

6/3

# מדינת ישראל

משרדי המנושלה

משרד

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א/ר/ק

8/93

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תיק מס'

מחלקה



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

מזהה פנימי: **א-7737/6**

מזהה פריט: R0002x3n

כתובת: 2-111-3-6-4 תאריך הדפסה: 20/09/2022

20706: חוזם, אאאא

אל: רהמש/605

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 456, תא: 160893, זח: 1732, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

22877

*Handwritten signature in red ink, possibly "RAGIL" with a flourish above it.*

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 14-15-AUGUST-1993

TV COVERAGE

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LARRY KING RADIO INTERVIEWED DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER YOSSI BEILIN ON THE STATUS AND FUTURE OF THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS, THE POSSIBILITY OF TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND THE AFTERMATH OF OPERATION ACCOUNTABILITY (13).

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'ISRAEL ENDS BAR ON PLO ROLE AT PEACE TALKS'; 'A MUSLIM REGION IS TUGGING AT THE TIES THAT BIND CHINA'; 'UN REPORTS SERBS ARE PULLING BACK ON SARAJEVO FRONT'; 'THREE NATIONS RESOLVE ISSUES HOLDING UP TRADE PACT VOTE'; 'GOVERNMENT TOLD TO SAVE MESSAGES SENT BY COMPUTER.' ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL (14). 'CLINTON IS FACING STATE RESISTANCE ON HEALTH PLAN'; 'ALTMAN ACQUITTED OF BANKING FRAUD'; 'POPE EXPOUNDS STERN GUIDELINES, WARNING US COULD LOSE ITS SOUL'; 'WEARY CLINTON TAKES BREAK FROM HIS OWN FRENETIC STYLE'; 'A CRUDE 1000 YARD TUNNEL IS SARAJEVO'S SECRET LIFELINE.' ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL (15).

ISRAEL/PLO/BAR/LIFTED: NYT(FRONT PAGE-CABLED), ND: 'ISRAEL ENDS BAR ON PLO ROLE AT PEACE TALKS': REPORTS THAT FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES ENDED ISRAEL'S REFUSAL TO INVOLVE THE PLO IN THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS ON FRIDAY BY ANNOUNCING THAT ISRAEL WOULD CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THREE PALESTINIAN DELEGATES DESPITE THEIR NEW STATUS AS PLO OFFICIALS; QUOTE FM PERES AS SAYING 'IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE TO US. THEY'RE THE SAME DELEGATION MEMBERS'; QUOTES HANAN ASHRAWI, THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION'S SPOKESWOMAN AS SAYING 'IT LOOKS LIKE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IS MOVING TOWARD DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO'; NOTES THAT FORMER PM YITZHAK SHAMIR AND HIS TOP ADVISER, YOSSI BEN-AHARON WARNED OF THE 'DANGERS' INVOLVED AND REFERED TO THE

PLO AS A 'MURDEROUS ORGANIZATION'; STATES THAT ACCORDING TO A SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL, THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION MUST BE MADE UP OF RESIDENTS FROM THE TERRITORIES AND THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT NEGOTIATE WITH THE PLO (14).

ISRAEL/ARABS/INTERROGATIONS/REPORTS: NYT(J.GREENBERG-CABLED): 'ISRAEL RETHINKS INTERROGATION OF ARABS': STATES THAT AFTER 'PERSISTENT REPORTS AND ACCUMULATING EVIDENCE OF ABUSE' OF PALESTINIAN PRISONERS IN THE TERRITORIES, THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT HAS CHANGED ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ISSUE; REPORTS THAT IN APRIL, THE GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED THAT A MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE HAD REVISED THE CONFIDENTIAL GUIDELINES FOR SHIN BET INTERROGATORS AND THAT IN JUNE, A BILL BANNING TORTURE WAS PROPOSED BY SEVERAL KNESSET MEMBERS; ADDS THAT UNTIL THIS POINT, THERE HAD BEEN LITTLE PUBLIC PROTEST AGAINST THE REPORTED MISTREATMENT OF PALESTINIAN PRISONERS AND THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS HAD DEMONSTRATED 'SECRECY AND DENIAL'; NOTES THAT ISRAEL HAS ALSO SIGNED THE UN CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE; CITES THE ACCOUNTS OF PALESTINIANS WHO HAVE BEEN QUESTIONED BY THE SHIN BET; ASSERTS THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS HAVE STATED THAT THE SHIN BET DOES NOT USE TORTURE (14).

ISRAEL/US/NORTH KOREA/DEAL: NYT(CABLED): 'ISRAELIS SAY US OPPOSES NORTH KOREAN DEAL': REPORTS THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS SAID THAT THE US WAS OPPOSED TO AN ISRAELI PLAN TO INVEST IN NORTH KOREA AS A WAY TO PREVENT PYONGYANG FROM SUPPLYING LONG RANGE MISSILES TO IRAN; QUOTES SENIOR DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTRY, EYTAN BENTSUR, AS SAYING THAT 'THE AMERICAN POSITION IS CERTAINLY ONE OF DISSATISFACTION AND RESERVATIONS REGARDING THE CONTACTS WITH NORTH KOREA' AND THAT 'THIS IS COUPLED WITH THE RECOGNITION THAT THE SUPPLY OF RODONG MISSILES TO IRAN PRESENTS A MOST SERIOUS DANGER'; NOTES THAT MR. BENTSUR HAD OVERSEEN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH NORTH KOREA SINCE OCTOBER AND HAS MET WITH NORTH KOREAN OFFICIALS IN BEIJING AND PYONGYANG TO PREVENT THE SALE OF SCUD-D MISSILES TO IRAN; STATES THAT THE DECISION ON WHETHER OR NOT TO GO AHEAD WITH THE DEAL WILL BE MADE WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS (15).

ISRAEL/PLO/ARAFAT/APPEAL: NYT(REUTERS-BRIEF): REPORTS THAT YASIR ARAFAT, THE HEAD OF THE PLO, URGED ISRAELI LEADERS ON FRIDAY TO 'MAKE PEACE' WITH THE PALESTINIANS (14).

ISRAEL/US/OFFICIALS/DEMJANJUK: NYT(REUTERS-BRIEF): REPORTS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT SAID ON FRIDAY THAT LOW LEVEL OFFICIALS FROM THE US EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV HAD SENT THE ISRAELI JUSTICE MINISTRY AN UNAUTHORIZED LETTER CALLING FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF JOHN DEMJANJUK; STATES THAT A JEWISH GROUP SAID THAT THE LETTER MIGHT HAVE INFLUENCED THE ISRAELI ATTORNEY GENERAL YOSEF HARISH IN DECIDING TO RECOMMEND AGAINST THE FURTHER PROSECUTION OF MR. DEMJANJUK (14).

US/LIBYA/SUSPECTS/WARNING: NYT(F.PRIAL-CABLED),ND: 'WARNING IS ISSUED ON LIBYA SUSPECTS': REPORTS THAT THE US, BRITAIN AND FRANCE ISSUED A WARNING TO LIBYA ON FRIDAY, GIVING IT UNTIL OCTOBER 1 TO TURN OVER TWO SUSPECTS IN THE BOMBING OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103 (14).

EGYPT/FUNDAMENTALISTS/COURT/CLEARED: NYT(Y.IBRAHIM-CABLED),ND: 'EGYPTIAN COURT CLEARS 24 FUNDAMENTALISTS OF MURDER': REPORTS THAT AN EGYPTIAN MILITARY COURT CLEARED 24 MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS OF MURDER CHARGES; NOTES THAT ALL THE ACCUSED ARE MEMBERS OF THE MILITANT ISLAMIC GROUP (15).

CHINA/IRAN/OMAN/CARGO: NYT(REUTERS-BRIEF): REPORTS THAT A CHINESE CARGO SHIP THAT WASHINGTON SUSPECTS OF CARRYING MATERIALS USED FOR MAKING CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO IRAN WILL ANCHOR OFF OMAN (15).

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(N.KRISTOF-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'A MUSLIM REGION IS TUGGING AT THE TIES THAT BIND CHINA' (14).

NYT(WEEK IN REVIEW): 'WHAT'S ARAFAT'S LINE?' (15).

NYT(J.INGRAM): 'TRYING TO SAVE SYMBOL OF TOLERANCE' (14).

NYT(RELIGION NOTES): 'BIG ISRAELI WEDDING' AND 'ISLAM AND A SCHOOL DRESS CODE CLASH' (14).

NYT(M.TABOR): 'KAHANE SUSPECT REMAINS FOCAL POINT IN BOMB PLOTS' (15).

NYT(P.HOGONNET-BOOK REVIEW): 'A STAIN ON FRANCE'S HISTORY' (15).

NYP(D.SEIFMAN): 'MAYOR LAUDS CROWN HEIGHTS RESCUE RABBI' (15).

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (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, רחטמזת, מזתים, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

20615: חוזם, אאאא

אל: רהמש/602

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 440, תא: 160893, זח: 1543, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/רגיל

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארהב

מאת: עתונות ניו יורק

הנדון: סכום עתונות יומי

BALMAS/RAGIL

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 16-AUGUST-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYT(CABLED): 'ALL RIGHT PLO, IT'S YOUR MOVE': WRITER STATES THAT BY MOVING A STEP CLOSER TOWARD NEGOTIATING DIRECTLY WITH THE PLO, ISRAEL HAS SIGNALLED 'MATURE CONFIDENCE' ON THE PART OF ITS GOVERNMENT; ADDS THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN HAS INDICATED THAT HE IS 'MORE CONCERNED WITH BRINGING PEACE' TO THE REGION THAN WITH 'SAFEGUARDING HIS FLANK FROM ISRAELI HARDLINERS'; COMMENDS ISRAEL FOR REPLACING 'POINTLESS 'POSTURING' WITH 'CLEAR-HEADED REALISM'; ASSERTS THAT THE CHANGE WAS DICTATED BY THE 'INTERNAL DYNAMICS' OF THE RABIN GOVERNMENT; ARGUES THAT NOW THAT ISRAEL IS SHIFTING, SO SHOULD THE PLO.

COLUMNS

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WSJ(G.MELLOAN-CABLED): 'CULTURES IN CONFLICT ON THE GLOBAL BATTLEFIELD': WRITER DISCUSSES POLITICAL SCIENTIST SAMUEL HUNTINGTON'S ARGUMENT IN THE SUMMER EDITION OF 'FOREIGN AFFAIRS' WHICH ASSERTS THAT CULTURE CLASHES WILL BE CENTRAL TO GLOBAL POLITICS IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA; CITES ISRAEL'S RECENT AIR STRIKES AT HEZBOLLAH IN SOUTH LEBANON, THE WTC BOMBING, THE WAR IN BOSNIA, STARVATION IN SOUTHERN SUDAN, AND THE FIGHTING IN KASHMIR AS EXAMPLES; NOTES THAT IDEOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC CONFLICTS WILL NO LONGER DOMINATE THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE; ADDS THAT MODERN TECHNOLOGY

HAS ASSISTED IN BRINGING CULTURES INTO CONFLICT; DISCUSSES THE IRANIAN INFLUENCE IN LEBANON'S BEKAA VALLEY AND ITS ROLE AS A BASE FOR HEZBOLLAH ASSAULTS AGAINST ISRAEL.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'AT LEBANON BORDER, 395 DEPORTEES YIELD TO ISRAEL ON RETURN'; 'US TO GUARANTEE FREE IMMUNIZATION FOR POOR CHILDREN'; 'RUSSIA MOBSTERS GROW MORE VIOLENT AND PERVASIVE'; 'PONTIFF'S MESSAGE OF HOPE OVERRIDES YOUTHFUL DOUBTS'; 'A HISTORY OF POLLUTION IN MEXICO CASTS CLOUDS OVER TRADE ACCORD.' WSJ: 'COLLAPSE OF THE CASE AGAINST ALTMAN MOVES BCCI FOCUS OVERSEAS'; 'THE OLD RED ARMY IS TURNING TO GREENS'; NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/LEBANON/DEPORTEES/RETURN: NYT(C.HABERMAN-FRONT PAGE-CABLED), WSJ,ND: 'AT LEBANON BORDER, 395 DEPORTEES YIELD TO ISRAEL ON RETURN': REPORTS THAT 395 PALESTINIANS WHO HAD BEEN DEPORTED BY ISRAEL TO SOUTH LEBANON LAST DECEMBER ACCEPTED AN ISRAELI PLAN ON SUNDAY THAT WOULD RETURN NEARLY HALF OF THEM TO THE TERRITORIES NEXT MONTH; NOTES THAT THE DEPORTEES HAD INSISTED FOR MONTHS THAT NONE OF THEM WOULD GO HOME UNTIL ALL COULD; QUOTES ONE OF THEIR SPOKESMEN, DR. ABDUL AZIZ AL-RANTISI AS SAYING THAT THE DEPORTEES HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO BLOCK THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS THEY OPPOSE AND THAT THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD PRESS ON THEM HAD DECREASED; QUOTES DEFENSE MINISTRY SPOKESMAN ODED BEN-AMI AS SAYING THAT ISRAEL WOULD BRING BACK 187 OF THE PALESTINIANS IN MID-SEPTEMBER AND THE REST IN MID-DECEMBER; ADDS THAT WHILE THE EXPULSIONS HAD GIVEN ISRAEL A 'PUBLIC-RELATIONS BLACK EYE,' THE DEPORTATIONS 'DEALT A SERIOUS BLOW' TO THE HAMAS SUPPORT STRUCTURE.

ISRAEL/COURT/DEMJEANJUK/RULING: NYT(CABLED),DN,NYP: REPORTS THAT THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT IS TO RULE ON WEDNESDAY WHETHER JOHN DEMJEANJUK SHOULD STAND TRIAL ON WAR CRIMES CHARGES EVEN THOUGH THE COURT HAS OVERTURNED THE 1988 CONVICTION THAT HE WAS 'IVAN THE TERRIBLE'; NOTES THAT THE QUESTION OF WHERE MR. DEMJEANJUK WILL GO IF HE IS SET FREE REMAINS OPEN.

WASHINGTON/GULF WAR/STUDY/CRITICAL: NYT(M.GORDON-CABLED),ND: 'ON GULF WAR, A NEW HAT IS A HEADACHE FOR ASPIN': STATES THAT A CONGRESSIONAL REPORT RELEASED THIS WEEK AFTER BEING DELAYED FOR A YEAR REVEALED THAT US AIR FORCE AND ARMY TROOP COMMANDERS WERE DENIED SATELLITE PHOTOS AND OTHER IMAGERY OF IRAQI BATTLEFIELD DEPLOYMENTS DURING THE PERSIAN GULF WAR; REPORTS THAT THE STUDY, ENTITLED 'INTELLIGENCE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES IN OPERATIONS DESERT SHIELD/STORM,' RAISES THE ISSUE OF THE MILITARY'S DIFFICULTY IN ASSESSING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AIR STRIKES DURING THE GULF WAR AND IN FUTURE CONFLICTS AS WELL; CLAIMS THAT THE STUDY SAYS THAT THE US CENTRAL COMMAND EXAGGERATED THE DAMAGE DONE TO IRAQI MILITARY EQUIPMENT BY AIR STRIKES; ADDS THAT THE REPORT RELIES ON POSTWAR ANALYSIS BY THE CIA, WHICH WAS AT ODDS WITH THE AIR WAR COMMANDERS IN THE GULF; NOTES THAT DEFENSE SECRETARY LES ASPIN SUPERVISED THE PREPARATION OF THE REPORT DURING HIS YEARS AS A CONGRESSMAN.

LIBYA/PAN AM/DEADLINE/REJECTED: NYT(REUTERS),WSJ,ND: 'LIBYA REJECTS DEADLINE ON PAN AM SUSPECTS': REPORTS THAT LIBYA REJECTED THE DEADLINE OF OCTOBER 1 ON SUNDAY AS THE DATE FOR HANDING OVER TWO SUSPECTS IN THE BOMBING OF PAN AM FLIGHT 103 OVER SCOTLAND IN 1988; NOTES THAT LIBYA IS READY TO DISCUSS THE ISSUE WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, THE US, BRITAIN AND FRANCE; STATES THAT LIBYA WANTS THE TWO MEN TO STAND TRIAL WHILE THE US AND BRITAIN WANT THE MEN EXTRADITED.

GERMANY/HIJACKING/SHEIK/RELEASE: NYT(AP),ND,DN,NYP: 'HIJACKER IN DUSSELDORF CAPTURED AFTER DEMANDING RELEASE OF SHEIK': REPORTS THAT AN EGYPTIAN SURRENDERED EARLY MONDAY MORNING AFTER HIJACKING A KLM JET TO GERMANY TO DEMAND THE RELEASE OF SHEIK OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN; STATES THAT THE JET WAS EN ROUTE FROM TUNIS TO AMSTERDAM AND THAT NO ONE WAS INJURED; ADDS THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST TERRORIST ATTEMPT TO RELEASE THE SHEIK.

NORTH KOREA/CHINA/US/NONPROLIFERATION: WSJ(J.FIALKA-CABLED): 'NONPROLIFERATION EFFORTS FACE OBSTACLES FROM NORTH KOREA, CHINA, CAPITOL HILL': REPORTS THAT THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION'S NONPROLIFERATION POLICIES ARE FACING OBSTACLES IN THREE AREAS - NORTH KOREA, CHINA AND THE US SENATE; NOTES THAT PYONGYANG HAS DEFAULTED ON ITS COMMITMENT TO ALLOW INTERNATIONAL INSPECTIONS OF ITS FACILITIES; DISCUSSES THE RECENT CONFLICT WITH BEIJING OVER A SHIP BELIEVED TO BE CARRYING CHEMICAL MATERIALS FOR POISON GAS TO IRAN; ADDS THAT US CONGRESSMEN THREATEN TO BLOCK MR. CLINTON'S EFFORTS TO MODIFY THE MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME.

EGYPT/COURT/MILITANTS/TRIAL: WSJ(BRIEF),ND: REPORTS THAT AN EGYPTIAN MILITARY COURT OPENED THE TRIAL ON SUNDAY OF 53 MUSLIM MILITANTS CHARGED WITH PLOTTING TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(K.GILPIN-FRONT PAGE): 'ALTMAN VERDICT IS STINGING LOSS FOR PROSECUTOR.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדה, 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

סססס

מדינת ישראל

משרד הבטחון

הממונה על קשרי החוץ

שמו

כ"ו' אב תשנ"ג  
13 אוגוסט 1993  
אב/ 3113

לקנייה קולט

דמי יום  
למט  
למט  
למט

יועץ ראה"מ ור' הלשכה - מר איתן הבר

הנדון: ארה"ב - משלחת הקונגרס האמריקאי בנושא כוחות מיוחדים  
לקראת פגישת ראה"מ עם חברי המשלחת ביום ב' 16.8 בשעה 16:00

כללי

1. בין התאריכים 14-17 באוגוסט 93 תבקר בישראל משלחת של הקונגרס האמריקאי בראשות יו"ר "תת הועדה למוכנות" בקונגרס Hon Rep Earl Hutto (D-FL). המשלחת מלווה על ידי 3 תתי אלופים מפיקודי הכוחות המיוחדים ומספר רב של קצינים מלווים.
2. הקונגרס האמריקאי בוחן את מכלול סוגיות הכוחות המיוחדים ובכלל זה מעמדם של הכוחות המיוחדים, יכולתם וקשירותם המבצעית, המטרות הניצבות בפניהם ותחומי החקיקה הנוגעים לעיניינם.
3. בעדותו לפני שנה של מפקד פיקוד הכוחות המיוחדים (SOCOM) אלון סטיינר לפני הקונגרס הוא המליץ בפני הועדה לשירותים מזויינים לצאת וללמוד כיצד מטופל נושא הכוחות המיוחדים במדינות אחרות בעולם.
4. התוצאה, סיור של "תת הועדה למוכנות" בפקיסטן, ירדן, טורקיה, צרפת וישראל.

עיקרי תוכנית הביקור

5. המשלחת תפגש עם סגן הרמטכ"ל, ותשתתף בפנל בו ינתנו סקירות של אמ"ן, פצ"ר ומשטרת ישראל (בנושא סמים). בפנל ישתתף יועץ ראה"מ למלחמה בטרור.
6. המשלחת תבקר בימ"מ ובמתקן אדם ויוצגו בפניה מתקני האימונים, הציווד, ותצוגות גלישה וירי. כן יוצגו בפניה תרחישי השתלטות על מבנה, אוטובוס ואירוע פלילי.

7. המשלחת תסייר בירושלים ותבקר ביד ושם.
8. ביום שני בערב יקיים ע' ר' אג"מ קבלת פנים מטעמו למשלחת.

נושאים מומלצים לשיחה

9. הדגשת המחויבות להמשך הלחימה בטרור במגביל להתקדמות תהליך השלום.
10. הדגשת הצורך במאמץ בינלאומי משותף ובהקצאת משאבים ללחימה בטרור.
11. הבעת סיפוק משיתוף הפעולה במישורים השונים בין ישראל וארה"ב בלחימה בטרור והבעת נכונות להמשיך ולהדק אותו.

תוכנית ורשימת האורחים

12. רצ"ב פירוט תוכנית הביקור ורשימת האורחים.  
הערה: בפגישה עם ראה"מ ישתתפו:  
5 חברי קונגרס, 3 תתי אלופים, 3 יועצים של הקונגרס וכן שגריר ארה"ב ונספח היבשה.

ב בר כה ,  
יוסי דרזנין  
ע' המקש"ח

תוכנית הביקור

יום שבת 14 אוגוסט 93

16:45 - הגעה במטוס צבאי C-137 או"ק 9369 REACH  
ארוחת ערב עם השגריר (ללא מעורבות צה"ל)

יום א' 15 אוגוסט 93

בוקר - תיירות (באחריות השגרירות)  
14:30 - פגישה עם ס' הרמטכ"ל באולם "מצדה- יריחו" מלון הילטון ירושלים  
15:45 - ביקור ביג ושם בלוויית ק' ליווי  
אחה"צ - תיירות (באחריות השגרירות)

יום ב' 16 אוגוסט 93

07:30 - נסיעה ממלון הילטון לקריה בלוויית מדריך ידיעת הארץ  
08:45 - פנל תדריכים בראשות ע' ר' אג"מ  
\* חדר דיוני משהב"ט קומה 7  
- פתיחה ע"י ע' ר' אג"מ  
- סקירת אמ"ן (רח"ט מחקר או רוט"ר)  
- סקירת נציג פצ"ר  
- סקירת משטרת ישראל - מח' מודיעין - רמ"ד סמים - סנ"צ  
סיימון פרי בדגש על פעילות נגד הברחת סמים  
- סקירת ע' ר' אג"מ ושאלות ותשובות  
- יועץ ראה"מ ללוחמה בטרור ישתתף בפנל לצורך מענה על שאלות בתחומו  
10:45 - נסיעה לימ"מ  
11:15 - ביקור בימ"מ  
- סקירת מפקד ימ"מ + הצגת מבצע פלילי (יריות מעוזי בי-ם)  
- הצגת צוות מו"מ  
- סרט תפיסת 5 מחבלים בדרום  
- תצוגת תכלית מטווח קולנוע  
- תצוגת גלישה  
- תצוגת ירי צלפים

- 12:40 - נסיעה למתקן אדם
- 13:00 - ביקור במתקן אדם
- ארוחת צהריים קלה
- 13:30 - סקירת מערך הלוט"ר + השתלטות על מבנה
- 14:10 - תערוכת אמל"ח שלל
- 14:20 - נסיעה למקום הצגת השתלטות אוטובוס
- 14:30 - הצגת השתלטות אוטובוס
- 15:00 - נסיעה ממתקן אדם ללשכת ראה"מ
- 16:00 - פגישה עם ארה"מ
- 17:00 - נסיעה למלון הילטון י-ם
- 20:00 - קבלת פנים במלון הילטון ירושלים (אולם "הכרם") בארוח ע' ר'  
אג"מ (יחיד, לבוש - מדי א')

יום ג' 17 אוגוסט 93

- 09:00 - המראה במטוס צבאי C-137 או"ק 9369 REACH. פרישה ע"י ק' ליווי  
אמ"ן קש"ח

חברי קונגרס (כולם חברי ה-ARM SERVICE COMMITTEE)

- 1) HON. REP. EARL HUTTO (D-FL) - CHAIRMAN OF THE READINESS SUBCOMMITTEE. (יו"ר תת הוועדה למוכנות).
- 2) HON. REP. NORMAN SISISKY (D-VA) - CHAIRMAN, OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE.
- 3) HON. REP. SOLOMAN ORTIZ (D-TX) - CHAIRMAN, MWR PANEL.
- 4) HON. REP. OWEN PICKETT (D-VA).
- 5) HON. REP. ROBERT K. DORNAN (R-CA).

משרד מוזכיר ההגנה

- 6) COL. JOHN MCLAURIN - DEPARTMENT OF ARMY LEGISLATIVE LIAISON.
- 7) LTC. MIKE CHAPMAN.
- 8) SSG. THOMAS BURNS.
- 9) LTC. ROBERT K. BILLINGS.
- 10) DR. MAJ. CHARLES BOLAN.

אנשי צבא

- 11) BG. JOSEPH K. KELLOG - COMMANDER, SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND EUROPE (מפקד פיקוד הכוחות המיוחדים באירופה).
- 12) BG. MICHAEL W. DAVIDSON - DEPUTY COMMANDING GENERAL, US ARMY SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND.
- 13) BG. WILLIAM F. KERNAN - DIRECTOR OF PLANS, POLICY, DOCTRINE, SIMULATIONS AND ANALYSIS, USSOCOM.
- 14) COL. LARRY R. SLOAN - CHIEF LEGISLATIVE LIAISON, ASD/SOLIC.
- 15) COL. JOSEPH F. HUNT.
- 16) LTC. PETER HARVELL - DEPUTY DIRECTOR, USSOCOM LEGISLATIVE LIAISON OFFICE.
- 17) CDR. RICHARD F. SMETHERS - SPECIAL PROGRAMS, USSOCOM.
- 18) MAJ. JOHN R. MOULTON II - USSOCOM LEGISLATIVE LIAISON, AVIATION.
- 19) LCDR. RICHARD F. GREEN - USSOCOM DIRECTORATE OF OPERATIONS.

סגל הקונגרס האמריקאי

- 20) MR. WILL COFER.
- 21) MR. STEVE ROSSETTI.
- 22) MR. PETE STEFFES.

אנשי שגרירות ארה"ב בישראל

- 23) MS. LESLIE BASSETT - נציגת הנספחות הפוליטית בשגרירות
- 24) COL. MURRAY - נספח היבשה האמריקאי
- 25) MAJ. MARLEY - ע' נספח היבשה האמריקאי

אאאא, חוזם: 20579

אל: רהמש/599

מ-: המשרד, תא: 160893, זח: 2233, דח: ב, סג: בל,

בכבב

בלמ'ס/בהול

16 באוגוסט 1993

אל : השגרירות: וושינגטון, סיאול, טוקיו, בייג'ינג

מאת: לשכת השר

הנדון: צפון קוריאה

בתום התייעצות בין ראש-הממשלה לשר החוץ בנושא צפון קוריאה הוחלט:

נוכח ההתפתחויות האחרונות בסוגיית אספקת נשק מצפון קוריאה לאיזור, ועל רקע מהלכי התיאום המתקיימים בין ארה"ב לבין ישראל בנדון:

ישראל תודיע לווינגטון כי הינה מצפה שארה"ב תוסיף להוביל המאמצים לבלימת אספקת טילים מצפון קוריאה לאזורנו, ואף תגביר מאמצים אלה. המגעים עם צפון-קוריאה יושהו בשלב זה, כדי לאפשר לארה"ב לפעול בנדון.

ישראל תוסיף לנקוט בכל האמצעים שנראים לה יעילים כדי להבטיח את בטחונה.

נוסיף לעקוב אחר ההתפתחויות.

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

סססס

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א.י.ז. 14.8

אאאא, חוזם: 20426

אל: רהמש/590

מ-: המשרד, תא: 160893, זח: 2009, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בכב

695382

שמור/בהול

אל: וושינגטון - השגריר

הערב (19:30) העברתי לשגריר ארה"ב בראון את ההודעה דלהלן שנוסחה בתום ההתייעצות הערב בין רה"מ לשה"ח :

בתום התייעצות בין ראש-הממשלה לשר החוץ בנושא צפון קוריאה הוחלט :

נוכח ההתפתחויות האחרונות בסוגיית אספקת נשר מצפון קוריאה לאיזור, ועל רקע מהלכי התיאום המתקיימים בין ארה"ב לבין ישראל בנדון :

ישראל תודיע לווינגטון כי הינה מצפה שארה"ב תוסיף להוביל המאמצים לבלימת אספקת טילים מצפון קוריאה לאזורנו, ואף תגביר מאמצים אלה, המגיעים עם צפון-קוריאה יושהו בשלב זה, כדי לאפשר לארה"ב לפעול בנדון.

ישראל תוסיף לנקוט בכל האמצעים שנראים לה יעילים כדי להבטיח את בטחונה. ונוסיף לעקוב אחר ההתפתחויות.

בנצור

16 באוגוסט 1993

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

סססס

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אאא, חוזם: 19536

אל: רהמש/578

מ-: המשרד, תא: 160893, זח: 1206, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

694392

סודי ביותר/מידי

א ל: וושינגטון, השגריר

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

1. אחרי שיחה עם המורשה לנטוש על מגוון נושאים, בהשתתפות חברים מאגפי מש"ב, אירופה ועוד (על כך ידווח בנפרד) ביקשני לעדכנו בנושא צפון קוריאה.

2. לנטוש העיר כי לוא היה במצבה של ישראל - ולמרות האמור בתקשורת לגבי הסתיגותה של ארה"ב - היה ממשיך במגעים עם צפון קוריאה משקולי בטחון עליונים. הוסיף שממילא המגעים עם צפון קוריאה הם אקספלורטיביים ובשלב המהות ניתן לתאם עם ארה"ב.

3. סיפר שבכוונתו לבקר בפיונגיאנג בתחילת ספטמבר. ביקש לעדכנו לקראת צאתו לצפון קוריאה אם יחולו התפתחויות.

בנצור.

16 באוגוסט 1993

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 20749

אל: רהמש/608

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 551, תא: 160893, זח: 1904, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל

דע: לש סגן שה"ח, פר"נ, מצפ"א, מע"ת  
לש - רוה"מ,

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

צפון - קוריאה - ישראל

1. בהמשך לפרסומים בארץ בנושא, גם כאן זוכה לנושא להתייחסות משמעותית בתקשורת האמריקנית: כתבות במרבית העיתונים, כולל ציטוטים נרחבים מדברי ממנכ"ל (NYT-5/8) וכולל פניות עיתונאיות רבות. כמובן, גם התייחסויות רשמיות פומביות לנושא (דובר מחמ"ד).

2. בעקבות דברי רוה"מ אתמול בדבר אספקת סקדים מצפון - קוריאה לסוריה - שוחחו כתבים ישראלים עם דובר מחמ"ד, מייקל מק'קורי, וקבלו התייחסות כללית בדבר דאגת ארה"ב ממכירות הנשק של צפון - קוריאה לאזור. (כמופיע בכתבת "הארץ").

3. בתדרוך היום עלה לנושא בהרחבה ותגובת מק'קורי הייתה:

OVER THE LAST MONTH, SENIOR US OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD ISRAELI OFFICIALS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED ABOUT CONTACTS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND NORTH KOREA, ESPECIALLY AT A TIME IN WHICH THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS VERY SERIOUS, UNRESOLVED CONCERNS REGARDING NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM. WE SHARE ISRAEL'S CONCERNS OVER MISSILE PROLIFERATION, AND WE WILL WORK WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO STOP SUCH PROLIFERATION. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT MEETINGS BETWEEN ISRAELI AND NORTH KOREAN OFFICIALS WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL.

4. בהתייחסות שלא לציטוט של פקידי ממשל לעיתונאים, אמרו אותם פקידים כי מזכיר המדינה קריסטופר העלה נושא קשרי ישראל - צפון קוריאה בשיחותיו עם רוה"מ ועם שה"ח במהלך בקורו בארץ, וביקש כי ישראל תפסיק קשרים אלה מחשש שהדבר ייפגע במאמצי ארה"ב והקהילייה הבינ"ל לתאם מדיניות אחידה נגד צפון קוריאה.

עפ"י עיתונאים, טענו אותם פקידים כי במהלך בקורו בארץ -

CHRISTOPHER "TIPPED - OFF" RABIN לגבי משלוח הסקדים האחרון (8/8) מצפון קוריאה לסוריה, והביא זאת כדוגמה לכך שהדיאלוג הישראלי עם צפון קוריאה אינו משיג תוצאות ולכן מוטב שישראל תחדל ממגעים הישירים עם צפון קוריאה ותתמוך במדיניות האמריקנית בנדון.

5. כפי שעולה משיחות עם כתבים, וכפי שבא לידי ביטוי בתדרוך דובר מחמ"ד היום, נשאלו שאלות גם בהקשר של שיחות קריסטופר - אסד והאם הועלה הנושא בשיחות בדמשק.

צפוי כי הנושא יסוקר מחר בהרחבה ועוד נדווח.

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,  
פרנ, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, רחטמזת,  
ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רס), @ (אמן)

סססס

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אאא, חוזם: 20731  
אל: רהמש/606  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 547, תא: 160893, זח: 1757, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
בבבב  
שמור / מידי

אל: לש - ממנכ"ל

דע: כנסיות, מע"ת, יועץ כנסיות - כאן

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

ישראל - ותיקן  
לשלכם נר 951

לאחר בדיקה - לא היתה הצהרה פומבית של הנשיא קלינטון בנדון. לנושא  
המזה"ת אכן עלה בפגישת קלינטון - האפיפיור, ולכתבים נמסר ע"י מתדרכי  
הבית הלבן כי הנשיא הפציר באפיפיור לכוון יחסים דיפלומטים עם ישראל וזאת  
(גם) כדי לסייע בקידום תהליך השלום. דברים ברוח זו פורסמו ב LAT, ABC  
במספר סוכניות ידיעות וכ"ו.

כאמור, תמליל מדוייק של דברי קלינטון לא נמסר מאחר והדברים נאמרו רק  
בפגישה הסגורה עם האפיפיור.

17/8  
תקשורת

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, כנסיות, מצפא,  
סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 20731

אל: רהמש/606

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 547, תא: 160893, זח: 1757, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור / מידי

אל: לש - ממנכ"ל

דע: כנסיות, מע"ת, יועץ כנסיות - כאן

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

9/17/77

ישראל - ותיקן

לשלכם נר 951

לאחר בדיקה - לא היתה הצהרה פומבית של הנשיא קלינטון בנדון. לנושא המזה"ת אכן עלה בפגישת קלינטון - האפיפיור, ולכתבים נמסר ע"י מתדרכי הבית הלבן כי הנשיא הפציר באפיפיור לכונן יחסים דיפלומטים עם ישראל וזאת (גם) כדי לסייע בקידום תהליך השלום. דברים ברוח זו פורסמו ב LAT, ABC, LAT במספר סוכניות ידיעות וכ"ו.

כאמור, תמליל מדוייק של דברי קלינטון לא נמסר מאחר והדברים נאמרו רק בפגישה הסגורה עם האפיפיור.

תקשורת

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, כנסיות, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת

סססס

מדי	דחיפות:	טובס חברק קשר ניו-יורק	דד: 1 מחוק: 5
כלמ"ס	סויג:		אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
	תזח:		
1100	חס' מדיק:	כסחור - יועץ שהנ"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (נמ' העברונא)	דע:
			מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

# Israel Ends Bar On P.L.O. Role At Peace Talks

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Aug. 13 — Formally ending a longstanding refusal to involve the P.L.O. in the Mideast peace talks, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said today that Israel would continue to negotiate with three key Palestinian delegates despite their new status as officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"It makes no difference to us," Mr. Peres said. "They're the same delegation members, the same names, the same people, the same procedure. We're also aware of the fact that prior to this they also consulted whomever they consulted."

But Israel's familiarity with the delegates, Hanan Ashrawi, Faisal al-Husseini and Saeb Erekat, who were named this week to the P.L.O. committee that monitors the talks, does not dilute the significance of the change that has taken place: for the first time, Israel will probably be negotiating openly with officials of the organization.

New York  
Times

Front pg.

14-8

16.8

(1) (277) שחח (2) שתיח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (2) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) סמנכלתקשורת (1)  
 (1) חסברוח (2) ר/מרכוז (1) מחד (4) רס (1) אמ (4) אומ (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)

### Opposing Views

"From all indications it looks like the Israeli Government is moving toward direct dialogue with the P.L.O.," Mrs. Ashrawi, the spokeswoman for the delegation, said after she returned from Tunis today.

[And in Tunis, Yasir Arafat, the head of the P.L.O., repeated his appeal to Israel to make a "peace of the brave" directly with the Palestinians, Reuters reported.]

But former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and the man who served as his

top adviser, Yossi Ben-Aharon, were highly critical of the announcements, and warned of the dangers involved. Mr. Shamir, referring to the P.L.O. as a "murderous organization," accused Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's Government of "breaking down walls" that he had tried to create between the local Palestinians and the P.L.O. leadership in Tunis.

Mr. Ben-Aharon said that if the organization entered the negotiations, it might demand the "right of return" for the six million Palestinians it calculates are scattered around the world.

While the Israeli Government still officially opposes negotiating with the group on the ground that it engages in terrorism, resistance has been weakening. In January Israel repealed the law against contacts with members of the P.L.O., and Mr. Rabin recently authorized the Environment Minister, Yossi Sarid, to meet secretly with Nabil Shaath, a senior official in the organization.

Mrs. Ashrawi denies that she and other delegates received P.L.O. posts to force Israel into speaking to the organization.

"If it happens as a side effect, that's fine," she said, saying the new appointments were an internal Palestinian matter.

②

The appointments were apparently meant to heal a rift between the organization's leadership and the peace delegation, which is from the occupied territories. The dispute almost resulted in the resignation of Mrs. Ashrawi, Mr. Husseini and Mr. Erekat from the delegation. Instead, they were appointed to a P.L.O. committee that oversees the peace talks.

Foreign Minister Peres also tried to play down the development. "There's a Palestinian delegation with which we are negotiating," he said. "Its relationship with Tunis is its own affair. The entire matter is a bit gimmicky, an attempt to extricate themselves from a crisis."

A senior Government official said today that two basic principles guided Israeli policy: the Palestinian delegation must be made up of residents of the territories, and Israel does not negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization. Sitting down with the current delegates meets these principles, he added.

The official described the meeting between the Environment Minister and the senior P.L.O. official as "a process in which Israel has demonstrated flexibility on a number of issues."

"But these steps Israel has taken aren't aimed at eventually sitting face to face with the P.L.O.," he added. "These are pragmatic and practical steps aimed at advancing the peace process. We have no intention of negotiating with the P.L.O."

1100

# Israel Rethinks Interrogation of Arabs

By JOEL GREENBERG

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM — Several months ago, Israelis watching an evening newscast saw Hassan Zubeidi shuffle stiffly onto their television screens, his face frozen in a hollow stare. Mr. Zubeidi, a 34-year-old grocer from the West Bank town of Anabta, had become catatonic after being jailed for a month and interrogated by the Shin Bet, Israel's domestic security service.

The report from his house — a rare look by Israeli television at a Palestinian allegedly mistreated by the Shin Bet — briefly pierced the secrecy and public indifference that normally cloak interrogations of Arab suspects in the occupied territories. These interrogations, according to human rights groups and former prisoners, routinely involve physical and psychological abuse that has been classified by some critics as a form of torture.

Amnesty International, in a human rights report in July, said Palestinian detainees under interrogation are "systematically tortured or ill treated" by Israel. The International Committee of the Red Cross, whose representatives regularly visit Palestinian prisoners, has accused Israel of using interrogation methods that violate the Fourth Geneva Convention on treatment of civilians in occupied areas.

The reported mistreatment is significantly less severe than the torture documented in other Middle Eastern countries, like Iraq, Syria and Turkey.

## Official Attitudes Changing

But persistent reports and accumulating evidence of abuse, including the deaths of several Palestinians under interrogation in recent years, have produced a gradual change in official Israeli attitudes after years of secrecy and denial.

In April, the Government announced that a ministerial committee had revised the confidential guidelines for Shin Bet interrogators, tightening rules based on a 1987 Government commission report that had sanctioned "moderate physical pressure" during questioning.

In June, a bill banning torture was proposed by several Parliament members, and Justice Minister David Libai appointed a committee to study such legislation.

③

New York  
Times

14-8

1100

The reported mistreatment of Palestinian prisoners has thus far generated little public protest. For one thing, the Shin Bet is widely viewed by Israelis as an indispensable tool in thwarting deadly Arab attacks. For another, a surge earlier this year in Palestinian killings of Israeli civilians and soldiers seems to have strengthened a popular conviction that the security services must be allowed to do what is necessary to protect Israelis.

Officials deny that the Shin Bet uses torture, and point to existing Israeli legislation that prohibits use of force or violence to extract confessions. Israel has also signed the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

In a rare public statement on interrogation techniques, the head of the Shin Bet, whose identity is kept secret, responded recently to a petition to the Supreme Court by the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel, a private human rights group.

He asserted in an affidavit that "special interrogation procedures" were sometimes needed to foil terrorism. These "exceptional measures," he said, were used selectively to obtain vital information, and only against people suspected of "serious offenses." Such offenses are commonly defined by officials as violent attacks on Israelis or Arabs, use of weapons and explosives, aid and transfer of funds to militant groups and leadership of such organizations.

But prisoners, their lawyers and human rights groups say that abusive Shin Bet treatment is standard and pervasive, and that similar practices are common in army interrogation centers in the occupied territories. Human rights monitors estimate that 500 Palestinian detainees are subjected to such treatment each month and that at least 30,000 have been interrogated

since the beginning of the anti-Israel uprising in December 1987.

#### Methods Described

Palestinians who have been questioned by the Shin Bet report that several methods are used during interrogations, which usually last from two weeks to a month.

According to these accounts, prisoners are typically held on small chairs, their heads covered with dirty, foul-smelling sacks and their hands shackled behind them to the chair or to a wall. Prisoners report sitting for days in such painful positions, bombarded by loud music interrupted only by interrogation sessions and restricted visits to the toilet, where they were forced to eat their meals.

Palestinians also report having been held in closet-sized cells, some of which are kept at low temperatures. Others

## Critics say Arab suspects are 'tortured.'

say that their heads were slammed into walls during questioning, or that they were violently shaken, punched, kicked, choked and hit in the genitals.

Although Shin Bet guidelines are secret, there recently has been some official corroboration of prisoner accounts.

During the trial in June of a Palestinian in the West Bank town of Hebron, Shin Bet interrogators acknowledged that the suspect had been held without sleep for periods of three and four days while he was hooded and handcuffed to a wall as he sat on a low chair in a tiny cell.

In May, an Israeli lawyer got hold of a medical form used at an interrogation center in another West Bank town, Tulkarm. It required prison doctors to note whether detainees were fit to be shackled, hooded and held in isolation cells, whether they could stand for long periods and whether they had injuries before their interrogation.

#### Curbs in New Guideline

The Supreme Court affidavit by the head of the Shin Bet revealed that the revised interrogation guidelines prohibit exposure of prisoners to heat and

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cold and denial of food, drink and access to toilets.

The Israeli code's latest revision reflects an apparent trend toward stricter controls over interrogators to prevent excesses that have led to deaths and injuries.

But Avigdor Feldman, a civil rights lawyer who is arguing the Supreme Court petition against the interrogation guidelines, said they had led to "legitimization and bureaucratization of torture without public oversight."

Other critics argue that the new rules have merely led to a shift from beatings to other techniques that leave fewer physical traces. The point, they say, is that the Government still condones questionable practices like hooding, sleep deprivation, subjection to loud music and confinement in awkward positions.

"The Shin Bet has refined its techniques so they have become less discernible, and they have deniability built into them," said Kenneth Roth, acting executive director of Middle East Watch, a New York-based human rights group. "They are more sophisticated, but equally insidious."

#### Signs of Concern

While there has been little demand by politicians and the general public for increased supervision over Shin Bet practices, there are some signs that concern over alleged abuses is spreading.

In a letter sent last month to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Dr. Miriam Zangen, chairwoman of the 12,000-member Israel Medical Association, served notice that the organization would instruct physicians to refuse to cooperate with abusive interrogations. They would also be prohibited from filling out medical forms that pronounce detainees fit for mistreatment, she said.

Dr. Ruhama Marton, the Israeli chairwoman of the Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights, said her group would press for legislation requiring doctors in hospitals and prisons to report to the police any case of abuse under interrogation of someone that they have treated.

"Behind every interrogator-torturer there is a doctor," Dr. Marton told a recent conference on torture in Tel Aviv. "As citizens of a democracy, we must refuse to cooperate with crimes against human beings."

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 13 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת -

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: שיחות השלום - סבב 11

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (ג'ון גושקו) וכתבת ה-WT (מרטין זיף) - 13/8 אודות ההזמנות לסבב השיחות ה-11 שיחות השלום הצפויות להתחדש בסוף החודש, מעוררות ציפיות להתקדמות השיחות בין ישראל וסוריה, ביחוד לאחר ביקור מזכיר המדינה באזור והמסר ששלח הנשיא אסד לרוה"מ רבין. רוה"מ רבין אמר כי אין לצפות להתפתחויות דרמטיות בסבב השיחות הבא אך הוא מקווה כי המומנטום שהחל עם ביקורו של כריסטופר באזור, ימשיך להתפתח. מקורות טוענים כי יש לצפות להתקדמות בשיחות עם לבנון היות וזוהי דרך בה יכולים הסורים להוכיח נכונות לגמישות ולהביא להורדת המתח לאורך הגבול. הממשל האמריקני מצפה להתקדמות בשיחות עד סוף השנה ויש לצפות לביקורים של המתאם המיוחד לשיחות, דניס רוס, באזור בשבועות הקרובים.

# Washington calls another round of Mideast talks

By Martin Siefert  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The United States has invited Israel and the Arabs back for another round of peace talks in Washington at the end of the month, and Palestinians may come for the first time as official representatives of the PLO.

State Department spokesman Mike McCurry said invitations had gone out yesterday to Israel, the Palestinians, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. He said Russia, the co-sponsor of the talks, had been consulted on the invitations.

"They've asked the parties to return to Washington at the end of August to resume bilateral negotiations," Mr. McCurry said. The United States wants the talks to make progress "inch by inch" and "millimeter by millimeter," he said.

In Tunis, the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization rejected the resignations of Palestinian peace negotiators Hanan Ashrawi, Faisal Husseini and Saeb Erekat, ending a weeklong crisis.

The three had been angered by reports that PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat had been prepared to put off negotiations over the final status of Jerusalem in the peace talks.

Resolution of the crisis could present Israel and the United States with the choice of accepting the PLO as direct negotiating partners in the peace talks or calling them off.

The three, and four other Palestinian negotiators — delegation chief Haider Abdel Shafi, Azmi Shouibi, Taysir Arouri and Nahil Qasbi — have been made members of a PLO committee directing the peace talks, PLO information chief Yasser Abed-Rabbo told the Reuters news agency in Tunis.

"We decided to merge the leadership committee of the negotiating team with the PLO committee for supervising the talks," Mr. Abed-

Rabbo said.

It marked the first time that negotiators from the Israeli-occupied territories have been given official PLO posts.

Mr. Shoaibi, a senior adviser to the Palestinian delegation, said in Jerusalem that the negotiators now may attend the talks as PLO officials.

"This is a small step forward. The Israelis are not going to boycott the talks because of this," Mr. Shoaibi said.

The argument had left U.S. policymakers in a bind. They, along with Israeli leaders, had welcomed Mr. Husseini and his colleagues as a moderate alternative to negotiating directly with the PLO.

But in this crisis, Mr. Arafat and the old PLO leadership in Tunis proved more moderate and ready to compromise than the new leaders from the territories, who are mindful of pressure from the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas movement. Hamas rejects any talks or accommodation with Israel.

Meanwhile, Syrian President Hafez Assad gave a hawkish interview to a Beirut newspaper reiterating his support for the Iranian-backed Hezbollah, which provoked a massive Israeli response in late July when it launched rocket attacks on Israeli border towns.

"We all have to preserve the resistance [Hezbollah] and protect it," Mr. Assad told the newspaper *As-Safir* in an interview published yesterday. "And maybe at times we have to guide it, but only to increase its effectiveness."

"The enemy [Israel] is still the enemy and the mediator available [the United States] is not our ally but it is the friend of the enemy," Mr. Assad said. "It is true we must try to neutralize him [the United States] but through addressing its threatened interests and not through the illusion of winning him over to our side."

• This article is based in part on wire service reports

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# New Mideast Talks Expected in Weeks

## *Israeli-Syrian Track Watched for Progress*

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Middle East peace talks are expected to resume here at the end of the month, with diplomats watching particularly for signs of progress in the long-deadlocked, Israeli-Syrian track of the negotiations, sources said yesterday.

Speculation about possible movement has been intense since last week when Secretary of State Warren Christopher delivered a message from Syrian President Hafez Assad to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

The contents of the message have been a closely held secret. But it was greeted enthusiastically by Rabin and other Israeli officials as an indication that Syria might be ready to modify its previous insistence that Israel must commit itself to total withdrawal from the Golan Heights before there can be any discussion of a peace agreement.

U.S. officials, while more cautious, agreed that Assad's message pointed to what one called "signs of an improving atmosphere." Since Israel's separate negotiating tracks with the Palestinians, Lebanese and Jordanians are all at a standstill, diplomatic interest has focused on the Israeli-Syrian exchanges as potentially the most promising way to get the 21-month-old peace process moving.

To test whether that is the case, U.S. officials said yesterday they had sent invitations for the talks to reconvene here at the end of August. However, the anticipated round will be short since it must be recessed before the Jewish High Holidays begin Sept. 16.

U.S. officials and diplomatic

sources also said yesterday that it would be a mistake to expect dramatic developments during the September talks. Instead, they said, the hope is that the momentum started by Christopher's intermediary role last week would continue in the talks here and open the way to tangible results two or three months down the road.

Some sources said that signs of progress might show up not in the Israeli-Syrian talks but indirectly in Israel's negotiations with Lebanon, which has an estimated 25,000 Syrian troops on its territory and which is heavily influenced by Damascus. A week of intensified fighting last month between Israeli forces and Shiite Muslim guerrillas in southern Lebanon drew Christopher into helping to arrange what has become an uneasy cease-fire, and U.S. officials are concerned that new fighting on the Israel-Lebanon border could deal a fatal blow to the peace process.

For that reason, the sources speculated, while Syria might still be unwilling to modify its stand about the Golan Heights, it could show its flexibility by allowing the Lebanese government greater latitude in negotiating with Israel about ways to ease the tensions along the border.

The Clinton administration has said it wants to see results in the peace process by the end of the year, and in the coming weeks, it plans to have Dennis Ross, the special U.S. coordinator for the talks, make several trips to the region to seek ways of bringing the parties together. Christopher also intends to make periodic visits if it appears that his personal intercession can make an impact.



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

'SCIENTISTS DETECT A GENETIC KEY TO ALZHEIMER'S'; 'THE CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT'; 'LAUNCHING HALTED AT IGNITION IN LATEST SETBACK FOR SHUTTLE.' WSJ; 'THE POOR GROW POORER IN ISRAEL AS THE ARMY REJECTS MORE YOUTHS'; NATIONAL. ND, DN; LOCAL. NYP; 'THE DAY HATE DIED.'

ISRAEL/LEBANON/DEPORTEES/POLICY; ND(BRIEF), DN(AP); 'ISRAEL EASES POLICY'; REPORTS THAT ISRAEL STATED ON THURSDAY THAT APPROXIMATELY HALF OF THE ARAB ACTIVISTS DEPORTED TO LEBANON CAN RETURN TO ISRAEL NEXT MONTH AND THE REST WITHIN THE YEAR; NOTES THAT THE DEPORTEES ALSO SHOWED COMPROMISE BY AGREEING TO THIS 'TWO-PHASE' PLAN; QUOTES DEFENSE MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN'S SPOKESMAN, ODED BEN-AMI, AS DENYING THAT A 'DEAL' WAS WORKED OUT IN AN EFFORT TO REVIVE THE PEACE TALKS.

PLO/DELEGATES/RESIGNATIONS/REJECTED; NYT(REUTERS), DN; 'PLO REJECTS RESIGNATIONS OF PEACE NEGOTIATORS'; REPORTS THAT THE PLO REJECTED THE RESIGNATIONS OF THREE OF ITS PEACE NEGOTIATORS ON THURSDAY; NOTES THAT THE ORGANIZATION ALSO AGREED TO IMPROVE COORDINATION BETWEEN THE NEGOTIATORS AND THE PLO LEADERSHIP; ADDS THAT ISRAEL HAS HELD 'AN INCREASINGLY OPEN DIALOGUE WITH THE PEOPLE IT ONCE DISMISSED AS TERRORISTS'; CITES PLO OFFICIALS AS SAYING THAT THEY ARE PLEASED WITH THE DIALOGUE WHICH 'BREAKS AN ISRAELI TABOO.'

US/RUSSIA/ISRAEL/ARABS; NYT(REUTERS), WSJ; REPORTS THAT THE US AND RUSSIA HAVE INVITED ISRAELI AND ARAB DELEGATIONS TO RESUME PEACE TALKS IN WASHINGTON AT THE END OF THE MONTH; NOTES THAT THIS WOULD BE THE ELEVENTH ROUND SINCE THE PEACE PROCESS BEGAN IN MADRID IN OCTOBER 1991; CITES STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN MICHAEL MCCURRY AS SAYING THAT THE US WOULD CONTINUE ITS ROLE AS A 'FULL PARTNER' AT THE NEGOTIATIONS.

ISRAEL/ARMY/YOUTHS/POOR; WSJ(A.MARCUS-FRONT PAGE-CABLED); 'THE POOR GROW POORER IN ISRAEL AS THE ARMY REJECTS MORE YOUTHS'; REPORTS THAT DUE TO A GROWING NUMBER OF RECRUITS AND A SHRINKING BUDGET, ISRAEL CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO TAKE ALL YOUTHS INTO THE ARMY; STATES THAT IN A SOCIETY THAT REVOLVES AROUND THE MILITARY, THE IDF'S NEW POLICY MAY HAVE 'DIRE' SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES; ARGUES THAT THE YOUTHS WHO ARE REJECTED ARE OFTEN POOR AND UNEDUCATED AND ARE BEING PUSHED FURTHER OUT OF THE MAINSTREAM; CITES A 24 YEAR OLD WHO DID NOT SERVE AND CANNOT FIND WORK AS SAYING 'I DON'T EXPECT TO LEAD A PLATOON, BUT IN ISRAEL, YOU'RE A ZERO IF YOU DON'T SERVE'; QUOTES ODED BEN-AMI, THE DEFENSE MINISTER'S SPOKESMAN, AS SAYING 'IF SOMEONE DOESN'T FIT IN THE ARMY BECAUSE OF SOCIAL OR ADAPTATION PROBLEMS, HE WON'T FIT IN A GOVERNMENT JOB.'

ISRAEL/US/DEMJANJUK/RETURN; NYP(W.NEUMAN); REPORTS THAT JOHN DEMJANJUK COULD RETURN TO THE US SOONER THAN EXPECTED UNLESS THE OHIO COURT WHICH PERMITTED HIS RETURN REVERSES ITS DECISION; ADDS THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT MAY INTERVENE AND ASK THE SUPREME COURT TO BAR MR.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

DEMJEANJUK'S ENTRY; CITES THE CONCERN OF AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN NEW YORK.

US/EXXON/OIL/PRICES: WSJ(C.SOLOMON); REPORTS THAT THE CHAIRMAN OF EXXON CORP. SAYS HE DOES NOT BELIEVE THE UN WILL GIVE IRAQ PERMISSION TO SELL OIL IN THE NEAR FUTURE; NOTES THAT PRICES FOR OIL ON TANKERS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST ARE RISING AND THAT OIL SUPPLIES COULD DECREASE BY THE END OF THE YEAR.

EGYPT/CAIRO/BUSINESSMEN/SENTENCED: WSJ(BRIEF); REPORTS THAT THE THREE OWNERS OF AN EGYPTIAN APARTMENT BUILDING THAT COLLAPSED IN AN EARTHQUAKE ON OCT 12, KILLING 68 PEOPLE, WERE SENTENCED TO TEN YEARS IN PRISON.

MOROCCO/HASSAN/BUSH/VISIT: DN(BRIEF); REPORTS THAT GEORGE BUSH VISITED MOROCCO'S KING HASSAN AT HIS SUMMER PALACE WHILE AN ANTI-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATION WAS HELD.

NEW YORK/WTC/BLAST/SECOND: ND(P.TYRE); 'SECOND BLAST MULLED FOR WTC?'; REPORTS THAT A LETTER RETRIEVED BY THE FBI FROM NIDAL AYYAD'S PERSONAL COMPUTER INDICATES THAT THE TERRORISTS IN THE WTC BOMBING 'WEREN'T SATISFIED' AND THREATENED TO BOMB THE AREA AGAIN.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(A.COWELL-FRONT PAGE): 'POPE CHALLENGES PRESIDENT'S STANCE ON ABORTION.'

NYT(C.WOLFF): 'IN TORN CROWN HEIGHTS, A RESCUE AIDS UNITY.'

NYT(C.MANEGOLD): 'TRYING OUT NEW IMAGE - THE COMBATIVE GIULIANI.'

ND(E.NORDEN-BOOK REVIEW): 'A DEMOGRAPHIC HOLOCAUST?'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

SHABBAT SHALOM

מג

תפ: שהח (2), סשהח (1), דהמ (0), שהבט (0), מנכל (1), ממנכל (1), מצב (0),  
סמנכלתקשורת (0), מעת (0), הסברה (1), לעמ (1), מקצב (0), אומן (1), דרצ (0),  
סייבל (1), משפט (1), דביל (1), תפוצות (1), ר/מרכז (1), ממד (4), רם (0), אמן (0),  
וח' (0), צנזורצבאלי (1), מצפא (1), רחטמזת (1), מזתים (1), מתאםשטחים (0)

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אאאא, חוזם: 18232

אל: דהמש/522

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 394, תא: 130893, זח: 1633, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

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לשכת סגן שה'ח

מצפ"א

ושינגטון

מאת: אהרן יעקב, נאו'ם

הנדון: פגישת סגן שה'ח עם שגרירת ארה"ב

1. סגן שה'ח נפגש היום עם שגרירת ארה"ב אולברייט. השתתף מצידם: הנסון. מצידנו: השגריר יעקבי, גור והח"מ.

2. סגן שה'ח הודה לאולברייט על תמיכתה בישראל ועל ידידותה. הוא הזכיר את פעולת ישראל בלבנון וציין כי היא הביאה בעקבותיה להתפתחות חיוביות. אחר כך סיפר על פגישתו אתמול עם המזכ"ל ועל הנושאים שעלו בה (מברקנו 357). הוא עמד על החשיבות שביצירת אפיק קשר עם היחידה הלבנונית שהוצבה בשטח יוניפיל, כדי למנוע תקריות.

3. השגריר יעקבי ציין כי בפגישתו אתמול עם רה"מ רבין, אמר מפקד יוניפיל כי האו"ם מוכן לסייע ביצירת אפיק קשר בשטח.

4. סגן השר סיפר כי בפגישה עם המזכ"ל העלה הוא גם את ענין ההודעות לעיתונות שמסר המזכ"ל בעת הפעולה בלבנון. הוא אמר למזכ"ל כי ההודעות הללו היו חד צדדיות ויצרו לו דימוי שלילי בישראל.

5. אולברייט הזכירה כי בעת פרשת הגירושים נקט המזכ"ל עמדות שלא סייעו לפיתרון הבעיה. גם בעת הפעולה בלבנון התקשר אליה המזכ"ל והביע את דאגתו. היא אינה מופתעת איפוא מהודעותיו לעיתונות.

6. סגן שה'ח הדגיש את הענין הרב שיש לישראל באו"ם ועמד על השינוי שחל בעמדתנו בהשוואה לעבר. הוא סיפר על מאמצינו להביא להשתתפות ישראלים בפעולות האו"ם לשמירת השלום ועל התהודה התקשורתית שניתנה לעובדת קבלתו

של ישראלי אחד לכוח האו"ם בבוסניה. הוא הביע תקווה כי בעתיד יתקבלו ישראלים נוספים. אח"כ התייחס לענין בקשתנו להתקבל, על בסיס זמני, ל-WEORG. הוא אמר כי נראה שיהיה קשה להביא לצירופה של ישראל לקבוצה המערבית במסגרת ה- CWC, בגלל התנגדות בריטניה; אולם נראה לו שקל יותר יהיה להביא לצירופה לקבוצה בהקשר של עצרת האו"ם. אם ישראל תצורף לקבוצה, אמר סגן השר, תהיה לכך חשיבות סמלית גדולה והדבר יסייע לנו להפוך את האו"ם ללגיטימי יותר בעיני הציבור בישראל. הוא סיפר כי הממשלה בישראל מנהלת כעת מערכה חינוכית בארץ, שנועדה להנחיל לציבור את חשיבות האו"ם. כמו כן, ישראל עשתה צעדים חשובים כדי לשפר את יחסיה עם האו"ם, כולל הסכמה להשתתפותו בשיחות הרב צדדיות. אנו רוצים לשפר את יחסינו עם האירגון משום שבחזון שלנו לעתיד, לתקופה שאחרי כינון השלום, תהיה ישראל מעורבת בנושאים בינלאומיים ותנסה להנחיל למדינות אחרות מנסיונה ומיכולתה. חשוב איפוא שהאו"ם יקבל את ידנו המושטת. לכן רוצה ישראל להתקבל ל- WEORG, להשתתף בעבודת מוסדות האו"ם ועוד. זהו חלק ממאמצינו לשפר את היחסים עם האירגון. סגן השר הסביר כי האו"ם דחה בשעתו את הסכמי קמפ דייויד. הוא אמר כי בושה היא שאחרי 15 שנים לא בא מצב זה על תיקונו. הוא הוסיף כי מתן ברכה להסכמי קמפ דייויד עשוי לשפר את דימוי האו"ם עצמו. מכאן עבר סגן השר לענין תהליך השלום. הוא שיבח את מאמצינו של מזכיר המדינה כריסטופר ואמר כי ללא מעורבות אמריקאית, לא ניתן היה לקדם את התהליך. הוא הביע תקווה כי דעתה של ארה"ב לא תוסח מהמזה"ת בגלל נושאים בוערים אחרים בזירה הבינלאומית וכי מחויבותה להביא פתרון לסיכסוך לא תפחת.

7. אולברייט אמרה כי כחברת הקבינט והמועצה לבטחון לאומי, היא יכולה להבטיח שהממשל ממשיך להיות מחוייב לתהליך השלום. היא סיפרה כי המזכיר יצא מביקורו האחרון באזור בהרגשה טובה מאוד. הוא חש כי בינו ובין מנהיגי האזור נוצרו יחסים אישיים טובים וכי כל הצדדים מעוניינים במעורבותה של ארה"ב במו"מ. היא ציינה כי על צוות מחמד המטפל בתהליך השלום נמנים אנשים מהשורה הראשונה (הזכירה את רוס וג'רג'יאן). כן ציינה כי קידום פיתרון במזה"ת הוא אינטרס לאומי אמריקאי.

8. מכאן עברה אולברייט לענייני האו"ם. היא ציינה כי היא ומשלחתה עובדים בשיתוף פעולה מלא עם משלחת ישראל בראשות השגריר יעקבי. שתי המשלחות, אמרה, עושות לסילוק החלטות אנכרוניסטיות ועוינות. ענין השעיית ההחלטות נכלל ברשימת הנושאים, הקצרה יחסית, שבהם מתכוונת ארה"ב לפעול לפני העצרת ובמהלכה. היא מסכימה כי ענין צירופה של ישראל ל-WEORG כרוך בקשיים, ועם זאת סבורה כי ההצלחה בועדת האינפורמציה היא צעד גדול קדימה ומקור לעידוד. עם זאת, 'רומא לא נבנתה ביום אחד', ויש להניח כי גם השינוי במעמדה של ישראל באו"ם ימשך זמן ניכר. בהקשר זה, היא סבורה כי חשוב מאוד לעודד את הרצון הטוב ושיתוף הפעולה של מדינות מתונות מהקבוצה הערבית ומהועידה האיסלאמית. היא הזכירה כי בעת פרשת המגורשים מילא נשיא מועבי"ט דאז, שגריר מרוקו, תפקיד חיובי מאוד. אשר להסכמי קמפ דייויד, היא אינה יודעת אם האו"ם יסכים לברך עליהם היום ואם כדאי לפתוח היום במערכה בענין זה. שאלה לדעתו של הנסוין.

9. הנסוין אמר כי הדברים תלויים, במדה רבה, בעמדת הקבוצה הערבית.

10. השגריר יעקבי הזכיר את היזמה הרוסית מאשתקד. רוסיה ביקשה להעביר בעצרת החלטה שתמוך בתהליך השלום וממילא תתמוך, בעקיפין, גם בהסכמי קמפ דייויד. במגעינו עם משלחת ארה"ב נאמר לנו כי יזמה זו עלולה להיות מנוצלת ע"י הערבים לרעה; כלומר שהערבים יכניסו תיקונים שיסרסו את הצעת ההחלטה. נראה לו כי חשש זה חל גם על ההצעה בענין קמפ דייויד.

11. הנסוין אמר כי להערכתם הערבים אכן עלולים לעשות ביזמה שימוש לרעה.
12. סגן השר אמר כי הדבר החשוב ביותר מבחינתנו הוא עניין WEOG. הוא שב והדגיש את המשמעות הסמלית שתהיה לקבלתה של ישראל לקבוצה. סיפר כי בפגישתו עם שרי חוץ שונים - בכללם שרי החוץ של יוון ואוסטרליה עמם נפגש לאחרונה - מצא גישה אוהדת. השר האוסטרלי אמר כי ארצו לא תפר את הקונצנזוס, וכך אמרו לנו, כזכור, גם הבריטים ואחרים. השאלה היא מי יהיה זה שיצור את הקונצנזוס.
13. אולברייט אמרה כי ארה"ב תומכת בקבלת את ישראל ופועלת להשגת מטרה זו.
14. סגן השר אמר כי אנו מכירים בעזרתה של ארה"ב ומודים לה על כך.
15. השגריר יעקבי אמר כי יתכן שניתן להיעזר במדינות מוסלמיות מתונות בעניין זה.
16. אולברייט אמרה כי יש צורך למצא נושא כלשהו שלגביו יהיה מכנה משותף בינינו ובין המוסלמיות. אין ספק כי הנושא העיקרי המעסיק כיום את חברות הוועידה האיסלאמית הוא עניין בוסניה. אתמול נפגשה היא, בתור נשיאת מועבי"ט, עם משלחת של חברות האירגון. נציג סנגאל, שעמד בראש המשלחת, הזהיר מפני רדיקליזציה של הסיכסוך בבוסניה העלולה להביא, כך לדבריו, לפלסטיניזציה שלו. יתכן, אמרה אולברייט, כי ישראל והמדינות המוסלמיות יכולות לנסות ולמצא הבנה בנושא הבוסני.
17. סגן השר אמר כי לפני חדשים אחדים קלטה ישראל פליטים מבוסניה, אולם הדבר לא הביא לתגובה הרצויה בעולם הערבי והמוסלמי. טענו נגדנו כי הבאנו את הפליטים לצורך יחסי ציבור וכי אנו מנצלים את הסיכסוך כדי להפיק הון פוליטי. כך קרה גם כאשר שלחנו מנות מזון לבוסניה. דומה כי כל מה שאנו עושים נתקל בחומה של ספקנות וחשד.
18. אולברייט אמרה כי יתכן שעלינו לנסות וליצור קשרים עם המוסלמיות המתונות במסגרת האו"ם. הזכירה שוב את שגריר מרוקו, סנוסי, שבלעדיו לא ניתן היה למצא פיתרון לעניין המגורשים במועבי"ט.
19. השגריר יעקבי רמז כי משלחת ישראל אכן מטפחת קשרים עם מדינות מוסלמיות במסגרת האו"ם.
20. לבקשת סגן השר סקרה אולברייט את המצב בבוסניה. היא אמרה כי בסיכסוך זה יש עליות ומורדות. להערכתה, אנו נמצאים כעת באחת הנקודות הקריטיות בסיכסוך. הסרבים נושאים ונותנים עם נציגי האו"ם על נסיגתם מפסגות של שני הרים השולטים על סראייבו. תוצאותיו של מו"מ זה תקבענה אם מדינות נאטו אכן תממשנה את האולטימטום שהגישו לסרבים. אשר להסדר הסופי שיושג בבוסניה, היא מעריכה כי בסופו של דבר תחולק המדינה לשלושה חלקים, שיקיימו ביניהם קשר קונפדרטיבי. היא סיפרה כי המוסלמים הבוסנים ביקשו שמועבי"ט תאמץ הודעה או החלטה הקובעת כי במקרה של פירוד - תיוצג בוסניה באו"ם ע"י הצד המוסלמי. ארה"ב מסתייגת מהצעה זו, בין היתר משום שיש בה הכרה באפשרות שפיתרון הקונפדרציה לא יצליח. ארה"ב גם מודעת לטענות הסרביות כי האיומים בפעולה צבאית מצד נאטו מחלישים את נכונות המוסלמים לשאת ולתת. היא מבהירה איפוא למוסלמים כי אין בכוונתה להוציא עבורם את הערמונים מהאש וכי עליהם לשאת ולתת ברצינות.

21. השגריר יעקבי שאל אם ארה"ב מקיימת קשרים עם הסרבים.
22. הנסון השיב כי לארה"ב יש שגרירות אפקטיבית בבלגראד וזו עומדת בקשר עם שלטונות סרביה ומונטגרו.
23. לסיום השיחה שיבחה אולברייט שוב את היחסים הטובים בין שתי המשלחות בכלל ואת יחסיה עם השגריר יעקבי בפרט. הבטיחה כי היא ומשלחתה ימשיכו לפעול כדי לשפר את מעמדה של ישראל באו"ם.

אהרן יעקב, נאו"ם  
13 באוגוסט 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, בייך,  
ארבל2, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (לוברני)

סססס

משרד החוץ-נחלקת הקשר

18254

תאריך : 14.08.93

נכנס \*\*

1007

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חוזם: 8,18254

אל: המשרד

לעדים: 984, מנמח/1095, אביל/523, מרהמש/2047

מ-: 1095, נר: 2047, תא: 130893, זח: 1540, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: @: סצפא

נד: @:

סודי/מלידי

אל: פרינ

דע: מנהל מצפ"א

מאת: היועץ המדיני, וושינגטון

הנדון: יוזמת ארה"ב בנושא פרולפרציה

בהמשך לחוז'מ 17481 מדלהי.

1. להלן ממחמ"ד:

א. האמריקאים אכן מגישים בבירות אחדות נייר עמדה ( TP ) בנושא הנ"ל. הבידוד הן מוסקבה, לונדון, בילג'ינה, ירושלים, פאריז, בון, ניו-דלהי, איסלאמבד, וטוקיו.

ב. איינהורן תידרך אישית המדינות בעלות נשק גרעיני, שאר מדינות ה-7-ה הודו, פקיסטאן, דרום-אפריקה, ברזיל, ארגנטינה, אוסטרליה, בלגיה, הולנד ודנמרק. כן מתכוונים להודיע גם למצרים אך טרם עשו זאת.

2. באשר לשאלה אם ארה"ב מצפה לתגובה מאיתנו לגבי היוזמה, נדמה, כי ניתן לסכם כך: במאי 1991 נערכו התייעצויות מוקדמות עמנו לגבי היוזמה דאז, אך זו היתה בשל אופיה המזיית של היוזמה. כאן הפעם מדובר ביוזמה גלובאלית ולכן איינהורן ציין, כאשר מסר את נייר העמדה כי הדבר נועד להודיע לנו ( INFORM ), הוא לא ביקש לקבל תגובה אך אין זה אומר שהוא לא יהיה מעוניין לדעת כיצד אנו מתייחסים לסוגיה.

בהתחשב בדבריו שנאמרו [redacted] התרשמתי, כי הממשל חש כי זה הנושא המרכזי אשר ימשוך את תשומת ליבנו במכלול הדברים שהוצגו. לסיכום, הדרך שבה מצא איינהורן למסור לנו את עיקרי היוזמה היתה הדרך הטובה ביותר מבחינתו, להודיע לנו מבלי שהדבר יחשב כהתייעצות פורמלית, שהיה מן הסתם, מחייב אותם לנהוג בדרך דומה לגבי מדינות אחרות.

Handwritten notes in red and blue ink, including a signature and the date 14/8.

03 5376967 מל. ת. ט. ט. 0999788



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

18197

תאריך : 14.08.93



נכנס \*\*  
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707

חוזם: 8, 18197  
אל: המשרד  
לעדים: דהמש/521, אביב/1091, מנמת/981  
מ-: 11ש, נר: 2045, תא: 130893, זח: 1420, דח: מ, סה: 10  
תח: @: סצפא  
נד: @:

Handwritten signature in blue and red ink, including the number 1478.

סודי/מיידי  
אל: מנהל מצפ"א  
דע: רח"ט פרינ  
מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: אוניה סינית לאיראן - נשק כימי.

מהדסק הישראלי אושר הבוקר (13/8) כי האוניה נעצרה ונמצאת בכניסה למצריי הורמוז.

אין בכוונתה של ארה"ב לתת לאוניה להתקדם ליעדה ותנהלים עתה מהעים אינטנסיביים עם הסינים לצורך חזרת האוניה.

לידיעתכם.

גירמי יששכרוף.

לבח

מה

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), דהמ(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), מצב(0), מצפא(1), פרנ(1), סייבל(1), ליהר(1), אסיה(0), ר/מרכז(1), ממד(4), רם(0), אמן(0)

6406 2.13 סודי חומר נ"מ מ"מ ס"ל 8376967

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אאאא, חוזם: 18197

אל: רהמש/521

מ-: ווש, נר: 2045, תא: 130893, זח: 1420, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דע: רח'ט פר'נ

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: אוניה סינית לאיראן - נשק כימי.

מהדסק הישראלי אושר הבוקר (13/8) כי האוניה נעצרה  
ונמצאת בכניסה למצירי הורמוז.

אין בכוונתה של ארה"ב לתת לאוניה להתקדם ליעדה ותנהלים עתה מגעים  
אינטנסיביים עם הסינים לצורך חזרת האוניה.

לידיעתכם.

ג'רמי יששכרוף.

לבח

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, סייבל,  
יגר, אסיה, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס



משרד החוץ-נחלקת הקשר

18259

תאריך : 14.08.93

\*\* סכס  
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שמוך

חוזם: 8,18259

אל: המשרד

לעדים: בטחון/1208, רהמש/524

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 493, תא: 130893, זח: 1759, דח: מ, סה: שמ

תח: צהל, נספח ס: בטחון

נד: @

14/8

Handwritten signature in red ink.

שמוך/מליד

אל: רוה"מ / מזכ"צ

דע: רמטכ"ל, משהב"ט / מנכ"ל, סגן רמטכ"ל, מח"א

מאת: נ.צ. וושינגטון / אלוף גיורא רום

סימוכין: 1371

תאריך: 13 באוגוסט 1993

הנדון: F-15 E - האם ישנה התנגדות בדרגי העבודה

1. השגריר עדכן אותי היום בדבר שיחתו עם רוה"מ.

2. עדכנתי עצמי לאחר מכן בשיחה למח"א.

3. המלצתי לשגריר שטרם שאנחנו פונים לדרגים המדיניים (ואולי בשל כך קונים לנו מתנגדים בחיל אויר האמריקאי) אפנה לגנרל מק'פיק.

4. התקשרתי לגנרל מק'פיק שהיה בקליפורניה באותה עת. לאחר כחצי שעה התקשר אלי מר ברולין

(UNDER SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS)

5. לדבריו:

א. אין כל הנחיה שהיא בחא"א למדד אותנו לחלק מצידוד ה F-15 E.

ב. ברור להם, באופן טבעי לחלוטין, שמכללי הדלקה הקונפורמים הם חלק מסך כל ה"חבילה" של ה F-15 E ונמצאים, קרוב לוודאי, במקום גבוה ברשימת הרצונות שלנו.

ג. (ביוזמתו) סבור שישנה כאן אינטרפרטציה שגויה של נציגה החברה מליצרת

סוף דו"ח שומר נ"ר ס. 035370967



משרד החוץ-נחלקת הקטר

18072

תאריך : 14.08.93



נכנס \*\*  
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\*\*

שמור

חוזם: 8,18072

אל:המשרד

יעדים:רהמש/519, אביב/1081, מנמת/974

מ-:וושיןגטון, נר:462, תא:130893, זח:1317, דח:מ, סה:שמ

תח: @:סממ

נד: @:

*Handwritten signature in blue and red ink.*

שמור/מיידי

אל: ממ"ד - ערב 1, מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושיןגטון

הנדון: אלג'יריה

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משיחה (10.8) עם באק, מנהל מח' המגרב (N.E.A.), ובישקט, דסקאי אלג'יריה (N.E.A.) בהשתתפות לשנו-יער. בישקט חזר לאחרונה מביקור בן שבועיים באלג'יריה. הדיווח דלהלן מסכם את הערכותיו של באק ורשמיו של בישקט.

1. משמעות השינויים שנערכו לאחרונה בצמרת הצבא האלג'ירי עדיין איננה מחוורת עד תום. אלג'יראים, האמורים להיות יודעי דבר, אמרו לבישקט שח'אלד נזאר נאלץ לפרוש ממשד ההגנה מטעמי בריאות (ובמשתמע - הפרישה משקפת את היחלשותו), אך בני שיחנו אינם משוכנעים שזהו ההסבר היחיד, ואינם בטוחים גם בנכונות הניתוח הגורס, כי השינויים מעידים על הקשחה בעמדת הצבא. בישקט צופה שינויים קרובים נוספים בצמרת הצבא, שיבהירו גם את משמעות חילופי הגברי האחרונים.

2. בביקורו באלג'יר התרשם בישקט, כי המציאות נינוחה לאין שיעור מן המצטייר בדיווחי התקשורת המערבית. בני שיחו, בשגרירות האמריקאית ובקרוב הציבור האלג'ירי, הציגו את הטרור הפונדמנטליסטי כבעיה הטורדת את המשטר ולא כסיכון העלול להפילו. קיימים מחסומי דרכים ועוצר לילה באלג'יר, אך אלג'יריה איננה נראית כארץ במלחמת אזרחים, ואיש מבני שיחו לא יכול היה לשרטט תרחיש בו הפונדמנטליסטים יגיעו לשלטון בעקבות מסע האלימות. הלם פיגועי הטרור פה, והצבא עורך מסע מתוחכם נגד הפונדמנטליסטים. במקביל, הטרור החליש את מעמדם של הפונדמנטליסטים בקרב מעמד הביניים.

3. חולשת הכלכלה היא בעייתה האמיתית של אלג'יריה ולא הפונדמנטליזם האיסלאמי. למרות שהמסגרת החוקתית בשלה לרפורמה כלכלית, עקב השינויים שהתחוללו ב-89, '90 - המדינה מתנהלת כאילו המדובר בשנת 1965 ולא ב-1993. הרפורמה הכלכלית לא תתחולל כל עוד בלעיד עבד אלסלאם מוסיף לכהן

4406  
73  
סיון תלוי שומר בתי מ.ל. 035376667



משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

18071

תאריך : 14.08.93

נכנס

בלמס



חוזם: 18071, 8

אל: המשרד

לעדים: בוסטון/176, ניו יורק/859, פילדלפיה/130, אטלנטה/124, מילאמי/15,  
לוסטון/127, שיקגו/158, פרנציסקו/142, לוסאנגלס/188, רהמש/518, בטחון/1183,

אביב/1080, מנמת/973

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 459, תא: 130893, צח: 1316, דח: מ, סג: בל

תח: @: סצפא

@: דג

בלמס/מליד

תאריך: 13 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: קונכלי"ם - צפ"א

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: ראיון ב"CNN" - מזכיר המדינה קריסטופר.

CNN "THE WORLD TODAY" INTERVIEW WITH: SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN  
CHRISTOPHER THURSDAY, AUGUST 12, 1993

MS. WOODRUFF: JUST QUICKLY, MR. SECRETARY, YOU'RE BACK WITH US  
NOW. THIS UNAUTHORIZED PRESSURE FROM THE US STATE DEPARTMENT  
REGARDING MR. DEMJANJUK. CAN YOU CLEAR THAT UP FOR US?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I DON'T THINK I CAN. I'VE NOT SEEN WHAT THAT  
PRESSURE WAS. WHAT I WILL TELL YOU, JUDY, IS THAT OUR EMBASSY  
THERE HAS BEEN TRYING TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE ISRAELIS  
TO TELL THEM WHAT THE COMPLICATED LEGAL SITUATION IS HERE IN THE  
UNITED STATES.

YOU KNOW, WE HAVE EXTRADITION PROCEEDINGS. WE HAVE A DEPORTATION  
PROCEEDINGS. AND THERE IS A DECISION TAKEN BY THE SIXTH CIRCUIT  
COURT OF APPEALS, I BELIEVE IT IS, IN CLEVELAND. SO IT'S QUITE A  
CONFUSED LEGAL SITUATION, AND WHAT OUR EMBASSY OR CONSULATE HAS  
BEEN TRYING TO DO IS TO KEEP THE ISRAELIS APPRISED AS BEST WE  
CAN OF THE LEGAL SITUATION HERE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Handwritten signature and date: 8/18, 16.8.

6406  
73  
סמל תלמידי שירות הביטחון הכללי

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

NOW, AS I SAY, I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE UNAUTHORIZED PRESSURE IS --

MS. WOODRUFF: BUT THIS WASN'T SOMETHING THAT YOU WERE INVOLVED IN, JUST TO BE CLEAR ABOUT IT --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NO, IT WAS NOTHING THAT I WAS INVOLVED IN, NO.

MS. WOODRUFF: THIS INVITATION THAT THE US AND RUSSIA HAVE EXTENDED TO THE ISRAELIS AND VARIOUS ARAB NATIONS -- (INAUDIBLE) -- WHO DO YOU EXPECT IS GOING TO COME? DO YOU EXPECT THOSE TALKS WILL RESUME IN WASHINGTON AND --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THAT IS SOMETHING I WAS INVOLVED IN, JUDY.

REALLY, IT'S THE -- STEMMING FROM MY TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST WHERE I TALKED TO ALL THE PARTIES AND TOLD THEM WE SHOULD RESUME THE NEGOTIATION AND GOT A VERY POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM THEM. SO WHAT WE'VE DONE NOW IS FIXED A DATE AT THE END OF THE MONTH AND I THINK THEY'LL ALL RETURN.

MS. WOODRUFF: ALL OF THEM?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: ALL OF THE PARTIES.

MS. WOODRUFF: AND DO YOU THINK -- DO YOU THINK THAT THIS RECENT DISAGREEMENT AMONG THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION ABOUT WHO'S ON BOARD AND WHO ISN'T IN ANY WAY IS GOING TO UNDERMINE THE TALKS OR UNDERMINE THE PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE TALKS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, MY INFORMATION ON THAT IS TODAY THAT THAT'S BEEN SORTED OUT. THOSE WHO TENDERED THEIR RESIGNATIONS HAVE DECIDED (AND BEEN?) ASKED TO COME BACK, AND I HOPE THEY'LL BE PART OF THE DELEGATION. THEY VERY CONSTRUCTIVE PEOPLE, AND I HOPE THEY'LL BE BACK IN THE DELEGATION. SO MY OWN FEELING, BASED UPON MY CONVERSATIONS OUT THERE, IS THAT ALL THE PARTIES WANT TO CONTINUE THE PEACE PROCESS, DESPITE THE ILL FEELING THAT OCCURRED BECAUSE OF THE ISRAELI-HEZBOLLAH EXCHANGE. NEVERTHELESS, THEY WANT TO GET BACK TO THE PEACE TABLE AND I THINK THEY'LL BE COMING AT THE END OF THIS MONTH.

MS. WOODRUFF: YOU PROBABLY KNOW THAT SYRIA'S PRESIDENT, MR. ASSAD, WAS QUOTED TODAY IN A NEWSPAPER IN BEIRUT AS SAYING THAT ISRAEL REMAINS AN ENEMY OF SYRIA DESPITE THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS. AND HE WENT ON TO SAY SYRIA MUST PROTECT THE HEZBOLLAH GUERRILLAS. THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO ARE TELLING -- FORMER STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS, IN FACT, WHO ARE TELLING CNN THAT MR. ASSAD IS REALLY ON PARTICIPATING IN THESE TALKS JUST TO PLACATE THE UNITED STATES AND MAINTAIN GOOD TIES WITH THE CLINTON

ADMINISTRATION. ARE YOU BEING TOYED WITH HERE BY THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I CERTAINLY HOPE NOT. I'VE HAD VERY SERIOUS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT ASSAD AND I DOUBT VERY MUCH IF HE WOULD HAVE SPENT AS MUCH TIME AS HE HAS WITH ME IF HE WASN'T VERY SERIOUS ABOUT IT.

JUDY, THE UNDERLYING SITUATION IS WE NEED TO MOVE BEYOND A SITUATION WHERE COUNTRIES REGARD OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION AS BEING ENEMIES. THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF THIS PROCESS IS TO TRY TO GET TO A MORE NORMAL SITUATION WHERE THEY CAN HAVE NORMAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH EACH OTHER. UNQUESTIONABLY AT THE PRESENT TIME, THEY'RE TENSE AND STRAINED. BUT IF WE CAN DEVELOP SOME CONFIDENCE BETWEEN THEM AND MOVE INTO A SITUATION WHERE THEIR RELATIONS ARE MORE NORMAL, THEN I THINK WE CAN HAVE A CHANCE TO HAVE SOME REAL PEACE IN AN AREA WHICH HAS BEEN DEPRIVED OF IT FOR SUCH A LONG TIME.

MS. WOODRUFF: AND IN THE LESS THAN A MINUTE WE HAVE LEFT, MR. SECRETARY, I WANT TO BRING UP THIS SHIP FROM CHINA CARRYING CHEMICAL WEAPONS TO IRAN, NOW APPARENTLY SITTING IN THE STRAIT OF HORMUZ. THE UNITED STATES HAS INTERVENED, HAS ASKED, I BELIEVE, SAUDI ARABIA AND OTHER OF OUR ARAB ALLIES IN THE AREA TO INSPECT THE SHIP, TO SEE WHAT'S ON BOARD --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES --

MS. WOODRUFF: -- WE CAN'T GET THE INFORMATION FROM THE CHINESE. CAN YOU JUST IN A FEW SECONDS, REALLY HERE, SHED SOME LIGHT ON THIS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE LIGHT THAT I CAN SHED IS THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED TO PREVENT THE SPREAD OF CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. THIS IS PART OF OUR PROGRAM ON THAT. WE HAVE RELIABLE INFORMATION THAT THERE ARE CHEMICAL WEAPONS ON BOARD THAT SHIP. WE'RE DETERMINED TO INSPECT THE SHIP. WE'RE TRYING TO FIND CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH WE CAN INSPECT THE SHIP. (NOT SURPRISINGLY?), NOT EVERY NATION IS ANXIOUS TO HAVE THAT SHIP PUT INTO ITS PORT, BUT WE'LL FIND A WAY TO DO THAT. WE'LL FIND A WAY TO MAKE SURE THAT THOSE CHEMICAL WEAPONS -- OR CHEMICALS OF VARIOUS KINDS -- I SHOULDN'T HAVE SAID "WEAPONS" -- ARE NOT DELIVERED INTO THE WRONG HANDS.

MS. WOODRUFF: WELL, MR. SECRETARY, WE THANK YOU FOR BEING WITH US.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, JUDY.

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תקשורת וושינגטון

END

מה

תפ: שהח (2), סשהח (1), רהמ (0), שהבט (0), מנכל (1), ממנכל (1), מצב (0), רביב (1),  
ר/מרכז (1), ר' אגת (0), רם (0), אמן (0), ממד (4), מצפא (1), סמנכלתקשורת (0),  
הסברה (1), מעת (0), רחטמזת (1), מזתים (1), סליבל (1), דוצ (0), בןעמי/משהבט (0)

18071:חוזם,אאא  
אל:רהמש/518  
מ-:וושנינגטון,נר:459,תא:130893,זח:1316,דח:מ,סג:בל,  
בכב  
בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 13 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: קונכלי"ם - צפ"א

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: ראיון ב"CNN" - מזכיר המדינה קריסטופר.

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SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, JUDY.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

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

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 18009  
אל: רהמש/ 517  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 454, תא: 130893, זח: 1149, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבב  
בלמס/ מידי

א ל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון:

EMBASSY TEL AVIV LETTER TO GOVERNMENT TO ISRAEL. RECEIVED FROM  
THE US DEPARTMENT OF STATE, OFFICE OF THE SPOKESPERSON.

THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN TEL AVIV TRANSMITTED A LETTER ON AUGUST  
10, 1993 TO THE ISRAELI STATE ATTORNEY'S OFFICE ON THE  
DEMJANUJUK CASE. THE LETTER WAS PART OF THE EMBASSY'S DIALOGUE  
WITH THE STATE ATTORNEY'S OFFICE AND WAS DESIGNED TO SEEK  
CLARIFICATION OF LEGAL ISSUES THAT BOTH GOVERNMENTS CONSIDER  
GERMANE TO THE DEMJANJUK PROCEEDINGS. ALTHOUGH THE LETTER WAS  
PREPARED AND SENT WITHOUT THE KNOWLEDGE OR APPROVAL OF OFFICIALS  
IN WASHINGTON, THE ISSUES RAISED IN THE LETTER HAVE BEEN THE  
SUBJECT OF INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN OUR GOVERNMENTS FOR SOME  
TIME, AND WERE DISCUSSED IN THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT  
DECISION ISSUED ON JULY 29, 1993.

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת,  
הסברה, מעת, תפוצות, סייבל, משפט

סססס



Moreover, while Sarid — a leader of the left-wing Meretz Party — is among Israel's best-known doves, he has been a firm Rabin loyalist ever since joining the latter's coalition government.

It's no surprise, therefore, that news of the Sarid-Shaath talks caused a virtual political earthquake — in Israel and elsewhere. Understandably, many observers concluded that Israel was preparing the way for direct negotiations with the PLO.

Speculation along these lines was fueled by the subsequent announcement that three senior members of the Palestinian delegation to the Washington peace negotiations had traveled to Tunis to present their resignations to PLO chairman Yasser Arafat.

**Rabin Cabinet  
minister's huddle  
in Cairo sets off  
a political  
earthquake.**

The Palestinian trio — Faisal al-Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi and Saeb Erekat — are key members of a larger delegation composed of Palestinians who live either in the territories occupied in 1967 or in East Jerusalem. While depicting this group as "non-PLO" has always been something of a fiction — the fact that Husseini & Co. are threatening to submit their resignations to Arafat speaks for itself — Israel has insisted that it will only negotiate with Palestinians who reside in the territories or East Jerusalem.

As for the resignation threat, which hasn't been carried out (and probably won't be), the Palestinian trio professes to believe that Tunis (i.e., Arafat) has assumed too moderate a posture on various issues related to the virtually moribund 21-month-old Washington talks. The West Bank-East Jerusalem Palestinians are also said to be protesting the PLO chief's "dictatorial" style.

But the essential message Faisal Husseini and his colleagues are endeavoring to convey is that Arafat and the Tunis crowd are too soft.

It's hard to avoid the conclusion that we're all being treated to a well-choreographed diplomatic charade — complete with "good cops" and "bad cops" — designed to persuade Israel and its friends

1090

(2)

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abroad that direct talks with the PLO may well prove more productive than negotiations with the West Bank-East Jerusalem-Gaza crew.

And, indeed, even as Hussein & Co. pursued their ostensible grievances with Arafat, a Tunis-based PLO spokesman and senior Arafat aide — Bassam Abu Sharif — predicted that direct talks between Israel and the PLO would begin in a matter of weeks.

In a virtually simultaneous development, Sarid advanced roughly the same claim, asserting that the internecine squabbling in the Palestinian camp demonstrated the need for direct negotiations.

Meanwhile, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres — who's widely viewed as better disposed towards dealing with the PLO than is Rabin — responded to a reporter's question about such contacts in a strikingly non-committal manner. In place of a

flat denial, Peres merely observed that "Everything has its time."

So, is Israel getting ready to sit down with the PLO? Has the Rabin government decided to abandon a 30-year-old tenet of Israeli diplomacy?

Absolutely not, said Rabin earlier this week in a conference call with the leaders of major American Jewish organizations. Rabin told these leaders — many of whom were decidedly perplexed — that no change in Israeli policy vis-a-vis the PLO was under consideration.

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For the first time, the prime minister took pains to distance himself from Sarid's Cairo trip, insisting that the entire proposition was presented to him as a *fait accompli*. Rabin maintained he wasn't asked to approve the Cairo talks; he noted that — by law — he couldn't tell Sarid not to meet with Shaath and he insisted that Sarid merely "informed" him that the meeting had been scheduled.

Rabin's manifestly cool demeanor impressed the American Jewish leaders. Since then, he's adopted a similarly reserved and distant tone when questioned about the Palestinian delegation's trip to Tunis; he calls the alleged dispute "a Palestinian problem" that's "not our business."

Still, it's hard to avoid wondering whether or not — even in this hitherto taboo realm — the winds of change are upon us. If so — if Rabin is, in fact, exploring the possibility of initiating contacts with the PLO — there's another factor to consider: Are Israelis at large ready for so seismic a shift?

Recent polls suggest that — at least at this juncture — the answer is plain: No.

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was a "public interest" in avoiding a new trial because it was not certain Mr. Demjanjuk would be convicted.

Mr. Demjanjuk, 73, was cleared by the Supreme Court two weeks ago after an earlier conviction that he has been the guard "Ivan" who tortured Jews on their way to the gas chambers. But hours before his scheduled release, petitioners asked for a new trial.

The decision by the Attorney General was painful for many Israelis, especially those who survived the camps. An elderly man, clutching a cane, was hustled out of court today after shouting at Mr. Demjanjuk's lawyer, Yoram Sheftel: "You're con-

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temptible! You defend murders of Jews!"

Outside the court, protesters taunted the lawyer again, calling him a Nazi. Mr. Sheftel is an Israeli Jew.

"It is an outrage to say there is no public interest in putting Demjanjuk on trial," said Efraim Zuroff, the director of the Nazi-hunting Wiesenthal Center in Jerusalem. "A failure on the part of Israel to prosecute would set a bad example. It would send the wrong signal. It would indicate that it is not important to prosecute camp guards."

While the Attorney General's office and the Supreme Court have acknowledged such intense feelings, both have said the process has gone on too long.

"In the back of everyone's minds are the complicated political implications of this case," said Hersh Goodman, editor in chief of The Jerusalem Re-

port. "The court, even with the first verdict, showed great sensitivity to these political concerns, and this ruling, like the others, goes beyond just legal issues, but I think at this point it is clear they just want him to go."

Mr. Demjanjuk's son, John Demjanjuk Jr., 28, praised the Attorney General's decision. "The rule of law is going to govern in this case, and not the rule of the mob," he said.

It is unclear where Mr. Demjanjuk would go if he is released. A court in the United States has repealed his extradition, but the Justice Department said it would try to block Mr. Demjanjuk's return.

In acquitting Mr. Demjanjuk, the Israeli Supreme Court dealt only with whether he was "Ivan," and the justices said there was "reasonable doubt" he was the notorious guard.

The Supreme Court also said there was compelling evidence that Mr. Demjanjuk had been a guard at other camps. The justices added, however, that too much time had passed to order a trial on new charges.

Adolf Eichmann, the architect of the Nazi's "final solution," was the only other war criminal condemned to death in Israel. He was hanged in 1962.

The decision to overturn Mr. Demjanjuk's 1988 death sentence was based on documents unearthed in archives of the former Soviet Union. The files contained sworn testimony by 37 former Treblinka guards and laborers, all of whom are now presumed dead, who said the real name of "Ivan the Terrible" was Ivan Marchenko.

Between 1942 and 1943, 870,000 Jews were killed in the gas chambers at Treblinka.

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בלמס/מיירי

תאריך: 12 אוגוסט 1993

אל: ממ"ד

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: אש"ף

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WT (12/8 ANDREW BOROWIEC) אודות מאבקי הכוח הפנימיים באש"ף המסכנים את מנהיגותו של ערפאת. הכתבה מתארת את ההשפעה של מאבקי הכוחות באש"ף על שיחות השלום.

תקשורת

יפה

W1 1218

# Internal power plays challenge PLO's

## Arafat

By Andrew Borowiec  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A power struggle within the PLO is threatening the long-dominant leadership of Yasser Arafat and might, in the long run, give new impetus to the stymied talks between Israel and its Arab foes.

Some Western and Arab experts think the durable chairman of the

### NEWS ANALYSIS

Palestine Liberation Organization is facing a major challenge to his stormy career from forces trying to install a more democratic leadership.

A change of leadership, they say, might help make the PLO more palatable to Israel as well as to Palestinians in the occupied territories, increasingly courted by the Islamic fundamentalists of the Hamas movement.

The trend was officially confirmed by Haidar Abdel Shafi, the chief Palestinian negotiator to the bilateral talks between Palestinians and Israel. The PLO, considered by Israel as a terrorist organization, is not a party to the talks but has been giving instructions to members of the Palestinian delegation.

The cohesion of the Palestinians was damaged when three of their

key negotiators threatened to resign over a plan submitted to Secretary of State Warren Christopher that would postpone talks on the future of Jerusalem.

The three — Faisal Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi and Saeb Erakat — had a heated argument with Mr. Arafat, after which their resignation was referred to the PLO Executive Committee.

Subsequently, Mr. Arafat's Fatah movement, the dominant force within the PLO, issued a statement stressing the need for obedience to the leadership comparable to "the behavior of the soldier in battle toward his commander."

In Washington, James Zogby, head of the Arab-American Institute, said the Palestinians "are attempting to form a new decision-making framework." He did not speculate on Mr. Arafat's future.

"There have been difficulties and an artificial situation has been created" by Israel's refusal to negotiate directly with the PLO, he said.

Arab diplomatic sources said the dispute illustrated the growing tensions within the PLO, 25 years after it emerged on the international scene with spectacular plane hijackings and terrorist attacks spanning three continents.

In 1988, Mr. Arafat officially re-

nounced terrorism after the intifada uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories was launched in December 1987. The intifada has become a simmering resistance in the Israeli-held West Bank and Gaza Strip.

While refusing officially to speak with the PLO, Israel recently authorized Environment Minister Yossi Sarid to meet a senior PLO adviser in Cairo. But the contact was described by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's spokesman as "not on the prime minister's behalf or in his name."

Against such a background, speculation is rising as to the future of Mr. Arafat, the hardened "Mr. Pales-

tine" whose ouster from Beirut to Tunis in 1982 considerably diminished his impact on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"Arafat is clearly losing speed," said Geoffrey Kemp, a Middle East expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a policy group. "He is getting old, is surrounded by people who have been too long in exile, beset by financial problems and threatened by fundamentalist forces."

According to Mr. Kemp, the turmoil within the PLO might, in the short run, hamper the peace process but has a strong possibility of revitalizing it later.

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אל:רהמש/498

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NEWS SUMMARY 12-AUGUST-1993

TV COVERAGE

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C-SPAN FEATURED A BRIEFING (ENTITLED 'THE CONFLICT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND LEBANON') BY THE TRAVELING MUSEUM WHICH IS CURRENTLY TOURING THE US WITH THE ARTWORK OF PALESTINIAN CHILDREN; CRITICIZED ISRAEL FOR ITS TREATMENT OF PALESTINIAN PRISONERS; NOTED THAT THAT ALTHOUGH THE ORGANIZATION SUPPORTS ISRAEL, THE COUNTRY 'CANNOT LIVE PEACEFULLY WITHOUT A PALESTINIAN STATE.'

EDITORIALS

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NYT(CABLED): 'RUSSIA-JAPAN RELATIONS ON THE ROCKS': WRITER ARGUES THAT JAPAN IS WITHOLDING AID AND INVESTMENT FROM RUSSIA WHICH COULD HELP IT TOWARD REFORM AND RECOVERY; CITES THE REASON FOR THIS AS THE FOUR ISLANDS IN THE KURILE CHAIN SEIZED BY STALIN DURING WWII WHICH RUSSIA IS RELUCTANT TO RETURN TO JAPAN; STATES THAT WITH WASHINGTON'S ENCOURAGEMENT, THE NEW TOKYO GOVERNMENT CAN RESOLVE THE PROBLEM.

COLUMNS

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NYP(E.BREINDEL-CABLED): 'IS ISRAEL GETTING READY TO DEAL WITH THE PLO?': WRITER ASSERTS THAT ISRAEL'S FRIENDS IN THE US ARE 'CONFUSED' ABOUT ISRAEL'S POLICY ON MEETING WITH THE PLO; CITES THE NEWS OF LAST WEEK'S ENCOUNTER BETWEEN YOSSI SARID AND NABIL SHAATH IN CAIRO; NOTES THAT CONTACTS BETWEEN ISRAELI NATIONALS AND PLO MEMBERS NO LONGER VIOLATE ISRAELI LAW AND THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN MOST LIKELY APPROVED OF LAST WEEK'S MEETING; BELIEVES THAT ISRAEL IS PROBABLY PAVING THE PATH FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO; ADDS HOWEVER THAT MR. RABIN TOLD THE LEADERS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS THIS WEEK THAT NO CHANGE IN ISRAELI POLICY REGARDING THE PLO WAS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'NATO COMMANDER IS PICKED TO LEAD THE JOINT CHIEFS'; 'DINKINS WILL SHIFT RUNNING OF CLINICS TO HOSPITAL CORP'; 'SERBS MUST WITHDRAW PROMPTLY OR FACE AIR STRIKES'; 'IN A TIME OF SHARED HARDSHIP, THE YOUNG EMBRACE EUROPE'; 'THE MARINES WANT SINGLES ONLY, BUT THEY ARE QUICKLY OVERRULED'. WSJ: NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/COURT/DEMJANJUK/RELEASED: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED), WSJ, ND, DN, NYP: 'ISRAEL RECOMMENDS THAT DEMJANJUK BE RELEASED': REPORTS THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT RECOMMENDED TO THE SUPREME COURT ON WEDNESDAY THAT JOHN DEMJANJUK SHOULD NOT FACE NEW CHARGES FOR 'LESSER' WAR CRIMES; QUOTES ISRAEL'S ATTORNEY GENERAL AS SAYING THAT 'WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO DEPORT HIM FROM ISRAEL'; NOTES THAT THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE ARGUED THAT MR. DEMJANJUK COULD NOT FACE TRIAL AGAIN UNLESS THE GOVERNMENT OBTAINED A NEW EXTRADITION ORDER FROM THE US.

EGYPT/ISLAM/GUERRILLA/BANDS: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED): 'ISLAMIC GUERRILLAS TAKE TO THE HILLS IN EGYPT': REPORTS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THEY BEGAN A CAMPAIGN TO OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT, ISLAMIC MILITANTS HAVE FORMED SMALL GUERRILLA BANDS IN SOUTHERN EGYPT; STATES THAT THE ESTIMATED TWELVE GROUPS, WITH APPROXIMATELY TWELVE FIGHTERS EACH, ARE CONSTANTLY ON THE MOVE AROUND THE VILLAGES OF ASSIUT, MINYA AND DAIRUT; CITES MILITANT LEADERS AS SAYING THAT THEY FORMED THE BANDS IN RESPONSE TO THE CRACKDOWN BY EGYPTIAN AUTHORITIES AGAINST THEIR URBAN ORGANIZATIONS; ADDS THAT EGYPTAIN SECURITY OFFICIALS HAVE SENT UNITS TO SEARCH OUT THE BANDS.

KOREA/NORTH/SOUTH/NUCLEAR: WSJ(S.GLAIN-CABLED): 'SOUTH KOREA TAKES HARDER POSITION TOWARD THE NORTH': REPORTS THAT THE SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT HARDENED ITS STANCE ON NORTH KOREA'S SUSPECTED ATOMIC WEAPONS PROGRAM; NOTES THAT THIS POSITION CAME IN RESPONSE TO PYONGYANG'S REJECTION OF SOEUL'S OFFER TO HOLD TALKS ON THE ISSUE; STATES THAT THE STANDOFF THREATENS A THIRD ROUND OF US-NORTH KOREA TALKS; WARNS THAT NORTH KOREA IS AVOIDING INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION OF ITS SUSPECTED DEVELOPMENT OF ATOMIC WEAPONS.

US/ARMS/DEFENSE/COMMERCIAL: WSJ(J.COLE): 'ARMS MAKERS ARE SERVING UP A CRUSH OF REQUESTS FOR PEACE-CONVERSION AID': REPORTS THAT WEAPONS PRODUCERS AND INDUSTRY-RELATED RESEARCHERS HAVE REQUESTED DOLLAR 8.43 BILLION IN FEDERAL AID TO CONVERT DEFENSE TECHNOLOGY INTO COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(T.WEINER-CABLED): 'FOUR STAR MILITARY MIND.'

NYT(K.GILPIN): 'FRAUD CASE TIED TO BCCI GOES TO A RESTRUCTURED JURY.'

ND(B.LIFF): 'MAYORAL AIDES TO TESTIFY ON CROWN HEIGHTS.'

ND(P.TYRE): 'TERROR CELL KNEW PLANS OF WTC BLAST.'

YAFITTE BENDORY

ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שהח, 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,  
@ (מתאסשטחים), @ (ראשהמשלה)

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אאאא, חוזם: 16004  
אל: רהמש/461  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 120893, זח: 1239, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
בכב  
691671  
סודי/מידי

אל: וושינגטון, השגריר

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

בא'צ אתמול עם בראון סיפר, שראה דיווח של שגריר ארה"ב בערב הסעודית  
(הדיווח מלפני פעולת צה"ל בלבנון) לפיו ערב הסעודית החלה בשינוי חקיקת  
החרם הסעודי נגד ישראל, ע"י השמטת שמה של ישראל מחוקי החרם. הדבר נעשה  
בהשקט ותוך מניעת פומביות.

*[Handwritten signature]*  
13.8.

בנצור.

12 באוגוסט 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, ערן, רחטמזת,  
@ (ראשהמשלה), ר/מרכז

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 16718

אל: רהמש/477

מ-: המשרד, תא: 120893, זח: 1724, דח: מ, סג: סב,

כבכ

692081

סודי ביותר/מיד

אל: וושינגטון-השגריר

1. בראון סיפר לי היום שטונים מהססת אם לארח את ועידת הפליטים במסגרת המולטילטרלית. טונים הביעה חששותיה - במגע עם ארה"ב - מהימצאות נציגי ישראל, אש"ף ומדינות ערב בתחומה בעת ובעונה אחת ונוטה לחזור בה מהסכמתה.

בראון ציין שארה"ב מאיצה בטונים לעמוד בהבטחתה לקיים המפגש.

2. ארה"ב ממשיכה במאמציה לשכנע מרוקו לארח מליאת ועדת הבק'ן הבאה.

בנצור

12 באוגוסט 1993

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 15851  
אל: רהמש/465  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 120893, זח: 1124, דח: ר, סג: סב,  
בבב  
690425

סודי ביותר

מכתב מוברק

אל : וושינגטון, השגריר, הציר, ק. לקונגרס  
לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שה"ח

דע : מקש"ח, ר' מנהלת חומה; ר' מפא"ת - משהב"ט

מאת: מצפ"א

*Handwritten signature and date: 4.10*

הנדון: ביקור הסנטור אינווייה

1. הסנטור דניאל אינווייה נפגש במהלך בקורו 9-10 באוגוסט, עם רה"מ, שה"ח, שר האוצר, שר החינוך וכן קיים פגישות בתע"א במשך 4 שעות. ס/שהב"ט אירחו לא.ע. נלוו אליו עוזרו דיויד מוריסון והח"מ.
2. אינווייה הגדיר מטרת בקורו להתריע על חומרתו של דו"ח ה-GAO והשלכותיו האפשריות על פרויקט החץ ועל כך שלדעתו דו"ח ה-GAO אינו יריה מקרית כאשר לשאר הסוגיות הסובבות את נושא הסיוע.
3. בפגישות עם רה"מ ושה"ח שחלקן התבצע בארבע עיניים ציין אינווייה כי שתי הנקודות החמורות ביותר שאליהן יכול להתייחס בהקשר לדוח הן:
  - א. האשמה של כביכול היעדר שת"פ מספק מצד תע"א עם חוקרי ה-GAO.
  - ב. חשש שמא נעשתה העברת טכנולוגיות החץ למדינות שלישיות מודע לכך שישראל תקבל לידיה רק החלק הבלמ"סי של הדו"ח אך מבקש ומתריע לא להסתפק בהכחשה בלבד אלא להגיב בפירוט (ראו בהמשך).

הוסיף כי להערכתו הקשר בין המצוקות סביב סיוע החוץ ודו"ח ה-GAO על החץ אינו מקרי. סיים באומרו כי בא לישראל להתריע ולהצטייד בתחמושת ללחום מלחמתנו.

בפגישות הנ"ל תדרכו רה"מ ושה"ח את אינווייה לגבי מצב תהליך השלום

לאחר ביקורו של כריסטופר והדרך להתקדמות אפשרית.

4. אינוייה הזכיר בנוגע לסוגית החץ כי במחלוקת בין המצדדים בהצטידות בנשק אופנסיבי לעומת אלו הדוגלים בנשק דפנסיבי ישמחו ודאי הראשונים אם פרויקט החץ יבוטל.

הוסיף כי ביטול הפרויקט על רקע האיומים הקשים על ישראל (אירן צפון קוריאה) ישלחו מסר שלילי למדינות האיזור על רקע תהליך השלום מחד ומחויבותה של ארה"ב לישראל מאידך.

5. רוה"מ הסביר באריכות לאינוייה על האיום האירני והציפיה לממש המדיניות האמריקאית של DUAL CONTAINMENT. התייחס לטיל הנדונג שנוסה לאחרונה, ההתחמשות האיראנית המסיבית והתרחבות הפונדמנטליזם בעולם.

6. הביקור בתע"א

א. אינוייה התייחס לדו"ח GAO וספר כי התריע על חומרתו לרוה"מ ושה"ח והצורך במענה ברור וחד מצד ישראל ולא להסתפק רק בשלילה ובהכחשה מוחלטת.

ב. אינוייה חזר על האשמות העקרויות בדו"ח, שצוינו לעייל.

ג. מנכ"ל תע"א משה קרת הגיב כי למרות שלא קרא הדו"ח יכול להבטיח חד משמעית וללא כל צל של ספק כי לא נעשתה כל העברת טכנולוגית חץ לאף מדינה בעולם וכי בהמשך בקורו בתע"א יוכיחו לו זאת.

לגבי מידת שת"פ הרי שהיתה מלאה מצד תע"א ואף פניה מצד ה-GAO לא סורבה וכי הורשה להם לעבור על כל המסמכים והתיקים שבקשו. הוסיף כי הופתעו מהאשמה זו ולא הבינו מקורה.

ד. אינוייה הגיב כי למרות המסר שבפיו על הנוכחים לדעת כי הוא תומך בחץ ופעל במשך שנים לקידומו וכי ימשיך לעשות כן. עם זאת יש להתייחס ברצינות רבה לדו"ח ולנסות להפריך הטענות הכלולות בו אחת לאחת. זאת כדי שיוכל להתמודד עם האשמות מול יו"ר ועדת התקציב הסנטור בירד, שיזם הדו"ח.

ה. בביקור במל"מ התייחס ר' מפא"ת למידת המחויבות העמוקה של ממישראל לפרויקט החץ וחשיבותו לבטחון ישראל. ר' פרויקט החץ עובדיה הררי הציג בפירוט רב תשובות ודוגמאות להאשמות המופיעות בטיוטת הדו"ח הבלתי מסווג שקבלו תע"א. (מעבירים בדיפ' הצגת הנושא). הצגת הנושא הרשימה מאוד הסנטור אשר במכונית אמר לח"מ 'יצאתי הרבה יותר מעודד לאחר הבקור בתע"א'.

ו. הנציגים האמריקניים של מנהל הפרויקט בהנטסביל (אלכמה) אשר באו לביקור שגרתי בארץ קבלו אישור מיוחד לבקשת תע"א להשאר בארץ לביקור אינוייה. לאחר הצגת הדברים ע"י עובדיה הררי פנה הסנטור לנציג הבכיר האמריקאי ושאלו שאלות, בין השאר בקשר למהימנות הדו"ח והחוקרים. תשובותיו מבחינת תע"א היו חיוביות ביותר ולשאלת הסנטור האם יאות להשיב על שאלון מפורט ששלחו לו השיב בחיוב ואמר כי ישמח לעשות כן.

ז. לאחר הצגת הדברים הוצגו בפני הסנטור שני אבי טיפוס של החץ

בתערוכה מיוחדת שהוכנה עבורו.

ח. תשובות והערות שקלטנו במהלך הבקור בכלל ולאחר הביקור בתע"א בפרט:

1. יצא מעודד יותר לאחר ביקורו.
  2. מבקש לקבל בדחיפות תשובה מפורטת לכל סעיף וסעיף המופיע בחלק הבלמ'סי של הדו"ח. שכן יש לגרום 'להם' (אנשי הסנטור בירד ובמיוחד עוזרו הראשי דיק דאמטו) להיות באופנסיבה.
  3. בתגובה לדברי עוזרו דייב מוריסון כי להערכתו ניתן TO UNDERMIND הדו"ח השיב אינוייה כי בכוונתו לבדוק באופן עצמאי המידע המופיע בדו"ח עם ה-CIA, הפנטגון, מחמ"ד ומשרד המסחר האמריקאי. אגב, העוזר ציין ספקותיו לגבי מעמדו ואמינותו של ה-GAO והדרדרות האחרון בשנים האחרונות.
  4. אינוייה ספר כי בספטמבר הקרוב יפגש עם הנשיא לפגישה אישית כדי לדון אך ורק בנושאי ישראל.
  5. אינוייה קבע MARK-UP של ועדתו ל-21.9 ודיון במליאת הסנט בחוק תקציב הפנטגון/הקצבות ל-23/9.
- עד כאן.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר - יעל רובינשטיין

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 17227

אל: רהמש/500

מ-: ווש, נר: 2043, תא: 120893, זח: 1700, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: לשי שה'ח

דע: מנ'כל, ממנ'כל, מצפ'א

מאת: גור-וושנינגטון

הנדון: פגישת ס/שה'ח-סנדי ברגר

1. בפגישה שהתקיימה היום (11/8) השתתפו מרטיין אינדיק וברוס ריידל. מצידנו, השגריר והח'מ.

2. אירן

ברגר הדגיש דבקותם במדיניות הבלימה הכפולה. הגישה האירופית לנושא מדאיגה אותם. התגברות הטרור בארה"ב ובעולם מחזקת דבקות ארה"ב במדיניות זו. רואים את הכללת נושא אירן בהודעת ה- G-7 כהישג אמריקאי.

סבורים, שבאמצעות הגבלת מדיניות היצוא (קוקומ) יוכלו ליצור קואליציה עולמית שתגביל היצוא לאירן.

לין דיוויס (תת המזכ"ל לנושאי ביטחון) חזרה מעודדת מביקורה באירופה שם מצאה אוזן קשבת להגביר הפיקוח על היצוא, אך לא במידה הרצויה לארה"ב.

מרטיין אינדיק העיר, כי עמדת הבריטים היא הקרובה ביותר לאמריקאים בנושא. ברגר השווה את התייחסות ארה"ב לאיראן היום כמו לעיראק לפני חמש שנים ובכוונתם למנוע התפתחות כמו זו שאירעה בעיראק.

3. תהליך השלום - מעורבות אמריקאית

ביילין ברך על המעורבות האמריקאית הן בוושנינגטון והן במז'ת. הדגיש הצורך בשמירת רמת המעורבות האמריקאית שביכולתה להביא להקדם למציאת הפתרון לסכסוך.

ברגר ציין, כי הסכסוך במז'ת עומד בראש סדר העדיפויות האמריקאי, ומכיון שאין נושא חשוב ממנו, יקדישו מעצבי המדיניות האמריקאית - המזכיר והנשיא - את הזמן הדרוש לסיוע בפתרון הסכסוך במז'ת.

גור

לבח

תפוצה: שדח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רס), @ (אמך), ממד,  
רחטמזת, מזת1, מצפא, סמנכלארופה, אירופה,  
@ (ראשהממשלה), @ (עמית473)

סססס

17172: חוזם, אאאא

אל: רהמש/495

מ:- וושינגטון, נר: 416, תא: 120893, זח: 1629, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: ראיון ב"PBS" - מזכיר המדינה קריסטופר.

MACNEIL-LEHRER NEWSHOUR INTERVIEW WITH: SECRETARY OF STATE  
WARREN CHRISTOPHER / WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1993

MR. MUDD: NOW, THE MIDDLE EAST, MR. SECRETARY. HOW MUCH CREDIT SHOULD YOU GET FOR GETTING THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS BACK ON TRACK? AND HOW MUCH SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ISRAEL AND SYRIA FOR WANTING TO TALK ANYWAY?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I DON'T THINK THE REAL QUESTION IS WHERE CREDIT IS ENTITLED TO BE TAKEN. I THINK THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THE PEACE TALKS ARE BACK ON TRACK AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, THAT VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION HAS BEEN DEFUSED.

I WAS OUT IN SINGAPORE WHEN I BEGAN TO GET REPORTS THAT FIGHTING WAS GOING ON BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND BETWEEN THE HEZBOLLAH IN SOUTH LEBANON, THAT THEY LAUNCHING ROCKETS AGAINST NORTHERN ISRAEL AND THEN ISRAEL WAS BASICALLY LAUNCHING AN EFFORT THERE. THAT SEEMED TO ME TO BE A VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION. SO I HURRIED BACK HERE AND BEGAN TO TRY TO HELP FACILITATE A CEASE-FIRE OR A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

FORTUNATELY, THAT WAS DONE OVER THE TWO OR THREE DAY PERIOD, PARTIES PULLED BACK FROM THIS, AND UNDERSTANDINGS WERE REACHED THAT THAT FIGHTING WOULD STOP. AND THEN THE QUESTION WAS, COULD WE RESTORE THE PEACE PROCESS BECAUSE ACTUALLY THAT FIGHTING HAD CAUSED SOME ILL FEELINGS ON BOTH SIDES. AND SO I DECIDED TO MAKE A TRIP TO THE REGION THAT I HAD PLANNED BEFORE TO GO OUT AND SEE IF WE COULD SALVAGE THE PEACE TALKS AND GET THEM BACK ON TRACK. I THINK THAT'S BEEN DONE.

ONE OF THE GRATIFYING THINGS I'VE FOUND OUT THERE, ROGER, IS

THAT DESPITE THE BAD FEELINGS CAUSED BY THAT EPISODE, TO A PERSON PEOPLE THOUGHT THEY HAD TO GET ON THE PEACE PROCESS. INDEED, THAT EPISODE HAD ONLY UNDERSCORED THE NEED TO TRY TO GET AT UNDERLYING PROBLEMS TO DEAL WITH THE UNDERLYING PROBLEM.

SO THE QUESTION IS NOT WHO GETS CREDIT FOR WHAT WENT ON OUT THERE OR WHO SOLVED THE PROBLEM. THE REAL QUESTION IS THAT THE PEACE PROCESS IS MORE OR LESS BACK ON TRACK NOW, AND WE OUGHT TO ALL WORK HARD. PRESIDENT CLINTON'S DESIRE TO BE A FULL PARTNER HERE IS CRUCIAL AND I'M GOING TO DO WHAT I CAN TO PLAY THAT ROLE, ASSISTING THE PARTIES AS AN INTERMEDIARY.

MR. MUDD: DO YOU THINK THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER RABIN OVERACTED -- OVER REACTED IN RESPONSE TO THE HEZBOLLAH ATTACK? I MEAN, THAT WAS A MAJOR EXCAVATION OF PEOPLE OUT OF SOUTH LEBANON.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: PART OF MY PROBLEM HERE REALLY IS NOT TO BE JUDGMENTAL BETWEEN THE PARTIES BUT TO TRY TO HELP THEM REACH CONCLUSIONS. THERE WAS LOTS OF PROVOCATION. IF YOU WERE PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND THEY STARTED LAUNCHING ROCKETS INTO YOUR COUNTRY, YOU WOULD THINK YOU NEEDED TO TAKE SOME FAIRLY STRONG ACTION TOO. SO IT'S NOT MY -- NOT MY ROLE TO TRY TO JUDGE THE REACTION THAT WAS TAKEN. IT WAS MY JOB TO TRY TO SEE IF WE COULDN'T HELP DEFUSE THE SITUATION. IT'S BEEN DEFUSED. I THINK THE PARTIES ARE NOW DETERMINED TO CARRY OUT THE UNDERSTANDINGS THAT WERE REACHED AND ALSO TO GET BACK TO THE PEACE TABLE AND I THINK THEY'RE GOING TO DO THAT.

MR. MUDD: DO YOU SEE AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE EAST TUNNEL EVEN THE DIMMEST LIGHT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES, I SEE A -- I SEE A DIM LIGHT --

MR. MUDD: DIM LIGHT --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: IT'S WAY OUT THERE AND I THINK WE OUGHT TO PURSUE IT VERY HARD.

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדה, שדהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד,  
מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, לעמ, מקצב2,  
@ (דוצ), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 16987  
אל: רהמש/492  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 403, תא: 120893, זח: 1311, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
כבכב  
שמור/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל מזא"ר

דע: רוה"מ, שה"ח, ס' שה"ח, מנכ"ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: בוסניה



1. בימים האחרונים, התגבש קו אמריקני נחוש יותר בשאלת בוסניה. ההתפתחות מעניינת וחשובה הן בפני עצמה והן כפרשיה הזורקת אור על דפוסי העבודה של הממשל.

2. בשלב הקודם, התנגדו הן כריסטופר והן קולין פואל לקו אמריקני תקיף. אספין לא נקט עמדה ברורה.

3. השינוי שחל חל אצל כריסטופר. מרגע שחל שינוי בעמדתו השתנה המאזן. פואל, בכל מקרה, לא נלחם יותר על עמדתו (אולי בשל פרישתו הקרובה). כך, שבשלב זה נהנה הקו של כריסטופר-לייק מתמיכה מוצקה בחוג המידי שמסביב לנשיא.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, גוברין,  
מזאר, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

15347: חרזם, אאאא

אל: רהמש/446

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 300, תא: 110893, זח: 1657, דח: ר, סג: בל,

כבכ

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

BALMAS/RAGIL

TO: TIKSHORET

9/13/8

NEWS SUMMARY 11-AUGUST-1993

EDITORIALS

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DN: 'AN UNDESIRABLE ALIEN': WRITER COMMENDS THE DECISION BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO ASK THE US COURT OF APPEALS WHICH ORDERED JOHN DEMJANJUK TO BE READMITTED TO THE US TO REVERSE ITS RULING; STATES THAT THE COURT'S ALLEGATION THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DELIBERATELY WITHHELD EVIDENCE THAT MIGHT HAVE HELPED MR. DEMJANJUK ESCAPE EXTRADITION IS 'NONSENSE.' (ALSO NOTE NYP: 'RENO FIGHTS DEMJANJUK'S RETURN.')

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'NEW RULES TIGHTEN ACCESS TO SHELTER IN NEW YORK CITY'; 'US MAY SEND COMMANDOS TO HUNT FOR SOMALI WARLORD'; 'NOTE LEFT BY WHITE HOUSE AIDE - ACCUSATION, DESPAIR AND ANGER'; 'NEW CHIEF AT EMPIRE BLUE CROSS MOVING QUICKLY TO REDUCE COSTS'; 'PENTAGON SEEKS TO MODIFY CUTS IN CARRIER FLEET.' WSJ: NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

PAKISTAN/AFGHANISTAN/MILITANTS/TRAINING: NYT(E.GARGAN-CABLED): 'WHERE ARAB MILITANTS TRAIN AND WAIT': REPORTS THAT THE CITY OF PESHAWAR IN PAKISTAN HAS BEEN THE HOME AND GATEWAY TO AFGHANISTAN FOR ISLAMIC MILITANTS FROM LIBYA, IRAQ, EGYPT AND THE SUDAN FOR NEARLY A DECADE; STATES THAT ACCORDING TO WESTERN AND US INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS, MUCH OF THE MANPOWER AND INSPIRATION FOR THE WTC BOMBING CAME FROM THIS AREA; NOTES THAT THE AFGHAN JIHAD BECAME AN 'INTERNATIONAL HOLY WAR' FOR THE MUSLIM WORLD DURING THE WAR WITH THE FORMER SOVIET UNION; ADDS THAT IT WAS ALSO AN 'IDEOLOGICAL OBSESSION' FOR ISLAMIC YOUTH STUDYING IN THE US AND EUROPE; CLAIMS THAT PAKISTANI OFFICIALS ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO HOW MANY ARABS REMAIN IN PESHAWAR.

US/MIDEAST/WASHINGTON/PEACE TALKS: WSJ(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS CONSIDERING REOPENING MIDEAST PEACE TALKS IN WASHINGTON BY THE END OF THIS MONTH OR EARLY NEXT MONTH.

ISRAEL/COURT/DEMJANJUK/RULING: DN,NYP(U.DAN): REPORTS THAT THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT RULED ON WEDNESDAY THAT IT WILL NOT PROSECUTE JOHN DEMJANJUK UNDER NEW CHARGES FOR BEING A GUARD AT THE SOBIBOR DEATH CAMP; NOTES THAT A FEDERAL JUDGE IN OHIO DECIDED LAST WEEK TO ALLOW MR. DEMJANJUK BACK INTO THE US; ADDS THAT THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS APPEALING THAT RULING.

SUDAN/KHARTOUM/ISLAM/POLITICS: ND(S.SACHS-CABLED): 'A STATE OF ISLAM': REPORTS THAT SUDAN, AFRICA'S LARGEST NATION AND THE WORLD'S MOST RECENT CONVERT TO THE POLITICS OF ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM, HAS 'EARNED' INTERNATIONAL SUSPICION; CITES THE ARREST OF FIVE SUDANESE MEN IN CONNECTION WITH THE PLOT TO BLOW UP MANHATTAN SITES AND CHARGES BY ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS THAT IT IS TRAINING MUSLIM EXTREMISTS; ADDS THAT SUDAN IS ALSO CRITICIZED BY THE UN FOR ITS ALLEGED MISTREATMENT OF NON-MUSLIMS AND ITS BANNING OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES; QUOTES SUDANESE OFFICIALS AS SAYING THAT THE ISLAM THAT IS STATE POLICY IN SUDAN IS NOT THE AUTHORITARIAN ISLAM OF IRAN.

LETTERS

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NYT: TWO LETTERS WHICH URGE THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO FIGHT JOHN DEMJANJUK'S RETURN TO THE US.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(M.GORDON-FRONT PAGE): 'PENTAGON SEEKS TO MODIFY CUTS IN CARRIER FLEET.'

NYT(H.MITGANG-BOOK REVIEW): 'OF ISLAM, FUNDAMENTALISM AND WESTERN VALUES' (REVIEWS 'THE NEW COLD WAR?' AND 'ISLAM AND THE WEST').

NYT(AP-BRIEF): 'ZYKLON ROLLER COASTER SIGN IS PULLED AFTER JEWISH OUTCRY.'

WSJ(F.KEMPE): 'NATO - OUT OF AREA OR OUT OF BUSINESS.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שהח, 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, @ (מתאסטחים), @ (ראשהממשלה)

1094/א'  
57) ט'  
1/4

*[Handwritten signature]*  
16.8.

שמור / מידי  
11.8.93

אל: סמוכ"ל ארבל  
דע: אלוף דני יתום - מזכיר צבאי של רה"מ  
מתאם הפעולות בשטחים  
מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: דו"ח ז"א של מחמ"ד

1. רצ"ב פעם חוזרת מברקו של שטיין על שיחתו עם בישופ (מחמ"ד) בהקשר להריגת ילדים בשטחים וכן הריסת בתים. -
2. בעת שהותו של השגריר רבינוביץ' בארץ העלה נושא זה עם רה"מ תוך בקשה שנקבל התייחסות מוסמכת ומהירה שנוכל להעביר למחמ"ד. נקבע ששאלותינו יופנו למזכ"צ שיידאג להעברה מהירה ככל האפשר של התשובות.
3. בהקשר אחר נפגש הבוקר (11.8) סגן שה"ח עם דיק שיפטר אשר ציין את החשיבות במתן התייחסות מוסמכת ומהירה למחמ"ד לגבי נושא ז"א. שיפטר הסביר כי כאשר היה אחראי לנושא במחמ"ד היה נוהג לחלק את הידיעות על הפרות-ז"א בשטחים לארבע קטגוריות כלהלן:  
א. ידיעות נכונות שאין לגביהן הצדקה;  
ב. ידיעות שקריות לחלוטין שהתחילו בשמועות ומגיעות לקונסוליה הכללית בירושלים;  
ג. עובדות אשר אם נבחנות בכל הנסיבות הרלוונטיות, נראות מוצדקות;  
ד. עובדות שהן נכונות אך לעומת הקשרים אחרים בעולם אינן משמעותיות.
4. שיפטר סיכם דבריו שעדיף במקום לחכות לסוף השנה לקראת פרסום דו"ח מחמ"ד כי רצוי וחשוב שנעבוד עם הממשל באורח שוטף, ונספק תשובות בהתחשב באותה חלוקה לעיל.
5. הואיל וטרם קיבלנו חומר שנוכל להעבירו למחמ"ד, נודח על התייחסותכם לשאלותיו של בישופ בהקדם.

ג'רמי יעלכרון

1. סגן שה"ח  
 2. מזכ"צ  
 1. סגן שה"ח  
 2. מזכ"צ

מ ב ר ק י ו צ א מ ס ו ר ג

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1094/P1  
57/62  
2/4

אאאא  
אל:המשרד,  
מ-ווישינגטון, נר:0884, תא:230693, זח:1802, דח:מ, טג:שמ,  
בבב

שמור/מייד

23 ביוני 1993

אל: מז"ת 1 (?)  
ארב"ל  
מצפ"א

דע: מתאם הפעולות בשטחים - משחביט

מאת: השגרירות, ווישינגטון

הנדון: ז"א

1. ס/עוזר המזכיר לז"א בישופ זימנני לשיחה שנועדה להביע דאגת הממשל בשני נושאים: נידול במספר הילדים (מתחת לגיל 16) שנהרגו בהיתקלויות עם צה"ל, והעלייה במספר ובתים שנהרסו ע"י צה"ל.

2. להלן סיכום השיחה:

א. הריגת ילדים:

(1) הממשל מודאג מהנידול במס' הילדים שנהרגו כתוצאה מירי כוחותינו. שגרירותם דיווחה על זוי"ח שהוגש לרוה"מ ע"י ארגון בצלם לרוה"מ לפיו 34 בני נוער (מתחת לגיל 16) נהרגו בתקופה שבין 29.21.9 ו-16.5.93.

(2) האחריות להרג ולאלימות נופלת על שני הצדדים.

(3) להלן תוכן הנ"ל שהוגש לי בנושא לע"ל. מתוך 34 האבידות בחרו ששה מקרים לגביהם מעוניינים לקבל הבהרותינו. אנא.

(4) בישופ ציין, כי למרות שמבינים דאגותינו הבטחוניות, סבורים שביכולתנו למצוא דרכים לשמור על הסדר מבלי שהדבר יהיה כרוך באבדן חיילי ילדים ומבוגרים שאינם חמושים. על צה"ל לאמץ סכניקות שאינן כרוכות בשימוש בנשק חם. כמו כן, הביע דאגתם מפני שימוש מופרז בכוח.

(5) בתגובתי חזרתי על עמדתנו לפיה כוחות הביטחון פועלים עפ"י הנחיות וכי נוהל הפתיחה באש נשמר בקפדנות. באותם מקרים בהם

מתנולות הפרות, מקיים צה"ל חקירה ובמקרה הצורך נפתח הליך משפטי נגד מפרי הנוהל. כמו כן, הבהרתי שפתיחה באש נעשית רק לאחר שיתר האמצעים מוצו. אשר לגידול במספר ההרוגים בקרב בני נוער מתחת לגיל 16 (נושא שנצטרך לבדוק), ציינתי שקבוצת הנ"ל לעיל יותר מכל קבוצת גיל אחרת נכנסת לעימות אלים עם כוחותינו, עובדה הגוררת מס' גדול יותר של אבדות בנפש. צה"ל מגיב ואינו יוצר פרובוקציות ומכאן שאין מקום לחלוקה שווה של האשמה.

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ב. הריסות בתים:

- (1) בישופ התייחס לדפוס פעולה של כוחות הביטחון ברצועה לפיו במהלך חיפוש אחרי חשודים נהרסים בתים ונזקים נגרמים (כתוצאה מהפעלת ציוד כבד כולל מילים אנטי-טנקים) למבנים סמוכים.
  - (2) עפ"י דיווחי עיתונות למעלה מ-100 בתים נהרסו או נפגעו במהלך פעולות שביצעו כוחות הביטחון בששת החודשים האחרונים.
  - (3) עפ"י דיווחים שקיבלו בפעולת חיפוש שבצענו ב-11.2.93 במהלכה נתפסו למענתנו שני חברי הזרוע הצבאית של החמאס ניזוקו, עפ"י דיווחנו, 10 מבנים. נציגי ארגון ז"א שביקרו לאחר האירוע טענו ש-14 מבנים ניזוקו וחמישה מבנים נהרסו כליל. זאת ועוד תושביי-ההתגוררו בסמיכות לאותם מבנים טענו שצה"ל לא הצליח לתפוס החשודים.
  - (4) היקף המבנים שניזוקים בפעולות צה"ל ומספרם הנמוך של החשודים שנתפסים עלול להצדיק הטענה לפיה ההריסה נעשית ללא צורך ומהווה למעשה ענישה קולקטיבית.
  - (5) הממשל מודאג מכך שהריסות בתים נעשות ללא הליך משפטי.
  - (6) בתגובתי, הבעתי צער על-כך שהם נחפזים להגיע למסקנות בטרם בדקו עמנו אמיתות הממצאים והטענה לגבי היעדר הליך משפטי.
- ג. בישופ טרח להזכיר, כי בפגישתי הקודמת עמו (ראה דיווחי) בקשני לבדוק הטענה שהועלתה ע"י ועדת המשפטים על כך שכאמל יוסוף אל גלא, שנעצר ברובע דיסאל בעזה, מת במעצר.
- הבטחתי, כי אשוב אליו בנישא. אנא.
- ד. אשר לתוכן דו"ח ז"א הקרוב, בישופ ציין כי במידה ולא יחול שינוי במגמה של עליה באלימות, אלצו לציין את ההרעה שחלה בנושא ז"א בשטחים בשנה הנוכחית.
- ה. בתגובה ציינתי, כי מוקדם מדי להגיע למסקנות באשר למגמה עליה הצביע. בהסתמך על ניסיון העבר (קרי, תקופת שיפוט) הדגשתי הצורך באימות המידע שמגיע אליהם ועל הצורך שלא להיחפז בהסקת מסקנות בטרם בדיקה ממצה עמנו. איש שיח הבטיח לקיים עמנו קשר שוטף בכלל ובתקופת חיבור הדו"ח בפרט.

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ו. הערה

- (1) העובדה שעד היום לא קבלתי תגובת המערכות לטענות שהעלה איש שיחי לפני חודשים מספר, מחלישה דרישתנו מהם שלא לחרוץ דין בטרם אפשרו לנו להניב. הנני מודע לכך שיש מקרים שבהם אנו מתקשים להשיב. יחד עם זאת, יש מקרים רבים לגביהם ניתן להשיב

ללא קושי ובזמן סביר. תרונותי שהסענות שהועלו ע"י איש שיחי  
יזכו למענה בזמן סביר.

(2) תגובתנו בזמן סביר חשובה שבעתיים לנוכח הטובדה שלפנינו ממשי  
חיים ונפשות חדשות המופקדות על נושא ז"א עמן ננסה ליצור דפוס  
עבודה שיקטין עד למינימום החיכוכים האפשריים. הנני מניח  
שבפגישותיו הקרובות עם תת המזכ"ר Wirth ועוזר המזכ"ר שאתוק,  
יעלה השגריר בקשתנו לדיאלוג במסגרתו יאפשרו לנו להגיב על  
המידע הנוסד להם לגבי הפרות ז"א בשטחים.

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YOUTH FATALITIES

According to a report provided by B'Tselem to the Prime Minister, 34 Palestinian children were shot dead in the occupied territories between December 9, 1992 and May 16, 1993. Twenty two of the fatalities, according to B'Tselem were between the ages of 13 and 16, and 12 were under the age of 13. Our Embassy in Tel-Aviv believes that B'Tselem's survey of child and youth casualties is accurate. Among the youth fatalities are the following cases cited in Embassy, B'Tselem, or Amnesty International reporting.

- 12/19/92 Rana Abu Tuyur, 11, killed while on her way to buy milk during clashes in Khan Yunes.
- 2/7/93 Israeli border police shoot and kill Riyad Abdel Nabi, 16, during a confrontation in the Shufat refugee camp in northern Jerusalem. The police were attempting to disperse a group of youths burning tires and erecting obstacles at the camp entrance. Nabi, according to a local UNRWA official, was shot in the back and the neck.
- 3/8/93 IDF soldiers shoot and kill Taysir Jum'a Abu Ghalyoun, 16, of Nur Shams refugee camp near the northern West Bank City of Tulkarem.
- 3/20/93 Maher al-Maja'idah, 8, shot in the street in Khan Yunes.
- 4/8/93 Ra'edah al-Qarra, 13, shot by a soldier while standing near her house.
- 4/16/93 Fares al-Kurdi, 20 months, shot while standing next to father in a tire repair shop.

גמר צטט.

נד כאן.

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בלמס/בהרול לבוקר  
 אלו מנהל מצפ"א  
 הרמשי"ג - ניו יורק  
 דעו: יועץ תקשורת שחכ"ט  
 לשכת מנכ"ל משהב"ט

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, רושינגטון

הנדון: דו"ח GAO על מערך הרכש  
 בהמשך לשלי

4.10

מצ"ב -

- א. כתבת WSJ
- ב. כתבת רויטר
- ג. התגובה שמטרג' לעתונאים

לידיעתכם.

בברכה,

רות ירון

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מכתב תגובה

The Government of Israel is reviewing the report prepared by the General Accounting Office. The Government of Israel is pleased that the report recognizes that the Ministry of Defense conducts its FMF financed commercial procurement in a fundamentally sound manner. The report notes the thorough self-examination conducted by the MOD following its discovery of the Dotan Affair and states that the MOD has made numerous changes designed to ensure the integrity and efficiency of its commercial procurement. The report also notes that Israel has legitimate reasons for preferring to purchase certain items through the commercial rather than the FMS (i.e. government to government) channel. The Government of Israel appreciates the GAO's recognition of the cooperation that it received from Israel throughout the research and preparation of the report. The implementation of suggestions made in the report will be done in coordination with the U.S. Department of Defense.

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# Fees Questioned In U.S. Sales Of Arms to Cairo

## Report Cites Commissions Paid by American Firms Under Foreign-Aid Plan

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
WASHINGTON — Defense Department audits cited in a government report show a pattern of questionable commissions paid by American companies selling military equipment to Egypt under the U.S.-financed foreign-aid program.

Prepared by the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, the report draws heavily on previously unpublicized data collected by the Defense Contracting Audit Agency. And its release comes as the Justice Department is stepping up its own investigation of the aid program, including payments between U.S. companies and an Egyptian concern, Unitra, which has close ties to the Cairo government.

Yesterday, New York-based Loral Corp. said it recently turned over records to the Justice Department that were related to a \$227 million missile contract with Egypt. Defense auditors found that Loral had paid more than \$1 million in commissions to Unitra, which has also represented such major contractors as General Electric Co. and a unit of Lockheed Corp., according to the GAO report.

Loral officials, while confirming that the payments had been made, said its commissions had been fully disclosed and proper. But Unitra's role — and more specifically that of Egyptian businessman and former air force general Aly Mansour — have drawn attention not only from Justice Department criminal investigators but also from the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Chairman John Dingell's staff, which had earlier investigated the Israeli aid program, has traveled to Egypt and is looking at contracts held by Los Angeles-based Teledyne Inc. and allegations regarding its ties with another former Egyptian air force general.

The GAO report, initiated by the House Appropriations Committee, owes its origins less to scandal in Egypt than in Israel, where a high-ranking general, Rami Dotan, was convicted in 1991 of skimming tens of millions of dollars from General Electric engine contracts financed by U.S. aid. The case was a costly embarrassment for Jerusalem and led to a Justice Department investigation reaching beyond GE to other U.S. contractors who were part of the same Dotan network.

Among these was National Alrmotive Corp., Oakland, Calif., which received

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# Questionable Pattern Of Fees Cited in Sales Of Weapons to Egypt

Continued From Page A3

tion by this newspaper of the Dotan case. NAC and the U.S. Attorney's office in San Francisco yesterday confirmed that the company has entered into a plea agreement admitting to conspiracy to defraud the government and submitting false claims.

The plea, which is expected to be executed later this month, calls for criminal and civil fines of \$3 million, according to court documents and attorney Charles Stevens, counsel for NAC.

Within Washington, the same scandal has forced the Defense Department to take a closer look at the practice of foreign-aid recipients buying equipment through direct commercial contracts with U.S. companies rather than from the Pentagon. This review, and a separate criminal conviction regarding a contract between Egypt and Detroit Armor Corp., resulted in a decision by the Defense Security Assistance Administration to terminate the commercial side of the program effective Jan. 1, 1994.

There is strong lobbying now to reverse that decision, but the history of abuses under commercial contracts remains worrisome to defense auditors, who complain of poor record-keeping by U.S. companies and an inability to allocate costs accurately to the contracts.

In the case of commissions, companies such as Loral claim the money comes from corporate profits and, therefore, is exempt from government rules that set a \$50,000 cap on such payments. But the GAO report said funds for the Egyptian contract became mingled with those for a similar missile sale to Taiwan, and this prevented auditors from accurately tracing actual costs back to the two accounts.

In another case, Alliant Techsystems Inc., Edina, Minn., has found itself challenged over costs attributed to a \$31 million contract with Egypt to upgrade torpedoes. Auditors said Alliant had a \$28,000 subcontract for administrative and logistics support with Navytron, an Egyptian company managed by a retired Egyptian admiral. And though there appears to be no relationship with the Justice Department inquiry, Alliant confirmed yesterday that it was negotiating with the Defense Security Assistance Administration over how much of the cost of the subcontract should be disallowed and not billed to the U.S.

WSJ  
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F.P.

Defense Department audits cited in a government report show a pattern of questionable commissions paid by American companies selling military equipment to Egypt under a U.S.-financed foreign-aid program.

(Article on Page A3)

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AM-DEFENSE-CONTRACTS

EGYPT, ISRAEL CONTRACT PAYMENTS QUESTIONED

By Jim Adams

WASHINGTON (Reuter) - Defense auditors, reporting possible new misuse of foreign aid, are checking dozens of U.S. contracts in Egypt and Israel following a major Israel fraud case, according to a congressional report.

The U.S. companies have denied any wrongdoing but investigation of the findings by Defense Department auditors is continuing, according to the General Accounting Office report released this week.

"Auditors uncovered evidence that contractors may have improperly used Foreign Military Financing funds to 1) pay questionable commissions, 2) reimburse foreign officials for travel expenses or 3) make payments for items that were not of U.S. origin," the GAO report said.

It said the Defense Security Assistance Agency has audited nine U.S. contracts in Egypt and two in Israel since 1991 when Israeli Air Force Gen. Rami Dotan was convicted of defrauding the U.S. government of \$40 million on General Electric engine contracts.

The Pentagon agency plans to audit an additional 15 U.S. contracts in Egypt and 22 in Israel, the report said.

It said the Justice Department, the Pentagon's Defense Criminal Investigative Service and the GAO are also investigating U.S. military aid contracts.

The GAO report said the largest commission the Pentagon auditors found was a \$1 million payment by Loral Aerospace International on a \$227 million contract to UNITRA, an Egyptian company staffed with former Egyptian officers.

In a \$69 million Egyptian contract with Beech Aircraft for surveillance planes, it said, auditors found that Motorola, a subcontractor, paid a \$417,000 contingent fee to an Egyptian sales agent.

The auditors also found that Westinghouse paid \$15,730 in travel costs for Egyptian officials in connection with a \$180 million radar contract, the report said.

The report said auditors found Commodore Aviation records on a \$33.5 million Israeli contract inadequate to determine if commissions were paid or to ensure that no military aid money was used for Israeli government officials' travel.

The report said Alliant Techsystems of Edina, Minn., certified that as required all goods and services for a contract in Egypt were of U.S. origin, but auditors found that Alliant had a \$528,000 subcontract with Navytron, an Egyptian firm managed by a retired Egyptian admiral.

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בבב  
סודי ביותר/ מידי

אל: רה'מ, שה'ח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

מכתב מוברק  
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הנדון: תהליך השלום

1. היום צלצל המזכיר כריסטופר וביקש למסור על החלטתם לזמן את סבב השיחות הבא ל-30 באוגוסט.
2. כן ביקש להדגיש, לידיעתכם שלכם, שהנשיא והוא יעמדו לרשות התהליך בכל עת שיידרש הדבר.
3. הנשיא יוצא את העיר לחופשת הקיץ מחר. המזכיר יוצא לחופשה בשבת אך הדגיש באוזני שאוכל להתקשר אליו למקום חופשתו במקרים דחופים.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), שהח, סשהח, מנכל, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 15119  
אל: רהמש/438  
מ:- בטחון, נר: 391, תא: 110893, זח: 1835, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
בבב  
מידי / שמור

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון

דע: מנכ"ל משהב"ט, מקשי"ח, רמשי"ן-ניו יורק  
מנהל מצפ"א, קישור לקונגרס וושינגטון

מאת: עודד בן עמי, יועץ שר הבטחון לתקשורת

אי/327

הנדון: תגובה לדו"ח GAO - 'חקי'  
לשלך נר: 320

א. בעקבות עבודת המטה שנערכה כאן, עומדים על כך שהנוסח שנשלח אליכם,  
הוא נוסח התגובה הרשמית, שיתפרסם עם פרסום הדו"ח אצלכם.

ב. בתדרוכי רקע ניתן להשתמש בטיעונים שבהצעתכם.

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

סססס

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אל: רהמש/451  
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שמור / מידי

אל: ממ"ד - ערב 1,  
אגף שלום, מח' מצרים  
מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: התהליך. מצרים  
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משיחה עם ריצ'רד ג'ונס מנהל מח' מצרים (N.E.A) ב- 11.8 (בשנה האחרונה למד ג'ונס בקורס הבכיר של מחמ"ד. קודם לכן שרת בשגרירותם בריאד).

התהליך  
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1. לדעתו ממישראל נהגה כיאות בתקיפה בלבנון: חיזקה את מעמדה מבית ומחצה את חזבאללה. ציין ששה"ח הערביים, בכינוסם האחרון, עסקו בעיקר בהשמצת חזבאללה. העריך שתגובה ערבית זו נובעת מכך שחזבאללה שיעי, ומתחושה ערבית שאיראן "הגזימה" (במשתמע - בפעילותה לשיבוש התהליך באורח המנוגד לאינטרסים של המשטרים הערביים המעורבים בו. י.א.).

2. על רקע הכרותו את המציאות בסעודיה קבע, כי אנשי עסקים סעודיים משתוקקים להגיע ליום בו יוכלו לבצע עסקים שישלבו ממוך סעודי וטכנולוגיה ישראלית.

מצרים  
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3. במחמ"ד מוטרדים בנושא היציבות במצרים הגם שאין תחושה כי מעמד המשטר בסכנה. הוסיף שבמסגרת הרינונים הנשמעים ברחוב המצרי כנגד המשטר נזכרים גם בניו של מבארק, המאשמים בשחיתות.

4. עם זאת, במשטר המצרי שוררת כיום תחושה של הצלחה במאבק נגד המוסלמים הקיצוניים, שהצליחו לקומם כנגדם את הציבור הרחב. בעקבות פיגועי "פצצות המסמרים", אזרחים רבים מסייעים למשטרה כנגד הטרוריסטים האסלאמיים.

5. ציין שאי-ההבנות שהתגלעו לאחרונה בין ארה"ב למצרים יושבו, ועמד

בהרחבה על רקען:

א. פרשת השיח' עומר עבד אלרחמן:  
ארה"ב שאלה, בשעתו, את מצרים אם ברצונה כי עומר עבד אלרחמן יגורש לתחומה. לדבריו האמריקנים סברו שהמצרים ישיבו בשלילה, אך המצרים הבינו שארה"ב מבקשת מהם, למעשה, כי יגישו בקשת הסגרה - וכך נהגו. בקשת ההסגרה הועברה ישירות לכריסטופר, ודרגי העבודה במחמ"ד לא הצליחו להבהיר לו כי מקורה בטעות, בטרם חשף אותה בראיון טלביזיוני. הטיפול בבקשת ההסגרה מסובך ביותר: יתכן שהסכם ההסגרה שבין ארה"ב למצרים איננו מכסה את הסעיפים שבשלהם מבקשים המצרים את הסגרת השיח', וכן קיים שוני בין שתי מערכות החקיקה כאשר לנושאים שבגינם ניתן להסגיר. ג'ונס סבור שבסופו של דבר, עבר אלרחמן ישפט בארה"ב בשל עבירות ההגירה וקשריו עם הפיגוע, וכוונות הפיגועים, בניו-יורק. מן הסתם יישב בכלא בארה"ב ויוסגר לאחר מכן למצרים, לאחר שישפט שם בהעדרו, ובתקווה שעד אז תפוג השפעתו בקרב החוגים האסלאמיים.

ב. קשרי דפלומטיים אמריקניים עם גורמים אסלאמיים:  
הבקורת במצרים התעוררה בעקבות פגישה בין אנשי השגרירות לבין אדם, שהציג עצמו, בפומבי, לאחר הפגישה, כאיש החבורות האסלאמיות. בעקבות זאת האמריקנים נתקו עמו את הקשר. ככלל האמריקנים אינם מקיימים קשרים עם גורמים המעורבים בטרור. הם מקיימים קשרים עם האחים המוסלמים. לקהילת המודיעין האמריקנית לא ברור אם ל"אחים" יש אגף צבאי, אך אם קיים אגף מעין זה - אין הוא מעורב בטרור. עם זאת, הסכים עם הערת הח"מ כי הגבולות בין הפריפריה של אוהדי ה"אחים" לבין תומכי ארגוני הטרור האסלאמיים מטושטשים למדי.

אמיתי

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 15427  
אל: רהמש/449  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 363, תא: 110893, זח: 1812, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
בבבב  
שמור/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: הרמש"ן - ניו יורק  
יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט  
לשכת מנכ"ל שהב"ט

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: דו"ח GAO - מערך הרכש

בהמשך לשלי נר 329

1. כאמור, התפרסמה הכתבה ברויטר הכוללת גם את התייחסותנו - כפי ששודר ב"קול ישראל".
2. הפונים הבודדים היום בנושא היו הכתבים הישראליים, וזאת בעקבות כתבת "קול ישראל". הם תודרכו בהתאם.
3. נראה, לפחות לעת עתה, שהדו"ח יעבור בשקט וכמעט ללא פרסום בתקשורת האמריקנית.

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,  
סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס

מועט - דעדיק  
קשר ניו-יורק

P.1/11  
מחוק: 2

מדי: דח'כות: מידי

סוג: כלמ"ס

אל: תסוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

תזח:

חס' מדיק:

בסחור - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, יו"צ,  
אמ"נ/קש"ח (8) (העכירינא)

דע:

1080

13-8

עמוכות, ניו יורק

מאת:

# Fighting It Out by Proxy

Newsday  
10-8

By Susan Sachs  
MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

BEIRUT, Lebanon

If you take a quick look at a map of the Middle East, you'll see why so many battles — just like the one waged by Israel late last month — are fought in the small Arab country of Lebanon.

Lebanon is a sliver of a country squeezed between Israel and Syria, two powerful neighbors that have been enemies for 45 years. The last time Syrian soldiers fought Israeli soldiers face-to-face was in 1973. But many times since then, the two countries used others to act in their place.

Like fight managers and boxers, they train and pay militias to go into the ring and do their fighting for them. Lebanon, which has a very weak government and many internal political troubles of its own, is the place where these proxy clashes happen.

It is South Lebanon where Hezbollah, a radical group supported by Syria, fights with Israel's agents, the South Lebanon Army, or SLA. This area is often called "the wild west" because so many people have guns and because the Lebanese government is not able to control what happens there.

Adding to the friction are Israeli soldiers, who work

איטור:

שם השולח:

10-8-93

- (28) שחח (2) סמח"ח (1) רחמ"ו (1) מנכל (2) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) סמנכלתקשורת (1)
- הסברה (2) ר/מרכז (1) סטד (4) רס (1) אמן (4) אומן (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)
- צנזורצבאי (1) דוצ-ים (1)

במחוק/סג

with the SLA to patrol a chunk of south Lebanon along the Israeli border. Israel calls this ribbon of land, which extends about nine miles deep into Lebanon, its "security zone." The zone is meant to act as a buffer to protect the people of northern Israel.

If Syria really wants peace, the Israelis say, it should take away the weapons of Hezbollah and make these fanatical haters of Israel stop fighting. Then there would be no need for Israel to be in Lebanon.

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But many Arabs consider the existence of the security zone the cause, and not the cure, for anti-Israeli violence. They consider Israel's presence to be an occupation of Lebanon by a foreign power.

That is why many Arab leaders call Hezbollah a "national resistance" force, even though Hezbollah is also very hostile to the West and is believed responsible for taking many Americans and Europeans hostage in Lebanon in the late 1980s.

As Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara'a said last week, it is natural for any people to resist an "occupier." Until Israel set up the security zone in 1982, he added, Hezbollah did not exist.

Despite this fundamental gap in the way Israel and the Arabs see the situation in south Lebanon, both sides seemed to accept that there would be a certain amount of blood-letting within the security zone.

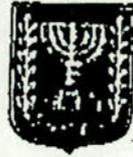
At first glance, this acceptance might seem strange because Syria and Lebanon are now engaged in peace negotiations with Israel. But south Lebanon is a bargaining chip. Syria can stop the Hezbollah, which is something Israel wants. And Israel can withdraw from south Lebanon, something the Arabs want.

Last month, though, the quiet little proxy war got out of hand. Hezbollah, instead of restricting itself to attacks within the security zone, fired 14 rockets into northern Israel. Israel warned Syria to control Hezbollah. When nothing changed, it launched a seven-day war that forced 300,000 frightened south Lebanese villagers to run away from their homes, destroyed hundreds of houses, killed 128 Lebanese and triggered retaliatory attacks that killed two Israelis.

Now the situation appears to have returned to what passes for "normal." But until real peace comes, there is no guarantee that Lebanon won't explode again.



CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס אנג'לס

10 באוגוסט 1993  
כ"ג באב תשנ"ג

אל: סמנכ"ל תהליך השלום  
מאת: הסברה ל.א.

הודעה - תגובת - הסברה - השלום

מצ"ב מאמר מערכת שהתפרסם חיום ב"ל.א. טיימס" בנושא החילוקי  
הדיעות בין המשלחת הפלשתינאית ולכ"ז אש"ף טוניס. המאמר מסיים  
בקביעה שההתפתחויות בין סודיה לישראל וכן החשש מהגברת השפעה של  
פלשתינאים רדיקלים בשטחים עשויים להביא את הפלשתינאים להתגבר על חילוקי  
הדיעות שלהם.

ב ב ר כ ה

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צוריאל רפאל

העתק: מצפ"א  
הסברה  
הסברה וושינגטון  
עתונות וושינגטון  
סונכ"ל כאן

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 10 אוגוסט 1993

אל: מצפ"א  
ארב"ל 2  
מז"ת 2

דע: לש- מתאם הפעולות - סא"ל חנן רובין

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

13-8

הנדון: הסגר בשטחים

מצ"ב קריאה להסרת הסגר מהשטחים - קריאה זו פורסמה כמודעה ב-WP (10/8) ע"י רשימת ארגונים הומניטריים אשר מודאגים מהמצב הכלכלי החמור בשטחים בעקבות הסגר.

15-8

תקשורת

אגף  
שירות  
17-8

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# CRISIS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA

IN A world filled with cases of human distress, few merit more urgent attention than the suffering of nearly two million Palestinians. The forced closure of their West Bank and Gaza homeland is destroying the Palestinian economy and disrupting all Palestinian life. Something must be done to end the havoc caused by the new occupation measures.

The closure Israel imposed in March has effectively sealed off the Palestinian lands and carved them up into four zones: The northern West Bank, the southern West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip. Passage into Israel is restricted by army checkpoints on all main roads and entry points; movement through Jerusalem to any of the zones or between the West Bank and Gaza is denied to all but a few Palestinians. The impact of the restrictions on Palestinian daily life is punishing. They prohibit, among other things, access to jobs, visits to medical clinics, shipment of goods and agricultural produce, worship in Jerusalem mosques and churches and attendance at cultural events.

Before the restrictions, the stunted Palestinian economy generated only 1,000 new jobs a year; the annual labor force increase was 15,000. With their imposition, Palestinians were severed from most of the 130,000 day labor jobs they once had in Israel - jobs that produced one-third of the West Bank's income and one-half for the Gaza Strip.

Palestinian agriculture, industry and transportation are barred now from primary markets and sources of supply. The rules stifle normal communication between the southern and northern West Bank and between Gaza and the West Bank. The East Jerusalem market is isolated from the three other zones and transit to any of them through East Jerusalem is forbidden. As a result, gluts and shortages of scarce produce regularly occur.

In the international community, the measures are condemned widely as collective punishment, which is illegal under the Fourth Geneva Convention - the document that defines acceptable occupier conduct. Some critics consider Israel's punitive practice a substantial new burden that hinders progress in the peace process and intensifies the sense of oppression among Palestinians living in their 27th year under military law and army rule.

Our concern as humanitarian organizations is the welfare of people. In human terms, we regard the closure as unacceptable and call for its immediate lifting.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 AMERICAN NEAR EAST REFUGEE AID, Washington, D.C.  
 AMIDEAST, Washington, DC  
 CHURCH WORLD SERVICE, New York, NY  
 THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, ADVOCACY WITNESS AND JUSTICE MINISTRIES, New York, NY  
 FOUNDATION FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE, Washington, DC  
 LUTHERAN WORLD RELIEF, New York, NY  
 MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, Akron, PA  
 MERCY CORPS INTERNATIONAL, Portland, OR  
 OPERATION USA, Los Angeles, CA  
 WORLD VISION, Monrovia, CA

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וגרירות ישראל - נושי נגטור  
טופס מברק  
פקסימיליה

ה/מידי  
יק: 10 באוגוסט 1993  
ממוכ"ל, מצפ"א, מצרים  
:: קישור לקונגרס

דון: דו"ח GAO  
רצ"ב תקציר דו"ח ה-GAO על FMF PROGRAMS FOR ISRAEL & EGYPT אשר  
ענו היום.  
הדו"ח המלא ישוגר אליכם בדיפ היוצא מחר.

בינה

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GAO

United States  
General Accounting Office  
Washington, D.C. 20548

National Security and  
International Affairs Division

B-253149

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July 7, 1993

The Honorable David R. Obey  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations,  
Export Financing and Related Programs  
Committee on Appropriations  
House of Representatives

Dear Mr. Chairman:

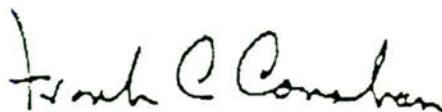
In response to your request, we reviewed the Foreign Military Financing programs for Israel and Egypt. Effective January 1, 1994, the Department of Defense will discontinue U.S. financing of direct commercial sales under this program.

We wish to acknowledge the high level of cooperation received from the governments of Israel and Egypt during the course of our review.

Unless you announce the contents of this report earlier, we plan no further distribution of it until 30 days from its issue date. At that time, we will send copies to the Secretaries of Defense and State and other appropriate congressional committees. We will also provide copies to others upon request.

The report was prepared under the direction of Joseph E. Kelley, Director-in-Charge, International Affairs Issues, who may be reached on (202) 512-4128 if you or your staff have any questions. Other major contributors to the report are listed in appendix I.

Sincerely yours,



Frank C. Conahan  
Assistant Comptroller General

# Executive Summary

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## Purpose

The United States has granted billions of dollars in security assistance to Israel and Egypt through the Foreign Military Financing program. In 1987, Israel convicted one of its Air Force officers, General Rami Dotan, of skimming an estimated \$40 million in U.S. funds by submitting false purchase orders on U.S.-financed contracts. This incident, known as "Dotan affair," raised congressional concerns about the possibility of additional fraud, waste, and abuse in the Foreign Military Financing program.

The Chairman, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs, House Committee on Appropriations, requested that GAO review the Foreign Military Financing programs for Israel and Egypt. GAO's objectives were to (1) determine why Israel and Egypt often purchase U.S.-funded goods and services directly from contractors rather than through the U.S. government and (2) identify any weaknesses in the program. GAO also examined the procurement procedures of each country (see chs. 4 and 5). Given time constraints and language barriers, GAO's review of these countries' procedures should not be construed as a certification of the adequacy of their internal controls.

## Background

Foreign Military Financing is largely a grant aid military assistance program that enables U.S. allies to improve their defense capabilities through the acquisition of U.S. military goods and services. The Department of Defense's (DOD) Defense Security Assistance Agency is responsible for managing the Foreign Military Financing program by approving contracts and payments. Israel and Egypt are the largest program recipients, with annual grants of \$1.8 billion and \$1.3 billion, respectively.

Most countries receiving Foreign Military Financing generally purchase goods and services through government-to-government contracts, also known as Foreign Military Sales. Under this procurement channel, the U.S. government buys the desired item on behalf of the foreign country, generally employing the same criteria as if the item were being procured for the U.S. military. Selected countries, including Israel and Egypt, could also apply their Foreign Military Financing funds to direct commercial contracts. Under direct commercial contracts, the foreign government selects the source and manages the contract. The U.S. government is not a party to such contracts.

## Executive Summary

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**Results in Brief**

In 1992, Israel allocated about \$1.1 billion,<sup>1</sup> or 60 percent, of its Foreign Military Financing to commercial procurement, and Egypt allocated about \$260 million, or 20 percent. GAO found that countries have legitimate reasons for choosing the commercial procurement channel. Many of the items bought commercially were not readily available through the U.S. government. However, for items routinely stocked by DOD, the Foreign Military Sales channel offers many advantages over commercial contracting in terms of price and availability. About two-thirds of the items in GAO's sample of commercial purchases that were also available through the U.S. government could have been purchased cheaper through the Foreign Military Sales channel.

Israel and Egypt have a variety of procedural safeguards designed to protect the integrity of purchases made through the Foreign Military Financing program. However, the Dotan affair, as well as subsequent DOD audits and investigations, revealed weaknesses in the commercial channel that made the program vulnerable to abuse. GAO identified a number of factors contributing to these weaknesses. Some of these factors also apply to the Foreign Military Sales procurement channel, although DOD controls over this channel are generally stronger. In June 1993, DOD announced the termination of commercial sales under the Foreign Military Financing program, effective January 1994, due to program weaknesses. This action will not eliminate the weaknesses found in the Foreign Military Sales channel.

**Principal Findings****Both Countries Have Good Reasons to Purchase Items Through Commercial Contracts**

Israeli and Egyptian officials indicated that for most purchases they request price and availability data first from DOD. If an item is available through both the Foreign Military Sales and commercial channels, the buyer usually selects the channel offering the best combination of price, availability, and quality. Contract flexibility and financial concessions may also influence the procurement method chosen.

For items routinely stocked by DOD, the Foreign Military Sales channel may be advantageous to the buyer, but not all items are readily available. In a random sample of 850 items procured by Egypt and Israel through the commercial channel, GAO could match only 154 items with an active DOD

<sup>1</sup>Israeli figures include \$475 million in Foreign Military Financing allocated to commercial procurement in Israel.

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national stock number. About one-third of the available items were purchased cheaper commercially. Two-thirds of these items (103) could have been purchased through the Foreign Military Sales channel at a savings of more than 50 percent, but delivery time might have been a factor in some cases because only 65 of the items were in DOD stocks. The remainder would have required ordering. While Foreign Military Sales are generally limited to standard U.S. items, the Defense Logistics Agency and the military services have recently initiated new procedures, using contractors, which allow them to procure nonstandard items for other countries.

Dotan Affair and Subsequent DOD Audits Revealed Program Weaknesses

The disclosure that Dotan and a senior official of General Electric Company had defrauded the U.S. government of \$40 million in a commercial contract financed by the Foreign Military Financing program revealed the vulnerability of the commercial channel to collusion between contractors and foreign officials. According to information available to us, Dotan defrauded the Israeli government, and in turn the U.S. government, by working out various schemes with General Electric to create pools of funds for personal use and for unauthorized projects.

Since the Dotan affair, DOD audits have found that U.S.-financed commercial contracts are vulnerable to abuses by contractors. In a number of contracts awarded by Egypt and Israel, auditors uncovered evidence that contractors may have improperly used Foreign Military Financing funds to (1) pay questionable commissions, (2) reimburse foreign officials for travel expenses, or (3) make payments for items that were not of U.S. origin.

Factors Contributing to Weaknesses in the Foreign Military Financing Program

A number of factors contribute to the weaknesses identified in the Foreign Military Financing program. Some of these factors are unique to the commercial channel. In particular, when foreign countries use this channel, they lack access to contractor records, increasing the risk that unallowable expenses will be charged to the contract. Moreover, contractors often maintain poor records, making it difficult for U.S. government auditors to confirm any wrongdoing by the contractor. In addition, the countries' procurement authority may not monitor contractor performance nor exercise the option of using DOD to provide this service. Other factors apply to the Foreign Military Sales channel as well as the commercial channel. Specifically, concerns over subcontractors,

Executive Summary

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commissions, sole-sourcing, and offset agreements exist regardless of which procurement channel the foreign country uses.

Stronger DOD Controls Could Reduce Vulnerabilities in the Program

DOD could reduce, but probably not eliminate, the vulnerabilities in the program by instituting stronger program controls. For instance, foreign countries may contract with DOD's Defense Contract Management Command to obtain services such as pre-award capability surveys of subcontractors, contract price analysis, and quality assurance support. These services, if applied to commercial contracts funded under the Foreign Military Financing program, could provide greater assurance that purchased goods and services are delivered and that contractors are complying with DOD program requirements. Currently, DOD does not require foreign countries to purchase these services for commercial contracts, and neither Israel nor Egypt routinely use these services.

Recommendations

To reduce the vulnerability of the Foreign Military Financing program, GAO makes a number of recommendations designed to strengthen DOD's controls over the program in chapter 3.

Agency Comments

As requested, GAO did not obtain written agency comments on its report. However, GAO discussed its findings with DOD program officials and representatives of the governments of Israel and Egypt, and has included their comments where appropriate. The DOD program officials generally agreed with the report's findings and conclusions. DOD's decision to terminate the program's commercial channel effective January 1994 may appear to make GAO's recommendations moot. However, GAO believes that these recommendations are valid as long as any portion of the commercial channel remains active. Furthermore, some of the program weaknesses discussed in this report also pertain to the Foreign Military Sales channel.

AUG-10-1993 10:21

FROM KESHER MASHAN

TO 912023645610

P.001

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Fax  
202-3645610

מדינת ישראל

GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL  
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE  
MISSION TO THE U.S.

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7/11

העלאת סדר הבטחון ניו-יורק

סוגם מברק

ב ה ו ל

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ב ל מ - ס

אל : המנכ"ל, מבקר מערכת הבטחון, צ' שד הבטחון להקשורת, סמנכ"ל לאר"ם, ד' מנה"ר, ר' אכ"ס, ר' מלמ"כ, המקשיח, יועמיש למעב"ס, ח"א/רלצ"ד, סגן ר' אכ"ס.

לידיעת : רמ"ן, סרמט"נים לאר"ם, ממש"נים 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 13, 15, יועמיש מ"ן.  
סגן : סרמט"ן לכר"ב

טלפון : 9402 - 940 (212)  
תאריך : 10.08.93  
סימולין : 032-3/261

הנדון: דו"ח ה-G.A.O על מערך הרכש  
שלנו: 032-3/248 מ-13/7/93

1. הדו"ח שוחרר. צ"י ה-GAO וקיפלונוהו והינוו פצי"כ לעיונכם.
2. הנ"ל לאחד שקונגרסמן אובי פיין בו בסוף השבוע האחרון כפי שנמסר לנו, ולאחר שהלפו 30 הימים (וידוחר) מהגשחו.
3. במכתב הלואי פצי"נים את שה"ם של מסלולת ישראל ומצדים במהלך הביקורת - כמבוקש על ידינו בזמנו.
4. להלן מספר הדגשים המשמעותיים מתוכן הדו"ח לגבי ישראל:
  - א. אותרו נקודות חולשה במערכת הרכש המסודית, מנקודה ראות חקרה, שבחלקם נמצאה גם במערכת F.M.S ומציינים שבצעם המעבר לעיסקות צבאיות החל מינואר 1994 לא יסותר צדין את החולשות הללו.

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מדינת ישראל  
GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL  
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE  
MISSION TO THE U.S.

8/11

ב. כשני שליש ממדגם המריטים שנרכשו מסחריה היו ניתנים לרכישה דרך מערכת FMS במחירים זולים יותר. (לגופו של ענין צירפנו הסברים לכך והדו"ח מונח את חלקם).

5. להלן נקודות מוצעות לתהרוך עיתונאי בארץ ובארה"ב:
  - א. GAO מצייין את שתי פ שמשהב"ט הגיש במהלך הביקורת.
  - ב. הדו"ח אינו מוצא פגמים בסיסיים במערכת ההרכשה של משהב"ט.
  - ג. הדו"ח מכיר ביתרונות של ערוץ הרכש המקשרי על פני הערוץ הצבאי בתחומים מסוימים.
  - ד. הדו"ח מתווכח לבקרות והשינויים שנוספו במערכת הרכש של משהב"ט בעקבות פרשה דותן.
6. מצורפת לכאן סיוסח שהכינונו לצורך תהרוך עתונאים באן. אנו מעבירים סיוסח לדוברת הסגירות לשימושה, אלא אם תודיעונו הערותיכם בשעות הקרובות.
7. להלן נקודות נוספות שדאוויות לציון:
  - א. הדו"ח מעלה ביקורת על תהליך קבלת הצירוד והתשלום בגינו.
  - ב. הדו"ח מצייין את השימוש המוגבל בתקריות.
  - ג. כותבי הדו"ח סבורים כי השפעת הצנא על החום הרכש עדיין רבה, ובפך טמון סוסנציאל לבציתיות.
8. כשה"כ הדו"ח נראה מאוזן וסביר כעמוי.
9. כן מצ"ב מאמר שהתפרסם חיום ב- WALL STREET JOURNAL בענין ובו הדגש על הצד הסעדי.

כ. כ. ה.  
הכ. התי.  
סרס"ן לכספים ולכלכלה

הצ"ב: הס"י - וויטניאן, וויטניאן, קאר, וויטניאן  
צובר - בצרית - וויטניאן/כ"י - וויי.

AUG-10-1993 15:44

FROM KEEHER MASHAN

TO 912023645610

P.222

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802 9/11

The Government of Israel is reviewing the report prepared by the General Accounting Office. The Government of Israel is pleased that the report recognizes that the Ministry of Defense conducts its FMF financed commercial procurement in a fundamentally sound manner. The report notes the thorough self-examination conducted by the MOD following its discovery of the Dotan Affair and states that the MOD has made numerous changes designed to ensure the integrity and efficiency of its commercial procurement. The report also notes that Israel has legitimate reasons for preferring to purchase certain items through the commercial rather than the FMS (i.e. government to government) channel. The Government of Israel appreciates the GAO's recognition of the cooperation that it received from Israel throughout the research and preparation of the report. The implementation of suggestions made in the report will be done in coordination with the U.S. Department of Defense.

ALG-10-1993 10:23 FROM KESHER YASHAN

TO 31223645618

P.024

THE WALLS

4/5

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1086

# Fees Questioned In U.S. Sales Of Arms to Cairo

## Report Cites Commissions Paid by American Firms Under Foreign-Aid Plan

By DAVID ROSS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Defense Department audits cited in a government report show a pattern of questionable commissions paid by American companies selling military equipment to Egypt under the U.S.-financed foreign-aid program.

Prepared by the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, the report draws heavily on previously unpublicized data collected by the Defense Contracting Audit Agency. And its release comes as the Justice Department is stepping up its own investigation of the aid program, including payments between U.S. companies and an Egyptian concern, Unitra, which has close ties to the Cairo government.

Yesterday, New York-based Loral Corp. said it recently turned over records to the Justice Department that were related to a \$277 million missile contract with Egypt. Defense auditors found that Loral had paid more than \$1 million in commissions to Unitra, which has also represented such major contractors as General Electric Co. and a unit of Lockheed Corp., according to the GAO report.

Loral officials, while confirming that the payments had been made, said its commissions had been fully disclosed and proper. But Unitra's role — and more specifically that of Egyptian businessman and former air force general Aly Mazbouh — have drawn attention not only from Justice Department criminal investigators but also from the House Energy and Commerce Committee.

Chairman John Dingell's staff, which had earlier investigated the Israeli aid program, has traveled to Egypt and is looking at contracts held by Los Angeles-based Teledyne Inc. and allegations regarding its ties with another former Egyptian air force general.

The GAO report, initiated by the House Appropriations Committee, owes its origins less to scandal in Egypt than in Israel, where a high-ranking general, Rami-Dorlan, was convicted in 1991 of skimming tens of millions of dollars from General Electric engine contracts financed by U.S. aid. The case was a costly embarrassment for Jerusalem and led to a Justice Department investigation reaching beyond GE to other U.S. contractors who were part of the same Dothan network.

Among these was National Automotive Corp., Oakland, Calif., which received valuable Israeli helicopter engine contracts and figured in a lengthy investigation. Please Turn to Page A5, Column 1

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NEW YORK

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California ... 912025545510  
consequences of the frustration that  
built up in the black community."  
Like many blacks in Los Angeles, Mr.

P.225  
Ann

### Questionable Pattern Of Fees Cited in Sales Of Weapons to Egypt

Continued From Page A3

tion by this newspaper of the Dotan case. MAC and the U.S. Attorney's office in San Francisco yesterday confirmed that the company has entered into a plea agreement admitting to conspiracy to defraud the government and submitting false claims.

The plea, which is expected to be executed later this month, calls for criminal and civil fines of \$3 million, according to court documents and attorney Charles Stevens, counsel for MAC.

Within Washington, the same scandal has forced the Defense Department to take a closer look at the practice of foreign-aid recipients buying equipment through direct commercial contracts with U.S. companies rather than from the Pentagon. This review, and a separate criminal conviction regarding a contract between Egypt and Detroit Armor Corp., resulted in a decision by the Defense Security Assistance Administration to terminate the commercial side of the program effective Jan. 1, 1994.

There is strong lobbying now to reverse that decision, but the history of abuses under commercial contracts remains worrisome to defense auditors, who complain of poor record-keeping by U.S. companies and an inability to allocate costs accurately to the contracts.

In the case of commissions, companies such as Loral claim the money comes from corporate profits and, therefore, is exempt from government rules that set a \$50,000 cap on such payments. But the CIAO report said funds for the Egyptian contract became mingled with those for a similar missile sale to Taiwan, and this prevented auditors from accurately tracing actual costs back to the two accounts.

In another case, Alliant Techsystems Inc., Edina, Minn., has found itself challenged over costs attributed to a \$71 million contract with Egypt to upgrade torpedoes. Auditors said Alliant had a \$720,000 subcontract for administrative and logistics support with Navibron, an Egyptian company managed by a retired Egyptian admiral. And though there appears to be no relationship with the Justice Department inquiry, Alliant confirmed yesterday that it was negotiating with the Defense Security Assistance Administration over how much of the cost of the subcontract should be disallowed and not billed in the U.S. government.

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Based on local news  
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אל: רהמש/402

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 264, תא: 100893, זח: 1536, דח: ר, סג: בל,

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אל: תקשורת

מאת: הסברה-נ'י

הנדון: תקשורת

*E. J. 11.8.*

NEWS SUMMARY 10-AUGUST-1993

EDITORIALS

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NYP: 'JANET RENO'S UNFINISHED BUSINESS': WRITER CALLS ON US ATTORNEY

GENERAL JANET RENO TO ANNOUNCE A PLAN BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO INVESTIGATE THE 1991 CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'WESTERN EUROPE IS ENDING ITS WELCOME TO IMMIGRANTS'; 'NATO ALLIES SETTLE ON PROCEDURES FOR AIR STRIKES IN BOSNIA'; 'WHAT'S LEFT FROM THE GREAT FLOOD OF '93'; 'LOW PROFILE OF WHITE HOUSE ANGERS BACKERS OF TRADE PACT'; 'WITH BUDGET WON, SALES PITCH BEGINS.' WSJ: 'IN JAPAN, THE TORCH HAS BEEN PASSED TO A NEW IN-GROUP'; NATIONAL. ND, DN: LOCAL. NYP: 'RENO FIGHTS TO BAR IVAN.'

LEBANON/ISRAEL/TROOPS/BORDER: NYT(CABLED), ND: 'LEBANON DEPLOYS TROOPS NEAR ISRAELI BORDER': REPORTS THAT WITH THE APPROVAL OF THE US, SYRIA AND ISRAEL, LEBANON DEPLOYED ARMY TROOPS IN FOUR VILLAGES FACING ISRAEL'S SECURITY ZONE IN SOUTH LEBANON ON MONDAY; NOTES THAT THE VILLAGES HAD BEEN A TARGET OF ISRAEL'S SEVEN DAY ARTILLERY ATTACK; ADDS THAT THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO SEND TROOPS FOR SECURITY PURPOSES ON AUGUST 1 AFTER THE US BROKERED A CEASE-FIRE; STATES THAT THE DECISION HAS AROUSED FEARS AMONG THE PRO-IRANIAN PARTY OF GOD GUERRILLAS THAT THE ARMY WILL CURB THEIR ANTI-ISRAEL OPERATIONS; CITES LEBANESE GOVERNMENT LEADERS AS SAYING THAT THEY DO NOT PLAN TO RESTRICT THE GUERRILLAS' ACTIVITIES AS LONG AS THERE ARE ISRAELI TROOPS IN SOUTH LEBANON.

LEBANON/SOUTH/PROXY/WAR: ND(S.SACHS-CABLED): 'FIGHTING IT OUT BY PROXY': STATES THAT IN LOOKING AT A MAP AT THE MIDDLE EAST, IT IS EASY TO SEE WHY SO MANY BATTLES ARE FOUGHT IN LEBANON; CITES ITS LOCATION IN BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA, WHO 'TRAIN AND PAY MILITIAS TO GO INTO THE RING AND DO THEIR FIGHTING FOR THEM'; ASSERTS THAT THE AREA IS A SITE FOR PROXY CLASHES AND HAS BEEN TERMED 'THE WILD WEST' BECAUSE THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT IS UNABLE TO CONTROL WHAT HAPPENS THERE; NOTES THE FRICTION BETWEEN THE SYRIAN SUPPORTED HEZBOLLAH AND ISRAEL'S AGENTS, THE SLA; ARGUES THAT SOUTH LEBANON ALSO SERVES AS A 'BARGAINING CHIP' BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA AT THE PEACE TALKS; WARNS HOWEVER THAT UNTIL REAL PEACE IS ACHIEVED, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT LEBANON WON'T 'EXPLODE' AGAIN, CITING THE RECENT CONFLICT THERE.

PALESTINIANS/CONFLICT/TUNIS/MEETING: NYT(REUTERS),WSJ: 'PALESTINIANS MEET TO ADDRESS CONFLICTS OVER TALKS': REPORTS THAT THE THREE PALESTINIAN DELEGATES WHO THREATENED TO RESIGN FROM THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS MET WITH PLO LEADERS IN TUNIS ON MONDAY; STATES THAT HANAN ASHRAWI, FAISAL AL-HUSSEINI, AND SAEB EREKAT WOULD NOT CONFIRM OR DENY REPORTS THAT THEY HAD SUBMITTED AND WITHDRAWN THEIR RESIGNATIONS; NOTES THAT THE DISPUTE REVOLVES AROUND A DECISION BY PLO CHAIRMAN YASIR ARAFAT TO PROVIDE SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER WITH AMENDMENTS TO A US DRAFT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PALESTINIAN SELF-RULE IN THE TERRITORIES; QUOTES PM YITZHAK RABIN AS SAYING THAT THE THREATS OF RESIGNATION BY THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATES DID NOT MEAN ISRAEL WOULD TALK TO THE PLO.

ISRAEL/SOLDIER/RABIN/REBURIAL: NYP(U.DAN): 'ISRAEL TO REBURY NON-JEWISH SOLDIER': REPORTS THAT PM YITZHAK RABIN ORDERED MILITARY RABBIS ON MONDAY TO REBURY AN ISRAELI SOLDIER WHO WAS NOT LAID TO REST IN A PLACE OF HONOR BECAUSE HIS MOTHER IS NOT JEWISH; STATES THAT THE SOLDIER, LEV PEYSACHOV, WAS KILLED BY PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS ON FRIDAY WHILE GUARDING A WEST BANK CHECKPOST; NOTES THAT THE SOLDIER WAS A RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT, MANY OF WHOM ARE OF MIXED MARRIAGES; ADDS THAT ISRAELI POLITICIANS AND CITIZENS HAD BEEN OUTRAGED OVER THE DENIAL OF A JEWISH BURIAL FOR THE SOLDIER.

US/COURT/DEMJEANJUK/APPEAL: NYT(REUTERS),ND,DN,NYP: 'US AGAIN APPEALS TO COURTS TO BAN DEMJEANJUK FROM US': REPORTS THAT THE JUSTICE DEPT. ARGUED ON MONDAY THAT JOHN DEMJEANJUK HAD NO RIGHT TO RETURN TO THE US, CITING HIS SERVICE AS A NAZI SS; NOTES THAT THE DEPARTMENT REQUESTED A REHEARING BY THREE CINCINNATI JUDGES WHO RULED THAT MR. DEMJEANJUK BE PERMITTED TO RETURN TO THE US.

ISRAEL/CITIZENS/TENSION/VACATION: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED): 'FOR ISRAELIS, GETTING AWAY IS A NECESSITY': REPORTS THAT AN EIGHTH OF THE ISRAELI POPULATION WILL TRAVEL ABROAD THIS YEAR, CITING THE SEVERE TENSION OF DAILY LIFE THERE; DISCUSSES A NUMBER OF SITUATIONS WHICH DEMONSTRATE THE EDGINESS AND LACK OF PATIENCE OF ISRAELI CITIZENS; ADDS THAT THERE ARE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL REASONS FOR THEIR BEHAVIOR; STATES THAT 'ALMOST AS AN ACT OF MASOCHISM, ISRAELIS TURN ON THE RADIO EVERY HALF-HOUR FOR NEWS BULLETINS THAT REMIND HOW BAD THINGS ARE'; NOTES THAT TRAVEL IS VITAL TO PEOPLE OF ALL AGES AND

OCCUPATIONS THERE (8).

IRAQ/SADDAM/COUP/EXHIBITION: NYT(P.LEWIS-CABLED): 'IN IRAQ, A ONE-MAN SHOW ACQUIRES NEW MEANING': REPORTS THAT AN EXHIBITION OF 40 HUGE PORTRAITS OF SADDAM HUSSEIN HAS OPENED IN THE SADDAM ART CENTER IN ORDER TO MARK THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY IN JULY OF THE COUP THAT BROUGHT THE BAATH PARTY TO POWER IN IRAQ; NOTES THAT DESPITE THE 'EXCESSIVE' AMOUNT OF PUBLIC PICTURES OF THE IRAQI LEADER, THE DEMAND FOR A NEW SUPPLY 'REMAINS STEADY'; QUOTES THE OPINIONS OF IRAQI ARTISTS ON THE SUBJECT.

US/EGYPT/ARMS/SALES: WSJ(D.RODGERS-CABLED): 'FEES QUESTIONED IN US SALES OF ARMS TO CAIRO': REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AUDITS CITED IN A GOVERNMENT REPORT, THERE IS A PATTERN OF COMMISSIONS PAID BY US COMPANIES SELLING MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO EGYPT; NOTES THAT THE REPORT WAS PREPARED BY THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE, THE INVESTIGATIVE SECTION OF CONGRESS, AND IS BEING RELEASED AT A TIME WHEN THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT IS STEPPING UP ITS INVESTIGATION OF THE COUNTRY'S FOREIGN AID PROGRAM; ADDS THAT IT PLANS TO CHECK OUT PAYMENTS BETWEEN US COMPANIES AND AN EGYPTIAN COMPANY, UNITRA; STATES THAT THE GAO REPORT OWES ITS ORIGINS TO THE ISRAELI SCANDAL IN WHICH A HIGH-RANKING GENERAL, RAMI DOTAN, WAS CONVICTED IN 1991 OF 'SKIMMING' TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS FROM GENERAL ELECTRIC ENGINE CONTRACTS FINANCED BY US AID.

IRAN/PRESIDENT/CABINET/PRESENTED: NYT(CABLED): 'IRANIAN PRESIDENT PRESENTING A NEW CABINET': REPORTS THAT PRESIDENT RAFSANJANI PRESENTED HIS CABINET FOR PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL ON SUNDAY; NOTES THAT HE WAS FLEXIBLE ONLY ON MINISTRIES THAT REGULATE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS; ADDS THAT THE MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FINANCE AND OIL WERE KEPT INTACT IN ORDER TO CONTINUE 'THE LESS MILITANT DIPLOMATIC AND FREE-MARKET ECONOMIC POLICIES' OF THE PRESIDENT.

LIBYA/PAN AM/VICTIMS/FAMILIES: NYP(AP): REPORTS THAT A SENIOR LIBYAN OFFICIAL SAID ON MONDAY THAT LIBYA WOULD PAY COMPENSATION TO THE FAMILIES OF THE VICTIMS OF THE PAN AM 103 BOMBING; NOTES THAT THE STATEMENT WAS MADE DAYS BEFORE THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IS TO REVIEW SANCTIONS IMPOSED ON LIBYA IN APRIL 1992 AFTER IT REFUSED TO HAND OVER TWO SUSPECTS IN THE CASE.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

=====
DN(F.LOMBARDI): 'DAVE BOUNCES RACE BALL BACK TO RUDY COURT.'

NYP(AP): 'PROSECUTION MAKES CLOSING STATEMENTS IN BCCI FRAUD CASE.'

YAFITTE BENDORY
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדה, ששהח, @ (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

סססס

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס אנג'לס

דף פתיחה למשלוח פקסימיליה

\_\_\_\_\_ : תאריך Aug 10, 1993

\_\_\_\_\_ : מספר נר 127

*Handwritten red signature*

\_\_\_\_\_ : אל קשר וושינגטון

אנא העבירו למכותבים בשגרירות ולקשר ירושלים.

\_\_\_\_\_ : מאת הסלכר י. י.

\_\_\_\_\_ : מספר העמודים כולל העליון

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\* קשר ירושלים - אנא העבירו למכותבים הנותרים !!! \*  
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תודה.

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CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס-אנג'לס

10 באוגוסט 1993  
כ"ג באב תשנ"ג

אל: סמנכ"ל תהליך השלום  
מאת: הסברה ל.א.

חנדון: תהליך השלום

סצ"ב מאמר מערכת שהתפרסם חיום ב"ל.א. טיימס" בנושא החילוקי  
הדיעות בין המשלחת הפלשתינאית ולבין אשיף טוניס. המאמר מסיים  
בקביעה שההתפתחויות בין סוריה לישראל וכן החשש מהגברת השפעה של  
פלשתינאים רדיקלים בשטחים עשויים להביא את הפלשתינאים לחתגבר על חילוקי  
הדיעות שלהם.

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העתק: מצפ"א  
הסברה  
הסברה וושינגטון  
עתונות וושינגטון  
קונכ"ל כאן

# Los Angeles Times

AUG 12, 1993

## EDITORIALS of THE TIMES

### Palestinian Discord Boils Over

*Three key negotiating team members threaten to quit in dispute with PLO*

Internal differences among Palestinians involved in peace talks with Israel have exploded into the open, with three key members of the negotiating team threatening to resign in a dispute with Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat.

At issue is a revolt by representatives of the Palestinians who have been living under Israeli rule against the demand by the PLO leadership in Tunis to call all the negotiating shots. Ironically, it's now the PLO that seems to be taking a more moderate line toward Israel, contradicting long-held assumptions that it would be Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza Strip who would be the more accommodating.

As always, it's hard to tell how much of this dispute

turns on personalities and how much on real policy differences. The fuse for the latest explosion was lit when the PLO gave the United States, sponsor of the peace talks, a statement offering certain negotiating concessions, including deferring the contentious issue of any future Palestinian administrative role in Jerusalem. Palestinians on the negotiating team objected and proffered their own harder-line statement. That's when three key members of the team made their dramatic threat to resign.

The dispute offers clear insight into why the Palestinians have found it so hard to make negotiating decisions at the deadlocked peace talks. Interestingly, Israel's Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has

expressed understanding about what the Palestinians are going through, noting that in Israel as well the looming need to make hard choices has sharpened divisions.

But pressure on the Palestinians is clearly rising. For one thing, Syria and Israel seem to be getting serious about making peace, an achievement that threatens to undercut the Palestinians' negotiating hand. For another, the influence of anti-peace radical movements in the West Bank and Gaza seems to be growing. The Palestinian negotiators as well as the PLO have a life-or-death stake in not letting the radicals make further gains. In the end that pragmatic imperative may be the major factor in getting them to submerge their tactical differences.

אאאא, חוזם: 12994

אל: רהמש/ 387

מ-: המשרד, תא: 100893, זח: 1500, דח: מ, סג: בל,

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בלמס/מיד

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אל: כל הנציגויות

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: מח' מידע - אגף תקשורת

הנדון: החיזבאללה כארגון הטרור העיקרי בעולם

לתשומת ליבכם דברי ראש ה-CIA, JAMES WOOLSEY, מעדותו בקונגרס (28.7.93) בנושא מדיניות בטחון מול משטרים מפירי נורמות בינלאומיות, המגדירים את החיזבאללה כארגון הטרור העיקרי (ב'ה' הידיעה) בעולם:

HEZBOLLAH DEFINITELY HAS A HOME IN THE BEKA'A VALLEY, AND ITS ACTIVITIES AS THE WORLD'S PRINCIPAL INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATION ARE A MATTER OF DEEP CONCERN. IT HAS SHOWN ITS WORLDWIDE REACH IN A NUMBER OF CIRCUMSTANCES, INCLUDING THE ATTACK ON THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN ARGENTINA A YEAR OF SO AGO.

יפה  
א"ו.ס.

לידיעתכם ושימושכם.

מח' מידע - אגף תקשורת

10 באוגוסט 1993

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלים, מצב, אירופה, משפט, מעת, הסברה, מזאר, מאפ, אסיה, אוקיאניה, רחטמת, מזתים, מצרים, ארבל1, ארבל2, אמלט,

אכב, כלכליתא', כלכליתב', כלכליתג', מצפא,  
מקצב2, קונס, ממד, לעמ, @ (דוצ), @ (מתאמשטחים), @ (לוברני)

סססס

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10.8.93  
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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

לחיות/חיות  
ד"ר

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. נבקשם 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

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אאאא, חוזם: 13811  
אל: רהמש/404  
מ-: ווישנגטון, נר: 329, תא: 100893, זח: 1937, דח: ב, סג: שמ,  
בבבב  
שמור/בהול לבוקר

*Handwritten signature and date: 8.13*

אל: מנהל מצפ"א  
הרמש"ן - ניו יורק  
דע: יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט  
לש. מנכ"ל משהב"ט

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, ווישנגטון  
תאריך: 10 אוגוסט 1993

הנדון: דוח GAO על מערך הרכש

1. בהמשך למברקי הרמש"ן - בנפרד מועברים כתבת WSJ וכתבת רויטר בנושא הדו"ח.

2. בתיאום עם הרמש"ן (ובאישור יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת) פנינו לכתב ה - WSJ ולכתב רויטר והעברנו התגובה המוסכמת (נוסחה נשלח בנפרד) ותדרכנו עפ"י הנחיות הרמש"ן.

הערה: לא היו אלינו פניות מעבר לכך. נעקוב מחר אחר המשך הפרסומים.

בברכה,

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,  
סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת

סססס

12621:חוזם,אאא

אל:רהמש/381

מ:-המשרד,תא:100893,זח:1211,דח:מ,סג:בל,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

57676

בלמ'ס/מידי

אל: כל הנציגויות

דע: שה'ח, ס/שה'ח (בארה'ב), תפוצת הסברה

מאת: מחלקת מידע - אגף תקשורת

הנדון: תהליך השלום - ראיון עם ס/שה'ח

להלן ראיון עם ס/שה'ח בעת ביקורו בארה'ב כפי ששודר אתמול 9.8 ב-CNN:

CNN 'INTERNATIONAL HOUR' INTERVIEW WITH: YOSSI BEILIN, ISRAELI DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER  
MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1993

MS. POTTER: DR. BEILIN, YOU HEARD THE INTERVIEW JUST A FEW MOMENTS AGO WITH THE PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN LONDON, IN WHICH HE SAID THAT, 'THE MECHANISM NOW BEING USED IN THE PEACE PROCESS IS OBSOLETE.' WHAT IS YOUR VIEW OF THAT?

MR. BEILIN: I DO NOT THINK THAT THE QUESTION TODAY IS THE MECHANISM. AFTER MANY YEARS IN WHICH IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ISRAEL TO TALK TO THE PALESTINIANS, FOR THE FIRST TIME - IT WAS IN '91 - A DELEGATION OF PALESTINIANS WAS FORMED. WHEN THE LABOR PARTY CAME TO POWER, WE ALREADY FOUND THIS MADRID FORMULA IN OPERATION. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE THE BIGGEST MISTAKE TODAY TO BEGIN NEW NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT A NEW FORMULA WHICH WOULD CHANGE THE MADRID ONE.

I BELIEVE THAT WHAT WE HAVE TO DO NOW IS TO TALK ABOUT PEACE. WE CAN MAKE PEACE. WE CAN MAKE PEACE NOW. OUR GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WANT TO CONTROL THE TERRITORIES, TO CONTROL THE PALESTINIANS. WE WANT TO FIND A SOLUTION WITH THEM. AND IT WOULD BE A BIG MISTAKE TO BEGIN NOW IN NEW NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT WHOM ARE WE GOING TO TALK TO AND WHOM ARE WE NOT GOING TO TALK TO.

MS. POTTER: BUT IF THERE IS SUCH A SPLIT WITHIN THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, THAT SOME OF THEM SAY THEY WANT TO QUIT BECAUSE THE PLO

IS BEING TOO MODERATE, DOESN'T THAT PUT SOME PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO GO DIRECTLY TO THE PLO?

MR. BEILIN: I DO NOT THINK SO. THE QUESTION OF TALKING TO THE PLO IS NOT A QUESTION AT ALL. THIS IS THE FIRST GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL WHICH DID NOT PREVENT, THEORETICALLY, A POSSIBILITY OF TALKING TO THE PLO. WE DO NOT REFER, IN OUR GUIDELINES, TO THE PLO AT ALL. IT MEANS THAT IF THE PLO ANSWERS SOME CONDITIONS THAT WE PUT TO IT, LIKE THE AMERICANS PUT TO IT SOME YEARS AGO, IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT ISRAEL WILL RECONSIDER TALKING TO THE PLO.

BUT WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT TODAY IS WHAT WILL HAPPEN TOMORROW IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. GOD KNOWS WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN TOMORROW IF WE ARE NOT SITTING TOGETHER TALKING ABOUT THE REAL THINGS, ABOUT THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN US AND THE PALESTINIANS, US AND THE SYRIANS, AND THE OTHERS. MAYBE THE EXTREMISTS IN THE ARAB WORLD WILL HAVE THE UPPER HAND. AND THEN ALL OF US WILL BE IN THE SAME BOAT, WHICH WILL GO NOWHERE.

MS. POTTER: YOU MENTIONED THE SYRIANS, AND THERE SEEMED TO BE, DURING SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER'S SHUTTLE THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST LAST WEEK, A NEW EMPHASIS ON SYRIA. IS THERE NOW A SENSE WITHIN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT THAT PERHAPS SYRIA IS THE PLACE TO FOCUS, AND DOES THAT THEN PUT PRESSURE ON THE PALESTINIANS TO COME THROUGH?

MR. BEILIN: WELL, MAYBE. I, MYSELF, DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO GO ONLY IN ONE CHANNEL. I DO BELIEVE THAT OUR NATIONAL INTEREST IS TO HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE. WE SHOULD NOT GO ONLY WITH ONE. BUT, IF THE PALESTINIANS, FOR SOME REASON, ARE NOT THERE AT THE TABLE, IF IT WOULD BE THE SAME FOR THE LEBANESE AND FOR THE JORDANIANS, WE WOULD TALK WITH WHOEVER IS READY TO MAKE PEACE WITH US, AS WE DID IN '78-'79 WITH THE EGYPTIANS. IT IS PREFERABLE TO HAVE PEACE WITH ALL, BUT WE WILL PROGRESS WITH WHOEVER IS READY TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL TODAY.

MS. POTTER: SO, ARE YOU SAYING THAT YOU BELIEVE YOU CAN MAKE SOME PROGRESS IN A SORT OF SEPARATE PEACE WITH THE SYRIANS?

MR. BEILIN: I DO NOT PREFER IT. I HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO GO ON WITH THE PALESTINIANS, TO HAVE AN INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH THE PALESTINIANS ABOUT SELF-RULE FOR THEM IN THE WEST BANK, IN GAZA, FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS -- AND THEN GO AND HAVE A PERMANENT PEACE AGREEMENT WITH THE SYRIANS, THE LEBANESE, AND THE JORDANIANS. THIS IS OUR PLAN, AND I HOPE THAT IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE. BUT, IF THE PALESTINIANS SAY TOMORROW, 'WE ARE NOT READY, WE ARE SPLIT', OR 'WE CANNOT SPEAK WITH YOU; YOU SHOULD GO TO THE PLO OR TO THE HAMAS OR TO WHOEVER', WE SHOULD GO ON WITH WHOEVER WANTS -- IF IT IS THE JORDANIANS, THE LEBANESE, OR THE SYRIANS.

MS. POTTER: LET ME READ TO YOU SOMETHING PRETTY CLOSE TO WHAT MR. AFIF SAFIEH JUST SAID ON OUR AIR A FEW MOMENTS AGO. HE SAID, 'IF I WERE AN ISRAELI, WHEN THE PALESTINIANS ARE MAKING ME AN OFFER OF

PEACE,' HE SAYS, 'I WOULD TAKE IT, AND NOT SAY: 'I'M ONLY GOING TO DEAL WITH HALF OF YOU'.'

MR. BEILIN: I THINK THAT IT IS THE SAME THING THAT I AM TELLING YOU HERE. YOU HAVE THE MOST MODERATE GOVERNMENT FORMED IN ISRAEL SINCE IT '48. IS NOT MODERATE WHEN IT SPEAKS ABOUT TERRORISM. YET, IT IS MODERATE WHEN IT SPEAKS ABOUT PEACE AND ABOUT TERRITORY. WE BELIEVE IN PEACE. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR OUR SECURITY. WE BELIEVE THAT WE ARE READY TO PAY A PRICE FOR PEACE, AND THE PRICE FOR PEACE IS TERRITORY. THIS IS A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY. I'M NOT SURE WHETHER THERE IS ANOTHER GOVERNMENT IN THE FUTURE WHICH WILL BE READY TO DO THAT.

INSTEAD OF GOING AND SAYING, 'OKAY, LET'S DEAL WITH THIS GOVERNMENT. MAYBE WE DO NOT SHARE THE SAME VIEWS EXACTLY, THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENCES, BUT IT IS A GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH WE CAN TALK,' THEY ARE SAYING, 'WELL, YOU WILL HAVE TO TALK WITH SOMEBODY ELSE.' THE PALESTINIANS AGREED TO THIS FORMULA TWO YEARS AGO. WHY DO THEY WANT TO STOP IT NOW, WHEN WE ARE READY TO DO BUSINESS WITH THEM?

MS. POTTER: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID, 'THE PEACE PROCESS IS BACK ON TRACK.' IS IT? THERE'S NO DATE YET FOR RESUMPTION OF TALKS.

MR. BEILIN: THE QUESTION IS NOT A TECHNICAL QUESTION OF A DATE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF TALKS. I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE IN WASHINGTON IN THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER. AND I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, WHICH MR. DENNIS ROSS AND THE SECRETARY BEGAN, WILL CONTINUE. I THINK THAT IF WE ARE CONTINUING THIS LINE OF, ON THE ONE HAND, IN WASHINGTON, HAVING THE BILATERAL TALKS WITH THE JORDANIANS, THE PALESTINIANS, THE SYRIANS, AND THE LEBANESE -- AND ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVING THE AMERICAN SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY BETWEEN US AND THE ARAB STATES, WE MAY HAVE PEACE IN A VERY SHORT WHILE.

I THINK THAT THE AMERICAN COMPONENT HERE, THE AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT, IS VITAL -- BECAUSE WITHOUT AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT, WE WILL NOT HAVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IF WE HAVE IT, I THINK THAT WE CAN DO SOMETHING TOGETHER -- PROVIDED THAT ALL OF US WILL DO WHATEVER POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND THAT OUR COMMON DENOMINATOR IS MUCH WIDER THAN IT SEEMS. BECAUSE THE COMMON ENEMY IS THE EXTREMISTS WHO ARE ALL OVER THE MIDDLE EAST, AND WHO WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE ANY KIND OF A PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

מחלקת מידע - אגף תקשורת  
10-AUG-1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלים, מצב, אירופה,  
משפט, מעת, הסברה, מזאר, מאפ, אסיה, אוקיאניה,  
מזתים, מצרים, ארבל, ארבל, אמלט, אכב,

כלכליתא', כלכליתב', כלכליתג', מצפא, מקצב2,  
קונס, ממד, לעמ, @ (דוצ), @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

13690: חוזם, אאא

אל: רהמש/403

מ:- וושינגטון, נר: 299, תא: 100893, זח: 1528, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 10 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: קונכלי"ם - צפ"א

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: ראיון ב-CNN - סגן שה"ח, יוסי ביילין.

*Handwritten signature and initials in red ink.*

CNN "INTERNATIONAL HOUR" INTERVIEW WITH: YOSSI BEILIN, ISRAELI  
DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER / MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1993

DEBORAH POTTER: MORE NOW ON THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND  
QUESTIONS ABOUT RESUMING THE PEACE PROCESS. PALESTINIAN  
NEGOTIATORS, AS WE REPORTED, HAVE BACKED AWAY APPARENTLY FROM  
THREATS TO RESIGN AFTER TALKS TODAY WITH PLO LEADER YASSIR  
ARAFAT. BUT IT'S CLEAR, THEY ARE IN SHARP DISAGREEMENT WITH HIM  
OVER HOW TO PROCEED IN THE PEACE PROCESS. AND THAT RAISES A  
CRITICAL QUESTION. SHOULD ISRAEL NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH THE PLO  
-- SOMETHING IT SWORE IT WOULD NEVER DO.

MEANTIME, LEBANESE TROOPS AND TANKS CONTINUE TO RUMBLE THROUGH  
SOUTHERN LEBANON IN A SYMBOLIC GESTURE AGAINST ATTACKS BY EITHER  
SIDE IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. RESIDENTS OF THE AREA ARE  
STILL TRYING TO RECOVER FROM THE DAMAGED CAUSED BY ISRAELI  
ATTACKS EARLIER THIS MONTH. THOUSANDS WERE DRIVEN FROM THEIR  
HOMES. THE STRIKES WERE IN RETALIATION FOR HEZBOLLAH ATTACKS ON  
NORTHERN ISRAEL -- ALL IN THE CONTEXT OF RENEWED EFFORTS TO MAKE  
PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

WELL, JOINING US NOW FROM ATLANTA IS THE ISRAELI DEPUTY FOREIGN  
MINISTER, DR. YOSSI BEILIN, AND THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR BEING  
WITH US.

MR. BEILIN: THANK YOU.

MS. POTTER: DR. BEILIN, YOU HEARD THE INTERVIEW JUST A FEW  
MOMENTS AGO WITH THE PLO REPRESENTATIVE IN LONDON, IN WHICH HE

SAID THAT, "THE MECHANISM NOW BEING USED IN THE PEACE PROCESS IS OBSOLETE." WHAT IS YOUR VIEW OF THAT?

MR. BEILIN: WELL, I DO NOT THINK THAT THE QUESTION TODAY IS THE MECHANISM. AFTER MANY YEARS IN WHICH IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR ISRAEL TO TALK TO THE PALESTINIANS, FOR THE FIRST TIME IT WAS IN '91, THAT THE DELEGATION OF PALESTINIANS WAS FORMED. WHEN WE CAME TO POWER, THE REBEL GOVERNMENT, WE FOUND ALREADY THIS MADRID FORMULA IN OPERATION. I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE THE BIGGEST MISTAKE TODAY TO BEGIN A NEW NEGOTIATIONS (SIC) ABOUT A NEW FORMULA WHICH WOULD CHANGE THE MADRID ONE.

I BELIEVE THAT WHAT WE HAVE TO DO NOW IS TO TALK ABOUT PEACE. WE CAN MAKE PEACE. WE CAN MAKE PEACE NOW. OUR GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WANT TO CONTROL THE TERRITORIES, TO CONTROL THE PALESTINIANS. WE WANT TO FIND A SOLUTION WITH THEM. AND IT WOULD BE A BIG MISTAKE TO BEGIN NOW IN NEW NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT WHOM ARE WE GOING TO TALK TO AND WHOM ARE WE NOT GOING TO TALK TO.

MS. POTTER: BUT IF THERE IS SUCH A SPLIT WITHIN THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION, THAT SOME OF THEM SAY THEY WANT TO QUIT BECAUSE THE PLO IS BEING TOO MODERATE, DOESN'T THAT PUT SOME PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO GO DIRECTLY TO THE PLO?

MR. BEILIN: I DO NOT THINK SO. THE QUESTION OF TALKING TO THE PLO IS NOT A QUESTION AT ALL. THIS IS THE FIRST GOVERNMENT IN ISRAEL WHICH DID NOT PREVENT, THEORETICALLY, A POSSIBILITY OF TALKING TO THE PLO. WE ARE NOT REFERRING, IN OUR GUIDELINES, TO THE PLO AT ALL. IT MEANS THAT IF THE PLO ANSWERS SOME CONDITIONS THAT WE PUT TO IT, LIKE THE AMERICANS PUT TO IT SOME YEARS AGO, THERE IS NO -- IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT ISRAEL WILL RECONSIDER TALKING TO THE PLO.

BUT WHAT WE ARE SPEAKING TODAY IS WHAT WILL HAPPEN TOMORROW IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. GOD KNOWS, WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN TOMORROW IF WE ARE NOT SITTING TOGETHER TALKING ABOUT THE REAL THINGS, ABOUT THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN US AND THE PALESTINIANS, US AND THE SYRIANS, AND THE OTHERS -- MAYBE, THE EXTREMISTS IN THE ARAB WORLD WILL HAVE THE UPPER HAND. AND THEN, ALL OF US WILL BE IN THE SAME BOAT WHICH WILL GO NOWHERE.

MS. POTTER: YOU MENTIONED THE SYRIANS, AND THERE SEEMED TO BE, DURING SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER'S SHUTTLE THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST LAST WEEK, A NEW EMPHASIS ON SYRIA. IS THERE NOW A SENSE WITHIN THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT THAT PERHAPS SYRIA IS THE PLACE TO FOCUS, AND DOES THAT THEN PUT PRESSURE ON THE PALESTINIANS TO COME THROUGH?

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REASONS -- ARE NOT THERE AT THE TABLE, IF IT DID THE SAME FOR LIBYA -- FOR THE LEBANESE AND FOR THE JORDANIANS, WE WILL TALK WITH WHOEVER IS READY TO MAKE PEACE WITH US, AS WE DID IN '78, '79 WITH THE EGYPTIANS. IT IS PREFERABLE TO HAVE PEACE WITH ALL, BUT WE WILL PROGRESS WITH WHOEVER IS READY TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL TODAY.

MS. POTTER: SO, ARE YOU SAYING THAT YOU BELIEVE YOU CAN MAKE SOME PROGRESS IN A SORT OF SEPARATE PEACE WITH THE SYRIANS?

MR. BEILIN: I DO NOT PREFER IT. I HOPE THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO GO ON WITH THE PALESTINIANS, TO HAVE AN INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH THE PALESTINIANS ABOUT SELF-RULE FOR THEM IN THE WEST BANK, IN GAZA, FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS -- AND THEN GO AND HAVE A PERMANENT PEACE AGREEMENT WITH THE SYRIANS, THE LEBANESE, AND THE JORDANIANS. THIS IS OUR PLAN, AND I HOPE THAT IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE IT. BUT, IF THE PALESTINIANS SAY TOMORROW, "WE ARE NOT READY. WE ARE SPLIT" -- OR WHATEVER. "WE CANNOT SPEAK WITH YOU. YOU SHOULD GO TO THE PLO OR TO THE HAMAS OR TO WHOEVER." WE SHOULD GO ON WITH WHOEVER WANT -- IF IT IS THE JORDANIANS, THE LEBANESE, OR THE SYRIANS.

MS. POTTER: LET ME READ TO YOU SOMETHING PRETTY CLOSE TO WHAT MR. AFIF SAFIEH JUST SAID ON OUR AIR A FEW MOMENTS AGO. HE SAID, "IF I WERE AN ISRAELI, WHEN THE PALESTINIANS ARE MAKING ME AN OFFER OF PEACE," HE SAYS, "I WOULD TAKE IT -- NOT SAY, I'M ONLY GOING TO DEAL WITH HALF OF YOU."

MR. BEILIN: WELL, I THINK THAT IT IS THE SAME THING THAT I AM TELLING YOU HERE. YOU ARE HAVING THE MOST MODERATE GOVERNMENT, WHICH WAS FORMED IN ISRAEL SINCE '48. IT IS NOT MODERATE IF IT SPEAKS ABOUT TERRORISM. IT IS MODERATE WHEN IT SPEAKS ABOUT PEACE AND ABOUT TERRITORY. WE BELIEVE IN PEACE. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT FOR OUR SECURITY. WE BELIEVE THAT WE ARE READY TO PAY A PRICE FOR PEACE. AND THE PRICE FOR PEACE IS TERRITORY. THIS IS A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY. I'M NOT SURE WHETHER THERE IS ANOTHER GOVERNMENT IN THE FUTURE WHICH WILL BE READY TO DO THAT.

INSTEAD OF GOING AND SAYING, "OKAY, LET'S DEAL WITH THIS GOVERNMENT; MAYBE WE ARE NOT SHARING THE SAME VIEWS EXACTLY; THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENCES, BUT IT IS A GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH WE CAN TALK," THEY ARE SAYING, "WELL, YOU WILL HAVE TO TALK WITH SOMEBODY ELSE." THE PALESTINIANS AGREED TO THIS FORMULA THREE OR TWO YEARS AGO. WHY DO THEY WANT NOW TO STOP IT, WHEN WE ARE IN BUSINESS, WHEN WE ARE READY TO DO BUSINESS WITH THEM?

MS. POTTER: IN THE SMALL AMOUNT OF TIME WE HAVE LEFT, LET ME ASK YOU THIS. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID, "THE PEACE PROCESS IS BACK ON TRACK." IS IT? THERE'S NO DATE YET FOR RESUMPTION OF TALKS.

MR. BEILIN: WELL, THE QUESTION IS NOT A TECHNICAL QUESTION OF

DATE FOR THE RESUMPTION OF TALKS. I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE IN WASHINGTON IN THE BEGINNING OF SEPTEMBER. AND I HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE (SHUTTLE?) DIPLOMACY, WHICH MR. DENNIS ROSS (SP) AND THE SECRETARY BEGAN, WILL CONTINUE. I THINK THAT IF WE ARE CONTINUING THIS LINE OF, ON THE ONE HAND, IN WASHINGTON, HAVING THE BILATERAL TALKS WITH THE JORDANIANS, THE PALESTINIANS, THE SYRIANS, AND THE LEBANESE -- AND ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVING THE AMERICAN (SHUTTLE?) DIPLOMACY BETWEEN US AND THE ARAB STATES, WE MAY HAVE PEACE IN A VERY SHORT WHILE.

I THINK THAT THE AMERICAN COMPONENT HERE, THE AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IS VITAL -- BECAUSE WITHOUT AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT, WE WILL NOT HAVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IF WE HAVE IT, I THINK THAT WE CAN DO SOMETHING TOGETHER -- PROVIDED THAT ALL OF US WILL DO WHATEVER POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND THAT OUR COMMON DENOMINATOR IS MUCH WIDER THAN WHAT IT SEEMS TO BE. BECAUSE THE COMMON ENEMY IS THE EXTREMISTS WHO ARE ALL OVER THE MIDDLE EAST AND WHO WOULD NOT LIKE TO SEE ANY KIND OF A PROGRESS OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

MS. POTTER: YOSSI BEILIN, THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

MR. BEILIN: THANK YOU.

MS. POTTER: YOSSI BEILIN, ISRAEL'S DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER.  
THANK YOU FOR JOINING US.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד,  
מצפא, רחטמזת, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, לעמ

סססס

דחיות: מירי	טובים מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דף:   מחוק:
סיוג: כלמ"ס		
תזח:		אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
חש' מברק:	בטחון - יועץ שהכ"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ים' העכירונא)	דע:
1070		מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק

13.8

### Rabin's puzzling shift

Friends of Israel can't but worry about Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's decision to approve — if not initiate — high-level contacts with the PLO.

Environment Minister Yossi Sarid's Cairo meeting with a ranking PLO official — Nabil Shaath — had the approval of Israel's prime minister. The encounter, in fact, had a specific diplomatic purpose: To get the stalled Washington talks between Israel and the Palestinians back on track.

To debate whether Rabin merely acquiesced in the Cairo meetings and elected to receive a report on what took place — or whether the prime minister actually dispatched Sarid to Cairo seems to us irrelevant.

The bottom line is that Israel, under Rabin's leadership, has terminated its policy of eschewing any and all official contacts with the PLO.

For a very long time, Israel's sympathizers in America and elsewhere have been told that Israel's unwillingness to treat formally with the PLO was a cardinal diplomatic principle — grounded in the premise that no state has an obli-

gation to negotiate with parties who deny its right to exist and who practice terrorism in a continuing effort to destroy it.

This seemed to make considerable sense. We, certainly, supported Israel's moral claims in this realm. Thus, we consistently defended Israel's refusal to negotiate with a terrorist organization bent on the Jewish state's destruction.

If conditions have somehow changed, the Rabin government would be wise to explain its new logic to friends abroad. A failure to do so points to the conclusion that the Labor government Rabin heads has become so fixated on achieving a breakthrough of some sort in the Washington negotiations that it is prepared even to abandon fundamental diplomatic principles.

We're not inclined to tell Yitzhak Rabin how best to protect Israel's security: That's a cause to which he's devoted his entire life. But we do feel comfortable telling him that Israel's well-wishers here in the U.S. are profoundly confused by this seeming shift in policy.

New York Post

Edit.

9-8

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עם השוואה

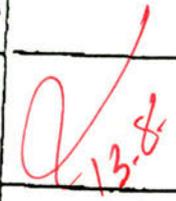
עלולות ל"ל-אל

9-8-93

(23)

סוללס

לפניו עמב מו

דח'יות: מדי	טובס חברק קשה ניו-יורק	ד: 1 יו: 9
סיוג: כלביס		
תזח:		גל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"כ
תס' מדיק:		ע: נסחון - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, דו"ע, אמ"כ/קט"ח (ים' העבירונוא)
1007		לאת: עמונות, ניו יורק

### 3 Palestinians Threaten to Resign From Talks in a Rift With Arafat

By CHRIS HEDGES  
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Aug. 8 — Three senior members of the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace talks are threatening to resign because of sharp differences with the Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman, Yasir Arafat, the head of the delegation said today.

Faisal al-Husseini, Hanan Ashrawi and Saeb Erekat left today to present their resignations to Mr. Arafat in Tunis, where the P.L.O. has its headquarters, said Haidar Abdel-Shafi, the head of the delegation.

Even if the resignations are eventually rescinded, the move underscores a bitter rift in the Palestinian camp. The dispute could also be a serious blow to the efforts of Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who met with the participants in the peace talks last week and hoped to get the moribund 21-month-old negotiations on track.

The Palestinian delegation, made up of Palestinian leaders who live in Israeli-occupied territories and East Jerusalem, has chafed at what they see as Mr. Arafat's erratic and dictatorial manner, according to Palestinian officials. And most were incensed when the P.L.O. chief sent them a faxed proposal offering new concessions to the Israelis just an hour before the delegation was to meet with Mr. Christopher in Jerusalem on Tuesday.

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שם השוכח: עמונות - ניו יורק  
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### Seen as Too Willing

The delegates were angry at not being consulted in advance. They felt that Mr. Arafat had gone too far, especially by agreeing to discuss the status of Jerusalem, which both the Israelis and Palestinians claim, at a later date, Palestinian officials said. The delegates also felt that Mr. Arafat appeared too willing to grant new concessions concerning the five-year interim self-rule offered to the Palestinians by Israel.

The delegates were further angered when they learned that President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt had handed P.L.O. amendments to the United States proposal to Mr. Christopher in Cairo, Palestinian officials said.

The delegates reject the American proposal because it does not define the territorial jurisdiction of self-rule and does not include East Jerusalem in the area under Palestinian control.

And rather than give Mr. Christopher Mr. Arafat's response, they gave him their own draft proposal, which called for the Palestinians to have total jurisdiction over the occupied territories and demanded that Jerusalem be under Palestinian control.

Israeli officials, who say that they will never turn over any part of Jerusalem to the Palestinians and that they must have security guarantees in the occupied territories, dismissed the draft as unrealistic.

Mr. Abdel-Shafi, who said he might join the other three delegates in Tunis but did not intend to resign, boycotted the talks with Mr. Christopher. He said it was unwise to present any position paper to the Secretary.

On Friday, Mr. Abdel-Shafi called on Mr. Arafat to expand the Palestinian decision-making process. He asked that hard-line factions and independents be allowed to join the talks.

"We need to reach for a broad consensus, on the basic and crucial issues," he said.

Mr. Abdel-Shafi has also called for a dialogue among Palestinian factions, warning that "the leadership must reflect the mood of the people."

If the resignations go into effect, the move could open the way for direct negotiations with the P.L.O., according to some Israeli officials.

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With the approval of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Environment Minister Yossi Sarid met secretly with a senior P.L.O. official in Cairo about two weeks ago, senior Israeli officials have said. Earlier this year, the Israeli Parliament repealed a law banning contacts with the P.L.O.

### 'The Most Extreme'

"If they resign," said Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin, "and we are left with a depleted delegation made up

of all people, Haldar Abdel-Shafi, who is the most extreme, then it will force us to rethink our procedures with the Palestinians. Is it possible to talk about progress with them? And if so, with whom?"

After today's weekly Cabinet meeting, Health Minister Haim Ramon said, "If the P.L.O. is more moderate and they will be ready to accept things that the present delegation rejects, I think that we will have to consider our positions again."

Mr. Hussein is the coordinator for the talks. Mrs. Ashrawi is the spokeswoman for the Palestinian group, and Mr. Erekat is the deputy head of the delegation.

"All I know is they are tendering their resignation and they went to discuss it in Tunis," Mr. Abdel-Shafi said. "There are differences between the delegation and the Palestinian leadership."

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Mrs. Ashrawi, when questioned in Amman, Jordan, would not confirm or deny that she and the other delegates were planning to resign.

"We are going to Tunis to present a report to our leadership and to conduct consultations on where the peace process is, where we have come and where we are going," she told reporters.

But she acknowledged that there were major differences between the delegates and the P.L.O. leadership, which acts as a guide to the delegation but is barred by Israel from formally entering the talks.

"There are serious internal Palestinian issues that have to be addressed," Mrs. Ashrawi said. "These will be addressed in a responsible and discreet manner."

## Egyptian Official Slain By Suspected Militants

Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, Aug. 8 — Gunmen shot and killed a senior police official and two of his aides in the southern province of Qena on Saturday night, security officials said today.

The official, Gen. Abdel-Hamid Mohammed Ghobara, his driver and bodyguard died instantly when the attackers sprayed his car with automatic rifle fire at a railway crossing in the town of Nag Hammadi, 285 miles south of Cairo, the Interior Ministry said. General Ghobara, deputy police chief of northern Qena, had only served in the post for five days.

There was no immediately claim of responsibility. But the assailants, who escaped, were believed to be Islamic militants, a group that has often attacked police officials in a drive to impose an Islamic state.

Qena Province was home to some of the 15 militants who were executed in June and July for attacks on foreign tourists and police officers. Militant leaders have vowed revenge.

"This policy of hanging," said a militant leader in the southern stronghold of Asyut, "will be the main cause for the fall of the Government."

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# West Bank Clashes Kill 3 Soldiers and 1 Militant

By CHRIS HEDGES  
Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Aug. 6 — Israeli Army officials said today that three Israeli soldiers and an armed Palestinian had been killed in two incidents in the occupied West Bank during clashes with Muslim militants opposed to peace moves.

Two soldiers and an armed militant died in a gunfight at an army roadblock this morning, and on Thursday night another soldier was killed after being abducted by three Palestinians. The deaths bring to 144 the number of Israelis killed in the Palestinian uprising, which began in December 1987. More than 1,700 Palestinians have been killed in the uprising, including those slain by other Palestinians.

Four Israelis have been killed in the occupied territories this week in a surge of violence that Israeli officials said was a reaction by Arab militants to Israel's bombardment of southern Lebanon last week and to the visit by Secretary of State Warren Christopher this week to further peace efforts.

## Military Vows Strong Response

Deputy Defense Minister Mordechai Gur said the army would mount a campaign to wipe out the militant factions behind the latest attacks.

"There is a desire on the part of extremists to sabotage the peace process," General Gur said. "It is possible some of these attacks are connected to the American Secretary of State's visit. It is also possible that these groups were surprised by our operation in Lebanon, by its intensity and effectiveness. We have to make an effort to overpower them quickly, and this is what we will do."

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last December, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin expelled 415 Muslim militants to Lebanon. Nearly 400 of them are still in southern Lebanon.

"The Government has to stop the deterioration in the level of personal security that has taken place over the past year," said Benjamin Netanyahu, the leader of the opposition Likud party. "The Government has to forget these unilateral concessions to the Palestinians and stop chasing after the Palestine Liberation Organization. It must begin to take strong steps against Palestinian terrorism."

#### Soldier Kidnapped by 3 Men

Mr. Chen, who was on the road outside the West Bank town of Ramallah on Thursday, was picked up by three Arab men in a car with yellow Israeli plates. Army officials said another soldier saw the abductors attack Mr. Chen once he got into the car and tried to stop the vehicle by firing into the air and commandeering another car to chase the kidnappers, but they escaped.

Mr. Chen's body was discovered about three hours later in the burned-out shell of the car that was used to abduct him in the West Bank village of Beituntya, near Jerusalem.

The army imposed a curfew on Ramallah and the surrounding area and began a search. Military censors delayed all reports of the kidnapping and killing until today.

Palestinians said the killing was in retaliation for the death of Mayer Abu Srur, an armed militant who was shot dead by Israeli security forces last month.

An army statement said the attack this morning had occurred at an army checkpoint near the West Bank village of Deir Balut.

Three armed Palestinians approached the checkpoint in a Peugeot car, got out and opened fire on the soldiers, army officials said.

Two soldiers were seriously wounded and later died from their injuries. A third soldier, stationed in a watchtower, returned fire, killing one of the Palestinians and seriously wounding a second. Israeli soldiers captured the wounded militant while the third Palestinian managed to run away.

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The seven-day operation in southern Lebanon, the heaviest since the Israeli invasion in 1982, left more than 130 people dead, about 500 wounded and hundreds of Lebanese homes damaged or destroyed. Israel undertook the campaign to stop rocket attacks by Iranian-backed guerrillas on Israeli towns in the north and to retaliate for the killing of seven Israeli soldiers in what Israel calls its security zone in southern Lebanon.

The abduction of the 20-year-old private, Yaron Chen, who was hitchhiking home, led many Israelis to call for retribution. After a similar incident

# For Israelis, Getting Away Is a Necessity

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM — If normal patterns hold, at least 600,000 Israelis will travel abroad this year, most of them over the summer. That is an eighth of the population, the equivalent of more than 30 million Americans. It is a lot of people rushing for the exits.

Of course, getting away for awhile is standard behavior in most places. But in Israel the tensions of daily life are so severe, people's nerves so easily frayed, that many fear they might just come apart at the seams unless they slip out now and then.

Israelis, as they readily acknowledge, are not a calm lot.

While that generalization, like most, is flawed, one can say that Western courtesies are kicked around with fair regularity here. Words like "hello" and "please" are often dismissed as a waste of time.

Drivers stopped at traffic lights routinely give the driver at the head of the line the smallest possible fraction of a second to move before they start honking. You can try standing in a neat line at a store counter, but no one else will, and the others will dismiss you as a "freier" — a patsy — which is about the worst thing you can be called here, short of a terrorist.

"It matters not whether you win or lose," a bumper sticker said. "It matters whether I win or lose." In short, life is a zero-sum game: both of us cannot come out ahead.

## Angst Precludes Subtlety

All sorts of theories have been offered for the Israeli impatience with niceties — a trait that some regard as not all bad, for the flip side of the brusqueness can be an admirable openness. Explanations have focused on the painful history of the Jews, on the utopian-socialist beliefs of the early Zionist pioneers, on the endless state of war Israel finds itself in.

Whatever the cause, the tensions are real and the struggles multilayered. Arabs fight with Jews. Orthodox Jews fight with secular Jews, and among themselves. Sephardic Jews and Ashkenazic Jews have yet to work out all their problems. And slavishly — almost as an act of masochism — Israelis turn on the radio every half-hour for news bulletins that remind them how bad things are. As if anyone could forget or escape it.

But getting away runs into geographical constraints. The country is oppressively small, about the area of New Jersey, and flanked by adversaries. Peace with Egypt provides the sole overland route out. Large numbers of Israelis are especially fond of spending the Passover holiday in the wilderness of Sinai, paying scant attention to the fact that they, descendants of the ancient Hebrews, are commemorating the exodus from Egypt by going back there.

But most Israelis have not felt at ease about traveling to Sinai since they gave it back to the Egyptians in 1979-82, in keeping with Camp David treaty terms, an act that deepened their usual sense of claustrophobia.

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### Any Pretext to Fly Somewhere

Basically, the way out is to fly, and many do so the first chance they get. A long trip abroad has become almost a rite for young Israeli men and women after completing their required army service, the more exotic the destination the better. Politicians, retired generals, university professors, journalists — almost anyone who can wangle an outside speaking engagement — practically stumble over each other at the departure gates of Ben-Gurion Airport. Some are on missions to present Israel's case to the world. Many just want a timeout.

Travel seems so vital that members of the kibbutzim, the Israeli collectives, consider it a right to have a paid journey every few years. How often and how far one can go are subject to more battles than anyone can count.

One kibbutz, Beit Haemek in the Galilee region of the north, gave the debate a new twist recently by redefining Turkey, Greece and Cyprus, all easily reached by air and sea at low cost. With a wave of a bureaucratic hand, the kibbutz officials declared that from now on, journeys to those three countries would be considered domestic travel.

And, some Israelis say, imagine the possibilities with real peace. Yes, it may require forfeiture of land. But with peace and open borders, the world would open up to them. They would not have to fly to Turkey; they could drive there through Syria, and then keep on going. "We can be like Europeans," a woman in Jerusalem said with optimism, which faded as she remembered that it was not about to happen, not this summer anyway.

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By Susan Sachs  
MIDDLE EAST CORRESPONDENT

Jerusalem — Frustrated with the pace and absence of substance in their 20-month-old peace talks, both Arabs and Israelis are moving to abandon the format of negotiation-by-committee in favor of secret, high-level contacts.

Last week, during Secretary of State Warren Christopher's five-day visit to the region, the leaders of Israel and Syria began a dialogue-by-intermediary while an Israeli cabinet minister opened a direct line of communication with a senior official of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Neither event brought about any immediate breakthrough in the stalled peace process. But Israeli and Arab analysts said the shift away from the intensely public monthly delegation meetings in Washington could signal the faint beginnings of real dialogue, if not understanding and accord.

# Secret Arab-Israeli talks

The peace talks that began 20 months ago between delegations of Arabs and Israelis have failed to produce much more than insults traded in newspaper and television interviews.

"The excessive exposure is unhealthy," said former Israeli president Chaim Herzog, reflecting in The Jerusalem Post on the need for quiet diplomacy among regional decision-makers.

Christopher's visit began with only the modest hope of salvaging the peace process after Israel's massive bombardment late last month of South Lebanon, which was aimed at forcing Syria to stop attacks on Israel by the guerrilla group Hezbollah.

Unexpectedly, however, he traveled to Damascus twice after meeting Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to carry

"New  
Peace  
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personal messages to and from Syrian President Hafez al-Assad.

The messages reportedly contained little in the way of detail to bridge the Israeli and Syrian positions. But U.S. officials said senior State Department aides may now start making regular visits to the Middle East to build on these early, indirect dialogues.

In Israel, the evidence of some two-way communication between the two leaders was greeted with near-euphoria and interpreted as the long-sought sign that Assad is serious about peace.

Israeli political commentators speculated that a breakthrough was imminent and an Assad-Rabin summit was in the offing, notions ridiculed in Syria and denied by Christopher aides.

In Syria, the official mood following

Christopher's visit was much more negative. Israel's seven-day attack on South Lebanon, which risked destabilizing the Syrian-backed Lebanese government by driving hundreds of thousands of Shiite Muslim villagers into the overcrowded outskirts of Beirut, was interpreted as evidence of Israel's lack of seriousness in the peace talks.

"The Israeli mentality is a mine that could blow up the whole peace process at any moment," the official al-Ba'ath newspaper said in a scathing editorial. "But Syria has never yielded to threats and won't yield now to the clank of Israeli arms or the provocations of Rabin's government." At the same time, there was clear satisfaction that Christopher and the United States promised to get more involved in helping Arabs and Israelis iron out their differences.

"The Syrian ploy has always been to involve the Americans as much as possible," a western diplomat said in Damascus. "They regard the United States as the key to the Israelis."

While Israel long has sought direct contacts with Syrian President Assad, it has rejected a face-to-face dialogue with the PLO. But over the past few months, even that long-standing taboo has been whittled away, much to the satisfaction of Palestinians and left-wing Israelis who insist that only the PLO can sign a real peace agreement.

Increasingly, Israeli and U.S. officials have complained privately that the Palestinian delegation, made up at Israel's insistence only of residents of the occupied territories, is beset by internal quarrels and unable to make decisions.

With last week's meeting in Cairo between Israeli Environment Minister Yossi Sarid and Nabil Sha'ath, the po-

litical adviser to PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, Israel's impatience with its dealings with substitutes for the PLO broke out into the open.

"I have never seen such an unstable, divided and confused body as the Palestinians are today," said Israeli Prime Minister Rabin last week, complaining that the Palestinian delegation doesn't speak — or answer — with one voice.

Rabin's office neither confirmed nor denied the Sarid-Sha'ath meeting. But PLO and Israeli officials said that reticence about the fledgling dialogue is only temporary.

"This has been Arafat's plan," a Palestinian with close ties to the delegation said. "He has wanted to force Israel to deal with him by allowing the delegation's disagreements and confusion to frustrate the peace talks."

The willingness of Arab and Israeli decision-makers to talk with each other, however, may be the only bright spot of the otherwise inconclusive Christopher visit.

A yawning gap remains between the Palestinians and Israel on the central issue of how to implement Palestinian autonomy in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Palestinians want guarantees that autonomy will lead to their control over the land, including East Jerusalem. Israel wants what it calls "early empowerment" through Palestinian control over services and administration of the territories, with no commitment about the final settlement.

Syria and Israel also appear stuck. Assad has said that he will offer "full peace for full withdrawal," but that Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights must come first.

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# Palestinian Negotiators May Resign

*Flap With PLO Erupts  
Over Response to U.S.*

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Aug. 8—Three leading Palestinian negotiators in the Arab-Israeli peace talks left for Tunis today to tender their resignations to Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat in what sources here described as a struggle over who will make decisions for the Palestinians.

Faisal Hussein, the leader of the delegation, Hanan Ashrawi, its spokeswoman, and Saeb Erekat, its deputy head, left the Israeli-occupied West Bank this morning for Jordan en route to PLO headquarters in Tunis after deciding on Saturday to resign as a group.

Palestinian sources said the delegates are protesting Arafat's attempt to bypass them during Secretary of State Warren Christopher's visit last week.

But the threatened resignations also reflect a deep-seated tension between Palestinians inside the Israeli-occupied territories and those outside who fear they will be sidetracked in any future peace arrangement. A small group of Palestinians in the territories spearheaded the peace process with Israel, the goal of which is self-governing authority for Palestinians.

Haidar Abdel Shafi, who initially served as head of the delegation but who recently has distanced himself from it, also was called to PLO headquarters today for talks on the crisis. Before leaving, Abdel Shafi told reporters in Gaza City, "There are different views between the delegation and the Palestinian leadership."

Abdel Shafi predicted that the resignations would not be accepted.

If the resignations are accepted, it would be a serious setback to the peace process, but Palestinians here said the three delegates are all personally committed to the talks.

See PALESTINIANS, A18, Col. 1

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## Palestinians in Talks May Quit

PALESTINIANS, From A9

"I don't think Faisal and Hanan will resign," said a Palestinian official close to Hussein and Ashrawi. "You have to remember, they are the godfathers of this process."

In Amman, Jordan, on their way to Tunis, the three delegates did not comment on their possible resignations. "There are serious internal Palestinian issues that have to be addressed and they will be addressed in a responsible and discreet manner," Ashrawi told reporters, according to the Reuter news agency. "It's time to discuss these issues very frankly internally. . . . There is a two-way street of consultations and discussions."

According to Palestinians here,

the flap occurred over the Palestinian response to a U.S. proposal for a Joint Israeli-Palestinian declaration of common principles. Arafat presented a response to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and asked him to give it to Christopher. This infuriated the Palestinian negotiators, who believed it was their prerogative to present a response directly to Christopher, the Palestinians said. The dispute, they said, was over the substance of the response as well as who should deliver it.

The Palestinians in the territories wanted the response to reflect their long-standing demand that the self-rule authority have some jurisdiction over territory, including Jerusalem. It was not known precisely how the PLO in Tunis modified this.

# Palestinian Sees Talks Losing Their Luster

## Negotiator Blames Arafat's Leadership

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Aug. 7—At the Middle East peace conference in Madrid nearly two years ago, Haidar Abdel Shafi led the Palestinians into a grand experiment. "In the name of the Palestinian people," he declared in his opening speech, "we wish to directly address the Israeli people with whom we have had a prolonged exchange of pain: Let us share hope instead."

But today, Abdel Shafi says he is losing hope in the idea born at Madrid that Palestinians from inside the West Bank and Gaza Strip could finally sit down with Israel to bargain for their future.

When Secretary of State Warren Christopher came to the Middle East recently to nudge the talks along, and conferred with the Palestinians at the elegant old stone mansion that is their headquarters in Arab East Jerusalem, Abdel Shafi was conspicuously not at the table.

His absence was a telling sign of the darkening mood in Palestinian society. Although the prominent Palestinian leader Faisal Hussein continues to lead the delegation and keep it engaged in the peace process, Abdel Shafi, the Palestinian elder statesman originally named head of the negotiating team, has grown discouraged.

Through 10 rounds of negotiations, Abdel Shafi said in an interview, he saw nothing to suggest that Palestinians and Israelis can agree on the practical goal of the Madrid talks: near-term self-rule or autonomy for the Palestinians in their day-to-day affairs. Now, he warns, Palestinians are on the verge of "explosion," and perhaps a new round of violence.

At 74, with bushy gray eyebrows and a reputation for independence, Abdel Shafi, a physician, might seem ready for retirement. But he has not yet given up on the Palestinian movement, not after a half-century of involvement that reaches back to the Arab Revolt of 1937 and the founding conference of the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964.

Palestinians blame Israel and the United States for the impasse in which they find themselves. Abdel Shafi said he also blames Israel's "intransigence" and U.S. refusal to take a stronger hand with Israel. But he does not stop there. He is one of the few figures in Palestinian society with the stature and respect to say openly, without fear, that the Palestinians and their leadership are also to blame.

— From the office of the Red Crescent Society in Gaza, which he

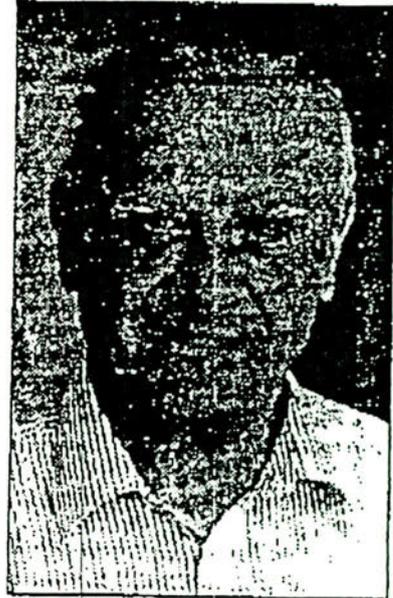
heads, Abdel Shafi is calling for nothing less than the dismantling of the power of PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, and for radical reform in the corruption-plagued, financially strapped PLO.

His calls for reform have resonated strongly among Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories, who have watched secular Palestinian institutions, from universities to schools to hospitals to newspapers, gradually fall apart, while the peace talks stall and the Islamic movement steadily picks up steam.

The demand for reform comes naturally to Abdel Shafi, long considered close to the old Palestinian Communist Party, a faction ideologically opposed to armed struggle that was separate from the PLO for a number of years. Today, his stature among Palestinians has grown, especially on the streets in Gaza, where he is known as "Dr. Haidar" and his steely independence is widely respected.

Abdel Shafi began his latest revolution in a long open letter titled "A Moment of Truth," published July 10 in Al Quds, the largest Arabic daily newspaper in Jerusalem. He had written a similar open letter at the time of Madrid, cautioning Palestinians not to be euphoric and saying they needed to get their own house in order, that the peace process was only a "truce."

In the new letter, Abdel Shafi used cautious words, but his message was much more blunt: The Palestinians squandered their time.



HAIDAR ABDEL SHAFI  
... seeks radical reform of PLO

"This moment of truth calls for a confrontation with oneself, with a clear-eyed reading of oneself, within the times each of us has lived through," Abdel Shafi wrote. "Why have we known so many continual retreats in the process of our national movement, and so many losses? Is this a predetermined fate? Have the Palestinian people fallen short of the necessary struggle? The answer is no, on no account.

"At this point we have to be honest and precise and speak the truth," he wrote. "Our successive leaderships, up to the present moment, have failed over and over in concentrating our own potential. . . . All too often they have given in to factionalism." The time has come, he said, for Palestinians to end their bitter infighting.

Abdel Shafi's message echoed loudly among Palestinians. He appeared to be saying publicly what many Palestinians have been saying privately for some time: that Arafat has failed to groom a successor, and the PLO as an organization appears to be disintegrating.

Activists in the mainstream Fatah

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faction in the territories are losing interest; the financial squeeze is causing distress in the PLO's network of institutions. Last week, the Tunis headquarters announced that Arafat had ordered four PLO bureaus closed because of lack of funds. There have been reports that senior PLO figures have directly challenged Arafat's total control over the organization's finances, which reportedly include large overseas reserves.

Abdel Shafi said in the interview that Palestinians should create a "collective" leadership. Although he insists his letter was not a challenge to Arafat, the call for a collective is being widely interpreted as his way of saying Arafat should relinquish the reins to an elected group.

"I say, Arafat or no Arafat, I don't see any right for anyone to assume individual leadership or control," Abdel Shafi said. "This is not out of disrespect for Arafat."

Abdel Shafi and Arafat have had a stormy relationship over the course of the peace talks, according to Palestinian sources. In the last two rounds, Arafat ordered the delegation to return to the bargaining table, despite Israel's mass deportation of Palestinians suspected of Islamic activism. Abdel Shafi publicly voiced reservations about going back, but eventually did so.

The irony is that while Arafat has stubbornly remained at the negotiating table with Israel, and while Israel is edging closer to talking to Arafat directly after so many years of demonizing him, Palestinians in the territories are growing more and more disheartened. For some, particularly in the Gaza Strip, Abdel Shafi accurately reflects their disappointment in the current state of affairs. Five years after the start of the Palestinian *intifada*, or uprising against Israeli occupation, they seem to have won little but a place at the table, with no results as yet.

For example, in a recent poll by the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center—headed by Ghassan Khateeb, of the same political faction as Abdel Shafi—56 percent of Palestinians interviewed in the West Bank and Gaza said they did not support continuing the Madrid peace talks formula. Half said they favored leaving the talks. Nearly 88 percent said they favored "democratic reform in the PLO."

Abdel Shafi said in the interview that if the Palestinians had a more democratic leadership, the Persian Gulf states might resume funding they cut off after Arafat backed Iraq's Saddam Hussein in the Persian Gulf War. The Palestinians might be able to rebuild their institutions, and eventually make headway in the peace talks, he said.

Abdel Shafi said he would not abandon the peace process because the other Arab states will remain in it. But he is warning Palestinians "time is not on our side." They had to join the peace talks under embarrassing conditions, he said, because the gulf war had "left the Arab world in tatters," and the *intifada* was "losing its thrust" in world opinion.

Now, he said, Palestinians have been "unable to activate whatever potential we have."

"This is a sort of national paralysis," he said. "I think the Palestinians are much more capable than what they show at the moment."

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NEWS SUMMARY 7-8-AUGUST-1993

EDITORIALS

NYT(CABLED): 'STOP THE ARMS RACE IN SOUTH ASIA': WRITER STATES THAT INDIA AND PAKISTAN HAVE THE ABILITY TO ASSEMBLE NUCLEAR ARSENALS 'WITHIN WEEKS' IF THEY HAVEN'T ALREADY DONE SO; COMMENDS THE US FOR TAKING THE LEAD IN PERSUADING RUSSIA TO END ITS SALE OF ROCKET ENGINES AND OTHER TECHNOLOGY TO INDIA AND FOR CURRENTLY PRESSURING CHINA TO END ITS SALE OF M-11 MISSILE PARTS TO PAKISTAN; WARNS HOWEVER THAT THE US MUST GO FURTHER BY CALLING FOR THE SUSPENSION OF ALL TESTING AND DEPLOYMENT OF NEW MISSILES BY INDIA AND PAKISTAN (7).

PRESS REPORTS

HEADLINES: NYT: 'CRUCIAL SENATOR BACKS BUDGET, TIPPING BILL IN CLINTON'S FAVOR'; 'THE JOY OF BEING UNDECIDED - SENATORS BASK IN THE LIGHTS'; 'SERBS WAFLING ON VOW TO EASE SEIGE IN BOSNIA'; 'JOBLESS RATE FELL TO 6.8 PERCENT FOR JULY, LOWEST IN TWO YEARS'; 'A WALK OFFSTAGE, HOLDING FATE OF BUDGET' (7). 'REJOICING IS MUTED FOR THE PRESIDENT IN BUDGET VICTORY'; 'WESTERN EUROPE'S DREAMS TURNING TO NIGHTMARES'; 'GOING-OUT-OF BUSINESS SALE FOR SOVIETS' SPACE PROGRAM'; 'WEALTHY OR NOT, TAXPAYERS WILL FIND PLENTY OF SURPRISES'; 'TESTING NEWBORNS FOR AIDS VIRUS RAISES ISSUE OF MOTHERS' PRIVACY' (8). ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/WEST BANK/SOLDIERS/CLASH: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED), ND: 'WEST BANK CLASHES KILL THREE SOLDIERS AND ONE MILITANT': REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO IDF OFFICIALS, TWO ISRAELI SOLDIERS AND AN ARMED PALESTINIAN DIED IN A GUNFIGHT AT AN ARMY ROADBLOCK ON FRIDAY AND ANOTHER IDF SOLDIER WAS KILLED AFTER BEING KIDNAPPED BY THREE PALESTINIANS ON THURSDAY NIGHT; NOTES THAT FOUR ISRAELIS HAVE BEEN KILLED IN THE TERRITORIES THIS WEEK IN A SURGE OF VIOLENCE THAT ISRAELI OFFICIALS BELIEVE IS A REACTION BY ARAB MILITANTS TO ISRAEL'S BOMBARDMENT OF LEBANON AS WELL

AS TO SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER'S VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST (7).

SYRIA/US/CHRISTOPHER/TRIP: NYT(C.HEDGES-WEEK IN REVIEW),ND(S.SACHS-CABLED),DN(BRIEF): NOTES THAT SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER ENDED HIS TRIP TO THE MIDEAST ON SATURDAY; STATES THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER IS 'FULL OF HOPE THAT THE PEACE TALKS ARE BACK ON TRACK'; ADDS THAT FM SHIMON PERES SAID THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER MAY CONTINUE TO SERVE AS A MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE PARTIES TO THE TALKS (8).

JAPAN/NUCLEAR/NONPROLIFERATION/PACT: NYT(J.STERNGOLD-CABLED): 'JAPAN RETHINKING THE NUCLEAR PACT': REPORTS THAT PRESSURE IS MOUNTING IN JAPAN AGAINST AN EXTENSION OF THE NNPL; NOTES THAT JAPAN RISKED ITS CLAIM TO LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE DISARMAMENT MOVEMENT BY RESISTING A STATEMENT AT THE G7 SUMMIT IN TOKYO LAST MONTH WHICH ENCOURAGED THE TREATY'S EXTENSION; CITES THE ARGUMENT OF THE POLITICAL RIGHT WHICH POINTS TO THE PRESENCE OF NUCLEAR POWERS SURROUNDING JAPAN (8).

EGYPT/MUSLIMS/MILITANT/CRACKDOWN: NYT(CABLED): REPORTS THAT THE EGYTIAN GOVERNMENT WILL PUT 53 MORE MUSLIM MILITANTS ON TRIAL NEXT WEEK IN AN EFFORT TO TIGHTEN ITS GRIP ON THE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALIST MOVEMENT (8).

GERMANY/LEBANON/HOSTAGE/RELEASED: NYT(AP): REPORTS THAT GERMANY RELEASED A LEBANESE TERRORIST ON FRIDAY WHO HAD BEEN IMPRISONED FOR KIDNAPPING TWO GERMANS IN 1987 (7).

ISRAEL/NEW YORK/AMBASSADOR/TARGET: DN(AP-BRIEF): REPORTS THAT ISRAEL'S UN ENVOY, GAD YAACOBI, SPOKE ON ISRAELI ARMY RADIO ON FRIDAY; QUOTES AMBASSADOR YAACOBI AS SAYING THAT US AUTHORITIES TOLD HIM THAT HE WAS TARGETED FOR ASSASSINATION (8).

NEW YORK/SHEIK/WEST/VIEWS: DN(J.SHELER): REPORTS THAT WHILE THE SHEIK IS VIEWED AS A DEFENDER OF ISLAM BY HIS FOLLOWERS, THE WEST SEES HIM A DEFENDER OF A VIOLENT POLITICAL AGENDA (8).

NEW YORK/SYNAGOGUES/TORAH/THEFTS: DN(D.SALTONSTALL): REPORTS THAT NEW YORK'S SYNAGOGUES HAVE BECOME A TARGET FOR THEFTS AND VIOLENCE (8).

OBITUARIES

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NYT(B.LAMBERT): 'MEIR GRUENBERG, 83 - RABBI HELPED SHIELD 2,000 FROM NAZIS' (7).

NYT(AP): 'HENRY PHAROUN, 92, IS MURDERED - WAS A FOUNDER OF FREE LEBANON' (7).

LETTERS

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NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH EXPLAINS WHY BELGIUM WAS FORCED TO SURRENDER TO THE NAZIS DURING WORLD WAR II (8).

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(R.BERKE-CABLED): 'FOR CLINTON, PLENTY OF WORK IS LEFT' (8).

NYT(D.ROSENBAUM-FRONT PAGE): 'CRUCIAL SENATOR BACKS BUDGET, TIPPING BILL IN CLINTON'S FAVOR' (7).

NYT(WEEK IN REVIEW): 'US REOPENS CASE' (8).

ND(P.COHEN): 'WTC TRIAL A HOME GAME' (8).

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שהח, 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, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 12095

אל: רהמש/369

מ-: ווש, נר: 2026, תא: 090893, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: סו,

כבכ

סודי/מידי

אל: אליקים רובינשטיין, ממנכ"ל

דע: לשי' שה"ח, מצפ"א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

להלן מאיש צוות השלום האמריקני:

המהומה במחנה הפלשתיני היא פנימית בעקרה למרות שאתם הישראלים עזרתם להצית את האש הזאת. כשהיתחילו ישראלים לדבר בערוץ מקביל עם אש"פ, ואש"פ מצידו ניהל מגעים אלה בלי לשתף את אנשי המשלחת, נחשפו בכת אחת כל העצבים והרגישויות. מצד אחד אין המקומיים יכולים אלא לברך על פגישת שריד-שעת ומאידך חשו שפגישה כזאת דוחקת אותם לשוליים. הדבר מסכן את הנסיון האמריקני של שנתיים לבנות את עצמאותם וגאווותם של האישים במשלחת. ישראל אשמה בכך מקצת, אך האשמה העיקרית היא בגסות הרוח של אש"פ. הפרשנות הרווחת בכמה מקומות כאילו נתהפכו היוצרות וניצים הפכו ליונים ויונים לניצים אינה נכונה. חילוקי הדעות בין הפלשתינאים אינם במהות. המתיחות החלה בכך שהטוניסאים פשוט הורידו הוראה על המקומיים ואז פרץ העלבון והזעם. אנשי המשלחת לא הפכו לניצים פרט לד"ר חיידר שהוא נץ גנטי. אנשי המשלחת נמצאים בטוניס, הם בקשר טלפוני עם הצוות האמריקני המנסה להניא אותם מהתפטרות.

שילה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד,  
מצפא, רחטמזת, מזח2, @ (מתאמטחים)

סססס

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משה ורמזוני  
11/11/2026  
למנהל

אאאא, חוזם: 12095  
אל: רהמש/369  
מ:- ווש, נר: 2026, תא: 090893, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
בבבב  
סודי/מידי

אל: אליקים רובינשטיין, ממנכ"ל

דע: לש' שה'ח, מצפ"א

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שילה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד,  
מצפא, רחטמזת, מזת2, @ (מתאסשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 12018  
אל: רהמש/366  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 274, תא: 090893, זח: 1724, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בכב  
בלמס/מידי

אל: הסברה מצפ"א  
לשכת רוה"מ, לשכת השר, לשכת המנכ"ל  
דע: קונכל ניו - יורק  
מאת: ציר הסברה, וושינגטון

תאריך: 9 אוגוסט 1993  
סימוכין: 120

הנדון: הארוע ל"חתימת פטיציה" ב-NATIONAL PRESS CLUB  
בהמשך להתברקות בנושא

ב"ארוע" נכחו 3 איש... כצפוי.

נמרוד ברקן

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

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בלמס/מידי  
תאריך: 9 אוגוסט  
אל: מנהל מצפ"א  
דע: לש- שה"ח, לש- רוה"ח  
ניו יורק- קונכ"ל  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: פטיציה נגד החזרת שטחים

בהמשך לשלי נר 1040 מיום 4.8

1. מסהע"ת שתוכננה להיום לא התקיימה. באולם היו עתונאים ספורים אולם המארגנים לא הופיעו כלל. מהנהלת ה-NPC אמרו שהמארגנים אף לא טרחו להודיע מראש על הבטול, למרות שהאולם והציוד שהוזמנו שולמו מראש.
  2. במקביל, פירסם הארגון היום מודעה בעתון וושינגטון טיימס (מצ"ב) הקוראת לצבור- יהודים ונוצרים באמריקה- לדרוש מרוה"מ רבין קיום משאל- עם בטרם יוחלט על החזרת שטחים. במודעה גם פרטים על מסהע"ת שתוכננה.
- לתשומת ליבכם כי על המודעה מצויין שתוף הפעולה עם נציגי צומת- התחיה בארה"ב.

רות ירון

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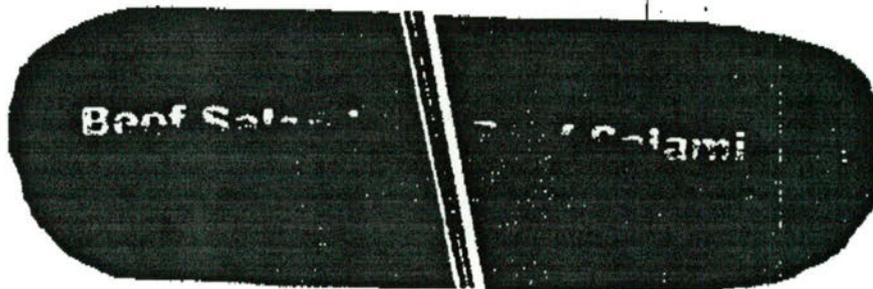
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## Before You *Slice* Israel Like A Salami Shouldn't You Answer To A Higher Authority?

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### Israelis Demand A Referendum! They're Right!

Maybe the Prime Minister of Israel does not want to hold a national referendum on the dismantlement of Israel because he knows that a majority of Israeli voters oppose withdrawal from the strategic Golan Heights, and that a majority also believe that Judea and Samaria are "vital" to Israeli security (Brandman Survey, April 1993 and Marketing Survey Institute, January 1993).

Five days of round the clock demonstrations in Israel last month prove he has no mandate for his "piece" policies. Because Israel doesn't "occupy" any Arab lands and Jews aren't "settlers" in Tel Aviv, Samaria, Heifa, Judea, Jerusalem or the Golan.

Israelis are not alone in opposing the direction of the "piece process." As they become aware of just what an exchange of strategic Israeli land for Arab promises of "peace" actually entails, American supporters of Israel are also letting their views be known.

That's why rabbis, lay leaders, sisterhood presidents, fraternal organizations and concerned Americans are holding a news conference on August 9, 1993 at the National Press Club to launch an international petition drive demanding that Israeli voters be offered a referendum prior to the abandonment of parts of the historic homeland of the Jewish people.

Israeli Governments may change but Arab intentions have not. Arab moderates are willing to dismantle Israel piece by piece even as Moslem and Arab militants call for Israel's immediate destruction. That's why "land for peace" schemes will never bring peace and why "peace now" can only lead to tragedy later. The kind of people prepared to blow up the World Trade Center, the United Nations and murder elected officials are not genuinely interested in an exchange of "land for peace."

Appeasement does not lead to peace. History taught us that bitter lesson in 1938.

So what does lead to peace? For one thing, democracies tend not to make war with other democracies. The democratization of the Arab world will one day, please God, lead to peace. Even before that, the Arabs can agree to exchange peace for peace. And a solution to the Arab refugee problem can be found in the 77% of "Palestine" now in Arab hands. The ingredients for peace are present. Do the Arabs have the courage to seize the moment?

In the meantime, if Israeli politicians think that American supporters of Israel are behind them, they had better think again. At the very least they should hold a national referendum in Israel on the "piece process." They owe it to the legacy of 6000 years of Jewish history and to the idea of government by the people.

### NOT PIECE BY PIECE. PEACE FOR PEACE

**COALITION FOR ISRAEL**

In cooperation with:  
British Political  
Thomas Tebby  
USA

P.O. Box 107  
New York, New York  
10002  
(212) 475-7128

We the People, Jewish and Christian Americans support the demand of the people of Israel for a national referendum on the "piece process."

Name	Address	City / State

Make Additional Copies and Give to Ten Others. Use Additional Sheets As Necessary. Return to the Coalition For Israel, P.O. Box 107 NY NY 10002 by September 27, 1993 (After Yom Kippur)



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Assad's predicament was compounded by his isolation within the Arab world, which resented Syria's alliance with Iran and Islamic fundamentalism. The only way to avoid diplomatic concessions to Israel, Assad believed, was to hit the Jewish state where it was most vulnerable, by launching a war of attrition and forcing Israel to back down.

Attrition had worked well in the past. Prolonged attacks against Israel in 1973 had gained Syria part of the Golan Heights and nearby Mount Hermon. Assad knew that Israel has difficulty in sustaining daily casualties; its ability to retaliate against hit-and-run attacks is limited. His aim was to emulate Palestinian terrorists who, through attacks on civilians, have convinced many Israelis of the need to disengage from the West Bank and Gaza.

And Syria had little to lose. In Assad's thinking, the war would be waged from Lebanon by Hezbollah. Israel would strike back with ground forces that would soon become stuck in the Lebanese quagmire. To extricate itself, Israel would have to concede territory.

Rabin may have seemed an easy target for Damascus. After a year in office, the prime minister had yet to achieve any significant progress toward peace. Leftist factions accused him of in-

transigence; the rightist Likud opposition denounced his many concessions. Then Hezbollah attacked the Israeli-run security belt in South Lebanon. Ten Israeli soldiers fell in a single month. With increasing frequency, Katyusha rockets began to rain on northern Galilee. Israeli troops massed along the border but did nothing. Rabin again was criticized — from the right for failing to react and from the left for risking another morass in Lebanon.

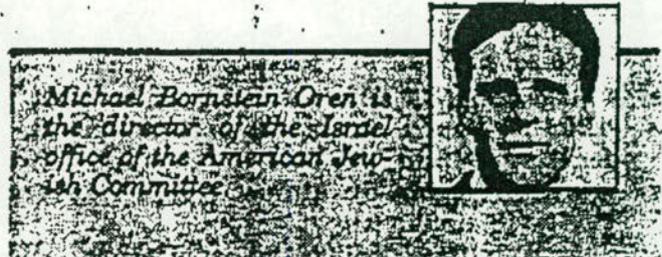
Rabin stuck to his position. By demonstrating prudence, Israel was strengthening its case when the time came to react. The moment arrived on July 24, when Israel launched Operation Reckoning: a massive aerial and artillery barrage. The primary objective was to destroy Hezbollah's infrastructure. Failing that, the bombardment would drive the Shiite population northward to Beirut, and Lebanon's puppet government would have no choice but to petition its patron, Syria, for a cease-fire.

This response, though harsh, proved effective. Swamped with hostile Shiites, Beirut sought an end

to the Hezbollah attacks. Nor did Syria reap the rewards of an expected international backlash against Israel. World opinion showed more concern for the plight of the helpless Bosnians than it did for the militant allies of Iran. Arab reaction, too, was markedly low key. The Americans, most importantly, refused to play Assad's game. President Bill Clinton called on all parties to halt hostilities and singled out the need for Syrian restraint.

Left with no choice, Assad accepted the cease-fire brokered by Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The truce is an uneasy one to be sure — Hezbollah pledges to continue attacks against the security zone — but the terrorists are, for the time being, hemmed in. That time can, however, be used for American mediation of an interim agreement on the Golan Heights, and perhaps even on the West Bank and Gaza. Israel's victory bodes well for the entire peace process.

The conclusion of the latest Lebanese crisis holds many lessons. The Syrians as well as the Palestinians must accept the fact that force cannot determine the outcome of negotiations. The Clinton administration realizes that progress will not take place without further American intervention. The most significant lesson, however, is for Israel. Rabin has shown his country that a carefully calibrated level of deterrence may be necessary to keep the peace process going. Israelis will bear this in mind as they prepare for the final reckoning.





In moving into this role, Mr. Christopher is placing more of his personal prestige on the line in the often frustrating and slow-moving peace talks. There was no indication today how long he would play an active part in seeking to bridge the gaps between the parties in the negotiations.

#### Syrian 'Receptiveness'

"You can't call it a breakthrough," Yossi Beilin, the Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister, told the Israeli radio today. "What is important here is the exproverted receptiveness of the Syrians to increased American involvement."

At the same time that Mr. Christopher is moving into the role of an intermediary, a spokeswoman for the Palestinians said tonight that the Secretary had proposed "alternatives" to the peace talks that have been occurring periodically in Washington. Among the alternatives mentioned by the spokeswoman, Hanan Ashrawi, was sending an envoy — presumably Dennis B. Ross, the special coordinator for the Middle East peace effort — to the region to act as a go-between. Ms. Ashrawi said no decision had been made on whether any of the alternatives would be carried out.

American officials have stressed to reporters during this trip that Mr. Christopher's new role would supplement, and not replace, direct negotiations between the parties.

While there appears to be some progress — though not yet on substance — in the talks between the Israelis and the Syrians, those between Israel and the Palestinians seem to be stuck. Palestinian representatives to-

day gave Mr. Christopher a document that formally rejected much of a declaration of principles that American officials had hoped would serve as the basis of talks between Israel and the Palestinians.

While not providing details of the new paper, Ms. Ashrawi said it was a "100 percent Palestinian document" that was not based on the American proposals.

Acknowledging what she said was "movement" in the talks between Syria and Israel, Ms. Ashrawi said the Palestinians "always maintained and continue to maintain that Syria is committed to a comprehensive settlement." Palestinians fear that like former President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt, Mr. Assad might reach an agreement with the Israelis on the return of occupied territory — in this case the Golan Heights — before any settlement is reached with the Palestinians over the West Bank and Gaza.

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Mr. Levy went on to condemn the Rabin Government for shattering "a political anchor" established by previous Israeli governments.

The only other Israeli minister who reportedly met with the P.L.O. was Ezer Weizman, now the country's President. Mr. Weizman has not denied

holding the meeting with a P.L.O. official in 1989. He did so as Minister of Science when such contacts were illegal.

This year the Rabin Government repealed a law forbidding contacts with the P.L.O., but Government officials continue to reject direct negotiations with the group, saying its stated aim is the destruction of the Israeli state.

#### Clearer Policy Urged

Shimon Shetreet, the Minister of the Economy from Mr. Rabin's Labor Party, called on the Government today to define its policy toward the P.L.O. openly.

"We must determine whether we want to take a stance which even the United States won't take," he said.

"The United States to this day doesn't have a dialogue with the P.L.O."

Minister of Tourism Uzi Baram, however, announced that he "welcomed" the news and called for direct talks with the P.L.O.

Mr. Sarid, the Environment Minister and a member of the dovish Meretz Party, met with the P.L.O. official, Nabil Shaath, about 10 days ago, Israeli officials said. Dedi Zucker, a Meretz member of Parliament, was also at the meeting. The two men then reported back to Mr. Rabin.

The meeting was the first by a Cabinet minister who made contact with a P.L.O. representative with the knowledge of the Prime Minister.

Meretz officials and the Prime Minister's office refused to confirm or deny the meeting publicly.

#### Rabin Spokesman Comments

"Knowledge or lack of knowledge of the Prime Minister about such a meeting, even if it did take place, does not mean it was on behalf of the Prime Minister or the Government or on his instructions," said Gad Ben-Ari, Mr. Rabin's spokesman.

Mr. Ben-Ari said any negotiations would occur only in the framework of the 21-month-old peace negotiations.

The P.L.O., headed by Yasir Arafat, guides the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks. But Israel has steadfastly refused to accept the P.L.O. as a full partner in the peace effort.

The talks have been stalled over proposals to give interim self-rule to the 2 million Palestinians under Israeli occupation.

The P.L.O. garners most of its support from Palestinian emigrants and is increasingly at odds with Palestinian leaders, especially those belonging to the fundamentalist movement Hamas, living in Israeli-occupied territory.

The Palestine Liberation Organization was founded in 1964 under the sponsorship of the Arab League as an umbrella group for all the Palestinian organizations. Al Fatah is the largest group in the P.L.O.

Palestinian officials said the meeting with Mr. Sarid occurred before Israel began its attack on southern Lebanon, but they did not give an exact date.

But even Government ministers who supported the meeting doubted that it accomplished very much.

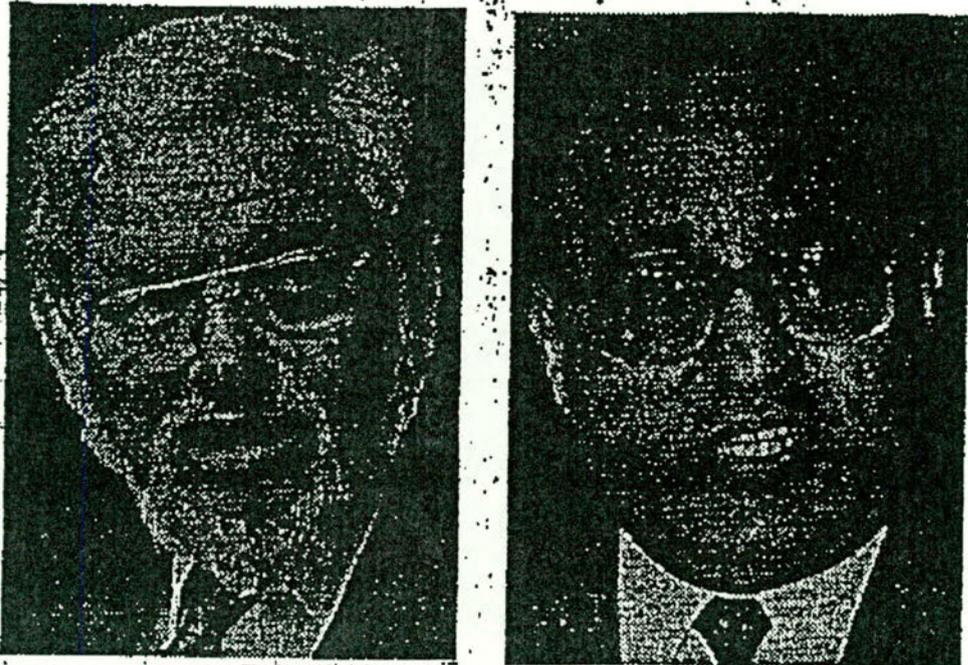
"Anyone who met certainly had good intentions to further the peace process," Health Minister Chaim Ramon said. "I don't know if this meeting helped or didn't help. I don't want to go into what was talked about there, but the intention was to aid the peace process."

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The New York Times, 1989

Camera Press

Yossi Sarid, left, Environment Minister of Israel, who secretly met with Nabil Shaath, a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The meeting has raised questions about Israel's policy toward the P.L.O.

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 6 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: יועץ תקשורת רוה"מ

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

לראיה

WP 2 - מאת מר 2002

31/8  
8/8

הנדון: רוה"מ רבין

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (דייוויד הופמן 6/8) אודות מנהיגותו של רוה"מ רבין. הופמן מתאר את סגנון מנהיגותו של רוה"מ: מחד - פניו לשלום ומאידך - לא נרתע מקבלת החלטות צבאיות קשות (כדוגמת הפעולה בלבנון והסגר על השטחים כדי להבטיח את בטחון המדינה). שי פלדמן, מומחה לאסטרטגיה מאוניברסיטת ת"א, מתאר את מדיניותו של רוה"מ כשילוב של כוח ודיפלומטיה, עוד טוען פלדמן כי רבין מנסה להכין פסיכולוגית את הישראלים לקראת הסכם שלום אשר ידרוש זיתורים קשים.

תקשורת

2-1340

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לתיק  
16/8

# Rabin's Lebanon Strategy: Force for Political Aims

## Some Analysts See Attack as Preparing Israelis Psychologically for a Peace Treaty

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM—The phone rang in the Tel Aviv high-rise apartment of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in the early morning hours of Friday, July 16. The caller was Danny Yatom, Rabin's military secretary, who told him that another round of Katyusha rockets had landed inside northern Israel.

The pre-dawn call was the culmination of a series of events that led Rabin to summon his cabinet for an emergency meeting at the Defense Ministry. There, according to participants, Rabin unveiled plans for a massive aerial attack to punish Hezbollah, the Shiite Muslim guerrillas who fired the rockets, and to force thousands of Lebanese civilians to flee northward.

How Rabin decided to unleash the largest aerial offensive on Lebanon in a decade opens a window on his leadership of Israel. According to Rabin's intimates and outside analysts, the week-long Lebanon fighting underscored his preference for dramatic use of force to advance his broader goals.

When he took office a year ago, Rabin seemed to many in Israel and abroad to be poised to negotiate peace. His Labor Party was committed to territorial concessions. He formed the most leftist government in many years, canceled half of the Jewish settlements under construction in the West Bank, and promised an agreement with the Palestinians within nine months.

But there is another side to Rabin that has proven much more important over the last year. He kept the defense portfolio for himself, and has demonstrated over and over again that he will react aggressively—critics say harshly—when he thinks Israelis' personal or national security is at stake.

When five Israeli soldiers were killed by gunmen from Hamas, the Islamic resistance movement in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Rabin ordered the largest peacetime deportation of Palestinians in Israel's history. When 15 Israelis were killed in a spate of stabbings in March, Rabin ordered the occupied territories closed, and has kept the gate partially shut ever since. When Hezbollah guerrillas killed five Israeli soldiers inside Israel's self-declared "security zone" in southern Lebanon, Rabin ordered the most widespread bombardment of Hezbollah targets since the 1982 war.

"What is the common denominator?" asked Ephraim Sneh, a Labor member of the Knesset who is close to Rabin. "These are unprecedented achievements—tough measures that no previous government dared to take. We promised security and peace—we have proven we are serious about security."

Rabin "is the quintessential Nixon-Kissinger man," said Shai Feldman, an analyst at Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies. "He embodies the mixture of force and diplomacy. He is very much a believer that problems don't have military solutions, but he also

believes in the Kissinger dictum that you have to act with force to create conditions for a diplomatic resolution of the problem."

Rabin, army chief of staff during the 1967 Six-Day War, has long been inclined to use force to alter the course of events. In his memoir, Rabin recalls that as ambassador to the United States in 1969, he urged then-prime minister Golda Meir to launch "deep-penetration raids" at military targets to halt Egypt's shelling of Israeli forces across the Suez Canal. After the outbreak of the Palestinian uprising known as the *intifada* in 1987, Rabin, then defense minister, told Israeli soldiers to break the bones of Palestinians; later, he explained this would be more humane than killing them.

Behind Rabin's latest actions, analysts see a larger motivation. Feldman said Rabin is trying to prepare Israel psychologically for a peace treaty, a "grand deal" that may require painful sacrifices. At the same time, Feldman said, Rabin is using force to "neutralize the opponents of the process and those who can torpedo it—the Hamas and the Hezbollah."

Rabin's dramatic moves are a sharp contrast to the status-quo approach of his predecessor, Yitzhak Shamir, a one-time spy whose trademark was to sit tight and avoid dramatic change. "Shamir was a true conservative; he wanted to return the same country he inherited," said Feldman. "Rabin wants to leave his successors . . . a country that has negotiated away its major conflicts. He wants change."

"A crisis like this is not a bad thing," said Hebrew University Prof. Shlomo Aveneri, a former director general of the Foreign Ministry. "It disturbs the placid water and then things can change. Something shocks the system."

But critics respond that after each dramatic use of force, such as in the Hamas deportation, Rabin has looked to the United States for cover, and then failed to reap diplomatic gains.

Two senior Israeli officials who saw the Lebanon operation unfold said Rabin was more focused on the military aspects, and on reassuring Israelis about their security, than on broader strategic gains.

In the six weeks before the offensive, Israel and its client militia, the South Lebanon Army, suffered a series of setbacks in the security zone, which Israel set up north of its international border in 1985 after the Lebanon invasion. Hezbollah, reaping Iranian support for its effort to drive Israel out of Lebanon, proved more and more sophisticated. In one recent raid, Israeli soldiers spotted Hezbollah fighters carrying a video camera.

In early July, five Israeli soldiers died in fighting in the buffer zone. Rabin sent a publicized message with U.S. Middle East envoy Dennis Ross to Syrian President Hafez Assad, complaining about the assaults. But Israeli officials said Assad brushed aside the complaint.

Then Hezbollah attacked a pair of South Lebanon Army posts. At one post, fresh troops were coming in to rotate with others, and there was only one guard. The attack, well organized and

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perfectly timed, almost overran one of the posts, military officials said.

Sneh said the assaults threatened "the existence of the security zone." At the same time, with tensions rising, several Katyushas were fired into northern Israel. In the past, Hezbollah had fired the rockets into Israel when Israeli forces shelled them north of the zone. This time, the rockets landed in Israel without an earlier Israeli provocation, Israeli officials said, and were viewed as a significant change in Hezbollah's tactics.

At the July 16 cabinet meeting, Rabin outlined a phased plan that envisioned bombardment that would force Lebanese villagers to flee northward and threaten to destabilize the Syrian-supported regime in Beirut. According to a participant, it was clear Rabin was trying to provoke an exodus to shake Syria into action, although he was not sure how well it would work.

Rabin said if the plan worked, "I am sure there will be a need for a third factor," such as U.S. intervention, to deal directly with Assad, a participant said.

Eschewing a ground offensive, the Israelis fired 22,000 artillery shells in seven days, largely concentrated on villages believed to be Hezbollah strongholds. An estimated 136 Lebanese, mostly civilians, died in the fighting. Two Israeli civilians and one soldier were killed.

"I think Rabin understands the Israeli psyche very well," said Feldman. "People on one hand are essentially for holding up a strong stick against the terrorists and infiltrators and so on, but on the other hand there is a considerable, accumulated fatigue. You have to get it done quickly. The imperative of doing something with minimal Israeli casualties is very strong."

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9201:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמש/278

מ:-ניוירוק,נר:181,תא:060893,זח:1613,דח:ר,סג:בל,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

22857

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 6-AUGUST-1993

COLUMNS

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ND(M.OREN-CABLED): 'ISRAELI ATTACKS HELPED PROVE RABIN'S METTLE':  
WRITER ARGUES THAT THE REASONING BEHIND OPERATION RECKONING FOR PM  
YITZHAK RABIN WAS AS FOLLOWS: THE SYRIANS ATTEMPTED A WAR OF  
ATTRITION AGAINST ISRAEL THROUGH ITS PROXIES, THE SHIITE TERRORISTS  
OF HEZBOLLAH, AND THAT IN ITS RESPONSE, ISRAEL WON A 'SWEEPING  
VICTORY'; ASSERTS THAT SYRIA FAILED TO REAP THE REWARDS OF  
INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL AND THAT FURTHERMORE, IT IS  
BEING PRESSURED BY THE US TO DECLARE ITS COMMITMENT TO PEACE; ADDS  
THAT THE CONCLUSION TO THE CRISIS IN LEBANON HAS PROVEN TO THE  
SYRIANS THAT FORCE CANNOT DETERMINE THE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'ISRAEL MINISTER MEETS PLO AIDE, BREAKING A  
LONGSTANDING TABOO'; 'FROM ISRAELI SITE, NEWS OF HOUSE OF DAVID';  
'HOUSE PASSES BUDGET PLAN, BACKING CLINTON BY 218-216 AFTER HECTIC  
MANEUVERING'; 'NATIONALIST SERBS SAY THEY WILL EASE SEIGE OF  
SARAJEVO'; 'GIULIANI BEGINS TAKING MESSAGE TO THE AIRWAVES.' WSJ:  
NATIONAL. ND, DN, NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/PLO/MINISTER/MEETING: NYT(C.HEDGES-FRONT PAGE-CABLED), WSJ:  
'ISRAEL MINISTER MEETS PLO AIDE, BREAKING A LONGSTANDING TABOO':  
REPORTS THAT YOSSI SARID, ISRAEL'S ENVIRONMENT MINISTER, MET WITH A  
SENIOR PLO MEMBER IN CAIRO SECRETLY BUT WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF PM  
RABIN; STATES THAT ACCORDING TO SENIOR ISRAELI OFFICIALS, THE MEETING  
SHATTERED ONE OF ISRAEL'S 'MOST RIGID POLITICAL TABOOS'; ADDS THAT

NEWS OF THE MEETING RESULTED IN AN INTENSE DEBATE BETWEEN ISRAELI OFFICIALS WHO BELIEVE ISRAEL MUST OPEN DIRECT DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO AND THOSE WHO BELIEVE ISRAEL SHOULD HAVE NO CONTACT WITH WHAT THEY CALL A 'TERRORIST GROUP'; QUOTES A NUMBER OF ISRAELI MINISTERS AT GREAT LENGTH; ADDS THAT ACCORDING TO PM SPOKESMAN GAD BEN-ARI, ANY NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PLO WOULD OCCUR ONLY IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PEACE TALKS.

SYRIA/US/CHRISTOPHER/TRIP: NYT(S.HOLMES-CABLED),WSJ,ND,DN: 'CHRISTOPHER IS RETURNING TO SYRIA, PRESSING THE ROLE OF INTERMEDIARY': REPORTS THAT ON DAY THREE OF HIS TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST, SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS RETURNING TO DAMASCUS FOR A SECOND ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS WITH SYRIAN LEADERS; STATES THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER HAS BECOME A 'MESSENGER' BETWEEN PM YITZHAK RABIN AND SYRIAN PRESIDENT HAFEZ AL-ASSAD; QUOTES DEPUTY FM YOSSI BEILIN AS SAYING THAT THE 'RECEPTIVENESS' OF THE SYRIANS TO US INVOLVEMENT WAS EXTREMELY SIGNIFICANT; ADDS HOWEVER THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER'S ROLE WOULD SUPPLEMENT, NOT REPLACE, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES; NOTES THAT BY CONTRAST TO THE APPARENT PROGRESS ON THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN TRACK OF THE PEACE TALKS, THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN SIDE SEEMS TO BE STUCK.

ISRAEL/ARCHEOLOGY/SITE/DAVID: NYT(J.WILFORD-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'FROM ISRAELI SITE, NEWS OF HOUSE OF DAVID': REPORTS THAT AN ISRAELI ARCHEOLOGIST HAS DISCOVERED A FRAGMENT OF A STONE MONUMENT WITH INSCRIPTIONS WHICH REFER TO KING DAVID AND HIS DYNASTY; NOTES THAT THE WRITING IS THE FIRST KNOWN REFERENCE OUTSIDE THE BIBLE TO THE HOUSE OF DAVID; STATES THAT THE MONUMENT WAS FOUND IN THE RUINS OF A WALL AT TEL DAN, THE SITE OF AN ANCIENT CITY IN NORTHERN ISRAEL; ADDS THAT THE DISCOVERY WAS MADE BY DR. AVRAHAM BIRAN, AN ARCHEOLOGIST AT HEBREW UNION COLLEGE AND THE JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION IN JERUSALEM.

KUWAIT/SYRIA/BOEINGS/OFFER: WSJ(R.KEATLEY-CABLED): 'KUWAIT'S OFFER OF OLD BOEINGS TO SYRIA PUTS US EXPORT CONTROLS TO THE TEST': REPORTS THAT KUWAIT, GRATEFUL FOR SYRIA'S SUPPORT DURING ITS WAR AGAINST IRAQ, HAS OFFERED TO DONATE THREE BOEING 727S TO DAMASCUS; NOTES THAT THE US MAY INTERVENE BY APPLYING EXPORT CONTROLS; ADDS THAT ALTHOUGH SYRIA HELPED REDUCE FIGHTING BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HEZBOLLAH GUERRILLAS IN LEBANON, IT IS ALSO CHARGED WITH ARMING THE HEZBOLLAH.

EGYPT/CAIRO/MILITANT/CHRISTIAN: NYT(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT A CHRISTIAN PHARMACIST WAS SHOT AND KILLED ON THURSDAY NIGHT BY MUSLIM MILITANTS BECAUSE HE COOPERATED WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN ITS DRIVE TO CURB THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT.

ISRAEL/JERUSALEM/DEMJANJUK/SURVIVORS: NYT(AP),WSJ,ND,DN: REPORTS THAT EIGHT HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS PETITIONED THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT ON THURSDAY TO TRY JOHN DEMJANJUK ON NEW CHARGES.

WORLD/OIL/OPEC/PRICES: WSJ(J.TANNER): REPORTS THAT THE IAEA LOWERED ITS ESTIMATE OF WORLD PETROLEUM DEMAND FOR 1993; ADDS THAT EVEN

WITHOUT IRAQI OIL, THE PRICE OF PETROLEUM MAY NOT RISE THIS YEAR.

US/NEW YORK/BOMB/PLOT: NYT(M.TABOR): REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO FEDERAL PROSECUTORS, THE MEN WHO PLOTTED TO BOMB THE UN AND OTHER NEW YORK TARGETS ALSO DISCUSSED KIDNAPPING.

NEW YORK/BOMB/PLOT/INFORMANT: ND(K.MCCOY): REPORTS THAT EMAD SALEM, AN INFORMANT IN THE PLOT TO BOMB NEW YORK LOCATIONS, HAD SUGGESTED THAT HE AND HIS CONSPIRATORS WEAR YARMULKES DURING THE PLANNED TERRORIST ATTACKS SO JEWS WOULD BE BLAMED.

US/TERRORISM/COMMITTEE/REPORT: ND(M.MOSS): REPORTS THAT NEW YORK STATE'S SENATE INVESTIGATIONS COMMITTEE HAS CALLED FOR THE CREATION OF A TASK FORCE ON TERRORISM DUE TO GOVERNMENT FAILURES TO GUARD AGAINST BOMBING ATTACKS.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

NYT(R.BERKE-CABLED): 'THE PUBLIC IS CONFUSED, AND EVER MORE WARY.'

NYT(R.BERNSTEIN),ND: 'JEFFRIES RETURN HINDERS PLANS TO ALTER DEPARTMENT.'

NYT(EDITORIAL): 'HANDLING A CAMPUS DEMAGOGUE.'

DN(F.LOMBARDI): 'DAVE, RUDY - ABOUT EVEN.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

SHABBAT SHALOM

תפוצה: שהח, 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

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אאאא, חוזם: 8783

אל: רהמש/261

מ-: בטחון, נר: 199, תא: 060893, זח: 1320, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

בהול/שמור

אל: שגרירות וושינגטון - ג'רמי יששכרוב

דע: ממנכ"ל משה'ח - איתן בנצור

משה'ח/פר'ין

מאת: משהב'ט - ע' המקש'ח

אב/2981

הנדון: תאריכים למפגש בק'ין

1. מאשרים המועדים 20-21-22 באוקטובר למפגש בווינה של הסדנא לצעדים  
הצהרתיים ויעדי חזון.

2. התחלת הסדנא ב-19 אינה אפשרית מבחינתו.

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

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אאא, חוזם: 8804

אל: רהמש/265

מ-: בטחון, נר: 197, תא: 060893, זח: 1224, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/שמור

אל: רות ירון, עתונות, וושינגטון

דע: מקש'ח

מאת: עודד בן עמי, יועץ שר הבטחון לתקשורת

אי/319

הנדון: דו"ח GAO - תגובה נצורה

1. לאחר קריאת דו"ח GAO על 'חץ' גיבשנו התיחסות לשם תגובה.
2. מעביר אליך הנוסח לתגובה, שיתפרסם רק כאשר הדו"ח מתפרסם בווינגטון.
3. התגובה תחת הכותרת: 'דובר משרד הביטחון מודיע' 'ISRAEL'S MOD SPOKESMAN SAYS: ' תתפרסם על ידך בווינגטון, ועל ידינו כאן.
4. נוסח התגובה נמסר גם לגורמים שונים נוספים (רמשי'ן, נציגות לקונגרס) אשר יוכלו להשתמש בה במגיעיהם.
5. לוט: נוסח ההודעה.

1. HAVING JUST RECEIVED THE UNCLASSIFIED GAO REPORT ON THE ARROW PROJECT, HERE IN ISRAEL'S PRELIMINARY REACTION TO SOME OF THE QUESTIONS IT RAISES.

2. ISRAEL HAS NEITHER DIVERTED NOR TRANSFERRED ANY ARROW/ACES FOREGROUND INFORMATION TO ANY THIRD PARTY.

ISRAEL HAS METICULOUSLY ADHERED TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THE BILATERAL US-ISRAEL MOAS CONCERNING ARROW AND ARROW CONTINUATION EXPERIMENTS, AND ALL EXPORT LICENSES CONCERNING KNOWHOW AND TECHNOLOGIES ORIGINATING IN THE U.S.

3. A. THE ARROW AND ACES CONTRACTS ARE 'FIRM FIXED PRICE' CONTRACTS, WITH MILESTONE PAYMENTS. ALL PAYMENTS MADE BY BMDO ARE BASED UPON APPROVED REQUIRED DELIVERABLES THAT ARE SUBMITTED

ACCORDING TO THE CONTRACTUAL TERMS.

B. THE ISRAELI ESTIMATES AS TO THE COST OF FULL SCALE ENGINEERING DEVELOPMENT, PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT OF AN ARROW WEAPON SYSTEM, ARE PERFORMED ACCORDING TO THE NORMAL ISRAELI PRACTICES AND PAST EXPERIENCE. THE IMOD BELIEVES THAT THESE ESTIMATES ARE REALISTIC.

4. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ARROW SYSTEM IS DESIGNED TO RESPOND TO THE ISRAELI NEED AND REQUIREMENT.

ISRAEL REALIZES THAT THE ARROW / ACES PROGRAM INVOLVES A CERTAIN LEVEL OF RISK. THIS RISK IS CHARACTERISTIC AND ACCEPTABLE IN ANY IMPORTANT RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM THAT REQUIRES SUBSTANTIAL TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS.

THE TECHNICAL RISK WAS ASSESSED AND TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BY IMOD, REASSESSED BY TWO SEPARATE U.S. 'BLUE RIBBON PANELS', AND CONSIDERED REASONABLE BY THESE PANELS.

ISRAEL INTENDS TO DEPLOY THE ARROW SYSTEM, AS A RESPONSE TO ITS BALLISTIC MISSILE THREAT, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE NEED TO COUNTER THE BALLISTIC MISSILE THREAT, AND THE ISRAELI EXPERIENCE IN THE GULF WAR, JUSTIFIES TAKING A CALCULATED RISK, IN ORDER TO DEPLOY THE ARROW IN THE THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME.

5. IN OUR JUDGEMANT, THE ARROW PROJECT HAS BEEN MAKING GENUINE PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING CUTTING-EDGE THEATER BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE TECHNOLOIES, TO THE CLEAR BENEFIT OF BOTH THE US AND ISRAEL. MOREVER, THE US IS ENTILED TO MAKE FURTHER USE OF ISAEI DEVELOPED ARROW TECHNOLOGIES FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES.

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת,  
הסברה, מעת

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 8801  
אל: רהמש/260  
מ-: בטחון, נר: 196, תא: 060893, זח: 1133, דח: ב, סג: שמ,  
כבכב  
בהול / שמור

אל: נ.צ. וושינגטון-אלוף גיורא רום  
שגרירות וושינגטון-ג'רמי יששכרוב

דע: רמשי'ן-משהנ קוחונובסקי (הועבר)  
ממנכ"ל משה'ח-איתן בנצור

מאת: משהב'ט - המקש'ח

אב/2971

הנדון: תשובה נצורה לדו"ח ה-GAO

1. רצי"ב תגובתנו לדו"ח ה-GAO הגלוי בנושא ה'חץ'. התגובה תואמה עם כל הגורמים הנוגעים בענין (מלמ"ב, משרד החוץ, מפא"ת, יועץ שהב'ט לתקשורת).
2. הכוונה היא לשמור ב'נצור' את התגובה עד לפרסום הדו"ח בארה"ב.
3. זוהי תגובה רשמית של מערכת הבטחון וכך הדברים יובהרו גם לרות ירון על ידי עודד בן עמי.
4. עודד בן עמי הוא האחראי מטעמנו לקשר עם גורמי ההסברה בשגרירות בושינגטון.
5. בנוסף לתגובה זו, מפא"ת מכין תשובות לשאלות ולנושאים קונקרטיים ופרטניים יותר אשר יאפשרו התייחסות לסעיפים שונים מתוך הדו"ח במידה ונצטרך להתייחס.

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4. THE PERFORMANCE OF THE ARROW SYSTEM IS DESIGNED TO RESPOND TO THE ISRAELI NEED AND REQUIREMENT.

ISRAEL REALIZES THAT THE ARROW / ACES PROGRAM INVOLVES A CERTAIN LEVEL OF RISK. THIS RISK IS CHARACTERISTIC AND ACCEPTABLE IN ANY IMPORTANT RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM THAT REQUIRES SUBSTANTIAL TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS.

THE TECHNICAL RISK WAS ASSESSED AND TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION BY IMOD, REASSESSED BY TWO SEPARATE U.S. 'BLUE RIBBON PANELS', AND CONSIDERED REASONABLE BY THESE PANELS.

ISRAEL INTENDS TO DEPLOY THE ARROW SYSTEM, AS A RESPONSE TO ITS BALLISTIC MISSILE THREAT, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THE NEED TO COUNTER THE BALISTIC MISSILE THREAT, AND THE ISRAELI EXPERIENCE IN THE GULF WAR, JUSTIFIES TAKING A CALCULATED RISK, IN ORDER TO DEPLOY THE ARROW IN THE THE SHORTEST POSSIBLE TIME.

5. IN OUR JUDGEMANT, THE ARROW PROJECT HAS BEEN MAKING GENUINE PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING CUTTING-EDGE THEATER BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENCE TECHNOLOIES, TO THE CLEAR BENEFIT OF BOTH THE US AND ISRAEL. MOREOVER, THE US IS ENTILED TO MAKE FURTHER USE OF ISAEI DEVELOPED ARROW TECHNOLOGIES FOR ITS OWN PURPOSES.

תפוצה: שדה, שדה, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, סי יבל,  
סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת

סססס

אאא, חוזם: 9252

אל: רהמש/282

מ-: בוסטון, נר: 44, תא: 060893, זח: 1655, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: מצפ'א

אגף תקשורת

כנסיות

תפוצות

דע: וושינגטון

רומא

מאת: בוסטון

הנדון: ראיון בלעדי של הסנטור TED KENNEDY ל-JEWISH ADVOCATE

1. בראיון בלעדי שהעניק הסנטור TED KENNEDY ל-JEWISH ADVOCATE (אחד משני העתונים היהודיים של בוסטון) התייחס לענייננו.

2. להלן עיקרי דבריו:

\* חיזבאללה וההתנגדות האיראנית לא רק מנסים לחבל בשיחות השלום, אלא גם לפגוע ביכולתה של ישראל להתקיים בשלווה ולהתפתח.

\* על ישראל לדעת כי היא זוכה לתמיכתה האיתנה של ארה"ב, כדי שתנצל הזדמנויות נוספות לשלום. רק עם ערובה שכזו תוכל ישראל לנצל הזדמנויות החדשות לישוב בדרכי שלום של הסכסוכים במזרח התיכון.

\* הכרת הוותיקן בישראל היא לדבריו 'OVERDUE' ותהיה צעד קונסטרוקטיבי וחיובי.

\* ציין כי ביקש ממזכיר המדינה, כריסטופר, להעלות נושא יהודי סוריה בשיחותיו בדמשק.

\* הזכיר פעולתו בסנאט להבטחת סיוע כספי לישראל לקליטת יהודי בריה"מ לשעבר.

3. צילום המאמר בדיפ' הקרוב.

אשר ירדן.

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, כנסיות, תפוצות, רחטמזת, מזתת 2

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 9283

אל: רהמש/283

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 231, תא: 060893, זח: 1926, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממ"ד - ערב 4, מח' מז"ת, מצפ"א

דע: משהב"ט/לשכת מתאם הפעולות בלבנון

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: ביקור חברי פרלמנט לבנוניים בקונגרס (ב-4.8)

להלן עפ"י שיחת דרגנג'ר עם עוזרים בגבעה ושיחת הח"מ עם ג'ורג' קודי (מנהלו של ה-AMERICAN TASK FORCE FOR LEBANON, ארגון לובי של לבנונים אמריקנים).

1. ב-4.8 ערכו חברי הפרלמנט הלבנוניים נסיב לחוד ועמאד ג'בר פגישות בסנאט ובביה"נ. במסגרת זו נפגשו, בנפרד, עם האישים הבאים:

- יו"ר ועדת החוץ של הסנאט פל (דמוקרטי).
- יו"ר ועדת החוץ של ביה"נ המילטון (דמוקרטי).
- חברי ביה"נ גילמן (רפובליקני) וריי הול (דמוקרטי).
- הסנאטורים הרפובליקנים דול, לוגאר וקוני מאק.

רודי השתתף בחלק מן הפגישות.

2. ביקור הפרלמנטרים אורגן ב-29.7 כאשר הלבנונים בקשו להעביר לחברי הקונגרס את נקודת השקפתם לגבי הקרבות בדר"ל. הביקור התקיים לאחר השגת הפסקת האש - עובדה שהפכה את סיבת קיומו לבלתי רלבנטית.

3. מעבר לחילופי השקפות בנושא הרקע להתנגשות בדר"ל ותוצאותיה, הלבנונים בקשו את תמיכת חברי הקונגרס בהגדלת האספקה של סיוע צבאי אמריקני לא-קטלני, דוגמת כלי תחבורה, לצל"ב, סיוע האמור, מבחינתם, לשפר את יכולת צל"ב ליטול אחריות על הביטחון בדר"ל.

4. זלקאוסקי (עוזר של דול) פקפק אם בקשה לבנונית זו תיענה. בפגישתם עם הסנאטורים הרפובליקנים, הלבנונים הביעו עניינם גם בהמשך הסיוע לאוניברסיטה האמריקנית של בירות, וציינו כי ברצונם להשתמש בהלוואת 175 מיליון הדולר, שניתנה להם ע"י הבנק העולמי, לשם שיקום הדרום. כן ביקשו את האמריקאים להשתדל אצל הסעודים כי יסייעו ללבנון. האמריקאים השיבו, כי הסעודים סובבים בגבעה וקובלים שלהם עצמם אין מימון כלל.

עד כאן הדיווח.

5. הפרלמנטרים היו אמורים לקיים פגישות נוספות, בהמשך השבוע, ורודי אמור להיפגש עם הח"מ בשבוע הבא.

אמיתי

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 9200  
אל: רהמש/280  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 211, תא: 060893, זח: 1514, דח: ב, סג: שמ,  
בבבב  
שמור/בהול לבוקר

אל: מצפ"א  
משהב"ט - מקש"ח  
- יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת  
רמש"נ - ניו יורק  
נספח הגנה - כאן

מאת: עתונות / קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: "חץ" - תגובה נצורה לדו"ח ה-GAO  
לשלכם 439 ו- 441

בהתייעצות עם קוחנובסקי ואורן מציעים למקד את תגובתנו הנצורה בשלושת  
הנושאים להלן:

1. חשיבותו האסטרטגית של ה-חץ" כמענה האפשרי היחיד להתקפת טילים בזירה  
מבצעית כשלכם סעיפים 4 ו-5.

2. לסעיף 2 בשלכם - נחוצה שלילה גורפת וחד משמעית של ההאשמות והרמיזות  
בדבר העברות טכנולוגיה בלתי מאושרת. למשל,

ISRAEL NEITHER DIVERTS NOR TRANSFERS TECHNOLOGY OR INFORMATION TO ANY  
THIRD PARTY. ISRAEL ADHERES NETICULOULY TO THE CONDITIONS AND THE  
REQUIREMENTS OF ALL EXPORT LICENCES CONCERNING TECHNOLOGIES  
ORIGINATING IN THE U.S.

3. לגבי סעיף (A3) בשלכם: הנוסח מתקבל כמשפטי מדי ולא ברור דיו.  
מציעים כלהלן:

ISRAEL ADHERES TO ALL THE FINANCIAL TERMS SET FORTH IN THE ARROW/ACES  
CONTRACTS.

4. נבקש התייחסותכם לאפשרות (הסבירה) שתועלינה מחדש ההאשמות בדבר גרירת  
ארה"ב למימון ההצטיידות, מעבר לשלב המו"פ - להזכירכם כי זו היתה נקודה  
מרכזית בהודעתו הראשונה של הסנטור בירד לעתונות, וכי הנושא שב ועולה

בשיחותינו בגבעה.

5. אלה הן הצעותינו. ממתנים עוד לתשובות הספציפיות של מפא"ת (סעיף 5 בשלכם 439). נודה על הנחיותיכם.

ירון - בינה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, סמנכלתקשורת,  
הסברה, מעת

סססס

1/4

1054  
4 - 3  
היום

שמור/מיידי

5 אוגוסט 1993

אל: סמונ"ל כלכלה

דע: ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א  
ס/קונסול ניו יורק

מאת: ק. לקונגרס - ונשינגטון

הנדון: חרם ערבי

רצ"ב מכתבי תשובה שקיבל הקונגרסמן שומר מהנשיא קלינטון ומזכיר המסחר  
בראון על פניותיו בנוגע לחרם הערבי ובמיוחד ביחס לכווית במכתבו של  
האחרון.

יוניאף ונאי זרנגר  
יהודית ונאי זרנגר

*[Red signature]*

שתי כהא 2  
שתי 1  
מ 1  
ממנ"ל 1  
מנכ"ל 2  
סין 1  
סכ"מ-ג 1

10

1054

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

214

July 27, 1993

*Alvin*  
Dear Representative Schumer:

I very much appreciated receiving your letter on the Arab boycott of Israel. The points you and your colleagues raise are important ones which have my full support. I will continue to take every opportunity to ensure all countries understand that ending the boycott of firms doing business with Israel is a high priority of my Administration.

Secretary Christopher addressed the issue of the boycott directly with Arab governments during his February trip to the Middle East. He made clear that my Administration, the Congress and the American people oppose this discrimination against American companies. We have pressed the issue with Arab governments since then. I was particularly pleased to see that, in response to our efforts, the Kuwaiti government has announced publicly that it will no longer enforce the secondary and tertiary boycotts. This public declaration is an important step forward, and we intend to urge other countries to follow Kuwait's example.

At our urging, the G 7 Summit formally called for the Arab boycott to end. I am hopeful we will continue to see steady progress in achieving that goal. I can assure you of our unrelenting efforts.

Sincerely,

*Bill*

The Honorable Charles E. Schumer  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE  
Washington, D.C. 20230

July 28, 1993

3/4  
1054

The Honorable Charles E. Schumer  
Chairman, Congressional Task Force  
to End the Arab Boycott  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for your letter concerning the recent statement by the Kuwaiti Foreign Minister regarding his country's implementation of the Arab boycott of Israel. You requested that Commerce's Office of Antiboycott Compliance (OAC) compile data relevant to this issue.

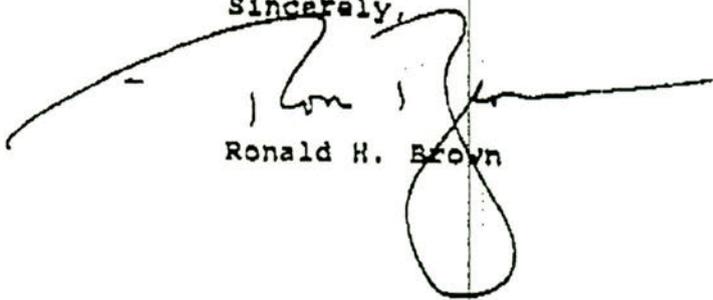
We are taking every opportunity to raise the boycott issue in meetings with Arab government leaders. I brought it up in discussions with Saudi Government officials during my visit to the Kingdom last spring. We have also raised it in the context of the United States-Gulf Cooperation Council economic discussions. Please be assured of our continued efforts at removing this barrier to trade.

I have enclosed a table showing the number of Kuwaiti-origin boycott requests reported to OAC for the last four fiscal years. As the table indicates, there has been fairly steady decline in the number of reported prohibited boycott requests from Kuwait over these years. Although fiscal year 1992 represents an increase over fiscal year 1991, the Gulf War depressed trade in the region in fiscal year 1991. Although the number of requests has fluctuated over the years, the most recent completed fiscal year represents a significant decline in the number of prohibited requests compared to pre-war years.

While the number of requests to take prohibited actions appears to be in decline, the number of requests reported to OAC emanating from Kuwait to take actions permitted by exceptions to the prohibitions in our antiboycott regulations has not declined. Most of these "exceptions" requests represent primary boycott language in letters of credit banning the import of Israeli-made goods into Kuwait. On the other hand, we know from inquiries that American businesses make to OAC's telephone advice line and from preliminary review of boycott reports that Americans have received some requests from Kuwait to take prohibited actions as recently as March of this year.

OAC will continue to monitor incoming reports and analyze their significance. As I am sure you know, Americans must report most boycott-related requests they receive. However, firms which receive these requests have until one month after the end of the quarter in which they receive the requests to report them to OAC (two months if the recipient is outside of the United States). Consequently, information based on our reports will not be complete until as much as four months after a reportable boycott-related request is received. We are working to analyze the reports in order to obtain the earliest possible indication of the nature and extent of Kuwait's implementation of the policy announced by the Foreign Minister.

Sincerely,



Ronald H. Brown

4/4

Enclosure

1054

1/2

בלמס/מייד

5 און 93'

אל: מזא"ר 2 - מצפ"א

דע: נאו"ם - ניו-יורק - אהרון יעקו

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

1049-3-1  
3-1 (class)

הנדון: בוסניה-והרליך השלום

מצ"ב כתבתו של אנדרו בורוויק (WT 5/8) לפיה הסרבים, הנחושים לשמר את מעמדם בבלקאן, טוענים כי ממשיך קלינטון מעדיף את המוסלמים הבוסניים על-פניהם, וקושרים זאת עם תהליך השלום במזה"ת.

הערכה זאת נמסרה ע"י דיפלומטים אירופיים, וזאת בעקבות דווח שגורי ארה"ב לשיחות השלום בג'נבה הבטיח לושיא בוסניה את תמיכתה של ארה"ב ביישות המוסלמית שתקום לאחר ההפרדה.

*Handwritten signature in red ink.*

תקשורת

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מזא"ר									
מזא"ר									

28

# U.S. Bosnia tilt serves Mideast policy, Serbs say

By Andrew Borowiec  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Serbs, the largest ethnic group in the former Yugoslavia, are determined to preserve their key role in the Balkans and believe the Clinton administration favors Bosnia's Muslims to help the stymied Middle East peace process.

This assessment by European diplomats comes after a report that

## NEWS ANALYSIS

Reginald Bartholomew, U.S. envoy to the Geneva peace talks, had apparently assured Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic of Washington's economic support for a future Muslim entity in the disintegrating republic.

According to diplomats, such an approach has the backing of several Islamic countries. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is now in the Middle East attempting to revive the stalled talks between Israel and its Arab enemies.

The linkage between the Middle East peace efforts and the Bosnian carnage has given a new dimension to the conflict in the heart of the Balkans, which is likely to result in a partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina into separate Serbian, Muslim and Croatian states.

It is generally believed that the Serbian part will sooner or later join Serbia proper, the Croatian-controlled area will be annexed by Croatia and the rump Muslim state will need foreign help to survive.

According to Serbian sources, Mr. Izetbegovic has been dragging his feet during the Geneva talks because "he knows that whatever happens, he will be the loser."

And although the Serbian republic headed by controversial President Slobodan Milosevic officially denies military involvement in the

NATO air strikes against Serbian gun emplacements around besieged Sarajevo and other Muslim-held towns, Serbs have begun preparations to disperse their forces and, particularly, move their artillery pieces.

Such a tactic might delay any allied action and, in the worst case scenario, cause civilian rather than military casualties.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization planners are to meet Monday to hear a detailed recommendations by military experts. And even if it is established that Bosnian Serbs are definitely the culprits, an allied military response might take up to several weeks.

Diplomats of rump Yugoslavia, now consisting only of Serbia and Montenegro, claim that air strikes will merely prolong the fighting, strengthen the determination of radical nationalists. "What we need in the Balkans is less military action, not more," one of them said.

Mr. Milosevic and his government are pushing for "a comprehensive solution" in Geneva that would put a stamp of approval on Bosnia's partition. Their view, as well as that of the Yugoslav federal government, is that a multiethnic Bosnian state is untenable, especially after the recent carnage and atrocities.

"Yugoslavia was a perfect example of a multiethnic, multireligious, multilingual state," one diplomat said. "It has been destroyed. How can Bosnia survive as a unified state if Yugoslavia could not?"

Clouding the picture are differences between France, which favors lifting economic sanctions on rump Yugoslavia, and Germany, which has been expanding its influence over Slovenia and Croatia.

Serbia's isolation has caused enormous

2/2

1049-P-1  
3 - 1

WT  
518



Assad might have wanted to strengthen his negotiating hand by first allowing pro-Iranian Hezbollah guerrillas to harass Israel and then coming to the rescue by reining in the radicals, diplomats said. Rabin said Israel created a flight of south Lebanese villagers to force Lebanon and Syria to eliminate Hezbollah as an immediate threat to the peace process.

Syria, with the help of Hezbollah's Iranian backers, managed to end the crisis by forcing the guerrillas to accept the Israeli ceasefire offer. It did not, as in past crises with Israel, pressure other Arabs to boycott multilateral peace talks. Nor did Syria

make a dramatic public show of burying three soldiers killed in the Israeli bombardment.

In the end, though, the game of brinkmanship and pressure was won by Israel.

"The Syrians were surprised, not by the Israeli intervention or even by its intensity, but by the way Israel used military might to create political pressure," said a European diplomat. "It was an innovation, a cruel one, that hasn't been seen on

that scale before."

For Syria, the fanatical Hezbollah guerrillas operating in south Lebanon have long represented a bargaining chip. "The total halt of Hezbollah operations would take away an important card for Syrian and Lebanese negotiators in the peace talks," the Beirut newspaper L'Orient-Le Jour said this week.

Israel accepted Hezbollah's role as trump card in the

2/15

(2)

1048

unspoken accommodations with Syria. In the security zone, Israel employs its own proxy militia, the South Lebanon Army, to take the brunt of Hezbollah attacks. As long as the surrogates fought inside the zone, there was little tension between the patron countries.

Why, then, did Syria permit the escalation of attacks on Israeli territory last month? Diplomats here believe that Syria stood by to irritate Israel and perhaps to delay negotiations, hoping for an agreement on Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights before Palestinians came to a self-rule agreement with the Jewish state.

"But did Syria provoke Hezbollah? No. Did they manage Hezbollah? Maybe. Did Syria think the Hezbollah actions were a way to bring pressure in the peace talks? There is no evidence of that," said another Damascus-based western diplomat. "But did they prevent Hezbollah's activities? No."

Indeed, Assad may have calculated — as did many diplomats in Syria and observers in Israel — that he had time left to clamp down on Hezbollah. Twice before in the past year, Syria moved to brake guerrilla activity in response to Israeli warnings about an impending military strike.

He also may have decided the cost of an Israeli military reprisal would be bearable. Early last year, after a sharp increase in Hezbollah raids, Israeli tank battalions shot up Lebanese villages a few miles north of the security zone. The operation ended inconclusively, with little damage to either civilians or Hezbollah.

In the most pessimistic view, some diplomatic observers predict that the long-term political damage to hopes for Middle East peace may far exceed the human and physical wreckage caused by Israeli bombs and Hezbollah rockets.

Lebanon, they said, has been set back years in its reconstruction efforts. A frightening new weapon has been unsheathed: the potential displacement of masses of Shiite Muslims to the and unstable suburbs of Beirut.

"There is intense anger" among Arabs, said one diplomat. "They were determined that the peace process should not be brought to a halt, but they also were humiliated. That will make it very difficult for them to make concessions."

3

5/103

1048

סיוג: כלמ"ס	
תזרח:	אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
מס' מדק:	דע: בטחון - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, דו"ע, אמ"נ/קט"ח (ימ) העכירונא
	זאת: עמונות, ניו יורק

# Israel bares saga of spy who stole bio-war secrets

By URI DAN  
 Post Mideast Correspondent  
 JERUSALEM — Israeli military censors yesterday lifted some of the veils from one of the most shocking spy stories in the nation's history. Israeli newspapers confirmed for the first time the

long-standing rumor that a high-level Israeli expert in biological warfare was a KGB spy for the Soviet Union.

They confirmed that Dr. Marcus Klingberg, who had access to all of Israel's files on biological and chemical warfare, was arrested in 1983 on spy charges and sentenced to 18 years in prison.

New York  
 Post

4-8

1048

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תאריך:

שם השולח:

למחלקת המודיעין

תאריך:

5-8-93

Klingberg, who is 75, fled his native Poland for the Soviet Union during World War II and joined the Red Army, it was revealed.

Moscow planted Klingberg in Israel in 1948, the very year it was founded. He joined the new Israeli Army as a physician and became a colonel.

In 1968, he started working at a top-secret biological institute and worked his way up to the No. 2 position there.

The circumstances of Klingberg's arrest in 1983 still have not been disclosed.

His confession stunned the Israeli defense establishment, which concluded that the damage he caused "might be irreparable."

Israel kept the case a secret from its own citizens for fear that disclosure might only cause further harm to the nation by straining relations with the Soviets.

The first glimpse of the Klingberg affair came in 1985 when the London Observer wrote about the mysterious disappearance of one of Israel's leading specialists in biological warfare.

The truth about the spy who handed Israel one of its most severe blows was not confirmed until yesterday.



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1048

1047 - 1  
25 - 25  
כס/מ/1

1/5

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 5 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

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הנדון: ביקור המזכיר

מצ"ב קובץ כתבות (BS) דאג סטארק, מאמר המערכת של ה-BS, WT וורן סטרובל וה-WP ג'ון גושקו - (5/8) בנושא ביקור מזכיר המדינה במזה"ת. מזכיר המדינה נפגש עם הנשיא אסד בדמשק ואמר כי לא הועלו כל רעיונות חדשים לגבי הסכם שלום בין ישראל וסוריה, אולם הוא מעריך שצפויה התקדמות, גם אם איטית, בשיחות.

עוד ביקר המזכיר בלבנון ונפגש שם עם ראשי המדינה. המזכיר ביקש את לבנון שלא לפרוש מתהליך השלום והבטיח סיוע אמריקני לשיקום נזקי ההתקפה הישראלית. מאמר המערכת של ה-BS מתאר את סוריה כמפתח לשלום בין ישראל ומדינות ערב וטוען כי כריסטופר, בסיועו של דניס רוס, מסוגל להביא לקידום תהליך השלום.

תקשורת

שיתוף	2	כהא	1	סשה	1	מנל	1	מנל	1	מנל	2
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# Christopher Visits Lebanon by Armored Convoy

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Foreign Service

ZAHLE, Lebanon, Aug. 4—Five days after Secretary of State Warren Christopher arranged a cease-fire that ended Israel's bombardment of southern Lebanon, he traveled here overland in a heavily armed convoy today to assure Lebanese President Elias Hrawi that the United States cares about Lebanon's sovereignty and national integrity.

Christopher made the 1½-hour trip from Damascus, where he met with Syrian President Hafez Assad. The trip to this town 20 miles east of Beirut was kept secret until the last minute, and Christopher, accompanied by U.S. officials and journalists, was escorted to the border by Syrian troops.

At the border, his party transferred to armored vehicles of the Lebanese army.

Christopher was greeted here by Hrawi,

Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri, Foreign Minister Fares Bouez and Nabih Berri, speaker of parliament and leader of the Shiite Amal organization.

The trip was described by U.S. officials as a key part of Christopher's efforts to reinvigorate the Middle East peace process.

In the fighting last week, more than 130 people were killed by Israeli shelling and bombing of southern Lebanon. Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese civilians were forced to flee north.

The cease-fire went into effect last week-end after Christopher persuaded Assad to use his influence to stop Lebanese Shiite guerrillas of the Muslim fundamentalist group Hezbollah from firing rockets into northern Israel, where two Israelis had been killed. In return, Prime Minister Yitzak Rabin agreed to halt the Israeli attacks.

In the meeting here, Christopher said, he urged the Lebanese to stay with the peace process. He also said the United States is donating food, medical supplies and other disaster relief material for southern Lebanon.

This morning, Christopher flew from Jerusalem for the three-hour meeting in Damascus with Assad. Afterward, Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Charaa said Christopher's efforts last week and his visit here had "salvaged the peace process from being buried under the rubble of the brutal Israeli attack on Lebanon."

Syria's negotiations with Israel over return of the Golan Heights, captured by Israel in 1967, are a vital part of the drive to achieve a comprehensive peace process. Christopher said he had brought no new ideas on how to break the stalemate between Syria and Israel. But he said he would "report faithfully to Prime Minister Rabin what I heard here today."

"It is going to be a long process," Christopher said. "I hope the deadlock in these discussions may be in the process of breaking, but I don't want to encourage any false expectations."

Charaa was asked about charges last week by Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.) that the Assad government has allowed missiles and other weaponry from Iran to pass through Syria to Hezbollah forces in southern Lebanon.

"The information the congressman has is absolutely false," Charaa said. "Sixteen years of war have turned Lebanon into a jungle of weapons. The guerrillas are able to get all the weapons they need."

Charaa also denied that Syria failed to keep its promise to allow the approximately 1,200 Jews still remaining in Syria to leave. He said, "Free travel is allowed for all Syrian citizens, including, certainly, Syrian Jews."



Christopher talks with Lebanese Foreign Minister Bouez in Zahle after 1½-hour drive from Damascus.

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## Back to Work in the Middle East

Syria holds the key to Arab peace with Israel. If Syria traded peace for Golan, the rug would be pulled out from those who wish to continue war. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's Middle East shuttle diplomacy is seeking no less than that.

While using the same Middle East adviser, Dennis Ross, that his predecessor James A. Baker III brought to the State Department, Mr. Christopher has shunned Mr. Baker's studied detachment. He is not merely bringing the parties together and seeking influence behind the scenes, he is aggressively and publicly involved and putting U.S. proposals forward.

Mr. Christopher is trying to turn a setback for peace — the Hezbollah murders of Israelis and subsequent Israeli bombardment of southern Lebanon — into momentum toward it. At first appearance, he has achieved something.

Washington did not merely broker a tacit agreement among all parties that Hezbollah will restrict its potshots at Israelis to the "security zone" of southern Lebanon. Mr. Christopher turned that into a back-channel between Jerusalem and Damascus dealing with fundamental issues between Isra-

el and Syria, between Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and President Hafez el-Assad. This was logical. Israel's massive attack had been a message to the latter in any case — a message that Syria can turn off the Hezbollah attacks if it wishes.

Whether Syria will do that remains problematic. In all likelihood, Mr. Assad will allow Hezbollah to maintain readiness while he explores the temptation to make peace with Israel along the lines that Egypt did. Although Hezbollah terrorists really do believe in warring for the extinction of Israel, they are pawns of larger forces, the governments of Syria and Iran, which can shut them down.

The mass evacuations of southern Lebanon cause by Israeli bombs might have depressed the readiness for peace among PLO and Arab governments for the moment. But it also strengthened Mr. Rabin against the hawkish opposition in Israel and made it easier for him to trade land for peace with Syria or talk openly with the PLO.

Give Mr. Christopher credit. He has turned a loss into an opportunity. That's the sort of bargaining ability that Arab leaders, at their ablest, practice and therefore respect.

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# Christopher tries to heal Mideast rift

## Signs aren't good after Israeli attack

By Doug Struck  
Jerusalem Bureau

JERUSALEM — Warren M. Christopher, the U.S. secretary of state, shuttled about the Mideast yesterday in search of a cause for optimism in the peace process.

But as the secretary of state flitted from Israel to Syria to Lebanon and back to Israel, his warning from the outset that prospects for success did not look good seemed to be fulfilling itself.

He was expected to announce today whether he would continue the shuttle diplomacy or return home.

Mr. Christopher took a heavily armed convoy from Damascus into Lebanon yesterday to find that Israeli shelling there had damaged prospects for peace as well as villages.

Despite assertions from Jerusalem that Israel's bombardment of Lebanon would somehow improve chances for peace, Mr. Christopher faced a chill among the Arab parties. The weeklong barrage fueled their suspicion of Israel and renewed doubts about the United States because of its pro-Israel stance.

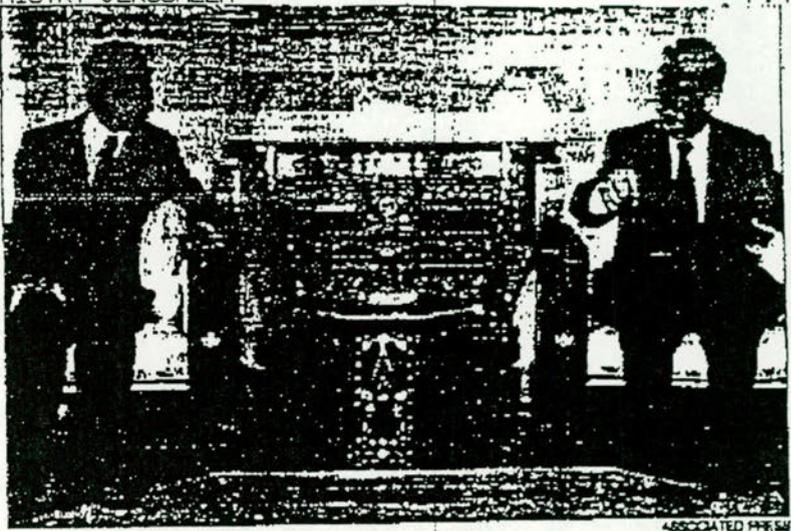
"The recent events in Lebanon, had they continued, would have buried the peace process in the rubble," Syrian Foreign Minister Farouq al-Shara said. He said Mr. Christopher was working to "salvage the peace process."

He said he could not talk about progress in the peace talks "after the ... random shelling and bombardment of Lebanese villages."

"The Israeli aggression last week ... is absolutely unacceptable," echoed Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Bweiz. "Any progress in the peace-making effort requires tranquillity on the ground."

### Palestinian support drops

Other ominous signs came also. A public opinion poll among Palestinians in the occupied territories showed for the first time that a majority favor a pullout from the 21-month old negotiations. If the Palestinian team quits for lack of public support, as they have increasingly threatened to do, the whole process



U.S. Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher (left) meets with Syrian President Hafez el Assad

spite regular calls for arms control.

In the last two years there was "a growing momentum in force-building efforts," according to the study by the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv. "The dual emphasis was on quality multiplied by large quantities."

Mr. Christopher met yesterday with Syrian President Hafez el Assad and then was driven 35 miles to the Bakaa Valley of Lebanon to meet Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri, President Elias Hrawi and other Lebanese leaders.

They drove in a motorcade of 20 armored sedans, including two vans mounted with .50-caliber machine guns, to the Lebanese president's summer palace in the town of Zahle, 33 miles east of Beirut.

There, Mr. Christopher expressed the hope that the cease-fire he helped broker last Saturday would keep the peace.

"I want to express the hope, and I underscore the word hope, that the understandings reached in the south will endure," he said.

He pledged that the United States will contribute food, disaster relief funds and a 750-bed military hospital worth \$11 million to aid those hurt in the fighting.

Mr. Christopher emerged from his three hour meeting with Mr. Assad in Damascus describing an attempt to "refocus" the peace talks and saying, "I think we have salvaged this process." But he noted that "much remained to be done."

### Syria's Assad praised

Last week, Israeli officials heaped unusual praise on Mr. Assad for his role in helping secure the cease-fire in southern Lebanon. Israel predicted negotiations with Syria might

held without reaching an agreement.

All officials acknowledged that a peace agreement could not be reached without including the Palestinians.

"Syria is the strategic threat (to Israel), but the Palestinians are the heart of the problem," deputy Israeli foreign minister Yoasi Beilin said.

Yet, the continuing participation of the Palestinian delegation is looking increasingly shaky. The chief negotiator, Haider Abd al-Shafi, boycotted a meeting with Mr. Christopher on Tuesday and has threatened not to attend the next round of negotiations, if and when they are scheduled.

Hanan Ashrawi, the chief Palestinian spokeswoman, said there was little progress in the Christopher talks, but indicated that not much had been expected.

Her own glum expectations seemed to be reflected in the results of an opinion poll based on interviews with 1,476 Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It showed 55 percent opposed to peace negotiations as they are now arranged and 50 percent in favor of a complete withdrawal from the peace talks.

"This is the first time a majority has said we should pull out. It shows the fragmentation," said Nasser Atta of the Jerusalem Media and Communication Center.

The Palestinian press organization conducted the opinion survey in coordination with CNN and RTL4-Dutch TV.

JMCC conducted a similar poll in February that indicated 64 percent supported the peace negotiations.

"I think the [peace talks] delegation knows there is this level of opposition to the talks. They know there's no enthusiasm on the street

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# Christopher proclaims Mideast talks salvaged

By Warren Strobel  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ZAHLE, Lebanon — With a heavily armed convoy, Secretary of State Warren Christopher rolled into Lebanon's Bekaa Valley in a surprise, symbolic visit yesterday, less than a week after the ferocious Israeli shelling of Hezbollah guerrilla areas.

Then, after talks with top Lebanese leaders, the secretary of state pronounced the Mideast peace talks "salvaged" from the threat posed by last week's fighting. He had delivered the same message in the Syrian capital, Damascus, where he talked for three hours with President Hafez Assad.

Mr. Christopher's visit capitalized

on the cease-fire he brokered during the weekend.

The secretary of state announced new assistance for Lebanon's weak but increasingly confident central government. Some of it is aimed at taking the sting out of the violence, which left hundreds dead, thousands injured and many more homeless.

Calling the cease-fire "fragile," Mr. Christopher said: "I want to express the hope, and I underscore the word 'hope,' that the understandings reached in the south will endure and be built upon.

"The United States will work toward that end."

He spoke after more than two hours of talks at President Elias Hrawi's summer villa here.

He also met with Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, Foreign Minister Farez Bouez and parliament Speaker Nabih Barri.

Lebanon's formerly fractious and powerless army has begun deploying to the south, exerting its influence in an area that has been controlled for more than a decade by Israel on one side and anti-Israeli guerrillas on the other.

Mr. Christopher hopes the cease-fire will evolve into a lasting solution for the unstable region and thus boost the U.S.-sponsored Middle East peace talks.

He said the United States, which has rebuffed Lebanon's previous pleas for military assistance, will look at such requests "in a new light" because of the Lebanese deploy-

ment in the south.

Mr. Christopher told his Lebanese and Syrian hosts that all sides want the talks to continue.

But the secretary of state also made clear that he has achieved nothing more. There has been no breakthrough in the Middle East's long-standing disagreements.

"I think that recent events have salvaged the peace process, and we're back on track. I wouldn't want to be more optimistic than that," Mr. Christopher said in Damascus.

He said he is taking several messages from Mr. Assad to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, whom he meets this morning for the second time this week.

Mr. Christopher began his efforts to broker a Lebanese cease-fire after

Israeli forces in a self-declared security zone launched their heaviest attack in 11 years.

The Israelis had hoped to force the Lebanese government to rein in the guerrillas in exchange for a halt of the refugee-creating offensive.

At a Damascus news conference with Mr. Christopher, Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Sharan angrily denied an assertion by Rep. Tim Wirth, California Democrat, that Syria helped Iran ship weapons to Hezbollah through Damascus International Airport as recently as last month.

"The information that the congressmen has got is absolutely false," Mr. Sharan said. Western reports that Syria is being used as a transshipment point are "absolutely

not true."

Hezbollah, which Mr. Sharan called the "Lebanese national resistance," does not need new arms because a 16-year civil war "has made — or turned — Lebanon into a jungle of weapons."

Mr. Christopher got a firsthand look at a few of those weapons on his hourlong drive from Damascus to Zahle.

At the Syrian-Lebanese border, he and his party changed transportation, getting into vehicles with armor plating and one-way glass. Added protection was provided by two Chevrolet Suburbans carrying large, turret-mounted machine guns.

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אל: רהמש/249

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כבכב

שמור/רגיל

אל: ממ"ד, מצפ"א, חטיבת מז"ת

מאת: השגרירות וושינגטון

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הנדון: שיחה עם ביל קוונדט

בשיחה היקפית היום (5.8) עם ביל קוונדט, בהשתתפות אמיתי ולשנו יער, שמענו ההערות הבאות:

1. מצרים - העריך, מפי ידידים מצרים, שהמשטר איתן ומעמדו של מובארכ אינו מאוים. ההשפעה האיסלאמית חילחלה אמנם, לדרגים זוטרים בצבא, אולם לא לדרגים הגבוהים יותר, הודות לתנאי השרות הטובים מהם נהנים אנשי הצבא.

עם זאת המשטר לוקה בשני משורים המשליכים על יציבותו -

א. דימויו כמשטר מושחת. אמנם לא מוברכ עצמו, אך מקורביו וקרובי משפחתו.

העובדה שהמצב הכלכלי שהשתפר תרם לצמיחת מתעשרים חדשים מתורגמת ע"י הציבור כתוצר של שחיתות בצמרת.

ב. הממשלה מקרינה "עייפות חומר", שריה לא התחלפו מזה זמן רב ואין הם מביאים בשורה חדשה לציבור.

עד לאחרונה, וכל עוד נפגעו מהטרור האיסלמי אנשי מערכת הסדר הציבורי ותיירים, היה הציבור אדיש למאבק בין המשטר לקיצוניים האיסלאמיים, דבר שפעל, כמו במקומות אחרים, לטובת הקיצוניים (לדוגמא באלג'יריה), המפנה נגרם משהחלו גם אזרחים מצרים להיפגע מפעולות הקיצוניים וכעת להערכתו, הכף נוטה לטובת המשטר. (ככלל המעיט קוונדט בסיכון שמציבים הקיצוניים האיסלמיים למשטר במצרים).

גרס שמובראכ מאבד האשראי הציבורי אותו צבר במהלך שנות ה-80. כדי "לנער" המשטר, יכול מובראכ להחליף ראש ממשלה, למנות סגן נשיא או אפילו להצהיר שתקופת כהונתו לאחר הבחירות הקרובות תהיה האחרונה, ולאחריה יביא לניהול מערכת בחירות אמיתית לנשיאות. קוונדט הוסיף מייד שמובראכ אינו האיש למהלכים מסוג זה. בביקורו האחרון בקהיר, בפברואר השנה, נפגש קוונדט עם מובראכ והתרשם מהבטחון העצמי שהנשיא הקרין ומכך שלא ניסה להתכחש לקשיים בפניהם ניצבת הכלכלה המצרית. מובראכ הסביר לו שהמדינה עוברת תקופת רפורמות שאחריה תבוא רווחה גדולה יותר לאזרחי המדינה, אולם תקופת

הביניים בה מצויה מצרים כעת, מחמירה מצוקת חלק מהאוכלוסיה.

2. סוריה - העריך כי אף אם אסד ירצה להתקדם במו"מ הביילטרלי - יעשה זאת רק עד נקודה מסויימת, בה יעצר וימתין להתקדמות באפיק הפלסטיני. לדעתו לא תוכל להיות במסלול הסורי חזרה על מתכונת ההסכם הישראלי - מצרי.

3. הפלסטינים -

א. סיפר שערכ הסבב ה - 9 זומן, יחד עם קבוצת "ותיקי מז"ת" ובהם אתרטון, סיסקו, וצ'רלי היל, לדיון במחמ"ד במטרה לבחון רעיונות שיוציאו המו"מ מהמבוי הסתום. (ציין שמפגשים מסוג זה אינם מתקיימים לעיתים קרובות). התרשם מהלך הרוח הפסימי בקרב אנשי מחמ"ד לגבי אפשרות התקדמות במתווה המו"מ הקיים. בדיון התגבשה הצעה שעל המזכיר יהיה להקדיש, בחדשים הקרובים, נתח גדול יותר מזמנו לעיסוק בקידום המו"מ. ממהלכיו האחרונים של כריסטופר הוא למד שאכן נפלה החלטה בכוון זה.

ב. כהרגלו העיר שאין תוחלת בהמשך המו"מ בין מול בני שיח מהשטחים - עבד אל- שאפי מהווה גורם שלילי במו"מ, חוסייני אינו יכול TO DELIVER ועשאווי מועילה רק בקשר שיש לה עם ערפאת. עם זאת, אמר שהוא מבין הקושי של ישראל וארה"ב בקיום דו-שיח ישיר עם אש"פ.

ג. גם הוא מאתר הקושי האמיתי בצד הפלסטיני, במרכיב השליטה של אש"פ על הפלסטינים ולא בצד העקרוני / אידיאולוגי של הסוגיות הנתונות במו"מ. כהמחשה סיפר, שבכיר בצוות הפלסטיני המשתתף בשיחות בווינגטון אמר לו, שאחת משלוש התפתחויות ימריצו את ערפאת לאפשר התקדמות בשיחות, סיוע סעודי משמעותי וישירות לערפאת פתיחה של דו-שיח ישיר בין אש"פ לישראל וחיידוש הדיאלוג ארה"ב אש"פ. קוונדט העיר, שכל אחת מהתפתחויות אלה תגביר אחיזת או מרות ערפאת בעניין הפלסטיני.

ד. ציין כבעיה עיקרית אמיתית במו"מ, את ההתנחלויות והקושי במציאת הסדר בסוגיה זו שתניח דעת שני הצדדים. מנה שלוש אפשרויות לטיפול בבעיה - סיפוח של שטחי ההתנחלויות לישראל, שליטה פונקציונלית של ישראל בשטחי ההתנחלויות והחזרת המתנחלים לישראל. הוסיף שכל אחת מהאפשרויות הנ"ל בעייתית ביותר לאחד משני הצדדים. תאר, בהקשר זה, התלבטויות שהיו לצוות האמריקני שפיתח רעיון האוטונומיה במהלך המו"מ הישראלי מצרי בתחילת שנות ה - 80 והספקות שהיו לו כבר אז לגבי כשר החיות של הסדר האוטונומיה בשטחים.

ה. כאמצעי לחילוף המו"מ מהקשיים בהם הוא נתון היום הצביע גם הוא על שתי אפשרויות, תוך שהוא מביע הבנה לקושי שיש בישראל להתייחס אליהן - נהול דו-שיח ישיר בין ישראל למקבלי ההחלטות באש"פ וכניסה בהווה לדיון במרכיבי הסדר הקבע, תוך מילוי חלקי של מאוויי הפלסטינים (ישות שהיא STATE LIKE).

ו. בין השאר התעניין במעורבות בהווה של גורמי פת"ח בטרור ובהערכתנו למידת התמיכה שיש לערפאת ברבדים הפלסטינים השונים.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמך), ממד,  
מצפא, רחטמזת, מזתיים, מצריים, @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 8355  
אל: רהמש/247  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 189, תא: 050893, זח: 1900, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
בבבב  
שמור/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: קישור לקונגרס - כאן  
נספח הגנה - כאן  
רמש"ן - ניו יורק - בט העבירונא  
משהב"ט מקש"ח - בט העבירונא  
יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט - בט העבירונא

מאת: יועצת תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: "חץ"

בהמשך למברק בינה מלפני כשבוע - נודע לנו כי בשבוע הבא ייערוך סנטור בירד מסע"ת לרגל פרסום הגירסה הבלמסי"ת של דוח GAO לגבי ה"חץ".

לאור זאת, מציעים כי תציידו אותנו מבעוד מועד בהצעה לתגובה ונקודות לרקע שיהיו נצורים עמנו עד למועד פרסום הדו"ח ולשימוש רק במידה שתהיינה אלינו פניות (ולא באופן יזום).

ידוע לנו כי ה-BMDO נערך לתגובה על הביקורת הקיימת בדו"ח כלפי הפנטגון ופיקוחו / ניהולו את הפרוייקט.

אודה להתייחסותכם.

רות ירון

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 8345  
אל: רהמש/246  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 183, תא: 050893, זח: 1806, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
כבכב  
שמור/מידי



אל: מנהלי כלכלית ב'-ג'  
דע: ג'נבה  
מאת עודד ערן

הנדון: גאט"ט - ערב הסעודית

להלן משיחה של הח"מ והציר הכלכלי עם תום מילר וג'ק וולס במחמ"ד (5/8/93):

חזרו על ההסבר שמבחינה משפטית הטעון שלהם מול ערב הסעודית חלש לאור החרם שלהם על קובה וויטנאם. חרם זה הוא יותר מחרם ראשוני ויש לו גם אספקטים של חרם שני ושלישוני. לדעתם, כל עו"ד טוב שיעבוד עם הסעודים בנושא זה יעלה מיד על חולשת הטעון המשפטי.

מאידך, הם יעלו את הטעון הכלכלי-מדיני ואת הסתירה לרוח גאט"ט והסחר החופשי. לשאלתי איך נראה להם סיומו של המהלך אמרו שקבעו לעצמם 2 מטרות: האחת, שערב הסעודית תהיה חברה בגאט"ט והשניה, שערב הסעודית תתיחס לנושא כך שאפשר יהיה לעשות בזאת שמוש.

כאשר הרהרתי בקול אם מתכוונים למעין מכתב של הסעודים למזכירות גאט"ט שאח"כ ינתן לו פרסום ענו אנשי שיחנו בחיוב. הם הבטיחונו שנציג הסחר קנטר ער לנושא ויעמוד על המשמר.

ערן

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, כלכליתב',  
כלכליתג', אכב, סייבל, משפט, רחטמזת, מזת1,  
ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 8335  
אל: רהמש/245  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 173, תא: 050893, זח: 1806, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
כבכב  
שמור/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א  
השגריר רבינוביץ-באמצעות מצפ"א



דע: ציר כלכלי- כאן,  
קשור לקונגרס- כאן

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ערביות- תדרוך כתבים

להלן משני כתבים שהשתתפו בתדרוך:

1. אתמול תדרך הסנטור ליהי קבוצה של כתבים בנושא הסיוע לרוסיה והקשיים שבמציאת מקורות המימון הדרושים למימוש הבטחה זו של הנשיא.
2. בשולי הדברים, ובעקבות שאלות כתב, עלה נושא הערביות לישראל. בתשובה אמר ליהי כי בכוונתו, עוד לפני סוף השנה, לקיים שימועים בנושא הערביות לצורך "בדיקת והערכת תוכנית הערביות" במלאת שנה ליישומה. זאת, לדבריו כדי לבדוק השימושים בערביות והצורך בהן בעקבות דברים שנשמעו לאחרונה מפי גורמים ישראליים כאילו אין עוד צורך בערביות.

לידיעתכם.

רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, כלכליתב',  
סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, ר/מרכז, ממד,  
@ (רם), @ (אמן), אוצר

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 8334

אל: רהמש/244

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 171, תא: 050893, זח: 1806, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: א. פוגל - מנכ"ל משרד האוצר

ד. ברודט - ממונה על התקציבים

ר. קוקלביץ - חשכ"ל

לשכת שר האוצר

יועץ כלכלי לרוה"מ

מצפ"א

מאת: אמנון נויבך - וושינגטון

הנדון: שימועים על הערבויות

בתדריך לעיתונאים אמריקאים שנערך אתמול על ידי הסנטור פ. ליהי התיחס הסנטור בעיקר לסיוע לרוסיה ומדינות חב"מ.

במהלך התדרוך ובעקבות שאלות ותשובות היו לו שתי התייחסויות באשר לישראל.

1. הוא מתכנן שימועים על הערבויות לקראת סוף השנה הנוכחית.

2. בשנת התקציב 1995 לא יהיה מנוס מקיצוץ בסיוע החוץ לישראל ומצרים.

לידיעתכם.

אמנון נויבך

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, כלכליתב',

סמנכלתקשורת, הסברה, מעת, ר/מרכז, ממד,

@ (רם), @ (אמן), אוצר

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 8162  
אל: רהמש/241  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 149, תא: 050893, זח: 1459, דח: מ, סג: שמ,  
בכב  
שמור/מידי

אל: מחלקת פר"נ

דע: מצפ"א; וא"א קש"ח

מאת: היועץ המדיני, וושינגטון

הנדון: יוזמת ארה"ב בנושא פרוליפרציה

בשיחה קצרה בתום פגישת מנכ"ל וא"א ובוב גאלוצ'י, סיפר בוב איינהורן כי  
מחמ"ד איננה מזמנת בינתיים מדינות ידידותיות כדי לתדרכן על היוזמה הואיל  
וביקשו רשות מהבית הלבן.

האחרון בודק זאת וטרם נתן אישורו לכך.

ג'רמי יששכרוף

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, פרנ, מצפא, @ (ואא/קשח)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 8161

אל: רהמש/240

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 147, תא: 050893, זח: 1459, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מחלקת פר"נ

דע: ממנכ"ל; מנהל קש"ח וא"א

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: פגישת מנכ"ל וא"א עם בוב גאלוצ'י 3/5

1. הפגישה הנ"ל התקיימה בהשתתפות מצידם: איינהורן, גרי סיימור (PM) ולדרברג (הדסק הישראלי) ומצידנו: הח"מ.

2. המנכ"ל הציג את עיקרי עמדתנו בהקשר לסבא"א לקראת כינוס הועידה בספטמבר. גאלוצ'י השיב, כי "ישראל תוכל לסמוך על תמיכתה של ארה"ב בנושאים שהוצגו". סוכם שנחאם הפניות לבירות לקראת המחצית השנייה של אוגוסט. כרקע כללי, הסביר המנכ"ל החשיבות במתן דגש לתהליך השלום כולל הבק"ן ומניעת התערבותה של סבא"א בתהליך זה.

3. אשר לסיוע טכני, חזר סיימור על הערכתו, כי החלטה בוועידה להשיג את הסיוע לא תצליח בשלב זה. עם זאת, לא פסל הצעתו של המנכ"ל כי סבא"א תביע נכונות להושיט סיוע אזורי ובמסגרת זו תוכל המזכירות לחדש הסיוע. המנכ"ל הרחיב על התחומים האפשריים לשת"פ כגון, רפואה גרעינית.

4. באשר לתהליך הבק"ן, העיר גאלוצ'י כי זה פורום חשוב אך לא בלעדי "EXCLUSIVE" לנושאים אלה. הביע דאגה, כי הבק"ן הפך להיות מעין "INTERSESSIONAL EVENT FACTORY" והוא מאד מעוניין ("ANXIOUS") לעשות יותר, למרות שלא בטוח שכולם יסכימו לכך.

5. באשר לנציג ישראלי במועצת המנהלים, גאלוצ'י הזכיר את הבעיות הקשורות להשתתפות ישראלית בקבוצות האזוריות (CWC וכו') והזכיר את העמדה הנוקשה של בריטניה בהקשר זה. ציין, כי הוא לחץ כמה שניתן לחוץ אך הדבר לא הועיל וימשיכו לתמוך בעמדתנו בנידון. סיכם, כי התקדמות בתהליך וודאי תשפיע על הסוגייה וחזר על רצונו להשיג התקדמות מהותית ונראית לעין בבק"ן, שגם הוא יושפע על ידי השיחות הביילטרליות.

6. בתום השיחה הוזכר שוב הנציג הסעודי במועצה והצורך לשכנע את ריעד' לרסנו.

ג'רמי יששכרוף

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @רהמ), @שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ר'אגת), @רם), @אמן), ממד,  
מצפא, פרנ, סייבל, @ווא/קשח)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 8120  
אל: רהמש/239  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 143, תא: 050893, זח: 1352, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בכבב  
בלמס/מידי

אל: הסברה, מצפ"א, תפוצות  
השגריר באמצעות מצפ"א  
המנכ"ל

לש. רוה"מ, לש. השר, לש. ס/שה"ח

דע: קונכל ניו-יורק  
תאריך: 5 אוגוסט 1993  
סימוכין: 111



הנדון: "פטיציה" אפשרית נגד החזרת שטחים  
למברק ירון מ 4.8

1. הנ"ל הגיע לידיעת קונכל ניו - יורק הח"מ לפני שלושה ימים.
2. מדובר בקבוצה שולית לחלוטין בקווינס המנסה למשוך תשומת לב במגמה ליצור רושם של ויכוח בין הקהילה היהודית לישראל. מאחריה יודגש לא עומד כל גורם רציני ובעל משקל ועד עתה לא זכתה פניתם לשום תהודה.
3. קונכל ניו - יורק והח"מ ממליצים לפיכך שלא להירשם מהעניין יתר על המידה. סוכם בינינו כי נעקוב בזהירות אחר האירוע ב NPC ונראה האם יעלה בידם של מארגניו למשוך תשומת לב. חשוב מאד כמובן שלא חוזר לא לשחק לידי היוזמים ע"י מתן תהודה לעניין.

בברכה,

נמרוד ברקן

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

סססס

1/4

1039 - נ'  
21 - 65  
R.S.

בלמס/מייד

תאריך: 4 אוגוסט 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ביקור המזכיר

מצ"ב קובץ כתבות (WP ג'ון גושקו, USAT לי מייקל כץ וה-WT וורן סטרובל - 4/8) בנושא ביקור מזכיר המדינה כריסטופר בישראל. מסקור פגישותיו של המזכיר עד כה נראה כי הדגש במסעו של המזכיר הפעם הוא על הדיאלוג הסורי - ישראלי והסיכויים להתקדמות בו, גם בעקבות ההבנה המשולשת שהושגה בשבוע שעבר לגבי המשבר בלבנון. המזכיר אשר נפגש בארץ עם רוח"מ ושה"ח ועם המשלחת הפלסטינית, אמר כי השיחות חזרו להתמקד בשולחן הדיונים ולא בפעולה בלבנון. הפלסטינים, בשיחתם עם המזכיר, הביעו כעס על הפעולה הישראלית בלבנון והעלו את חששותיהם כי ישראל וסוריה תגענה להסכם נפרד. המזכיר ומשלחתו ניסו לקדם את נושא ה"הסמכה המוקדמת" אך הפלסטינים מתנגדים לכך ודורשים דיון מייד במעמד הסופי של השטחים וירושלים. לאחר הדיון אמרה דוברת המשלחת הפלסטינית, חנאן עשראזוי, כי ההצעה לקונפדרציה ירדנית - פלסטינית עדיפה על פני ה"הסמכה המוקדמת". מזכיר המדינה אמר כי הפסקת האש שהושגה בלבנון מעידה כי ישראל, לבנון וסוריה מסוגלות לעבוד יחד. עוד בכתבות ציטוט דברי שה"ח פרס כי ישראל תומכה במאמצי לבנון לשקם את כלכלתה וכי הוא מאמין כי סוריה קיבלה החלטה לפעול לקראת שלום. שה"ח פנה לפלסטינים שלא להחמיץ את ההזדמנות לשלום. בכתבת NYT ציטוט דברי מקור ישראלי צבאי בכיר בנושא השלום עם סוריה. הערה: בכתבות מוזכרת גם העובדה שתשומת ליבו של המזכיר מופנית גם, ובצורה משמעותית, לארועים בבוסניה.

תקשורת

(27) שהח(2) טשח"ח(1) רהמ(2) מנכל(2) ממנכל(1) מצפא(2) טמנכלתקשורת(1)  
 הסברה(2) ר/מרכז(1) נמד(4) רס(1) אמו(4) אומו(1) סייבל(1) מטפט(1)  
 צנזורצבאי(1) דוצ-ים(1)

1039

21

USAT

2/4

418

## 2 fronts for Christopher: Middle East and Bosnia

By Lee Michael Katz  
USA TODAY

JERUSALEM — Secretary of State Warren Christopher invented a new conflict when he spoke of peace talks on the "Israeli-Serbian" track.

He meant Israeli-Syrian.

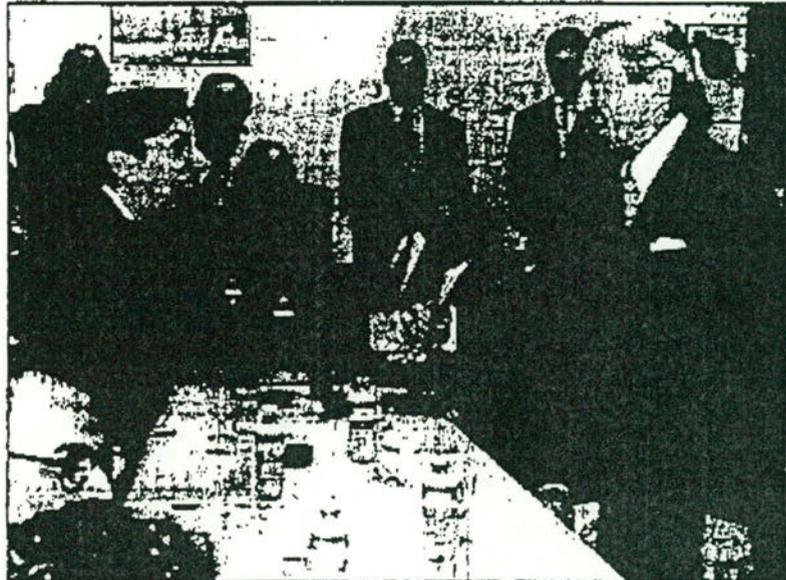
The slip was indicative of the two missions Christopher is on: crossing the Mideast to revive peace talks, and watching the escalating U.S. involvement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Christopher has received plaudits here for brokering a cease-fire between Israel and Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon. "Your credit has been greatly enhanced," Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told Christopher on Tuesday.

But while here to push for Arab-Israeli peace, Christopher also has been very deliberately threatening military action in Europe.

Arriving in Israel Tuesday from Egypt, he spoke of his efforts "to restore the momentum for the search for peace." Seconds later, he saluted NATO's decision to "prepare for air strikes" against Bosnian Serbs if they resume their offensive against Sarajevo, the Muslim capital.

"We cannot permit the Serbs to commit such humanitarian gross conduct that we have all witnessed,"



By Evan Mackstrand, AP

IN JERUSALEM: Secretary of State Warren Christopher meets with Palestinian Hanan Ashrawi, who said there was a 'head-on collision' on major issues.

Christopher said.

Arab diplomats have recently pressed Washington to do more to end the attacks on Bosnian Muslims.

Later Tuesday, he talked by phone with NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner for an update on the movement to provide air cover.

But, as in Bosnia, the Mideast effort isn't bringing fast results.

Christopher came away from a meeting with Palestinians without a pledge to continue in the talks. Instead, he heard their anger about Israeli attacks on Arab guerrilla positions in southern Lebanon last week.

After meeting Israeli and Palestinian leaders in Jerusalem on Tuesday, there was no indication Christopher had broken the impasse in talks

on Palestinian self-rule in the occupied territories.

"We have had a head-on collision on the major issues," said Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi after meeting with Christopher.

He will go to Syria today to meet with President Hafez Assad.

Later, Christopher goes to Jordan, where he's likely to hear an unhappy reaction to a Senate subcommittee's approval Tuesday of tying aid to Jordan to its participation in the boycott of Iraq.

The amendment to the foreign aid bill said aid to Jordan, as much as \$10 million next year, would be halted unless the State Department certified every six months that Jordan was complying with the embargo.

# Palestinians challenged to resume talks

By Warren Strobel  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

JERUSALEM — Secretary of State Warren Christopher prodded Palestinians yesterday to revive Middle East peace talks despite their anger over fighting in southern Lebanon and fears that Syria will cut its own deal with Israel.

In talks that both sides described as difficult because of last week's Israeli bombing raids in Lebanon, Mr. Christopher won a commitment from the Palestinians to consider U.S. proposals and meet again tomorrow.

But U.S. officials, who have been predicting all week that the secretary of state's Middle East mission would produce no breakthroughs, did not claim much movement.

The talks switched attention from Lebanon back to the negotiating table, but "we are certainly a long ways away from making substantive, real progress," a senior U.S. official said afterward.

The official said the Palestinians expressed anger over Israel's shelling of southern Lebanon, which killed 114 persons, and voiced concern over U.S.-brokered talks involving Israel, Syria and Lebanon that halted the fighting.

Israeli and U.S. statements since the Lebanon cease-fire took hold seem designed to put subtle pressure on the Palestinians, by playing on their fear that Syria will negotiate its own accord with Israel and leave them isolated.

"It helped, I would say, vent a little steam," the U.S. official said of yesterday's talks with a Palestinian delegation led by Faisal Husseini. The nominal head of the Palestinian negotiating team, Haidar Abdel-Shafi, boycotted the session.

Mr. Christopher met first with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. Later, he called on President Ezer Weizman.

Mr. Christopher and his Middle

East advisers have been pushing the notion of "early empowerment," or giving Palestinians in the Israeli-controlled territories some powers of self-government even before a deal is reached at the peace talks.

But Palestinians have thus far rejected the idea, fearing that such limited powers will be all they will ever get.

"If we talk about early empowerment, it means you are already fragmenting the peace process, you are fragmenting the territorial aspects of the peace process, the time frame as well as the authority," spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi said after yesterday's session.

The Palestinians insist that the issue of who ultimately controls the territories and East Jerusalem, which is predominantly Arab, must be discussed now. Israel, with U.S. backing, insists those issues must be put off until a second phase of talks.

Syria's role in pressuring the radical Hezbollah to stop firing rockets into northern Israel and the deployment of Lebanon's army in southern Lebanon for the first time in years have raised hopes for an improved atmosphere between those two Arab states and Israel.

Appearing with Mr. Rabin before reporters, Mr. Christopher called the week's events "an indication of the fact that Israel, Lebanon and Syria are able to work together on a problem."

Mr. Peres, the foreign minister, said Israel supports Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri's efforts to reconstruct the country's economy. He also said, "We believe that Syria and its president made a strategic decision to move toward peace."

"I would like to call upon the Palestinians not to lose time, not to ignore the opportunities, and come into the picture," Mr. Peres said.

The secretary of state is to meet with Syrian President Hafez Assad today in Damascus.

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WT

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4/4

# Christopher Sees Israelis, Palestinians

## Feelings Still High Over Lebanon Shelling

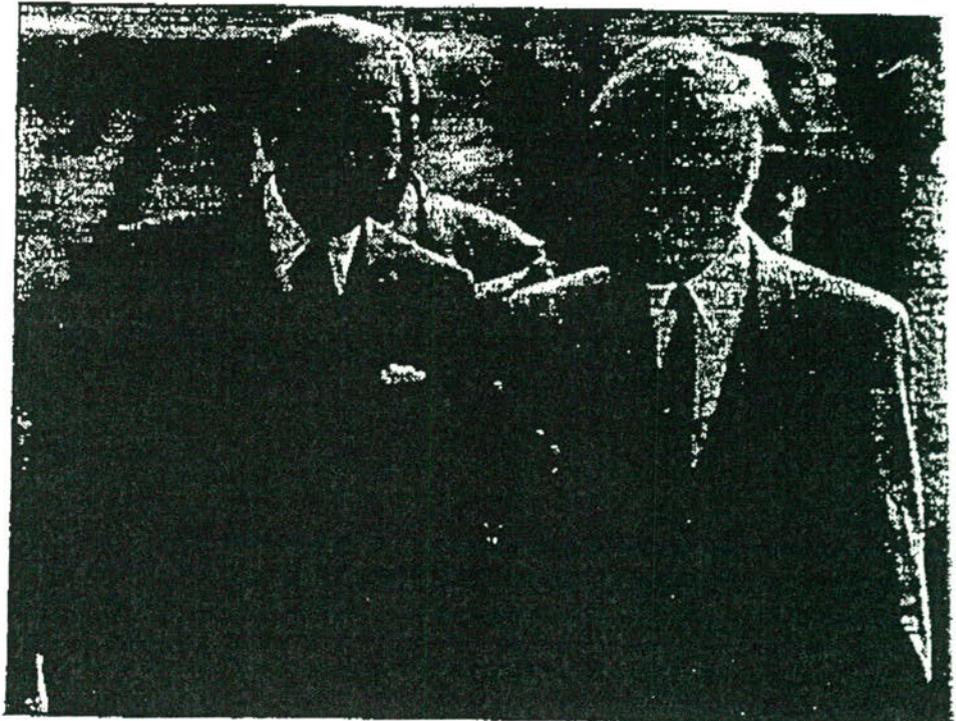
By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

JERUSALEM, Aug. 3—Secretary of State Warren Christopher today began intensive discussions with Israelis and Palestinians in a search for areas of agreement that might break the deadlock in the Middle East peace talks. But U.S. officials cautioned that they do not expect quick results.

On his first day of talks with parties who are negotiating partners in the peace process, Christopher concentrated on what he called "refocusing the discussions" in the aftermath of last week's massive Israeli bombardment of southern Lebanon.

U.S. officials said that his specific concerns were to ease any lingering anger on both sides over the border violence and to press for agreement on an Israeli-Palestinian declaration of principles to govern their negotiations. The officials said he brought some suggestions for overcoming objections to U.S. draft language for a declaration and hopes to get the views of both Palestinians and Israelis by Thursday when he reaches the end of his trip.

The Israeli-Palestinian negotiating track has been hamstrung over Palestinian insistence that talks about limited self-government for the West Bank and Gaza Strip be broadened to include East Jerusalem, which Israel captured from the Arabs in the 1967 war. There also is a major disagreement about the nature of an autonomy system. The Palestinians seek to define a specific geographic area that would be covered and



Israeli Foreign Minister Peres, right, chats with Christopher, who began discussions toward finding areas of agreement between Israel and Palestinians. Today he meets with Syrian President Assad and he is to wind up his trip Thursday after more talks in Israel.

Israel advocates limited administrative powers for the Palestinians without specifying what territorial areas would be covered.

One proposal for breaking the impasse—called "early empowerment"—envisions an initial autonomy system that would give the Palestinians some control over Gaza and a West Bank city such as Jericho. The idea has support among some Israeli officials, notably Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, and reportedly is of interest to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

However, following a two-hour meeting with Christopher, Hanan Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation, said future talks should focus on negotiating a Palestinian confederation with Jordan rather than such piecemeal approaches to autonomy as "early empowerment."

"I think confederation is a much better approach because then you can talk about

an objective or goal and you can construct a road map toward that goal," Ashrawi said.

A senior U.S. official, speaking anonymously, said today's discussions with the Palestinians centered largely on allowing them "to vent steam" about their concerns over the shelling in Lebanon. In particular, the official said, the Palestinians wanted to know more about Christopher's dealings last week with the governments of Israel, Lebanon and Syria to broker the cease-fire that went into effect over the weekend.

"They were concerned about whether there were any special arrangements with Syria," he said, referring to Palestinian fears that Israel and Syrian President Hafez Assad might not wait for the Palestinians and instead make a separate deal to return the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights to Syria.

Christopher goes to Damascus Wednesday for talks with Assad.

1/2

1040 - N

בלחס/מידי  
4 אוג '93

(החש) 2 - 4

אל: מנהל מצפ"א  
השגריר רבינוביץ - באמצעות מצפ"א  
דע: סגן שה"ח, לש-שה"ח, לש-רוה"מ  
ניו-יורק - מרק סוטר  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

Handwritten initials/signature

הנדון: מסע"ת - הודעה

ראו-נא ההודעה המצורפת (הועבר אלינו ע"י עתונאית) בדבר מסע"ת המתוכננת  
כאן בווישינגטון, בה יוכרז על התחלת החתמת פטיציה בינ"ל לאיסוף 100,000  
חתימות מיהודי העולם נגד ההזרת שטחים.  
לתשומת לבכם.

רות ירון

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including a circled word and various numbers and symbols.

# COALITION FOR ISRAEL

Rabbi David Algaze  
Chairman

Howard B. Weber Esq.  
President

Elliot Jager  
Secretary

Board of Directors

Rabbi David Algaze  
Elliot Jager  
Howard B. Weber, Esq.  
Haim Weinstein  
Peggy Weinstein  
Jonathan S. Tobin  
Richard A. Label

National Council

Joseph Bazer  
Douglas Benjamin  
Howard Bloom  
Olga Barrekette  
Marria Berkower  
Emanuel Epstein  
M. A. Greenfield  
Jacob Heilweil  
Morris Heilweil  
Iring Katz  
Barbara Roth  
Elsine Lubatsky  
Jed Malatan  
Michael Kirmayer  
Eural Barrekette  
Mord Label  
Joan Rubin  
Walter Lieblich

Post Office Box  
107  
Knickerbocker  
Station  
New York, New  
York 10002  
Phone/Fax  
(212)475-7128

\* of blessed memory

## "AMERICAN JEWISH GROUPS BREAK WITH RABIN OVER ABANDONMENT OF JEWISH LANDS"

Dear Jewish Leader: 1040 2

July 19, 1993

Make that headline a reality. 2/2

We write to invite you to join us for a NEWS CONFERENCE at the NATIONAL PRESS CLUB in Washington, D.C. on MONDAY, AUGUST 9, 1993 at NOON.

At the PRESS CONFERENCE, which is being heavily publicized in both the secular and Jewish media, we will:

- Announce the start of an INTERNATIONAL PETITION DRIVE ...

**"WORLD JEWRY TO GATHER 100,000 PETITIONS DEMANDING NO PART OF THE JEWISH HOMELAND BE ABANDONED WITHOUT A REFERENDUM OF THE ISRAELI ELECTORATE"**

- Express astonishment at the direction of the "peace process"
- Declare that Jews are not "settlers" in their own homeland and do not "occupy" any part of Israel
- Support an exchange of PEACE FOR PEACE

You and/or your group are invited to join with us. Participating groups and individuals will be listed in alphabetical order and will have an equal opportunity to participate fully in the PRESS CONFERENCE.

All 300 journalists based at the National Press Club will be invited to cover this historic event: The first organized and public criticism of the Rabin government by mainstream Jewish organizations.

The National Press Club Building is located at 529 14 Street, N.W. in Washington, D.C. There are several AMTRAK trains which will get you to the Press Club Building by noon. Shuttle flights from LaGuardia leave every half hour.

**NOT PIECE BY PIECE. PEACE FOR PEACE**

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אאאא, חוזם: 6577

אל: רהמש/207

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 131, תא: 040893, זח: 1830, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

כבכב

שמור / מידי

4.8.93

א ל: ממ"ד/ערב 1 - איסוף, מח' מצרים, מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: מצרים / פנים

=====

לשלכם: חוזם 1617

משיחה עם סינדלר, בהשתתפות לשנו-יער (ב- 4.8).

1. הערכת המצב השוטפת של קהילת המודיעין האמריקאית גרסה, בינו' 93, כי בטווח של שנה עד שנתיים (טווח ההערכה) אין צפויה סכנה ליציבות המשטר במצרים ולמעמדו של מבארכ כנשיא. לאור ארועי החדשים האחרונים נערך ב-I.N.R. עדכון במסגרתו נותרה ההערכה הנ"ל בעינה.

2. ב-I.N.R. מעריכים כי גורמי האופוזיציה האסלאמית הרדיקאלית החותרת להפלת המשטר, מונים כעשרת אלפים איש. השאר, קרי - האחים המוסלמים, המרכיבים את רובה המכריע של האופוזיציה האסלאמית, מוסיפים לפעול למען שינוי חברתי ופוליטי בטווח הארוך, ואינם פועלים להפלת המשטר הנוכחי.

3. בקרב אנשי אינטליגנציה במצרים יש המתבטאים בביקורתיות על תפקודו של הנשיא. אין כל מידע המצביע על התערעות תמיכת צמרת הצבא במבארכ. בקרב הקצונה הזוטרה, שאיננה נהנית מטובות הנאה כלכליות דוגמת הצמרת, והחשופה יותר להשפעות האסלאם הקיצוני, נשמעות נימות ביקורת כלפי הנשיא. בהערכות I.N.R. נזכר עמר סלימאן, ראש המודיעין הכללי, בין האישים העשויים להחליף את מבארכ (זאת למרות תפקידו הנמוך, יחסית, בצמרת), אך זאת במסגרת העברה מסודרת של השלטון.

4. ב-I.N.R. מעריכים שהפיגועים שהתחוללו לאחרונה במצרים התבצעו ע"י החוגים האסלאמים הקיצוניים. הערכה זו, וההערכות המצביעות לכיוונם של גורמים אחרים דוגמת עיראק, הינן בעיקרו של דבר ספקולציות, בהעדר מידע קשה. עד כאן מסינדלר.

5. עלא אלחדידי, יועץ בשגרירות מצרים בשיחה נפרדת עם הח"מ (ב- 3.8) אמר כי הבלטת השיח' עמר עבר אלרחמן בתקשורת האמריקאית נתפסת בשלילה לא רק בקרב חוגי השלטון במצרים, אלא גם בין חוגי אינטליגנציה א-פוליטיים.

הדגים תוך ציטוט דברי רופא מצרי שתהה באזניו: האם הבלטת עמר עבד אלרחמן בארה"ב משקפת הערכה של הממשל לפיה הגורמים האסלאמיים הינם הגל העולה שישלוט בקרוב במצרים, כדרך שהצרפתים הבליתו, בשעתו, את חומייני ערב נפילת השאה ?

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), רחטמזת,  
מצרים, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם),  
@ (אמן), @ (עמית473)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 5894  
אל: רהמש/183  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 040893, זח: 1652, דח: ב, סג: שמ,  
בכב  
683348  
שמור/בהול לבוקר

106.02

אל: וושינגטון - ק. לקונגרס

מאת: מצפ"א

הנדון: ביקור הסנטור דניאל אינוייה

1. להלן התוכנית הטנטטיבית שנקבעה עבורו:

יום ב' - 9.8.93

הגעה.

19:30 - 18:30 - פגישה עם שה"ח בלשכתו.

20:30 - א'ע עם שר האוצר בהשתתפות אהרון פוגל, דויד ברודט, אהוד קאופמן ואוהד מראני במלון מוריה בי-ס. (נתון לאישורכם).

יום ג' 10.8.93

10:00 - 09:00 - פגישה עם רוה"מ בלשכתו. בהשתתפות מנכ"ל משהב"ט.

11:30 - 10:30 - פגישה עם שר החינוך (שבטי ישראל 34) פרופ' אמנון רובינשטיין.

12:30 - א'צ בתע"א.

13:15 - סקירת מל"ט SHORT RANG UAV.

14:05 - יציאה לסיור במפעל מל"ט, קו שיפוץ מסוקי הצי השישי ומוסך שיפוץ F15 אמריקאי.

14:35 - נסיעה למל"מ.

15:00 - הצגת משהב"ט, הצגת סטטוס פרויקט חץ + מכ"מ (MUSIC), תצוגת - רכיבי חץ.

16:30 - סיור הביקור.

16:30 - נסיעה למלון דן בת'א.

19:30 - א'ע.

עד כאן.

2. אנא בחזר מספרי דרכון של הסנטור, עוזרו ושליך.

יעל רובינשטיין  
4 באוגוסט 1993

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 6577

אל: רהמש/207

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 131, תא: 040893, זח: 1830, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / מידי

4.8.93



א ל: ממ"ד/ערב 1 - איסוף, מח' מצרים, מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: מצרים / פנים

=====

לשלכם: חוזם 1617



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5. עלא אלחדידי, יועץ בשגרירות מצרים בשיחה נפרדת עם הח"מ (ב- 3.8) אמר

כי הבלטת השיח' עמר עבר אלרחמן בתקשורת האמריקאית נתפסת בשליה לא רק בקרב חוגי השלטון במצרים, אלא גם בין חוגי אינטליגנציה א-פוליטיים. הדגים תוך ציטוט דברי רופא מצרי שתהה באזניו: האם הבלטת עמר עבד אלרחמן בארה"ב משקפת הערכה של הממשל לפיה הגורמים האסלאמיים הינם הגל העולה שישלוט בקרוב במצרים, כדרך שהצרפתים הבליתו, בשעתו, את חומייני ערב נפילת השאה ?

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), רחטמזת,  
מצרים, מצפא, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (ר' אגת), @ (רם),  
@ (אמן), @ (עמית473)

סססס



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**The Stickiest Issues**

Israeli and Palestinian negotiators are stalled over the extent of interim self-rule the Palestinians will have in the occupied territories. Israeli and Syrian negotiators have been unable to get beyond what exactly President Hafez al-Assad of Syria means when he offers Israel "full peace" for complete withdrawal from the Golan Heights.

Mr. Christopher arrived in Egypt today on the first stop of a three-day visit to the region. His aides said Mr. Christopher will try to get Israel, Syria, Jordan and the Palestinians to refocus on the peace talks, which were foundering

ing even before the battles broke out on July 25 in southern Lebanon and northern Israel.

Though Mr. Christopher tried to put a positive spin on the effect of the fighting, aides traveling with him said the shelling, which has killed 140 people and wounded more than 500, had been a setback to the peace talks.

An official on Mr. Christopher's airplane told reporters that the parties had reached a point in the 21-month-old talks where they faced their toughest decisions, and that they were being distracted by the battles between Israel and Party of God guerrillas.

"Given the events of the past week," this official said, "the first task and the essential task on this trip is going to be, refocus them, begin to get them again to recognize the options that need to be considered, clarify the alternatives and crystallize the circumstances under which we can go forward."

Egypt traditionally serves as a go-between for the United States and some parties on the Arab side, especially the Palestine Liberation Organization. This role was dramatized today when Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, met with Mr. Mubarak right after the Egyptian's talks with Mr. Christopher. Indeed, as Mr. Christopher's motorcade traveled along a seaside road from the Ras al Tin Palace, where he had conferred with Mr. Mubarak, Mr. Arafat's motorcade passed him in the opposite direction.

1021

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# Gaza Bus Hijacking Kills One

By JOEL GREENBERG

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Aug. 2 — A Palestinian believed to be a Muslim militant hijacked a United Nations bus in the occupied Gaza Strip today and smashed into two Israeli vehicles, killing one person and wounding five, police and United Nations spokesmen said.

In Gaza, the militant group known as Islamic Holy War asserted responsibility for the attack, which came a day before the arrival of Secretary of State Warren Christopher here on an effort to revive the stalled Arab-Israeli peace talks. Palestinian militants have mounted similar attacks before previous rounds of negotiations.

It was the first serious incident of violence in the occupied territories after a period of relative calm there during Israel's seven-day air and artillery attacks on guerrillas in southern Lebanon, which ended on Saturday.

The bearded hijacker boarded a nearly empty bus of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestin-

ian refugees after it had brought students to a vocational training center in Gaza, an agency spokesman said.

Carrying what appeared to be grenades, the hijacker ordered the driver to head for a road near the Gaza coast, where he told the driver and four agency employees on the bus to get off, according to accounts from the scene.

He then drove the bus down the road, deliberately running into an Israeli police cruiser and then into a car carrying civilian employees of the military government in Gaza. The car was crushed, and the driver, Yitzhak Amir, was killed. Five other people in the two cars were injured, two of them seriously.

The army began intensive searches for the hijacker, who escaped.

The spokesman for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, Ron Wilkinson, said the commandeering of the agency's vehicles for violent attacks could jeopardize its activities in the Gaza Strip.

(3)

NYT

שמור/מייד

3 באוגוסט 1993

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: לשכת רוה"מ  
מקש"ח/משהב"ט  
נספת הגנה - כאן  
רמשי"ן - ניו-יורק

מאת: ק. לקונגרס, וושינגטון

הנדון: סנאט - עסקת המטוס העתידי F/A-18

רצ"ב מכתב, ביוזמת הסנטור ג'ון דנפורת' (רפובליקני ממיזורי) המופץ עתה בקרב עמיתיו לצורך איסוף חתימות ושיגורו לרוה"מ רבין.

עיקרו, קריאה לישראל לתמוך ולרכוש את מטוס ה-F-18.

דנפורת' ידוע בידידותו לישראל.

אנא אקראי רבין  
יהודית זרנאי דרנגר

*[Handwritten signature in red ink]*

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אנא אקראי רבין  
יהודית זרנאי דרנגר

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Please contact Marc Solomon (4-6154) of Senator Danforth's office if your boss wishes to cosign.

July XX, 1993

The Honorable Yitzak Rabin  
Prime Minister  
Number 3 Kaplan Street  
Kiryat Ben Gurion  
91919 Jerusalem Israel

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Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

It is our understanding the Israeli Air Force is currently evaluating the McDonnell Douglas F/A-18 Hornet for its next multi-role fighter. As strong supporters of Israel and representatives of thousands of constituents employed by McDonnell Douglas, Northrop Corporation, Hughes Aircraft Company, and General Electric, we urge selection of the F/A-18 as your future multi-role fighter.

We are acutely aware of Israel's legitimate security needs and recognize the Israeli Air force (IAF) as one of the most respected in the world today. We also recognize the IAF is meeting its requirements with combat aircraft, some of which are 20 to 30 years old. In a time of severe budget constraints and reductions in force, we believe the F/A-18 will provide the best value for the state of Israel.

Mr. Prime Minister, the F/A-18 program enjoys longstanding congressional support. Over 1,170 have been built for the U.S. Navy and Marine Corps as well as the armed forces of Canada, Australia, Spain, and Kuwait. Recently Finland, Switzerland, and Malaysia selected the Hornet for their defense requirements. In addition, in FY94 alone, the Clinton Administration has committed \$1.9 billion for continued F/A-18C/D production and \$1.4 billion for the F/A-18 E/F upgrade program. This commitment will ensure the Hornet remains the U.S. Navy's premier strike fighter well into the 21st century.

Finally, the selection of the Hornet by Israel will sustain 24,000 manyears of employment in 43 states, which have seen significant reductions in the size of their aerospace workforce due to cuts in U.S. defense spending. We also understand the Hornet team has committed itself to a very comprehensive cooperative program with the Israeli aerospace industry which will ensure your nation remains a leading industrial partner with some of the premier U.S. aerospace manufacturers.

We greatly appreciate your time and consideration of this matter and we look forward to working with you in keeping Israel safe and secure.

Sincerely,

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בלמס / רגיל  
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אל: מצפ"א  
מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: סיוע תנ"ך - קליטת עלייה

רצ"ב מאמר מערכת שהופיע היום 3.8 ב-W.P המגולל בסדרות את כל מסכת  
ה- 80 מ' \$ המוקצבים ע"י הקונגרס לקליטת עלייה בישראל.  
להזכירכם שבקשת הממשל היא 55 מ' \$ ולאור הפירסומים כתקשורת לא יהיה קל  
למקציבים לאשר את ה- 80 מ' \$.

יהודיה ורנאי דרנגר

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## From the Kitty

A LITTLE emergency kitty sits in the part of the foreign aid bill devoted to refugees and migrants. For the next fiscal year the Clinton administration had asked for \$49 million—a small sum in light of the sudden cruel surges of disaster that are now a familiar part of the international landscape. Unfortunately, the House took \$30 million of it—more than half—to keep the Israeli-migrant account level at \$80 million; the administration had sought only \$55 million. The House acted although emigration from the former Soviet Union to Israel fell from 145,000 in 1991 to 64,000 in 1992, and has stayed there. The House also knew that Israel has available, though it has chosen not to use, \$10 billion in U.S.-guaranteed housing credits for similar resettlement purposes.

The case is not simple. Groups friendly to Israel are on both sides of it: among those which engineered the transfer and also among the refugee advocacy and service groups that are distressed by it. In fact, the transfer is indelensible. The people typically served by emergency

programs are desperate and otherw  
pared for a terrible new adversity. Ne  
arriving in Israel face substantial diffi  
of a very different order. Most emer  
beneficiaries are being ejected into a v  
als in Israel are joining a nation with  
and—with or without the extra \$25  
with considerable resources to take the  
The issue is now in Senate Appro  
where Patrick Leahy's foreign operati  
committee hopes to make the emergen  
whole without reducing the appropria  
resettlement in Israel—although it has y  
explained why resettlement funds go up a  
up while migration goes down and stays  
This is an insiders' issue being worked out  
a curtain of political discretion. It is a w  
vane issue that will tell, in a period o  
budgets and global turbulence, what sort  
there will be in the conduct of foreign  
between constituency politics and an ample  
of the national interest.

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שומר / מידי  
3.8.93

אל: מנהל חטיבת מזה"ת, מנהל מצט"א  
דע: השגריר קהיר (ג' אצרים - הקירוב) (ד"ר ע)  
מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: טנאט - סיוע למצרים

1. היום לפנה"צ (3/8) התקיים MARK-UP בוועדה המשנה למדיניות כלכלית, בראשות הסנטור סרביינס, של חוק סיוע חוץ/הרשאות.
2. עוד לפני תחילת ה- MARK-UP, נודע לי שהסנטור בראון שוקל הגשת תיקון שיקרו דרישה מהממשל להגיש דו"ח מידי 6 חודשים בדבר כדאיות הסיוע למצרים והעברת כספים מהסיוע הצבאי למצרים (עד 10%) לטובת תוכניות לפיתוח במצרים. (ראו דיווחי על שיחת השגריר עם הסנטור הנק בראון נר 980 מ- 30/7).
3. פניתי לעוזרו של הסנטור ולראש משרדו לאחר שה- MARK-UP כבר החל וחזרתי על כל טיעוננו נגד מהלך כג"ל. ציינתי כי המזכיר כריסטופר נמצא עתה במזדה"ת ומהלך כזה יעביר מסר שלילי הן למצרים והן למדינות ערב האחרות. אנשי הסנטור בראון המכירים כבר כל טיעונינו (אמש שוחח עוזרו של בראון עם אנשי אי"פק לרבות הווארד קור והלובי המצרי אשר כנראה לא הצליחו לשכנעו).  
טענו שהתיקון שלהם לא יפגע עתה בסיוע המצרי וכי מבקשים רק להתחיל בתהליך של חשיבה מחדש לגבי הסיוע למצרים. הצלחתי לשכנע אותם לא להגיש את התיקון היום (3/8) ולדחות כל מהלך שלהם עד לשלב ה- MARK-UP במליאת ועדת החוץ. שיתקיים במהלך חודש ספטמבר. כך גם הודיע בראון כאשר הציג התיקון ואמר כי מבקש לדון בו עם חברי הוועדה בשלב הבא.  
תגובת הסנטור סרביינס היתה תומכת מאד בגישת הסנטור בראון. (גם סרביינס מאמין בהעברת מרכז הכובד מסיוע צבאי לסיוע לפיתוח).
4. לאחר ה- MARK-UP הודיתי לסנטור על כי נאות לדחות הגשת התיקון וחזרתי על הסברינו בנושא תהליך השלום ומובדק.  
בראון הגיב באומרו: את תמיד אומרת לי לא להגיש התיקונים, עתה עליך לחשוב כיצד אוכל בכ"ז להגיש סוג כזה של תיקון לקידום הרעיון שלי. הצעתי לו שלפני כל מהלך יתייעץ גם עם השגריר המצרי בושינגטון.
5. שותחתי לאחר ה- MARK-UP עם וונדי שרמן, עוזרת מזכיר המדינה לענייני קונגרס אשר הבהירה התנגדות הממשל לתיקון. אמרה לי כי המזכיר כריסטופר יתקשר עם הסנטור בראון עוד לפני המשך פעולת ועדת החוץ.
6. דציב הצעה התיקון.

מלמה ונא"ק צפרין  
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**PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AUTHORIZATION BILL**

Viz:

1 At the appropriate place in the bill, insert the follow-  
2 ing new section:

3 **SEC. \_\_\_\_ ASSISTANCE FOR EGYPT.**

4 (a) **FINDINGS.**—The Congress finds that—

5 (1) Egypt has been a helpful ally of the United  
6 States and has courageously taken the lead among  
7 Arab nations by being the first to achieve peace in  
8 its relationship with Israel;

9 (2) Egypt led the Arab forces in supporting the  
10 United Nations acting against Saddam Hussein's  
11 aggression in Kuwait;

12 (3) Egypt has continued to take a leading role  
13 by working to achieve a peaceful resolution of the  
14 Arab-Israeli conflict;

15 (4) Egypt's strong ties to the United States  
16 and its leadership role in bringing peace to the re-  
17 gion have made it a target for Islamic extremists  
18 both inside and outside Egypt;

19 (5) Egypt faces both the growing internal  
20 threat of Islamic extremism and slow economic  
21 growth;

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(6) Egypt's pivotal role in the Middle East makes its transformation into a developed democracy one of the principal foreign policy goals of the United States; and

(7) United States assistance currently focuses primarily on developing Egypt's military capability and only secondarily on developing Egypt's economy.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives a report on—

(1) the benefits to ~~Egypt~~ <sup>to be achieved by</sup> of continuing at ~~current~~ <sup>current</sup> levels foreign military ~~assistance to Egypt;~~ <sup>assistance to Egypt;</sup>

(2) the benefits to ~~Egypt~~ <sup>to be achieved by</sup> of increased ~~assist~~ <sup>continue</sup> ~~ance to promote privatization of the economy.~~ <sup>economic assistance to Egypt;</sup>

(3) proposed changes to the current United States economic assistance program for Egypt to better assist privatization and the growth of the free market;

(4) the feasibility of a shift in the mixture of United States assistance for Egypt from military to economic assistance; and

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1 ~~(5) the use of Egyptian military in regional~~  
2 ~~conflicts, including Operation Desert Storm and in~~  
3 ~~Somalia.~~

4 (c) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—(1) Whenever the  
5 President determines it to be ~~necessary~~ <sup>advisable</sup> for the purposes  
6 of ~~ensuring economic~~ <sup>encouraging</sup> economic growth in Egypt, the  
7 funds identified to the Congress under section 653(a) of  
8 the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for foreign military  
9 sales financing for Egypt under the Arms Export Control  
10 Act may be transferred to, consolidated with, and made  
11 available for the same purposes as, economic support fund  
12 assistance for Egypt.

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13 (2) For purposes of this subsection, the term "eco-  
14 nomic support fund assistance" means assistance provided  
15 under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act  
16 of 1961.



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ORGIE ANNE GEYER

# Shifting our Mideast focus?

The Israeli attacks on Lebanon, now called to a halt, appeared to be more of the historical same: The Israelis just don't understand that make more and more radical politicized enemies by "punishing" people in this way.

Below the surface of the last are the beginnings of a loose official Israeli-U.S. "alliance" on the Eastern policy whose primary focus is now to destroy the regime of Iran in the region.

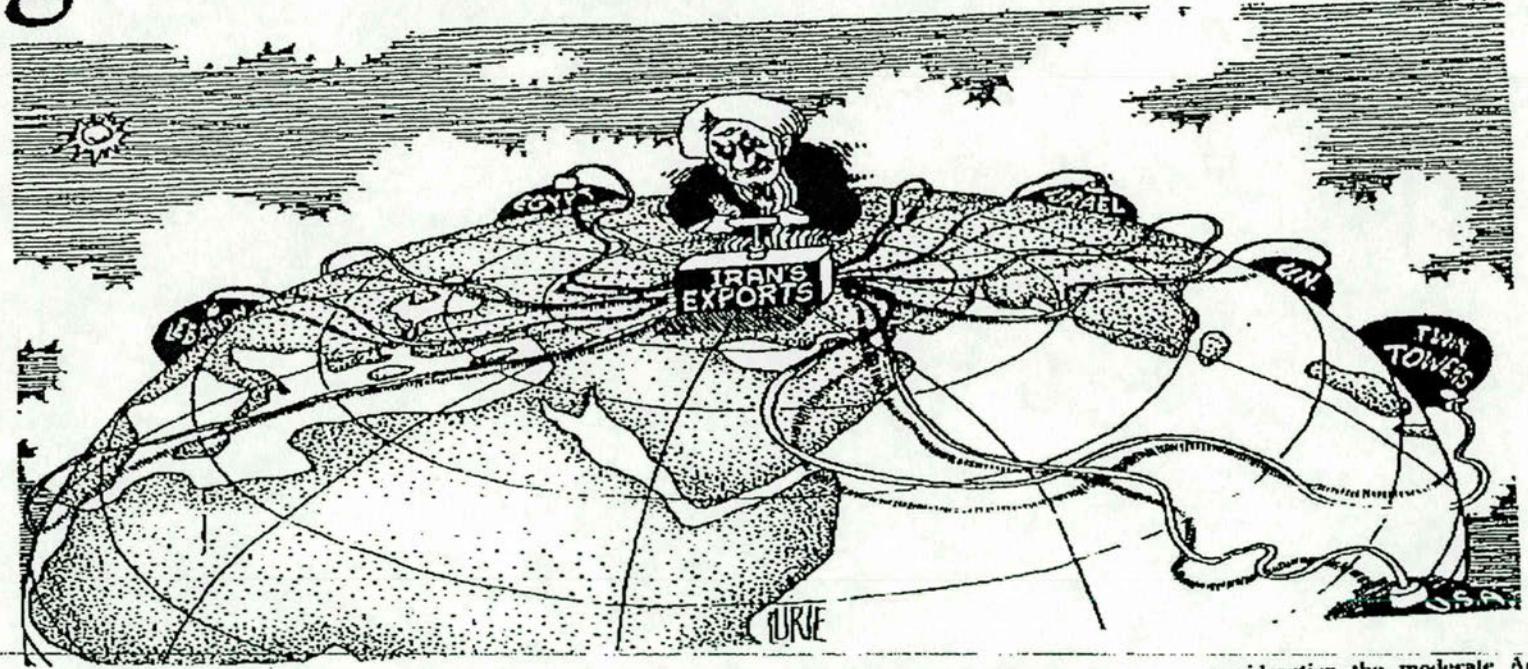
Example: On the Israeli side of the equation, the purpose of the massive air and naval assaults on the Lebanon, which have driven 600,000 refugees to flee desperately to Beirut, was announced as the action of the Hezbollah guerrillas.

They are supported by Iran, Iraq, Syria, and are fanatically opposed to any Arab-Israeli peace in the Middle East. They are also the driving force behind the fundamentalist Hamas movement on the West Bank, which is actively opposed.

Example: On the American side, the policy toward the Middle East was announced, with remarkably little fanfare, on May 18 by Martin Indyk, the president's national security adviser on the Middle East. At the Brookings Institution, a Washington-Israeli think tank, the Washington Institute for Near Eastern Affairs, which he formerly headed, Mr. Indyk said first of Iran:

Iran has demonstrated its real reach by fishing in troubled

Orgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.



waters all the way from the Gulf, through Egypt and Lebanon to Algeria. Its funding, arming and training of Hezbollah and Hamas have gained it an ability to interfere in the Arab-Israeli peace process as well. And its North Korean missiles could provide it with the capability of striking Israel and the Arab states.

"In short, what happens in the east of the region can now have immediate import for events in the west of the region, and vice versa."

Then he notes as a "short-hand way of encapsulating Clinton administration strategy" three new points. First is the "dual containment" of Iraq and Iran in the East. Second is

the "promotion of Arab-Israeli peace in the West." And third is the "stemming of the spread of weapons of mass destruction."

Finally, he says, "We recognize that success will require multilateral efforts since much of what Iran seeks in order to build up its military power is obtainable elsewhere. In this regard, we will seek to impress upon our allies the necessity for responding to the Iranian threat and the opportunity now presented by Iran's current circumstances."

The speech is a carefully crafted, nuanced statement of foreign policy -- and it clearly marks a dramatic

change from American policy in the past, which always put the Arab-Israeli conflict first. Whether there was collaboration with Israel in this policy formation and/or whether Israel consciously or subconsciously used this new policy as support for hitting Hezbollah, I do not know.

Mr. Indyk, an Australian Jew who formerly worked for the big Israeli lobby, the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee, was naturalized as an American only a few days before being sworn in at the White House. He is known as a respected thinker who is unremittingly pro-Israeli but one who also takes into

consideration the moderate Arab countries. His words were well-known to Israel.

My first response to the brutal bombardment of southern Lebanon -- announced by the Israeli government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin as a means of destroying Hezbollah by driving out civilians -- creating a vast no-man's land -- was that this was yet another example of Israel creating more of what it hated.

(In fact, Israel virtually created the Hamas movement on the West Bank.)

see GEYER, page F4

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## GEYER

From page F1

Bank by favoring the Islamicists over the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in earlier years. So now it has fanaticized Islamicists all over the place, while it tries to negotiate with the now "relatively moderate" PLO. Israel also created the soil for Hezbollah to grow with its 1982 invasion of Lebanon.)

This troubling situation is more complicated than it at first seems. The Arab countries, who are trying

to grapple with their own Iran-backed fanatic Islamicist groups, condemned the raids — well, sort of.

Youssef Ibrahim, one of the finest analysts of the Middle East, wrote from Cairo to the New York Times: "Despite widespread condemnation of the raids in Arab capitals today, it was difficult to escape the impression that many decision-makers in this region welcome any blows dealt to the radicals in their midst, most particularly Islamic fundamentalist allies of Iran and the most radical fringes of the Palestinian movement."

The mood in the region was captured, he said, by a front-page editorial in the Asharq al Awsat Saudi newspaper based in London, which read: "Beyond the bases of the Party of God, there is a question over Iran's right to have any presence at all at the point where Arab-Israeli confrontation lines meet and over the future of Israeli-Syrian ties in Lebanon and in the region."

The future of Hezbollah, or the Party of God as it is also known, will mark the contours of the Middle East's future. Hezbollah was formed as part of an agreement between

Iran and Syria the year after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. It allowed Iran to form a Shi'ite armed militia in Lebanon, which was ostensibly under Syrian control.

At this point, after two years of sometimes fruitful negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis, almost everybody is tired of the Iranians' fingers in so many pots. Even Syria, which has the real possibility of getting the Golan Heights back from Israel, may want to see Hezbollah's destruction, as the region's new phase has shaken the deck and shuffled the players once again.

David Killion

## Why Israel Attacked

Israeli forces and Israeli settlers in the northern territories have been subject to attacks from the Iran-backed Shiite Muslim group Hezbollah in southern Lebanon, for a long time. Why, then, did Israel launch a major military operation to destroy Hezbollah and to displace the entire population of southern Lebanon now, when U.S. officials have begun to see hope for real gains in the peace process?

The answer to this question may be that the Israelis are reacting to a U.S. foreign policy initiative in the Middle East described as "dual containment." This policy seeks to reverse a traditional approach of U.S. foreign policy-makers in which they seek to balance traditional enemies Iran and Iraq, one against the other, by supporting whichever power is vulnerable at a given time. The new policy seeks to isolate both powers at the same time, and it seems to be related to a campaign to oppose radical Islamic forces in the Middle East and elsewhere. The Israelis may have calculated that under the dual containment initiative, an attack on Iran-directed Hezbollah would result in U.S. support.

The initial U.S. reaction to the Israeli campaign demonstrated that the Israelis were right to expect U.S. support. The Clinton administration: (1) blamed Iran and Hezbollah, not Israel, for the escalation of tension; (2) commended Syria for not responding to what could easily be seen as an attack on its

interest; and (3) requested that Syria use its influence to contain Hezbollah.

President Clinton, responding to reporters' questions about the Israeli bombardment, said: "I don't think we should allow Hezbollah and all these terrorist groups in the Middle East to derail the peace process by what they do." Clinton also said that the Syrians have shown "commendable restraint" in the region as tensions heightened.

After three days of bombardment, it became clear that Israeli strategy was not only to attack Hezbollah positions but also to forcibly depopulate the entire southern region of Lebanon and to destroy the infrastructure and housing in southern villages so that repopulation would be difficult. The Israelis appear to see the Shiite Muslim population in southern Lebanon as enemies, since Israelis believe these people are "sympathetic" to Hezbollah, providing "cover" to the "terrorist group."

Recognizing that the Israeli action had expanded, the Clinton administration quickly withdrew its strong support for Israel's campaign, calling on Israeli leaders to halt air and artillery bombardment directed against civilians. Such a reactionary and inconsistent approach suggested that the Clinton administration has yet to decide whether it is seeking a role as a benevolent and objective mediator among competing forces in the Middle East or if it is a biased, partisan supporter of certain actors.

After the Cold War, many observers

of the Middle East had hoped that the United States, and the community of nations it led could develop a more balanced approach in its Middle Eastern diplomacy. During the Cold War the U.S. patrons—Israel, the conservative Gulf states and Egypt—were supported for their opposition to "radical regimes and forces" such as the PLO, Syria, Libya and at times Iraq, which all received sponsorship from the Soviet Union. In such a climate, neither Israel nor its Arab opponents felt any compulsion to compromise toward a peaceful solution. The patron-client game ended with the demise of the Soviet Union, and the United States, during the Bush administration began, putting pressure on all actors, including Israel, to compromise their positions.

The Clinton administration appears to have reversed the Bush approach. The clearest signs of reversal came in the late winter and early spring, when the United States failed to put pressure on Israel to comply with U.N. resolution 799, which demanded that 400 Palestinian deportees stranded in Lebanon be allowed back into Israeli territories.

In March, in his first meeting with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, President Clinton promised that aid to Israel (\$3 billion per year) would be kept at its present level, and that the United States would maintain Israel's qualitative military edge. Most significantly, Clinton spoke of a "strategic partnership" to cooperate on nonproliferation in the region and the threat from Iran and Iraq. Israel was thus adopted as a partner in the newly formed dual containment policy.

The danger in giving Israel the kind of renewed superpower "client" status that it had during most of the Cold War is that it will make it extremely difficult for the United States to move the peace process further. If Israel is made to see itself as a strategic partner of the United States in its campaign against Iran and radical Islamic forces, Israeli leaders can afford to take an extremely expansive view of Israel's security needs, as they did in expanding their campaign in southern Lebanon to include the civilian population as a strategic target. And Israel is unlikely to make concessions to the Syrians or to the Palestinians as long as its aid and strategic military advantage is guaranteed by the United States.

Dual containment is a legitimate foreign policy initiative if the United States is seeking to isolate Iran because Iran is attempting to build weapons of mass destruction and because Iran supports international terrorism. But if dual containment represents a larger campaign against political Islam, the United States is in danger of moving away from an objective, interest-based foreign policy toward a cultural campaign. Such a campaign would allow "strategic partners" allied against Islamic forces to manipulate the United States, as clients opposing Marxism did during the Cold War. It would also undermine the credibility of the United States as a benevolent leader of the "new order."

*The writer teaches international relations at Scripps College in Claremont, Calif.*

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# The Tragedy of Israeli Justice

By GWYNNE DYER

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The Israelis have stopped bombing Lebanon for the moment, but at the height of the bombardment there was a moment of supreme irony. In fact, if irony came in a stronger dose than this, they'd have to put a health warning on it.

On July 29, the Israeli Supreme Court freed John Demjanjuk, a 73-year-old man who had previously been sentenced to death on the grounds that he was "Ivan the Terrible," a notorious Nazi gas-chamber operator at Treblinka. Mr. Demjanjuk, who has spent the past 12 years in American and Israeli jails, would probably not agree, but it was a triumphant demonstration of what a decent and civilized country Israel is.

There is little doubt that the Ukrainian-born Mr. Demjanjuk, a Soviet conscript captured by the Germans in 1942, eased his lot and perhaps saved his life by volunteering as a concentration camp guard. And though some allowances can be made for the choices of a very young and not very bright man in the chaos of wartime Europe, Mr. Demjanjuk may well have killed Jews personally. He was certainly part of the genocide machine.

However, documents that only became available after the collapse of the Soviet Union have cast "reasonable doubt" on whether he was actually "Ivan the Terrible" — the man whose crimes he had been convicted of. So, with a heavy heart, the Israeli judges set him free.

"The quality of doubt is appropriate for judges who cannot examine the heart and mind, but have only what their eyes see and read," said Chief Justice Meir Shamgar. "The matter is closed, but not complete. The complete truth is not the prerogative of the human judge."

It was one of those moments in which a society defines its values, and Israel passed the test with the highest honor. Except that at the very same moment Israeli artillery, planes, and gunboats were mercilessly causing literally thousands of explosions across southern Lebanon.

The ultimate aim was to stop attacks on Israel by Hezbollah guerrillas operating in southern Lebanon, but the means was attacks on Lebanese civilians who had nothing to do with the guerrillas.

"We may be pained by the sight of Lebanese fleeing their homes," said Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, "but we tell them: 'Your government has the option of empow-

ering the Lebanese military to prevent Katyusha (rocket) fire at communities in Israel. Only if fire at the northern communities ceases will you be able to return to your homes in south Lebanon.'"

At least 100 of the 130 people killed in the six-day attack were innocent Lebanese civilians. As the Israeli Supreme Court freed a man accused of killing Jews because of flaws in the evidence, the Israeli state was deliberately killing Lebanese men, women and children whom it accused of no crime whatever.

By its own admission, Israel deliberately killed a hundred or so Lebanese civilians in order to create a wave of refugees and thereby force the Lebanese government to clamp down on Hezbollah guerrillas who use southern Lebanon as a launching ground for attacks on Israel.

"If there will be no quiet and safety for the northern settlements (of Israel), there will be no quiet and safety for south Lebanon residents," Mr. Rabin explained.

Emptying southern Lebanon of civilians

and driving a quarter-million refugees into Beirut seems to have achieved Mr. Rabin's aim, at least for the moment. A U.S.-brokered "understanding" promises that Hezbollah will stop launching rockets into Israel so long as Israel does not bomb Lebanon. That promise will probably hold for a month or two, but Hezbollah has not agreed to stop attacks on Israeli soldiers in and near southern Lebanon — the source of all seven Israeli deaths that caused Jerusalem to unleash the operation, and all three Israeli deaths during it.

But let us not get bogged down in calculating the exchange rate of Israeli and Lebanese deaths. The point that concerns us (and should concern Israelis) is the stark contrast between Israel's standards of justice at home and abroad.

Why is John Demjanjuk, a former American citizen born in the Ukraine, entitled to the due process of Israeli law, and moreover to the full benefit of the doubt when new evidence shows up? Why are other foreigners, Lebanese citizens, killed without so

much as an apology when they have committed no crime?

Because courts in democratic societies enforce the law equally on everyone, and you may hope for something like justice if you fall inside their jurisdiction. Whereas governments acting beyond their borders are outlaws in the precise meaning of the word, and you may expect neither justice nor mercy if you get in their way.

Israel is by no means unusual in this regard. All governments, even the most democratic and decent ones, are outlaws once they move outside the boundaries of their own domestic legal systems. There are a few customary rules define how and when they may choose to kill foreigners for political purposes, but they are unlikely to be punished even if they break them.

We have lived so long with this huge contrast between the inside and the outside rules that most people don't even see it as a contradiction, let alone a moral and ethical problem. But it is, and once in a while it is worth stepping back and re-asking the obvious question.

Why is it wrong to kill innocent people in gas chambers, and right to kill innocent people with helicopter gunships?

Gwynne Dyer is a syndicated columnist.



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WP 318

## Christopher, Mubarak Discuss Peace Process

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt, Aug. 2— Secretary of State Warren Christopher met with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak here today at the start of a week-long Middle East tour aimed at reviving the Arab-Israeli peace talks in the wake of fighting last week that saw more than 130 people killed by Israeli bombardment of southern Lebanon.

A cease-fire went into effect along the Israel-Lebanon border over the weekend after Christopher persuaded Syrian President Hafez Assad's government to use its influence to stop Lebanese Shiite guerrillas of the Muslim fundamentalist group, Hezbollah, from firing rockets into northern Israel. In return, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin agreed to halt the artillery and aerial attacks that had caused hundreds of thousands of Lebanese civilians to flee north from southern Lebanon.

Lebanon ordered its army Monday to prepare to deploy in the south—pending U.N. approval—presumably to prevent Hezbollah guerrillas from firing on northern Israeli villages.

U.S. officials accompanying Chris-

topher acknowledged while en route here that the violence was a setback for the peace process and that much of Christopher's effort in his visits to Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Israel will be devoted to trying to get the talks back on track.

The current search for Middle East peace agreements has gone on for 21 months with almost no results, and Christopher, talking with reporters after his meeting with Mubarak here, said: "I don't expect any breakthrough on this trip."

He cited the combat in southern Lebanon as a warning of what can happen if Arab states and Israel fail to make progress toward peace.

"I think the situation in Lebanon perhaps paradoxically has in itself given a new burst of energy to the negotiations," Christopher said. "My aim is to capitalize on the tragic situation in Lebanon to remind the parties of the dangers in not making progress."

Mubarak dodged but did not deny persistent media reports that he believes Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the Muslim cleric from Egypt who has been detained in the United States in connection with terrorist activities, had been an agent of American intelligence agencies.

# Syria the focus as Christopher embarks on initial Mideast leg

By Warren Strobel  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt — The fighting in southern Lebanon has focused U.S. Middle East diplomacy in a direction where many

## NEWS ANALYSIS

believe chances for a breakthrough are greatest — Syria.

President Clinton and top Israeli officials have praised Syrian President Hafez Assad's role in moderating last week's battles between Israel and Iranian-backed guerrillas in Lebanon.

"The situation in Lebanon, perhaps paradoxically, has itself given a burst of energy to the negotiations," Secretary of State

Warren Christopher said on the first leg of a Middle East mission.

"My aim will be to try to capitalize on the tragic situation in Lebanon by using it to remind the parties how important it is to move forward in the peace process," he said after meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak yesterday at a seaside palace here.

"Decision time is rapidly approaching," Mr. Christopher said. "We don't expect any breakthroughs on this trip, but we expect steady progress."

The secretary of state is scheduled to hold talks in Israel today and in Syria and Jordan tomorrow, and he plans to visit Israel a sec-

see SYRIA, page A9

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## SYRIA

From page A1

and time before going home.

For the past few weeks, senior U.S. officials have been privately optimistic over diplomatic signals coming out of Damascus and Jerusalem.

Those hopes have grown after the defusing of last week's crisis in southern Lebanon, scene of Israel's most ferocious assault since its 1982 invasion of the country.

A senior U.S. official told reporters Mr. Christopher will be searching for progress between Israel and Syria, Israel's most powerful foe and the dominant power in Lebanon.

The United States wants to go beyond the cease-fire in southern Lebanon and build a more durable arrangement in the violence-prone area, the official said. Israel occupies a self-declared "security zone" in southern Lebanon.

"I'm not going to get into specifics of what we'll ask of anybody," the official said. "I'll simply say that, ob-

viously, defusing the situation is a starting point, but it's got to be followed by something else."

Israelis view Mr. Assad's actions of the last week with some irony, since they believe he prompted the violence in the first place to put political pressure on Israel.

As Syria dominates Lebanon, Israelis believe Hezbollah and other extremist groups cannot operate there without the Syrian leader's approval.

But Israeli officials still gave Mr. Assad high praise yesterday.

"There is no doubt the way in which Assad played his cards in the latest incident strengthened this feeling that there is someone to talk to and something to talk about," Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said on Israeli army radio.

Israeli officials lauded Mr. Assad's cooperation with Secretary of State Warren Christopher's effort to arrange a cease-fire and raised hopes for an Israeli-Syrian understanding on Lebanon, where the two have long battled for influence.

By contrast, leading Palestinians

said yesterday they do not expect much progress from Mr. Christopher's trip.

Chief delegate Haidar Abdel-Shafi was quoted by Reuters as saying he would boycott meetings with Mr. Christopher.

State Department officials have also been cautious over prospects for progress in the Israeli-Palestinian talks.

Because of the fighting in Lebanon, "there clearly has been a souring of the overall atmosphere," the senior U.S. official said.

The best that Mr. Christopher can hope for is to get Arabs and Israeli focused back on the talks to make incremental progress, the senior official said.

Had the violence not occurred "we would have been better positioned to begin to push" for decisions at the peace talks, he said.

But the official's comments seemed mostly aimed at the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations on Palestinian interim self-government for the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

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USAT

318

## Christopher: Lebanon clashes give talks a push

By Lee Michael Katz  
USA TODAY

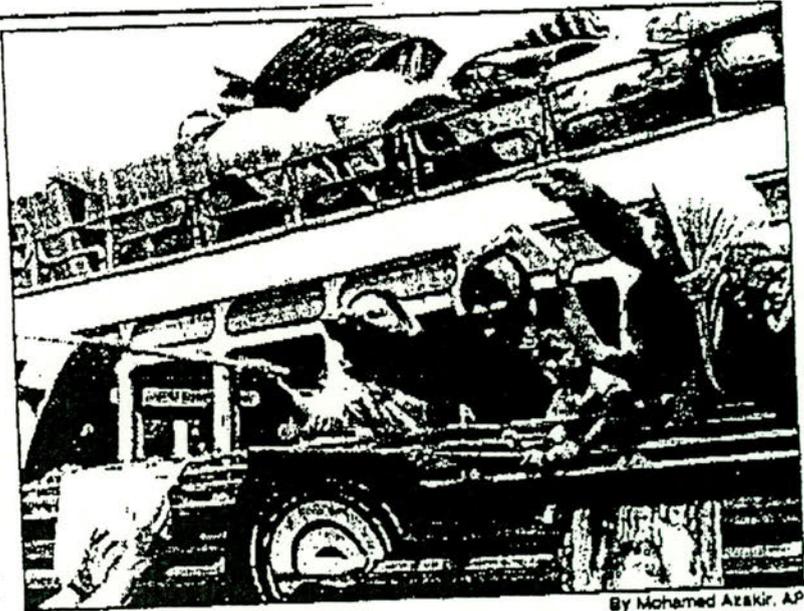
CAIRO, Egypt — Secretary of State Warren Christopher takes his Mideast peace campaign to Israel and Syria today after securing renewed support from Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Christopher said he hopes to use last week's clashes in southern Lebanon in his drive to "move forward with the peace talks," which have shown little progress.

"The situation in Lebanon, perhaps paradoxically, has itself given a new burst of energy to the negotiations," Christopher said.

Mubarak agreed, saying he does not think "there's a problem starting the negotiations even after what happened in Lebanon." He said he fears that some Arab factions initiated the violence to delay negotiations.

About 130 people, mostly civilians, were killed, and more than 600 were wounded during fighting in southern Lebanon. About 250,000 people were driven from Shiite Moslem villages there during fighting that started after seven Israeli soldiers were killed in guerrilla attacks.



By Mohamed Azakir, AP

**GOING HOME:** Refugees in Naameh, southern Lebanon, begin their trip home Monday. About 250,000 people had fled Israel's bombardment.

### WASHINGTON NEWS: 2A, 6B

On Monday, the Lebanese government prepared to deploy its army as a buffer between Hezbollah guerrillas and the Israelis.

Israel welcomed the announcement "Anything that the government does to prevent operations against Israel and the security zone is welcome," said Israeli Defense Ministry spokesman Oded Ben-Ami.

U.S. officials were determined not to let the conflict sidetrack Christopher, who downplayed expectations. "We don't expect any breakthroughs on this trip," Christopher said, "but

we expect steady progress."

Nearly two years after the start of historic Middle East peace talks in October 1991 that began with a burst of optimism, little tangible progress is evident.

But State Department officials talk of a breakthrough by the end of the year. U.S. officials are pushing for compromises between the Palestinians' ultimate quest for an independent homeland and Israel's offer of limited autonomy.

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

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CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס אנג'לס

דף פתיחה למשלוח פקסימיליה

*ד.ז.*

תאריך : Aug 3, 1993

מספר נר : 121

אל : קשר וושינגטון

אנא העבירו למכותבים בשגרירות ולקשר ירושלים.

סאת : המזכ"ל

מספר העמודים כולל העליון : 3

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\* קשר ירושלים - אנא העבירו למכותבים הנותרים !!! \*  
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תודה.

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אל: סמוכ"ל לתקשורת  
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הנדון: כיסוי תקשורת

1. בלום אנג'לס טיימס היום (3.8) כתבה בעמוד 4: **U.S. Tries To Restart Mideast Talks** על ביקור כריסטופר מאת כתבם בארץ, מייקל פרקס וכתבם בושינגטון, ארט פיין עם צילום של לבנונים חוזרים לזרוע.
2. מאמר מערכת (סצ"ב) הטוען כי חכדור נמצא עכשיו במגרש הסורי ועל סוריה להוכיח כי היא מוכנה לשיחות שלום רציניות ולוותר על האופציה של טרור ואלימות ולפרק את החיזבוללה. עם זאת, המאמר אינו מחמיא כלפי ישראל.

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העתק: הסברה/ושינגטון

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LA Times  
August 3, 1993  
Editorial



EDITORIALS of THE TIMES

## The Next Move Is Syria's

*Will Damascus now move to eliminate the threat from Hezbollah?*

Civilians from among the half-million or more driven from their towns and villages by last week's ferocious Israeli bombardments of southern Lebanon have begun returning, in many cases to scenes of appalling destruction.

The brief conflict between Israel and the 5,000 irregulars of the radical Iran-backed Hezbollah movement of Lebanese Shiites for now seems to be over, thanks in part to efforts led by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is back in the region to promote the peace process. Whether the border will remain quiet depends largely on whether a third party—Syria—decides that it should be.

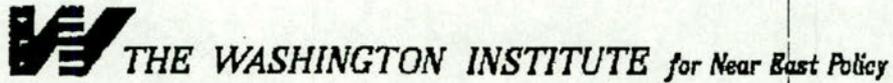
Syria won some unusual praise from President Clinton last week for its part in get-

ting Hezbollah to halt its rocket attacks on northern Israel, reportedly by stopping new shipments of Iranian-supplied weapons for Hezbollah from moving across its territory. Now comes the real test of Syrian intentions. Will it act further to disarm and so neutralize Hezbollah, as all the other militias that kept Lebanon in anarchy for 15 years have been neutralized, or will it allow the radicals to rearm and to continue goading Israel into the kind of massive retaliation whose chief victims are innocent civilians?

Hezbollah, like its sponsors in Tehran, bitterly opposes Arab-Israeli peace efforts, and its provocations aim at undercutting that process. Syria, whose 40,000 troops in Lebanon give it a decisive voice in that country's affairs, is a key

participant in the peace talks. Syria is beholden to Iran, an enemy of Damascus' ideological enemy, Iraq. But its primary national goal is to regain sovereignty over the Golan Heights, which it lost in the 1967 war. The key to that goal lies in making a full peace with Israel. Such a peace almost certainly will require Syria to eliminate the threat from Hezbollah.

The Beirut government, certainly with Damascus' approval, now says it will soon deploy Lebanese armed forces in the south. The aim—at least the hope—is to extend the so-far nonexistent authority of the central government into that area and so undercut the radicals. If Syria helps out, that could happen. And if it happens, the peace process will get a nudge forward.



TO: MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

*Handwritten red initials: A.J. H.J.*

FROM: Adam Patricoff  
The Wash. Institute for Near East Policy

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ATTN: YITZHAK RABIN

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TO: FAX PHONE#: 011-972-230-3367  
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# POLICYWATCH

*Analysis of Near East policy from the scholars and associates of* THE WASHINGTON INSTITUTE

Peace Watch Number Sixty

August 3, 1993

Jordanian-Palestinian Confederation - Past, Present and Future

by Asher Sussler

Prior to the confrontation in South Lebanon, diplomatic attention in the peace process focused on the revival of the notion of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, and the idea may again surface during Secretary of State Christopher's current mission. This idea has actually been a recurring theme in Jordanian-Palestinian relations for over twenty years.

In March 1972, King Hussein announced a new plan for federation between Jordan and an autonomous Palestinian "region" in the West Bank and Gaza, that would replace the unitary association that had linked the East and West Banks until 1967, if and when Israel withdrew from these territories. Hussein's initiative was met with total rejection by the PLO, which would have no truck with the Hashemite monarchy at that time.

In the aftermath of Israel's incursion into Lebanon in the summer of 1982, the PLO was severely weakened militarily and as a regional political force. In September of that year, the Reagan administration put forward a plan that envisioned a solution to the Palestinian problem based on autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan. The plan, very much in line with Jordanian thinking, formed the basis for intensive negotiations between Hussein and Arafat for a joint approach to the Reagan plan. These negotiations failed, however, primarily because the PLO was unwilling to subordinate itself to Jordanian supremacy. Even so, the PLO position toward Jordan was evolving.

In February 1983, the PLO's quasi-parliamentary body, the Palestine National Council (PNC) announced its acceptance of confederation as the basis for future Jordanian-Palestinian relations. The PLO stressed, however, that this was to be a confederation between two equals in two independent states. This did not coincide with Jordan's view of the future association which continued to envision Hashemite supremacy rather than an association of equals, particularly at a time when the PLO, still reeling from the defeat in Lebanon, was in a state of relative weakness. His initial proposal in 1972, as well as considerably less than the independent state the Palestinians continued to call for. The divergent interpretations of this and other parts of the agreement emptied it of any real content. An exasperated Hussein suspended the agreement in February 1986.

The outbreak of the intifada in December 1987 turned the tables on Hussein and considerably reinforced the PLO's inter-Arab and international stature. If, in the aftermath of the 1982 war in Lebanon, Jordan clearly had the upper hand in its relationship with the PLO, the shoe was now very much on the other foot. In July 1988, at the height of the intifada and his own hour of weakness, Hussein announced Jordan's legal and administrative disengagement from the West Bank. This was widely interpreted as a final renunciation of Jordanian involvement in the Palestinian question. This was not the case.

About half of Jordan's population is of Palestinian origin and Jordan has the longest border with Israel of any of the confrontation states. Demography and geography have placed Jordan at the core of the Palestinian question. Indeed, there are more Palestinians in Jordan than there are on the West Bank. Considering longstanding family, economic and political ties, it is difficult to imagine a viable Palestinian settlement that would relate only to a minority of the Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza. These realities are not and cannot be ignored by Jordanians, Palestinians or

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## POLICYWATCH

Israelis. Jordan's disengagement was a concession to the PLO, designed to pave the way for a more equitable partnership with the Palestinians. It was not meant to exclude Jordan from the peace process, nor to dismiss the option of confederation which Jordan continued to support.

The concept of confederation was still very much alive in the view of the PLO as well. The PNC in November 1988 declared the independence of the Palestinian state, but reaffirmed its support for confederation with Jordan. The initiation of a U.S.-PLO dialogue at this juncture shunted Jordan to the sidelines of the peace process until the suspension of the dialogue by the United States in the

SUBJECT OF 17:  
PLO.

The Gulf War shortly thereafter ushered in yet another important shift in the fortunes of Jordan and the PLO. Though both Jordan and the PLO supported Iraq, the PLO's international standing suffered considerably more than that of Jordan. The U.S. "forgave" Jordan for its pro-Iraqi tilt that was seen to have resulted from regional and domestic constraints, rather than ideological identification with Saddam, as the case appeared to be with the PLO. In any event, it was PLO credibility that was severely undermined, and preparations for the "Madrid process" pushed the PLO to the sidelines as Jordan returned to center-stage.

The formation of a joint Jordanian-Palestinian (West Bank and Gaza) delegation to the talks with Israel is less important for the autonomy negotiations, in which Jordan's role is marginal, than it is indicative of a conviction shared by all parties to the process - which is that some form of Jordanian-Palestinian association will form the basis for final status negotiations.

Since the end of the Gulf War, it has actually been the PLO which has been far more active than Jordan in pursuing the confederation idea. Disturbed by its formal (though not practical) exclusion from the process, the PLO sees an early agreement on confederation with Jordan as a means of making both the U.S. and Israel more receptive to PLO involvement in the process and to the idea of some form of Palestinian statehood. After all, both the U.S. and the present Israeli Labor government have long supported a pivotal role for Jordan in any Palestinian settlement. In Labor party circles, confederation has become a useful formula for outlining the contours of final status negotiations, and therefore a means to give the Palestinians a more vivid notion of the stage to follow autonomy. This is intended to make the negotiation on an interim arrangement more palatable to the Palestinians, who have consistently complained of the difficulty they face in negotiating an interim arrangement with no vision of the final outcome.

Oddly enough, it is the Jordanians, the initiators of the idea in the first place, who have recently demonstrated calculated reserve on confederation. The explanation for this position would appear to be related not to changes in Jordan's support for confederation, but rather to its unwillingness to pull the PLO's chestnuts out of the fire. Jordan, it seems, remains reluctant to pave the way for a PLO domination of the Palestinian track of the peace process or to commit itself, in advance, to the PLO concept of confederation between two independent states.

Just as the PLO is uneasy about possible Jordanian supremacy, so too are the Jordanians apprehensive about Palestinian domination of a future confederation. Considering Israel's opposition to an independent Palestinian state, the Jordanians would prefer to wait and see what emerges from Israeli-Palestinian negotiations before over-committing themselves.

Both Jordan and the Labor party in Israel see confederation as a means of limiting Palestinian

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VIA FAX

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NEWS SUMMARY 3-AUGUST-1993

TV COVERAGE

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ABC'S NIGHTLINE BROADCAST GOVERNMENT TRANSCRIPTS OF SECRETLY TAPED STATEMENTS BY INFORMANTS OF THE PLOT TO BLOW UP MANHATTAN LOCATIONS LAST MONTH.

PRESS REPORTS

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HEADLINES: NYT: 'DEMOCRATS REPORT ACCORD IN NEGOTIATIONS ON BUDGET'; 'A FADING CALL TO ARMS'; 'NATO TO JOIN US IN PLANNING AIR STRIKES AGAINST SERBS' FORCES'; 'EUROPEANS PICK UP THE FRAYED PIECES OF MONEY SYSTEM'; 'LEADING NATO ON BOSNIA.' WSJ: 'EUROPE'S MONEY MAY PAVE WAY TO RISE IN THE GLOBAL ECONOMY'; NATIONAL. ND: 'TERROR CASE BOMBSHELL.' DN: LOCAL. NYP: 'SHEIK BLESSED PLOT.'

EGYPT/LEBANON/CHRISTOPHER/PEACE: NYT(S.HOLMES-CABLED),WSJ,ND,DN,NYP: 'CHRISTOPHER, IN EGYPT, SAYS BATTLE IN LEBANON MAY AID PEACE TALKS': REPORTS THAT SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER MET WITH EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK IN ALEXANDRIA ON MONDAY; QUOTES MR. CHRISTOPHER AS SAYING THAT THE CLASHES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND PRO-IRANIAN GUERRILLAS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON MAY HAVE 'ENERGIZED' THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST; STATES THAT MR. CHRISTOPHER WILL TURN TO ISRAEL, SYRIA, JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS TO REFOCUS ON THE TALKS; NOTES THAT EGYPT HAS TRADITIONALLY SERVED AS A BROKER BETWEEN THE US AND THE PLO; ADDS THAT THE PEACE TALKS ADJOURNED ON JULY 1 WITH THE PARTIES STILL FAR APART ON CORE ISSUES.

GAZA/PALESTINIAN/MILITANT/UN: NYT(J.GREENBERG-CABLED),DN: 'GAZA BUS HIJACKING KILLS ONE': REPORTS THAT A PALESTINIAN BELIEVED TO BE A

MUSLIM MILITANT HIJACKED A UN BUS IN THE GAZA STRIP ON MONDAY, SMASHING INTO TWO ISRAELI VEHICLES; STATES THAT ACCORDING TO POLICE AND UN OFFICIALS, ONE PERSON WAS KILLED AND FIVE OTHERS WERE WOUNDED; NOTES THAT ISLAMIC HOLY WAR CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATTACK; ADDS THAT THE ATTACK CAME AS PART OF A STRATEGY TO STALL THE PROGRESS OF PEACE IN THE MIDEAST; SAYS THAT THE IDF HAS BEGUN INTENSIVE SEARCHES FOR THE HIJACKER.

ISRAEL/US/DEMJANJUK/RULING: WSJ(BRIEF),DN,NYP: NOTES THAT ACCORDING TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, JOHN DEMJANJUK CANNOT RETURN TO THE US WHILE HE APPEALS HIS 1986 EXTRADITION TO ISRAEL.

IRAQ/UN/MISSILE/TEST: DN(BRIEF): NOTES THAT UN WEAPONS EXPERTS WITNESSED THE FIRST MISSILE TEST AT AN IRAQI TESTING GROUND ON MONDAY AS PART OF THEIR MONITORING PROGRAM THERE.

IRAQ/KUWAIT/HUSSEIN/INVASION: WSJ(BRIEF),ND: NOTES THAT IRAQ'S SADDAM HUSSEIN MARKED THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF HIS INVASION OF KUWAIT BY ASSERTING THAT THE IRAQI PEOPLE HAVE 'GOOD MEMORIES' OF THE EVENT.

NEW YORK/SHEIK/COURT/HEARING: ND(K.MCCOY),NYT,DN,NYP: REPORTS THAT PROSECUTION AND DEFENSE LAWYERS CLASHED ON MONDAY IN THE FIRST ROUND OF A COURT BATTLE TO DECIDE IF SHEIK OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN SHOULD BE DEPORTED FROM THE US.

NEW YORK/SUSPECTS/BOMB/TAPES: NYT(J.TREASTER),ND,DN,NYP: REPORTS THAT GOVERNMENT TRANSCRIPTS OF SECRETLY TAPED CONVERSATIONS ABOUT A PLOT TO BLOW UP NEW YORK LOCATIONS LAST MONTH DEPICT INFORMERS DISCUSSING THE ROLE OF SHEIK OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN IN THE CASE; STATES THAT ACCORDING TO DEFENSE LAWYERS IN THE CASE, THE TAPES ARE UNCLEAR AS TO WHETHER THE SHEIK APPROVED OR KNEW ABOUT THE PLAN; ADDS THAT ACCORDING TO AN INTERVIEW WITH SUSPECT EL SAYYID NOSAIR, THE PLOT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT WITHOUT MR. RAHMAN'S BLESSING.

ISRAEL/SURVIVOR/SUICIDE/ATTEMPT: NYP(U.DAN): REPORTS THAT A HOLOCAUST SURVIVOR ATTEMPTED SUICIDE ON MONDAY AFTER HEARING OF JOHN DEMJANJUK'S ACQUITTAL BY THE ISRAELI SUPREME COURT.

NEW YORK/MUSLIMS/JEWS/PEACE: NYT(D.HEVESI-CABLED): REPORTS THAT IN THE HEART OF BROOKLYN, MUSLIMS AND JEWS WHO ARE DEVOUTLY RELIGIOUS SEEM TO HAVE FOUND COMMON GROUND.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

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NYT(K.GILPIN): 'IN ALTMAN CASE, A CLINIC IN TECHNIQUE.'

NYT(K.SINGH-COLUMN): 'INDIA, THE HINDU STATE.'

NYT(D.ROSENBAUM-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'A FADING CALL TO ARMS.'

WSJ(J.TANNER): 'OPEC OIL PRODUCTION ROSE DURING JULY, WITH WEAK PRICES LIKELY UNTIL YEAR END.'

DN(J.BENESON): 'HELP US WITH GOVERNOR, BLACK POLS ASK JESSE.'

NYP(C.MINER): 'NOSAIR - I SECRETLY MET WITH KAHANE TWO TIMES.'

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מעט, הסברה, לעמ, מקצב2, אומן, @ (דוצ), סי יבל,  
משפט, רביב, תפוצות, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם),  
@ (אמן), @ (וחו'ב), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, רחטמזת, מזתים, @ (מתאמסטחים)

סססס

THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL

יודי ביותר

המשנה למנהל הכללי

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אל : מר א. רבינוביץ, השגריר, וושינגטון

מאת : איתן בנצור

שיחת נשיא המדינה עם מזכיר המדינה כריסטופר ב-3/8/93.

השתתפו: דג'רג'יאן, רוס, בראון, לרוקו, מק-קארי, ביילין, רבינוביץ, בנצור, שומר וא. ברנע.

לשיחה עם הצוותים קדמה שיחה בארבע עיניים בין הנשיא למזכיר המדינה שארכה כ-25 דקות.

המזכיר פתח באומרו שהשיחה הפרטית עם הנשיא היתה חשובה והוא מצא בה ענין רב. המזכיר ביקש ללמוד מנסיונו של הנשיא.

הנשיא אמר כי הוא למוד נסיון מלחמה ומאמצי שלום. יותר קשה לעשות שלום מאשר לפתוח במלחמה. תוך שהוא שואל את אמירתו של הנשיא המנוח סאדאת. אמר הנשיא כי יש לנהל המו"מ בתכליתיות ותוך חתירה לעשות עסקים ולקדם את העניינים. הנשיא הוסיף כי עיקר ראיתו היא שאם לא יהיה שלום עלולה להיות מלחמה - ומלחמת העתיד - תהיה מלחמה נוראה. אירועי השבוע שעבר בלבנון מגבירים את סיכויי המלחמה ומכאן העול והחובה על ארה"ב לפעול במז"ח בנמרצות ובנחישות. עם היעלמה של ברה"מ נותרה ארה"ב הגורם האחד היכול למלא תפקיד ולפעול במז"ח. בעבר הכל במז"ח תהוו, חששו כיצד יפעלו ויגיבו הסובייטים. היום נעלם גורם זה. הנשיא הוסיף כי הוא מאמין גם בחשיבות מימד הזמן וכיוון שקשה לחזות את העתיד יש להיות ער לזמן החולף במהירות ולמתהווה ולמבעבע מתחת לפני השטח. הנשיא הטעים כי המפתח לתהליך הוא סוריה בשל הכח הצבאי שלה, משום יכולתו של נשיאה "ללחוץ על כפתור" ובגלל היותו אישיות רצינית ואחראית. זאת כמובן בלי לפגוע במימד הפלשתינאי של התהליך. כאן העיר הנשיא כי הנשיא קארטר טבע בזמנו המונח שיש לפעול לקידום השלום באגרסיביות. לכאורה מונחים סותרים אך למעשה לא.

הנשיא שאל מה עמדתו של אסאד - עתה משהוכיח עצמו בעקבות פעולת צה"ל בלבנון - האם אין בהתנהגותו משום איתות שהוא רוצה לעשות עסקים?

המזכיר אמר כי יש להיזהר בהערכת התנהגות אסאד שכן יש לזכור שהוא סייע מלכתחילה לחיזבללה לפעול כפי שפעל ורק אחרי כן סייע בבלימתו. בהקשר זה הוא פעל נמרצות ואכן היה מעמד מיוחד במינו בעת המפגש בין שה"ח איראן למנהיגי החיזבללה ורוה"מ לבנון במעמד אסאד. אפשר לשער מי היה האיש המרכזי בהתכנסות זו... המזכיר הוסיף שזה רק מאשר מחדש את ההנחה שהוא אסאד - רוצה להתקדם בתהליך השלום.

המזכיר שאל הנשיא האם המצב עם סוריה ניתן להשוואה למו"מ לשלום עם מצרים.

הנשיא הגיב כי אין מצב אחד דומה לרעהו הן מבחינת התנאים והן מבחינת הנפשות המדיניות-צבאיות הפועלות אך המשותף לשני המיגזרים ששתי המדינות מצרים וסוריה יצאו למלחמה נגדנו והנה מצרים זכתה בק"ד במה שחפצה, בעוד שסוריה ממתונה כבר כעשרים שנה להשגת מבוקשה. הנשיא ציין שסאדאת לא היה נעתר לשלום אלמלא קיבל את כל סיני בתמורה ואנו לא היינו זזים ללא שלום מלא במובנו המלא של המושג. במו"מ עם מצרים - שיחות "מדיסון" - קבענו לו"ז ושלבנים לנסיגה אך ההחלטה על כינון יחסים דיפלומטיים נתקבלה עוד תוך כדי מימוש שלבי הנסיגה. הנשיא הטעים כי יש לאמץ קו מחשבה, לגבש עקרונות להשגת היעד ולפעול לפיהם.

הנשיא עמד גם על היבט הגאווה הלאומית-המצרית והסורית - הכרוכה במו"מ לשלום. יש לעודד להציג עמדותיהם במונחים חיוביים.

לגבי אסאד יש לפנות אל גאווותו בהקשר לגולן ולבנות עליה. הנשיא הוסיף כי בנושא הגולן יש לתבוע פרוז - אולי אפילו עד דמשק. נצטרך גם לבקש ממנו לקבל אחריות על ההסדר עם לבנון וגם לגבי המימשל העצמי לפלשתינאים. יהא עליו להטיל מלוא כובד משקלו ולסייע בהשגת ההסדר עם הפלשתינאים.

הנשיא שאל - בהסתמך על שיחתו עם רוס ודיווחו בביקורם הקודם - האם המזכיר מעריך שניתן להגיע להסדר מוקדם עם הסורים עוד בטרם הסדר עם הפלשתינאים.

המזכיר השיב כי קשה לו להעריך ולתת תשובה באם לדעתו הסורים יסכימו להסדר עם ישראל אם תהיה התקדמות כלשהי במו"מ בין ישראל לפלשתינאים.

מאיך אין ספק שאם ייעשה הסדר עם הסורים כי אז ניתן יהיה להצליח בהבאה להסדר עם הפלשתינאים. המזכיר סיפר כי בשיחתו היום עם הפלשתינאים שאלתם הראשונה היתה האם ארה"ב "סגרה" הסדר כלשהו עם הסורים.

הנשיא: על כן רצוי להאיץ באסאד להגיע להסכם והיתר יבוא מאיליו. נכון שחשובה ההתקדמות עם הפלשתינאים אך יש להנחיל לסורים שארה"ב היא בבחינת "יו"ר מועצת המנהלים" שמדינות מז"ת - ובכללן ישראל - הן חלק מנהו ושהיא תפיק תועלת רבה מהצטרפות לגוש זה. למצרים רווח מאוד הודות לשלום עם ישראל.

המזכיר: אכן מצרים הפיקה תועלת רבה מהסכם השלום בתחום המדיני ובסיוע כלכלי.

הנשיא אמר שהוא תוהה בקול רם מה היה אומר לאסאד לוא היה משוחח עמו (במקום המזכיר): מעבר לסוגית הגאווה הקשורה בהחזרת הגולן הוא יפיק את מידת הרווח שבהשתלבות במז"ת והסרת חומת הבדידות שהוא נתון בה והרי אסאד כבן למיעוט העלאווי שייך למיעוט בתוך סוריה עצמה.

הנשיא הוסיף כי הוא מבקש להדגיש בפני המזכיר שיש לשים לב לעולם המתחדש והמתהווה, סין עולה כמעצמה, המזרח הרחוק עולה בחשיבותו וצומח מאוד כלכלית. עם אנו צועדים לקראת סוף המאה שהוא כבר מאחורי הכותל. בנוסף לכל אלה המצב הוא שאירופה מקרטעת כלכלית וגם לארה"ב קשיים כלכליים לא מעטים. על כן המז"ת - איזור חשוב ביותר מבחינת ארה"ב בעולם - ויש לפעול באיזור זה. אסור לאבד את התנופה והמפתח להתקדמות מצוי בידי אסאד.

המזכיר אמר כי זו החלטתם הנחושה - לקדם התהליך ולפעול. הנשיא קלינטון מקדיש למז"ת תשומת לב הולכת וגוברת. קלינטון מכיר את הגולן, את מיכלול הסוגיות שעל הפרק. ברגע הנכון הוא הנשיא ימלא תפקיד משמעותי והנשיא ישחק תפקיד מרכזי בבוא העת. המזכיר סיפר שקלינטון ביקר בארץ כמושל. בהיותו מושל ביקר קלינטון פעמיים בקוריה. יש לו מאגרי מידע רבים וישראל בתוכם. הנשיא בקי ויודע ולא פעם מצא המזכיר עצמו נבוך בבואו לתדרכו תידרוך בסיסי ומצא את הנשיא בקי ומתמצא. המזכיר הוסיף כי הנשיא קלינטון הטיל עליו הרבה קדימויות לטפל ולהתמודד.

הנשיא סיפר כי בשרתו בצה"ל המטכ"ל לא ראה בסורים את הסכנה העיקרית לבטחון ישראל מה שנשתנה זה שלטוריה יש כיום מנהיג חזק ונשק רב. כאן העיר הנשיא שחשוב שהנשיא קלינטון ישים לב גם לעלית עצמתה של איראן באיזור. המזכיר השיב שהם ערים ומודעים לעלית כוחה של איראן אך יש להם קושי להניע האירופים להיערך נגד איראן עקב שיקולים כלכליים.

הנשיא קרא למזכיר כי עתה לפניך ה"הזדמנות של חייך" לעבוד למען תחולל נקודת מיפנה של שלום באיזור, ויפה שעה אחת קודם באזור שמצוי בו נשק גרעיני ובעולם משתנה ו"מצהיב". כל המסתכל אל מעבר למאה הנוכחית חייב לתהות לגבי השנויים המפליגים הצפויים. גם ישראל צריכה להיערך בהתאם. יש עלינו נטל כבד - גיוס חובה - צרכים צבאיים, מאמצי קליטה. בכל אלה ארה"ב מסייעת ביד נדיבה אך אנו יודעים כי לא נוכל לבקש סיוע לאורך זמן.

הנשיא חזר ואמר שרק אסאד יכול לשנות את המז"ת, עליו להיות במשחק. יש לגרום לאסאד לחשוב "בגדול" כפי שסאדת המנוח חשב. יש לפעול כדי לפענח צפונות לבם של שני "שחקני הפוקר" (אסאד ורבין) ואתה המזכיר יכול לעשות זאת - כריסטופר הפטיר כי השאלה מי הראשון שיתפענח....

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
JERUSALEM

משרד החוץ  
ירושלים

THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL

המשנה למנהל הכללי

הנשיא הטעים שאם נאבד זמן אנו עלולים להיקלע למצב קשה ביותר. הנשיא  
הוסיף כי הוא מבקש להעביר לאסאד פריסת שלום וברכת קצין ח"א אל קצין  
ח"א. לקציני ח"א יש שפה ייחודית להם.

המזכיר: אעביר את המסר.

ב בר כ ה  
ש  
איתן בנצור

העתק: נשיא המדינה  
רוה"מ  
שה"ח  
ס/שה"ח  
מוכ"ל  
מנהל מצפ"א  
הממונה דושינגטון

אאאא, חוזם: 3948

אל: רהמש/121

מ-: המשרד, תא: 030893, זח: 1547, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

57356

בלמ'ס/בהול לבוקר

אל: כל הנציגויות

דע: שה'ח, ס/שה'ח, מנכ'ל, תפוצת הסברה

מאת: מחלקת מידע - אגף תקשורת

הנדון: פגישת רבין-כריסטופר

להלן מדברי רה"מ יצחק רבין ומזכיר המדינה וורן כריסטופר בתום פגישתם  
היום 3.8 בשעה כפי ששודרו ב'קול ישראל' בשעה 12:00:

STAKEOUT FOLLOWING RABIN-CHRISTOPHER MEETING  
JERUSALEM, AUGUST 3, 1993, 12:00

PRIME MINISTER YITZHAK RABIN: SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES, MR. WARREN CHRISTOPHER, I WELCOME YOU TO ISRAEL IN YOUR EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A BREAKTHROUGH, OR AT LEAST TO MOVE AHEAD IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

WE WORKED TOGETHER TO BRING ABOUT AN END TO THE FIGHTING IN LEBANON, IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, AND I'M MORE THAN THANKFUL TO YOUR ROLE AS THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE U.S. AND TO YOU PERSONALLY, TO ASSIST IN BRINGING ABOUT AN END TO THE FIGHTING AND TO CREATE NEW REALITIES IN SOUTHERN LEBANON, THAT NO DOUBT FACILITATE, IN TERMS OF ATMOSPHERE AND HOPEFULLY BEYOND THAT... (AUDIO BREAK)

WE WISH YOU ALL THE SUCCESS IN YOUR TRIPS TO THE ARAB COUNTRIES. WE ARE WAITING TILL YOU COME BACK. AND NO DOUBT WE, ON OUR PART, ARE READY TO MAKE COMPROMISES, TO TAKE CALCULATED RISKS, TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

WE HAVE DISCUSSED VARIOUS OPTIONS IN VARIOUS DIRECTIONS, AND I DON'T BELIEVE THAT THERE IS ANY NEED TO ELABORATE THEM. BUT WE WISH YOU ALL THE SUCCESS IN THE COMING TRIPS TO OUR NEIGHBORING ARAB COUNTRIES.

SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER: IT'S A GREAT PLEASURE TO BE BACK IN JERUSALEM AGAIN AND TO BE MEETING WITH MY GOOD FRIEND PRIME

MINISTER RABIN. WE SPENT A LOT OF TIME ON THE TELEPHONE TOGETHER LAST WEEK. IT'S GOOD TO TALK TO HIM AGAIN HERE TODAY AND IN PERSON, AND IN THE DAYTIME.

THE PERSONAL TRUST THAT WE HAVE ESTABLISHED WITH EACH OTHER OVER THE LAST SIX MONTHS, I THINK, EXEMPLIFIES THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AT THIS RATHER CRITICAL MOMENT IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE.

AS THE PRIME MINISTER HAS INDICATED, THE FIGHTING IN LEBANON LAST WEEK IS A DISTURBING REMINDER OF HOW URGENT OUR TASK IS AND HOW REAL ARE THE ENEMIES OF PEACE. BUT IT'S ALSO AN INDICATION OF THE FACT THAT ISRAEL, LEBANON AND SYRIA ARE ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER ON A PROBLEM, AND I THINK TAKE A STEP IN TRYING TO ENSURE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS IS NOT DERAILED.

IT'S HENCE TIME TO TRY TO REFOCUS OUR EFFORTS ON CULTIVATING THE HOPE OF REAL PEACE IN THIS REGION, AND THAT'S EXACTLY WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER AND I DID THIS MORNING. AS HE SAID, WE HAD INTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THE WHOLE RANGE OF PROBLEMS, BECAUSE I THINK BOTH OF US FEEL IT'S WORTHWHILE TRYING TO WORK ON THE ENTIRE ARRAY OF PROBLEMS, NOT JUST ONE ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM.

MY VISIT, HENCE, IS INTENDED FOR THE PURPOSE OF ELICITING VIEWS FROM ALL THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE REGION HERE, LOOKING TOWARD SOME SORT OF PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL, THE ARAB STATES AND THE PALESTINIANS. WE HAVE THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF GETTING THE NEGOTIATIONS BACK ON TRACK AND REFOCUSED, AND ALTHOUGH IT'S A DIFFICULT TIME IN THIS REGION WHERE EMOTIONS HAVE BEEN HIGH, NEVERTHELESS THERE ARE OPPORTUNITIES NOW, AND I'M GOING TO DO MY VERY BEST, THE UNITED STATES WILL DO ITS VERY BEST, TO HELP THE PARTIES TO MAKE PROGRESS IN THIS AREA WHERE PROGRESS IS SO URGENTLY NEEDED.

MR. PRIME MINISTER, THANK YOU AGAIN AS ALWAYS FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY, AND I'LL FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN A COUPLE OF DAYS.

Q: ARE YOU SUGGESTING SOME NEW THREE-WAY NEGOTIATION (ISRAEL-LEBANON-SYRIA) OR ARE THE BILATERAL TRACKS THAT ARE UNDER WAY NOW ADEQUATE?

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: THE BILATERAL TRACKS ARE THE (APPROACH) THAT WILL BE PURSUED. I WAS SIMPLY STATING WHAT I THINK IS A HISTORICAL FACT, THAT IT TOOK SOME COOPERATION BETWEEN THOSE THREE PARTIES TO REACH THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES THAT OCCURRED OVER THE WEEKEND. BUT THE MADRID PROCESS IS STILL THE ONE THAT WE'RE FOLLOWING HERE, TRYING TO USE THAT PROCESS AND NOT IGNORING AT THE SAME TIME THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VARIOUS TRACKS.

תפוצה: שדה, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלים, מצב, אירופה,  
משפט, מעת, הסברה, מזאר, מאפ, אסיה, אוקיאניה,  
מזתים, מצרים, ארבל1, ארבל2, אמלט, אכב,  
כלכליתא', כלכליתב', כלכליתג', מצפא, מקצב2,  
קונס, ממד, לעמ, @ (דוצ), @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 3769  
אל: רהמש/115  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 030893, זח: 1417, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבבב  
9,257886  
9,233388

57367

בלמ'ס/בהול לבוקר

אל: כל הנציגויות

דע: שה'ח, ס/שה'ח, מנכ'ל, תפוצת הסברה

מאת: מחלקת מידע - אגף תקשורת

הנדון: פגישת פרס-כריסטופר

להלן מדברי שה'ח שמעון פרס ומזכיר המדינה וורן כריסטופר בתום הפגישה  
ביניהם היום 3.8 בצהריים:

STAKEOUT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES AND SECRETARY OF STATE  
WARREN CHRISTOPHER FOLLOWING THEIR MEETING  
JERUSALEM, AUGUST 3, 1993 - 1:15 P.M.

FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES: (IN PROGRESS) ... WE MENTIONED THAT  
THE WAY HE HAS PRESIDED OVER THE LAST EVENT IN LEBANON SAVED ALL OF  
US FROM A VERY DANGEROUS SITUATION AND CREATED FOR ALL OF US A NEW  
OPPORTUNITY.

WE KNOW THAT WE MADE A LONG WAY, AND EVEN IF THE WAY AHEAD IS SHORT,  
IT IS FULL OF PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES. IN SPITE OF IT, WE BELIEVE  
THAT BY WORKING CANDIDLY, TOGETHER, POSITIVELY, THERE IS A FAIR  
CHANCE TO BRING THE PEACE PROCESS AS CLOSE AS POSSIBLE TO US, TO THE  
PALESTINIANS, TO THE JORDANIANS, TO THE SYRIANS AND TO THE LEBANESE.

I WOULD LIKE TO USE THIS OPPORTUNITY JUST TO SAY THAT IT IS IN THE  
ISRAELI INTEREST TO SEE PRIME MINISTER HARIRI SUCCEEDING IN HIS  
ECONOMIC ENDEAVORS IN LEBANON. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE A STRONG AND  
HEALTHY ECONOMY IN LEBANON. IT'S NOT AGAINST OUR INTEREST. IN SPITE  
OF ALL THE DIFFICULTIES, WE BELIEVE THAT SYRIA AND ITS PRESIDENT MADE  
A STRATEGIC DECISION TO MOVE TOWARD PEACE. WE BELIEVE THAT, WITH THE  
JORDANIANS, WE MADE A LONG WAY AND WE REACHED A GREAT DEAL OF

AGREEMENT, AND LITTLE WAS LEFT FOR THE FUTURE. AND I WOULD LIKE TO CALL UPON THE PALESTINIANS NOT TO LOSE TIME, NOT TO IGNORE THE OPPORTUNITIES, AND COME INTO THE PICTURE AND COMPLETE THE CHANCES FOR PEACE, SO WE MAY HAVE A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE WHOLE OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

THANK YOU.

SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER: I'VE HAD TWO VERY GOOD AND VALUABLE OPPORTUNITIES TODAY TO TALK WITH FOREIGN MINISTER PERES, FIRST IN THE RIDE IN FROM THE AIRPORT WHERE WE HAD 30 OR 40 MINUTES TOGETHER, AND NOW A SOMEWHAT LONGER TIME. IT'S VERY HELPFUL TO ME, AS I SET OUT ON MY FURTHER CONVERSATIONS HERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

WE HAD A PARTICULARLY GOOD DISCUSSION OF THE MULTILATERAL TRACKS OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. THEY ARE A HARBINGER OF THE FUTURE, AND I THINK IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS TAKEN SUCH A STRONG LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE MULTILATERAL TRACKS, BECAUSE THEY HOLD OUT THE HOPE FOR WHAT PEACE MIGHT MEAN IN THIS TROUBLED REGION.

WE ARE GOING TO PROCEED FROM HERE TO OTHER CONVERSATIONS, THIS AFTERNOON WITH THE PALESTINIANS, BUT I THINK IT WAS VERY IMPORTANT AND DESIRABLE THAT WE HAVE THESE CONVERSATIONS HERE, WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND NOW WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, TO SET THE BASIS FOR OUR SEEKING TO REFOCUS THE DISCUSSIONS, TO GET BACK ON TRACK IN THIS VERY DIFFICULT PERIOD. I THINK THAT IF WE CAN ACHIEVE A REFOCUS OR REINVIGORATION OF THIS PROCESS, IT WILL CERTAINLY HAVE BEEN A USEFUL TRIP FROM MY STANDPOINT.

MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, I AM SO GRATEFUL TO YOU AS ALWAYS, AND ENJOYED BEING WITH YOU. THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

מחלקת מידע - אגף תקשורת  
3-AUG-1993

תפוצה: שדח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלים, מצב, אירופה,  
משפט, מעת, הסברה, מזאר, מאפ, אסיה, אוקיאניה,  
מזתים, מצרים, ארבל1, ארבל2, אמלט, אכב,  
כלכליתא', כלכליתב', כלכליתג', מצפא, מקצב2,  
קונס, ממד, לעמ, @ (דוצ), @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 4641

אל: רהמש/158

מ:- וושינגטון, נר: 83, תא: 030893, זח: 1737, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס / רגיל

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: סנאט - חוק סיוע חוץ / הרשאות

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היום (3.8), קיימה ועדת המשנה למדיניות כלכלית שליד ועדת החוץ בראשות הסנטור סרביינס, MARK-UP של חוק סיוע חוץ / הרשאות. חבילת הסיוע בסך 3 ביליון דולר אושרה. נושא ה- CARGO PREFERENCE לא נכלל ב- CHAIRMAN'S MARK בהיותו קונטרוברסיאלי ולפיכך הוחלט לדחות, הדיון בו לשלב מליאת ועדת החוץ לא נקבע עדיין מועד ל- MARK-UP בספטמבר.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר



תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא, ערן, כלכליתב', ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), אוצר

סססס

4403: חו"מ, אאא  
אל: רהמש/148  
מ:- וושינגטון, נר: 65, תא: 030893, זח: 1254, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבב  
בלמס/מידי

אל: מצפ"א, ממ"ד

דע: משהב"ט - מקש"ח

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

SUBJECT: PLEASE ADVISE IF YOU WOULD LIKE THE FOLLOWING TRANSCRIPT

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LES ASPIN AND CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF GENERAL COLIN POWELL SPEAK AT A MEETING WITH LOCAL OFFICIALS CONCERNING RE-USE OF CLOSED MILITARY BASES THE PENTAGON, ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA MONDAY, AUGUST 2, 1993

SEC. ASPIN: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, BILL, AND I WANT TO WELCOME ALL OF YOU TO -- AND SAY HOW GRATEFUL WE ARE THAT ALL OF YOU ARE HERE. AND WE WANT TO WORK WITH YOU HERE THIS AFTERNOON. I WAS -- I REALLY ASKED TO OPEN THIS SESSION AND MAKE SOME BRIEF REMARKS BECAUSE I THINK IT'S -- THIS RIGHT HERE IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT THINGS THAT WE ARE DOING IN THE PENTAGON RIGHT NOW.

BASICALLY, THERE ARE TWO WAYS IN WHICH THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT CAN INFLUENCE THE ECONOMIC HEALTH OF THE UNITED STATES. ONE IS THROUGH OUR DIRECT EXPENDITURES FROM THE DEFENSE BUDGET, AND WE'RE TRYING TO GET SMARTER ABOUT DOING THAT WITH EMPHASIS ON THINGS LIKE TECHNOLOGY AND DUAL- USE COMMITMENTS, DUAL-USE USES BETWEEN THE COMMERCIAL AND THE MILITARY. THAT IS THE MONEY THAT WE SPEND ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS, AND THERE OUGHT TO BE A WAY TO GET MORE ECONOMIC POP OUT OF OUR NORMAL BUDGETARY EXPENDITURES IN THE DEFENSE BUDGET. BUT THE SECOND WAY -- AND THAT REALLY COMES TO ONE OF THE REASONS WHY WE'RE ALL HERE TODAY -- THE OTHER WAY IS BY MAKING BETTER USE OF REDUNDANT RESOURCES MADE REDUNDANT BY THE DROP IN THE FORCES THAT ARE REQUIRED IN THIS POST-SOVIET, POST-COLD WAR WORLD. THAT REALLY GETS TO WHAT WE'RE DOING HERE TODAY.

OUR FORCE STRUCTURE IS BEING SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED, AND I THINK COLIN POWELL WILL TALK ABOUT THAT HERE IN JUST A MOMENT.

REDUCTIONS MUST COME IN INFRASTRUCTURE AND OVERHEAD AS WELL AS IN FORCES. IT'S JUST INEVITABLE, OTHERWISE WE END UP WITH A BIG DEFENSE BUDGET SPENT ALL ON INFRASTRUCTURE AND OVERHEAD AND NO FIGHTING FORCES. SO THEY HAVE TO COME DOWN ROUGHLY PROPORTIONAL, AND AS YOU KNOW, THAT MEANS WE HAVE TO CLOSE BASES. BUT IT ALSO MEANS THAT WE OUGHT TO SPEND A LOT OF TIME AND A LOT OF THOUGHT ON TAKING THOSE RESOURCES THAT ARE MADE REDUNDANT BY THE DRAWDOWN IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES -- PEOPLE, LAND, BUILDINGS, FACTORIES, BASES, WHATEVER THEY ARE -- AND FIGURE OUT SOME WAY TO MAKE BETTER COMMERCIAL PRODUCTS AND MAKE SOME -- CONVERT THOSE RESOURCES INTO COMMERCIAL ECONOMIC STRENGTH.

THIS AFTERNOON, I WOULD LIKE TO OFFER YOU AN ASSURANCE THAT WE ARE COMMITTED TO HELP TO TURN THESE BASE CLOSINGS INTO REAL DOMESTIC ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES. THE PRESIDENT IS COMMITTED TO THIS, I AM COMMITTED TO THIS, AND AS YOU SEE HERE, THE SENIOR LEADERS OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AND THE ARMED FORCES ARE COMMITTED TO THIS. BILL PERRY IN PARTICULAR HAS TAKEN ON THIS BIG -- ON THIS IN A VERY BIG WAY. HIS RECENT VISIT -- AS HIS RECENT VISITS, HE JUST EXPLAINED TO YOU, TO HOMESTEAD, TO ALAMEDA, AND TO CHARLESTON SHOW WHAT THAT'S ALL ABOUT.

NOW, THE PRESIDENT HAS DIRECTED THAT CONCRETE ACTIONS TO BACK THAT COMMITMENT BE PUT INTO PLACE. WE LOOKED AT THIS ISSUE, AND AS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE PRESIDENT, WE PUT TOGETHER AT THE CABINET LEVEL A TASK FORCE THAT LOOKED AT THE QUESTION OF BASE CLOSURES AND ASKED "WHAT DO WE LEARN FROM THE PAST BASE CLOSURES?" NOT JUST THE LAST ROUNDS OF THE CURRENT KIND OF SYSTEM WHERE WE HAD THE COMMISSION, BUT THE BASE CLOSURES THAT OCCURRED IN THE '50S AND THE '60S, GOING BACK TO THE FIRST BIG ROUND OF BASE CLOSURES WAS AFTER WORLD WAR II, AND ASKED OURSELVES THE QUESTION "WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED FROM ALL OF THAT EXPERIENCE? WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED THAT TELLS YOU HOW TO DO IT?" BECAUSE THERE'S BEEN SOME SUCCESSES IN THAT -- IN THAT HISTORY, AND THERE'S BEEN SOME PRETTY DRAMATIC FAILURES AND SOME PRETTY DRAMATIC TIME-CONSUMING INACTION ON A WHOLE BUNCH OF FRONTS, AS WELL AS SOME RATHER DRAMATIC BREAKTHROUGHS IN TURNING THE BASES AROUND. SO WE ASKED OURSELVES A QUESTION: WHAT MAKES FOR A SUCCESSFUL CONVERSION AND WHAT MAKES FOR A NOT SUCCESSFUL CONVERSION?

INCIDENTALLY, THE OVERALL PROGNOSTICATION IS GOOD. THE NUMBER -- IF YOU LOOK BACK AT THE BASE CLOSURES, THERE HAVE BEEN REALLY TWO MAJOR TIMES THAT BASES HAVE BEEN CLOSED IN AMERICAN HISTORY. ONE WAS AFTER WORLD WAR II, WHERE THE UNITED STATES MILITARY WENT FROM A MILITARY OF ABOUT 12 MILLION DOWN TO THE MILITARY THAT WAS AROUND FOR A GREAT NUMBER OF YEARS DURING THE COLD WAR, WHICH WAS SORT OF IN THE THREE AND A HALF TO FOUR MILLION RANGE. THERE WAS A BIG DRAWDOWN IN THE -- RIGHT AFTER THE COLD WAR. WE ARE NOW IN THE SECOND PHASE OF A BIG -- AFTER WORLD WAR II. WE'RE NOW IN THE PHASE OF A SECOND SERIOUS DRAWDOWN AFTER THE COLD WAR. AND THE BASE STRUCTURE IS BEING COLLAPSED

DRAMATICALLY.

BUT IF YOU LOOK AT THE BASES THAT WERE CLOSED AFTER WORLD WAR II, THE RESULTS ARE PRETTY ENCOURAGING.

NINETY-FOUR THOUSAND JOBS WERE LOST IN THOSE BASES THAT WERE CLOSED IN THE 1950S, AND 158,000 JOBS WERE CREATED AT THE BASES THAT WERE CLOSED IN THE 1950S. SO THE PROGNOSTICATION IS GOOD IF YOU DO IT RIGHT.

NOW, SINCE THOSE BASES GOT CLOSED AFTER WORLD WAR II, IT'S A LOT MORE COMPLICATED TO CLOSE BASES TODAY. YOU HAVE A WHOLE AGENDA -- ENVIRONMENTAL AGENDA THAT NOBODY WAS WORRIED ABOUT WHEN WE WERE CLOSING BASES AFTER WORLD WAR II THAT ARE NOW AT THE CORE OF BEING ABLE TO CLOSE ANY BASES AND CONVERT THE LAND TO ANY OTHER COMMERCIAL USE NOW. SO IT'S A WHOLLY DIFFERENT PICTURE. BUT IF YOU CAN OVERCOME THE OBSTACLES AND THE DIFFICULTIES, THE RECORD SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT THERE'S SOME OPPORTUNITY THERE.

WHAT WE LEARNED WHEN WE WENT AND DID THIS STUDY AS TO WHAT WAS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN BASES THAT WERE CLOSED SUCCESSFULLY -- MEANING CONVERTED QUICKLY TO ECONOMIC COMMERCIAL VIABILITY -- AND THOSE THAT WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL, IT CAME DOWN TO ABOUT FIVE THINGS, AND THAT BECAME THE FOCAL POINT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL HERE ON HOW TO MAKE THIS BETTER AND TO HELP HERE TODAY.

ONE OF THE PROBLEMS, IF WE LIST THE PROBLEMS OF WHAT IS THE DIFFICULTIES, ONE OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAD -- AND LET ME JUST LIST THE PROBLEM AND WHAT WE HAVE PROPOSED HERE TO SOLVE IT -- ONE OF THE PROBLEMS THAT WE HAVE HAD WITH CLOSING BASES SUCCESSFULLY IS THAT THE BASES DON'T KNOW WHO TO TALK TO. THE PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITIES JUST FLAT OUT DON'T KNOW WHO TO TALK TO, AND THEY WILL CALL ONE AGENCY AND GET ONE ANSWER, AND CALL ANOTHER AGENCY WITH THE SAME QUESTION AND GET A DIFFERENT ANSWER.

SO ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE DECIDED TO DO OUT OF THIS WAS TO MAKE A CENTRAL COORDINATOR FOR EACH OF THE BASES THAT IS BEING CLOSED. THERE WILL BE A SINGLE PERSON THAT YOU CAN CALL AND TALK TO AND GET ANSWERS TO YOUR QUESTIONS. NOW, THAT PERSON MIGHT -- WILL BE CERTAINLY WORKING FOR ONE OF THE DEPARTMENTS INVOLVED IN THE BASE CLOSING BUSINESS HERE, BUT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO ANSWER QUESTIONS NOT ONLY FOR THE DEPARTMENT THAT THEY CAME FROM BUT FOR OTHER DEPARTMENTS, AS WELL. AND WE ARE ORGANIZING BACK IN WASHINGTON TO MAKE SURE THAT THE BACKUP FOR THAT SINGLE INDIVIDUAL IS THERE.

SO, POINT NUMBER ONE, A SINGLE COORDINATOR, A SINGLE PHONE CALL, A SINGLE PERSON THAT YOU NEED TO GET IN TOUCH WITH TO ANSWER QUESTIONS, WHETHER IT BE A LEGAL QUESTION, A REGULATORY QUESTION, A FUNDING QUESTION, AN AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES QUESTION, ANYTHING LIKE THAT. THERE WILL BE A SINGLE POINT OF

CONTACT FOR YOU IN EVERY BASE THAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT.

THE SECOND THING WAS THAT WHAT WE FOUND ON LOOKING AT THIS EXAMPLE OF WHAT IT WAS THAT CAUSED BASES TO BE CLOSED SUCCESSFULLY, THE PLACES WHERE IT WAS SUCCESSFUL WAS WHERE THE LOCAL COMMUNITIES ORGANIZED THEMSELVES IN A WAY IN WHICH THEY HAD A STRUCTURE WITH A SINGLE DECISION-MAKING CENTER OF FOCUS. IN OTHER WORDS, THE PLACES THAT WERE -- SUCCESSFULLY CONVERTED THE ASSETS TO COMMERCIAL USE, WHAT THEY DID WAS THEY ESTABLISHED A LOCAL COMMITTEE MADE UP OF ALL OF THE RELEVANT DECISION-MAKERS AS PART OF THAT COMMITTEE, USUALLY SET UP BY THE GOVERNOR, BUT IT NEED NOT ALWAYS BE SET UP BY THE GOVERNOR, BUT SOMEBODY TOOK THE LEAD AND ESTABLISHED A COMMITTEE SO THAT ALL OF THE RELEVANT PLAYERS WERE REPRESENTED ON THE COMMITTEE, AND THERE WAS A CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE AND THERE WAS A SECRETARY OF THE COMMITTEE, AND THERE WAS A STRUCTURE TO THAT COMMITTEE THAT COULD MAKE DECISIONS, AND EVERYBODY WHO WAS PART OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS WAS REPRESENTED ON THAT COMMITTEE.

SO, IF THE COMMITTEE DECIDED THEY WERE GOING TO DO X, THAT HAPPENED AND THERE WASN'T PEOPLE LEFT OUT THAT WERE THROWING STONES AT THE PROPOSAL. YOU NEED A STRUCTURE THAT CAN MAKE DECISIONS AND A DECISION-MAKING BODY.

IN ORDER TO FACILITATE THAT, ONE OF THE THINGS IS YOU NEED SOME MONEY, SOME PLANNING MONEY. SO UP FRONT THERE IS GOING TO BE PLANNING MONEY AVAILABLE TO ANY COMMUNITY THAT ORGANIZES SUCH A STRUCTURE, AND IT'S GOING TO BE AVAILABLE TO ANY COMMUNITY AS SOON AS THEY GET THAT STRUCTURE IN PLACE. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE THAT STRUCTURE, AND WE THINK THAT THAT KIND OF A STRUCTURE, GETTING THAT UP AND RUNNING RIGHT AWAY, IS ABSOLUTELY CRITICAL.

THE THIRD PROBLEM ON THE LIST OF FIVE -- THE THIRD PROBLEM THAT COMES UP IS THE PROBLEM WITH THE ENVIRONMENTAL STATEMENTS, THE ENVIRONMENTAL DELAYS, THE DELAYS DUE TO THE CLEANUP, ENORMOUS TROUBLE THAT WE'VE HAD IN THE PAST IN GETTING THE PROCESS WORKING THAT PUTS LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN PLAY WHEN THE COMMUNITY HAS PROBLEMS -- ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS ON THESE BASES. AND MOST OF THE BASES AND MOST OF THE FACILITIES HAVE SOME ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS.

ONE THING THAT WE DO IS THAT WE HAVE A COUPLE OF THINGS. THE FIRST THINGS THAT WE WILL DO IS THAT WE WILL MAKE THE ENVIRONMENTAL CLEANUP SIMULTANEOUS RATHER THAN SEQUENTIAL. THE BIGGEST PROBLEM THAT WE'VE HAD IN THE PAST AND THE THING THAT TOOK SO LONG WAS THAT YOU HAD TO FINISH ONE PHASE OF AN ENVIRONMENTAL CLEANUP BEFORE YOU STARTED THE SECOND PHASE OF AN ENVIRONMENTAL CLEANUP. A LOT OF THAT NEED NOT BE -- WAIT UNTIL ONE IS DONE, SO WE'VE ORDERED THAT THE PROCESS BE SIMULTANEOUS IN PLACES WHERE YOU CAN START TWO, THREE, FOUR ENVIRONMENTAL CLEANUP PIECES OF THE THING -- START THEM ALL AT ONCE, BECAUSE THERE'S NO SENSE IN WASTING TIME AND DELAYING.

THE SECOND THING THAT WE CAN DO TO CLEAN UP THIS THING IS TO HAVE THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL CLEANUP. IN THE PAST, THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT VERY OFTEN FOUGHT THESE ISSUES IN THE COURTS AND DELAYED THE CLEANUP FOREVER BECAUSE THERE WAS ENORMOUS LEGAL CASES OVER HOW MUCH IT COST, WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE. THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT WAS ALWAYS SOMEWHAT RESPONSIBLE, BUT HOW MUCH WERE THEY RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS? COULD THEY EVADE SOME OF THE RESPONSIBILITY THROUGH LEGAL CHALLENGES? WE'RE NOT GOING TO DO THAT. WE'RE GOING TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY, START THE CLEANUP, HELP PAY FOR IT, AND GET IT GOING.

THOSE TWO THINGS AND OTHER THINGS WE'RE GOING TO TRY AND DO, BUT THE THIRD PROBLEM IS GETTING THE ENVIRONMENTAL CLEANUP GOING QUICKER.

THE FOURTH PROBLEM IS THE DISPOSAL PROBLEM -- DISPOSING OF THE PROPERTY. IN THE PAST, IN THE PLACES WHERE BASE CLOSING HAS NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL, THE BIGGEST PROBLEM HAS BEEN DISPOSAL OF THE LAND. AND DISPOSING OF THAT LAND QUICKLY. THERE'S A COUPLE OF THINGS THAT WE CAN DO THAT WOULD HELP.

ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE'LL DO IS TO LET LOWER-LEVEL PEOPLE DO THE DISPOSAL. IN THE PAST, THE DISPOSAL DECISIONS HAD TO GO ALL THE WAY TO THE TOP OF THE PENTAGON OR VERY HIGH UP INTO THE PENTAGON TO SORT OF THE JOHN DEUTSCH/BILL PERRY LEVEL. WE'RE GOING TO FIX IT SO THAT THE PEOPLE AT THE LOWER LEVELS CAN MAKE THOSE DISPOSALS, AND THAT OUGHT TO SPEED THINGS UP.

THE SECOND THING IS THAT WE'RE GOING TO ALLOW FOR PARTIAL DISPOSALS. IN THE PAST, THE PRACTICE HAS BEEN THAT UNTIL ALL OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN STRAIGHTENED OUT, YOU DID NOT DISPOSE OF ANY OF THE LAND. WHAT IS GOING TO BE THE POLICY NOW IS THAT -- AND INEVITABLY WHAT HAPPENS IS THAT, IF YOU HAVE AN ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM, IT DOESN'T AFFECT THE WHOLE BASE, BUT IT AFFECTS A PART OF THE BASE. NO SENSE HOLDING UP THE DISPOSAL OF THE LAND THAT IS NOT AFFECTED WAITING ON THE WHOLE -- ON THE CLEANUP OF THE PROBLEM THAT IS AFFECTED.

WE'RE GOING TO SUBDIVIDE, AND WE'RE GOING TO BE WILLING AND READY AND ABLE, AND WE WILL GO AHEAD AND DISPOSE OF THE LAND THAT IS NOT AFFECTED, SO THAT EVEN THOUGH THE PART WE STILL WORRY ABOUT THE CLEANUP AND THE TIME IT WILL TAKE TO DO THE PART THAT'S BEEN ENVIRONMENTALLY CONTAMINATED, ANY PART THAT'S NOT ENVIRONMENTALLY CONTAMINATED WE'RE GOING TO BE WILLING TO GO AHEAD AND GET THAT DISPOSAL TAKEN CARE OF AND GET THAT OUT INTO THE COMMUNITY AND AVAILABLE FOR PUBLIC USE.

FINAL POINT -- (WORD INAUDIBLE) -- POINT -- AND THOSE OF YOU MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WILL BE APPRECIATIVE OF THIS POINT -- THERE IS A WHOLE LOT OF LAW -- OF MONEY TUCKED AWAY IN VARIOUS

APPROPRIATION BILLS TO HELP CLEAN UP THESE BASES, TO HELP WITH THESE BASES, TO TRANSFORM THESE BASES FROM PUBLIC FACILITIES TO BOOMING COMMERCIAL -- AVAILABLE COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES. THE PROBLEM IS IS THAT THE MONEY IS IN DIFFERENT APPROPRIATION BILLS; IT'S KNOWN TO THE MEMBERS OF THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE OR THE PEOPLE ON THAT SUBCOMMITTEE WHO KNEW ABOUT IT; IT'S NOT KNOWN TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC. WHAT WE WILL DO -- AND THIS INFORMATION WILL BE IN THE HANDS OF A SINGLE COORDINATOR FOR EACH BASE -- IS TO COMPILE THAT INFORMATION IN A SINGLE SOURCE DOCUMENT SO THAT ANY COMMUNITY KNOWS WHAT'S AVAILABLE. IN OTHER WORDS, THERE'S MONEY IN THE FAA ACCOUNT, IN THE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION, THAT ALLOWS BASES THAT HAVE AN AIRPORT ON IT TO CONVERT THAT TO A COMMERCIAL AIRPORT. BUT WHO WOULD KNOW IT UNLESS YOU HAPPEN TO KNOW A LOT ABOUT THE LAW AND ABOUT THE VARIOUS APPROPRIATIONS BILLS. BUT THERE HAS BEEN MONEY PUT INTO A LOT OF APPROPRIATIONS BILLS FOR A LOT OF DIFFERENT USES. WHAT WE NEED TO DO IS TO COMPILE THAT INTO A SINGLE DOCUMENT, A SINGLE SOURCE OF INFORMATION THAT WILL BE AVAILABLE TO THE COMMUNITIES. AND WE'RE GOING TO DO THAT, AND THAT COORDINATOR WILL HAVE THAT INFORMATION AND MAKE IT AVAILABLE TO ALL OF YOU.

SO THAT'S IT. I MEAN, BASICALLY THIS IS WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO, WE'RE TRYING TO LEARN FROM THE PAST AND WE'RE TRYING TO MAKE SOME LEMONADE HERE. WE'RE TRYING TO TAKE A SITUATION WHICH WE KNOW IS VERY, VERY DIFFICULT FOR ALL OF YOU AND TRYING TO MAKE -- GIVE YOU SOME HELP. THERE IS THAT OLD GAG THAT SAYS, "WE'RE HERE FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND WE'RE HERE TO HELP YOU WITH YOUR PROBLEMS." THAT USUALLY IS FOLLOWED BY WEARY CHUCKLES. LET ME TELL YOU THAT THIS TIME WE ARE DETERMINED TO BE GENUINELY HELPFUL. CALL ON US EARLY AND OFTEN FOR HELP WITH THESE BASES. WE WANT TO LEARN FROM THE MISTAKES, WE WANT TO CONVERT THESE BASES INTO BOOMING ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, VIABLE COMMERCIAL AREAS, AND WE'RE GOING TO DO EVERYTHING WE CAN TO HELP WITH THAT.

THANK YOU ALL VERY MUCH FOR COMING TODAY. THANK YOU. (APPLAUSE.)

WILLIAM PERRY: DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR, WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE SAID: IN THE END, AMERICANS WILL ALWAYS DO THE RIGHT THING AFTER HAVING FIRST EXHAUSTED ALL OTHER ALTERNATIVES.

WE BELIEVE WE MAY HAVE THROUGH THE YEARS EXHAUSTED ALL THE OTHER ALTERNATIVES, AND WE'RE READY TO DO THE RIGHT THING OF HELPING COMMUNITIES IN THE BASE CLOSING -- (INAUDIBLE).

THE NEXT SPEAKER I'D LIKE TO INTRODUCE TO DESCRIBE TO YOU THE DEFENSE RESTRUCTURING PROGRAM, WHICH IS LEADING TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE BASES HERE, IS GENERAL COLIN POWELL, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

GEN. POWELL: GOOD AFTERNOON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. IT'S A GREAT

PLEASURE TO WELCOME YOU ALL TO THE PENTAGON THIS AFTERNOON.

WHEN I BECAME CHAIRMAN FOUR YEARS AGO, IT ALSO SIGNALLED THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE COLD WAR, THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE END OF 40 YEARS OF AMERICAN MILITARY HISTORY. AND THE CHALLENGE THAT THE CHIEFS FACED AT THAT TIME WAS HOW TO TAKE THIS VICTORY IN THE COLD WAR AND HOW TO TAKE THAT VICTORY AND CONVERT OUR ARMED FORCES IN A SENSIBLE WAY.

BECAUSE UNLIKE ALL PREVIOUS WARS WE HAD WON, THE WORLD WAS STILL GOING TO BE A DANGEROUS PLACE. WE ALSO WERE NOT GOING TO REPEAT THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST WHERE WE TORE APART OUR ARMED FORCES, WE TOTALLY DEMOBILIZED ONLY TO DISCOVER THAT WEAKENING OURSELVES IN SUCH A WAY MERELY ENCOURAGED PEOPLE TO CHALLENGE US ON THE WORLD STAGE. WE WERE ALSO REMINDED AS WE STARTED THROUGH THIS DOWNSIZING PROCESS OF THE TRUTH OF THIS THEORY WHEN WE HAD TO FIGHT A SMALL CONFLICT IN PANAMA AND WE HAD TO FIGHT A BIG CONFLICT IN THE DESERTS OF THE PERSIAN GULF AND AS WE HAD TO DEAL WITH A VERY UNTIDY WORLD THAT CAME UPON US AFTER THE END OF THE COLD WAR.

BUT, NEVERTHELESS, WHAT THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF DID WAS SIT DOWN AND SAY THE COLD WAR IS OVER AND IT AIN'T COMING BACK AND WE HAVE TO FACE UP TO THAT REALITY. WE FACED UP TO IT IN SEVERAL WAYS.

ONE, THE SIZE OF THE FORCE HAD TO COME DOWN, AND IT HAD TO COME DOWN SIGNIFICANTLY. THE FIRST INCREMENT OF THAT WAS ABOUT 25 PERCENT, 500,000 ACTIVE DUTY TROOPS GOING OFF THE ROLLS IN A VOLUNTEER FORCE.

WE ALSO FACED UP TO WHAT IT MEANT IN TERMS OF OUR ACQUISITION AND RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS. FOR THE LAST 40 YEARS, WE WERE CHASING TECHNOLOGY TO MAKE SURE THAT OUR QUALITY WAS ALWAYS BETTER THAN SOVIET QUALITY SO THAT WE COULD COMPENSATE FOR SOVIET QUANTITY. BUT NOW WE WERE NO LONGER CHASING THE SOVIET UNION AND THEY WERE NO LONGER CHASING US.

SO, THAT ALLOWED US TO MAKE DIFFERENT SORTS OF CHOICES WITH RESPECT TO THE WEAPONS SYSTEMS THAT WE KEPT IN PRODUCTION, WITH RESPECT TO HOW WE CHASED TECHNOLOGY REALLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF STAYING AT THE FORWARD EDGE OF THE STATE OF THE ART AND EVEN BEYOND, REPLACING WEAPONS THAT BECAME OBSOLETE, BUT WE NO LONGER HAD TO DO IT AT THE SAME RATE WE HAD BEEN DOING IT BEFORE BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION WAS GONE.

WE ALSO COULD CHANGE ASSUMPTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE SUPPLIES WE HAD TO BUY, THE DEPOT MAINTENANCE ACTIVITIES WE HAD TO CONDUCT. IN OTHER WORDS, REPAIRING OUR EQUIPMENT.

WHY? BECAUSE FOR 40 YEARS, WE THOUGHT WORLD WAR III WOULD BE

UPON US, AND WE'D HAVE TO FIGHT THE SOVIET UNION EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD, IN THE PACIFIC, IN THE ATLANTIC, IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, YOU NAME IT, EVERYWHERE WE WOULD BE FACED WITH THE SOVIET EMPIRE IN ONE SINGLE, HUGE WORLD WAR. THAT WENT AWAY.

WHEN WORLD WAR III WENT AWAY, WE REPLACED WORLD WAR III WITH A DIFFERENT SET OF PLANNING ASSUMPTIONS THAT SAID WE MIGHT HAVE TO FIGHT REGIONAL CONFLICTS, NOT WORLD CONFLICTS, REGIONAL CONFLICTS, PERHAPS ONES SOMEWHERE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SOUTHWEST ASIA. AND WE SAW VERY EARLY ON WE HAD TO DO JUST THAT. AND WE MAY STILL HAVE TO DO THAT AT SOME POINT IN THE FUTURE. AND WE SHOULD ALSO KEEP ENOUGH FORCE THAT WE CAN PERHAPS HAVE TO, YOU KNOW, HAVE TO ENGAGE -- IF WE EVER HAVE TO ENGAGE, IN A PLACE LIKE NORTHEAST ASIA, KOREAN PENINSULA, KEEP THAT AMOUNT OF FORCE AROUND, BUT IT'S UNLIKELY THAT THEY WOULD HAPPEN EXACTLY AT THE SAME TIME AND IT'S UNLIKELY THAT THE TWO OF THEM TOGETHER WOULD EVER RISE TO THE LEVEL OF THE WORLD WAR III SCENARIO.

SO, WE TOSSED ALL OF THAT OVER THE SIDE. AND THAT ALLOWED US TO BEGIN TO PAY TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC THE PEACE DIVIDEND THEY WERE EXPECTING, AND THE PEACE DIVIDEND THAT WE WANTED TO PAY TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC. AND SO, AS WE BROUGHT THE FORCE DOWN, WE HAD TO BRING DOWN THE ACTIVE DUTY FORCE; WE HAD TO BRING DOWN THE SIZE OF OUR RESERVES TO SOME EXTENT BECAUSE THEY WERE GEARED AGAINST FIGHTING THE RED ARMY IN EUROPE, AND THE RED ARMY IS GONE FROM EUROPE.

WE HAD TO BRING DOWN ALL THE STOCKS WE HAVE, ALL THE WAR RESERVE STOCKPILES.

A LITTLE EXAMPLE: WE KEPT ABOUT 110 BILLION BARRELS OF OIL IN OUR THEATER RESERVES, WE CALLED IT, IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO FIGHT WORLD WAR III. NO WORLD WAR III, WE CAN GET OIL FROM MANY SOURCES IF WE'RE FIGHTING IN ONE PARTICULAR THEATER OR ANOTHER. WE COULD CUT THAT AMOUNT IN HALF AND SAVE ALMOST DOLLAR 400 MILLION IN INVESTMENT COST.

AND AS WE WENT THROUGH THIS ENTIRE CALCULUS, WE BEGAN TO MAKE THESE REDUCTIONS ACROSS THE FORCE. AND ONE AREA THAT WE LOOKED AT THAT SIMPLY HAD TO BE REDUCED ALONG WITH ALL OTHER AREAS WAS THE BASE STRUCTURE THAT WE HAD.

IT WAS A BASE STRUCTURE THAT REALLY DOES NOT HAVE A RATIONAL UNDERPINNING ANY LONGER. THE BASES WERE BUILT OVER MANY, MANY DECADES, MANY, MANY WARS. SOME OF THEM HAVE A WORLD WAR II ORIGIN, SOME OF THEM HAVE A WORLD WAR I ORIGIN. I CAN SHOW YOU SOME BASES OUT IN PARTS OF THE MIDWEST AND DOWN TO THE SOUTHWEST THAT HAVE BEEN THERE ESSENTIALLY SINCE THE INDIAN WARS AND GREW OVER TIME. ALL OF THAT HAD TO BE RESTRUCTURED, REDUCED, REALIGNED, AND MADE RELEVANT TO A NEW WAR-FIGHTING CONCEPT OF TWO MAJOR REGIONAL CONTINGENCIES, SOME ABILITY TO SURGE FORCES OUT FROM THE UNITED STATES, BUT NO LONGER THE KIND OF BASE

STRUCTURE OR FORCE STRUCTURE THAT WE RETAINED FOR WORLD WAR II. AND SO WE HAVE AGGRESSIVELY GONE AFTER BASES -- BASES THAT NO LONGER SERVE THE INTENDED PURPOSE OR WE NO LONGER NEED FOR ANY POSSIBLE FUTURE EMERGENCY.

WE HAVE TO DO IT IN ORDER TO CONTINUE TO PAY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THEIR PEACE DIVIDEND, SO THAT WE CAN REDUCE THE CLAIM THAT THE DEFENSE BUDGET MAKES ON OUR NATIONAL TREASURE. WE DO IT ALSO THAT WE ARE NOT WASTING MONEY ON BASES THAT WE NO LONGER NEED SO WE CAN USE THAT DEFENSE DOLLAR. IF WE DON'T GIVE IT BACK TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WE CAN USE IT MORE EFFECTIVELY TO BUY REAL CAPABILITY FOR THE KINDS OF CHALLENGES THAT THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE LIABLE TO BE FACING. AND SO, YOU ARE A PART OF THAT PEACE DIVIDEND THAT MUST BE PAID IN ORDER TO COME THROUGH THIS PROCESS OF CHANGE, THIS PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING AND DOWNSIZING IN A VERY, VERY SENSIBLE WAY.

I AND ALL OF MY COLLEAGUES ON THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF RECOGNIZE HOW PAINFUL THIS IS TO YOUR COMMUNITIES. IT DISTRESSES US ALSO BECAUSE YOU HAVE BEEN OUR FRIENDS OVER THE YEARS. YOU HAVE BEEN THE ONES WHO HAVE ALWAYS BEEN WILLING TO SUPPORT US, TO SUPPORT A STRONG DEFENSE. AND MORE IMPORTANTLY THAN THAT AND ON A MORE PERSONAL NOTE, YOU HAVE BEEN THE ONES WHO ARE WILLING TO TAKE CARE OF OUR YOUNGSTERS AND TO TAKE CARE OF THEIR FAMILIES WHEN THOSE YOUNGSTERS HAD TO GO OVERSEAS AND GO IN HARM'S WAY.

SO YOU HAVE BEEN PART OF OUR MILITARY FAMILY ALL OF THESE YEARS. AND WE WANT TO MAKE SURE AS WE GO THROUGH THIS DOWNSIZING PROCESS THAT, AS THE SECRETARY NOTED AND AS YOU WILL HEAR FROM OTHER REPRESENTATIVES HERE TODAY, WE DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO HELP WITH THE DOWNSIZING PROCESS, TO HELP WITH THE CONVERSION PROCESS, TO HELP WITH PROVIDING THIS PEACE DIVIDEND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BECAUSE WE ALL WILL BENEFIT FROM A SMALLER DEFENSE BUDGET AS LONG AS WE MAKE SURE THAT WE HAVE A SUFFICIENT DEFENSE BUDGET TO SATISFY THESE NEW CHALLENGES WE ARE FACING AND WE ARE NOT INVESTING IN THINGS THAT ARE LEFT OVER FROM OUR COLD WAR HERITAGE. AND SO, THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF ARE HARD AT WORK WITH OUR COMMANDERS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES TO HELP YOU CONVERT THESE PROPERTIES INTO MUCH MORE HOPEFULLY ECONOMIC, EFFICIENT, AND WORTHWHILE COMMERCIAL ENDEAVORS WHICH WILL BENEFIT OUR COUNTRY OVERALL.

I MIGHT ALSO POINT OUT THAT AS PART OF THIS DRAWDOWN, WE ARE SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCING BASES OVERSEAS AS WELL. CLOSE TO 800 BASES, INSTALLATIONS, SMALL STATIONS, BIG STATIONS HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED OR ARE GOING TO BE ELIMINATED DURING THE PERIOD OF THIS DRAWDOWN. THE PLACE WHERE I ENTERED THE ARMY AND FIRST SERVED IN GERMANY HAS BEEN CLOSED. THE CORPS THAT I COMMANDED JUST SEVEN YEARS AGO IN EUROPE, 75,000 MEN STRONG, THEY ARE ALL NOW ON THEIR WAY HOME, AND ALL OF THE BASES ASSOCIATED WITH THAT

CORPS ARE BEING CLOSED.

SO THIS IS A WORLDWIDE DRAWDOWN, AND IT'S A SENSIBLE DRAWDOWN.  
AND I HOPE WE CAN COUNT ON YOUR SUPPORT AS WE GO THROUGH THIS  
PROCESS. YOU CERTAINLY CAN COUNT ON OUR SUPPORT.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH. (APPLAUSE)

END

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת,  
הסברה, ר/מרכז, ממד/בינל1, מרכזאיסוף,  
@ (רם), @ (מקשח/משהבט)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 4150

אל: רהמש/131

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 58, תא: 030893, זח: 1019, דח: ב, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,869473

בלמס/בהול

3/8/94

אל: תמ"ס- לשכת שר - רות כהן

תמ"ס- לשכת מנכ"ל- שרוני

תמ"ס- סחר חוץ- פרי

דע: אוצר- לשכת שר

אוצר- אגף בי"ל

מצפ"א- כלכלית

מאת: כלכלית וושינגטון.

הנדון: ביקור השגריר מיקי קנטור בישראל

זה עתה קיבלנו הודעה כי נציג הסחר האמריקאי השגריר קנטור מתכנן להגיע לישראל בסוף חודש פברואר. השגריר נענה להזמנתם המשותפת של שר התעשייה והמסחר ושר האוצר בביקורם בווינגטון וישב כיו"ר הועדה המעורבת על פי הסכם הסחר החופשי שבין שתי המדינות.

בדעת השגריר להגיע לארץ, ככל הנראה, ביום ששי ה- 25/2/94. בסוף השבוע קנטור מעוניין לסייר עם אשתו בארץ. אחר כך ה- 27-28 (או ה- 28/2-1/3-טרם הוחלט) יוקדשו לישיבות הועדה המעורבת ומפגשים עם שרי האוצר, התמ"ס ואישים נוספים- כמובן שטרם גובש לוח פגישות.

השגריר נענה להזמנת מארגני כנס "הפורום העסקי הישראלי" וישתתף בפנל בדבר כלכלת המזרח התיכון בעידן השלום ביום ה- 28/2/94.

לא ברור אם קנטור יעזוב את הארץ ביום זה או ב- 1/3/94.

הביקור יערכך במסגרת ביקור במדינות אחרות באיזור בעיקר באירופה.

מציעים כי כבר תוכן מסגרת כללית של הביקור אשר נעבירה לידי USTR על מנת לתאם עימם את פרטי הביקור.

מקווים לקבל היום גם את מועד ביקור המזכיר בראון.

עד כאן.

אמנון נויבך

מגן אלטוביה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, טקס,  
מאור, תמס, אוצר

סססס