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# מדינת ישראל

משרדיה הממשלת

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## South Africa to Address Nuclear Issues

*Foreign Minister Says Nation Will Allay U.S. Fears Within Two Weeks*

By R. Jeffrey Smith  
Washington Post Staff Writer

South African Foreign Minister R.F. Botha said yesterday that his country would move quickly to try to allay U.S. concerns that it is hiding components for nuclear weapons.

Addressing a news conference here, Botha said South Africa has complied "strictly and consistently and unconditionally" with the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which South Africa signed two years ago and which bars acquisition or retention of nuclear weapons or the capability to make them.

The Washington Post reported yesterday that U.S. officials suspect South Africa has not declared all of its nuclear weapons materials to the International Atomic Energy Agency and may be hiding some of the highly enriched uranium and other components of nuclear weapons it produced in the 1970s and 1980s.

Botha told reporters that his government has known of Washington's concerns and that officials of the Clinton administration had pressed the matter during his visit this week.

The South African minister did not directly address the allegations. But he said, "My government will remove these doubts within the next two weeks"—during which a team of IAEA inspectors is scheduled to make another visit to South Africa.

Botha said he wanted to confer with other government officials in Pretoria before spelling out what steps will be taken to allay U.S. concerns. He said that South Africa would welcome additional IAEA inspections and asserted that none of South Africa's fissile material had been diverted to illicit recipients.

U.S. and South African officials said Botha is unlikely during his visit here to settle another proliferation-related dispute, arising from Washington's efforts to stymie

South Africa's development of a missile system for launching commercial satellites into space.

Washington has been pressuring allies not to assist the so-called Armatron missile system, noting that it will be capable of carrying a nuclear warhead as well as satellites. The missile is derived in part from an Israeli missile, the Jericho II, that South Africa has helped test—a collaboration that led to U.S. trade sanctions against a South African arms manufacturer last year.

But Botha said yesterday that his country is still seeking private U.S. or European investment and technical assistance for the missile program.

Botha met Wednesday with White House national security adviser Anthony Lake and yesterday with members of Congress and Assistant Secretary of State Herman J. Cohen, and is scheduled to meet this morning with Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Charles Krauthammer

## A Coup in the Name of Democracy?

What if Boris Yeltsin dissolves parliament, then assumes dictatorial rule with army backing? Do we support him for trying to save Russia from the Communist-dominated Soviet-era parliament? Or do we denounce him for having violated democratic norms and adopting the authoritarianism he is ostensibly opposing?

These questions may seem theoretical, but they are not. First, because we may be called upon to answer them rather soon. But more important, because the signals we give in advance of such drastic developments will greatly influence whether Yeltsin survives.

If Yeltsin feels that he has enough domestic support to pull off a coup against the resurgent Communists, he might be tempted to do so before he is totally stripped of his powers. But he might hesitate if he thought that doing so would bring down upon him universal condemnation from abroad.

Western support would certainly not sustain Yeltsin without domestic support. But given the precarious balance of power in Russia, a Western rebuff could sink him. Denunciation by the very countries whose friendship he has sought, whose aid he has been promised, and whose support has bolstered his legitimacy as ruler of Russia could be politically fatal.

Support a coup in the name of democracy? There is no need to answer such a question in public, as Clinton was invited to do at his news conference last Monday. But a private signal to Yeltsin as to where the United States would be

*in extremis* could be crucial. What signal? That we do not encourage such a drastic step. That we hope it never becomes necessary. But that if it does, we will support it.

It may be that a resort by Yeltsin to extraconstitutional power would not work. But that is a separate

*"Totalitarians are perfectly capable of achieving power through democracy, then destroying it."*

question, of which he is a better judge than we. The question for us is not of practice but of principle: What do we think of undemocratic action taken in defense of democracy?

It is an old question. During the Cold War the question of whether to support authoritarian dictators like Augusto Pinochet, Ferdinand Marcos, and the shah of Iraq caused great division in the West. In her famous 1979 article, Jeane Kirkpatrick argued that given the choice between an authoritarian ruler and a totalitarian alternative, the choice was clear: authoritarianism was the lesser of two evils.

With the demise of the greater evil as represented by Soviet communism, it looked as if the dilemma had been abolished. We could now

adopt a pristine foreign policy of unequivocal and universal support for democracy.

A fond hope but naive. The Soviet Union may be dead, but we will always have to make distinctions between evils. In Russia today, unlike, say, post-Nazi Germany, the totalitarians are very much politically alive. It is hard to see how one could not choose an even authoritarian Yeltsin defending his reforms against a mob of apparatchiks who wrap themselves in the pseudiconsitutionalism of a Communist-era document and whose aims are clearly unconstitutional and antidemocratic.

But Russia is hardly the only place where we will have to make fateful choices between authoritarianism and totalitarianism. We face the same question in the Arab world, where Islamic fundamentalist forces are pressing their campaign against the moderate regimes of Egypt, Jordan, Algeria and Tunisia.

In the case of Egypt, the question is becoming acute. President Hosni Mubarak is in the midst of a desperate campaign against Islamic extremists adept at terror and committed to a Khomeini-like Islamic state. The fall of Egypt, lynchpin of the Middle East, would be an international calamity second only to the fall of Russia, lynchpin of Eurasia. Mubarak is no doubt asking us, "Do you support me in my war against the fundamentalists?" Our answer has to be: Given the alternative—yes.

We should have learned our lesson from the fall of the shah.

Whether or not we were decisive in his fall is not the point. We may not be decisive in Russia or Egypt either. But to the extent that we did have influence in Iran, American equivocation only helped destabilize the shah and usher in a regime infinitely more repressive.

In Algeria last year, Islamic fundamentalists may well have won a democratic election but were denied power and indeed outlawed by the military. In the face of the military's usurpation, the United States was silent, a silence correctly interpreted as tacit support.

Are we not violating the very tenets of democracy that are supposed to be the moral core of American foreign policy? No. Because democracy does not mean one man, one vote, one voice. In the German elections of 1932 and 1933, the Nazis won more votes than any other party. We know what they did with the power thus won. Totalitarians are perfectly capable of achieving power through democracy, then destroying it.

Moreover, democracy does not just mean elections. It also means constitutionalism—the limitation of state power—in political life, and tolerance and pluralism in civic life. Yeltsin and Mubarak are clearly more committed to such values than those who would overthrow them. That is why it would be not just expedient but right to support undemocratic measures undertaken to avert a far more anti-democratic outcome. Democracy is not a suicide pact.

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Stephen S. Rosenfeld

# Frozen By Fear

## *Paralysis is no substitute for foreign policy.*

Don't go into Bosnia, people have been saying. We'll be dragged into a quagmire there, and we'll set ourselves up for being dragged into any number of other quagmires. Ever since Vietnam, whatever happens to be the international crisis of the moment is commonly presented as a political Bermuda Triangle inexorably drawing the United States into one costly and treacherous commitment after another.

But what is this strange fascination with the idea of America as will-less and subservient to selfish and destructive enticements? With the determinism of Marxism repudiated by the flow of history, what is the basis of our dalliance with a new determinism of democracy?

In fact, choices about intervention are hard, and draw on a range of considerations starting at the geopolitical end, encompassing a domestic-political equation and reaching to our definition of community and community values. But these choices are not something that ordinary citizens cannot manage. They are no more arduous and paralyzing than those that are put before us in our personal and public capacities every day. The familiar solvent of complexity, judgment, is available.

Because we intervene in, say, Somalia, we are not fated to intervene in, say, Liberia or Sudan. Nor, I would argue, would a measure of direct intervention in Bosnia lock us into successive steps in Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia or wherever. No iron law of consistency forces our decisions in these matters. We discriminate and distinguish one place from another without surrendering to a notion of policy automaticity and without shouldering a crippling load of guilt. Our politics has a large number of alarms and trip wires built in—too many for some people's taste—to keep us from stumbling into a pit.

On issues where a conventional identifiable national interest is at stake, the choices are relatively easy. Not that we are always prepared to conduct the right strategy and pay the appropriate price. But at least we have some consensus about policy. Iraq's gobbling up of Kuwait put international oil into play. Even those who hesitated on the issue of force granted that big chips were on the table and something had to be done.

The more vexing choices now come in what appears to be the expanding realm of humanitarian/political interventions. There, as in Bosnia, the national interest factor is open to debate. Intervention moves from Column A, imperative or at least thinkable, to Column B, thinkable but not imperative.

Humanitarian/political interventions constitute a scarce and precious resource that must be doled out carefully. They are optional. But there is a basis of discipline on which to sort them out. It derives from the idea put into circulation a decade ago by Caspar Weinberger, Ronald Reagan's Pentagon chief, that strategic interventions should be guided by publicly stated rules. It comes down to a measurement of value, feasibility and cost with, always, a hearty pinch of politics thrown in.

The process of working out the humanitarian rules does not lend itself to mathematical certainty, which some people crave as a substitute for policy analysis. But it is certainly less subjective than, for instance, the process by which we routinely decide which street people to aid as we walk from the subway to the office.

Not consistency but good sense must be the standard. Certainly we cannot flee from honest choice by succumbing uncritically to shadows of the past. Not every landing of the Marines ends with a suicide truck-bomb explosion in a barracks at sleep. I cite a disastrous example, Beirut 1983, which in this era of lesser and ambiguous temptations may prey as heavily on the Washington mind and especially on the military mind as does the grand and now thoroughly absorbed "lesson"—no more quagmires—of Vietnam.

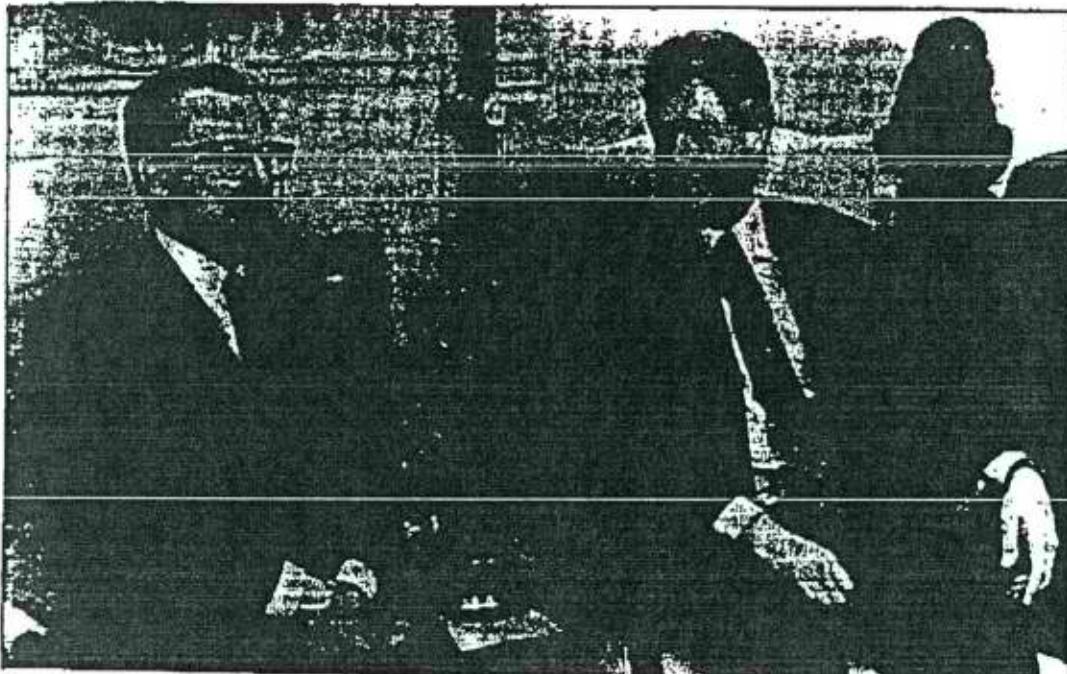
Grenada, Panama, Iraq and now Somalia: Have we not accumulated enough experience since Vietnam and Beirut to warrant a certain confidence in our capacity to pick a mission and get in and to complete the mission and get out—to not say yes? For that matter, is not our steady bipartisan refusal—which I deplore—to lend a real helping hand in Bosnia proof that we do in fact also know how to say no?

There is reason to be wary in any edging toward military intervention in Bosnia, which may already be in terminal agony, or elsewhere. But an inflated fear of our inability to be masters of our own policy seems to me to be the least of it.

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BY RON LIPKIN—THE WASHINGTON POST

Exhibiting his shift to matters of diplomacy, Clinton sees Jacques Delors of the European Community in the Oval Office.

## Foreign Policy's Week in the Sun

Shifting From Domestic Change, Clinton Engages in Diplomatic Continuity

By Ann Devroy and Ruth Marcus  
Washington Post Staff Writers

Sixty days into his presidency, George Bush already had jetted to Ottawa for a meeting with the Canadians, toured the Far East, hosted a Camp David dinner for the United Nations secretary general and dived into what became a familiar round of personal diplomacy by inviting Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to a ballgame in Baltimore.

Four years and an election later, President Clinton "is doing foreign policy this week," as White House communications director George Stephanopoulos put it in an interview Tuesday. Capped by a session with European Community Commission President Jacques Delors yesterday, the eighth week of the Clinton presidency was the first in which foreign meetings were publicly prominent

and work on a major foreign policy problem—Russia—consumed a significant chunk of his private time.

Having spent his first two months in office constructing and selling an economic package, Clinton, according to his aides, now has the political opening not only to conduct foreign policy—he has been doing so, mostly in private—but also to be seen conducting foreign policy.

Clinton wanted "to kind of get in the saddle for the first 30 days or 60 days," one senior aide said. "Clearly the first focus was the economic program." His six-month foreign policy agenda, another aide said, was to meet with leaders of the rest of the Group of Seven major industrial democracies before their economic summit in Japan this summer; to relaunch the Middle East peace process; and to display early U.S. support for democratic reform in Russia leading to a summit

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# Foreign Policy Hits Limelight 2 Months Into New Administration

CLINTON, From A1

April 3-4 with President Boris Yeltsin in Vancouver, B.C.

Those modest goals, combined with the need to react to breaking foreign policy issues these first weeks, are a sharp contrast to Clinton's ambitious domestic policy.

On that front, Clinton is working to engineer a reversal of Reaganomics and present a major revamping of the nation's health care system. But on foreign policy, the Clinton administration's initial diplomatic efforts have displayed more continuity than change:

- On Russia, Clinton is supporting, as Bush did, the process of democratic reform under Yeltsin. Clinton's advisers argue that his support program will be targeted more toward smaller, quick-starting free enterprise experiments that will make for visible

change, and that Clinton will be more energetic than Bush is arguing for support both at home and abroad. "It is a continuation of the Bush approach," deputy national security adviser Samuel R. "Sandy" Berger told CNN earlier this month. "What is new is the level of priority that this president intends to give to this relationship."

- On Haiti, Clinton is enforcing the Bush administration's policy of forcibly returning refugees picked up on the high seas, despite campaign pledges to reverse it. While his advisers argue that Clinton is more aggressive in pushing for the return of ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, one aide conceded, "We reacted in the campaign on the basis of principle probably without a sufficient understanding of the practicalities of it."

- On the Middle East, Clinton quickly sent Secretary of State Warren Christopher to

the region to try to pick up the pieces of a peace process fashioned and pursued by the Bush team. While Clinton has pledged to refrain from what he called Bush's "bullying" of Israel in that process, a senior aide said the overall talks begun by the past administration, not some new route, offer "real opportunities to build a peace."

Two of the briefers who prepared Clinton Saturday for this week's visit of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin were from the Bush team that constructed and implemented their policy, Dennis B. Ross and Edward Djerejian.

- On the former Yugoslavia, Clinton had sharply criticized Bush for allowing free rein to the "murderous Serbs" and pledged firmer action, including military action such as air strikes. But, one official said, "the situation has changed since the campaign

and I argue that the actions we have taken have made things better. Not as much as we would like, but better. The dynamic of the negotiations has changed" with a better chance for peace, the aide maintained, because Clinton agreed to humanitarian aid drops and to use U.S. military force to secure an agreement reached by the parties.

- On Iraq, Clinton aides insisted during the transition there would be "no daylight" between the two administrations in forcing Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein to meet the conditions that ended the Persian Gulf War. Despite Saddam's new "charm" initiative in trying to improve relations with the United States, the Clinton team is maintaining Bush administration policy while seeking to avoid personalizing the conflict, as they believe Bush did.

Against charges that Clinton has re-

versed some campaign pledges, Clinton's foreign policy advisers argue that they had to play the hand they were dealt. "Our options are much more limited now than they were during the campaign and before the crisis first developed," one aide said.

"In terms of substantive differences, the fruits are probably not going to be seen in the first eight weeks of our administration," this aide added. "Over time, you're going to see a dramatic difference where we're much quicker to understand the needs for U.S. action and engagement and what Christopher's been calling 'preventive diplomacy.'"

"Certainly governing is more difficult than campaigning," one adviser said. "You see things in three dimensions rather than two dimensions. . . . Obviously, in a campaign you can't consult with your allies. You

See CLINTON, A16, Col. 1

# Despite Campaign Rhetoric, Clinton Exhibits Continuity in Diplomacy

CLINTON, Press A14

don't have the same kind of intelligence that you have and you don't have to fashion something that is exquisitely workable."

But aides say the new administration has a different attitude. One senior aide said, "Republicans, Bush in particular, are cautious and want to stick with what is in place and hope things improve before they have to intervene to change it. We think engagement, leadership, is needed at the outset."

U.N. Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright said in an interview that the "basic difference" in the Clinton foreign policy will be big efforts to link it to domestic policy, to demonstrate to Americans that what happens overseas affects them. Bush, she said, "did a great disservice to foreign policy by making it so foreign," and limited his effec-

tiveness by failing to promote and explain to the voters.

Many aides point to Bush's decision to conduct a policy review of the Soviet Union his first six months in office as an example of his caution. "We would not spend months studying something like that," one said.

If Bush foreign policy was set mostly by himself and a handful of key aides, Clinton aides said the president has a different system in mind. Officials said Clinton's first goal in selecting a foreign policy team was good working relations and a minimization of turf battles such as those that marked the last Democratic administration, when national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski feuded with Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance. "The antimodel for many of us was based on experience in the Carter administration, where there were clear blockages of command be-

tween this building and the White House," a State Department official said.

Christopher and national security adviser Anthony Lake, Clinton's key foreign policy players, are veterans of what one official called the "Carter model" and were determined not to repeat it, aides said.

The four-tiered system they built is topped with a principals' group, chaired by Lake, that includes the secretaries at the key departments and Albright.

Albright has been intimately involved in policymaking discussions at the White House, signifying, aides said, the increased role of the United Nations in a broad range of policy problems from the Balkans to Somalia.

A second-tier deputies group, chaired by deputy national security adviser Berger, includes the No. 2 officials at the key departments. A third tier, which had little in-

fluence in the Bush administration, is the assistant secretary level. Interagency working groups report to them.

The system was designed, in the words of one senior official, as one that "allows the president to be deeply engaged but efficiently engaged," able to set a broad tone and "weave in and out" at will. One official noted, "We are really conscious of the fact that most of his day he needs to spend on domestic issues. We try not to intrude on his day more than we have to."

One aide noted that his team "is very conscious of the fact that if you are not careful, foreign policy can consume the presidency. It happens to all presidents, and he knows that if you let it happen, you can always be responding to foreign crisis [so] that it encroaches on everything."

Aides bristle at the image of Clinton as a

president disinterested in foreign policy. At a Saturday meeting, they said, the president was expressing impatience with the progress of restoring democracy in Haiti, and pushing for more options on Russia.

They described him, in language White House aides use for all presidents, as "certainly hands-on with respect to issues that require presidential decisions," and as being "deeply engaged" in questioning and studying the rationale of the decisions facing him.

"People try and put him in this box of someone who all of a sudden discovered foreign policy and hates it and doesn't want to do it," another official said. "They make up this Clinton that doesn't exist. . . . It's not that he wants to get rid of foreign policy in order to deal with a domestic economy, he sees that the two are integrated and require management on both fronts."

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## Army Forges Gung-Ho Israelis From Reluctant Immigrants

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

KARMIEL, Israel—Dressed in baggy military fatigues, Mirav Oshni is putting her troops under fire.

The soldiers have their guns and uniforms. They salute their commander smartly and follow rigid discipline. But they are not on the battlefield or a training ground. They are sitting in a classroom at a small army base in the Lower Galilee, beginning the long, arduous process of becoming Israeli soldiers.

In a rapid voice, Oshni peppers them with questions in Hebrew about the day's lesson.

The subject is one that has long been debated in Israel and abroad: "Who is a Jew?" With the precision and intensity of a drill sergeant, Oshni presses her recruits to speak in Hebrew and to think about the country whose uniform they now wear.

For these new conscripts into the Israel Defense Forces, basic training has yet to begin and military service in elite units like the paratroops is still a distant dream. They are recent immigrants from the former Soviet Union who have been selected for a special intensive training in Hebrew and military life.

The goal is no less than a fundamental change in their identity, to take diverse

youths from Moscow and Tashkent whose families fled the crumbling Soviet empire, who feared the Soviet state and loathed its military, and turn them into patriotic and enthusiastic Israelis who will serve at least part time in the military for most of their adult lives.

Their classroom is another example of how the huge wave of immigration from Russia and the other republics is changing Israeli society, and how Israel in turn is putting its own imprint on the new arrivals. The Israeli army, perhaps the most important institution in the country, created this base, known simply as "The School," last summer to cope with

the unusual challenge of absorbing would-be soldiers from the former Soviet Union as well as from Ethiopia.

Most Jewish Israeli teenagers are gung-ho conscripts when it comes time for compulsory military service after high school. They often compete fiercely to get into elite fighting units, and their schooling has been infused with socialization about the history of Israel and Zionism.

But the 420,000 immigrants who have come here from the former Soviet Union since late 1989 are just the opposite. Many are avowedly secular and left their homes for

See ISRAEL, A48, Col. 1

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# Turning Immigrants Into Israeli Soldiers

ISRAEL From A1

pragmatic reasons, with little knowledge about Israel or the Zionist movement. They fled the burdens of communism and are deeply distrustful of the state and of ideology in general. Polls indicate they are only gradually coming to identify with their new home. A recent survey of Russian immigrants found 45 percent said they did not yet feel like Israelis.

In addition, what they knew of Soviet military service was often shaped by the experience of relatives sent to distant outposts in Afghanistan or Eastern Europe.

"My brother was in the Soviet army," said Andre Borovsky, 19, a student from Moldova, who plans a career in the paramilitary border guard. "The Soviet army was like jail. For two years, your parents don't see you. They try to make you think in a different way. They try to force you to be a patriot."

"We knew the soldiers weren't headed to defend the Soviet Union," said Boris Zaytav, 18, from Uzbekistan. "The only way was to send them to Afghanistan. We lost a lot of soldiers for nothing. A lot of soldiers died just like that. It wasn't written in the newspapers, but everyone knew."

For Israelis, military service is the ticket to success. "If you don't serve, you are literally not part of the society," said Reuven Gal, former chief psychologist for the army. He now heads the Carmel Institute for the Advancement of Society, which is carrying out a study for the army on the long-term impact of military service on the Russian immigrants. "To get a job, to be promoted, to be accepted in a new place, the first thing they will ask you is, where did you serve in the army?"

Lifelong benefits accrue to those who serve in the army. "Only spending some time in the army exposes them to the real heart of the nation, the language, the slang, the way people communicate with each other," Gal said. "It familiarizes them with the essence of Israeli culture."

In the early years, Israel absorbed waves of new immigrants from Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, and for a generation the army was the defining experience of their lives. "During the 1950s, the army was always referred to as the great melting pot of the new state and of Israeli society," Gal said. "More than anything else, more than the education system, more than the government, more than the ulpanas [Hebrew language schools], the army, through these waves of immigrants, was the melting pot."

The mass migrations tapered off,

but the army once again became a microcosm of the absorption process when Russians started pouring into the country in 1989.

At this base, each year more than 1,200 Russian and Ethiopian Jews and a handful from other countries go through a series of courses of one to three months to prepare them for the military. The classes emphasize Hebrew and the special slang that is a part of army life, such as when to be a *rash katom*, or a "little head," which means to take a low profile, and when to be a *rash gahdol*, or "big head"—an overachiever. The students draw army pay—about \$58 a month.

Later, in basic training, they will learn fighting skills, and many will eventually serve in southern Lebanon and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. But now they are just beginning. Some are not literate in Russian, much less Hebrew, and many of the new immigrants are still preoccupied with newcomers' problems. They often ask for such assignments as being drivers so they can get training and skills for later jobs.

"The major concerns are problems at home, unemployment," said Capt. Dudi Agmon, deputy commander of the school. "They worry about what are they going to do after the army, and whether they can get a base close to their family, and where they can get the money to support the family."

At first, the inductees are surprised that commanders are often women. "Here, we have to teach them that the military is not a frightening authority. They have to get used to a commander being a girl. They were used to women being in the kitchen," Agmon said.

der the Law of Return, which guarantees citizenship to all Jews.

Much of the discussion by the dozen soldiers then focused on issues that—not coincidentally—have been debated by Israeli Jews throughout their history.

"It's a very powerful process," Gal said. "Within three years of military service you have a condensed internalization of all these values and beliefs and ideology."

But much of it is indirect, he said, rather than explicit indoctrination. "You hear about pride in your brigade, your company, your mission and so on. Identity-building is not through talking about Herzl and how we established the state, it's not even the Holocaust. This is the background. What is really emphasized is the unit, the regiment, the country. In an indirect way you instill patriotism, Israeli-style through identity with the unit, the commander and your friends."

"I don't think the next generation of our generals are all going to be young Gorbachevs, or young Russians," Gal said, "but some of them will make military careers, and all of them will continue in the reserves, and it will become part of their lives and make them better Israelis."

One female commander, Mirav Malkiel, said the Russian youths initially laughed at her attempts to impose discipline. "At first, there were a lot of troubles. When I would say, 'Be quiet,' they would say, 'Oh, wow, are we animals? Why do you treat us this way? We are people too, why do you tell us to shut up?'

"When I wanted to punish one of them, he laughed at the punishment. He said he preferred a different punishment, so he would feel like the 'real army,' not just like a kid. I said, do you want it to be like in the Russian army, in jail? He said 'Yes!'"

The school program emphasizes Hebrew training and Israeli history, but is also an exercise in socialization. In the class being led by Osimi on "Who is a Jew?" the soldiers read a one-page scenario about a Polish man who posed as a Christian to avoid capture by the Nazis during World War II. Osimi then asked each soldier to consider himself the judge of whether the man should be allowed to immigrate to Israel un-

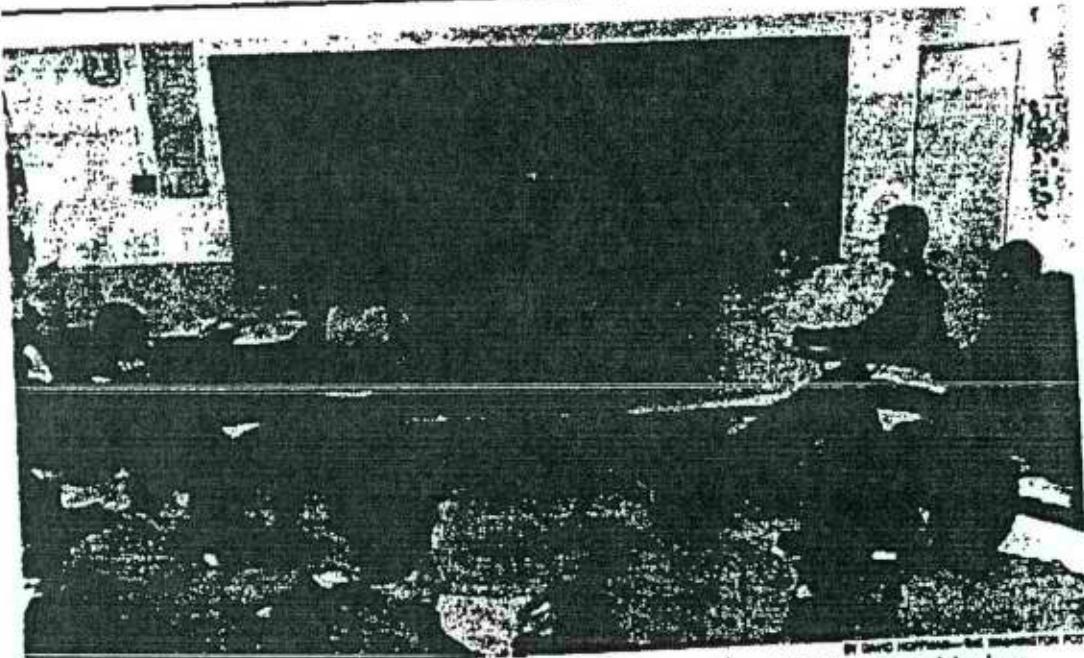
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IN DAVID HORNICK--THE WASHINGTON POST  
Israeli soldier Mirav Osimi lectures recently drafted Russian immigrants on issues of Judaism at a training base.

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# Iranian bomb rumor

## highlights power struggle

By Andrew Borowiec  
 THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Rumors of a bomb attack on Iran's spiritual leader heightened reports in the West yesterday about a major power struggle within Iran's ruling clergy and the growing unrest among the population.

Against the background of increasing economic difficulties, some experts speculate a showdown is near between forces favoring major reforms and Islamic traditionalists.

In light of these developments, the Clinton administration is said to be reviewing U.S. policy toward Iran, recently singled out by the State Department as the world's "most dangerous sponsor of terrorism."

Iranian authorities have denied a report that about 20 people were killed Wednesday in the home of Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. The report came from the Paris office of exiled former President Abolhassan Banisadr, but other Iranian sources claimed they received news of a blast.

One source said that Ahmad Khomeini — son of the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who launched Iran's Islamic revolution — was in the building at the time of the blast.

Ayatollah Khamenei went on television yesterday in an apparent effort to quash speculation about his death or injury. He appealed to the population for a massive turnout in today's planned anti-Israeli march.

"Externally and internally, the regime is in trouble," said Shereen Hunter, an Iran expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

When the reforms expected after last year's parliamentary elections "got stuck, hard-liners began to reassert themselves," she said. "The most important development is the growing dichotomy within the regime. It is clear that ... reformers and hard-liners can't reach a consensus."

She and other Iranian specialists here stressed the importance of the growing rift between Ayatollah Khamenei and President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the man who was expected to launch major economic reforms.

Iran's population is realizing "that you can't have economic reforms without some sort of political change," said Lella Amir, head of the Campaign for Democracy and Human Rights in Iran. "Politically and economically, Iran now is in the worst situation" in years.

The People's Mojahedin of Iran, a resistance group that maintains bases in Iraq and information offices in Europe and Washington, said 10 major demonstrations took place in Iran since last April's elections to the Majlis, or parliament. Many were suppressed by the Revolutionary Guards and "thousands [of people] were imprisoned and dozens executed," the Mojahedin said.

Most of the strikes — many acknowledged by the Tehran author-

ties — appear to be motivated by economic hardship: rampaging prices, unpaid wages and a shortage of heating oil. In recent days, strikes affected a major tractor plant in Tabriz in the north, a textile factory in Karaj, 25 miles west of Tehran, and a sugar factory in Kermanshah in western Iran.

There were also reports of explosions in the oil fields at Ahwaz near the Persian Gulf.

Abroad, agents believed to be in the service of the Iranian regime have been gunning down opponents. The latest victim was Mohammed Hosseini Naghdi, representative of the National Council of Resistance, the opposition's umbrella organization. He was assassinated Tuesday in Rome.

His killing "can only be viewed as a desperate reaction to the irremediable social political and economic crisis engulfing the regime," said Mohammed Mohaddessin, who identifies himself as the council's director of international relations.

He called for "decisive measures" against Iran, including a comprehensive arms and oil embargo.

The Forum on American-Iran Relations, an organization trying to foster better ties between Washington and Tehran, said it was unable to confirm the degree of unrest in Iran.

But a spokeswoman for the group acknowledged that during the past few months Iran "suffered a series of setbacks" and that "the population is becoming increasingly vocal."

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To no one's surprise, North Korea is becoming a nuclear power. Indeed, it may already have The Bomb, or at least one Bomb. The world, always a dangerous place, becomes more so, especially in the vicinity of the Korean Peninsula.

Unlike Iraq, the North Korean regime announced its nuclear ambitions, more or more, by huffily withdrawing from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Pact. North Korea wasn't observing the treaty any more than Iraq is. But it was caught with its nuclear dumps showing by American surveillance and chemical analysis. Instead of playing games with U.N. inspectors a la Saddam Hussein, North Korea's regime simply withdrew from the non-proliferation treaty. It now becomes the first of the 153 governments who signed this agreement to abandon it. This is not a happy precedent.

At almost the same time, Pyongyang put its army on alert in response to joint American-South Korean maneuvers, and generally began to make threatening noises. The possibilities are worrisome, especially for South Korea, Japan, their American ally, and the peace of the world.

It's all enough to bring on a bad case of *deja vu*, this time with nuclear jitters. One Korean War was more than enough. How long before the newspapers start carrying maps of Korea with those little arrows showing advances and retreats? Please, not again.

Meanwhile, the rest of the international news is not exactly full of glad tidings. Boris Yeltsin is beginning to look more like Alexander Kerensky as he goes down for the third or fourth time, and Russia sinks back into its old darknesses. The Balkans are already burning while the world puts on a properly concerned look and even makes an occasional gesture. In Iraq, Saddam Hussein is still Saddam Hussein. Iran and Syria remain bases for international terrorism. (One wonders how long it will be before nuclear devices replace mere car bombs as the weapon of choice against targets like the World Trade Center.)

To top it off, the United States has a president whose answer to any economic problem starts with slashing the defense budget. The latest news from Korea does seem to have impressed Bill Clinton with the importance of maintaining the American intelligence network. Let us be grateful for that.

Sometimes it seems like the '20s and '30s all over again, with the United States cutting back its strength while aggressors gather theirs.

This might strike one of the world's various megalomaniacs — like North Korea's Kim Il-sung — as the perfect time to test the uncertain will of a brazen new American president. Fortunately, an isolated dictator who formally announces that he's

## Unhappy precedent

PAUL GREENBERG

Withdrawing from the world's civilized community probably isn't planning a surprise attack tomorrow. Or at least until his Bombs go into mass production.

Then what — a bigger and worse June 25, 1950? That's when a communist juggernaut rolled across the 38th Parallel and down the Korean Peninsula. One would like to think that the current American secretary of state, Warren Christopher, would not pull a Dean Acheson and declare South Korea outside the American defense perimeter and therefore the business of the United Nations. But as if this replay of the 1950s were not eerie enough, Mr. Christopher made it clear that the world would have to rely on the United Nations to control North Korea. Through economic sanctions, no doubt. That ought to impress Kim Il-sung. About as much as economic sanctions impressed Saddam, who wasn't about to cough up Kuwait until he was forced to.

*Maybe we ought not to dismantle all those intelligence agencies and weapons systems quite so soon.*

America and its allies should be readying an Israel-style strike against North Korea's nuclear facilities now. When the Israelis took out Saddam's nuclear capacity, they were thoroughly rebuked by, among others, this country. Later, the world would have reason to be grateful. American willingness to do the same for and to Mr. Kim might make adherence to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty a much more appealing course for North Korea's dictator. He has been nettlesome enough without nukes. To sit around and talk economic sanctions while Mr. Kim acquires a nuclear arsenal would be asking for more trouble than any planet needs. Alas, Warren Christopher may yet make Dean Acheson look like some kind of activist.

Once again America may be caught unprepared, but there is no excuse for being caught unaware. By withdrawing from this international treaty, Mr. Kim might as well have sent out an all-points bulletin on himself. In effect, he has announced that once again North Korea is a clear and present danger to its neighbor on the peninsula, to the world, and to itself.

Maybe we ought not to dismantle all those intelligence agencies and weapons systems quite so soon.

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Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.

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WILLIAM RUSHER

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# Korea again, this time with nukes

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President Clinton now has the opportunity to compare a routine civil war that various hysterics want him to end by force with a genuine threat to global peace. Let's hope our draft-averse commander in chief can tell the difference.

As the world's only remaining superpower, the United States has an inescapable obligation to lead the resistance to genuine threats to international peace. The last and best example was Saddam Hussein's 1990 invasion of Kuwait, which clearly threatened to lead on to a rapid conquest of Saudi Arabia and the oil emirates. With the resulting near-monopoly of Middle Eastern oil, Sad-

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William A. Rusher, a senior fellow of the Claremont Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

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## Genuine threat to peace

dam could then have threatened, quite credibly, to shut down the economies of Western Europe and Japan within a matter of months, with disastrous consequences for the whole globe.

Former President Bush, perceiving this clearly, led the political and military mobilization of the world against Saddam, and in short order reduced him to just another Middle Eastern pain in the neck.

But it has subsequently become clear that a great many commentators, politicians and miscellaneous busybodies regard America's military muscle as simply a useful club, available to clear up any problems they happen to notice on the road to a perfect world.

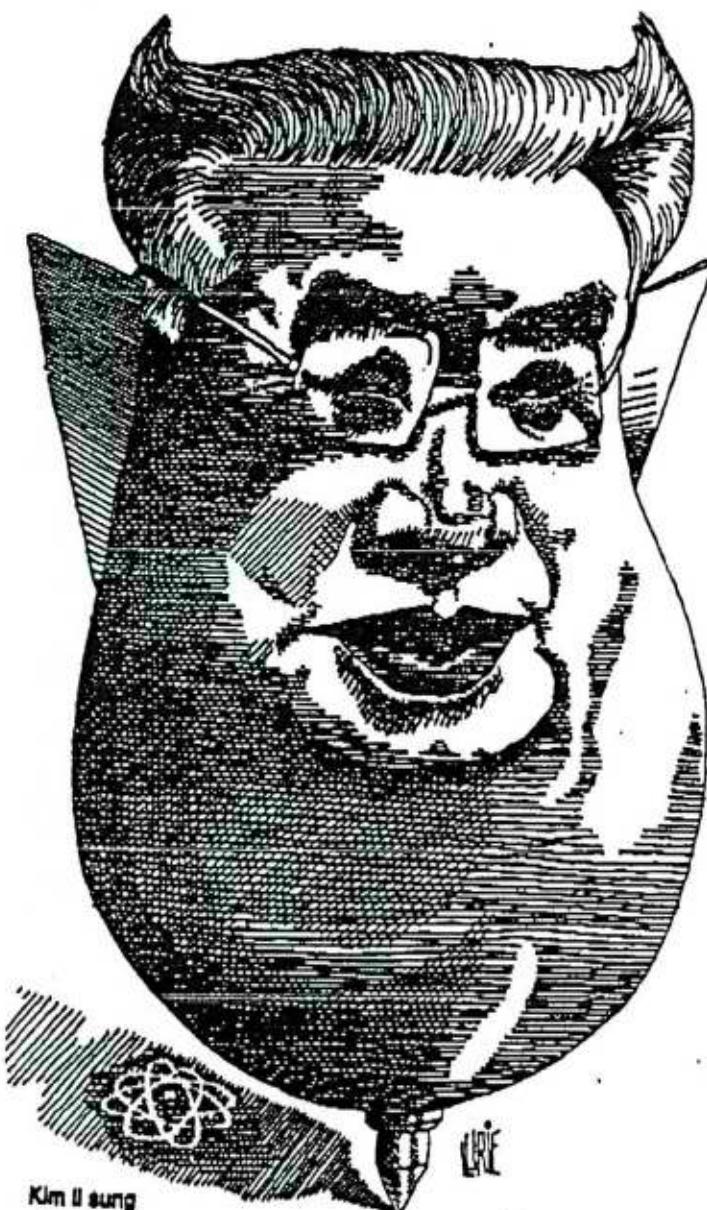
One such problem was the famine in Somalia. This country was among the many sending food to the starving population there. But it was

being confiscated by local toughs, and sure enough the cry went up to send in the Marines. After a few weeks of CNN's pathetic pictures of dying children, Mr. Bush acquiesced.

Perhaps Somalia was a nearly risk-free case, but Bosnia isn't. I defy anyone to tell me why a single U.S. soldier, sailor, airman or Marine should risk his life to square the bloody accounts of the Serbs and Muslims in that obscure corner of the Balkans. Yet when Rep. Tom Lantos, in a debate last October, called for American forces to intervene there, and I asked how many U.S. lives he was prepared to expend, he called the question a "cheap shot."

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No, it was his answer that was the cheap shot. And it is now clear that Bosnia is just the beginning.

North Korea, however, is something else again. When U.N. inspection teams recently got too close to discovering what this outlaw regime is up to in the matter of nuclear weapons, its octogenarian communist dictator, Kim Il-sung, pulled his country out of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty altogether and barred the next U.N. team from even crossing the border. There is no serious doubt that North Korea firmly intends to become a nuclear power (if it isn't one already), and therefore, as Winston Churchill said in another connection, we enter at once the realm of the decisive and the unknown.

Kim Il-sung is without any doubt whatever the loosest cannon that has ever acquired nuclear capability. (When Saddam Hussein first neared that point, a few years ago, the Israeli air force bombed his production facility back to baby milk.) If Mr. Kim has, or acquires, nuclear weapons, it will be only a matter of time, and probably not much time, before he uses them — certainly on South Korea, quite possibly on Japan, and (if he can manage it) on the United States.

So what do we do? In Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Mr. Clinton has a deputy well-qualified by temperament and experience to entangle the issue in a mass of futile U.N. resolutions and dither until the cows come home — or the bombs start going off.

Mr. Clinton must act fast and decisively. Hillary isn't going to pull him out of this one. Not even his years as commander of the Arkansas National Guard, which he bragged about during the campaign, suggest any analogy. It's up to him.

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# Palestinian delegate nearly killed in Gaza

**Shots into crowd kill man near him**

By Doug Struck  
Jerusalem Bureau

JERUSALEM — Shots fired into a crowd of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip yesterday killed a man standing near Dr. Haider Abdel-Shaft, the head of the Palestinian delegation to the Mideast peace talks.

It was further evidence how the language of bullets has replaced negotiation in a new storm of violence in the occupied territories.

Israel state television said the shooting was a failed assassination attempt on Dr. Abdel-Shaft. The Israeli military said that "local Arabs" were responsible.

Palestinians dismissed the claim and said that shots were fired from one of two Israeli military jeeps. Some reports said Israeli soldiers fired at youths throwing stones and their shots hit the crowd.

A spokesman for the army explained that Palestinians were blamed because "that's the only thing it could be."

"Everyone checked all down the line. We haven't found any soldiers that were involved in a shooting," said Lt. Col. Moahe Fugel.

"I know we have a version that is completely and totally different from what the Palestinians say."

Palestinians rejected the implication that militants opposed to the peace talks were to blame. Dr. Abdel-Shaft was in a large group in the dark and could not have been singled out, they said.

Killed was Yusef al-Gharib, 45, a

teacher at a local United Nations school and a father of 10.

Dr. Abdel-Shaft said in a radio interview that he could not be certain soldiers fired the shots but that "the fire came from the direction" of Israeli jeeps.

The dead teacher joins a growing list of Palestinian and Jewish casualties from the violence that has prompted Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to cut short his trip to the United States.

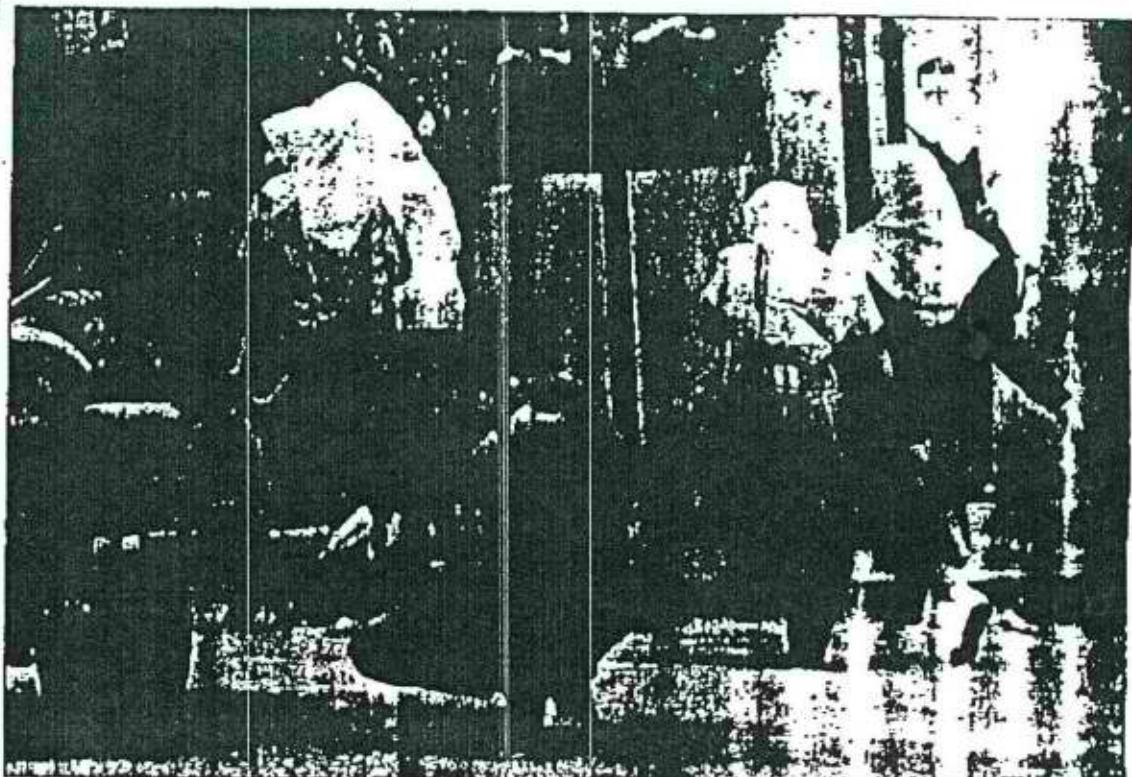
In the last three days, clashes between the Israeli army and Palestinians in the Gaza Strip have left four Palestinians dead and more than 200 wounded, most of them from gunshots.

The conflict has grown steadily since Israel deported 415 Palestinians to Lebanon Dec. 17. In the last three months, 10 Jews have been killed by Palestinians, and more than 60 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli soldiers.

The worsening situation has fed extremism. Right-wing Israelis have vowed to take matters in their own hands and have rampaged through Palestinian towns, smashing property and shooting at houses. The militant Palestinian group Hamas yesterday vowed to retaliate and escalate attacks. Israel's police chief has urged civilians to carry guns.

The Palestinian delegates have refused to accept the invitation to the next round of negotiations April 20. Mr. Rabin hoped to go ahead with the other parties, but Syria reaffirmed yesterday that it will make no peace treaty unless the Palestinians are involved.

Each day of violence has increased the pressure on the Palestinian delegation to stay away. Palestinians



An Israeli soldier takes aim at Palestinian demonstrators in the Gaza Strip. Israeli authorities say a man killed in a crowd was shot by "local Arabs."

say Israeli soldiers shot indiscriminately. They say yesterday's incident is further demonstration of that.

In an interview, Dr. Zakaria al-Agha said he and Dr. Abdel-Shaft went to attend a customary meal served on the third day after the death of their friend, who died of cancer.

There were almost 2,000 people at the meal in a large area set up for such occasions in the Rafah refugee camp, Dr. Agha said. After the meal, most of the crowd began to leave together.

"In front of the place there were Israeli military vehicles, two of them," he said. "Suddenly we heard gunshots from the side of the soldiers. There were many shots."

Mr. Gharib was standing about 15 feet away, he said, and slumped to the ground.

Mohammed Qudwa, head of the Chamber of Commerce in Gaza, said he was standing "centimeters" away from Mr. Gharib.

"I saw the light from the weapons of the military. They were about 100 [yards] from where we were standing," he said. Dr. Abdel-Shaft gave a

similar version on Israeli radio but did not assert that he had seen the soldiers fire.

"As we were getting into the car, they opened fire and a fellow was hit. That fire came from the direction where we were told the army was," he said.

A spokesman for the Israel Defense Forces issued a statement saying an army patrol heard three shots, and came to investigate. When it arrived on the scene, the patrol found the victim. The statement said: "The killing was done by local Arabs."

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Wrong to fault U.S. Mideast policy  
for damage caused by terrorist acts

I am the wife of Col. William R. Higgins, who was kidnapped in 1983 and murdered by Lebanese terrorists, and I am livid about the letter you published Wednesday from Alfred M. Lillenthal ("Mideast policy fuels hatred, violence").

I have to respond.

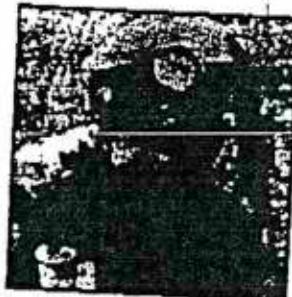
How dare Lillenthal say that the American people are to blame for Muslim fundamentalist terrorism.

How dare he conclude that we kidnapped Sheikh Obaid and murdered Sheikh Musawi.

Do we also bear the blame for the 1983 bombing of 241 American servicemen in Beirut — men who were on a peacekeeping mission? Did we bear to death a young Navy diver on a hijacked TWA flight?

Is he saying that his own beloved country kidnapped, tortured and murdered my husband, an unarmed United Nations peacekeeper?

Am I to blame for displaying his inert body on the world's



HIGGINS: Colonel killed in Lebanon while on U.N. duty.

TV stations and for dumping his decomposed body on a Beirut street on my birthday?

Shame.

I suggest if Lillenthal and others in Arab defamation groups are truly concerned about cause and effect, they go to the source, to the people who take the actions which lead to the tarnished image and to the "clerics" who encourage them.

Robin L. Higgins  
Arlington, Va.

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון  
טופס מברך

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בלטס/מידי

תאריך: 19 מץ 1993

אל: ממ"ד

דעת: מצפ"א

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

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נ.ז.ב.

הנדון: איראן

מצ"ב לעיינוכם מאמר שהתפרסם בבלטון ANSA בנושא האופוזיציה האיראנית  
( ארגון PMOI ).

תקשורת

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# Security Affairs

Jewish Institu

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Affair

February 1993

## Iranian Rebels Seek U.S. Backing

*Clinton Admin. May Be Last, Best Hope For Controversial Group*

The People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), buoyed by the Clinton campaign's call for a tough approach to Middle East dictators, is mounting a concerted drive for recognition as the major opposition group to the regime of fundamentalists ruling Iran. Congressional support for PMOI is strong as legislators seek to express their dissatisfaction with existing Executive Branch policies to confront the recalcitrant Iranian regime. However, PMOI's shadowy past may yet push the Clinton Administration to continue its predecessors' "hands-off" policy towards the group.

*Without condoning PMOI's history of violence, the Iranian resistance was given greater access to Clinton campaign officials as the elections approached, and the contacts continued after the election victory.*

The Clinton Admin. may be PMOI's last and best hope for American support. Although new policies are not yet in effect, President Clinton's 'get tough' approach may signal a new push to deal with Iran's bullying behavior, on the rise since Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War. With Iraq militarily incapacitated and diplomatically isolated, Iran has reasserted its hegemonic claims to dominance in the Persian Gulf and has stridently denounced the Middle East peace process. The fundamentalist regime's massive conventional and unconventional arms purchases and territorial conflicts with the moderate, Western-leaning Gulf states raised tensions between Iran and the U.S. and Europe. Subsequently, the Clinton team has demonstrated an interest in talking to PMOI, also known as the Mojahedin Khalq.

Without condoning PMOI's history of violence, the Iranian resistance was given greater access to Clinton campaign officials as the elections approached, and the contacts continued after the election victory. PMOI officials attended the Dec. 8, 1992, Democratic Leadership Dinner in Washington, D.C., in an effort to gain U.S. support and to lobby for repeal of the State

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## Anti-Fundamentalist Group Has Capitol Hill Support

(continued from page 1)

Department's ban on contacts with its organization. According to syndicated columnist Morton Kondracke, writing in the *Washington Times*, Dec. 23, 1992, PMOI officials succeeded in meeting with then-President-Elect Clinton and top congressional leaders. Kondracke, as well as columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, claimed that PMOI official Mohammed Mohadessin met secretly with then-Sen. Al Gore in late October 1992, in North Carolina. However, *U.S. News & World Report*, quoting a Gore aide, asserted in its Feb. 8, 1993 edition, that Gore was "ambushed" by the PMOI officials at a reception, and did not set up a meeting with the group.

*U.S. News* also reported that PMOI representatives succeeded in meeting with Clinton Transition Director Vernon Jordan before the inauguration, and have also met with a Pentagon official since Clinton assumed the presidency. The magazine further stated that "on December 2, a letter was sent over Clinton's signature to PMOI leader Massoud Rajavi. The vaguely worded letter said in part: 'We should regard increased funding for democratic assistance as a legitimate part of our national security budget,' and concluded, 'We welcome your ideas.'" PMOI's Washington representative Ali Safavi added that the letter outlined the importance of democracy to the Clinton Administration and that democratic countries are more reliable than totalitarian regimes.

*"We are the antipode to the current Iranian government," PMOI's Washington representative Ali Safavi declared.*

In an exclusive interview with *Security Affairs*, PMOI officials presented themselves as the only viable opposition to the extremist regime ruling Iran. "We are the antipode to the current Iranian government," Safavi declared, the Mojahedin supports the concept of democracy and strongly supports women's rights. He boasted of the large percentage of women in his organization's leadership and that the group respects the rights of all religious faiths. "Whereas the mullahs are very much opposed to the Middle East peace process, our position on that is very clear. We have always been interested in seeing this longstanding painful conflict come to an end." PMOI supports the creation of a Palestinian state, Safavi said.

Then-Senator Al Gore (D-TN) and Sen. Timothy Wirth (D-CO), a nominee for a top State Department appointment, were two of 62 Senators who signed a letter dated Oct. 28, 1992, urging the U.N. General Assembly to condemn human rights violations in Iran and to support the Iranian People's Resistance (PMOI). The letter, addressed to U.N. Secretary-General Boutros

Boutros-Ghali, was pushed by Sen. Hank Brown (R-CO). In July 1992, 219 Congressmen, led by Mervyn Dymally (D-CA), Helen Bentley (R-MD) and Robert Torricelli (D-NJ), signed a statement declaring the PMOI-led National Resistance Council as "capable of establishing freedom and democracy in Iran." Sen. Brown announced that 1,300 parliamentarians in 19 other countries concurred with PMOI's status as a realistic alternative to the Rafsanjani government.

*In July 1992, 219 members of Congress signed a statement declaring the PMOI-led National Resistance Council as "capable of establishing freedom and democracy in Iran."*

Why then, the Mojahedin ask, does the U.S. refuse to back them when the regime they oppose is considered to be one of the gravest threats to global stability, the instigator and supporter of anti-American extremism and terrorism as well as one of the major opponents to the Middle East peace process?

Despite the considerable bipartisan congressional support, the Bush Administration's State Department maintained that PMOI's history of Marxism and terrorist activity prevented U.S. backing. Charges of support of Saddam Hussein's brutal policies, terrorism and killings of U.S. personnel as well as support for Marxist revolution, dating back from the 1970s, continue to hurt PMOI's quest for legitimacy.

Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) has called on the FBI to issue an unclassified report regarding PMOI's activities, in order to prove his claim that the group possesses a "history of violence against American citizens." In a public statement, Sen. McCain voiced his concern that PMOI is "playing an active role in lobbying the U.S. Congress under conditions where members have no way to learn the history of this organization."

Admiral William J. Crowe Jr. (Ret.), former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and now chairman of Clinton's Intelligence Advisory Board, told reporters, "I in no way support [PMOI's] actions or approve of their activities." *U.S. News* reported Feb. 8, Crowe was the subject of media reports alleging that he had met with a PMOI official sometime after the November election.

PMOI officials offer evidence that the Reagan and Bush Administrations accepted one of Iran's terms for diplomatic contact: discredit PMOI. Khomeini and his successors made adherence to their disinformation campaign, which targets PMOI, a provision for improving relations with Iran.

PMOI leaders believe that their organization is the victim of a smear campaign being waged by the fundamentalist Iranian government. Safavi

maintains that "if you go back and look at the history of relations between the mullahs and the rest of the world, the number one item on their agenda, when dealing with foreign governments, has been 'you must not allow the Mojahedin to be active in your country; you must discredit them and you must restrict and limit them.'"

"Let's not forget," Safavi exclaimed, "that the source and the origin of all of these allegations against the Mojahedin go back to 1985 ... the year the United States began courting the mullahs. It is not at all a coincidence that at the time that Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East Richard Murphy was testifying before the [House] Foreign Affairs Committee, he offered a statement on the Mojahedin, calling the movement Marxist, terrorist, and responsible for killing Americans as well." Murphy's statement was unsolicited and apparently unrelated to the requested testimony and it prompted members of the committee, including chairman Lee Hamilton (D-IN) to ask him why he volunteered the information.

On April 21, 1987, the House Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East questioned Secretary Murphy regarding his 1985 denunciation of PMOI. Murphy said that the State Department had met with PMOI representatives in Washington and described the group as "a player" in Iran. However, he held firm on his previous statements criticizing the group. In an April 25, 1987 editorial, the *Boston Globe* accused the State Department of "falsely labeling" PMOI as Marxist, terrorist and anti-democratic.

*"Let's not forget," Safavi exclaimed, "that the source and the origin of all of these allegations against the Mojahedin go back to 1985 ... the year the United States began courting the mullahs."*

Included in the Tower Commission's report on the Iran-Contra Affair, is a letter dated July 8, 1986, to an Iranian government contact, and attributed to the go-between, Manucher Ghorbanifar. The letter detailed "signs of goodwill" to be offered to Iran by President Reagan's staff. In addition to 504 TOW anti-tank missiles, Iran's removal from the State Department's terrorism list, and condemnation of the Iraqi use of chemical weapons in its war with Iran, Ghorbanifar noted that the U.S. should issue "an official announcement terming the [PMOI] terrorist and Marxist; [they issued] a circular to the Congress and to all American firms and institutions, and [banned] any and all types of assistance to the opponents of the regime of the Islamic Republic of Iran."

According to international terrorism expert, and George Washington University research pro-

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## Iran Experts Wary of Controversial Group

(continued from page 5)

essor, Dr. Yonah Alexander, the Iranian regime takes PMOI very seriously. Alexander noted that conflict between the regime and the resistance group is not confined to the Iran-Iraq border region. He cited violent demonstrations at Iranian embassies around the world in April 1992. Iran apparently countered the acts by bombing the cars of PMOI leaders, kidnapping PMOI members in Istanbul, Turkey, and launching air strikes against NLA bases in Iraq.

**State Department reports confirm that PMOI was responsible for the deaths of six Americans between 1973 and 1976.**

Conversations with State Department sources since the Clinton victory confirm that an arm's length policy regarding PMOI is still in effect and that the group remains listed as a terrorist organization. Arman Saify, identified as a Virginia businessman, highlighted PMOI's dark side in the *Washington Post*, Feb. 2. Calling PMOI a "quasi-military group whose credentials include more than 20 years of terrorist activity directed primarily at the Iranian and American people," Saify claimed that PMOI "began by robbing banks to finance themselves, graduated to the killing of Iranian military personnel, and went on to such ventures as murdering three high-ranking American military people and three American civilians and bombing the offices of El Al, British Airways and the Jewish Emigration Agency."

### Terrorist or Legitimate?

State Department reports confirm that PMOI was responsible for the deaths of a U.S. military advisor to Iran in 1973, two U.S. Air Force officers and a local employee of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1975, and three American employees of Rockwell International in 1976. Furthermore, the State Department maintains that PMOI supported the taking of the American hostages in Iran, because they viewed the crisis as an opportunity to discredit Iranian liberals and the U.S. As a result of these charges, the U.S. has had no intention to include PMOI in their plans for a benign regime in Tehran.

PMOI leadership counter that their top leadership were in prison at the time of the killings and that radical Marxist elements within the organization, with whom they do not associate, were responsible.

According to a Congressional Research Service (CRS) report, PMOI's organizational goal, at the time of its founding, was to blend Islamic fundamentalism and Marxism. However, increased emphasis on Marxism drove many of its members to Khomeini's group in the mid-seventies. PMOI Deputy for International Relations

Farzin Hashemi disputes the charges that Marxism was one of the ingredients of PMOI's originators. "The '60s were the peak of the [worldwide] fervor for Marxism. But our founder, from the beginning, believed that the answer to the problem of Iran does not come from Marxism and that is why they chose Islam as the ideology. This is one of the reasons which brought a lot of popularity to the Mojahedin." Hashemi claims that SAVAK, the Shah's secret police, in order to discredit the group, labelled the Mojahedin "Islamic-Marxist."

In August of 1971, the entire PMOI leadership was arrested and sentenced to death, Hashemi claimed. Marxists infiltrated the PMOI hierarchy and assassinated those leaders who were loyal to Rajavi and who had managed to avoid capture by SAVAK, he continued. However, Rajavi's sentence was commuted to life in prison because of international pressure from Amnesty International and then French Socialist party leader Francois Mitterrand. In 1979, Rajavi was released only days before the downfall of the Shah.

**The CRS report characterizes PMOI-leader Rajavi as an "authoritarian socialist," widely believed to have played a role in the 1970 "Black September" Palestinian uprising against Jordan's King Hussein.**

The CRS report characterizes PMOI-leader Rajavi as an "authoritarian socialist," widely believed to have played a role in the 1970 "Black September" Palestinian uprising against Jordan's King Hussein. Hashemi himself notes that "during the last 28 years we had many ups and downs as any organization would, struggling against a dictatorship" but today we have good relations with Jordan.

While PMOI and Khomeini's religious network cooperated to topple the Shah in Feb. 1979, their paths diverged after the Islamic Revolution, states the CRS report. When Khomeini's government excluded non-clerical leaders and refused to permit Rajavi to run in the 1980 Presidential elections, the division grew, and culminated in a June 1981 demonstration/armed revolt which ended the presidency of Abol Hassan Bani-Sadr, who was accused of encouraging PMOI. Bani-Sadr and Rajavi escaped to Paris and founded the National Council of Resistance (NCR), a coalition of organizations opposed to Khomeini's rule. In Sept. 1981, PMOI led a major uprising against Khomeini. The revolt was crushed by Revolutionary Guard troops and the Iranian government resolved to destroy PMOI.

In 1986, at the peak of the normalization of relations between France and the government of Ayatollah Khomeini, PMOI leader Rajavi was "encouraged" to leave France. The French government notified Rajavi to curtail his activities

and cease from calling for resistance to the Iranian government. The *Washington Post*, June 8, 1986, noted that "the French government forced" Rajavi to leave, "interpreted here as a conciliatory gesture toward Tehran and the pro-Iranian kidnappers of French citizens in Beirut."

### Flight to Iraq

Rajavi went to Iraq. "... we have thousands of people who wanted to fight this regime — we could not go to Turkey, we couldn't go to the Soviet Union, we couldn't go to Afghanistan and we needed the land," Hashemi said. "Developments in the last few years make it very clear where we stand," he continued. "We had the Persian Gulf crisis and we were in Iraq. We stayed out of it, as a matter of principle."

PMOI representatives explain their relationship with Saddam Hussein as distant. However, according to the CRS report, "it is widely believed that the PMOI-led National Liberation Army (NLA) is largely under the control of Iraq, and even if capable, would not be able to carry out an offensive into Iran without at least the tacit approval of Saddam Hussein." The report charges that PMOI's strength in combatting the current hard-line fundamentalist regime must be doubted. The report states that the NLA, based in Ashraf, Iraq, 30 miles from the Iranian border, claims to have 40,000 troops at its disposal. Most analysts maintain that the figure is closer to 15,000. Equipment-wise, NLA relies upon a motley collection of weapons, including tanks and armored personnel carriers, captured from the Iranian Army during NLA hit-and-run raids or brought to them by defecting Iranian soldiers.

**PMOI officials deny complicity with Saddam Hussein in putting down the Kurdish rebellion. These charges stem from a violent 10-year feud with Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani who, they claim, cut a deal with Ayatollah Khomeini in 1984 conditional upon disengagement with the Mojahedin.**

According to several Washington, D.C., security experts, PMOI is a chief source for information on the Iranian military and its unconventional weapons programs. One Middle East expert noted that when dealing with PMOI-provided information caution is necessary. They have a "slanted agenda of their own" and their relations with Iraq bear watching, he said.

### Siding with Saddam?

Peter Galbraith, a Middle East expert on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, maintains that the NLA not only assisted Saddam Hussein's Republican Guard forces in crushing

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## February 1993

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the Kurdish uprising in northern Iraq, but that the NLA troops actually led the assault on the Kurdish-held city of Sulaymaniyah. Laurie Mylroie, a scholar at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy and author of *The Future of Iraq*, an Institute Policy Paper, believes PMOI "fosters the interests of Saddam Hussein." Mylroie explained that because of Iraq's support, PMOI is open to coercion from Baghdad.

PMOI officials vehemently deny the charges of complicity with Baghdad. The source of these charges, they claim, is collusion between Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani and the Iranian government. An ongoing conflict with Talabani, who, they charge, sold out to Iran's fundamentalist regime in the summer of 1984 in exchange for material and political support, is at the root of the charges.

According to Prof. Alexander, PMOI is in a 'no win situation.' In order to resist and challenge a brutal and vicious regime such as Iran, ruthlessness must be employed. PMOI does "use terrorist methods against the Iranian government, which are not sanctioned according to the rule of law. Were they not to use harsh tactics to counter the Iranians," Alexander pointed out, "they would have been squelched long ago." Regarding PMOI, in the final analysis, Alexander said, "there is no definitive view."



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28713: חוויזם:AAA  
אל: רהmesh/979  
מ-: ניויורק, נר: 1219:樟, 190393:樟, 581, דח:ר, סג:בל,  
ביבב  
9,257886  
9,233388  
9,753100

22531  
BALMAS/RAGIL  
26120

TO: TIKSHORET

*אברהם.*

NEWS SUMMARY 19-MARCH-1993

#### TV COVERAGE

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CNN INTERVIEWED SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN (DISCUSSED HIS ALLEGED ROLE IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING AND HIS VIEWS ON THE MUBARAK GOVERNMENT IN CAIRO); ABC PRIME TIME LIVE INTERVIEWED SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN.

#### COLUMNS

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NYT(A.M.ROSENTHAL-CABLED): 'CUTTING AID TO ISRAEL': WRITER NOTES THAT POLITICIANS IN ISRAEL ARE BEGINNING TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF RECEIVING LESS ECONOMIC AID FROM WASHINGTON; CLAIMS THAT ISRAEL WOULD BENEFIT FROM REDUCED LEVELS OF FINANCIAL AID FROM THE US, CITING THAT IT WOULD IMPROVE THE IMAGE OF ISRAEL IN AMERICA AND INSPIRE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT TO MOVE AWAY FROM SOCIALIST-ORIENTED ECONOMIC POLICIES; NOTES THAT ISRAEL WAS THE ONLY DEPENDABLE US ALLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST DURING THE 'COLD WAR'; STATES THAT ISRAEL STILL NEEDS TO RECEIVE MILITARY AID FROM WASHINGTON BECAUSE ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS CONTINUE TO BUY ADVANCED WEAPONS FROM EUROPE AND CHINA; BELIEVES THAT 'THIS IS THE TIME' (WITH A 'FRIENDLY' CLINTON IN OFFICE) TO REDUCE ISRAELI DEPENDENCE ON US AID.

#### PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: HOUSE DEMOCRATS UNITE TO APPROVE CLINTON'S BUDGET; SERBIAN ARTILLERY POUNDS SARAJEVO, RELIEF IS BLOCKED; GERMANY, MIRED IN DEEP SLUMP, AGAIN CUTS RATE; US PARTNERS SAY CLINTON SHOWS TWO

FAVES ON TRADE; SHARP CRITICISM FOR HEAD START PROGRAM, EVEN BY FRIENDS; US COMPANIES QUIETLY RETURNING TO SOUTH AFRICA. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

GAZA/SHOOTINGS: NYT(AP-BRIEF), DN: IDF OFFICIALS SAID ON THURSDAY THAT (LOCAL) PALESTINIANS IN GAZA TRIED TO SHOOT DR. HAIDAR ABDEL-SHAFI, THE CHIEF PALESTINIAN DELEGATE TO THE BILATERAL TALKS, BUT DR. ABDEL-SHAFI CLAIMED THAT GUNFIRE NEAR HIM HAD COME FROM ISRAELI SOLDIERS CONFRONTING STONETHROWERS AT THE RAFAH REFUGEE CAMP; NOTES THAT TWO PALESTINIANS WERE SHOT AND KILLED DURING CLASHES WITH IDF UNITS IN GAZA ON THURSDAY; PROFESSOR HANAN ASHRAWI DENIED RECENT ISRAELI REPORTS THAT DELEGATES HAVE BEEN THREATENED BY PALESTINIAN GROUPS OPPOSED TO THE PEACE TALKS, INCLUDING HAMAS.

SYRIA/ISRAEL/REJECTION: NYT(Reuters), WSJ(CABLED): SYRIAN PRESIDENT ASSAD SAID ON THURSDAY THAT DAMASCUS HAD NO INTENTION OF SIGNING A SEPARATE PEACE TREATY WITH ISRAEL AND WOULD INSIST THAT ANY ACCORD COVER THE INTERESTS OF ALL PARTIES; QUOTES PRESIDENT ASSAD AS SAYING: 'SINCE THE PEACE ISSUE WAS FIRST DISCUSSED WITH US WE AFFIRMED THAT PEACE SHOULD BE COMPREHENSIVE, AND IT SHOULD COVER ALL FRONTS'; PM RABIN SAID IN AN INTERVIEW ON THURSDAY THAT DURING THE NEXT FEW MONTHS HIS NEGOTIATORS WILL BE PROBING SYRIA'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NATURE OF THE PEACE THAT DAMASCUS IS READY TO OFFER AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH AN ISRAEL-SYRIA PEACE TREATY WOULD 'STAND ON ITS OWN TWO FEET' RATHER THAN BE CONDITIONED ON PEACE WITH OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES; ISRAEL OFFICIALS ARE REPORTEDLY HOPING TO EXPAND THEIR TALKS WITH THEIR SYRIAN COUNTERPARTS TO INCLUDE A MORE INFORMAL LEVEL, POSSIBLY PRIVATE SESSIONS AT A LOWER DIPLOMATIC LEVEL.

LEBANON/RECONSTRUCTION: NYT(BRIEF), WSJ: LEBANESE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ANNOUNCED ON THURSDAY THEIR PLANS FOR A DOLLAR 10 BILLION PROJECT TO RE-BUILD MUCH OF LEBANON FOLLOWING THE 15-YEAR CIVIL WAR; CRITICS OF THE PLAN CLAIM THAT IT WILL PLUNGE THE COUNTRY DEEPER IN DEBT AND ADD TO THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CHAOS.

SOUTH-NORTH KOREA/NUCLEAR PROGRAM: NYT(D.E.SANGER-CABLED): 'SOUTH KOREA, WARY OF THE NORTH, DEBATES BUILDING A NUCLEAR BOMB': ARTICLE CLAIMS THAT A 'VOCAL, HARD-LINE MINORITY' WITHIN THE SOUTH KOREAN PARLIAMENT ARE STARTING TO ARGUE THAT THEIR COUNTRY MADE A MISTAKE WHEN IT DECIDED NOT TO DEVELOP ITS OWN NUCLEAR OPTION, AS, APPARENTLY, DID NORTH KOREA; NOTES THEORY BEING ADVANCED BY SEVERAL POLITICIANS IN SEOUL: 'IF NORTH KOREA ACTUALLY DEVELOPED A NUCLEAR WEAPON, AND IF SEOUL LOST CONFIDENCE THAT THE US WAS CAPABLE OF PROTECTING IT AGAINST PYONGYANG, SOUTH KOREA WOULD THEN RESTART A NUCLEAR EFFORT, WITH TAIWAN CLOSE BEHIND'; THE IAEA ANNOUNCED ON THURSDAY THAT NORTH KOREA HAS UNTIL THE END OF MARCH TO REVERSE ITS POSITION AND ALLOW NUCLEAR INSPECTORS TO VISIT TWO SITES SUSPECTING OF HOUSING A NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT.

FRANCE/LE-PEN/'FERVOR': NYT(A.RIDING-CABLED): 'FERVOR FOR FRENCH RIGHTIST DOES NOT SHOW IN POLLS': ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE CURRENT POPULARITY OF RIGHT-WING POLITICIAN JEAN-MARIE LE-PEN IN FRANCE AND HIS

IEWS ON FOREIGN IMMIGRATION AND YUGOSLAVIA.

SHEIK RAHMAN/TV/INTERVIEW: NYT(J.MILLER): 'SHEIK EMERGES ON TV TO DENY LINK TO BOMBING': SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN APPEARED ON CNN AND ABC PRIME TIME LIVE ON THURSDAY AND DENIED ANY INVOLVEMENT IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING IN MANHATTAN; SHEIK RAHMAN SAID THAT HE DID NOT KNOW THE FOUR SUSPECTS IN THE WTC BOMBING; SHEIK RAHMAN ALSO APPLAUSED THE ASSASSINATION OF LATE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADAT AND SAID THAT PRESIDENT MUBARAK 'DESERVES THE SAME THING'; SHEIK RAHMAN CRITICIZED THE AMERICAN MEDIA FOR MAKING WHAT HE CALLED FALSE ASPERSIONS ABOUT HIM AND ISLAM AND ALSO DENIED THAT HE LED OR WAS A PROMINENT FIGURE IN THE ISLAMIC GROUP.

NYP(U.DAN-R.PIERSON): 'TEHRAN SPONSORING WORLD-WIDE TERRORISM: ISRAELIS': ACCORDING TO SEVERAL ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE EXPERTS, IRAN IS FINANCING A SPREE OF TERRORIST ATTACKS ON 'MUSLIM HATERS' AROUND THE WORLD; NOTES THAT FBI INVESTIGATORS BELIEVE THAT IRAN MAY HAVE FUNNELED FUNDS TO THE TWO SUSPECTS CHARGED IN THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER.

MICHAEL STOLTZ  
ITONUT-NY

SHABBAT SHALOM

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (רham) (שהבט), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, מצב, רביב,  
מעט, הסברה, (לעט), מקטב, (דרכ), אומן,  
סיביל, משפט, תפוצות, גנוור, (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,  
ממ"ד, (רמ), (אמן), מצפה, מזתיים, יגר, אסיה, פרן

סססס

אANA, חוזם: 28838  
אל: רהmesh/980  
מ-: וושינגטונ, נר: 768, תא: 1452, זח: 190393, דח: מ, סג: כל,  
בבבב  
9,257886  
9,233388  
9,753100  
בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 19 מארץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטונ

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת יומית 19.3.93

כתבות מרכזיות בכל עיתוני היום בקשרו הכלכלי הכלכלי של קלינטון אשר אושרו אתמול ע"י הקונגרס.

דרום אפריקה - גרעין

שר החוץ של דרום אפריקה, ר.פ. בותה, אמר אתמול כי ארצו חפץ מיידית להרגיע את דאגות ארה"ב בקשרו הנשך הגרעיני המצרי בדרום אפריקה. עוד הוסיף בותה כי מדינתו נגהה ביושר וקיבלה את הסכם NPT ללא תנאים. בותה עומד להפגש היום עם מזכיר המדינה, ווילן קריסטופר. (WP ג'פרי סמית)

ארה"ב - מדיניות חוץ

צארלס קראוטהיימר (WP) במאמר על ההכרעות שארה"ב צריכה לקבל בקרוב בקשר לביעות של הממשל ברוסיה ובמצרים, שתי דוגמאות של מיטרים לא דמוקרטיים, אך של מדינות עמן יש לאלה"ב אינטרסים קראוטהיימר קורא לאלה"ב לתמוך בילצ'ין ובמוביילק למרות שஸותיהם איבן דמוקרטיות, זאת מכיוון שஸות אלו עדין קרובות יותר לרוח הדמוקרטית מהמתנגדים להן.

סטפן רוזנפלד (WP) יוצא נגד המגמה בעיבור האמריקאי הקוראת לממשל שלא להתערב בענייני חוץ. רוזנפלד סבור כי גם אם יש סיבה לדאגה ממעורבות צבאית אמריקנית באזרחים בעייתיים אין הדאגה שמא ארה"ב תגרר בעל כורחה, יכולה להכabil מדיניות חוץ.

מאז כניסה הנשיא קלינטון לפקידו היה קלינטון עסוק בענייני הפנים של ארה"ב, עתה משאורה הכלכלי הכלכלי שלו ע"י הקונגרס ההפנה הנשיא לעסוק בענייני חוץ.

תוכנית הנשיא קלינטון לחצי השנה הראשונה של נשיאותו הינה לטפל בקשרי החוץ הבאים: להפגש עם מנהגי שבע מדינות הדמוקרטיות המתועשות לפני

פגישת הפסגה עם יפן בקייז, לחדר את תהליך השלום במצוותם ולבס תמיינם אמריקאית לרפורמה דמוקרטית ברוסיה. בעוד שבמדיניות הפנים פועל קלינינטונג בכיוון של שינויי הרי שבמדיניות החוץ המגמה העיקרית הינה המשכיות. (WP אין דבורי ורשות מרכז כחתבת העמוד הראשון)

ישראל

דייוויד הופמן (WP כחתבת העמוד הראשון) בחתבתה המתארת את גיוסם של העולים החדשניים מרוסיה לצבא.

הופמן מתאר את התכנית המועברת לעולים אשר כוללת מלבד אימון צבאי גם לימודי עברית. מטרת התכנית היא להפוך את העולים מאזרחי בדיה"ט לשעבר לישראלים פטריוטים נלהבים.

#### האיסלם הפונדמנטלייסטי במדינות ערב

שמעוות על נסיוון התקשות במנחיגת הרוחני של איראן דוחו אטמול במערב. השמעוות מדברות על מאבק כוחות בין השלטון הדתי של איראן ומחנכים הדורשים רפורמות מודרניות, כן מדורחים על חוסר שביעות רצון בקרב האוכלוסייה מהמשטר הנוכחי.

מומחים צופים כי בעקבות קריאות ההתקנות האלו ועל רקע הקשיים הכלכליים הגוברים יש לצפות למאבק כוחות בנושא השלטון הדתי בקרוב. (WT אנדרו בורוויק)

בחתבה אחרת מדווח אנדרו בורוויק (WT) על תנועת האיסלם הפונדמנטלייסטי המתנגדת לזכויות שווה לנשים, מחד, והמבקשת סיוע ארגוני זכויות אדם - מאידך.

צפון קוריאה

פול גריינברג (WT) במאמר המשווה את צפון קוריאה לעירק, גריינברג סבור כי צפון קוריאה מיימת על דרום קוריאה, יפן, ארה"ב ועל שלום העולם כולם. גריינברג מזוהיר כי ארה"ב עשויה להחפץשוב לא מוכנה במקורה של צפון קוריאה, אך לטענתו לא יתכן כי ארה"ב חתפס עירומה. לפיכך אין על ארה"ב בקצץ במערכות ההגנה ובתכניות הריגול שלה כל כך מהר. ויליאם רושר (WT) טוען כי צפון קוריאה שלא כשר בעיות החוץ המעשיקות את ארה"ב, מהוות איום ממש לשלום העולם וארה"ב. רושר קורא לנשיא קלינינטונג שלא להתעלם מצפון קוריאה ולקבל במהירות החלטה בנושא.

ישראל

dag סטארק (BS) מדווח מירושלים על המהומות ברכזות עזה, בהם גורה למאות אדם שעמד בסמוך לראש המשחת הפלשינאית, ד"ר عبدالשאфи. לא ידוע מי היה רוח ובעוד הצבע טוען כי ערבים מקומיים אחראים ליריות טענאים הפלשינאים כי היריות נורו מכיוון שני ג'יפים של הצבע.

טרור הפונדמנטלייסטי

מכבת למערכת של ה-USAT אשר נשלח ע"י אשטו של הקולונל הייגינס, קצין או"ם אשר נחטף ונרצח ע"י טרוריסטים לבנון, יצא נגד מכבת אחר למערכת אשר טען כי ארה"ב אחראית לטרור הפגנומנטלייסטי.

שוניות

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אל קמאן (WP) מדווח על שני אנשי משרד החוץ האמריקאי, אפריל גלסקי - שגרירת ארה"ב בבודפשט לשעבר וג'יימס קוביי - עוזר מזכיר המדינה לשעבר לענייני דרום אסיה, אשר היו מעורבים בעיצוב מדיניות ארה"ב במהלך המלחמה המפרץ וכיום נעצר קידום במשפט בגין זהה.

הערה: הכתובת נשלחו בנפרד

תקשורות

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, @(רHAM), @(שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב, מעת, הסברה, @(לעם), מקטב, @(דוץ), אומן, סייבל, משפט, חפוץות, גנוור, @(וחו'ב), ר/מרכז, ממד, @(רם), @(אמן), מצפה

סססס

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אנא, חודם: 28938  
אל: רהmesh/991/  
מ-: וושינגטן, נ-: 782, א-: 190393, ז-: 1812, ד-: מ, ס-: ש,  
ביבב  
שמור/מיידי  
19/3/93

מ.ה.ג. 2

אל : מצפ"א

מאת: השג' וושינגטן

הנדון: הזמנה ל Sabha השיחות התשייעי  
לשכם 873 מ-3/15

1. בהמשך לשאלתכם (סעיף 4) לגבי טיבו, הרכבו ומועדו של הדיוון המכין בוושינגטן לקרה חידוש השיחות הבילטרליות, המשל מיחס השיחות רבה ל Sabha השיחות התשייעי שיהה הסבב הראשון בתקופת ממשל קלינינטן. אחדים מחברי הצוות אף מרחיקים לכך באמר שלחוצאות הסבב תהיה השלכה על המשך התהילה בשנת 93' (שאמורה אליבא דורה"מ ושה"ח להיות שנת הכרעות).  
מסיבה זו מעוניין המשל להזכיר הקרן קרי "CONDITION TO" את הצדדים לניהול שיחות סובייטנטיביות מיד עם חידוש הסבב.

2. המשל לא קבע מועד להתייעצות. ההנחה היא ראשי משלחות סוריה ירדן ולבנון יגיעו לוושינגטן אחרי מפגש دمشق ולפניהם ביקור מובארק. המשלחת הפלסטינית לעומת זאת תגיע לוושינגטן ככל הנראה עוד לפני המפגש. המפגש עם ראשי משלחתנו יתקיימו ככל הנראה סמוך לתחילת הסבב.

3. לסכום יש לראות ביזמה האמריקאית מושם יישום ההתחייבות המשך להיות שותף מלא ופועל (יותר מבעבר) בתחילת.

שטיין

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (רham), (shabat), מנכ"ל, ממכ"ל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, (ר'אגה), (רמ), (אמן), ממד, מצפה,  
סיביל, גל/הסברת

אנא, חוזם: 28846  
אל: רהmesh/981  
מ: וושינגטונ, נר: 772, תא: 190393, זח: 1506, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
ביבב  
בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 19 מרס 1993

אל: חפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: שייח' עבד רחמן ב"CNN".

CNN "INSIDE POLITICS" INTERVIEW WITH: SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN  
THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1993

(NOTE: SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN'S COMMENTS ARE THROUGH A  
TRANSLATOR.)

BERNARD SHAW: SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN, TWO OF WHOSE FOLLOWERS  
HAVE BEEN CHARGED IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING IN NEW YORK  
CITY, IS APPEALING A RULING FROM THE IMMIGRATION SERVICE THAT HE  
CAN BE DEPORTED. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SAYS HE SHOULD BE  
DEPORTED BECAUSE HE FAILED TO DISCLOSE WHEN HE RETURNED TO THE  
UNITED STATES IN 1991 THAT HE WAS A POLYGAMIST AND THAT HE HAD  
BEEN CONVICTED IN EGYPT OF FALSIFYING A CHECK. BOTH ARE GROUNDS  
FOR DEPORTATION, BUT HE HAS THE RIGHT TO REMAIN IN THE UNITED  
STATES DURING THE APPEAL, WHICH COULD TAKE SIX MONTHS TO ONE  
YEAR.

THE CLERIC HAS DENOUNCED VIOLENCE AS AGAINST MUSLIM PRINCIPLES,  
BUT HE HAS CALLED REPEATEDLY FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE EGYPTIAN  
GOVERNMENT. HE JOINS US NOW FROM OUR LOS ANGELES BUREAU FOR HIS  
FIRST LIVE TELEVISION INTERVIEW SINCE THE FEBRUARY 26TH BOMBING.  
HE WILL SPEAK TO US THROUGH HIS OWN TRANSLATOR. HE HAS ASKED  
THAT WE BEGIN BY ADDRESSING HIM AS THE RESPECTED DR. SHEIK  
ABDEL-RAHMAN.

RESPECTED DR. SHEIK ABDEL RAHMAN, WHAT ARE YOU DOING IN LOS  
ANGELES?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: IN THE NAME OF GOD, MOST GRACIOUS, MOST  
MERCIFUL, I'LL WIDEN MY HEART AND MAKE MY SPEECH PERFECT. BEFORE  
I ANSWER THIS QUESTION, I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A BRIEF COMMENT. I  
CAME HERE UNDERSTAND IN THIS AREA NOT BECAUSE I'VE BEEN ACCUSED,  
SO, I DEFEND MYSELF. BUT I ACCUSE THE AMERICAN MASS MEDIA OF

BEING CONTROLLED AND RACIST. AND THEY LOOK FOR FALSIFICATIONS AND BETRAYING -- BECAUSE MASS MEDIA, THEY SHOWED MY PICTURE HUNDREDS OF TIMES ACCUSING ME OF BEING A TERRORIST AND TO REACH -- TO ACCUSE ISLAM THROUGH THAT WAS TERRORISM.

SECOND, THEY MADE THE MOSQUE OF EL SALAAM (SP) IN NEW JERSEY -- ACCUSED THE MOSQUE AS BEING A CENTER FOR TERRORISM. AND THAT INITIATED SOME PEOPLE THAT THEY THROW ROCKS AND ATTACK THE MOSQUE.

THIRD, IF THE MASS MEDIA DOES NOT CONNECT THE CRIMES OF THE JEWS AND THE CHRISTIANS WITH THE PREACHERS AND RABBIS, SO WHY THE MEDIA IS CONNECTING THE RELIGIOUS FIGURES OF MUSLIMS AND THE MOSQUES AND THE ISLAMIC CENTERS AND ISLAM AS A WHOLE WITH THOSE WHO CLAIM TO BE MUSLIMS.

AND THE NATION THAT ESTABLISHES ITS SYSTEM ON A CORRUPT MASS MEDIA IS A BIG FAILURE AND THEY ARE GOING TO FAIL. AND FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, THOSE WHO HAVE A GOOD SENSE TO TAKE THE INFORMATION AND TO LOOK FOR IT CAREFULLY NOT FROM THE MASS MEDIA WHO LIE TO THEM -- AND THE EGYPTIAN MEDIA ALSO SHARED IN THIS VICIOUS ATTACK ON ME TO JUSTIFY THEIR OWN CRIMES AND TO MAKE A LOT OF FALSIFICATIONS AND FALSE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST HIM.

AND THE ANSWER FOR THE QUESTION NOW. I CAME TO LOS ANGELES IN A TRIP -- HAS BEEN PREPARED SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE MONTH OF RAMADAN. I WENT THROUGH MANY STATES SO THAT I CONTACT MOSQUES AND ISLAMIC CENTERS AND WILL PRAY WITH THE MUSLIMS IN ALL OF OUR STATES. THIS IS A NATURAL WAY THAT I CAME TO THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AFTER I WENT TO WASHINGTON STATE AND OREGON STATE.

MR. SHAW: DO YOU KNOW MOHAMMED SALAMA?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I DON'T KNOW MOHAMMED SALAMA -- NEVER, I HAVE NEVER -- AND I NEVER HAVE KNOWN THIS NAME BEFORE. BUT THERE IS NOT ANY OBJECTIONS OF ANYBODY WHO WANTS TO PRAY IN THE MOSQUE WHERE I GO AND PRAY. AND I DON'T PRAY ONLY IN ONE MOSQUE, BUT I PRAY IN TENS -- BUT HUNDREDS OF MOSQUES. SO, THERE IS NOT ANY OBJECTION FOR ANYBODY TO COME AND PRAY WITH ME.

AND THE FBI ASKED ME BEFORE ABOUT SAYYID NOSAIR'S CASE. AND I WAS IN THE MOSQUE CALLED THE MOSQUE OF EL-FAROUK. SO, I TOLD THEM I DON'T KNOW HIM AND THAT I DON'T OBJECT TO HIM PRAYING BEHIND ME, BECAUSE I AM NOT OBLIGATED TO VERIFY EVERBODY'S IDENTITY WHEN THEY COME AND PRAY BEHIND ME.

MR. SHAW: ONE LAST QUESTION ON A SIMILAR MATTER. DO YOU NOW NIDAL AYYAD?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I DON'T KNOW ALSO NIDAL AYYAD, AND I HAVE NEVER HEARD ABOUT HIS NAME EXCEPT WHEN THE MASS MEDIA MENTIONED HIS NAME.

MR. SHAW: WHAT ARE YOUR FEELINGS TODAY ABOUT THE BOMBING OF THE NEW YORK WORLD TRADE CENTER -- THE DEATH AND THE INJURY?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT THIS ACT. IT SHAKED ME DEEPLY. THAT ISLAM DOES NOT CONDONE AND DOES NOT AGREE ON ATTACKING NOT ONLY ON THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS OR PRIVATE BUILDING AND NOT ON THE PEOPLE, WHETHER THEY ARE INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS -- DOES NOT AGREE ON ATTACKING CIVILIANS.

ALLAH ALMIGHTY SAYS IN THE HOLY KORAN, DON'T TRANSAGRESS (SIC). INDEED, ALLAH, OUR GOD, DOES NOT LIKE THOSE WHO TRANSAGRESS (SIC). MUSLIMS IN THEIR NATURE DON'T LIKE THAT BECAUSE WHEN THEY ENTERED THE UNITED STATES, THEY TOOK AN OATH AND COVENANT AND THEY TOOK AN OATH THAT THEY LIVE IN THIS COUNTRY, AND THEY AGREE ON ITS JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND ON ITS SYSTEM. SO, THE MUSLIMS, BETWEEN THEM AND THE UNITED STATES, THERE IS A COVENANT TO RESPECT ITS SYSTEM, AND IT HAS MILLIONS OF MUSLIMS. SO, HOW CAN THEY HARM THE COUNTRY THAT THEY LIVE IN. AND THEY HAVE BEEN ORDERED TO HONOR THEIR COVENANT WHERE THE GOD ALMIGHTY SAYS IN THE HOLY KORAN, INDEED, RESPECT, FULFILL YOUR COVENANT AS THE COVENANT IS RESPONSIBLE TO YOU.

THIRD, WHEN I CAME TO THE UNITED STATES AS AN IMMIGRANT, I CAME TO ATTACK THE EGYPTIAN REGIME -- FLEEING THE EGYPTIAN REGIME THROUGH MY PRESENCE HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. SO, IS IT POSSIBLE THAT THE PLACE WHERE I AM STAYING AT, AND I'M ATTACKING THE EGYPTIAN REGIME, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT I DISRUPT THE PEACE AND BREAK THE LAW TO THE PLACE WHERE I'M STAYING AT.

WHAT MAKES SENSE, I SHOULD RESPECT THE SYSTEM AND RESPECT AND TAKE CARE OF THE SECURITY OF THE PLACE WHERE I AM AT, AND TO STAY ON SOLID GROUND -- NO DISTURBANCE AND NO BREAKS ON IT.

MR. SHAW: DO YOU URGE VIOLENCE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I SAY THE TRUTH. I SAY THE TRUTH THAT ISLAM HAS TOLD ME TO SAY. I SHOW THAT THE EGYPTIAN REGIME AND THE PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK, THEY CONTROL EGYPT WITH FIRE AND IRON. AND THEY CONTROL EGYPT WITH THE POLICE AND WITH A POLICE STATE AND FORCE. AND THEY CONTROL THE GOVERNMENT -- THE GOVERNMENT CONTROL THEM WITH THE MARTIAL LAWS. AND I CHALLENGE HOSNI MUBARAK, THROUGH THIS CHANNEL I AM TALKING NOW AND CHANNELS ALL OVER THE WORLD, TO CONTROL EGYPT ONE HOUR WITHOUT THE MARTIAL LAWS. HE CAN'T, EVEN FOR ONE MINUTE. AND HOSNI MUBARAK IS CONTROLLING EGYPT THROUGH OPPRESSION AND DICTATORSHIP. THERE IS NOT ANY FREEDOM AND THERE IS NOT ANY DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT.

MR. SHAW: MY QUESTION IS, DO YOU DIRECT VIOLENCE AND URGE VIOLENCE AGAINST THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: HE DOESN'T ADVISE PEOPLE FOR VIOLENCE, BUT

HIS JOB IS TO SAY THE TRUTH. ALL HIS JOB IS TO UNCOVER AND EXPOSE THE EGYPTIAN REGIME. AND I SHOW THEIR FAULTS AND THEIR MEANS. AND I SHOW THAT HOSNI MUBARAK AND HIS CHILDREN, THEY CONTROL BILLIONS OF DOLLARS, AND FOR THE WESTERN POWER TO PRESENT HIM TO COURT AND TO ASK HIM ABOUT HIS FINANCIAL STATEMENT AND TO ASK HIM WHERE DID HE GET ALL OF THESE BILLIONS. END OF THE QUESTION.

MR. SHAW: YOU SAY YOU SAY THE TRUTH; GIVEN THE RELATIONSHIP -- THE GOOD RELATIONSHIP -- BETWEEN CAIRO AND WASHINGTON, IS IT POSSIBLE THAT YOUR TEACHINGS MIGHT HAVE INSPIRED SOME, WHO BELIEVE AS YOU DO, TO CARRY OUT AN ATTACK AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CAIRO AND WASHINGTON DOES NOT EFFECT SAYING THE TRUTH. I HAVE TO SHOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN MY COUNTRY FROM THE FALSE AND FROM THE CORRUPTION. AND THERE IS NO DEMOCRACY OR FREEDOM IN EGYPT.

MR. SHAW: MAHMOUD ABU HALIMA (SP) IS REPORTED TO BE A PERSON THE POLICE ARE LOOKING FOR AS A SUSPECT IN THE NEW YORK CITY BOMBING. AND, ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT SOURCES, HE IS ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN A DRIVER AND PERSONAL ASSISTANT FOR YOU DURING THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS. MY QUESTION IS, DO YOU KNOW HIM, AND IF SO, DO YOU KNOW WHERE MAHMOUD ABU HALIMA (SP) IS TODAY?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I DON'T KNOW HIM AND I DON'T KNOW WHERE HE IS, AND I NEVER HAD A CAR SO THAT HE CAN DRIVE IT FOR ME. I DON'T HAVE A CAR, SO THAT, HOW CAN HE DRIVE A CAR THAT I DON'T HAVE.

MR. SHAW: DOES YOUR MOSQUE RECEIVE ANY FINANCING FROM ANY GOVERNMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SPECIFICALLY IRAN?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THERE IS NOT ANY RELATION BETWEEN US AND IRAN. AND THERE IS NOT ANY MONEY WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM ANY GOVERNMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND I CHALLENGE THE AMERICAN MEDIA THAT THEY FALSIFIED THIS INFORMATIONS (SIC) AND TO BRING ANY EVIDENCE OF THESE ACCUSATIONS. AND SO, THEY DON'T SAY THE TRUTH. AND THEY SHOULD BE PUNISHED FOR THOSE FALSIFICATIONS.

AND THE MEDIA ALSO SAID HIS WIFE WAS SENDING HIM THE MONEY FROM CAIRO. HOW COME IT IS BEING SENT TO CAIRO, THEN FROM THERE IT IS BEING SENT TO THE UNITED STATES. THESE ARE ALL FALSIFICATIONS AND ALL LIES. AND THERE IS NOT ANY BASE IT.

THE MOSQUE OF EL SALAAM (SP) IN NEW JERSEY COLLECTED FROM THE MUSLIMS FOR FIVE YEARS SO THEY CAN BUY A PIECE OF LAND. AND UNTIL NOW, THEY DIDN'T REACH THIS GOAL.

MR. SHAW: YOU HAVE SAID YOU CONDEMN THE BOMBING ATTACK AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER. DO YOU ALSO CONDEMN, PERSONALLY, THOSE WHO

DID IT -- EVEN IF THE BOMBING INVOLVED, OR MIGHT HAVE INVOLVED, WORSHIPERS WHO HAVE FOLLOWED YOUR TEACHINGS?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THIS IS A FALSE ACCUSATION. THESE PEOPLE WHO BOMBED THE WORLD TRADE CENTER, THEY ARE MY FOLLOWERS -- THESE ARE FALSE ACCUSATIONS. THOSE WHO FOLLOW ME, THEY ONLY KNOW THE TRUTH. AND, AS HAVE I SAID BEFORE, ISLAM DOES NOT CONDONE ATTACKING, AND WE DON'T LIKE AND WE DON'T AGREE ATTACKING ANY PERSONAL PROPERTIES OR CIVILIANS.

MR. SHAW: YOU HAVE ACCUSED THE MEDIA OF CALLING YOU A TERRORIST. AND I POINT OUT TO YOU THAT THIS NEWS NETWORK, CNN, HAS NEVER, EVER REFERRED TO YOU AS A TERRORIST. AND I THINK YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT, SIR.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: CNN WAS ONE OF THE FIRST NETWORKS THAT THEY -- THEY SAID THAT. AND THEY SHOWED MY PICTURE TENS OF TIMES. AND WHEN THEY ARE SHOWING HIS PICTURE IN SUCH AN INCIDENT, AND THERE HAS BEEN NEVER ANY CLARIFICATION THAT HE IS BEING ACCUSED OF SUCH AN INCIDENT, CNN IS ONE OF THE FIRST NETWORKS THAT BEEN ACCUSED OF FALSIFICATION AND CONNECTING ME TO THIS INCIDENT. AND EVERY HALF AN HOUR, THEY ARE SHOWING MY PICTURE, AND WHILE THEY ARE SHOWING THE PEOPLE WHO ARE BEING ACCUSED OF BOMBARDING THE WORLD TRADE CENTER. SO, WHAT DO YOU THINK OUT OF THAT? THAT MEANS, I'VE BEEN ACCUSED BY CNN THAT THERE IS A CONNECTION BETWEEN ME AND THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING BECAUSE THEY ARE SHOWING MY PICTURE IN THE WAY OF BEING -- AS IF I'VE BEEN ACCUSED. AND FOR THE CNN TO PLEASE FULFILL THE TRUTH AND THE TRUST.

MR. SHAW: CNN, SIR, HAS COVERED THIS STORY SINCE THE BEGINNING IN A FAIR AND A BALANCED MANNER. AND WE HAVE ACCURATELY REPORTED STATEMENTS FROM YOU AS WELL AS STATEMENTS FROM LOCAL POLICE AUTHORITIES AND FBI AUTHORITIES. AND AS PART OF OUR CONTINUING COVERAGE, THAT IS WHY WE ARE PLEASED TO INTERVIEW YOU LIVE ON WORLDWIDE TELEVISION THIS AFTERNOON.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: HE SAID, THE FBI HAVE NEVER BEEN ACCUSED ME, SO HOW COME YOU SHOW MY PICTURE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS INCIDENT.

MR. SHAW: THE FBI SAID THAT SOME OF THE SUSPECTS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING WORSHIP AT YOUR MOSQUE.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THEY CAN PRAY IN ANY MOSQUE. BUT THERE IS NOT ANY CONNECTION BETWEEN ME AND THEM. AND DON'T SHOW ME TO ALL THE WORLD THAT I'VE BEEN ACCUSED OF SUCH AN INCIDENT. WHY THE FALSE JESUS IN WACO, TEXAS BEING ACCUSED, AND HE KILLED FROM THE LAW ENFORCEMENT WHAT HE KILLED, AND HE TRANSAGRESSED (SIC) AGAINST THE SYSTEM OF THE COUNTRY -- YOU HAVE NOT CONNECTED HIM WITH THE CHURCHES AND THE PREACHERS. WHY ARE YOU WEIGHING THINGS

WITH TWO SCALES. YOU HAVE TO BE FAIR IN A COUNTRY THAT SEEKS JUSTICE.

MR. SHAW: HOW STRONGLY AND HOW LONG WILL YOU FIGHT UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO EXPEL YOU FROM THIS COUNTRY?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I AM NOT FIGHTING AGAINST ANYBODY, BUT I'M FOLLOWING THE LAWS AND THE SYSTEM OF THE COUNTRY. AND THE LAWS OF THE COUNTRY GIVES ME THE RIGHT TO APPEAL. SO, YOUR EXPRESSION THAT I'M FIGHTING DEPORTATION IS WRONG. AND IF YOU THINK THAT FOLLOWING THE LAWS AND THE REGULATIONS IS A FIGHT -- SO, I AM FIGHTING. AND THE -- SUCH A DECISION FROM THE COURT WAS EXPECTED BECAUSE THE JUDGE -- HE VERIFIED THIS IN 20TH OF JANUARY. SO, WHY HE MADE THAT DECISION SO QUICKLY AFTER THE ATTACK OF THE MASS MEDIA ON ME? THE MEDIA AND WHAT THEY PORTRAYED ABOUT THESE FALSE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST ME EFFECTED THE UNITED STATES OPINION -- PUBLIC OPINION, AND IT ALSO EFFECTED THE COURT'S DECISION -- AND THAT WAS EXPECTED.

MR. SHAW: I WOULD LIKE TO GET YOUR REACTION TO A NEWS STORY THAT HAS COME FROM CAIRO, AND I WILL QUOTE BRIEFLY WHAT THE STORY SAYS -- AND I AM QUOTING FROM THE REUTERS NEWS WIRE, "EGYPT SAID ON THURSDAY IT DID NOT HAVE ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO TRY SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN." GENERAL IBRAHIM, A SENIOR SECURITY OFFICIAL, SAID, QUOTE, "UNTIL NOW, THERE ARE NO SPECIFIC CHARGES OR ENOUGH PROOFS TO BRING HIM TO TRIAL IN CONNECTION WITH EVENTS IN EGYPT." I DON'T KNOW WHETHER YOU WERE AWARE OF THIS OFFICIAL STATEMENT OUT OF CAIRO, BUT I'M WONDERING WHAT YOUR THOUGHTS ARE AND WHAT YOUR REACTION IS.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THE EGYPTIAN REGIME, THEY ARE HESITANT AND THEY DON'T MAKE UP THEIR MIND. SOMETIMES THEY RELATE ALL THE ACCIDENTS AND ALL THE PROBLEMS TO HIM (?). AND THEN ANOTHER TIME, ALL THE NEWSPAPERS MAKE SOME STATEMENTS THAT I'VE BEEN WANTED IN EGYPT. AND SOMETIMES THEY SAY HOSNI MUBARAK KILLED 30 PEOPLE IN ASWAN'S (PH) MOSQUE AS A REVENGE FOR ME, BECAUSE I SET UP THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING IN NEW YORK.

AND ALL THESE FALSIFICATIONS HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN THE NEWSPAPERS. AND ANOTHER TIME THEY SAY I HAVE BEEN ASKING ASYLUM TO SWITZERLAND BECAUSE I'VE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING. THESE ARE WHAT THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT'S NEWSPAPERS SAY, AND FALSIFICATIONS AND MISLEADINGS.

SO, HOW COME NOW THEY SAY I HAVE NOT BEEN ACCUSED OF ANYTHING? THEY DON'T MAKE UP THEIR MINDS. AND THEY DON'T KNOW ANY SYSTEM ABOUT WHAT THEY ARE REPORTING AND THEY SAY.

MR. SHAW: IF YOU ARE EXPelled FROM THE UNITED STATES, WHERE WILL YOU GO?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THE LAND OF ALLAH -- GOD -- IS VERY WIDE AND

VERY LARGE. AND AMERICA -- THE UNITED STATES -- IS ONLY ONE CONTINENT OF SIX CONTINENTS. SO, THERE ARE FIVE CONTINENTS LEFT. ALLAH WILL NOT MAKE THE EARTH NARROW ON ME. TENS OF NATIONS WILL RECEIVE ME AND WILL WELCOME MY COMING TO THEM.

MR. SHAW: IF -- IF THE MUBARAK REGIME WERE TO FALL IN EGYPT, WOULD THAT HAVE A STABILIZING EFFECT ON THE MIDDLE EAST, OR A DESTABILIZING EFFECT?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: IT IS GOING TO BE A STABILIZING EFFECT ON THE MIDDLE EAST, AND FOR TRANQUILITY AND FOR PEACE. AND WHEN THE ISLAMIC RULE RULES EGYPT, IT IS GOING TO BE A SOURCE OF PEACE FOR THE WHOLE WORLD. AND THE WHOLE WORLD WILL FEEL PEACE AND TRANQUILITY. AND THE STABILITY OF CONDITIONS HAVE NEVER BEEN SEEN BEFORE.

MR. SHAW: I WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO A DISCUSSION WE HAD A FEW MOMENTS AGO ABOUT WHAT CNN HAS DONE, ALLEGEDLY, AND NOT DONE IN ITS COVERAGE OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING. AND I WANT TO REITERATE TO YOU THAT CNN HAS NEVER CHARACTERIZED YOU AS A TERRORIST. AND WE HAVE NEVER SAID THAT YOU ARE A TERRORIST.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: CNN SAID -- THEY SAID THAT WITH PICTURES. AND EVEN IF THEY DIDN'T MENTION IT BY WORDS, WHEN YOU SHOW THE PICTURES OF THE PEOPLE BEING ACCUSED IN THIS ACCIDENT, THEN YOU SHOW MY PICTURE; WHAT DO YOU THINK THAT MEANS? CNN HAD A VICIOUS ATTACK ON ME, AND THEY SHOWED AND THE FIRST ONE TO BE ACCUSED OF THAT.

MR. SHAW: I'M SORRY, I DID NOT HEAR THE LAST PART.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: CNN, THEY SAID THEY ACCUSED ME BY SHOWING MY PICTURE -- EVEN IF THEY DIDN'T SAY IT BY WORDS -- THEY SHOWED MY PICTURES ON THE TV MANY TIMES WITH THE PEOPLE BEING ACCUSED -- EVEN THOUGH THEY DIDN'T MENTION IT WITH WORDS. SO, THE ONE WHO SEES THE CNN TV, THEY PERCEIVE THAT AS IF ME IS THE FIRST ONE TO BE ACCUSED OF BOMBING -- THROUGH WHAT YOU'RE SHOWING ON YOUR SCREEN.

MR. SHAW: WELL, CLEARLY, OTHER NETWORKS -- NOT ONLY IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT AROUND THE WORLD -- HAVE SHOWN YOUR PICTURE, JUST AS NEWS MAGAZINES HAVE SHOWN YOUR PICTURE. I'M LOOKING AT A MAGAZINE -- AN ISSUE OF TIME MAGAZINE, AND YOUR PICTURE IS ON THE FRONT PAGE. AND, VERY FRANKLY, WE LEAVE IT UP TO OUR VIEWERS TO MAKE CONCLUSIONS.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: DON'T MAKE AN ATTACK ON ME AND SAY YOU LEAVE THIS UP TO THE VIEWERS. AS LONG AS THE TRUTH HAS NOT APPEARED YET, YOU SHOULDN'T SHOW MY PICTURE WITH THE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN ACCUSED.

MR. SHAW: WHEN WILL YOU BE RETURNING TO YOUR MOSQUE IN NEW

JERSEY?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: WHENEVER I PLEASE.

MR. SHAW: WELL, WE WANT TO THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR TAKING TIME OUT OF YOUR BUSY SCHEDULE TO GO INTO OUR LOS ANGELES BUREAU. AND WE THANK YOU --

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: IS THERE ANY WORD YOU WANT HIM TO SEAL HIS TALKS WITH?

MR. SHAW: PARDON ME?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: HE IS ASKING JUST FOR ONE MORE LAST STATEMENT. IS IT POSSIBLE?

MR. SHAW: PLEASE, GO AHEAD.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THIS IS A CALL FOR THE WESTERN POWER IN GENERAL, AND THE UNITED STATES IN GENERAL -- ALL THE WESTERN WORLD. YOU ARE CALLING FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RESPECT OF FREEDOM. SO, WHY YOU ARE NOT WORKING ON RESPECTING HUMAN FREEDOM, HUMAN RIGHTS, ALL OVER THE WORLD AND ESPECIALLY IN THE ORIENT? WHY YOU ARE NOT WORKING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THESE AREAS? EGYPTIAN REGIME IS ATTACKING PEOPLE'S FREEDOM. SO, WHY ARE YOU HELPING THEM? WHY YOU ARE MAKING RELATIONS AND COVENANTS AND STRENGTHENING THIS REGIME?

MR. SHAW: VERY RESPECTFULLY -- I MUST TELL YOU THAT WE ARE OUT OF TIME, REGRETTABLY.

AND WE THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR JOINING US. WE'VE BEEN TALKING WITH THE RESPECTED DR. SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN. HE WAS IN OUR LOS ANGELES BUREAU. AND WE REPEAT; CNN WILL CONTINUE TO REPORT THE BOMBING OF THE NEW YORK WORLD TRADE CENTER AND RELATED MATTERS AND RELATED PERSONALITIES FAIRLY, OBJECTIVELY, AND IN AN ACCURATE WAY.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, @ (רחם) (שהבט), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, מצל, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגת) (רמ), ממד, מצלפה, מזחטיים,  
רביב, מעתה הסברה, @ (דוצ) (בזעמי/שהבט)

סססס

28849, חוזם:  
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מ-: וושינגטון, נ-: 1506:ח-: 190393:ת-: 771, דח-: מ, סג-: בל,  
ביבב  
בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 19 מ-רץ 1993

אל: חפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: שיח' עבד רחמן - ריאון "ABC" NEWS

ABC NEWS "PRIME TIME LIVE" INTERVIEW WITH: SHEIK OMAR  
ABDEL-RAHMAN THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1993

DIANE SAWYER: GOOD EVENING. YOU'RE ABOUT TO MEET THE MAN WHO'S BECOME A SYMBOL IN THIS COUNTRY OF ANGER, DANGER AND THE CALL FOR REVENGE. HE'S SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN, THE CLERIC WHO HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF INSPIRING PEOPLE TO MURDER.

AFTER THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER, HE WAS HARD TO FIND. BUT CHIEF CORRESPONDENT CHRIS WALLACE TRACKED HIM DOWN TWO DAYS AGO.

CHRIS WALLACE: HE IS KNOWN AROUND THE WORLD NOW AS THE INCENDIARY ISLAMIC MINISTER WHO PREACHES HOLY WAR AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT AND IS SAID TO BE THE SHADOWY FIGURE BEHIND THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING.

BUT WHEN WE CAUGHT UP WITH SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN THIS WEEK, IT WAS IN THIS QUIET NEIGHBORHOOD NEAR LOS ANGELES.

OUTSIDE ONE HOME, FEDERAL AGENTS WHO FOLLOW THE SHEIK EVERYWHERE HE GOES. INSIDE, THE 55 YEAR OLD BLIND CLERIC RECEIVED US ON THE FLOOR OF A SMALL BEDROOM.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) YOU CAME IN PEACE AND YOU ARE PEACEFULLY RECEIVED AND -- (INAUDIBLE) --

MR. WALLACE: ONE OF HIS FOLLOWERS CALLS THE SHEIK A 16TH CENTURY MAN CAUGHT IN A 20TH CENTURY WORLD. BUT OTHERS SAY HE'S A CANNY POLITICIAN, THAT WHILE HIS MESSAGE TO HIS FOLLOWERS IS FILLED WITH TALK OF ENEMIES AND VIOLENCE, HE TRIES TO CHARM OUTSIDERS WITH A TONE OF MODERATION, AND IN OUR CASE, A LITTLE ENGLISH.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I SPEAK TEN WORDS -- (LAUGHS).

MR. WALLACE: TEN WORDS?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: YES.

MR. WALLACE: WHEN WE BEGAN OUR INTERVIEW, THE SHEIK WANTED TO TALK FIRST, NOT ABOUT ABUSES IN EGYPT OR US POLICY, BUT ABOUT THE MEDIA, WHICH HE SAID HAS PORTRAYED HIM UNFAIRLY AS THE MASTERMIND OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) I DID NOT COME TO DEFEND MYSELF BUT TO ATTACK AMERICAN MEDIA BECAUSE IT IS CONTROLLED, IT IS RACIST, AND IT ACCUSES THE INNOCENT. THE AMERICAN MEDIA DOES NOT LINK THE MAN IN TEXAS WHO CLAIMS TO BE JESUS WITH CHRISTIAN PRIESTS. IT DOES NOT LINK THE CRIMES OF JEWS WITH THE RABBIS. SO WHY DOES THE AMERICAN MEDIA LINK THE MOSLEM SUSPECTS IN THE BOMBING WITH ISLAMIC LEADERS AND ISLAMIC MOSQUES?

MR. WALLACE: WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT YOUR INVOLVEMENT WITH THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF THIS EXPLOSION AND I'M NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR IT. ARE YOU? I CAME TO AMERICA AS AN IMMIGRANT ATTACKING THE EGYPTIAN REGIME AND ITS CORRUPTION. IT DOESN'T STAND TO REASON THAT I WOULD LIKE FOR THE PLACE IN WHICH I LIVE TO BE UNSAFE.

MR. WALLACE: DID YOU ENCOURAGE AN ACT OF VIOLENCE?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I DID NOT ENCOURAGE AND I DID NOT KNOW AND I HAVE NO RELATION TO THIS.

MR. WALLACE: THE SHEIK INSISTS NO GOOD MOSLEM WOULD CARRY OUT SUCH AN ATTACK. YET THREE MEN WHO ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE WORSHIPED AT THE SHEIK'S MOSQUES NOW STAND INDICTED IN THE INVESTIGATION. MOHAMMED SALAMEH. HE ALLEGEDLY RENTED THE VAN THAT CARRIED THE BOMB AND THE STORAGE LOCKER WHERE THE BOMB MAY HAVE BEEN MADE. NIDAL AYYAD (SP), A CHEMICAL ENGINEER TRACED THROUGH PHONE CALLS MADE FROM THE STORAGE LOCKER. AND IBRAHIM ELGABROWNY WHOSE ADDRESS WAS FOUND ON THE VAN'S RENTAL DOCUMENTS.

INVESTIGATORS ARE PROBING POSSIBLE TIES TO THE SHEIK.

DO YOU KNOW MOHAMMED SALAMEH?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) NO.

MR. WALLACE: DO YOU KNOW IBRAHIM ELGABROWNY?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: NO.

MR. WALLACE: DO YOU KNOW NIDAL AYYAD (SP)?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: NO. NO. I DON'T KNOW ANY ONE OF THEM. MAYBE THEY PRAY IN MOSQUES WHERE I PRAY.

MR. WALLACE: HOW DO YOU EXPLAIN THE APPARENT INVOLVEMENT OF THE THREE MOSLEMS WHO HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THIS CASE?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THESE PEOPLE ARE BEING INVESTIGATED. THEY ARE STILL SUSPECTS AND ACCUSED IS INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY.

MR. WALLACE: DID YOU EVER TELL YOUR FOLLOWERS ABOUT THINGS THAT WERE WRONG IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE NEED TO FIGHT WHAT IS GOING ON HERE?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: YES. I TELL MY FOLLOWERS THAT AMERICAN SOCIETY SUFFERS FROM THINGS LIKE DRUGS, ADULTERY, HOMOSEXUALITY, THE LOOSE BONDS OF THE FAMILY. ALL THESE ARE BAD FACTORS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY WHICH SHOULD BE ALTERED.

MR. WALLACE: BUT THE SHEIK'S TONE OF MODERATION WITH US IS VERY DIFFERENT FROM THE MESSAGE HE SMUGGLES BACK TO FOLLOWERS IN HIS NATIVE EGYPT ON AUDIO CASSETTES.

IN THE POOREST SLUMS OF CAIRO, YOUNG FUNDAMENTALISTS LISTEN TO HIS FIERY SERMONS CALLING FOR THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK.

MR. KHALIL (SP): THE TONE IS STRIDENT, IS VULGAR, IS CRUDE AND VERY UNABASHED IN THE WAY HE DISMISSES HIS ENEMIES.

MR. WALLACE: ASSAD ABU KHALIL (SP) OF THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE HAS SPENT YEARS STUDYING THE SHEIK'S TEACHINGS.

HOW DANGEROUS IS THE SHEIK?

MR. KHALIL (SP): HIS DANGER IS IN THAT HE CERTAINLY HAS NO MORAL QUALMS BASED ON WHAT I READ FROM HIS SPEECHES TO CONDONE ACTS OF VIOLENCE EVEN THE ONES DIRECTED AT INNOCENT CIVILIANS.

MR. WALLACE: EXPERTS SAY THE SHEIK ISSUES FATWAHS, RELIGIOUS DISPENSATIONS GIVING HIS FOLLOWERS PERMISSION TO COMMIT SOME ACT OF VIOLENCE IN DEFENSE OF ISLAM.

WHEN EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADAT WAS ASSASSINATED IN 1981, IT WAS WIDELY REPORTED TO BE THE RESULT OF ONE OF THE SHEIK'S FATWAHS.

SHEIK, DID PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT DESERVE TO DIE?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) YES. HE DESERVED TO DIE BECAUSE OF WHAT HE DID AND MUBARAK DESERVES THE SAME THING BECAUSE MUBARAK WILL NEVER BE LEFT BY THE PEOPLE TO KILL HUNDREDS AND IMPRISON TENS OF THOUSANDS. THIS IS NOT A FATWAH AS MANY WOULD UNDERSTAND. IT IS JUST AN OPINION I THOUGHT OF EXPRESSING IN VIEW OF WHAT I EXPECT FROM THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE.

MR. WALLACE: AND THAT IS YOUR PERSONAL OPINION THAT MUBARAK SHOULD BE SHOT DOWN IN THE STREET?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I SAID THE PEOPLE WILL DO THAT.

MR. WALLACE: SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN WAS ARRESTED AND TRIED FOR SADAT'S MURDER, BUT THE COURT COULD NOT LINK HIM TO THE CRIME COMMITTED BY HIS FOLLOWERS.

TEN YEARS LATER, EGYPT'S TOURIST INDUSTRY IS NOW BEING CRIPPLED BY A STRING OF ATTACKS AGAINST WESTERN VISITORS. ONCE AGAIN, EGYPTIAN INVESTIGATORS SAY THE SHEIK IS BEHIND THE VIOLENCE.

AS SELF-DEFENSE, IS THE MURDER OF TOURISTS LEGITIMATE?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) NOBODY EVER SAID THAT THE KILLING OF TOURISTS IS PERMISSIBLE. BUT TOURISTS SHOULD BE POLITE AND SHOULD RESPECT ISLAMIC TRADITIONS AND THEY SHOULD KNOW THAT TOURISM IS NOT ONLY GAMBLING AND NIGHT CLUBS AND ALCOHOL. AND WHAT IS BEING DONE IS TO TRY TO STOP TOURISM IN ORDER TO EMBARRASS THE GOVERNMENT.

MR. WALLACE: THE MURDER OF TOURISTS IS A PROTEST?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THE ATTACKS ARE NOT AGAINST THE TOURISTS BUT AGAINST THE BUSES CARRYING THE TOURISTS IN ORDER TO STOP THEM. IF THEY WANTED TO KILL ALL THE TOURISTS, THEY WOULD HAVE DONE THAT, BUT THIS WAS NOT THEIR AIM.

MR. WALLACE: SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN SAYS HE OPPOSES ALL WHO BREAK THE LAWS OF ISLAM. AND HE INCLUDES ON THAT LIST MUAMAR QADHAFI OF LIBYA AND SADDAM HUSSEIN OF IRAQ. HIS GOAL, TO ESTABLISH IN EGYPT AN ISLAMIC STATE AS THE AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI DID IN IRAN.

MR. CANASTRARO (SP): HE IS THE MAN WHO GIVES THE AUTHORIZATION, THE GREEN LIGHT IF YOU WILL, TO ANY VIOLENT ACTION THAT -- THAT TAKES PLACE.

MR. WALLACE: VINCENT CANASTRARO (SP) IS THE FORMER CHIEF OF THE CIA'S COUNTER TERRORISM OPERATIONS.

WHAT IS THE SHEIK'S IRAN CONNECTION?

MR. CANASTRARO: THE SHEIK HAS BEEN ON THE PAYROLL OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT SINCE 1981 AND HE RECEIVES FUNDING FROM IRAN

THROUGH THE IRANIAN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE.

MR. WALLACE: YOU SAY THIS FLAT OUT.

MR. CANASTRARO (SP): I SAY IT FLAT OUT BECAUSE THERE IS GOOD EVIDENCE THEY PROVIDE HIM FINANCIAL SUPPORT AND THEY HAVE ALSO PROVIDED TRAINING FOR SOME OF HIS FOLLOWERS IN A CAMP IN THE SUDAN.

MR. WALLACE: SHEIK, DO YOU GET ANY FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM IRAN?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) NO, THANK GOD. WE DO NOT RECEIVE ANY MONEY FROM EITHER IRAN OR ANYONE ELSE.

MR. WALLACE: THERE ARE REPORTS THAT IRAN SENDS YOU MONEY THROUGH ONE OF YOUR WIVES IN CAIRO.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: THROUGH MY WIFE IN CAIRO? IT SHOULD BE THE OTHER WAY AROUND. (LAUGHS.) IF THEY WANT TO SEND MONEY, THEY SHOULD SEND IT FROM IRAN TO AMERICA DIRECTLY. THE AMERICAN MEDIA SAYS WE HAVE RECEIVED A CHECK FOR DOLLAR 50,000 WHICH IS FALSE.

MR. WALLACE: EXPLAIN SOMETHING TO ME, SHEIK. WHY IS IT THAT AS A MAN OF GOD, YOU FEEL SO COMFORTABLE TALKING ABOUT FIGHTING, ABOUT WAR, ABOUT DEATH?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: WHY DIDN'T THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION USE LOVE? WHEN THERE WAS COLONIAL POWER AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANTED TO RID OF IT, WHY DID THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION DEFEND ITS LAND? WE DO NOT WANT ANYTHING MORE THAN OUR LAND.

MR. WALLACE: IN FACT, THE SHEIK PROFESSES GREAT ADMIRATION FOR THE US. HE HAS LONG BEEN ON THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S LIST OF SUSPECTED TERRORISTS BUT WAS ABLE TO GET INTO THIS COUNTRY IN 1990 ON A TOURIST VISA BECAUSE OF A BUREAUCRATIC FOUL UP.

WHY DID YOU WANT TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) I WANTED TO COME TO THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER TO UNCOVER THE FACT THAT THE EGYPTIAN REGIME MISLEADS THE WEST BY SPEAKING ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT.

MR. WALLACE: THE SHEIK EXPLAINS THAT THE OPEN SOCIETY HERE MAKES IT A GOOD BASE OF OPERATIONS FOR FIGHTING THE MUBARAK REGIME. BUT INVESTIGATORS SAY THE SHEIK'S TRAIL OF VIOLENCE NOW EXTENDS TO TWO COUNTRIES.

IN EGYPT, THE ASSASSINATION OF SADAT WAS FOLLOWED BY OTHERS. THE SPEAKER OF THE EGYPTIAN PARLIAMENT IN 1990. ANTI-FUNDAMENTALIST WRITER BARAK FODA (SP) IN 1992. AND RECENTLY THE CAMPAIGN OF TERROR AGAINST TOURISTS.

IN NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY, REPUTED FOLLOWERS OF THE SHEIK HAVE BEEN LINKED TO THE MURDER OF RABBI MEIR KAHANE AND THE DEATH OF ACTIVIST MUSTAFA CHALABY (SP). THEN THREE WEEKS AGO, THE ATTACK ON THE WORLD TRADE CENTER. AND JUST 75 MINUTES LATER, IN CAIRO, THE BOMBING OF A POPULAR CAFE.

WHY IS IT THAT WHEREVER YOU GO PEOPLE END UP DEAD?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) WE CAN NEVER CALL FOR VIOLENCE. WE CALL FOR LOVE, FORGIVENESS AND TOLERANCE. BUT IF WE ARE AGGRESSION AGAINST, IF OUR LAND IS USURPED, WE MUST CALL FOR HITTING THE ATTACKER AND THE AGGRESSOR TO PUT AN END TO AGGRESSION.

MR. WALLACE: BUT, SHEIK, ANWAR SADAT, THE SPEAKER OF THE PARLIAMENT, BARAK FODA (SP), THE ATTACKS ON THE TOURISTS, ALL IN EGYPT, IN THIS COUNTRY THE MURDER OF MEIR KAHANE, MUSTAFA CHALABY (SP), THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER, IT BECOMES A LONG LIST OF SELF-DEFENSE.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: RUMORS ARE NUMEROUS AND PLENTY. BUT WHERE ARE THE FACTS? I HAVE NEVER BEEN CONDEMNED BY A COURT OF LAW.

MR. WALLACE: BUT OFFICIALS SAY THAT YOU ARE VERY CLEVER, THAT YOU INCITE YOUR FOLLOWERS TO COMMIT THESE ACTS BUT YOU NEVER LEAVE YOUR OWN FINGER PRINTS.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: DOES THIS MEAN THAT I CAN FOOL THE FBI?

MR. WALLACE: SHEIK, WHY DO YOU THINK IT IS THAT A 55 YEAR OLD BLIND CLERIC FRIGHTENS SO MANY PEOPLE IN THE US AND IN EGYPT?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: BECAUSE HE SAYS THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH HURTS. AND THE TRUTH LEFT ME WITH NO FRIENDS.

MR. WALLACE: HE CERTAINLY HAS NO FRIENDS IN THE US GOVERNMENT. YESTERDAY, A FEDERAL JUDGE ORDERED HIM DEPORTED. THE SHEIK'S LAWYER SAID HE WILL APPEAL.

WHEN WE SPOKE THE DAY BEFORE THE RULING, THE SHEIK SAID THE US WAS CAVING INTO PRESSURE FROM EGYPT.

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) I WONDER HOW CAN A COUNTRY THAT RESPECTS HUMAN RIGHTS, HOW CAN SUCH A COUNTRY FOLLOW A REGIME THAT VIOLATES HUMAN RIGHTS AND TREATS THE HUMAN BEING IN A WORSE MANNER THAN IT TREATS ANIMALS?

MR. WALLACE: YOU WANT TO STAY HERE IN THE US?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: I WOULD LIKE TO STAY IN ANY PLACE WHERE I CAN DEFEND MY CAUSE AND DEFEND ISLAM.

MR. WALLACE: WHAT WILL YOU DO IF YOU ARE DEPORTED BACK TO EGYPT?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: IF I GO TO EGYPT AND I'M IMPRISONED, THIS WILL BE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR ME TO MEDITATE AND TO WORSHIP GOD. AND IF I AM KILLED, I WILL BE A MARTYR IN THE CAUSE OF GOD.

MR. WALLACE: WHAT DOES THE SHEIK WANT?

MR. : HE WANTS ISLAMIC ORDER TO TAKE OVER THE UNIVERSE AS -- AS FANTASTIC AS THAT SOUNDS, THAT'S WHAT HE SAYS HE WANTS.

MR. WALLACE: BUT ON THIS DAY, UNDER FIRE IN THE US, THE SHEIK WAS MAKING NO SUCH CLAIMS.

HE ESCORTED US OUTSIDE FOR A FINAL CONVERSATION.

SHOULD THE US PEOPLE BE AFRAID OF YOU?

SHEIK ABDEL-RAHMAN: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) NO. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE NEED NOT WORRY ABOUT ME AND SHOULD LOVE ME AS WELL AS I LOVE THEM.

MS. SAWYER: DESPITE THE EFFORTS OF US OFFICIALS TO DEPORT THE SHEIK WITH ALL THE COURT FILINGS AND THE APPEALS PROCESS AVAILABLE TO HIM, IT COULD TAKE MONTHS, EVEN YEARS BEFORE HE'S ACTUALLY EXPELLED.

END

תקורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (ר'המ) (שהבט), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, מצל"ר/מרכז,  
גנור, (ר'אגת) (ר'ם), ממד, מצל"א, רביב,  
מעת, הסברה, מזתיים, (דוץ), (בנעמי/שהבט)

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## Security Fears Among Israelis Bolster New Likud Challenger to Ruling Party

By AMY DOCKSER MARCUS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

TEL AVIV — The Cinerama hall in Tel Aviv has the air of a high school pep rally. Young volunteers work the bleachers, handing out plastic Israeli flags. Banners calling for victory are strung on the walls. Suddenly the doors swing open, a cheer goes up, and in strides Benjamin Netanyahu, surrounded by screaming teenagers and looking more like a star quarterback than the leading candidate to head the opposition Likud bloc.

Less than a week before as many as 250,000 Likud members vote in primaries for a new leader, the polls show support for Mr. Netanyahu, 42 years old, running above 50%, enough to win on the first round and avoid a runoff. His popularity has weathered his confession on national television of marital infidelity — and all the jokes that followed — as well as unproven accusations that a rival camp tried to blackmail him over the affair.

And Mr. Netanyahu himself is already



Benjamin Netanyahu

thinking further down the road: At this final rally in Tel Aviv, the focus of his jabs isn't his three rivals for the top spot in the Likud, but the man whose job he truly covets, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

The ruling Labor Party, he tells the crowd, is like a Trojan horse. The horse was painted with Mr. Rabin's face, but once it got inside the gates, Mr. Netanyahu says, out jumped the dovish wing of the party and took control of the government.

"Security has gone down as the result of weakness, organized terror is increasing, and the government won't do anything," he yells. "Mothers are frightened to send their children to school, parents are scared to send their children to the army, and what does the government do? The decision is not to do anything. We need to change this government."

Parliamentary elections aren't due until 1996, but part of Mr. Netanyahu's appeal is that he assures Likud voters that, if he's elected, they won't have to wait that long to regain power, which the Likud lost in last June's elections after 15 years in office.

Best known outside Israel as a media spokesman for the hawkish Likud government during the Madrid peace conference and Iraq's Scud attacks on Israeli cities during the Gulf War, Mr. Netanyahu's campaign speeches are filled with snappy one-liners. His tendency to speak in soundbites — he called for "a gun for every citizen" in the wake of a series of knife attacks on Jewish residents — has struck a

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responsive chord among Israelis.

The recent surge in attacks in Jewish cities within Israel's pre-1967 borders, cities like Tel Aviv and Afula rather than those in the West Bank or the Gaza Strip, has created a feeling of helplessness and despair among Israelis that reached a climax this week when the chief of police urged civilians with licensed weapons to carry them at all times.

"Bibi's appeal," says one Likud official in a rival camp, referring to Mr. Netanyahu by his nickname, "is that he gives people a feeling of confidence, that he has the solution and that it's all very simple."

The Rabin government isn't yet in danger of falling, though Mr. Rabin is cutting short his visit to the U.S. to return to Israel in response to the growing violence. (Just yesterday, Jewish settlers attacked an Arab village in the occupied West Bank and set a gas station afire near where two Israelis were killed this week.) But Mr. Netanyahu could eventually pose a formidable threat. His claims that Mr. Rabin has already drawn up a map for an Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights forced the prime minister's office to issue heated denials.

A recent TV talk show survey showed most Israelis prefer the previous government, while other polls show Mr. Netanyahu beating Mr. Rabin if elections for prime minister were held today. "Bibi represents a not so simple challenge to the Labor Party," wrote Yoel Marcus, a political writer for the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz*. "He is already . . . a dangerous rival to Yitzhak Rabin."

Unlike the 71-year-old Mr. Rabin, Mr. Netanyahu hasn't had to fight his way up a rigid party hierarchy to the top, so his views on many burning issues, such as the role of religion in public life or specific economic policies, are largely unknown. "He is following a traditional American way of getting elected," says David Bar-Ilan, executive editor of the *Jerusalem Post*. "He keeps it as vague as possible and avoids ideological expressions."

For that reason, Health Minister Haim Rimon of the Labor party was quoted in an Israeli newspaper as saying that Labor actually prefers that Mr. Netanyahu, rather than one of his rivals, win the Likud primary. Mr. Netanyahu, the minister argued, is untested as a leader, vulnerable to charges about his character, and lacks political durability.

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A. M. ROSENTHAL

# Cutting Aid to Israel

Israeli economists in Jerusalem are beginning to talk about a brand new problem of aid from the United States — how and when to bring up the idea of getting not more but less.

That is not yet the policy of the Rabin Government, and may never be. And there will be a lot of back and forth about it, denials maybe, expressions of shock and similar bureaucratic blahblah.

But the fact is that it is being discussed in Israel, which is a compliment to the political intelligence of the specialists and officials involved.

Myself, I think it could be one of the best gifts Israel could give itself and the U.S., and the sooner the better.

Cutting back on aid from the U.S. obviously would increase Israel's immediate economic pressures. But provided Israel took the initiative it would have long-term political advantages for both countries.

Israel gets about \$3 billion a year from the United States. About \$1.8 billion is for loans to buy American weapons essential to Israeli defense. The rest is used to pay interest on

past military loans to Israel.

## In Jerusalem, thinking the unthinkable.

Now that certainly is a nice way to get a loan, with the borrower getting another loan for the interest. But it is not the huge handout that Americans less than enamored of Israel try to make it out.

In fact, it has been a decent bargain for Washington as well as Israel. No U.S. government that did not want Israel utterly destroyed could have gone on selling scores of billions of dollars a year in weapons to the Arabs without keeping up Israeli strength.

And, of course, from the day of its birth to the fall of the Soviet Union Israel was the only dependable American military ally against Moscow in the Mideast.

For years the reality of Israeli strength gave military credibility to the United States' position in the Middle East — and pause to the Russians.

But Americans and Israelis have to face new realities, mostly political.

The death of the Soviet Union

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means that the Arab states can no longer look to Moscow for free help. But for Israel that has not removed the military danger. Arab countries are stuffed with new Western arms, clearance-sale tanks from Eastern Europe and late-model Chinese missiles.

Others may forget Iran's nuclear potential for a day or two; Israelis cannot. And the price of fighting terrorism mounts every day.

For an important article on the risks involved in the peace negotiations see the April issue of *Commentary*. The article is by its editor, Norman Podhoretz. It is one of the few maverick dissenting pieces by pro-Israel Americans about current Israeli strategy to appear in the American press. I would give up my bow ties rather than miss an issue of this sophisticated, essential journal.

The White House, more candid than Israel's Labor Government is in public, said that peace with the Arabs could bring risks that would involve further expenditures and aid — presumably to build new bases against the loss of the Golan Heights, and much of the West Bank.

Anyway, the military loans would

have to remain, for the security of both the U.S. and Israel.

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

It hands her enemies in the U.S. a nice new political bat. But the critical reason is for Israel's sake — its pride, independence and self-confidence.

Mr. Clinton is warm to Israel. But differences may come. There's no sign whatsoever that he will use those differences as did Bushbaker — to cover the Israeli Government with contempt.

This is exactly the time, when there is no pressure, for Israel to say it needs the military loans but will handle the interest costs itself, perhaps with extra help from individual foreign supporters.

The economic weight will not sink Israel, which is doing pretty well with a growth rate of about 6 percent and the potential \$10 billion borrowing power of the U.S.-guaranteed loans.

The extra expense of the \$1.2 billion interest might inspire Israel to move away faster from the musty Socialist dogma that has held back Israeli Governments past and present. That alone would be good value for the money. □

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בלטס/טינדוי  
תאריך: 18 מארץ 1993

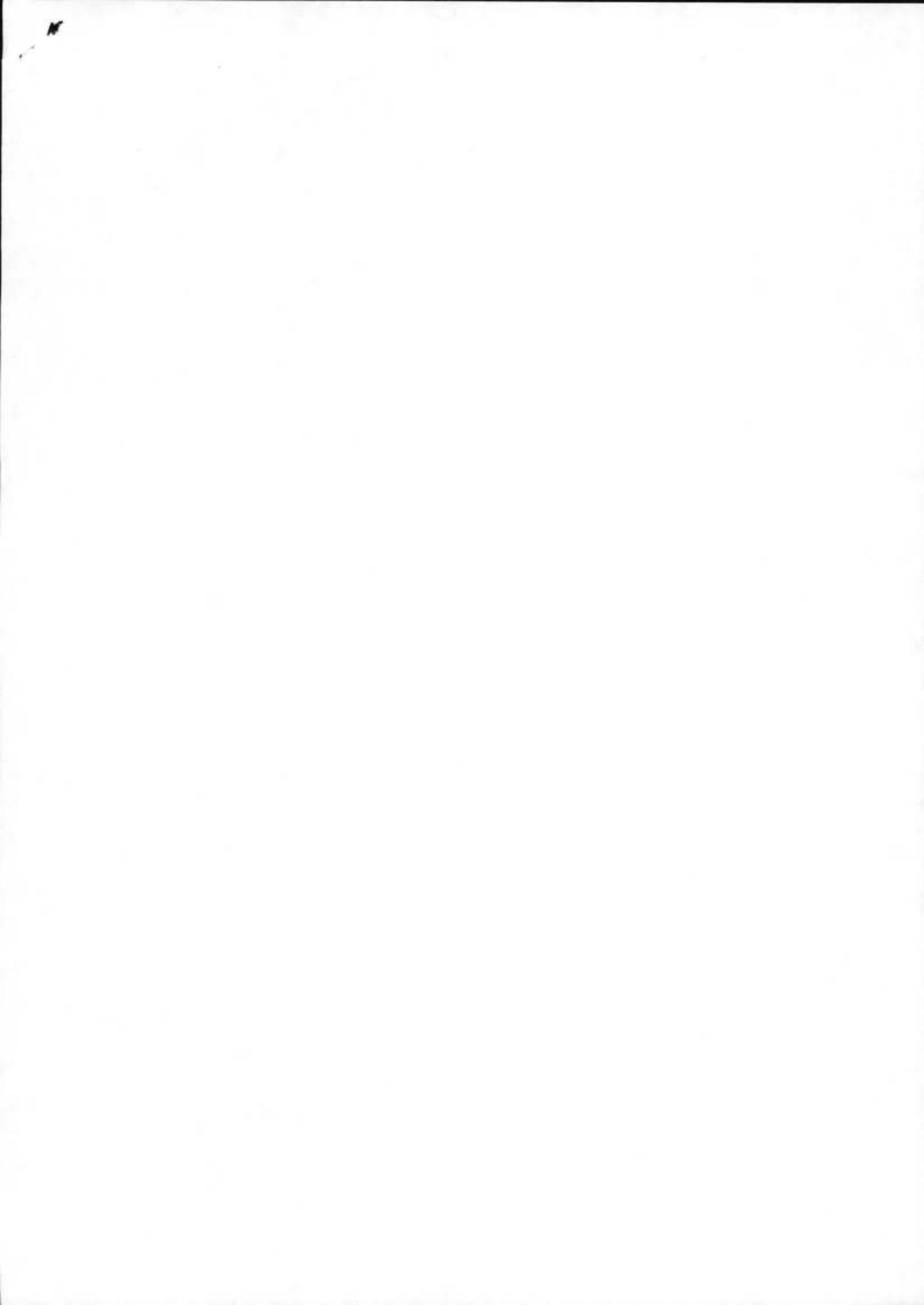
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הנדון: קיוצים בתחום 'מלחמהכוכבים'

מצ"ב כתבתה ח- DEFENSE WEEK (ג' ו' 10 באז 3/15) הדונה בתחום הקיוצים אשר הפגע בתחום 'מלחמהכוכבים'. בתחום עסקה בזמן אחרון בפיתוח תכניות הגנה מפני טילי הסקאד, זאת בעקבות מלחמת המפרץ.

הנדון: קיוצים בתחום 'מלחמהכוכבים'  
הנדון: קיוצים בתחום 'מלחמהכוכבים'

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Monday, March 15, 1993 DEFENSE WEEK

Proposed budget cuts have led the "Star Wars" office to zero out current and future funding for a key theater missile defense requirement: minimizing damage done by Scud-type missiles that get through defenses, according to military sources.

The requirement was highlighted during the gulf war when a Scud hit a barracks in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 28 Army soldiers from Pennsylvania. "If they had the capability to receive an early warning message," the number of casualties might have been reduced, said an Army source.

A November 1991 Joint Requirements Oversight Council (JROC) mission need statement for theater missile defense identified the requirement, called passive defense, as one of the four Scud-busting operational missions. The high-power council reviews and validates service requirements.

The Army's recently released Modernization Plan called three of the requirements—passive defense; attack operations to destroy missiles on the ground before launch; and attacking missiles in flight—the "pillars" of theater missile defense. The command, control, communications and intelligence (C3I) requirement to coordinate missile defense operations is the base.

Beginning in fiscal 1993, the Army is short one pillar. The Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO) has no passive defense funding programmed from fiscal 1993 to 1999, according to SDIO spokesman Maj. Mike Doble.

The Star Wars office's original fiscal 1993 request to Congress included \$2.8 million for passive defense. When Congress reduced the 1993 budget from more than \$5 billion to \$3.8 billion, passive defense was one of the casualties, Doble said.

SDIO has never released a list of specific program cuts in their fiscal 1993 budget.

Passive defense funding was already on the way down. It shrivelled from \$1.6 million fiscal 1991 to \$1 million in fiscal 1992, Doble said.

The funding may be gone, but the requirement remains. The JROC defined the passive defense mission as reducing "the probability of and...the effects of damage caused by a [theater missile] attack."

Specific passive defense strategies include reducing an enemy's ability to hit targets, making potential targets less vulnerable and rapidly rebuilding after an attack. The JROC's list of passive defense measures included: spying on enemy positions; deception; camouflage and concealment; hardening weapons, sensors and buildings; electronic warfare; mobility; dispersing troops and equipment over a wide area; and having redundant capabilities.

While the Pentagon does many things to reduce warfare damage in general—everything from gas masks to camouflage—it is neither analyzing the specific theater missile defense problem nor coordinating strategies, said critics of the SDIO's budget decision.

"We don't have anybody in charge" to put it all together, said Col. Tom Smalls, formerly a deputy program manager for Army theater missile, in an interview last week.

"We're talking about many different pieces of equipment. In essence you're cutting across many different

## 'Star Wars' Theater Missile Defense Program Loses A Pillar

BY JOSEPH LOVECE

mission lines. There's nobody to bring the pieces together to do the systemic analysis to tell you want you need to do to make yourself less vulnerable," he said.

The retired Smalls said the SDIO reneged on its promise to fund the program. "When Ambassador [Henry] Cooper assumed control of the [Star Wars] program he promised the secretary of defense he'd continue to support it. But the reality is nothing is being done. And there is still a demand out there coming from the field commanders."

Former SDIO chief Cooper, in an interview last week, said he supported the program in theory, but that money was tight. "Passive defense is important." When asked if it should be funded, he said, "Somebody ought to look at that and see if the resources are properly divided among the requirements."

Smalls said the SDIO is penny wise and pound foolish. "It doesn't take much money to get that analysis done within the attack operations area and passive defense."

Smalls said passive defense needed about \$5 million per year to do all the studies and analysis needed to coordinate the pieces.

An Army source familiar with the mission said the funding problem is that passive defense does not have a strong materiel solution, like building missiles and radars. "SDIO is not really concerned about passive defense because in the past the mission has always yielded a combat development solution, either through changes in doctrine, new tactics, techniques or procedures."

In other words, let the field commanders worry about it, he said.

Although SDIO considers the program low priority, the General Accounting Office's December 1992 report on theater missile defense highlighted the mission. "If effective and practical attack operations or passive defense measures can be developed, the requirement for active defense could be lowered," it said.

The Army's Modernization Plan also supported passive defense, and identified it as a key requirement.

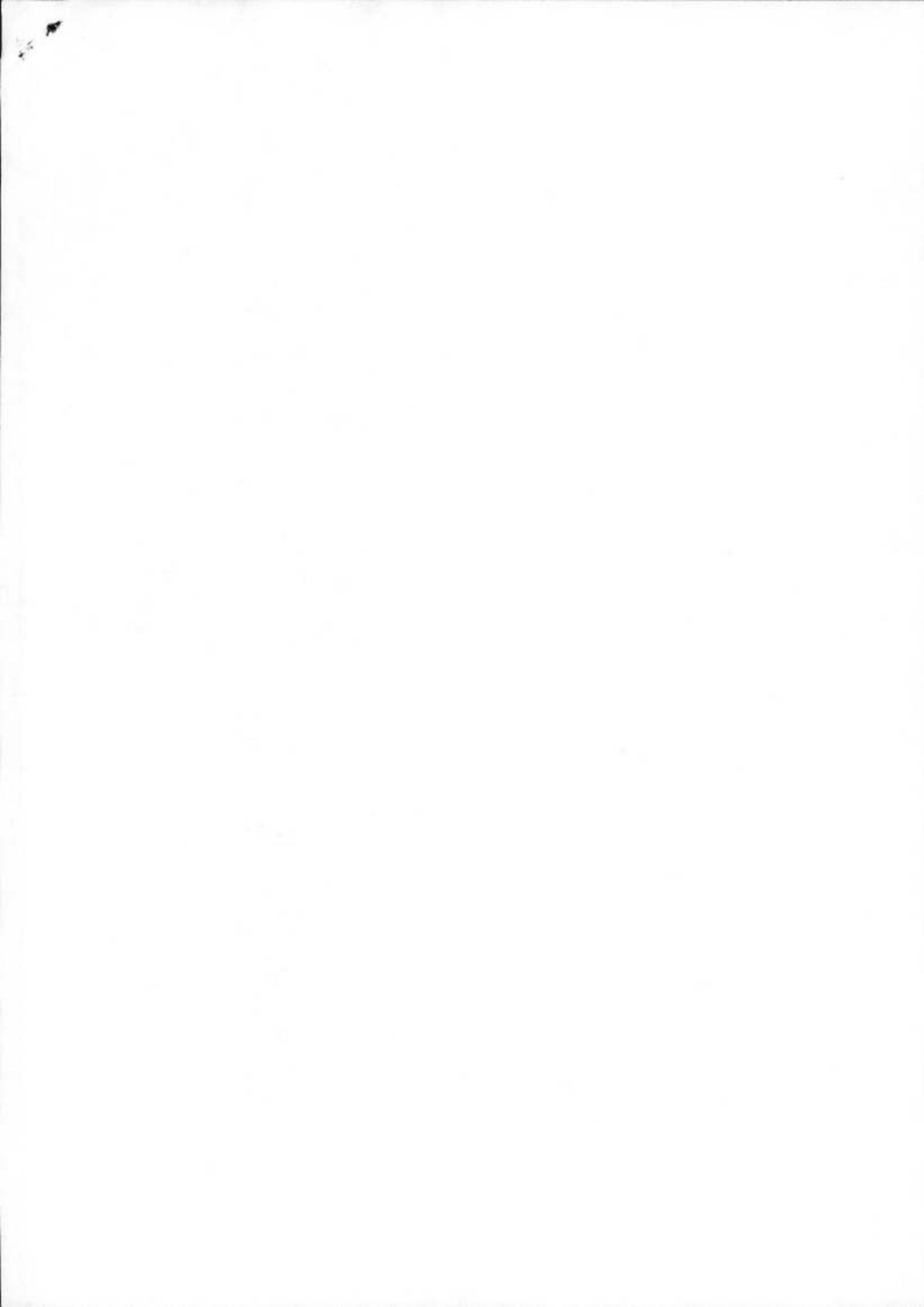
The plan said, however, that the Army would not be capable of performing the mission until 2000. Specifically, the service would be "incapable...of providing required support" from the 1994-1995 "near term" period. From 1996-1999, it would have a "marginal" capability and from 2000-2008 it would be capable of meeting the threat.

According to the plan, the major near-term deficiency is that no system has been developed to warn of attack by short-range ballistic missiles, like the Russian SS-21 or Frog-class rockets. "The vulnerability of fixed and semi-mobile installation and facilities remains high."

But from 1996-2008 "warning initiatives...offer potential improvements in accuracy and speed of launch warning."

Smalls disagreed and said that as long as there is no specific program funding, passive defense will never become capable.

SDIO's Doble said the future may not be completely dim. "We will review our participation in the passive defense area as part of our June 1993 theater missile defense review."



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תאריך: 18 ממרץ 1993

אל: מצפִּיא

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מאת: תקשורת - 1103/ינטנו

הנדון: היערכות צבא אריה"ב במקה"ת

## תקשורות

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## Missile Attacks Could Threaten Future Deployments: Science Expert

BY ANDREW WEINSCHENK

The U.S. Central Command's science advisor believes the United States will have to sharply refashion future Middle East contingency deployments to guard against saturation missile attacks launched from burgeoning regional stockpiles.

According to a recent, undated policy memo circulated among Army officials by Earl Rubright, several countries within CENTCOM's battle-scarred purview are negotiating for missile production facilities.

Other sources, like the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, have fingered Iraq, Syria, Iran and Egypt as potential missile producers.

According to Rubright, those facilities could give the countries an ability to saturate U.S. anti-missile defenses clustered around such fixed, high-value targets as ports and airfields. U.S. forces would be particularly vulnerable during the initial stages of deployments when they are least dispersed.

The establishment of missile production facilities in the Middle East means that any fixed site protected by ground-based anti-missile systems is vulnerable, wrote Rubright.

"Any literate adversary can count the number of launchers and through open sources define reload timelines for each system," he said. "A simple calculation defines how many missiles are required to overwhelm the defense."

Rubright's private analysis presents a frightening specter for CENTCOM planners who have already grappled with the difficulties of defending against Scud attacks. Though his position does not necessarily reflect CENTCOM policy, it poses serious questions about the mechanics of U.S. involvement in a theater that remains unstable.

As science adviser to CENTCOM, Rubright has a voice in shaping the requirements of CENTCOM Commander-in-Chief (CINC) Marine Corps Gen. Joseph Hoar. The requirements of regional CINCS, in turn, play a major role in shaping budget priorities back in the Pentagon.

Rubright recommended that Pentagon policy makers, Strategic Defense Initiative Office and CENTCOM officials "take advantage of

every opportunity to communicate" their missile defense concerns and requirements to Congress, the Office of Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff and their services "for inclusion in their respective R&D and acquisition plans."

The advent of 930-mile range missiles means every port in the region will become a target, said Rubright. And 22 of the 24 airfields used by coalition forces during the gulf war fall within range of the missiles, he wrote.

"Any port, any airhead, any fixed facility can be targeted and overwhelmed if an adversary is willing to pay the price in missiles," Rubright warned.

Indeed, many observers questioned the military wisdom of Saddam Hussein's decision during the gulf war not to attack U.S. forces early in their deployment. In many estimates, the six months allowed U.S. forces to prepare their attack doomed Iraq's hope of mounting a credible defense.

Beyond posing a major threat to U.S. deployments, indigenous missile production will force CENTCOM to reshape its contingency forces and operations, said Rubright. "Profound changes are required."

Operational and logistics plans will have to be revamped. And deployed materiel, especially massive hauls of conventional munitions, will have to be reduced by up to 50 percent to "avoid making airheads and ports an adversary's primary killing ground," he said.

Ground combat units will have to learn how to quickly move through ports and airfields. To accomplish this their munitions will have to be mostly precision guided, Rubright wrote. Precision guided munitions, which are smaller but more effective than dumb bombs, would reduce the materiel tonnages shipped through ports and airfields while maintaining troops' lethality.

Anti-missile defenses that permit near-zero leakage will also have to be emplaced during future contingencies. Anti-capable ships cued by AWACS radar planes could provide extended range coverage.

To limit the threat of cluster munitions, the Pentagon would have to introduce so-called "boost phase" interceptors like the Air Force's Airborne Laser that strike missiles shortly after launch.

Manned and unmanned air-breathing platforms like long-range bombers, carrier-based aircraft and remotely piloted vehicles could be used as boost-phase and "end-game" missile killers.

"Ground force operations will remain viable only as long as we can create near zero leakage when and where forces are concentrated," said Rubright. "This is particularly true of those periods where we cannot deny an adversary a viable target through dispersal."

Relying heavily on tankers, the Air Force will have to operate primarily from beyond the range of enemy missiles. In some cases aircraft will operate briefly from forward bases. "Transitory basing" will mean that no aircraft or ground support personnel will operate out of the same airfield for more than 30 hours.

A system for rapidly rearming and resupplying aircraft like that once envisaged for a high-intensity European theater "will of necessity be developed" in CENTCOM, said Rubright.

Naval aviation will take on numerous new missions. "Much of the anti-missile, anti-armor and anti-air fire support associated with ground-based systems will devolve to the Navy," he said. Extended naval fires, like 5-inch guns and naval ATACMS missiles, which are replacing traditional battleship fires, will see heavier use and help lighten ground forces.

Some traditional Air Force tactical air missions will also be taken over by the Navy and Army. "The very real threat to forward fixed-base aircraft can be overcome by devolving many of the traditional tactical air missions into the VLS [vertical launch system] tubes of offshore combatants and the MLRS [Multiple Launch Rocket System] of the ground forces," said Rubright.



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חנוך: פרסום חדש - כתבות על סוריה ואיראן

מיז'זען ווושינגטן, נאזר מוציא לאור בימים אלה (בנוסף לירחון  
M.E. Insight newsletter 21-שבועי בשם:  
Executive International Insight,  
העוסק בunosאים בינלאומיים, ובעיקר בunosאים בינלאומיים.  
מחניליאן הריאון, מצ"ב שני, כתבות: האחת על יחס סוריה וhammadel החדש,  
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**The New Thaw****U.S.-Syria Ready To Embark On New Understanding**

Even during the Bush administration the Syrian government was dissatisfied with the tenor of its relations with the United States—especially with American insistence that Damascus remain on the U.S. list of states supporting international terrorism. Nevertheless, the Syrian government was satisfied with the first thaw in relations between Washington and Damascus and with the first-ever public meeting between the two heads of state.

So it was a cause for concern when Bill Clinton was elected president. Would the burgeoning relationship be put on hold? Would the new level of regional cooperation suddenly be scrapped?

The questions left Syria with a substantive diplomatic dilemma: Damascus could ignore Bill Clinton's barely veiled hostility to the Assad government and wait to see what the new president actually did, or it could assume an intransigent stance towards Israel in the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations, thereby signalling the U.S. that it was willing to discard better U.S.-Syrian relations.

It is now clear that the Assad government is embarked on the second course. In doing so, it has gained a modicum of respect among Clinton's foreign policy advisers at the State Department and in the White House. A number of internal changes in Syria have also served to spark American confidence that the Bush thaw will continue.

The first and most striking change was the quiet return to

Syria of Rifat Assad, the president's brother. The younger Assad is thought to have strong and significant contacts with the Gulf countries and Saudi Arabia. In addition, he is known and trusted by many European diplomats. The younger Assad is also said to closely coordinate with his brother and he is not an unknown personality among the American diplomatic corps.

The second indication that Syria will continue to build on the Bush thaw is its handling of the deportees crisis. While Syria condemned Israel's action, Syrian leaders told Secretary of State Warren Christopher (who visited Damascus in February) that they look forward to a continuation of their negotiations with Israel. Syria also signalled that it was willing to move forward with the talks at the earliest opportunity. This is very important to Assad, who at 64, wants to leave a legacy for his countrymen.

Although these Syrian developments have garnered only passing attention, Clinton administration officials believe they may well constitute decisive and perhaps irrevocable steps toward a fundamental reorientation of the country.

While that optimism does not mean that peace between Syria and Israel is just around the corner (it isn't) or that the U.S. and Syria are on the verge of a newly significant or strategic realignment (they're not), they serve as powerful indicators that the years of perpetual enmity may finally be ending.

WWS

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### Inside Tehran's Militant Overseas Opposition

The most formidable foe of the Tehran government is the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran—the PMOI. Formed in 1963 as a "militant" anti-Shah organization, it quickly developed a military arm that opposed the Shah's rule.

When the Shah was toppled the PMOI initially enjoyed cordial relations with the ruling clerics. But problems soon developed over their increasingly militant fundamentalism. PMOI secularists opposed many of the mullah's more radical regulations and the organization was pushed to nearly open confrontation with the regime.

While the PMOI supported the cleric's decision to take Americans hostage in Tehran during the revolution's zenith, disagreements over tactics continued to sour relations between the mullahs and the Mojahedin's leadership. Finally on June 20, 1981, the PMOI took to the streets in an armed confrontation with the regime. On July 29 the organization's leader, Masud Rajavi and former Iranian President Abol Hassan Bani-Sadr fled to Paris. The PMOI has operated outside the country ever since.

A recent report on the PMOI questions its strength and notes that while the organization has had support from members of Congress successive U.S. administrations have refused to meet with PMOI leaders. That is expected to continue under President Clinton.

## Eye On Iran

### Population Of Major Cities

|            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| Teheran    | 6,022,029 |
| Meshed     | 1,500,000 |
| Isfahan    | 1,001,000 |
| Tabriz     | 994,000   |
| Shiraz     | 848,000   |
| Kermanshah | 531,350   |
| Kara]      | 526,272   |

Total Population: 58,195,000

Growth Rate: 2.63 % per year

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### Ethnic Distribution

|             |     |
|-------------|-----|
| Persian     | 51% |
| Azerbaijani | 25% |
| Kurdish     | 9%  |
| Gilaki      | 8%  |
| Lur         | 2%  |
| Baloch      | 1%  |
| Arab        | 1%  |

### Economic Data (billions US\$)

#### 1991 Budget Revenues:

\$36.463

#### 1991 Expenditures:

\$67.228

#### Outlays as a percent of totals:

|                          |         |
|--------------------------|---------|
| Public Services:         | 6.93%   |
| Defense:                 | 11.70%  |
| Education:               | 19.27%  |
| Health:                  | 7.06%   |
| Welfare/Social Security: | 13.70 % |
| Housing:                 | 3.52%   |
| Fuel and Energy:         | 3.97%   |
| Transportation:          | 3.70%   |
| Agriculture:             | 2.67%   |
| Mining, Manufacturing:   | 2.94 %  |
| Recreation:              | 1.45%   |

### Total Armed Forces

354,000 or all arms

350,000 reservists

150,000 revolutionary guards

1,000,000-plus home guard

0.82 soldiers per 1000 population

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הנדון: ארה'ב - תחlixir השלום. מא'צ עם אנדריו סטינינפלד מהשג' האמר'

1. האם', קרי חוגי המזכיר מאשים את הפלס' ביצירת המהומה (השתמש במונח בלאגן) סביב 6 הנקודות. קבע שקיים שני נסחים, האחד נמסר למזכיר בכתב ידו ע' פיעץ חסיני והשני, לעומת הנסיבות עמו רה'ם (המורכב 'מ-2 נקודות אמ' ו'4 נקודות ישראלית'), שהוא בבחינת הودעה משוחפת לסייעם ביקורו של המזכיר בארץ. הנקודות האם' הן: גינורי שיטת גירושים הצמדת 242 ו-338 לתחlixir המו'ם בצרוף איזור ירושלים. הנקודות הישראלית: מהויבות שלא להשתמש יותר במדיניות הגרושים, החזרת המגורשים בזמן קצר וקצוב, החזרת מגורשים ותיקים ושיפור מצב ז.א. בשתיים. האם' לא ניהלו מוו'ם עם הפלס' ביחס למזכיר של פיעץ חסיני וכמוון לא אשרו אותו. על כן הם רוגזים על המהומה שהפלס' מחוללים סביבו. סטינינפלד עצמו בדעה שיש כאן תערובת של אי הבנה, קצר בתקשות ובן שלומיאליות אמ' מסוימת.

2. בכלל, הדגיש, שיטת העבודה של המזכיר שוניה בהרבה מזו של קודמו (ובכך אולי שורש הבעייה). הוא מעדיף להגיע להבנות בע'פ' ונשען פחות על תרשומות כתובות. מכאן גם נתיתו שלא לעסוק בפרטים. איןנו מתחווון ללקח בעקבות קודמו ולדלג מבירה לבירה וחוזר חלילה. סיורו אכן נועד להכיר הנפשות הפוועלות ולנסות וליצור עם כימיה אנושית. יהי זה ביש מזל (UNFORTUNATE) אם יתברר שכנושה הראשון שהוא נטל על עצמו, קרי סונגיית המו'ם הישראלי-ערבי, הוא יכשל. מכאן גם החוויה הכבודה (BAD) (BLOOD) השוררת כלפי הפלס'. ראשית, נסיגונם לסבכו בפרק 6 הנקודות. שנית, הדלפות על התבטאות גורם בכיר במחמד' שהתייחס לאש'פ' כאלו גורם הקשור לטרור. הדברים, כידוע, נאמרו ע' המזכיר עצמו, בשיחת רקע שלא ל策וט או יחש. עצם הדרישה, והרשות שהפלס' הקימו סביב הנושא העלו חמתו עליהם. סטינינפלד ציין, אגב אורחא שבתום הסיפור שגרה מחמד' לשגרירות האם' בעולם דוח על שיחותיו באזור, בו עניין המגורשים כלל לא נזכר ولو במילה אחת.

3. משלחת המזכיר שמה לב לאי סדר (DISARRAY) בקרבת הנציגות הפלס' בשטחים עמה נפגשו, בעיקר סביב המומנט של מי נחשב לדברם. רוחות תחרות (שכבר אינה סמויה) בין פיעץ לעשרاوي. מולו ויליאמסון הקונסולית היה עדה לזלזול בפומבי שהחרובנה מפגינה כלפי פיעץ חסיני בכך שהוא לא בעל

כושר דיבור (ARTICULATE) ומשמעות האנגלית לוקה (כמובן בהשואה אליה). תחרות זאת, מן הסתם מכוונת גם כלפי תוניס - מי מביניהם יזכה למועד בכיר יותר. במקביל קיימת סימפתיה מועטה מצד רוב חברי המשלחת כלפי שעדרוי, על השאותנות הבלתי רגילה שפגלה ע'ם להוכחה עצמה.

4. **שיחות המזכיר** - אסד, ככל הידוע לטיינפלד נסבה בחלק לא קטן בנושאים הבילטרליים. אסד עשה 'קילומטרז' רציני בסוגיית הטרור. הוא אחוז חלהלה כל אימת שהוא' מעליים נושא זה ו'MRIUNIN BI-SIEN' אחרים. אסד נחוש להסיר זאת מסדה' אחת ולתמייד. בסה'ב המזכיר שמע הרצתה ארוכה מפי אסד כיצד לסדריה אין כל נגיעה לכך.

5. **הסורים והמצרים מתחמים** עתה למצוא נסחה גואלה בסוגית המגורשים. הם נטלו את מסגרת 6 הנקדות דלעיל ומנסים לעצבה בצורה שוננה. מבחינים בבעיתיותם הקשורה בכמה מהן ועל כן מנסים להתייר הסבר, ע'י כך שהלן יהפכו ל'הבנותشاءות', מעין ערבות צד שלישי, בין מצד ישראל ובין מצד אריה'ב. האם' על פי סטיינפלד דחו 'יעיזוב' זה (שהועבר להם ע'י שה'ח המצרי). הם דבקים, הדגיש, במה שהושג בארץ ולא יזוזו מכך. המצריים קיבלו זאת בלית ברירה. הסורים עומדים על כך שם חייבים לקבל מהאמר' 'משחו ביד'.

עד כאן מדבריו.

ד'ש.

אלי אבידן  
18 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, רהמ, שהבט, מנכ"ל, ממכ"ר, מרכז, גנור, ר'אגת, רם, אמן, ממד, מצפה, מזחים, מצרים, סייבל, משפט, רביב, גל/הסברה, ראש הממשלה

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אל: מנהל מצפ'א

מִנְכִּיל

דעת: מנהל מעית, יו-ען תקשורת רוח'ם  
מאת: יוועצת תקשורת, וושינגטונ  
הנדון: מושל-תדרון כתבים ישראליים.

ליידי-עתכם, כי הכתבים היישראליים בוושינגטון זומנו בשבוע הבא לתדרון 'OFF RECORD' עם פקיד מישל (דן קר策) לסקום בקורס של רוח'ם ופגישותינו כאן.

בזמןה למפגש נאמר לכתבים כי הכוונה היא ל- 'SCHMOOSING' שיהיה לחולוטין לא לשימוש ולא לכתיבת.

זכור לכם, מפגש דומה נערכ בסוף הסכום האחרון של שיחות השלום. חשוב להעיר בהקשר זה, כי מפגש זה הינו עדות נוספת למגמה המסתמנת בתקופה الأخيرة לפיה ישנה פתיחות בקרב פקידי מושל שונים (ובעיקר שניים) לשיחות ותדרוכים עם כתבים ישראליים. על חלק מהדברים, בודאי קראתם בכתבות השונות לאחרונה.

רות ירון

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תפוצה: שחח, @ (רham), סשח, מנכל, ממנכ, מצפא, רביב, מעת,  
הסברה, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רמ), @ (אמן), @ (ראשה הממשלה)

ססס

## North Korea's Bomb Threat

No serious person should doubt that North Korea has been violating the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) that it so melodramatically withdrew from this week. Cold War or no Cold War, the "Bomb" in the hands of unfriendly nations is—or soon will be—a reality. It is not nearly so clear that Western authorities are capable of thinking seriously about the implications of this reality. Congressman Lee Hamilton is already promising the North Koreans better relations with the U.S. if they'll rejoin the non-proliferation treaty. But what's the point?

As several nations have now demonstrated, regimes with sufficient lack of conscience can sign the NPT and proceed anyway with a nuclear program, bobbing and weaving behind the International Atomic Energy Agency's skirts almost indefinitely. One of the great revelations of Operation Desert Storm was how little the West or its inspection arms knew about Saddam's well-developed nuclear weapons program. The fact is, some regimes don't play by the rules, and they never will.

The LAEA did eventually lose patience with North Korea, though very belatedly. It mustered the courage to

set a March 25 deadline for the inspection of two sites analysts suspect may be processing nuclear fuels. So Pyongyang quit, citing the "hasty fuss" of the IAEA. The only difference with North Korea in the NPT and North Korea out of it is that before it lied about its nuclear program and now it doesn't have to.

North Korea, like Iraq or Cuba or Libya, is one of those inherently secretive countries that isn't operating according to normal behavioral patterns among nations. Pyongyang has apparently decided that having nukes

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## Editorial

is more important than having, say, an economy. Both Japan and South Korea have opened economic relations with North Korea, but held back large-scale investment until it cooperated with the IAEA. Presumably those investment taps will now be shut off.

North Korea's only friend, China, has begun to insist on hard currency instead of barter for trade. Since North Korea has nothing to sell to earn hard currency, except Scud missiles (that is, more proliferation), the requirement has battered an already sorry excuse for an economy.

The country's 21 million people are down to eating about one and a half meals a day, railways hardly ever run, factories operate at 40% capacity because of power shortages and trade has fallen off precipitously. But this is the country that the Clinton administration "hopes" will change its mind about playing by the rules of non-proliferation.

North Korea knew that by withdrawing from the NPT it would be spurning its best chance for economic salvation, but it did so anyway. The only possible conclusion is the obvious one: North Korea wants to have nukes.

The central issue is not how to get Pyongyang back into the multilateral fold, but how to deal with a very real threat. Two points: Western leaders should not give the impression that the non-proliferation treaty offers more security than it can carry. Further, the U.S. should devote a lot more focused energy than it is now on slowing the proliferation of technologies for nuclear weapons and missile-delivery systems. Not to do so is folly, because the people who refuse to play by the rules eventually are going to get what they want.

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By STEVEN A. HOLMES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 16 — Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel said today that he would cut short his visit to the United States and return home Thursday evening to deal with growing violence in Israel and the occupied territories.

At a lunch today on Capitol Hill, Mr. Rabin told reporters that by Thursday he will have completed the bulk of the official business he had planned on his visit, and that he did not want to stay the extra days in order to deliver an address on Sunday to the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, a pro-Israel lobby known by its initials.

"By Thursday evening, I'll finish my meetings with the Administration, Congress," Mr. Rabin said. "I'll have a meeting with the Secretary General of the U.N. and the leadership of the Jewish community. And instead of waiting three days to deliver a talk to an Aipac meeting here, the Ambassador will do it for me."

#### Concern Over Violence

Mr. Rabin acknowledged, and his aides said directly, that his departure was moved up because of his concern over the recent increase in what he called "terror events" that have left eight Israelis and eight Palestinians dead in Israel and the occupied territories this month.

"Given the circumstances and the escalation of events in the territories

and in Israel he wished to go back earlier," Gad Ben-Ari, Mr. Rabin's spokesman, said. "It is advisable at such a time that the Prime Minister of Israel will not be outside the country too long."

In December 1987, when he was Defense Minister, Mr. Rabin drew criticism for not rushing home from a trip abroad as the Palestinian uprising erupted. Aides to the Prime Minister, who is also commander of the Israeli Defense Force, suggested that he did not want to make the same political misstep twice.

The level of violence in Israel and the territories is growing. Israeli troops killed two Palestinians and wounded 70 others today in the heaviest casualties in the Gaza Strip in months. The Associated Press reported today that all police leaves have been canceled and shifts have been extended to 12 hours.

#### Meets Members of Congress

Mr. Rabin met with members of Congress today before traveling to New York to meet with Madeleine K. Albright, the American delegate to the United Nations. Mr. Rabin is also scheduled to meet with the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The Israeli Prime Minister is also canceling a trip to Mississippi where he was to christen a boat that had been built for Israel at the Ingalls shipyard in Pascagoula.

Clinton Administration officials said they were not concerned over the cur-

## Rabin Cuts Short His Visit to U.S. Because of the Violence in Israel

N.Y. Times

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tailment of Mr. Rabin's trip here. "It's an indication that he has a domestic problem that he has to deal with," an Administration official said.

Palestinian leaders expressed dismay today with the meeting between President Clinton and Mr. Rabin on Monday, saying that it showed the new Administration was biased toward Israel and against them.

There was open irritation with Mr. Clinton for saying that Israel's expulsion of some 400 Palestinians from the occupied territories had not even been discussed with Mr. Rabin. Palestinians have said they will not return to the talks until the issue is resolved.

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ANN, חוזם: 25061  
אל: רהmesh/ 849  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 170393, זח: 1421, דח: ב, סג: שם,  
ביבכ 545631  
שמור/כחול לבוקר

אל: נאות-נ'י/השגריר

דעת: לשכת סגן שה'ח, סמנכ'ל ארబ'יל

מאת: מנהל ארబ'יל 2

הנדון: פגישת רוח'ם עם שגרירת ארה'ב - WEOG.

ממליצים שבשיחתו עם שגרירת ארה'ב, אולבריט, יתיחס רוח'ם לסוגיות  
קובלחנו הזמןית ל-WEOG, ויבקש פעילות אמריקנית, בדרגת גבורה, כלפי האירופים  
בנושא זה, לו חשיבות רבה עכורנו, עקרונית ומעשית. הנושא מועלה על ידינו  
עם האירופים בדרגת גבורה, והתרשותנו שלא תחול התקדמות ללא החלטה בדרגת  
רוח'ם (המדובר בעיקר בגרמניה ובריטניה) או נשיא (צՐפת), ולפעילות  
האמריקנית בדרגת קבינטי תהיה השפעה רבה.

דוד פלג  
17 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סחה, @(רהם), מנכ'ל, ממכ'ל, מצלב, ביין, ארבל, 2,  
מצפה, סביר, אירופה, @(ראש הממשלה)

סססס

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25588, חודם: 867  
אל: רה'mesh/  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 170393, זח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
546382

שמור/מידי

106.02

אל: לשכת רה'מ-הבר

מאת: מצפ'א

הנדון: ועדת המשנה למתknנים צבאיים

1. הוועדה הניל בראשות הקונגרסמן דיביב מק קרדיז, תס"יר במספר מדיניות, איטליה, תורכיה, סוריה ומרוקו ובין היתר תברק בישראל. הגיעו במטוס מיוחד של חה'א האמריקאי וממועד בקורס בארץ יהיה ב-8-7 באפריל.
2. עקב הגעתם ביום חמ"ט פסח, צמצמו תכנית פגישותיהם וטבקשים להתקבל-באם הדבר יתאפשר, לפגישה קצרה אצל רה'מ ושהב'ט.
3. המשלחת שהינה קונגרסונלית ומטופלת עי' השגרירות האמריקאית, מונה 6 חברים קונגרס, אנשי צבא בכירים ועווזרים, סה'כ כ-20 איש.
4. עקב חשיבות חברי הוועדה ותפקידה, ממליצים לבדוק האפשרות להיענות לבקשתם.
5. המועד המוצע: יום ה' 8 לאפריל 93, בשעות הבוקר - בירושלים או בת'א.
6. נודה על תשובהך.

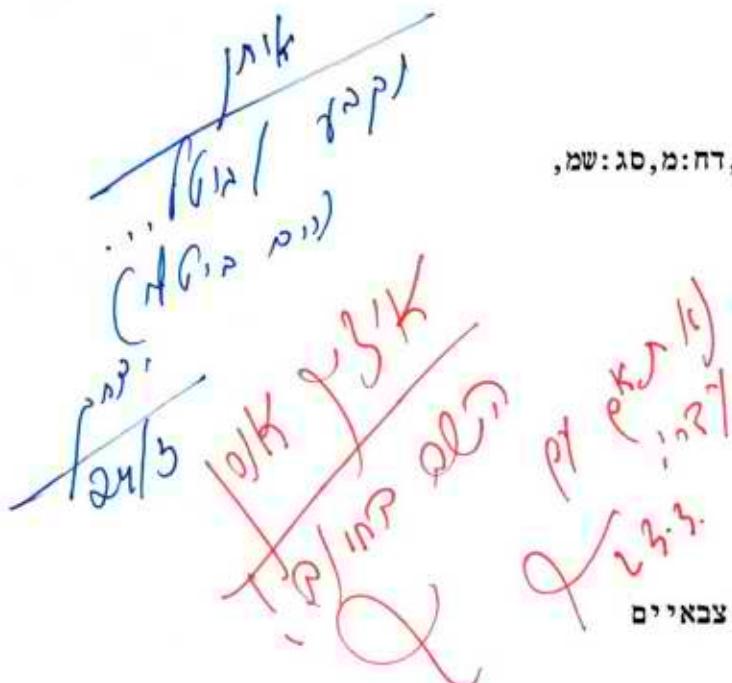
שלום כהן

טל: 303664/244

17 במרץ 1993

תפוצחה: (ריהם, מצפה, ראש הממשלה)

סססס

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אלא, חוזם: 25588  
אל: רה'ם/867  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 170393, זח: 1733, דח: מ, סג: שם,

ביבב  
546382

שמור/מידי

106.02

אל: לשכת רה'ם-הבר

מאת: מצפ'א

הנדון: ועדת המשנה למתכונים צבאיים

1. הועודה הניל בראשות הקונגרסמן דיביב מק קורדי, חסידר במספר מדיניות, איטליה, תורכיה, סוריה ומרוקו ובין היתר חוקר בישראל. הגיעו במטוס מיוחד של חה'א האמריקאי ומועד בקורס בארץ יהיה ב-8-7 באפריל.

2. עקב הגעתם ביום חמ"מ פסח, צמצמו תכנית פגישותיהם וմבקשים להתקבל-באמ' הדבר יתאפשר, לפגישה קצרה אצל רה'ם ושהב'ט.

3. המשלחת שהינה קונגרסיוונלית ומטופלת ע'י השגרירות האמריקאית, מונה 6 חברים קונגרס, אנשי צבא בכירים ועווזרים, סה'כ כ-20 איש.

4. עקב חשיבות חברי הוועדה ותפקידה, ממליצים לבדוק האפשרות להיענות לבקשתם.

5. המועד המוצע: יום ה' 8 לאפריל 93, בשעות הבוקר-בירושלים או בת'א.

6. נודה על תשובהך.

שלום כהן

טל: 303664/244

17 במרץ 1993

הניל

תפוצה: 0 (רHAM), 0 (מצפה), 0 (ראשה ממשלה)

סססס

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26085, חוזם: אל: רהmesh/904  
מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 557, תא: 170393, דח: מ, סג: שט, בכבב  
31607  
שמור/מידי  
000.00

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דע: מנהל תפוצות  
וושינגטן - ציר הסברא  
קונכלי'ם ארה'ב

מאת: ס/קונכיל ניו יורק

הנדון: פגישת קристופר עם מנהיגים יהודים

להלן עיקרי הדברים מפגישת מזכיר המדינה היום (17) עם כ- 100 מנהיגים יהודים - הן מהארגוני השונים והן פעילים שונים במפלגה הדמוקרטית.

המזכיר פתח ואמר לו שלבשיא דיעה חויבית מאוד על רה'ם. התפתחו יחס אמון טוביים המאפשרים לשטי המודיניות לעבוד יחד בגושאים קשיים ומסובכים ביו תור כגון סוגיות המגורשים. לדביוו, הנשיא לא יעשה דבר הנוגע לההlixir השלום ללא התיעצות שופת עם ישראל. השיחות בושינגטן התמקדו גם ביחסים כימטרליים שוניים והיו ידידותיות ומהותיות. (ככלל, במהלך הפגישה חז'ר כריסטופר מספר פעמים שהשיחות היו פתוחות ולענין והרגיש את הإيمان שהמשל רווח דרוח'ם).

לדברי קристופר, רבין עוזר לו להבין טוב יותר את רזי הבעיות בMOTE'ת. ציין כי 'אדם פחות חזק ממנו היה מוסת מהארועים בארץ אבל רבין ידע לעשות בהם שימוש כדי להראות עד כמה תhalbיך השלום חירוני ומהיבר מאמץ מיו'ד'.

ארה'ב מתחוונת להיות שוחף מלא לההlixir (INTERMEDIARY) שיכול להת המלצות, אך לא פורמיות. הממשל יסיע מתוקף כוחה היביג'ל של ארה'ב ובסוף מץ הזמן קבוצות עבודה שוניות לדיון עם הממשלה. מעירין שב- 4/20 אכן יבואו כל המוזמנים להמשך השיחות.

ציין שאין חשובה פשותה לשאלת הממשלה אכן מייצגת את העם הפלסטיני נאי. ישנה טראומה מהחאים, וידוע שההוראות לשלחת באות מטוגנים אך 'עם השלחת הזו צריך לעבוד'.

בגושאים שונים (גם בתשוכות לשאלות) אמרו:

- המשל רואה בחיוב רצונה של ישראל לסייע לרפובליקות האיסלאמיות, ויהיה המשך מחזק של שיפ אסטרטגי בין שתי המדינות.
- בעת סיורו במצרים לא נתקש ע'י שום גורם 'כולל ירדן' להתפifs עם סאדאם חוסיין ואין שינוי במדיניות ארה'ב כלפי עיראק.
- המשל איננו כה פסימי לאירן יהיה נשך גרעיני וכי יכולת שיגור בעשר השנים הקרובות ואפשר למנוע זאת ממנה. בכלל ארה'ב מודאגת ביותר מעניין הפלורליזציה של נשך גרעיני.
- סוגיות השבויים והנעדרים ויהודי סוריה הועלו בעת פגישות עם מנהיגים ערביים אולם אין חידושים מעבר לדברים הידועים.
- העלה את נושא החרם הערבי עם הכוויתים והסעודים ותשוכתם לא הייתה מספקת. בכורנות המשל להעלות הנושא עם מובruk בעת נסיעתו לוושינגטון.
- בסוף הפגישה אחת הנוכחות אמרה שהמשל ישמה אם הקהילה היהודית תסייע בקידום הabilia הכלכלי של הנשיא שכן סיוע החוץ הוא מרכיב אינטגרלי ממן.

#### סיכום

הפגישה אורגנה ע'י כמה גופים דמוקרטיים בוושינגטון והיו מספר משתתפים שקבעו הזמנות מירוח מגוף אחד. עם זאת, ניכר שהמשל ממשיך לראות בקהילה היהודית כאן גורם שצורך לעדכנו באורח שוטף והמאץ ברור. בימים הקרובים נקבע דיוחים ותרשימים נוספים מפגישה זו ופגישות אחרות שהתקיימו בסמוך אליה. נערכנכם. מברק זה ותפוצתו תואם עם ציר ההסברה בוושינגטון.

סופר  
17 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, @ (רham), (שהבט), מנכל, מנכ"ל, מצלב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רמ), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפה,  
תפוצות, הסברה, @ (ראש הממשלה)

אאא, חוווזם: 26069  
אל: רהmesh/ 903  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 691, תא: 170393, זח: 1736, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
ביבב  
9,811613  
בלטס/מיידי

אל: שר האוצר.

שר החוץ.

שר המסחר והתעשייה.

שר המדע והטכנולוגיה.

מנכ"ל אוצר.

מנכ"ל חמי"ס.

יוועץ כלכלי לרוחה"מ.

מדען ראשי חמי"ס.

מצפ"א.

מאת: כלכלית וושינגטון.

הנדון: נציבות ל תעשיות תעיריות ידע.

בעת פגישת הנשיא קלינטון עם רוחה"מ, הכריז הנשיא על הקמת נציבות ל תעשיות תעיריות ידע. HIGH TECH COMMISSION. הנשיא כמו כן החליט שבראש הנציבות מטעמו יעמוד מזכיר המסחר מר רון ברואן.

מנוסח הودעת הבית הלבן נראתה שהנציבות תעסוק ב 4 תחומי פעולה עיקרים.

א. עידוד שיתוף פעולה בין חברות תעיריות ידע בישראל ובארה"ב.

ב. החלת מידע וידע בין מרכז מחקר ואוניברסיטאות בארץ"ב ובארץ.

ג. עידוד שיתוף פעולה בין המדיניות בתחום הטכנולוגיות החקלאיות.

ד. עידוד וסיווע בהשכלה טכנולוגיות צבאיות לשימושים אזרחיים.

לנוחיותכם צרפתים גם את הנוסח אשר הוכן בבי"ה לבן לנשיא.

1. ENCOURAGING HIGH - TECH INDUSTRIES IN THE U.S AND ISRAEL TO LINE UP IN JOINT PROJECTS THAT WILL BENEFIT BOTH COUNTRIES.
2. FOSTERING SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN U.S AND ISRAEL UNIVERSITIES AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS.
3. PROMOTING DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGIES.
4. ASSISTING IN THE ADAPTAION OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY FOR CIVILIAN PRODUCTION.

כתוצאה מיציאתו המוקדמת של רוחה"מ לארץ בוטלה הפגישה עם מזכיר המסחר על מנת לקדם את הנושא ולהכנס לעובdot מטה מסודרת נפגשתי עם דיק מORNING STAR (MORNING STAR) האמור לרכז את הנושא במשרד המסחר האמריקאי. הקמת הנציבות מחייבת עבודה מטה במשרל האמריקאי על מנת לתאם בין כל הסוכנויות. לאחר וברגע זה מעבר להצהרות לאיש אין מושג כיצד להתחמודר עם הרעיון, כל מהשכלה יצרתית מצדנו עשויה להתקבל בברכה.

הכויות העומדות כרגע על הפרק ה' :

1. הקמת גוף על להתייעצות ווחלטה בין שתי הממשלה אשר קיבל את ההחלטה המשירות של הנציבות.
2. הגדרת היחסים בין הקרן הקיימת (קרן התעשייה, חקלאית ומדעית) עם הגוף החדש.
3. סמכויות ותחומי פעולה של הגוף החדש.
4. מערכת היחסים בין הנציבות והIDADEות המקומית. (היו פעילים מאר בקמת הנציבות)

בעקבות שיחות עם המקומיים להלן טירוט ראשוני במסגרת הנ"ל.

1. הנציבות עוסקת בעידוד הפעילות הנ"ל הן ע"י עירית סקרים מקצועים והן ע"י הרחבת בסיס המקורות של הקרן.
2. כל אחת מהקרנות ממשין לפעול בתחום הקיימת, ותסייענה לנציבות בגיבוש מדיניות המחקר והפיתוח ע"י שימוש במערכות הקיימות.
3. בראש הנציבות תהיה מועצת מנהלים BOARD OF GOVERNORS בסדר גודל של כ 8 חברים, ארבעה אנשי מכל מדינה.
4. למועצת המנהלים תהיה מיעצת אשר תורכב מכ 21 איש.
5. מועצת המנהלים תפגש פעמיים בשנה לדיוןים ווחלטות וhmועצת המיעצת פעם בשנה לגיבוש רעיונות ומחשובות בתחום המחקר והפיתוח.
6. מועצת המנהלים תפעל להגדלת המקורות הכספיים הן ע"י הגדלה תקציבית והן ע"י הנפקת אג"ח.
7. המועצת תיזום מחקר וסקרים לעידוד פעילויות חדשות ובעיקר בתחום ההסבה של טכנולוגיות בטחוניות.
8. הנציבות תחיל בפועל מיד ותיזור את התשתית למחקר ופיתוח עתידי בין המדיניות השונות בזירה התקיבן לאחר החתימה על הסכם השלום. עד כאן באשר לראיונות ראשונים באשר לגוף המשותף. באשר לכוחותינו בארץ יש הכרח בגיבוש תפיסה כוללת באשר לפעולות של המשרדים השונים מול הגוף זה. אשמה לשמו הערותיכם והארותיכם בהקדם.

אמנון נויבך.

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, (רham), מנכל, מנכל, מצב, מצפ, ערן, כלכלית',  
אווצר, תמס, (שרהמדע), (ראש הממשלה)

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון  
סופס טברק

בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 16 ממרץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ירדן

מצ"ב כתבת ה-NEWS DEFENSE NEWS (פיליפ פינגן 3/14-8) המתארת את הקטנות היקף החזיון של הצבא הירדני. צבא ירדן מוכר נשק כדי למנוע חרדירות מחרימה בכוחות הצבא אשר הפגן חנפוג העיקרי של חבידוד חדיילומטי לאחר מלחמת המפרץ.

(2) פחח (2) סשת"ה (1) רהט (1) סנקל (1) טמנקל (1) טזפא (2) דביב (1)  
 סכת (1) הסבורה (2) ~~טנטן~~ טנטן (60/טרכז) (1) טפ (4) רט (1)  
 אטן (4) סיביג (1) ~~טנטן~~ טנטן (1) דטפ (1) פט (1)

תקשרות

Defense News 8-14/3

F.F.

# Jordan Sells Equipment To Sustain Smaller Force

By PHILIP FINNEGAN  
Defense News Staff Writer

AMMAN, Jordan — Jordan has reduced the size of its military and has been selling weapons to prevent a rapid deterioration of its armed forces, which have become a casualty of the kingdom's

## Aid Disruption Leaves Kingdom Unable To Buy New Arms

diplomatic isolation after the Persian Gulf war.

Jordan's inability to buy new weapons when neighbors are rearming "concerns me but we are

unable to do much," Jordan's King Hussein said in a Feb. 25 interview. "We know what we can do to the best of our resources."

Strained relations with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait after Jordan's opposition to military action against Iraq in 1991, have cut off the military funds that used to enable Jordan to buy new weapons. Not only is Jordan unable to buy new equipment, but it is having trouble finding spare parts to service its aging equipment.

As aid has been disrupted the kingdom has faced a fiscal crisis

with the postwar return of 400,000 citizens who formerly worked in Persian Gulf countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, who require costly government services.

Planned purchases of new military equipment such as the Mirage 2000 have been canceled, and the Jordanian military has been trying to sell virtually any marketable old equipment, including fighter aircraft, transport aircraft, helicopters and tanks. Its armed forces has been slashed from 130,000 troops in 1991 to

107,000 troops now.

These efforts to raise cash through equipment sales are proving difficult. The country's 200 M48 tanks are so old that they are finding no buyers. "There is no market [for the tanks]," said Lt. Gen. Abd Al-Hafiz Marai, the military's assistant chief of staff for intelligence.

Sales of aircraft also have been limited, Maj. Gen. Ihsan Shurdood, chief of staff of the Jordanian Air Force, said in a Feb. 25 interview. Out of nine S-70A helicopters put up for sale, four have been sold. The F-5A fighters are for sale. Another four already

See JORDAN, Page 29

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March 8-14, 1993 **DEFENSE NEWS** 29

# U.S.-Jordanian Ties Improve, Arab Allies Keep Distance

**JORDAN, From Page 1**

have been sold. In addition, two C-130H transports are for sale.

These paltry sales cannot make up for the \$200 million provided annually by Saudi Arabia nor the \$50 million provided annually by Kuwait before the Persian Gulf war, Marel said Feb. 24. Nor are the equipment sales able to generate the \$160 million to \$170 million needed to keep Jordan's U.S. equipment running, said Marel.

Although the United States has approved annual aid of about \$20 million, those funds are well below the amount needed. "The aid allocated by the U.S. government is not enough to run the U.S. equipment we have," Marel said. Moreover, 1992 and 1993 funds totaling \$29 million are awaiting presidential certification before being released.

With shortages of spare parts for all U.S. equipment including M80A3 tanks, trucks, Tube-launched Optically tracked Wire-guided missiles and F-5 fighters, the Jordanian military has been forced to cut overall training levels to a third of its former levels, Marel said.

The Jordanian Air Force has grounded some pilots and cut flying hours, Shurdoom said. "We

are watching the budget day and night."

The deterioration in the Jordanian military's capabilities gets worse each year, sources said. The country's improved Hawk II antiaircraft missile batteries need to be upgraded within the next year or two to the next model at a cost of \$100 million, sources said. Otherwise the Hawks will become obsolete as the United States ceases to support the older versions of the missile now owned by Jordan.

While Jordan is trying to upgrade its F-5 fighters and F-1 fighters, those upgrades are not the full-fledged upgrades needed to ensure the survival of the aircraft against more sophisticated aircraft purchased by neighbors, sources said.

Jordan's reductions in the size of its armed forces have come at a time when neighbors in Israel, Syria and Saudi Arabia continue to modernize their militaries. In a conflict, Jordan's aging F-5 and Mirage F-1 fighters would face Israeli F-16 fighters, Syrian MiG-29 fighters and Saudi F-15E fighters.

"We are very worried," Kamel Abu Jaber, the Jordanian foreign minister said in a Feb. 24 interview. "The Middle East is a powder keg and to put more weapons

into it will add to the horror. We view that with tremendous concern."

The weakening of the Jordanian military, which has established a reputation as the best-trained military in the Arab world, concerns some U.S. analysts.

"In the long run, we have al-

most exercises as they rebuild military cooperation disrupted by the Persian Gulf war.

Current plans for this year's joint training calls for two special forces exercises, one Air Force exercise and three naval exercises, with the first exercises scheduled to begin in April, Marel

funds were released. The funds quickly were used to buy military spare parts. An additional \$20 million for 1992 and \$8 million for 1993 await presidential certification to the U.S. Congress that Jordan is enforcing sanctions against Iraq and being helpful in the peace process.

Hussein expresses confidence that eventually funds to modernize Jordan's military also will begin flowing again from the Persian Gulf. "I do not believe the situation will continue," Hussein said. "It [the military aid] will be resumed [at some point] or somehow we will manage."

Despite the tremendous difficulties presented by Jordan's economic crunch and the lack of external military assistance, Hussein suggested that the long-term future of the Jordanian monarchy in some respects may have been strengthened by the experience.

"I think Jordan has always given the impression that it was living under conditions where it had the protection of this or that [country] or the help of this or that [country]," Hussein said. "I think we are standing on our own with our heads held high. As a people and a country, this gives us hope for the future long after individuals are gone."

*"I think Jordan has always given the impression that it was living under conditions where it had the protection of this or that [country] I think we are standing on our own with our heads held high. As a people and a country, this gives us hope for the future."*

**Jordan King Hussein**

ways been better off when Jordan was strong enough to deter Syria and to be independent of radical Arab states," said Anthony Cordesman, author of several books on militaries in the Middle East and a professor of national security at Washington's Georgetown University. In addition, the military has been critical in supporting the king, who has been an important moderate Arab leader, he said March 5.

Despite these problems, there are glimmers of hope for the Jordanian armed forces. The United States and Jordan are putting together a schedule for regular

joint exercises as they rebuild military cooperation disrupted by the Persian Gulf war.

"It is very beneficial to go back to having these exercises," Hussein said in the Feb. 25 interview. "Obviously they are important because they get people to know each other, and they acquaint each other with the different challenges and problems they may face."

U.S. military aid also has begun to flow intermittently. Last November, \$20 million of 1991

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שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון  
טופס מברך

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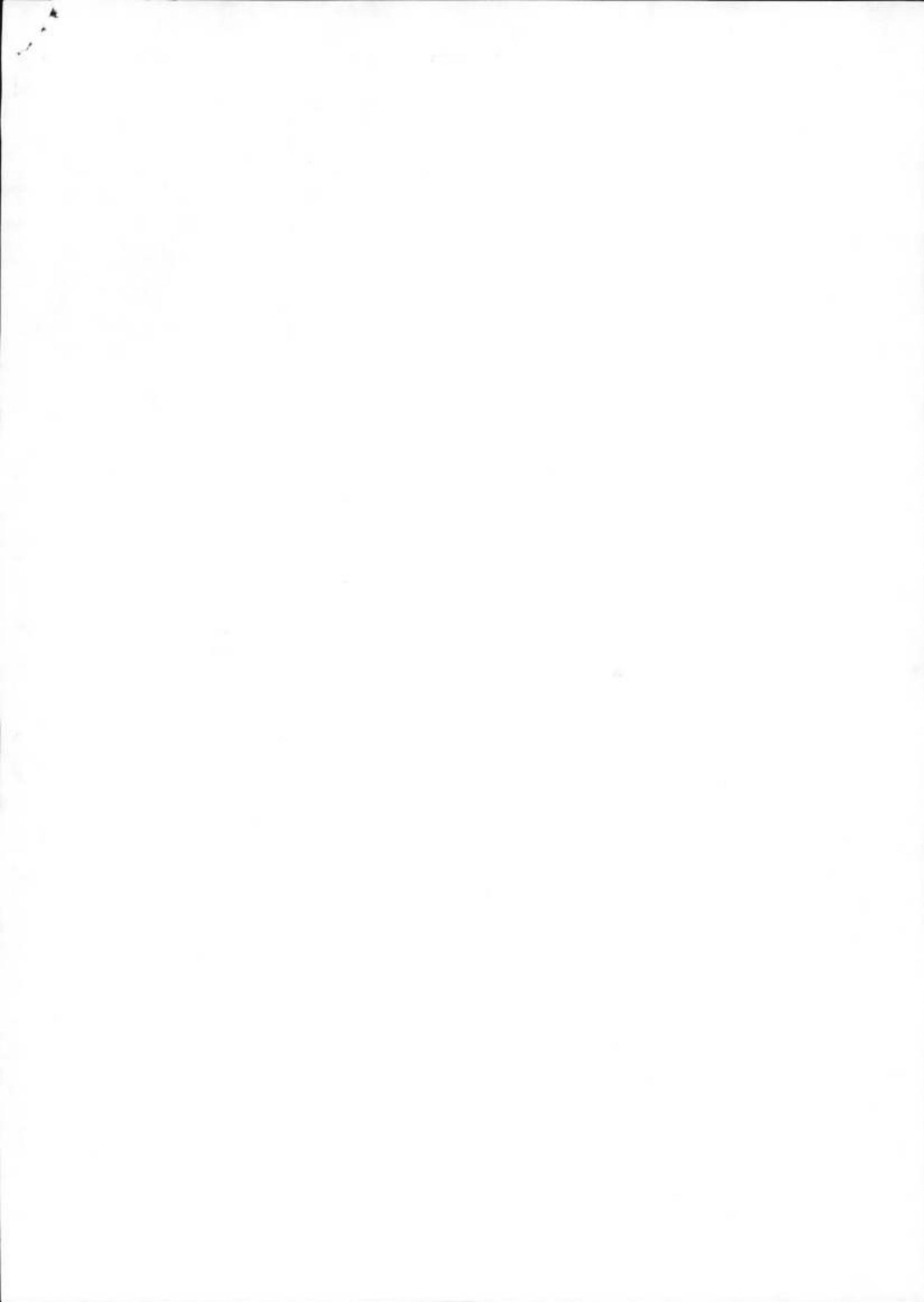
בלטס/מיד  
תאריך: 16 מץ 1993  
אל: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: ירדן

מצ"ב כתבת NEWS-DEFENSE (פיליפ פינוגאן 3/14-8) אודות נסיוונות ירדן לשיקם את קשריה עם בעלות ברית קודמות. יחסיה של ירדן עם המדינות השכנות ניזוקו קשה במהלך מלחמת המפרץ כאשר לא הצטרפה לאורה'ב, כוויה'ת וערב הסעודית אשר תקפו את עיראק.

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תקשורות



10 DEFENSE NEWS March 8-14, 1993

# Jordan Slowly Restores Relations Damaged by Gulf War

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By PHILIP FINNEGAN  
Defense News Staff Writer

AMMAN, Jordan — Jordan gradually is working to reconcile with old friends alienated by its stance during the Persian Gulf war, a move critical if Jordan is to regain its past military strength.

Jordan split with the United States, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait when it opposed military action to liberate Kuwait. Jordanian officials maintained that diplomatic solutions should have been further explored.

In failing to fall in with the allied coalition, Jordan lost critical military aid from those countries. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait totally cut off aid, while the United States put conditions on its military aid that have held up its release. While U.S. aid has only been about \$20 million annually in recent years, Saudi Arabian aid used to amount to \$200 million and Kuwaiti aid to \$50 million annually, Lt. Gen. Abd Al-Hafiz Maresi, Jordan's assistant chief of staff for intelligence, said Feb. 24. The absence of that Arab aid, which was used to buy new weapons, has left Jordan without a procurement budget for new military equipment.

Relations with the United States have improved markedly. "I think things are moving in the right direction," Kamel Abu Jaber, Jordan's foreign minister, said in a Feb. 24 interview. Increased Jordanian enforcement of sanctions against trade with Iraq have helped improve relations to the point that some U.S. military aid to Jordan has been freed and there are plans to resume regular military exercises with the United States.

Relations with Saudi Arabia

and Kuwait remain chilly despite some thaw in Saudi Arabia's case. That has prevented a resumption of vitally needed aid.

"With the economic crisis, the democratization process and the peace process coming at the same time, we need all the support we can get from our Arab brothers in a financial, political or any other sense," Abu Jaber said.

These difficult problems facing Jordan suggest the need for reconciliation. In the wake of the gulf war, Jordan encountered serious economic problems after 400,000 workers returned from Persian Gulf countries such as Kuwait and Saudi Arabia as relations cooled.

Jordan's preparations for elections in November amid the economic strain of providing education, housing and other services needed for citizens returning from the Persian Gulf add to the challenges facing the country, Abu Jaber said.

Jordanian officials profess to see some improvement in relations with Saudi Arabia although there still are no relations with Kuwait. Saudi Arabia has upgraded its representation in Amman although it still has no embassy in the country.

"Things seem to be relaxing," Abu Jaber said. "Of course we would like to see it speedier, but things are moving in the right direction."

In addition, during King Hussein's hospitalization at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., last August, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, Saudi Arabia's ambassador in Washington, visited Hussein and gave him a letter from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, sources said.

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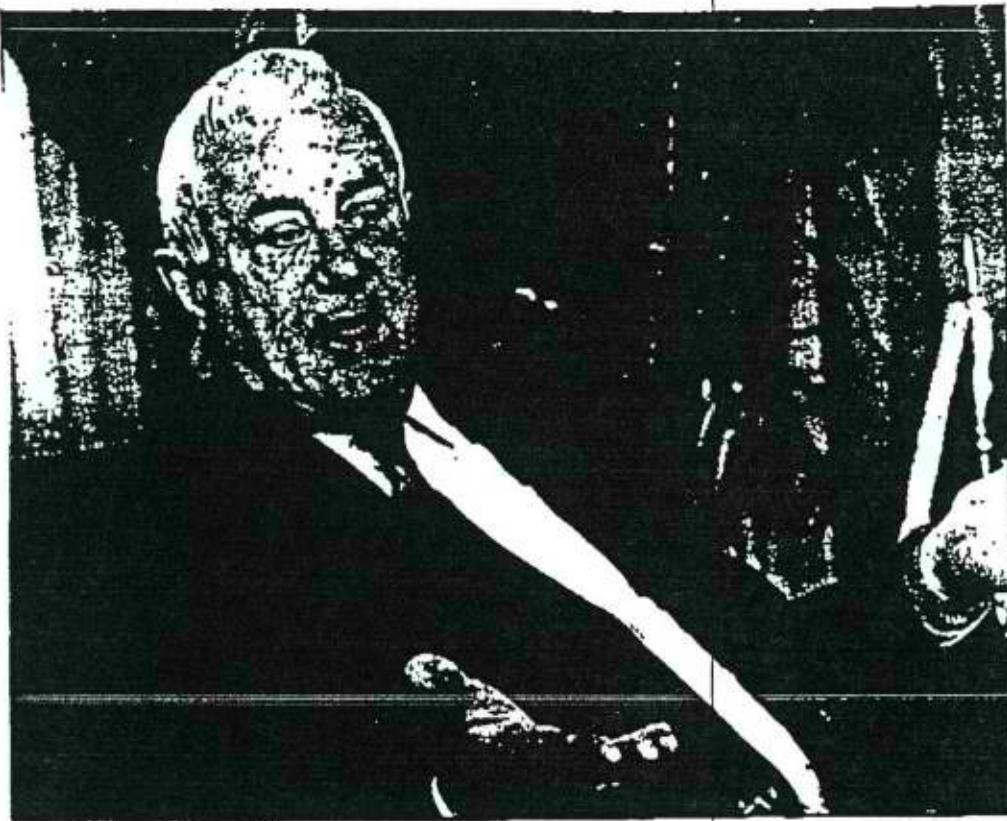


PHOTO BY BILL LYONS

**Kamel Abu Jaber, Jordan's foreign minister, says relations with the United States, as well as some neighboring Arab nations, are improving, although military aid does not meet Jordanian requirements.**

The Jordanian government has been distancing itself from Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. While King Hussein said in a Feb. 25 interview that "it is not my responsibility nor my right to seek the change of this or that [leader]," he expressed his wish for democracy and respect for human rights in Iraq. The king privately has met with Iraqi opposition leaders in recent months, other

sources said.

Despite this slight thaw in relations with Saudi Arabia, Jordan's unwillingness to apologize for its position in the gulf war has presented an obstacle to complete normalization.

"I do not believe Jordan will apologize for anything," King Hussein said. "I do not think there is anything to apologize for... To apologize for being

right is very difficult."

Jordan's efforts to avoid bloodshed and economic devastation in the region were the proper policies to follow, Hussein said.

In addition, plans for King Hussein to visit Saudi Arabia when he returned to Jordan fell through when he could not gain assurances he would be guaranteed an interview with King Fahd, sources said.

## שגרירות ישראל - ווינגייט

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### בלטס/מיידי

1993 מארץ 16

### אל: תפוצת תקשורת

### מאת: תקשורת - ווושינגטון

### חנדון: איראן

מצ"ב כתבת ה-INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIES (בואר, סיק 3. מארץ 1993) העוסקת באיראן. לאחר סיום המלחמה הקרה נוצרו שתי מדיניות המאיימות על יציבות אזור המפרץ הפרסי: איראן ועיראק, עיראק תחת שלטונו סדאם, הפקה לדברי הכתב, למטרד יותר מאשר איום ממש. לעומת זאת איראן הולכת ומתחזקת ופתחת נשק גרעיני ומוחוות איום של ממש למערב.

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תקשות רת

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The end of the Cold War and the decisive defeat of Iraq in Operation Desert Storm removed two major threats to the stability of the Persian Gulf. Repeated outbursts by Saddam Hussein remind us that the Gulf is still a dangerous place, but for all his bluster, Saddam has been reduced to the status of a nuisance rather than a serious threat. The question is whether the present Western military preponderance in the Gulf will produce some enduring stability, or whether this is merely another interlude between the conflicts that have racked the region since the Iranian revolution of 1979.

More specifically, will the expansionist danger of Iraq now be replaced by a similar, and perhaps equally dangerous, threat from Iran? Iran and Iraq, the two regional "superpowers," tended to keep each others' ambitions in check. With Iraq at least temporarily removed from the field, there are fears that Iran will move aggressively to fill the power vacuum with its own unique blend of Persian chauvinism and Islamic fundamentalism.

Those fears are genuine and are based on a sober reading of Iran's behavior since the end of Desert Storm. But they should not be exaggerated. Iran has the capacity to become a serious threat to Western interests in the gulf

over the next ten years, but the nature and extent of that threat is far from certain. It is the function of two uncertainties: the internal politics of Iran and the policies of the new Clinton administration in the U.S. together with its allies in Europe and Japan.

**Iran's Policy Schizophrenia**  
Iran is its own worst enemy. In the first flush of victory after the overthrow of the shah, Iran was giddy with its own success and utterly confident that it could reshape the world in its own image. It rejected traditional diplomacy, economics and ideology in the pursuit of its own vision of universal Islamic rule. It provided support to terrorist groups, seized American hostages, rejected any hints of dependency on either East or West, thumbed its nose at the United Nations and earned itself a reputation as a maverick state.

By the end of the hostage crisis with the U.S., which deprived Iran of billions of dollars of assets and ringed it with a net of sanctions, and especially after Iraqi formations drove across its southwest border, the euphoria began to fade. Iran realized that it could not exist in isolation. With the end of the Iran-Iraq War in 1988, the death of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini the following year and the installation of the pragmatic-minded Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani as president soon thereafter, it was widely anticipated that Iran would begin to steer a more centrist course and forgo some of the excesses of the immediate post-revolutionary period.

It has not worked that way. Rafsanjani focused almost exclusively on economic issues, vainly attempting to

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bring the economy back from the disasters of the revolution and the war. But in order to generate support for painful austerity measures, he chose not to confront directly the religious ideologues and revolutionary zealots who still occupied many positions of power and influence. As a result, Iran developed a bad case of policy schizophrenia. It has made genuine efforts to normalize its relations with the international community, but it has been frustrated by its own words and actions at almost every turn.

This process has been further complicated by the emergence of Persian nationalism, which blossomed during the long war with Iraq. Today, the speeches of Rafsanjani and other spokesmen for revolutionary Iran are punctuated with nationalist themes and symbols. Increasingly, the policies and the pronouncements of the Islamic Republic resemble the classic nationalism of the monarchy. Revolutions revolve, it is said, 360°. **The Military Buildup**

Over the past two years, Iran has begun to rebuild its military forces, devastated in the eight-year war with Iraq, projecting some \$10 billion over the next five years for military purchases. Although substantial, that sum pales in comparison with Iran's immediate neighbors. Over the past two years, the U.S. has sold more than twice that amount of military equipment to the Arab gulf states, including \$17 billion in military orders to Saudi Arabia alone.

By the standards alone of its neighbors — or the standards of the shah — Iran's five-year military budget is modest. The reason for this modesty is not lack of ambition, but lack of money. Most of its new equipment, support and training will come from Russia, which now demands hard currency. Iran's foreign reserves are low, and the *majlis* (parliament) dislikes borrowing. In November, Iran became the first gulf state to acquire a submarine (a Russian Kilo class diesel boat), and two more are on order. Submarines cannot operate in the shallow waters of the Persian Gulf, but it was a dream of the shah to have a deep water navy that would make its presence felt in the Indian Ocean. The Islamic Republic is now fulfilling that dream, but the Iranian submarine fleet is unlikely to be a serious military threat to any Western navy for many years.

For its air force, Iran has purchased Mig-29 fighters



and Sukhoi-24 attack bombers from Russia, and F-7 fighters from China, with further purchases expected. Russia has reportedly agreed to provide spare parts and support for at least some of the 100 or more Iraqi aircraft that took shelter in Iran during Operation

Desert Storm and which Iran has declined to return. Iran is also negotiating with Russia for the purchase of up to 400 T-72 tanks. Iran has purchased a 300-megawatt nuclear reactor from China and two 440-megawatt reactors from Russia. Other prospective purchases of nuclear technology from India and Argentina were thwarted, largely due to pressure from the U.S. Early reports that Iran had acquired some tactical nuclear warheads from Kazakhstan proved to be unfounded. Iran is, however, actively recruiting and training nuclear specialists.

There is no question that Iran is laying the groundwork for the development of its own nuclear capability (another of the shah's pet projects), although there is no evidence that this effort has yet progressed much beyond the planning stage. After being duped by Saddam Hussein, the world is properly leery of Iran's intentions and nuclear potential.

Iran began a chemical weapons program during the war with Iraq, when its forces on the battlefield were being attacked by Iraqi nerve agents. Although Iran apparently never used such weapons itself, it did develop at least a rudimentary capacity to produce chemical agents. Reportedly,

Iran is now attempting to expand its chemical production.

Iran is also seeking a medium-range missile delivery system. More important, Iran appears to be developing its own missile production industry that, in time, could free it from dependence on foreign suppliers.

Iran is a classic example of a Third World nation that has decided to acquire nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction but has not yet progressed past the early stages of development. This is the moment when all of the non-proliferation resources of the world community must be brought to bear, using a mix of sanctions, strict export controls, intrusive inspections, trade and other incentives where appropriate, negotiations and security assurances. The UN resolution that ended the Iran-Iraq war contained a clause calling on the UN Secretary-General to consult with Persian Gulf states about "measures to enhance the security and stability of the



Hashemi Rafsanjani: haunted

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region." This might be an appropriate moment to launch such an effort.

#### Politics and Religion

Iran's clumsy assertion of sovereignty over the contested islands of Abu Musa and the Tunbs last year raised fears of new Iranian territorial ambitions. Even more alarming to many Arabs has been the surge of political successes by Islamic opposition parties throughout the Middle East. Iran makes no secret of its support for these movements, and it makes a perfect scapegoat for beleaguered governments who are unable to contain the appeal of political Islam among their own populations and who would like to blame them on outside agitators. Taking a page from the communist past, it is now common for both Arab and Western commentators to describe Iran as the "Comintern" of the Islamic movement.

Iran does not dispute such charges. On the contrary, it relishes them. As the self-styled leader of international Islamic revolution, Iran prides itself on its support for Islamic factions in their opposition to Western-oriented secular regimes everywhere. Tehran's role more often than not is haphazard and ineffectual, but the angry denunciations by Egypt and Algeria and others keep alive the illusion of Iran as a major player on the Islamic stage. This image plays well to an Iranian domestic audience that would like to believe that the Islamic revolution, at least in the field, lives on.

Propaganda aside, if Iran and its minions should vanish from the face of the earth tomorrow, these Islamic movements would scarcely notice. They are home grown, and their strength derives from the failure of their governments to meet the social and political needs of their people. Iran may ride the wave, but it did not create it.

Finally, Iran engages in direct political violence outside its own borders, primarily assassinations of its most hated — or most feared — political foes. Over the past several years, political murders in France, Lebanon, Germany, Switzerland and northern Iraq have been attributed to Iranian security services. This shadow war of vengeance killings seems to proceed without regard for time, place or political circumstance.

This is not the kind of random violence normally associated with international terrorism. Rather, it resembles a war between rival gangs, played out on an international stage. Iran inevitably denies any involve-



ment in these incidents, but then spares no expense in defending or extricating anyone who may have been caught or charged with the crimes.

#### Bargaining With the Devil

Major revolutions are like earthquakes. They rearrange the landscape and are often visited by aftershocks long after the main event. We should not be surprised that Iran is a prickly, proud and often infuriating country, nor should we expect it to reform suddenly and become a model world citizen.

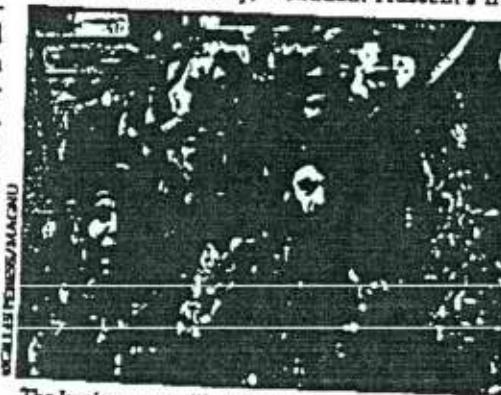
Still, by the standards of other revolutionary societies, Iran has come a long way. The *majlis* is a remarkably open forum for discussion of the country's problems, and the press is free to print dissenting views on virtually every subject except Islam. Iran is not a dictatorship; it is not Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Repression is common, and human rights are frequently abused, but the citizens of Iran do not go about their daily life in a state of terror. Power is so diffuse that there is a constant guessing game about who is on top.

Iran is a major power in the Persian Gulf by virtue of its size, resources and geographical location. With Iraq crippled and with the Cold War ended, Iran will inevitably seek to play a larger role in the political and military affairs of the region. The demonization of Iran will not change those basic facts.

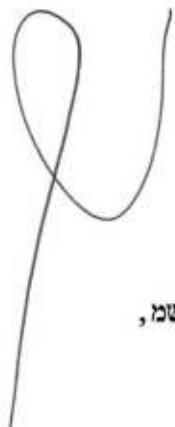
Iran today is faced with immense economic problems, the greatest of which may be the deterioration of its complex oil fields that will require sophisticated injections of water and gas to keep them productive well into the next century. That is a problem that can only be solved by Western technology.

The West has certain legitimate demands to make of Iran as a responsible member of the international community. The West also has unique financial and technological resources that are essential to Iran if it is to salvage its revolutionary experiment. Without minimizing the political, cultural and historical obstacles, that is not a bad place to begin a tough bargaining session.

Gary Sick served on the National Security Council staff under Presidents Ford, Carter and Reagan. He is the author of *All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran and October Surprise*.



The Iranian army: still all fired up.

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שמור

אל: ווש' - אמיתי, שטיין

## הנדון: התפישות בין ערפאת לאבו אל-טיב

1. כזכור, במסגרת עדכון על ממצאי אש'פ להביא לחידוש הדיאלוג עם ארה'ב דוחנו ב-3 באוגוסט '92' (שלנו חוזם 8, 2011) על ידיעות עיתונאות, שבישרו על פירוקו, בכיכול, של 'כח 17' והדחת מפקד הכח ابو אל-טיב, מרבית תפיקדיו באש'פ. כל זאת, חלק מהענות אש'פ לתנאי ארה'ב לחידוש הדיאלוג עימה.

2. כעת פרסום התק绍ת הערכית, שערפאת ואבו אל-טיב התפישו האחרון חזר לתוניס (לאחר שבחדשים האחרונים שהה בירדן), ומונה ל'יועץ לבטחון לאומי' וapk החל להתלוות לביקורים שעורך ערפאת בכירויות ערביות (למשל, ביקרו בעמאן בפברואר '93'). כמו כן נמסר, שאבו אל-טיב חזר לפקד על כח 17.

3. הסיבה להחזרתו של ابو אל-טיב לתוניס אינה ברורה. 'אל-חיאת' מצין כסביר אפשרית (11.2) את רצונו של ערפאת לשיק מוסדות של אש'פ. עיתונים אחרים מצביעים על חילוקי דעתם שהתגלוו בחדים האחרונים האמורים בין ראש כח 17 לבין ערפאת, שמאז הרחת ابو אל-טיב היה הממונה הישיר על הכח, בין היתר על רקע קיצוצי תקציב. לשינוי בעמד ابو אל-טיב יש גם מענות באיתות שהוא משגר למשל האמר', אך טרם ברור לנו אם לכך כוון ערפאת.

4. לחשומת ליבכם, במסגרת המעקב השוטף אחר תנאי ארה'ב לחידוש הדיאלוג עם אש'פ ונודעה על כל פרט נוסף בנושא.

תפוצה: שחח,SSHACH, (רHAM)@ (שהבט), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, מצב, R/מרכז,  
גנור, GANOR, (ר'אגת)@ (רHM)@ (אמן), ממד, מצפה,  
מצחיהם, רביב, מעת, הסברה, (ראשה ממשלה), (עמיתת 475)

סססס



הודעת מזכיר המדינה ווון קריסטופר

US DEPARTMENT OF STATE OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY/SPOKESMAN STATEMENT BY SECY OF STATE WARREN  
CHRISTOPHER TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1993

IN LIGHT OF HIS ANNOUNCED EARLY DEPARTURE, IT WAS MY PLEASURE TO PAY A COURTESY CALL THIS AFTERNOON ON PRIME MINISTER RABIN FOLLOWING HIS OFFICIAL MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON, THE VICE PRESIDENT, MYSELF, SECRETARY ASPIN, AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

WE REVIEWED THE RESULTS OF THE VERY PRODUCTIVE TALKS WE HAD ON A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES AND HOW WE PLAN TO FOLLOW UP ON THESE DISCUSSIONS TO ENHANCE OUR CLOSE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AND MOVE FORWARD ON THE ARAB/ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS. BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND I ARE VERY PLEASED WITH THE POSITIVE TONE AND SUBSTANCE OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER.

I REGRET THAT THE PRIME MINISTER IS GOING TO HAVE TO CUT SHORT HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. AND LET ME SAY HERE THAT WE ARE DEEPLY TROUBLED BY THE MOUNTING VIOLENCE AND ACTS OF TERRORISM. THOSE WHO CARRY OUT THESE ACTS OF VIOLENCE ARE SEEKING TO UNDERMINE THE HOPES AND PROSPECTS FOR PEACE. THEY WON'T SUCCEED.

VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM DON'T WORK AND WILL NEVER WORK. NEGOTIATIONS DO WORK AND CAN PRODUCE PEACE AND RECONCILIATION. IN THIS RESPECT, WE URGE ALL THE PARTIES TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATIONS ON APRIL 20.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN, THE OTHER PARTIES TO THE PEACE PROCESS, AND PRESIDENT CLINTON HAVE BEEN WORKING HARD TO END THE VIOLENCE THAT HAS BEEN SO MUCH A PART OF THE MIDDLE EAST LANDSCAPE. IT'S TIME TO END VIOLENCE AND PROMOTE PEACE, TO GIVE THE NEXT GENERATION A REASON TO HOPE AND NOT TO HATE, AND TO MAKE RECONCILIATION AND NOT CONTINUED CONFLICT THE HALLMARK OF A NEW MIDDLE EAST.

THE PEACE PROCESS PROVIDES US WITH THE BEST OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD THIS NEW MIDDLE EAST. WE CALL ON ALL IN THE REGION TO LOOK TO THE FUTURE AND SEIZE THIS HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE.

END

רזה"מ רבין - מסע"ת בכוח הלבן עם הנשיא קלינטון

JOINT STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT CLINTON AND ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER RABIN THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, DC / MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1993

PRESIDENT CLINTON: GOOD AFTERNOON. IT'S A GREAT PLEASURE FOR ME TO WELCOME PRIME MINISTER RABIN BACK TO WASHINGTON. SINCE WE FIRST MET HERE LAST AUGUST, MUCH HAS CHANGED, BUT ONE THING I CAN SAY DEFINITELY WILL NEVER CHANGE IS THE UNIQUE BOND THAT UNITES THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL. IT IS A BOND THAT GOES BACK TO THE FOUNDING OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND BEYOND, BASED ON SHARED VALUES AND SHARED IDEALS. ISRAEL'S DEMOCRACY IS THE BEDROCK ON WHICH OUR RELATIONSHIP STANDS. IT'S A SHINING EXAMPLE FOR PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD WHO ARE ON THE FRONT LINE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN THEIR OWN LANDS. OUR RELATIONSHIP IS ALSO BASED ON OUR COMMON INTEREST IN A MORE STABLE AND PEACEFUL MIDDLE EAST, A MIDDLE EAST THAT WILL FINALLY ACCORD ISRAEL THE RECOGNITION AND ACCEPTANCE THAT ITS PEOPLE HAVE YEARNED FOR SO LONG AND HAVE BEEN TOO LONG DENIED, A MIDDLE EAST THAT WILL KNOW GREATER DEMOCRACY FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE.

I BELIEVE STRONGLY IN THE BENEFIT TO AMERICAN INTERESTS FROM STRENGTHENED RELATIONSHIPS WITH ISRAEL. OUR TALKS TODAY HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED IN THAT CONTEXT. WE HAVE BEGUN A DIALOGUE INTENDED TO RAISE OUR RELATIONSHIP TO A NEW LEVEL OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP -- PARTNERS IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE, PARTNERS IN THE PURSUIT OF SECURITY.

WE FOCUSED TODAY ON OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE OF TURNING 1993 INTO A YEAR OF PEACEMAKING IN THE MIDDLE EAST. PRIME MINISTER RABIN HAS MADE CLEAR TO ME TODAY THAT PURSUING PEACE WITH SECURITY IS HIS HIGHEST MISSION. I HAVE PLEDGED THAT MY ADMINISTRATION WILL BE ACTIVE IN HELPING THE PARTIES TO ACHIEVE THAT END.

AT THE SAME TIME, PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND I AGREE THAT OUR

COMMON OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE REAL, LASTING, JUST, AND COMPREHENSIVE PEACE BASED ON RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338. IT MUST INVOLVE FULL NORMALIZATION, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, OPEN BORDERS, COMMERCE, TOURISM -- THE HUMAN BONDS THAT ARE BOTH THE FRUITS AND THE BEST GUARANTEE OF PEACE. AND ISRAEL'S SECURITY MUST BE ASSURED. THE ISRAELI PEOPLE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO MAKE PEACE UNLESS THEY FEEL SECURE, AND THEY CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO FEEL SECURE UNLESS THEY COME TO KNOW REAL PEACE.

THOSE, LIKE PRIME MINISTER RABIN, WHO GENUINELY SEEK PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WILL FIND IN ME AND MY ADMINISTRATION A FULL PARTNER. BUT THOSE WHO SEEK TO SUBVERT THE PEACE PROCESS WILL FIND ZERO TOLERANCE HERE FOR THEIR DEPLORABLE ACTS OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM. PRIME MINISTER RABIN HAS TOLD ME THAT HE IS PREPARED TO TAKE RISKS FOR PEACE. HE HAS TOLD HIS OWN PEOPLE THE SAME THING. I HAVE TOLD HIM THAT OUR ROLE IS TO HELP TO MINIMIZE THOSE RISKS. WE WILL DO THAT BY FURTHER REINFORCING OUR COMMITMENT TO MAINTAINING ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE MILITARY EDGE.

ANOTHER WAY WE CAN STRENGTHEN ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES IS TO COMBINE THE SKILLS OF ITS PEOPLE WITH THOSE OF OUR OWN. I'M PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A US-ISRAEL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COMMISSION, CHAIRED ON THE AMERICAN SIDE BY OUR SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, RON BROWN. THE COMMISSION WILL ENHANCE COOPERATION TO CREATE TECHNOLOGY-BASED JOBS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY IN BOTH ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES. OUR ECONOMIES WILL ALSO BENEFIT FROM A LIFTING OF THE ARAB BOYCOTT, AND I HOPE THAT THIS BOYCOTT CAN END SOON.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN, THIS YEAR WILL BE A YEAR OF ENHANCED RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. IT SHOULD ALSO BE A YEAR OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AS YOU HAVE DECLARED. WE HAVE AN HISTORIC RESPONSIBILITY AND AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. WE STAND HERE TOGETHER TODAY RESOLVED NOT TO LET THAT OPPORTUNITY PASS.

PRIME MINISTER RABIN: PRESIDENT CLINTON, IN JUST A FEW DAYS, I WILL RETURN TO ISRAEL, BUT I KNOW AND WILL TELL EVERYONE IN MY COUNTRY ISRAEL HAS A FRIEND IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

OUR HOME IS MANY MILES AWAY, BUT MR. PRESIDENT, WE FEEL VERY CLOSE. WE THANK YOU FOR THE HOURS WE SPENT WITH YOU AND YOUR TEAM, FOR THE ATMOSPHERE OF FRIENDSHIP, THE OPENNESS, AND THE DEPTH OF OUR DISCUSSIONS.

THE LEADERSHIP WHICH YOU HAVE DISPLAYED IN COPING WITH AMERICA('S) DOMESTIC PROBLEMS IS INSPIRING AND STANDS OUT LIKE A BEACON IN THE NIGHT. TODAY WE WERE HAPPY TO LEARN THAT THE SAME TIME -- AT THE SAME TIME YOU ARE ALSO WILLING TO INVEST EFFORTS IN PROMOTING PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IN THIS EFFORT, MR. PRESIDENT, YOU WILL FIND US TO BE FULL PARTNERS.

YOU ARE AWARE THAT NO ONE WANTS PEACE MORE THAN US, AND THAT

THERE IS NO COUNTRY MORE RESOLVED TO DEFEND ITSELF WHEN NECESSARY. WE ARE VETERANS OF MANY WARS, AND TODAY WE SAY NO MORE BLOOD AND TEARS. WE NOW WISH TO EXPERIENCE LASTING AND MEANINGFUL PEACE. IN OUR TALKS TODAY, I PRESENTED TO YOU ISRAEL'S APPROACH TO THE PEACE-MAKING, AND WE ARE WILLING TO TAKE UPON OURSELVES RISKS FOR PEACE. BUT WE ARE DETERMINED TO PROTECT OUR SECURITY.

PEACE HAS MANY ENEMIES. TERROR IS USED BY THE ENEMIES OF PEACE IN AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO UNDERMINE IT, AND WE WILL COMBAT IT WHILE WE CONTINUE TO SEEK A SOLUTION THAT WILL LEAD TO PEACE.

SINCE THE FORMATION OF MY GOVERNMENT, WE HAVE INVESTED EFFORTS IN TRYING TO ADVANCE TOWARDS PEACE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MADRID FORMULA. WE INTRODUCED NEW IDEAS IN THE NEGOTIATION TRACKS WITH SYRIA, LEBANON, JORDAN, AND THE PALESTINIANS. SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, BUT MORE IS NEEDED IN ORDER TO COME TO AGREEMENTS. WE ARE READY FOR COMPROMISE, BUT COMPROMISES CANNOT BE ONE-SIDED.

WE CALL ON OUR PARTNERS -- THE ARAB STATES, THE PALESTINIANS FROM THE TERRITORIES -- TO SEIZE THE MOMENT TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE SO THAT WE CAN USE THIS HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY. WE CALL UPON THEM TO RESPOND OPENLY AND WILLINGLY TO OUR POSITIONS. OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN IN JERUSALEM AND THE ARAB CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN IN DAMASCUS, BEIRUT, AMMAN, AND ELSEWHERE IN THE ARAB WORLD WILL NOT FORGIVE US IF WE ALL FAIL TO ACT NOW.

WE HAVE HEARD TODAY WITH SATISFACTION, MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR CONCEPT OF THE ROLE OF THE FULL PARTNER AS AN INTERMEDIARY. WE SHALL CONTINUE OUR DIRECT TALKS WITH OUR ARAB NEIGHBORS. BUT IN ORDER TO EXPEDITE THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE PARTIES, WE WELCOME YOUR GOOD OFFICES AND HOPE TO RELY ON YOUR ROLE AS FACILITATOR.

PRESIDENT CLINTON, WE ARE DEEPLY INDEBTED TO YOU AND TO YOUR PREDECESSORS WHO HELP US IN HOURS OF NEED. WE DO APPRECIATE AND GREATLY VALUE THE DECISION TO MAINTAIN THE CURRENT LEVEL OF AID TO ISRAEL. THIS DECISION WILL HELP US TO INTEGRATE NEW IMMIGRANTS INTO OUR SOCIETY AND TO BEAR THE HEAVY BURDEN OF OUR SECURITY. YOU KNOW, PRESIDENT, THAT WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO WIN THE BATTLE FOR PEACE WITHOUT A QUALITATIVE EDGE. THEREFORE, I WISH TO THANK YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES ON THE BEHALF OF THE ISRAELI SOLDIERS AND THEIR PARENTS AND THE CITIZENS OF ISRAEL FOR YOUR DECISION TO HELP TO MAINTAIN THAT EDGE. MOREOVER, SUCH A QUALITATIVE EDGE ENABLES THE ISRAELI DEFENSE FORCES TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE OVERALL EFFORT TO MAINTAIN STABILITY IN OUR STORMY REGION.

THE DECISION MADE TODAY TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF STRATEGIC DIALOGUE BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES WILL OPEN NEW DOORS OF OPPORTUNITY. THE FACT THAT THE NEXT MONTH WE WILL RENEW THE MEMORANDUM OF

AGREEMENT BETWEEN US FOR FIVE MORE YEARS, AND THAT WE DO IT AS A MATTER OF COURSE IS A PROOF OF THE KIND OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIPS THAT WE ENJOY. THE FORMATION OF NEW, HIGH LEVEL FORUM FOR STRATEGIC DIALOGUE WILL FURTHER UPGRADE THESE RELATIONSHIPS.

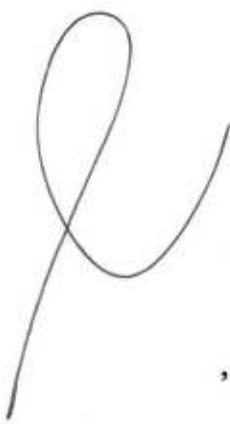
WE WILL ALSO HAVE A TURN IN THE NEAR FUTURE WITH MUCH URGENCY TO ADDRESS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST VARIOUS KINDS OF FANATICISM WHICH GIVE BIRTH TO (MURDERERS STILL ?), THE KIND THAT RECENTLY LANDED EVEN ON THESE SHORES. WE MUST INSTITUTIONALIZE OUR DIALOGUE AND INCLUDE ALL FREE COUNTRIES IN CONSULTATIONS ON THE WAYS TO CURB THE THREATENING EXTREMISM.

WE ATTACH MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE DECISION MADE TODAY TO CREATE A HIGH- LEVEL JOINT COMMISSION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROJECTS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THE INVESTMENT IN RESEARCH AND INDUSTRIAL APPLICATIONS IN ISRAEL AND IN AMERICA WILL EXPLORE NEW FRONTIERS OF KNOWLEDGE, AND THEY ARE A TELLING EXAMPLE OF HOW OUR TWO COUNTRIES CAN MUTUALLY BENEFIT FROM THIS COOPERATION.

PRESIDENT CLINTON, THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVITATION AND RECEPTION, FOR THE WARMTH ON A WINTERY DAY, AND FOR YOUR GOODWILL.

I CAME FROM JERUSALEM, THE CITY OF THE PROPHETS. I RETURN TO JERUSALEM, THE CITY THAT WITNESSED SO MANY WARS AND WANTS SO DEARLY PEACE BECAUSE SHE KNOWS THAT IN WAR, THERE ARE NO WINNERS, AND IN PEACE, NO LOSERS.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

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אל: לשכת רה'ם - לידי מירית  
דע: לשכת רה'ם - יצחק אורן

מאת: מצפ'א

הנדון: ביקור משלחת אוניברסיטה טפטס (TUFTS)

להלן רשימת משתתפים בפגישה עם רה'ם שתתקיים ביום שלישי, ה-3/23, בשעה  
18:15-19:00.

א. פיקולטה ומנהל:

1. RICHARD H. SCHULTZ - PROFESSOR/DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY  
STUDIES PROGRAM, ארה'ב

2. ANDREW C. HESS - PROFESSOR/DIRECTOR, SOUTH WEST ASIA STUDIES  
PROGRAM, ארה'ב

3. LEILA FAWAZ - PROFESSOR, (ממושא לבנוני-נוצרי) ארה'ב

4. MARIA S. JUDGE - ASSISTANT DEAN/BUDGET OFFICER, ארה'ב

5. BERNADETTE KELLEY - FLETCHER STAFF, ארה'ב

6. TANIA S. VYTIVYTSKY - SABRE FOUNDATION, ארה'ב

ב. אנשי צבא/סטודנטים:

7. COLONEL JOHN D. DEATON - RESERVE FORCES ADVISOR/  
JOINT STAFF/ PENTAGON, ארה'ב

8. COLONEL WAYNE P. GOSNELL - USA/CHIEF, INTERNATIONAL PLANNING

ארה'ב AND DEVELOPMENT/ PENTAGON,

9. LT. COLONEL DAVID E. GOFF - ARMY NATIONAL GUARD/RESEARCH  
ארה'ב ASSOCIATE,

10. LT. COLONEL HAROLD E. KING JR. - ARMY NATIONAL GUARD  
ארה'ב RESEARCH ASSOCIATE,

11. LT. COLONEL JAMES LAMBACK - ARMY NATIONAL GUARD RESEARCH  
ארה'ב ASSOCIATE,

12. L. COMMANDER KERRY INGALLS - US NAVY, STUDENT, ארה'ב

13. MAJOR BOYD L. BALLARD - US AIR FORCE NATIONAL DEFENSE FELLOW,  
ארה'ב

14. LT. COLONEL JULIA J. CLECKLEY - ARMY NATIONAL GUARD RESEARCH  
ארה'ב FELLOW,

15. LT. COLONEL VIRGIL L. PACKETT - NATIONAL DEFENSE FELLOW,  
ארה'ב STUDENT,

ג. סטודנטים:

16. DAN KIRCHUK, ישראל/ארגנטינה

ארה'ב 17. ROBERT J. FILIPPONE,

ארה'ב 18. LINDA HEAD,

טורקיה 19. ODIL TUNALI,

ארה'ב 20. MARIA T. KELLY,

ארה'ב 21. CHRISTINE L. OVERHOLT,

ארה'ב 22. ONDRAUS JENKINS,

ארה'ב 23. NEDIM OGELMAN,

יוון 24. DIMITRIOS KAIRIDIS,

ארה'ב 25. ERNEST A. WRIGHT,

ארה'ב 26. ERIC R. GIORDANO,

ארה'ב 27. WILLIAM B. FARRELL,

ארה'ב 28. MELISSA E. CROW,

ארה'ב 29. LOREE A. MILLER,

30. IZABELA M. CHABINSKA, ארה'ב  
31. MELANI C. CAMMETT, ארה'ב  
32. KAVEH ZAHEDI, איין (בסק)  
33. ROBERT C. MARTINAGE, ארה'ב  
34. TITIA Q. HEYNEMAN, ארה'ב  
35. TANIA B. CHOMIAK, ארה'ב  
36. MICHAEL MENDELSON, ארה'ב  
37. ALI G. OKUR, טורקיה  
38. JANET L. SAWIN, ארה'ב  
39. RUTH CITRIN, ארה'ב  
40. CHIH-WEI CHOU, סין (טיוואן)  
41. ALEXANDER M. SOKOLOWSKI, ארה'ב  
42. ZAHID EBRAHIM, פקיסטאן  
43. DARREN R. KEW, ארה'ב  
44. CHRISTIANNE A. CONTOPoulos, ארה'ב  
45. DOROTHY M. TOMAZEWSKI, ארה'ב  
46. ANNE M. TORNOW, ארה'ב  
47. RUTH MARGOLIS, ארה'ב  
48. MASAATSU KOYAMA, יפן  
49. CHRISTOPHER K. HUMMEL, ארה'ב  
50. KENJI NAKANO, יפן  
51. BANDIR BIN KHALID AL-FAISEL, ערב הסעודית  
52. KHALID AL-THANI, قطر  
סטודנטים שברשימת ה证实נה  
AMEEN JAN, פקיסטן  
JONATHAN HOSMER, ארה'ב

ארה'ב JOHN WANG,  
ארה'ב NANCY C. BLODGETT,  
ארה'ב ELIZABETH VOULIERIS,  
ארה'ב MARIA A. PROESTOU,  
איין AZADEH MOINI, (בסק)

עד CAN

אליסון רובין  
16 במרץ 1993

הפוצה:@(רHAM, מצפה@)(ראשהממשלה)

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## טגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון כונס מברך

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15 מארץ 1993

### אל: תפוצת תקשורת

## מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטן

הנדון: סקירת קשורת יומית 14/3/93 - 13-14.

בຮמישר לסקירה היומית מצ"ב חכתבות.

הקשרו רת

27) שחח(2) פשה(2) רחם(1) מנכ"ל(1) סמנכל(1) סגנא(2) רביב(1)  
 מעת(1) חברוח(2) לטע(1) ר/מרכז(1) סמד(4) רם(1)  
 אמן(4) אומן(1) סייביג(1) דוז-יטם(1)

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## Rabin, top U.S. officials discuss plans for talks

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin held talks yesterday with top Clinton administration officials on the expanded role the United States intends to play in Middle East peace negotiations.

Mr. Rabin's meeting with Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher and Anthony Lake, the head of the National Security Council, was to prepare for substantive bargaining in the negotiations with the Arabs scheduled to reopen April 20.

Both sides avoided reporters and gave no substantive details of the discussions.

After yesterday's talks, Mr. Rabin flew to New York, planning to return to Washington tomorrow to prepare for a scheduled 90-hour meeting with President Clinton on Monday.

Meanwhile, an Israeli woman was found stabbed to death in the center of Jerusalem yesterday, and the police said it was the latest victim

in a spate of attacks blamed on Arabs.

In all, six Israelis have been killed in random knifings and shootings in Tel Aviv, northern Israel and Gaza in the last 10 days, and at least a dozen have been wounded.

A Palestinian also was killed. Mousa Zakariah Haimini, 17, was fatally shot by soldiers in the occupied West Bank town of Hebron after he stopped their car and refused calls to halt, the army said yesterday.

He was the fifth Palestinian killed by an Israeli this month.

The slain woman, Simha Levy, was the third Israeli killed in Gaza in 10 days. The Red Eagles movement, a faction of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, claimed responsibility for the slaying.

Ms. Levy, 51, made her living transporting Palestinian workers to jobs in Israel. Israeli radio said she picked up three women waiting by a roadside yesterday, but they turned out to be recognized as women and attacked her.

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# On the road to a Golan

**WARREN STROBEL**

It increasingly appears that Israel and Syria are now on a road that will lead, sooner or later, to a peace treaty and Israel's return to Syria of the Golan Heights, the strategic plateau it won in war 26 years ago.

With that deal, once a far-off hope, now a solid prospect, more attention soon will focus on precisely what will be done with the Golan.

Over the years, most of the thinking and writing on this subject has — for obvious reasons — been on such military questions as disengagement, demilitarization and verification.

These are vital. But Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who arrived in Washington on March 12, the Clinton administration, which has promised to take a more active role in the Arab-Israeli peace process, and Syr-

Warren Strobel has been The Washington Times' chief State Department correspondent since 1989.

test Syria's intentions.

And — this is crucial — the project would provide fuel to a separate set of Middle East negotiations on regionwide problems such as water usage and economic development.

Syria, after all, has boycotted these very talks, but promised it would reconsider if progress is made on the Arabs' territorial claims.

A project that involved Israel's considerable technical capabilities — in reclaiming desert, for example — could also hold economic benefits for the Syrian economy, which needs them.

While details of the project would have to be negotiated, here are a few guidelines:

- The project should not challenge Syria's renewed sovereignty

ian President Hafez Assad would do well to consider a parallel track.

Why not establish on the Golan Heights a joint Israeli-Syrian civilian endeavor? An environmental monitoring station, hydrology or agricultural cooperative or light manufacturing facility are possibilities, but other projects would fit the bill as well.

The very idea would have been dismissed as ridiculous in the past, and will still meet objections.

But agreement on such a facility, as part of an overall peace treaty, with details stipulated in an annex, could serve important goals.

It could play a major role in ensuring peace on the Golan, help give Israel the confidence to return the territory and, probably most importantly, serve as a model for future

Arab-Israeli cooperation.

As Mark Heller, an Israeli, and Sari Nusseibeh, a Palestinian, point out in their 1991 work, "No Trumpets, No Drums," any land-for-peace deal gives immediate benefits to the Arabs — the return of territory — but to Israel, future ones: the promise of peace and acceptance by its neighbors.

Thus, they reasoned, Israel can legitimately ask for some offsets.

While they were writing about the Palestinian question, the same holds true with Syria.

Israel rightly fears leaving the Golan in return for a "cold peace," in which it has no day-to-day interaction with its Arab neighbors and must worry that, some day, war could come yet again.

Proposing a joint endeavor would

# Heights compact?

WT 14/3

over the Golan, or act as a buffer or no-man's land. This would defeat its purpose.

Israeli technicians, farmers or scientists would get visas and have their passports stamped as visitors anywhere else in the world do, if they travel via Damascus, even better.

Delays or suspension of the project by either side could be a useful early warning of hostile intent.

• The facility is probably best kept away from the most emotion-laden sites on the Golan. These include Jewish settlements, whose fate is still uncertain, and the Syrian village of Quinetrah.

Obviously, military personnel should be excluded from the project, but neither side should worry too much about spies posing as tech-

nicians. Good intelligence builds confidence.

International observers should be welcomed, but best kept to a minimum to emphasize Israeli-Syrian interaction.

• Finally, neither the United Nations, Syria or Israel, in and of themselves, have the means to fund a major project. A small slice of the \$5 billion annual U.S. aid to Israel and Egypt, much of which is antiquated and wasted, would do.

Some will complain that getting Israel and Syria to agree on the idea will only add another hurdle to talks that are complicated enough.

But what better way to show that the war is over — what the negotiations are about, after all — than to demonstrate what peace might be like?

# Growth of Islamic Fundamentalism Provides

BS 4/33 4/3

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101 Incentive for Israeli-Arab Talks

By MICHAEL KREPON

**W**ith the announcement Wednesday that the stalled Middle East peace process will resume with talks in Washington April 20, Secretary of State Warren Christopher has achieved the goal of his February trip to the region. This development offers tantalizing hints, despite continuing sparring over the deportation of Islamic militants from Israel, that a breakthrough in the peace negotiations is possible.

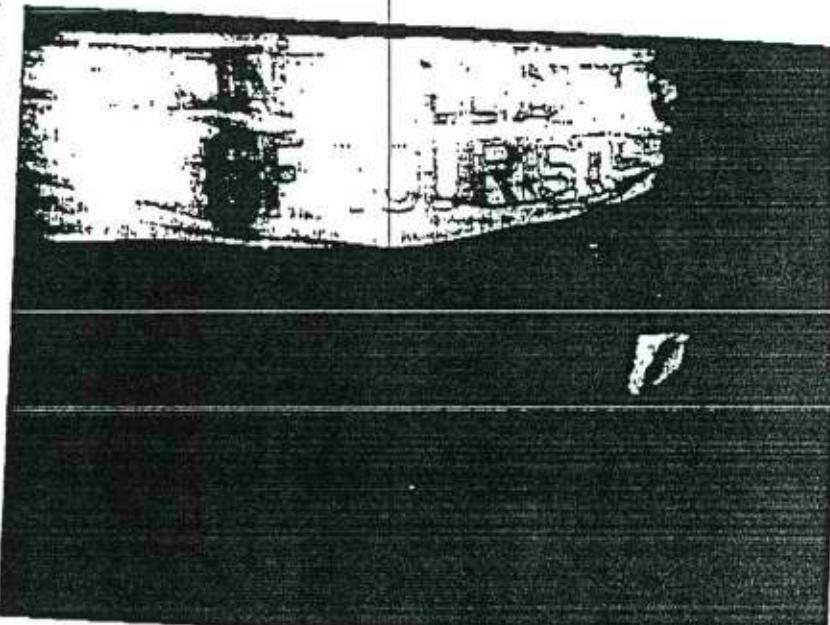
By their nature, diplomatic breakthroughs require high risk strategies, which is why they occur so infrequently. Nevertheless, a window of opportunity now exists for peacemaking, if political leaders have the courage to take bold steps.

Growing political divisions within the Palestinian community, symbolized by the rise of the fundamentalist group, Hamas, seriously complicates peacemaking efforts. But the ascendancy of Hamas also creates new common ground between Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Israel. The longer the stalemate over the deportees continues, the more it benefits fundamentalist forces that are at war with Israel and at odds with secular governments in the region.

This common thread in Israeli and secular Arab thinking is unlikely to be publicly acknowledged. Israeli officials cannot give Hamas the satisfaction of believing its militant tactics can soften government policy. Nor can Arab officials turn their backs on the deportees, even if they and their colleagues would not be welcome within their borders.

The expulsions have touched a particularly sensitive nerve, as they reinforce worst-case fears of extremist Israeli tactics to maintain a Jewish state with expanded borders. Israeli detentions of Palestinians have also drawn criticism. Both Egypt and Jordan have also resorted to this practice against domestic threats from fundamentalists and other groups.

Despite professions of solidarity with the deportees, Egyptian and Jordanian officials can only look warily at the rise of Hamas. Egyptian revenues from tourism have been



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Defendants in a military courtroom outside Cairo, charged with being part of an Islamic fundamentalist group attacking tourists in Egypt.

severely reduced as a result of sporadic attacks on Western visitors instigated by Islamic fundamentalists. In Jordan, an Islamic bloc has gained a majority in the parliament, constituting a natural political alternative to continued rule by King Hussein's Hashemite line.

Among Arab states bordering Israel, only Hafez Assad's Syria, which has dealt with domestic threats by killing dissenters and leveling their neighborhoods, appears immune from this Islamic wave, built upon classic sources of discontent: poverty, poor government services, corruption and an aversion to all things Western. As Tahseen Bashir, a retired Egyptian diplomat and adviser to the late President Anwar el Sadat succinctly notes, "We have not solved the problem of Islam and modernity."

A common, but necessarily unstated, concern over the risk of Islamic fundamentalism is in itself insufficient to achieve peace in the Middle East, but it does lend a greater sense of urgency to the effort. Perhaps for this reason, during a recent two-week trip to the region, Arab intellectuals and Israeli government officials repeatedly

talked to me about the need for concerted efforts by the new Clinton administration to move the peace process forward.

The bluntest expression of this view was by Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who considers 1993 to be the crucial year for peacemaking in the region. While recognizing the need to wait a few months for the Clinton administration to get organized, Mr. Peres and other Israeli officials express the hope that Secretary of State Christopher will play an active role in the search for diplomatic solutions.

This view was inconceivable when Israel was governed by a Likud coalition led by Yitzhak Shamir. Now that Mr. Shamir has been replaced by Yitzhak Rabin's Labor-led coalition, the Clinton administration has gained a partner less averse to risk-taking.

How large the risks a Rabin government is willing to run, however, are far from clear. In effect, Israel is being asked to exchange defensible borders for formal peace agreements but continued insecurity and greater reliance on outsiders. This exchange will be difficult to sell in Israel. To make matters worse, the longer the Rabin government de-

Michael Krepon is president of the Henry L. Stimson Center in Washington, where he works on a project to promote confidence-building measures in regions of tension.

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lays tough choices, the harder it will be to make the necessary political compromises.

The rank order of threats facing Israel has changed markedly. In private conversations, Israeli strategists now worry more about ballistic missiles than tank armies. They speculate more about Iranian than Syrian military capabilities. Hamas and the Islamic Jihad are now atop their public enemies list, rather than the Palestine Liberation Organization, with which public contacts have now been permitted by an act of the Israeli Knesset. For all its failings, at least the PLO is willing to negotiate with the state of Israel. Hamas and Islamic Jihad only recognize armed struggle.

Israel's current borders with Jordan and Syria are well sealed, but this doesn't help with the problems posed by ballistic missiles, weapons of mass destruction, the promotion of Islamic fundamentalism through social service and religious organizations, and a Palestinian population that will double in twenty-five years.

The peace with Egypt struck at Camp David has helped Israel's security immensely. A similar peace with Syria, codified by treaty provisions, is now being contemplated by the Israeli public, abetted by hints in the press about potential deals in the making.

The geography of the Golan Heights mandates stark choices. From an Israeli security standpoint, it is clearly preferable to retain the high ground. If, for the sake of peace, Israeli forces pull back from the volcanic ridge atop the Heights, the military rationale for holding onto Syrian land below is unconvincing. The Israeli Defense Forces might just as well return to their pre-1967 border positions, from which Syrian artillery used Israeli settlements as target practice.

This outcome would suit Mr. Assad's need for a territorial settlement no less complete than that achieved by Mr. Sadat, but it would raise many sensitive security issues. When Mr. Shamir was prime minister, it was nearly impossible to have even a hypothetical conversation with Israeli government officials or conservative strategists about alternatives to an Israeli military presence on the Golan. Now these discussions are taking place, as Israeli analysts struggle with less-than-ideal alternatives to holding onto captured territory.

If any deal is consummated between Israel and Syria, it is likely to hinge on U.S. commitments to help Israel with intelligence and advanced weaponry. As in the Sinai disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt, the United States also will be asked to

provide monitoring arrangements for "thin-out zones" of reduced military equipment and for a buffer zone between the former combatants.

A symbolic U.S. military presence would serve as a powerful reminder of Washington's commitment to peace, which could be strengthened further by the deployment of Russian peacekeeping troops in the Golan, as in the Sinai.

Another central question is the degree of progress Mr. Assad would require on the Palestinian front to sign a peace treaty with Israel. Arab delegations want Israeli confirmation of Palestinian rights before proceeding with confidence-building and tension-reduction measures. Israel is presently loathe to agree to anything beyond Palestinian autonomy for limited governmental functions in parts of the occupied territories.

Syria and Jordan face pressures not to settle for peace with Israel without a breakthrough on the Palestinian front. Syria can withstand these pressures far better than Jordan, but only at the expense of its image as defender of pan-Arab interests. To complicate matters further, most Arab strategists and government officials abhor public discussions of anything but their preferred outcomes, ensuring that any settlement on the occupied territories will be bitterly received by many.

With the rise of Hamas, there are no guarantees that any solution negotiated by the Palestinian delegation and endorsed by the PLO leadership can be successfully implemented in Gaza or the West Bank. Tragically, this would not be the first time that Palestinians rejected half a loaf and wound up with none. If the Palestinians cannot agree on a negotiated settlement, would Mr. Assad and King Hussein proceed without them?

All of these questions hang in the air, waiting to be addressed by the Clinton administration. Secretary of State Christopher and national security adviser Tony Lake have assembled a team wise in the ways of the Middle East. They must now decide whether to settle for modest objectives and incremental steps, or to seek one or more major breakthroughs in the negotiations.

A recent trip to the region suggests that incrementalism will likely be held hostage to breakthroughs. A continued impasse over the deportees in southern Lebanon reinforces this view. If these dynamics prevail, the Clinton administration and Israel may have to move into a high stakes negotiation with significant potential gains and risks.

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# Israel Seeking to Convince U.S. That West Is Threatened by Iran

*Jewish Leaders Say Only Washington Capable of Restraining Tehran*

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM—Israel is attempting to convince the United States that Iranian-inspired Islamic extremism and Iran's military rearmament drive have become a major threat to the stability of the Middle East and the interests of the West.

Although such warnings have been issued by Israel in the past, the campaign has intensified in the wake of Israel's deportation of 400 suspected Islamic activists, its arrest of four Palestinian Americans suspected of aiding militant Islamic groups here, the arrest of a Jordanian Palestinian in the World Trade Center bombing and growing awareness of Iran's rearmament and nuclear ambitions.

Last week, the State Department accused Iran of being the leading state sponsor of terrorism. But across the Israeli political spectrum, there is a conviction that American public opinion and political leaders need to be further convinced of the urgency of restraining Iran, and that the United States is the only global power capable of doing so.

Many Israeli intelligence, military and political leaders said in interviews that they fear the United States will ignore the warnings about Iran and eventually face a confrontation similar to the coalition war against Iraq two years ago.

"The intelligence community in the United States is aware of the danger, and the military establishment is aware, but I'm worried the political establishment might be influenced by the mood which says keep away from Iran," said Ephraim Soen, a senior Labor Party legislator. "Iran is the Bermuda Triangle of American politics."

The Israeli effort also reflects some of the complexities confronting the Jewish state in the post-Cold War period.

Since the late 1970s, Israel has held itself out to the United States as a friendly bulwark against possible Soviet expansionism, and this became the rationale for greater military cooperation. But the Soviet collapse has made that role obsolete. Some Israelis say the new rationale should be that Israel is a bulwark against Islamic extremism or Iranian regional ambitions, although this is a controversial idea that has not been fully accepted here.

Another factor is that Israel increasingly finds itself in the same predicament as secular Arab regimes being challenged by Islamic militancy in the region. Israelis hope to show the United States that Islamic extremism is a threat to pro-American regimes and vital Western interests—not only Persian Gulf oil, but also the stability of moderate Arab governments such as Egypt.

A third factor is that Israel, while raising the alarm about Iran's possible long-term strategic ambitions, is not making the enormous investment that would be required to deter Iran if Israeli leaders concluded their

very existence was threatened. Israeli policy-makers hope that the United States will put the brakes on Iran's quest for nuclear weapons and regional hegemony—saving Israel from a multibillion-dollar weapons program that would enable it to reach, or defend against, Iran, more than 600 miles away.

Israel intends to raise all of these issues during Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's current visit to the United States. In an interview published yesterday in the Israeli newspaper *Davar*, Rabin said Iran is on a "megamaniacal" quest to be "a Middle East empire, by using all the varieties of fundamentalist Islam to shake Arab regimes. This could be a different kind of threat to Israel."

Historically, Israel did not always view Iran or Islamic activists so ominously. For many years during the reign of the shah, Israel viewed Iran as a silent partner, with whom to squeeze the Arab states, and the two countries had open and thriving economic ties and weapons sales. Even after the fall of the shah in 1979, some Israelis still thought they could do business with elements in Iran, as was later shown by the Iran-contra affair.

Likewise, Israel offered early encouragement to the Islamic movements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Particularly in the late 1970s before the rise of the Islamic republic in Iran, Israel encouraged and supported Islamic

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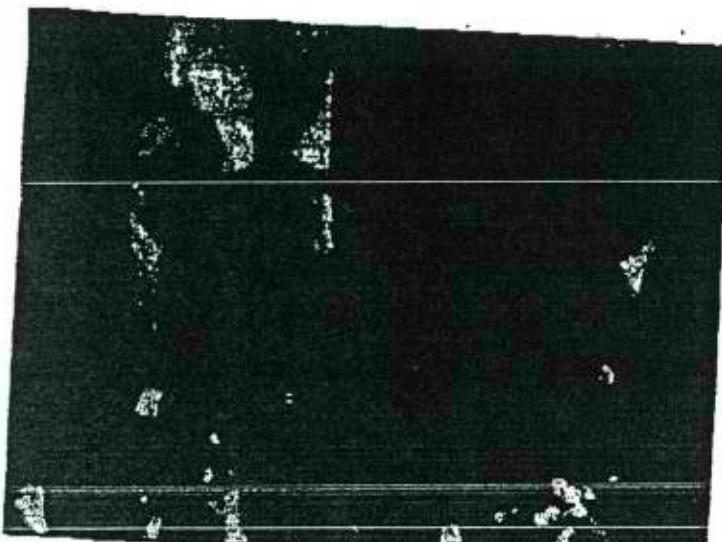
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Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, left, talks to Robert Rubin, an economic adviser to President Clinton, here yesterday. Rubin is on a 10-day U.S. visit.



activists as potential rivals to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Today, Iran and Islamic groups in the territories have been put at the top of Israel's list of perceived enemies, and Israeli leaders and news media and American Jewish groups frequently echo the point.

Rabin, in an address to parliament Dec. 21, set the tone, saying Israel's "struggle against murderous Islamic terror" is "meant to awaken the world which is lying in slumber."

He warned of "the great danger inherent in Islamic fundamentalism," which, he said, "threatens the peace of the world in the forthcoming years. The danger of death is at our doorstep." His address was followed by a long paper distributed by Israeli "military sources" asserting that fundamentalists are challenging regimes and creating instability across the Arab world.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith issued a report on Iran last month, based partly on a briefing from the Israeli army, that said Israeli officials "perceive a persistent strain of radical Islamic ideological motivation to Iranian conduct that, unless checked, is likely to culminate in Iranian aggression."

In an analytical paper written for the American Jewish Committee recently, Yosef Lerner, a consultant who previously held a top Israeli military post, said "we can-

See ISRAEL, A18, Col. 5."

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# Israelis Warn That West Is Endangered by Iran

ISRAEL, From A14

not run away or avoid" the possibility that Iran by the end of the decade may become "the dominant force in the Middle East, and there will be more regimes with Islamic fundamentalist orientation and Iran will have the ability to wreak long-range mass destruction."

"As the World Trade Center bombing indicated, the United States is not immune from this threat," said Michael Oran, director of the American Jewish Committee office here. "These groups are being financed by Iran, and the United States must show leadership in the world in countering the Iranian threat. If it doesn't, then it will be doomed to repeat the mistake it made with Iraq, with potentially graver consequences."

Binyamin Netanyahu, a member of parliament who is front-runner to head the opposition Likud Party, said the World Trade Center bombing "is not the work of a solitary madman" but was "done by deliberate and systemic organizations of murder, and here you're talking about the spread of terror, organized Islamic terror, right into the heart of the United States, to the heart of New York City."

"I've seen in the past that it takes a concerted effort on the part of Israel to explain to the American public . . . that it is their interest, their

security, their well-being that is at stake and not merely ours," he said.

After global condemnation of Israel for deporting Islamic activists in December, Israeli officials also tried to blunt the issue in the United States by suggesting that Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, is being run from American shores. An Israeli television report alleging ties between Hamas and Islamic leaders in the United States was followed by the arrest here of two Americans in late January who Israeli officials said were suspected of carrying thousands of dollars into the Israeli-occupied territories to help rebuild Hamas.

Two other Palestinians who also are American citizens were arrested later. In an unusual step to publicize the case, at the behest of Rabin's aides here, color photographs of the suspects and details of their alleged activities in the territories were given to reporters by Israel's internal security service before the suspects had seen a lawyer or been arraigned. The officials distributed a chart they had made indicating that the organizational leadership of Hamas is in the United States. The suspects, still in custody, have denied any wrongdoing. One of them, Mohammed Jarad, 36, of Chicago, was charged last week with belonging to and rendering services to Hamas. His lawyer said he would seek a plea bargain.

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# Israelis urged to carry arms in the streets

By Andrew Weissberg  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

**JERUSALEM** — Israeli police last night called on civilians who have weapons training and gun licenses to carry arms in the streets and be ready to help the police and army in fighting Arab violence.

The unprecedented advisory, broadcast on Israeli television, came after the discoveries of the bodies of an Israeli woman settler who was axed and slashed to death in the Gaza Strip, and of a soldier who had been hitchhiking on the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway.

In all, four Israelis have been killed over the past week and four others wounded in attacks blamed on Palestinians.

The police warning, issued with Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in Washington for a meeting Monday with President Clinton, could put huge numbers of weapons onto the streets. Virtually all Israelis serve in the army, where they receive weapons training, and are eligible for gun licenses.

Police also said they were increasing patrols in the occupied territories and putting up more roadblocks. Israeli radio stations said, Jewish settlers in Gaza threatened to run their own security patrols and said they would stop employing Palestinians.

The latest killings also sparked calls by right-wing Israelis for Mr. Rabin to break off his Washington visit and return home at once.

Speaking at the funeral of the murdered woman, settlement leader Zvi Handel said: "Rabin belongs back here, to deal with Palestinian terrorism. This is not a time to talk peace, to appease the terrorists."

Many settlers were already concerned at the prospect that Mr. Rabin may agree to return the Golan Heights to Syria and make concessions on the Gaza Strip if the Middle East peace talks resume as scheduled on April 20.

Nearly 1,000 protesting settlers from the occupied areas blocked the roads outside Mr. Rabin's Tel Aviv house Thursday night, delaying his wife Leah's departure for the airport for the trip to Washington.

Mr. Rabin met yesterday with Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Anthony Lake, head of the National Security Council, in advance of his talks next week with Mr. Clinton.

The Israeli leader was expected to use the opportunity to seek details of the Clinton administration's pledge to play an expanded role in the Middle East negotiations.

The future of the talks remains in doubt because Palestinian delegates are refusing to attend unless Israel repatriates 396 Palestinians. Mr.



Friends console Brian Tennenbaum, cousin of an Israeli soldier found dead.

Rabin expelled from their homes in the occupied territories to a no man's land in Lebanon Dec. 17, calling them security risks.

Tensions boiled over in Israel yesterday after Simha Levi, 45, an Israeli who lived in a Gaza Strip settlement and made her living transporting Palestinian workers to jobs in Israel, was found dead in her blood-spattered van near the Gaza Strip city of Khan Yunis.

Israeli security sources said Miss Levi had driven to the area to pick up two Palestinian women. They said two men disguised themselves as women, battered Miss Levi with axes and slashed her throat.

The Red Eagles movement, a faction of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a PLO group, claimed responsibility for the slaying.

Miss Levi's body was found as Israeli police and army units were searching for Yehoshua Friedberg, a 25-year-old soldier who had been missing from his Jerusalem home since Sunday.

A unit of his brigade found Mr. Friedberg's body yesterday in bushes off the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv highway. He had been shot repeatedly in the chest. His weapon was missing, and an Arab headress was found nearby.

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Israeli soldiers check the belongings of Palestinians at a roadblock in the southern part of the occupied Gaza Strip. Tension is mounting in the area.

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## Israel takes steps to end Christians' old dispute

JERUSALEM (AP) — Switching locks, burning deeds — anything goes in the battle between Ethiopians and Egyptian Copts over properties at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, one of Christendom's most sacred shrines.

Israel is stepping in to settle the centuries-old dispute over two stone chapels and a dilapidated mud-brick monastery, but is moving cautiously to avoid souring sensitive relations with Egypt and Ethiopia.

The Copts and Ethiopian Orthodox see it as a matter of survival in the Holy Land, where they are among the smallest of Christian sects.

"The two chapels were given to us by our ancestors. They are ours," said Gavra Selassie, one of about 100 Ethiopian monks in Jerusalem.

The 4th century Holy Sepulcher in the walled Old City is built over the site where Christ was believed to have been crucified and buried. The holiness of the site has led to jolting battles among various sects.

The history of the site is murky. "No one has any documents," said Uri Mot, in charge of Christian affairs in Israel's Religious Affairs Ministry.

The Ethiopians, who trace their link to the Holy Land to the biblical Queen of Sheba, say they had deeds to the properties, but the Copts seized and burned the papers in 1838.

The Copts struck back in 1970 when they held the keys to St. Michael's Chapel and the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher. While the Copts were off to church, the Ethiopians took over and changed the locks.

Coptic Archbishop Anba Abram said the Ethiopians must give up the keys to the Deir el Sultan complex — which contains the chapels and monastery — before a compromise can be discussed.

The Copts, one of the oldest Christian sects, have about 3,500 followers in Israel, while the Ethiopians have about 200 here. Egypt's six million Copts are under church orders not to visit Jerusalem until the dispute is settled.

After the Ethiopians' 1970 key grab, the Copts turned to the Israeli Supreme Court.

The Copts say the Ethiopians took advantage of being given refuge for the complex centuries ago to claim ownership. The Ethiopians claim the Copts seized the site because the Ethiopian church was weak.

The Supreme Court ordered the government to step in, but a government committee did nothing. Last month, under Egyptian and Ethiopian pressure, Israel appointed a new committee, which has not met.

# Iranian schemes worry Egypt

By Andrew Borowec  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The possibility of Iran's military expansion to the Red Sea has caused concern about its confrontation with Egypt and the safety of the Suez Canal.

It revived Western fears of efforts by Iran to increase its war potential as well as export militant Islamic fundamentalism, particularly to North African countries facing southern Europe.

Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak this week reportedly threatened a military strike if Iran bases warships at Port Sudan. The city lies on the Red Sea coast of fundamentalist Sudan, some 800 miles south of the southern entrance to the Suez Canal, which is a vital "choke point" of world shipping lanes.

Iran already has been accused of using camps around Khartoum, Sudan's capital, to train Islamic militants for infiltration into Arab countries, particularly Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt. Sudan denies the charge.

Egypt, which is deeply concerned about fundamentalists at home, regards any Iranian military presence in Sudan as a threat to its security. "I will hit [the warships] immediately," the Egyptian press quoted Mr. Mubarak as saying.

The latest alarm follows new U.S. accusations against Iran of exporting terrorism, a condemnation of Iran by the U.N. Human Rights Commission and the revelation of a government decree in Tehran sanctioning the destruction of the Bahai community.

The tension was heightened by an editorial in the Tehran newspaper *Jomhouri Islami* (Islamic Republic) this week, recalling that the 1979 hostage-taking at the U.S. Embassy came while a Democrat was in the White House.

"The Democratic Party has once before tasted the strikes of the Islamic Revolution," the newspaper said. "If there are some people today in Washington who are pondering new confrontations, they would better know that nothing has changed here."

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A State Department spokesman repeated the view that "Iran is currently the most dangerous state sponsor of terrorism, ... the world's principal sponsor of extremist Islamic and Palestinian groups, providing them with funds, weapons and training."

As with persistent reports of the growth of Iran's war machine, defenders of its policies claim such statements are one-sided.

"The focus on Iran conveniently ignores the fact that the Middle East, in general, is one of the most militarized regions of the world," said the Forum on American-Iranian Relations, an organization linked to the Tehran regime.

"Iran is trying to replace equipment lost in the eight-year-long war with Iraq, to modernize an increasingly antiquated infrastructure."

This view was echoed by Shireen T. Hunter, a former Iranian diplomat now with the Institute of Strategic and International Studies, who said: "Iran's efforts to rebuild its shattered military are not beyond reasonable bounds, when compared to the military buildup of other countries."

The People's Mojahedin of Iran, one of the main opposition groups, warned that the revolutionary mullahs (clergymen) in Tehran are "neither capable nor inclined to adapt themselves to normal behavior."

"All reasonable options toward Iran have been tried and failed," said Ali Safavi, a Mojahedin official in Washington. "The international community should respond in a way commensurate with the regime's violence."

# In Defense of Sheik Abdul-Rahman

By MAMOUN FANDY

**A**lthough both the FBI and the New York Police Commissioner refused to link Mohammed Salamah, the prime suspect in the bombing of the World Trade Center, with any one Islamic group, the media have. Almost all reports now focus on a New Jersey mosque and its preacher, Sheik Omar Abdul-Rahman, who is widely portrayed as an Egyptian version of Ayatollah Khomeini endowed with near-mythic powers to incite his followers to violent acts.

As an Egyptian writer and scholar, I have been aware of Dr. Abdul-Rahman's activities since he was a professor of theology at Assiut University in southern Egypt, where I studied in the late 1970s. In fact, the sheik is very much a product of indigenous Egyptian problems, whose anger is directed not at Americans but at an inept and corrupt Egyptian regime which is on the verge of collapse.

Sheik Abdul-Rahman came to prominence in Egypt when he was implicated in the assassination of the late President Anwar el-Sadat in 1981 and the subsequent uprising of Islamic students in Assiut. He was tried and acquitted of all charges. Five years later, after repeated arrests, he was detained as a suspected subversive and held without charges for over a year.

Fearful of continued harrassment, Sheik Abdul-Rahman left Egypt in 1990 for Sudan, a center of Islamic fundamentalism where Egyptian Muslims can travel freely without passports. Contrary to press reports which have depicted him as a fugitive alien in this country, he entered the U.S. legally and subsequently obtained his permanent residence status after assuming responsibilities as the leading cleric of a Brooklyn-based mosque.

Given the corruption of the Egyptian court system, what is remarkable about Sheik Abdul-Rahman's odyssey is that he was acquitted not once but twice. Had the government obtained the slightest piece of evidence to prove the case against him, he would have been imprisoned for life or executed.

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This is not to say that Sheik Abdul-Rahman did not later preach the violent overthrow of the Egyptian government. On recent cassettes, he has repeatedly called for the assassination of President Mubarak and the destruction of state buildings associated with the state security apparatus. But his personal crusade against Mr. Mubarak began only after he himself experienced repeated arrests and torture. His taped sermons are replete with calls for a return to a golden age of Islamic rule when society was far more democratic and torture relatively unknown.

Nor has he propounded terrorist acts that involve the killing of innocent people or the destruction of private property. "Islamic groups use violence only as a response to state violence," he says. In a statement given to CNN the day after the arrest of Mohammed Salamah, he emphasized that no true Muslim approves of killing or the destruction of property of innocent people.

In my own recent exchange with Sheik Abdul-Rahman on a talk show aired by the American Arabic Broadcast Network, he seemed less motivated by ideology than by a personal vendetta against Mr. Mubarak and his torturers.

Charged with having helped instigate a recent campaign of terrorist attacks on tourists in Egypt, he took pains to distance himself from the attacks. He advised tourists to respect the customs of Egyptians.

In Egypt, the sheik's opposition to Mr. Mubarak has only enhanced his appeal. As the economic situation grows more desperate and the government's crackdown on dissidents more brutal (there are some 10,000 political prisoners currently in Egypt, most of them Islamists), anyone willing to speak out against the government evokes admiration. "Sheik Abdul-Rahman is only expressing the feeling of 99 percent of the Egyptian population," one Cairo resident told an American reporter.

What puzzles many Egyptians about Sheik Abdul-Rahman is why, given his reputation as an alleged terrorist, the United States has tolerated his presence for so long. To many the answer is obvious. The regime is widely viewed as close to collapse, and expectations are high that the military is poised for a takeover.

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The ideal candidate for president would then be former defense minister Abdul Haleem Abughazalla — known for being both pro-American and religious (his wife wears Islamic dress). If this is, indeed, the scenario envisioned in Washington, it would make sense to keep one more loose cannon moored down in the United States rather than back home disrupting the script.

Mamoun Fandy, an Egyptian writer and political scientist at the University of Southern Illinois, wrote this commentary for Pacific News Service.

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## Terror Is Not Piety

Whoever bombed the World Trade Center in New York did not do so because he was a fundamentalist Muslim, but because he was a terrorist. His motives were not religious but political, even if he may deny the distinction. The millions of Muslims in this country did not do it. The hundreds of thousands who might describe themselves as fundamentalist Muslims did not do it. A handful of people who use terror for political ends, and who may be Muslims, did do it.

The search for the few who are guilty should not spread hate or fear on the many who are innocent. To do that is to do the bidding of the terrorists. To cause innocents to be persecuted and alienated into extremism is often the highest goal of terrorism. Those with little or no public following hope to provoke a crackdown that will in turn provide that following.

In Egypt, 43 defendants have gone on trial, with six more sought, for "damaging national unity and social peace by calling for a change in the system of government," which most Americans would consider their right, but also for terrorist attacks on four tourist buses, a river boat and a Christian shop, which no one would consider their right.

The defendants variously shouted that they belong to al-Gamaa al-Islamiya (Islamic Group), that they did not do it, but that their group assassinated former President Anwar Sadat in 1981 and others. One defendant read a statement which

said, "What is the al-Gamaa al-Islamiya? It is led by Dr. Omar Abdel-Rahman. It killed Sadat after he rejected the rule of God. If terrorism and extremism means legitimate self-defense and the defense of our religion and honor, then welcome terrorism."

Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who was tried and acquitted in connection with Sadat's murder, is the blind cleric whose mosques were frequented by the suspects in the World Trade Center bombing. He disappeared, issuing through a lawyer a disassociation from the atrocity. So it is tempting — almost too easy — to link that violent group in Egypt to the bombing in New York, with the motive being anger at the U.S. government for supporting the secular Egyptian regime of President Hosni Mubarak. Wait for proof. There are other violent groups with other political motives.

However much some terrorists and their apologists claim their motives to be religious and their own interpretations of the Prophet to be the only ones permissible, they are unrepresentative of most Muslims. Just as David Koresh is unrepresentative of Christianity. To call him a fundamentalist Christian, which in some sense he is, does not explain his behavior and motivation for insurrection in Texas.

The investigation of the World Trade Center bombing, which got off to such an auspicious start, is essential. Not only to convict the guilty, but by doing that to clear the innocent.

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# Kahane killing examined for ties to NYC bombing

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H/3By Michael Hedges  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Police and federal officials in New York are taking a second look at the 1990 murder of radical Rabbi Meir Kahane, probing for a conspiracy involving those suspected in the bombing of the World Trade Center, a spokesman said.

"We have reopened the investigation. That effort is just beginning," New York police Sgt. John McCluskey said yesterday. "We're just looking to see if there is any connection, if it is all tied together."

The reopening of the case was prompted by several connections between two suspects in the Trade Center bombing and Sayyad A. Nosair, who was charged in the Kahane killing.

Mr. Kahane, founder of the militant Jewish Defense League and a proponent of expelling Arabs from territories controlled by Israel, was gunned down in New York in November 1990 after giving a speech.

Police quickly arrested Nosair, 36, who had been wounded in a gunfight with a postal policeman a block from the spot where Mr. Kahane was killed.

Nosair was acquitted of killing Mr. Kahane but convicted of charges stemming from the shooting of the officer. He is serving a sentence in Attica prison.

Officials said privately that Nosair is still the primary suspect in the Kahane case.

Through an Egyptian Islamic cleric, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, Nosair is tied to two men arrested in the investigation of the Trade Center bombing.

Nosair, Ibrahim A. Elgabrowny, who is charged with obstruction of

justice in the case, and Mohammed Salameh, who is charged with aiding and abetting the bombing, frequently attended a New Jersey mosque where the sheik speaks.

And fake Nicaraguan passports and birth certificates for Nosair and his family were found in Mr. Elgabrowny's apartment when it was searched by authorities. Prison officials yesterday said Nosair will be charged with plotting an escape because of the phony documents.

Officials also said Mr. Salameh demonstrated on Nosair's behalf during his 1991 trial and visited him in prison.

The new probe of Nosair will focus on whether the police theory that he acted alone in shooting Mr. Kahane should be revised to allow for a conspiracy with those surfacing in the Trade Center bombing.

Nosair cannot be retried in state court regardless of evidence that might be developed by a new probe.

But if the FBI determined that the killing was a conspiracy, Nosair and others could be charged with the federal crime of violating Mr. Kahane's civil rights. Such a finding allowed the Justice Department to retry the Los Angeles police officers accused of assaulting Rodney King.

On Friday, Nidal A. Ayyad, a 25-year-old Palestinian-American chemical engineer arrested in the bombing was denied bail after prosecutors said his release would allow communication with others involved in the bombing.

Mr. Ayyad and Mr. Salameh shared a New Jersey bank account that received \$2,420 by wire from Germany. The FBI thinks their money helped pay for the attack, but the bureau has not determined its source.



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## The Scariest Terrorists

By DANIEL BERGER

**T**he Branch Davidian insurrection in Texas is scarier than the bombing of the New York World Trade Center. So is the murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola, Florida.

The alleged terrorist group being rounded up in New York and New Jersey is an alien presence with prehistoric motives that are easily understood, while the Christian gun-out cult in Texas is home-grown, all-American and mysterious. The first we know how to combat; the second, we are producing.

The same is true of the assassination of the physician, an act of terrorism that appears designed to stop legal abortions throughout the country by striking fear into physicians, and is likely to succeed.

This is not to minimize what may have been one of the most spectacular acts of terrorism of modern times (in terms of publicity, economic damage and numbers of people dismembered) at the World Trade Center. But the wave of terrorism that swept this country in the late 1960s and 1970s (the Weather Underground/Black Panthers, etc.) threatened more harm to the United States than the apparent constituency among some few Arab fundamentalists now.

Some of the most alleged conspirators in the plot to assassinate former president Carter who formula revealed in Egypt. Some of the American agents of the '70s were "troubled," that is the word, in Seven Sister colleges and Ivy League universities.

James Fox of the FBI said this New York bombing was carried out

by a large and highly professional terrorist group. The professionalism is not apparent but reassuring to hear. It would be more frightening if amateurs could bring this off, as an apparent amateur managed the CIA murders in Virginia.

International terrorism is diminishing, not increasing. That is because of the dismantling of Soviet schools for terrorists, the ending of Soviet-bloc sanctuary for terrorists and supplies for terrorism. Other host countries, deprived of Soviet support against American reprisals, have kept tighter lids on terrorism. This has certainly been true of Libya and Syria and Iraq, though perhaps not of Iran and its new client, Sudan.

The investigation of the World Trade Center bombing needs to focus on the extent of the conspiracy, and any borders crossed. The most sensitive question is whether any state supported this terrorism. For prevention, it is essential to know whether great knowledge and rare materials were needed, or if almost anyone could have done it.

Those who espouse a fundamentalist Muslim explain nothing. It would be silly to explain the Branch Davidian phenomenon as fundamentalist Christian. There are millions of Muslims and hundreds of thousands of fundamentalist Muslims in the United States who would never do such a thing.

The association of the suspects with Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman suggests a motive, to punish the United States for supporting the Egyptian regime of Hosni Mubarak. The Palestinian origins of suspects suggest anger at U.S. support for Is-

rael. Other causes floating around the Middle East include Iraq against Kuwait, Iran against free speech, Bosnian and Albanian Muslims against Serbian Christians, Azerbaijan against Armenia and rebellion in Tajikistan. All these count as political, not religious, motives. But we can't know unless the perpetrators say.

Because terrorism almost never topples a regime, it is almost always a public-relations stunt in the fullest sense. A perfect crime serves no purpose. It must be known to have happened.

Hence the extraordinary number of claimants to the World Trade Center atrocity. Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, exulted. But as the torturer of Muslims he is the least likely man to have been conspiring with terrorists from the Muslim-fundamentalist community of New Jersey. It is safe to say he didn't do it.

The IRA in Ireland and England always identifies its acts of terror, even botched jobs. After 20 years, it has established credibility. What the IRA says it did, it did, and what it denies, it did not do.

So make no assumptions. We won't know till we know.

But in terms of havoc, foreign terrorists are not as big a threat to the republic as American terrorists can be, and professionals are not the worst kind.

Gavrilo Princip and John Wilkes Booth were amateurs, but they got the job done.

Daniel Berger writes editorials for The Baltimore Sun.

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## More arrests expected in Trade Center bombing

### Agents trying to track money

Los Angeles Times

NEW YORK — Working with a list of potential suspects obtained from bank accounts and other records, federal investigators now expect their inquiry into the World Trade Center bombing will lead to at least two — and perhaps as many as a dozen — more arrests, officials said yesterday.

But federal agents acknowledged they have not traced the original source of tens of thousands of dollars transferred from Germany into New Jersey bank accounts belonging to two men charged with carrying out the bombing.

Although German bank officials said at least one of the transfers originated in Germany, officials said it would take several days to follow leads to the end. By then, hopefully, in their names, investigators hope to learn whether the transfers originated by an international terrorist organization.

Based on reports that the amount of money transferred could approach \$100,000, government counterterrorism officials said it was possible that the World Trade Center bombing, which killed five people and injured 1,000, was an act of state-sponsored terrorism. Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea and Syria are listed by the government as

countries that sponsor terrorism. Officials are reviewing whether Sudan and Pakistan should be on the list.

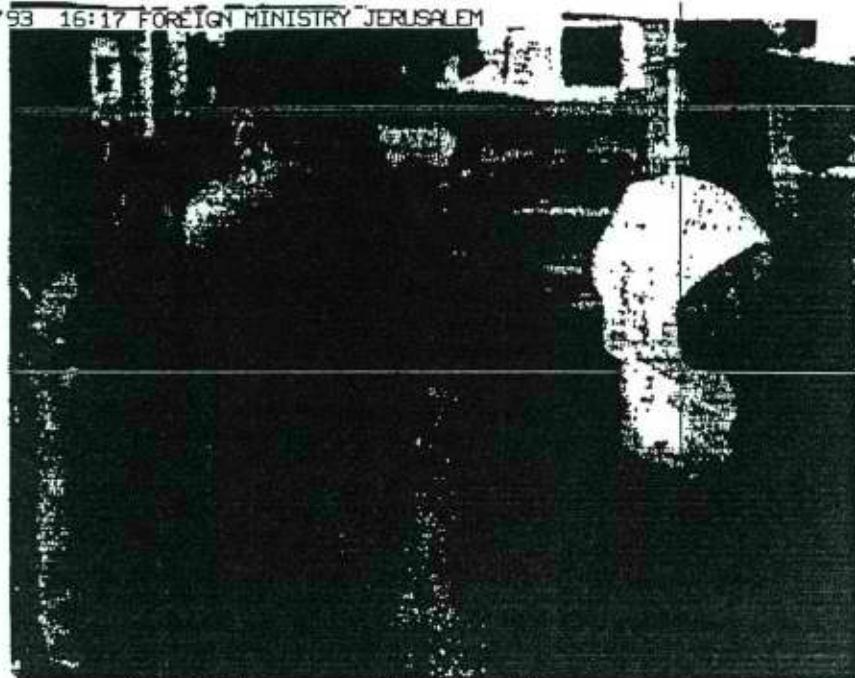
Three men arrested in connection with the bombing have been identified as supporters of El Sayed Nosair, who has been jailed for crimes stemming from the 1980 murder in Manhattan of Jewish right-wing leader Meir Kahane. They are known to worship at a Jersey City, N.J., mosque run by Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, who has been accused of inciting acts of violence in Egypt.

James Esposito, special FBI agent in New Jersey, said investigators have developed a working list of other suspects, drawing from bank records, rental agreements and other documents. At least five names appeared on a rental agreement for a public storage locker in New Jersey where chemicals used in the bomb may have been mixed.

Mr. Esposito would not disclose how many names appear on the list of potential suspects.

Asked how many more arrests were expected, a knowledgeable source told the Los Angeles Times: "I wouldn't be surprised if we got two or three more. But every time we make an arrest, it opens up another ring of inquiry. I wouldn't surprise me if we eventually were to get 10 or 12 suspects."

At a hearing in federal court in Newark, N.J., yesterday, Nidal Ayyad, 25, a naturalized American of Palestinian descent who was arrested Wednesday, was denied bail by Judge Dennis Cavanaugh.

Family of World Trade Center bombing suspect Nidal Ayyad leaves federal court in Newark. REUTERS

## Bombing Suspect's Family Says He 'Is Not Wicked'

Associated Press

AMMAN, Jordan, March 12—Nidal Ayyad, the second suspect charged in the World Trade Center bombing, is not a terrorist, say family members in Jordan and the West Bank who describe him as a devout Muslim with no political ties.

Ayyad, a chemical engineering graduate of Rutgers University, was arrested Wednesday at his home in Maplewood, N.J., and charged with aiding in the Feb. 26 blast at New York's World Trade Center that killed at least five people and injured 1,000.

Ayyad's family said he is a friend of Mohammed Salameh, who was arraigned last week on similar charges. Salameh and Ayyad are both of Palestinian families that have lived for years in exile. Ayyad, born in Kuwait, is a naturalized U.S. citizen.

In Silwad, the Ayyad family's ancestral village in the occupied West Bank, Aysheh Yousef Ayyad read of her nephew's arrest in today's edition of the Jerusalem Arabic daily *An-Nahar*. "He is not a terrorist," she said. "... Nidal is not wicked, even if all America says so." Nidal Ayyad's parents fled to Kuwait during the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

Abdul Aziz Muataz Ayyad, the suspect's grandfather, who fled to Jordan after the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, said his grandson is "a devout Muslim and used to read the Koran most of his spare time." But the grandfather, who long was a preacher at Kuwait's Hawalli Mosque, said, "my grandson was not a Muslim fundamentalist, and I

am sure he had no links with any political or religious group in Kuwait or elsewhere."

Ayyad's aunt said he was married in Jordan in December. "If he did it, he was destroying his own life and his two-month pregnant wife, Reem. I hope America will be just," she said.

Ayyad grew up in Kuwait as the eldest of six children. When he was 11, his father left for the United States in 1978 to set up a business, leaving the boy in the care of an uncle. He attended high school in Kuwait before moving to the United States for university study. His parents and brothers live in the New York region; his sisters live in the Washington area.

"Nidal can't be a terrorist," said Ayyad's uncle, Khalil, who works at the American Life Insurance Co. in Jordan. "When he was here for his marriage, he told me that he wanted to fulfill his duties to his adopted homeland and had voted for President Clinton in the last elections with hopes that things would get better for America."

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## U.S. Denounces N. Korea For Quitting Nuclear Pact

By R. Jeffrey Smith  
*Washington Post Staff Writer*

The Clinton administration denounced North Korea's decision yesterday to withdraw from the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and said it would join with allies in applying diplomatic pressure on the hard-line communist government to reverse its action.

North Korea's surprise announcement alarmed the United States and raised new fears particularly in Asia that North Korea is determined to develop a nuclear weapon.

None of the other 184 countries to have signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty has withdrawn from the accord. But many officials, noting North Korea's political and economic isolation, said yesterday they did not believe its action would prompt other nations to withdraw or undermine general adherence to the treaty.

North Korea is an increasingly isolated country ruled by the 80-year-old totalitarian Kim Il Sung. As its old communist allies have moved toward democracy, North Korea has turned inward, as if the whole world were its enemy.

The 20 million inhabitants of North Korea are not permitted any information about the outside world. All newspapers, radio and TV shows are government-run. No mail and no phone calls can come in—not even from South Korea, where many North Koreans have siblings and other close relatives.

In a statement carried early yesterday by its official news agency, North Korea said the decision to withdraw was "a measure to defend its supreme interests," invoking a phrase in the treaty providing for withdrawal within 90 days after giving formal notice.

North Korea said it was acting in response to a U.S.-South Korean

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# U.S. Rebukes N. Korean Withdrawal From Nuclear Pact

KOREA, From AP

military exercise and what it called an unwarranted demand for international inspection of several military facilities that Western officials have said might be harboring evidence of illicit nuclear weapons work.

U.N. officials in New York reported receiving formal notification of the decision late yesterday. U.S. officials said they were taking the announcement seriously and joined with officials in South Korea, Russia, China and Japan in expressing dismay.

"We join the international community in deplored this announcement," said State Department spokesman Richard Boucher. "We call upon North Korea to withdraw its statement immediately and to take steps, including full cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency, which will restore international confidence that North Korea is fulfilling its international responsibilities in the nuclear area."

A spokesman for the Japanese foreign ministry said the announcement had "further aggravated" suspicions that North Korea either was working on a nuclear weapon or had hidden materials for such a weapon. But U.S. officials differed on whether the move signaled an intention by North Korea to build a nuclear

weapon or was merely a bargaining ploy aimed at altering the terms of any future inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which enforces the treaty.

The IAEA has been probing North Korea's nuclear program because of widespread suspicions that

*"We call upon North Korea to withdraw its statement immediately."*

—Richard Boucher,  
State Department spokesman

North Korea is trying to produce a nuclear weapon. CIA Director R. James Woolsey said last month that there is a "real possibility that North Korea has manufactured enough fissile material for at least one nuclear weapon." The Non-Proliferation Treaty, which North Korea signed in 1985, prohibits nuclear weapons work.

Other U.S. officials have described Woolsey's estimate as a "worst case" scenario, and the IAEA has more cautiously noted only "significant inconsistencies" between North Korean statements about its program and what the IAEA found in six inspections last

year. The agency's principal uncertainty is whether North Korea reprocessed more nuclear fuel than the country has reported, giving it a hidden stockpile of plutonium.

North Korea has strongly denied engaging in such activity and in its statement yesterday said it fulfilled its obligations under the treaty "in good faith." It called a recent IAEA demand for access to two sites at its Yongbyon nuclear complex "an encroachment on the sovereignty [of the country], an interference in its internal affairs, and a hostile act aimed at stifling socialism."

North Korea maintains the facilities in question are not related to nuclear operations, but U.S. intelligence analysts have said they harbor telltale residues of radioactive liquid wastes produced by nuclear reprocessing that, if examined, would help confirm or disprove North Korea's declaration of how much fissile material it made.

The North Korean statement also complained bitterly about Team Spirit, a U.S.-South Korean military exercise currently underway south of the demilitarized zone that separates North and South Korea. It said the exercise was a "nuclear war rehearsal" that proved a U.S. claim to have withdrawn all nuclear weapons from South Korea was "nothing but a trickery."

U.S. officials said in rejecting the complaint that it was merely a pre-

text for putting off or renegotiating the disputed IAEA inspections. Officials said the exercise, normally held annually but canceled last year, was resumed this year at South Korea's request.

Last month, the IAEA board of governors gave North Korea until March 25 to accept inspections of the disputed sites, warning that refusal would bring further measures. The deadline took into account that the U.S.-South Korean military exercise was scheduled to end March 19, which would still give North Korea a week to comply.

"Our strategy was to give them a way out and they haven't taken it," a Defense Department official said. "It's difficult to understand their logic."

IAEA spokesman David Kyd said in a telephone interview from Vienna that director Hans Blix would probably request another meeting next week of the board of governors to discuss North Korea.

One idea under discussion is authorizing a high-level IAEA mission to North Korea to encourage reconsideration of the decision to withdraw. If North Korea does not reverse its decision, the IAEA board could request the U.N. Security Council to invoke economic sanctions against North Korea.

*Correspondent T.R. Reid in Tokyo contributed to this report.*

*Patrick Leahy*

# Russia, Aid, Now

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Unless U.S. foreign aid policy changes with dramatic suddenness, a new, extremist regime of the right or left could emerge from the chaos and desperation in Russia and bring back the Cold War.

In a tense showdown last week in Moscow, old guard Communists and anti-West nationalists staged an assault on President Boris Yeltsin and democratic reformers. The Russian People's Congress, still controlled by remnants of the old Marxist-Leninist era, is attempting to strip Yeltsin of all executive powers, leaving the legislature as the only source of authority.

However tempting it may be to focus inward, we cannot declare victory and walk away from this one. Our present aid program in Russia is not succeeding. Neither we nor our allies and friends are giving effective help to the democratic reformers or hope to the Russian on the street.

Through the distraction of our own electoral season, through recourse to budget trickery and through diversion into important but secondary foreign policy problems, we are failing to measure up to the greatest foreign challenge to our nation since the Second World War. We are on the verge of missing a historic opportunity to give generations of peace to our children and grandchildren.

The previous administration, after deadly hesitation, finally decided to help the cause of democratic transformation in Russia. But faced with difficult decisions on where to find the money, the Bush administration resorted to budgetary gimmicks to make the U.S. aid program seem much larger than it really was. To drive up the dollar figures, it counted as aid what were in truth standard commercial loan guarantees and credits. This only forced Russia's staggering economy deeper into debt and finally into default.

The main budgetary gimmick chosen—granting billions of dollars of short-term agricultural credits backed by U.S. government guarantees in the face of a collapsing Russia economy—is not a policy that will benefit American taxpayers in the long run. And it certainly is not giving the reformers in Russia the boost from the West and they need to triumph over the ultranationalists, the xenophobes, the still strong Communists and other extremists of all stripes and hues.

The Clinton administration needs at once to break with the unimaginative policies of the past and accept that the standard terms and conditions of aid do not apply to this unique situation in Russia. U.S. policies aimed at assisting Russia through this incredibly painful and difficult transition to a democratic society and a market economy must show a daring and imagination not yet seen.

Speaking on the floor of the Senate as chairman of both the Foreign Operations and Agriculture committees, I proposed a two-step plan to shift substantial amounts of money from other parts of the foreign aid budget to provide increased food aid and concessional loans to the former Soviet Union and to maintain a vital market for U.S. farmers.

The first step in this plan is to ease

Russia's current debt crisis and give its leaders a breathing spell while they restructure the country's centralized economy. If the president is willing to decide on new funding priorities, i.e., what other programs to cut, I am ready to help find \$1 billion in direct grant aid for Russia and other independent states. The administration should immediately work with other creditors to reschedule Russia's debt repayments and allow it to break out of the vicious cycle of loans and defaults. Until rescheduling is completed, we should provide concessional loans and grants to meet their immediate food aid needs.

This emergency aid would be followed in the second step by a more balanced package of long-term commercial, technical and humanitarian assistance to complement efforts of other nations to get the former world superpower back on its feet. This package, carefully coordinated with Europe and Japan, should be targeted to help Russia create the conditions and institutions of a market economy and to release the productive forces of that nation of enormous potential wealth. We must get away from an aid program for Russia that is little more than a laundry list of every bureaucrat's favorite program and focus our aid on reforming key sectors of the Russian economy and on providing a minimal social safety net for the long-suffering Russian people.

The United States, for all its wealth, cannot bear this burden alone. The stakes of our friends and allies, above all Western Europe and Japan, in a democratic transformation of Russia are as great as our own. Led by a determined United States, the West needs urgently to devise a coordinated—and effective—program for Russia. The current hodgepodge of duplicative aid programs for Russia needs to be immediately replaced.

There are political barriers to what I propose. Shifting money from other parts of the foreign aid program to Russia will upset some aid recipients. Curbing subsidies for agricultural exports to pay for this year's food aid to Russia will provoke opposition. Congress and the administration need to decide—and soon—whether our national interest in a peaceful transition to democracy in Russia takes priority over other important but lesser goals in the foreign aid program, and act on that decision.

President Clinton will meet Russian President Boris Yeltsin in April. I urge the president to begin work immediately with Congress so that he will be in a position to give Yeltsin assurance of a long and lasting partnership with the United States that will carry the young Russian republic through these very hard, formative years.

That, to me, seems a far better investment than having to build up the nation's defense capabilities once more—because we lost the best chance for enduring world peace.

*The writer is a Democratic senator from Vermont.*

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## *Moscow on the Edge*

**K**REMLIN POLITICS used to be hard to decipher because it was secret. Now it is open and even harder to decipher. Everything in the system—procedure, institutions and policy—is up for grabs. There are no fixed rules, no organized parties, no manners, no consensual political culture, no inhibitions on abuse. Bleary outsiders might prefer to wait for tomorrow in the hope that things will settle down. Russians have no such luxury.

Up to this point, nonetheless, there has been a saving grace to Russian politics since the aborted August 1991 coup that saw out the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. The employment or threat of violence, whether by army and police or conspiratorial party or in the street, has been out of bounds. It's quite stunning, when you think about Russian history and the current turmoil. It's what is so troubling about Boris Yeltsin's hints to break open his power struggle with the Russian parliament by invoking force.

President Yeltsin, the lone democratically elected official, is acclaimed as a democrat looking to the West and in better days no doubt would be showing it more. He makes a powerful case that the parliament, elected under communism, is blocking reform. Certainly his ally-turned-antagonist, speaker Rusal Khasbulatov, has not

shown he has outgrown his past as a party bureaucrat. But however cynically, Mr. Khasbulatov has adopted the essential idea of parliament as a check on executive power. The two of them need still to be pressed to find a common constitutional way.

The Clinton administration is shuffling nervously. Aware of the importance of securing Russia and the other former Soviet republics in a web of Western values and institutions, it supports Mr. Yeltsin as an agent of reform and democracy. This is the basis for the bold and right new American push for aid. But it does not want to license him for an authoritarian turn.

The tension is unavoidable, and manageable. Russia is on a long march. At any given moment the Kremlin leader, whoever he is, may appear at once risky to embrace and risky to replace. But meanwhile, a convulsive transformation proceeds in the society and country at large. Sometimes it is stirred and sometimes retarded by events in Moscow, but more often and increasingly it generates its own momentum. We like a comment in the Wall Street Journal: Things are going badly in Russia, but they're going. That is, unless the frail and ragged process of struggling for democracy is broken off.

# Wrestling with democracy in Russia

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**WILLIAM BUCKLEY JR.**

**T**he rhetoric of recent political seasons is going to get in the way of a sensible reaction to what might well happen in the former Soviet Union in the near future.

Every day we suffer from the inordinate authority given by President Bush to the United Nations. Most recently China (China!) told us to cool it in the matter of doing something concrete to abort the development of a nuclear bomb by North Korea. Russia, a month or so ago, gave us a no-trespassing signal on events in Yugoslavia. Given that China and Russia both have vetoes in the U.N. Security Council, and given that we have got into the habit of saying we will not cross the street without an OK from the Security Council, we are progressively burdened with devising policies that only China and Russia would approve of.

And it is so as regards our top-heavy penchant for "democracy."

William F Buckley Jr. is president and editor at large of *National Review* and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Our addiction to democracy is of very long standing, as also our confusion about it. In his book on democracy, John Dewey gave it 32 different meanings (somebody actually counted). Albert Jay Nock commented that if you photograph an American politician with his mouth open, you can be sure that he has just finished emitting the word "democracy." And if you photograph him with his mouth shut, you can be sure that he has just finished biting the word "democracy" in two.

Richard Nixon said something very wise, as usual, in his comment on the urgent need to help Russia, specifically, to help Boris Yeltsin. He said we can't know what would happen if Mr. Yeltsin were overthrown, but that we could absolutely predict that whatever happened next would be worse.

Cosmopolites within the Beltway might smile at this, remembering the Bush-Baker enthusiasm for keeping Mikhail Gorbachev in power and squelching Mr. Yeltsin — who is certainly an improvement.

But we are pretty well at the end of the line in moving toward what Russia needs, which is political stability, monetary restraint and massive doses of free market enterprise. When Mr. Yeltsin had to dismiss prime minister Yegor Gaidar, one could there and then know that the forces hemming him in are from the wrong direction.

Ruslan Khasbulatov is the principal figure in the refractory Congress of Peoples' Deputies, and if he took power, he would join with ex-communists, populists and hard socialists in pushing Russia in exactly the wrong direction.

Yet something has to be done. Mr. Yeltsin has no effective control over the mills that grind out rubles by the tens of millions. A burgeoning free market is giving Moscow for the first time in memory stores that groan with a variety of foods. But to buy one chicken costs the working man one month's salary. Paradoxes like that cannot be expected to last.

So Mr. Yeltsin will meet with President Clinton in Vancouver, and

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what they are worrying about, in our centers of diplomatic thought, is political correctness. What if, just before they meet, Mr. Yeltsin asserts authority over the Congress, sufficient to govern? Or what if, just after the Vancouver conference, he conducts his referendum and reads into it results that are undemocratic in character?

What happens is that we walk into 20 miles of barbed-wire rhetoric

having to do with our devotion to democratic government. One sometimes has the feeling that as long as government practice is democratic, it is sacrosanct. They have, of course, never experienced democracy in Russia, and to expect happy political and happy economic development to go forward hand in hand is, well, to expect too much; to expect what is unlikely.

The globe is crowded with exam-

ples. Can we reasonably suppose that Taiwan would have prospered as it has, arriving as it has to democratic government, if it had democracy beginning in 1949? As much can be said for South Korea and Singapore; and, as a matter of fact, for Japan, which for three critical years followed policies approved of by the ztrap we sent out there. Douglas MacArthur.

Hating Francisco Franco was one of the most popular political pastimes in American history, beginning in 1936 and extending roughly until he died, leaving a prosperous democratic country. It will kill a lot of trendy historians, but it is progressively certain that Gen. Augusto Pinochet will be acclaimed as the man who saved Chile.

If Mr. Yeltsin arrogates the power necessary to pursue policies that point toward individual liberty, even if of a nonpolitical nature for the time being, we should do what we can to free ourselves of our fixation on democratic formalism.

It would be ever so invigorating to have such reassurances from President Clinton. They are worth much more than a few billion dollars of aid.



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# Outcome of Struggle Could Decide Russia's Fate

By Fred Hiatt  
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, March 12—The Russian public is disgusted. The issues are arcane. The whole ugly fight seems, at times, like a "horror without end," as one legislator said today, cut off from the real changes transforming Russia.

Yet the power struggle raging in the Kremlin could decide the future course of reform in

Russia, reshape this giant nation's relations with the world and determine the role America and the West can play here for years to come. If not resolved, it could also threaten the stability and even integrity of Russia itself.

The campaign by the Congress of People's Deputies to sap the political strength of President Boris Yeltsin, the first genuinely elected leader in Russia's history, is about many things:

perks and privileges, egos and ambitions, dividing up the spoils of a ruined Communist empire and finding the right form of government for a nation that has never known democracy.

But it is, perhaps above all, a battle between two competing visions. Yeltsin has embraced the goal of a free-market democracy living in peace with its neighbors. Many of his opponents, while also supporting democracy, suc-

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TOM POST

# Outcome of Power Struggle Could Shape Russia's Future

YELTSIN, From A1

the contraction of Russia's empire and believe a Russian government should wield a stronger hand—in politics, economics and foreign policy.

And the struggle, while sometimes portrayed as a fight between good and evil, in fact reflects the extraordinary difficulty of the challenge facing Russia: to build a democracy in place of a dictatorship based on fear, and to nurture personal initiative in the wreckage of a failed planned economy.

"It is not just a question of personalities, or of one side being stupid or bad," said Anatoly Shabad, a liberal lawmaker. "It really is difficult to transform one system into another—maybe impossible."

For Western leaders, only now refocusing on how they might help Yeltsin and his changes, the debilitating power struggle and his apparent day-by-day weakening pose difficult questions. President Clinton, scheduled to meet Yeltsin in early April, has urged the leading industrialized nations to do more to support Russia's embattled leader.

But the nature and amount of Western aid will be conditioned on the West's evaluation of Yeltsin's narrowing options, of how dependent on Yeltsin the process is and of how much the West can influence any events here.

On the surface, Western democrats might be expected to welcome the assertiveness of Russia's Congress. In its long history, after all, Russia has not lacked strong lead-

ers, but rather a tradition of legislative independence.

Similarly, the current weakness in Moscow has permitted a kind of "bottoms-up" reform that counters Russia's autocratic traditions in a healthy way, many analysts believe. While Yeltsin and his critics in the Congress snipe at each other, the most dynamic young leaders carry on in Russia's vast hinterlands, pushing reforms, launching businesses or opening universities.

But even those patchy, regional efforts will die unless Moscow can guarantee at least the two most fundamental conditions of any state: a measure of security and a stable national currency. The power struggle between Yeltsin and the Congress is threatening both, with crime and conflicts soaring and the value of the ruble plunging.

"The problem is that no one has authority," a senior Western diplomat said. "The president bears responsibility for what goes wrong, but has no unilateral authority to carry things out. The parliament has no responsibility, but plenty of blocking authority."

Boris Nemtsov, a reformist governor of the Nizhny Novgorod region on the Volga River, said the split in Moscow has not yet brought conflict to his domain. But he said all reforms are threatened by hyperinflation—which, in turn, is caused by the president and parliament outspending each other in a bid for popularity with the army, industry and other powerful constituencies.

Moreover, when today's session

ended in confrontation, several politicians predicted the tension would spread across Russia. Already, Yeltsin has tried to rally governors and local leaders. Speaker Ruslan Khасбулатов, Yeltsin's chief opponent, has appealed to local councils and legislatures for support, even urging them to toss executive branch officials out of their offices.

"The most awful thing is that the power struggle here in the Kremlin will gradually spread to the regions," said legislator Leonid Gurevich. "All this leads to a split in the society, the likes of which we have not had since the time of the [1917-21] civil war.... If we don't stop it now, I don't want to speak of the consequences."

In one sense, the paralysis at the top makes Western aid pointless. If no one in Moscow can control spending, or force the closing of inefficient firms, or prevent the looting and corruption now draining the nation's economy, more Western aid will hardly promote reforms.

On the other hand, the paralysis in Moscow increases the dangers, and thus the stakes, for the West. Continuing strife could lead to the disintegration of Russia, with its thousands of nuclear warheads.

Disintegration or its threat could, in turn, lead to the advent of a nationalist, hard-line government that would seek to assert Russian hegemony over the free Baltic republics, Ukraine and other countries of the former Soviet Union. Such a regime could pose foreign policy challenges to the West that would make today's choices look easy.

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# 31 Major Bases On Closure List In Defense Cuts

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By John Lancaster  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Defense Secretary Les Aspin yesterday recommended closing 31 major military bases and scaling back or reorganizing 134 others, rejecting most pleas from lawmakers on behalf of communities that would lose jobs and population if the facilities' gates are shut.

The closings would cause a profound change in the nation's domestic military infrastructure, much of which dates to before World War II. Included on Aspin's hit list are such landmark facilities as Treasure Island Naval Station in San Francisco Bay, Staten Island Naval Station in New York Harbor, Fort McClellan in Alabama and Charleston Naval Shipyard in South Carolina.

Aspin's plan would significantly affect the Washington area, which stands to lose roughly 4,000 jobs associated with two Navy commands headquartered in Arlington's Crystal City. The Naval Air Systems Command, with 500 military and 3,200 civilian employees, would move to Patuxent River Naval Air Station in Southern Maryland; the Naval Supply Command, with 89 military and 291 civilian employees, would relocate to Mechanicsburg, Pa.

The Naval Sea Systems Command, with 360 military and 3,438 civilian employees, would also move from Crystal City but stay in the area in White Oak.

The recommendations must be approved by the independent Base Closure and Realignment Commission, which is likely to modify the list as it considers appeals from elected officials, businesses and civic groups.

The commission was created by Congress in 1990 as a means of eas-

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service modernizes and consolidates forces."

But California officials lobbied heavily on behalf of McClellan and other major facilities in the state, warning that the planned closures would undermine an economy already tottering from previous closures and defense industry cutbacks.

Aspin also spared the military's Defense Language Institute, on California's Monterey Peninsula, and he agreed to a proposal by Chicago officials to move an Air Force Reserve facility from O'Hare International Airport to make way for a planned expansion.

The Air Force had recommended against shifting that facility 55 miles northwest to Rockford, Ill., noting that it recently underwent a \$20 million renovation and is ideally situated for recruiting purposes.

"This is a political payoff to [Chicago Mayor Richard M.] Daley for his early support for President Clinton," said an aide to Sen. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.), who wants to keep the reserve base at O'Hare, the nation's busiest commercial airport. "I think this gives us a very good case to take before the commission."

A senior Pentagon official said Aspin spared McClellan based on the "cumulative economic impacts" already suffered by the state, although he said the language institute was left off the list for other reasons. Aspin's spokesman, Vernon A. Guidry Jr., did not return two phone calls seeking comment on the O'Hare decision.

Overall, Aspin targeted 31 major military installations for closure and 12 others for reduction in size, while 122 smaller bases and facilities would be closed or restructured. Among sites to be closed is Homestead Air Force Base in southern Florida, which was hit hard by Hurricane Andrew last fall.

Although the defense infrastructure would shrink under the plan, a few bases will expand to absorb activities from others slated for closure.

The plan would save an estimated \$3.1 billion per year starting in the year 2000, according to the Pentagon news release.

In the short-term, however, closing bases may cost money because many are severely contaminated with toxic waste and cannot be transferred to civilian use without an expensive cleanup.

BASES, From A1  
ing the political pain caused by base closures.

The commission has until July 1 to act on Aspin's recommendations. The list then will go to President Clinton, who has until Sept. 1 to accept or reject them, and ultimately to Congress for a single up or down vote.

Aspin's recommendations, widely anticipated on Capitol Hill, initiate the third and largest round of base closings in the post-Cold War era. The first round of closures was in 1988, the second in 1991.

The nation's stock of major military installations stands at 481, a number that military officials say is draining resources from weapons, personnel and other areas that contribute directly to military strength. "Failure to close bases is in line with reductions in budgets and per-

sonnel constitutes a double hit: resources are drained into bases we don't need, and therefore are not available to buy the things we do need," Aspin said in a statement.

Aspin's proposal contains few changes from lists drawn up by the military services and submitted to his office last week. Nevertheless, the former chairman of the House Armed Services Committee proved he is not immune to political pressure. He granted a last-minute reprieve to McClellan Air Force Base, near Sacramento, in economically battered California.

"It was really very scientific," an Air Force official said of the service's recommendation to close the base. "All the emotion was removed from it." The official noted that the base serves as a maintenance depot for aging A-10 ground attack jets and F-111 fighter-bombers, both of which are being phased out as the

# Aspin Rejects Lawmakers' Pleas In Recommending Bases to Be Cut

Administration officials are sensitive to the political fallout from the base closure list, timing its release to coincide with Clinton's announcement Thursday of a plan to spend \$20 billion on industries and communities hurt by post-Cold War military cuts.

"The base closures are necessary, but they will hurt local economies," Aspin's statement said. "The administration recognizes its responsibilities for parallel efforts

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to stimulate economic growth in the affected communities."

But defense officials and military analysts have questioned the presumption of many elected officials that base closures automatically equate to economic Armageddon. In many cases, communities in the long run have benefited from losing a base, using the opportunity to diversify their economies and create more jobs than existed before, according to Keith Cunningham, an analyst at the nonprofit Business Executives for National Security.

Aspin's plan would hit some regions harder than others. The San Francisco Bay Area, for example, would lose Treasure Island Naval Station, Alameda Naval Aviation Depot, Alameda Naval Air Station, Mare Island Naval Shipyard, Oak-

land Naval Supply Center, Oakland Naval Hospital and San Francisco Naval Public Works Center. Together, the facilities employ roughly 30,000 civilian and military personnel.

The Bay Area proposals drew a sharp protest from House Armed Services Committee Chairman Roscoe V. Delauro (D-Conn.), whose Oakland district includes many of the targeted facilities. Delauro, an advocate of sharp cuts in military spending, said he would challenge the recommendations on the basis of "strategic merit."

More than two-thirds of the major base closures will be absorbed by the Navy, which so far has lagged behind the other services in paring excess infrastructure. Several major Navy ports—Norfolk,

San Diego and Kings Bay, Ga.—will expand somewhat, as ships and submarines are transferred from facilities slated for closure. "It's something we feel we have to do," a Navy spokesman said yesterday. "We'd rather spend the money on ships and sailors than on garages we don't need."

Members of the base closing commission anticipate that this round of base closures will be far more painful than its first effort, in 1985, which eliminated most of the obvious choices.

"It becomes more difficult," said Jim Courter, a former Republican congressman from New Jersey who chairs the commission. "The questions become narrower and the competing bases are closer. It's almost like choosing between your children."

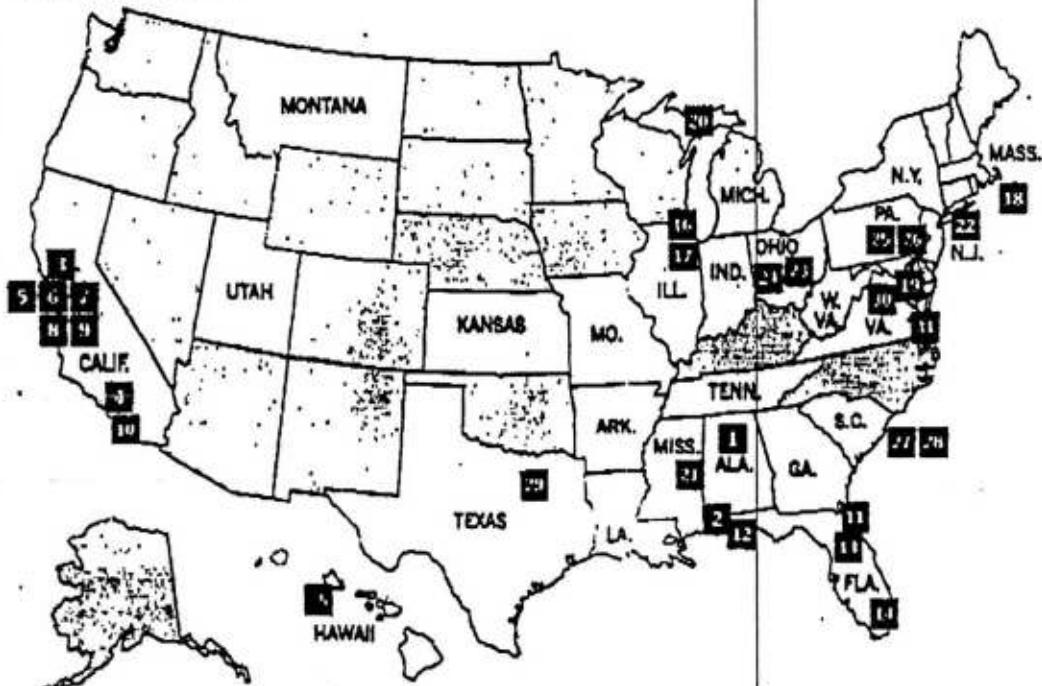
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## PROPOSED MAJOR BASE CLOSINGS

The Department of Defense yesterday proposed closing 31 major military bases and reorganizing an additional 134.



### CALIFORNIA

- 1 Fort McClellan
- 2 Mobile Naval Station

### CARIBBEAN

- 3 Mare-Island Naval Shipyard, Vallejo
- 4 El Toro Marine Corps Air Station
- 5 Alameda Naval Air Station
- 6 Alameda Naval Aviation Depot
- 7 Oakland Naval Hospital
- 8 Treasure Island Naval Station, San Francisco
- 9 Oakland Naval Supply Center
- 10 San Diego Training Center

### FLORIDA

- 11 Cecil Field Air Station
- 12 Pensacola Naval Aviation Training Depot
- 13 Orlando Naval Training Center
- 14 MacDill Air Force Base

### GEORGIA

- 15 Barbers Point Naval Air Station

### ILLINOIS

- 16 Glenview Naval Air Station
- 17 O'Hare International Airport Air Force Reserve Station, Chicago

### MASSACHUSETTS

- 18 South Weymouth Naval Air Station

### CONNECTICUT

- 19 St. Inigoes Naval Electronics Systems Engineering Center

### MISSOURI

- 20 K.I. Sawyer Air Force Base
- 21 Meridian Naval Air Station

### NEW YORK

- 22 Staten Island Naval Station

### PENNSYLVANIA

- 23 Newark Air Force Base
- 24 Defense Electronics Supply Center, Dayton
- 25 Naval Aviation Supply Office, Philadelphia
- 26 Defense Personnel Support Center, Philadelphia

### WEST VIRGINIA

- 27 Charleston Naval Shipyard
- 28 Charleston Naval Station

### TEXAS

- 29 Dallas Naval Air Station

### VERMONT

- 30 Vint Hill Farms Station
- 31 Norfolk Naval Aviation Depot

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WALTER MEARS

# The last rites for doomed bases

**I**n the last rites for doomed military bases, Congress and the White House spread the blame.

The system is framed against deathbed political revivals; once the base-closing casualty list is set, as it will be this summer, there's no changing it. Congress can only vote it up or down, and the drive for spending cuts makes acceptance, however reluctant, a sure thing.

So the lobbying, protests and demands for change began in advance, at the Capitol and in states and cities with bases at risk, angling the case and making the record.

The clamor may not force changes, but even the effort can offer political shelter when shutdowns hit home base, costing jobs and battering business. So do the all-or-nothing House and Senate votes, and even that can be avoided. Congress can simply accept the closing list by doing nothing.

President Clinton is out of the line of political fire, too — an inherited panel he chose to leave in place will

Walter R. Mears is vice president and columnist for the Associated Press.

make final base-closing selections for him to send to Congress next summer.

The White House has been emphasizing his passive role. "The president doesn't have anything to do with that until July 1," press secretary Dee Dee Myers said Wednesday, "and even at that point doesn't have a whole lot of impact on the actual decisions."

The process starts at the Pentagon, which puts together the list of about 30 suggested shutdowns. Defense Secretary Les Aspin was at the Capitol on Tuesday hearing appeals from former congressional colleagues trying to avoid shutdowns in their states and districts.

He promised reviews, expressed concern about the economic impact of base closings, but was said to have made no commitments to change. His final list of 31 recommended base closings and realignments was announced yesterday.

It next goes to the eight-member Base Closure and Realignment Commission, a bipartisan panel appointed by President Bush. Mr. Clinton could have chosen a new commission, although he had little time for it since the deadline was only five days after his inauguration. Besides, he's better off politically

with a Republican-led panel handling the no-win job of selecting bases to be shut down.

The Senate confirmed the commission members a week ago, just as the clamor over word of recommended closings was starting. James Courter, the chairman and a former Republican House member from New Jersey, said economic impact will be a factor in judging which bases to shut down, but military value comes first.

Mr. Courter's commission has until June 1 to decide whether to alter the Pentagon list, adding or sparing bases. In two prior rounds of base closings, the Pentagon lists haven't changed much.

The commission's final report to Mr. Clinton is due by July 1. He has until July 15 to send it on to Congress, to take effect after 45 days unless both houses vote to reject it.

So there's enough political insulation to go around.

Congress couldn't bring itself to close a major military installation for 11 years before the commission was tried in 1988. Since then, nearly 50 major bases have been ordered shut down, though so far only two have been completely closed.

Mr. Aspin warned Congress in a memo Wednesday that "there are

going to have to be more, not fewer" base closings than he recommends in this round, as military spending and forces are reduced. Mr. Clinton seeks to cut \$122 billion from defense budgets over the next five years.

The president is trying to ease the economic impact with a four-year defense conversion plan to assist workers and areas affected by defense industry cutbacks as well as base closings.

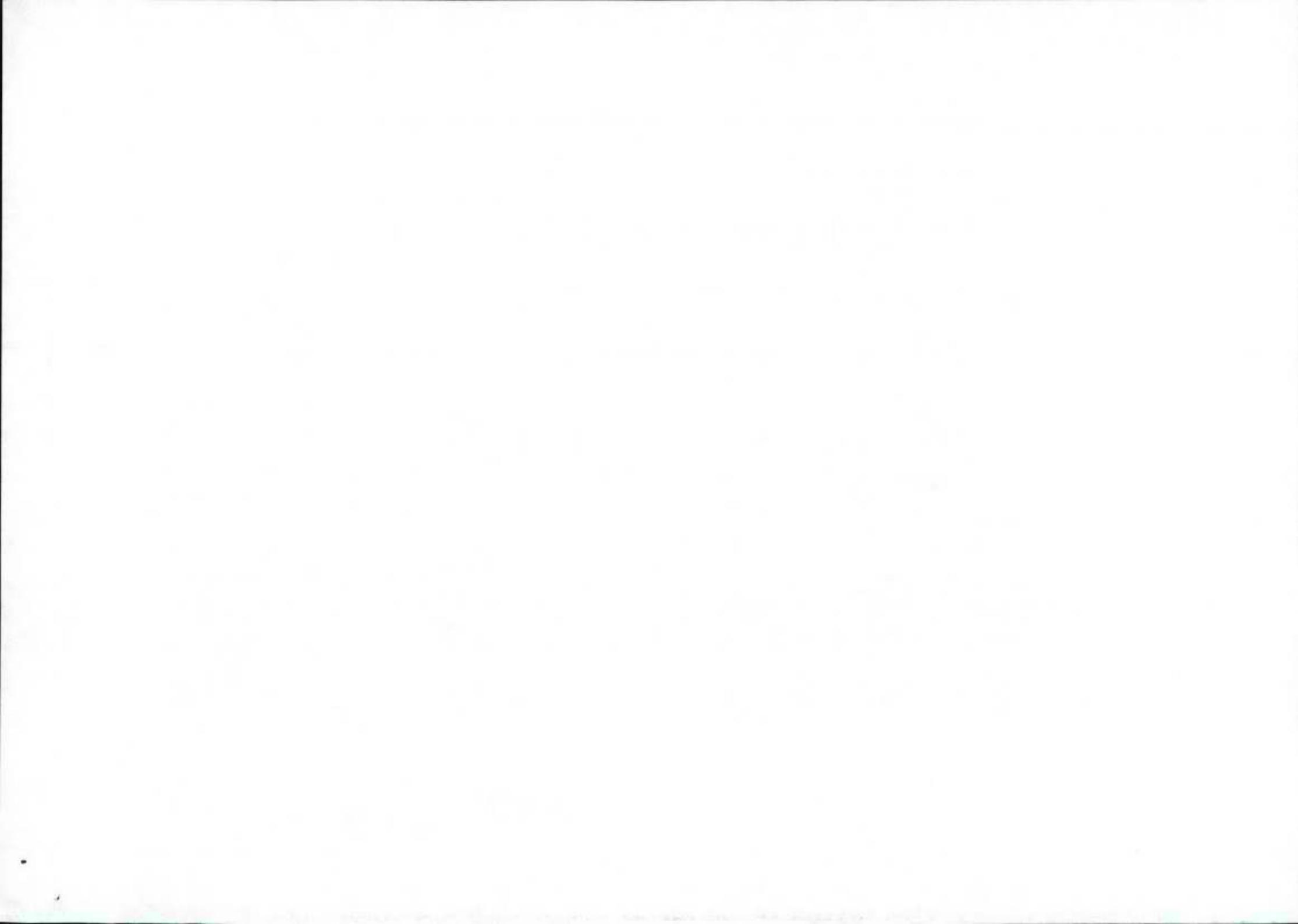
Congress appropriated \$1.7 billion for defense conversion efforts; the Clinton plan would use that and seek more.

But at the same time, Democratic senators from two states with targeted bases, California and Connecticut, argue that base closings would more than offset any boost they would gain from Mr. Clinton's earlier proposals for jobs and public works spending to stimulate the economy.

As for the politics of it, Willie Brown, speaker of the California Assembly, said the state could be affected so adversely "that Californians would not forget it, short term or long term."

No dates, but long term could be taken to mean 1996.

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*Jack Anderson and Michael Binstein*

## CIA's Hottest Question

About the only thing intelligence analysts can agree on these days is that with the Soviet Union gone from the map, the cutting edge of American intelligence operations will be on the economic—not the military or political—front.

But that still leaves one burning question: Should U.S. intelligence agencies merely focus on defending American companies from foreign spies, or should they be helping to collect economic secrets from foreign corporations? At his confirmation hearings, new CIA Director James Woolsey called it the "hottest current topic in intelligence policy."

Henry T. Clements believes we should focus on the former. His company, Technology Security Planning Inc., is one of the few U.S. firms that train companies how to monitor the strategies of foreign competitors and avoid having their own trade secrets stolen. "We're getting creamed," he says. "The way the rest of the world plays the game, there is no level playing field. Being ahead of the curve, knowing what they're after and what they have to do to get it, that's the only security you can bank on these days."

Some Washington policy-makers believe economic intelligence is the perfect task for the CIA, which is currently groping for a post-Cold War mission. Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) the new chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, recently told an interviewer that information intercepted by the CIA should be passed on to U.S. companies in some situations if it would provide a competitive edge. "You'd be a fool if you didn't," he said. He has since retreated from that comment.

But former intelligence officials now working in the private sector want the CIA to stay out of the industrial espionage racket. Gerald P. Burke, a former official with the National Security Agency and now the head of a consulting firm that advises clients how to counter economic espionage, wants to preserve the status quo. "The government has always done macroeconomic intelligence for government customers. But when it comes to gathering tactical commercial intelligence for U.S. companies, I strongly disagree."

Several arguments stand in the way of CIA involvement in economic espionage, not the least of which is ethics. "The private sector does not want illegally obtained clandestine intelligence because it puts the company in legal jeopardy," says Jan Herring, a 20-year CIA veteran who designed the business intelligence program for Motorola

Corp. "How many U.S. companies are going to act on illegally obtained information?"

The CIA would also run the risk of jeopardizing its secret sources and methods. Then there is the question of distributing the information fairly, when some economic secrets could be useful to several different industries. Private sector experts fear this information would fall prey to the same political pressures that govern the distribution of congressional pork-barrel spending.

To know exactly what to look for abroad, experts believe the CIA would have to have a domestic database to work from. Not only would the intelligence community find few U.S. firms trusting enough to provide them their latest technological advances, but the CIA itself is banned from domestic activities.

Finally, there is the threat of retaliation. Although Clements says his company uses only legal means to gather intelligence on foreign corporations, his efforts have sometimes been met with hostility. "In the past year, we've had three hostile buyout offers from the Japanese. They wanted to buy us and close us down. We've also got people that follow us," he said.

Where the CIA could play a larger role, says Burke, is in "defensive [economic] information gathering" against "illegal or improper foreign threats." Public statements by Pierre Marion, a former director of the French intelligence agency, the DGSE, illustrate why.

Marion has not only admitted to spying on foreign business competitors but has laid out specific examples of how it is done. On one occasion, he said that the DGSE compiled a dossier of secret bid proposals from American and Soviet companies competing with a French corporation for a \$1 billion contract to sell fighter planes to India. The DGSE then provided details of the bids to the French company, which came in handy when the company presented its own. The French company got the contract.

Though our chief economic competitors like Germany and Japan have been in the economic espionage business for years, some believe an even bigger threat looms in the former Soviet Union. Former KGB agent Stanislav Levchenko last year told the House Judiciary Committee that since the new republics lack resources for expensive research and development, "they will steal the proprietary secrets of foreign companies."

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# Senator suggests CIA give business trade secrets

By Bill Gertz  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

U.S. spy agencies should find ways of sharing secret economic intelligence with American businesses while thwarting efforts of foreign spies to steal U.S. trade secrets, the chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee says.

Sen. Dennis DeConcini, Arizona Democrat and the new chairman of the intelligence panel, said about 40 percent of all U.S. intelligence is economic-related data.

"That which is identified as national security information, we have

to keep [secret] for our policy makers, whether it has to do with trade, military sales or whatever," Mr. DeConcini said in an interview.

The Clinton administration should adopt a policy for handling other economic intelligence collected by spy agencies that is not vital to national security, he said.

"My own feeling is we ought to give it to our industry," Mr. DeConcini said. His committee has held two secret hearings on the issue.

The U.S. intelligence community currently is barred by law from providing secret information to businesses and any procedures for doing

so would require changes in law.

The panel is looking at the possibility that the Commerce Department, after improving its own collection of economic information, could be used to disseminate economic intelligence, he said.

Former CIA Director Robert Gates opposed giving U.S. intelligence agencies a role in supplying economic secrets to business and the current CIA chief, R. James Woolsey, has said the Clinton administration will review the policy.

Mr. DeConcini conceded that sharing secret intelligence with private business would "open up a bag

of questions." Including legal questions of how the secrets could be shared and who would have access to them.

The Arizona senator said he does not favor using U.S. intelligence personnel and equipment — from spies to electronic listening posts and spy satellites — to engage in spying on foreign businesses.

"I don't think we should have a policy where we're going to invade the Airbus inner sanctum and find out their secrets for the purpose of turning it over to Boeing or McDonnell-Douglas," Mr. DeConcini said.

"But if we find something, not to share it with our people seems to me

to be not smart."

The former county prosecutor said the FBI and CIA should get tough with foreign governments that use their spy agencies or surrogates to steal U.S. trade secrets.

"We ought to be prepared to strike back if we have to, just to demonstrate that if you want to play hardball, we can play hardball too."

Mr. DeConcini said foreign governments are spying on U.S. businesses and the extent of the activity is not clear. "But it's happening, by friendly governments, former hostile governments, and I think it's increasing," he said.

FBI officials said one recent involved French government effort to plant intelligence agents in IBM, Texas Instruments and mining Glass subsidiaries in France.

Other nations involved in economic espionage include many European governments, the former Viet Nam, Japan, Israel, China and others, officials said.

Mr. Woolsey said he plans to counter such economic spying "with particular vigor and relish."

The CIA director denied European press reports that he plans to share U.S. intelligence with American companies.



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BACKGROUND BRIEFING AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE MEETING  
BETWEEN PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN.

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WHITE HOUSE BACKGROUND BRIEFING ON THE CLINTON-RABIN MEETING  
INTRO: PRESS SECY DEE DEE MYERS THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON DC  
MONDAY, MARCH 15, 1993

MS. MYERS: OKAY. THIS WILL BE A BACKGROUND BRIEFING. TWO  
OFFICIALS, \*\*\*\*\* YOU MAY REFER TO HIM AS A SENIOR STATE  
DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, AND THE OTHER IS \*\*\*\*\* AND YOU MAY REFER  
TO HIM AS A SENIOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: OKAY, FIRST THE ONE-ON-ONE, WHICH  
LASTED APPROXIMATELY AN HOUR AND FIFTEEN MINUTES, INVOLVING, OF  
COURSE, THE PRESIDENT AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER AND THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE ON OUR SIDE, AND THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER  
AND HIS AMBASSADOR, AMBASSADOR RABINOVITCH, ON THEIR SIDE. THAT  
LED INTO AN EXPANDED MEETING, WHICH INCLUDED THE VICE PRESIDENT  
AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE, THE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, THE  
DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, AND MYSELF AND THE SPECIAL  
ASSISTANT FOR MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS TO THE PRESIDENT. THE LUNCHEON  
WAS JOINED BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LES ASPIN. AND LARGELY  
DISCUSSED -- THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION AT THE LUNCHEON WAS  
FOCUSSED MORE ON SECURITY ISSUES.

I THINK I CAN CHARACTERIZE THE MEETINGS BY WHAT THE PRESIDENT  
SAID WHEN HE CAME OUT OF THE ONE-ON-ONE AND JOINED WITH THE  
EXPANDED GROUP. HE CAME OUT AND SAID THAT WE HAD A VERY GOOD  
MEETING AND HAD A VERY POSITIVE DISCUSSION ON THE SECURITY  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL AND THE  
PROSPECTS FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE TALKS AND

THE IMPORTANCE OF THOSE TALKS RESUMING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON THE DATE THAT WE HAVE EXTENDED TO THE PARTIES.

I CAN TELL YOU THAT THE PERSONAL RAPPORT BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER WAS EXCELLENT -- IS EXCELLENT. THEY DIDN'T WASTE TIME ON PLEASANTRIES. THERE WAS AN IMMEDIATE ENGAGEMENT ON SUBSTANCE. YOU COULD SAY THAT THEY ENGAGED DEEPLY WITH ONE ANOTHER ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AND GOT QUICKLY INTO THEM. THERE WAS A MINIMUM OF RHETORIC, IF YOU WILL. AND ONE COULD SEE THAT THERE'S MUCH TRUST DIRECTLY ESTABLISHED BETWEEN THE TWO LEADERS. THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF WAS VERY PLEASED WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE, AND THAT FEELING WAS RECIPROCATED AND VOICED BY PRIME MINISTER RABIN.

THE PRIME MINISTER EXPRESSED GREAT PLEASURE AT BEING HERE FOR THESE MEETINGS WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND HIS TOP AIDES AND -- THANKED THE PRESIDENT FOR US SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL AND THANKED HIM PERSONALLY FOR SENDING SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER OUT TO THE REGION TO FOCUS EFFORTS ON PROMOTING THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS AND MOVING IT FORWARD.

IN THE DISCUSSIONS, THE -- THERE WAS A DISCUSSION, IF YOU WILL, OF THE INNER RING AND THE OUTER RING OF ISRAEL'S RELATIONS IN THE AREA AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE AREA, ISRAEL'S RELATIONS WITH ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS -- ARAB NEIGHBORS, AND THEN, IN THE OUTER RING, ISRAEL'S PERCEPTIONS OF THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE REGION AS A WHOLE IN THE LARGER SCOPE. AND, OF COURSE, WE -- THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY AND THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS GAVE OUR ASSESSMENT OF -- OUR VIEWS ON WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE REGION AS A WHOLE.

THERE WAS DISCUSSION OF THE LONGER-TERM -- FIRST OF ALL, THE REGIONAL THREAT AND WITH SPECIAL FOCUS ON IRAQ AND IRAN, AND, OF COURSE, AS ALWAYS, THE CONCERN THAT'S BEEN VOICED IN TERMS OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, THAT THERE HAS TO BE THE IDENTIFICATION, DESTRUCTION, AND THE MONITORING OF IRAQ'S WMD CAPABILITIES ACCORDING TO THE UN RESOLUTIONS AND, OF COURSE, CONCERN ABOUT IRAN'S INTENTIONS IN THE NEAR AND THE LONG TERM ON DEVELOPING AND BUILDING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE, AND THERE WAS QUITE A BIT OF FOCUS ON THE LONGER-TERM SECURITY THREAT BY COUNTRIES WHO DEVELOP WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

SO THERE WAS A BASIC DISCUSSION ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS AND THE LONGER-TERM THREATS IN THE REGION. ALSO A DISCUSSION HOW PEACE AGREEMENTS COULD TRANSFER THE REGION AND LEAD FORMER ENEMIES TO COOPERATE TO MEET COMMON THREATS THAT THEY WOULD FACE IN THE REGION.

ON THE PEACE PROCESS, AS THE PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR IN HIS STATEMENTS TO YOU JUST A WHILE AGO, THE BASIC FOCUS WAS HOW TO

GET THE PARTIES BACK TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE AND THE NECESSITY OF THE PARTIES GETTING TO THE TABLE WITH MEANINGFUL POSITIONS SO THAT THE SUBSTANTIVE GAPS IN THEIR POSITIONS CAN BE NARROWED AND PROGRESS CAN BE MADE ON THE PEACE PROCESS. AS THE PRESIDENT INDICATED, THE DEPORTEE ISSUE WAS NOT ADDRESSED IN ANY DETAIL, AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS DEALING WITH THIS ISSUE, HAS DEALT WITH IT AND IS FOLLOWING UP.

THE TRUE FOCUS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THE PEACE PROCESS IS REALLY ON THE CORE CONCEPTUAL ISSUES THAT THE PARTIES ARE NOW ADDRESSING AT THE VARIOUS POINTS IN THE DISCUSSIONS IN THE VARIOUS TRACKS, AND AGAIN, HOW THE GAPS IN THEIR POSITIONS CAN BE NARROWED TO MAKE PROGRESS DURING THE NEXT ROUND. BOTH WE AND THE ISRAELIS AGREED ON MAINTAINING MOMENTUM ON ALL THE NEGOTIATING TRACKS AND THAT EACH TRACK WOULD BE MOVING AT ITS OWN PACE BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO MAKE MOVEMENT AHEAD ON ALL TRACKS.

IN THE DISCUSSIONS ON BILATERAL ISSUES, ONE OF THE MAJOR CATEGORIES WERE SECURITY ISSUES INVOLVING THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL, AND BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER AGREED TO UPGRADE THE LEVEL OF OUR STRATEGIC DIALOGUE. AND YOU HEARD THE PRESIDENT REFER TO THE EXCELLENT LEVEL OF EXISTING MECHANISMS FOR THAT DIALOGUE. THERE ARE IMPORTANT NEW LONG-TERM ISSUES THAT NEED TO BE ADDRESSED, SUCH AS THE PROLIFERATION OF BALLISTIC MISSILES, THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN THE REGION, AND SECURITY ISSUES THAT ARISE -- WILL ARISE OUT OF THE PEACE PROCESS ITSELF, AND IT IS IN THIS SENSE THAT WE ARE ENGAGING ON THE PROSPECTS FOR AN ENHANCED DIALOGUE ON SUCH ISSUES.

ON THE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY COMMISSION, THIS WILL BE A PUBLIC COMMISSION WITH A PRIVATE SECTOR ADVISORY BOARD, AND WE ANTICIPATE INTENSIFIED COOPERATION IN FOUR AREAS: ENCOURAGING HIGH-TECH INDUSTRIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL TO LINK UP IN JOINT PROJECTS THAT WILL BENEFIT BOTH COUNTRIES, FOSTERING SCIENTIFIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE US AND ISRAELI UNIVERSITIES AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS, PROMOTING DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL TECHNOLOGIES, AND ASSISTING IN THE ADAPTATION OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY FOR CIVILIAN PRODUCTION. AND AS THE PRESIDENT STATED, HE HAS ASKED THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, RON BROWN, TO HEAD UP THE AMERICAN SIDE.

ON US ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL, AGAIN YOU HEARD THE PUBLIC COMMENTS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING THE CURRENT AID LEVELS TO ISRAEL. ALSO THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT DISCUSSION ON MAINTAINING ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE, WHICH, OF COURSE, IS PART OF THIS, AND GIVING MEANING TO THIS COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE WILL BE A FOCUS OF THE ENHANCED DIALOGUE THAT WE ARE DISCUSSING, ENGAGING IN.

THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT FOCUS ON THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT AND

THE NEED FOR ALL EFFORTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN TO END THIS BOYCOTT, AND ESPECIALLY ON OUR SIDE THE SECONDARY AND TERTIARY ASPECTS OF THIS BOYCOTT THAT AFFECT AMERICAN COMPANIES, REFERENCES MADE TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S RAISING THIS ISSUE VERY DIRECTLY DURING -- WITH THE PARTIES, THE COUNTRIES WE VISITED IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE LAST TRIP, AND THE NEED TO ENGAGE IN A MULTILATERAL SENSE WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES AND IN THE G-7 CONTEXT ON THIS ISSUE.

WE ARE ALSO WORKING, AS YOU KNOW, WITH THE ISRAELIS ON OUT-OF-AREA COOPERATION IN THE FORMER SOVIET REPUBLICS, SUCH AS THE CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS AND THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES. AND THERE WAS A DISCUSSION OF HOW TO MOVE FORWARD ON THAT TYPE OF COOPERATION.

IN SUM, THE PRESIDENT HAD AS THE OBJECTIVE OF THIS MEETING -- THIS FIRST OFFICIAL MEETING WITH THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER HERE -- THE OBJECTIVE OF BUILDING A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE, AND TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING OF HOW WE CAN PROCEED TOGETHER TO ADVANCE THE PEACE PROCESS IN 1993 AND MAKE IT A YEAR OF ACHIEVEMENT. THE PRESIDENT IS CONFIDENT THAT THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS -- THESE OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN MET, AND AS I SAID, VERY PLEASED WITH THE RESULTS OF THE DISCUSSIONS.

\*\*\*\*\* AND I WOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS.

Q THE PRESIDENT VIRTUALLY ECHOED THE PRIME MINISTER ON WHAT PEACE MEANS TO THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL -- FULL RELATIONS, CHANGES -- BUT HE CAREFULLY SIDETRACKED ANY DISCUSSION OF WITHDRAWAL. WHAT IS THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION ON ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, AGAIN, THIS IS -- BARRY, THIS IS A FOCAL POINT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES. IT'S NOT --

Q WE KNOW RABIN'S POSITION, HE HAS STATED IT. DOES THE PRESIDENT AGREE WITH IT?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, LOOK, THE UNITED STATES IS NOT A PARTY TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE ARE A CO-SPONSOR. THE PRESIDENT HAS STATED THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL BE A FULL PARTNER. THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE. WE WILL DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PROMOTE FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AND TO GET THE PARTIES -- TO HELP THE PARTIES TO NARROW THE SUBSTANTIVE GAPS. REMEMBER, THESE ARE DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES. WE WILL STATE OUR VIEWS, WE WILL PLAY THE ROLE OF AN INTERMEDIARY TO FACILITATE AGREEMENT. SO WHAT'S IMPORTANT IS WHAT THE PARTIES ARE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE ON THOSE ISSUES THEMSELVES, WITH OUR HELP.

Q IF THE APPROACH IS A LAND-FOR-PEACE FORMULA, THE PRESIDENT WASN'T SHY ABOUT ADDRESSING ONE SIDE OF THE EQUATION. HE SAID WHAT PEACE MEANT TO HIM. WHAT IS THE PRESIDENS SITION ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE EQUATION -- LAND?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: BARRY, THE PRESIDENT, IF I REMEMBER CORRECTLY, AT LEAST TWICE IF NOT THREE TIMES TODAY IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE REFERRED TO THE GOVERNING UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, AND THAT MEANS 242, 338. AND THAT IS THAT BASIS UPON WHICH THE UNITED STATES BASES ITS POSITION --

Q ON ALL FRONTS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: -- ON THE PEACE PROCESS.

Q ON ALL FRONTS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: YES, IT'S A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE PROCESS. THE OBJECTIVE IS THAT THERE BE PEACE ON ALL FRONTS.

Q (THAT'S NOT ?) SELF-EVIDENT. THAT WASN'T THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S POSITION BEFORE RABIN TOOK OVER.

Q (?) : (IS ANYONE ELSE ALLOWED TO ASK QUESTIONS ?)?

Q I'M ASKING THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I JUST GAVE YOU THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION. IT'S THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL STRONGLY ADHERE TO THE GOVERNING UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

Q \*\*\*\*\*, CAN I ASK YOU --

Q CAN WE TALK A BIT -- COULD YOU, EITHER ONE OF BOTH OF YOU, TALK A BIT ABOUT HOW THE ISSUE OF US AID TO ISRAEL AND EGYPT CAME UP? DID THE PRIME MINISTER RAISE THE ISSUE BECAUSE HE IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN CONCERNED ABOUT WHETHER THE UNITED STATES, OVER THE LONG-TERM, WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO GIVE THIS KIND OF AID, OR DID CLINTON RAISE THE ISSUE? AND ARE WE ONLY TALKING ABOUT FISCAL '94 OR ARE WE TALKING ABOUT THE LONG-TERM? DID CLINTON MAKE AN OPEN-ENDED COMMITMENT TO CONTINUE THIS LEVEL OF AID? THAT'S THE FIRST QUESTION.

THE SECOND QUESTION IS, CLINTON, IN DESCRIBING WHAT FULL PARTNERSHIP MEANT, USED THE WORD "MEDIATOR," AND CHRISTOPHER, IN HIS TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST, SAID THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT BE A MEDIATOR. IS THIS A SLIP OF THE TONGUE, OR INDEED DOES THIS INDICATE AN EVEN MORE ACTIVE ROLE THAN YOU HAD ORIGINALLY --

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: ON YOUR SECOND QUESTION, ELAINE (SP), I WOULDN'T TAKE THAT IN A TECHNICAL SENSE OF A MEDIATOR, WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAID, AS AN INTERMEDIARY, AN HONEST BROKER, USING OUR GOOD OFFICES AND FACILITATING AGREEMENT AMONGST THE PARTIES. IT'S NOT THE ROLE. WHAT'S IMPORTANT HERE IS TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THAT ROLE AND THE ROLE OF AN ARBITER. WE'RE NOT THERE TO MAKE JUDGMENTS LIKE IN A COURT OF LAW, BUT WE'RE THERE TO

FACILITATE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES, AND THAT'S THE ROLE AND THAT'S WHAT THE PRESIDENT MEANT.

Q MEDIATOR LOOSELY --

SR. STATE DEPARTNOFFICIAL: NOT IN THE TECHNICAL SENSE, NOT IN THE TECHNICAL SENSE OF THE WORD.

ON THE FIRST QUESTION, I'LL LET \*\*\*\*\* ANSWER THAT.

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: WELL, WITHOUT SAYING WHO EXACTLY BROUGHT IT UP, LET'S SAY THEY BOTH WERE INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING IT, AND I THINK THAT THERE WAS A COMMON CONCERN THERE THAT IN THE CONTEXT OF ISRAEL TAKING RISKS FOR PEACE, THE UNITED STATES' ROLE, AS THE PRESIDENT SAID PUBLICLY, WAS TO HELP ISRAEL MINIMIZE THOSE RISKS. OUR SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO ISRAEL IS CRITICAL IN THAT PROCESS, AND THAT WAS RECOGNIZED BY BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT.

AS YOU PROBABLY KNOW, THE ADMINISTRATION IS SUPPORTING A REQUEST FOR MAINTAINING THE LEVELS FOR MAINTAINING THE LEVELS FOR FY -- FISCAL YEAR '94, AND I THINK THE PRESIDENT MADE IT CLEAR THAT WE WOULD MAKE OUR BEST EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN THOSE LEVELS BEYOND THOSE YEARS. AND OF COURSE, IF THERE IS INDEED A BREAKTHROUGH TO PEACE IN THE REGION, I THINK THAT WILL TRANSFORM THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THERE'S A SENSE IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES WOULD THEN BE PREPARED TO HELP COMPENSATE ISRAEL FOR THE RISKS IT WOULD TAKE TO MAKE PEACE.

Q CAN I FOLLOW UP -- CAN I FOLLOW UP ON THAT --

Q DOES THAT MEAN THAT THE US COULD EVEN ENVISION GIVING ISRAEL MORE IN THE WAY OF SECURITY AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IF --

SR. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: YOU HAVE TO LOOK -- YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT -- AS \*\*\*\*\* SAID, YOU KNOW THE COMMITMENT CERTAINLY FOR FY-94 IS SOLID, IT'S THERE AND THE COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE IS SOLID, IT'S THERE. IN THE LONG-TERM THERE ARE FACTORS THAT -- YOU HAVE TO LOOK AT THIS IN A MACRO SENSE AND NOT JUST A MICRO SENSE OF THE THRUST OF YOUR QUESTION. CERTAINLY OUR POLICIES HAVE MANY ASPECTS TO IT, INCLUDING ECONOMIC REFORMS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT WE'RE PUSHING IN COUNTRIES SUCH AS EGYPT AND ISRAEL, SO THAT THEIR ECONOMIES CAN BECOME MORE SELF SUSTAINING.

WE HAVE POLICIES THAT WILL BE FURTHER ELABORATED ON NON-PROLIFERATION, WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION STRONGLY ADHERES TO, WHICH AGAIN CAN HELP IMPROVE THE SECURITY SITUATION IN THE REGION. AND OF COURSE, AS \*\*\*\*\* INDICATED, IF THERE IS A PEACE AGREEMENT, THAT ALSO WILL CHANGE IN VARIOUS ASPECTS THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

SO YOU CAN'T LOOK AT THIS JUST AS STATICALLY AS YOUR QUESTION IMPLIES.

Q CAN I FOLLOW UP ON THAT PLEASE? IF I COULD JUST FOLLOW UP. I AM SPECIFICALLY INTERESTED IN THE ESF, THE ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUND. THAT BUDGET IS GETTING SQUEEZED, AS YOU KNOW, AND THE PRESIDENT WANTS TO RAISE BY DOLLAR 300 MILLION THE AMOUNT OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR RUSSIA. WAS THERE ANY TALK, ANY SUGGESTION TO THE PRIME MINISTER THAT ISRAEL MIGHT HAVE TO SACRIFICE IN FUTURE YEARS SO THAT -- ON ECONOMIC SUPPORT FUNDS -- SO THAT SOME AID UNDER -- IN THAT FOREIGN AID BUDGET COULD GO TO OTHER COUNTRIES, SUCH AS RUSSIA. WAS THERE ANY DISCUSSION OF THAT?

SR. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY SUCH DISCUSSION ALONG THOSE LINES, BUT LET ME JUST REPEAT THE VERY STRONG COMMITMENT FOR MAINTAINING ISRAEL'S AID LEVELS IN FY-94, AND MAINTAINING ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE. I MEAN THESE ARE IMPORTANT POSITIONS BY THE ADMINISTRATION.

Q DOES ESF CONTRIBUTE TO THAT, MAINTAINING ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE EDGE?

SR. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL: WELL, WE'RE TALKING ABOUT THE OVERALL AID LEVELS TO ISRAEL.

Q MAY I ASK YOU WHETHER OR NOT THE NEW YORK BOMBING CAME UP IN THE DISCUSSION, WHETHER IN THE EXPANDED MEETING OR IN THE ONE-BY-ONE? (INAUDIBLE) -- WHETHER OR NOT THEY SAW REASON TO FEEL THAT THE THREATS THAT SOME ELEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST THREATEN BOTH COUNTRIES, ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES -- (INAUDIBLE) -- AND IS THERE ANY COOPERATION IN TRYING TO FIND THE CULPRITS WHO COMMITTED THE BOMBING IN NEW YORK? THE SECONDARY QUESTION WILL HAVE -- (INAUDIBLE) -- WHETHER HAIFA HARBOR IN FACT IS A PLACE FOR THE REPAIRING OF AMERICAN WARSHIPS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: NOT -- NOT TO OUR KNOWLEDGE. THERE -- THIS --

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: WELL, THAT -- THE -- A LOT OF THE STRATEGIC COOPERATION ISSUES WILL BE DISCUSSED WITH -- ARE BEING DISCUSSED RIGHT AT THIS MOMENT WITH SECRETARY ASPIN, SO IT WAS MORE LIKELY THAT WOULD -- THAT -- THAT KIND OF ISSUE WOULD COME UP THERE THAN IN THIS MEETING.

Q WHAT ISSUE? THE HAIFA HARBOR?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: YEAH.

Q WHAT ABOUT THE BOMBING --

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE -- THAT

CERTAINLY WAS DISCUSSED AS A THREAT TO STABILITY IN THE REGION AND TO, OBVIOUSLY, THE TRAGEDY OF INNOCENT LIVES BEING LOST TO THIS PHENOMENON. THERE WAS MENTION MADE OF THE INCIDENT IN NEW YORK. BUT IN TERMS OF THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE TWO DELEGATIONS, IT WAS THE OVERALL THREAT OF TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE AND EFFORTS THAT HAVE TO BE MADE TO CONTROL IT. BUT I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY SPECIFIC DISCUSSION LINKING TERRORISM IN THE REGION TO THE INCIDENT IN NEW YORK PER SE.

Q WHAT --

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: THAT, AS YOU KNOW, IS BEING INVESTIGATED, AND WE HAVE TO AWAIT THE RESULTS OF THAT INVESTIGATION.

Q CAN YOU ELABORATE ON THE FOCUS THAT YOU MENTIONED ON IRAN AND IRAQ? HOW MUCH TIME DID THEY SPEND ON THAT, AND WHAT'S THE ASSESSMENT OF THE -- AT LEAST PUBLICLY OF THE LOW PROFILE THAT SADDAM HAS TAKEN OVER THE PAST -- WELL, SINCE CLINTON TOOK OFFICE?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT IT IS NOT CHARMED BY SADDAM'S CHARM OFFENSIVE. AND THEREFORE THERE'S A GREAT DEAL OF SKEPTICISM IN TERMS OF WHAT THIS SO-CALLED LOW PROFILE MEANS. THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT, AS THE PRESIDENT HAS MADE CLEAR, THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS MADE CLEAR, AND OTHER HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS, THAT THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT MUST ADHERE TO ALL THE PERTINENT UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS AND THE SANCTIONS THAT ARE -- HAVE BEEN IMPOSED. AND THIS IS A SINE QUA NON. AND THEREFORE THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT WILL BE JUDGED BY ITS ACTIONS, AND NOT BY ANY SO-CALLED LOW PROFILE OR CHARM OFFENSIVE. BUT IT'S ACTIONS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS LOOKING FOR IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

Q HOW MUCH DID THEY SPEND ON THIS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I CAN'T GIVE YOU A CLOCK TIME, I MEAN, THAT THEY -- BUT IT WAS DISCUSSED, AND THE IMPORTANT PART OF THE DISCUSSION WAS ON REGIONAL SECURITY ISSUES AND THE FUTURE THREAT. SO I WOULD SAY A -- I CAN'T GIVE YOU A TIME. I CAN'T GIVE YOU A TIME.

Q WHAT WILL BE THE LEVEL AND THE MECHANICS OF THE NEW STRATEGIC COOPERATION, AND HOW DOES HAVING THAT ENHANCED SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL SQUARE WITH BEING AN HONEST BROKER IN THE PEACE PROCESS? DOESN'T IT COMPOUND THE PROBLEMS, THE US HISTORIC RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL, VIS-A-VIS DEALING WITH THE ARABS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WE'VE ALWAYS HAD A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP

WITH ISRAEL SINCE ITS INCEPTION. I MEAN, THERE'S NOTHING NEW IN THAT, AND WE'VE ALWAYS HAD A VERY CLOSE DIALOGUE WITH THE ISRAELIS ON A WIDE SCOPE OF ISSUES, INCLUDING SECURITY. SO THERE'S NOTHING THAT SHOULD -- THAT SHOULD CERTAINLY NOT COME AS A SURPRISE TO ANY OF THE PARTIES. BUT AN ENHANCED STRATEGIC DIALOGUE, LOOKING AHEAD IS SOMETHING THAT SEEMS TO BE VERY TIMELY.

Q AND WHAT ABOUT THE LEVEL AND FREQUENCY AND MECHANICS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, ALL OF THAT IS -- IT'S -- WE'RE DISCUSSING THAT NOW, AND THAT WILL BE WORKED OUT.

Q IN THE SAME VEIN, WHERE -- YOU SAID SOMETHING ABOUT THE CURRENT PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE SEEN COMMON THREATS FROM ELSEWHERE THAT THEY MIGHT COOPERATE ON AFTER THEY MAKE PEACE AMONG THEMSELVES. COULD YOU EXPLAIN A LITTLE MORE WHAT YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT THERE?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, THAT'S ONE -- THAT WOULD BE ONE OF THE QUOTE-UNQUOTE "FRUITS OF PEACE" IF AFTER THERE'S A PEACE SETTLEMENT, THEN, YOU KNOW, THE PARTIES THEMSELVES COULD BEGIN A NEW ERA OF COOPERATING ON THREATS THAT THEY SEE TO THE REGION ITSELF, WHETHER THERE'S SECURITY --

Q (OFF MIKE) -- IRAQ, IRAN --

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: -- SECURITY THREATS, THREATS OF ANOTHER NATURE -- (LAUGHS). IT COULD BE EVEN TO THE --

YOU KNOW, WE HAVE THE -- WE HAVE THE MULTILATERAL DISCUSSIONS GOING ON THAT ARE ADDRESSING A WHOLE HOST OF REGIONAL ISSUES FROM ECONOMIC TO ARMS CONTROL AND REGIONAL SECURITY AND ENVIRONMENT, AND THERE COULD BE MANY THREATS THAT THEY COULD FACE TOGETHER.

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: LET ME JUST ADD -- ADD SOMETHING ON THAT IN TERMS OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEACE PROCESS AND OTHER THREATS IN THE REGION. THE MADRID PROCESS THAT IS NOW UNDERWAY OF DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ALL OF ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS AND THE PALESTINIANS WAS LAUNCHED IN THE WAKE OF THE GULF WAR, AND THERE IS VERY CLEARLY A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WHAT HAPPENS IN THE EAST AND WHAT HAPPENS IN THE WEST OF THIS REGION. AND THEREFORE, IF WE CAN ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH TO PEACE IN THE WEST, IT WILL MAKE IT EASIER FOR US TO COOPERATE WITH THE PARTIES THAT MADE PEACE TO DEAL WITH THE THREATS IN THE EAST.

Q WHAT WAS THE GENERAL ASSESSMENT --

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: YOU'VE GOT A JOURNALIST HERE WHO SHOWED HIS VALOR AS A JOURNALIST IN BEIRUT BY ALMOST BEING CRUSHED TO DEATH DURING A JOURNALIST OFFENSIVE, SO I HAVE TO

GIVE HIM THE FLOOR. SID?

Q THE PRESIDENT INDICATED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD NOT HOLD UP THE PEACE TALKS FOR THE PALESTINIANS. DO YOU HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THAT SENTIMENT IS PREVALENT AMONG THE OTHER ARAB PARTIES?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, THE SENTIMENT THAT WAS EXPRESSED TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE BY THE LEADERSHIP OF ALL THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS -- IN LEBANON, IN SYRIA, IN JORDAN, AND SPECIFICALLY WHAT THE PALESTINIANS TOLD THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN JERUSALEM -- WAS THAT THEY HAD A STRONG COMMITMENT TO THIS PEACE PROCESS AND ON THE URGENT NEED TO RESUME THE PEACE TALKS, AND THAT THEY REALIZED FULL WELL THAT THIS WAS TRULY THE ONLY WAY OUT, ESPECIALLY THE PALESTINIANS IN TERMS OF THEIR NEEDS AND THEIR REQUIREMENTS FOR THEIR PEOPLE, THAT PERHAPS THEY HAVE THE MOST TO GAIN AND THE MOST TO LOSE IF THE PEACE PROCESS ISN'T RESUMED. SO WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN A VERY STRONG RECONFIRMATION DURING THAT TRIP OF THE COMMITMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP TO THE PEACE PROCESS. SO, IT'S BASED ON THOSE DISCUSSIONS THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE WHEN HE WENT TO GENEVA THAT HE AND FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV LAUNCHED THE INVITATIONS.

Q TO FOLLOW UP ON THAT, THE PALESTINIANS HAVE BEEN WATCHING THIS MEETING VERY CAREFULLY, AND IT TURNS OUT THAT THE THINGS THAT THEY CARE ABOUT THE MOST AT THIS MOMENT -- NAMELY, THE DEPORTEE ISSUE AND ALSO HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE TERRITORIES -- APPARENTLY HAVEN'T BEEN ADDRESSED. WHAT KIND OF A SIGNAL DOES THAT SEND TO THE PALESTINIANS, THAT THESE ISSUES WHICH THEY CARE ABOUT SO MUCH ARE NOT IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO BE TAKEN UP AT THIS LEVEL?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: THIS ISSUE WAS NOT DISCUSSED IN ANY DETAIL, AS I SAID, BUT THE ISSUE HAS BEEN ABUNDANTLY ADDRESSED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE ENGAGING, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF PRESIDENT CLINTON, IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO ACHIEVE THE ISRAELI-US UNDERSTANDING WHICH YOU ARE ALL ABUNDANTLY AWARE OF, AND I WON'T REPEAT THE DETAILS OF, WHICH MOVED THE DEPORTEE ISSUE FORWARD IN A VERY SIGNIFICANT MANNER. LATER, THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL ACTED ON THAT BECAUSE THE PALESTINIANS AGAIN SAID THAT THEY NEEDED SOME UNSC COGNIZANCE OF IT. THAT WAS DONE. AND FURTHER, WHEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE WAS IN JERUSALEM DURING HIS TRIP, HE INTERACTED WITH THE PALESTINIANS AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO EVEN PRODUCE FURTHER MOVEMENT. SO THE PALESTINIANS, WITH WHOM, BY THE WAY, WE ARE IN VIRTUALLY DAILY CONTACT, ARE ABUNDANTLY AWARE OF OUR EFFORTS. SO I WOULD THINK THAT IT WOULD BE ERRONEOUS TO CONCLUDE THAT, YOU KNOW, THE ISSUE HAS NOT AND IS NOT BEING ADDRESSED. I THINK THAT WOULD BE A MISTAKE.

Q FOLLOWING ON THAT, ISN'T THERE A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN IT BEING DEALT WITH BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OR BEING DEALT WITH BY HEADS

עד כאן חלק 1

זכרם/ר, בצמ, לכגנמ, לכגנמ, (טבחש(0, מהר(0, חחש:הצופת  
סיתזם, אפצם, דمم, (סרג(0, (תגא'ר(0, רונג  
(הלשמה השאר(0, (טבחשם/ימען ב(0, (צוד(0, הרבסה, תעם, ביבר

ססססס

אנא, חוזם: 22139  
אל: רהmesh/757  
מ: רושינגטן, נר: 150393, זח: 1818, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
ביבב  
בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 15 מרס 1993

אל: חפוץת תקשורת

דעת: קונכ"לים - צפ"א

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטן

הנדון: תדרוך רקע בבית הלבן על פגישת הנשיא עם רוח"מ

BACKGROUND BRIEFING AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON THE MEETING  
BETWEEN PRESIDENT CLINTON AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN.

להלן חלק 2 מתוך 2  
המשך לנ"ר 598

OF STATE? I MEAN, WHY WAS IT NOT RAISED, IF ONLY TO SHOW THAT  
THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAS A MORAL OBJECTION TO THE POLICY?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: (ANDREA ?), IT WAS DEALT WITH BY THE  
PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY OF STATE FULLY AND ACTIVELY. I MEAN, IN  
THE FIRST DAYS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, THE SECRETARY OF STATE --  
AGAIN, UNDER THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTION -- ENGAGED IN  
NEGOTIATIONS WHICH MOVED THIS PROCESS FORWARD, THE WHOLE  
DEPORTEE ISSUE FORWARD, AND THAT PROCESS WAS CONTINUED IN THE UN  
AND THE PROCESS WAS CONTINUED IN JERUSALEM. AND AS I SAID, WE  
ARE IN VIRTUALLY DAILY CONTACT WITH THE PALESTINIANS. SO, THE  
ISSUE HAS BEEN AND IS BEING ADDRESSED. IT'S NOT THAT THE ISSUE  
IS NOT BEING ADDRESSED.

Q THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE LAID OUT THIS NEW AGENDA FOR -- WHEN HE  
SAID THE NEXT 10 YEARS OF STRATEGIC COOPERATION, MENTIONED  
SECURITY INTERESTS. ARE YOU ENVISAGING COOPERATION BETWEEN THE  
UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL NOT ONLY ON SECURITY MATTERS DERIVING  
FROM THE INNER RING SITUATION BUT ALSO THE OUTER RING? IN OTHER  
WORDS, DO YOU SEE ISRAEL AND THE UNITED STATES COOPERATING IN  
MEETING THE THREAT FROM IRAN, IRAQ, AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I THINK WE'VE ALREADY ANSWERED THAT IN  
OUR DISCUSSION OF -- FIRST OF ALL, WE'RE SHARING ASSESSMENTS,  
AND I THINK AS THE SITUATION EVOLVES, WE'LL SEE WHAT THE  
POSSIBILITIES ARE.

Q BUT IS THAT AN OPEN AGENDA ITEM FOR THIS 10 YEARS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: THAT'S A FUTURE TENSE QUESTION. I CAN'T ANSWER THAT.

STAFF (?): THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצעה: שחח, סשהח, רהמ (שהבט), מנכ"ל, ממכ"ל, מצלב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, ר'אגח (רמ), אמן (AMD), ממד, מצפה,  
מצחים, רביב, מעת, הסברה, דוץ (בעמי/משהבט), ראהה ממשלה

ססס



22135: חודם, 766/  
אל: רהmesh/  
מ-: וושינגטן, נ-: 592, תא: 150393, ז-: 1809, ד-: מ, ט-: כל,  
ביבב  
בלטס/מיידי

אל: שר האוצר.  
מנכ"ל האוצר.  
יוועץ כלכלי רוח"מ.  
מצפ"א.

מאת: ציר כלכלי - וושינגטן.

הנדון: סיכום ביקור שר האוצר בוושינגטן.

מצ"ב לעיונכם סיכום פגישות השר בעיר עם גורמי הממשלה והנכחים.  
כמו כן מצ"ב לוח הזמנים של פגישות השר.

ליודיעתכם.

אמנוון נויבך.

### סיכום פגישותיך בוושינגטן

#### תמצית האמירות והערות

1. צורך דחוף ברווחות כלכליות בישראל ובעיקר האצת תהליך ההפרטה.
2. לחץ כבד על סיוע החוץ ב- 1994 אשר יתכן ולא י��וץ - סיכוי סביר לקיצוץ ב- 1995. (הכוונה לסייע אזרחי)
3. דרישת להגברת הסחר עם ארה"ב והסרת מחסומי היבוא בארץ לסהורה אמריקאית.
4. דרישת לשימוש נאות בכספי הערבויות, כאשר עיקר הכספי חייב לעבור דרך הסקטור הפרטיאי.
5. העלתת הרעיון של תחלופה בין הערבויות לבין הסיוע האזרחי.

ממשלה

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## 1. הפגישה עם המשנה למזכיר קליפורד וורטון.

א. המושל דבק בעמדתו בתמיכה בסיווע החוץ לישראל ל-1994 חלק מהמדיניות הכלולות.

ב. קיימת תביעה חזקה לקיצוץ סופף בתקציב ולא בטוח שנייתן יהיה להגן על הסיווע לישראל.

ג. החל משנת 1995 צריך לחתם בחשבונו ירידת אפשרות במענק אשר למשה יקוזז על ידי הערבויות.

ד. קיבל הרפורמות הכלכליות איננו מספקת יחד עם זאת קליטת העליה מרוסיה וההשגים הכלכליים בהחלטת מושלים.

ה. העלה את בעיית הקבלנים האמריקאים בטונן די מינורי.

ו. הוגשה הזמנה למפגש G.E.D. J. בארץ.

## 2. רון בראון מזכיר המשחר.

א. תמיכה חמה ואוחdet לישראל תוך הבעת רצון לסייע ככל האפשר לכלכלה וקליטת העליה.

ב. ציפיה למHALכים יותר נועזים בתחום הפרטה וdagha מהמכשולים הללו מכסים לגביו יצוא אמריקאי לישראל.

ג. המושל יפעל לאכיפת חוקי החרם.

ד. מצפה ליותר רכש אמריקאי על ידי מדינת ישראל.

## 3. מיקי קנטור - ראש מנהל סחר החוץ - U.S.T.R.

א. הבעת אהדה חמה ביחס לישראל תוך ציון מחויבות המושל לבתוון ישראל וככלכלה.

ב. מעוניין לפעול להדוק והרחבת הקשרים הכלכליים עם ישראל.

ג. dagha عمוקה ממכשולים לא מכסים על יצוא אמריקאי.

ד. קיבל הפרטה והחשיפה של המשק הישראלי עשוי למנוע צמיחה כלכלית וhogdalat הסחר.

ה. מעוניין מאר ביחס היחסים ובתאום בנושאי סחר בין לאומי, הסכמים בין לאומיים ואמנות סחר (שיחות גאטיט, אורוגאי, N.A.F.T.A. ועוד)

## 4. מזכיר האוצר בנטסן

- א. הבעת הערכה ואחדה לישראל.
- ב. אי שביעות רצון מ对照检查 הדרפורמות הכלכליות ובעיקר בתחום הפרטה.
- ג. החענין כיצד ניתן להגביר את קצב הסחר בין חברות אמריקאיות וישראל.
- ד. שימושי הערכות וביצד יובטח השימוש הנאות לתשתיות ולסקטור הפרט.
- ה. ציין את דאגתו לנעשה ברוסיה והערכתו כי יהודים נוספים ינסו להגיע לארץ.

**בית הנבחנים**

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- 5. קונגרסמן ליויניגסטון - נציג המיעוט בוועדת הקצאות לסייע החוץ.
- א. החענין בשימושי הערכות וביצד יובטח שהממשלה לא תשתמש בכף.
- ב. העיר על נושא הדרפורמות הכלכליות והפרטה.
- ג. ציין את אמונתו בctrine בקיצוץ בגרעון בתקציב האמריקאי.

**6. סנטור אינזוייה**

- א. מעריך ומאמין שלא תהיה פגיעה בסיעוע החוץ ל- 1994. לא מאמין שנייה יהיה להגן על הממשלה ל- 1995.
- ב. מעריך שיש צורך במהלך אשר יאזור ויחליף את המענק.

**7. סנטור ליהי**

- א. כידיד מציע לא להשתמש בכיספי הערכות ליעדים לא ראויים.
- ב. צופה אפשרות ריאלית לקיצוץ סוחף של התקציב.
- ג. מעריך שסייע החוץ הינו אחד הסעיפים הרגיסטים בתקציב ומעריך שהשימוש עשוי להיות משמש תחליף לסיעוע. (העתרו נשמעה דומה להעתת תחת המזכיר בندון).
- ד. מעלה את הצורך בדרפורמות כלכליות והפרטה בתנאי ליציבותה הכלכלית של ישראל.

**8. סנטור מקונל - נציג המיעוט בוועדת הקצאות בסנט.**

- א. ציין את התגברות הדיבורים נגד סיוע החוץ בכתבי הנבחנים.
- ב. הביע תמייה מוחלטת בסיעוע לישראל והביע התנגדות נגד כל קשר בין הסכמים פוליטיים לתחמיכת כלכלה בישראל.

## 9. איפ"ק - תום דין

## הערכותיהם:

- א. בעיה מס' אחד - הקצב האיטי של ביצוע הרפורמות הכלכליות וההפרטה.
- ב. בעיה מס' שניים - חביעה לקיזוץ נוסף בתקציב האמריקאי העשויה לגלוש לחייבת לקיזוץ בסיווע החוץ.
- ג. להערכתם, בעקבות שיחות עם ליהי ואובי - יתכן ולא יהיה קיזוץ ב- 1994, אך נראה בעליל כי 1995 תהיה שנה בעיתית.
- ד. הידיעה הטובה - הממשל מחשש דרך לשיתופי פעולה כלכליים וטכנולוגיים אשר יסיעו ביצירת מקומות עבודה.

עד כאן

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, 0 (רHAM), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, מצלב, מצלב, ערוץ, כלכליות',  
אורצרא, 0 (ראשה הממשלה)

סססס

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17579  
אל: רהmesh/605  
מ: המשרד, תא: 110393, זח: 1746, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביב 539690  
שמור/מידי

אל: וושינגטון - שטיין, שילה  
מאת: ס/מנהל מצפ'א

לען

1. המזכיר כריסטופר בהודותו אמר (10.3) על חידוש השיחות הדוציא והרבע'ד כלל אמרה אודות 'הזמן לצדים לשולח נציגים לוושינגטון בסוף מרס או תחילת אפריל לקיים דיוונים מהותיים (SUBSTANTIVE) עם הצוות האמריקאי המורחב'.

2. ג'ון הרברט היועץ המדיני בשג'ארה'ב שפגש היום ממנכ'ל בנוסאים אחרים הבהיר גם סוגיה זו וטען שהמדובר בהיתצויות מקרימות שתעדוך ארה'ב בנסיבות כל אחת מהשלחות ערב המר'ם. את התאריך המוקדם שקבע כריסטופר לקיים התייעצויות הסביר הרברט בעובדה שבמכתב ההזמנה צוין התאריך עד 'ה-19 באפריל' במועד תחילת סבב השיחות התשייעי.

פוקס  
11 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, @(רהם) (שהבט), מנג'ל, מנג'ל, מצל, מצל, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @(ר'אגת), @(רמ), @(אמן), ממד, מצפה,  
סמנכלמצת, סיביל, רב'יב, @(ג'ל/הסברה, @(ראשהמשלה)

סססס

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ANN, חוזם: 17088  
אל: דהמיש/592  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 110393, זח: 1421, דח: ב, סג: שם,  
ביבכ: 539184  
שמור/בחול לבקר  
10.301



אל: וושינגטון  
לונדון - עברור ס/הש  
דע: תפוצת מאיה

השגריר - הציר

סיוור מזכיר המדינה באיזור.

להלן NON PAPER שרי/אגף מז'ת האוסטרלי קיבל משגארה'ב ושמסר  
לי (10) בעת ביקורי בזינה. מניח שהאמריקנים מסרו הנימר גם  
בכירות אירופיות אחרות.

--TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE HIS ADMINISTRATION ACCORDS THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, PRESIDENT CLINTON SENT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER TO THE REGION FEBRUARY 18-25 ON HIS FIRST OVERSEAS TRIP AS SECRETARY OF STATE. THE SECRETARY VISITED EGYPT, JORDAN, SYRIA, SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, CYPRUS, LEBANON AND ISRAEL. FOLLOWING THIS, THE SECRETARY MET RUSSIAN FM KOZYREV IN GENEVA, AND WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES IN BRUSSELS.

--THE SECRETARY HAD SEVERAL GOALS FOR THE TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST:

. O FIRST, TO DEMONSTRATE PRESIDENT CLINTON'S CONVICTION THAT THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS PRESENTS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS, PERHAPS A BREAKTHROUGH, IN THE PERIOD AHEAD.

. O SECOND, TO PRESENT U.S. VIEWS ON OTHER POLICY OBJECTIVES, INCLUDING:

-CONCERN ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS, THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT, AND PROMOTING U.S. COMMERCIAL SALES.

-REASSURANCE TO ALLIES THAT WE WOULD EXPECT IRAQ'S FULL COMPLIANCE WITH ALL UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.

-RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO LEBANON'S MAKING PROGRESS

TOWARD FULL INDEPENDENCE.

--THE SECRETARY ALSO FOCUSED ON ESTABLISHING PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE KEY LEADERS IN THE REGION AND ASSESSING THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE PEACE TALKS SO AS TO HELP REVITALIZE THE NEGOTIATING PROGRESS.

DISCUSSIONS WITH ARAB LEADERS

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-- THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH ARAB LEADERS -- PRESIDENT MUBARAK OF EGYPT, KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN, PRESIDENT ASSAD OF SYRIA, KING FAHD OF SAUDI ARABIA, EMIR AL SABAH OF KUWAIT AND PRESIDENT HARAWI AND PRIME MINISTER HARIRI OF LEBANON -- WENT VERY WELL. THERE WERE FULL AND FRANK DISCUSSIONS OF THE RANGE OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES.

--THE LEADERS OF THE STATES INVOLVED IN THE BILATERAL PEACE TALKS EMPHASIZED TO THE SECRETARY THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND INTENSE INTEREST IN RETURNING TO NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

--SIGNIFICANTLY, EACH OF THE PARTIES ALSO SAID THIS PUBLICLY DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT, EMPHASIZING THAT THEY FAVORED AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

--THE SECRETARY ALSO DELIVERED LETTERS FROM PRESIDENT CLINTON TO EACH OF THE LEADERS. IN HIS MEETING, THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY:

. O THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE PROCESS OF PEACE MAKING LAUNCHED AT MADRID, INCLUDING THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS.

. O U.S. POLICY REMAINS DIRECTED AT ACHIEVING A COMPREHENSIVE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE SETTLEMENT THROUGH DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BASED ON UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

. O THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO PLAY A VERY ACTIVE ROLE AS FULL PARTNER IN THE TALKS TO HELP OVERCOME AND BRIDGE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES, IF THE PARTIES, FOR THEIR PART, ARE PREPARED TO COME TO THE TABLE AND ENGAGE SERIOUSLY IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. IN EXPLAINING THIS ENHANCED U.S. ACTIVISM, THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT THE U.S. WOULD NOT REPLACE THE ROLES REQUIRED OF THE PARTIES THEMSELVES, BUT RATHER ASSIST THEM MORE VIGOROUSLY IN DEALING WITH THE DIFFERENCES THAT EMERGED IN THE TALKS.

. O AS A 'FULL PARTNER', THE SECRETARY EMPHASIZED THE U.S. INTENDS A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN OFFERING IDEAS, PROPOSING SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS. THE U.S. WILL WORK AS AN HONEST BROKER, FACILITATOR AND INTERMEDIARY; HOWEVER, WE WILL NOT PLAY THE ROLE OF ARBITER OR MEDIATOR' OR SIT IN THE ROOM WITH THE NEGOTIATING PARTIES, UNLESS ALL PARTIES WANT US TO DO SO.

--THE ARAB RESPONSES WERE OVERWHELMINGLY POSITIVE. THEY APPRECIATED

THE CONTINUITY IN U.S. POLICY; THEY WERE BUOYED BY THE WILLINGNESS OF THE U.S. TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE; THEY INDICATED THEIR UNDERSTANDING THAT SUCH A ROLE WOULD NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR THE DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND THE ISRAELIS; AND THEY MADE CLEAR THE THE DEPORTATIONS ISSUE, WHILE IMPORTANT, SHOULD NOT BECOME THE LITMUS TEST FOR WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS RESUME.

#### DISCUSSIONS WITH ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS

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--THE SECRETARY'S TALKS IN ISRAEL BENEFITTED FROM PRECIOUS ENGAGEMENT WITH PM RABIN IN ARRANGING THE PROCESS FOR DEALING WITH THE PALESTINIAN DEPORTATION ISSUE.

--THE SECRETARY MET WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN THREE TIMES DURING HIS VISIT TO ISRAEL, AND WITH THE PALESTINIAN PEACE TEAM LEADERS, INCLUDING FEISAL HUSSEINI, TWICE IN JERUSALEM. HE FOUND A WILLINGNESS BY BOTH PARTIES TO DEAL WITH THE DEPORTATION ISSUE. THE ISRAELIS WERE WILLING TO DISCUSS WHAT IT WOULD TAKE TO BRING THE PALESTINIANS BACK TO THE TABLE, AND THE PALESTINIANS INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY IN THEIR CONDITIONS FOR RETURNING TO THE TALKS.

--AFTER INTENSIVE EXCHANGES WITH BOTH SIDES, THE SECRETARY LEFT ISRAEL ENCOURAGED BY HIS DISCUSSIONS AND PERSUADED THAT THERE WAS BROAD AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON THE STEPS THAT WERE NEEDED TO RESTART THE NEGOTIATIONS.

--IN GENEVA, HE DISCUSSED THESE ISSUES WITH RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV. THE CO-SPONSORS AGREED ON THE DESIRABILITY OF BUILDING ON THE MOMENTUM OF THE TRIP BY ANNOUNCING THEIR INTENTION OF INVITING THE PARTIES TO A NINTH ROUND OF BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS IN APRIL IN WASHINGTON.

#### OTHER ISSUES

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--THE SECRETARY ALSO MADE POINTS IN ALL STOPS ABOUT OTHER ISSUES, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS. IRAQ, LEBANON, COMMERCIAL ISSUES AND ENDING THE SECONDARY AND TERTIARY ASPECTS OF THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT NOW.

--ON HUMAN RIGHTS, HE MADE CLEAR THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO SEEING POSITIVE CHANGE IN THE REGION AND BROADER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

--ON IRAQ, THE SECRETARY MADE A STATEMENT IN KUWAIT THAT PUT THE ADMINISTRATION SQUARELY BEHIND THE NEED FOR IRAQ'S FULL COMPLIANCE WITH ALL INSC RESOLUTIONS.

--ON LEBANON, THE SECRETARY'S VISIT WAS ITSELF A STATEMENT THAT SIGNALLED SUPPORT TO A GOVERNMENT THAT HAS TAKEN SOME POSITIVE FIRST STEPS ON EXTENDING CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY AND ON ECONOMIC REFORM.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

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--THE TRIP PRODUCED A NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

--OVERALL, THE SECRETARY WAS PLEASED AT BEING ABLE TO ESTABLISH EXCELLENT WORKING RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE REGIONAL PARTIES.

--THE SECRETARY HEARD A STRONG COMMITMENT TO PEACE AND A DESIRE TO SEE AN EARLY RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS FROM ALL HIS INTERLOCUTORS, ARAB AND ISRAELI.

--THE SECRETARY WORKED HARD WITH PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS TO ADDRESS PALESTINIAN CONCERNs REGARDING THE DEPORTEES AND HELPED MOVE THAT ISSUE FORWARD.

--BASED ON ALL THIS, HE AND FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV FELT IT WAS APPROPRIATE TO ANNOUNCE THEIR INTENTION AS CO-SPONSERS TO ISSUE INVITATIONS TO A NINTH ROUND OF BILATERAL TALKS IN APRIL.

--THE PARTIES ARE NOW FOCUSED ON RESUMING THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND UNDERSTAND IT IS NOW TIME TO DELVE INTO SUBSTANCE. THE SECRETARY MADE CLEAR THE U.S. WILL BE THERE, AS AN ACTIVE AND FULL PARTNER, TO ASSIST THEM TO REACH AGREEMENTS. THE OBJECTIVE NOW MUST BE TO MAKE REAL AND EARLY PROGRESS ONCE THE TALKS RESUME.

--THE SECRETARY ALSO DISCUSSED AND LAID OUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONCERNs IN THE VITAL AREAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, IRAQ, LEBANON AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS AND THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT.

עד כאן .

מנכ'ל  
11 במרץ 1993

תפוצת: שחה, סשה, רהט, (שהבט), מנכ"ל, ממנבל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, (ר'אגת), (רמ), (אמן), ממד, מצפה,  
סמנכלמצת, סביר, אירופה, (ראשה הממשלה)

סססס

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18145, חוזם:  
אל: רהmesh/638  
מ-: ווש, נר: 2050, תא: 110393, זח: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
סודי / מידי

אל: מנכ'יל, אירופה 3, מצפ' א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: תיקון לمبرקי 2049.

בمبرקי שלעיל נפלת טעות בסעיף 2.

במקומות: "איש שיחי התרשם מהשיכחה שלקהיליה יש אג'נדה...".  
צריך להיות: "איש שיחי התרשם מהשיכחה שלקהילין אין אג'נדה...".  
שטיין.

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, ר' (ר'rahm), שחח, מנכ'יל, מנכ'יל, ר' (רכץ),  
גנור, ר' (ר'agnet), ר' (ר'am), ר' (ר'aman), ר' (ר'ashahmashla),  
מצפה, סביר, אירופה, ערן, מזחים, סייבל,  
ר'gal/הסבירה, ר' (עמית5475)

סססס

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ANN, חוזם: 16153  
אל: רהmesh/576  
מ-: רוש, נד: 2049, תא: 100393, זח: 2000, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
סודי / מידי

אל: מנכ'יל, אירופה 3, מצפ' א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: תהליכי השלום: ביקור הטרויה בושינגטון.

משיחה ( 3/10 ) עם מקור שהשתתף בשיחה עם משלחת הטרויה בראשה עמד סימון פולר.

1. משלחת הטרויה הסתפקה בהאזנה לסקירה של צוות ההליכי לגבי תוצאות מסען של כרייטופר בזיה'ת והערכה לגבי המהלך הכספיים.

2. איש שיחי התרשם שלקחיה יש אג'נדת אותה מעוניינים לדוחף.

3. דוחו על כוונתם לבקר באיזור למרות שטרם נקבע מועד, מנהים שה ביקור יתקיים עוד לפני תחילת הסיבוב החשיעי.

4, בהמשך ליווזמות בלגיה ובריטניה לפני אש'יפ, נציגי בריטניה ובלגיה טענו שהמחוות שעשו אינה לאש'יפ אלא לפלסטינים תושבי השטחים. עוד הבהירו כי אינם מתחווים לפעול לשינוי נוסחת מדריד.

5. אנשי הממשל הבהירו בשיחה הסיבות בעטיים אינם מחדשים הדיאלוג עם אש'יפ.

6. בחשוכה לשאלת הטרויה הבהירו אנשי הממשל עםם בסוגיות המורחקים. הדגשו כי מבחינת הממשל הבנות שהושגו עמנו אכן ניתנות לפתחה. הוסיפו כי על הפלסטינים לשוב לשיחות כדי לאפשר יישום אותן דבריהם שוכמו עמנו.

7. נציגי הטרויה דוחו על פגישה שקיימו ( 9/3 ) בלונדון עם פיביל חוסיני אותה ניצלו בין היתר כדי לדוחר בו לחולחן המו'ם.

8. לסייעם, איש שיחי סבור שפעילות הקהיליה ( או נכון יותר יוזמות בלגיה ובריטניה ) נובעת מהפגרה הארכית של ה迤ה. יחד עם זאת לא נראה שלקהיליה יש אג'נדת עצמאית אותה מנסים לקדם. לדבריו אין לראות ביוזמות בריטניה ובלגיה כחלק ממאיצ' מתואם לשלב אש'יפ בתהליכי.

שתיים.

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, @ (רholm) (שהבט), מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, ר/מרכזי,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגט) @ (רמס) (אמן) @ (ראשהמשלה),  
מצפה, סביר, אירופה, ערן, מזתיים, סייבל,  
@ גל/הסברה, @ (עמיית 475)

ססס

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16050, חודם, אבאא, 574/רHEMAל, סגו:מ, דח:מ, 1530:חא, 100393, נר:2044, מ-:ווש, ס-:בככ-  
סודי / מידי

### אל: ממד - 4, אגד מז'ית, מצפ' א

### מאת: השגירות, ורשיינגרטן

### הבדון: סוריה.

מקור חז' משלוי בעל קשרים בסוריה (3/9). בן שיחי בקר בסוריה לפני מעלה מחודש, ומקיים קשרים עם השגריר הסורי בושינגטון. קבע כי דבריו שלhalbיו מבוססים על שטעם ממיבורות פורט

מהליך

1. הסורים בדקם ברצונם להשיג הסדר כולל, אך מבחןם מסלולי השיחות השוננים צריכים להיות משללים לקרונות רכבת, הרתומים זה לזה, כשבטר נוגדים במשותף אסד וראhim רבין, ומעליהם חוסה המטריה האמריקנית. אסד מאמין כי עם ראה'ם רבין יוכל להשיג הסכם, והוא חש דחיפות בשל כך. המקור הסביר שהסורים מבקשים למעשה להציג בו יכולו להשפיע על התהיליך בשופטם עם ישראל

2. סוררים המשתתפים בשיחות הבילטרליות הערכו באזני בן שיחי שמתכוונת להשיחות הנוכחות לא צפוייה להניב פירוט מושמעותיים. לדעתם, מן הרואוי להציג לרמת הידברות מצומצמת וAINטימית של קבוצות בהשתתפות גורמים פוליטיים ואנושי בטחונו משוני באבדדים.

3. בעת ביקורו בסוריה נוכח בן שיחי כי מדיניות אסד בתחילת מלחמת כללית בצמראת ובכיבוד הסורי גם יחד. ציין שהופעתם של ח'אדם תומך במדיניותו זו. נימוקו - קיימת מציאות חדשה. המקור הוסיף שבסוריה שמע שאלות לגבי החלצים הקיימים בישראל, בזיקה למלחין, אך לא קלט פקופוקים לגבי האפשרות להשיג הסדר (עם ממשרל הנוכחות י.א.), פקופוקים שנייתן לשמוע בקרב גורמים ערבים אחרים - למשל בקרב פלסטינים.

4. אסד נהנה מתחמיכה רבה בעקבות הסורי, משומש בעקבות זה משווים את מצבה של סוריה לנצח הפנימי והכלכלי של שכנותיה - איראן, ירדן, עיראק, לבנון וגט מערבם.

מג'יעים למסקנה שתחת שלטון אسد הגיעה סוריה ליציבות ו אף למצב כלכלי משופר, יחסית. במקביל חוששים בסוריה מפני הפגנודמנטיסטים, ומקומות שהסדרם ישבאל יתרום ליאיכו.

5. אשר למרכיבי ההסדר - בן שיחי חזר על נוסחאות מוכנות. אמר שמחינת סוכריות המדובר בנסיבות יישובם טוטאלי. פרט: לסוריה

חשיבות הפליטים צמוד לחזה. הוסיף שסוריה לא תוכל להראות כמו שקידמה את עניינה תוך דנחת הפליטים, שכן דימוי העצמי והציפיות ממנה בעולם הערבי, שונאים מלאה של מצרים.

איראן :

6. בכיר סורי קיבל באזני בן שיחי על מדיניות החוץ האגרסיבית של איראן. הסורי קבע, שפועלות דוגמת השטלה איראן על איי המפרץ אינן הגיוניות והוסיף שהסורים הובילו באזני איראן את דאגות מהשת' הפ בין חמאם. בן שיחי העיריך שחלק מפועלות איראן אינן מhabצאות על דעתו של רפסנג'אני, משומש זה איננו מקיים שליטה מלאה במנגנון השלטונו של ארצו.

אמתיה.

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (ר'rahm), (שהבט), מנכט, ממנכל, מצב, ר'מרכזי,  
גנור, (ר'אגח), (ר'ם), (אמן), ממד, מצפה,  
מזהן, (ר'אל/הסבירה, סיביל, משפט, (ראשה הממשלה)

סססס



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CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORKחקונסוליה הכללית של  
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מצפ"א  
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מאת: עתונות/ניו-יורק

הנדון: PHILIP ROTH

- רץ' מאמר T.Y.N. מ-7 מרץ בנושא הנדון.
- מבקש תgovתכם לאישור/שלילת טענות שעבד כסוכן המוסד אמריקני.
- השיבונו עד מחר בבוקר שלנו. עליינו לשוב לשבועון NEWSWEEK  
1 - TIME עם תשובה.

עתונות/ניו-יורק  
יובל רותם 10 במרץ 1993

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(1)

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A look of what could only have been bewilderment crossed his listener's face, and the lingering memory of a line in the book came to mind: "What fun it must be for him putting me on like this." And Mr. Roth — the Mr. Roth now sitting at the offices of his publisher, Simon & Schuster, not Mr. Roth, the book's narrator, or Mr. Roth, the narrator's impersonating nemesis — went on:

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Nancy Crampton/Simon &amp; Schuster

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# Philip Roth

Continued From Page C13

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Mr. Said argues that works of art as varied as Camus's "Stranger" and Francis Ford Coppola's "Apocalypse Now" situate "the source of the world's significant action and life" in the West, "whose representatives seem at liberty to visit their fantasies and philanthropies upon a mind-deadened third world." In the view of such artists, he goes on, "the outlying regions of the world have no life, history or culture to speak of, no independence or integrity worth representing without the West." The Arab killed by Meursault in "L'Étranger" remains faceless, as do the Arabs who die in "La Peste"; their deaths simply serve as catalysts for the French characters' existential soul-searching.

What Western writers also fail to take into account, says Mr. Said, is the resistance against empire that

some nice writer take me into his house. I made it all up. And now when I tell the truth, they all insist that I made it up. I tell them, 'Well, how can I make it up since you've always said I am incapable of making anything up? I can't win!'

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#### A Type of Novel Dwindles

"Until those people had put their hands on that material, it wasn't anything; it was putty, it was life," Roth said. "To see what they could do with it was inspiring and educational. But it wasn't as though there was a small world being mined similarly by similar kinds of writers, but rather an unmined world being confronted by radically different kinds of sensibilities."

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**CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK**

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1. רצ"ב מאמר ד.צ.נ. מ - 7 למשך בנושא חנדון.
2. מבקש תגבורתכם לאישון/שלילת טענותו שעבד כסוכן חמוש באתונת.
3. השיבו לנו עד מחר בכוורת שלנו. עליינו לשוב לשבועונים NEWSWEEK - 1 TIME אם תשובה.

עתוניות נייר ערך יובל רותם 10 במרץ 1993

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## כָּבֵד יְהוָה כָּבֵד

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Nancy Crampton/Simon & Schuster  
Philip Roth insists his latest book, "Operation Shylock," is a confession, not a novel.





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מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדוז: סקירה יומית 10/3

באישור לסקירת העתונות ליום ה - 10/3 מצ"ב הכתובות.

תקשורת



# FBI: Trade center terrorists 'well-known'

## Agent has no 'specific' group in mind

By Bruce Frankel  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — A "large, well-known" terrorist group organized the bombing of the World Trade Center, the principal FBI investigator on the case told Congress on Tuesday.

"It's a group that knows what they're doing, and perhaps not an ad hoc bunch of terrorists," said James Fox, head of the FBI's New York office.

He later refused to elaborate on the scope of the bombing, conspiracy or the identity of the perpetrators in the nation's worst terrorist episode. The Feb. 26 blast killed five, injured more than 1,000.

"I don't have a specific group in mind. But I don't think it's a fly-by-night," he said.

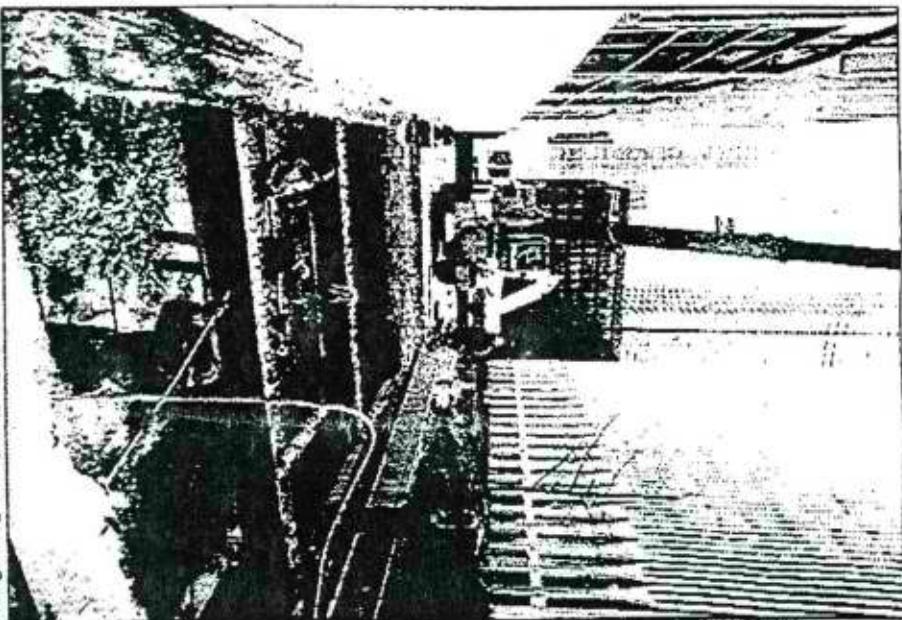
But law enforcement experts insist there is no reason to fear a wave of terrorism.

"This is not the opening act in a coming wave of terrorism," FBI Director William Sessions told the House Judiciary subcommittee, conducting the first congressional hearing into the bombing.

Prior to the bombing there hadn't been an international terrorist attack in the USA since 1983, he said.

### In other developments:

► New York City Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly confirmed the principal suspect in the bombing, Mohamed Salameh, 25, visited Sayyid Nossair — the man serving a 22-year sentence in connection with the 1991 assassination of radical Jewish leader Meir Kahane — at Attica prison.



AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTER: Workers cut a hole in the plaza Tuesday. A 28-ton crane will remove 2,500 tons of debris.

## 'Happy reunions' for autos, owners

By Bethany Kadele  
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Drivers who parked in the World Trade Center garage on the fateful day of the bombing are coming to an abandoned pier in Brooklyn to retrieve their cars — or what's left of them.

"So far we've had mostly happy reunions," says port authority police officer Chris Zissler. "Most of the people are surprised that their car... can be driven. I haven't talked to a single person who expected anything other than bad news."

As of Tuesday, 145 cars — about 50 a day — had been towed out of the bombed garage, examined by the FBI and sent to the makeshift car lot.

About 1,000 cars were in the World Trade Center's multilevel underground garage at the time of the Feb. 26 blast, Zissler said, "and half are in good shape."

Some of the vehicles belong to the government, but most belonged to Trade Center workers and visitors.

Some people call to check on their cars.

"I tell them, 'Your license plate is denied. But if it was denied before, then your car is fine,'" says Zissler.

One person who came to see his totaled car "is still recovering from the idea that he had been so close to death," says Zissler. The man was in the car at the garage gate, waiting to exit, when the force of the explosion ripped the roof off and jinned the doors shut.

Most people weren't taking souvenirs of the blast, but Zissler said he found one in a gold Aerostar. Sitting on the driver's seat, its glass shattered and its works missing, is a wall clock, time frozen at 12:17 and 40 seconds.

Officials estimate the explosion came around 12:18 p.m.

name than U.S. officials had.

With so many visa applications each year, mistakes are inevitable and, "this was one of them."

The State Department was in the midst of deporting him, when he applied for political asylum. A judge's ruling is pending.

The State Department was uneasy at Congress' involvement in the probe, cautioned against showboating.

► Members of Congress and experts at the hearing showed solid support for an anti-terror bill being introduced by Rep. Charles Schumer, D-N.Y.

who called the hearing.

It calls for the death penalty for death-causing terrorist acts and requires chemical markers on explosives to make them traceable.

But some House members are elected to public office sort of elbowing their way in front of the cameras," said Rep. Craig Washington, D-Texas.

► Lawmakers showed keen interest in how Sheik Omar Abdur-Rahman, the blind fun-

ctionary subcommittee, conducting the first congressional hearing into the bombing.

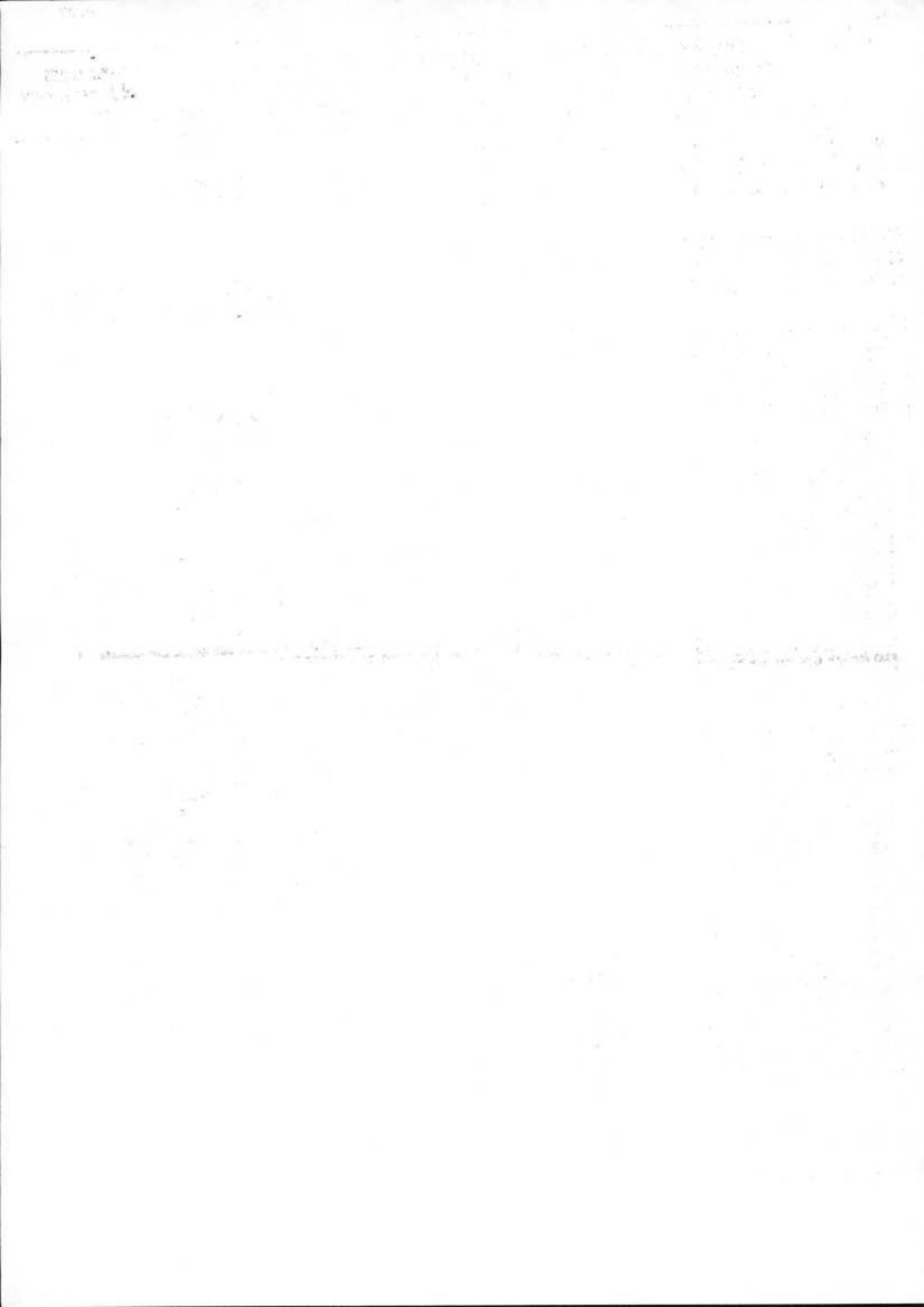
Prior to the bombing there hadn't been an international terrorist attack in the USA since 1983, he said.

### In other developments:

► New York City Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly confirmed the principal suspect in the bombing, Mohamed Salameh, 25, visited Sayyid Nossair — the man serving a 22-year sentence in connection with the 1991 assassination of radical Jewish leader Meir Kahane — at Attica prison.

Kunstler represented Nossair in the Khatane case.

► Lawmakers showed keen interest in how Sheik Omar Abdur-Rahman, the blind fun-



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*10/3* The World Trade Center bombing has prompted hearings in Congress over fears about terrorism and has raised concerns in the Muslim community that old stereotype are resurfacing. USA TODAY asked expert Yvonne Haddad for her perspective.

# Islam is about peace, not

**78**  
Muslims are unfairly tagged as terrorists, and the press is part of the problem. 'Islamic terrorism sells,' says professor.

## WHAT IS ISLAM?

*Yvonne Haddad* is professor of Islamic history at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Her comments on Islam were edited from an interview with USA TODAY's *Sharon Shahid*.

The word Islam comes from the three-letter root word in Arabic, "silm," which stands for peace. And, in a sense, Islam is the religion of peace. That's just the way the Koran talks about it — the religion of peace. When you become a Muslim, you become at peace with God. And that's what Islam means, to surrender to God, to stop fighting God. To be at peace with him, to have a relationship of peace. People should know that Islam, in a sense, urges people to worship the same God that Christianity and Judaism do. That we share not only the same God, but the same perception about accountability in this life. The accountability at the end of time on Earth. And also for the way we live our lives. It also calls for brotherhood and understanding, and it's very hard to teach that because most people have a prejudiced idea about what it is at the moment.



HADDAD

## FEAR OF TERRORISM

When we first came to this country, the stereotype of Islam on Muslims in America was camel jockeys, insignificant, on the margin of civilization. In the '70s after the oil boycott, the stereotype became one of what I call the oil sheik, someone who's a threat to our way of life because he wants to increase the price of oil. And then in the '80s, it became the terrorists. When I went into class this semester and I asked my students, "What comes to your head when I ask what is a Muslim, they said terrorists."

If we look back, we can see that it goes back to 1979 with the coming of the Ayatollah Khomeini with the vision of Muslims in Iran saying, "Death to America," that kind of stuff. It's ascribed to Muslims. I'm not saying that there aren't some terrorists who happen to be Muslims. All I'm saying is you can't tag the whole religion with it. The definition of a Muslim is one who prays. And so, terrorism is equated to any Muslim who takes his religion seriously. It is a very important thing to point people to, that we cannot demonize a religion, to have people afraid to pray.

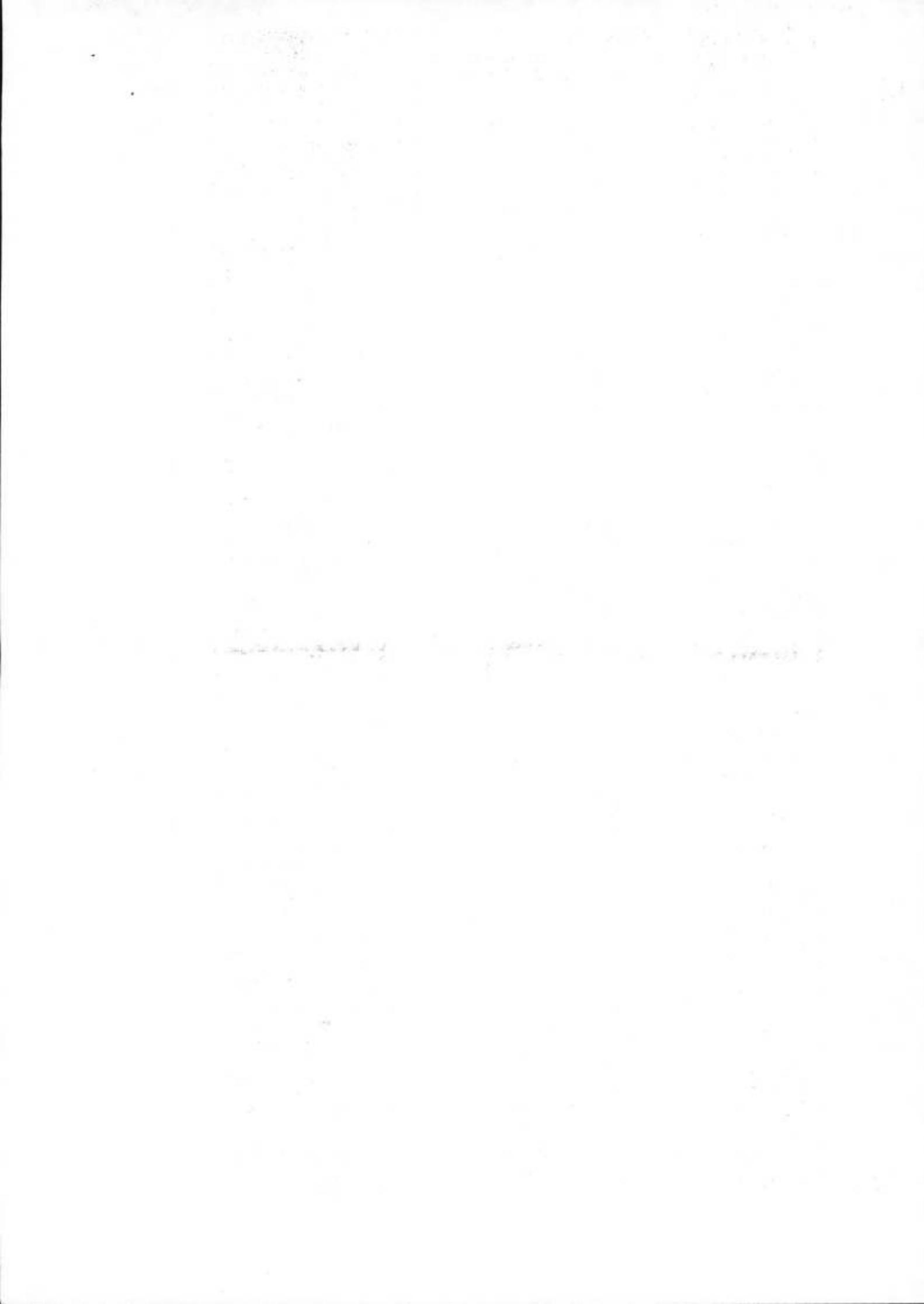
violence

USA Today

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## COMPARING WITH WACO

If you look at the United States, there are people killing people all day long. We don't say that there are Christians our killing people, do we? Look at Waco, Texas. Does that stand for Christianity? No. We don't talk about Christianity as a religion of violence because there's a crazy man in Waco. We don't talk about Christianity as a terrorist religion because there's the Ku Klux Klan, which goes around carrying a cross and saying, "We are doing this in the name of Christ." We distinguish between the acts of terrorist Christians and Christianity. There is a tendency in the American press — and there are a variety of reasons for it — to associate Islam with terrorism. It's unfair. I'm not a Muslim myself. I'm a Christian, and I find it's sort of unfair. If a Muslim man beats his wife, then they say, "Muslims beat their wives." When a Christian beats his wife, they say, "This man beats his wife." They don't say, "Christianity teaches the beating of wives." The impression is that all women are beaten up. They're all oppressed. You look at American society and you see how many women get beaten. Nobody says that Christianity propagates the beating of women.



## The world of Islam

### Second largest religion

A look at the world's largest religions:

|              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| Christianity | 1.7 billion |
| Islam        | 950 million |
| Hinduism     | 719 million |
| Buddhism     | 309 million |

### Where Muslims live

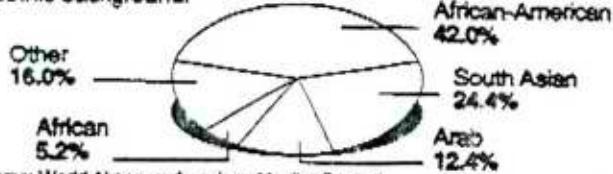
Muslim population by region:

|                         |             |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Asia <sup>1</sup>       | 625 million |
| Africa                  | 269 million |
| Former Soviet republics | 39 million  |
| Europe                  | 13 million  |
| Latin America           | 1.3 million |

<sup>1</sup> — Includes East and South Asia; South Asia includes the Middle East

### Muslims in the United States

An estimated 5 million Muslims — or about 2% of the total U.S. population — live in the United States. A look at their ethnic background:



Source: World Almanac; American Muslim Council

By Elva A. McLean, USA TODAY

### ROLE OF THE PRESS

The press needs to sell stories, and Islamic terrorism sells. There are some newspapers that do it more carefully than others, but it keeps being used. And it has repercussions in the Muslim community in the United States.

We don't know what the [World Trade Center] bombing in New York is. We have absolutely no idea whether this guy (suspect Mohammed Salameh) did it or not. But already there seems to be a presumption of guilt and association with the mosque in New Jersey. We don't know that this guy ever went to that mosque or whether he heard him (cleric Omar Abdul Rahman) preach. The press has tried the guy and found him guilty already. And as far as I can tell, there is very circumstantial evidence.

The press needs to do a more fair description of what is happening. The press has gone a little haywire on this one. It's been overdramatized. The press is drawing maps about terrorism, and the implication is that "they're here in the United States and they're about to take over." For Muslims living in this country, it's kind of scary.

### MUSLIMS IN USA

There are Muslims who are in their fifth generation of immigrants in the United States. The records I've been lecturing with show unequivocally that Muslims have fought in the First World War, Second World War, Korean War, Vietnam War and in Operation Desert Storm.

It's also true for immigrants who have left their countries recently that they have some identification with the country they left. This is no different from any other immigrant group. It doesn't mean that these Muslims — who live in this country because of economic, political or religious reasons — are terrorists or are anti-American. What I'm saying is not because I'm a Muslim; I'm saying that because it is my research interest. I'm an Arab-Christian. Everybody thinks I'm a Muslim because my name is Haddad. There are over 2 million Arab-Christians in the United States.

### MYTHS

Haddad was asked to clear up some other misconceptions. Here is what she had to say about:

**Women aren't equal:** In the religion of Islam according to the teachings of the Koran, God created man and woman of the same cell. They're supposed to be equal. They are equal in the sight of God. The only distinction is in their marriage. Every unit must have a leader, and the man is seen as the leader. When you have to make a final decision in the Islamic social system, the husband makes the last decision.

**Women can't drive:** The other day I had an interview and the reporter was asking me questions. And he said "Well, Muslim women cannot drive." That is nonsense. There are about 1 billion Muslims in the world. There are about 50 Muslim countries. There is one country — Saudi Arabia — that doesn't allow women to drive. And suddenly, Muslim women cannot drive. Muslim women drive all over the world except in Saudi Arabia.

**Muslims come from the Mideast:** The Arabs are just 15% of the Muslim population of the world. There are only about 150,000 Arab Muslims in the world. The majority of Muslims are not Arab. In fact, there are more Indonesian Muslims than Arab Muslims.

**The holy war:** The holy war is a very interesting one because the word "jihad" has come to mean holy war in American terminology. But in Islam, there is the interpretation of the lesser jihad and the higher jihad. The lesser jihad is holy war and the higher jihad, the more important, is the struggle of the self, the relationship with God and to resist the tendency toward evil. That is the primary struggle of the human being. The lesser jihad, which is war, is sanctioned only in conditions when Muslims are subjected to persecution.

**Fundamentalism:** Fundamentalism is an even funnier word to use because there is no Arabic word for fundamentalism. Fundamentalism is an American word. Fundamentalism has come to mean fanaticism of

5/3/93

# Egyptian radicals follow N.J. sheik

By Sami Rizkallah  
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

**HAIKSTAL, Egypt** — Forty three Islamic radicals opened their terrorism trial yesterday by professing allegiance to an extremist cleric who preaches at the mosque in New Jersey where a Palestinian suspected in the World Trade Center bombing worships.

Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, a blind preacher who has been living in the United States in self-imposed exile for nearly three years, has denounced the bombing in New York, which killed five persons and injured more than 1,000 on Feb. 26. His lawyer declined to comment on the statement by the radicals.

The statement read by a member of the fundamentalist Islamic Group did not refer to the Trade Center. But the British Broadcasting Corp. said the group denied any involvement in the bombing in a fax received Monday in Cairo. The fax also threatened retaliation for the linking of Sheik

Abdel-Rahman's name to the bombing probe.

The cleric has been acquitted three times by Egyptian courts of charges related to violence by radicals, including ordering the assassination of President Anwar Sadat in 1981 — a killing the Muslim radicals claimed responsibility for in their statement.

U.S. authorities are trying to deport Sheik Abdel-Rahman for providing false information on his application for permanent residency in the United States.

Egyptian fundamentalists have waged an intensified violence campaign since early 1992 in trying to oust President Hosni Mubarak's secular government and set up an Islamic government like Iran's. So far, 95 persons have been killed and 166 wounded.

The defendants are charged with terrorist acts, including four attacks on buses carrying foreign tourists and an attack on a Nile cruise boat. The indictment also lists an attack

on a Coptic Christian shop.

As the trial opened in a military court 25 miles northeast of Cairo, one defendant read a statement claiming that the Islamic group was responsible for Sadat's assassination and the murder last year of a prominent writer opposed to Muslim fundamentalism. He said the group tried to kill a former Egyptian interior minister.

"Islam, you are returning. You will rule with the Koran," the other defendants, almost all waving the Islamic holy book, chanted.

"Imprisonment and execution would not frighten us," they added.

The men, most bearded, some in long robes and others in Western-style suits, interrupted their chanting long enough for Hisham Abdel-Zaher, an engineer, to read the statement.

Over the protests of defense lawyers, Mr. Abdel-Zaher said:

"What is the al-Gamaa al-Islamiya Islamic Group? It is led by Dr. Omar Abdel-Rahman. It killed Sadat

after he rejected the rule of God. If terrorism and extremism means legitimate self-defense and the defense of our religion and honor, then welcome terrorism."

The court is hearing charges related to attacks on foreigners and tourist facilities beginning late last year. The military prosecutor said many of the defendants, including six men still at large, face a possible death sentence.

After a nearly two hour session on mostly procedural matters, the trial was recessed until Saturday.

The defendants said the Islamic Group's attacks are intended to wreck tourism, Egypt's biggest earner of foreign currency — \$3 billion in 1991 — and thus destabilize the government. Tourism plunged by 70 percent in November after the killing of a British nurse.

The violence also is retaliation for government torture of prisoners and the detention of 4,000 suspects without trial over the past four years, the defendants said.



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A banner reading "We didn't kill any one of the tourists" hangs over the defendants' cage as 43 Muslim radicals go on trial in a court near Cairo.

# Bombing suspect assisted defense in Kahane trial

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By Bill Gertz  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A man arrested in the bombing probe of New York's World Trade Center was active in the defense of the suspect acquitted in the slaying of militant Rabbi Meir Kahane, according to a prominent defense attorney.

William Kunstler, attorney for El Sayid Nosair in his 1991 trial for the Kahane murder, said Ibrahim Elgabrowny handled everything for the defense team, from security to picking up documents and evidence, the Associated Press reported.

Mr. Elgabrowny, Mr. Nosair's cousin, was "really a one-man whirlwind, and a very effective one," Mr. Kunstler said in an AP interview. "I wish I had a man like that on every case."

Mr. Kunstler is scheduled to meet with Mr. Elgabrowny today to discuss representing him on his charge of obstruction of justice, lodged against him for interfering with federal agents' search of his apartment as part of the bombing investigation.

Mr. Elgabrowny deliberately thwarted a planned test for explosives residue by putting his hands into a toilet bowl during his arrest, according to federal prosecutors.

Mohammed Salameh, who has been charged with helping carry out the bombing, has been jailed without bail. Mr. Salameh and Mr. Elgabrowny have been linked to a militant Muslim cleric.

Meanwhile, investigators probing the bombing of the Trade Center told Congress yesterday that the blast may have been the work of an international group of terrorists linked to Islamic fundamentalists.

James Fox, head of the FBI's New York office and the official in charge of the bombing investigation, told a House subcommittee he believes a professional terrorist organization carried out the Feb. 26 attack.

The bomb exploded in an underground parking garage, killing five persons and injuring more than 1,000. Most of the twin-tower 110-story skyscraper has been closed until at least next month because of the blast.

"From early on, we were reluctant to say this was a bombing, but it was a bombing," Mr. Fox told the House

Judiciary subcommittee on crime. "From early on we were reluctant to say it was a terrorist incident, but now there is a lot of evidence that leads us to call this a terrorist incident."

Veteran FBI agents, "based on 30 years of this stuff," regard the bombing as "a terrorist incident organized by a well-known terrorist group," Mr. Fox said.

Mr. Fox said he had no specific group in mind, but "we are saying this is a group that knows what they are doing and perhaps not a bunch of ad hoc terrorists."

Raymond Kelly, New York City police commissioner, said investigators are questioning associates of two arrested suspects that may link foreign terrorists motivated by Islamic fundamentalism to the blast.

"There are a lot of names and groups," Mr. Kelly told reporters after the House hearing. "There is a philosophy that's out there — Muslim brotherhood, Islamic brotherhood — a lot of groups that formed underneath that banner."

"It's very hard when you start thinking about specific groups," he said. "It's my understanding that it's not well-organized."

Both Mr. Fox and Mr. Kelly declined to comment when asked if the investigation turned up foreign links to the bombing.

Earlier the State Department's top counterterrorism official said Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, a militant Muslim cleric, should not have been allowed to enter the country from Egypt in 1990 because of his past ties to terrorists.

"There are mistakes made, and this was one of them," said Thomas McNamara, State's coordinator for counterterrorism.

The two suspects in the New York bombing, Mr. Salameh and Mr. Elgabrowny, are said by investigators to have worshiped at a New Jersey mosque where Sheik Abdel-Rahman preaches.

Mr. Abdel-Rahman, through his attorney, has denied condoning or inciting the bombing.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

• Islamic radicals profess allegiance to extremist cleric at start of terrorism trial in Egypt. A7.

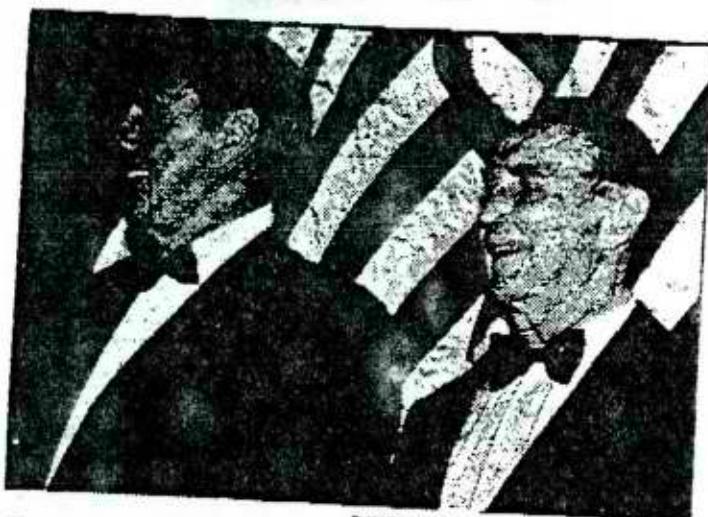
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PHOTOS BY ANNALESA KRAFT—THE WASHINGTON POST

Sens. Robert Dole and Strom Thurmond at the birthday party for the venerable South Carolina senator last night.

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# The Very Senior Senator

For Strom Thurmond's 90th,  
A Bipartisan Filibuster of Praise

By Roxanne Roberts  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Those seeking proof that truth is stranger than fiction need only consider the 90th birthday celebration last night for South Carolina Sen. Strom Thurmond. Call it a testament to survival, literally and politically. Live long enough and whatever is not forgotten will probably be forgiven; the art of reinvention should never be underestimated.

"In the evening of his life and in the evening of this day," said former president Richard Nixon, who led the night of tributes, "surrounded by his family, his friends, his

colleagues, Strom Thurmond can indeed look back and say how splendid the day has been."

What novelist could invent Thurmond? A Democrat turned Dixiecrat turned Republican, the oldest sitting U.S. senator. A "states' rights" segregationist who called passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act "a tragic day for America" and who, seven years later, became the first Southern senator to name a black to his staff. Who would dare add the orange hair, two marriages to beauty queens no more than half his age, four children sired after his late

See THURMOND, C4, Col. 1

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C4 WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1993

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# Thurmond's Birthday

THURMOND, From C1

sixties, the honey-soaked mumble of an accent? Even the parodies on "Saturday Night Live" fall short of the reality.

Stranger yet, to anyone unfamiliar with the improbable bedfellows of Washington, was the cast of characters—white and black, Old South and New, heroes and humbled—lined up to pay homage: Nixon, President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Gen. Colin Powell, Cabinet members, Supreme Court justices Sandra Day O'Connor and Clarence Thomas, and most of the Senate. And the Godfather of Soul himself, James Brown.

"I'm delighted and honored to be here this evening," said Powell, who praised Thurmond as "a very good friend of mine for many, many years."

More than 1,000 people, including 30 members of Thurmond's family, attended the black-tie tribute at the J.W. Marriott. Some came out of respect, some out of curiosity, but they nonetheless came.

"Strom Thurmond has shaped the history of our times," said Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell. "In a very real sense, his life is the history of our times."

"I think all of us have a deep respect for him," said Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.). "He's one of the most unique men who ever sat in the Senate."

For Clinton, his attendance at the event was presumably a bow from the New South to the Old. It's hard to know for sure, because the president and veep, at the request of the White House, were squirreled away at a private reception for VIPs only and did not stay for the dinner. What encomiums Clinton had for the senator were strictly off the record.

For Nixon, it was a simple case of loyalty. In 1968 Thurmond developed the Southern Strategy, an appeal to Southerners to vote for Nixon instead of Hubert Humphrey or

Alabama Gov. George Wallace. The late Lee Atwater, George Bush's 1988 presidential campaign manager and a Thurmond protege, used the strategy as a blueprint for every campaign he ran in the South.

Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.), who served as emcee, has a more personal tie: Dole's dog, Leader, fathered five puppies of Thurmond's schnauzer, Chelsea Marie, three years ago. And Sen. Joe Biden (D-Del.) and Thurmond share seats on the Judiciary Committee and what may be the ultimate experience in male bonding: hair transplants.

"Let me tell you, I resent any references to your hair," cracked Biden. "You've been an inspiration to me in so many ways."

Speaking of hair—yes, that was James Brown, who hails from South Carolina, mingling with the politicians at the VIP reception and leading the crowd in "Happy Birthday."

"This is a man I've always admired," said Brown, who has the disconcerting habit of popping up in the most unexpected places. "I love him and the country loves him."

Thurmond was born on Dec. 5, 1902, when Theodore Roosevelt was president. He ran for president as a third-party Dixiecrat against Harry Truman in 1948, after leaving the Democratic Party over its civil rights platform. "I am not prejudiced," he said in that campaign. "But I think in the best interests of law and order, for the integrity of the races, whites and Negroes should be kept separate in schools, theaters and swimming pools."

He was elected to the Senate in 1954, the first and only senator elected as write-in candidate. He holds the record for the longest filibuster in American history (24 hours 18 minutes), against a fair housing bill.

"Strom Thurmond is a genuine institution," said Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.). "He never misses a beat. His power arises from his energy and his commitment."

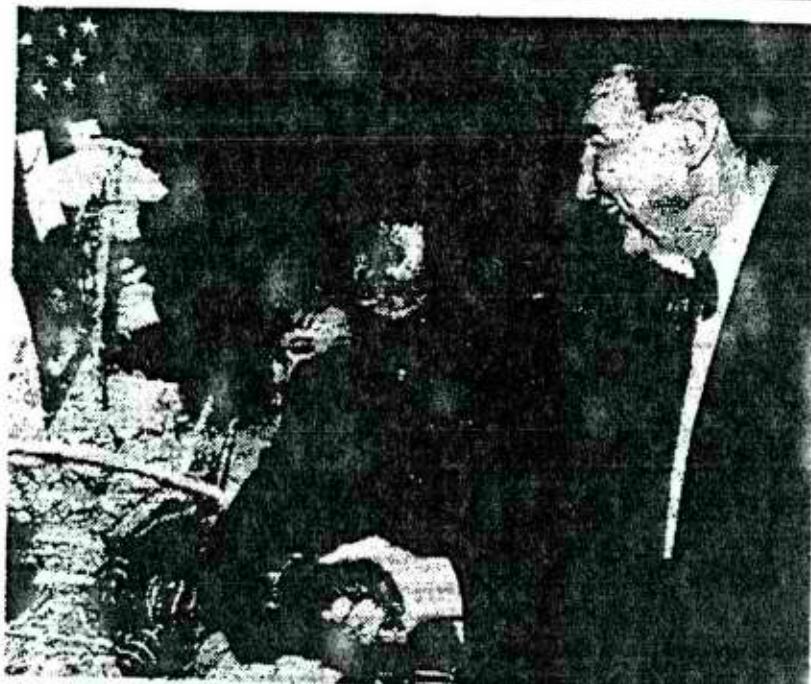
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## THE WASHINGTON POST

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Sen. Strom Thurmond and singer James Brown admire the senator's birthday cake.

There are those, including Nadine Cobodas in a new biography of Thurmond, who see the senator's career as an echo of the dramatic political shifts of the South in the past 50 years.

There are others who see Thurmond's career as a model example of political survival: He always kept the voters of South Carolina first on his agenda; when the Voting Rights Act of 1965 guaranteed blacks the vote, he dumped segregation for egalitarianism faster than you can say "Jim Crow."

Even last night was South Carolina's too. The \$1,000-a-plate dinner raised \$1 million for five state colleges, including historically black South Carolina State.

A collage, almost a small altar, of Thurmond's greatest moments sat in the center of the pre-dinner reception, along with a revised version of Mount Rushmore: Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt . . . and Thurmond.

Well, this is the man who posed for Life magazine standing on his head to prove his virility when he married his first wife, Jean Crouch.

in 1947. He was 44, she was 21. The marriage lasted only 13 years; his wife died of brain cancer in 1960.

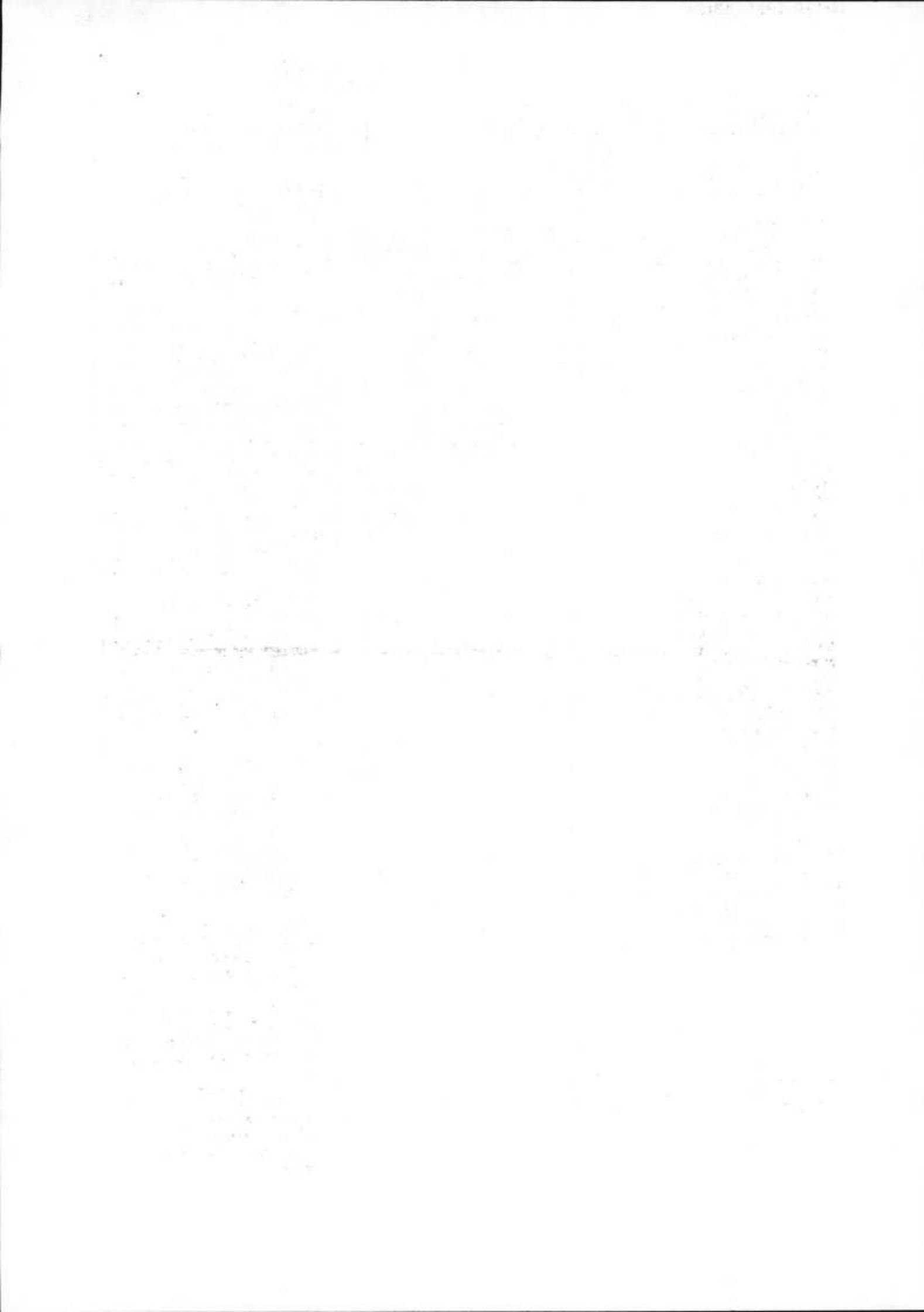
Eight years later, when he was 66, Thurmond married his second wife, a 22-year-old former Miss South Carolina, Nancy Moore. The couple separated two years ago but Nancy and their four children, Nancy Moore, Julie, Paul and Strom Jr., attended the dinner.

After the evening of praises, Thurmond received a standing ovation, thanked his family and offered his own view on this birthday: "You do not have to buy antiques anymore in order to sit down on something that is 90 years old."

He attributed his longevity to daily exercise. He doesn't drink or smoke. He's talking about running again in 1996, which would make him 100 years old while still in office.

"Several people here tonight have told me that they hope to come to my 100th birthday party," Thurmond told his friends. "I told them that if they eat right and keep fit, there's no reason they cannot make it."

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# Russia Thinks Plutonium From Arms Has Commercial Value, Congress Told

By Thomas W. Lippman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Although Russia is receiving U.S. help in storing surplus plutonium from dismantled nuclear warheads, it does not want to destroy the plutonium or dispose of the lethal material permanently because the Russians think it has commercial value, according to testimony at a Senate hearing yesterday.

"They are persuaded there is a market someplace for it," retired major general William F. Burns, the State Department's special envoy negotiating warhead dismantlement agreements with four republics of the former Soviet Union, told the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee.

Russia, like the United States, faces the question of what to do with tons of plutonium recovered from dismantled warheads or accumulated in stockpiles. But unlike the United States, Russia envisions commercial uses for the material and in fact continues to produce it.

Burns, who has been negotiating with Russia, Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakhstan over U.S. aid for their weapons dismantlement programs, said he has had "some interesting philosophical discussions" with the Russians over their desire to extract commercial value from their plutonium stockpile.

The U.S. position, Burns said, is that they have already received value from it in the form of deterrence. Commercial use would amount to "gravy—very dangerous gravy," he said.

Committee Chairman John Glenn



WILLIAM F. BURNS  
...negotiating with four countries

(D-Ohio) said the Russians "want to move to a plutonium economy, with a new reprocessing plant" to recover still more plutonium from used commercial nuclear reactor fuel.

That prospect frightens military planners and opponents of nuclear proliferation, who fear that the commercialization of plutonium—which can be used as an energy source in reactors—would spread the deadly material around the world. A few kilograms of plutonium can be fashioned into an explosive nuclear device, according to weapons experts.

Russia has already signed an agreement to sell 500 metric tons of weapons-grade, highly-enriched uranium to the United States for conversion into commercial reactor fuel. The price is being negotiated.

Burns said, but whatever the amount, it will represent a badly needed source of hard currency income for Russia.

Technically, the United States could make a similar deal to acquire Russian plutonium and blend it with uranium into a mixed fuel usable in power plants, but weapons experts and members of Congress have said that such a deal would be out of the question politically, especially because the United States has its own stockpile of surplus plutonium.

Congress has provided \$800 million to aid the four former Soviet republics in the dismantlement and storage of warheads that are being taken out of service. According to Burns, agreements already signed call for the United States to provide:

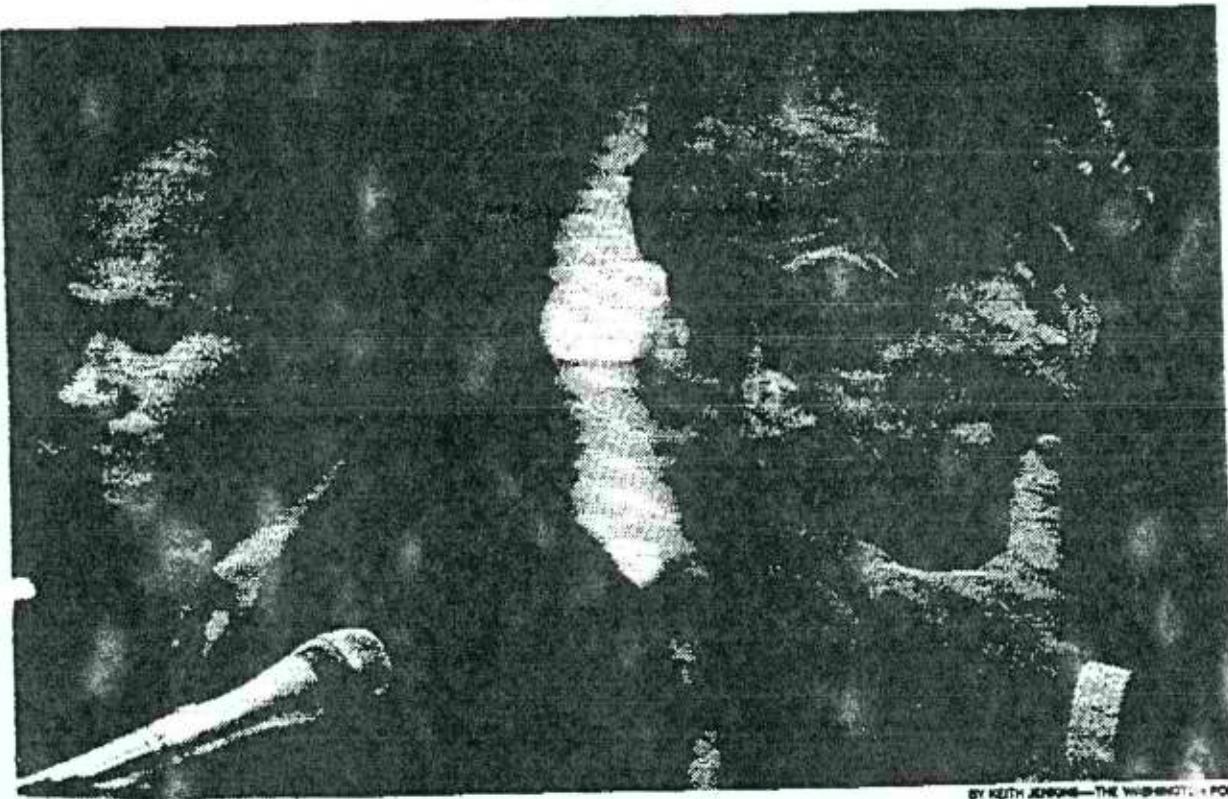
- Up to \$20 million to design and supply kits for the conversion of railroad cars for the transportation of plutonium and uranium. A kit is being tested on a Russian rail car in Albuquerque.
- Up to \$15 million for the design of an expandable plutonium storage facility to be built near the city of Tomsk.
- Up to \$50 million for the design and production of 10,000 "fissile material containers" for the shipment of material from dismantled weapons.

Agreements with Belarus call for the United States to provide protective clothing, safety equipment and training, Burns said. He said similar agreements with Kazakhstan and Ukraine are imminent.

Russia has told the United States that it will not accept direct participation of U.S. personnel in the dismantlement process—a position Burns said he agreed with, asserting that only those who have worked on the bombs and warheads are qualified to dismantle them safely.

Instead, according to Burns, the United States plans to spend most of the remaining money on dismantling delivery systems, such as missiles, rather than on the warheads themselves.

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BY KEITH JENNINGS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Stanley Brezenoff, executive director of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, right, testifies at House subcommittee hearing on World Trade Center bombing. At left is New York City Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly.

## Bomb Suspects' Ties to Inmate Probed

*Salameh, Elgabrowny Remain Chief Focus of N.Y. Investigation*

By William Spooato  
Reuter

NEW YORK, March 9—The investigation into the bombing of the World Trade Center is focusing more closely on the two men already charged in the case and their ties to a prisoner who was jailed on charges stemming from the 1990 killing of Rabbi Meir Kahane, investigators and news reports said today.

Mohammed A. Salameh is charged with taking part in the Feb. 26 bombing that killed five people and injured more than 1,000. He rented the van believed used to deliver the bomb to the underground garage of the lower Manhattan landmark.

Ibrahim Elgabrowny, arrested for scuffling with authorities as they searched his apartment, also has been called a suspect in the case by prosecutors.

The two have ties to Sayyid A. Nosair, who is in prison on charges stemming from the killing of Kahane in New York. Nosair was convicted of gun possession and assault in the case, but cleared of murder charges.

The New York Times reported today that Salameh and Elgabrowny are now thought to be pivotal figures in the case.

In Washington, FBI Director William S. Sessions said today that the bombing should not be seen as an indication of a coming wave of terrorist acts.

"The American public should always be vigilant, but this suspected act of terrorism should not be so viewed as the opening act in a coming wave of terror," Sessions told a House hearing looking into the blast.

New York Assemblyman Dov Hikind said today that Jewish groups warned the FBI at the time of the Kahane case that those responsible would be involved in

Observers at Nosair's 1991 trial said that Salameh was among those who regularly attended and New York newspapers today showed pictures of Nosair with someone who appeared to be Salameh. Prison authorities said today that Nosair is part of the investigation, although his possible role was not disclosed.

According to news reports, Nosair's cell at Attica prison in upstate New York has been searched for any documents connected with the bombing.

At the same time, investigators are also looking into whether the bombing involved Middle East terrorist groups. James Fox, New York head of the FBI, told Reuter that he believed those responsible for the blast were part of an organized operation.

"They may just be an ad hoc group, but my gut feeling tells me it's not the case," Fox said in the interview. "We're looking pretty closely at a possible link between these guys and the old-line terrorist groups."

Fox also said he expects more searches for evidence this week and possibly more arrests.

Newsday quoted unidentified sources as saying that the bomb probably consisted of 1,200 pounds of nitro-urea, a substance used by terrorists in the Middle East to create pipe bombs. The newspaper said the sources believe that the explosive was made from common industrial chemicals, remnants of which were found in a storage locker in Jersey City, N.J., where the bomb may have been assembled.

Investigators determined where the chemicals were purchased and deduced the bomb's size from the difference between the amount purchased and the amount found in the locker, Newsday said.

At the site of the blast, workers today continued hauling out the tons of rubble around ground-zero. They hope

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*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

## A 2-Foot Pen

President Clinton, on Capitol Hill pitching his program to Republican senators, was surprised with a little gift that politely called his bluff about how much he really wants to cut government spending.

At the Republican luncheon, Sen. John McCain presented the president with a 2-foot pen that was supposed to symbolize the line-item veto. Clinton could have responded with only a smile, but he went further. "I surely look forward," he said, "to the opportunity of using this."

This instinctive reaction by a politician whose trademark is his desire to please his immediate audience reaffirmed the president's nominal support for a favorite Republican proposal opposed by most Democratic politicians and the party's congressional leadership. What makes it difficult for Clinton to just walk away from this stance is that the credibility of his spending reductions is vital for the passage of his economic program.

Clinton's backing for the line-item veto when his presidential campaign began was part of the centrist agenda he pursued to show that he was a different kind of Democrat: middle-class tax cuts, welfare reform, capital punishment.

As campaign tactics took him leftward, he seldom mentioned the proposal to give the president of the United States the same authority exercised by most governors to veto individual spending items. Its inclusion in Clinton's Feb. 17 economic message sounded like lip service.

The proposal certainly plays no part in serious planning by this administration and is never raised publicly by its key economic policy makers. Office of Management and Budget Director Leon Panetta, in his previous life as House Budget Committee chairman, did not stray from his party's opposition.

But unless middle-class tax cuts, the line-item veto has not been abandoned by Clinton. Not only do polls show over 80 percent public support, but it is endorsed by a bloc of moderate Democratic senators who could be necessary for the success of his overall program.

McCain's bill is backed by Democratic Sen. David Boren and many of the dozen or so other

moderates who have been meeting in Boren's office. They include the prestigious Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia and other southerners but also Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, Clinton's erstwhile rival for the presidential nomination. In addition, the independent-minded Sen. Bill Bradley has switched positions to support the line-item veto, saying, "This at least is a beginning" toward deficit reduction.

Clinton, who was to confer with the Boren group this week, will soon have to make a real-life decision far removed from the posturing of the campaign trail. McCain intends to offer the line-item veto on the "motor-voter" registration bill and, if that fails, on succeeding Democrat-sponsored legislation. The vote count is so close that direct presidential intervention could be decisive.

To really support McCain and Boren would put Clinton in a position no president relishes: being aligned against a majority of his own party. The partisan lineup of Republicans for and Democrats against pensions, even though it is now a Democratic president who would be handed this new authority.

Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell has emphatically said no to the line-item veto—even the watered-down version lame-ly backed by House Speaker Thomas Foley. Sen. Robert Byrd, running the Appropriations Committee as an independent satrapy, is implacably opposed.

But the other side of the coin is public suspicion, revealed by polls, that Clinton is insincere about reductions in spending. The president's plan uses accounting tricks to make cuts seem larger and increases seem smaller than they really are. The Boren group is insisting that the president put expenditure cuts ahead of tax increases.

The line-item veto will not in itself shrink a bloated federal government, but it surely is a symbol of intent. The president must soon show by his attitude toward the coming vote in Congress whether he meant it when he said he looked forward to using John McCain's big pen.

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ANN, חוזם: 16053  
אל: רהmesh/570  
מ-: רוש, נר: 2047, חא: 100393, זח: 1620, דח: ב, סג: סו,  
בבבב  
סודי / בחול לבוקר

אל : מנכ'יל, משה י'ח

דע : לשכת רה'ם, לשכת שה'יח  
ציר כלכלי - CAN (הווער)

מאת: ק. לקוברגרט, וושינגטן

- מכתב מובך -

הנדון: מפגישות נשיא איפ'ק, גראסמן, עם הסנטור ליהי וקונגרסמן אובי ב  
- 9/3/93 בנושא סיווע חוז.

הסנטור ליהי - לא יעשה השנה קיצוץ בסיווע לישראל אלא אם יהיה קיצוץ  
ACROSS THE BOARD אולם יש להעניק לקרה קיצוץ ודאי בשנה הבאה. ('95-FY).

הביע דאגה מהקסף שתוציא ישראל השנה על התנהלותו.  
הקונגרסמן אובי - התרցז על כתבתה ה- T.Y.N מה - 9/3/93 שבסופה השימושים עם  
dag'רג'יאן וולדברי הועלה הובן רפואי.

א. איננו מאמין שהסיווע לישראל יקוץ. האוירה סביבה הקיצוצים תלויות בעצם  
במצב הכלכלי בארה'ב. אם המצב יהיה טוב, אנשים י'יבכו ויצעקו' אולם לא  
יקרה דבר. אם המצב יחמיר, תהיה דרישת קיצוצים.

ב. חזר על הצעתו של ישראל תנדב לקצץ ביוזמתה 2 אחוז מהסיווע אולם הוסיף כי  
אינו סבור שמשהו כלל יקשב לו.

ג. הביע דאגה מכך שממ' ישראל לא מבצעת רפורמות כלכליות ואם הן לא  
תבוצענה עתה, רה'ם ר宾 יראה עסק מאוחר יותר בתחום השלום, והן לא  
תבוצענה בכלל.

אובי חושש כי בעוד 4-5 שנים ישראל תקלע שוב לאחר מצב כלכלי בו הייתה  
שרויה ב- 1985 אולם י'ארה'ם לא יהיה שם כדי לסייע לה שכן לא יהיו לה  
האמצעים לעשות זאת...''

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, רהמ, מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, (ראשה ממשלה)

סססס

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ANNAA, חוזם: 15934  
אל: רהmesh/573  
מ-: וושינגטונ, נד: 457, תא: 100393, זח: 1514, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
שמור/מיידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א  
קורנכל שיקגו.

מאת: הציג, וושינגטונ.

הנדון: עצורי החמאס.

התקשר הבוקר לדג'רג'יאן ואמר שగובר עליהם הלחץ לגבי ארבעה האמריקנים  
ממוקז ערב עבדים בארץ בחשד השתייכות לחמאס. בקש שנשיב להם ב מהירות על  
כוננותינו להגשים נגדם כתבי-אישום.

התקשרתי לאלווף דני רוטשילד, שזר אלי כעבור זמן קצר ומסר כי ביום ו'  
בבוקר יוגשו כתבי אישום.

מסרתי כך לדג'רג'יאן שהביע שביעות רצונו והודה.  
שילה.

תפוצה: שחח,SSHACH, 0 (רham), מנכ"ל, ממכ"ל, מצב, מצפ"א, סמכלמזה,  
מזה 2, סייבל, משפט, 0 (מחאמשטיים), 0 (ראשה ממשלה)

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| ס"ג: בلم"ט<br>תזה: אל: | אל: תפוצת תקשות אורה-<br>אל, ניינט, לוגן, | תפוצת תקשות אורה-<br>בטוו - יועץ שמי לתקשות, דז"ג,<br>אל"ג/דמ"ג (ימ' העבירו נא) |
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| מאת: יהודות, ניו-יורק  |   |   |

## They Cite Link to Man Jailed in Kahane Slaying

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

Federal and local investigators say they now believe that Mohammed A. Salameh, the 25-year-old Palestinian arrested last week in the bombing of the World Trade Center, played a significant role, if not a central one, in what they say is a conspiracy.

For the first time, criminal-justice officials also established a direct personal link between Mr. Salameh and El Sayyid A. Nosair, the man tried for the assassination of Rabbi Meir Kahane. They said Mr. Salameh visited Mr. Nosair on Rikers Island and at least one time in Attica state prison, including once within a month before the bombing. The officials said they had seized records from his prison cell and were examining whether the two men had talked by telephone and whether prison authorities had taped the calls.

Several new details emerged yesterday as law-enforcement authorities pursued a dizzying array of clues and leads on fronts ranging from Jersey City to Brooklyn to the Mideast.

### A Major Suspect

The authorities also said yesterday that a relative of Mr. Nosair, Ibrahim A. Elgabrowny, a 42-year-old Egyptian living in Brooklyn, had emerged as a major suspect in the bombing because of his ties to Mr. Salameh and contacts with Mr. Nosair, who is also Egyptian and who is serving time for gun possession, assault and coercion in connection with the Kahane case.

Both Mr. Elgabrowny's lawyer and worshipers at a Brooklyn mosque frequented by Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, a Muslim cleric who stood trial for the assassination of President Anwar el-Sadat a decade ago, said that Mr. Elgabrowny was a leading official at the mosque. Investigators said that sometime in the last year Mr. Salameh's name had appeared on a flier as an organizer for an event sponsored at the mosque, on Foster Avenue.

Through his lawyer, Sheik Rahman yesterday strongly denied any involvement in the bombing.

### A Web of False Identities

As agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and police detectives continued to press searches on both sides of the Hudson River, they have encountered a mystifying web of false identities used by Mr. Salameh and many of his associates, law-enforcement officials disclosed yesterday. They said they believe as few as three or four people could have been involved in the conspiracy and as many as 12.

Last night, a former roommate of Mr. Salameh, Ashraf Moneeb, said that Mr. Salameh had lived with him until he made him move out of the apartment they shared in Jersey City because Mr. Salameh talked too much about Palestine and how he believed

Continued on Page B4, Column 4

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שוחח (2) ספק (1) מלה (1) מכך (1) ממכל (1) ממכל (1) רבי (1) רבי (1)  
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the Israelis were treating his countrymen unfairly.

Mr. Moneeb said that to get Mr. Salameh to move, he told him that he was getting married and needed the room. Law-enforcement officials searched the apartment at 251 Virginia Avenue on Sunday and questioned Mr. Moneeb but did not arrest him. One investigator said chemicals were found in the search of the Virginia Avenue apartment. In addition to that apartment, another apartment in which chemicals and electronic equipment were found has been linked by officials to Mr. Salameh, as well as a New Jersey storage locker where chemicals used for explosives were seized and detonated.

"One search is leading to another," said one ranking investigator. "But these are nomadic people. While it may lie in the culture, they bounce from place to place. All different people sleep there and stop there, stay a short time, then leave."

Yet, the investigator said, many of the searched locations have not been cleaned out, perhaps suggesting a hurried departure after a piece of vehicle chassis from the blast area was unexpectedly and quickly traced last Wednesday to a van rented by Mr. Salameh. "There is a lot of sloppiness going on here," the investigator said.

In the parking garage beneath the New York Vista Hotel, where the bomb went off at 12:18 P.M. on Feb. 26, killing five people, injuring more than 1,000 and knocking out New York

City's tallest towers for perhaps a month, engineers were close to shoring up the precarious wreckage with steel beams so that bomb experts could finally penetrate to the seat of the blast.

Laboratory analyses of the trade center garage rubble late yesterday found a possible match between the type of chemicals found in New Jersey and the bomb, investigators said. Although some officials had earlier said incomplete signs pointed to a mixture of fertilizer and fuel oil for the bomb, yesterday's findings, they said, appeared to implicate some homemade brew of the acids and urea, a fertilizer.

*"His Own Concoction"*

"It appears the guy was making his own concoction," one investigator said. "It appears he had some recipe." He said it was unclear whether the chemicals found in the storage locker may have been left over from the trade center bomb or were intended for other bombs.

The grail of the investigators is the pile of rubble that collapsed from the second parking level, designated B-2, where a bomb went off on a ramp, and fell down four levels, where it rests in a huge heap presumed to contain pieces of the bomb. Fire investigators said workers should be able to start on the pile in the next two days.

Retrieved pieces of the bomb and in particular the detonator could provide the first clear evidence of its nature, as well as the possible "signature" of the bomber. But experts said it was unlikely that any fingerprints

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would have withstood the searing heat generated by the blast.

After five days of frantic activity since Mr. Salameh's arrest, investigators admit puzzlement over two key questions: the method and the motive.

Why, they have asked, would anyone planning a car-bomb attack lease the vehicle in his own name — as the Federal complaint contends Mr. Salameh did — even if he planned to claim later that the vehicle had been stolen from him and had returned on three separate occasions to the rental office to demand a \$400 refund?

And even if the van had been totally obliterated, officials reason, would not Mr. Salameh's theft report have attracted attention at some point, leading investigators to him and his same group of associates they are now studying?

Such enigmas fed an initial temptation to dismiss Mr. Salameh as perhaps a patsy for others, someone who may have been duped into carrying out the attack and taking the blame.

#### A Significant Role

But officials say they are discounting that thesis as the investigation appears to cast Mr. Salameh in a significant role. Not only, they say, do documents point to him as the lessor of the van, but to his connection with important locations and seized property in the case.

Despite a curtain of aliases, they said, Mr. Salameh has been "directly tied in" to a storage locker, "A Space Station" at 69 Mallory Avenue in Jersey City that F.B.I. agents raided last week, removing hundreds of pounds of nitric and sulphuric acids and urea,

chemicals in a condition so explosive and unstable that they had to be rushed to Liberty State Park and detonated, officials said.

In addition to Mr. Salameh, others, also using aliases, have been connected to the storage locker, one official said.

He said that Mr. Salameh has also been linked to the Virginia Avenue apartment in Jersey City where F.B.I. agents on Sunday questioned Mr. Moneeb, who they said later was not arrested but voluntarily agreed to accompany them.

#### A Search Warrant

Although investigators declined to detail what agents bearing a search warrant may have been found in the apartment, one said that it included more chemicals.

Mr. Moneeb described his former roommate as very religious and passionate about Palestine. He said he wanted to return there and had come to the United States to make money to send to his family in Jordan.

He said he did not know whether Mr. Salameh had ever visited Mr. Nosair at Attica. But Mr. Salameh's lawyer, Robert Precht, said last night that his client had visited Mr. Nosair in jail on at least one occasion during Mr. Nosair's trial and that "he may very well" have visited him again in Attica after his conviction.

Last week, agents seized electronic devices from another apartment that witnesses and other information linked to Mr. Salameh at 40 Pamrapo Avenue in Jersey City.

Yet another apartment at an undisclosed location in New Jersey was also raided but discounted after an

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investigation showed that Mr. Salameh had not been there for more than a year, one investigator said.

All this, officials said, suggested that Mr. Salameh did not appear to be a scapegoat dragged unwittingly into a scheme of others.

"The only thing I can tell you is, in my judgment, he certainly isn't a dupe, which is a thing being put out by a lot of people," Police Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly said.

Authorities are also investigating a car accident involving Mr. Salameh in January in Woodbridge, N.J. The importance of the accident to the investigation is not clear.

In a statement read at a news conference by his lawyer, Barbara Nelson, Sheik Rahman yesterday denied any connection to the World Trade Center bombing.

Ms. Nelson said her client did not recognize Mr. Salameh's name.

Ms. Nelson said she had talked to her client on Sunday and did not know where he was calling from. "Apparently, he's moving around a great deal," she said. The lawyer, who represents the sheik in deportation proceedings, said her legal fees were being paid by "an Islamic center" in Washington. She later refused to identify it further.

At the trade center, repair work proceeded painstakingly. Engineers said yesterday that the B-2 level and other debris totaling about 2,500 tons will come out in about 4,000 separate pieces through a 30-foot-by-30-foot hole to be cut in the trade center plaza. A 25-ton-capacity crane, brought to the site yesterday, will lift each chunk of concrete from the un-



Agence France-Presse

Mohammed A. Salameh

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derground levels, rotate 180 degrees and place it in a truck.

But first workers with hydraulic tools, saws and torches will have to break up the debris into pieces of about 4 feet by 8 feet, each weighing more than half a ton. And all the work must be done in a way that will not destabilize the damaged area, which means scaffolding must be built to support the wreck while it is cut apart. William Goldstein, the deputy executive director of the Port Authority for capital projects, said the job would be akin to the children's game of pickup sticks.

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By ELAINE SCIOLINO

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — The Clinton Administration was forced by an influential Democrat in Congress today to confront the delicate subject of whether the United States can afford to pour billions of dollars into Israel and Egypt in light of a shrinking foreign aid budget and President Clinton's determination to resuscitate the American economy.

The Administration immediately said it was committed to continuing the aid, but the mere fact that Representative David Obey, the Wisconsin Democrat, was raising the issue meant that a sacrosanct item in next year's budget, which is just beginning to be debated by Congress, could be in for new scrutiny.

"There are also tremendous pressures on us, given the demands of our domestic economy," said Mr. Obey, who has long taken a very hard line on foreign aid spending, during a hearing of the foreign operations subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. "There'll be tremendous pressures on the budget because of escalating needs with respect to assistance to the Soviet Union."

"I think that demonstrates that we cannot forever assume that we're going to be providing this high percentage of this bill to the Middle Eastern region. I think we have a right to expect over time to see that decline."

### Pressure From Constituents

back home, added Mr. Obey, who heads the subcommittee, to change the practice. "People routinely call my office and say, well, with the budget squeeze, can we expect that Israel and Egypt are going to be taking a part of that cut?"

Of the \$13.9 billion foreign aid budget for 1993, \$5.1 billion — or 36 percent — will be sent to Israel and Egypt. By contrast, total aid to Russia for the last two years was a total of \$850 million. Adding strain to next year's budget is the fact that Mr. Clinton has called for an additional \$300 million in additional aid for Russia, but that money must be taken away from other countries.

Mr. Obey's remarks were reminiscent of an article on the Op-Ed page of The New York Times three years ago by Senator Bob Dole, the Kansas Republican, who said that the United States was going to have to spend a lot more money in eastern Europe and that at least some of the money would have to come from long-term aid recipients like Israel and Egypt, among others.

## *Clinton Challenged on Share of U.S. Aid Going to Israel and Egypt*

N.Y. Times



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naled its unflinching support both for Israel and for the Middle East peace negotiations, and even a debate on the issue of an aid reduction would be read in Jerusalem as an effort to undermine the Government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, which took office last year.

In the hearing today, Edward P. Djerejian, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, was just as blunt as Mr. Obey in saying the new Administration had no intention of reducing aid to either country.

"Both President Clinton and Secretary Christopher have gone on record regarding the importance of continuing the aid to Israel and Egypt at the current levels," Mr. Djerejian said,

referring to Secretary of State Warren Christopher. "We remain steadfast in our commitment to direct substantial foreign aid resources to the security of Israel, to support for Egypt's vital role in the stability and security of the region, and to promotion of comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East."

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#### Arms Purchases Criticized

Mr. Obey criticized the practice by which Egypt, and to a lesser extent Israel, buy vast amounts of military equipment from the United States under the assumption that there will be continuing American aid to pay for it over the years.

"It is, in fact, going to be virtually impossible for this committee to consider reductions in aid to that region

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knowledged, "There's a serious question of moving up the pace of economic reforms in Israel, and we will be engaged on this very actively."

As for Egypt, Mr. Djerejian conceded, "The Egyptian economy remains dominated by large, inefficient public sector monopolies, the activities of private businessmen remain heavily restricted, and the regulatory environment remains extremely uncertain."

On another foreign aid issue, Mr. Djerejian said that the Clinton Administration hopes to give Jordan \$50 million in security aid that has been withheld by Congress because of Jordanian support for President Saddam Hussein of Iraq after his 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

#### Sanctions Against Iraq

Mr. Djerejian said that he will recommend shortly to Mr. Christopher that he release the funds, in part to support Jordan's helpful role in the

#### 'Moving Up the Pace'

Mr. Djerejian gave a spirited defense of both countries' attempts at economic liberalization. But he ac-

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Middle East peace negotiations. He also said that in recent months Jordan has tightened sanctions against Iraq.

During and after the Persian Gulf crisis, Jordanian officials, including King Hussein, repeatedly said the kingdom was doing all it could to enforce the sanctions. But American intelligence reports indicated that there were substantial violations of the sanctions and little policing of the border with Iraq, a situation that worsened relations between the two countries.

The decision to send the aid does not need to be approved by Congress, although there remains considerable resistance to it on Capitol Hill and it is unlikely the Administration will move on the matter without considerable consultation with Congress. Last September, the Bush Administration, after consultations with Congress, dispensed \$65 million in security and economic aid to Jordan that had not gone forward in 1991.

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## ISRAELI AND ARAB DIE IN GAZA STRIFE

### Palestinian Slain After Settler Is Killed in a Greenhouse

GAN OR, Israeli-Occupied Gaza Strip, March 8 (AP) — Palestinian laborers stabbed an Israeli to death today near his tomato greenhouse in this Jewish settlement, hours after the army lifted a six-day closing of the Gaza Strip, the Israeli military said.

The attackers, from the nearby town of Khan Yunis, slashed 39-year-old Uri Magidish's throat as he took them to work at his greenhouse, the army and settlement officials said. Settlers engaged in a stone-throwing clash with Palestinian workers as they returned to Gaza from jobs in Israel after Mr. Magidish's funeral, radio reports said.

#### Palestinian Killed

Near the Erez crossing to Gaza, a Palestinian was fatally shot, said Adina Kanri, spokeswoman for Barzilai Hospital in Israel. Palestinians said the man had been killed by settlers.

[The Palestinians said Naim Mahmoud al-Madhoun, a 22-year-old resident of the Jaballya refugee district, had been shot by settlers at a filling station near the Erez checkpoint, Reuters reported. And in the occupied West Bank, soldiers shot and

killed Tayseer Juma Abu Ghalyun, 16, near the town of Tulkarm, Reuters quoted military officials as saying. They said the soldiers had opened fire on a group of Palestinians who had stoned their bus.]

Settlers attributed today's violence in the Gaza Strip to Government inaction after the slaying of three Israelis last week. The six-day closing of the Gaza was prompted by those slayings.

"The Government has to be more assertive with the Arabs and not to say it is leaving here today, tomorrow or five years from now," a Gan Or resident, Yossi Tzarfaty, said after Mr. Magidish's slaying.

#### Jewish Settlers Are Few

Gaza's security problems have meant that Jewish settlement there remains minimal despite years of support from previous hawkish Governments led by the Likud Party.

Unlike the occupied West Bank where Government housing subsidies and other benefits brought 129,000 Jewish settlers to live among one million Palestinians, Gaza is home to fewer than 5,000 Jews among 750,000 Arabs.

Recent violence has prompted Health Minister Haim Ramon and other officials to push for Israel to withdraw unilaterally from the strip, which it captured in the 1967 war.

But Housing Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer said today that a hasty departure without improving the economy would create mayhem. Israelis had to insure that "we won't have in our backs the largest terror base in the Middle East," Mr. Ben-Eliezer told Israel Radio.

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## **White House Memo**

## *One Topic, Several Agendas As Clinton and Nixon Meet*

9-3

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN  
Special to The New York Times

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — As political odd couples go, Bill Clinton and Richard Nixon surely rank with the oddest. But there they were today, the Vietnam dove and the Vietnam hawk, sitting around the White House living room, bonded together by their shared feelings about Russia.

America aids Russia to the exclusion of other former Soviet republics, Mr. Kissinger argues, it could find itself in a few years having to deal with the resurgent imperialist-minded Russia of old.

### A White House Curiosity

shared feelings about Russia. Never mind that Mr. Nixon rose to the Presidency riding the issue of opposition to Communist Russia, while Mr. Clinton's only noteworthy experience with the place was a youthful tourist visit, for which he was attacked during the Presidential campaign. Today, the two men find themselves sharing a political trench in the renewed debate over how much aid to give Russia, at a time when its first democratically-elected President is at risk of being toppled.

Just to make things interesting, commanding the opposite trench in this debate is Mr. Nixon's former Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, who has been warning in recent articles about the dangers of the West going overboard in rebuilding Russia, without regard to Russian history. If

Mr. Kissinger has not been invited to the Clintons' living room. Mr. Clinton invited Mr. Nixon to the family quarters, though, after a 40-minute telephone conversation between the two last Wednesday. Some of Mr. Clinton's bevy of twenty- and thirty-something aides, many of whom were in nursery school during Watergate, angled to get a glance at the former President, whose arrival at the White House seemed to spark almost as much curiosity as that of the Dallas Cowboys last Friday.

"Everyone was intrigued," said a young senior White House official. "It came up at the staff meeting this morning. People just said: 'Can you believe this? Nixon's coming.' But the

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Times

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fact is, he has something to offer."

Actually each man had something to offer the other. As could be expected for a meeting between two such calculating politicians, each side came with a public agenda and a private agenda.

Mr. Nixon's crusade on behalf of Russian aid appears to be based on both a heartfelt historical judgment about the merits of such assistance and a personal calculation as to how it can serve him politically. For in seeking to drum up American support for President Boris N. Yeltsin, Mr. Nixon is not only rehabilitating the Russian leader, but also him-  
self.

#### \* Prodded George Bush

Last March, when President George Bush decided to lie low on foreign policy and play down the Russian aid question, it was Mr. Nixon's speeches and articles on the issue that embarrassed Mr. Bush into taking more aggressive steps to help Mr. Yeltsin, through enactment of the \$417 million Freedom Support Act.

"It is all part of a very successful Nixon campaign for ex-President," observed Daniel Schorr, a longtime Nixon-watcher who was on Mr. Nixon's infamous enemies list. For almost 20 years now, Mr. Nixon, who resigned in disgrace, has been trying to be accepted as an honorable former President, like Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan have become since. Being invited to the White House living quarters by Mr. Clinton to talk about foreign poli-

cy is a major step in his comeback.

As for Mr. Clinton, he not only shares Mr. Nixon's views on the need for America to be forthcoming in aiding Russia, but he also understands that Mr. Nixon can be very useful in garnering Republican support for any large-scale increase in American assistance to Mr. Yeltsin. That would almost certainly be a controversial idea during the current budget debates.

"Nixon can cover Clinton on the right, and Clinton will take care of the left himself," said Robert Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International and a leading specialist on the Russian aid question.

#### Selling Russian Aid

The House has 110 new members this year, Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas noted, "and I know what most of them said to get here, and it was essentially 'America first, we've got to take care of things at home.' Now, you bring Nixon in, and maybe

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Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, and you still may not sell Russian aid, but at least people are going to have to think about it."

Clinton foreign policy aides are fully aware of Mr. Nixon's views. He did not have to come to the White House to convey them. But it is precisely that symbolic act that is politically useful, although Mr. Clinton clearly was not quite ready to show off his new friend: photographers and journalists were barred from the meeting. Still, it was widely advertised.

Whatever his motives, many Russian affairs specialists agree that Mr. Nixon is on the cutting edge of the

debate about Russia aid.

What Mr. Nixon is arguing is that the Western governments, led by Washington, have to stop looking at the question of financial assistance to Mr. Yeltsin purely in banker's terms. Because the success of the Russian leader is so essential for the success of democracy in Russia, and the success of democracy in Russia so essential for the West's ability to reduce defense spending, he says, the West should step in with significant financial assistance — even if it means some of the money will be wasted and even if the Russians have not met all the prior financial conditions.

In an article on the Op-Ed page of

Dimitri K. Simes, Russian affairs specialist at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Mr. Nixon's personal adviser on Russia, said Mr. Nixon's view is that "we have to give priority to the salvation of Russian democracy over narrow financial considerations."

Mr. Clinton had asked Mr. Nixon to bring him some concrete proposals today, and one that Mr. Nixon brought was a suggestion that Mr. Clinton use the occasion of his April 3-4 summit meeting with Mr. Yeltsin in Vancouver, British Columbia, to call an emergency meeting of the Group of Seven major industrial democracies to deal with Russian aid, Mr.

The New York Times last Friday — which Mr. Clinton publicly praised at a news conference — Mr. Nixon predicted that "without a substantial increase in aid from the West, the Yeltsin Government will not survive."

#### New Premise for Debate

The debate on Russian aid, said Mr. Hormats, is no longer about whether to provide assistance under terms approved by the International Monetary Fund, because it is now clear that Russia simply is never going to meet those terms. The new debate is whether to provide aid without I.M.F. approval, even though "it may mean wasting some of the money."

qualified to handle the Russia problem alone and that it requires a political decision-making body, ready to make a political, not purely financial, decision.

As much as Mr. Clinton has identified with Mr. Nixon's views on Russian aid, there is still a question of how far the President is ready to go. In this argument, Mr. Nixon is the radical and Mr. Clinton the conservative.

White House aides say that Mr. Clinton definitely wants to be much more aggressive about getting aid to Russian reformers than his predecessor, they add that he still has not decided how much he will ask the American people to spend on such an endeavor, at a time when they are being asked to cut spending at home.

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דעת: נגיד בנק ישראל  
מאת: השגריר, וושינגטן

### הנדון: סיום חוץ

לחושותם לבכם סאمرة של הכתבה הדיפלומטית של ד.צ.א. מהיום.

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## Clinton Challenged on Share of U.S.

By ELAINE SCIOLINO  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 8 — The Clinton Administration was forced by an influential Democrat in Congress today to confront the delicate subject of whether the United States can afford to pour billions of dollars into Israel and Egypt in light of a shrinking foreign aid budget and President Clinton's determination to resuscitate the American economy.

The Administration immediately said it was committed to continuing the aid, but the mere fact that Representative David Obey, the Wisconsin Democrat, was raising the issue meant that a sacrosanct item in next year's budget, which is just beginning to be debated by Congress, could be in for new scrutiny.

"There are also tremendous pressures on us, given the demands of our domestic economy," said Mr. Obey, who has long taken a very hard line on foreign aid spending. During a hearing of the foreign operations subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, "There'll be tremendous pressures on the budget because of escalating needs with respect to assistance to the Soviet Union."

"I think that demonstrates that we cannot forever assume that we're going to be providing this high percentage of this bill to the Middle Eastern region. I think we have a right to expect over time to see that decline."

### Pressure From Constituents

Pressure is coming from the voters back home, added Mr. Obey, who heads the subcommittee, to change the practice. "People routinely call my office and say, well, with the budget squeeze, can we expect that Israel and Egypt are going to be taking a part of that?"

Of the \$13.9 billion foreign aid budget for 1993, \$5.1 billion — or 36 percent — will be sent to Israel and Egypt. By contrast, total aid to Russia for the last 10 years was a total of \$850 million, adding strain to next year's budget is the fact that Mr. Clinton has called for additional \$300 million in additional aid for Russia, but that money must be taken away from other countries.

Mr. Obey's remarks were reminiscent of an article on the Op-Ed page of a New York Times three years ago. Senator Bob Dole, the Kansas Republican, who said that the United States was going to have to spend a lot more money in eastern Europe and at least some of the money would come from long-term aid recipients like Israel and Egypt, among others.

### Dole Rebuked on Issue

His remarks elicited a rebuke from the Republicans, who asserted that created a false impression that American support for Israel was wan-

ing. The new Administration has now

## Aid Going to Israel and Egypt

nailed its unflinching support both for Israel and for the Middle East peace negotiations, and even a debate on the issue of an aid reduction would be read in Jerusalem as an effort to undermine the Government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, which took office last year.

In the hearing today, Edward P. Djerejian, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, was just as blunt as Mr. Obey in saying the new Administration had no intention of reducing aid to either country.

"Both President Clinton and Secretary Christopher have gone on record regarding the importance of continuing the aid to Israel and Egypt at the current levels," Mr. Djerejian said.

referring to Secretary of State Warren Christopher. "We remain steadfast in our commitment to direct substantial foreign aid resources to the security of Israel, to support for Egypt's vital role in the stability and security of the region, and to promotion of comprehensive and lasting peace in the Middle East."

### Arms Purchases Criticized

Mr. Obey criticized the practice by which Egypt, and to a lesser extent Israel, buy vast amounts of military equipment from the United States under the assumption that there will be continuing American aid to pay for it over the years.

"It is, in fact, going to be virtually impossible for this committee to consider reductions in aid to that region

over the next decade if those military contracts continue to be signed because of the principle of so-called cash flow financing," said Mr. Obey, who called on the new Administration to abandon the practice.

He also criticized both Egypt, and Israel to a lesser extent, for failing to institute the changes necessary to make their economies more healthy. "For a number of years, people have looked at the Egyptian program as being a black hole, and I think there is more than a little concern about the ability of the Israeli Government to get its own economic house in order."

### Moving Up the Pace

Mr. Djerejian gave a spirited defense of both countries' attempts at economic liberalization. But he ac-

knowledged, "There's a serious question of moving up the pace of economic reforms in Israel, and we will be engaged on this very actively."

As for Egypt, Mr. Djerejian conceded, "The Egyptian economy remains dominated by large, inefficient, public sector monopolies, the activities of private businessmen remain heavily restricted, and the regulatory environment remains extremely uncertain."

On another foreign aid issue, Mr. Djerejian said that the Clinton Administration hopes to give Jordan \$50 million in security aid that has been withheld by Congress because of Jordanian support for President Saddam Hussein of Iraq after his 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

### Sanctions Against Iraq

Mr. Djerejian said that he will recommend shortly to Mr. Christopher that he release the funds, in part to support Jordan's helpful role in the

Middle East peace negotiations. He also said that in recent months Jordan has tightened sanctions against Iraq.

During and after the Persian Gulf crisis, Jordanian officials, including King Hussein, repeatedly said the kingdom was doing all it could to enforce the sanctions. But American intelligence reports indicated that there were substantial violations of the sanctions and little policing of the border with Iraq, a situation that worsened relations between the two countries.

The decision to send the aid does not need to be approved by Congress, although there remains considerable resistance to it on Capitol Hill and it is unlikely the Administration will move on the matter without considerable consultation with Congress. Last September, the Bush Administration, after consultations with Congress, dispensed \$55 million in security and economic aid to Jordan that had not gone forward in 1991.

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## שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון סופה מברק

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תאריך: 9 ממרץ 1993

### אל: תפוצת תקשורת

## מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטן

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת - 9/3/93

בזמן לסקירת התק绍ת היומית מצ"ב הכתובות.

## תקשות

# Israel, Egypt jolted again on future U.S. aid

By Warren Strobel  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The chairman of a House subcommittee that oversees U.S. foreign aid said yesterday that Israel and Egypt, by far the largest recipients of U.S. assistance, may one day see their aid cut.

The suggestion by Rep. David Obey appeared to be another sign that a tougher-than-usual battle looms this year over the shrinking foreign aid pie.

As part of his deficit-reduction package, President Clinton has proposed roughly \$2 billion in aid cuts over the next five years. But, at the same time, he plans to increase aid to Russia next year by about \$300 million, to \$700 million, and is weighing an even more ambitious package of help.

As a result, several close U.S. allies, including Turkey, have been told that their military support will be cut.

Citing Russia's "escalating needs," Mr. Obey said, "We cannot forever assume that we're going to be providing this high percentage of this bill to the Middle Eastern region. I think we have a right to expect over time to see that decline."

The Wisconsin Democrat's comments are similar to some made earlier this year by Sen. Patrick Leahy, his Senate counterpart, and others.

Still, it seems doubtful that Israel and Egypt, the only Arab country formally at peace with the Jewish state, will face aid cuts soon.

While foreign aid's unpopularity has grown with the Cold War's end and pressures to cut the deficit, support for Israel remains high.

Just last week, the State Department publicly distanced itself from remarks about a possible aid cut by the U.S. ambassador to Israel, William Harrop.

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

quoted as saying.

At yesterday's hearing of Mr. Obey's House Appropriations subcommittee, Edward Djerejian, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs, said Mr. Clinton supports aid to Israel and Egypt "at the current levels."

He noted that the \$3 billion in economic and military aid to Israel and \$2.27 billion to Egypt account for 85 percent of U.S. security assistance in fiscal year 1993.

Lawmakers and administration officials alike view the aid as a contribution to peace in the region.

Still, several subcommittee members questioned whether both nations were performing on promises to adopt market-oriented economic reforms.

And they expressed hope that success of Arab-Israeli peace talks or an end to the Arab economic embargo of Israel would allow Washington to reduce its aid.

Mr. Obey threatened to oppose further aid to Jordan unless Mr. Clinton declassifies a congressional report showing that the Bush administration continued to send military aid to King Hussein during the Persian Gulf crisis. At that time, officials told Congress that such assistance had been halted.

The September 1992 report concludes that some of the aid may have been transferred to Iraq by Jordan.

Mr. Djerejian, citing Jordan's increased enforcement of sanctions against Iraq, said he will recommend soon that Secretary of State Warren Christopher release the last \$50 million in 1992 economic and military aid that had been held up because of Jordan's position.

Another \$55 million in 1991 and 1992 aid already has been released.

Providing new details, Mr. Djerejian said King Hussein has beefed up inspections of cargo going to Iraq, issued guidelines to Jordanian business about sanctions compliance, investigated suspect companies and appointed a "sanctions czar."

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# Jewish Settler Fatally Stabbed in Gaza

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, March 8—Two Palestinians stabbed a Jewish settler to death as he was bringing them to work in the Gaza Strip early today. Returning from the funeral, settlers erupted into angry protests, throwing stones and firing guns at Palestinian laborers along a major Gaza roadway, killing one Arab worker, witnesses said.

The bloodshed came as about 30,000 Palestinian workers from the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip streamed into Israel for the first time since authorities closed the checkpoints six days ago.

The closing had followed a surge of violence in which two Jews were stabbed by an Arab on a Tel Aviv street and another was stoned and shot to death by Palestinians as a crowd watched in the Rafah refugee camp in the Gaza Strip.

The attacks and reprisals occurred as Jewish settlers have become increasingly vocal about their intent to carry and use small firearms because of what they call a lack of security from army and police.

One prominent politician, Binyamin Ne-

tanyahu, frontrunner to become the next leader of the opposition Likud Party, called over the weekend for all Israelis with army training—a large segment of the population—to be given access to weapons so they could "interdict a stabbing or attempted murder in progress."

Last week, an umbrella group of settlers urged Israelis to shoot if their cars are stoned or they are attacked by Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The army warned Israeli Jews not to take the law into their own hands.

Today's cycle of violence began at Gan Or, a small Jewish settlement in the southern end of the Gaza Strip. Uri Magidish, 39, picked up two Arab laborers, who had been working for him for several weeks harvesting tomatoes on the cooperative farm. According to Arab reporters and an army statement, the two Palestinians stabbed Magidish and dragged his body into the greenhouse, then fled on foot. Magidish's throat had been slit and he was stabbed seven times, witnesses said.

The identity of the two attackers presumably is known since all the Arab workers must leave identification cards at the gate of the settlement. Many

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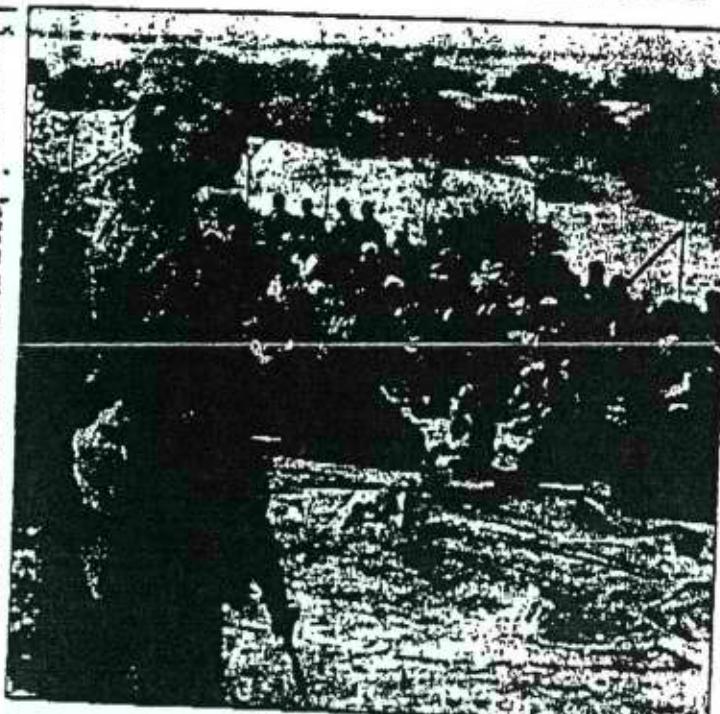
of the Jewish settlements in the area employ Arab day laborers. Fatah Hawks, an armed group allied with Yasser Arafat's Patah faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization, claimed responsibility for the slaying in slogans painted on walls.

As the slain victim, a father of four, was mourned, some settlers reacted angrily to the killing. According to Palestinians, a group of Jewish settlers stopped a car of Arab workers in the Gaza Strip and started firing guns into the air.

After the funeral, held in Israel, the settlers returned to Gaza just as thousands of Palestinians were coming home from work. Palestinians said the settlers began throwing stones at the returning workers and, at one point, some of the settlers fired guns. Windows on a bus carrying Arab workers were smashed.

Witnesses said Israeli troops were caught in the melee and were unable to restrain either side. Some Palestinians threw stones back at the settlers, witnesses said, and shots were fired. The army said it was investigating.

Three Palestinians were seriously injured and one of them was reported to have died of gunshot wounds at a hospital in Ashkelon.



An Israeli soldier in the Gaza Strip stands guard over Palestinians rounded up after Uri Magidish, a Jewish settler, was stabbed to death early yesterday.



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## Wake-up call from the Trade Center

The Islamic extremists allegedly responsible for bombing the World Trade Center in New York may, ironically, have done the government and people of the United States a big favor. After all, America has been given a chance to learn — at relatively low loss of human life, if considerable economic cost — an important lesson about this movement: It sees itself in a fight to the death with Western power, values and institutions.

Having been thus warned, perhaps the United States now will have the wisdom to refrain from taking steps that will vastly increase the costs likely ultimately to be entailed in this struggle. In light of the New

York bombing, several specific policy course corrections are now clearly in order:

- Stop hammering Israel into making dangerous accommodations with its own, indigenous Islamic extremist faction — Hamas. Even the United States' insistence that Jerusalem offer immediately to repatriate 100 of the terrorists it deported to Lebanon in December and to accelerate the return of the remainder amounts of a policy of appeasement of the unappeasable and undercuts the efforts of a fellow democracy to deal effectively with a common threat.

It goes without saying that the pressure on Israel being quietly applied by the Clinton administration to do even more for the stranded Hamas operatives is ill-advised. So too is Washington's willingness to look the other way as Israel's Arab

see GAFFNEY, page F4

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

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**GAFFNEY***From page F1*

neighbors — virtually all of whom face their own security problems from Islamic extremism and virtually all of whom are dealing with that threat through more draconian means than has Israel — vilify the Jewish State for its handling of the deportees.

The risk here is that, unless corrected, the administration's policies could induce Israel to take steps with respect to Hamas and/or to the Middle East peace process that will greatly exacerbate the Jewish State's already considerable strategic vulnerability. The United States' own susceptibility to threats like the World Trade Center blast should inspire renewed caution in Washington about encouraging Israel to take major "risks for peace"; at the very least, it should warn us off extending security guarantees to mitigate those risks that this country is unlikely to be able to honor.

• Stop undermining Turkey, a close and ever more important U.S. ally that happens to be the only successful example of a secular democracy in the Muslim world. As such, its value as a legitimate alternative to Iran's theohegemonism is enormous.

Unfortunately, as has been doc-

umented in this space previously, the United States Congress has seen fit to deprive Turkey of access to grant aid essential to its security. The United States has also been parsimonious with respect to underwriting financially Turkey's efforts to promulgate pro-Western democratic secularism in the volatile former Soviet republics of Central Asia.

Again, in the wake of the World Trade Center attack, it should be clear that such policies are worse than penny-wise and pound-foolish. They may have the effect of jeopardizing a first-line of defense and, thereby, set the stage for heightened threats to the United States itself.

• Start combating Iranian sponsorship of Islamic extremism now. The United States and the rest of the civilized world cannot afford to sit idly by as the mullahs in Tehran accumulate an immense arsenal of sophisticated offensive arms including Soviet-made ballistic missiles, Backfire bombers, diesel submarines and, reportedly, even nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

Neither can we safely permit the unchallenged expansion of state sponsors of Islamic extremist terror from Iran and its latest recruit, Sudan, to Afghanistan, Pakistan, sub-Saharan Africa, Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Central Asia and the populous Muslim states of the Pacific Rim, like Indonesia and Malaysia. We

must distinguish on the one hand between ordinary Muslims and Islam as a religion per se and those who seek cynically to exploit believers for malevolent political purposes. This will require a creative, proactive and, on occasion, pre-emptive policy.

• Finally, stop deluding the American people into thinking that the world has been transformed into a benign place from which we can safely and responsibly withdraw. The World Trade Center bombing is, if nothing else, proof positive that our world contains serious and arguably growing threats to U.S. national interests and security.

While the Islamic extremist enemy may not be as coherent, monolithic or as easily deterred as the old Soviet adversary, it is nonetheless preferable to contend with — and, if necessary, to combat — this foe as we did the U.S.S.R., at far remove from our own shores. To do so, we must retain credible, effective and ready power projection capabilities presently slated to be sacrificed by the Clinton administration in the name of budgetary austerity.

Taking such steps will not necessarily prevent other incidents of anti-Western terrorism from Islamic extremists or their comrades operating under other ideological or theological colors. Doing so will, however, do much to reduce the risks and the costs to this country — and others in the civilized world.

# Islamic Group in Cairo Warns Against Accusations in N.Y. Blast

By Caryle Murphy  
*Washington Post Foreign Service*

CAIRO, March 8—Egypt's most militant Islamic movement today denied involvement in the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York and warned of unspecified "action" in retaliation for accusations against its spiritual leader living in the United States.

The statement by the Islamic Group was its first comment on the bombing since U.S. police officials, who asked not to be identified, told reporters last week that a suspect arrested in the case had worshipped at a New Jersey mosque where the group's spiritual mentor, Omar Abdul Rahman, sometimes preached.

"Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, may God preserve him, has no link whatsoever to the explosion of the World Trade Center," said the statement faxed to the Reuter news agency office in Cairo.

"Unjustly defaming Imam Omar Abdul Rahman will under no circumstances pass without action whether on the level of [Islamic Group] or his followers and supporters in the world," the statement said, adding, "Doctor Omar has not been, is not and will never be a scapegoat."

It was unclear whether the promise of "action" came from an individual within the group or represents a new, planned strategy of the organization. In any event, it has prompted increased security at many companies, hotels and office buildings in Cairo.

A telephone number on the fax indicated it was sent from Peshawar, Pakistan—a center during the 1980s for training young Muslim volunteers fighting with Afghanistan's Islamic resistance movement against the communist government there.

The statement said that targeting Abdul Rahman—who last week "unequivocally denounced" the bombing—"aims at disfiguring the image of faithful Muslim scholars in the world, which could leave bad repercussions on relations between Muslims and the West in the future."

The group also said it "would like to clarify" that its policy "does not target innocents regardless of their religion."

This latest communication from the Islamic Group illustrates some of the difficulties faced by officials, diplomats and foreigners here in assessing the clandestine organization's activities and strategies.

Even though the underground group appears to operate in discrete, local cells, it apparently has a hierarchy. Some identified senior leaders are in prison, but most of the group's active top leaders are unknown to outsiders.

The group, now under intense scrutiny by Egyptian security, is communicating mainly by sending faxes to news organizations. But the contents of those messages are sometimes at odds with what the group's sympathizers and members say in private, as well as with what the group has said in the past.

For example, though denying today that it targets innocent civilians, the organization has claimed responsibility for attacks on foreign tourists as part of its campaign to overthrow Egypt's secular government and replace it with an Islamic one.

In interviews, people calling themselves members of the group say it has attacked tourists because, one of them said, "We want them to leave Egypt."

Another fax sent to the Cairo office of the British Broadcasting Corp. last week raised more questions. In it, the group warned "Egyptian, Arab and foreign investors to withdraw from their positions in Egypt as soon as possible," threatening "just reprisals."

While one Islamic Group sympathizer called the threat "empty words," another said attacks against such targets might occur "because it's a war."

The Egyptian government has long contended that the Islamic Group is assisted from outside the country, and that Egyptians who fought in the Afghan resistance are now returning home to wage a "holy war" against their own government. Some Islamic Group mil-

itants sought by Egyptian police are said to have gone to Peshawar, according to sympathizers here.

But some observers question why the Islamic Group, which claims to be indigenous, would bolster the government's argument by indicating that communications are coming from outside Egypt.

In its fax today, the group again denied responsibility for the bombing of a cafe in Cairo that killed three people and wounded 16 the same day as the World Trade Center explosion.

Meanwhile, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa, indicating a hardening of the government's position, said in an interview with the Associated Press on Sunday that Abdul Rahman "definitely" would face charges if he returns to Egypt.

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# More Warrants May Be Issued in Blast

## *FBI Reportedly Has Identified Several Associates of Jailed Suspect*

Associated Press

NEW YORK, March 8—More search warrants, and possibly more arrest warrants, could be issued this week in the World Trade Center bombing investigation, an FBI spokesman said today.

A federal law enforcement source said investigators also have identified several associates of Mohammed A. Salameh, 25, being held without bail on charges that he helped to bomb the trade center Feb. 26.

"We hope these people will be able to provide us with information on Salameh and perhaps lead us to others as well," said the source, who spoke on condition of anonymity.

James Fox, assistant director in charge of the New York FBI office, said he expected more search warrants and possibly more arrest warrants to be issued. But he would not elaborate.

The bombing killed five people, injured more than 1,000 and closed the twin 110-story towers for at least a month.



SAYYID A. NOSAIR  
... documents seized from prison cell

In other developments:

■ FBI agents, in a weekend raid, reportedly seized documents from the Attica state prison cell of Sayyid A. Nosair, held on charges connected to the 1990 killing of Rabbi Meir

Kahane. They were seeking correspondence between Nosair and Salameh, the Buffalo News reported.

Nosair is a cousin of Ibrahim Elgabrowny, arrested for allegedly assaulting two FBI agents when they raided his Brooklyn apartment. Salameh listed Elgabrowny's address on a rental application for a van thought to have been used in the bombing.

■ Workers beneath the trade center continued to inch into the five-story-deep blast crater.

But it will be at least 25 days before workers remove 2,500 tons of debris and reach the bottom of the crater, said Gene Fasullo, an engineer with the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, which owns the trade center.

■ Militant Muslim cleric Omar Abdul Rahman of Jersey City, N.J., reiterated that he emphatically condemned the bombing. Salameh's family has denied reports that he is a follower of Abdul Rahman, acquitted three times of terrorism-related crimes in Egypt.

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*Richard Cohen*

## Government Outgunned

NEW YORK—About four hours after a bomb went off in the World Trade Center here, I saw a traffic officer ticket a car illegally parked about a block away. The car was the only one on the street. Nearby, soot-covered office workers were making their way out of the Trade Center and the realization was beginning to sink in that a bomb—not some electrical malfunction—had produced the explosion. America was still in its Age of Innocence.

Elsewhere in the world—Beirut, Bogota, London, anywhere in Israel—a less car parked illegally near the site of a terrorist bombing would have brought a different reaction. Someone would have noticed it and yelled a warning. Authorities would be summoned and the car treated with utmost respect. A mere abandoned shopping bag triggers that kind of reaction in Israel.

Two weeks after the World Trade Center bombing, New York is a changed city. The meaning of the bombing is beginning to sink in. The story still dominates the news here. Optimistic forecasts about when the buildings will be reopened now seem downright silly. The Trade Center was severely damaged. The economic repercussions are staggering. That nice round sum, \$1 billion, is now being mentioned, and it could be another month before the World Trade Center is functioning again.

At the time that traffic officer did his job, it was not yet official that a bomb had ripped through the World Trade Center, killing five or six people (one person is still missing) and injuring about 1,000 more. (In another country, a bomb would have

been immediately suspected.) Since then, however, not only has the explosion been attributed to a bomb, but what evidence has come to light has hardly been reassuring.

Instead of an explosive device concocted by some evil genius out of exotic materials, the bomb turned out to have been made from store-shelf items, and may well have been placed by a rank amateur. Instead of the vehicle being stripped of identifying numbers, it was left as is—and quickly traced to a suspect, Mohammed A. Salameh. In other words, all it takes to blow a hole in the economy of New York is the desire to do it.

It may seem like a leap—both of geography and logic—to connect the bombing here with the shootout between federal officials and members of the Branch Davidians outside Waco, Tex. But the two events are connected by an idiosyncratic American ethos: the ease with which we can arm ourselves or procure explosives. In almost no other country, certainly not an industrialized one, could a government spokesman—in this case a spokeswoman for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms—attribute the death of four agents to the government's being outgunned. It was a stunning admission and worth pondering: A collection of nuts had more firepower than the government agents who had come to arrest them.

Whether the deaths of the federal agents can be blamed on the Branch Davidians' firepower or on poor planning is really beside the point. The point is that in this country it's possible for ordinary people to buy an AK-47, a semi-automatic assault

weapon preferred by guerrilla fighters and terrorists everywhere. The Post reported last week that some 1.9 million AK-47s had been imported from China between 1989 and 1991.

A similarly anachronistic situation applies to explosives. State laws vary, but it's not all that hard to assemble large quantities of explosives without having to smuggle them in from foreign countries. In 1991 some 2,000 bombings were reported to the FBI. Most of them were minor, but still that was a 58 percent increase from the year before. In this country, some would insist, you have a constitutional right to arm yourself like a guerrilla fighter and buy explosives like a terrorist. It's an insane state of affairs.

No amount of regulation—either of firearms or explosives—could make America terrorist-free. England is not, and it strictly regulates both. But tougher regulations would make acts of terrorism immeasurably harder to pull off and immeasurably easier to police. Americans fighting to retain their so-called right to bear arms or buy explosive materials over the counter have elevated these privileges—they are, really, nothing more than that—to the point where they take precedence over our personal safety.

Airport searches are routine and so, too, are restrictions on access to both private and public buildings. The lesson of the World Trade Center bombing is that more of that is going to happen. When it comes to terrorism, we have to lose more than our innocence. We have to lose our outdated policy on guns and explosives policy as well.

*E. J. Dionne Jr.*

## 'Have We All Gone Bloody Mad?'

The news these days brings to mind one of the great headlines of British tabloid history: "Have we all gone bloody mad?"

In Texas, followers of a fanatical religious cult kill four agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, and their leader holds the government's forces at bay for over a week.

In New York, a terrorist or terrorists bomb the World Trade Center, and then one suspect gets caught, apparently because he just couldn't bear losing his deposit on a rental truck.

And then there are the continuing disasters, the rape and murder in the former Yugoslavia, and the rising hostility between Hindus and Muslims in India, with mosque burnings and street violence.

Thinking of ourselves as cool, rational, modern (or post-modern) people, most of us look at this religious fanaticism and tribalism with a certain horrified superiority. We ask: How can they do things like this?

There might be nothing wrong with this if we confined our mild arrogance to conversations with friends. The problem is in how we define "them," and in the false conclusions we draw about the causes of tribal and religious violence.

Who is "them"? David Koresh appears sufficiently deranged that there should be no danger of mixing him up with garden-variety religious figures, however ardent their assertions of faith. Yet words like "fanatics" and "cunts" are getting thrown around as if they explain all we need to know about the events in Waco—as if there's something suspicious about all forms of religious commitment.

Those of us who are believing Christians need to be especially careful here. When the Jesus cult started a couple of millennia ago, some cultured Romans viewed its followers as dangerous fools and cranks.

And that word "fanatics" doesn't help much either. What do we make of the very religious people who give up on the pleasant things of this world to devote themselves to the poor, the outcast? The behavior of these good people is surely not conventional, their devotion something other than—maybe better than—"normal." At what point does departure from the norm make someone a "fanatic"?

As for followers of Islam, phrases like "Muslim militants" and "Islamic terrorists" appear so often that it is as if our word processors were programmed to produce only such pairs. Yet in Bosnia, it is Muslims who are currently the main victims of terror, wrought by people who are at least nominally Christian.

Beyond Koresh and terrorism, there is the larger problem of explaining how religion and ethnicity get politicized. Much of our talk suggests that what's going on has nothing to do with the modern world and is simply a throwback to ancient irrationalities.

It's clearly true, as William Faulkner wrote, that "the past is not dead, it is not even past." Old identities and loyalties endure for a long time.

But what is going on in India or in the old Yugoslavia cannot be explained as mere blurs from the past. In an important article in the current issue of the *New Republic*, Profs. Susanne Hober Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph argue that the spurge of bad feeling between Muslims and Hindus in India has far more to do with current conflicts over economics, politics and status than with things that happened 500 or 1,000 years ago.

They assert that rapid economic growth in India has left all sorts of people near the top uneasy about where they stand in society and fearful that some previously disadvantaged groups (including both Muslims and lower-caste Hindus) might pass them up. The Rudolphs also note that the revival of Hindu nationalism is partly the creation of modern mass media.

Yes, say the Rudolphs, as political ideology recedes, "the politics of identity and community, or religion, ethnicity and gender" will become more important.

But they add: "Which identities become relevant for politics is not predetermined by some primordial ancientness. They are crafted in benign and malignant ways in print and electronic media, in textbooks and advertising" and in the strategies of modern political campaigns.

In the present age, all of us can pick and choose among a variety of identities to get what we want. In some circumstances, large numbers of people will see the greatest gain in organizing themselves around race (as in South Africa and, sometimes, in the United States), in other circumstances around religion (as in India), and in still others around gender (as in the battle for jobs in the Clinton administration).

All these choices are perfectly rational. There is thus nothing to be gained by arguing that if only groups now engaged in sexist or identity-based struggles suddenly embraced modernity and its nationality, everything would be okay. The Serbs coolly calculated that the use of violence would expand their power. So far, that cool calculation has proven correct. Their behavior may be barbarous, but it's not "irrational," and it's thoroughly up to date.

In a prophetic essay written almost two decades ago, sociologist Nathan Glazer spoke of "the universalization of ethnicity" as largely the product of the modern present, not the misty past. To pick

but one of Glazer's examples: As rural people migrated to cities almost everywhere, they battled isolation by finding community and political influence among members of their own ethnic group. Modernity often looks back to the future.

Of all people, Americans should understand racial, ethnic and religious tensions. We've experienced our share of violence over the years, most recently in Los Angeles. To the extent that we've kept ethnocentrism and religious bigotry in hand,

it is not because we are so cool, rational and modern. It is because over generations, we have cultivated—however imperfectly—the rules and habits of democracy and tolerance.

Our reaction to the news these days should therefore be marked not by arrogance but by gratitude, not by self-congratulation but by a vigilant awareness that even rationality, when unshaken from worthy values, can lead us down bloody roads.

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## Soviet defense disrupted by breakup CLA pinpoints arms plants, cites proliferation as top concern

By Bill Gertz  
Washington Bureau

The breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 caused a major dislocation of Moscow's highly-centralized defense industry, and the newly independent states are seeking to reduce military industries, according to a CIA report.

"The breakup of the union has severely disrupted the defense industry," the CIA report says. "Each of the former republics is faced with determining what weapons-production infrastructures it requires and how best to utilize the rest."

The report, "The Defense Industries of the Newly Independent States of Eurasia," was produced by the CIA's Directorate of Intelligence and was circulated within the U.S. government in January. An unclassified version was made public March 1.

The report also provides maps disclosing for the first time the exact locations of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons production

facilities and missile production plants throughout the former Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, and later Russia, denied until recently having any biological weapons programs, and the locations of most weapons facilities still remain tightly guarded secrets.

The report makes no mention of the impact of the fragmenting defense industry on U.S. national security. But it appears oriented toward supporting the intelligence community's priority of monitoring the spread of weapons of mass destruction from the former Soviet Union.

According to the report, the Soviet defense industry was the largest military-industrial complex in the world, employing a work force of 7 million to 10 million people in 3,000 to 5,000 facilities in 15 republics.

In addition to all types of weapons, the complex also produced a significant amount of other goods, such as computers, machine tools, tractors, washing machines, televisions, radios and VCRs.

Only Russia among the independent states today can operate its military-industrial base autonomously in many areas, while other former republics must now rely on imports of parts or strategic materials from other elements of the former Soviet defense industry, the report says.

About 70 percent of former Soviet military-industrial plants are located in Russia and about 15 percent are in Ukraine, the report says. Ukraine, second to Russia in military industry, is currently looked to "manufacture only a limited range of products."

Nearly all key chemical and biological warfare production facilities and nuclear weapons production plants are in Russia, according to the report.

Kazakhstan contains the largest military-industrial complex outside of the former Slavic republics — including Russia, Ukraine and Belarus — and its 50 plants are capable of making SS-21 short-range missiles, torpedoes and communication equipment. Its five test ranges

played a critical role in developing Soviet aerospace systems.

Uzbekistan is noted in the report for its "open-air biological warfare test range" on an island in the Aral Sea. The test range once was supervised by U.S. intelligence officials of causing an outbreak of bubonic plague in the region.

Overall, the report identifies the locations of 12 chemical and biological weapons production facilities, 17 nuclear-weapons-related production facilities, 135 missile plants and 12 test ranges for nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and missiles.

"To protect its industrial base from the threat of attack — and because of 'strong-willed personalities' who wanted them there — the Soviet Union spread out its key military industries throughout its vast Eurasian empire," the report says.

"The end result of this dispersed, yet-integrated military production is that it makes the states highly dependent on one another, not only as sources of supply, but also as markets for their output," the report says.

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AMOS PERLMUTTER

# Mideast fog index

Among the questions and concerns these days about the Middle East peace process is whether the Palestinians will come to the table. It's the wrong question and an exaggerated concern. They'll come.

The real issue here isn't the Palestinians, but rather the most crucial actor in the process — the United States. If questions must be asked, let's ask if the Clinton administration is as dedicated to bringing about Arab-Israeli conflict resolution as were the Carter and the Bush-Baker administrations, each in their own way and style. The concern in the Middle East and elsewhere is that this president's apparent lack of interest, knowledge or concern for foreign policy might prove to be a serious deterrent to a

*It's an Arabist canard that the Palestinians won't come.*

successful Middle East peace process.

As international problems go, the Middle East peace process is the one readily prepared for resolution. Its modalities, the structures and procedures for engagement have all been established in Madrid in 1991, at the instigation of Mears, Bush and Baker. All the Clinton administration really has to do is to continue already well-established procedures and show a willingness to engage in the process and move it along. The question is whether or not this administration is ready to engage in the necessary and required arm twisting and whether it's ready to reward the parties financially as the Carter administration did. The answer to both questions is probably

no, especially to the matter of financial reward. An administration as seriously dedicated to budget cutting as this one appears to be is not ready to think in terms of huge financial plums for foreign countries. Nor is the working style of Secretary of State Warren Christopher tailor-made to deal with protracted negotiations and fussing over details that will be required over the next two or three years. The process will be very much characterized by the kinds of ups and downs, wranglings over small details and backward and forward movements evidenced in the case of the Camp David negotiations.

In short, the behavior of the parties involved in the Middle East peace process promise to be erratic and inconsistent. The first phase — from Madrid to the inauguration of Bill Clinton — proceeded apace with relatively little rancor. But the next rounds of negotiations — dealing with specifics such as timetables, institutional arrangements, boundaries, shared partnerships in fighting terrorism, policing and neutrality — will be different and enormously time-consuming. It does not appear that the new administration is ready to tackle the process yet. It doesn't even have a clearly or even nebulously stated Middle East policy or goal. But somewhere down the road, it's bound to act, although it's difficult to tell into which direction Mr. Clinton's people will go, since they do not appear to know themselves.

Mr. Christopher prior to taking an acclamation trip appears to have followed a policy of bowing to Egyptian pressure, accepting their proposal on the United Nations-deportee problem without first consulting Israel. He went on an unscheduled visit to Lebanon, apparently to demonstrate that country's "independence."

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Amos Perlmutter is a professor of political science and sociology at American University and editor of the *Journal of Strategic Studies*.



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## PERLMUTTER

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dence" from Syria even as the Israelis were reminding him that if Egypt has ideas, it could submit them directly to Israel.

It's clear that Mr. Christopher is satisfied that in Yitzhak Rabin's government, he has an Israeli government willing to push the process, to be engaged, unlike the recalcitrant Shamir government. More importantly, Syria also wants and needs to be engaged. The Israelis would like to shed themselves of the Palestinian burden while the Syrians want to be relieved of the Israeli military threats of the past. What the new administration must do is to purge the Bush-Baker belief that the Palestinian problem is the principal issue in the Middle East peace process. This is simply not true.

The most important element is the Syrian-Israeli arrangement. Israel and Syria are the senior members in the process and will not tolerate being bogged down by Palestinian irresolution and lack of leadership. Both Syria and Israel, for domestic and political reasons, aspire to conflict resolution as a matter of pragmatism. They have no significant bones of contention. The Golan Heights do not amount to a significant strategic territory for either Israel or Syria but rather represent

a symbolic difficulty, in that it's symbolic of their relationship. Changes in that relationship also will change perceptions of their mutual strategic concerns.

With so much at stake for both Israel and Syria, neither will put up with the constant Palestinian obstructions and delays to the process, since both are senior parties here. In view of Syrian President Hafez Assad's domestic problems — a challenge from Sunni Islamic fundamentalists — he will not link his strategic interests to the Palestinian cause as indicated by his departure from the Palestinian insistence that the deportee problem must be solved before they join the negotiations.

If the Palestinians persist in their obstructive stance, they will be left behind and isolated once again. The Palestinian relationship to Israel is more complex than that of Syria. They want territory occupied and partly settled by Israel. They are divided themselves between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Hamas, and their negotiating leadership is in turn divided between Tunisia and East Jerusalem. They are the weaker and junior partners in the process and have few cards to play except for a fizzling and fading Intifadah and an unreasonable hope for international concern. The arena of world opinion is skeptical of the Palestinians' obdurate refusal to

come to the table and in any case is rightly more concerned with Serbian atrocities in Bosnia than the less pressing and obvious issue of Palestinian self-government. There is no major-power rivalry to exploit.

For the Palestinians, it's an old story, a willingness to take the opportunity to miss an opportunity. They're reading international opinion in yesterday's news, they're dealing with a president basically uninterested in foreign policy and they're missing the opportunity inherent in an accommodating Israeli government if they continue to resist coming to the table.

The bet here is that they will come. Mr. Rabin will not make more concessions or changes in Israel's deportee policy than he already has as long as Hamas terrorism is an ongoing Palestinian affair. It's an Arabist canard that the Palestinians won't come. If they do not, it will be a suicidal tragedy for them. It would be a failure to meet the new world reality, a failure to recognize Israeli and Syrian strategic goals that would result in an eventual Israeli unilateral withdrawal. The resulting terms, borders and institutions would be determined by Israel without consultation with the Palestinians.

Even the Palestinians are not that self-destructive. They will come to the table, because they have no other political alternative.

Jim Hoagland

# Bailing Out Yeltsin

President Clinton's decision to hold an early summit with Boris Yeltsin is a significant departure from the caution that dominates other areas of his foreign policy. Helping Yeltsin out of his deepening political crisis is for Clinton important, urgent and maybe just doable.

Clinton stunned the Russians by responding immediately to their suggestion toward the end of February for a U.S.-Russian summit in Europe. The president offered to meet Yeltsin on March 6—a date that would have left barely a week for preparation—or April 4, if the Russian president would agree to meet in Vancouver.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev was tempted by the March date, which he saw as evidence of Clinton's willingness to help Yeltsin, according to conversations Kozyrev has had with associates in Moscow. A summit six weeks after Clinton's inauguration would have contrasted sharply with George Bush's waiting nearly a year into his term to meet Mikhail Gorbachev.

But the Russians were not ready to love that quickly. They hesitated as

well about Vancouver, a site that allows Clinton to combine the summit with domestic political work in the Northwest but is distant for Yeltsin. A back-channel offer from Lech Wałęsa to host the summit in Warsaw was considered, but in the end, Moscow settled for Vancouver and April.

April 4 falls one week before the national referendum Yeltsin has called on a new constitution in an effort to break the virulent political gridlock between Yeltsin and the People's Congress of Deputies. The Brezhnevite Russian parliament is thwarting economic and political reform and sowing doubt at Yeltsin's authority.

The summit is now part of Yeltsin's struggle with the Congress. Exposure in Vancouver with Clinton should be a valuable asset for Yeltsin in the voting, which polls show him winning. Clinton's advisers welcomed that prospect as Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Kozyrev worked out the summit details in Geneva.

But three days after the summit was announced, Yeltsin surprised Washington by voicing public threats to declare presidential rule and ignore the Co-

gress instead of holding the referendum. The White House must now worry about what Clinton should do and say if Yeltsin takes authoritarian steps at home just before he meets the president in Vancouver.

Even worse, from an image standpoint, Yeltsin may wind up consulting with Clinton and then returning home to take drastic action against his foes with the appearance of a green light from the American president.

By extending a helping hand to the Russian leader this early, Clinton and Christopher were taking a calculated risk. It turns out to be even more unpredictable than either probably expected.

Russia remains the one area of foreign policy where Clinton displays as president the boldness he promised on the campaign trail. In ex-Yugoslavia, Haiti and to a lesser extent on trade he has had to modify rhetoric and policy to accommodate the Pentagon, Congress and/or other Washington and foreign actors.

The early involvement in Russia is partly a matter of the enormous stakes involved. Keeping Yeltsin in place is

key to keeping democracy working in Russia and preventing hard-liners from coming back to power in Moscow.

But the U.S. decision to reach out to Yeltsin in a visible way now is also rooted in Clinton's faith in the power and universality of focused political leadership. Bosnia, Haiti and the Middle East seem almost intractable. Solutions, if they can be found, are a long way off. In Russia, Clinton feels early and active engagement may help make a difference in Yeltsin's favor.

Since his election, the president has been pondering Yeltsin's political problems, particularly the Russian's failure to line up enough votes in the People's Congress to secure his role and reforms in Russia. One thing Clinton will want to learn in Vancouver is whether he and other Western leaders can help Yeltsin and other Russian democrats in developing the basic political skills and techniques on which parliamentary democracies run.

Clinton will also bring along proposals for a targeted aid package, designed to help Yeltsin with two groups. The money will help reward reformers who

are working to outreach democracy and a free market economy, and ease the suffering of those most hurt by the reforms, particularly 30,000 to 50,000 Russian army officers who lack jobs and housing as a result of the breakup of the Soviet Union.

One senior official acknowledges that the mood of Congress and of the country makes it unlikely Clinton and Christopher will be able to increase aid to Russia beyond the modest levels achieved by Bush and his secretary of state, Jim Baker.

"But there will be a difference," the Clinton adviser insists. "Bush and Baker stopped paying attention once the program was voted. This president will remain engaged and work with Yeltsin to overcome the challenges ahead."

Those challenges will be plentiful and dangerous. Clinton may be overestimating the utility of Western political techniques for Yeltsin in the dog-eat-dog struggle being waged in Moscow. But by getting off to an early start in trying to help Yeltsin, the president positions himself to learn and adjust in the difficult days ahead.

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# When Is a Senior Official Just an Official? When There Are Holes in the Defense Team

**H**ow deep is the Clinton bench over at Defense? Not very deep at all. In most departments, public affairs officers are willing to be quoted on background as "senior department officials" when they brief reporters on department policies.

But at Defense, where only Secretary Les Aspin, and his top deputy William J. Perry have been formally appointed, spokesman Vernon A. Gildry Jr., is guiding (or spinning) reporters, prefers to talk only on background and be identified as a "department official." Why? Because with so few "senior" department officials around Gildry lacks adequate cover.

An Aspin predecessor and former Wisconsinite, former defense secretary Melvin Laird, is worried about the lack of senior help over at the Pentagon. Talking to reporters last week in New York, Laird said Aspin has been working himself to the bone. "He went out the other night, he shouldn't have done that, to a dinner, then he went back to the office and worked until 11:30 p.m."

Laird said he avoided this problem in 1969 by "having the White House promise they wouldn't interfere with any of my appointees." Laird said he told President Richard M. Nixon that he would take the job only if he could bring along whomever he wanted. Laird said he had his team together in a few weeks.



## Taking the Philosophical Approach

■ Energy Secretary Hazel R. O'Leary takes a "big picture" approach to the appointment process: "Do I have any complaints?" she asked Washington Post reporters and editors yesterday. "I am very philosophical. In the private sector we would spend nine months, you would as well, filling a really key and critical job. And so we're almost rushing to do a thing which wisdom and experience tells you needs to be done more slowly. . . . It has major advantages. I've had a chance to work with staff. [That] removes some of the fear factor from the aura of the secretary. You aren't going to hear me bitching and moaning."

"I was the last secretary selected, came to the party very late. I was behind my colleagues," she said, adding that she got a call from Clinton on Dec. 15, "when most people thought that job was already filled, so I was slow in shaping my vision of the department."

## Republicans In Their Midst . . .

■ It seems this is "Be Nice to Republicans Week" at the Clinton White House. Former president Richard M. Nixon visited the White House last night. To-

night, Clinton will attend the 90th birthday bash for the venerable South Carolina Republican Sen. Strom Thurmond. Maybe a dedication to J. Edgar Hoover later in the week?

Asked about it, White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said: "We always make nice with Republicans. Republicans are our friends."

## Ride Says No Thanks to Next Mission

■ First American woman in space Sally K. Ride's name keeps surfacing as a possible candidate to run the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, but word is Ride, who worked on the transition effort, has given the White House a fifth, and apparently final, no. (For the moment, the current administrator, Daniel S. Goldin, says he has a mandate to stay on and overhaul the space station program.)

## It's Official. . .

■ Michael Stegman, a professor at the University of North Carolina and former Carter Housing and Urban Development official, has been named assistant secretary for policy development and research at HUD; Everett Ehrlich, a longtime Congressional Budget Office official and vice president at UNYSIS for economic and financial planning, has been named undersecretary for economic affairs at Commerce.

Over at Agriculture, Eugene Moes, Washington lobbyist and former congressional aide to then-majority leader Thomas B. Foley (D-Wash.), was named undersecretary for international affairs and commodity programs; Richard Rominger, a California farmer and former director of the state Department of Food and Agriculture from 1977-82, was named deputy secretary; Wardell Townsend Jr., Secretary Mike Espy's former chief of staff on the Hill, was named assistant secretary for administration; Francis Vacca, a former dairy lobbyist and president of an agricultural consulting firm, was named assistant secretary for congressional relations.

On the international front, Victor Marrero, former Carter HUD undersecretary, was named U.S. representative to the Economic and Security Council at the United Nations; Rick Iadefurth, former project director of the Center for National Policy and with ABC News in Moscow, was named a deputy to U.N. ambassador Madeleine K. Albright.

One of the leading candidates on a recent list to run the Agency for International Development was not Bill Draper, a Bush appointee to the United Nations Development Program, but Bill Drayton, the head of the private development group named The Ashoka Foundation. Drayton is a former Carter Environmental Protection Agency official and McKinsey & Co. management consultant whose specialty is working with large institutions in need of change.

—Al Kamen

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TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 9-MARCH-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYP: 'THE REALITY OF TERRORISM': WRITER STATES THAT THE INVOLVEMENT OF MOHAMMED SALAMEH AND SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN AS AN INDICTMENT OF THE ENTIRE MUSLIM COMMUNITY IN THE US; HOPES THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC NOW BETTER UNDERSTANDS THE ISRAELI DECISION TO DEPORT 400 HAMAS ACTIVISTS TO SOUTHERN LEBANON; QUOTES MK (AND FORMER UN AMBASSADOR) BENJAMIN NETANYAHU AS REFERRING TO THE MIDDLE EAST AS A 'DANGEROUS NEIGHBORHOOD'; MENTIONS THAT ISRAEL FACES THIS TYPE OF ISLAMIC-INSPIRED TERRORISM ON A DAILY BASIS.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: CLINTON MAY SEEK LID ON DOCTOR FEES AND LIABILITY SUITS; MEXICAN LEADER ASKS EXECUTIVES TO GIVE PARTY DOLLAR 25 MILLION EACH; SENSING A LOSS OF CONTROL, MORE DOCTORS CALL IT QUILTS; TRADE CENTER BOMBING SUSPECT NOW A PATSY, OFFICIALS CONCLUDE; ONE TOPIC, SEVERAL AGENDAS AS CLINTON AND NIXON MEET. WSJ: 'A WEEK IN THE LIFE: THE PRESIDENTIAL STYLE IS EXUBERANT, INFORMAL AND TOTALLY IN CONTROL'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/GAZA/KILLINGS: NYT(AP),ND(BRIEF),DN,NYP(BRIEF): (LOCAL) PALESTINIAN LABORERS STABBED AN ISRAELI TO DEATH NEAR HIS GREENHOUSE IN GAN-OR IN GAZA, SEVERAL HOURS AFTER THE IDF LIFTED A SIX-DAY CURFEW IN THE AREA; JEWISH SETTLERS LATER REPORTEDLY ENGAGED IN STONE-THROWING CLASHES WITH PALESTINIANS RETURNING TO GAZA FROM THEIR JOBS IN ISRAEL; IDF SOLDIERS SHOT AND KILLED A PALESTINIAN TEENAGER NEAR TULKARM ON MONDAY; PALESTINIAN SOURCES CLAIM THAT A LOCAL RESIDENT FROM THE JABALIYA REFUGEE CAMP IN GAZA HAD BEEN SHOT BY SETTLERS NEAR THE EREZ CHECKPOINT; HOUSING MINISTER BEN-ELIEZER SAID THAT A HASTY ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM GAZA WITHOUT IMPROVING THE ECONOMY WOULD CREATE 'MAYHEM' AND CREATE THE LARGEST TERRORIST BASE IN THE REGION.

CLINTON/ISRAEL/EGYPT/AID: NYT(E.SCIOLINO-CABLED): 'CLINTON CHALLENGED ON SHARE OF US AID GOING TO ISRAEL AND EGYPT': DURING A HEARING OF THE FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON MONDAY, CONGRESSMAN DAVID OBEY RAISED THE ISSUE OF WHETHER THE US CAN AFFORD TO PROVIDE ISRAEL AND EGYPT WITH BILLIONS OF DOLLARS WORTH OF AID IN LIGHT OF A SHRINKING FOREIGN AID BUDGET AND PRESIDENT CLINTON'S DETERMINATION TO REVIVE THE AMERICAN ECONOMY; NOTES THE CURRENT LEVEL OF AID RECEIVED BY ISRAEL AND EGYPT; NOTES THE CRITICISM DIRECTED AT SENATOR BOB DOLE AFTER HE WROTE AN OP-ED ARTICLE IN THE NEW YORK TIMES THREE YEARS AGO WITH A SIMILAR MESSAGE; ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE EDWARD DJEREJIAN RESPONDED TO CONGRESSMAN OBEY BY SAYING THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HAD NO INTENTION OF REDUCING AID TO EITHER COUNTRY; CONGRESSMAN OBEY ALSO CRITICIZED EGYPT, AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, ISRAEL FOR FAILING TO INSTITUTE NEEDED ECONOMIC REFORMS AND FOR PURCHASING MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM THE US UNDER THE ASSUMPTION THAT THERE WILL BE CONTINUED US AID TO PAY FOR IT; MR. DJEREJIAN ALSO SAID THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION HOPES TO GIVE JORDAN DOLLAR 50 MILLION IN SECURITY AID THAT HAS BEEN WITHHELD BY CONGRESS; QUOTES MR. DJEREJIAN AS SAYING: 'WE REMAIN STEADFAST IN OUR COMMITMENT TO DIRECT SUBSTANTIAL FOREIGN AID RESOURCES TO THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL, TO SUPPORT EGYPT'S VITAL ROLE IN THE STABILITY AND SECURITY OF THE REGION, AND TO PROMOTION OF COMPREHENSIVE AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST'.

BRITAIN/PLO/RELATIONS: WSJ(BRIEF): BRITISH OFFICIALS SAID ON MONDAY THAT LONDON WILL RESUME HIGH-LEVEL CONTACTS WITH THE PLO; SAID OFFICIALS ADDED THAT FOREIGN OFFICE CHIEF HOGG WOULD SOON MEET WITH TWO PLO REPRESENTATIVES AND A PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATOR.

KUWAIT/IRAQIS/MEETING: WSJ(BRIEF): KUWAITI GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WELCOMED JALAL TALABANI, A SENIOR IRAQI KURDISH LEADER, FOR TALKS ON HOW THEY CAN COOPERATE TO REMOVE SADDAM HUSSEIN FROM POWER; IT REMAINS UNCLEAR HOW MUCH ASSISTANT KUWAIT WOULD BE ABLE TO OFFER THE IRAQI OPPOSITION.

GERMANY/NEO-NAZIS/INDICTED: NYT(AP): TWO RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS WERE INDICTED ON MONDAY IN FRANKFURT IN THE FIREBOMBING DEATHS OF A TURKISH WOMAN AND TWO CHILDREN.

BROOKLYN/PALESTINIAN/TRIAL/CONVICTED: NYT(J.P.FRIED),DN: 'PLO OFFICIAL CONVICTED IN 20-YEAR-OLD BOMBING CASE': A JURY IN FEDERAL DISTRICT COURT IN BROOKLYN CONVICTED KHALED MOHAMMED EL-JASSEM, AN ACCUSED PLO OFFICIAL, OF CHARGES THAT HE ATTEMPTED TO BOMB THREE ISRAELI SITES IN NYC 20 YEARS AGO; DEFENSE LAWYERS FOR MR. EL-JASSEM TOLD THE JURY THAT THEIR CLIENT WAS BEING 'FRAMED' BY THE US GOVERNMENT TO 'APPEASE' ISRAEL.

WTC/BOMBING/NOSAIR/LINK: NYT(R.BLUMENTHAL-FRONT PAGE-CABLED),ND,DN, NYP: 'WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING SUSPECT NOT A PASTY, OFFICIALS CONCLUDE': FEDERAL AND LOCAL INVESTIGATORS SAY THEY NOW BELIEVE THAT MOHAMMED SALAMEH, THE 25-YEAR-OLD BOMBING SUSPECT, PLAYED A SIGNIFICANT ROLE, IF NOT A CENTRAL ONE, IN WHAT THEY SAY IS A CONSPIRACY; LOCAL OFFICIALS HAVE ALSO ESTABLISHED A DIRECT PERSONAL LINK BETWEEN

MR. SALAMEH AND EL SAYYID A. NOSAIR, CITING THAT MR. SALAMEH VISITED MR. NOSAIR ON RIKERS ISLAND AND AT LEAST ONE TIME IN ATTICA STATE PRISON, ONE MONTH BEFORE THE BOMBING; AUTHORITIES ALSO SAID THAT IB-RAHIM A. ELGABROWNY, A RELATIVE OF MR. NOSAIR, HAS EMERGED AS A MAJOR SUSPECT IN THE BOMBING BECAUSE OF HIS TIES TO MR. SALAMEH; NOTES THAT A FORMER ROOMMATE OF MR. SALAMEH, ASHRAF MONEEB, SAID THAT MR. SALAMEH HAD LIVED WITH HIM UNTIL HE MADE HIM MOVE OUT OF THE APARTMENT THEY SHARED IN JERSEY CITY BECAUSE MR. SALAMEH TALKED 'TOO MUCH ABOUT PALESTINE AND HOW HE BELIEVED THE ISRAELIS WERE TREATING HIS COUNTRY-MEN UNFAIRLY'.

NYT(A.MITCHELL): 'LAW-ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS SAY ANOTHER MAJOR SUSPECT EMERGES'.

ND(R.POLNER): 'US MUSLIMS FEAR BACKLASH AFTER WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING'.

ND(J.DWYER): 'JEWISH MOLE IN THE MOSQUE': FOLLOWERS OF RABBI MEIR KAHANE CLAIMED THAT THE JERSEY CITY MOSQUE FREQUENTED BY MOHAMMED SALAMEH AND SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN HAS BEEN UNDER SURVEILLANCE BY THE FBI, ISRAELI INTELLIGENCE AND MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN GROUP; SAID FOLLOWERS ALSO CLAIMED THAT ONE OF ITS MEMBERS HAD POSED AS A MUSLIM AND ATTENDED SERVICES IN THE MOSQUE FOR SEVERAL MONTHS AFTER RABBI KAHANE WAS MURDERED IN 1990.

#### OBITUARIES

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NYT: 'MAY F. GOODMAN, 85; SERVED AS A SPOKESWOMAN FOR THE WORLD UNION OF PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM AT THE UN FOR 20 YEARS'.

#### ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(T.L.FRIEDMAN-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'ONE TOPIC, SEVERAL AGENDAS AS CLINTON AND NIXON MEET'.

MICHAEL STOLTZ  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שיח, סיחה, (רHAM@shabat), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, מצב, רביב,  
מעת, הסברה, (לעט), מקטב, (דוץ), אומן,  
סיביל, משפט, תפוצות, גנור, (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,  
מד (רמ), (אמן), מצפה, פרג, מזחאים, (מחאשתחים)

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ANN, חוזם: 13539  
אל: רהmesh/452  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 090393, זח: 1851, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
536070  
סודי/מידי

א/ז

אל: השגריר - יוש'

דעת: רח'ט פריין  
מקש'ח-שחבט  
לדרמן - ועדת לאנרגיה אוטומית

מאת: לשכת ס/שה'ח

הנדון: סמינר סבא'

1. ס/שה'ח פגש היום (9/3) את שג' ארה'ב בנדון. השתתפו בפגישה אנדרו שטיינדפלד, בנצור וחת'ם.

2. בהתייחסו לפניה השגריר מלפני מספר שבועות אמר בילין כי לצערנו לא נוכל להשתתף בסמינר.

3. ס/שה'ח פירט הטעמים לאי השתתפות כמפורט ב- **NON PAPER**.

4. בדבריו הדגיש רצוננו כי הדיון בנושא הבק'ן ימוקד בקבוצת העובدة הדנה במלול הבק'ן באזרינו להבדיל מסבא' שמעצם הגדרתה מוציאה את הנושא הגראיני מהמלול ומעמידה אותו בחדית.

5. בילין עמד על השינויים שהלו בעמדתו בנושא הבק'ן: הכרזת החזון, האימוח ודברי שה'ח בפריס. קיום הסמינר יפגע בPGA כמו גם במלחינים האזרויים שהם המפתח להתקומות בתחום הבק'ן. נזכר זה יבנה על גבי נזכר הבסיס שהוא הסכמי השלום האזרויים. סבא' רוצה למעשה לדרג הישר לנזכר השני ללא שיוקמו היסודות (השלום) תחילה.

6. בילין הצביע על הקושי לדבר על ויתוריים טריוטרייאלים במקביל לדרישה לויתוריים בתחום הבק'ן.

7. ע'כ אננו מקווה שהסמינר לא יתקיים כלל. אם יתקיים, אננו לא נוכל להשתתף בו. לגבי הערת האמריקאים על שיתוף אקדמיים ישראליים השיב כי אלה, אם יוזמנו חפשיים לעשות כרצונם.

8. לגבי השתתפות מומחה סבא'א בسمינר קהיר השיב ס/שה'ח שאיננו תומכים בראויון זה והדבר בודאי יידוע בינינו לבין מקרים בעת המפגש המקדמים שיתקיים בסוף אפריל.

9. האروف החענין אם קיבלנו הזמנות לסמינר, ס/שה'ח ובນצור השיבו בשלילה. האروف ביקש שבתו בתנו לארגון נפרט הנימוקים כפי שעשינו בשיחה זו. והוסיף כי הם סבורים שהשתתפות אקדמאית בסמינר סבא'א יהיה מועיל. הובהר לו כי אנו לא נשגר איש מטענו

שלמה גור  
9 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, ס(ר'המ), ס(שהבט), מנכ"ל, ממכ"ל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, ס(ר'אגת), ס(ר'ם), ס(אמן), סמד, מצפה,  
פרג, סייבל, ס(ווא/קשות), ס(מקשח/مشاهבט)

סססס

אלאא, חוזם: 12752

אל: רהmesh/ 435

מ-: המשרד, תא: 090393, זח: 1438, דח: מ, סג: בל,

ביבב

535341

בלמייס/ מידי

אל: תפוצה מדינית מצומצמת + צפ'א + מוסקבה

הנדון: עדכון יומי: ביןיל - מד'ה (9.3)

1. ארה'ב - מזה'ת

עוודר שה'ח האמריקני דג'רג'יאן אמר בדיוון בועדת הקצבות של בית הנבחרים (8) כי הנשיא קלינטון ומציר המדינה כריסטופר מdag'יסים את מחויבות ארה'ב לתקפיך השותף המלא בתהילין השלום וכי ארה'ב מוכנה למלא תפקיד פועל, כדי לסייע להתגבר על חילוקי הדעות בין הצדדים המעורבים. ביקור כריסטופר במש'ה נועד להציג את מודעות ארה'ב לחיבות האזרע לאינטראקציית ולחזוק אפרדיות הסחר של ארה'ב בחויל וכן לצורך הערכת הנחישות והמחויבות של הצדדים לתהילן השלום. דג'רג'יאן ציין כי קלינטון וכריסטופר הדגישו שארה'ב מחויבת לסייע למען הבטחת בטחון ישראל, וכן שהסיווע שmag'isha ארה'ב למצרים חשוב לחיזוק התקפיך החינוי שמלאת מצרים ליציבות ולבטחון באזרע ולהשכנתם שלום. הנשיא ומציר המדינה מdag'יסים את חיבות המשך הסיווע הניתן לישראל ומצרים ברמתו הנוכחית (סימז'ת 8.3).

2. ארה'ב - טרור

ג'יימס פוקס, ראש צוות ה-I.B.F. המנהל את חקירת הפיצוץ במרכז הסחר העולמי אמר (9) כי איננו מאמין שהකוצה האחראית לפיצוץ היא ארגון AD-HOC, אלא משקפת פעללה מאורגן יותר וכי יתכן שארגוני טרור מרכזים במש'ה עומדים אחורי הפיצוץ (רויטר 9.3).

3. ארה'ב-איסלאם

שגריר ארה'ב בירדן, רוג'ר הארייסון אמר באגרת שציג למועצה הארגוניות האסלאמיים בירדן, כי השיח' עמר עבד אלרחמן יואשם בכמה אישומים חמורים בשל מעורבותו במספר מעשי טרור בעלי אופי ביןיל. הוא ציין, כי השיח' עבד אלרחמן לא זכה למקלט מדיני והוא בעל אשורת שהייה רגילה. באגדתו מdag'יש השגריר, כי עד עתה לא התקבלה כל החלטה סופית מטעם משרד המשפטים בנווגע לעניינו של עבד אלרחמן, ולא פורסם כל צו בדבר מעצרו, העמדתו לדין או גירשו (סימז'ת 8.3).

4. ארה'ב - איראן

בראיון לרשות הטלויזיה איי.בי.סי אמר (7) ראש הס.אי.אי. לשעבר,

גיטיס, כי איראן אחראית לרוב פעולות הטרור ב策划'ת בהוותה, אך הוסיף כי עדין 'מוקדם מדי לומר אם פעילות כזו מגיעה לחופי ארה'ב (אי.פי. 8.3).

5. או'ם - טרור דוברו של מזכיל האו'ם, אחמד פוזי מסר כי בוטרוס גאלי גינה (8) את הרציחות של אזרחים ישראליים בת'א ובעזה וחזר על כך שהוא מתנגד לכל פעולות האלימות באזרע שמעוררות את האמון בתהילך השלום. גאלי דחה בחריפות את ההאשמות של העתונות בישראל לפיהן האו'ם מתענין פחות באלימות נגד יהודים מזו נגד אנשים ממוצא אתני אחר (ס' 8.3).

6. ספרד - פלסטינים דובר משה'ח הספרדי הבהיר (8), כי התקיימו פגישות בין בכיר ספרדי לבין נציגי החמאם בח'רטום בפברואר. ההנחה באה לאחר הצהרה של מוחמד נאצל, נציג החמאם בירדן מה-3/7 שבה ציין כי בכיריו החמאם דנו עם נציגי משה'ח הספרדי ושביריו סין בחרטום על הגירוש (ס' 8.3).

ביניל 1/ממ'ד

9 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, @(ר'המ), @(ש'בט), מנכל, ממנכ'ל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @(ר'אגת), @(ר'ם), @(אמ'ן), ממד, מצפה,  
סב'ר, אירופה, מזח'ת, מצרים, גוברין, מזאר',  
ב'ין, ארב'ל, @(י'וע'ר'המ/טרור)

סססס

אANA, חוזם: 14035  
אל: רהמש/500  
מ-: וושינגטן, נר: 406, תא: 090393, זח: 1753, דח: מ, סג: כל,  
ביבב  
9,233388  
9,753100  
בלטס/מיידי

ג

אל: חפוצה תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטן

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת יומית - 9.3.93

ח/ל. 3.

סיווע ארה"ב לישראל

קונגרסמן אובי, בשימושים אחמול, אמר כי ארה"ב עשויה ל��ץ בסיווע לישראל ומצרים בעתיד.

שבוע שעבר התבטא בנושא שגריר ארה"ב בישראל ואמר כי מחווייבות ארה"ב לישראל אינה עומדת בספק לא כיום ולא בעתיד אך יתכן כי ארה"ב תתקשה להמשיך בסיווע הכלכלי ברמתו הנוכחיית.

עווזר מזכיר המדינה דג'ריג'יאן אמר בתגובה, בשימושים בוועדה, כי הנשיא קלינטון תומך בסיווע לישראל ומצרים ברמה הנוכחיית. (WT וווען סטרובל)

ישראל

דייוויד הופמן (WP) מדווח מירושלים על ההסכמה בארץ האינטיפאדה: תושב יהודי נרצח ע"י שני ערבים ברצועת עזה. בעקבות הרצח יצאו תושבים דובעים לאחד מכבישי הרצועה יידו אבניים וירדו לכל עבר. כפי הנראה נהרג בתהפרעות פלשׁתינאי אחד. תמונות של אחד העצורים הקשורים לרצח כשהוא כבול הופיעו בכל העיתונים.

טרור

התנוועה האיסלאמית במצרים הכחישה מעורבותה בפיגוע בניו - יורך ואיימה כי היא עשויה 'לנקוט פעולה' עקב הצעדים שננקטו לפני שיקר עבדול רחמן, מנהיג הרוחני של התנוועה בארץ. (WP קרייל מרפי)  
פרנק גפני (WT) במאמר אודות האיסלאם ה Fondamentaliste הנלחם עד מוות בעולם המערבי - מוסדותיו וערבייו.

בעקבות הפיגוע קורא גפני לארה"ב להפחית מעורבותה בארץ חוץ שונים, בין השאר להפחית מעורבותה בסיכון הישראלי - ערבי.

אי. גי. דיון (WP) כותב גם הוא על טרור ופנטיות דתית בארץ ובעולם

כולו בעקבות האירועים האחרונים.

ה- WP מדווח על המשך החקירה בנושא הפגוע בניו - יורך ועל מערך מספר אנסים החשודים בקשר לפרשה.

רייצ'רד כהן (WP) כותב על הטדור שחייב לנוי - יורך ושינה את פני העיר. מעתה על תושבי העיר להפסיק את שאגנותם ולהיות עירוניות למפגעים בטחוניים אפשריים.

## שיחות השלום

עמוס פרלמוטר (WT) סבור כי השאלה האם הפלשינים יגיעו לשיחות השלום אינה חשובה כלל כי ברור כי הם יגיעו. השאלה ש策ריה להעסיק את כולם ביחס להמשך שיחות השלום היא מידת מעורבותה ונכונותה של ארה"ב להשקייע מאמץ בשיחות.

## רוסיה

דו"ח ה-AIA מציין את כוונת רוסיה ל策ם את התעשייה הצבאית שלה אשר נקלעה למשבר מאז פרוק בריה"מ. עוד כלל הדיווח, לראשונה, מפות של אתרי ייצור נשק גרעיני, כימי וביוולוגי וכן אמצעי ייצור טילים.

ג'ים הוגלנד (WP) במאמר בנושא החלטת קלינטון על ועידת פסגה מוקדמת עם רוסיה, כמאפיינת של מדיניות החוץ ארה"ב. הוגלנד סבור כי עיתויי הסיווע מתאים לארה"ב וכי חשוב לארה"ב לתרוך בילצ'ין במשבר הפוליטי בו הוא נתון.

הערה: הכתובות הועברו אליכם בנפרד.

## תקורת

תפוצה: שחח, סחה, (), רהמ, (), שחבט, מנכט, ממנכל, מצב, רביב, מעת, הסברה, (), לעם, מכב, (), דרכ, (), אומן, סייבל, משפט, חפוצות, גנור, (), וחו'ב, (), מרכז, ממד, (), רם, (), אמן

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ANNAA, CHOZEM: 13268  
AL: RACHMESH/451  
MA: HA-MESH, TA: 090393, ZH: 1729, DH: M, SG: SO,  
BCCB  
536117  
SODI/MIDI

א/ז

אל: השגריר - ווש'

דעת: ממ"ד  
מצפ'א

מאת: לשכת ס/שה'ח

הנדון: עירק

1. בשיחת ביילין-הרופ (3/9) סיפר האחורי כי מומ"ד הורה לנציגו יתנו במדינותו להן קשרים עם עירק לעשות דרשות דרישת לגביה הנעשה שם.
2. הדגשים בדරישת הינט -
  - א. אי מילוי אחר החלטות מועב'יט.
  - ב. קריאה להמשך החרום הדיפלומטי על עירק.
  - ג. קריאה להמשך ההגבלת על מכירות הדלק של עירק וההgelות על אספקת חומריים רגשיים אליה.
3. בנפרד P.T. האמריקאים בנדון.

שלמה גור  
9 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכ"ל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפה, סייבל,  
ביין, ארבול 2, מזח 1, ר/מרכז, ממ"ד, רם, רם, רם (אמן)

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12967, חוזם:  
אל: רהmesh/440  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 090393, זח: 1520, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
536108  
סודי/מידי

ט' ס' 3

אל: השגריר/רושינגטון  
השגריר/מוסקבה

מאת: לשכת ס/שה'ח

הנדון: חידוש התהליין

1. הארופ קבע למהר (10/3) פגישה עם ס/שה'ח. הודיעו כי יבוא לפגישה ביחיד  
עם השגריר הרוסי.

2. קרוב לוודאי שימסור ההזמנה לسبب השיחות הבא.

3. העיר כי נציגותם בטוניס שמעה כי התקבלה שם החלטה לשוב לשיחות.

שלמה גור  
9 במרץ 1993

תפוצה: סשהח, @(רham), מנכל, ממנכל, מצפה, גוברין, מזארן,  
גנור

סססס

14061, חוויזם:  
אל: רהmesh/504  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 411, דח: מ, טג: כל,  
ביבב  
בלטס/מיידי

אל : מצפ"א

מאת: ק. לונגראט, וושינגטון

הנדון: שמועים - מז"ה/עדות דג'רג'יאן

11.3

MARCH 9, 1993

TO: MITZPA  
FROM: CHERYL A. AMITAY, CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: MARCH 9, 1993 HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, EUROPE  
AND THE MIDDLE EAST SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING (CHAIR HAMILTON)

RE: DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

WITNESS: HON. EDWARD DJEREJIAN, ASST. SEC. OF STATE FOR  
NEAREAST AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS

THIS HEARING, THE FIRST TO DISCUSS MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS  
UNDER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION, WAS SIMILAR IN CONTENT TO THE HEARING  
HELD A DAY EARLIER IN THE HOUSE FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE  
WHERE DJEREJIAN ALSO TESTIFIED. AGAIN DJEREJIAN SEEMED RELAXED,  
VERY FRIENDLY TO MEMBERS, AND UPBEAT ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR  
SUCCESS REGARDING FUTURE PEACE TALKS, IMPROVED BILATERAL RELATIONS  
WITH SEVERAL COUNTRIES AND POSITIVE HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC  
REFORM IN THE REGION. PRESENT FOR THE 2 AND 1/2 HOUR HEARING WERE  
DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS HAMILTON, CHAIR (IN), LANTOS (CA), ACKERMAN  
(NY), DEUTSCH (FL) AND REPUBLICAN MEMBERS GILMAN RANKING, (NY),  
LEVY (NY) AND MEYERS (KS).

DJEREJIAN'S WRITTEN (AND ORAL) STATEMENT WAS VERY SIMILAR TO  
THE ONE DELIVERED THE DAY BEFORE. THE FIRST SIX PAGES, IN FACT,  
WERE IDENTICAL. THE FINAL FOUR PAGES DIFFERED SLIGHTLY BY EXPANDING  
ON PASSAGES REGARDING THE GULF STATES, ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL  
INTERESTS AND DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ISLAM. THE "GULF  
SECURITY" SEGMENT REITERATED THE CLINTON POSITION REGARDING IRAQI  
FULL COMPLIANCE OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS AND REGARDING  
ENCOURAGING INCREASED COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITHIN THE  
GCC. THE "ECONOMIC AD COMMERCIAL INTERESTS" PASSAGE CONTAINED A  
PARAGRAPH STATING RECENT PROGRESS IN SOLVING U.S. COMMERCIAL  
DISPUTES WITH SAUDI ARABIA AND A PASSAGE STRESSING U.S. PRIORITY OF  
ELIMINATING THE ARAB LEAGUE BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL. FINALLY, THE

"DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ISLAM" SEGMENT MENTIONED RECENT ENCOURAGING STEPS TOWARD DEMOCRACY IN A NUMBER OF ARAB COUNTRIES (JORDAN, YEMEN, SAUDI ARABIA). THIS PASSAGE ALSO RECOGNIZED THE STRUGGLES OF SOME GOVERNMENTS IN THE REGION'S AGAINST RELIGIOUS EXTREMISTS, AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF PLURALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN TRYING TO MEET THESE AND OTHER ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHALLENGES.

MANY OF THE QUESTIONS POSED BY MEMBERS REFLECTED THE PREVIOUS DAY'S QUESTIONS. FURTHERMORE, DJEREJIAN'S RESPONSES WERE, ON THE WHOLE, THE SAME. THEREFORE, I WILL ONLY REPORT THE DISCUSSION OF RELEVANT SUBJECTS OR ASPECTS OF SUBJECTS THAT WERE NOT COVERED IN YESTERDAY'S HEARING.

QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD

PEACE PROCESS/AID TO ISRAEL-CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN FOREIGN POLICY HAMILTON'S INITIAL QUESTION ASKED DJEREJIAN TO CHARACTERIZE THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST IN TERMS OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN PREVIOUS POLICY. DJEREJIAN REPLIED THAT THERE IS BOTH CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CLINTON'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY. THERE IS CONTINUED SIGNIFICANT FOCUS ON THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE U.S.'S ROLE AS AN HONEST BROKER. THERE WILL BE CHANGE, HOWEVER, IN THE PARTICIPATION OF THE U.S. IN THE TALKS, INDICATING THE HIGH PRIORITY THE U.S. ASSIGNS TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE U.S. NEW ROLE IS ONE OF A "FULL PARTNERSHIP" SIGNALLING THE "ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT" THE U.S. WILL UNDERTAKE IN "HELPING THE PARTIES NARROW DIFFERENCES".

DJEREJIAN ADDED THAT THIS CHANGE DOES NOT MEAN THE U.S. WILL SIT AT THE NEGOTIATIONS TABLE AS CO-SPONSORS ARE NOT SUPPOSED TO ACCORDING TO THE MADRID FRAMEWORK, UNLESS BOTH NEGOTIATING PARTIES INVITE THEM TO. HAMILTON SPECIFICALLY ASKED IF ISRAEL OBJECTS TO THE MORE ACTIVE "FULL PARTNERSHIP ROLE" OF THE U.S. DJEREJIAN REPLIED THAT "THE ISRAELIS ACCEPT THE ACTIVIST U.S. ROLE AND REALIZE THE THE PRODUCTIVE ROLE THE U.S. CAN PLAY TO FACILITATE MOVEMENT ON ISSUES". FURTHERMORE, DJEREJIAN CLAIMED THAT MORE DISCUSSION ON THIS ISSUE WILL TAKE PLACE IN A FEW DAYS DURING RABIN'S VISIT.

ANOTHER ISSUE REGARDING CONTINUITY IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARD ISRAEL REGARDING AID WAS BROACHED BY HAMILTON. HAMILTON QUOTED THE RECENT SPEECH BY AMBASSADOR HARROP WHICH STATED THAT IT WOULD BE HARD FOR THE U.S. TO KEEP UP ITS AID TO ISRAEL AT CURRENT LEVELS. HAMILTON AND LANTOS FOUND THIS STATEMENT TO BE EXTRAORDINARY IF IT WASN'T IN FACT THE STATE DEPARTMENT POSITION. DJEREJIAN SAID THAT THE STATEMENT, MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF STRESSING ECONOMIC REFORM IN ISRAEL, WAS PURELY HARROP'S OPINION, NOT THAT OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S; THE SPEECH WAS NOT CLEARED WITH EITHER HIM OR CHRISTOPHER. I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR, SAID DJEREJIAN, THAT THE CURRENT FY 1994 AID TO ISRAEL IS AT THE CURRENT LEVEL AND "OUR INTEREST IS TO CONTINUE TO SIGNIFICANTLY AID ISRAEL..." DESPITE REAL BUDGET RESTRICTIONS. "OUR COMMITMENT TO HER SECURITY AND QUALITATIVE EDGE OVER ANY COMBINATION OF AGGRESSORS IS UNSHAKABLE". "THERE IS NO AMBIGUITY IN OUR POLICY" HE CONCLUDED.

(REGARDING OTHER ISSUES OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN CLINTON'S

FOREIGN POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST, DJEREJIAN CITED CONTINUITY IN U.S. POLICY TOWARDS IRAQ AND A CHANGE IN POSITION REGARDING THE TOLERATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES. THE U.S. WILL MAKE THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, PARTICULARLY OF U.S. ALLIES, SAUDI ARABIA AND EGYPT A TOP PRIORITY.)

WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING AND ABDUL-RAHMAN

REP. LANTOS AGGRESSIVELY QUESTIONED DJEREJIAN ABOUT ABDUL-RAHMAN, SPIRITUAL LEADER OF THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT PRESENTLY BELIEVED TO BE LINKED WITH THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER, THE ASSASSINATION OF SADAT ETC. WHY IS A MAN WHO ISLAMIC TERRORISTS IDOLIZE ALLOWED TO REMAIN IN THE COUNTRY AND WHAT IS HIS CURRENT VISA STATUS? (HIS ORGANIZATION WAS CHARACTERIZED BY DJEREJIAN AS A INDIGENOUS EGYPTIAN GROUP, A RADICAL OFFSHOOT OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, WHOSE GOAL IS TO DISMANTLE THE "LIBERAL" MUBARAK REGIME IN EGYPT.) DJEREJIAN'S RESPONSE ABOUT HIS PRESENCE IN THE U.S. WAS A REAL "EYE-OPENER" FOR MANY IN THE ROOM.

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IN 1990, RAHMAN WAS ISSUES A VISA AT THE U.S. EMBASSY IN KHARTOUM "IN ERROR". HE WAS NOT ELIGIBLE TO ATTAIN A VISA BECAUSE OF HIS KNOWN RECORD OF VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM INCITEMENT. HOWEVER, APPARENTLY, RAHMAN ELUDED THE CONSULATE BY PURPOSELY MISSPELLING HIS NAME ON THE VISA APPLICATION AND MISREPRESENTED HIS PERSONAL HISTORY TO THE "TEMPORARY" CONSUL OFFICER. (LANTOS WAS INCREDULOUS THAT A MAN WITH HIS "UNUSUAL APPEARANCE" COULD GET THROUGH...) RAHMAN ARRIVED IN THE U.S. IN JULY 1990 AND HIS IDENTITY WAS SOON DISCOVERED.

ON NOV. 26, 1990, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVOKED HIS VISA AND ASKED THE INS TO REFUSE HIM RE-ENTRY SHOULD HE LEAVE THE UNITED STATES. NONETHELESS, HE SOMEHOW ACQUIRED PERMANENT RESIDENT STATUS IN APRIL 1991, THROUGH THE INS OFFICE IN NORTHERN NEW JERSEY. WHEN THIS STATUS WAS LATER REVOKED, HE MADE AN APPEAL OF THE REVOCATION DECISION BY CLAIMING POLITICAL ASYLUM. HIS CASE FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM WAS HEARD ON JANUARY 20, 1992 AND IS STILL PENDING. LANTOS ASKED IF THERE HAS BEEN AN INQUIRY ABOUT THE CONDITIONS LEADING TO THE INITIAL ISSUANCE OF A VISA TO HIM. DJEREJIAN REPLIED THAT HE DIDN'T KNOW - ONLY THE INS WOULD HAVE AUTHORITATIVE ANSWERS - BUT HE IS WORKING HARD TO GET HIM EXPELLED.

U.S. TIES WITH HAMAS

REPS. ACKERMAN, GILMAN AND HAMILTON ALL QUESTIONED DJEREJIAN ABOUT PURPORTED PAST U.S. RELATIONS WITH HAMAS. ACKERMAN BEGAN THE DIALOGUE BY BRINGING UP A NEW YORK TIMES REPORT OF LAST WEEK REGARDING THE CUT OFF OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND HAMAS (THEREBY INDICATING THAT RELATIONS HAD ACTIVELY EXISTED BEFORE). A POINT OF INTEREST, ACCORDING TO THE REPRESENTATIVES, WAS THAT THIS "CUT-OFF" PROCLAMATION CAME WITHIN A DAY OF THE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST SUSPECT'S ARREST IN THE BOMBING OF THE WORLD TRADE CENTER. WHILE CONCEDING THAT "LOW LEVEL" PURELY "INFORMATION" CONTACTS HAD PREVIOUSLY EXISTED BETWEEN U.S. EMBASSY PERSONAL AND HAMAS MEMBERS IN ARAB COUNTRIES, DJEREJIAN SAID THE TIMING IN

DISCONTINUING CONTACT WAS PURELY COINCIDENTAL. RELATIONS WERE CUT OFF, CLAIMED DJEREJIAN, BECAUSE OF "GROWING EVIDENCE OF THEIR COMMITMENT TO PROMOTING TERRORISM" AND THEIR VEHMENTLY ANTI-PEACE PROCESS ATTITUDE.

WHILE ADMITTING THAT U.S. DIPLOMATS MET WITH HAMAS PEOPLE IN OMAN RECENTLY, DJEREJIAN DENIED THAT THERE EVER WAS A "POLITICAL DIALOGUE" WITH HAMAS, ONLY "INFORMATION GATHERING". DJEREJIAN DISTINGUISHED A "POLITICAL DIALOGUE" FROM MERE CONTACT OR EVEN DISCUSSION AS POLITICAL DIALOGUE REFERS TO MEANINGFUL ENGAGED DISCUSSION ON ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE AND POLICY. DO WE HAVE A "POLITICAL DIALOGUE OR DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PLO?", ACKERMAN ASKED. WE HAVE NEITHER, REPLIED DJEREJIAN.

A FINAL QUESTION REGARDING HAMAS REGARDED U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE ORGANIZATION. DJEREJIAN DENIED DIRECT U.S. INVOLVEMENT DISCREDITING THE THEORY OF A "COMMAND CONTROL CENTER HERE DIRECTING THEIR ACTIONS". HAMAS ASSOCIATES DO PROBABLY EXIST IN THE U.S., HOWEVER, AND ITS POSSIBLE THAT THEY BRING MONEY TO THE MIDDLE EAST TO SUPPORT HAMAS ACTIVITIES. WHILE HE CITED HAMAS AS A THREAT TO THE PEACE TALKS, DJEREJIAN SAID THE GROUP IS ONLY SUPPORTED BY A MINORITY OF THE PALESTINIANS (UNLIKE THE SUPPORT THAT THE

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PALESTINIAN DELEGATION ENJOYS.)

#### SYRIA

MANY QUESTIONS REGARDING SYRIA WERE ASKED BY MEMBERS. NOTING THE DROP OFF OF JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM SYRIA SINCE OCTOBER 1992, REP. GILMAN ASKED WHY SYRIA HAD RENEGED ON ITS PROMISE TO LIFT TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS FOR JEWS. DJEREJIAN AID THAT CHRISTOPHER RAISED THIS ISSUE WITH ASSAD WHO GAVE "A CLEAR RECONFIRMATION" OF HIS ALLOWING JEWS "TOTAL TRAVEL FREEDOM".

REP. LANTOS INQUIRED ABOUT THE LENGTH AND SUBSTANCE OF CHRISTOPHER'S MEETINGS WITH ASSAD. DJEREJIAN WOULD NOT REVEAL DETAILS OF THE MEETINGS WHICH LASTED ABOUT 4 HOURS IN TOTAL. DJEREJIAN REPORTED THAT CHRISTOPHER EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE OF SYRIA'S CONTINUED SUPPORT OF TERRORISM WITH ASSAD. DJEREJIAN SAID THAT WHILE SYRIA REMAINS ON THE TERRORIST LIST, ASSAD SEEMED WILLING TO ENGAGE THE UNITED STATES IN DIALOGUE ABOUT THE ISSUE.

REGARDING WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IN SYRIA, DJEREJIAN DENIED KNOWLEDGE OF A RECENTLY REPORTED GERMAN INTERVENTION OF ITALY'S ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE SYRIA SCUD C MISSILES (ORIGINALLY MANUFACTURED IN GERMANY). HE DID STATE THAT IT IS OBVIOUS THAT SYRIA BLATANTLY DESIRES SSM BUT WOULD NOT COMMENT PUBLICLY ON SYRIA'S REPORTED ARMS PURCHASES FROM NORTH KOREA. (HE SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS THIS PRIVATELY.)

LANTOS ALSO ASKED ABOUT SYRIA'S CONTINUED POLITICAL AND MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN LEBANON, PARTICULARLY IN THE (DRUG) FERTILE BEKKAH VALLEY. DJEREJIAN STATED THAT THE ISSUE OF SYRIAN MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE DRUG TRADE WAS RAISED IN EVERY MEETING BETWEEN SYRIAN AND U.S. OFFICIALS. "SYRIA HAS MADE SOME STOPS", "COOPERATION WITH LEBANON TO ERADICATE PRODUCTION, "BANNING FURTHER PRODUCTION OF ILLICIT CROPS"... BUT "SYRIA NEEDS TO DO MORE".

LANTOS ALSO POINTED TO LEBANON'S RECENT SUPPOSEDLY DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS RESULTING IN LESS THAN 10 PERCENT OF VOTER PARTICIPATION. IS THE PARLIAMENT IN LEBANON A "MEANINGLESS ASSAD RUBBER STAMP" OR AN "INDEPENDENT BODY". DJEREJIAN SAID THAT CONSIDERING LEBANON'S HORRIBLE PREVIOUS SITUATION, MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN BUILDING A CREDIBLE MILITARY, ENDING FACTIONAL FIGHTING, AND INCREASING ADHERENCE TO CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES. SYRIA AND LEBANON WILL NEVER MERGE, HE ASSURED LANTOS. OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED IN LESS DETAIL INCLUDED THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN ARAB COUNTRIES AND THE STATUS OF IRAQI BELLIGERENCE.

עד כאן  
קורנגורס

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (ר'המ) (שהבט), מנכ'ל, ממנכל, מוצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגח) (ר'ם), ממד, מצפה, מזתיים,  
סיביל, רביב, הסכירה

סססס

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ANNAA, חודם: 14048  
אל: רהmesh/ 501  
מ-: וושינגטן, נר: 410, 090393, זח: 1854, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
שמור/ מיידי

אל: מצפ"א  
דע: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטן.

הנדון: מזכיר המדינה - דיאלוג עם אש"פ

להלן מכתב:-

במסגרת פוטו-אופ נשאל היום המזכיר האם בכונת ארה"ב ללקת בעקבות בריטניה  
ומדינות אירופאיות נוספת ולחידש הדיאלוג עם אש"פ, חgovת קרייסטופר  
הייתה:-

NO, WE ARE CONTINUING OUR CURRENT POLICY.

THE EFFORTS THAT WE HAVE MADE TO HAVE MEETINGS WITH MR. ARAFAT -  
I THINK, RESULTED IN OUR DISSAPOINTMENT AT THEIR FAILURE TO ASSIST  
US ON TERRORISM MATTERS. SO WE ARE GOING TO CONTINUE, AT LEAST FOR  
THE TIME BEING, OUR POLICY.

ל/ז 13

עד כאן.

רות ירון.

תפוצה: שחח,SSH, (רHAM, (SHBUT), מנכ"ל, ממנכל, מצב, R/MRCZ,  
גנוור, (R'AGT, (R'M, (AMN), ממד, מצפה,  
רביב, מעת, הסברה, (DVC, (BZUMI/MSHBUT)

סססס

|                |   |             |
|----------------|---|-------------|
| מחוז: 3        | שם: קשר ניו-יורק  | דוחות: מידי |
| שם: בלמייס     | טלפון: אל: תפוצת תקשורת אומ"ב, ניוקיילנד-2                            | כתובת:      |
| מספר מסך: 0113 | שם: בסחורה - יונצ' שב"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"ב/קשר (טלפון: 1401/חכירונא) | דעת:        |
| מספר מסך: 10   | שם: אונונות, ניו-יורק   | מקום:       |

## *Clinton let others set course on Bosnia*

By Patrick J. Sloyan  
WASHINGTON BUREAU

## WISCONSIN EDITION

Washington — When President Bill Clinton found his young administration slipping in the snows of eastern Bosnia last week, he sought to deny reports that American relief flights had triggered even more Serb violence against Muslim enclaves.

"All I can tell you is, the people I have asked that in the privacy of the Oval Office, in the privacy of the National Security meeting, frankly, just dispute that assertion," Clinton told reporters Friday.

Clinton's answer seemed an effort to distance him personally from the "people" and the White House agency that coordinates foreign policy in an administration clearly dedicated to a domestic agenda. And, in Clinton's case, there is a gap between him and the National Security Council that hammered out the president's diplomatic initiative aimed at halting the bloodshed in the Balkans.

Clinton is the first chief executive since World War II to delegate foreign policy decisions, which often are the most unpredictable and dangerous to a president's administration.

For example, White House officials said Clinton attended only briefly the Feb. 5 White House session at which the six-point program was decided.

President  
the first  
executive  
War II to  
foreign po-  
sitions

8-3

Newsday

תְּמִימִין

שם השוכנה: **ט-ליאו'ת**  
אזור: **ט-טונצ'ן**  
כתובת: **ט-טונצ'ן (ט-טונצ'ן) ט-טונצ'ן (ט-טונצ'ן)**

26) שחה (2) ספוחיה (1) חתח (1) פנקס (1) מסנכל (1) מצעה (2) דבריב (1)  
 סנתת (1) הסבוח (2) סנט (2) ר/מרכיז (1) ספוד (4) דם (1)  
 אסן (4) אופון (1) סיבוב (1) דיז-ינס (1) נ-אל-ר (1) נ-אל-ר (1)

One decision committed 10,000-to-15,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia as part of a multinational peacekeeping force. The National Security Council also decided to begin dropping supplies into eastern Bosnia.

"That was the big meeting," a White House official said.

So brief was Clinton's appearance that the Feb. 5 session was considered only a "principals meeting," not a full-fledged National Security Council meeting which must be chaired by the president.

To the consternation of Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Defense Secretary Les Aspin and Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, these potentially fateful moves were overseen not by Clinton but by Anthony Lake, his national security adviser.

"Lake ran the show," said one insider of the Feb. 5 meeting. "But it was Powell and Christopher who did most of the talking. Aspin said very little. He [Aspin] was bothered because Clinton wasn't there."

Another official sought to minimize Clinton's absence. "He's a domestic policy guy," the official said.

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"But I think after last week, he's going to pay more attention to foreign policy."

Once U.S. Air Force C130s began dropping pallets of food and medicine on Feb. 28, Americans saw the first concrete evidence of American efforts to intervene in Serb-instigated "ethnic cleansing" that has killed or displaced more than a million Muslims in what was once Yugoslavia.

Instead of winning applause, the U.S. relief missions were criticized for missing target zones with parachuted supplies meant for Muslim enclaves. At the same time, Serbian forces intensified attacks on the enclaves. Television pictures showed burning homes and lines of Muslims forced to leave their villages.

Rather than easing the situation, the American mercy flights seemed to underline the hopelessness of the Muslim plight, and brought increased calls for more direct confrontation with the Serbs. Clinton seemed to be in retreat when Aspin announced the air drops could cease after three missions.

To overcome a growing embarrassment, Clinton contradicted his defense chief and extended American air drops into Bosnia for what administration officials now say will be an "indefinite period."

But the seeds for the embarrassment were planted at the

Clinton is  
relief  
since World  
elegate

**ICY**

Feb. 5 White House meeting attended fleetingly by Clinton. Participants agreed that only five air drops would be made, and those at altitudes above 10,000 feet to ensure the safety of U.S. crews. "The air drops were to be symbolic—not effective," said a Pentagon official.

The off-again, on-again air drops fueled congressional concerns that Clinton may stumble into a costly American intervention.

"I'm worried that we're going to get on that slippery slope," said Sen. James Exon (D-Neb.), a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee. He was reflecting American voter surveys that have shown widespread fear that American troops might be used to quell the fighting in Bosnia.

Clinton sought to reassure the nation as he put his domestic agenda on the back burner last week. He pledged that he would "not commit the United States to a quagmire where our efforts would be frustrated but where I could put a lot of Americans at risk."

Use of U.S. ground forces to end the fighting, Clinton said, "is not on the table at all."

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CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK

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מאל: עתונות/נין-ירוק

### הנדון: פיצוץ במגדל החאומים - מסדר

1. ח'יומ'ים הראשונים לאחר חודעת מסרו של החשוד המעורב בפיזוץ במנדל התאומים, חビאו עמו לשפונו כתבות בנושא הפונדקמנטיזם האיסלם.

2. אמד מטוקדי הדיווחים היה מצרים בהתייחסות הבאות:

- **חאチים חטויים.**

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- רצוח סאלת. - גנבה גנבה על אחבי התיירות והתיירים.

- החקיקות על אמן, פגיעה בעמקים ערביים.  
- מסלך מהצד: פגיעה בעמקים ערביים.

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3. מדיניותם והכתבות גלשו גם לכל הרשותות והעתונות מקומותיים.

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עתונות/נין-יירק  
זובל רותם  
8 במרץ 1993

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# Throughout Arab World, 20 Years Of Growth of Islamic Terror Groups

By YOUSSEF ALIBRASHE

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, March 8 — Islamic terror groups have mushroomed throughout the Arab world during the last two decades, multiplying into scores of tightly knit organizations. Staffed mostly by young zealots, these terrorist cells, known as Islamic groupings, number anywhere from a handful to several dozens of hard-edged fighters, some of whom were trained in Afghanistan, Iran and the Sudan, today's strongholds of Islamic fundamentalism.

Even though they use a variety of esoteric labels that seemingly differentiate them, including names like Those Saved From Hell, The Army of Mohammed and Islamic Bugle, as well as the more familiar Holy War, Party of God and Hamas, virtually all these groups draw their logic from two convictions.

One is that violence is necessary to replace Arab secularist governments with theocratic Islamic ones, and the other is that it is the duty of every Muslim to strive for that goal.

It flows from this logic that a wide

variety of activities — from the killing of Egypt's President, Anwar el-Sadat, in 1981 to the taking of hostages in Lebanon to calls for the murder of Christians, Arabs and foreign tourists — are legitimate means of action for Islamic groups. Indeed, one of these groups' ideologues, Omar Abdel Rahman, the blind Egyptian cleric exiled in the New York area, has called this violence a "religious duty" for every sincere Muslim.

#### Led by Muslim Brotherhood

The quest to establish fundamentalist Islamic states has long existed in the region.

It was, and still is, championed and pioneered by the largest and most powerful of all Islamic fundamentalist groups, the Muslim Brotherhood. The organization was founded by Hassan al-Banna in Egypt in 1928 and is firmly established today in most Arab countries, including major Western allies like Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Over the years the Muslim Brotherhood has come under extreme pressures from several Arab regimes, particularly those in Syria and Egypt, forcing some of its leaders to modify the notion of taking power by force into an evolutionary process that begins with the broad education of the masses about Islam.

But with the advent of Islamic revolutionary Iran in the late 70's, a new generation inspired by the Iranian example has revived enthusiasm for using force to take power. Arab social scientists and political analysts have long debated the origins, structures and goals of these groups, settling on some conclusions.

#### Impatient With Elders' Pace

"The bottom line for these younger extremists is that they want to accelerate the goals adopted by their elders in the previous generations," Ghaziya Salame, an expert on Middle East affairs at the Paris Institute of Political Studies, said today.

"They differ from the older generation in three crucial ways. First, their impatience with the status quo is stronger. Second, their willingness to use force is palpable. Third, their list of enemies is much longer, perhaps including some of the elderly fundamentalists themselves and Muslim intellectuals as well as secularist one-

## 'They want to accelerate the goals adopted by their elders.'

inies.'

Other experts, including most interior ministers of the Arab world who are in the front line of the fight against Islamic militancy, do not make much distinction between old fundamentalists and new ones.

"They all came out from under the turban of the Muslim Brotherhood," said Egypt's interior minister, Abdel Halim Musa, in remarks widely echoed by security officials in Algeria, Tunisia, Jordan and Morocco, all of whom are preoccupied by a continuing battle against terrorism.

#### Orchestrated From Exile

What is clear is that the younger, front-line soldiers who throw bombs, shoot at police officers and make targets of tourists take their inspiration from older fundamentalists operating as orchestra chiefs from exile

or from jail. Equally clear is that all the leading figures of fundamentalism are former members of the Muslim Brotherhood organization.

One of these is the killed Egyptian religious leader, Sheik Rabi'ah, who has lived in the New York area since 1986, making weekly pronouncements on cassettes dispatched to his followers, calling for the murder of Egyptian officials, Christian Copts and tourists in Egypt.

But far more important and influential than the Egyptian exile are three other major religious and ideological guides of these Islamic groups:

• Hassan al-Turabi, the Sudanese fundamentalist widely believed to be the real power behind the Government of Gen. Omar al-Bashir in the Sudan, and who last year was allowed to visit the United States, lecturing at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York;

• Rashid Ghannouchi, who lives in London and is a fugitive from Tunisia, accused of leading the banned Al-Nahda Party in attempts to overthrow the Tunisian Government;

• Abessi Madani, the Algerian head of the Islamic Salvation Front, who is jailed in Algeria, accused of plotting

to overthrow the Government.

By far the most effective is Mr. Turabi, who has successfully used the Sudan to establish an alliance with Iran in the past two years that has resulted in the creation of a multitude of training camps in the Sudan and Iran for hundreds of militant Muslim recruits.

The civil war in Afghanistan has proven to be a very rich recruiting ground for these young men, many of whom were encouraged, financed and helped to go there by their governments, with Saudi money and American logistical and weapons support, to join Afghan rebels in the 1980's fighting the Soviets.

Today, the stream of recruits continues.

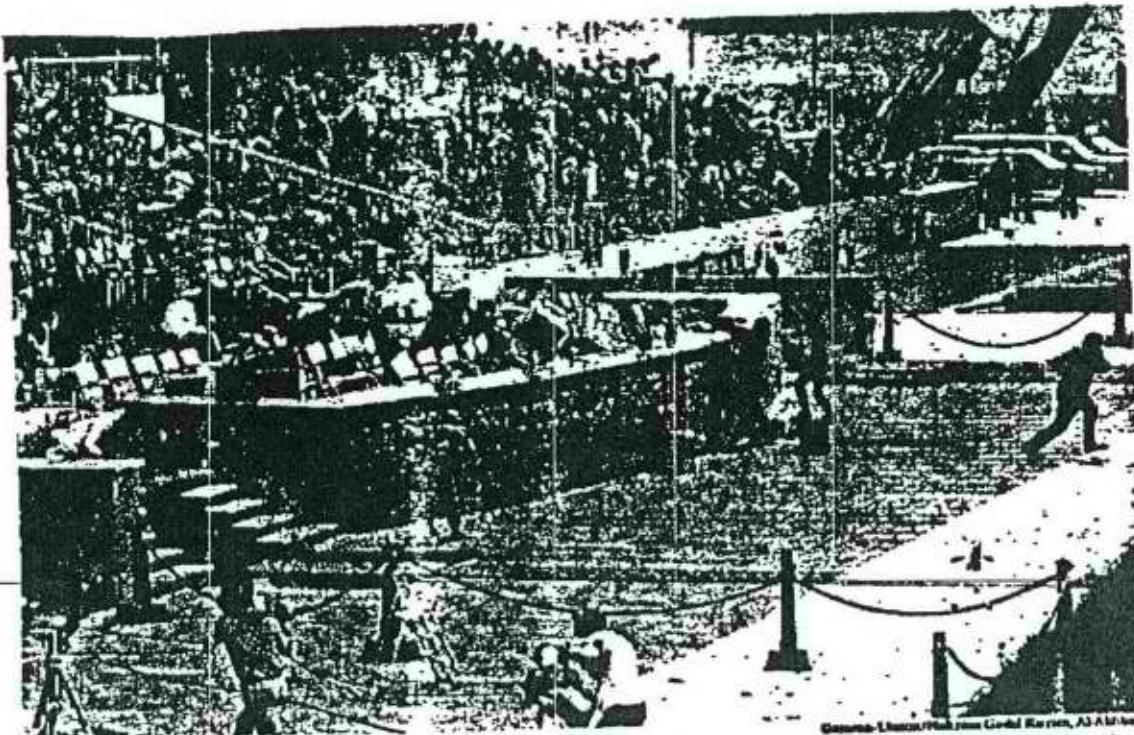
• A senior Egyptian official said in a recent conversation that much of the money for training camps was being sent from the Muslim Brotherhood, despite repeated denials by spokesmen for the group. The Brotherhood, which has much real estate in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Jordan, has accumulated a huge financial chest over the years. Much of it was donated by Muslim Arab governments, including most of the rulers of the gulf region, who are now themselves targets of fundamentalists.

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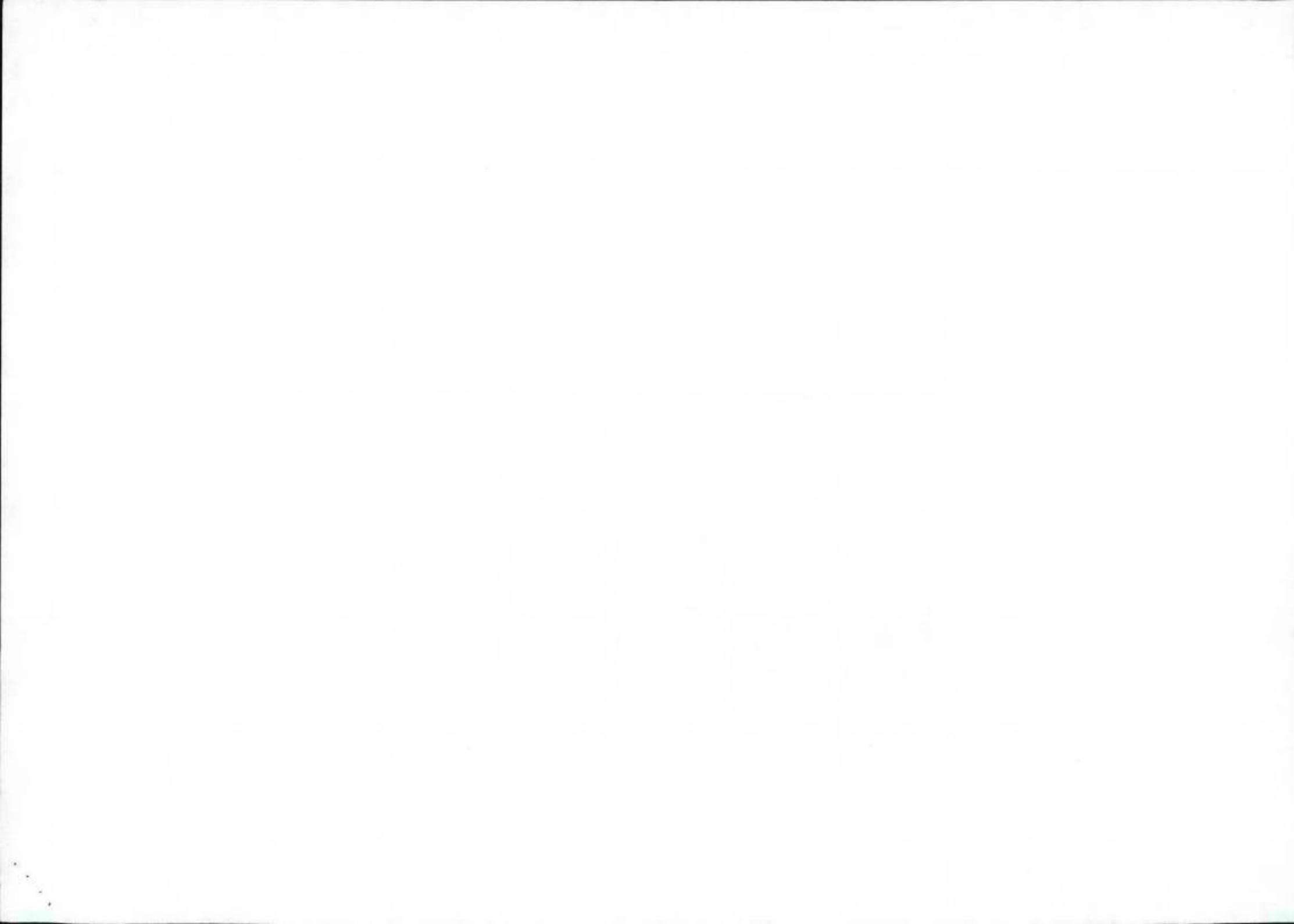
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The assassination of President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt in 1981 was a product of an Islamic grouping that sees its goal as replacing Arab secularist governments with theocratic Islamic ones.



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Agence France-Presse  
Omar Abdul Rahman, an exiled Egyptian cleric, shown at his 1989 trial in Cairo for inciting the public against the state, believes violence is "a religious duty" for every sincere Muslim fighting for Islamic causes.

## *At Suspect's Birthplace, Shock*

By CLYDE HABERMAN

JOSEPH HABERNIA

**BIDDIYA, Israeli-Occupied West Bank, March 7** — Although Mohammed A. Salameh and his immediate family left this muddy village of stone and stucco houses shortly after Israeli troops occupied the town in 1967, many relatives remain here and say they are shocked by the charges against him.

"This is unbelievable," said his grandmother, Amneh Odeh, 80, as she lay beneath several blankets in her sparsely furnished bedroom, where she is recovering from a recent heart attack.

"He was like other children - he went to play, he went to school," she said. "Then he went to the United States, and while he was working he sent money back home. He was kind to his family."

At least half of Biddiya's 8,000 residents belong to the Salameh clan, although they are broken up into a dozen extended families and go by varying names.

One can drive along the main road while hardly noticing the village, a nondescript outcropping in the north-western sector of the West Bank, where donkeys may outnumber pri-

### **YATE CARS**

Biddiya's people farm the land and work in Tel Aviv, 17 miles west, or in several nearby Israeli settlements. It seems quiet enough, although that can be deceptive. Several years ago, the village chief, Mustafa Salameh, was killed by militants who had accused him of collaborating with the Israeli authorities.

Townspeople who gathered today outside a butcher shop to discuss their village's sudden celebrity condemned the World Trade Center bombing and said, in the words of one elderly man, that "only a crazy person could have done it."

Not everyone felt that way, though. One middle-aged man observed that "If anything like this happens, America should realize that it's because of its relations with Israel".

Others expressed concern that Muslims in general and Palestinians in particular now looked bad in the West.

"The important thing about the explosion is the attempt being made now to distort Islam," said a grocery-store owner who gave his name as Abu Khaled. "Islam never calls for such things. It never calls for harming people."

8-3

N.Y.  
Times

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# Bomb Suspect's Path to Piety and Elusive Dreams

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By CHRIS HEDGES  
Special to The New York Times

ZARQA, Jordan, March 7 — In cramped, unheated rooms on the outskirts of Amman, the relatives of Mohammed A. Salameh, the man charged in the bombing of the World Trade Center, gathered today and pondered the magnitude of the crime and the infamy that has befallen their name.

"He went to the United States to get a job and make money," said Aysha Salameh, his mother, as she keened to and fro in a red vinyl chair and clutched a damp tissue. "He went to make something of himself, to speak English, to study, to have a future. And now they say that he did all this, that he did this bomb. No, no, no . . ."

The woman, besieged by neighbors and relatives who came to the home on a narrow dirt lane to express their support, stopped to gain her composure. As she pulled herself together all that was heard in the small room, crowded with men of the Salameh clan,

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N.Y. Times

8-3

## Relatives of Man Held in Twin Towers Blast Mystified at Arrest

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was the ticking of a wall clock and the soft clink of the prayer beads that slowly circulated between the men's calloused fingers.

### Refugee in Infancy

"He was a gentle man," said a cousin, Ali Mohammed Salameh. "He would not commit such an act. He was not a person of violence."

Mohammed Salameh was arrested on Thursday and charged with helping in the attack that killed five people.

Mohammed Salameh's childhood, like those of many Palestinians of his generation, was rudely interrupted by war. Israeli troops occupied Biddiya, his village on the West Bank, three months before he was born. His father, Amin Salameh, a lieutenant in the Jordanian Army, packed his wife, five boys and six girls, and left with thousands of other Palestinians for Amman when the boy was two months old. The home and most of the possessions were left behind.

The infant did not know it, but he had become a refugee.

The family settled in the Palestinian slums here. Mr. Salameh grew up amid a mass of concrete hovels and dirt streets, where many Palestinians still live piled one on top of the other. To supplement the army pension, his father took a job for an import clearing house. But the family always lived just

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a few steps away from poverty.

The squalid streets of Zarqa seemed a long way from the idyllic world of Palestine, or at least that version of Palestine that was dished out to the brood of children. A color photograph of the Dome of the Rock, the Muslim holy site in Jerusalem, hangs prominently in the living room, as it does in many households here.

Zarqa offers what vices Jordan can serve up: cheap hashish, a few weapons and a trade in stolen goods. But Jordanian authorities say that neither Mr. Salameh nor his family had any record of being involved in the criminal activity that is endemic in the country's third-largest city, where those who have legitimate jobs work mining phosphate and potash.

The boy was not a good student and had trouble finishing school.

"He wanted to study law or engineering," his mother said, "but he was not

Continued on Page B4, Column 4

accepted into these schools. He could only get into the Islamic law department at Jordan University, although he never finished his studies."

His mother handed over a picture of her son at school, dressed in a neat blue suit and bearded. "He became pious and prayed a lot," said his brother Ahmed. "He stayed only with friends who were religious. He gave up everything else for religion. He grew a beard."

#### 'Not a Fanatic'

But the family, which does not run a strict Islamic household, insists he steered clear of radical religious groups.

"He used to spend a lot of time in mosques, listening to the clerics," said a cousin. "We could see he was becoming very religious, but he was not a fanatic."

His religion, his family says, was only an example of his piety.

"I go to prayer," his father said, "but that does not make me a fundamentalist."

When Mr. Salameh was 19, he abandoned his studies and tried to find a job.

"He looked and looked," his mother said, "but there was nothing."

Against his parents' objections he announced he was leaving Jordan for the United States. His departure six years ago was the last time he saw any members of his immediate family.

#### Rough Times in New York

Two years after he left Jordan, his father finished building a small house, with four bedrooms, where they now live.

"He had so many dreams then," his mother said, "of a job, of money. He told us how he was going to help us."

But the streets of New York apparently did not embrace the young Arab with much more enthusiasm than those he had left at home. He took a few menial jobs, but after four months was destitute, the family said. He turned, for the first and only time, to his one relative in New York, a doctor, and asked for a \$400 loan. But his relative, who had emigrated to the United States 20 years before, turned him down.

The refusal to aid a member of the family, so foreign a concept in the culture he had left behind, seemed, according to his parents, to have steeled in him a hatred for the callousness of the society he had entered.

"It was unemployment and poverty that drove him to the United States," said his mother, "and it was unemployment and poverty he found when he got there. This was very bitter."

For a while he stocked shelves in a supermarket for below minimum wage — his parents were unsure where.

"But one day he came to work and they had replaced him," his mother

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The Salameh family moved from the West Bank to Jordan.

said. "I remember him telling us this story, and he was out on the street again."

The young man seemed to begin drifting into a world his parents did not know. Jobs and addresses became vague. They say they were often unsure about his work and his contacts. But nearly every month he called home, asked a few questions about his brothers and sisters and assured everyone he was well. Small money orders intermittently reached the house.

"He sent us about \$4,000 during all the time he was in the United States," his mother said. "I guess that's not much, but he tried so hard. He never asked us for anything. He always wanted to help."

The last phone call came in January. It was, the family said, the usual

brief exchange of pleasantries, all parties acutely conscious of the meter ticking away the charge on the international line. In the conversation he mentioned a woman and there seemed in the air to be the prospect of marriage.

The call was taken at the neighbor's house, as the family has no phone of their own.

The next time his parents heard of Mr. Salameh he was in the news. After hearing of the arrest, the family said, Mr. Salameh's father went to Jordanian security officials to ask whether they had any information, but they said they had none.

For these Palestinians — each pushed unjustly, they believed, from their homes on the West Bank after the 1967 war, and some pushed again out of Kuwait after the Persian Gulf war — there is only one group capable of bringing this latest disaster into their lives.

"The Jews," Mrs. Salameh uttered with a vehemence that shattered the calm that had descended on the room. "This is from the Jews, who have done this and blamed my son. You will see that he is innocent."

Heads nodded in support. Men, to ward off the cold of the night air, pulled their brown, wool cloaks closer over their legs. And the mother turned to the only American in the room.

"Will they let him pray in jail?" she asked, "Or in this great democracy is this forbidden? I hear they do not let him practice his religion, that conditions are very bad in jail."

"My son," said his mother, leaning forward until her pale gray eyes were inches away, "is being persecuted."

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By JOEL GREENBERG  
*Special to The New York Times*

Reviewed in The New York Times

JERUSALEM, March 7 — Israeli officials said today that they were considering a complaint to the United Nations about one of its officials, who was accused by the army of having failed to alert soldiers after seeing a crowd stone and shoot an Israeli motorist to death in the Gaza Strip.

The accusation has further soured an already uneasy relationship between the army and United Nations relief workers who provide social services, clinics and other programs for Palestinian refugees in Israeli-occupied territories.

The commander of Israeli forces in the Gaza Strip, Brig. Gen. Yom-Tov Samia, said in a radio interview over the weekend that an official of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees had ignored pleas from Arab residents to stop the assault and had left the scene without offering assistance or alerting troops nearby. The official was identified in news reports as Katherine Striker.

The incident occurred in Rafah last Tuesday after the motorist, Yehoshua Weisbrod, mistakenly entered a refugee district and was shot to death. In a statement today, the relief agency denied that its official had failed to offer him assistance, but it gave no indication that she had alerted soldiers.

#### Tried to Report Agency Sales

The official arrived on the scene by

chance, the agency said, and then "she repeatedly tried to get close but was prevented from doing so by the crowd." This was accompanied, it said, by "many equally futile endeavors to contact" the agency's headquarters in Gaza by radio.

According to the agency, the official then "sped off to the nearest and safest location, an U.N.R.W.A. installation 500 meters away, in order to raise alarm over the phone."

"The Rafah switchboard was unable to put her through," the agency continued. "Despite the immediate danger, she rushed back at once to the spot to further attempt to help. The Israeli military arrived a few minutes later and took control."

### Minister Demands Complaint

At a Cabinet meeting today, Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer reportedly demanded that the Government lodge a formal complaint, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said that would happen if an investigation corroborated the initial Army reports.

Right-wing lawmakers demanded the immediate expulsion of the United Nations official, and Uri Orr, a Labor Party leader who heads Parliament's foreign affairs and defense committee, said the official should be suspended if the accusations were confirmed.

The dispute has revived charges by some Israeli officials that the relief agency, which is staffed mostly by Arabs and some foreign workers, is a

## Israeli Army Says U.N. Official Failed to Aid Jew

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## ב-ב ברכות - פ' ז'

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partisan group that has helped Palestinians in their five-year uprising.

The Army has accused agency observers of obstructing military operations and of reporting troop movements to Palestinians. Several times, agency sites have been raided by soldiers to arrest suspects.

But United Nations officials say these teams monitor relief operations and any Israeli attempt to disrupt them. They have protested army raids on their buildings.

A curfew imposed on Rafah after the killing was lifted today by the Army. The Gaza Strip, which was sealed off after a Palestinian fatally stabbed two Israelis in Tel Aviv last Monday, will be reopened on Monday, the Army said.

death in the Gaza Strip today hours after Israel reopened it.

The killing was reported by the Israeli Army radio and confirmed by the Army, which said a Jewish settler was found stabbed to death in a greenhouse at the Gan Or settlement in the southern part of Gaza.

The settlement is near Khan Younis, a flashpoint of militant Palestinian activism. Jewish settlers in Gaza said the stabbing took place three or four hours after the lifting of a closure order imposed on Gaza's 750,000 Arabs last Tuesday.

Authorities estimated 30,000 Palestinians had left the strip for Israel early today after the closure order was lifted, many of them for low-paying jobs in the building industry.

#### Another Israeli Slain in Gaza

JERUSALEM, Monday, March 8  
(Reuters) — An Israeli was stabbed to

Real Estate news:  
Wednesday, Friday, Sunday

שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון  
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בלטס/מידי

תאריך: 8 מארץ 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: חידוש שיחות השלום

מצ"ב כתבתת ה- AJW (לארי קוהלר 3/93/4) בנושא חידוש שיחות השלום.  
הכתבה מסכמת את חשgi מזכיר המדינich בבי' קורו בזזה'ת ומתרמת את המאמצים  
הדיפלומטיים שנעשים להחזרת היישרלים והפלשtinyאים לשולחן השיחות.

תקשרות

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# Diplomats work around stabblings of Israelis

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Larry Cohler  
Senior Writer

**T**he murder of three Israelis by Palestinian Arabs from the Gaza Strip this week does not appear to have derailed a U.S.-backed plan to resume Middle East peace negotiations in Washington this April.

The plan, worked out by Secretary of State Warren Christopher during his visit to the region last week, reportedly will involve concessions on Israel's part on the issue of some 400 Palestinian deportees currently in south Lebanon who are officially barred from returning before the end of 1993. Palestinian negotiators have refused to return to the talks until that issue is resolved.

According to Israeli officials, Israel will also address Palestinian human rights and quality-of-life concerns in the West Bank and Gaza with a package of specific policy changes — once the Palestinians resume negotiations.

As part of the same package, the United States has agreed to assume a more active role in the peace talks, a measure long sought by the Arab parties to the negotiations. But no consensus has been reached on just what this new role will entail.

Nevertheless, in the wake of Christopher's visit, all the parties to the talks believe Washington may begin offering its own proposals on some of the issues currently paralyzing the diplomatic process. And significantly, Israel, in contrast to its position before the leftist Labor and Meretz parties succeeded the right-wing Likud Party last June, has not rejected such a role.

"I think that's what the Palestinians expect" after their talks with Christopher, said one Israeli official who spoke on condition of anonymity. "Obviously, what you need now is a little more engagement from Washington, and maybe some bridging proposals."

## Arab-American view

Khalil Jahshan, executive director of the National Association of Arab Americans, said that his consultations with White House and State Department officials had convinced him that "at a minimum" they meant to "reverse the trend of the last few months of the Bush administration." During that period, he noted, Washington's involvement in the peace process reached a nadir with the departure of James Baker as secretary of state for a post at the White House, where he ran Bush's losing campaign.

"Actively bridging gaps by proposing U.S. ideas, this is something more substantive," Jahshan said. "They would say they are not trying to impose their views but proposing alternative options to overcome the stalemate."

This, combined with additional Israeli flexibility on the deportees and a package of economic and social improvements on the ground for the Palestinians, as promised in the package "would save the peace process and the necks of the Palestinian negotiating team," said Jahshan.

With Islamic fundamentalists opposed to the peace process vigorously exploiting the deported issue, the Palestinian negotiators have been obliged to voice solidarity with them on this. Their long rivalry for the hearts and minds of the Palestinian public has been forced into abeyance.

Rabin, who is due in Washington for his first official visit as prime minister on March 15, has promised an expedited review of individual deportee cases by committees set up under a U.S.-Israel

Washington Jewish Week, March 4, 1993

agreement. This is expected to result in permission for a significant number of them to return to Israel, though far from all of them.

Under the conditions set by the Palestinian negotiators after consulting with the Palestine Liberation Organization in Tunis, this would not be enough. Their official stand still calls for a return of all the deportees before resuming the talks.

"It's going to be hard for Rabin to suddenly and openly" change his stand on this, Jahshan said. "But there are ways for the Palestinians to be helpful if Rabin is committed to do it."

## Israeli anger

The process may be complicated, however, by the public anger Rabin will have to address in Israel the wake of the killings this week. Within hours of the murders, Rabin temporarily sealed off Palestinian movement from the Gaza Strip to Israel to, he said, "reexamine several areas regarding checks and

Diplomat

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procedures at the road-blocks." But he rejected calls to permanently bar Gaza Strip Arabs from traveling to Israel.

Approximately 120,000 to 150,000 Palestinians, including about 30,000 from Gaza, enter Israel daily for work.

Rabin also dismissed calls from many quarters, including from within his own cabinet, for Israel to unilaterally withdraw from the Gaza Strip and bar Palestinians from entering from it. Rabin said only "a political solution" reached through the stalled peace process offered hope for ending the violence.

"We face a dilemma," he  
See DIPLOMATS, page 27

## DIPLOMATS

From page 11  
acknowledged in an exchange with reporters Monday. "We might have more security inside Israel proper if we ... prevent [Palestinians] from the territories from entering Israel daily. But then the plight of the residents of the territories, for whom we are responsible, will worsen, and Palestinian terror against Israeli soldiers and civilians in the territories, as well as against other Palestinians would increase with it."

Palestinians with previous security offenses are barred from entering Israel from the territories. But, Ziyad Salim Silmi, the 19-year-old Muslim fundamentalist who killed two Israelis and wounded seven in a knifing spree in Tel Aviv Monday, had no prior record. ■

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## שגרירות ישראל - וושינגטון טופס מברק

$$1063 - 67 = 1000$$

בלטס/מיפוי  
תאריך: 8 מץ 1993  
אל: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטן

### הנדון: סקירה יומית 3/8

במהשך לסקירה היומית (ראה מברקנו נר 332) מצ"ב הכתבות.

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## תקשורות

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# Syria Eases Stand on Golan Timetable

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## SYRIA, From AP

forward with a process to regain the Golan in return for peace, it is not as enthusiastic about having an Israeli embassy in Damascus or opening up its markets to trade with Israel anytime soon.

The Golan Heights, which had been part of Syria since 1923, overlook the eastern portion of Israel's Galilee. Before the 1967 war, Syria had fortified the area and used it as a base for attacks on Israeli villages below.

Although Syrian leaders see the Clinton administration as more pro-Israel than that of George Bush, they were buoyed by Christopher's assurances that Washington will be a full and effective partner in the peace process.

This—and a pledge to uphold principles outlined by the Bush administration—has given a sense of urgency to Syria's behind-the-scenes effort to probe further and hear from Israel how soon it is willing to craft a deal on the Golan. Assad seems in a hurry, diplomats said, out of fear that a delay could be detrimental "because too many things could go wrong in the region." The spread of Islamic fundamentalism is perceived here as a threat to the survival of current Arab regimes.

Syria has hinted to foreign envoys that it will no longer enmesh itself in the tangle of Palestinian factionalism while it strives to improve its own situation as key regional player in the aftermath of the Cold War.

The Syrian attitude now is: "We agree to whatever the Palestinians agree upon; we will not be more Palestinian than the Palestinians," an Arab ambassador said. Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization have long have battled over what was referred to as the "independence of Palestinian decision-making"—something Syria only grudgingly accepts as it continues to host Palestinian groups opposed to PLO leader Yasser Arafat and the peace process.

"A just and comprehensive peace does not mean that all parties are tied to one stick, walking to the same tempo, but in the end there will be a comprehensive peace," Jibril Koureh, an aide to Assad, said following Christopher's visit, echoing Assad's observation last year that the negotiating partners should not necessarily march shoulder-to-shoulder like soldiers on parade.



Many here still say a separate peace would not necessarily avert future wars. But diplomats said that for Assad, the chief difficulty might not be cutting the link with Palestinian autonomy but gaining the maximum return of land from Israel.

"Assad has no interest in a settlement that gives away bits of Syria to Israel. That is the acid test as far as Syria is concerned," a diplomat emphasized.

Another diplomat said it is widely understood here that if there is an agreement about return of the Golan, one could also emerge for Lebanese territory occupied by Israel.

"If the problem of the Golan is solved, one can expect an enlarged package including Lebanon," with an integrated line of defense extending from the Golan through the Israeli-defined security belt in southern Lebanon, all the way to the Mediterranean, the diplomat predicted. "The Syrians will not find themselves bargaining for their own sake. It will be something involving the whole of the northern front."

Assad reportedly was happy to hear from Christopher that Washington is still committed to the letters of assurance by the cosponsors of the Madrid conference that began the peace talks, and also the terms of engagement, namely a settlement generally based on U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

The Syrians tried, while talking to Christopher and in preparing themselves for the new Clinton team, to forge a strong image of peacemaking, departing from their obstructionist postures of the past.

Syria's commitment to peace is seen by some here as a historic change. "There is an evolution in thinking here, like the evolution taking place in the rest of the world—attribute it to genius, a sense of realism or maturity," said the Rev. Joseph Hajjar, a Syrian historian and author who was an adviser on the Syrian team at the Madrid talks. "Today there is interaction; before there was conflict. . . . This is a deep evolution of our policy."

There still remains, however, a lot of questioning beneath the surface, mainly in the upper ranks of the ruling Baath Party, in which Assad is said to be losing interest. The Baath Party Congress, traditionally a hallmark of his rule and ideology, has not met for seven years and has been postponed for the third year in a row to avoid debate on the peace talks before there are clear results.

"If peace is signed, where does this party go? It becomes a total anachronism," said a Sunni businessman. "There is strong vested interest in the present system, in which the shadow of war allows all kinds of transgressions," he said, referring to martial law, used to suppress opposition and reforms, with the state of war with Israel used as the pretext.

While diminishing in importance, some analysts said, the party can still be used as an instrument to realign policies in the future, in the style of Assad, who prefers a gradual evolution of Syrian thinking.

"The feather in his cap is he managed to give these people 22 years of stability, and anything that would safeguard stability is considered quite justified," one analyst said.

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

## Doing Business With Assad

The success of Secretary of State Warren Christopher's first Mideast probe can be measured by the possibility of a meeting between Bill Clinton and Syria's inscrutable Hafez Assad during the president's spring trip to Europe.

No firm commitment has been made. But Assad's cosy reception of Christopher during his recent swing through Mideast capitals points to political bonding between Washington and Damascus, to be followed in the months ahead by a Syrian-Israeli deal on the Golan Heights. Private letters between Clinton and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin are believed to agree on this.

The hidden key to the Clinton-Assad link is Rabin's apparent willingness to recognize Syrian "sovereignty" over the Golan Heights, seized by Israel in 1967, in exchange for a

Syrian peace pledge fully backed by the United States. Rabin has been pushing hard for a land-for-peace agreement with Syria over the past six months. Although actual Israeli withdrawal from the Golan would take several years, Assad would regain the formal title long before that.

Short months ago, this would have been laughed off by pro-Israel U.S. politicians who have long demanded that the United States put Assad on the rack for running a dictatorial regime accused of manifold human rights violations and terrorist connections. A U.S.-Syrian compact as a precursor to a Syrian-Israeli peace agreement seemed even more ludicrous after the November election.

That's because the White House went into the hands of a Democratic president whose campaign staff was stacked with leaders of the pro-Israel

lobby (most of them Syria-haters) and who is in political debt to Jewish American fund-raisers with no love for Assad. Clinton's well-advertised pro-Israel bias did not fit him to be a candidate for Assad's new best friend.

So conventional a political analysis misunderstands Clinton's unconventional approach to Assad. Clinton has learned what James A. Baker III discovered during the Persian Gulf crisis: The fall of the Soviet Union shattered Assad's world view. As long as he was backed by Soviet military might, he could afford to be the Arab thorn in America's side.

Now the Syrian强人 looks to Clinton as the only escape hatch out of twilight war with Israel that becomes more and more costly. What he wants, in the phrase of a key Arab leader, is a "special relationship" with the United States. With it would come the peace agreement and Syria's enhanced stature within the Arab world.

Clinton and Christopher are saying privately that Rabin cannot afford the political risk of bargaining away the Golan unless Israeli voters are convinced that Syria has a separate understanding with the United States.

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For Rabin, those political risks are real. Opposition politicians in the hard-line Likud party are on the attack, accusing him of surrendering Israel's security. Jewish settlers from the Golan organized a frenzied demonstration in front of his office during his meeting with Christopher two weeks ago.

Political dangers for Rabin would diminish with a new U.S.-Syrian link as an insurance policy against Damascus breaking out of its current mood. It would give larger, strategic significance to Assad's peace promise, elevating it above a mere tactical move of the moment.

Another Clinton effort to reduce Rabin's political risks is a series of secret U.S.-Israeli military and security agreements now in the planning stage. Rabin wants public recognition from Washington that Israel's partnership with the United States roughly parallels that of Britain. That is a large and highly controversial request. It would mean major technology and espionage exchanges, far more stockpiling of U.S. military hardware in Israel and conceivably the use of Haifa as a home port for the U.S. Navy.

The Pentagon opposes almost all of this. But with the Israel-Syria peace bit in his teeth, Clinton is no more likely to head the U.S. military than he is those activists in the Israeli lobby who say he'd better not do business with Assad. He already is.

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## Looking Beyond Assad

*Illness Discounted,  
But What's Ahead?*

By Nora Boustany  
Washington Post Foreign Service

DAMASCUS, Syria—Rumors that President Hafez Assad is in failing health come and go but are largely unfounded, according to foreign officials who have met with him for hours, ambassadors who have presented their credentials in recent weeks and numerous aides.

Assad, 62, has ruled Syria with an iron fist since coming to power in a military overthrow 22 years ago. His authoritarian style of leadership put an end to the country's series of coups d'état, and Syrians and others now express fears that if he is absent from the scene as Damascus becomes more engaged in peace talks with Israel, it would be destabilizing for Syria and the whole region.

Suffering from diabetes and what is described here as a



HAFEZ ASSAD

... "he has become a monk"

manageable heart problem. Assad still works long hours, reportedly leading a spartan life of frugal meals and no private pleasures. "He has become a monk for himself and a monk for Syria," an Arab ambassador observed.

Assad appears to be planning ahead in any case, by grooming his son Basil, 30, a civil engineer and army major, for an eventual role as statesman.

"If Assad jogs 10 miles, he will probably collapse, but he is very careful," a diplomat said. "He knows Syria needs him for another few years. Otherwise, the work of his lifetime will go down the drain."

The prospect of the passing of  
See ASSAD, A10, Col 3

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# Assad's Succession Stirs Rumors

ASSAD. From AB

their leader, whether now or in 10 years, has many Syrians worrying about what could happen in a power struggle—possibly between contenders from the majority Sunni Muslim sect or from the ruling minority Alawite sect.

"If Assad goes, nobody knows what direction Syria will take," a member of his ruling Baath Party confided, although Assad insists that the institutions he has founded will steer Syria out of any major crisis in his absence.

A recent shake-up of military intelligence officers, and the promotion of Ali Douba, head of military intelligence and a longtime trusted associate of Assad, to deputy chief of staff for security affairs, has spawned a new cycle of rumors.

Some Syria watchers say the shake-up is linked to drug trafficking and corruption charges against three of Douba's minor aides, but others insist it is part of the preparations for a post-Assad transition.

There is no authoritative explanation of such events in a country where apparent promotions are often effective demotions and routine staff changes are often accorded conspiratorial significance though none may exist.

The presence here of Assad's younger brother Rifaat, who had been exiled to Europe in 1985 for attempting to seize power during the president's first major illness, has added to the intrigue. A standoff with armor in the streets of Damascus in 1984 between Rifaat Assad's troops and the president's was defused only when Hafuz Assad, accompanied by Basil, personally ordered officers of Rifaat's tank units to return to their barracks.

Rifaat Assad was allowed back last August for their

mother's funeral and reportedly was pardoned, but he has yet to be given back his perquisites and powers as one of three appointed vice presidents.

It is unclear whether Rifaat Assad, who is treated as a non-person in the media and kept under surveillance, and who has a penchant for high living and fancy cars, will ever again have a political role in Syria.

Foreign ambassadors who have visited him describe an aimless man, waiting for a nod from his brother or a job to help shape Syria's future. He is still remembered by many as a ruthless, impulsive man who carried on a merciless crusade against fundamentalists and religious fanatics in Syria.

Syria's constitution says one of the vice presidents—predictions are it would be Abdul Halim Khaddam—takes over for 70 days in case a president dies or is incapacitated. The Baath Party's regional command then nominates candidates. The legislature votes on the candidates, then calls a popular referendum on the winner. Khaddam, a Sunni Muslim, is seen as an acceptable interim candidate because of his closeness to Assad.

Basil Assad, referred to in the Syrian press as the "Golden Cavalier" for a prize he won in Paris in a horseback riding competition, has yet to overcome his image as a young playboy. Diplomats and friends describe him as an earnest, self-assured young man who is articulate, a good listener, inquisitive, but lacking in depth.

"Basil, even if he is very shrewd, will always live in the shadow of his father," an Arab ambassador commented. "He is liked so far because he is clean and has made few mistakes."

"He's a perfectly decent 30-year-old, but maybe that's not enough to rule Syria," a Western diplomat said.

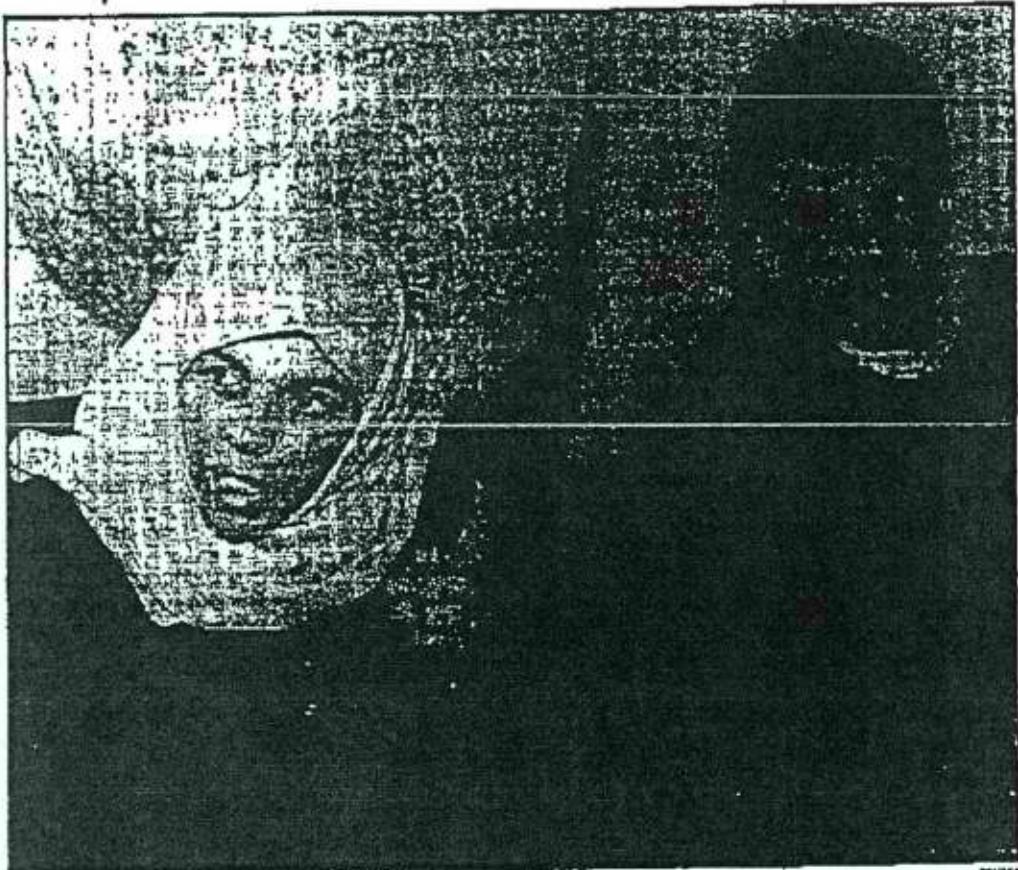
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**BOMB SUSPECT'S MOTHER SPEAKS**

While her eldest son remains in jail on charges of involvement in the World Trade Center bombing, Aysha Salameh says Mohammed A. Salameh "is a good son" who has no connection with Islamic fundamentalism. The Jordanian woman spoke at her family's home accompanied by another son, Majid, right. Story on Page A7.

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# Bomb Suspect's Mother: 'He Is Not a Terrorist'

*Relatives in Jordan Dispute Allegations*

By Jamal Halaby  
Associated Press

ZARQA, Jordan, March 7—Mohammed A. Salameh, held in the bombing of New York's World Trade Center, is a Palestinian whose family fled the Israeli occupation of the West Bank. He played mock war games and soccer growing up in this mining town, loved Western movies and enjoyed wrestling.

"He had big dreams. He wanted to fulfill his dreams in America. He is not a terrorist," Salameh's mother, Aysha, 45, said today.

"I am sure of America's fair justice, and that my son will come out of this nightmare soon," she said.

Salameh was arrested Thursday in Jersey City on suspicion of involvement in the Feb. 26 blast at the World Trade Center, which killed five people and injured 1,000. Authorities say Salameh tried to retrieve a rental deposit for the van used to carry the explosives used in the bombing. Salameh had reported the van stolen. His attorney says Salameh is innocent.

American law enforcement officials have described Salameh as a Muslim fundamentalist, but family members here denied it. They said, however, that his life underwent a noticeable change during his final years of high school.

"He became religious, started to pray and read the Koran with other friends in high school," said a brother, Ahmed, 24. "He stopped most of his past activities and hobbies. . . . He was not a fundamentalist. He was interested in Islamic teachings."

New York-area police who asked for anonymity have told reporters that Salameh worshipped at a New Jersey mosque where a militant Islamic cleric, Omar Abdul Rahman, preaches. Salameh's family here

echoed statements by officials at the mosque that Salameh does not know Abdul Rahman.

[In Cairo, Egypt's foreign minister said Abdul Rahman would face criminal charges at home if the United States deported him. Violence initiated by Egyptian radicals has resulted in 95 deaths in the past 15 months. The government claims their spiritual guidance and some of their money come from Abdul Rahman, who was acquitted three times of terrorism-related crimes in Egypt.

[The U.S. government wants to deport Abdul Rahman, 54, on grounds that he concealed on his visa application an Egyptian conviction for falsifying a check. Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said Cairo would have to accept Abdul Rahman if no other country wanted him. If that happens, Moussa said, "there has to be" charges filed against him. "Instigating violence and promoting the use of force and use of violent means against the government, against society—all those things will be considered," he said.]

Jordanian authorities say Salameh and his family do not have criminal or political records. "He was a peaceful and shy person and never had violent tendencies," said Ahmed Salameh.

Mohammed Salameh is the eldest son among 11 children of a retired Jordanian army Lieutenant, Amin Salameh. The family fled the West Bank village of Beddah five months after the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Mohammed was 2 months old. He traveled to the United States on Feb. 17, 1983, to study and try to fulfill his dream of earning a master's degree in business administration. Authorities said he stayed in the United States illegally after his visa expired.

"He is a good son. He sent us . . . \$5,000 from his savings," his mother said in her modest living room.

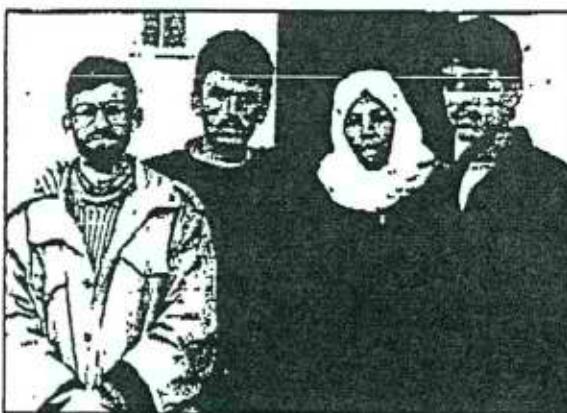
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NOT A TERRORIST: Aysha Salameh, 45, with sons Ahmed, 24 left; Majdi, 19; and Ramzi, 18. The Salamehs said they had great hopes for Mohammed and sent him to study in the USA.

## Family describes bomb suspect as 'peaceful, shy'

By Bruce Frankel  
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — While investigators theorize Mohammed Salameh, a suspect in World Trade Center bombing, is tied to an international terrorist conspiracy, his family says it's "inconceivable."

"He is a good son," said Salameh's mother, Aysha Salameh, 45, Sunday at her home in Zarqa, Jordan. "He wanted to fulfill his dreams in America. He is not a terrorist."

Although Salameh is the principal suspect in the World Trade Center bombing, little about his background suggests he masterminded it.

"Obviously, he's just a small cog," says Martin Kramer, deputy director of the Dayan Center at Tel Aviv University.

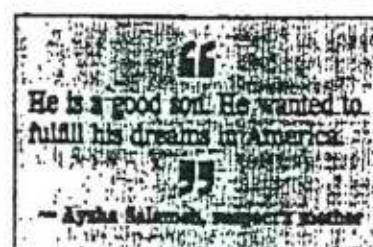
Salameh has been described as a follower of radical Egyptian cleric Omar Abdel-Rahman, who leads a mosque in Jersey City.

The family denies Salameh (SAH-luh-meh), 25, knew Abdel-Rahman.

"Mohammed was not affiliated with any political or Islamic party in Jordan," said his brother Ahmed Salameh, 24. "He was a peaceful and shy person."

From his frequent calls and letters home and the small amounts of money he sometimes sent — about \$800 a year — his mother concluded he was struggling but making his way.

And while family members say a sud-



AP  
BALAMEH: Family says he called and wrote frequently and sometimes sent small amounts of money home to Jordan.

den intense interest in the Koran stole him away from such childhood hobbies as Western movies and playing war games, he never spoke of involvement in militant groups.

They say they cannot reconcile his shy, studious behavior with pieces of evidence U.S. officials claim to have.

"They heard the news first on television, but didn't know it was him" until later reports said the suspect was born in Biddiya, says Randa Habib, director of Agence France-Presse in Amman.

"They kept saying, 'It's impossible. He's too nice. He would never kill anyone,'" Habib says.

Salameh was arrested Thursday when he tried to reclaim a rental deposit for the van that carried the explosives used in the bombing. He had reported the van stolen.

Salameh was born in the Israeli-held West Bank. Two months later — just five months after the Israeli-Arab Six-Day War — his Palestinian family fled Israe-

l to occupation for Jordan. Salameh is the oldest of 11 children. His father, Amin Salameh, joined the Jordanian army, rising to Lieutenant. His salary when he retired in 1990 was about \$200 a month.

The Salamehs had great hopes for Mohammed when he finished his studies at the Islamic law college at Jordan University and obtained a U.S. visa to study for a master's degree in business administration.

Jordan has no record of political or criminal activity by Salameh.

The family had to borrow money to buy Salameh a plane ticket to the USA.

They hoped he would make a lot of money. His mother said Salameh worked a string of jobs in a bakery, a supermarket, a building and a factory.

One of his letters had a Park Street, Jersey City, address, Habib said. The FBI said Sunday that it had not searched that address yet.

The family still lives in a four-bedroom house built two years after Salameh traveled to the USA.

The home is decorated with pictures of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, Islam's third-holiest shrine; the Koran; and pictures of Palestinian guerrilla fighters carrying AK-47 rifles and green flags — symbolizing the Palestinian uprising against Israel.

Salameh last telephoned his family on Jan. 19.

# Bomb probe could

Officials coordinate their work

By Bethany Kandel and Bruce Frankel  
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Law enforcement officials held a major strategy meeting Sunday to coordinate their burgeoning investigation into the Feb. 26 World Trade Center bombing.

Despite the arrest Thursday of 25-year-old Mohammed Salameh, officials say it may take considerably more time to track the plot to its source.

"It's certainly going to be months because of the enormity of the incident, but we're prepared to go years, if that's what it takes," said Joseph Vassallo of the FBI.

It's too early to determine the type of bomb that killed 16, injured thousands and closed the twin towers, the world's second-tallest buildings, he said.

Investigators found hundreds of pounds of bomb-making chemicals Friday in a Jersey City, N.J., self-storage locker that has been linked to Salameh. Some bomb-making materials also were found in a Jersey City apartment.

Some law enforcement officials expressed concern information leaked to the media last week may have forced investigators to make an arrest prematurely, allowing other suspects to flee.

"It's a possibility," says Vassallo. "I'm not going to get into specifics."

Salameh's court-appointed lawyer, Robert Precht, said he will seek today to ease "harsh" conditions imposed on Salameh since his arrest.

"He's in a tiny, tiny cell. And because he's fasting for Ramadan (Islamic holy days), he does not take food between sunrise and sunset. In effect, he's getting only one meal a day," said Precht.

He said Salameh also needs water for ritual cleansing and a watch to time his prayers.

Salameh, a Palestinian, is being held without bail.

Investigators say he rented the van that held the bomb in the center's underground garage. He was arrested Thursday when he tried to reclaim a rental deposit on the van, which he had reported stolen.

In other developments:

► At the World Trade Center Sunday, explosives experts were lowered into the underground bomb crater on platforms, searching for clues after the cellar was strengthened with steel columns.

Police dogs sniffed through subterranean debris without finding any trace of building employee Wilfredo Mercado, missing since the blast.

► Arabs across the USA fear a backlash. There's been at least one act of vandalism at Jersey City's Masjid Alsalam mosque, where Salameh worshipped. "Pieces of pipe" were thrown through the windows Friday night, said spokesman Hesham Ahmed.

Salameh's arrest also prompted numerous threatening calls to Muslim centers.

The Muslim community is being subjected to a painful campaign of intimidation" and law-abiding American Muslims are paying for the irresponsible actions of a few, he said.

► Authorities say there is no

# take 'years'

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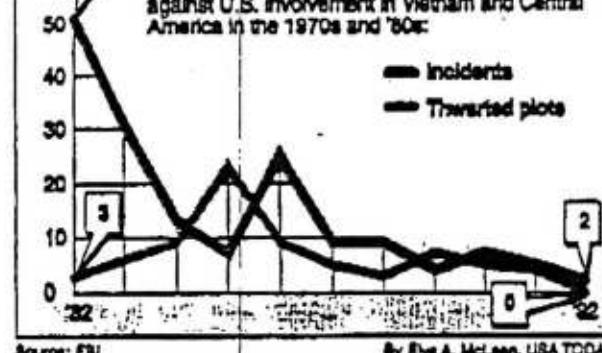
apparent bombing link to three men arrested on Friday at a Brooklyn mosque where the Muslim cleric Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman preaches. The men were later released.

► Egypt said if the United States deports Abdel-Rahman to Egypt — where he was acquitted three times of terrorism-related crimes before he left the country — he would face criminal charges there.

It was the government's first confirmation that it was prepared to move against Abdel-Rahman, who settled in Jersey City. He has denounced the trade center bombing.

## Terrorist activity in USA

Terrorist incidents have declined since protest against U.S. involvement in Vietnam and Central America in the 1970s and '80s:



Source: FBI

By Beth A. McLaren, USA TODAY

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## Terrorism and intimidation

When the blast shook the World Trade Center on Feb. 26, it didn't take long for the calls to start pouring in to the New York police from crazies and assorted creeps eager to take "credit" and share in the "glory" of a crime, even if they didn't have the means or the brains to do it. It's essential that the message sent by President Clinton to terrorists and their ilk in the days ahead, whether individuals or states be involved, be that terrorism on American soil will not be tolerated and will be met with as prompt and severe a response as our laws allow. And, particularly; that it will not be allowed to dictate U.S. policy toward the rest of the world.

After less than a week, the FBI moved to apprehend its first suspects in the case, Mohammed A. Salameh, a Palestinian with a Jordanian passport and a follower of a radical Islamic sect based in Jersey City. It was he who rented the Ryder truck that allegedly carried the bomb. Also arrested was Egyptian American Ibrahim Elgabrowny. The impressive efficiency of the operation has brought new spring to the step of FBI Director William Sessions — and a slew of accusations from Arabs in the United States and abroad that they were singled out for persecution. From published accounts, however, the evidence against Mr. Salameh seems pretty incriminating — the rental truck and an apartment as well as a warehouse full of chemicals and electrical equipment that could be used to make bombs. But that's for the court to decide. The chips will have to fall where they may. And if that means that radical Palestinians acting possibly with the support of Iran have done damage to the Middle East peace process, then the blame for that certainly does not rest with the United States.

But the fact that the FBI is making progress does not mean that crazies out there have gone away. Per-

haps the craziest reaction of all came from Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs and a man whose name regularly comes up in the context of U.N. war crimes trials. Mr. Karadzic was in New York supposedly to negotiate peace with the Bosnian and Croatian leadership, while his troops back in the former Yugoslavia were conducting a murderous campaign aimed at driving the Muslim population out of eastern Bosnia. Mr. Karadzic is clearly a man who knows an opportunity to shoot himself in the foot when he sees it. He immediately took it upon himself to educate the American public on the consequences of humanitarian intervention on foreign soil.

"The tragic and deplorable terrorist incident at the World Trade Center is fresh testimony to the extraordinary volatility and immediate dangers of direct foreign involvement," Mr. Karadzic said in an open letter to the American people distributed at the United Nations. "This ill-advised American humanitarian operation could overnight transform a local conflict into a Balkan war, perhaps a world war. The protests of the world's leading diplomatic and military experts have fallen on deaf ears." He also suggested that President Clinton would be "unwittingly exposing the American people and mankind to the hell of Armageddon." That sounded a lot like a threat to a lot of people.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher's response to Mr. Karadzic's brazen statement was on the lame side — "not particularly helpful," he called it. And while Mr. Clinton did say that the Serbian leader could be making a "big mistake," one could well have wished for a little more passion in defense of the American people. Mr. Karadzic did later retract his words. But this is an unstable world right now, and it ought to be made clear to him and to people like him that threats against Americans will not be taken lightly.