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# מדינת ישראל

משרד הכנושלה

משרד

כ"א

7-8/93

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תיק מס'

מחלקת



שם תיק: לשכת רה"מ יצחק רבין - ארצות-הברית

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	מאת: עמונות, ניו יורק

**L**EBANON, again. This time it is Iranian-financed Hezbollah guerrillas who fire artillery and Katyusha rockets from Southern Lebanon into the "security zone" established by Israel to protect its northern border. In 1982, it was Palestine Liberation Organization guerrillas who operated from these bases. This time it is a Labor government headed by Yitzhak Rabin that orders the Israel Defense Forces to retaliate with air and artillery strikes against the guerrillas and the Lebanese villages that shelter them. Rabin's government calls its response "Operation Accountability" to make the obvious point: Killing Israeli soldiers and civilians will not be cost-free. In 1982, it was a Likud government headed by Menachem Begin and "Operation Peace in Galilee" that made the point Prime Minister Rabin reiterated Tuesday: "...if there is no peace and security here, there will be no peace and security for Southern Lebanon."

"Right or wrong, Israel Gets the Blame"

New York Post  
OP - Ed 2-8

Rabin's government is eager to distinguish its goals from those of Begin's. Rabin says he wants only to send Lebanon and Syria a message: Control the guerrillas in the south or else. But Begin hoped not only for peace on the border but for peace with Lebanon, and that became a possibility when a friend, Bashir Gemayel, was elected president there. A peace treaty was actually signed between Israel and Lebanon before Gemayel became the second Arab leader, after Anwar Sadat, to be murdered for the crime of mak-

**JEANE KIRKPATRICK**

שם השוכח: 8-11-11-11  
תאריך: 2-8-92

(27) שוח (2) טסה"ח (1) רחמ (1) מוכל (2) מוכל (1) מצפא (2) סמוכלתקשורת (1)  
סבורח (2) /טרכוז (1) סמד (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומו (1) סייבל (1) סמפט (1)  
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The Israeli government under both Begin and Rabin has had to act in an international context that is difficult and sometimes unpredictable, because beyond the guerrillas are their patrons.

The PLO lacked the reliable backing of a regional power like Syria. But it could count on the Soviet Union and its own formidable support bloc in the United Nations, and on the sympathy and help of most European governments.

And when the chips were down, the PLO got the assistance of the Reagan administration — which supervised the safe evacuation of tens of thousands of PLO fighters from Lebanon to Tunisia. Moreover, the U.S. government joined with Western European allies and other members of the Security Council in resolutions demanding the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon.

Of course, the global geopolitical situation has

more. The cohesion of the Arab bloc was weakened by Iraq's attack on Kuwait, and the PLO was weakened by its support for Saddam Hussein in that war. Syria has never enjoyed the international political support that was available to the PLO a decade ago. That was doubtless one reason for Assad's resentment of Yasser Arafat. Iran and its various Parties of God strike more fear than loyalty into associated governments.

These factors explain why the U.N. has been slow to act on Lebanon's complaint. But, unfortunately, they do not explain the tendency of Western European governments. When confronted with an Arab/Israeli conflict, the key Western European states seem to rally round the Arab cause — whatever, whoever it may be.

The most recent example is the European Communi-

ty's call for an immediate halt to Israel's attacks "directed against the sovereignty of Lebanon, its territorial integrity, and its independence . . ." Note first that the EC has not called for guerrillas to end attacks on Israel from Lebanon. Note then that Lebanon has not lost its sovereignty to Israel, because it long ago lost its sovereignty to Syria, and lost its territorial integrity to Syrian troops, some 45,000 of whom occupy Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, and to the Hezbollah and other guerrilla groups that established bases in southern Lebanon from which to carry on their endless war against Israel.

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The EC's habit of treating Israel as the source of trouble in the Middle East might be dismissed as routine diplomatic cynicism, but the consequences for Lebanon and Israel of such a double standard have been too serious to be ignored.

The habit of treating Israel as the source of conflict in Lebanon has cost Lebanon its independence. It has cost the people of northern Israel their peace and se-

curity. It encouraged the Security Council to pass resolutions calling for full withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, while making no mention of Syrian troops, PLO and Hezbollah fighters who control the Bekaa Valley and southern Lebanon from which they plan kidnappings, truck bombings and terrorist attacks.

Europe and the U.S. have acquiesced in Syria's occupation of Lebanon and in

Hezbollah attacks on Israel by accepting resolutions on Lebanon that make no mention of Syria's withdrawal.

So far the Clinton administration and Secretary of State Warren Christopher have affirmed Hezbollah responsibility for the spreading conflict. They are right, as once they were right about Bosnia.

Let us hope that this time their clarity is not lost in the fog and cynicism of international diplomacy.

Mediterranean shore to scenes of collapsed houses, burned hulks of cars and concrete rubble. The landscape of destruction was...



כלמ"ס	ס"ג:	אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
	תזת:	
מס' מדיק:		בסחור - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ימ' העכירונא)
		דע:
		מאת: עוזנות, ניו יורק

# LEBANESE REFUGEES ARE HURRYING BACK TO RAVAGED HOMES

## CEASE-FIRE STILL HOLDING

Barrages Leave Villagers With  
Little but Hatred for Israel  
and Anger at Guerrillas

Special to The New York Times

NABATIYE, Lebanon, Aug. 1 —  
Thousands of Lebanese began to  
stream back home today, creating wild  
traffic jams on roads leading from  
Beirut to the agricultural hamlets, vil-  
lages and small seaside towns of south-  
ern Lebanon after a cease-fire reached  
on Saturday ended a seven-day Israeli  
bombardment.

Dazed residents poured into scores  
of tiny villages perched on the steep  
mountain ridges and along the Medi-  
terranean shore to scenes of collapsed  
houses, burned hulks of cars and con-  
crete rubble. The landscape of destruc-  
tion was unlike anything seen in years  
in this country, which has experienced  
civil strife and war since 1975.

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New York  
Times

Front pg.

2-8

שם השולח: יאיר  
תאריך: 2-8-93



are treated better than this!" cried Miriam Kirkah, an elderly woman who lives in Jarjuh, a village about 40 miles south of Beirut.

#### Homes Turned to Rubble

She was among more than 300,000 Lebanese civilians who fled their homes in a hurry last week, seeking refuge from the Israeli bombings. She returned unharmed, but found twisted steel and stone where her home had once been.

Alongside the civilians, the army began to make an appearance for the first time in nearly a decade. The presence of soldiers at posts set up at crossroads seemed an attempt by the fledgling Lebanese Government to take control of the part of the country that is adjacent to Israel. When the Israeli missiles began to fall, the area was abandoned to the bearded militant Muslim fighters of the Party of God, better known here by its Arabic name, Hezbollah.

At the public square of the village of Shabaa, soldiers stood beneath a larger-than-life portrait of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the spiritual leader of the Iranian revolution who is the mentor of the Lebanese Shiite movement.

Party of God political commissars and religious officials, apparently anxious over a palpable wave of anger, were out in the streets trying to pacify the people. The bombardment from Israel came in response to rocket attacks by the Pro-Iranian guerrillas on Israel's northern towns.

In village after village, dazed men,

women and children went about gathering their belongings from the rubble of their homes. People stopped their quest to salvage their goods only to ask neighbors where they had taken refuge or to curse their tormentors.

Although their criticism was wary, people expressed rage at the Party of God and cursed Israel, even as they showed contempt for a Lebanese Government seen as ineffectual by most people here.

"May God wreck their houses!" shrieked a young woman named Sahar as she looked at the ruins of her home on a cliff in clear sight of Israeli military observation posts in the mountains surrounding Shabaa.

Her anguished cry attracted the attention of a young unarmed militiaman from the Party of God who rushed over, hissing, "Shut-up. Shut-up. Not another word."

#### Compensation Offered

Another militiaman attempted to soften the blow, assuring the woman that "all will be returned to normal" — all the losses will be compensated." He apparently was referring to Iran's vast financial commitment to sustain the Iranian-sponsored guerrillas and its heavy spending on social services aimed at gaining the loyalty and support of the largely Shiite population here.

Michel Smeheh, Lebanon's Information Minister who led a group of foreign

and Lebanese journalists on a daylong tour of the south, repeatedly asserted that the Lebanese Army was coming back to stay.

"The army is the only basis of legitimacy," Mr. Smeheh said in Jarjuh. "The army is present and will continue to be present," he said, asserting that the Government would give the army the means to "handle the humanitarian situation and the security aspects in the south."

But tonight it already appeared that officials of the Party of God were dismissing any notion of suspending their military activities against Israel. Senior officials of the organization, which opposes peace talks with Israel and continues to fight Israeli occupation of part of southern Lebanon, said the cease-fire did not exclude continuing military resistance against Israeli soldiers on Lebanese territory.

Still, the guerrillas seemed to have decided to suspend any attacks on Israel proper.

Since 1982, Israeli troops have occupied a sliver of Lebanese land patrolled by Israeli-sponsored militia. Most Lebanese oppose the Israeli presence but the Party of God's attempt to fight against the Israelis has been weak in comparison with the huge losses that result from Israeli retaliation.

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Cars speeding toward

Officials said they could not tell how many Lebanese returned to their homes today, but the dizzying number of cars speeding toward the area all day today suggests several tens of thousands had already returned.

In some 10 villages and several towns visited today, it appeared that one third of all buildings had been wrecked by intensive fire from Israeli artillery, warplanes and missiles.

Much of the south has come to resemble other war zones of the Middle East: Walls are smeared with revolutionary slogans. Heaps of garbage are piled among burned tires and broken stone.

In the barren hills of Iqlim al Toffah, where much of the bombing took place, villages and towns were eerily empty.

"Normally this town has 15,000 inhabitants, but today I'll say there are less than 100, most of whom just arrived today," said Abbas Raad, an automobile mechanic in Shabaa.

Inhabitants said the Israelis warned villagers in daily Arabic radio broad-

casts to evacuate the occupied area of Lebanon before the bombing.

In town, a funeral attended by several Party of God members and officials cast its spell over the deserted central square. Microphones blared Koranic verses and urged sacrifice and death in resistance as preferable to life under "imperialist hegemony," and lampposts carried Party of God posters that proclaimed: "A little fire burns a lot of wood."

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By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Aug. 1 — The cease-fire between Israel and Iranian-backed guerrillas in southern Lebanon survived its first day, buoying hopes in Israel that Secretary of State Warren Christopher could revive flagging peace talks during his trip to the Middle East this week.

"It's possible to speak of the removal of a very big mine in the middle of the path of the peace process," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said.

Mr. Christopher is to arrive on Monday in Cairo for talks with President Hosni Mubarak and then to travel on to Israel, Syria and Jordan.

The cease-fire in Lebanon, brokered by the United States, took effect at 6 P.M. on Saturday, ending seven days of

the fiercest Israeli assaults in Lebanon since 1982.

But in Lebanon, the head of the Iranian-backed Party of God, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, said today that no one could agree to a comprehensive cease-fire with Israel and that "even in the matter of rocket attacks there is no cease-fire or agreement."

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin warned that he was ready to resume hostilities if rocket attacks on northern Israel were renewed.

Shortly before dawn today, guerrillas in southern Lebanon fired antitank rockets at a post manned by Israel's Lebanese militia ally, the South Lebanon Army. There was a brief exchange

of mortar and machine-gun fire, but no reports of casualties.

Israeli officials said they did not consider the attack a serious breach of the cease-fire agreement. These officials said the agreement did not prohibit attacks on Israeli positions in the nine-mile-deep buffer zone and did not call for the disarming of the guerrillas.

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 2 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

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הנדון: הפעולה הישראלית בלבנון

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (דייוויד הופמן ונורה בוסתאני 2/8) אודות הנעשה בלבנון לאחר סיום ההתקפה הישראלית. יום לאחר הפסקת ההתקפה על בסיסי המחבלים בלבנון והפסקת ירי הקטיושות על ישראל מתחילים תושבי דרום לבנון לחזור לבתיהם. הכתבה מתארת את אזרחי דרום לבנון החוזרים לבתיהם ואת רגשות הזעם בקרב האוכלוסיה כלפי ישראל והחזבאללה.

תקשורת



# Lebanese Find Homes In Ruins

## Villagers Criticize Israel, Hezbollah

By David Hoffman  
and Nora Boustany  
*Washington Post Foreign Service*

QULAYLAH, Lebanon, Aug. 1 —in the skies over southern Lebanon, all was quiet today. But on the ground, there was the crunching of broken glass and the dull thud of rubble as it was thrown into piles.

On the first full day after Israel halted its bombardment of southern Lebanon to drive out civilians and Hezbollah guerrillas, the cease-fire largely held throughout the area and villagers and Shiite Muslim fighters began slowly returning. They found the scars of seven days of heavy artillery barrages.

In Israel, the military chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Ehud Barak, said only 150 to 200 houses in Lebanon were damaged by the offensive, but tours by two Washington Post correspondents today in villages north of Israeli-held territory suggest the damage is far worse.

In this village on a ridge near the Mediterranean, seven miles north of the Israeli border, some houses had five-foot-wide holes in the walls and ceilings, and smashed concrete and glass lay strewn over elegantly decorated furniture. Mohammed Salem, 25, a university student, stood on a bed in his family's house and looked through the gaping cavity where a shell had plowed through the concrete-block wall.

"Maybe my God will help me, because Israel has not," he said.

In Kfar Milke, outside Jba, a Hezbollah stronghold 15 miles north of Israel, women wailed as they surveyed their community—now 10 flattened houses. The bodies of Fatma Saeed Ibrahim, 90, and daughter Zanuni, 50, were pulled from under their collapsed roof. "You miserable, unhappy one, I wish I had died in your place," sobbed a sister, Zeinab, as she leaned on her cane.

See LEBANON, A12, Col. 1

### LEBANON, From A11

"They are gone now and we are still here in this hell," said Dib Deeme, 60, a barber, as he stood outside a funeral hall by a mosque in Jba's main square.

At the aftermath of the offensive, the mood was mixed among the Lebanese civilians who took the brunt of the attack. Recalling Israel's earlier forays into southern Lebanon, many of those in the streets today expressed anger and bitterness at the latest Israeli offensive in which 130 people were killed, mostly Lebanese civilians, and more than 500 wounded.

But they expressed conflicting emotions about Hezbollah, the fundamentalist group that Israel claims is responsible for firing rockets into northern Israel.

"Hezbollah is only fighting for their country," said Um Hashem Daoud, 43, who came back from Beirut to inspect the damage to her daughter's house here. "They just want to get Israel out of here."

She and other villagers voiced a widely held belief in Hezbollah's cause, if not its methods. The fundamentalist Hezbollah, which took shape a decade ago out of disaffection among poor Shiite villagers, has vowed to drive Israel out of the self-declared "security zone" it occupies in southern Lebanon.

At the same time, some villagers suggested quietly that they would like to avoid a repeat of the Israeli barrage, the heaviest in a decade. Israel fired more than 22,000 artillery shells and 1,000 missiles and bombs, by U.N. estimates.

"If any people see Hezbollah, they will want to kill them, and Israel too!" Salem, one of the more outspoken, said as he stood among the rubble of his house.

Daoud Matar, a Jba teacher, said he wished Lebanon's army would take over southern Lebanon in force so the population would not be at the mercy of Hezbollah guerrillas hiding in their villages.

A Lebanese civil servant, tinging worry beads and full of anger at both Israel and Hezbollah, said in Jba. "The only cure to all this is the control of the Lebanese army. Hezbollah is nothing but gangs calling themselves resistance fighters. The Israelis are occupiers and these resistance people are occupiers too."

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# Villagers Find Homes In Ruins

...amed Wehbe, a grocer in Jba, ...soered cautiously to a reporter. ...et of the people would like ...zbollah to leave, though some of ...tem come from this vilage. They ...not allow anyone to say anything ...ainst them. They threaten people ...th death and evacuation. We ...not want anyone who is armed in

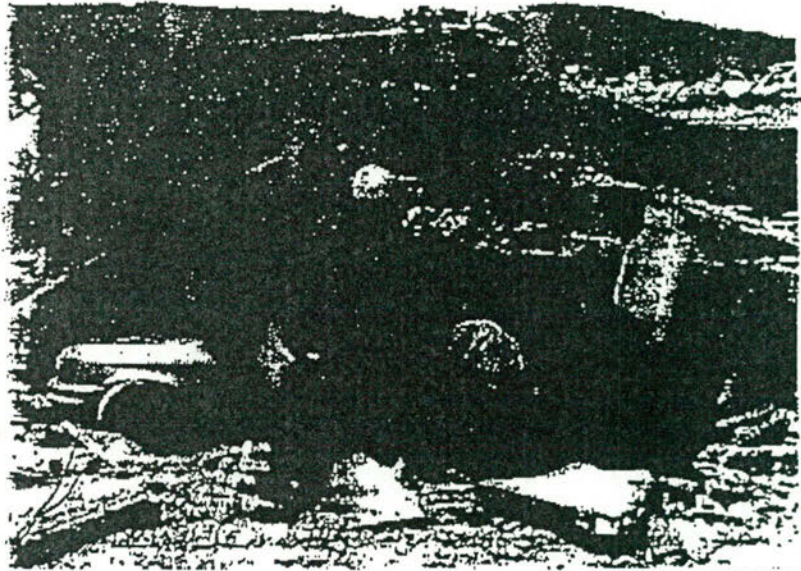
...this vilage. But an irate Hezbollah ...upporter told journalists the guer- ...illas had been braver than the oth- ...er residents in the latest fight.

Ibrahim Qobaisi, a professor ...checking up on his home in Zibdin, ...just outside Nabatiyah, said that if ...onditions continue to deteriorate ...in southern Lebanon, Hezbollah is ...bound to become stronger.

Security sources said Hezbollah ...fighters are returning to the vil- ...ages along with the residents, ...thousands of whom clogged the ...road from Beirut.

In statements from both sides ...today, it appeared the Israeli offen- ...sive had changed little.

In Beirut, Hezbollah's general ...secretary, Said Hasan Nasrallah, ...said the group has not agreed to ...stop firing rockets into Israel, but ...he said in practice they will not do ...so if Israel also avoids civilian tar- ...gets.



Pro-Hezbollah Islamic civil defense workers in Jba extract a body from a car lying under rubble of a building destroyed by Israeli bombing last week.

Barak told reporters in Jerusalem. "We take it for granted that Hezbollah has not been evaporated. They have weapons and they will keep grinding away to try to crack the security zone, and we are there and we will be ready to respond."

In the hills near here, an Irish officer in the U.N. peace-keeping force, Commandant Mark O'Brien, said of the battle, "Nobody can justify firing on innocent civilians, like Katyushas in Israel, but it doesn't justify what happened here. Hundreds of thousands had to flee. The vast majority of them were innocent."

Israeli artillery was aimed at Hezbollah strongholds, and small vilages such as Zibqin, north of the Israeli-held section, suffered heavy damage, while others allied with the South Lebanon Army, an Israeli-sponsored Lebanese militia, were untouched.

While residents of Zibqin gathered outside a grocery store and bakery that was blackened by fire and shelling, Jamil Bandar, 40, a teacher, shouted to young children to stay away, saying he feared unexploded shells were still inside. Of the 2,000 residents in the tobacco-growing and sheep-herding vilage, he said, about 1,500 fled to Beirut.

The vilage had lost electricity, phones and the hum of a gasoline generator could be heard.



...idents poked around in the rubble ...t demand as a people is for Israel ...ave our area," Bandar said. ...hen there will be no problem. We ...the Hezbollah. If Israel goes out, ...we will stay in peace. This is the ...power we have. The guns are sec- ...ondary --but my surviving is my ...use. That is the first weapon

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 2 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: סמנכ"ל כלכלה

מתאם הפעולות בשטחים - דני רוטשילד

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

*Handwritten signature in red ink.*

הנדון: תהליך השלום - התפתחויות בתחום הכלכלה

מצ"ב שתי כתבות ה-WP (יוסי מלמן ולאונרד האוזמן ולסטר תורו - 1/8) בנושא ההתפתחויות בתחום הכלכלה בתהליך השלום. הכתבות מתארות את השינויים שחלו בפוליטיקה של המזת"ת - שינויים המעידים על נכונות לשלום ומפרטים את ההתקדמות בעבודת קבוצת העבודה הטרי-לטרלית (ישראל, ירדן והפלסטינים) בנושאי הכלכלה.

תקשורת



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# The Gaza Shopping Struggle We Can Foster a Nascent Economic Boom in the

By Leonard J. Hausman  
and Lester C. Thurow

**E**VEN THE bravest of speculators might view an investment in the West Bank and Gaza as a risky venture. Still, in the midst of the region's on-again, off-again hostilities, land prices have skyrocketed as prospectors swallow up real estate at an unprecedented pace. The market, it appears, is wagering not only that peace in the region is a good bet, but that this particular tract of land may soon develop into one of the Middle East's most buoyant economies.

Gaza, lined with magnificent beaches, and the West Bank, home to a unique array of historic sites, can both develop into hot attractions for American, Persian Gulf, European and Japanese tourists. For entrepreneurs, the region offers an ideal venue for clothing manufacturing and development of other light industry. And

Leonard Hausman is the director of the Institute of Social and Economic Policy in the Middle East at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Lester Thurow is dean of the Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

both sides will benefit from fusing Israeli sophisticated technology with high-quality Palestinian labor.

But despite the potential and the recent speculative boom, the region's economic has—thanks to years of political turbulence—plodded along uninspired. The Middle East's political and military conflicts have for too long suppressed what should be a Middle East mecca.

**W**hat's needed at this point is a plan—not just to prod the region into cashing in more quickly on its resources, but one that will also pave the way for greater political and diplomatic cooperation among Jordanians, Palestinians and Israelis. After all, the rewards of constructing a thriving economy in the West Bank and Gaza go beyond simply filling the coffers of its residents: As the European nations have shown in the decades following World War II, the surest foundation for political healing is an integrated economy—beginning there with the formation of the European Iron and Steel Commission in the '40s, progressing a decade later with the creation of the European Economic Community and culminating in January of this year with the integration of the European markets.

The first step toward this type of union in the West Bank and Gaza will require creating new business banks to expand credit in the new businesses will prospering economies more than 9,000



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must, especially considering that the economy is currently generating jobs for fewer than half of these immigrants.

■ *Reserving 100,000 jobs for Palestinians in Israel.* This winter's violence and tensions led Israel to restrict the employment of Palestinians within Israel to 45,000 workers—down from 120,000. Israel has its own security needs, but the job cutback has caused vast unemployment and deepened poverty in the occupied territories. A peace treaty won't remain in effect for long if large segments of the population remain unemployed.

■ *Establishing a free-trade area in the region for goods, services and capital.* For Israel, the opportunities are enormous, as a free-trade area will not only wipe out the old Arab boycott but allow the Palestinian entity and Jordan to become their economic doorway to the Arab world, just as Hong Kong is the doorway to mainland China. For Palestine and Jordan, free trade will mean greater access to Israel's capital and technology, which will create more jobs and higher wages for their relatively well-educated labor force.

Of course, the mere mention of free trade will cause some to balk: after all, free trade will create some losers (although they will be easily outnumbered by the winners). Israel's chicken and egg farmers, for example, don't want Palestinian chickens and eggs to drive down their prices, especially considering that Israel's Ministry of Agriculture recently destroyed thousands of Israeli chickens to support prices. And Jordanian chicken and orange farmers don't like Palestinian produce any better. Be assured that their op-

position will be just as strident.

■ *Seeking foreign aid for joint projects.* Foreign funds for projects to improve the region's infrastructure, such as water development projects and highway and communications systems, would also help speed the integration of the three economies. One way to accomplish this is through a Middle East Bank for Cooperation and Development, jointly managed by all three parties and capitalized by external donors.

■ *Creating an integrated economy in the West Bank and Gaza.* Just as with the economic union in Europe, this will take years. But the momentum is now irreversible. In Europe, Maastricht reflects that reality. Despite the initial set-backs, the treaty was adopted.

Change will be no simpler in the Middle East. But the journey should now begin with the creation of a tripartite Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian commission to work out trade and other economic agreements. Initial incremental successes will make future, larger agreements possible. Eventually other countries in the Middle East may want to join in a regional agreement that would look like the European Community. As trading groups are emerging around the world, pressures to have a Middle Eastern Economic Community will grow. Relatively simple economic accords could pull along more complex political and military cooperation, just as economic cooperation has pulled along political integration in Europe. What needs to happen now is clear: The United States must place economic issues near the top of the Middle East negotiating agenda.

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# Stealth Peace In the Mideast?

*New Economic Links Are  
Creating an Arab-Israeli Detente*

By Yossi Melman

**T**EL AVIV—The exchange of artillery last week between Israel and Muslim fundamentalists has been viewed, predictably, as yet another step backward in the torturous Middle East peace process. How else to interpret the week-long barrage of missile fire killing and wounding hundreds of soldiers and civilians?

But as the dust settles, the reality may not be as gloomy as one expects. In the context of developments during the last 18 months, the reactions of Arabs and Israelis to this latest flare-up suggest that both sides may in fact be coming closer than ever, politically and economically.

Of course, most of the Arab world immediately condemned the Israeli attacks on the pro-Iranian Hezbollah in southern Lebanon. But no military retaliation followed, despite the fact that three Syrian soldiers were killed in the initial volley. And while there may have been mumblings about derailing the peace talks, both sides remained fully committed to seeing them proceed on schedule. In fact, the official Syrian reaction to the Israeli retaliation against the Hezbollah was, by Middle East standards, remarkably cool-headed, stating merely that an Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon would restore calm.

While such a muted reaction from the Arab capitals stems in part from fear of tangling with the potent Israeli military, there is more to the equation: the growing realization among Syrians and other Middle East nations that the greatest threat to their well-being may no longer be the Israelis but radical Muslim fundamentalists. And at the same time, it reflects a growing sense that, for both Arabs and Israelis, recent fledgling attempts at economic cooperation are no less important than settling old political scores. There is, in short, an emerging Middle East detente.

Over the past year and a half, a steady stream of talks—even corporate and governmental understandings—has sprouted between the two worlds, in areas from building roads to exchanging intelligence. The dialogue between Israel and several of its Arab neighbors is more substantive, less secretive than ever.

The newly emerging Middle East order is rooted in the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the growing sense within nations such as Syria that their hopes for financial stability lie in better relations with the West. But for all that, the primary catalyst has been an unwitting Saddam Hussein. Arab leaders like King Hussein of Jordan, King Hassan II of Morocco and even the PLO's Yasser Arafat saw the Iraqi dictator play what he believed to be his strongest card—anti-Israeli sentiment—at his most desperate hour during the Gulf war. And they saw that tactic fail. Today they appear to feel secure enough to take public their once-muffled dealings with the Israelis. "The Iraqi

See MIDEAST, C2, Col 1

Yossi Melman is an Israeli journalist. His recent book, "The New Israelis: An Intimate View of a Changing People," was published by Birch Lane Press.

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# Is Stealth Peace?

By ST. From CI

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres "helped most of the world to see that Israel is the lesser evil in the Arab-Israeli conflict," says only one of the many preoccupations of the Israeli leadership, of course, that any of the Arab leaders are on the short list of potential enemies: Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon are still officially in a state of war with the Jewish state, and Arab nations are still hostile to the Indian Ocean concept of Zionism. At the same time, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has led Israel's traditional rejection of the Palestinian Liberation

Organization's violence. The pace of openings is abundant, on several levels. First, there was the 1991-92 limited and continued peace talks between the Syrians, Palestinians, Jordanians and the Washington Conference on the Middle East, which is now in its 10th round, which is a month. But while progress is slow, more encouraging progress is seen in the "multilateral" talks between delegations from most of the Arab states during the past 18 months under international auspices to discuss agreements aimed at creating a diplomatic framework in areas including border control, refugees, water, ecology and development.

For example, recent trade deals between Israel and the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait eased their previously imposed economic boycotts, but not Israeli goods, especially ag-

ricultural machinery, irrigation equipment and food products, are finding their way into Arab nations via private business deals. Israel refuses to release exact trade figures, but businessmen involved in the deals value them at more than \$500 million annually. One recently announced agreement is a joint Czech-Israeli venture to sell water purification systems to Bahrain and Oman. From Morocco, a delegation of farmers recently visited an Israeli agriculture exhibition with the intention of purchasing equipment for desert agriculture; and as part of a project sponsored by the University of California at San Diego, Israeli experts are building model farms in arid areas of Morocco.

Other joint ventures between Israel and Arab nations are being financed by the World Bank, Japan and Western Europe. An Italian company is conducting a feasibility study for the "Red-Dead," an Israeli-Jordanian canal to link the Red Sea with the Dead Sea. Germany's Mercedes-Benz Corp. is negotiating to build a new network of railroads and roads that would link Syria, Jordan, Israel and Saudi Arabia, thus reviving the ancient Muslim "Pilgrim's Road" to Mecca.

The planned links by road and rail are being complemented by recently opened phone and fax lines, which—although the telecommunications technology has long been in place—had been closed because of a standing Arab-initiated order to the United Nations-affiliated International Telecommunication Union. "Without any formal announcement," explained a senior level executive at Bezek, Israel's state-owned telecommunications company, "they have discontinued their previous policy of instructing international exchanges in Vienna and

Rome to cut off any connection between Israel and the Arab states." Although "phone traffic is still low," adds the Bezek executive, "it is growing."

Growing also is tourism. Israelis may now visit certain Arab nations, including Morocco, Tunisia and, of course, Egypt, on their Israeli passports. Four weeks ago, Israeli peace activist Abie Nathan was allowed entry to Libya, no doubt with the permission of Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi. Although the Libyan colonel refused a meeting with Nathan, he did permit a group of 200 Libyan pilgrims to visit Jerusalem.

Joint ventures and joint ventures between nations may be uninspiring developments elsewhere, but in the Middle East they promise a major international realignment. How major? Until now, with the exception of the peace treaty signed by Israel and Egypt 15 years ago, virtually all communication between Israelis and Arabs was through secret channels. For Israel, the conduit has long been Mossad, its espionage agency, which essentially took on two tasks: arranging clandestine Jewish emigration from Arab countries and facilitating secret meetings between Arab and Israeli leaders.

Arab leaders routinely and defiantly told the Israelis—and the rest of the world—that they would not permit free emigration of Jews from their nations. But the reality was quite the opposite. Mossad agents, primarily by bribing Arab police and high-level government officials, and by working with Jewish-American charity and welfare organizations, managed to extract Jews from Yemen, Iraq, Morocco and Sudan. In return for \$25 million paid to Morocco's King Hassan and his close aides, for example, 100,000 Jews left that nation for Israel between 1961 and 1967.

Even Saddam Hussein was in on the action in the early '70s, allowing 2,000 Jews to leave Iraq ostensibly for western Europe, but actually for Israel, after heavy lobbying

by Mossad-backed officials from Israel, a Jewish-American welfare organization, and a \$3 million payment.

Evidence of how far the new detente has changed the region's political climate comes from a recent Mossad-backed attempt to emigrate 3,000 Yemenite Jews using the traditional back-door methods. Last month, when news of the operation leaked out and was reported in the Israeli press, the Yemenite government simply admitted it was cooperating and promised to continue the operation.

Also waning in importance thanks to the new openness is Mossad's other diplomatic role—arranging secret meetings with Arab leaders. On numerous occasions since 1963 the agency, acting as a shadow ministry for foreign affairs, brought together Jordan's Hussein and most of Israel's prime ministers, including Golda Meir, Rabin, Peres and even hard-liner Yitzhak Shamir. Mossad also helped arrange secret meetings in Morocco in 1976 between Rabin and King Hassan and, in 1981, between Defense Minister Ariel Sharon and the brother of the Syrian president, Gen. Rifat Assad.

Despite these contacts, closer relations between the two worlds were elusive until the rise of Muslim fundamentalism. It is increasingly apparent today that the stronger the movement appears, the more likely that several Arab states will find themselves willing to deal with Israel. Thus both sides, at the Washington bilateral peace talks, at the multilateral discussions and on the practical ground in the Middle East, have found common ground, motivated by their fears, traumas and hopes. Which is why within months, regardless of the Hezbollah's desperate attempts to derail the growing detente, there are likely to be more human and economic encounters, as well as political interim agreements, based on new concessions that all parties will have to make to each other.



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בלמס/מידי  
תאריך: 2 אוגוסט 1993  
אל: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - מזח"ת

מצ"ב המאמר של מונה צ'ארן (2/8 WT) ומאמר המערכת של ה-USAT (2/8) בנושא מעורבות ארה"ב במזח"ת ובשיחות השלום. מונה צ'ארן תומכת בהתקפה הישראלית על בסיסי המחבלים בלבנון, יוצאת נגד סוריה אשר תומכת בחיזבאללה בלבנון וקוראת להפסקת הביקורת על הפעולה הישראלית בלבנון כ"מכשול לשיחות השלום". מאמר המערכת של ה-USAT מצדד אף הוא במעורבות אמריקנית בענייני המזח"ת בטענה כי הנסיונות האמריקניים לקרב בין ישראל ומדינות ערב מרחיקים את הסיכויים למלחמה באזור. עמוד המערכת כולל גם דעה מנוגדת - דעתו של דאג בנדאו, עוזרו לשעבר של הנשיא רייגן, הטוען כי ארה"ב אינה מסוגלת לתרום הרבה לקידום השלום ומעורבותה בענייני המזח"ת חושפת את אזרחי ארה"ב לסכנות הטרור.

תקשורת

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Today's debate is on MIDEAST FIGHTING  
and whether the USA has a role in searching for peace.

# U.S. must stay involved in Mideast diplomacy

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**OUR VIEW** By backing moderates, the USA is pushing Arabs and Israelis closer and reducing risk of war.

*Detente* — a Cold War word that describes a state of reduced tensions between enemy states — is being rediscovered in the tempestuous Middle East.

Last week, for instance, Syria and Lebanon worked to help shield the regional peace process from the provocations of Islamic fundamentalists they ordinarily support. That's a welcome hint that the process will continue and the USA's ongoing involvement might yet produce real dividends.

The provocations themselves are an old and irritating story. Every time the peace talks show promise, Hezbollah, a militant Muslim terrorist group, attacks Israel, hoping to start a fight that will derail the process.

Hezbollah tried it again last week, firing artillery and rockets into Israel from southern Lebanon. Despite a truly vicious Israeli response, however, Syria and Lebanon joined Secretary of State Warren Christopher to keep the flare-up from poisoning the peace process.

But *detente* — the easing of tensions

— is a long way from *entente* — a cooperative agreement between governments. And Christopher arrives in the Mideast today not to urge the talks along, but to urge that they not expire.

The talks come as Israel and the Arab world are growing closer — in part because the extremists who oppose the peace process pose a threat to all the region's governments.

Without the Soviet Union, many Arab leaders see future economic health tied to improved relations with the West, which fundamentalists won't tolerate. For its part, Israel recognizes that its security depends on good regional ties. Result: Two passionate enemies are newly willing to give peace — or at least mutual accommodation — a chance.

This softening marks real progress. Hezbollah can provoke Israel but can't rely on its supporters for back-up. In exchange, Israeli leaders now drop faint hints about the conditions under which they might withdraw from the occupied zone in south Lebanon.

The result is an opportunity that diplomats in Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut and Washington dare not squander.

Christopher's mission 71



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# Stay out of Mideast mess

**OPPOSING VIEW** There's little we can do to bring peace, and our meddling turns U.S. citizens into targets.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher has jetted off to the Mideast for yet another attempt to bring peace to one of the world's most unstable regions. Alas, his task has been complicated by the Israeli shelling of Lebanese civilians, which has created up to a half-million refugees.



By Doug Bandow, a senior fellow at the Cato Institute and former special assistant to President Ronald Reagan.

Christopher might be able to do some good if he were going as an honest broker. But the USA has consistently backed one of the region's prime

antagonists, Israel. Whether or not that policy has enhanced our national interest, it certainly has undercut the ability of Washington to promote peace.

In fact, our meddling has actually

spread the conflict — to the USA. Support for Israel has made this nation a target of terrorists; intervention in Lebanon a decade ago cost the lives of hundreds of Marines. The Gulf war left the region as unstable as ever while forcing Washington to provide a potentially permanent garrison in Saudi Arabia.

Still, some observers hope the future will be different. If only the secretary could jump-start the stalled peace talks.

Sure, All Christopher has to do is eliminate ethnic and religious antagonisms dating back thousands of years. Presumably like he's done in Bosnia and Somalia.

It is hard for many Americans to admit, but there is very little that we can do to bring peace to the Mideast or elsewhere. While our attempts to solve such problems usually fail, our unwanted meddling often turns American citizens into targets.

With the end of the Cold War, the USA can freely disengage from the world's intractable conflicts. Washington should concentrate on protecting the people of this country.



MONA CHAREN

# Barely a mention of the need for self defense

When it comes to Israel, most reporting tends to resemble a predictable cliché. Whatever action Israel takes is evaluated without context, without history and with the implied suggestion that it is "harmful to the peace process."

During the past week, it would be possible to conclude from news reports that Israel had launched a largely unprovoked attack against Lebanon.

And it is not just the news media but diplomats history and context when commenting on the Middle East. President Clinton's statement by the State Department over a friend of Israel's added to the general confusion by praising Syria for its "restraint" in the face of the fighting.

What barely gets mentioned, in all the 19th paragraph or so, is that Israel was retaliating for the killing of seven Israeli soldiers and the firing of Katyusha rockets into northern Israel from Lebanon.

What is further neglected is that Syria is the de facto power in Lebanon. The Lebanese government of Beirut is basically a fiction. Indeed, the Syrians have never accepted the legitimacy of Lebanon as they have never accepted the existence of Israel.

The train of events which has resulted in suffering for civilians on both sides of the Israeli-Lebanese border this past week (there have been an estimated 120,000 Lebanese refugees fleeing north and 150,000 Israelis forced to huddle in bomb shelters) was put in motion by Syria when it signed an agreement with Iran in 1983 establishing an enclave in the Bekaa Valley for Hezbollah, or

the Party of God. Hezbollah, a terrorist group dedicated to the total destruction of Israel, is financed and backed by Iran but supplied by the Syrians.

Writing in the Wall Street Journal, Steven Emerson, an expert on international terrorism, reproduced this quote from a Hezbollah communiqué following the bombing of the World Trade Center in New York: "We declare our solidarity with anyone who would rid the world of the Zionist interlopers and Western paganism."

According to Mr. Emerson, Israel has been privately warning Syria for the past six weeks to join in Hezbollah's demand for the president to

attack on Hezbollah is that Syria cannot simultaneously talk peace at the bargaining table and continue to arm and support terrorists who kill Israelis on the ground. Syria can control Hezbollah, if it so chooses. And if it did so, that would be a hopeful sign for the "peace process." But in any case, Israel must defend herself.

This is not a difficult concept to grasp in other contexts. Following the failed assassination attempt on former President Bush, the United States launched a retaliatory attack on Iraq inevitably killing, wounding and taking hostages. Some might say that we were justified to

place to kill Mr. Bush.

One trusts that even with the uncertain leadership of Mr. Clinton, we would respond forcefully to any and all attacks against our citizens here or abroad. If terrorists, armed and supported by Nicaragua, were launching rockets into Texas from Mexico, our hopes that we would do more than alert the United Nations.

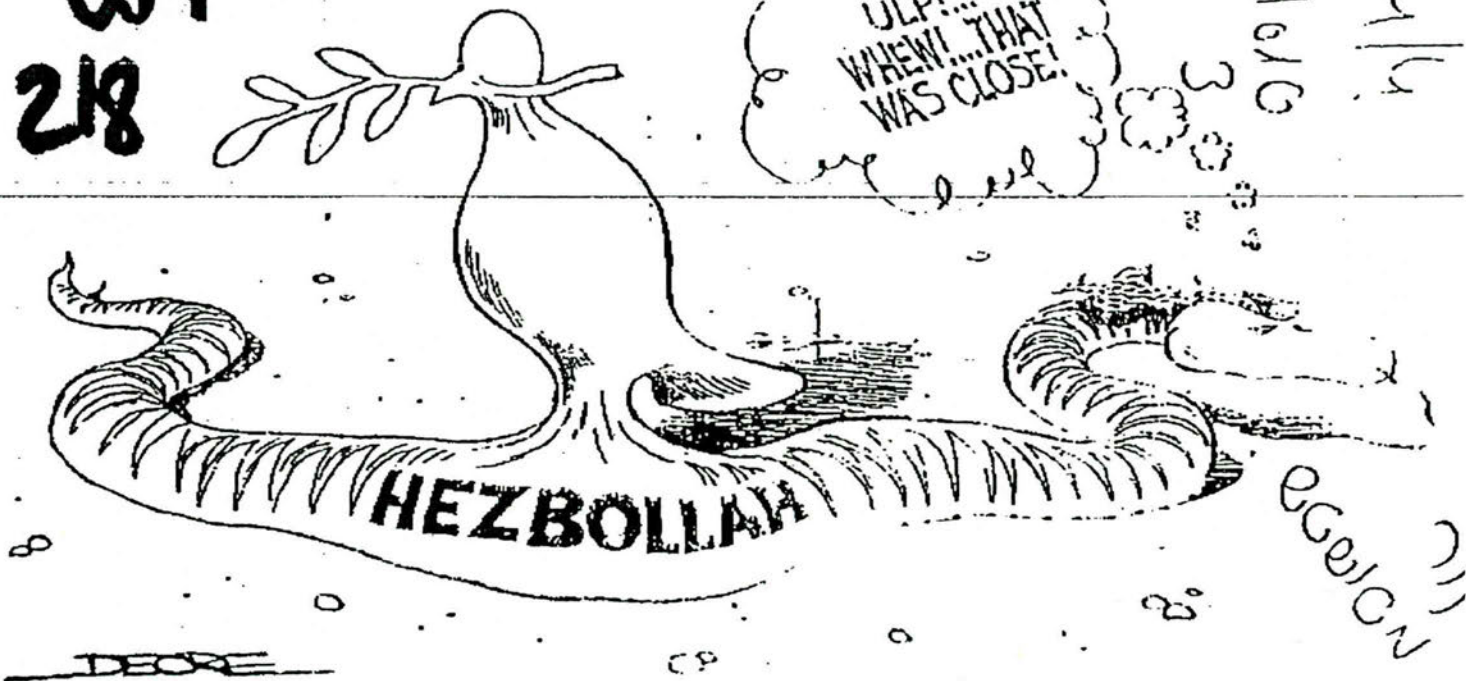
It's ironic that Israel is taking such a public relations hit in the very week that we are once again considering whether to come to the military aid of Iran's besieged Kurds. Isn't Iran an object lesson in the futility of weak power? It's a lesson that we should learn from ourselves.

...tion, it but not the ... might to have been ended ... months ago. Instead, ... been left to the mercy of ... Israel has decided that ...

Israel is still the only democracy in the Middle East. The only country where it is even remotely possible that the Supreme Court would overturn the conviction of an accused war criminal. ... happened last week with John Demjanjuk because the rule of law demands ... in a region that runs on tribal ... above and absolute ... power. Israel ...

... Israel ...

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 2 אוגוסט 1993

אל: ממ"ד, מצרים

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - מצרים

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (קרייל מרפי 1/8) אודות יחסי ארה"ב - מצרים. לטענת גורמים מצרים, התקררו לאחרונה היחסים בין שתי המדינות בשל מדיניות החוץ של ממשל קלינטון וחוסר הדיסקרטיות של הממשל בפרשת השייך עבדל רחמן.

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תקשורת



# Egypt Troubled by U.S. Policies

## Clinton Administration Viewed as Amateurish, Short on Candor

By Caryle Murphy  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO—Egypt's relations with the United States have been strained recently by what Egyptian officials perceive as the Clinton administration's foreign policy ineptness and its lack of candor about U.S. dealings with radical Egyptian preacher Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, officials and political analysts here say.

Washington and Cairo continue their official cooperation without serious conflict, and what one official called the "rough weather" in their relationship has become milder since Abdel Rahman's detention in the United States on July 2. Some anxiety and suspicion remain, however, these sources said.

Many Egyptians fear that Washington, mindful of its long-range interests in the region, is watching their secular government's battle with Islamic extremists as a spectator ready to deal with the winning side, rather than as an ally of President Hosni Mubarak.

These fears deepened earlier this year with the disclosure that U.S. Embassy officials had met with representatives of the militant Islamic Group and with the publication of details of how Abdel Rahman, the group's spiritual mentor, got permission to enter the United States.

Egyptians are convinced that Abdel Rahman had ties with U.S. intelligence. Despite official U.S. denials, Mubarak told Egyptian newspaper editors in May that the sheik, some of whose followers have been linked to the Feb. 26 bombing of the

World Trade Center in New York and a plot to bomb the United Nations, was "an agent of the American intelligence apparatus."

FBI officials have visited Cairo five times to explain Abdel Rahman's immigration status in the United States but have failed to allay Egyptian concerns, one source said.

U.S. press reports about the Islamic Group's yearlong campaign to create an Islamic state in Egypt have furthered doubts about the U.S. commitment to Mubarak's government, several analysts said, because they often have been less than flattering to Mubarak, and they are widely believed to reflect Washington's official view.

Egyptian officials emphasize that there is no crisis.

"Cooperation and understanding have never been better than what they are today," Mubarak's senior foreign policy adviser, Osama Baz, recently told foreign journalists.

"I'm telling you in all candor, there is no atmosphere of crisis, there is no degree of tension," he said. "Our American friends understand fully we might at times have positions which do not conform exactly with their position and they do the same. . . . This cooperation does not require identity of views. We are not part of the U.S.A."

Nevertheless, several issues could bring further strains. To Arab governments, the Clinton administration has seemed aloof, and their disappointment has been intensified by the loss of personal ties formed during the 1991 Persian Gulf War by president George Bush and such

Arab leaders as Mubarak and Saudi Arabia's King Fahd.

Senior Egyptian officials are privately critical of what they see as Clinton's "immaturity" and lack of sophistication in foreign affairs and his foreign policy team's lack of understanding of the Middle East.

"This Clinton is an amateur," said one official, "playing the saxophone everywhere, getting his hair cut. He doesn't know world politics."

Similar views are reflected in the press. A recent issue of *Rose al-Youssef* magazine, for example, featured an unflattering article about Clinton's eating habits, followed by a picture layout in which a photograph of a starving Somali child was next to a shot of two bikini-clad U.S. servicewomen on the beach with rifles slung over their shoulders. It was captioned, "American soliders in Somalia."

Egyptian officials are also troubled by what they consider to be a double standard in America's use of military force abroad, particularly with regard to Washington's readiness to fire missiles at Iraq, its reluctance to use force to halt Serb aggression against Muslims in Bosnia and its failure to condemn Israel's latest strikes in Lebanon, which led to a U.S.-brokered cease-fire yesterday.

"We cannot accept what Israel is doing in south Lebanon," said former Egyptian ambassador Salah Bassiuni. "We cannot accept the U.S. position of not pushing for more action in Bosnia. And we don't know what is the end of this international legality for Iraq. There are those . . . who believe that enough is enough. We have to let the Iraqis breathe because Iran is getting stronger now."

Egyptians also are uneasy about the U.S. administration's perceived lack of urgency in dealing with the stalled Arab-Israeli peace process.

"There is genuine concern on both sides about roles in the peace process," said a Western diplomat here. "The United States is expected by Egypt to play a more active role. But the Americans are expecting the same thing from Egypt" with regard to the Palestinians.

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Egyptians believe the U.S. administration is overly influenced by Israel, particularly on the sensitive issue of Jerusalem, which Israel claims as its capital. The long-held U.S. position that East Jerusalem, seized by Israel in 1967, is occupied territory "is eroding" without public acknowledgment. One Egyptian is-

familiar with the negotiations said. Mubarak's domestic policies are being debated more both here and abroad than they were a year ago. When the extremist violence was just beginning, U.S. officials are prodding the Egyptian government to dampen the Islamic movement by improving Egypt's human rights record, accelerating economic liberalization, and clamping down on corruption.

Egyptian officials tend to regard the American prodding as interference or as an outgrowth of American misunderstanding of Egypt.

"Egypt sees things in a geo-strategic way," political analyst Gehad Auda said. "Americans say 'human rights' and 'democracy,' and Egyptians say, 'What's this? How does it affect our geo-strategic position?'"

Cairo's desire to keep as much U.S. economic and military aid as possible at a time when the United States is committed to reducing it around the world could also vex future relations.

"There is a deep feeling among Egyptian decision makers that the United States doesn't need Egypt anymore," said an Egyptian observer. This insecurity may lead the government to think that a manageable level of tension will demonstrate that Cairo retains the initiative in its relationship with Washington, he said.

"If there are two lovers and things are going down, to save his honor, a man is going to make it seem like he was the one who left," he said. He suggested that recent strains between the two countries can be seen in part as this message: "Wise up, America. Don't take Egypt for granted. I can go out bowling with my friends tonight if I want."

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אל: רהמש/82

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 25, תא: 020893, זח: 1421, דח: ר, סג: בל,

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בלמס/רגיל

אל: הסברה

מאת: עתונות נ

הנדון: סקירת תקשורת

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 2-AUGUST-1993

TV COVERAGE

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ALL NATIONAL NETWORKS AND CNN REPORTED ON THE FIRING OF ANTITANK ROCKETS AT AN SLA POST IN SOUTHERN LEBANON BY GUERRILLAS EARLY SUNDAY; REPORTED ON THE RULING BY THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT ON SUNDAY TO HOLD A HEARING IN TEN DAYS ON WHETHER OR NOT IT WILL TRY JOHN DEMJANJUK FOR 'LESSER' NAZI WAR CRIMES; WABC INTERVIEWED LT. COL. MOSHE FOGEL ON THE CURTIS AND LISA SLIWA SHOW.

COLUMNS

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NYP(J.KIRKPATRICK-CABLED): 'RIGHT OR WRONG, ISRAEL GETS THE BLAME': WRITER ARGUES THAT WHEN CONFRONTED WITH AN ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, THE WESTERN EUROPEAN POWERS 'SEEM TO RALLY AROUND THE ARAB CAUSE' REGARDLESS OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES; CITES THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S RECENT CALL FOR A HALT TO ISRAEL'S ATTACKS AGAINST LEBANON AS AN EXAMPLE; STATES THAT THE EC APPLIED A DOUBLE STANDARD IN THAT IT DID NOT CALL FOR GUERRILLAS TO END THEIR ATTACKS AGAINST SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN ISRAEL; ASSERTS THAT THE EC'S 'HABIT' OF TREATING ISRAEL AS THE SOURCE OF TROUBLE IN THE MIDEAST HAS ONLY COMPLICATED THE ALREADY VOLATILE SITUATION THERE.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'LEBANESE REFUGEES ARE HURRYING BACK TO RAVAGED



HOMES'; 'EUROPEANS AGREE TO LET CURRENCIES FLUCTUATE WIDELY'; 'BEYOND THE FLOOD, FARMERS WORRY ABOUT DROUGHT AND AN EARLY FROST'; 'FOR NATION'S BLUE CROSS PLANS, ECHOES OF THE TROUBLES AT EMPIRE'; 'STILL SOLID, GOP OPPOSITION TO CLINTON MAY SOON SOFTEN.' WSJ: 'IN CAPITALIST MOSCOW, YOUNG BUSINESS GRADS REAP MONEY AND ENVY'; NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/LEBANON/GUERRILLAS/VILLAGERS: NYT(FRONT PAGE-CABLED), WSJ: 'LEBANESE REFUGEES ARE HURRYING BACK TO RAVAGED HOMES': REPORTS THAT THOUSANDS OF LEBANESE BEGAN THEIR TRIP HOME ON SUNDAY FROM BEIRUT TO SOUTHERN LEBANON AFTER A CEASE-FIRE WAS REACHED ON SATURDAY, ENDING A SEVEN-DAY ISRAELI ATTACK; DESCRIBES A 'LANDSCAPE OF DESTRUCTION UNLIKE ANYTHING SEEN IN YEARS' IN LEBANON; NOTES THAT MORE THAN 300,000 LEBANESE CIVILIANS FLED THEIR HOMES DURING THE ISRAELI BOMBINGS LAST WEEK; STATES THAT LEBANESE SOLDIERS APPEARED FOR THE FIRST TIME IN NEARLY A DECADE AS THE GOVERNMENT THERE ATTEMPTS TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE AREA.

ISRAEL/LEBANON/GUERRILLAS/CEASE-FIRE: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED), ND, DN, NYP: 'NEW HOPE FOR PEACE TALKS': REPORTS THAT A CEASE-FIRE WAS REACHED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND IRANIAN-BACKED GUERRILLAS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON ON SATURDAY; NOTES THAT HOPES ARE BEING REVIVED IN ISRAEL THAT SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER CAN JUMP-START THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS DURING HIS TRIP IN THE REGION THIS WEEK; STATES THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER WILL MEET WITH EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK ON MONDAY; NOTES THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN WARNED THAT HE WILL REPEAT HOSTILITIES IF ROCKET ATTACKS ON NORTHERN ISRAEL RESUME; ADDS THAT SHORTLY BEFORE DAWN ON SUNDAY, GUERRILLAS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON FIRED ANTITANK ROCKETS AT AN SLA POST.

ISRAEL/COURT/DEMJANJUK/BARRERED: NYT(J.GREENBERG-CABLED), WSJ, ND, DN, NYP: 'ISRAELI COURT BARS DEMJANJUK'S LEAVING': REPORTS THAT THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT RULED ON SUNDAY THAT JOHN DEMJANJUK CANNOT LEAVE ISRAEL UNTIL THE GOVERNMENT THERE DECIDES WHETHER TO PRESS WAR-CRIMES CHARGE AGAINST HIM; STATES THAT A THREE-JUDGE PANEL INSTRUCTED ISRAEL'S ATTORNEY GENERAL TO SUBMIT ARGUMENTS WITHIN THE WEEK ON WHETHER HE WILL PURSUE A CASE AGAINST MR. DEMJANJUK FOR HAVING SERVED AS A NAZI GUARD AT SOBIBOR DEATH CAMP; NOTES THAT MR. DEMJANJUK WILL NOT BE DEPORTED UNTIL A HEARING IS HELD IN TEN DAYS.

US/EUROPE/LIBYA/OIL: WSJ(R.GREENBERGER-CABLED): 'US, EUROPEAN ALLIES DISCUSS ACTION AGAINST LIBYA, SHORT OF OIL EMBARGO': REPORTS THAT THE US AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE DISCUSSING WHETHER OR NOT TO INCREASE PRESSURE ON LIBYA IF IT DOES NOT HAND OVER THE SUSPECTS IN THE PAN AM 103 BOMBING; ARGUES THAT AN INTERNATIONAL OIL EMBARGO WOULD BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO PRESSURE TRIPOLI; NOTES THAT ALTHOUGH THE US MAINTAINS A TOTAL TRADE EMBARGO OF LIBYA, IT IS UNABLE TO PERSUADE ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES TO COMMIT TO AN OIL EMBARGO; STATES THAT THE US WILL MOST LIKELY PUSH FOR A FREEZE ON LIBYA'S FOREIGN ASSETS AND AN EMBARGO ON OIL-INDUSTRY EQUIPMENT; ADDS THAT THERE IS STRONG CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR AN OIL EMBARGO AND A TONE IN WASHINGTON WHICH INDICATES THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION MAY PUSH THE UN TO BROADEN ITS SANCTIONS TO INCLUDE AN OIL EMBARGO.



AFGHANISTAN/RUSSIA/REBELS/ISLAMIC: WSJ(BRIEF): NOTES THAT RUSSIAN FORCES DROVE A GROUP OF ISLAMIC REBELS INTO AFGHANISTAN, KILLING OVER 100 OF THEM.

NEW YORK/SHEIK/DEPORTATION/HEARING: DN(C.SENNOTT),NYP: REPORTS THAT SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN IS SCHEDULED FOR AN IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE HEARING ON DEPORTATION PROCEEDINGS AGAINST HIM.

LETTERS

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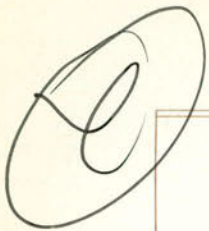
NYP: ONE LETTER WHICH ARGUES THAT ERIC FETTMAN'S STATEMENT IN HIS JULY 20 COLUMN FALSELY INCRIMINATES AND GENERALIZES THE UKRAINIANS' INVOLVEMENT IN NAZI WAR CRIMES.

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, סמנכלתקשורת,  
מעט, הסברה, לעמ, מקצב2, אומן, @ (דוצ), סי יבל,  
משפט, רביב, תפוצות, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם),  
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סססס





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מכתב  
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אכ : לשכת רוה'מ, עבור נפתלי תמיד  
פקס' 02-610618

מאת : יעל דובינשטיין, מצפ'א, משה'ח

הנדון: ביקור משלחת חברי קונגרס בראשות הקונגרסמן ניוט גינגריץ

1. המשלחת בראשות המורשה גינגריץ תבקר בארץ בין התאריכים 15-22 דנא.
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שלוש. התאריכים המוצעים לקיום פגישה עם רוה'מ ב-18/8, 17/8 בשעה 09:00 או 12:00 או בין 15:00-17:00.

4. אנו ממליצים ביותר.

נודה על תשובתכם ותיאום המועד עם הח'מ.



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אאאא, חוזם: 2899

אל: רהמש/97

מ-: ווש, נר: 2001, תא: 020893, זח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממ'ד-ערב-4, חט' מז'ת, שהבט/לשכת מתאם הפעולות בלבנון

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: לבנון/הלכי רוח

לביום סיפר (ב-2.8) על התרשמויותיו משיחות שקיים עם לבנונים בשבוע החולף (בני שיחו לא היו אנשי ממשל. מרבית השיחות התנהלו טלפונית עם מכרים בבירות-למעט פגישה עם לבנוני שהגיע בסוף השבוע לארה"ב):

1. מרבית הדוברים הביעו התנגדות לחזבאללה, שנתפס כמי שגרם לאירועי השבוע החולף אך רבים מתחו ביקורת גם על סוריה עליה נאמר כי לא קיימה את הדימוי המבוקש על ידה כמי שאמורה להביא יציבות ללבנון. לביום הוסיף הצידו שהעימות הפך את סוריה לפחות פופולארית בלבנון, אך איש בלבנון איננו מתכוון לתרגם זאת לפעולה (אנטי סורית).

2. התנגשות השבוע החולף נתפסה ע"י בני שיחו כהתמודדות בין ישראל לסוריה, שהוצתה ע"י חיזבאללה על חשבונה של לבנון (בהקשר זה ציינו המספר המועט של אבידות ישראליות וסוריות, לעומת ריבוי האבידות הלבנוניות).

3. שיעי לבנוני נוסף ספר שהמבנים בבירות ובבעל בק המשמשים כשלוחות מודיעין איראניות ננטשו ע"י יושביהם עם פרוץ הקרבות. הוסיף כי מבנים אלה משמשים את האיראנים בלבד ולא אנשי חיזבאללה או גורמים אחרים כלשהם.

5. בן שיחי שמע כי אסד הניח לשה"ח האיראני וילאיתי להמתין זמן לא מועט לפני פגישתם.

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), רחטמזת, מזת1, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (לוברני)

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אאאא, חוזם: 2949

אל: רהמש/100

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שמור/מידי

א ל: ממנכ"ל

פר"נ

ד ע: מקש"ח - משהב"ט

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: יוזמה צפויה של הנשיא בנושא פרוליפרציה

משיחה (2.7) עם איינהורן:

1. טרם קיבל אור ירוק מהבית הלבן לתדרך אותנו לגבי תוכן יוזמת הנשיא. לא לגמרי ברורות לו הסיבות לדחייה. מעריך שהחלטה לתדרך נציגויות מרכזיות תתקבל בתוך ימים ספורים.

2. למרות שתאר את התדרוך כהתייעצויות נראה, שהממשל לא יקיים הליך מסודר של התייעצות שיאפשר לנו להגיב על תוכן היזמה לפני פרסומה.

3. אשר ליישומה, תחושת איינהורן שהממשל "WILL GO FORWARD" התייחס לדר' אסיה כאזור שבו ישום היזמה יהיה אפקטיבי במסגרת המאמץ TO CAP המשך ייצור חומר בקיע.

4. אשר למזה"ת, איינהורן ציין שעמדתם היא שישום היזמה בסוגיית החומר הבקיע (כמו גם בסוגיות נוספות שתכללנה ביזמה) צריכות להידון בין מדינות האזור. במקביל, יצפה הממשל ממדינות לחתום על אמנה מולטילטרלית שתאסור ייצור חומר בקיע. איינהורן הדגיש פעמים מספר שהמדובר באמנה מולטילטרלית ולא גלובלית. לדבריו, טרם החליטו לאילו מדינות יפנו כדי להצטרף לאמנה. החלטתם תיפול בעקבות ההתייעצויות שבכוונתם לקיים בעקבות פרסום היזמה.

5. ניהלו שיחה ארוכה לגבי השלכות אפשריות של היזמה על המזה"ת בתגובה להערתו על כך "שאינן לכם ממה לחשוש". מניח שנצטרך לחזור לנושא בדרגי עבודה ובדרג המדיני.

שטיין



תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, פרנ, מצפא, סי יבל

סססס



דח'פות: מירי	טופס חברק קשר ניו-יורק	דף: 1 מחוק: 6
סיוג: כלמ"ס	אס"ט	אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
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חס' מכרי:	בטחון - יועץ שה"ט אמ"נ/קט"ח	דע:
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## Demjanjuk Due to Go to Ukraine, Israel Says

By CHRIS HEDGES  
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, July 31 — John Demjanjuk, whose conviction for war crimes as the death camp guard "Ivan the Terrible" was overturned, is due to leave Israel for Ukraine on Sunday, Israeli officials said today.

"The Police Department and prison authorities say the deportation of Demjanjuk has been arranged, and tomorrow at 14:30 he will leave Israel for Kiev, Ukraine, unless there is another decision by the Supreme Court or an order by the Attorney General," said a police spokesman, Raffi Levy.

Mr. Demjanjuk, a retired Cleveland auto worker, was born in Ukraine. He was extradited from the United States in 1986 and sentenced to death by an Israeli court in 1988 for being "Ivan the

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Terrible," a brutal guard who mutilated and tortured his victims as they were shepherded to the gas chambers at the Treblinka death camp in Poland during the Nazi occupation.

On Thursday the Supreme Court overturned the conviction, ruling that there was reasonable doubt that Mr. Demjanjuk was "Ivan." The court ordered his release, and he was sent back to his prison cell under protective custody to wait for another country to accept him.

Officials of the United States Justice Department have said that he lied on his entry application about his activities during World War II and that he would not be allowed back into the country.

Lawyers for the 73-year-old Mr. Demjanjuk appealed on Friday to the

United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit in Cincinnati to allow him to return. A hearing is scheduled for Tuesday.

In Israel, a spokeswoman for the Justice Ministry said the Supreme Court had agreed to hear a complaint by Israelis, some of whom are survivors of the Holocaust, who say that Mr. Demjanjuk should be charged with war crimes for his role as a guard at the Sobibor death camp, where 250,000 Jews were killed.

A hearing is scheduled for Sunday, and the spokeswoman said Mr. Demjanjuk would not be allowed to leave Israel until the justices handed down their decision. But Justice Minister David Libai said that in his view the case was closed.

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## The Banality of Ivan

By Tom Reiss

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.

**I**n 1987, when the two big Nazi trials of the decade were getting under way, there was widespread anxiety that the trial in France of Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo chief of Lyons, would threaten the memory of the Holocaust as a unique atrocity.

Klaus Barbie's lawyer, Jacques Verges, claimed he could show that France, Israel and other countries had committed crimes equal to those of the Nazis, citing the use of torture by the French in Algeria and Israel's treatment of the Palestinians.

Mr. Verges's revisionism turned out to be a hollow threat, easily discredited. The real threat to our understanding of the Holocaust was the trial of John Demjanjuk, the Nazi

collaborator whose conviction the Israeli Supreme Court has overturned. The prosecution built its case around the presumption that a sword- and whip-wielding Ivan of Treblinka was, as the Israeli prosecutor put it, a more "major" war criminal than an ordinary death camp guard.

The Court found ample documentary evidence that during World War II John Demjanjuk, known at the time as Ivan, received training by the SS at

the Trawniki camp in Poland and subsequently worked at the nearby Sobibor death camp.

It found reasonable doubt that Mr. Demjanjuk was the Treblinka guard nicknamed "Ivan the Terrible" who slashed and beat his victims on their way to the gas chambers. Since the prosecution had built its case around this alleged identity, the conviction was overturned.

To base a prosecution on whether



or not a certain guard was sadistic or workmanlike amounts to a tacit acceptance of Nazi rules: that the organized extermination of humans, however carried out, is not in itself the ultimate crime against humanity — that it is mitigated by "scientific" detachment.

At the highest SS levels, men like Adolf Eichmann who planned the extermination of the Jews and designed the death camps condemned sadism toward prisoners and looked down their noses at men like Ivan of Treblinka. They considered themselves above mere personal anti-Semitism. They were, they thought, idealists, committed to altering the world's ra-

## Demjanjuk kept the assembly lines moving.

cial balance of power permanently.

Ivan — whether of Sobibor or Treblinka — worked in a murder factory, an assembly line for producing corpses; how he conducted himself there is entirely beside the point.

When we recount the sadistic details of one guard's behavior, it helps normalize the surreal brutality of the death camps. After all, sadists exist in every in society and in every war.

Since 1945, one of the most popular explanations for the Holocaust has been that it was caused by a few evil men, led by a supreme monster, Hitler. The world's leading Holocaust denier, David Irving, began his career 20 years ago by asserting that Hitler did not know about the Final Solution. If the Führer could be distanced from men like Ivan the Terrible, his argument went, we would need to reassess our view of the Third

Reich as a wholly malevolent place.

Mr. Demjanjuk's acquittal as Ivan the Terrible will be exploited for the sake of such arguments.

Ivan the Terrible of Treblinka is no true measure of the horror of the Holocaust. Plain old Ivan of Cleveland, a worker in the German death industry who later worked in the American automobile industry, is the true reminder of the banal — commonplace — horror at the heart of our century; the most extraordinary crime committed by the most ordinary men.

No matter where John Demjanjuk ends up, he will never again work on an assembly line either to build cars or produce corpses. In the wake of the Court's decision, those who care about preserving the memory of the Holocaust and justice for its victims must continue to resist arguments that obscure the true meaning of Ivan's industry.

Tom Reiss has completed a book on neo-Nazis and the search for identity in reunified Germany.

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# What Now for Ivan the Acquitted?

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NYT

The Israeli Supreme Court showed extraordinary wisdom and courage in acquitting John Demjanjuk of charges that he was Ivan the Terrible, a viciously brutal operator of the gas chambers used to murder Jews at the Treblinka death camp in Poland.

The decision, on an emotionally charged issue for Holocaust survivors, was a stirring affirmation of the integrity and fairness of Israel's judicial system. It was also a rebuke to the thoroughly botched investigation of Mr. Demjanjuk by the U.S. Department of Justice, which ignored evidence available years ago that it was mixing up identities.

But the Israeli acquittal is by no means an exoneration of Mr. Demjanjuk. He may not be Ivan the Terrible. But separate judicial examinations in the United States and Israel have already determined that he is almost certainly a very bad Ivan — an SS-trained guard who served at another death camp at Sobibor in Poland.

The Israeli high court made its decision after reviewing evidence from newly opened Soviet archives. Mr. Demjanjuk had been extradited to Israel and convicted in a lower court, primarily on testimony by five death camp survivors that he was the Ivan the Terrible who tormented them at Treblinka. But Soviet intelligence files contained statements by Nazi guards identifying another man as that Ivan. The Israeli high court found "reasonable doubt" — "gnawing" at its conscience — that Mr. Demjanjuk was guilty of the crimes at Treblinka.

One can sympathize with the shock and outrage of Holocaust survivors who testified against Mr.

Demjanjuk only to see him go free. But even the world's most renowned Nazi hunter, Simon Wiesenthal, said he would have made the same decision if he were a judge. "As a Jew I am proud of the way the Supreme Court handled the case," he told an Austrian news agency.

Where does that leave Mr. Demjanjuk? He is hardly the wronged innocent that his supporters depict. The Israeli high court found "clear and unequivocal evidence" that Mr. Demjanjuk trained at the Trawniki unit for prison guards detailed to death camps, and strong evidence he was later assigned to the Sobibor extermination camp.

It chose not to punish him for those activities, however, because they had not been adequately contested in the Israeli courts. Earlier U.S. District Judge Thomas A. Wiseman Jr. found the evidence for deporting Mr. Demjanjuk "sound" regardless of whether he was Ivan the Terrible.

Mr. Demjanjuk's family wants him readmitted to the U.S., a move the Clinton Administration is opposing. What's needed now is a better understanding of the evidence linking him with the death camps. Is it strong enough independently to justify his deportation? Or was it so overwhelmed by the belief he was Ivan the Terrible that it got insufficient attention in previous proceedings?

Some insight may be gained when a U.S. appeals court considers the deportation issue next week, but that court's power remains murky. With the lofty example set by Israel as a model, some element of the U.S. Government must bend over backward to insure that justice has been done.

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# Ukraine Willing to Admit Demjanjuk, Leader Says

Special to The New York Times

KIEV, Ukraine, July 30 — John Demjanjuk will be allowed to come to Ukraine on a temporary visa, President Leonid M. Kravchuk said today. The Israeli Supreme Court has overturned Mr. Demjanjuk's conviction and death sentence for war crimes committed by the death camp guard "Ivan the Terrible."

Mr. Demjanjuk, a native of Ukraine, was stripped of his United States citizenship in 1981 and extradited to Israel in 1986. On Thursday the Israeli high court ordered him freed, ruling that there was reasonable doubt that he was "Ivan the Terrible," who mutilated and tortured his victims as they were led to the gas chambers at the Treblinka death camp in Poland during the Nazi occupation.

After receiving a private invitation to come to Ukraine, Mr. Demjanjuk applied for a temporary visa at the Ukrainian Embassy in Israel. When asked if the visa would be granted, President Kravchuk said that if Mr. Demjanjuk applied for it, Ukraine

would give it to him.

Anatoly Fedorovich, Deputy Director of the Department of Citizenship, said that because Mr. Demjanjuk was born in Ukraine and lived in the country until the 1940's, a requirement of five years' residency would be waived if he applied.

The Ukrainian Ambassador to Israel, Yuri Scherbak, issued a statement in Tel Aviv lauding the Israeli court for its independent judgment, responsibility and objectivity and said Ukraine had never tried to influence the trial.

Although 50 pro-Demjanjuk demonstrators protested in front of the Israeli Embassy here on Thursday before the acquittal, no other reported demonstrations have occurred in Ukraine since the verdict was announced.

## Demjanjuk to Leave Israel

By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, July 30 — Mr. Dem-

janjuk is expected to leave Israel in a matter of days, his lawyer said today.

The lawyer, Yoram Sheftel, told reporters, "He will find refuge in a place we'll disclose after he is there physically — and not a moment before."

Mr. Demjanjuk's son, John Demjanjuk Jr., said Ukraine was a possible option.

Mr. Demjanjuk, who has insisted for 16 years that he was a victim of mistaken identity, told reporters shortly before the Supreme Court's verdict was announced on Thursday that he wanted to return to the United States.

But Clinton Administration officials said they would do everything they could to make sure that he did not return.

The United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit, in Cincinnati, is scheduled on Sept. 3 to hear an appeal his lawyers filed today seeking to restore his citizenship and allow his return.

The Israeli court's decision to free Mr. Demjanjuk did not absolve him of

Nazi war crimes. The court said there was convincing evidence that Mr. Demjanjuk had been a guard at the Sobibor, Regensburg and Flossenbürg death camps.

The court has agreed to hear on Sunday a complaint by two Israelis demanding that Mr. Demjanjuk be brought to trial for his role at the Sobibor camp, where 250,000 Jews died during World War II.

But the Israeli Justice Minister, David Libai, said that in his view the case was closed.

## Wife Pledges to Follow Him

SEVEN HILLS, Ohio, July 30 (AP) — With tears in her eyes, Mr. Demjanjuk's wife, Vera, pledged today to go wherever necessary to be with her husband while he fights to return to the United States.

"I just want to see my husband," Mrs. Demjanjuk, 67, said in a brief interview at the front door of her suburban Cleveland home. "Our life is short. My health is going down."

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The agreement was worked out with the assistance of Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who acted as a go-between in dealing with the Governments of Lebanon, Syria and other parties, according to Israeli officials. Syria, which has 35,000 troops in Lebanon, is the main power broker.

The truce opens the way for Mr. Christopher to depart Sunday on a mission to revive Middle East peace negotiations, State Department officials said in Washington. [Page 12.]

The final decision to rein in the pro-Iranian guerrillas, who oppose peace negotiations and have vowed to destroy Israel, was made in Damascus and Teheran, Israeli officials said.

#### Attaining 'Understandings'

Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati of Iran, who has been in Damascus since Thursday, has been meeting with leaders of the pro-Iranian guerrilla group Party of God or Hezbollah. These officials said they understood that Syria asked the guerrilla groups, including militant Palestinian groups based in Lebanon, to accept a cease-fire agreement.

"The developments of the past week led to the involvement of parties from outside the region," Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said. "The United States responded and moved to help us attain understandings, not agreements, but understandings with the major players — Israel, Lebanon, Syria and other parties — to achieve calm, or a greater calm, in the region."

The Prime Minister did not provide details of what he termed the "understandings" obtained by Secretary of State Christopher to halt the fighting, but said they involved Lebanon and Syria. Israeli officials contend that the Lebanese and Syrian governments can exert pressure on the pro-Iranian guerrillas because they control the supply routes that ferry arms to their positions in southern Lebanon.

These officials said that the Syrians had moved in the early days of the clash to prevent new arms supplies, shipped from Iran, from reaching Par-

Continued on Page 12, Column 1

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ty of God forces in southern Lebanon.

The fighting, which turned many southern Lebanese villages into ghost towns, displaced some 300,000 people. It left more than 130 people dead, including three Israelis and three Syrians, and some 500 people, many of them Lebanese civilians, wounded.

Israeli Government officials said those displaced by the fighting could return to their villages if the agreement was honored.

Gen. Ehud Barak, Army Chief of Staff, said, "No villages were wiped out."

"Even if 150 or 200 houses were hit directly, these were houses of activists and those connected to Hezbollah," he said.

But Israel warned that any renewed rocket assaults on northern Israel would be dealt with harshly.

"The problem, as we see it, is that this does not turn out to be a cease-fire for two or three days," Prime Minister Rabin said. "The problem we face is that there must be change in behavior, and that means, first and foremost, no more Katyusha rockets fired against targets in northern Israel."

The attacks were initiated a week ago by Israel in retaliation for the deaths of seven soldiers in Israel's buffer zone inside Lebanon and rocket attacks on Israeli settlement towns in northern Israel by the Party of God.

#### Party of God Remains Armed

Lebanese officials said the cease-fire agreement did not cover guerrilla attacks on the nine-mile-deep self-declared Israeli security zone in southern Lebanon set up by Israel in 1985.

But the Prime Minister said he expected guerrilla attacks to cease not only against northern Israel, but eventually against Israeli forces stationed in southern Lebanon.

"Our goal is to achieve quiet, I stress, on both sides of the border," he said.

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Israeli officials said that the agreement did not include the disarming of the Party of God.

Israeli leaders say that if the Party of God guerrillas were disarmed, Israel would be willing to reconsider its occupation of the southern buffer zone.

"I believe that if this occurs, there will also be a calm," Mr. Rabin said, "and that if there is a calm, it will be possible to find a solution to the entire problem of southern Lebanon. I hope this will be part of the attainment of peace between Lebanon and Israel."

General Barak said that if the agreement had not been reached, Israeli forces would have continued to escalate the attacks, leading, if necessary, to a ground assault.

Mr. Rabin said one goal of the operation had been "the use of firepower to create conditions to allow understandings with the power brokers who influence the terrorist organizations in Lebanon."

"We are not talking about guarantees," the Prime Minister said. "We know the reality in Lebanon. We are all veterans of the wars and operations in Lebanon. If you ask me what the primary guarantee is, the primary guarantee is the Israel Defense Force, which utilized only part of its capacity to fulfill its mission. The second guarantee is the perseverance of the people in the north. And the third guarantee is the American involvement in achieving and receiving these understandings."

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said shortly after the cease-fire went into effect: "The Israeli Defense Forces achieved its objectives."

"We are all happy that the operation came to an end quickly. It could have developed into something much more serious," he said.

#### Patrols Will Continue

Officials said that Israel's client militia, the South Lebanon Army, will continue to patrol the security zone to assure there were no violations.

"The status of the security zone has not changed," Mr. Peres said, "and if they try to plot against our forces there, or the South Lebanon Army forces there, we will take measures against them."

Mr. Peres warned, however, that even if the agreement was honored, it might not mean an end to Israel's conflict with the Party of God guerrillas.

"An understanding was reached," the Foreign Minister said, "but to a great extent this is an oral agreement. We are used to living with oral agreements when dealing with the Syrians and others. And it must be said that up until now the Syrians have honored their oral agreements, as they have honored their written agreements."

When the attacks began, Mr. Rabin said they would not stop until the pro-Iranian and Palestinian guerrillas ended rocket attacks on the north. He vowed to flood Beirut with displaced people until the Lebanese and Syrian

governments intervened to rein in the Iranian-backed guerrilla forces, a tactic that earned Israel widespread international censure.

"In order to deal with the Hezbollah terror," the Prime Minister said, "we had to cause the movement of the Lebanese residents of south Lebanon."

"I wish for them to return to a quiet life," he added, "but their demand for quiet must be directed at the Lebanese Government."

Israeli officials said Mr. Christopher was in close contact with Prime Minister Rabin in an effort to end the fighting before his scheduled visit to the Middle East. The Secretary, who delayed his visit by at least two days, is expected to arrive in Israel, perhaps on Monday, to push forward the moribund peace talks.

#### Praise for Christopher

Mr. Rabin praised Mr. Christopher and said he believed the current "understandings" could further the peace talks with Lebanon.

"I am very hopeful that the visit of the Secretary of State next week, with the backdrop of these events, will perhaps even speed up the peace negotiations with Lebanon," Mr. Rabin said.

The guerrillas offered on Friday to stop rocket attacks if Israel ended the heavy artillery and air assault on the south. But Israeli officials dismissed the offer, at the time, calling it "hypothetical."

Katyusha rockets slammed into northern Israel overnight, causing no casualties or damage, army officials said.

Israeli planes bombed the areas of Meshghara and Nabatiye on Saturday. But northern residents in Israel continued to wait out the results of the ceasefire in bomb shelters in the north.

A Foreign Ministry official in the Israeli border town of Qiryat Shemona, where residents who remained have endured a week living underground, said 80 percent of the town's 23,000 people had fled south to escape the rocket assaults.

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# Truce Creates Opening for Christopher

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 31 — In brokering a cease-fire along Israel's northern border, Secretary of State Warren Christopher did himself a favor. The truce means that his trip next week to try to revive the Middle East peace

talks will not be conducted under the shadow of full-fledged war in southern Lebanon.

**News Analysis** A senior State Department official acknowledged today that as long as citizens in northern Israel had to remain huddled in bomb shelters away from Katyusha rockets fired by guerrillas in southern Lebanon, and as long as Lebanese and Palestinian refugees were streaming north to escape Israeli bombardment, the prospect for a successful trip were virtually nil.

"The principal focus of Christopher's contacts with the parties has been to end the violence, to have the attacks cease," the official said. "That way we can refocus on the peace negotiations. For the last few days there has been no focus at all on the peace talks."

### Itinerary Is Put Together

To restore momentum to the peace talks, Mr. Christopher is to leave for the Middle East on Sunday and will meet first with Egyptian and Israeli Government officials, State Department officials said. They said he was also expected to make stops in Syria and Jordan, but precise details on his itinerary were not available.

The State Department formally urged all parties to observe the cease-fire. "The United States is pleased that the military activity and the violence in southern Lebanon and northern Israel have stopped," a department spokesman, Michael McCurry, said. "We urge all parties to work to assure that calm prevails."

American officials refused to discuss the specifics of Mr. Christopher's efforts to bring pressure on Israel, the guerrillas in Lebanon or the guerrillas' backers in brokering the truce. But Israeli officials as well as the Americans credited him with having brought about the cease-fire.

State Department officials said those contacts had been extensive since Mr.

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## Better odds of restoring peace momentum.

Christopher was called back to Washington on Wednesday from the Far East to discuss crises in Bosnia and Lebanon. He had originally been scheduled to visit the Middle East on the final leg of a trio he began in Singapore, where he attended a meeting of Asian foreign ministers.

Mr. Christopher had begun calling leaders in the Middle East even before he left Singapore, and he called Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri of Lebanon on the flight to Washington.

State Department officials said that between noon on Wednesday and noon today, when the cease-fire was announced, Mr. Christopher talked four times by telephone to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel, four times to Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa of Syria and three times to Mr. Hariri.

### 'Relationship' With Rabin

State Department officials declined to describe those conversations. They would not confirm reports, for example, that Mr. Christopher intended to press Syria to halt arms shipments to the Iranian-supported Party of God, known by the Arabic name Hezbollah, seen as the driving force behind the rocket attacks into northern Israel.

Officials said Mr. Christopher had built up a "relationship" with Mr. Rabin that helped him in his efforts to negotiate a cease-fire. One official noted that the two men had worked closely together last winter in heading off a

United Nations Security Council resolution calling for sanctions against Israel for its forced deportation of about 400 men whom it described as supporters of Hamas, a fundamentalist Islamic organization that opposes peace talks between Arabs and Israelis.

But while American diplomats were taking pride in Mr. Christopher's accomplishment, his Middle East mission is still likely to be exceedingly difficult. The officials noted that former Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d had traveled to the region eight times before he was able to get the Israelis, Syrians, Jordanians, Lebanese and Palestinians to agree to face-to-face peace talks in October 1991.

### Major Sticking Points

The 21-month negotiations have foundered recently over two major issues: the future of the Golan Heights and Palestinian self-rule.

President Hafez al-Assad has said he would offer Israel "full peace" for "full withdrawal" of Israeli forces from the Golan. But he has declined to spell out precisely what he means by "full peace," and the Israelis say they will not discuss "full withdrawal" until he does.

Discussions between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators are bogged down over the issue of the extent of self-rule that the Palestinians would be granted in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip in a five-year phase before a final settlement is worked out.

When Mr. Christopher arrives in the Mideast, his task will be to take up such recalcitrant disputes in a region that remains on edge. But at least the odds have improved that rockets will probably not be falling.

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# Israel Says It Won't

## Use Ground Troops

By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, July 30 — Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said today that Israel would not use ground forces as part of its heavy aerial and artillery bombardments against pro-Iranian guerrilla positions in southern Lebanon, despite the failure to stop guerrilla rocket attacks on northern Israel.

"Not under any condition will we consider the alternative to expand the security zone," he said, referring to the strip of southern Lebanon Israel has occupied as a buffer zone. "We have decided clearly against that, or the use of ground forces."

"The operation in Lebanon is not a war," the Foreign Minister told a group of foreign reporters. "We do not intend to carry it into a war. It is an operation of a limited purpose. The minute Hezbollah stops shelling in the northern part of Israel the operation will be over." Hezbollah is Arabic for the Party of God, a guerrilla group supported by Iran.

But the United Nations and Lebanese officials said they remained concerned that Israel, which moved 35 tanks into southern Lebanon on Thursday, may be preparing a ground offensive to carve out a larger buffer zone.

### 300,000 Refugees

The Israelis launched the assaults last Sunday in response to the killing of seven soldiers in the security zone earlier this month and rocket attacks on settlement towns in northern Israel.

The thousands of artillery shells and tank rounds fired into some 70 villages in southern Lebanon, the largest assault on Lebanon by Israel since the 1982 invasion, have sent some 300,000 refugees north toward Beirut. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has said that he hopes the flood of displaced people will press the Lebanese Government into restraining the guerrillas.

More than 126 people have died in the attack, including three Israelis and three Syrians. Some 500 people, most of them Lebanese civilians, have been wounded.

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Israeli officials have asked the United States to help broker a cease-fire that would include an agreement by the guerrillas not to fire rockets into Israel. "If the Americans, or others, can guarantee that there will be no Katyusha attacks on our northern towns and settlements then we will immediately cease our shelling," said Oded Ben-Ami, the Defense Ministry spokesman.

### Party of God Admits Attacks

And Party of God guerrillas, in a statement issued today in Beirut, said they would end the Katyusha rocket attacks if Israel halted the bombardment. A statement issued by Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, Secretary General of the Party of God, said that "halting rockets on settlements" in northern Israel "cannot be achieved but with the complete and permanent halt of aggression against villages and civilians

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and the stopping of Israeli attacks from air, land and sea on all Lebanese territories."

The statement, the first admission by the Iranian-backed guerrilla movement that they were responsible for firing rockets on northern Israel, received a testy response in Jerusalem, especially after a new barrage of rockets landed there this evening.

Gad Ben-Ari, the spokesman for Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, said the Cabinet, which met today to review the operation in Lebanon, had not even considered the statement, saying there was no reason to discuss "hypothetical issues."

Israeli officials reiterated that they would not halt the offensive until the rockets, some two dozen of which exploded in northern Israel today, were silenced.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is trying to broker a cease-fire, has delayed a trip to the Middle East by at least two days. He had scheduled a visit to help push forward the Middle East peace talks, bogged down after 21 months of negotiations.

But the Foreign Minister said the attacks would not be stopped for the Secretary's visit and he called again on the Syrian and Lebanese Governments to clamp down on Party of God fighters in southern Lebanon.

"We would like to have an end of the operation in Lebanon as soon as possi-

ble, even before the visit of Mr. Christopher," Mr. Peres said. "But as you know it doesn't depend entirely on us."

### Ireland Demands a Cease-Fire

Special to The New York Times

DUBLIN, July 30 — Emphasizing its rising concern for the safety of a battalion of Irish soldiers, the Government confirmed today that Prime Minister Albert Reynolds has sent Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel an unusually firm message demanding that Israel end its military operations in southern Lebanon.

In a message given Thursday to the Israeli Ambassador in London, who is responsible for Ireland, Mr. Reynolds insisted that his demand be sent directly to Mr. Rabin. Normally, Irish Foreign Ministry officials said, such a demand would be delivered by the Foreign Minister to the Ambassador simply expressing Ireland's concern.

The Foreign Ministry said in a statement that the message to Mr. Rabin expressed "grave concern at the continuing military operations in Lebanon by the Israeli defense forces." The operations were described as "an unacceptable threat to the safety and well-being of the United Nations peace-keeping troops, including Irish soldiers."

The Irish battalion of 520 soldiers is based near the area inside Lebanon that Israel regards as its security zone. The Irish Army has reported that since last Sunday, two men had been hit by shrapnel from Israeli artillery.



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הנדון: טוריה-איראן-חזבאללה

תשומת ליבכם לכתבה המצורפת (גפרי סמית' - רוש פוסט 31.7) המתארת הקשרים שבין איראן לחיזבאללה וטוריה (נושא אותו מהכוון קריסטופר להעלות כשיחותיו בטוריה. גם אם אין מידש חדש בכחכה - עיקר חשיבותה במקורות אליהם מיוחס המידע "פקידי ממשל" ודבריהם בנדון.

לעיונכם.

רות ירון

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# Christopher to Pressure Syria To Block Cargo to Hezbollah

## U.S. Wants Arms Shipments to Lebanon Via Damascus to Be Stopped

By R. Jeffrey Smith  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of State Warren Christopher plans next week to press the Syrian government anew to bar access to Iranian cargo planes laden with arms for Islamic Party of God, or Hezbollah, militants in southern Lebanon, U.S. officials said yesterday.

The decision to request the Syrian action stems from U.S. intelligence assessments that most if not all of the rockets and other arms being used against Israeli forces during this week's fighting were ferried to Hezbollah forces by truck from the Damascus airport, the officials said.

They said the Iranian arms were delivered to the airport before the routine Israeli skirmishes with Hezbollah forces erupted into a major exchange of fire last Monday. The deliveries have been made by clearly marked Iran Air planes, including Boeing 747s adapted for carrying cargo, in flights occurring between one and four times a month for several years, the officials said.

"It's been like a regularly scheduled flight," said one official privy to classified intelligence reports on the shipments. "You can watch the planes land and unload."

Included in some of the shipments are the Katyusha rockets and Sagger anti-tank missiles that have alarmed Israeli forces and prompted Israeli citizens to flee to bomb shelters, U.S. officials said.

"There are more deadly weapons, heavier weapons, in much larger quantities ... arriving through Syria," a senior U.S. official said. "We have been actively cautioning the Syrians before this crisis started ... [and Christopher] has been on the phone with the Syrian foreign minister three times in the last four days over the issue of the weaponry."

The United States has known about the Iranian arms pipeline through Syria to Hezbollah for years. A public U.S. government report in April hinted at the shipments by noting that Syria "continues to provide support ... to groups that engage in international terrorism," including Hezbollah,

without detailing what was involved.

But the administration sought this week to avoid any new public comment about Syria's longstanding role as Christopher prepared for a trip to the Middle East next week and privately implored the Syrians not to allow any immediate resupply of Hezbollah, officials said.

"I'm afraid that the subjects you raised ... are ones that we would have to talk about in executive session," CIA Director R. James Woolsey told Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.) on Wednesday, when Lantos asked about reports he had received of

*"There are more deadly weapons, heavier weapons, in much larger quantities ... arriving through Syria. We have been actively cautioning the Syrians before this crisis started."*

—A senior U.S. official

the shipments. Woolsey was speaking at a hearing of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on international security, which Lantos heads.

Past U.S. complaints about the Iran Air flights have been rebuffed by authorities in Damascus. But U.S. officials said Christopher, whose principal mission during his trip is to promote progress in regional peace negotiations, plans to emphasize that fighting provoked by any rearmament of Hezbollah partisans could seriously undermine those talks.

U.S. officials theorize that Syria periodically permits the arms shipments in the belief that a well-armed Hezbollah helps to put pressure on Israel in peace negotiations.

No Iranian flights carrying arms appear to have landed at the airport in the past week, U.S. officials said, explaining that Syria evidently has heeded U.S. requests that it cut off Hezbollah's access to help force a cease-fire. President Clinton praised Syria on Tuesday for displaying what he called "commendable restraint" during the fighting, without explaining exactly what prompted his remark.

Israeli diplomats in Washington have called attention to the arming of Hezbollah in conversations with U.S. lawmakers this week, citing them as a partial justification for their employment of substantial military forces during the fighting.

More than 155 Katyusha rockets and an undetermined number of Sagger anti-tank missiles were expended by Hezbollah forces in attacks against Israel this week, while Israel fired more than 10,000 artillery shells into southern Lebanon in an effort to force an exodus of Hezbollah members or sympathizers by demolishing entire villages.

The Katyusha is a crude, short-range rocket of Soviet design that measures roughly 12 feet in length; if necessary, it can be fired by launchers cobbled together from large pieces of wood scrap. Shells for it are manufactured by many countries, including Iran, which also purchased many Katyusha from North Korea for use during its war with Iraq between 1980 and 1988.

"The Third World is flooded with them," said one U.S. government expert.

The Sagger, which was blamed in the death of at least one Israeli soldier this week, is a Soviet-designed guided anti-tank missile that can be fired from ground or mobile launchers. Egyptian forces used them against Israel during the 1973 Yom Kippur War, but they apparently have been used by Hezbollah for only the past year or so.

"You can buy them from any gray-market arms dealers," the U.S. expert said. Iran purchased armored personnel carriers equipped with Sagger missiles in the 1970s.

Staff writer Ann Devroy contributed to this report.

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<p>מצ"ב מאמר המערכת (השני השבוע) של הרוש-פוסט המבקר התגובה החריפה של ישראל לירי הקטיושות, הממקד החמזבאללה בתמיכת איראן כמכשול הגדול לשלום והמתאר הציפיות מביקור קריסטוסר: השגת התקדמות בתהליך השלום. הערה: השוואת ניקת ותוכן מאמר מערכת זה של העיתון - לקודם ממחישה היטב השינוי שחל בהתייחסות התקשורת לאירועים בלבנון.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">רות ירון</p>		

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THE WASH

A20 SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1993

# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## A Week in Lebanon

**T**HE SCALE of Israel's response to terrorist attack has now itself become an international issue, obscuring in some quarters the original provocation by Hezbollah guerrillas. And with reason: The Israelis, to protect their own borders, have killed 100 and more Lebanese, purposefully displaced hundreds of thousands and shot up whole villages. The immediate purpose is to put the guerrillas out of business. The avowed larger concept is to create such an immense internal crisis in Lebanon as to finally compel the Arab side—if not weak Lebanon, then strong Syria—to leash Hezbollah. But the operation involves attacks so disproportionate and harsh as to stir misgivings and criticism from the best foreign friends of Israel, including the United States, and even from members of Israel's governing coalition.

The first priority is a cease-fire. Whether it is open or tacit, is not so important as that it register a commitment by Syria to contain Hezbollah. This terrorist organization is commonly

known to exist in Lebanon without the comforts of Hafez Assad's patronage. In the past, Syria had the Moscow connection that let it resist Israeli pressures and American entreaties to restrain the Lebanon-based guerrillas dependent on Damascus. But with the Moscow connection gone and with Hafez Assad now counting on Washington to help him reclaim the war-lost Golan, new possibilities arise. This is the theory, at any rate.

Whether it works requires momentum to be restored to the Washington-sponsored Middle East peace talks. Clinton administration officials have been clumsy in their attempts to traverse tricky political terrain—slow to identify Syria's link with Hezbollah, for instance. But they still have time to exploit the diplomatic openings provided by the Lebanon disruptions. Syria needs to be coached to tie up Hezbollah. Israel needs to accept that its exposure to guerrilla rockets does not give it an unrestricted right to disrupt Lebanese civilians—or to remain in occupation of

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קונכ"לים צפ"א

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: הפס"אש - תגובת מחמ"ד  
בהמשך לשיחתנו

להלן תגובת דובר מחמ"ד על החלטת הפסקת האש בגבול הצפון:-

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
OFFICE OF THE SPOKESMAN

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JULY 31, 1993

STATEMENT BY MICHAEL MCCURRY, SPOKESMAN

THE UNITED STATES IS PLEASED THAT THE MILITARY ACTIVITY AND THE VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON AND NORTHERN ISRAEL HAVE STOPPED. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, PEOPLE ON BOTH SIDES WILL BE ABLE TO RETURN HOME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. WE URGE ALL PARTIES TO WORK TO ASSURE THAT CALM PREVAILS.

IN TRAVELING TO THE MIDDLE EAST THIS WEEK, SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER'S PURPOSE WILL BE TO REFOCUS THE PARTIES ON THE NEGOTIATIONS AND ON MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD A JUST, LASTING AND COMPREHENSIVE PEACE. THE RECENT FIGHTING AND VIOLENCE IN LEBANON AND NORTHERN ISRAEL ONLY UNDERSCORE THE NECESSITY FOR ALL THE PARTIES TO THE PEACE PROCESS MAKING EVERY EFFORT NOW TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS TO NARROW THEIR DIFFERENCES.

תקשורת



תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
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שמור/מיודי

אל: מצפ"א  
מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ/ הקצבות - קליטת עליה.

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Institute of Human Relations  
185 East 58 Street  
New York, NY 10022-27  
(212) 761-4000

July 29, 1993

The Honorable Patrick J. Leahy  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Foreign Operations  
Committee on Appropriations  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Chairman,

The American Jewish Committee urges your support for continued full funding of Israel's refugee resettlement program in the Fiscal 1994 appropriations bill.

We know that the competition for federal dollars this year has been fiercer than ever, and we were thus pleased that funds for the entire refugee account were increased in the House Foreign Operations Appropriations bill; we hope that the Senate will act similarly to provide additional funds to meet increasing demands on refugee programs. We are cognizant, as well, of the conflicting demands on the Subcommittee from the various constituencies for American-supported refugee programs, and the difficulty of the task before you of allocating scarce resources among so many worthy causes.

In that context, we want you to know how appreciative we are of your past efforts to maintain needed funding for refugee assistance worldwide, and of our hope for your continued leadership on behalf of these urgently needed programs. The American Jewish Committee has a long tradition of advocacy for U.S. aid to refugees from international conflict and religious and political persecution, and we salute your dedication to keeping America at the forefront of international aid efforts for victims of oppression.

As you weigh the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill in the coming weeks, we call your attention to the continuing need for the resettlement in Israel of Jewish refugees from oppression. The American Jewish Committee asks your help in maintaining America's historic commitment to the rescue and absorption of Jewish refugees from the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia and other regions — a mission that will be greatly assisted by maintaining level funding for refugee resettlement in Israel at the \$80 million level.

With friendship and respect, we remain,

Sincerely,

Alfred H. Moses

David A. Harris



JUL-29-93 THU 16:07

AJC-D.C.

FAX NO. 2027854115

P.01

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The American Jewish Committee

1216  
213

July 29, 1993

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			Alfred H. Moses	David A. Harris	1

The Honorable David R. Obey  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Foreign Operations  
Committee on Appropriations  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman,

The American Jewish Committee is grateful for the work you have done to assure continued full funding of Israel's refugee resettlement program in the Fiscal 1994 appropriations bill.

We know that the competition for federal dollars this year has been fiercer than ever, and we find it remarkable — and a testament to your commitment to refugee assistance and your skillful legislative management — that funds for the entire refugee account were actually increased in the Committee mark. We are also cognizant of the conflicting demands on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee from the various constituencies for American-supported refugee programs, and the difficulty of the task of allocating scarce resources among so many worthy causes.

In that context, we want you to know how appreciative we are of your efforts to assure the greatest possible funding, within the confines of responsible budgeting, for a broad array of refugee programs answering critical needs throughout the world. The American Jewish Committee has a long tradition of advocacy for U.S. aid to refugees from international conflict and religious and political persecution, and we salute your steadfast commitment to keeping America at the forefront of international aid efforts for victims of oppression.

In particular, we appreciate your prodigious effort — and signal success — in assuring that funding for refugee resettlement in Israel continues at the \$80 million level. Our members, and all friends of Israel, owe you a considerable debt for your work on behalf of this vital program, which helps provide refugees to Israel the means to emigrate to and integrate into the Jewish homeland.

With friendship and admiration, and best wishes for your continued success, we remain,

Sincerely,

*Alfred H. Moses*

Alfred H. Moses

*David A. Harris*

David A. Harris



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אאאא, חוזם: 33407

אל: רהמש/1125

מ-: פרנציסקו, נר: 89, תא: 300793, זח: 1723, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מיד

אל : ממנכ"ל, מנהל מצפ"א

דע : וושיגטון-השגריר, נאו"ם-השגריר

מאת: קונכ"ל ס"פ

הנדון: שיחה עם צ'רלי היל

להלן נקודות עיקריות משיחה שקיימתי עם צ'רלי היל, יועצו המיוחד של מזכ"ל האו"ם בוטרס ראלי, הממשיך להימנות על חבורת יועצים מצומצמת עימה מתייעץ ממשל קלינטון בנושאי חוץ. השיחה התקיימה במשרדו של היל במכון הובר באונ' סטנפורד (29 דנא). השתתף ארבל.

א. לבנון -

1. היל סבור שנסיעתו של קריסטופר למז"ת תמנע פעילות או"מית בנושא בימים הקרובים אך מאמין שבסופו של דבר יאלץ האו"ם לפעול אם בצורת גינוי או במעורבות פעילה יותר אם הפעילות הצבאית לא תסתיים בהקדם.

2. בהשוואה למלחמת לבנון ב-82' בה היתה נתונה אהדת דעת הקהל העולמית לאש"ף הרי שבמשבר הנוכחי, קובע היל, אין כל אהדה לחיזבאללה-מכאן ההבנה בדעה"ק לפעולת צה"ל בימיה הראשונים. זו השתנתה בעקבות תמונות הפליטים, ההרס וכו'.

3. היל תיאר תחושת ה-DEJA VU שחש לנוכח המשבר - "זהו משחק שכולם שיחקו כבר ב-1982, ואסד הינו מצוין במשחקים מסוג זה, כאשר הוא יודע להשיג רווחים עבור סוריה".

4. היל משוכנע שהמרוויח העיקרי מן המשבר הינו החיזבאללה שקרנו בעולם עולה ושלגיטימיות פעולתו מתחזקת.

5. מודע לכך שישראל אינה יכולה לקבל כמובן מאליו ירי קטיושות על ישובי הגליל אך סבור שבמישור הצבאי צריכה להיות תשובה הולמת יותר. יש לפעול נגד החיזבאללה כפי שפועלים מול הטרור בשטחים. יש להכות החיזבאללה נקודתית. פעולה מסוג זה היתה מתקבלת בעולם בהבנה. נוכחות המצלמות יוצרות בעיה תדמיתית בעלת השלכות מדיניות לישראל.

ב. מצרים - פונדמנטליזם

היל גילה הבנה ותמיכה במדיניות "היד הקשה" של הנשיא מובראכ כלפי

הפונדמנטליסטים במצרים. מעריך כי הממשל המצרי נאלץ לנקוט בה, עקב איבוד שליטה על הנעשה בערי השדה. התנועה הפונדמנטליסטית "השתלטה" על השירותים הסוציאליים בערי השדה ודחקה הממשל המצרי הצידה. משיחות עם עמיתים מצרים באו"ם משתכנע שהדרך היחידה להתמודד עם התופעה היא טיפול נקודתי, דהיינו עימות פנים אל פנים.

היל אינו פוסל האפשרות כי בעתיד הלא-רחוק תדמה מצרים לפקיסטן, קרי שיתוף הפונדמנטליסטים בניהול המדינה כאשר הסמכות הפורמלית ורסן השלטון יהיה בידי הנשיא והצבא. ישנה סכנה כי במבנה שלטוני חדש מעין זה יאלץ הנשיא המצרי "להקריב" היחסים עם ישראל על-מנת לרצות הפונדמנטליסטים.

ג. נשיאות קלינטון - מדיניות חוץ - תהליך

### 1. כללי -

הרושם הברור הינו שהנשיא קלינטון נבחר ע"מ לקדם עדיפויות בתחום מדיניות הפנים. על כך יישפט ע"י הציבור האמריקאי. עד עתה טרם מימש הבטחת בחירות אחת בתחום מדיניות הפנים והוא עלול להפוך ל-ONE TERM PRESIDENT. עליו להצביע על הישגים בתחום הנ"ל. מכאן שאין בכוונת הנשיא לעסוק בנושאי חוץ יתר על המידה להוציא הטיפול במשברים. היל ציין כי לנגד עיניו של קלינטון ניצבת נורת אזהרה של נשיאות לינדון ג'ונסון שנבחר בשל הפתרונות שהציע בענייני פנים ושעד מהרה נגרר למלחמת ויטנאם שהכשילה נשיאותו. היל סבור שמדיניות קלינטון כלפי משבר בוסניה נובעת מכך שאין לא ברירה אחרת. אין הוא מעונין ללכת בעקבות לינדון ג'ונסון ומכאן ש"לא ילך עד הסוף" בכל הקשור למעורבות אמריקאית בבוסניה.

### 2. מז"ת-תהליך -

בממשל קלינטון בתחום מדיניות החוץ ישנה תיקרה שמעבר לה אין לפעול. הנשיא מאפשר פעילות מסוימת עד לאותה תיקרה אך לא מעבר לה. הדבר נכון גם ביחס למז"ת. מידת הענין של קלינטון במז"ת נובעת מכך שכל המומחים מציינים באוזניו כי הוא הנשיא המקבל לידיו מז"ת הבשל יותר מאי-פעם לתהליך שבסופו הסדר שלום וכי אל לו להחמיץ ההזדמנות שכן זה עלול להיזקק לחובתו. לכן המזכיר קריסטופר הוא האיש המתאים לטיפול בתהליך כי הוא מחזיק התהליך בתנועה מבלי להעלות רמת המחויבות. לכן גם טבעי למנות אדם כדניס רוס לתקופת זמן מוגדרת שכן ישנה תקווה שיקדם התהליך עד סוף '93. היל צופה כי הטיפול בתהליך לא יסתיים עד סוף השנה ועקב כך עלולה לרדת רמת המעורבות האמריקאית שתעשה אף בדרג נמוך יותר. היל סיפר כי בששת השבועות האחרונים השתתף במסגרת צוות מומחים (יחד עם מרפי, קוואנדט ואתרטון) בישיבות עבודה עם המזכיר ועם סם לואיס והתרשמויותיו דלעיל הינן על-בסיס ישיבות העבודה הנ"ל.

לבסוף, ביחס לתהליך מייחס היל משמעות רבה להתקרבות בין ירדן ואש"ף. ביחס לישראל סבור שעלינו לשאוף להתבטא בקול אחד. הבדלי גישות בעמדות המנהיגים עלולה ליצור בעיות כמו"מ ולעכבו.

עד כאן .

קני טל



ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 33394

אל: רהמש/1124

מ-: ווש, נר: 2112, תא: 300793, זח: 1800, דח: מ, סג: סו,

כבכב

סודי/מידי

א ל: מנהל מצפ'א

ד ע: לשכת שה'ח, לשכת רה'מ, לשכת שר האוצר  
ציר כלכלי - כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: סנאט - חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות: עדכון

היום, 30/7, התקשרה עימי רובין קליבלנד עוזרתו של בכיר המיעוט (בועדתו של לייחה) הסנטור מקונל כדי לעדכנני.

א. הסיכויים קלושים וכמעט לא קיימים לקיום MARK-UP ביום ב' הקרוב, ולפעול בכלל במהלך השבוע הקרוב כדי להניע את החוק בסנאט.  
ב. אינוייה וסטיבנס (ראשי ועדת המשנה לתקציב הפנטגון) טרם נתנו הסכמתנו להעברת כספי הגנה לטובת הסיוע לרוסיה. היום התקיימה ישיבה בין אינוייה, לייחי ובירד ולא הצליחו ג'כ להגיע להסכם.

ג. המזכיר כריסטופר ביקש כבר מספר פעמים להפגש עם הסנטור בירד ואולם האחרון BRUSHED HIM ASIDE ומסרב לראותו. הסיבה איננה בהכרח ישראל אלא העובדה הפשוטה שבירד איננו מתעניין בסיוע חוץ אלא בענייני פנים שעל הפרק. בהקשר זה ראוי לציין כי אנשי הסנטור מקונל שוחחו עם אנשי הסנטור בירד (כידוע יחסי לייחי וצוותו עם בירד אינם מן הטובים) אשר הבהירו כי בירד אינו רוצה להיות מופתע וכן שהוא מודע לכך שאין לו הקולות בועדה. לפיכך, מקונל וצוותו והרפובליקאים האחרים אשר מתנגדים ממילא לרעיון של ה-DEFERRAL לשנת'95 של ה-170 מ' דולר, מסרבים גם 'לרמות' את בירד ע'י ביצוע תרגיל פרוצדורלי של דחייה זמנית והחזרת הכסף באמצעות תיקון במליאת הסנאט (אגב, דיק ד'אמאטו. עוזרו של בירד אשר שוחח על קליבלנד הביע התנגדות חריפה למהלך, לשאלתי מדוע, ענתה קליבלנד כי בירד מעוניין שישראל תשלם את מלוא ה-170 מ' דולר) להערכתה של קליבלנד, יעבדו על כך במשך חודש אוגוסט, יאשרו את הפתרון ששיגו עם בירד וגם הממשל ובספטמבר יהיו מוכנים להניע את החוק.

ד. עם סיום כתיבת מברקי זה (מאוחר אחה'צ ביום ו') התקשרה שוב רובין קליבלנד ומסרה כי לא יתקיים MARK-UP ביום ב' וכנראה לא יטפלו בחוק הסיוע בשבוע הקרוב, לפי יציאת הקונגרס לפגרת הקיץ.  
ה. הערב, 1800, התקשר אריק ניוסום ומסר כי לא יתקיים ביום ב' MARK-UP ולא לפני יציאת הקונגרס לפגרה בסוף שבוע זה.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.



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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 33365

אל: רהמש/1121

מ-: ווש, נר: 2109, תא: 300793, זח: 1630, דח: מ, סג: סו ,

בבב

סודי/מידי

א ל: ממנכ'ל, מנהל מצפ'א

ד ע: לש' רה'מ, לש' שה'ח

מאת: הציר - וושינגטון

הנדון: משיחה עם איש צוות השלום האמריקאי.

- ישתדלו מאוד ששיחות המזכיר תעסוקנה אך מעט בעניני הגבול הלבנוני ותוקדשנה בעיקר לנושא השלום.

- אין להם תכניות ברוח מאמר 'הארצ' (פרוסות נסיגה תמורת פרוסות --- שלום - בשלבימ).

גם אין להם תכנית הקובעת שעל שיחות פתרון הקבע להתחיל שנתיים לאחר חתימת הסכם האוטונומיה (כפי שכתוב באותו מאמר).

- לגבי סוריה, מוכן המזכיר להפוך עצמו לכלי תקשורת בין אסד לרביץ. הממשל ניסה פעמיים ליצור הידברות ישירה בין השניים אך ללא הועיל. מאידך, מסכים אסד לדבר באמצעות כריסטופר. המזכיר רוצה לפעול יותר על פי דוגמת קיסינג'ור, שעסק במהות, מאשר על פי דוגמת בייקר, שעסק בפרוצדורה. זה אינו עומד בסתירה למדריד אלא כהשלמה. שיחות אסד כריסטופר - רביץ לא באות במקום שיחות הישירות אלא נועדות לאפשר אותן. הגישה היא שלרביץ ורביץ ועלאף יהיה על מה לדבר אם אסד ורביץ יאפשרו להם להגיע לתכלית. כך שמדובר כנדבך שני ( LAYER ) ולא בתחליף.

יתכנו אפילו נדבכים נוספים (כמו קציני צבא) עם או בלי תיווך אמריקאי, וכל אלה דווקא ייצאו עבודה לצוותי המום ולא יגרעו מפרנסתם.

שילה.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, רביב, סייבל, משפט, ר/מרכז

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 33225

אל: רהמש/1120

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 963, תא: 300793, זח: 1437, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכבב

בלמס/מידי

א ל: תמ"ס -סחר חוץ - פרי

מאת: כלכלית - וושינגטון

ד ע: מצפ"א כלכלית

קישור לקונגרס

30/7/93

הנדון: חקיקת תוכנית GSP

לאחר שהממשל הודיע כי, בכוונה, כעניין של טקטיקה, שמר על פרופיל נמוך בעניין ה GSP (כך על פי דיווח שנתנה הגב' ננסי למונד האחראית על ענייני חקיקה מטעם ה USTR) נרתמו לתמיכה בנושא ה"ה פנטה ראש ה OMB, המזכיר בנטסון- שר האוצר, הווארד פאסטר- ראש מחלקת חקיקה בבית הלבן כשהם מקיימים פגישות עם מחוקקים היושבים בוועדה המשותפת ומביעים תמיכה חזקה בנושא. אף הנשיא בביקורו ב"גבעה" הודיע על תמיכתו בתוכנית.

בעקבות פעילות זו גובש בטיטת הנוסח הסופי נוסח התוכנית ככל הנראה דומה או זהה לנוסח שהופיע בהצעת חוק התקציב בבית. דהיינו הושגה הסכמה של הוועדה לנוסח משותף בעניין תוכנית ה GSP.

אתמול עלה נושא שנוי במחלוקת על הפרק והוא הטלת מס על דלק, אשר הכנים מתח רב מחדש בין שני הבתים ובינם ובין הבית הלבן. היום, בשעות אילו בודקים את הנוסח הסופי, לאור מתח זה, אם חוק התקציב החדש אכן מקיים את שהבטיח והוא קיצוץ הגירעון. לאור ההצעה להגדיל את נטל המס, אם לא הושגה המטרה של קיצוץ של 5 ב.י. דולר (ורבים סבורים כי ההצעה רחוקה מאד מסכום זה), נבחנת עתה כל תוכנית ותוכנית בקפידה ותבחן מחדש האפשרות לקצץ בתוכניות על מנת להקטין את ההוצאות.

המטרה שקבעו לעצמם המחוקקים היא לשבת היום עד כמה שנחוץ על מנת להגיע לחוק תקציב שלם אשר יועבר לאישור שני הבתים בתחילת שבוע הבא. צפוי כי המחוקקים הרפובליקאנים יתנגדו לחבילה כולה, על אף שהיו אילו שדאגו להכללת התוכנית בנוסח הבית. תוכנית ה GSP, היא מזערית ביחס למורכבות של כל החבילה.

הסכנה של קיצוץ הוצאה של 800 מיליון דולר בצירוף הרצון של כמה מחוקקים להוציא את התוכנית מחוק התקציב על מנת לתפוס על גבה טרמפ לצורכי חקיקת סחר נפרדת בספטמבר אשר תכלול בין השאר את הנושא של "SUPER 301" אשר רבים תומכים בנושא זה, עדיין מרחפת מעל התוכנית.

יתכן ובשעות הקרובות ייוודעו פרטים נוספים, נעדכן אתכם בהתאם.

עד כאן

כלכלית

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ערן, כלכליתב',  
מצפא, סי יבל, משפט, תמס

סססס



אל: תפוצה תקשורת ארה"ב	פ"ן, ט"ז
דע: בטחון - יועץ שהב"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ימ' העכירוכא)	סיוג: בלמ"ס
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק	תזח:
	ח'ס' מדק:

1220

# IRANIAN ARMS SENT BY SYRIA, U.S. SAYS

## Damascus Accused of Moving Weapons to Foes of Israel in Southern Lebanon

By **TIM WEINER**  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 28 — Syria helped to ship antitank rockets and other weapons sent by Iran to the Party of God, or Hezbollah, days before the worst outbreak of violence between Israel and the militant organization in southern Lebanon in a decade, Government officials said today.

Disclosure of the shipments came from Representative Tom Lantos, Democrat of California, in testimony before a House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee by the Director of Central Intelligence, R. James Woolsey.

"Two weeks ago, on July 15, Syrian armed guards stood by at Damascus International Airport as an Iran Air 747 unloaded antitank rockets and a range of other weapons," Mr. Lantos said in a statement confirmed by other Government officials.

New York Times

29-7

*Handwritten signature*

שם השולח: תאריך: 29-7-73

- (3) שהח (2) טשה"ח (1) רחמ (1)
- הסברה (2) ר/מרכז (1) מסד (4) דס (1) אמ"ן (4) אומ"ן (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)
- צנזורצבאי (1) דו"צ-ים (1)



The weapons "were promptly trucked off to Lebanon under military escort for use by Hezbollah to intensify its attacks on the settlements in the north of Israel," the congressman said. His remarks contrasted with President Clinton's praise for Syrian "restraint" in the conflict.

#### A Warning About Iran

Mr. Woolsey, who had come before the subcommittee to address issues regarding the spread of weapons, did not publicly confirm the accusation. He said only that "Hezbollah definitely has a home in the Bekaa," in eastern Lebanon, "and its activities as the world's principal international terrorist organization are a matter of deep concern." Iran, Mr. Woolsey said, remains a threat in the spread of weapons and is determined to build a nuclear bomb. With help from China, Russia, Pakistan and North Korea, the Iranians could have an atomic bomb by the end of the decade, he said.

(2)

Gordon Oehler, the C.I.A.'s top analyst on such issues, told the committee that China had supplied much of the technology to Iran's foundation for building nuclear weapons.

Mr. Woolsey confirmed today that North Korea had tested a sophisticated missile with a range of more than 625 miles, and that Iran was trying hard to buy the weapon, which can be armed with nuclear or chemical warheads.

#### Missile Poses New Threats

"With this missile, North Korea could reach Japan," Mr. Woolsey said, although he revealed nothing previously unpublished about the new North Korean missile. "Iran could reach Israel. And Libya could reach U.S. bases and allied capitals in the Mediterranean region."

Mr. Woolsey used his public testimony to conduct a quick tour of a heavily armed planet, sounding a clear but controlled alarm about the spread of weaponry and nuclear-weapons production technology.

The issue has become one of the most important at the C.I.A. since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The agency created a group to analyze the spread of weapons after the 1991 war against Iraq, a conflict that revealed how Baghdad had become a world-class military power with help from the United States, its European allies and Western corporations.

Mr. Woolsey said the Central Intelligence Agency had not detected any sales or transfers of nuclear weapons from the former Soviet Union, despite "sensational stories" to the contrary. He said the agency had begun "collegial but careful" cooperation with the Russian intelligence service on issues concerning the spread of weapons, terrorism and narcotics.

"The challenge we face in controlling proliferation is complex," Mr. Woolsey said. "We must decipher an intricate web of suppliers, middlemen and end users."

And, he said, the C.I.A. must help stop "material, technology and know-how" flowing to rogue states from friends and enemies alike.

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2

1226



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1213

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 29 יולי 1993

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - סיוע החוץ

מצ"ב מאמר המערכת של ה-WP (29/7) המבקר את תכנית סיוע החוץ של ארה"ב. המאמר מבקר את ממשל קלינטון אשר הוכיח חוסר יכולת להוציא לפועל את הרפורמה במדיניות סיוע החוץ. תכניות הסיוע הרגילות (מצרים, ישראל ורוסיה) הן היחידות שיוגשו לאישור בעוד שהמדינות העניות בעולם נותרות ללא מקורות אשר יוכלו לסייע להן.

תקשורת

2.1.8

שירי סג"ח (הח) מינהל ממשלתי מ"מ



2/2

WP

29/7

1213

## Who Will Aid Foreign Aid?

**T**HIS WAS supposed to be the year in which America's foreign aid program experienced the comprehensive restructuring long sought by supporters and opponents alike. It was also to be the year in which a new administration committed to sustainable economic development and the eradication of poverty would provide leadership in targeting aid money on poorer nations that are taking the right measures to raise living standards. Unfortunately, the opportunity for achieving both ends is fading fast. If the moment is lost, the Clinton administration will have itself to blame.

The time was ripe for addressing the host of aid reform issues when the House Foreign Affairs Committee considered the foreign assistance authorizing legislation earlier this year. Chairman Lee Hamilton and his Republican counterpart, Benjamin Gilman, had produced a first-rate reform package four years ago and were eagerly awaiting an administration that had a genuine interest in fixing foreign aid. But the Clinton administration was unprepared to engage the House in a serious discussion, despite earlier pledges to have a restructuring plan ready for Congress in the spring. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is faced with a similar

dilemma; it's ready to tackle the problems as well. But the Hill has been stymied by interminable executive branch reviews and turf battles that have left the reform plan languishing in the in-boxes of senior bureaucrats.

Meanwhile, it's close to business as usual with the foreign aid appropriations bill. As the administration meanders, the House has sent to the Senate a spending bill that chops away at what is already a tight aid request. The bill's huge engines—aid to Russia, Israel and Egypt—almost guarantee that most of the administration's money requests will safely pass through Congress in spite of overall budget constraints. But a terrible price is being paid as a result. To make room for these politically inviolable items, programs that serve the poorest of the poor—the World Bank's International Development Association, AID's Development Fund for Africa—had to take serious hits in the House-passed bill. What's worse, people in the world's poorest nations must bear the burden of cuts in order to fund aid to the International Fund for Ireland, Portugal, Greece, Turkey and—unkindest of all—\$7 million for African elephant conservation. Where is the administration?



12

1/2

1913

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 29 יולי 1993

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

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*Handwritten signature in red ink.*

תקשורת

שה"י משה' 1  
היסלריה 2  
1 פה"ח  
2 יניא  
1 יניא  
2 מדיסא  
1 סאטא גיבויט  
1 משה

2/2

WP

29/7

1213

## Who Will Aid Foreign Aid?

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1/3

1209 - נלמח  
152 - ט"ו

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 29 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: תהליך השלום

מצ"ב המאמר של סטפן גרין (29/7 WZ) אודות תהליך השלום אשר הגיע לפרשת דרכים. גרין טבור כי נסיעתו של מזכיר המדינה כריסטופר למזה"ת נעשית בעיתוי חשוב והדרך להחיות את תהליך השלום הינה שכנוע ישראל והפלסטינים לדון בהצעה לקונפדרציה ירדנית - פלסטינית. הצעת הקונפדרציה תהפוך את רצועת עזה והגדה המערבית לשטחים מפורזים - דבר אשר יענה על הדרישות הבטחוניות של ישראל ויתן לפלסטינים יותר שליטה על פונקציות החיים שלהם.

תקשורת

(27) שחח(2) ססח"ח(1) להמ(1) מנכל(2) ממנכל(1) מצפא(2) סמנכלתקשורת(1)  
הסברה(2) ר/מרכז(1) ממד(4) רס(1) אמנ(4) אומנ(1) סייבל(1) משפט(1)  
צנזורצבאי(1) דוצ-ים(1)

2/3 1209

**STEPHEN GREEN**

The Middle East peace talks have reached a crossroads after 10 rounds of fruitless discussions. The Israeli offensive against Hezbollah in Lebanon coupled with the Palestinian demand for control of East Jerusalem underscore the hurdles that remain after 22 months of scant progress. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's trip to the region and his efforts to give new impetus to the negotiations between Israel and her Arab neighbors come at a critical time.

There have been international calls for all parties to the combat in Lebanon to exercise restraint. But any objective analysis of what has transpired reveals that the primary blame for the fighting rests with Hezbollah, the pro-Iranian Party of God.

The Israeli government would have been derelict if there had been no response to the attacks on its troops in the Jewish state's security zone in southern Lebanon and to the rockets aimed at civilian targets in northern Israel. Obviously, Hezbollah hopes the fighting will derail the peace talks and utterly destroy prospects for an Israeli-Arab accord.

Not only should international opinion censure Hezbollah, it should condemn the terrorist organization's patrons. Hezbollah would be largely defanged without support from Iran, which supplies it with weapons and other assistance, and from Syria, which allows it to operate with impunity on Lebanese territory controlled by Damascus. The Lebanese government is little more than a Syrian puppet regime.

Iran's sanctioning of the Hezbollah attacks is deplorable, but at least it is understandable given Teheran's opposition to the peace process.

Why Syria has allowed the Hezbollah attacks to occur is more of a puzzle. Perhaps President Hafez al-Assad condones Hezbollah's actions as a sign of his annoyance at Israel's refusal so far to return the Golan Heights to Syria. If so, Mr. Christopher should inform Mr. Assad of U.S. displeasure. While Syria wants to retain its former territory, it offers nothing of value in return.

## Salvage mission for Mideast talks

A settlement requiring Israel to give up land should provide it with a formal peace treaty and full-fledged bilateral relations and security guarantees. Mr. Christopher should make it clear to Syria that the United States will not press Israel to give up something for nothing.

In continuing the Syrian occupation of much of Lebanon and in effectively sponsoring the Hezbollah attack on Israel, Mr. Assad is not acting like a leader who desires a fair peace.

Mr. Christopher properly has ad-

vised the Palestinians to abandon, at least for now, their claim to East Jerusalem. The game plan for the negotiations adopted at the opening round in Madrid places the delicate subjects of East Jerusalem's status and an independent Palestinian state off limits. It is self-defeating for the Palestinians to unilaterally change the rules of the game and say the interim goal of autonomy now is insufficient.

While it may be difficult for the Palestinians to accept, Israel will never surrender East Jerusalem vol-

WT 29/7

*Stephen Green is a correspondent and columnist for the Copley News Service's Washington bureau.*



3/3 1209

untarily. To do so would be political suicide for any Israeli government.

For the Palestinians at this late date to say they will not negotiate for anything less than an independent state with East Jerusalem as its capital condemns themselves to continue in their present plight.

Lamentably, a major impediment to an agreement is the Palestinians' political weakness. The Palestinian people appear to lack confidence in both the indigenous leadership of the West Bank and the Palestinian Liberation Organization bureaucracy in Tunis.

One option Mr. Christopher ought to be exploring is a confederation of Gaza and the West Bank with Jordan. While not part of the Madrid framework, there are signs that Israeli officials, the Palestinians and Jordan would find such an arrangement acceptable.

Confederation with Jordan would provide the Palestinians with more control over their own destiny. If, moreover, a confederation agreement made the West Bank and Gaza into demilitarized zones, Israeli security concerns could be satisfied.

If Mr. Christopher wants to revitalize the peace talks, pursuing the confederation option may be the way to do it.





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אאאא, חוזם: 32386

אל: רהמש/1066

מ-: ווש, נר: 2106, תא: 290793, זח: 2030, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/ מיידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דע: לשכת שה'ח, לשכת רה'מ, לשכת שר האוצר

דע: ציר כלכלי - כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: סנאט: חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות

1. היום (29/7) לפנות ערב התקשר אריק ניוסום ומסר שהסנטור ליייה דיבר היום ארוכות עם המזכיר כריסטופר ולאור דברי המזכיר וניתוחו את המצב המזה'ת החליט הסנטור ל'שריינ' הסיוע למדינות ק'ד.

2. ניוסום ציין כי הם מבקשים בתמורה שת'פ (לא פירט). יש לפתור כדבריו את 'בעיית ה-170 מיליון דולר. ליייה מבקש, בדחיפת הממשל, לקיים ה-MARK-UP ביום ב' הקרוב 2/8. דיבר על כך כבר עם הסנטור מקונל ועם המזכיר כריסטופר.

יקיימו עוד דיונים משך כל הערב והלילה.  
המטרה שלהם היא לקיים:-

ביום ב' - 2/8 MARK-UP בועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות.

ביום ג' - 3/8 MARK-UP במליאת ועדת ההקצבות.

ביום ה', ו' או שבת 5-7/8 דיון ואישור במליאת הסנאט.

3. לא מצאו עדיין פתרון לפתירת בעיית ה- SCORING. כל הצעה או רעיון יתקבלו על ידם. אינם 'נעולימ' דווקא על רעיון דחיית ה-170 מ' דולר לשט'א '95.

4. הסנטור מקונל וגם הסנטור אינוייה אינם מסכימים לקיים ה-MARK

UP עד אשר לא תבוא על פתרונה בעיית ה-170 מ' דולר ו' 'שריונ'

שאר התכניות הישראליות.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

רש



תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, @ (ראשהממשלה),  
שרהאוצר

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 32388

אל: רהמש/1069

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 932, תא: 290793, זח: 2040, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בכב

שמור/רגיל

אל: מצפ"א

דע: הקונכ"ל בוסטון

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: פגישת השגריר רבינוביץ עם הסנטור מיטצ'ל  
1. ב- 27/7 נפגש השגריר עם מנהיג הרוב בסנאט, הסנטור מיטצ'ל. נכח עוזרו  
ברט אוברייך ומצידנו דרנגר ובינה.

2. השגריר התייחס להפסקת ביקורו של המזכיר באסיה (עליה נודע באותו בוקר)  
וחזרתו לווינגטון, והביע תקווה שיעמוד במועדי הביקור שנקבעו במזה"ת.  
באופן מקורי, נועד ביקור המזכיר להחיות את התהליך ואף היו לנו תקוות  
במיוחד לגבי סוריה (בעקבות ביקור צוות השלום האמריקני בדמשק ופגישתו עם  
אסד).

ערב הביקור, המשיך השגריר, הגביר החיזבללה פעילותו בדרום ככל הנראה  
בעדודה של אירן- ברצות השניים לחבל בתהליך. כמו כן מנהלת סוריה משחק  
מורכב. מפקדתו של ג'יבריל, המעורב גם הוא באופן פעיל בדרום, ממוקדת  
בדמשק ואם ג'יבריל נוטל אחריות לפעילותו, בשיבתו בדמשק, הרי שזה מדליק  
נורית אזהרה. מטרתה של ישראל היא להמשיך את תהליך השלום ולא רק לשאת  
ולתת על הפסק"ש בלבנון אלא לבצע "טיפול שורש אמיתי". כאשר נוכל לדבר עם  
הסורים על שלום בטחון ונסיגה, נוכל לדבר עמם גם על דרום לבנון. ניתן  
יהיה למצוא פתרון מיידי למשבר הנוכחי אולם יש כאמור למצא פתרון לטווח  
הארוך. השגריר סקר ארוכות את פעילות צה"ל בלבנון סיבותיהן ומטרותיהן.

3. מיטצ'ל השיב כי הוא מאד תומך ברה"מ רבין, היו לו עמו מספר פגישות  
טובות ולהערכתו הוא פועל היטב ובאופן חיובי למען תהליך השלום. אולם,  
המשיך מיטצ'ל, הוא חושש ומודאג שסיבוב האלימות האחרון מסייע לחיזבללה  
לחבל בתהליך השלום. בהתחשב בעובדה שפעולות צה"ל היא תגובה למה שקרה לפני  
כן וכי יש גם שיקולי פנים, נראה לו שהמצב הגיע לידי כך שהמטרות העיקריות  
נטשטשו ואבדו. הם (החיזבללה) מיצגים מדיניות אירנית נגד תהליך השלום  
ונגד יציבות בלבנון ונגד הנושאים והנותנים. כל מדינה ריבונית אחראית  
לקבל החלטותיה אולם נראה לו שהאינטרס הישראלי כרגע הוא איפוק. לגבי  
הניתוח של השגריר את לבנון והצורך בנסיגה סורית מלבנון אמר מיטצ'ל כי גם  
על ישראל לסגת מלבנון. הוא מבין את הרציונאל העומד מאחורי איזור הבטחון  
בדר"ל אולם לא תבצע נסיגה סורית חד צדדית ללא נסיגה ישראלית.

השגריר השיב כי הצגנו ללבנונים תכנית ברוח הנ"ל. הלבנונים אכן תמכו אולם  
הסורים הורו להם לעצור. לישראל אין כל תביעה טריטוריאלית או אחרת בלבנון  
ורצונה הוא בגבול בטוח ושקט.



4. השגריר העלה את נושא סיוע החוץ וציין את הבעיות העיקריות ובמיוחד  
ה- SCORING של ה- 170 מ' דולר. בהמשך, ציין השגריר כי נקבעה לנו  
פגישה עם הסנטור לייחי. מיטצ'ל ציין מיד כי חשוב מאד שנקיים פגישה זו  
ולאחריה הוא ישוחח עם לייחי.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,  
רחטמזת, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (לוברני),  
@ (ראשהמשלה)

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קשר ניו יורק

P. 16/17

סיוג: כלמ"ס		אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
תזוח:		
חש' מדיקי	נטחון - יועץ שהכ"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ים העבירוונא)	דע:
1222		מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

# Syria's Games

## Assad could stop the assaults

It's all so sickeningly predictable. Just when there appears to be a chance of making progress in the Mideast, a spasm of violence breaks out. Iranian-backed Hezbollah terrorists started it by attacking an Israeli military patrol and lobbing Katyusha rockets into northern Israel. And Israel, with justification, responded with a massive attack on the Hezbollah-infested areas of southern Lebanon.

The Clinton administration must not allow the escalating violence to stop the planned trip by Secretary of State Warren Christopher to the region at the end of the week. That would only play into the hands of the radicals who started the violence. But the White House also must pressure the party most capable of quelling the attacks on Israel: Syria.

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Newsday  
Editorial  
28-7

אישור

שם השוכח:

תאריך:

8-7-93

28-7-93

(27) שהח(2) ששה"ח(1) רהמ(1) מנכל(2) ממנכל(1) מצפא(2) סמנכלתקשורת(1)  
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1222

Make no mistake, Syria could stop the Hezbollah assaults. The supply lines and guerrilla training come from Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, an area controlled by Syria. If the Syrians wanted to, they could significantly curtail Hezbollah in the south. The real question is why Syrian President Hafez Assad has not done so. Optimism about a Mideast peace agreement had sprung from Assad's strong indications that he wanted a settlement with Israel. But his actions now cast doubt on his motives. Is he trying to show that he still has the force to cause problems and thereby enhance his bargaining position? Is he paying

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heed to his radical supporters before cutting a deal? No matter what the explanation, Syrian complicity is not acceptable. Christopher must make that clear.

Yitzhak Rabin's Israeli government has been forced into a massive response. Rabin wants to make life unbearable for the guerrillas. Unfortunately, that means making life unbearable for many others. If his government cannot stop the violence, Rabin's credibility and ability to make the compromises necessary for a peace settlement will be undercut.

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The chances for untying some of the knots of the Mideast dispute have never been better. That's why those who fear progress have taken to violence. The danger is always that this action-reaction cycle will get out of hand. Those who do want progress — and that should include Assad — now must respond.

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בלמ"ס	ס"ג:	אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
	ת"ח:	
1211	ח"ס מרכז:	דע: בטחון - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ימ' העבירונוא)
		מאק: עמונות, בניו יורק

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### With friends like these ...

The Clinton administration is taking an even hand in responding to the Israel-Hezbollah clash in southern Lebanon. President Clinton has placed the blame for the fighting squarely on the Iran-backed terrorists of Hezbollah, while simultaneously doing his best to keep the ever-fragile Middle East peace talks on track. The Bush administration would probably have found a way to blame Israel for launching a massive anti-guerrilla offensive. Clinton and Secretary of State Christopher, by contrast, know that Hezbollah has exactly one agenda: To sabotage the peace process by any means necessary - including firing more than 100 rockets into Israel. They also know that Israel has no real choice but to fight back.

But Clinton is mistaken in believing Syria deserves praise for its "commendable restraint." Syria, in fact, is ultimately responsible for the whole stinking mess. It's no secret that Syria is quietly backing Hezbollah. The U.S. has consistently chosen not to confront Syria with proof that it sponsors terrorism, wrongly supposing that making nice with President Hafez Assad will clear the way to a negotiated Mideast peace.

The U.S. swallowed a lot to keep the Syrians from openly opposing Operation Desert Storm. That was necessary, if unappetizing. But circumstances change. By refusing to acknowledge Syria's deep involvement in Islamic terrorism and applying direct pressure to stop it, the Clinton administration is insuring that the fighting in Lebanon will happen again - and again.

Daily News

28-7

Editorial

- תאריך: שם השוכח: חתימה:
- (27) שחח(2) טשה"ח(1) רחם(1) מנכל(2) ממנכל(1) מצפא(2) סמנכלתקשורת(1)
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  - צנזורצבאי(1) דוצ-ים(1) רמ"ח, אה"ב, ג"כ/ס



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The Clinton administration must not allow the escalating violence to stop the planned trip by Secretary of State Warren Christopher to the region at the end of the week. That would only play into the hands of the radicals who started the violence. But the White House also must pressure the party most capable of quelling the attacks on Israel: Syria.

Make no mistake, Syria could stop the Hezbollah assaults. The supply lines and guerrilla training come from Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, an area controlled by Syria. If the Syrians wanted to, they could significantly curtail Hezbollah in the south. The real question is why Syrian President Hafez Assad has not done so. Optimism about a Mideast peace agreement had sprung from Assad's strong indications that he wanted a settlement with Israel. But his actions now cast doubt on his motives. Is he trying to show that he still has the force to cause problems and thereby enhance his bargaining position? Is he paying

Editorial

Newsday

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# Mideast and Bosnia Call Christopher Back to U.S.

By ELAINE SCIOLINO  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 27 — President Clinton summoned Secretary of State Warren Christopher home from Singapore late Monday night for consultations on the crisis in Bosnia and the rising violence in the Middle East, senior Administration officials said today.

When asked by reporters at the White House today why Mr. Christopher was unexpectedly cutting short his trip to Asia, Mr. Clinton indicated that it was part of an effort to calm the mounting crisis in the Middle East, saying, "I thought that in view of the events there, that he ought to come home and we ought to have a conversation about it before he goes to the Middle East."

But other senior Administration officials said that a more important reason for Mr. Christopher's return was Bosnia, not the Middle East. The official added that the Bosnian situation was so critical that it could not wait for Mr. Christopher to travel on from Asia to Australia and then to the Middle East.

## U.S. Facing 2 Crises

The abrupt return of Mr. Christopher reflects the quandary facing the Administration as it tries to deal with two increasingly volatile conflicts at the same time.

In an effort to prevent a further increase in fighting in southern Lebanon, Mr. Clinton went out of his way today to praise Syria for showing restraint in not retaliating after it suffered casualties at the hands of the Israelis. But he made no reference to the fact that Syria provides substantial support for the Party of God, the militant Islamic group that has launched repeated attacks against Israel from bases in southern Lebanon, and has at least some influence on its behavior.

Bosnia — and ways to end the fighting there — will be on the top of the agenda during a regularly scheduled lunch on Wednesday with Mr. Christopher, the national security adviser, Anthony Lake, and Defense Secretary Les Aspin, senior officials said. It is expected to be the main focus of a meeting between Mr. Clinton and Mr. Christopher at a separate meeting at the White House on Wednesday.

Among the issues that will be discussed are the American role in any retaliatory strikes against the Serbs for attacking United Nations peacekeeping troops, the relief crisis in Sarajevo and the possibility of imposing economic sanctions on Croatia, the officials said.

## Siege of Sarajevo

"It's 'Where do we go from here,'" said one senior official, who said that he believed the main focus of the talks would be the situation in Sarajevo. The crisis in Bosnia was discussed at a meeting of the so-called deputies' committee at the White House on Monday, which makes recommendations to members of the National Security Council, other senior officials said, adding that the meeting was not intended to produce recommendations.

At a meeting at the White House two weeks ago, Mr. Clinton's top national security advisers failed to agree on a plan to rescue Sarajevo. Since then, Serbian forces have advanced closer to the center of the besieged Bosnian capital, while the Clinton Administration has faced intense criticism for its inaction.

Mr. Clinton pledged that he would not

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allow the violence in southern Lebanon, which has left scores of civilians dead and driven tens of thousands from their homes, to derail the American-led initiative to make peace. Indeed, Mr. Christopher, who left Singapore for Washington today, plans to proceed with his trip to the Middle East in an effort to rescue the moribund Arab-Israeli talks. He is currently scheduled to arrive in Cairo next Sunday.

**Praise for Syrians**

Most surprising about Mr. Clinton's brief remarks on the Middle East is that he went out of his way to praise Syria for not intensifying the crisis further after it suffered casualties at the hands of the Israelis. But he made no reference to the fact that Syria provides substantial support for the Party of God, the militant Islamic group that has launched repeated attacks against Israel from bases in southern Lebanon, and has at least some influence on its behavior.

"I think the Syrians have shown commendable restraint so far," Mr. Clinton said, in what senior officials said was a reference to the fact that Syria did not retaliate militarily against Israel for the death of six Syrian soldiers as a result of Israeli attacks.

What was puzzling about Mr. Clinton's remarks is that in the same sentence he blamed the Party of God, also known as Hezbollah, for trying to sabotage the Middle East talks, as if the group had no connection with Syria. "I don't think we should let Hezbollah and all these groups that don't want anything good to happen in the Middle East derail the peace process by what they do," he said.

**U.S. View of Assad**

Mr. Clinton's support for Syria illustrates the Administration's dual approach to President Hafez al-Assad: while it castigates him as a sponsor of terrorism, it embraces him as a responsible partner for making peace.

Syria is a principal supporter of the Party of God, which has vowed to sabotage the Middle East talks and launched the attacks against Israel that left seven Israeli soldiers dead earlier this month. The State Department's 1992 report on terrorism states that Syria provides sanctuary for several groups engaged in terrorism, including the Party of God and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, a radical Palestinian group, in areas of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley under Syrian control.

Both groups have taken responsibility for the attacks that killed the Israeli soldiers.

Although the Party of God owes its primary allegiance to Iran, which provides it with money, training and weaponry, Syria facilitates the delivery of its weaponry, and the group would have been unable to mount such an ambitious military operation against Israel without Syria's direct help, senior Administration officials said.

In fact, an eighth Israeli soldier was killed on Monday by a Soviet-made Sagger anti-tank missile launched by the Party of God that senior Administration officials believe came from Syria. United States intelligence officials believe that a major shipment of Sagger missiles arrived from Iran through Syria about a year ago.

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## Hezbollah's Conceit

**I**T IS THE conceit of Hezbollah ("Party of God"), the Iran-aided terrorist group, that by provoking Israel it can derail the Arab-Israeli peace talks. This is foolish. Hezbollah's opposition to the talks is not in doubt. But on both sides, these talks express a larger official and popular commitment that is beyond the easy reach of terrorist upset.

Still, once military forces wheel into action in the Middle East, no one can be entirely sanguine about what might ensue. That is reason enough for concern about the week's violence. From their sanctuary in Syria-dominated Lebanon, Hezbollah guerrillas had recently killed seven Israeli soldiers in the slice of the country that Israel controls, and had rocketed border settlements in Israel proper. Israelis responded with powerful assaults aimed at punishing the guerrillas and raising the costs to Lebanon of failing to keep its territory guerrilla-free. North and south of the border, civilian casualties have been recorded and several hundred thousand villagers displaced from their homes.

A familiar pattern is evident here. Lebanon's government, weakened by civil war and foreign intervention, cannot perform the first function of sovereignty of controlling its own territory. If it could, there is every reason to think that Lebanon,

desperately trying to rebuild, would leash the guerrillas Iran and Syria sponsor, in their respective fashions, on its territory.

Israel is then led to protect its borders, as any nation would. But by taking over a slice of Lebanon for its own strategic purposes, Israel inflicts one blow on its neighbor, and by its hot and heavy pursuit of guerrillas well beyond that slice, it inflicts another blow. Israelis of the right tend to see Lebanon as Israel's to make over. Israelis of the left recall earlier wars, especially the one in 1981, and see a quagmire. But both Israeli factions support a negotiated peace.

It was helpful to have President Clinton reassert the priority of the diplomatic track yesterday. It had already been announced that Secretary of State Warren Christopher was heading to the Middle East next week; Mr. Clinton had the secretary cut short an Asia trip to return to Washington first. The United States, eager for progress in the stalled talks, wants to maintain its standing with all the parties. But was it necessary for the president to laud the "commendable restraint" of Syria, which, though it seems to have acted soberly with its own forces, has a measure of responsibility for the guerrilla marauders who touched off this dangerous episode?



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## War and Peace in the Middle East

With luck, the deadly exchanges of bombs and rockets now raining down on civilian populations on both sides of the Israeli-Lebanese border won't blow up the Middle East peace talks. Stopping the negotiations would perversely reward the very group that triggered the latest cycle of violence — the radical Lebanese Party of God, whose guerrillas killed seven Israeli soldiers stationed on Lebanese soil earlier this month in a calculated effort to undermine the talks.

With that danger in mind, Damascus has prudently restrained its own forces in Lebanon even though Syrian soldiers have been killed in the fighting. Showing less restraint, Israel is deliberately trying to force tens of thousands of Lebanese civilians to flee northward, in the hope this will somehow pressure Beirut and Damascus to crack down on the Party of God.

But violence, particularly on such a large scale, can develop its own terrible momentum. Twice before, in 1978 and 1982, Israeli retaliatory raids on Lebanon escalated into bigger battles, with unhappy consequences all around.

Washington is thus right to take this latest crisis extremely seriously, rushing Secretary of State Christopher back from Asia for urgent consultations with President Clinton before he sets off for the Middle East this weekend.

Mr. Christopher's original goal of revitalizing the peace talks suddenly takes on new urgency. The Israeli, Lebanese, Syrian and Jordanian Governments, along with the Palestinian negotiators, all

feel they have a stake in keeping the talks going. But that may not be enough.

With radical Islamic rejectionists like the Party of God and Hamas working to raise the level of violence and with the talks stalemated over core issues like Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, political support for peace in the region could begin to melt away before year's end.

Mr. Christopher faces a formidable challenge. He has no magic powers to create a negotiating breakthrough. Only the Middle Eastern parties directly concerned can do that. Yet he, and his boss, Bill Clinton, will be held politically accountable if the talks break down.

What former Secretary of State James Baker put together with the smoke and mirrors he called "constructive ambiguity" must now be sustained through grit and hard work. Perhaps Mr. Christopher can help Israelis and Palestinians find a way to talk about self-government in the West Bank and Gaza without tripping over final territorial definitions. Maybe he can unlock Israel and Syria from their mutual insistence that the other go first in spelling out a Golan Heights deal. Even better would be a recharging of the will to compromise, worn down by months of interruptions and delay.

The only alternative to negotiated peace is now spectacularly on view on both sides of the Israeli-Lebanese frontier. The grim horror of that alternative has properly concentrated the minds of American statesmen. May it do the same for their Arab and Israeli counterparts, before it is too late.



# Assad's Double Game

By Robert Satloff

WASHINGTON  
 President Clinton made a mistake yesterday in praising President Hafez al-Assad of Syria for "commendable restraint" in Lebanon. What's needed when Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrives in the Middle East this week to try to unblock negotiations is an effort to rein in Syrian brinkmanship.

This means making it clear that the Administration is not fooled by Mr. Assad's attempt to use force to compel Washington to take Syrian peace demands seriously, if only to avert full-scale confrontation.

Mr. Assad has again resorted to force by proxy as Syria's preferred negotiating method. The result: Israelis, Syrians and Lebanese have been killed in the worst border violence in a decade.

Mr. Assad has to be held accountable for the fighting. Behind Hezbollah — the Party of God — stands two states. Iran is the spiritual and financial pillar. But all material support passes through Syria, and its assent is needed before local Party of God bosses approve operations against Israel.

A heightened U.S. role as full partner in the direct bilateral talks will be symbolized by Mr. Christopher's shuttle diplomacy for the next six months. Evidently, his main goal is Syria, which has made no progress in its talks with Israel and can disrupt any advances the Palestinians might make on their own.

While Mr. Assad hopes to improve ties with America, there is serious doubt that he will make the compromises needed to settle Syria's conflict with Israel. Slogans about "total peace for total withdrawal" aside, 20 months of talks have revealed little about what sort of peace he has in mind.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel has committed himself to a withdrawal on the Golan Heights; the extent of the pullout is based on the extent of peace. The next move is Mr. Assad's, but for 10 months he has not made it. He wants what President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt got (all the land) but refuses to give what Mr.

Sadat gave (full peace). On the key issues, land and peace, both parties have not budged since September.

The hail of Katyusha rockets over Israel is Mr. Assad's way of saying the lull is over. Syria virtually took responsibility for the Katyusha attacks when its Foreign Minister proclaimed that Lebanon and Syria are one state and that retaliation against one would be viewed as retaliation against the other. The attacks on Israeli troops by the Party of God and by the Damascus-based organization of the Palestinian renegade Ahmad Jibril, which triggered the fighting, confirmed Syria's role.

The flare-up represents the latest chapter of diplomacy by force that is a tradition of Syrian negotiating strategy. When Israel and Syria were locked-in negotiations that would lead

## He's attacking the Israelis by proxy.

to their post-1973-war disengagement agreement, Mr. Assad launched a war of attrition to raise the pressure on Israel to conclude a deal. In the 1980's, as Israel prepared to withdraw from Lebanon and establish a security zone, Mr. Assad unleashed Lebanese car bombers against Israeli targets to speed up Israel's evacuation without a comparable Syrian withdrawal.

If Mr. Assad truly wants peace, the potent mix of Katyushas and Mr. Jibril

does not signify that he is ready to make it happen.

The Syrian press has written much about Bosnia, and the lessons Damascus may have drawn about American will are possibly unnerving. Editorials have pilloried the United Nations resolution setting up safe havens for Bosnian Muslims on the grounds that its language resembled U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, the foundation of Middle East talks.

The Syrians ask: Will Washington follow through on its commitment to Middle East peace as it followed through on its promises to the Bosnians? After watching the debacle in Bosnia, Mr. Assad may have concluded from the Bosnian Serbs' strategy that attack and negotiate may be the way to win what he wants without offering what is needed in return.

Because Mr. Assad wants a U.S. dividend from the peace process even more than peace with Israel, Washington is in a strong position to try to insure that he will view the debacle in Bosnia as an exception, not the rule, in U.S. foreign policy.

Secretary Christopher needs to convince Mr. Assad that peace making and trouble making do not go hand-in-hand. He needs to get the message across that Mr. Assad's alliance with Iran, support for the Party of God and patronage of Mr. Jibril are inconsistent with Syria's professed desire for peace and eagerness for U.S. intervention to help achieve it.

Robert Satloff is executive director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, a research and education foundation.

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NEWS SUMMARY 28-JULY-1993

#### TV COVERAGE

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ALL NATIONAL NETWORKS AND CNN REPORTED ON THE THIRD STRAIGHT DAY OF IDF ATTACKS ON GUERRILLA STRONGHOLDS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON AND ON THE CONTINUED ROCKET STRIKES ON NORTHERN ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS BY HEZBOLLAH; WNBC-TV'S GABE PRESSMAN REPORTED ON THE STATUS OF ISRAELI FAMILIES IN NORTHERN ISRAEL AS KATYUSHA ROCKETS FALL THERE; DATELINE NBC FEATURED A STORY ON JOHN DEMJANJUK.

#### EDITORIALS

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NYT(CABLED): 'WAR AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST': WRITER ASSERTS THAT 'WITH LUCK,' THE EXCHANGES OF BOMBS AND ROCKETS ON BOTH THE ISRAELI AND LEBANESE SIDES WILL NOT DAMAGE THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE TALKS; STATES THAT STOPPING THE TALKS WOULD REWARD THE VERY GROUP (THE PARTY OF GOD) THAT HAS INSTIGATED THE RECENT VIOLENCE IN THE REGION; COMMENDS SYRIA FOR SHOWING RESTRAINT DESPITE ITS LOSS OF SYRIAN SOLDIERS IN THE RECENT EXCHANGES; SAYS THAT ISRAEL HAS SHOWN LESS RESTRAINT IN ITS 'DELIBERATE' ATTEMPT TO 'FORCE' LEBANESE REFUGEES TO FLEE TO THE NORTH; ADDS THAT WASHINGTON WAS JUSTIFIED IN CALLING SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER TO CONSULT WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON BEFORE HIS TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST; BELIEVES MR. CHRISTOPHER FACES AN URGENT AND 'FORMIDABLE' CHALLENGE THERE.

ND(CABLED): 'SYRIA'S GAMES': WRITER STATES THAT ISRAEL IS JUSTIFIED IN ITS ATTACK ON HEZBOLLAH STRONGHOLDS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON; URGES WASHINGTON TO RESIST CANCELING SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST, SAYING THAT SUCH A DECISION WOULD ONLY PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF HEZBOLLAH; CALLS ON THE US TO



PRESSURE SYRIA INTO QUELLING THE HEZBOLLAH ATTACKS ON ISRAEL, CITING LEBANON'S BEKAA VALLEY, AN AREA CONTROLLED BY SYRIA, AS THE SOURCE OF SUPPLIES AND TRAINING FOR THE TERRORISTS; ADDS THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN'S CREDIBILITY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PEACE TALKS IS AT STAKE IF HE CANNOT FIND AN END TO THE VIOLENCE ON ISRAEL'S NORTHERN BORDER.

DN(CABLED): 'WITH FRIENDS LIKE THESE': WRITER COMMENDS THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION FOR 'TAKING AN EVEN HAND' IN RESPONDING TO THE CLASH BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HEZBOLLAH IN SOUTHERN LEBANON; STATES THAT WASHINGTON HAS ADEQUATELY PLACED BLAME ON HEZBOLLAH WHILE TRYING ITS BEST TO KEEP THE PEACE TALKS 'ON TRACK'; SAYS THAT WHILE FORMER PRESIDENT BUSH WOULD HAVE FOUND A WAY TO BLAME ISRAEL FOR IT MILITARY ACTION IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, PRESIDENT CLINTON KNOWS THAT ISRAEL 'HAS NO CHOICE BUT TO FIGHT BACK'; ADDS HOWEVER THAT MR. CLINTON IS MISTAKEN FOR PRAISING SYRIA FOR ITS RESTRAINT; SAYS THAT DAMASCUS IS ULTIMATELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT CRISIS IN THAT IT HAS 'QUIETLY' BACKED HEZBOLLAH.

COLUMNS

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NYT(R.SATLOFF-CABLED): 'ASSAD'S DOUBLE GAME': WRITER ARGUES THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS MISTAKEN IN PRAISING SYRIA ON TUESDAY FOR ITS 'COMMENDABLE RESTRAINT' IN LEBANON; STATES THAT SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER MUST CONVINCe SYRIA THAT THE US IS 'NOT FOOLED' BY HAFEZ AL-ASSAD'S ATTEMPTS TO FORCE THE US TO TAKE ITS PEACE DEMANDS SERIOUSLY WHILE IT SUPPORTS HEZBOLLAH BEHIND THE SCENES; SAYS THAT WHILE ISRAEL HAS COMMITTED ITSELF TO WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, THE NEXT MOVE IS UP TO SYRIA; BELIEVES THAT THE CONTINUED KATYUSHA ATTACKS ON NORTHERN ISRAEL IS MR. ASSAD'S WAY OF PRESSURING ISRAEL INTO 'STRIKING A DEAL'; CONCLUDES THAT IT IS UP TO MR. CHRISTOPHER TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO MR. ASSAD THAT 'PEACE MAKING AND TROUBLE MAKING DO NOT GO HAND-IN-HAND.'

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'ISRAEL CONTINUES TO BLAST VILLAGES IN SOUTH LEBANON'; 'CLINTON FACING THREAT OF REVOLT ON BUDGET PLAN'; 'HOUSE APPROVES FLOOD RELIEF AFTER FIGHT ON DEFICIT'; 'RELIGION RETURNS TO RUSSIA, WITH A VENGEANCE'; 'FIVE KILLED IN BOMBING IN CENTER OF MILAN, TWO SITES HIT IN ROME.' WSJ: NATIONAL. ND,NYP: LOCAL. DN: 'CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT DIDN'T HURT MAYOR.'

ISRAEL/LEBANON/GUERRILLA/ATTACKS: NYT(C.HEDGES-FRONT PAGE-CABLED), ND,DN: 'ISRAEL CONTINUES TO BLAST VILLAGES IN SOUTH LEBANON': REPORTS THAT ISRAELI WARPLANES AND ARTILLERY CONTINUED THEIR ATTACKS ON GUERRILLA BASES IN SOUTHERN LEBANON FOR THE THIRD STRAIGHT DAY; STATES THAT KATYUSHA ROCKETS FIRED BY HEZBOLLAH CONTINUED TO FALL ON SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN ISRAEL; CITES A STATEMENT MADE BY PM YITZHAK RABIN THAT THE IDF STRIKES WOULD CONTINUE AS LONG AS ATTACKS ON THE GALILEE PERSISTED; QUOTES MR. RABIN AS SAYING THAT 'WE EXPECT THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT, AND THOSE BACKING IT, TO CONTROL THE ROCKETS FIRED BY HEZBOLLAH'; NOTES THAT THE IDF ATTACKS WERE BEGUN IN



RETALIATION FOR THE KILLING OF SEVEN ISRAELI SOLDIERS EARLIER THIS MONTH AND TO END THE ROCKET ATTACKS ON NORTHERN ISRAEL; ADDS THAT HEZBOLLAH LEADERS SAID THEY WOULD NOT END THEIR STRIKES UNTIL ISRAEL WITHDRAWS FROM SOUTHERN LEBANON; QUOTES THE STATEMENTS OF ISRAELI OFFICIALS AT GREAT LENGTH.

US/MIDDLE EAST/CHRISTOPHER/TRIP: NYT(E.SCIOLINO-CABLED),WSJ,ND: 'MIDEAST AND BOSNIA CALL CHRISTOPHER BACK TO US': REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON CALLED ON SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER TO RETURN TO WASHINGTON FROM HIS TRIP TO SINGAPORE ON MONDAY NIGHT FOR CONSULTATIONS ON BOSNIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST; NOTES THAT MR. CLINTON PRAISED SYRIA FOR ITS 'RESTRAINT' IN NOT RETALIATING AGAINST ISRAEL; STATES THAT THE PRESIDENT MADE NO REFERENCE TO THE FACT THAT SYRIA SUPPORTS THE PARTY OF GOD WHICH HAS LAUNCHED REPEATED ATTACKS ON ISRAEL FROM SOUTHERN LEBANON; ADDS THAT MR. CLINTON'S 'DUAL' APPROACH TOWARD PRESIDENT HAFEZ AL-ASSAD WAS 'ODD'; CONCLUDES THAT WASHINGTON HAS ITS HANDS FULL IN DEALING WITH TWO VOLATILE FOREIGN CRISES AT ONCE.

LEBANON/ISRAEL/BOMBS/REFUGEES: NYT(T.MISHLAWI-CABLED),NYP: 'LEBANON REFUGEES FLEE ISRAELI BOMBS': REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO UN OFFICIALS, APPROXIMATELY 120,000 LEBANESE HAVE LEFT THEIR VILLAGES IN SOUTHERN LEBANON OVER THE PAST TWO WEEKS; STATES THAT THE SLA BROADCAST WARNINGS AFTER SEVEN IDF SOLDIERS WERE KILLED AS TO THE POTENTIAL FOR ISRAELI RETALIATORY RAIDS; QUOTES THE LEBANESE DEFENSE MINISTER AS SAYING THAT ISRAEL'S MILITARY CAMPAIGN 'AIMS AT EMPTYING SOUTH LEBANON OF ITS POPULATION'; NOTES THAT BEIRUT HAS SET UP A TASK FORCE TO DEAL WITH THE INFLUX OF VILLAGERS INTO NORTHERN LEBANON; ADDS THAT THE PROBLEM OF REFUGEES HAS HAUNTED THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT SINCE THE ISRAELI INVASION IN 1982.

ISRAEL/IRAN/MILITARY/RAIDS: NYT(Y.IBRAHIM-CABLED): 'IRAN'S ISOLATION - FEW ARAB FRIENDS LEFT': REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH THE IDF RAIDS ON THE IRANIAN-SPONSORED PARTY OF GOD IN SOUTHERN LEBANON HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED BY ARAB NATIONS IN THE REGION, IT SEEMS AS IF MANY ARAB LEADERS 'WELCOME ANY BLOWS DEALT TO THE RADICALS IN THEIR MIDST,' PARTICULARLY ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST ALLIES OF IRAN; STATES THAT EVEN SYRIA, IRAN'S LONG-TIME STRATEGIC ALLY, HAS A DIFFERENT VIEW OF THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST THAN TEHERAN, AND REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS WHICH TEHERAN SEEKS TO DESTROY; ARGUES THAT UNTIL TWO YEARS AGO, SYRIA HAD REGARDED THE IRANIAN PARTY OF GOD AS A VEHICLE FOR PRESSING ISRAEL INTO TRADING LAND FOR PEACE BUT THAT IT NOW PLACES ITS HOPES IN THE PEACE TALKS.

ISRAEL/COURT/DEMJEANJUK/RULING: DN(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT IS TO RULE ON THURSDAY AS TO WHETHER JOHN DMEJEANJUK IS THE NAZI WAR CRIMINAL KNOWN AS IVAN THE TERRIBLE.

IRAQ/UN/ARMS/FILES: WSJ(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO UN OFFICIALS, IRAQ HAS PLEDGED TO OPEN SECRET FILES ON ITS NETWORK OF ARMS SUPPLIERS; NOTES THAT UN INSPECTORS HAVE INSTALLED MONITORING CAMERAS AT ONE MISSILE SITE IN BAGHDAD.



US/NUCLEAR/ARMS/CONTROL: NYT(M.GORDON-CABLED): 'US HOPES TO CURB A-ARMS BY RESTRICTING FUEL OUTPUT': REPORTS THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION IS PREPARING A NEW ARMS CONTROL PLAN THAT CALLS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL BAN ON THE PRODUCTION OF MATERIALS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS; NOTES THAT INDIA, PAKISTAN AND ISRAEL WOULD BE DISCOURAGED UNDER THIS PLAN FROM BUILDING PLANTS TO PRODUCE URANIUM AND PLUTONIUM EVEN FOR CIVILIAN PURPOSES; ADDS THAT WHILE THE US HAS CEASED SUCH PRODUCTION, BRITAIN, CHINA AND RUSSIA CONTINUE PRODUCTION; STATES THAT ALL NATIONS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO IAEA INSPECTIONS.

US/UKRAINE/NUCLEAR/MISSILES: NYT(M.GORDON-CABLED),WSJ: 'US SAYS UKRAINE HAS BEGUN DISMANTLING NUCLEAR MISSILES': REPORTS THAT UKRAINE HAS BEGUN DISMANTLING SOME OF ITS SS-19 LONG-RANGE NUCLEAR MISSILES; STATES HOWEVER THAT US OFFICIALS ARE CONCERNED THAT KIEV HAS DECLINED TO DISCUSS PLANS FOR DISMANTLING ITS MORE MODERN SS-24 MISSILES; NOTES THAT UKRAINE'S DECISION WAS ANNOUNCED AFTER A MEETING BETWEEN DEFENSE MINISTER KONSTANTIN MOROZOV AND DEFENSE SECRETARY LES ASPIN; STATES THAT THE PENTAGON MAY PROVIDE UKRAINE WITH DOLLAR 175 MILLION IN ASSISTANCE TO DISMANTLE ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

INDIA/GOVERNMENT/PM/VOTE: NYT(E.GARGAN): 'INDIA'S PM FACES A NO-CONFIDENCE VOTE': REPORTS THAT PM NARASIMHA RAO OF INDIA FACES THE MOST SERIOUS PARLIAMENTARY CHALLENGE TO HIS GOVERNMENT SINCE HE TOOK OFFICE 25 MONTHS AGO; STATES THAT INDIA'S FRAGMENTED OPPOSITION HAS COME TOGETHER AND SEEMS CLOSE TO TOPPLING HIS GOVERNMENT; ADDS THAT MR. RAO HAS BEEN FACED WITH CORRUPTION CHARGES WHICH HAVE VIRTUALLY PARALYZED HIS GOVERNMENT; NOTES THAT MAJOR MINISTRIES HAVE BEEN LEFT WITH NO MINISTERS.

NEW YORK/ETHIOPIANS/ISRAELITES/SYNAGOGUE: ND(A.HARTOCOLLIS): 'GOD'S CHOSEN PEOPLE': REPORTS ON A SMALL GROUP OF BLACK PEOPLE IN NEW YORK WHO OBSERVE ORTHODOX JEWISH CUSTOMS BUT DO NOT CONSIDER THEMSELVES JEWISH; STATES THAT THE ISRAELITE MOVEMENT GREW OUT OF THE BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE 1900S AND VIEWS ITSELF AN INHERITOR OF ANCIENT HEBREW TRIBES; NOTES THAT THE ISRAELITES BELIEVE THEY ARE DESTINED TO RETURN TO ISRAEL AT THE TIME OF ARMAGEDDON; ADDS THAT MANY FEEL THEY ARE TRAPPED BETWEEN THE WORLDS OF CHRISTIAN BLACKS AND WHITE JEWS.

NEW YORK/WTC/BOMB/SUSPECT: NYT(M.TABOR): 'BOMBING SUSPECT TIED TO DRUGS': REPORTS THAT MATARAWY MOHAMMAD SAID SALEH, THE LATEST SUSPECT IN THE PLOT TO BLOW UP MANHATTAN TARGETS, SUPPLIED HEROIN TO TWO DETROIT DRUG DEALERS FOR MORE THAN THREE YEARS.

OBITUARIES

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 NYT(M.HOWE): 'DR. SIMON GREENBERG, 92, RABBI AND CONSERVATIVE JEWISH LEADER.'

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(T.FRIEDMAN): 'CLINTON SEEKS MORE POWERS TO STEM ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION.'

DN(F.LOMBARDI),NYP: 'POLL - NO MAJOR DAMAGE FOR DAVE IN CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT.'

NYP(M.HUREWITZ),ND: 'HOMELESS MAN BEATEN BY HASIDS IS GUILTY OF THEFT.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, סמנכלתקשורת,  
מעט, הסברה, לעמ, מקצב2, אומן, @ (דוצ), סי יבל,  
משפט, רביב, תפוצות, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם),  
@ (אמן), @ (וחו'ב), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, פרנ,  
מזתים, @ (מתאםשטחים), @ (ראשהמשלה)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 30333

אל: רהמש/979

מ-: יוסטון, נר: 79, תא: 280793, חז: 1500, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/רגיל

אל: בינ'ל 1, ממ'ד, היבטים כלכליים ממ'ד, מצפא.

דע: ברקן, אמיתי, וושינגטון.

מאת: סגן הקונסול יוסטון.

הנדון: רשמים מאיראן.

איראנית שהגרה לארה"ב ב-1976, שבה ובקרה ב-1984 וחזרה לפני שבועיים מביקור בן חודשיים באיראן תארה רשמיה בהרצאה בחוג מצומצם. מצינת השיפור העצום במצב הכלכלי לעומת 1984 (בעיצומה של מלחמת אירן- עירק) יש שפע בחנויות, האינפלציה, לדעתה, בת ספרה אחת אולם שמעה תלונות על יוקר המחיה. יש מכוניות יפניות וגרמניות רבות וניתן לראות אירופאים ויפאנים הסוחרים ופועלים באירן. לדעתה המשטר יציב ויחזיק מעמד זמן רב. היא חושבת את רפסנגני למתון בהשוואה לאחרים בקבוצה השלטת. מטרת המשטר להגיע להסדר עם ארה"ב. בטוהרן נפוצות שמועות שהשגרירות האמריקנית תפתח בקרוב מחדש. המבנה של השגרירות מצוי כעת בתהליך של שיפוץים.

נציג של משרד המסחר האמריקני, שהיה גם הוא בפגישה הדגיש, שיש הגבלה על יצוא של סחורות מארה"ב לאיראן, בפרט של מוצרים בעלי אופי אסטרטגי.

עפרה פרחי.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רחטמזת, מזת1, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (עמית473), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 30515

אל: רהמש/985

מ-: ווש, נר: 2099, תא: 280793, זח: 2100, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממ'ד ערב 4, חטיבת מז'ת, מצפ'א

דע: מתאם הפעולות בלבנון

מאת: השגרירות וושינגטון

הנדון: סביב האירועים בלבנון

מהאריס ( INR ) ב-28.7:

1. הסורים אינם חשים עצמם לחוצים נוכח המתקפה הישראלית שכן כוחותיהם אינם מותקפים ולהערכתם אין צפויה מתקפת קרקע ישראלית. חרירי בקש מהסורים כי ירסנו את החזבאללה, אך ב- INR לא זיהו פעולה סורית מרסנת. הוסיף שהמשבר עשוי להסתיים משיאזל מלאי הקטיושות של חזבאללה. עם זאת סבור שלאחר שוך המשבר ישובו הסורים ויאפשרו לחזבאללה לחדש את מלאי האמל'ח שלה, בהיות מהלך זה חלק מאסטרטגיה בסיסית של אסד ( קרי במסגרת קשריו עם איראן ומשמעותם כקלף מול ארה"ב ובתהליך י.א ).

2. העריך שהסורים אינם רואים עצמם אחראים להתגברות פעילות חזבאללה, קודם לפעולתנו, וכי מנקודת ראותם חזבאללה הגיב, במידה רבה, להפגזות ישראליות והיה ' בר מזל' , מבחינתו, בכך שהצליח לפגוע בחילים ישראלים. סבור שהמנעות של הסורים מלרסן את חזבאללה ערב פעולתנו נובעת גם מרצונם לאסוף קלפי מיקוח לקראת ביקור כריסטופר.

3. ציין שסוריה מעוניינת להשאר בתמונת התהליך, אך בעקבות הסבב האחרון של השיחות הביילטרליות חלה התרחקות בינה לבין ישראל. לדעתו, הסורים התאכזבו מאד מתוצאות סבב זה, ובניגוד להערכותיהם בעבר הקרוב-הם מעריכים עתה שרביץ איננו מתכוון להחזיר לידיהם את הגולן. קושר גם אכזבה זו להמנעותם מבלימת חזבאללה.

4. להערכתו הלבנונים לא יעשו לריסון חזבאללה ללא גיבוי מדמשק.

5. הערה:

בהיותו איש INR שאינו מעורב בקביעת מדיניות, האריס נמנע מלהתייחס לתשומת האפשרית של ארה"ב לסיום המשבר. עם זאת, גורם חוץ ממשלי בעל נגישות ל'צוות התהליך' התרשם באזני כי רוס וצוותו הופתעו מאד נוכח עצמת הפעולה הישראלית.

אמיתי



אש

תפוצה: שדח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד,  
רחטמזת, מזת1, מצפא, סייבל, @ (לוברני), @ (ראשהממשלה)

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**סודי**

30516: חוזם, אאא

אל: בטחון/2223

מ-: ווש, נר: 2098, תא: 280793, חז: 2130, חמ: סג: 10, בבב

אל: מקשח

אל ראש הממשלה

סודי/מידי

אל: פרינ

דע: ממנכ"ל, מקשיח משהביט

מאת: השגרירות וושינגטון

ארה"ב קהיליה: מאמץ ממשלי להידוק הפיקוח על יצוא טכנולוגיה לאיראן

1. בשיחה (בסוף השבוע החולף) עם וורד ( עוסקת בנושאי פרוליפרציה במח' לנושאים ריגיונליים באגף NEA ) סיכמה תוצאות מפגש אמריקאי-קהילתי בנושא איראן שנערך בתחילת החדש (9.7) בבריטל ( הערה: המפגש היוו בהמשך לשיחתו של המזכיר עם שרי החוץ של הקהיליה בלוקסמבורג בסוף יוני. באותה שיחה נתן המזכיר הסכמתו להצעת שרי החוץ להקים ק.ע. ללמוד נושא הפיקוח על יצוא טכנולוגיה דו-שימושית לאיראן). בנוסף סיכמה תמונת המצב בהקשר לדיונים בדבר הקמת אירגון שיתפוס מקומו של קוקום.

2. להלן נקודות עקריות בשיחתנו:

א. מפגש אמריקאי קהילתי:

1. המפגש התקיים ב-9.7 בבריטל עוזר מזכיר המדינה דג'רג'יאן נועד עם נציגות הטרויקה ונציגי הנציבות. כאמור המפגש היה FOLLOW UP למפגש כריסטופר עם עמיתיו בלוקסמבורג בסוף יוני.

2. דג'רג'יאן סקר התנהגות איראן בתחומי הטרור, מאמץ לרכישת יכולת גרעינית ונושאים כלכליים. בנוסף לסקירה שמסר, הציע דג'רג'יאן לעבד תכנית פעולה שתכליתה מאמץ למנוע מאיראן השגת יכולת בתחום נשק ההשמדה ההמוני ( WMD )

בדיון שהתקיים נדונו האפשרויות לשכנע סין וברה"מ שלא לשתף פעולה עם איראן. בהקשר הכלכלי העלתה ההצעה לחילופי מידע.

3. הכוונה להציג תכנית הפעולה בפני שרי החוץ של הקהילה בפגישתם בשולי העצרת בספט'.

4. מדווח שקיבלה על מפגש עולה שנציגי הקהיליה RELUCTANT לעשות שימוש בסחר כמכשיר נגד איראן. כמו כן מודאגים מכוונת ארה"ב להפוך את איראן למטרה. זאת ועוד הקהיליה חוששת מכך שהידיעה בדבר תכנית פעולה תדלוף עובדה שעשויה לשבש יחסי הסחר הטובים של חלק מחברות הקהיליה עם איראן. יחד עם זאת, שותפות מדינות הקהיליה לדאגת ארה"ב לגבי התנהגות איראן.

5. אשת שיחי אינה אופטימית ביחס לסיכוי להשיג הסכמת הקהיליה למדיניות המוצעת ע"י ארה"ב מול איראן. למרות זאת ארה"ב תמשיך במאמץ לתאם עמדות עם ה-12 קנדה ויפן. ציינה בהקשר זה העדר התלהבות קהילתית מכוונת ארה"ב לשלב

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את יפן במאמץ לתאום עמדות.

ב.הקמת אירגון חדש במקום קוקום:

1.הממשל מקיים שיחות פרלימנריות עם חברות קוקום בדבר הקמת אירגון חדש. מעונינים שהאירגון החדש יתחיל לפעול כבר בינואר 94.לאשת שיחי ברור שתאריך היעד הינו שאפתני וכי הסיכוי שיעמדו בלוי'ז אינו גדול.

2.הדחיפה להחלפת קוקום (באירגון חדש) באה בעקבות מפגש קלינטון-יילצין בונקובר במהלכו ביקש האחרון לסגור את קוקום המכביד על יכולתה של רוסיה לייבא טכנולוגיות וציוד חיוני. קלינטון הבטיח לייילצין לבחון בחיוב הבקשה.

3.לדברי אשת שיחי חברות ה- G-7 הסכימו קונצפטואלית עם עמדת הממשל בדבר הצורך להקמת אירגון חדש ( במקום קוקום) שיתאים פעילותו למציאות שהתהוותה בעיקבות סיום המלחמה הקרה. מעונינים שהארגון שיוקם יפעל לפיקוח גלובלי של רשימת פריטים טכנולוגיים ( בדומה לרשימות של קוקום).

במסגרת זו מתכוונים לפעול לאימוץ POLICY OF DENIAL לגבי איראן עיראק לוב וצפי' קוראה. חזרה בהקשר זה על חילוקי הדעות שיש לממשל עם חלק מחברות ה- G-7 לגבי היקף איסור יצוא טכנולוגיות וכן גם לגבי כונת ארה"ב לזהות המדינות הבעיתיות.

4.חזרה על כך שהממשל אינו סבור שמסגרת ה- G-7 קטנה מכדי להתמודד עם המאמץ למניעת העברת ציוד וטכנולוגיה לאיראע. מקווים שהגוף החדש שיכלול מס' גדול יולר של מדינות שיוקם ימלא המשימה לעיל בהצלחה.

שטיין

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אאאא, חוזם: 30504

אל: רהמש/988

מ-: ווש, נר: 2095, תא: 280793, זח: 1900, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/בהול לבוקר

מכתב מוברק

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שה"ח, לשכת שר האוצר

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: סנאט-חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות

בהמשך לדיווחנו בימים האחרונים, על הבעיות בחוק סיוע החוץ להלן עדכון ההתפתחויות מאתמול ה-27/7 בעקבות פגישות שקיים השגריר עם הסנטורים מיטצ'ל ולייהי:-

1. לפנה"מ נפגש השגריר עם הסנטור מיטצ'ל (דיווח מלא על כל הפגישה נבריק בנפרד) השגריר הציג את בעיות החוק (170 מ' דולר SCORING של הערבויות לישראל והסיוע לרוסיה) והוסיף כי אנו עומדים להפגש עם הסנטור ליייהי. מיטצ'ל הגיב באמרו כי הדבר החשוב ביותר הוא אכן להפגש עם ליייהי, ולאחר פגישתנו עמו ידבר הוא, מיטצ'ל עם ליייהי.

הוסיף כי טרם דיבר עם הסנטור בירד וכי ינסה לבדוק עמו.

2. אגב, יום קודם לכנ (26/7) בפגישה עם הסנטור דול, לא היה הסנטור מודע לבעיית ה- SCORING של הערבויות אלא רק לאחר שהשגריר הסביר לו. הבטיח לבדוק עבורנו את הנושא (היינו, טיפול בבעייה במסגרת חוק התקציב ומחיקת ה- SCORING לערבויות בסך 170 מ' דולר).

3. הפגישה אתמול (27/7) עם ליייהי התנהלה אמנם במתיקות שפתיים ובאווירה נחמדה אולם תכניה היו לא נעימים ובלתי קבילים. כפי שתראו, ליייהי השתמש בכל טיעון שמצא כדי להצדיק את כוונותיו. שלושת הנקודות העיקריות אשר הועלו ע"י הסנטור היו:

א. בטול ה' שריונ' של הסיוע לישראל-וכל שאר ה' שריונימ' בחוק, לדברי ליייהי, ישראל תקבל מלוא הסיוע. כך התחייב הנשיא ' וכך התחייבתי גם אני' (ראו בהמשכ).

'מודאג' מכך שישראל דוחפת ידידיה לפעול ל'שריונ' הסיוע דבר המראה שישראל איננה סומכת על קלינטון. (הערה: המגמה לפעול למען 'שריונ' החלה בין הסנטורים חברי ועדתו של ליייהי (מקונל דהקונסיני, לאוטנברג), יחד עם ה'



ידידימ'. זוהי פעולה אינסטנקטיבית המלווה גם במאבקי כח נגד ליייה. י.ד.). אם הסיוע לישראל ישורייין, כל תכנית אחרת בחוק ג'כ תשורייין לרבות הסיוע לרוסיה, ואז יוכלו לראות כולם את גודל הקיצוצים. כמוכן, לא ניתן יהיה להחביא את ה-170 מ' דולר בחוק'. ליייה עבר בשלב זה לאזהרה מפני מלחמה תקשורתית (כמאמרי דיעה ומאמרים אחרים) שתצביע על קיצוצים עמוקים שהוציאו מכלל זה את ישראל.

ליייה הוסיף כי אם יוגש נושא ה'שריון' של הסיוע לישראל כתיקון הרי שהוא יעבור (ליייה מודע לכך שאין לו הקולות י.ד.). במקרה כזה הוא לא יעביר את החוק והדבר יגביל יכולתו לפעול בנושא ה-170 מ' דולר, יתרה מזאת, בלית ברירה, (אם ליייה יסרב להעביר את החוק) יהיה C.R. (החלטת המשך על בסיס אשתקד) והסיוע לרוסיה יאבד (שכן אשתקד לא היה סיוע לרוסיה).

ב. בעית ה-170 מ' דולר SCORING של הערבויות לישראל- להערת השגריר כי מדברי ליייה ניתן להבין שה-170 מ' דולר אינם מהווים בעייה (אחביא אותם כאנ' ועוד) השיב ליייה במהירות כי אין זה כך ושקיימת בעייה אמיתית:

1. בעיית ה-170 מ' דולר לא תיעשה במסגרת חוק התקציב BUDGET RECONCILIATION שכן מיטצ'ל, מנהיג הרוב, איננו סומך על הרפובליקנים והבטחותיהם ואיננו מוכן לסכן חוק התקציב ולהעמידו מול נקודה לסדר ואפילו אחת (לצורך כך עליו 'לנקות' את חוק התקציב מכל נושא שאיננו קשור ישירות לחוק. יש כ-224 נושאים כנ'ל י.ד.)

2. הוא, ליייה, איננו יכול להחביא בחוק שלו את ה-170 מ' דולר (היינו נוסח שיבטל את ה- SCORING כפי שהתכוונו לעשות מלכתחילה בחוק התקציב) שכן הסנטור בירד יעלה נקודה לסדר.

3. תיאורטית ניתן לקצץ עוד 170 מ' דולר מחוק הסיוע, אולם אין זה מעשי.

4. הרעיון המעשי לדברי ליייה שנראה כרגע הוא דחיית DEFERRAL מתן 170 מ' דולר לשנת'א 1995. לשאלת דרנגר, האם מדובר בהגשת תיקון במליאת הסנאט שיבטל דחייה זו השיב ליייה כי יש להבטיח מראש לפחות 60 קולות כדי להתמודד מול נקודה לסדר, ליייה הוסיף כי היה רוצה לראות 70 התחייבויות מוצקות למהלך כזה ואז ציין כי אפילו אם יהיו לנו הקולות, נהיה חשופים מאד כלומר, לעומת הצעתו של ניוסום, עוזרו של ליייה, שבוע קודם לכן שמהלך כזה ככל שהוא רע יהיה טקטי זמני, שינה ליייה דעתו ואמר כי מהלך כזה בעצם נועד להיות קבוע עד 1995.

ג. ליייה אמר כי הוא מבקש לעשות את ה- MARK UP של ועדתו ומליאת ועדת ההקצבות כבר ביום ה'. 29.7 וביום ו' 30.7 (ובשבוע הבא במליאת הסנאט טרם יציאת הקונגרס לפגרה).

לשאלה מדוע הבהלה השיב כי אם לא יפעלו באוגוסט לא יספיקו לפעול בספטמבר ואין אופציה להעביר השנה C.R. שכן יאבדו את הסיוע לרוסיה המורכב רובו ככולו מכספי SUPPLEMENTAL לשנת'א '93).

4. השגריר השיב ליייה בנושא השריון:

זה 22 שנה כל כסף שהוקצב עבור ישראל ע'י הקונגרס, 'שוריינ'. לא הופיע בביהנ'ב 'שריון' (בתשובה להערת ליייה) בהנחה שיהיה חוק סיוע חוץ/הרשאות (הערה: ה- RUELE בביהנ'ב הוא שרק למרשיאים מותר 'לשריינ', לעומת הסנאט

הקובע שרק למקציבים מותר לעשות כן).

השגריר הוסיף כי אין לנו בעיות עם ממשל קלינטון אולם זוהי החלטה שרה'מ יצטרך לקבלה. הוא (השגריר) נוסע לישראל וידבר על כך עם רה'מ.

לייהי הגיב כי הוא רוצה לפעול כבר ביום ה'. השגריר השיב כי הוא חייב להתייעץ וישתדל לעשות זאת עוד לפני יום ה'. (השגריר לא רצה ליצור עמולת עם ליייה, אולם מאידך לא רצה שלייהי ינצל פגישתם כדי לומר ששגריר ישראל אישר ביטול 'השריונימ' ובכך לחתור תחת הסנטורים ידידי ישראל ותחת איפ'ק).

5. ליייה אמר כי הוא רוצה שיובן שאין בכוונתו להניע את החוק עם 'שריונימ'. אני יודע שיהיו כאלה שיאמרו ש 'השריון לישראל פוגע בסיוע לרוסיה'. ליייה אף הוסיף כי עלינו לקחת בחשבון כי אין זה טוב בימים אלה להיות קשור למצרים שכן מידי יום נחשפים סקנדלים חדשים סביב המצרים. ולבסוף, כאשר נסתתמו כמעט כל טיעוניו של ליייה הוסיף: אני לא מוציא מכלל אפשרות קיצוץ ACCROSS THE BOARD של כל 'השריונימ' לטובת הדפיציט או אפילו תקציב אסון השטפונות, הגבנו כי הדבר יכול להיעשות ממילא גם ללא 'שריונימ'.

6. השגריר סיכם כי נשקול היטב הדברים ונתייעץ עם הממשל. ניוסום העיר כי הם בקשר הדוק עם הממשל התומך בביטול השריונים. לגבי דחיית ה-170 מ' דולר לממשל, כדברי ניוסום, אין עמדה (ראו בהמשך)

7. אחה'צ נפגשנו לקפה עם ג'ים בונד (עוזרו לשעבר של הסנטור קסטנ) ראש צוות העוזרים של הסנטורים הרפובליקנים בועדה. להלן עיקרי דבריו:

#### IT'S CRAZY AND A DRASTIC STEP

א. לוותר על 'השריון'

אין אף אחד בועדה שמקדם זאת חוץ מלייהי והסנטור בירד. ואולי במידה מסוימת ופחותה הממשל, עליכם לאמר, לדעתו, שאינכם משנים עמדתכם.

ב. נושא ה- SCORING של הערבויות

אין זו אחריותכם למצוא דרך לפתור הבעייה אלא אחריות הממשל והסנאט DON'T SIGN ON ANYTHING במקומכם הייתי הולך לממשל ומסביר עמדתכם. לשאלת השגריר האם בונד שולח אותנו לממשל דוקא שהקונגרס הוא מקור כוחנו השיב בונד בשלילה. הסביר שאינו שולחנו לממשל אלא שהוא פשוט מחפש דרך לאפשר לנו לומא לא ללייהי מבלי לסטור לו.

ג. בונד הדגיש כי הוא שמח שהשגריר נוסע לישראל וכי העיתוי הוא מצויין ' אינכם יכולים לתת תשובה עד יום ה'. הועדה איננה מוכנה עדיין להתחיל MARK-UP שוחח עם הרפובליקנים בועדה שאינם מוכנים לוותר על 'השריונימ'. דיבר עם 4 דמוקרטים בועדה שנשמו לרוחה כשנודע להם שהסנטור מקונל(בכיר המיעוט) אינו מתכוון לוותר ללייהי בנושא ה'שריון'. לדברי בונד אין איש בועדה התומך בלייהי המדבר רק בשם עצמו. בנושא דחיית ה-170 מ' דולר לשת'א 95 הגיב בונד בחריפות רבה ואמר שאסור לנו בכלל להגחב על כך. אגב, אנשי הממשל נפגשו אחה'צ עם הסנטור אינויה(יו'ר ועדת המשנה לתקציב הפנטגון) כדי לשכנעו להסכים להעביר כספים מתקציב ההגנה לטובת הסיוע לרוסיה.



לדברי בונד אינויה זועם על כך שהוא צריך לפתור מחד את בעיותיו של ליייה ומאידך הלה בא עם נושא ה 'שריונימ' ונושא ה-170 מ'דולר.

לסיכום חלק זה ניתן לאמר כי כוונותיו של ליייה הן:

א. לבטל השריון לישראל

ב. 'לדחות' ( או למעשה לקצצ) הסיוע לישראל בסך 170 מ'דולר לשנת 1995.

8. לפנות ערב קיימנו בשגרירות התייעצות עם איפ'ק: הללו נכנסו לקצב פעילות גבוהה. כבר נוצר קשר טלפוני עם כל חברי ועדתו של ליייה, 3 הבעיות המיידיות שלנו:

א. ביטול 'השריון'

ב. 170 מ' דולר SCORING

ג. עיתוי ה- MARK-UP

הנחת איפ'ק ( הווארד קור) שהממשל יצור קשר במהלך היום עם ליייה בעקבות שיחות עם השגריר, וינסו להורידו מהעיתוי של ה- MARK-UP ומביטול ' השריונימ'.

נשיא איפ'ק גרוסמן דיבר כבר עם ליייה, והם ימשיכו במשך היום לבנות לחץ סביבו, סוכם שהשגריר יתקשר עם ליייה רק לאחר שהממשל יתקשר לליייה ויבקש דחייה ( לאור ההתפתחויות בלבנון נסיעת כריסטופר וכו' ).  
בסה'כ 3 האופציות העומדות בפנינו עתה: א. פניית הממשל לליייה

ב. פניית הסנטורים הדמוקרטים בוועדה לליייה ג. הגשת תיקון ל'שריון'

9. מאוחר בערב (27.7) התקשרה אלי וונדי שרמן, עוזרת המזכיר לעניני קונגרס. ביקשה להתעדכן, בנושא ' השריון' אמרה כי אכן הם תומכים בביטול ' השריונימ' ומבקשים לפעול כמו בביהנ'ב, היינו להטל לבטל ה 'שריון' ולשגר

מכתב בשם המזכיר על מחויבות הממשל למדינות ק'ד.

לשאלתי האם הממשל תומך גם ברעיון של ליייה להשעות 170 מ' דולר מהסיוע לישראל בשנת 1994 ולהעבירם ל-95, השיבה כי טרם קיבלו החלטה וכי הם עדיין מנסים למצוא פתרון. בתשובה לשאלתי אמרה שלייה רוצה לפעול במהירות בגלל הסיוע לרוסיה המורכב ברובו מכספי SUPPLEMENTAL של 93.

לשאלתי האם בעית הסיוע לרוסיה נפתרה השיבה שרמן כי נשאו ונתנו במשך היום וכי חלה התקדמות רבה.

אמרה כי דרגי הממשל הבכירים מאד מעורבים ( VERY ENGAGED ) בנושא ומעונינים לפתור הבעיה. קבלה במשך היום טלפונים מסנדי ברגר והוארד פסטר ( יועץ הנשיא קלינטון לעניני הקונגרס) חזרה ואמרה כי מנסים למצוא פתרון לבעית ה-170 מ' דולר ותעמוד עימי בקשר.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 30514

אל: רהמש/987

מ-: ווש, נר: 2094, תא: 280793, זח: 2100, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/בהול לבוקר

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שה"ח, לשכת שר האוצר

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: סנאט-חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות

היום אחה"צ (28/7) התקשר אריק ניוסום עוזרו של סנטור ליידי ואמר כי מתקשר בשם הסנטור לומר לנו כי לא, חוזר לא, יקיימו מחר יום ה' MARK-UP 29/7 מאחר וטרם הצליחו להתגבר על בעית הסיוע לרוסיה.

יש סיכוי קלוש שיקיימו אולי MARK UP ביום ו' 30/7, ו/או בשבוע הבא.

יתקשר להודיעני.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר



תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, ערן, שרהאוצר,  
@ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 30513

אל: רהמש/991

מ-: ווש, נר: 2093, תא: 280793, זח: 2100, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

א ל: מנכ"ל

ד ע: ממנכ"ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: לבנון ותגובות אירופיות

1. לבקשתך, העליתי עם מחמ"ד את סוגיית העמדה האירופית ובייחוד הצרפתית לגבי הארועים בלבנון.

2. הודיעו לי שהאמריקאים יבהירו ויעירו. כלפי הצרפתים צפוי צעד כזה כבר היום, שכן הצרפתים יזמו פגישה מצידם. ההערכה האמריקאית שהצרפתים יביעו מחאה על ארועי לבנון על מנת שיוכלו לתת לדבר פומבי. בני שיחו השתכנעו שזאת תהיה הזדמנות מתאימה להבהרת העמדה האמריקאית בנושא.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, מנכל, @ (רהמ), מצב, מצפא, סמנכלארופה,  
איר, 1, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ראשהמשלה),  
@ (לוברני)

סססס



20 JUL 93 019842

**בהול**

אאאא, חוזם: 29990  
 אל: בטחון/2125  
 מ-: נוש, נר: 2092, תא: 280793, חז: 1030, ב, סג: 10, בבב

אל ראש הממשלה

סודי/בהול לבוקר

אל: רוהימ, שהיח, שר האוצר

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

מכתב מוברק

הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות

אתמול בפגישותינו בסנאט עם הסנטורים מיטציל, ליייה ואחרים, הוברר לנו כדלקמן:-

1. ליייה רוצה להתחיל ב- MARK-UP של החוק מחר, יום ה' (29 יולי) ולהמשיך ביום ו' (30 יולי), ובשבוע הבא להביא החוק להצבעה במליאת הסנאט.

2. ליייה מעוניין לבטל היישיוני לסיוע לישראל.

3. לא ניתן לפתור את בעיית ה- SCORING של הערבויות בסך 170 מליון דולר, במסגרת חוק התקציב (ובכך, בעצם, לבטל זאת). הפתרון המוצע, כרגע, עיי ליייה הוא לעשות זאת במסגרת חוק הסיוע עיי השעיית 170 מליון דולר, מהסיוע לישראל ודחייתם לשתיא '95 (פתרון זה אינו נראה לנו, יש לו תחליפים וכך אמרנו מייד).

4. איפאיק פועלים בקרב חברי הועדה לדחיית ה- MARK-UP, להבטחת היישיוני (שנעשה כבר למעלה מ-20 שנה) ולפתרון בעיית 170 מליון דולר.

5. פעולתנו, כרגע, מתמקדת ב:-

- א. גיוס הממשל להתערבות אצל ליייה.
- ב. פעולת סנטורים דמוקרטיים אצל ליייה.
- ג. התחמקות מתשובה שלילית ישירה שלנו לליייה הן בענין היישיוני והן בענין מועד ה- MARK-UP.
- ד. חיפוש פתרונות אלטרנטיביים לבעיית ה-170 מליון דולר.

6. דיווח מפורט יועבר בנפרד.

רבינוביץ.

לבח

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סודי

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אאאא, חוזם: 29990

אל: רהמש/944

מ-: ווש, נר: 2092, תא: 280793, זח: 1030, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/בהול לבוקר

אל: רוה'מ, שה'ח, שר האוצר

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

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מכתב מוברק

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הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות

אתמול בפגישותינו בסנאט עם הסנטורים מיטצ'ל, ליידי ואחרים, הוברר לנו כדלקמן:-

1. ליידי רוצה להתחיל ב- MARK-UP של החוק מחר, יום ה' (29 יולי) ולהמשיך ביום ו' (30 יולי), ובשבוע הבא להביא החוק להצבעה במליאת הסנאט.

2. ליידי מעוניין לבטל ה'שריונ' לסיוע לישראל.

3. לא ניתן לפתור את בעיית ה- SCORING של הערביות בסך 170 מליון דולר, במסגרת חוק התקציב (ובכך, בעצם, לבטל זאת). הפתרון המוצע, כרגע, ע'י ליידי הוא לעשות זאת במסגרת חוק הסיוע ע'י השעיית 170 מליון דולר, מהסיוע לישראל ודחייתם לשנת '95 (פתרון זה אינו נראה לנו, יש לו תחליפים וכך אמרנו מיד).

4. איפא'ק פועלים בקרב חברי הועדה לדחיית ה- MARK-UP, להבטחת ה'שריונ' (שנעשה כבר למעלה מ-20 שנה) ולפתרון בעיית 170 מליון דולר.

5. פעולתנו, כרגע, מתמקדת ב:-

- א. גיוס הממשל להתערבות אצל ליידי.
- ב. פעולת סנטורים דמוקרטיים אצל ליידי.
- ג. התחמקות מתשובה שלילית ישירה שלנו לליידי הן בענין ה'שריונ' והן בענין מועד ה- MARK-UP.
- ד. חיפוש פתרונות אלטרנטיביים לבעיית ה-170 מליון דולר.

6. דיווח מפורט יועבר בנפרד.

רבינוביץ.



לבח

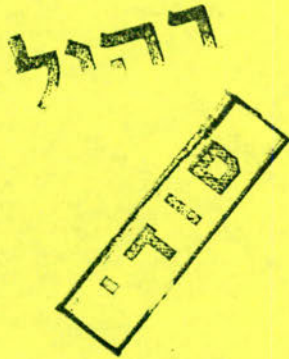
תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), שרהאוצר, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

28/07/1993

18:54:04

20 JUL 93 019843



אאא, חוזם: 29991

אל: בטחון/2124

מ-: ווש, נר: 2091, תא: 280793, חז: 1030, חד: ב, ט: 10

בבב

אל: מקשח

אל ראש הממשלה

סודי/בהול לבוקר

אל: פרינ

דע: ממנכ"ל, מקשיח-משהביט

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: יוזמת הנשיא על פרוליפרציה

1. להלן מתוך שיהיה קצרה של שטיין והח"מ עם בוב איינהורן לגבי היוזמה הנ"ל:

(א) היוזמה התגבשה ומקובלת על כל הגורמים הנוגעים בדבר בממשל ומונחת עתה על שולחנו של סוני לייק.

(ב) בכוונת מחמ"ד להודיע בקרוב רשמית על עיקרי היוזמה למדינות מרכזיות כולל ישראל. היוזמה תובא בפני הקונגרס במהלך הימים הקרובים, ולאחר מכן תוגש לנשיא לאישורו הסופי. ההערכה היא, שמהלכים אלה יקחו כשבוע ימים.

(ג) לדברי איינהורן, אין ביוזמה חדשה זו כדי לגרום לייצורבתי לישראל ולגבי המזית מתאפיינת היוזמה בהמשכיות. הקו המנחה לגבי המזית הוא הפילוסופיה של הממשל כפי שבאה לידי ביטוי בקבוצת העבודה על הבק"נ.

(ד) חומר בקיע (FISSILE MATERIAL) - המדיניות הכללית היא לפקח בצורה בטוחה על החומר הקיים ובבוא הזמן להגיע להפחתה משמעותית במאגרינו של חומר זה ברחבי העולם. היוזמה תשאף לרסן ייצור של חומר בקיע ולהגין לאמנה מולטילטרלית שתאסור על החזקת חומר זה לצורכי פצצות גרעיניות. (NUCLEAR EXPLOSION PURPOSES).

(ה) הממשל ימשיך לפעול נגד פרוליפרציה של קביק באזורים המעוררים דאגו כגון, צפון קוריהא.

(ו) הממשל לא ינסה להגיע למעין משטר של NPT לגבי טילים, אלא ינסה לבנות על ה-MTCR ולחזקו. לא יהיו כאן שינויים במרכיבים העיקריים בסוגיה זו. תהיה אפשרות להמשיך ולפתח מערכות טילים לצורכי הגנה עם מדינות שאינן חברות ב-MTCR כגון בפרויקט החץ. לדברי איינהורן, לא יהיה שתפי מצידם לגבי ה'שביטי'.

(ז) הממשל ימשיך במאמציו לשכנע את מדינות ערב לתמוך באמנה הכימית ולחדול מה-LINKAGE עם הסוגיה הגרעינית. דבר זה לא יופיע כמרכיב ביוזמה אלא בדברי ההסבר הנלווים לה.

(ח) הממשל ימשיך בעמדתו השואפת להצטרפות אוניברסלית למשטר ה-NPT.

2. אלה פרטי שאיינהורן היה מוכן לנדב לגבי היוזמה, וכאמור צופה שבימינו

1/2



הקרובים יוכל למסור לנו רשמית על היוזמה במסגרת הודעות מוקדמות שהממשל מתכוון למסור למדינות מרכזיות. אגב, בשיחותיו של השגריר עם גורמים בממשל, ביקשם לקיים עמנו התייעצויות מוקדמות טרם פרסום היוזמה. בהקשר זה הסביר איינהורן כי ביולי '91 אכן התייעצו עמנו אך אז היה מדובר על יוזמה ספציפית ולמז'ת ולא יוזמה גלובלית.

3. כמובן נודה על חסיון הפרטים הנ"ל.

ג'רמי יששכרוף.

לבח

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אאאא, חוזם: 29991

אל: רהמש/943

מ-: ווש, נר: 2091, תא: 280793, זח: 1030, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/בהול לבוקר

אל: פר'נ

דע: ממנכ'ל, מקש'ח-משהב'ט

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: יוזמת הנשיא על פרוליפרציה

1. להלן מתוך שיחה קצרה של שטיין והח'מ עם בוב איינהורן לגבי היוזמה הנ'ל:

א) היוזמה התגבשה ומקובלת על כל הגורמים הנוגעים בדבר בממשל ומונחת עתה על שולחנו של טוני לייק.

ב) בכוונת מחמ'ד להודיע בקרוב רשמית על עיקרי היוזמה למדינות מרכזיות כולל ישראל. היוזמה תובא בפני הקונגרס במהלך הימים הקרובים, ולאחר מכן תוגש לנשיא לאישורו הסופי. ההערכה היא, שמהלכים אלה יקחו כשבוע ימים.

ג) לדברי איינהורן, אין ביוזמה חדשה זו כדי לגרום ל'יצרבת' לישראל ולגבי המז'ת מתאפיינת היוזמה בהמשכיות. הקו המנחה לגבי המז'ת הוא הפילוסופיה של הממשל כפי שבאה לידי ביטוי בקבוצת העבודה על הבק'נ.

ד) חומר בקיע ( FISSILE MATERIAL ) - המדיניות הכללית היא לפקח בצורה בטוחה על החומר הקיים ובכבוא הזמן להגיע להפחתה משמעותית במאגרים של חומר זה ברחבי העולם. היוזמה תשאף לרסן ייצור של חומר בקיע ולהגיע לאמנה מולטילטרלית שתאסור על החזקת חומר זה לצורכי פצצות גרעיניות. ( NUCLEAR EXPLOSION PURPOSES ).

ה) הממשל ימשיך לפעול נגד פרוליפרציה של קב'ק באזורים המעוררים דאגה כגון, צפון קוריאה.

ו) הממשל לא ינסה להגיע למעין משטר של NPT לגבי טילים, אלא ינסה לבנות על ה-MTCR ולחזקו. לא יהיו כאן שינויים במרכיבים העיקריים בסוגיה זו. תהיה אפשרות להמשיך ולפתח מערכות טילים לצורכי הגנה עם מדינות שאינן חברות ב-MTCR כגון בפרויקט החץ. לדברי איינהורן, לא יהיה שתפ' מצידם לגבי ה'שביט'.

ז) הממשל ימשיך במאמציו לשכנע את מדינות ערב לתמוך באמנה הכימית ולחדול מה-LINKAGE עם הסוגיה הגרעינית. דבר זה לא יופיע כמרכיב ביוזמה אלא בדברי ההסבר הנלווים לה.



ח) הממשל ימשיך בעמדתו השואפת להצטרפות אוניברסלית למשטר ה-NPT .

2. אלה פרטי שאיינהורן היה מוכן לנדב לגבי היוזמה, וכאמור צופה שבימים הקרובים יוכל למסור לנו רשמית על היוזמה במסגרת הודעות מוקדמות שהממשל מתכוון למסור למדינות מרכזיות. אגב, בשיחותיו של השגריר עם גורמים בממשל, ביקשם לקיים עמנו התייעצויות מוקדמות טרם פרסום היוזמה. בהקשר זה הסביר איינהורן כי ביולי '91 אכן התייעצו עמנו אך אז היה מדובר על יוזמה ספציפית ולמז'ת ולא יוזמה גלובלית.

3. כמובן נודה על חסיון הפרטים הנ"ל.

ג'רמי יששכרוף.

לבח

תפוצה: שדה, סדהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, סי יבל,  
@ (מקשח/משהבט), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 30471

אל: רהמש/986

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 885, תא: 280793, חז: 1943, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

תאריך: 28 ביולי 1993

אל: מצפ"א

דע: קונכ"ל - שיקגו

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: ביהנ"ב - פגישת השגריר עם מצליף הרוב

1. השגריר רבינוביץ נועד ב-26.7 לפגישת היכרות ותדרוך עם מצליף הרוב בביהנ"ב, קונגרסמן דייוד בוניור (ממישיגן). השתתף עוזרו מייק קויאנאגי ומצדנו דרנגר והח"מ.

2. השגריר הודה לבוניור על הצורה החלקה בה עבר סיוע החוץ בביהנ"ב.

3. השגריר תדרך בהרחבה על התהליך המדיני ועל המצב בלבנון. בוניור אמר כי מאז מדריד הוא מאד מאוכזב מן הקצב האיטי של תהליך השלום. התעניין בעמדה הסורית, ברעיון של "עזה תחילה" ובפני האוטנומיה העתידית. הביע תקווה כי התהליך יתחדש בקרוב ויצליח.

4. בהפנותו אל דו"ח "בצלם", אמר בוניור כי קיווה שעם עלות הממשלה החדשה בישראל תרד רמת האלימות והפרת זכויות האדם משני הצדדים. אמר שקיווה למודעות גדולה יותר מצד ממשלת ישראל אך לצערו לא כך קרה. השגריר השיב.

5. בוניור היצר על "מגמה אנטי איסלאמית" בארה"ב המתסכלת מאד את הקהילה המוסלמית כאן. הם רואים כיצד אין מסייע למוסלמים בבוסניה ובקשמיר, למשל. הביע תקווה כי בקרוב תגביר ארה"ב פעילותה בבוסניה. שיבח (בקמצנות) העברת פליטים מבוסניה לישראל.

6. בוניור מייצג אזור בו מרובה האוכלוסיה המוסלמית. אינו נחשב לידיד, אולם הוא ומשרדו מעוניינים בדיאלוג עמנו.

בינה

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

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 30324  
אל: רהמש/977  
מ:- וושינגטון, נר: 869, תא: 280793, זח: 1631, דח: ב, סג: בל,  
בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/בהול

אל: חדר מצב

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: מסע"ת מחלקת המדינה - קטעים רלוונטיים

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: MIKE MCCURRY 1:40P.M.  
WEDNESDAY, JULY 28, 1993

MR. MCCURRY: GOOD AFTERNOON, EVERYBODY. I DON'T HAVE ANY FORMAL  
PREPARED STATEMENTS, BUT I'M READY TO TAKE YOUR QUESTIONS AND I  
APOLOGIZE FOR THE DELAY.

Q WHAT ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S TRAVEL PLANS? WILL HE GO TO THE  
MIDDLE EAST AS SCHEDULED? WILL HE GO TO THE MIDDLE EAST  
DIRECTLY?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, HE CERTAINLY INTENDS TO STICK WITH HIS  
SCHEDULE. I DON'T KNOW OF ANY CHANGE IN HIS PLAN. YOU KNOW,  
WE'RE SCHEDULED TO BE OVER THERE NEXT WEEK FOR THE SESSIONS THAT  
YOU'RE AWARE THAT HE INTENDS TO HAVE, AND WE -- HE CERTAINLY IS  
PLANNING TO MOVE AHEAD WITH THAT SCHEDULE.

Q BUT IS THERE ANYTHING THAT MIGHT COME UP IN BETWEEN NOW AND  
THEN?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, HE'S WORKING ON THIS PROBLEM -- I KNOW YOU  
ALL KNOW THAT HE RETURNED FROM HIS TRIP TO SINGAPORE. HE ARRIVED  
HERE THIS MORNING. HE'S BEEN WORKING WITH THE PEACE TEAM SINCE  
EARLY THIS MORNING. HE'S HAD, I THINK, CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES  
IN THE REGION EVEN THIS MORNING, AND EVEN PRIOR TO RETURNING. SO  
HE'LL BE ACTIVELY ENGAGED ON THE ISSUED OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL  
DAYS PRIOR TO DEPARTING.

Q WHAT IS THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S READING OF WHAT IT GOING ON NOW  
IN SOUTHERN LEBANON?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, WE HAVE -- WE'RE EXTREMELY CONCERNED ABOUT THE FIGHTING AND THE POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER ESCALATION. WE BELIEVE VIOLENCE SHOULD END NOW. THE SECRETARY, AS I SAID, HAS BEEN COMMUNICATING THAT MESSAGE DIRECTLY TO LEADERS IN THE REGION, INCLUDING ISRAEL, SYRIA, AND LEBANON, AND WE CALL ON THE PARTIES TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY STEPS TO END THE VIOLENCE. THIS INCLUDES AN END TO ISRAELI AIR AND ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENT AND AN END TO HEZBOLLAH AND OTHER TERRORIST GROUP ATTACKS. MILITARY ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AGAINST ALL CIVILIANS SHOULD ALSO STOP.

WE'RE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE SITUATION, WHICH HAS CREATED MASSIVE REFUGEE FLOWS IN LEBANON. THE REFUGEES FROM SOUTH LEBANON MUST BE ALLOWED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES IMMEDIATELY.

WE NEED TO BE DEALING WITH THE CAUSES, NOT JUST THE SYMPTOMS, OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. AND IT'S INCUMBENT THAT THE CURRENT HOSTILITIES CEASE IN ORDER TO FACILITATE REAL PROGRESS TOWARD A JUST, LASTING, AND COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE REGION. AND, OF COURSE, THAT'S PRECISELY THE FOCUS OF THE SECRETARY'S UPCOMING MISSION IN THE REGION.

Q DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT THINK THAT THE ISRAELI RESPONSE, WHICH HAS APPARENTLY CREATED HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OR TENS OF THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES, IS PROPORTIONATE?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, WE'RE DEEPLY DISTURBED BY THE UPROOTING OF THESE LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE, AS I JUST SAID.

Q MICHAEL, WOULD -- (OFF MIKE) -- THE FACT THAT THE ISRAELIS OPENLY SAY THAT THIS IS A PART OF THIS STRATEGY, THAT WHAT THEY WANT TO DO IS DRIVE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE INTO BEIRUT TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT AND/OR THE SYRIANS TO REIN IN HEZBOLLAH? YOU YOURSELVES HAVE BLAMED HEZBOLLAH. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE ISRAELI STRATEGY?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK THAT WE -- AS I JUST SAID, WE ARE, YOU KNOW, DEEPLY DISTURBED BY UPROOTING OF LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE. WE'RE URGING ALL SIDES TO END THE FIGHTING. THE VIOLENCE HAS JUST GOT TO STOP. NOW, IT IS -- IT'S ALSO TRUE THAT THE CITIZENS OF NORTHERN ISRAEL SHOULD ALSO FEEL SECURE ENOUGH TO LEAVE THEIR BUNKERS AND RETURN TO THEIR HOMES, AND THAT MEANS THAT HEZBOLLAH'S GOT TO STOP ITS ATTACKS ON NORTHERN ISRAEL AS WELL.

Q MIKE, CAN I ASK YOU ABOUT YOUR USE OF THE WORD "DIRECTED"? NOW, IN YOUR STATEMENT, IF TAKEN LITERALLY, THAT MEANS THAT SOMEBODY, AND YOU CAN ONLY MEAN THE ISRAELIS, ARE TARGETING CIVILIANS. NOW, IS THAT WHAT YOU MEAN TO SAY? OR DO YOU MEAN BOMBING THAT BRINGS ABOUT CIVILIAN CASUALTIES SHOULD STOP? "DIRECTED" -- I CAN'T PUT IT ANY BETTER. "DIRECTED" MEANS "AIMED AT." ARE YOU SAYING THE ISRAELIS ARE AIMING AT CIVILIANS? OR ARE THEY AIMING AT HEZBOLLAH?



MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THAT THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE VIOLENCE IN THE REGION IS THAT THERE HAVE BEEN, YOU KNOW, A LARGE MOVEMENT OF REFUGEES NORTH FROM SOUTH LEBANON. AND, AS I SAY, THAT'S SOMETHING THAT'S DEEPLY DISTURBING TO US. I THINK YOU'RE ASKING ME A QUESTION ABOUT THE OPERATIONAL PLANS, AND I THINK THOSE SHOULD BEST BE DIRECTED TO THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.

Q NO, NO. I'M NOT ASKING ABOUT THAT. I'M ASKING YOU, AND -- IT'S VERY PLAIN WHAT I'M ASKING YOU. YOU HAVE A STATEMENT THERE YOU JUST READ, AND YOUR STATEMENT SPOKE OF ATTACKS DIRECTED AT CIVILIANS. IN SIMPLE ENGLISH, (THAT) MEANS THAT SOMEBODY IS TARGETING CIVILIANS. NOW, THAT'S DIFFERENT FROM CIVILIANS BEING THE VICTIMS OF TARGETING OF GUERRILLA BASES. HAS THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WHICH DIDN'T SAY A WORD CRITICAL OF ISRAEL UNTIL NOW, NOW SUDDENLY DECIDED THAT ISRAEL IS AIMING AT CIVILIANS?

MR. MCCURRY: IT'S CLEAR THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ATTACKS DIRECTED AGAINST CIVILIANS, AND THAT HAS RESULTED IN A, YOU KNOW, TRANSFER OF REFUGEES NORTH FROM SOUTH LEBANON. IT'S ALSO TRUE THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ATTACKS DIRECTED AGAINST CIVILIANS IN ISRAEL. THE WHOLE MATTER, AS I SAY, THE UNITED STATES FINDS DISTURBING.

Q BUT, MIKE, YOU'RE SAYING THAT BOTH SIDES ARE DIRECTING ATTACKS AT CIVILIANS?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, IT'S CLEAR THAT THERE HAVE BEEN ATTACKS DIRECTED AGAINST CITIZENS IN NORTHERN ISRAEL, AND THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE ATTACKS IN -- YOU KNOW, THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE FIGHTING AND THE VIOLENCE IN SOUTH LEBANON HAS BEEN THE TRANSFER OF A LARGE NUMBER OF REFUGEES.

Q MIKE, YOU SAID THAT THE SECRETARY HAS NO -- INTENDS TO STICK TO HIS SCHEDULE. IS THAT -- WHAT HAPPENS IF THE FIGHTING CONTINUES? IS THERE SOME CONSIDERATION TO NOT GOING THEN?

MR. MCCURRY: NO. I THINK -- LOOK, THE SECRETARY INTENDS TO GO AHEAD WITH THE SCHEDULE, AND THAT'S THE -- THE LARGER PURPOSE IS -- AGAIN, AS I SUGGESTED, THE LARGER PURPOSE AND FOCUS OF THE SECRETARY'S MISSION IN THE REGION ARE PRECISELY THE TYPES OF -- OR THE FOCUS IS THE TYPE OF PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS THAT IS, YOU KNOW, ULTIMATELY THE ANSWER AND THE ANTIDOTE FOR THIS TYPE OF VIOLENCE.

Q ARE YOU SAYING THAT, IF THE VIOLENCE IS GOING ON, HE'S STILL GOING?

MR. MCCURRY: I SAID HIS PLANS ARE UNCHANGED AND THAT HE PLANS TO GO TO THE REGION NEXT WEEK.

Q MICHAEL, I WONDER IF YOU COULD CLEAR UP FOR US EXACTLY WHY THE



SECRETARY REALLY HAD TO CUT HIS TRIP SHORT AND COME BACK. AS YOU KNOW, THERE'S BEEN SOME PRESS REPORTS TODAY THAT THE REASON IT WAS PUT OUT THAT HE WAS COMING BACK BECAUSE OF CONCERN ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST WAS NOT THE REAL REASON AND THAT THE REAL REASON WAS BOSNIA AND THAT HE'S HAVING SOME KIND OF CRITICAL MEETING TODAY AT THE WHITE HOUSE TODAY ON BOSNIA. IS THAT TRUE?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THE SECRETARY SAID IN HIS STATEMENT WHEN HE DEPARTED SINGAPORE THAT HE WAS RETURNING TO TALK TO THE PRESIDENT AND OTHERS ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO DISCUSS OTHER ISSUES. AND --

Q WAS BOSNIA THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR HIM TO COME BACK?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, BOSNIA WAS AMONG THE OTHER ISSUES THAT THE SECRETARY IS DISCUSSING AS HE'S DISCUSSING, I BELIEVE, RIGHT NOW AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

Q YOU DID SAY, THOUGH, THAT -- IN YOUR VERY EARLY STATEMENT, THAT THIS MORNING HE SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME, I THINK WAS YOUR PHRASE, BUT I COULD BE WRONG ABOUT THAT --

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, HE --

Q -- ON TALKING WITH THE PEACE TEAM ON THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE. IS THAT CORRECT?

MR. MCCURRY: HE SPENT -- I GUESS HE GOT HERE AROUND 8:45 IN THE MORNING AND HE'S BEEN -- HE WORKED FIRST WITH THE PEACE TEAM ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEN HE MET WITH PEOPLE HERE IN THE DEPARTMENT WHO ARE WORKING ON THE BOSNIA ISSUE AFTER THAT. HE'S BEEN DEEPLY INVOLVED IN BOTH OF THOSE ISSUES AND HAS HAD NUMEROUS CONTACTS WITH OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES ON THE BOSNIAN ISSUE AND HAS BEEN IN CONTACT, AS I SAID, WITH THE PARTIES ON THE MIDDLE EAST THIS MORNING AS WELL.

Q COULD YOU BE MORE SPECIFIC, PLEASE, ABOUT BOTH ISSUES, WHAT HIS CONTACTS HAVE BEEN?

MR. MCCURRY: I BELIEVE IN THE CASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST BETWEEN LAST NIGHT AND TODAY, HE'S HAD SEVERAL CONTACTS -- I'M NOT EXACTLY SURE HOW MANY -- WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN, PRIME MINISTER HARAWI, FOREIGN MINISTER SHARA. AND ON BOSNIA I BELIEVE -- WELL, I THINK HE'S BEEN WORKING PRIMARILY WITH OUR TEAM HERE, BUT I DO BELIEVE HE TALKED THIS MORNING TO FOREIGN MINISTER JUPPE OF FRANCE.

Q WERE THOSE OTHER THINGS PHONE CALLS? YOU SAY CONTACTS.

MR. MCCURRY: PHONE CALLS, YEAH. THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN OTHER HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT ON BOTH OF THOSE QUESTIONS.



Q WOULD IT BE FAIR TO CHARACTERIZE THE SECRETARY'S DIPLOMACY THIS MORNING SINCE HE'S BEEN BACK AS, IN EFFECT, TRYING TO WORK OUT A CEASE-FIRE?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK HE'S CLEARLY BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES ON THE NEED TO STOP THE FIGHTING AND TO END THE VIOLENCE.

Q IS THAT -- IS HE WORKING ON GETTING A CEASE-FIRE SO THAT WHEN HE GOES TO THE REGION, HE WON'T HAVE TO WORK ON GETTING A CEASE-FIRE; HE CAN WORK ON THE PEACE PROCESS?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK THE FOCUS, AS I SAY, OF HIS MISSION NEXT WEEK IS ON THE PEACE PROCESS.

Q DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY PROBLEM WITH THE FACT THAT AMERICAN AIRCRAFT, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE BEEN USED IN THESE ATTACKS?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THAT'S A -- I KNOW THAT'S A SUBJECT THAT OFTEN COMES UP HERE. I THINK I DON'T KNOW OF ANY DIFFERENT ANSWER THAN THE ONES WE'VE PROVIDED IN THE PAST ON THAT TYPE OF QUESTION.

Q I JUST WANT TO ASK YOU AGAIN, IF THE BOMBING AND ARTILLERY BARRAGES ARE STILL GOING ON, WOULDN'T THAT -- AND THE SECRETARY IS DUE TO GO TO THE REGION, WOULDN'T THAT GET IN THE WAY OF KEEPING THE FOCUS ON THE PEACE TALKS?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK THE SECRETARY VERY MUCH HOPES THAT THAT WOULD BE A MOOT POINT. YOU KNOW, WE CLEARLY WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE FIGHTING AND THE VIOLENCE.

Q CAN I JUST GET AGAIN BACK TO YOUR STATEMENT? IS IT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION THAT ISRAEL -- YOU WERE ASKED THIS, BUT I DON'T THINK YOU ANSWERED -- THAT ISRAEL'S RESPONSE IS DISPROPORTIONATE? OR WOULD YOU THINK THEY HAVE NO -- THEY WERE WRONG TO RESPOND WITH ANY FORCE AGAINST A GUERRILLA ATTACK?

MR. MCCURRY: I AM NOT A JUST WAR THEOLOGIAN AND I DON'T -- DISCUSSING PROPORTIONALITY IS NOT SOMETHING I INTEND TO DO.

Q DOES A COUNTRY HAVE A RIGHT TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST GUERRILLA ATTACKS? AND HOW WOULD IT DEFEND ITSELF IF THE GUERRILLAS PLACED THEMSELVES WITHIN CIVILIAN AREAS?

MR. MCCURRY: THAT'S A HYPOTHETICAL, GENERAL QUESTION. WE'RE TALKING HERE ABOUT A VERY SPECIFIC SITUATION. I'D LIKE TO STICK TO WHAT I SAID ABOUT THIS --

Q WELL, (WHAT ?) IS THIS SITUATION?

MR. MCCURRY: I'M TALKING ABOUT --

Q WELL, I MEAN, WAS ISRAEL ATTACKED BY HEZBOLLAH, OR IS THAT HYPOTHETICAL?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK WE'VE MADE IT CLEAR THAT IN COMMENTS THAT BOTH THE SECRETARY MADE IN SINGAPORE AND YOU'VE HEARD THE PRESIDENT DISCUSS THE ACTIVITIES OF HEZBOLLAH AS RECENTLY AS YESTERDAY, THAT'S OF VERY REAL CONCERN TO US.

AND WE OBVIOUSLY UNDERSTAND THE SITUATION THAT MANY CITIZENS IN NORTH ISRAEL ARE IN WHEN THEY FEEL THAT THEY ARE UNDER ATTACK AS WELL FROM TERRORIST GROUPS AND TERRORIST --

Q YOU UNDERSTAND, BUT DO YOU THINK THEIR GOVERNMENT SHOULD RESPOND AND DEFEND THEM BY RETALIATING TO SUCH ATTACKS, OR ARE YOU JUST SYMPATHETIC TO THEM?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, YOU'VE HEARD ME SEVERAL TIMES IN RECENT DAYS SAY THAT THE PARTIES -- URGE THE PARTIES TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT.

Q MIKE, JUST TO FOLLOW UP ON AN EARLIER QUESTION ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S CONTACTS AND THE NATURE OF THOSE CONTACTS, WOULD IT BE FAIR TO SAY THAT THE SECRETARY IS ACTING AS AN INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN THE SYRIANS AND THE ISRAELIS ON THIS AND ATTEMPTING TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO THIS VIOLENCE, OR IS THE SECRETARY SIMPLY PICKING UP THE PHONE AND SAYING, "STOP THE VIOLENCE"?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, YOU KNOW, HE'S ALREADY ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH ALL THESE PARTIES IN THE REGION BY VIRTUE OF BEING A FULL PARTNER IN THE PEACE PROCESS, AND I THINK THAT I -- I WOULDN'T -- I THINK YOU'RE TRYING TO SEPARATE QUESTIONS, TWO SEPARATE QUESTIONS. ONE IS THE VIOLENCE UNDERWAY THERE HAS GOT TO END. I THINK THAT'S VERY CLEAR, AND THAT'S A SEPARATE QUESTION FROM HOW YOU MOVE AHEAD ON THE PEACE PROCESS. BUT I THINK HE'S INVOLVED DEEPLY WITH THESE PARTIES IN DISCUSSING THE PEACE PROCESS, AND CLEARLY, A SEPARATE QUESTION FROM THAT IS THE VIOLENCE GOING ON IN --

Q I UNDERSTAND, BUT MY QUESTION WAS, IS HE EXPLORING WITH THE PARTIES WAYS TO END THE VIOLENCE?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK HE'S IN CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES ON THAT QUESTION.

Q COULD I ASK ABOUT THAT? YESTERDAY DJEREJIAN TESTIFIED, WHEN ASKED ABOUT SYRIA'S ROLE IN ALL THIS, TESTIFIED THAT SYRIA COULD NOT CONTROL HEZBOLLAH BECAUSE THEY DON'T HAVE ANY TROOPS -- BECAUSE SYRIA DOESN'T HAVE ANY TROOPS IN THE SOUTH, AND NOW WE'RE IN CONTACT WITH SYRIA TO END THE VIOLENCE. I'M NOT CLEAR WHAT THE UNITED STATES THINKS SYRIA'S ROLE IS IN THIS VIOLENCE.



COULD SYRIA END THIS VIOLENCE IF IT WISHED?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK YOU HEARD, IF I'M NOT -- I'D WANT TO REFER BACK DIRECTLY TO WHAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY DJEREJIAN SAID YESTERDAY BECAUSE I THINK HE WAS VERY CLEAR IN DISCUSSING WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE THE INFLUENCE THAT SYRIA HAS OVER HEZBOLLAH, AND I THINK HE WAS PRETTY DIRECT IN SAYING THAT WE BELIEVE THEY COULD SUBSTANTIALLY AFFECT THE NATURE OF SOME OF THE ATTACKS THAT ARE OCCURRING.

Q HE SAID, THOUGHHE -- WHAT HE SAID WAS VIS-A-VIS HEZBOLLAH THAT HE -- HE CAREFULLY SORT OF DIDN'T USE SYRIA'S NAME IN THIS, AND I DIDN'T HE TALKED ABOUT "OTHER PARTIES" -- COULD ACT WITH RESTRAINT, HE SAID, IN CUTTING DOWN ON THE RESUPPLY OF HEZBOLLAH AND LOGISTIC HELP TO HEZBOLLAH. BUT NOW, THEY WERE OBVIOUSLY SUPPLIED WITH SOME ROCKETS AND STUFF LIKE THAT, AND THEY'RE -- AND THEY'VE GOT THAT. BUT WHAT CAN SYRIA DO -- IF SYRIA DOESN'T HAVE ANY CONTROL OVER THOSE FOLKS IN THE SOUTH, WHAT CAN SYRIA DO TO STOP THEM FROM FIGHTING?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I -- IF I RECALL CORRECTLY, AND AGAIN, I'D WANT TO REFER BACK TO WHAT HE SAID, BECAUSE I -- MY RECOLLECTION IS PRETTY CLEAR, HE SAID THAT WE BELIEVE THEY HAVE SUBSTANTIAL INFLUENCE OVER THE ACTIVITIES OF HEZBOLLAH, AND THAT'S WHY IT WAS APPROPRIATE TO DIRECT DISCUSSIONS TO SYRIA ON THAT -- ON THAT ISSUE. I THINK YOU MAY BE REFERRING TO -- THERE WAS A DISCUSSION DURING HIS TESTIMONY YESTERDAY ON THE ROLE THAT IRAN PLAYS, AND IT MAY BE THAT YOU'RE REFERRING TO THAT.

Q BUT WE DO -- WE DO THINK THAT SYRIA HAD -- COULD EXERCISE INFLUENCE OVER HEZBOLLAH? AND I ASSUME THE --

MR. MCCURRY: YES.

Q -- AND I ASSUME AHMED JABRIL AS WELL?

MR. MCCURRY: THAT'S A -- THAT STUMPS ME, I'M AFRAID. (LAUGHS)

Q (OFF MIKE) -- COMMAND.

MR. MCCURRY: NO, THE GENERAL COMMAND.

Q THE GENERAL COMMAND OF --

MR. MCCURRY: RIGHT. I THINK THAT -- I THINK THAT WE HAVE -- I THINK THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THEY HAVE A VARIETY OF WAYS OF INFLUENCING THE VIOLENCE IN THE REGION, AND INCLUDED IN THAT WOULD BE THE WAY THAT THEY COULD COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY WITH HEZBOLLAH.

Q DOESN'T THAT IN A SENSE MAKE THEM RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VIOLENCE IN THE REGION?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I DON'T -- I -- I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO WEIGHING RESPONSIBILITY IN THIS CASE. I MEAN, HEZBOLLAH IS -- YOU KNOW THE TYPE OF ACTIVITY IT IS FROM THE DISCUSSION THAT WE HAVE ANNUALLY ABOUT A GROUP OF THAT NATURE, AND YOU KNOW WHAT WE KNOW, THAT -- WHAT WE CAN SAY PUBLICLY ABOUT WHAT WE UNDERSTAND ABOUT THEIR ACTIVITIES AND HOW THEY'RE ORGANIZED, BUT -- BUT WE DO FEEL THAT SYRIA DOES HAVE SOME INFLUENCE.

Q MIKE, CAN I COME BACK TO THE SECRETARY'S CONTACTS IN THE REGION? JUST I WANT TO GET THE TIME SEQUENCE CORRECT. IS IT ACCURATE -- SINCE I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE TIME SEQUENCE WAS OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH RABIN, WOULD IT BE ACCURATE TO SAY THAT THE SECRETARY HAD SEVERAL CONTACTS WITH RABIN, BUT THAT THE ISRAELI ATTACKS CONTINUED EVEN AFTER THOSE CONTACTS, AFTER THE SECRETARY SAID WHAT YOU DESCRIBED THE US POSITION TO BE, THAT THE ISRAELIS LAUNCHED ANOTHER DAY OF ATTACKS? IS THAT ACCURATE IN THE SENSE OF TIMING?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I -- I WOULDN'T -- RALPH, I'D CAUTION AGAINST SAYING WHAT -- I DON'T -- I DON'T FRANKLY KNOW --

Q IN EFFECT, I'M JUST TRYING TO DETERMINE THE TIMEFRAME.

MR. MCCURRY: YEAH. I -- I DON'T FRANKLY KNOW WHAT COMMUNICATION -- WHAT THE NATURE OF EACH COMMUNICATION -- SEPARATE COMMUNICATION WAS. I BELIEVE HE'S HAD TWO TELEPHONE CONVERSATIONS THIS MORNING WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN, AND --

Q WELL, HAS THE US -- HAS -- HAS THE US RECEIVED ANY KIND OF ASSURANCES FROM PRESIDENT -- PRIME MINISTER RABIN ABOUT THE FUTURE NATURE OF THE ISRAELI --

MR. MCCURRY: WELL --

Q -- MILITARY OPERATION OR ANYTHING OF THAT SORT?

MR. MCCURRY: THAT -- I -- I -- THAT -- THAT WOULD REQUIRE ME TO GET INTO THE DETAIL OF THE CONVERSATION THAT THE SECRETARY'S HAD, AND I'M JUST NOT IN A POSITION TO DO THAT.

Q AND ALSO, IF I MAY -- IF I MAY JUST FOLLOW UP FOR A SECOND, IN LIGHT OF YOUR REMARKS ABOUT THE FLOW OF REFUGEES TO THE NORTH OF LEBANON, IS THE US PREPARED TO SUPPORT A UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WHICH -- WHICH CRITICIZES THAT REFUGEE FLOW?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK THE ONLY STEP THAT I'M -- IN CONNECTION WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IS THE ONE THAT I BELIEVE MAY HAVE ALREADY BEEN TAKEN. THERE WAS ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL TODAY CONCERNING THE UNIFIL MISSION IN LEBANON, AND I DO BELIEVE THAT THEY, IN A STATEMENT READ BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, URGED THE PARTIES TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM



RESTRAINT AND REGRETTED THE VIOLENCE THAT IS OCCURRING. SO I --  
BEYOND WHAT'S ALREADY BEEN STATED --

Q BUT --

MR. MCCURRY: YES, WE'RE SUPPORTIVE OF THAT STATEMENT AND OF, I  
BELIEVE, A RESOLUTION PASSED THAT EXTENDS THE UNIFIL MISSION FOR  
SIX MONTHS.

Q AND, IF I MAY, ONE MORE, PLEASE. IN THE CONTACTS -- IN THE  
SECRETARY'S CONTACTS WITH THE SYRIAN OFFICIALS, THE REIGN  
MINISTER, HAS THE US BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM THAT THERE WERE, IN  
FACT, ANY SYRIAN MILITARY CASUALTIES IN LEBANON DURING THE  
COURSE OF THE LAST FEW DAYS?

MR. MCCURRY: I'M NOT -- I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THEY GOT INTO A  
DISCUSSION OF THAT ISSUE OR NOT.

Q DO YOU KNOW IF THEY DISCUSSED THE ISSUE THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON  
RAISED AT HIS PHOTO OP YESTERDAY IN WHICH HE PRAISED THE SYRIAN  
GOVERNMENT FOR WHAT HE CALLED RESTRAINT?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T KNOW. I'M NOT SURE IF THEY DISCUSSED THAT  
OR NOT.

Q ANYTHING ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE -- YEAH. CAN YOU TELL US  
ANYTHING ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE CONVERSATION WITH THE SYRIANS?  
WE HAVE A SENSE OF IT -- OF WHAT THE ISRAELI CONVERSATIONS WERE  
ABOUT ON THE BASIS OF WHAT YOU SAID THE US POSITION IS.

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THAT -- I THINK YOU -- THE SECRETARY'S  
CONTACT WITH ALL THE PARTIES HAS BEEN CONSISTENT WITH OUR CALL  
ON ALL OF THEM TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT.

Q HAS THE SECRETARY BEEN IN TOUCH WITH THE EGYPTIANS TODAY?

MR. MCCURRY: NOT THAT I'M AWARE OF. I WOULDN'T WANT TO RULE THAT  
OUT ENTIRELY. I'M AWARE OF THE CONTACTS HE'S HAD WITH LEBANON,  
SYRIA, AND ISRAEL. I DON'T BELIEVE THAT HE'S HAD ANY DIRECT  
CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIANS TODAY.

Q DID HE INITIATE BOTH OF THOSE PHONE CALLS TO RABIN?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THAT THEY -- I WOULDN'T -- THEY'VE BEEN IN  
CONTACT BACK AND FORTH OVER THE PERIOD OF THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS  
OBVIOUSLY IN DISCUSSIONS RELATED TO THE SECRETARY'S VISIT. SO  
I'M NOT SURE THAT WE INITIATED ALL CALLS. THERE CLEARLY HAVE  
BEEN NUMEROUS CONTACTS BACK AND FORTH AT VARIOUS LEVELS IN  
ADDITION TO THE SECRETARY'S LEVEL AS WELL.

Q (THAT MEANS ?) THAT HE'S CONFIDENT THAT HE'LL BE ABLE TO GO TO  
THE REGION WITH THIS MATTER BEHIND HIM?

MR. MCCURRY: HE CERTAINLY HAD HIS BACKS -- BAGS PACKED THIS MORNING.

Q NO, NO, I MEANT -- THE QUESTION IS NOT WHETHER HE'S GOING OR NOT. THE QUESTION IS, IS HE CONFIDENT THAT, WHEN HE GOES, THIS ISSUE OF EXERCISING MAXIMUM RESTRAINT OVER LEBANON WILL BE BEHIND HIM?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL --

Q HAVING HAD THESE CONVERSATIONS THAT HE'S NOW HAD?

MR. MCCURRY: I -- YOU'RE ASKING WHETHER HE HAS SOME GUARANTEE THAT THEY WOULD BE OVER. I THINK HE'S GOT SOME CONFIDENCE THAT WE CAN MOVE AHEAD ON THE PEACE PROCESS, WHICH IS THE PURPOSE OF HIS MISSION. BUT I -- YOU KNOW, I'M NOT -- I'M RELUCTANT TO SAY HE HAS ANY GUARANTEE THAT --

Q HOW ABOUT ASSURANCES, SHORT OF GUARANTEES?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I -- I DON'T --

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדה, סדה, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת,  
הסברה, מעת, לעמ, @ (דוצ), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



28/07/1993

20:56:46

20 JUL 93 019941

אאאא, חוזם: 30130  
 אל: בטחון/2164  
 מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 843, תא: 280793, חז: 1303, מ: סג, שמ, בבב

אל: אגת87/רמחתאיס

אל: שר הבטחון

אל ראש הממשלה

שמור/מיידי

אל: רוה"מ, שה"ח, סי שה"ח, מנכ"ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארועי לבנון

1. המזכיר חזר, הבוקר, לווישינגטון וכינס אליו את יועציו ואת צוות השלום, לדיון בהמשך הטיפול בלחימה בלבנון - בזיקה בינה לבין תהליך ההסדר, ובראש ובראשונה, תוכנית הנסיעה של המזכיר. עם סיום ההתייעצויות, יקימו אנשי מחמ"ד קשר איתנו לתאום המשך הפעילות.

2. בינתיים, הסתבר מהם "הנושאים האחרים" שתרמו לחזרת מזכיר המדינה לווישינגטון להתייעצויות עם הנשיא. מדובר באפשרות של הפעלת כוח אוירי בבוסניה - נושא רגיש במיוחד בזירה האמריקנית.

3. בנפרד, מועברים אליכם צילומי ארבעה מאמרים מן העיתונות האמריקנית של הבוקר - מאמרי מערכת של ה"ניו-יורק טיימס" וה"וושינגטון פוסט" (זה השני נוח לנו במיוחד), מאמרי ניתוח מה"ניו-יורק טיימס" ומאמר של רוב סאלופ, מנהלו החדש של ה"מכון הווינגטוני", המטיל אתגר - בצורה ברורה - לכיוונה של סוריה.

רבינוביץ

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אאאא, חוזם: 30130

אל: רהמש/966

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 843, תא: 280793, זח: 1303, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: רוה"מ, שה"ח, ס' שה"ח, מנכ"ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארועי לבנון

1. המזכיר חזר, הבוקר, לושינגטון וכינס אליו את יועציו ואת צוות השלום, לדיון בהמשך הטיפול בלחימה בלבנון - בזיקה בינה לבין תהליך ההסדר, ובראש ובראשונה, תוכנית הנסיעה של המזכיר. עם סיום ההתייעצויות, יקימו אנשי מחמ"ד קשר איתנו לתאום המשך הפעילות.

2. בינתיים, הסתבר מהם "הנושאים האחרים" שתרמו לחזרת מזכיר המדינה לושינגטון להתייעצויות עם הנשיא. מדובר באפשרות של הפעלת כוח אוירי בכוסניה - נושא רגיש במיוחד בזירה האמריקנית.

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רבינוביץ

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

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 30122  
אל: רהמש/962  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 838, תא: 280793, זח: 1302, דח: ב, סג: בל,  
בבבב  
9,257886  
9,233388  
בלמס/בהול לבוקר  
28 יולי '93

*Handwritten signature and date: 29.7.*

אל: סמנכ"ל תקשורת  
דע: ממנכ"ל  
מנהל מצפ"א  
מנהל מע"ת  
יועצת תקשורת שה"ח  
יועץ תקשורת רוה"מ  
יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט  
דובר צה"ל - טל

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: הפעולות בלבנון

1. כצפוי, לכתבות הדווח המסקרות האירועים בלבנון נוספו היום מאמרי מערכת, טורים ופרשנויות.
2. ככלל, הנושא ממשיך להיות מדווח ובהרחבה במהדורות החדשות ובעמודים הראשונים של העתונים, עפ"י הפרמטרים שדווחו בהרחבה אמש (נר 835). אין ניואנסים חדשים בדווחים, להוציא הדגשת בריחת התושבים.
3. מאמרי הפרשנות והטורים מתמקדים בשני אספקטים -  
א. החלטת המזכיר לשוב להתייעצויות בטרם נסיעתו והתבטאויות דוברי הממשל אתמול מעידים על הבנה ממשלית שדרושה מעורבות גדולה יותר ובדרג בכיר כדי למנוע הדרדרות.  
התגובות על החלטה זו של הממשל הן בדר"כ חיוביות.
- ב. התפקיד המרכזי שממלאת סוריה - בחדלון ובמעש - באירועים בלבנון. בהקשר זה, יש ביקורת על דברי הנשיא קלינטון ששיבח אתמול את איפוקה של סוריה, ומאמרים רבים (סטלוף NYT, מאמר ההמערכת בווש-פוסט ועוד) המתמקדים בקשרי סוריה והחזבאללה וביכולתה של סוריה - לו רצתה - לפעול להרגעת המצב.
4. הציפיה היא להחלטות והמשך פעולת הממשל היום - עם שובו של המזכיר לעיר.

נדווח בהמשך.

רות ירון

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,  
רחטמזת, מזתים, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת,  
מקצב2, לעמ, @ (דוצ), ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם),  
@ (אמן), @ (בן עמי/משהבט), @ (זראי/משהבט), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



13

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN NEW YORK



1209

1/3

הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בניו יורק

6786  
בלמ"ס/מידי

261.20

*[Handwritten signature]*

אל: מע"ת  
הסברה/מידע  
מצפ"א

דע: דובר צה"ל  
משחב"ט - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת

מאת: עתונות /ניו-יורק.

הנדון: פעילות צה"ל בלבנון - 'דין וחשבון'

1. נמשכת ההבנה ולמניעים לפעילותינו בלבנון, הגם שמהבוקר ניתן לאבחן זווית סיקור הומניטרית ששמה דגש יותר על מסכנותם ובריחתם של הכפריים בלבנון ופחות על סבל האוכלוסיה הישראלית. (נתמך בתמונות)
2. בהקשר פרשנות הופיע היום דן ראתר, שדרן CBS, כפרשן הרדיו של CBS, והגן על מדיניות ישראל באופן מאוד מרשים. (ראונא הרצ"ב את תמלילו)
3. אחה"צ התרבו שיחות הטלפון לקראת כתיבת מאמרים וטורים שיחלו להופיע ממחר (28 יולי). דגש הושם על ה NYT וה WSJ.
4. ככלל, ככל שהתידרדר והשיחה ממוקדת במישור הסיפור והפונדמנטליזם קלה יותר המלאכה ודאי על רקע האירועים שהתרגשו על העיר הזו מ 26 לפברואר.
5. מדיניות, חשש גובר לגורל התהליך-המדיני והסכמה שיהיה זה מצער שביקור מזכיר המדינה יעסוק בהשגת הפסקת אש במקום בקידומו של התהליך המדיני.
6. הקוונ"ל הופיעה במספר תחנות מקומיות ועפ"י שיחות עם מספר מפיקים אם המצב ימשך, הם ישובו לדון בסוגיה גם מחר (28 יולי).

עתונות /ניו-יורק  
יובל רותם  
27 ביולי 1993

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800 SECOND AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017 TEL.: (212) 351-5200

07/27/93 17:30 CBS #24+1DAN

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1009

DAN RATHER REPORTING  
NEWS, ANALYSIS, AND COMMENTARY

THE MIDDLE EAST. NEW HEADLINES:

ISRAEL COUNTER ATTACKS GUERRILLA TARGETS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON. PEACE PROCESS IN  
NEW PERIL. POSSIBILITY OF WIDER, LARGER GROUND WAR.

FEW AMERICANS PAY MUCH ATTENTION. "WE HAVE TROUBLES OF OUR OWN." MANY CITIZENS  
SAY. "IT'S ALL A LONG WAY FROM BROADWAY. NO BODY MUCH CARES," SAY MANY  
DECISION MAKERS IN THE NEWS BUSINESS, AND SO IT GOES AND HAS GONE FOR A LONG  
WHILE.

IT MAY BE TIME TO REMIND OURSELVES THAT THE LAST WAR THE UNITED STATES WAS IN  
WAS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. A CASE CAN BE MADE THAT WE NEGLECT ATTENTION TO THIS  
FASCINATING, MYSTIFYING AND DANGEROUS PART OF THE WORLD TO OUR OWN, AMERICAN  
DETIMENT.

THIS IS PART OF WHAT IS GOING ON: IRAN HAS ASPIRATIONS TO WORLD POWER,  
SUPERPOWER STATUS, INDEED DOMINANT SUPERPOWER STANDING, KEY TO THOSE  
ASPIRATIONS, THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL.

DESTRUCTION IS THE APT WORD. THE FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT OF IRAN,  
AND THOSE WHO LEAD IT, DREAM OF LEADING A VICTORIOUS ARMY OF ISLAM INTO  
JERUSALEM. THE IRANIANS, PLEASE REMEMBER, ARE MUSLIM, BUT THEY ARE NOT ARAB.  
THIS, MANY AMERICANS DO NOT KNOW, AND/OR DO NOT GRASP AND UNDERSTAND. OTHER  
MUSLIMS, WHO ALSO DREAM OF DESTROYING ISRAEL, AND MAKING TRIUMPHANT AND  
VICTORIOUS MARCHES THROUGH JERUSALEM, ARE ARAB, NOT PERSIAN. LIKE THE IRANIAN  
ARAB, BUT ALSO SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ISLAM. CHIEF AMONG THEM, A FAMILIAR NAME  
SADDAM HUSSEIN.



JUL 27 '93 17:31 CBS

GREAT ARAB, THE GREAT ISLAMIC WARRIOR, NIGHT CONQUERER. YES, SADDAM DREAMS, AND HIS DREAM LIVES ON, AND HE IS BUILDING TOWARD IT, THE IRANIANS AND SADDAM HUSSEIN ARE ENEMIES, BUT ABOUT THIS THEY AGREE: ISRAEL MUST FALL, AND, NOT TOGETHER, BUT EACH IN HIS OWN WAY, THEY PLOT ISRAEL'S DOOM. THERE ARE OTHERS: MOHAMMAR QUADHAFFI IN LYBIA AMONG THEM, WHO ALSO ASPIRE TO DESTROY ISRAEL.

THESE ARE HARD REALITIES, BUT THEY ARE REALITIES. TOUGH TRUTHS, BUT TRUTHS, AND WHILE THE DREAMS, SCHEMES, PLOTS, AND ACTS OF SUCH PEOPLE MAY SEEM FAR, FAR AWAY FOR AMERICANS, FOR ISRAELIS, THEY ARE THE HERE AND NOW. AND WHETHER AMERICANS KNOW IT OR NOT, THEY ARE PART OF OUR FUTURE. A REAL AND PRESENT DANGER THAT EXTENDS AS FAR INTO THE FUTURE AS THE HEADLINES CAN POINT,

AND NOW PLEASE, THIS MESSAGE.....

.....DAN RATHER REPORTING; CBS NEWS.

1209  
3/2

מדינה:	דח'פות:	נופס מברק	דף:
בלמ"ס:	סיוג:	קשה ניו-יורק	מחיר:
תזח:	אל:		תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
חס' מברק:	דע:	בטחון - יועץ שהב"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ימ' העכירונא)	
	מאת:	עמונות, ניו יורק	

## Israel Grapples With Lebanon Syndrome As Attacks Against Guerrillas Proceed

By AMY DOCKSER MARCUS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
TEL AVIV - Israelis were treated to a strange sight on their television sets Sunday. On one channel a special program marking the 11th anniversary of Israel's invasion of Lebanon was running footage of that fighting. On another channel, the evening news was showing Israeli air strikes in Lebanon just hours earlier.

For the second straight day, Israeli warplanes and gunboats attacked suspected bases of pro-Iranian Lebanese and Palestinian guerrillas opposed to Middle East peace talks. The new military operation, named "Settling Accounts," comes in response to the killing of seven Israeli soldiers in southern Lebanon this month and Katyusha rocket attacks on Israeli border settlements.

Yet, as Israel launches its heaviest attack in Lebanon since the 1982 invasion, the events of 11 years ago cast a large shadow over the present. Those events frame the debate over how far Israel should go in the current action, and have forced a re-examination of what was Israel's most divisive war, during which hundreds of Israeli soldiers were killed.

Handwritten notes and signatures in red and black ink, including "Wall Street Journal" and "27-7".

מדינה:

שם השוכח:

Handwritten signature or code.

תאריך:

27-7-93



"The most prominent thing in everyone's minds now, starting with the citizens in northern Israel and ending with the prime minister, is the Lebanon War," says Dedi Zucker, a member of Parliament in the left-wing Meretz party, which is part of the Israeli governing coalition. "What happened to us there then is the most fundamental element in the process of trying to decide what to do now."

When four ministers opposed the recent military action during a cabinet discussion, they based their objections on fears that Israel would again find itself sinking into what Israelis call "the Lebanon quagmire." After the Israelis began the recent buildup of troops on the Lebanese border, the Israeli media published interviews with the parents of soldiers killed in the Lebanon War 11 years ago for their response. And a government spokesman was careful to tell reporters after yesterday's bombardments that "There is no intention whatsoever to return the situation to what it was 11 years ago."

Israel's war in Lebanon was unprecedented because it was driven by political motivations as much as security considerations. The Israelis, write Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari in their best-selling book about the war, didn't just want to bring security to the country's northern border. They also hoped to create a new political order in Lebanon, using their military muscle in the hopes of bringing to power a Lebanese leader who would sign a peace treaty with Israel.

"Lebanon is Israel's Vietnam. It was Israel's longest war, there were huge numbers of casualties, and there is a feeling among Israelis that unlike in any other previous war, these lives really were lost for nothing. The trauma is still very much alive and it has come out during this crisis," says Michael Oren, who served in the Israeli Army during the Lebanon War and is now the head of the Israel office for the American Jewish Committee.

For those on the right, the government's assurances that it has no plans to broaden the operation and its offer of an immediate cease-fire if guerrillas stop firing rockets into Israel are seen as a conse-

quence of Israeli squeamishness about getting involved in Lebanon.

"Israel is a military might and it is going up against terrorists whose most developed weapon is a Stinger. They can be stopped in 24 hours, but because the government is scared of getting stuck in Lebanon again, they won't send troops into Lebanon. What they're doing now is the minimum and that's not going to stop the rocket attacks over the long term," says Arie Stav, editor of Nativ, a hawkish journal.

But Mr. Zucker, the Meretz politician, says Israel's history in Lebanon proves there is cause for concern. "The problem with Lebanon is that you can be dragged in so easily, so quickly, and without even knowing it, you find yourself stuck there," he says. "That is what is so scary."

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# In Lebanon, Syria Gets Away With Murder

WSJ

Editorial

27-7

1203  
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By STEVEN EMERSON

Within hours of Israel's attacks on terrorist bases in Lebanon on Sunday, the U.S. State Department issued a statement saying that the "violence is clearly counterproductive as far as the peace talks are concerned ... because the underlying problems are ones that ... can be addressed through the peace process."

In reality, it is the very terms of the "peace process" set up by the U.S. that are responsible for the violence. It is Syria that is solely responsible for the rise of Hezbollah in Lebanon. Syria controls much of the flow of Iranian weapons to Hezbollah as well as the terrorist bases in the Bekaa Valley where Hezbollah fighters hone their terrorist skills. While there is no doubt that Hezbollah is an Iranian creation, Syria could instantly turn off the terror spigot if it so desired.

But Syria has not been penalized by the U.S. for its support of Hezbollah. Indeed, Syrian President Hafez Assad has been able to reap a public-relations bonanza in the West and earn political chips in the U.S. for participating in the Middle East peace process, while simultaneously playing his "terrorist" card.

The most disturbing development has been the degree to which the U.S. has played along with Syria's charade. In several appearances before Congress this year, American officials have pointedly

refused to condemn Syria for its direct support of Hezbollah. The statement issued Sunday by Foggy Bottom will only serve to reinforce Assad's belief that he can get away with murder.

Out of the range of American television cameras and none-too-inquisitive American diplomats, Syria has skillfully exploited the American handcuffing of Israel in Lebanon, whereby the U.S. assumes that Israeli action will only "upset" the peace talks. During the last six weeks, Israel quietly passed along warnings to Syria through American and Egyptian diplomats, as well as in direct broadcasts on Israel's Arabic radio service, warning Syria to rein in Hezbollah. During the same period, the U.S. requested, in discussions with Israeli officials, that Israel not attack Hezbollah targets, claiming that the U.S. would solve the problem "diplomatically."

Well, it didn't. In the past month Hezbollah, together with Syrian-headquartered terrorist Ahmed Jibril, killed seven Israeli soldiers in Israel's security zone and launched Katyusha rocket attacks in northern Israel. Until Sunday, Israel had done very little.

The pattern is dangerously familiar. Until June 1982, Israel acquiesced—due largely to American pressure—in the buildup of a vast military force in southern Lebanon by the Palestinian Libera-

(3)



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tion Organization. Finally, Israel went in to clean out the PLO terrorist nest and found enough weapons to equip a 500,000-man army. Following Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon, Hezbollah, the Lebanese Shiite Amal group and other Palestinian terrorist groups began pouring back into southern Lebanon.

In the year following the October 1991 Middle East peace talks in Madrid, the Lebanese army under Syrian direction disarmed Amal and many of the Palestinian groups—an act to which Damascus pointed in discussions with U.S. diplomats as evidence of Syria's commitment to moderation. In fact, Syria disarmed these groups largely as a means of eliminating threats to its own hegemony in Lebanon—a country it has never recognized diplomatically. At the same time, however, when the Lebanese army wanted to disarm Hezbollah, Syria refused and instead facilitated its acquisition of a vast arsenal of new weapons, much of it delivered through Damascus. According to Israeli and U.S. intelligence reports, these weapons transformed the 5,000-man Hezbollah force into the most lethal terrorist group in the world today.

It is a matter of public record that Hezbollah has launched more attacks against Israeli positions and killed more Israelis in the one year since Prime Minister Rabin took office than in the year

preceding his tenure (when Yitzhak Shamir was in power). Clearly Hezbollah's designs are no different than those of the radical Jihad group in Egypt, which has bombed downtown Cairo. Hezbollah's designs are also no different than those of the Hamas terrorists, who only two weeks ago executed two Israeli women, or those of the radical fundamentalists in New York who bombed the World Trade Center. As a Hezbollah communique stated this spring, following the World Trade Center bombing, "we declare our solidarity with anyone who would rid the world of the Zionist interlopers and Western paganism."

The notion that Hezbollah terrorism can be reduced to "underlying problems" that can "be addressed through the peace process" is tantamount to accepting the legitimacy of radical Islamic fundamentalist demands. By not unambiguously categorizing Hezbollah as terrorists, the U.S. government and American journalists have effectively set up a double standard: Only those radical fundamentalists who attack American targets (such as the World Trade Center) are terrorists; radical fundamentalist groups that attack Israeli targets are either "militants," "activists" or, at worst, "guerrillas."

This week Secretary of State Warren Christopher will head to the Middle East. Instead of his focusing on the Middle East peace talks, as initially planned, it is all but certain that he will now focus his attention on reaching an agreement between Israel and Syria on containing the violence in Lebanon. Undoubtedly, President Assad will then be rewarded by the U.S. for his newfound "moderation."

BT

Mr. Emerson is writing a book on Islamic fundamentalism.

1203

(4)



דחיות: מידי	טופס מכון קשר ניו-יורק	דף: 1 מתוך: 10
סיוג: כלמ"ס		אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
תזח:		
חס' מנדק: 1203	כטחון - יועץ שהב"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (העבירונוא)	דע:
		מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

# ISRAEL INTENSIFIES RAIDS IN LEBANON; GALILEE UNDER FIRE

## CHRISTOPHER TRIP STILL ON

Civilians on Both Sides Flee to  
Bunkers as Casualty Count  
Includes Scores of Dead

By CHRIS HEDGES  
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Tuesday, July 27 — Israeli forces continued bombing strikes and artillery barrages early this morning on targets in southern Lebanon for a third straight day of attacks on pro-Iranian militiamen. The renewed assault, in accounts from Israeli and Lebanese officials, followed an intensified drive by Israeli forces on Monday to stop rocket attacks on Israeli settlements near the Lebanon border. But it failed to stop the militiamen from unleashing more rocket attacks on Israeli settlements, and the fighting forced civilians on both sides of the border region to flee or seek safety in bunkers on Monday.

דף 29

New York  
Times  
Front pg.  
27-7

חיסור:

שם השולח:

תאריך:

(29) שהחז (2) ששה"ח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (2) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1) סאג (1) תפוז (1)  
(הסברה (2) ר/מרכז (1) מנד (4) רס (1) אמ (4) אומ (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)



"Approximately a hundred Katyusha rockets have reached the Galilee so far," Israel's Chief of Staff, Lieut. Gen. Ehud Barak, said on Monday about the region he was visiting in northern Israel. "We have two dead and tens of wounded. The population in the north is still in shelters. They have shown great patience and fortitude."

#### Christopher Due on Saturday

The Israeli raids, which began on Sunday, came in retaliation for the deaths of seven Israeli soldiers in the Israeli buffer zone this month, the highest toll in four years.

The three days of fighting are the heaviest strikes by Israeli forces in Lebanon since the early 1980's and have raised tensions between Israel and its Arab neighbors before the scheduled arrival of Secretary of State Warren Christopher in an effort to advance the Middle East peace talks. So far, there is no sign that Mr. Christopher, who was in Singapore on Monday, will postpone his trip to the region on Saturday.

In the current round of fighting, neither side appeared ready to back down on Monday as Israeli officials, who sent an armored column north to the border, said they expected it to continue.

#### Israeli Soldier Is Killed

The officials said that one soldier had been killed in the fighting, the first Israeli serviceman to die in the assault as of Monday, and that 3 had been wounded. An Israeli woman was also lightly wounded on Monday, after the attacks on Sunday that killed 2 Israeli civilians and wounded 23. About 150,000 people in northern Israel are huddled in reinforced rooms and bomb shelters.

The Lebanese authorities said Monday that at least 34 civilians and guerrillas had been killed and 120 wounded in two days of shelling and bombing. Israeli officials said that they had killed more than 40 guerrillas and that many more had been wounded on Sunday and Monday.

Israel offered a cease-fire if the guerrillas ended their rocket attacks. But the pro-Iranian guerrillas of the

Party of God responded on Monday with a barrage of Katyusha rockets and vowed that it would not yield to Israeli pressure. The barrage into Israel was the heaviest since before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

Israeli officials said on Monday that the Party of God had recently decided that it would "blindly" take aim at civilians in northern Israel, rather than at Israeli soldiers in the buffer zone, as part of its campaign against Israel.

"Hezbollah has changed its mode of operations," Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said, referring to the Party of God in Arabic. "The current situation cannot be allowed to continue."

The Israeli strikes, which have set off fires in several towns in southern Lebanon, have forced tens of thousands of civilians in more than 35 villages to flee northward. On Monday the radio of Israel's allied militia, the South Lebanese Army, had warned villagers to abandon their homes by 4 P.M..

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### 1,200 Explosions in U.N. Zone

After the deadline, Israeli forces and their militia allies unleashed a fierce artillery barrage throughout southern Lebanon. They launched more than 1,200 shells that exploded in a United Nations zone, which comprises about 20 villages and which is just above what Israel has declared its security zone, a United Nations spokesman said.

Along with the barrage, United Nations officials said, Israeli fighter jets dropped 22 bombs in the 12-mile-deep United Nations zone and that helicopters had fired 120 rockets and 200 mortar and tank rounds.

"People are leaving the villages, and I assume the outflow will be heavier," said General Barak, who was touring the northern region with Mr. Rabin on Monday. The general said he would not "rule out" a full-scale invasion of southern Lebanon, like the one that led to the costly attacks on Lebanon in 1978 and 1982.

But other officials seemed anxious to reassure Israelis that the fighting would not lead to another war. "Anyone who is afraid that this is a second Lebanese war is mistaken," Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Gur said.

Israeli officials also reassured the Lebanese authorities that the attacks were not against Lebanon but against guerrillas of the Party of God.

"We do not intend to interfere," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said, "but if the Lebanese cannot control Hezbollah, we will."

The decision to shell Lebanese villages just north of the "security zone," and to encourage residents to flee, appears to be part of an Israeli effort to press the Lebanese Government into restraining the guerrilla group.

"We want the Lebanese to express their feelings verbally, or with their

feet, to the Lebanese Government," Mr. Rabin said. "If we have no quiet here, these people will not be able to live there."

Israeli Army commanders said they had hit scores of targets in southern Lebanon, including not only Party of God positions but also outposts of militant Palestinian groups and of the Palestine Liberation Front.

Israelis planes attacked the Palestinian refugee camp of Beddawi, near Tripoli, on Monday. The raid came hours after Israeli gunboats attacked the camp, killing 10 Lebanese civilians and Palestinian guerrillas and wounding 27, reports in Lebanon said.

### Lebanon Seeks U.N. Meeting

Special to The New York Times

BEIRUT, Lebanon, July 26 — Foreign Minister Faris Bouez said today that Lebanon had asked for a meeting of the United Nations Security Council to consider a complaint against Israel.

[But without explanation, the Security Council canceled plans for consultations on Tuesday regarding Lebanon's request for the meeting. The Associated Press reported. Diplomats said the State Department had persuaded Lebanon to withdraw its request for the meeting.]

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**MIDEAST FLASHPOINTS**

- A Israel launched an average of two air assaults an hour.
- B More than 18,000 people evacuated 10 villages in the region.
- C Israeli planes attacked the Palestinian refugee camp.
- D Israel attacked the Palestinian shantytown.
- E Pro-Iranian groups struck back.
- F Fires were raging in the area.

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# A War No One Wants

## Israel, Syria and Lebanon Are Drawn Into Conflict but May Still Talk Peace

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 26 — On the face of it, the fiercest fighting in Lebanon in more than a decade may seem destined to sabotage the latest chapter in the Middle East peace talks and perhaps even to draw Israel and Syria into an all-out war.

**News Analysis** Certainly, the violence of the last few days has a familiar feeling: guerrilla fighters in southern Lebanon using long-range artillery and Katyusha rockets against Israeli positions; Israeli forces responding with such ferocity that the only prospect seems to be ever-worsening fighting.

But except for the Iranian-backed Party of God, which started the latest round of fighting in an effort to sabotage the peace negotiations and provoke a wider conflict, none of the players are eager for a fight. The talks seem certain to resume when Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrives in the region later this week.

### A Gamble for Rabin

For Israel, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin is gambling that the response will be large enough to prove to his people that he will not sacrifice their security for peace, but measured enough to avoid an all-out war.

Israel's two military forays into Lebanon — in 1978 when it invaded the south and created an allied militia of Lebanese Christians, and again in 1982 when Israeli tanks rolled all the way to Beirut — were military disasters that failed to provide long-term security for Israel's northern border.

Since the American-brokered peace talks began 20 months ago, attacks by the Party of God and retaliation by the Israelis have become routine preludes to each round of talks, a kind of deadly fireworks display that serve as a reminder that peace is not at hand.

But this time was different. The guerrilla attacks resulted in the death of seven Israeli soldiers in the buffer zone Israel maintains in southern Lebanon. Mr. Rabin, considered deeply

suspect by the leaders of the opposition Likud Party for his apparent willingness to make concessions for peace, had to demonstrate that he would not abandon his country's security in the process.

Last week, Mr. Rabin suggested that the 1982 invasion was a mistake that would not be repeated. Until now he has shown relative restraint each time Iranian-backed Islamic militants in Lebanon attack northern Israel.

### Signal to the Syrians

"The fact that the fighting is still limited to southern Lebanon is a signal to the Syrians that while Israel has interests in Lebanon, unlike 1982 Israel does not have designs on Lebanese territory," said Richard N. Haass, who

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## Only a Lebanese militia sees gains in turmoil now.

nal to Syria that its support for radical Islamic groups opposed to the peace negotiations is not cost-free.

For Lebanon, which has succeeded in restoring order to Beirut and is struggling to rebuild after nearly two decades of civil war, the fighting represents how little control the Government has over much of its territory.

### Israel's Message to Beirut

Israel's message in mounting such fierce attacks is that the Government in Beirut, however weak, has certain obligations in pressing for the disarming of the militias in the south.

For the United States, the attacks by the Islamic militants and by the Israelis are a clear reminder just days before Mr. Christopher's arrival in the region that despite the Administration's preoccupation with other global crises, the Middle East remains a volatile region that could erupt into war at any time.

The unknowns are whether Israel will play into the hands of the militants and be drawn into a protracted conflict it does not want and whether the Syrians will allow a scenario to unfold that does not serve its interests. Even if both countries eventually contain the fighting, it is impossible to predict what the conflict's cost to the peace effort will be.

"The fighting in Lebanon will stop for good only when there is peace between Israel and Syria," said Judith Kipper, a Middle East expert at the Brookings Institution. "It looks like another long, hot summer in the Middle East."

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served as the chief Middle East specialist in the Bush Administration's National Security Council. "And the main interest is to prevent Lebanon from being used as a base of operations against northern Israel."

For Syria, the issue is just as complicated. President Hafez al-Assad supports — but has only limited control over — the fighters in southern Lebanon, just as he did not fully control the militants who held Americans hostage there.

For Syria to shut down the operations in the south would be a major undertaking and a policy upheaval in Damascus that could affect Mr. Assad's relationship with his military and internal security forces.

But the Israeli response sends a sig-

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*Handwritten signature in red ink*

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 27 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: תהליך השלום

מצ"ב המאמר של ג'ין קירקפטריק (27/7 BS) אודות תהליך השלום. המאמר טוען כי דבר לא השתנה במזה"ת מאז תחילת שיחות השלום: ההתחמשות הגרעינית של איראן וסוריה נמשכת, המשטרים נותרו טוטליטריים ואיראן הקיצונית ממשיכה להשפיע על תהליך השלום למרות שאינה מעורבת בו. המאמר מנתח את הסיבות לקפאון בשיחות ותומך בעמדה הישראלית.

תקשורת



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# Talks That Go Nowhere

By JEANE KIRKPATRICK

There have been enormous changes in the world, but few in the politics of the Middle East in the 20 months since — with great fanfare and heavy U.S. backing — the "peace process" was launched with a meeting in Madrid.

Encouraged by the Bush administration, Israelis chose a new government, but the other governments of the region are unchanged. They include one-party dictatorships, an expansionist theocracy, and several modified monarchies and oligarchies.

Israel remains the area's only democracy and the only pariah in the region. Although some states have formally ended the economic boycott of Israel, most maintain it. And though Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt have ended the diplomatic boycott, all except Egypt limit contact to the peace talks where the emphasis is always on what divides the parties rather than on common problems.





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Probably, the region has grown even more dangerous in these 20 months. Saddam Hussein has managed to rebuild 80 percent of the military strength he possessed before the Gulf war, and is now producing upgraded Scud missiles. Iran and Syria continue to buy and build ever more sophisticated weapons and missiles with which to deter them. American experts on the weapons trade believe China has stepped up sales to Iran and possibly to Syria of chemicals and missile technology.

But the most volatile and violent element in the politics of the region is human. It is the growing strength of the Iranian-backed Islamic fundamentalists whose power is felt in all the countries of the region, including Israel. The fundamentalists are everywhere except in the peace talks that they have sworn to destroy.

In the West Bank, Gaza and inside Israel, the fanatics of Hamas threaten the inertia, attack and shortly, destroy peace, provoke countermeasures and mercilessly attack Arabs suspected of dealing in Egypt. They are at war with Honei Mubarak's moderate government. From Lebanon, the Hizbollah track barrels across the border to attack Israel in the security zone. Forty-five thousand Syrian troops provide protection for the fanatics of the Party of God, who have made Lebanon a no man's land of kidnappers and extortionists. Syria's control of Lebanon enables it to play a leadership's expansionist goals. And the Hizbollah testify to his continuing

Through Iranian-sponsored alliances with Iran.

Though Iran is not represented in the peace talks, they affect the process in multiple ways — by making the Palestine Liberation Organization look more acceptable to some Israelis and some Americans, and by giving the governments of Jordan and Egypt a new sense of vulnerability to violent extremists.

Despite these facts on the ground, Dennis Ross, U.S. coordinator for the Arab-Israeli peace talks, remains cautiously optimistic that progress toward a formal peace can be made now. Mr. Ross' optimism is a principal reason that Secretary of State Warren Christopher will visit the region the first week in August.

Also, the mere announcement of Mr. Christopher's impending visit has reminded participants of their non-negotiable demands of their representatives from East Jerusalem be included in their delegation. That Israelis see an undividedJerusalem as the capital of their country, and a cause to die for.

Lebanon demands that Israel withdraw from the "security zone" established by Israel as a buffer on Lebanon's southern border.

Syria demands that Israel withdraw unilaterally, completely and immediately from the Golan Heights.

Israel demands that Syria withdraw its troops, too, and that it control the Hizbollah guerrillas, who in

This month alone, have killed five Israeli soldiers and wounded 10 more in the security zone. "We know that the Syrians are directly involved... without a general Syrian willingness, Hizbollah couldn't pull the trigger," an Israeli official observed. Syria wants Israel out of Lebanon, Israel wants tangible, reliable assurances that the Jewish state will not again be attacked by Syria.

The U.S. Senate demands they

**The mere announcement of Mr. Christopher's impending Mideast visit has reminded participants of their non-negotiable demands.**

All the Arab governments demand that the talks...

draw 45,000 troops from Lebanon. The Lebanese prime minister demands that the U.S. Senate cease its interference in Lebanon's internal affairs. "If things go on like this," he said, "we will have to resume participation in the negotiations," which is diplomatic language for "Stand up your Congress or we'll quit the talks."

As in Egypt and Jordan, Israel has domestic political problems. The government has a reinvigorated domestic opposition, and it probably cannot make further concessions except in the context of broad national compromises, which do not seem likely.

That being the case, Warren Christopher may be the one who decides he's had enough.

Jeanne Kirkpatrick writes a syndicated column.

mand that the United States force Israel to make further concessions. The U.S. government probably could not, and assuredly should not, do so. No government of Israel can accept the "withdraw first, negotiate later" demands of Syria and Lebanon. And no government of Israel can accept Palestinian demands for sovereignty.

Therefore, the likelihood of progress in this session appears slim.

Successful governments of Israel have already made significant, unilateral concessions. Israel accepted the presence of well-known PLO members on the Palestinian delegation. It announced for the first time ever that it was — in principle — ready to relinquish territory in the Golan Heights in exchange for real peace with Syria. It offered new opportunities for Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza, and Israelis have encouraged discussion of a Jordan-Palestine federation — which makes sense only as a preliminary move toward a Palestinian-Jordanian state.



אאאא, חוזם: 28509

אל: רהמש/880

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 576, תא: 270793, זח: 1821, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

רגיל/בלמס

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארהב

מאת: עתונות נ'י

הנדון: סכום עתונות יומי

BALMAS/RAGIL  
26120  
22842

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 27-JULY-1993

#### TV COVERAGE

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CNN AND ALL NETWORKS REPORTED ON THE THIRD DAY OF BOMBING OF GUERRILLA TARGETS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON BY IDF FORCES; STATED THAT ROCKET ATTACKS ON SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN ISRAEL BY PRO-IRANIAN MILITIAMEN HAVE NOT CEASED; FOX NEWS (EVENING AND MORNING) INTERVIEWED AMBASSADOR COLETTE AVITAL ON THE ISRAELI STRIKES AND ON THE GUERRILLA KATYUSHA ATTACKS; CNN CROSSFIRE INTERVIEWED AMBASSADOR ITAMAR RABINOVICH; NBC NIGHTLY NEWS' GABE PRESSMAN FEATURED A STORY ENTITLED 'EYE ON THE STORM' ON A FAMILY IN NORTHERN ISRAEL; ABC'S DAY ONE FEATURED A PIECE ON JOHN DEMJANJUK.

#### COLUMNS

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WSJ(S.EMERSON-CABLED): 'IN LEBANON, SYRIA GETS AWAY WITH MURDER': WRITER ARGUES THAT THE TERMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS SET UP BY THE US ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CURRENT VIOLENCE IN LEBANON AND ISRAEL; STATES THAT SYRIA IS 'SOLELY RESPONSIBLE' FOR THE RISE OF HEZBOLLAH IN LEBANON AND FOR THE FLOW OF IRANIAN WEAPONS TO TERRORIST

BASES THERE; ASSERTS THAT THE US SHOULD HAVE PENALIZED SYRIA BUT HAS INSTEAD 'PLAYED ALONG WITH PRESIDENT HAFEZ ASSAD'S CHARADE'; NOTES THAT WHILE ISRAEL HAS REPEATEDLY HINTED AT SYRIA TO SUPPRESS HEZBOLLAH, THE US HAS REQUESTED THAT IDF FORCES RESTRAIN THEMSELVES FROM ATTACKING TERRORIST TARGETS IN LEBANON; STATES THAT UNTIL SUNDAY, ISRAEL HAS DEMONSTRATED EXCEPTIONAL RESTRAINT; CRITICIZES THE US FOR SETTING UP A DOUBLE STANDARD REGARDING THE ROLE OF TERRORISTS; SAYS THAT ACCORDING TO THE AMERICAN MEDIA, 'ONLY THOSE RADICAL FUNDAMENTALISTS WHO ATTACK AMERICAN TARGETS ARE TERRORISTS, WHILE RADICAL FUNDAMENTALIST GROUPS THAT ATTACK ISRAELI TARGETS ARE MILITANTS OR ACTIVISTS.'

NYP(R.COHEN): 'ARABS, LIKE EVERYONE ELSE, COME IN DIFFERENT FLAVORS': WRITER ASSERTS THAT SINCE THE BOMBING OF THE WTC, A GREAT DEAL OF 'SLOPPY LANGUAGE' HAS BEEN USED REGARDING ARABS, MUSLIMS, AND ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS; REFERS TO THE RECENT COVER OF THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE WHICH FEATURED A SUPPOSEDLY ARAB-AMERICAN CHILD JUMPING FEET FIRST ONTO THE WTC; WARNS AGAINST THE FEAR OF ISLAM 'EMBEDDED' IN WESTERN CULTURE LEADING TO 'GROSS' GENERALIZATIONS.

#### PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'ISRAEL INTENSIFIES RAIDS IN LEBANON - GALILEE UNDER FIRE'; 'ATTACK ON CAPE TOWN CHURCH KEEPS A RATTLED NATION EDGY'; 'CLINTON ASSAILS GOP DELAYS IN BITTER TONES'; 'FLOOD AREA AWAITS A FATEFUL MEETING OF RECORD CRESTS'; 'MAKING THE MOST OF A RARE CLEMENCY IN NEW YORK.' WSJ: 'HONG KONG AND SHANGHAI TURNS BOLD AMBITIONS INTO CASH IN THE TILL'; NATIONAL. ND: 'ISRAEL - NO PLANS FOR FULL-SCALE LEBANON INVASION'; LOCAL. DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/LEBANON/STRIKES/BOMBING: NYT(C.HEDGES-FRONT PAGE-CABLED), WSJ,ND,DN,NYP: 'ISRAEL INTENSIFIES RAIDS IN LEBANON - GALILEE UNDER FIRE': REPORTS THAT IDF FORCES CONTINUED BOMBING GUERRILLA TARGETS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON FOR THE THIRD STRAIGHT DAY; SAYS THAT THE GOAL OF ISRAELI ATTACKS ON PRO-IRANIAN MILITIA IS TO STOP ROCKET STRIKES ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN NORTHERN ISRAEL AND TO RETALIATE FOR THE DEATHS OF SEVEN IDF SOLDIERS IN THE ISRAELI BUFFER ZONE THIS MONTH; QUOTES ISRAELI CHIEF OF STAFF LIEUT. GEN. EHUD BARAK AS SAYING THAT CLOSE TO 100 KATYUSHA ROCKETS HAVE REACHED THE GALILEE, KILLING TWO ISRAELIS, WOUNDING 23 OTHERS, AND SENDING THE POPULATION IN THE NORTH INTO SHELTERS; STATES THAT ONE IDF SOLDIER HAS DIED AND THREE OTHERS WOUNDED; ADDS THAT ISRAEL HAS OFFERED A CEASE-FIRE IF THE GUERRILLAS END THEIR ROCKET ATTACKS; NOTES THAT THE INTENSIFIED TENSIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS PRECEDES THE SCHEDULED ARRIVAL OF SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER IN THE MIDDLE EAST NEXT WEEK.

ISRAEL/SYRIA/LEBANON/CONFLICT: NYT(E.SCIOLINO-CABLED): 'A WAR NO ONE WANTS': REPORTS THAT THE FIERCEST FIGHTING IN LEBANON IN OVER A DECADE MAY SABOTAGE THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS AND MAY EVEN DRAW ISRAEL AND SYRIA INTO WAR; STATES HOWEVER, THAT NEITHER SIDE IS 'EAGER FOR A FIGHT' AND THAT SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISPTOHER MAY MAKE SOME PROGRESS ON THE PEACE FRONT WHEN HE ARRIVES IN THE



MIDDLE EAST NEXT WEEK; ASSERTS THAT ISRAEL'S TWO MILITARY MISSIONS IN TO LEBANON IN 1978 AND 1982 WERE 'MILITARY DISASTERS THAT FAILED TO PROVIDE LONG-TERM SECURITY FOR ISRAEL'S NORHTERN BORDER'; NOTES THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN HAS SHOWN 'RELATIVE RESTRAINT' EACH TIME IRANIAN-BACKED ISLAMIC MILITANTS HAVE ATTACKED NORTHERN ISRAEL; ARGUES THAT FOR SYRIA TO SHUT DOWN THE OPERATIONS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON WOULD BE A 'MAJOR UNDERTAKING' AND 'POLICY UPHEAVAL'; STATES THAT THE US SHOULD REMEMBER THAT THE MIDDLE EAST CONTINUES TO BE A VOLATILE REGION.

US/PROSECUTORS/IRAN/REPORT: WSJ(BRIEF): NOTES THAT IRAN-CONTRA PROSECUTORS ARE FINISHING A REPORT THAT WILL FORMALLY END THEIR SIX AND A HALF YEAR INVESTIGATION.

UN/IRAQ/ARMS/INSPECTIONS: WSJ(BRIEF): NOTES THAT UN ARMS INSPECTORS SAID IN BAGHDAD THAT THEY HAD SOME TECHNICAL POINTS TO CLEAR UP WITH IRAQ BEFORE INSTALLING MONITORING CAMERAS AT TWO TESTING SITES.

AFGHANISTAN/WAR/MINES/EMIR: NYT(E.GARGAN): 'IN A CORNER OF AFGHANISTAN, MINES ARE CLEARED AND A BOLD EMIR EMERGES': REPORTS ON THE ONGOING DANGER TO AFGHAN CIVILIANS RESULTING FROM THE MINES LEFT OVER FROM THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN; STATES THAT REBUILDING HAS BEGUN THERE AS THE AFGHANI CITIZENS STILL CONTINUE TO COPE WITH THE EFFECTS OF THE 14 YEAR WAR; DISCUSSES THE ANIMOSITY TOWARD UN OFFICIALS THERE; NOTES THE CONTINUOUS THREAT FROM IRAN.

US/STATE DEPARTMENT/SHEIK/VIOLENCE: NYT(A.MITCHELL),ND: 'US ACCUSED SHEIK LAST YEAR OF INCITING VIOLENCE IN EGYPT': STATES THAT A STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT ISSUED LAST YEAR ON SHEIK OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN REVEALED A PATTERN OF THE SHEIK INFLUENCING HIS FOLLOWERS TO COMMIT VIOLENT ACTS AGAINST CHRISTIANS IN EGYPT AND OTHERS.

NEW YORK/NEO NAZIS/HATE/MAIL: DN(R.SPEYER): REPORTS THAT THE NEO-NAZI NATIONAL ALLIANCE IS SENDING A RACIST, ANTI-SEMITIC COMIC BOOK AND OTHER HATE LITERATURE TO QUEENS RESIDENTS.

ADS

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NYP(FULL PAGE ADVERTISEMENT-SPONSORED BY THE CROWN HEIGHTS JUSTICE FUND): 'IN CROWN HEIGHTS WE'RE FIGHTING FOR YOUR LIVES!'

LETTERS

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NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH ASSERTS THAT THE RECENT DISCOVERIES IN RUSSIAN ARCHIVES OF RED ARMY INTERROGATIONS OF GERMAN ENGINEERS OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP CREMATORIA IS 'AN IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION' TO THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE HOLOCAUST.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

=====
DN(F.LOMBARDI): 'RIOT PROBER - I DID TRY TO REACH VICTIM'S DAD.'

DN(L.YGLESIAS): 'WOMEN ARE URGED TO BREED SUPREMACY.'

ND(E.SACHAR): 'TUNNEL OFFICERS - HELP YOURSELF.'

NYP(M.SOUTHGATE): 'HATE RADIO AND CROWN HEIGHTS.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, סמנכלתקשורת,  
מעט, הסברה, לעמ, מקצב2, אומן, @ (דוצ), סי יבל,  
משפט, רביב, תפוצות, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם),  
@ (אמן), @ (וחו'ב), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, רחטמזת, מזתים, @ (לוברני)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 28491

אל: רהמש/878

מ-: יוסטון, נר: 72, תא: 270793, זח: 1631, דח: ב, סג: בל,

בכבכ

בלמס/בהול

בהול לבוקר

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אל: מצפא

דע: וושינגטון-הסברה

מאת: יוסטון

הנדון: דו"ח תקשורת.

1. בימים האחרונים הופיעו בעיתונים המקומיים כתבות על פעולת צה"ל בלבנון. הכתבות היו עובדתיות בעיקרן, סקרו את מהלך האירועים תוך ציטוט דוברים ישראלים.

2. בעיתוי טוב מבחינתנו החלה ב- 26.7 סידרת כתבות על אודות ישראל במסגרת החדשות המקומיות.

2 הכתבות שכבר שודרו עסקו בפרויקט מיקי לילנד במסגרתו משלחת בת 10 בני נוער ממיעוטים שונים ביוסטון נשלחת לשישה שבועות לארץ. הכתבות היו חיוביות ביותר והשלימו את התמונות מהצפון.

עפרה פרחי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת,  
הסברה, מעת, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 28410  
אל: רהמש/875  
מ-: מיאמי, נר: 117, תא: 270793, זח: 1618, דח: ב, סג: בל,  
בבבב  
9, 253407  
בלמס/בהול  
בהול לבוקר  
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אל: מצפ"א, תפוצות, הסברה

דע: סמנכ"ל תקשורת  
ושינגטון-ציר הסברה  
מנכ"ל משרד התיירות

מאת: קונכ"ל מיאמי

הנדון: השתקפות הפעולה בלבנון בפלורידה - המשך עדכון

1. היום המשיכה התקשורת לדווח בהבלטה ובהרחבה על המתרחש משני עברי הגבול הישראלי-לבנוני. מרבית הדיווחים ממשיכים להיות עובדתיים והוגנים. עד כה פורסם OP-ED אחד (סן פיטסבורג טיימס) אשר הדגיש את הרקע והנסיבות שהובילו לפעולת צה"ל. להיום ומחר מזומנים לי ראיונות עם ערוץ 4 (NBC) והמיאמי הרלד, על פי בקשתם.

2. היום תידרכתי את השליחים הישראליים, וקיימתי שיחת ועידה לראשי הפדרציות היהודיות בפלורידה, במהלכה סקרתי את המצב בלבנון, עדכנתי בנושא התהליך המדיני וביקשתי לעודד תיירות ארצה דווקא בתקופה זאת.

3. מנכ"ל הפדרציות דיווחו על תגובות שקטות יחסית באזוריהם (גם נוכח עונת החופשות), תיארו לרוב את הדיווח התקשורתי כהוגן ושיבחו את החומר שקיבלו (הרשו לי להצטרף ג"כ לשבחים - החומר היה מעולה!). הם הביעו חשש למצב התיירות, (למרות שעד כה לא היו ביטולים, וכל הביקורים בעינם עומדים) וביקשו לקבל נייר רשמי שיכול להרגיע את המתעדים להגיע.

4. ברוח בקשות המנהיגים היהודיים, אודה אם משרד התיירות ישלח נייר רשמי, אותו ניתן יהיה להפיץ בין הקהילות.

רוחמה חרמון



תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת,  
מעט, הסברה, תפוצות, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם),  
@ (אמן), @ (שרהתיירות)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 28259

אל: רהמש/868

מ-: בוסטון, נר: 100, תא: 270793, זח: 1235, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מיד

אל: וושי, הסברה,

דע: ציר הסברה, לע'מ

מאת: הקונכ'ל בוסטון

*Handwritten signature in red ink.*

הנדון: פעולת צה'ל נגד חיזבולה - תקשורת ודעת קהל בוסטון/27

1. נמשך כסוי התקשורת אם כי בהיקף קצת יותר מצומצם.  
כותרות 'ISRAEL CONTINUES RAIDS' וכד'.

2. ב'גלוב' כתבת ברונר בפתיה - 'ייחסית להיקף הפעולה מספר אבדות קטן כי מטרת ישראל 'NOT CONQUEST BUT CHAOS'.  
2 תמונות בגודל זהה - לויית בן דוד ז'ל ואשה פלסטינית על חורבות ביתה (ברוחב 4 טורים כ'א).

3. ב'הרלד' מאמר מערכת המבקר עמדת כריסטופר שאינה תקיפה דיה כלפי סוריה שאיננה כנה ביחס למו'מ לשלום. תוקף החיזבוללה וג'יבריל, שמטרתם חסול ישראל.

4. בראיון רדיו בן שעה שקיימתי אמש בתחנת NBC המקומית שאלות רבות מהקהל. מחציתם תומכות והיתר בקורתיות בנושאי נפגעים אזרחיים, פליטים וכד'. אזרחית נוצריה לבנונית בקשה שלא ניטוש את הנוצרים באד'ל.

יעקב לוי.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, לעמ, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 28542

אל: רהמש/887

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 836, תא: 270793, זח: 1949, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/בהול לבוקר

א ל: מצפ"א

משהב"ט - מקש"ח

- ר' מנהלת חומה

נספח הגנה - כאן

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: סנאט - ה-"חץ" - כתבת אלוף בן

לפי בירורינו לא קיצצה ועדת השרותים המזויינים בסנאט בתקציב ה-"חץ".  
הקיצוץ הוא בסך הכולל של כל תקציב ה-BMDO, כפי שדווחנו, ולא ב-"חץ".

לידיעתכם.

ברוך בינה

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

סססס

*Handwritten signature and date:*  
28.1.

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אאאא, חוזם: 28512

אל: רהמש/882

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 833, תא: 270793, זח: 1908, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל : המנכ"ל

דע : ממנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל תקשורת

מאת : השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון : ארועי לבנון והתקשורת

1. לבקשתך, אני מעביר בזאת את המלצותינו לגבי המשך העבודה מול התקשורת האמריקאית בארץ ומן הארץ. המלצות אלו מבוססות על עבודת המטה המתמשכת של צוות השגרירות. כפי שיכולתם לראות ממברקיה הקודמים של יועצת התקשורת של השגרירות הרושם הברור כאן הוא שלהבדיל מארועים קודמים לווה המשבר הנוכחי ואף הוקדם על ידי מאמץ הסברתי שסייע לנו לעבור את שלושת הימים הראשונים בהצלחה.

2. עם זאת ומטבע הדברים משתנים פני הדברים ואנו ממליצים על כוונון מאמץ ההסברה על מנת להמשיך ולהתמודד באפקטיביות עם המצב המתפתח, ובייחוד עם האספקטים הבאים :

א. חזרת המזכיר לווינגטון והשאלות שהיא מעוררת לגבי השפעת הארועים על תהליך השלום.

ב. העתקת דגש תקשורתי לבריחה המונית מן הכפרים בדרום לבנון.

3. אי לכך, אנו ממליצים על המסרים הבאים :

א. חשיבות קידום תהליך השלום כפתרון הבסיסי היחיד לבעיה השורשית.

ב. אי הסתת מוקד ביקורו של המזכיר מטיפול בבעיות היסוד להתמקדות בשאלה הלבנונית (להבדיל מעיסוק חלקי בה).

ג. הדגשת אחריותה העקיפה לפחות של סוריה להשלמה של השבועות האחרונים (לאור דברי קלינטון ששיבח את סוריה על התאפקותה. ככל הנראה, היתה זאת התבטאות בודדת).

ד. הסתת תשומת הלב מתופעת בריחה ופינוי כפרים.



רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שדה, שדהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, רחטמזת,  
סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, ר/מרכז, ממד,  
@ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 28493

אל: רהמש/893

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 829, תא: 270793, זח: 1825, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכב

שמור / מידי

א ל: מנהל מצפ"א

ד ע: סמנכ"ל תקשורת  
נספח הגנה - כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: ועדת החוץ - תדרוך על חיזבללה וחמאס

אתמול 26.7 תדרך נספח מודיעין (הוצג כעוזר לנספח ההגנה) את עוזרי ועדת המשנה לאירופה והמזה"ת של ועדת החוץ (לבקשתם) וכן עוזרים נוספים בוועדת החוץ. בסה"כ נכחו 20-25 עוזרים. נושא התדרוך הוגדר מראש כפעילות החמאס בשטחים אולם לאור הנסיבות בגבול הצפון התמקד החצי הראשון של התדרוך בלבנון בפעילות צה"ל בלבנון ופעילות החיזבאללה. לאחר מכן ניתח הנספח את מבנה החמאס ופעילותו בשטחים.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,  
רחטמזת, מזח2, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן),  
@ (עמית475)

סססס



10.8.93  
09:00

מ ב ר ק נ כ נ ס מ ס ו ג

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הוצאת א.א.ק.א. / א.א.ק.א.  
2877

א.א.ק.א. (הגבר)  
א.א.ק.א. (הגבר) / א.א.ק.א. (הגבר)

א.א.ק.א.

2877

מבטא פגישת  
ב.א.א.א.  
10 באוגוסט  
בשעה 9:00

א.א.ק.א.

אאאא, חוזם: 28487

אל: רהמש/885

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 828, תא: 270793, זח: 1825, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/בהול לבוקר

אל: מצפ"א

דע: לשכת שה"ח, לשכת רה"מ

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: ביקור הסנטור אינווייה

1. היום התקשרו עימי ממשרדו של הסנטור אינווייה ומסרו שיגיע לביקור בישראל ב- 9 באוגוסט ויעזוב ב- 10/8 (בטיסת הלילה שבין ה- 10 ל- 11 באוגוסט). אל הסנטור יצטרף עוזרו דויד מוריסון.

2. להלן בקשות הסנטור:

א. מגיע ב- 9 באוגוסט. מבקש לנוח כל היום ולא לקבוע לו פגישות.

ב. מבקש לקבוע פגישות ל- 10 באוגוסט כדלקמן: - רה"מ, שה"ח, שר האוצר, דיון בתע"א על "החץ", ואם יוותר זמן מבקש לקיים פגישה עם שר החינוך.

ג. מציעה לארגן עבורו א"ע בת"א ב- 10.8 טרם יציאתו לנתב"ג.

3. נבקשכם להזמין עבור הסנטור ועוזרו שני חדרים במלון המלך דוד (לפי תעריפי משה"ח). לבקשתו המיוחדת של אינווייה, אנא חדרים הפונים לעבר העיר העתיקה.

4. נודע לי שזאב וולפסון יגיע לישראל יחד עם הסנטור (באותה טיסה). לתשומת ליבכם.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), שהח, ממנכל, מצפא, טקס, מאור

סססס

28489: חוזם, אאאא

אל: רהמש/881

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 827, תא: 270793, זח: 1735, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: שימועים - אדוארד ג'רג'יאן: התפתחויות חדשות במזה"ת.

WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING TRANSCRIPT. DUE TO ITS LENGTH WE WILL SEND IT IN THE DIP, BUT IF YOU PREFER, WE WILL CABLE IT.

HEARING OF THE EUROPE AND MIDDLE EAST SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE/ SUBJECT: DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST; CHAIRED BY: REP. LEE H. HAMILTON (D-IN)/WITNESS: EDWARD DJEREJIAN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NEAR EAST AFFAIRS RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ROOM 2172 TUESDAY, JULY 27, 1993.

REP. HAMILTON: (SOUNDS GAVEL) THE MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE WILL COME TO ORDER. THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST MEETS TODAY IN OPEN SESSION TO DISCUSS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE SUBCOMMITTEE LAST MET IN OPEN SESSION TO DISCUSS THESE DEVELOPMENTS ON MARCH THE 9TH. SECRETARY DJEREJIAN TESTIFIED BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ISSUES RELATED TO THE MIDDLE EAST ON APRIL 28TH.

OUR WITNESS TODAY, OF COURSE, IS THE HONORABLE EDWARD. P. DJEREJIAN, THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NEAR EAST AFFAIRS. WE HAVE A NUMBER OF TOPICS THAT WILL BE OF INTEREST TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE TODAY. THEY INCLUDE THE ESCALATION AND VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN LEBANON AND THIS PAST WEEKEND'S AIR STRIKES INTO LEBANON, THE STATUS, OF COURSE, OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, US POLICY TOWARD IRAQ AND IRAN, THE SITUATION IN THE KURDISH- CONTROLLED AREA IN NORTHERN IRAQ, ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM, AND PERSIAN GULF SECURITY ISSUES. WE HAVE, OF COURSE, MANY QUESTIONS WE WANT TO RAISE WITH THE WITNESS. THE CHAIR WILL TRY TO ENFORCE THE FIVE-MINUTE RULE HERE FAIRLY CAREFULLY.



עד כאן

תפוצה: שדח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד,  
מצפא, רחטמזת, מזתיים, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, לעמ

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 28503  
אל: רהמש/879  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 826, תא: 270793, זח: 1735, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בכב  
9,257886  
9,233388  
בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך הבית הלבן ליום 27/7/93

בתדרוך היום בבית הלבן, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב):  
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER - ISRAEL, LEBANON

*Post -*

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב):  
DOMESTIC ISSUES INCLUDING DAN  
ROSTONKOWSKY AND THE POST OFFICE  
SCANDAL; APPARENT SUICIDE OF  
CLINTON LEGAL ADVISOR VINCENT  
FOSTER.

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לענייננו:-

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, DC REGULAR BRIEFING. BRIEFER: DEE  
DEE MYERS 12:30 P.M. (EDT) TUESDAY, JULY 27, 1993

Q WHAT IS THE REASON FOR CHRISTOPHER'S RETURNING? CAN YOU  
EXPLAIN? WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN A MEETING IN WASHINGTON  
THAT COULDN'T BE ACCOMPLISHED BY COMMUNICATING BY PHONE?

MS. MYERS: YEAH, WELL, AS YOU KNOW, THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY  
CHRISTOPHER SPOKE YESTERDAY -- YESTERDAY EVENING, AND I THINK  
DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE BEST IF CHRISTOPHER CAME BACK HERE IN  
ORDER TO BE CLOSER TO HIS TEAM, IN ORDER TO MONITOR SOME OF THE  
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO DISCUSS A NUMBER OF



ISSUES AROUND THE WORLD. BUT I THINK HE FELT THAT HE COULD MONITOR THE SITUATION MORE EFFECTIVELY AND PREPARE FOR HIS TRIP THERE IF HE WAS HERE WITH HIS TEAM. AND THE PRESIDENT SUPPORTED HIM IN THAT.

Q HOW SERIOUS IS THE CONCERN -- THE LEVEL OF CONCERN ABOUT THE CURRENT OUTBREAK AND THE POSSIBILITY OF ESCALATION?

MS. MYERS: WELL, OBVIOUSLY IT'S SOMETHING THAT WE'RE CONCERNED ABOUT, AND WE'RE URGING ALL THE PARTIES TO SHOW RESTRAINT, AND SO FAR THEY SEEM TO HAVE DONE THAT. WE WILL BE -- I THINK SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND OTHERS WILL BE IN CONTACT WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF SYRIA, LEBANON AND ISRAEL OVER THE COURSE OF THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS, AND I THINK WE'RE HOPEFUL THAT THAT VIOLENCE WILL STOP.

Q IS THERE ANY CONTACT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAN? SECRETARY DJEREJIAN TESTIFIED TODAY THAT HE HOLDS IRAN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE HEZBOLLAH.

MS. MYERS: NO, BUT IRAN AND HEZBOLLAH ARE RESPONSIBLE. I THINK THEY CLEARLY INSTIGATED THIS, HEZBOLLAH HAS THE BACKING OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT, AND THEY ARE ENEMIES OF THE PEACE PROCESS. I THINK THIS ADMINISTRATION -- THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND OTHERS ARE COMMITTED TO NOT LETTING ENEMIES OF THE PEACE PROCESS DISRUPT OR INTERRUPT OR DISMANTLE IT IN ANY WAY, SO WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PUSH FORWARD.

Q IS THERE ANY FEELING, THOUGH, THAT THEY COULD OPERATE AS FREELY AS THEY HAVE OPERATED IN SOUTHERN LEBANON WITHOUT THE SANCTION AND PROTECTION OF SYRIA? IS SYRIA OPPOSED TO THE PEACE PROCESS?

MS. MYERS: SYRIA HAS BEEN A PARTY TO THE PEACE PROCESS AND HAS NOT SIGNALLED ANY INTENTION TO CHANGE THEIR PARTICIPATION. OBVIOUSLY WE HAVE URGED THE SYRIANS TO TAKE MORE AGGRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST HEZBOLLAH AND HOPE THAT THEY WILL DO THAT, BUT AT THIS POINT, WE'RE COMMITTED TO MAKING SURE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS GOES FORWARD.

Q IS THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S MISSION TO MAKE SURE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS DOESN'T COLLAPSE, OR WILL HE ALSO BE TRYING TO END THE HOSTILITIES?

MS. MYERS: WELL, I THINK -- I MEAN, THE FUNDAMENTAL MISSION OF THE PEACE PROCESS IS TO ADDRESS THE UNDERLYING PROBLEMS THAT LEAD TO THESE HOSTILITIES. THE BEST SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS THAT WE'RE CURRENTLY SEEING WOULD BE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THAT'S WHAT WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR.

Q BUT THE ACUTE SITUATION RIGHT NOW BETWEEN ISRAEL AND --

MS. MYERS: I MEAN, I THINK OBVIOUSLY YOU WANT TO DO BOTH. YOU'D LIKE TO STOP THE VIOLENCE IN THE SHORT TERM. WE'VE CALLED FOR AN END TO THE VIOLENCE, BUT CONTINUED TO PRESS FORWARD ON THE PEACE PROCESS AND MAKE SURE IT STAYS ON TRACK. AND ALL OF OUR EXPECTATIONS AT THIS POINT ARE THAT IT WILL.

Q CAN I RETURN TO THE MIDDLE EAST FOR JUST A MOMENT? YOU SAID THE MAIN REASON THAT CHRISTOPHER WAS COMING BACK -- OH, CITED THAT HE WANTED TO MEET WITH HIS TEAM AND HAVE HIS TEAM WITH HIM. IS HIS TEAM NOT WITH HIM? I THOUGHT ROSS AND MOST OF THE --

MS. MYERS: NO, THEY WERE -- I BELIEVE THEY WERE HERE. YOU'D HAVE TO DOUBLE-CHECK WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT. MY -- I WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE HERE. FOR EXAMPLE, DJEREJIAN IS TESTIFYING HERE TODAY.

Q ROSS?

MS. MYERS: AND ROSS IS ALSO HERE, YEAH. BUT, YEAH, I THINK HE JUST THOUGHT THERE WERE A NUMBER OF ISSUES THAT HE COULD DEAL WITH BETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

(CROSS TALK.)

MS. MYERS: GENE (?) AND THEN DAVID?

Q YOU'VE DESCRIBED IRAN AND HEZBOLLAH AS ENEMIES OF THE PEACE PROCESS. DO YOU MEAN BY THAT TO GIVE ISRAEL A GREEN LIGHT -- (OFF MIKE)?

MS. MYERS: NO. NO, I THINK WE'VE URGED RESTRAINT FROM ALL PARTIES AND HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH ISRAEL, SYRIA, LEBANON ON THIS, AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN END TO THE HOSTILITIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AT THE SAME TIME -- AND -- BUT I THINK THERE'S MORE THAT SYRIA CAN DO VIS A VIS HEZBOLLAH, AND THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO KEEP THE PEACE PROCESS ON TRACK.

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד,  
מצפא, רחטמזת, מזת1, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה,  
מעט, לעמ, @ (בן עמי/משהבט), @ (לוברני)

סססס



28169:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמש/870

מ:-וושנינגטון,נר:799,תא:270793,זח:1214,דח:מ,סג:בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: קונכ"לים - צפ"א

מאת: תקשורת וושנינגטון

הנדון: תמליל "CNN" - השגריר רבינוביץ והשגריר הלבנוני, מקאווי.

CNN "CROSS-FIRE" WITH HOSTS: PAT BUCHANAN AND MICHAEL KINSLEY  
GUESTS: ITAMAR RABINOVICH, ISRAEL'S AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.  
KHALIL MAKKAWI, LEBANON'S AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
MONDAY, JULY 26, 1993

MR. BUCHANAN: MR. AMBASSADOR, ISRAEL IS POUNDING TARGETS,  
ALLEGED GUERRILLA BASES ALL OVER SOUTHERN LEBANON, AS FAR NORTH  
AS TRIPOLI. FIFTY THOUSAND PEOPLE HAVE FLED SOUTHERN LEBANON.  
HAVEN'T YOU OVERDONE IT?

AMB. RABINOVICH: NO. THE TARGETS ARE NOT ALLEGED. THESE ARE NOT  
GUERRILLAS. THESE ARE TERRORISTS. THE STAKES ARE VERY HIGH.  
THERE IS A PRECIOUS MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. THE SECRETARY OF  
STATE IS ABOUT TO COME WITH A VIEW TO RESUSCITATING THE PEACE  
PROCESS. THE ATTACKS BY HEZBOLLAH ARE MEANT TO DERAILED THE PEACE  
PROCESS. THE TIMING IS NOT ACCIDENTAL. AND WE THOUGHT THIS HAD  
TO BE NIPPED IN THE BUD.

MR. BUCHANAN: THE ATTACKS BY HEZBOLLAH ARE CLEARLY DESIGNED TO  
DISRUPT AND OVERTURN AND HALT THE PEACE PROCESS BUT BY THE  
EXTENT AND TREMENDOUS OF THE ISRAELI ATTACK, AREN'T YOU PLAYING  
INTO THE HANDS OF HEZBOLLAH, GIVING THEM EXACTLY WHAT THEY WANT,  
ELEVATING THEM IN THE EYES OF THEIR FRIENDS IN THE ARAB WORLD?  
AND YOU'VE CONVINCED ALL THE ARAB NATIONS TO SAY THAT YOU ARE  
THE ONES NOW WHO ARE DISRUPTING AND OVERTURNING THE PEACE  
PROCESS.

AMB. RABINOVICH: IT IS YET TO BE SHOWN THAT EVEN WHETHER WE HAVE  
PERSUADED THE ARAB NATIONS THAT THIS IS CASE. ALSO, THIS IS NOT  
HEZBOLLAH. WE KNOW THAT HEZBOLLAH IS AN ARM OF IRAN. WE ARE  
DEALING HERE WITH A VERY POWERFUL STATE AND NOT JUST WITH AN  
ORGANIZATION. ALSO, YOU KNOW, WE HAVE WAITED FOR TWO WEEKS. WE  
HAVE SERVED NOTICE --

MR. BUCHANAN: NOW, THERE'S DOUBT THAT IRAN IS BACKING HEZBOLLAH TO THE HILT AND THESE ARE TERRORISTS THAT COMMITTED ACTIONS AGAINST AMERICANS AND ISRAELIS. DOES ISRAEL REGRET ALL THE SUPPORT IT GAVE TO IRAN COVERT AND OVERT DURING ITS WAR WITH IRAQ WHEN YOU CONSIDER WHAT AN IMPLACABLE ENEMY AND WHAT A FORMIDABLE ENEMY YOU NOW HAVE IN IRAN?

AMB. RABINOVICH: NO, WE -- REMEMBER THAT IRAQ IS A FORMIDABLE ENEMY AS WELL AND THE WHOLE WORLD, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, HAD TO GO TO WAR AGAINST IRAQ NOT ALL THAT LONG AGO. SO WHAT WAS IN THE '80S WAS IN THE '80S. WE ARE NOW DEALING WITH THE '90S AND FOR A CHANGE, WE ARE DEALING WITH THE PEACE PROCESS AND THERE'S IRAN AND THERE IS SYRIA. YOU KNOW, SYRIA IS MASTER IN LEBANON. SYRIA CONTROLS LEBANON AND WE THINK --

MR. BUCHANAN: WHY DIDN'T YOU ATTACK SYRIA INSTEAD OF HAMMERING THE LEBANESE? I MEAN, THERE'S 50,000 LEBANESE THAT ARE FLEEING. IT'S NOT THE SYRIANS WHO ARE FLEEING, IF SYRIA'S BEHIND IT.

AMB. RABINOVICH: WELL, WE ARE NOT ATTACKING -- WE ARE NOT ATTACKING THE LEBANESE, WE'RE ATTACKING THE TARGETS, AND WE REGRET THE FACT THAT LEBANESE CITIZENS HAVE TO LEAVE. BUT WE ALSO REGRET THE FACT THAT THERE IS NO LEBANESE GOVERNMENT THAT CAN GIVE ITS OWN PEOPLE PROTECTION AND CAN CHASE THE HEZBOLLAH FROM THE VILLAGES.

MR. KINSLEY: MR. AMBASSADOR -- LET'S ASK -- GET AMBASSADOR MAKKAWI. GUERRILLAS BASED IN YOUR COUNTRY ARE SHOOTING ROCKETS THAT ARE KILLING ISRAELI SOLDIERS. WHY ON EARTH SHOULDN'T THE ISRAELIS RESPOND?

AMB. MAKKAWI: I JUST HEARD AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH SAYING THAT THE HEZBOLLAH ARE THE SOURCE OF ALL THIS TROUBLE. I THINK THIS IS BLOWING THE PROBLEM OUT OF PROPORTION. HEZBOLLAH IS JUST A FACTION. WHAT'S HAPPENING IN THE SOUTH IS THE WHOLE POPULATION OF LEBANESE WHO ARE AGAINST THE CONTINUATION OF OCCUPATION BY ISRAEL. IT'S NOT ONLY HEZBOLLAH. YOU HAVE GROUPS WHO ARE MUCH WIDER AND MUCH POLITICAL SUPPORT IN THE SOUTH WHO ARE (AMAL?) AND YOU HAVE COMMUNIST PARTY, YOU HAVE THE NATIONAL SYRIAN PARTY. THEY ARE ALL FORMATIONS WHO ARE STRUGGLING AGAINST THE OCCUPATION IN (LEBANON?). THIS IS THE SOURCE OF THE WHOLE PROBLEM.

FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES JUST SAID NOW THAT IF HEZBOLLAH WOULD STOP THE ATTACKS ON ISRAEL, THEN WE WILL STOP. WE SAY IF ISRAEL FINISHES THIS OCCUPATION OF THE SOUTH, WHICH IS NOW 15 YEARS OLD, THEN LEBANON WE CAN TAKE CARE AND MAKE OF THIS AREA A PEACEFUL AREA.

MR. KINSLEY: WELL, YOU KNOW, YOU SURELY AREN'T SUGGESTING ARE YOU THAT IF ISRAEL WERE TO ANNOUNCE TOMORROW, "THAT'S OKAY,



WE'RE PULLING OUT OF THE SECURITY ZONE WE HAVE SET UP ALONG THE BORDER TO PROTECT OUR NORTHERN AREAS FROM THESE ATTACKS," THAT HEZBOLLAH WOULD AT THAT POINT SAY, "OH, WELL, FINE. WE'LL JUST PACK UP OUR ROCKETS AND GO HOME"? THIS IS -- THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE OVERTLY DEDICATED TO WIPING OUT ISRAEL. WHY ON EARTH SHOULDN'T THEY DO THAT?

AMB. MAKKAWI: WHEN WE HAD OUR TROUBLES IN THE LEBANON AND THE LEBANESE ARMY WAS GIVEN THE POSSIBILITY TO EXERT ITS AUTHORITY IN THE OTHER PARTS OF LEBANON, THE LEBANESE ARMY WAS ABLE TO DISARM ALL THE MILITIA, COLLECT THEIR ARMS AND ENFORCE LAW AND ORDER WHEREVER IT WENT. AND THIS IS THE CASE IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY EXCEPT IN THE SOUTH WHERE THE ARMY IS NOT ALLOWED TO GO IN BECAUSE OF THIS OCCUPATION.

ONCE THE ARMY IS GIVEN THIS OPPORTUNITY, I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE LEBANESE ARMY WILL BE IN A POSITION TO ENFORCE (ORDER?) AND MAKE OF THIS AREA A PEACEFUL AREA.

MR. BUCHANAN: ALL RIGHT, MR. AMBASSADOR, HOW CAN YOU ASK THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO TAKE CONTROL AND PUT DOWN THE TERRORISTS OF JIBRIL AND HEZBOLLAH FIRST OFF WHEN YOU WON'T LET THE LEBANESE ARMY IN THERE, AND SECONDLY WHEN THE ISRAELIS CAN'T DO IT THEMSELVES WHO HAVE THE MOST POWERFUL MILITARY FORCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

AMB. RABINOVICH: WELL, TO BEGIN WITH, WE ARE NEGOTIATING WITH LEBANON IN THE PEACE TALKS HERE. WE OFFERED AN APPROACH TO THE LEBANESE ARMY. WE OFFERED MILITARY TO MILITARY TALKS BETWEEN OFFICERS. WE ALSO OFFERED A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH IT COULD BE DONE. TO THE BEST OF OUR UNDERSTANDING, THE SYRIANS DID NOT ALLOW THE LEBANESE TO PROCEED WITH THESE TALKS.

MR. BUCHANAN: I MEAN, LET ME GO BACK TO THAT QUESTION. IF THE SYRIANS ARE THE ONES CONTROLLING JIBRIL AND THEY HAVE OPERATIONAL CONTROL OVER THE AREA WHERE HEZBOLLAH IS OPERATING, THEN IT SEEMS TO ME THEY'RE RESPONSIBLE IN A SENSE FOR WHAT'S GOING ON, AND WHY THEN THIS POUNDING OF TRIPOLI IN THE NORTH AND THE 155 MILLIMETER GUNS ON THE SMALL TOWN ON THE COAST WHICH IS FORCING LEBANESE TO FLEE? WHY NOT GO TO THE SOURCE OF YOUR TROUBLE?

AMB. RABINOVICH: MR. BUCHANAN, FIRST OF ALL, WE ARE NOT POUNDING THE TOWNS, WE ARE POUNDING SPECIFICALLY IN A POINTED WAY THE TERRORISTS OR THE GUERRILLAS. SECONDLY --

MR. BUCHANAN: THIRTY-FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE ARE FLEEING ABATIYA (PH) --

AMB. RABINOVICH: -- SECONDLY -- YEAH, BUT --

(MIXED VOICES.)

MR. KINSLEY: -- 150,000 ISRAELIS ARE -- (INAUDIBLE) --

MR. BUCHANAN: EXACTLY --

AMB. RABINOVICH: -- YES, ISRAELIS -- ISRAELIS ARE IN AIR RAID SHELTERS AND FLEEING NORTHERN ISRAEL. NOW, WE DON'T THINK THAT --

MR. BUCHANAN: BECAUSE OF INDISCRIMINATE ATTACKS BY THE GUERRILLAS.

AMB. RABINOVICH: YES, BUT WE DON'T THINK THAT THE SOLUTION IS MILITARY. WE ARE IN A PEACE PROCESS. WE ARE NEGOTIATING WITH SYRIA. WE BELIEVE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SYRIA ARE KEY AND THIS IS WHERE THE MAIN (ROAD?) IS.

MR. BUCHANAN: WITH DUE RESPECT, MR. AMBASSADOR, HOW CAN YOU SAY WE DON'T THINK THE SOLUTION IS MILITARY, GIVING THE SWEEPING EXTENT OF THE AIR STRIKES, NAVAL BOMBARDMENT, HELICOPTER GUN SHIPS, LONG-RANGE ARTILLERY, THAT'S IN USE, AND THEY'RE TALKING ABOUT HUNDREDS AND HUNDREDS OF ARTILLERY SHELLS.

AMB. RABINOVICH: YES, THIS IS IN ORDER TO STOP THE ROCKET LAUNCHING INTO ISRAEL AND TO PROVIDE SECURITY. BUT THIS IS NOT THE LONG-RANGE SOLUTION. WE ARE MAKING A DISTINCTION BETWEEN DEALING WITH A TEMPORARY CHALLENGE AND DEALING WITH A SOLUTION WHICH FOR US REMAINS IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

MR. KINSLEY: AMBASSADOR MAKKAWI, THERE ARE 35,000 SYRIAN SOLDIERS IN YOUR COUNTRY. IN FACT, YOU COULD SAY THAT THE ENTIRE COUNTRY EXCEPT FOR THIS THIN LITTLE SECURITY ZONE ALONG THE BOTTOM, WHICH IS -- WHICH HAS ISRAELI TROOPS IN IT, IS ESSENTIALLY OCCUPIED BY SYRIA. YET THAT DOESN'T SEEM TO UPSET YOU SO MUCH. HOW COME?

AMB. MAKKAWI: IT IS NOT OCCUPIED -- I AM SORRY, IT IS NOT OCCUPIED BY SYRIA AT ALL. THE SYRIA ARMY IS THERE ON THE EXPLICIT INVITATION OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO ASSIST US -- TO ASSIST OUR LEBANESE ARMY. WE HAVE 40,000 STRONG LEBANESE ARMY IN THE COUNTRY AND THIS IS BASICALLY THE JOB OF THE LEBANESE ARMY. THE SYRIANS ARE THERE UNTIL WE ARE IN A POSITION REALLY TO CONTROL THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

MR. KINSLEY: ARE YOU SAYING THAT IF YOU WERE TO SAY TOMORROW TO SYRIA, AS YOU'VE JUST SAID TO ISRAEL, "WE WISH YOUR TROOPS WOULD LEAVE OUR COUNTRY," THAT SYRIA WOULD JUST PACK UP AND GO?

AMB. MAKKAWI: THE SYRIANS ARE ON RECORD. ONCE THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON WOULD ASK THE SYRIA TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY, THEY WOULD COMPLY. THIS HAS BEEN REPEATED BY THE SYRIAN AUTHORITIES ON MANY OCCASIONS. THIS IS NOT THE ISSUE. THE ISSUE,



AS I SAID, IS THE OCCUPATION. THIS IS THE SOURCE OF THE WHOLE PROBLEM. AND HEZBOLLAH IS JUST, AS I SAID, ONE PART OF THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT.

MR. KINSLEY: YOU'RE AN EXPERT ON SYRIA, AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH. YOU'VE WRITTEN BOOKS ABOUT IT. IS IT -- IS TRUE THAT IF THE SYRIANS -- IF THE LEBANESE SAID -- SAID GO, THE SYRIANS WOULD PACK UP AND LEAVE?

AMB. RABINOVICH: I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE DAY.

AMB. MAKKAWI: GIVE US THE CHANCE.

MR. BUCHANAN: (YOU'D?) LIKE TO SEE WHICH GOVERNMENT PACKED UP AND LEFT, HUH? (INAUDIBLE.)

OKAY, LET'S -- WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO TAKE A BREAK NOW, SIR. HOW WILL MR. CLINTON RESPOND TO THE ISRAELI SHELLING AND BOMBING OF LEBANON. THAT QUESTION WHEN WE COME BACK.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK.)

MR. BUCHANAN: WELCOME BACK. FIFTY THOUSAND PEOPLE ARE REPORTEDLY FLEEING SOUTH LEBANON IN THE WAKE OF DEVASTATING ISRAELI AIR AND ARTILLERY STRIKES, WHICH ISRAEL SAYS ARE DESIGNED TO PUNISH THE IRANIAN- BACKED HEZBOLLAH GUERRILLAS AND THEIR PALESTINIAN ALLIES. OUR GUESTS ARE LEBANON'S ENVOY TO THE UN, KHALIL MAKKAWI, AND ISRAELI'S'S AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES, ITAMAR RABINOVICH. MICHAEL?

MR. KINSLEY: MR. AMBASSADOR, DO YOU HONESTLY BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL IS MOTIVATED IN THIS ACTION BY TRYING TO KILL OFF THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS?

AMB. MAKKAWI: WELL, BY PERPETRATING ITS OCCUPATION, AS I SAID, IT IS REALLY GIVING THE OPPORTUNITY TO THIS KIND OF ESCALATION IN THE SOUTH OF THE LEBANON. AND THIS IS, OF COURSE, EVENTUALLY WILL AFFECT THE PEACE PROCESS. I MEAN, CAN YOU IMAGINE A COUNTRY IS NOW -- THERE IS A MINI- WAR AGAINST LEBANON. IT WAS REPORTED AND YOU JUST SAID IT THAT THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF BOMBS HAVE BEEN THROWN ALL OVER LEBANON. THIS IS OUT OF PROPORTION OF KILLING OF FIVE SOLDIERS IN THE SECURITY ZONE ON LEBANESE SOIL. THEY ARE NOT KILLED IN ISRAEL. WHAT ARE THESE SOLDIERS DOING IN LEBANON?

AMB. RABINOVICH: YEAH. AMBASSADOR MAKKAWI, WE -- I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU A QUESTION. YOU HAVE SPOKEN SO FAR ABOUT THE SYRIAN TROOPS IN LEBANON AND (YOU ESTIMATED?) THEY WOULD LEAVE WHEN YOU ASKED THEM TO DO SO. HOW ABOUT ASKING THE IRANIANS TO LEAVE? THERE ARE IRANIAN REVOLUTIONARY GUARDS IN THE BEKKA VALLEY WHO ARE ACTIVATING HEZBOLLAH. HOW ABOUT ASKING THEM TO LEAVE LEBANON?

AMB. MAKKAWI: OF COURSE. THE IRANIANS -- I MEAN, LEBANON WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO SEE TO IT THAT THERE IS NOBODY ON THE LEBANESE SOIL EXCEPT LEBANESE EVENTUALLY --

AMB. RABINOVICH: NO, BUT --

MR. KINSLEY: THERE ARE -- MR. AMBASSADOR, THERE ARE --

AMB. RABINOVICH: HOW ABOUT DOING IT NOW -- NOW?

MR. KINSLEY: THERE OBVIOUSLY ARE TERRORISTS FROM THE IRANIAN-BACKED HEZBOLLAH IN LEBANON NOW LAUNCHING THESE ATTACKS WHICH HAVE STARTED THIS WHOLE BUSINESS. WHY DON'T YOU STOP THEM? IS IT CAUSE YOU DON'T WANT TO OR BECAUSE YOU CAN'T?

AMB. MAKKAWI: SIR, THE AREA FROM WHERE THESE ATTACKS ARE TAKING PLACE IS NOT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE LEBANESE ARMY. THIS IS AN AREA WHERE IT IS NEARLY NO MAN'S LAND. SO YOU HAVE INFILTRATION OF PEOPLE LIKE THIS WHO GO TO THIS AREA AND DO THE KINDS OF --

(MIXED VOICES.)

MR. BUCHANAN: MR. AMBASSADOR -- (INAUDIBLE) --

MR. KINSLEY: WELL, HOW CAN YOU -- HOW CAN YOU BLAME THE ISRAELIS SINCE YOU ADMIT THAT THESE ATTACKS ARE COMING FROM PLACES THAT ARE NOT IN THE CONTROL OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT? HOW CAN YOU BLAME THE ISRAELIS FOR THINKING, "WELL, WE'VE JUST GOT TO PROTECT OURSELVES CAUSE WE CERTAINLY CAN'T COUNT ON THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT TO PROTECT US FROM THESE TERRORISTS"?

AMB. MAKKAWI: THE ISRAELIS ARE PROTECTING A SECURITY ZONE INSIDE THE LEBANESE TERRITORY. THEY ARE NOT PROTECTING ISRAEL PROPER. THEY ARE THERE ON OUR NATIONAL SOIL. AND THAT'S WHY THOSE PEOPLE ARE RESISTING THE OCCUPATION.

AMB. RABINOVICH: YEAH, LET ME BEFORE I ANSWER YOU, MR. BUCHANAN, JUST SAY TO AMBASSADOR MAKKAWI THAT WE ARE PROTECTING OUR OWN COUNTRY. PEOPLE ARE SITTING IN AIR RAID SHELTERS IN ISRAELI, PEOPLE WERE KILLED IN ISRAELI TOWNS. SO WE ARE PROTECTING OUR OWN COUNTRY --

AMB. MAKKAWI: MR. AMBASSADOR, YOU KNOW THAT THIS WAS A RESPONSE OF THIS HEAVY AND OUT OF PROPORTION BOMBARDMENT THAT YOU HAVE DONE ALL OVER LEBANON KILLING MORE THAN 40 CIVILIAN (POPULATION?) PEOPLE --

MR. BUCHANAN: MR. AMBASSADOR, LET ME ASK YOU. DOESN'T HE HAVE A POINT -- DOES HE HAVE A POINT THE FACT THAT THE KATYUSHA ROCKETS WERE FIRED INTO ISRAEL ONLY AFTER THE MASSIVE STRIKES BEGAN BY THE ISRAELI FORCES AGAINST LEBANON?



AMB. RABINOVICH: NO. KATYUSHA ROCKETS ARE BEING FIRED ALMOST REGULARLY INTO ISRAEL AND LET US ASK THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION. WHAT ARE THE KAYTUSHA ROCKETS DOING IN LEBANON? HOW COME WE'VE HAD 109 VOLLEYS OR SALVOS INTO ISRAEL --

MR. BUCHANAN: EXACTLY --

AMB. RABINOVICH: WHERE -- HOW COME 190 KATYUSHAS HAVE BEEN STATIONED IN LEBANON --

MR. BUCHANAN: THAT'S AN EXCELLENT QUESTION. I DON'T HAVE THE ANSWER. DO YOU HAVE THE ANSWER AND WERE YOU SURPRISED --

AMB. RABINOVICH: YES, I --

MR. BUCHANAN: -- BY THE NUMBER OF KATYUSHAS THAT LANDED ON ISRAEL FOLLOWING THESE ATTACKS YOU MADE BECAUSE NOW YOU'RE MAKING SECONDARY AND TERTIARY ATTACKS IN RESPONSE TO THE KATYUSHAS.

AMB. RABINOVICH: WE WOULD LIKE TO ARRIVE AT A SITUATION WHERE THERE ARE NO KATYUSHAS IN LEBANON AND WHERE THERE IS LAW AND ORDER IN LEBANON AND WHERE NOT EVERY SINGLE MILITIA GROUP OR A COUNTRY LIKE IRAN PUSHES ITS HANDS AND FINGERS INTO LEBANON AND FIRES THESE KATYUSHAS AT WILL --

(MIXED VOICES.)

MR. KINSLEY: DO YOU THINK -- DO YOU THINK --

MR. BUCHANAN: GO AHEAD, MR. AMBASSADOR --

MR. KINSLEY: -- THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON --

AMB. MAKKAWI: I WOULD LIKE HERE TO COME AND ASK MR. AMBASSADOR AS HE ASKED ME A QUESTION --

MR. KINSLEY: GO AHEAD --

AMB. MAKKAWI: YOU HAVE CREATED THIS SECURITY ZONE UNDER THE PRETEXT OF SECURING PROPER NORTHERN ISRAEL. DID THIS SECURITY ZONE SECURE ISRAEL, MR. AMBASSADOR?

MR. KINSLEY: WHAT IS THE RATIONALE FOR THE SECURITY ZONE? THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION.

AMB. RABINOVICH: YEAH, THE SECURITY ZONE IS THERE TO PREVENT IN THE FIRST PLACE INFILTRATIONS BY SQUADS WHO WOULD MOVE ON THE GROUND. AND SINCE IT'S DONE IT VERY WELL, WE NOW ARE BEING ATTACKED BY KATYUSHA ROCKETS. BUT, MR. AMBASSADOR MAKKAWI, WE ARE IN A PEACE PROCESS. LEBANON AND ISRAEL ARE MEETING; SYRIA

AND ISRAEL ARE MEETING. OUR PREMISE IS THAT PROGRESS CAN ONLY BE MADE IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

AS I SAID EARLIER, WE HAVE PROPOSED TO YOU MILITARY TO MILITARY TALKS, TALKS BETWEEN ISRAELI OFFICERS AND LEBANESE OFFICERS, TO SORT IT ALL OUT. CAN WE HAVE THESE TALKS?

AMB. MAKKAWI: MR. AMBASSADOR, YOU -- (INAUDIBLE) -- I AM FOLLOWING VERY CLOSELY THESE NEGOTIATIONS AS YOU ARE. THERE IS A RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL 425 WHICH CALLS ON ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW FORTHWITH FROM LEBANON SINCE 1978, AND YOU ARE CONSTANTLY REFUSING TO IMPLEMENT THIS RESOLUTION. THIS IS THE CORE OF THE WHOLE PROBLEM.

MR. BUCHANAN: MR. AMBASSADOR, TO WHAT EXTENT WAS THE ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON IN 1982, GOING ALL THE WAY TO BEIRUT, STIRRING UP THE SHI'ITES IN THAT AREA, AND THEN THE WITHDRAWAL, WAS THAT RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHAOS THAT NOW EXISTS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON FROM WHICH THESE KATYUSHAS ARE BEING FIRED AT ISRAEL?

AMB. RABINOVICH: NO, NO, UNFORTUNATELY WHAT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHAOS IN LEBANON IS THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR WHICH BEGAN IN 1975 AND NOT IN 1992.

MR. BUCHANAN(?): UM-HUM, WHEN THE PLO WENT IN --

AMB. MAKKAWI: IF I MAY COME (IN?) HERE, I MEAN, THE CIVIL WAR IN LEBANON, 80 PERCENT OF WHAT HAPPENED IN LEBANON IS THE FAULT OF ISRAEL, AND YOU KNOW IT, MR. AMBASSADOR. THE TWO INVASIONS --

(MIXED VOICES.)

MR. KINSLEY: THAT CIVIL WAR WAS --

AMB. MAKKAWI: -- IN 1978 AND 1982, WITH DEVASTATING RESULTS ON LEBANON.

MR. KINSLEY: MR. AMBASSADOR, I'D LIKE TO TAKE UP THIS ARGUMENT THAT THE ISRAELIS ARE TRYING TO KILL THE PEACE TALKS BECAUSE I DON'T EVEN UNDERSTAND IT AS A MATTER OF LOGIC --

AMB. MAKKAWI: I DID NOT SAY -- I DID NOT SAY THAT THEY ARE TRYING TO KILL THE PEACE --

MR. KINSLEY: THAT IS A WIDESPREAD ACCUSATION. THE PREVIOUS ISRAELI GOVERNMENT, I THINK YOU COULD MAKE A GOOD CASE, WAS NOT INTERESTED IN PEACE, OR AT LEAST ON ANY ACCEPTABLE TERMS. THE CURRENT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WAS ELECTED ON THE BASIS THAT IT WOULD BRING PEACE THROUGH THESE PEACE TALKS. IF IT DOESN'T BRING PEACE THROUGH THESE PEACE TALKS, IT'S HISTORY, THE LABOR GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL. SO WHY ON EARTH WOULD THEY HAVE THE SLIGHTEST MOTIVE TO TRY AND TORPEDO THESE PEACE TALKS?



AMB. MAKKAWI: WELL, THEY ARE NOT FORTHCOMING ON THE VERY BASIC ISSUES, ON ALL FRONTS, I MEAN, EITHER WITH THE PALESTINIANS OR WITH THE SYRIANS OR WITH THE LEBANESE. I SPEAK ON BEHALF OF THE LEBANON. WE ARE TRYING TO IMPRESS ON THEM THE NEED TO IMPLEMENT RESOLUTION 425. THE ISRAELI KEEP SAYING THAT THEY HAVE NO VISION ON MY COUNTRY. SO WHAT ARE THEY DOING, THE HELL THEY ARE DOING IN MY COUNTRY?

MR. BUCHANAN: MR. AMBASSADOR, DO YOU THINK THAT THE -- THAT IF THE PEACE TALKS COLLAPSED THAT THE ESCALATION AND THE EXTENT OF THE ESCALATION BY ISRAEL WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR IT BECAUSE ISRAEL WILL CERTAINLY BE BLAMED FOR IT?

AMB. RABINOVICH: NO, THE PEACE TALKS ARE STALLED NOW, THERE IS A VISIT PLANNED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE THAT IS DESIGNED TO RESUSCITATE THE PEACE PROCESS. I DON'T THINK THAT ISRAEL WILL BE BLAMED FOR IT. I THINK THAT IF ANYONE IS TO BE BLAMED FOR SOMETHING THAT IS YET TO HAPPEN, IT'S THOSE WHO STARTED (THE FIRE?), NAMELY HEZBOLLAH AND IRAN AND THOSE WHO DID NOT PREVENT THEM.

MR. BUCHANAN: DO YOU THINK BILL CLINTON, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, WILL BACK ISRAEL'S -- RIGHT TO THE HILT? BY THAT I MEAN BACK NOT ONLY THE RETALIATION BUT THE EXTENT IN THE SWEEP OF THE RETALIATION?

AMB. RABINOVICH: I DON'T THINK THAT THIS IS -- THIS IS THE ISSUE. I THINK THAT WE SHARE TOGETHER WITH THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION A DESIRE FOR THESE PEACE TALKS TO SUCCEED. WE HINGE MAY HOPES ON SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S VISIT, AND WE'LL DO ANYTHING TO MAKE THAT VISIT WORK --

MR. BUCHANAN: BUT YOU SAID YOURSELF, MR. AMBASSADOR, YOU HAVE 150,000 ISRAELIS IN SHELTERS BECAUSE OF THE KATOOSHA (PH) ROCKETS WHICH WERE FIRED IN RETALIATION FOR THE ATTACKS WHICH ARE DRIVING 50,000 LEBANESE TO THE NORTH. NOW, THIS IS A MAJOR ESCALATION. WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR IT?

AMB. RABINOVICH: LET ME PUT IT IN THE FOLLOWING WAY. YOU HAVE A GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL, AS MR. KINGSLEY SAID, GOVERNMENT THAT WAS ELECTED TO MAKE PEACE. IT CAN MAKE THIS PEACE AND IT WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT OF ISRAELI PUBLIC IF IT ALSO PROVIDES SECURITY. SO IN ORDER TO PROCEED WITH THE PEACE POLICY, THIS ISRAELI GOVERNMENT MUST MAKE SURE THAT ISRAEL, NORTHERN ISRAEL, ARE SECURE. ONE DOES NOT GO WITH OUT THE OTHER.

MR. KINGSLEY: MR. AMBASSADOR, WE HAVE LESS THAN A MINUTE LEFT, AND I WILL HAVE TO ASK YOU -- YOU, THE ISRAELIS SAYS THEY NEED THE SECURITY ZONE IN ORDER TO PROTECT THEIR -- PROTECT THEMSELVES. YOU SAY IF THEY WERE TO PULL OUT, YOU COULD PROTECT THEM BY ELIMINATING THESE VARIOUS MILITIAS THAT ARE ROAMING

AROUND. BUT YOU'VE ADMITTED THAT YOU CAN'T EVEN CONTROL THE HEZBOLLAH NOR THE SECURITY ZONE. WHY ON EARTH SHOULD THEY BELIEVE AND PUT THEIR COUNTRY AT RISK TO BELIEVING THAT YOU COULD PROTECT THEM IF THEY WERE TO WITHDRAW FROM THIS SECURITY ZONE?

AMB. MAKKAWI: THE SECURITY OF ISRAEL LIES IN A SECURE AND PEACEFUL LEBANON. AND PEACE AND SECURITY IN LEBANON WILL NOT COME BACK UNLESS WE MAKE OF THE SOUTH A PEACEFUL AREA. AND THIS CANNOT BE DONE EXCEPT WITH THE RESOLUTION 425 IMPLEMENTED BY THE ISRAELIS. AS SIMPLE AS THAT. AND WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS MORE THAN ANY PARTY BECAUSE WE HAVE SUFFERED FOR 17 YEARS AND IT'S ENOUGH FOR US SUFFERING. WE WANT TO BUILD OUR COUNTRY.

MR. KINSLEY: OKAY, THANK YOU VERY MUCH, MR. AMBASSADOR MAKKAWI, IN NEW YORK. THANK YOU, AMBASSADOR RABINOVICH, HERE IN WASHINGTON.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
@ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, מצפא, רחטמזת, מזתים,  
סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, @ (דוצ), @ (בןעמי/משהבט), @ (לוברני)

סססס







Probably, the region has grown even more dangerous in these 20 months. Saddam Hussein has managed to rebuild 90 percent of the military strength Iraq possessed before the Gulf War, and is now producing upgraded Scud missiles. Iran and Syria continue to buy and build ever more sophisticated missiles with which to deliver

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them. American experts on the weapons trade believe China has stepped up sales to Iran (and possibly to Syria) of chemicals and missile technology.

But the most volatile and violent element in the politics of the region is human. It is the growing strength of the Iran-backed Islamic fundamentalists, whose power is felt inside all the countries of the region, including Israel. The fundamentalists are everywhere except in the peace talks, which they have sworn to destroy.

On the West Bank, in Gaza and inside Israel, the fanatics of Hamas maintain the *intifada*, attack authority, destroy peace, provoke countermeasures and mercilessly attack Arabs suspected of desiring peace.

In Egypt, they are at war with Hosni Mubarak's moderate government. From Lebanon, the Hezbollah fires missiles across the border to attack Israelis and allied Lebanese soldiers in the security zone. Forty-five thousand Syrian troops provide protection for the fanatics of the Party of God, who have made Lebanon a no man's land of kidnappers and extortionists. Syria's control of Lebanon testifies to Hamas' and Hezbollah's expansionist goals. The Hez-

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zbollah testifies to his continuing alliance with Iran.

Though Iranian-sponsored extremists are not represented in the peace talks, they affect the process in multiple ways — by making the Palestine Liberation Organization look more acceptable to some Israelis and some Americans, and by giving the governments of Jordan and Egypt a new sense of vulnerability to violent extremists.

Despite these facts on the ground, Dennis Ross, U.S. coordinator for the Arab/Israeli peace talks, remains boundlessly, endlessly optimistic that progress toward a formal peace can be made

now. Ross' optimism is a principal reason that Secretary of State Warren Christopher will visit the region the first week in August.

Alas, the mere announcement of Christopher's impending visit has reminded participants of their non-negotiable demands, which they have hurried to reiterate in recent days.

The Palestinians demand that representatives from East Jerusalem be included in their delegation. But Israelis see an undivided Jerusalem as the capital of their country, and a cause to die for.

Lebanon demands that Israel withdraw from the "security zone" established by Israel as a buffer on Lebanon's southern border.

Syria demands that Israel withdraw unilaterally, completely and immediately from the Golan Heights.

Israel demands that Syria control the Hezbollah guer-



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rillas, who this month alone have killed five Israeli soldiers and wounded 10 more in the security zone.

The U.S. Senate demands (in a resolution) that Syria withdraw its 45,000 troops from Lebanon. The Lebanese prime minister demands that the U.S. Senate cease its interference in Lebanon's internal affairs.

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All the Arab governments demand that the United States force Israel to make further concessions. The U.S. government probably could not, and assuredly should not, do so. No government of Israel can accept the "withdraw first/negotiate later" demands of Syria and Lebanon. And no government of Israel can accept Palestinian demands for sovereignty.

Therefore, the likelihood of progress in this session appears slim.

Successive governments of Israel have already made significant, unilateral concessions. Israel accepted the presence of well-known PLO members on the Palestinian delegation. It announced for the first time ever that it was — in principle — ready to relinquish territory on the Golan Heights in exchange for ~~negotiations with Syria. It offered new opportunities for~~

Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza, and has encouraged discussion of a Jordan/Palestine federation — which makes sense only as a preliminary move toward a Palestinian/Jordanian state.

As do Egypt and Jordan, Israel has domestic political problems. The government has a reinvigorated domestic opposition, and it probably cannot make further concessions except in the context of broad mutual compromises, which do not seem likely.

~~That being the case, Warren Christopher may be the one who decides he's had enough.~~



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# Signs Are Right for Mideast Deal

**E**VERY SO OFTEN — and it isn't that often — the sun, the moon, the stars, the Israelis, Egyptians, Jordanians, Palestinians and Syrians come into an alignment that creates the potential for untying some of the knots of the Mideast dispute. The last time this happened was just as Jimmy Carter became president. The results, almost four years later, were the Camp David accords and the peace agreement with Egypt.

Now such an alignment appears to be taking place again. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will go to the region at the end of the month to observe it firsthand. If he is convinced there's a good chance for progress, he's said to be ready to make a major diplomatic effort to bring the parties together.

It is a proper and justified mission for the secretary of state. The alignment won't last long — it never does in the Mideast — and progress will not be made without a determined high-level effort by the United States. In fact, the Christopher mission represents a significant change in U.S. negotiating strategy. Instead of the direct talks between the Mideast parties engineered by the Bush administration (which may have gone as far as they can go), Christopher is ready to pursue the more traditional U.S. role, as shuttling intermediary.

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Editorial

Newsday

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The factors coming together are these: the end of the Cold War; the Soviet Union's withdrawal as a menacing force in the region; Operation Desert Storm's effect of bringing Arab moderates together; the election of the more moderate, more realistic Rabin government in Israel, and a realization on the part of some Arab governments, notably Syria, that this might be the best time to make a deal with Israel.

None of this means that a great breakthrough is imminent or inevitable. The Mideast remains too volatile, too stocked with distrust and armaments, to make progress easy. But if Christopher is prepared to roll up his sleeves, negotiate hard and make tough,

unpopular decisions (including squeezing the Israelis as well as the Arabs when necessary), then there is a chance for a breakthrough.

Christopher's task next week is to demonstrate the White House's resolve to take on this chore and determine if the process is worth the effort. One objective will be to learn whether he should press harder on the Israeli-Palestinian talks or the Israeli-Syrian talks.

Many believe that the Syrian talks present the better opportunity for progress. Syrian President Hafez Assad has the strength to make an agreement if he wants one. That contrasts with the Palestinians, who don't seem capable of making hard choices. But this is

the last time Christopher will have the luxury of listening and assessing. After this he must get down to the nitty-gritty of negotiations. His goal should be a framework for a peace agreement between the two nations, one that spells out the qualities of a peace, the timetable by which land will be returned and the security arrangements that will be necessary.

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But the Clinton administration must understand that, for all the need to press both sides hard, Israel will be asked to make the greater sacrifice: return land many believe essential to its security. The Bush administration's bludgeoning tactics won't work here.

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The chances of a breakthrough with the Palestinians seem to be less good, but not hopeless. The Rabin government wants to relinquish day-to-day Israeli control of the West Bank and implement a Palestinian autonomy plan, which would fulfill the first step of the Camp David accords. But the Palestinian leadership is so divided and diffuse that it seems incapable of making the decisions necessary to bring that about. A de facto autonomy might be more likely.

The Clinton administration, having stumbled badly in Bosnia and looking for a chance to show its diplomatic abilities, believes it might have its chance in the Mideast. It's worth the try.

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סיוג: כלמיס תזרז:		אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
מס' מברק: 261200		דע: כטחון - יועץ שהכ"ט לחקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"כ/קש"ח (דמ' העפ"רבגנא)
1188		מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

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# Israeli Jets, in Answer to Attacks, Bomb Guerrilla Bases in Lebanon

By JOEL GREENBERG  
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Monday, July 26 — In Israel's heaviest air offensive since the mid-1980's, its warplanes and helicopters rained rocket fire on guerrilla targets across Lebanon on Sunday and into today in retaliation for recent rocket attacks that killed seven Israeli soldiers.

Late Sunday, rockets were fired from Lebanon, and the Israelis again retaliated early today as the battles intensified.

The attacks, which killed at least 14 Israelis, Syrians and Lebanese, came less than a week before a visit by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is on a mission to revive the stalled peace negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Israel jets and helicopter gunships blasted guerrilla bases in Lebanon on Sunday, and Israeli artillery struck north of the security zone.

Reports from Lebanon said nine Lebanese and three Syrian soldiers had been killed in the raids, which prompt-

New York Times

Front pg.

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שם השולח

תאריך



ed renewed rocket attacks on Israeli frontier settlements; two Israelis were killed by Katyusha rockets fired at Qiryat Shemona, in northern Israel.

The Israeli Cabinet met after the attack to consider further moves.

"If there will be no quiet and safety for the northern settlements, there will be no quiet and safety for south Lebanon residents north of the security zone," said Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, referring to the buffer strip that Israel controls in southern Lebanon.

#### The Mideast's Violent Minuet

The violence is the latest in a round of attacks that the Israelis said were instigated by Islamic militants in Lebanon and Palestinians in the West Bank and have become regular preludes to peace negotiations.

The current round began earlier this month when seven Israeli soldiers were attacked by pro-Iranian Islamic guerrillas during a visit by Dennis B.

*Continued on Page A6, Column 3*

Ross, the State Department coordinator, who was preparing for further peace talks. The seventh Israeli victim of the attacks earlier this month died on Sunday.

At the time, Israel retaliated with artillery attacks on villages north of the zone dominated by the Party of God, a Pro-Iranian group based in Lebanon.

In the past as peace negotiations neared, Islamic militants who staunchly opposed the talks have been blamed for provoking violence with attacks on Israeli targets.

In response to the attacks, Mr. Christopher, speaking from a meeting of Asian nations in Singapore on Sunday, urged all sides to show restraint.

"The violence is clearly counterproductive as far as the peace talks are concerned," he said.

"At the same time, I want to emphasize that it is precisely because of violence such as that, that we are caused, as the co-sponsors, Russia and the United States, to pursue very urgently and aggressively the peace process, because the underlying problems are ones that need to be addressed and they can be best addressed through the peace process."

During the air strikes Sunday, the Israeli planes ranged deep into the Syrian-controlled Bekaa region and the area south of Beirut, firing rockets at bases of the pro-Iranian Party of God and the Syrian-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command.

Some targets were near the Syrian border, and Israeli officials called on Damascus to rein in Shiite and Palestinian guerrillas operating from areas of Lebanon that Syria controls.

#### The Puzzle That Is Syria

"We have no intention of getting into a confrontation with Syria," said Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Gur. "The Syrians are not a side in this operation, except to the extent that they should influence the Party of God to stop firing at our settlements."

One puzzling element is the fact that the attacks seem to have been provoked by Islamic groups in Lebanon associated with Syria, which is a party to the peace talks and is on Secretary Christopher's itinerary.

United States officials offer two possible explanations why Syria has not curbed the violence by some of the Lebanese groups. One is that Syria cannot control these pro-Iranian groups as tightly as is believed. The other is that Syria hopes to gain leverage in the talks by putting pressure on the Israelis through their Lebanese

proxies.

The broad and intense Israeli response to the guerrilla raids seems to be an effort by the Rabin Government to choke off the violence totally rather than allow it to simmer. But if this strategy does not work, Israel and Syria could soon find themselves nose to nose on the battlefield instead of across the negotiating table.

The Israeli Army chief of staff, Lieut. Gen. Ehud Barak, said the aim of the military action was "to create a reality in which all the elements that can influence the Party of God will reach the conclusion that the Katyusha

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firings should be stopped." He said the offensive would "continue and change its character and methods to achieve this aim."

The chief of military intelligence, Brig. Gen. Uri Saguy, charged that Lebanon had failed to stop the Party of God attacks, that Syria supported them, and that Iran was arming the Party of God.

But Damascus gave no indication that it was about to become embroiled in a wider conflict with the Israelis. An official statement said only that an Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon would restore calm.

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Israeli Cabinet ministers seem sensitive to public concern that the country might become involved in prolonged and bloody fighting, as it did after Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Police Minister Moshe Shahal said that there was no intention of repeating that campaign, and that further action depended on the guerrillas' response.

General Barak and General Saguy told a news conference on Sunday that the warplanes had struck 16 targets, including Party of God command centers, a training base and homes of the organization's leaders. A television station was hit near Baalbek. A Party of God commander, his wife and daughter were killed when his house was rocketed at Ain al-Tineh, Reuters reported from Lebanon. A base of the General Command Palestinian group was struck at Naameh, about 12 miles south of Beirut, and several guerrillas were reportedly buried in the rubble.

#### Answering Attack on Israel

After volleys of rockets began landing in Israel, helicopter gunships and artillery began hammering guerrilla targets in several villages north of the "security zone" and in Palestinian refugee camps on the outskirts of Tyre and Sidon. Hundreds of villagers were reported to be fleeing north. In northern Lebanon, Israeli gunboats fired missiles at a Palestinian base near Tripoli, Reuters reported.

General Barak said about 25 rockets landed in northern Israel and another 25 in the "security zone" on Sunday.

One rocket devastated an apartment block in Qiryat Shemona, killing two people and wounding several others. Another two people were slightly injured and homes and cars were damaged in other frontier settlements. Residents were ordered over loudspeakers and in radio broadcasts to stay in bomb shelters.

After the rocket attack, General Barak warned that military action would continue until the rocket fire was stopped.

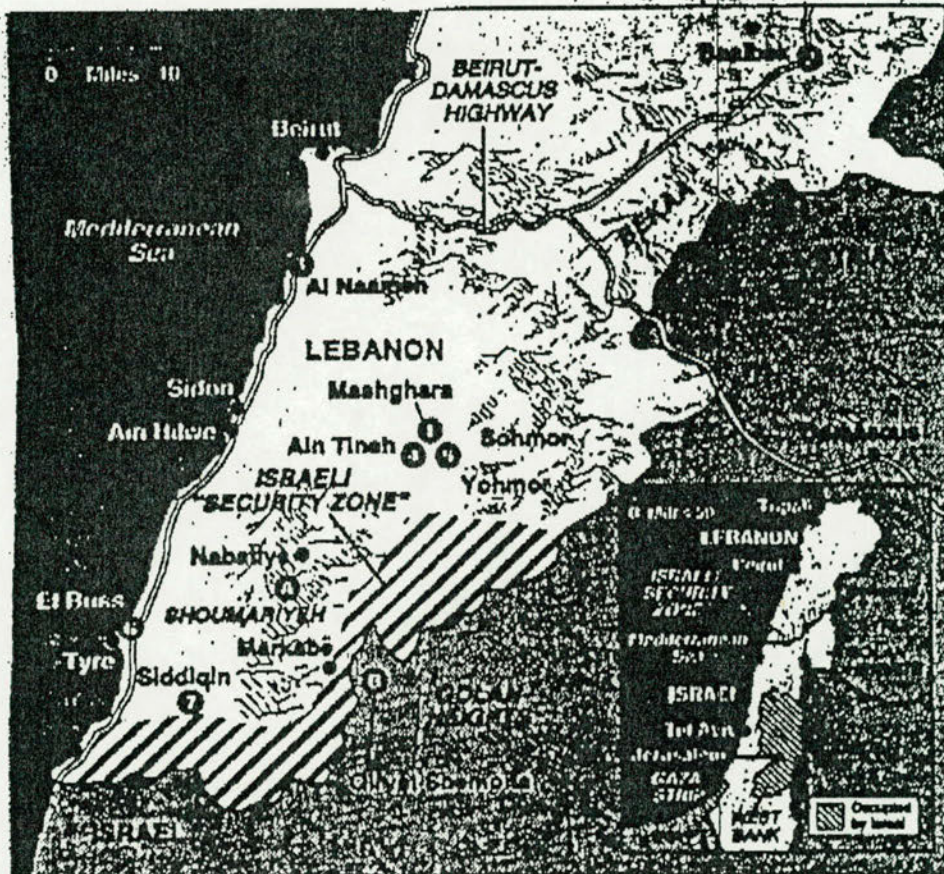
Early today, Israeli helicopters and aircraft bombarded targets in south Lebanon, security officials said, as the fighting appeared to intensify.

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**ISRAELI TARGETS**

- ① At least three Syrian soldiers are killed and three wounded.
- ② A nearby television relay station used by the Party of God is destroyed.
- ③ Bases used by Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, General Command.
- ④ Home of local Party of God commander is destroyed and he is reported killed.
- ⑤ House of member of Party of God is destroyed.

- ⑥ Refugee camp.
- ⑦ House of Party of God military commander is destroyed. Three are reported killed.

**ATTACKS BY ANAS GUERRILLAS**

- ⑧ Hilltop outpost is raided.
- ⑨ A salvo of rockets are fired at town, killing at least two Israelis and wounding several when the missiles hit an apartment building.

Source: The Associated Press



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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 26 יולי 1993

אל: מא"ס, ממ"ד  
פר"ן

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

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הנדון: ארה"ב - סין

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WT מהעמוד הראשון (זורן סטרובל) וכתבת ה-WP (ג'ון גושקו וויליאם ברניגין) - 26/7 אודות יחסי ארה"ב - סין. מכירות טכנולוגיות מזכיר המדינה, וזורן כריסטופר, הזהיר את שה"ח הסיני כי סנקציות אמריקניות הטילים שלה למדינות העולם השלישי עלולות לגרום עברה על הנחיות MTCR שה"ח הסיני, קיאן קיצ'ן, טען בתוקף כי סין לא ברורות למשלוחי הנשק אך מקור במחלקת המדינה טוען כי לארה"ב עדויות לפקיסטן.

תקשורת

30 (2) ששחה (2) ששה"ח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (2) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רגול (1) סלס (1) (1) הסברה (2) ר/מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומן (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1) צנזורבאי (1)

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# U.S. Warns China of Sanctions for Missile Export to Pakistan

By John M. Goshko and William Branigin  
Washington Post Foreign Service

SINGAPORE, July 25—The United States warned China today that evidence that China is exporting missile supplies to Pakistan has caused serious concern in Washington and is likely to create pressure for punitive sanctions if Beijing does not move quickly to allay American misgivings.

U.S. officials said Secretary of State Warren Christopher gave that message to Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen when they met for the first time here today. Both are here for a meeting between countries with interests in Asia and the six members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Christopher also told Qian that the Mexican navy's recent interception of three ships carrying Chinese seeking to enter the United States illegally had underscored the growing seriousness of illegal Chinese immigration, and he asked for Beijing's cooperation in combating the problem. The U.S. officials said Qian promised that his government will do what it can to help.

However, a senior U.S. official said the 80-minute meeting was devoted largely to what U.S. intelligence agencies have described as convincing evidence that China has provided components and technology for M-11 missiles to Pakistan. The missiles have a range of about 300 miles and are believed capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

Lynn Davis, undersecretary of state for international security affairs, will be in Beijing Monday and Tuesday, and the official said Christopher had instructed her to seek detailed technical explanations of China's dealings with Pakistan concerning the M-11.

Reports that China has been making such transfers have triggered calls in Congress, and from some Clinton administration officials, for invoking provisions of U.S. law that would bar American companies from certain high-technology sales to China. Some in Congress have said they will try to end China's most-favored-nation trade status, which was renewed by President Clinton in May.

Beijing has dismissed as "fabrications"

reports that it is supplying missiles to other countries, and the senior U.S. official said Qian today "was consistent in saying that his government has not violated its promise" to honor the Missile Technology Control Regime, a 1987 international agreement that bans the transfer of such equipment.

The official, who briefed reporters on condition he not be identified, said the United States does not know whether the reported Chinese shipments to Pakistan involved missiles or components.

"Nevertheless, there is disturbing evidence of shipments," the official said.

On a related subject, the official said Qian had given a generally "positive" response to Clinton's call for China and other nuclear powers to agree to a nuclear

test ban but had said further discussion of details is required.

Wu Jian Min, spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, said later that Beijing believes any test ban should be linked to the destruction of nuclear weapons. He also noted that China has pledged not to use nuclear arms.

Christopher also held informal talks with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam, the first time foreign ministers of the United States and Vietnam have met since the Vietnam War ended in 1975, the Renter news agency reported. The two men are scheduled to hold formal talks Tuesday in which Christopher is expected to press Cam on more cooperation from Vietnam in tracing U.S. servicemen missing in action since the war.

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# U.S. warns of sanctions for China's missile sales

By Warren Strobel  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SINGAPORE — Secretary of State Warren Christopher warned China yesterday that its apparent sale of sophisticated missile technology to the Third World may trigger U.S. sanctions.

The issue of China's suspected transfer of M 11 missile components to Pakistan dominated a 75-minute meeting in Singapore between Mr. Christopher and Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

Mr. Christopher told Mr. Qian that the United States may have to respond with sanctions mandated by Congress, said a senior U.S. official speaking on condition of anonymity.

Mr. Qian repeated Beijing's denial that it had violated guidelines set by the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), which is intended to stop the spread of powerful missiles capable of carrying nuclear or biological weapons, the official said.

Mr. Qian had earlier called the

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## CHINA

From page A1

charges "simply fabricated."

During the meeting, Mr. Qian was consistent in saying that they had not violated their MTCR obligations," the senior official said.

But Clinton administration officials believe otherwise.

"There's disturbing evidence of shipments, and that's why we need an explanation," said the U.S. official.

Mr. Christopher "laid out the seriousness of the issue, and the possible implications," the official said.

Under U.S. law, Mr. Clinton is required to impose sanctions on the Chinese and Pakistani companies involved if he determines there is sufficient evidence that the transfer has taken place. But such a move would be a major setback in Sino-U.S. relations.

Mr. Christopher's warning will be repeated today and tomorrow by Undersecretary of State Lynn Davis during talks in Beijing.

She also will discuss Mr. Clinton's proposal for a nuclear testing moratorium and, eventually, a compre-

hensive treaty banning nuclear testing.

Mr. Qian was more positive on the U.S. proposal to ban all nuclear testing by Sept. 30, 1996. He told Mr. Christopher that China "will give positive consideration to the president's proposal and that it's willing to consult with the United States and others on a comprehensive test ban treaty," the U.S. official said.

Mr. Qian also delivered a letter on the subject to Mr. Clinton from Chinese President Jiang Zemin.

"China advocates the realization of a comprehensive testing ban in the context of a complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons," said Mr. Qian's spokesman, Wu Jianmin.

It was the first indication of China's position on the 15-month testing moratorium imposed by Mr. Clinton July 3, a move that has been seconded by Russia, France and Britain. China, the world's only other declared nuclear power, has not yet announced whether it will go along.

For now, China pledges not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and not to use them against non-nuclear states, said Mr. Wu.

The talks in Singapore were the

Clinton administration. To be a level contact with China in its 46 months in office.

Offering a carrot as well as complaints about human rights, trade and nonproliferation, Mr. Christopher told his Chinese counterpart that the United States was willing to work more closely with Beijing, speeding up visits and meetings.

But he said progress needed to be made on U.S. concerns and "needed to be made soon," one official said.

John Shattuck, the assistant secretary of state for human rights, will visit Beijing next month, officials said.

China has been seeking a closer relationship with the United States, one it has not had since the June 1989 massacre of pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing's Tiananmen Square.

In May, Mr. Clinton renewed China's most-favored-nation trading status, but linked further renewals to improvement in China's human rights record.

In talks with Secretary of State James A. Baker III in November 1991, Chinese leaders agreed to abide by the MTCR, which bars the transfer of missiles or their compo-

... also acceptances... local capability. China did not ally join the accord.

On another topic, the Chinese minister agreed to a request to help combat a wave of illegal immigration of Chinese immigrants, the official said.

Mr. Qian reportedly told Christopher that China will in such returns; will publicize "glowing rings" frequent abuses would be immigrants; and w the use of Chinese harbors b ships.

He also accepted Mr. Clinton's invitation to attend a November meeting in Seattle of leaders of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum.

Mr. Christopher also met Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam yesterday. It was the first time foreign ministers of the two former enemies have met since the defeat in the Vietnam War in 1975.

Mr. Christopher is due to hold talks with Mr. Cam tomorrow. U.S. officials said this was not likely to normalize U.S. Vietnam relations, but rather to press the need for more cooperation on war prisoners of war and



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בלמס/מידי  
תאריך: 26 יולי 1993  
אל: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: תהליך השלום

מצ"ב המאמר של פול גרינברג (26/7 דא) אודות תהליך השלום. גרינברג מתאר במאמר את הסיבות לקפאון בתהליך השלום: הוא מבקר את הפוליטיקה הישראלית אשר לוקה, לטענתו, בהססנות ובחוסר מעוף אשר גורמים למו"מ ארוך ומעייף. את הפלסטינים הוא מבקר על סירובם לנהל מו"מ על ממשל עצמי ודרישתם לשנות את כללי מדריד ולדון במדינה עצמאית בלבד. גרינברג טוען כי השלום עדיין אפשרי והוא תלוי ברצון הכן של המשתתפים בתהליך בשלום.

תקשורת

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WT 2617

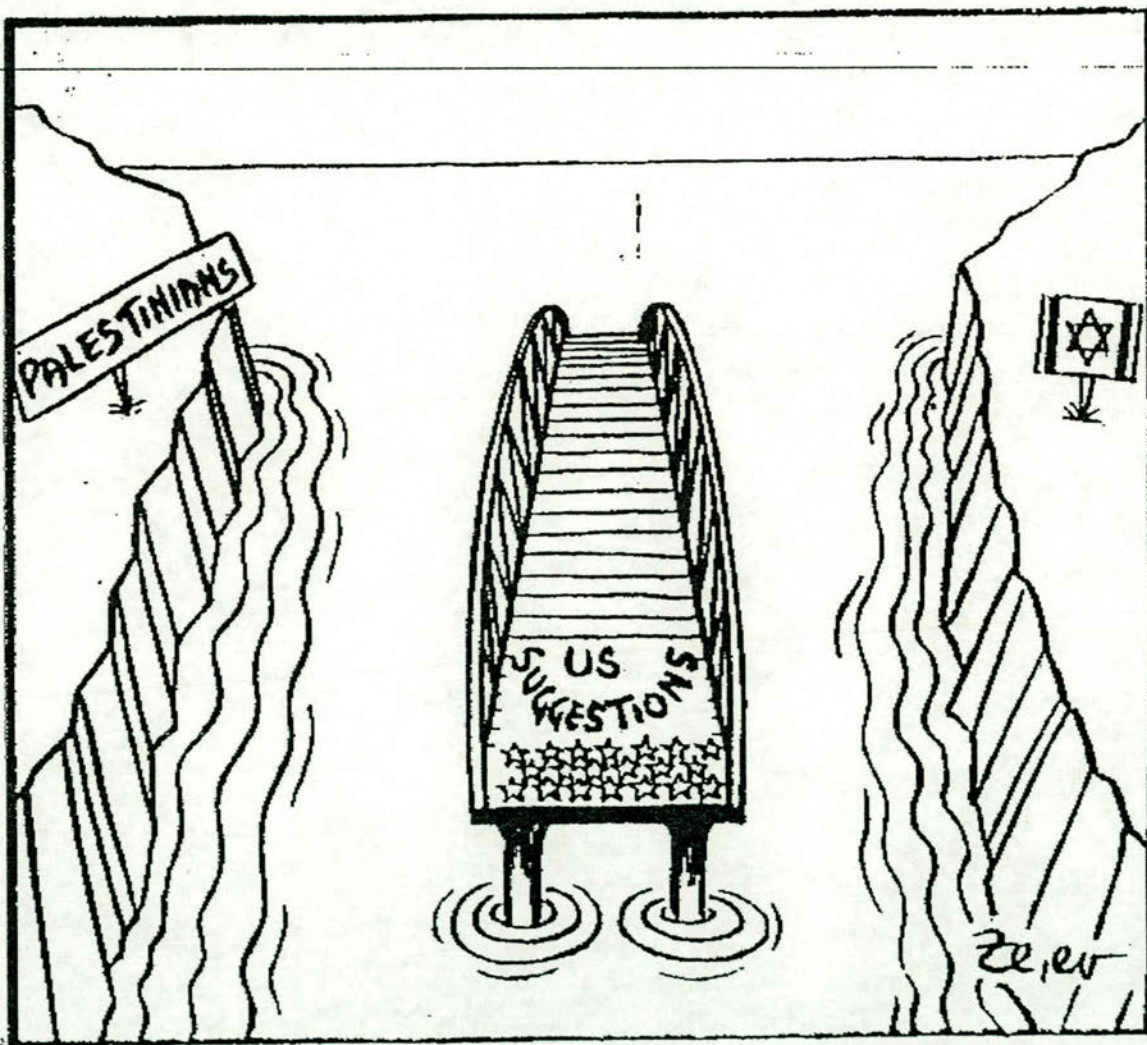
PAUL GREENBERG

It has been almost two years since almost direct negotiations between Arabs and Israelis began in the Mideast. At last, it looked as though both sides were prepared to recognize that peace was inevitable. But in the intervening months, both time and the prospects for peace have dribbled away.

Israeli concessions have been cold, formal and painfully slow. In stead of the bold tactics and dramatic breakthroughs that characterize Israel's military tactics, its diplomacy has been plodding and unimaginative. If the Israelis had fought their wars this way, they would still be bogged down in the trenches.

Jerusalem's negotiating technique in these talks adds up to a re-

## Vanishing bridge to peace?



*The same old forces that have kept the Middle East in violence and darkness for so long are mounting again. Yes, peace is still possible — but only if Israel and her neighbors will it. If not, the same old inertia will lead to the same old destruction.*

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play of the way it responded to Anwar Sadat's dramatic flight to Jerusalem in another decade. In response to that dramatic bid for peace, the Israelis retreated from Sinai step by slowly negotiated step over the course of months of negotiation.

Israel's government could have made the same peace at the outset and perhaps broken the psychological deadlock in the Mideast. Instead, the Israelis made a cold peace that even now is only a cessation of war, not a growing relationship with the Egyptians.

As for the Arab side, it is said the Palestine Liquidation Organization

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

never misses an opportunity to make an opportunity. It is doing so again by refusing to negotiate on the basis of a U.S. plan to secure Arab self-governance on the West Bank and in Gaza.

Instead, the PLO insists on specific assurances of a full fledged state of its own, which as a practical matter it can achieve only after proving its good intentions during the vague period of self-rule it now rejects. Result: stalemate.

Even if the PLO decided to accept the U.S. suggestion and the Israeli offer of self-rule in the disputed territories, would it matter? Yasser Arafat and his cronies in time grow increasingly irrelevant, and Arab extremists who never approved of the negotiations take control on the ground.

As for the Israelis, they object to

the U.S. plan because it leaves the explosive question of rights in Jerusalem open for later discussion. Jerusalem is a non-negotiable for them, which means that peace may be a settlement that gives both Arabs and Jews access to the Holy City will surely come someday. Why not now?

The great divide in the Mideast, it becomes ever clearer, is not between Arabs and Jews, but between moderates and extremists on both sides. And the increasing turmoil in countries like Egypt indicates that fanaticism in the streets might prevent a peace settlement from ever taking effect, even if one could be reached in formal negotiations.

Time is no longer on the side of a Mideast peace, if it ever was. It tells us all sides that they must have a desire for peace or responsibility to

bring it. In the name of peace, the Department of State, to name both Arabs and Israelis they are trifling away a peace that once looked inevitable and now is beginning to look hopeless. The forces of fanaticism in the Middle East, never weak, was stronger every day. There is no progress toward a settlement.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher called the latest U.S. message "a bit of a warning." All the countries involved in these spluttering negotiations may need more than a bit of a warning. The chances for peace are fading fast.

The same old forces that have kept the Middle East in violence and darkness for so long are mounting again. Yes, peace is still possible, but only if Israel and her neighbors will if it now the same old forces will head the way of the nation.

6/19  
+ 8/11



אאאא, חוזם: 26359

אל: רהמש/812

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 527, תא: 260793, זח: 1602, דח: ר, סג: בל,

כבכב

רגיל/בלמס

אל: תקשורת ארה"ב

מאת: עתונות נ"י

הנדון: סכום עתונות יומי

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

22839

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 26-JULY-1993

TV COVERAGE

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CNN AND ALL NETWORKS REPORTED ON THE BOMBING OF GUERRILLA BASES IN LEBANON BY ISRAELI WARPLANES AND HELICOPTERS ON SUNDAY.

COLUMNS

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NYT(A.LEWIS-CABLED): 'LOOKING TO THE PACIFIC': WRITER STATES THAT THE RECENT MEETINGS BETWEEN US AND ASIAN OFFICIALS INDICATE A CHANGE IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY; NOTES THAT THE US RECOGNIZES THE GROWTH OF AN ASIAN-PACIFIC 'NETWORK' AND IS STRIVING TO CREATE NEW ECONOMIC AND SECURITY RELATIONSHIPS; DISCUSSES ASEAN, THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS CREATED IN 1967, WHOSE ANNUAL MEETINGS GAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY SIGNIFICANT; ADDS THAT SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER ALSO FOCUSED ON THE REPORTED SALE OF M-11 MISSILES BY CHINA TO PAKISTAN IN HIS RECENT MEETINGS WITH ASIAN FMS.

NYP(J.KIRKPATRICK-CABLED): 'CHRISTOPHER'S MIDEAST TRIP UNLIKELY TO ACHIEVE MUCH': WRITER ASSERTS THAT DESPITE THE ONGOING CHANGES IN THE

POST COLD WAR ERA AND DESPITE THE 'GREAT FANFARE' WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE OPENING OF THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS IN MADRID 20 MONTHS AGO, THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE PROGRESS ON THAT FRONT; STATES THAT ALTHOUGH THE ISRAELIS ELECTED A NEW GOVERNMENT SINCE THE TALKS BEGAN, THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS REMAIN UNCHANGED; CRITICIZES THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH MAINTAIN AN ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL; WARNS AGAINST THE GROWING MILITARY STRENGTH OF IRAQ, THE INTENSIFICATION OF IRANIAN-BACKED ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS, AND THE IMPACT OF HAMAS ON THE INTIFADA; ARGUES THAT ISRAEL HAS ALREADY MADE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS AND SHOULD NOT BE FORCED TO MAKE FURTHER COMPROMISES.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'ISRAELI JETS, IN ANSWER TO ATTACKS, BOMB GUERRILLA BASES IN LEBANON'; 'STRONG COMPANIES ARE JOINING TREND TO ELIMINATE JOBS'; 'EXPANSION OF AID FOR WORKING POOR IS TIED TO BUDGET'; 'POLITICIANS FIND JOGGING WITH CLINTON IS NO STROLL IN THE PARK'; 'RAILROADS THREADING FREIGHT AROUND THE MIDWEST'S FLOODS.' WSJ: NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/LEBANON/BASES/BOMBED: NYT(J.GREENBERG-FRONT PAGE-CABLED), WSJ, DN, NYP: 'ISRAELI JETS, IN ANSWER TO ATTACKS, BOMB GUERRILLA BASES IN LEBANON': REPORTS THAT IN ITS HEAVIEST AIR OFFENSIVE SINCE THE MID 1980S, ISRAEL BOMBED GUERRILLA BASES IN LEBANON ON SUNDAY; STATES THAT THE ACTION WAS IN RETALIATION FOR RECENT ROCKET ATTACKS BY ISLAMIC MILITANTS THAT KILLED SEVEN ISRAELI SOLDIERS; NOTES THAT ROCKETS WERE FIRED AGAIN FROM LEBANON LATE SUNDAY AFTER NINE LEBANESE AND THREE SYRIAN SOLDIERS WERE KILLED; SAYS THAT THESE KATYUSHAS KILLED TWO ISRAELIS IN QIRYAT SHEMONA AND WERE MET BY ADDITIONAL ISRAELI ROCKET FIRE EARLY MONDAY; ADDS THAT THE EXPLOSION OF EVENTS CAME LESS THAN A WEEK BEFORE SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER IS SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO REVIVE THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE TALKS; NOTES THAT THE ISRAELI CABINET HAS MET TO DISCUSS FURTHER MOVES; QUOTES CHIEF OF ISRAELI MILITARY INTELLIGENCE BRIG. GEN URI SAGUY AND IDF CHIEF OF STAFF LIEUT. GEN. EHUD BARAK AT GREAT LENGTH ON THE SITUATION.

IRAQ/US/MISSILES/FIRED: NYT(S.ENGELBERG-CABLED), WSJ, DN, NYP: 'ANOTHER US JET ON PATROL FIRES AT IRAQI ANTI-AIRCRAFT BATTERY': REPORTS THAT IN THE SECOND INCIDENT OF ITS KIND THIS MONTH, A US WARPLANE FIRED A MISSILE ON SATURDAY AT AN ANTI-AIRCRAFT BATTERY IN SOUTH IRAQ; NOTES THAT THE BATTERY WAS PREPARING TO SHOOT DOWN THE PLANE ACCORDING TO PENTAGON OFFICIALS; ADDS THAT THE INCIDENT OCCURRED AFTER BAGHDAD HAD AGREED ON THURSDAY TO UN SURVEILLANCE OF TWO MISSILE TESTING SITES; STATES THAT THERE IS NO INDICATION FROM WASHINGTON THAT FURTHER RETALIATION IS BEING PLANNED; CITES IRAQI OFFICIALS AS DENYING THAT ITS FORCES HAD FIRED A MISSILE AT US AIRCRAFT.

CHINA/PAKISTAN/ARMS/SALES: NYT(S.HOLMES-CABLED): 'CHINA DENIES VIOLATING PACT BY SELLING ARMS TO PAKISTAN': REPORTS THAT CHINESE FM QIAN QICHEN DENIED THAT BEIJING HAD VIOLATED AN INTERNATIONAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT THAT PROHIBITS IT FROM EXPORTING MISSILE



TECHNOLOGY; ADDS THAT MR. QICHEN, AT A MEETING WITH US OFFICIALS, SAID CHINA WAS WILLING TO DISCUSS A US PROPOSAL THAT ALL COUNTRIES WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS SUSPEND TESTING; NOTES THAT IT WAS UNCLEAR WHETHER BEIJING HAS SOLD PARTS FOR M-11 MISSILES TO PAKISTAN; STATES THAT THE US THREATENED ECONOMIC SANCTIONS SHOULD IT DISCOVER EVIDENCE AS TO SUCH SALES; CITES ADDITIONAL ISSUES DISCUSSED BY US AND CHINESE OFFICIALS ON SUNDAY.

UKRAINE/STATUS/NUCLEAR/WEAPONS: NYT(J.PERLEZ-CABLED): REPORTS THAT THE UKRAINIAN DEFENSE MINISTER SUGGESTED THAT UKRAINE MAY JOIN THE NNPL TREATY WITH THE STATUS OF A 'TRANSITION COUNTRY' WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS; STATES THAT DM COL. GEN. KONSTANTIN MOROZOV SPOKE OF THIS BEFORE HIS FIVE DAY TRIP TO WASHINGTON TO MEET WITH DEFENSE SECRETARY LES ASPIN; NOTES THAT MR. MOROZOV IS TRYING TO REACH A COMPROMISE BETWEEN UKRAINIAN HARDLINERS IN PARLIAMENT WHO REJECT THE NNPL TREATY AND US OFFICIALS URGING UKRAINE TO JOIN IT; ADDS THAT WESTERN EXPERTS WILL INSIST THAT UKRAINE JOIN THE TREATY AS A FULL MEMBER.

US/EXPERTS/NUCLEAR/WEAPONS: DN(C.DREW-CABLED): 'EXPERTS - N-TRAGEDY INEVITABLE': REPORTS THAT US INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS ARE LOSING HOPE THAT THE WORLD WILL BE ABLE TO AVOID A NUCLEAR TRAGEDY; NOTES THE ARMS BUILD-UP IN THE CIS, ASIA AND THIRD WORLD; NOTES THAT NINE COUNTRIES HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS TODAY; DISCUSSES US EFFORTS TO CURB THE ACQUISITION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

NEW YORK/WTC/SHEIK/POWER: ND(K.MCKOY): REPORTS THAT THE FEDERAL INVESTIGATION ON THE WTC BOMBING AND THE PLOT TO BLOW UP MANAHTTAN LOCATIONS LAST MONTH HAS A 'UNIFYING FOCUS' CENTERED ON SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN; STATES THAT MIDDLE EAST EXPERTS BELIEVE THE SHEIK'S ROLE IN THE SPREAD OF MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISM IS LIKELY TO GROW.

GERMANY/HOLOCAUST/MEMORIAL/CALLED: ND(BRIEF): NOTES THAT GERMAN PRESIDENT RICHARD VON WEIZSAECKER CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL MEMORIAL IN BERLIN TO HONOR THE VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(S.ROBERTS): 'MANY QUESTIONS LINGER AFTER CRWON HEIGHTS REPORT.'

NYT(M.TABOR),NYP: 'MORE POSSIBLE SUSPECTS MAY BE ARRESTED IN BOMBING SCHEMES.'

WSJ(E.RUBINFIEN): 'CHAOS IN RUSSIA MOUNTS.'

DN(L.YGLESIAS): 'SKINHEAD CLUSTERS DOT NORTHEAST.'

DN(T.ROGERS): 'KELLY BLAMES LEE BROWN.'

NYP(F.DICKER),DN: 'SHARPTON - REPORT COULD COST CUOMO KEY BLACK VOTES.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד,  
מצפא, רחטמזת, מזתים, סמנכלהסברה, הסברה, @ (דוצ)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 25985

אל: רהמש/794

מ-: שיקגו, נר: 78, תא: 260793, זח: 1028, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: סמנכ"ל תקשורת, ציר ההסברה/ ווש'

מאת: הקונכ"ל, שיקאגו

הנדון: פעולות צה"ל בלבנון

א. תקשורת המערב התיכון מדווחת על הפעולות באופן נרחב תוך התבססות על חומר מהסוכנויות. בכל הדיווחים מצוטטים ראש הממשלה ודוברים ישראלים אחרים ובמידה פחותה בהרבה גם דוברים לבנונים. התמונה הכללית המתקבלת היא בעצם הזוית הישראלית והבוקר קבלה התמונה הזאת חיזוק, עם הציטוט הנרחב של דברי כריסטופר בהם הוא מאשים את החיזבאללה.

ב. לעת עתה אין תגובות מערכתיות. אנו מתדרכים את העיתונות.

ג. בכלל, תשומת הלב העיקרית כאן עדיין נתונה לשטפונות.

אבנון

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלהסברה, מעת, הסברה, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 25772  
אל: רהמש/775  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 260793, זח: 1737, דח: ב, סג: סו,  
בכב  
672408  
סודי/בהול לבוקר  
103.01

אל: וושינגטון - השגריר, ציר  
דע: לשכת השר

מאת: מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: ביקור המזכיר כריסטופר  
בהמשך לשלנו ח/25574

לצערנו נפלה טעות בסעיף 2, ו' שצריך להיות:-

2. 'ו' יום ג' (3) - 10:35 - נחיתה בנתב"ג (בחזרה מדמשק).

12:00 - פגישה עם שה"ח.

אחה"צ - פגישות עם רוה"מ והפלסטינים.

ערב - פרטי'.

עד כאן.

לחשומת לבכם.

מנהל מצפ"א  
26 ביולי 1993

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 25574

אל: רהמש/764

מ-: המשרד, חא: 260793, זח: 1622, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבבב

671553

סודי/בהול לבוקר

103.01

אל: וושינגטון - השגריר, ציר

דע: לשכת השר

מאת: מנהל מצפ"א

הנדון: ביקור המזכיר כריסטופר

1. בהמשך לשיחתנו בסוף השבוע, אנשי שג'ארה'ב כאן עדיין מצוירים לא (חוזר לא) לקבוע סידורים לביקור בטרם הגיעו של הצוות החלוץ. צוות זה (שני זוטרים בלי סמכויות) ינחתו בישראל מחר בערב ונראה אותם במשרד ככל המוקדם ביום ד' בבוקר (28). לפיכך מציעים שתביאו הצעתנו הראשונית לתוכנית הביקור בפני רוס ואנשיו במגמה להשיג מהם הסכמה עקרונית על מנת לאפשר קביעת חלק מאבני היסוד לביקור.

2. (א) יום ה' (29) אחה'צ - מגיעים רוס, אינדיק, קרצר ומילר (טיסת TWA). לפנות ערב - פגישה עם רוה'מ.

(ב) יום ו' (30) - 07:30 - א'ב עם שה'ח (כבר אושרה). במשך הבוקר - פגישה עם הפלסטינים.

אחה'צ - טיסה לקהיר.

(ג) שבת (31) - המזכיר ופמלייתו (כולל דג'רג'ייאן) מגיעים לקהיר לשיחות עם מובארכ ואחרים.

(ד) יום א' (1/8) - 14:10 - נחיתה בנתב"ג. שה'ח יקבל את פני המזכיר ויסע אתו במכונית למלון המלך דוד.

17:00 - פגישה עם רוה'מ.

פגישה עם הנשיא אחרי רוה'מ או כאירוע ראשון ביום ב' בבוקר.

ערב - פרטי (עם הגב' כריסטופר במלון).

(ה) יום ב' (2) - 09:00 - פגישה עם שה'ח (במשרד).

10:30 - פגישה עם הפלסטינים.

12:10 - יציאה מירושלים.

13:00 (לערך) - המראה לדמשק.

(ו) יום ג' (3) - 10:35 - נחיתה בנתב"ג (בחזרה מדמשק).

12:00 - פגישות עם רוה"מ והפלסטינים.  
ערב - פרטי.

(ז) יום ד' (4) - 08:00 - יציאה מירושלים, לרבת עמון. עוד יחליטו אם לעבור דרך הגשר או לטוס לשם.

3. כידוע גב' כריסטופר תלווה לבעלה אך נכון לעכשיו היא מבקשת לא לקבוע לה תוכנית כלשהי.

4. כאמור נודה לתגובות רוס (וזאת, כמובן, בהנחה שהאירועים בלבנון לא יביאו לשינוי בסיסי בתוכניות).

הבריקונא.

מנהל מצפ"א  
26 ביולי 1993

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 26592

אל: רהמש/818

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 775, תא: 260793, זח: 2259, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

כבכב

שמור/בהול לבוקר

א ל: סמנכל תקשורת

ד ע: מנהל מע'ת

דובר צה'ל - תא'ל אילן טל

יועץ תקשורת שהב'ט

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: פעולות צה'ל בלבנון

בהמשך לדיווחינו היום.

1. העבודה הרבה והיעילה המושקעת בארץ בקרב הכתבים הזרים אכן נותנת אותותיה ופירות המאמץ ניכרים בדווחים השונים: הן מבחינת התמונות ששודרו בעיקר ביום הראשון (תצ'א של הפגיעות ביעדים, קרית שמונה, מסהע'ת השונות וכו'), הן מבחינת טיב ואיכות הדוברים באנגלית למצלמות (רוה'מ, הרמטכ'ל, שה'ח ושרים נוספים), והן מבחינת תדרוכי הרקע שבאו לידי בטוי בכתבות השונות. כאמור, בדווחינו הקודמים, מסרינו ניתנו בהדגשה ובהכנה.

2. החומר הרב העדכני והמנוסח היטב באנגלית המוזרם אלינו באופן שוטף הינו טוב ושימושי, והשתמשנו בו רבות הן כנקודות לתדרוך וראיונות והן כרקע לכתבים.

3. כדי להמשיך קו זה, ולאור השנוי שחל בדווחים אחה'צ ( רבוי תמונות מהצד הלבנוני והדגשת הנזק בלבנון), מציעה כי תמריצו הכתבים הזרים - בעיקר כתבי הרשתות - לכוון כתבות על 'הסיפור האנושי' של המשפחות החיות בקרית שמונה במקלטים ושל האוכלוסיה שנאלצה להתפנות מיישובי הצפון. סיפורים, כולל אישיים, כנ'ל יאזנו, במידת-מה, התמונות הבאות מלבנון.

מאחר וצפוי כי בימים הקרובים ולקראת בקור המזכיר תתרכינה הפרשנויות על השלכות האירועים על עתיד תהליך השלום- בודאי תקיימו תדרוכים וראיונות ממוקדים בנושא, בעיקר עם התקשורת הכתובה האמריקנית.

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @שהבט), מצפא,  
סמנכלהסברה, הסברה, מעת, ר/מרכז, ממד, @רם),  
@אמן), @דוצ), @בןעמי/משהבט)

סססס





WE HAVE CALLED ON ALL PARTIES TO EXERCISE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT, AND HAVE MADE THIS POINT IN RECENT DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF LEBANON ISRAEL AND SYRIA. WE REITERATE THAT CALL IN LIGHT OF THE HOSTILITIES TODAY.

WE HAVE BEEN AWARE OF INCREASED ACTIVITY BY HIZBALLAH AND OTHERS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON THESE GROUPS OPPOSE THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS AND HAVE DECLARED THAT THEY WILL TAKE ACTIONS TO ATTEMPT TO DERAILED IT.

ACHIEVING TANGIBLE PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS IS THE BEST RESPONSE TO UNDERLYING CAUSES OF VIOLENCE IN THE REGION. THE PARTIES TO THE PEACE PROCESS SHOULD NOT BE

DETERRED FROM FORGING AHEAD.

END TEXT.



182  
212



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אאאא, חוזם: 26287  
אל: רהמש/806  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 758, תא: 260793, זח: 1551, דח: ב, סג: שמ,  
בכב  
שמור/בהול-לא להזעיק

2287

אל: הסברה, מצפ"א, מע"ת  
דע: קונכ"לים  
מאת: ציר הסברה, וושינגטון

27/7

הנדון: מעמדנו בשעה זו - לבנון.

משיחת ועידה היום בהשתתפות השגריר.

1. השגריר והח"מ עדכנו את הקונסוליות במתרחש ובקווי הסברה והטיעון הראויים בנסיבות העיתים. כמו כן הנחינו אותם כי בנוסף להפצת החומר הכתוב מהארץ, שבוצעה עוד הבוקר, לגורמים השונים. יקיימו שיחות ועידה מיוחדות עם הקהילות היהודיות והארגונים היהודיים הארציים ע"מ להרחיב מירבית את זרימת המידע וקווי הטיעון לתקשורת ולציבורים בכל רחבי המדינה.

2. למדים כי עד עתה עיקר הדיווחים ברחבי ארה"ב על המתרחש עובדתיים, מופיעים בעמודים הראשונים בכתובה ובכותרות האלקטרונית אמנם, אך עומדים בהתחרות קשה למול ארועי הפנים כשטפונות. תמונות (היכן שהופיעו) הן מלבנון ואינן מחמיאות במיוחד לנו, לפעמים ישנן כותרות בעייתיות. הציטוטים במאמרים, עם זאת, הם בהרבה מן המקרים מדוברים ישראלים, כך שעמדנו זוכה בסה"כ לתהודה רחבה ומבינה, מה גם שהממשל משדר הבנה רבה לפעולה נגד חיזבאללה. צפוי כי התיחסויות בפרשנויות הן בתקשורת והן בציבורים השונים יתחילו לזרום החל ממחר לכל המוקדם.

3. נשמעים קולות השואלים האם פינוי נשים וילדים בצפון מסמן סכנה של הרחבת ההתלקחות. ודאו נא כי בתדרוכיכם לתקשורת תדאגו להתייחס להיבט זה באורח הולם.

4. לידיעתכם.

נמרוד ברקן .

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלהסברה,  
מעט, הסברה

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 26287

אל: רהמש/806

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 758, תא: 260793, זח: 1551, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

כבכב

שמור/בהול-לא להזעיק

אל: הסברה, מצפ"א, מע"ת

דע: קונכ"לים

מאת: ציר הסברה, וושינגטון

הנדון: מעמדנו בשעה זו - לבנון.

משיחת ועידה היום בהשתתפות השגריר.

1. השגריר והח"מ עדכנו את הקונסוליות במתרחש ובקווי הסברה והטיעון הראויים בנסיבות העיתים. כמו כן הנחינו אותם כי בנוסף להפצת החומר הכתוב מהארץ, שבוצעה עוד הבוקר, לגורמים השונים. יקיימו שיחות ועידה מיוחדות עם הקהילות היהודיות והארגונים היהודיים הארציים ע"מ להרחיב מירבית את זרימת המידע וקווי הטיעון לתקשורת ולציבורים בכל רחבי המדינה.

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4. לידיעתכם.

נמרוד ברקן .

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלהסברה,  
מעט, הסברה

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 25701  
אל: רהמש/771  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 727, תא: 260793, זח: 1007, דח: ב, סג: שמ,  
בבב  
שמור/בהול

אל: הבר, ממרה"מ, ממנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל ארבל, סמנכ"ל כלכלה,  
מצפ"א  
דע: נ.צ - כאן  
מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: שיט לאילת

התקשרו עכשיו (9.00 בבוקר ב- 26.7) ממחמ"ד ואמרו שבגלל טעות בפנטגון  
עצרו הצרפתים את האניה צים אלכסנדריה הבוקר אך לבסוף הרשו לה להמשיך  
בדרכה לאילת. הם מתנצלים על התקלה באשמתם שיצרה בלבול בקומוניקציה בינם  
לביין הצרפתים.

שילה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, בייך,  
ארבל2, ערן, סייבל, משפט, רחטמזת, ר/מרכז,  
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.



שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון

PRESS OFFICE

3 חן

TEL: 202-364-5538

FAX: 202-364-5610

TO:

מנהל אס כותב - איו"מ הבר

FAX:

02-

FROM:

אשר עטור - רחל ירון-וולשטיין

NO. OF PAGES:

1

DATE:

25.7.93

25.7.

COMMENTS:

שיום איו"מ

1. ניצ"ב הרצל בר אהרן

2. הנא לשון מספר הודעות - ב-חמ"א

והמונה, השלד הושלח כצו"מ וביד  
א"יניא חק הישגה א פיהו בעמלה והקרה  
ב קמלה אהמא הטריו  
ש השלמה האו"מ.

השלו 'היה ארטי עם מהצורה הקב -  
איו"מ אה"א

3. הצו"מ, ניצ"ב, חילום אה"א

ני"ב  
השגה  
א"יניא  
שנת האו"מ  
א"יניא



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אאאא, חוזם: 23286  
אל: רהמש/701  
מ:-רהמש, נר: 12, תא: 250793, זח: 1111, דח: ב, סג: שמ,  
בבבב  
9,319238

25.7.93

שמור \ בהול לבוקר

אל: שר החוץ  
שר התחבורה  
רמטכ"ל  
השגריר, וושינגטון  
השגריר לאו"ם  
ר' עיריית אילת  
מנכ"ל חברת צים

מאת: איתן הבר, יועץ לרה"מ ומנהל לשכתו.

טילפן ביום שישי לה-רוקו משג' ארה"ב והודיע כי נמסר לו שהושג ההסדר  
במעבר האוניות במיצרים וכי לדעתו תעבור צים אלכסנדריה ביום שני לפי  
ההנחיות החדשות.

מקווים שבכך הגיעה הפרשה לקיצה.

תודה לכל העושים במלאכה.

איתן הבר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,  
סייבל, משפט, בייץ, ארבל2, ערן, @ (שרהתחבורה)

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125

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ד

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 23 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ישראל - לוב

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (דייוויד הופמן 23/7) אודות אזהרת ארה"ב לישראל שלא לשפר את יחסיה עם לוב כדי שלא לפגוע בחרם הבינלאומי על לוב. לדברי מקור ישראלי, פנתה ארה"ב לישראל בעקבות ביקור עולי הרגל הלובים בירושלים בתחילת חודש יוני. עוד במאמר, תגובת משה"ח למאמרו של ג'ים הוגלנד (WP 22/7) כי שה"ח פרס לא שינה המדיניות כלפי לוב וכי ישראל ממשיכה לתמוך בחרם ובסנקציות הבינ"ל על לוב.

תקשורת

*Handwritten signature and date:*  
25.7.

(25) שהח(2) סשהיח(1) רהמ(1) מנכל(2) ממנכל(1) מצפא(2) ~~הסכרה~~ הסכרה(2) ר/מרכז(1) ממד(4) רס(1) אמנ(4) אומנ(1) סייבל(1) משפט(1) צנזורצבאי(1)  
31.3 ים מט גלפ (1)



1164  
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WP 23/7

## U.S. Said to Caution Israel on Libyan Ties

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, July 22—The Clinton administration recently urged Israel to avoid any improvement in relations with Libya that would undercut the international isolation of its leader, Moammar Gadhafi, Israeli sources said today.

The request from senior U.S. officials followed an abortive visit of nearly 200 Libyan Muslim pilgrims to Jerusalem in early June. The visitors were initially welcomed by the Israeli government, and the visit was arranged partly through the efforts of Israeli industrialist Yaacov Nimrodi. But on the second day of their tour, a leader of the Libyan group shocked Israeli Jews by calling for the "liberation" of Jerusalem from Israeli control, and the group cut short its stay, leaving the next day.

On a recent visit to Jerusalem, Dennis Ross, the Clinton administration's special Middle East coor-

dinator, accompanied by Martin Indyk, a National Security Council specialist on the Middle East, urged Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to use extreme caution when dealing with Libya, the Israeli sources said.

Peres responded that Israel had been intrigued by the Libyan mission because of the possibility that Gadhafi, long a foe of Israel, could be co-opted or neutralized. Peres also explained that Israel felt it had to live up to its pledge to keep Jerusalem open for worship to all faiths, the sources said.

But the United States is worried that Gadhafi may be trying to use Israel to alleviate the economic sanctions imposed on Libya by the United States and United Nations as part of the effort to force Gadhafi to turn over two Libyans accused of

planting the bomb that blew up Pan American Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988. At the time of the Muslims' visit, Peres told Army Radio, "I have no illusions they came to us to make a good impression on America."

In response to a column in The Washington Post today, Israel's Foreign Ministry said that Peres had not made a policy decision to ease Libya's isolation. Columnist Jim Hoagland said that the Clinton administration is concerned about "growing signs of a Libyan-Israeli detente" and that some of the intermediaries between Israel and Gadhafi have ties to Peres. Foreign Ministry spokesman Evyatar Manor said, "There was no policy of the Foreign Ministry to improve relations with Libya."

22651:חוזם,אאא

אל:רהמש/672

מ-:ניו יורק,נר:459,תא:230793,זח:1243,דח:ר,סג:בל,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/רגיל

26120

22837

אל:תפוצת תקשורת

מאת:עתונות ניו יורק

NEWS SUMMARY 23-JULY-1993

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'DIFFERENT SIDES OF STREET'; 'REWARD IS STYMIED IN TOWERS BOMBING'; 'GINSBURG DEFLECTS PRESSURE TO TALK ON DEATH PENALTY'; 'MAJOR IS REBUFFED IN PARLIAMENT IN VOTE ON THE EUROPEAN TREATY'; 'A STRATEGY ON THE BUDGET - GO AFTER THE GREENHORNS.' WSJ: NATIONAL. ND: 'BOMBERS PLANNED TO HOLD CITY HOSTAGE.' DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/LEBANON/GUERRILLAS/SOLDIERS: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED),NYP: 'CLASHES INTENSIFY IN LEBANON ZONE': REPORTS THAT IN THE MOST INTENSE FIGHTING IN MONTHS, ISRAEL AND PRO-IRANIAN ISLAMIC GUERRILLAS REPEATEDLY SHELLED EACH OTHER'S POSITIONS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON ON THURSDAY; NOTES THAT THERE IS GROWING CONCERN THAT THE VIOLENCE THERE MAY ERUPT AND SPREAD; STATES THAT AN ISRAELI SOLDIER WAS KILLED AND TWO LEBANESE MILITIA WERE WOUNDED IN AN ARTILLERY EXCHANGE; ADDS THAT THE SOLDIER WAS THE SIXTH ISRAELI KILLED IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS IN THE SECURITY ZONE; QUOTES ISRAELI CHIEF OF STAFF LIEUT. GEN. EHUD BARAK AS SAYING THAT A 'BROAD OPERATION' AGAINST THE PARTY OF GOD WAS 'PROBABLY INEVITABLE.'

EGYPT/MUSLIM/MILITANTS/STRUGGLE: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED): 'THE MUSLIMS' WRATH DOESN'T SPARE THE MUMMIES': REPORTS THAT ISLAMIC MILITANTS IN EGYPT HAVE BEGUN A CAMPAIGN TO TEAR DOWN THE PYRAMIDS, SPHINXES AND OBELISKS OF THEIR COUNTRY; STATES THAT THEIR GOAL IS TO SEIZE POWER THERE AND REJECT ALL SYMBOLS WHICH 'DISHONOR' THEIR RELIGION; NOTES THAT ISLAMIC MILITANTS HAVE ALREADY PLACED BOMBS IN CERTAIN LOCATIONS AND CITES THEIR RECENT ATTACKS ON TOURISTS; ADDS THAT SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN SEVERELY CRITICIZES ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CULTURE' IN HIS



SERMONS.

IRAQ/UN/WEAPONS/MONITORING: WSJ(BRIEF): NOTES THAT IRAQ HAS DECLARED THAT IT IS READY TO COMPLY WITH A UN RESOLUTION ON LONG-TERM WEAPONS MONITORING; STATES HOWEVER THAT BAGHDAD EXPECTS CONCESSIONS IN RETURN.

NEW YORK/WTC/BOMB/SUSPECT: NYT(D.JEHL): 'REWARD IS STYMIED IN TOWERS BOMBING': DISCUSSES AN ONGOING DISPUTE BETWEEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE FBI AS TO WHO WILL FUND A PLAN TO OFFER UP TO DOLLAR 2 MILLION IN FEDERAL MONEY FOR INFORMATION ABOUT RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF, A MISSING SUSPECT IN THE WTC BOMBING CASE.

NEW YORK/WTC/SUSPECTS/PLOT: ND(P.TYRE): REPORTS THAT THE WTC BOMBING SUSPECTS PLANNED TO BLAST ADDITIONAL MANHATTAN SITES UNLESS EL SAYYID NOSAIR, THE MAN ACCUSED OF KILLING RABBI MEIR KAHANE, IS RELEASED FROM JAIL.

US/STATE DEPARTMENT/VIS/SHEIK: DN,NYP: STATES THAT ACCORDING TO A US STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, A 'TRAGEDY OF ERRORS' ALLOWED SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN TO ENTER THE US.

OBITUARIES

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NYT(AP): 'AVRI ELAD, 67, FIGURE IN ISRAELI SPY SCANDAL.'

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

\* \* \* CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT \* \* \*

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NYT(A.ROSENTHAL-COLUMN): 'WHAT THE HASIDIM KNOW': WRITER ASSERTS THAT TO 'WALK AWAY' FROM THE CROWN HEIGHTS EPISODE WITHOUT NOTING ITS LESSONS AND IMPLICATIONS, PARTICULARLY FOR THE HASIDIM, WOULD BE PREMATURE AND UNREALISTIC.

NYT(C.WOLFF): 'CROWN HEIGHTS OFFICERS SAY THEY FEEL BETRAYED': REPORTS THAT THE OFFICERS INVOLVED IN THE 1991 CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS FEEL THEY WERE MISGUIDED BY THEIR SUPERIORS.

NYT(A.MITCHELL-FRONT PAGE): 'DIFFERENT SIDES OF STREET': STATES THAT THERE WAS A MISCOMMUNICATION BETWEEN CITY HALL AND THE NEW YORK POLICE DURING THE CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS.

DN(EDITORIAL): 'HYNES DEFENDS THE INDEFENSIBLE': WRITER CRITICIZES BROOKLYN DA CHARLES HYNES FOR PLEADING INNOCENT TO CHARGES THAT HE DISRUPTED THE PROSECUTION OF THE MAN ACQUITTED OF KILLING YANKEL ROSENBAUM.

DN(F.LOMBARDI): 'RIOT PROBERS FOUND MITIGATING FACTORS': STATES THAT BAD LUCK AND CIRCUMSTANCE ALSO PLAYED A ROLE IN THE CROWN HEIGHTS

RIOTS.

NYT(A.FINDER),DN: 'DINKINS GOES ON OFFENSIVE': NOTES THAT MAYOR DINKINS STATES THAT THE CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS WOULD HAVE BEEN FAR WORSE HAD HIS CONTENDER BEEN IN OFFICE THEN.

DN(E.KOCH-COLUMN): 'FILLING THE GAPS IN DINKINS' MEMORY': WRITER ARGUES THAT MAYOR DINKINS FAILED 'THE SIMPLE TEST' OF LEADERSHIP DURING THE SUMMER OF 1991.

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

SHABBAT SHALOM

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 25760

אל: רהמש/790

מ-: אטלנטה, נר: 34, תא: 230793, חז: 1039, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

אל: מצפ"א

דע: קישור לקונגרס, וושינגטון, ציר הסברה וושינגטון

מאת: אטלנטה

הנדון: פגישה עם הסנטור סם נאן

ב-12/7 נפגשנו לשיחה עם הסנטור סם נאן. השתתפו הקונכ"ל והח"מ. הקונכ"ל נתן לנאן סקירה על פעילות הקונסוליה, על נסיוננו לפעול יותר לכוון פעילות כלכלית (לשכת המסחר) ועל ביקור מושל ג'ורג'יה בארץ שהסתיים לפני זמן קצר. לאחר מכן נתן הקונכ"ל סקירה על מצב תהליך השלום, הבעיות עם הסורים והבעיות עם הפלסטינים, ומה להערכתנו כוונותיהם של אסד ועראפת.

נאן שאל אם יש סיכוי להשיג פשרה כבר בסיבוב הבא של השיחות וענינו כי הדבר תלוי בהתיחסות הערבים, בעיקר הפלסטינים והסורים להצעות הישראליות.

הקונכ"ל שאל אותו עד כמה יהיה מוכן ממשל קלינטון להתערב בשיחות, והאם יפעל כמו קרטר ללחוץ על הצדדים להשיג הסכם.

נאן ענה כי קלינטון נבחר בגלל בעיות פנים, ואיתן הוא יתמודד בראש ובראשונה. הוא יתמודד עם בעיות בינ"ל הנוגעות בעיקר לנושאי סחר בינ"ל. שלום במז"ת הוא אינטרס אמריקאי אך קלינטון יתערב רק כשיהיה פתרון באופק. הדבר האחרון שהוא צריך זה מעורבות בתהליך שלום שנכשל. על שני הצדדים למצוא בסיס משותף שממנו אפשר יהיה להגיע להסכם. אם קלינטון יתערב וכשל תיווצר בעיה בינ"ל גדולה.

בהתיחס לקרטר אמר נאן כי הישג קמ"פ דיויד לא עזר לקרטר פוליטית, אלא אף הזיק לו בנסיונו להבחר שוב מכיון שקבוצות יהודיות הרגישו שלחץ חזק מדי על ישראל ולא תמכו בו.

לגבי עמדת הקהילה היהודית כיום בענין שיחות השלום וויתורים טריטוריאליים אמר נאן כי הוא מרגיש שהמנהיגות היהודית הרשמית היא יותר ניצית ממשלת ישראל, אך הציבור הכללי היהודי שהוא פוגש רוצה מאוד בשלום בין ישראל לשכנותיה ומוכן לפשרות.

כיום ברור לכולם כי ארה"ב לא תוכל להיות בכל מקום ולתמוך כספית בכולם. תהיה ירידה בסיוע החוץ המהווה נטל על ארה"ב, ולכן המאמצים הדיפלומטיים יצטרכו להשתפר.

להערכתו של נאן, כשיועציו של קלינטון יודיעו לו שיש סיכוי טוב להסכם, יתערב קלינטון באופן אקטיבי בתהליך.

עד כאן .

דוד עקוב

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 22993

אל: רהמש/690

מ-: ווש, נר: 2079, תא: 230793, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בכבב

סודי / מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: לשכת שה"ח, לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שר האוצר  
ציר כלכלי- כאן

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

מכתב מוברק

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*257.*

הנדון: סיוע חוץ/ הקצבות- פגישת השגריר עם הסנטור מקונל

1. א. היום 23/7 נפגש השגריר עם הסנטור מקונל, בכיר המיעוט בוועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות (בראשות הסנטור לייחי) בנושא חוק סיוע חוץ.

עוזרתו, רובין קליבלנד, נכנסה במהלך הפגישה לאחר שחזרה מפגישת צוות העוזרים עם אריק ניוסום (עוזרו של לייחי).  
מצידנו נכחו דרנגר ובינה.

ב. השגריר העלה בעיית SCORING של ה- 170 מ' של הערבויות וביקש להתעדכן לגבי פעילות הועדה.

מקונל אמר כי לדעתו רצוי היה לא לפעול לפני יציאת הקונגרס לפגרת הקיץ. הוא מודאג מכך שלייה מתנגד ל"שריונ" וכי נעשית פעולת דחיפה לפעולה מהירה אולי כבר בשבוע הבא. מקונל ציין שהוא מודע לכל בעייתיות ה- SCORING והנסיון לפותרה בקונפרנס על חוק התקציב. דווקא מסיבה זו, מעדיף לפעול לאחר הפגרה, ולאחר סיום הקונפרנס על חוק התקציב. לדעתו האטת התהליך תקל על מציאת פתרון ל- SCORING.

ג. לדברי מקונל יש לחץ רב מצד מחמ"ד להזדרז בהעברת חוק הסיוע, בגין הסיוע לרוסיה (הרוסים לוחצים על הממשל). הסנטור לייחי יור ועדת המשנה מתנגד ל"שריונ", כך שמבחינתו אין זו בעייה (כמו עבור מקונל) ולפיכך הלחץ העיקרי תחתיו הוא מצוי מצד מחמ"ד הוא בנושא הסיוע לרוסיה. בנושא זה טרם נפתרה בעיית העברת כספים מתקציב ההגנה לטובת הסיוע לרוסיה.  
הוא מצידו (מקונל) מעוניין לעבוד על כך שמלוא הסיוע לישראל יאושר וכן הסיוע לרוסיה.

הוא מציע שכל חברי ועדת המשנה יהיו ON BOARD בשני נושאים:  
א. שריון הסיוע.

ב. לא לזרז את תהליך החקיקה עד אשר לא ימצא פתרון ל- SCORING.

מקונל הציע לתדע במיוחד את הסנטורים לאוטנברג ודהקונסיני.

ד. בשלב זה, הצטרפה עוזרתו של מקונל אשר סיפרה כי חזרה מפגישה לא נעימה עם ניוסום וצוות העוזרים. לדבריה, הויכוח העיקרי שלהם היה סביב ה'שריוני' וכן סביב העובדה שאנשי לייחי רוצים להתחיל ב-MARK-UP כבר לקראת סוף השבוע הבא.

סיפרה על הרעיון של ניוסום של DEFERRAL כפי שמסר גם לנו, ועליו כבר דיווחנו), היינו קיצוץ טקטי זמני של 170 מ' דולר מהסיוע לישראל והחזרתם במליאת הסנאט, והביעה חששה מכך שבעצם מדובר בתרגיל רמייה והטעייה של הסנטור בירד (יו"ר ועדת ההקצבות).

מקונל הציע כי בפגישת השגריר עם מיטצ'ל נסביר לו כי אנו מעוניינים לפתור את הבעיה כמה שיותר בשקט. השגריר הגיב כי יבדוק המצב גם בממשל.

2. לקראת סוף הפגישה הזמין מקונל את השגריר להופיע באביב באוניברסיטת לואיוניל כאורחו. השגריר נענה לבקשתו.

הפגישה היתה טובה וידידותית מאד.

3. לידיעתכם שהשגריר עומד להפגש בשבוע הבא עם הסנטורים מיטצ'ל ודול-לבקשתנו. היום אחה'צ פנה הסנטור לייחי וביקש לפגוש את השגריר. הפגישה נקבעה ליום ג' 27/7 אחה'צ.

4. היום לפנות ערב שוחחתי עם וונדי שרמן, עוזרת מזכיר המדינה לעניני קונגרס. (אנו עומדים עמה בקשר קבוע). לדבריה מנהיג הרוב הסנטור מיטצ'ל נחוש בדעתו לא לטפל בבעיית ה- SCORING במסגרת חוק התקציב, מחשש ל- POINT OF ORDER. הוא בכ'ז יהיה מוכן בתנאי אחד בלבד והוא הסכמה מוקדמת של כל חברי הסנאט ללא יוצא מן הכלל ל- UNANIMOUS CONSENT. אמרה שאין כל ודאות לגבי הרפובליקנים והממשל איננו מתכוון לפעול בנושא זה שכן יש לו בעיות רבות אחרות עם חוק התקציב. סיפרתי על פגישתנו עם הסנטור פיל גראם ועל כך השיבה שרמן שעדיין יכולה להיות בעייה עם... ג'סי הלמס.

לשאלתי מה הדרך האלטרנטיבית, השיבה שרמן כי לא יהיה כנראה מנוס אלא לפתור הבעיה בתוך חוק סיוע החוץ עצמו ועדיין נבדקות אופציות שונות. הוסיפה כי בשלב מסויים מזכיר המדינה כריסטופר והנשיא קלינטון יצטרכו להתקשר לסנטור בירד. קלינטון אינו מעוניין להתקשר לסנטור בירד לפני תום הקונפרנס על התקציב. מכל מקום לא יזוזו עד אשר בעיית ה- SCORING והסיוע לרוסיה לא יפתרו.

לשאלתי מדוע הדחיפה הרבה לנסות להניע את החוק כבר בשבוע הבא, הסתפקה שרמן באמרה כי לאחר החזרה מהפגרה יהיו כולם כה עסוקים שלא יספיקו לסיים בזמן את החקיקה. להזכירכם שהמרכיב העיקרי של הסיוע לרוסיה הוא מכספי השנה התקציבית הנוכחית '93 FY, ולכן יש לסיים החקיקה עד 3 בספטמבר 93 ולחתום עליה.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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



22690

תאריך : 24.07.93

סודי

\*\* סכס  
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חוזם: 7.22690

אל: המשרד

יעדים: רהמש/683

מ-: נוש, נר: 2072, תא: 230793, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: @: סצפא

נד: @:

*257*

סודי/מלידי

א ל: רה'מ, שה'ח

מאת: השגריר וושינגטון

מכתב מוברק

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הנדון: הקהילה היהודית

1. שורה של אירועים והתפתחויות בתוך ארגונים יהודיים מרכזיים (אליפא'ק, הליגה נגד השמצה) וביחסים בינם לבין ישראל הביאו, כידוע בשבועות האחרונים לדיון פומבי - תקשורתי ופנים-יהודי בנושאים אלה (בהקשר זה, אע"פ - לראשונה - נתקלתי בשיחותי עם סנטורים יהודיים בהשפעות שוליות של הריכוז סביב מדיניות השלום של ישראל).

2. הפעולות שננקטו בארץ, מן הארץ וכאן סייעו להרגעת הדיון, אך ברור שאין די בטיפול סלמפטומטי וכי לטווח הארוך יותר, יש להידרש לשורשי הבעיות שצפו ועלו בחדשים האחרונים.

3. בשבוע שעבר קיימו נציגי השגרירות והקונסוליה הכללית בניו יורק מספר שיחות עם אנשי הסגל הבכיר של כמה מן הארגונים היהודיים העיקריים. לקראת יציאתי ארצה, בשבוע הבא, ביקשתי מלסטר פולק להזמין קבוצה של כ-10-15 ראשי ארגונים ומנהיגים בכירים אחרים לשיחה בנושאים אלה בהשתתפות קונכיל ניו יורק ובהשתתפותי.

4. בעת שהותי בארץ אדאג, כמובן, לעדכן אתכם לגבי שיחות אלו ואשמח לדון במידה שירשה זאת הזמן על המסקנות שתתבקשנה.

5. לסיום, אוסיף כי ערב יציאתו למסעו הנוכחי נפגש מזכיר המדינה ודיבר בטלפון עם מספר מנהיגים יהודיים מועידת הנשיאים ואליפא'ק. הוא שמע מהם מסר אחיד וברור של תמיכה במדיניות השלום של ארה"ב ושל ישראל והבעת תודה על נכונותו להשקיע מאמץ בקידום התהליך.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

דבלינוביץ

פא

תפ: דהמ(0), ששהח(2)



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אאאא, חוזם: 22986  
אל: רהמש/688  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 721, חא: 230793, זח: 1951, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
בכב  
שמור/מידי

א ל: מצפ"א, פר"נ  
ממנכ"ל

ד ע: משהב"ט - מקש"ח  
רמש'נ - ניו יורק

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: אגף פוליטי-צבאי במחמ"ד: רה-אירגון

1. בתום סדרת דיונים הוחלט רשמית על פיצול האגף לשניים.
2. אגף אחד בראשו יעמוד עוזר המזכיר גאלוצ'י יופקד על נושאי EXPORT CONTROL ו-NON PROLIFERATION. מיודענו איינהורן ימשיך בתפקידו כסגן אחראי על פרוליפרציה. הסגן השני לנושא פיקוח על ייצוא תהיה גב' פרנסיס קוק (רקע אפריקאי).
3. האגף השני יופקד על נושא REGIONAL SECURITY ו-AC. האגף יטפל בין היתר: בנושאי AC הקשורים לרוסיה וחב"ע, סוגיות מולטילטרליות כגון CTB, מכירות נשק וסיוע בטחוני. טרם מונה ראש לאגף. השמועות הן שהמשרה תוצע לסגנו הבכיר של גאלוצ'י מקנמרה.
4. ברור שהחלוקה לעיל אינה חדה וחלקה. דוגמא לכך ניתן לראות בהחלטה לפיה נושאי ק.ע. לבק"נ ובטחון איזורי יטופל ע"י אגפו של גאלוצ'י ואילו נושא ה-P-5 כחלק מ-ACME יטופל ע"י האגף השני.
5. טרם נקבע מועד לחלוקה. לין דיווייס מעונינת לבצע החלוקה כבר בחודש הבא. לאחראים על ביצוע החלוקה לא ברור בשלב זה האם הקמת אגף חדש מחייבת חקיקה קונגרסיונלית.

שטיין.

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @שהבט), מצפא,  
פרנ, @מקשח/משהבט)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 22932  
אל: רהמש/674  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 705, תא: 230793, זח: 1611, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בכב  
בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך מחלקת המדינה ליום 23/7/93

בתדרוך היום במחמ"ד, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב):--  
TERRORIST SEARCH - RAZMI AHMED YOUSEF  
ISRAEL - LYBIA  
LEBANON - SYRIA  
PEACE TALKS  
SEC. CHRISTOPHER'S TRIP TO THE REGION  
DIPLOMATIC TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS - ISRAEL'S PLACE  
SOMALIA - CIA CONNECTIONS  
RUSSIA

*Handwritten red signature and date: 25.7.*

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב):--  
NICARAGUA  
HAITI  
VIET NAM

- יוגוסלביה (הועבר בנפרד למזא"ר 2).

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לעניננו:--

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: MIKE MCCURRY 12:48 PM  
EDT FRIDAY, JULY 23, 1993

MR. MCCURRY: GOOD AFTERNOON, EVERYBODY. I'VE GOT SEVERAL  
ANNOUNCEMENTS TO START WITH.

THE FIRST IS A HOUSEKEEPING ANNOUNCEMENT. BEGINNING ON MONDAY,  
JULY 26, WE WILL CONDUCT FOR THE BALANCE OF THE SUMMER THREE  
REGULAR BRIEFINGS PER WEEK HERE, ON MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, AND  
THURSDAY, SKIPPING THE DAILY BRIEFING ON TUESDAYS AND FRIDAYS,  
AND WE'LL SEE IF WE CAN HOLD WITH THAT REGIME THROUGH TUESDAY,  
SEPTEMBER 7TH, WHEN WE'LL BEGIN REGULAR DAILY BRIEFINGS. WE, OF  
COURSE, WILL BE SUBJECT TO ANY BREAKING NEWS OR ANYTHING THAT  
WOULD REQUIRE US TO CONDUCT A REGULAR NORMAL BRIEFING DURING THE  
DAY.

THE SECOND IS I'LL CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO A LONG STATEMENT THAT

WE WILL POST LATER ON THE DECISION BY BELARUS, WHICH WAS ANNOUNCED YESTERDAY, TO COMPLY WITH THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. I THINK, AS MANY OF YOU KNOW, THE UNITED STATES WARMLY WELCOME THAT ACTION. THE PRESIDENT MET WITH HEAD OF STATE SHUSHKEVICH YESTERDAY, AND WE'VE HAD ADDITIONAL CONVERSATIONS WITH BELARUS.

THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY COMES AT A TIME WHEN COOPERATION ON A RANGE OF THESE NON-PROLIFERATION ISSUES HAS BECOME A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE ENTIRE POST-COLD WAR STRUCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. BELARUS' ACTION SHOULD ENCOURAGE ADHERENCE BY THOSE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WHO REMAIN OUTSIDE THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. WE'VE GOT A LONGER STATEMENT AVAILABLE AFTER THE BRIEFING ON THAT.

AND THEN -- (CHUCKLES) -- MY SHOW AND TELL TODAY, WE DO HAVE AN ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S REWARDS PROGRAM. EFFECTIVE -- (CONFERS OFF MIKE) -- YEAH, WE'LL JUST PUT THIS UP FOR A SECOND. I WANT TO ADD -- MAKE SURE THAT THIS IS AVAILABLE FOR A TV PACKAGE. WE'LL MAKE THIS AVAILABLE AFTERWARDS. OKAY, YOU CAN JUST PUT IT RIGHT DOWN HERE ON THE SIDE.

THIS IS AN FBI WANTED POSTER, AND IT'S IN CONNECTION WITH AN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT EFFECTIVE IMMEDIATELY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IS OFFERING A REWARD OF UP TO DOLLAR 2 MILLION FOR INFORMATION THAT LEADS TO THE ARREST, ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD, OF RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF. YOUSEF IS CURRENTLY UNDER US INDICTMENT FOR HIS ALLEGED ROLE IN THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING. HE'S ONE OF SIX SUSPECTS CHARGED IN THAT TERRORIST ATTACK WHICH KILLED SIX PERSONS AND INJURED MORE THAN 1,000. HE HAS FLED THE UNITED STATES AND IS NOW PROBABLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. YOUSEF HAS DEMONSTRATED -- HAS A DEMONSTRATED WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY TO UNDERTAKE ACTS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND IS LIKELY TO ENGAGE IN SUCH ACTS IN THE FUTURE UNLESS HE IS BROUGHT INTO CUSTODY.

HE IS DESCRIBED AS FOLLOWS: HE IS A WHITE MALE, SIX FEET TALL, WEIGHING 180 POUNDS, MEDIUM BUILD, BROWN HAIR, BROWN EYES AND OLIVE COMPLEXION. HE IS USUALLY CLEAN SHAVEN, BUT MIGHT NOW HAVE A BEARD. HE WAS BORN ON MAY 20TH, 1967, AND TRAVELS ON AN IRAQI PASSPORT. HE MAY ALSO CLAIM TO BE FROM THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES.

YOUSEF HAS UTILIZED ALIASES AS RAMZI YOUSEF AHMED, RASHID YOUSEF, RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF, KAMAL ABRAHAM (SP), MOHAMMED AZAN (SP), RAMZI YOUSEF, RASHID RASHID (SP), KAMAL IBRAMHAM, RAMZI YOUSEF AHMAD (SP), AND ABDUL BASSETT (SP). YOUSEF SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES THAT HAVE INFORMATION THAT WOULD HELP IDENTIFY RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF AND STOP HIM BEFORE HE UNDERTAKES ANOTHER ACT OF TERRORISM AGAINST THE UNITED STATES ARE URGED TO CALL THE NEAREST FBI OFFICE.

ANYONE WITH INFORMATION ABOUT RAMZI AHMED YOUSEF ANYWHERE



OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES SHOULD CONTACT THE NEAREST US EMBASSY OR CONSULATE. PEOPLE MAY ALSO WRITE TO A PROGRAM HERE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, HEROES, CARE OF POST OFFICE BOX 96781, WASHINGTON, DC, 20090.

I'D ALSO SAY THE DEPARTMENT WILL IMMEDIATELY BEGIN AN INTERNATIONAL PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN TO MAKE NEWS OF THIS REWARD AVAILABLE INTERNATIONALLY. WE'VE GOT SOME MATERIALS, POSTERS AND THINGS, THAT ARE USED VERY FREQUENTLY BY THE DEPARTMENT IN CONNECTION WITH SIMILAR TYPE CASES THAT ANNOUNCE THESE REWARDS ARE AVAILABLE IN A VARIETY OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES. AND WE'VE GOT SAMPLES OF SOME OF THE MATERIAL UP HERE IF YOU ARE INTERESTED.

AND WITH THAT ANNOUNCEMENT, I WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR QUESTIONS.

Q YEAH, ON THAT, MIKE, HOW DID HE GET INTO THE UNITED STATES? AND HOW DID HE GET OUT WITHOUT BEING --

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T HAVE INFORMATION ON HIS TRAVEL AND ALIASES. HE'S OBVIOUSLY A FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE AT THE MOMENT, BUT I DON'T HAVE EXACT INFORMATION ON HIS TRAVEL STATUS.

Q COMING IN?

MR. MCCURRY: DON'T KNOW. I CAN DO SOME FURTHER RESEARCH ON THAT. I'M --

Q I MEAN, DID HE GET A NORMAL VISA? THERE'S BEEN A LOT OF --

MR. MCCURRY: QUESTION ABOUT VISAS IN CONNECTION WITH SHERMAN FUNK'S TESTIMONY. I'M NOT CERTAIN ABOUT HIS VISA STATUS UPON ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES, BUT IN ANY EVENT, SOME OF THE ASPECTS OF HIS TRAVELS AND HIS ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES ARE CURRENTLY UNDER INVESTIGATION BY THE FBI, AND IT'S DIFFICULT TO DISCUSS THEM FOR EXACTLY THAT REASON.

Q THEN WHY DO YOU THINK HE'S IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK WE HAVE INFORMATION THAT HE'S FLED, AND THAT'S THE BEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES AT THE MOMENT.

Q WOULD YOU CARE TO COMMENT ON THE REPORT THAT HIS FLIGHT MAY HAVE BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BY DELAYING DISPUTE BETWEEN STATE AND THE FBI ON WHO WAS GOING TO PUT UP THE REWARD?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK THAT WAS AN INTERPRETATION THAT MAY HAVE BEEN MADE IN A NEWS ACCOUNT, BUT I'M NOT -- I THINK THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THIS REWARD IS NOW AVAILABLE. THAT WILL ENCOURAGE THOSE THAT MIGHT HAVE INFORMATION ABOUT HIS WHEREABOUTS TO COME FORWARD. IT'S ALSO SOMETHING THAT LAW ENFORCEMENT AND US OFFICIALS CAN USE ABROAD TO ENCOURAGE THOSE

WHO MIGHT HAVE KNOWLEDGE OF HIS WHEREABOUTS TO COME FORWARD. I THINK THE IMPORTANT THING WAS ANNOUNCING THAT THE REWARD IS AVAILABLE.

Q WELL, WAS THERE A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON WHO WOULD PROVIDE THE REWARD?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, A LITTLE BIT OF THE BACKGROUND ON THIS. THE -- THERE WERE TWO PROGRAMS THAT EXIST WITHIN THE US GOVERNMENT TO ENCOURAGE THESE REWARDS FOR TERRORISM.

ONE IS A DOMESTIC PROGRAM THAT'S ADMINISTERED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE UNDER A LAW PASSED BY CONGRESS IN 1984. THE OTHER IS A PROGRAM SPECIFICALLY FOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM THAT'S ADMINISTERED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT. IN APRIL THE FBI REQUESTED THAT WE MAKE A REWARD AVAILABLE FOR -- IN CONNECTION WITH THIS PARTICULAR CASE. WE DETERMINED AT THE TIME, BECAUSE WE ARE CONFINED BY LAW TO DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL ACTS OF TERRORISM, THAT WE COULD NOT HONOR THE REQUEST AT THAT TIME, BUT WE DID SAY IF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CAME AVAILABLE -- (INAUDIBLE WORD), THAT THE FBI SHOULD CONTACT US FURTHER. THEY DID SO ON WEDNESDAY, PROVIDED US ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, AND WE WERE ABLE TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY.

Q YOU KNEW THAT THIS GUY HAD FLED THE COUNTRY QUITE SOME TIME AGO, DID YOU NOT?

MR. MCCURRY: I'M NOT SURE WHEN WE KNEW THAT, BUT I THINK IT WAS KNOWN TO LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES.

Q A MONTH, AT LEAST A MONTH AGO, AND IT'S TAKEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT LONG TO DETERMINE THAT IT OUGHT TO PROVIDE AN INTERNATIONAL REWARD?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, WE COULDN'T -- WE PROVIDED THIS REWARD UPON RECEIVING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM THE FBI, WHICH WE RECEIVED ON WEDNESDAY THIS WEEK.

Q NOW WAIT A MINUTE. NORMALLY THE STATE DEPARTMENT DOES NOT NEED THE FBI TO TELL THEM THAT -- WHEN THE STATE DEPARTMENT ALREADY KNOWS THAT A KNOWN FUGITIVE HAS LEFT THE COUNTRY AND THAT YOU DESPERATELY WANT THIS GUY, FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO MAKE UP ITS MIND TO OFFER THIS KIND OF REWARD. IT'S SOP. WHY DOES IT TAKE A MONTH FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT, OR LONGER, TO MAKE THIS --

MR. MCCURRY: WE HAD TO ACT ACCORDING TO THE LAW THAT EXISTS, AND I THINK WE'VE SATISFIED OURSELVES THIS WEEK THAT WE WERE FULLY COMPLIANT WITH THE LAW BY ISSUING THIS REWARD.

Q WHAT WAS THE ADDITIONAL INFORMATION THAT YOU NEEDED FROM THE FBI, AND CAN YOU SPELL OUT --



MR. MCCURRY: I CAN'T SPELL THAT OUT IN DETAIL, MARK, BECAUSE IT'S BOTH A LAW ENFORCEMENT MATTER AND IT ALSO INVOLVES SOME OTHER SENSITIVE INFORMATION, BUT IT'S INFORMATION THAT DOES LEAD THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO FEEL THAT IT CAN WITHIN THE TERMS OF THIS STATUTE MAKE THE REWARD AVAILABLE.

Q BUT DID YOU NOT KNOW BEFORE THIS INFORMATION CAME THAT YOUSEF, IN FACT, WAS AN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST?

MR. MCCURRY: WE WERE AWARE OF THE CHARGES THAT HAD BEEN RAISED AGAINST HIM IN US COURT, OF COURSE.

Q SO, MIKE, WOULD IT BE FAIR TO SAY THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD TO DETERMINE THAT HE WAS, INDEED, OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES BEFORE IT COULD OFFER THIS REWARD?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THAT THE RELEVANT ISSUE HERE WAS WHETHER THE TERRORIST ACT OR POSSIBLE FUTURE TERRORIST ACTS WOULD BE INTERNATIONAL IN NATURE.

Q AND YOUR ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH THE FACT THAT THE NEW YORK TIMES WROTE A STORY MAKING BOTH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE FBI LOOK PETTY AND SOMEWHAT INEFFICIENT?

MR. MCCURRY: I WON'T -- I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THAT SPURRED THOSE WHO MADE THIS DECISION TO ACTION OR NOT. I DO KNOW, AS I SAY, THAT ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WAS MADE AVAILABLE BY THE BUREAU TO US ON WEDNESDAY, AND I THINK IN CONSIDERING THAT INFORMATION, THAT CERTAINLY WAS THE MOST RELEVANT ASPECT OF THE TIMETABLE.

Q HAS THIS FELLOW BEEN AFFILIATED WITH ANY TERRORIST GROUP THAT YOU'RE AWARE OF?

MR. MCCURRY: THAT, GEORGE, I DON'T KNOW. I'VE GOT SOME INFORMATION ON HIM BUT NOTHING THAT INDICATES WHETHER OR NOT HE'S ASSOCIATED WITH ANY OF THE GROUPS THAT WE ARE AWARE OF. I CAN CHECK FURTHER ON THAT.

Q ONE OTHER QUESTION. HAVE ANY OF THE PREVIOUS REWARD OFFERS -- THIS HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME TIME. HAVE ANY YIELDED ARRESTS AND CONVICTIONS?

MR. MCCURRY: I KNOW THAT WE'VE USED THIS REWARDS PROGRAM IN THE PAST. ITS TRACK RECORD IN GENERATING INFORMATION, I JUST AM NOT CERTAIN ON THAT. BUT I WILL ASK FURTHER ON THAT.

Q DOES THE POSSESSION OF AN IRAQI PASSPORT INDICATE TO YOU THAT IRAQ HAS BEEN -- HAS SPONSORED OR IS IN SOME WAY CONNECTED TO ANY TERRORIST ACTIVITY THAT HE MAY BE INVOLVED IN?

MR. MCCURRY: THAT'S A QUESTION I REALLY CANNOT ANSWER. THAT

WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT WOULD BE DEVELOPED IN THE -- IN THE COURSE OF THE INVESTIGATION BEING CONDUCTED BY -- BY THE BUREAU AND OTHER US LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS. I DIRECT THE QUESTION TO THEM. I -- I DON'T BELIEVE IN -- IN THEIR INVESTIGATION OF THE TRADE CENTER BOMBING YET THAT THEY HAVE FOUND EVIDENCE OF SUCH LINKS, BUT I'D -- I AM CERTAIN THAT THEY WOULD BE IN THE BEST POSITION TO COMMENT ABOUT THE STATUS OF THEIR INVESTIGATION.

Q DO YOU -- DO YOU THINK THAT THAT KIND OF PROGRAM OR ADVERTISEMENT FOR WANTED HAS BEEN DONE IN THE PODIUM BEFORE? THIS --

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THAT THE PROGRAM ITSELF HAS BEEN DISCUSSED BEFORE, BUT OBVIOUSLY WE WILL -- WE'LL NOW THROUGH BOTH THE ADVERTISING THAT WE WILL DO IN RADIO, PRINT, AND OTHER BROADCAST MEDIA INTERNATIONALLY AND THROUGH OUR ANNOUNCEMENT HERE HOPE TO INFORM THE WORLD AT LARGE THAT THE REWARD IS AVAILABLE, AND WE WILL SEEK TO PUBLICIZE IT FURTHER.

Q I MEAN, IN THE PODIUM, FROM THE -- FROM THE SPOKESMAN -- SPOKESMAN'S REMARKS IN THE PODIUM.

MR. MCCURRY: HAVE WE DONE THAT BEFORE?

Q UH-HUH (AFFIRMATIVE).

MR. MCCURRY: I CAN CHECK. I DON'T -- DON'T -- I -- I OBVIOUSLY HAVE NOT DONE IT BEFORE, BUT I THINK WE HAVE DONE THAT BEFORE, I'M TOLD BY KNOWLEDGEABLE AND RELIABLE SOURCES.

Q MIKE, WHAT IS HIS NATIONALITY? IS HE -- IS HE IRAQI? YOU SAY HE TRAVELS ON AN IRAQI PASSPORT. DO YOU KNOW WHERE HE WAS BORN, WHAT -- ?

MR. MCCURRY: IT DOES -- THE -- THE INFORMATION I HAVE AVAILABLE FROM THE BUREAU DOESN'T ANSWER THAT QUESTION.

Q MIKE, ANY IDEA OF HOW MUCH THIS CAMPAIGN'S GOING TO COST?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK THAT THE -- THE AUTHORIZATION UNDER LAW IS TO SPEND AMOUNTS UP TO, I THINK, DOLLAR 100,000 FOR THIS. OBVIOUSLY, WE WOULDN'T USE ALL THAT AMOUNT, AND WE WOULD CAREFULLY TARGET THE PLACEMENT OF ANY ADVERTISING TO WHERE WE THINK IT WOULD MOST LIKELY DO THE MOST GOOD. BUT I -- I'LL LEAVE THAT UP TO THOSE WHO WILL ADMINISTER THE PROGRAM TO MAKE DECISIONS ON.

Q SO WHERE DO YOU PUT IT? IN AIRPORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, OR DO YOU -- -- PUT IT ON MAIL BOXES, OR WHAT? (LAUGHTER)

MR. MCCURRY: YOU COULD SEE A LOT OF THESE -- I THINK SOME OF THESE, JUST SOME OF THE SAMPLES HAVE HERE, THEY -- THEY ARE



CLEARLY -- MANY OF THEM HAVE BEEN DONE -- THESE ARE IN ENGLISH. WE HAVE OTHER SAMPLES THAT ARE DONE IN A VARIETY OF OTHER FOREIGN LANGUAGES, BUT I THINK SOME OF THEM ARE PRINT, SOME ARE DONE ON THE AIR. THERE ARE ALSO SOME BROCHURES AND PAMPHLETS THAT I THINK ARE MADE AVAILABLE (TO DO ?) RADIO AND TELEVISION. I THINK -- (AUDIO BREAK) -- BROADCAST ADVERTISING AS WELL IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROGRAM.

Q WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, THE MONEY -- THE MONEY IS AUTHORIZED PURSUANT TO PUBLIC LAW 98-533, 1984. IT'S A 1984 ACT PASSED BY CONGRESS AND AUTHORIZED, I THINK, ANNUALLY. IT MAY HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT MODIFIED IN 1991 TO INCREASE THE AMOUNT THAT WAS AVAILABLE. I BELIEVE ORIGINALLY THE PROGRAM OFFERED REWARDS UP TO ONE MILLION (DOLLARS). I THINK THEIR AMOUNTS WERE INCREASED TO TWO MILLION (DOLLARS) IN 1991.

Q SO THAT'S THE MAXIMUM YOU CAN OFFER.

MR. MCCURRY: THAT'S THE MAXIMUM UNDER LAW. WE CAN OFFER REWARDS UP TO DOLLAR 2 MILLION, AND I THINK THAT THE REWARDS ARE DETERMINED BASED ON THE QUALITY OF THE INFORMATION AND THE RISK AN INDIVIDUAL UNDERTAKES IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE INFORMATION.

Q SO IF THIS INFORMATION -- IF SOMEONE COMES FORWARD IN THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE YOU WITH INFORMATION ON THIS GUY, THEN IS THAT PERSON NOT ELIGIBLE TO COLLECT BECAUSE IT COMES FROM WITHIN THE UNITED STATES?

MR. MCCURRY: THAT'S A GOOD QUESTION, AND SINCE THERE HAVE BEEN SOME LEGAL ISSUES ON THIS PROGRAM ANYHOW, I'D BE CAREFUL IN ANSWERING THAT. I DO KNOW BECAUSE WE WOULD DIRECT ANYONE HERE IN THE UNITED STATES WHO HAS INFORMATION TO CONTACT THE FBI, THE FBI DOES OF COURSE ADMINISTER ITS OWN REWARD PROGRAM FOR MATTERS THAT IT INVESTIGATES, BOTH UNDER SEPARATE STATUTES AND THEN UNDER THIS --

Q BUT IT'S NOT OFFERING A REWARD FOR THIS PARTICULAR CASE.

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, IT'S -- I DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT. I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THEY -- YOU'D HAVE TO ASK THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT. BUT WE WOULD CERTAINLY CONSIDER OFFERING A REWARD.

Q WOULD YOU DENY THAT THERE HAS BEEN BUREAUCRATIC BICKERING OVER WHO IS GOING TO OFFER REWARDS ON THIS CASE?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T -- I DON'T KNOW WHETHER THERE HAS BEEN BICKERING OR NOT, BUT I THINK THAT THERE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSIONS -- INTERAGENCY DISCUSSIONS ON THE ISSUE, YES.

Q THERE HAS BEEN NON-ACTION ON THE PART OF THE TWO BUREAUCRACIES

INVOLVED FOR A SERIES OF WEEKS, HAS THERE NOT?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK AS I -- WE'VE COVERED ALREADY, WHEN WE GOT THE INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US THAT WE COULD ACT UPON RELIABLY UNDER THE LAW, WE ACTED.

Q MIKE, A QUESTION NOT UNCONNECTED WITH TERRORISM. DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT TAKE ANY VIEW ON APPARENT ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LIBYA?

MR. MCCURRY: WE -- I DON'T BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE A LOT TO SAY ON THAT. I THINK, IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR COMPREHENSIVE DIALOGUE WITH ISRAEL, WE'VE SHARED WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE LIBYAN REGIMES, BUT I DON'T THINK I'M GOING TO GET INTO ANY DESCRIPTION OF ANY PARTICULAR DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE.

Q DO YOU THINK YOU'VE MANAGED TO CUT IT OFF?

MR. MCCURRY: IT REALLY WOULD BE IN THE PROVINCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL TO ADDRESS THAT ISSUE I THINK.

Q (OFF MIKE) -- NORTH KOREA?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, WE'VE HAD -- WE'VE SAID BEFORE THAT WE HAD CONTACT WITH THEM, I THINK, INITIALLY BETWEEN -- IN A MEETING BETWEEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER IN VIENNA ON THAT ISSUE, AND I THINK WE'VE SATISFIED OURSELVES.

Q HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT, SAY, A JOINT VENTURE TO MINE PRECIOUS METALS FOR ISRAEL IN NORTH KOREA?

MR. MCCURRY: I'M UNAWARE OF THAT ISSUE. I'D HAVE TO CHECK FURTHER ON THAT.

Q THERE'S SOME STATEMENTS THIS MORNING FROM SOME PRETTY SENIOR PLO OFFICIALS SAYING THAT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THEY SHOULD DO AWAY WITH THE INTERIM PHASE AND JUST GO STRAIGHT TO THE FINAL STATUS TALKS. IS THAT SOMETHING THE SECRETARY WOULD CONSIDER? AND HAS HE BEEN TALKING WITH ANY MIDDLE EAST LEADERS WHILE HE'S BEEN ON THE ROAD?

MR. MCCURRY: I CHECKED IN WITH THE SECRETARY. I THINK AS YOU KNOW, HE'S EN ROUTE TO SINGAPORE. I DON'T BELIEVE THEY'VE HAD ANY DISCUSSIONS RELATED TO THE MIDDLE EAST TALKS. BUT IN ANY EVENT, THAT PARTICULAR ISSUE IS WELL WITHIN THE CONFINES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES, THINGS THAT THE PARTIES WOULD SAY TO EACH OTHER OR SAY TO US, AND THINGS THAT I'D PREFER NOT TO ADDRESS HERE AT THE PODIUM. I DON'T KNOW THAT ANY OF THEM HAVE ADDRESSED THOSE TYPES OF ISSUES TO THE SECRETARY OR TO OUR TEAM, BUT AGAIN, I THINK THAT IS A QUESTION ABOUT THE STRUCTURE OF THE TALKS THAT WOULD BE BEST ADDRESSED BY THE PARTIES, AND I'M RELUCTANT TO SAY ANYTHING FURTHER ABOUT IT WITH THE SECRETARY



SCHEDULED TO BE IN THE REGION VERY SHORTLY.

Q ON A RELATED SUBJECT, MIKE, TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE UNITED STATES HOLD SYRIA RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VIOLENCE ON THE -- (INAUDIBLE) -- LEBANON BORDER?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK AS YOU KNOW, WE REMAIN VERY DEEPLY TROUBLED BY THAT VIOLENCE IN SOUTH LEBANON. IT'S SOMETHING THAT WE HAVE WATCHED CAREFULLY, AND WE HAVE URGED ALL SIDES TO USE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT.

Q WILL THE SECRETARY RAISE THIS -- (OFF MIKE)?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T KNOW WHETHER HE WILL OR NOT, AND I'D PREFER, PROBABLY, NOT TO GET INTO A DISCUSSION OF WHAT HE MAY OR MAY NOT RAISE IN ADVANCE.

Q DO WE THINK THAT SYRIA HAS SOME ROLE IN THIS?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T WANT TO ADDRESS SOMETHING THAT THE SECRETARY MAY, IN FACT, ADDRESS AT AN UPCOMING MEETING.

Q WELL, HE WON'T BE THERE FOR ANOTHER TWO WEEKS.

Q ARE DENNIS ROSS AND MARTIN INDYK OUT THERE NOW?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T BELIEVE THEY'RE OUT THERE NOW. I BELIEVE THEY'RE HERE. I THINK THERE'S A CHANCE THEY MAY GO OVER SHORTLY BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE SECRETARY NEXT WEEKEND, BUT I'M NOT CERTAIN ABOUT THEIR TRAVEL SCHEDULE.

Q MIKE, ON ANOTHER UNRELATED MATTER, DC GOVERNMENT IS NOW SAYING DELINQUENT DIPLOMATIC PARKING FINES ARE NEARLY 7 MILLION (DOLLARS) IN DEBT AND THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS NOT BEING VERY HELPFUL IN COLLECTING IT. WHAT IS THE STATE DEPARTMENT DOING? WHAT TYPE OF PRESSURE DO YOU PUT ON? AND ARE THERE ANY SANCTIONS OR FINES, PENALTIES THAT YOU CAN IMPOSE?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK THAT THIS IS AN ISSUE THAT WE'VE ADDRESSED OFTEN WITH THE DC GOVERNMENT. I THINK -- MY UNDERSTANDING IS THE AMOUNT MAY BE MORE LIKE 6 (MILLION) OR 6.2 MILLION (DOLLARS) IN OUTSTANDING FINES ON PARKING TICKETS. BUT IN ANY EVENT, IT IS SOMETHING THAT WE WORK ON PRETTY VIGOROUSLY, AND I'LL GIVE YOU SOME IDEAS OF THINGS THAT WE DO DO. WE EXPECT, OF COURSE -- WE EXPECT ALL MISSION MEMBERS AFEIGN EMBASSIES AND THEIR FAMILIES TO COMPLY FULLY WITH THE LOCAL TRAFFIC LAWS AND REGULATIONS AND TO PAY ANY FINES FOR VIOLATIONS. THAT'S OBVIOUSLY SOMETHING WE EXPECT. WE ROUTINELY WORK WITH THE DISTRICT TO HELP IDENTIFY OFFENDERS TO SEEK COMPLIANCE WITH ALL THE RELEVANT PARKING REGULATIONS.

NOW, IN -- WE ALSO, I THINK -- IN ADDITION TO THAT, I BELIEVE WE

PUT TOGETHER QUARTERLY REPORTS THAT WE SEND TO THE MISSIONS AND TELL THEM HOW MUCH THEY'VE GOT IN UNPAID VIOLATIONS. WE FOLLOW UP WITH THAT VERY OFTEN IN PERSON AND PHONE CALLS WITH DIPLOMATS FROM EMBASSIES THAT HAVE OUTSTANDING FINES. BUT THE IMPORTANT THING IS WHAT DO YOU -- WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT THE SITUATION BECAUSE THERE DOES -- YOU KNOW, YOU DO HAVE THIS BACKLOG OF FINES. WE HAVE, IN APRIL, MADE A PROPOSAL TO THE DISTRICT GOVERNMENT SUGGESTING THAT WE WOULD, IN THE FUTURE, REFUSE TO RE-REGISTER DIPLOMATIC LICENSE PLATES TO INDIVIDUALS OR EMBASSIES THAT HAVE OUTSTANDING FINES AND THAT WE'RE WORKING NOW WITH THE DISTRICT TO SEE IF WE CAN IMPLEMENT THAT POLICY. WE'RE AWAITING A REACTION FROM THE DISTRICT TO THAT PROPOSAL THAT WE MADE IN APRIL. AND, YOU KNOW, I THINK THAT WOULD BE A MEASURE THAT CLEARLY WOULD, WE THINK, HELP PUT ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON THOSE WHO, FOR WHATEVER REASON, DON'T PAY THEIR PARKING FINES.

Q CAN WE HAVE COPIES OF THE REPORTS THAT ARE SENT OUT TO THE EMBASSIES SO WE CAN GAUGE WHICH EMBASSY IS -- (LAUGHTER) --

Q MICHAEL, ISN'T IT TRUE THAT -- (INAUDIBLE) -- ISRAELIS --

Q CAN WE HAVE COPIES OF THAT?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T KNOW WHERE I CAN MAKE COPIES AVAILABLE. I THINK IT'S OF THAT AMOUNT -- DOLLAR 6 MILLION. I THINK THIS IS -- UNFORTUNATELY, THE LARGEST AMOUNT, THE BULK OF IT, WHICH I THINK IS ALMOST DOLLAR 4 MILLION, IS OWED BY THE FORMER SOVIET UNION. AND THEY HAVE, I THINK AS YOU KNOW, SKIPPED TOWN. SO --

עד כאן חלק א'

תפוצה: שדח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, גנור,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, מצפא,  
סמנכלהסברה, הסברה, מעת, גוברין, מזארל,  
יגר, מאפל, @ (דוצ), רחטמזת, מזתים, דוצ-ים, @ (בןעמי/משהבט)

סססס



22935: חוזם, אאא  
אל: רהמש/675  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 706, תא: 230793, זח: 1611, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בכב  
בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

להלן בהמשך לנר 705:

*Handwritten signature in red ink, possibly "Lantos".*

REP. LANTOS: MAY I STOP YOU ON THAT --

MR. FUNK: YES, SIR.

REP. LANTOS: -- MATTER? WHEN I READ AND RE-READ YOUR TESTIMONY, MR. FUNK, THIS SENTENCE JUMPED UP AT ME, THAT THE OFFICER WAS ON HIS FIRST TOUR. WELL, BY DEFINITION, EVERY OFFICER AT ONE TIME IN HIS CAREER IS ON HIS FIRST TOUR, AND IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE TO TRAIN ITS OFFICER, WHETHER THEY ARE CONSULAR OFFICERS, POLITICAL OFFICERS, ECONOMIC OFFICERS, SO THAT THEY ARE FUNCTIONAL ON THEIR FIRST TOUR. I MUST SAY THAT I AM UNIMPRESSED BY THE FACT THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL WAS ON HIS FIRST TOUR, BECAUSE IF WE ARE TO UNDERSTAND THAT BEING ON THE FIRST TOUR MEANS THAT THEY ARE INCOMPETENT, THEN THERE IS SOMETHING PROFOUNDLY WRONG WITH THE TRAINING PROGRAM.

NOW I FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT SOMEBODY ON HIS THIRD TOUR IS MORE EXPERIENCED THAN SOMEONE ON HIS FIRST TOUR, BUT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE SHOULD NOT PUT ANYBODY IN CHARGE OF A CONSULAR BUREAU, AN OFFICE WHICH IS IN CHARGE OF DECIDING WHO GETS A VISA OR WHO DOESN'T GET A VISA, UNLESS THAT INDIVIDUAL IS QUALIFIED TO PERFORM HIS FUNCTIONS. THIS IS LIKE TELLING A UNIVERSITY THAT THE REASON PEOPLE ARE ILLITERATE IN ECONOMICS IS BECAUSE THE ELEMENTARY COURSE WAS TAUGHT BY SOMEBODY WHO WAS JUST BEGINNING TO TEACH ECONOMICS. I MEAN, THIS IS AN ABSURDITY. IT'S LIKE TELLING THE MILITARY THAT PEOPLE WHO FINISH THEIR OFFICER TRAINING CANNOT PERFORM THEIR FUNCTIONS.

I MEAN, THE STANDARD OF PERFORMANCE MUST BE SUCH THAT THE INDIVIDUAL IS QUALIFIED TO PERFORM HIS RESPONSIBILITIES. I DON'T KNOW IF YOU'D CARE TO COMMENT ON THIS.

MR. FUNK: MR. CHAIRMAN, EACH CONSULAR OFFICER, BEFORE TAKING HIS OR HER FIRST POST, RECEIVES THE STANDARD 26 DAYS OF TRAINING AT WHAT WE CALL CONSUL GENERAL ROSSLYN IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE INSTITUTE. THAT IS A REQUIREMENT, AND TO MY KNOWLEDGE, NOBODY

EVER GETS WITHOUT THAT. WE HAVE ABOUT 330 FIRST-TOUR OFFICERS OVERSEAS RIGHT NOW, AND THAT'S ABOUT NORMAL FOR THE DEPARTMENT. WE HAVE ABOUT 470 PROFESSIONAL CONSULAR OFFICERS. WE DO NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT MANPOWER -- AND I'LL REALLY DEFER TO MS. RYAN NEXT TO ME ON THIS -- TO MY KNOWLEDGE, WE DO NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT MANPOWER WITHOUT RELYING ON FIRST-TOUR OFFICERS.

THE SPECIFIC PROBLEM AT KHARTOUM WAS THAT KHARTOUM IS NOT A POST THAT MOST PEOPLE WOULD CARE TO GO TO. IT IS A DIFFICULT POST. I HAVE BEEN THERE. AND AS A RESULT, BECAUSE WE HAVE AN OPEN BIDDING SYSTEM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AND EVEN THOUGH THE DEPARTMENT SAYS THAT EVERY FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER SHOULD HAVE WORLDWIDE AVAILABILITY, AND THAT'S GROUND INTO EVERYBODY AS PART OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE CULTURE, THE FACT IS THAT PEOPLE VOLUNTARILY BID ON POSTS.

IT'S VERY RARELY MANDATORY. AND THEREFORE, AN ASSIGNMENT TO KHARTOUM IS NOT TREASURED, IT'S NOT SOUGHT AFTER. AND THERE TEND TO BE GAPS. AND THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED IN THE CASE OF 1986 IN KHARTOUM. THERE WERE GAPS, AND THEREFORE A YOUNGER, FIRST-TOUR CONSULAR, IN HIS FIRST TOUR OF CONSULAR OPERATIONS, WAS THERE.

(ASIDE) I DON'T KNOW IF YOU WOULD CARE TO COMMENT.

MS. RYAN: SO, EXCEPT THAT FIRST TOUR OFFICERS ARE ASSIGNED TO POSTS, THEY HAVE SOME INPUT INTO THEIR ASSIGNMENTS, BUT BASICALLY THE DEPARTMENT MAKES THEIR ASSIGNMENTS. AND THEY'RE NOT ABLE TO REFUSE OR TO NEGOTIATE ON THAT ASSIGNMENT.

REP. LANTOS: BUT YOU WOULD EXPECT A FIRST TOUR OFFICER TO BE FULLY COMPETENT TO HANDLE THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH ARE WITHIN THE PURVIEW OF THAT OFFICE, WOULD YOU NOT?

MS. RYAN: YES, MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD.

MR. FUNK: I HAVE SEEN -- IN MY OWN TRAVELS, I HAVE SEEN FIRST TOUR OFFICERS PERFORMING, UNDER INCREDIBLY DIFFICULT CONDITIONS, PERFORMING VERY WELL. IT'S AMAZING TO ME THAT IT WORKS AS WELL AS IT DOES -- NOT SO WELL SOMETIMES.

LET ME MAKE TWO KEY POINTS ABOUT THE 1986 VISA IN KHARTOUM. IF THE EMBASSY IN CAIRO, OR THE DEPARTMENT, FOR THAT MATTER, HAD ENTERED THE SHEIK'S NAME INTO THE VISA LOOKOUT SYSTEM BEFORE 1986, AS SHOULD HAVE BEEN DONE, AND IF THE EMBASSY IN KHARTOUM HAD PERFORMED THE REQUIRED NAME CHECK OF THE LOOKOUT SYSTEM, THEN THE VISA MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN ISSUED TO THE SHEIK. THAT'S IMPORTANT BECAUSE CONSULAR OFFICERS GIVE CONSIDERABLE WEIGHT IN SUBSEQUENT APPLICATIONS TO EVIDENCE THAT A PERSON HAS RECEIVED A PREVIOUS VISA, AND HAS NOT ABUSED THAT BY OVERSTAYING THE AUTHORIZED VISIT IN THE UNITED STATES. THE SHEIK DID NOT DO THAT. THEREFORE, HIS RECEIPT OF A 1986 VISA AT KHARTOUM HELPED THE SHEIK TO GET FUTURE VISAS DOWNSTREAM.



IN APRIL OF 1987, TWO VISA APPLICATIONS FROM THE SHEIK AT OUR EMBASSY IN CAIRO WERE REFUSED BECAUSE HE WAS UNABLE TO PERSUADE THE CONSULAR OFFICER THAT HE WAS NOT INTENDING TO EMIGRATE TO THE UNITED STATES. ON APRIL 26, '87, HOWEVER, A SECOND VISA WAS ISSUED BY THAT SAME OFFICER AFTER THE SHEIK PRODUCED NOT ONLY A RETURN AIRLINE TICKET, BUT LETTERS FROM US RELIGIOUS GROUPS REQUESTING THAT HE BE ALLOWED TO PREACH AT VARIOUS MOSQUES THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES DURING RAMADAN.

REP. LANTOS: WHEN YOU INTERVIEWED THAT OFFICER, MR. FUNK --

MR. FUNK: YES, SIR.

REP. LANTOS: -- WHAT WAS HIS ANSWER TO THE QUESTION WHICH I PRESUME YOU OR YOUR FOLKS MUST HAVE ASKED. HAVING REFUSED THE VISA TWICE -- YOU MUST HAVE HAD SOME REASONS FOR REFUSING THE VISA TWICE --

MR. FUNK: HE WAS REFUSED BEFORE BECAUSE HE DID NOT HAVE DOCUMENTATION TO SHOW THAT HE HAD A RETURN AIRLINE TICKET, FOR ONE THING; OR THAT HE HAD ANY LETTERS OR ANY DOCUMENTS FROM THE UNITED STATES BACKING UP HIS CLAIM THAT HE WAS GOING OVER TO PREACH TEMPORARILY. AND WHEN THE CONSULAR OFFICER MET WITH MY TEAM -- THE THEN-CONSULAR OFFICER -- HE EXPLAINED THAT IN POINT OF FACT, THE SHEIK NOW HAD A RETURN AIRLINE TICKET, TO SHOW HE WAS COMING BACK, AND THAT HE HAD LETTERS FROM THESE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS GROUPS, ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN THE STATES, ASKING HIM -- SOLICITING HIS PREACHING DURING RAMADAN.

REP. LANTOS: WELL, WHAT IS MEANT BY THESE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS GROUPS? MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT THE HEAD OF ONE OF THESE RELIGIOUS GROUPS IS CURRENTLY IN PRISON IN CONNECTION WITH THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING. IS THAT CORRECT?

MR. FUNK: I DON'T KNOW IF HE'S THE HEAD OF A RELIGIOUS GROUP, SIR. I DON'T KNOW THAT. I KNOW HE'S AFFILIATED. BUT THIS WOULD BE A NORMAL CONCERN. AND GIVEN THE -- GIVEN THE PRESSURES THAT AFFECT A CONSULAR OFFICER, AND ASSUMING THAT THE CONSULAR OFFICER DID NOT KNOW -- WHICH IS ANOTHER PROBLEM, OF COURSE -- DID NOT KNOW OF THE SHEIK'S AFFILIATION AND HIS PAST RECORD -- WHICH OF COURSE BOTHERS ME CONSIDERABLY. HE SHOULD HAVE KNOWN THAT. AND I'LL COME TO THAT LATER.

BUT ASSUMING THAT HE DID NOT KNOW, IF I WERE A CONSULAR OFFICER AND I HAVE A -- AN AIRLINE TICKET SHOWN TO ME, A VALID AIRLINE TICKET, AND I HAVE LETTERS SAYING I'M BEING INVITED FOR A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME TO -- TO PREACH IN SUCH-AND-SUCH A LOCATION IN SUCH-AND-SUCH A MOSQUE AND THEREFORE COULD BE LOCATED, I WOULD PROBABLY GO ALONG AND GIVE THE VISA. BUT THAT PRESUPPOSES I WAS NOT AWARE OF THE BACKGROUND OF THE INDIVIDUAL, WHICH, OF COURSE, TO ME IS A MAJOR PROBLEM.



REP. LANTOS: WELL, THERE IS A FURTHER PROBLEM WHICH ARISES IN MY MIND. IT'S NOT VERY COSTLY TO PRINT A LETTERHEAD PURPORTING TO REPRESENT A, QUOTE-UNQUOTE, "RELIGIOUS GROUP".

MR. FUNK: YOU CAN BUY THEM IN BAZAARS ALL OVER THE MIDDLE EAST.

REP. LANTOS: WELL, PRECISELY. SO -- SO TO HAVE A TYPEWRITER -- (LAUGHS) -- TESTIFY THAT AN INDIVIDUAL HAS A JOB WAITING FOR HIM IN THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT ANY CHECK, WITHOUT ANY VERIFICATION MERELY UNDERSCORES THE ABSURDITY OF THE SYSTEM. I MEAN, YOU CAN -- YOU CAN CONCOCT ANY NUMBER OF LETTERHEADS INDICATING THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL WILL PERFORM XYZ FUNCTIONS. BUT IF THERE IS DOUBT, AS THERE OBVIOUSLY WAS DOUBT, BECAUSE TWICE HE WAS REFUSED A VISA, THERE WOULD NEED TO BE SOME ATTEMPT AT VERIFICATION. AND PRESUMABLY NONE TOOK PLACE. IS THAT CORRECT, MR. INSPECTOR GENERAL?

MR. FUNK: PRESUMABLY. HE DID -- I STAND CORRECTED. HE DID RECOGNIZE THE SHEIK. HE TOLD OUR TEAM HE DID RECOGNIZE THE SHEIK. HE WAS THE ONE -- ONE OF THE -- THE ONLY ONE WHO DID. HE SAID HE ISSUED THE VISA AFTER HE OVERCAME THE -- THE 214B, WHICH IS THE -- PART OF THE OLD IMMIGRATION LAW WHICH REQUIRES SUFFICIENT EVIDENCE OF PRESUMPTION THAT THE PERSON IS GOING TO RETURN AND BECAUSE HE'D NOT BEEN CONVICTED OF ANY CRIMES. I REPEAT, HE HAD NOT BEEN "CONVICTED", IN QUOTES, OF ANY CRIMES. AND I'LL ALSO COME BACK TO THAT, WHICH IS A VERY SERIOUS ISSUE IN MY MIND. I'LL COME BACK TO THAT AT THE END OF MY STATEMENT.

REP. LANTOS: YEAH. YOU KNOW, I ALSO HAVE QUESTIONS IN MY MIND CONCERNING THIS RETURN AIRLINE TICKET BUSINESS. A RETURN AIRLINE TICKET IS REFUNDABLE. AND IF IT'S NOT REFUNDABLE, THAT'S THE COST OF DOING BUSINESS. SO WHAT -- YOU WOULD CLEARLY NOT EXPECT ANYONE WHO ATTEMPTS TO ENGAGE IN ILLEGAL OR DANGEROUS, EVEN DEADLY ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES TO GO TO YOUR CONSULAR OFFICE, MS. RYAN, WITH A ONE-WAY TICKET. I MEAN, YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE A ROCKET SCIENTIST TO BUY A ROUND-TRIP TICKET. AND IF THE ROUND-TRIP TICKET IS IPSO FACTO VIEWED AS EVIDENCE THAT THE INDIVIDUAL INTENDS TO RETURN TO WHEREVER HE CAME FROM, YOU HAVE -- YOU HAVE RELIED ON SOMETHING WHICH CLEARLY HAS NO SUBSTANTIVE VALIDITY OF ANY KIND WHATSOEVER. AS A MATTER OF FACT, GIVEN CURRENT AIRLINE RATES AND STRUCTURES, A ROUND- TRIP TICKET IS OFTEN CHEAPER OR NO MORE EXPENSIVE THAN A ONE-WAY TICKET.

MR. FUNK: I WOULD --

REP. LANTOS: SO TO RELY ON A ROUND-TRIP TICKET AS PROOF OF ANYTHING IN 1993, GIVEN THE FACT THAT ROUND-TRIP TICKETS ARE TYPICALLY CHEAPER THAN ONE-WAY TICKETS, IS ABSURD.

AND I'M WONDERING, MS. RYAN, WHETHER YOU HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT IT AND WHETHER YOU INTEND TO PUOUT AN APPROPRIATE ADVISORY TO ALL



OF THOSE 300 OR HOW MANY POSTS WHERE THEY ISSUE VISAS AND TELL THEM THIS -- I MEAN, IF PEOPLE RELY ON SOMETHING WHICH HAS NO -- NO SUBSTANTIVE VALIDITY IN TERMS OF INDICATING A DESIRE TO RETURN.

MS. RYAN: MR. CHAIRMAN, YOU'RE ABSOLUTELY CORRECT ON THAT. A ROUND-TRIP TICKET WOULD BE ONE OF THE THINGS THAT A CONSULAR OFFICER WOULD LOOK AT. AS TO --

REP. LANTOS: BUT WHY? BUT THAT'S MY QUESTION. I MEAN, A ROUND-TRIP TICKET PROVES NOTHING. IT MERELY PROVES THAT THE PERSON WAS EITHER INTELLIGENT ENOUGH IN FINANCIAL TERMS -- A ROUND-TRIP TICKET IS THE -- IS THE WAY TO GO BECAUSE IT'S CHEAPER -- OR HE KNEW THAT THE CONSULAR OFFICER IS RELYING ON THE ROUND-TRIP TICKET AND HE GOT A ROUND-TRIP TICKET ALTHOUGH HE HAS NO INTENTION OF COMING BACK.

MS. RYAN: YES, SIR. THAT -- THAT'S CORRECT. I DON'T THINK THAT THERE IS ANY CONSULAR OFFICER AROUND THE WORLD WHO WOULD RELY SOLELY ON AN AIRLINE -- A ROUND-TRIP AIRLINE TICKET AND ISSUE A VISA.

REP. LANTOS: BUT THE DISTINGUISHED INSPECTOR GENERAL JUST TOLD US THAT THE VISA WAS DECLINED TWICE BECAUSE THE FELLOW DIDN'T HAVE A ROUND-TRIP TICKET -- -- AND THE THIRD TIME HE WENT BACK WITH A ROUND-TRIP TICKET PLUS A LETTER -- PLUS A LETTER. THEN HE GOT THE -- THEN HE GOT THE VISA. I MEAN, I'M NOT -- I REALIZE YOU HAVE JUST ASSUMED YOUR POSITION, AND NONE OF MY COMMENTS, YOU KNOW, ARE DIRECTED AT YOU PERSONALLY. BUT THEY ARE DIRECTED AT THE SYSTEM. I MEAN, HOW CAN A SYSTEM RELY ON AN INDEX WHICH HAS NOT FUNDAMENTAL VALIDITY OF ANY KIND?

MS. RYAN: WE MAY -- BUT YOU KNOW, REALLY, WHEN YOU'RE PRESENTED WITH THIS KIND OF EVIDENCE, YOU'RE TRYING TO OVERCOME -- OR THE APPLICANT IS TRYING TO OVERCOME THE PRESUMPTION THAT HE'S GOING -- THAT HE'S AN INTENDING IMMIGRANT. IN OTHER WORDS --

REP. LANTOS: WELL, UNLESS HE'S AN IDIOT, HE SHOWS A ROUND-TRIP TICKET. ISN'T THAT TRUE? WHETHER HE PLANS TO COME BACK OR NEVER INTENDS TO RETURN, IF HE KNOWS THAT THE CONSULAR OFFICIAL IS LOOKING AT THE ROUND-TRIP TICKET AS ONE INDEX OF HIS VERACITY, THEN CLEARLY HE WILL HAVE THAT INDEX. I MEAN, IT'S LIKE SAYING THAT IF -- IF -- IF THE CONSULAR OFFICIAL WERE TO CONSIDER A BLUE HANDKERCHIEF AS AN INDEX OF A DESIRE TO RETURN -- (LAUGHTER) -- THEN I WOULD WAVE MY BLUE HANDKERCHIEF, WOULDN'T I? WELL, THEY WAVE THEIR ROUND-TRIP TICKET. AND THAT GIVES, PRESUMABLY, SOME CONSULAR OFFICIALS A MODICUM OF SECURITY, A FEELING THAT THEY'VE DONE THEIR JOB BECAUSE THE APPLICANT HAS A ROUND-TRIP TICKET WHEN, IN FACT, YOU HAVE JUST ADMITTED -- AND I AGREE WITH YOU -- IT HAS NO SUBSTANTIVE RELEVANCE.

MS. RYAN: THERE ARE BONA FIDE NON-IMMIGRANTS WHO DO HAVE



ROUND-TRIP TICKETS, TOO, THOUGH, SIR. YOU -- IT WOULD BE -- HOW WOULD YOU DECIDE WHO GETS INTO THE COUNTRY? BECAUSE YOU'RE -- THE PROBLEM THAT CONSULAR OFFICERS HAVE IS THAT THEY HAVE UGE THE INTENT OF THE APPLICANT AT THE TIME OF THE INTERVIEW. DOES HE OR SHE INTEND TO STAY IN THE UNITED STATES, OR DO THEY INTEND TO COME BACK? AND YOU COULD --

REP. LANTOS: AND MY POINT IS THAT HAVING A ROUND-TRIP TICKET DOES NOT PROVE ANYTHING ALONG THOSE LINES.

MS. RYAN: GRANTED. THAT'S TRUE. BUT IT'S, LIKE, ONE THING --

REP. LANTOS: WELL, BUT IF IT DOESN'T PROVE ANYTHING, THAT IT ISN'T -- THEN IT ISN'T ONE THING. THEN IT'S A NOTHING.

MR. FUNK: I -- I JUST -- ONE LITTLE COMMENT TO THAT.

I THINK THERE PROBABLY ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN A LARGE VISA-ISSUING POST -- LIKE MANILA, SAY, OR SEOUL, KOREA -- AND A PLACE LIKE KHARTOUM. IN A PLACE LIKE KHARTOUM, YOU DO NOT HAVE THE ENORMOUS PRESSURE YOU HAVE IN A VISA MILL -- LIKE MEXICO CITY -- WHERE YOU HAVE A MATTER OF TEN, FIFTEEN SECONDS TO SPEND ON EACH APPLICANT. SO THERE IS EVEN LESS EXCUSE IN A PLACE LIKE KHARTOUM, WHERE YOU HAVE TIME TO SPEND WITH SOMEBODY. YOU DON'T A LINE ALL THE WAY AROUND THE BLOCK EVERY MORNING. SO THERE IS THAT DIFFERENCE.

THE FACT THAT THE SHEIK'S NAME HAD BEEN OMITTED FROM THE LOOK-OUT SYSTEM AT THIS POINT HAS BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO A VARIETY OF POSSIBLE CAUSES. THESE INCLUDED HIGHER PRIORITY CONCERNS WITH OTHER TERRORIST GROUPS, FREQUENT CHANGES IN THE STAFF AT POSTS, THE FACT THAT THE SHEIK HAS NEVER -- WAS NEVER FORMALLY CONVICTED OF ANY TERRORIST ACTIVITIES -- AND -- AND WE JUST LEARNED THAT THAT WAS ONE OF THE CAUSES FOR THE SHEIK RECEIVING THE VISA IN KHARTOUM: THAT HE HAD NEVER BEEN CONVICTED OF A CRIME -- AND THAT SOMEONE ELSE IN THE EMBASSY OR IN WASHINGTON WOULD ENTER HIS NAME INTO THE SYSTEM.

NONE OF THESE EXCUSES IS CONVINCING. THE SHEIK'S NAME SHOULD HAVE BEEN PUT INTO THE LOOK-OUT SYSTEM AS EARLY AS 1981, WHEN HE WAS ACCUSED OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE SADAT MURDER AND BEFORE HE APPLIED FOR A VISA IN EITHER KHARTOUM OR CAIRO.

ON JULY 27, 1987, THE SHEIK APPLIED FOR ANOTHER VISA IN CAIRO AND WAS REFUSED. THREE DAYS LATER THE DEPARTMENT SENT A CABLE TO CAIRO AND LONDON, ASKING FOR INFORMATION ABOUT HIM. FOLLOWING UP ON THIS INQUIRY, THE CONSUL GENERAL IN CAIRO FOUND THAT THE EMBASSY POLITICAL SECTION HAD SUFFICIENT DATA ON THE SHEIK TO JUSTIFY ENTERING HIS NAME IN THE LOOK-OUT SYSTEM AS A QUASI-REFUSAL. LET ME EXPLAIN THIS BUSINESS OF A QUASI-REFUSAL.

DEPARTMENT PROCEDURES PERMIT THE NAME OF POTENTIALLY INELIGIBLE



APPLICANTS TO BE ENTERED INTO THE LOOK-OUT SYSTEM BY POSTS AS QUASI- REFUSALS RATHER THAN ACTUAL REFUSALS. WHEN A FORMAL APPLICATION HAS NOT BEEN SUBMITTED OR THE INDIVIDUAL IS NOT AVAILABLE FOR AN INTERVIEW AT POST, A QUASI-REFUSAL UNDER CODE 77 -- WHICH CAIRO USED FOR THE SHEIK -- REPRESENTED AN ALIEN PRESUMED TO BE INELIGIBLE UNDER THAT SECTION OF THE THEN-IMMIGRATION NATIONALITY ACT, WHICH STATED THAT, QUOTE, "ALIENS WHO THE CONSULAR OFFICER KNOWS OR HAS REASON TO BELIEVE SEEK TO ENTER THE UNITED STATES TO ENGAGE IN ACTIVITIES WHICH WOULD BE PREJUDICIAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST OR ENDANGER THE WELFARE OR SAFETY AND SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES ARE EXCLUDED FROM ADMISSION."

A CODE 77 DOES NOT MANDATE THAT A VISA APPLICATION BE DENIED. IT DOES REQUIRE THAT THE POST WITH INFORMATION ABOUT THAT APPLICANT BE QUERIED BEFORE A DECISION IS REACHED ABOUT WHETHER A VISA SHOULD BE ISSUED. IF A DECISION IS MADE TO DENY THE VISA, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE IN WASHINGTON MUST APPROVE THE DENIAL.

WE HAVE A KIND OF A BAFFLING CASE IN CAIRO IN 1988. THE SHEIK MAY HAVE BEEN ISSUED ANOTHER VISA ON MAY 5TH, 1988. AS I NOTED EARLIER, POSTS DO NOT NORMALLY MAINTAIN RECORDS OF VISA APPLICATIONS BEYOND ONE YEAR. TO COMPOUND THE PROBLEM, THEY TYPICALLY MAINTAIN CUMULATIVE LISTINGS OF VISAS ISSUED BY DATE, NOT BY NAME: IN OTHER WORDS, CHRONOLOGICALLY RATHER THAN ALPHABETICALLY. THE LACK OF READILY NAME-RETRIEVABLE DATA AND THE LAPSES AND CONFLICTS IN THE MEMORIES OF KEY OFFICIALS IN THIS MATTER PREVENTED THE TEAM FROM DETERMINING CONCLUSIVELY WHETHER AN APPLICATION WAS APPROVED AND SUBSEQUENTLY CANCELLED. AVAILABLE EVIDENCE DID LEAD THE TEAM TO BELIEVE THAT THE APPLICATION WAS PROBABLY APPROVED AND THE VISA ISSUED BY THE EMBASSY IN CAIRO AT LEAST INITIALLY. A DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THIS IS IN MY FULL STATEMENT. I'LL BE HAPPY, OF COURSE, TO ANSWER QUESTIONS ABOUT THAT.

SOME DISTURBING QUESTIONS REMAIN UNANSWERED, THOUGH, ABOUT THE 1988 POSSIBLE VISA.

THE APPLICATION BEARS A BATCH NUMBER THAT INDICATES THAT THE SYSTEM WAS CHECKED AND THAT THE RESPONSE WAS NEGATIVE. BUT BY THEN, THE SHEIK'S NAME HAD BEEN IN THE LOOK-OUT SYSTEM FOR SIX MONTHS. WHY WASN'T THIS DISCOVERED DURING THE NAME CHECK? AND WE HAVE NO WAY OF COMING UP WITH AN ANSWER TO THAT. WHY DID THE SHEIK USE A 1984 PASSPORT WHEN APPLYING FOR THE VISA, WHEN ANOTHER PASSPORT HAD BEEN ISSUED TO HIM IN 1987? WE DON'T KNOW THE ANSWER TO THAT, EITHER.

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE MISHANDLING OF THE MAY 5 APPLICATION, THE LOOK-OUT SYSTEM CONTINUED TO SHOW THE SHEIK ONLY AS A QUASI-REFUSAL, AND QUASI-REFUSALS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE INS LOOK-OUT SYSTEM AT PORTS OF ENTRY. THE DEPARTMENT HAD BEEN SUPPLYING DATA TO INS, WITH QUASI-REFUSALS AND ACTUAL REFUSALS,



SINCE THE EARLY '80S. HOWEVER, IT WAS NOT UNTIL JULY '88 THAT INS HAD THE CAPABILITY OF RECEIVING LARGE SYSTEMIC EXCHANGES OF DATA FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT. ONLY THEN DID INS BEGIN TO INCLUDE VISA REFUSALS, BUT NOT QUASI-REFUSALS, IN ITS LOOK-OUT SYSTEM.

THE DECISION BY INS TO EXCLUDE QUASI-REFUSALS FROM ITS LOOK-OUT DATABASE WAS BASED ON THE DIFFERENT REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEPARTMENT AND INS. IN ESSENCE, A CONSULAR OFFICER'S REFUSAL CAN ONLY BE APPEALED AT THE FOREIGN SERVICE POST WHERE THE REFUSAL IS MADE. THAT ASSUMES, OF COURSE, YOU CAN'T GET A CONGRESSMAN INTERESTED. ONCE AN ALIEN REACHES THE UNITED STATES, HOWEVER, THE MOMENT HE OR SHE SETS FOOT OFF AN AIRPLANE --

REP. LANTOS: I TAKE IT THERE WAS NO CONGRESSIONAL INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF THE SHEIK, WAS THERE? (LAUGHTER) I JUST WANT THE RECORD TO SHOW THAT.

MR. FUNK: BUT THE POINT HERE IS THAT THE VERY MOMENT AN ALIEN SETS FOOT OFF AN AIRPLANE ON AMERICAN SOIL, DUE PROCESS BEGINS TO TAKE OVER AND KICKS IN. THUS, A DECISION BY AN IMMIGRATION OFFICER AT THE PORT OF ENTRY TO REFUSE ADMISSION ON A PRESUMED GROUND ON INELIGIBILITY CAN BE APPEALED ADMINISTRATIVELY THROUGH AN IMMIGRATION JUDGE.

BUT APPEALS DO NOT HAVE TO STOP THERE. ONCE HAVING EXHAUSTED ADMINISTRATIVE APPEALS WITHIN THE INS, AN ALIEN MAY TAKE AN APPEAL TO THE CIVIL COURTS. BECAUSE OF ALL THIS, THE QUALITY OF EVIDENCE NEEDED TO SUPPORT A REFUSAL BY AN IMMIGRATION OFFICER IS SUBSTANTIALLY HIGHER THAN THAT REQUIRED BY A CONSULAR OFFICER.

LET'S TURN NOW TO MAY 10TH, 1990, WHEN OUR EMBASSY IN KHARTOUM ISSUED ANOTHER VISA TO THE SHEIK. THIS SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN DONE WITHOUT AT LEAST TOUCHING BASE WITH CAIRO, WHICH HAS ENTERED THE CODE 77 IN THE LOOK-OUT SYSTEM TWO AND A HALF YEARS EARLIER. THE FSN RESPONSIBLE FOR CONDUCTING A NAME CHECK ADMITTED THAT HE HAD NOT PERFORMED IT, EVEN THOUGH HE INDICATED ON THE FORM THAT HE HAD DONE SO USING THE VISA CFICHE LOOK-OUT FILE. THERE WAS SIMPLY NO CONTROLS IN PLACE BY WHICH AMERICAN CONSULAR PERSONNEL COULD ENSURE THAT THE SYSTEM, IN FACT, HAD BEEN CHECKED.

THE CONSULAR LOOK-OUT SYSTEM ON MICROFICHE IS ANTIQUATED, TIME-CONSUMING, AND DIFFICULT TO USE. THE FSN ASSIGNED THE JOB OF CHECKING THE MICROFICHE SAID HE DECIDED NOT TO USE IT BECAUSE THE SHEIK'S AGE, HIS PHYSICAL APPEARANCE, AND THE FACT THAT HE HAD RECEIVED PREVIOUS US NON-IMMIGRANT VISAS LED HIM TO THINK IT WOULD NOT BE IN THE SYSTEM. WE DO NOT KNOW, FRANKLY, TO WHAT EXTENT THIS DECISION REFLECTED OR WAS INFLUENCED BY HIS RELUCTANCE TO USE THE DIFFICULT SYSTEM.

WE REVIEWED THE PROCESS OF LOOKING AT THE MICROFICHE AND



CONFIRMED THAT IT IS, INDEED, CUMBERSOME AND TIME-CONSUMING TO LOOK FOR SPECIFIC NAMES, ESPECIALLY ARABIC NAMES, WHICH MAY HAVE DIFFERENT SPELLINGS AND NUMEROUS VARIATIONS IN THE ORDER OF SURNAMES. BECAUSE OF THIS AND BECAUSE OF INFORMATION OBTAINED THROUGH INSPECTIONS OF POST BY MY OFFICE, WE BELIEVE THAT THE FAILURE TO CHECK THE MICROFICHE IN KHARTOUM IS NOT AN ISOLATED CASE, AND THAT THERE PROBABLY ARE NUMEROUS OCCASIONS OF POSTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WHERE THE MICROFICHE IS NOT BEING CHECKED.

WITHIN A WEEK TO TEN DAYS AFTER ISSUING A VISA TO THE SHEIK, EMBASSY KHARTOUM REALIZED ITS MISTAKE AND BEGAN THE PROCESS OF REVOKING THE VISA. THIS LED TO ANOTHER COMEDY, OR SHALL I SAY TRAGEDY, OF ERRORS.

IT WAS BADLY MISHANDLED BETWEEN THE POST AND THE DEPARTMENT'S BUREAU OF CONSULAR AFFAIRS. DESPITE CLEAR GUIDANCE IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MANUAL -- THE FAM, I WILL CALL IT -- ON PROCEDURES FOR REVOKING A VISA, CONFUSION AND DISAGREEMENT EXISTED BETWEEN THE POST AND THE BUREAU ON WHO SHOULD DO THE REVOCATION AND WHO SHOULD INFORM INS. AS A RESULT, IT WAS NOT UNTIL NOVEMBER 26, 1990, SIX MONTHS AFTER THE VISA WAS ISSUED, THAT THE DEPARTMENT FINALLY REVOKED IT AND ARRANGED FOR INS TO ENTER THE SHEIK'S NAME IN ITS OWN LOOK-OUT SYSTEM.

REP. LANTOS: -- YOU ARE VERY FAMILIAR WITH THE MANUAL. WHO SHOULD HAVE PROCESSED THIS REVOCATION? THE POST OR THE DEPARTMENT?

MR. FUNK: I WOULD TURN TO MY EXPERT HERE.

MR. LOUIS MCCALL (SP) (CONSULAR OFFICER, STATE DEPARTMENT): MR. CHAIRMAN --

REP. LANTOS: IF YOU PULL UP A CHAIR AT THE END OF THE TABLE, YOU'LL BE MORE COMFORTABLE, AND WE'LL GIVE YOU A MIKE. IF YOU'LL BE KIND ENOUGH TO IDENTIFY YOURSELF.

MR. MCCALL: MR. CHAIRMAN, I AM LOUIS MCCALL. I AM A CAREER CONSULAR OFFICER, AND --

REP. LANTOS: WE ARE PLEASED TO HAVE YOU, MR. MCCALL.

MR. MCCALL: THANK YOU, SIR. INITIALLY THE RESPONSIBILITY LIES WITH THE POST THAT ISSUED THE VISA TO TRY TO PHYSICALLY GET THE VISA AND CANCEL THAT. ONCE THAT'S DONE, THERE IS NO NEED TO REVOKE, BECAUSE IT'S PHYSICALLY CANCELLED. FAILING THAT, EITHER THE POST OR THE DEPARTMENT CAN TAKE STEPS TO REVOKE THE VISA.

REP. LANTOS: WELL, THEY BOTH CAN, BUT THE INSPECTOR GENERAL TESTIFIES THAT THERE WAS A DISPUTE BETWEEN THE POST AND THE DEPARTMENT WITH THE CONSEQUENCE THAT FOR MONTHS NOTHING HAPPENED.

MR. FUNK: THE -- THE BUREAU IN WASHINGTON WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THE -- THE CABLES -- THE THREE CABLES THEY RECEIVED ON THE MATTER FROM KHARTOUM LED THEM TO BELIEVE THAT KHARTOUM WAS GETTING ITS PHYSICAL HANDS ON THE VISA AND CANCELLING IT. AND IT TOOK SOME TIME BECAUSE NO CABLE BACK AND FORTH BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND THE -- KHARTOUM WAS EXPLICIT. THEY ALL ASSUMED SOMETHING.

AND THERE'S A WONDERFUL BIT OF ADVICE IN THE CAINE MUTINY, ONE OF THE, I THINK, VERY GOOD NOVELS OF OUR TIME, IN WHICH THE DEPARTING COMMANDER GIVES SOME ADVICE TO ENSIGN WILLIE KEITH. HE SAID "IN THIS MAN'S NAVY, NEVER ASSUME A DAMNED THING." THAT APPLIES IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT IN SPADES. AND WHAT HAPPENED HERE IS THAT THE POST WAS ASSUMING THAT WASHINGTON WAS DOING SOMETHING, WASHINGTON WAS ASSUMING THAT THE POST WAS DOING SOMETHING, AND AS A RESULT NEITHER DID ANYTHING.

REP. LANTOS: WELL, IN WHAT LANGUAGE WERE THEY COMMUNICATING? (LAUGHTER) I MEAN, I -- I'M ASKING THIS QUESTION SERIOUSLY.

MR. FUNK: MR. CHAIRMAN --

REP. LANTOS: I SIMPLY DON'T UNDERSTAND WHY THE BUREAU OF CONSULAR AFFAIRS IS SENDING THREE CABLES TO THE POST IN THE SUDAN WHICH APPARENTLY ARE SO NEBULOUS AND VAGUE THAT THE POST DOESN'T KNOW WHAT THESE THREE CABLES MEAN. AND KHARTOUM, IN TURN, SENDS CABLES TO WASHINGTON WHICH WASHINGTON DOESN'T UNDERSTAND. HAVE YOU -- HAVE YOU REVIEWED THESE CABLES, MR. FUNK?

MR. FUNK: I'VE SEEN ONLY ONE OF THEM. MY STAFF HAS SEEN ALL. I'VE ONLY SEEN ONE.

REP. LANTOS: AND -- AND HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THEM? I MEAN, WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

MR. FUNK: IT'S ELLIPTICAL, IS THE BEST WAY I CAN DESCRIBE IT. (LAUGHS)

REP. LANTOS: MS. RYAN, WOULD YOU --

MR. FUNK: FOREIGN SERVICE CABLES ARE GENERALLY WRITTEN WITH MAGNIFICENT ENGLISH. THIS IS A VERY LITERATE DEPARTMENT, I ASSURE YOU, SIR. BUT SOMETIMES THEIR VERY LITERACY TENDS TO OBSCURE POINTS.

עד כאן חלק ב'



תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, גנור,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, מצפא,  
רחטמזת, מזתים, גוברין, מזאר, יגר, מאפל,  
סמנכלהסברה, הסברה, מעת, @ (דוצ), דוצ-ים, @ (בןעמי/משהבט)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 22890  
אל: רהמש/673  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 697, תא: 230793, זח: 1608, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבב  
בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

*Handwritten red mark:*  
25-7

הנדון: תדרוך מחלקת המדינה ליום 22/7/93

בתדרוך היום במחמ"ד, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב):--  
SHEIK RAHMAN - CIA

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב):--  
NIGERIA  
SOUTH AMERICA  
CAMBODIA

- יוגוסלביה (הועבר בנפרד למזא"ר 2).

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לענייננו:--

STATE DEPARTMENT REGULAR BRIEFING BRIEFER: MIKE MCCURRY 1:00 PM  
(EDT) THURSDAY, JULY 22, 1993

Q DO WE HAVE TIME FOR A COUPLE ON A COMPLETELY UNRELATED SUBJECT? THERE WAS AN ARTICLE IN THE NEW YORK TIMES THIS MORNING, I THINK IT WAS IN THE METRO SECTION ACTUALLY, ABOUT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S PROCESSING OF VISAS ON THE -- IN CONNECTION WITH THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE RAHMAN CASE AND ALL OF THAT. MY QUESTION HAS TO DO WITH -- IT'S THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY, ISN'T IT, TO PROCESS VISAS, TO INTERVIEW POTENTIAL VISA- SEEKERS AND SO ON, AND TO CHECK THEIR NAMES AGAINST VARIOUS LISTS AND SO ON FOR -- NOT JUST FOR TERRORISM PURPOSES, BUT DRUG SMUGGLING AND A NUMBER OF PROBABLY OTHER THINGS. WHAT ROLE DOES THE CIA PLAY WITH RELATION TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT? DOES THE CIA HAVE ANY ROLE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS?



MR. MCCURRY: WELL, LET ME BACK UP A LITTLE BIT BECAUSE I THINK SOME OF YOU MAY KNOW THAT THE INSPECTOR GENERAL FOR THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS TESTIFYING, I THINK EVEN CONTINUING TO TESTIFY AS WE SPEAK HERE NOW ON THE HILL ABOUT THIS, ABOUT THIS VERY ISSUE, AT THE MOMENT. HE HAD EARLIER PRESENTED A REPORT TO SOME RELEVANT SUBCOMMITTEES, I BELIEVE, OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ON THIS SUBJECT, AND THEN WAS PROVIDING DETAIL TODAY IN AN OPEN SESSION ON THIS WHOLE QUESTION, AND WHAT HE VERY CLEARLY IDENTIFIES AS LAPSES THAT EXIST IN THE VISA PROCESS ITSELF.

HE -- THE FULL STATEMENT THAT HE'S GOT IS AVAILABLE, AND WE'VE GOT THAT FOR YOU. I THINK HE CLEARLY FAULTS THE PROCEDURES THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT USES -- OR DID USE IN THE CASE OF THE SHEIK -- ABDUL RAHMAN -- BUT ON -- YOUR SPECIFIC QUESTION, REALLY, INVOLVES SOMETHING THAT IS THE INVOLVEMENT OF ANOTHER AGENCY, AND IT'S NOT SOMETHING, FOR REASONS THAT YOU CAN WELL IMAGINE, I CAN ADDRESS MYSELF TO IN ANY DETAIL.

I THINK THEY -- THE CIA HAS, YOU KNOW -- DOES HAVE SOME COMMENT THAT THEY MADE IN CONNECTION WITH THIS REPORT THAT WAS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES THIS MORNING, AND I REALLY CAN'T GO BEYOND THAT. I MEAN, THE RESPONSE -- THAT GETS -- THE DIRECT ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION FROM OUR PERSPECTIVE IS THAT IT'S THE STATE DEPARTMENT THROUGH ITS CONSULAR AFFAIRS OFFICERS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR PROCESSING VISAS, FOR EXAMINING APPLICATIONS, AND FOR MAKING DECISIONS ABOUT THE AWARD OF A VISA FOR TRAVEL TO FOREIGN NATIONALS.

Q SO ON THAT LAST POINT, IT'S THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY, THEREFORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT ACCEPTS WHATEVER RESPONSIBILITY THEY -- OR MAY BE THERE. IF SOMETHING HAS GONE WRONG, YOU'RE NOT PRETENDING IT'S SOMEONE ELSE'S FAULT, ARE YOU?

MR. MCCURRY: NO, NOT -- NO QUESTION ABOUT THAT AT ALL. I THINK EVER SINCE THE -- THIS PARTICULAR SITUATION INVOLVING THE SHEIK HAS BEEN PUBLIC, WE'VE BEEN VERY FORTHCOMING IN SHARING PUBLICLY WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, I THINK, AND WITH ALL OF YOU WHAT WE'VE PERCEIVED TO BE SERIOUS SHORTCOMINGS IN THE VISA PROCESS. SOME OF THESE ARE QUESTIONS OF TECHNOLOGY IN THAT YOU'LL SEE IN THE REPORT THAT THE INSPECTOR GENERAL MAKES ON THIS ISSUE THERE ARE SOME CASES IN WHICH VISA APPLICATIONS ARE STILL SCREENED MANUALLY BY HAND BY PEOPLE SEARCHING MICROFICHE, AND THIS IS IN AN AGE WHERE, YOU KNOW, COMPUTERS MAKE ACCESS TO LARGE DATA BASES VERY EASY AND ELECTRONIC. SO THERE ARE -- BUT I THINK THAT WE HAVE ACCEPTED RESPONSIBILITY, WE'VE ADDRESSED OURSELVES TO THE NEED FOR REFORM IN VISA PROCESSING ITSELF, AND WE ARE IN THE COURSE OF IMPLEMENTING SOME OF THOSE REFORMS.

Q SO I GUESS THE POINT I WAS REALLY TRYING TO GET AT IS WHETHER OR NOT THE CIA IS INVOLVED IN ANY WAY PERIPHERALLY IN CHECKING



THESE THINGS. IT'S THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT HAS AND ACCEPTS THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR CHECKING AND MAKING THE DECISIONS ON WHO COMES AND WHO DOESN'T COME INTO THE COUNTRY, IS THAT RIGHT?

MR. MCCURRY: YEAH, THAT'S CLEARLY THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OUR EMPLOYEES AT EMBASSIES AND POSTS AROUND THE WORLD.

Q AND YOU --

MR. MCCURRY: AND I'M SAYING -- AND OBVIOUSLY I'M -- NOT BY ANSWERING THE QUESTION WHICH INCLUDED -- INCLUDED SOMETHING ABOUT THE CIA, I'M NOT CONFIRMING OR DENYING ANYTHING THAT'S IN ANY OF THOSE STORIES TODAY, BUT I THINK YOUR QUESTION IS DO WE HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROCESSING VISAS. THE ANSWER IS YES.

Q ARE THERE ANY OTHER AGENCIES THAT -- DOES THE STATE DEPARTMENT DISCLOSE ITS VISA APPLICANT INFORMATION? IF I WERE TO APPLY FOR A VISA TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT SOME PLACE AROUND THE WORLD, WOULD INFORMATION ABOUT MY APPLICATION BE CIRCULATED TO OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES? WOULD OTHER INDIVIDUALS OR OFFICES SEE THAT INFORMATION?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I -- MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT ALL OF -- ANY APPLICATION OF THAT NATURE IS A PRIVACY ACT TRANSACTION, AND I THINK IT'S COVERED UNDER THE SPECIFIC TERMS OF THE PRIVACY ACT ITSELF WHICH I DO BELIEVE ADDRESSES ITSELF TO HOW THAT INFORMATION CAN BE USED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, BUT THE EXACT ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION IS A MATTER OF LAW, SO I'D HAVE TO RESEARCH THE LAW.

Q AND YOU DON'T WANT TO TOUCH THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT -- THE FACTUAL MATTER OF WHETHER OR NOT THE CIA PARTICIPATES, EITHER IN THIS PARTICULAR CASE OR IN GENERAL, IN THE REVIEW OF THESE APPLICATIONS?

MR. MCCURRY: YEAH, I'M NOT -- I'M GOING TO JUST NOT TOUCH THE QUESTION OF THAT. I THINK YOU, YOU KNOW, CAN WELL IMAGINE THAT'S AN INTELLIGENCE ISSUE, NOT A QUESTION ABOUT THE PROCESSING OF VISAS.

Q BUT THE EMPLOYEES THE STATE DEPARTMENT USES TO RECEIVE APPLICATIONS FROM APPLICANTS AND TO PERFORM THE CHECKING UNDER THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY ARE STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES?

MR. MCCURRY: YEAH, THEY'RE STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES, SOMETIMES CAREER PROFESSIONALS, SOMETIMES FOREIGN SERVICE NATIONALS, DEPENDING ON WHICH POST, WHICH FACILITY.

Q THANK YOU.

MR. MCCURRY: THANK YOU.



END

תקשורת וושינגטון

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 22755

אל: רהמש/686

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 685, תא: 230793, זח: 1450, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

א ל: ממנכ"ל

ד ע: פר"נ, מצפ"א

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ישראל - גרעין

257

להלן מכתב מהימן:

1. כוב גלוצ'י, עוזר מזכיר המדינה, נפגש אתמול לתדרוך רקע עם מספר כתבים בנושא צפון קוריאה.

בשולי הדברים, עלה גם נושא ישראל והאמנה למניעת פרוליפרציה (NPT) ובהקשר זה אמר גלוצ'י כי, לדעתו, ישראל חייבת להצטרף ולחתום על האמנה, וכי ברור שבדיונים לקראת 1995 - תעלה ארה"ב הנושא עם ישראל.

הכתב הוסיף כי ביקש תגובה לדברים גם מפקיד ממשל העוסק בתהליך השלום והלה אמר לו כי ברור שכל התקדמות בתחום פירוק החמוש הישראלי תלויה בהתקדמות הכוללת של תהליך השלום.

2. בנושא אחר אך קרוב, סיפר הכתב כי הירחון המדעי JOURNAL OF AMERICAN SCIENTIST עתיד לפרסם מאמר - תחקיר מקיף בנושא קשרי ישראל - צפון קוריאה. המאמר, פרי עטו של ג'והן וולפסטאל - חוקר באגודה לבק"נ (ARMS CONTROL ASSOCIATION), יפורסם בשבועות הקרובים ויעסוק גם ביכולתה הגרעינית של ישראל.

לכשנשיג המאמר (לכשיפורסם) - נעבירו, כמובן.

שבת שלום

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, סמנכלהסברה, מעת, הסברה

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 22752

אל: רהמש/685

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 684, תא: 230793, זח: 1450, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / מידי

23.7.93

א ל: מצפ"א

ד ע: הקונכ"ל שיקגו

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

*Handwritten signature in red ink, possibly reading "25.7."*

הנדון: פגישת השגריר רבינוביץ' עם הסנטור כריסטופר בונד

1. ב- 22.7 נפגש השגריר עם הסנטור כריסטופר בונד, רפובליקני ממיזורי לפגישת היכרות. נכח עוזרו ומצידנו דרנגר ובינה.

2. השגריר פתח ואמר כי בא להציג עצמו ולדבר עם הסנטור בנושאי מיזורי. (א) סיפר על פגישתו בבוקר עם נשיא חברת מקדונל דאגלס בנוגע לרכישת מטוסים אזרחיים ע"י אל-על וכן לגבי המטוס העתידי. השגריר ציין כי בסה"כ אנשי מקדונל דאגלס מרגישים טוב בנושא. הסנטור השתבח והתפאר ביכולת מטוסי ה- F-15 ו- F-16 אשר הוכיחו עצמם במלחמת המפרץ. בהקשר זה התייחס השגריר בקיצור למו"מ עם סוריה ולאיומים מצד אירן.

(ב) השטפונות במיזורי. השגריר סיפר כי רה"מ שלח מכתב לנשיא קלינטון מכתב המביע צער על השטפונות והנזקים והצעה לעזרה מצידה של ישראל, אולי ע"י שיגור מומחים לטיהור מים או בתחומים אחרים. הופננו ל- FEMA אשר השיבו שהמומחים שלהם יכולים לטפל בכל.

הסנטור הודה מאד לשגריר ואמר:

IT'S A VERY GENEROUS OFFER. WE HAVE TO FOLLOW UP.

פנה לעוזרו וביקשו לבדוק הנושא. חזר ואמר כי זו הצעה מאד נדיבה וכי הוא מאד מעריכה. אם יהיה צורך יפנה אלינו. כל סוף שבוע הוא נוסע למיזורי ומבלה עם אנשיו בבוקר ובמים. השגריר ציין כי עזרה מצידנו איננה צריכה להיות בהכרח ברמה פדרלית אלא יכולה להיות ברמה מדינתית.

הסנטור הודה לשגריר על ביקורו ועל הצעתו. אמר כי עד כה היו לו יחסי עבודה טובים עם השגרירים הקודמים ומקוה שימשכו גם בעתיד.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 22751

אל: רהמש/684

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 683, תא: 230793, זח: 1450, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בכב

שמור / מידי

23.7.93

א ל: מצפ"א

ד ע: הקונכ"ל בוסטון

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

*d*  
*25.7.*

הנדון: פגישת השגריר רבינוביץ' עם הסנטור ג'ון קרי

1. ב- 22.7 נפגש השגריר עם הסנטור ג'ון קרי, דמוקרט ממסצ'וסטס, לפגישת היכרות. נכחה עוזרתו ומציידנו דרנגר ובינה.

2. בפתח הפגישה תדרך השגריר את הסנטור בנוגע לתהליך השלום וביקור המזכיר במזה"ת. קרי אמר כי הוא שמח שהמזכיר נוסע וכי הוא תקווה שהמסע יצליח. השגריר הגיב כי אם הביקור לא יצליח נצטרך לבדוק לאן פנינו. בין השאר דנו באופציה של יישום חד צדדי ע"י ישראל של האוטונומיה בעקבות שאלותיו של קרי.

3. קרי אמר כי תמיד האמין שאם ישראל תוכל ליטול יוזמת שלום על עצמה, תרוויח מכך. יש להערכתו צורך ביותר דיפלומטיה פומבית כדי להכין את הציבור.

YOU NEED A STRONG STRATEGY ציין כי הושפע מאד מהשפעת האינתיפאדה בימיה הראשונים כאשר איש בישראל לא רצה לדבר, להגיב ולשנות. וכאשר ישראל נתפסת כנוקשה (INTRANSIGENT) זו בעייה, שמורגשת גם בסנאט. השגריר הגיב כי המצב היום שונה. קרי קטע דבריו ואמר שהוא בהחלט מסכים. הוסיף:

RABIN IS ASTUTE AND I GIVE HIM A HIGH MARK

בנוסף לכך אין הנושא יותר ב- FRONT BURNER וגם זה מסייע מאד. קרי חזר על כך שעל ישראל להשקיע מאמץ רציני במבצע של REACH OUT כדי להכין מראש הציבור לקראת מהלך מסויים (כולל בארה"ב) ואז תהיה תמיכה רבה יותר לאותו מהלך.

4. קרי סיפר שהוא רוצה לבקר שוב בישראל (ביקר ב- 91' ל- 24 שעות) ויעשה זאת תוך ה- 9 חודשים הקרובים. עם זאת יתכן כי בדרכו בחזרה מביקור בסין בינואר יבקר בישראל.

5. השגריר הודה לקרי על העברת חוק כספי מחמ"ד/הרשאות והכללת 80 מ' דולר לקליטת עלייה, ונוסח חוק נגד החרם הערבי. הוסיף כי הכוונות הודיעו על

ביטול החרם המשני וגם פיסגת ה- G-7 קיבלה הודעה טובה בנושא החרם. קרי ציין כי כל שנה הוסיפו נדבך נוסף לחקיקה נגד החרם והוא שמח לשמוע שיש תוצאות.

6. השגריר ביקש עזרתו של הסנטור לגבי הכללת נושא ה- COMPETITIVE PRICING בחוק סיוע חוץ/הרשאות אשר ה- MARK-UP שלו נקבע ל- 29.7. קרי ביקש מעוזרתו לטפל בנושא והוסיף כי ידבר על כך עם הסנטור סרביינס (האחראי על החוק).

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס





