers, particularly the young.

Economic distress breeds political weakness. In Great Britain, which has begun to emerge from recession, Prime Minister John Major is at 16 percent approval—and just had to sack his chief economic minister. Spain's Felipe Gonzalez lost his parliamentary majority in voting Sunday. Similar shakiness can be found in country after country, compounded by scandals that have tarnished or toppled establishment parties and politicians from Italy to Japan.

Ugly forms of nationalism—ethnic warfare, attacks on immigrants, trade protectionism—worry leaders who have spent their lives trying to construct a more open, liberal and prosperous international system.

In such a setting, Clinton's election was warmly welcomed just seven months ago. There was no antagonism to George Bush; his leadership on international matters was admired. But officials in other countries understood that he and his party had seen their political backing erode and their agenda become exhausted. Clinton, backed by a Democratic Congress, seemed to have the combination of political strength, energy and ideas that might lift not just the United States but the world out of the doldrums.

As an American participant in that meeting, I found myself wanting to be able to say that the stumbles that had caused Clinton to lose support at home were simply the expectable early missteps of a new administration, that he was a quick learner and had plenty of time to recover. But everything that happened in this time period—the near-defeat of the economic plan in the House of Representatives and its revision to court rebellious Senate Democrats; the inept comedy of the \$200 haircut and the purge of the White House travel office; the hiring of David Gergen, which foreigners and some Americans at the conference found inexplicable; the fiasco over the Lani Guinier nomination; the landslide loss for the Democrat in the Texas Senate election—made it hard to maintain that fiction. The conference participants who read Time's cover story on the "incredible shrinking presidency" knew all too well what was going on.

The first few days back in Washington only confirmed the depths of Clinton's problems. That this is happening to the man who will remain as president for the next 43 months is an international disaster.

WP

9/6

1097

2/2

אאאא, חוזם: 14336

אל: רהמש/405

מ-: לוסאנגלס, נר: 93, תא: 090693, זח: 1459, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/רגיל

אל: מצפ'א, ממנכ'ל, סמנכ'ל הסברה

דע: מנכ'ל

מאת: קונכ'ל לוס אנג'לס

הנדון: כתבה בל.א. - בעקבות חשיפת חוליות המחבלים (8/6)

הכתבה, מאת סופרו החרוץ של ל.א. טיימס בירושלים מייקל פארקס, יש בה (שלא בדרך הכותב, האמין בדרך כלל) עירוב מובהק של עובדות ודעות. זוהי ביסודה כתבה ביקורתית, המבקשת להוכיח לקורא כי חוליה בת 4 מחבלים שאינה מחוברת בטבורה לארגון גג כלשהו, פעלה באופן ספוראדי ביוזמות משלה ובלא תכנון מרחיק ראות והצליחה, בתגובותיה של ישראל (גירוש החמאס, והטלת הסגר), לשנות כמעט את פני המזרח התיכון.

הכתבה תישלח אליכם בפאקס.

אורן

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, מזתים, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רס),
@ (אמן), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

2
10.6.

אאאא, חוזם: 14306

אל: רהמש/401

מ-: ני, נר: 2060, תא: 090693, זח: 1600, דח: ר, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/רגיל

אל: נתיב/קדמי, פרנקל

דע: וושינגטון / ברוך בינה, יהודית דרנגר-ורנאי

מאת: קונס' / ניו יורק / עודד ערן

הנדון: תיקון ג'קסון - ואניק

1. עפ"י NICK BURNS, האחראי ב-NSC לבדיקה הכוללת של 'חקיקת המלחמה הקרה', הממשל כבר החליט שלא חוזר שלא להמליץ על ביטול התיקון לגבי רוסיה, ואף לא להמליץ על ביקורת רב שנתית (אחת ל-3 שנים), אלא להישאר במתכונת של ביקורת פעם בשנה.

2. זאת לאחר שבמגעים שקיים הממשל לאחרונה עם ילצין, כולל בעת שיחה בין פיקרינג לילצין בעת הגשת כתב האמנתו, הודה הלה שבעיית ה'סירובניקים' טרם נפתרה.

3. בשבוע הבא יתקיים בקונגרס שימוע בנושא, ו-NCSJ הוזמן להעיד.

בברכה

עודד ערן

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), ששהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, גוברין, מזאר, 1,
@ (נתיב), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

י.ל.ס.ל

14159:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמש/391

מ-:ניוירוק,נר:282,תא:090693,זח:1428,דח:מ,סג:בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

22745

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

TO: TIKSHORET

210.6.

NEWS SUMMARY 9-JUNE-1993

TV COVERAGE

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ALL NETWORKS REPORTED ON THE BOMB EXPLOSION NEAR THE GIZA PYRAMIDS IN EGYPT ON TUESDAY WHICH KILLED ONE EGYPTIAN AND WOUNDED 14 PEOPLE.

EDITORIALS

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ND: 'NUCLEAR ROULETTE': WRITER CLAIMS THAT IF UKRAINE DOES NOT PLACE ITS NUCLEAR WARHEADS UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION, THE CHANCES FOR NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION WILL INCREASE ALONG WITH THE LIKELIHOOD FOR A MILITARY CONFRONTATION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE; STATES THAT DESPITE THE ATTEMPTS MADE BY THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH UKRAINE, UKRAINIAN LEADERS ARE TOO BADLY SPLIT TO COME TO A DECISION; ADDS THAT THE US SHOULD PROVIDE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE BUT NOT COMMIT TO PROTECTING UKRAINE IF IT IS ATTACKED BY RUSSIA.

COLUMNS

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NYT(M.MANDELBAUM-CABLED): 'LIKE IT OR NOT, WE MUST LEAD': WRITER ASSERTS THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION MUST FORMULATE AND PRESENT A CLEAR FOREIGN POLICY; CITES UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE PETER TARNOFF'S DECLARATION OF A US WITHDRAWAL FROM ITS ROLE AS INTERNATIONAL LEADER AS PROBLEMATIC; STATES THAT AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP ABROAD IS ESSENTIAL BECAUSE 'ANY IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL GOAL WILL REQUIRE US LEADERSHIP'; LISTS THE THREE AREAS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WHICH REQUIRE A US ROLE -- RUSSIA, EUROPE AND ASIA, AND GLOBAL TRADE; ADDS THAT THE MIDDLE EAST AND NUCLEAR PREVENTION ARE AREAS WHICH FALL

UNDER THE MAIN UMBRELLA; CONCLUDES THAT FAILURE TO DO SO WILL RESULT IN 'TRAGIC CONSEQUENCES FOR THE WHOLE WORLD.'

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'CLINTON BACKS OFF PLAN FOR NEW TAX ON HEAT IN FUELS'; 'COSTLY RELIC, NUCLEAR UNIT SITS READY FOR ATMOSPHERIC TESTS'; 'BEHIND IMMIGRANTS' VOYAGE, LONG REACH OF CHINESE GANG'; 'EAST EUROPEANS DUPED INTO WEST'S SEX TRADE'; 'DISABLED AND CHRONICALLY ILL GAIN HEALTH COVERAGE AND JOBS RIGHTS'. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/ARAB/BOYCOTT/RELAXED: NYT(Y.IBRAHIM-CABLED),WSJ,DN: 'BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL IS SAID TO RELAX': ACCORDING TO A SENIOR KUWAITI OFFICIAL, MOST ARAB COUNTRIES HAVE REPORTEDLY DROPPED THE BOYCOTT OF COMPANIES THAT DO BUSINESS WITH ISRAEL; ADDS THAT DIRECT COMMERCIAL DEALINGS WITH ISRAEL 'WILL HAVE TO AWAIT THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATIES'; SAYS THAT THE ASSERTION BY KUWAIT'S FIRST DEPUTY PM AND FM, SHEIK SABAH AL-AHMAD, CONFIRMS A TREND THAT HAS EMERGED OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS AS ARAB COUNTRIES HAVE DROPPED THE COMMERCIAL BOYCOTT ON FOREIGN COMPANIES THAT DO BUSINESS WITH ISRAEL; CITES A REASON FOR THE RELAXATION OF THE SECONDARY BOYCOTT TO BE THE NEED OF ARAB NATIONS FOR GOODS PRODUCED BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES; ADDS THAT MR. SABAH STATED THAT A LIFTING OF THE DIRECT BOYCOTT OF ISRAELI GOODS IS 'STILL TIED TO A SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT.'

WASHINGTON/ISRAEL/ARABS/TALKS: NYT(AP),WSJ(BRIEF): STATES THAT ISRAEL, THE PALESTINIANS, AND THREE ARAB GOVERNMENTS HAVE ACCEPTED A US OFFER TO RESUME PEACE TALKS ON JUNE 15.

EGYPT/GIZA/MILITANTS/BOMB: NYT(AP-BRIEF),ND,NYP: REPORTS THAT A BOMB WHICH WAS AIMED AT A TOUR BUS EXPLODED TUESDAY ON THE ROAD TO THE GIZA PYRAMIDS; NOTES THAT THE EXPLOSION KILLED AN EGYPTIAN AND WOUNDED 14 PEOPLE; ADDS THAT THE BOMB APPEARED TO BE THE WORK OF ISLAMIC MILITANTS WHO HAVE ATTACKED TOURISTS AND EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS IN ITS ONE AND A HALF YEAR CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SECULAR GOVERNMENT.

ISRAEL/AGRICULTURE/WORKERS/ROBOTS: WSJ(A.MARCUS-CABLED): 'ISRAEL MOVES TO AUTOMATE ITS AGRICULTURE': REPORTS THAT ISRAELI FARMERS WHO HAVE TRIED TO REPLACE PALESTINIAN WORKERS WITH DEMOBILIZED SOLDIERS, NEW IMMIGRANTS AND THE UNEMPLOYED ARE NOW TURNING TO ROBOTS TO DO THE WORK; CITES EXAMPLES ON KIBBUTZIM OF AUTOMATED PESTICIDE SPRAYING; ADDS THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS APPOINTED A COMMITTEE TO STUDY AND MANAGE THE PROJECT; QUOTES AGRICULTURE MINISTER YAAKOV TZUR AS SAYING THAT HE WILL NOT ALLOW MORE THAN 12,000 PALESTINIAN LABORERS TO RETURN TO ISRAEL AFTER THE CLOSURE OF THE TERRITORIES IS LIFTED.

ISRAEL/NEGEV/TOWER/POWER: WSJ(J.BISHOP): 'WIND TOWER MAY YIELD CHEAP POWER': REPORTS ON THE PROPOSAL BY A TEAM OF ISRAELI SCIENTISTS, ENGINEERS AND ARCHITECTS WHO BELIEVE THEY HAVE FOUND A CHEAP METHOD OF GENERATING ELECTRICITY; DESCRIBES THE PROCESS OF WATER BEING PUMPED FROM THE RED SEA INTO A WIND TOWER IN THE NEGEV DESERT TO

PRODUCE 40 BILLION TO 80 BILLION KILOWATT-HOURS OF ELECTRIC ENERGY PER YEAR; CITES DAN ZASLAVSKY, AN ISRAELI AGRICULTURAL ENGINEER WHO BEGAN WORK ON THE CONCEPT 12 YEARS AGO AND NAMED THE PROPOSAL 'SNEH AERO-ELECTRIC POWER'; NOTES THAT A PLAN LEADING TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PLANT WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE ISRAELI MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY THIS WEEK.

FRANCE/PARIS/VICHY/OFFICIAL: NYT(A.RIDING),ND,DN,NYP: 'VICHY AIDE ACCUSED OF WAR CRIMES IS SLAIN IN FRANCE': REPORTS THAT RENE BOUSQUET, AN OFFICIAL IN FRANCE'S VICHY GOVERNMENT WHO WAS FACING CHARGES FOR DEPORTING JEWS TO NAZI DEATH CAMPS DURING WWII, WAS SHOT TO DEATH BY A GUNMEN IN PARIS ON TUESDAY.

OBITUARIES

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NYT(AP): 'YONA EFRAT, EX-OFFICER - SERVED IN BEIRUT INQUIRY.'

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(I.MOLOTSKY-CABLED): 'WHITE HOUSE PICKS ENVOYS TO THREE LANDS.'

NYT(T.WEINER-CABLED): 'COSTLY RELIC, NUCLEAR UNIT SITS READY FOR ATMOSPHERIC TESTS.'

NYT(A.CLYMER): 'SENATE PANEL BACKS MILITARY SPENDING THE PENTAGON NEVER SOUGHT.'

NYP(AP),DN: 'TURKS FLEE WAVE OF ARSON ATTACKS IN GERMANY.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

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

סססס

1105 / א'
 5 / י'
 117

בלמס / בהול לבוקר
 9.6.93

אל: מצפ"א, כלכלית ג'
 דע: משנה למנכ"ל
 ס/קונכ"ל ניו-יורק
 מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: ביהנ"ב: חרם ערבי - G7

רצ"ב מכתב ביוזמת הקונגרסמנים שומר ורוס לטיכנן לנשיא קלינטון מה-7 ביוני
 הקורא לו ליזום הצהרה במושב ה- G7 כנגד החרם הערבי.
 על המכתב חתומים 94 חברי קונגרס.

יהודית ורגאי דרנגר

47.6

להח' 2 (להח' 1) סהרה 1 מנח 1 מנח 1 מצא 2 חין 1 טא 1

10

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

June 7, 1993

Bill Clinton, President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

1105
5
2/7

Dear Mr. President:

As members of Congress concerned about the Arab boycott against Israel and against companies doing business with Israel, we have been encouraged by the firm statements you have made condemning this odious form of economic warfare. We strongly agree with you that ending the boycott is an important step for the Arab countries to take to demonstrate a sincere commitment to making peace with Israel.

We find it particularly disturbing that countries complying with the Arab Boycott continue to target not only Israeli companies, but any company that does business with Israeli companies, and even companies that give to Jewish charities or have directors who are deemed pro-Israel. It is estimated that hundreds of American companies are on the Arab Boycott blacklist, and each year American companies seeking business in the Arab world receive inquiries about their business in Israel and the membership of their boards. Last year alone, U.S. companies reported receiving 9,912 of these illegal boycott related requests from foreign companies. This figure represents an increase of more than 3,000 additional requests over fiscal year 1991 and indicates that Arab countries remain as committed as ever to the boycott.

An important way for the United States to take the lead in working to end the Arab boycott would be by pressing for the G-7 nations to issue an unequivocal statement opposing the Arab Boycott when they meet in Tokyo this July. A formal statement by the G-7 would send an important international message that the Arab Boycott is not tolerated by the major trading nations.

We look forward to working with you on this important initiative which is critical to the interests of American businesses, as well as a necessary step to developing a lasting peace in the Middle East.

Sincerely,


CHARLES E. SCHUMER


ILLEANA ROS-LEHTINEN

Robert E. Andrews
ROBERT E. ANDREWS

Marilyn Lloyd
MARILYN LLOYD

Vic Fazio
VIC FAZIO

Carrie P. Meek
CARRIE P. MEEK

Albert Russell Wynn
ALBERT RUSSELL WYNN

Donald A. Manzullo
DONALD A. MANZULLO

Bruce F. Vento
BRUCE F. VENTO

Constance A. Morella
CONSTANCE A. MORELLA

Lincoln D. Hallert
LINCOLN D. HALLERT

George E. Langmeister
GEORGE E. LANGMEISTER

Lynn Schenk
LYNN SCHENK

Wm. A. ...

Dick Zimmer
DICK ZIMMER

Gary L. Ackerman
GARY L. ACKERMAN

Bob Filner
BOB FILNER

Peter A. DeRazio
PETER A. DERAZIO

Mel Reynolds
MEL REYNOLDS

Tom Lantos
TOM LANTOS

Rick Santorum
RICK SANTORUM

Dean A. Gallo
DEAN A. GALLO

Peter J. Visclosky
PETER J. VISCLOSKY

Tim Roemer
TIM ROEMER

Newt Gingrich
NEWT GINGRICH

Ken ...

1105

5

3 1/2

Arthur Ravenel Jr.
ARTHUR RAVENEL, JR.

Rich Durbin
RICHARD J. DURBIN

Sidney R. Yates
SIDNEY R. YATES

Wita M. Lowey
WITA M. LOWEY

Jim Ramstad
JIM RAMSTAD

Ben Cardin
BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

Jim Saxton
JIM SAXTON

Robert T. Matsui
ROBERT T. MATSUI

Sander D. Levin
SANDER D. LEVIN

Bill Hughes
WILLIAM J. HUGHES

William O. Lipinski
WILLIAM O. LIPINSKY

Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky
MARJORIE MARGOLIES-MEZVINSKY

Jim Walsh
JAMES T. WALSH

Dick Sweatt
DICK SWEATT

Tommy Beilenson
ANTHONY C. BEILENSEN

Carolyn B. Maloney
CAROLYN B. MALONEY

Jim Bacchus 1/05
JIM BACCHUS 5

Sam Copper Smith 4/1
SAM COPPERSMITH

Christopher Shays
CHRISTOPHER SHAYS

William J. Coyne
WILLIAM J. COYNE

Thomas M. Foglietta
THOMAS M. FOGLIETTA

Nancy Pelosi
NANCY PELOSI

Peter Deutch
PETER DEUTSCH

David A. Levy
DAVID A. LEVY

Ben Gilman
BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

Michael R. McNulty
MICHAEL R. McNULTY

Frank Pallone, Jr.
FRANK PALLONE, JR.

Alcee L. Hastings
ALCEE L. HASTINGS

Mike Kopetski
MICHAEL J. KOPETSKI

Louise Slaughter
LOUISE M. SLAUGHTER

Robert G. Torricelli
ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

Rick Lazio
RICK LAZIO

JON KYL

Peter G. Torkildsen
PETER G. TORKILDSEN

Martin T. Meehan
MARTIN T. MEEHAN

Ronald K. Machtley
RONALD K. MACHTLEY

Shirley Baesler
SHIRLEY BAESLER

John W. Olver
JOHN W. OLVER

Julian C. Dixon
JULIAN C. DIXON

Berry F. Studds
BERRY F. STUDDS

Herb Klein
HERB KLEIN

Charles Wilson
CHARLES WILSON

Susan Molinari
SUSAN MOLINARI

Esteban E. Torres
ESTEBAN E. TORRES

Jack Reed
JACK REED

Bob Fanks
BOB FANKS

Jerrold Nadler
JERROLD NADLER

Sam Gedjenson
SAM GEDJENSON

1105
5
5/7

Norman Sisisky
NORMAN SISISKY

Eliot L. Engel
ELIOT L. ENGEL

Christopher H. Smith
CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

Frank McCloskey
FRANK MCCLOSKEY

Tony P. Hall
TONY P. HALL

Howard L. Berman
HOWARD L. BERMAN

David E. Skaggs
DAVID E. SKAGGS

Eric Finkel
ERIC FINKEL

1105

Thomas J. Manton
THOMAS J. MANTON

5

George J. Hochbrueckner
GEORGE J. HOCHBRUECKNER

Bob Borski
ROBERT A. BORSKI

617

Pete K.
PETER T. KING

Steve Gunderson
STEVE GUNDERSON

Tom Lewis
TOM LEWIS

Tom Barrett
THOMAS M. BARRETT

F. James Sensenbrenner
F. JAMES SENSENBRENNER, JR.

1105
5

7/7

אאאא, חוזם: 14379

אל: רהמש/407

מ-: ווש, נר: 2045, תא: 090693, זח: 2100, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממד - ערב 2

דע: מצפא, אגף מזח

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: ירדן

לשלכם חוזם 11055 מה-8/6

10.6.

משיחה עם מרטינז (מנהל מחלקת ירדן, סוריה, לבנון והיבטים פלס' NEA) והמקשר, מטעם מחמד, לשיחות הביטחון עם ירדן ב-9/6).

1. הביע שביעות רצון מרובה מממשלת ירדן החדשה. בעיקר הדגיש לחיוב את מינויו של מג'אלי כראה'מ'. קבע שמגאלי אדם החלטי. המעוניין להניע את התהליך המדיני ואשר ידבר בגילוי לב עם חוסיין בנושאי חוץ ופנים כאחד. להערכתו, למרות שהממשלה הנוכחית הינה ממשלת מעבר - מגאלי ישרת כראה'מ' גם לאחר הבחירות, ולמשך שלוש, ארבע שנים, ויהיה ראה'מ' החזק ביותר מאז רפאעי.

2. לשאלתי, העריך שמג'אלי יפעל לסיכום רשמי של סדה'י עם ישראל אך הדגיש שמג'אלי זקוק קודם לכן להתקדמות בנושא איחוד המשפחות. הוסיף ששגרירותם בעמאן בדקה הלכי רוח בירדן, בעקבות החזרת שלושים וחמישה המגורשים הפלסטינים, והופתעה מרמת שביעות הרצון שעלתה ברחוב הירדני, למעט בקרב האח'ס. אליבא ד'מרטינז, צעד ישראלי ולו מוגבל, בנושא איחוד המשפחות (בלשונו - החזרת נשים ילדים וכיו"ב) יתרום לחיזוק מעמדו של מג'אלי בציבור הירדני, יחליש את טיעוניהם של האח'ס נגד מדיניות ירדן בתהליך, ויחזק את יכולתו של ראה'מ' להתקדם מעשית במומ' עם ישראל.

3. העריך כי ירדן תפעל, מעשית, כדי להניע את הפלסטינים להתקדם והוסיף כי מבחינתה - הדרך להנעת הפלסטינים עוברת דרך ערפאת. ירדן לא תעשה דבר שיתפס עי הפלסטינים כמשקף רצון ירדני לנקוט צעד שיקבע מראש (PREJUDGE) את ההסדר הסופי.

4. קיים שתפ' שבשתיקה (TACIT) בין המשטר לאשף לקראת הבחירות, במסגרת עניינם המשותף בבלימת האח'ס. לשתפ' זה שתי מגבלות:

א. העדר מפלגות חילוניות מאורגנות, בעלות אחיזה של ממש בציבור שבאמצעותן יוכל המשטר למסד שתפ' כזה.

ב. באליטה הגדמזית של המשטר עדיין יש מסוייגות משתפ' עם אשף על רקע

העויינות רבת השנים. הזכיר, בהקשר זה, כי השותפות המקובלת בממלכה משך שנים ועד לאחרונה, היתה בין ההאשמים לאח'ס כנגד אשף.

5. הביטוי המעשי של השתפ' הנוכחי בין המשטר לאשף עשוי להיות רשימות משותפות שיכללו מועמדים המקובלים על המשטר וכאלה המקובלים על אחד מפלגי אשף באזורי הבחירה השונים. למעשה, כפי שהדבר נעשה לדבריו, במערכת הבחירות הקודמת.

6. עם זאת, מרטינז סבור שממשלת מג'אלי תשנה את שיטת הבחירות, זאת באמצעות תקנות ולא באמצעות שינוי בחוק, בכיוון של ONE MAN, ONE VOTE תוך שרטוט מחודש של אזורי הבחירה. אפשרות זו מטרידה לא רק את האח'ס. אף בדואיס, צ'רקסים ונוצרים חוששים ששינוי שיטת הבחירות יפחית את ייצוגם בפרלמנט.

7. העריך שרמת ההשתתפות בבחירות תהא גדולה יותר מאשר בבחירות 1989 וכי האח'ס יזכו לפחות מספר מושביהם הנוכחי. אינו שותף להערכות לפיהן האח'ס לא יפעלו להשגת רוב בפרלמנט. לדעתו, הם יחתרו להשיג מספר מושבים רב ככל שיוכלו. צופה כי קשיי הכלכלה יסייעו לאח'ס. אשר להשפעת התהליך: התקדמות בו תסייע למשטר. אם התהליך יתקע האח'ס הם שירוויחו מכך.

8. לדעת מרטינז, אם יצליחו ישראל והפלסטינים להסכים על הסכם ביניים - חוסיין יוכל לחתום על הסכם שלום עם ישראל פאילו בנסיבות של פרלמנט הנשלט עי האח'ס.

9. שאלתי עם מפגש שגריר ארהב בעמאן עם מזכל חזית הפעולה האיסלאמית. המעיט בחשיבותו של מפגש זה וקבע שנערך במסגרת פעילותו השגרתית של השגריר, האמריקאים למדו מן המפגש כי חזית הפעולה האיסלאמית הינה למעשה ארגון חזית של האח'ס.

אמיתי

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

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 14262

אל: רהמש/398

מ-: ווש, נר: 2033, תא: 090693, זח: 1445, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מידי

אל : פרינ, ממ'ד

דע: ממנכ'ל, מא'ס

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון : G67 איראן

משיחה עם הנקין (ס/ת) המזכיר לנושאים כלכליים העוסק, בין היתר, בנושא פיקוח על הייצוא לאיראן והמגעים בנושא במסגרת שבע המתועשות).

1. אינו צופה שבהודעת הסיכום יהיה איזכור לכך שהמשתתפים הגיעו להסכמה לגבי הפיקוח על ייצוא טכנולוגיה דו-שימושית לאיראן. לעומת זאת, מניח שהנשיא יעלה הנושא בדיונים עם עמיתיו. אינו מעריך שבדיון תושג הסכמה.

2. מדיוני המומחים שהתקיימו עד כה (האחרון שבהם התקיים בנוב' אשתקד בבונ), עולה שלמעט ארה"ב יתר המתועשות מתנגדות TO TARGET את איראן באופן פומבי כמדינה שלגביה יופעל פיקוח על ייצוא דו שימושי. לעומת זאת, דיווח על הסכמה TO TARGET את צ' קוריאה עיראק ולוב.

3. לדברי איש שיחי, הממשל מקיים REVIEW בסוגיה כיצד ניתן לזכות בתמיכת יתר המתועשות TO TARGET את איראן. ציין, כי מדינות אלה חשות שהפיקוח על הייצוא לאיראן הדוק דיו. הוסיף, כי מטרתם היא להשיג יתר תאום ושיקפות.

4. לגופו של ענין, הזקן סבור שה- G-7 אינו הפורום המתאים. מטרת הממשל היא הקמת משטר חדש. לדבריו, הם חותרים להקמת מסגרת רחבה יותר (ממסגרת ה- G-7), שתכליתה אכיפה מולטילטרלית של הפיקוח על ייצוא טכנולוגיה דו-שימושית לאיראן.

5. איש שיחי ציין בהקשר לעיל כי היעלמות אפשרית של 'קוקוס' (שרשימותיו בנושא נשק, גרעין ופריטים תעשייתיים הן בסיס לאכיפת פיקוח על ייצוא טכנולוגיה דו-שימושית) תחייב מציאת מסגרת חדשה (ציין בהערת ביניים שלא קיימת חפיפה מלאה בין רשימות קוקוס לרשימות ה- NSG, MTCR וקבוצת אוסטרליה).

מעריך שבמקרה כזה יתקשו להשיג תמיכת המערביות בזיהוי שמי של המדינות שתהיינה יעד לפיקוח.

6. לסיכום, מדברי איש שיחי ניתן להסיק שהסיכויים לאכיפה מולטילטרלית של תקנות לפיקוח על ייצוא טכנולוגיה ופריטים דו-שימושיים לאיראן בתקופה הקרובה, אינם גדולים.

שט ין

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 14344

אל: רהמש/402

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 418, תא: 090693, זח: 2100, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / בהול לבוקר

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: ממנכ"ל

יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט

משהב"ט - מקש"ח

הרמש"ן - ניו יורק

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: עסקות רכש בטחוני

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1. התקשרה כתבת העיתון JANE'S DEFENSE וסיפרה כי נמסר לה ע"י מקור מהימן בפנטגון כי מחר יודיע רשמית ה-DSAA על הפסקת האפשרות לעסקות מסחריות מכספי הסיוע הבטחוני (FMF). המכתבים המודיעים על כך, עפ"י מקורותיה, הועברו לעשר המדינות הנוגעות בדבר - כולל ישראל - ולחברות המסחריות. עפ"י מקורותיה, הודעת ה-DSAA בנדון מבהירה שהדבר נעשה על-רקע חשדות לאי-נהול תקין, ואולי אף עבירות ניהול, של כספי העסקות בתוך הפנטגון.

2. לאור העובדה כי הנושא עלול לעלות מחר בתדרוך דובר הפנטגון (נרמז לכתבת ש"כדאי" לה לשאול - כי לדובר תהיה על כך תגובה נצורה) ואז תהיינה אלינו פניות רבות - מציעה שניערך לקבלת תגובה (נצורה) מהמערכת כבר למחר כך שנוכל להשיב.

3. בהתייעצות עם הרמש"ן - מציעים שקו התגובה יהיה לא עמותי, ויכלול האלמנטים הבאים:-

א. ישראל מיוזמתה נוקטת מזה כשנתיים מדיניות המעדיפה עסקות צבאיות ע"פ עסקות מסחריות.

ב. עם זאת, לעיתים בשל צרכים שונים, כולל בטחוניים, יש הכרח להזדקק - כחריג - לעסקות מסחריות (זמני אספקה, סוג המוצר וכו').

ג. צרכים אלה הובהרו על ידנו לגורמים הממשליים, ואנו בדיאלוג נמשך עם הפנטגון בנושא.

4. אנא התייחסותכם הבהולה למחר.

רות ירון

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

סססס

אאאא, חו"מ: 14347

אל: רהמ"ש/403

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 414, תא: 090693, זח: 2009, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: פגישה עם ננסי סודרברג

הגברת מוכרת לכם / לנו שנים רבות. אחרי נצחון קלינטון בבחירות המוקדמות נטל אותה מקנדי ועשה אותה למנהלת המטה (מס פתוחה, טית סגולה) שלו בליטל-רוק. לימים, קיבלה תפקיד בכיר (אך לא ברור) במועצה לבטחון לאומי, ברשימות המועצה היא מופיעה מיד אחרי טוני לייק וסנדי ברגר ותוארה "עוזרת מיוחדת לנשיא ומנהלת צוות המועצה לבטחון לאומי". כששאלתי אותה היום על התכנים הממשיים של התעסקותה התברר לי שהיא משתתפת בכל הישיבות וההתייעצויות של טוני וסנדי, יש לה איזו אחריות מינהלית, היא מתמצאת יפה בנושאי רוסיה ויוגוסלביה ומאידך אינה מצויה כלל ביומיום של התהליך והאזור שלנו. עקרונית היא יודעת הרבה על ישראל ובעיותיה אך זה יותר מימי עבודתה עם קנדי וביקוריה בישראל עם הסנטור.

סיפרתי לה, לבקשתה, על מצב שיחות השלום. אמרה שלפי ידיעתה אין לממשל כל כוונות לצמצם את מעורבותו הבינלאומית. אפילו רצה, לא יכול היה. היא נדהמת לפעמים נוכח ה-ANGST (כדבריה) של אומות וממשלות מאפשרות, כאילו, של התנתקות אמריקנית. עשרות נושאים בינלאומיים מעסיקים אותם אך בראשם ניצבים רוסיה, יוגוסלביה והתהליך. שאלתי אם הוסיפה את התהליך רק לכבודי והשיבה שמדובר בעדיפות אמיתית. דיברנו על הסכנות הנשקפות מאירן ומצפון קוריאה ולא היו בדבריה חידושים מעבר לעמדות האמריקניות הידועות. נשמור על קשר קבוע עימה.

שילה

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 14284

אל: רהמש/400

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 409, תא: 090693, זח: 1740, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: כלכלית

דע: ממנכ"ל - מצפא

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדרון: החרם הערבי

להלן מתוך תדרוך הבית הלבן בנושא החרם הערבי.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, DC REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: DEE DEE MYERS 2:08 P.M. (EDT) WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1993

MS. MYERS: NOW, THE NEWS YOU'VE ALL BEEN WAITING FOR.

WE WELCOME THE ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF KUWAIT THAT IT HAS LIFTED THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF COMPANIES THAT DO BUSINESS WITH ISRAEL. ELIMINATION OF THIS BOYCOTT HAS BEEN A HIGH PRIORITY FOR THE PRESIDENT SINCE HE ASSUMED OFFICE. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS REPEATEDLY PRESSED ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND OUR ALLIES TO END THIS ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION. IN THIS REGARD, DURING HIS VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST IN FEBRUARY, WITHIN A MONTH OF ASSUMING OFFICE, SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER EMPHASIZED THE PRIORITY THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION PLACES ON ELIMINATION OF THE BOYCOTT DURING HIS VISIT TO KUWAIT AND OTHER ARAB CAPITALS. WE'VE CONTINUED TO PRESS THE ISSUE SINCE THEN THROUGH A VARIETY OF BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL CONTACTS.

KUWAIT'S ACTION ALSO REPRESENTS AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD IN OPENING ADDITIONAL BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICAN COMPANIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. EILL CONTINUE TO URGE OTHERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO FOLLOW KUWAIT'S LEAD AND ELIMINATE THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE BOYCOTT. WE WILL ALSO CONTINUE TO WORK WITH OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE AND JAPAN TO TAKE FURTHER STEPS TO ELIMINATE THE BOYCOTT.

Q IS THERE ANY QUID PRO QUO IN TERMS OF PALESTINIANS, REFUGEES, AND SO FORTH, ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA?

MS. MYERS: NO.

Q THEY STILL LIVE UNDER MILITARY OCCUPATION.

MS. MYERS: WELL THAT'S PART OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS THAT IS ONGOING. AS YOU KNOW, THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO RESUME TALKS ON JUNE 15TH.

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, כלכליתג',
רביב, מעת, הסברה, מזת1, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם),
@ (אמן), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 14286

אל: רהמש/399

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 408, תא: 090693, זח: 1740, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 9 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך הבית הלבן ליום 9/6/93

בתדרוך היום בבית הלבן, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב): -:

KUWAIT LIFTING BAN ON ISRAEL

IRAQ

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב): -:

SOMALIA

HAITI

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לענייננו: -:

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, DC REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: DEE DEE MYERS 2:08 P.M. (EDT) WEDNESDAY, JUNE 9, 1993

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MS. MYERS: WELL THAT'S PART OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS THAT IS ONGOING. AS YOU KNOW, THE PARTIES HAVE AGREED TO RESUME TALKS ON JUNE 15TH.

Q COULD YOU REPEAT THOSE PRINCIPLES?

MS. MYERS: DOLLAR 500 BILLION IN DEFICIT REDUCTION. (LAUGHTER, MOANS.) (LAUGHING) A BROAD-BASED ENERGY TAX. YOU ASKED FOR IT! I WAS ONLY GOING TO BRING THEM UP IF YOU ALL ASKED FOR A REPETITION OF THE PRINCIPLES.

Q DEE DEE, THE CIA AND FBI HAVE APPARENTLY CONCLUDED THAT IRAQ WAS BEHIND THE EFFORT TO ASSASSINATE PRESIDENT BUSH IN KUWAIT. HAS THAT REPORT COME TO THE WHITE HOUSE YET?

MS. MYERS: THE FBI INVESTIGATION IS ONGOING.

Q BUT AS FAR AS YOU KNOW, THERE'S --

MS. MYERS: SO WE DON'T HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY PENDING THE RESULTS OF THAT.

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY IDEA OF WHEN YOU ANTICIPATE GETTING RESULTS?

MS. MYERS: I THINK THEY'RE MAKING GOOD PROGRESS, BUT I DON'T HAVE A HARD TIME LINE.

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
רביב, מעת, הסברה, מזתים, @ (דוצ), @ (בן עמי/משהבט), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 14257

אל: רהמש/396

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 404, תא: 090693, זח: 1712, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

10.6.

הנדון: פגישה עם אלי סיגל

סיגל הוא איש צוות הבית הלבן. תוארו - עוזר לנשיא ומנהל השירות הלאומי.

ניהל את מערכת הבחירות של קלינטון יחד עם מיקי קנטור ונחשב בזמנו לאחד האנשים המקורבים ביותר למלכות. בגמר עונת המינויים נותרו כמה מאוכזבים, בהם כאלה שלא קיבלו מינוי, אחרים שויתרו (מיקל מנדלבאום) ועוד אחרים שקיבלו פחות משניבאו להם, קנטור וסיגל שייכים לקטגוריה האחרונה. הטוב בחבריו הוא סנדי ברגר והוא "הכניס אותו" לחיים הפוליטיים (סיגל את סנדי).

הנשיא והבית הלבן הוכו קשות בשבועות האחרונים והנשיא יערוך מחדש את סדרי הקדימויות ויצמצם אולי את מעורבותו האישית בכמה נושאים. עם זאת אין להניח, כך סיגל, שיפרוש מנושא התהליך. הנשיא מבין את חשיבות העניין ואת הסיכוי הטמון בו ויתערב במידת הצורך. אין מה לדאוג לו "הוא לא קרטור". היו לו בעיות נוראיות בזמן הקמפיין ולבסוף יצא וידו על העליונה. כך יקרה גם עכשיו.

סיגל מצידו הירבה להתעניין בנושאי שרות-לאומי בישראל ואמר שישמח לקיים קשר מקצועי עם מי שמופקד על הדברים האלה בארץ. בסך הכל, איש ידידותי מאוד ובודאי ישמח לסייע בכל עניין שיתבקש.

שילה

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 14210

אל: רהמש/ 394

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 396, תא: 090693, זח: 1617, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

9 יוני '93

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: ממנכ"ל

יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט

הרמש"נ - ניו יורק

לשכת מנכ"ל משהב"ט - עוזר המנכ"ל לניהול

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

2/10.6.

הנדון: "חץ"

1. בהמשך למברקי נר 1189 מיום 24.5, למברק יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט מיום 8.6 ולנוסח התשובות שהועבר ע"י לשכת מנכ"ל משהב"ט - נפגשתי עם הכתב כדי למסור לו התשובות לשאלותיו. השיחה התנהלה לרקע (לייחוס "לגורמים ישראלים"), להוציא משפט אחד ON THE RECORD בנושא החשיבות האסטרטגית של "החץ" (המשפט הראשון בפסקה החמישית של סעיף 1 במברק התשובות).

2. ככלל, הכתב הסתפק בתשובות שניתנו לכל שאלותיו, להוציא (כצפוי) תשובתנו הלקונית בעניין דו"ח ה-GOA שלא סיפקה אותו. בנושא הדו"ח התמקד הכתב בשתי נקודות -:

א. עלויות המערכת - טען שבידיו נתונים שנמסרו לו ע"י התע"א וגורמים אחרים לפיהם עלות הייצור ופרישת המערכת היא בין 800 מליון דולר ל-1.2 בליון דולר. עוד אמר, שממקורותיו למד שאנשינו שעבדו עם משלחת ה-GOA שכתבה הדו"ח - מסרה נתון של 2 בליון דולר כעלות הייצור ופרישת המערכת, וזאת בנוסף לסכומי המו"פ.

עוד טוען כי ידוע לו על מזכר (MEMO) מיולי '92 שניתן על-ידינו לפנטגון המציין, בין השאר, שישראל עוד תפנה לפנטגון בבקשות משאבים כספיים למימון מערכות שונות של הפרוייקט, ועוד מצויין כי הפניות תיעשנה באופן הדרגתי - כל פעם עבור מערכת אחרת של הפרוייקט - כדי שלא ייוצר הרושם שהפרוייקט - על שלבי הייצור והפרישה - ממומן ע"י ארה"ב (למרות שכך יהיה, לדבריו).

ב. העברות טכנולוגיה - לדבריו, ידוע לו שיש בדו"ח התייחסויות ספציפיות לדאגת ארה"ב מהעברות טכנולוגיות הקשורות לפרוייקט למדינות שלישיות, כולל (לדבריו) התייחסות למה שמצטייר כ-

A PATTERN OF PROBABLE UNAUTHORIZED TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGIES TO
THIRD COUNTRIES.

ג. ביקש, שבמידה שנרצה להתייחס ספציפית לשתי הנקודות הנ"ל - נודיעו.

עד כאן.

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, רביב, מעת,
הסברה, @ (ראשהממשה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזה: 13741

אל: רהמש/379

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 365, תא: 090693, זח: 1010, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

9 ביוני 1993

אל: אגף ארב"ל

מז"ת

מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: דו"ח אמנסטי ארה"ב

1. בדו"ח שהתפרסם אתמול (8.6) טוענים מחבריו (עפ"י דיווחי התקשורת) שעשרים מדינות המקבלות סיוע צבאי מפרות ז"א ("GROSS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES") עובדה המחייבת את הממשל להפסיק הסיוע הצבאי (והאזרחי) לאותן מדינות.

2. בין 20 המדינות מוזכרת גם ישראל.

3. דסקאי ז"א במח' ישראל עמו שוחחתי טען שאמנסטי פרסם בשנים האחרונות דיווחים דומים שלא הובילו הממשל לשנות מדיניותו.

4. מאחר ומדובר בממשל חדש המייחס חשיבות לנושא ז"א, לא ברור, בשלב זה, האם הדו"ח יזכה להתייחסות שונה מזו לה זכו הדיווחים הקודמים. שממשל עלול להידרש לנושא במידה ותהיה פניה מהגבעה.

5. איש שיחי בטוח שלא יהיה בתוכן הדו"ח כדי לפגוע בהמשך הסיוע הצבאי לישראל.

6. לכשנקבל עותק נעבירו לתגובתכם.

שטיין

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

ארבל 2, סי יבל, משפט, רביב, מעת, הסברה, מזח 2,
ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ראשה ממשלה)

סססס

Israelis See No Breakthroughs

In fact, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was said by a spokesman to have specifically told members of Parliament from his Labor Party today that he expected no breakthroughs in the next round of talks, scheduled to begin in Washington on June 15.

Moreover, Mr. Peres's hopeful comments about Jordan describe a situation that has been evident for at least seven months: that it would require very little for Israel and Jordan to agree on an agenda declaring their goal to be a formal peace treaty within the framework of a comprehensive Israeli-Arab settlement.

But as the Israeli Foreign Minister observed, Jordan is not about to race ahead of other Arab delegations, certainly not before Israel reaches a settlement with the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

And so, after the various statements today are stripped to their basics, they do not suggest that anything of substance has changed in the stutter-start negotiations that began in Madrid in October 1991.

Nonetheless, atmospherics count in this region. The readiness to be hopeful contrasted sharply with an air of gloom that had set in, especially among the Palestinians, whose leaders have often focused on the lack of progress thus far and on the difficulty of convincing people that it is worthwhile to keep talking.

Arab representatives meeting today in Amman, the Jordanian capital, said that all of the Arab parties would show up in Washington next week, dispensing with the will-they-or-won't-they-come drama that had preceded most of the previous nine rounds.

U.S. as 'Full Partner' in Talks

Since President Clinton took office, the United States, as chief sponsor, has said it is ready to become a "full partner" in the talks. But it has not spelled out what that means, and it seems to be waiting for the parties to make progress on their own before jumping in with full force, as some Israeli officials say will be necessary if there are ever to be peace treaties.

Several political commentators here said Israeli leaders might have decided to accentuate the positive as a political tactic, to show their constituents and the Arabs that the negotiations could produce tangible results with a bit of effort. A sense of direction, they said, is particularly important to keep the Palestinians' interest alive as the two sides negotiate a declaration of principles on future self-rule for the 1.8 million Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza.

Israeli officials also cite recent remarks by leaders in several Arab countries, including Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, as suggesting that they, too, want to move negotiations ahead.

For now, Mr. Peres said, the Israel-Jordan track offers the clearest hope for a breakthrough.

"What is missing in Israeli-Jordanian relations is a pen and not an agreement, because essentially we have reached agreement," he said in remarks broadcast on the Israeli radio. "We just have to take out the pen and sign."

Last fall, Israeli and Jordanian negotiators in Washington agreed on an agenda for their talks, essentially a list of issues like water and land claims that would form the basis for an eventual peace treaty. While an agenda is a far cry from an actual treaty, producing one would be no small accomplishment for neighbors who for more than four decades have been in a technical state of war.

"Very small details were left open," Mr. Peres said of the agenda, "so with relatively slight effort we can conclude and sign." The question is whether Jordan, with a population that is more than half Palestinian, would want to be the first to sign a deal with Israel, and the Israeli conclusion is no.

Mr. Rabin said, "They can't go to peace before the problem between the Palestinians in the territories and us is solved."

12023:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמש/326

מ-:ניו יורק, נר:214, תא:080693, זח:1143, דח:ב, סג:בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

22744

g.b.

BALMAS/RAGIL
26120

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 8-JUNE-1993

TV COVERAGE

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NBC TODAY REPORTED ON THE ATTACK ON TOURISTS MONDAY NEAR THE GIZA PYRAMIDS IN EGYPT.

COLUMNS

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NYP(M.SOUTHGATE): 'THE ISSUE IS SCAPEGOATING': WRITER DENOUNCES THE STATEMENT MADE BY A PROVOST AT JOHN JAY COLLEGE IN NEW YORK THAT THERE IS 'NOT YET A BODY OF KNOWLEDGE' TO REFUTE PROFESSOR LEONARD JEFFRIES' CLAIMS THAT JEWS WERE INVOLVED IN SLAVE TRADE; ARGUES THAT THE PROVOST IS UNINFORMED AND THAT MR. JEFFRIES HAS BEEN REBUTTED; ADDS THAT THE GOALS OF SCHOLARS SUCH AS MR. JEFFRIES AND MR. FARRAKHAN ARE TO 'SCAPEGOAT' AMERICAN JEWRY AND TO CREATE 'HATE OBJECTS' AROUND WHICH TO 'RALLY THEIR TROOPS'; CONDEMNS THE FACT THAT THESE SCHOLARS OVERLOOK ARABS, MOSLEMS AND AFRICANS 'WHO STILL PLAY AN INCOMPARABLE ROLE IN BLACK ENSLAVEMENT.'

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'CAPTAIN AND CREW CHARGED IN VOYAGE OF CHINESE TO US'; 'JUSTICES ALLOW RELIGIOUS GROUPS AFTER-HOURS USE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS'; 'ALLEN LOSES TO FARROW IN BITTER CUSTODY BATTLE'; 'UN MOVES

TROOPS TO SOMALI CITY AND VOWS PUNISHMENT FOR ATTACK'; 'NEITHER VOTES NOR CANDOR LIGHTEN THE PALL OVER ITALY'. WSJ: 'RETURN TO SOUTH AFRICA SHOWS RACIAL PROGRESS, BUT TENSIONS REMAIN'; 'OFFICIALS WHO'VE DONE BUSINESS WITH JAPAN FRAME TRADE POLICY'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/JERUSALEM/PEACE TALKS/OPTIMISM: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED),ND,DN: 'ISRAELIS SOUNDING UPBEAT ON TALKS': REPORTS THAT SENIOR ISRAELI OFFICIALS SOUNDED EXCEPTIONALLY OPTIMISTIC MONDAY REGARDING THE UPCOMING RESUMPTION OF MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS; QUOTES FM SHIMON PERES AS SAYING THAT ISRAEL AND JORDAN WERE SO CLOSE TO A PEACE AGREEMENT THAT 'WE JUST HAVE TO TAKE OUT THE PEN AND SIGN'; ADDS THAT THE NEW JORDANIAN PM, ABDUL-SALAM MAJALI, PREDICTED BREAKTHROUGHS THIS YEAR WHICH WOULD YIELD ISRAELI PEACE ACCORDS WITH OTHER ARAB NEIGHBORS IN ADDITION TO JORDAN; STATES THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN TOLD MEMBERS OF KNESSET MONDAY THAT HE EXPECTED NO BREAKTHROUGHS IN THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS; QUOTES MR. RABIN AS SAYING ON JORDAN 'THEY CAN'T GO TO PEACE BEFORE THE PROBLEM BETWEEN THE PALESTINIANS IN THE TERRITORIES AND US IS SOLVED.'

US/WASHINGTON/IRAQ/BUSH: NYT(D.JEHL-CABLED): 'US DEFERS RESPONSE TO IRAQIS' PLOT AGAINST BUSH': REPORTS THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION WILL DEFER ITS DECISION ON A RETALIATION AGAINST IRAQ FOR ITS ALLEGED PLOT TO KILL GEORGE BUSH; NOTES THAT THE US WILL WAIT UNTIL THE TRIAL OF THE SUSPECTS IN KUWAIT IS COMPLETED; ADDS THAT AN AMERICAN RESPONSE WILL DEPEND ON WHETHER THE KUWAITI DECISION SEEMS FAIR OR NOT AS WELL AS THE REACTION BY THE AMERICAN PUBLIC; STATES THAT THE TRIAL IN KUWAIT IS ADJOURNED UNTIL JUNE 26.

US/UKRAINE/ARMS/PLAN: NYT(M.GORDON-CABLED): 'UKRAINIAN OFFICIAL BACKS US PLAN ON ATOM ARMS': REPORTS THAT GENERAL KONSTANTIN MOROZOV, UKRAINE'S DEFENSE MINISTER, SUPPORTED A US PLAN ON MONDAY TO PLACE ITS NUCLEAR WARHEADS UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION; NOTES HOWEVER THAT THE CHANCES FOR THE ELIMINATION OF THE WEAPONS 'REMAINED UNCERTAIN'; ADDS THAT MR. MOROZOV WAS OPTIMISTIC REGARDING SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LES ASPIN'S RECENT VISIT AND THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S 'FOUR-PRONGED APPROACH'; OUTLINES THE PLAN AS GEARED TOWARD 'CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES' BETWEEN THE US AND UKRAINE AS WELL AS MOSCOW AND KIEV.

KUWAIT/OPEC/OIL/PRICES: NYT(REUTERS,AP): REPORTS THAT OPEC MINISTERS MET IN GENEVA ON MONDAY AFTER KUWAIT CALLED FOR A 30 PERCENT INCREASE IN ITS OIL PRODUCTION QUOTA; ADDS THAT IRAN STATED THAT HIGHER OUTPUT SHOULD BE PREVENTED UNTIL OIL PRICES ROSE; STATES THAT TALKS OPEN ON TUESDAY AND THAT DELEGATES EXPECT A QUOTA WILL RESULT; NOTES THAT ENERGY PRICES FELL SHARPLY ON MONDAY DUE TO SELLING BASED ON FEARS OF AN INCREASE IN OPEC'S OIL PRODUCTION QUOTA.

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

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

סססס

1993 : 11 ב' 8

דע: מקש"ח/משהב"ס
רמז"ו - ו'ו-יורק
אמ"ו/חס"מ/רע"ו 30

חנדון: ביהנ"ב - חוק סיוע חוץ/חרשאות

- א. חרם ערבי

הקשרה אליה הגיעו לנסוס והממשל של דחיית ביצוע הסעיף לשונה, ומתן

להר² סלמה¹ הרג¹ קורד¹ קורד² אה¹ חלח'ס¹ אה¹

סוף ה'תשנ"א

2/17

24

- 2 -

Waiver לנושא מסעמי בסחון לאומי, הסירו, כאמור, התנגדות הממשל להכללת הנושא בהצעת החוק.

התיקון התקבל ללא התנגדות ודיון.

יהודי סוריה

הקונגרסמן שומר ביקש לכלול בנוסח החוק הגבלות על סיוע לסוריה ע אשר יתאפשר חופש תנועה והגירה.

הממשל חביע התנגדותו. נימק זאת בתחליף השלום וברצון לעודד את סוריה להתמיד בתחליף. כמו כן, משיחה שקיים הבוקר שומר עם פקיד בכיר ב-NSC חובט לו חד משמעית כי הנושא נמצא ברמת עדיפות גבוהה ביותר. מעבר לזאת, ציינו במחמ"ד כי איסור הסיוע לסוריה מעוגן ממילא בחוק ואם ירצו לשנות זאת ממילא יצטרכו לפנות לקונגרס.

לאחר התייעצות של שומר וחברי ועדה נוספים עם השגריר ועמי ולאור העובדה שהודגש שהמילסון, יו"ר הוועדה ביקש לא לכלול הנושא בהצעת החוק אלא בלשון הדו"ח נענה שומר לפניית המילסון.

בסופו של דבר קיבל שומר הבטחה מהמילסון כי יוכל להגיש תיקון במליאת ביחנ"ב אם יהיה צורך וסוכם שהנוסח יוכלל בלשון הדו"ח.

התניית הסיוע לרוסיה וחב"מ - א"י

התניית הסיוע לרוסיה וחב"מ באיסור מכירת נשק קונבנציונאלי לאיראן. יוזמת שומר הוסכמה ע"י יו"ר הוועדה וחבריה. היוזמה היא תוספת לחוק הסיוע לרוסיה וחב"מ מאשתקד המתנה הסיוע לרוסיה באיסור מכירות טילים ונשק גרעיני לאיראן. התיקון התקבל ללא הצבעה ודיון.

תיקון רורבאכר

"במחטף" אשר הפתיע את יו"ר הוועדה וחבריה ואת נציגי מחמ"ד, הגיש הקונגרסמן דאנה רורבאכר, רפובליקני מקליפורניה הצעת תיקון (רצ"ב) שעיקרה: קיצוץ בסיוע לכל מדינה בשיעור זהה לערך של חוזה אמריקני עם חברה בבעלות או שליטה, או המסובסדת ע"י ממשלה של מדינה כזו!!

העומד מאחורי הצעת התיקון של רורבאכר אשר שמר בסוד על הצעת התיקון עד לרגע האחרון הוא מכרז בקליפורניה - לייצור מכלים ותיקים בו זכתה תע"ש אשר גרם לחברה אמריקנית מאזור בחירתו של רורבאכר להפסיד. הקונגרסמן אשר פנה אלינו במכתבים (לעתים בזסים) עמו נפגשו הציר הכלכלי וחח"מ לא הסכים להשתכנע שתע"ש אינה מסובסדת, דרש שתע"ש תחזיר המכרז (!) וציין כי תע"ש הצליחה עד כה להוציא מהשוק 11 חברות אמריקניות

עוזרת המזכיר לענייני קונגרס, וונדי שרמן, חבינה את גודל הבעיה ונכנסה לפעולה ופנתה לרורבאכר ולוועדה בבקשה לא לאמץ התיקון כך גם עשה המילסון יו"ר הוועדה.

הגדילו לעשות ברמן וגיידנסון שפעלו לגייס את עמיתיהם ולהביס התיקון. בסופו של דבר, התיקון הובס בהצבעה שמית לאחר שמרבית

המחוקקים כלל לא ידעו במה מדובר אלא הצביעו על פי הצבעת עמיתיהם.

5. נושא מרכזי נוסף שנדון ואשר עלול להכשיל סופית העברת חוק סיוע החוץ/הרשאות הוא נושא בוסניה.

בניגוד לדעת היו"ר, ועמדת הממשל, הצליח הקונגרסמן הייד (רפובליקני מאילינוי) להעביר הצעת תיקון המקנה לנשיא הסמכות להסיר האמברגו מחמוסלמים בבוסניה. חמילטון התנגד וסען כי לא יתכן ביסול האמברגו ללא התקפה אווירית אמריקנית מוגבלת ועל כך לא התקבלה החלטה. למרות זאת ארוך של נציגת הממשל הרוב בזועדה (24) תמך בפעולה בבוסניה לעומת 15 שהתנגדו.

עוזרים מקצועיים מצוות הועדה מעריכים כי יתכן שתיוקן זה מהווה "שיקת מוות" לחוק סיוע החוץ/הרשאות, שכן קשה להניח שמנהיגות ביחנ"ב הדמוקרטית תתיר דיון קולני וממושך במליאת ביחנ"ב (בעת אישור חוק סיוע החוץ) בנושא בוסניה אשר עלול לחשוף את הנשיא המעוניין עתה להתרכז בהעברת חוק התקציב.

נדמה שהתבטאותו של לנסוס שיקפה את דעת הרוב ושכנעה אותם לתמוך בתיקון הייד. לנסוס: תמך בחצעת הייד ואמר כי הוא מסכים שזוהי בעיה אירופית בעיקרה אולם לאור ההתנהגות האירופית הסרת חוס חשדה, על ארצ"ב ליסול היוזמה. עד כה היתה התנהגות המערב התנהגות צ'מברלינית. בוסניה מסוקרת בעיתונות אולם אנו הקונגרס לא עשינו עדיין דבר. זוהי ההזדמנות לעשות זאת (מכל חברי הועדה היהודים, רק דויטש, דמוקרט מפלורידה, התנגד לתיקון הייד).

יחודית ורנאי-דרנגר

1 (2) POPULATION, DEVELOPMENT ASSIST.
2 ANCE.—\$395,000,000 to carry out section 104(b) of
3 the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

4 (3) DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR AFRICA—
5 \$900,000,000 to carry out chapter 10 of part I of
6 the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

7 (4) INTERNATIONAL DISASTER ASSISTANCE.—
8 \$148,965,000 to carry out section 491 of the For-
9 eign Assistance Act of 1961.

ASHA * 10 (5) AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS.—
11 \$35,000,000 to carry out section 214 of the Foreign
12 Assistance Act of 1961.

13 (6) MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE INITIATIVE
14 FOR THE PHILIPPINES.—\$30,000,000 for assistance
15 for the Philippines under chapter 4 of part I of the
16 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

17 (7) ASSISTANCE FOR EASTERN EUROPE AND
18 THE BALTIC STATES.—\$400,000,000 for economic
19 assistance for Eastern Europe and the Baltic states
20 under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the
21 Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act
22 of 1989.

23 (8) ASSISTANCE FOR THE INDEPENDENT
24 STATES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION.—
25 \$903,820,000 to carry out chapter 11 of part I of

1 SEC. 1311. ASSISTANCE FOR THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF
2 THE FORMER SOVIET UNION.

3 (a) PROHIBITION OF ASSISTANCE TO INDEPENDENT
4 STATES THAT TRANSFER CERTAIN CONVENTIONAL
5 WEAPONS TO IRAN.—Section 498A(b)(3) of the Foreign
6 Assistance Act of 1961 is amended—

7 (1) in the text preceding subparagraph (A), by
8 striking "to another country";

9 (2) in subparagraph (A)—

10 (A) by inserting "to another country" after
11 "missiles or missile technology"; and

12 (B) by striking "or" at the end of such
13 subparagraph;

14 (3) in subparagraph (B)—

15 (A) by inserting "to another country" after
16 "any material, equipment, or technology"; and

17 (B) by striking "of such weapon;" and in-
18 serting "of such weapon; or"; and

19 (4) by adding at the end the following new sub-
20 paragraph:

21 "(C) sophisticated or destabilizing conven-
22 tional weapons to Iran."

23 (b) WAIVER AUTHORITY.—Section 498B(j)(1) of
24 that Act is amended—

25 (1) by inserting "or 1994" after "1993" both
26 places it appears; and

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1 Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations
2 Act, 1994, shall not apply to funds made available for fis-
3 cal year 1994 for any assistance for Nicaragua under the
4 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or the Arms Export Con-
5 trol Act.

6 SEC. 1316. SPECIAL NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS FOR
7 GUATEMALA AND PERU.

8 Funds made available for fiscal year 1994 to carry
9 out the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or for the "For-
10 eign Military Financing Program" account under section
11 23 of the Arms Export Control Act may not be obligated
12 for assistance for Guatemala or Peru unless the congres-
13 sional committees specified in section 634A(a) of the For-
14 eign Assistance Act of 1961 are notified at least 15 days
15 in advance in accordance with the reprogramming proce-
16 dures applicable under that section.

17 SEC. 1317. ASSISTANCE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST.

18 (a) ISRAEL.—

19 (1) ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND.—Of the
20 amounts made available for fiscal year 1994 for as-
21 sistance under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign
22 Assistance Act of 1961, not less than
23 \$1,200,000,000 shall be available only for Israel.

24 (2) FOREIGN MILITARY FINANCING.—(A) Of
25 the amounts made available for fiscal year 1994 for

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1 assistance under the "Foreign Military Financing
2 Program" account under section 23 of the Arms Ex-
3 port Control Act, not less than \$1,800,000,000 shall
4 be available only for Israel.

5 (B) To the extent that the Government of Is-
6 rael requests that funds be used for such purposes,
7 funds made available for Israel pursuant to this
8 paragraph shall, as agreed by Israel and the United
9 States, be available for advanced fighter aircraft
10 programs or for other advanced weapons systems, as
11 follows:

12 (i) Up to \$150,000,000 shall be available
13 for research and development in the United
14 States.

15 (ii) Not less than \$475,000,000 shall be
16 available for the procurement in Israel of de-
17 fense articles and defense services, including re-
18 search and development.

19 (3) EARLY DISBURSEMENT.—The assistance
20 provided for Israel pursuant to paragraphs (1) and
21 (2) shall be disbursed within 30 days after the date
22 of enactment of the Foreign Operations, Export Fi-
23 nancing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act,
24 1994, or by October 31, 1993, whichever is later.

25 (b) EGYPT.—

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1 (1) ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND.—Of the
2 amounts made available for fiscal year 1994 for as-
3 sistence under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign
4 Assistance Act of 1961, not less than \$815,000,000
5 shall be available only for Egypt.

6 (2) FOREIGN MILITARY FINANCING.—Of the
7 amounts made available for fiscal year 1994 for as-
8 sistence under the "Foreign Military Financing Pro-
9 gram" account under section 23 of the Arms Export
10 Control Act, not less than \$1,300,000,000 shall be
11 available only for Egypt.

X 12 (c) COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS.—Of
13 the amounts made available for fiscal year 1994 to carry
14 out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act
15 of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund), not less
16 than \$10,000,000 shall be available only for cooperative
17 projects among the United States, Israel, and developing
18 countries, including projects under the Cooperative Devel-
19 opment Program, cooperative development research
20 projects, and cooperative projects among the United
21 States and Israel and the countries of Eastern Europe,
22 the Baltic states, and the independent states of the former
23 Soviet Union.

24 (d) MIDDLE EAST REGIONAL COOPERATIVE PRO-
25 GRAMS.—Of the amounts made available for fiscal year

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1 1994 to carry out chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign As-
2 sistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support
3 fund), not less than \$7,000,000 shall be available only for
4 Middle East regional cooperative programs carried out in
5 accordance with section 202(c) of the International Secu-
6 rity and Development Cooperation Act of 1985.

7 **SEC. 1318. MILITARY DRAWDOWN FOR ISRAEL.**

8 Section 599B(a) of the Foreign Operations, Export
* 9 Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Act,
10 1991, is amended by inserting "and fiscal year 1994"
11 after "fiscal year 1993".

12 **TITLE XIV—PROVISIONS**
13 **RELATING TO ARMS TRANSFERS**

* 14 **SEC. 1401. COMPETITIVE PRICING FOR SALES OF DEFENSE**
15 **ARTICLES AND SERVICES.**

→ 16 (a) **COSTING BASIS.**—Section 22 of the Arms Export
17 Control Act is amended by adding at the end the following:

18 "(d) **COMPETITIVE PRICING.**—Procurement con-
19 tracts made in implementation of sales under this section
20 for defense articles and defense services wholly paid from
21 funds made available on a nonrepayable basis shall be
22 priced on the same costing basis with regard to profit,
23 overhead, independent research and development, bid and
24 proposal, and other costing elements, as is applicable to

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1 (C) by striking "such assistance" and in-
2 serting "such training"; and
3 (2) by adding after paragraph (2) the following:
4 "(3) Clause (ii) of paragraph (1)(C) applies in the
5 case of a purchaser of training under this section if the
6 President notifies the Committee on Appropriations, the
7 Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee on For-
8 eign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Appro-
9 priations, the Committee on Armed Services, and the
10 Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Rep-
11 resentatives, in accordance with the regular notification
12 procedures of those committees, at least 15 days before
13 issuing a letter of offer to sell such training. Such notifica-
14 tion shall include a description of any reciprocal benefits
15 that the United States Government will receive in ex-
16 change for the sale of such training on less than a full
17 cost basis."

18 SEC. 1405. ELIGIBILITY OF MAJOR NON-NATO ALLIES TO
19 RECEIVE CERTAIN CONTRACT SERVICES IN
20 CONNECTION WITH SALES OF DEFENSE ARTI-
21 CLES AND SERVICES.

22 (a) AUTHORIZATION.—Section 21(b) of the Arms Ex-
23 port Control Act is amended—

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1 (1) in paragraph (1)(A), by inserting "or which
2 is a major non-NATO ally" after "Treaty Organiza-
3 tion";

4 (2) in paragraph (2), by striking "if that Orga-
5 nization or member government" and inserting "or
6 to any major non-NATO ally, if that Organization,
7 member government, or major non-NATO ally"; and

8 (3) by adding at the end the following new
9 paragraph:

10 "(3) As used in this subsection, the term 'major non-
11 NATO ally' has the meaning given such term in section
12 2350a(i)(3) of title 10, United States Code."

13 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Notwithstanding section
14 21(h)(1) of that Act, the amendment made by subsection
15 (a)(1) applies with respect to contracts and subcontracts
16 entered into after the date of enactment of this Act.

17 SEC. 1406. ADDITIONS TO WAR RESERVE STOCKPILES FOR
18 ALLIES.

19 Section 514(b)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of
20 1961 is amended by adding at the end the following: "Ex-
21 cept as provided in the last two sentence of this para-
22 graph, the value of such additions to stockpiles in foreign
23 countries in fiscal year 1994 shall not exceed \$72,000,000,
24 which shall be for stockpiles in the Republic of Korea. In
25 addition, to the extent that the authority of the first sen-

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EN BLOC AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY MR. HAMILTON
TO THE COMMITTEE PRINT-PART II

Page 20, line 12, strike "under" and all that follows through "up to" in line 14 and insert "not less than"; and line 15, strike "may" and insert "should".

Page 22, strike lines 12 through 23 and insert the following:

(2) FUNDING.—(A) Of the funds that are allocated for sub-Saharan Africa under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to the economic support fund) and under the "Foreign Military Financing Program" account under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act, \$10,000,000 for fiscal year 1994 should be used for the assistance described in paragraph (1)(A).

Page 22, line 24, strike "(C)" and insert "(B)".

Page 23, line 9, strike "shall" and insert "is authorized to".

Page 35, strike lines 21 and 22 and insert the following:

9 “(C) sophisticated conventional weapons to
10 Iran in numbers and types that are destabiliz-
11 ing.”.

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cash transfer

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Page 40, at the end of line 23, add the following:

- * 1 Such funds shall be available on a grant basis as a cash
2 transfer and shall be disbursed in accordance with para-
3 graph (3).

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Page 36, strike lines 4 through 8 and insert the fol-
lowing:

- 4 (1) AUTHORIZATION.—Section 498B of that
5 Act is amended—
6 (A) by redesignating subsection (k) as sub-
7 section (l); and
8 (B) by inserting after subsection (j) the
9 following new subsection:

Page 36, after line 14, insert the following:

- 10 (2) STUDY OF RESOURCES IN INDEPENDENT
11 STATES.—The President shall conduct a study of—
12 (A) the resources in each of the independ-
13 ent states of the former Soviet Union and the
14 prospective revenues from the production and
15 sale of such resources;
16 (B) the possible use of barter or exchange
17 of such resources as methods of reimbursement

(11)

1 shall be submitted not later than June 30,
2 1994.

3 (4) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this sub-
4 section, the following definitions apply:

5 (A) RELEVANT CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-
6 TEES.—The term "relevant congressional com-
7 mittees" means the Committee on Foreign Af-
8 fairs of the House of Representatives and the
9 Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

10 (B) RESOURCES.—The term "resources"
11 includes commodities, raw materials (including
12 necessary or strategic raw materials, as defined
13 in section 663(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act
14 of 1961), and other valuable materials.

Page 48, after line 8, insert the following:

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15 SEC. 1407. ARAB BOYCOTT.

16 (a) PROHIBITION ON CERTAIN SALES AND
17 LEASES.—Defense articles and defense services may not
18 be sold or leased by the United States Government to any
19 country or international organization which as a matter
20 of policy or practice is known to have sent letters to Unit-
21 ed States firms requesting compliance with, or soliciting
22 information regarding compliance with, the secondary or
23 tertiary Arab boycott, unless the President determines,

(12)

1 and reports to the relevant congressional committees, that
2 that country or organization does not now send such let-
3 ters as a matter of policy or practice.

4 (b) WAIVER OF PROHIBITION.—

5 (1) 1 YEAR WAIVER.—After the effective date
6 of this section, the President may waive, for a period
7 of 1 year, the application of subsection (a) with re-
8 spect to any country or organization if the President
9 determines, and reports to the relevant congressional
10 committees, that—

11 (A) such waiver is in the national interest
12 of the United States, and such waiver will pro-
13 mote the objectives of this section to eliminate
14 the Arab Boycott; or

15 (B) such waiver is in the national security
16 interest of the United States.

17 (2) EXTENSION OF WAIVER.—If the President
18 determines that the further extension of a waiver
19 will promote the objectives of this section, the Presi-
20 dent, with appropriate notification to relevant con-
21 gressional committees, may grant further extensions
22 of such waiver for successive 12-month periods.

23 (3) TERMINATION OF WAIVER.—The President
24 may, at any time, terminate any waiver granted
25 under this subsection.

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1 (c) RELEVANT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—As
2 used in this section, the term “relevant congressional com-
3 mittees” means the Committee on Foreign Relations of
4 the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
5 House of Representatives.

6 (d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall not take
7 effect until one year after the date of enactment of this
8 Act.

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AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ROHRBACHER

At an appropriate place, insert the following:

1 SEC. __. REDUCTION IN ALLOCATION OF ASSISTANCE TO
2 COUNTRIES THAT CONTAIN GOVERNMENT
3 CORPORATIONS THAT ENTER INTO CON-
4 TRACTS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provi-
6 sion of law, the President shall reduce the amount of
7 assistance allocated to any country in a fiscal year by an
8 amount equal to the value of a United States contract to
9 a corporation owned, controlled, or subsidized by the gov-
10 ernment of such country.

11 (b) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section, the
12 following definitions apply:

13 (1) ASSISTANCE.—The term "assistance"
14 means assistance provided pursuant to any foreign
15 assistance appropriations Act.

16 (2) UNITED STATES CONTRACT.—The term
17 "United States contract" means a contract entered
18 into with the United States.

19 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Subsection (a) shall apply
20 with respect to contracts entered into on or after the date
21 of the enactment of this Act.

אאאא, חוזם: 10536

אל: רהמש/324

מ-: רהמש, נר: 3, תא: 080693, זח: 1008, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

8 ביוני 1993

שמור/מידי

אל: וושינגטון/ק. קונגרס

מאת: לשכת רוח"מ/ס. יועץ מדיני

דע: וושינגטון שגריר, משה"ח/מצפ"א

פגישת רוח"מ עם חמשת חברי הקונגרס (הקאקוס השחור)

1. ראש הממשלה נועד ב- 7 ביוני לפגישה עם חמשת חברי הקונגרס (OWENS, BLACKCWEIL, TUCKER, HILLIARD, THOMPSON).

2. ראש הממשלה הציג תמונת המצב המדינית, עמדות ומדיניות ישראל.

3. המורשה OWENS שהודה ציין תמיכת רוב חברי הקאקוס.

4. נושא הסיוע לא עלה.

29.6.

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

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 11868

אל: רהמש/314

מ-: המשרד, תא: 080693, זח: 1813, דח: מ, סג: סו,

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סודי/מידי

אל: וושינגטון/השגריר

דע: ציר, שטיין

מאת: בנצור

הנדון: א'צ עם בראון

1. (א) סיפר שהמונה האמריקאי בדמשק נועד אתמול עם שה'ח שרעא. הלה אמר לו שיש הצעה להעלות השיחות הביטורליות לדרג שרי חוץ. הממונה הגיב שמדובר בודאי בהצעתו של קדומי ושרעא הנהן לאות הסכמה. הממונה דיווח כי למשמע ההצעה הגיב במבט קפוא בחינת אין ארה'ב מסכימה למפגש בדרג שה'ח בהשתתפות נציג אש'ף.

ב. הקונכ'לית בירושלים וילאמסון פגשה אתמול חנאן אשראווי שהודיעה לה על צאתה מחר לווינגטון בליווי עמיתיה ושלאחריה יבוא לווינגטון פייסל חוסיני. וילאמסון מצאה חברי המשלחת הפלשתינאים מפולגים, שרויים במבוכה וקובלים על מידה האיפה שארה'ב נהגה בהם.

ג. בהקשר זה סיפר שבידי וושינגטון דיווחים שערפאת מרבה לתקוף במגעיו עם נציגים זרים - אירופאים בעיקר - את ארה'ב על 'הקנוניה' הישראלית אמריקאית שנוקמה בעת הכנת הנייר האמריקאי. ערפאת מחלק המסמך לאחוזים ויודע להצביע על כ-70 אחוז המשקפים את עמדת ישראל המובהקת ורק שני אחוז קולעים לעמדת אש'ף. בראון אמר שארה'ב החליטה בשלב מסוים להתעלם מהקובלנות הפלשתינאית בסוגיה זו, להוציא ההזמנות לסבב ולנוע קדימה.

ד. סיפר כי אנשי שגרירותו ביקרו השבוע בעזה. שם פגשו אנשים שהזדהו כאנשי אש'ף שהמטירו שאלות על עניין 'עזה תחילה'. אלה אמרו שאין להעלות על הדעת יישום המימשל העצמי בעזה תחילה ללא הכרה באש'ף והדברות עמו.

2. השגריר האוסטרלי שבקרני היום אמר כי נפגש עם אחדים מחברי המשלחת הפלשתינאית ומצאם מעודדים ואופטימים לקראת הסבב הבא כשהם צופים התקדמות מהותית במהלכו. לדבריו היו ביניהם שטענו כי בשום שלב במו'מ הביטורלי לא ניצבנו בפני סיכויי גישור בין העמדה הישראלית לפלשתינאית - וזאת הודות

לנייר האמריקאי. סיפר שעריקאת אמר לו כי הסבב הבא יניב תוצאות אם
הפלשתינאים ישכילו להתגבר על חשדותיהם העמוקים והישראלים על התגדרותם
בטיעונים בטחוניים.

בנצור

8 ביוני 1993

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 12373
אל: רהמש/343
מ-: ווש, נר: 2026, תא: 080693, זח: 1725, דח: מ, סג: סו,
בבב
סודי/מידי

א ל: רוה'מ/מזכ'צ'

מאת: נ.צ. וושינגטון - האלוף גיורא רום

הנדון: תשובה לנושאי העלאת דרג השיחות האסטרטגיות

1. המקומיים נמצאים בשלבים האחרונים של הכנת תשובת הנשיא למכתב רוה'מ' בדבר העלאת דרג השת'פ'.

2. הם יציעו הקמת 'סיניור פלנינג טוקס'. הגוף הזה ידון בארבעה תחומים:
א. מלחמה בפרוליפרציה.
ב. הגנת המזה'ת בפני טק'ק.
ג. נושאי בטחון שעשויים יהיו לעלות כתוצאה משיחות השלום.
ד. נושאים רגישים נוספים.

(הערה: אני משער שהניסוחים בנוסח הסופי של המסמך לא יהיו זהים לניסוחים שלי שבסעיף 2).

3. באופן רחב יותר, חשוב להם שקבוצה זו לא תגביל עצמה לנושאים מוגדרים יתר על המידה אלא תיצור מנגנון המאפשר ליבון בעיות בדרגת רגישות גבוהה.

4. קבוצה זו לא תהיה רלבנטית כלל לערוץ ה-ג'י.פי.אם.ג'י. שימשיך להתנהל כסדרו.

5. קבוצה זו תהיה הגוף שיכין את האג'נדה לפגישת רוה'מ' עם מזכירי ההגנה והחוץ כפי שהוצע על ידינו.

בברכה,

נ.צ. וושינגטון
אלוף גיורא רום

תפוצה: @ (יתום/ממרהמ)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 12373

אל: רהמש/343

מ-: ווש, נר: 2026, תא: 080693, זח: 1725, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מידי

א ל: רוה'מ/מזכ'צ'

מאת: נ.צ. וושינגטון - האלוף גיורא רום

הנדון: תשובה לנושאי העלאת דרג השיחות האסטרטגיות

1. המקומיים נמצאים בשלבים האחרונים של הכנת תשובת הנשיא למכתב רוה'מ' בדבר העלאת דרג השת'פ'.

2. הם יציעו הקמת 'סיניור פלנינג טוקס'. הגוף הזה ידון בארבעה תחומים:
א. מלחמה בפרוליפרציה.

ב. הגנת המזה'ת בפני טק'ק.

ג. נושאי בטחון שעשויים יהיו לעלות כתוצאה משיחות השלום.

ד. נושאים רגישים נוספים.

(הערה: אני משער שהניסוחים בנוסח הסופי של המסמך לא יהיו זהים לניסוחים שלי שבסעיף 2).

3. באופן רחב יותר, חשוב להם שקבוצה זו לא תגביל עצמה לנושאים מוגדרים יתר על המידה אלא תיצור מנגנון המאפשר ליבון בעיות בדרגת רגישות גבוהה.

4. קבוצה זו לא תהיה רלבנטית כלל לערוץ ה-ג'י.פי.אם.ג'י.י. שימשיך להתנהל כסדרו.

5. קבוצה זו תהיה הגוף שיכין את האג'נדה לפגישת רוה'מ' עם מזכירי ההגנה והחוץ כפי שהוצע על ידינו.

בברכה,

נ.צ. וושינגטון

אלוף גיורא רום

תפוצה: @ (יתום/ממרהמ)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 12376

אל: רהמש/344

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 362, תא: 080693, זח: 2142, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

8 ביוני 1993

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: ביהנ"ב - חוק כספי מחמ"ד/הרשאות

היום אישרה מליאת ועדת החוץ בביהנ"ב את הצעת חוק כספי מחמ"ד/הרשאות.

הצעת החוק כוללת, בין השאר, הרשאה בסך 80 מיליון דולר לקליטת עליה בישראל.

פרטים מלאים מאוחר יותר בדי"פ.

יהודית ורנאי-דרנגר

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

סססס

2.6.10

אאאא, חוזם: 12072

אל: רהמש/328

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 328, תא: 080693, זח: 1334, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

8/6/93

אל: ממנכ"ל

דע: תפוצות, מצפ"א, לש' שה"ח, לש' רה"מ, קונכ"ל נ"י

מאת: לש' השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: פגישת המזכיר - ראשי ועידת הנשיאים

1. מזכיר המדינה נפגש 7/6 עם האדונים פולאק והונליין למשך 45 דקות. עוד השתתפו בפגישה ג'רג'יאן, לואיס וקרצר.

2. להלן דיווח הונליין:-

א. יו"ר ועידת הנשיאים פתח בדברי הערכה למזכיר וגישתו כפי שבאה לביטוי בביקורו בארץ, קשרי העבודה שלו עם ראשי המדינה ומחויבותו לתהליך השלום. המזכיר הודה על הדברים וציין החשיבות שמייחס לאמון שרוחשים לו רה"מ והקהילה היהודית בארה"ב. הוסיף שמבקש לשמור על ערוצי תקשורת פתוחים ועל בסיס האמון ביחסים. הדגיש חשיבות האמון הקיים, אותו יש לזכור גם אם יהיו בעתיד מצבים של מחלוקת.

ב. בהתייחסו לתהליך השלום ציין המזכיר שהנושא מרכזי בלוח הזמנים שלו ובמחשבתו.

מתעתד להפגש בוינה עם שה"ח פרס ועם שה"ח מוסא ואולי, הוסיף, תחקיים פגישה נוספת בענייני מז"ח.

ג. הדגיש רצונה של ארה"ב לקדם התהליך והזכיר נכונות הצדדים לחזור למו"מ ב-15 לח.ז. רואה בנכונות זו סימן חיובי ובמיוחד משום שלא נלווה לה מיקוח. הוסיף שגם ביחס לפלשתינאים מדובר בחזרה שבשגרה.

ד. אשר לסבוב הקרוב, הביע המזכיר תקווה לתאום הדוק בין שתי המדינות, INTENSIVE COORDINATION EVEN CONSULTATION וכי מתכוון להיות מעורב בכך.

ה. לסטר פולאק ציין הצורך של הממשל להפגין נחישות במגעים עם הפלשתינאים למנוע נסיון מצידם לגבות מחיר על הגעתם למו"מ. המזכיר ציין שידוע משקל הנוכחות האמריקאית וראוי להבהיר המחיר של העדרות ארה"ב מהמו"מ. רואה בכך ההסבר שלא נדרש, הפעם, זמן רב לחזרתם לשיחות. חזר פעם נוספת ואמר שארה"ב תקדיש הזמן הנחוץ לקדם התהליך.

ו. לא היתה התייחסות פרטנית לשיחות עם סוריה. המזכיר ציין שלא יעדיפו מסלול אחד על פני משנהו.

ז. המזכיר החמיא לשגריר רבינוביץ על אופן מילוי תפקידו בנושא ונותן וכשגריר.

ח. בענין החרם - המזכיר ציין שתת המזכיר טארנוף פועל להכללת הנושא בהצהרת ה-G-7. המזכיר הזכיר הסתייגות כמה מהאירופאים ואחרים הרוצים לדון רק בעניני כלכלה. הוסיף שאם לא תסתייע הכללת הנושא בהצהרה המשותפת יפעלו לאזכור הנושא בהודעת היו"ר.

ט. בהתייחסו למדיניות כוונת בנושא החרם ציין המזכיר, ההתקדמות שחלה בנושא והודעת כוונת על השמטת חברות מרשימת החרם.

י. ראשי הוועידה העלו נושא הוועידה לז"א והמזכיר הבטיח לפעול למנוע גינוי של ישראל על פעולותיה בשטחים. בתגובה להצעת פולאק, הונליין בענין נציב עליון לז"א והכללת היחידה הפלשתינאית ציין המזכיר, שלא היה מודע לדאגותיהם וכי לארה"ב תהיה השפעה על בחירת הנציב גם אם לא וטו, ביקש שימשיכו לעדכנו בנושא. בענין אזכור אנטישמיות בנאום המזכיר בוועידה לז"א ציין שהנושא מופיע בנאומי.

יא. ביחס לסיוע החוץ, המזכיר הזכיר הקשיים והצרכים וכי פועל יחד עם הקונגרסמן אובי לשמור על חבילת הסיוע. ביקש סיוע הקהילה היהודית.

הערה: קטע לא ברור בדיווח הונליין התייחס לאמירה של המזכיר לגבי אפשרות קיצוץ 200 מליון דולר בחוק סיוע החוץ.

יב. אירן - המזכיר ציין שנוקטים צעדים נוספים להבטיח בדודה של אירן וכי יפעלו ל"חנוך" בני בריתם בדיוני ה-G-7. המזכיר ציין בענין אירן והבנק העולמי שארה"ב בודדה בעמדתה. בענין הבואינגים לאירן ציין שהנושא בבדיקה.

יג. לוב - המזכיר ציין שלוב מנסה כל דרך לפרוץ בדודה וכי הדרך היחידה היא ציות מלא להחלטות או"ם ואין צורך במתווכים. ארה"ב תפעל לישום הסנקציות ולשמירה של בריטניה וצרפת עליהן.

יד. נעדרים - הונליין העלה אפשרות להסתייע בנשיא חברת אקסון. ע.המזכיר ג'ארג'יאן ציין שפועלים בענין זה.

טו. יהודי סוריה - ג'ארג'יאן ציין שקיימו מגעים בדמשק ובוושינגטון.

טז. פרוליפרציה - המזכיר ציין שהמימשל נוקט צעדים לטיפול בנושא ובהקשר זה הזכיר סין, צפון קוריאה ואחרים. הוסיף שהעובדות מחייבות פעולה, לא פרט, אך אמר שידגישו מרכזיות הנושא באג'נדה האמריקאית באמצעות מעשים.

יז. הנפגשים סכמו על פגישה רחבה יותר, במועד אחר, של המזכיר עם הוועידה.

3. עד כאן.

עמרני

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, תפוצות,
ערן, כלכליתב', כלכליתג', רחטמזת, מזתים,
ביין, ארבל2, סייבל

סססס

1/2

1085

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 7 יוני 1993

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

2106

הנדון: מזכיר המדינה - וורן כריסטופר

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP מהעמוד הראשון (וורן סטרובל 8/6) אודות הביקורת הקשה על
מזכיר המדינה וורן כריסטופר.
משבר ההנהגה של ארה"ב בבלקן גרם לביקורת קשה לגבי יכולתו הדיפלומטית של
כריסטופר והוא אף תואר בעיתונות כמזכיר המדינה הבלתי מוכשר ביותר מאז
אדוארד סטטיניוס.
ביקורו של כריסטופר באירופה אשר מתחיל היום הינו הזדמנות עבורו לשפר את
תדמיתו.

תקשורת

2 1085

A lack of grace at State

Christopher trips over Balkan crisis

By Warren Strobel
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Much like his boss in the White House, Secretary of State Warren Christopher finds himself under early and sometimes harsh attack.

The Clinton administration's mishandling of the Balkan crisis and the impression that it is unable, or unwilling, to provide U.S. leadership abroad have prompted a series of unflattering portrayals of its chief diplomat.

"Secretary of Shhhhh!" said Time magazine.

"Warren Christopher may be the most inept secretary of state since Edward Stettinius," New York Times columnist William Safire wrote last week, searching for an explanation for Europe's lack of confidence in the new administration.

Mr. Stettinius served Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman.

Mr. Christopher leaves today on a weeklong mission to Europe that gives him an opportunity to put the criticism behind him. The nonstop bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia will be on the agenda, as it was during Mr. Christopher's last, unsuccessful trip to Europe.

The United States is expected to announce soon that it will dispatch a small contingent of troops to the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia to stop the conflict from spreading there.

But with no easy solutions in the Balkans, State Department officials hope to broaden the theme of the discussions in Luxembourg, Greece, Turkey and Austria to the future of NATO and the alliance's role in peacekeeping missions.

The allies' rejection of Mr. Clinton's strategy for military action

STATE

From page A1

tion plan on the military force Bosnia first raised questions about U.S. leader ship.

They were quickly magnified by Undersecretary of State Peter Darnoff's comments that the United States would no longer exert global leadership as it did during the Cold War.

During a luncheon last week, Mr. Christopher rejected many of the criticisms that have come his way and President Clinton's way, saying, in effect, "Give us time."

"If we were here a year from today, you'd have quite a different impression of the determination of President Clinton on that subject, the use of American power and understanding the need that diplomacy must be reinforced by power," he said in an interview with reporters from The Washington Times and four other news organizations.

"Recent events have not given an accurate impression of the president's determination and resolve," he said.

Separately, Mr. Christopher argued that the administration inherited more than any in history, foreign crises that had to be dealt with from the moment Mr. Clinton entered the Oval Office.

He suggested this legacy of festering problems was due in part to the fact that, in midsummer last year, then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III left Foggy Bottom for the White House.

In its first months, Mr. Christopher said, the Clinton administration took the right steps to bolster Russian President Boris Yeltsin, spared Israel from U.N. sanctions and restarted the Middle East peace talks, and quashed speculation it might take a softer line with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

"That whole series of things had to be dealt with. They took a lot of time," he said. "Now, I think, we're in a position to turn and try to carry out the president's agenda."

But even some of Mr. Christopher's own subordinates at the State Department acknowledge that attempts to blame problems on a previous administration have begun to wear thin.

And many close observers say the administration has failed its first major test — in Bosnia.

Mr. Christopher himself has done little in his tenure thus far to shake his reputation as one more suited to quiet negotiations than charting a

bold course in a violent and fractious world.

The 61-year-old Los Angeles lawyer is unflinchingly gracious and exact. But he has been criticized for lacking vision. Some of his own aides wish he were a more forceful public speaker.

Mr. Christopher certainly seems to lack the large ego associated with Mr. Baker or Henry Kissinger. They bristled at the slightest criticism. By contrast, he seems unfazed.

"I don't mind it at all," he recently told NBC-TV. "I can take it, and I hope I can measure up in my performance."

Asked at Thursday's luncheon how he views his job, the secretary of state sketched out a role that is part analyst, part policy shaper, part implementer.

"I see myself as the principal adviser to the president on foreign policy, and within the context of — the president's been the key person here — I regard myself as responsible for recommendation and design," he said.

He said he works closely and amiably with National Security Adviser Anthony Lake.

This contrasts with the last Democratic administration, when Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Mr. Christopher, then his deputy, feuded with the National Security Council staff led by Zbigniew Brzezinski.

James F. Hoge Jr., editor of the journal Foreign Affairs, said the judgments of Mr. Christopher may be premature.

"I am struck by how often in his career, Christopher has been labeled a facilitator, negotiator, mediator ... and then how well he has done in each of his jobs," Mr. Hoge said.

Mr. Hoge said that, while it may have been clumsy, the administration has pursued the correct policy in Bosnia — one that seeks consensus with the United Nations and Europe rather than unilateral U.S. involvement.

Mr. Christopher is clearly sensitive to criticism that, on his last trip to Europe, he did not try as hard as he could to persuade allies to accept Mr. Clinton's strategy for military action.

Asked a general question on Bosnia, he volunteered an answer that included a defense of his talks with European leaders.

"I tried as hard as I could to sell those [policies] to European colleagues and was unsuccessful in doing so. I think it's a misdescription of me that I went to consult" and nothing else, he said.

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 7 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: השפעת הטרור על ארה"ב

מצ"ב כתבת ה-NATIONAL JOURNAL (דיק קירשטיין 5/6) בנושא השפעת הפגוע במרכז הסחר העולמי בניו-יורק וארועי טרור נוספים על ארה"ב. הפגוע העלה את חשש מפני הקהילה החלשה מבחינה פוליטית אך מספרית הולכת וגדלה - קהילת המוסלמים בארה"ב. תשומת לב רבה ניתנה לתלונות ההודיות של הקהילות היהודיות והערביות. והממשל החל לאסוף מידע על טרור ולבדוק דרכי מניעה והתמודדות.

תקשורת

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WHERE TO LOOK FOR A MINISTRY OF TERROR

In its annual *Patterns of Global Terrorism* report, the State Department in April listed six nations—Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea and Syria—as state sponsors of terrorism. Clinton Administration officials indicate that two others countries—Pakistan and Sudan—could be added soon. Nations on the terrorism blacklist are subject to trade sanctions and, in some cases, international travel restrictions. Here, in brief, are the department's assessments of recent activities by the offending countries.

Cuba. With an economy crippled by the cutoff of Soviet aid, Fidel Castro is no longer able to provide "significant material or financial assistance to the few remaining Marxist insurgencies in Latin America." But he continues to permit insurgent groups, such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and the Colombian National Liberation Army, to operate offices in Havana.

Iran. Last year, more than 20 terrorist acts were attributed to Iran or its surrogates, including the March bombing of the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires that killed 29 and wounded 242. During the year, the Iranian parliament upheld the death sentence for *Satanic Verses* author Salman Rushdie and upped the bounty on his head to more than \$2 million. Tehran provides money, weapons and training for extremist Islamic and Palestinian groups and has become the main supporter of the fundamentalist regime in Sudan, which has become a haven for terrorist staging bases.

Iraq. Although set back by the mass expulsion of Iraqi agents from many countries during the Persian Gulf war, Baghdad in 1992 resumed sending agents abroad to track opponents of Saddam Hussein. During the year, Iraqi-sponsored terrorism focused mostly on Kurdish targets and on U.N. and Western relief organization personnel stationed in northern Iraq. Baghdad also supports extremist Palestinian groups, including the Abu Nidal organization that has carried out more than 90 terrorist attacks in 20 countries since 1974.

Libya. Tripoli appeared to put its own terrorist operations on hold in 1992 and offered to open for U.N. inspection camps previously identified as terrorist bases. The government, however, refused to comply with British, French and U.S. demands that it turn over two Libyan intelligence agents who have been indicted in the sabotage of Pan Am Flight 103, which exploded over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, causing 270 deaths. In December, German prosecutors implicated two Libyan embassy workers in the 1986 bombing of a West Berlin disco that killed two U.S. soldiers and a Turkish woman.

North Korea. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea is not known to have sponsored any terrorist acts since 1987, when a South Korean KAL airliner was bombed in flight. The Pyongyang government, however, continues to provide political sanctuary to members of the Japanese Communist League-Red Army Faction who partici-

pated in the 1970 hijacking of a Japanese airliner.

Syria. Several radical groups maintain training camps or other facilities on Syrian territory. In addition, areas of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley that are under Syrian control provide sanctuary for a wide variety of terrorist groups, including Hezbollah, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Abu Nidal organization and the Japanese Red Army. Two organizations involved in terrorism in Turkey, Dev Sol and the Kurdistan Workers Party, also maintain camps in the Bekaa Valley. There is no evidence, however, that Syrian officials have been directly involved in planning or executing terrorist activities outside of Lebanon since 1986.

Pakistan. There were credible reports last year of official Pakistani support for Kashmiri militants who undertake acts of terrorism in Indian-controlled Kashmir, as well as some reports of support to Sikh militants engaged in terrorism in Indian Punjab. The Pakistani government acknowledges that it gives moral, political and diplomatic assistance to Kashmiri militants but denies allegations of other assistance.

Sudan. In 1992, Sudan continued a disturbing pattern of relationships with international terrorist groups. The increasing support for radical Arab terrorist groups is directly related to the growing influence of the National Islamic Front. There is no evidence, however, that the Sudanese government conducted or sponsored attacks.

"not to overreact." But CIA chief R. James Woolsey spoke of "the increasing use of violence by religious extremist groups in the Mideast" and asserted that "the United States remains the single most important target for international terrorists."

On April 26, the House Judiciary Subcommittee on International Law, Immigration and Refugees heard testimony on bills designed to correct abuses of the nation's political asylum system. Chairman Romano L. Mazzoli, D-Ky., opened the hearing by noting that suspects in the Trade Center bombing—as well as in the January killings of two CIA employees near the agency's headquarters—had taken advantage of the asylum process to remain in the United States.

Although references to terrorism have drawn attention to the issue and perhaps provided some momentum, Mazzoli in an interview said that his panel has long been concerned about delays and perceived loopholes in the asylum process. "The bill really has nothing to do with terrorism," he said.

Many asylum applicants, Mazzoli explained, "just melt into the background" and never show up for hearings. "Most of them aren't here to terrorize people or to bomb or burn, they are here to work. But they are taking a spot that belongs to somebody else or putting themselves at the head of the line." The legislative goal, he said, "is to offer these people a fair process, but not an endless process."

Maine's Snowe argues that sterner medicine is needed to weed out those who do intend to bomb or burn. On May 6, flanked by Republican colleagues Benjamin A. Gilman of New York and Bill McCollum of Florida, she unveiled the Terrorist Interdiction Act of 1993, a measure that would beef up efforts to spot troublemakers before they enter the country and provide for the "summary exclusion" of anyone who enters the country improperly.

From a chronology provided by the State Department, Snowe recited a litany of bureaucratic missteps that permitted Sheikh Rahman—whose name has been on the department's watch list of potential security risks since 1987—to travel freely in and out of the United States.

National Journal

Shock Waves

The World Trade Center bombing has raised concerns about Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. That, in turn, has set nerves on edge among America's fast-growing, but politically weak, Arab and Muslim communities.

BY DICK KIRSCHTEN

Terrorism, by definition, is the ultimate publicity stunt. The intent—usually successful—is to attract press coverage that's often disproportionate to the actual harm inflicted.

Washington, a town that runs mainly on public relations, responded to the Feb. 26 World Trade Center bombing that killed six people with a predictable barrage of hearings, press conferences and bill introductions. Law enforcement officials walked the traditional fine line between boasting of their counterterrorism proficiency and seeking added powers to deal with a growing threat. Before the year is out, legislation designed to assure the public that terrorists will find it tougher to enter or stay in the country may be on the books.

At the same time, the arrests of Arab suspects in the World Trade Center incident has dramatically raised concerns about the activities of Islamic fundamentalist terrorists on U.S. soil. That, in turn, has set nerves on edge among members of the nation's fast-growing, but politically anemic, Arab and Muslim communities. In the process, it's become evident that Middle Eastern hostilities are creating strains in an America that no longer seems quite so sure of its ability to sustain multi-ethnic harmony.

In particular, in the aftermath of the explosion that rocked lower Manhattan's landmark towers, greater attention has been focused on grievances that have arisen between segments of America's Jewish and Arab communities.

Much has been made in the press of the association of suspects arrested in the World Trade Center case with the mosque of Sheikh

Omar Abdel Rahman, a radical Islamic preacher. Rahman, who was tried in Egypt but acquitted in the 1981 assassination of President Anwar el-Sadat, had similar ties to the gunman convicted on charges related to the 1990 killing in New York of Jewish Defense League (JDL) founder Rabbi Meir Kahane.

The ability to skirt immigration rules demonstrated by Rahman and others believed associated with terrorist crimes has prompted howls on Capitol Hill. "It's a shame that it took the World Trade Center to get the country's attention," said Rep. Charles E. Schumer, D-N.Y. "I've been working on this for a while, trying to warn people that something like this would occur."



CIA director R. James Woolsey
America is a prime target for terrorists.

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Schumer, sponsor of a bill that would establish Immigration and Naturalization Service screening stations in foreign airports, said he wrote to the INS about Rahman before the Trade Center bombing. "The mosque was in Brooklyn; I was aware of him from the Rabbi Kahane incident. I knew [Rahman] was on the terrorists' list, and I was wondering what he was doing in the country."

Also on Rahman's case is Rep. Olympia J. Snowe, R-Maine, author of a bill to beef up government powers to exclude suspected terrorists. Her measure deals with weaknesses in existing law that she says are revealed by Rahman's record of repeated entries "to use the United States as a base for preaching his brand of violence against the West and moderate Arab regimes."

Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). "The word 'Israel' is very sympathetic. And the press perpetuates this."

Mokhiber noted that a terrorist's pipe bomb killed Alex Odeh, a regional ADC official in Santa Ana, Calif., in 1985. An FBI investigation traced the murder to JDL operatives, but the crime remains unresolved because the suspects in the case fled to Israel where, for eight years, they have been able to avoid extradition.

More recently, the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the long-respected anti-bias arm of the American Jewish community, has been implicated in a California investigation of alleged spying against American citizens. Mokhiber believes that illicitly obtained information may have led to the arrests earlier this year of several Arab-Ameri-

R. Deutsch, a freshman Democrat from Florida, cranked out a press release calling for congressional action "to expose and take action against radical Islamic fundamentalists and their benefactors." The FBI, he said, was exploring Middle East connections to the Trade Center blast. By March 4—the day the first bombing suspect, Jordanian Mohammad A. Salameh, was arrested—Deutsch and Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, R-N.Y., introduced a bill that would deny entry to the United States to members of Hamas, an Islamic resistance group active in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The State Department, in an April report on global terrorism said that elements of Hamas have used "both political and violent means, including terrorism," to pursue their goal of "establishing an Islamic Palestinian state in place of Israel." (See box, p. 135.)

Although no link between Salameh and Hamas was even suggested, Deutsch nonetheless used the World Trade Center incident to hype his bill. He asserted in a news release that "clearly Hamas is capable of this type of terrorist act." Citing reports that Hamas raises money in the United States, he added, "Whether Hamas is responsible for the World Trade Center bomb or not, we must shut them down."

To some, the legislation appeared to have less to do with the Trade Center blast than with the controversy over Israel's Dec. 17 summary expulsion to Lebanon of more than 400 Palestini-

ans alleged to be Hamas activists. Mokhiber saw it as part of a concerted Israeli effort to divert attention from U.N. consideration of sanctions against Israel for violating the rights of the deportees.

Indeed, when asked for the source of the background information on Hamas, a Hill aide who worked on the Deutsch-D'Amato bill suggested that a questioner call the Israeli Embassy in Washington.

As more Middle Eastern suspects were arrested in the Trade Center bombing



Jesse M. Hordas, Anti-Defamation League's Washington director. He criticizes those who blamed "the Muslim community as a whole" for Trade Center bombing.

Rahman, although not charged in the Manhattan bombing, has been in the news media spotlight. "It's easy to demonize someone like that who looks like a villain from an Indiana Jones movie," said Leon T. Hadar, an Israeli who teaches political science at the American University. That's what bothers Arab-American leaders, who chafe over what they see as comparatively little press coverage of crimes committed against their community.

"People have been taught for the last 20 to 30 years that the Muslims are the

enemy. The ADC has protested that the detained Americans have been denied due process of law.

"The Israeli government has been very strong and stalwart against terrorists, but it has been selective in its enforcement of its views and its laws," Mokhiber said. "If the terrorism is committed by Israelis or supporters of Israel, they remain mute."

THEY WANTED SCALPS

Even before the first arrest was made



On April 26, Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli, D-Ky., opened hearings by noting that suspects in the Trade Center bombing, as well as in the January killings of two CIA employees near the agency's headquarters, had taken advantage of the asylum process to remain in the United States.

Rahman, according to the chronology, had entered the country at least five times since 1990, even though his original visa was revoked in November of that year.

If nothing else, the heightened worries about terrorism have changed the focus of concern about lax enforcement of immigration laws. Traditional complaints about Mexicans and other Latin Americans illicitly wading across the Rio Grande have given way to protest about overseas passengers who arrive at America's international airports without proper travel documents.

In the process, the spotlight has been turned on Muslims. Typical was a March 18 *New York Times* article headlined "A Flood of Illegal Aliens Enters U.S. Via Kennedy: Requesting Political Asylum Is Usual Ploy." To illustrate the problem, the article described the cases of two travelers from a Muslim country—Pakistan—who requested asylum after arriving at Kennedy International Airport without proper visas.

ADL V. ADL

As an organization formed to protect the civil rights of an ethnic and religious constituency, Mokhiber's ADC has much in common with—and to a degree is modeled upon—the ADL, its counterpart in the Jewish community. As Jess N. Hordes, the ADL's Washington director, noted in an interview, the two groups work together on many issues, including a training program on promoting diversity in the workplace and on college campuses.

After Islamic suspects were arrested in the World Trade Center bombing, the ADL issued a March 10 press release citing its decades-long fight against "stereo-

typing" and condemning "those seeking to hold the Muslim community as a whole responsible."

Mokhiber acknowledged that "if it weren't for the progressive Jewish community in this country, [Arab-Americans] would be in big trouble." The ADC leader particularly praised *Village Voice* reporter Robert I. Friedman, who he said "has gone out on a limb" to cover such stories as the JDL's links to the murder of Odeh.

Hordes notes that his organization never sided with the JDL and its militant founder, the late Rabbi Kahane. "In 1985, we did a paper bashing Kahane," Hordes said. "Some people didn't like it, but we didn't approach it as an ethnic matter—we were dealing with extremism." In that year, Friedman has noted, the JDL was ranked by the FBI as the nation's most lethal domestic terrorist group.

It's somewhat ironic, therefore, that the ADL and ADC now appear pitted against each other over a story that Friedman has helped bring to national attention. A "domestic spying" investigation by the San Francisco district attorney led to raids in early April on ADL offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco and the seizure of files. Investigators said that ADL officials withheld documents during a voluntary search last fall.

The primary targets of the investigation are Thomas Gerard, a former San Francisco police officer, who was arrested May 8, and Roy Bullock, a private investigator who worked under contract to the ADL. Court papers allege that Gerard and Bullock illegally obtained information from government files and passed it along to various sources, including the ADL and South African intelligence

authorities. Thus far, no charges have been brought against the ADL.

But in April, 19 Arab-Americans filed an invasion of privacy suit against the ADL contending that the organization has engaged in "a massive spying operation," according to an Associated Press report. Concerns that information gathered by the ADL has been shared with the Israeli government were raised in a Feb. 11 court hearing in which an assistant San Francisco district attorney said that the name of an Arab-American detained by Israeli authorities in January was among the 12,000 names in the files seized from the ADL offices.

The ADL acknowledges that it collects information on suspected members of hate groups and extremist or terrorist organizations. But it categorically denies acting as "a conduit of information on Americans to Israel or any other foreign government" or being "involved in any way with the arrests of Arab-Americans traveling to Israel."

Mokhiber said the San Francisco revelations have left Arab-Americans feeling like victims of "a form of political rape." The chilling effect is compounded, he argued, by the relative paucity of national press coverage. "If Arab-Americans had been spying on Jewish-Americans or anybody else in this country, there would be headlines every day, everywhere," he argued.

Instead, major headlines continue to go to stories about the World Trade Center and the aborted plot to assassinate former President Bush in Kuwait—stories in which Islamic extremists are clearly implicated. Americans of Arab ancestry, a majority of whom are Christians, not Muslims, are secondary casualties of such assaults.

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מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

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מצ"ב כתבת ה-BS מהעמוד הראשון (דאג סטראק 6/6) בנושא הסגר בשטחים.
בחדש השלישי לסגר בשטחים סוקר סטראק כיצד מתמודדים שני העמים עם ההפרדה
החברתית וכן תוצאות בלתי צפויות של הסגר: ישראל גילתה כי היא מסוגלת
להיות בלי כוח העבודה הזול מהשטחים ואף נהנית מההפרדה, הפלשתינאים אשר
מעוניינים בעצמאות גילו כי הם תלויים בישראל הרבה יותר ממה שחשבו והסגר
גורם להם נזק וסבל.

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Israel's closed borders: a trial separation

By Doug Struck
Jerusalem Bureau

HIZMA, Israeli-Occupied West Bank — Araf Hussein is separated from his wife and eight children. It is not their choice; the Israeli closure of the West Bank keeps them apart.

Under the arcane pass rules enforced by Israel, Mr. Hussein does not have a Jerusalem identity card. Because his wife's father was in the city in 1967, she does have the card. So she can stay in Jerusalem, but her husband cannot.

The 36-year-old school custodian sneaked back once, but he was fined 350 shekels (about \$140) and spent 48 hours in jail. The next offense would cost him even more. So he

Hardship falls on Palestinians

stays with a brother in this village north of Jerusalem.

"I have never been separated from my family like this before," he said. "It's not good for anybody."

The closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip from Israel, now in its third month, is laying bare the realities of separation to two societies that have been closely entwined despite their enmity.

It is proving to be a trial run for any eventual political settlement between Israel and the Palestinians, with some unexpected results:

□ Israelis, who have tried for most of 26 years to erase the borders to the occupied territories, are finding they like the closure. They have discovered they can live without much — although not all — of the Palestinian labor that comes cheaper than Israeli labor.

□ Palestinians, who have long demanded their own state, are discovering they are more dependent on Israel than they thought. They are suffering from this sudden divorce.

□ Both sides are seeing the central importance of Jerusalem. Any hope that a peace agreement could finesse the intractable question of control of the city is fading.



DOUG STRUCK/STAFF PHOTO

See ISRAEL, 4A, Col. 1, Shlomo Cohen, at building alt.

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Israeli Jews, Palestinians learn to cope with emergency closure

ISRAEL, from 1A

"We cannot create a Palestinian state without Jerusalem. It is the soul of the body for the Arabs," said Mr. Hussein.

Israel imposed the closure March 31 after a month in which 15 Israelis were killed by Palestinians. On roads from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, armed soldiers at checkpoints now turn back all Palestinians but the few who have permits to enter Israel.

It is the longest such closure since Israel captured the land in the 1967 Six-Day War, longer even than the clampdown during the Persian Gulf war. Israeli officials are pleased that it has reduced attacks on Jews — the death toll dropped to five in April and May — and they are in no rush to lift the restrictions.

Conversely, the 2 million Palestinians trapped by the closure have seen a rise in violence — 49 Palestinians were killed in the last two months by soldiers. And they have felt an increase in the impoverishment of their already difficult lives.

"It's affected the Arabs a lot more than it's affected us," said Israeli grocer Benjamin Yitzhak in a working-class neighborhood of Jerusalem. "We don't need them."

But Shlomo Cohen needs them. The Israeli contractor has five building projects under way, and he suddenly lost most of his workers.

Palestinians from the West Bank could not get to his projects in Israel,

and Mr. Cohen saw chances of meeting his deadlines disappear.

"This project was supposed to be finished in July," he said at the site of a luxury condominium in Jerusalem. "Now it will take another five months."

"We try to get Jewish Israeli workers, but very few want to work construction," he said. "The government has spoiled them. A guy who gets unemployment gets about 75 percent of what I pay as a starting salary. When he can sit in a coffee house or play with friends or sleep in the morning, why should he come to work for just 25 percent more?"

Closure supported

Despite the disruption to his business, Mr. Cohen supports the closure.

"Israelis will just have to learn to work," he said. "We can't live in the situation like we had before."

At a tire repair shop in an industrial area of Jerusalem, Yehuda Suleman learned exactly that lesson.

"The managers had to start changing their ways when his company lost its five Palestinian workers," he said. "There was a lot of pressure."

They have since hired two Israeli Arabs and a Russian immigrant, and the lower payroll has been good for the company, he said. Even if the closure is lifted, the West Bank Arabs would not be rehired.

"Some of them had been working for us for a long time — one of them

for 14 years," he said. "I don't know what has happened to them."

Before the closure, an estimated 100,000 to 120,000 Palestinians worked within Israel in legal jobs or as day laborers off-the-books, which is to say they had few or none of the benefits a regular worker would have. Wages earned by Palestinians provided an estimated one-third of the income for the West Bank and one-half in the Gaza Strip.

Israelis fear that key industries — such as construction and agriculture — would collapse without Palestinian laborers have proven unfounded. But that is largely because the closure is not complete: Authorities have given hard-hit employers permits to bring 38,000 Palestinians through the checkpoints every day.

But Palestinians who do not get one of those passes face economic disaster.

"I got a permit for only seven days in the last two months," said a Palestinian truck driver, Ahmed Mohammed. "It wasn't even enough to pay the taxes they charge on my truck. Now I just sit at home. I will sell whatever I have until there is nothing left to sell."

In a shoe store in the West Bank town of Ramallah, business is down by 50 percent, said owner Khalid Majahed. The other day a woman wanted to give him a dress in trade for shoes for her children.

But the problem for Palestinians is not just jobs. Cutting them off from Jerusalem cuts them off from the heart of the Arab West Bank.

And because the only passable roads between the northern and southern parts of the West Bank all go through Jerusalem, Palestinians are barred from traveling between towns.

Yusef Khatib said he is not sure the closure killed his cousin. But it made it more difficult to try to save him. Fifty-year-old Tariq Ahmed Ali woke up in his village of Hizma outside the Jerusalem borders at 5 a.m. last month and told his daughter he felt he was dying.

They hustled him into a car to rush to Maqassed Hospital, about 10 minutes away. But the soldiers at the checkpoint stopped him. The family took a rutted back road — virtually a shepherd's path — to get around the checkpoint. But by the time they got the man to the hospital, his cousin was dead of a heart attack, said Mr. Khatib.

"I think my cousin was lucky," he said bitterly. "It's better to die than live in this situation."

In the empty day room of a school for disabled children at the Mount of Olives, only Abdulla remained last week.

of borders

Handwritten note: 10/10/91



DOUG STRUCK/STAFF PHOTO

Moshe Benishti, who raises geese.

The earnest 8-year-old raved about the room in his wheelchair, unable to understand why the other 25 children had gone home for last week's Muslim holiday, but not him.

His parents could not come to get him. They were stuck in the Gaza refugee camp where they live, unable to get a permit to pick up their child.

College delayed

Palestinian Sabri Najl, 18, had a student pass but it was taken away because he was an hour late leaving Jerusalem one day to return to his home in Hizma. Now he will be unable to go to college because he couldn't get to Jerusalem to take the required annual general examination given last week to all graduating high school students.

"I lose a year," said the young man. "For a year all I can do is wait."

These accounts indicate the impracticality of cutting off Jerusalem from the West Bank. To the Palestinians, a peace agreement that does not allow free travel to Jerusalem deprives them of their schools, their economy, their mosques and their social and welfare institutions.

... permanent borders to keep Palestinians out of Israel.

... occasionally has announced exceptions to ease access to Jerusalem. Palestinians scoff at the announcements as propaganda not honored by the clerks and soldiers who enforce the rules.

When Mohamed Abdul Wahab heard the government say passes would be given for family and religious visits last week during Eid al-Adha, Islam's second most important holiday, he rushed down to the authorities' office.

"It was a lie," he said. "Nobody was getting passes."

When a busload of worshippers from his village of Beit Iksa tried to pray at the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, they, too, were turned back.

The closure has made Israelis more accustomed to the thought of giving up the West Bank and Gaza. But Israel has made it clear it will not cede control of Jerusalem.

"I think we should just give them Gaza, and Judea and Samaria (the West Bank), and the Golan, and then say goodbye," said Yisrael Kol, an Israeli wedding caterer. "We should cut off the border and put our army there and their army on the other side."

"It's healthy the government does not let them in," he said of the Palestinians. "We are two nations that hate each other."

Ironically, a week ago Mr. Kol was fined 6,000 shekels (about \$2,400) for illegally employing 40 Palestinians at his catering business.

"I can replace my Arab workers," he said. "You have to pay Jews more,

and pay taxes and social security. But I'm willing to pay more for peace."

A goose farmer

Farmer Moshe Benishti, who raises geese on land near Shorash between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, feels he already has paid.

He had to slaughter 1,500 birds when the closure locked out his six Palestinian laborers. They were the only ones willing to stay at his farm day and night to force-feed the geese every four hours, which produces the fat goose livers he exports to France.

He got his laborers back with the necessary permits and cannot envision permanent borders to keep Palestinian workers out of Israel.

"Without them, I couldn't run this operation," he said. "It's work only they could do. Israelis won't do the work. It's too hard. The Jews have gotten used to not working."

David Senuk, an Israeli who manages a 120-room hotel at Shorash, disagrees — up to a point.

"It's a very good thing for Israel. It will move people to go back to work," he said of the closure. Even so, he acknowledges he is trying to get permits for about 12 key workers of the 30 Palestinians he lost to the closure.

"We do want to get part of them back," he said. "But not all of them. We don't want it to go back the way it was."

תאריך: 7 יוני 1993

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

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מצ"ב כתבת ה- THE NEW REPUBLIC (יוסי קליין הלוי 21/6) בנושא הליכוד בהנהגת ח"כ ביבי נתניהו.
הכתבה מתארת את עליית כוחה של מפלגת הליכוד בתקופה האחרונה. המפלגה המתנגדת להחזרת שטחים תמורת שלום מהווה כיום איום ממשי לממשל מפלגת העבודה.
עוד בכתבה תיאור דעותיו של ח"כ נתניהו.

R. G. L.

[illegible]

Bibi Netanyahu's new Likud.

THE SAVIOR

By Yossi Klein Halevi

It is a cool spring evening in Jerusalem, and several thousand young people are crowded into a downtown park to protest the resumption of peace talks in Washington. They wave giant Israeli flags and desperate signs: "Today the Golan. Tomorrow Jerusalem," "Rabin Is Leading Us To Civil War," "STOP THE SURRENDER."

The rally has been summoned by newly elected Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu—whom everyone in Israel, whether they admire or detest him, calls "Bibi." The crowds spot him walking toward the podium and cheer his name like a slogan. Netanyahu offers a perfunctory half-smile. He avoids eye contact with supporters and seems uncomfortable among so many strangers. His supporters readily concede he is aloof, ruthless, a bastard who's been caught cheating on his third wife. Still, they revere him; he is their hope for rallying the demoralized right for its final struggle over the territories.

Only a few months ago neither Netanyahu nor the Likud seemed capable of seriously challenging the Labor government. The chronic infighting largely responsible for the Likud's defeat in the 1992 election had reached an all-time high. But then, on March 24, Netanyahu emerged from a four-way race for party leadership with an absolute majority, reinvigorated the Likud and became undisputed leader of the right-wing opposition. Indeed, virtually the entire right is represented at tonight's demonstration: religious teenage girls from the settlements, Tel Aviv boys from the pro-"transfer" party Moledet, Golan farmers from secular kibbutzim, black-haired yeshiva students.

Netanyahu speaks. His neck seems to thicken as he taunts Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin for weakness: he spits out the names of left-wing politicians, pausing between each one long enough for the crowd to shout its rage. "This government is opening the way to an Islamic Palestinian state in the suburbs of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv!" he roars. "Never before in the history of Israel has any government conceded so much, so quickly—for nothing! Rabin has no right to endanger the state, to bury the Jewish dream of generations!"

The message is fear, and no Israeli politician since Menachem Begin has conveyed that primal Jewish dread as forcefully as Bibi Netanyahu. Netanyahu amplifies the anxiety that whispers somewhere within most Israelis, no matter what their politics: that the virtual instant transformation of the Jews from victims to victors can be just as quickly reversed. He compares the future Israel squeezed back into its eight-mile-wide, pre-1967 borders to the truncated Lebanese Christian enclave around the Beirut suburb of Junieh, defenseless against the Muslims on the hills above. In Netanyahu's nightmare scenario, Junieh is Tel Aviv.

For the Arabs, argues Netanyahu, diplomacy is war by other means. And he says he knows how to fight back. The Palestinians want statehood? Offer them a take-it-or-leave-it autonomy under permanent Israeli control. The Syrians demand the Golan in exchange for a peace treaty? Offer "peace for peace" instead. Terrorists are rampaging through the streets? Impose the death penalty and increase deportations.

The recent wave of terrorist knifings convinced even many right-wing Israelis that they face a wrenching choice between internal chaos within strong borders or internal cohesion within vulnerable borders. But Netanyahu tells Israelis they can have it all: security.

The New Republic

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within and without. He promises to restore the élan of the Zionist past, when doing the impossible was considered routine. Rabin's admission that the intifada can be stopped only by political means is, according to Netanyahu, a Zionist sin. Netanyahu, the former commando who in 1972 helped liberate a hijacked plane at Israel's Ben-Gurion Airport, knows you can defeat terror. All you need is will.

For Israelis, the name "Netanyahu" symbolizes Zionism's defiance of the odds. Bibi's older brother, Yoni, is one of Israel's folk heroes. In July 1976 he was killed leading the commando unit that retrieved 100 hijacked Jews from Uganda's Entebbe airport. Bibi and Yoni were inseparable. Both belonged to Sayeret, the army's most elite commando unit. For weeks after Yoni died, recalls Bibi's uncle, Saadya Mileikowsky Netanyahu, Bibi couldn't swallow food.

Consciously or not, Bibi's politics of fear echoes Yoni's. Following the traumatic 1973 Yom Kippur War, Yoni wrote bitter letters from his unit to Bibi, then studying at MIT, warning of the coming destruction of Israel. Yoni wondered whether the hard-earned gains of Israeli soldiers on the battlefield would be squandered by their weak political leaders; and he hinted at quitting his army career to enter politics. Some of those around Bibi see his decision to exchange a business career for politics as an attempt to fulfill Yoni's intention. "Sometimes I think Bibi lives for two people," says an adviser, "himself and Yoni."

As leader of the Likud, Netanyahu inherits Zionism's most bitter schism, the half-century-old feud between Labor and Revisionism, Likud's ideological precursor. Netanyahu has, in a sense, been primed for that struggle since childhood. His father, a professor of Jewish history, had been a leading Revisionist intellectual in the 1930s. He taught his children Revisionism's grudge: that the Zionist left repeatedly endangered Jewish survival. The Revisionists had insisted that Arab enmity be met with an "iron wall" of Jewish power; but only belatedly did the left begin to arm seriously. The Revisionists had envisioned biblical borders extending over both banks of the Jordan river, while Labor compromised time and again, reducing Israel to its fragile pre-'67 borders. Only the Revisionists, Zionism's hard realists, could be trusted to teach the Jews how to survive.

Netanyahu has applied Revisionism's apocalyptic critique of Labor to the current territorial debate. For him, the left's insistence that peace is possible with a violent Arab world that can't even live with itself is merely the latest expression of its fatal utopianism. The Golan Heights overlooking Galilee and the Samarian mountain ridge overlooking Israel's populous coastal plain form a natural "iron wall" against Arab aggression; and Netanyahu regards the struggle to keep the final bank of the Jordan river in Israeli hands as the culmination of Revisionism's long war against Labor for Jewish survival.

Yet Netanyahu is no holdover of a musty Zionist ideology, but a Revisionist for '90s Israel. He is the first

Israeli-born leader of the Likud—indeed, of either of the country's two major parties. (Rabin was born in pre-state Palestine.) And he is attempting to transform the Likud from an outsider's coalition of Holocaust survivors and Sephardi immigrants into a mainstream party: by defeating Moroccan-born David Levy, leader of the Likud's camp of aggrieved Sephardim. Netanyahu has brought the party into the postethnic era of Israeli politics. Even Netanyahu's nightmares are specifically Israeli and Middle Eastern: Junieh, not Auschwitz.

At 43, Netanyahu is the youngest politician ever to lead a major Israeli party. With his master's degree in business administration from MIT, he projects Western efficiency—a quality Israelis crave almost as much as physical security. Since taking over the "Fortress," as Likud headquarters in Tel Aviv is officially named, Netanyahu has brought in the building's first computers, updated its antiquated phone and energized a moribund institution with a youthful and ambitious staff.

Ask his advisers what changes to expect from prime minister Netanyahu, and they invariably respond first with domestic issues. He will reform the political system, cut socialist bureaucracy, privatize companies, finalize the country's incomplete westernization. "More than anything else, the people around Netanyahu want Israel to be part of the modern world," says a close adviser. "We're sick of the country being run like a Polish ghetto."

Netanyahu explains the logic of change this way: without political reform, there will be no economic reform; without economic reform, no growth; without growth, no mass immigration; without mass immigration, Israel will wither. And there is the irony: even Netanyahu's promise of creating a more westernized, rational Israel is burdened by existential dread. No matter what the issue, the bottom line is always survival.

That is the message Netanyahu believes will make him Israel's next prime minister. He is hoping that a campaign against territorial concessions will erode public support of the government and force Rabin to call early elections before moving on either a Golan withdrawal or West Bank autonomy. If elections were held today, according to the polls, Netanyahu would win by a slight margin.

But even if Rabin manages a deal with the Syrians and the Palestinians, Netanyahu can still stop the process. Autonomy will probably be a five-year interim phase; and many here believe it could turn into a nightmare of settler-Palestinian and intra-Palestinian violence. If that happens, Netanyahu will run in the 1995 elections as the man who can stop the emergence of a second Lebanon—or worse, an Islamic Palestinian state—in the suburbs of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. A minute Entebbe rescue, but writ large: Yoni saved 100 Jews; Bibi will save the Jewish state.

YONSI KLEIN HALEVI is a senior writer for *The Jerusalem Report*.

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 7 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - רושינגטון

הנדון : אש"ף

מצ"ב המאמר של דניאל פייפס (WT 6/6) בנושא אש"ף.
המאמר עוסק בשקיעתו של הארגון ומנתח את הסיבות השונות לירידת כוחו של
יאסר ערפאת ואש"ף: החל מחסיבות האיטיות כגון נישואי ערפאת ועד סיבות
ארגוניות: אובדן מנהיגים וצמיחת ארגונים מתחרים.

29.6

תקשורת

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Whatever has become of _____ Arafat's PLO?

With the recent conclusion of the ninth round of Arab and Israeli negotiations in Washington to resolve their decades-old conflict, one of the usual suspects is missing: the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Yasser Arafat's authority has eroded, and his organization is in disrepair. While his own people mutter, enemies accost him from all sides. This bleak situation contrasts with just three years ago, when the PLO was riding high — rich, influential and in the ascendant.

Nearly a dozen factors explain this rapid change in fortunes. We start with the mundane and end with the global:

- Mr. Arafat's marriage. After decades of insisting that he was "married to the revolution," Mr. Arafat wedded Suga at-Tawil, a Christian woman some 35 years his junior who had worked for him. Apparently much in love, he no longer works the legendary 24-hour days of old.

- Mr. Arafat's concussion. Two people died when Mr. Arafat's plane made an emergency landing in the Libyan desert in April 1992. Mr. Arafat's head injuries seem to have affected his ability to concentrate and perhaps his lucidity.

- Mr. Arafat's outbursts. The PLO leader got taped in early 1992 talking to the PLO's representative in France repeatedly cursing Jews ("Damn their fathers! The dogs! Filth and dirt!" "Trash is always trash!" "The rotten Jews"). This intemperate blast much discredited him in the West.

- Loss of PLO leaders. The PLO's military chief, Khalil al-Wazir (a.k.a. Abu Jihad), was killed in his Tunisian home in April 1988 by an assassination force. Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), the PLO's No. 2, died just two days before the Gulf war began in January 1991 when a bodyguard turned on him. Neither PLO leader was replaced: Mr. Arafat simply took over their functions. As a result, he now holds some 32 PLO titles, ranging from president of Palestine to inspector-general of the Al-Asifa Forces.

- Palestinian anger at the PLO. Palestinians increasingly resent the PLO leadership for its self-serving record. A secret report written in mid-1991 by one of Yasser Arafat's earliest allies gave expression to these widespread concerns. The report accused Mr. Arafat personally of causing Al-Fatah's "inconceivable moral degradation" and indicted the whole PLO leadership for selling out the revolution. The guerilla fighter of yesteryear died long ago, it went on, replaced by those interested in "the red carpet, the private plane of the president, free rein to spend money."

- The Intifada. The PLO still used terror against Israelis, but stone-throwing and hatchet-wielding youths don't submit to orders from the PLO, making a mockery of that

organization's authority.

- The rise of Hamas. Hamas, a radical fundamentalist Muslim organization, espouses vicious anti-Semitism and utterly rejects the State of Israel ("Kill them [Jews] where you find them and expel them from where they have expelled you"). Hamas has flourished partly because its message resonates among Palestinians, specially in Gaza, and partly because it receives Iranian and Saudi backing. If Hamas continues to gain strength, it threatens to marginalize the PLO.

- The Arab-Israeli negotiations. Israeli willingness to deal with Fatah, Hanan Ashrawi, and other Palestinian delegates to the Washington negotiations pushes the PLO off the diplomatic center stage, relegated to maneuvering behind

the scenes.

- Siding with Saddam Hussein. The Kuwaiti, Saudi and Egyptian governments have not forgiven Mr. Arafat for backing Saddam Hussein. A senior Saudi official publicly called him "that clown." "We hate his face," wrote an Egyptian columnist. Powerful Arab governments, which once aided the PLO, now mock its goals and harass its operations.

- Money troubles. The oil-rich states have almost completely cut off the funds to the PLO. Yasser Arafat complained in December 1992 that "no oil state has given the Palestinians a single penny" since April 1990. While not strictly true (the Saudis sent the PLO \$3 million in October 1992), money got so tight in late 1991 that the PLO had to close its offices in Denmark, Norway and

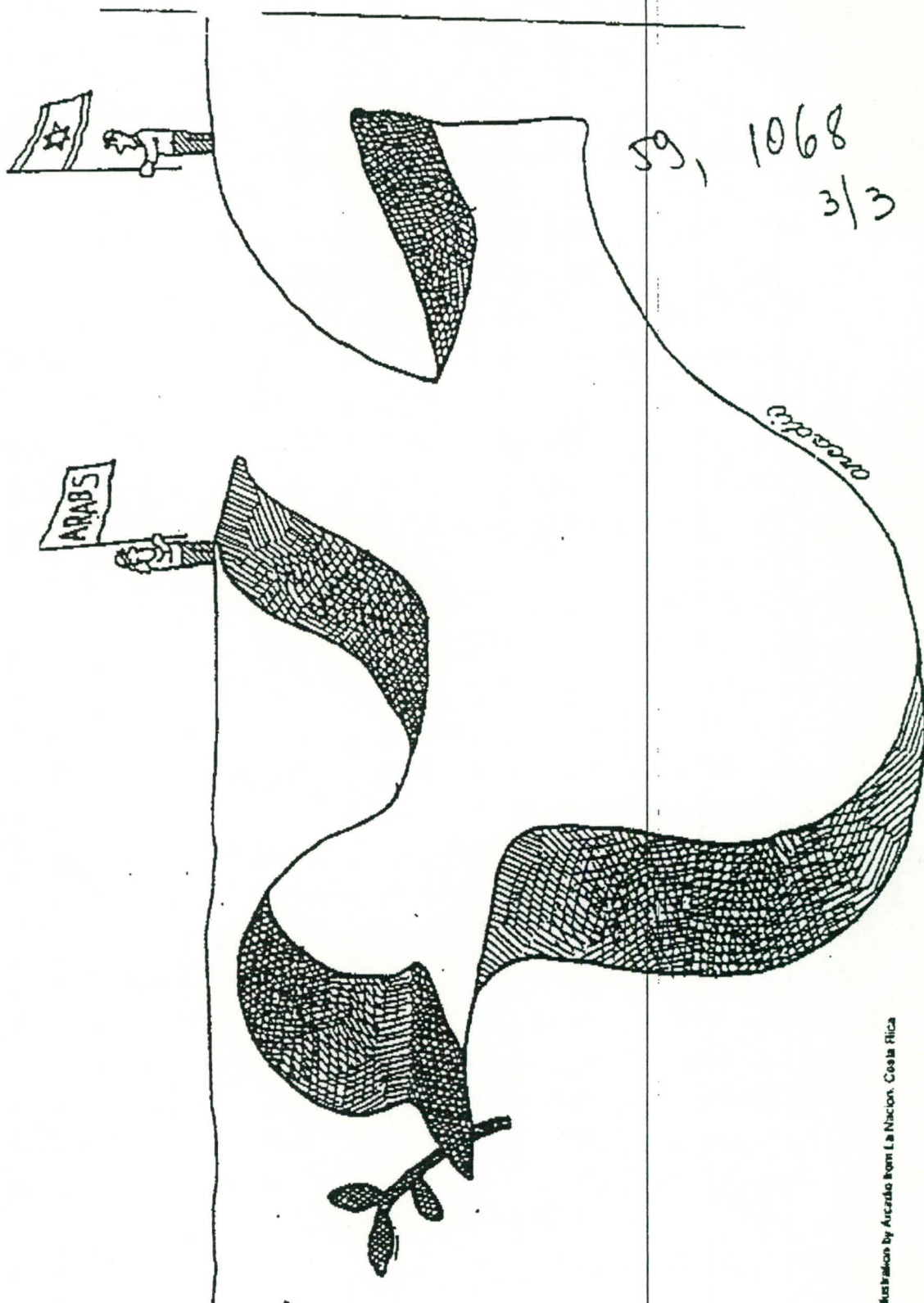
Bolivia. More humiliating yet, the Tunisian telephone company cut off service to the PLO headquarters.

- The Soviet collapse. The Soviet bloc provided enormous help to the PLO through its political support and practical assistance (intelligence, arms, training, and so forth). Obviously, all this has lapsed.

Buffeted by the more moderate and the more radical, despised by Arab and Israeli, abandoned by its patrons, the PLO seems finally to be heading for oblivion. If so, the left-wing nationalist interregnum of the Palestinian movement has come to an end, and it reverts to the Islamic basis of old. One continuity stands out: Palestinians invariably prefer the position on Israel that most completely rejects that country's right to exist.

WT 6/6

Daniel Pipes is director of the Middle East Council, a division of the Foreign Policy Research Institute.



בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 7 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: לש - שה"ח

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: הסכם שלום בין ישראל וירדן

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WT (אריה אוסוליבן 7/6) בנושא דברי שר החוץ שמעון פרס כי ישראל וירדן הגיעו להסכם שלום וכל מה שנותר לעשות הוא לחתום עליו.
עוד אמר שר החוץ כי הסגר בשטחים ימשך עד השגת הסכם עם הפלשתינאים בנוגע לתקופת אוטונומיה או ממשל עצמי בשטחים.
כתבים טוענים כי ישראל מתכוונת להציע בסבב השיחות הבא יישום אוטונומיה ברצועת עזה - עוד לפני יישומה בגדמ"ע.
הערה: דברי שה"ח בנושא הסכם שלום קרוב בין ירדן לישראל זכו לסיקור תקשורתי רב.

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תקשורת

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Peres says Israel and Jordan have peace pact, just lack pen

By Arie O'Sullivan
ASSOCIATED PRESS

JERUSALEM—Foreign Minister Shimon Peres was quoted yesterday as saying that Israel and Jordan have reached a peace agreement, "and all it needs is to be signed."

It was the first time an Israeli official had suggested the two countries had reached a formal peace

agreement.

Mr. Peres spoke at Haifa University as Arab foreign ministers discussed Mideast strategy for the peace talks at a meeting in Amman, Jordan, Israel radio and the national Itim news agency said.

He also indicated that Israel's closure of the occupied territories, or ban on Palestinians entering Israel without special permits, would last

until agreement was reached with Palestinians for an interim period of autonomy or limited self-rule, the radio said.

"We are in a transition stage. It all depends on when the discussions over autonomy are completed," Mr. Peres reportedly said when asked when the closure, imposed March 31, would end.

Newspapers reported that Israel

may try to break a deadlock at the 10th round of peace talks, planned for June 15 in Washington, by proposing autonomy first for Palestinians in the occupied Gaza Strip. A PLO official suggested tacit agreement with the idea.

"What is missing in Israel-Jordan relations is a pen and not an agreement, because we have reached agreement and it only needs to be

signed," Mr. Peres reportedly said last night at a groundbreaking ceremony at the university.

"I imagine the Jordanians do not want to be the first," after Egypt, to sign a treaty with Israel, Mr. Peres added.

No other details were reported.

Israel and Egypt signed a treaty in 1979. Despite the absence of a treaty, much of Israel's frontier with

neighboring Jordan has been quiet since the last Middle East war in 1973.

Regarding the autonomy plan for Gaza, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin hinted last month that it could be a test case of any agreement on an interim period of self-government.

Israel captured the West Bank from Jordan and Gaza from Egypt in the 1967 Middle East War.

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Israel charges 120 Palestinians as Hamas hit men

By Andrew Meisels
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

TEL AVIV — Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin announced yesterday that Israeli authorities had arrested more than 120 Palestinians who he said were members of hit teams that targeted soldiers and police officers. It was one of Israel's biggest mass roundups.

The suspects, who Israel said were members of the Islamic fundamentalist organization Hamas, are residents of the occupied West Bank and of Israeli-annexed East Jerusa-

lem.

Mr. Rabin, who doubles as defense minister, told a hastily arranged news conference on the 26th anniversary of the start of the 1967 Middle East war that some of the suspects had admitted to killing three Israeli policemen and two Israeli West Bank settlers and to assaulting several soldiers.

He said the suspects had said that Israel's sealing off of the occupied territories from the Jewish state two months ago "had greatly hampered" their activities and had prevented other planned attacks.

"From the evidence provided by the arrested men, we now know how right we were in deporting the Hamas activists [in December]," Mr. Rabin said. "More and more details of the activities and importance of many of the deportees in building this organization are being uncovered today."

The Rabin government's expulsion of 415 Palestinians from the occupied territories to Lebanon drew wide international condemnation and a U.N. demand for their immediate return.

A deal between Mr. Rabin and Sec-

retary of State Warren Christopher to speed the repatriation of those expelled got Israel off the hook, but many countries, along with the Palestinian delegation to the Mideast peace talks, continue to insist that all the men be allowed to return to their homes at once.

Mr. Rabin said the arrested men carried Israeli identity cards and used cars with Israeli license plates in carrying out their attacks. Palestinians from the occupied territories have special identity cards and distinctive blue license plates.

Among the acts Israel asserted

were carried out by the Hamas hit teams were:

- The Dec. 12 kidnapping and murder of Border Police Sgt. Nissim Toledo.

- The slaying of police officers Mordechai Yisrael and Daniel Hazut as they slept in their parked police car March 30. The murders sparked the closure of the territories.

- The fatal running down of Israeli West Bank settlers Ya'acov Bracha and Ofer Cohen on March 15.

- The running down of two soldiers as they waited for a ride Feb. 17.

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תזח:

א"ל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

חם' מדק:

בטחון - יועץ שב"ס לחקשורת, דו"צ,
אמ"נ/קש"ח (יום' העבירונא)

: ٢٤

מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

They Are Also Suspected in 2 Other Killings That Led to Crackdown on Arabs

By JOEL GREENBERG
Special to The Post

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, June 6 — The Israeli Shin Bet security service said today that it had arrested four Palestinians in the killing of an Israeli border policeman whose abduction and slaying prompted the deportation of about 400 accused Islamic militants to Lebanon in December.

The suspects, residents of Arab communities in and near Jerusalem, have confessed to the killing, Shin Bet said. They were identified as Mahmud Isa, 25, and Majed Abu Kteish, 23, both of Anata; Mahmud Atwan, 23, of Sur Bahir, and Musa Akari, 22 from Shusfat. The security

The security service said they were also believed to have killed two Israeli policemen in March after receiving weapons and money from the militant Islamic group Hamas, capping a month of fatal Arab attacks that led to the closing off of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Shin Bet said today that it had arrested 120 more members of Hamas in the last two months and that some of them were suspected of fatal attacks.

New York

Times

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תאריך:

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Acting on Their Own

Speaking at a news conference on condition of anonymity, a senior Shin Bet official said the suspected killers of the border policeman, Sgt. Maj. Nissim Toledano, had initially acted on their own and only after the slaying had made contact with a Hamas operative in the West Bank who gave them funds and weapons.

Cruising in a car with Israeli license plates and choosing their uniformed victims at random, they kidnapped Sergeant Major Toledano in the early hours of Dec. 12 after running him down as he walked to work in the town of Lod, the official said. He was hidden in a cave near Jerusalem and stabbed to death hours after the expiration of the kidnappers' ultimatum for the release of the imprisoned founder of Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin.

Most of the 400 Palestinians deported after of the killing are still in a makeshift tent camp in Lebanon.

The official said the four men were also suspected of trying to run over soldiers at a hitchhiking station in February, wounding one of them, and of fatally shooting two policemen on March 30 as they sat in their car near the northern Israeli town of Hadera.

Suspected members of the Qassam military wing of Hamas who were arrested in the northern West Bank are believed to have taken part in several fatal attacks, the official added.

מאת: מי אמי

1. מצ"ב מאמרה של קרן דייויס, מרצה לתקשורת בפלורידה (יהודית), המבוסס על שיחה שניהלה עם עשראווי בביתה של האחרונה. לקראת סיום המאמר מציינת עשראווי כי אינה מבינה את הרצון להפוך את ישראל למדינה יהודית ואף משווה בין הפיכת היהדות לתנועה לאומית (ציונות) לבין רעיונות החמאס.

2. המאמר פורסם	בעמודי הדעות של יום ראשון 8.6.93, במיאמי תראלד.
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A meeting of two women, Palestinian and Jewish

by KAREN DAVIS

There are all sorts of reasons why I shouldn't like Hanaan Ashwari and they all boil down to the same thing: I'm an American Jew interested in the safety and future of Israel; she's a Palestinian Christian, the spokesperson for the Palestinian delegation at the Middle East peace talks, and she's interested in the safety and future of a state to be called Palestine. In the best of all possible worlds, we wouldn't have to be enemies but this isn't the best of all possible worlds, just the only one we've got.



Davis

Yet after spending the afternoon in an interview with Hanaan, at her home in Ramallah in the West Bank, I have to tell you the truth. There are all sorts of reasons why I do like Hanaan. Even more shocking and disturbing, we're alike in a lot of ways.

First, our personal backgrounds. We're both close in age; each of us has two daughters (hers are 16 and 11, mine are 20 and 15), and she's married to a photographer/filmmaker while I'm married to a photojournalist. Both men, we agree, are sensitive, supportive, sharing kinds of partners.

Next, our professional backgrounds. We're both former English lit majors, and we both love language. She drops words epiphanically and enraptured casually into our conversation, and I fall in love. "Anyone who can talk that talk is OK in my book," I tell myself.

As teachers, we're each close to our students, preferring discussions to more classic lectures. But we're also demanding: "Firm but fair" is the evaluation students at Florida Atlantic University usually give me; "demanding but human" is how students at Zeil University rate Hanaan.

"I've always said that in order to be an activist you have to maintain your academic credentials as well. You do your work as a student, you become an A student, and then you become an activist. You can't be a C or a D student because it gives officials an excuse to expel you," she says. Hanaan learned that lesson well at the American University of Beirut in the late 1960s, when being a student was all that stopped her from being expelled because of her political activities.

We're also both devout mothers. The day that I visited Hanaan, her 16-year-old, Amal, was home with an upset stomach. Amal, by the way, is Arabic for "hope"; my firstborn's name is Amelle, Hebrew for "diamonds of God." What does that tell you about their mothers? At one point, Amal wandered out and she said to her mother, Hanaan puzzled about to hear, blinding her mouth. We

talk about how we love to stare at our daughters, amazed that we've produced such beautiful children until the girls' embarrassment makes them say with universal teenage exasperation, "Mom, stop looking at me."

We're both also teachers/mothers and that's the reason Amal has come into the living room. She needs help with a book report. "Do you correct her writing?" I ask. "No," says Hanaan. "That wouldn't be fair. I just make suggestions that maybe a new paragraph ought to begin here or maybe a different word could be used there. Sure, Hanaan, I think to myself."

But there are differences, too, of course. I take both my daughters shopping or out to lunch at malls. Hanaan has stopped shopping with her daughters because too many times the streets of downtown Ramallah have been filled with sudden tear gas, sending everyone inside with their eyes smarting and their noses burning. Besides, with the intifada you never know when the stores will close because of a strike. "I just can't expose my daughters to the tear gas, the fear, the pain and insecurity," she says. Instead, Hanaan shops for them, especially when she's abroad.

"What's the nicest gift your mother has ever brought home for you?" I ask Amal. "Herself," says the 16-year-old.

Hanaan also has seen death and violence up close. I haven't. She has cradled dying students in her arms and driven wounded people to the hospital in her car. Two weeks before our interview, she stumbled onto a downtown chase of two Palestinian boys by Israeli soldiers in Ramallah.

"One 13-year-old had fallen down shot, and a soldier grabbed him by the hair and pointed his gun at his head as if he were going to shoot him. I pushed through and looked at him with such horror that I think he didn't shoot because of the way I looked. Before they took the boy away in an army ambulance, I held his hand and asked his name and told him I'd let his parents know what had happened to him so they wouldn't think he had just disappeared off the street."

Politically, Hanaan and I are both feminists who believe that Jewish and Palestinian women want peace more than they want to send their husbands or sons off to war.

"We have a direct contact with life, with the pain of giving life and therefore with the pain of preserving life," says Hanaan. "When anyone is killed, I can't help but think that this person has a mother, a father, sisters, brothers, children, hopes and aspirations. This is the reality of life, of a human being, and once it's gone it can never come back."

Intellectually, Hanaan and I are also fired by the word-games that are played during negotiations because we both believe that words should be related to substance and meaning. We respect language and believe that words should mean what they say. But here's where word-play and our own mental dictionaries trip us up.

When Hanaan speaks about women being able to establish a common language despite our differences because we don't have a macho problem of establishing territoriality and dominance, I'm right in line with her.



IN THE WEST BANK: Hanaan Ashwari, left, a Palestinian Christian and spokesperson for the PLO delegation at the Middle East peace talks, and Karen Davis, an American Jew and freelance writer, stand together in Ashwari's home in Ramallah. At far right is Ashwari's daughter Amal, 16.

But then I think about "territoriality." When I speak about the Occupied Territories, I mean that I'd consider giving back Gaza and parts of the West Bank, something the majority of Israelis agree with. But when Hanaan speaks of the territories, she also means East Jerusalem. I don't.

And there are other difficulties with words. "Israeli domination of former Arab lands" is her is "Israeli self-protection (through buffer zones)" to me. What's "defense" to her when Palestinians pick up stones to throw at Israeli soldiers is "aggression" to me.

Jews speak of the "diaspora," the wandering they've done from country to country until 1948 and the establishment of Israel as a home for all Jews. Hanaan speaks of the "nubah," the exodus of Palestinians from Israel in 1948 and their wandering over borders also in search of a home.

Jews sometimes complain that Israel has been expected to set more morally than other countries. Hanaan says it's the Palestinians who are being held to a higher moral code now. "As an occupied people, we're being held responsible for the safety of our occupiers, for their physical well-being," she says, pointing to the irony of the situation.

And finally comes one of the sticky issues in any dialogue between Jews and Palestinians: Zionism and the PLO. I lay it out to Hanaan: "Many Palestinians say they have no problems with Jews; it's the Zionists who create difficulties. But Zionism is the expression of a Jewish national liberation movement means as much to Jews as the PLO, which Palestinians have called their national liberation movement, means to them. You say you can't separate Palestinians from the PLO, so how can you separate Judaism from Zionism?"

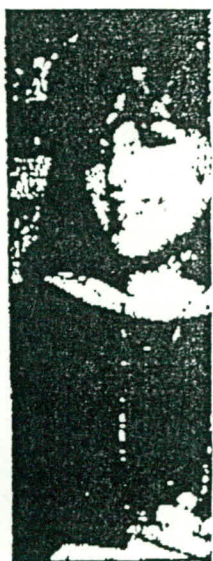
"We have accepted the fact there is a state of Israel," she says. "But there's a strong political movement to transform Judaism from a religion into a national movement, which many Palestinians and I still do not understand. We see the equivalent of that in Hamas. It hasn't won the many friends, but I don't believe in any exclusive ideology."

I don't believe in any state being formed on the basis of religion — of saying this is going to be a purely Islamic state, or a purely Jewish state, or a purely Christian state. That's just not done in this day and age.

In other words, Hanaan is talking about separation of church and state, and I know just what she means. But I also know the Jews need a state of their own, just as the Palestinians do.

When I return home, I tell the rabbi of my temple about my interview with Hanaan. He's a man whose intellect I respect tremendously. We're on the same wavelength on most issues — Jewish feminism, social reform and politics. He's even sponsored, at my request and at the risk of his reputation with other rabbis and Jewish communal leaders, a dialogue between American Jewish women and Palestinian women at our temple. But now he says, "I don't like Hanaan Ashwari. She makes me think too much."

You know, as similar as Hanaan and I can be, I see his point.



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SUNDAY, JUNE 8, 1993
THE MIAMI HERALD

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BALMAS/RAGIL

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TO: TIKSHORET

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NEWS SUMMARY 5-6-JUNE-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYT: 'THE EMPTY EMBASSIES': WRITER STATES THAT THE NUMBER OF EMPTY US EMBASSIES ABROAD ATTEST TO THE INDECISIVENESS OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION; CITES THE FIGURES AS 37 OUT OF 164 EMBASSIES WHICH STILL LACK NOMINATIONS; SAYS THAT MR. CLINTON'S INSISTENCE ON PERSONALLY APPROVING EACH CHOICE HAS BECOME A 'FORMULA FOR PROCRASTINATION' (6).

COLUMNS

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NYT(F.LEWIS-CABLED): 'CLINTON WORRIES EUROPE': WRITER ASSERTS THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S 'ROCKY START AND SHARPLY DIPPING POLLS' ARE BEGINNING TO CAUSE SERIOUS CONCERN ABROAD; CITES THE US'S 'WAFFLING' ON BOSNIA, CONGRESS'S NARROW ENDORSEMENT OF MR. CLINTON'S BUDGET PLAN, AND THE NOMINATION OF DAVID GERGEN AS REASONS WHY EUROPEAN LEADERS PERCEIVE MR. CLINTON AS A MAN 'NOT QUITE IN CHARGE'; ADDS THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FEELS 'IN DANGER OF UNRAVELING' AT A TIME OF 'NEW AND PERPLEXING CHALLENGES' AND THAT IT IS LOOKING FOR A US PRESIDENT WITH A 'FIRM GRIP' ON HIS OFFICE (5).

NYT(S.HUNTINGTON-CABLED): 'THE COMING CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS OR, THE WEST AGAINST THE REST': WRITER ARGUES THAT WORLD POLITICS IS ENTERING A NEW STAGE IN WHICH THE MAIN SOURCE OF CONFLICT WILL BE CULTURAL RATHER THAN ECONOMIC OR IDEOLOGICAL; SAYS THAT THE PRIMARY CONFLICTS WILL OCCUR BETWEEN NATIONS AND CULTURAL GROUPS; ADDS THAT THE CONCEPTS OF FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD WORLDS ARE 'NO LONGER RELEVANT' AND THAT CIVILIZATION IDENTITY WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT;

CONCLUDES THAT THE WEST WILL HAVE TO DEVELOP A KEENER UNDERSTANDING OF OTHER CIVILIZATIONS (6).

NYP(P.BUCHANAN): 'THE TIME HAS COME TO SHUT AMERICA'S DOORS': WRITER CLAIMS THAT THE SWELLING TIDE OF IMMIGRATION INTO THE US SHOULD BE CURBED AS IT HAS BEEN IN EUROPE; SAYS THAT AMERICA NEEDS TIME TO ASSIMILATE THE 'MILLIONS' WHO HAVE ENTERED THE US; ADDS THAT IT SHOULD NOT FEAR ACCUSATIONS OF RACISM AND THAT IT MUST ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF 'NATIONAL UNITY' (5).

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'MORE PEOPLE VIEW CLINTON AS LIBERAL AS HE SEEKS CENTER'; 'REPUBLICAN GAINS TEXAS SENATE SEAT'; 'ACROSS THE COMPUTER DIVIDE, THE NERDS FACE THE DUMMIES'; 'FREQUENT FLIERS SAY FRESH AIR IS AWFULLY THIN AT 30,000 FEET'; 'TOP GRADUATES IN SCIENCE ALSO PUT DREAMS ON HOLD'. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL (6).

ISRAEL/LAW/DIVORCE/RABBIS: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED): 'ISRAEL IS SEEKING TO EASE LAW ON DIVORCE IN RABBIS' COURTS': REPORTS THAT MANY WOMEN IN ISRAEL ARE UNABLE TO GET OUT OF UNWANTED MARRIAGES FOR ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS REASONS; SAYS THAT THEIR PLIGHT IS SERIOUS ENOUGH TO HAVE CAUGHT THE ATTENTION OF THE GOVERNMENT WHICH IS TRYING TO PUSH A NEW LAW ON THE ISSUE THROUGH PARLIAMENT; STATES THAT THE GOVERNMENT BILL WOULD IMPOSE CIVIL PENALTIES ON SPOUSES WHO FAIL TO ABIDE BY RABBINICAL DIVORCE DECREES WITHIN THIRTY DAYS; NOTES THAT ORTHODOX RABBIS WHO CONTROL THE RABBINICAL COURTS INSIST 'THEIR HANDS ARE TIED' BY JEWISH LAW (6).

ISRAEL/ARMY/MAJOR/SPY: ND: 'ISRAELI MAJOR A SPY?': STATES THAT ISRAEL'S CONVICTION IN 1987 OF AN ISRAELI ARMY MAJOR ON ESPIONAGE CHARGES, DISCLOSED THIS MONTH, SHEDS 'NEW LIGHT' ON ALLEGATIONS THAT THE US EMPLOYED A SPY IN ISRAEL'S MILITARY OFFICER CORPS IN THE EARLY 1980S; NOTES THAT SUCH CHARGES WERE DENIED BY THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION; SAYS THAT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT SPOKESPEOPLE HAVE 'REFUSED TO PROVIDE ANY DETAILS' ON THE AMIT CASE; ADDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET ARE ASKING THAT POLLARD AND AMIT BE RELEASED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE NATIONS IN A GOOD-WILL GESTURE (5).

ISRAEL/JERUSALEM/PALESTINIANS/ARRESTED: DN(AP-BRIEF): REPORTS THAT MORE THAN 120 SUSPECTED MEMBERS OF A PALESTINIAN HIT TEAM WERE ARRESTED SUNDAY; ADDS THAT THE ISRAELI MILITARY EXPECTS MORE ARRESTS IN ONE OF THE LARGEST SUCH CRACKDOWNS; SAYS THAT THE ARRESTS INCLUDED FOUR SUSPECTS ACCUSED OF KILLING ISRAELI BORDER POLICEMAN NISSIM TOLEDANO IN DECEMBER (6).

WASHINGTON/US/NORTH KOREA/NUCLEAR: NYT(D.JEHL-CABLED),ND(BRIEF): 'NORTH KOREA ISN'T CONVINCED IT SHOULD STAY IN NUCLEAR PACT': REPORTS THAT US NEGOTIATORS FAILED FRIDAY TO CONVINCE NORTH KOREA TO DROP ITS PLANS TO WITHDRAW FROM THE NNPL TREATY ON JUNE 12; NOTES THAT IF PYONGYANG GOES THROUGH WITH ITS WITHDRAWAL, IT WILL BE THE FIRST COUNTRY TO DO SO; ADDS THAT THE US WILL ASK THE UN TO IMPOSE

SANCTIONS ON NORTH KOREA IF IT WITHDRAWS.

GERMANY/US/RUSSIA/UKRAINE: NYT(M.GORDON-CABLED),ND(BRIEF): 'ASPIN MEETS RUSSIAN IN BID TO TAKE UKRAINE'S A-ARMS': REPORTS THAT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LES ASPIN ARRIVED IN GERMANY FRIDAY TO DISCUSS A PLAN WITH RUSSIA TO PERSUADE UKRAINE TO GIVE UP ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS; NOTES THAT THE NEW PLAN WOULD PLACE UKRAINE'S ARSENAL UNDER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION.

IRAQ/BUSH/PLOT/TESTIFY: ND(BRIEF),DN: REPORTS THAT AN IRAQI NURSE TESTIFIED SATURDAY THAT SADDAM HUSSEIN'S AGENTS ORDERED HIM TO BRING A JEEP PACKED WITH EXPLOSIVES TO KUWAIT ON A MISSION TO ASSASSINATE GEORGE BUSH (6).

NYT(J.GRRENBURG): 'LIBYANS GO TO JERUSALEM, OR PILGRIMS' LACK OF PROGRESS' (6).

NYT(D.JEHL): 'HOW TWO COUNTRIES RENEWED WORRIES OVER THE BOMB' (6).

NYT(S.KINZER),NYP: 'GERMANS ARREST THREE MORE IN BOMBING FATAL TO TURKS' (5).

NYT(S.KINZER),DN: 'GERMANY'S YOUNG TURKS SAY ENOUGH TO THE BIAS'(6).

ADS

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NYT(FULL PAGE ADVERTISEMENT-SPONSORED BY AMERICAN FRIENDS OF ATERET COHANIM): 'SHALL I FORSAKE THEE, O JERUSALEM' (6).

NYT(QUARTER PAGE ADVERTISEMENT-SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE): 'WHAT BEING JEWISH MEANS TO ME' (6).

LETTERS

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NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH ARGUES THAT PUBLIC ACCESS TELEVISION IS THE LAST STRONGHOLD OF INDIVIDUAL SPEECH IN AN INCREASINGLY ELECTRONIC AGE AND SHOULD BE PRESERVED (5).

OBITUARIES

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NYT: 'RICHARD PARKER, 87, A SCHOLAR AT BROWN IN EGYPTOLOGY, DIES' (5).

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(R.BERKE-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'MORE PEOPLE VIEW CLINTON AS LIBERAL AS HE SEEKS CENTER' (6).

NYT(M.KELLY-CABLED): 'CLINTON MYTH OF NONIDEOLOGICAL POLITICS STUMBLES' (6).

NYT(R.APPLE-FRONT PAGE): 'PRESIDENT BLAMES HIMSELF FOR FUROR OVER

NOMINEE' (5).

NYT(M.TABOR): 'SIGNS OF BLAST FADING, BUT TREMORS REMAIN' (6).

NYT(J.FRIED): 'DISPUTE SLOWS AN INQUIRY ON CROWN HEIGHTS, LETTERS SHOW' (5).

NYT(TRAVEL): 'JEWISH MUSEUM TO REOPEN' (6).

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

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

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TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 7-JUNE-1993

Ly. G.

TV COVERAGE

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CNN AND NBC TODAY NOTED THAT ISRAELI FM SHIMON PERES SAID SUNDAY THAT ISRAEL AND JORDAN HAVE REACHED A PEACE AGREEMENT WHICH HAS NOT YET BEEN SIGNED.

EDITORIALS

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NYP: 'LAX WORK ON THE TERRORIST WATCH': WRITER ARGUES THAT THE US HAS BEEN LAX IN TIGHTENING ITS IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS, CITING ITS 'GROSS NEGLIGENCE' IN ALLOWING THE TERRORISTS SUSPECTED OF THE WTC BOMBING TO ENTER THE COUNTRY; ADDS THAT THE RECENT DEATH THREATS AGAINST BROOKLYN ASSEMBLYMAN DOV HIKIND AND NEW YORK SENATOR ALFONSE D'AMATO SHOULD SERVE AS A 'WAKE-UP CALL.'

COLUMNS

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NYP(J.KIRKPATRICK): 'ALL SIGNS POINT TO US GLOBAL DISENGAGEMENT': WRITER DISCUSSES THE STATEMENT MADE BY PETER TARNOFF, US UNDER-SECRETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, ON MAY 25 FOLLOWING SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S MEETING WITH EUROPEAN LEADERS; SAYS THAT MR. TARNOFF, REITERATING MR. CLINTON'S VIEWS, STATED THAT THE US WOULD KEEP A 'LOW PROFILE' IN WORLD AFFAIRS; QUOTES MR. CHRISTOPHER AS SAYING THAT THE US MUST 'SAVE' ITS POWER FOR 'THOSE SITUATIONS WHICH THREATEN OUR DEEPEST NATIONAL INTEREST'; COMMENTS ON A CONTROVERSIAL COMMENT BY MR. TARNOFF WHICH EXPLAINED THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER 'HAD NOT FAILED TO PERSUADE EUROPEAN ALLIES' TO JOIN THE US IN ACTING AGAINST BOSNIA BECAUSE HE 'HAD NOT REALLY TRIED.'

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'RUSSIANS FAULT US ON SHIFTING UKRAINE'S ARMS'; 'ONE FAILED VOYAGE ILLUSTRATES FLOW OF CHINESE IMMIGRATION'; 'JAPAN IS RALLYING ASIAN NATIONS AGAINST NEW US TRADE POLICIES'; 'SEVEN DIE AS CROWDED IMMIGRANT SHIP GROUNDS OFF QUEENS'; 'IN STARTLING SHIFT, GUATEMALA MAKES RIGHTS AIDE PRESIDENT'. WSJ: 'WAR-RAVAGED KUWAIT REBOUNDS INTO RANKS OF MAJOR OIL NATIONS'; 'NOW, KOSHER VODKA IS WINNING CONVERTS IN CATHOLIC POLAND'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/JERUSALEM/PALESTINIANS/ARREST: NYT(J.GREENBERG-CABLED): 'ISRAEL ARRESTS FOUR IN POLICE DEATH': THE ISRAELI SHIN BET SECURITY SERVICE REPORTEDLY SAID SUNDAY THAT IT HAD ARRESTED FOUR PALESTINIANS IN THE DECEMBER KILLING OF ISRAELI BORDER POLICEMAN SGT. MAJOR NISSIM TOLEDANO; REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO SHIN BET OFFICIALS, THE SUSPECTS HAVE CONFESSED TO THE KILLING; CLAIMS THAT THE SUSPECTS ARE ALSO BELIEVED TO HAVE KILLED TWO ISRAELI POLICEMEN IN MARCH; NOTES THAT THE KILLERS ACTED ON THEIR OWN AND MADE CONTACT WITH HAMAS ONLY AFTER THE SLAYING; ADDS THAT THE SLAYING OF MR. TOLEDANO PROMPTED THE DEPORTATION OF APPROXIMATELY 400 ISLAMIC MILITANTS TO LEBANON IN DECEMBER.

ISRAEL/JORDAN/PEACE/PERES: ND(BRIEF),NYP(U.DAN): REPORTS THAT FM SHIMON PERES SAID SUNDAY THAT ISRAEL AND JORDAN HAVE REACHED A PEACE AGREEMENT AND THAT THE ACCORD NEEDED ONLY TO BE SIGNED; ADDS THAT THE DETAILS WERE NOT ANNOUNCED.

ISRAEL/AUTHORITIES/MUSLIMS/ARRESTED: NYP(U.DAN): 'TERROR PLOTS FOILED AS ISRAEL NABS 124 MUSLIM EXTREMISTS': REPORTS THAT ISRAELI AUTHORITIES HAVE ARRESTED 124 MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS TO PREVENT REPORTED PLANS FOR CAR BOMBINGS IN TEL AVIV AND JERUSALEM; STATES THAT THE ARRESTS BEGAN IN JERUSALEM LAST WEEK BUT WERE KEPT SECRET UNTIL SATURDAY; NOTES THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN COMMENDED THE WORK OF THE ISRAELI SECRET SERVICE ON TV; ADDS THAT ACCORDING TO ISRAELI OFFICIALS, THE BOMBINGS COULD HAVE KILLED HUNDREDS.

ISRAEL/PLAN/SHIPPING/ROADS: WSJ(BRIEF): NOTES THAT ISRAEL IS REPORTEDLY INVESTING HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN A ROAD NETWORK TO MAKE ITS SEAPORTS AND AIRPORT A SHIPPING GATEWAY FOR THE TERRITORIES AND FOR ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS; STATES THAT THE PLAN 'ANTICIPATES MIDEAST PEACE'.

US/IRAN/TRADE/ISOLATION: WSJ(R.GREENBERGER-CABLED): 'IRAN'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MAY ADVANCE US STRATEGIC GOAL OF ISOLATING TEHRAN': REPORTS THAT US ECONOMIC PRESSURES ON IRAN MAY SUCCEED IN ISOLATING TEHRAN FROM ITS MAJOR WESTERN TRADING PARTNERS; NOTES THAT WASHINGTON HAS BEEN TRYING TO PERSUADE ITS ALLIES TO STOP TRADE WITH IRAN TO FORCE TEHRAN TO END ITS WEAPONS BUILDUP AND SUPPORT OF TERRORISM; ADDS THAT IRANIAN ECONOMIC CONCERNS ARE 'COMPOUNDED BY THE POTENTIAL FOR ETHNIC UNREST'.

KUWAIT/OIL/COMEBACK/OPEC: WSJ(J.TANNER-CABLED): 'WAR-RAVAGED KUWAIT REBOUNDS INTO RANKS OF MAJOR OIL NATIONS': REPORTS THAT KUWAIT HAS MADE AN 'IMPRESSIVE COMEBACK' FOLLOWING THE GULF WAR WHICH MAY BRING IT BACK INTO THE RANKS OF THE WORLD'S LEADING OIL PRODUCERS; ASSERTS THAT KUWAIT IS EXPORTING OIL ONCE AGAIN AND THAT IT CAN PRODUCE ALMOST AS MUCH AS IT DID BEFORE THE IRAQI INVASION IN AUGUST 1990; ADDS THAT THE REBOUND HAS AFFECTED THE INTERNATIONAL OIL INDUSTRY AND OIL PRICES AND THAT OPEC MINISTERS WILL MEET IN GENEVA MONDAY TO DISCUSS HOW TO 'SHARE' WORLD OIL MARKETS WITH KUWAIT WITHOUT REDUCING PETROLEUM PRICES.

US/RUSSIA/UKRAINE/ARMS: NYT(M.GORDON-CABLED): 'RUSSIANS FAULT US ON SHIFTING UKRAINE'S ARMS': REPORTS THAT RUSSIAN DEFENSE MINISTER GEN. PAVEL GRACHEV CRITICIZED AN AMERICAN PLAN SUNDAY TO PLACE UKRAINE'S WARHEADS UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL; STATES THAT MR. GRACHEV SPOKE TO REPORTERS AFTER MEETING WITH SECRETARY OF STATE LES ASPIN AND SAID THAT NUCLEAR WARHEADS LEFT IN UKRAINE AFTER THE BREAKUP OF THE USSR SHOULD REMAIN UNDER RUSSIAN CONTROL; ADDS THAT MR. ASPIN STATED THAT WASHINGTON WAS TAKING STEPS TOWARD STRENGTHENING MILITARY TIES WITH THE RUSSIAN MILITARY TO EMPHASIZE AMERICAN INTEREST IN STRONG TIES WITH MOSCOW.

KUWAIT/IRAQIS/SENTENCED: DN(BRIEF): NOTES THAT A STATE SECURITY COURT IN KUWAIT SENTENCED FIVE IRAQIS AND A COLONEL TO DEATH FOR AIDING IRAQ DURING ITS INVASION OF KUWAIT IN 1990; ADDS THAT THE COLONEL WAS NAMED PRIME MINISTER DURING THE OCCUPATION OF KUWAIT.

GERMANY/PROTESTS/VIOLENCE/KOHL: NYT(S.KINZER),DN: REPORTS THAT GERMAN CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL'S APPEARANCE AT THE DEDICATION OF THE BERLIN CATHEDRAL ON SUNDAY BROUGHT PROTESTS FROM DEMONSTRATORS WHO ACCUSED HIM OF NOT ACTING DECISIVELY AGAINST RIGHTIST VIOLENCE.

OBITUARIES

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NYT(E.PACE): 'LEO PFEFFER, 83, LAWYER ON STAFF OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS.'

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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WSJ(B.NEWMAN): 'NOW, KOSHER VODKA IS WINNING CONVERTS IN CATHOLIC POLAND.'

ND(R.BEN-ALI): 'CROWN HEIGHTS MEN NABBED IN TAXI HEIST.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

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

מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב 2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, מזתים, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 9449

אל: רהמש/249

מ-: המשרד, תא: 070693, זח: 1630, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

625845

סודי/מידי

913.11

א ל: וושינגטון - ציר, דוברת

ד ע: לשכת ס'שה'ח

ממנכ"ל

לשכת רוה'מ (הבר)

מאת: מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: מועצה לטכנולוגיה

1. לידיעתך, הנספח המדעי בשג'ארה'ב, דוד מולינקס, לוחץ מזה כחודש לדעת מי מטעם ממשלת ישראל יוביל בנושא הנ"ל במקביל למזכיר הסחר, רון בראון. רוה'מ טרם הכריע בנדון ונמסר למולינקס (על דעת היועץ הכלכלי לרוה'מ) שהחלטה תתקבל אחרי שהכנסת תאשר את החלוקה החדשה של התיקים בממשלה.

2. נודע לנו כי במקביל לשיחה עמך דיבר אינדיק במונחים דומים לידידו הירש גודמן (עורך הדו-שבועון JERUSALEM REPORT הנמצא כעת בווינגטון) והלה ביקש מאריק סילבר להכין כתבה בנדון. הדובר ייחס את העיכוב במתן תשובה לאמריקאים למשבר הממשלתי.

מנהל מצפ"א

7 ביוני 1993

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 10227

אל: רהמש/283

מ-: ווש, נר: 2016, תא: 070693, זח: 1500, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבבב

סודי ביותר/מיידי

אל: רוה'מ, שה'ח - מכתב מוברק - לעיניהם בלבד

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

1. לקראת כינוס סבב השיחות העשירי הצפוי ב-15 יוני ניתן להצביע על כוונת החשיבה העיקריים המתגבשים בקרב צוות התהליך.

2. ניכרת נימה אופטימית מעט יותר שסיבותיה שתיים:

א. מה שנראה לפני כשבוע כרתיעה של המזכיר מפני עיסוק פומבי בתהליך השלום נתפס עתה, עדיין, כגורם בעל משקל קטן יותר. המזכיר קיים בסוף השבוע שעבר התייעצות לגבי התהליך ונתן אינדיקציה לנכונות עקרונית שלו להרתם כאשר יסתמנו סיכויים סבירים להצלחה. המזכיר נתן לכך ביטוי גם בשיחת רקע עם עתונאים בכירים.

ב. התגובות הערביות, בייחוד הפלסטיניות, נתפשות כחיוביות יותר. הפעם נתנו הערבים הסכמה מוקדמת יחסית למועד המוצע לחידוש השיחות. כמו כן, השאיר פייצל חוסייני את הדלת פתוחה לאפשרות שיגיע לקראת סוף השבוע הנוכחי לשיחות מוקדמות.

3. בהתייעצויות הפנימיות שמאז סיום הסבב הקודם (וגם כהפקת לקחים ממהלכו ואופן סיומו) מתמקדים הדיונים בשלוש דילמות עיקריות:

א. הצורך להתגבר על תדמית החולשה שמקריין הממשל והצורך להאבק על מקומו של תהליך השלום באג'נדה של הממשל.

ב. ויכוח על דפוס ההתייעצות והתאום עם ישראל. המגמה השלטת והמדיניות שנקבעה גורסות המשך תאום אינטימי והדוק עמנו. דעת מיעוט שאינה שוללת המשך הוועצות ותאום טוענת שמידה מסוימת של התרחקות טקטית תגביר את אמיתותה של ארה"ב ואת האפקטיביות שלה כ'שותף פעיל'.

ג. דיון בקו הקונקרטי אותו יש לנקוט בשני מסלולי השיחות העיקריים כפי שיפורט להלן.

4. במסלול הסורי הוחלט, למעשה, על המשך המאמץ להביא ל- ENGAGEMENT של אסד ולתמרן אותו למצב בו ישיב כהלכה על שאלותיה של ארה"ב. אם ייווצר מצב כזה י שקול המזכיר ברצינות נסיעה לאזור שבמוקדה ביקורים בירושלים ודמשק. במהלך ביניים תתכן פגישה בין המזכיר לשה"ח שרע במהלך נסיעתו הקרובה

לאירופה ותורכיה.

5. בתחום הפלסטיני ממתינים אנשי מחמ'ד הן להתייעצות עמנו מחר והן לשיחות אפשריות עם הפלסטינים. בה בעת הם סבורים שעוד לפני תחילת הסבב חיוני שהמזכיר יקים מגע ישיר עם הדרג הבכיר ביותר בארץ להתייעצות לקביעת עמדות.

6. הרצון להשיג הישגים של ממש מתורגם במישור זה לרעיון להקדיש את סבב השיחות הבא בין ישראל לפלסטינים לנסיון להגיע לנייר עקרונות יסודי יותר מן ההצהרה עליה עבדנו בסבב הקודם. רעיון זה משקף גם את התחושה שאותה הצהרה, בשל הפומבי שניתן לה, איבדה כבר את טעמה. בהקשר זה יש לציין שאנשי מחמ'ד גורסים גם שעל מנת לשפר את האפקטיביות של תפקודם כ'שותף מלא' עליהם להקנות להתייעצויות עם הפלסטינים לפחות צורה של התייעצות אינטימית יותר ובכך לנטרל את התחושה הפלסטינית לפיה נקראים הפלסטינים לברך על המוגמר שהושג קודם לכן בתאום האמיתי עם ישראל.

7. המברק הוא פני עבודת הכנסה ושורת התייעצויות של הצוות המדיני בשגרירות - הציר שילה, היועץ שטיין ועוזרי עמרני.

רבינוביץ.

לבח

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), שהח

סססס

R

אאאא, חוזם: 10227

אל: רהמש/283

מ:- ווש, נר: 2016, תא: 070693, זח: 1500, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/מידי

אל: רוה'מ, שה'ח - מכתב מוברק - לעיניהם בלבד

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

1. לקראת כינוס סבב השיחות העשירי הצפוי ב-15 יוני ניתן להצביע על כוונת החשיבה העיקריים המתגבשים בקרב צוות התהליך.

2. ניכרת נימה אופטימית מעט יותר שסיבותיה שתיים:

א. מה שנראה לפני כשבוע כרתיעה של המזכיר מפני עיסוק פומבי בתהליך השלום נתפס עתה, עדיין, כגורם בעל משקל קטן יותר. המזכיר קיים בסוף השבוע שעבר התייעצות לגבי התהליך ונתן אינדיקציה לנכונות עקרונית שלו להרתם כאשר יסתמנו סיכויים סבירים להצלחה. המזכיר נתן לכך ביטוי גם בשיחת רקע עם עתונאים בכירים.

ב. התגובות הערביות, בייחוד הפלסטיניות, נתפשות כחיוביות יותר. הפעם נתנו הערבים הסכמה מוקדמת יחסית למועד המוצע לחידוש השיחות. כמו כן, השאיר פייצל חוסייני את הדלת פתוחה לאפשרות שיגיע לקראת סוף השבוע הנוכחי לשיחות מוקדמות.

3. בהתייעצויות הפנימיות שמאז סיום הסבב הקודם (וגם כהפקת לקחים ממהלכו ואופן סיומו) מתמקדים הדיונים בשלוש דילמות עיקריות:

א. הצורך להתגבר על תדמית החולשה שמקריין הממשל והצורך להאבק על מקומו של תהליך השלום באג'נדה של הממשל.

ב. ויכוח על דפוס ההתייעצות והתאום עם ישראל. המגמה השלטת והמדיניות שנקבעה גורסות המשך תאום אינטימי והדוק עמנו. דעת מיעוט שאינה שוללת המשך הוועצות ותאום טוענת שמידה מסוימת של התרחקות טקטית תגביר את אמינותה של ארה"ב ואת האפקטיביות שלה כ'שותף פעיל'.

ג. דיון בקו הקונקרטי אותו יש לנקוט בשני מסלולי השיחות העיקריים כפי שיפורט להלן.

4. במסלול הסורי הוחלט, למעשה, על המשך המאמץ להביא ל- ENGAGEMENT של אסד ולתמרן אותו למצב בו ישיב כהלכה על שאלותיה של ארה"ב. אם ייווצר מצב כזה ישקול המזכיר ברצינות נסיעה לאזור שבמוקדה ביקורים בירושלים ודמשק. במהלך ביניים תתכן פגישה בין המזכיר לשה"ח שרע במהלך נסיעתו הקרובה

לאירופה ותורכיה.

5. בתחום הפלסטיני ממתכננים אנשי מחמ"ד הן להתייעצות עם מחר והן לשיחות אפשריות עם הפלסטינים. בה בעת הם סבורים שעוד לפני תחילת הסבב חיוני שהמזכיר יקים מגע ישיר עם הדרג הבכיר ביותר בארץ להתייעצות לקביעת עמדות.

6. הרצון להשיג הישגים של ממש מתורגם במישור זה לרעיון להקדיש את סבב השיחות הבא בין ישראל לפלסטינים לנסיון להגיע לנייר עקרונות יסודי יותר מן ההצהרה עליה עבדנו בסבב הקודם. רעיון זה משקף גם את התחושה שאותה הצהרה, בשל הפומבי שניתן לה, איבדה כבר את טעמה. בהקשר זה יש לציין שאנשי מחמ"ד גורסים גם שעל מנת לשפר את האפקטיביות של תפקודם כ'שותף מלא' עליהם להקנות להתייעצויות עם הפלסטינים לפחות צורה של התייעצות אינטימית יותר ובכך לנטרל את התחושה הפלסטינית לפיה נקראים הפלסטינים לברך על המוגמר שהושג קודם לכן בתאום האמיתי עם ישראל.

7. המברק הוא פני עבודת הכנסה ושורת התייעצויות של הצוות המדיני בשגרירות - הציר שילה, היועץ שטיין ועוזרי עמרני.

רבינוביץ.

לבח

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), שהח

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 10164

אל: רהמש/284

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 293, תא: 070693, זח: 1704, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל

דע: לשכת שה"ח, לש' רה"מ

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

Handwritten signature in red ink, possibly reading "E. G."

הנדון: חבלי ממשל קלינטון. בהמשך לשלי 2113

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1. השבוע האחרון, מאז שלי שבסימוכין, עמד בסימן נסיון של הנשיא לייצב עבודת הבית הלבן, תוך הסתייעות בנסיונו ודימויו האגדי - כמעט של דיוויד גרגן וחלוקת עבודה חדשה בין נושאי התפקידים במטה הבית הלבן, שעיקרה העברת הניהול השוטף לס/ראש המטה, רוי ניל ומתן אפשרות לתומס מקלרטי למנוע הבית הלבן והנשיא מתקלות מיותרות.

2. עם זאת, עמד גם שבוע זה בסימן משברים וטעויות. הקשיים שליוו מועמדותה של הפרופ' לני גווניר, ההחלטה להסיר מועמדותה, הופעתו של הנשיא והסברו לפיו לאחר שקרא פרסומיה הבין שלא יוכל להגן על מינוייה העלו שוב שאלות הקשורות בתפקוד הבית הלבן והנשיא:

א. מדוע לא ידע הנשיא לפני ההודעה על מינויי גווניר על עמדותיה כפי שמצאו בטוי במאמריה.

ב. כמה זמן דרוש לבית הלבן לאתר קשיים בקונגרס כך שהנשיא לא יסתבך לשווא בקונגרס ובדעת הקהל.

ג. התנערות הנשיא ממינוי גווניר כביטוי לחוסר רצון להאבק על עמדותיו ולקדם מועמדיו.

3. עם הסרת מועמדות גווניר הודלפו לתקשורת מידע ורמזים על תהליך הסרת המועמדות ותהליך הבחירה כאשר חלק נכבד מהאחריות לאי עדכון הנשיא על עמדותיה של המועמדת הוטל על כתפי היועץ המשפטי של הבית הלבן ברנרד נוסבאום. פרשנים מסוימים אף הזכירו חלקו של נוסבאום במינוי זואי ביירד, ערוב ה-F.B.I בפרשת משרד הנסיעות ועתה בענין גווניר. אחרים הוסיפו, שכל עוד הנשיא לא ידרוש מעוזריו לשאת באחריות על טעויותיהם ימשך התהוה ובוהו בעבודת הבית הלבן. לענין נוסבאום, ראוי לציין "סימונו" כליברל מידי, מקורב לגב' קלינטון וכמי שמיעץ לנשיא בנושאים שונים ברוח ליברלית, שמאלית מהדמוקרט החדש, הצנטריסט שקלינטון מבקש להיות. נוסבאום עצמו נוהג באבירות ומקבל על עצמו אחריות (ולו בשתיקה) גם להחלטות שהתקבלו על ידי אחרים בבית הלבן.

4. לענין הרגישות והחושים הפוליטיים החסרים בבית הלבן למנוע מהנשיא והמימשל הסתבכות מיותרת וצורפו של גרגן לצורך זה למעגל המצומצם של הנשיא יחד עם הגברת הראשונה, סגן הנשיא וגרגן עצמו, גם שבוע זה לא היה משוחרר מהסתבכויות אם-כי ניתן לאמר, ראשיתן בתקופה הפרה-גרגיאנית.

אשר לשאלת תפקידו של היועץ החדש, העדר הגדרת תפקיד וסמכויות ברורות העלו שאלות והשערות לגבי המצופה ממנו.

בתגובות יש להבחין בין מחייבי המינוי הרואים בכך הן צעד טקטי נכון והן איתות על חזרה למרכז המפה הפוליטית לבין מבקרי הרואים בכך הבלטה של העדר עקרונות וליבה פוליטיים הן מצד הנשיא והן מצד גרגן.

5. על רקע המשך הקשיים בעבודת הבית בלבן, הרושם של חוסר נסיון וחוסר הצלחות לנשיא, נצחון המועמדת הרפובליקנית בטקסס (גם אם מול מועמד דמוקרטי חיוור ואחוז השתתפות נמוך ביותר) והמסר, כביכול, שבנצחון זה לפיו הצבור האמריקאי רוצה קודם כל בקיצוץ התקציב ואח"כ בתכניות צבוריות (CUT BEFORE SPEND) ומתנגד למיסים נוספים, משדרים הנשיא והבית הלבן מסרים על נכונות הנשיא להתפשר עם מתנגדי תכניתו הכלכלית בסנט, להגביר הקיצוץ בגרעון, להקטין ההוצאה המתוכננת, כאשר יעד מרכזי לקיצוץ יהיה ההוצאות הרפואיות (MEDICARE, MEDICAID). בהקשר זה חשובה במיוחד ההחלטה שכבר התקבלה, ככל הנראה, לדחות את הצגת תכנית הרפורמה במערכת הבריאות לסתיו. על אף הרגישות הכרוכה בתכנית שהכין הצוות בראשות רעיית הנשיא הרי גברו השיקולים לפיהם העמסת נושא קונטרוברסיאלי נוסף על המערכת השבירה הנוכחית עלולה לגרום נזק כבד.

הסנאט אמור לדון בתכנית הכלכלית השבוע והשאלה הנשאלת אינה איזו פשרה תגובש, אלא עד היכן ילך הנשיא לקראת מבקרו. שאלה זו חשובה במיוחד לאור דימוי החולשה של הנשיא והצורך בהישג כלשהו.

הגיעו הדברים עד כדי כך שכמה מחברי הקונגרס השחור בביה"ב הודיעו בעקבות הסרת מועמדות ג'וניר שעתה יתמכו בנשיא לגופו של כל נושא ולא באופן אוטומטי. גם שאלת מינוי שופט עליון חדש והצורך באשורו ללא חיכוכים מביאים הנשיא לחפש מועמד (מזכיר הפנים, ברוס באביט) שלא יעורר התנגדות אצל רפובליקאים, מחד ולא יזהה הנשיא עם האגף הליברלי במפלגתו יתר על המידה, מאידך.

6. ככלל נראה לי שיש רגליים לסברה שבשבועות ובחדשים הקרובים צפויה התאוששות מסויימת של הממשל משלוש סיבות עיקריות:

א. ניכרת כבר ריאקציה, בייחוד בתקשורת, למתקפה על הממשל ולפגיעה בנשיא ובמוסד הנשיאות. תוצאות אחרונות של סקרים מתוחכמים יותר מראים שבצד הירידה באחוזי התמיכה בנשיא הרי מדדים אחרים מצביעים על מידה רבה יותר של תמיכה ואמון בנשיא.

ב. חלק מצרותיו של הממשל נבעו מהחלטות ותהליכים שמקורם בחדשים קודמים (לאני ג'ונייר, הבחירות בטקסס). החלטות חדשות ועצם תהליך הרפורמה והתאוששות יכולים לתת פירות בעוד כמה שבועות.

ג. ניכרים כבר סימנים לעבודתו של גרגר שעיקרם מיקוד עבודתו של הנשיא במספר תחומים מוגדר ובניית "תחנות ביניים" בכל תחום שיתנו ביטוי ל"הישגים והתקדמות".

הניתוח הוכן בשיתוף עם יוסי עמרני.

רבינוביץ

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 9659

אל: רהמש/261

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 252, תא: 070693, זח: 1123, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מנהל כלכלית ג', מנהל מצפ"א, סופר - ניו-יורק
מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

Q.6-

הנדון: כווית / חרם ערבי

במחמ"ד הביעו באוזני השתאות על ההתרגשות שאחזה ביהודים ובנו נוכח הדברים שהשמיע שגריר ארה"ב בכווית, סקיפ גניים באוזני ועידת הנשיאים.

1) הכוויתים מסרו לארה"ב באמצע אפריל, כלומר לפני שבעה שבועות, שהם מבטלים את החרם המשני והשלישני.
הדבר נמסר בכתב לוולי שטרן ב- 21 באפריל (במכתב שעליו חתום ראש הדסק הישראלי במחמ"ד - תום מילר).

2) הכוותים "ביישנים" ולא רצו לתת להחלטתם פומבי והאמריקנים "עשו להם טובה" והדליפו את הדבר ואכן, ב- 2 במאי, כלומר לפני חמישה שבועות שאל כתב הג'רוסלם פוסט את דובר שגרירות כווית כאן אם נכון שהחרם המשני והשלישני הוסרו והדובר, ראיד ראפה, אישר זאת והדברים פורסמו בג'רוסלם פוסט.

3) ב- 5 במאי, גם כן לפני חמישה שבועות כתב הושינגטון טיימס ששמע מפי מחמ"ד (ומחמ"ד לא הכחיש זאת) שהסעודים והכוויתים לא ישתתפו יותר בחרם הערבי על חברות אמריקניות.

4) ומה שהכי מוזר הוא שלסטר פולק ומלקולם הונליין, ראשי ועידת הנשיאים, ישבו אצל תת-המזכיר טרנוף ושמעו בחדרו את כל הסיפור הזה. אז נשאלת השאלה, מה פשר הששון שתקף אותם כשהשגריר גניים בא אליהם עם ערימה של אלטע זאכען.

ועכשיו הערת מחמ"ד לגבי המצב בשטח:

א) כווית עומדת בהתחייבותה אבל לא במאה אחוז ולכמה מקומות עדיין מגיעים שאלונים.

ב) סעודיה הבטיחה, אך נכון לשעה זו אינה מקיימת.

ד"ש שילה

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ערן, כלכל'יתג',
מצפא, מזת1, סי יבל, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

מחיר: 4	קשר ניו-יורק	סיוג: כלמ"ס
אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב		תזח:
דע: כמחור - יועץ שהכ"ס אמ"נ/קש"ח	לחקשורת, דו"צ, (העכירונא)	מס' מדק: 145
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק		

The Coming Clash of Civilizations Or, the West Against the Rest

By Samuel P.
Huntington

World politics is entering a new phase

In which the fundamental source of conflict will be neither ideological or economic. The great divisions among mankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. The principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics.

During the cold war, the world was divided into the first, second and third worlds. Those divisions are no longer relevant. It is

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Times

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הישר:

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עמנואל ניו-יורק

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הסברה (2) ר/מרכ (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמנ (4) אומנ (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)

far more meaningful to group countries not in terms of their political or economic systems or their level of economic development but in terms of their culture and civilization.

A civilization is the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity people have short of that which distinguishes humans from other species.

Civilizations obviously blend and overlap and may include sub-civilizations. Western civilization has two major variants, European and North American, and Islam has its Arab, Turkic and Malay subdivisions. But while the lines between them are seldom sharp, civilizations are real. They rise and fall; they divide and merge. And as any student of history knows, civilizations disappear.

Westerners tend to think of nation-states as the principal actors in global affairs. They have been that for only a few centuries. The broader reaches of history have been the history of civilizations. It is to this pattern that the world returns.

Civilization identity will be increasingly important and the world will be shaped in large measure by the interactions among seven or eight major civilizations. These include the Western, Confucian, Japanese, Islamic, Hindu, Slavic-Orthodox,

Latin American and possibly African civilizations. The most important and bloody conflicts will occur along the borders separating these cultures. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future.

Why? First, differences among civilizations are basic, involving history, language, culture, tradition and, most importantly, religion. Different civilizations have different views on the relations between God and man, the citizen and the state, parents and children, liberty and authority, equality and hierarchy. These differences are the product of centuries. They will not soon disappear.

Second, the world is becoming smaller. The interactions between peoples of different civilizations are increasing. These interactions intensify civilization consciousness: awareness of differences between civilizations and commonalities within civilizations. For example, Americans react far more negatively to Japanese investment than to larger investments from Canada and European countries.

Third, economic and social changes are separating people from long-standing local identities. In much of the world, religion has moved in to fill this gap, often in the form of movements labeled fundamentalist. Such movements are found in Western Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. The "unsecularization of the world," the social George Welgel has remarked, "is one of the dominant social facts of life in the late 20th century."

Fourth, the growth of civilization consciousness is enhanced by the fact that at the moment that the West is at the peak of its power a return-to-the-roots phenomenon is occurring among non-Western civilizations — the "Asianization" in Japan, the end of the Nehru legacy and the "Hinduization" of India, the failure of Western ideas of socialism and nationalism and, hence, the "re-Islamization" of the

Samuel P. Huntington is professor of government and director of the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard. This article is adapted from the lead essay in the summer issue of *Foreign Affairs*.

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Middle East, and now a debate over Westernization versus Russianization in Boris Yeltsin's country.

More importantly, the efforts of the West to promote its values of democracy and liberalism as universal values, to maintain its military predominance and to advance its economic interests engender countering responses from other civilizations.

The central axis of world politics is likely to be the conflict between "the West and the rest" and the responses of non-Western civilizations to Western power

and values. The most prominent example of anti-Western cooperation is the connection between Confucian and Islamic states that are challenging Western values and power.

Fifth, cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable and hence less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones. In the former Soviet Union, Communists can become democrats, the rich can become poor and the poor rich, but Russians cannot become Estonians. A person can be half-French and half-Arab and even a citizen of two countries. It is more difficult to be half Catholic and half Muslim.

Finally, economic regionalism is increasing. Successful economic regionalism will reinforce civilization consciousness. On the other hand, economic regionalism may succeed only when it is rooted in a common civilization. The European Community rests on the shared foundation of European culture and Western Christianity. Japan, in contrast, faces difficulties in creating a comparable economic entity in East Asia because it is a society and civilization unique to itself.

As the ideological division of Europe has disappeared, the cultural division of Europe between Western Christianity and Orthodox Christianity and Islam has re-emerged. Conflict along the fault line between Western and

Islamic civilizations has been going on for 1,300 years. This centuries-old military interaction is unlikely to decline. Historically, the other great antagonistic interaction of Arab Islamic civilization has been with the pagan, animist and now, increasingly, Christian black peoples to the south. On the northern border of Islam, conflict has increasingly erupted between Orthodox and Muslim peoples, including the carnage of Bosnia and Sarajevo, the simmering violence between Serbs and Albanians, the tenuous relations between Bulgarians and their Turkish minority, the violence between Ossetians and Ingush, the unremitting slaughter of each other by Armenians and Azeris and the tense relations between Russians and Muslims in Central Asia.

The historic clash between Muslims and Hindus in the Subcontinent manifests itself not only in the rivalry between Pakistan and India but also in intensifying religious strife in India between increasingly militant Hindu groups and the substantial Muslim minority.

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Groups or states belonging to one civilization that become involved in war with people from a different civilization naturally try to rally support from other members of their own civilization. Decreasingly able to mobilize support and form coalitions on the basis of ideology, governments and groups will increasingly attempt to mobilize support by appealing to common religion and civilization identity. As the conflicts in the Persian Gulf, the Caucasus and Bosnia continued, the positions of nations and the cleavages between them increasingly were along civilizational lines. Populist politicians, religious leaders and the media have found it a potent means of arousing mass support and of pressuring hesitant governments. In the coming years, the local conflicts most likely to escalate into major wars will be those, as in Bosnia and the Caucasus, along the fault lines between civilizations. The next world war, if there is one, will be a war between civilizations.

If these hypotheses are plausible, it is necessary to consider their implications for Western policy. These implications should be divided between short-term advantage and long-term accommodation. In the short

term, it is clearly in the interest of the West to promote greater cooperation and unity in its own civilization, particularly between its European and North American components; to incorporate into the West those societies in Eastern Europe and Latin America whose cultures are close to those of the West; to maintain close relations with Russia and Japan; to support in other civilizations groups sympathetic to Western values and interests; and to strengthen international institutions that reflect and legitimate Western interests and values. The West must also limit the expansion of the military strength of potentially hostile civilizations, principally Confucian and Islamic civil-

zations, and exploit differences and conflicts among Confucian and Islamic states. This will require a moderation in the reduction of Western military capabilities, and, in particular, the maintenance of American military superiority in East and Southwest Asia.

In the longer term, other measures would be called for. Western civilization is modern. Non-Western civilizations have attempted to become modern without becoming Western. To date, only Japan has fully succeeded in this quest. Non-Western civilizations will continue to attempt to acquire the wealth, technology, skills, machines and weapons that are part of being modern. They will attempt to reconcile this modernity with their traditional culture and values. Their economic and military strength relative to the West will increase.

Hence, the West will increasingly have to accommodate to these non-Western modern civilizations, whose power approaches that of the West but whose values and interests differ significantly from those of the West. This will require the West to develop a much more profound understanding of the basic religious and philosophical assumptions underlying other civilizations and the ways in which people in those civilizations see their interests. It will require an effort to identify elements of commonality among Western and other civilizations. For the relevant future, there will be no universal civilization but instead a world of different civilizations, each of which will have to learn to co-exist with others. [.]

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אל: תמוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

דע:

מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

MORE PEOPLE VIEW CLINTON AS LIBERAL AS HE SEEKS CENTER

POLL FINDS OPINION SHIFT

While Many See Errors at White
House, They Are Willing to
Give President a Chance

By RICHARD L. BERKE

As President Clinton struggles to return to the centrist policies that won the election, an increased number of Americans view him as a liberal, and many say his economic plan relies too heavily on raising taxes and would do little to help the economy, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

Most Americans do not appear convinced by Mr. Clinton's repeated efforts to show that his economic remedies will place a heavier burden on rich people than on the middle class. And they have grown increasingly skeptical about the fairness and effectiveness of the plan.

New
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Times
Front
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אישור:

שם השולח:

תאריך:

אחראי: ניו יורק

6-6-93

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The optimism many Americans had early this year that the economy would improve has largely dissipated, with only 13 percent now saying the country is on the rebound. Recent economic data offer only spots of encouragement. Job growth jumped in May, and sales of autos and new homes have climbed, but retail sales have been disappointing. Consumer and business confidence have declined markedly.

What Troubles Americans

Clearly troubled by the President's call for new taxes, by his series of seeming political blunders and by a perception that the economy is in terrible shape, Americans have been more critical of Mr. Clinton than of any President since World War II at equivalent points in office. Mr. Clinton, of course, was elected without a majority of the popular vote in a three-way race.

His rating stands at 38 percent of the public approving how he handles his job, with 47 percent disapproving. Half the people say the President, who campaigned as a populist and vowed to end the status quo in Washington, has lost touch with average Americans.

Mr. Clinton's latest political stumble — the uproar over his nomination of Lani Guinier to be the Justice Department's civil rights chief and his withdrawal of the nomination on Thursday — did not appreciably alter his basic standing, the poll found. Of the nearly 7 in 10 Americans who had heard that Mr. Clinton dropped the nomination, 47 percent said he did the right thing and 30 percent said he did not. And 65 percent of that group said Mr. Clinton was wrong to nominate Ms. Guinier in the first place, echoing what the President himself said, while 21 percent said

they approved of the nomination.

Over all, 32 percent of Americans familiar with the episode said they had a worse opinion of Mr. Clinton because of his handling of it, 11 percent said they thought better of him, and 53 percent said it had no effect on their views.

The telephone poll was taken Tuesday through Thursday with 1,347 adults nationwide. On Friday night, 565 of the respondents were interviewed a second time, after Ms. Guinier's nomination was withdrawn. For results based on all respondents, the poll had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Seeking to erase the perception that he is turning liberal and falling in the job, Mr. Clinton has in recent days hammered at the theme that his economic program calls for significant spending cuts, and he appointed David R. Gergen, a senior aide in the Reagan White House, as a top adviser. But those moves have not raised the President's popularity, nor did the narrow victory of his economic plan in the House of Representatives 10 days ago.

Though many Americans are clearly troubled by the early days of the Clinton Administration, the good news for Mr. Clinton is that they are still willing to give him a chance. Sixty-nine percent said Mr. Clinton was learning from the problems he has encountered and will do better, the same number who said he had a vision of where he wants to lead the country. And 62 percent said they believed that Mr. Clinton "cares about the needs and problems of people" like themselves, although 74 percent held that impression in January.

What Worries Clinton

Mr. Clinton insisted last week that he was not worried about his low popularity ratings, but he did remark that he was concerned that people had distorted views of him. "The only thing I worry about is if I think people have an inaccurate impression, which I think is certainly the case today, or if it undermines my ability to do things," he told reporters.

One big challenge facing Mr. Clinton is turning around the perception that he has moved to the left since taking office. Roughly half of registered voters said they thought of him as liberal, and 31 percent thought of him as moderate. Throughout the campaign Americans were evenly divided on whether they saw him as a liberal or moderate.

Voters are also split on whether Mr. Clinton is a "different" kind of Democrat, which is how he presented himself during the campaign. About half say he is different, while 42 percent say he is a typical Democrat, which many probably associate with high taxes and big spending.

Not More Efficient

Many Americans had expected Government to function better with the White House and Congress controlled by the same party, as Mr. Clinton promised during the campaign an end to gridlock. But only 35 percent said Government was working better, while 45 percent said it was not.

Mr. Clinton may take some solace in that the poll found many Americans are critical of Congress and Ross Perot, who has emerged as one of the President's most stubborn, and certainly most public, detractors.

Just 27 percent of the public approve of the way Congress is handling its job; while 60 percent disapprove. While those favorable ratings are even lower than those for Mr. Clinton, they do not reflect a new trend; the public has for years rated Congress very low.

Half of Americans credited Mr. Clinton with being more serious about reducing the deficit than Republicans in Congress, who have sought to make it their rallying cry. Only 31 percent said the Republicans were more serious on the deficit.

But the figures were reversed on the question of who is most capable of making overall decisions about the budget. Half of Americans said they trusted Congress — Democrats and Republicans — more in budget decisions, while 30 percent said they trusted Mr. Clinton more.

The survey also found that Americans' opinions of Mr. Perot are cooling

off once again. Thirty-five percent of registered voters hold a favorable opinion of Ross Perot, while 29 percent have an unfavorable opinion. But as recently as March, Mr. Perot's favorable rating was 42 percent, and in January it was 45 percent. This pattern was evident when Mr. Perot emerged during last year's Presidential campaign; the public seems to rally to Mr. Perot initially, but then some people turn against him as they watch him more closely.

The public perception of Mr. Clinton may stem partly from reactions to his economic proposal. Though Americans are slightly more optimistic about his plan than they were just before it passed the House, 46 percent said it relied too much on taxes increases, while 7 percent said it relied too much on spending cuts. Another 37 percent said the balance between taxes and spending was about right.

Americans are also more skeptical about Mr. Clinton's economic program than they were when he proposed it three months ago. Sixty-four percent now say the proposal, if adopted, will help the economy. But in February, 53 percent expressed optimism that it would help the economy, with the figure dropping to 45 percent by March.

Despite the slight economic upturn since the House voted on the plan, people are concerned that the economic plan is unfair to them. Forty-one percent of Americans said the economic program is "fair to people like you," but in February, 59 percent perceived such fairness.

Though the notion of higher taxes continues to make people nervous, 59 percent said they were willing to take on that burden for a health-care reform package, even over and above new taxes to reduce the deficit.

Controversy Over Haircut

But Americans agree with Mr. Clinton's announcement last week that he was putting off unveiling his health-care proposal until his economic plan winds its way through Congress. Forty percent say health-care reform is so important that Congress and the President should act on it this year, while 56 percent say the problem is so complicated that they should take another year to work out the details.

Mr. Clinton's highly publicized Hollywood haircut probably contributed to

the perception among half of Americans that he has lost touch with average Americans. But those people were divided on who to blame; half said it was "Bill Clinton's fault," and the other half said it reflected "a part of the job that a President can't do anything about."

While the President chided reporters for unfairly zeroing in on his haircut and his other political missteps, 54 percent of Americans said the news media have treated Mr. Clinton fairly; 30 percent said the coverage has been too harsh and 12 percent said it was too

soft. And 56 percent said Mr. Clinton's treatment is no different from his predecessors.

But clearly, Mr. Clinton's job rating this early in his tenure is lower than other Presidents. In nearly a half century of polling the only other new President who came close was Gerald R. Ford, whose popularity sunk to 42 percent after four months in office and to 37 percent after five months. Mr. Ford's tumble was precipitated by his pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon for his involvement in the Watergate scandal.

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5**The New York Times | CBS NEWS Poll****The President's Strengths . . .**

Do you think Bill Clinton has a vision
of where he wants to lead the country?

Yes	69%
No	28%

Do you think President Clinton
cares about the needs and
problems of people in the world?

Cares	62%
Doesn't care	

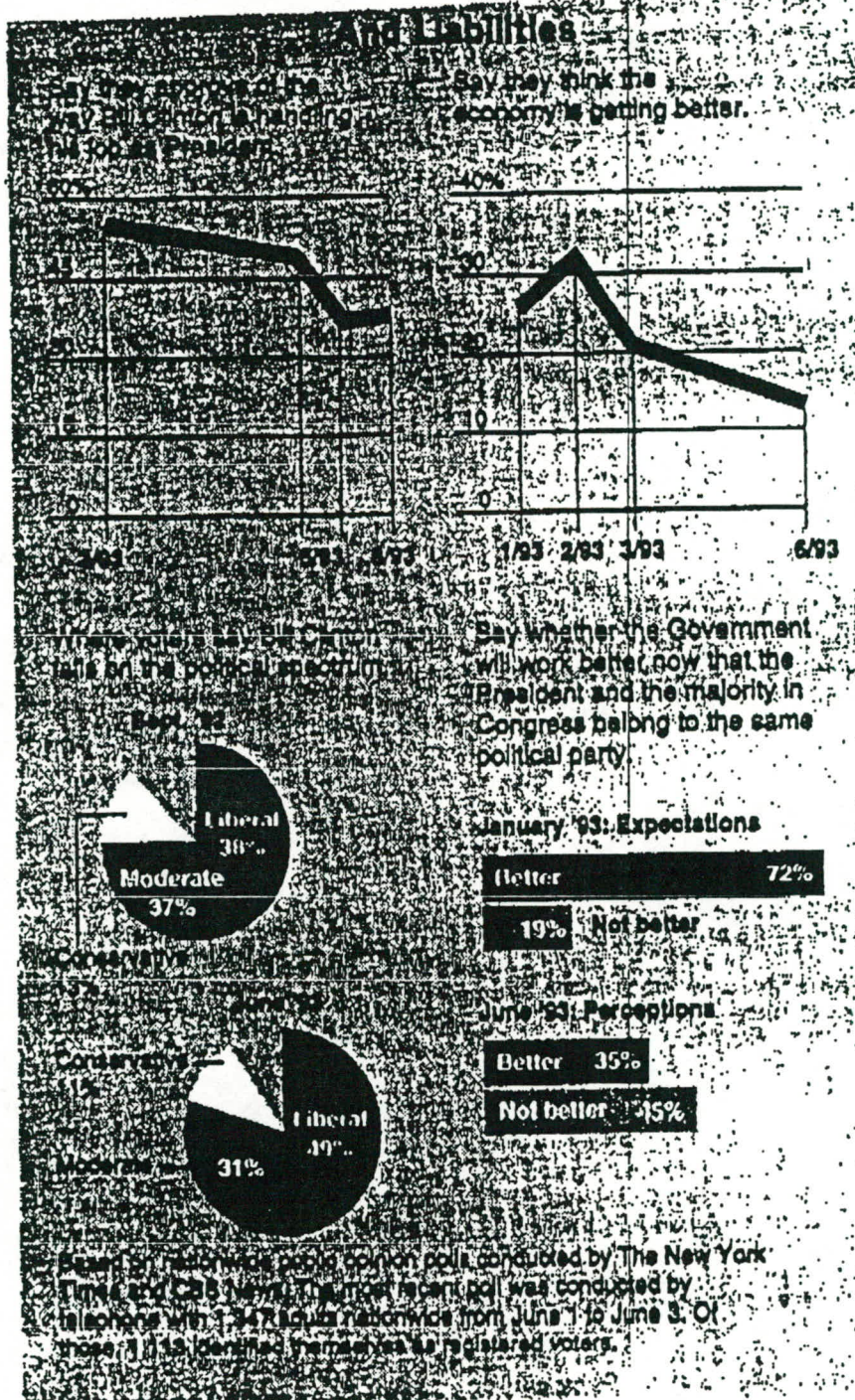
Do you think President Clinton
is learning from his problems
and will do better,
or is not up to the job?

Learning	69%
Not up to job	26%

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The New York Times

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Clinton Myth of Nonideological Politics Stumbles

By MICHAEL KELLY

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 5 — The wreck of Lani Guinier may mark the end of a central myth of the Clinton Administration.

News Analysis The myth was that President Clinton would painlessly lead America into a post-cold-war age of New Politics, in which the old divisive "false choices" of left versus right would merge into a new middle ground of happy consen-

But as the matter of Ms. Guinier painfully illuminated, post-ideological politics is a construct on roughly the same order as post-combat war.

"Ideas matter," said Will Marshall, the director of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council and a winner in the party's factional fight over Ms. Guinier's nomination.

New
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Times

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מישור:

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Government 'Basis of Ideas'

"They matter because, when they are translated into government programs and policies, they have an impact on people's lives," Mr. Marshall said. "Poor people know the impact of the idea of the welfare system. Middle-class people know the impact of the idea of the school system. Because we have to govern on the basis of ideas — of principles, of values — politics cannot be simply a clash of interests."

In abandoning Ms. Guinier because of her impassioned ideas about race and power, the President tentatively reassured the centrist and conservative Democrats who had supported him as the "New Democrat" candidate but had come to feel betrayed by his budget policies and personnel decisions.

But precisely because ideas do matter, and are divisive, Mr. Clinton has now taken a large step toward alienating the liberal and black factions that are the other part of a coalition that never was large or solid.

Now, both the centrist-conservative and the liberal-left factions are watching Mr. Clinton to see how he will further define himself, by his decisions on matters like the budget, welfare and crime.

And this puts a President who wants very much to be liked in a position that does not play to his natural strengths: he must ultimately choose to displease one group or the other.

As a candidate and a fledgling President, Mr. Clinton seemed to operate on a premise that conflicting ideas could be brought rather easily, through the agency of himself, into something that would pass for agreement. His would be the Administration beyond ideology, with equal room for thoughts — and people — from the right, center and left.

It has not yet worked out that way, and the case of Ms. Guinier shows why.

In choosing the 43-year-old law professor to be Assistant Attorney General for civil rights, President Clinton chose not just an old friend but an ideologue, someone with a set of passionately held, explicitly expressed ideas about race and power that were welcomed by the left wing of the Democratic Party but which appalled the party's middle and right.

When he introduced her, in a sunny courtyard of the Justice Department on April 14, Mr. Clinton noted that Ms. Guinier had once sued him, as Governor of Arkansas, in a race discrimination case. "Shows how broad-minded I am," the President said.

But broad-mindedness is a rare quality in politics, especially the politics of race and power. Almost as soon as Ms. Guinier was announced, the campaign for her withdrawal began.

It spread very rapidly through the world in which ideas are taken with utmost seriousness, spurred not just by conservative groups like the Institute for Justice, but also by traditionally liberal organizations like the American

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Jewish Congress. Soon, opposition to Ms. Guinier covered most of the political spectrum, except the left.

But the White House, which had already reviewed Ms. Guinier's writings and found no grounds for alarm, discounted the warning signals. The reason goes to the core of what was wrong with Mr. Clinton's post-ideological framework, and it can be found in Mr. Clinton's own words.

"I expect the policy to be made on civil rights laws by the United States Congress, and I expect the Justice Department to carry out that policy," he said in defending Ms. Guinier on May 14. "Insofar as there is discretion in the policy, that discretionary authority should reside either in the President or the Attorney General in terms of what policies the country will follow."

In other words, while Ms. Guinier might have certain ideas, those ideas did not really matter. Taken to its logical end, this line of argument suggested that ideas in general did not matter.

Idea Put to Test

The argument was not a new one. For months, as Mr. Clinton appointed many Administration officials whose records and philosophies seemed out of keeping with the centrist promise of the Administration of a "New Democrat," White House aides had argued that such things did not matter, that the only ideas that counted were those of Mr. Clinton.

The prospect of Ms. Guinier put that idea to its crucial test. "Here was this person who was going to be put in charge of interpreting civil rights law, with immense power to interpret and enforce, and she had ideas that, if put into practice, would have had a devastating effect on race relations," Mr. Marshall argued.

In siding with the view of Mr. Marshall's camp, the President acknowledged that the theory that disparate ideologies could be combined into one inclusive Clintonian philosophy was wrong.

But a President who believes profoundly in his own power to divine the new, third way of politics may face

great temptations to forget that lesson. Again, the case of Ms. Guinier is instructive.

The advocates who supported her argued forcefully and angrily that Mr. Clinton should never have withdrawn her, even if he did not agree with her ideas and even if the nomination would ultimately have gone down in a humiliating defeat for the President. In this was a tacit acknowledgment of a political fact of life: interest groups are interested in their own interests.

'Faced a Hobson's Choice'

"People were aware that Clinton faced a Hobson's choice here," said Eddie Williams, the director of the Joint Center for Political Studies, which studies black politics. "But if you're a partisan, you don't really care about that."

To win back those he has angered, Mr. Clinton will have to do more than

The furor over Guinier shows that ideas do matter.

talk; in politics, expiation requires acts, not words, of contrition.

But the Democratic factions of the center and right will also be watching Mr. Clinton's actions, and they are equally determined that the President act in accordance with their wishes, whether or not he must suffer to do so.

"He has made a couple of good steps here, with the appointment of David Gergen and the withdrawal of LaH Guinier," said Ben Wattenberg, a Democratic analyst with the largely conservative American Enterprise Institute. "But there is a long way to go. And he is going to run into the same kind of fury he ran into from the black and liberal caucuses over and over, on one issue after another. Success is going to take trench warfare, day after day."

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אל: השגריר, וושינגטון

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

1. ביום ו' לפנה"צ התקשר עמי הגנרל הצפון קוריאני צ'ה (אחרי שלא היה עימי בקשר זמן רב), להודיעני כי שה"ח צפון קוריאנה מבקש לפוגשני בבייג'ינג ב-10 לח.ז.

הוסיף שהיוזמה לפגישה נולדה בעקבות התיעצות עם 'היושב ראש'.

2. הבוקר, בשיחה עם בראון הבאתי הנ"ל לידיעתו. ציינתי שס/שה"ח הבטיח לעוזר המזכיר טארנוף שאנו נשעה כל מגע עם צפון קוריאנה עד אחרי ה-12 ביוני אך יתכן ודוקא עתה לאור הנסיבות וההתפתחויות במגעי ארה"ב-צפון קוריאנה סמוך למועד פקיעת תאריך היעד, יימצאו ענין משלהם במיפגש הנ"ל.

בראון אמר שיעביר הנ"ל לגאלוצי בהקדם המירבי.

בנצור.

6 ביוני 1993

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

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התקשר הרבסט, היועץ המדיני בשג'ארה'ב. מסר שלנוכח שיחה עם הח'מ ובעקבות זאת עם המנכ'ל, סוכם בווינגטון שארה'ב אכן תפעל להתייחסות לחרם בדיוני ה-G-7 ולא יזכור הנושא בהודעת הסיכום.

מנהל מצפ'א

6 ביוני 1993

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, כלכליתג', סייבל

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Clinton Worries Europe

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By Flora Lewis

PARIS resident Clinton's rocky start and sharply dipping polls are beginning to cause serious concern abroad.

Nobody cares how much he pays for a haircut or who charts planes for the White House press. But if what Europeans see as trivia is undermining his Presidency, they worry. They have watched waffling on Bosnia, the need to twist the arms of a Democratic-controlled Congress for a narrow endorsement of the budget, the withdrawal of a Justice Department nominee whom Mr. Clinton might have known was unacceptable and the arrival of David Gerger, a former opposition spokesman, to be the voice of a tongue-tied White House.

Mr. Clinton hasn't been overseas yet, and people feel they don't know much about him, despite pleasant re-

New York Times

Op-Ed
5-6

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ports from foreign leaders who have gone to call on him.

But for America's partners, whether the President should be admired or scorned is less important than whether he speaks clearly for his country and his leadership makes the U.S. seem reliable and predictable.

Richard Nixon was respected even at the height of Watergate. Ronald Reagan was mocked as a cowboy. Jimmy Carter and George Bush had odd mannerisms to the foreign eye. But when they said where the U.S. stood, there it stood, like it or not, and that was reassuring.

The spectacle of a President not quite in charge troubles Europeans even more now than it did during the cold war. "Europeans feel orphaned," a French analyst said. "Not only the Soviet menace is gone as a mobilizer but so is our protector against the menace. We had to be protected by Americans would lead us in the new era, even if we complained about the pretensions of a lonely superpower. Now there's a sense of emptiness."

Secretary of State Warren Christopher did just what the Europeans have long said they wanted the U.S. to do during his mission in May to consult about the war in the former Yugoslavia. He listened, he proposed, but he didn't insist. He sought consensus — and it turned out to be unnerving, as if Washington were deliberately, even maliciously, out to demonstrate that the Europeans still couldn't get their act together.

There is nothing new about contra-

dictory European grumbling that the U.S. is too much of a demanding Big Brother or not enough of an assertive leader. But the grumbling is exacerbated now by the painfully acknowledged fact that Europe isn't developing the political cohesion expected with the Maastricht treaty; it feels in danger of unraveling at a time of new and perplexing challenges and weak, uncertain governments.

Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff's statement that U.S. "economic interests are paramount" nowadays and that U.S. commitments abroad may soon be reduced rang ominously true. The European Community's decision to buttress reforms in its agricultural policy so as to avert the threat of a French veto and to ease agreement with the U.S. on the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade may well have been prodded by recognition that the warning has to be taken seriously.

There are no real complaints about Mr. Clinton's policies so far, even on Bosnia, although there was probably as much disappointment as relief that he didn't decide to drag the Europeans into a much more forceful intervention. Polls show 55 percent of people in the Community favor a military attempt to stop the fighting, but the unspoken condition is that the U.S. take the initiative, as in the Gulf War. Some people ask, uneasily, what Mr. Clinton would have done if Iraq had invaded Kuwait after his inauguration.

The push on aid to Russia is basically welcomed, as is reactivation of the Middle East talks. And Europeans believe Clinton's plans to revitalize the U.S. economy and cut the deficit are in their interest, too.

What is bothersome is the odor of weakness coming from Washington. There is a suspicion that whether it is fair or unfair, the barrage of attacks on the Administration from the Washington media means that those close observers sense in the White House a fragility and a lack of solid support that translate into uncertain power.

Unlike Europe's parliamentary based leaders, the American President is sure to hold office for four years. Whatever he does, U.S. allies want him above all to keep a firm grip on that office.

Flora Lewis is Senior Columnist of The New York Times.

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NEWS SUMMARY 4-JUNE-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYT(CABLED): 'THE PENTAGON SHEDS A MYTH': WRITER ASSERTS THAT THE PENTAGON IS CONSIDERING ABANDONING ITS 'TWO-WAR' DOCTRINE, OR ABILITY TO WAGE TWO WARS IN DIFFERENT AREAS SIMULTANEOUSLY; ADDS THAT IT MAY OPT FOR A 'WIN-HOLD-WIN' STRATEGY, OR FIGHTING WARS ONE AT A TIME; EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR THE SECOND STRATEGY; BELIEVES THE US HOLDS THAT ITS ALLIES CAN TEMPORARILY DEFEND THEMSELVES ON THE GROUND WITH US AIR SUPPORT.

NYT: 'THE SOLINGEN TRAGEDY': WRITER CRITICIZES GERMAN CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL FOR NOT ADDRESSING THE GRIEVANCES OF GERMANY'S TURKISH MINORITY; BLAMES GERMAN EXTREMISTS FOR THEIR CAMPAIGN AGAINST FOREIGNERS AS WELL AS GERMANY'S RESTRICTIVE NATURALIZATION LAWS.

COLUMNS

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NYT(A.ROSENTHAL-CABLED): 'OUR FRIEND QADDAFI': WRITER ARGUES THAT THE BOMBING OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103 BY TERRORISTS CAN BE EASILY REPEATED UNLESS THE US FORCES THE COUNTRIES WHICH SPONSOR TERRORISM TO 'PAY A PRICE'; ADDS THAT THE TWO LIBYAN 'MASTERMINDS' WHO INTELLIGENCE AGENTS BELIEVE PLANTED THE BOMB ON FLIGHT 103 ARE SAFE AT HOME AND THAT THE OIL EMBARGO THREATENED ON COL. MUAMMAR EL-QADDAFI WAS NOT TOTALLY ORDERED; STATES THAT WHILE THE WEST FINDS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REASONS TO STOP PURSUING TERRORISTS, AND WHILE ISRAELI POLICE MINISTER MOSHE SHAHAL SAID THAT LIBYA IS AN ARAB STATE 'WE HAVE NOTHING AGAINST,' COL. QADDAFI IS 'SMIRKING'; CALLS ON PRESIDENT CLINTON TO PUNISH THOSE RESPONSIBLE.

NYP(S.MCCONNELL): 'LOSING THE IMMIGRATION WAR - WITHOUT A PAUSE,

AMERICA WILL TURN INTO A FOREIGN COUNTRY.'

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'SOUTH AFRICA FOES SET DATE FOR VOTE OPEN TO ALL RACES'; 'CLINTON AND POWELL DISCOVER THAT THEY NEED EACH OTHER'; 'SOME FRIENDS FRET AS CLINTON IS SLOW IN CHOOSING ENVOYS'; 'CLINTON ABANDONS HIS NOMINEE FOR RIGHTS POST AMID OPPOSITION'; 'YOUTH JOBLESSNESS IS AT RECORD HIGH IN NEW YORK CITY.' WSJ: 'SEEKING MS. RIGHT? SHE MAY BE WAITING IN ROMANTIC MOSCOW'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/JERUSALEM/ARABS/STRIKE: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED): 'SOME ARABS FEEL CUDGELED': WRITER QUOTES ARABS IN JERUSALEM AS SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH STRIKES HURT THEM ECONOMICALLY, THEY PERSIST IN THEIR PROTESTS TO 'LET THE WORLD KNOW WE ARE SUFFERING'; STATES HOWEVER, THAT ARABS IN THE TERRITORIES ARE TIRED OF THE REPEATED SHUTDOWNS OF THEIR SHOPS AND FACTORIES; NOTES THAT STRIKES MAY BE LIMITED BY THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION TO THE PEACE TALKS TO ONE STRIKE A MONTH; ADDS THAT ISRAELI PRODUCTS ARE 'BACK' ON STORE SHELVES IN THE TERRITORIES.

WASHINGTON/US/UKRAINE/ARMS: NYT(M.GORDON-CABLED): REPORTS THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS REVERSED ITS STRATEGY OF USING DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE TO PERSUADE UKRAINE TO GIVE UP ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS; NOTES THAT WASHINGTON IS NOW TRYING TO 'WOO' KIEV WITH PROMISES OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT.

NORTH KOREA/FOREIGNERS/NUCLEAR/DEADLINE: ND(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT NORTH KOREA HAS ORDERED ALL FOREIGNERS TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY AS ITS INTERNATIONAL DEADLINE TO ALLOW NUCLEAR INSPECTIONS APPROACHES.

GERMANY/TURKS/PROTEST: NYT(S.KINZER),WSJ,ND,NYP(AP): NOTES THAT TURKS AND GERMAN CITIZENS RALLIED IN GERMANY THURSDAY TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE KILLING OF FIVE TURKS BY A FIREBOMB IN SOLINGEN SATURDAY.

NEW YORK/WTC/BOMBING/INQUIRY: NYT(A.MITCHELL): REPORTS THAT A PRIME SUSPECT IN THE WTC BOMBING, MAHMUD ABOUHALIMA, MAY COOPERATE WITH FEDERAL AUTHORITIES BY BECOMING A WITNESS IN THE CASE.

CARTOONS

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ND: A CARTOON FEATURING CLINTON STANDING IN A DEFLATED HOT AIR BALLOON FROM WHICH HE HAS THROWN FORMER WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS AND IS THROWING LANI GUINIER, WHOM MR. CLINTON HAS WITHDRAWN AS HIS NOMINEE FOR THE NEW CIVIL RIGHTS CHIEF IN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT.

LETTERS

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NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH CRITICIZES THE NEW YORK TIMES FOR ITS FREQUENT MENTIONING OF PALESTINIAN DEATHS OR INJURIES IN GAZA VERSUS ITS

INFREQUENT REPORTING ON JEWS STABBED IN ISRAEL.

NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH ARGUES THAT KURDS AND CHRISTIANS LIVE IN HARMONY IN THE KURDISH AREA IN NORTHERN IRAQ.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(E.SCHMITT AND T.FRIEDMAN-CABLED): 'CLINTON AND POWELL DISCOVER THAT THEY NEED EACH OTHER.'

NYT(E.SCIOLINO-CABLED): 'SOME FRIENDS FRET AS CLINTON IS SLOW IN CHOOSING ENVOYS.'

NYT(M.DOWD-CABLED): 'CLINTON'S REVERSALS.'

DN(Z.MARGULIS): 'UNPLUG HATE TV, CROWD CRIES.'

NYP(U.DAN): 'PEPSI CANS KOSHER LICENSE FOR JACKSON SHOW.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
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SHABBAT SHALOM

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן,
סייבל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,
ממד, @ (רס), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, פרנ,
יגר, מאפל, גוברין, מזאר3, אסיה

סססס

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מצפ"א

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ג'נבה

מאת: אהרן יעקב, נאו"ם

הנדון: פגישה במחמ"ד בנושאי ארבי'ל

1. ב - 2/6 התקיימה במחמ"ד פגישה עם סגן מזכיר המדינה החדש לענייני ארבי'ל, דוגלס בנט, ועוזריו. הפגישה ארכה כ - 3.5 שעות, ולאחריה התקיימה ארוחת צהריים, שהיתה ארוחת עבודה. השתתפו מצידם: בנט, וורד (עוזר בכיר לבנט), קימבל (סגנית של בנט), סיוורס (הדסק הישראלי), הנסון (משלחת ארה"ב לאו"ם), צ'רלס פטרסון (ס/מנהל המחלקה לענייני או"ם), מורי (דסקאי במחלקה לענייני או"ם) ורוברט פטרסון (דסקאי במחלקה לענייני או"ם). מצידנו: השגריר יעקבי, סמנכ"ל ארבי'ל, שילה, פלג, שטיין והח"מ. להלן סיכום החלק הראשון של הפגישה (סיכום החלק השני, כולל ארוחת הצהריים, יועבר בנפרד ע"י וושנינגטון):

כללי

2. בינן פתח בסקירה כללית. הוא עמד על המציאות הבינ"ל החדשה ועל רצונה של ישראל למצא את מקומה במסגרת זו. כן עמד על רצונה של ישראל לקדם את תהליך השלום ולהגיע לנורמליזציה של יחסיה עם המדינות השונות והאירגונים הבינ"ל. הוא התייחס לאירגון מחדש של משה"ח, שנועד לקדם את השגת המטרות הנ"ל. הוא ציין כי במסגרת האירגון מחדש תוקמנה שתי מחלקות חדשות באגף

ארכ"ל: מחלקה לענייני זכויות אדם ומחלקה לנושאים גלובליים. הוא ציין כי ישראל יכולה לתרום לקהיליה הבינ"ל בנושא זכויות האדם ואמר כי יש אירוניה בעובדה שמדינות לא דמוקרטיות מאשימות את ישראל בהפרת זכויות אדם. הוא אמר כי במציאות הבינ"ל החדשה אין יותר סיכסוך בין המערב למזרח, אולם יש עימות גובר בין הצפון לדרום. אוכלוסיית העולם גדלה בקצב מהיר והדבר מגביר את מצוקת מדינות הדרום. כן עמד על הצורך בחינוך לדמוקרטיה, בעקר בקרב עמי ברה"מ לשעבר. הוא אמר כי במציאות החדשה מנסה האו"ם למלא תפקיד פעיל יותר בהשכנת שלום בין מדינות ועמים, אולם נשאלת השאלה אם משימה זו אינה גדולה ממידותיו. האו"ם מטפל כיום ב - 20 סיכסוכים אזוריים ופנימיים, והוא עלול להקרא בעתיד לטפל בסיכסוכים נוספים. מצד שני, במציאות החדשה יש מעצמת על אחת בלבד, ונשאלת השאלה מה תהיה הגדרת תפקידה במציאות זו. הוא אמר כי במסגרת הנתונים הבינ"ל הללו מנסה ישראל לקדם את תהליך השלום כמיטב יכולתה. אנו מאמינים כי יש כעת הזדמנות להגיע להסדר עם שכנינו ואנו סבורים כי יש לפעול מהר ככל האפשר. הוא סיפר על פגישת קבוצת העבודה לענייני פליטים באוסלו, שבה השתתף. הפגישה יצרה הזדמנויות למגעים בלתי רשמיים עם נציגים ערביים, שאחרת אינם מוכנים לדבר עם נציגים ישראלים. הבעיה עם הפלסטינים היא שאנו רוצים להגיע להסדר ואילו הם רוצים שנהיה 'כובשים טובים יותר'; אנו סבורים כי יש לטפל בשורשי הבעיה ולא בסימפטומים שלה. הוא ציין כי מתוך 183 חברות האו"ם מקיימת ישראל יחסים דיפלומטיים עם 123 מדינות, בהן חמש החברות הקבועות במועבי"ט. יחד עם זאת, עצרת האו"ם מאמצת 36 החלטות אנטי ישראליות ונוצר הרושם כי הערבים 'עושים שלום בוויינגטון ומלחמה בניו יורק'. בשנתיים האחרונות חלו שינויים בנושאים הקשורים בנו באו"ם והבולט בהם הוא ביטול החלטה 3379. למרות השיפורים הללו, יש עדיין מקום לשיפורים רבים נוספים.

3. בנט ציין כי הוא נכנס לתפקידו לפני ארבעה ימים בלבד וכי הוא לומד עדיין את הנושאים השונים. הביע תקווה כי תהליך הדה פוליטיזציה של סוכנויות האו"ם יימשך וכי הסוכנויות הללו תתרכזנה במטרות שלשמן הוקמו. אשר להחלטות האנטי ישראליות שמקבלת העצרת מדי שנה, הוא ועוזריו ישמחו לדון עמנו בדרכים להשעייתן.

4. וורד התייחס לאירגון מחדש של משה"ח. אמר כי גם אצלם הוקם אגף חדש לנושאים גלובליים.

5. בנט אמר כי ארה"ב לומדת עדיין את שאלת תפקידה כמעצמת על יחידה במציאות החדשה. על האו"ם הוא חושב במושגים של פרלמנט בינ"ל.

6. השגריר יעקבי אמר כי העצרת אכן מתפקדת כפרלמנט, אולם האו"ם כולל גם אלמנטים של הרשות המבצעת (מועבי"ט) והרשות השופטת (ביה"ד הבינלאומי).

הרחבת מועבי"ט

7. בנט אמר כי לדעת ארה"ב צריכות גרמניה ויפאן להיות חברות קבועות במועבי"ט. בטרם תנקוט צעדים כלשהם בכיוון של הרחבת מועבי"ט, מבקשת ארה"ב לדעת מהי עמדתן של מדינות אחרות בנושא. הם מבקשים איפוא לשמוע את דעתנו.

8. ביין השיב כי גרמניה אינה תובעת לפי שעה מעמד של חברה קבועה. היא אומרת כי אם הדבר יוצע לה - היא תקבל את ההצעה. אולם היא הבהירה כי לא תנקוט יזמה בנושא. אם יתקבל העקרון שיש להרחיב את מועבי"ט, תהיינה מדינות נוספות שתרצנה להתקבל כחברות קבועות, כגון הודו, ניגריה ועוד. השאלה היא אם הרחבת מועבי"ט לא תפגע באפקטיביות שלה.

9. בנט אמר כי בשלב זה הם מתייעצים בנושא זה עם מדינות אחרות על מנת למצא נוסחה מתאימה.

10. השגריר יעקבי אמר כי לפי שעה אין לישראל עמדה רשמית בנושא. הוא אישית רואה במועבי'ט מעין קבינט ובעצרת - פרלמנט. אם מרחיבים את הקבינט - הוא הופך להיות פחות יעיל. הוא אינו מתנגד לצירופן של גרמניה ויפאן, אולם נשאלת השאלה מה תהיה עמדתן של מדינות הדרום. האם תסכמנה לכך שכל החברות הקבועות, להוציא סין, תהיינה מדינות צפוניות.

11. וורד אמר כי הוא מסכים לטענה שהרשות המבצעת צריכה להיות בעלת יכולת פעולה. מצד שני, אם ההרכב של מועבי'ט ישקף את המציאות הבינ'ל החדשה, יהיה בכך משום צעד קדימה. לדעתו, יש לנסות למצא נוסחה להרחבת מועבי'ט שתהיה מקובלת על מירב המדינות. הדבר יקטין את הנטיה לראות בה גוף זה כבלתי מייצג - ולכן גם בלתי לגיטימי.

AGENDA FOR PEACE

12. בנט שאל לעמדתנו בנושא ה - AFP, וביין השיב כי אינו סבור שאפשר להשמיע דעה שלילית בנושא זה: הדוח שהגיש המזכ'ל כולל הרבה רעיונות טובים. השאלה היא עד כמה הדוח הוא בר ביצוע. שאלה נוספת היא ענין סדר העדיפויות. האם יש ביכולת האו'ם לנקוט PREEMPTIVE DIPLOMACY. האם יוכל להצליח בעשיית שלום (PEACE MAKING), או שמא מוטב שיתרכז בשמירת השלום (PEACE KEEPING). המזכ'ל הוא איש טוב, אולם פעילותו בנושא המגורשים לא היתה חיובית. הוא הגיש דוח חד צדדי ונקט עמדה בלתי גמישה.

13. בנט ציין כי המאזן של המזכ'ל מצביע גם על דברים חיוביים. הוא אמר כי הפעולות לשמירת השלום בסומליה ובקמבודיה מתנהלות טוב יותר ממה שציפה. הוסיף כי ארה'ב בוחנת כעת את שאלת המימון של הפעולות הללו. היא סבורה כי יש לחזק את הפעולות לשמירת השלום, אולם ברור שדבר זה יחייב הגדלת התרומות האמריקאיות. לא ברור לו מהיכן יילקח הכסף לצורך זה.

14. וורד התייחס להודעה הנשיאותית שקיבלה מועבי'ט, ב - 28/5, בענין ה - AFP (S/25859). לדעתו מהווה הודעה זו את הדרך הנכונה לטיפול בנושא, כלומר גישה פרקטית והדרגתית. אשר לפעולות לשמירת השלום, הוא סבור כי על האו'ם לבחור את המקומות שבהם יפעל באופן זהיר ומפוכח, כדי להמנע משגיאות יקרות. בעיה נוספת הקשורה בהרחבת הפעולות הללו היא, כמובן, המימון.

15. ביין סיפר למארחים כי משה'ח הוציא לאחרונה לאור, בעברית, את דוח המזכ'ל בענין ה - AFP. המשרד גם הוציא לאור חוברת על פעולות האו'ם לשמירת השלום. הוא הגיש למארחים את שני הפירסומים וציין כי דבר זה מלמד על כוונתנו לחנך את דעת הקהל בארץ בנושאים הקשורים באו'ם.

WE0

16. ביין סיפר כי בפגישתו עם המזכ'ל לפני חודשים אחדים הוא מנה את השינויים שחלו בעמדת ישראל כלפי האו'ם: ישראל הסכימה להשתתפות האו'ם בשיחות הרב צדדיות, היא שיפרה את יחסיה עם סוכנויות האו'ם, היא הסכימה להשתתף בפעולות האו'ם לשמירת השלום ועוד. כעת ממתינה ישראל לשינוי משמעותי בעמדת האו'ם כלפיה. למרבה הצער, ישראל אינה חברה שוות זכויות באו'ם. בוועדת האינפורמציה נחלנו אמנם הצלחה, אולם גם שם נחשפה העובדה

שאיננו חברים שווי זכויות. בועדה ישנן 80 חברות, שכולן נתקבלו ללא התנגדות. אולם כאשר ישראל מבקשת להתקבל - יש ויכוח ויש מחאות. ישראל שייכת באופן טבעי לקבוצה האסייתית, שבה יש מחלוקות רבות: עיראק - איראן, עיראק - כוית, הודו - פקיסטן וכו'. למרות כל המחלוקות הללו חברות כל מדינות היבשת בקבוצה, למעט ישראל. בשל אי יכולתנו להתקבל לקבוצתנו הטבעית, אנו מבקשים להתקבל לקבוצה המערבית.

(WEO), אולם התנגדותן של מדינות אירופאיות מסויימות מונעות מאיתנו את הדבר. בריטניה וצרפת מסבירות את התנגדותן בנימוקים שונים, אולם האמת היא שפשוט נוח להן יותר בלי ישראל. מדינות המערב טוענות שיש כיום או'ם חדש, אולם נראה כי הן מוציאות את ישראל מכלל זה. נשאלת השאלה כיצד לפתור את הבעיה. נראה לנו כי בעזרת חשיבה יצירתית ניתן למצא פיתרון. תורכיה היא חברה הן בקבוצה האסייתית והן בקבוצה המערבית, אף כי היא נבחרת למוסדות האו'ם על חשבון הקבוצה המערבית.

לארה'ב יש מעמד של משקיפה ב - WEO, אולם היא נבחרת למוסדות האו'ם כנציגת הקבוצה המערבית. באיחוד הבינפרלמנטרי נתקבלה ישראל לאחרונה כמשקיפה בקבוצה המערבית, בהסתמך על היותה משקיפה במועצת אירופה. ישנן מדינות באירופה, כגון גרמניה ובלגיה, התומכות בקבלתנו ל - WEO. אנו מבקשים את עזרת ארה'ב בגיוס תומכות נוספות ובשינוי עמדתן של המתנגדות. אנו מבקשים איפוא כי ארה'ב תפעיל השפעתה על האירופאיות.

17. בנט אמר כי ידוע לו שארה'ב לחצה מאוד בנושא זה על המדינות המערביות, אולם ללא הועיל.

18. ביין עמד על הצורך לשנות את עמדת בריטניה וצרפת. אם השתיים תשנה את עמדתן - יהיה שינוי גם בעמדת המדינות האחרות.

19. פלג סיפר כי לאחרונה נמצא הסדר לגבי זיקתה של סלובניה לקבוצה המערבית. יש לבדוק אם הסדר זה יוכל להתאים גם לישראל.

20. ביין הזכיר את בעיית ההשתייכות האזורית של ישראל במסגרת האמנה הכימית, אך הדגיש כי זוהי בעיה נפרדת. הוא ציין כי בכל סוכנות פועל עניין ההשתייכות האזורית באופן שונה. הוא ציין כי האירופאיות לא קיימו עד כה דיון רציני בשאלת הצטרפותה של ישראל ל - WEO וממילא לא קיבלו החלטה רשמית.

21. וורד אמר כי לדעתו יש להדגיש את העקרון שכל חברת או'ם זכאית להבחר ולא להתרכז בעניין החברות בקבוצה האזורית. להערכתו, גישה זו עשויה לשאת תוצאות טובות יותר.

22. פלג אמר כי לנושא השתייכותנו לקבוצה אזורית יש גם השלכות מעשיות. לדוגמא, הועדה לזכויות אדם החליטה למנות דווח לשטחים. אולם עובדה היא שישראל אינה יכולה להבחר לוועדה זו. מדוע איפוא נרצה לשתף פעולה עם גוף שאיננו יכולים להתקבל לשורותיו. אם נתקבל ל - WEO, נהיה מוכנים לשקול שיתוף פעולה עם הדווח.

23. בנט אמר כי הם מסכימים עמנו בנושא זה. אמר כי יבדוק מה ניתן לעשות.

24. ביין הציע כי ארה'ב תבוא בדברים עם בלגיה וגרמניה.

בחירות למועבי'ט

25. ביין שאל האם ארה'ב כבר החליטה האם לתמוך בצ'כיה או בבילורוסיה. הוא

נענה כי ארה"ב טרם קיבלה החלטה בנושא זה.

מועבי"ט - עיראק

26. וורד התייחס לוועידה המתקיימת בימים אלה בג'נבה, בעניין הפעולות ההומניטריות של האו"ם בעיראק. ארה"ב עושה מאמצים גדולים, בעקר בקרב האירופאיות, כדי להשיג תרומות לקרן (ESCROW ACCOUNT) שממנה ממומנות הפעולות הללו. אם תתרומנה האירופאיות, יאפשר הדבר למימשל לתרום באותו סכום (TO MATCH CONTRIBUTION). כרגע יש בקרן פחות ממליון דולר, והדבר מסכן את המשך הפעולות ההומניטריות. אם הפעולות הללו תפגענה, עלול סדאם להתחזק. וורד התייחס גם לפעולות הועדה להשמדת הנב"ק והטילים הבלסטיים של עיראק. הוא אמר כי ארה"ב רוחשת אמון מלא ליו"ר הועדה, איקאוס, וסבורה כי הוא עושה עבודה טובה מאוד.

השיט לנמל אילת

27. ביין אמר כי לישראל יש בעיה ספציפית בנושא אכיפת הסנקציות נגד עיראק. אנו תומכים כמובן באכיפת הסנקציות, אולם נוצר מצב אבסורדי שפעולות האכיפה במפרץ אילת פוגעות בישראל. זאת משום שאוניות השטות בכיוון נמל אילת, מעוכבות לבדיקות. הבדיקות הללו נמשכות זמן רב וגורמות הפסדים כספיים לחברות הספנות ולנמל אילת. לדוגמא, מיכלית נפט ישראלית השטה באורח סדיר בין אילת לפורט סעיד מעוכבת לבדיקה בכל פעם מחדש. הדבר גורם לנו, כאמור, הפסדים כספיים ניכרים. פעולות האכיפה נעשות אמנם בשם האו"ם, אולם מתבצעות בפועל ע"י הצי האמריקאי. אנו מבקשים איפוא את עזרתם בנושא זה.

28. בנט טען כי לא ניתן לעשות הבחנה בין אוניות הנושאות דגלים שונים.

29. ביין השיב כי כוונת פעולות האכיפה היא למנוע העברת סחורות לעיראק; והרי ברור כי אוניות השטות לאילת אינן מבריחות סחורות לעיראק.

30. הח"מ אמר כי קיימות בעניין זה שתי בעיות נוספות. ראשית, הכוחות הימיים האוכפים את הסנקציות מעכבים אוניות ישראליות במים עוינים, דבר המהווה סכנה בטחונית. שנית, חברת צים הודיעה כי אם לא יימצא פיתרון לבעיה, היא עלולה להפסיק לשוט לאילת. אם אמנם תממש צים את איומה, יפגע הדבר בנמל אילת. המשך פעולתו הסדירה של נמל אילת הוא אינטרס לאומי של מדינת ישראל.

31. השגריר יעקבי ציין כי צים היא חברה פרטית ועובדת ע"פ שיקולים של רווח והפסד.

32. קימבל הציעה כי ישראל תודיע לוועדת הסנקציות מראש על אוניות האמורת להגיע לאילת. יתכן שהדבר יאפשר זירוז של תהליך הבדיקה.

33. הח"מ אמר כי בפגישה שהתקיימה לפני כשנה במחמ'ד העלו נציגי ישראל הצעה דומה, לאמור: צים תגיש לכוחות הימיים האוכפים את הסנקציות רשימה של אוניות האמורות לשוט לאילת, ובתמורה לכך תקבלנה האוניות הללו פטור מבדיקה. הצעתנו לא נתקבלה ע"י הצד האמריקאי.

34. בנט אמר כי הם יבדקו את הנושא.

מועבי"ט - יוגוסלביה

35. בנט אמר כי מועבי'ט אמורה לקבל שלוש החלטות בנושא בוסניה: החלטה בענין טריבונל בינ'ל לפשעי מלחמה (שכבר התקבלה), החלטה בענין אזורים בטוחים והחלטה בדבר הצבת משקיפי או'ם בין בוסניה והרפובליקה הפדראלית של יוגוסלביה. הוא סיפר כי הבלמזיות תובעות לנקוט אמצעים חריפים יותר נגד סרביה.

36. השגריר יעקבי אמר כי בוסניה היא המקרה הראשון שלגביו הציפיות מהאו'ם היו גבוהות מדי. הוא סבור כי לא ניתן לפתור את הבעיה בלי התערבות ישירה של הקהילה האירופאית וארה'ב. בוסניה היא שילוב נדיר של מלחמת אזרחים ומלחמה חיצונית. שילוב כזה הוא תמיד קשה לפתרון, כפי שהוכח בויטנאם ובלבנון.

37. בנט אמר כי האמינות של האו'ם היא כאמינותן של המדינות המרכיבות אותו. לדעתו, יש ללמוד את הלקחים ממה שקרה ביוגוסלביה לשעבר בטרם יוחלט על צעדים נוספים.

38. השגריר יעקבי אמר כי יתכן שבמקרה זה על האו'ם לפתח מודל פעולה רב צדדי (MULTI MODEL), כלומר מודל שיכלול שמירת שלום, עשיית שלום והתערבות צבאית ישירה. בהעדר מודל פעולה אינטגרטיבי כזה, נוצרת התנגשות בין שלושה תחומי הפעולה הנ'ל.

39. בנט אמר כי חשוב שנראה את בוסניה כלקח ולא ככישלון.

40. הח'מ אמר שברצונו להתייחס לאופן תיפקודה של ועדת הסנקציות. חשוב שהועדה תנסה לפעול באופן שימנע נזקים בלתי הכרחיים למדינות שלישיות. מתקבל הרושם כי הועדה כורעת תחת הנטל ואינה מצליחה למלא את משימותיה באופן מניח את הדעת. פניותינו לוועדה בענין מעבר סחורות דרך הדנובה מעוככות על ידה שלא לצורך ומטופלות בסירבול רב. נתיב הדנובה חשוב לסחר החוץ שלנו ואנו מבקשים מהם, כחברי ועדת הסנקציות, לסייע לנו לפתור את הבעיה.

41. קימבל הודתה כי הועדה (כלומר הצוות המקצועי של המזכירות האמור לסייע לוועדה) - כורעת תחת הנטל. הציעה כי נבוא בדברים עם חבר משלחת ארה'ב האחראי לנושא.

סומליה

42. ביין סיפר על מעורבותנו בפעולות ההומניטריות למען סומליה. סיפר כי אייבי נתן אסף כסף לצורך הקמתו של מחנה פליטים באזור הגבול בין קניה וסומליה. בסופו של דבר חזרה בה ממשלת קניה מהסכמתה לבניית המחנה. הכסף שנאסף הופנה לפעולות ההומניטריות באתיופיה.

פעולות לשמירת השלום

43. ביין סיפר כי ישראל מעורבת בנושא זה בשתי דרכים. ראשית, אנו פועלים לשילוב ישראלים בפעולות האו'ם לשמירת השלום. שנית, אנו מנסים לקיים יחסים טובים עם כוחות האו'ם הפועלים באזורנו, כלומר אונטסו, אונדוף ויוניפיל. אונדוף מונה כ - 1300 חיילים. בכוח משרות יחידות מאוסטריה, קנדה, פולין ופינלנד. פינלנד החליטה בינתיים להוציא את חייליה מהכוח, מסיבות כספיות. נראה כי המזכירות אינה מתכוונת להחליף את היחידה הפינית ביחידה אחרת. אנו, כנגד זאת, מעדיפים שהיחידה אכן תוחלף ביחידה אחרת.

שוחחנו בעניין זה עם הבלגים, אולם הם לא נתנו תשובה סופית. שמענו שגם הפורטוגזים שוקלים שיגור יחידה לאונדוף. יתכן שפניה אמריקאית לשתי המדינות תשכנע אותן להצטרף לאונדוף. ביוניפיל משרתים 5000 חיילים. הבעיה היא שמשומות יוניפיל אינן מוגדרות באופן ברור. מצד אחד של הכוח נמצאים כוחות צה"ל וצד'ל ומצד שני פועלים אירגוני הטרור. יוניפיל חוצץ איפוא בין שני הצדדים, אולם הוא אינו יכול לפעול באופן אפקטיבי נגד הטרוריסטים. לאחרונה נקטה ישראל פעולות שונות כדי לשפר את היחסים עם כוחות האו"ם. בהקשר זה התקיים באוניברסיטת חיפה, לפני כשלושה חדשים, סמינר על פעולות האו"ם לשמירת השלום. בסמינר השתתפו מפקדי כוחות האו"ם והכוח הרב לאומי, ולצידם השתתפו אנשי אקדמיה מישראל. המטרה היתה להכיר זה את בעיותיו של זה וליצור מודעות לפעילותם של כוחות האו"ם באזור.

44. בנט אמר כי אם יתפרסם חומר בכתב בעקבות הסמינר, הוא ישמח לקבל אותו.

45. ביין התייחס למערכת יחסיו עם ססו"ת. הוא עמד על הקשיים, אך ציין כי ישראל פועלת לשפר את יחסיה עם הסוכנות.

מימון כוחות האו"ם

46. בנט מסר כי המחיר העולה של פעולות האו"ם לשמירת השלום מדאיג את ארה"ב. המימשל מנסה למצא פיתרון לבעיה זו בשיתוף פעולה עם הקונגרס, אולם הדבר אינו פשוט. הבעיה היא שהחברות הקבועות נדרשות לתרום לכוחות האו"ם בשיעור גבוה יותר מתרומתן לתקציב האו"ם. ארה"ב ממנת 25 אחוזים מתקציב האו"ם, אולם חלקה במימון כוחות האו"ם הוא 31 אחוזים. ארה"ב מבקשת איפוא להקטין את חלקה במימון כוחות האו"ם. הם מקוים כי הפגישה המתוכננת של שרי החוץ של חברות מועבי"ט תצא לפועל וכי נושא זה יידון בפגישה זו.

47. ביין אמר כי גם לישראל יש בעיה בנושא זה. במושב האחרון של העצרת הועלתה הצעה כי ישראל ומדינות אחרות תיכללנה בקטיגוריה B במקום בקטיגוריה C, דבר שיחייב אותנו להגדיל את סכום ההשתתפות שלנו במימון כוחות האו"ם פי חמישה. ההצעה הנ"ל מבוססת על ה - GNP של המדינות הנוגעות בדבר (מוצע שכל המדינות שה - GNP שלהן הוא 5000 דולר לשנה לפחות תיכללנה בקטיגוריה B). נראה לנו כי השימוש במדד ה - GNP מבלי להביא בחשבון נתונים אחרים - הוא בלתי נכון ובלתי מוצדק. שיעור ההוצאה הבטחונית של ישראל מתוך ה - GNP הוא מהגבוהים בעולם, ויש להביא בחשבון גם עובדה זו.

48. בנט אמר כי אינו יודע איזה פיתרון להציע לבעייתנו. הוא סבור כי לקריטריון פשוט ישנם יתרונות רבים. יש צורך למצא נוסחה שתמנע אי צדק ויחד עם זאת תבטיח השתתפות אוניברסלית יותר במימון כוחות האו"ם.

49. ביין ציין כי ע"פ הקריטריון הנוכחי אנו משלמים כמליון דולר. אם יתקבל הקריטריון החדש, יהיה עלינו לשלם 5 מליון דולר.

50. בנט אמר כי יבדוק את הנושא ויחזור אלינו.

השעיית החלטות אנטי ישראליות בעצרת

51. ביין ציין כי הקבוצה הערבית מונה 20 מדינות, הקבוצה האיסלאמית מונה למעלה מ - 50 וקבוצת הבלמ"ז - למעלה מ - 100 מדינות. במצב זה, אם הערבים נוקטים יזמה, הם נתמכים ע"פ רוב ע"י האיסלאמיות ואח"כ ע"י הבלמזיות. דבר זה פועל בעצרת נגד ישראל. ביין הוסיף כי הוא מעלה את הנושא בקשר להשעיית

החלטות אנטי ישראליות שאינן תואמות את המציאות. הוא הגיש למארחים רשימה של 7 החלטות שאנו מבקשים להשעות: ההחלטה בענין ועידה בינ'ל, ההחלטה בענין האינתיפדה, החלטת האומניבוס בסעיף 'המצב במזה'ת' (שהושעתה בעצרת ה-47), ההחלטה בענין רמת הגולן, ההחלטה בענין יחסי ישראל עם דרא'פ, ההחלטה בענין חימושה הגרעיני של ישראל והחלטת האומניבוס בסעיף 'דוח ועדת השטחים'.

52. פטרסון שאל אם נציגי ישראל העלו את הנושא בשיחות שקיימו במסדרונות עם נציגים ערביים, במהלך שיחות השלום.

53. ביין השיב כי הנושא לא הועלה על ידינו בשיחות הללו. הוא אמר כי המטרה העקרית היא קידום השלום, ויש לסלק הצידה כל דבר המהווה מכשול לשלום. יש לאמר איפוא לקבוצה הערבית כי אל לה 'לעשות שלום בושינגטון ומלחמה בניו יורק'. השעיית ההחלטות תשפר את תדמית הקבוצה הערבית וכמובן גם את תדמית האו"ם.

54. בנט אמר כי חשוב שהם קיבלו מאיתנו את רשימת ההחלטות שיש להשעות. הם מסכימים עם טיעונינו וישוחחו בנושא עם הערבים.

55. השגריר יעקבי ציין כי אשתקד עלה בידינו להביא להשעיית החלטת האומניבוס בסעיף 'המצב במזה'ת'. פעולתנו הביאה גם לריכוך של החלטות אחרות. אם נמשיך במאמצינו, נצליח להביא השנה לשיפורים נוספים. זאת, בין היתר, לאור ההתקדמות של שיחות השלום.

56. בנט אמר כי הם יעשו כמיטב יכולתם לעזור לנו בנושא זה.

57. ביין אמר כי כולנו מרגישים כי באו"ם חל שינוי לטובה. יש שיפור באוירה וביכולתנו לדבר עם משלחות אחרות. אם תהליך זה יימשך, נוכל להיעזר בו לצורך השגת התקדמות נוספת בנושאינו. התהליך עלול להיות איטי, אולם המגמה היא ברורה.

כתב האמנתנו לעצרת

58. ביין הציע כי גם השנה לא יובא דוח הועדה לכתבי האמנה לאישור מליאת העצרת. פליישהאור טוען, אמנם, כי הדבר אינו עולה בקנה אחד עם GOOD HOUSE KEEPING, אולם עלינו לנסות ולהמנע מעימותים מיותרים עם הערבים, העלולים לפגוע בתהליך השלום.

59. הנסון אמר כי בנושא זה נוכל להסתמך על התקדים שנוצר בשנים האחרונות.

60. הח'מ אמר כי יש להבטיח מראש שגם הערבים לא יעלו את הנושא ביזמתם.

61. בנט אמר כי הם ישוחחו עם הערבים.

חרם ערבי

62. ביין אמר כי פעולה במסגרת ה- G.7 תוכל לסייע במאבק נגד החרם.

63. השגריר יעקבי ציין כי ישראל מפסידה 1.5 מיליארד דולר בשנה לערך בגלל החרם הערבי.

64. שטיין מסר כי הנושא הועלה ע'י ס/שה'ח בביקורו האחרון בושינגטון.

65. ביין אמר כי הטלת חרם כלכלי אינה עולה בקנה אחד עם שיחות השלום. הוא ציין כי מדינות אירופאיות אחדות קיבלו חוקים נגד החרם (גרמניה, צרפת, לוקסמבורג והולנד). אנו מקוים שתהיה פעולה מתואמת של הקהילה האירופאית בעניין זה.

החרם האמריקאי נגד קובה

66. ביין אמר כי הצעת ההחלטה הקובנית היא בעייתית מבחינתנו, בגלל מאבקנו בחרם הערבי. שאל עד כמה חשובה לארה"ב תמיכתה של ישראל בנושא זה. הוא ציין כי בעקבות הצבעתנו אשתקד יחד עם ארה"ב, ספגנו ביקורת ממדינות אמלטיות ואחרות.

67. בנט אמר כי הם מעריכים את תמיכתנו ואת נכונותנו להצביע יחד איתם בנושא זה. הוא אמר כי ארה"ב תמשיך במדיניותה כלפי קובה ולכן סביר להניח כי הנושא ימשיך לעלות בעצרת. אמר כי יבדוק את הנושא ויתן לנו תשובה ספציפית יותר.

68. וורד ציין כי מדיניות הממשל כלפי קובה נהנית מתמיכה ציבורית חזקה בארה"ב. ארה"ב תמשיך במדיניות זו.

69. קמפבל אמר כי הנושא חשוב לארה"ב.

70. בנט אמר כי ארה"ב אינה רוצה להשאר לבד בסוגיה זו.

71. פטרסון אמר כי אם ישראל לא תהיה עם ארה"ב בנושא זה, IT WILL BE NOTICED.

אפרטהייד

72. בנט ציין כי המצב בדרא'פ משתנה וחשוב להבחין בשינוי זה.

73. וורד אמר כי ארה"ב סבורה שכדי להבטיח הסדר פוליטי יציב בדרא'פ, יש לחזק את כלכלתה. היא מתייעצת איפוא עם בעלות בריתה על חידוש הקשרים הכלכליים עם דרא'פ. הם מבקשים שגם אנו נשקול את הדבר (הדגיש כי המדובר בקשרים כלכליים ולא בטחוניים).

עבודת מזכירות האו"ם

74. בנט אמר כי ארה"ב פועלת להקמת משרד של INSPECTOR GENERAL במזכירות האו"ם. חשוב שחברות האירגון תדענה כי הדברים מתנהלים באופן יעיל.

אהרן יעקב, נאו"ם
3 ביוני 1993

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

ארבל 2, ארבל 1, סי יבל, משפט, גנור, סמנכלארופה,
יגר, ערן, סמנכלמזח, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 6918

אל: רהמש/184

מ-: ווש, נר: 2014, תא: 040693, זח: 1645, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: אמן/רמח' קש'ח - בטחון העבירונא

דע: רמטכ'ל, סגן רמטכ'ל, - בטחון העבירונא
ר' אמ'נ, רוה'מ/מזכ'צ

מאת: נ.צ. וושינגטון/האלוף גיורא רום

הנדון: ארה'ב - עיראק

1. בזמנו דיווחתי לכם שאין בטחון באשר למטרת הקושרים בכווית בעת ביקור הנשיא לשעבר בוש.

2. כיום הצטברו מספיק עדויות, וממקורות שונים (שאינם מסתמכים על תוצאות החקירות של הקושרים, דבר שהמקומיים יודעים שהתנהל עם יותר מאשר סתם לחץ פיזי מתונן) שאכן מטרת הקושרים היה הנשיא בוש ושמקור התהליך היה עיראק.

3. אשר על כן, התחיל כאן תהליך בחינת המשמעויות של תגובת ארה'ב לעניין. על הישר המחבר התעלמות מוחלטת (למרות ההוכחות) ותגובה צבאית קשה (במידה ועיראק תתעלם מדרישות אמריקאיות להסגרה של אנשים לדוגמא) עשויות להיות נקודות רבות.

4. בחינת החלופות נמצאות בשלב זה ברמת עוזרי שרים ומרוכזת ע'י המועצה לבטחון לאומי לקראת 'דחיפת' הנושא למעלה עד כדי הצגתו למועצה לבטחון לאומי.

5. באופן ברור נראה לי שהנושא אינו ברמת 'דחופ' כאן ויושפע מגורמים רבים.

6. בכל זאת, נא היו מיודעים לדבר.

האלוף גיורא רום

נ.צ. וושינגטון

תפוצה: @ (אמן), @ (יתום/ממרהמ)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 6982

אל: רהמש/187

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 241, תא: 040693, זח: 1828, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / רגיל

4.6.93

אל: מז"ת

דע: מצפ"א

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: AID - סיוע לפלסטינים

=====

היום פנה אלי זאב פירסט, בשם הקונגרסמן טוריסלי בשאלה האם לישראל יש התנגדות אם AID יסייעו לשני בתי"ח פלסטיניים ויעבירו סיוע בסך 2.5 מיליון דולר לביה"ח אוגוסטה ויקטוריה ו- 2.5 מיליון דולר לביה"ח אל מקסד. מבקש לדעת האם 2 בתי"ח אלה "כשרים" מבחינת ישראל. הבטחתי לבדוק עמכם. להעירתי כי בחוק סיוע החוץ מתוקצבים ממילא כבר 25 מיליון דולר לסיוע לשטחים באמצעות PVO'S השיב פירסט כי ה- 5 מיליון הללו הם בנוסף ל- 25 מיליון דולר.

אנא תגובתכם המיידית בחוזר. ה- MARK-UP של חוק סיוע החוץ/הרשאות צפוי להתקיים ביום ג' הקרוב 8.6.

שבת שלום !

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, כלכליתב',
סמנכלמזת, מזת2, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 6973

אל: רהמש/186

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 239, תא: 040693, זח: 1814, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / מידי

4.6.93

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: ממנכ"ל

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: מזכיר המדינה

=====

1. מפי כתבים נודע לי כי מזכיר המדינה זימן אליו אתמול חמישה כתבים לארוחת צהריים לצורך תדריך רקע ("פקיד בכיר").

2. מרבית השיחה נסבה על בוסניה - מדיניות הממשל בנושא תוך שהמזכיר מפרט ומדגיש תפקידו. (הערה: עקבי ביותר עם הקו שבו נוקטים המזכיר ועוזריו בשבוע האחרון - הענקת ראיונות, מתן גישה לכתבים והדגשת תפקידו של קריסטופר - כל זאת, כדי להדוף הבקורת הקשה נגדו - ראה הטור של ביל ספייר מאתמול כדוגמה - והשמועות בעיר כי מעמדו בעיני הנשיא נחלש).

3. בשולי הדברים עלה גם נושא תהליך השלום בו הדגיש המזכיר:
א. הוא מעריך שהצדדים יבואו לסבב השיחות הבא. בינתיים, נמשכים המגעים עם הפלסטינים בנושא ניסוח הצהרת עקרונות משותפת.
ב. הדגיש כי מעורבותו בתהליך השלום היא אישית וגבוהה ואף סיפר כי היה מעורב באופן אישי בניסוח הטיוטה האמריקנית להצהרת העקרונות.
ג. סבור שארה"ב צריכה להעמיק מעורבותה במסלול השיחות סוריה - ישראל. אמר שארה"ב כבר הגבירה, בסוף הסבב הקודם, מעורבותה במסלול הפלסטיני, ועתה - להערכתו - יש מקום לתפקיד פעיל יותר של ארה"ב במסלול הסורי.
ד. לא שותף להערכה ש"השיחות תקועות", אלא - להיפך, רואה פוטנציאל להתקדמות.

שבת שלום !

רות ירון

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

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

סמנכלמזת, סייבל

דחיות: מירי	טובים מכרם קשר ניו-יורק	דף: 1 מחיר: 2
סיווג: כלמ"ס	מנא/1	אל: תפוצת תקשורת אר"כ
תז"ח:	א/י/1	
חל מנדק:	המחיר...	דע:
1020	המחיר...	מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Sad State of State

WASHINGTON

Bill Clinton has made two major forays into foreign affairs so far. His first was a winner: the embrace of Boris Yeltsin at the Vancouver summit probably helped democratic reformers increase the size of their victory in the Russian referendum.

His second was a loser: he announced his intention to coerce the Bosnian Serbs to the peace table with air power, then dispatched his Secretary of State to Europe to bring the allies along; instead, Warren Christopher brought back the first public humiliation of an American President since World War II.

What caused this loss of leadership? Three possibilities:

1. Warren Christopher may be the most inept Secretary of State since Edward Stettinius. Trained under Cyrus Vance in the Carter era, he may never have developed the necessary assertiveness. Instead of interpreting consult in the traditional way as

New York
Times
OP-Ed
3-6

(24) שחח (2) טשה'ח (1) רהט (1) מנכל (1) מנכל (1) מנכל (2) רביב (1)
הסברה (2) ר/מחז (1) ממד (4) רט (1) אמר (4) אוסן (1) טייבל (1) משפט (1)

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לגור

"show respect in lining up their support," he may think it now means "see what they think." Call this the incompetent possibility.

2. The Secretary may be pursuing his own agenda. When his and Gen. Colin Powell's dovish view did not prevail against the recommendation of the national security adviser and Defense Secretary, and President Clinton decided to provide Bosnian Muslims with arms and suppressing fire, Mr. Christopher may have undermined the President's decision by making it impossible to carry out. This is the dishonorable possibility.

3. The President at first flexed his muscles, then looked at the polls and changed his mind; he then dispatched the loyal Christopher to Europe with the express intention of getting turned down, which the skilled lawyer, by interpreting "consult" in the passive sense, succeeded in doing. Thus, since America could not "go it alone," Mr. Clinton could get off the hook by blaming the feckless Europeans. This is the Machiavellian possibility.

I confess that my initial judgment was to reject (1) because Christopher is an intelligent man and a successful lawyer; possibility (2) was out because he is surely honorable, and a suggestion of policy sabotage is scurrilous; leaving only (3), the Machiavellian option, which seemed to fit with Clinton's flip-floppiness, his need to concentrate on domestic concerns, and Christopher's reputation for being a professional ready to serve his

client no matter how dumb it makes the lawyer look.

Recent evidence suggests my logic was flawed. The ineptness possibility has to be re-examined.

Boris Yeltsin's position on the Clinton "lift [the arms embargo] and strike [the Serbian artillery]" plan

was to threaten a veto in the Security Council. He expressed respect for the coming Serbian referendum in Bosnia, known to all as a delaying tactic.

But nobody — before, during or after the Christopher humiliation — forcefully reminded the Russian leader of "the spirit of Vancouver" and the bailout promises extracted. Nobody at State marshaled private and public-opinion resources to lean on Yeltsin from inside and outside Russia. His insulting veto threat was not publicized and has had no consequences; the U.S. simply caved.

In London, the Christopher presentation was flaccid and unpersuasive. Prime Minister John Major described it to colleagues as "bloodless." The Brits claim they were prepared, however, to go along with Clinton if Christopher had pressed hard.

In Brussels, NATO Secretary Gen-

Deep fog at Foggy Bottom.

eral Manfred Wörner offered to convene a meeting of ambassadors at which he would firmly support the Clinton plan; inexplicably, Christopher said no, he preferred to consult bilaterally. The message got around instantly: The Secretary was not looking for serious support.

Our tentative envoy returned to the White House with a puzzled, frustrated report. President Clinton was genuinely distressed, I am told; he was not putting on an act. But in this case he did not blame his agent for making him look irresponsibly belligerent and vacillating.

When Under Secretary Peter Tarnoff sought to justify Christopher's rejection by allies with an accurate but pitiable "too poor to lead" doctrine, the Secretary panicked and disavowed the views he holds.

I think Christopher is an honorable man serving a non-duplicious President; he's just not yet on top of the job of Secretary of State.

ISRAEL-SYRIA PEACE?

Assad seems ready to deal, but Jerusalem remains wary

Strong evidence suggests that Assad is inclined to offer Israel full peace in return for full withdrawal from the Golan Heights. In early May, the Syrian leader said as much to his British biographer, Patrick Seale. Assad even implied a willingness to enter into a "separate peace" — a la Anwar Sadat — without waiting for the Palestinians.

New York
Post

OP-Ed 3-6

(24) שחח (2) טשה' (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (1) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביכ (1)
 חסברה (2) ר/מכז (1) מסד (4) רס (1) אמן (4) אומן (1) סייכל (1) משפט (1)

$\frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} \begin{pmatrix} 1 & i \\ 0 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$

The Seale interview quickly became a prime discussion topic in the Israeli-Syrian talks. And the United States began to produce "bridging proposals" aimed at facilitating an Israeli-Syrian treaty based on Assad's presumed offer.

Israel, therefore, has no choice but to ask itself whether it would be willing to withdraw from the entirety of the Golan in exchange for full peace with Damascus. The dilemma calls to mind then-Defense Minister Moshe Dayan's 1973 pronouncement that if forced to choose between "peace without Sharm El Sheikh" and "Sharm El Sheikh without peace," he would opt for the latter.

Six years later, of course, Dayan — serving as Menachem Begin's foreign minis-

ter — played a pivotal role in negotiating the Camp David accord: They provided for full peace between Israel and Egypt in exchange for a full Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai peninsula (i.e., "peace without Sharm El Sheikh"). Anwar Sadat's willingness to come to Jerusalem changed Moshe Dayan's mind.

Hafex Assad, needless to say, is not Anwar Sadat. And the Golan Heights — by virtue of their terrain — are far more vital to Israel's security than was the Sinai. The massive Israeli military infrastructure in the Sinai could be replaced, albeit with difficulty; Israel's early-warning stations on the Golan's Mt. Hermon cannot be relocated.

Still, the notion that, in the context of an agreement with Assad, American troops might operate the warning stations — and transfer the collected intelligence to Israel — apparently intrigues the Rabin government. So does the concept of a leaseback arrangement — under which Israel would acknowledge Syrian sovereignty on the Golan, but lease most or all of the territory back from Damascus for an indefinite period.

For many Israelis, the arrival of a Syrian ambassador, and the prospect of El

Al flights to and from Damascus, would signal the dawn of a new age. Others, of course, view withdrawal from the Golan as too dangerous to countenance. Former defense minister Ariel Sharon — a genuine Israeli combat hero and a formidable military strategist — is a case in point. Sharon takes a dim view of any treaty with Syria based on the surrender of territory.

In discussions with journalists, he argues that — even beyond the strategically significant distinctions between the Golan and the Sinai — Assad would need to do far more than did Sadat in exchange for peace with Israel.

■ Sharon notes that Syria's army occupies a state on Israel's border — Lebanon. Insofar as military attacks are regularly launched against Israel from Lebanon, Assad would have to withdraw his army of occupation. No such request was necessary in Sadat's case.

■ Sharon points out that

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numerous terrorist organizations engaged in permanent warfare against Israel and the West are based in Damascus. Assad would need to shut them down and force them from Syria. No such problem complicated the negotiations with Sadat; Egypt was not a base for Islamic terrorism.

■ Sharon emphasizes that a huge weapons buildup has been under way in Syria for some time; Damascus has a war machine that's larger — in key respects — than that of Great Britain. An Israeli withdrawal from the Golan would have to be attended by a commitment from Assad to downsize his military. Sadat's 1979 military condition did not require any such commitment.

Sharon, in short, maintains that a treaty with Syria would require Assad to make sweeping concessions in areas yet to be discussed between Israel and Syria. When asked whether he personally would prefer "peace without the Golan Heights" to "the Golan Heights without peace," Sharon embraces the latter alternative without hesitation.

Notwithstanding the Dayan example, it's difficult to imagine that anything would change Sharon's mind. Moreover, the retired general makes a genuinely compelling case. There may well be answers to his arguments. But it would be sheer folly to dismiss them out of hand.

1019

3
3

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AGENDAS

ERIC
BREINDEL

1/4

1041 - משהח

30 - משהח

1.1.10

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 3 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: המרגל בצבא הישראלי

מצ"ב קובץ כתבות (BS, WT קולין סיגל וה-WP דיוויד הופמן - 3/6) בנושא המרגל בצבא הישראלי. ישראל הודתה אתמול כי קצין המודיעין רב סרן יוסף עמית נמצא במאסר שש שנים (מתוך 12 שנים שנגזרו לו) לאחר שהורשע בריגול לטובת מדינה בלתי ידיעה. השמועה אומרת כי עמית ריגל לטובת ארה"ב וכי ישראל הציעה לארה"ב חילופי שבויים: ג'ונתן פולארד תמורת יוסף עמית. עורך דינו של עמית ציין כי עמית ריגל לטובת מדינה שאינה עוינת לישראל.

תקשורת

25 1244 שחח(2) שחח(1) רהמ(1) מנכל(1) מנכל(1) מצפא(2) רביב(1) חסברה(2) ר/מרכז(1) ממד(4) רס(1) אמנ(4) אומנ(1) סייבל(1) מספט(1)

31322

Israel Says Army Major Was a Spy *Imprisoned Officer Said to Help U.S.*

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, June 2—Israel acknowledged for the first time today that a major in army intelligence was secretly tried and convicted in 1987 on charges of spying and having contacts with a foreign agent. Israeli sources said the officer was accused of providing information to the United States.

According to a government statement, Maj. Yosef Amit was sentenced to 12 years in prison by a regional court. The case was kept secret until today to protect state security, the statement said.

Israeli government spokesmen refused to elaborate on the case, and details of the charges against Amit could not be learned. However, the government statement suggested that he was accused of espionage and that he had contacts with foreign agents both in and outside Israel.

Israel's Supreme Court lifted some of the secrecy surrounding the case today at the behest of the military censor and security officials. The disclosure was prompted in part by pressure from legislator Dedi Zucker of the leftist Meretz bloc, who recently wrote to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin questioning the need for secrecy surrounding this and other espionage cases. In response, the government suggested to the court that the veil be partly lifted, officials said.

In addition, a group of Israeli newspapers including the daily Haaretz has been pressing the Supreme Court to lift censorship in specific cases, and officials said this may have influenced the decision to make public some details of the Amit affair now.

In the last few years there has been speculation that Israel sought to exchange an unnamed convicted spy for Jonathan Jay Pollard, the former U.S. Navy intelligence analyst now serving a life term for spying for Israel. However, it could not be determined if Israel had ever proposed such an exchange to the United States. Pollard was arrested in 1985.

Amit served in elite military units including the paratroops and later joined army intelligence, which generally is concerned with the Arab states and their military and strategic situation.

He was arrested in 1986 at his home in Haifa and convicted by a three-judge court in 1987. The television report said he has been held in a psychiatric ward in Ayalon prison, where he has received visitors from outside, but other sources said he was held for many years in isolation.

His current lawyer, Shmuel Tzang, told state-run Israeli radio today that Amit had not spied for "hostile countries" but that he could not say more because of restrictions. He said he was still trying to reduce the sentence. Israeli television said Amit is due to come before a committee soon that could allow his release next year.

According to "Every Spy a Prince," by Yossi Melman and Dan Raviv, Sen. David Durenberger (R-Minn.), a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, once "let it slip that American intelligence had run at least one Israeli soldier as a paid agent during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon."

A spokesman for the CIA had no comment on the matter today.

Although the United States and Israel are close allies, they still attempt to gather information on each other. Melman said, "Although there are understandings and oral agreements that they shouldn't spy on each other, there is clear evidence both countries are engaged at various levels through different means in spying against each other. The only difference is that Israel was once exposed in the Pollard case, while America has never been exposed—at least not at the same level or with the same publicity."

WP
3/6

3/4

1041, 30

BS

3/6

Israel admits that officer has been in prison for spying

Country unnamed; some cite U.S. link

Reuters

JERUSALEM — Israel admitted yesterday that one of its army intelligence officers has been in prison for the past six years after being convicted at a secret trial of spying on the Jewish state for an unnamed country.

The Supreme Court lifted a ban on reporting the jailing of Maj. Yoael Amit, but the country he had worked for remained secret. His lawyer said it was not a hostile power.

An army statement said Mr. Amit was sentenced after a secret trial in March 1987 to 12 years in jail for spying.

The Supreme Court, which previously barred any publication of the

case, rejected an appeal of the sentence in 1989.

State media followed the army statement by quoting 2-year-old U.S. reports that an unidentified Israeli officer had been jailed for spying for the United States.

The reports said Israel had offered to trade him for Jonathan Pollard, a U.S. citizen jailed in America in 1986 for spying for Israel.

The date of Mr. Amit's arrest was not given, and the army statement did not say for whom he had spied.

Mr. Amit was convicted of spying, contact with a foreign agent and attempting to contact a foreign agent.

The officer's lawyer, Shmuel Tsang, told Israel Radio that Mr. Amit had not spied for "hostile countries" but said remaining court restrictions prevented him from saying if he had worked for a friendly country.

4/4 1041, 30 WT 316

Israel admits spy jailed in secret

Officer may have worked for U.S.

By Colleen Siegel
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

JERUSALEM — Israel acknowledged yesterday that one of its army intelligence officers has been in prison for the past six years after being convicted at a secret trial of spying on the Jewish state for an unidentified country.

The Supreme Court lifted a ban on reporting the jailing of Maj. Yoael Amit, but the identity of the country he worked for remained secret. His attorney said it was not a hostile power.

The newspaper Maariv reported earlier yesterday that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin admitted to parliament law committee chief Dedi Zucker that Israel was secretly holding "a number" of its citizens for spying.

An army statement said Amit was sentenced to 12 years in jail for spying after a secret trial in March 1987. The Supreme Court, which previously barred any publication of the case, refused a 1989 appeal of the sentence.

State media followed the army statement by quoting 2-year-old U.S. reports that an unidentified Israeli officer had been jailed for spying for the United States.

The reports said Israel offered to trade him for Jonathan Pollard, a U.S. citizen jailed in the United States in 1986 for spying for Israel.

The date of Amit's arrest was not given and the army statement did not say for whom he spied. He was convicted of spying, contact with a foreign agent and attempting to contact a foreign agent.

The officer's attorney, Shmuel Tsang, told Israel Radio that Amit had not spied for "hostile countries" but said remaining court restrictions prevented him from saying if he worked for a friendly country.

The army statement said the court partly lifted secrecy from the case and Amit's jailing at the request of the Israeli military censor and security officials.

Amit's attorney said he was working to reduce the sentence.

But he added: "I am not talking about appeals or any other judicial process. I am speaking about completely other levels that I am not able to specify."

Mr. Zucker told Army Radio he was pleased by the court's easing of secrecy. He said the desire of the censor and security officials to reveal the case showed irrelevant secrecy was ending, but the lawmaker said more needs to be done.

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אשרה - 1038
כטחון - 28

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 3 יוני 1993

אל: מצפ"א

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: מנהיגות ארה"ב בעולם

מצ"ב הסור של אבנס ונובאק (WP 3/6) בנושא החששות באירופה לגבי מעמדה של ארה"ב כמנהיגת העולם המערבי.
רגשות הרווחה באירופה בעקבות נסיגת קלינטון מכוונתו לפעולה צבאית בבוסניה, מעורבים בחששות - לאור הצהרת טרנוף וחוסר היציבות במזרח אירופה - לגבי נסיגת ארה"ב ממעמדה המוביל בקרב מדינות המערב.

[Red signature]

תקשורת

25 - (2) שחח (1) ששה"ח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (1) מנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)
הסברה (2) מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומן (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)

Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak

Clinton: Awash Abroad

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1038

28

WP

3/6

LONDON—Relief bordered on glee in Europe over Bill Clinton's retreat from hard military threats against the Bosnian Serbs, but beneath the surface is concern that, under the new president, the United States is forfeiting leadership of the Western alliance.

That concern turned to outright fear in London when Undersecretary Peter Tarnoff, the State Department's top policy maker, warned that the United States was pulling back from its role as world leader. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's claims that his most intimate aide was talking nonsense are discounted.

Thus, less than five months in office with his approval ratings at record lows, President Clinton faces a trans-Atlantic crisis that boils down to his competence and credibility.

His allies in Europe did indeed want him to back down on Bosnia. In the words of a British statesman: "We punctured Bill Clinton's illusion." Labor's shadow foreign minister, Jack

**Europeans are
unnerved at
any prospect of
U.S. withdrawal
from Western
leadership.**

Cunningham, told us that if Clinton "really believed his campaign promises about Bosnia, he has now learned a lesson" and will not overreach again. Cunningham could cite only one postwar example of Washington admitting it could not dominate the alliance: Europe's refusal to send troops to Vietnam 25 years ago.

But the Europeans were shocked at how Clinton backed away. They are unnerved at any prospect of U.S. withdrawal from Western leadership at a time of rising instability throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

The threat to Clinton's leadership arises not so much from the question of who is right about military intervention, Europe or Clinton. It comes instead from the reaction of practical politicians to the way a consummate politician like Clinton was maneuvered into humiliating defeat in full public view after months of what a British critic called "boastful talk." More mournful than carping, the respected Sir Michael Falke, who ran the British Foreign Office for a decade, told us the president "has thrown away a lot of cards on this."

Some politicians we talked to here said that Christopher must have known before his mission to Europe that he had no chance to swing the alliance behind Clinton's interventionist policy. That should have dictated confidential talks aimed at providing Clinton a safe and respectable retreat, not headlines that trumpeted Christopher's journey as a presidential show of political force.

When we asked Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd about Clinton's doomed role in the Bosnian quagmire, he was impeccably discreet. The president and Christopher, he said, deserved praise for joining the Russian-British proposal for "safe havens" to protect Bosnia's Muslims from slaughter. Any other U.S. course, he added, could have imperiled the Western alliance and likely undermined NATO.

But Hurd's associates told us a sadder story. In the 40-year postwar history of American leadership in Europe, they said, Washington would agonize over policy, reach the right decision and then "give us a week or two" to sign up. It always worked.

Apparently under Clinton's orders, Christopher did not even try such tactics. "He was friendly and outgoing, seeking our views more than pressing his own," according to a Tory insider. The secretary of state gave the impression that if Europe said no, it would be just dandy with Clinton. This raised at least a suspicion here that the president may have been resigned to defeat and was using Christopher's trip to explain it.

Prime Minister John Major, Hurd and a handful of other government leaders were greatly cheered last week when they were privately told about the imminent formation of a high-level, bipartisan group of U.S. foreign policy leaders. They will include Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser under several Republican presidents, and former secretary of state Lawrence Eagleburger.

The purpose of these experienced Atlanticists is to act as watchdog over Clinton policies and prevent the alliance from foundering. That was good news for America's most faithful ally, worried that the only superpower had so ignominiously bowed to pressure from Europe.

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מס' - 1033

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 3 יוני 1993

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: פרנק ויזנר

מצ"ב הסור של קו אדלמן (26/5 WT) בנושא העיכוב במינוי של פרנק ויזנר.
במאמר תיאור אי הסדרים בממשל וכדוגמה מובא המקרה של פרנק ויזנר אשר היה
אמור להתמנות לעוזר שר ההגנה אך מינויו מעוכב ועתידו אינו ברור כעת.

g.v.

תקשורת

27 27 שחח (2) טשה'ח (1) דהמ (1) מנכל (1) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)
הסברה (2) ר/מחכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אסו (4) אומ (1) טייכל (1) משפט (1)

3737

KEN ADELMAN

Discouraging public service

It's not all Bill Clinton's fault that his presidency seems so spent so soon. The "mess in Washington" that he used so masterfully to gain power, continues so unmercifully now that he's assumed power.

That the "mess" continues after the allegedly corroding 12 years of Republican rule shows that it's really due to 25 years of corroding civility in Washington.

Nothing illustrates this more than the fate of Frank G. Wisner, nominated to the No. 3 post in the Pentagon. He's now being battered by a slew of nasty rumors and left hanging out to dry by this administration.

Making government work takes more than rewiring process or re-fashioning policy. It takes re-establishing trust and basic decency.

For nothing has corroded Washington as much as the culture of suspicion toward public servants. Since the 1960s, those devoting their lives to public service are increasingly presumed guilty until proven innocent.

Rules change from one administration to the next. Layer upon layer of financial and personal forms, yet more rumor-laden FBI background checks, less backbone from White House officials—all have piled up to make taking a government position less inviting and more perilous.

Frank G. Wisner stands as a case in point.

This first-rate Foreign Service official—whose father also dedicated his life to public service, before leaving under a cloud—now awaits confirmation to the top Pentagon post of undersecretary for policy.

Meanwhile, scurrilous allegations are hurled his way—whispers of financial mismanagement, sexual harassment, new "nanny-gate" questions about paying baby-sitters, whatever may pop up from whom-ever.

Forgotten amid all this is that our four most recent presidents all assigned Mr. Wisner to top-notch posts, where he has performed brilliantly. Ambassador Wisner has endured scores of FBI checks and been confirmed by the Senate on at least four times, without problems.

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.



Frank Wisner

But that was when personal reputations and respect for public servants was prized more than "investigative" witch-hunting, as today.

Mr. Wisner's present woes contrast with his past wins. Rare for a Princeton graduate of the '60s, Wisner chose to serve in Vietnam during the war. He was awarded the Military Medal of Honor from the government of Vietnam in that tumultuous year of 1968.

Mr. Wisner continued to help Vietnamese and other refugees once in the State Department in Washington, and soon worked on African affairs. He received the State Department's prized Meritorious Honor Award in 1973.

Four presidents then chose Mr. Wisner for their sensitive posts. President Jimmy Carter appointed him U.S. Ambassador to Zambia at the outset of fundamental changes in Southern Africa.

Next, President Ronald Reagan selected him as U.S. ambassador to Egypt, where Mr. Wisner became a folk hero by visiting even small

Egyptian villages and representing America magnificently in that pivotal state.

President Bush then named Mr. Wisner as U.S. ambassador to the Philippines, when that fledgling democracy faced its most critical period. After excelling there, Mr. Wisner responded to Mr. Bush's assignment to the No. 4 position in the State Department—undersecretary for security affairs.

Soon after the Clinton Inauguration, this president selected Mr. Wisner for a huge job at the Pentagon, in some ways the most demanding there—to run its policy shop.

That was on Feb. 3. Not until a month later did the Senate hold confirmation hearings.

That was on March 4.

Now it's nearly June, and Mr. Wisner waits unconfirmed, chasing rumors while serious security matters—diplomatic dealings on Bosnia, defense restructuring, nonproliferation threats, Iraq, etc.—pile up.

What are we doing to our public officials?

Anyone willing to put up with the usual grief once in office must now face the real possibility, even likelihood, of having their reputations (or lives) ruined by phony allegations.

Good and honorable individuals—Clement Haynsworth, Walter Hicken, Theodore Sorenson, William Clark, Robert Bork, to name a few—arose in different administrations to be treated roughly and hurt deeply by the confirmation process.

The public cannot see the amount of frustration, aggravation, suspense and emotional tearing inflicted upon the nominee and the nominee's family. All at some point want to cry out, "This just isn't fair!" and wonder, "Is it worth it?"

At stake is the nominee's reputation, a most precious commodity. "Reputation, reputation, reputation," Cassius laments in "Othello," and he goes on: "Oh, I have lost my reputation! I have lost the immortal part of myself and what remains is bestial. My reputation, Iago, my reputation!"

At stake is also the willingness of fine people like Frank Wisner, who could be a success in any number of endeavors, to serve when our presidents call upon them.

"Putting people first" and "making government work" demands an end to such ad treatment of good people in public life.

1/2

(י"ח ה-6111)

1032 - אש"ח

26 - ת"ח

1032 (1)

9/1

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 3 יוני 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: שיחות השלום

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WT (אנדרו בורוויק 3/6) בנושא סבב השיחות הבא. סבב השיחות הבא נדחה בשל חילוקי דעות מהותיים לגבי הסכמי השלום, חילוקי דעות בין ישראל וסוריה בעיקר, חילוקי הדעות הללו וחוסר הבחירות סביב השיחות הבאות מיוחסים למעורבות המעטה מדי של ארה"ב בשיחות. בורוויק טוען כי אסד עדיין לא מסוגל ליחסי עבודה עם ישראל וההישג היחיד של השיחות הביטוראליות בין שתי המדינות הינו אווירה טובה יותר.

תקשורת

26 (2) שחח (2) משהיה (1) רחם (1) מנכל (1) מנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)
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1032
26

Stipulations cloud next round of Mideast talks

By Andrew Borowiec
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A profound disagreement over guarantees and conditions of peace is likely to paralyze the next round of Middle East talks set for June 14, according to Arab and Israeli sources.

Even if Syrian President Hafez Assad accepts partial Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights as the first step toward a formal peace, Israel would be loath to carry it out without a precise definition by Syria of what

constitutes peace.

Israeli diplomats insist that Syria has been ambiguous and has refused to commit itself on any form of a "new world order" in the Middle East.

Syrian diplomatic activity has been almost entirely devoted to obtaining an Israeli pullout from the narrow mountainous strip that overlooks Israel's Hula Valley, they say.

For the Israelis, the Golan is "not a question of historic or Biblical claims but purely that of security," according to one Israeli assessment. Lack of a concrete Syrian commitment for a long-term relationship with the Jewish state virtually

eliminates prospects for progress on this key issue and, consequently, on a host of related problems with other Arab states.

Clouding the prospects for the 10th round of talks is the lack of an active U.S. role, which ebbed during the last months of the Bush presidency and has yet to be fully resumed by the Clinton administration.

Despite the Middle East tour by Secretary of State Warren Christopher in February, Arabs and Israelis alike complain that Washington "has not shepherded us" for some time.

One of the results of this low-profile U.S. diplomacy was a five-

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3/6

month absence of dialogue between Israel and Syria, which many consider the key element in the tortuous path toward peace.

The issue is not so much that of a security concession by Israel, but the fact that Syria is in a position to either block or advance the cause of peace.

By the nature of his one-man rule, which has given Syria a dictatorial stability during the past 22 years, Mr. Assad needs no consensus or advice on how to deal with Israel.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and of its influence in the Middle East, Syria lost its main patron and arms supplier. But, diplo-

mats say, Israel's hopes for a better working relationship with Mr. Assad have not been fulfilled.

Perhaps the only change is an improved atmosphere at the last two rounds of bilateral talks between Israel and Syria, during which "sterile exchanges changed into potentially fruitful negotiations," according to some participants.

Still the barrier separating the two countries remains high.

At this juncture, the Syrians demand nothing less than unconditional Israeli recognition of Syrian sovereignty over the Golan, implying a total Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 border.

For their part, the Israelis want a Syrian definition of the meaning of peace, and a timetable for reaching it. They want to know what security guarantees can be expected, and the nature of links of any agreement with Syria to the other Arab countries.

"There is no point in making a deal with Syria only to face a hostile Iraq later," said one Israeli official.

The planned resumption of talks has been preceded by a spate of rumors about Mr. Assad's reported health problems and the grooming of his 32-year-old son, Maj. Basil Assad, as his possible successor.

5837:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמש/158

מ-:ניו יורק,נר:110,תא:030693,זח:1447,דח:ב,סג:בל,

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9,257886

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BALMAS/RAGIL

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TO: TIKSHORET



NEWS SUMMARY 3-JUNE-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYT: 'CROWN HEIGHTS WAS NOT IASI': WRITER ARGUES THAT ALTHOUGH THE NEW YORK POLICE DID A BAD JOB AT QUELLING THE 1991 RIOTS IN CROWN HEIGHTS, CALLING THE UNREST THERE A 'POGROM' IS WRONG AND 'INFLAMMATORY'; COMPARES THE ANTI-SEMITISM IN CROWN HEIGHTS TO THAT OF EASTERN EUROPE TO MAKE THE DISTINCTION; ADDS THAT THERE IS NO PROOF THAT NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS ORDERED THE POLICE TO HOLD BACK ON THEIR PROTECTION OF THE JEWISH POPULATION.

COLUMNS

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NYP(E.BREINDEL-CABLED): 'ISRAEL-SYRIA PEACE?': WRITER ASSERTS THAT ALTHOUGH NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS WAS MADE IN THE RECENT ROUND OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS, ISRAELI OFFICIALS BELIEVE HAFEZ ASSAD OF SYRIA MAY BE WILLING TO SIGN A PEACE TREATY SOON; EMPHASIZES THAT THE SYRIAN LEADER TOLD HIS BRITISH BIOGRAPHER PATRICK SEALE LAST MONTH THAT HE MAY ENTER A 'SEPARATE PEACE' WITHOUT THE PALESTINIANS; SAYS THAT ISRAEL MUST 'ASK ITSELF' IF IT IS PREPARED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS; CITES THE ARGUMENTS OF FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER ARIEL SHARON.

NYT(W.SAFIRE-CABLED): 'SAD STATE OF STATE': WRITER ARGUES THAT ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT CLINTON'S 'EMBRACE' OF BORIS YELTSIN AT THE VANCOUVER SUMMIT WAS SUCCESSFUL IN FORWARDING THE VICTORY OF DEMOCRATIC REFORMERS IN THE RUSSIAN REFERENDUM, HIS EFFORTS IN

BOSNIA HAVE FAILED; STATES THAT WARREN CHRISTOPHER 'BROUGHT BACK THE FIRST PUBLIC HUMILIATION OF AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT SINCE WWII'; ASSERTS THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER MAY BE 'THE MOST INEPT SECRETARY OF STATE SINCE EDWARD STETTINIUS'; ADDS THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER'S APPEARANCE IN LONDON WAS DESCRIBED BY PM JOHN MAJOR AS 'BLOODLESS' AND THAT HE IS 'NOT JUST YET' ON TOP OF HIS JOB.

WSJ(R.SOKOLOV): 'HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL - THE UNSPEAKABLE REENACTED': WRITER DESCRIBES THE HANDING OF IDENTITY CARDS TO EACH VISITOR OF THE HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM IN WASHINGTON AS A REALISTIC TECHNIQUE; STATES THAT THE EXHIBITS 'SWEEP' SURVIVORS BACK INTO THE HORROR OF THE HOLOCAUST AND THAT THE MUSEUM ITSELF IS 'A WORK OF ART.'

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'AIDES SAY CLINTON WILL DROP NOMINEE FOR POST ON RIGHTS'; 'CLINTON DELAYS PUSH TO INCREASE MINIMUM WAGE'; 'SOUTH AFRICA COURT SUSPENDS WINNIE MANDELA'S JAIL TERM'; 'BRITISH WILL BUY 20 PERCENT STAKE IN MCI IN BIG US FORAY'; 'UNTESTED ROLE FOR MOYNIHAN IN BUDGET FIGHT'. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/US/MILITARY/SPY: NYP(U.DAN): 'ISRAELI SPY BOMBSHELL': REPORTS ON THE DISCLOSURE IN ISRAEL WEDNESDAY THAT A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE REPORTEDLY WORKED AS A SPY FOR A FRIENDLY FOREIGN POWER 'BELIEVED TO BE' THE US; CLAIMS THAT THE STORY AS REVEALED BY THE JERUSALEM SUPREME COURT IS ONE OF THE MOST 'SENSATIONAL' ESPIONAGE STORIES TO COME OUT OF ISRAEL; STATES THAT THE COURT SAID MAJOR YOSHI AMIT WAS ARRESTED IN MARCH 1986 ON CHARGES OF HIGH TREASON AND SENTENCED TO 12 YEARS IN PRISON; NOTES THE PARALLEL WITH THE JONATHAN POLLARD CASE.

ISRAEL/JERUSALEM/MAYOR/TERM: NYT(AP-BRIEF),NYP: 'JERUSALEM'S LONGTIME MAYOR SAYS HE'LL RUN FOR SEVENTH TERM': REPORTS THAT MAYOR TEDDY KOLLECK OF JERUSALEM ANNOUNCED WEDNESDAY THAT HE WILL RUN FOR A SEVENTH TERM; QUOTES MR. KOLLECK AS SAYING HE FEARS GREATER TENSIONS BETWEEN ARABS AND JEWS IN THE CITY IF A 'HARD-LINE' RIVAL WON.

WASHINGTON/US/NORTH KOREA/NUCLEAR: NYT(D.JEHL-CABLED): 'US AND NORTH KOREANS DISCUSS NUCLEAR DISPUTE': REPORTS THAT THE US RESUMED ITS ATTEMPTS WEDNESDAY TO PERSUADE NORTH KOREA TO REVERSE ITS DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE NNPT TREATY; NOTES THAT A US DIPLOMAT SAID THERE HAD BEEN NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS; ADDS THAT PYONGYANG'S DECISION IS SCHEDULED TO TAKE EFFECT ON JUNE 12; CLAIMS THAT THE US WILL SEEK SECURITY COUNCIL APPROVAL FOR SANCTIONS IF NORTH KOREA STANDS ITS GROUND.

ISRAEL/RABBIS/PEPSI/LICENSE: NYP(U.DAN): REPORTS THAT ULTRA-ORTHODOX JEWISH RABBIS HAVE DECIDED TO REVOKE PEPSI-COLA'S KOSHER LICENSE BECAUSE THE COMPANY IS SPONSORING A MICHAEL JACKSON CONCERT IN TEL-AVIV IN SEPTEMBER; ADDS THAT PREPARATIONS FOR THE EVENT WOULD BEGIN ON SHABBAT.

NEW YORK/SENATOR/FBI: NYT(A.MITCHELL),DN,NYP: 'D'AMATO GETS FBI PROTECTION FOLLOWING THREATS': REPORTS THAT SENATOR ALFONSE D'AMATO OF NEW YORK STATED WEDNESDAY THAT HE SKIPPED THE SALUTE TO ISRAEL PARADE AFTER THE FBI ALERTED THE POLICE TO DEATH THREATS AGAINST HIM; NOTES THAT LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS BELIEVE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE THREATS; ADDS THAT SEVERAL SUSPECTS IN THE WTC BOMBING HAD DENOUNCED MR. D'AMATO.

GERMANY/KOHL/TURKS/RESPONSE: WSJ(BRIEF): NOTES THAT GERMAN CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL WAS CRITICIZED BY POLITICAL LEADERS FOR HIS RESPONSE TO THE FIREBOMBING OF A TURKISH APARTMENT HOUSE ON SATURDAY.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(REUTERS),WSJ(BRIEF),DN: 'COURT IN FRANCE ORDERS TRIAL OF VICHY OFFICIAL.'

WSJ(EDITORIAL): 'THE PRESSURE ON ASYLUM': WRITER DISCUSSES XENOPHOBIA IN GERMANY.

ND(W.LIN),DN,NYP: 'JESUS SHOW SET TO GO ON.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 5474

אל: רהמש/144

מ-: המשרד, תא: 030693, זח: 1803, דח: מ, סג: סב,

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סודי ביותר/מידי

אל:

- רה'מ

- שר הבטחון

- וא'א - מנכ'ל

מאת: לשכת ממנכ'ל

** להלן מ-: המשרד, תא: 010693

618349

סודי ביותר/מידי

אל: וושינגטון, השגריר

מאת: המשנה למנכ'ל

בשיחת שה'ח ושיחת הח'מ שקדמה לה עם גנרל הייג עלה נושא צפון קוריאה.
הייג אמר שראה באחרונה חומר מודיעיני רגיש לפיו צפון קוריאה נמצאים מרחק
6 חודשים מיכולת גרעינית מלאה.
פרישתה מסבא'א נועדה ליתן בידיה סיפק בפרק זמן זה להשלים את המלאכה ללא
פיקוח בינ'ל. מכאן כמובן רגישותה הרבה של וושינגטון למגעים עם צפון
קוריאה ולמקוד מאמצי מימשל קלינטון - בהחזרת מדינה זו למסגרת סבא'א.

בנצור.

1 ביוני 1993

3 ביוני 1993

תפוצה: ממנכל, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), @ (ואא/קשח), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

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אל: בטחון/287

מ-: המשרד, תא: 030693, חז: 1006, דח: מ, סג: סו, בבב

אל ראש הממשלה

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סודי/מיד

אל: וושינגטון, ניו-יורק

השגריר

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

במענה לפניית שגריר ארה"ב הודעתי הבוקר לבראון שאנחנו מקבלים עמדת ארה"ב והשושבין הרוסי לגבי אי שיתוף האו"ם בועדת ההיגוי של המולטילטרלי.

בנצור.

3 ביוני 1993

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מ ב ר ק נ כ נ ס מ ס ו ו ג

אאאא, חוזם: 5345

אל: רהמש/137

מ-: המשרד, תא: 030693, זח: 1445, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

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שמור/מידי

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אל: וושינגטון - פרי - מנהלה

דע: עמי טלמור - חשב רוה'מ י-ם

מאת: כספים/גביה

הנדון: אליקים רובינשטיין

מר רובינשטיין ישהה בווינגטון ביום 7.6.93. מאשרים הזמנת מלון עבורו ותשלום הוצאות המלון.

בהוצאה חייבונא חו'ז 8888 והעבירו העתק הקבלות כדי שנסגור החו'ז.

3 ביוני 1993

תפוצה: @כספים, @רהמ, @ראשהממשלה

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 5991

אל: רהמש/164

מ-: ווש, נר: 2010, תא: 030693, זח: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל : ס. שה'ח, ממנ'כל, מצפא

דע : מר א' הבר, יועץ מדיני לרה'מ

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: מועצה לטכנולוגיה

כה אמר לי היום מרטין אינדיק:

' עבדנו קשה עם הביורוקרטיה שלנו והגענו לטיוטה בענין המועצה הדו-לאומית לטכנולוגיה ומדע והעברנו אותה לישראל ומאז אנחנו מחכים.

מזכיר הסחר בראון רוצה לנסוע לישראל בספטמבר ולקיים פגישות שתקדמנה את הנושא, ספטמבר קרוב והעיכובים בישראל גורמים לנו לתיסכול. היתה כאן התלהבות בין יהודים ואנשי עסקים שרצו להיות מעורבים וכל הענין נשען סוף כל סוף על התחיבות נשיאותית פומבית. הנשיא ירצה להיות במצב בעוד שנתיים-שלוש שיוכל לאמר ליהודי אמריקה: ' הבטחתי- קיימתי'.

עד כאן אינדיק.

שילה

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 6057

אל: רהמש/162

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 179, תא: 030693, זח: 1721, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: רמטכ"ל, משהב"ט / מנכ"ל, סגן רמטכ"ל,
ר' אג"ת, ר' אמ"ן, מזכ"צ רוח"מ, אג"ת / רח"ט אסטרטגי

דע: משהב"ט / מקש"ח, אמ"ן / רמ"ח קש"ח

מאת: נ.צ. וושינגטון / אלוף גיורא רום

סימוכין: 838

תאריך: 3 יוני 1993

הנדון: הפנטגון - תמונת מצב

1. עם הקמת האדמיניסטרציה החדשה בתחילת השנה, גרס ה CONVENTIONAL WISDOM של וושינגטון D.C. שהפנטגון עומד למלא תפקיד נכבד יותר מזה שמילא הפנטגון ה"יוצא". ההערכה התבססה על התנופה הראשונית שהביא עמו אספין יחד עם גלריה מרשימה של אנשים שאמורים היו למלא תפקידי -
UNDERSERECETARIES ובעיקר ASSISTANT SECRETARIES. נכון להיום, קיימת תחושה כאן שהפנטגון "מפגר" אחר הגופים האחרים המשתתפים בעיצוב מדיניות החוץ של ארה"ב. בנייר זה אנסה להסביר חלק מהמתרחש כאן.

2. ניתן למנות כמה סיבות ל"המראה", האיטיות של הפנטגון:

א. המשך ניהול מדיניות החוץ בהתאם למכניזם שלפיו היא אמורה להתבצע, לאמור, מחמ"ד היא בכל זאת הגוף המוביל.

ב. תהליך איוש אטי של משרות המצריכות אישורים בקונגרס.

ג. התעסקות מהיום הראשון באוסף של נושאים פנימיים ובעייתיים (הומוסקסואליים בצבא, סגירת בסיסים, קיצוץ התקציב, נשים בתפקידים קרביים וכד') ולא דווקא בנושאי מדיניות.

ד. צורך ל" כבות שריפות " בבעיות אזוריות בעולם הגדול.

ה. האישיות המיוחדת של האנשים בעמדות המפתח והאיטיות, בצד האזרחי של

הפנטגון כתוצאה ממבנה מעורפל עדין מול מיעוט באנשים.

3. דרך עיצוב מדיניות החוץ בווינגטון בנויה מארבעה שלבים:

א. INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP - IWG מאויש ברמת SECRETARIES ASSISTANT.

ב. DEPUTIES COMMITTEE

מאויש ברמת תתי מזכירים, סגני ראשי הזרועות וסגן ראש ה C.I.A.

ג. PRINCIPALS COMMITTEE

בראשות היועץ לביטחון לאומי ובהשתתפות המזכירים, יו"ר המטות המשולבים וראש ה C.I.A.

ד. NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

מאויש על ידי הנשיא, סגנו, מזכירי ההגנה והחוץ. בנוסף מוגדרים כיועצים היועץ לביטחון לאומי, ראש ה C.I.A., יו"ר המטות המשולבים ונוספים לפי החלטת הנשיא (השגרירה לאו"מ, יועץ בתחום הכלכלה וכד').
בכל תהליך עיצוב המדיניות מוביל את הנושא מחמ"ד, ובשלבם בכירים יותר, המועצה לביטחון לאומי. הפנטגון, שבעזרת התקשורת, ניסה ליצור רושם של כוונה להוביל יותר בנושא מדיניות החוץ, מצא עצמו מהר מאוד משחק לפי הכללים שהיו נקוטים כאשר השפעתו משתנה בהתאם לחלקו הצפוי במימוש חלופת מדיניות זו או אחרת. יש לזכור שמימוש מדיניות מצריך לעתים שימוש בנכסים שישנם רק לפנטגון. באותם מקרים עולה משקלו של זה, ובעיקר משקלו של המטות המשולבים (או מדויק יותר, של היו"ר פאוול).

4. בניגוד למחמ"ד, סובל הפנטגון, במלאת ארבעה חדשים לממשל, מקצב נמוך מאוד של אישור אנשיו לעמדות המפתח. בניגוד לכריסטופר, שבא לליטל - רוק מצויד ברשימה של 12 אנשים אתם הוא רצה לעבוד וקיבל על כך אישור כמעט מיידי מהבית הלבן, בא אספין עם שינוי מבנה ארגוני שעבר כמעט ללא בעיות (הגם שפורמלית טרם אושר) אולם עם תהליך איוש ש"שיחק" לידיה של הבית הלבן שדרש מעורבות אקטיבית באישור. הצוות הראשוני שאספין הציג לא היה בנוי בתמהיל הנכון הנדרש היום כאן של לבנים, מיעוטים ונשים וכך החל תהליך פינג-פונג מייגע בין הפנטגון לבין הבית הלבן של הצעות, פסילות, הצעות חדשות, פסילות נוספות כך שעד עצם היום הזה אושרו רק מעטים.

הוסיפו לכך את תהליך האישור של היום (שיצר מסננת עם חורים הרבה יותר קטנים, בעיקר בשלב הכנת הקטע של ה FBI- על המועמד) ותקבלו פנטגון שעד היום אושרו בו רק המזכיר, סגנו, תת - שר אחד (מארבעה) ומעט עוזרי מזכיר. נוצר מצב בו המועמדים היו בפועל במשרדים אולם כדי לא לתת לקונגרס תחושה של "חותמת גומי" מוטלות עליהם מגבלות בלתי רגילות באשר לתחומי פעילותם. הדברים הגיעו לקיצוניות כזו שאספין נאלץ להעביר מכתב בין כל אלה שלא אושרו עדין המתזכר אותם באשר למגבלות פעילותם (מכתב שפגע עוד יותר במורל של הממתינים לאישור). כל זאת בנוסף לזמן הארוך במיוחד באישורו של פרנק וויזנר, תת המזכיר החשוב ביותר, דבר היוצר מתחים רבים בסביבתו ובמעגלים נוספים (בעיקר אם יקרה כאן מה שרבים לא מוכנים להאמין, לאמור, שאדם באיכותו של וויזנר לא יאושר לפתע).

5. אספין, שרצה להקדיש את מיטב מרצו לעיצוב מסודר ומתודי מחודש של קהיליית הבטחון האמריקאי מצא עצמו עוסק בנושאים שהפכו כאן לנושאים לאומיים כגון ההומוסקסואליים בצבא, סגירת הבסיסים במדינות השונות,

קיצוצי התקציב, חריגה גדולה בהוצאות פיתוח מערכות נשק ובקיצור, עיסוק בסדר יום המונחת עליו ולא בסדר יום המוכתב על ידו. בין שאר הדברים, גרם התהליך המתואר לעלייה נוספת בכוחו של הקונגרס, בהשפעתו על המתרחש ובעיקר לעלייה בכוחו של סם נאן. התחושה היא שהפנטגון הפסיד דרגות חופש בבואו לקונגרס.

6. על פני השטח צמחו מתחים בין הצד האזרחי של הפנטגון (OSD) לבין המטות המשולבים. קולין פאוול, אדם בעל עוצמה בלתי רגילה כאן בקהיליית הביטחון בפרט ובקהילייה הפוליטית בכלל תמרן עצמו מהר מאד להכתבת דעתו במקרים לא מעטים.

באופן בולט ביותר, "התיישרה" מדיניות ארה"ב מול בוסניה בהתאם ל"דוקטרינת פאוול" באשר לתנאים הנדרשים להפעלת כוחה הצבאי של ארה"ב. במיוחד בולט הדבר מול הגישה של אספין טרם הבחירות (באשר ליכולת לאפשר פעילות צבאית מדורגת בהתבסס על השליטה בתהליך ועל היכולות שמקנה הנשק המדויק, בעיקר האווירי, לקברניט). כן בולט הדבר מול העמדה האקטיבית שעלתה מהבית הלבן וממחמ"ד לפני כחודש ומחצה ושהסתיימה, לאחר סיורו של כריסטופר באירופה, בקול דממה דקה.

7. היחסים בין אספין לפאוול שונים מאלו שהיו לפאוול ולצ'ייני. צ'ייני טיפח יו"ר חזק ופאוול גמל לו בידיעה ברורה מתי עליו להרגיש ולהתנהג כשני במדרוג. אספין, הפועל בצורה קצת יותר אימפולסיבית, ואנשיו, יצרו מתח מסוים בין הצד האזרחי של הבית והצד הצבאי שלו. במטות המשולבים מרגישים שהם חזקים יותר בטיפול בבעיות, מנוסים יותר (בעיקר בהשוואה לאזרחים שזה מקרוב באו ושלא עסקו מזה שנים רבות בנושאים של בטחון לאומי) בעלי שליטה טובה יותר בזרימת המידע וביצירת אופציות. ובשלב זה נהנים מעדיפות מסוימת. "חריקות" עדין קיימות, ואספין, לדוגמא מינה לאחרונה צוות של 8 קצינים בכירים מאוד במילואים לבחינת רמות הכוננות הדרושות בצבא. היה זה יכול להיות בסדר לולא עשה זאת אספין ללא כל התייעצות עם פאוול. מדד הכעס באותו יום בפנטגון היה גבוה מהרגיל.

8. נוצר מצב בו הקרבה לנשיא כיום מתחילה מכריסטופר ובתחום הביטחון, נראה כאילו בשלב זה הכימיה בין הנשיא לפאוול (עד כמה שהיא קיימת) גדולה מזו שבין הנשיא ומזכיר ההגנה.

סיכום

9. יש כיום תחושה בעיר של פנטגון "צולע" במקצת מול מחמ"ד שגם אם לא אויש באנשים מבריקים במיוחד (כפי, לפחות, שהוצג בתקשורת) עוסק כל היום בתחומים בהם הוא הורגל לעסוק ומוביל את העשייה המדינית כאן. גם המועצה לביטחון לאומי, שהתחילה בפרופיל נמוך הולכת ואוספת עוצמה. עיצוב המדיניות החדשה (ישנה) מול איראן נזקק במידה רבה לזכותו של מרטין אינדיק הנלחם על מקומו בעקשנות רבה.

10. יחד עם זאת, ובהנחה שמינויו של וויזנר לא יטורפד (דבר שעשויות להיות לו השלכות משמעותיות של המועד בו ירוץ הפנטגון בקצב שייעד לעצמו) הציפייה כאן הינה שעד יולי יאושר הרב המכריע של המינויים ואז יצליח הפנטגון TO GET ITS ACT TOGETHER ואולי אף להוציא לפועל את תפיסתו בדבר מקומו בעיצוב המדיניות כאן, תפיסה שהוצגה כבר לא פעם דרך ארבעת

ה"סכנות" והמכנה המעודכן שמאפשר לפנטגון לטפל בהן.

בברכה,

גיורא רום אלוף
נ.צ. וושינגטון

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

04/06/1993

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002407

אאאא, חוזם: 6057

אל: בטחון/456

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 179, תא: 030693, חז: 1721, דח: מ, סג: שמ, בבב

אל ראש הממשלה

שמור/מיידי

אל: רמטכ"ל, משהב"ט / מוכ"ל, סגן רמטכ"ל, ר' אג"ת, ר' אמ"ן, מזכ"צ רוה"מ, אג"ת / רח"ט אסטרטגי

דע: משהב"ט / מקש"ח, אמ"ן / רמ"ח קש"ח

מאת: נ.צ. וושינגטון / אלוף גיורא רום

סימוכין: 838

תאריך: 3 יוני 1993

הנדון: הפנטגון - תמונת מצב

1. עם הקמת האדמיניסטרציה החדשה בתחילת השנה, גרס ה CONVENTIONAL WISDOM של וושינגטון D.C. שהפנטגון עומד למלא תפקיד נכבד יותר מזה שמילא הפנטגון ה"יוצא". ההערכה התבססה על התנופה הראשונית שהביא עמו אספין יחד עם גלריה מרשימה של אנשים שאמורים היו למלא תפקידי - UNDERSECRETARIES ובעיקר ASSISTANT SECRETARIES. נכון להיום, קיימת תחושה כאן שהפנטגון "מפגר" אחר הגופים האחרים המשתתפים בעיצוב מדיניות החוץ של ארה"ב. בנייר זה אנסה להסביר חלק מהמתרחש כאן.

2. ניתן למנות כמה סיבות ל"המראה", האיטיות של הפנטגון:

א. המשך ניהול מדיניות החוץ בהתאם למכניזם שלפיו היא אמורה להתבצע, לאמור, מחמ"ד היא בכל זאת הגוף המוביל.

ב. תהליך איוש אטי של משרות המצריכות אישורים בקונגרס.

ג. התעסקות מהיום הראשון באוסף של נושאים פנימיים ובעייתיים (הומוסקסואליים בצבא, סגירת בסיסים, קיצוץ התקציב, נשים בתפקידים קרביים וכד') ולא דווקא בנושאי מדיניות.

ד. צורך ל" כבות שריפות " בבעיות אזוריות בעולם הגדול.

ה. האישיות המיוחדת של האנשים בעמדות המפתח והאיטיות, בצד האזרחי של הפנטגון כתוצאה ממבנה מעורפל עדין מול מיעוט באנשים.

3. דרך עיצוב מדיניות החוץ בווישינגטון בנויה מארבעה שלבים:

א. INTERAGENCY WORKING GROUP - IWG מאויש ברמת SECRETARIES . ASSISTANT

DEPUTIES COMMITTEE . ב.

מכ"ל
אספין
179

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ג. PRINCIPALS COMMITTEE
בראשות היועץ לביטחון לאומי ובהשתתפות המזכירים, יו"ר המטות
המשולבים וראש ה C.I.A.

ד. NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
מאויש על ידי הנשיא, סגנו, מזכירי ההגנה והחוץ. בנוסף מוגדרים
כיועצים היועץ לביטחון לאומי, ראש ה C.I.A., יו"ר המטות המשולבים
ונוספים לפי החלטת הנשיא (השגרירה לאו"ם, יועץ בתחום הכלכלה וכד').
בכל תהליך עיצוב המדיניות מוביל את הנושא מחמ"ד, ובשלבם בכירים יותר,
המועצה לביטחון לאומי. הפנטגון, שבעזרת התקשורת, ניסה ליצור רושם של
כוונה להוביל יותר בנושא מדיניות החוץ, מצא עצמו מהר מאוד משחק לפי
הכללים שהיו נקוטים כאשר השפעתו משתנה בהתאם לחלקו הצפוי במימוש חלופת
מדיניות זו או אחרת. יש לזכור שמימוש מדיניות מצריך לעתים שימוש בנכסים
שישנם רק לפנטגון. באותם מקרים עולה משקלו של זה, ובעיקר משקלו של המטות
המשולבים (או מדויק יותר, של היו"ר פאוול).

4. בניגוד למחמ"ד, סובל הפנטגון, במלאת ארבעה חדשים לממשל, מקצב נמוך
מאוד של אישור אנשיו לעמדות המפתח. בניגוד לכריסטופר, שבא לליטל - רוק
מצויד ברשימה של 12 אנשים אתם הוא רצה לעבוד וקיבל על כך אישור כמעט
מידי מהבית הלבן, בא אספין עם שינוי מבנה ארגוני שעבר כמעט ללא בעיות
(הגם שפורמלית טרם אושר) אולם עם תהליך איוש ש"שיחק" לידיה של הבית הלבן
שדרש מעורבות אקטיבית באישור. הצוות הראשוני שאספין הציג לא היה בנוי
בתמהיל הנכון הנדרש היום כאן של לבנים, מיעוטים ונשים וכך החל תהליך
פינג-פונג מייגע בין הפנטגון לבין הבית הלבן של הצעות, פסילות, הצעות
חדשות, פסילות נוספות כך שעד עצם היום הזה אושרו רק מעטים.

הוסיפו לכך את תהליך האישור של היום (שיצר מסננת עם חורים הרבה יותר
קטנים, בעיקר בשלב הכנת הקטע של ה FBI על המועמד) ותקבלו פנטגון
שעד היום אושרו בו רק המזכיר, סגנו, תת - שר אחד (מארבעה) ומעט עוזרי
מזכיר. נוצר מצב בו המועמדים היו בפועל במשרדים אולם כדי לא לתת לקונגרס
תחושה של "חותמת גומי" מוטלות עליהם מגבלות בלתי רגילות באשר לתחומי
פעילותם. הדברים הגיעו לקיצוניות כזו שאספין נאלץ להעביר מכתב בין כל
אלה שלא אושרו עדין המתזכר אותם באשר למגבלות פעילותם (מכתב שפגע עוד
יותר במורל של הממתינים לאישור). כל זאת בנוסף לזמן הארוך במיוחד
באישורו של פרנק וויזנר, תת המזכיר החשוב ביותר, דבר היוצר מתחים רבים
בסביבתו ובמעגלים נוספים (בעיקר אם יקרה כאן מה שרבים לא מוכנים
להאמין, לאמור, שאדם באיכותו של וויזנר לא יאושר לפתע).

5. אספין, שרצה להקדיש את מיטב מרצו לעיצוב מסודר ומתודי מחדש של
קהיליית הבטחון האמריקאי מצא עצמו עוסק בנושאים שהפכו כאן לנושאים
לאומיים כגון ההומוסקסואליים בצבא, סגירת הבסיסים במדינות השונות,
קיצוצי התקציב, חריגה גדולה בהוצאות פיתוח מערכות נשק ובקיצור, עיסוק
בסדר יום המונחת עליו ולא בסדר יום המוכתב על ידו. בין שאר הדברים, גרם
התהליך המתואר לעלייה נוספת בכוחו של הקונגרס, בהשפעתו על המתרחש ובעיקר
לעלייה בכוחו של סם נאן. התחושה היא שהפנטגון הפסיד דרגות חופש בבואו
לקונגרס.

6. על פני השטח צמחו מתחים בין הצד האזרחי של הפנטגון (OSD) לבין המטות
המשולבים. קולין פאוול, אדם בעל עוצמה בלתי רגילה כאן בקהיליית הביטחון
בפרט ובקהילייה הפוליטית בכלל תמרן עצמו מהר מאד להכתבת דעתו במקרים לא
מעטים.

באופן בולט ביותר, "התיישרה" מדיניות ארה"ב מול בוסניה בהתאם ל"דוקטרינת
פאוול" באשר לתנאים הנדרשים להפעלת כוחה הצבאי של ארה"ב. במיוחד בולט
הדבר מול הגישה של אספין טרם הבחירות (באשר ליכולת לאפשר פעילות צבאית
מדורגת בהתבסס על השליטה בתהליך ועל היכולות שמקנה הנשק המדויק, בעיקר
האווירי, לקברניט). כן בולט הדבר מול העמדה האקטיבית שעלתה מהבית הלבן
וממחמ"ד לפני כחודש ומחצה ושהסתיימה, לאחר סיורו של כריסטופר באירופה,
בקול דממה דקה.

7. היחסים בין אספין לפאוול שונים מאלו שהיו לפאוול ולצ'ייני. צ'ייני

טיפח יו"ר חזק ופאוול גמל לו בידיעה ברורה מתי עליו להרגיש ולהתנהג כשני במדרוג. אספין, הפועל בצורה קצת יותר אימפולסיבית, ואנשיו, יצרו מתח מסוים בין הצד האזרחי של הבית והצד הצבאי שלו. במטות המשולבים מרגישים שהם חזקים יותר בטיפול בבעיות, מנוסים יותר (בעיקר בהשוואה לאזרחים שזה מקרוב באו ושלא עסקו מזה שנים רבות בנושאים של בטחון לאומי) בעלי שליטה טובה יותר בזרימת המידע וביצירת אופציות. ובשלב זה נהנים מעדיפות מסוימת. "חריקות" עדין קיימות, ואספין, לדוגמא מינה לאחרונה צוות של 8 קצינים בכירים מאוד במילואים לבחינת רמות הכוננות הדרושות בצבא. היה זה יכול להיות בסדר לולא עשה זאת אספין ללא כל התייעצות עם פאוול. מדד הכעס באותו יום בפנטגון היה גבוה מהרגיל.

8. נוצר מצב בו הקרבה לנשיא כיום מתחילה מכריסטופר ובתחום הביטחון, נראה כאילו בשלב זה הכימיה בין הנשיא לפאוול (עד כמה שהיא קיימת) גדולה מזו שבין הנשיא ומזכיר ההגנה.

סיכום

9. יש כיום תחושה בעיר של פנטגון "צולע" במקצת מול מחמ"ד שגם אם לא אויש באנשים מבריקים במיוחד (כפי, לפחות, שהוצג בתקשורת) עוסק כל היום בתחומים בהם הוא הורגל לעסוק ומוביל את העשייה המדינית כאן. גם המועצה לביטחון לאומי, שהתחילה בפרופיל נמוך הולכת ואוספת עוצמה. עיצוב המדיניות החדשה (ישנה) מול איראן נזקק במידה רבה לזכותו של מרטין אינדיק הנלחם על מקומו בעקשנות רבה.

10. יחד עם זאת, ובהנחה שמינויו של וויזנר לא יטורפד (דבר שעשויות להיות לו השלכות משמעותיות של המועד בו ירוץ הפנטגון בקצב שייעד לעצמו) הציפייה כאן הינה שעד יולי יאושר הרב המכריע של המינויים ואז יצליח הפנטגון TO GET ITS ACT TOGETHER ואולי אף להוציא לפועל את תפיסתו בדבר מקומו בעיצוב המדיניות כאן, תפיסה שהוצגה כבר לא פעם דרך ארבעת ה"סכנות" והמבנה המעודכן שמאפשר לפנטגון לטפל בהן.

בברכה,

ג'ורא רום אלוף
נ.צ. וושינגטון

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אל:אגת87/רמחתא'ס

אל:שר הבטחון

אל בן-עמי/משהב"ט

אל דובר צהל

אל ראש הממשלה

בלמס/מיידי

אל:תפוצת תקשורת

מאת:תקשורת וושיןגטון

הנדון: תדרוך מחלקת המדינה ליום 3/6/93

בתדרוך היום במחמ"ד, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב):-
 NORTH KOREA
 RUSSIA

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב):-
 SOUTH AMERICA

- יוגוסלביה (הועבר בנפרד למזא"ר 2).

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לענייננו:-

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: RICHARD BOUCHER 12:50
 P.M., EDT THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1993

Q THERE WAS A REPORT OUT OF KIEV THAT PREMIER KUCHMA HAD TOLD
 PARLIAMENT, THE PARLIAMENT MEETING THAT WAS DISCUSSING START,
 THAT THE UKRAINE SHOULD DECLARE ITSELF A NUCLEAR STATE AND
 TEMPORARILY KEEP HOLD OF PART OF ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL. HAVE YOU
 SEEN THE STATEMENT, AND DOES THE COMMENT COME AS A SURPRISE TO

YOU?

MR. BOUCHER: I HAVE NOT SEEN THAT STATEMENT AT ALL, CAROL. WHAT I SAW REPORTED IN THE WIRES THIS MORNING WAS A VERY STRONG STATEMENT BY FOREIGN MINISTER ZLENKO ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF REACHING NON-NUCLEAR STATUS AND SUPPORT FOR RATIFICATION. I HADN'T SEEN ANY STATEMENT BY KUCHMA AT THIS POINT.

Q WELL, WOULD YOU TAKE A LOOK AT THAT AND SEE --

MR. BOUCHER: AND I THINK PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK WAS THERE, AS WELL.

Q WELL, WOULD YOU TAKE -- I MEAN, KUCHMA IS A FAIRLY IMPORTANT PLAYER AS WELL, SO WOULD YOU TAKE A LOOK AT THAT AND SEE IF YOU CAN CONFIRM THAT HE --

MR. BOUCHER: I'LL CHECK AND SEE IF WE HAVE ANYTHING ON IT, YEAH.

Q COULD YOU SEE IF HE TOLD STROBE TALBOTT THAT WHEN STROBE WAS IN KIEV?

MR. BOUCHER: I THINK WE'VE TOLD YOU ABOUT 13 TIMES, BARRY, THAT THE UKRAINIAN LEADERS, INCLUDING DURING OUR RECENT VISIT, REASSURED US, ONCE AGAIN ASSURED US OF THEIR INTENTION TO BE A NON-NUCLEAR STATE AND TO RATIFY THE START AND THE NPT.

Q SPEAKING OF NON-NUCLEAR STATES, DO YOU WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE TALKS ON NORTH KOREA?

Q CAN I ASK A QUESTION ON THIS -- (INAUDIBLE)?

MR. BOUCHER: YES.

Q IS THE UNITED STATES CONCERNED THAT UKRAINE WILL HAVE OPERATIONAL CONTROL OF ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ONE TO TWO YEARS?

MR. BOUCHER: LET ME EXPLAIN THE SITUATION AS WE KNOW IT. THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION REMAIN UNDER THE SINGLE UNIFIED COMMAND OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES ARMED FORCES LED BY MARSHAL SHAPOSHNIKOV. WE HAVE HEARD REPORTS ABOUT UKRAINIAN EFFORTS TO SEEK OPERATIONAL CONTROL. WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE WOULD OPPOSE THEIR ESTABLISHING SUCH CONTROL. SENIOR UKRAINIAN OFFICIALS HAVE CONSISTENTLY ASSURED US THAT THEY CONTINUE TO SUPPORT UKRAINE'S COMMITMENTS TO BECOME A NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATE. AND AS I MENTIONED, JUST TODAY FOREIGN MINISTER ZLENKO MADE A STRONG STATEMENT IN THAT REGARD IN FRONT OF PARLIAMENT.

OBVIOUSLY, THIS IS A SUBJECT OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US; IT'S ONE THAT WE FOLLOW CLOSELY. WE REMAIN CONFIDENT THAT UKRAINE DOES NOT HAVE THE INDEPENDENT CONTROL OVER NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND DOES NOT HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO ORDER THE USE OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS ON ITS TERRITORY.

Q BUT ARE YOU CONCERNED THAT THEY ARE MOVING IN THAT DIRECTION, AND IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE THAT THEY COULD IN FACT GAIN OPERATIONAL CONTROL WITHIN TWO YEARS?

MR. BOUCHER: CAROL, I'M AFRAID ALL I CAN TELL YOU IS WHAT I JUST DID, AND THAT'S THAT WE HEARD REPORTS ABOUT UKRAINIAN EFFORTS TO SEEK OPERATIONAL CONTROL, AND WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THEM THAT WE WOULD OPPOSE THEIR ESTABLISHING SUCH CONTROL. THE SENIOR UKRAINIAN OFFICIALS HAVE CONSISTENTLY ASSURED US THAT THEY CONTINUE TO SUPPORT UKRAINE'S COMMITMENTS TO BECOME A

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NON-NUCLEAR STATE.

Q WHAT KIND OF REPORTS ARE THOSE? ARE THOSE PRESS REPORTS YOU'RE REFERRING TO, OR ARE YOU REFERRING TO HAVING HEARD REPORTS OVER SOME LONGER PERIOD OF TIME FROM GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OR OTHER INFORMANTS IN KIEV?

MR. BOUCHER: THAT'S NOT SOMETHING I CAN GET INTO.

Q BUT YOU'RE NOT SAYING THEY'RE PRESS REPORTS?

MR. BOUCHER: NO, I DIDN'T SAY THAT.

Q COULD YOU ELABORATE FURTHER ON THE FIRST HIGH LEVEL MEETING BETWEEN THE US AND NORTH KOREA? AND SECONDLY, IS YOUR GOVERNMENT NOW DISCUSSING SOME SORT OF SANCTIONS AGAINST NORTH KOREA WITH MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL?

MR. BOUCHER: AS FAR AS FURTHER, I THINK YOU SAW THE STATEMENT DONE IN NEW YORK, BUT JUST TO REVIEW FOR THE BASICS OF WHAT HAPPENED YESTERDAY. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA MET TO DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE NUCLEAR ISSUE AND TO ELIMINATE THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. AS ASSISTANT SECRETARY GALLUCCI STATED YESTERDAY, THE TWO SIDES HAD SEVEN HOURS OF DISCUSSIONS BUT THERE WAS NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS. AS WAS STATED YESTERDAY AS WELL, THE TWO SIDES AGREED TO MEET AGAIN ON FRIDAY.

WITH REGARD TO YOUR SECOND QUESTION, I WOULD SAY THAT OUR GOAL REMAINS TO SEEK A NUCLEAR-FREE KOREAN PENINSULA. TO ACHIEVE THIS, NORTH KOREA MUST ITSELF REMAIN -- MUST COMMIT ITSELF TO REMAIN IN THE NPT, FULLY COOPERATE WITH THE IAEA, AND IMPLEMENT THE NORTH-SOUTH DENUCLEARIZATION DECLARATION. WE CONTINUE TO CONSIDER, ALONG WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WHAT FURTHER STEPS TO TAKE TO ACCOMPLISH THESE GOALS.

Q ARE SANCTIONS AMONG THEM?

MR. BOUCHER: I THINK WE PREVIOUSLY SAID THAT THAT WAS IN THE UNIVERSE BUT, AT THIS POINT, I THINK THE NEXT STEP IS TO HAVE THIS MEETING WITH THE KOREANS TOMORROW.

Q RICHARD, WHY ARE YOU HAVING THIS MEETING ON FRIDAY IF YOU HAD NO PROGRESS IN SEVEN HOURS YESTERDAY?

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, THEY AGREED IT MIGHT BE USEFUL -- THE PEOPLE WHO ARE UP THERE TALKING HAVE AGREED IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO GET TOGETHER AGAIN AND THEY'RE GETTING TOGETHER AGAIN ON FRIDAY.

Q WELL, IS THERE SOME INDICATION THAT EITHER SIDE -- EITHER THE US OR THE NORTH KOREANS PLAN TO TAKE BACK SOME RESULTS OR SOME PAPER OR SOME PROPOSALS THAT THEY'VE DISCUSSED IN THE FIRST MEETING AND RETURN ON FRIDAY WITH FRESH OPINIONS OR INSTRUCTIONS OF SOME SORT?

MR. BOUCHER: WE'LL HAVE TO SEE WHAT HAPPENS TOMORROW.

Q WELL, NO, THAT'S A QUESTION THAT RELATES TO WHAT HAPPENED YESTERDAY. WAS THERE SOME COMMITMENT TO DO THAT?

MR. BOUCHER: I'M AFRAID AT THIS POINT WE'VE SAID AS MUCH AS WE CAN ABOUT THE CONTENT OF THE DISCUSSIONS. THEY'RE UNDERWAY. THEY WILL CONTINUE ON FRIDAY.

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אל:שר הבטחון

אל ראש הממשלה

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אל:מזא"ר 2

דע:נאו"ם - אהרון יעקב - ניו-יורק

מאת:תקשורת וושינגטון

להלן חלק א' של נר 158. חלקו השני בנר 159

הנדון: יוגוסלביה - מתוך תדרוך מחמ"ד (3/6)

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: RICHARD BOUCHER 12:50
P.M., EDT THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1993

MR. BOUCHER: GOOD AFTERNOON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. I DON'T HAVE ANY STATEMENTS OR ANNOUNCEMENTS, BUT I'D BE GLAD TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q RICHARD, WHAT CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE PACKAGE OF PROPOSALS FOR BOSNIA DANGLING AT THE UN?

MR. BOUCHER: AT THE UN? SURE. FIRST, ON THE SAFE AREAS RESOLUTION, THERE'S AN INFORMAL MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL THIS AFTERNOON. WE EXPECT THE SAFE AREAS RESOLUTION WILL BE DISCUSSED THERE. AT YESTERDAY'S COUNCIL MEETING THERE WAS PROGRESS MADE IN REACHING A COMPROMISE ON THE FRENCH DRAFT RESOLUTION. THE FRENCH DRAFT WAS CIRCULATED IN THE FINAL VERSION YESTERDAY EVENING, AND A VOTE ON IT IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO IS POSSIBLE. WE'RE SUPPORTING A BROAD-BASED EFFORT WITHIN THE COUNCIL TO REACH CONSENSUS ON THE SAFE AREAS RESOLUTION, AS WE SAID WE WOULD DO IN THE JOINT ACTION PLAN.

Q THAT COMPROMISE, DID THAT CHANGE THE US ROLE IN ANY WAY OR DID IT CHANGE THE IDEA IN ANY MAJOR WAY?

MR. BOUCHER: NO.

Q WELL, WHAT IS THE -- (OFF MIKE)?

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MR. BOUCHER: THIS IS A -- THERE'S A TEXT THAT'S BEEN CIRCULATED. IT'S THE FINAL DRAFT. IT'S A RESOLUTION THAT IMPLEMENTS THE CONCEPTS OF SAFE AREAS. IT DEFINES THE ROLES OF THE UNPROFOR FORCES THAT WOULD BE THERE AND DEFINES THE MEANS BY WHICH THEY SHOULD PROTECT THEMSELVES, PROTECT THE AREA.

Q DOES IT LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO?

MR. BOUCHER: NO, THIS IS SAFE AREAS.

Q THIS DOESN'T DEFINE WHO WILL PROVIDE THE FORCES?

MR. BOUCHER: NO, I DON'T THINK IT DOES, NOT IN THE RESOLUTION.

Q ON THE BASIS OF THIS DEFINITION NOW, RICHARD, DO YOU HAVE A SENSE OF HOW MANY ADDITIONAL TROOPS ARE GOING TO BE REQUIRED?

MR. BOUCHER: I DON'T AT THIS POINT, BARRY. THAT'S SOMETHING THAT THE UN AND UNPROFOR WILL HAVE TO DETERMINE.

Q BUT DOES IT -- I MEAN, DOES IT SUGGEST THAT ADDITIONAL TROOPS WILL BE NEEDED?

MR. BOUCHER: I DON'T THINK I'M IN A POSITION AT THIS POINT TO GO ENTIRELY THROUGH THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION, BUT IT DOESN'T SPECIFY ANY PARTICULAR NUMBER.

Q YESTERDAY WE DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY -- WE DISCUSSED THE FACT THAT THE NON-ALIGNED HAD PUT FORWARD THEIR OWN RESOLUTION AND THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME ELEMENTS FROM THAT INCORPORATED INTO THE FRENCH DRAFT. HAS THAT HAPPENED, AND CAN YOU GIVE US A SENSE OF WHAT THEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO GET IN?

MR. BOUCHER: AGAIN, WITHOUT GETTING INTO THE TEXT, WE AND OTHERS, AND IN THE FULL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL WE'VE BEEN WORKING WITH THE OTHER GOVERNMENTS UP THERE, WITH THE NON-ALIGNED AND YES, INDEED, SOME OF THE THINGS THAT THEY WANTED TO SEE IN THE TEXT ARE REFLECTED IN THE FINAL DRAFT. IT WAS A PROCESS OF WORKING OUT A COMPROMISE.

Q WAS THE ARMS EMBARGO ASPECT ONE OF THE THINGS THEY WANTED TO GET IN?

MR. BOUCHER: NO, THERE'S NOT -- AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, THERE'S NO SPECIFIC TEXT IN FRONT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON AN ARMS EMBARGO, AND SO WE HAVEN'T TAKEN A POSITION ON THE SPECIFIC RESOLUTION IN THAT REGARD.

Q IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THAT FRENCH DRAFT, WHAT COULD TRIGGER THE USE OF THE US AIR POWER?

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, ONCE AGAIN, I'M NOT QUITE IN A POSITION YET TO OUTLINE FOR YOU ALL THE DETAILS OF THE TEXT. BUT, AS YOU KNOW, WHAT WE'VE SAID IN THE JOINT STATEMENT IS THAT WE COMMITTED OURSELVES TO USING OUR AIR POWER TO PROTECT OR RESCUE UNPROFOR FORCES SHOULD THEY SO REQUEST IT.

Q HOW ARE YOU ACTUALLY GOING TO RESCUE THEM? IS THIS GOING TO BE AN ENTEBBE KIND OF THING WITH PLANES LANDING AT THE SREBRENICA TOWN HALL PUTTING UNPROFOR FORCES ABOARD AND TAKING THEM -- HOW ARE YOU GOING TO RESCUE THEM?

MR. BOUCHER: ALAN, OBVIOUSLY, THAT QUESTION WOULD DEPEND ON THE

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CIRCUMSTANCES, WOULDN'T IT?

Q HELICOPTERS WITH LADDERS COMING DOWN.

Q WELL I'M JUST CURIOUS. I CAN UNDERSTAND THAT YOU MIGHT BOMB SOMEBODY WHO'S ATTACKING THEM, ALTHOUGH THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID THAT THAT WOULD NOT BE EFFECTIVE FOR MORE THAN A DAY OR TWO, BUT I CAN'T UNDERSTAND HOW YOU'RE GOING TO RESCUE THEM WHEN YOU SAY YOU'RE NOT GOING TO BE ON THE GROUND.

MR. BOUCHER: ALAN, IT'S RIDICULOUS TO EXPECT ME RIGHT HERE, RIGHT NOW TO DEFINE MILITARY ACTION OR WHAT SORT OF ACTION OUR MILITARY PLANNERS WILL DECIDE IS APPROPRIATE IN A SITUATION THAT HAS NOT YET OCCURRED. I'M SORRY, BUT IT'S NOT A QUESTION THAT ANYBODY IN THE WORLD CAN ANSWER RIGHT NOW.

SECOND OF ALL, I THINK WE WENT THROUGH THE ISSUE YESTERDAY, THAT YOU RAISE AGAIN, OF AIR POWER, AND I THINK WE'VE EXPLAINED THAT AND I'D REFER YOU BACK TO THE RECORD.

Q RICHARD, YOU PUT OUT A PIECE OF GUIDANCE, I THINK IT WAS LAST WEEK, THAT SHOWED THAT THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION, I THINK IN DECEMBER, HAD MADE A GENERAL COMMITMENT TO PROTECT UNPROFOR FORCES, THEN THIS ADMINISTRATION HAD AND THEN, OF COURSE, THE JOINT ACTION PLAN ABOUT 2-1/2 WEEKS AGO HAD SPECIFICALLY. HOW DID THE JOINT ACTION PLAN CHANGE THAT COMMITMENT, OR DID IT CHANGE THE COMMITMENT TO PROTECT AND RESCUE UNPROFOR FORCES?

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, IT -- CHRIS, IT DID AND IT DIDN'T. I MEAN, IT DIDN'T IN TERMS OF WE -- YOU KNOW, WE -- WE HAVE A COMMITMENT TO -- TO PROTECT AND -- AND IF NECESSARY RESCUE UNPROFOR FORCES SHOULD THEY REQUIRE IT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM AND THE RESOLUTION THAT WE'RE ABOUT TO PASS CHANGED THE ROLE AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT UNPROFOR IS GOING TO FIND ITSELF IN, SO OBVIOUSLY THERE'S SOME DIFFERENCE THERE IN TERMS OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO.

Q DOES THE RESOLUTION ADOPT -- THE TEXT OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPT THE LANGUAGE OF THE JOINT ACTION PLAN ON THE SUBJECT OF COMMITTING US FORCES FOR PROTECTION OR RESCUE OF UNPROFOR TROOPS? IS THERE ANY CHANGE IN THAT FORMULA IN THE RESOLUTION?

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, THE -- THE -- THE RESOLUTION DOESN'T SPECIFY US COMMITMENTS. IT'S -- IT'S A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ABOUT WHAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS CAN OR SHOULD DO. THE LANGUAGE IS SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT, BUT NO, IT DOESN'T -- OUR COMMITMENT REMAINS THE SAME.

Q CAN YOU TELL US ANYTHING NEW ON THE BUSINESS OF STRATEGIC MATERIAL GETTING THROUGH ACROSS THE BORDER, MR. MILOSEVIC'S PLEDGE, AND FURTHER -- DO YOU HAVE ANY NEW OBSERVATIONS, OR --

MR. BOUCHER: NOT -- THERE'S NOT A WHOLE LOT OF DETAIL THAT I CAN OFFER YOU HERE. I CAN -- I CAN MAKE SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS, THOUGH.

FIRST OF ALL, THE -- WE BELIEVE THAT THE SERBIAN GOVERNMENT, THE SO- CALLED FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA GOVERNMENT TOOK SOME LIMITED STEPS LAST MONTH TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THE -- ON THE STATED INTENTION TO CUT OFF DELIVERIES ON EVERYTHING BUT FOOD AND MEDICINE. THERE WAS SOME STEPPED-UP MONITORING AT THE BORDERS BY THE SERBIAN AND MONTENEGRAN AUTHORITIES. THE DELIVERY OF A WIDE RANGE OF GOODS WAS RESTRICTED.

TRAFFIC ACROSS THE BORDER HAS BEEN REDUCED OVERALL, BUT WE NEED TO POINT OUT IT HAS NOT BEEN HALTED ALTOGETHER, AND THE BOSNIAN SERBS HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN SOME OF THE GOODS THAT ARE PURPORTEDLY RESTRICTED BY THE EMBARGO. THE BORDER IS -- IS LONG, AND IT RUNS THROUGH A LOT OF DIFFICULT TERRITORY, BUT I THINK YOU'VE SEEN THE PRESS REPORTS, AND WE HAVE REPORTS AS WELL THAT INDICATE SOME RESTRICTIONS, SOME PLACES WHERE THE TRAFFIC IS DOWN -- TRAFFIC IS DOWN OVERALL, BUT ALSO THE CONTINUED TRANSSHIPMENTS OF GOODS.

Q YOU DON'T FEEL THOSE INCLUDE WEAPONS?

MR. BOUCHER: I CAN'T SPECIFY ANY FURTHER AT THIS POINT.

Q DOES THE US HAVE THE CAPACITY TO KNOW? IS YOUR LACK OF -- YOUR INABILITY TO -- TO -- TO SPECIFY BASED ON SOME SECURITY REASON, OR IS THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES NOT ABLE WITH ITS SURVEILLANCE TO FIGURE OUT WHAT'S GETTING ACROSS THE BORDER?

MR. BOUCHER: I DON'T THINK THAT'S A QUESTION I CAN ANSWER HERE, BARRY.

Q CAN'T YOU NOT ANSWER MY QUESTION BECAUSE WE -- (LAUGHTER) -- WE CAN GO ENDLESSLY. I MEAN, THE POINT IS, THE US GOVERNMENT WITH THESE, I THINK, FAIRLY DESCRIBED AS MONITOR --

MR. BOUCHER: WE HAVE A CAPABILITY OF SURVEILLANCE, A CAPABILITY OF WATCHING WHAT'S GOING ON.

Q RIGHT.

MR. BOUCHER: I MEAN, THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN PRESS REPORTS FROM THE BORDER AREAS. SOME OF THE JOURNALISTS HAVE BEEN OUT THERE, TOO, SO WE -- THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF REPORTS OUT THERE ABOUT WHAT'S GOING ON. YOU'RE ASKING ME A QUESTION OF EXACTLY WHAT THAT CAPABILITY IS -- CAN WE DETECT THIS, CAN WE FIND OUT THAT -- AND THOSE ARE THE KIND OF QUESTIONS THAT I CAN'T ANSWER.

Q I'M JUST TRYING TO ASK YOU IF THE US GOVERNMENT KNOWS IF WEAPONS OR CHICKENS ARE CROSSING THE BORDER. AND YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT MONITORS SUPPLIED BY THE SERBS THEMSELVES. THIS IS INCREDIBLE. THEY'RE NOT EXACTLY THE MOST RELIABLE MONITORS.

MR. BOUCHER: I -- WELL, I MEAN, THEY'RE THERE. I MEAN, --

Q YEAH.

MR. BOUCHER: -- THE FACT IS THEY'RE THERE. THEY'RE MONITORING THE BORDER. THAT -- THAT PRESUMABLY EXPRESSES SOME SORT OF INTENT OR -- OR EFFORT ON THEIR PART. I WAS NOTING IT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME --

Q YEAH.

MR. BOUCHER: -- I DON'T WANT TO REALLY CHANGE THE OVERALL SITUATION AS WE'VE DESCRIBED IT BEFORE, AND THAT'S THERE HAVE BEEN SOME RESTRICTIONS, SOME TRAFFIC DOWN OVERALL, BUT IN FACT THERE'S STILL GOODS GETTING THROUGH.

Q RICHARD, ON THE SAME SUBJECT, HOW ARE THE SANCTIONS WORKING ON THE DANUBE? HAVE WE BEEN ABLE TO INCREASE THE AMOUNT OF -- OF -- OF TRAFFIC THAT IS BEING CUT OFF THERE OR DECREASE THE AMOUNT?

MR. BOUCHER: THE SANCTIONS ON THE DANUBE, IN FACT, HAVE BEEN

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VERY TIGHT. DURING THE MONTH OF APRIL, THERE WAS ALMOST NO TRAFFIC AT ALL ON THE DANUBE, AND THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN RATHER THAT LEGITIMATE SHIPMENTS THAT NEEDED TO GO THROUGH HAD TO -- THE ARRANGEMENTS WERE BEING MADE TO AUTHORIZE THOSE. AND SO NOW THERE HAVE BEEN A FEW CONVOYS STARTING AGAIN. DID I SAY "THE MONTH OF APRIL"? I BETTER DOUBLE-CHECK THAT IT WASN'T MAY. I'LL GET YOU THAT ANSWER AFTERWARDS. BUT THERE WAS A LONG PERIOD AFTER THE SANCTIONS WENT INTO PLACE WHEN THERE WAS VERY LITTLE TRAFFIC, IF ANY, ON THE DANUBE. AND JUST RECENTLY THE ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN PUT IN PLACE BY ALL THE VARIOUS MONITORS TO ALLOW APPROVED CARGOES THAT ARE ALLOWED TO GO THROUGH -- THAT AREN'T DESTINED FOR SERBIA TO GO THROUGH. AND SO THERE'S SOME TRAFFIC THAT'S RESUMING NOW UNDER THOSE PROCEDURES.

Q IS LEGITIMATE HIGHWAY TRAFFIC OF THE SAME SORT BEING CUT OFF OR LIMITED IN ANY WAY COMING FROM EAST OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA?

MR. BOUCHER: I DON'T KNOW THAT I HAVE AN UPDATE ON THAT SPECIFIC, HIGHWAY TRAFFIC. THERE'S BEEN, I THINK, A LOT OF DECLINE IN TRAFFIC OVERALL DUE TO THE SANCTIONS. THE SANCTIONS ARE BEING ENFORCED. THERE'S A LOT OF EFFORTS THAT WE HAVE UNDERWAY WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS OUT THERE, INCREASED SUPPORT. I THINK THE WEU HAS JUST GONE THROUGH A PROCESS OF WORKING OUT SOME AGREEMENTS WITH THE COUNTRIES IN THE AREA TO HELP THEM ON THE DANUBE. SO THERE'S A LOT OF EFFORTS UNDERWAY TO MAKE THESE SANCTIONS TIGHT AND TIGHTER EVERY DAY.

Q ON THAT SUBJECT, THE UKRAINIANS SAY THAT THE DANUBE BLOCKADE HAS BEEN RUINOUS TO THEIR ECONOMY. THEY THINK THEY'VE LOST SOME DOLLAR 2 BILLION WORTH OF TRAFFIC THAT NORMALLY WOULD HAVE BEEN GAINING EXPORT. SPECIFICALLY, IS THERE ANY THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO SOMEHOW COMPENSATING THEM OR ADJUSTING THINGS TO COMPENSATE FOR THEIR ECONOMIES?

MR. BOUCHER: JIM, I DON'T KNOW WHERE THAT NUMBER MIGHT COME FROM AND WHETHER IT'S RELATED TO THIS TEMPORARY HALT IN TRAFFIC ON THE DANUBE, AND THE --

Q FROM THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT.

MR. BOUCHER: -- RESUMED SHIPMENTS NOW MAY MAKE THAT A LITTLE EASIER TO ALLOW LEGITIMATE TRAFFIC THROUGH. BUT I DON'T REALLY HAVE ANYTHING FOR YOU ON THE ISSUE OF COMPENSATION AT THIS POINT.

Q GIVEN YOUR RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE MONITORS AND THE MONITORING OF -- THE SUCCESS OF THE MONITORING ON THE BORDER, WHAT'S THE STATUS OF THE UN EFFORT TO BEEF THAT UP?

MR. BOUCHER: IT WAS DISCUSSED YESTERDAY IN THE COUNCIL. IT CAME UP YESTERDAY -- THE BORDER MONITORS RESOLUTION. THE FOCUS, AS YOU KNOW, RIGHT NOW IN THE COUNCIL IS ON SAFE AREAS, BUT WE DO SUPPORT THE ADOPTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THE BORDER MONITORS RESOLUTION. IT'S SOMETHING WE SET IN THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM.

Q BUT WHAT'S THE STATUS OF IT? DO YOU THINK IT WILL BE PASSED ANY TIME SOON, AND --

MR. BOUCHER: I CAN'T PREDICT THAT ONE. THE FOCUS RIGHT NOW IS ON THE SAFE AREAS.

Q IS IT STILL THE US VIEW THAT, AS THE SECRETARY HAS SAID REPEATEDLY, THAT IT'S UP TO MILOSEVIC AND HIS GOVERNMENT TO

DECIDE WHETHER THERE WILL BE MONITORS ON THE BORDER?

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, IF YOU'RE GOING INTO SERBIAN TERRITORY, YOU CAN'T DO IT WITHOUT THEIR ACQUIESCENCE, WITH THEIR PERMISSION. I THINK WE MADE CLEAR ALL ALONG THE PURPOSE OF THIS IS TO TEST MILOSEVIC AT HIS WORD. HE'S THE MAN WHO MADE THE COMMITMENTS. HE'S THE MAN WHO MADE THE STATEMENTS. THEY WERE CLEAR. THEY WERE CATEGORICAL. AND WE'RE WILLING TO HELP HIM MAKE SURE THAT WHAT HE SAID WOULD HAPPEN HAPPENS. AND I THINK THAT'S THE CLEAR POINT.

Q COULDN'T BORDERS -- BORDERS CAN BE CHECKED FROM EITHER SIDE, CAN'T THEY? IS THERE SOME CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO NOT USING SERBIAN TERRITORY TO ENFORCE THE UN -- THE IMPENDING UN RESOLUTION ON BORDER MONITORING?

MR. BOUCHER: I THINK, AS WE'VE SAID BEFORE, RALPH, THE CONCEPT OF THIS, THE WAY IT'S PROCEEDING IN TERMS OF MOVING TOWARDS A UN RESOLUTION, IS TO TEST MILOSEVIC. HE MADE THE PLEDGES. IT WILL BE IN HIS -- IT IS HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO MAKE HIS PROMISES EFFECTIVE. THAT THE ENFORCEMENT, MONITORING THE ACTUAL ENFORCEMENT AT THE BORDER IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SERBS TO MAKE THEIR PLEDGE EFFECTIVE, AND THEN WE ARE LOOKING AT SUPPORTING THE ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO SEND OBSERVERS TO ENSURE THAT THOSE PLEDGES ARE KEPT.

Q RICHARD, A COUPLE OF DAYS AGO YOU WERE UNABLE TO TELL US JUST HOW SAFE THE SAFE AREAS WOULD BE BECAUSE YOU SAID THAT THERE WERE DISCUSSIONS GOING ON IN NEW YORK ON THAT VERY SUBJECT. WE NOW HAVE A RESOLUTION THAT'S ON THE TABLE AND PRESUMABLY HAS BEEN MORE OR LESS ACCEPTED. AT THIS STAGE, THEN, CAN YOU GIVE US A SENSE OF HOW SAFE WILL THE SAFE AREAS BE?

MR. BOUCHER: BARRY, I CAN'T TRY TO DO THAT EVEN NOW. THE RESOLUTION IS -- THERE'S A FINAL DRAFT. IT WILL BE VOTED. IT WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ALL OF YOU AND YOU WILL SEE THE DESCRIPTIONS IN THERE ABOUT WHAT THE UNPROFOR TROOPS INTEND TO DO TO MAKE THE AREA SAFE.

Q PRESUMABLY, THEY WILL BE DOING MORE THAN THEY HAVE BEEN UP TILL NOW. CAN WE ASSUME THAT?

MR. BOUCHER: YEAH. IT'S AN EXPANDED MANDATE. THE PURPOSE OF DOING THIS RESOLUTION IS TO EXPAND THE MANDATE FOR UNPROFOR, AND IT'S TO IMPLEMENT THE CONCEPT OF SAFE AREAS THAT WAS ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE PREVIOUS RESOLUTION AS A DECLARATION, AND IS TO NOW IMPLEMENT THAT AND MAKE IT EFFECTIVE THROUGH THE USE OF UNPROFOR FORCES.

Q JUST CONCEPTUALLY, WILL THEY HAVE A MANDATE TO SEEK OUT THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE MAKING THEIR REGIONS UNSAFE?

MR. BOUCHER: THAT'S THE KIND OF QUESTION THAT YOU'LL BE ABLE TO ANSWER ONCE YOU SEE THE RESOLUTION.

Q RICHARD, DOES THE RESOLUTION INCLUDE LANGUAGE REAFFIRMING VANCE- OWEN AS THE DESIRED GOAL OF POLICY IN BOSNIA?

MR. BOUCHER: ONCE AGAIN, I'M NOT HERE TO BRIEF ON THE TEXT OF A RESOLUTION THAT HASN'T BEEN PASSED. I'M SORRY, BUT I'M JUST NOT IN A POSITION TO DO THAT.

Q OKAY. WHETHER IT DOES OR NOT, CAN YOU TELL US WHETHER THE SECRETARY WILL TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF HIS VISIT TO EUROPE TO

PRESS OUR ALLIES ONCE AGAIN ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S PREFERRED OPTIONS?

MR. BOUCHER: THE ADMINISTRATION'S PREFERRED OPTIONS REMAIN THE PREFERRED OPTIONS. I'M SURE THE DISCUSSION IN EUROPE WILL INVOLVE A LOT OF BOSNIA. YOU KNOW THAT ONE OF THE POINTS IN THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM IS THAT THOSE OPTIONS, THOSE OTHER OPTIONS REMAIN ON THE TABLE AND ARE NOT PREJUDICED OR EXCLUDED, AND I WOULD EXPECT A COMPLETE DISCUSSION OF THE BOSNIA ISSUES.

Q ARE THEY SITTING ON THE TABLE OR ARE WE PUSHING THEM ACROSS THE TABLE?

MR. BOUCHER: THAT'S AN EXTENSION OF METAPHOR I'M NOT PREPARED TO DO AT THIS POINT.

Q RICHARD, WHAT IS THE US GOVERNMENT'S ASSESSMENT OF PASSAGE OVER THE SERBIAN-BOSNIAN BORDER? AT THE TIME OF THE JOINT ACTION PLAN --

MR. BOUCHER: I THINK I JUST DID THAT.

Q DID YOU? I'M SORRY.

Q CAN YOU HAVE A COMPLETE DISCUSSION OF THE BOSNIA ISSUES WITHOUT DISCUSSING IT WITH THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT, OR DID YOU MEAN TO BE SAYING THERE THAT THERE WILL BE SOME DISCUSSION WITH THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT?

MR. BOUCHER: I WASN'T TALKING ABOUT BILATERAL MEETINGS DURING THE TRIP OR ANY OTHER MEETINGS DURING THE TRIP.

Q OR MULTILATERAL MEETINGS.

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, THE MULTILATERAL MEETINGS YOU KNOW, THE EC MEETINGS --

Q BUT WILL ANY OF THEM INVOLVE THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT? MY QUESTION IS WHETHER -- YOU SAID THERE WOULD BE A COMPLETE DISCUSSION --

MR. BOUCHER: AT THIS POINT, RALPH, I DON'T HAVE A LIST OF OTHER MEETINGS DURING THE TRIP OF ANY KIND.

Q RICHARD, YOU ADDRESSED THE QUESTION OF SUPPLIES REACHING THE BOSNIAN SERBS OR NOT REACHING THE BOSNIAN SERBS. WHAT ABOUT REACHING THE MUSLIMS? WHAT'S THE STATUS OF THE AIRDROPS IN EASTERN BOSNIA, AND WHAT'S HAPPENING WITH THE AIRLIFT IN SARAJEVO?

MR. BOUCHER: THE AIRDROPS ARE CONTINUING. I DON'T HAVE A PRECISE UPDATE ON THAT. I CAN GET IT FOR YOU IF YOU WANT IT. THE SARAJEVO AIRLIFT WAS SUSPENDED ON JUNE 1ST FOR -- THREE DAYS AGO, TWO DAYS AGO BECAUSE OF THE SERIOUSLY DETERIORATING SECURITY SITUATION. THE AIRLIFT OFFICIALS ARE EXPECTED TO MEET TODAY TO ASSESS THE SECURITY SITUATION AND MAKE A RECOMMENDATION ON WHEN THE AIRLIFT MIGHT BE RESUMED.

ON CONVOYS, THERE HAVE BEEN A LOT OF CONVOYS GETTING THROUGH, IN PARTICULAR LAST WEEK. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME THAT HAVE BEEN HELD UP THIS WEEK, BUT WE'VE BEEN GETTING THROUGH TO PLACES LIKE SREBRENICA AND ZEPA AND OTHERS LIKE THAT. IN SREBRENICA AT THIS POINT, WE'RE CONCERNED ABOUT THE WATER SITUATION; THE SITUATION WITH THE WATER THERE CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE BECAUSE THE BOSNIA

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SERBS ARE REFUSING TO PERMIT UN OFFICIALS ACCESS TO THE WATER PURIFICATION SYSTEM THAT'S UNDER THEIR CONTROL. BUT THE UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES IS SENDING CONVOYS TODAY FROM BELGRADE FOR SREBRENICA AND ZEPA. THEY'VE CANCELLED CONVOYS ON THE BELGRADE-SARAJEVO RUN DUE TO FIGHTING AROUND SARAJEVO. BUT THE WAREHOUSE IN MITKOVIC (PH) SENT OUT 15 CONVOYS ON JUNE 1ST AND 2ND CARRYING 919 METRIC TONS OF RELIEF SUPPLIES. FOR THE PERIOD MAY 31ST TO JUNE 1ST, THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES REPORTS THAT 20 CONVOYS WITH 1,111 METRIC TONS WENT FROM THE WAREHOUSES IN ZAGREB, ZENICA AND BELGRADE.

Q ON THE AIRDROPS, SOME TIME AGO THERE WAS CONCERN ABOUT DWINDLING RESOURCES. WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE SUPPLY PIPELINE?

MR. BOUCHER: I'D HAVE TO GET YOU SOMETHING ON THAT, HOWARD. I KNOW THE AIRDROPS HAVE CONTINUED.

Q RICHARD, WHILE RECOGNIZING YOUR REFUSAL TO SAY WHAT'S IN THE RESOLUTION AND YOUR INABILITY TO DEFINE HOW SAFE THE ZONES ARE GOING TO BE AND WHAT THE UNPROFOR FORCES WILL BE ALLOWED TO DO, CAN I ASK IN THE MOST GENERAL TERMS, WILL THE PEOPLE WHO ARE LIVING IN THESE ZONES FEEL AN APPRECIABLE DIFFERENCE IN THEIR LIVES AFTER THIS RESOLUTION IS PASSED AND IMPLEMENTED?

MR. BOUCHER: THAT IS THE INTENTION AND I WOULD THINK SO.

Q YOU WOULD?

MR. BOUCHER: YES.

Q RICHARD, I KNOW YOU DON'T NORMALLY DO COLUMNS, BUT I WONDERED IF YOU HAD ANY COMMENT ON WILLIAM SAFIRE'S ESSAY THIS MORNING IN WHICH HE WONDERS IF THE SECRETARY IS PURSUING HIS OWN AGENDA ON BOSNIA OR IS MERELY INEPT.

MR. BOUCHER: NO, JOHANNA, WE DON'T DO COLUMNS. WE HAVEN'T DONE THAT COLUMN FOR FOUR YEARS AND I DON'T THINK IT'S A GOOD TIME TO START NOW.

Q RICHARD, CAN I ASK -- BACK ON BOSNIA, CAN I JUST REVIEW WHAT YOU HAVE SAID SO FAR? THERE IS ONE RESOLUTION ON THE TABLE WHICH WILL BE VOTED ON IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO ON THE SAFE HAVENS.

MR. BOUCHER: YES, THAT'S RIGHT.

Q THERE ARE SEVERAL OTHERS, HOWEVER, MAKING THEIR WAY TOWARD THE TABLE; ONE WOULD BE BEEFING UP THE MONITORS SYSTEM --

MR. BOUCHER: BORDER MONITORS.

Q -- AND ANOTHER WOULD BE MAKING SOME ADJUSTMENT ON THE DANUBE BLOCKADE. OR IS THAT A SEPARATE RESOLUTION OR DOESN'T IT REQUIRE A RESOLUTION?

MR. BOUCHER: NO. NO, THERE'S NOT -- THAT'S A PROCEDURE THAT'S BEING WORKED OUT UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE PREVIOUS RESOLUTION. SO THE TWO RESOLUTIONS THAT ARE IN PLAY NOW -- IN THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM WE TALKED ABOUT THREE UN RESOLUTIONS: ONE WAS A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL -- WE'VE DONE THAT; TWO IS THE SAFE AREAS -- WE'RE CLOSE TO DOING THAT; AND THREE IS THE BORDER MONITORS RESOLUTION -- THAT'S SOMETHING WE STILL THINK SHOULD BE ADOPTED AND, YOU KNOW, ONCE THE FOCUS IS OFF SAFE AREAS THAT WE EXPECT THERE'LL BE MORE DISCUSSION OF THAT.

Q RICHARD, FOLLOWING UP ON ALAN'S QUESTION, YOU JUST GAVE US A LIST OF ACTIVITIES GOING ON IN VARIOUS SAFE AREAS, INCLUDING SARAJEVO AND SREBRENICA. WITHOUT DISCLOSING WHAT'S IN THE RESOLUTION, IF YOU DON'T WANT TO DO THAT, IS IT FAIR FOR US TO CONCLUDE THAT THE UN RESOLUTION WILL DEAL WITH THE ISSUES OF ALLOWING THE PEOPLE IN THE SAFE AREA OF SREBRENICA TO HAVE SAFE WATER SUPPLIES OR ALLOWING THE PEOPLE IN THE SAFE AREA OF SARAJEVO TO HAVE AN OPERABLE AIRPORT? OR IS THAT NOT THE SORT OF THING THAT THE UN IS DEALING WITH IN THIS RESOLUTION?

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MR. BOUCHER: I'M NOT SURE UN RESOLUTIONS EVER GET SPECIFIC TO THE POINT OF A WATER PURIFICATION PLANT. OUR STRONG SUPPORT, INDEED INSISTENCE ON THE NEED, FOR THE CONTINUATION OF HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES HAS BEEN STATED OVER AND OVER AGAIN. IT WAS STATED IN THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM. IT'S BEEN REPEATEDLY STATED IN UN RESOLUTIONS. AND IT'S BEEN CARRIED OUT THROUGH THINGS LIKE THE AIRDROPS, THROUGH THINGS LIKE THE CONTINUED CONVOYS DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES.

Q BUT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT --

MR. BOUCHER: SO THAT THESE EFFORTS WILL CONTINUE. OBVIOUSLY, I THINK, IF THE -- WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SAFE AREAS CONCEPT, WE SAID THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT IT IS IT CAN SAVE LIVES. IT CAN SAVE LIVES NOT ONLY THROUGH STOPPING THE FIGHTING IN THESE AREAS, BUT IT CAN ALSO HELP WITH THE RECEIPT OF HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES. SO THAT SUPPORT IS PART OF IT.

Q I GUESS SOME OF US HAVE A PROBLEM. WE'VE HAD A PROBLEM TRYING TO UNDERSTAND WHEN THE UN DESIGNATED CERTAIN AREAS AS SAFE AREAS. I GUESS AFTER A WHILE WE BECAME ACCUSTOMED TO THE IDEA THAT THAT WAS A DESIGNATION THAT DIDN'T NECESSARILY MAKE THEM SAFE. NOW WE'RE TALKING ABOUT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DESIGNATION, AND WE'RE TRYING TO DETERMINE WHETHER -- TRYING TO UNDERSTAND WHETHER IT'S THE UN'S INTENTION THAT THESE AREAS ACTUALLY BE SAFE. OTHERWISE, WE HAVE TO KEEP CALLING THEM "SO-CALLED SAFE AREAS" OR THINGS LIKE THAT. I MEAN, WE CAN'T JUST KEEP CALLING THEM SAFE AREAS WHEN IT'S OBVIOUS THAT PEOPLE CAN'T EVEN DRINK THE WATER.

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, IT'S -- IN THE END, YOU KNOW, IT'S GOING TO DEPEND ON WHAT HAPPENS ON THE GROUND. AND IN THE END, IT'S GOING TO DEPEND ON WHAT THE PARTIES CAN DO OR CAN BROUGHT TO DO AND WHAT THE UNPROFOR FORCES CAN DO IN TERMS OF MAKING THEM SAFE. THE RESOLUTION WILL ENABLE -- WILL AUTHORIZE THE UNPROFOR PEOPLE TO EXPAND THEIR MANDATE, TO EXPAND THEIR ROLE, AND WILL DEFINE IN GENERAL TERMS, GIVE THEM THE AUTHORITY OF THE COUNCIL TO CARRY OUT THE ACTIONS THAT MAY BE NECESSARY TO MAKE THOSE AREAS SAFE AND WILL SPECIFY MANY OF THOSE ACTIONS.

Q DO YOU KNOW IF THERE'S BEEN ANY --

MR. BOUCHER: BUT THAT'S WHAT THE RESOLUTION WILL DO.

Q DO YOU KNOW IF THERE HAVE BEEN ANY VOLUNTEERS AT THIS POINT YET TO SEND ADDITIONAL FORCES INTO THESE SAFE AREAS, LIKE THE ALLIES?

MR. BOUCHER: NO. I DON'T KNOW. AND I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE TROOP LEVELS WOULD BE.

Q JUST I WANTED TO ASK, THREE WEEKS AGO OR SO, PRESIDENT CLINTON ENUMERATED THREE INTERESTS THAT THE US HAS IN BOSNIA -- HUMANITARIAN, CONTAINING THE CONFLICT, AND RESPONDING TO

AGGRESSION. THIS MORNING, AND ON MACNEIL/LEHRER, SECRETARY
CHRISTOPHER SAID THAT WE'RE MOTIVATED BY HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS
AND OUR ONLY STRATEGIC INTEREST IS CONTAINING THE CONFLICT. I'M
JUST WONDERING WHAT HAPPENED -- ARE WE STILL CONCERNED ABOUT
RESPONDING TO AGGRESSION? ARE WE NOT CHARACTERIZING THAT WAR AS
A WAR OF AGGRESSION ANYMORE? WHAT HAPPENED TO THE THIRD --

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MR. BOUCHER: I DON'T SEE A DIFFERENCE THERE, TIM. WE'VE, I THINK, STATED AS CLEARLY AS POSSIBLE THAT OUR GOALS ARE TO STOP THE KILLING, TO PREVENT THE CONFLICT FROM SPREADING, AND TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE TO BRING ABOUT A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. THOSE THREE GOALS HAVE BEEN STATED REPEATEDLY. IMPLICIT IN ALL OF THOSE IS STOPPING AGGRESSION. THE SECRETARY HAS, I THINK, REPEATEDLY ALSO DISCUSSED THE AMERICAN INTERESTS AND HOW WE'RE PURSUING THE AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THIS CONFLICT. HE MADE VERY CLEAR WE HAVE HUMANITARIAN INTERESTS AND WE ALSO HAVE THE STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN SEEING -- IN PREVENTING THE CONFLICT FROM SPREADING. SO IT'S --

Q SO YOU'RE SAYING IT'S IMPLIED, BUT IS STOPPING THE AGGRESSION A STRATEGIC INTEREST OR NOT?

MR. BOUCHER: IT'S PART OF EVERYTHING. I MEAN, STOPPING THE --

Q BUT IT'S --

MR. BOUCHER: STOPPING THE KILLING AND STOPPING THE AGGRESSION FROM KILLING PEOPLE IS THE HUMANITARIAN INTEREST AS WELL. STOPPING THE CONFLICT FROM SPREADING AND STOPPING THE AGGRESSION FROM GOING MORE ABROAD, ALL RIGHT, IT'S ALL THE SAME THING.

Q INCREASINGLY, RICHARD, YOU DON'T EVEN HEAR THE WORD "AGGRESSION" BEING USED HERE. THE SECRETARY HAS DELIVERED SOME VERY LONG ANSWERS ON THE BOSNIA SITUATION IN WHICH THERE WAS BASICALLY NO BLAME APPORTIONED, NO AGGRESSION TAKING PLACE, IT'S THREE FACTIONS WITH A LONG HISTORY OF HATRED -- HATRED FOR ONE ANOTHER, AND AGGRESSION DOESN'T SEEM TO BE PART OF THE --

MR. BOUCHER: HOWARD, --

Q -- PICTURE ANY MORE.

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MR. BOUCHER: -- IF -- IF YOU LOOK, EVERY TIME THAT I CAN REMEMBER THAT THE SECRETARY'S ADDRESSED THIS, HE'S MADE CLEAR THAT THIS IS BLAME WHETHER IT'S FOR CRIMES OR FOR FIGHTING ON ALL SIDES, BUT THAT THE PRINCIPAL BURDEN, PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY LIES ON THE SERBIAN SIDE. AS I'VE REPORTED TO YOU DAY AFTER DAY ON THE STEPS WE'RE TAKING, THE PRESSURES THAT ARE INCREASING, THEY'RE ALL -- THEY'RE ALL ON THE SERBS.

Q WELL, I'LL TELL YOU, I HAVE A PROBLEM. IF IT'S IN THE US' STRATEGIC INTEREST NOT TO SEE THE BATTLE -- THE CONFLICT SPREAD, WHY IS IT IN THE US -- WHY ISN'T IT IN THE US' STRATEGIC INTEREST TO SEE THAT WAR STOPPED BEFORE IT CAN BEGIN TO SPREAD? HOW DO YOU DRAW A LINE? AND WHAT ABOUT THE EUROPEANS? IS -- IS THEIR SECURITY INTEREST ONLY IN CONTAINMENT? IF THE WAR STOPS, THEN YOUR STRATEGIC INTEREST IN CONTAINING THE WAR, I SUPPOSE, IS SATISFIED. WHERE -- WHERE -- I DON'T GET THIS.

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, THAT'S -- THAT'S -- THAT WAS MY ANSWER TO TIM'S QUESTION, THAT, --

Q NO, BUT YOU INTRODUCED THE --

MR. BOUCHER: -- YOU KNOW, STOPPING THE AGGRESSION IS -- IS A PART OF A -- IS INHERENT IN ALL THESE -- IN ALL THESE THINGS THAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO. WHAT WE'RE -- WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO IS TO -- IS TO COME WITH SPECIFIC STEPS -- AND WE THINK WE'VE DONE SOME OF THOSE IN THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM -- TO GET THE KILLING TO STOP, TO CONTAIN THE CONFLICT, AND TO BRING MORE PRESSURE ON THE SERBS TO SETTLE THIS THING THROUGH A NEGOTIATION.

Q WELL, ALL RIGHT, BUT HIS -- CHRISTOPHER'S LONG INTERVIEW WITH NBC, ONLY PART OF WHICH WAS AIRED ON THE TODAY PROGRAM, SPEAKS OF THE US' STRATEGIC INTEREST NOT BEING INVOLVED OR INVOKED, AS HE PUT IT, IN THE BOSNIAN WAR ITSELF. ONLY IF CONTAINED -- WELL, "ONLY IF" I SHOULDN'T SAY. HE DIDN'T SAY "ONLY", BUT THE STRATEGIC INTEREST, HE SAID, IS TO SEE THE WAR NOT SPREAD. AND I DON'T UNDERSTAND THAT. IF A WAR IS ENDED, WELL, THEN, IT CAN'T SPREAD BY DEFINITION. OR IF PEOPLE KEEP KILLING THEMSELVES, PRESUMABLY -- YOU KNOW, THEY COULD GET CONFIDENT ENOUGH TO SPREAD THE WAR. HOW DO YOU DRAW THAT -- HOW DOES THE US GOVERNMENT DRAW A STRATEGIC LINE LIKE THAT? WHAT ABOUT THE EUROPEANS?

MR. BOUCHER: THE EUROPEANS, YOU CAN ASK THE EUROPEANS.

Q WELL, HE ASKED THEM, AND I KNOW WHAT THEIR ANSWER WAS.

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, THEN, YOU DON'T NEED TO ASK ME, EITHER, DO YOU?

THE SECRETARY, I THINK, HAS BEEN VERY CLEAR THAT WE HAVE A HUMANITARIAN INTEREST IN STOPPING THE KILLING AND SEEING THE HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES GET THROUGH, AND WE'VE DONE A LOT OF THINGS TO CARRY THAT OUT. WE ALSO HAVE A STRATEGIC INTEREST IN PREVENTING THE CONFLICT FROM SPREADING, PARTICULARLY OSIDE OF BOSNIA'S BORDER.

Q CORRECT.

MR. BOUCHER: AND WE HAVE DONE THINGS TO CARRY THAT OUT. AND IN THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM YOU WILL SEE A SERIES OF STEPS

MR. BOUCHER: AND WE HAVE DONE THINGS TO CARRY THAT OUT. AND IN THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM YOU WILL SEE A SERIES OF STEPS THAT RESPOND TO THOSE VARIOUS INTERESTS, TO THOSE VARIOUS NEEDS,

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WHETHER IT'S SAFE AREAS, CONTINUATION OF HUMANITARIAN SUPPLIES IN ORDER TO HELP STOP THE KILLING INSIDE BOSNIA, OR WHETHER IT'S STEPS THAT WE CAN TAKE WITH KOSOVO OR MACEDONIA TO HELP KEEP THE CONFLICT FROM SPREADING, OR WHETHER IT'S FURTHER STEPS TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE SERBS TO RESOLVE THIS PEACEFULLY. SO I THINK WE'VE DEFINED WHAT THE INTERESTS ARE, WE'VE DEFINED WHAT THE GOALS ARE, AND WE'VE DEFINED WHAT THE STEPS ARE TO CARRY IT OUT.

Q MAYBE I'LL GET A CHANCE TO PURSUE IT WITH HIM (SOMEDAY ?). I DON'T SEE -- MY PROBLEM IS A WAR IN MACEDONIA AFFECTS THE US'S VITAL OR STRATEGIC INTERESTS, IS WHAT HE AND ALL YOU FOLKS ARE SAYING, BUT A WAR IN BOSNIA DOES NOT; IT'S JUST A HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM. I DON'T GET IT. IT SAID A PRIORI. IT SAID --

MR. BOUCHER: OKAY. YOU'RE TURNING THINGS BACK AND FORTH.

Q NO, I'M NOT. YOU GUYS SAY --

MR. BOUCHER: YES, IT IS TRUE, AS YOU SAY, THAT IF YOU STOP THE FIGHTING IN BOSNIA, YOU ALSO STOP IT FROM SPREADING.

Q OF COURSE.

MR. BOUCHER: AND THAT'S WHY THERE HAS BEEN AN EFFORT --

Q THAT'S NOT NECESSARILY TRUE. (INAUDIBLE) -- STOP IT IN BOSNIA AND IT COULD STILL SPREAD.

Q NO.

MR. BOUCHER: (INAUDIBLE) -- THAT'S TRUE, ALAN, BUT THE PRESUMPTION IS THAT IF YOU STOP THE FIGHTING WHERE IT IS NOW, YOU STOP IT FROM SPREADING. YOU MAY NOT. THAT'S WHY YOU NEED A SERIES OF STEPS, A PACKAGE OF STEPS, AS WE WORKED OUT WITH THE EUROPEANS IN THE JOINT ACTION PROGRAM THAT DO -- THAT WORK ON ALL THESE DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM AT ONCE.

Q DOES THE US GOVERNMENT STILL CONSIDER THIS WAR IN PART A WAR OF AGGRESSION BY ONE STATE AGAINST ANOTHER?

MR. BOUCHER: TIM, WE'VE BEEN AROUND THAT 13 TIMES. OUR VIEW ON THAT HAS NOT CHANGED. THERE'S ELEMENTS OF AGGRESSION, THERE'S ELEMENTS OF (INTRASTATE ?) AND THERE'S ELEMENTS OF CIVIL WAR.

Q COULD I CHECK ON SOMETHING ON THE SUBJECT OF CONTAINMENT? DOES THIS MEAN -- YOU'RE WORRIED ABOUT THE CONFLICT SPREADING OUTSIDE OF BOSNIA. DOES THIS MEAN THAT THE SERBS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE BOSNIAN SERBS MAY GET A MESSAGE THAT AS LONG AS THE CONFLICT REMAINS WITHIN BOSNIA, THEN THAT DOES NOT --

MR. BOUCHER: NO, I DON'T SEE ANY REASON FOR THEM TO DRAW THAT CONCLUSION. WITH THE UN CONSIDERING PLACING UNPROFOR FORCES IN CITIES THAT ARE THREATENED AND UNDER SIEGE, WITH THE UNITED STATES COMMITTED TO HELPING PROTECT THOSE FORCES THROUGH THE USE OF OUR AIR POWER, I THINK IT WOULD BE UNJUSTIFIED TO DRAW ANY CONCLUSION THAT THEY HAVE LICENSE TO DO WHAT THEY WANT IN BOSNIA.

Q RICHARD, DOES --

MR. BOUCHER: WE HAD A GUY THAT WANTED TO CHANGE THE SUBJECT A LONG TIME AGO.

Q YEAH. SAME SUBJECT. DOES THE US GOVERNMENT HAVE ANY CLEARER

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IDEA WHAT WENT ON IN BELGRADE THE OTHER DAY IN THAT (DUST-UP ?)
IN FRONT OF THE PARLIAMENT?

MR. BOUCHER: I THINK I HAVE A LITTLE MORE INFORMATION ON WHAT
HAPPENED AFTER. THE SERBIAN RENEWAL MOVEMENT LEADER, VUK
DRASKOVIC, WAS ARRESTED AND BEATEN BY SERBIAN POLICE AFTER A
DEMONSTRATION IN BELGRADE ON JUNE 1ST. THERE WERE APPROXIMATELY
5,000 DEMONSTRATORS GATHERED OUTSIDE OF THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING
TO PROTEST THE ASSAULT OF A SERBIAN RENEWAL MOVEMENT
PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTY BY A SERBIAN RADICAL PARTY DEPUTY FOLLOWING
THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE RECALL OF PRESIDENT COSIC. THE
POLICE AND SOME AMONG THE DEMONSTRATORS FIRED SHOTS. AT LEAST A
DOZEN PEOPLE WERE INJURED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE DEMONSTRATION.
ONE POLICEMAN WAS KILLED. DRASKOVIC'S INJURIES REQUIRED HOSPITAL
TREATMENT. HE AND HIS WIFE HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN SENTENCED TO 60
DAYS IN JAIL FOR DISTURBING THE PUBLIC ORDER AND ARE SUBJECT TO
FURTHER PROSECUTION. DESPITE REPEATED ATTEMPTS, OUR EMBASSY IN
BELGRADE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO CONFIRM THEIR HEALTH OR DETENTION
STATUS. OBVIOUSLY, WE DEPLORE THE SENSELESS VIOLENCE THAT'S
OCCURRED DURING THE DEMONSTRATION AS WELL AS THE POLICE
BRUTALITY THAT LED TO DRASKOVIC'S HOSPITALIZATION. THIS IS AN
ISSUE WHICH WE INTEND TO RAISE AT THE CSCE AS PART OF THEIR
HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS WHICH SERBIA HAS CLAIMED IT MAINTAINS AND
RESPECTS.

Q (OFF MIKE) -- STILL NOT -- NO DIFFERENT --

MR. BOUCHER: NO BROADER POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS AT THIS POINT.

Q WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THE STABILITY OF MILOSEVIC'S
GOVERNMENT AT THIS POINT? IS IT UNCHANGED, IN YOUR VIEW, IN THE
LAST COUPLE OF DAYS, THREE DAYS, FOUR DAYS?

MR. BOUCHER: AS I SAID, I'M NOT TRYING -- AT THIS POINT WE'RE
NOT DRAWING ANY POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THE INCIDENTS THAT
OCCURRED.

Q THE US HAS SAID FOR, I THINK, MORE THAN A YEAR NOW, MAYBE EVEN
A YEAR AND A HALF, HAS TALKED ABOUT HOW BRITTLE THE GOVERNMENT
OF IRAQ IS, FOR EXAMPLE. WE HAVEN'T SEEN TOO MUCH PUBLIC
EVIDENCE OF THAT BRITTLITY, BUT WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE -- WOULD
YOU CARE TO CHARACTERIZE THE GOVERNMENT IN BELGRADE USING A
PHRASE LIKE THAT OR ANYTHING OF THAT SORT?

MR. BOUCHER: NO, I DON'T THINK I WOULD. THANK YOU.

Q YOU WOULDN'T CARE TO CHARACTERIZE IT.

MR. BOUCHER: NO; AND I DON'T THINK IN THE CASE OF IRAQ, EITHER,
WE'VE TRIED TO MAKE SPECIFIC PREDICTIONS ABOUT HOW LONG THAT
WILL LAST.

END

תקשורת וויינינגטון

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אאאא, חוזם: 5624

אל: רהמש/151

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 130, תא: 030693, זח: 1223, דח: מ, סג: בל,

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בלמס/מידי

Handwritten signature in red ink, possibly "7.6."

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: זכויות אדם: מתוך תידרוך מיוחד במחמ"ד. 2.6.93

SPECIAL STATE DEPT. BRIEFING RE: THE WORLD CONF. ON HUMAN RIGHTS
BRIEFERS: TIMOTHY WIRTH, STATE DEPT. COUNSELOR, HEAD, US
DELEGATION TO WORLD CONF. ON HUMAN RIGHTS, JOHN SHATTUCK, ASST.
SEC. OF STATE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS THE
STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, DC WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1993

MR. BOUCHER: ALL RIGHT. GOOD AFTERNOON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.
THIS IS AN ON-THE-RECORD BRIEFING. THE SUBJECT IS THE WORLD
CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS THAT'S ABOUT TO BE HELD IN VIENNA.
THE BRIEFERS TODAY ARE THE COUNSELOR OF THE DEPARTMENT, TIMOTHY
WIRTH, WHO WILL BE HEADING OUR DELEGATION, AND JOHN SHATTUCK,
THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN
AFFAIRS WILL ALSO BE A PROMINENT MEMBER OF OUR DELEGATION. I
THINK TIMOTHY WIRTH HAS A SHORT STATEMENT FOR YOU AT THE
BEGINNING TO TELL YOU A LITTLE BIT ABOUT THE CONFERENCE.

MR. WIRTH: RICHARD, THANK YOU VERY MUCH, AND THANK YOU ALL FOR
COMING OVER. THIS IS THE FIRST OF -- FIRST PUBLIC EVENT THAT
WE'RE HAVING FOR THIS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT HUMAN RIGHTS
CONFERENCE WHICH, AS ALL OF YOU KNOW, WILL TAKE PLACE IN A
LITTLE LESS THAN TWO WEEKS IN VIENNA. THIS IS THE FIRST GLOBAL
HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN THE POST-COLD WAR PERIOD.
WE HAVE TWO MAJOR GOALS FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE. FIRST,
THE REAFFIRMATION OF THE BEDROCK PRINCIPLES OF THE UNIVERSAL
DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ENSHRINES
WHAT WE BELIEVE ARE TIMELESS PRINCIPLES -- THE GAINS FOR HUMAN
RIGHTS THAT WE SEE WORLDWIDE, THE MASSIVE REFERENDUM FOR
DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA, OR THE BALLOTS JUST CAST IN CAMBODIA, THE
VERY STRONG CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA -- THESE ALL TO US REAFFIRM
THE UNIVERSAL HUMAN DESIRE AND RIGHT TO LIVE IN FREEDOM AND
DIGNITY, REGARDLESS OF CULTURAL DIFFERENCES.

OUR SECOND GOAL IS TO DO EVERYTHING THAT WE CAN TO STRENGTHEN
THE UNITED NATIONS' ABILITY TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS. WE HAVE
DEVELOPED AN ACTION PLAN, AND A COPY OF THAT IS IN YOUR PACKETS

-- IT SAYS, "US DRAFT HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION PLAN." WE HAVE DEVELOPED AN ACTION PLAN THAT, IF ADOPTED IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, WOULD GO FAR TO IMPROVE THE UNITED NATIONS' EFFECTIVENESS IN ADDRESSING AND RESOLVING HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF HIGHLIGHTS OF THAT WHICH I WILL GO OVER WITH YOU AND THEN STOP: FIRST, ENSURING GREATER EFFECTIVENESS FOR THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER AND ITS ADVISORY SERVICES AND REPORTING ACTIVITIES;

SECOND, TARGETING UN ASSISTANCE TOWARDS HELPING NATIONS ESTABLISH THE RULE OF LAW, ELIMINATE TORTURE, AND RESOLVING ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS, AND RACIAL CONFLICT;

THIRD, HELPING TO INTEGRATE THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN INTO EFFORTS THROUGHOUT THE UN SYSTEM AND SUPPORTING THE APPOINTMENT OF A SPECIAL RAPPORTEUR ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN; FOURTH, INCREASING THE CAPACITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY BY ASSISTING IN THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS AND IMPROVING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE; FIFTH, INTEGRATING HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS INTO UN ACTIVITIES SUCH AS PEACEKEEPING, REFUGEE PROTECTION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION, AND DEVELOPMENT AND HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMS; AND FINALLY, CREATING THE OFFICE OF A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AS A MEANS OF HELPING TO ACCOMPLISH ALL OF THESE GOALS.

* * *

Q ISRAEL HAS THE LARGEST NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE WORLD TODAY. SHE HAS ADMITTED JUST RECENTLY TO 6,000, AND THE PALESTINIANS SAY THERE ARE 13. MANY OF THEM HAVE NOT BEEN BROUGHT BEFORE THE COURTS. MY QUESTION IS THIS: ARE THE PALESTINIANS GOING TO BE REPRESENTED AT THE VIENNA CONFERENCE?

MR. WIRTH: JUST THE COUNTRIES THAT ARE -- I THINK THE PALESTINIANS WILL -- WILL BE THERE. I'M SURE THAT THEY WILL BE THERE, AS A MATTER OF -- I THINK ALL THE COUNTRIES THAT ARE EITHER IN THE UNITED NATIONS OR ARE ACCREDITED OBSERVERS TO THE UNITED NATIONS, YOU KNOW, CAN AND -- I CAN'T SAY SPECIFICALLY -- THEY CERTAINLY HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE THERE, BUT I --

DO YOU KNOW IF THEY WILL BE THERE?

MR. SHATTUCK: I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THEY WILL BE THERE. THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE THERE.

MR. WIRTH: THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO BE THERE, JUST AS ALL OBSERVERS DO IN OBSERVER STATUS. THERE WILL ALSO BE THERE SOME 1,000 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ACCREDITED TO THE UNITED NATIONS, SO I'M SURE THAT THE PALESTINIANS WILL BE THERE. THIS IS NOT, HOWEVER, A CONFERENCE TO DEAL WITH SPECIFIC ISSUES AND SPECIFIC PROBLEMS, AS YOU KNOW. YOU KNOW, THAT

Q SENATOR, YOU MENTIONED THIS INTERESTING ISSUE OR QUESTION OF WHETHER CULTURAL DIFFERENCES UNDERMINE THE CONCEPT OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND I'M -- JUST, YOU KNOW, THE IDEA THAT ONE MAN'S UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLE IS ANOTHER MAN'S INVASION, OR -- OF -- OF POLITICAL OR CULTURAL SOVEREIGNTY (SIC). I'M JUST WONDERING WHETHER -- WHAT OTHER ARGUMENTS THE US MIGHT BRING TO THE CONFERENCE OTHER THAN TO ASK PEOPLE THE QUESTION WHAT IT IS THAT -- WHAT IS IT IN THEIR CULTURE THAT -- THAT REQUIRES THEM TO HAVE A DIFFERENT STANDARD OF HUMAN RIGHTS? IN -- IN PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, THE SOVIETS, FOR INSTANCE, HAVE ARGUED THAT FULL EMPLOYMENT IS A BASIC HUMAN RIGHT. THERE HAVE BEEN POSITIONS WHERE, YOU KNOW, THAT THE US HAS REJECTED OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS STANDARDS THAT OTHER PEOPLE TRY TO APPLY TO THE US -- OFTEN CYNICALLY, I ADMIT. SO I'M JUST WONDERING WHAT OTHER ARGUMENTS WE'RE BRINGING THEM TO ASK, YOU KNOW, WHAT IS IT IN YOUR CULTURE THAT --

MR. SHATTUCK: THERE IS A NEW AND ADDITIONAL DECLARATION RELATED TO SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS, AND THE UNITED STATES IS SUPPORTING THAT. THE UNITED STATES IS BROADENING OUR DEFINITION AND OUR COMMITMENTS BEYOND WHAT WE HAVE DONE BEFORE, WHICH WE BELIEVE IS A WELCOME CHANGE AND AN IMPORTANT THING TO DO.

SECOND, THERE ARE BASIC FUNDAMENTALS THAT WE THINK ARE APPLICABLE ACROSS THE BOARD WHETHER -- NO MATTER WHAT RELIGION ONE MAY PRACTICE OR WHAT THE POLITICAL SYSTEM MAY BE. AND AS WE SUPPORT DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS, WE ARE ALSO VERY AWARE OF THE FACT THAT DEMOCRACY CAN TAKE MANY, MANY FORMS. AND WE'RE ALSO A FACT THAT -- WE'RE ALL AWARE OF THE FACT THAT IN THESE CULTURES, YOU KNOW, FORMS OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND SELF-GOVERNANCE, YOU KNOW, HAVE TAKEN MANY DIFFERENT FORMS IN MANY DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS AREAS AS WELL.

SO IN ADDITION TO ASKING THAT QUESTION, WHICH I WILL ADMIT IS A BIT RHETORICAL, BUT I MEAN, IT DOES -- IT DOES DRAW THE -- IT DOES DRAW THE ISSUE. THERE ARE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO ESPOUSE, AND WE'RE BROADENING OUR DEFINITION AND OUR INVOLVEMENT AS WELL.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
רביב, מעת, הסברה, בייך, ארבל2, @ (דוצ),

@ (בן עמי / משהבט), @ (ראשה ממסלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 2650

אל: רהמש/68

מ-: רהמש, נר: 2, תא: 020693, זח: 1257, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

2 ביוני 1993

שמור - מידי

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אל: וושינגטון / ק' קונגרס

מאת: לשכת רוח"מ / יועץ מדיני

דע: וושינגטון שגריר; משה"ח/מצפ"א

הנדון: פגישת ראש הממשלה עם חברי קונגרס מפלורידה

1. ראש הממשלה נועד ב- 1 ביוני עם משלחת חברי קונגרס מפלורידה שאורגנה ע"י איפ"ק.

2. ראש הממשלה הציג תמונת מצב מדינית.

3. לא עלה נושא סיוע החוץ. ראש הממשלה מכל מקום הודה לממשל האמריקני על הסיוע שהוא מושיט לישראל.

4. לידיעתכם.

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

סססס

03/06/1993

01:33:52

JUN - 11 001530

אאא, חוזם: 3845

אל: בטחון/244

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 101, תא: 020693, חז: 1515, מ: סג: בל,

בבב

אל: אגת/87 רמחתא'ס

אל: שר הבטחון

אל בן-עמי/משהב"ט

אל דובר צהל

אל ראש הממשלה

בלמס/מיידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך מחלקת המדינה ליום 2/6/93

בתדרוך היום במחמ"ד, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב): -

ISRAEL-LYBIA

PEACE TALKS

RUSSIA

START

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב): -
SOUTH AMERICA

- יוגוסלביה (הועבר בנפרד למזא"ר 2).

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לענייננו: -

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: RICHARD BOUCHER 12:30
P.M. EDT WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1993Q DO YOU HAVE ANY POSITION ON THE STRANGE HAPPENINGS IN
JERUSALEM --

MR. BOUCHER: (LAUGHS)

Q -- THE LIBYAN CONTINGENT, THE PILGRIMS, AND THE ISRAELI
REACTION, THE ARAB REACTION? THERE ARE DIFFICULTIES. IS THIS

SOMETHING THAT YOU WOULD ENCOURAGE?

MR. BOUCHER: I -- I THINK FIRST OF ALL IT'S WORTH NOTING THAT WE OBVIOUSLY WELCOME ACCESS TO THE HOLY SITES IN JERUSALEM. WE'VE ALWAYS SAID THAT THAT'S SOMETHING THAT IS IMPORTANT. AT THE SAME TIME, OUR VIEWS ON LIBYA AND THE UN RESOLUTIONS HAVE NOT CHANGED, AND I THINK THE PARTIES ARE ALSO AWARE OF OUR VIEWS ON THAT.

Q DO YOU SEE THIS AS A LIBYAN ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE LIBYA'S IMAGE IN THE UNITED STATES, OR -- ?

MR. BOUCHER: I -- I DON'T THINK I CAN CHARACTERIZE WHAT THE LIBYANS MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRYING TO DO IN THIS.

Q WHILE STILL IN THE MIDDLE EAST, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING NEW ON THE PRELIMINARY CONTACTS WITH THE PALESTINIANS? THERE WERE REPORTS LAST WEEK THAT THE -- THAT FAISAL HUSSEINI RECEIVED AN INVITATION FROM SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER TO COME TO WASHINGTON BEFORE THE NEXT ROUND. ANYTHING NEW ON THAT?

MR. BOUCHER: NOTHING NEW TO SAY ON THAT. WE REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH THE PARTIES.

Q FOLLOWING UP ON THE LIBYA QUESTION FOR JUST A SECOND, THE US HAS STRICT SANCTIONS IN PLACE VIS-A-VIS LIBYA AND URGES OTHER NATIONS TO DO SO AS WELL. IS THE US GOING TO TAKE UP WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT THE QUESTION OF ISRAELI BUSINESSES ALLOWING COMMERCE WITH LIBYAN TOURIST AGENCIES PROVIDING SERVICES IN JERUSALEM AND --

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MR. BOUCHER: OUR UNDERSTANDING --

Q -- TO ISRAEL?

MR. BOUCHER: -- AND THE ISRAELIS DID CONSULT WITH US BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE LIBYAN PILGRIMS. OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THEY CAME BY BUS TO JERUSALEM. ISRAEL KNOWS ABOUT THE REQUIREMENTS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 731 AND 748, AND THE VISITS TO THE HOLY SITES, AS FAR AS WE UNDERSTAND, WOULDN'T CONTRAVENE THOSE REQUIREMENTS IN THE UN RESOLUTIONS.

Q RICHARD, BACK ON THE MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE, HAS THE SECRETARY SENT OUT ANY INVITATIONS FOR THE NEXT ROUND OR THE CONTINUATION OF THE LAST ROUND, WHATEVER YOU'RE CALLING IT?

MR. BOUCHER: AT THIS POINT, JIM, WE DON'T HAVE ANY OTHER NEWS FOR YOU. JUST WE REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH THE PARTIES.

Q WHAT ARE YOU CALLING IT, BY THE WAY?

MR. BOUCHER: WHAT ARE WE CALLING IT?

Q ARE YOU CALLING IT A CONTINUATION OF THE ROUND OR A NEW ROUND?

MR. BOUCHER: WE'RE CURRENTLY DURING -- IN AN ADJOURNMENT. SO -- (LAUGHTER) -- WE'LL CALL IT WHEN WE GET TO THE --

Q ARE THEY "ROUNDS" OR A "SESSIONS"?

MR. BOUCHER: -- TO THE NEW TALKS. THEN -- WE CALL THEM AN ADJOURNMENT IN THE TALKS. THAT'S WHERE WE ARE NOW.

Q NEW SUBJECT? UKRAINE, RICHARD. DOES THE LATEST DEFERRAL OF THE

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS GO AGAINST ASSURANCES
THAT STROBE TALBOTT RECEIVED IN KIEV RECENTLY? AND IS THE UNITED
STATES STILL CONFIDENT THAT UKRAINE IS GOING TO ABIDE BY ITS
START I COMMITMENT?

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, LET ME -- LET ME REVIEW THE SITUATION AS WE
KNOW IT NOW. PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK HAS MADE A STATEMENT TO THE
UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT -- OR THAT THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT WILL
BEGIN DEBATE ON THE START TREATY THIS MONTH, AND THAT'S
SOMETHING THAT WE WELCOME. UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS,
INCLUDING PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK, HAVE CONTINUED TO STATE THEIR
SUPPORT FOR THE RATIFICATION OF START AND ACCESSION TO THE NPT
AS A NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPONS STATE.

AS FOR THE TIMING OF THE FINAL VOTE, IT'S A MATTER FOR UKRAINE
TO WORK OUT ACCORDING TO ITS OWN PROCEDURES. IT'S FRANKLY
UNCLEAR EXACTLY WHEN A FINAL VOTE IN PARLIAMENT WILL TAKE PLACE.
WE DO EXPECT UKRAINE TO FULFILL ITS LISBON PROTOCOL OBLIGATIONS
PROMPTLY, AND THAT HASN'T CHANGED. FURTHER DELAYS WOULD CONTINUE
TO BE A MATTER OF CONCERN.

BUT I HAVE TO POINT OUT AT THE SAME TIME THAT WE DON'T VIEW OUR
RELATIONSHIP WITH UKRAINE SOLELY IN TERMS OF ARMS CONTROL
AGREEMENTS. WE SEEK A PARTNERSHIP WITH UKRAINE THAT'S BASED ON A
BROAD RANGE OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SECURITY ISSUES.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO THEIR FULFILLING THE LISBON OBLIGATIONS
PROMPTLY AS PART OF THE NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THAT PARTNERSHIP.

END

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אאאא, חוזם: 3308

אל: רהמש/65

מ-: המשרד, תא: 020693, זח: 1651, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

620297

סודי/מיד

אל: וושינגטון, הציר

מאת: ממנכ"ל

שלך נר 2125.

הנדון: שיחות הכנה עם הפלס'

שוחחתי הבוקר עם בראון. אין עדיין תשובה סופית ומוגדרת מהפלס'. בראון מגדירם כעוסקים במסע ציד בטרם ייתנו תשובה סופית הן לגבי שיחות ההכנה והן לגבי ההשתתפות בשיחות עצמן.

בנצור.

2 ביוני 1993

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3308

אל: רהמש/65

מ-: המשרד, תא: 020693, זח: 1651, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

620297



סודי/מידי

אל: וושינגטון, הציר

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שלך נר 2125.

הנדון: שיחות הכנה עם הפלס'

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בנצור.

2 ביוני 1993

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3820

אל: רהמש/101

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 58, תא: 020693, זח: 1329, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/רגיל

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 2-JUNE-1993

EDITORIALS

=====

NYP: 'CROWN HEIGHTS POGROM (CONT.)': WRITER CRITICIZES NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS' PROVOCATION OF A DEBATE OVER THE USE OF THE TERM 'POGROM' TO DESCRIBE THE AUGUST 1991 ANTI-SEMITIC RIOTS IN CROWN HEIGHTS; ASSERTS THAT MR. DINKINS' EMPHASIS ON SEMANTICS SUGGEST 'AN INTEREST IN MINIMIZING THE SIGNIFICANCE' OF THE EPISODE.

DN: 'DINKINS, GIULIANI AND CROWN HEIGHTS': WRITER CRITICIZES NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS' INABILITY TO QUELL THE 1991 CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTING WITH 'DELIBERATE SPEED'; ADDS THAT HE DISAGREES WITH MR. DINKINS' DENOUNCEMENT OF THE TERM 'POGROM' BECAUSE IT IMPLIES THAT HIS GOVERNMENT APPROVED OF THE ATTACKS.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'SENATE DEMOCRATS URGE WITHDRAWAL OF RIGHTS NOMINEE'; 'HIGH COURT DEFINES ONE ERROR BY JUDGES IT WILL NOT TOLERATE'; 'IN SHIFT, WHITE HOUSE WILL STRESS AIDING FOREIGN CONCERNS IN US'; 'MORTAR FIRE KILLS 12 AT SOCCER GAME IN BOSNIAN CAPITAL'; 'O'CONNOR REFLECTS ON ROLE IN EYE OF MORAL TEMPESTS'. WSJ: 'PIRATES RETURN IN ASIA, ARMED WITH AK-47S INSTEAD OF BOLO KNIVES'; 'BOLIVIANS ARE HIGH ON A TOOTHPASTE MADE FROM COCA'; NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/LIBYA/PILGRIMS/VISIT: NYT(J.GREENBERG-CABLED), ND, NYP: 'LIBYANS CUT SHORT A VISIT TO ISRAEL': REPORTS THAT MUSLIM PILGRIMS CUT SHORT THEIR VISIT TO ISRAEL TUESDAY AFTER CALLING FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE 'ZIONIST LEADERSHIP'; ADDS THAT THE PILGRIMS ALSO CALLED FOR THE 'LIBERATION OF JERUSALEM' AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A 'DEMOCRATIC' PALESTINIAN STATE; STATES THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS WERE SURPRISED AND OUTRAGED BY THESE STATEMENTS; NOTES THAT THE OFFICIALS' SPECULATIONS THAT TIES WITH LIBYA MIGHT IMPROVE AS A RESULT OF THE PILGRIMAGE WERE 'DAMPENED'; ADDS THAT THE MOTIVES FOR THE PILGRIMS' DEPARTURE WERE UNCLEAR; QUOTES DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER YOSHI BEILIN AS SAYING THAT ISRAEL SHOULD NOT HAVE ANY TIES WITH A 'LEPER STATE.'

ISRAEL/SAUDI ARABIA/KING/PEACE: NYT(AP-BRIEF): REPORTS THAT KING FAHD OF SAUDI ARABIA PLEDGED TUESDAY TO 'SUPPORT ALL EFFORTS TO END THE STATE OF WAR' BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARABS; ADDS THAT KING FAHD CRITICIZED MUSLIM MILITANTS IN A STATEMENT WHICH WAS BROADCASTED OVER STATE RADIO AND TELEVISION.

SAUDI ARABIA/ARABS/TRADITIONALISTS/LEFTISTS: NYT(Y.IBRAHIM-CABLED): 'TRADITIONAL ARABS NOW SEEK ADVICE FROM THE LEFT': STATES THAT THERE IS A GROWING TREND AMONG TRADITIONALIST ARAB GOVERNMENTS TO TURN TO SECULARISTS AND MARXISTS TO HELP BATTLE FUNDAMENTALISTS SEEKING TO UNDERMINE THEIR GOVERNMENTS; CITES CAIRO, TUNIS, AMMAN, KUWAIT AND SAUDI ARABIA AS EXAMPLES; NOTES THAT 'INFLUENTIAL ARAB VOICES' SUPPORT SECULARISM AND PLURALISM IN CONJUNCTION WITH ISLAM; ADDS THAT LEFTISTS AND YOUNG PRO-WESTERN ARABS WHICH HAVE BEEN SUPPRESSED ARE NOW EMERGING IN THE INTELLECTUAL AREAS WHICH HAVE BEEN RESERVED FOR ISLAMIC MILITANTS; ASSERTS THAT FUNDAMENTALISTS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY DIVIDED.

CARTOONS

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ND: A CARTOON WITH TWO PICTURES OF SADDAM HUSSEIN WITH ONE QUOTING HIM AS SAYING 'I CAN'T STAND BY AND WATCH AS SERBS GET AWAY WITH SLAUGHTERING THEIR COUNTRYMEN' AND THE SECOND READING 'LET'S INVADE SOME KURDISH ENCLAVES AND SEE IF I CAN GET AWAY WITH SLAUGHTERING SOME OF MY COUNTRYMEN!'

LETTERS

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NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH ARGUES THAT A MANHATTAN FEDERAL JURY'S RULING IN FAVOR OF PROFESSOR LEONARD JEFFRIES HAS PROVOKED TOO MUCH 'MISGUIDED CRITICISM.'

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(K.BRADSHER): 'IN SHIFT, WHITE HOUSE WILL STRESS AIDING FOREIGN CONCERNS IN US.'

NYT(S.KINZER),WSJ(BRIEF),NYP: 'GERMANY PRESSED TO CURB VIOLENCE.'

ND(P.COHEN): 'JEFFRIES LAWYER ASKS DOLLAR 200G IN LEGAL FEES.'

DN(A.MICHELINI): 'BAR JEFFRIES AS BLACK STUIDES HEAD, COURT URGED.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
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), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, מזתים,
@ (מתאמשטחים), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3880

אל: רהמש/88

מ-: פרנציסקו, נר: 13, תא: 020693, זח: 1151, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מצפ"א

דע: שגרירות וושינגטון, מר גד סואן; משרד המסחר והתעשיה

מאת: קונכ"ל - סן-פרנציסקו

הנדון: פגישה עם נשיא ו-CEO של BANK OF AMERICA

ריצ'רד רוזנברג, נשיא בנק אוף אמריקה (הבנק השני בגודלו בארה"ב) הינו יהודי חם. אני נוהג להפגש עמו לעיתים מזומנות על מנת לעדכנו בנושאים שלנו. בשל תפקידו, רוזנברג מקיים קשר הדוק ושוטף הן עם הממשל והן עם ראשי המשק האמריקאי. לאחר התדרוך שלי בנושאי תהליך השלום העיר רוזנברג:

1. ממשל קלינטון התגלה כחבורה של חובבים שאינה מבינה בסדרי ממשל. החבורה הצעירה שמסובבת הנשיא אינה פתוחה לעצות כלשהן ונוטה להאמין שאין לה מה ללמוד. הדבר גורם ביקורת חריפה בכל המגזרים.

2. לממשל קלינטון אין מנדט של ממש מהעם האמריקאי למשול. הוא נבחר רק בתמיכת 43 אחוז מהבוחרים. קלינטון הינו חובב בנושאי מדיניות חוץ ולמזכיר המדינה אין כריזמה, הנחוצה להטיל מרות ולגלות מנהיגות בתקופה הנוכחית.

3. התנהגות הממשל במשבר בוסניה מלמדת רבות על דפוס הפעילות של קלינטון. הקיצוץ בתקציב ההגנה הרחיק לכת עד לנקודה בה ספק אם ארה"ב מסוגלת להתערב באופן משכנע במשבר אזורי. זאת בנוסף לבעית העדר הרצון להתערב במוקדי משבר. רוזנברג הוסיף שאם היה ישראלי היה בוודאי מודאג ממה שמסתמן בווינגטון.

4. על רקע הנ"ל אין להתפעל מכך שהממשל אינו נלהב להכנס במלוא המרץ לעובי הקורה בתהליך השלום. רוזנברג סבור כי על הצדדים לסכסוך במזה"ת להבין היטב כי תמה התקופה בה ארה"ב יכולה להציג חבילת תמריצים כלכליים מושכת לצדדי הסכסוך (סיוע וכו'). על הצדדים לעשות שלום בעצמם עם כל הכרוך במישור הכלכלי ממצב חדש זה.

5. רוזנברג הצביע על תופעת רוס פירו, הממחישה את העדר הכיוון של ממשל קלינטון. עם זאת, רוזנברג מציע שלא למהר "לקבור" את קלינטון בטרם עת ולהמתין לראות כיצד שינוי בצוות היועצים הנוכחי ישפיע על הנשיאות.

הקונכ"ל הזמין את רוזנברג לבקר בארץ על מנת להשתתף בועידת ירושלים לעסקים שתיערך בין 1.11.93-30.10, בחסות משרד המסחר והתעשיה.

רוזנברג הודה על ההזמנה אולם המועד אינו נוח עקב ישיבת חבר הנאמנים של
הבנק שנקבעה לסוף אוקטובר. עם זאת, לא מסר תשובה מחייבת ועוד אמור לשוב
אלי עם החלטה סופית מאחר והיה רוצה לבקר שוב בארץ.

בברכה

קני-טל

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 3845
אל: רהמש/99
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 101, תא: 020693, זח: 1515, דח: מ, סג: בל,
בבב
בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך מחלקת המדינה ליום 2/6/93

בתדרוך היום במחמ"ד, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב):--
ISRAEL-LYBIA
PEACE TALKS
RUSSIA
START

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב):--
SOUTH AMERICA

- יוגוסלביה (הועבר בנפרד למזא"ר 2).

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לענייננו:--

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: RICHARD BOUCHER 12:30
P.M. EDT WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1993

Q DO YOU HAVE ANY POSITION ON THE STRANGE HAPPENINGS IN
JERUSALEM --

MR. BOUCHER: (LAUGHS)

Q -- THE LIBYAN CONTINGENT, THE PILGRIMS, AND THE ISRAELI
REACTION, THE ARAB REACTION? THERE ARE DIFFICULTIES. IS THIS
SOMETHING THAT YOU WOULD ENCOURAGE?

MR. BOUCHER: I -- I THINK FIRST OF ALL IT'S WORTH NOTING THAT WE
OBVIOUSLY WELCOME ACCESS TO THE HOLY SITES IN JERUSALEM. WE'VE
ALWAYS SAID THAT THAT'S SOMETHING THAT IS IMPORTANT. AT THE SAME
TIME, OUR VIEWS ON LIBYA AND THE UN RESOLUTIONS HAVE NOT
CHANGED, AND I THINK THE PARTIES ARE ALSO AWARE OF OUR VIEWS ON
THAT.

Q DO YOU SEE THIS AS A LIBYAN ATTEMPT TO IMPROVE LIBYA'S IMAGE IN THE UNITED STATES, OR -- ?

MR. BOUCHER: I -- I DON'T THINK I CAN CHARACTERIZE WHAT THE LIBYANS MAY OR MAY NOT BE TRYING TO DO IN THIS.

Q WHILE STILL IN THE MIDDLE EAST, DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING NEW ON THE PRELIMINARY CONTACTS WITH THE PALESTINIANS? THERE WERE REPORTS LAST WEEK THAT THE -- THAT FAISAL HUSSEINI RECEIVED AN INVITATION FROM SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER TO COME TO WASHINGTON BEFORE THE NEXT ROUND. ANYTHING NEW ON THAT?

MR. BOUCHER: NOTHING NEW TO SAY ON THAT. WE REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH THE PARTIES.

Q FOLLOWING UP ON THE LIBYA QUESTION FOR JUST A SECOND, THE US HAS STRICT SANCTIONS IN PLACE VIS-A-VIS LIBYA AND URGES OTHER NATIONS TO DO SO AS WELL. IS THE US GOING TO TAKE UP WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT THE QUESTION OF ISRAELI BUSINESSES ALLOWING COMMERCE WITH LIBYAN TOURIST AGENCIES PROVIDING SERVICES IN JERUSALEM AND --

MR. BOUCHER: OUR UNDERSTANDING --

Q -- TO ISRAEL?

MR. BOUCHER: -- AND THE ISRAELIS DID CONSULT WITH US BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE LIBYAN PILGRIMS. OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THEY CAME BY BUS TO JERUSALEM. ISRAEL KNOWS ABOUT THE REQUIREMENTS OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 731 AND 748, AND THE VISITS TO THE HOLY SITES, AS FAR AS WE UNDERSTAND, WOULDN'T CONTRAVENE THOSE REQUIREMENTS IN THE UN RESOLUTIONS.

Q RICHARD, BACK ON THE MIDDLE EAST CONFERENCE, HAS THE SECRETARY SENT OUT ANY INVITATIONS FOR THE NEXT ROUND OR THE CONTINUATION OF THE LAST ROUND, WHATEVER YOU'RE CALLING IT?

MR. BOUCHER: AT THIS POINT, JIM, WE DON'T HAVE ANY OTHER NEWS FOR YOU. JUST WE REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH THE PARTIES.

Q WHAT ARE YOU CALLING IT, BY THE WAY?

MR. BOUCHER: WHAT ARE WE CALLING IT?

Q ARE YOU CALLING IT A CONTINUATION OF THE ROUND OR A NEW ROUND?

MR. BOUCHER: WE'RE CURRENTLY DURING -- IN AN ADJOURNMENT. SO -- (LAUGHTER) -- WE'LL CALL IT WHEN WE GET TO THE --

Q ARE THEY "ROUNDS" OR A "SESSIONS"?

MR. BOUCHER: -- TO THE NEW TALKS. THEN -- WE CALL THEM AN

ADJOURNMENT IN THE TALKS. THAT'S WHERE WE ARE NOW.

Q NEW SUBJECT? UKRAINE, RICHARD. DOES THE LATEST DEFERRAL OF THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS GO AGAINST ASSURANCES THAT STROBE TALBOTT RECEIVED IN KIEV RECENTLY? AND IS THE UNITED STATES STILL CONFIDENT THAT UKRAINE IS GOING TO ABIDE BY ITS START I COMMITMENT?

MR. BOUCHER: WELL, LET ME -- LET ME REVIEW THE SITUATION AS WE KNOW IT NOW. PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK HAS MADE A STATEMENT TO THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT -- OR THAT THE UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT WILL BEGIN DEBATE ON THE START TREATY THIS MONTH, AND THAT'S SOMETHING THAT WE WELCOME. UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, INCLUDING PRESIDENT KRAVCHUK, HAVE CONTINUED TO STATE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE RATIFICATION OF START AND ACCESSION TO THE NPT AS A NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPONS STATE.

AS FOR THE TIMING OF THE FINAL VOTE, IT'S A MATTER FOR UKRAINE TO WORK OUT ACCORDING TO ITS OWN PROCEDURES. IT'S FRANKLY UNCLEAR EXACTLY WHEN A FINAL VOTE IN PARLIAMENT WILL TAKE PLACE. WE DO EXPECT UKRAINE TO FULFILL ITS LISBON PROTOCOL OBLIGATIONS PROMPTLY, AND THAT HASN'T CHANGED. FURTHER DELAYS WOULD CONTINUE TO BE A MATTER OF CONCERN.

BUT I HAVE TO POINT OUT AT THE SAME TIME THAT WE DON'T VIEW OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH UKRAINE SOLELY IN TERMS OF ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS. WE SEEK A PARTNERSHIP WITH UKRAINE THAT'S BASED ON A BROAD RANGE OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SECURITY ISSUES.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO THEIR FULFILLING THE LISBON OBLIGATIONS PROMPTLY AS PART OF THE NATURAL DEVELOPMENT OF THAT PARTNERSHIP.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,
רביב, מעת, הסברה, מזתים, @ (דוצ), @ (בן עמי/משהבט), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3843

אל: רהמש/ 97

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 98, תא: 020693, זח: 1515, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/ מידי

24.6

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: מזכיר המדינה קריסטופר ב"PBS" על מדיניות חוץ.

MACNEIL-LEHRER NEWSHOUR WITH: SECY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER
TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1993

ROBERT MACNEIL: FIRST TONIGHT, THE EMERGING CLINTON FOREIGN POLICY. THERE WAS AN UPROAR LAST WEEK IN WASHINGTON WHEN THE THIRD- RANKING OFFICIAL IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT, PETER TARNOFF, TOLD REPORTERS THAT IN THE NEW WORLD SITUATION, THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT BE EXERCISING WORLD LEADERSHIP AS IT HAD TRADITIONALLY, WITH DEFERENCE TO EUROPEAN WISHES IN BOSNIA AS AN EXAMPLE.

SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER REACTED STRONGLY, DECLARING THAT AMERICAN LEADERSHIP WAS UNDIMINISHED. WE ASKED THE SECRETARY TO EXPAND ON THESE THEMES IN AN INTERVIEW THIS AFTERNOON AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

MR. SECRETARY, THANK YOU FOR JOINING US.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THANK YOU.

MR. MACNEIL: AFTER FOUR MONTHS IN THIS JOB AND ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF ALL THE (FLURRIES?) OF LAST WEEK, WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS ESTABLISHED ITS OWN DISTINCTIVE FOREIGN POLICY?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES. I THINK WE ARE ON THE VERGE OF DOING SO IF WE HAVEN'T DONE IT, ROBIN. WE CAME INTO OFFICE AND WE HAD A SERIES OF CRISES TO DEAL WITH, I THINK THE MOST CHALLENGING SET OF CRISES THAT ANY PRESIDENT HAS HAD FOR A LONG TIME.

* * *

LET ME JUST ILLUSTRATE A FEW OF THOSE. FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN WE CAME INTO OFFICE, ISRAEL WAS ON THE VERGE OF BEING SANCTIONED BECAUSE OF THE DEPORTATION ISSUE. YELTSIN WAS CLEARLY IN A GOOD

DEAL OF DIFFICULTY IN RUSSIA. WE HAD THE PROBLEM IN HAITI, WHICH HAD ONLY BEEN DEALT WITH AS AN IMMIGRATION PROBLEM UP TO THAT TIME. CERTAINLY, WE HAD THE LOOMING PROBLEM COMING UP WITH -- WITH CHINA. IRAQ WAS VERY MUCH A SERIOUS PROBLEM THE TIME WE CAME IN. SO WE HAD A SERIES OF THINGS WE HAD TO DEAL WITH.

I THINK WE'VE STABILIZED THOSE PROBLEMS. WE HAVEN'T SOLVED THEM ALL, BY ANY MEANS, BUT WE CERTAINLY HAVE STABILIZED THEM. AND NOW WE'RE IN THE PROCESS OF TURNING THE CORNER AND BEING ABLE TO ESTABLISH OUR OWN AGENDA, THINGS THAT THE PRESIDENT CAME INTO OFFICE DETERMINED TO DO AS HAVE A GLOBAL AGENDA, BE CONCERNED ABOUT NON PROLIFERATION, ABOUT POPULATION PROBLEMS, ABOUT ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS AS WELL AS DEALING WITH SOME OF THE PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY THAT IS POSSIBLE IN THIS WORLD. I WOULD SAY THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS IS ONE OF THE BEST EXAMPLES.

SO I THINK THAT WE HAVE DEALT WITH THE PROBLEMS THAT WE INHERITED, SOME OF THEM VERY DIFFICULT (MEAN?) PROBLEMS, NOT DEALT WITH ALL OF THEM BY ANY MEANS, BUT I THINK WE'VE STABILIZED MOST OF THEM AND WE'VE BEGUN TO ESTABLISH OUR OWN AGENDA.

MR. MACNEIL: WOULD YOU CONSIDER BOSNIA DEALT WITH?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NO, SIR, I WOULD CONSIDER THAT A SITUATION WHERE WE'VE ANALYZED AMERICA'S INTERESTS CAREFULLY AND WE'VE WORKED OUT A PROGRAM, I THINK, THAT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT AMERICA'S INTERESTS.

BOSNIA IS A TRAGIC SITUATION. IT'S A QUAGMIRE OF COMPETING INTERESTS WITH HISTORIC, ANCIENT HATREDS. IN THAT SITUATION, WE DO HAVE A HUMANITARIAN INTEREST, BUT WE HAVE A STRONG INTEREST, STRATEGIC INTEREST IN PREVENTING THAT FROM SPREADING. WE'VE TRIED TO DESIGN A POLICY THAT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT AMERICAN INTERESTS. THAT'S OUR JOB; THAT'S MY JOB NOW. CERTAINLY THAT PROBLEM CONTINUES TO BE ONE THAT WORRIES US EVERYDAY, BUT I THINK IT NEEDS TO BE PUT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAVE DEALT WITH SUCCESSFULLY AND ARE DEALING WITH SUCCESSFULLY.

MR. MACNEIL: WHEN YOU SAY YOU FEEL ON THE VERGE OF -- DECLARE -- EXPRESSING YOUR OWN FOREIGN POLICY, IS THAT GOING TO AMOUNT TO SOMETHING LIKE A CLINTON DOCTRINE? CAN YOU -- WELL, LET ME ASK YOU THAT FIRST --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK THERE ARE SOME VERY IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF THE CLINTON DOCTRINE. PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT THAT I -- COMES TO MY MIND IMMEDIATELY IS THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST LEAD. WE MUST LEAD IN EVERY RESPECT. WHEN WE'RE PROTECTING OUR OWN VITAL INTERESTS, WE'LL LEAD (UNILATERALLY?) IF WE MUST NEED TO. ON THE OTHER HAND, ON MANY ISSUES, HUMANITARIAN ISSUES, WE NEED TO INVOKE A MULTILATERAL RESPONSE. AND I THINK THE NEED FOR UNITED STATES' LEADERSHIP IS ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL TENETS

OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION.

A SECOND THING OF IMPORTANCE AND SOMETHING THAT'S PERHAPS QUITE SUBTLE, BUT EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, AND THAT IS THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN ISSUES. AS THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID, WE CANNOT BE STRONG AT HOME IF WE'RE NOT STRONG ABROAD, AND WE CANNOT BE STRONG ABROAD IF WE'RE NOT STRONG AT HOME.

SO TRYING TO FIT THOSE TOGETHER HAS BEEN AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF THE CLINTON FOREIGN POLICY. THAT'S WHY I'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT HAVING AN AMERICAN DESK HERE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, HELPING AMERICAN BUSINESS, TRYING TO END THE BOYCOTT OF AMERICAN COMPANIES, TRYING TO WORK ON TRADE TREATIES THAT ARE HELPFUL TO US. I THINK THOSE WILL BE THE STAMPS OF THE -- OF THE CLINTON FOREIGN POLICY.

MR. MACNEIL: LEADERSHIP IS NOT EXACTLY AN ORIGINAL INGREDIENT IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, IS IT? I MEAN, YOU'RE NOT SAYING THAT IS A DEPARTURE FROM PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NO, BUT I -- I THINK THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME CONCERN ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT AMERICA WOULD BE WILLING TO CONTINUE TO LEAD. I THINK THERE HAD BEEN SOME INDICATION THAT MAYBE AMERICA IN THIS NEW PERIOD WOULD NOT FEEL THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR LEADERSHIP. AND CERTAINLY PRESIDENT CLINTON FEELS THAT RESPONSIBILITY VERY STRONGLY. BUT ALSO HE WANTS TO MAKE SURE THAT HE'S GOT THE DOMESTIC UNDERPINNINGS SO THAT WE CAN CARRY OUT OUR INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

MR. MACNEIL: THE NEW YORK TIMES SAID IN A COLUMN TODAY YOUR APPROACH SO FAR HAS BEEN LARGELY TO MANAGE WHAT THE -- WHAT YOU INHERITED AND TO PUT A CLINTONESQUE STAMP ON FOREIGN POLICY IN WORDS, BUT NOT YET IN BEHAVIOR. IS THAT A FAIR CHARACTERIZATION --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, YOU KNOW, ONE NEVER LIKES TO DOUBT SOMETHING THAT'S SAID IN THE NEWSPAPER OR A COLUMN, BUT I DO DOUBT THAT. I DON'T THINK THAT'S CORRECT. NOW, TAKE THE ISSUE OF POPULATION. THE UNITED STATES HAS CHANGED ITS POSITION ON POPULATION. WE'RE NOW SUPPORTING WORLD POPULATION PROGRAMS. WE'VE CHANGED OUR POSITION ON THE ENVIRONMENT, SETTING GOALS FOR -- FOR CLIMATE CONTROL AROUND THE WORLD. WE CERTAINLY HAVE TAKEN A STRONGER STANCE ON PROLIFERATION. SO WE'VE GOT SOME DISTANCE TO GO. WE'RE ONLY ONE-TWELFTH OF THE WAY THROUGH OUR ADMINISTRATION. BUT I DON'T THINK IT'S FAIR TO SAY THAT IT'S BEEN PURE RHETORIC BECAUSE OF THE POSITIONS WE'VE TAKEN WORLDWIDE.

MR. MACNEIL: YOU RUSHED LAST WEEK TO CORRECT STATEMENTS BY YOUR NUMBER THREE HERE PETER TARNOFF, THAT THE TRADITION OF THE US TAKING THE LEAD IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, IN HIS WORDS, "IS

GOING TO BE THE CASE MUCH LESS THAN IT WAS BEFORE." AND HE ADDED, "IT'S DIFFERENT BY DESIGN." ARE YOU SAYING IT IS NOT DIFFERENT IN THE CASE OF AMERICA TAKING THE LEAD?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES. LET ME -- LET ME TALK TO YOU A LITTLE BIT ABOUT THAT, ROBIN. TO THE EXTENT THAT HE WAS INTERPRETED AS INDICATING THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD PLAY A LESS LEADING ROLE THAN IN THE PAST, I SIMPLY DISAGREE WITH THAT. THE PRESIDENT DISAGREES WITH THAT. WE'LL BE PLAYING A LEADING ROLE TO PROTECT OUR VITAL INTERESTS, TO PROTECT OUR STRATEGIC INTERESTS. AND SECOND, TO THE EXTENT THAT HE INDICATED THAT WE DID NOT HAVE THE RESOURCES TO CARRY OUT THOSE VITAL INTERESTS TO PROTECT OUR VITAL INTERESTS, I SIMPLY THINK THAT'S WRONG.

I THINK WE WILL FIND THE RESOURCES TO PLAY OUR LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE WORLD. WE ARE THE ONLY SUPERPOWER IN THE WORLD. WE HAVE RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT MULTILATERALLY WHERE THAT'S APPROPRIATE AND TO LEAD MULTILATERALLY WHERE THAT'S APPROPRIATE. WE ALSO WILL PROTECT OUR VITAL INTERESTS IF WE HAVE TO UNILATERALLY.

MR. MACNEIL: WELL, LET ME PUT TO YOU WHAT THE NEW YORK TIMES RESPONSE WAS ON MR. TARNOFF'S ARGUMENT. HE SAID, "TARNOFF'S ARGUMENT IS LESS FOOLISH THAN THE CHARADE THAT IT PROVOKED." HE INSISTED THE ADMINISTRATION DECISION TO DEFER TO EUROPEAN PREFERENCES OVER BOSNIA WAS NOT THE AMATEUR STUMBLE THAT MANY PERCEIVED IT AS, BUT A CONSIDERED CHOICE, BASED ON A NEW APPROACH TO THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD. NOW, THERE ARE A LOT OF PEJORATIVE THINGS IN THERE, BUT -- BUT IN OTHER WORDS, HE -- THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERPRETATION OF WHAT HE WAS SAYING IS THAT FOR INSTANCE, THE PERFORMANCE ON BOSNIA WAS ALL DELIBERATE AND A NEW APPROACH TO WORKING WITH THE ALLIES BECAUSE OF THE NEW SITUATION IN THE POST- COLD WAR WORLD.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, CERTAINLY OUR --

MR. MACNEIL: HE'S SAYING THERE IS NO NEW SITUATION OR A NEW APPROACH.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, IF THERE'S A NEW APPROACH IT IS A STRONGER LEADERSHIP ROLE. SOMETIMES, THOUGH, WE WILL LEAD IN A MULTILATERAL WAY. AND THAT'S WHAT WE'VE DONE ON BOSNIA. BUT WE -- I THINK WE'VE HAD TO BE SENSITIVE TO THE VIEWS OF OUR ALLIES IN THAT SITUATION. IT IS A PROBLEM IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE; IT'S A PROBLEM THAT THE EUROPEANS HAVE BEEN ENGAGED IN FOR CENTURIES, THAT IS THE PROBLEM OF THE BALKANS. SO I THINK IT'S QUITE APPROPRIATE FOR US TO APPROACH THAT IN A MULTILATERAL WAY.

LET ME TALK TO YOU A LITTLE BIT ABOUT AMERICAN INTERESTS THERE, AGAIN. I THINK WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF THAT PROBLEM. BUT THAT, I THINK, IS VERY APPROPRIATE TO BE CARRIED OUT IN A MULTILATERAL WAY.

WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN AVOIDING A SPREADING OR WE HAVE AN INTEREST IN CONTAINING OR CONFINING THAT CONFLICT. THAT, I THINK, IS A ROLE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CARRY OUT ONE WAY OR THE OTHER BY PUTTING ADDITIONAL MONITORS IN KOSOVO, PERHAPS BY HAVING A MILITARY PRESENCE OF SOME KIND IN MACEDONIA. I THINK THAT'S WHAT THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES ARE NOW. THAT CERTAINLY HAS BEEN BY DESIGN, BUT I DON'T CALL THAT A PULLING BACK FROM OUR INTERESTS.

OVER AND OVER AGAIN, I THINK YOU'RE GOING TO SEE AROUND THE WORLD THE UNITED STATES PURSUING A LEADERSHIP ROLE, PURSUING ITS VITAL INTERESTS. AND AS I SAY, TO THE EXTENT THAT HIS COMMENTS WERE INTERPRETED AS THE UNITED STATES BEING LIMITED OR THE UNITED STATES BEING UNABLE TO EXPEND THE RESOURCES TO PROTECT OUR VITAL INTERESTS, I DISAGREE WITH THAT.

MR. MACNEIL: WE HAD A COUPLE OF FORMER SECRETARIES OF STATE ON THE PROGRAM WEEK BEFORE LAST TALKING ABOUT BOSNIA. AND HENRY KISSINGER SAID, "I THINK THE LAST FEW WEEKS WEAKENED AMERICAN CLAIMS TO LEADERSHIP. IT'S NOT BECOMING TO ASK A SECRETARY OF STATE TO TRAVEL AROUND THE WORLD AND ASK PEOPLE TO TELL US WHAT WE -- WHAT TO DO," WHICH IS HOW HE CHARACTERIZED WHAT YOU DID ON YOUR EUROPEAN TRIP. WHAT -- WHAT IS YOUR RESPONSE TO THAT AND WHAT REALLY HAPPENED ON THAT TRIP?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WHAT I DID ON THAT TRIP WAS TO GO TO EUROPE AND TALK ABOUT WHAT OUR PREFERENCE WAS, WHAT WE THOUGHT THE BEST SOLUTION WAS. AND WE FELT THAT THE BEST THING TO DO WAS TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO, TO GIVE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT A CHANCE TO DEFEND ITSELF. THAT ARMS EMBARGO HAS WORKED TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT, PERHAPS UNINTENTIONALLY, BUT IT HAS FROZEN IN A VAST DISPARITY IN FAVOR OF THE SERBS. AND SO WE THOUGHT THE FIRST STEP WAS TO LIFT THAT ARMS EMBARGO SO THE MUSLIMS, SO THE BOSNIAN MUSLIMS COULD DEFEND THEMSELVES. THAT'S A POLICY THAT WE STILL THINK IS THE BEST POLICY TO PURSUE. BUT WE CAN'T DO THAT WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

AFTER ALL, THE ARMS EMBARGO WAS IMPOSED BY A VOTE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WHICH THE UNITED STATES PARTICIPATED IN, THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION. IT CAN BE LIFTED ONLY BY -- BY ACTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE ALSO THOUGHT THAT IF THE ARMS EMBARGO WAS LIFTED, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY OR IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO HAVE WHAT WE CALL COMPENSATORY AIR STRIKES TO PREVENT THE SERBS FROM OVERRUNNING THE BOSNIANS WHILE THE BOSNIANS WERE BEING ARMED. THAT'S STILL OUR PREFERRED OPTION. WE THINK THAT'S THE BEST WAY TO GO.

BUT SINCE THAT OPTION COULDN'T BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT THE SUPPORT OF THE -- OF OUR ALLIES, THOSE MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THEN WE HAVE TURNED TO OTHER -- OTHER MATTERS, AND WE DID THIS, I THINK, IN A WAY, IN A LEADERSHIP APPROACH BY TALKING

TO THEM, TRYING TO FIND COMMON GROUND, BRINGING THEM HERE TO WASHINGTON AND WORKING OUT THE JOINT ACTION PLAN THAT WAS ADOPTED A WEEK AGO LAST SATURDAY.

IT MAY BE THAT OTHERS WOULD HAVE PREFERRED THE UNITED STATES TO GO TO THE ALLIES AND SAY, "YOU MUST DO THIS. WE INSIST ON YOUR DOING THIS OR WE'LL RUPTURE THE ALLIANCE." THE PRESIDENT DECIDED NOT TO DO THAT. HE HAS FELT FROM THE BEGINNING -- HE HAD TWO BASIC PRINCIPLES FROM THE BEGINNING ABOUT BOSNIA. FIRST, IT'S NOT IN THE UNITED STATES INTEREST TO HAVE GROUND TROOPS THERE EXCEPT AS PEACEKEEPERS, AND SECOND, THE PROBLEM WOULD BE APPROACHED MULTILATERALLY. AND THE PRESIDENT HAS CONSISTENTLY HELD WITH THOSE TWO MAIN THEMES.

MR. MACNEIL: I GUESS THE FORMER SECRETARIES ARE SUGGESTING -- IT SOUNDS TO ME AS THOUGH THEY'RE SUGGESTING THAT THIS IS UNCHARACTERISTIC OF THE AMERICAN POSTURE IN THE PAST. IN THE PAST, AND CERTAINLY DURING THE COLD WAR, THAT IT EXPRESSED ITS POINT OF VIEW AND WHIPPED THE ALLIES INTO THE -- INTO THE FOLD -- ROUNDED THEM UP INTO THE FOLD. IS THAT THE WAY IT USED TO BE? I MEAN, DID THE UNITED STATES GET -- INSIST ON GETTING ITS WAY CHARACTERISTICALLY OR TYPICALLY IN THE PAST?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: (YES?), I THINK IN A BIPOLAR WORLD WHERE EVERY DECISION WAS POSITED ON HOW IT WOULD AFFECT THE UNITED STATES OR HOW IT WOULD AFFECT RUSSIA IN THAT CONFRONTATION, THEN WHEN YOU WENT TO YOUR ALLIES AND SAID, "WE WANT TO DO THIS," IT HAD A DIFFERENT KIND OF IMPERATIVE THAN IT DOES IN THE PRESENT SITUATION.

BOSNIA IS A HUMAN TRAGEDY, A HUMANITARIAN -- JUST A GROSS -- GROTESQUE HUMANITARIAN SITUATION. BUT IT IS NOT A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA. IT DOES NOT AFFECT OUR VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS EXCEPT AS WE'RE CONCERNED ABOUT HUMANITARIAN MATTERS AND EXCEPT AS WE'RE TRYING TO CONTAIN IT.

SO I CAN UNDERSTAND HOW PRIOR SECRETARIES WHO ARE PERHAPS ACCUSTOMED TO GETTING THEIR WAY WITH THE ALLIES SIMPLY BY SAYING SO, ARE SURPRISED BY THE CURRENT SITUATION. BUT AS WE GO FORWARD, ROBIN, AS WE LOOK DOWN THE ROAD IN THE FUTURE, THERE WILL BE SITUATIONS WHERE WE NEED TO APPROACH IT MULTILATERALLY. AND IN THOSE SITUATIONS, YOU HAVE TO DEAL WITH YOUR ALLIES.

THOSE I DO NOT THINK WILL BE THE MAJORITY OF SITUATION. THE MAJORITY OF SITUATIONS WILL BE WHERE THE UNITED STATES DEFINES ITS VITAL INTERESTS AND GOES ABOUT ACCOMPLISH THEM.

MR. MACNEIL: SO IN THE -- IN THE SECOND BIG ACTION THAT REALLY DEFINES THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD, IF SOMALIA WAS THE FIRST PERHAPS -- PERHAPS THE GULF WAR WAS THE FIRST. SOMALIA WAS THE SECOND. THIS ONE WHICH IS DEFINING IT NOW, THERE REALLY IS A NEW SITUATION. THE US LEVERAGE IS LESS. IS THAT -- WITH -- VIS A VIS

THE ALLIES.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I THINK THE US LEVERAGE IS LESS BECAUSE WE'VE DEFINED IT AS A PLACE WHERE WE WANT TO HANDLE THE MATTER MULTILATERALLY. BOSNIA IS A MUCH DIFFERENT CASE THAN SOMALIA. SOMALIA IS A RATHER SIMPLE MILITARY CASE. BOSNIA IS A VERY TOUGH MILITARY CASE BECAUSE OF THE ANCIENT HATREDS, BECAUSE OF THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE COUNTRY. IT'S A VERY MOUNTAINOUS PLACE. IT'S A PLACE WHERE AIR POWER HAS RELATIVELY LITTLE EFFECT.

NOW, ONE OF THE THINGS, I THINK, PERHAPS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT UNDERSTOOD ADEQUATELY IS THAT THERE'S NO SIMPLE AIR POWER SOLUTION. ALL OF OUR MILITARY PLANNERS SAY THAT AN AIR STRIKE COULD PERHAPS ACCOMPLISH SOMETHING THE FIRST OR THE SECOND DAY. BUT THEREAFTER, THE ARTILLERY PIECES, THE MORTARS, WOULD BE HIDDEN IN THE HILLS, HIDDEN UNDER TREES OR EVEN MORE FRIGHTENINGLY PLACED NEXT TO SCHOOLS OR MOSQUES OR HOSPITALS.

SO I THINK THERE ARE REAL LIMITATIONS ON AIR POWER AS A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM IN BOSNIA. SO IF YOU RULE OUT GROUND TROOPS, YOU FIND AIR POWER INEFFECTIVE, AND IF YOU DEFINE IT AS A HUMANITARIAN SITUATION, THEN YOUR OPTIONS ARE REALLY MUCH DIFFERENT THAN THEY WOULD BE IN A PLACE LIKE SOMALIA WHERE MILITARILY IT WAS RATHER SIMPLE TO SOLVE THAT PROBLEM.

MR. MACNEIL: DO YOU FEEL IN YOUR OWN CONSCIENCE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS FULFILLED WHATEVER MORAL OBLIGATION BOSNIA PRESENTED TO US?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: MY JOB IS TO WORRY ABOUT AMERICAN INTERESTS AND I THINK WE'RE PURSUING AMERICAN INTERESTS ADEQUATELY HERE. OBVIOUSLY, WE'RE ALL APPEALED TO BY HUMANITARIAN MATTERS THAT WE OUGHT TO DO AS MUCH AS WE CAN AROUND THE WORLD AND WE ARE DOING THAT. AS YOU RECALL IN BOSNIA WE INITIATED THE AIR DROP PROGRAM. WE'VE NOW DROPPED OVER TWO AND A HALF MILLION MEALS INTO BOSNIA. WE HAVE WORKED OUT THE NO FLIGHT ZONE. WE'VE BEEN THE LEADER IN TRYING TO GET THE WAR CLAIMS (SIC) TRIBUNAL AND IT WAS APPROVED LAST WEEK BY THE UNITED NATIONS.

SO IT ISN'T AS IF WE'D IGNORED THIS PROBLEM. WE'RE DOING WHAT WE CAN IN THE CONTEXT OF BOSNIA WHICH IS, AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, SUCH A PROBLEM FROM HELL.

MR. MACNEIL: YOU SAID AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA LAST WEEK, "WE MUST BE MORE ENGAGED INTERNATIONALLY, NOT LESS; MORE ARDENT IN THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY, NOT LESS." WHAT DOES MORE ARDENT MEAN? IT DOESN'T HAVE A KENNEDY-ESQUE PAY-ANY-PRICE/BEAR-ANY-BURDEN RING TO IT OR (INTENTION?) DOES IT? OR WHAT DOES IT --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I THINK IT WILL BE ONE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL TENETS OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ADMINISTRATION THAT WE'LL GO OUT OF OUR WAY TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY AROUND THE WORLD.

FUNDAMENTALLY, THAT'S WHAT WE'RE DOING IN RUSSIA. NOW, YOU HAVEN'T MENTIONED RUSSIA, BUT RUSSIA'S BEEN ONE OF THE BIG SUCCESS STORIES FOR PRESIDENT KENNEDY (SIC). HE CAME INTO OFFICE. HE FOUND A SEVERELY THREATENED PRESIDENT YELTSIN, AND HE DECIDED THAT HE WOULD SUPPORT PRESIDENT YELTSIN AS THE BEST EXPONENT OF DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA. AND HE TOOK BIG RISKS TO DO THAT, GOING TO VANCOUVER AND COMMITTING THE US, NOT ONLY ITS PRESTIGE BUT IT'S TREASURY TO BE HELPFUL TO THE RUSSIANS; FOLLOWING UP AT TOKYO ONCE AGAIN A -- LEADING THE WORLD COALITION TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA.

MR. MACNEIL: TO GO BACK TO YOUR STATEMENT THAT YOU'RE ON THE VERGE OF DEFINING A CLINTON FOREIGN POLICY MORE EXPLICITLY THAN HAS BEEN POSSIBLE BECAUSE YOU'VE BEEN PREOCCUPIED WITH THE ONGOING SITUATIONS, ARE THERE GOING TO BE EVENTS OR OCCASIONS COMING UP WHERE THAT'S GOING TO BE DEFINED?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES, I THINK THERE ARE ONGOING EVENTS. ALMOST ON A WEEKLY BASIS THERE WILL BE A MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FOREIGN MINISTERS NEXT WEEK, AND THEN A NATO MEETING. THE PRESIDENT WILL GO TO THE G-7 MEETING IN TOKYO, THE MEETING OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES IN TOKYO IN THE EARLY PART OF JULY. I'LL BE GOING TO THE ASEAN MEETING.

ONE OF THE THINGS WE HAVE NOT TALKED ABOUT ENOUGH AND PERHAPS WE DON'T TALK ABOUT ENOUGH IN AMERICA IS ASIA. WE NEED TO PAY GREAT ATTENTION TO THE SITUATION IN ASIA. IT HAS A NUMBER OF RAMIFICATIONS FOR US, EACH OF THEM IMPORTANT.

FROM A STANDPOINT OF TRADE, OUR PRINCIPAL TRADE DEFICIT IS WITH TWO COUNTRIES IN ASIA, JAPAN AND CHINA. THAT DESERVES A LOT OF ATTENTION. WE HAVE THE PROBLEMS IN KOREA; NEED TO DEAL WITH NORTH KOREA. SO I THINK IT'S VERY DESIRABLE THAT BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND I WILL BE IN ASIA TWICE IN JULY PUTTING A FOCUS ON ASIAN PROBLEMS.

I THINK WE ARE SOMEWHAT TOO MUCH EUROPEAN-CENTERED SOMETIMES.

MR. MACNEIL: BUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN THAT AMERICANS WILL KNOW THAT THERE IS WHAT THEY CAN RECOGNIZE AS A CLINTON FOREIGN POLICY?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I'M SURE THE PRESIDENT WILL BE SPEAKING OUT AND I'LL BE SPEAKING OUT, TRYING TO GIVE SOME BROADER CONTEXT TO THE THINGS THAT WE ARE DOING.

FIRST THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN CLEAR FROM THE BEGINNING THAT THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS WAS A FIRST PRINCIPLE. HE'S ALSO BEEN VERY CLEAR THAT THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR ECONOMY AND OUR WORLD POSITION WAS A CRITICAL ONE AND THAT'S A VERY IMPORTANT INSIGHT, TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT, AS I SAID, YOU HAVE TO BE STRONG ABROAD IN ORDER TO BE STRONG AT HOME.

LET ME EXPAND ON THAT JUST FOR A MOMENT. IF WE'RE NOT STRONG ABROAD, IF WE'RE PREOCCUPIED BY CRISES THAT ARE UNPREDICTABLE, THEN THE PRESIDENTS ARE GOING TO BE THROWN OFF TRACK OF DEALING WITH THE DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. BUT IF WE CAN BE BOTH STRONG ABROAD AND STRONG AT HOME, THEN WE CAN CHART OUR OWN COURSE AND I HOPE AND THINK THAT THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM IS GOING TO HAVE A BURST OF NEW ENTHUSIASM, A NEW ENERGY FOR THE UNITED STATES AND (THAT?) MAKE IT MORE POSSIBLE FOR OUR -- TO DEFINE OUR -- DEFINE OUR SITUATION INTERNATIONALLY.

AS I SAY, WE'RE ONLY -- WE'RE ONLY ONE-TWELFTH OF THE WAY INTO THE ADMINISTRATION.

MR. MACNEIL: WELL, MR. SECRETARY, THANK YOU FOR JOINING US.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, ROBIN.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

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

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מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך הבית הלבן ליום 26/5/93

בתדרוך היום בבית הלבן, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב):

KING HUSSEIN VISIT TO THE US
US FOREIGN POLICY

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב):

HAIR-CUT SCANDAL
MAKE-UP SCANDAL
TRAVEL OFFICE SCANDAL
HAITI
GAUTEMALA
BOSNIA

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לענייננו:-

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, DC REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: GEORGE
STEPHANPOULOS 1:03 P.M. (EDT) WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1993

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS INVITED HIS MAJESTY,
KING HUSSEIN I, OF JORDAN, TO MEET IN WASHINGTON ON JUNE 18TH.
THE TWO LEADERS ARE EXPECTED TO DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE
PROCESS, DEVELOPMENTS IN THE REGION, AND US-JORDANIAN BILATERAL
RELATIONS. ANY QUESTIONS?

Q WHAT KIND OF A VISIT?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: I THINK IT'S A WORKING VISIT.

Q GEORGE, CAN I ASK ABOUT THE INCIDENT INVOLVING THE STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL YESTERDAY WHO SPOKE TO REPORTERS, ENUNCIATED WHAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAD TO CLARIFY? DEE DEE SAID THIS MORNING HE DOESN'T SPEAK FOR THE ADMINISTRATION. NOW, YOU KNOW AS WELL AS I DO HE'S THE UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLICY. IS WHAT HE'S SAYING JUST WRONG? AND WHY DOES HE NOT KNOW WHAT THE POLICY IS?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: WELL, I THINK FIRST OF ALL THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE SAID ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS IN NUMEROUS SETTINGS THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THEY ARE THE CHIEF SPOKESMEN FOR THE UNITED STATES ON THIS MATTER. AND THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID TIME AND TIME AGAIN THAT WE STAND READY TO DEFEND OUR INTERESTS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DEFEND THOSE INTERESTS, AND WE ARE LEADERS. THIS WAS A BACKGROUND BRIEFING. I WAS NOT AT THE BRIEFING. I CAN'T SPEAK FOR THE WHOLE BRIEFING. I MEAN, CLEARLY, THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS THE LEAD SPOKESMAN. HE MOST RECENTLY ARTICULATED THOSE VIEWS ON NIGHTLINE LAST NIGHT. HE SPOKE ABOUT THEM AGAIN THIS MORNING. AND HE SAID -- HE STATED THEM VERY CLEARLY.

Q IF UNDERSECRETARY X DOESN'T KNOW WHAT THE POLICY IS, WHY DO YOU KEEP HIM IN THE ADMINISTRATION?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: WELL, AGAIN, I DON'T THINK THAT THERE'S ANY SUGGESTION THAT HE DOESN'T KNOW WHAT THE POLICY IS. I WOULDN'T NECESSARILY SAY THAT HIS COMMENTS WERE TAKEN IN THE WAY THAT HE MEANT THEM. BUT THE SECRETARY OF STATE CLEARLY SPEAKS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION.

Q WELL, HIS DESCRIPTIONS OF WHAT'S HAPPENED IN BOSNIA ARE EXACTLY PARALLEL TO WHAT HAPPENED IN BOSNIA. I MEAN, WAS HE SIMPLY BEING MORE HONEST THAN OTHER ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: WELL, WE'VE SAID TIME AND TIME AGAIN THAT WE EXPECTED AND WANT AND DEMANDED A MULTILATERAL EFFORT IN THE BOSNIAN SITUATION, AND THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT WE'VE GOT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS WORKED WITH THE OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS. THAT'S WHAT WE SAW ON SATURDAY IN THE COORDINATION OF THE JOINT ACTION PLAN. AND WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO WORK WITH THEM.

Q WELL, WHAT IS WRONG ABOUT THE VIEW THAT ECONOMIC ISSUES ARE PREDOMINANT AND THAT FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD TAKE A BACK SEAT?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: WELL, AGAIN, I MEAN, I DON'T KNOW -- NOW WE'RE INTO SECOND- AND THIRD-HAND CHARACTERIZATIONS OF WHAT SOMEBODY SAID AT A BACKGROUND BRIEFING. AND I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THAT'S PARTICULARLY FAIR TO HIM. I MEAN, WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID TIME AND TIME AGAIN IS THAT FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY ARE INTERTWINED AND YOU CAN'T DO ONE WITHOUT THE OTHER AND YOU CAN'T LEAD ABROAD UNLESS YOU HAVE A STRONG ECONOMY AT HOME. AND HE HAS FOCUSED ON BOTH, ON MAKING SURE THAT WE HAVE THE ECONOMIC UNDERPINNINGS TO HAVE A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE WORLD. AND THAT'S WHY WE'RE WORKING ON THE BUDGET TODAY.

Q (INAUDIBLE) -- ABOUT THIS BRIEFING? HAS THE PRESIDENT SPOKEN TO THE SECRETARY AND ARE THERE ANY FURTHER RAMIFICATIONS?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: I DON'T THINK THE PRESIDENT HAS SPOKEN TO THE SECRETARY, NO.

Q BUT DURING THE CAMPAIGN --

Q WOULD YOU ANSWER THE SECOND PART OF THAT QUESTION?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: WHAT WAS THE SECOND PART?

Q ARE THERE ANY FURTHER RAMIFICATIONS, I.E., IS HE GOING TO BE DISCIPLINED, FIRED, TOLD NOT TO SPEAK TO THE PRESS?

(CROSS TALK, LAUGHTER.)

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: WERE YOU EVEN ON THE TRIP SATURDAY? I DIDN'T THINK SO. ME, TOO. (LAUGHTER.) I'M SORRY. GO TO THE -- I DON'T BELIEVE SO, BUT YOU CAN ASK THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

Q DEE DEE'S LANGUAGE IN PARTICULAR THIS MORNING WAS AS STRONG A DENUNCIATION OF SOMEONE SERVING IN A SENIOR LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT AS I'VE SEEN ON THE RECORD. IT SUGGESTS, YOU KNOW, THAT HE DOESN'T SPEAK FOR THE ADMINISTRATION, THAT HE WAS OFF THE --

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: THOSE COMMENTS WERE -- THOSE COMMENTS DID NOT REFLECT THE VIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION AS SET FORTH BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE. THERE'S A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CONDEMNING A PERSON --

Q SO, WHAT DO YOU DO --

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: WHAT YOU DO IS YOU TALK TO THEM, YOU FIND OUT WHAT HAPPENED. AND THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT WE'VE DONE.

Q BUT, GEORGE, DURING THE CAMPAIGN, GEORGE BUSH WAS HAMMERED FOR SPENDING, QUOTE, "TOO MUCH TIME" ON FOREIGN POLICY. AND THE INFERENCE THEN WAS THAT MORE DIRECTION WOULD BE PUT ON DOMESTIC POLICY THAN FOREIGN POLICY. SO, WHEN SOMEBODY READS THIS ACCOUNT FROM A SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, IT SORT OF HAS THE RING OF FACT OR TRUTH TO IT, DOES IT NOT?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: WELL, I MEAN, I THINK IF YOU LOOK AT WHAT THE PRESIDENT HAS DONE, THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN BOTH FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY. THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS WORKED IN GETTING THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS STARTED AGAIN. HE'S HAD A SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT WITH BORIS YELTSIN AND THE RUSSIANS. HE'S BEEN WORKING ON BOSNIA. HE'S BEEN WORKING ON HAITI. THE PRESIDENT CAN, MUST, AND WILL LEAD IN FOREIGN POLICY. THAT'S HIS JOB AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF AND AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD'S ONLY REMAINING SUPERPOWER.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE IN A NEW WORLD. WE ARE IN A WORLD WHERE ECONOMIC STRENGTH MATTERS, WHERE ECONOMIC STRENGTH IS THE UNDERPINNING OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. AND THE PRESIDENT, FROM THE VERY BEGINNING OF HIS CAMPAIGN, SAID THAT WE CANNOT LEAD IN THAT WORLD UNLESS WE HAVE A STRONG ECONOMY AT HOME. HE CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT. HE BELIEVES THAT STRONGLY. HE BELIEVES IT DEEPLY. AND HE BELIEVES THAT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PLAY THAT KIND OF ROLE UNLESS WE GET OUR OWN HOUSE IN ORDER. BUT THEY GO HAND IN HAND.

Q GEORGE, ON THE KING HUSSEIN MEETING -- (OFF MIKE)?

MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: I THINK IT'S JUST A WORKING VISIT -- I MEAN, NO NEW PROPOSALS AT THIS TIME.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

3/06/1993

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JUN 001470

אאא, חוזם: 3603

אל: בטחון/234

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 74, תא: 020693, חז: 1242, דח: מ, סג: שמ, בבב

אל: אגת/87רמחתא'ס

אל: שר הבטחון

אל ראש הממשלה

שמור/מידי

2/6/93

אל: ממוכ"ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

107-107
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תודה על מברקך האחרונים. ככל שהדברים נראים עכשיו לא יגיעו הפלסטינים לווינגטון לפני ה-14 יוני. ייתכן שהשיחות עצמן תתחלנה ב-15 יוני על מנת ליצור ולו יום אחד של התייעצויות מקדימות.

רבינוביץ

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אאאא, חוזם: 3603

אל: רהמש/89

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 74, תא: 020693, זח: 1242, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

2/6/93

g.h.g.

אל: ממנכ"ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

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רבינוביץ

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

סססס