

6

מדינת ישראל

משרד הממשלה

משרד

מס' תיק

חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה

תת חטיבה: משרד ראש הממשלה - לשכת ראש הממשלה

שם תיק: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס ויצחק שמיר - ארצות-הברות

סימול מקורי: 1 תקופת החומר: 11/1991-10/1991

מזהה פיזי: א - 8 / 5026 25/11/2012

שם: לשכת ראש הממשלה שמעון פרס ויצחק

מזהה פיזי: א - 8 / 5026

מזהה לוגי: 2172111 מס פריט: 43.4/13 - 819

כתובת: 02-111-02-05-06 25/11/2012

מחלקה

מס' תיק מקורי

אאא, חוזם: 12267

אל: רהמש/754

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 316, תא: 121191, זח: 1611, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מז"ת 2, תפוצות, ממ"ד - איסוף וקש"ח.

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: יהודי לבנון

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ברסקי (A.D.L.) התקשרה (11.11) ושאלה האם ידוע לנו דבר על גורלם של שבעה יהודי לבנון שנחטפו לפני מס' שנים ע"י ארגון "המדוכאים על פני האדמה".

2. נשאלה בנושא ע"י פעילים בקהילת יוצאי סוריה בניו-יורק המבקשים לשלב ענינם של חטופים אלה במסגרת הפעילות המתבצעת לשחרור בני הערובה.

3. אנא התייחסותכם.

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, @ (מצב), סולטן, מזתים, תפוצות, ביין, @ (רם), ר/מרכז, מרכזאיסוף, @ (לוברני)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 12313
אל: דהמש/759
מ:- וושינגטון, נר: 329, תא: 121191, זח: 1940, דח: מ, סג: בל,
בכב
בלמ"ס/מידי

אל : מצפ"א

דע : לשכת מנכ"ל אוצר
ציר כלכלי כאן

מאת : ק. לקונגרס

הנדון : פגישת קונגרסמן המילטון עם עתונאים ישראלים

היום (12/11) הזמין הקונגרסמן המילטון לשיחה את תא הכתבים הישראלים
בוושינגטון (עפ"י יוזמתם). הפגישה ארכה כשעה ורבע ללא נוכחות עוזרים.
הכתבים יפרסמו הפגישה לעתונים של יום ה'.

להלן עיקרי הדברים :

על ערבויות

תמכתי בדחייה בזמנו ואמרתי שאתמוך כאשר הנושא יועלה שוב. לא יודע מה
תהיה עמדת הממשל, מניח שיתמוך בתנאים מסוימים. אני מצידו אתמוך בחבילה
של 10 ב' דולר ללא כל תנאים.

- הדבר היחיד שרמז לגבי אפשרות שינוי מצידו הוא לגבי מספר השנים (כלומר
לא בהכרח 5 שנים אלא אולי יותר). יתנגד ללינקג' פוליטי.

- אם הנשיא ינקוט קו קשוח, הוא בהחלט יוכל לחסום הערבויות ויהיה קשה
מאוד להתגבר על וטו נשיאותי בנושא. אינני יודע אם הנשיא ינקוט בקו קשוח,
אולם הרגשתי היא שכאשר הוא הודיע על הדחייה הוא הרגיש שזכה לתמיכה גדולה
מאוד בציבור, ואני בטוח שהוא (הנשיא) חושב שזה יחזור על עצמו פעם נוספת
אם יחליט להתנגד.

- האם הדמוקרטים אינם במצב מוזר כאשר הם תומכים בערבויות מחד ומקדמים
נושאי פנים מאידך. כן, יש לנו, במידה מסוימת, בעייה. אולם, מסורתית
הדמוק' תומכים יותר בסיוע חוץ מאשר הרפוב' וכך נשאר המצב.

לגבי תיקון בריינט (מה-22/6 בנוגע להתנחלויות)

שינה המילטון מעמדתו בעת העברת התיקון. הסביר, הפעם, ההתנגדות שלו לתיקון כדלקמן: תיקון בריינט מציג ההתנחלויות בתור המכשול העיקרי, ואולי היחיד, לשלום. הוא דוחה לחלוטין טענה זו. שכן, עובדה היא שלא ננקטו צעדים דומים נגד מדינות אחרות, המפריעות לשלום בעצם העובדה שהן מסרבות להכיר, למשל, בישראל.

עם זאת, אינני מציע לידידינו בישראל להתעלם מהתיקון הזה משום שהוא מבטא אי סיפוק משמעותי מעמדת ישראל בנושא ההתנחלויות, ולא הייתי מציע לידידי הישראלים להתלהב ולפרש בצורה נלהבת מדי את העובדה שהתיקון הובס בצורה כה נחרצת.

- ציין בהקשר לכך את העובדה שבנסיעותיו התכופות לאינדיאנה הוא מרגיש בשינוי לרעה של דעה"ק כלפי ישראל. אינני רוצה להגזים בעניין זה, אולם אני בתור יו"ר ועדת המשנה לאירופה והמזה"ת, מוצא את עצמי נאלץ, יותר ויותר, להסביר לאנשים שישראל איננה הנוקשה היחידה (THE ONLY INTRANSIGENT) במזה"ת, ויותר ויותר אני חייב להגן את רמות הסיוע לישראל. בעניין הזה קשה לי לנתח בדיוק האם ההתנגדות לסיוע חוץ נובעת מהתנגדות לעמדות המדיניות של ישראל, או מהמצב הכלכלי הלא טוב באיזור בחירתי. אני מניח שזה שילוב של השניים.

על סיוע חוץ

הצעת מיטצ'ל - תגיע לוועדה שלי. אצטרך לבדוק היטב, אולם טרם גיבשתי עמדה. (הערה: יו"ר ביהנ"ב פיל, והקונגרסמן רוסטנקובסקי מתנגדים להצעת מיטצ'ל. י.ד.)

לגבי תהליך השלום

ישנה תמיכה מלאה של הקונגרס, על שתי המפלגות, בתהליך. שיבח בייקר והנשיא על פועלם. אין לו שום ספק שארה"ב תדרש למעורבות מסיבית בתהליך הזה ב-3 תפקידים: כמתווכים, כמפייסים וגם כמזיעי רעיונות. הקונגרס יעשה כל שיוכל להשתתף ולהשפיע על תהליך השלום - בצורת שימועים ואולי אפילו חקיקה. אולם, זה יגיע רק בשלב מאוחר יותר. השאלה העקרית היא כמה לחץ תרצה ותוכל ארה"ב להפעיל. אני, כרגע, לא במצב לתת על כך תשובה.

על יחסי ישראל-ארה"ב

אין סיבה לפניקה, אבל בשום פנים ואופן אין סיבה לחשוב שהיחסים הם חלקים.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, @ (מצב), בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת, הסברה, סייבל, סולטן, מזתים, אוצר, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), אמן

"This is a very strong group of people to be working with, so I think it's very advantageous not only that Secretary

Mr. Chairman:

Despite brief ups and downs, relations between the United States and Israel have remained exceptionally close since 1948. Our American commitment to the security of Israel is constant, as is our commitment to the maintenance of Israel's qualitative defensive edge in the region. This relationship is based upon a broad foundation of shared values — human, political and religious. American cooperation with the State of Israel ranges across many fields: defense, economic growth, education, culture, the environment, scientific and agricultural research. A major recipient of United States economic and military support, Israel is also a technologically advanced, industrial society — our cooperation is a two-

The Wireless File

way street from which the United States also benefits. Indeed, it is our hope that the enduring strength of our relationship with Israel will help Israel see through the difficult decisions that lie ahead in the peace process.

Israel holds a special place in the hearts of Americans. If confirmed, I will endeavor to maintain and reinforce the many ties between our two countries while conducting a frank and open dialogue with Israeli leaders. I look forward to the opportunity to contribute to this special bilateral relationship and to the achievement of stable peace between Israel and her neighbors.

(end text)
NNNN

*NEA210

U.S. SEEKS FURTHER GATT ACTION ON OILSEED DISPUTE
(EC fails to comply with 1989 ruling)
(400)

Geneva — The United States has given notice it wants another international ruling in its case against European Community (EC) oilseeds subsidies and has threatened to use retaliatory trade sanctions.

At a November 12 meeting in Geneva, U.S. Ambassador Rufus Yerxa told the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) he will seek to reconvene the GATT dispute-settlement panel that has already supported the U.S. position in this case.

Although the EC has proposed cuts in its producer subsidies for soybeans, rapeseeds, sunflower seeds and the animal feed meals derived from them,

the United States contends the proposal does nearly nothing to remedy the U.S. complaint and wants a GATT panel ruling to that effect.

The dispute began in December 1987 when the American Soybean Association filed a petition with the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) alleging that EC subsidies to oilseed producers have the effect of violating the EC's binding GATT commitment to impose zero tariffs on oilseeds imports.

The U.S. oilseed industry contends that U.S. farmers, processors and exporters are losing annually \$1,500-2,000 million in sales to the EC as well as losing third-country markets to highly subsidized EC rapeseed and sunflower seed oil.

In December 1989 the GATT panel ruled in the United States' favor, and the GATT Council formally adopted the panel report the following month.

Nearly two years later, however, the EC still has not complied with the GATT panel ruling. In July the EC Commission did propose cutting oilseed support by 3 percent beginning July 1992, start of the next marketing year, but EC member states continue to reject even the EC Commission's proposal, which the United States regards as too little, too late.

The EC has also rejected a U.S. request that the original GATT panel reconvene to consider whether the EC proposal would satisfy the panel ruling.

Therefore, Yerxa said, the United States will formally ask GATT to reconvene the panel at the GATT annual meeting, which starts December 3.

"We have waited patiently for the Community to move forward on this issue," Yerxa said. "In the event it remains unresolved by the time of the contracting parties session, however, we will have to reserve our GATT rights" — including retaliation.
NNNN

*NEA211

DEFENSE DEPARTMENT REPORT, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12
(Overseas base closures, blood disease precautions, Afghan relief, MIAs/Laos) (600)

NEWS BRIEFING — Deputy spokesman Bob Hall discussed the following topics:

U.S. ENDING OR REDUCING OPERATIONS AT MORE BASES

The United States has decided to end or reduce by 1995 its military operations at 71 more sites in Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and the United Kingdom, Hall said.

Hall said this brings to 381 the total number of U.S. bases in Europe "that have ended or reduced operations or have been placed in standby status.

In addition, the Pentagon revealed in a press release that it ended operations at 17 other sites this year and last in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. One of the most famous of these was Checkpoint Charlie in Berlin.

Altogether, Hall said the United States has reduced the number of overseas bases by 24 percent since it began base realignment in January 1990.

אאא, חוזם: 10610

אל: רהמש/689

מ-: ווש, נר: 2042, תא: 111191, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/מיידי

א ל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ

ד ע: לש' שה'ח, לש' רוה'מ

מאת: לש' השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: תהליך השלום

השגריר שוחח טלפונית (10/11) עם רוס שסיפר שהמימשל עדיין מקווה שהצדדים, ובפרט ישראל והירדנים - פלשתינאים, יסכמו ביניהם שאלת ה- VENUE של המשך המו'מ הישיר. תושג הסכמה תעלה ארה'ב, אולי כבר במהלך השבוע הבא, המתחיל ב- 18.11 הצעה משלה.

ב. עוד בנושא מקום השיחות ידע רוס לאמר שאין הכרח ב- VENUE אחד בלבד, לא למשאים ומתנים בין הצדדים השונים ואף לא בהכרח לקבוצות העבודה השונות שיוקמו במשך הזמן, כך, קבוצת עבודה שתעסוק בנושאי כלכלה אינה חייבת להתכנס באותו מקום או מועד כקבוצות עבודה אחרות.

ג. בנושא הועידה המולטילטרלית, בהמשך לשיחה קודמת, סיפר שאין מתכוונים לקיימה לפני סוף נובמבר או אף תחילת דצמבר. הועידה תתכנס בראשות המזכיר, אך לא ברור עדיין היכן. השגריר שב ושאל בעניין השמועות על מוסקווה ורוס הכחיש. עם זאת נציין ששמועה זו עדיין רווחת.

לשאלת השגריר, בעקבות ידיעות על תכנית אוטונומיה אמריקאית ציין רוס שיש להם 'רעיונות' עוד מהזמן של המו'מ הקודם, אך אין בכוונתם הוסיף, להתעכב בשלב זה.

ה. לשאלת השגריר בעקבות הידיעות כאילו האמריקאים מעניקים תעודות לנציגים הפלשתינאים במשלחת המשותפת ציין רוס שהם סומכים עלינו שנעשה את כל הדרוש לאפשר לפלשתינאים החברים במשלחת לחפקד בתהליך.

לש' השגריר.

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, בנצור

סססס

13' 10'

אאא, חוזם: 10775

אל: רהמש/690

מ-: ווש, נר: 2046, תא: 111191, זח: 1730, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי / מידי

אל: ממ'ד, מצפ'א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: התהליך המדיני

משיחה עם מקור במחמ'ד המקורב לתהליך (ב-7.11) :-

● הדגיש משמעותו ההסטורית של הארוע שהתחולל במדריד, מעבר לבעיות הכבדות שעדיין נותרו. טען כי בקרב כל המשתתפות מתחולל תהליך טריביאליזציה של ארוע זה. קבע שארה'ב היתה הגורם המרכזי בהנעת הצדדים וכי איש מהם לא יוכל מעתה לאמר שאין עם מי לדבר. ארה'ב סיפקה את האמצעי (VEHICLE) ועל הצדדים מוטל עתה להדבר ביניהם.

2. בתדרוכים הנפרדים שקיבל מראשי משלחות ישראל וסוריה לאחר המפגש הביטורלי - השנים הגדירו, איש את דברי רעהו, כ-
IRRELEVANT.

אשר לפער ביניהן - אמר כי המגעים רק בתחילתם, אך ציין גם נכונות ארה'ב לתרום אם תרצה בכך ישראל (בעיקרו של דבר, נשמע כמי שמטיל את האחריות לכשלון התהליך - אם זה יתקע - על הצדדים, אך גם כמי שיעודד התערבות אמריקאית בעת משבר - למניעת התפתחות כזו).

3. אשר לטקטיקת המומ', לדעתו מוטב שישראל תגדיר סדרת צעדים שעל הצד השני לנקוט (הדברים נאמרו בעיקר בהקשר למומ' עם סוריה), בתקווה שההצעה תשנה הפרספציה שלו. בשלב זה לא ניתן להגיע להסכמה על עקרונות.

4. לסורים אין וטו על התהליך (כגון הפעלת טרור, קדום כוחות לעבר ירדן) כל עוד הם פועלים במסגרתו. שילוב של רדיקאליזם סורי, כולל בלבנון, ונוקשות ישראלית עלולים להוריד התהליך מהפסים (DERAIL).

5. פלסטינים: ציין הסיכוי להתחזקות מעמד הנושאים ונותנים מהשטחים ע'ח אשפ' תוניס. ככל שיתקדם המומ' - אנשי השטחים יהנו מהיתרון של עצם היותם בקיאים במומ' ובתפיסות הישראליות. אם תוך מס' חודשים יתחוללו שינויים בשטח, שהנושאים והנותנים הפלסטינים יוכלו להציגם כהישגים שהתקבלו מישראל - יעבוד תהליך ההסמכה (EMPOWERMENT)

של אישים אלה, ויתחזק מעמד הפלסטינים בשטחים ע'ח אשפ' תוניס.

6. ירדן: המלך משחק את התפקיד שיעדו לו (במשתמע ארה'ב), ואין הוא צריך לחרוג מעבר לכך ולחשוף עצמו.

7. מצרים וסעודיה היו במדריד שחקני משנה (נאמר בעיקר בהשוואה לתפקיד

ארה"ב בהנעת המומ'.

8. לבנון: העריך שבספט' 92 - הסורים יפרסו מחדש לבקעא עפי' הסכם טאיף, וישראל תוכל לסגת, במקביל, מדרום לבנון, תוך אבטחת השקט באזור (במשחמע - בהסכמת סוריה ולבנון). להערתנו כי המשוואה הישראלית כוללת נסיגה סורית מלאה מלבנון אמר שאינו מאמין שישראל לא תיסוג אם במקביל לפריסה סורית לבקעא יובטח השקט בדור'ל.

הערה: נודה על שמירת חסיון הנ"ל.

אמיתי - שטיין.

חמוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם), אמן,
@ (מצב), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 10677
אל: רהמש/681
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 264, תא: 111191, זח: 1521, דח: מ, סג: בל,
בכב
בלמ"ס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת
מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

הנדון: נשק גרעיני

להלן קטעים בנושא נשק גרעיני, מתוך ראיון עם מזכיר ההגנה, צ'ייני,
ב- CNN. התמליל המלא נשלח לאמ"נ מנמ"ת.

CNN'S EVANS AND NOVAK WITH ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK / GUEST:
DICK CHENEY, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE / SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1991

MR. EVANS: MR. CHENEY, WITH 27,000 WARHEADS FLOATING AROUND
WHAT USED TO BE AN INTEGRATED COUNTRY, THE SOVIET UNION, ARE WE
ENTERING A REALLY DANGEROUS PERIOD WITH THESE WEAPONS?

SEC. CHENEY: WE'RE REASONABLY CONVINCED AT PRESENT, ROLLIE,
THAT THEY RETAIN TIGHT CENTRAL CONTROL OVER THEIR NUCLEAR SYSTEMS
THE SOVIET UNION. THE QUESTION WE CAN'T ANSWER IS WHAT THAT
ARRANGEMENT WILL LOOK LIKE A YEAR OR TWO FROM NOW; THAT IS, THE
QUESTION OF WHO WILL CONTROL THE SOVIET NUCLEAR STOCKPILE DOWN THE
ROAD. WHETHER THERE'LL BE A CENTER-LEFT, WHETHER IT'LL BE SOME
COLLECTION OF REPUBLICS, OR WHETHER REPUBLICS INDIVIDUALLY WILL
CONTROL THOSE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS SOMETHING WE SIMPLY CAN'T KNOW AT
THIS POINT.

* * *

MR. EVANS: DO YOU THINK HOSTILITY, LATENT AS OF TODAY,
BETWEEN THE UKRAINE AND RUSSIA, WHICH IS ACCORDING TO MY INFORMANTS
GOING TO GET MUCH HOTTER, IS THE KIND OF THING THAT COULD BREED REAL
TROUBLE ON THE NUCLEAR FRONT?

SEC. CHENEY: CLEARLY, IF YOU LOOK AT THE SOVIET EMPIRE AS IT

BREAKS UP, WE'RE CONCERNED ABOUT ALL OF THEM, BUT OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE IS RUSSIA AND THE UKRAINE BECAUSE OF THEIR SIZE AND BECAUSE OF THEIR ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION, BECAUSE OF THEIR MILITARY POWER, AND SO WE WATCH THAT RELATIONSHIP VERY CLOSELY. AT THIS POINT, THOUGH, WE DON'T HAVE ANY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THERE WILL BE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO. THEY HAVE RECENTLY NEGOTIATED REPUBLIC-TO-REPUBLIC LEVEL ARRANGEMENTS ON MILITARY FORCES, ON ECONOMIC TRADE. THERE'S NO REASON AT THIS POINT TO BELIEVE THAT THAT HAS TO END UP IN VIOLENT CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO.

MR. NOVAK: MR. SECRETARY, TELL ME IF I'M WRONG, BUT I GET THE IMPRESSION YOU'RE A LITTLE BIT MORE WORRIED ABOUT THIS SOVIET NUCLEAR QUESTION THAN YOU WERE, SAY, THE LAST TIME WE INTERVIEWED YOU IN AUGUST.

SEC. CHENEY: NO. I THINK I STILL HAVE THE SAME CONCERNS, BOB. IF YOU GO BACK AND LOOK AT A SPEECH I GAVE RIGHT AFTER THE COUP COLLAPSED, I LISTED A WHOLE SERIES OF QUESTIONS. YOU KNOW, WILL THERE BE A CENTER? HOW LARGE WILL THE MILITARY FORCES BE? AND WILL THERE BE CENTRAL CONTROL OF THE MILITARY? WILL THE REPUBLICS HAVE THEIR OWN FORCES? WHO WILL OWN THE SOVIET NUCLEAR STOCKPILE TWO OR THREE YEARS FROM NOW? THAT'S EXACTLY THE SAME SET OF CONCERNS I STILL HAVE TODAY.

AGAIN, AS I SAY, AS WE MEET TODAY, THEY'VE RETAINED TIGHT CONTROL OVER THOSE SYSTEMS. WHAT NO ONE CAN ANSWER, THOUGH, IS WHAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES WILL BE INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION, AND ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO THE CONTROL OF THOSE WEAPONS, IN THE FUTURE.

MR. NOVAK: WHAT'S YOUR CONCERN, THAT THE UKRAINIANS AND THE RUSSIANS START SHOOTING AT EACH OTHER OR THAT SOMEHOW THEY START SHOOTING AT US, AT THE WEST?

SEC. CHENEY: NO. I THINK, IF YOU WERE TO RANK ORDER THE PRIORITIES, THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOMEONE WOULD GET THEIR HANDS ON OR CONSCIOUSLY USE A STRATEGIC WEAPON TO SHOOT AT THE UNITED STATES IS VERY REMOTE. IT DOESN'T MAKE ANY SENSE. ABOVE THAT AND SLIGHTLY MORE LIKELY WOULD BE THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME CONFLICT AMONG REPUBLICS. THE THING I'M REALLY CONCERNED ABOUT WOULD BE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE FACT THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE 27 (THOUSAND) TO 30 THOUSAND NUCLEAR WARHEADS AND THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS COMING APART LITERALLY, THAT THAT WILL RESULT IN DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE, ABOUT WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE FORM OF INDIVIDUALS WHO'VE GOT TECHNICAL EXPERTISE GOING TO WORK FOR OTHER COUNTRIES, AND POSSIBLY EVEN THE FLOW OF SOME OF THOSE WEAPONS THEMSELVES TO THIRD PARTIES.

* * *

MR. NOVAK: SPECIFICALLY, I HAVE READ REPORTS THAT YOU ARE CONCERNED, OR THERE IS SOME CONCERN, ABOUT THE SALE OF WEAPONS TO IRAQ OR NUCLEAR WEAPONS KNOW-HOW TO IRAQ AND TO NORTH KOREA. IS

THAT TRUE OR FALSE?

SEC. CHENEY: AGAIN, WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY "SALE"? IF YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT A GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT TRANSACTION, NO --

MR. NOVAK: NO, BUT BY SOMEBODY WHO HAS CONTROL OF THE WEAPONS IN --

SEC. CHENEY: SOMEONE WHO HAS WORKED IN THE SOVIET NUCLEAR PROGRAM NOW HIRING THEMSELVES OUT TO WORK FOR PYONGYANG OR BAGHDAD --

* * *

MR. NOVAK: BUT, MR. SECRETARY, THERE IS A BIG NUCLEAR POWER OUT THERE. THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT BROKEN UP. IT'S STILL COMMUNIST. AREN'T YOU WORRIED ABOUT CHINA?

SEC. CHENEY: NO MORE THAN I'VE EVER BEEN WORRIED ABOUT CHINA.

MR. NOVAK: THEY'RE BUILDING UP THEIR NUCLEAR POWER, ARE THEY NOT?

SEC. CHENEY: WELL, THE CHINESE DO HAVE NUCLEAR CAPABILITY. THEY HAVE SOME BALLISTIC MISSILES. I DON'T PERCEIVE THE CHINESE AS A DIRECT THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES IN TERMS OF THE NUMBERS OF SYSTEMS. THERE'S NO SENSIBLE RATIONALE IN WHICH THEY WOULD WANT TO ATTACK THE UNITED STATES, BUT I THINK OF EVEN GREATER CONCERN IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT CHINA BECOMES AGAIN A SOURCE OF THE SPREAD OF KNOWLEDGE OF THESE KINDS OF SYSTEMS TO OTHERS.

MR. NOVAK: AND THEY'RE SELLING THEM ALL OVER THE PLACE, AREN'T THEY?

SEC. CHENEY: WELL, WE'RE CONCERNED THAT THEY NEED TO CONDUCT THEMSELVES IN SUCH A WAY SO THAT THEY DON'T CONTRIBUTE TO THE SPREAD OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. THAT'S A POINT WE PUSH WITH THEM CONSISTENTLY.

MR. NOVAK: IS KOREA A NUCLEAR FLASHPOINT?

SEC. CHENEY: WE'RE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FACT THAT THE NORTH KOREANS HAVE NEVER SIGNED UP FOR THE INSPECTION REGIME THAT THEY'RE REQUIRED TO SIGN UP TO UNDER THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, VERY CONCERNED THAT THE NORTH KOREANS ARE, INDEED, PURSUING A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY.

MR. EVANS: MR. SECRETARY, JUST BEFORE WE BREAK, IS THERE ANY SUBSTANCE TO REPORTS THAT COMMUNIST CHINA IS FEEDING NUCLEAR STUFF TO IRAN THAT MIGHT BE USEFUL IN MAKING A BOMB?

SEC. CHENEY: IF WE HAD KNOWLEDGE LIKE THAT, ROLLIE, IT WOULDN'T BE THE KIND OF THING I COULD DISCUSS --

MR. EVANS: WELL, SUSPICION? COULD YOU TELL US THAT? I MEAN, IT'S ALL OVER TOWN.

SEC. CHENEY: IF WE HAD KNOWLEDGE OF SOMETHING LIKE THAT, ROLLIE, I COULDN'T DISCUSS IT.

MR. EVANS: (LAUGHS.) I THINK YOU'VE JUST CONFIRMED IT.

עתונות

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם),
אמן, @ (מצב), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, סולטן,
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 8, 1991

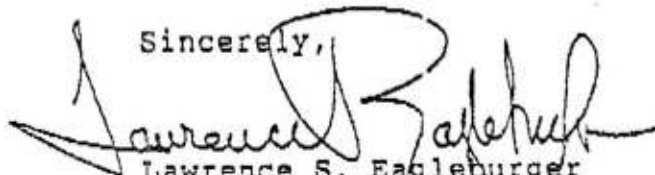
Dear Mr. Minister:

Sixteen years ago the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution equating Zionism with racism (UNGA Resolution 3379). As you know, the United States voted against it at the time and has not subsequently deviated from its strong opposition to it. This administration, like its predecessors, has publicly called for rescission of the resolution. Subsequent to the Secretary's conversation with your Prime Minister, the President, Secretary, and I are committed to achieving this goal during the upcoming 46th UN General Assembly. We are sending Assistant Secretary John Bolton to consult with you on how this best can be achieved.

A great deal has happened since the passage of UNGA 3379 and the world today is operating with a new spirit -- that of greater cooperation, democracy, concern for human rights, and individual and religious freedoms. This new era needs to be reflected in the United Nations. Many have urged us to ignore Resolution 3379, to treat it as a dead letter. For the UN to truly enter into the new era the resolution equating Zionism and racism must be repealed.

I am looking forward to hearing your views from Mr. Bolton upon his return.

Sincerely,



Lawrence S. Eagleburger
Acting Secretary

His Excellency
David Levy,
Minister of Foreign Affairs of Israel.

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ד ע: איתן בנצור, סמנכל צפא ופרנ

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

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הנדון: זהו מסמך נוסף שהוכן על כלכלת ישראל.

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LAND OF PROMISE

Restoring Israel's Economic Miracle

JOEL C. ROSENBERG

Fall 1991

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LAND OF PROMISE

Restoring Israel's Economic Miracle

JOEL C. ROSENBERG

President Bush told Congress and the nation last March that one of the greatest challenges of the post-Gulf War Middle East is "to foster economic freedom and prosperity for all people in the region." Nowhere is the challenge more urgent than in Israel. Enormous Israeli government spending, high taxes, and stifling overregulation have for years frightened away foreign investors, penalized Israeli businessmen, and discouraged would-be entrepreneurs. The result has been economic stagnation. Now mass Soviet and Ethiopian Jewish immigration is overwhelming an Israeli system ill-equipped for such dramatic, indeed cataclysmic, change.

The Israeli government says the cost of absorbing the 300,000 immigrants who have already arrived, and the one million more expected by 1995, is likely to be in the range of \$50-\$60 billion. Yet, Israel's gross national product in 1990 was only \$50 billion. Thus, it will be impossible to raise the needed funds from higher taxes. Nor is it possible to raise the money from Western governments, who find themselves increasingly distracted by the enormous needs of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, nor from world-wide Jewry, who are already donating charity to Israel in record amounts.

Overgrown Government

Israel's economy instead needs immediate, comprehensive free-market reform to attract billions of dollars in desperately needed foreign investment and to unleash the creative talents of its own people. Without major structural change, such as large budget cuts, tax cuts and tax reform, privatization of government-owned companies, and significant deregulation of the private sector, Israel's economic crisis will worsen dramatically and exacerbate ethnic and political tensions between Soviet and Ethiopian Jews, native Israelis, and Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. With a potentially historic, although still fragile, Arab-Israeli peace process gathering momentum, this is no time to allow Israel to edge toward economic chaos. American loan guarantees may temporarily alleviate Israel's immediate housing crunch, but such guarantees do not solve Israel's larger problem of stagnant economic growth.

Only free-market reform can do that; yet Israeli leaders hesitate to move boldly and decisively on such reform.

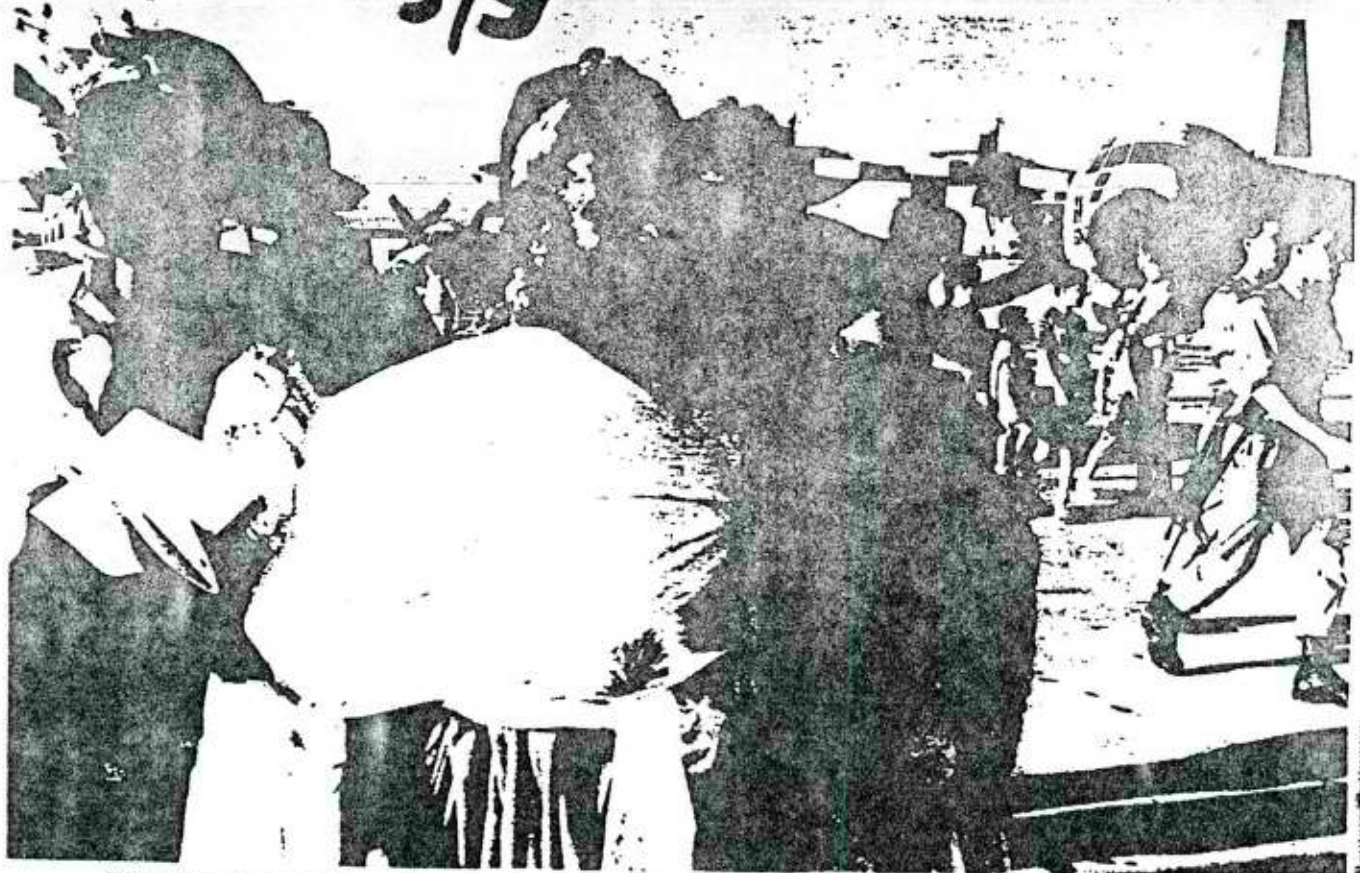
In its early years, Israel was an economic miracle. The immense political and environmental challenges facing the fledgling state required central direction; government involvement helped channel Israelis' bold, pioneering spirit, not cripple it. Malaria-infested swamps were turned into rich, productive farmland. Creative irrigation strategies made "the desert bloom." And despite war and terrorism, Israelis built industry and infrastructure, homes and hospitals, to welcome hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab and Islamic persecution as well as from the butchery of Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia.

Once the new state had become established, however, government involvement in the economy began to grow dramatically rather than recede. Between 1965 and 1985, government spending doubled from 36 percent to 74 percent of Israel's gross national product. (Israel's proposed 1992 budget will also be about 75 percent of GNP.) Some argue that Israel's heavy defense burden has been responsible for the surge. The numbers, however, prove otherwise. Israeli defense spending as a percentage of GNP did soar from 9.5 percent in 1965 to 32 percent in 1975. This was due to the Six-Day War of 1967, the ensuing War of Attrition, and the Yom Kippur War of 1973. However, defense spending has since dropped steadily to less than 24 percent of GNP in 1985, and less than 10 percent today. The dramatic rise in Israeli government expenditures has actually come from domestic spending, not spending on defense. Between 1965 and 1985, Israeli public-sector non-defense consumption jumped from 21 percent to almost 35 percent of GNP. During the same time, transfer payments soared from 6 percent to 16.5 percent of GNP, and payment on external debt rose from .5 to over 6 percent of GNP.

As total spending doubled, the government, not surprisingly, also doubled Israelis' tax burden, from 25 percent of GNP in 1960 to over 50 percent in 1985. Top marginal tax rates have been reduced dramatically, but

JOEL C. ROSENBERG is assistant to Burton Yale Pines, senior vice president at The Heritage Foundation.

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Ethiopian Jews arriving at Ben Gurion airport. Israel needs immediate, comprehensive free-market reform to accommodate the inflow of hundreds of thousands of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews.

they are still among the highest in the industrial world. In 1965, Israel's top marginal tax rate exceeded 70 percent (in 1975 it was over 85 percent!); today it is 48 percent, although in January 1991 the government added a 5-percent surcharge to pay for increased immigrant absorption costs, raising the rate to 53 percent.

The Israeli government also owns 93.5 percent of the land within its pre-1967 boundaries, which it administers through the Israel Land Authority (ILA) to about 540,000 leaseholders. "The ILA, through its executive council, decides who is to get land, what price they will pay for it and the conditions under which they can use it," says Paul Rivlin, a policy analyst for the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies in Jerusalem. Such state control drives up the cost of land and thus the cost of housing by as much as 40 percent, according to Shlomo Schattner, former deputy director of the Israeli Finance Ministry's budget department. Such state control also hinders the ability of Israelis to use the land in the most efficient manner possible. The *Jerusalem Post* noted, for example, that a farmer with orchards near the town of Petach Tikva or cotton fields near the Ben Gurion International Airport may be making little or no profit, but because he leases the land and does not own it, he does not stand to benefit personally from selling it to someone who could use it more productively.

The Israeli government also employs one-third of the labor force, controls the nation's five largest banks, and permits the legal operation of 60 monopolies and cartels. It also owns over 160 companies, including total or substantial portions of the water company, the electric company, the shipping company, the radio and television stations, the telephone company, the airlines

and the railroads, as well as dozens of other smaller companies in a variety of fields. Furthermore, as in other government-dominated economies, decisions made by Israel's state-owned companies often have less to do with profits than with political patronage and back-channel deal-making.

Regulatory Nightmare

What the government does not own, it heavily regulates. Agricultural regulations alone fill an 833-page tome. Until very recently, obtaining a building permit in Tel Aviv required 74 separate steps, 20 separate licenses, and could take up to five years to process, according to Ezra Sohar, an Israeli free-market pioneer, in his most recent book, *Israel's Dilemma: Why Israel Is Falling Apart and How to Put It Back Together*. Obtaining a business license could be just as difficult. Sohar cites a leaflet from the Tel Aviv Municipality sketching the process:

Present an application to the Business Licensing Department, [then] obtain approval of the Planning and Building Department...the Fire Department...the Ecology Department...the Veterinary Service...the Public Health Department...the Police...the Ministry of Labor...the Ministry of Health...other agencies, as warranted...[then] pick up your license.

The leaflet concludes by saying that it "does not purport to list all the requirements in detail; it is meant to help the citizen understand the subject." It is not surprising therefore that many Israeli entrepreneurs have found themselves compelled to hire "go-betweens" who can

navigate the labyrinth of government bureaucracy to finally obtain the desired license. Others simply give up.

Socialism's Stifling Hand

Such massive government interference has had a number of effects. First, Israel's economy faced a major crisis between 1983 and 1985. Inflation shot past 400 percent and the government was forced to cut \$1 billion from its overall budget and nearly 25 percent of its

The dramatic rise in Israeli government expenditures has come from domestic spending, not defense.

defense budget. It also requested and received massive emergency assistance from the United States totalling more than \$1.5 billion. American officials such as Secretary of State George Shultz helped make Israel's economic stabilization program a great success (bringing inflation down as low as 16 percent), but since then Israel has remained slow to implement other American reform suggestions. As a result, inflation is again creeping up, and now stands at 20 percent.

Second, Israel has suffered severe economic stagnation. From 1950 to 1973, Israeli real per-capita growth of GNP averaged 5.5 percent annually. Since then, it has averaged less than 1 percent a year, and last year Israel actually registered negative per-capita growth. As a result, many Israelis have left for the United States, Canada, Australia, and other free-market countries in search of better economic opportunities.

Third, Israeli productivity is among the lowest in the Western world. The average output in the leading industrial countries is \$40,000 per worker, and the leader, Switzerland, averages \$49,600 per worker. Israel averages \$28,200 per worker. Worse still is that Israeli productivity is rising more slowly than other industrialized countries. Israeli productivity in 1989 increased only .2 percent over 1988; by contrast, Italy's productivity (the leader in this area) rose 3.7 percent.

Fourth, since Israeli workers have little incentive to succeed within the system, they circumvent the system. Tax evasion in Israel is estimated at more than \$3 billion a year, and Israel's underground economy is estimated at nearly 30 percent of GNP, a figure rivalling even the Soviet Union's famed black market.

Return to the Promised Land

Now enter overwhelming numbers of Soviet and Ethiopian Jews into a stagnant Israeli economy, dominated by a cumbersome, bloated, inefficient public sector. "The Soviet immigration is the greatest thing that could happen to Israel, but in terms of sacrifice, it also has the potential to destroy us and tear society apart,"

says Michael Kleiner, chairman of the Israeli parliament's committee on absorption. Michael Bruno, former governor of the Bank of Israel, warns that unless the government moves quickly to reform the economy, unemployment, which has already hit 11 percent, could reach as high as 18 percent, with more than 200,000 people leaving Israel in search of better opportunities. Israel's Manufacturers' Association predicts the "worst socioeconomic crisis in Israel's history."

By contrast, if the Israeli government takes immediate steps to reform its own economy, these new refugees of socialism, and those who have already arrived, can offer Israel great hope for the future. Twenty-five percent of the newly arrived Soviet immigrants have an advanced degree, compared with less than 2 percent of native Israelis. With sufficient venture capital, Israel has the potential of becoming the Silicon Valley of the Middle East, specializing in high-technology exports and capitalizing on the skills of more than 2,000 top-line Soviet scientists and more than 40,000 architects and engineers who have arrived in Israel since 1989. Nearly 7 percent of the new immigrants are doctors. With additional investment and advanced equipment from the West, Israel could also become the medical center of the Mediterranean. With some entrepreneurial training, small amounts of capital, and the removal of government obstacles to the creation of small businesses, Israel could also enable Soviet and Ethiopian Jews to start newspapers and tutoring services as well as open ethnic restaurants and grocery stores, plumbing and electrical services, beauty salons and craft shops.

International investors see the potential for an enormously lucrative market developing in Israel, but they are discouraged by Israeli government interference in the economy. The Atari Corporation recently cancelled plans to build a \$150-million plant and a \$75-million investment center in Israel because of excessive government delays in approving their proposals, reported the *Jerusalem Post*.

In fact, by delaying reform, Israel has cut itself off from much foreign investment, and is left to rely upon foreign aid and charitable contributions. In 1988, total net foreign direct investment in Israel was only \$311 million; in 1989 it was less than \$100 million, while American and German foreign aid and charitable contributions to Israel topped \$5 billion both years.

Recalcitrant Politicians

The obvious question, then, is why do Israeli leaders hesitate to enact sweeping economic reform despite such economic stagnation? There are many reasons. Other urgent issues—war at times, the peace process at others—take precedence; both major parties like to dole out political favors when they are in power and thus profit from the status quo; and Histadrut, the national labor union, fiercely resists economic reform—to the point of virtually shutting the country down with mass strikes when reform legislation appears imminent.

Some Israeli officials believe economic reform is important—but not just yet. Zalman Shoval, Israel's ambassador to the United States, for example, has said publicly that mass immigration is creating such disruptions in the

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economy that now would not be a good time to press forward with reforms, since they would likely cause further disruptions. On the contrary, now is the best time to move boldly and decisively on comprehensive reform. Foreign investors are waiting for a strong signal that Israel wants to become a haven for private enterprise, and the Israeli public understands the urgency of the hour and would likely be willing to endure the short-term difficulties of reform if it were convinced of the long-term benefits. Israeli leaders are unlikely to find a better international and political climate for reform than they have today.

Perhaps the most important reason behind the government's unwillingness to implement comprehensive structural change is that Israeli leaders have been insulated by American foreign aid from the full detrimental effects of their unique brand of socialism. Currently, Jerusalem receives from Washington \$1.8 billion a year in military assistance and another \$1.2 billion annually in economic assistance. The economic assistance helps Israel cover the interest payments on its outstanding debt to the United States. The debt, \$5.5 billion of which is owed to American commercial banks and \$4.5 billion of which is owed directly to the U.S. government, accumulated during the 1970s when American military assistance to Israel was given as loans, not in grants as it is today. Former *Jerusalem Post* economic reporter Joel Bainerman recently wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that, since 1948, Israel has received nearly \$48 billion in U.S. foreign aid. Of that, it has received \$45 billion since 1973, the same year that Israeli domestic spending really began its significant upward spiral and Israel's economy began to stagnate.

Faithful Ally

From an American perspective, such aid has been a wise investment: Israel has been a faithful friend in a troubled and turbulent region. Throughout the 1980s, Israel was an extremely cost-effective asset in countering Soviet forces in the Middle East. Military planners in Moscow had to account for Israeli Jericho missiles capable of hitting southern Soviet targets and an Israeli air force widely believed to be capable of rendering the Soviets' Mediterranean naval forces ineffective in less than 24 hours. Today, Israel continues to provide the U.S. prepositioning sites for military equipment and supplies, excellent intelligence data on Middle East regimes and terrorist factions, practice bombing ranges for American fighter pilots, and docking rights for U.S. Navy ships. Last Christmas, Israel's navy and medical teams provided critical assistance to the crew of the USS *Saratoga* when a ferry shuttling sailors back to the aircraft carrier sank off the coast of Haifa. So, while decreasing foreign aid to Israel may someday become an issue of changing U.S. military priorities, it is unfair to say that this has been a giveaway by U.S. taxpayers. Israel has earned every bit of American military aid it has received.

That does not mean that American foreign aid to Israel should not be linked to economic reform. It should. George Bush once said, "Just as a strong Israel is in the national security interests of the United States, so, too, is a healthy Israeli economy." Because economic

reform is, after all, in Israel's and therefore America's best interests, we should not hesitate to insist that American aid prompt such reform.

Lukewarm Reform

While Israeli leaders remain hesitant to move forward on bold, sweeping, comprehensive economic reforms, they have made some positive changes, partly as a result of American nudging, partly as a result of internal pressure for reform. In the past year, the government has cut many subsidies and price supports (which sent the cost of eggs, for example, soaring by 50 percent) and reduced import taxes on automobiles (previously as high as 250 percent on some models). The latter measure sparked a sharp increase in the number of car imports last quarter and led to a 33.2 percent rise in customs income, no surprise to believers in the importance of supply-side tax cuts to Israel's future. The government has also taken measures to ease restrictions on Israeli capital markets and announced that a new three-member treasury committee will have exclusive control over the sale of government companies. This should eliminate the primary obstacle to privatization—the veto authority of individual ministers over companies under its jurisdiction. The government thus plans to raise more than \$500 million by selling 20 percent of its holdings in the Zim Navigation Company, 23 percent of the Bezeq Israel Telecommunications Corporation, 26 percent of Maman Cargo Terminal and Handling Ltd., and all shares in Malam System Ltd., Agridev Ltd., and Dead Sea Pericase Ltd. Some will be sold through the Israeli stock market, while others will go to private buyers.

While these have been positive moves, they are not enough and at times have been offset by the

State ownership of almost all land has driven up the cost of housing by 40 percent.

government's numerous regressive economic steps. Last January, for instance, the government raised value-added taxes from 16 to 18 percent, raised fuel and tobacco taxes, and added a 5-percent surcharge to personal income taxes—all to pay for increased government spending on immigrant absorption. Corporate taxes have been lowered by 3 percent, but are still a daunting 42 percent, hardly a rate to encourage significant private-sector growth. And many familiar with Israel's numerous, although still largely unimplemented, privatization plans say they remain leery of the government's much-trumpeted new plans. Furthermore, the government plans massive subsidization of new employment projects in 1992, including 880 new jobs at archeological digs, 150 new jobs in the census bureau, and 15,000 new jobs to "expand government services due to the increase in population," reports the *Jerusalem Post*.

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Israelis are increasingly unhappy with the state of affairs. A recent poll in the Hebrew *Davar* newspaper indicated that 78 percent of Israelis were "not very supportive" or "not supportive at all" of the government's handling of the economy and 61 percent were unhappy with its handling of Soviet Jewish immigrant absorption. Another poll taken by the business daily *Mabat* in May showed that only 20 percent of the public supports Yitzhak Moda'i in his role as finance minister, and still fewer—less than 9 percent—want to see Labor Party leader Shimon Peres return to that post. Most simply registered their discontent with the economic status quo by indicating "no preference."

In fact, while their own government continues to debate endlessly the pros and cons of comprehensive

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Since 1973, real per-capita growth of GNP has averaged less than 1 percent a year.

economic reform, Israelis see many nations in the throes of a free-market revolution. Mexico, for instance, has sold 875 of its 1,155 state-owned enterprises, including the national telephone company and the national airline. And with a free-trade agreement likely between the United States and Mexico, foreign investors are growing eager to tap into Mexico's enormous potential. At the same time, Israelis read about Russia's Boris Yeltsin and Poland's Lech Walesa winning landslide victories on bold free-market reform platforms, leading many to ask: If even Poland and possibly Russia can plunge ahead toward economic reform, why can't Israel?

Out of the Wilderness

As a result, support for economic reform is growing in Israel. "Five years ago the free-market movement was still just a cloud on the horizon, barely the size of someone's hand," says Daniel Doron, a leading Israeli free-market proponent. "Today, that movement occupies center stage in the public debate." Israeli newspapers and magazines increasingly run articles criticizing the government's economic policies and airing the views of reform advocates; the army radio network's most popular economic program is hosted by a believer in the free market; a number of books calling for free-market reforms have been published in Hebrew. More important, a growing number of politicians on both sides of the political spectrum agree reform is the way Israel must now go. David Brooks recently wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* that "you can't throw a stone in the Israeli parliament without hitting four politicians professing their faith in the free market."

The engines behind the economic reform movement in Israel are the free-market think tanks that have sprung up since Israel's last major economic crisis in the early 1980s. Most notable is Daniel Doron's Israel Center for

Social and Economic Progress (ICSEP), launched with the help of American conservative Irving Kristol in 1984. Just one indicator of ICSEP's impact on Israeli thinking was its February 1990 conference on Soviet immigration and the urgent need for comprehensive structural reform. The event attracted 2,000 Israelis and nearly all of Israel's top economic policy-makers, including President Chaim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's chief economic advisor Amos Rubin, and Labor Party leader Shimon Peres. It also received widespread attention in Israeli newspapers, including a two-page spread in the leading financial daily, *Globes*. Such impact would be an impressive accomplishment even in Washington, but is particularly indicative of the significant change in attitude among Israeli government leaders and academics toward the free-market over the past 10 years.

While ICSEP stresses free-market education, the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies (IASPS) stresses critical evaluation of Israeli economic policy. In 1987, IASPS's founder, Robert Loewenberg, published a book by Hoover Institution economist Alvin Rabushka and Johns Hopkins University professor Steve Hanke called *Toward Growth: A Blueprint for Economic Rebirth in Israel*, explaining what Israel could learn about economic growth from the four "Asian Tigers": Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore. IASPS also publishes an annual *Scorecard on the Israeli Economy*. Rabushka and his colleagues recommend that the Israeli government adopt a 25-percent flat business tax to spark growth and eliminate inherent political pressures to award exemptions and loopholes to special interest groups. They also recommend closing numerous Israeli government agencies to eliminate redundancy and cut wasteful spending. IASPS's bold ideas have attracted considerable press attention both in Israel and the United States and are becoming a significant factor in the growing Israeli economic reform movement.

America's Role

Free-market think tanks are not the only ones championing reform. The Bush administration has been urging Israel to move decisively on free-market reform for years via the U.S.-Israel Joint Economic Development Group (JEDG). Begun in 1984 by President Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres, the JEDG is composed of American and Israeli economic officials and private consultants who originally met to help stabilize Israeli hyperinflation and have since met twice yearly to help Israel develop and implement a reform strategy. The stabilization program was initially a great success; the long-term reform efforts have had mixed results. American JEDG participants say the Israeli delegation agrees with most of their reform suggestions but cannot get Prime Minister Shamir interested in, or the parliament committed to, reform legislation. Richard McCormack, who until recently served as U.S. undersecretary of state for economic affairs, is encouraged by the vast publicity the March JEDG meeting in Jerusalem received and agrees there is growing public support for economic change. However, he and other American officials are unsure whether current efforts are enough to get Israel's top leadership to take the neces-

sary steps toward reform, especially amidst the ongoing and delicate peace process.

Bush has also spoken out strongly on the need for Israeli free-market reform. In July 1986, then-Vice President Bush told the Israeli Knesset that "the question for Israel's future is no longer how to stop the Israeli economy from deteriorating, but how to restore growth." And he offered four suggestions for sparking such growth: reduce government spending, lower taxes, avoid excessive regulation of the private business sector, and privatize state-owned industries. "Freer markets and lower taxes go hand in hand with more growth," Bush declared. He also stated that economic growth—both in Israel and throughout the region—can contribute to peace. "More jobs and more opportunities on the West Bank and Gaza, for example, could increase the confidence of Palestinians, and make it easier for them to participate directly in shaping a negotiated peace," he said, adding that such economic growth could "draw the energies of more young people into building a world for themselves, rather than destroying someone else's."

Opportunity for Quayle

Now is the time for the Bush administration to dust off these ideas and make Israeli economic reform a top priority on its Middle East agenda. That would first involve raising the profile of the JEDG. With the president and secretary of state already deeply involved in the specifics of the peace process, Vice President Dan Quayle should attend the next JEDG meeting likely to be held in Washington this November. Quayle is well-admired and trusted among Israelis and he played an important role in providing Israel with ballistic missile defenses and promoting strong U.S.-Israeli cooperation during the Gulf War. He is also an energetic free-market advocate.

Second, the Bush administration should encourage public support of economic reform in Israel by raising the profile of Israel's free-market movement. Quayle should make his first trip to the Jewish state by the end of this year to meet with the leaders of Israeli free-market think tanks, supply-side economists and journalists, and the top political leadership of both the Labor and Likud parties. He should also request to speak to the Israeli parliament, as did then-Vice President Bush, to discuss the shared American-Israeli values of strong defense, as well as the importance of free markets and limited government.

Third, the Bush administration should support and promote Senator Connie Mack's Index of Economic Freedom amendment to the 1992 foreign-aid bill as a way of encouraging Israeli free-market reforms. The index will rate the economic policies of countries receiving or requesting American foreign aid in order to give lawmakers accurate information regarding that country's "progress toward policies conducive to sustainable economic growth." If a country is not moving toward a free market, aid might either be denied or linked to a series of specific reforms.

The Index of Economic Freedom would subject Israel's foreign aid requests to such criteria as "the extent

to which poor or landless individuals are illegally or otherwise artificially constrained from acquiring land" and the extent of a country's "nationalization of property"; "the difficulty and costliness of securing a business license"; "the extent to which government policies force economic activity into nominally illegal informal sectors" (i.e., the black market); "the highest level of taxation...and the rate of value added tax"; "the value of

If Mexico and Poland can plunge toward economic reform, why can't Israel?

industries owned by the government, [and the] percentage of GNP produced by state-owned industries"; and the "degree of government ownership of the banking sector."

Involvement of American Jewry

The American Jewish community should be included from the start in this effort to encourage economic reform in Israel. While generally more favorable toward liberal Democrats than conservative Republicans, the American Jewish community nevertheless realizes that Israel is facing the greatest challenge and opportunity in its brief modern history and that only with massive foreign investment, a more efficient economy, and a strong U.S.-Israel relationship can Soviet and Ethiopian Jews be successfully absorbed. Vice President Quayle and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp should discuss the importance and benefits of Israeli economic reform in both private and public meetings with the American Jewish community, particularly at the annual policy conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee coming this spring.

Soviet Jewish immigration and the peace process are making Israel's economy an increasingly important issue for Washington policy-makers. Israel's request in September for \$10 billion in American housing loan guarantees was essentially a request for an American vote of confidence in the long-term future of Israel's economy. The Bush administration should not hesitate therefore to make clear that only comprehensive free-market reform will enable Israel's economy to succeed over the long haul. In fact, it should promote reform at the highest levels of U.S.-Israeli contact. And while it may be tempting to set aside talk of reform for a day when Israel has "less important" issues to tackle, when will such a day ever arrive? Israel has not stopped facing monumental challenges since its creation. Indeed, unless Israel moves boldly and decisively on free-market reform, the monumental economic challenges it faces today will be only more urgent and even more difficult to solve tomorrow.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

-בלמ"ט-מי ידי

7.11.91

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אל: מצפ"א

דע: קונכ"ל ל.א. (קוקני)

מאת: יורם אטינגר

הנדון: יהודי טוויה

1. מצ"ל הצעת הוועדה משותפת לשני בתי הכבודים אשר הוגשה בביה"ד ע"י מל' לורין ובטנאט ע"י אלן קרנטסון (ומזכ' קליפין ביה"ד).
2. להוועדה המשותפת אין חוקף וחוקית אלא השפעה על האקלים הפוליטי וגורעו כלפי הנושא הנ"ל בפרט וכלפי טוויה בכלל.

יורם אטינגר

2 שיה
 2 דהו
 1 סלח
 1 ארמא
 1 בוצלה
 2 גרמא
 1 סולמן
 2 איתר
 1 תפוצות
 1 רמ

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III

102D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**S. CON. RES. 69**

Concerning freedom of emigration and travel for Syrian Jews.

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4**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES**

OCTOBER 3 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 19), 1991

Mr. CRANSTON (for himself, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. WOFFORD, Mr. KASTEN, and Mr. MOYNIHAN) submitted the following concurrent resolution: which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONConcerning freedom of emigration and travel for Syrian
Jews.

Whereas the estimated 4,000 Jews who remain in Syria are deprived of their internationally recognized human right to travel freely;

Whereas Syrian Jews who wish to leave the country must post an onerous monetary deposit and leave family members behind as assurance for their return:

Whereas the restrictions on emigration and movement on Syrian Jews violate the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, to which Syria is a signatory;

Whereas Syrian Jews are restricted in the extent of their contact with their families outside Syria;

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Whereas the Syrian secret police (Mukhabarat) engage in 24 hour a day surveillance of the Jewish quarter in Damascus, keep a file on every Jewish person, monitor all contacts between Jews and foreigners, and read mail and wiretap phone conversations of Syrian Jews;

Whereas some members of the Syrian Jewish community have been arrested on mere suspicion of intention to leave Syria and are imprisoned without trial, often tortured, and held incommunicado;

Whereas families of those Syrian Jews who succeed in fleeing the country are subject to imprisonment and torture;

Whereas there are at present 6 Syrian Jews in prison for attempting to leave Syria, 2 of which have been incarcerated since 1957: and

Whereas Syrian President Hafez al-Assad has ignored the repeated efforts of the United States President, the State Department, and Members of Congress to secure the freedom of emigration for the Syrian Jewish community: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives*
2 *concurring).* That the Congress—

3 (1) condemns Syria's continuing denial of Syr-
4 ian Jews' basic human right to travel freely and
5 calls upon the Syrian Government to—

6 (A) immediately grant Syrian Jews the
7 right to travel freely without imposing any tax,
8 levy, fine or other fee (other than the standard
9 fee for administrative expenses); and

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1 (B) release all Jewish prisoners who were
2 charged or suspected of traveling illegally;

3 (2) urges the President to encourage the allies
4 and trading partners of the United States to make
5 similar pleas to the Syrian Government on behalf of
6 Syrian Jews' right to emigrate freely; and

7 (3) calls upon the United Nations to send an
8 official delegation to Syria to investigate the present
9 condition of Syrian Jews.

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אאא, חוזם: 7672

אל: רהמש/518

מ-: ווש, נר: 2018, תא: 071191, זח: 1200, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר / מיידי

מ כ ת ב / מ ב ר ק

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ

דע: מנכ'ל בפועל, לש' רוה'מ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

העקבות ועידת מדריד.

1. בשיחה (6.11) של הציר והח'מ עם מקור העוסק בתהליך, נדונו בין היתר הנושאים הבאים: ההכנות למפגש המולטילטרלי והבילטרלי והפצת מכתבי הבטחונות. כמו-כן התקיים דיון קצר בסוגיית הערבויות וביקור רוה'מ (על - כך בדיווחים נפרדים).

2. להלן סיכום השיחה:

א. מפגש מולטילטרלי:

1. נראה שהמפגש המולטילטרלי לא יתקיים במועד שנקבע (שבועיים לאחר כינוס הפתיחה). נימק זאת, בין היתר, בנסיעותיו הקרובות של המזכיר (אירופה ואסיה) שלא יאפשרו לו להשתתף במפגש ובכך שלא יצליחו לסיים ההכנות למפגש.

2. מעריך שהמפגש יתקיים לקראת סוף חודש זה או בתחילת דצמ'.

3. בשלב זה לא ברור היכן יתקיים המפגש. מעריך שיתקיים באירופה.

4. הסביר את כוונתו של המזכיר להיות במפגש הפתיחה. מעוניין לתת דחיפה משמעותית לתהליך המולטילטרלי. המזכיר מעוניין ששרי חוץ או ראשי ממשלות ישתתפו במפגש.

5. אשר להכנות למפגש, סיפר על מכתבים שנשלחו לקהילה, יפן קנדה ולסעודים. כוונתם להתייעץ עם כל הגורמים לעיל כמו-גם עם הצדדים המעורבים.

לשם כך, מתכוונים להזמין לוושינגטון להתייעצות את נציגי המדינות הנוגעות בדבר. בשלב ראשון הכוונה להזמין נציגי המדינות מחוץ לאיזור.

6. סיפר כי בכוונתם להאיץ במדינות המגרב (למעט לוב) להצטרף למפגש. מנסים להשיג מהם הצהרה דומה לזו שהמפרציות פרסמו בשעתו. לפי שעה לא שמעו דבר מהמגרביות. מעריך שלאחר מאמץ, תוניסיה, מרוקו ומאוריטניה ישתתפו. השתתפות אלג'יריה מוטלת בספק. לוב לא הוזמנה.

7. במחמ'ד נעשתה עבודת הכנה רבה לגבי הנושאים השונים (בקרת ופיקוח נשק, פיתוח כלכלי, איכות הסביבה) המאפשרת התחלה מיידית של שיחות סובסטנטיביות. מה שנותר כעת לעשות זה לעבוד על התהליך, קרי לקבל החלטות כגון: מי המשתתפים, איזה נושאים מתאימים (CONDUCTIVE) לדיון כבר בשלב הראשון, כיצד לארגן עבודת הקבוצה (במליאה או בקבוצות עבודה לפי נושאים, וכו').

8. מעריך כי בגלל מספר הנושאים והצורך בתאום בין גורמים שונים, המזכיר ימנה אדם מחוץ למערכת לרכז הנושא.

9. לדבריו, עלינו לצפות לזימון ראש קבוצת העבודה שלנו, לשיחה ראשונית בושינגטון.

ב. מפגשים בילטרליים:

1. בזמן הקרוב (כשבועיים), יעקבו אחרי התקדמות לקראת כינוס סיבוב שני של שיחות בילטרליות.

2. ישמחו לסייע במידה והצדדים לא יצרו קשר ישיר. הזכיר דברי המזכיר כי בהיעדר החלטה של הצדדים יש לצפות שארה"ב תקבל החלטה לגבי מיקום השיחות.

3. סיפר כי בשיחתו עם רוח'מ (ביום שישי) מסר המזכיר על כוונתו לזמן הצדדים (במידה ולא יגיעו להסכמה לגבי מקום המפגש) למפגש באיזור וושינגטון ב- 21.11. לבקשת סוריה וישראל, החליט המזכיר להשמיט הפיסקא בנושא לעיל מנאומו. העובדה שהמזכיר דיבר על מפגש באיזור וושינגטון נועדה לאפשר עריכת המפגשים הבילטרליים במקומות שונים ולא במקום אחד. לדבריו, הם אינם נעולים על איזור וושינגטון. אינו מוציא מכלל אפשרות העלאת רעיונות נוספים לגבי מקום/מקומות כינוס השיחות הבילטרליות. ציין כי ישראל וסוריה אינן נלהבות לקיים השיחות בושינגטון מסיבות שונות (ישראל אינה נלהבת מושינגטון מכיוון שבכך מתרחקות השיחות מהאיזור. כמו-כן אנו איננו מעוניינים שכל השיחות תפתחנה באותו מועד. הסורים, לעומת זאת, מעוניינים בקיום השיחות במדריד כדי להפגין המשכיות הועידה). המקור ציטט מהפיסקא לעיל (שכאמור הושמטה מנאום הסיכום של המזכיר) את המשפט שלפיו שיכו לבדוק האפשרות להעברת הדיונים בשלב מסויים לאיזור.

4. בטיוטת הנאום של המזכיר היתה פסקא נוספת (שגם אותה החליטו להשמיט) שכללה התייחסות לבעיה שיש לפלסטינים בנושא מיקום השיחות הבילטרליות בפסקא נאמר שלפלסטינים יש בעיה שאינם יכולים לשאת ולתת תחת כיבוש מסיבה זו, ציין איש שיחנו, כי הפלסטינים לא יוכלו לקיים השיחות באיזור, לא בשלב הראשוני ולא בשלבים המאוחרים.

5. אשר לאירגון השיחות בינינו למשלחת הירדנית-פלסטינית, טען כי למימשל אין (לפי שעה ש.ש.) עמדה בנושא. ציין החשיבות שבשמירת זהות המשלחת המשותפת. אינו מוציא מכלל אפשרות שאנו והמשלחת נגיע להסכמה לגבי קיום כינוס במליאה ובהמשך לפיצול הדיונים בהתאם לנושאי הדיון לקבוצות עבודה. אינו חושב שהפלסטינים יעמידו מכשולים בנושאי אירגון.

6. ועוד בנושא סד'י וארגון, איש שיחנו הביע תקווה שהצדדים יצליחו שלא לחזור על הדיונים 'התיאולוגיים' שהתקיימו ב- 79-80 בשאלת מקור הסמכות.

7. את האתגר העיקרי במפגש השני, רואה ביכולת שלנו ושל הסורים לעבד בסיס פרודוקטיבי להמשך השיחות. מעריך כי שני הצדדים יזדקקו ליותר מאשר סיבוב אחד כדי להבהיר גישתם לתהליך. לו היה נשאל, היה ממליץ שיו"ר משלחתנו יציע במפגש הקרוב סד'י שלפיו ישראל תפרט עמדותיה לגבי התפתחות היחסים בהקשר של קרקע, בטחון ושלום. המפגש השלישי יוקדש להצגה דומה מצד סוריה. לדברי איש שיחנו על הצדדים להאזין לעמדות הנגד. תרחיש מעין זה יאפשר לדבריו, קיום מספר מפגשים שחלקם (במידה והעמדות שיוצגו יהיו ניואנסים) יוקדשו למתן הבהרות. איש שיחנו אינו בטוח שהתרחיש לעיל יתממש. בתשובה לשאלתנו האם הופתעו מהתנהגות סוריה בכנס הפתיחה, ציין כי הופתעו מכך שסוריה נתנה למפגש לעבור ללא כל התערבויות פורמליות חוזרות ונשנות דוגמת הערתו של שה'ח הסורי לאחר שפנקין נעל את המפגש על-כך שהועידה לא ננעלה. אשר למפגש הבילטרלי, לדברי איש שיחנו שארעה לא הבין האינטרס הסורי לגבי פתיחת השיחות במועד שנקבע. העובדה שהירדנים והפלסטינים הופיעו במועד שנקבע הבהירה לכל את אי-תלותם בסורים. סיפר כי לבקשת המזכיר נועדו עם שה'ח הסורי בכדי להעביר לו האינטרס הסורי בפתיחתו של המפגש במועד שנקבע. מהלך העניינים הפגין כי סוריה אינה הכוח הדומיננטי במחנה הערבי. מעריך שבעתיד ישקיעו הסורים מאמץ גדול יותר למנוע חזרה על מה שקרה הידריד. לא ברור אם יצליחו.

8. אשר לשיחות עם הלבנונים. איש שיחנו סיפר כי הלבנונים טענו (בסיום המפגש במדריד) שזקוקים לאורכה של חודשיים כדי להתכונן לשיחות בילטרליות. בקשתם נדחתה.

9. לשאלתנו כיצד בכוונת מחמ'ד להתארגן לקראת השיחות הבילטרליות ציין כי אינו מודע למחשבות המזכיר בנדון. לדבריו, המזכיר שבע רצון מהצוות שעוסק בנושא. מעריך שלא ירצה לשנות דפוס העבודה הנוכחי במידה ויוזמנו להשתתף בשיחות מעריך שישלחו נציגים ברמה שתתאים לרמת הייצוג של המשלחות. אינו צופה שחברי הצוות שריכוז המזכיר יתמנו כמשקיפים/נציגים לוועדות השונות.

10. בתשובה לשאלה לגבי מעמד מצרים בשיחות הבילטרליות ציין כי הגם שאין לה תפקיד רשמי, מניח שנציגיה יהיו באזור שבו יתקיימו השיחות. ועוד בהקשר לתפקיד מצרים, לאחר שהבענו אכזבתנו מתוכן נאומו שה'ח מוסא ציין איש שיחנו כי יש להבחין בין התנהגותה הפומבית והתפקיד שמילאה במגעים הדיפלומטיים. הסכים כי בתחום הפומבי המצרים אכזבו (סיפר כי חרגו ממנהגם לא מחאו כפיים בסיום נאום התגובה של מוסא ביום שישי שטרם להטיף לישראל מוסר).

לעומת זאת, ציין לחיוב מאמצי מצרים (והנסיך בנדר) בהבאת סוריה למפגש הבילטרלי.

ג. הפצת מכתבי הבטחונות:

1. איש שיחנו סיפר כי השגריר בראון נתבקש ב - 18.10 לדווח לנו על תוכן המכתבים ליתר הצדדים המעורבים, רוס תדרך את נציגי ירדן והפלסטינים בושינגטון.

(2) בתשובה לשאלה האם בכוונתם להראות המכתבים לצדדים ציין כי המזכיר הבהיר לצדדים כי ידווח להם על תוכן מכתבי הערכויות לפני תחילת השיחות הסובסטיביביות. בשלב זה לא ברור אם יתנו לצדדים לעיין במכתבים. איש שיחנו הביע חשש שמסירת מכתב הבטחונות שנתנו לנו לעיון הערבים תיצור בעיה (סתם ולר פירש).

עד כאן תוכן שיחתנו בנושאים לעיל.
שט"ן.

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), מנכל, בנצור

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7598

אל: רהמש/ 517

מ-: ווש, נר: 2017, חא: 071191, זח: 1200, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/מידי

אל : מזכיר הממשלה - א. רובינשטיין

דע : מנהל מצפא - משהח

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

פולארד.

בלתי את סיכומיו ומשאלותיו של אמנון דרור שהועברו על-ידך. הבנתי שהטיפול המעשי המידי המתבקש נוגע לאפשרות שיקבל מזון כשר מן החוץ ושיוכל לעבור ניתוח בביהח בסנט-לואיס במקום בביהח של הכלא.

היה לי ספק מסויים ביכולתנו לבוא בבקשות כאלו הנכנסות בין השלטונות האמריקנים לבין אזרח אמריקני שפוט ומצאתי את הפתרון בצורת איגרת שעיקרה הבעת תודה על הצורה המכובדת והמתחשבת בה נהגו בכבוד הרב הראשי הראשון לציון והצגתי את בקשותינו כנובעות מהערות שקיבלנו מכבוד הרב בעקבות הביקור.

האיגרת מצורפת כאן ונקווה לתוצאות טובות. מיסרו נא לאמנון דרור.

!!3553THE EMBASSY OF ISRAEL PRESENTS ITS COMPLIMENTS TO THE BUREAU OF PRISONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND HAS THE HONOR TO ADVISE THAT THE RT. HONORABLE CHIEF RABBI OF ISRAEL, RABBI MORDECHAI ELIYAHU, HAS ASKED US TO CONVEY TO THE BUREAU OF PRISONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, AND TO MR. FRED APPLE EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE WARDEN AT THE STATE PENITENTIARY OF THE MARION PRISON IN ILLINOIS, HIS DEEPEST APPRECIATION AND THAT OF HIS PARTY, FOR THE COURTESIES EXTENDED TO THEM DURING THEIR VISIT WITH MR. JONATHAN POLLARD.

THE CHIEF RABBI WISHES ESPECIALLY TO EXPRESS HIS PROFOUND THANKS FOR THE KINDNESS AND UNDERSTANDING SHOWN DURING HIS VISIT WITH MR. POLLARD, WHICH WAS UNDERTAKEN FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS AND TO PROVIDE SPIRITUAL SUPPORT.

THR RT. HONORABLE, THE CHIEF RABBI OF ISRAEL, HAS REQUESTED THE EMBASSY OF ISRAEL TO CONVEY TO THE BUREAU OF PRISONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, THE UNDER-MENTIONED OBSERVATIONS FOLLOWING HIS VISIT WITH MR. POLLARD, AND TO REQUEST:

(1) THAT RABBIS RIFKIND AND FELD OF THE LOCAL JEWISH COMMUNITY BE PERMITTED TO BRING KOSHER FOOD TO MR. POLLARD.

(2) DURING HIS VISIT , MR. POLLARD SHARED WITH THE CHIEF RABBI SOME OF HIS MEDICAL PROBLEMS NECESSITATING SURGERY, AND IN THIS REGARD, THE CHIEF RABBI RESPECTFULLY REQUESTS THAT PERMISSION BE GRANTED FOR MR. POLLARD TO HAVE THE SURGERY PERFORMED AT THE HOSPITAL IN ST. LOUIS.

THE EMBASSY OF ISRAEL WOULD APPRECIATE THE RESPONSE OF THE BUREAU OF PRISONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE TO THE AFOREMENTIONED REQUESTS OF THE CHIEF RABBI OF ISRAEL AND AVAILS ITSELF OF THIS OPPORTUNITY TO RENEW TO THE BUREAU OF PRISONS THE ASSURANCES OF ITS HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

NOVEMBER 6, 1991

THE HONORABLE
MICHAEL J. QUINLAN
DIRECTOR
BUREAU OF PRISONS
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
SUITE 654
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20534

עד כאן .

שילה

תפוצה: מצפא, @ (מזכיר הממשלה)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7670

אל: רהמש/519

מ-: ווש, נר: 2020, תא: 071191, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בכב

סודי ביותר/מידי

מכתב מוברק

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א

דע: לש' רוה'מ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הידון: ערבויות

משיחה (6.11) עם מקור העוסק בעניננו:

1. בתשובה לשאלה טען כי לדרגי העבודה אין כל מושג כיצד כוונת המזכיר לטפל בנושא.

2. אינו סבור שהעיתוי הנוכחי מתאים לפניה מצידנו למזכיר בבקשה להכנס לדיון לגבי התנאים. המזכיר לא יהיה RESPONSIVE.

3. לעומת זאת, אם עד תחילת דצמ' יהיה סיבוב שיחות בילטרליות ולא תעשה פעילות התנחלותית, אזי יש מקום לפניה מצידנו בדרג גבוה לפתוח בדיונים בנושא.

4. מענין לעינין ובאותו ענין טען כי במידה ועד למועד פגישתו של רוה'מ עם הנשיא (בהנחה והפגישה תתקיים) יערך סיבוב שיחות בילטרליות ולא תיערך פעילות התנחלותית אזי סבור שיש מקום שרוה'מ יעלה נושא הערבויות.

שטיין.

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), מנכל, בנצור

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7669

אל: רהמש/521

מ:- ווש, נר: 2021, תא: 071191, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בכב

סודי ביותר/מיידי

מכתב - מוברק

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ, לש' רוה'מ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: פגישת רוה'מ - בוש

1. במהלך שיחת הצייר והח'מ עם מקור מחמ'די העוסק בעניננו העריך כי הנשיא
ירצה לפגוש את רוה'מ לפגישה סובסטנטיבית.

שטין

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), מנכל, בנצור

ססס

אאא, חוזם: 7886

אל: דהמש/523

מ-: ווש, נר: 2027, תא: 071191, זח: 2030, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/מיידי

אל : סמנכל צפא ופרן
מנהל מצפא

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: סיוע חוץ

היום אחה' צ (7.11) נפגש ריצ'רד אלטמן (העומד לבקר בארץ בשבוע הבא) לבקשתו עם הקונגרסמן אובי. נכח גם ראש משרדו של אובי ג'ו קרפה.

אלטמן פתח ואמר כי יוצא לביקור בישראל במוצ'ש ולכן מבקש לשמוע על עמדתו של אובי לגבי תהליך השלום וועידת מדריד, הסיוע (ויוזמת הסנטור מיטצ'ל) וערכויות. כדברי אלטמן, כל דברי אובי במהלך הפגישה היו בבחינת POSTURING.

2. להלן עיקרי דברי אובי

IT IS TOTALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO PASS ANY FOREIGN AID LEGISLATION
WHATSOEVER UNTILL AFTER THE AMERICAN ELECTIONS.

אפילו לא חוק סיוע רגיל או CR .

שאלתי את אלטמן מה יקרה להארכת ה - CR של חוק סיוע חוץ/ הקצבות לאחר ה-31.3.92 השיב אלטמן כי לשיטתו של אובי, גם זה לא יוארך.

אלטמן הדגיש כי הקונגרסמן אובי WAS POSTURING כנגד הרפובליקנים. הדמוקרטים לא יאפשרו לרפובליקנים להצביע נגד סיוע חוץ ולהכות את הדמוקרטים בנושא זה ולהותירם לבד בנושא.

אובי חזר ואמר THERE IS NO CONSTITUENCY FOR FOREIGN AID זה מאוחר מדי (לגבי סיוע) אולי אפשר היה להעביר זאת מוקדם יותר.

גם בתמיכת הנשיא, הדגיש אובי, לא יוכל חוק סיוע חוץ לעבור.

בפברואר 92, (לקראת סיום מועד ה-CR) יגיש אובי לוועדת ההקצבות CIAIRMAN'S MARK של הצעת חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות שלא חוזר לא יכלול הקצבות IMF- ורוב ה-FMS.

לא ברור לו עדיין אם בכלל יביא זאת למליאת ביה'נב כדי לא להביך עמיתיו

בהצבעה על חוק סיוע חוץ.

התומכים היחידים הצפויים לחוק יהיו רק המחוקקים היהודים ואולי עוד 50 מחוקקים. לשאלתי את אלטמן בנוגע לערכויות, השיב כי אובי לפחות בשיחתם, פשוט לא לקח זאת כלל בחשבון.

אובי התייחס במהלך השיחה מספר פעמים להבסת חוק סיוע חוץ/הרשאות במליאת בית הנבחרים בשבוע שעבר בתארו זאת כ-

CLEAR SIGNE AS HE EVER SEEN IT IS WORST THAN HAS EVER BEEN AND BECOME A POLITICAL ISSUE EVERY WHERE

ישנם דמוקרטים רבים, הוסיף, החוששים להצביע בעד סיוע חוץ.

3. התרשמותו של אלטמן היא כי אובי שולח מסר למנהיגים בישראל ולכן גם מציג עמדה נוקשה.

הוא רוצה שהממשל WILL TAKE THE HEAT FOR FOREIGN AID GUARANTEES

אובי בדרכו שלו, מבקש לדחוף את הבית הלבן בנושא ולכן גם ציין שעד שהרפובליקנים לא יתמכו בסיוע חוץ ולא יפסיקו להאשים את הדמוקרטים, הם (הדמוקרטים) לא יאפשרו העברת החוק. כפי שציין אלטמן יש להבדיל בין רטוריקה למציאות, אם כי אין להתעלם מעובדת קיום מאבק אינטנסיבי בין הקונגרס לבית הלבן ובין הדמוקרטים לרפובליקנים כאשר סיעו החוץ נופל קורבן למאבק זה ומלוכה ע'י דעה'ק האמריקנית.

4. אגב, לגבי ועידת מדריד, כאשר שאל אלטמן את אובי האם ישראל זכתה בנקודות השיב אובי כי רה"מ היה נוקשה מדי אולם הסורים היו פושעים. כן גינה את ההתנחלות ברמה'ג (קלע).

5. אבקש לשמור על חסיון המידע.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7246
אל: רהמש/474
מ-: המשרד, תא: 071191, זח: 1616, דח: מ, סג: סב,
בכב
48787
סודי ביותר/מיד

אל: וושינגטון, הציר

הנדון: שלך 2013

1. קביעת הגורם הממשלי בשיחה עמך (סעיף 2 של מברק) שהספרדים מנעו
אשרות כניסה מאנשי אש'פ אינה נכונה.
2. ע'פ התקשורת וככל הידוע לנו היו במדריד בעת הועידה גורמי אש'פ
הבאים:
 - נביל שעת' - חבר הועה'מ של הפתח.
 - אחמד עבד אלרחמן - דובר אש'פ.
 - אכרם הניה - יועץ ערפאת לעניני השטחים.
 - תיסר עאדורי - מגורש. נציג המק'פ במטה אש'פ בתוניס.
 - ממדוח נופל - חבר הלשכה המדינית של החז'ד/עבד רבה.
3. יש להניח שהללו לא הסתננו לספרד אלא היו שם מכח אשרות שהוענקו להם
כחוק.
4. בשלב זה המידע הוא לידיעתך בלבד. הנ'ל בתאום עם מצפ'א.

ממ'ד
7 בנובמבר 1991

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם),
אמן, מצב, בנצור, מצפא, סולטן

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7532
אל: רהמש/476
מ-: המשרד, תא: 071191, זח: 1933, דח: ר, סג: סב,
בבכ
102105
סודי ביותר/רגיל
103.01

אל: ניו יורק- הקונכ'ל
למכותבים בלבד
דע: וושינגטון הציר
לשכת רה'מ-מזכ'צ

-ללא תפוצה נוספת-

הנדון: ג'ונתן פולארד

1. כידוע, לאחרונה ביקר אצל הנ'ל הראשון לציון. גילה שתי בעיות מיידיות:

א. אוכל כשר: האוכל הכשר המסופק ע'י ביה'ס גרוע מאוד. טוב היה לו יכול פולארד לקבל אספקה מבחוץ (באמצעות הקהילה המקומית בסנט לואיס).

ב. ניתוחים: פולארד חייב לעבור ניתוחים לטחורים ולבעיות בסינוסים. מכון שרופאי שב'ס אינם טובים היה מעדיף להנתח בבית חולים בסנט לואיס.

2. נראה לנו שמוטב לנסות לטפל בשני הנושאים האלה באמצעות יהודים אמריקאים, בלא התערבות נציג רשמי מצדנו.

פ'יכך נא לפנות למלקולם הוליוין או לסימור רייך במגמה שיבררו, אם שירות בתי הסוהר יהיה מוכן לאפשר אספקת אוכל כשר מבחוץ וניתוחים בבתי חולים בסנט לואיס.

4. אם התשובות חיוביות, כדאי לקבל הערכה לגבי העלות של כל אחד מהמבצעים האלה (לא ברור למשל אם לפולארד או לשב'ס ביטוח רפואי שיכסה ניתוחים מחוץ לכתלי ביה'ס). מועלית כאן הצעה שתורמים בארה'ב יקבלו על עצמם את ההוצאות - אך דייה לצרה בשעתה.

מנהל מצפ'א
7 בנובמבר 1991

תפוצה:מצפא, @ (נבו/ממרהמ)

אאאא, חוזם: 7858
אל: רהמש/520
מ-: ווש, נר: 2023, תא: 071191, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו,
בכב
סודי/מידי

אל: סמנכל צפא ופרן
דע: לש' רה'מ

מאת: לש' השגריר, וושינגטון

התהליך המדיני

השגריר שוחח טלפונית (7.11) עם רוס שסיפר:

א. טרם הוחלט על מקום הכינוס או המועד המדויק לועידה המולטילטרלית.
השמועה על כינוסה במוסקבה נראת לו כבלתי ריאלית, מכל מקום, המזכיר יצטרך
להחליט על ה-VENUE.

ב. מועד הכינוס יקבע כך שיאפשר למזכיר להשתתף בועידה.
לוח הזמנים של המזכיר ומסעותיו ורצונו להיות כאן בזמן בקור רה'מ לא
יאפשרו כנוס הועידה לפני סוף נובמבר. מקווים שאף לא אחד מהגורמים יראה
בדחייה משמעות פוליטית.

ג. רוצים לכנס הועידה בדרג מיניסטריאלי.

לשכת שגריר

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), מנכל, בנצור

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7874

אל: רהמש/513

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 193, תא: 071191, זח: 2123, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מ"מ רה"מ ושה"ח

דע: שר האוצר, מנכ"ל אוצר, יועץ רה"מ לכלכלה,
ציר כלכלי, קונכ"ל בוסטון

מאת: ר' יחידת קונגרס

הנדון: הערבויות והצעת הסנטור מיטצ'ל להקפאה מסוימת של סיוע חוץ
לטובת תקציב דמי האבטלה

(המשך לשלי 156 מ- 6/11/91)

1. מנהיג הרוב בסנאט הציג הערב את התחיקה עליה דיווחתי אתמול (לא קיצוץ ולא הקפאה, אלא הקטנת הגידול המתוכנן ל-4 השנים הבאות בתקציבי סיוע החוץ ומחמ"ד מ-5.9 מיליארד דולר ל-2.5 מיליארד דולר).

2. אתמול, בעיקבות הידיעה על ההגשה הצפויה של התחיקה, התקיימו מגעים (הנמשכים) מתוך כוונה לנצל את הצעת התחיקה כדי להביא למחויבות גוברת של מנהיג הרוב לתחיקת הערבויות להלוואות (מיטצ'ל מהווה שחקן מפתח במערכה על הערבויות, ומן הראוי להתייחס אליו כתומך בפוטנציה, אך בעיתוי המתאים מבחינתו וביוזמתו, מבלי שיוצג כנוטה לכיוון קבוצת אינטרסים זו או אחרת. אין בהערכה זו משום קביעת עובדה, אלא משום אומדן פוטנציאל).

3. מיטצ'ל ציין בצורה מפורשת, בעת הגשת התחיקה, כי היא לא תסכן את גורל ירידת החיטה לברה"מ (במימון ממשלתי) ולא את גורל הערבויות להלוואות ישראל.

4. היערכות הדמוקרטים (מיטצ'ל ולצידו השלישיה סרביינס, סאסר וריגל) הבהירה - בסיוע גרפים ססגוניים נוכח מצלמות הטלוויזיה והתייחסויות ציניות וסרקסטיות - כי המדובר בפתחת מערכה פוליטית רבתי נגד הנשיא הניראה בעיניהם פגיע יותר מתמיד.

5. ה-4 נועדו אמש במישרדו של מיטצ'ל והכינו את התרחיש אשר נפרש הערב לעיני צופי הטלוויזיה. ה-4 התמקדו בהדגשת אחריותו האישית ואדישותו (לדעתם) של הנשיא למשבר הכלכלי המחמיר והאבטלה הגואה המלווה אותו.

6. משיחות ב"גיבעה" מתברר כי ההנהגה הדמוקרטית חשה כי השילוב בין המשבר הכלכלי, לבין ניצחון האריס ופפורד על מועמד הנשיא בוש (דיק ת'ורנברג) בפנסילבניה ולבין סיקרי דעת הקהל האחרונים (על ירידת קרנו של הנשיא ועל גלישת מדד הפסימיות), מבטא תפנית פוליטית המאימת באופן מהותי על המפ'

הרפוב' בכלל (מרוצי הסנאט וביה"נ) ועל הנשיא בפרט.

7. מיטצ'ל מנסה, כנראה, לנצל את תוצאות הבחירות בפנסילבניה (אשר העמיקו החשש הרפובליקני כי בוש איננו נשיא הסוחר עימו מועמדים רפוב') ואת ירידת קרנו של סיוע החוץ כדי להעמיד את הנשיא בפני התלבטות קשה ביותר: כנשיא, קשה (או בלתי אפשרי) יהיה לו להסכים להצרת צעדיו ע"י המחוקקים; כנשיא רפובליקני קשה יהיה לו לשכנע את המחוקקים הרפוב' להתנגד להעברת תקציבים מסיוע החוץ למצוקות פנים; כנשיא אשר גבר עד כה על הרוב הדמוקרטי בבתי הניבחרים, יקשה עליו לקבל הצעה דמוקרטית המנוגדת לתפישת עולמו.

8. מנהיג הרוב העמיד, כנאומו, בפני הנשיא שלוש ברירות (בצורה אשר תציג הסכמת הנשיא ככניעה לתכתיב דמוקרטי): הכרזה על מצב חירום פנימי - כפי שעשה הנשיא לגבי מדינות זרות - אשר יאפשר לו, מכוח חוק התקציב, לממן את הגדלת דמי האבטלה מבלי להעמיק את הגרעון התקציבי; שינוי חוקי המס, לפי הצעת הסנאטור הדמוקרטי לויט בנטסן אשר נדחתה לפני שבועיים ע"י הנשיא; הקפאה מסוימת של תקציבי סיוע החוץ ומחמ"ד ל-4 שנים (לפי הנ"ל).

9. מיטצ'ל הבהיר כי וטו נשיאותי יתקל בנחישות הסנאט לבטלו (OVERRIDE). הוא הדגיש כי היקף ההטבה למובטלים הנובעת מהצעתו, שקול להטבה אשר ניבלמה ע"י וטו נשיאותי לפני שבועיים.

10. הצעת התחיקה מחייבת שינוי בחוק התקציב מ-1990 (האושר על העברת משאבים בין קטגוריות חוץ, פנים ובטחון). השינוי בר-ביצוע ע"י הצבעה בשני הבתים.

יורם אטינגר

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7600

אל: רהמש/488

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 168, תא: 071191, זח: 1313, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מיידי

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: עתונות, וושינגטון

ערביות

מכתבים - :

1. פעילים ערביים ואחרים הקימו ארגון חדש שמטרתו להלחם נגד בקשת ישראל לערביות. מדובר בארגון בשם:

AMERICAN CITIZENS COALITION ON LOANS GUARANTEES
ופעילים בו יהודים (ANDREA BARON) מהועד היהודי - פלסטיני לשלום, ערבים (ALBERT MOKAHIBAR) מהליגה הערבית נגד השמצה, פעילים מארגון בשם SETTLEMENTS WATCH (מטעם קרן מקארתור), ודויד בואן מה- CNI (ארגונם של פינצלי ומקלוסקי).

2. הארגון ערך אתמול מסע"ת בה הוצגו הפעילים ומטרת הארגון: למנוע מישראל קבלת הערביות, שכן בכספי ההלוואות תוגבר פעילות ההתנחלויות שמסכלות השלום. נציגי הארגון הודיעו שזו פגישה ראשונה מתוך סידרה שהם מתכננים וודשים הקרובים.

3. את הפגישה הבאה הם מתכננים ב-14 בנובמבר - מועד בו, לדבריהם, אמור הקונגרסמן טרפיקנט להגיש כביכול הצעת חקיקה שתחייב (MANDATORY) הממשל לאשר בקשות ערביות להלוואות לגורמים אמריקניים קודם, ובעדיפות. רק בתחתית סולם העדיפויות, ובהתאם ליכולת התקציבית, לשקול אישור בקשות כנ"ל מצד מדינות זרות.

4. ננסה לבדוק פרטים נוספים על הארגון ופעילותו - ונדווח.

רות ירון

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7866

אל: רהמש/512

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 192, תא: 071191, זח: 2023, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

בלמ"ס/מידי

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: ר' יחידת קונגרס

הנדון: נצחון המועמד הדמוקרטי בפנסילבניה - ערבויות להלוואות

ממפגשים ומשיחות טלפון עם ציבורי יעד ב"גיבעה" עולה כי מתפשטת השמועה
שלו 50 אחוז ממסע הבחירות של האריס וופורד, אשר ניצח את מועמדו של
הנשיא בוש (וזכה לתמיכה פעילה של בייקר וסונונו) מומן מתרומות נדיבות של
יהודים הרוגזים/מזועזעים מהתיחסות הנשיא, מזכיר המדינה, וראש מטה הבית
הלבן לערבויות להלוואות.

ברי השיח טוענים כי יהודים הידועים כתורמים מסורתיים למפ' הרפוב'
ולמועמדיה, מצמצמים ואף מבטלים תרומותיהם.

הרושם המצטייר הוא כי מרבית הרפוב' ב"גיבעה", אשר לא קיבלו באהדה את
החלטת הנשיא להפוך את הערבויות להלוואות למכשיר פוליטי, מגיבים בכעס על
המימשל (ולא על הקהילה היהודית) ובחשש שמא המרוץ בפנסילבניה מבשר על
מגמה מדאיגה (לגביהם) בכל הקשור למימון הבחירות לסנאט ולביה"נ ב-11/91
(התרומות היהודיות אינן מככבות באופן כה משמעותי בבחירות לנשיאות).

יורם אטינגר

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7015
אל: רהמש/444
מ-: המשרד, תא: 071191, זח: 1439, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בבב
שמור/מידי

אל: וושינגטון, דרנגר

הנדון: בקור חברי קונגרס

1. מסתבר מלני דיוויס כי צפויות להגיע ארצה מס' משלחות של חברי קונגרס במהלך דצמבר ינואר. אם נדרשת מאתנו הכנת תוכניותיהן נודה על מידע מוקדם ככל שניתן.

להלן פירוט הביקורים.

9/12 קונגרסמן מרליני.

5-12/1 קונגרסמן ריצ'ארד ריי.

7-14/1 חבר הקונגרס טים רומר, מיי קופצקי

8-14/1 חברי הקונגרס וובר, סנטורה, פקסן, זימר, לייטפוט.

15-24/1 חבר הקונגרס זליף.

ס/מנהל מצפ'א
7 בנובמבר 1991

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, מצב, בנצור, מצפא, רביב,
מאור

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7584
אל: רהמש/487
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 167, חא: 071191, זח: 1249, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בבב
שמור / מידי

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מקש"ח / משהב"ט

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

שה סעודית לרכישת F-15
=====

משיחה (7.11) עם שיהאן (עוזרו של ברטולומיאן):

1. בתגובה לפרסום בדבר בקשת סעודיה לרכוש 72 מטוסי F-15, טען כי לממשל אין כונה בשלב זה להגיש נוטיפיקציה לקונגרס.
2. לדבריו, החלטה בנושא תתקבל לאחר השלמת ה- REVIEW. לגבי צרכי סעודיה לא ידע להשיב מתי הדבר יקרה.

שטיין

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם),
אמן, @ (מצב), ממד, כנצור, מצפא, פרנ, סולטן,
מזתים, @ (מקשח/משהבט)

סססס

אאאא, חו 2182: 22182
אל: פקס/1605
מ-: המשרד, תא: 171091, זח: 1609, דח: ר, סה: שח,
ננו
9,385491

8-11

09:45

-שחור-

קונסול לארץ סמית

ט' בחשוון תשנ"ב
17 באוקטובר 1991
106.01

(E)

90982

אל : יצחק אורן
לשכת רה"מ פקס : 385491

מאת : ס/מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: חבר הקונגרס לארץ סמית

חבר הקונגרס לארץ סמית, דמוקרט מפלורידה.
סמית הינו יהודי תומך חם בישראל, חבר בוועדת החוץ, יו"ר תת הועדה
העוסקת בסמים וחבר בתת הועדה העוסקת במז"ת ובאירופה ובתת הועדה
לפעולות בינלאומיות.

סמית יגיע ארצה עם משלחת של הפדרציה מהוליווד, פלורידה שתבקר בארץ
בין ה-6/11 ל-11/11.

מבקש להפגש עם רה"מ. בנוסף לכך בקשתו המיוחדת היא שרה"מ יפגש עם
הקבוצה לפגישה קצרה בת כ-10 דקות.

נודה על אשורכם.

18/28/91 13:23:21;

->

7.11

; NUM:1685

Page 1

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS JERUSALEM		משרד החוץ ירושלים	
COMMUNICATION DEPARTMENT		מחלקת הקשר	
PHONE -	972-2-303402	-	טלפון
FAX -	972-2-303367	-	פקסמכיה
No. -	1605	-	מספר נר

22182: חוזם: אאאא
1605/פקס: אל
מ-: המשרד, תא: 171091, דח: 1609, דח: ר, סג: שח,
1111
9,385491

-שמור-

ט' בחשוון תשנ"ב
17 באוקטובר 1991
106.01

90982

אל : יצחק אורן
לשכת רה"מ פקס: 385491

מאת : ס/מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: חבר הקונגרס לארי סמית

חבר הקונגרס לארי סמית, דמוקרט מפלורידה.
סמית הינו יהודי תומך חם בישראל, חבר בוועדת החוץ, יו"ר תת הוועדה
העוסקת בסמים וחבר בתת הוועדה העוסקת במז"ת ובאירופה ובתת הוועדה
לפעולות בינלאומיות.

סמית יגיע ארצה עם משלחת של הפדרציה מהוליווד, פלורידה שתבקר בארץ
בין ה-6/11 ל-11/11.

מבקש להפגש עם רה"מ. בנוסף לכך בקשתו המיוחדת היא שרה"מ יפגש עם
הקבוצה לפגישה קצרה בת כ-10 דקות.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS JERUSALEM		משרד החוץ ירושלים	
COMMUNICATION DEPARTMENT		מחלקת הקשר	
PHONE -	972-2-303402	-	טלפון
FAX -	972-2-303367	-	פקסמכיה
No. -	1605	-	מספר נר

אאא, חוזם: 22182
 אל: פקס/1605
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 171091, זח: 1609, דח: ר, סה: שמ,
 נבו
 9,385491

-שמור-

ט' בחשוון תשנ"ב
 17 באוקטובר 1991
 106.01

90982

אל : יצחק אורן
 לשכת רה"מ פקס : 385491
 מאת : ס/מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: חבר הקונגרס לארי סמית

חבר הקונגרס לארי סמית, דמוקרט מפלורידה.
 סמית הינו יהודי תומך חם בישראל, חבר בוועדת החוץ, יו"ר תת הועדה
 העוסקת בסמים וחבר בתת הועדה העוסקת במז"ת ובאירופה ובתת הועדה
 לפעולות בינלאומיות.

סמית יגיע ארצה עם משלחת של הפדרציה מהוליווד, פלורידה שתבקר בארץ
 בין ה-6/11 ל-11/11. 7/11

מבקש להפגש עם רה"מ. בנוסף לכך בקשתו המיוחדת היא שרה"מ יפגש עם
 הקבוצה לפגישה קצרה בת כ-10 דקות.

נודה על אשורכם.

אאא, חוזם: 1769
אל: רהמש/155
מ-: המשרד, תא: 031191, זח: 1724, דח: ב, סג: שמ,
בבב
99699
שמור/בהול
106.01

אל: יצחק אורן, לשכת רה'מ

הנדון: בקור משלחת מפלורידה

משלחת בת 300 איש מהפדרציה בפלורידה מגיעה ארצה לבקור (6-11/11). בראש הקבוצה עומד ידידנו הקרוב חבר הקונגרס לארי סמית שהנו חבר ועדת ההקצבות ותומך בנו גם בנושא הערכויות.

בקשתו האישית של סמית היא כי רה'מ יפגש עם המשלחת ביום ו' 8/11 או ביום א' 10/11 בשעה 08:00 וישא בפניהם דברים, אם לא יוכל לשאת דברים בפניהם אולי יוכל לפגשם לשם צלום.

המשלחת תשהה בירושלים.

ליאורה הרצל, ס/מנהל מצפ'א

אל: 02-303244/566

3 בנובמבר 1991

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), מצפא, מאור

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 10272

אל: רהמש/664

מ-: המשרד, תא: 111191, זח: 1636, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

103766

סודי/מיד

106.01

אל: וושינגטון, דרנגר

דע: מיאמי, הקונכ'ל- באמצעות וושינגטון

הנדון: בקור לארי סמית

ב-10/11/91 התלוותי לחבר הקונגרס לארי סמית ולרעיתו לפגישות אצל שהב'ט
נייר המשפטים. הפגישה עם שר האוצר בוטלה עקב עיכובים בלוח הזמנים והשניים
נחוו בטלפון.

מהשיחות עולות מס' נקודות מרכזיות:

א. האוירה 'בגבעה' קשה בשל בעיות פנים כגון אבטלה, חסרי דיור וכו'. על
רקע זה דנים בבקשת ישראל לערבויות ובסיוע חוץ.

ב. לדעת סמית בסבוב הבא על הערבויות שוב תהיה עמדת הממשל שלילית והם
יבקשו לחזור ולדחות קבלת החלטה בנושא זה כדי להמשיך ולהשתמש בו כ'מקל'
כלפי ישראל.

ג. מתוך שושביני הצעת אינווה-קסטן קשה לדעת בכמה נאמד הגרעין הקשה
ובוודאי שלא יעמדו מול וטו נשיאותי.

ד. פרשת הערבויות ובעיקר נאום הנשיא העלו על פני השטח התבטאויות
אנטישמיות קשות. סכנה מיוחדת טמונה במרוץ למושללות בלואיזיאנה עם מועמד
ו דיוק.

ה. על ישראל להכין BUSINESS TYPE DOCUMENT בנושא השימושים בערבויות.

ו. לדעת סמית על ישראל לשקול כאופציה משיכת בקשת הערבויות חזרה, אם נבקש
הבקשה ונכשל נפגעו אנו וידידנו לא רק בנושא זה אלא גם בנושאים רבים
אחרים. סמית טוען שיש לשקול קו זה אך אם נחליט להמשיך בקו שקבענו ימשיכו
ויתמכו בנו הוא וידידנו בכל כוחם.

ז. יש לנו LEVERAGE אחד בו נוכל לנסות ולקדם ענייננו והוא תהליך השלום
הנשיא נחוש להצליח (טען שבוש מעוניין בפרס נובל).

ח. סמית ציין כי כוחה של הקהילה היהודית יורד ולדעתנו בטווח של 20 שנה
יפגע כח זה עוד יותר בשל השינויים הדמוגרפיים העוברים על הקהילה היהודית
בארה"ב.

ס/מנהל מצפ'א

11 בנובמבר 1991

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 7763
אל: רהמש/ 497
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 183, תא: 071191, זח: 1638, דח: מ, סג: בל,
בבב
בלמ"ס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

הנדון: ראיון עם נשיא ארה"ב לשעבר, ג'ימי קרטר, בנושא תהליך השלום,
ב- CNN

CNN "WORLD DAY" EXCERPTS OF AN INTERVIEW WITH: FORMER PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER, AIRED ON THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1991, APPROXIMATELY 10:15 A.M. EST

BOBBIE BATTISTA: THE LATEST MANEUVERINGS BETWEEN ARABS AND ISRAELIS AT THE MIDEAST PEACE CONFERENCE BRINGS A SENSE OF DEJA VU TO JIMMY CARTER. THE FORMER PRESIDENT WAS THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. CNN'S CATHERINE CRIER ASKED HIM ABOUT HIS REACTIONS TO THE MADRID CONFERENCE AND HIS PREDICTIONS FOR THE NEXT PHASE. HERE IS PART OF THAT INTERVIEW.

CATHERINE CRIER: PRESIDENT CARTER, THE WORLD MARVELED AT THE SIGHT OF ARABS AND ISRAELIS SITTING ACROSS AT THE PEACE TABLE, BUT THIS WASN'T SUCH AN UNUSUAL SIGHT FOR YOU. YOU HAD A SIMILAR EXPERIENCE IN 1978 AT CAMP DAVID WITH EGYPT AND ISRAEL. WAS THAT EARLIER MEETING IN ANY WAY A FOUNDATION FOR WHAT THE WORLD HAS WITNESSED IN MADRID?

PRESIDENT CARTER: THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AND THEIR PRINCIPLES, NOW BASICALLY ACCEPTED BY SOME OF THE ARABS WHO REJECTED IT, LIKE ARAFAT, WITH WHOM I HAVE MET, AND KING HUSSEIN, WITH WHOM I HAVE MET, AND THE ISRAELIS HAVE OFFICIALLY ADOPTED THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. THAT SET OF PRINCIPLES IS STILL THERE AS A FOUNDATION ON WHICH THEY CAN BUILD AN UP-TO-DATE PEACE AGREEMENT IF BOTH SIDES WANT TO.

MS. CRIER: I WAS READING AN INTERVIEW WITH SOL LINOWITZ, WHO

MEDIATED SOME OF THOSE FIRST TALKS ON THE PALESTINIAN AUTONOMY. LOOKING AT THAT ISSUE, HOW HAVE THE 12-PLUS YEARS THAT HAVE PASSED CHANGED POSITIONS OF THE PARTIES, CHANGED THE CIRCUMSTANCES SINCE THOSE INITIAL NEGOTIATIONS?

PRESIDENT CARTER: WELL, FIRST OF ALL THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS CALLED FOR FULL AUTONOMY FOR THE PALESTINIANS. I HAD WRITTEN ON MY YELLOW SCRATCH PAD, AUTONOMY. PRIME MINISTER BEGIN SAID, "NO, NOT AUTONOMY, FULL AUTONOMY." AND THE PALESTINIANS HAVE ZERO AUTONOMY. AND OUT OF THAT IMPASSE FOR THE LAST 10 YEARS HAS GROWN A HARDER POSITION ON BOTH SIDES.

YOU HAVE GOT THE INTIFADA ON THE ONE SIDE WITH VIOLENCE PRECIPITATED BY THE PALESTINIANS AGAINST THE ISRAELIS AND EVEN AGAINST THEMSELVES. ON THE OTHER HAND WE NOW HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL, MANY OF WHOSE MEMBERS WERE AMONG THE 15 PERCENT WHO DID NOT VOTE FOR THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS BACK IN 1978. EIGHTY-FIVE PERCENT VOTED FOR IT, BUT UNFORTUNATELY SOME OF THE PRESENT LEADERS DID NOT VOTE FOR IT.

SO I THINK POSITIONS HAVE HARDENED AND THERE HAS BEEN A LOT OF ANIMOSITY BECAUSE OF THE INCREASED VIOLENCE THERE.

MS. CRIER: AND YET THOSE TWO PARTIES WERE PERCEIVED, AT LEAST BY THE WORLD, IN TERMS OF SORT OF PR STATUS, AS POSSIBLY DOING THE BEST WITH NEGOTIATIONS DURING THE COURSE OF THE INITIAL MEETING IN MADRID.

PRESIDENT CARTER: WELL, THAT'S TRUE. AT LEAST THEY WERE WILLING TO SIT DOWN AND TALK TO EACH OTHER.

MS. CRIER: DID THAT SURPRISE YOU?

PRESIDENT CARTER: NOT REALLY, NO. I HAVE TALKED TO -- THE ISRAELIS HAVE ALWAYS SAID FOR THE LAST 30 YEARS OR SO, WE ARE WILLING TO SIT DOWN WITH ANY ARAB LEADERS WHO COME FORWARD TO MEET WITH US, ANY TIME, AND PLACE. AND WHEN THE -- AND I HAVE MET WITH THE PALESTINIANS ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AND ALSO THE PALESTINIANS OUTSIDE, THE PLO LEADERS, AND THEY HAVE COME AROUND A LOT TO A WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE.

SO I WASN'T REALLY SURPRISED THAT THEY WOULD SIT DOWN AND TALK. I WAS DOUBTFUL ABOUT SYRIA. I HAVE SPENT A LOT OF HOURS, AS HAS, SECRETARY BAKER, TALKING TO PRESIDENT ASSAD IN SYRIA. THE LAST TIME I WAS WITH HIM THOUGH, HE SAID HE WAS READY TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH THE ISRAELIS TO TRY TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, WHICH IS A MAIN ISSUE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA, AND WOULD EVEN BE WILLING TO SEE IT DEMILITARIZED AND HAVE INTERNATIONAL PEACEKEEPING FORCES COME IN AND OCCUPY THE GOLAN HEIGHTS TO MAKE SURE IT WAS NEVER USED AS AN ATTACK POINT.

MS. CRIER: WELL THEN, WHAT ABOUT THAT, BECAUSE THAT SEEMS TO

BE THE SINGULAR ISSUE THAT THE SYRIANS FOCUSED ON AND NO PROGRESS WAS MADE ON THAT. ONE ISSUE, IS THAT GOING TO INHIBIT OR PROHIBIT FURTHER SUCCESS ON -- OR ANY SUCCESS REALLY ON THE PART OF THE SYRIANS AND ISRAELIS?

PRESIDENT CARTER: I WOULD SAY THAT GOLAN HEIGHTS IS THE PREEMINENT ISSUE FOR SYRIA. THEY WANT TO MAKE SURE BEFORE THEY NEGOTIATE THAT THERE IS A FLEXIBILITY ON THE PART OF ISRAEL TO RETURN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS TO SYRIA AND SO FAR THAT SIGNAL HAS NOT COME ACROSS.

SO I THINK THE SYRIAN'S POSITION, I HAVEN'T TALKED TO THEM IN A GOOD WHILE, IS THAT IF THE ISRAELIS ARE NOT WILLING TO DISCUSS THE RETURN OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS TO US, THEN WE DON'T CARE TO BE INVOLVED IN TALKING ABOUT OTHER THINGS.

MS. CRIER: NOT ONLY ARE THE ISRAELIS -- AT LEAST ACCORDING TO THE TALKS IN MADRID UNWILLING AT THIS POINT, BUT IF YOU -- PICKING UP THE PAPERS TODAY, YOU READ ABOUT SETTLEMENTS PROGRESSING IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS. WHAT ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT ISSUE AND THE ISRAELIS? CAN ANY PROGRESS BE MADE WHILE THOSE SETTLEMENTS CONTINUE?

PRESIDENT CARTER: I DON'T THINK SO, NOT ONLY IN THE GOLAN HEIGHTS BUT IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. WHEN I WAS IN OFFICE WE ALWAYS CHARACTERIZED THE SETTLEMENTS AS ILLEGAL AND AN OBSTACLE TO PEACE, AND AS YOU HAVE NOTICED FROM SECRETARY BAKER'S COMMENT YESTERDAY, THE BUILDING OF A SETTLEMENT ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS IS A VERY DISTURBING THING FOR THE SYRIANS WHO HOPE THAT THEY CAN HAVE GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THIS IS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE FOR THE ISRAELIS TOO. THEY SEE THE SETTLEMENTS AS NOT ONLY PROVIDING A HOME FOR THEIR PEOPLE, INCLUDING RUSSIAN EMIGRES COMING TO ISRAEL, BUT ALSO THE PROOF IN EFFECT THAT THIS IS OUR LAND PERMANENTLY.

MS. CRIER: WHERE DOES THE UNITED STATES FIT INTO THIS? IS THE UNITED STATES TO BE JUST A FACILITATOR OF THESE TALKS OR TRULY HELPING TO IMPLEMENT NEGOTIATIONS?

PRESIDENT CARTER: MY OWN OPINION IS THAT ANY OF THE TWO PARTIES IN THE MIDEAST, NO MATTER HOW YOU MATCH THEM UP, BY THEMSELVES ARE NOT GOING TO MAKE ANY PROGRESS. THEY MIGHT JUST GET ACQUAINTED BUT AS FAR AS RESOLVING THE DIFFERENT POSITIONS, I DON'T THINK THEY ARE GOING TO DO IT UNLESS THE UNITED STATES ASSESSES THE POSITION OF BOTH SIDES, IN EFFECT PUTS FORWARD A COMPROMISE POSITION STEP-BY-STEP. THIS HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE CASE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ALL THE WAY BACK TO THE BEGINNING OF ISRAEL, ALMOST, WHENEVER THERE WAS ANY PROGRESS MADE IT WAS BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES DID PUT FORWARD A COMPROMISE POSITION AND THEN BOTH SIDES CAN BACK DOWN A LITTLE BIT AND SAY "WELL, WE DIDN'T WANT TO DO IT BUT THE UNITED STATES WANTED US TO AND SO FORTH."

SO WITHOUT THE US PLAYING A VERY STRONG ROLE ON A STEP-BY-STEP BASIS, I THINK IT WOULD BE HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT IT WOULD MAKE

PROGRESS.

YOU MAY REMEMBER THAT WHEN SADAT WENT TO JERUSALEM AND MADE HIS SPEECH, WHICH WAS A REALLY HARDLINE SPEECH IN THE KNESSET, IF YOU READ THE WORDS, THE NEXT TIME THEY MET IN ISMAILIA, THEY ONLY STAYED TOGETHER 20 MINUTES BECAUSE PRIME MINISTER BEGIN AND PRESIDENT SADAT WERE TOTALLY INCOMPATIBLE. SO EVEN THE VISIT TO JERUSALEM BY PRESIDENT SADAT WAS FRUITLESS UNTIL THEY CAME TO CAMP DAVID.

MS. CRIER: WELL, THAT'S INTERESTING, LOOKING AT THE PERSONALITIES, IN LISTENING TO ANALYSTS LOOK AT EVENTS IN MADRID MANY WERE NOT SURPRISED THAT YOU HAD THE WAVE OF OPTIMISM AND THEN VERY PESSIMISTIC ATTITUDES LOOKING AT THE TALKS. YOU YOURSELF WENT THROUGH THAT WITH THOSE TWO GENTLEMEN. WERE YOU SURPRISED AT THE DIRECTION THE TALKS TOOK AND THE HIGHS AND LOWS?

PRESIDENT CARTER: WELL WE SHOULDN'T UNDERESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR MEETING WITH EACH OTHER, SITTING DOWN WITH EACH OTHER, TALKING TO EACH OTHER, GETTING TO KNOW EACH OTHER. EVEN IF IT WAS IN A SPIRIT OF PUBLIC VITUPERATION.

WHEN PEOPLE ARE BEFORE THE TV CAMERAS, THEY ARE GOING TO BE VERY RELUCTANT TO DEPART FROM THAT OLD, HARDLINE, AGGRESSIVE COMBATIVE STATEMENT. IT'S ONLY WHEN YOU GET PEOPLE IN PRIVATE, SO THEY CAN MAKE CONCESSIONS WITHOUT BEING EMBARRASSED, YOU KNOW, STEP-BY-STEP, THAT YOU CAN MAKE ANY PROGRESS.

SO WE TOTALLY FORBADE THE NEWS MEDIA FROM COMING INTO CAMP DAVID DURING THOSE 13 DAYS. IF EVERY DAY PRESIDENT SADAT OR PRIME MINISTER BEGIN HAD TO GO OUT AND HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE, WE NEVER WOULD HAVE GOTTEN ANYWHERE.

MS. CRIER: WHAT ABOUT THOSE BACKROOM TALKS? OVER THE PAST DECADE, 12 YEARS, HAVE THE PARTIES CHANGED THEIR POSITIONS MUCH AT ALL?

PRESIDENT CARTER: NOW OF COURSE, THE PLO HAS BEEN WILLING TO LET PALESTINIANS IN WEST BANK AND GAZA NEGOTIATE. THAT IS A VERY POSITIVE STEP. THE PALESTINIANS ALSO ARE NOW WILLING TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH ISRAEL AND SO ARE THE JORDANIANS AND THE SYRIANS UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, AND THIS IS IN EFFECT RECOGNIZING THE LEGITIMACY OF ISRAEL.

IT IS A VERY IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD FOR ARABS TO SAY, "OKAY, WE ACKNOWLEDGE THAT ISRAEL IS A LEGITIMATE NATION, THEY HAVE A RIGHT TO BE HERE." AND SITTING DOWN ACROSS THE TABLE FROM THEM IS IN EFFECT A PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST.

MS. CRIER: WHAT NEXT? IN LOOKING AT THE TALKS, THE PROGRESS THAT WAS MADE IN MADRID, WHAT DO YOU SEE OCCURRING NEXT?

PRESIDENT CARTER: QUITE OFTEN TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT THROUGH THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, I SEE EVENTUALLY MOVING TOWARD A REFERENDUM IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, WHERE THE PALESTINIANS HAVE TO DECIDE, "DO WE WANT TO MAKE CONCESSIONS OR ARE WE GOING TO STAY THE WAY WE ARE?" AND IT MAY VERY WELL BE THAT EVEN ISRAEL COULD HAVE ELECTIONS OR A REFERENDUM BECAUSE IT IS OBVIOUS TO ME THAT PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR AND HIS GOVERNMENT ARE MUCH MORE HARDLINED THAN ARE THE MAJORITY OF THE ISRAELIS. IN PUBLIC OPINION POLLS THE ISRAELIS SAY, "WE ARE READY TO GIVE UP SOME LAND FOR PEACE." AND THEY HAVE LONG SAID, "WE WOULD LIKE TO MEET DIRECTLY WITH THE PALESTINIANS."

SO IF THERE IS SOMEWAY TO GET PAST THE OBSTACLE OF OBDURATE POLITICIANS, LEADERS WHO FIND IT DIFFICULT TO CHANGE THEIR POSITION, LET THE PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR DESIRE FOR PEACE THROUGH A REFERENDUM OR AN ELECTION, THAT IS A POSSIBLE CRACKED DOOR THAT MIGHT BE OPENED IN THE FUTURE.

MS. BATTISTA: THIS INTERVIEW WITH FORMER PRESIDENT CARTER CAN BE SEEN AGAIN ON THE INTERNATIONAL HOUR AT 3 P.M. EASTERN TIME. THE FORMER PRESIDENT ALSO SAID THAT THE VERY FACT THAT ISRAELIS AND ARABS MET FACE-TO-FACE IS A HOPEFUL SIGN AND HE SAYS ARABS IN EFFECT RECOGNIZED ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST SIMPLY BY AGREEING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THEM.

END

עד כאן

עתונות

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 5940
אל: רהמש/380
מ-: ווש, נר: 2012, תא: 061191, זח: 1120, דח: מ, סג: סב,
בכב
סודי ביותר/מידי

אל: מצפ'א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

ערביות

בכיר מאד בממשל המתמצא בנושא אמר אתמול בשיחה פרטית שמדובר
על סקוריןג של שמונה אחוז וגם זה נחשב נמוך.

האיש אופטימי בקשר לערביות אבל צופה זיקה להתנחלויות, לרפורמה
כלכלית ולתהליך. הזכיר את הצעת ליידי כמצע להתדינות.

בענין אחר הביע את דעתו שישראל יצאה ממדריד עם תדמית טובה
ואילו הסורים איבדו את שארית האשראי הציבורי.

שילה

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 6303

אל: רהמש/427

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 156, תא: 061191, זח: 2044, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור-בהול לבוקר

אל: מ"מ רה"מ ושה"ח

דע: שר האוצר, מנכ"ל אוצר, יועץ רה"מ לכלכלה,
מצפ"א, ציר כלכלי, קונכ"ל בוסטון

מאת: ר' יחידת קונגרס, וושינגטון

הנדון: הסנטור מיטצ'ל - הצעת תחיקה להקפאה מסוימת של סיוע החוץ

1. לפני מס' שעות נודע לי על כוונת מנהיג הרוב, מיטצ'ל, להגיש מחר הצעת תחיקה המקפאה באופן מסוים את חוק סיוע החוץ ל-5 שנים, ולהעביר את הסכום הנחסך לממון פיצויי מובטלים ובעיות פנים חמורות אחרות.

2. לאחר שיחות הבהרה עם גורמים ב"גבעה" ומחוצה לה, קוימה שיחת ועידה טלפונית בין מנהיג הרוב לבין השגריר, מתוך כוונה להעביר למיטצ'ל את מסר החומרה והדאגה לעתיד תחיקת הערבויות להלוואות (המהווה תיקון לחוק סיוע החוץ, הקצבות).

3. להלן הנקודות העיקריות שהעלה מיטצ'ל בתגובה לבקשת השגריר להבהיר את השלכות הצעת התחיקה על גורל הערבויות להלוואות (מן הראוי לציין שמיטצ'ל, אשר נועד לדיון עם חבריו להנהגה הדמוקרטית, קיבל את השיחה במהירות הראויה להערכה, כנראה מתוך ידיעתו את תוכנה).

- הוא חזר מספר פעמים על הכרתו בחשיבות הערבויות להלוואות ועל העובדה שהקדיש מחשבה כיצד לאפשר מימון במסגרת הצעת התחיקה שלו.

- בניגוד להצעת הממשל הקוראת לגידול תקציב סיוע החוץ (ביחס לרמת 1991) ב-5.9 מיליארד דולארים למשך 5 שנים, הרי שהצעתו של מיטצ'ל קובעת הגבלת הגידול ל-2.3 מיליארד דולר למשך 5 השנים.

- מיטצ'ל ציין כי הגידול שהוא מציע, ובמיוחד בשנה הראשונה, הוא MORE THAN ENOUGH TO ACCOMMODATE THE SCORING של הערבויות להלוואות. הוא הדגיש כי הוא מודע להוצאה התקציבית הזאת, אשר עמדה לנגד עיניו כאשר גיבש את הצעתו.

- מנהיג הרוב הדמוקרטי נענה להצעת השגריר להיפגש בהקדם עמו ועם עמיתיו הסנטורים לשיחת תדרוך בנושא ועידת מדריד.

4. הצעת התחיקה הנ"ל לא נועדה לפגוע בערבויות להלוואות, ואין היא רואה את ישראל כמטרה לחיציה. ההקשר להצעת התחיקה הוא כלכלי ופוליטי פנים-

אמריקאי.

5. ההערכות והדיווח הנ"ל מבוססים על שיחת הועידה והתיעצויות בנידון. עדיין מוקדם לקבוע באופן נחרץ את כוון הצעת התחיקה של מיטצ'ל ואת השלכותיה על סיוע החוץ בכלל ועל גורל הערכויות להלוואות (לחיוב או לשלילה) בפרט.

יורם אטינגר

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

סס

אאא, חוזם: 5870
אל: רהמש/359
מ-: המשרד, תא: 061191, זח: 1819, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בבב
101602
שמור/מידי
103.55

אל: וושינגטון, אטינגר

הנדון: ערבויות

מעיון ברשימת הסנטורים שתמכו בהצעת קסטן-אינווה נראה כי מס' סנטורים
שבעבר חשבו כי סביר להניח שיתמכו בהצעה כזו לא הצטרפו כשנשכנים.
ביניהם טד סטיבנס, סם נאן, בוב קרי (שביקר לאחרונה בארץ), וורן רדמן
ואולי אף ג'סי הלמס, ג'ף בינגמן וג'ון ברו.

נודה לך אם תוכל להבריק הערכתך לגבי אי הצטרפותם וכן הערכתך לגבי שאר
הסנטורים שלא שישכנו, היכן הם עומדים וכו'.

ס/מנהל מצפ'א
6 בנובמבר 1991

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

סססס



מכתב-בולט

6.11.91

אל: מצפ"א

רע: מ"מ רו"מ ושה"ח, ט/שה"ח, מנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל צפ"א, ממ"ד בינ"ל, שגר"ו,
ציר מדיני, נספח צבאי, ציר כלכלי, ציר הסברה, יועץ מדיני

מאת: ציר לענייני קונגרס, נספח עבודה

הנדון: עם הפנים לנובמבר 1992

1. הניתוח להלן מהווה המשך לדוח מ-15.5.91 ולסידרת הדיווחים אשר התייחסו
למערכת הבחירות של 11.90. מערכת בחירות זו הייתה, לועת מומחים,
"חזרה גנרלית" לקראת ההצגה הגדולה של 11.92.

2. מסמן זה אינו מתייחס לבחירות לנשיאות (הנידאום - לפי שעה וחזון
כירסום הדרגתי - כאילו מונחות בכיסו של בוש) אלא לבחירות לקונגרס
(שהן העומדות בדמו של עולם המחוקקים).

3. עיקרי הדברים:

- על ישראל לבחון את התמודדות והתמודדות הגיאוגרפיות, העיוניות,
ודמוגרפיות המעצבות את המפה הפוליטית המהדושת של ארה"ב, ולהיחלץ
מחפירות והיערכות המתעלמות מן המפה הפוליטית של ארה"ב לקראת שנות
ה-2000; (נא ראה סעיף 4).

- נצטרך של הסנסור הארץ ופפורד בבחירות המיוחדות בפנסילבניה,
מהווה פגיעה נוספת ביוקרתו של הנשיא ג'ורג' בוש, ומשמש נקודת מפנה
אפשרית ביוסטי הכוחות בין שתי המפלגות במישור הקונגרסיונאלי
והנשיאותי כאחד; (נא ראה סעיף 5).

- תופעת ה-ANTI-INCUMBENCY צפויה להכות במפלגת הרוב, ויכולה אף
לפגוע בנשיא אם ישכילו הדמוקרטים לשכנע את הציבור כי הוא האחראי -
לפחות כמו ה"גבעה" - למחולל הפנים; (נא ראה סעיף 6).

- תופעת ה-TERM LIMITS יכולה לזעזע את אמות הסיפים ב"גבעה",
להקדים פרישתם של מחוקקים רבי עוצמה ולהאדיר השפעתם של צוותי
העוזרים והלוביסטים; (נא ראה סעיף 7).

- ההליך ה-REDISTRICTING של כל אזורי הבחירה קונע את גודלם הפוליטי
של צירי ביה"נ ואת ההיערכות הפוליטית (לפחות) לעשור הקרוב; (נא ראה
סעיף 8).

- תופעת הפרישה המוקדמת מאפיינת, בו"כ, את הרפובליקנים יותר מאשר את



הדמוקרטים; (נא ראה טעיף 9).

- על הרפובליקנים יקשה לזכות ב- 3 מושבי סנאט ו- 18 מושבי ביה"ח המהווים את מדד ההצלחה. (נא ראה טעיף 10).

4. בחירות 1992 וישראל:

- למערכת הבחירות לבתי הנבחרים וההגדרה השפעה על יכולתו של הנשיא (גם אם מקובלת ההנחה שנצטרפו מובטח) לנווט את אופן הצבעתם של המצביעים;

- מערכת הבחירות המרכזית בעיני הנבחרים היא זו הקובעת את גודלם הפוליטי ולא זו הנשיאותית;

- נשיא הנהיגה מיוקרה רבה, והמסוגל ליסחוף את מועמדי מפלגתו לנצחון, יכול לקבוע דפוסי הצבעה ב"גבעה". לעומת זאת יוקרה מכורסמת והיעדר יכולת טחיפה גורעים מהשפעה הנשיא על ה"גבעה" (גם בנושאים הנוגעים לישראל);

- לבחירות 1992 תהיה השפעה מכרעת (לפחות בעשור הקרוב!) על המפה הפוליטית של ארה"ב ברמה המדינתית והפדרלית, על משקלן היחסי של שתי המפלגות, על אופי המאבק המסורתי בין הרשות המבצעת לבין המחוקקת, על סדר העדיפויות הלאומי והמקומי, על זירוגם של סיוע החוץ והקצב והבטחון בסדר עדיפויות זה ועל מקומה - ויכולת תימונה - של ישראל במבון פוליטי זה;

- חרות הנבחרים ותקוות המתמודדים נגדם - ברמה חסרת תקדים - גורמים לעליית כוחם הפוליטי של יועצי הבחירות, המהווים ציבור יעד רב עוצמה;

- חופעת ה-ANTI-INCUMBENCY מכניסה לזירה דמויות רעננות ומרחיבה את היקף צבורי היעד הפוליטיים;

- שתי המפלגות נמצאות בעיצומו של שידוד מערכות רעיוני ואירגוני, אשר החל לקראת בוחרות 1990. שידוד המערכות נועד להתאים עצמן לתמורות ולחברות הגיאוגרפיות, רעיוניות, אתניות ודמוגרפיות המעצבות את המפה הפוליטית המוחדשת של ארה"ב לקראת שנות ה-2000.

- על ישראל לבחון תמורות אלו כדי להיחלץ מתפיסות והיערכות המתעלמות מן המפה הפוליטית החדשה בארה"ב. עליה לווען את הגדרת צבורי היעד ואח אפיקי והכני התקשורת עם צבורים אלו, כדי למצות עד חום את הפוטנציאל האזני הקיים בארה"ב לעיבוי הקשו האסטרטגי, פוליטי, טכנולוגי וכלכלי.

5. אוירה כללית (בחירות 5.11.91 לסנאט בפנסילבניה - ניתוח ארוע):

- המרוץ לסנאט בפנסילבניה עמד במוקד ההתענינות הפוליטית בארה"ב בערב הבחירות;



- במרוץ על מושבו של הסנסטור הרפובליקני ג'ון הילינג (אשר ניספה וזארה
משוט) ניצח הדמוקרט האריס וופורד. לראשונה, מאז 1962, נבחר
פנסילבניה סנסטור דמוקרטי!

- נצחוננו של וופורד מבטא, בין היתר, את מגמת ה-ANTI-INCUMBENCY הציבורית
האוצה, לפחות, מאז 11.90;

- למרות שוופורד מכהן בסנאט, כמינוי מטעם מושל פנסילבניה, מאז 5.91,
הרי שהוא ניחפס בעיני הבורח כקורא חילו על הממשל הרושינגטוני. ממסד
זה יוצג ע"י המועמד הרפובליקני, מקורנו של הנשיא בוש, והתובע הכללי
לשעבר ומושל פנסילבניה (פעמיים), דיק ת'ורנברג;

- נצחוננו של וופורד (אשר פיגר בתחילת המרוץ ב-44 אחוז מועמדי של הנשיא
בוש (!) מהווה ביטוי לאכזבה בקרב הציבור האמריקאי מן המערכת הפוליטית
הרושינגטון בפרט ובארה"ב בכלל;

- הישגו של וופורד מהווה פגיעה נוספת ביוקרתו של הנשיא, הצבעת
אי-אמון במדיניות הפנים של הממשל ונקודת מיפנה אפשרית ביוחסי הכוחות
בין שתי המפלגות;

- כמובן שאין להגזים במשמעות המרוץ (על אף מרכזיותה של פנסילבניה),
אך אין ספק כי הדמוקרטים רואים בו מאיץ למומנטום לקראת 11.92, במישור
הקונגרסיונאלי במיוחד, ואולי אף הנשיאות;

- על הפרק עמדו, ברגעים קריטיים של המרוץ, מחוללי המושל הדמוקרט קייסי
(העלאת מיסים) מול מחוללי ממשל בוש (משבר כלכלי חריף) - והבורח הכריע
נגד הממשל;

- וקשר ההדוק בין ת'ורנברג לבוש מקריד עוד יותר את העננה המרחפת - מאז
בחירות 1988, דרך בחירות 1990 ו-1991 - מעל יכולתו של בוש ליטול
(כמצופה מנשיא) את מועמדי מפלגתו לניצחון. ככל שיכולת הסחיפה שלו
(COATTAIL) מוגבלת יותר, כך גם מצטמצמת השפעתו על אופן ההצבעה של
הנבחרים הדמוקרטים והרפובליקנים כאחד;

- וופורד עשה שימוש מושכל בתחושת הפסימיות הלאומית הפושה בארה"ב, על
רקע האבטלה הגואה, קריסת שירותי הבריאות (הדגל המרכזי שהונף ע"י
וופורד), החינוך והרווחה, ועל רקע התחושה כי נבחר העם אינם שועים
לצרכים המקומיים;

- תחושת הפסימיות וחוסר האונים הציבוריים, שפגעה אנושות במסע הבחירות
של ת'ורנברג (אשר מונה ע"י בוש ליו"ר ועדת השרים לענייני פנים!),
עלולה לגרום להיעזרות הבורח האמריקאי מן הקלפי ב-11.92, להצבעה מחאה
נגד הנבחרים (אשר רובם דמוקרטים) ו/או לתופעת בומרג נגד הנשיא בוש
(56% מעניקים לו ציון שלילי בספול בבעיות פנים המכתיבות את מגמות
הבורח). פושנים וקריקטוריסטים קוראים לנשיא להתייחס לאפאלצ'יה העניה
ולא לאורביז'אן, למסוממי ברונקס ולא לבגדד, לבעיותיה של דטרויט ולא
לדמשק, וכו';

- חומרתה של תופעת הפסימיות - המעמיקה מדי חודש - מודגשת על רקע
תחושת הנצחון אשר טופה את הציבור עם סיום מלחמת המפרץ;



- למדד האופטימיות/פסימיות יש השפעה רבה על ופוטנציאל ההצבעה לבתי הנבחרים ולנשיאות, ועל יוקרת הנשיא, כפי שמעיד תקדים רייגן/קארטר (יש הסוענים כי הנשיא בוש זכה ל"גיבנת יוקרתית חיובית" מאז חודשי העימות עם עיראק, ועתה הוא חוזר לרמת היוקרה הטבעית שלו).

6. תופעה ה- ANTI-INCUMBENCY:

- תופעה זאת צפויה להכות במפלגת הרוב, המפלגה הדמוקרטית, אלא אם כן תיכשל המפלגה הרפובליקנית בהצגת מועמדים מתאימים, ואם האצבע המאשימה תופנה כלפי הממשל הרפובליקני;
- התופעה מהווה טיוט עבוי כל הנבחרים מומת השריף ופקיד המטה האזורי ועד לרמת הסנסטור והפרללי, בין אם תאריך והתמודדותם הוא 11.92 או 11.94;
- מתוך 247 צירי ביה"נ אשר עמו בפני אחגר משמעותי בבחירות 1988 ו-1990, סבלו 47% מהיצטמקות יתרוןם (בהשוואה לבחירות קודמות) לפחות ב-5%. רק 11% מצירים אלו הגדילו יתרוןם לפחות ב-5%;
- היצטמקות פער הנצחון של הצירים מהווה תנאי למתמודדי 11.90 לחזור לזירה, מעודות מתמודדים אשו היסטו ב-11.90 ומעודות האבונם של אלו אשר לא שקלו כניסה למרוץ ב-11.90. לועה פרשנים, אפשר לצפות ליבול מועמדים הפורה ביותר מזה עשרות שנים;
- על תומית צירי ביה"נ והסנסטורים, אשו לא פונקה מעולם ע"י הבוחרים, ניהתה לאחרונה מהלומה נוספת בזמות שערוריות ההמחאות חסות הכסוי ובנק הקונגרס, החשבונות הפתוחים במסעדות ה"גבעה" ושימוע השופט העליון קלאונס תומאס. הנבחרים מצטיירים כמי שאינם רוצים/מסוגלים להתמודד עם בעיות הגירעון התקציבי, האבטלה, החינוך והרווחה. בעוד שהממשל הוא הנציג המרוחק של הבוחר, הרי שהנבחר ב"גבעה" מהווה נציג ישיר, המהווה מטרה טיבעית, מידית ופגיעה יותר לזרעומת הבוחר;
- לפי סקר דע"ק של הר.ט.ט.ג'ורנל ו-NBC (16.10.91, בעקבות שימוע תומאס) נהנים נבחרים העם מאהדת 34% בלבד. לפי סקר ה-CNN וגאלופ מ-16.10.91 מגלים רק 18% מן הציבור אמון רב בקונגרס, 43% מגלים אמון מסוים, 33% אמון מזערי ו-3% חסרי אמון;
- קימת הערכה כי השתרשות תופעה ה-ANTI-INCUMBENCY עלולה להעמיק תופעה הניכור של הבוחר, לכוטט בשיטה הפוליטית הנוכחית ולזלזל את אחוז המצביעים. הפטריוטיות והאופטימיות הציבוריים אשר ליוו את "סופת המדבר" והשעינו את מצברי הבטחון העצמי של הנבחרים, פינו מקומם בחסף לחיסכול, אכזבה ופסימיות המצביעים הנאימים על הנבחרים;
- תופעת הפטריוטיות משרתת בוד"כ את יוקרת הנשיא, ואילו התיסכול ממשרדי פנים פוגע בראש ובראשונה בקונגרס, אלא אם כן ישכילו הדמוקרטים לשכנע את הציבור כי לנשיא יז במחוללי הפנים לפחות כמו לקונגרס;
- חוזרת ונשנית הטענה כאילו הנבחרים מתמקדים בהישגות פוליטיות (גיוס נספים למימון בחירות) במקום ברווחתם של הבוחרים;



7. TERM LIMITS:

הטענה כי "ככל שמתמשכת תקופת הכהונה של הנבחר, כך פוחתת ההסתברות לחפזותו הצבוריים", מהווה איום נוסף על ה-INCUMBENTS:

- לפני שנה אישרו המצביעים בקליפורניה את "PROPOSITION 130" המגבילה את תקופת כהונתם של המחוקקים המדינתיים. ההגבלה קיבלה חוקף חוקי, לפני חודש, ע"י בימ"ש העליון בקליפורניה;

- ביום ג' (5.11.91) לא אישרו מצביעי מדינת וושינגטון - בעקבות מסע אינטנסיבי בהנהגת יו"ר ביה"נ תום פולי - את "INITIATIVE 553" המגבילה את תקופת כהונתם של צירי ביה"נ וסנאטורים מדינתיים ופדרליים (צירי-6 שנים, סנאטורים פדרליים-12 שנים ומדינתיים-8), ומחייבת את פרישתם ב-1994 של כל צירי ביה"נ הפדרליים, כולל פולי, ושל 74 מתוך 98 מחוקקים מדינתיים;

- למרות כישלון היוזמה בווינגטון - ולאור התמיכה הגוברת ביוזמה זו חבי ארה"ב - צפויה התופעה להתפשט. מגמה זאת חגביר את השפעתם של צוותי העוורים המקצועיים, היועצים והלוביסטים למיניהם!!!

- מכיוון שהתופעה מהווה יוזמה מדינתית, הרי שהיא חגרום (אם חיתממש) לזעזועים במאזן הכוחות בין המדינות, ובכל הקשור למידת ההשפעה של נבחריהן ב"גבעה" ולייצוגן בועדות השונות;

- השתרשות התופעה יכולה לגרוע מנסיונם הפוליטי של המחוקקים מול הממשל, אך יכולה גם להגביר את העזתם;

- האמנם יעניקו בחי המשפט חוקף חוקי לתופעה? ואם יעניק בימ"ש הפדולי חוקף חוקי למימו הפדולי של התופעה, או האם יגבילה רק לזמה המדינתית?

8. REDISTRICTING (מפוי מחודש):

- חלק ניכר מחרדת ה-INCUMBENTS נובע מן המיפוי המחודש (מדי 10 שנים) ומשנה את הרכב אוכלוסית בוחריהם במישור האתני, כלכלי, רעיוני;

- 21 מושבי ביה"נ עוברים ממוינה למוינה בקרב 19 מדינות (עקב תנוות אוכלוסין בעשור האחרון);

- נחוצה מחלוקת המושבים המחודשת (REAPPORTIONMENT), נותרו המדינות כולקמן עם ציר בודד בביה"נ: אלסקה, ואלאוריד, מונטנה, צפ' דקוטה, דר' דקוטה, ורמונט ווואיומינג;

- ההליך המיפוי המחודש (של כל אזורי הבחירה!) קובע את גורלם הפוליטי של צירי ביה"נ ואת ההיערכות הפוליטית, לפחות, לעשור הקרוב. לכן מהווה הההליך מסרה לגיוס מליוני דולרים, צוותי מומחים ומאמץ עילאי של בחי המשפט המופקדים על אישור המפוי (המתבצע ע"י המושלים ובחי הנבחרים המדינתיים). עד עתה הסתיים תהליך המפוי המחודש של 101, מתוך 435, אזורי בחירה;



- והערכה היא כי המפוי המחוזש יעניק לרפובליקנים יתרון קטן, אשר ישפוט סיכויי מועמדיהם ב-11.92;

9. פרישה מוקדמת של צירי ביה"נ:

- האצה אפשרית של תופעת הפרישה המוקדמת מהווה תמריץ למועמדים נוספים להיכנס למרוצי 11.92;

- בנגוד לציפיות, יפרשו מביה"נ (על רקע גיל, תיסכול, מיפוי מחדש ואפשרות לצאת לגימלאות עם קרן הבחירות (!), כנראה, רק כ-50 צירים;

- 163 צירים ושאים לפרוש כאשר קרן הבחירות בכיסם;

- ב-1982 פרשו 42, ב-1972 פרשו 45, ב-1962 רק 33, אך ב-1952 פרשו 46. ב-1978 פרשו 53 צירים !

- המחוקקים הרפובליקנים (המאופיינים, בד"כ, ע"י הלך רוח אנטי-ממשלתי, בניגוד לעמיתיהם הדמוקרטים) נוטים לפרישה מוקדמת יותר מאשר הדמוקרטים. ב-5 מערכות הבחירות האחרונות פרשו 72 צירים רפובליקנים לעומת 62 דמוקרטים;

- לסנטורים הרפובליקנים (ובמיוחד לשמרנים שבהם) נסיה זהה בעוד שהסנטור הדמוקרטי אלן קרנסטון (קליפורניה) פורש על רקע בעיות בריאות (ואולי אף אתיקה), הרי שהסנטורים הרפובליקנים השמרנים וויליאם ארמסטרונג (קולורדו) וגורדון האמפרי (ניו האמפשייר) פרשו ב-1990 על רקע תיסכולים מן המערכת הפוליטית (NECESSARY/ UNNECESSARY EVIL). אליהם מצטרפים ב-1992 הרפובליקני השמרן ג'ייק גארן (יוטה) הסוען כי המערכת משוחקת ואינה מצדיקה כהונה נוספת, והרפובליקני השמרן סטיב טימס (גם על רקע בעיות אישיות). הרפובליקני המתון ווארן ראומן עדין שוקל צערו, תוך נסיה להיענות להפצרות מפלגתו ולהמשיך לכהן תוך חריקת שיניים. גם מנהיג המעוט, בוב וול (קנזס), עדין לא הודיע אם יתמודד על כיסאו (מתוסכל מן הסיכוי הקלוש להפוך למנהיג הרוב).

10. הערכה כללית לקראת מרוצי 11/92:

- לאור העובדות שנשיא רפובליקני יהיה בראש רשימת המועמדים ב-11.92, ש-20 סנטורים דמוקרטים ורק 15 רפובליקנים יתמודדו ב-11/92, שחלק מן הדמוקרטים נבחרו לראשונה (ולכן פגיעותם רבה יותר) ב-1986, ושמשפט דמוקרטים זכו ביתרון זעיר ב-1986 - - לאור עובדות אלו אפשר להניח כי זכיה רפובליקנית ב-3 מושבי סנאט זהווה נצחון מרשים, זכיה פעוטה יותר מהווה הצלחה מתונה, וקפיאה על השמרים או הפסד מושבים יהוו אכזבה/תבוסה;

- לאור ההשפעה הפוטנציאלית החיובית של תופעות ה-ANTI-INCUMBENCY ו-REDISTRICTING על המעומדים הרפובליקנים במרוצי ביה"נ, מעריכים המומחים כי זכיה בפחות מ-12 מושבים תהווה אכזבה, ואילו צימצום הרוב הדמוקרטי ב-18 מושבים רפובליקנים יהווה הישג;



- על הרפובליקנים יקשה להשיג ההצלחות הנ"ל;
- נצחונו של הסנטור וופורד בפנסילבניה ישפיע על הדמוקרטים (לסובה) והרפובליקנים (לרעה);
- אריות הנכאים הקשורה לכשלונות בזירה הפנימית מעיבה על האופטימיות אשר לירותה את "סופת המדבר", מכרסמת ביוקרתו של הנשיא בוש ושל מפלגתו ומעיקה על סיכויי הרפובליקנים לזכות בהצלחה אשר נראתה ברת-השגה לפני מטפר זורדשים;
- מטפר ופורשים הדמוקרטים קטן מן הצפוי, והתופעה מקשה עוד יותר על ממוש ציפיות הרפובליקנים.

אלי כהן קגן

יורם אטינגר

אאא, חוזם: 6294
אל: רהמש/424
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 154, תא: 061191, זח: 1928, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בבב
שמור-מידי

אל: מצפ"א, ממ"ד, מצרים

מאת: עחונות, וושינגטון

הנדון: סעודיה

מכתבת מדינית ששוחחה עם הנסיך בנדר-:

1. הסביר כי נסיעתו למדריד והחלטתו להשתתף בועידת מדריד וזאת משני שיקולים-:

א. לאותת לישראל שיש "גזר" נוסף, שכדאי לבוא לשיחות ושהממשל רציני בכוונותיו להשתמש בהשפעתו על העולם הערבי (בעיקר מדינות המפרץ, בעקבות הקשרים שנוצרו בזמן מלחמת המפרץ) כדי לקדם תהליך השלום.

ב. להשתמש בו כ"מסייע" ואיש-קשר למשלחות הערביות בכלל, ולסורים - בפרט. ואכן, בנדר היה אינסטרומנטלי - מאחורי הקלעים - בשכנוע הסורים להתייצב לשיחות הבילטריות.

2. סיפרה על פגישה שהיתה ביום שישי בערב (1.11) בסוויטה של שארע בה השתתפו עמר מוסא, בנדר, שה"ח הירדני ונציגים פלסטינים. בפגישה שארכה שלוש וחצי שעות, ושלעיתים עלתה לטונים גבוהים וממש צעקות, ניסו המשתתפים לשכנע הסורים לבוא לשיחות הבילטריות ביום ראשון. במהלך הפגישה הסוערת הטו הפלסטינים עמדה מרוחקת ורק "הודיעו" שלא משנה מה יחליטו הסורים - הם, הפלסטינים, מתכוונים להיות בשיחות הבילטריות. כלומר, הפלסטינים החליטו להיות בבילטרלי עוד בטרם ידעו מה תהיה העמדה הסורית. שה"ח המצרי "איים" על שארע שאם סוריה לא תגיע לשיחות - היא תיוותר בודדה, מכיוון שהאחרים ימשיכו בתהליך שהחל. בנדר טען שהוא היה זה ששכנע את הסורים לבוא לפגישות, למרות שבאותו ערב בגמר הפגישה - שארע הודיע שלא יבואו. אולם, להערכת בנדר, בעקבות הלחץ על סוריה שהמשיך במהלך השבת ויום א' - גם מצד סעודיה ומצרים וגם מצד המזכיר - נעתרו הסורים והתייצבו, גם אם באחור רב, למפגש.

רות ירון

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

אאא, חוזם: 4756
אל: רהמש/316
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 115, תא: 051191, זח: 1709, דח: מ, סג: בל,
בכב
בלמ"ס/מידי

תאריך: 5 נובמבר 1991

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

דון: דברי מזכיר המדינה, בייקר, במסע"ת, על תהליך השלום

SPECIAL WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING WITH SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER
ON UPCOMING NATO SUMMIT AND TRIP TO THE HAGUE THE WHITE HOUSE
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1991

Q ON THE MIDDLE EAST, MR. SECRETARY, CAN YOU TELL US HOW
LONG THE TALKS ARE GOING TO BE IN RECESS AND WHERE THEY WILL RESUME?

SEC. BAKER: NO, I CAN'T TELL YOU WHERE THEY WILL RESUME. BUT
LET ME SAY THAT THE PARTIES THEMSELVES EXPRESSED TO US A -- NOT JUST
A WILLINGNESS BUT A DESIRE TO GO BACK TO CAPITALS, CONFER WITH THEIR
POLITICAL LEADERSHIPS, AND DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF WHERE THE NEXT
ROUND OF TALKS SHOULD BE HELD. SOME OF THEM MENTION TIME FRAMES NOT
UNLIKE TWO WEEKS. SO WHAT WE THINK WE WILL DO IS SPEND SOME TIME
TALKING FOR THE NEXT COUPLE OF WEEKS. I'M NOT SUGGESTING THAT ALL OF
THEM DID, BUT THERE WERE SOME. THERE WERE SOME WHO DID.

NOW -- NOW, LET ME -- LET ME SAY WE'LL BE TALKING WITH THESE
-- WITH THESE COUNTRIES, AND WE'LL BE TALKING WITH THE PARTIES TO
THESE TALKS TO SEE IF THEY CAN MAKE PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THE
QUESTION OF VENUE. I'M OPTIMISTIC THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME CHANCE
FOR AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL ON THE ONE HAND AND AT LEAST ONE
DELEGATION ON THE OTHER WITH RESPECT TO MAYBE A VENUE FOR FUTURE
TALKS.

IF THERE'S NO AGREEMENT ULTIMATELY, AFTER WE'VE HAD A CHANCE
TO CONSULT WITH THEM AND THEY'VE HAD A CHANCE TO CONSULT WITH EACH

OTHER, WE WILL FEEL FREE TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS.

Q WHEN WOULD THAT BE? HOW LONG -- HOW LONG ARE YOU GOING TO BE AT THESE --

SEC. BAKER: I JUST -- I JUST MENTIONED TWO WEEKS. I MEAN, THAT'S NOT A FIRM -- THAT'S NOT AN IRONCLAD DEADLINE OR ANYTHING LIKE THAT. IT'S JUST THAT I THINK THE PROCESS NEEDS AT LEAST -- AT LEAST -- TWO WEEKS FOR THIS CONSULTATION BETWEEN THEM AND ON OUR PART WITH THEM TO TAKE PLACE.

Q LEAVING ASIDE THE QUESTION OF VENUES, IF THAT COULD BE SOLVED, IS THE GULF BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE SYRIANS SO WIDE THAT THE US IS GOING TO HAVE TO STEP IN TO TRY TO BRING THEM TOGETHER TO MAKE THE TALKS MORE CONSTRUCTIVE, TO COME UP WITH SOME SORT OF SUGGESTIONS FOR BRIDGING THE GAPS IN THE TALKS?

SEC. BAKER: WELL, WITH RESPECT TO ALL OF THE TALKS, WE HAVE SAID -- WE HAVE OFFERED OURSELVES AS HONEST BROKERS AND WE HAVE SAID THAT WE WOULD BE WILLING, IF THE PARTIES WANTED US TO, EVEN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE TALKS THEMSELVES, THAT WE WOULD HOPE THEY COULD MAKE PROGRESS IN JUST DIRECT BILATERAL TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. IF THEY CAN'T AND THEY WANT US THERE, WE WILL BE THERE.

WE WOULD BE PLEASED IF THEY WANTED US TO SUBMIT IDEAS AND SUGGESTIONS. IF THEY CAME TO US, WE'VE GOT SOME AND WE WOULD BE PLEASED TO SUBMIT THOSE WHETHER WE WERE IN THE ROOM OR NOT. IT'S REALLY UP TO THE PARTIES, THOUGH.

Q DO YOU FEEL -- FROM -- FROM THE REPORTING FROM THE MEETING, IS IT YOUR OPINION THAT THE SYRIANS AND ISRAEL ARE AT A POINT WHERE THEY CAN CONTINUE WITHOUT OUTSIDE MEDIATION?

SEC. BAKER: WELL, I DON'T KNOW. THEY HAD THE FIRST MEETINGS WITHOUT IT AND THOSE -- I MEAN, I DON'T THINK MANY PEOPLE, IF YOU'D ASK THEM 60 DAYS AGO WHETHER ISRAEL AND SYRIA WOULD SIT AT THE TABLE FOR FIVE HOURS, WITH NO WALK-OUTS, AND THEN SAY IN THE AFTERMATH OF THOSE MEETINGS THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO CONTINUE IF THEY COULD AGREE ON VENUE, I DON'T THINK MANY PEOPLE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT THAT YOU WERE CORRECT. BUT THAT'S WHAT HAPPENED. SO LET'S SEE. WE DON'T KNOW.

Q DO YOU CONSIDER THE NEW ISRAELI SETTLEMENT IN THE GOLAN A MESSAGE TO YOU AND/OR SYRIA? AND IF SO, WHAT'S THE MESSAGE?

SEC. BAKER: WELL, YOU KNOW, I THINK WE -- AS I JUST MENTIONED MAYBE, I THINK, IN ANSWER TO THE EARLIER QUESTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST, AND AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, I THINK WE'VE CROSSED A THRESHOLD BY GETTING TO BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. AND WHAT I THINK IS NEEDED NOW MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE ARE STEPS THAT WOULD CREATE A POSITIVE ENVIRONMENT FOR THESE TALKS. AND STEPS OR ACTIONS THAT ARE PROVOCATIVE OR UNILATERAL, STEPS THAT WOULD BE SEEN BY ONE SIDE OR

THE OTHER AS PROVOCATIVE, WHETHER THEY ARE PROVOCATIVE OR NOT, ARE HARDLY LIKELY, I THINK, TO BUILD THE KIND OF CLIMATE THAT WOULD SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

NOW, YOU KNOW OUR ATTITUDE ON SETTLEMENTS. WE'VE MADE IT -- WE'VE MADE IT VERY CLEAR. AND IT'S HARD TO SEE -- HARD FOR US TO SEE HOW INAUGURATING A NEW SETTLEMENT NOW CAN HELP THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS THAT WE'VE JUST FINISHED LAUNCHING.

Q YOU WOULD HAVE TO BELIEVE THAT WAS NOT ISRAEL'S INTENTION, WOULDN'T YOU, TO HELP THE PROCESS?

SEC. BAKER: I WOULDN'T -- I WOULDN'T DRAW ANY CONCLUSIONS BEYOND WHAT I JUST SAID RIGHT HERE.

END

עד כאן
עיתונות

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 4758

אל: רהמש/318

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 119, תא: 051191, זח: 1718, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור / מידי

אל: מצפ'א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון.

ועידת מדריד - תדרוך האס.

ריצ'ארד האס תידרך את כל השגרירים בווינגטון ב"בלייר האוז".

לא היו בדבריו הרבה חידושים, להלן עיקר הדברים:

הועידה במדריד הושגה בגלל המלחמה ותוצאותיה, בגלל מעמד ארה"ב בעולם
ומהסיבה שישאלים וערכים ראו מה נשק מודרני יכול לעשות ואיך תיראה
המלחמה הבאה במזה"ת.

השינויים בבריה"מ, סיום המלחמה הקרה ושיתוף-הפעולה האמריקני-סובייטי
אף הם תרמו לאוירה הדרושה. היה לנו האומץ לומר לצדדים גם דברים שלא אהבו
לשמוע והיה ברור לכולם שיאלצו להתפשר. הסכמנו לתת לכולם מכתבי
בטחונות אך הבהרנו שלא נכנס לעסקאות סודיות וצדדיות.

מה שקרה במדריד לא תמיד היה אסתטי, אבל מה שמדהים הוא שזה קרה. הנשיא
נאומו סיפק את החזון. זה לא היה נאום רייגן מספטמבר '82, זאת לא היתה
תכנית אמריקנית לפתרון אלא חזון שעליו יכולים הצדדים לבנות. ההישג הגדול
הוא שאיש לא פרש והגענו בשלום לבילטרליות וכך מילאנו אחר המטרות שנכללו
בהזמנות.

היתה אכזבה במה שלא קרה. קיוונו שיהיו צלילים חדשים וגישות חדשות וזה
לא קרה אבל לא הופתענו כי זה טבע הדברים במעמדים ציבוריים ופומביים.
מכאן יש להתקדם בשלבים בתוך שמירה על שלושה העקרונות: שלום, טריטוריה
ובטחון. הצעד הבא הוא מציאת מקום וקביעת לוח-זמנים. איננו רוצים להכריח
את הצדדים כי אנחנו HONEST BROKER ויש כידוע דעות שונות בקשר למיקום אבל
אם לא ימצא מקום שיניח את דעת הצדדים, לא נתבייש אנחנו להציע מקום. כל
התרגילים הטכניים האלה מיועדים להתקדמות במהות. מבחינה זו יש תקווה
לקבוצה הישראלית-פלסטינאית אבל בטוח שיהיו קשיים. כידוע - THE DEVIL
"IS IN THE DETAILS" - ובכל זאת אני מתיחס לדיאלוג הישראלי-פלסטיני
באופטימיזם זהיר.

נשתדל יחד עם זה להגיע לשיחות המולטילטרליות וגם כאן תהיה בעיה של מקום וזמן. בשיחות אלה נדון בפר"ן והתחמשות, חומרי-גלם ומים, פיתוח כלכלי, סחר ושיקום פליטים. נרצה להתקדם במרץ. אין לנו רצון לאבד את המומנטום ונשאר אקטיביים.

נבקש מהצדדים צעדים יוצרי אמון. שלא תהיינה פרובוקציות כגון מעשי טרור או פרובוקציות אחרות. יש לנו יותר מדי מה להפסיד וכדאי שיהיו צעדים יוצרי אמון בשטח ההתנחלויות, החרם והאינתפאדה. הצדדים לא צריכים צעדים יוצרי אמון אתנו אלא אחד עם השני אבל אנחנו נשאר מעורבים והגדרתי למעורבותינו היא: "WE WILL TRY TO PROPOSE NOT TO IMPOSE".

אחר כך נשאלו שאלות.

לשאלה אם השיחות הבילטרליות תהיינה בווישינגטון, השיב שאיננו יודע. יש לתת לצדדים הזדמנות להסתדר ביניהם. ווישינגטון היא בהחלט אפשרות אך יש אפשרויות אחרות.

לשאלה מתי ישובו הצדדים להתכנס ואם זה עלול לקחת חדשים שלושה, השיב: "לא מדובר בחודשים אלא שבועות. זו גם דעת המזכיר וגם דעתי".

לשאלה מי ישתתף במולטילטרליות השיב שהיו הרבה תשובות חיוביות ומנה את מצרים, ירדן, המפרציות, צפון אפריקניות, ארה"ב, בריה"מ והאירופאיות.

הוסיף שגם אחרות מתענינות וכי ארה"ב מאד מעודדת מההיענות. הוסיף שהמולטילטרליות הן השלמה טובה לבילטרליות, שיש בכוחן ליצור אוירה חיובית בשביל הבילטרליות ולכן לא צריך לחכות להשלמת השיחות הבילטרליות ויש להתחיל במולטילטרליות בהקדם.

לשאלה מה עם השיחות הישראליות-סוריות, השיב שהדיאלוג הפומבי הקפיא את הדם, אבל אחר-כך ישבו שעות ביחד וזה כשלעצמו הישג. לא ציפינו שיפלו האחד על צווארי רעהו. עם הפלסטינאים הסיפור שונה: הפלסטינאים והישראלים פשוט מכירים אלה את אלה יותר טוב ונעשתה חשיבת רקע במשך שנים ולכן זה הולך יותר טוב. מטרותנו היא להשלים את הקטע הישראלי-פלסטיני תוך שנה ונשתדל לעמוד בלוח-זמנים זה.

עד כאן.

שילה.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם),
אמן, @ (מצב), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת,
הסברה, סולטן

The Wireless File

*NEA511

U.S. PRESS OPINION: MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE (Roundup of editorials) (1190)

U.S. newspapers are commenting editorially on the Middle East peace conference in Madrid. The following are excerpts.

THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Of course the old belligerents, newly gathered in Madrid, spent yesterday restating familiar grievances. More hopeful and far more interesting were the doors left open for serious diplomacy by Israeli and Palestinian leaders. Both sides spoke with a dignity and seriousness befitting a tragic conflict, qualities grievously absent in the truculent posturing of the Syrian Foreign Minister, Farouk al-Sharaa.

Without reciprocal concessions there can be no enduring peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. This imperative message was articulated Wednesday by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev, Madrid's co-sponsors. Yet Syria yesterday offered nothing more than a boilerplate assault on Zionism and a demand for the return of "every inch" of Arab land occupied by Israel since 1967....

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, especially by contrast, sounded like a statesman. He pleaded the need for dialogue and accommodation, and spoke of Israel's yearning for peace....

If Mr. Shamir has changed his stance, so have the Palestinians. Haidar Abdel-Shafi, who leads their delegation at Madrid, mostly avoided the ugly cliches of 40 years of bitterness. With-

out recrimination he described the torments of occupation and the anguish of the powerless. Tellingly, he expressed "solemn appreciation" to Israelis who came to the aid of Palestinians whose homes were being punitively demolished....

Healing words...mean far more than Syria's effusions or the failure of some Arabs and Israelis to shake hands in novel, and awkward, circumstances. Pessimists could find plenty of harsh language to dwell on from yesterday's transfixing performances. But the spirit of Mr. Abdel-Shafi's appeal augurs more hopefully for the direct talks expected soon to follow.

THE WASHINGTON POST:

With President Bush's statement opening the first-ever general Arab Israeli peace talks in Madrid, the outlines of a bold and purposeful diplomatic strategy become clear. It is evident that the United States expects a long and hard negotiation and will be involved deeply and continuously to make it succeed.

The key Bush contribution was to throw full American weight behind a decidedly pro-Israel definition of the desired outcome of peace talks: treaties, diplomatic and economic ties, normal neighborly relations along with the extra security guarantees appropriate to the dangers of the region.

In this way does Washington honorably repudiate the Arab notion - especially the Syrian notion - of a cold, formal "peace" on paper only, without contacts with Israel, without even a handshake. By the same logic, Washington is bound to resist the Arab tendency to dismiss as "procedural" Israel's insistence on conduct-

ing the coming direct talks on Arab and Israeli soil, rather than in neutral, international Madrid.

Only on the basis of "real peace" and Arab respect for Israel's "reasonable" security needs does Mr. Bush expect Israel to make concessions. But, he made clear, he does expect concessions, specifically including territorial concessions as well as "fairness" to Palestinians.

The Bush approach is designed to give strategic comfort to Israel, its first friend in the region, but in a framework permitting and encouraging an Israeli response. This approach indicates an intent to isolate Syria, at least in the first phase, and to stir Israelis and Palestinians to move with all deliberate speed — within a year, the president specified — toward Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank.

Here lies the value of having Mikhail Gorbachev — even a politically damaged and diminished Mikhail Gorbachev — sitting with Mr. Bush and supporting his policy. The two were telling Hafez Assad, formerly the Kremlin's Mideast favorite, that he can expect no relief from Moscow now and that to serve his territorial ambitions he must profoundly alter his concept of peace. This is a responsible foundation for the peace talks launched in Madrid.

THE BOSTON GLOBE:

President Bush sang all the right notes in his opening address to the Mideast peace conference in Madrid. Without completely satisfying any of the delegations, the president performed the difficult task of presenting an American approach to peacemaking

The Wireless File

that was welcomed by all the parties.

"Peace is at hand," said Israel's deputy foreign Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. A Palestinian spokeswoman, Hanan Ashrawi, lauded "the conciliatory nature" of the speech. These good reviews were, of course, scripted exercises in media diplomacy. Yet to categorize them as nothing more than slick sound bites would be to sacrifice lucidity for the immediate gratifications of cynicism....

Bush pleased Israelis by defining his ultimate aim as "real peace" and specifying that he meant "treaties, security, diplomatic relations, economic relations, trade, investment, cultural exchange, even tourism." He reassured the Arab side by pledging: "I will play an active role in helping the process succeed."

It is not easy to draw a rhetorical portrait of peace acceptable to the antagonists in the Mideast. Bush drew a picture that could presage real peace.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER:

No one expected a lovefest in Madrid. But even though both sides were unabashedly putting forward their toughest positions for the home audience and the cameras more than for each other, the hard-line rhetoric of Israeli and Arab participants at the peace conference yesterday was sobering. It illustrates why U.S. officials believe the peace process may take years....

But the whole nature of the process now beginning in Madrid makes it imperative to resist focusing on every harsh phrase. Unlike the peace process, between Egypt and Israel, the

outlines of the deal haven't been settled in advance. Each party comes to the talks reluctantly and unready to make big compromises in the name of peace....

But somehow the venue will be worked out. The reason is that, in another, larger triumph, all sides seem to have committed themselves to sticking with the talks. That means a lot of pain and frustration unless and until they all slowly climb down from their declared positions....

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES:

....The latest chilling examples of Iran's approach to geopolitics were prompted by the Middle East peace conference that opened this week in Madrid. The Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, successor to the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini as Iran's supreme leader, has denounced the talks as "treason" against Islam, and warned that all taking part in them will be punished. In Iran's national assembly the hard-liner Ali Akbar Mohtashemi proclaims that the Madrid talks are, "a declaration of war on Islam" and that all who are participating in the conference "must face the death sentence."...

Nothing can be done to stop Iran's threats against Madrid conference participants. But its nuclear weapons goals are another matter. Here, international cooperation can control the flow of nuclear technology and know-how to a regime whose aggressive and punitive ideology identify it as an international menace. U.S. officials say they expect China to honor its previous assurances that it won't help spread nuclear weapons. Other countries must also be emphatically reminded of their grave responsibilities not to encourage proliferation, least

of all to a state whose rulers grotesquely view a regional peace conference as a mortal threat to their interests....

NNNN

*NEA550

(Following FS material, based on press reports, is for distribution to mission staff only and not for publication)

NEWS ROUNDUP, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1 (650)

MADRID CONFERENCE SESSION ENDS

Rhetoric in the Middle East peace conference reached new heights of bitterness as those talks concluded — but Arabs and Israelis nonetheless agreed to initiate face-to-face negotiations in Madrid starting November 3.

In an emotional statement, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir called Syria one of the "most oppressive, tyrannical regimes in the world." In retaliation, the Syrian foreign minister displayed a "wanted" poster from 1947 showing Shamir as an underground resistance leader sought by the British for his membership in the Stern gang; the gang was believed involved in the deaths of several diplomats during Israel's campaign for statehood.

Israel's diplomatic goal is to move face-to-face talks from Madrid to the Mideast, forcing Arabs to negotiate on Israeli soil — and thus implicitly to acknowledge the existence of the Jewish state. The Arab delegations insist on remaining in Madrid for

אאא, חוזם: 3009

אל: רהמש/226

מ-: המשרד, תא: 041191, זח: 1856, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

100193

שמור/מידי

110.70

אל: וושינגטון-הציר

הנדון: ועידת השלום: מכתבי הבטחונות

ל הידוע לנו, מכתבים אלה לא הופצו בוועידה, למרות דבריו החוזרים ונישנים של המזכיר שלא יהיו שום בטחונות שלא יובאו לידיעת הכל (אף שמנו לב שבדברי הפתיחה של הנשיא בוש בוועידה, אמר שארה"ב 'תתדרך' הצדדים לגבי הבטחונות שניתנו).

נא לפנות למי שתראו לנכון במחמ"ד ותבקש נוסח המכתבים הנ"ל.

מנהל מצפ"א

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 1085

אל: רהמש/135

מ-: ווש, נר: 2006, תא: 021191, זח: 1145, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/ בהול להזעיק

אל: לשכת רה'מ

לשכת שה'ח

לשכת שהב'ט

מאת: הציר וושינגטון

התקשר זה עתה קובי סגן ראש אגף מז'ת (סגנו של דג'ריג'יאן במחמ'ד) ואמר שקבל הוראה לפנות אלינו כדלקמן:-

החל משעות הבוקר המוקדמות מגיעות ידיעות מדרום לבנון שרדיו צד'ל מזהיר כפריים צפונה לאזור הבטחון לעזוב את בתיהם תוך שתיים-עשרה שעות. עוד אומרת האזהרה כי כל מי שמתגורר סמוך למרכז טרוריסטי צריך לעזוב את ביתו. הקריין אומר שזו אזהרה מטעם צד'ל וצה'ל. האזור שמדובר בו (לדברי קובי) מקיף כמאה כפרים ואוכלוסיה של כמאה-אלף. היתה כבר הפגזה על כפר רומאן שליד נבטיה ונחתו בו מספר פגזים שנורו מאזור הבטחון.

קובי אומר שהם מיהרו לפנות אלינו בענין זה באמצעות שגרירותם בתל-אביב אך 'השגרירות הצליחה להגיע רק לפקידים תורנימ' שבדקו והשיבו להם שאין כוונה לקיים פעולה רחבת-היקף.

תשובה זו עדיין מותירה אצלם דאגה עמוקה ודג'רג'יאן העלה את הנושא עם סלי מרידור במדריד, ביקשו למסור רשמית שמכיון שהפעילות המדינית במדריד עודה נמשכת ומכיון שמצפים שביום א' תיפגש משלחת ישראלית עם משלחת לבנונית, הם סבורים שאין זה הזמן להפעלת לחצים מן הסוג הזה שתוצאתם עלולה לפגוע בתהליך.

בקש שנעביר דאגתם ארצה ונבקש תשובה/התייחסות בחוזר.

שילה

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 945

אל: רהמש/119

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 28, תא: 011191, זח: 1620, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / מיד

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

JSAP

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1. בסימן עסקים כרגיל, חתם (31.10) תת-המזכיר ברטולומיאו על המכתב השנתי הכולל הסכמה ל- FMF בסך 1.8 בליון.

2. להלן נקודות שהשמיע ברטולומיאו במהלך הדיון - (בן ארבע שעות בלבד) שהתנהל על מי מנוחות:

א. המסר של המפגש צריך להיות STEADINESS AND CONTINUITY.

ב. רק ישראל בטוחה (SECURE) תוכל לעשות שלום.

ג. ללא קשר לתהליך ולהתקדמותו, תמשיך ישראל להיות באיזור מסוכן על כל המשמעויות התקציביות הנובעות מכך.

ד. ללא קשר לשינויים שהתחוללו בזירה הבינ"ל, הממשל ישאר ב- FY93 מחויב לבטחון ישראל ולשמירת הפער האיכותי שלה.

ה. במקביל למאמץ לשמירת רמת ה- FMF ב- FY93 יעשו כל מאמץ TO "SUPPLEMENT THE FMF".

ו. את רצונם להקטין OSP ל- 400 מליון דולר יש לראות בקונטקסט של לחץ ציבורי להקטנת סיוע חוץ. יתקשו להצדיק הוצאת כספי משלם המיסים האמריקאי להצדקת רכישות מחוץ לארה"ב (בשל חילוקי דעות לגבי גובה ה- OSP, סוכם להמשיך ולדון בנושא).

ז. בהקשר ל- FAIR PRICING, ציין כי לא יוכלו לפתור לנו לטווח ארוך בעיות ה- CASH FLOW.

ח. שמירה על רמת הסיוע, קרי עסקים כרגיל, לא נשמע מרתק. למרות זאת, רואה בכך הישג על רקע אילוצי התקציב. עד כאן נקודות מדברי ברטולומיאו. מכתבי ברטולומיאו ועברי בדי"פ.

שטיין

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 39553

אל: רהמש/21

מ-: המשרד, תא: 011191, זח: 0128, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

4521

שמור/מידי

106.01

אל: הקונסוליה, לוס אנג'לס

דע: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: משלחת מחוקקים מלוס אנג'לס

דור המשלחת הנ'ל בישראל עמד בצל ועידת השלום במדריד, ולפיכך הושפעה תוכניתם רבות מכך. כוונתי בעיקר לפגישות שנקבעו ובוטלו ברגע האחרון.

התלוויתי אליהם לפגישות דלהלן:

ח'כ יצחק רבין (29/10):

סקר השינויים שהתחוללו בעולם וירידת כוחה של ברה'מ והביע דעתו שאסד לא היה מגיע לוועידה בלעדי שינויים אלו. שוחח על האיום העיראקי ועל הדיווחים המדאיגים ממשלחת האו'מ.

מאמין כי ניתן להתקדם עם הפלס' מהר יותר מאשר עם סוריה כי קיים בסיס כיצד להתחיל את המו'מ. הביע דעתו כי עלינו לנוע בשני שלבים, בהתחלה שלטון עצמי לפלס' לתקופת מעבר עד 5 שנים ולאחר שלוש שנים בתקופת המעבר ידונו ישראל והפלס' על הסדר קבע.

סדר העדיפויות מבחינתנו לפתרון סכסוכים הנו: הבעיה הפלס', ירדן ואח'כ סוריה. לא מאמין בהצעה של הקפאת ההתנחלויות תמורת הפסקת האינתיפאדה שכן לא מאמין מיכולתם של חוסיין ועשראווי לשלוט באינתיפאדה.

מנהל מצפ'א (30.1)0

נתן סקירת אוריינטציה על ישראל במערך המזה'תי ועל רצונה העז בשלום ועל דריכותנו לתוצאות ועידת מדריד, נשאל על האינתיפאדה ועל רצון הפלס' בשלום.

ח'כ בני בגין (30.10)

נשאל לדעתו על כך ששמיר בזמנו נמנע בהצבעה על הסכמי קמפ דייוויד דבק בהם עתה. כשנשאל על ערבויות הדיוור ספר על התרשמותו מפגישותיו האחרונות בגבעה וכן דעתו כי הממשל ירצה לנצל הערבויות ולהשתמש בהם כפוף להתקדמות בתהליך.

ח'כ מרדכי וירשובסקי (30.10)

דבר על קליטת העליה מברה'מ ואתיופיה והבעיות הכרוכות בכך. טען כי הקו הירוק אכן קיים ומסמן הגבול בו הנעצרת הדמוקרטיה. בתי ספר ואונברסטאיות נפתחות ונסגרות בהתאם להחלטות הצבא. הביע הערכתו לנשיא ולמזכיר על המאמצים הבלתי נלאים שמקדישים לשלום ועל הצלחתם להושיב את כל הצדדים לשולחן הדיונים.

ח'כ אריאל לין 30/10

נשאל רבות על מיעוט נשים בתחום הפוליטי בישראל ועל מספרן הזעום של ח'כיות. תשובתו כי נשים בישראל אינן מתעניינות בפוליטיקה ואינן בעלות אמביציה זכתה לאי הסכמה בולט.

בסך הכל התקבל הרושם כי הקבוצה נהנתה מביקורה בישראל למרות שגב' ביין הראתה אכזבתה הרבה מביטולים של מספר פגישות ומכך שלא יכלו לפגוש הנשיא ועוד.

בוודאי תשוחח עמה על כך. ניסתי להסביר לה אך אכזבתה נותרה בעינה.

מצפ'א- רובינשטיין

31 באוקטובר 1991

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 920

אל: רהמש/118

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 25, תא: 011191, זח: 1619, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

9,669827

בלמ"ס-מידי

אל: שר האוצר, מנכ"ל, חשכ"ל, יועץ כלכלי רוה"מ, ממונה על תקציבים.

דע: מצפ"א.

מאת: כלכלית, וושינגטון

הנדון: ביקור G.A.O בארץ.

בעקבות שיחתי עם מ. רבינא בדקתי בשנית את הנושא בנקודות הבאות:

- שינוי לוח הזמנים לביקור בארץ.

- קביעת מועדי הפגישות ואופי הפגישות בארץ.

- אפשרויות לניהול מו"מ על נושאי הביקורת.

ראשית, שוחחתי עם סוזאן גיבס שהיא ראש הצות על מנת להבין את דרכי עבודתם ויכולתו לעקוב אחרי פגישותיהם בארץ וכאן.

להלן עיקרי ממצאי והמלצותי:

א) צוות ה G.A.O פנה לשגרירות האמריקאית בארץ לארגן עבורם את הפגישות "עפ"י רשימות שלהם ועפ"י המלצותינו.

להערכת המירב שניתן לעשות בנדון לתדרך את האנשים אתם ייפגשו בצורה כזו שכל אחד ידבר בתחומים בהם הוא בקיא ועפ"י איזה תדריך כללי, כדי שלא יתפסו אותנו בכל מיני סתירות.

ב) הצוות קבע את מועד ביקורו בארץ, כתוצאה מהאילוץ לסיים את עבודתו עד ינואר 92. הם לא ישנו את תאריך ביקורם וחבל לנסות לפעול בעניין הזה.

ג) אני חוזר על מברקי הקודמים. פורמלית אין כל חובת דיווח ל G.A.O. יחד עם זאת לכל חוסר רצון לשתף פעולה במתן מידע תהיה השפעה שלילית על הדו"ח, וידווח ישירות לסנטור בירד. סביר להניח שזה לא יתרום לחיוביות הדו"ח.

ד) עפ"י ניסיון המקומיים - אין כל אפשרות להשפיע על ה G.A.O. כל ניסיון השפעה פוליטי יזכה לתגובה שלילית ביותר ועשוי אף לגרום לנזק.

כמו כן אין מה לנהל מו"מ על אופי עבודתם זה נקבע בהגדרה עפ"י פניית הסנטור.

לאור כל האמור, להערכתי הדרך הנאותה להתמודד - זה להגיע לשיתוף פעולה מלא ולנסות להשפיע על הדו"ח - דרך המידע האמיתי אשר יועבר אליהם.

נויבך.

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), בנצור, מצפא, אוצר, @ (חשבכללי)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 38351
אל: רהמש/2020
מ-: המשרד, תא: 311091, זח: 1006, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בכב
98362
שמור/מידי
110.70

אל: מדריד - בנצור - משלחת

הנדון: מכתבי הבטחונות

1. שמנו לב שהנשיא בוש, בנאומו אתמול, אמר שארה"ב 'תתדרך' (WILL BRIEF) את הצדדים לגבי תוכן מכתבי ההבטחונות שניתנו אך לא אמר שהעתקים של מכתבים אלה יימסרו לידי כולם. האם יש בזאת שינוי בעמדת ארה"ב ?
2. מכתב הבטחונות 'הפלסטינאי' התפרסם היום בעתון ג'רוסלם פוסט. מעבירים את הנוסח בנפרד.

מנהל מצפ"א
31 באוקטובר 1991

יוצא: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, מצב, בנצור, מצפא

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 39384
אל: ועידת שלום/291
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 667, תא: 311091, זח: 1329, מ: סג: בל,
בבב
בלמ"ס/מיידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת
מדריד משלחת

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

הנדון: תמליל ראיון עם מזכיר המדינה לשעבר, הנרי קיסינג'ר, ב- NBC

NBC "TODAY" INTERVIEW WITH: HENRY KISSINGER, FORMER SECRETARY OF
STATE WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1991

BRYANT GUMBEL: MORE THAN MOST, DR. HENRY KISSINGER CAN FULLY
APPRECIATE THE INCREDIBLE OBSTACLES TO PEACE FACING THOSE WHO'VE
CONVENED IN MADRID. THE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE IS A VETERAN OF
MIDEAST DIPLOMACY AND KNOWS THE ISSUES ALL TOO WELL. DR. KISSINGER,
GOOD MORNING.

DR. KISSINGER: GOOD TO BE HERE.

MR. GUMBEL: DID YOU THINK YOU'D EVER LIVE TO SEE THIS DAY,
ALL OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MIDEAST SITTING DOWN AT THE SAME
TABLE?

DR. KISSINGER: IT SEEMED NEARLY INCREDIBLE ABOUT A YEAR AGO,
AND I THINK IT'S A GREAT TRIBUTE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND TO
THE PRESIDENT FOR HAVING BROUGHT IT OFF.

MR. GUMBEL: REALISTICALLY, WHAT ARE YOUR EXPECTATIONS OF
WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN IN MADRID?

DR. KISSINGER: WELL, REALISTICALLY, I THINK NOW WE'RE GOING
THROUGH A PERIOD OF EXAGGERATED OPTIMISM, BECAUSE EVERYBODY IS NOW
POSTURING FOR VARIOUS AUDIENCES IN ORDER TO SHIFT THE BLAME FOR ANY
DEADLOCK TO THE OPPONENT. THE NEXT ROUND WE MAY BE FACING, WHICH
WILL BE NEXT WEEK, MAY BE EXAGGERATEDLY PESSIMISTIC, BECAUSE I THINK
THIS ROUND OF TALKS WILL STALEMATE. AND I'M SURE THAT SECRETARY OF
STATE BAKER AND PRESIDENT BUSH EXPECT IT TO STALEMATE. THEN, IN MY
VIEW, THE REAL GAME STARTS, WHENEVER THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS BREAKS
UP. THEN ONE HAS TO SEE WHETHER ONE CAN EITHER BRING TOGETHER THE
POSITIONS OR WHETHER ONE CAN BREAK OUT A MORE LIMITED AREA AND MAKE
AN AGREEMENT. AND ON THIS, I'M REASONABLY OPTIMISTIC.

MR. GUMBEL: CAN THE UNITED STATES OFFER ENOUGH IN THE WAY OF EITHER INCENTIVES OR DISINCENTIVES TO MAKE THE PARTIES BUDGE OFF OF THEIR HISTORIC POSITIONS?

DR. KISSINGER: WELL, THE TRICK IS TO BE AN ACTIVE MEDIATOR BUT NOT LET BOTH PARTIES SHIFT ALL THE TOUGH DECISIONS TO THE UNITED STATES. I BELIEVE THAT IF WE DEFINE THE ISSUE IN A MORE LIMITED WAY, IF WE TRY TO LINK EVERYTHING TOGETHER INTO ONE COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT, THEN THE MOST INTRACTABLE PARTY CAN STOP EVERYTHING. BUT IF WE TAKE OUT ONE ISSUE -- SAY, AUTONOMY FOR THE WEST BANK OR A LIMITED AGREEMENT ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, OR MAYBE SOMETHING ELSE -- THEN I THINK PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. IT WILL BE PAINFUL, BUT I THINK IT CAN BE DONE.

MR. GUMBEL: BUT HAVE THE MORE INTRACTABLE PARTIES, AS YOU CALL THEM, A DISPROPORTIONATE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE? I MEAN, LET'S SAY, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL GO NOWHERE ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND SYRIA PULLS OUT. CAN SYRIA INFLUENCE THE PALESTINIANS TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT THOSE TALKS WHERE THERE IS HOPE COULD FALL APART?

DR. KISSINGER: THEY WILL TRY. BUT THE RELATION BETWEEN SYRIA AND THE PALESTINIANS HAS HISTORICALLY NOT BEEN ALL THAT GREAT. THE BEST THING, OF COURSE, WOULD BE TO KEEP BOTH SETS OF TALKS GOING AND PUT ONE OF THEM ON A FASTER TRACK. I THINK IF REAL PROGRESS SEEMS POSSIBLE, NOBODY WILL BE ABLE TO VETO IT. BUT IF THERE'S A STALEMATE ON ALL FRONTS, THEN SOMEBODY WILL BE TEMPTED TO WALK OUT.

MR. GUMBEL: WHEN THEY SIT OPPOSITE EACH OTHER ULTIMATELY, AFTER THESE OPENING SESSIONS ARE DONE, WITH THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND START TALKING, DO YOU EXPECT THAT THEY'LL BEGIN TO SEE HOW MUCH THEY HAVE IN COMMON OR WILL THEIR POSITIONS BECOME EVEN MORE INTRACTABLE?

DR. KISSINGER: I THINK THAT THE IDEA THE DIRECT TALKS WILL BRING THEM CLOSER TOGETHER IS PROBABLY AN ILLUSION, BECAUSE THE ISRAELIS ARE VERY LEGALISTIC. THE ARABS ARE VERY SORT OF POETRY-ORIENTED OR MORE ROMANTICALLY -- (INAUDIBLE). SO TO MATCH THESE TWO, ESPECIALLY THE SYRIANS AND THE ISRAELIS, IS GOING TO BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT.

MR. GUMBEL: BEING LEGALISTIC, ARE THE ISRAELIS PLAYING SEMANTIC GAMES WHEN THEY CONTEND, AS THEY STILL DO, THAT THEY'RE NOT DEALING WITH THE PLO IN THESE TALKS?

DR. KISSINGER: PARTLY.

MR. GUMBEL: THEY ARE DEALING WITH THE PLO.

DR. KISSINGER: IN A WAY, YES; I MEAN, NOT DIRECTLY, AND I THINK FOR THEM IT'S VERY IMPORTANT TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT THEY ARE NOT DEALING WITH A GROUP THEY CONSIDER A TERRORIST GROUP DIRECTLY. BUT CERTAINLY THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES MUST HAVE SOME RELATIONSHIP AT LEAST BEHIND THE SCENES WITH THE PLO IF THEY WANT TO HAVE ANY VALIDITY.

MR. GUMBEL: IF THE TALKS ARE TO GO ANYWHERE BEYOND THE "HI, HOW ARE YOU" STAGE, MUST THE PLO HAVE MORE OF A DIRECT PARTICIPATORY ROLE?

DR. KISSINGER: I THINK IT'S BEEN WORKED OUT PRETTY WELL, BECAUSE THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION IS CLEARLY IN TOUCH WITH THE PLO. MAYBE AT SOME POINT THEY HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY WANT TO SEPARATE FROM THE PLO, BUT THAT POINT ISN'T REACHED YET. I THINK THIS IS ONE OF THE ISSUES THAT SHOULD NOT BE FACED DIRECTLY. LET'S SEE WHETHER THE DELEGATION, WHATEVER IT CALLS ITSELF, IS READY TO MAKE AN AGREEMENT, WHATEVER THEY CALL THE AGREEMENT. YOU KNOW, WHETHER YOU CALL AN AGREEMENT PEACE OR WHETHER YOU CALL IT END OF BELLIGERENCY OR WHETHER YOU DON'T PUT ANY HEADING ON IT, IF YOU CAN SAY ISRAEL GOES FROM HERE TO THERE AND THE ARABS DO THE FOLLOWING FIVE THINGS OR THREE THINGS, THEN YOU KNOW WHETHER YOU HAVE SOMETHING. AND I THINK THAT MAY BE ATTAINABLE.

MR. GUMBEL: WHICH IS MORE TRUE, THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS EVERYTHING TO GAIN AND NOTHING TO LOSE OR EVERYTHING TO LOSE AND NOTHING TO GAIN?

DR. KISSINGER: I THINK PROBABLY NEITHER IS EXACTLY TRUE, BUT THE FORMER IS MORE TRUE THAN THE LATTER, BECAUSE AFTER ALL, THE UNITED STATES ISN'T DIRECTLY INVOLVED. THE PARTIES ARE THE ONES THAT HAVE MOST TO LOSE. THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO BE HELPFUL.

MR. GUMBEL: DR. HENRY KISSINGER, THANKS VERY MUCH. I'M SURE WE'LL TALK AGAIN.

DR. KISSINGER: NICE TO SEE YOU.

END

עד כאן

עתידי

0000

אאא, חוזם: 29
אל: רהמש/56
מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 893, תא: 311091, זח: 1712, דח: ר, סג: שמ,
בכב
22381
שמור/רגיל
אהב 202.01

אל: מנהל ארבי'ל 2
מנהל מצפ'א

דע: סמנכ'ל ארבי'ל
סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ

מאת: אהרן יעקב - נאו'ם

הנדון: פגישת השגריר ארידור עם השגריר המיועד של ארה'ב בי

1. השגריר המיועד של ארה'ב בישראל, WILLIAM HAROP, ערך
היום ביקור אצל השגריר ארידור. השתתפו טרי והח'מ.

3. השיחה נסכה ברובה על נושאים הקשורים בתהליך השלום. השגריר ארידור סקר
בפני הארופ את האפשרויות, ועמד על בעיית המימדים הקטנים והעדר העומק
האיסטרטגי של ישראל.

3. הארופ שאל מה מצב היזמה בענין החלטה 3379. השגריר ארידור השיב כי
התקדמות היזמה תלויה במדה מכרעת בארה'ב. אם ארה'ב תחליט לפעול בנחישות
לגיוס הרוב הדרוש - חזקה עליה כי תצליח בכך. אנו מצידנו רוצים להעלות את
הנושא בעצרת בהקדם האפשרי, אולם לא נוכל לעשות זאת בכוחות עצמנו בלבד.

אהרן יעקב - נאו'ם

31 באוקטובר 1991

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, @ (מצב), בנצור, מצפא, ביינ ,
ארבל², ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), אמן

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 63
אל: רהמש/49
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 696, תא: 311091, זח: 1738, דח: מ, סג: בל,
בכב
בלמ"ס-מידי

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מנכ"ל האוצר, מקש"ח

מאת: ר' יחידת קונגרס

דון: בקורו של ריצ'רד אלטמן

1. הנ"ל הוא מנכ"ל NATPAC, ה-PAC הפרו-ישראלי הגדול בארה"ב, מיסודו של מרוין ג'וזפסון. הוא נמנה, להערכתי, על המנוסים בניבכי הפוליטיקה הושינגטונית, ועל המרושטים ביותר בגבעת הקפיטול.

2. ריצ'רד נוחת בישראל ב-10.11.91 ב-16:00 וממריא חזרה לארה"ב אחרי חצות ה-18.11.91.

3. אני ממליץ לסייע לו בארגון מפגשים ובקורים, מתוך הנחה שהמסרים אשר יספוג יסייעו לקידום המערכה על הערכויות בפרט ועל "תחיקות הישראליות" בכלל.

4. להלן בקשותיו:

- תדרוך מש' האוצר על הרפורמות הכלכליות המתרחשות והצפויות, על יכולתה של ישראל לפרוע חובותיה ועל היעדים המפורטים של כספי הערכויות;

- מפגש עם נתן שרנסקי וביקור במרכז קליטה;

- שר הבינוי והשיכון;

- תדרוך משה"ח על יחסי ישראל-ארה"ב;

- מפגש עם דוד אפק על סעודיה והמפרץ;

- ס/שה"ח, מנכ"ל מש' רה"מ ומזכיר הממשלה על תהליך השלום;

- מפגש עם הנציג הסוביטי הבכיר בישראל;

- מפגש עם שהב"ט, ביקור באתרי ה"חץ" וה"מרכבה" (ונושאי בטחון אחרים העומדים על הפרק התחיקתי) ואד"ל ותדרוך על האיום הסורי;

- ח"כ בני בגין ונציגי הדור הצעיר בשמאל;

- ד"ר דורי גולד;

- קיום אחד מן המפגשים הנ"ל בבית זיכנברג;

יורם אטינגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, @ (מצב), בנצור, מצפא, אוצר,
@ (מקשח/משהבט), רביב, מאור

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 39384

אל: רהמש/2042

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 667, תא: 311091, זח: 1329, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

בלמ"ס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מדריד משלחת

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

הנדון: תמליל ראיון עם מזכיר המדינה לשעבר, הנרי קיסינג'ר, ב- NBC

NBC "TODAY" INTERVIEW WITH: HENRY KISSINGER, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1991

BRYANT GUMBEL: MORE THAN MOST, DR. HENRY KISSINGER CAN FULLY APPRECIATE THE INCREDIBLE OBSTACLES TO PEACE FACING THOSE WHO'VE CONVENED IN MADRID. THE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE IS A VETERAN OF MIDEAST DIPLOMACY AND KNOWS THE ISSUES ALL TOO WELL. DR. KISSINGER, GOOD MORNING.

DR. KISSINGER: GOOD TO BE HERE.

MR. GUMBEL: DID YOU THINK YOU'D EVER LIVE TO SEE THIS DAY, ALL OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MIDEAST SITTING DOWN AT THE SAME TABLE?

DR. KISSINGER: IT SEEMED NEARLY INCREDIBLE ABOUT A YEAR AGO, AND I THINK IT'S A GREAT TRIBUTE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND TO THE PRESIDENT FOR HAVING BROUGHT IT OFF.

MR. GUMBEL: REALISTICALLY, WHAT ARE YOUR EXPECTATIONS OF WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN IN MADRID?

DR. KISSINGER: WELL, REALISTICALLY, I THINK NOW WE'RE GOING THROUGH A PERIOD OF EXAGGERATED OPTIMISM, BECAUSE EVERYBODY IS NOW POSTURING FOR VARIOUS AUDIENCES IN ORDER TO SHIFT THE BLAME FOR ANY DEADLOCK TO THE OPPONENT. THE NEXT ROUND WE MAY BE FACING, WHICH WILL BE NEXT WEEK, MAY BE EXAGGERATEDLY PESSIMISTIC, BECAUSE I THINK THIS ROUND OF TALKS WILL STALEMATE. AND I'M SURE THAT SECRETARY OF STATE BAKER AND PRESIDENT BUSH EXPECT IT TO STALEMATE. THEN, IN MY VIEW, THE REAL GAME STARTS, WHENEVER THE NEXT ROUND OF TALKS BREAKS

UP. THEN ONE HAS TO SEE WHETHER ONE CAN EITHER BRING TOGETHER THE POSITIONS OR WHETHER ONE CAN BREAK OUT A MORE LIMITED AREA AND MAKE AN AGREEMENT. AND ON THIS, I'M REASONABLY OPTIMISTIC.

MR. GUMBEL: CAN THE UNITED STATES OFFER ENOUGH IN THE WAY OF EITHER INCENTIVES OR DISINCENTIVES TO MAKE THE PARTIES BUDGE OFF OF THEIR HISTORIC POSITIONS?

DR. KISSINGER: WELL, THE TRICK IS TO BE AN ACTIVE MEDIATOR BUT NOT LET BOTH PARTIES SHIFT ALL THE TOUGH DECISIONS TO THE UNITED STATES. I BELIEVE THAT IF WE DEFINE THE ISSUE IN A MORE LIMITED WAY, IF WE TRY TO LINK EVERYTHING TOGETHER INTO ONE COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT, THEN THE MOST INTRACTABLE PARTY CAN STOP EVERYTHING. BUT IF WE TAKE OUT ONE ISSUE -- SAY, AUTONOMY FOR THE WEST BANK OR A LIMITED AGREEMENT ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, OR MAYBE SOMETHING ELSE -- THEN I THINK PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE. IT WILL BE PAINFUL, BUT I THINK IT CAN BE DONE.

MR. GUMBEL: BUT HAVE THE MORE INTRACTABLE PARTIES, AS YOU CALL THEM, A DISPROPORTIONATE AMOUNT OF INFLUENCE? I MEAN, LET'S SAY, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SYRIA AND ISRAEL GO NOWHERE ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND SYRIA PULLS OUT. CAN SYRIA INFLUENCE THE PALESTINIANS TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT THOSE TALKS WHERE THERE IS HOPE COULD FALL APART?

DR. KISSINGER: THEY WILL TRY. BUT THE RELATION BETWEEN SYRIA AND THE PALESTINIANS HAS HISTORICALLY NOT BEEN ALL THAT GREAT. THE BEST THING, OF COURSE, WOULD BE TO KEEP BOTH SETS OF TALKS GOING AND PUT ONE OF THEM ON A FASTER TRACK. I THINK IF REAL PROGRESS SEEMS POSSIBLE, NOBODY WILL BE ABLE TO VETO IT. BUT IF THERE'S A STALEMATE ON ALL FRONTS, THEN SOMEBODY WILL BE TEMPTED TO WALK OUT.

MR. GUMBEL: WHEN THEY SIT OPPOSITE EACH OTHER ULTIMATELY, AFTER THESE OPENING SESSIONS ARE DONE, WITH THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND START TALKING, DO YOU EXPECT THAT THEY'LL BEGIN TO SEE HOW MUCH THEY HAVE IN COMMON OR WILL THEIR POSITIONS BECOME EVEN MORE INTRACTABLE?

DR. KISSINGER: I THINK THAT THE IDEA THE DIRECT TALKS WILL BRING THEM CLOSER TOGETHER IS PROBABLY AN ILLUSION, BECAUSE THE ISRAELIS ARE VERY LEGALISTIC. THE ARABS ARE VERY SORT OF POETRY-ORIENTED OR MORE ROMANTICALLY -- (INAUDIBLE). SO TO MATCH THESE TWO, ESPECIALLY THE SYRIANS AND THE ISRAELIS, IS GOING TO BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT.

MR. GUMBEL: BEING LEGALISTIC, ARE THE ISRAELIS PLAYING SEMANTIC GAMES WHEN THEY CONTEND, AS THEY STILL DO, THAT THEY'RE NOT DEALING WITH THE PLO IN THESE TALKS?

DR. KISSINGER: PARTLY.

MR. GUMBEL: THEY ARE DEALING WITH THE PLO.

DR. KISSINGER: IN A WAY, YES; I MEAN, NOT DIRECTLY, AND I THINK FOR THEM IT'S VERY IMPORTANT TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT THEY ARE NOT DEALING WITH A GROUP THEY CONSIDER A TERRORIST GROUP DIRECTLY. BUT CERTAINLY THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES MUST HAVE SOME RELATIONSHIP AT LEAST BEHIND THE SCENES WITH THE PLO IF THEY WANT TO HAVE ANY VALIDITY.

MR. GUMBEL: IF THE TALKS ARE TO GO ANYWHERE BEYOND THE "HI, HOW ARE YOU" STAGE, MUST THE PLO HAVE MORE OF A DIRECT PARTICIPATORY ROLE?

DR. KISSINGER: I THINK IT'S BEEN WORKED OUT PRETTY WELL, BECAUSE THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION IS CLEARLY IN TOUCH WITH THE PLO. MAYBE AT SOME POINT THEY HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER THEY WANT TO SEPARATE FROM THE PLO, BUT THAT POINT ISN'T REACHED YET. I THINK THIS IS ONE OF THE ISSUES THAT SHOULD NOT BE FACED DIRECTLY. LET'S SEE WHETHER THE DELEGATION, WHATEVER IT CALLS ITSELF, IS READY TO MAKE AN AGREEMENT, WHATEVER THEY CALL THE AGREEMENT. YOU KNOW, WHETHER YOU CALL AN AGREEMENT PEACE OR WHETHER YOU CALL IT END OF BELLIGERENCY OR WHETHER YOU DON'T PUT ANY HEADING ON IT, IF YOU CAN SAY ISRAEL GOES FROM HERE TO THERE AND THE ARABS DO THE FOLLOWING FIVE THINGS OR THREE THINGS, THEN YOU KNOW WHETHER YOU HAVE SOMETHING. AND I THINK THAT MAY BE ATTAINABLE.

MR. GUMBEL: WHICH IS MORE TRUE, THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS EVERYTHING TO GAIN AND NOTHING TO LOSE OR EVERYTHING TO LOSE AND NOTHING TO GAIN?

DR. KISSINGER: I THINK PROBABLY NEITHER IS EXACTLY TRUE, BUT THE FORMER IS MORE TRUE THAN THE LATTER, BECAUSE AFTER ALL, THE UNITED STATES ISN'T DIRECTLY INVOLVED. THE PARTIES ARE THE ONES THAT HAVE MOST TO LOSE. THE UNITED STATES IS TRYING TO BE HELPFUL.

MR. GUMBEL: DR. HENRY KISSINGER, THANKS VERY MUCH. I'M SURE WE'LL TALK AGAIN.

DR. KISSINGER: NICE TO SEE YOU.

END

עד כאן

עיונות

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם),
אמן, @ (מצב), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת,
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*NEA399 10/30/91

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NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA WIRELESS FILE LOG
FOR WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1991

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*NEA302

MIDDLE EAST PEACE "NEED NOT BE A DREAM," BUSH SAYS

(Text: remarks at Madrid conference 10/30/91) (2160)

Madrid — Peace in the Middle East "need not be a dream," President Bush said October 30 in remarks to the opening session of the Middle East peace conference in Madrid.

The president said "the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty is striking proof that former adversaries can make and sustain peace," and further, that parties in the region "have respected agreements, not only in the Sinai, but on the Golan Heights as well."

Bush stressed that the conference's objective is "not simply to end the state of war...and replace it with a state of nonbelligerency," but to achieve "real peace...security, diplomatic relations, economic relations, trade, investment, cultural exchange, even tourism."

"What we seek is a Middle East where vast resources are no longer devoted to armaments," he said. "A Middle East where young people no longer have to dedicate, and all too often, give their lives to combat. A Middle East no longer victimized by fear and terror. A Middle East where normal men and women lead normal lives."

Following is the text of the president's remarks:

(begin text)

Prime Minister Gonzalez, President Gorbachev, Excellencies. Let me begin by thanking the government of Spain for hosting this historic gathering. With short notice, the Spanish

people and their leaders stepped forward to make available this magnificent setting. And let us hope that this conference of Madrid will mark the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Middle East.

I also want to express at the outset my pleasure at the presence of our fellow co-sponsor, President Gorbachev. At a time of momentous challenges at home, President Gorbachev and his senior associates have demonstrated their intent to engage the Soviet Union as a force for positive change in the Middle East. This sends a powerful signal to all those who long for peace.

We come to Madrid on a mission of hope — to begin work on a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement to the conflict in the Middle East. We come here to seek peace for a part of the world that in the long memory of man has known far too much hatred, anguish and war. I can think of no endeavor more worthy — or more necessary.

Our objective must be clear and straightforward. It is not simply to end the state of war in the Middle East and replace it with a state of nonbelligerency. This is not enough; this would not last. Rather, we seek peace, real peace. And by real peace I mean treaties. Security. Diplomatic relations. Economic relations. Trade. Investment. Cultural exchange. Even tourism.

What we seek is a Middle East where vast resources are no longer devoted to armaments. A Middle East where young people no longer have to dedicate, and all too often, give their lives to combat. A Middle East no longer victimized by fear and terror. A Middle East where normal men and women lead normal lives.

Let no one mistake the magnitude of this challenge. The struggle we seek to end has a long and painful history. Every life lost—every outrage, every act of violence — is etched deep in the hearts and history of the people of this region. Theirs is a history that weighs heavily against hope. And yet, history need not be man's master.

I expect that some will say that what I'm suggesting is impossible. But think back. Who, back in 1945 would have thought that France and Germany, bitter rivals for nearly a century, would become allies in the aftermath of World War II? And who two years ago would have predicted that the Berlin Wall would come down? And who in the early 1960s would have believed that the Cold War would come to a peaceful end, replaced by cooperation — exemplified by the fact that the United States and the Soviet Union are here today — not as rivals, but as partners, as Prime Minister Gonzalez pointed out.

No, peace in the Middle East need not be a dream. Peace is possible. The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty is striking proof that former adversaries can make and sustain peace. And moreover, parties in the Middle East have respected agreements, not only in the Sinai, but on the Golan Heights as well.

The fact that we are all gathered here today for the first time attests to a new potential for peace. Each of us has taken an important step toward real peace by meeting here in Madrid. All the formulas on paper, all the pious declarations in the world won't bring peace if there is no practical mechanism for moving ahead.

Peace will only come as the result of direct negotiations, compromise, give-

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and-take. Peace cannot be imposed from the outside by the United States or anyone else. While we will continue to do everything possible to help the parties overcome obstacles, peace must come from within.

We come here to Madrid as realists. We don't expect peace to be negotiated in a day, or a week, or a month, or even a year. It will take time; it should take time — time for parties so long at war to learn to talk to one another, to listen to one another. Time to heal old wounds and build trust. In this quest, time need not be the enemy of progress.

What we envision is a process of direct negotiations proceeding along two tracks, one between Israel and the Arab states; the other between Israel and the Palestinians. Negotiations are to be conducted on the basis of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The real work will not happen here in the plenary session, but in direct bilateral negotiations. This conference cannot impose a settlement on the participants or veto agreements; and just as important, the conference can only be reconvened with the consent of every participant. Progress is in the hands of the parties who must live with the consequences.

Soon after the bilateral talks commence, parties will convene as well to organize multilateral negotiations. These will focus on issues that cross national boundaries and are common to the region: arms control, water, refugee concerns, economic development. Progress in these fora is not intended as a substitute for what must be decided in the bilateral talks; to the contrary, progress in the multilateral issues can help create an atmosphere in which long-standing bilateral dis-

putes can more easily be settled.

For Israel and the Palestinians, a framework already exists for diplomacy. Negotiations will be conducted in phases, beginning with talks on interim self-government arrangements. We aim to reach agreement within one year. And once agreed, interim self-government arrangements will last for five years; beginning the third year, negotiations will commence on permanent status. No one can say with any precision what the end result will be; in our view, something must be developed, something acceptable to Israel, the Palestinians and Jordan, that gives the Palestinian people meaningful control over their own lives and fate and provides for the acceptance and security of Israel.

We can all appreciate that both Israelis and Palestinians are worried about compromise, worried about compromising even the smallest point for fear it becomes a precedent for what really matters. But no one should avoid compromise on interim arrangements for a simple reason: nothing agreed to now will prejudice permanent status negotiations. To the contrary, these subsequent negotiations will be determined on their own merits.

Peace cannot depend upon promises alone. Real peace — lasting peace — must be based upon security for all states and peoples, including Israel. For too long the Israeli people have lived in fear, surrounded by an unacceptable Arab world. Now is the ideal moment for the Arab world to demonstrate that attitudes have changed, that the Arab world is willing to live in peace with Israel and make allowances for Israel's reasonable security needs.

We know that peace must also be based on fairness. In the absence of

fairness, there will be no legitimacy — no stability. This applies above all to the Palestinian people, many of whom have known turmoil and frustration above all else. Israel now has an opportunity to demonstrate that it is willing to enter into a new relationship with its Palestinian neighbors; one predicated upon mutual respect and cooperation.

Throughout the Middle East, we seek a stable and enduring settlement. We've not defined what this means; indeed, I make these points with no map showing where the final borders are to be drawn. Nevertheless, we believe territorial compromise is essential for peace. Boundaries should reflect the quality of both security and political arrangements. The United States is prepared to accept whatever the parties themselves find acceptable. What we seek, as I said on March 6, is a solution that meets the twin tests of fairness and security.

I know, I expect we all know — that these negotiations will not be easy. I know, too, that these negotiations will not be smooth. There will be disagreement and criticism, setbacks — who knows — possibly interruptions. Negotiation and compromise are always painful. Success will escape us if we focus solely upon what is being given up.

We must fix our vision on what real peace would bring. Peace, after all, means not just avoiding war and the cost of preparing for it. The Middle East is blessed with great resources: physical, financial and, yes, above all, human. New opportunities are within reach — if we only have the vision to embrace them.

To succeed, we must recognize that peace is in the interest of all parties — war, absolute advantage of none. The

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alternative to peace in the Middle East is a future of violence and waste and tragedy. In any future war lurks the danger of weapons of mass destruction. As we learned in the Gulf war, modern arsenals make it possible to attack urban areas — to put the lives of innocent men, women, and children at risk, to transform city streets, schools and children's playgrounds into battlefields.

Today, we can decide to take a different path to the future — to avoid conflict. I call upon all parties to avoid unilateral acts, be they words or deeds, that would invite retaliation or, worse yet, prejudice or even threaten this process itself. I call upon all parties to consider taking measures that will bolster mutual confidence and trust — steps that signal a sincere commitment to reconciliation.

I want to say something about the role of the United States of America. We played an active role in making this conference possible; both the secretary of state, Jim Baker, and I will play an active role in helping the process succeed. Toward this end, we've provided written assurances to Israel, to Syria, to Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinians. In the spirit of openness and honesty, we will brief all parties on the assurances that we have provided to the other. We're prepared to extend guarantees, provide technology and support, if that is what peace requires. And we will call upon our friends and allies in Europe and in Asia to join with us in providing resources so that peace and prosperity go hand in hand.

Outsiders can assist, but in the end, it is up to the peoples and the governments of the Middle East to shape the future of the Middle East. It is their opportunity and it is their responsibility to do all that they can to take

advantage of this gathering, this historic gathering, and what it symbolizes and what it promises.

No one should assume that the opportunity before us to make peace will remain if we fail to seize the moment. Ironically, this is an opportunity born of war — the destruction of past wars, the fear of future wars. The time has come to put an end to war — the time has come to choose peace.

Speaking for the American people, I want to reaffirm that the United States is prepared to facilitate the search for peace, to be a catalyst, as we've been in the past and as we've been very recently. We seek only one thing, and this we seek not for ourselves, but for the peoples of the area and particularly the children: that this and future generations of the Middle East may know the meaning and blessing of peace.

We have seen too many generations of children whose haunted eyes show only fear — too many funerals for their brothers and sisters, the mothers and fathers who died too soon — too much hatred, too little love. And if we cannot summon the courage to lay down the past for ourselves, let us resolve to do it for the children.

May God bless and guide the work of this conference, and may this conference set us on the path of peace.

(end text)
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**BUSH SAYS TERRITORIAL
COMPROMISE ESSENTIAL FOR
PEACE**

(Urges stable, enduring settlement in
Mideast) (990)

By Alexander M. Sullivan
USIA White House Correspondent

Madrid — Calling for a "stable and enduring settlement" in the Middle East, President Bush said October 30 that "territorial compromise is essential for peace."

"Boundaries should reflect the quality of both security and political arrangements," Bush said in remarks to the opening session of the Middle East peace conference in Madrid. "The United States is prepared to accept whatever the parties themselves find acceptable. What we seek...is a solution...that meets the twin tests of fairness and security."

Bush stressed again and again that the participants in the historic talks have the chance to bring a new era of peace and prosperity to their blood-soaked region.

Outsiders can help, the president said, but, "in the end, it is up to the people and the governments of the Middle East to shape the future of the Middle East. It is their opportunity, and it is their responsibility to do all that they can to take advantage of this gathering."

However Bush warned that "no one should assume that the opportunity before us to make peace will remain if we fail to seize the moment."

To succeed, he said, conference participants must focus less on what each side is giving up and more on what can be gained through peace.

The president appealed to all the participants to avoid provocations and to look for ways to accommodate each other. "I call upon all parties," Bush said, "to avoid unilateral acts,

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be they words or deeds, that would invite retaliation, or worse yet, prejudice or even threaten the process itself." He urged the parties to pursue actions "that would bolster mutual confidence and trust, steps that signal a sincere commitment to reconciliation."

Soviet President Gorbachev, the co-chairman of the conference, expressed a similar theme, calling on participants to achieve a "shared victory over a cruel past," and pointing out "everyone would benefit" from a comprehensive settlement.

The United States and the Soviet Union invited Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Madrid conference to seek a comprehensive solution to the region's conflicts, based on United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which are generally summarized as calling on Israel to trade land it occupied in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank for genuine peace with its Arab neighbors.

Defining peace as more than the absence of belligerency between neighbors, Bush said it is characterized by treaties between nations, "security, diplomatic relations, economic relations, trade, investment, cultural exchange, even tourism."

Recalling the region's history of wars and countless incidents of terrorism, attack and retaliation, Bush predicted the conference would meet daunting challenges, perhaps even walk-outs and interruptions. "I know," the president said, "that these negotiations will not be easy....There will be disagreements and criticism, setbacks...."

He cautioned participants that "negotiation and compromise are always painful," and he warned that success

will be elusive "if we focus solely upon what is being given up. We must fix our vision on what real peace would bring."

Time, he declared, is not the enemy of the conference, but rather its ally. It will take time, he pointed out, for the participants to learn to talk to one another, to trust one another, to listen to one another.

Noting all the parties are "realists," he said none expected "peace to be negotiated in a day, or a week, or a month, or even a year. It will take time. Indeed it should take time — time for parties so long at war to learn to talk to one another, to listen to one another, time to heal old wounds and build trust. In this quest, time need not be the enemy of progress."

Bush said the two-track negotiations mean that the "real work" will happen in direct discussions, not in the plenary sessions. The conference will soon shift to multilateral discussions between Israel and the Arab nations, and to separate talks between Israelis and Palestinians.

The president said the multilateral talks will focus on issues that cross national borders, including such matters as water, arms control, refugee concerns and economic development. Progress in those discussions, he said, would not be a substitute for solutions in the bilateral talks, but could encourage an atmosphere to settle long-standing bilateral disputes.

A framework for negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians, Bush said, already exists, in phased diplomacy beginning with discussion of interim self-government arrangements for the Palestinians.

"We aim to reach agreement within

one year," he said, "and once agreed, interim self-government will last for five years." In the third year of that process, he pointed out, "negotiation will begin on permanent status."

Peace, he asserted, is more than the avoidance of war and the cost of arms buildups. In the Middle East, he noted, with its "great resources" of finance, physical attributes and human talent, "new opportunities are within reach, if we only have the vision to embrace them."

"The alternative to peace in the Middle East," he said, "is a future of violence and waste and tragedy. In any future war lurks the dangers of weapons of mass destruction....Modern arsenals make it possible to attack urban areas, to put the lives of innocent men, women and children at risk, to transform city streets, schools and children's playgrounds into battlefields."

Bush pledged the United States will remain committed to the peace process, and revealed that his administration has provided written assurances to each of the conference participants. To engender trust, he said Secretary of State Baker will brief each of the parties on the assurances given the others.

"We are prepared to extend guarantees, provide technology and support, if that is what is required for peace," the president said without elaboration.

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U.S. DIPLOMACY URGES SUPPORT FOR PEACE PROCESS

(Bush, Baker hold bilateral talks in Madrid) (470)

By Russell Dybvik

The Wireless File

USIA Diplomatic Correspondent

Madrid — Both President Bush and Secretary of State Baker have been engaged in intense personal diplomacy in Madrid to help assure progress in the Middle East peace process launched October 30 at the Madrid conference cosponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union.

In the last hours before the conference opened, Bush met separately with members of the Israeli, Lebanese, Syrian, and joint Jordanian/Palestinian delegations — the principals in the unfolding peace process — and with members of the Egyptian delegation.

Baker said the president, in all of his bilateral meetings with the various delegations, emphasized the need to maintain a focus on the objective of the conference — to create a viable peace process in the hope that it will move toward real peace in the Middle East.

"I think it's fair to say that everyone understands that this is the beginning of a process," Baker said. "And everybody, I think, is here in good faith in order to promote peace."

During his talks with Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, the president "expressed his unyielding and absolute commitment to the security" of Israel, Baker said, calling the session "a very friendly meeting."

Late October 29, Baker also met with Shamir and conferred separately with Syria's foreign minister. After the formal opening of the conference October 30, the secretary was scheduled to hold individual meetings with the foreign ministers of Egypt and Lebanon; Faisal Husseini, the chief

Palestinian adviser to the joint Jordanian/Palestinian delegation; and Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, who is representing the European Communities (EC) at the conference.

Baker dismissed overnight news reports that said he and Shamir did not shake hands during a photo opportunity at their meeting. "Nothing is further from the truth," the secretary said, adding they shook hands for three of four groups of press representatives but did not hear requests for a handshake during the fourth session with reporters. "I want to make sure we correct the record on that," Baker said, because the relationship is "strong, firm, very warm and friendly."

He told reporters that "if we are going to get peace, it's going to require compromises on the part of all. And there's no doubt that the commitment of the government of Israel is real," Baker said. "The decision-maker in Israel is here, the prime minister himself."

The secretary expressed the hope that there will be "extensive" negotiations — both bilateral and multilateral — as the parties move forward from the ceremonial opening of the conference.

"Talks are not a guarantee that peace will result, but it is for sure that without talks we won't get peace," Baker reminded reporters.

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U.S. PRESS OPINION: MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE
(Roundup of editorials) (1650)

U.S. newspapers are commenting editorially on the Middle East peace conference in Madrid. The following are excerpts.

THE WASHINGTON POST:

The Middle East peace conference that opens today brings together for the first time Israel and all its Arab neighbors and other Arab states...Certainly the history-making quality of it all is formidable. Yet a scarcely concealed expectation of grim futility floats over Madrid.

The obvious explanation is the gap between positions of the parties....Syria's Hafez Assad makes it...clear he is not faintly ready for any...tokens of reconciliation. He wants to redeem his territory, for which he will sullenly "accept" Israel and, unconscionably, demands to be paid just for shaking hands.

Syria's strategy is to keep other Arabs at its side. Israel's strategy will be to pick them off: (1) to draw desperate moderate Palestinians into a stingy autonomy, and (2) to draw Arab states other than Syria into regional talks. This Israeli effort to avoid territorial compromise, however, hinges not just on Arab policy but on American. Israel's fear is that the United States is going to shift from patronage and advocacy to land-for-peace evenhandedness — a shift already visible in some of the tactics Washington used to organize Madrid, and in the weekend statements of Secretary of State James Baker.

For Washington the trouble is that the gestures of fidelity that Israel seeks to firm up its negotiating hand can be turned to justify a nonnegotiable hard line. Yet to be too cool to Jerusalem

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is to invite Arabs to stonewall in the hope that Washington will squeeze unrecompensed concessions from its ally. The American government evidently hopes to finesse this central dilemma of its diplomacy by avoiding ultimate showdowns and continually nudging the parties toward compromise.

To Palestinians Washington offers a meager option but the single alternative to total humiliation; to Syria the single channel to return of the Golan Heights; to Israel the single escape from what is, Egypt apart, its terrible loneliness and abiding peril. This is the Bush policy, and it could — not will, but at least could — accomplish great good.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

...Despite disclaimers on all sides, there are at least two solid reasons for optimism.

Syria has agreed to negotiate with Israel about their formal boundary, an act of implicit recognition. And Israel has agreed to negotiate with representative Palestinians about Palestinian political rights....

Only Israel can trade land for peace. Only Syria, the main military power still confronting Israel, can offer a peace worth the trade. And that peace can be considered reliable only if it includes acceptable provisions for the Palestinians.

A durable peace for Israel will have to encompass its acceptance by all its neighbors, entitled to reasonable security and full economic participation.

As Arab countries see themselves as

modern individual states, not mere outposts of a single Arab people, normal state-to-state relations with Israel become a realistic possibility.

But leaders like President Hafez Assad of Syria undermine their welcome overtures when they persist in preaching Arab intransigence at home....

If Syria were now to...consistently speak the language of coexistence and compromise, Israel could be pressed more effectively to abandon its sterile equation of security with real estate.

The only real estate at immediate issue is the Golan Heights, to which even the Likud coalition makes no ideological claim. Concerning the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the terms of this conference call only for negotiation of interim autonomy. That allows for years of trial coexistence....

THE BALTIMORE SUN:

...Both the Palestinian delegation and Israeli government ministers have talked in refreshingly similar language about the possibility of negotiating Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza, while maintaining Israeli security control, before addressing the issue of permanent status....In parallel talks, Israel and Syria should address the exchange of land for peace in the Golan Heights. Both governments have sounded intransigent on this issue.

Outsiders can propose all sorts of confidence builders. Suspension of new settlements by Israel would merit suspension of the Arab League economic boycott of Israel. Suspension would not be irrevocable, but a test of the other side's good faith. On the

Golan Heights, all sorts of devices can be imagined to prevent Syrian reoccupation of the territory from again endangering Israeli citizens....

For the later, concrete negotiations under this conference to make progress, President Bush and President Mikhail S. Gorbachev need to maintain the catalytic role of which they spoke yesterday. But the disputants themselves must make the principal effort. Hopes, however incomplete and tentative, have been raised. No delegation at Madrid can want the responsibility of dashing those hopes.

USA TODAY:

...The endless tempest of violence begetting violence makes some wonder why Secretary of State James Baker so relentlessly pursued peace talks. What does the USA get out of it other than possible, black eyes from both sides?

The answer is simple: A chance for peace and stability in a volatile region.

The USA's friendship with Israel and Western needs for Middle East oil are reason enough to take that chance....

The USA can't dictate an end to the conflict. Only negotiation can lessen the tensions, secure Israel's borders, provide a home for the Palestinians and reduce the escalation in arms.

But by using its prestige and power, the USA can continue to push Israel and the Arab states down the path of peace just as it pressured them to take the first step down it by meeting in Madrid....

The world is watching and waiting to

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see who will truly give peace a chance.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES:

...If Arabs and Israelis can get through the opening ceremonies and the expected accusatory and recriminatory speeches without one party or another stalking out in real or feigned fury; if they can pass on to the planned second phase, which calls for them to sit down in a concurrent series of direct bilateral negotiations, then there's a chance that some progress could be made in coming months....But to get to that point may take not just an act of political will but an act of faith.

Not in modern memory have parties to international disputes sat down together as equals in an atmosphere so heavy with distrust and hatred. Israel distrusts the Arabs and, increasingly, its government distrusts the United States, which it worries has adopted a policy of evenhandedness that has not just effectively suspended the longstanding U.S.-Israeli special relationship but is actually inimical to Israel's basic interests. The Arabs reciprocally distrust Israel, and of no less significance to the fate of the conference, with each delegation suspecting that at some point its hopes and goals will be betrayed by the others....

Washington...has no grand plan of its own to break the inevitable deadlocks that will occur if and when bilateral negotiations get under way. Least of all does it have the intention — or the means — to try to impose a settlement on the antagonists....The United States will be there...to serve as a mediator if it is asked by the parties concerned to do so....

But two things must occur before the United States can be an effective mediator. Its good offices must be sought by both sides, and both sides must be genuinely interested in achieving practical results. These are not givens, by any means, for if Arab and Israeli leaders are to be taken at their word the very thought of compromise on fundamental issues is regarded as anathema....

What Washington will be looking for in the days ahead are subtle signs of flexibility to indicate that, whatever advance oratory may suggest, at some point its mediation will be welcomed.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR:

...The unthinkable is taking place today in Madrid. Arabs and Jews are sitting down together to talk about peace....

For Israel — militarily might, with wealthy friends and greatly weakened enemies — holding on to all the territory might seem a feasible goal, one clearly within reach. But it promises heightened regional bitterness and instability — grim prospects for a dependent nation, ailing economically.

Arabs and Jews are at the peace table because they sense this is the last opportunity to salvage the situation....

Whether they proceed to the next stage of genuine probing for ways to bridge differences depends upon their political will to find a solution and their courage in turning from impossible dreams that keep the enmities burning....

The U.S. will do its best: first, to help the delegations move successfully to the second, bilateral phase of the talks,

and then to find formulas that will offer everyone some genuine sense of gain.

But whether James Baker's efforts result in more than tilting at windmills depends squarely on the regional leaders themselves, who have always held the key to shaping their peoples' aspiration and leading in directions that secure their futures. It's time to reshape dreams that lead to conflict and despair.

THE BOSTON GLOBE:

...If there is one geopolitical novelty that the delegates to the Madrid conference recognize as a potential premise for peace in the Mideast, it is the vanishing act of Soviet power....

Arab and Israeli negotiators convening in Madrid will be inclined to view Gorbachev less as a potent cosponsor of their peace conference than as a loquacious emblem of the event that made a new era possible in the Mideast....

While Gorbachev in Madrid was promising to "use all the remedies that we have at our disposal" to heal the maladies of the Mideast, Boris Yeltsin announced in Moscow that the budget of the Soviet Foreign Ministry would be virtually eliminated.

The vanishing of the empire Gorbachev pretends to represent has not only made peace possible in the Middle East. It has also conferred great expectations, and enormous responsibility, on the winner of the Cold War.

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SOLOMON ON CHINA-IRAN: "SOMETHING GOING ON"

(Article on Solomon at SFRC hearing) (240)

Jane A. Morse
USIA Staff Writer

Washington — There is some evidence that the People's Republic of China may be selling nuclear technologies to Iran, according to Richard Solomon, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

"There appears there is sale of some nuclear-related technologies," Solomon said in response to questions at an October 30 hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

"We believe there is some form of nuclear cooperation between China and Iran," he said, but he refused to give more details in a public forum. The two-and-a-half-hour open hearing was followed immediately by an closed, executive session.

During the open session, Solomon was questioned by senators regarding a Washington Post story which reported that Bush administration officials had concluded, based on intelligence reports, that China was indeed aiding Iran in an effort to produce nuclear weapons.

Emphasizing that he was not attempting to defend China on this issue, Solomon pointed out that previous press reports regarding China's sales of nuclear technologies to Algeria had been overblown. "In that particular case, the nuclear facility turned out to be less ominous, at least in its own terms, than had been originally

feared. And the Algerians immediately put the facility under IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) inspection safeguards," he said.
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SENATOR PROPOSES GATT ENVIRONMENT CODE, SANCTIONS

(Baucus seeks commitment to negotiations) (480)

By Bruce Odessey
USIA Staff Writer

Washington — Senator Max Baucus has proposed a global trade agreement incorporating sanctions for violations of agreed environmental standards.

In an October 30 address before the Institute for International Economics, Baucus, the Senate trade subcommittee chairman, advocated an environmental code for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Baucus said an environmental code should be the focus of the next round of multilateral GATT negotiations, not an element of the present Uruguay Round, which is supposedly nearing its end after five anguished years.

He added, however, that the Bush administration should secure an understanding from its trading partners that negotiations to resolve environmental questions will begin immediately after the Uruguay Round concludes.

Baucus suggested these basic elements for a GATT environmental code, modeled after the existing GATT

subsidy code:

— Each nation would set its own environmental protection standards.

— Each nation would be allowed to impose trade sanctions to enforce international environmental agreements and to "restrict imports of goods produced in a manner that violates internationally recognized norms, such as tuna taken by driftnet fishing"

— Each nation would be able to apply duties on imports that are produced in a way that do not meet that nation's environmental standards if, first, the standards have a sound scientific basis and, second, if they apply equally to domestic producers. Such duties should just offset any price advantage gained by producing below the standards.

— GATT panels would be established to settle environmental code disputes.

Links between trade and environment issues have been building for some time. Recently, debate has accelerated in the United States as a result of two events: the start of U.S.-Mexico free-trade negotiations and a GATT panel ruling against a U.S. ban on imports of Mexican tuna.

U.S. law bans imports of east tropical Pacific tuna from Mexico, Venezuela and Vanuatu, countries with driftnet fleets that exceed by a certain multiple the legal annual limit on dolphin slaughter by U.S. fleets.

"The dispute-settlement panel's decision may accurately reflect the current provisions of the GATT," Baucus said. "But this is an argument for changing the GATT, not for ending our efforts to protect dolphins.

"We cannot allow the GATT to become a shield to hide behind for nations that shun internationally recognized norms for environmental protection," he said.

The United States should also act unilaterally, placing environmental conditions on tariff concessions to developing countries under the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) and the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), he said.

Senator David Boren has already introduced legislation going further than Baucus on unilateral action. Boren's bill would define the lack of foreign pollution controls and environmental safeguards in the production of goods as an unfair subsidy subject to U.S. countervailing duties.

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U.S. NUCLEAR TESTING STILL ESSENTIAL, CHENEY SAYS
(Promotes safety, security of weapons) (890)

By Jacquelyn S. Porth
USIA Security Affairs Writer

Washington — Maintaining that nuclear weapons are "the ultimate safeguard of our security," Defense Secretary Cheney says it is important for the United States "to continue to run nuclear tests as long as we are going to depend on" that deterrent.

"As long as nuclear weapons are part of the U.S. inventory," Cheney said October 30, "it is far more sensible and...safer to have a testing program that allows you to periodically test the reliability of those systems and guarantee their security than it is to maintain a stockpile" and not test it.

The secretary made the point during an appearance before the American Logistics Association in response to questions about a recent Soviet proposal calling for a complete global ban on nuclear testing to follow a one-year Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

Cheney stressed that a total comprehensive test ban, as suggested periodically by the Soviets, "is unwise" and would lead "to a loss of confidence in the reliability and safety" of the nuclear stockpile.

Explaining that President Bush's September nuclear arms reduction initiative was designed to "make it easier" for the Soviets to reduce their nuclear stockpile and to be certain of maintaining control over those weapons, the secretary pointed out that nonetheless there is still "a lot of uncertainty about what will ultimately transpire in the Soviet Union."

It is not clear whether a Soviet central government or the republics will be in control of the existing nuclear stockpile in two years, he said.

On another issue, asked about the future of U.S. overseas bases, the secretary noted that the United States is already in the process of closing or withdrawing 14 percent of its overseas base structure at some 200 installations abroad. Other bases will be reviewed in 1993 and 1995, Cheney said, with a view toward possible recommendations for additional closures.

"While we may make adjustments in the absolute force levels," he told questioners, "I do not expect any fundamental change in the overall deployments that are currently in place."

While noting that representatives of the North Atlantic Alliance and Pentagon officials are discussing how many U.S. troops should remain forward-deployed in Europe, Cheney suggested that the number of U.S. military personnel on the continent will drop from 320,000 to under 150,000 by 1995. He said the actual figure will be embodied in the 1993 defense budget, which will be submitted to Congress in January 1992. The secretary also noted that the size of U.S. forces will be increasingly "less tied to what Soviet capabilities might be."

In the Pacific, the secretary said, while the United States is carrying out modest reductions, forward-deployed forces will be retained in Japan and the Republic of Korea. Asked about the U.S. withdrawal from Clark Air Base in the Philippines, he noted that the loss of access to the facility "is a tragedy, especially for the Filipinos."

The U.S. defense capability previously based at Clark is now being "spread around," according to Cheney, with some excess capacity being absorbed at Anderson Air Force Base on the U.S. territory of Guam. Additionally, he said Singapore is periodically allowing the U.S. to deploy F-16 aircraft to its territory.

The problem remains, the secretary said, of finding an area to replace the Philippine base as a live-fire ammunition training site. Some of that training may now have to be done in the continental United States, he added.

Asked if the recent economic initiatives taken by Russian President Boris Yeltsin might serve to speed up U.S. troop withdrawals or base closures, the secretary urged caution. "I think it would be a mistake for us to as-

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sume," he said, "that there is going to be a peaceful, orderly progression of development from the old communist-led system to something new." He suggested that the Soviet economy may continue "to collapse for some period of time to come (and that there may well be unrest."

It is unclear, Cheney said, whether or not there will be a massive exodus of refugees from the Soviet Union if the economy collapses or strife develops.

In his formal remarks, the secretary said the Defense Department has responded dramatically and aggressively to recent changes in the world, including the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, Soviet troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe, and the end of the Cold War. Yet, he also stressed the importance of the United States proceeding with defense budget and force structure reductions in "a calm, orderly, deliberate and prudent manner."

As members of the two chambers of Congress continue to confer on the 1992 defense budget, Cheney suggested it is important to remember that present decisions are designed to facilitate preparations "for the next time we go to war." He emphasized that there will undoubtedly come a time again when an American president will order troops abroad to defend freedom, as occurred in the Persian Gulf this year.

Cheney said it is vital to remember that the world is still hostile and the strength of the United States "is the best guarantee of peace and security in the world."

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STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT,
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30
(China/Iran, Kuwait/fires, Yugoslavia,
Soviet debt, Poland/elections)
(740)

There was no regular State Department briefing. However, Joe Snyder, a department spokesman, answered reporters' questions on the following topics:

U.S. CONCERNED ABOUT IRANIAN NUCLEAR PROGRAM

Snyder said that the United States is "deeply concerned" about possible Chinese cooperation with efforts by Iran to acquire a nuclear weapons capability.

The official said that the United States has "doubts about Iran's commitment to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty obligations."

"We discourage any nuclear cooperation with Iran," he said, adding that "we have made this position known to all potential nuclear suppliers."

Snyder had no specific comment on press reports that China had provided Iran with equipment capable of making fissile material for nuclear weapons. A Washington Post story said that Iran is seeking to develop a nuclear weapon.

The spokesman said that while "China has denied involvement in any Iranian nuclear program, nonetheless, we have been deeply concerned about possible Chinese nuclear cooperation with Iran."

"We have engaged the Chinese on

this point and we will continue to raise the matter with the Chinese government at a high level," he emphasized.

PROGRESS NOTED IN FIGHTING KUWAITI OIL FIRES

Snyder said that an international firefighting effort is expected to extinguish the last of the burning oil wells in Kuwait by early November. Retreating Iraqi troops damaged 752 of Kuwait's 1,037 oil wells. Of those, 610 were left burning.

"Kuwaitis expect the last fire to be extinguished in early November," the spokesman reported. He said the firefighting teams from seven countries "did an amazing job."

MINOR DAMAGE REPORTED IN HISTORIC DUBROVNIK

Snyder said that a group of Western diplomats has found only "minor" damage in the medieval section of Dubrovnik, the Croatian city which has been under siege by federal Yugoslav forces. The shelling of the city, he reported, seems to be random.

The diplomats — including an American — went into Dubrovnik October 29 with the chairman of the Croatian Assembly's foreign affairs committee, the spokesman noted.

"The Yugoslav military facilitated the visit, but also restricted access into and around the city," he said. The group therefore was "unable to observe first-hand the towns and villages surrounding Dubrovnik which had reportedly sustained heavy dam-

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age in Yugoslav military attacks," he added.

"The historic old town itself has apparently suffered only minor damage. The modern part of the city — light to moderate damage," Snyder said. "All the damage in these parts of Dubrovnik appears to have been caused by random firing or shelling rather than sustained barrages."

"It is our impression that the attacks (on Dubrovnik) have been designed primarily to instill fear in the population," he noted. He reported that there is a severe shortage of water, and electricity and gas "remain unavailable."

Snyder said the diplomats pressed Yugoslav army officers for a rationale for the attacks and "expressed their deep concern and opposition to these attacks on a non-military target." The Yugoslav military offered no plausible explanations, he said.

During the last 24 hours, he noted, fighting has increased in Croatia, with reports of shelling and mortar firing coming from various parts of the region.

U.S. PLEASED BY SOVIET REPUBLIC'S ACTION ON DEBT

Questioned about reports that 12 Soviet republics have formally agreed to assume responsibility for paying the foreign debt of the Soviet Union, Snyder said that "we believe that it is important for the republics to work out these issues among themselves. We are pleased that they have focused on this critical issue."

"Without such an agreement," he said, "it would be hard for the Soviet Un-

ion to qualify for the additional credits they are seeking; the issue of responsibility for debt should be decided by all parties involved."

POLISH ELECTIONS MARK FULL RETURN TO DEMOCRACY

Snyder said the October 27 parliamentary elections in Poland "marked Poland's full return to democracy." He noted that the elections were Poland's first free, democratic parliamentary elections in over 50 years.

However, with the full results not yet available, he said, the department is not prepared to make an assessment of the results.

Asked about Lech Walesa's proposal to serve both as president and prime minister in a new government, Snyder replied that "the composition of the Polish government is an internal matter for the Polish people to decide." NNNN

*NEA311

BAKER SAYS ALL PARTIES SHOWING INTEREST IN PEACE (Assesses first day of Madrid peace conference) (1,160)
By Russell Dybvik
USIA Diplomatic Correspondent

Madrid — Secretary of State Baker says a significant aspect of the Middle East peace conference is that for the first time ever, all of the parties are "showing some commitment to, and interest in, peace."

At a surprise news briefing October 30, at the end of the first day of the conference in Madrid, Baker also

pointed out that the terms of reference for the conference call for the process to continue through bilateral negotiations, and perhaps even multilateral negotiations.

"I think that speaks for itself," the secretary declared.

"Today Israel, her Arab neighbors and the Palestinians all came together for the first time to begin the search for peace. That old taboo that Arabs and Israelis cannot meet and cannot talk is now something that we want to relegate to history," Baker said in a brief opening statement.

The "significant thing," he emphasized, "is that for the first time ever, I think, we have all of the parties showing some commitment to and interest in peace, and attending this conference under terms of reference or a notice of invitation that calls for the process to continue through bilateral negotiations, and hopefully perhaps even multilateral negotiations."

"From this day forward, dialogue and negotiations — not violence and confrontation — should be the hallmark of the Middle East," he said. "The road to peace will be very long, and it will be very difficult."

"And as I have said before, there will be undoubtedly many, many interruptions along the way. But we have to crawl before we walk, and we have to walk before we run, and today, I think, we all began to crawl," the secretary said.

Asked if he could offer evidence that the parties indeed wanted to see progress toward peace, Baker noted that "the format today didn't call for that. But...they all sat down today — all of them — at the same table."

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"The true test of the intentions of each of the parties will come when they sit down face-to-face across the table in bilateral context, and perhaps even in a multilateral context, to address some of the regional issues that affect the region," he continued.

"So it's a little bit too early, I think, to jump to judgment with respect to true intentions," he said. "But true intentions can at least to some degree be measured by the fact that all of the parties, for the first time today, came together in one room, face-to-face."

Baker said the United States was "continuing active discussions with the parties concerning the question of the bilateral negotiations." He noted that the invitation that was sent to all of the parties and which represents "the basis on which all of them are here in Madrid, calls for bilateral negotiations to begin four days after the opening of this conference."

"We hope very much to meet that schedule," he said, adding "we do not yet have agreement among all the parties with respect to the venue for those bilateral negotiations."

The United States and the Soviet Union, as co-sponsors of the conference, Baker said, "hope very much that parties will not seek to impose preconditions upon their willingness to sit down face-to-face and begin to discuss these very difficult issues." He told questioners that no one has put forward preconditions.

"I'm simply saying we don't want to get preconditions. It is too important that these bilateral negotiations take place. This is one of the areas in which we hope the real substance of the process that we have initiated will be felt and will be seen," he explained.

The secretary declined to say if the United States had offered a compromise solution to the issue of venue for the bilateral phase of the peace process. "I think that you cannot conduct these discussions and negotiations in public and if you try and do that, you won't get any agreement," he said.

However, Baker said he had "seen no expressions of reluctance to go forward with the bilateral negotiations." There are differences of opinion, he said, "but they really relate pretty much solely to the venue of the bilateral discussions."

Asked about the U.S. approach to other specific issues, Baker emphasized that "we're not here to establish United States policy positions or to engage in debates about our policy positions vis-a-vis other people's policy positions."

"We are here for the primary purpose of trying to serve as a catalyst for peace and trying to produce, if you will, an active and viable peace process for the Middle East that has so long been lacking and that is so badly needed."

When he was asked about the status of Jerusalem, Baker said "that is a matter that we think should be determined by negotiations," noting that has been — and remains — the long-standing policy position of the United States.

Baker emphasized that he would not engage in debate with reporters or anybody else "about specific policy issues or specific U.S. positions."

The secretary said, "The issue here is — Can Arabs and Israelis get together and sit down and begin talking in a way that can resolve these very,

very difficult and fundamental differences and move us toward peace?"

Baker also commented on the following issues:

— U.S. military support for Israel. "I think everyone here undoubtedly knows of the firm and unyielding commitment of the United States to the security of Israel. There's no question about that," Baker said.

— Israeli settlement policy. "I don't think anybody has any question about what the policy of the United States is with respect to settlements," Baker said, adding, "It doesn't do me any good to stand up here and restate it because I want to see this process move forward. But I do think this: I think that the issue is one that should be put on the table and should be negotiated at the negotiations to follow."

— Territorial compromise. "We have not taken a position with respect to some of the details of the issues that will be involved in the discussions on permanent status," Baker said, including the issue of borders. "It is, we think, up to the participants themselves to negotiate this," he said. "At the same time, I think it is a fact of life that Israel's willingness to compromise on territory will be affected by Arab willingness to address Israel's legitimate security needs and to enter into a real peace with all that that entails." The United States continues to support United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, which form the terms of reference for the Madrid conference, he said, adding it was "the policy position of the United States...that those resolutions embrace the principle of territory for peace." NNNN

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(Following FS material, based on press reports, is for use by mission staff only and not for publication)

NEWSROUNDUP, WEDNESDAY,
OCTOBER 30 (770)

IRANIAN, IRAQI LEADERS RE- JECT MADRID CONFERENCE

The leaders of Iran and Iraq condemned the Madrid Middle East peace conference October 30.

Saddam Hussein said in his first public remarks on the conference that the Western leaders who engineered it are Zionist inspired. "These days, many leaders of the West are the creation of Zionism," he said in a speech to army officers.

Saddam also accused President Bush of trying to starve Iraqis through the use of United Nations sanctions, and he admitted for the first time that food prices are spiraling upward in his country. "Bush lacks humanity. Those who are deluded by the assumption that tender talk will bring the snake out of the hole should know that the snake is a poisonous one created by Zionism," he said.

Meanwhile, Iranian leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei said that the Madrid talks had been forced on the Muslim world, calling them "a declaration of war on Islam.

"Those taking part in this treason will suffer the wrath of nations," he said in a speech broadcast on Tehran radio. "Based on Islamic (law), all participants in the Madrid conference are considered Mohareb (those who wage

war on Islam) and they must face the death sentence.

Khamenei called Bush a "first degree criminal" and "the most hated individual."

GERMAN SHIPMENT TO ISRAEL HAD NO TANKS

A secret shipment of military hardware bound for Israel but intercepted by German police contained vehicles but no tanks, the Defense Ministry in Bonn said October 30.

The ministry released a detailed list of the seized shipment two days after Bonn admitted that its BND secret service attempted to smuggle the largely Soviet-made hardware past customs and into the hands of the Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service.

The Defense Ministry listed 20 vehicles and other equipment. But it denied press reports that the shipment included 12 to 14 battle tanks.

YELTSIN SEEKS SUPREMACY OVER SOVIET LAW

Russian President Boris Yeltsin asked his parliament October 30 for the power to issue decrees without restriction and to proclaim them above the laws of the central government in Moscow.

Yeltsin is committed to introducing free-market reforms in the republic. He said in a speech to the Russian parliament that "to ensure the success of reforms, we need extraordinary decisions which provide for parliament's supremacy in legislation and

a degree of freedom for the president's actions.

"For a certain period of time, for example a year, the president must have the right to issue decrees necessary for reform even if they formally contradict earlier laws of the Soviet Union and Russia," he said.

The first of two resolutions being sought by Yeltsin would give him power to suspend any economic law he believes to be a hindrance to economic reform. The second would give him power to reorganize ministries and other governmental institutions and to suspend local elections where officials have resisted his economic policies.

VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE APPEAL TO BUSH

Vietnamese leaders at the largest boat people camp in Hong Kong threatened mass suicide October 30 if the Bush administration does not help to stop forced repatriation back to Vietnam.

Three leaders at the Whitehead detention center said they were depending on Washington to stop plans by Hong Kong to deport about 50,000 boat people. "If we had a chance to talk to President Bush, we would appeal to his humanity to save our lives in this terrible situation," said one of the leaders. "We believe that the Americans will not let us down. They will help us in one way or another," he said.

Vietnam agreed with Britain October 29 to take back all boat people deemed to have fled Vietnam for economic rather than political reasons. More than half of the Hong Kong center's

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24,000 people have already been denied political refugee status and are slated to be sent back to Vietnam.

"If armed police enter the camp to force us back, we will tie our hands and legs together so we are unified and we will kill ourselves," the leader said.

Clinton Leeks, the Hong Kong government's refugee coordinator, said: "We very much hope there will be no question of force. But in the end, that depends on how well we are able to get the message through to these people that they are going back."

(Preceding FS material, based on press reports, is for use by mission staff only and not for publication)
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*NEA351

(FOLLOWING FS MATERIAL IS FOR DISTRIBUTION TO MISSION STAFF ONLY AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

MIDDLE EAST REPORTING IN THE U.S. PRESS (1810)

USA TODAY, JOHANNA NEUMAN IN MADRID:

For the first time in 43 years, Middle East rulers look at each other today across a conference table instead of a battlefield. None wants to be seen — on live TV to a global audience — as an aggressor. But neither do they want to leave bloodied. The impact of having 4,200 journalists watch these talks is pivotal....

The longtime adversaries can claim

some measure of victory just for the start of the meeting....

So soulful is the moment for Israelis that Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has dropped mention of his objections to trading land for peace, and some think he may even put the strategic Golan Heights on the agenda. For the Palestinians....the conference is the first time since 1949 they have an official role on the international stage....

The greatest unknown at the table will be Syria, where President Hafez al Assad rules with an iron fist. ...

Already Israel and Syria are at odds over where to meet, and whether the co-sponsoring Soviet Union should be there....

THE WASHINGTON POST, JACKSON DIEHL AND CARYLE MURPHY IN MADRID:

President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev today (Oct. 29) announced their intention to serve jointly as catalysts to encourage successful negotiation of a Middle East peace at the historic conference opening here Oct. 30, but said they would not impose a settlement on Arabs and Israelis.

At a joint press conference on the eve of the opening session, Bush and Gorbachev carefully avoided taking positions on substantive issues dividing Israel and the Arabs, but sought to set a tone that would encourage both sides as they prepared for the landmark talks....

THE WASHINGTON POST, DAVID HOFFMAN AND JOHN M.

GOSHKO:

The Bush administration has a simple goal for the negotiations that open in Madrid today: Just keep the parties talking.

U.S. officials say they hope to be a "driving force" behind the negotiations but not mediators....

The first hurdle will be to keep the nascent process going beyond Madrid. After today's speeches, the administration hopes to persuade Israel and Syria to commit to at least one direct bilateral negotiating session and would also like to see the start of talks between Israel and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

But diplomats and U.S. officials believe that Syria and the other Arab states may want to stall after the Madrid sessions and await a U.S. decision....on Israel's request for \$10 billion in housing loan guarantees...

THE BALTIMORE SUN, ROBERT RUBY IN MADRID:

Extremism inevitably plays its deadly hand when people go to talk about peace in the Middle East.

In the last couple of days, Israelis, Arabs and one American have been killed in the name of passionate ambitions that have been deliberately taken off the agenda in Madrid so the meeting here could take place.

Yesterday (Oct. 29) alone, three Israeli soldiers were killed in ambushes by Arab guerrillas in Southern Lebanon. Two Arabs were killed by Israelis in the same area...The Israeli air force was in the air bombarding

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Islamic fundamentalist enclaves ... Uncounted are the number who may have died in artillery exchanges between Arab guerrillas and Israelis....

There have also been more subtle actions that will probably sow more mistrust among the reluctant participants....New leaflets distributed by Palestinians have called for an increase in violence. Israelis have reinstated measures to prevent Palestinians from entering Jerusalem.

These steps — intentionally or not — serve extremists who insist that Israelis and Arabs can never live peacefully and that one side must vanquish the other....

THE WASHINGTON POST, UNATTRIBUTED FROM BEIRUT:

A rocket hit the wall of the tightly guarded U.S. Embassy compound just north of this Lebanese capital tonight, (Oct. 29) the Phalange Christian militia's radio reported. Embassy officials refused comment but a Lebanese guard answering the telephone confirmed the blast. "We are investigating. Nothing happened to anybody here," he said. Ambassador Ryan Crocker left Monday (Oct. 28) for the Arab-Israeli peace conference in Madrid....

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, AMY DOCKSER MARCUS IN TEL AVIV:

The Israelis have always viewed with great skepticism Palestinian, Syrian and Jordanian willingness to make peace. But lately, many Israelis seem just as suspicious of their own prime minister, Yitzhak Shamir.

Since Mr. Shamir's unexpected announcement last week that he, rather than Foreign Minister David Levy, would lead Israel's delegation to the peace talks in Madrid, Israeli public debate has been dominated by intense speculation about Mr. Shamir's intentions....

The growing sense of uncertaintycame out most clearly at rallies this week in Tel Aviv. Speaking before tens of thousands of people at an "Israel Wants Peace" rally Oct. 26, the speakers cautioned Mr. Shamir not to sabotage the peace conference by being inflexible....

THE NEW YORK TIMES, R.W. APPLE, JR. IN MADRID

On the eve of his nation's first peace conference with all its neighbors in four decades of hostility, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel said Oct. 29 that "our quest for peace is unrelenting," and a Palestinian leader praised "the new tone emerging from Israel."...

Despite the agreement of all concerned that weeks, months or years of work remain before any major results can be expected... the arrival of the delegations in Madrid apparently signified that the effort was actually going to be made — an accomplishment in itself...

Not only is there still disagreement between Israel and the Arabs on where any talks after Sunday's session in Madrid should take place, but Syria is holding out for the presence of the United States and the Soviet Union in the room, a procedure that Israel rejects.

President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, speaking for President Bush and himself, appealed to all the participants in the conference to "act responsibly, with great understanding," despite a fresh outburst of violence in the Middle East....

There already is something of a consensus that it is now time to negotiate an interim agreement as called for in the 1978 Camp David accord by which Palestinians would take control of their own domestic affairs, and could elect their own representatives, pending a final settlement of the issue.

A more difficult problem is what happens next....

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, GERALDINE BROOKS, TONY HORWITZ AND GERALD SEIB IN MADRID:

... Conference organizers already have declared peace among members of the Israeli and Arab press, requiring them to line up together for accreditation and placing Arabic and Hebrew typewriters along side each other.

The violent rhetoric that has for so long separated Israelis and Palestinians also has been muted in Madrid. Israel's refusal to meet with representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization has pushed a new Palestinian leadership into the limelight, one that may ultimately prove a more formidable force than the guerrilla fighters who have dominated the Palestinian struggle for 30 years....

Reflecting the new tone, Israel has agreed to let Palestinians speak at the conference independently of the Jordanian delegation with which they are theoretically linked....

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN IN MADRID:

It is too early to say whether the Madrid Middle East peace conference heralds a new relationship between Arabs and Israelis, but it has already highlighted new relationships between Arabs and Arabs, between Israel and the United States and, most important, between the United States and the Soviet Union.

On the U.S.-Soviet front, it would not be an overstatement to say that the Soviets have literally made themselves an arm of American Middle East diplomacy in recent months, as they did everything possible to facilitate the peace conference to win American good will, which they hope to cash in later for American economic aid....

...The Soviets have entered and exited on cue. But what did they actually bring to the game?...The Soviets, Baker aides insist, made a definite contribution during the eight months it took to put the peace conference together. Their most important contribution, the officials argue, was not twisting arms of their former patrons; it was providing the Arabs with the symbolic cover that many of them needed to take part in what was essentially a "made in America" diplomatic initiative....

"While the Arabs recognized the pre-eminent American role," said a senior American official, "they had an interest in demonstrating that this was not just an American show, because the Americans are perceived in the Arab world as pro-Israeli."

Beyond this symbolic role, the Sovi-

ets... played an important blocking role for Washington. The United States did not want either the United Nations or the European Community involved in its Middle East diplomacy — particularly the community, which, unlike the Soviets, has real weight.

By presenting the diplomacy as a joint Soviet-American initiative, Washington had the best of both worlds: a pliant Soviet partner and a perfect excuse to exclude the United Nations and the European Community from the action.

In addition to this, the Soviets did use whatever residual influence they still have over their former Middle East clients to pressure the Palestine Liberation Organization leadership in Tunis to make sure that Yasser Arafat did not block Palestinians from the West Bank from participating in the conference, and to encourage the Syrians to take part....

"Whether they will be able to provide the same benefits in the future, we will have to wait and see," said the American official. "It will depend on how they operate and who they will decide to be as a nation."...

THE WASHINGTON POST, JEFFREY SMITH:

The U.S. intelligence community has recently concluded that Iran is aggressively seeking to develop a nuclear weapon and that China has provided Iran with equipment capable of making some fissile material for such a weapons, according to Bush administration officials....

Some analysts now suspect that Iran may be seeking to do what Iraq has

been blocked from doing and build a nuclear weapon that can be brandished in the Middle East....

Administration officials said their new concern about Iran's intentions was heightened last week when a senior Iranian official expressed interest in building a nuclear arsenal to match that believed held by Israel.

In an interview distributed by the official Iranian news agency, deputy president Ataollah Mohajerani said that "because the enemy has nuclear facilities, the Muslim states too, should be equipped with the same capacity..." "I am not talking about one Muslim country, but rather the entirety of Muslim states," he said, noting that "we have witnessed the destruction of Iraq's nuclear devices" by parties that he said have no business interfering in such matters.

U.S. officials said the remarks may represent a significant statement of Iranian intentions....

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(FOLLOWING FS MATERIAL IS FOR DISTRIBUTION TO MISSION STAFF ONLY AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION)

U.S. OPINION: MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE
(Roundup of commentaries) (1890)

U.S. newspapers continue to print

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opinion columns on the Middle East peace conference in Madrid. Following are excerpts from some recent commentaries:

THE NEW YORK TIMES, LESLIE GELB:

... Bush and Baker, whatever they are telling the world to lower expectations, must have a plan. And given their preoccupation with growing Syrian military power, it is likely to be aimed principally at cooling the one conflict that could spark a new Mideast war — the hatred between Israel and Syria. The plan that fits the pattern of Bush-Baker thinking would call for three small steps to show quick results well short of peace:

— A freeze on new Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, brought about by an enticing collage of carrots and sticks. The goal here is to prove to all early on that the process can work.

— A deal for limited Palestinian autonomy in the occupied territories, with the amount of self-rule to be set by how much Israelis will swallow in one gulp. The more autonomy the better to help local Palestinian leaders build a power base independent of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

— An Israeli-Syrian territorial agreement on the Golan Heights and/or in Lebanon. This makes it easier for the Palestinians to make compromises on autonomy, and clears the way for Damascus to join regional talks on arms and economic development — areas of great importance to Israel and the United States.

... Steps one and two mainly help

Israelis and Palestinians, the fanatics aside. Step three, diffusing Israeli-Syrian tensions, takes care of U.S. strategic interests in reducing the risks of Mideast war and curtailing the proliferation of nuclear and chemical arms and long-range missiles.

.... What is most attractive about the likely U.S. plan is that it requires neither political miracles nor serious military risks.... This plan would not trick the parties into dangerous illusions of peace, but convince all but the fanatics that a peace process just might work.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, YOSSIE BEILIN:

... In Israel's moment of truth we must be willing to talk on the Palestinian side to whoever is willing to talk to us, recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and rejects terror as a way to solve the dispute.

Regardless of Israel's opening stance, in the moment of truth before us we must be willing to discuss controversial issues, such as a permanent settlement based on security arrangements for Israel, transfer of territories to the Arabs and the fixing of the political framework of the territories from which Israel will withdraw. This framework should reflect the preference for a Jordanian-Palestinian entity, without rejecting other alternatives out of hand, including, for example, a demilitarized Palestinian state.

The Golan Heights...must be exchanged for peace and security arrangements. However, we must not give up the Golan without peace and, in addition, we must not agree to

peace without freeing ourselves of most of the West Bank and the Gaza strip....

Israel must demand that Israelis who wish to live in settlements in the territories can remain there, under non-Israeli rule, just as in Israel there are many Arab settlements under our sovereignty....

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, YEHOASHAFAT HARKABI:

Israel has declared emphatically that the upcoming peace negotiations should begin without prior conditions. However, the continuing establishment of settlements in the West Bank constitutes a tangible prior condition designed to foreclose negotiations on withdrawal from the occupied territories. Without such a withdrawal, peace is not attainable in the Middle East....

.... If America had challenged Israel on the settlements and its de facto annexationism many years ago, as it could have, it would have been to the benefit of Israel. The pain of withdrawing from the territories when the Jewish population there amounted to a few thousand would have been incomparably less than now, when the number is 100,000 and multiplying.

Israel will pay heavily for American squeamishness. It will be justifiably said that Israel brought the suffering on itself by misreading reality and disobeying international norms. Nevertheless, the United States will be taken to task on grounds of irresponsibility, political and moral — not only for allowing Israel to sink in the quagmire of a wrong policy, but even more so for countenancing for

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years an Israeli policy that flouted 242, the very basis on which the United States says peace must be made. American Jews will probably be found to bear a large share of the blame.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, ARTHUR HERTZBERG:

... the three major actors who have been trying to redraw the Middle East's map have come to Madrid because the U.S. is calling an end to their activism. They could not have come if the major outlines of the Pax Americana had not already been explained to them.... Enough has already leaked from the preparatory negotiations so that, clearly, informal agreements already exist....

The basic outline of the American plan is the Camp David document of 1978.... (in which Menachem Begin) agreed to Palestinian autonomy, leaving open the ultimate disposition of the West Bank and Gaza. Today's Government, and more important, today's Likud Party, remain bound by that agreement.

For the Palestinians, a state is still their formal position. An autonomous region in close relation with Jordan, and even with Israel, now seems more probable....

Syria is looking forward to a compromise on the Golan Heights. Israel might lease some of the Heights from Syria after symbolically returning sovereignty, and the U.S. might put some troops in the area...to guarantee quiet.

This outline leaves much to be negotiated: the definition of autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza; the physical boundaries of Palestinian auton-

omy, which will, almost inevitably, become a map of a future Palestine.

It is inconceivable that President Bush and Secretary Baker have called this conference without knowing that these are the crunch points. One suspects that autonomy definitions, maps and dowry promises are in their briefcases. The conference in Madrid is certainly not a love match among the parties, but it is almost beyond doubt leading to arranged marriages.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, RAGHIDA DERGHAM:

... Regional cooperation and economic relations won't work without (Israel's) withdrawal from the territories. Egypt's suggested moratorium on settlements in exchange for an end to the Arab boycott is a good deal for Israel and aids Israel's quest for normalizing relations with its neighbors.

Arab leaders should level with Arab public opinion by explaining the concessions they have made to Israel instead of continuing to lean on misleading, manipulative slogans about liberating Palestine.

Further, Arab politicians must lift their countries' bans on media contacts with Israeli officials....

The Bush administration should help further this process... it should encourage reconciliation between the Persian Gulf states and Arab countries such as Jordan and Yemen that were outside the U.S.-led coalition....

The White House ought to press upon Arab leaders the necessity of respecting human rights and allowing political parties, so that the opposition in some countries will not remain the

exclusive domain of fundamentalists and militants.... President Bush also should make it clear to Israel that it must stop violating the human rights of the Palestinians in the occupied territories....

For generations, Arabs and Israelis have treated each other as scarecrows and scapegoats. That era is over....

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, GEORGIE ANNE GEYER:

... Even though the (Israeli) Labor Party keeps speaking out courageously against the settlements and the provocation created by their annexation, and even though the polls show a majority of Israelis would give up land for peace, the fact is that the world sees years of right-wing Israeli governments spurning the very Western values that infuse most civilized nations. Absolute virtue has gone out of the original victims.

None of this is meant to indicate that the Arab countries are, then, seen as more deserving in the United States and Europe. Iraq remains Iraq, a mafia masquerading as a state. Syria remains Syria, a ruthless dictatorship with its own distinct geopolitical aims in the area, which could all too easily derail the peace process.

On the other hand, there is wide agreement that Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states truly want some kind of settlement to allow them to drown the radicals in the area and concentrate on developing their own countries. It is to the maturing process in these countries — there were no street revolutions in most of the moderate countries at all during the Gulf War — that the Baker plan is playing....

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One hates ever to appear optimistic in the Middle East. Its demons are so malign. Yet, this is a great deal more than one could have anticipated at this moment in history. One need not expect the moon from this process to say that it represents one giant step forward indeed.

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, CAL THOMAS:

... A peace treaty between Israel and every Arab state in the region must be the first priority of these Madrid talks. If Arab states are not willing to end their state of war with Israel, why should Israel be expected to negotiate the details of its own funeral? How can there be peace in the midst of war? War must end before peace can begin.

It there is to be any light at the end of this long and dark tunnel, it could lie with the Palestinians — not the PLO, but rank-and-file Palestinians in the territories. Many of them have demonstrated their willingness to make peace with Israel and create a new order in the region. In the past when moderate Palestinians have reached out to the Israeli government, they have been assassinated by PLO thugs who maintain "leadership" by force and intimidate potential leaders into silence.

Although Mr. Arafat is now back on meeting terms with the leaders of Syria, Jordan and Egypt, he no longer commands unquestioned obedience from most Palestinians....

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, TRUDY RUBIN:

... The disagreements between (the parties) are still fundamental. Israel says it won't return any land; the extent of the peace that various Arabs offer is still unclear. And the Arab delegates have overinflated hopes that the United States will deliver Israeli land back to them on a platter.

But so many old positions have been stood on their head in order for these delegations to arrive here that it is hard to believe that they can return to the status quo. And the realization is dawning among Arab delegates, especially Palestinians, that they can't change Israeli government positions without convincing the Israeli public that they are serious.

Unlike the Israel-Egypt peace talks, none of the sides have agreed on the outlines of the deal beforehand. But none of the participants wants to be blamed for blocking an agreement....

If the Arabs made the right offer, they could rouse Israeli public opinion to pressure the Israeli public opinion to pressure the Israeli government. If Israel is willing to give the Palestinians some real control over the land and water, it could provide the incentive for the Palestinians to demonstrate peaceful co-existence....

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NOTE TO POSTS:
(Graphics file advisory) (210)

This note includes a description of

the USIA Wireless File Graphics File available for high-speed modem posts Wednesday, October 30, and also a tentative forecast of other graphics material expected to be available over the next few days.

OCTOBER 30 GRAPHICS FILE:

Posts retrieving material from the high-speed modem hub can request GRA300.TZI for the graphics. This graphics package will be available for pickup for about one week.

The contents of the Wednesday graphics package:

INTRO30.TXT

Description of the contents.

GRAPHIC FOR WASHINGTON ECONOMIC REPORTS ISSUE OF OCTOBER 30, 1991

The following graph is for use with the article headlined "Shrinking Market Share for U.S. Producers of Semiconductor Manufacturing Equipment."

28SEMMRT.CGM

Graph depicting semiconductor equipment market shares by major markets.

28SEMMRT.EPS

The same graph, but in ".EPS" (Encapsulated PostScript) format. ".EPS" files appear as gray boxes on the computer screen when placed in PageMaker, but print out normally on PostScript printers.

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GRAPHICS FORECAST:

— THURSDAY, OCTOBER 31: Factory orders.

— FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1: Leading indicators, employment.

— WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 13: Producer price index.

— THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14: Retail sales, consumer price index.

— FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 15: Industrial production.

— TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 19: Merchandise trade.

— WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 20: Housing starts.
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NOTE TO POSTS:

(New edition of Washington Economic Reports) (310)

A new issue of the USIA economic newsletter, "Washington Economic Reports," is available as of October 30. This issue includes articles on:

— the contributions to economic thinking of Ronald Coase, the 1991 Nobel laureate in economics, including excerpts from the Bank of Sweden announcement of the award;

— the debate over the desirability of international trading blocs, featuring arguments of leading economists at a recent conference organized by the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City;

— the lessons for Eastern Europe to be derived from the economic reform experience of Taiwan, South Korea, Chile and others, as outlined in a report by the Atlantic Council of the United States;

— the condition of the U.S. semiconductor manufacturing equipment industry, based on an International Trade Commission report to the Senate;

— environmental problems associated with a heavy reliance on livestock as a food source, as detailed in a recent Worldwatch Institute report;

In our guest opinion piece, Murray Weidenbaum urges U.S. defense contractors to cut back their operations in the face of reduced government military spending, rather than attempt to diversify into fields where they have little experience. He points to the postwar experience of many firms that tried the diversification route to buttress his point.

Depending on each post's equipment and preferences, Washington Economic Reports can be downloaded as either (1) a printer-ready file; (2) a PageMaker file that can be edited at the post, or (3) a desk-top-publishing file in the same format used for the Wireless File. Refer to USIA cable 60182 of October 1990 for details on obtaining the newsletter.

Washington Economic Reports is published every two weeks. French and Spanish translations (in "Wireless File" format only) are prepared for distribution later. Notes are sent when these become available.
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*NEA356

(Following FS material not for publication)

ADD NEWS ROUNDUP, OCTOBER 30 (40)

STOCKS CLOSE HIGHER

The Dow Jones average of 30 industrials gained 9.84 points October 30 to close at 3,071.78.

(Preceding FS material not for publication)
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PAO/IO NOTE: BAKER NEWS CONFERENCE TRANSCRIPT (70)

The transcript of Secretary of State Baker's October 30 news conference in Madrid, which is expected to be ready for transmission after the close of the regular NESA File, will be available as a PGL item for TVRO and Binkley high speed modem retrieval. For Binkley, use designator PGL300.TZI (for ASCII text) or PGL300.DZI (for Wang document).
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The Wireless File

BROADCAST SCHEDULES FOR
OCTOBER 31-NOVEMBER 1, 1991
For AOR/IOF Satellites (840)

October 31

PROGRAM ALERT

SUBJECT: WORLDNET TRANS-
MISSION OF NIGHTLINE OF OCT.
29,
1991. ON THURSDAY OCT. 31 ON
ABC NEWS PRESENTS "NIGHT-
LINE"

THE TOPIC WILL COVER THE
MIDEAST PEACE CONFERENCE.

NEWFILE FEED

1. MIDEAST PEACE CONFERENCE
REACTION TO BUSH ADDRESS
POSSIBLE

2. USSR FOOD CREDITS POS-
SIBLE ALL FEEDS

3. SPECIAL AF UN DAY FOR
AFRICA POSSIBLE ALL FEEDS

4. SPECIAL AF FOREIGN ASSIS-
TANCE PART 111 NEA/AF ON
FRENCH

5. COMMERCE DEPARTMENT/
TOURISM POSSIBLE ALL FEEDS

6. ASSIGNMENT EARTH; TURTLE
POPULATION UPDATE 1:35

1058 gmt SCHEDULE INFORMA-
TION

1100 gmt NEWSFILE
(ENGLISH, M AND E)

1130 gmt NIGHTLY BUSINESS
REPORT

1200 gmt MACNEIL LEHRER
NEWSHOUR
(ENGLISH, SPANISH)

1300 gmt WORLDNET DIALOGUE
Guest: Paul Hearne, President,

The Dole

Foundation for Employment
of People

with Disabilities

Topic: Americans with Dis-
abilities in the

Workplace

Interactive Posts: London,
Valletta, Oslo

1400 gmt SOLAR ECLIPSE STOCK
FOOTAGE

1410 gmt C-SPAN Public Affairs
Conference

1430 gmt BILL MOYERS WORLD
OF

IDEAS "Sissela Bok." This
philosopher writes

of the psychology of lying,
the consequences of

deception and the perils of
keeping secrets.

Bok discusses why leaders must
keep the public

trust and offers experienced
observations on

peaceful change.

1457 gmt SCHEDULE INFORMA-
TION

1500 gmt WORLDNET DIALOGUE
Guest: Jeanami Rakotoariso,

Director of

National Museum of Antan-
anarivo

Topic: AFRICAN JOURNAL:
African Art and Its

Impact on American Design

Interactive Post: Abidjan

Language: French interpreta-
tion (subcarrier

English)

1600 gmt C-SPAN Public Affairs
Conference

1635 gmt RIAS FEED (German)

1730 gmt SMITHSONIAN WORLD
102

"Crossing the Distance." This
episode features

an exclusive interview with
Anne Morrow

Lindbergh, takes a new look
at the Panama

Canal, visits the Smithsonian
Tropical Research

Institute, examines a design
that streamlined

society, takes a ride on the
world's longest

aerial tramway and travels with
three Siberian

tigers from the Soviet Union
to the U.S.

1830 gmt BY THE PEOPLE

105/Segment 9 "Supporting a
Candidate." The

students discover a number of
ways in which

they can aid their teacher's
campaign for

membership on the county
council. He

encourages them to become
fully acquainted with

the platform and ideas of a
candidate they

choose to support.

105/Segment 10 "Voting."

The students are

encouraged to learn about the
prerequisite

procedures necessary for vot-
ing. Using a model

voting machine and discuss-
ing one international

student's eligibility to vote,
the class

demonstrates the requirements
of, and steps in,

the American voting process.

1900 gmt ABC NEWS PRESENTS
(May be broadcast only by

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stations having
signed agreements with ABC
News; may be used
for non-broadcast purposes by
USIS posts.)

1930 gmt C-SPAN Public Affairs
Conference

2000 gmt STATE DEPARTMENT
BRIEFING
(Taped 10/30/91)

2045 gmt C-SPAN Public Affairs
Conference

November 1

GMT TIME

0000 gmt SCHEDULE INFORMA-
TION

0005 gmt ABC WORLD NEWS
WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
(NOT FOR BROADCAST)

0100 gmt STATE DEPARTMENT
BRIEFING
(Taped 10/31/91)

0200 gmt MACNEIL LEHRER
NEWSHOUR
(ENGLISH, SPANISH)

0300 gmt NIGHTLY BUSINESS
REPORT

0330 gmt NEWSFILE
(English, M AND E)

0400 gmt BUSINESS OF MAN-
AGEMENT 113
"Staffing." An in-depth case
study at Reader's
Digest headquarters in Pleas-
antville, New York,
reveals the anatomy of the
staffing process of

a major corporation. The
manager's role in
human resource planning and
negotiating is
discussed.

0410 gmt C-SPAN Public Affairs
Conference

0430 gmt BUSINESS OF MAN-
AGEMENT 114
"Human Resource Manage-
ment." The importance of
employee training and devel-
opment is
discussed. Major benefits to
be derived from
effective training programs are
suggested.

0500 gmt RIAS FEED (GERMAN)

0530 gmt BUSINESS OF MAN-
AGEMENT 115
"Building Commitment and
Motivation." Marc
Holzer and Joel Goldberg of
the National Center
for Public Productivity com-
pare the
productivity of public sector
employees with
the experience of Texas In-
struments and AT and
T.

0600 gmt MACNEIL LEHRER
NEWSHOUR

0700 gmt BY THE PEOPLE
105/Segment 9 "Supporting a
Candidate." The
students discover a number of
ways in which
they can aid their teacher's
campaign for
membership on the county
council. He
encourages them to become
fully acquainted with
the platform and ideas of a

candidate they
choose to support.

105/Segment 10 "Voting."
The students are
encouraged to learn about the
prerequisite
procedures necessary for vot-
ing. Using a model
voting machine and discuss-
ing one international
student's eligibility to vote,
the class
demonstrates the requirements
of, and steps in,
the American voting process.

0730 gmt TECHNICAL LINEUP

0800 gmt NEWSFILE
(ENGLISH, FRENCH, ARA-
BIC, M AND E)

0900 gmt BILL MOYERS WORLD
OF IDEAS

"Sissela Bok." This philoso-
pher writes of the
psychology of lying, the con-
sequences of
deception and the perils of
keeping secrets.
Bok discusses why leaders must
keep the public
trust and offers experienced
observations on
peaceful change.

0930 gmt BILL MOYERS WORLD
OF IDEAS

"Lester Brown." One of the
founders of the
environmental movement,
Brown established
Worldwatch Institute. There
he and his
colleagues have suggested
solutions for a wide
variety of environmental prob-
lems and published
papers on topics ranging from
nuclear power to

The Wireless File

deforestation to world health.

1000 gmt ABC WORLD NEWS
WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS
(NOT FOR BROADCAST)

1055 gmt TECHNICAL LINEUP
NNNN

The Wireless File

ECONOMIC HIGHLIGHTS, WED-
NESDAY, OCTOBER 30
(Foreign aid) (200)

HOUSE KILLS FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL

Washington — The U.S. House of
Representatives has killed a \$25,000-
million for

The House acted October 30 by a
vote of 262 to 159.

The Senate had approved the meas-
ure by a vote of 61-to-38 on October
8.

A stopgap bill that includes a con-
tinuation of foreign aid spending at
existing

Worries over the present state of the
U.S. economy dominated House floor
debate,

Even had the measure passed the
House, it would have faced a veto by
President B

The two-year bill included \$6,000
million in aid for Israel, \$4,200 mil-
lion for
NNNN

אאא, חוזם: 37263
אל: רהמש/1933
מ-: המשרד, תא: 301091, זח: 1456, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בבב
שמור/מידי

אל: וושינגטון, פלג

דע: ארהב- קונסוליות

הנדון: ועידת השלום-מכתב הבטחונות לשלך נר 531 סעיף 2-ב

האיסור על פרסום הנוסח הרשמי של המסמך הנל (וכמו כן מכתב ההזמנה
לועידת השלום) עדיין בתוקף. אי לכך אנו מנועים מלהעביר הטקסטים הרשמיים.
מצטערים.

ב. לתשומת לבכם, סיכומי המסמכים באנגלית שהתפרסמו בעיתון JP והתרגומים
שיצאו לאור בעתונים העבריים אינם מוסמכים ואינם מדויקים.

מנהל מצפא

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 37414
אל: רהמש/1940
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 628, תא: 301091, זח: 0939, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בכב
שמור-מידי

אל: מצפ"א

דע: משלחת ישראל במדריד

מאת: יורם אטינגר

המערכה על הערביות להלוואות

1. מפגשיו של ח"כ בגין ב"גבעה" (דווח נפרד) המחישו עד כמה חיונית היא ההסברה המדינית - בשלב זה של המערכה - במקביל להשרשת המסרים הכלכליים.
2. עיניהם של מחוקקים רבים תהיינה נשואות כימים הקרובים לוועידה במדריד. את הפרשנות המירבית הם יקבלו באמצעות התקשורת המושפעת, בעיקר, ע"י דוברי הממשל וע"י שקולי המערכת (אשר גם הם לא צפויים להחמיא לישראל).
3. אני משוכנע כי דוברי המשלחת הישראלית ישפיעו אף הם (לטובה) על אופי הכיסוי התקשורתי, אך אין תחליף לנוכחותם בזירה הווינגטונית.
4. לאור הנ"ל, אני ממליץ להפנות חלק מן הדוברים מיד עם סיום הוועידה, למדריד ישירות לווינגטון, כדי "להכות על הברזל בעודו חם".
5. אני ממליץ להסדיר נוכחות שוטפת ב"גבעה" - עד למועד ההצבעה על הערביות - של נציגי ישראל בכירים (השרים מרידור, אולמרט, ומילוא, סגן השר נתניהו, החוקרים דר' דורי גולד, תא"ל אהרון לברון, הח"כים בן אלישר, בגין, לנדאו וכו'), אשר ישרישו מסרים מדיניים כגון: חיוניות יו"ש לבטחון ישראל; זהות המכשולים בדרך לשלום; תרומת ישראל לבטחון הלאומי של ארה"ב. הכוונה היא לשהות בת שבוע של כל אחד מן האורחים.

יורם אטינגר

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

1. (הטעם צאט)
2. ס'ה'ח, השגריר
3. הוטאט פארשט. האטן נאכט

אאא, חוזם: 37685

אל: רהמש/1939

מ-: מדריד, נר: 262, תא: 301091, זח: 1445, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/בהול

אל : שה'ח

דע : וושינגטון, הציר

מאת : מדריד

הנדון : שיחת רוה'מ - מזכיר המדינה.

1. רה'מ נפגש (29/10) עם מזכיר המדינה במלונו של רה'מ. השיחה נפתחה בארבע עיניים ולאחריה הצטרפו : ס'שה'ח, השגריר שובל, רובינשטיין, בן-אהרון, הדס, בנצור, מרידור. מצידם : רוס, גרגריאן, קראון, טאטווילר.

2. להלן רשום השגריר שובל מהחלק בו השתתף :

א. מזכיר המדינה ציין שדן עם רה'מ בארועים הטרגיים שהתרחשו בארץ. הדגיש שהם אבידה אישית כמי שבקר בארץ לעיתים קרובות בעת האחרונה. אף ציין שאחד הארגונים שעשה זאת מושבו בסוריה.

ב. המשיך ואמר שבשיחתו עם רה'מ עלה נושא התבטאות ערקאת וכי טרם נמצא פתרון משביע רצון לבעייה. הוסיף שהצעדים שננקטו בעקבות התבטאות ערקאת אינם מספקים את ישראל וגם לא את ארה'ב. המזכיר גם אמר שהבין שישראל לא חשב עם ערקאת במו'מ הבילטרלי וימשיכו לעבוד על-כך.

ג. המזכיר בייקר התייחס לאורך הנאומים וציין שלא פתרו הנושא. הוסיף שישראל וארה'ב לא הצליחו לשכנע אחת את רועתה בנושא וכי לא יוכל לאמר למלך חוסיין לקצץ הזמן המוקצב לשמלחתו. אולי, המשיך, אין זה גם דמוקרטי לשלול מהפלשתינאים מחצית זמנם. שמח, עם זאת, לראות שלא יהיה בכך לעכב התהליך.

ד. בשאלת ה- 'VANUE' של המו'מ הבילטרלי ציין המזכיר שהבעייה לא נפתרה ואין לו הצעה כיצד לגשר בין העמדות. יחפשו דרך לפתרון חילוקי הדעות, הוסיף שהרי ישראל מתנגדת להצבת תנאים מוקדמים אז מדוע להציב שאלה זו כתנאי מוקדם. המשיך ואמר שהציע ששתי פגישות של כל הקבוצות הבילטרליות יתכנסו במדריד ואז יוחלט על ההמשך.

ה. רה'מ ציין שאין שאלת המקום בחזקת תנאי מוקדם, אך לא יתכן שהמו'מ הבילטרלי לקבוצותיו יתנהל מחוץ לאיזור. רה'מ הדגיש שגם בעבר, כולל שיחות שביחת הנשק, מו'מ להפרדת כוחות, התנהלו באזור. המזכיר בתגובה לדברי רה'מ ביקש מעוזריו לבדוק תקדימי העבר. רה'מ המשיך ואמר שניתן לקיים השיחות גם על הגבול עצמו. עוד בענין זה ציין רה'מ שאנו מסכימים לקיים ישיבה אחת במדריד, שם יקבעו הנוהלים וסדרי העבודה.

ו. המזכיר בהתייחסות לדברי רה"מ ציין שלא הבין הדברים כך, שידובר במפגש רק בשאלת המיקום ונוהל והוסיף שכדאי אולי לדבר שם גם על נושאים אחרים. עליהם להחליט הוסיף.

ז. רה"מ ציין ששאלת המקום היא כרגע הבעייה העיקרית וכי צריך להתכונן לשלושת הדיונים הבילטרליים.

ח. הזכיר שארה"ב מעודדת המשתתפות הערביות כך שנאומיהם יהיו חיוביים וכי יודע שישראל מכינה נאומה, גם היא, ברוח חיובית.

ט. מזכיר הממשלה התייחס לחוסר ההתאמה במשך הזמן הניתן לישראל לזה הניתן לכלל מדינות ערב וכי אולי ניתן למצוא דרך לפתור זאת. המזכיר השיב שרה"מ יפגש מחר עם הנשיא לזמן ממושך יותר מאשר ראשי המשלחות האחרים.

י. רה"מ התייחס להתבטאותה של אשראווי על הצורך להגביר האינתיפדה וציין שאין היא תואמת הכוונה למתן נאומי המשתתפים. רובינשטיין הביע דאגה הפלשתינאים מגבירים ציפיותיהם לקראת השיחות בנושא הפלשתיני עקב מה שנראה להם כשיפורים שהשיגו בעמדה האמריקאית. אולי, הוסיף, רצוי להחזירם למציאות. המזכיר הביע הסכמה לדברי רובינשטיין ואמר שהסבירו זאת לפלשתינאים.

עד כאן.

עמרני

30 אוקטובר 1991

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 38007
אל: רהמש/1978
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 647, תא: 301091, זח: 1615, דח: מ, סג: בל,
בכב
בלמ"ס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מדריד המשלחת

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

הנדון: מתוך דבריו של מזכיר ההגנה, צ'ייני, בנושא נשק גרעיני

REMARKS OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE DICK CHENEY TO THE AMERICAN LOGISTICS
ASSOCIATION OMNI SHOREHAM, WASHINGTON, DC WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1991

SEC. CHENEY:

THE PRESIDENT'S NUCLEAR INITIATIVE IS DESIGNED TO MAKE IT
EASIER FOR THEM TO REDUCE THE STOCKPILE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO MAKE
CERTAIN THEY'VE GOT CONTROL OF THOSE SYSTEMS. THE FACT IS, THEY'VE
STILL GOT THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TARGETED ON THE UNITED
STATES. THAT HASN'T CHANGED.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES, NOT ONLY IN THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC BUT ACROSS
THE SOVIET UNION, I THINK, ARE REASON FOR US TO BE CAUTIOUS. I
THINK IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR US TO ASSUME THAT THERE'S GOING TO
BE A PEACEFUL, ORDERLY PROGRESSION OF DEVELOPMENT FROM THE OLD
COMMUNIST LED SYSTEM TO SOMETHING NEW. I THINK THERE'S A DISTINCT
POSSIBILITY THAT THEIR ECONOMY WILL CONTINUE TO COLLAPSE FOR SOME
PERIOD OF TIME TO COME, THAT THERE MAY WELL BE UNREST.

THEY'VE NOT YET SOLVED THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE CENTER AND THE
REPUBLICS. IT'S NOT AT ALL CLEAR THAT THERE WILL BE A CENTER
PRESERVED. WHILE WE'RE CONFIDENT THAT THEY'VE GOT CONTROL OF THEIR
NUCLEAR STOCKPILE TODAY, WE DO NOT KNOW WHO WILL OWN THAT STOCKPILE
TWO YEARS FROM NOW, WHETHER THERE WILL BE A REMAINING ENTITY IN
MOSCOW THAT WILL CONTROL IT OR WHETHER IT WILL BE PUSHED OUT TO THE
REPUBLICS AND THEY'LL EACH HAVE THEIR OWN SYSTEMS.

WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER OR NOT THERE WILL BE MASSIVE REFUGEES
FLOWS, FOR EXAMPLE, OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION IF THE ECONOMY
COLLAPSES OR IF STRIFE SHOULD DEVELOP THERE. THERE'S A LOT OF

UNCERTAINTY AND REASONS FOR US, I THINK, TO PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY AND PRUDENTLY ON THE PATH WE'RE ON RATHER THAN MAKE SOME DRAMATIC DEPARTURE FROM WHERE WE'VE BEEN. WE WATCH THOSE DEVELOPMENTS VERY CLOSELY, BUT WE INCREASINGLY, I THINK, ARE IN A POSITION WHERE THE SIZE OF OUR FORCES IS LESS AND LESS TIED TO WHAT SOVIET CAPABILITIES MIGHT BE; A SITUATION IN WHICH WE SEPARATE OURSELVES, IF YOU WILL, FROM THAT CONCERN AS THE DRIVING FORCE IN SIZING OUR FORCES. WE CONTINUE TO WORRY ABOUT IT, BUT INCREASINGLY I THINK YOU'LL FIND OUR STRATEGIES BASED UPON DEALING WITH THE KINDS OF REGIONAL THREATS THAT WE TALKED ABOUT EARLIER WITH RESPECT TO THE PERSIAN GULF.

Q -- I UNDERSTAND THERE'S A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION BETWEEN YOU AND MR. SCOWCROFT ON NUCLEAR TESTING. COULD YOU GIVE US SOME INSIGHTS ON YOUR POSITION?

SEC. CHENEY: WELL, FIRST OF ALL, DON'T BELIEVE EVERYTHING YOU READ IN THE NEWSPAPERS. (LAUGHTER.) THERE WAS AN ARTICLE THAT RAN LAST WEEK THAT PORTRAYED A MAJOR GULF BETWEEN MYSELF AND GENERAL SCOWCROFT OVER THE QUESTION OF TESTING. IT'S SIMPLY NOT TRUE. BRENT AND I DO NOT HAVE ANY FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT OVER THE QUESTION OF TESTING.

WE HAVE BELIEVED, AS A GOVERNMENT, AND CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO CONTINUE TO RUN NUCLEAR TESTS AS LONG AS WE ARE GOING TO DEPEND ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AND WE MUST CONTINUE TO DEPEND ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS BECAUSE THAT'S THE ULTIMATE SAFEGUARD OF OUR SECURITY. WE WANT TO MAINTAIN THAT DETERRENT. WHILE WE CAN REDUCE THE OVERALL SIZE OF THE STOCKPILE AND ENGAGE WITH THE SOVIETS IN WAYS TO DO THAT, NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE, I THINK, THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR SECURITY FOR A GOOD LONG TIME TO COME.

IF YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, HAVE AN INVENTORY OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, IT IS FAR MORE SENSIBLE AND FAR SAFER TO HAVE A TESTING PROGRAM THAT ALLOWS YOU TO PERIODICALLY TEST THE RELIABILITY OF THOSE SYSTEMS AND GUARANTEE THEIR SECURITY THAN IT IS TO MAINTAIN A STOCKPILE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NOT TEST. SO, A TOTAL COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN, SUCH AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED PERIODICALLY BY THE SOVIETS, WE THINK IS UNWISE. WE THINK IT WOULD LEAD TO A LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN THE RELIABILITY AND THE SAFETY OF THE STOCKPILE.

THE THING THAT WAS REALLY UPSETTING THOUGH TO GENERAL SCOWCROFT IN THAT STORY THAT RAN IN THE WASHINGTON POST LAST WEEK WAS THAT HIS PICTURE RAN INSIDE AND MY PICTURE RAN ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE NEWSPAPER. (LAUGHTER.)

THANK YOU ALL VERY MUCH. (APPLAUSE.)

END

עד כאן

עתונות

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם),
אמן, @ (מצב), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, סולטן,
גוברין, רביב, מעת, הסברה, @ (דוצ), @ (נוה/משהבט)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 37864

אל: רהמש/1947

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 831, תא: 301091, זח: 2036, דח: ב, סג: בל,

בכב

בלמס/בהול לבוקר

261.04

אל: מדריד - יועץ רה' מ לתקשורת, ס/שה' ח, מרכז הסברה ותקשורת,

תפוצת תקשורת ארה' ב

דע: וושינגטון

תא: עתונות/ניו-יורק

הנדון: לקראת נאום רה' מ, 31 דנא

1. ממועדי הנאומים של יום חמישי, 31 דנא, תצא ישראל הנפסדת העיקרית מאחר ושעת נאום רה' מ מתוכננת ל 04:00 לפנות בוקר וישודר רק ברשת CNN באחוזי צפיה מזעריים.

2. נאומי הפלשתיני (או הירדני, תלו מי יקבע כנאום אחה' צ), הלבנוני והסורי יזכו בשעות שידור נוחות יותר, בודאי ברשת CNN וכמובן לכיסוי נרחב במגזיני הבוקר, החל מהשעה השניה (08:00 בבוקר שעוננו).

3. ידרש מכם מאמץ הסברתי ותקשורתי אדיר ונוכחות מסיבית על המסכים להעביר את מסר נאום רה' מ, שלא יראה, כדי להתגבר על עודף הזמן שינתן למסרי הצד השני.

עתונות/ניו-יורק

יובל רותם

30 באוקטובר 1991

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, @ (מצב), בנצור, מצפא, רביב, מעת, הסברה

סססס

77
מאמ
אלוהמשרד,
מ-:בוסטון, נר:108, תא:301091, זח:1145, דחור, סג:בל,
בבב

אל : ווש, מדריד, מצפ"א, הסברה
דע : מע"ת, לע"מ

מאת: הקונכ"ל בוסטון

הנדון: תמיכת דעת קהל אמריקנית בישראל - מאמר וסקר ב-
CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

1. ערב ועידת מדריד פרסם ה'מוניטור' (25) מאמר על עמוד שלם בכותרת:
"US PUBLIC SUPPORTS CONTINUED STRONG TIES". העמוד בחותמת
JOHN BENSON מנתח עמדות במרכז ROPER לחקר דעת קהל באוניברסיטת
קונטיקט.

2. המאמר מתבסס על סקרי גאלופ, ABC, וול סט. ג'ורנל ואחרים ומלווה
בטבלאות ודיאגרמות.

3. עיקריו:

א. ערב הועידה אותתו אמריקנים על תמיכתם המתמשכת בישראל על אף אי הסכמות
בדבר קוי מדיניות מסוימים.

ב. מנתוחי המכון 45% אוהדים לישראל ו-24% מתייחסים אליה בשלילה.

ג. אין הבקורת על ישראל משקפת שאיפה לשינוי במדיניות ארה"ב ביחס
לישראל. 2/3 בעד שימור מצב היחסים הקיים.

ד. 59% בעד שמירת רמת הסיוע, עם זאת תמכו 62% באופן ניהול היחסים עם
ישראל ע"י הנשיא בוש.

ה. בנושא ההתנחלויות - 45% מתנגדים להן. 43% - תומכים.

ו. התמיכה בישראל גדלה בקרב קבוצות מפתח באוכלוסיה גילאי 30-59;
שחורים (47%), בוגרי אוניברסיטאות (50%).

4. המומחה לדעת קהל (MARTILLA) נתבקש על ידי להעריך הנתונים המופיעים

במאמר, הסתייג משלוב סקרים ממקורות שונים למיקשה אחת ומהסקת מסקנות
מרחיקות לכת מהפרסום. להערכתו המגמות לסווח ארוך לא השתנו ואחוזי התמיכה
הגבוהים במדיניות ישראל הבאים לידי ביטוי במקבץ זה חורגים מהמגמה לסווח
ארוך.

5. אף אם נקבל הסתייגות זו ניתן להשתמש בנתונים להמחשת התמיכה בעמדותינו
תוך מודעות לסייג מסוים זה. עורך עמוד מאמרי המערכת האחראי לפרסום עמו
שוחחתי בנדון מעריך החוקר והמכון כשקולים ואמינים.

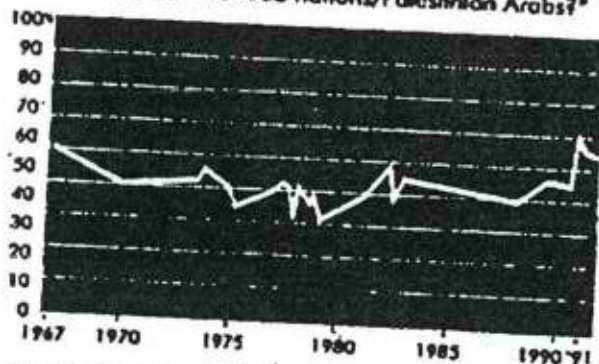
יעקב לוי.

סססס

October 25, 1991

ican popular support for Israel has been stently strong over time...

the Middle East situation, are your sympathies more with the
belis or more with the Arab nations/Palestinian Arabs?



Note: Based on those who say they have been following the situation very
or fairly closely. "In 1988, the category changed to 'Palestinian Arabs'."

	Israel	Arab nations	Both/neither
June 1967	56	4	25
Jan. 1969	50	5	28
Mar. 1970	44	3	32
Oct. 1973	47	6	22
Jan. 1975	44	8	22
Apr. 1975	37	8	24
June 1977	44	8	28
Feb. 1978	33	14	28
Aug. 1978	42	11	30
Mar. 1979	34	11	31
July-Aug. 1981	44	11	34
Jan. 1982	49	14	23
July 1982	41	12	31
July 1983	48	12	26
Aug. 1988	43	20	20
Aug. 1989	50	14	15
Oct. 1990	48	23	19
Feb. 1991	64	8	19
Aug. 1991	50	21	12

...and substantial among a broad range of groups

The boxes on this card go from the highest of 'plus five' for a country you like very much to the lowest
position of 'minus five' for a country you dislike very much. How far up the scale or down the scale
would you rate the following countries?...Israel

Dislike Neutral Like
(-2 thru +5) (+1 and -1) (+2 thru +5)

National

Group responses...percentage who liked Israel

By age:

18-29	39
30-44	46
45-59	46
60+	48

By race:

White	45
Black	47

By religion:

Protestant	47
Catholic	40
Jewish	92
None	38

By religious attendance:

Never	39
Seldom	43
Occasionally	44
Regularly	39
Every week	54

By education:

High School graduate	43
Non-graduate	45
Some college	44
College graduate	50

By ideology:

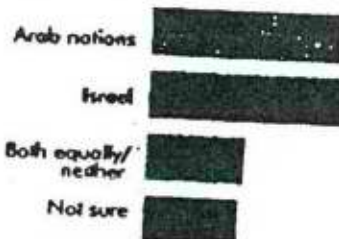
Liberal	45
Moderate	43
Conservative	48

Source: National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys, combined 1985-'86, 1988-'91



But the public is not uncritical of Israeli actions

Who do you think is currently
the biggest obstacle to finding
a peace settlement in the
Arab-Israeli dispute - the Arab
nations or Israel?



Israel occupied the West Bank
and Gaza Strip after its
neighbors attacked Israel in
1967. Do you favor or oppose
Israel's establishment of Jewish
settlements in the occupied
territories?



Source: NBC News/Wall Street Journal

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
JERUSALEM

משרד החוץ
ירושלים

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1/9

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103.55

אל: וושינגטון, אטינגר

הנדון: בייקר-ערביות
בהמשך למברק ירון נר 543

סוף השבוע שודרה ידיעה בקול ישראל לפיה נפגש הסנטור קרייג יחד עם סנטורים אחרים עם מזכיר המדינה והאחרון אמר להם כי יאפשר מתן הערביות בהתאם להתנהגות ישראל בתהליך השלום.

מקור הידיעה יוחס לקרייג ש 'הדליף את תוכן השיחה לתקשורת'.

התוכל להשיג פרטים נוספים אולי מקרייג עצמו.

תודה

ס/מנהל מצפ'א

29 באוקטובר 1991

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

סססס

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אל: רהמש/1897
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 618, תא: 291091, זח: 1755, דח: מ, סג: בל,
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בלמ"ס/מידי

אל: מרכז תקשורת - מדריד

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

הנדון: התבטאות מזכיר ההגנה, צ'ייני, בנושא תהליך השלום ותקיפת הכור
העירק מתוך נאמו בפני ה"ארגון היהודי לבטחון לאומי"

הנאום במלואו הועבר לאמ"נ/מנמ"ת.

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE RICHARD CHENEY
TO THE JEWISH INSTITUTE
FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS CONFERENCE DINNER
ANA WESTIN HOTEL/WASHINGTON, DC/MONDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1991

IT'S CLEAR THAT A DURABLE PEACE AND LASTING STABILITY CAN BE
BROUGHT ONLY AS A RESULT OF ISRAEL'S SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH
PALESTINIAN AND ARAB STATES. BUT NO COUNTRY CAN BE EXPECTED TO TAKE
RISKS FOR PEACE UNLESS IT IS CONFIDENT ABOUT ITS SECURITY.

REST ASSURED, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT
ISRAEL'S QUALITATIVE MILITARY EDGE OVER ALL POSSIBLE ENEMIES. AND
WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO ENSURING ISRAEL'S SECURITY IN THE YEARS
AHEAD. (APPLAUSE.)

* * *

AND LET ME TONIGHT IN FRONT OF THIS GROUP THANK MY GOOD
FRIEND DAVID EVERY (SP) FOR THE ACTION ISRAEL TOOK IN 1981 WITH
RESPECT TO THE BAGHDAD REACTOR. (APPLAUSE.)

THERE WERE MANY TIMES DURING THE COURSE OF THE BUILD-UP IN THE GULF AND THE SUBSEQUENT CONFLICT THAT I GAVE THANKS FOR THE BOLD AND DRAMATIC ACTION THAT HAD BEEN TAKEN SOME TEN YEARS BEFORE.

INSTEAD OF THAT THREAT TODAY, OF COURSE, WE HAVE AN UNPRECEDENTED OPPORTUNITY FOR PEACE AND SECURITY, AS ARABS AND ISRAELIS SIT DOWN AT THE CONFERENCE TABLES IN MADRID ON WEDNESDAY. WE SHOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE THE OBSTACLES THAT LIE AHEAD, BUT NEITHER SHOULD WE UNDERESTIMATE THE TREMENDOUS ACHIEVEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT AND MY COLLEAGUE JIM BAKER. THEIR ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE A TESTAMENT TO AMERICA'S WORLD LEADERSHIP ROLE.

עד כאן

תזונות

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

סססס



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*NEA299 10/29/91

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA WIRELESS FILE LOG
FOR TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1991

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*NEA202

CHANCE SEEN TO TALK OUT GENERATIONS OF MIDEAST HATRED

(Bush says U.S., USSR to act as "catalysts") (800)

By Alexander M. Sullivan

USIA White House Correspondent

Madrid — The United States views the Middle East peace conference as an "historic" opportunity to talk out generations of hatred and distrust, President Bush declared October 29.

The United States and the Soviet Union, as co-sponsors of the gathering that opens in Madrid October 30, will act as "catalysts," he said, not world powers that seek to impose a settlement on the region.

As Soviet President Gorbachev called for a "new climate" of international relations, Bush promised a limited but interested role for the United States.

In a joint news conference at the new Soviet embassy in Madrid, the two leaders bowed to the sensitivity of the moment that their cooperation had helped to bring about, and declined to answer questions about specific issues likely to confront Arabs and Israelis in the morning.

Bush, for example, declined to express an opinion when asked if there could be a settlement without an exchange of land for peace, a short-hand method of summing up United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. Those resolutions call on Israel to yield territory it occupied on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in exchange for a peace that would include fully normalized relations with her Arab neighbors.

"What is important here," Bush said, "is getting the parties together. One way you don't do that is for either the Soviet Union or the United States to try to impose a settlement. So, let them sort it out."

Gorbachev said Bush had "vocalized" the understanding each nation has of how to handle the first meeting in four decades between Israel and her Arab antagonists. He called the conference opening in Madrid's Royal Palace "very tough, very difficult meetings," and said Washington and Moscow had agreed on "the proper approach" to the conference.

Gorbachev said that did not mean the two nations would wash their hands of the conference once it begins; he defined the superpower role as one of "using our good offices...We need a new climate of international relations." He noted that that includes re-instating Moscow's diplomatic ties with Tel Aviv as well as establishing closer ties to Washington. He pledged that Moscow would "use everything that we have to find the keys, to find all the right chords, to get rid of all those old, outdated issues and problems." He said a settlement should strike "a balance" that answered the requirements of all parties.

Both Bush and Gorbachev are to deliver opening addresses to the conference in the Salon de las Columnas of the Royal Palace, residence of Spain's kings from Charles II to Alfonso XIII.

In advance of the conference, Bush was to meet October 30 with Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, who chose to head his nation's delegation, and with the heads of delegation — most of them foreign ministers — of other nations. He will meet with representatives of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and the Jordanian-Palestinian group be-

fore going to the palace.

Bush noted the invitations to the conference issued by Washington and Moscow cited both U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338, and he pointed out the U.S. and Soviet positions endorsing land-for-peace are well known.

He said both the U.S. and Soviet sides would be "available" if the parties looked for help, but he stressed, "We're not here to impose a settlement. We're here to be a catalyst."

He said the "worst thing" either superpower could do would be to "reiterate our own positions to such a degree that one side or the other became disenchanted before they even talked to each other."

The reason the conference is "historic," the president explained, is that "people are sitting down to talk to each for the first time." He said he would not look back at "years of differences and reiterate strongly-held convictions."

The U.S. interest, he asserted, "is getting Israel and its neighbors to sit down and talk, talk in a multilateral facet and then go forward bilaterally."

Pressed on the peace-for-territory premise, Bush again stressed, "let the parties work all this out. (It's not) for you and me to sit here in this lovely Soviet embassy to say what the requirements are going to be. I told you what the invitation said, 'based on 242 and 338.' Everybody knows what that means, so's there's no point in me going beyond that."

NNNN

*NEA203

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U.S., USSR TO DISCUSS MORE STEPS TOWARD DISARMAMENT (Bush-Gorbachev talks include nuclear arms) (960)

By Alexander M. Sullivan
USIA White House Correspondent

Washington — The United States and the Soviet Union will discuss "additional steps" toward nuclear disarmament, President Bush said October 29.

In a telling commentary on how far relations between the world's most powerful nuclear powers have progressed, the president made the announcement almost casually in a joint news conference with Soviet President Gorbachev in Madrid, where the two leaders will address the opening session of the Middle East peace conference October 30.

Once, when leaders of the superpowers met, specific agenda items were laboriously agreed to in advance and nuclear armaments were sure to dominate. Bush and his predecessors worked hard to demystify relations with Moscow, and perhaps in Madrid their efforts came to fruition.

The bilateral meeting between Bush and Gorbachev — the first since the failed coup d'etat in Moscow last August — concentrated on financial and humanitarian assistance for Moscow as Gorbachev seeks to hold together the constituent republics of his nation, at least in the economic and foreign policy areas.

Perhaps inevitably, Gorbachev was asked who was in charge while he was out of the country, and whether he was more — or less — confident of his position than before the tanks rolled into Moscow's streets last summer. The Soviet leader declared

forcefully he was in control, noting, "I didn't lose my balance then and I haven't lost it now....Nobody is going to take me out of the action."

Bush expressed his support for Gorbachev, whom he called "my friend," and said he sees no difference, since the failed coup, in the man facing him across the negotiating table.

The president said he could detect "no difference in how we talk and the frankness with which we exchange views; no difference...in the respect level for President Gorbachev."

He said he and Gorbachev are agreed that the two countries are on the same "schedule" for disposing of parts of their nuclear arsenals, both tactical and strategic. Cuts in strategic nuclear weapons are called for in the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty the two men signed in July in Moscow. Reduction and withdrawal from active deployment of tactical nuclear weapons is being accomplished under unilateral cuts announced by Bush and matched by Gorbachev. Bush has proposed negotiating additional cuts in strategic weapons. The Soviet leader has made additional nuclear proposals now under study in Washington.

"We had good discussions on the whole question of nuclear arms reduction and nuclear safety," Bush told a questioner. "Now what we've got to do is iron out more detail."

He said he will send top U.S. arms negotiators, including Reginald Bartholomew, "to discuss with the Soviet side what additional steps we can agree on, additional to those that have already been agreed."

Gorbachev added there had been an agreement to establish study groups

on strategic stability.

The two leaders met for a working luncheon and a business meeting in the new neoclassical Soviet embassy in Madrid. Seated on a small sofa, the leaders conversed as they posed for pictures at the start of their talks. Bush was accompanied by Secretary of State Baker; Brent Scowcroft, the president's national security adviser; John Sununu, the White House chief of staff; and Robert Strauss, U.S. ambassador to Moscow.

Bush called the session "very constructive," and Gorbachev said they spent the "majority" of their time on internal developments in the Soviet Union, while also discussing the Middle East peace conference and nuclear arms.

Bush said the United States watches "with fascination and keen interest the developments inside the Soviet Union, the dramatic movements toward...reforms" there.

The president told the news conference it's not his job to "fine-tune every detail of change inside the Soviet Union," but to continue negotiating with Gorbachev while also remaining in contact with leaders of the republics.

On the issue of apportioning aid between the center and the republics, Bush told one questioner that he defers to Gorbachev, who told him he is sure Ukraine will join 12 other republics in signing an economic union contract.

"We are interested," Bush said, "in trying to do our part to see reforms continue." He said he believes the best thing the United States can do is "figure out the best package" of aid "that we can that will come as close to

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meeting his requirements as possible."

He said that while he and Gorbachev "had a good discussion of the requirements," no decisions were reached pending reports from the special meeting of the Economic Summit nations in Moscow. He said further talks with Gorbachev would be required after that.

The president noted that Americans, when offering credits and humanitarian assistance to the Soviets, believe it is "important (to) get the view that the center and the republics are together on these matters."

As Gorbachev explained matters to him, Bush said, "the republics are indeed closer together with the center on these economic matters than ever before." He said that would make it "easier for the United States or the G-7 (Economic Summit nations) or the other countries that clearly want to assist in the reform process in helping this go forward."

Gorbachev told questioners Ukraine's Prime Minister Volkin had told him he would sign the economic union agreement, following a favorable vote by Ukraine's supreme soviet.

Bush said the two countries are now in the stage of "discussing details" about how economic and humanitarian aid will be provided and distributed. "I endorse what he said," Bush added, "about needing further work and consultation on this."

He said he and Gorbachev had agreed not to mention the "magnitude" of the aid under discussion "right now." NNNN

*NEA204

SMALL CLAIMS AGAINST IRAQ MAY TOTAL TWO MILLION (Iraqi oil sale to pay for war damages) (660)

By Robin Newmann
USIA European Correspondent

Geneva — As many as two million people are expected to make initial small claims against Iraq for damage and injury caused by its invasion and occupation of Kuwait, according to the chairman of the Governing Council of the U.N. Commission examining claims against Iraq.

"My guess is that we could face a situation where we would see something between 1.5 and two million claims coming from individuals," council chairman Philippe Berg, Belgian representative to the United Nations in Geneva, told a news conference October 29.

Berg said, however, that he could not tell yet when the claims would be coming in. Also, there is "no indication" when the small individual claims, defined as amounts between \$2,500 and \$100,000, would be paid since Iraq was not yet exporting oil, and therefore not generating revenue for the special compensation fund set up to finance the claims.

The Security Council has already approved an initial sale by Iraq of \$1,600 million in oil to pay for humanitarian supplies and initial compensation for damage and loss due to the invasion of Kuwait, but Iraq has yet to start exporting this oil.

Following the rout of Iraq's army last February, the U.N. Security Council decided to create a fund to pay compensation for claims against Iraq, and to establish a commission to administer the fund. The Governing Coun-

cil is charged with deciding how to administer the fund, establish the claims criteria and get the claims process underway, and make arrangements for ensuring payments to the fund.

According to Security Council Resolution 687, Iraq is liable under international law for any direct loss or damage — including environmental damage and the depletion of natural resources — or injury to foreign governments or corporations as a result of its actions against Kuwait.

The Governing Council, which is composed of the current 15 Security Council nations, held a third session October 14-18.

Berg said the third session completed the final details of the small claims procedure, such as definitions of the various criteria for small claims, including business losses, serious injury, mental pain and anguish. At its first session in August, the council decided to give priority to expediting small claims by individuals so as to give relief to the most needy, notably the hundreds of thousands of foreign workers and their families who fled Iraq and Kuwait in the wake of the Iraqi invasion, leaving their possessions and jobs behind, and who suffered in other ways.

According to the criteria for small claims, payment of up to \$100,000 will be made "with respect to death or personal injury, or losses of income, support, housing or personal property, or medical expenses or costs of departure if backed by "appropriate evidence." Where only simple documentation is available to prove that someone had departed from Kuwait or Iraq, a fixed amount of \$2,500 per person will be paid.

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Berg said the last council session also adopted a mechanism to ensure that a certain percentage of Iraq's future regular oil-export revenue goes to the compensation fund once Security Council sanctions against Iraq are lifted. The exact percentage has yet to be decided by the Governing Council, although the Security Council has mandated that no more than 30 percent of Iraq's future oil export earnings can go into the fund.

Berg said the next session of the Council, scheduled for November 25-29, would begin to look at criteria for other categories of claims against Iraq, including those from governments and international organizations and corporate claims.

He said there is "still much work to be done" in the council, and that in some areas which are very technical, such as those dealing with environmental damage, the elaboration of criteria for claims would require the help of outside experts.

NNNN

*NEA205

U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS REMAIN STRONG, DESPITE CHANGES

(U.S., Israeli panelists at Brookings seminar) (890)

By Rosalind Mandine
USIA Staff Writer

Washington — While U.S.-Israeli relations are undergoing some changes, the foundations of the special relationship between the two countries remain strong, according to a panel of U.S. and Israeli experts.

Former U.S. Ambassador to Israel, Sam Lewis, former Israeli Ambassa-

dor to Egypt, Shimon Shamir, and Dr. Zeev Sternhell, professor of political science at Hebrew University, reviewed the development and future of U.S.-Israeli relations in a seminar sponsored by the Brookings Institution October 29, on the eve of the Middle East peace conference to be held in Madrid, Spain.

The panelists concluded that the end of the cold war and the impact of the Gulf war created changes in the Middle East that have affected U.S.-Israeli relations. While noting that some of these changes have made Israel somewhat uneasy about the future of its relations with the United States, the panelists said the result will be a sounder and more pragmatic relationship between the two countries.

The strong foundation of relations between the United States and Israel is a prime motivator for the U.S. to continue its efforts to broker a peace agreement in the Middle East, Ambassador Lewis said.

"Why are we so committed to bringing peace to the Middle East?" he asked. Because despite changes in Israel's strategic value in the Middle East, "there remains...this spider web of shared values, historical memories, guilts, ideology, hopes and family ties that was there in the beginning and has remained there over the decades," Lewis explained.

He said the United States also seeks to improve its ability to conduct foreign policy in the region by removing sources of conflict and demonstrate its commitment to Israel's freedom and a growing sense of concern for the Palestinians.

While the future of U.S.-Israel relations is "not very predictable at this moment," Lewis said "the fact that a

special relationship will continue is predictable."

While the process of seeking peace in the Middle East will undoubtedly create some "friction in the alliance," it will also "bind the United States and Israel closer together over the next years," Lewis said.

U.S.-Israeli interaction throughout the peace process "will have explosive moments at times," but it will also "take the alliance into a new era — probably and ultimately a sounder one," Lewis concluded.

Ambassador Shamir stressed that while the end of the cold war and the results of the recent Gulf war left some positive changes in the region for Israel — such as increased relations with Eastern Europe, Soviet Jewish immigration and the discrediting of the PLO — there is still a "growing feeling of uneasiness" among Israelis.

The uneasiness is a result of many factors, Shamir said, including the continued threat posed by Saddam Hussein in Iraq, the increased flow of arms to Arab states and the absence of democratization in the Arab world.

However, the uneasiness primarily stems from Israel's diminished status as a strategic asset for the United States in the region and the public airing of differences between the United States and Israel, he said.

Noting the peace conference in Madrid, Shamir said the "new feeling of insecurity" among Israelis will not "encourage Israel to accept concessions."

While "differences between the United States and Israel are not new and are legitimate," the United States should be careful in choosing the issue and timing of such differences, Shamir

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said.

Whenever the United States expresses differences with Israel, "everyone in the Middle East is watching," Shamir said, adding that the implications of such differences "could go far beyond what was meant to be expressed."

Despite a growing trend in the Arab world of pragmatism and acceptance of Israel, Shamir suggested that friction between the United States and Israel could lead Arab states to rethink their policies and question Israel's ability to exist without U.S. support.

Shamir said the end of the cold war and the Gulf war "generated a movement of closer relationships between the United States and the Arab world," but that this development does not have to be at the expense of U.S.-Israeli relations.

Improving U.S. ties with both the Arab world and Israel "may be beneficial to both partners," Shamir said, adding that the Madrid conference "is a manifestation" of that policy.

Dr. Sternhell stressed the importance of the United States to Israel's continued survival.

"People in power are asking themselves if the American alliance will break down," he said. For Israelis this is a question of "to be or not to be," he said.

"The American alliance is essential for our capability to be what we are and achieve the basic goals of Zionism," Sternhell asserted.

Sternhell said that faced with a choice between continued U.S. support and the annexation of the occupied territories, Israel must choose U.S. eco-

nomics and technical assistance in order to ensure its continued economic viability and existence.

"There are things that are more important to the future of our country than the territories," he said. Access to U.S. technology and economic assistance "is more important than the West Bank," he concluded.

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U.S. ECONOMY POSTS MODERATE GROWTH

(More recent data worrisome, officials say) (990)

By Jon Schaffer
USIA Staff Writer

Washington — The U.S. economy grew at a moderate pace in the third quarter of 1991 following three quarters of declines, according to the initial report from the Department of Commerce.

Though administration officials expressed optimism about the prospects for continued growth in the fourth quarter, they told reporters October 29 that the economy apparently ended the third quarter with somewhat less momentum than when it started, and that the recovery appears to be weaker than earlier expected. One official after another described the current economic environment as "sluggish."

Based on preliminary data, inflation-adjusted gross national product (GNP) rose at an annual rate of 2.4 percent during the July-September period, the strongest quarterly showing since a 3.6 percent gain in the first quarter of 1989, the Department of Commerce reported October 29. The economy fell at annual rates of 0.5 percent in the second quarter, 2.8 percent in the

first quarter and 1.6 percent in the fourth quarter of 1990.

Inflation was down, rising at only a 2.1 percent annual rate in the third quarter in the fixed-weights index, compared with a 3.1 percent rate of increase in the second quarter and a 5.2 percent rate in the first quarter.

"Third quarter growth in GNP is encouraging," U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Nicholas Brady said in a short written statement. "Although the economic recovery remains sluggish, consumer spending, residential construction and capital spending are up, and inflation is down."

Brady called on Congress to do more to encourage growth in the economy.

"Congress should act on the president's growth package, particularly the highway bill, which will create jobs immediately, and true reform of the banking industry, which will strengthen the economy and spur investment," Brady said.

"In recent weeks, it's turned demonstrably sluggish," Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan said in a speech a day earlier describing his views on the economic situation.

Greenspan has been under increasing pressure from the Bush administration to lower interest rates further to give the economy a boost.

"If the Fed (Federal Reserve) lowers interest rates it would be a good signal" for the economy, U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher told reporters October 29. "We see that lower interest rates can be only helpful."

Mosbacher also described the economy as "sluggishly moving forward."

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He also said the administration is still studying the idea of a stimulative tax cut.

"We are still in a transitional period with cross-currents in economic activity," J. Antonio Villamil, chief economist in the Department of Commerce, told reporters. "Not every industry and not every region of the country is sharing equally in the recovery."

Still, Villamil remains convinced that the recession is over.

"If you look at the fundamentals, the lower interest rates, the pickup in consumer spending, the fact that we have growth in the merchandise export side, the fact that we have growth in consumer expenditures in investments and durable equipment, all the cyclical components suggest that this recovery is proceeding," he said.

The uncertainty, he continued, stems from a recent slowing in industrial production and in retail sales, and no improvement yet in labor markets. The sluggish labor market may be dampening consumer confidence, he said.

Gains in employment tend to lag other economic indicators and might not be expected for several more months, Villamil said. The unemployment rate is now at 6.7 percent.

Villamil said that a major contributor to third-quarter growth was a change in business inventories. He said that businesses chose to draw down inventories less rapidly and produce more to meet a pickup in sales. "Inventory liquidation is probably at or close to an end," he said. "Renewed inventory building should be in progress by year's end."

Other important sources of growth last quarter stemmed from gains in consumer spending, residential investment and producers' durable equipment.

Consumer spending, which composes about two-thirds of total GNP, increased \$24,800 million, or 3.8 percent, in the third quarter compared with an increase of \$16,800 million in the second quarter.

Business fixed investment registered a mixed performance in the July-September quarter, reflecting additional purchases of computers and motor vehicles but weak private nonresidential construction.

Residential fixed investment jumped \$7,300 million, or 20.6 percent, in the third quarter, while business fixed investment expenditures rose \$8,000 million, or 6.6 percent.

The trade sector did not contribute to economic growth in the third quarter as a strong rise in imports of goods and services outstripped a small increase in exports.

Villamil said the administration believes stepped-up growth in the industrial countries next year should benefit U.S. export markets.

Government purchases were also sluggish as defense expenditures continued their downward trend, he said.

Following are some key figures:

GNP AND GNP PRICE INDEXES
Percent change from preceding period, seasonally adjusted at annual rate

4th 1st 2nd

3rd	Year	Year	qtr	qtr
qtr	qtr	'89	'90	'90
'91	'91			
Real GNP	2.5	1.0	-1.6	-
2.8	-0.5	2.4		
Personal consumption	1.9	0.9	-3.4	
-1.5	2.5	3.8		
Nonresidential fixed investment	3.9	1.8	0.1	-16.3
1.4	6.6			
Residential fixed investment	-4.1	-5.5	-20.6	-
25.3	1.6	20.6		
Exports	11.0	6.4	11.0	0.5
4.5	0.1			
Imports	6.0	2.8	-11.8	-8.8
17.7	12.9			
Government purchases	2.3	2.8		
4.7	-1.3	1.8	-6.6	
GNP fixed-weighted price index	4.5	4.6	4.7	5.2
3.1	2.1			
GNP implicit price deflator	4.1	4.1	2.8	5.2
4.5	1.8			
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ASSISTANT USTR SAYS CHINA'S TRADE PROPOSALS NOT ENOUGH
(Policies called incompatible with GATT) (700)

Beijing — China's proposals to take steps to eliminate barriers to its markets and improve intellectual property protection are steps in the right direction, but they are not enough, according to Assistant U.S. Trade Representative Joseph Massey.

During an October 25 press conference that concluded his most recent visit to China, Massey said, "What

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would be enough would be a Chinese commitment to take actions in a reasonable, agreed time frame to remove market barriers in the variety of forms that we've laid out for them in previous meetings.

"We earlier in the year gave them a U.S. analysis of the existing Chinese trade regime, indicating that there were a wide variety of barriers, nine categories that we listed."

When the United States initiated the market access Section 301 investigation of China, Massey said, the focus was narrowed to four specific barriers: lack of transparency in Chinese trade regulations, extensive licensing requirements for imports, bans and quantitative restrictions on imports, and the use of technical standards and certification requirements as barriers.

"What is significant about (those four areas) is that, in each case, we believe that the Chinese trade regime appears to be incompatible with GATT standards, the rules and principles of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, membership in which China aspires to," he said.

Massey, who was accompanied on the visit by officials of the Departments of State, Commerce and Agriculture, said the government of China was cooperative in that it had tabled a proposal for a memorandum of understanding on market access that updated Beijing's September 30 proposals to meet U.S. objections to its market barriers.

"The market access memorandum of understanding," he said, "provided clarification of several points that were either ambiguous or inadequate in the September 30 proposal, removing intention language and replacing it

with commitment language in several instances," he said. As examples, Massey cited provisions dealing with the removal of the import regulatory tax and a reduction in a variety of other barriers, particularly with respect to licensing requirements.

"The Chinese also provided us with a list of some 56 products on which they have indicated that they will be making tariff reductions," Massey said. "In some instances those tariff reductions are significant; in others they are small, but we now have a process underway of negotiation and consultation with a view toward, at least on the United States side, of securing the elimination or substantial reduction of Chinese market barriers."

On the intellectual property side, he said, the issues that remain outstanding include computer software and securing adequate and effective protection for computer software. Other intellectual property issues mentioned by Massey included securing product patent protection for pharmaceuticals and chemicals, transitional protection for existing patents on pharmaceuticals and chemicals, and securing tougher, more adequate, more effective enforcement of China's existing intellectual property laws.

Given the November 26 retaliation deadline under the current Special 301 investigation of China's lack of intellectual property protection, Massey said, "we urgently need to make a positive resolution, achieve a positive resolution of the outstanding issues."

Massey noted that the U.S. side had invited Chinese government officials to visit Washington for the next round of intellectual property talks before the November deadline. He said, however, that the United States did

not foresee extending the deadline because the latest round of talks "did not succeed in achieving sufficient progress from the Chinese to warrant that step at this point."

What the United States wants China to do with respect to computer software, Massey said, "is to amend the copyright law and revise the implementing regulations so that computer software is afforded the same level of protection that all other literary works are afforded."

"With respect to pharmaceuticals and chemicals, we want them to amend the patent law to provide for protection of chemical products and pharmaceutical products," he said. The Chinese proposal to amend the law to provide patent protection for products obtained directly from patented processes is "a half-step that does not get us where we need to get in that very critical area," he said.

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*NEA209

BUSH CONDEMNS RECENT VIOLENCE IN MIDDLE EAST

(Confers in Madrid with Spain's prime minister) (720)

By Alexander M. Sullivan
USIA White House Correspondent

Madrid—President Bush denounced Middle East violence October 29, terming it still another reason to settle the region's differences.

At a joint news conference with Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez, Bush declared Spain "has a very special standing," making it a nation whose relationships in the Middle East and Latin America "can be extraordinarily helpful in terms of world peace."

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Asked if he believed the violence of the past 36 hours in the Middle East was an effort to disrupt the peace conference scheduled to open October 30, the president said his reaction to incidents like the gunfire attack on an Israeli bus — which killed two persons and wounded five others — is “total condemnation.”

If that and similar attacks “were designed to disrupt the conference,” he said, “let’s hope they fail.”

The president said the terrorist attacks “are just one more reason I’d like to see this conference succeed, so people will not resort to the violence in the future that they have resorted to in the past.”

Bush is in Madrid to open the Middle East peace conference, whose aim is a comprehensive settlement — based on United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 — ending the hatred and mistrust which have divided Arabs and Jews for generations. The conference is co-sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, whose emerging cooperative relationship played a large role in creating a climate for a new impetus for peace in the region. A comprehensive settlement would permit fully normal relations between Israel and her Arab neighbors, solve the Palestinian problem and settle the status of Jerusalem.

As Bush told reporters, Spain had a key role in arranging the conference, calling Madrid’s “cooperation and leadership...fantastic. In a very short period of time, Spain has pulled this whole thing together, and everyone that I have talked to has told me it was nothing short of a miracle.” Bush expressed gratitude to Gonzalez for all his efforts “to facilitate the convening of this historic conference.”

The president told a questioner Spain’s future role in the Middle East peace process will depend on developments at the conference, but he pointed out Gonzalez is “widely respected” by participating countries. “It could well be,” Bush said of a future Spanish role, “in terms of facilities for ongoing talks, one kind or another, bilateral talks. Spain demonstrated its interest, and your prime minister having demonstrated his knowledge about the area, I would say...we’ll have to see what the parties (decide). But you’ve already played an extraordinarily useful role in hosting this conference.”

Bush said Spain emerged as the consensus choice of all parties, but he denied it was selected when King Juan Carlos visited him at Camp David earlier in the month.

Bush declined to speculate on prospects for a successful outcome to the conference, but he asserted “the very fact that the parties are coming together is an important sign that there is a chance for success. But I think we would all agree there is a lot of hard negotiation between the parties to take place before we can say, with joy in our hearts, that there will be lasting peace in the Middle East....I’m more optimistic today, just because we’re this much closer to the actual convening of the conference.”

The president said the prime minister’s “special standing” extends to Central and South America, adding that he consults with Gonzalez on matters affecting “our own hemisphere.”

Noting that Latin American leaders turn to Gonzalez “for advice and counsel, as we do,” the president said that when the conversation turns —

for example to El Salvador’s bitter civil war — “we can talk to a man who not only has established his knowledge and interest in the area, but has a standing in the area. So the visit, from my standpoint, did not relate simply to the conference nor to bilateral relations, but on getting his views once again on matters affecting our own hemisphere, including the anti-narcotics business.”

Gonzalez said he and Bush discussed the peace conference, Central America, events in Europe, and the Soviet Union. He called the meeting “very friendly, very cordial.”

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MADRID CONFERENCE TO KICK OFF SEARCH FOR MIDEAST PEACE

(Scenesetter: Middle East peace conference) (860)

By Russell Dybvik

USIA Diplomatic Correspondent

Madrid — Representatives of Israel and Arab states have assembled in Madrid for direct discussions aimed at a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement, a process that could take years and which undoubtedly will be fraught with age-old distrust and seemingly insurmountable difficulties.

President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev are to open the ceremonial first phase of the peace process in the Hall of Columns of the Royal Palace in Madrid on October 30. At a joint news conference on the eve of the conference, both pledged to do all they could to ensure its success.

The initial phase of the process is

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expected to last about three days before moving into the second phase — face-to-face negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbors, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, and talks between Israeli and Palestinian representatives aimed at interim self-governing arrangements for Palestinians in the occupied territories. Those bilateral talks are to begin by November 3.

A third phase — to discuss broader regional problems such as water rights, arms control and the environment — would follow somewhat later. However, Syria has already said it will not attend these discussions until Israel proves its good faith in the peace talks.

Secretary of State Baker has spent much of the past eight months engaged in intensive shuttle diplomacy in the region in an effort to coax the parties to the table. All sought, and received, letters of assurance from the United States concerning the parameters of the peace process. In all, Baker made eight trips to the Middle East to take advantage of what he and Bush saw as a "window of opportunity" for peace in the wake of the Persian Gulf war.

At last conditions appear to be ripe for launching a real peace process — one based on direct face-to-face negotiations between the parties. The last such negotiations, between Israel and Egypt, produced the 1978 Camp David accords, and the 1979 exchange of the Israeli-occupied Sinai in return for a peace treaty with Egypt.

Baker has pointedly noted that Israel has sought for more than 40 years Arab partners with whom to discuss peace. At the same time, Arab states have for years been pressing for an international conference on peace in the Middle East.

"We don't underestimate the magnitude of the task of making concrete progress, and we hope that most of that concrete progress will come in the direct bilateral negotiations between the parties that will follow" the Madrid conference, Baker said in an October 25 television interview with Cable News Network. "We want to serve as a catalyst for peace," he said. "We are going to do the very best job we can in the role of honest broker to try and move this process forward."

One of the major stumbling blocks will be the parties' differing interpretations of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The ultimate goal of the Madrid conference is a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of the two resolutions. The United States has long held that resolution 242 calls for an exchange of land or territory for peace, but the Arabs and Israelis do not agree on the meaning of the two resolutions.

That will certainly be "one of the main subjects of the negotiations" between Israel and its Arab neighbors, Baker has cautioned.

Other specific issues of contention expected to be dealt with in the direct phase of the negotiations include:

— The strategic Golan Heights, seized by Israel from Syria during the June 1967 war and effectively annexed by Israel in 1981,

— The West Bank and Gaza, occupied by Israel since the June 1967 war and home to some 1.7 million Palestinians,

— The Lebanese Security Zone, occupied by Israel since 1982 after it invaded Lebanon to end rocket and

terrorist attacks against northern Israel, and

— Jerusalem, the eastern portion of which Israel captured from Jordan in June 1967. Jerusalem is sacred to Muslims, Christians and Jews alike, making it one of the most intractable issues of the negotiations.

Other difficult issues include the expansion of Israeli settlement activity in the occupied West Bank and arrangements for self-rule by Palestinians in the territories, as well as ending the four-year-old Palestinian intifada and the Arab economic boycott against Israel which has been in existence since 1948.

Last week, Baker said he hopes that interim arrangements for Palestinian self-government can be achieved within a year with negotiations on the final status of the territories expected to be completed within three years.

The Arab states have offered to suspend their economic boycott of Israel in exchange for a freeze on Israeli settlements in the territories.

Bush and Baker have maintained there is no U.S. "peace plan" for the Middle East, emphasizing that no one can impose peace on the region.
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STATES, IN FINANCIAL DISTRESS, PLAN MORE SERVICE CUTS

(Report sees further big tax hikes less likely) (540)

By Ralph Dannheisser
USIA Staff Writer

Washington—Pinched by recession-

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induced revenue shortages and spiraling costs of services, U.S. state government budgets are in bad and possibly worsening shape.

And with the public generally resistant to tax increases, that could mean further employee layoffs and service cutbacks even in such priority areas as education, according to the National Governors' Association.

Reporting the findings in the association's annual "Fiscal Survey of the States" at a press conference October 29, NGA Executive Director Raymond Scheppach said that in the aggregate the states are expected to cut spending by between \$7,000 million and \$8,000 million in the current 1992 fiscal year that ends in most states next June 30.

Those cuts will come on top of reductions of more than \$7,500 million that the states made in their enacted budgets during fiscal year 1991, a year in which they also raised taxes by more than \$10,000 million dollars to stay afloat, the report indicates.

The report notes that, by one measure, financial conditions of the states are "as weak as they have ever been." Thus, total state balances at the end of fiscal year 1991 represented only 1.5 percent of spending — the lowest level since the association began compiling such records in 1979.

The association's survey found that states expect that figure to rise only slightly this year, to 1.9 percent nationwide. And "since this estimate assumes an economic recovery that is not yet evident, it must be considered optimistic at this point," the report notes.

Unlike the federal government, which has been running huge annual budget

deficits — the shortfall for the federal fiscal year that ended September 30 was a record \$268,729 million — state governments are generally barred from turning to borrowing to balance their budgets.

Scheppach told reporters that the fiscal condition of the states is "not exactly in depression, but much worse than the normal recession."

He said the economic downturn had cut into collections from sales taxes, normally a major source of state revenues.

At the same time, Scheppach noted, spending has risen sharply on Medicaid health care programs for the poor, due to revised federal rules and health care price inflation, and on corrections programs, largely because of prison construction mandated by the courts.

Escalating costs in those two areas "continue to erode states' ability to invest in other key areas such as education, infrastructure and the environment," he said.

With citizens seemingly "more willing to accept budget cuts than tax increases right now" and with most of the easy cuts already made, Scheppach said, the next round is likely to have such impacts as boosting class sizes in public schools and reducing drug rehabilitation programs.

The report warned that failure of the national economy to rebound this year "may result in a year of budget cutting that is more difficult than the year that just ended." And Scheppach added his view that states will face tough times, even when the recession is over, because "economic growth will be slower than it was in the 1980s, while needs are increas-

ing."
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*NEA212

BUSH ORDERS EMBARGO ON TRADE WITH HAITI

(Americans urged to leave country) (820)

By Edmund F. Scherr
USIA Diplomatic Correspondent

Washington — In response to the continuing crisis in Haiti caused by the illegal overthrow of the democratically elected government, President Bush has ordered, effective November 5, a halt to most trade — except for humanitarian goods such as basic food and medicine — between the United States and the Caribbean country.

The comprehensive embargo also is in response to the Organization of American States (OAS) call for economic measures against Haiti following the September 30 military coup. Some 65 percent of Haitian imports come from the United States, while 85 percent of Haiti's exports go to the United States.

The State Department said October 29 that the president's action is an "additional step to make it clear that the United States will have no normal trade or diplomatic relations with Haiti until constitutional democracy is restored there."

A department statement emphasized that the United States continues to hope for a peaceful resolution to the crisis. "The disruptions which these additional sanctions will place on the Haitian economy have been brought upon the Haitian people by those who seized and hold power in Haiti to-

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day," the statement noted.

It emphasized that the United States "strongly supports the efforts of the OAS secretary general to negotiate the return of the constitutionally-elected government of President Aristide."

In a message to Congress dated October 28, President Bush said the new trade restrictions against Haiti will go into effect at 11:59 p.m., Tuesday, November 5.

In an additional move, the State Department October 29 ordered the departure of all non-essential U.S. government employees and dependents. The department also urged all U.S. citizens to depart the country as soon as possible.

It is estimated that some 3,000 Americans have already left Haiti. Some 8,300 Americans are registered with the U.S. Embassy in Port-au-Prince, but the total number of Americans in the country is not known.

Bernard Aronson, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, told a press briefing October 29 that the official American presence will be reduced from 159 persons (including dependents) to some 30 official Americans.

"We intend to preserve an essential component there to oversee the humanitarian portion — allowed under the embargo — of our assistance, and to support and facilitate, if possible, the OAS diplomacy and to monitor the situation," Aronson said.

The State Department official said the United States is "encouraged" by the fact that the OAS secretary general has announced that the president of the Haitian Senate has invited him

to send an OAS civilian mission to Haiti to resume negotiations.

"We strongly support this step and we hope that those who hold power in Haiti will resume the negotiations...to find a peaceful resolution to this crisis, and that will permit President Aristide to resume his rightful place as president of Haiti," Aronson said.

He said the United States consulted with a representative of Aristide before the new embargo order was issued. He noted that Aristide, in a recent article, supported such an embargo.

In signing an executive order implementing the embargo, Bush said the action was taken because of the continuing crisis in Haiti and in response to the October 8 OAS resolution which urges member states to impose a trade embargo.

However, the president added, the embargo will be implemented "with due regard to humanitarian needs of the Haitian people."

Under the president's order, exports of basic foods — rice, beans, sugar, wheat flour and cooking oil — and essential medicines to Haiti will not be blocked. There are no restrictions on humanitarian donations "intended to relieve human suffering" in the Caribbean nation.

But Bush said the United States will continue to block all property, including bank deposits, of the Haitian government, and to prohibit any payments to the de facto regime in Haiti by Americans and American-controlled firms.

The president had already suspended all direct assistance to Haiti and blocked all exports to the Haitian police and

military.

The State Department, in a fact sheet, said the trade embargo has already begun to have an effect in Haiti. The United States believes the effects of the additional embargo measures "will be felt very quickly," the fact sheet said.

It said the United States expects its actions "will further increase the effects already felt from the suspension of aid by the United States and others," from the U.S. freeze on Haitian government assets, and from sanctions imposed by other OAS states.

"Fuel supplies are running low. The new government has virtually no hard currency," the fact sheet noted. "Already gasoline, and in some cases electricity, is being rationed."

The department said that the duration of the embargo "remains to be determined," adding that it can "be reviewed and modified to narrow or broaden its scope."

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DEFENSE DEPARTMENT REPORT, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29 (Bahrain, gulf war costs, Egypt, B-2) (560)

NEWS BRIEFING — Spokesman Pete Williams discussed the following topics:

U.S. EXTENDS DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH BAHRAIN

Williams said the United States and Bahrain signed a ten-year military

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agreement in Manama October 27 that covers joint training, prepositioning of equipment and access to ports and airfields.

The bilateral agreement, which is similar to one which exists between Kuwait and the United States, "is really an extension of the kind of business we have been doing with Bahrain for years," the spokesman said. The specifics of the accord will be worked out at a military-to-military level.

Kuwait and the United States are still discussing the specifics of their agreement, including joint training exercises and the prepositioning of equipment, Williams said.

Asked about a possible future location in the gulf for U.S. Central Command headquarters personnel, he said, "There has been no decision yet where that's going to be."

Williams also said the United States continues to discuss the possibility of additional agreements with other gulf states.

COALITION PAYMENTS FOR GULF WAR SUMMARIZED

Williams said the United States continues to advise its allies "of the amounts that they owe" for the coalition war effort in the Persian Gulf area.

Commitments so far have totaled \$53,900 million, the spokesman said, and \$49,200 million have been received. The cost of the war so far has been estimated at \$47,100 million, but the total could reach \$60,000 million, he said, as various military units submit expense bills.

Asked about Kuwait's contribution to the fund, Williams said it averages around \$700 million per month and that Kuwait should finish its contribution by the end of the year. Saudi Arabia, the spokesman said, is paying around \$500 million per month.

CHENEY, EGYPTIAN MINISTER DISCUSS GULF SECURITY

Williams said Egyptian Minister of Defense Tantawi met with Defense Secretary Cheney October 29 to discuss "regional security issues in the Persian Gulf," U.S.-Egyptian defense relations in the post-Gulf war era, and how to keep Egypt "militarily capable."

Tantawi, on his first visit to the United States, also will travel to the U.S. Central Command headquarters at MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, Florida, and to the National Training Center at Fort Irwin in Barstow, California.

B-2 PROGRESS CITED, SCHEDULE INTACT

Williams defended the B-2 Stealth bomber program, noting that no one ever claimed that the aircraft would be completely undetectable by radar.

He quoted from a B-2 Review Panel's letter to Defense Secretary Cheney which says the aircraft continues "to make excellent progress" in achieving greater invisibility to radar. While acknowledging that "additional work" on the aircraft is still needed, the reviewing officers concluded that the Air Force and its contractors "are proceeding with a well-structured

program to apply available technology." It also indicated that additional work could be carried out "without jeopardizing the program schedule."

Asked if the Defense Department had changed its position on the number of B-2s it wishes to acquire, the spokesman said, "We still believe that 75 is the right number and that's where we are going to stay."

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(Following FS material, based on press reports, is for distribution to mission staff only and not for publication)

NEWS ROUNDUP, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29 (890)

ACCORD SIGNED TO FORCE RETURN OF VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE

Vietnam and Britain signed a plan October 29 that could force more than 50,000 Vietnamese boat people home from Hong Kong.

British colonial officials said the first group of boat people will be forced to return to Vietnam in November. The officials said they hoped all boat people would be gone from Hong Kong in two or three years.

The officials said Hong Kong police have been authorized to use force to board the boat people on planes that will take them home.

As part of the deal, Vietnam was to promise not to "persecute or harass" the returning boat people.

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In exchange, Vietnam will receive about \$1,000 for each boat person who returns home, according to diplomats familiar with the agreement.

MOBUTU TELLS BELGIUM TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS FROM ZAIRE

President Mobutu Sese Seko told Belgium to withdraw its troops from Zaire, state radio reported October 29, but a top Belgian official said the soldiers would stay as long as needed to evacuate foreigners.

Opposition leaders appealed for Belgian and French soldiers to remain, fearing a bloodbath by mutinying troops in the Central African nation.

Belgian, the former colonial power in Zaire, said October 28 it would ask the Organization of African Unity to send a peacekeeping force to Zaire. It would replace the last of 2,000 Belgian and French soldiers sent to help evacuate 20,000 foreigners after a September 23-24 mutiny.

Zaire has degenerated into chaos, with its economy collapsing after 26 years of government under Mobutu's dictatorial rule. The West has been pressing for Mobutu to cede power to the opposition, but Mobutu has resisted.

The crisis erupted last month with riots in Kinshasa that reportedly left about 100 people dead.

MULRONEY WITHDRAWS AS CANDIDATE FOR TOP U.N. POST

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada has withdrawn from consid-

eration to be the next Secretary General of the United Nations.

Canada's representative at the United Nations, Yves Fortier, said that in spite of pressure from "many capitals and all regions of the planet," Mulroney had made "an irrevocable decision" to remove his name from a list of 14 candidates for the job, the world organization's top post.

Fortier said that Mulroney had concluded that his responsibilities "lay at home" as Canadian Prime Minister and that if he were drafted, "he would not serve."

POLAND'S EX-COMMUNIST PARTY GAINS IN PARLIAMENTARY VOTE

Poland's ex-communists, driven from power by the Solidarity Trade Union movement two years ago, edged closer October 29 to becoming the country's biggest political party in Parliament.

With votes counted in all but one of the 37 electoral districts after the October 27 parliamentary election, the ex-communist Democratic Left Alliance was less than one-tenth of a percentage point behind the leading Solidarity group, the Democratic Union (UD).

The ex-Communists immediately proposed forming a center-left government with the UD and a pro-Communist farm group running third in the race.

However, observers in Poland said President Lech Walesa, who led Solidarity in its battle for freedom, was not expected to accept the ex-communists in the government even if

they became the biggest party.

YUGOSLAV FEDERAL ARMY DROPS MORE BOMBS ON CROATIA

Yugoslav's federal army staged another day of air strikes in northeastern Croatia October 29, dropping bombs and firing armor-piercing rockets at the Danube river town of Vukovar, Croatian radio said.

The radio said three army bombing sorties were flown against Vukovar, where the hospital is said to be overflowing with wounded, but relief convoys have been unable to reach them because of the fighting.

Elsewhere, artillery pounded Vinkovci, where the army is trying to drive out Croatian militias, and sporadic fighting was reported around the breakaway republic, despite a mandate from the European Community for a 10-day cease-fire.

In Dubrovnik, the federal army, backed by artillery and battle tanks, pushed within about one kilometer of the city gates October 27 and hoisted the red-starred Yugoslav flag from a crumbling hilltop fortress.

The army permitted a party of foreign diplomats to enter Dubrovnik October 29, including ambassadors from Italy, Greece, Britain, the Netherlands, and a U.S. diplomat.

AT LEAST 40 REPORTED DEAD IN INDIAN SEPARATIST VIOLENCE

At least 40 people have been killed in secessionist violence in India, 17 of

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them Kashmiri militants shot by security forces near a cease-fire line with Pakistan, the Press Trust of India said October 29.

Two bullet-scarred bodies were found elsewhere in Kashmir, 19 people died in Sikh separatist violence raging in Punjab, and soldiers shot dead two guerrillas from a Maoist separatist group in the northeastern border state of Assam, the agency said.

The agency said the army was searching villages across Kashmir for 12 hostages — most of them Indian officials or politicians' relatives — who have been seized by the militants. Nearly 50 people have been arrested in the crackdown.

(Preceding FS material, based on press reports, is for distribution to mission staff only and not for publication)
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MIDDLE EAST REPORTING IN THE U.S. PRESS (2060)

THE WASHINGTON POST, JACKSON DIEHL AND DAVID HOFFMAN IN MADRID:

Israeli and Arab delegations to the Middle East peace conference arrived here tonight (October 28) and immediately plunged into backstage procedural disputes with the United States, a signal of the difficulties that some diplomats fear may hamstring the

negotiations.

On the eve of a meeting Tuesday (October 29) between President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev that will set the stage for the conference, Israeli officials complained that the United States had brushed aside their objections to the high profile to be played by Palestinians at the ceremonial opening sessions of the talks.

The Palestinians, seeking to establish themselves as a quasi-independent entity at the talks despite their official status as part of a joint delegation with Jordan, received permission from U.S. and Soviet sponsors to deliver one of the 45-minute speeches allocated to each delegation. Israelis protested that since the address will be in addition to a Jordanian speech, it will undermine the conference ground rule, demanded by Israel, that the Palestinians appear only under Jordan's umbrella....

Bush is to meet with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir — their first direct talks in almost a year — and with a delegation of Arab officials in separate sessions Wednesday morning (October 30) before the peace conference begins, administration officials here said today (October 28)....

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, OWEN ULLMANN IN MADRID:

Two days before the serious talks begin, a dispute broke out yesterday (October 28) over procedural details of the Middle East peace conference, with Israel complaining that Palestinians were getting too much time to speak.

The disagreement underscored the

mounting tension as several hundred delegates gathered for the first Middle East peace conference in 18 years.

The parties did agree on the shape of the table: It will be a "T" configuration. But Israel objected that a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation was given twice the speaking time of the other participants....

The dispute caused an uproar in Israel, with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's closest aide, Yossi Ben-Aharon, saying the Palestinians were trying "to project the image of a nation in the making."

.... The schedule calls for President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev to open the conference with speeches.

The Mideast delegations will open with 45-minute speeches and conclude with 15-minute speeches. But in both rounds, the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation speaks twice.

U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d and Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin will sit at the top of the "T" with the speaker's podium between them. Perpendicular to them will be a long table with the heads of the delegations from Egypt, Israel and Lebanon on one side and, on the other side, a European Community representative, the two heads of the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation and the head of the Syrian delegation...

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THOMAS FRIEDMAN IN MADRID:

... As some Arab and Israeli delegates...arrived here, security concerns were very high, given threats from terrorist groups to upset the

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conference....

Last-minute preparations continued today (October 28) for the opening session — the first time Israel and all its Arab neighbors will sit down for face-to-face talks to achieve a comprehensive peace settlement....

Israeli officials were in a particularly dark mood after two Israeli settlers were shot dead and five wounded in an ambush of a bus in the Israeli-occupied West Bank....

The shooting of the settlers, however, was not the only issue that the Israelis were chafing over.... Israeli officials said they were upset that the Palestinian delegation was going to have equal speaking time at the conference with all the other parties....

The American-Soviet view was that the Palestinians have yielded on so many symbolic points to take part in the talks — eschewing any links with the PLO or Jerusalem — that they should at least be allowed to speak for themselves, particularly when they will be negotiating with Israel about their own fate....

The Israelis were also complaining that they still are not sure the Syrians will take part in separate, face-to-face talks with Israel after the three-day opening of the conference. The Israelis have agreed to a Syrian demand that the first bilateral talks take place in Madrid on Sunday (November 3), to discuss when and where the parties should meet on a more permanent basis....

THE NEW YORK TIMES, ALAN COWELL IN MADRID:

... These days — in Madrid, if not in

the West Bank — it would appear that the guns of the blustery motto coined by Yasser Arafat when he addressed the United Nations in 1974 have been replaced by sound bites, cellular phones and faxes....

"We believe we are at the beginning of the road to peace in the Middle East," said Faisal al-Husseini, a leading Palestinian....

While he is one of the most prominent voices speaking for the Palestinians who form half of a joint delegation with Jordan, Hussein will not be present at the peace conference itself because he does not fulfill Israeli requirements that no Palestinian from Jerusalem attend the formal talks. In Israeli eyes, moreover, he is too closely linked to the Palestine Liberation Organization, which Israel calls a terrorist organization and will not negotiate with.

Rather, Hussein leads a so-called guidance committee that will counsel the delegates who do attend the formal conference. To accommodate the many Palestinians who feel they should be represented in Madrid, their ranks are swollen by advisers and experts, too. The complex structure, said Mohammed Shtayeh, another Palestinian spokesman, is "our own invention" to circumvent Israeli strictures about which Palestinians could be in Madrid....

.... While the formal delegations arrived with fanfare and television lights, another group is set to come to Madrid and set up operations away from the downtown hotels....

The group is from the PLO and includes some prominent advisers to its chairman, Arafat — notably Bassam Abu Sharif, whose home is in Tunis, where the PLO has its headquarters,

and Nabil Shaath, from Cairo....

THE NEW YORK TIMES, CLYDE HABERMAN IN JERUSALEM:

Two Israeli adults were killed and five children wounded Monday (October 28) when gunmen ambushed a bus filled with Jewish settlers on their way to a mass rally to urge that Israel not exchange land for peace at the Middle East peace talks that open Wednesday (October 30).

It was not clear who had fired on the group as it moved in a three-bus convoy through the heart of the Israeli-occupied West Bank toward Tel Aviv.

But Israeli officials quickly blamed Palestinian terrorists, and asserted that the attack...was a "brutal and cruel" attempt to undermine the peace process.

It seems likely that the bus ambush will stimulate increased opposition in Israel to the peace conference, and perhaps also give Shamir new ammunition to underline...the country's security fears....

Late Monday night (October 28) police announced that Palestinians from the occupied territories would not be allowed to enter Jerusalem, but it was not clear how long the restrictions would last.

Violence related to the Madrid conference also erupted Monday in Ankara, the Turkish capital, where car bombs in separate attacks killed a U.S. Air Force computer specialist and badly wounded an Egyptian diplomat....

THE WASHINGTON TIMES,

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ANDREW MEISELS IN TEL AVIV:

A deadly terrorist attack jolted Israel yesterday (October 28) as its leaders prepared for unprecedented peace talks between the Jewish state and its Arab enemies....

The West Bank attack prompted Israeli demands for revenge against Arabs even as world leaders, including President Bush, flew to Madrid for the talks set to start tomorrow....

As word spread of the deaths, the crowd at (a) Tel Aviv rally (against the peace conference) swelled to 50,000, some shouting "Death to the Arabs."

... Hanan Ashrawi, a spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation, condemned the violence but explained it as a consequence of the "extreme violence" of the Israeli occupation....

There have been several Muslim fundamentalist calls for attacks to impede the conference. A Lebanese newspaper reported yesterday (October 28) that radical Iranian leader Ali Akbar Mohtashemi called for suicide attacks on the Jewish state....

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, WILLIAM MONTALBANO IN MADRID:

Basque separatists who may try to embarrass the Spanish government pose the greatest security threat to today's U.S.-Soviet summit and the Middle East peace conference that opens Wednesday (October 30), anti-terrorist specialists said Monday (October 28).

The separatists, known as ETA for

the group's initials in Basque, are adept car bombers....

Although ETA has no position in the Middle East controversies, it could seek to humiliate host Spain by capturing headlines while international attention is focused on Madrid, the specialists say....

By contrast, little threat is foreseen from Arab terrorists who have killed in Spain before, or from a handful of far-left Spanish terrorists who call themselves GRAPO (the October First Anti-Fascist Resistance Groups).

Arab killers have not struck recently in Spain, and GRAPO...usually does not target people....

THE NEW YORK TIMES, UNATTRIBUTED REPORT FROM BONN:

A secret project under which the German intelligence service was planning to ship tanks to Israel was disclosed Monday (October 28) when the tanks were found aboard an Israeli freighter docked in Hamburg, a government spokesman said.

The spokesman, Norbert Schaefer, said at a news conference that Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other senior government officials had been unaware of the project.

He also said it was begun without the knowledge of Konrad Porzner, the head of Germany's secret service, or members of Parliament charged with overseeing intelligence operations.

Schaefer said the police in Hamburg found 12 tanks over the weekend aboard the freighter Palmah II.

He would not specify what type of

tanks they were, but said that they were Soviet-made and that they had once belonged to the army of East Germany. That army was disbanded after German unification last year.

.... (Schaefer) said Mossad, the Israeli intelligence service, wanted the tanks for testing. Many Arab armies are also equipped with Soviet tanks....

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, TYLER MARSHALL IN BERLIN:

An embarrassed German government admitted Monday (October 28) that the country's intelligence service had tried to secretly ship several Soviet-made tanks to Israel but claimed that the vehicles were for "testing purposes" only.

.... Attempting to play down the significance of the incident, (deputy government spokesman Norbert) Schaefer said it is "entirely normal" for intelligence agencies from friendly powers to share information on weapons and weapons technology gleaned from third countries but that it is usually done without publicity....

But the apparent lack of Cabinet approval and the absence of any knowledge by key senior members of the country's intelligence service raised questions that the attempted shipment may violate Germany's strict controls on weapons exports...

THE NEW YORK TIMES, PATRICK TYLER IN DOHUK:

The Kurdish chieftan, Massoud Barzani, has challenged his political rivals to an electoral test of strength to settle the question of whether Iraq's

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3.5 million Kurds should reconcile with the government of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein or take a more confrontational stand against him.

Speaking in an interview after political consultations with Kurdish tribal leaders in Dohuk, Barzani reiterated in forceful terms his view that the majority of Kurds want only autonomy on their traditional lands in Iraq and that they believe the only way to achieve this is through successful negotiations with the government in Baghdad.

Those negotiations, which began in March, continue to make progress, he asserted....

Barzani strongly criticized recent suggestions by Jalal Talabani, another Kurdish leader, that Iraqi opposition groups might consider setting up a provisional government in Kurdistan and use northern Iraqi territory as a base of attack against Saddam's security forces....

Barzani said the United States and other nations in the Persian Gulf war coalition had made it clear in diplomatic contacts with the Kurds that coalition military forces would not support new military operations initiated by the Kurds.

During the interview, Barzani also expressed frustration that U.S. military forces in Turkey were doing too little to stop Turkish air force bombing raids 10 miles or more inside Iraq against what Barzani asserts are civilian targets....

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U.S. PRESS: MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE
(Roundup of commentaries) (1890)

Columnists for U.S. newspapers continue to comment editorially on the upcoming Middle East peace process in Madrid. Following are excerpts from some recent columns:

THE WASHINGTON POST, JIM HOAGLAND:

Shamir has never been accused of lacking practical political sense. That is why his decision to lead the Israeli delegation to the Middle East peace conference here this week over the objections of Jim Baker is a promising omen for the talks rather than the threatening sign perceived in Washington....

If Shamir intended to sabotage Baker's conference, he would have gladly sent his foreign minister, David Levy, to Madrid as the American secretary of state wanted, and then undercut the talks from afar. That Shamir is coming to Madrid to take both responsibility and control shows how uncertain the outcome is in his own mind....

Shamir won agreement that there will not be any discussion of a final settlement of the West Bank and Gaza territories in these negotiations, which will cover a limited autonomy status for the Palestinians to last for at least

five years. Shamir in effect offers the Palestinians what they could have had through the Camp David accords a decade ago but which they turned down then.

The West Bank and Gaza residents who are attending this meeting with proxy votes from the PLO obviously hope to do better than that. But the damage that Saddam's Gulf War did to them and their cause has left them in a weak bargaining position....

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES, ROBERT HUNTER:

... The prospects that Bush's gamble will succeed — that the Arab-Israeli conflict can be moved toward resolution — are better than at any other time since President Jimmy Carter left office. The PLO has not fully recovered from its disgrace in backing Saddam Hussein. The Soviet Union is a U.S. ally. And everyone who matters has accepted the U.S. invitation to Madrid — all are in the tent, and no one important is outside.

(Secretary of State Baker) has also crafted the best possible strategy. By getting Israelis in the same room with Palestinians and Syrians, Baker hopes that psychology will begin to change, as happened in both Egypt and Israel after Anwar Sadat went to Jerusalem in December 1977....

The necessary breakthrough in psychology can be achieved only through time, patience and the deep and continual involvement of the United States. Success is far from assured. But by going to Madrid, Bush has staked his regional reputation on Arab-Israeli diplomacy and confirmed that the United States will remain a Middle East power for the indefinite future....

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, WILLIAM QUANDT:

... New thinking is needed and political innovation required if Palestinians and Israelis are ever to agree on sensitive matters involving territory, water, borders, Jerusalem and security....

The challenge to U.S. peacemaking will be formidable. Substantive agreements will not come easily. Talks will periodically deadlock and we will have to weigh in to keep the process alive. Constraints on the Israeli settlement program must go into effect, as (President Bush) has indicated, and this will involve major U.S.-Israeli arguments.

We can help to lift the eyes of the parties over their bunkers by articulating a vision of peace. Israel and Syria should be free of fears of surprise attack and should feel safe in spending less on their military establishments; Lebanon should regain its sovereignty and be allowed to rebuild its democratic institutions; Palestinians should be able to govern themselves and to move in stages toward normal national life in association with Israel and Jordan; refugees' claims for compensation should be generously met by the international community, and Israelis should enjoy acceptance from their neighbors....

THE WASHINGTON POST, MILTON VIORST:

Though standing in the shadows, the Palestine Liberation Organization is clearly present at the conference in Madrid this week — and Israel, hav-

ing fought bitterly for months to exclude it, will in the end benefit from its being there....

Israel requires in its Palestinian interlocutors, more than anything else, the authority to commit the Palestinian people to the terms of whatever agreements may be reached. Even among Israelis, it is acknowledged that the PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people....

The virtue of the PLO as a negotiating partner is hardly moral. Its virtue lies in the legitimacy bestowed by the quarter-century in which the PLO has been identified with the Palestinian struggle for a homeland, as well as in the endorsement of the Palestine National Council, the Palestinians' parliament in exile, and by the Arab League.

It is this legitimacy which enables the PLO to commit not just the residents under Israeli rule in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip but the two or three million refugees of the Arab-Israeli wars who live outside Palestine's historical borders....

Sooner or later, Israeli and Arab negotiators must talk about the Palestinians living as refugees in exile. When they do, only the PLO will have the necessary authority to deal with the matter. That's why Israel needs the PLO. In fact, if the PLO did not exist, it would have to be invented.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SARI NUSSEIBEH:

The Palestinians' aims at Madrid should be intermediate and long-term. The ultimate goal, to be reached six years from the beginning of the talks,

is the establishment of a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital....

To guarantee an atmosphere conducive for successful talks, the Israelis should freeze their settlement activities. They should also alleviate the harsh conditions of the occupation....

... By declaring their readiness to suspend the intifada — in return perhaps for a freeze on settlements — and declaring a moratorium on all acts of violence, the Palestinians might help to convince undecided Israelis that they really are serious about the peace process.

Steps like these to overcome Israeli apprehensions hold the key to keeping up the momentum of the process starting in Madrid, even if that round of negotiations falters. With each act of disengagement that Israel makes further down the line, the Palestinian side has to reassure Israel that that act is in Israel's interest — not a zero-sum game in which one side wins and the other loses....

THE BALTIMORE SUN, JOEL BAINERMAN:

It is Israel that will pay the price of the "peace" talks that begin tomorrow in Madrid. The way the Middle East equation is structured, Israel can only come out a loser....

... Having always opposed peace, an Arab leader who announces he has changed his mind and now favors it is considered to have taken a major step that needs to be rewarded. If Israel stands up and announces that it, too, is in favor of peace, the response would be, "so what's new."

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... Another asymmetry is that only Israel has legitimate security concerns. The Arabs have none, as no Jewish state has ever vowed to annihilate an Arab country....

The failure of Israel's negotiating strategy is that it never made any demands of its own, but expended its energies defending its treatment of the Palestinians or advertising the declining mortality rate of Israeli Arabs. At the Madrid conference, Israel should make a few demands of its own.

For example, it isn't enough that Arab nations acknowledge Israel's existence. If the Arabs are truly interested in peace they should commit themselves to a gradual progression to democratic forms of their own governments.

If the Bush administration spent more time urging Arab monarchs to abdicate their thrones and dictators to replace their authoritarian regimes with democracies, a genuine historical opportunity for peace might indeed be upon us.

THE BOSTON GLOBE, EDMUND HANAUER:

... President Bush should support the same rights for Palestinians which Washington supports for Israelis — namely, the right to choose their own representatives to peace talks, self-determination, and an independent state (perhaps linked to Jordan) in the West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem and Gaza. But rather than recognizing Palestinian rights... Washington supports Israeli intransigence....

Israel's occupation policies in the West Bank, including Arab Jerusalem, and

Gaza, are deplorable enough if consisting only of Israel's use of live ammunition and beatings against Palestinian protesters. But Palestinians are responding to an occupation which is not static, not holding to the status quo of 1967.

Almost 50 percent of Palestinian lands have been confiscated by Israel for Jewish settlements and other uses. Most of the West Bank's water has been diverted for use by Jewish settlers and Jews inside Israel...

In 1947, the UN called for two states, one Jewish, one Palestinian. Israeli acceptance of that Palestinian state, in return for Arab acceptance of Israel, is the only way to ensure peace with justice...

THE NEW YORK TIMES, A.M. ROSENTHAL:

...the great distortion of the Mideast...is the myth that the entire problem was created by Israeli occupation of the West Bank, and cannot be solved without creating a separate Palestinian state.

The historic background to Madrid is that the Arab war against Israel began long before its independence, that the West Bank was seized and annexed by Jordan in 1948 without any niceties about it belonging to "Palestine" and that it was taken over by Israel after the 1967 Jordanian attack against Israel. It was captured not from non-existent Palestinian forces but from the occupation troops of King Hussein.

Ever since, the King has been kept in power by the charity of other Arab monarchies, the passion of Arabists in Western foreign offices and the self-interest of Israel....

That does not eliminate the desire of Palestinians for a homeland.... But it does underline the reality that the Palestinians have one homeland already. It is occupied not by Israel but by Washington's prodigal ally, the little king....

Britain created his country in the early 20s out of what was then eastern Palestine....

Name changes can't fool history. Jordan is Palestine. The solution is to connect an autonomous West Bank-Gaza with Jordan in a confederation that would recognize Israeli military interests on the West Bank — yes, and a shared economic future....

THE NEW YORK TIMES, A.B. YEHOSHUA:

Despite the obstacles extremists put in the way, Israel must welcome the peace process and work toward the creation of a revolutionary new order in its relations with the Arab world....

To begin the process of full recovery, Israel must leave the conference with peace treaties with Syria, Jordan and the Palestinians similar to the treaty signed with Egypt 13 years ago....

Israel must also leave this conference with an agreement to establish diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia, the gulf states, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco....

During the conference, Israel should not assume the role of a tourist bargaining in an Oriental market. Rather, it should imitate the model of Anwar el-Sadat. For the Egyptian President, recognition of Israel was a principle whose acceptance preceded negotia-

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tions and bargaining.... Thus, Israel must first declare moral guiding principles. An advance statement of the willingness to concede territory will demonstrate Israel's self-confidence in its strength. This strength, in turn, will give quality, scope, depth and stability to the peace that will be achieved.

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(Following FS material not for publication)

ADD NEWS ROUNDUP, OCTOBER 29 (120)

ROCKET FIRED AT U.S. EMBASSY IN BEIRUT

A rocket hit the wall of the U.S. Embassy compound in Beirut October 29, the Associated Press reported. Taking its information from a Beirut radio station, the wire service said there were no immediate reports of damage or casualties.

A Lebanese guard at the embassy, who would not give his name, said, "We heard an explosion and we are investigating. No losses here."

STOCKS CLOSE HIGHER

The Dow Jones industrial average gained 16.32 points October 29, to close at 3,061.94.

(Preceding FS material not for publication)
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BROADCAST SCHEDULES FOR OCTOBER 30-31, 1991 For AOR/IOF Satellites (870)

October 30

1. MIDEAST PEACE CONFERENCE UPDATE POSSIBLE
2. JOINT US/USSR PRESS CONFERENCE 3:22 POSSIBLE
3. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PART 111
4. SPECIAL FOR NEA/AF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PART 11
5. ASSIGNMENT EARTH OZONE LAYER THINNING 1:35
6. UN INSPECTORS REPORT
7. UN DAY FOR AFRICA (SPECIAL FOR AF POSSIBLE
- 8

1058 gmt SCHEDULE INFORMATION

1100 gmt NEWSFILE
(ENGLISH, M AND E)

1130 gmt SPECIAL EXTENSION
OF NEWSFILE IN LANGUAGE

1200 gmt MACNEIL LEHRER
NEWSHOUR
(ENGLISH, SPANISH)

1300 gmt BUSH ADDRESS OF
MID EAST PEACE CONFERENCE
REPLAY FROM 10/29/91

1430 gmt COLORES 103
"Navajo Rugs: A Collector's
View." These 19th
century blankets, which took
six months to a
year to complete today are
collectors' items.
Visits with museum curators
and private
collectors show some of the

finest examples of
this art.

1457 gmt SCHEDULE INFORMATION

1500 gmt WORLDNET DIALOGUE
Topic: Opic West African
Mission
Guest: Kevin Callwood, OPIC
Interactive post Dakar, Abidjan
language; French

1635 gmt RIAS FEED (German)

1730 gmt AMERICAN BUSINESS
ENGLISH 17

1745 gmt AMERICAN BUSINESS
ENGLISH 18

1800 gmt TRAVEL AMERICA 105
"U.S. Special." Over 3,000
miles from New York
to California, the U.S. is filled
with spots

that are favorite weekend or
vacation
getaways. These include the
Inland Passage of
Alaska, Lake Tahoe, northern
Michigan, the
Poconos Mountains and Stowe,
Vermont.

1830 gmt COMPUTER CHRON-
ICLES 105

"Computers and the Law."
Lawyers and laymen
alike are turning to computer
software to solve
legal problems. No law office
is complete
without powerful customized
legal software
systems. And even amateurs
can buy
off-the-shelf software to write
contracts,
create wills or get legal ad-
vice.

1900 gmt BUSINESS OF MAN-
AGEMENT 105

"Planning and the Manage-
ment Process."

Planning is studied as it re-
lates to

organizations (specifically,
ConRac and AT and

T) and to a manager's position
in the

organizational hierarchy.
Program guests

outline the basic steps in the
planning process

and stress the importance of
long-range
planning.

1930 gmt C-SPAN U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES

2000 gmt STATE DEPARTMENT
BRIEFING
(Taped 10/30/91)

2045 gmt C-SPAN U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES

October 31

GMT TIME

0000 gmt SCHEDULE INFORMATION

0002 gmt SMITHSONIAN WORLD
102

"Crossing the Distance." This
episode features

an exclusive interview with
Anne Morrow

Lindbergh, takes a new look
at the Panama

Canal, visits the Smithsonian
Tropical Research

Institute, examines a design
that streamlined

society, takes a ride on the
world's longest

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aerial tramway and travels with three Siberian tigers from the Soviet Union to the U.S.

0100 gmt WORLDNET DIALOGUE
Guest: Robert C. Fauver, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs
Topic: Pre-APEC Scen setter
Interactive Post: To Be Announced

0200 gmt MACNEIL LEHRER NEWSHOUR
(ENGLISH, SPANISH)

0300 gmt NIGHTLY BUSINESS REPORT

0330 gmt NEWSFILE
(ENGLISH, M AND E)

0400 gmt AMERICAN AUTHORS 101

"Edgar Allan Poe: The Literature of Melancholy." Poe, who viewed the intellectual as a superior but isolated being, possessed unique gifts in both prose and poetry. His morbidly sensitive romantic personality gave him a chilling understanding of horror, violence and paranoia.

0430 gmt AMERICAN AUTHORS 102

"American Gothic: Hawthorne and Melville."
Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville were friends and contemporaries in 19th century New England. They were both innovative symbolists whose focus on harsh realities

and basic conflicts laid foundations for later development of the American novel.

0500 gmt RIAS FEED (German)

0530 gmt TRAVEL AMERICA 113
"Hawaii." Five famous islands, white sand beaches, magnificent surf, dormant volcanoes, rain forests and the gentle Trade Winds make Hawaii one of the most popular, though not the most inexpensive travel destinations.

0600 gmt MACNEIL LEHRER NEWSHOUR

0700 gmt COLORES 104
"Chatauqua: Linda Piper." Performance artist, writer and storyteller, Piper is a woman of many talents. Founder of a multi-ethnic touring theater company, she and her troupe share culturally rich material with audiences.

0730 gmt TECHNICAL LINEUP

0800 gmt NEWSFILE
(ENGLISH, FRENCH, ARABIC, M AND E)

0900 gmt TRAVEL AMERICA 104
"Las Vegas." Open all night, every night, Las Vegas is every extravagant tale you've ever heard about gambling, show-girls, neon overload and then some. Even if you wouldn't risk a nickel on the slot machine,

the "Golly, look at that!" atmosphere guarantees a good time for all.

0930 gmt TRAVEL AMERICA 105
"U.S. Special." Over 3,000 miles from New York to California, the U.S. is filled with spots that are favorite weekend or vacation getaways. These include the Inland Passage of Alaska, Lake Tahoe, northern Michigan, the Poconos Mountains and Stowe, Vermont.

1000 gmt COMPUTER CHRONICLES 105

"Computers and the Law." Lawyers and laymen alike are turning to computer software to solve legal problems. No law office is complete without powerful customized legal software systems. And even amateurs can buy off-the-shelf software to write contracts, create wills or get legal advice.

1030 gmt COMPUTER CHRONICLES 106

"Laser Printers." When laser printers first came on the market, they were expensive and found limited application. With a new generation of laser printers selling for under \$1,000, laser applications and consumer popularity are quickly growing.

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1055 gmt TECHNICAL LINEUP
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ECONOMIC HIGHLIGHTS, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29
(USTR nomination, Bulgaria/Mongolia- MFN status) (440)

SENATE COMMITTEE APPROVES NOMINEE FOR TRADE POSITION

Washington — The Senate Finance Committee has approved President Bush's nominee

By voice vote October 29 the committee moved the nomination of Michael Moskow to

Moskow has served as a corporate executive in three major U.S. companies over th

If confirmed, Moskow would replace Linn Williams, who took the lead in USTR bila

Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen took the occasion to criticize Bush administrat

"I sure haven't seen any progress in recent months," Bentsen said.

"China continues to steal our intellectual property, and so far with impunity,"

U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills faces a November 26 deadline to decide whe

In other business, the committee asked the U.S. International Trade Commission (

HOUSE VOTES MFN TRADE STATUS FOR BULGARIA, MONGOLIA

Washington — The House of Representatives has approved extension by the United

By voice votes October 29, the House approved trade agreements providing most-fa

The Senate Finance Committee had approved the two agreements in September. Fina

The trade agreement with Mongolia was signed January 23, the one with Bulgaria A

MFN treatment represents normal trade relations between countries. Imports from

The agreements guarantee U.S. businesses certain basic rights in conducting comm

If Congress approves MFN for Bulgaria and Mongolia, the only countries without M
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CONSULATE GENERAL
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK



הקונסוליה הכללית של
ישראל בניו יורק

29/600

1310

37 - '11

1/2

23621
כלמ"ס/רג"ל
000.00

אל: מצפ"א

דע: וושינגטון - קישור לקונגרס

מאת: סגן הקונסול, ניו יורק

הנדון: דברי הסנסור הרקין בנושא הערביות

מצ"ב מכתבו של סנסור הרקין בנושא הערביות ששלח לקונגרס
היהודי העולמי.

סופר
29 באוקטובר 1991

מחלקת המידע
מחלקת המידע
מחלקת המידע
מחלקת המידע

801 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 755-5770

1310

Dear Friend:

The American Section will host at its next meeting Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa, who has declared his candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Senator Markin seeks to outline his position on the broad range of foreign and domestic issues and particularly address himself to those issues of specific Jewish concern in his meeting with us. We, of course, have issued invitations to the other Presidential candidates to meet with us as well.

Senator Markin has addressed a letter to us regarding the question of U.S. assistance to Israel in the absorption of Soviet Jews. It reads:

"As you know, I have always been a strong supporter of Israel and believe the United States, indeed the world, has a moral and historic responsibility to help Israel resettle Soviet Jews... Israel is only asking for loan guarantees, not direct aid to finance the settlement of the hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews now entering Israel. This program would only extend U.S. government guarantees for loans Israel borrows from private banks. Given Israel's proven track record in repaying its loans, these loans will not cost the American taxpayers; in its 43 years of existence, Israel has never failed or been late with a loan payment. I also oppose linking these proposed absorption loan guarantees to any specific conditions. We've worked too hard and too long to free Soviet Jews to keep them hostage--either to the Soviets or the peace process--any longer. Soviet Jews are not bargaining chips, they're human beings. The U.S. should be assisting the incorporation of Soviet Jews into Israeli society, not placing obstacles to freedom in the way of people fleeing oppression."

WJC President, Edgar Bronfman, will join Section Chairman, Evelyn Sommer in hosting this meeting on November 7th, at 1:45 p.m. at the Seagram building, 375 Park Avenue, 4th floor.

As this meeting is by invitation only, please advise Natalia Levin at (212)755-5770 of your planned attendance.

Sincerely,

Elan Sevinberg
Executive Director

Evelyn Sommer
Chairman

American Gathering of Jewish Holocaust Survivors; American Jewish Congress; American Jewish League for Israel; American Spanish Federation; Americans for Progressive Israel; Anti War Women; Association Jewish Association; Association of Reform Jews of America; B'nai B'rith; B'nai Ezer; B'nai Haim; Chai; Civil Liberties Committee of American Rabbi; Connecticut Jewish Council; Emmaus Women of America; Federation of Polish Jews; Federation of Reconstructional Congregations and Synagogues; Hederesh; Heralds of America; Hesi; International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists; International Council of Jewish Women; International Network of Children of Jewish Holocaust Survivors; Jewish National Fund; Labor Zionist Alliance; Maccabi World Union; Mercaz; National Council of Young Jewish; National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods; North American Jewish Students' Network; Pioneer Women of America; Pobre Agudat Israel of America; Rabbinical Assembly; Religious Councils of Africa; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America; United Synagogue of America; World Women's League for International Friendship Through Jewish Girls and Women.

אאא, חוזם: 34815

אל: רהמש/1801

מ-: ווש, נר: 2339, תא: 281091, זח: 1830, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר / בהול לבוקר

אל: סמנכ' צפ'א ופר'נ

דע: לשכת רוה'מ, השגריר שובל - מדריד

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

מכתב מוברק

לקראת ועידת מדריד

1. להלן נקודות משיחה עם מקור המקורב לתהליך, שעות מספר לפני צאתו ליד:

א. התגובה להסתייגותנו ביחס להקצאת הזמן למשלחת הפלסטינית, טען כי הירדנים עמדו על כך שלפלסטינים יוקצב זמן שווה כמו לכל יתר המשתתפים, ומכיוון שזה היה תנאי ירדני, לא מצאו סיבה להתנגד. (מקור אחר טען באזני שיש לראות את ההחלטה על הקצאת הזמן לפלסטינים כעובדה מוגמרת).

ב. מקווים שיוכלו לסיים נושא ה- VENUE של השיחות הבילטרליות עוד לפני תחילת השיחות שלדבריו, תוכלנה להפתח ביום ראשון ה-3.11 לאחר שהבהרתי לו עמדתנו בדבר קיום מפגש אחד ויחיד במדריד לדיון במקום השיחות שאל במידה ונושא המיקום יסגר לפני יום ראשון על מה נרצה לדון במפגש היחיד?

ג. לאחר פתרון נושא ה- VENUE יצטרך להפטר נושא סדה'י. יציעו כי הבסיס לניסוח סדה'י יעובד על בסיס מכתבי ההזמנה והאלמנטים המשותפים מתוך מכתבי הבטחונות.

ד. לאחר עיבוד סדה'י מקווים שהצדדים למו'מ הבילטרלי ירצו בפרוט עמדותיהם (תאר שלב זה בסוציולוגיה של המו'מ).

ה. בעקבות שלב זה מקווים שתתגבש הבנה לגבי צעדים צנועים קונקרטיים שהצדדים יישמו. מעוניינים שהצדדים יתחילו ביישום מתוך שבועות מספר מתחילת השיחות. תקופת היישום תתפרס על פני כששה חודשים. במהך תקופה זו ינסו הצדדים לגבש שורת עקרונות בנושאי מהות/אופי ההסדרים.

ו. א-פרופו צעדים בשטח, הזכרתי התבטאויות פלסטנים ואחרים בנושא התנחלויות. איש שיחי העריך שהנושא יעלה בינואר, קרי בצמוד לדיון הצפוי בשאלת הערכויות (בהערת ביניים, איש שיחי לא חלק על ההערכה שהנסיבות בהם יערך הדיון בינואר תהיינה קשות יותר מאלו שהיו בספטמבר).

ז. אשר לנושא המולטילטרלי, מקווה שמצרים, ירדן, סעודיה, המפרציות וחלק מהמגרביות יופיעו (סעודיה עושה מאמץ להבטיח השתתפותן)

ח. מניח שמדינות שיש להן ענין ואינטרס ספציפי ישתתפו בשיחות.

מעריך שנושא AC לא יהיה אחד הנושאים הראשוניים שידונו.
סבור שהאירופאים והיפנים ימלאו תפקיד חשוב בשיחות אלו. איש
שיחי הוסיף כי להערכתו, ללא ON GOING דיונים במישור
הבילטרלי אין סיכוי לדיונים במסגרת המולטילטרלית.

שטיין

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), בנצור

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 34542
אל: רהמש/1767
מ-: רהמש, נר: 27, תא: 281091, זח: 2014, דח: ב, סג: סב,
בבב
בהול

סודי ביותר

אל: וושינגטון

שילה.

להלן איגרת רה"מ למזכיר המדינה בייקר.
אנא העבירה בדחיפות לתעודתה.

בן אהרון

JERUSALEM, OCTOBER 28, 1991.
482-7(2)

DEAR MR. SECRETARY,

AS YOU WELL KNOW, THERE ARE SOME ISSUES ON WHICH WE DID NOT REACH AGREEMENT WHILE NEGOTIATING THE ASSURANCES. I THEREFORE THOUGHT IT NECESSARY TO PLACE OUR POSITION ON THESE ISSUES ON RECORD BEFORE WE ENTER THE NEXT STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS, THIS TIME WITH ARAB PARTIES.

1. IT WOULD HELP PREVENT MISUNDERSTANDING IF THE ARAB PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE INFORMED THAT US ASSURANCES TO THEM DO NOT COMMIT ISRAEL. THIS IS IMPORTANT, SINCE A NUMBER OF US ASSURANCES TO ARAB PARTIES ARE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT WITH US.

2. ISRAEL REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. HOWEVER, SINCE THE ARAB PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE SO FAR REJECTED THESE ACCORDS, ISRAEL CANNOT ENTERTAIN ANY ATTEMPT BY THE ARAB SIDE TO BASE THEIR POSITION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON ANY ELEMENT IN

THOSE ACCORDS, UNLESS THEY RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT THEM IN THEIR ENTIRETY. THIS APPLIES EQUALLY TO ALL THE AUTONOMY NEGOTIATIONS THAT TOOK PLACE BETWEEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL FOLLOWING THE SIGNATURE OF THE ACCORDS.

3. THE US INITIATIVE THAT ENABLED THIS PROCESS TO TAKE OFF IS COMPOSED OF TWO SETS OF NEGOTIATIONS - BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL. THESE TWO SETS COMPLEMENT EACH OTHER. A REFUSAL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS THEREFORE REFLECTS OPPOSITION TO DISCUSS THE REGIONAL APPLICATION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF PEACE. HENCE, ISRAEL WILL CONSIDER ITS POSITION ON BILATERAL TALKS IN LIGHT OF ITS ATTITUDE TO THE MULTILATERAL TALKS.

4. ISRAEL AGREES WITH THE US THAT A PEACE TREATY SHOULD BE THE OBJECTIVE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. ANY PARTY THAT OPPOSES THIS OBJECTIVE WILL PLACE IN QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THIS DESIRE FOR PEACE.

5. SINCE IT IS AGREED THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT BE REQUIRED TO SIT WITH ANYONE IT DOES NOT WISH TO SIT WITH AND, FURTHER, THAT IT IS NOT THE AIM OF THE US TO BRING ISRAEL INTO DIALOGUE OR NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO, ANY PALESTINIAN ARAB DELEGATE WHO DECLARES HE IS PLO, REPRESENTS THE PLO, OR FOLLOWS THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE PLO WILL DISQUALIFY HIMSELF FROM PARTICIPATING IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH ISRAEL.

6. IT IS ISRAEL'S POSITION THAT THE STATUS OF JERUSALEM, WHICH IS ISRAEL'S CAPITAL, IS NOT OPEN TO NEGOTIATIONS. ISRAEL WILL THEREFORE OPPOSE THE PARTICIPATION OF ARAB RESIDENTS OF JERUSALEM IN ANY PART OF THE PROCESS.

7. ISRAEL BELIEVES THAT JORDAN SHOULD BE AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS, AS WELL AS ON PERMANENT STATUS.

8. ISRAEL IS OPPOSED TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE BETWEEN IT AND JORDAN AND WILL EQUALLY OPPOSE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN-JORDANIAN CONFEDERATION, WHICH, IN OUR VIEW, IS NOT DIFFERENT FROM AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE.

9. ISRAEL BELIEVES THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE US-ISRAEL MOU AND OTHER UNDERSTANDINGS OF MAY 1983 RELATED TO THE ISRAEL-LEBANON AGREEMENT ABORTED BY SYRIA ARE VALID AND SHOULD BE MAINTAINED UNTIL REPLACED BY OTHER AGREEMENTS.

I LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU IN MADRID AND HOPE OUR DELIBERATIONS WILL MEET WITH SUCCESS.

SINCERELY,

YITZHAK SHAMIR

THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER I I I
SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON DC 20520

הח, @ (רחמ), מנכל, בנצור

אאא, חוזם: 34814

אל: רהמש/1806

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 594, תא: 281091, זח: 1959, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור / מידי

אל: מצפ"א

דע: קונכ"ל ס. פ.

מאת: ר' יחידת קונגרס

הנדון: מפגש שגריר-סנטור מרקאוסקי

1. מטרת המפגש: עדכון לגבי תהליך השלום ונצול התהליך לקידום המערכה על הערבויות להלוואות.

2. נכחו: שגריר, ציר כלכלי והח"מ.

3. סנטור מרקאוסקי (רפוב'-אלסקה; הרפוב' הבכיר בוע' המודיעין; חבר בוע' החוץ; מתמודד ב-11/92; שושבין תחיקת הערבויות; מקורב לממשל): - אין לצפות לתוצאות (חיוביות) מהירות מוע' השלום. מכיר בהקצנת סוריה. - מחויב לתמיכה ב"תקון קסטן - אינוייה", אך מקווה שה-PACKAGING ישתפר: יש להציגו כ-2 מליארד ל-5 שנים ולא כ-10 מליארד; יש לשנות התפיסה כי מדובר במענק או הלוואה; יש להביא לשינוי באופן הצגת התחיקה ע"י התקשורת.

- חושש שהמצב הכלכלי ימשיך להידרדר, והדבר ישפיע לרעה על ההתייחסות לסיוע חוץ ולערבויות;

- סבור ש"חק הבטחון הלאומי והאנרגיה" המוצע ע"י הסנטורים ג'ונסטון וואלופ יתרום לחילוף ארה"ב מן המשבר הכלכלי, ויקל על הנהיגות מסיוע החוץ;

מעריך שחק האנרגיה הנ"ל יתרום לבטחונה הלאומי של ארה"ב (הקטנת התלות ביבוא מאופ"ק) וגם לבטחון ישראל. - תוהה האם הנזק לכלכלת ברה"מ, הנגרם ע"י "בריחת המוחות היהודים", יגרום לשינוי במדיניות ההגירה או ברמת האנטישמיות.

4. שגריר:

- תודה לסנטור על הצטרפותו לשובינות. - צער על העיכוב הכלתי-נחוץ אשר גם תרם להקצנת סוריה; - קשיי כלכלה בישראל עלולים לעכב העליה בעוד שהסכנות ליהודים בברה"מ גוברות;

- הענקת הערבויות תגרום לגידול משמעותי ביבוא מארה"ב, ואולי אף להרהורים על צמצום עתידי בהיקף סיוע החוץ האזרחי; - אין שחר לזיקה בין הערבויות לבין ההתנחלויות, ואחת הראיות היא בעובדה שרק 1.1 אחוז מן העולים הם מתנחלים; - יהודי ברה"מ חוששים מן העתיד שם, במיוחד ברפוב' האסלמיות; - תפקיד ברה"ב בתהליך השלום הצטמצם בשנים האחרונות; - ישראל מברכת על תהליך השלום, אם כי אינה צופה תוצאות (חיוביות) מהירות; - ישראל מעריכה מאמציו ונחישותו של מזכיר המדינה.

יורם אטינגר

לבח

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 33367

אל: רהמש/1710

מ-: ווש, נר: 2336, תא: 271091, זח: 1100, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בבבב

סודי ביותר / ב ה ו ל

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ

מנכ'ל רוה'מ

מאת: לש' השגריר, וושינגטון

ועידת מדריד.

1. בעקבות דברי טאטווילר במדריד על סדרי הועידה, אורך וסדר הנאומים והדבר שהגריר טלפונית עם דניס רוס והעביר לו מורת רוחנו בנדון, והוסיף ש... פנים ואופן לא מקובל עלינו שהנציג הפלשטיני במשלחת הירדנית-פלשטינית יקבל אותו פרק זמן כמו נציגי המדינות, כולל ישראל. עוד ציין שהגריר שהדבר עומד בניגוד להסברים קודמים ולהתחייבות האמריקאית 'לא להפגיע אותנו'.

רוס השיב שמציע שהצוות שלנו במדריד יביא דברים אלה לידיעת הצוות המקביל האמריקאי. השגריר השיב שיעביר הצעתו ארצה, אך מכל מקום ממילא ההחלטות מתקבלות בווינגטון ורצינו להביא הדברים לידיעתם.

2. בנושא סבב דברי התגובה המתוכנן ליום ו', בשיחה טלפונית נוספת חזר רוס לשגריר וציין שבניגוד למה שאמר בשיחה הראשונה, סדר הדוברים ביום ו' (כל אחד 15 דקות) יהיה כבפתיחה. השגריר הזכיר שרוה'מ יאלץ לעזוב ב - 09:00 בבוקר כדי להספיק להגיע ארצה לפני כניסת השבת.

עד כאן.

לש' שגריר.

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 33367

אל: רהמש/1710

מ-: ווש, נר: 2336, תא: 271091, זח: 1100, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר / ב ה ו ל

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ

מנכ'ל רוה'מ

מאת: לש' השגריר, וושינגטון

ועידת מדריד.

● בעקבות דברי טאוילר במדריד על סדרי הועידה, אורך וסדר הנאומים התקשר השגריר טלפונית עם דניס רוס והעביר לו מורת רוחנו בנדון, והוסיף שבשום פנים ואופן לא מקובל עלינו שהנציג הפלשטיני במשלחת הירדנית-פלשטינית יקבל אותו פרק זמן כמו נציגי המדינות, כולל ישראל. עוד ציין השגריר שהדבר עומד בניגוד להסברים קודמים ולהתחייבות האמריקאית 'לא להפתיע אותנו'.

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עד כאן.

● לש' שגריר.

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 33447

אל: רהמש/1722

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 553, תא: 271091, זח: 1617, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

בלמ"ס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: קונכ"לים

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

הנדון: תמלילי ראיונות עם מזכיר המדינה לשעבר, הנרי קיסינג'ר, במהלך סוף השבוע

CNN "INTERNATIONAL HOUR" INTERVIEW WITH: HENRY KISSINGER, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1991

CATHERINE CRIER: WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT MIDDLE EAST DIPLOMACY, A NAME THAT IMMEDIATELY COMES TO MIND IS HENRY KISSINGER. FEW ARE BETTER ACQUAINTED WITH THE COMPLICATIONS THAT ARISE IN TRYING TO MAKE PEACE BETWEEN THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL. AFTER THE MIDDLE EAST WAR IN 1973, DR. KISSINGER CONDUCTED THREE YEARS OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY AS THE CHIEF US DIPLOMAT. HIS TRAVELS BETWEEN CAIRO AND JERUSALEM PRODUCED A DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT THAT PREDATED THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. CURRENTLY HEAD OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONSULTING FIRM, DR. KISSINGER JOINS US NOW FROM OUR STUDIOS IN NEW YORK.

WELCOME, DR. KISSINGER.

HENRY KISSINGER: IT'S GOOD TO BE HERE.

CATHERINE CRIER: ONE OF THE EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS THAT HAS BEEN UNFOLDING FOR SEVEN MONTHS NOW IS THE ART OF NEGOTIATION, THE ART OF PUTTING TOGETHER A MEETING SUCH AS THIS. LOOKING OVER THOSE SEVEN MONTHS AND THE POSTURING THAT GOES ON EVEN TODAY, CAN YOU GIVE US A LITTLE PERSPECTIVE FROM THE NEGOTIATOR'S POINT OF VIEW ABOUT THIS FIGHT OVER FORM, RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE?

HENRY KISSINGER: WELL, THE FIGHT OVER FORM IS A DISGUISED FORM (SIC) OVER SUBSTANCE BECAUSE EACH OF THE PARTIES WOULD LIKE TO GET INTO THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE CONFERENCE AS MUCH OF ITS

POINT OF VIEW AS IT POSSIBLY CAN OR, AT ANY RATE, SOMETHING THAT THEY CAN USE LATER AS AN EXCUSE FOR BLOCKING PROGRESS OR VETOING WHAT THE OTHER SIDE IS PUTTING FORWARD. SO, IN A WAY, IT IS PARTLY A FIGHT OVER SUBSTANCE, EVEN THOUGH IT'S DISGUISED AS FORM. BUT NOW IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, OF COURSE, IT WILL HAVE TO BE MOSTLY SUBSTANCE.

CATHERINE CRIER: WELL, IN LOOKING AT SOME OF THE ELEMENTS THAT ARE SEEMINGLY FORM, TELL ME ABOUT THESE VARIOUS PROBLEMS, SUCH AS THE LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION. IN THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN RALPH BEGLEITER AND SECRETARY BAKER, HE TALKED ABOUT THE INVITATION BEING ONE AT THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL. NOW WE HAVE THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL ACCEPTING. HOW DOES THIS CHANGE THE EQUATION?

HENRY KISSINGER: WELL, THE REASON THAT THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL ACCEPTS HAD MORE TO DO WITH ISRAELI INTERNAL POLITICS THAN WITH ANYTHING ELSE. IT SHOULD NOT CHANGE THE EQUATION AS BETWEEN THE PARTIES, PARTICULARLY.

THE PROBLEM IS THAT THERE IS AN ELECTION IN ISRAEL NEXT YEAR, THAT THERE ARE VARIOUS WINGS IN THE GOVERNING PARTY, THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL IS MANEUVERING TO POSITION HIMSELF AS IF HE WERE A BETTER INTERLOCUTOR FOR THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND SHAMIR IS, IN EFFECT, TELLING HIM: I'M IN CHARGE OF THIS PARTY, AND YOU'RE NOT GOING TO BE ELECTIONEERING AT MY EXPERIENCE. IF ANYONE DOES THE ELECTIONEERING, I WILL. AND THAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THAT.

I DO NOT SHARE THE VIEW OF THOSE WHO SAY THAT HIS PRESENCE THERE MAKES NEGOTIATIONS MORE DIFFICULT. THERE'S NEVER GOING TO BE AN AGREEMENT WITH SHAMIR AT SOME POINT IN THE PROCEDURE, AND NOBODY CAN DELIVER ISRAEL BETTER THAN SHAMIR IF HE WANTS TO MAKE A CONCESSION.

CATHERINE CRIER: WELL, ALL NEGOTIATORS KNOW THAT YOU WANT TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE ONE WHO CAN ACTUALLY SAY "YES" OR "NO" TO A PARTICULAR POSITION. HOW DOES THIS CHANGE THE CHARACTER, THOUGH, OF THE OTHER DELEGATIONS IF SHAMIR IS THE ONE NEGOTIATING?

HENRY KISSINGER: WELL, NORMALLY THE NEGOTIATORS ARE ALL ON THE SAME LEVEL. SO IF IT'S A FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE, THAT IS THE LEVEL AT WHICH IT NORMALLY TAKES PLACE. THE ISRAELI DOMESTIC POLITICS ARE SO CONVOLUTED, AND THE FIGHT WITHIN THE ISRAELI PARTY POLITIC ARE SO EXTREME THAT YOU CAN'T REALLY APPLY EXACTLY THE SAME RULES TO ISRAEL AS YOU WOULD TO OTHER NATIONS. NORMALLY IT WOULD BE HIGHLY UNUSUAL FOR A PRIME MINISTER TO SIT DOWN WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS.

CATHERINE CRIER: HOW DOES A PARTY KNOW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POSTURING OR PLAYING TO THE PEOPLE AT HOME AND CHANGING THE RULES THAT ARE GOING TO GO ON IN THE NEGOTIATION?

HENRY KISSINGER: WELL, THERE IS NO HARD AND FAST RULE BY WHICH YOU CAN TELL IT. WHAT IS NEEDED FOR EVERYBODY CONCERNED WITH

THE NEGOTIATION, AND PARTICULARLY FOR THE UNITED STATES, WHICH HAS BEEN THE ORGANIZING PARTY AND WHICH WILL IN THE END BE THE PRINCIPAL MEDIATOR, IS TO HAVE AS ACCURATE AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THE PARTIES REALLY MEAN, RATHER THAN WHAT THEY ARE SAYING, AND THEN TO NAVIGATE BETWEEN THE ISRAELI POSITIONS AND KEEPING THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED. AND THIS REQUIRES STRONG NERVES AND A LOT OF PATIENCE.

CATHERINE CRIER:

DR. KISSINGER, WHAT ABOUT THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATE'S REMARKS THAT HE WAS BEING DIRECTED BY THE PLO THAT, IN FACT, THIS WAS A PLO DELEGATION? WHY THAT POSTURING?

HENRY KISSINGER: WELL, FOR THE PALESTINIANS, IT'S IMPORTANT TO BE RECOGNIZED AS PART OF THE LARGER GROUP, AND THEY DO NOT WANT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A WEDGE HAS BEEN DRIVEN BETWEEN THE PLO AND THE LOCAL REPRESENTATIVES. IT'S ALSO VERY DANGEROUS IF THEY WERE TO DO IT. I HAVE NO QUESTION THAT THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES ARE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE PLO.

WHAT ISRAEL WANTS TO ACHIEVE IS TO TAKE THE POSITION THAT IT IS NOT FORMALLY NEGOTIATING WITH THE PLO AND PROBABLY THAT IT'S MORE OR LESS ACHIEVED. BUT IT IS CERTAINLY BEING ERODED, AND THAT'S ALMOST UNAVOIDABLE.

CATHERINE CRIER: AND WHAT ABOUT THIS UNITED ARAB FRONT NOW BEING PRESENTED BY THE ARAB NATIONS THAT THEY ARE COMING DOWN HARD IN REGARDS TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, THE SETTLEMENTS, JERUSALEM, AND THEY'RE DOING THIS AS A UNITED FRONT?

HENRY KISSINGER: WELL, THAT IS THE PENALTY FOR ASSEMBLING ALL OF THEM IN ONE ROOM BECAUSE THIS HAS A TENDENCY, THEN, TO GET THE MOST EXTREME POSITION HAVING A VETO OVER THE OTHERS. THE ARABS HAVE A TENDENCY TO ASK FOR EVERYTHING, IN RETURN FOR WHICH THEY OFFER AT BEST SOME SORT OF LEGAL PHRASE, LIKE "PEACE," WITHOUT BEING WILLING TO GIVE IT CONCRETE CONTENT.

THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN VERY RELUCTANT TO MEET IN THE GROUP THAT IS SUPPOSED TO GIVE CONTENT TO PEACE, THAT IS SUPPOSED TO DISCUSS COOPERATIVE ARRANGEMENT. I'M ASSUMING THAT THAT POSITION IS AS IMPOSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN AS THE ISRAELI POSITION THAT THEY WILL GIVE UP NOTHING.

SO BETWEEN THOSE WHO DEMAND EVERYTHING AND THOSE WHO WILL CONCEDE NOTHING, THE ISRAELI AREA OF NEGOTIATION HAS TO BE FOUND.

CATHERINE CRIER: AND SOMEWHERE BETWEEN THOSE TWO POSITIONS IS THE UNITED STATES. PRESIDENT BUSH IS GOING TO ATTEND AT LEAST THE OPENING CEREMONIES ALONG WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV. IS THE UNITED STATES OVER-COMMITTING TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE OUTCOME?

HENRY KISSINGER: THE UNITED STATES HAS TO MAKE CLEAR THAT

THE PRINCIPAL BENEFICIARIES AND THE PRINCIPAL SUFFERERS FROM THE PEACE PROCESS, FROM THE SUCCESS OR THE FAILURE, ARE THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT HAVE AS GREAT AN INTEREST IN THE SETTLEMENT AS THE PARTIES DO. THE UNITED STATES HAS TO MAKE A GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE ARABS AND TO ISRAEL THAT IT HAS MADE A SERIOUS EFFORT TO ACHIEVE PEACE.

IF PEACE, THEN, IS NOT ACHIEVED, THE GOOD NOR BAD WILL BE BORNE BY THE PARTIES, AND WE SHOULD TAKE CARE NOT TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE HAVE MORE AT STAKE THAN THEY DO.

CATHERINE CRIER: DR. KISSINGER, A CRITICAL QUESTION WITH 30 SECONDS LEFT. WE KEEP DEFINING THIS AS A "PEACE CONFERENCE," A VERY ETHEREAL TERM. IS THAT A LEGITIMATE GOAL OR IS THAT SETTING THIS CONFERENCE UP FOR FAILURE?

HENRY KISSINGER: I DON'T THINK THAT A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE, WHICH AS THE GOAL, THOUGH HIGHLY DESIRABLE, IS ACHIEVABLE IN THIS ROUND. AND I THINK IF THE ADMINISTRATION ACHIEVES A SERIES OF ONE OR TWO LIMITED AGREEMENTS, IT WILL HAVE SERVED THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD VERY WELL.

CATHERINE CRIER: DR. KISSINGER, THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR JOINING US AND GIVING US YOUR INSIGHT.

HENRY KISSINGER: THANK YOU.

END

ABC "THIS WEEK" WITH HOST: DAVID BRINKLEY, INTERVIEW WITH: HENRY KISSINGER, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE / SUNDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1991

DAVID BRINKLEY: THE ATTEMPT TO ARRANGE A PEACE CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THEIR VARIOUS ENEMIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS A LONG AND DIFFICULT HISTORY AND NOT ANY GREAT SUCCESS. THE BACK-AND-FORTH MIDDLE EASTERN SHUTTLE IN SEARCH OF PEACE ORIGINATED WITH HENRY KISSINGER WHEN HE WAS SECRETARY OF STATE. HE IS HERE WITH US TODAY.

MR. KISSINGER, SEEING AS WE DO ALL THE CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN THE WORLD, WHAT WOULD YOU HOPE OR WHAT WOULD YOU EXPECT TO SEE OUT OF NEXT WEEK'S MEETING?

MR. HENRY KISSINGER: WELL, FIRST OF ALL, I THINK IT'S A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT TO ASSEMBLE THE CONFERENCE, AND SECRETARY BAKER DESERVES ENORMOUS CREDIT FOR HIS DEDICATION IN BRINGING IT ABOUT.

I EXPECT THE FIRST PHASE OF THE CONFERENCE TO PRESENT BASICALLY INCOMPATIBLE POSITIONS, AND I THINK IT IS VERY LIKELY THAT A DEADLOCK WILL DEVELOP AT LEAST IN SOME OF THE SUBGROUPS THAT ARE

BEING FORMED, BUT THAT IS WHEN, IN MY VIEW, THE REAL NEGOTIATION WILL BEGIN, AND THEN THE UNITED STATES, PLAYING THE ROLE OF MEDIATOR, CAN TRY TO BRING THE VARIOUS PARTIES TOGETHER.

I THINK WE HAVE TO BE OPEN-MINDED TO SETTLE FOR SOMETHING LESS THAN A COMPLETE AGREEMENT AND TO BRING IT ALONG STEP BY STEP.

MR. BRINKLEY: WELL, IF THE ISRAELI POSITION REMAINS NO LAND FOR PEACE, THERE ISN'T MUCH ROOM FOR PROGRESS, IS THERE?

MR. KISSINGER: WELL, THE ISRAELI POSITION IS NO LAND FOR PEACE, AND THE ARAB POSITION IS PEACE WITH NOTHING ELSE, JUST THE PHRASE OF PEACE, AND IF THOSE REMAIN THE POSITIONS, THEN THERE IS NO HOPE FOR PROGRESS. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS IS USUALLY A TERRIFIC OCCASION FOR RHETORIC, AND AFTER THAT, ONE HAS TO SEE WHETHER ANYTHING MORE PRACTICAL CAN BE DONE. ISRAEL HAS TO GIVE UP SOME LAND. THE ARABS HAVE TO GIVE SOME CONTENT TO PEACE. HOW MUCH LAND, WHAT THE CONTENT FOR PEACE IS, THAT AND WHO IS WILLING TO SETTLE FOR LESS THAN EVERYTHING IN THE FIRST PHASE, THAT WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF THE SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS AFTER THE FORMAL POSITIONS ARE PUT DOWN.

MR. BRINKLEY: MR. KISSINGER, ONE OF THE PALESTINIANS SPOKESMAN SAID THEY WOULD BE HAPPY TO SETTLE FOR AND BE WILLING TO SETTLE FOR SOME LAND ADJOINING ISRAEL BUT NOT IN PLACE OF ISRAEL. DOES THAT OFFER SOME HOPE TO YOU, DO YOU THINK?

MR. KISSINGER: WELL, I DON'T KNOW WHAT THEY MEAN BY ADJOINING.

MR. BRINKLEY: WELL, BESIDE --

MR. KISSINGER: IT DEPENDS ON WHAT THEY MEAN BY ADJOINING ISRAEL.

I HAVE ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT ISRAEL CANNOT STAY IN POSSESSION OF ALL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. I ALSO DON'T BELIEVE THEY CAN GO BACK TO THE 67 BORDER. I BELIEVE IT IS A BIG STEP IF THE ARABS OFFER PEACE, BUT THEY HAVE TO GIVE A CONTENT TO THE WORD "PEACE."

I THINK THERE IS HOPE. THEY WOULDN'T ALL BE COMING IF THEY WEREN'T AT LEAST WILLING AFTER A LOT OF RHETORIC TO LET US MEDIATE BETWEEN THEM. THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DO IT BY THEMSELVES, AND I DON'T THINK THE DIRECT TALKS, EXCEPT FOR THEIR SYMBOLIC QUALITY, ARE GOING TO GET VERY FAR WITHOUT AMERICAN MEDIATION.

MR. BRINKLEY: MR. KISSINGER, THE ORIGINAL MIDDLE EAST SHUTTLE, THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMING IN TODAY AND GIVING US A BIT OF HISTORY ON THIS. THANKS FOR COMING.

עד כאן

עתונות

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 32533

אל: רהמש/1676

מ-: ווש, נר: 2335, תא: 261091, זח: 2100, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בכב

סודי ביותר / בהול לבוקר יום א'

אל: הדס, בנצור

דע: לשכת רוה' מ'

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

תהליך.

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(א) לוברני, קוטי מור והח' מ' נפגשו עם אנשי מחמ' ד' דג'רג'יאן, סגנו-קובי ופיטר ברלי העוסק בנושא הטרור. עיקר השיחה (בת שעה וחצי) נסב על בעיית בני-הערוכה והדרכים לתאום והחלפת מידע. קטע זה של השיחה אינו נכלל בדיווח זה.

(ב) אח' כ' סיפרו שביום א' בשעה 11:00 בבוקר תהיה ישיבה מסכמת במדריד שבסיומה ניתן לצפות להודעה על מודאליטיז ולפרסום שמות חברי המשלחת האמריקנית.

(ג) לשאלתי אם ואיך פתרו את בעיית ערקאת אמר דג'רג'יאן שאמנם אין עדיין פתרון אבל היו בכל זאת שלוש התפחויות: (1) פייסל חוסייני ציווה על האיש לחדול מהצהרות. (2) חוסייני הודיע בפומבי שאמירות האיש הן בשמו בלבד ואינן מחייבות את המשלחת. (3) הוא גם הורה לשאר אנשי המשלחת להימנע מהצהרות כאלו.

(ד) בשליש האחרון של הפגישה ביקש דג'רג'יאן לדון עמנו בקטע הלבנוני של זמו' מ' הביטורלי. הקדים והעיר שאמנם, רשמית, יש להם חלק פעיל רק בועידה אך שלמעשה 'אחם הרי יודעים שאנחנו רוצים מאוד להשתתף גם בחלק הבי-לטרי ועל כל פנים נשב מחוץ לדלת ונמתין שיקראו לנו. נרצה מאוד להיות מוזמנים'.

(ה) כאן עבר לנתח את המצב הלבנוני. אמר, ולוברני הסכים עימו, שלא צריך ללחוץ על הלבנונים מיד עם פתיחת השיחות על-ידי הצגת נוסחת ה-17 במאי. ראוי בלי ספק לכלול אלמנטים מתוך נוסח זה, אבל: 'אל תקראו לזה בשם - DON'T LABEL IT'.

לוברני השיב שכידוע הבעיה הלבנונית אינה לבנונית אלא סורית והשאלה היא איך מעקרים את הסורים מתוך התהליך הלבנוני. הלבנונים אינם מסוגלים לקבל החלטות ופונים לסורים בכל ענין פעוט. דג'רג'יאן השיב שזימנו אתמול את הלבנונים לשיחה ולחצו עליהם לגלות עצמאות. 'אמרנו להם שיש רק משלחת משותפת אחת והיא ירדנית-פלשתינית ואין משלחת משותפת סורית-לבנונית'. לוברני אמר שראשי המדינה בלבנון אינם חשים בהכרח אי נוחות כי ישיבתם בשלטון תלוייה בסורים. היראווי זוחל על גחונו. קוטי מור הוסיף שקיימת בעיית טרור בדרום ולסורים יש בזה תפקיד מכריע. הם מונעים מהצבא מלפעול

נגד החיזבאללה. דג'רג'יאן אמר שדברו על כך עם הסורים אבל מקבלים מהם בתשובה סמאות כגון 'מדובר במלחמת שחרור' וכו'. קוטי אמר שבכל שנת '90 היו 15 פעולות של החיזבאללה וב - 9 החודשים הראשונים של השנה כבר היו 38 פעולות. דג'רג'יאן אמר שלפני שנה פנה לחדאם והציע לו לדאוג לשישה חודשי שקט בדרום לבנון והוסיף שהוא בטוח שישראל תגיב על כך בחיוב. חדאם חזר אליו ושאל אם יש בידו התחייבות ישראלית למעשה חיובי אבל כמובן לא היתה בידו כל התחייבות כזו. לוברני והאמריקנים הסכימו שבהמהלך הלבנוני יהיה קשה כל עוד לסורים (ובמידה מסויימת לאיראנים) יהיה מה להגיד שם.

הנושאים האחרים שנדונו - בדוח נפרד.

שילה.

יצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם),
אמן, @ (מצב), בנצור, מצפא, סולטן, סייבל

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 32533

אל: רהמש/1676

מ-: ווש, נר: 2335, תא: 261091, זח: 2100, דח: ב, סג: סב,

בבבב

סודי ביותר / בהול לבוקר יום א'

אל: הדס, בנצור

דע: לשכת רוה'מ

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

תהליך.

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(ד) בשליש האחרון של הפגישה ביקש דג'רג'יאן לדון עמנו בקטע הלבנוני של המו'מ הביטורלי. הקדים והעיר שאמנם, רשמית, יש להם חלק פעיל רק בועידה אך שלמעשה 'אתם הרי יודעים שאנחנו רוצים מאוד להשתתף גם בחלק הבי-טורלי וכל פנים נשב מחוץ לדלת ונמתין שיקראו לנו. נרצה מאוד להיות מוזמנים'.

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דג'רג'יאן אמר שדברו על כך עם הסורים אבל מקבלים מהם בתשובה ססמאות כגון

'מדובר במלחמת שחרור' וכו'. קוטי אמר שבכל שנת '90 היו 15 פעולות של החיזבאללה וב - 9 החודשים הראשונים של השנה כבר היו 38 פעולות. דג'רג'יאן אמר שלפני שנה פנה לחדאם והציע לו לדאוג לשישה חודשי שקט בדרום לבנון והוסיף שהוא בטוח שישראל תגיב על כך בחיוב. חדאם חזר אליו ושאל אם יש בידו התחייבות ישראלית למעשה חיובי אכל כמובן לא היתה בידו כל התחייבות כזו. לוברני והאמריקנים הסכימו שבהמלך הלבנוני יהיה קשה כל עוד לסורים (ובמידה מסויימת לאיראנים) יהיה מה להגיד שם.

הנושאים האחרים שנדונו - בדוח נפרד.

שילה.

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

אאא, חוזם: 32507

אל: רהמש/1675

מ-: ווש, נר: 2334, תא: 261091, זח: 1300, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי / בהול (לא להזעיק)

אל: מנהל מצפ'א - ללא תפוצה נוספת

דע: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ

יועצת תקשורת שה'ח

יועץ תקשורת רוה'מ (ללא תפוצה נוספת)

מאת: עתונות, וושינגטון

ועידת השלום - תדרוך רקע.

בהמשך למברקי (בפקס) נר 1182 מהיום.

בהמשך לשלי - המתדרך הוא ריצ'ארד האס.

רות ירון.

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

סססס

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Handwritten notes in Urdu script, likely related to the text above.

Snr. Admin. Official

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Q. What about a walkout?

A. An awful lot has gone into getting people to this point. I can't tell you there's no danger. You never know what people are going to say. You never know what people are going to do. But I just think that, at this point, there is more than on the various parties that have already calculated that it makes sense to be there. I can't rule anything out. People understand, I think, what the parameters are and what's acceptable behaviour and you just got to assume that the process wouldn't have gone this far if people only wanted to say and do things to make it fail. It would just be inconsistent. So I can't rule anything out, but I don't expect it.

Q. How much does it complicate things that Shamir has muscled Levy out of the way?

A. I think that more important than who represents is what is said. I think that what really matters is what the prime minister says. And after he says it...let me put it this way...let me just say: a hypothetical. Imagine that Levy had said some fairly moderate things. If that had happened, people would have wondered about how authoritative it was. No one can ask that question anymore. What ever pm Shamir says now you know it's authoritative. And all I can say is that one hopes that he and one hopes that his counterparts around the table don't use this session not to negotiate. There's time to negotiate later ...we hope that people use this session to do some to evidence that there's been some change in attitudes and change in thinking and a readiness to change...

Q. Up the representation all the way around?

A. Not necessarily. The invitations simply spoke of ministerial level representation which covers foreign or prime. It's up to the others to act or not to act. I've not heard a thing.

Even had it been Foreign Minister Levy, he'd be representing the government of Israel. I don't think that anybody...no foreign minister I know freelances, represents things that are not his government's policy. Which is not to say that there aren't sometimes differences in nuance and personality or tone. But the idea that this fundamentally changes Israel's position, I find that hard to believe. This government has a pretty clear record of what its policy is, regardless of whom happens to be speaking for them.

Q. This could take years?

A. Some not only could take years, but it was meant to take years, if you look at the structural framework of Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Some could happen sooner....other things there's no timeframe....there's got to be some appreciation that for the first time these people are coming face-t-face..there's a process of feeling out, of just learning how to communicate with one another and its going to take some time. That is not only a sure thing, but its not a bad thing...we ought to ultimately create a common mentality about how to start talking about problems in the Middle East.

Q. But what about political campaigns here. How will that affect it?

A. A lot of the momentum is going to have to come from the participants themselves. We can be facilitative, catalytic, choose your word of the afternoon. But we can't make it happen. So, to some extent, the momentum is going to have to come because of the willingness to engage and compromise on the part of the parties. This administration is not going to close down as we move toward an election. We are going to continue to be active particularly the sec. of state but also the president. Thirdly, I don't have a crystal ball.

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the president looks strong and effective in a year... I would think that whoever is in the oval office in 1993... whatever govt. is in office is going to need to promote an active Middle East peace process. There's nothing artisan about the structure of the diplomacy we're pushing. There's nothing republican about what we're trying to do in the Middle East, any more than there was anything democratic about what Jimmy Carter was trying to do. So I just don't think that domestic politics is a factor.

Q. What is there is no agreement by 1993.

A. There is no deadline. One aspect on Israeli-Palestinian on what interim arrangements will be. If we're not there then, whatever choices we face will be the same, I just don't see the elections as a problem.

Q. How concerned are you about the Pals desperately trying to link the PLO to this? How close are they coming to whatever line has been drawn?

A. All I can say is, up to now, with some exceptions, there's been a pretty good sense -- it's not something you could put into concrete -- but there's been a pretty good sense, reflected in behaviour, about what the limits are. People have accepted the basic ground rules, the delegation that's come forward represents understandings about that. I can't tell you at some point certain people aren't going to act contrary to that, it's a risk... you've just got to hope that everybody on all sides of the table avoids saying and doing things that the other side is surely going to see as provocative, and that's going to risk the enterprise. But there's going to be problems, whether it's that or something else. No one expects smooth sailing. There's going to be provocative statements provocative actions by participants and non-participants. One of the things you've got to do is try and build in some results, build in some momentum so this enterprise we can launch can withstand that buffet, if it's going to happen.

Q. How can the U.S. do that? How can the U.S. keep that momentum going if you're just there -- for instance at the bilats only if both sides want you?

A. I would not draw any correlation between presence within a room and ... to our activity. You don't have to be inside to influence the goings on.

Q. How would that work?

A. In the room, what matters, I think is that the parties -- its Israelis and J-P or Israeli Syrian, they learn how to talk to one other effectively and how to negotiate. Before the meetings and after the meetings, we'll obviously be consulting with all the parties. I am not worried about our role, we will play an active role. The modalities of that are quite honestly secondary. We will be active ... we will remain active on whatever terms that are mutually acceptable.

Q. Israelis say they expect the first round of bi-lats to last only a couple of days?

A. Whole question of modalities in the bilaterals is yet to be worked out. Venue, structure. A lot depends on what the terms are... I'd like things to move into substance as soon as possible. We've spent a tremendous amount of time up til now arranging a process. And that's not wasted time, because, without a process all the substance in the world doesn't buy you anything. You've got to have a way of engaging everybody... but now that we've done that, we now want to make the transition into substance as quickly as possible.

Q. What do you think of the criticism that the US has spent too much time on process and not enough on substance?

A. What do I think of that? Not a lot. For two reasons. Again, a lot of people have ideas on how they think the Middle East ought to be settled. If they think simply an idea's gonna sell itself because they publish it in some magazine or a newspaper, or announce it from some soap box, they're kidding themselves. There's got to be a process. So you can't exaggerate the significance of the process. Without a process you've got no substance. Every

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of effort that went into setting this up was worth it. Secondly, not every person in the US govt. who has some responsibility for Middle East policy was spending all his or her time working on process. We have had people working on substance. About not just the conference, but the bilateral as well as the multilateral negotiations. An awful lot of papers have been written. A lot of analysis has been done. A lot of historical work has been done. The history is relevant. There's an awful lot of history to draw upon. So the argument is unfounded...

Q. There are contingency plans for what happens if there is total stalemate?

A. We have done a lot of thinking about the substance of the talks which in turn can give us the substantive background to draw upon so that we can be helpful. I mean, you can't just mediate without some feel for the issues and where the various parties have been coming from, thinking about all sorts of alternative approaches and so forth. So we've done a lot of thinking. Obviously, we haven't finished it. It will constantly evolve as we hear things from the parties we will continue to work on it. But we're not approaching this thing saying: oh my god, what will we do? We're not going to try to cram months of work into this weekend.

Q. Will the US have to put financial pressure on Israel?

A. No. Where I see us working. The US-Israeli relationship is, despite the occasional ruckus to the contrary, the basic relationship is good. And US support for Israel is there, US support for Israeli security is there. So no one is interested in detracting from the relationship or Israel's security, which is not to say we're not going to have our own ideas about issues and policies and at times, as they have in the past, we're going to disagree. It is our sense that our key role is one of persuasion, our key -- ideas have to sell themselves. Various parties have to see that they're better off by buying on to something than they are by rejecting it. I think those ideas exist. I see that as our principle goal. In some areas, rather than the direction you're suggesting, I see us much more going in the direction of offering positives. Not just us, but all the outsiders. The U.S., the Soviets, the Europeans, Japanese and others. Financial resources, in certain cases could be guarantees, in certain cases could be ideas, peacekeeping forces, you name it. I am very open to looking to ways we can buttress, provide incentives to the parties.

Q. What about cut off conventional arms?

A. No. No one in administration. Seen that from Congress. We've made it clear in our responses to them that we do not think that is positive. No one's talking about cut-offs, moratorium, things like that.

Q. Am. Jewish groups say they are hearing that the president is going to be saying things in his speech they aren't going to like to hear, particularly things on Palestinian self-determination?

A. off the record: I am the only person who knows what's in there. Unless they're plugged into the whole machine.

Q. Well, there's some nervousness out there that there will be new American policy ground broken in the president's speech. Is that a wild fantasy?

A. Look, it's up to the president to decide what he's going to say. I only see some of the stuff that's being prepared for him to consider. Let me answer your question this way. In the first instance, it is very much our hope that the principle dynamic is not between us and the players its between and among them. We do not want this to become a negotiation between the United States and Israel, the United States and the Palestinians, the United States and the Arab states. We want the parties to be negotiating between and among themselves. Because at the end of the day its not important that they can go home with us, we don't live there...I think it most important for the conference is not to

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necessarily introduce major new ideas. We just sent five letters of assurance to the various parties, which make pretty clear what our relevant positions are. It's to try to create a tone, to try to lay out some vision, to try to encourage them to act constructively. This is not...no one is approaching us... where we are in the Middle East is not that we need some new made in America ideas for solving the Middle East problem. What we need at this point, again, is a structure that the local parties will learn and begin to come to terms with one another. That's a long-winded way of telling you: I wouldn't worry about it.

Q. Arabs today announced they're going with united front. Do you think multi-lats will happen?

A. (Yes) It's no secret that the Syrian government has objections to multi-laterals at this point. I have not heard that anybody else does.

Q. Nobody's reconsidering?

A. No.

Q. Who's coming?

A. It's going to be there will be kind of like the GCC, Maghreb. Come as an observer to the plenum, participate individually in the multi-lats. Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Mauritania. Individual. (not Libya).

Q. Will you explain distinction between participants and observers. Does it mean anything more than Egypt and GCC get to give a speech?

A. That's the big difference. Observers observe. Participants speak. The plenary is not a negotiating session. I think everyone who is an observer then participates in the multi-laterals but the UN is an exception. The north africans and the GCC states will observe at the plenary. But the Europeans and the Egyptians and the two co-sponsors and the various parties will all speak.

Q. Just to clarify another issue. Baker said that the whole Jordanian-Palestinian delegation consists of a total of 14 delegates but the Paks have just named 14 delegates to their half of the team.

A. I think it's seven and seven, I'm pretty sure, but I could be wrong.

Q. Is this a problem?

A. I don't think it's a problem.

Q. Do you think the 7 member adjunct to the 14 palestinians is a problem?

A. The advisers? No. They're not on the delegation. They are prominent Palestinians who, to a large extent, have been our interlocutors, but they're not part of the delegation.

Q. Will they be our interlocutors during the conference?

A. No, we'll be talking to the delegation. But we will maintain relations with them, as we have all along. We talk to them at various times. In the same way that we will be talking to members of government who are not members of delegations.

Q. If Syrians and Israelis reach total deadlock, at least theoretically can the Israelis and the Palestinians keep right on talking?

A. Yes ma'am. Each boat on its own bottom.

Q. and the Syrians understand that?

A. In either the invitations or the letters, there's no compromise in that principle...that said, I can't tell you that, in the world of political reality, there may not be some...they might try to create some linkage. It's a fact of life it's very hard to (talk about some subjects in total isolation from others). I think there's a difference between impact and linkage.

Q. Special envoy?

A. Driven by venues, times, when we get a better sense of how this thing will unfold.

Q. Why were the invitations mailed when so many loose ends were still untied?

A. Because if you waited to get every i dotted and t crossed it would be a

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any time before you could mail out invitation and we thought we had enough things nailed down that there was no reason not to go ahead.

Q. How do you plan to deal with the fact that the Israelis have such an incredible degree of distrust? Any move we make like on the issue of advisory committee, they scream we have betrayed them.

A. There's something of an edge to U.S.-Israeli relations. I'm sensitive to that problem. I think -- I just went up about a week ago to speak to conference on Presidents of Jewish Organizations, and that same edge was reflected in that room.

Yes we have disagreements with particular policies with Israel, issues, but none should confuse that with the core. Just try and keep perspective. Secondly, don't trivialize it by thinking that it's a function of personalities. It's Shamir and Bush, Baker Haas -- it's deeper than that. There are some important differences over policy and over the fate of the occupied territories. Above all, things like settlements and what have you. Each side has some resentment of the other. Each side feels that the other does not take its interests sufficiently into account, or reciprocate, or whatever you want to call it. So, this is all true. All I can say is in the president's opening statement, we will try to adjust some of those things. More important for us will be things... that will reinforce that. There's no way we can say things about the Middle East that will allow us to be an honest broker that will be music to the ears of any one participant. There are going to be things that are harmonious and things that are dissonant. What will be important for the United States and Israel, as we go along in this process, is to have a deeper, more... of consultations than is uniformly the case. We'll have these formal negotiations going on in these bi-lats in the rooms. What will be important is that regardless of whether we are in the room or not, that we and the Israelis talk to one another. That we try to respond... try to make our case. We'll never do away with all the mistrust, with all the differences, but hopefully, you can ease it a little bit. We've got to get better at learning how to deal with some of these issues. Part of the problem is this relationship hasn't dealt with a lot of these issues for a long time, and it was easy not to do it because you never had an Arab interlocutor. You had no peace process. So now you've got the good news of a peace process and an Arab interlocutor and now a lot of these issues are going to come out in the open. There's going to be friction. We should feel fortunate that we finally have a peace process where somebody's going to be (??) and the United States and Israel are going to have to get better at dealing with some of these issues together. It's like any relationship. You've got to learn how to deal with these things.

Q. You're talking a few days before the conference. What can you do between now and then?

A. We're not starting on final status negotiations on day one. This process is gradual. There's always been a sense that the scale of the problems that you deal with is fairly modest in the beginning to avoid this. It's the Middle East, so there's a problem, because people tend to see precedent everywhere. And even in modesty, in October, 1991, they will tend to see a potential precedent being established for 2023. I've got no lubricant in my case that is going to do away with the friction.

Q. What do you do about a settlement freeze?

A. I can't answer you directly. In the first instance, what is key is that the Israelis and the Pals and the Israelis and the Arabs come to the table and start negotiating. Each side is going to have a list of immediate concerns about things that the other side is doing or saying or not doing or not saying. If one side wants something, the other side will say that's impossible but here's what I can do, or this is what bothers me... that's the beginning of the negotiation. then we'll see.

We are dealing with issues that either directly or indirectly go to the heart of people's security, their political identity, their economic well-being, whether its Israelis or Palestinians or Syrians. So everybody's going to be on edge. Everybody's going to be tense. These are big stakes. This is not a penny ante game. It's a high stakes game. It's not a game... I don't think there's anyway no matter how tactically adroit we might be, there's no way we could ever do away with all the friction and the tension and the rest... try to sit up consultations... be an honest broker, be up front, try not to surprise anybody not to suddenly change policies or positions. That's why we want through the letters of assurance exercise. That's why we pre-viewed the invitations to parties. We're not trying to pull fast ones here. Noone's trying to surprise. Noone's trying to stab in the back. Noone's trying to impose. We are really trying to be an honest broker...

Q. Is Jerusalem included in invitation or letter of assurance?

A. Not in the invitation. In various places.

Q. Is it part of final status negotiations?

A. That has been a part of U.S. policy for years. You don't have to be a rocket scientist not to want to put on the front burner stuff which is going to be too much too soon. There's other tough issues about land, water, so forth. Some things are going to have to be introduced soon and some are going to have to be put off. You hope that by working through something there will be some attitude change, some greater flexibility, tolerance, appreciation of the other side so that the capacity to agree will grow. We want to give people time to change.

Q. What happens if, in the first day of Israeli-Syrian bilats, settlement freeze comes up?

A. What's the incentive to do that? If you do something like that, what have you gained. I cannot tell you there won't be frustrations. The fact that we have gotten people so far tells me that they believe there's enough basis to engage... I'm not going to sit here and tell you there's no chance of things coming unglued, of course there is. But there's also reason to believe they're not.

Q. Administration has talked about this as a transforming event? Is there still a possibility of that?

A. There is a lot of posturing. Every one of these delegations is playing for multiple audiences, including domestic political audiences. You've got to expect a lot of posturing, a lot of symbol waving. I don't know if it is going to be a transforming event. But I do think that the Middle East will not be the same. It will be a changed place because of this. It creates a new baseline for Middle East diplomacy. There's going to be some steps backward, but some steps forward. It will be up to us to see that some of this posturing doesn't get out of hand. That's one of the things we're there for.

Q. President will not acknowledge a right to Pal self-determination?

A. Off the record, I would steer you away from thinking we are going to be dropping bombshells like that.

Q. Consultations. Have you made overtures to the Israelis? Are you already engaged?

A. We talk about it with various people. So much of the energy has gone into getting this far, but working out the letters of assurance... already over the last eight months you have a lot more serious talking... we'll have regular meetings... the Israelis are on edge. It's something they've always wanted, direct talks, and now that they've got them... it's pushing to the fore all the basic questions... the political turmoil you've seen in Israel in the last 24 hours is perfectly natural. This is going to be a very difficult time. This is going to be fraught. This is a rubber band that's potentially is going to be pretty stretched. Everyone is going to be on edge... it will take a lot of hours away from the table, hopefully making what happens at the table better.
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אאא, חוזם: 32276

אל: רהמש/1653

מ-: ווש, נר: 2329, תא: 251091, זח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר / מיידי

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ,

מנכ'ל רוה'מ

מאת: לש' השגריר, וושינגטון

ועידת מדריד.

1. השגריר שוחח טלפוניית (254140) עם רוס שסיפר שהמזכיר עדיין לא החליט בנושאי הנוהל הקשורים לוועידה ולפיכך אינם יכולים לדון עמנו בנושא. הוסיף מזכיר יחליט על-כך הערב והעדפתם היא לא להכנס למשא ומתן בנושא מחשש שבכך יפתחו סדרת דיונים עם כל אחת מהמשתתפות. רוס ציין שמודעים לדעותינו ויקחו זאת בחשבון. הוסיף שבינתיים רק ישראל העלתה עמם הנושא.

2. השגריר ציין הצורך בשיחה מקדימה בין הצוותים האמריקני והישראלי כדי למנוע הפתעות. רוס יגיע למדריד עם הנשיא והמזכיר וסוכם שיתואם שם מועד לפגישת הצוותים.

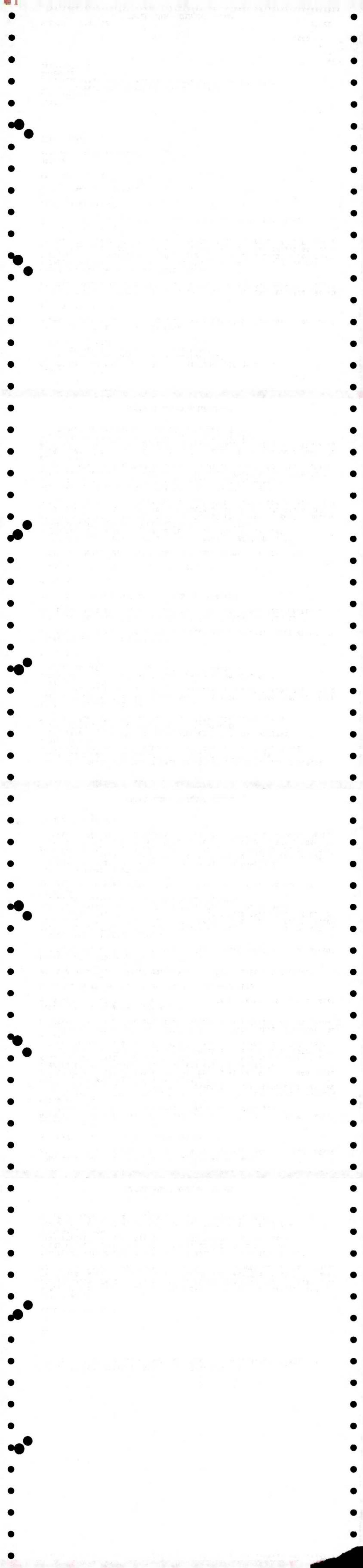
3. לשאלת השגריר על משלחת יועצים ציין רוס שתתאפשר גישה למקום הוועידה ל-15 אנשים נוספים שבתוכם יוכלו להכלל יועצים כמו-גם אנשי סיוע טכני.

4. בשיחה נוספת עם סגנו של רוס, ברנס ביקש השגריר שיודיענו היום או מחר הזמן המוקדש לנאום הישראלי, ברנס הבטיח לבדוק בקשתנו.

לשכת שגריר.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, @ (מצב), בנצור

סססס



אאא, חוזם: 32342

אל: רהמש/1654

מ:- ווש, נר: 2332, תא: 251091, זח: 2000, דח: ר, סג: סו,

בבכ

סודי / רגיל

אל: סמנכ'ל צפ'א ופר'נ

מצפ'א

דע: לשכת רוה'מ

מאת: ק. לקונגרס, וושינגטון

ביהנ'ב: פגישות ח'כ ב. בגין.

1. ב - 23/10 קיים ח'כ ב. בגין סידרת פגישות בביה'נב. (לאחר יומיים קודמים בסנאט).

2. ח'כ בגין נפגש עם:- הקונגרסמן המילטון שאירח מחוקקים ועוזרים מועדת החוץ (בסה'כ כ - 20 איש). - וורנר ברנדט, יועצו הבכיר לחו'ב של יו'ר ביהנ'ב פולי. - מחוקקים יהודים באירוחו של הקונגרסמן סמית. - הקונגרסמן גינגריצ' - המצליף הרפובליקני. - הקונגרסמן מייקל - מנהיג המיעוט. - הקונגרסמן אובי - יו'ר ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות.

3. השיחה האופרטיבית החשובה ביותר התקיימה עם הקונגרסמן גינגריצ' בנושא הערבויות. לאור חשיבותה, מעבירה דווח מפורט. על שאר הפגישות אדווח בנפרד. להלן פירוט השיחה:

- הפגישה היתה טובה מאוד, וארכה כ - 45 דקות. לאחר דברי פתיחה, שאל ח'כ בגין הערכתו של גינגריצ' לגבי הערבויות.

גינגריצ': להערכתו:-

1. ככל הנראה יהיו ערבויות בינואר-פברואר.

2. יהיה קשה לקבלן ללא הגבלות על ההתנחלויות.

3. IT IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO GET THE GURANTEES WITHOUT BUSH AND BAKER.

בעת ביקורי בישראל אמרתי דברים גלויים למנהיגים:-

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TAKE ON THE CURRENT PRESIDENT -

ע'י תכנון בין ממשלת ישראל לקונגרס. כל נסיון לעשות כן, יסכן את קואליציית סיוע החוץ. רק ע'י ברית בין הנשיא לבין ידידי ישראל ניתן יהיה לשמר את סיוע החוץ.

- לדעתו, הנשיא מאמין שהוא צריך לאשר את הערבויות והוא גם מאמין (הנשיא)

שהוא יכול TO STRIPULATE הסכם לגבי ההתנחלויות בהיבט של FUNGIBILITY.

- הממשל (קרי: בוש בייקר) מאמין שההתנחלויות הם בעייה גדולה,

. ENORMOUS PROBLEM, AND THEY ARE NOT READY TO BACK OFF

- ככל שזה נדון יותר בפומבי, כך זה מחריף את הבעייה. - הנשיא בוש יודע היום שהוא יכול לרוץ (לנשיאות) ללא תמיכת היהודים. לא ניתן ללחוץ עליו. עם זאת, יודע גם שרכים מבני בריתו מעוניינים בערבויות. גינגריצ' התייחס בהקשר זה לרוב המנהיגות הרפובליקניות בביהנ' ובסנאט. חלק מהבעיה היא קונפליקט אישיות בין רוח'מ שמיר לנשיא בוש. - אם אסכם תחושותי הרי ש I WOULD BE OPTIMISTIC BUT WORRIED .

- כל עוד התהליך מתקדם AND THEY (THE ADMINISTRATION) FEEL GOOD , זה יגביר הסיכויים להעברת הערבויות.

ח'כ בגין:

שאל לגבי התייחסות הממשל ל - 2 אופציות אפשריות:-

א. תהליך השלום מתקדם בצורה חלקה. תגובת הממשל: העתוי למתן הערבויות הוא גרוע. אם ניתן לישראל ערבויות אנו עלולים TO ROCK THE BOAT .

ב. תהליך השלום איננו מתקדם עפ'י הצפוי. תגובת הממשל:- מדוע לפצות את ישראל ולתת לה פרס את הערבויות.

גינגריצ':

האופציה הראשונה איננה תופסת (DOESN'T HOLD UP). לדעתו, הנשיא נחלש מעט ואיננו רוצה TO PICK UP AT LIGHT . לדעתו הנשיא יאמר: 'אני רוצה לתת הערבויות לישראל, אולם מדוע רוח'מ שמיר והשר שרון אינם גמישים'. הנשיא יציג זאת על דרך החיוב ולא יאמר - 'בגלל שהשניים אינם גמישים לא אסכים לערבויות'.

בשלב זה, עבר גינגריצ' להרצאה ארוכה בנושא יחסי ציבור (P.R) 'תאמר למנהיגך ללמוד יותר את ה - P.R. האמריקני'. אינפורמציה היא כלי נשק. ממישראל מצטיירת ככמעט DELIBERATELY INCOMTETENT . יש להחליט מהם המסרים שיועברו לארה'ב. למשל להציג את סוריה באור הנכון. זו רק שאלת PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND COMPETENCE . יש למצוא דרך לשנוי איסטרטגי של מאזן האינפורמציה למשל בין סוריה לישראל.

עמדת הרפובליקנים.

- תמצאו שרובנו לא יסכים לקוויד-פרו-קוו בין הערבויות לתהליך השלום. שכן, לא נסכים להחזיק את העולים אשר למען יציאתם מברה'מ פעלנו במשך 15 שנה, כבני ערובה בידי הדיפלומטיה. - אנחנו לא אלה הנוטלים סכונם בטחון והישרדות אלא ישראל. לא נוכל לקחת על עצמנו אחריות לגורל אומה שלימה. - TO THE DEGREE THAT BUSH FEELS BEING MANIPULATED, BY SHAMIR . IT'S IMPOSSIBLE TO OVERRIDE A VETO .

אם מאידך בייקר יתפס כנוקשה ומתנגח בישראל - אפשר יהיה להתגבר על וטו נשיאותי.

- גינגריצ' התייחס באירכות נושא ה - FUNGIBILITY . הרהר בקול שאולי ניתן לציין נקודת מוצא התחלתית (BENCH MARK) ולאורה ניתן לציין נ' ולחשב ה'פנג'יביליטיס'. ח'כ בגין ציין שזהו קו

עדין מאוד וכיצד ידע מהו ? גינגריצ' השיב (לאחר הרהור בקול) שיפנה לאיגלברגר וכן לג'ין קירקפטרין. לדבריו, כל עוד אנחנו נותנים לכם 3 ביליון לשנה, יש פנג'יביליטי מסיבי.

- לדבריו ישנה תמיכה רחבה בביהנ'ב בזיקה שבין הערכויות להתנחלויות. הסביר הסיבות לתמיכה והגורמים התומכים:-

א. רבים המאמינים 'בשטחים תמורת שלום' - בעיקר דמוקרטים ליברלים.

ב. אנשים שאינם מאמינים בסיסמת הליכוד לישראל הגדולה.

ג. שילוב שבין המצליף הדמוקרטי, בוניור, שאינו אוהד את ישראל לבין סונונו בבית הלבן שהוא ממוצא ערבי.

ד. תשישות של סוף המלחמה הקרה בקרב המחקקים. ציין במיוחד את הקונגרסמן מיקי אדוארדס (בכיר המיעוט בועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות שבוועדתו של אובי).

לדבריו, אדוארדס טוען: 'גם אנחנו (ארה"ב) מדינה ריבונית ואיננו חייבים אוטומטית לאף אחד'. אדוארדס, המשיך גינגריצ' בדבריו, כמעט מוכן לומר: 'אינכם מעוניינים בתנאים ? מדוע שנפעל למענכם (קרי: ישראל) ?' גישת התובענות (DEMAND) איננה מקובלת עליו, והיא משתקפת במסמכי הבקשה לערכויות שהגיעו מישראל. התייחס גם לאייפא'ק, עמם עובד בשת"פ הדוק, אשר מעבירים מסר של תובענות.

- מוכן להיאבק אם המימשל יועמד בפניה ולאחר שהם ידעו (המחקקים) שבייקר וסונונו פעלו שלא כשורה. גינגריצ' שאל את ח'כ בגין האם לדעתו ממישראל תסכים לענין ה-

NON-FUNGIBILITY. ח'כ בגין השיב כי עליו להיות מאוד זהיר. ממישראל לא תשליך הרעיון אולם קיים קו עדין מאוד. לא תירצה לסטות מתפיסתה שלה.

- לקראת סיכום אמר גינגריצ' שהוא ממליץ:-

א. להתמקד יותר ויותר בסוריה ('תפנו לידידים שלכם - ביל ספייר ואחרימ') ומה צריכה סוריה לעשות כדי שישראל תרגיש בטוחה.

ב. יעזור אולי להתחיל הסברתית/מדינית ב - UNCONDITIONALITY (של הערכויות) אולם עליכם להיות מוכנים להסכים בשעת הצורך ל - NON-FUNGIBILITY.

הוא ועמיתיו יעשו הכל למען ה - NON-FUNGIBILITY כדי לא להגיע לנושא מדיניות ההתנחלויות שכן אינם רוצים להכתיב מדיניות לישראל. בכל מקרה, אסור שהאשם יפול על רוח'מ שמיר, אלא על המזכיר בייקר.

עם יציאתו משרדו, סיפר גינגריצ' כי כאשר קיבל בקשתנו לפגישה עבור ח'כ בגין התקשר לאיגלברגר ושאלו האם לקיים הפגישה. איגלברגר השיב מיד בחיוב ועודדו לקיים הפגישה. יתכן שזו מסקנה נמהרת מדי, אולם אין להוציא מכלל אפשרות שלפחות חלק מהמסרים שהעביר גינגריצ' הם מסרים שאיגלברגר יעץ לו להעביר אלינו.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 32062

אל: רהמש/1601

מ-: ווש, נר: 2327, תא: 251091, זח: 1210, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי / בהול

אל: לש' שהב'ט

דע: סמנכ'ל בנצור, משהח'

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

פנה אלי דג'רג'יאן ממחמ'ד ואמר שקבוצת פלשתינאים מצוות המשא-ומתן
עברה אתמול את הגשר לירדן וששם (בגשר) התיחסו אליהם כפי שמתחסיס
לכל שאר העוברים. לא לקחו בחשבון שאלו אנשים שהולכים לוועידת
שלום.

דג'רג'יאן מבקש מאד שכאשר תעבור קבוצה נוספת מאלה היוצאים למדריד
ביום א', יראו להם יחס מיוחד ויקלו עליהם במידת האפשר.

שילה.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, @ (מצב), @ (שהבט), בנצור,
מצפא, סולטן, מזתים, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 32081

אל: רהמש/1600

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 519, תא: 251091, זח: 1320, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

בלמ"ס/בהול לבוקר

אל: חדר מצב

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: עתונות וושינגטון

הנדון: מדברי הנשיא בוש, על ועידת השלום, במסע"ת

הולן מדברי הנשיא בוש, על ועידת השלום. שאר השאלות והתשובות במסע"ת, התיחסו לנושאים פנימיים של ארה"ב.

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT BUSH
THE WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING ROOM
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1991

PRESIDENT BUSH:

ANOTHER SUBJECT, ON THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE CONFERENCE. I WANT TO NOTE THE HISTORIC NATURE OF THIS MEETING. THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY DANGEROUS AND TRAGIC CONFLICT FOR DECADES. THE PEOPLES OF THIS REGION STILL HAVE ENORMOUS DIFFERENCES, BUT I WANT TO COMMEND THE STATESMANSHIP OF THE LEADERS OF ALL THOSE PARTIES ATTENDING THE PEACE CONFERENCE. SITTING DOWN TOGETHER IS THE BEGINNING OF UNDERSTANDING. AND WE CANNOT KNOW THE OUTCOME OF COURSE. IT WILL TAKE PATIENCE AND DETERMINATION. THE UNITED STATES CANNOT MAKE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, ONLY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES CAN DO THAT. BUT WE CAN AND WILL BE A COMMITTED AND ACTIVE PARTNER IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. SECRETARY BAKER HAS BEEN PATIENT, HAS BEEN STEADFAST. HE HAS BEEN TIRELESSLY DISCIPLINED IN WORKING WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ALL THE PARTIES IN THE REGION TO MAKE THIS CONFERENCE AND THE PROMISE OF PEACE A REALITY. WE OWE HIM A MAJOR DEBT OF THANKS.

I ALSO GO TO MADRID TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV AND I KNOW THAT PRESIDENT GORBACHEV JOINS ME IN WANTING TO PUT THE HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS OF ALL THE WORLD BEHIND THESE NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE.

SO THANK YOU VERY MUCH AND NOW I WOULD BE GLAD TO TAKE A FEW

QUESTIONS.

Q MR. PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR WILL LEAD ISRAEL'S DELEGATION TO MADRID. AS RECENTLY AS YESTERDAY, HE SAID THERE WOULD BE NO TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS TO ARAB STATES, NO FREEZE ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS. CAN THERE BE ANY PROGRESS IN MADRID AND AFTERWARD IF THAT'S HIS STAND?

PRESIDENT BUSH: TERRY, I KNEW YOU WERE GOING TO -- OR SOMEBODY WAS GOING TO ASK THESE QUESTIONS, THE DETAILED QUESTIONS ABOUT STATED POSITIONS OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE. IT IS MOST UNDERSTANDABLE. I'M NOT GOING TO REPLY TO THEM.

WHAT I DO NOT WANT TO DO IS INADVERTENTLY COMPLICATE THE PROCESS. LET THE PARTIES SIT DOWN AS THEY PLAN TO DO AND DISCUSS THESE -- ONE PRIORITY OR ANOTHER. IT IS NOT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO DO THAT. OUR POSITIONS ARE KNOWN ON 242 AND 338. OUR POSITIONS ARE KNOWN ON A LOT OF OTHER SUBJECTS THAT'LL PROBABLY BE DISCUSSED THERE. BUT WE'RE TRYING TO BE A CATALYST TO BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER AND LET THEM TALK ABOUT THE DIFFERENCES. SO, I'M SORRY. I'M NOT GOING TO TAKE -- ANSWER -- RESPOND DEFINITELY TO THIS QUESTION, NOR TO OTHERS ABOUT THE SPECIFIC ISSUES THAT DIVIDE THE PARTIES. WE'RE NOT TRYING TO IMPOSE A SETTLEMENT; WE'RE TRYING TO BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER SO THEY CAN ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT.

Q WILL YOU OUTLINE THE US ISSUE -- I MEAN, US STAND, THOUGH, WHEN YOU --

PRESIDENT BUSH: I DON'T THINK WE NEED TO DO THAT AT THIS JUNCTURE. THE UNITED STATES POSITIONS ARE CLEAR. BUT THAT'S -- IT ISN'T THE QUESTION. WE'RE NOT HAVING A CONFERENCE ABOUT US POLICY; WE'RE HAVING A CONFERENCE ABOUT BRINGING PEOPLE TOGETHER TO SETTLE AGE-OLD DISPUTES.

Q WILL YOU SEE MR. SHAMIR?

PRESIDENT BUSH: YES, I CERTAINLY WILL, AND I'LL SEE OTHER DELEGATION HEADS, AND I'LL SEE PRESIDENT GORBACHEV, AND I HOPE TO SEE THE PRIME MINISTER OF SPAIN AND THE RULING MONARCH, THE KING OF SPAIN. SO, I'LL HAVE -- I DON'T KNOW HOW MANY BILATERAL MEETINGS. THAT HASN'T BEEN SET UP. BUT CLEARLY I WILL. I LOOK FORWARD TO IT. YES?

Q SIR, ARE YOU GOING TO BE IN POSITION IN MADRID WITH -- AT THE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GORBACHEV TO ANSWER SOME OF HIS PROPOSALS ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITH PROPOSALS OF YOUR OWN?

PRESIDENT BUSH: NO.

Q IF NOT, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO TALK ABOUT?

PRESIDENT BUSH: WELL, OPEN-ENDED. WE'RE GOING THERE -- THE MATRIX IS A PEACE CONFERENCE FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. BUT I'M SURE WE'LL DISCUSS BILATERAL ISSUES, AND I'LL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS NUCLEAR WEAPONS. I'LL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THEIR ECONOMY AND OURS. I'LL BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS ANYTHING THAT HE'S INTERESTED IN. WE ALWAYS HAVE WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSIONS, AND I'M LOOKING FORWARD TO THAT PART OF THIS VERY, VERY MUCH.

BUT THE REASON I WAS SO QUICK IS I DON'T WANT TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE'RE COMING FORTH WITH A NEW FOUR-POINT PROGRAM OR SIX-POINT PROGRAM IN RESPONSE TO HIS POSITIVE RESPONSE TO OUR INITIATIVE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

עד כאן
עתונות

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

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*NEA502

BUSH: MIDEAST CONFERENCE "BEGINNING OF UNDERSTANDING"

(Cites need for patience, determination) (780)

By Alexander M. Sullivan

USIA White House Correspondent

Washington — Praising the "statesmanship" demonstrated by Israeli and Arab diplomats in agreeing to bring their differences to the bargaining table, President Bush says next week's Middle East peace conference represents "the beginning of understanding" in a region wracked by generations of distrust and conflict.

Speaking to reporters October 25, Bush, who will address the opening session of the Madrid conference October 30, emphasized that achieving a Middle East settlement will require "patience and determination."

"The peoples of this region still have enormous differences," he pointed out, adding that "sitting down together is the beginning of understanding."

A delegation of Palestinians will attend the conference. While in Madrid, Bush will meet with Soviet President Gorbachev, a conference co-sponsor.

The president said he would decline to answer questions about the substance of the differences between the Arabs and Israelis, asserting he did not wish to inadvertently complicate the peace process.

Noting that the conference's outcome cannot be predicted, Bush also emphasized that Washington could not dictate settlement terms. But he pledged the United States will remain

"a committed and active partner in the search for peace."

Asked if the peace conference could make any progress if Israeli Prime Minister Shamir persists in refusing to consider a trade of land for peace — as envisioned in United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 — the president cited the delicacy of the moment in declining to answer.

Bush said it was "most understandable" that reporters would ask about the "stated positions" of the conference participants, but added, "I'm not going to reply to them. What I do not want to do is inadvertently complicate the process. Let the parties sit down...and discuss one priority or another."

Stressing that it was "not for the United States" to talk about priorities, the president said, "Our positions are known on 242 and 338; our positions are known on a lot of other subjects that will probably be discussed" in Madrid.

(The two U.N. resolutions, endorsed by the U.S., are frequently summarized as calling on Israel to trade occupied territory in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank for peace and normal relations with its Arab neighbors.)

Since Washington has set for itself the role of "catalyst," Bush explained, he would not "respond definitively to this question (about Shamir's position) nor to others about the specific issues that divide the parties. We're not trying to impose a settlement; we're trying to bring people together so they can achieve a settlement," he said.

In the same vein, he said he did not

believe it necessary to restate U.S. positions, which he called "clear." He told questioners, "We're not having a conference about U.S. policy; we're having a conference about bringing people together to settle age-old disputes."

Similarly, he expressed confidence that Gorbachev "joins me in wanting to put the hopes and aspirations of all the world behind these new opportunities for peace."

The president said he wanted to discount the suggestion that he would be bringing to Madrid a U.S. response to Gorbachev's nuclear disarmament proposals, which include a ban on producing fissionable material and additional limitations on underground nuclear testing.

When he meets with the Soviet leader, the president told a questioner, "I'll be prepared to discuss nuclear weapons. I don't want to leave the impression that we're coming forth" with a new nuclear program "in response to his positive response to our initiative."

Gorbachev made his proposals in responding to the president's unilateral withdrawal of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons to the wrecking yard or to storage on U.S. territory. Bush also lowered the nuclear alert status of U.S. bombers and missile squadrons, and proposed acceleration of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) timetable for missile destruction.

Bush described the agenda for his meeting with Gorbachev as "open-ended." He said, "I'll be prepared to discuss their economy and ours. I'll be prepared to discuss anything he's interested in. We always have wide-ranging discussions and I'm looking

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forward to that part of it very, very much."

While the president noted that the focus of the Madrid talks will be on the Middle East, he said he expected that he and the Kremlin leader will discuss bilateral issues.

Bush said he intended to meet several other leaders while in Madrid, including Spain's King Juan Carlos and Prime Minister Gonzalez; Israel's Prime Minister Shamir, and other heads of delegation. "I don't know how many bilateral meetings are set up," he said.

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MADRID CONFERENCE SEEN AS HISTORIC WATERSHED

(Sisco, Murphy at National Press club) (950)

By Norma Holmes
USIA Staff Writer

Washington — The Middle East peace conference convening in Madrid October 30 is "a watershed in history," according to two former U.S. diplomats who were involved in peace efforts in that region.

They predict, however, that it is only the beginning of what may be a long and difficult process.

"The very fact that you have face-to-face bilateral negotiations between Syrians, Arabs, Palestinians, Israelis in the same room, is a watershed," said Joseph Sisco, a former assistant secretary of state for Near East and South Asian affairs who negotiated the 1967 Egyptian-Israeli cease-fire. "The fact is, things do happen in a room when people are facing one

another. This is particularly important in the context of the history of the Middle East."

In a briefing on the conference October 25 sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations, Sisco and Richard Murphy, former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, assessed the history of conflicts and the circumstances leading up to the first direct negotiations between Arabs and Israelis since the Camp David Accords.

"There have been pressures that have brought each of the participants to the conference, and these same pressures are going to make it very difficult for them to walk away from the conference," Sisco said.

The United States is at the "zenith of its power" in the region, he said, and no side wants to put itself in the position of going counter to the American initiative.

Sisco said a first priority of the Israeli delegation will be to "stay with the status quo" — the extension of settlements and moving ahead with Jewish immigration.

"I think this is a position that will prove to be untenable, and the Israelis will come to that judgment themselves on two grounds," he said. "There's no way to achieve peace on that basis — and the overwhelming majority of Israeli people want peace." He said a second Israeli consideration is not to place further strains in relations between the United States and Israel.

Sisco said that hope for a settlement remains in agreeing to "some sort of an autonomy administration" for a period of five years, as envisaged at Camp David, involving an actual test

of coexistence on the ground and a deferment of the critical issues — sovereignty, borders and the security arrangements.

"Those of us who have worked on the problem so many years cling to the hope that it may be, after five years of testing on the ground, the questions of sovereignty and borders might look somewhat different and less irreconcilable."

Turning to concerns being voiced in the Arab world that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has brought "hard liners" in his delegation, Sisco said, "It's a process of consultation, and it strengthens the Israeli delegation rather than weakens it.

"Better to have them within the delegation interacting.. than on the outside politically shooting at him and criticizing at him if he takes one position or another," he said.

Nor is the fact that he is going to head the delegation a negative factor, Sisco said, pointing out that Shamir got an agreement of the Israeli cabinet by a vote of 17 to 3 to go ahead with the conference. What is pressuring Israel to go ahead with the negotiations, he said, is that there has been a consensus in favor of direct talks since 1948.

As negotiations proceed, Sisco said, "the real decisions will be taken by Shamir," but he said Israel is a populist democracy, and on core issues of security, "no Israeli leader has enough authority to deliver a settlement about which a majority of his countrymen are skeptical."

Analyzing concerns Arab leaders will bring to the process, Murphy said the recent meeting of the foreign ministers in Damascus established three aims: to get Israeli withdrawal from

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all occupied territory dating from 1967; to insure the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians; and to halt Israeli settlements immediately.

He said that exchanges in the coming week "will be a rehearsal of positions minted, some in 1949, burnished in 1967 and elaborated ever since." Murphy said the overriding position is the great stress on Arab unity of action.

Murphy said the relative silence of the Damascus statement on the subject of bilateral talks indicates that the "Syrians did not prevail in their position" that there should be no meetings on regional issues or arms control until Israel indicates it will be withdrawing from territories occupied in 1967.

Citing pressures on Syria to come to the table, Murphy said a turning point in the process came last Spring when the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) said that they would participate in bilateral talks as observers.

Another crucial development in the region, said Murphy, is that the public — "the street, if you will, on both the Israeli and Arab side, is getting very tired of this problem."

The economic community in the region — "the entrepreneurs, whether Israeli or Arab, long under government restrictions and centralized planning, would like elbow room," Murphy said. "They would like a chance to develop their enterprises, to move the countries ahead. They feel an enormous amount of time has been wasted and money spent."

"There is a sense of fatigue in that circle," and a readiness to have their political leaders be more experimental, be more daring, and move ahead,

Murphy said.

The attitude of the streets in the region today, he said, "is let's see if something can't be worked out."

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KIRKPATRICK SEES CONTINUING STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM (USIA interview with Jeane Kirkpatrick) (1500)

Washington — Jeane Kirkpatrick, a noted authority on foreign policy issues and former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, says while China and other countries still under authoritarian rule may well attain increasing freedom and economic prosperity following the breakup of the Soviet empire, continuing struggles to secure these goals are inevitable.

Following an address this week to the U.S. Information Agency sponsored conference, "Toward a Postcommunist World," Kirkpatrick discussed prospects for the new world order in an interview with USIA Staff Writer Paul Malamud. Following is a transcript of the interview:

(begin transcript)

Q: Does the end of the communist monolith mean that we've come to "the end of history," as some observers argue?

A: No. First of all, history didn't just end. I take it that the conflict of communism was like the conflict with fascism — a conflict about freedom, between a party of freedom and a party of anti-freedom, so to speak.

The party of freedom, of course, is

successful when democratic institutions develop which take root and enable people to live indefinitely in freedom. That's always been the issue, and that is still the issue, and while communism is gone, the triumph of freedom, democracy, institutionalized and therefore lasting, is not yet assured. Certainly, it isn't global. So the mission continues, it seems to me, very clearly, and it's just as important as it ever has been.

Q: But doesn't the nature of the game change now?

A: The nature of the game changes because there is not now a movement which controls a government which has large military forces backing the challenge to freedom and serving as an obstacle to freedom, so there's more opportunity and less threat, the way I see it.

I think what we might accomplish is nothing as dramatic as was accomplished with the collapse of communism, but what the collapse of communism does is create the opportunity for institutionalization of human rights protections and civil liberties and government based on consent all over Eastern Europe and what was the Soviet Union. And I think we can help with that.

I also think, however, that we can continue to spread the message about freedom and free institutions and human rights and how they're protected through democratic institutions in a lot of other parts of the world where they do not now exist. And that, I think, is the mission of USIA (U.S. Information Agency) — it's carried out by conveying information about what free societies are like, not only our own society but other free societies as well, and also information about the failure of repressive

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ideologies and repressive institutions.

Q: What are the implications of moving towards a multi-polar world?

A: I do think that we're living in a multi-polar world, and I disagree with the view of some journalists that it's a unipolar world and that we're the only power that matters. I spent too much time in Europe not to believe in the increasing reality of Europe as a place — and it's going to be institutionalized — I think they're already a (powerful) reality, and will become more of a reality in the next decade, far more, with a larger market and as affluent economies and industrially advanced as we are — Japan similarly, I think.

These are economic competitors. I think economic competitors who are competing for marginal advantage are going to be probably a little more difficult for us to handle in the international sphere. We have less experience doing it, and we may have less interest and we may have less skill than we have had in a bipolar political struggle against communism.

Q: How do you see the future of China?

A: I do not believe that a communist totalitarian state will be viable for the long range in China, any more than it was in the Soviet Union, but it lasted a lot longer in the Soviet Union than it has ever lasted in China. China is not dependent on the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc economically in the way Cuba is, for example, so it has a greater capacity for survival economically; however, I'm not at all sure that it has any greater capacity politically.

I'm not sure, for example, that the Chinese regime has a capacity for a

successful transition after Deng Xiao Peng and the current elite. They might not. China, I think, cannot be a major power as long as its people are as stifled and hamstrung as they are. Once the creative energies of the Chinese people are liberated, there's simply no calculating what they might achieve. If you think about what the Chinese have achieved in Taiwan and in Singapore and in Hong Kong, it is numbing to think about what the Chinese might achieve under conditions of freedom and modernization in the Chinese mainland. But as long as they labor under such a dysfunctional regime, they can't do that, in my opinion. But I don't think that will last forever. I do not believe that the Chinese regime will outlast the end of the century, certainly, and I would rather expect that five years is probably the outside for its life expectancy, as far as we can tell today.

Q: What about Latin America, Africa and the rest of the Third World?

A: I don't really think of Latin America as "Third World" anyway. The whole concept of the "Third World" makes sense in a bipolar world, when there was a first world, a second world, and a third world. As an Argentine historian said to me last year, if there isn't any second world, then what happens to the first and the third? I think that those concepts are not very useful in the contemporary framework.

I think Argentina and Latin America generally are fundamentally extensions of European civilization, very much like the United States and Canada, although they are Hispanic rather than Anglo-Saxon in their fundamental imprints. Nonetheless, I believe that with a successful transition to democracy in Spain and Portugal, the successful and enduring achievement of democratic institu-

tions in South America and Central America is rendered much more likely and will happen. Already democratic governments are the rule rather than the exception in Latin America, and I think they will grow stronger, and that Latin America, as it has stronger, more stable democratic governments, will find it possible to advance rather rapidly in economic modernization. They have most of the requirements. The mystery has been why they did not modernize. I think that the answer has been their ineffective government, and I think that they are now on the road to more effective government.

Africa is different, because it's got further to go on the road to modernization, especially economic modernization, but, to some extent, also political modernization. I think, however, that Africa is now through what might be called the nation-building stage of modernization, and may be approaching a new political stage in which one-man rule will be less attractive than under previous existing regimes. It was the rule in tribal societies, but it doesn't have to be the rule in nation-states. I think we'll see a good deal of political modernization in Africa in the next decade. I think it's already underway with reform, visible reform.

I think, by the way, that the progress toward political reform and the establishment of modern political institutions was severely interrupted in Africa, as in Central America, by so-called national-liberation movements, Soviet-inspired and Soviet-backed, and, in some cases, communist governments which seized power in places like Mozambique and Angola and Ethiopia with devastating consequences, leaving the situation worse than they found it. But I think those countries will recover, and we'll see

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again some progress toward political modernization in Africa in the next decade. With that I think will come some economic progress as well. I'm in a very optimistic mood.

Q: But won't there be problems as well?

A: It is perfectly clear that Saddam Hussein is an example to us of what one violent dictator can do from a modest power-base, and I see no reason to suppose that there will not be others. I do not think that we've reached the end of war, frankly, and I don't believe therefore that military power is no longer necessary. I think that although there may be no major hostile power there will also in my judgment be more dangerous middle-sized powers, because of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the means for their delivery, so that makes the world more dangerous than we're accustomed to or than we wish it were. Those are problems we need to work on very urgently in my opinion — non-proliferation, not only of weapons, but also of missiles, and especially new controls on their sale and distribution.

(end text)
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(REPEAT OF PGL 400 OF 10/24)

U.N. WILL CONTINUE SEARCH
FOR OUTLAWED IRAQI WEAP-
ONS

(Ekeus calls for more Iraqi coopera-
tion) (1000)

By Judy Aita

USIA United Nations Correspondent

United Nations — The U.N. Special

Commission overseeing the destruction of Iraqi weapons is still not satisfied that conclusive evidence is in regarding the Iraqi nuclear weapons program or the number of SCUD missiles in Baghdad's arsenal.

Commission Executive Chairman Rolf Ekeus said October 24 that the commission has "come quite far" in identifying the size and format of Iraq's weapons, but it feels additional searches are necessary, particularly for Scud missiles.

"We have a declaration from Iraq, (and) information from other governments about roughly the number of SCUD missiles delivered; we have assessments by Iraq and others on the number of missiles used in the Iran-Iraq conflict, how many (were) used in the recent gulf conflict and (an) estimated how many were destroyed in coalition attacks....But we don't know how many were slaughtered by the Iraqi military to produce longer range missiles such as the Al-Hussein missiles or to use the propellants for other weapons," Ambassador Ekeus explained.

He said that the commission is conducting "very active inspection activities" in areas where it has reason to believe there are a number of missiles remaining. The commission has estimated that 800 SCUDs were delivered to Iraq before the Iran-Iraq war.

He also said that the United Nations has "not closed the dossier on additional enrichment activities" in Iraq's nuclear weapons program. "On the contrary, we have reason to search," Ekeus said.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which is handling the investigation and destruction of

the nuclear weapons program has reported finding three enrichment programs and a parallel program to develop weapons systems for atomic and hydrogen bombs.

Ekeus talked with journalists at the end of a three-day meeting of the Special Commission at U.N. headquarters. He said the 21-member commission discussed the status of the search for and destruction of Iraq's chemical, biological, and ballistic weapons and the nuclear weapons program; the long-term monitoring plan recently approved by the Security Council; the treatment of companies and individuals that supplied Iraq's weapons programs; and guidelines for allowing Iraq to keep items that can be converted to civilian use.

In his recent meeting with top Iraqi officials in Baghdad, Ekeus said he stressed that how quickly the intrusive inspections end is up to Iraq.

"If Iraq now made full disclosure of the nuclear program and opened up all the details about the missiles (and) also in the biological field we would be able to work extremely quickly," Ekeus said.

While the Security Council did not indicate how many years the long-term monitoring would remain in place to ensure that Iraq did not attempt to rebuild the outlawed weapons, Ekeus said he again told the Iraqis that "with full disclosure and with openness this type of control will not be terribly cumbersome."

"It will indeed be control but it will be professional, it will be low key, it will be effective, but it will not be disturbing. That is our ambition," Ekeus said.

"However, if Iraq continues to con-

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ceal, to obstruct it will be a prolonged and painful exercise for all sides," the ambassador said.

Ekeus said that Iraq complained about the U.N. helicopter flights which are being used to conduct surprise visits and surveillance; the destruction of production facilities and equipment; the actions of the inspectors; and the intrusive long-term monitoring plans.

He said the commission and Iraq "did not have a full meeting of minds" and the Iraqis "demonstrated a united front, want strict interpretation (to the cease-fire requirements), and will vigorously defend their rights."

The commission has destroyed 62 SCUD missiles, 18 fixed missile launch pads, 10 launchers, 11 dummy missiles, 32 ballistic warheads, 127 missiles storage support vehicles, and a substantial amount of rocket fuel, according to Ekeus. An assembled 350 mm supergun has been rendered harmless along with components for 350 and 1,000 mm superguns and one ton of supergun propellant.

On chemical weapons, the commission has found 46,000 filled with nerve agents and mustard gas; 79,000 unfilled; and over 600 tons of chemical weapons agents. Another 3,000 tons of chemical precursors are to be destroyed, he reported.

Ekeus said that even with the full cooperation of Iraq, the United Nations "will work well into '93" to destroy the extremely dangerous chemical weapons. "Each piece is an adventure...a great risk," he said.

Over 11 biological weapons sites have been inspected and conclusive evidence has been collected to show that Iraq was engaged in an advanced military biological research program,

he said. No evidence of actual weaponization was found, but the inspections provided a sound data base for future monitoring.

The commission and IAEA have fielded 20 inspection teams, involving almost 300 individuals from 34 countries.

The Special Commission also established a provisional policy on releasing the names of companies and individuals which may have sold banned equipment to Iraq, Ekeus said.

"We will provide those governments that request information concerning their own companies in their own country or citizens....to make it possible for these governments to carry out investigations and maybe even activate public prosecution," he said.

"The U.N. and the special commission have no resources at all for carrying out such investigations and we have no mandate given to us" in the Security Council resolutions, Ekeus added.

Members of the Special Commission are: Ekeus; Dr. Robert Gallucci (USA), deputy executive chairman; Paal Aas (Norway); Ken Adachi (Japan); B.N.C. Agu (Nigeria); Andrzej Badek (Poland); Bryan C. Barrass (United Kingdom); Peter von Butler (Germany); Armando Caputo (Italy); Ronald Cleminson (Canada); John Gee (Australia); Helmut Honig (Austria); B.A. Kuvshinnikov (USSR); A.J.J. Ooms (Netherlands); Marjatta Rautio (Finland); Michel Saint Mleux (France); Roberto Sanchez (Venezuela); B. Siomandjuntak (Indonesia); Miroslav Splino (Czechoslovakia); Emile Vanden Bemden (Belgium); and Yuan Renfeng (China).

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(Following not for release before 2330 GMT October 28)

PLAN PROMOTED FOR HEMISPHERE'S ECONOMY, ENVIRONMENT

(Group of 28 individuals seeks radical changes) (520)

By Bruce Odessey
USIA Staff Writer

Washington — Twenty-eight individuals from the United States, Canada and Latin America are presenting to Western hemisphere national governments a compact they have negotiated for resolving environmental, economic and social problems cooperatively and simultaneously.

One of the prime movers, President Gus Speth of the World Resources Institute, said the group recognized that the changes sought by the Compact for a New World were enormous.

But he said the countries of the Western hemisphere must recognize they are beyond the point where any one of them can solve these problems by itself.

Speth made the remarks at an October 25 news conference in advance of official release of the document October 28.

The compact focuses on eight objectives relating to the environment and the poor, both "so long neglected" by governments:

- to reverse deforestation and protect biological resources.
- to provide energy for development while reducing greenhouse gas emissions.
- to reverse the increase in indus-

אאא, חוזם: 32264

אל: רהמש/1644

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 532, תא: 251091, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכב

שמור / מיד

אל: פר"נ

דע: מקש"ח - משהב"ט

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

מפגש חמש הספקיות בלונדון (17-18.10)

1. להלן השלמות (בהמשך למברקי 0469 מ- 23.10) בעקבות שיחתי עם ירדון (ACDA) שהשתתף במפגש:

א. העקרונות עליהם הוסכם, לא ימנעו מארה"ב להמשיך וליישם מדיניותה בתחום ייצוא נשק קונבנציונלי.

ב. בהקשר לחילופי מידע בין החמש, פירט מערכות הנשק לגביהן התחייבו המשתתפות לדווח. העובדה שלא מדובר בהסכם AC לא חייבה מתן הגדרות מדויקות. לדבריו, סין, כמו-גם צרפת, אינה מעונינת בהגדרות ברורות של מערכות הנשק שיחייבו דווח).

ג. להלן פירוט מערכות הנשק החייבות בדווח:

T A N K S - WEIGH AT LEAST 60.5 METERIC TONES, GUN AT LEAST 75 MM CALIBER AND 360 DEGREE TRAVERSE.

A R M O U R E D C O M B A T V E H I C L E S -
DESIGNED AND EQUIPPED TO TRANSFER A SQUAD OF FOUR AND MORE INFANTRY OR ARMED WITH A WEAPON OF AT LEAST 20 MM OR AN ANTI TANK MISSILE LAUNCHER.

L O N G C A L I B E R A R T I L L E R Y S Y S T E M S -
GUNS, CANNONS, MLRS WITH CALIBER OF 100 MM AND ABOVE, HOWITZER.

M I L I T A R Y A I R C R A F T - משתתפי המפגש לא הצליחו להגיע להגדרה מוסכמת לגבי הפריטים שיכללו בקטגוריה. לדבריו, הסינים מעונינים להגביל טווח המטוסים ל- 500 ק"מ.

הצעת שארה"ב כוללת המערכות הבאות:

AIRCRAFTS DESIGNED OR MODIFIED TO ENGAGE TARGETS
EMPLOYING GUIDED MISSILES UNGUIDED ROCKETS, BOMBS,
GUNS OR OTHER WEAPONS OR TO FLY RECONNAISSANCE
MISSIONS OR TO FLY AERIAL REFUEL MISSIONS.

HELICOPTERS - ARMED AND EQUIPPED TO ENGAGE TARGETS
BY EMPLOYING ANTI ARMOR, AIR TO GROUND OR AIR
TO AIR GUIDED WEAPONS OR ARMED AND EQUIPPED WITH
A VARIETY OF AREA SUPPRESSION WEAPONS OR EQUIPPED
TO PERFORM OTHER MILITARY FUNCTIONS SUCH AS
RECONNAISSANCE, ELECTRONIC WARFARE MINE LAYING ANTI
SUBMARINE WARFARE.

NAVAL VESSELS -

ושותתפים לא הגיעו להסכמה
לגבי מינימום טונאג' של הספינות. סין ביקשה
להגדיל טווח פעילות הספינות.

MISSILE AND MISSILE SYSTEMS -
ROCKETS, BALLISTIC OR CRUISE MISSILES GUIDED OR
UNGUIDED DESIGNED OR MODIFIED TO DELIVER A
MILITARY PAYLOAD AND THE GROUND BASED LAUNCHERS
FOR SUCH WEAPONS THESE INCLUDE GROUND TO GROUND
AIR TO SURFACE ANTI RADIATION SEA TO GROUND.

עד כאן פירוט הקטגוריות.

"... WITHOUT PREJUDICE: בתשובה לשאלתי מה פירוש:
TO EXISTING COMMITMENTS TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS . . ."
(סעיף 2 סוף פסקא שניה המפורטת את הקטגוריות) ציין כי
לצרפתים, סובייטים, סינים ובריטים יש חוזים הכוללים סעיף
בענין סודיות. מדינות אלו מבינות שבעקבות הסיכומים
שהושגו, יצטרכו להשמיט נושא הסודיות. הכוונה במשפט לעיל
היא לאפשר להן שלא להפר חוזים קיימים. אינו מוציא מכלל
אפשרות שהארבע יודיעו למדינות שעמן חתמו על חוזים שיצטרכו
לפתוח החוזים לדיון.

ה. אשר לנושא חילופי המידע עליהם סוכם, ציין כי עמדת
ארה"ב היא שבכדי שיתקיימו התעצויות משמעותיות חילופי
המידע צריכים להיות PRIOR TO DELIVERY. בריטניה הסכימה
לעקרון. הסובייטים רמזו שיסכימו. צרפת גם-כן הסכימה.
מדינות אלו יצטרכו לשנות נוהלים קיימים. הסינים הבהירו
כי מעוניינים ב- ANNUAL POST DELIVERY NOTIFICATION.

ו. כדי להביא לשינוי בעמדת סין יצטרכו להפעיל השפעתם בדורים גבוהים יותר. משתתפי הכינוס לא הגיעו להסכמה בנושא כמה זמן לפני ביצוע העסקה יש לדווח. מעריך שבסופו של דבר תושג הסכמה על כך שחודש חודשיים לפני ביצוע העסקה.

ז. אשר לפסקא (עמ' 2) בענין ה- UN REGISTER סיפר כי זו הוכנסה לבקשת בריטניה שהיתה מעונינת בשישכון של כל החמש. ארה"ב הסכימה. סין התנגדה.

ח. אשר לקטגוריות נשק השמדה המוני, סוכם על קיום דיון מפורט במפגש הבא. עיקר המאמץ בתחום זה יהיה מול סין במטרה להביא להצטרפותם למשטרים השונים. אשר לנושא הטילים סיפר כי הסינים טענו כי בנוסף לאיסור ייצוא טילים למזה"ת, יש להוסיף בנוסף למשגרים גם אמצעי שיגור נוספים כגון מטוסים. ארה"ב דחתה ההצעה. סיפר כי ארה"ב הפיצה נייר הכולל עקרונות שהינו PROTOTYPE של טכנולוגיה ומערכות שייצואן יאסר. ועוד באשר לסינים, סיפר על הצעתם לקבוע תרות לייצוא נשק קונב. למזה"ת. התקרה שנקבו היתה 3.5 בליין לשנה.

ט. אשר לנושא AC איזורי, גורדון טוען שלארה"ב אין כוונה לשתף את הפורום בתהליך AC.

עד כאן תוכן שיחתנו.

הערות משתתפים נוספים במפגש אעביר בהמשך.

שטיין

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ר/מרכז, @ (רם),
אמן, @ (מצב), ממד, בנצור, מצפא, פרנ, @ (מקשח/משהבט),
סייבל, @ (ואא/קשח)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 32054
אל: רהמש/1629
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 518, תא: 251091, זח: 1212, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בבבב
שמור/מידי

אל : מצפ'א, ממ'ד.
מאת: הציר, וושינגטון.

נמסר כאן שכין הערבים היוצאים למדריד גם שגריר סעודיה בווינגטון
בנדר בן-סולטן.

שילה.

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

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 33060
אל: רהמש/1690
מ-: המשרד, תא: 271091, זח: 1422, דח: מ, סג: שמ,
בבבב
שמור/מידי

אל: וושינגטון/אמיתי

הנדון: השתתפות בנדר בן סולטן בועידת השלום
למברקי השגרירות 518 ו-546.

התוכל להשיג פרטים משלימים לגבי אופן השתלבות הנ'ל בשיחות. האם כחלק
ממשלחת המשפ'ע, האם יפעל כגורם עצמאי ופרטים נוספים ככל האפשר.

מנהל איסוף - ערב 3
27 באוקטובר 1991

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

סססס

7

במאס-דחל - לויט אל בקיר

1/4

תאריך: 25.10.91
סימוכין: 25-10-1

אל: משרד האוצר- שר האוצר, מנכ"ל זינגר

משרד החשב הכללי- אלי יונס

ממונה על תקציב המדינה - ברודט

משרד אוצר- שלוחת ניו יורק-סרוסי

נגיד בנק ישראל- פרנקל

משרד רוח"מ- רובין

משרד מבקר חמדינה- בן פורת

מאת: כלכלית, וושינגטון

הנדון: משלחת GAO - עידכון 1

בהמשך למכתבנו מיום 18.10.91 בעניין שבנדון שוחחנו עם אנשי ה A.I.D. בנוגע לדו"ח שה-GAO נתבקש להכין על ידי הקונגרס (סנסור בירד). חברי המשלחת אינם פועלים כנציגי AID מכוח הסכם ערבויות ה-400 מליון. AID עצמו כפוף לביקורת ה GAO ושיתוף הפעולה הישראלי צריך שיהא על בסיס וולנטרי.

מתוך חוסיון של AID למרות מיומנותם של אנשי ה-GAO הם לא פעם מוציאים תחת ידם דו"ח שגוי או עמוס בפרטים לא רלבנטיים ולכן ממליצים אנשי AID כי ישראל תנהג נפי שהסוכנות עצמה נוחגת והיא בדרך של שיתוף פעולה ומסירת אינפורמציה מדויקת תוך חבהרת התחליכים של קבלת החלטות והעשיה-חביצוע. לרבות השיקולים שהביאו לקבלות החלטות וחוצאתן לפועל באופן שבסופו של דבר הדברים בוצעו. מנסיון ה-AID -אנשי ה-GAO נוהגים להציג בפני הגוף המבוקר סיוטת דו"ח לשם קבלת הערות. זהו השלב שבד"כ מתקנות השגיאות משום שבסופו של דבר חברי הוועדות החוקרות אינם רוצים להוציא מלאכה שגויה מתחת ידם.

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אציה
נא להעביר את המסמך 528805
לד"ר חגית (ס' 384978)
לד"ר חגית (ס' 528805)
לד"ר חגית (ס' 528805)

המשנועות למידע זה אם כן, הינה כי אין המשלחת באה כנציג מוסמך של AID (שזהו התנאי על פי סעיף 7.05 בהסכם ה-400 מליון) וישראל אכן יכולה להמנע מלשתף פעולה.

המלצתנו, החד משמעית, כפי שהבחנו במברקנו מיום 18.10.91 היא הפוכה לחלוטין. הדו"ח הן על השימוש ב-400 מ' דולר והן על כושרנו להחזיר 10 ביליון דולר יכתב בכל מקרה. השאלה היא האם בכווננו להשפיע חיובית או שלילית על הדו"ח. אי שיתוף פעולה עם הצוות, ימנע מאתנו להשפיע הן בעת ההכנה והן אולי בעתיד בעיון בסיוטות לפני פרסום הדו"ח. מאידך שיתוף פעולה, הספקת מידע ונתונים והערכות, תוך ניתוב נכון, ייחכן ויאפשר לנו להשפיע הן על הבסיס הפילוסופי והן על הבסיס האינפורמטיבי שעליו יתבסס הדו"ח ואולי גם חלק ממסקנותיו. המנועות מהגשת עזרה בעניין זה תתפרש בגבעה בקרב המחקקים באופן השלילי ביותר. לכן המלצותינו:

(א) לסייע לצוות באופן החיובי ביותר.

(ב) להעמיד לרשותם כמחווה של רצון סוב קצין קישור קבוע (זו יאפשר לנו גם לדנות מה הם עושים לא דרכנו).

(ג) לקבוע צוות משותף לאוצר, מ.החץ ומשרד ראש הממשלה אשר יקבע עמדות עקרוניות באשר לשאלות הצוות.

לסיכום, אני מניח שהנייר של יעקב ליפשיץ לא יהיה מוכן עד בואם. אך יתכן וניתן יהיה לעשות שימוש בסיוטות ובנתוני הרקע שייאספו עד אז. הפרקים החשובים מבחינה זו, כושר להחזיר את החוב, ותכניות הפיתוח וההשקעה במשק. מצ"ב חו"ד היועץ המשפטי בארה"ב בנושא מחויבתנו לדווח על 400 מ' דולר.

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ARNOLD & PORTER

October 23, 1991

PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIALTELECOPIER MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Yair Saroussi
FROM: Steven G. Tepper
RE: A.I.D. Implementation Agreement -
Informational Requirements

As you requested, we have reviewed the A.I.D. Implementation Agreement dated as of March 20, 1991 (the "Agreement"), with reference to those provisions that require the Government of Israel ("G.O.I.") to provide or make available information and reports.

It is important to note that the Agreement distinguishes between the "Program" and the "Project." The "Program" is defined in general terms as the "housing and infrastructure program to be carried out in Israel to meet extraordinary needs associated with Soviet immigration." The "Project" refers more specifically to "mortgage financing, exports from the United States, and/or other agreed shelter related assistance to Soviet refugees as part of the State of Israel's comprehensive shelter Program." Section 3.01(A) makes it clear that the term "Project" refers to that part of the Program that is being financed through A.I.D. guarantees.

The provisions of the Agreement dealing with informational requirements are, in general, limited to information regarding the Project only (that is, information relating to the expenditure of the \$400 million). As you may recall, these provisions were extensively negotiated with A.I.D., and each use of the term "Project," instead of "Program," was intentional and carefully considered. As reflected in the final Agreement, A.I.D. ultimately agreed to limit its informational rights to information regarding the Project.

For example, Section 4.04 requires the G.O.I. to deliver certain post-closing certificates and reports relating to the Project and the use of funds made

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available thereunder. Section 7.05, the most important informational provision, requires the G.O.I. to "(A) Furnish A.I.D. such information and reports relating to the Project ... as A.I.D. may reasonably request; (B) Maintain ... books and records relating to the Project ... and the overall progress of the Project toward completion; and (C) Afford authorized representatives of A.I.D. the opportunity at all reasonable times to inspect the Project ... and sites, books, records and other documents relating to the Project...." (emphasis added). Similarly, Section 5.02(A), which sets forth the geographical limitations, refers only to restrictions on the use of "A.I.D. assistance under the Project."

By contrast, the contractual provisions relating to the Program are relatively few, and do not require the G.O.I. to provide specific information about the Program as a whole. Section 5.03 anticipates the development of a technical cooperation effort for the Program, to be reflected in Implementation Letters to be agreed upon between the parties, under which the parties will meet at least annually "to review progress on the Program." Section 5.04 requires the G.O.I. to monitor environmental aspects of the Program as a whole.

In summary, the provisions of the Agreement that require the G.O.I. to provide specific information, maintain books and records, and permit inspection of books, records and properties are concerned only with those items that are financed through the A.I.D. guarantees. The Agreement does not expressly require the G.O.I. to furnish or make available detailed information about other elements of its overall housing program.

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל
ושינגטון

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התעתיק

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בלמ"ס / מידרי

5/10/91

אל: מצפ"א

דע: קונכ"לים נ.י, ל.א.

מאת: ר' יחידת הקונגרס

סוריה ותהליך השלום

1. מצ"ל הצעת החלטה מיוזמתם של הסנטורים דה-קונטיני (דמוק' - אריזון) וד'אמאטור (רפוב' - נ.י) והתובעת מן הממשל להעלות במסגרת ותהליך השלום את מעורבות סוריה בטרור ובסמים.
2. הסנטורים בודקים את הלך הרוח בנדרון (לאור התנגדותו הברורה של הממשל ושוקלים להצמיד ההחלטה כתיקון אפשרי לאותו החוקים שעל הפרק.
3. עצם העלאת הרעיון מעידה על התייחסות ה"גבעה" לסוריה.

יורם אטינגר

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10/21/91

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SEN. D'AMATO

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NOTE: Fill in all blank lines except
those provided for the date, name,
and reference of resolution.

CONGRESS

SESSION

S. RES.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. D'Amato, Mr. DeConcini

submitted the following resolution; which was

RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Senate that the United States should pursue discussions at the upcoming Middle East Peace Conference regarding the Syrian connection to terrorism.

Whereas Syria remains on the list of nations sponsoring terrorist acts and has been on this list since December 1979;

Whereas Syria has been directly linked to the attempted bombing in 1986 of an El Al flight from London to Israel through its paid agent, Nezar Hindawi;

Whereas Syria has continued to sponsor the activities of Ahmed Jabril, a Syrian-born military officer and leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, who has been strongly linked, along with his Syrian sponsors, with the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, resulting in the death of 270 people, 188 of whom were Americans;

Whereas Syria has supported and sponsored Abu Nidal, the man responsible for the simultaneous attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports in 1975, numerous assassinations of international officials as well as American citizens;

Whereas Syrian participation in the drug trade out of Lebanon provides up to 1/3 of the heroin supplied to the United States which contributes to its

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that-

(1) it should be the policy of the United States to pursue discussions regarding Syria and terrorism at the Middle East Peace Conference in Lausanne, Switzerland in October 1991;

(2) Syria should, in this regard, completely renounce all forms of terrorism;

(3) Syria should cease all support of terrorism including financial, military, and political aid to all terrorist groups;

(4) Syria should close all terrorist training bases on Syrian territory and Syrian-controlled, Lebanese territory, particularly that of the Bekka Valley.

