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# מדינת ישראל

משרדיה הממשלה

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## Israel's Parliament Backs

### P.L.O. Accord, 61 to 50

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Sept. 23.—The Israeli Parliament approved the Labor Government's peace agreement with the P.L.O. today by a vote of 61 to 50.

The tally, after three days of rancorous debate, represented an expansion of the Labor Party's initial razor-thin edge, and thus of the credibility of the agreement itself with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"In my eyes this is a margin of more than 50 percent," Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said after the vote. "This gives the Government the freedom of movement to implement what it brought before the Knesset."

Mr. Rabin's affirmative votes in the 120-member Parliament came, as expected, from the 44 members of his own party, the 12 votes of the allied

### 8 Lawmakers, Including 3 in Likud, Abstain —Rabin Buoyed

leftist Meretz party and 5 votes from two small Israeli Arab parties that are not a part of his governing coalition.

But the margin was broadened by 8 abstentions, by 3 Likud members who broke from the opposition party's discipline and 5 members of the rigorously Orthodox Shas religious party. A sixth Shas parliamentarian was traveling abroad and marked absent.

In the passionate, and rather even, divisions of Israeli politics, the difference was significant. The possibility of a 61-to-59 vote would have meant that one of the most important votes in the

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New York Times Front 29.

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Jewish state's history would have passed without a Jewish majority, resting on the 5 votes of the Arab parties.

While Shas, representing Sephardic Jews, was reluctant to break with the other small religious parties that cling to the territorial vision of a biblical Israel, it had been heavily courted by Labor to abstain if it could not vote with the coalition. Finally, the 3 defections from Likud represented a crack in the opposition on the right.

‘‘Chicken Legs,’’ Netanyahu Says

Benjamin Netanyahu, the Likud leader, derided the vote as “a shriveled majority, 61 out of 120,” and added, using a Hebrew idiom for shakiness, “The coalition is standing on chicken legs.”

Asked if he felt beaten, Mr. Netanyahu replied: “God forbid. Just the opposite.”

Yitzhak Shamir, the former Prime Minister and longtime Likud hard-liner, who was pressured by Washington into starting the peace talks in Madrid nearly two years ago, declared after the vote: “A war has begun and it will continue. A war for the public’s soul.”

But Likud was clearly shaken by the defections of 3 of its members of Parliament, and this evening Zahi Hanegbi, a Likud legislator close to Mr. Netanyahu, called for the expulsion of the 3 from the party.

One of them, Meir Sheetrit, regarded as a relative dove within Likud, said the chance for peace should be pursued

**Continued From Page A1**

and warned his colleagues that their party’s “positioning itself at the right edge of the political map is political suicide.” He said later that more members would have joined him but for fear of party retribution.

The other Likud members who abstained were Roni Milo, Minister of Police in the last Likud government, who has advocated getting rid of the troublesome Gaza Strip and who is running for Mayor of Tel Aviv, where support for the P.L.O. agreement is high, and Assad Assad, a member of the Druse religious minority, whose community favors the accord.

**Likud Deputy Changes His Mind**

But a fourth Likud legislator, Ovadia Eli, who created consternation in the party Wednesday night by declaring that he would support the agreement if a number of conditions were guaranteed, wound up voting against it today.

Much of the attention in recent days has been focused on Shas, an uneasy part of Mr. Rabin’s coalition whose name is a Hebrew acronym for Sephardic Guardians of the Torah.

Like other small, tightly knit religious parties, Shas, which champions Jews of Middle Eastern and North African origin against the dominant Ashkenazi, Jews from Central and Eastern Europe, is crucial to forming a coalition. The party receives key patronage posts for its support, but Shas lost its Cabinet position when its leader, Arye

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Minister on charges of siphoning off state funds to Shas institutions.

Explaining the party's abstention in Parliament today, Mr. Deri said: "It is impossible to vote against a chance to reduce the possibility of war, the threat of war against Israel."

#### Rabin Shores Up Support

Mr. Rabin met this morning with Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, the Shas spiritual mentor, a 73-year-old Iraqi-born author of more than 30 volumes on religious law who wears a gold-embroidered coat and wraparound sunglasses. Later, in an example of the political constituencies at play, the Prime Minister met with leaders of the United Jewish Appeal, which each year raises \$750 million for Israel, to help build support for the agreement with the P.L.O.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, under a hail of heckling from the opposition, summed up the Government position at the end of the debate, saying, "The era of conflict is over."

Boring on through the din, as dozens of deputies shouted and waved their arms, Mr. Peres added: "What is the alternative? To close the door and say there is no peace, to return to the intifada and war?"

As voting began this afternoon, there were only a handful of protesters left on the hill outside Parliament. Near Hebron in the West Bank, Israeli settlers from fiercely religious Kiryat Arba clashed with army troops, leading to 10 arrests.

# Mideast Peace (Boys' Division)

By John Wallach

**T**WASHINGTON his summer, I saw a miracle. So did the 48 Arab and Israeli boys, 11 to 14 years old, invited by President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton to attend the signing of the Israeli-Palestinian peace accord at the White House.

The miracle began in August at a camp in Maine when one of the Palestinians encountered his first Jew, an Israeli from Jerusalem. Shortly after their arrival, each of the boys participating in the Seeds of Peace program was assigned a buddy from the "enemy" camp. They were divided into small groups for "co-existence seminars." The sessions were held at the end of each day of activities so the boys would be played out and give vent to their innermost feelings and prejudices.

One Israeli was a teen-ager whose father had been killed in a terrorist incident. One Palestinian was a boy whose uncle had been killed by an Israeli soldier. And there was a 12-year-old Palestinian who had spent six months in an Israeli prison after being arrested for throwing stones.

On the second day of the encounter groups, in an effort to explore their subjective views of one another, the boys were encouraged to draw pictures of their buddies and exchange them with each other. One Arab boy drew a side view. Except for the pony tail, it bore little relation to his buddy. The drawing depicted a bearded man with pockmarked skin, his face and neck covered with scars. He decorated the portrait with a peace symbol, hearts and swastikas. I do not believe he had any malicious intent: his subconscious dictated the drawing.

But when the drawings were exchanged and shown to the entire group, Elad, an Israeli, exclaimed: "The people that carried that symbol

— they killed my family!" When other Israelis began lecturing the Arabs about the six million Jews murdered in the Holocaust, Lyath, a Palestinian, shot back, "The numbers you have are wrong." Only 10,000 Jews were killed, he insisted. And, he added, what difference did it make if your grandparents were lost in the Holocaust? "You are missing your families from 50 years

ago" while my relatives are being killed today, he protested.

In the resulting emotional melee one Israeli, a cousin of Elie Wiesel, began to cry hysterically. Lyath charged that he was manufacturing his tears because it was inconceivable that he could cry for an ancestor he had never met, someone who died before he was born. Moments later

New York

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the boys stormed out of the gym, carrying the raw scars of their aged but newly opened wounds.

I was petrified. The experiment in co-existence at Seeds of Peace (which I founded) was coming apart at the seams. What I did not realize at that tense moment was how the hostile exchange permitted the Israelis and Palestinians to display their wounds, to put their own sense of victimization on the bargaining table. Few, if any, of us realized how cathartic that moment would be: we had, in short, crossed the Rubicon of pain.

As we struggled to pick up the pieces, my son, David, suggested that we get a copy of "The Night," Elie Wiesel's narrative of his family's experience in the Holocaust, and give it

## 'Negotiations' began in Maine.

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to Lyeth. By week's end, Lyeth was reading it. One afternoon, the counselor in his cabin spied a tear on his face. A day or two later, Lyeth gave the Israeli boy whose flood of tears had provoked the emotional outburst another sign — a high five — when he emerged from the infirmary after a short bout with the flu.

I did not put the Holocaust Museum on our Washington schedule because it seemed unfair to expose young Arabs to atrocities they had no direct responsibility for. But on their last day in Washington, heading back to the hotel after bidding the Israelis a tearful goodbye at the airport, our bus passed the museum. When our associate director, Barbara Gottschalk, pointed it out, Lyeth said, "Oh, Bobbie, please take me there." The next day she did, with three other eager Palestinians. They insisted on seeing everything, even areas the museum suggested be off-limits to children.

At the airport that day, Fadi, a Palestinian, asked whether a counselor who had accompanied them to the airport was Jewish. When he replied that he was, Fadi made a face, appearing disappointed and looking to Lyeth for approval. Without a moment's hesitation, Lyeth admonished him: "It doesn't matter if he is Jewish or not. He is our friend."

John Wallach is co-author with his wife, Janet, of "Arafat: In the Eyes of the Beholder." They are writing a new biography about Yasir Arafat.

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בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 24 ספטמבר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, ווושינגטונ

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הנדון: השטחים - לאחו חתימת ההסכם

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP 24/9 (WILLIAM CLAIBORNE) העוסקת בשינויים בשטחים לאחר חתימת ההסכם עם אש"ף. היחסים בין הפלשטיינים וצה"ל חזרו לשגרת השנים האחרונות וחשינו, המשמעות היחיד הינו דגלי אש"ף ותמונהו הרבות של ערפאת המתנוזסים בכל מקום.

תקשורת

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# Arab-Israeli Relations in West Bank Unchanged

## Only Dramatic Difference Is Open Display of Palestinian Flags, Arafat Photographs

WP  
24/9

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

**BETHLEHEM**, West Bank—Outwardly, little has changed in the West Bank since Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization signed their peace agenda nearly two weeks ago.

Palestinian flags and photographs of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat are in evidence almost everywhere, which is a dramatic departure from the time when such symbols were cause for summary imprisonment by Israeli forces.

But the euphoria of the first night's peace celebrations, in which Israeli soldiers and exuberant Palestinians waved greetings to each other and spontaneously collaborated in a failed effort to break a gridlock of horn-honking cars in this Biblical city, has long since subsided.

Once again, military checkpoints block all the thoroughfares into Jerusalem, as they have for most of the time since March.

Except for the presence of Israeli army patrols, there has been little interaction so far between Jews and Arabs in the territory, as Israelis have been hesitant in resuming their once popular shopping visits to the colorful Arab markets or indulging in oriental feasting at Arab restaurants in Jericho and Ramallah.

Almost immediately after the Israeli army occupied the West Bank in the 1967 Middle East war, thousands of curious Israelis began flocking to the West Bank for day-long outings, a practice that continued until the Palestinian *intifada*, or uprising against Israeli occupation, erupted in December 1987.

When a wave of stabbings and other Arab attacks on Israeli civilians and soldiers began sweeping through the West Bank and the Arab Quarter of Jerusalem's Old City in March, Israelis stopped going to those areas altogether. Those who lived there in Jewish settlements remained but rarely ventured into densely populated Arab areas and never without being heavily armed or escorted by soldiers.

Most Israelis appeared to quickly re-adapt to the kind of pre-1967 separatist attitude toward the West Bank that for years had been supplanted by the "Greater Israel" perception of the territory that was encouraged by a succession of conservative Likud governments.

Despite the signing of the peace agenda, Israelis say they do not feel safe enough yet to drive through the West Bank, exposing their distinctively licensed cars to stone throwers or gunmen or walking unescorted through the labyrinth of narrow alleys in the Old City.

"In one minute you cannot change the hatred of the Arabs," said Amiad Rath, 24, of Netanya, who was visiting Jerusalem to spend the Rosh Hashana holiday weekend with relatives. "Remember, right after they signed the agreement, they killed two soldiers in Gaza."

He was referring to an ambush of an Israeli army patrol in the occupied Gaza Strip by gunmen of the fundamentalist Muslim group Hamas, which remains opposed to any agreement with Israel.

Other Israelis said they are in no hurry to revisit the West Bank and, in any case, would wait for an unequivocal signal from Palestinian leaders



and Israeli security authorities that they would not be in danger.

Such a signal was promised last Saturday by Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, who planned to go on Israeli television to assure Israelis that they are welcome to his city and can safely visit its restaurants and shops without fear.

"We'd like the Israelis to come back. We have to break this barrier of fear. We should behave in a civilized way to our neighbors and to ourselves," Freij said in an interview.

Freij, a leader of the moderate wing of Palestinian nationalism who has advocated peace with Israel for the past 15 years, predicted that as foreign tourism swells in the absence of violence in the West Bank,

Israelis will gradually begin returning for day outings.

"I think first we have to bring back stability and restart our economy. We have a lot of work to do," he said.

Palestinian merchants in Jericho, which under the peace agenda will join Gaza in the first phase of self-governance, also said they will attempt to attract Israeli visitors.

"They should already feel welcome, especially when they see the Palestinian flag, because they should know that those who are flying the flag want peace," said Hani Daman Khouli, manager of the Seven Trees Restaurant in Jericho, which before the *intifada* was a popular eating spot for secular Israelis making Sabbath visits to the ancient Jordan Valley city.

The Seven Trees, like all of the restaurants in Jericho, is bedecked with pictures of Arafat and the nationalist flag. But most of its tables remain empty.

Khouli said a few Israelis have begun stopping in at the restaurant on their way home to Jerusalem from visits to the Dead Sea but that he does not expect an influx immediately. "But they will come back in time," he said.

Nazar Halteh was doing a brisk business at her Jericho fabric shop selling Palestinian flags, which until recently were banned in the occupied territories. She said Palestinians will make an effort to be hospitable to Israelis out of self-interest, if nothing else.

"We hope it will improve business in Jericho," she said.

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בלמס/מייד

תאריך: 24. ספטמבר 1993

אל: תפוצת "תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, ווושינגטן

הנדון: הסכם ישראל - אש"ף

מצ"ב כתבת ה-88 (DAVID HOFFMAN) וכותבת ה-WP (DOUG STURCK - F.P.) העוסקות בהצבעת הכנסת בנושא החטוף עם אש"ף. הכתבות מדווחות את הדיוונים בכנסת אשר הסתיימו באישור ההסכם ואת הפגנות מוגדי החסם מחוץ לכנסת במהלך הדיוונים.

תקשורת

# 215 Israeli-PLO pact ratified by Israel

Parliament gives  
Rabin 61-50 vote  
of confidence

By Doug Struck  
Jerusalem Bureau

JERUSALEM — They screamed and shouted for three days, but yesterday Israel's parliament members finally approved the government's historic accord with the Palestinians, 61 to 50.

Each side was disappointed it did not muster more support. But the margin left the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin intact and allowed him to avoid calling a time-consuming national referendum.

"This is a majority," Mr. Rabin said simply, after the vote. "It gives the government freedom of action to implement" the plan for limited Palestinian autonomy.

A rejection of the plan would have been a jolting brake to preparations already picking up steam:

□ Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, is planning to arrive in the West Bank town of Jericho Jan. 1, Palestinian officials said yesterday.

□ The PLO opened offices in the occupied territories to recruit a Palestinian police force, and hundreds of young men lined up for the jobs.

□ A public opinion poll of Palestinians showed growing support for the autonomy plan and continued negotiations with Israel.

The approval of the autonomy plan by the Israeli Knesset came after a tumultuous debate, which ended with Knesset members screaming at Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, the architect of the plan.

Both sides heavily courted the ultra-Orthodox Shas Party, but in the end none of the six Shas members voted. Their decision disappointed Mr. Rabin, who had to rely on five Israeli Arab members of the Knesset to insure a majority of 61 of 120 Knesset members.

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Although he only needed a majority of those voting to approve the accord, Mr. Rabin had declared the measure a confidence vote in his government, requiring the approval of 61 members.

Mr. Rabin also had hoped for a "Jewish majority" in the Knesset.

But the opposition, led by Benjamin Netanyahu, also was disappointed when three members of the right-wing Likud bloc abstained. Those desertions, and the failure to win the Shas votes, were seen as a blow to Mr. Netanyahu's claims to strength.

Similarly, the public demonstrations that opponents had hoped to maintain outside the Knesset largely dwindled over the three days of the debate.

Mr. Peres applauded the outcome, saying, "We have been given the opportunity to finish off the enmity between Jews and Arabs. There is justice in the Jewish people."

Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan

See ISRAEL, 8A, Col. 4

more ..

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# Israel's parliament approves accord with Palestinians in vote of 61-50

ISRAEL, from 1A

Ashrawi greeted the vote with praise, too. "Now we have become partners for peace rather than adversaries," she said.

Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza also showed support for the process. In a public opinion survey of 1,505 adults this week, 69 percent said they approve of the agreement.

The survey showed a sharp increase in Palestinian support for continued negotiations with Israel — 73 percent compared to 38 percent in a similar poll taken in August.

The survey was conducted by a Palestinian research group, Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre, partly financed by CNN and France 2 television.

It showed that 64 percent support the PLO, the highest level shown in three polls taken this year. Islamic groups, which oppose negotiations with Israel, had the support of 18 percent, down from 24 percent in August.

The autonomy plan calls for a withdrawal of Israeli forces from Jericho and the Gaza Strip by Dec. 13. Withdrawal from populated areas in the rest of the West Bank is to occur by next July, when Palestinians will elect a council for self-government.

Right-wing settlers opposed to the pact tried to clear land near Ramallah yesterday and to establish a new settlement, but the Israeli Army intervened, as it has on other occasions.

The army also continued past



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin smiles as the parliament approves the Israeli-PLO pact.

practice by barring Palestinians from entering Israel because of the Yom Kippur observance today and tomorrow.

As part of the preparations for taking over some functions from the Army, the PLO's newly opened offices in the territories began recruiting for a Palestinian police force yesterday.

Officials said 12,000 men from inside and outside the territories would become police officers. Some already are being trained in Jordan and Egypt.

Speaking to foreign reporters, Ms. Ashrawi said she believes the agree-

ment will permit Palestinians who fled to other countries in the 1967 war to return to the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

But she acknowledged "they can't all be returned in one batch. We can't accommodate them in one batch."

As many as 880,000 Palestinians in Jordan alone either fled the war or are children of those who did. Israel does not want so many Palestinians to join the 2 million residents of the occupied territories, and Ms. Ashrawi acknowledged that "we haven't talked numbers" with the Israeli authorities.

"The flow of people will have to be agreed upon," she said.

Ms. Ashrawi confirmed that Mr. Arafat is hoping to enter Jericho Jan. 1.

Israel has been mum about whether it would try to block the PLO chairman's entry, which is certain to prompt a huge celebration among Palestinians.

"I don't think they have any say in his coming back to Gaza and Jericho," Ms. Ashrawi said. "We took that for granted."

Although she cautioned that many details of the transition to autonomy have not been decided, she suggested Mr. Arafat would continue to exert power as chairman of the PLO and would not go on the Palestinian Council that is to be elected July 1.

Mr. Arafat "is not planning to change his title, as far as I know," she said.

WP 2419

# Rabin Wins Vote on PLO Accord

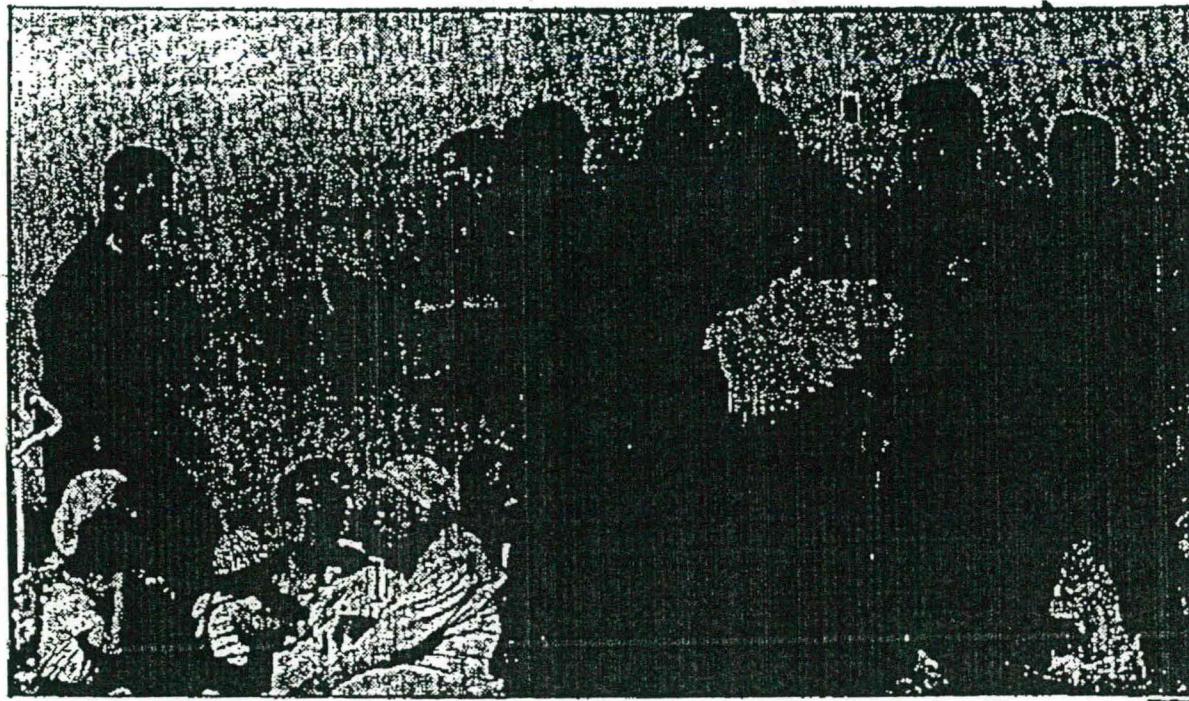
*Parliament Backs  
Agreement by 61-50*

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Sept. 23—Israel's parliament today approved the landmark accord with the Palestine Liberation Organization that will begin to phase out the 26-year-old military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and transfer control to the Palestinians.

The vote was 61 to 50, with eight legislators abstaining and one absent. The margin in the 120-member parliament was a solid victory for Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and wide enough that he can now resist demands for a national referendum or election. Rabin said the vote demonstrated that mutual recognition of the PLO and the accord for self-government are "not so far from the national consensus."

But the parliamentary vote—



## UNSETTLING THE SETTLERS

Israeli soldiers forcibly remove an ultra-nationalist Jew from an area in the West Bank where he and others, including the women and children at lower left, were attempting to start a new settlement. Little has changed in the occupied territory, however, since Israel and the PLO signed a peace agreement on Sept. 13. Story, Page A28.

which was not legally required but is traditional in Israel for major issues of state—was another setback for the main opposition party, Likud. Although its leader, Benjamin Netanyahu, had attempted to impose party discipline on its mem-

bers, three defied him and abstained rather than vote against the accord.

Likud member Meir Shetreet said many others in Likud would have liked to vote for the plan despite the party's opposition. He sug-

gested the hawkish party should move more toward the center and "get in touch with the people," or it could see its role in Israeli politics diminished.

The other defectors were Roni

See ISRAEL, A29, Col. 1

more...

# Vote on PLO Accord

ISRAEL From A25

Milo, Likud's candidate for mayor of Tel Aviv and a longtime advocate of an Israeli exit from strife-torn Gaza, and Assad Assad, a Druze member of the party.

The opposition claimed in three days of stormy debate that the accord would lead to a Palestinian state, threatening Israel's population centers. But supporters of the agreement said it could begin to resolve the hundred years of conflict between Arabs and Jews over the same land.

"The era of conflict is over," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said in a closing speech that elicited howls of derision from the opposition. "What is the alternative, to close the door and say there is no peace? To return to the *intifada* and war?"

As the parliament debated, several thousand protesters demonstrated outside, many of them Jewish settlers from the West Bank and Gaza. Former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir said the agreement would abandon the settlers.

"Our best sons will be turned into prisoners and hostages within a non-Jewish population," said Shamir, whose government had championed the settlement of the West Bank, home to 1.1 million Arabs and about 110,000 Jewish settlers. "There is only one way to save us," he said. "Direct elections at this hour could give the people time to open their eyes, reflect and return to their senses."

Peres sharply criticized Shamir. "You did nothing! You did not bring peace!" he declared.

Under the agreement, Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho will be the incubators for Palestinian government, which later is to expand to the rest of the West Bank. Peres said Israel could not rebuild Gaza or help its nearly 1 million people. "Density leads to violence," he said. "Poverty gives birth to terrorism. . . . That is your Gaza: the refugee camps, the poverty, the shame to all of us."

Just before the vote, Shas, a



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Prime Minister Rabin smiles during vote. He said the result showed that the accord with the PLO reflects "the national consensus."

small ultra-Orthodox party, announced that five of its six members would abstain and the sixth was overseas. The party has been part of Rabin's coalition, but its spiritual leader, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, had wavered for more than a week. The decision to abstain came after Yosef met Rabin today.

Party chief Aryeh Deri said Yosef instructed the party that "you cannot vote against an opportunity and a process that will open a new page toward decreasing the threat to Israel." But Deri said the party also had too many "trepidations and suspicions" about the accord to support it.

After the vote, Rabin told reporters, "This gives the government freedom of action to implement" the accord. Negotiations are scheduled to open in mid-October between Israel and the Palestinians on the task of transferring authority from the Israeli military government to the Palestinians.

The accord calls first for a pull-out of Israeli troops from Gaza and Jericho and later for Israeli soldiers in the remainder of the West Bank to be redeployed away from Arab population centers. Within nine months, a Palestinian-elected council is to take office and assume responsibility for most government functions.

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מאת: קונכ"ל אטלנטה

הנדון: פגישה עם ג'ימי קרטר

ב-22.9.93 נפגשתי עם הנשיא לשעבר, ג'ימי קרטר, לפגישת היכרות ב"מרכז קרטר" באטלנטה. השתחף הקונסול סורקיס-אלמוג. בראשית השיחה סיפר קרטר על בקוריו בمزח"ח לפני שנים אחדות. באותו עת נפגש עם הנשיא אסאד בדמשק לשיחות ארכו 11 שעות. לדברי קרטר, אסאד היה מוכן באותו עת לקבל כל הצעה סבירה, וקרטר דוחה על כך לרה"מ שפיר. (הוזכר כי הח"מ השתחף באותו פגישה, תוקף תפקידו באותה עת בלשכת רה"מ). כעת, מציע קרטר לישראל להמתין מעט, עד שהציבור הישראלי ייעל את התפקידו האחרון, ובתוךו חודשים אחדים תחול ישראל, לדעתו לפנות לسورים ולהתחליל לדון על הגולן. "זה רק עניין של זמן עד שسورיה תצטרף". קרטר סיפר כי "מרכז קרטר" איננו עוסק באותה אופן פעיל בנושא המזח"ח אלא באזרורים בעיתתיים אחרים, שבהם אין המשל האמר' עוסק. ואולם, אישית קרטר שומר על קשרים אישיים קרובים עם המנהיגים במזח"ח וכן עם ראש אש"ף. פיסל חוסיניני וחנן עשאורי באו לאטלנטה מספר פעמים כדי להוועץ בו. קרטר סיפר על פגישתו האחורה עם ערافت בירוש'ם, ביום חמימת מסמך העקרוניות. ערافت בקש את עצתו של קרטר, לגבי השפה שבה עליו לדבר וקרטר ייעץ לו לדבר אנגלית, בכל התקשורת האמר', שכן אז הוא פונה לקהיל האמר' ולהיודי ארה"ב, ולדבר ערבית, בטקס החתימה הרשמי, שכן אז הוא פונה בעיקר לעולם הערבי. קרטר ייעץ באותו פגישה לערافت להשתדר ולשתחף את החמאם, בענייני היוםום בעזה וביר"ש, שכן חסידי החמאם יושפעו מן הארוועים לא פחות מחסידי אש"ף. לדברי קרטר, נאמר לו מפי אישים פלשי', כי מנהיג החמאם, אחמד יאסין, פרסם הודעת תמייה בתהילך השלום, והם אף הראו לו את נסוח ההודעה. קרטר ביקש לקבל את נסוח ההודעה, אם אכן הייתה כזו. קרטר סיפר להלן כי הפלשי' פנו אליו בבקשת שיפקה על הבדיקות שיתקיימו בשטחים בכוא היום. קרטר אמר כי הוא "סומך על ערافت הרבה יותר מרוב האנשים תבקש זאת מני". קרטר אמר כי הוא "סומך על ערافت הרבה יותר מאשר בכך שגם מישראל האחרים". ערافت אמ衲 לא שלט עד עתה על שום שטח, אך הוא גילה, לדעת קרטר יכולת תמרון ואיזו גודלה גם לפני העולם הערבי והפלשי', וגם לגבי דעת הקהיל בישראל. קרטר הביע תקווה שערافت לא ינסה לפעול בשטחים "בשליפה מן הרבול". קרטר ייעץ לו להקים כבר עתה ועדות מיוודאות בשטחים, תוך שיתור גורמים רבים ככל האפשר, שיתקננו את הטיפול בהיבטים שונים של החיים בשטחים. לדעת קרטר, את הסיווע הכספי לשטחים יהיה צורך להעביר דרך "הבנק העולמי" כדי להבטיח שיוצאה כראוי. לדבריו, ערافت מוקף באנשים מבריקים, הוא אינטיליגנטי מאד, והוא יכול לנהל את העניינים בשטחים כראוי, שכן העם

הפלשי' רואים בו דמות-אב אהודה. קרטר סיפר כי את הלילה שלאחר חתימת הסכם בוש', בילה בבית הלבן, ושותח עם הנשיא קלינטון עד 1 בלילה, בנושא המזה"ת. הנשיא קלינטון אופטימי מאד לגבי העתיד. להלן סיפר, כי כאשר שהה באחרונה בתימן (בדרכו חזרה מאפריקה) בא אליו ערافت, ודיווח לו על התקדמות בשיחות עם ישראל "במסלול הנורווגי". מכאן שקרטר, ידע לדבריו עובדות אלה לפניו המישל האמר' (הדבר היה לפני פגישת כריסטופר-פרס בקליפורניה). "איןני יודע מה ידע דניס רוס, אך כריסטופר לא ידע עד אז דבר".

בפגישתם בתימן הتلונן ערافت מלך סעודיה פאהד איננו מוכן לפגוש בו, או לקבל מסר מנו, והוא בקש את עזתו. קרטר פנה מיד לשגריר הסעודי בתימן ובירך לשוחח עם פאהד. באישון אותו לילה נמסר לקרטר שהמלך פאהד מוכן לפגוש בו מיידית, וקרטר טס למחמת היום לג'דה. הוא העביר לפאהד את תלונות ערافت וקבע מנו הבטחה שיתמוך כספית בהסדרים החדשים.

ביווני, בועידת זכוויות האדם, הראה המלך חוסיין לקרטר את הסכם סדר היום הבלתי גמור (באותה עת) שהושג עם ישראל. חוסיין סיפר אז לקרטר, שאיננו רוצה לחתום על הסכם, עד שאש"ף יחתום על הסכם. קרטר נפגש באותו ויעידת גם עם שה"ח פרס.

קרטר סבור שארה"ב שגתה בכך שלא חידשה את המגעים עם אש"ף, מיד כאשר הכנסת בטלה את חוק איסור המפגשים.

לסיום, הביע קרטר רצונו לסייע בנושא הכלכלי, להגשמת הסכם עם אש"ף. הח"מ סיפר לו כי בדצמבר אנו מתכננים כאן يوم עיון לאנשי עסקים בנושא "כלכלה השלום" וקרטר הציע שיום העיון יתקיים ב"מרכז קרטר" ואך הביע נוכנות להשתתף אישית ביום העיון. קרטר סיפר כי איש העסקים הפלש' HASIB SABBAGH הוא שתירוך במשך השנים בינואר לביון ערافت. הנ"ל, שמושבו באתונה, משמש גם כראש ארגון הסעד הפלש', והוא מוכן להעביר את עסוקיו הענפים לעזה, מיד כשהמצב שם יהיה יציב. קרטר מתוכון לפגוש את שה"ח בסוף החודש בניו-יורק, ומשדרו עוסק עתה בתיאום הפגישה. בנפרד - דיווח על בקורס קרטר בטוגו.

אריה מל

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, 0 (רHAM), מנכ"ל, מנגנון, מנגנון, מרכז

ססס

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ה

33467, חוזם:  
אל: רהmesh/1597  
מ-: ווש, נר: 2101, מ-: 240993, זח: 1400, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
בככ  
סודי/מיידי

אל: רוחה ים, שה' יח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

1. התקשר מילר בתקפינו כסוגן מתאם צוות השלום האמריקאי.
2. ביקש להקדים ולהזכיר אותנו לקבלת מסר לגבי שאלת קיום הממשלה הירדנית פלסטינית המשותפת בשיחות. הנושא יתעורר כבר לקראת מפגש תוניס.
3. לדעתם (ולדבריו גם לדעת הרוסים) יש מקום להפריד. אך הם ירצו לקבל חוות דעתנו וחוות דעת הירדנים ויפנו בצורה מסוימת לבינדון ביום ב'.
4. ברי שהפלסטינים דוגלים בהפרדה.

רביינוביץ

תפוצה: 0 (רהם), שהח, סחה, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל

ססס

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33467  
אלא, חוזם: 1597/דוחמש  
אל: מ-: רוש, נר: 2101, תא: 240993, זח: 1400, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
סודי/מיידי

אל: רוחם, שהיח

מאת: השגיר, וושינגטון

1. התקשר מילר בתפקידו כסגן מתאם צוות השלום האמריקאי.
2. בקש להקדים ולהכין אותו לקבלת מסר לגבי שאלת קיום המוגרת הירדנית פלסטינית המשותפת בשיחות. הנושא יתעורר כבר לקרה מפגש תוניס.
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4. ברי שהפלסטינים דוגלים בהפרדה.

רביבנוביץ

9/1/17

תפוצה: 0(רham), שהח, סשהח, מנכל, ממנכל

ססס

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33431, חוזם:  
אל: דהmesh/ 1596  
מ-: רושינגטן, נר: 710, תא: 240993, זח: 1414, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
שמור/ מיידי

אל: אגף השלום, סמנכ"ל כלכלה

דעת: מ.מ"ד, חט' מז"ת, נ"י - סמנכ"ל

מאת: השגרירות רושינגטן

הנדון: כנס התורמות

להלן מישicha עם דסקי אלג'יריה ב - NEA (24/9)

1. בשונה ממה שנמסר עד כה אמר, כי לכנס התורמות יוזמנו כל מדינות ערב, ולא רק סעודיה ותוניסיה.
2. תגوبת שגרירות אלג'יריה כאן להזמנת מ.מ"ד היתה של הפתעה, שכן גם הם הבינו שהכוונה להזמין רק את סעודיה ותוניסיה, נציגות אזרוחין.
3. מ.מ"ד ביקש לנצל שהותם של שר החוץ ואוצר בארה"ב (עוצרת או"ם, קרן המטבע) כדי להביאם לכנס התורמות. מאלג'יריה טרם קיבלו תשובה סופית. אם תהיה השתתפות אלג'ירית, מצפים לבואו של שר החוץ.

לשנו יער

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, (ר.המ), (ר.המ) (שבט), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, (ר.ם), (ר.ם) (אמן), (ר.אמן) (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, ערן, כלכליות, מצפה, רחטמזה, ישראל'ערב

## דוחיות: פיזי

## קשור נזו. יורק

קיטור:

ס"ג: כלמ"ס

תוצ'ה

150

חט. מס' מ-

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב

בתחום - יועץ שהב"ט למקשורות. דוו"צ,  
אם"נ/קש"ח (יום' העברונא)

הע:

מאת

113

## LIKUD SPLIT SEEN ON PEACE ACCORD

## Dissent Is Seeping in Despite Opposition Party's Efforts to Maintain Solidarity

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Sept. 22 — The opposition Likud Party's solidarity against Israel's peace agreement with the P.L.O. began to crack today with one Likud deputy saying he supported the accord and three others hinting they may at least abstain when Parliament votes on the issue Thursday.

As the Parliament's debate droned on for a second day, Ovadia Eli, a former Deputy Defense Minister, stunned Likud Party colleagues by saying: "I have a personal announcement to make. I support the peace agreement."

ment."

Mr. Ell went on to say that his support was conditional on guarantees that the agreement would not lead to a Palestinian state, that Jerusalem would not be given up and that Jewish settlements in the occupied territories would not be dismantled.

"If the conditions are written down,

"If the conditions are written down in official documents, I will vote 'for' it," he said on Israeli television tonight.

New  
York  
Times  
23-

דינור:

### שם השולחן:

24-9

(29) **שחח(2) סחיח(1) רחם(1) מנכל(2) ממנכל(1) תכוננו(1) מצפה(2)**  
**סמנכלתגשורת(1) תקשורת(2) סמנכלשלום(1) ר' מרכזוו' אומבו'ו' גוינוו'**

2  
Likud Cracks the Whip

The Israel radio reported tonight that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin planned to meet with Mr. Eli.

The Likud leader, Benjamin Netanyahu, has sought to impose strict party discipline on the vote, but the opposition party floor whips were saying this evening they may not be able to enforce a "no" vote, and some members were fuming at Mr. Eli.

At least three other Likud members are known to be wavering, and may, at the least, abstain. They are Ronni Milo, Assad Assad and Meir Sheetrit.

Mr. Milo has long publicly favored getting rid of the troublesome Gaza Strip and is also running for Mayor of Tel Aviv, where support for the peace accord is strong. Mr. Assad, a member of the Druse religious community and a reserve army general, is under pressure from his own community, which also favors the agreement.

"I see this as very serious," Mr. Netanyahu said tonight when asked on the television news about possible Likud defections. "We are having talks. We will use all our weight so they will be loyal to their mandates."

2  
An Uneasy Majority

While Mr. Rabin seems assured of a narrow 61-59 majority, the vote, which is not technically binding on the Government, is assuming great political and psychological significance as a measure of the nation's support for the accord.

But Mr. Rabin's assured bare majority would rely on the votes of five deputies from two small Arab parties that are not a part of his governing coalition — in addition to 44 votes from his own Labor Party and 12 from the allied Meretz bloc. Thus, unless he finds five votes from other parties, one of the most important policy votes since Israel was formed could be passed without a Jewish majority which could severely undermine Mr. Rabin's political position.

In an effort to assure an all-Jewish victory in the vote, Labor Party officials have been courting a key Sephardic rabbi, Ovadiah Yosef, who controls the six deputies from the Shas Party, one of the tiny, tightly knit religious parties that possess power far out of proportion to their numbers.

2  
Mubarak Talks With Syria

Special to The New York Times

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt, Sept. 22 — President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt held three hours of talks with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria today and said that Israel must make progress in peace talks with Damascus.

"I differ with Mr. Rabin on the point that he could only go on one track," Mr. Mubarak said. "One track is not enough to reach a comprehensive settlement."

He warned that the Israeli accord with the P.L.O. would not yield quick results and said that Israel must now focus on reaching agreements with Jordan, Lebanon, and especially Syria.

After the meeting, Mr. Assad said Syria would stick to the negotiations with Israel, but he did not foresee a breakthrough soon.

Mr. Mubarak refused to comment on reports that Mr. Rabin said this week that Israel is prepared to pull out of the Golan Heights once political tensions over the accord with the P.L.O. ease.

"I don't want to tell you that Israel said that or did not say that," Mr. Mubarak said. "But I could tell you that to reach a comprehensive settlement, to reach peace, the Golan should be returned back to Syria."

113  
Fund-Raising Meeting Set

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 22 — Following up on its call for material support for the Israeli-Palestinian accord, Clinton Administration officials said today that an international conference intended to raise money for the occupied territories will be held in Washington on Oct. 1.

Edward P. Djerejian, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs, said invitations were sent out on Tuesday for the meeting, which will be held at the State Department. Among those invited are Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the European Community, Japan, Canada, Israel and Egypt, as well as Palestinian leaders and representatives of the World Bank.

American officials are seeking pledges of \$3 billion over 10 years to help the Palestinians with employment, housing, education and construction of roads and sewers. The United States has pledged to contribute \$250 million.

# P.L.O. Buries a Slain Leader in a Divided Gaza

By JOEL GREENBERG

Special to The New York Times

GAZA, Sept. 22 — Shrouded in a Palestinian flag, carried on a sea of chanting mourners, Muhammad Abu Shaaban was buried today like hundreds of other "martyrs" of the six-year-old uprising against Israel.

But Mr. Abu Shaaban, a lawyer and a local leader of the mainstream Al Fatah movement in the P.L.O., had not been killed by Israeli troops. He was shot Tuesday evening by gunmen believed here to have been his rivals in a power struggle within the local Fatah organization.

The assassination, eight days after the P.L.O. signed an accord with Israel on self-rule in the occupied territories, has raised fears here of violent feuds as Palestinians move to govern themselves, starting in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho.

The shooting alarmed senior P.L.O. officials, who reacted today with a chorus of condemnation. The P.L.O. chairman, Yasir Arafat, appealed to Palestinians "to reject violence and terrorism." Graffiti in Gaza signed by Al Fatah denounced the killing and warned against civil strife.

Even the militant Islamic movement Hamas, a rival of the P.L.O. and an

opponent of the accord with Israel, issued a leaflet condemning political assassination and urging "democratic dialogue."

Although opponents and supporters of the self-rule accord insist that they will not use violence, and have agreed not to disrupt each other's demonstrations, their debate remains sharp nonetheless across the Gaza Strip and the West Bank in leaflets, newspapers, graffiti and street rallies.

Supporters of the agreement are led by Al Fatah, with backing from two other P.L.O. factions, the Palestinian Democratic Union and the Palestinian People's Party. They say the accord

23-10

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lays the foundation for a future Palestinian state and assures later discussion of such thorny issues as Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees and Jewish settlements.

The most vehement rejection comes from Hamas and another militant group, Islamic Holy War. They have been joined by followers of two leftist P.L.O. factions: the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Hamas calls the agreement a treasonous sellout of Palestine, which it says must become an Islamic state "from the river to the sea," encompassing the area of Israel and the occupied territories. Instead, Mr. Arafat has accepted Israel's right to exist in secure borders, and agreed to an interim period of self-rule in the territories.

Hamas leaflets have urged followers to resist the agreement and step up attacks on Israeli troops and settlers.

The Popular Front and Democratic Front do not share Hamas's vision of an Islamic state, but they also argue that the self-rule deal forfeits Palestinian rights. It carries no assurances, they protest, that after the interim self-rule period Palestinians will achieve an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital, a return of refugees, or a full Israeli withdrawal and a dismantling of Jewish settlements.

"By the end of the interim period Israel will have likely achieved diplomatic and economic ties with the Arab states, and it will be much harder then to discuss these issues," said Ali Abu Hilal, a local Democratic Front leader. "Israel will have achieved its aims, and there will be little pressure on it to

address our problem, which will remain unresolved."

A leaflet published jointly by Hamas and the Democratic and Popular Fronts, says a Palestinian police force that is to be set up will become an Israeli client militia, quelling Palestinian opposition while helping Israel protect its borders and settlements.

Some Hamas followers warn that they will hit back at Palestinian policemen who try to suppress attacks on Israeli targets. Mr. Abu Hilal urged a referendum on the agreement, adding that his group would call for a boycott of elections to a self-governing council. Riyad Maliki, a leading spokesman for the Popular Front, called for a boycott of P.L.O. officials expected to arrive in the territories to set up the self-rule administration.

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U/H

**T**WO aging Boeing T27s no longer wanted by oil-rich Kuwait will soon be cleared for delivery to Syria, months after the State Department blocked the gift under export control regulations despite President Hafez Assad's urgent appeal for Washington's approval.

Clearance was personally approved by President Clinton just before the Sept. 13 Israel-PLO signing ceremony on the White House lawn. After a telephone call from Clinton, Assad reluctantly reversed his

#### INSIDE REPORT

EVANS &  
NOVAK



order to Syrian Ambassador Walid al-Moualem to boycott the South Lawn extravaganza and return to Damascus that weekend.

Assad's switch alerted U.S. Mideast peace handlers to an important fact: The inscrutable Syrian strongman can be induced by the president of the United States to change his mind. Other phone calls have followed.

The release of the Boeing jets was Clinton's first policy maneuver to keep Assad quiet, if not happy, until Is-

# CLINTON WOOS ASSAD

raeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin catches his breath from the PLO breakthrough and moves to negotiations with Syria.

Rabin's second big land-for-peace deal will be Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights in exchange for real peace with Damascus. Few who know Rabin doubt that he means it, but Assad may be wondering.

Clinton's next maneuver to woo Syria's leader is now quietly working its way through the diplomatic bureaucracy: An unprecedented invitation to Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara to come to Washington for talks with Secretary of State Warren Christopher — and perhaps Clinton himself — during the U.N. General Assembly meeting next week.

That may seem to be small potatoes, but no Syrian official other than accredited ambassadors has been invited to Washington for nearly two decades. For the unpredictable autocrat who has ruled Syria for almost 30 years, this Washington boycott has been no badge of honor.

Assad assumed the boycott would be relaxed long ago.



**HAFAZ ASSAD**

He helped free American hostages in Lebanon (though their captivity would have been impossible without his help), he joined President Bush's Desert Storm coalition, he allowed Jews to get out of Syria and he supported the U.S.-sponsored "peace process" starting with the 1991 Madrid summit.

But the boycott, justified by Syria's inclusion on the "terrorist" list for almost 10 years in the company of indisputably outlaw states such as Iraq, Sudan, Libya, and North Korea, has remained in place.

Assad's potential for troublemaking is not in dispute.

He gives safe haven to hangers-on of Yasser Arafat in the PLO, such as George Habash and Nayif Hawatmeh, who are committed to wrecking Gaza-Jericho autonomy. He blocked the first real effort of Lebanon's new government to exercise control over the whole country when it tried to send the Lebanese army to disarm Iranian-led Hezbollah fanatics in Southern Lebanon.

Clinton has been told by both his advisers and key Arab leaders that if Assad succeeded in crippling the Israel-PLO pact, he would also cripple himself. He would give Israel not just a pretext but solid reason for tough military reaction that could cost what matters more to Assad than all else put together: recovering the Golan Heights.

That's why Clinton's policymakers are not yet losing sleep over the implicit threat posed by Assad. Clinton took to heart Rabin's insistent advice in their long, private talk here 10 days ago: Give Assad lots of attention, keep him in the game, do not treat him as a pariah and tell him Golan will soon be back in play. Clinton is trying.

*New  
York  
Post*

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23-9

דוחיפות: מידי

קשר ניו-יורק

מלה: 5 (3)

ס"ג: בلم"ס

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב  
New

מס מסך:

1171

כטחון - יוועץ שבב"ט לקשרות, דוו"צ,  
אמ"נ/קש"ח (ים, העבי-וונא)

דעת:

מארן: עתונות, ניו-יורק

By CLYDE HABERMAN

John Demjanjuk took his last steps on Israeli soil early yesterday in handcuffs.

They were removed by Israeli prison officials at the door of the El Al jumbo jet that carried him back to the United States, where, on landing at Kennedy International Airport in New York, he was whisked onto a small private plane and flown to an undisclosed hideaway in Ohio, presumably not far from his home in the Cleveland suburbs.

Wherever he is, he is still shackled, in a way, this man who had been condemned to the gallows until the Israeli Supreme Court in late July overturned his conviction on the basis that there was reasonable doubt that he was "Ivan the Terrible" of the Treblinka death camp in Nazi-occupied Poland.

There were no such doubts among fellow passengers on El Al Flight 001 from Tel Aviv to New York. And the moment he stepped onto the plane for a return to America after seven years in Israel, they let Mr. Demjanjuk know that, for however many more years he has left beyond his present 73, he would be bound hand and foot to the "Ivan" case and to charges that he had taken part in the mass killing of Jews at other Nazi camps.

#### Curses and Spitting

"He's a murderer!" yelled Moses Korokki, who lives in Baltimore and, like Mr. Demjanjuk, was born in Ukraine.

Another passenger spat in the direction of Mr. Demjanjuk (pronounced dem-YAHN-yook). Others, most of them Jews dismayed to see him flying the national carrier of the Jewish state, rained curses upon him in English and Hebrew.

①

"Aboard Flight,  
Demjanjuk  
Hears  
Different  
Verdict"

✓.1.0

New York

Times

23-9

שם השולחן:

קארין:

ל. אל. א. - ב. י. א. י. א.

ט. 9-9-0.

(29) (2) שוחח(2) סוחח(1) רחם(1) מונכל(2) מונכל(1) תכון(1) מזפף(1)  
סמכנילתקשורת(1) תקשורת(2) סמכנילשלום(1) ר/מרכז(1) ממד(4) רם(1) אפל(4)  
אומן(1) יונטמאנ(1) משפא(1) צנזורצבאי(1) דוד-ים(1) טפ(6) טפ(6)

"Nazi!"  
"May his name and memory be obliterated!"

"Why don't they put him on a plane to Egypt? Send him to Egypt!"

"Send him to hell!"

Kochava Eden, born in Haifa and living in Los Angeles, was appalled to find that her window seat near the front of the plane put her directly behind Mr. Demjanjuk, and angrily she picked up her bag and moved. "Instead of letting him fly with us, we should pull him behind the plane," she said.

#### Protests at Kennedy

Similar protests greeted the El Al flight at Kennedy Airport. There, up to 100 demonstrators denounced Mr. Demjanjuk and demanded that he be deported quickly to Ukraine and not be allowed to regain the United States citizenship that was taken from him in 1981, five years before his extradition to Israel on the "Ivan the Terrible" charges. A Federal appeals court in Ohio is now considering whether the denaturalization order was unfair, warranting its reversal.

Mr. Demjanjuk, who along with family members and two hired bodyguards wore a bullet-proof vest during the flight, never saw the protesters, for he was hustled from the El Al jet to a chartered Cessna that carried him to a small airport at Medina, Ohio, 25 miles south of Cleveland.

As for the heckling aboard the Israeli plane, there is no way to tell what he heard or felt, or whether the curses and shouts fell unabsorbed into the vast well of imprecations that have defined his existence since the war-crimes investigation of him began 16 years ago.

He looked almost jaunty, having shucked off his drab brown Israeli prison uniform for the last time, and replaced it with a striped pullover shirt, blue slacks, a green windbreaker and an almost rakish white hat, all bought by his family at a shop in Tel Aviv.

But his face showed exactly what it did through most of his original trial in Israel, which ended in 1988 with a guilty verdict, and throughout the hearings of an appeal to the Israeli Supreme Court that dragged on for five years. That is to say, his face showed almost nothing.

It broke into a thin smile when the plane took off from Ben-Gurion Airport, and again when it touched down

He's leaving his jail cell in Israel to be confined at home for the rest of his life.

at Kennedy. Other than that, Mr. Demjanjuk gave nothing of himself to prying eyes, and attempts to squeeze out even a banal observation about his newly won freedom went nowhere.

"He's very happy to be on his way back home," said Edward W. Nishnic, 38, Mr. Demjanjuk's son-in-law and a principal figure in the battle to overturn the Israeli court conviction.

"But we've been advised that it is not in his legal interest to say anything, even hello," Mr. Nishnic said during the 11-hour flight from Israel, which quickly calmed down, with most passengers turning from the Demjanjuk affair to sleep. He added: "Let's say he says that he's happy to be free. A lot of people will be revolted by that. Anything he says could be seen as being gloating and cocky. It's best to leave it alone."

"It's sad that you have a lot of people upset," Mr. Nishnic said, referring to the angry outburst as Mr. Demjanjuk boarded the plane. "The man has been acquitted. The State of Israel has spoken. And yet people are not satisfied. That's really the unfortunate part, because after having been vilified for 16 years, Mr. Demjanjuk carries a stigma that he'll never be able to shake.

"He'll never be a free man. He'll never be able to leave the confines of his home, or walk the streets, or go to the parks. In a sense, he's leaving his jail cell in Israel to be confined at home for the rest of his life."

#### Protected to the Bathroom

Jewish extremists have threatened assassination, and a sign that Mr. Demjanjuk's family takes the warnings seriously came on the plane. Twice, he went to the bathroom. Each time, he was surrounded on the short walk by the bodyguards, by his son, John Jr., 28, and by Representative James A. Traficant Jr., an Ohio Democrat who has championed the Demjan-

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juk claim that he has been a victim of mistaken identity and was himself a German prisoner during World War II before emigrating to the United States.

For all the emotions that this long case has stirred, it ended with a thud in Israel. Newspapers gave his imminent departure scant attention on Tuesday, and although the radio disclosed his departure schedule hours in advance, no one showed up to protest at the prison near Tel Aviv where he had been kept in solitary confinement for seven years, or at the airport.

And his last day was filled with what usually forms the debris of history.

Mr. Demjanjuk did not have to pack on his last day, Mr. Nishnic said, because his bags had been ready since July 29, when the Supreme Court reversed the "Ivan" conviction. That ruling was followed by several delays as Holocaust survivors and other Israelis pressed for a new trial based on allegations of war crimes committed at other Nazi camps. The Supreme Court ruled out new charges, accepting the Government argument that chances of conviction were small.

Still, the bags stayed packed — with a Bible, Ukrainian Orthodox icons, personal photographs and letters and a Hebrew-English dictionary used to learn Israel's language — because, the son-in-law said, it had become clear that the judicial system was simply running its course.

On board, Mr. Demjanjuk poked at

his dinner of smoked fish and cold cuts, and at his breakfast of blintzes ("the first blintzes he's had in a while," Mr. Traficant said). Unfamiliar with movies, he showed little interest in the two shown during the flight: "A River Runs Through It" and "Mr. Baseball."

#### "Safest Airline in World"

It was odd, Mr. Nishnic acknowledged, to fly out on the Israeli national carrier, but then, he added, "it's the safest airline in the world — their security is marvelous."

Moreover, the El Al flight went directly to the United States, while other airlines routed their United States-bound flights through Europe, running a risk that the local authorities might seek to keep him there. And a direct charter flight was ruled out as too expensive.

Other passengers had no idea that Mr. Demjanjuk would be traveling with them until just before he boarded. Some were outraged, and their anger spilled over when he entered the forward cabin. Others shrugged it off, like an older man who asked, "What can I say — is this supposed to be an honor?"

And others found representation in Shoshana Yomtov, born in the Bronx and living now in an Israeli settlement in the Gaza Strip. "I would rather not fly with the guy," she said. "It's a pity that all this ends with a feeling that the trial is not finished, that's it left hanging. But there's someone upstairs who takes care of such people, too."

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בלם/מידי  
תאריך: 23 ספטמבר 1993  
אל: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטן

הנדון: הסכם ישראל - אש"ף

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP-23/9 (WILLIAM CLAIBORNE 23/9) המתארת את הפגנות המחאה של המתנגדים להסכם עם אש"ף מול בניין הכנסת.

תקשורת

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שחח(2) סחה'(1) רחם(1) מנכל(2) ממנכ"ל(1) תכניו(1) מצפה(2)  
סמנכלתקשורת(1) תקשורת(2) סמנכלשלאום(1) ר/מרכז(1) סמד(4) רם(1) אמן(4)  
אומן(1) יונמש(1) משפט(1) צנזורצבי(1) דוציאים(1) פוליטי(1)  
ר. 11021 ✓✓

WP 2319

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# Wide Range of Israelis Unite to Fight Accord

*Crowds Gather for Parliament's Vote Today*

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Sept. 22—Marching behind the battle flag of a group called the Organizations of the Struggle for the Land of Israel, they come daily by the hundreds—one day by the tens of thousands—to the police barricades in front of Israel's parliament building.

In age, national origin and other characteristics, they appear to be a remarkably diverse group as they listen patiently to marathon speeches denouncing the Israeli-Palestinian peace agenda that is being debated inside the fortress-like parliament in preparation for Thursday's crucial vote.

Reflecting the demographic mosaic of the Jewish population of the state, the crowds include many young people, but there are also many middle-aged and older Israelis of widely differing income levels and educational backgrounds. They seem to be predominantly Ashkenazi Jews—those of European origin—but there has also been a

strong showing of Sephardic Jews, of Middle East origin.

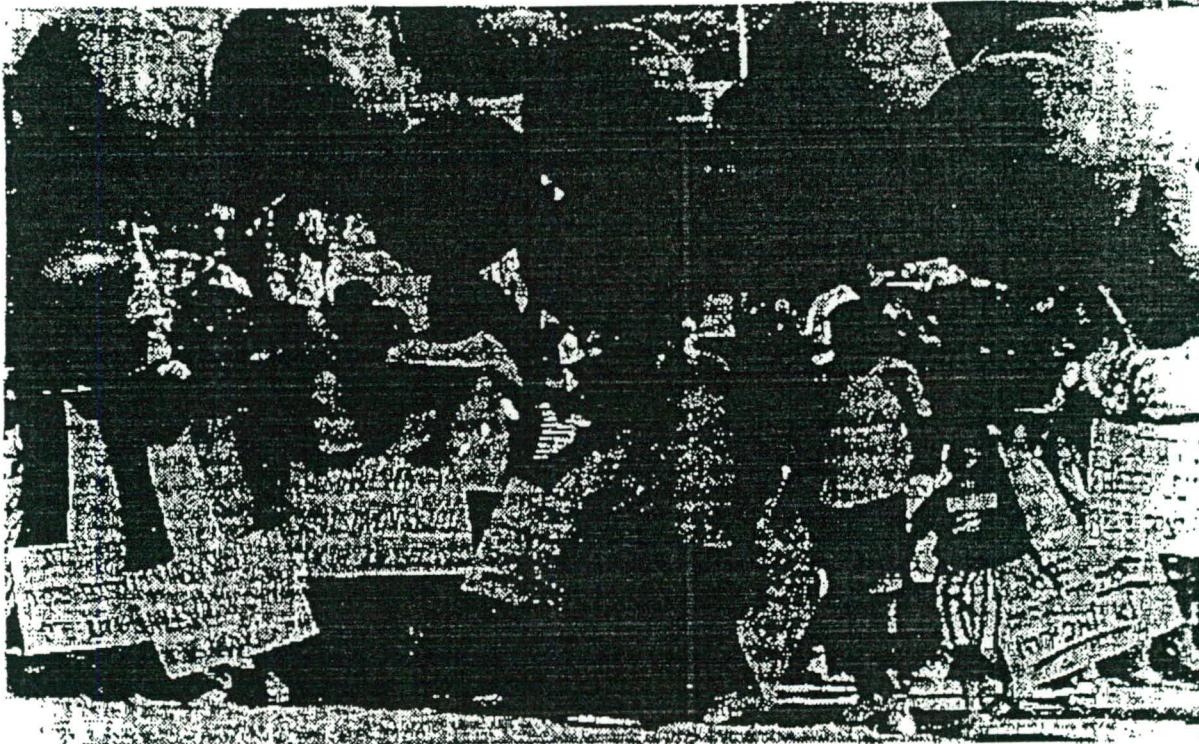
However, these warriors against territorial compromise with Palestinians share strong ideological traits that, skillfully managed, could present a formidable front of opposition to the Labor Party government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin if negotiations for a final peace accord force the government into further concessions.

The protesters generally appear deeply religious, and they tend to transfer their beliefs to their political rationale when they debate how to resolve generations of Arab-Israeli conflict.

They are also deeply distrustful and fearful of Yasser Arafat and his Palestine Liberation Organization and say they are convinced that the price Rabin is willing to pay for peace will be too high if it leads to a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Although a recent poll by the Guttman Institute of Applied Social Research showed that 62 percent of Israeli Jews favor the approach of allowing Palestinian self-rule initial-

More ...



Israel opponents of the Palestinian peace accord prepare to release balloons near parliament building in Jerusalem.

ly in the Gaza Strip and Jericho—the basis for the accord signed Sept. 13—the approximately 38 percent who oppose it cannot be easily dismissed.

Most political analysts say those who support the plan tend to vote for the Labor Party or its leftist Meretz bloc in the governing coalition and are largely from the better-

educated, professionally successful sector of the populace.

Those who oppose the peace agreement come largely from the rightist Likud Party, which has 32 seats in the 120-member parliament, and from the smaller but intensely nationalistic Tzomet Party and the often pivotal and vocal religious or ultra-Orthodox parties.

"There has been tremendous polarization on this issue along party lines, which alone could account for large numbers of people turning out in opposition. But if you factor in other considerations, such as giving up the Golan Heights or dividing Jerusalem, at least half the population strongly opposes this kind of thing," said Hanoch Smith, a leading Israeli public opinion analyst.

At a rally Tuesday of about 30,000 people, called by opposition parties, settlers' movements and religious and militant Zionist groups, the preciousness of Jerusalem as a Jewish capital and the strategic importance of the Golan Heights, captured from Syria in 1967, were common themes advanced by randomly interviewed protesters.

David Zucker, 23, recently discharged from active army duty in the Gaza Strip, said he is a supporter of the far-rightist Tzomet Party, headed by former army chief of staff Rafael Eitan. "Everyone's for peace, but we can't take chances

with our security, and we can't take chances with Jerusalem," he said. "Rabin is giving a chance to peace, but he is giving away too much."

Other protesters said they fear the PLO will negotiate Israel into a position where it will have to abandon Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories in order to meet the imperative for regional peace. Others, like Simcha Friedman, an Orthodox Jew who said he was not affiliated with any political party, personalized the issue by saying Arafat could never be trusted.

Jewish settlers in the occupied territories have been heavily represented in the crowds in front of the parliament, and they have vowed to battle the peace agenda through each phase of negotiation.

"We want to be sure the government knows that the people are carefully watching every single move, and if at any point, as we expect, the negotiations break down or the demands of the Palestinians become too much, the government knows it has the backing of the people to pull out of the negotiations," said Yisrael Madad, spokesman of the Council of Jewish Communities in the West Bank.

If parliament ratifies the accord, Madad said, "we will upgrade our campaign, reaching out to as many people as possible.... We will keep up the pressure."

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בלמס/מיידי  
תאריך: 23 ספטמבר 1993  
אל: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטונ

הנדון: ישראל - סוריה

מצ"ב קובץ כתבות (9/23) העוסק ביחסים ישראל - סוריה:

- 1) כתבת ה-DW (ANDREW BOROWIEC) העוסקת בעורבות אמריקנית במלחמות בין ישראל וسورיה. מזכיר רשמי, למשל אמר כי ארה"ב צופה פריצת דרך ביחסים בין שתי המדינות בשכונות הקרובות.
- 2) כתבת ה-WP (CARYLE MURPHY) העוסקת בקשרינו של נסיא מצרים, חוסני מובארק, לישראל - לזרז את המומ"מ בין ישראל וسورיה. הנשיא מובארק סבור כי תחילין השלום איננו מושלם כל עוד הוא מתמקד במסלול אחד בלבד, לדעתו על ישראל לפעול לקידום המומ"מ עם סוריה בהקדם.
- 3) המאמר של NOVAK & ROBERT ROWLAND EVANS (WP) המתאר את מאמציו הממשל האמריקני לקדם את המומ"מ בין ישראל וسورיה. הנשיא קלינטון, עפ"י המאמר, מודאג מהאפשרות שسورיה תנסה לחבל בהסכם בין ישראל ואש"ף ע"י שליחת כוחות טרור לזרום לבנון והוא מנשה למנוע אפשרות כזו.

### תקשרות

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~~אומן(1) יונטש(1) משפט(1) צנזורצבי(1) דוח-ים(1) ~~רשות(1)~~ ~~רשות(1)~~ ~~רשות(1)~~~~  
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WP 2319

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*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

## Trolling for Assad

Two aging Boeing 727s no longer wanted by oil-rich Kuwait will soon be cleared for delivery to Syria, months after the State Department blocked the gift under export control regulations despite President Hafez Assad's urgent appeal for Washington's approval.

Clearance was approved by President Clinton just before the Sept. 13 Israel-PLO signing ceremony on the White House lawn. After a telephone call from Clinton, Assad reluctantly reversed his order to Syrian Ambassador Walid al-Moualem to boycott the South Lawn extravaganza and return to Damascus that weekend.

Assad's switch alerted U.S. Mideast peace handlers to an important fact: The Syrian强man can be induced by the president of the United States to change his mind. Other phone calls have followed.

The release of the Boeing jets was Clinton's first policy maneuver to keep Assad quiet, if not happy, until Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin catches his breath from the PLO breakthrough and moves to negotiations with Syria.

Rabin's second big land-for-peace deal will be Israel's withdrawal from the Golan Heights in exchange for real peace with Damascus. Few who know Rabin doubt that he means it, but Assad may be wondering.

Clinton's next maneuver to woo Syria's leader is now quietly working its way through the diplomatic bureaucracy: an unprecedented invitation to Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara to come to Washington for talks with Secretary of State Warren Christopher—and perhaps Clinton himself—during the U.N. General Assembly meeting next week.

That may seem to be small potatoes, but no Syrian official other than accredited ambassadors has been invited to Washington for nearly two decades. For the unpredictable autocrat who has ruled Syria for almost 30 years, this Washington boycott has been no badge of honor.

Assad assumed the boycott would be relaxed long ago. He helped in freeing American hostages in Lebanon (though

their captivity would have been impossible without his help), he joined President Bush's Desert Storm coalition, he allowed Jews to get out of Syria, and he supported the U.S.-sponsored "peace process" starting with the 1991 Madrid summit.

But the boycott, justified by Syria's inclusion on the "terrorist" list for almost 10 years in the company of indisputably outlaw states such as Iraq, Sudan, Libya and North Korea has remained in place.

Assad's potential for troublemaking is not in dispute. He gives safe haven to haters of Yasser Arafat in the PLO, such as George Habash and Nayif Hawatmeh, who are committed to wrecking Gaza-Jericho autonomy. He blocked the first real effort of Lebanon's new government to exercise control over the whole country when it tried to send the Lebanese army to disarm Iranian-led Hezbollah fanatics in southern Lebanon.

But Assad would face heavy penalties if he tried to undermine the Rabin-Arafat deal by playing one of his deadly cards: stirring up new conflict in Lebanon; sending more arms against Israeli soldiers and the Israel-controlled Lebanese militia in Israel's self-proclaimed "security zone" in Southern Lebanon; or giving logistical support to Habash and Hawatmeh to work against Arafat and provoke Palestinian conflict in Gaza or the West Bank.

Clinton has been told by both his advisers and key Arab leaders that if Assad succeeded in crippling the Israel-PLO pact, he would also cripple himself. He would give Israel not just a pretext but solid reason for tough military reaction that could cost what matters more to Assad than all else put together: recovering the Golan Heights.

That's why Clinton's policy makers are not yet losing sleep over the implicit threat posed by Assad. Clinton took to heart Rabin's insistent advice in their long, private talk here 10 days ago: Give Assad lots of attention, keep him in the game, do not treat him as a pariah and tell him Golan will soon be back in play. Clinton is trying.

# U.S. involved in Israel-Syria talks, sees success soon

By Andrew Borowiec  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The United States is involved in the secret peace negotiations between Israel and Syria and expects a breakthrough "in the weeks or months to come," a senior Clinton administration official said yesterday.

Edward Djerejian, assistant secretary of state for Near East affairs, who is to become ambassador to Israel next year, said both countries regard the United States as an intermediary in the bilateral talks likely to be given a boost by the recent self-rule agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

His statement coincided with a similar assessment by diplomats in Egypt, where President Hosni Mubarak was meeting President Hafez Assad of Syria. Until now, Mr. Assad was critical of the Israeli-PLO accord, describing the PLO and Arabs as the losers.

Syria's unconditional demand has been a return of the strategic Golan Heights, seized by Israel in 1967, in exchange for a peace agreement.

Mr. Mubarak was described as trying to influence the implacable Syrian strongman, who was reported annoyed that PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat made a separate agreement with the Jewish state.

In its first phase, the agreement calls for a progressive autonomy for the occupied Gaza Strip as well as an area surrounding the town of Jericho on the West Bank.

In an interview published yesterday in the Egyptian al-Mussawar magazine, Mr. Mubarak was quoted as saying:

"I think the circumstances are right now for progress on the Syrian-Israeli track.... There are signs the Israelis are ready to withdraw and accept a phased withdrawal from the [Jewish] settlements."

For his part, Mr. Djerejian refused to give a specific timetable or details of the talks, except to say that both President Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher are "personally involved in bringing Syria and Israel together."

Speaking at a policy forum organized by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Mr. Djerejian said the U.S.-Syrian relationship "has truly progressed over the years although there are definitely problems."

A career diplomat, Mr. Djerejian previously served as U.S. ambassador to Syria and has repeatedly stressed Syria's role as a key country in the area.

He also said the United States planned to persuade other countries to provide instant "pocket money" to the Palestinians to begin economic reforms in the occupied territories and keep the momentum of the Sept. 13 self-rule agreement.

He estimated the initial sum at \$150 million but did not say whether it would be given to the local administration or the PLO. In the past, Mr. Arafat had a record of handling PLO funds according to his personal whims.

"The imperative need is for the Palestinians to establish a receiving mechanism [for aid]," Mr. Djerejian said, pointing out that an Israeli-Palestinian economic committee is to be set up Oct. 30.

The total estimated amount of money needed to carry out economic reforms in the West Bank and Gaza has been put at around \$3 billion over the next 10 years.

"We believe these needs can be met" by donor countries, said Mr. Djerejian, adding that the United States was "consulting very closely with Saudi Arabia" and has "a definite feeling that the Saudis will make contributions to the Palestinians."

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## Mubarak Urges Israel to Speed Syrian Talks

By Caryle Murphy  
Washington Post Foreign Service

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt, Sept. 22 — Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak called today for speedy progress in Syrian-Israeli peace negotiations, taking issue with Israel's contention that it needs time to "digest" its recent peace pact with Palestinians before reaching a settlement with Syria, its other main Arab foe.

"I differ with [Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak] Rabin on the point that he could only go one track," Mubarak said after discussions with Syrian President Hafez Assad, here on a one-day visit. "One track is not enough to reach a comprehensive solution."

Mubarak argued that "long, complicated" negotiations still lie ahead before the two sides reach a full so-

lution on the Palestinian issue. "We cannot put aside the track of Syria until you go through that," he said.

Mubarak, whose country signed a peace treaty with Israel 14 years ago, met with Rabin here Sunday as part of an apparent Egyptian effort to keep up the momentum created by the historic agreement signed Sept. 13 between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In a recent interview, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa said he hoped for a Syrian-Israeli declaration of principles "before the end of the year," but he acknowledged that their talks were "bogged down" and "might need time, help of third parties, new ideas."

Assad also rejected Israel's argument that it needs a political grace period before presenting its population with a Syrian peace

agreement that will involve the politically sensitive issue of Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, captured from Syria in 1967.

"If Israel is not able to absorb [a comprehensive] solution, then why should all the other parties participate in the talks?" Assad asked in talking to reporters at Mubarak's summer palace here.

Asked later if Assad's comment meant Syria wants action right away in its 22-month-old negotiations with Israel, Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Charaa replied: "If there are serious Israeli commitments . . . we would go along with it."

Charaa said Rabin's recent statements "are not encouraging." He added, "It's not us who's delaying. It's him" under the "pretext" that Israel needs to digest the Palestinian accord.

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בלטם/מידי  
תאריך: 23 ספטמבר 1993  
אל: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת, ווושינגטון

הנדון: הסכם ישראל - אש"ף

מצ"ב מכתב למערכת ה-AP (9/23) שנשלחה ע"י חבר המשלחת הפלשטיינית, חיליל פוטא. המכתב יוצא נגד מאמרו של צארלס קראוטהמר (9/17 ED-OP) אשר ביקר את ההסכם בין ישראל ואש"ף וטען כי אין לבתו בערפה. המכתב טוען כי ההסכם אשר נחתם בשבוע שעבר לאחר שנות סבל רבות לשני הצדדים, הינו כן ואמיתי.

תקשורת

3) 30) שח (2) סח' (1) רהמ (1) מנכ' (2) מונכ' (1) חכנוו (1) מצפה (2)  
סמכות תקשורת (1) תקשורת (2) סמכות (1) ר/מרכז (1) ממד (4) רם (1) אמל (4)  
אומן (1) יומש (1) משפט (1) צנזור צבאי (1) דוח-ים (1) בוחן (1) קראק (1)

לעטן קראק

WP 2319

87

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2/2

## Mideast Peace: A Time for Trust

Charles Krauthammer's "Arafat the Deceiver" [op-ed, Sept. 17] questions the credibility of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and the future of the peace process. Mr. Krauthammer began by stating that he never thought he would live to see Mr. Arafat on the White House lawn. As a Palestinian, I never thought I would see him there either. Like Mr. Krauthammer, I was at the White House ceremony when the peace accord was signed. But unlike him, I fully appreciated the tears that were shed and the applause of the audience, which gave me a new sense of hope for the future, and not the anxiety Mr. Krauthammer said he felt.

Perhaps he is in a state of denial, like so many other detractors. In his own words, "unlike the peace activists, I did not cheer." Why not? After 45 years of bloodshed and suffering, isn't it time to say, "enough is enough," as Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin stated in his speech at the White House? It is almost as if Mr. Krauthammer is implying that there is something to be gained from a continuance of the conflict.

His column presents an overall attitude of staunch unwillingness to accept the new state of affairs. This denial is shared by a minority on both sides. These are people who refuse to accept that times have changed. The point they miss is that the political mainstream is exerting great effort to achieve a comprehensive peaceful settlement, whereby both parties will benefit. This is crucial, especially for Palestinian and Israeli children yet to be born.

Just prior to the signing ceremony, according to the account in *The Post* on Sept. 14, President Clinton himself related that Mr. Rabin turned to Mr. Arafat and said, "We need to work very hard to make this work," and Mr. Arafat responded, "I know, and I'm prepared to do my part."

Surprisingly, Mr. Krauthammer and others in the media who espouse his ideas are not prepared to do their part to offer the American public thoughtful, well-informed analysis on the current drive for peace in the Middle East. Instead, they are offer-

ing their usual personal attacks on Chairman Arafat and his motives for signing the peace accord.

Apparently, there is a basic lack of awareness of the developments within the Palestinian political framework since November 1988. In that year, the Palestine National Council accepted a two-state solution and acknowledged Israel's right to exist. This

decision was the result of an internal debate within the PLO that had been going on since 1974. Therefore, the signing of the peace accord by Chairman Arafat is part of the democratic decision-making process as carried out by the PLO Executive Committee and is not merely a "tactical maneuver" on the part of Chairman Arafat, as Mr. Krauthammer suggested.

The crucial issue is not the personal credibility of Chairman Arafat or, for that matter, Prime Minister Rabin. The media need to address the issue of whether the substantive points spelled out in the accord are successfully implemented. If so, a final peace agreement will be reached within five years. For this, a continuation of the tremendous efforts made by all parties since the Madrid peace conference is needed.

During Chairman Arafat's visit, he was visited by leaders of both the Jewish American and Arab American communities, who expressed their congratulations and strong support regarding the peace accord. In this atmosphere, it is no wonder that some members of Congress asked Mr. Arafat for his autograph! This itself is a sign of change and real progress. It should not be "embarrassing," as Mr. Krauthammer stated.

At the National Press Club on the day after the signing, Chairman Arafat was asked why the Jewish people could trust him now. His response was, "Many didn't trust Jesus Christ in the beginning." This alludes to the fact that even for Jesus, confidence and trust needed to be established and built upon. By giving this answer, Chairman Arafat was stating that his sincerity is real and that he can indeed be trusted. I hope that Mr. Krauthammer will soon be able to overcome his anxiety and mistrust and join me in supporting the efforts of both Palestinians and Israelis to finally make peace.

KHALIL FOUTAH  
Media Coordinator  
Palestinian Delegation to the  
Middle East Peace Talks  
Washington

אאא, חוזם: 32340  
אל: רהmesh/ 1546  
מ-: ניו-יורק, נר: 779, תא: 230993, זח: 1628, דח: ר, סג: בל,  
ביבב  
12856  
בלמי/ס/רגיל

251.01

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה'ב  
מע'ת

דע: וושינגטונ

מאת: תקשורת/ניו-יורק.

הנדון: התחפתיות בתקשורת

1. התקשורת מתמקדת ברפורה במערכת הבריאות של קלינטון, בתאונה הרכבת  
באלבמה שבה נהרגו יותר מ - 40 וברואים ברוסיה.
2. אמש באלקטרונית והיום בכתבובה דוחים על הגעתו של דמייניק לארה'ב  
והפגנות היהודים בקיליבלנד.
3. חליך השלום נדחק יחסית לשוליים. ב NY, אמר הצופה שגשוג כלכלי  
בשתיים אם ישתף פעולה עם ישראל. קיפנר מתאר את המאבק בכנסת וטוען כי  
האופוזיציה נחלשת.

גמר התימה טובה  
תקשורת/ניו-יורק.

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (רham), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, חכנוון, מצפה,  
סמנכלשלום, סמנכלתתקשורת, תקשורת

ססס

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AAA, חוזם: 32327  
 אל: רהmesh/1545  
 מ-: ניויורק, נר: 773, תא: 230993, זח: 1439, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
 בכבב  
 12877  
 שמור/מידי

201.01

אל: מנהל ארביל 2

דע: מצפ'א  
 ממ'ד  
 משפט  
 וושינגטון

מאת: אהרן יעקב, נאו'ם

הנדון: פגישת נציג אש'פ עם שגרירית ארה'ב

משיחה עם בראד הנסון משלחת ארה'ב:

1. השיחה התקיימה אתמול (9/22) בבלגיה משלחת ארה'ב. השתתפו מצד האמריקאים: אולבררייט, ווקר והנסון. מצד אש'פ: אל קידובה ומנצור.

2. אולבררייט סקרה תחילת את עמדת ארה'ב. אח'ב סקר אל קידובה את עמדת אש'פ. לבסוף התקיימים דיון קצר. להלן סיכום דברי הפתיחה של אולבררייט:

א. היא אמרה כי ארה'ב עושה כמעט יכולת כדי לסייע לישראל ולפלסטינים להוציא לפועל את ה策ת העקרונות. אח'ב מסרה לנציג אש'פ את נוסח נאומו של כריסטופר אוניברסיטת קולומביה (9/21) ועמדת על חשיבות ועידת התורמות שתתקיימם בוושינגטון ב - 10/1 ושאליה הזמן גם אש'פ.

ב. ציינה כי לדעת ארה'ב יש לפעול בעצרת הבא ע'פ הפרטטים הבאים: מצד אחד, אין לנქות פעולות העוללות לפגוע בתהילין השלום; מצד שני, יש לעודד פעולות היכולות לסייע לקידום התהילין. היא הוסיפה כי על העצרת לשקף את ההישגים שהושגו במסגרת התהילין.

ג. היא אמרה כי ארה'ב מתכוונת לקיים מגעים שוטפים ובדיקות עם ישראל והפלסטינים, וכן עם ה - 12, הנורדיות, מצרים ומצרים ניספות, כדי להביא לשינויים בהחלטות העצרת וכך להעביר החלטה חיובית בזכות תהילין השלום. הזמן בשל לקבלת החלטה חיובית צוזו ויש לפעול לכך שהיא תתקבל במליאת העצרת באופן ישיר, במדת האפשר בקונצנזוס. על ההחלטה לכלול את הנושאים הבאים:

ה  
ה  
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ה  
ה

חמייה בטהיליך השלום, קרייה לשיפ אזרדי בין מדיניות האזור וקרייה לחברות האו"ם ולאירגונים בינלאומייםlesiיע לתושבי הגדר'ע וועזה מבחינה כלכלית. יש לשאוף לכך שהחלה תתקבל מוקדם ככל האפשר.

ד. אולבריט התייחס לעניין כתבי ההאמנה. היא אמרה כי לאור ההכרה ההדידית בין ישראל ו אש'פ והחתימה על הצהרת העקרונית, הגיעה העת לחדר את הנוהל התקין זהה. היא הביעה תקווה כי אש'פ בפרט והקובוצה הערבית בכלל יתמכו במהלך.

ה. היא הזכירה החלטות ישנות ואמרה כי רבותן מן החלטות הללו אינן מאוזנות ומציגות את הסיסוך בצורה מסוימת. יש לבחון את החלטות הללו ולהחליט אילו מהן ראויות לסייע או אילו מהן ניתן לשנות.

ו. אולבריט הזכירה את הצעת ארה'ב להקים CORE GROUP שתפעל לגיבוס חמייה בהצעת ההחלטה החיובית ולקידום השינויים הדרושים בהחלטות היישנות. קבוצה זו תהיה מורכבה מידיידי תהיליך השלום ותכלול את שתי השוביבוריות וכן ישראל, מצרים, נציגת הנוරדיות, קנדה ועוד. היא שאלת אם אש'פ מעוניין להשתתף בדיוני הקבוצה.

### 3. להלן סיכום דברי אל קידוחו:

א. הוא הודה לאולבריט על הפגישה והביע רצון לקיים דיאלוג שוטף וקרוב עם משלחת ארה'ב.

ב. אשר לעצמתו, הפלסטינים יעשו ככל יכולתם כדי שזו תשקף את ההתפתחויות החיוביות שהלו בטהיליך השלום. אש'פ מודיע לכך שיש צורך לבטל חלק מן החלטות היישנות, או לשנות אותן.

ג. עם זאת, מה שיקרה בעצרת תלוי במידה רבה במה שיקרה בשטח. לאחר שהכנסת תסיס את הדיוון בהסכם עם הפלסטינים, יהיה על ישראל לנקט שורת צעדים כדי לשפר את מצב זכויות האדם בשטחים. הצעדים הללו, כאשר יתבצעו, יסייעו לפלסטינים לגלות גמישות רבה יותר במסגרת העצרת.

ד. יש להבחין בין החלטות העצרת העוסקות במצב הנוכחי ובין ההחלטה הנוגעת להסדר הקבע (בקטיגוריה השנייהמנה את ההחלטה בעניין ירושלים, התחנכוויות, הפליטים ומה שכינה 'זכויות הפלסטינים'). אש'פ סבור כי החלטות-הכלולות בקטיגוריה השנייה צריכה להשאר על סדר היום; שרי שאלת הסדר הקבע נדחתה לשלב השני של המורים.

ה. אש'פ לא יתנגד לחדש הנוהל התקין בעניין כתבי ההאמנה ולא יקרא תיגר על כתבי ההאמנה של ישראל. אל קידוחה סבור כי במידה זו תתקבל גיבורי של הקבוצה הערבית, אם כי יתכן שמדיניות כגון איראן תעננה הסתייגויות לגביו כתבי ההאמנה של ישראל.

ו. אש'פ אינו מתנגד עקרונית לקבלת החלטה חיובית, אולם מבקש לדעת באיזו מסגרת תתקבל החלטה כזו. אם היא תתקבל מתחת סעיף חדש על סדר'י, כי אז אין בעיה. אם תתקבל מתחת סעיף קיים, יהיה צורך באזכור ההחלטה הקודמתה שנתקבלו מתחת אותו סעיף.

ז. אל קידוחה אמר כי הרעיון בדבר CORE GROUP אינו רעיון טוב. אש'פ מוכן לקיים דיאלוג עם ארה'ב, ישראל ו מדיניות אחריות כדי לנסות ולהגיע להסכמה בנושא הקשורים בעצרת. אולם הקמתה ה-

עלולה לפגוע למי שלא יוזמנו להשתתף בה, ובכך אנו עלולים לאבד את הרצון הטוב ושיתופ הפעולה של חברות או'ם רבות. עם זאת, אם ארה'ב עומדת על הקמת הקבוצה, כי אז מוכן אש'פ לדון באפשרות הטרפותו.

ח. אש'פ סבור כי על האו'ם להיות מעורב בתהליכי השלום. בפגישתו עם המזכיל ב-14/9 הדגיש ערפאת נקודת זו. האו'ם צריך להיות מעורב לא רק בנושא הסיווע הכלכלי לשתחים, אלא גם בתחוםים כגון אירגון הבחירות, הקמת המינהל הפלסטיני וכו'. לדעת אש'פ, יש לאפשר לאו'ם לקיים נוכחות צבאית בשתחים, אם כי הוא מודע לכך שהדבר לא יוכל להתגשם בעלי הסכם ישראל. לישראל ולארה'ב אין כו"ם סיבות של ממש להנגדה למעורבות האו'ם, כך לפה אל קידוחה.

ט. אל קידוחה סיפר כי בשבוע האחרון ניסה אש'פ להציג הודעה תמיינית בהסכם עם ישראל מצד חברות התנועה הבלתי-באו'ם. הרוב הגדול של הבלמים תומך בהסכם, אולם מדיניות אחדות העלו הסתייגויות. הוואיל ואש'פ עומדים על כך שההודעה תוארה בקונצנזוס, מתעכבות ביןתיים פירסומה.

י. בסיום דבריו התייחס אל קידוחה ליחסים הבילטרליים בין אש'פ וארה'ב. הוא הביע תקווה כי הקונגרס יבטל את התיקה האוסרת קיומ מגעים עם חברי אש'פ. הוא הודה לארה'ב על תרומת 250 מיליון דולר לשתחים והביע תקווה כי היא תגבר את סיועה.

4. בדיעון הקצר שהתקיימים אח'כ חזרו שני הצדדים על עמדותיהם ולא הושגו סיכומים כלשהם. אל קידוחה מסר כי פארוק קדומי יעמוד גם השנה בראש משלחת אש'פ לעצרת (הנסון העיר כי הוא וחברי משלחתו תמהו בין עצמן כיצד מתישב הדבר עם עמדתו הנחרצת של קדומי נגד ההסכם עם ישראל, אולם הם נמנעו מtagובה כלשהי בלא אל קידוחה).

5. הנסון סיכם כי הפגישה עם אל קידוחה הייתה PROFESSIONAL AND BUSSINESSLIKE. בנפרד מעבירים הודעה לעיתונות שפורסמה ע' משלחת ארה'ב בעקבות הפגישה.

אהרן יעקב, נאו'ם

23 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, ר'rahm, ר'rahm, מנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל שלום,  
ר'ביב, ר'מרכז, מצב, ר'ם, ר'ם, ר'אמן, ר'אגת,  
תכנוון, ממד, מצפה, ביין, ארבל 2, ירעמש, משפט,  
ערן, רחטמות, ישראל ערבית, ר'עמיתrahm (475)

30896, ח'רוצם: אאנא  
אל: רהמש/1480  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 230993, זח: 1245, דח: מ, סג: כל,  
ביבב  
735789  
בלמי'ס/מידי

אל: ס/קונכיל ניו יורק

דע: בריסל, ווינצ'סטר, המשלחת בריסל  
טוקיו, אוטובה, לונדון, פאריס, ג'נבה  
בון, רומא  
קואופמן / אוצר  
סחר חוץ / חמש

מאת: מנהל כלכלית ג'

### הנדוץ: החرم הערבי

1. ב- 9/21 הסתיימה פסגת הליגה בקHIR והעתוניות שם מצטטת מהחלטותיה כלהלן:  
'העיר החליטה להמשיך בחרום הערבי על ישראל עד לסיום הכיבוש הישראלי'.

2. לדיית מכותבי המברק להלן מדבריו של שר החוץ האמריקני ב- 9/20:

'NOW THAT THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS HAVE AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER TO PROMOTE THEIR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING, IT IS CERTAINLY ILLOGICAL FOR ARAB NATIONS CONTINUE THEIR BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL. EVERY MOMENT THAT THE BOYCOTT REMAINS IN FORCE, THOSE RESPONSIBLE ARE PUNISHING PALESTINIANS AS WELL AS ISRAELIS. THE BOYCOTT IS A RELIC OF THE PAST. IT SHOULD BE RELEGATED TO HISTORY RIGHT NOW.

יורם שני  
23 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, רהמ (רHAM), מנכל, מנצח, מצב, חכנוון, סמנכל'רופה, מק' א, מא' א, ערוץ, כלכליות', כלכליתא', כלכליתג', כלכליתג', כלכליתג'

סמנכלאסיה, אסיה, מצפה, רחטמזה, ישראלערב,  
סמנכלשלום, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רמ) (אמן), חמס, אווצר

סססס

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32287  
אל: רהmesh/1536  
מ-: רוש, נר: 2098, תא: 230993, זח: 1600, דח: ב, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
בහול לבוקר / סודי

אל: מנהל ארבל 2

1.1.1

דעת: לשכת סגן שהיח, לשכת מנכ"ל, סגן ראש המשלחת נאו'ם

מאח: ג'רמי ישכרוף-ירושיניגטון

הנדון: תוניסיה-עצרת

1. בהמשך לשיחת ביין ובנט אטמול (229) בניו יורק, התקשר היום קריס מאריי הדסקיי של ישראל והאו'ם במחמ'יד.

2. מאריי סיפר ביתר הרחבה על דבריו בネット בפגישה אטמול בנווגע להצעת החלטה לסיום מצב הלחימה. ברקע לשאלתו של בנט היה כי שר החוץ של תוניסיה בן יחיה העלה בפני האמריקנים רעיון לפיו, ארצו מוכנהקדם הצעת החלטה במסגרת העצרת אשר תשים קץ למצב הלחימה בין העربים לבין מדינת ישראל. שר החוץ של תוניסיה סבור כי המהלך עשוי לקבוע נימה פסיקולוגית חיובית שתתרום להגברת האימון בינו לבין העربים.

3. האמריקנים מעוניינים לדעת עמדתנו בקשר להצעה זו, שכן מגלים בה התעניינות רבה במחמ'יד.

4. הבטחתי להעביד את הדברים לארץ כדי לקבל התייחסות לכך. ציינתי בפני איש שיחי כי אנו מברכים על הנכונות החיובית התוניסאית אך כדי לו ישראל שואפת להשיג הסכמי שלום מלאים עם שכניה במסגרת תהליך השלום. שאלתיו אם התוניסאים יהיו מוכנים לשלב ניסוח בהצעה אשר תבוא לקרה עמדתנו זו. מאריי לא ידע להסביר על כך וכאמור מעוניין לקבל התייחסות מוסמכת מהארץ.

5. גודה על התייחסותכם הדחופה.

ג'רמי ישכרוף

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, רהmesh, מנכ"ל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלום, רביב, @  
@ (ר'אגת), חכנון, מצפה, ביין, ארבל 2, יומש, רחטמות, ישראל ערב

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AAA, חוזם: 32286  
אל: רהmesh/1544  
מ-: ווש, גדר: 2097, תא: 230993, זח: 1500, דח: ר, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
סודיה/רגיל

אל: היועץ המשפטי

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: אל-חאמה  
בהמשך לשכנו 403 ולשיחתי עם אלן ביקר

1. העברנו לבנק העולמי ב-9/23 ה- NON PAPER המתוקן.

2. מסרנו לאיש הקשר מספרי הטלפון של פרופ' לפידות. במקביל תידרכנו את פרופ' לפידות. לבקשת איש הקשר נעביר לו כרку מידע נוסף בנושא שנתקבל מכם בדיף.

3. למרות שבינתיים, לכורה, ירד הנושא מסדר היום, בעקבות מחיקת ההערכה בעניין אל-חאמה מהתחזית שהועברה למנהלים של הבנק, הרי שהמחלקה המשפטית התקשה להכין ניר עד ל-9/30. הם התבקשו לא לפנות לשגרירות אלא להתקשרות עם גורמים לא-משתתפים המתמצאים בנושא (מכוני מחקר, אוניברסיטאות).

4. להלן השלמות למכרנו 403 - הנושא עלה מלכתחילה ביוזמת חברי במשלחת הפלתינית למו'ם עם ישראל, שהציחו לשכנע פקיד הבנק העולמי שהיה אחראי לכתיבת התחזית עבור מועצת המנהלים, להסיף ההערכה בעניינין אל-חאמה. בעקבות מחאה שהתקבלה בבנק (לא יכולו לומר לי אם המחאה הייתה מישראל או מסוריה) בדקה המחלקה המשפטית עדמת המשלחת הרלבנטית. נאמר לי, שגרירות סוריה בושינגטון תחמקה בעקביות מעונות לשאלות בנושא אל-חאמה, וายלו משגרירות ירדן נמסר להם שהעמדה הרשמית היא שלירדן אין דעה בנושא'. באופן לא פורמלי אמרו בשגרירות, שבדעתם השטח שייך לפלסטינים. מישראל קיבלו תשובה ישירות ממשרדו של תאיל פרדי זך, בהתחשב על ניר של דוד קורנבלוט. (מוועבר בדי'פ).

5. אני שימרו על חסיוון המידע בסעיפים 3, 4 בשל רגישות המקור.

לשנו יער

ירעמש, משפט, ר/מרכז, ערב 2, מרכז איסוף,  
(רמ) 0 (אמן)

ססס

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AAAA, חוזם: 32357

אל: רהmesh/ 1547

מ-: וושינגטונ, נ-: 663, תא: 230993, ז-: 1654, ד-: מ, ס-: שם,

ביבב

9, 249430

שמור/ מיידי

23/9/93

9/1/93

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דעת: לשכת רוח"מ, לשכת שח"ח

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטונ

הנדון: פגישת הנשיא קלינטון עם ראש עיריית י-ם קולק

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1. היום קיבל הנשיא קלינטון לשיחת את ראש עיריית ירושלים טדי קולק. הפגישה הוסדרה באמצעות בריאן גרינספָּן, עורך עתון בנטה, בנו של האנק גראינספָּן המנוח וידיד אישי של הנשיא.

2. הפגישה נפתחה ב"פורטו אוף" ובמהשכה הציג מר קולק לנשיא את חשיבותם קיומם הסתטואס קוו בירושלים במסגרת תחולין ההסדר. הנשיא הזכיר את עמדתו בזמן הבהירות אך הבהיר שכיוום מדיניותה של ארה"ב היא לעודד את הצדדים עצם להגיע להסכמה.

3. הפגישה ארכה כ-20 דקות. הח"מ הוזמן ע"י הבית הלבן להצטרף לפגישה.

רבינוביין

חפוץ: שחח, סחהח, רהמ (רהם), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, מצב, חכנוון, מצפה,  
0 (פדרון/עיריה)

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AAA, חוזם: 32081  
אל: רהmesh/1539  
מ-: וושינגטן, נר: 650, תא: 230993, זח: 1314, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
שמור/מיידי

הנידון:

אל: מנכ'יל  
מנכ'יל האוצר  
סמנכ'יל תחlixir השлом  
סמנכ'יל אירופה  
מאת: ע. ערן, וושינגטן.

הנידון: סיווע לפלשתינאים.

מתוך קריית החומר ומתווך שיחות בוושינגטן עליה התמונה הבאה לקרה שני הכנסים ב-9/27 ו-10/1.

א. אריה'ב רואה את עצמה כmobilitat המאמץ לסייע לפלשתינאים מתוך סיבות שוננות שלא כאן לעמוד עלייהן. היא נהנית מתחמיכת היפאנים וערב הסעודית (כמייצגת המפרציות לצורך זה) ופעולה בתאום מלא עם הבנק העולמי. התייעצויות בין אריה'ב לבנק העולמי (באמצעות סגן נשיא הבנק, מיוםדנו קוכוסר, חן יומומיות).

ב. האירופאים חשים כי הם מאבדים את היוזמה הפלורלית פעם נוספת על אף שסכומי הסיוע שלהם גבוהים במיוחד אם מצפים את הסיוע הבילטרלי (מעבר לזה שיפורע דרך הנציגות) ואת זה של הנורדיות. בנוסח זה יש להבחין בין הנציגות לבין הבירות השונות. הנציגות מייצגת את העמדת הקיצונית ביותר ואחד מנציגי הנציגות בדיוון על דוח הבנק התבטא בשיחות פרטיות בצורה די בוטה על "בנייה האמפיריות של הפרוסי בנציגות". צרפת לא מסתפק בציגורות קולקטיביים של הסיוע ותחפש דרך לעשות זאת בילטרלית ואילו הגרמנים והבריטים יכולים להיות בודאי עם הובלה אמריקאית באמצעות הבנק העולמי.

ג. האמריקאים ערים לגישות האירופאיות ובמידה רבה נזדרו בדוחינו על סמך המברקים שהגיעו ממנכ'יל אירופה וشيخותיו בבריסל. הם מוכנים לחת סיפוק חלקו לקהילת אירופה באמצעות מס שפטים למלין המולטיטרלי. הם אולי גם יתנו לק'ע הכלכלי מפקיד מסוים בשלב המידי ובכך יאפשרו לקהילת אירופה לחת כספים למספר פרויקטים לביצוע מיידי, אבל מעבר לכך הם לא ירצו להשמש את הובלה ויציעו מתחווה שבראשו גוף קבוע של התורמות העובד במישרין עם הבנק העולמי.

ד. לעומת העניין אין לישראל כmobilitat הרבה מה לומר, להוציא הבעיה שתיווצר לאי הכלכלי שכן בהעדר כספים כאשר כל ה-ACTION יהיה בכלל הפלשתינאי, לאי הזו יהיה מעט מה לומר כאשר במקורה הטוב יהיה לרשותה 9 מיליון דולר של ה-TRUST FUND שהבנק העולמי מקיים לצורך זה לשם עירכת סקרי היתרונות (שכונתי את האמריקאים לתרום שני מיליון דולר והשאלה היא

האם אפשר יהיה לגאים כספים נוספים כדי להחיה ולו במעט את המסלול הרגionario). המסלול הרגionario יהיה חיוני במיוחד אם ירדן ובודאי סוריה ולבנון תסכמתה להכנס לתחילה ובמיוחד לאספקטים של שתיפ' בנושאי תירות, תחבורה, טלקומוניקציה, מים ואנרגיה.

ה. להערכתני נמצא בסופו הנוסחה במישור הפוליטי אבל בשטח אנר נראה לפחות ערוazi סיוע לפלשתינאים:

- העורך שעליו יוסכם בוושינגטון ב-10/1 שיפעל עקר באמצעות הבנק העולמי.

- ערוז הקהיליה שיפעל באמצעות נציגי הנציבות ומשלחותיה.

- העורך הבילטרלי של כל אחת מהמדינות.

ו. התופעות השליליות שנבעו מריבוי הערוזים ברורות (בזבוז, כפילוות, שחיתויות וכו') אך ספק אם יש לנו מה לומר בנידון. יחד עם זאת אני מאמין שנכנים מראשו לתוך המאבק הטרנס-אטלנטי הזה כדי שלא נואש במקהה של אי הצלחה בכך שהתרבנו בנושא מעבר להדגשת החשיבות של סיוע כלכלי במצע חיוני להצלחתו הפוליטית של התחילה.

ז. השאלה של המעורבות של חברות ישראליות בצעוע חכניות פתוח בשטחים שלא בעינה בכלל מקהה. במהלך הדיוונים בנק העולמי כבר נשאלתי כמה פעמים על ידי מומחי הבנק לעמדתנו. אמרתי שמהד אני חושב שנרצה לכפות את עצמנו מайдך ברור שיש לנו כמה יתרונות ויש גם חשיבות פוליטית ליצירת JOINT VENTURES ישראליים פלשתינאים ואולי גם במערכות של צד שלישי כדי להזק את התחיך השלום. חשוב מושם כך שהڌחיפה בדרך פעה כזו לא תבוא מאיתנו כדי לא לגרום לדחיה מהצד הפלשתינאי אלא מגורמים בינלאומיים המעורבים בתכניות הסיוע.

ערן.

תפוצה: שחח, סחה, (רHAM), סחה, מנכ, מנכ, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, (רמ), (אמן), (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפה, ערן, כלכליות, סמנכלארופה,  
איירופה, יועמש, רחטמות, ישראלערב, (עמית575), אוצר

ססס

אאא, חוזם: 32035  
אל: רהmesh 1531/  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 639, תא: 1203, זח: מ, סג: בל,  
ביבב  
בלמס/מיידי

אל: חפוצה תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

להלן חלק 1 מתוך 2 המשך בnr 640

הנדון: דברי אדוארד ג'רג'יאן בה"ו WASHINGTON INSTITUTE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS EDWARD  
DJEREJIAN LUNCHEON ADDRESS AT WASHINGTON INSTITUTE FOR NEAR EAST  
POLICY SEPTEMBER 22, 1993

MR. DJEREJIAN: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, BOB, FOR YOUR VERY GENEROUS  
REMARKS. BOB MENTIONED THAT THIS IS ON THE RECORD. WE WERE JUST  
HAVING A LITTLE CONVERSATION WITH OUR JOURNALIST FRIENDS HERE  
FROM THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEY ASKED ME FOR AN ON-BACKGROUND  
BRIEFING AND I SAID I'M NOT FAMILIAR WITH ON-BACKGROUND  
BRIEFINGS IN THE MIDDLE EAST BECAUSE THE LAST TIME I GAVE AN  
ON-BACKGROUND BRIEFING TO A MIDDLE EAST NEWSPAPER THEY DID  
FOLLOW THE RULES AND SAY "ACCORDING TO A SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT  
OFFICIAL." THE ONLY PROBLEM WAS MY PHOTOGRAPH WAS ON THE FRONT  
PAGE. (LAUGHTER.) WELCOME TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

BOB, I'M VERY HAPPY TO BE HERE WITH YOU AND OUR GUESTS, MANY OF  
WHOM I KNOW FROM THE DEEP AND RECENT PAST.

I'D LIKE TO ADDRESS THE WHOLE ISSUE OF THE MULTILATERAL PART OF  
THE PEACE PROCESS IN OUR DISCUSSION TODAY. LAST WEEK WE WERE ALL  
WITNESSES TO HISTORY. THE SIGNING AT THE WHITE HOUSE OF THE  
ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN JOINT DECLARATION WAS ONE OF THOSE SEMINAL  
EVENTS WHICH TRANSFORM THE INTERNATIONAL LANDSCAPE.

LIKE ALL MAJOR EVENTS, THE SIGNING WILL HAVE MANY CONSEQUENCES,  
INTENDED AND UNINTENDED. TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO FOCUS ON ONE OF  
THE INTENDED CONSEQUENCES ON THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN  
BREAKTHROUGH--THE SYNERGISM BETWEEN THE TWO TRACKS OF THE MADRID  
PEACE PROCESS.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, IN ANNOUNCING A CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT

MIDDLE EAST PEACE, SAID WE WOULD BE BUILDING ON THE MADRID FRAMEWORK. HE WAS REFERRING TO THE MULTILATERALS, THE SO-CALLED OTHER TRACK OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

IN FINDING MADRID AND ITS AFTERMATH, WE PUSHED FOR TWO NEGOTIATING TRACKS TO ADDRESS THE SETS OF PROBLEMS WHICH EXIST IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE FIRST TRACK OF THE BILATERALS WAS AND IS MEANT TO RESOLVE THE CORE BILATERAL ISSUES AT THE HEART OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE, NAMELY, LAND, PEACE AND SECURITY.

AS YOU KNOW, THIS TRACK IS BROKEN DOWN INTO SEPARATE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL ON THE ONE HAND AND RESPECTIVELY, THE SYRIANS OR LEBANESE AND THE JORDANIANS AND PALESTINIANS ON THE OTHER. CLEARLY, THE BILATERALS HAVE BEEN THE FOCAL POINT OF PUBLIC ATTENTION AND INTEREST.

THE SECOND TRACK, THE MULTILATERAL, WAS DESIGNED TO ADDRESS FUNCTIONAL ISSUES ON A REGION-WIDE BASIS. IT WAS DESIGNED TO FOSTER BROADER HUMAN CONTACTS BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND ARABS. IN SHORT, IT WAS DESIGNED TO BE AN ESSENTIAL COMPLEMENT TO THE BILATERALS, TO TACKLE THOSE REGIONAL PROBLEMS THAT ARE THEMSELVES A SOURCE OF TENSION AND INSTABILITY.

NOT SURPRISINGLY, FOREIGN POLICY PROFESSIONALS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC DID NOT PAY A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO THE MULTILATERALS, AND PARTICIPANTS IN THIS PROCESS, I CAN TELL YOU VERY FRANKLY, WERE NOT UNHAPPY TO AVOID THE GLARE OF PUBLICITY, TO KEEP THE FOCUS ON THE BILATERALS AND TO ENCOURAGE THE THOUGHTFUL EXPLORATION OF REGIONAL CONCERN IN A CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE.

NOW, PRECISELY BECAUSE OF THIS FIRST SUCCESS IN THE BILATERALS, THE IMPORTANCE AND PROFILE ON THE MULTILATERALS WILL INEVITABLY RISE. THE WORK THAT WE HAVE BEEN DOING ON THIS TRACK WILL, IN SOME INSTANCES, BE DRAWN INTO THE BILATERAL TRACK, AND MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, THE MECHANISM WE ESTABLISH FOR RUNNING THE MULTILATERALS WILL ITSELF FEATURE, IN OUR EFFORTS TO IMPLEMENT THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DECLARATION OF OF PRINCIPLE.

BUT I'M GETTING AHEAD OF MYSELF. IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR ME FIRST TO DISCUSS THE ORIGINS OF THIS OTHER TRACK, DESCRIBE THE PROGRESS THE MULTILATERAL WORKING GROUPS HAVE MADE TO DATE AND THEN LINK THE WORK THAT HAS BEEN DONE WITH THE URGENT MULTILATERAL EFFORT, THE RECENT AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS.

IN PREPARING THE MULTILATERAL TRACK FOR MADRID, WE HAD A VISION OF THE FRUIT FOR PEACE IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC, HUMAN, SOCIAL, DEVELOPMENTAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND SECURITY NEEDS. WE RECOGNIZE THAT MANY FUNCTIONAL PROBLEMS AFFECTED THE ENTIRE REGION, FROM THE MAGREB TO THE GULF. IN ORDER TO ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS EFFECTIVELY, WE NEEDED AS BROAD A REGIONAL PARTICIPATION AS

POSSIBLE. WITH THIS IN MIND, WE EXTENDED INVITATIONS TO ALL REGIONAL STATES SAVE THOSE LIKE LIBYA AND IRAQ WHOSE POLICIES HAVE PUT THEM OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

WE RECOGNIZED TOO THAT IN ORDER TO DEAL COMPREHENSIVELY WITH THE PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST WE HAD TO INCLUDE EXTRAREGIONAL PARTIES. WE REALIZED IT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO DRAW ON THE WEALTH OF EXPERTISE, ENERGY AND GOODWILL AVAILABLE AROUND THE GLOBE. WE THEREFORE INVITED THE EUROPEANS, JAPAN, CANADA, CHINA AND MANY OTHERS. IN DOING THIS, WE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT AFFORD TO SHOULDER THE ENTIRE PROMISE AND OBLIGATION OF PEACE, AS IT IS DONE AT CAMP DAVID.

ACCORDINGLY, THE PARTIES AT THE MADRID CONFERENCE ESTABLISHED A MULTILATERAL TRACK AND CALLED FOR AN ORGANIZING MEETING TO BE HELD IN MOSCOW.

IN JANUARY, 1992, 36 PARTIES, INCLUDING 11 ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL, ATTENDED THE MEETING. TAKE NOTE OF THE NUMBER OF ARAB PARTICIPANTS: 11. THE BILATERALS ESTABLISHED NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND FOUR ARAB PARTIES. THE MULTILATERALS BROUGHT THE ISRAELS INTO CONTACT FROM THE VERY START WITH SEVEN ADDITIONAL ARAB COUNTRIES. THIS DEMONSTRATES THAT THE CONCEPT OF THE MULTILATERALS INTER ALIA IS TO FACILITATE, NORMALIZE ISRAELI-ARAB CONTACT WHERE FOUND.

THE HISTORIC IMPASSE OF THIS NEW DEPARTURE CAME HOME TO ME WHILE CO-CHAIRING WITH MY RUSSIAN COLLEAGUE THE FIRST MULTILATERAL STEERING GROUP MEETING IN LISBON IN MAY OF 1992.

AROUND THE LARGE OVAL TABLE, FOR THE FIRST TIME WERE ISRAELI DELEGATES SITTING NEXT TO THE EGYPTIANS, THE SAUDIS, REPRESENTING THE GCC COUNTRIES, THE LIBYANS, REPRESENTING THE MAGREB, JORDANIANS AND PALESTINIANS. CLEARLY, A NEW SITUATION WAS EMERGING.

LET ME TURN TO THE OPERATION OF THE WORKING GROUP. THE PARTIES IN MOSCOW AGREED TO ESTABLISH FIVE WORKING GROUPS ON ISSUES THAT ARE REGIONAL IN SCOPE AND VITAL TO ESTABLISHING AND MAINTAINING THE PEACE: ARMS CONTROL AND REGIONAL SECURITY, ENVIRONMENT, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, REFUGEES AND WATER RESOURCES. THE STEERING GROUP, CO-CHAIRING BY THE U.S. AND RUSSIA, WAS CREATED TO MONITOR THIS MULTILATERAL PROCESS.

IT IS NOT SURPRISING, IN FACT, IT WAS PLANNED, THAT SEVERAL OF THE GROUPS, ESPECIALLY SECURITY, REFUGEES AND WATER RESOURCES, WOULD ADDRESS MATTERS THAT ARE ALSO CENTRAL TO THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATION. WE BELIEVED THAT THE MULTILATERAL WORKING GROUPS COULD DO VALUABLE SPADE WORK IN PREPARATION FOR EVENTUAL BILATERAL AGREEMENT. WE WANTED TO BE READY TO MOBILIZE RESOURCES, BOTH FINANCIAL AND TECHNICAL, AS SOON AS AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED. NOW WE ARE REAPING THE BENEFIT OF THAT FORESIGHT.

THE U.S. AND RUSSIA, THE CO-SPONSORS OF THE MADRID PROCESS, CHAIR THE ARMS CONTROL AND REGIONAL SECURITY WORKING GROUP. THE ACRONYM IS ACRS. THE REALITIES OF THIS HEAVILY ARMED REGION DICTATED THE APPROACH WE TOOK IN THIS WORKING GROUP. DECADES OF WAR HAD PRODUCED GREAT MUTUAL DISTRUST, AND LITTLE EXPERIENCE WITH ARMS CONTROL OR EVEN CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. INDEED, OUTSIDE OF A HANDFUL OF COUNTRIES, MOST NOTABLY ISRAEL AND EGYPT, THERE WERE FEW OFFICIALS OF EVEN SCHOLARS IN THE REGION FAMILIAR WITH THESE CONCEPTS.

THE RESULT WAS AN APPROACH AT THE FIRST AND EVEN SECOND WORKING GROUP THAT SOUGHT TO PROVIDE THE ABC'S OF ARMS CONTROL. EQUALLY IMPORTANT WAS PROVIDING AN ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH PROFESSIONALS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SECURITY OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES COULD ESTABLISH A RELATIONSHIP AND LEARN, LITTLE BY LITTLE, TO TRUST EACH OTHER.

FROM THERE THE GROUP MOVES ON TO EXPLORE MORE SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES THAT MIGHT BE APPLIED TO THE REGION AS A WHOLE. IT HAS HELD WORKSHOPS ON VERIFICATION AND MARITIME MEASURES, INFORMATION EXCHANGE AND COMMUNICATION. IN FACT, THE FIRST PEACE PROCESS EVENT HELD IN THE REGION WAS A WORKSHOP OF THIS GROUP IN EGYPT.

DOWN THE ROAD, WE CAN SEE ACRS LOOKING TO IMPLEMENT SOME CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES ON A REGION-WIDE BASIS IN THE AREAS OF COMMUNICATION AND MARITIME SEARCH AND RESCUE.

THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, THE EC, LEADS THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKING GROUP WITH THE U.S. AND JAPAN AS CO-ORGANIZERS. EVEN BEFORE THE RECENT BREAKTHROUGH, THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GROUP WAS FOCUSED ON THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF GAZA AND THE WEST BANK, AS WELL AS REGIONAL CONCERNs. A WORLD BANK STUDY DONE FOR THE GROUP HAS BECOME A VALUABLE FOUNDATION FOR THE ECONOMIC WORK ESSENTIAL TO SUPPORT THE PEACE PROCESS.

WHILE THE DETAILS OF AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM NEED TO BE WORKED OUT, THIS STUDY PROVIDES A COHERENT AND TIMELY FRAMEWORK FOR RATIONAL DECISION-MAKING. IT SUGGESTS WAYS TO SET PRIORITIES AND INDICATES THE MAGNITUDE OF THE TASK BEFORE US. WITHOUT IT, WE WOULD BE SCRAMBLING NOW TODAY TO CATCH UP TO THE DRAMATIC EVENTS OF LAST WEEK.

THE ECONOMIC WORKING GROUP HAD NOT RESTRICTED ITSELF TO STUDIES AND HYPOTHETICAL DISCUSSIONS, HOWEVER. WELL BEFORE NEWS OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN ACCORD BROKE, MEMBERS OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORKING GROUP HAD BEGUN PROJECTS TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR PALESTINIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THE U.S., FOR EXAMPLE, HAD TAKEN THE LEAD IN TRAINING PALESTINIANS TO ADMINISTER A CIVIL SERVICE, ADMINISTER A TAX

SYSTEM, AND MAKE A SEWAGE SYSTEM WORK. THIS IS ALL ESSENTIAL WORK. THESE PEOPLE WILL PROVIDE THE MID-LEVEL EXPERTISE REQUIRED BY THE INSTITUTIONS THE PALESTINIANS WILL DEVELOP, THE INSTITUTIONS THAT WILL GIVE SUBSTANCE TO THE VISION OF PEACE OFFERED BY THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

OF THE FIVE GROUPS, THE ENVIRONMENT WORKING GROUP, LED BY THE JAPANESE WITH THE U.S. AND EC AS CO-ORGANIZERS, HAS THE LEAST POLITICAL BAGGAGE. EARLY ON, THE REGIONAL PARTICIPANTS IDENTIFIED ENVIRONMENTAL NEEDS. A CONSENSUS EMERGED TO ADDRESS THE VERY REAL PROBLEM OF DESERTIFICATION, THE SPREAD OF THE DESERT THAT AFFECTS ALL THE PARTIES OF THE REGION. A NUMBER OF THE REGIONAL PARTIES ALSO URGED THIS WORKING GROUP TO FOCUS ON SOLID AND LIQUID WASTE DISPOSAL URGENTLY.

THE MODE OF OPERATION HAS BEEN TO BRING EXPERTS, NOT POLITICIANS OF DIPLOMATS, FROM THE REGION TOGETHER AT WORKSHOPS AND SET THEM TO ADDRESSING THE PROBLEMS AT HAND.

WHAT WE FOUND WAS THAT WHEN WE PUT THESE EXPERTS TOGETHER, THEY SOLVED PROBLEMS. BEYOND THE GLARE OF THE POLITICAL KLEIG LIGHTS, WE CREATED AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE SCIENTISTS SPOKE A COMMON LANGUAGE. IN THIS FORUM, ISRAELIS, PALESTINIANS AND OTHER ARABS STARTED WORKING TOGETHER ON SUCH CRITICAL ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AS HAZARDOUS WASTE DISPOSAL AND OIL SPILLS.

WHEN THESE SCIENTISTS WENT HOME, THEY TOLD THEIR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP THAT ARABS AND ISRAELIS CAN WORK TOGETHER ON PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL CONCERN. THIS BOTTOM-UP APPROACH, THE TECHNICIANS TELLING THE POLITICIANS THAT IT IS NOT ONLY POSSIBLE, BUT NECESSARY TO WORK WITH OLD ADVERSARIES, HAS BEEN REPLICATED A NUMBER OF TIMES IN THE MULTILATERALS. THAT WAS PRECISELY WHAT WE HAD IN MIND IN SETTING THIS PROCESS IN MOTION.

CANADA HAS THE LEAD IN THE REFUGEE WORKING GROUP. THIS HAS BEEN A PARTICULARLY CONTENTIOUS GROUP SINCE IT DEALS WITH SOME OF THE MOST EMOTIONALLY CHARGED PROBLEMS IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, ISSUES LIKE FAMILY REUNIFICATION. INDEED, WE RECOGNIZED FROM THE BEGINNING THAT ON SUCH SENSITIVE QUESTIONS THE PARTIES WOULD HAVE TO ARRIVE AT POLITICAL AGREEMENTS BILATERALLY. NOW ISRAELIS, PALESTINIANS AND JORDANIANS HAVE AGREED TO DO JUST THAT. BOTH THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN ACCORD AND THE ISRAELI-JORDANIAN AGENDA COMMIT THE PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE ON THESE SENSITIVE ISSUES. WE HOPE AND EXPECT THE BILATERAL COMMITMENTS WILL ENABLE THIS WORKING GROUP TO MOVE AHEAD MORE QUICKLY. EVEN BEFORE THE BILATERAL BREAKTHROUGH, THE REFUGEE GROUP HAD CARVED OUT SOME ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM TO WORK ON -- TRAINING AND JOB CREATION, PUBLIC HEALTH AND CHILD WELFARE, AND SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE.

AS WITH THE REFUGEE PROBLEM, THE CORE ISSUE OF WATER RESOURCES, WATER RIGHTS WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN ACCORD AND THE ISRAEL-JORDAN AGENDA CALL FOR NEGOTIATIONS ON WATER RIGHTS. AS A RESULT, THE U.S.-LED WATER RESOURCES WORKING GROUP HAS FOCUSED ON A VARIETY OF FUNCTIONAL ISSUES, SUCH AS SECTOR TRAINING NEEDS, RIVER BASIN MANAGEMENT, AND WATER DATA AVAILABILITY. THROUGH WORKSHOPS, FIELD TRIPS AND FEASIBILITY STUDIES, THE GROUP HAS LAID THE GROUND WORK FOR IMPORTANT REGIONAL PROJECTS. WITH A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE BILATERALS, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO MOVE FORWARD ON PROJECTS LIKE DESALINATION PLANTS IN THE REGION.

(INAUDIBLE) -- QUICKLY DESCRIBES THE PROGRESS TO DATE IN THE THREE ROUNDS OF MULTILATERAL WORKING GROUP MEETINGS. YET THERE IS ONE MORE ACHIEVEMENT THAT DESERVES MENTION. WE AGREED IN THE (LAST WORKING ?) GROUP MEETING IN MOSCOW THAT TWO OF THE WORKING GROUPS IN THE FOURTH ROUND, WHICH IS SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER, WILL BE HOSTED IN THE ARAB WORLD. THE REFUGEE WORKING GROUP MEETS IN TUNISIA, AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL WORKING GROUP IN EGYPT.

THIS MEANS, OF COURSE, THAT ISRAELIS WILL BE MEETING WITH 11 OTHER ARAB DELEGATIONS AND OTHERS IN TWO ARAB VENUES. ONCE AGAIN, THE MULTILATERALS ARE BRUSHING ASIDE LONGSTANDING BARRIERS TO REGIONAL NORMALIZATION.

IN ACHIEVING THE MULTILATERALS, WE HOPE TO CREATE A WEB OF FUNCTIONAL INTERESTS VAULTING POLITICAL FAULT LINES. WE IMAGINE THAT AS COUNTRIES PREPARED FOR THE WORKING GROUPS, THEY WOULD CREATE INSTITUTIONS AND INTEREST GROUPS THAT UNDERSTOOD THE NEED FOR THE PROCESS TO SUCCEED AND WOULD WORK TOWARD THAT END, AND WE WERE RIGHT. EARLY ON, IT WAS EVIDENT THAT FOR MOST PARTICIPANTS THE MULTILATERALS WERE SEEN AS A WIN-WIN SITUATION; ALL COULD GAIN AND ALL HAVE.

WHILE PLEASED WITH THE BARRIERS THAT HAVE FALLEN IN THE MULTILATERALS, WE WOULD STILL LIKE TO BROADEN REGIONAL PARTICIPATION. SYRIA AND LEBANON HAVE TO DATE DECLINED TO JOIN THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS UNTIL THERE IS CONCRETE PROGRESS IN THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. WE HOPE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS WILL MOVE THIS PROCESS FORWARD SO THAT SYRIA AND LEBANON WILL TAKE PART IN THIS IMPORTANT EFFORT. WE ARE ONCE AGAIN ENCOURAGING THEM TO JOIN THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS.

NOW, THE ACHIEVEMENTS THAT I HAVE DESCRIBED PREDATE THE SIGNING OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, BUT THAT BREAKTHROUGH INEVITABLY AFFECTS THE WORK PROGRAM AND THE PROMINENCE OF THE MULTILATERALS. AT THE SIGNING CEREMONY ON THE WHITE HOUSE LAWN SEPTEMBER 13TH, PRESIDENT CLINTON PLEDGED THAT THE U.S. WOULD TAKE THE LEAD IN MARSHALLING THE NECESSARY RESOURCES TO SUPPORT THE BREAKTHROUGH. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER OUTLINED OUR APPROACH IN HIS SPEECH THIS WEEK IN NEW YORK. TO FULFILL THIS PLEDGE, THE U.S. WILL CONVENE A DONOR'S CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON EARLY NEXT MONTH. THE CONFERENCE WILL BE HELD

WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MULTILATERAL STEERING GROUP. THE INSTRUMENT THAT WE PUT IN PLACE TO ADVANCE THE MULTILATERAL TRACK NOW BECOMES THE VEHICLE FOR IMPLEMENTING THE FIRST BREAKTHROUGH IN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

I WOULD LIKE TO SAY THAT THE USE OF THIS STEERING GROUP IS NO ACCIDENT. WE HAD FORESEEN THE ECONOMIC NEEDS THAT WOULD NEED TO BE ADDRESSED AS PART OF OUR EFFORTS TO MAKE PEACE. AT THE STEERING GROUP SESSION IN MOSCOW LAST JULY, I NEGOTIATED WITH FAISAL HUSSEINI, ISRAELI DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER YOSSI BELIN (SP) AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE GROUP LANGUAGE FOR THE FINAL STATEMENT OF THE SESSION. THE STATEMENT RECOGNIZED THE PARTICULAR NEEDS OF THE PALESTINIANS AS THEY MOVE TOWARD INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS. IT ALSO EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT ADDITIONAL FUNDS WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PALESTINIANS TO MEET THEIR CURRENT PRESSING NEEDS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. NOW THAT IS COMING TO PASS.

LAST NIGHT, I CAN ANNOUNCE HERE TODAY, INVITATIONS FROM SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND SECRETARY BENTSEN WERE TRANSMITTED FOR THE CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE. THIS CONFERENCE WILL TAKE PLACE ON OCTOBER 1ST IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND TREASURY SECRETARY BENTSEN, ALONG WITH THEIR RUSSIAN COUNTERPARTS, ARE INVITING ISRAELIS, THE PALESTINIANS, THE EUROPEANS, JAPAN, SAUDI ARABIA, CANADA, THE NORDIC COUNTRIES, AND OTHERS TO THIS EVENT. THE WORLD BANK WILL PARTICIPATE AND WITHIN THE MADRID FRAMEWORK WILL PLAY A LEADING ROLE. THE UNITED NATIONS ALSO HAS A KEY CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE.

THERE IS NO INTENTION TO EXCLUDE ANY COUNTRY OR ORGANIZATION WHICH CAN MAKE A GENUINE CONTRIBUTION. PARTIES WILL BE INVITED TO PLAN TO ATTEND -- EXTEND MATERIAL ASSISTANCE BEYOND ANY LEVELS THEY CURRENTLY PROVIDE. AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID, THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE WILL BE TO MOBILIZE RESOURCES NEEDED TO MAKE THE AGREEMENT WORK. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST MOVE IMMEDIATELY TO SEE THAT THE AGREEMENT PRODUCES TANGIBLE IMPROVEMENTS IN THE SECURITY AND DAILY LIVES OF PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS.

IN THIS EFFORT, ONE OF THE FIRST TASKS WILL BE TO GAUGE THE AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE NEEDED IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK. WHILE THERE ARE SEVERAL VARYING ESTIMATES, PERHAPS THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE IS THE ONE PREPARED BY THE WORLD BANK THAT I REFERRED TO EARLIER. ACCORDING TO THAT STUDY, THREE BILLION ADDITIONAL DOLLARS WILL BE NEEDED OVER THE NEXT 10 YEARS. IN ANY CASE, ALL EXPERTS AGREE ON THE NEEDS THAT MUST BE ADDRESSED.

WE ARE LOOKING TO PRODUCE VISIBLE RESULTS IMMEDIATELY IN TERMS OF CREATING EMPLOYMENT. WE WANT TO MOBILIZE RESOURCES FOR THE LONGER- TERM CHALLENGE OF PUTTING IN PLACE AN ADEQUATE PHYSICAL INFRASTRUCTURE THAT CAN ENSURE CLEAN WATER, GOOD TRANSPORTATION, AND THE AVAILABILITY OF ELECTRIC POWER. WE INTEND TO PURSUE

PROJECTS THAT BUILD ROADS, SCHOOLS, HOSPITALS AND HOUSING. WE WILL PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AIMED AT ESTABLISHING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, STRENGTHENING CREDIT INSTITUTIONS AND TAX COLLECTION CAPABILITIES, AND IMPROVING AGRICULTURAL METHODS. WE EXPECT TO DRAW ON THE RESOURCES OF UNRRWA, THE UNDP, AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE EXPERIENCE AND IDEAS FOR PARTICULAR PROJECTS IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK. EquALLY IMPORTANT, WE WILL ENCOURAGE AND WORK WITH THE AMERICAN PRIVATE SECTOR TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE.

GIVEN THE POSITIVE RESPONSE WE HAVE RECEIVED TO DATE FROM COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS AROUND THE GLOBE, WE BELIEVE THAT THESE NEEDS CAN BE MET. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE OUR FAIR SHARE. WORKING WITH THE CONGRESS, WE EXPECT TO PROVIDE A TWO-YEAR ASSISTANCE PACKAGE VALUED AT DOLLAR 250 MILLION.

THUS FAR I HAVE FOCUSED ON THE INTENDED ACTIONS OF THE U.S. AND OTHER DONORS, BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THE ROLE OF THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS IN THIS PROCESS. THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ENTERS INTO FORCE ON OCTOBER 13TH. AT THAT TIME, THE PARTIES ARE TO ESTABLISH AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION COMMITTEE. THIS IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL. THE PALESTINIANS NEED TO CREATE STRUCTURES TO RECEIVE AND TO COORDINATE WITH THE ISRAELIS TO RECEIVE OF ASSISTANCE AND TO ENSURE THAT IT IS PUT TO PRODUCTIVE USE.

THE OVERALL EFFORT THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN IS AN EXERCISE IN COALITION BUILDING ON A GRAND SCALE. WE HAVE BEEN COALITION BUILDERS BEFORE -- MOST RECENTLY IN THE GULF WAR -- BUT THIS COALITION IS SOMETHING NEW. AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER SAID, THIS IS A COALITION FOR PEACE, TO HELP ESTABLISH AND STABILIZE PEACE IN ONE OF THE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT AND VOLATILE REGIONS.

THE STAKES IN THIS NEW ENDEAVOR ARE EVERY BIT AS HIGH AS IN OUR PREVIOUS EFFORTS AT COALITION BUILDING. THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES MARKED THE FIRST MAJOR STEP TOWARD THE VISION OF A JUST AND DURABLE MIDDLE EAST PEACE GLIMPSED AT MADRID.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH ARE ESSENTIAL TO CONSOLIDATE THE PEACE AGREEMENT. THE ROLE OF THIS MULTILATERAL EFFORT IS NOTHING LESS THAN TO SECURE THAT FIRST STEP AND ENSURE THAT THE STRUCTURE AND RESOURCES ARE IN PLACE TO SUPPORT FURTHER STEPS FOR THE COMPREHENSIVE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE ON ALL FRONTS.

WHAT A WORTHY VENTURE THIS IS. FOR THE SAKE OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, LET US ALL WORK TO MAKE IT A SUCCESS.

THANK YOU.

(APPLAUSE.)

MODERATOR: ED, THANK YOU VERY MUCH. WHEN GEORGE SHULTZ SPOKE AT THE INSTITUTE SEVERAL YEARS AGO, HIS OPENING LINE WAS, "THIS IS A SERIOUS AUDIENCE AND I'M GOING TO GIVE YOU A SERIOUS SPEECH." AND I APPRECIATE VERY MUCH GIVING US A SERIOUS SPEECH.

I'LL TURN THE FLOOR OVER TO QUESTIONS. LET ME FIRST, THOUGH, TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO ASK MY OWN.

ED, YOU DESCRIBED THE LONG-TERM GOALS IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE TERRITORIES AS ESSENTIAL FOR MAKING THE AGREEMENT WORK. THERE IS A VERY SHORT-TERM AND IMMEDIATE NEED -- THAT'S GETTING THE DEAL OFF THE GROUND, HELPING THE PROONENTS OF THE DEAL IN THE TERRITORIES WIN OUT AGAINST THE OPPONENTS OF THE DEAL IN THE TERRITORIES. ONE OF MY COLLEAGUES HAS DESCRIBED THIS AS PROVIDING ARAFAT WITH POCKET MONEY.

ARE THERE PLANS -- WHAT IS OUT THERE TO PROVIDE THE SUPPORTERS OF THE DEAL, ON A VERY SHORT TERM AND IMMEDIATE BASIS, WITH RESOURCES TO TRY TO WIN OVER THE HEARTS AND MINDS? IS THIS SOMETHING THAT THE AMERICAN CONGRESS WILL BE ASKED TO DO ON AN IMMEDIATE BASIS? WHAT RESOURCES ARE OUT THERE THAT YOU THINK CAN BE CHANNELLED INTO SUPPORTERS OF THE DEAL IN THE SHORT TERM?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, BOB, THIS IS EXACTLY ONE OF THE IMMEDIATE TASKS THAT THE DONORS CONFERENCE AND THE PARTICIPANTS WILL BE DISCUSSING. WE ARE ALSO PLANNING TO HAVE A GROUP OF EXPERTS MEET, I BELIEVE, AT THE END OF THIS WEEK, IF I'M NOT -- (PAUSE) -- IN ORDER TO PREPARE FOR THE DONORS CONFERENCE. AND BASICALLY, WE WILL BE TRYING TO ORCHESTRATE THE WHOLE SERIES OF NEEDS THAT HAVE TO BE PUT INTO THE -- INTO PLACE.

BUT BASICALLY HERE I THINK WHAT WE ARE LOOKING AT ARE AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAM IN THE IMMEDIATE, NEAR AND LONGER TERM. AND IN TERMS OF IMMEDIATE NEEDS, WHAT YOU REFERRED TO WILL BE NECESSARY IN TERMS OF PRODUCING THE RESOURCES NECESSARY FOR THE INSTRUMENTS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT -- PALESTINIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT AND EARLY EMPOWERMENT TO BE PUT INTO PLACE. AND WE WILL BE CANVASSING THE VARIOUS DONORS AS TO WHAT EACH ONE OF THEM CAN DO. AND I THINK WE WILL BE LOOKING ACROSS A SPECTRUM OF WHO CAN PROVIDE FUNDS AND FINANCES UP FRONT IN THE NEAR TERM, IN THE LONGER TERM. AND I THINK THE WORLD BANK WILL BE LOOKING, CERTAINLY IN THE NEAR AND LONGER TERM, FOCUSING A GREAT DEAL ON THAT. BUT THERE IS GOING TO HAVE TO BE A DIVISION OF LABOR THAT CHRONOLOGICALLY PUTS RESOURCES INTO PLACE.

AND LET ME TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SAY THAT WHAT -- AN IMPERATIVE NEED NOW IS FOR THE PALESTINIANS TO ESTABLISH THE RECEIVING MECHANISMS FOR THIS AID, THAT THIS IS REALLY A CRITICAL NEED, AND IS ONE OF THE MOST URGENT NEEDS THAT HAS TO BE PUT INTO PLACE.

THERE ARE INSTRUMENTALITIES IN PLACE, BUT THIS HAS TO BE DEALT

WITH IN AS VERY COMPREHENSIVE AND A VERY COORDINATED MANNER. AND I THINK IT'S ALSO VERY ESSENTIAL THE MANNER IN WHICH THE ISRAELI- PALESTINIAN COORDINATION COMMITTEE, LIAISON COMMITTEE, ECONOMIC COMMITTEE -- THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS IN THIS EFFORT IS ALSO GOING TO BE CRUCIAL. SO WE WILL BE DEALING EXACTLY WITH THIS ISSUE IN THE UPCOMING MEETINGS.

Q (OFF MIKE) -- THE SYRIAN POLITICS.

MR. DJEREJIAN: THAT'S A VERY BROAD STATEMENT. (LAUGHTER.)

Q HOW CAN BRING THE SYRIANS AND THE LEBANESE BACK TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS, AND HOW FAR YOU CAN CONVINCE THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTILATERAL TALKS?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, THE SYRIANS AND THE LEBANESE ARE VERY MUCH STILL ENGAGED IN THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. IN FACT, PRESIDENT CLINTON, AS YOU KNOW, TELEPHONED PRESIDENT HAFIZ AL-ASAD TWICE IN A PERIOD OF ONE WEEK, AND HE underscored, AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS DONE RECENTLY TO FAROUK SHARA, THE SYRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, THAT U.S. POLICY IS ABSOLUTELY DETERMINED TO PURSUE THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS ON A BROAD, COMPREHENSIVE FRONT. IN OTHER WORDS, THE GOAL OF MADRID REMAINS VERY STRONGLY THE GOAL OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY: A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE.

NOW, WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THESE DRAMATIC EVENTS IS, IN OUR BASIC ANALYSIS, IS THAT, WITH THE BREAKTHROUGH IN THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN FRONT, WE ALL KNOW THAT THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE HAS BEEN AT THE POLITICAL CORE OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. THE OTHER CORE OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT IS THE MORE STRATEGIC AND GEOPOLITICAL DIMENSION. AND THE TWO MAJOR PROTAGONISTS ARE ISRAEL AND SYRIA. AND, THEREFORE, FOR THERE TO BE A VIABLE, SECURE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WHERE ISRAEL IS TRULY LIVING AT PEACE WITH ALL ITS NEIGHBORS, WE MUST MOVE FORWARD ON ALL THESE FRONTS.

WE ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH THE SYRIAN LEADERSHIP. WE'RE ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN ON THESE ISSUES AND THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS. WE ARE ACTIVELY ENGAGED WITH THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT IN TERMS OF DETERMINING WHAT CAN BE DONE TO MOVE THAT TRACK FORWARD. BECAUSE THERE ARE VERY SERIOUS PROBLEMS THAT ARE IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS ALSO ON THE LEBANESE FRONT IN TERMS OF THE OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE FROM SOUTHERN LEBANON INTO NORTHERN ISRAEL AND THE EVENTS THAT WE'VE SEEN IN THE PAST THAT RECUR THERE.

SO IT IS OUR DETERMINED POLICY -- THE PRESIDENT'S MADE THIS CLEAR, THE SECRETARY'S MADE THIS CLEAR -- TO MOVE FORWARD. WE WILL BE CONCENTRATING IN THE DAYS AND WEEKS AHEAD ON CONSOLIDATING THIS DONORS CONFERENCE EFFORT, BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE OUR LINES OUT TO MAKE SURE THAT THIS PEACE PROCESS

MOVES ACROSS A BROAD FRONT.

MODERATOR: PAUL HAIR (SP)?

Q ED, WE'VE SEEN A LOT OF MEDIA REPORTS ABOUT THE EMERGING PALESTINIAN POLICE FORCE BEING TRAINED BOTH IN EGYPT AS WELL AS JORDAN.

MODERATOR: CAN YOU SPEAK UP, PAUL, PLEASE?

Q YES. WE'VE HEARD ABOUT THE EMERGING PALESTINIAN POLICE FORCE BEING TRAINED IN JORDAN AS WELL AS EGYPT. I WONDER IF YOU HAVE ANY IDEA ABOUT THE MAGNITUDE OF THAT POLICE FORCE? AND, SECONDLY, HOW IT IS GOING TO BE FUNDED? AND WILL THAT BE ONE OF THE TOPICS THAT WILL BE ADDRESSED AT THE DONORS MEETING?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, FIRST OF ALL, WE'RE VERY ENCOURAGED BY THE TRAINING PROGRAMS UNDERWAY IN JORDAN AND EGYPT FOR THIS PALESTINIAN POLICE FORCE. THIS IS PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST IMMEDIATE NEEDS THAT HAS TO BE ADDRESSED IN TERMS OF CARRYING OUT THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND ALSO FOR ASSURING THAT THERE IS SECURITY ON THE GROUND SO THAT INVESTMENT RESOURCES AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES WILL BE DELIVERED IN THE RIGHT ENVIRONMENT. SO THIS IS A TOP PRIORITY. NO DECISIONS HAVE BEEN MADE, PARTICULARLY ON FINANCING. THINGS ARE ALREADY GOING ON, BUT CERTAINLY THIS IS ONE ELEMENT THAT I THINK THE DONORS CAN LOOK AT IN TERMS OF HOW WE CAN BE HELPFUL IN THAT RESPECT.

MODERATOR: ABUSALAM MUSARWE (PH).

עד כאן חלק 1 מתוך 2

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (ר罕מ) (שהבט), מנכ"ל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רִאַגְת) (רִאַגְת), תכנוון,  
ממ"ד, מצלפה, סמנכלתקשותה, תקשורת, רחטמזה, יישראליערב, @ (דוץ)

ססססס

32000: חוזם,AAA  
1532/רְהַמֵּשׁ, אַל:  
מִן: וּוֹשִׁינְגְּטוֹן, נְר: 230993, תְּא: 640, זְח: מ, סְג: בָּל,  
כְּכָבָב  
בְּלָמָס/מִידִי

לְהַלֵּן חָלָק 2 מִתּוֹךְ 2  
הַמְשָׁךׁ לְנֶר 639

Q. 1.10'

Q MR. SECRETARY, A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS. UNRWA, THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY, HAS BEEN SUFFERING BADLY IN -- ESPECIALLY IN ITS ACTIONS AND WORK IN THE GAZA STRIP. AND MANY OF ITS SERVICES HAVE BEEN CURTAILED. GOING BACK TO BOB'S FIRST QUESTION ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE NEED OF THE POCKET MONEY TO MOVE THE ORGANIZATION AND KNOWING THAT THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE AND MANY ORGANIZATIONS AND MANY -- SOME ARAB COUNTRIES WHO ARE BUILDING OPPOSITION, STRONG OPPOSITION, TO THIS ACCORD, ARE YOU SEEING ANYTHING FLOWING OF FUNDS IMMEDIATELY FROM ANY DISCRETIONARY FUNDS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OR ANYPLACE TO UNRWA TO TRY TO BRING IT UP TO THE LEVEL OF PROVIDING THE DAILY THINGS. YOU KNOW THAT, YOU KNOW, THE AREA HAS BEEN CLOSED SINCE MARCH 31ST DUE TO THE ISRAELI CLOSURE OF THE -- (INAUDIBLE). THIS IS ONE QUESTION.

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OPERATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS IN PLACE THAT CAN BE DRAWN ON IMMEDIATELY, BOTH U.N. AGENCIES, VARIOUS PROGRAMS BY INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND ALSO I WOULD NOT DISMISS IN ANY SENSE, BUT WOULD LIKE TO PUT THE SPOTLIGHT ON THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE NUMBER OF PVOS THAT EXIST, PRIVATE VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS, ON THE GROUND IN THE REGION THAT HAVE PLAYED, ARE PLAYING AND WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY, I THINK, IN THIS NEW ENVIRONMENT AN ENHANCED ROLE. SO, THERE ARE THINGS IN PLACE THAT CAN BE DRAWN ON IN THAT RESPECT, AND WE WILL BE LOOKING -- AS I SAID IN MY PREPARED REMARKS, WE WILL BE LOOKING AT THE ROLE OF THE UNDP AND (UNROD ?) TO SEE HOW THEY CAN BE PUT INTO THE OVERALL EQUATION.

Q NEXT QUESTION, WHEN WILL THE ADMINISTRATION SUCCEED IN REMOVING ALL OF THE 16 ANTI-PLO LAWS OF THE FOCUS OF THE CONGRESS IN ORDER TO ALLOW THE OPENING OF A DIPLOMATIC MISSION FOR THE PLO IN WASHINGTON?

MR. DJEREJIAN: AND YOU'RE NOT COUNTING. (LAUGHTER.) AND YOU'RE NOT COUNTING. YOU SAID ALL THE 16.

WE ARE NOW CONSULTING VERY, VERY CLOSELY WITH THE SENATE AND THE CONGRESS. IN FACT, LAST NIGHT, WE HELD CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SENATE LEADERSHIP, AND WE ARE NOW IN CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH

THEM, WORKING OUT EXACTLY OUR APPROACH IN SEEING WHAT CAN BE DONE TO EITHER AMEND OR REMOVE CERTAIN OF THE STATUTORY RESTRICTIONS THAT EXIST RELATIVE TO THE PLO.

Q CAN I JUST ASK YOU ON THAT, AND IT'S A PRETTY CANDID QUESTION, DO WE HAVE ANY HESITATIONS ANYMORE ABOUT THE PLO OPERATIONS IN AMERICA? HAS THERE BEEN EXONERATION, IF YOU WILL, FOR PAST ACTS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES AND ITS CITIZENS? WILL THERE BE ANYTHING LEFT ON THE BOOKS LIMITING PLO OPERATIONS?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, THERE'S NO CATEGORIC RESPONSE TO THAT QUESTION, BOB, BECAUSE WHAT WE'RE DOING IS WORKING WITH CONGRESS TO DETERMINE EXACTLY WHAT RESTRICTIONS CAN AND WILL BE LIFTED NOW, THEN TO DETERMINE HOW WE APPROACH THIS IN THE LONGER TERM. SO, THERE IS NO ANSWER TO THAT QUESTION AT THIS POINT. BUT, AGAIN, IN TERMS OF, YOU KNOW, OUR POSITION CERTAINLY ON ACTS OF TERRORISM IN WHICH UNITED STATES CITIZENS HAVE BEEN KILLED, OF COURSE, REMAINS A VERY STRONG ONE. BUT WE'RE GOING TO WORK AND ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH CONGRESS TO SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE.

Q ED, I'M INTERESTED IN THE HISTORIC RECORD OF THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT. IN THE GREAT TRADITION OF STATE DEPARTMENT BRIEFINGS, I'LL BE DIRECT. THE PALESTINIANS SAY THAT YOU GUYS, THE AMERICANS, WERE SO INEFFECTIVE AND TABLED A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AT THE END OF THE PREVIOUS ROUND OF TALKS THAT WAS SO ONE- SIDED, UNEVENHANDED, THAT THEY BECAME CONVINCED THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO ULTIMATELY NEGOTIATE A DEAL WITH THE ISRAELIS, AND IT WAS AT THAT POINT THAT THE TALKS IN OSLO BEGAN TO TAKE ON NEW MOMENTUM. A, IS THAT TRUE? AND, B, IF IT IS TRUE, IS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED STATES (AT AN END ?) (LAUGHTER.)

Q A SIMPLE YES AND NO WILL DO.

MR. DJEREJIAN: WHY DO I LIKE YOU SO MUCH, JOHN? LET ME COUNT THE WAYS.

LOOK, IF YOU LOOK AT THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES THAT WAS AGREED UPON BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO AND THEN YOU LOOK OBJECTIVELY AT THE HISTORY OF THE MADRID NEGOTIATIONS AND THE EVOLUTION OF THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN POSITIONS WHICH WERE PAINSTAKINGLY DISCUSSED AND NEGOTIATED, YOU WILL SEE THAT A GREAT DEAL OF WHAT THE MADRID PROCESS PRODUCED WOUND UP IN THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES THAT ISRAEL AND THE PLO FINALLY NEGOTIATED. I THINK THAT PERHAPS IS THE MOST OBJECTIVE AND CANDID RESPONSE I CAN GIVE TO YOU IN TERMS OF THE OVERALL PURPORT OF YOUR QUESTION.

SECONDLY, LET ME MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT THE BASIC PREMISE OF THE MADRID PEACE PROCESS WAS DIRECT, FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB AND PALESTINIAN NEGOTIATING PARTIES. WE HAVE ALWAYS ENCOURAGED DIRECT CONTACTS AND NEGOTIATIONS

BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEGOTIATING PARTIES BECAUSE IT IS OUR FIRM CONVICTION THAT AT THE END OF THE DAY, THE ONLY VIABLE AGREEMENTS THAT CAN BE REACHED ARE THOSE THAT ARE REACHED FACE TO FACE AND DIRECTLY. WE ARE THERE AS A FULL PARTNER TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ACT, AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS MADELEAR, AS AN INTERMEDIARY, AS AN HONEST BROKER TO PUSH THE PROCESS FORWARD. WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN DOING THAT, AND THEREFORE, QUITE FRANKLY, WE ARE NOT AT ALL DISTURBED BY THE CRIES OF "AUTHOR, AUTHOR." WHAT WE ARE ABSOLUTELY VERY, VERY HAPPY ABOUT IS THAT THIS CONCEPTUAL BREAKTHROUGH BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS OCCURRED, BECAUSE OUR GOAL IS ONE, TO MOVE THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS FORWARD TO A COMPREHENSIVE SOLUTION.

MODERATOR: LOTS OF HANDS. CAN I JUST INVITE PEOPLE WHO HAVE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS -- (LAUGHTER) -- I'M GOING TO TURN TO THOSE PEOPLE RIGHT NOW. SO IF YOU HAVE A QUESTION ABOUT THE MULTILATERALS -- ALAN -- (NAME INAUDIBLE).

Q I'D LIKE TO DRAW YOU OUT ON THE ARMS CONTROL MULTILATERAL. SINCE THE MADRID MEETING, THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF UNOFFICIAL CONFERENCES THAT HAVE INCLUDED SOME OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES AND UNOFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES FROM COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. AT THESE MEETINGS, A LOT OF PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON VARIOUS KINDS OF CONCRETE ARMS CONTROL MEASURES THAT A NUMBER OF OUR PARTICIPANTS HAVE SAID IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MOVE FORWARD WITH IF THERE WAS SUFFICIENT PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS. AND I THINK IN YOUR COMMENTS YOU SAID DOWN THE ROAD YOU WOULD ANTICIPATE COMMUNICATION MEASURES AND SEARCH AND RESCUE MEASURES.

WHAT DOES THAT TELL US ABOUT WHAT YOU'VE LEARNED IN THE LAST 10 DAYS ABOUT ATTITUDES OF GOVERNMENTS IN THE REGION ABOUT MOVING FORWARD WITH CONCRETE STEPS ON ARMS CONTROL?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, WHAT WE'D LIKE TO DO IS TO SEE THIS PROCESS OF ACCOMMODATION AND POLITICAL RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB PARTNERS BROADENED, BROADENED IN TERMS OF THE CONTACTS BETWEEN THE PARTIES, THE INTENSITY AND SERIOUSNESS OF ENGAGEMENT IN ALL THE FORA, BILATERAL, MULTILATERAL, AND I WOULD HOPE THAT IN THE NEXT WORKING GROUPS IN THE ACRS FIELD, THAT WE WOULD FIND AN ENHANCED ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE PARTIES TO REALLY GO INTO THESE ISSUES WITH MORE ACTIVISM AND TO SEE WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE VERY NEAR TERM. IT REALLY IS CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES IN THE SECURITY FIELD.

NOW AGAIN, IT'S IMPORTANT IN THIS RESPECT THAT WE CONTINUE TO MAKE AS MUCH PROGRESS ON THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. IT IS MY OWN VIEW THAT I THINK WE'LL BEGIN TO SEE TANGIBLE THINGS BEING DONE IN THE ACRS FORUM, AND I'M TALKING AFTER FEASIBILITY STUDIES AND STUDIES AND SEMINARS THAT ARE GOING ON ONCE WE HAVE MOVED FURTHER FORWARD IN THE BILATERALS, ESPECIALLY ON THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN FRONT, BECAUSE THAT WILL HAVE A VERY DIRECT

IMPACT WITH THEIR SUCCESS IN THAT NEGOTIATING TRACK ON SECURITY ISSUES IN THE REGION AS A WHOLE.

MODERATOR: MOHAMMED? MOHAMMED -- (NAME INAUDIBLE)?

Q YOU MENTIONED ACTUALLY ABOUT THAT WE LEFT IT OPEN FOR SOME OTHER PARTICIPANTS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE NEXT CONFERENCE, DONORS CONFERENCE.

MR. DJEREJIAN: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q THAT YOU INVITED SAUDI ARABIA FROM THE GULF COUNTRIES. YOU HAVE NOT INVITED THE OTHERS. IN TERMS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND IN THE AREA, WOULDN'T IT HAVE BEEN BETTER TO INVITE OTHER GULF COUNTRIES TO GIVE THEM -- (INAUDIBLE)?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, THE INVITATIONS ARE OPEN TO ALL THOSE PARTIES AND COUNTRIES THAT CAN MAKE A CONTRIBUTION THAT GOES BEYOND THE CONTRIBUTIONS THAT THEY'RE PRESENTLY INVESTING IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SO I THINK THAT ANSWERS THE QUESTION.

Q JONATHAN -- (INAUDIBLE NAME). THERE'S A BIG DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF MONEY THAT THE WORLD BANK SAYS IS NEEDED IN THE TERRITORIES, DOLLAR 3 BILLION --

MODERATOR: JON, WOULD YOU SPEAK UP, PLEASE?

Q THERE'S A BIG DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE AMOUNT OF MONEY THAT THE WORLD BANK SAYS IS NEEDED IN THE TERRITORIES OVER THE NEXT 10 YEARS, DOLLAR 3 BILLION, AND THE PALESTINIAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN, WHICH CALLS FOR, I THINK, DOLLAR 13 BILLION OVER THE NEXT SEVEN YEARS.

MR. DJEREJIAN: RIGHT.

Q WHICH FIGURE IS MORE REALISTIC BOTH IN TERMS OF NEED AND IN TERMS OF AVAILABLE MONEY?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, WE THINK THE THREE-POINT BILLION FIGURE IS PROBABLY AN ACCURATE GENERAL FIGURE. YOU CAN'T BE TOO PRECISE IN THESE ESTIMATES. WE ARE ENCOURAGED IN THIS CONCLUSION BY THE FACT THAT AN ENTIRELY INDEPENDENT STUDY WAS DONE BY HARVARD UNIVERSITY'S STAN FISHER (SP), AND THE ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS HAVE DONE A STUDY THAT'S AN EXCELLENT STUDY, WHICH ALSO IS IN THE BALL PARK OF APPROXIMATELY DOLLAR 3 BILLION. SO WE THINK THAT THE FIGURE ITSELF IS MOST LIKELY ACCURATE. BUT AS WE GO DOWN THE ROAD, I THINK WE'RE GOING TO BE ABLE TO FIX MORE ACCURATELY WHAT THE OVERALL DIMENSIONS ARE THE MORE WE GET INTO DETERMINING WHAT THE NEEDS.

AND, AGAIN, I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT FOR US NOT TO EXAGGERATE WHAT THE NEEDS ARE OR UNDERESTIMATE THEM, BUT CERTAINLY NOT TO EXAGGERATE THEM. BECAUSE WE ARE TALKING HERE ABOUT THE WEST BANK

AND GAZA. I MEAN, WE'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT RUSSIA, LIKE AID TO RUSSIA. WE'RE TALKING ABOUT THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. SO WE HAVE TO KEEP THINGS IN PROPORTION.

MODERATOR: JUDITH KIPPER?

Q AS YOU KNOW SYRIA PROBABLY BETTER THAN ANY OF THE REST OF US AND PROBABLY AS WELL AS ANYBODY IN OUR GOVERNMENT -- AND IRONICALLY IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE SYRIAN-ISRAELI TRACK, THE OUTCOME, IS PROBABLY THE EASIEST OF ALL OF THEM -- SYRIAN SOVEREIGNTY, IF NOT CONTROL, OVER THE GOLAN IN EXCHANGE FOR FULL PEACE, MEETING ALL KINDS OF RELATIONS, MUTUAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, AND PROBABLY AMERICANS SITTING IN THE MIDDLE OF THE GOLAN BEING VERY BOARD. BUT I THINK WE KNOW BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS THAT WE'RE FACING CATCH-22: WHO GOES FIRST? RABIN IS NOT ABLE TO PROPOSE FULL GOLAN TO ASAD, AND ASAD ISN'T ABLE TO PROPOSE FULL PEACE TO THE ISRAELIS FIRST.

IN THE PAST, I THINK WE'VE SEEN THAT MADE IN AMERICA, MADE IN THE USA, IS NECESSARY BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS. ON THE SECRETARY'S NEXT TRIP TO THE REGION, DO YOU ENVISION AN AMERICAN PIECE OF PAPER THAT MIGHT URGE, PUSH, PERSUADE, ENCOURAGE PRESIDENT ASAD TO CONSIDER COMING TO AN AGREEMENT OF PRINCIPLES WITH THE ISRAELIS? AND WOULD THAT PIECE OF PAPER BE PRESENTED FIRST TO PRESIDENT ASAD FOR HIS CONSIDERATION?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, JUDITH, WHAT I SEE IS CERTAINLY A VERY FULL AND ACTIVE AMERICAN ROLE IN PROMOTING TANGIBLE PROGRESS IN THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN NEGOTIATING TRACK. WHAT I SEE IS A VERY CENTRAL ROLE FOR SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, IN WHOM BOTH PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND PRESIDENT ASAD HAVE PUT THEIR TRUST AND CONFIDENCE IN BEING A FULL INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA TO SEE WHAT WE CAN DO TO NARROW THE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES ON LAND, PEACE AND SECURITY WHICH EXISTS, AS YOU RIGHTLY SAID, AT THE VERY HEART OF THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN NEGOTIATIONS.

SO I THINK WE WILL PLAYING THAT ROLE. I KNOW WE WILL BE PLAYING THAT ROLE AND WITH DETERMINATION AND WITH THE FULL BACKING OF THE PRESIDENT, WHO HAS BEEN PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN THIS TRACK AND IN HIS COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE LEADERSHIP ON BOTH SIDES.

Q IF I COULD JUST FOLLOW UP ON THAT DIRECTLY, AS YOU KNOW, THERE ARE SUMMITS THIS WEEK WITH BOTH ASAD AND WITH RABIN IN EGYPT. AND I NOTICED YOU'RE SAYING CHRISTOPHER HAS THE KEY ROLE AS THE GO- BETWEEN BETWEEN ASAD AND THE ISRAELIS. BUT HAVE YOU BEEN BRIEFED THIS WEEK BY THE EGYPTIANS YET ON THESE TWO SUMMITS? I KNOW THAT THE ONE WITH THE SYRIANS TOOK PLACE TODAY. AND, IF SO, WHAT'S THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF THOSE BRIEFINGS?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, WHAT I SAID IN NO WAY IS CONTRARY TO THE FACT THAT ASAD IS MEETING IN EGYPT WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK AND THAT PRIME MINISTER RABIN WAS THERE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT

MUBARAK. YOU KNOW, WE HAVE A VERY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH EGYPT AND WITH PRESIDENT MUBARAK, AND I MUST COMMEND THE EGYPTIAN ROLE IN -- NOT ONLY THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE MADRID PEACE PROCESS, BUT CERTAINLY IN THEIR INTERACTION IN THESE LATEST EVENTS. WE'VE BEEN WORKING VERY CLOSELY, AND PRESIDENT MUBARAK DESERVES PRAISE FOR THE ROLE HE PLAYED VERY CONSTRUCTIVELY.

AGAIN, WE WILL CONTINUE TO CONSULT AND WORK CLOSELY WITH EGYPT. BUT IT'S COMPLEMENTARY TO WHAT I DESCRIBED AS OUR EFFORTS WILL BE.

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, I -- I THINK THE FIRST SIGN OF WISDOM IN ALL OF THIS IS TO NOT BECOME TOO SPECULATIVE. I THINK WHAT I HAVE SIGNALLED TO YOU TODAY IN MY RESPONSES ON THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN TRACK IS THAT WE CONSIDER FORWARD MOVEMENT ON THIS TRACK TO BE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO CERTAINLY ARRIVE AT A SECURE, VIABLE PEACE ON ALL SIDES; SECONDLY, THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY ARE PERSONALLY AND ACTIVELY INVOLVED; THIRD, THAT BOTH PRESIDENT ASSAD AND PRIME MINISTER RABIN LOOK TO US TO PLAY THIS ROLE AS AN ENTITY. WE WILL BE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MOVE THIS FORWARD IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD. THAT'S ALL I CAN SAY.

MODERATOR: AMBASSADOR ROY ATHERTON --

Q ED, I KNOW YOU'RE FAMILIAR WITH THE SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND ON THESE MISSIONS, AND THAT WE LAUNCHED IN THE SPRING A COMMISSION ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH CLEARLY IS A PARALLEL IN SOME WAYS TO THE MULTILATERAL APPROACH.

MR. DJEREJIAN: RIGHT.

Q BUT IN OUR CASE THE FOCUS IS, IN PARTICULAR, ON ENGAGING PRIVATE SECTOR -- (INAUDIBLE). OBVIOUSLY THE AGREEMENT THAT'S REACHED IS GOING TO GIVE A BOOST TO THAT IN TERMS OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN PRIVATE SECTOR COOPERATION AND, HOPEFULLY, ALSO ENCOURAGE PRIVATE INVESTMENT. BUT ONE THING ALL OF THE PEOPLE IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR ARE GOING TO BE LOOKING AT IS THE SECURITY SITUATION WITHIN THE TERRITORIES, WITHIN THE AREA IN WHICH THE --

MR. DJEREJIAN: RIGHT.

Q -- COOPERATION IS TAKING PLACE. IT SEEMS TO ME INEVITABLY THIS IS GOING TO REQUIRE PRETTY CLOSE CONTINUING COOPERATION BETWEEN ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN SECURITY PEOPLE TO MAKE SURE THAT THE CLIMATE IS ONE THAT CAN CREATE CONFIDENCE. CAN YOU GIVE SOME APPRAISAL OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY ARE AWARE OF THIS AND HAVE THE CAPABILITIES AND ARE COMMITTED TO THAT KIND OF ONGOING, RATHER INTIMATE, I WOULD THINK, COOPERATION IN SECURITY MATTERS -- (INAUDIBLE)?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, THE DECLARATION WAS ITSELF -- THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES HAS A SECURITY COMMITTEE BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS WHICH WILL PLAY A KEY ROLE IN EXACTLY WHAT YOU'RE SAYING. AND THE FIRST -- ON THE PALESTINIAN SIDE, THE FIRST TASK IS TO BUILD UP A SECURITY ORGANIZATION, THE PALESTINIAN POLICE FORCE, THAT CAN START ASSUMING EFFECTIVELY A SECURITY ROLE IN GAZA AND IN JERICHO.

AND THEN THE ISRAELIS OBVIOUSLY WILL DO EVERYTHING THEY DEEM NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN SECURITY IN THE TERRITORIES AS A WHOLE. SO I THINK ALREADY THEY ARE -- THEY HAVE DISCUSSED THIS, THEY ARE IN COORDINATION WITH ONE ANOTHER, AND I THINK THAT IT'S VERY IMPORTANT FOR THAT LIAISON BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS TO BE AS EFFECTIVE AS POSSIBLE.

AND, SECONDLY, WE MUST MUSTER WHATEVER RESOURCES ARE NECESSARY -- WILL BE NECESSARY TO REALLY BUILD UP A PALESTINIAN INDIGENOUS SECURITY FORCE, BUT THAT IS A KEY REQUIREMENT.

Q CAN I -- SINCE YOU TALKED ABOUT COMMITTEES THAT ARE BEING FORMED, IN THE ISRAEL-PLO AGREEMENT THERE'S ALSO A DISCUSSION OF A REFUGEE COMMITTEE WITH THE EGYPTIANS, THE JORDANIANS, THE ISRAELIS, AND THE PALESTINIANS. IN WHAT WAY WILL THAT DIMINISH THE ROLE OF THE MULTILATERAL REFUGEE NEGOTIATIONS? WILL THERE BE -- HAVE THE JORDANIANS AGREED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS COMMITTEE? BECAUSE THEY WERE WRITTEN INTO IT WITHOUT THEIR FOR KNOWLEDGE.

HOW DO YOU SEE THE REFUGEE ISSUE PLAYING OUT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THIS AGREEMENT AS OPPOSED TO WITHIN THE LARGER FRAMEWORK OF THE MULTILATERAL?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, AGAIN, I THINK THE COMMITTEE ALLOWS THE POSSIBILITY FOR BILATERAL INTERACTION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS ON THE ISSUE, AND THEN THE JORDANIANS AGREED TO JOIN THAT GROUP WITH THE JORDANIANS (SIC). THIS WILL ONLY COMPLEMENT WHAT WE SEE HAPPENING NOT ONLY IN THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS AND ISRAEL AND JORDAN BUT ALSO IN THE WORKING GROUP ON REFUGEES, AND I THINK I THINK IT CAN ONLY HAVE A POSITIVE IMPACT BECAUSE THE REFUGEE WORKING GROUPS THEN WILL HAVE THE BENEFIT OF DIRECT CONTACT AND IN COORDINATING THE REFUGEE ISSUE PERHAPS IN A LARGER FRAME OF REFERENCE.

ONE THING TO REMEMBER HERE IS THAT THE MULTILATERAL FORUM AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE -- IT'S VERY IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF THE MULTILATERAL ASPECTS OF THE PEACE PROCESS BECAUSE THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT AND WHAT WE'RE CONCENTRATING ON TODAY IS ONLY ONE ASPECT OF AN OVERALL AGREEMENT, AND WE'RE PROBABLY GOING TO NEED THE MULTILATERAL FORM AS WE PROCEED, GOD WILLING AND HOPEFULLY, AND MAKE PROGRESS ON THE OTHER FRONTS.

Q (INAUDIBLE) -- U.S. TO TAKE A LEAD ROLE IN THE TRAINING OF PALESTINIAN CIVIL SERVANTS. CAN YOU TELL US A BIT MORE ABOUT PROGRAMS LIKE THAT? WHAT DO YOU FORESEE IN TERMS OF -- IN SETTING UP THE TRAINING PROGRAMS, WRITING RULES, LAWS, REGULATIONS? WHAT WILL THE U.S. ROLE BE IN THAT, AND -- (INAUDIBLE)?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL -- (INAUDIBLE) -- WE HAVE TO DEFINE THAT. I REALLY CAN'T GIVE YOU A SPECIFIC RESPONSE TO THAT NOW; BUT CERTAINLY WE DO HAVE THE EXPERTISE, WE DO HAVE PROGRAMS IN PLACE THAT WE'VE USED IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ELSEWHERE IN THE THIRD WORLD, IF ONE CAN TALK ABOUT THE THIRD WORLD THESE DAYS. BUT THE POINT IS THAT WE WILL BE LOOKING TO A BROAD ARRAY OF AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS ON THE GROUND, PERHAPS EXPERTS THAT CAN BE PUT INTO PLACE TO HELP THEM DEVELOP THESE INSTRUMENTS. BUT RIGHT NOW WE'RE REALLY AT A -- WE'RE LOOKING, ONE, AT WHAT RESOURCES ARE THERE TO DO THIS, WHAT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WE HAVE, AND WE HAVE PROGRAMS ON THE BOOKS THAT WE CAN APPLY, AND, THIRD, WHAT NEW INSTRUMENTS WE HAVE TO DEVISE.

Q SO THIS ASSISTANCE PROGRAM -- WHAT'S THE FRAMEWORK FOR THAT, THE TRAINING PROGRAM THAT YOU REFERRED TO?

MR. DJEREJIAN: IN WHAT TERMS?

Q THE CIVIL SERVICE PROGRAM, THE TRAINING PROGRAM.

MR. DJEREJIAN: RIGHT.

Q IS THAT PART OF AID OR --

MR. DJEREJIAN: YES, IT'S AN AID PROGRAM.

Q IS THIS ONGOING?

MR. DJEREJIAN: IT IS ONGOING. THERE ARE PROGRAMS THAT ARE IN PLACE; BUT, AGAIN, WE HAVE TO SEE HOW WE'RE GOING TO APPLY IT IN THIS NEW ENVIRONMENT AND HOW IT FITS IN AND HOW -- AND WHAT OTHERS ARE DOING. YOU SEE, THAT'S WHY IT'S SO ESSENTIAL TO HAVE THIS COORDINATING DONORS CONFERENCE AND TO ESTABLISH A STRUCTURE.

I THINK ONE OF THE LESSONS LEARNED IN AID TO EASTERN EUROPE, FOR EXAMPLE, IS WITH THE LACK OF COORDINATION IN EUROPE, AND IT'S VERY IMPORTANT THAT WE AVOID THE SAME MISTAKES. COORDINATION IS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO AN EFFECTIVE PROGRAM AS WE'RE THINKING ABOUT NOW. YES?

Q (INAUDIBLE) -- ONE OF THE MAIN CRITICISMS -- (INAUDIBLE) -- PROGRAM -- (INAUDIBLE) -- THAT SAUDI ARABIA'S BEEN RELUCTANT TO CONTRIBUTE MORE TO SYRIA AND EGYPT IN THE POST-DAMASCUS DECLARATION. DO YOU THINK IT WILL BE A DIFFICULT PROBLEM, OR

HAVE YOU ASSURANCES THAT THEY WILL MAKE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS -- (INAUDIBLE) -- PALESTINIAN ENTITIES? AND MOREOVER, DO YOU THINK -- OR DO YOU -- (INAUDIBLE) -- WE NEED TO BRING SAUDI ARABIA CLOSER TO THE PLO IN THE SAME WAY THAT IT WAS NEEDED TO BRING ISRAEL AND THE PLO TOGETHER?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, WE'VE BEEN CONSULTING VERY CLOSELY WITH THE SAUDIS IN PREPARATION FOR THE -- (INAUDIBLE) -- AND I THINK THE DEFINITE, DEFINITE INDICATIONS WE HAVE ARE QUITE POSITIVE IN TERMS OF SAUDI ARABIAN WILLINGNESS TO MAKE ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THIS EFFORT.

MODERATOR: ED, YOU'VE BEEN EXTREMELY GENEROUS WITH ASKING QUESTIONS. I'LL JUST ASK THREE MORE QUESTIONERS TO --

MR. DJEREJIAN: I THOUGHT YOU WERE GOING TO SAY -- (LAUGHTER) --

MODERATOR: NO, NO, NO, NO. THE LAST THREE WILL BE AMAL? AKIVRA (SP), AND NORM -- (INAUDIBLE.)

Q (INAUDIBLE.)

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, I THINK IN RESPONSE TO A PREVIOUS QUESTION ABOUT THAT, IN TERMS OF THE REFUGEES WHAT WE SEE, I THINK, IS A POSITIVE SIGN IN THE CREATION OF THIS INTERACTION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS AND HOPEFULLY THE JORDANIANS ON THE REFUGEE ISSUE.

I BELIEVE THEY WILL BE TALKING ABOUT REFUGEE ISSUES IN PERHAPS A NARROWER FRAME OF REFERENCE; BUT THAT'S WHY I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT TO KEEP THE REFUGEE WORKING GROUP ALIVE AND WELL BECAUSE THERE ARE OTHER ISSUES OUT THERE THAT MAY -- THAT CERTAINLY DO GO BEYOND THE FOCAL POINT RIGHT NOW, AND ONE OF THEM IS THE EXISTENCE OF LARGE REFUGEE, PALESTINIAN REFUGEE POPULATIONS IN LEBANON, IN SYRIA, AND ELSEWHERE. SO IT'S IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN THE INTEGRITY OF THE WORKING GROUP TO DISCUSS THESE ISSUES AS THE TIME COMES TO DISCUSS THEM.

MODERATOR: AKIVRA?

Q (INAUDIBLE) -- WHAT ABOUT THE BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS -- (INAUDIBLE) -- BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SYRIA? AFTER ARAFAT HAS RECEIVED THE RED CARPET OR GREEN CARPET AT THE WHITE HOUSE, DON'T YOU THINK THAT -- (INAUDIBLE) -- IN AMERICAN ATTITUDES? AFTER ARAFAT WAS RECEIVED AT THE WHITE HOUSE, WHAT DO YOU THINK ASSAD THINKS WHEN WE TELL HIM THAT HE SHOULD STAY ON THE LIST -- (INAUDIBLE)?

NOW, ANOTHER QUESTION IS COULD YOU ELABORATE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SAUDI ARABIA, TUNIS, AND OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT HAVE A DIRECT CONFLICT WITH ISRAEL? THE SECRETARY MENTIONED THIS IN HIS SPEECH, AND -- INCLUDING BOYCOTTS. CAN YOU

SEE ANYTHING HAPPENING BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE COMING WEEKS OR MONTHS AFTER THE BREAKTHROUGH WITH THE PALESTINIANS? HOW WOULD THIS AFFECT THE DIRECT RELATIONIP BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THOSE GOVERNMENTS?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, IN RESPONSE TO YOUR FIRST QUESTION, I THINK THAT THE UNITED STATES-SYRIAN RELATIONSHIP HAS TRULY PROGRESSED OVER THE YEARS. WE HAVE A VERY SUBSTANTIVE DIALOGUE WITH SYRIA, ESPECIALLY WITH THE SYRIAN LEADERSHIP AND PRESIDENT HAFIZ AL-ASSAD. THE UNITED STATES AND SYRIA HAVE ACCOMPLISHED A GREAT DEAL TOGETHER IN RECENT YEARS IN BOTH THE -- IN TERMS OF LEBANON AND THE ELABORATION OF THE -- (INAUDIBLE) -- IN TERMS OF SYRIA JOINING THE U.S.-LED COALITION AGAINST SADDAM HUSSEIN, WHICH BROKE THE DICHOTOMY IN THE ARAB WORLD BETWEEN THE RADICALS AND THE MODERATES, AND CERTAINLY IN TERMS OF HAFIZ AL-ASSAD ACCEPTING THE INVITATION TO THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS.

SO THERE'S A TRACK RECORD THERE, AND THAT TRACK RECORD IS -- HAS SOME VERY POSITIVE ELEMENTS IN IT THAT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN. WE HAVE A VERY GOOD DIALOGUE WITH SYRIA ON THE PEACE PROCESS; SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, AS I SAID, HAS THE CONFIDENCE OF BOTH PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND HAFIZ AL-ASSAD -- (INAUDIBLE) -- AND THAT IS VERY IMPORTANT.

THEREFORE, I THINK THERE ARE -- THRELATIONSHIP, TO CONDUCT THE IMPORTANT ISSUES THAT WE HAVE TO CONDUCT, IS WELL FOUNDED. THERE ARE CERTAINLY PROBLEMS IN THAT RELATIONSHIP, AND WE ARE DISCUSSING THOSE PROBLEMS WITH THE SYRIAN GOVERNMENT AND, YOU KNOW, AS THINGS MOVE ON WE WILL SEE IF THOSE RELATIONSHIPS CAN BE IMPROVED.

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR SECOND QUESTION, I THINK THE FACT THAT KING HASSAN OF MOROCCO RECEIVED PRIME MINISTER RABIN IN MOROCCO WAS AN EXCELLENT SIGN, A VERY POSITIVE SIGN, AND IT HAS GREAT POLITICAL SYMBOLISM, AND ALSO KING HASSAN HAS PLAYED A VERY CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE THROUGHOUT THE PEACE PROCESS AND ESPECIALLY ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. SO I THINK WHAT WE SAW HAPPEN THERE IS POSITIVE. I THINK THE FACT THAT TUNIS HAS AGREED TO HOST THE WORKING GROUP ON REFUGEES IN TUNISIA AGAIN IS A VERY HOPEFUL AND GOOD SIGN.

BUT HOW FAR AND HOW FAST THE ARAB COUNTRIES ARE GOING TO GO FOR MORE RECONCILIATION AND TOWARD THE PATH OF NORMALIZATION I THINK HAS TO BE DETERMINED STEP BY STEP. WE ARE ENCOURAGING THE ARAB COUNTRIES TO DO WHATEVER THEY CAN TO ENHANCE THE INTERCHANGE BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND ISRAEL, AND WE'D LIKE TO SEE A LOT OF THESE BARRIERS REMOVED, ESPECIALLY THE ARAB ECONOMIC BOYCOTT, TO JUST NAME ONE.

MODERATOR: LAST QUESTION; NORM -- (INAUDIBLE).

Q ED, THE QUESTION'S ALREADY BEEN ASKED IN THE QUESTION ABOUT

THE -- (INAUDIBLE) -- RUMORS OF ISRAEL-SYRIA BACK CHANNEL MEETINGS. BUT CAN I ASK YOU PROSPECTIVELY, DO YOU SEE ANY NEED FOR BACK CHANNEL OR SECRET TALKS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA, OR CAN THEY REACH AGREEMENT IN THE TALKS IN WASHINGTON ON THE NORMAL DELEGATION?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WELL, AGAIN, WE HAVE ALWAYS PROMOTED, AS I SAID EARLIER, DIRECT FACE-TO-FACE CONTACTS BETWEEN THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS IN THE FRAME OF REFERENCE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THEREFORE WE CONTINUE TO DO SO. BUT THAT IS UP TO THE PARTIES TO DECIDE. THAT IS UP TO HOW FAR THEY WANT TO GO IN TERMS OF DIRECT CONTACTS WITH ONE ANOTHER. AND WE HAVE BEEN ACTIVELY, ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN NEGOTIATIONS, AND I THINK THE FACT THAT -- AS I SAID, I THINK, SEVERAL TIMES TODAY -- THE FACT THAT BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL AND THE PRESIDENT OF SYRIA LOOK UPON THE UNITED STATES TO PLAY THIS KEY ROLE OF INTERMEDIARY TO HELP MOVE THESE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD, THAT IS WHERE THE FOCAL POINT IS IN ORDER TO ENHANCE THROUGH THE -- THROUGH OUR ROLE WHAT CAN BE DONE AT THE TABLE IN WASHINGTON --

Q SO --

MR. DJEREJIAN: -- THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN WASHINGTON. EXCUSE ME?

Q SO THAT'S A "NO"?

MR. DJEREJIAN: WHAT WAS THAT?

Q THAT'S A "NO"? WE DON'T SEE -- (LAUGHTER) --

MR. DJEREJIAN: DON'T ASK A DIPLOMAT OF 35 YEARS EXPERIENCE TO GIVE YOU A YES OR A NO. (LAUGHTER.)

MODERATOR: ED, THANK YOU VERY MUCH. IT'S A PLEASURE HAVING YOU HERE TODAY. (APPLAUSE.)

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, רהמ (שהבט), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, רם (ר'אגת), חכנוון,  
ממ"ד, מצפה, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, רשות, ישראל ערבות (דוץ)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 30050  
אל: רהmesh/1442  
מ-: שיקגו, נר: 103, תא: 220993, זח: 1547, דח: ר, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
שמור/רגיל

אל: מצפ"א, ציר ההסברה/ ווש', ממ"ד  
מאת: הקונכ"ל, שיקAGO

הנדון: ההסכם עם אש"פ - עמדות פלסטינאיות

הגב' גדה טלמי, ילידת ירושלים, נחשبت מזה שנים בין דוברי אש"פ הבולטים בשיקAGO ונהוגת בד"כ להגדיר את עצמה כ-PL0 MAINSTREAM. בהופעה מושתפת שהיתה לי אליה באחת מתוכניות הטלוויזיה הידועות של יום א' ("NEWSMAKERS" - מיד אחרי "FACE THE NATION") הביעה עמדת חריפה נגד ההסכם. טיעוניה העיקריים היו:

- 1) ההסכם יוביל למלחמה אחים בשטחים.
- 2) דוחוקא בוטרו על הטרור הודה ערפאת שהיה טרוריסט ובכך הטיל כתם בעם הפלסטיני כולם.
- 3) ההסכם יוביל, במקורה הטוב, למדיינת חסות בנוסח דרא"פ. לאחר התוכנית רשלא לצלמה אמרה לי שסופה של ערפאת בודאי קרוב. קשה להעריך באיזו מידת נתנה בדבריה ביטוי לדעותיה האמיתיות ובאיזה מידת הונעה ע"י חשש אמיתי, אולי לבטחונה האישית לאור נוכחות הידועה בשיקAGO של קבוצת אוחדי חם"ס.

אבנון

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (רהם), (שהבט), מנכט, ממנכל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, (רם), (אמן), (ריאגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפה, רחטמות, ישראל'ערב, סמנכלתקשותת,  
תקשותת, (עמיתה), (475)

ססס

אאא, חוזם: 30131  
אל: רהmesh/1448/  
מ-: ניו-יורק, נר: 674, תא: 220993, זח: 1734, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
ביבב  
12773  
בלמ'ס/מידי

251.01  
251.01

אל: חפוצת תקשורת ארה'ב  
מע'ת

דע: וושינגטון

amate: תקשורת/ניו-יורק.

הנדון: התחתיות בתקשורת

1. התחתיות ברוסיה דחקו את גושא התהליין מהכוורות הראשיות. הבוקר דוחה בקצחה שחרورو של דמינויק בכל הרשות.

2. ב-NYT, הברמן, מדווח על המאבק בכנסת וחוזה הצבעה גובלית. מרומה סיקור על פגישתם של הרב הראשי והאפיפיור שקיבלו בברכה את הזמנתו לישראל. עוד מה-NYT מעמן דוח על סרן פיסל מוחמד מוסטפא שבערך שימש כאיש קומנדו פלסטיני ועכשו ישם כשותר צוטר בעזה וביריחו. דוחה נוספת נוספת מירושלים על מוחמדabo שעבאן, מוביל מקומי של הפתח שנרצח בעזה כנראה עקב חמיתו בשלום.

3. ה - DN מדווח על הופעת מייקל ג'קסון בתל-אביב.

תקשורת/ניו-יורק.  
גידי מרכז

חפוצה: שחח, סחהח, רהמ (שהבט), מנג'ל, סמנכל, סמנכל שלום,  
רביב, ר/מרbez, מצב, רם (אמן), ר'אגת,  
תכנון, ממד, מצפה, סמנכל תקשורת, תקשורת,  
רחטמזה, ישראל ערבית, דוכז, בן עמי/שהבט

15/

1085

בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 22 ספטמבר

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, ווושינגטן

הנדון: חמליל - סוני ליבק

מצ"ב חמליל נאומו של היועץ לבטחון לאומי, סוני ליבק, בנוגע  
עקרונות מדיניות החוץ האםדיינית בעידן שלآخر המלחמה קרה:  
"מדיניות בלימה למדיניות הרחבה, הכללה"

תקשורת

✓  
1.10-

REMARKS OF ANTHONY LAKE

Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

215  
"From Containment to Enlargement"

Johns Hopkins University  
School of Advanced International Studies  
Washington, D.C.  
1085

September 21, 1993

I have come to speak with you today because I believe our nation's policies toward the world stand at an historic crossroads. For half a century America's engagement in the world revolved around containment of a hostile Soviet Union. Our efforts helped block Soviet expansionism, topple Communist repression and secure a great victory for human freedom.

Clearly, the Soviet Union's collapse enhances our security. But it also requires us to think anew because the world is new.

In particular, with the end of the Cold War, there is no longer a consensus among the American people around why, and even whether our nation should remain actively engaged in the world. Geography and history always have made Americans wary of foreign entanglements. Now economic anxiety fans that wariness. Calls from the left and right to stay at home rather than engage abroad are re-enforced by the rhetoric of Neo-Know-Nothings.

Those of us who believe in the imperative of our international engagement must push back. For that reason, as President Clinton sought the Presidency, he not only pledged a domestic renaissance, but also vowed to engage actively in the world in order to increase our prosperity, update our security arrangements and promote democracy abroad.

Pursuing American Interests Abroad

In the eight months since he took office, President Clinton has pursued those goals vigorously. We have completed a sweeping review of our military strategy and forces. We have led a global effort to support the historic reforms in Russia and the other new states. We have helped defend democracy in Haiti and Guatemala and secured important side agreements that pave the way for enactment of the North American Free Trade Agreement. We have facilitated major advances in the Mideast peace process, working with our Arab partners while strengthening our bonds with Israel. We have pursued steps with our G-7 partners to stimulate world economic growth. We have placed our relations with Japan on a new foundation and set a vision of a New Pacific Community. We are putting in place practical policies to preserve the environment and to limit the spread of weapons of mass destruction. We have proceeded with sweeping reductions in nuclear arms and declared a moratorium on testing as we move toward a comprehensive test ban. We have struggled with the complex tragedy in Bosnia. And we have worked to complete our mission of ensuring lasting relief from starvation in Somalia.

But engagement itself is not enough. We also need to communicate anew why that engagement is essential. If we do not, our government's reactions to foreign events can seem disconnected; individual setbacks may appear to define the whole; public support for our engagement likely would wane; and America could be harmed by a rise in protectionism, unwise cuts to our military force structure or readiness, a loss of the resources necessary for our diplomacy -- and thus the erosion of US influence abroad.

Stating our purpose is neither academic nor rhetorical. What we do outside our borders has immediate and lasting consequences for all Americans. As the President often notes, the line between foreign and domestic policy has evaporated. Our choices about America's foreign policy will help determine:

- Whether Americans' real incomes double every 26 years, as they did in the 1960s, or every 36 years, as they did during the late '70s and '80s.
- Whether the 25 nations with weapons of mass destruction grow in number or decline. 3/15
- Whether the next quarter century will see terrorism, which injured or killed more than 2000 Americans during the last quarter century, expand or recede as a threat. 1085
- Whether the nations of the world will be more able or less able to address regional disputes, humanitarian needs and the threat of environmental degradation.

I do not presume today to define the Administration's entire foreign policy vision. But following on Secretary Christopher's speech yesterday, and anticipating the address the President will make to the United Nations General Assembly on Monday, I want to suggest some broad principles, as a contribution to an essential national dialogue about our purpose in the world.

\* \* \*

#### America's Core Concepts: Democracy and Market Economies

Let us begin by taking stock of our new era. Four facts are salient. First, America's core concepts -- democracy and market economics -- are more broadly accepted than ever. Over the past ten years the number of democracies has nearly doubled. Since 1970, the number of significant command economies dropped from 10 to 3.

This victory of freedom is practical, not ideological: billions of people on every continent are simply concluding, based on decades of their own hard experience, that democracy and markets are the most productive and liberating ways to organize their lives.

Their conclusion resonates with America's core values. We see individuals as equally created with a God-given right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. So we trust in the equal wisdom of free individuals to protect those rights: through democracy, as the process for best meeting shared needs in the face

of competing desires; and through markets as the process for best meeting private needs in a way that expands opportunity.

Both processes strengthen each other: democracy alone can produce justice, but not the material goods necessary for individuals to thrive; markets alone can expand wealth, but not that sense of justice without which civilized societies perish.

Democracy and market economics are ascendant in this new era, but they are not everywhere triumphant. There remain vast areas in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere where democracy and market economics are at best new arrivals -- most likely unfamiliar, sometimes vilified, often fragile.

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But it is wrong to assume these ideas will be embraced only by the West and rejected by the rest. Culture does shape politics and economics. But the idea of freedom has universal appeal. Thus, we have arrived at neither the end of history nor a clash of civilizations, but a moment of immense democratic and entrepreneurial opportunity. We must not waste it.

4/15  
The second feature of this era is that we are its dominant power. Those who say otherwise sell America short. The fact is, we have the world's strongest military, its largest economy and its most dynamic, multiethnic society. We are setting a global example in our efforts to reinvent our democratic and market institutions. Our leadership is sought and respected in every corner of the world. As Secretary Christopher noted yesterday, that is why the parties to last week's dramatic events chose to shake hands in Washington. Around the world, America's power, authority and example provide unparalleled opportunities to lead.

Moreover, absent a reversal in Russia, there is now no credible near-term threat to America's existence. Serious threats remain: terrorism, proliferating weapons of mass destruction, ethnic conflicts and the degradation of our global environment. Above all, we are threatened by sluggish economic growth, which undermines the security of our people as well as that of allies and friends abroad. Yet none of these threats holds the same immediate dangers for us as did Nazi conquest or Soviet expansionism.

America's challenge today is to lead on the basis of opportunity more than fear.

The third notable aspect of this era is an explosion of ethnic conflicts. As Senator Moynihan and others have noted, the end of the Cold War and the collapse of various repressive regimes has removed the lid from numerous caldrons of ethnic, religious or factional hatreds. In many states of the former Soviet Union and elsewhere, there is a tension between the desire for ethnic separatism and the creation of liberal democracy, which alone can safely accommodate and even celebrate differences among citizens. A major challenge to our thinking, our policies and our international institutions in this era is the fact that most conflicts are taking place within rather than among nations.

These conflicts are typically highly complex; at the same time, their brutality will tug at our consciences. We need a healthy

warness about our ability to shape solutions for such disputes, yet at times our interests or humanitarian concerns will impel our unilateral or multilateral engagement.

The fourth feature of this new era is that the pulse of the planet has accelerated dramatically and with it the pace of change in human events. Computers, faxes, fiber optic cables and satellites all speed the flow of information. The measurement of wealth, and increasingly wealth itself, consists in bytes of data that move at the speed of light.

The accelerated pace of events is neither bad nor good. Its sharp consequences can cut either way. It means both doctors and terrorists can more quickly share their technical secrets. Both pro-democracy activists and skinhead anarchists can more broadly spread their views. Ultimately, the world's acceleration creates new and diverse ways for us to exert our influence, if we choose to do so -- but increases the likelihood that, if we do not, rapid events, instantly reported, may overwhelm us. As the President has suggested, we must decide whether to make change our ally or allow ourselves to become its victims.

5/15 1085

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From Containment to Enlargement

In such a world, our interests and ideals compel us not only to be engaged, but to lead. And in a real-time world of change and information, it is all the more important that our leadership be steadied around our central purpose.

That purpose can be found in the underlying rationale for our engagement throughout this century. As we fought aggressors and contained communism, our engagement abroad was animated both by calculations of power and by this belief: to the extent democracy and market economics hold sway in other nations, our own nation will be more secure, prosperous and influential, while the broader world will be more humane and peaceful.

The expansion of market-based economics abroad helps expand our exports and create American jobs, while it also improves living conditions and fuels demands for political liberalization abroad. The addition of new democracies makes us more secure because democracies tend not to wage war on each other or sponsor terrorism. They are more trustworthy in diplomacy and do a better job of respecting the human rights of their people.

These dynamics lay at the heart of Woodrow Wilson's most profound insights; although his moralism sometimes weakened his argument, he understood that our own security is shaped by the character of foreign regimes. Indeed, most Presidents who followed, Republicans and Democrats alike, understood we must promote democracy and market economics in the world -- because it protects our interests and security; and because it reflects values that are both American and universal.

Throughout the Cold War, we contained a global threat to market democracies; now we should seek to enlarge their reach, particularly in places of special significance to us.

The successor to a doctrine of containment must be a strategy of enlargement -- enlargement of the world's free community of market democracies.

During the Cold War, even children understood America's security mission; as they looked at those maps on their schoolroom walls, they knew we were trying to contain the creeping expansion of that big, red blob. Today, at great risk of oversimplification, we might visualize our security mission as promoting the enlargement of the "blue areas" of market democracies. The difference, of course, is that we do not seek to expand the reach of our institutions by force, subversion or repression.

We must not allow this overarching goal to drive us into overreaching actions. To be successful, a strategy of enlargement must provide distinctions and set priorities. It must combine our broad goals of fostering democracy and markets with our more traditional geostrategic interests. And it must suggest how best to expend our large but nonetheless limited national security resources: financial, diplomatic and military.

In recent years, discussions about when to use force have turned on a set of vital questions, such as whether our forces match our objectives; whether we can fight and win in a time that is acceptable; whether we have a reasonable exit if we do not; whether there is public and congressional support. But we have overlooked a prior, strategic question -- the question of "where" -- which sets the context for such military judgments

I see four components to a strategy of enlargement. 6/15

- o First, we should strengthen the community of major market democracies -- including our own -- which constitutes the core from which enlargement is proceeding. 1085
- o Second, we should help foster and consolidate new democracies and market economies, where possible, especially in states of special significance and opportunity.
- o Third, we must counter the aggression -- and support the liberalization -- of states hostile to democracy and markets.
- o Fourth, we need to pursue our humanitarian agenda not only by providing aid, but also by working to help democracy and market economics take root in regions of greatest humanitarian concern.

A host of caveats must accompany a strategy of enlargement. For one, we must be patient. As scholars observe, waves of democratic advance are often followed by reverse waves of democratic setback. We must be ready for uneven progress, even outright reversals.

Our strategy must be pragmatic. Our interests in democracy and markets do not stand alone. Other American interests at times will require us to befriend and even defend non-democratic states for mutually beneficial reasons.

Our strategy must view democracy broadly -- it must envision a system that includes not only elections but also such features as an independent judiciary and protections of human rights.

Our strategy must also respect diversity. Democracy and markets can come in many legitimate variants. Freedom has many faces.

\* \* \*

### Strengthening the Community of Major Market Democracies

Let me review each of the four components of this strategy in greater detail.

It is axiomatic in electoral campaigns that you start by firming up your political base. The same is true in international politics. Thus, the highest priority in a strategy of enlargement must be to strengthen the core of major market democracies, the bonds among them and their sense of common interest.

That renewal starts at home. Our efforts to empower our people, revive our economy, reduce our deficit and re-invent our government have profound implications for our global strength and the attractiveness of democracy and markets around the world. Our domestic revival will also influence how much of their hard-earned money Americans will commit to our engagement abroad.

The imperative of strengthening the democratic core also underscores the importance of renewing the bonds among our key democratic allies. Today our relations with Europe, Canada and Japan are basically sound. But they suffer from an economic problem and a military problem.

The economic problem is shared sluggish growth and the political cost it exacts on democratic governments. For example, over the past decade, many western European nations have not created a single net job. Partly as a result, most of our key allies are now sitting atop thin treasuries and thin political majorities. Economic stagnation and its political consequences undermine the ability of the major democratic powers to act decisively on our many common challenges, from the GATT to Bosnia.

Fortunately, many of our democratic allies are undertaking searching re-examinations of government processes and domestic policies, just as we are. These efforts should proceed boldly -- not only for the sake of justice and prosperity in each of our nations, but also so that our democratic community once again can act with vigor and resolve.

That is why we are leading the effort to secure a successful GATT agreement by year's end. And it is why enactment of NAFTA is one of the President's top priorities. But while these specific agreements are of enormous importance, this need for economic renewal

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goes even further. We are in the early stages of as great a change in the global economy as we faced at the end of World War II. And with hard times in all our nations, we face the possibility of creating vicious rather than virtuous circles of international economic action. Unless the major market democracies act together -- updating international economic institutions, coordinating macroeconomic policies and striking hard but fair bargains on the ground rules of open trade -- the fierce competition of the new global economy, coupled with the end of our common purpose from the Cold War, could drive us into prolonged stagnation or even economic disaster.

The military problem involves NATO. For half a century, NATO has proved itself the most effective military alliance in human history. If NATO is to remain an anchor for European and Atlantic stability, as the President believes it must, its members must commit themselves to updating NATO's role in this new era. Unless NATO is willing over time to assume a broader role, then it will lose public support, and all our nations will lose a vital bond of transatlantic and European security. That is why, at the NATO summit that the President has called for this January, we will seek to update NATO, so that there continues behind the enlargement of market democracies an essential collective security.

\* \* \*

#### Fostering New Democracies and Market Economies

Beyond seeing to our base, the second imperative for our strategy must be to help democracy and markets expand and survive in other places where we have the strongest security concerns and where we can make the greatest difference. This is not a democratic crusade; it is a pragmatic commitment to see freedom take hold where that will help us most. Thus, we must target our effort to assist states that affect our strategic interests, such as those with large economies, critical locations, nuclear weapons or the potential to generate refugee flows into our own nation or into key friends and allies. We must focus our efforts where we have the most leverage. And our efforts must be demand-driven -- they must focus on nations whose people are pushing for reform or have already secured it.

The most important example is the former Soviet Union -- and it fits the criteria I just noted. If we can support and help consolidate democratic and market reforms in Russia and the other newly independent states, we can help turn a former threat into a region of valued diplomatic and economic partners. In addition, our efforts in Russia, Ukraine and the other states raise the likelihood of continued reductions in nuclear arms and compliance with international non-proliferation accords.

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The new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe are another clear example, given their proximity to the great democratic powers of Western Europe.

And since our ties across the Pacific are no less important than those across the Atlantic, pursuing enlargement in the Asian Pacific is a third example. In July, the President underscored that point in Japan and Korea with his descriptions of a New Pacific Community.

Continuing the great strides toward democracy and markets in our emerging Western Hemisphere Community of Democracies also must be a key concern. And we should be on the lookout for states whose entry into the camp of market democracies may influence the future direction of an entire region; South Africa and Nigeria now hold that potential with regard to sub-Saharan Africa.

How should the United States help consolidate and enlarge democracy and markets in these states? The answers are as varied as the nations involved, but there are common elements. We must continue to help lead the effort to mobilize international resources, as we have with Russia and the other new states. We must be willing to take immediate public positions to help staunch democratic reversals, as we have in Haiti, Guatemala and Nigeria. We must give democratic nations the fullest benefits of integration into foreign markets, which is part of why NAFTA and the GATT rank so high on our security agenda. We must link wider access to technology markets with commitments to abide by nonproliferation norms. And we must help these nations strengthen the pillars of civil society, improve their market institutions, and fight corruption and political discontent through practices of good governance.

In all these efforts, a policy of enlargement should take on a second meaning: we should pursue our goals through an enlarged circle not only of government officials but also of private and non-governmental groups. Private firms are natural allies in our efforts to strengthen market economies. Similarly, our goal of strengthening democracy and civil society has a natural ally in labor unions, human rights groups, environmental advocates, chambers of commerce, and election monitors. Just as we rely on force multipliers in defense, we should welcome these "diplomacy multipliers," such as the National Endowment for Democracy.

\* \* \*  
The "Backlash" States

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The third element of our strategy of enlargement should be to minimize the ability of states outside the circle of democracy and markets to threaten it.

Democracy and market economics have always been subversive ideas to those who rule without consent. These ideas remain subversive today. Every dictator, theocrat, kleptocrat or central planner in an unelected regime has reason to fear their subjects will suddenly demand the freedom to make their own decisions.

We should expect the advance of democracy and markets to trigger forceful reactions from those whose power is not popularly derived. The rise of Burma's democracy movement led to the jailing of its most vocal proponent, Aung San Suu Kyi. Russia's reforms have aroused the resistance of the nomenklatura.

Centralized power defends itself. It not only yields tools of state power such as military force, political imprisonment and torture, but also exploits the intolerant energies of racism, ethnic prejudice, religious persecution, xenophobia, and irredentism. Those whose power is threatened by the spread of democracy and markets will

always have a personal stake in resisting those practices with passionate intensity.

When such leaders sit atop regional powers, such as Iran and Iraq, they may engage in violence and lawlessness that threatens the United States and other democracies. Such reactionary, "backlash" states are more likely to sponsor terrorism and traffic in weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missile technologies. They are more likely to suppress their own people, foment ethnic rivalries and threaten their neighbors.

In this world of multiplying democracies, expanding markets and accelerating commerce, the rulers of backlash states face an unpleasant choice. They can seek to isolate their people from these liberating forces. If they do, however, they cut themselves off from the very forces that create wealth and social dynamism. Such states tend to rot from within, both economically and spiritually. But as they grow weaker, they also may become more desperate and dangerous.

Our policy toward such states, so long as they act as they do, must seek to isolate them diplomatically, militarily, economically and technologically. It must stress intelligence, counterterrorism, and multilateral export controls. It also must apply global norms regarding weapons of mass destruction and ensure their enforcement. While some of these efforts will be unilateral, international rules are necessary and may be particularly effective in enforcing sanctions, transparency and export controls, as the work of the IAEA in Iraq demonstrates.

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When the actions of such states directly threaten our people, our forces, or our vital interests, we clearly must be prepared to strike back decisively and unilaterally, as we did when Iraq tried to assassinate former President Bush. We must always maintain the military power necessary to deter, or if necessary defeat, aggression by these regimes. Because the source of such threats will be diverse and unpredictable, we must seek to ensure that our forces are increasingly ready, mobile, flexible and smart, as the President and Secretary Aspin have stressed.

Let me take a moment to illustrate what America's armed forces are doing, right now as we meet: In South Korea, some 37,000 U.S. troops are on guard against aggression from the North. In the Persian Gulf, the "Abraham Lincoln" carrier battle group and other forces remain stationed as a follow up to Operation Desert Storm. And as we move toward new Middle East peace agreements, some 1000 US soldiers continue to help keep the peace in the Sinai Peninsula. Such forces cost money. Some people may regret our "Bottom Up Review" did not suggest a substantially smaller or cheaper force. But the fact is: these forces, the world's very best, are part of the necessary price of security and leadership in the world.

While some backlash states may seek to wall themselves off from outside influence, other anti-democratic states will opt to pursue greater wealth by liberalizing their economic rules. Sooner or later, however, these states confront the need to liberalize the flow of information into and within their nation, and to tolerate the rise of an entrepreneurial middle-class. Both developments weaken despotic rule and lead over time to rising demands for democracy.

Chile's experience under General Pinochet proves market economies can thrive for a time without democracy. But both our instinct and recent history in Chile, South Korea and elsewhere tell us they cannot do so forever.

We cannot impose democracy on regimes that appear to be opting for liberalization, but we may be able to help steer some of them down that path, while providing penalties that raise the costs of repression and aggressive behavior. These efforts have special meaning for our relations with China. That relationship is one of the most important in the world, for China will increasingly be a major world power, and along with our ties to Japan and Korea, our relationship with China will strongly shape both our security and economic interests in Asia. It is in the interest of both our nations for China to continue its economic liberalization while respecting the human rights of its people and international norms regarding weapons sales. That is why we conditionally extended China's trading advantages, sanctioned its missile exports and proposed creation of a new Radio Free Asia. We seek a stronger relationship with China that reflects both our values and our interests.

Our policies toward the Islamic world provide another example. Let me emphasize this point: our nation respects the many contributions Islam has made to the world over the past 1300 years, and we appreciate the close bonds of values and history between Islam and the Judeo-Christian beliefs of most Americans. We will extend every expression of friendship to those of the Islamic faith who abide in peace and tolerance. But we will provide every resistance to militants who distort Islamic doctrines and seek to expand their influence by force.

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The Humanitarian Agenda

11/15 1985

The fourth part of a strategy of enlargement involves our humanitarian goals, which play an important supporting role in our efforts to expand democracy and markets. Our humanitarian actions nurture the American public's support for our engagement abroad. Our humanitarian efforts also can stimulate democratic and market development in many areas of the world. Ultimately, the world trusts our leadership in that broader effort in part because it witnesses our humanitarian deeds: it knows that our responses to hunger and suffering, from Bangladesh to Somalia to Chernobyl, are an expression of who we are as a nation. Our humanitarian efforts must continue to include a broad array of programs -- economic and military assistance, disaster relief, and projects to assist education, nutrition and health. Over the coming months we plan to work with Congress to reform this array of aid programs -- to focus them more strategically and efficiently on the promotion of democracy and markets, environmentally sustainable development and early responses to social and economic chaos.

We face great challenges to our humanitarian instincts in this era, and far fewer barriers to action than there were during the period of superpower competition. Public pressure for our humanitarian engagement increasingly may be driven by televised

images, which can depend in turn on such considerations as where CNN sends its camera crews. But we must bring other considerations to bear as well: cost; feasibility; the permanence of the improvement our assistance will bring; the willingness of regional and international bodies to do their part; and the likelihood that our actions will generate broader security benefits for the people and the region in question.

While there will be increasing calls on us to help stem bloodshed and suffering in ethnic conflicts, and while we will always bring our diplomacy to bear, these criteria suggest there will be relatively few intra-national ethnic conflicts that justify our military intervention. Ultimately, on these and other humanitarian needs, we will have to pick and choose.

Where we can make a difference, as in Somalia and Northern Iraq, we should not oppose using our military forces for humanitarian purposes simply because these missions do not resemble major wars for control of territory. Such missions will never be without risk, but as in all other aspects of our security policy, our military leadership is willing to accept reasonable risks in the service of our national objectives.

Ultimately, it is through our support for democracy and sustainable development that we best enhance the dramatic new winds of change that are stirring much of the developing world. In Africa, for example, we recently have seen the birth of democracy in Namibia and multiparty elections in over a dozen African countries. These developments, combined with new efforts at regional conflict resolution and a shift away from planned economies, provide real hope that sub-Saharan Africa can at long last begin to realize her vast potential. One key to that progress will be South Africa, which has now begun its historic countdown toward a full non-racial democracy. Just as our strategy of enlargement focuses on key points of leverage, so our strategy toward Africa must focus on providing international leadership to help South Africa's transition succeed.

12/15 1085

#### Current Foreign Policy Debates in Perspective

What does a strategy of enlargement tell us about the major foreign policy debates we hear today? Above all, it suggests many of those debates are overdrawn. The headlines are dominated by Bosnia, Somalia, and "multilateralism." A strategy of enlargement suggests our principal concerns should be strengthening our democratic core in North America, Europe and Japan; consolidating and enlarging democracy and markets in key places; and addressing backlash states such as Iran and Iraq. Our efforts in Somalia and Bosnia are important expressions of our overall engagement; but they do not by themselves define our broader strategy in the world.

The conflict in Bosnia deserves American engagement: it is a vast humanitarian tragedy; it is driven by ethnic barbarism; it stemmed from aggression against an independent state; it lies alongside the established and emerging market democracies of Europe and can all too easily explode into a wider Balkan conflict.

That is why this Administration supported lifting the arms embargo against Bosnia, led a successful effort to enforce the no-fly zone, initiated a large-scale humanitarian airlift, and pushed NATO's pledge of air strikes to stop the strangulation of Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities. It is why we remain committed to helping implement an acceptable and enforceable peace accord, and through that commitment, encourage its achievement. But while we have clear reasons to engage and persist, they do not obliterate other American interests involving Europe and Russia, and they do not justify the extreme costs of taking unilateral responsibility for imposing a solution.

In Somalia, President Bush engaged our forces to help end a murderous famine. He correctly concluded we could create a secure military environment for humanitarian relief at a reasonable cost and risk. As a result our nation helped save hundreds of thousands of lives and restored order throughout most of Somalia. As we have approached our goals, we have reduced our military presence by 80 percent and transferred lead responsibility for peacekeeping and reconstruction to the UN. The withdrawal of our remaining combat troops is only a matter of time, but it must not come in a way that undermines all the gains made in the areas beyond Mogadishu and leads, almost inexorably, to the chaos which caused the human tragedy in the first place.

13/15 1085

Unfortunately, debates over both Bosnia and Somalia have been cast as doctrinal matters involving the role of multilateralism. This focus is misplaced. Certainly, in each case -- as in Cambodia and elsewhere -- our actions are making multilateral case law for the future. But we should not let the particular define the doctrinal. So let me say a word about the current doctrinal debate on multilateralism -- a subject Ambassador Albright will address more fully on Thursday.

I believe strongly that our foreign policies must marry principle and pragmatism. We should be principled about our purposes but pragmatic about our means.

Today some suggest that multilateralism should be our presumptive mode of engagement. Others suggest that it is inherently flawed -- dragging us into minor conflicts where we have no interest and blocking us from acting decisively where we do have an interest.

This debate is important but dangerous in the rigidity of the doctrines that are asserted. Few who bemoan multilateralism today object to NATO, the IMF, or the GATT. And it is beyond debate that multilateral action has certain advantages: it can spread the costs of action, as in our efforts to support Russian reform; it can foster global support, as with our coalition in the Gulf War; it can ensure comprehensiveness, as in our export control regimes; and it can succeed where no nation, acting alone, could have done so, as in Cambodia. I would go further and state my personal hope that the habits of multilateralism may one day enable the rule of law to play a far more civilizing role in the conduct of nations, as envisioned by the founders of the United Nations.

But for any official with responsibilities for our security policies, only one overriding factor can determine whether the US

should act multilaterally or unilaterally, and that is America's interests. We should act multilaterally where doing so advances our interests -- and we should act unilaterally when that will serve our purpose. The simple question in each instance is this: what works best?

### The Case for Engagement

I believe there is a more fundamental foreign policy challenge brewing for the United States. It is a challenge over whether we will be significantly engaged abroad at all. As I suggested at the outset, in many ways, we are returning to the divisions and debates about our role in the world that are as old as our Republic. On one side is protectionism and limited foreign engagement; on the other is active American engagement abroad on behalf of democracy and expanded trade.

The last time our nation saw that classic division was just after World War II. It pitted those Democrats and Republicans whose creativity produced the architectures of post-war prosperity and security against those in both parties who would have had us retreat within the isolated shell we occupied in the 1920s and 1930s. The internationalists won those debates, in part because they could point to a unitary threat to America's interests and because the nation was entering a period of economic security. 14/15 1085

Today's supporters of engagement abroad have neither of those advantages. The threats and opportunities are diffuse, and our people are deeply anxious about their economic fate. Rallying Americans to bear the costs and burdens of international engagement is no less important. But it is much more difficult.

For this reason, those who recognize the value of our leadership in the world should devote far more energy to making the case for sustained engagement abroad and less energy to debates over tactics. To be sure, there will be disagreements over tactics: we expect to be held accountable for our policy decisions, and our critics can expect us to respond where we disagree. But all of us who support engagement should be careful to debate tactics in a way that does not prevent us from coming together in common cause around the fundamental importance of that goal.

All of us have come out of the Cold War years having learned distinct lessons about what not to do -- don't go to war without a way to win; don't underestimate the role of ideas; don't minimize the power of nationalism. Yet we have come into the new era with relatively few ways to convince a skeptical public that engagement abroad is a worthwhile investment. That is why a national dialogue over our fundamental purposes is so important.

In a world of extraordinary complexity, it would be too easy for us in the internationalist camp to become "neo-Marxists" -- not after Karl, but after Groucho, who once sang, "Whatever it is, I'm against it."

It is time for those who see the value of American engagement to steady our ranks; to define our purpose; and to rally the American people. In particular, at a time of high deficits and pressing

domestic needs, we need to make a convincing case for our engagement or else see drastic reductions in our military, intelligence, peacekeeping and other foreign policy accounts.

In his farewell address in January, 1953, Harry Truman predicted the collapse of Communism. "I have a deep and abiding faith in the destiny of free men," he said. "With patience and courage, we shall some day move on into a new era."

Now that era is upon us. It is a moment of unparalleled opportunity. We have the blessing of living in the world's most powerful and respected nation at a time when the world is embracing our ideals as never before. We can let this moment slip away. Or we can mobilize our nation in order to enlarge democracy, enlarge markets, and enlarge our future. I am confident that we will choose the road best travelled.

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אל: מוף יא, לשכת שה"ה  
דעת: וושינגטן - **טראם**  
מאת: סונכ"ל / ניו-יורק.

הגדלה: נאום פזיביר הגדילם באוניברסיטת ברסלאו בז'נובה

מוצקירות המדיינה נורו ג'יריסטוףר סיימ' אתמול את נאומו באוניברסיטה קולומביה בצדתו את דבי שהי'ה. **לחילו הציגות!**

I will suggest to you another measure of our leadership: how the world sees us. Last week in Washington, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres paid an unusual tribute to our country.

In the history books, he said:

"Nobody will understand the United States.... You have so much force and you didn't conquer the land of anybody. You have so much power and you didn't dominate another people. You have problems of your own and you have never turned your back on the problems of others."

And Shimon Peres said: "Thank you so much for being what you are."

To those who question the need for American engagement, I say, ask Shimon Peres.

Let these indelible events of the past few years -- the handshake at the White House; the Berlin Wall falling and the Soviet Union crumbling; Nelson Mandela walking out of prison to build a new South Africa -- let all these point us toward asserting and not abdicating our international role.

Let that shining moment last week on the White House lawn light the way for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East -- and illuminate the need for America's continued leadership in the world. [REDACTED]

קולם אביג'סלב

22 בספטמבר 1993

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אאאא, חוזם: 28725  
אל: רהmesh/1410/  
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ביבב  
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סודי ביוור/מידי

מ.ג.ב.

אל: וושינגטן, השגריר

מאת: איתן בנצור

מאץ עם בראון.

1. סיפר שנכח בהתייעצויות אצל המזקיר שקדמה לשיחת שה'-ח'-כרייטופר ביום החתימה בבית הלבן - על הסיווע לפלשתינאים בעקבות הסכמי מסמך העקרונות וההכרה הדרית. בראון מצין שהועלו הצעות שונות לגבי אופי ומהות הסיווע המתבקש.

הכל הסכימו בישיבה:

(א) על ארה'ב למלא תפקיד מוביל ברכוז הסיווע הבינ'יל לפלשתינאים.

(ב) הסיווע צריך להיות כזה שבפרק זמן קצר ביותר ימичיש לפלשתינאים היתרונות ופירוט השלום. בהקשר זה שכלו רענון של ניתוב הסיווע לניהול-ישובים פלשתינאים כדי לחידד מוחשיות הסיווע.

2. בראון סיפר שבימים האחרונים הוקלו הנחיות לנציגיות ארה'ב באשר למגעים עם אש'פ. מאוחר יותר התקשר לעדכן כללהן:

נציגיות ארה'ב בעמאן, באו'ם, ת'א וטוניס מונחים לניהל מגעים עם אנשי אש'פ כמקובל. אין צורך לדוח מראש למחריד על כל מפגש אך יש לניהל הפגישה לאור הנחיות הקבוע באשר לתוכן המגעים עם אש'פ. אם זהות הפונה אינה ידועה יש לפנות למחריד לבקש אישור מיוחד. הנציג מונחה שלא לנקרוט עדמה בנסיבות הקשורות בתחילת השלום. כל פניה של ערפה לפגישה - חייבת אישור מוקדם מחריד.

לנציגיות ארה'ב ברייד, בירית, דמשק, פאריס - ניתן לקיים קשר שוטף עם אנשי 'הזרם המרכזי' באש'פ. לגבי האחרים יש לבקש אישור מוקדם מחריד.

בנצור.

22 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שחח,SSH, (רHAM), מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל

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סודי ביוור/מידי

אל: וושינגטונ, השגריר

מאת: איתן בנצור

מאי'צ עם בראון.

1. סיפר שנכח בהתייעצות אצל המזכיר שקדמה לשיחת שה'ח-כרייטופר ביום החתימה בבית הלבן - על הסיווע לפלשתינאים בעקבות הסכמי מסמך העקרונות וההכרה ההדידית. בראון מציין שהועל הצעות שונות לגבי אופי ומהות הסיווע המתבקש.

הכל הסכימו בישיבה:

(א) על ארה'ב למלא תפקיד מוביל ברכוז הסיווע הבינ'יל לפלשתינאים.

(ב) הסיווע צריך להיות כזה שבפרק זמן קצר ביותר ימchioש לפלשתינאים היתרונות ופירוטו שלום. בהקשר זה שקו רעיון של ניתוב הסיווע לקהילות-ישובים פלשתינאים כדי לחדד מוחשיות הסיווע.

2. בראון סיפר שבימים האחרוניים הוקלו הנחיות לנציגויות ארה'ב באשר לפגעים עם אש'פ. מאוחר יותר התקשר לעדכן כלහן:

נציגויות ארה'ב בעמאן, באומ', ת'א וטוניס מונחים לנחל מגעים עם אנשי אש'פ כמקובל. אין צורך לדוחה מראש למחריד על כל מפגש אך יש לנחל הפגישה לאור הנחיות הקבוע באשר לתוכן המגעים עם אש'פ. אם זהות הפונה אינה ידועה יש לפניה למחמד לבקש אישור מיוחד. הנציג מונחה שלא לנ��וט עמדה בסוגיות הקשורות בתהליך השלום. כל פניה של עראפת לפגישה - חייבות באישור מוקדם ממחמד.

างציגויות ארה'ב ברייד, בירית, דמשק, פאריס - ניתן לקיים קשר שוטף עם אנשי 'הזרם המרכזי' באש'פ. לגבי האחרים יש לבקש אישור מוקדם ממחמד.

בגזר.

22 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, רהמ (0), מנכ, מנכ

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אל: רהmesh/1424  
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ביבב  
מיידי/סודי ביז'ור

אל: ממנכ'ל

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

מכתב מובך

הנדון: פקיסטאן  
לשלה 2826

1. אנשי הקשר בקונגרס לא שמעו עדין דבר ממנכ'ל משה הפקיסטני. ביחסתי שלא ייזמו יצירת קשר אליו מטעם. כמובן יודיעו על כל מגע שיווצר עמם.

2. אנשי הקשר הניל מזכירים כי ב-6 באוקטובר ייערכו בפקיסטאן בחירות כליליות, ולכן לדעתם לא חודיע פקיסטאן דבר לפני מועד זה.

3. אגב, אנשי הקשר עוקבים בקביעות אחרי הנעשה בתת-היבשת ואף ביקרו בה ונפגשו עם אנשינו. ר' מברק הציג מנינו דלהי (מס' 1379 לוושינגטונג) מיום 25.11.92.

ברוך בינה.

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תפוצה: שחח, 0 (רham), סחה, מנכ, ממנכ'ל, סמנכ'לאסיה

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אל: רהmesh/  
מ-: ווש, נר: 2096, תא: 220993, זח: 1925, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
סוד/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דע: מנכ'ל, מנכ'ל, לשכת שב'ט, לשכת רוח'ם

מאת: ק. לונגראס

הנדון: פגישת מחוקקים יהודים עם המזכיר כריסטופר.

1. אתמול בערב (21.9) נפגשו חברי ביהנ'ב היהודים עם המזכיר כריסטופר בביתה של הגברת אסתר קופרסמית. יוזם את האירוע, הקונגרסמן שומר אשר חידש בכך מסורת ישנה אשר נפסקה בזמן כהונתו של המזכיר ביקר.

2. מצד המשל נכחו: המזכיר, דונילון, דרג'יאן, וונדי שרמן (ק. לונגראס מחמ'ד) ועוזרתה.

מצד המחוקקים נכחו: 26 חברי קונגרס, ביניהם שומר, לנטרס, ברמן, גידנסון, אנגל, לין שנק, מרגוליס - מיזונסקי, לואי, קלין, זימר גליקמן.

3. לדברי מס' משתתפים, הייתה האווירה מאד חמה. כריסטופר הביע הערכה אישית רבה מאד לר宾ן ו אמר כי היה לו ברור שלחה'ם לא נוח, פיזית להותה בחדר אחד עם ערפת. עם זאת היה לו ברור שהה'ם נחש בדעתו להופיע ולהתוטם. כן שיבח את שח פרס ודבריו על אריה'ב. דבריו באופן כללי על ישראל היו ברוח נאומו ביום ב' עת חזר על מהויבות אריה'ב לבתוונה ושלומה של ישראל.

4. המזכיר נשאל והשיב מס' פעמים בנווגע לביטול חקיקות הנוגעות לאשפ: איינו רוצה לעשות יותר מהמיינמוס הנדרש. הזכיר שימוש ב- WAIVER ו אמר כי ירצה לפעול בכך שהוא זה מספיק כדי לבצע מה שבתייחו. כן ציין כי אין בכוונתם לפעול במהירות יתרה. (ראו דיווח בדף).

לדברי המשתתפים אין ספק שההתקהויות ברוסיה והודעת ילצין על פיזור הפרלמנט הסיכון קמעה את מרכזיות הנושא המזה'תי מעע'. עם זאת שמהו כולם על חידוש המסורת של פגישות בלתי רسمיות עם המזכיר.

יהודית ורנאי דרגראס.

לבח

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אאאא, חודם: 30223  
אל: רהmesh/1457  
מ-: ווש, נר: 2095, תא: 220993, זח: 1900, דח: ד, סג: סו,  
בכככ  
סוד/דחו/פ

אל: קדרמי, פרנקל - נתיב

דע: רון זינגר - ניו-יורק  
שגריר, ציר, יועץ מדיני - וושינגטן (כאן)  
דוויד ברטוב - מוסקווה  
יורם הסל - וושינגטן (כאן)

מאת: עודד ערן - וושינגטן

הנדון: שיחה עם לארי נפר ממחמד.

להלן משיחה עם הניל ב-22 ספט' אחצ':

1. הם אופטימיים למדי לגבי הצלחת המהלך של ילצין, תמיכתם בילצין באה  
ליידי ביטני בדברי הנשיא ובחזרת קריסטופר וכן נסירה היום בע"פ בשיחה בין  
קריסטופר לקובזירוב.

2. מה שחשוב כרגע הוא לארגן תמיכתה בילצין. מספר מדיניות חשובות כבר  
הזהירו על תמיכתן בנשיא רוסיה וירצויו שגמ' ישראל תעשה כני'.

3. להבנתם, עמדת הצבא ושירותי הבטחון היא הרבה יותר מאשר ניטרליות וهم  
למעשה תומכים בילצין ובצדדיו. הדבר בא כМОבן לידי ביטוי בהופעה המשותפת  
של ראשי מוסדים אלה לצידו של ילצין היום, אך יש בידם גם מידע כי פניות  
אנשי רוצקו לגורמים במסד הבטחוני (אקדמיות צבאיות ועוד) לצורך השגת  
SHIP מצדם נדחו בתקיפות והצבא מאחד בתמיכתו בגרצ'ב. ילצין טיפה לאחרונה  
יחסיו עם הצבא. הירבה לבקר בסיסים ולהזכיר עם ההנאה הצבאית ונתקט קו של  
זהירות לפני גראצ'ב.

4. כМОבן שצין כי החלטת הפרלמנט לא נעשתה בקווורום חוקי וטען ששאלת  
המפתח היא תמיכת המחווזות. עד כה תהייצבו כמה מהחווזות חשובים לימיינו של  
ילצין ויאילו באחרים היהתה ביקורת עליו, אולם אין להם תחושה של התנגדות  
מאסיבית במישור הרגינוני. תמיכת המחווזות חשובה שכן היא תיקבע אם ניתן  
יהיה לארגן בחירות בהיקף כל הארץ.

כל שיגבר המומנטום של תמיכת בילצין כן תגבר התמיכת מהחווזות ויצטרפו  
נוסףים לקובאליציה שמתגבשת מאחוריו.

5. טרם ברורה התמיכת בקרב מגרירים כמו פועלי תעשייה ותעבורה. גם זה יכול  
להיות קרייטי מבחן ילצין ועד כה לפחות לא התפתחה בקרב אלה כל התנגדות  
לצדיו של ילצין, נהפוך הוא, הם מבחןם ב嚷מה של ריסון גורמים

## אופוזיציונניים.

6. ברחוב התגובה אדירה למדרי ותחוות האיש הפשוט היא של 'ישובם מתחילה' להתקוטט הפליטאים האלה'. אכן בסה'כ יכול לצלין לสมוך על מימי'ת הרוב בעת בחירות. האוירה הכללית הן במוסקבה והן בפרובינציה היא של 'עסקים כרגלי' והענין לא נוגע לנו, כמעט בולטיםם של כוחות בטחון פנים ברמה גבואה יותר מן הרגיל.

7. להערכתו של לاري, לא תהיה שפיכות דמים. שכן שני הצדדים מבינים שצד של ירי על אזרחים או כל שימוש בכוח מצד אחד יהפוך את הקURAה לטובת הצד השני מבחןת הסנטימנטים הציבוריים. אין להוציא גם שלאחר 'צחוח' החרבות' תבוא פשרה כלשהיא.

8. המעניינת ביותר היא תמי'ת צ'רנומורדיין בילצין. מה שנראה בסוף השנה שעברה כמו'נו שזכה עליו עי' הפלמנט הפק בכת אח'ת להישג אדר' המסלול הצלחתו לזכות בתמי'ת הגורמים היוצרים, המנהלים התעשייתים ועוד.

לגביו סבב טרור טלבוט בו השתתף לاري (יחד עם ניק ברנס ואחרים):

9. הם הבחרו לרוסים שיוזמת העצמאית בנוושא נגורנו קרבח להצבת צבא חי'ץ רוסי (שאינה מושלבת בתהיליך של CSCE) לא יהיה מקובל על אר'ב אלא אם כן ישתפו אותה בגיבוש. כללית יש סיכוי טוב להסדר בעית נגורנו קרבאח.

10. בבאקו, עלייב אמר להם שאין לו ברירה אלא לבקש סיוע רוסי באמצעות כח חי'ץ בין הצדדים שכן אם יימשכו התובשות האזריות הוא עצמו יסולק מן השלטון. (עליליב הוגדר על ידי לاري כתיפוס ערומי שא'י אפשר לסמך עליו). בירבן שמעו שעלייב כבר פנה בפועל לרוסים בבקשת להציב כח חי'ץ בין האזרים לארכנים.

11. בקזחסטאן - נסבה השיחה בין טלבוט לבין נזרבייב במילוי מחויבותה של קזחסטאן להפוך למדינה מפוארת מנשך גרעיני. בתמורה לכך הבטיח טלבוט לנשיא התקדמות משמעותית בתחוםים הדו-צדדיים עם אר'ב: כגון מגעים בדרג בכיר, הסכמים דו צדדיים בסוגיות שונות כולל כלויות.

12. בקייגיזיה - הביעו תמי'ה חזקה בנשיא אקייב הנוקט במדיניות דמוקרטית אמיתית וגם בקו כלכלי נכון של ייצוב כלכלי שזכה לשבי' ה-IMF. הובטה סיוע נוסף. 'אנחנו תומכים בהקמת שגירות שלכם בבישקק'.

13. בטdag'יקיסטאן - מדיניותם זהה ומתואמת למדיניות הרוסית. הם מצדדים משתדלים להתרבב אצל האפגנים, הפאסיסטנים והסעודים שיפעלו למניעת חצי'ות הגבול. יש להם בעיה רצינית עם המישל הנוכחי שא'נו שועה לעצוחיהם ליצור ממשלה פיוס לאומי, שכן רק בדרך זו ניתן לשלוט במדינה. הרקורד של ז'א במדינה זו גרווע ביותר והמצב רק מהמיר. הם הביעו דאגות בנוושא.

14. באוזבקיסטאן - לקריימוב יש רקורד קשה בסוגיות ז'א. ניסו להפגש עם אנשי אופוזיציה אך אלה הושמו במעצר בית ולא ניתן היה לקיים הפגישות. זאת לאחר שנדרחה דרישת השלטון שהפגישות האלה תיערכנה בנווכחות נציגו. לטלבוט הייתה שיחה קשה ממד הן עם הנשיא והן עם שח'ח. הובחר להם רק תיקון המצב יאפשר התקדמות בש'פ כלכלי ואחר עם אר'ב.

15. בתורכמניסטאן - כמו באוזבקיסטאן לא הצליחו לקיים פגישות עם אנשי האופוזיציה שכן אלה הושמו במעצר בית והנושא היה ברומה של שיחת טלבוט

ניאזוב.

16. עדכנתי אותו בנוסאים שלנו.

לבח

תפוצה: שחח,SSH, מנכלי, מנכלי, מוצב, תכנון, מצפה,  
סמנכלمزאר, מזאר, מזאר, R/מרכז, ממד,  
(עמית 524), (נתיב), (אמן), (רמ), (רמ), (אמן)

ססס

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אאא, חוזם: 30079  
 אל: רהmesh/1446  
 מ-: רוש, נר: 2091, תא: 220993, זח: 1615, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
 בכבב  
 סודי/מיידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דע: ממנכ'ל, לשכת שח'ח

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: **шибה עם אנשי צוות השלום.**

1. נפגשנו הציג וחת'ם עם אנשי צוות השלום ב-9/21.

2. תחילת מסרו על קיומם פגישת שר החוץ והמציג ב-29 בספטמבר ביום ד' בשעה 14:00 עד 14:30 במלון וולדורף אסטוריה בניו יורק.

3. הציג העלה את עניין הטענתו של הנשיא קלינטון בהקשר לעמדת הממשל בוגע למדינה פלטינאית תוך איזכור מכתב הבתוונות. אנשי שיחנו השיבו כי קלינטון אכן אישר בשעתו את תוכנו של מכתב הבתוונות וכי במרקם אלה הנשיא מшиб 'INSTINCTIVELY' אם כי נאמר שם מפורשת כי אין שינוי מדיניות הממשל בנדון, וזה העיקר. לדבריהם, מכתב הבתוונות הוא שmbטא נכונה את עמדת ארה'ב.

4. לגבי שינויים בחקיקה בוגע לאשפ' הסבירו כי עומדות על הפרק שתסוגיות בחקיקה הקיימת הממשל מוגע מהעבירות חרומות לארגונים ביןלאומיים בהם מתחף אשפ'. כן קיימים נושא פתיחת משרד בוושינגטון וכי ישן בעיות לא מעטו בכל הקשור למעמד של המשרד ונציגיו. במדיניות אחרות נציגי אשפ' קיבלו זכויות יתר מסויימות באורח עד הוק, אך אין כל אפשרות להעניק לנציגים אלה באלה'ב חסיניות כלשהן. יתרון, הוסיף כי תחינה תביעות משפטיות רבות נגד המשרד/נציגיו המתבססת על פעולות טרור מהעבר. בהקשר לפתיחת משרד, הנשיא יכול להשתמש ב-WAIVER וזה יכול להיעשות מבלתי לשינוי בחקיקה בשלב זה.

5. אנשי שיחנו התענינו אם קיימים עתה מגעים בין הפלטינאים וכי מחרגתת המרכיב בארץ לקראת המומ' לישום הצהרת העקרונית ציינו כי איןם מבקשים לדחות את עצם אף הם מעוניינים מאר שתהיה תוערכות פעילה ומשמעותית מצד ארה'ב בהמשך, וזאת לצד הפעולות העניפה שלהם בשלב זה בכל הנוגע לארגון ועידת התורמות בוושינגטון בשבוע הבא.

6. הבינו התרשםם כי הפלטינאים יבקשו לשמור על המגראת של השיחות בוושינגטון כדי לא להתנתק מהMagnitude הערבית הכלולת. אין בידם מידע ברור

לגביו כוונות הירדנאים. סבוריים כי יתכן סבב נוסף לקרה סוף אוקטובר בושינגטון.

ג' רמי ישכרוף.

לבח

תפוצה: שחח,SSH,0(ר'המ),0(שבט),מנכל,מנכל,סמנכללים,  
רביב,ר/מרכז,מצב,0(ר'ם),0(אמן),0(ר'אגת),  
חכון,מד,מצפה,רחטמצה,ישראל'ערב,וועמש

ססס

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30210: חודם, AAA  
אל: רהmesh/1454  
מ-: וושינגטון, נס 619, תא: 220993, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
22.9.93

שמור/מיידי

- מכתב מובהך -

23.9.

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דעת: ממנכ"ל, לש' שה"ח, לשכ' רה"מ, לש' שר האוצר

מאת: ק. לكونגרס

הנדון: פגישת השגריר עם הקונגרסמן אובי.

1. היום, 22.9, נפגש השגריר עם הקונגרסמן אובי כדי לעדכו לגבי הפתוחיות האחרוניות (אובי היה בטקס בבית הלבן), ולקרואת הקונפרנס בין שני הבתים על חוק סיוע החוץ/ה氪בות. מצידם נכח עוזריו: פיל, מריק וקרפה. מצידנו: דרגנר ובינה.

2. הפגישה הייתה מצוינת והתקיימה באוירה מאוד ידידותית וNINGOVA. השגריר ואובי התיחסו לטקס החתימה על הסכם עם אש"פ והפתוחיות סביב זה. אובי אמר בתגובה:

"I AM DELIGHTED. THERE ARE TO SEE VERY MUCH: 2 THINGS I WANTED

1. NATIONAL HEALTH CARE HERE 2. PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST."

אובי המשיך בדבריו ו אמר כי חשב שהחול התקדמות קורם כל עם סוריה אולם התדברותם עם עירפן קדמה לכך. השגריר הסביר הנסיבות לדברות עם עירפן בעיתוי הנוכחי.

אובי אמר כי יעריך מאוד אם נוכל להעביר "MY PERSONAL CONGRATULATIONS TO RABIN AND PERES" שיבח מאוד את שה"ח ורה"מ ובמיוחד את נאומו של רה"מ בבית הלבן. המשיך דבריו בצחוק ו אמר: "ניתן לומר שאנו ברוי מזל שהם (אש"פ) חמכו בעירך אחרת לא היו נתונים למצוקה כספית (ונאלצים לשאת ולחת עמכם) אז אולי נודה לسانם?".

אובי שאל על מצב המו"מ עם סוריה ותגובה אסאד להסכם שחתם עירפן עם ישראל.

השגריר השיב וכן עמד על ההזדמנות לנורמליזציה עם מדיניות ערביות נוספת.

3. השגריר עבר לדון בנושאים בעיתים העומדים על הפרק בחוק הסיווע, לקרה הكونפרנס בין שני הצדדים.

רצ"ב לנוחיותכם הנΚודות לשיחת על כל נושא ונושא בנפרד. להלן התיחסותו של אובי:

א. ה- 170 מ' דולר -  
לדברי אובי על הקונגרסמן סאבו (יו"ר ועדת התקציב בbihn"ב) והסנטור סר (יו"ר ועדת התקציב בסנאט) להפגש ולדון בנושא כדי לישב ההבדלים. אובי לא היה מודע להבדל בין נוסחbihn"ב המתיחס ל-4 שנים לבין נוסח הסנאט שהוא לשנה אחת בלבד. אובי הבטיח לבדוק ולטפל בנושא.

ב. "שידיונים" -  
אובי הסביר כי עדתו הפומבית היא נגד "שידיונים". הוא אמר פרופורמה כי למשל יש צורך בגמישות ולכך אין מקום לשידיונים".  
אך עליינו לדעת כי אמר לחבריו ועדתו שיכללו להציגו כפי שהם רוצים בנושא. הוסיף בפנותו לשגריר: אל תדאג, הבית 'יוטר' לסנאט (אשר "שריין" את כל התוכניות הישראלית).

ג. רשות אזרחית -  
אמר כי איןו בקיा עדרין בכל הפרטים ועליו עוד להתייעץ עם צוותו. שוחתי הערב עם ראש צוות העוזרים אשר אמר כי נוסח התיקון כפי שהוא (הנוסח של אינזיה) איןו מקובל עליהם אולם יעבדו על נוסח פשרה.

ד. קליטת עלייה -  
אובי סיפר כי במשך שנים תמן בקבוצות ופעילי הפליטים ואך קיבל אשתקד פרס מהחת הקבוצות, בראש עומד פועל בשם רוג'ר ווינטרא. לפניו מספר חודשיים הפיע ווינטרא הנ"ל, כנראה בעזרת חמ"ד, הטענה כאילו הוא והועדה שלו קייצו בתקציב קרן החירום לפלייטים (ERMA) לטובת קליטת העליה בישראל. הטענה כלל אינה נכונה. (אובי השתמש במינוח צירורי יותר). אובי המשיך ואמר כי הוא יבטיח שישראל תקבל את מלאה המימון (80 מיליון דולר). שמח לשמעו שגם הסנאט עשה זאת. טרי פיל ציין כי חל גידול במספר העולים לישראל ואם הקצב יגבר והגדיל ימשך עד סוף השנה יסייע הדבר בידם.  
אובי סיים בואמרו: "חשוב שתקבלו הכספי בלי או עם "שידיון" רק לא לחת תירוץ לנ"ל לתקוף אותה".

ה. מימון חמ"ר בסיני -  
שוחתי הערב עם טרי פיל אשר אמר כי מודיע לבעה. לא יתנו לסנאט לckett סכום כה גבוה מתקציב כוחות שמירת השלום. יעדמו על המשמר בכל הנוגע לכמ"ר.

#### נקודות לשיחת בפגישה עם הקונגרסמן אובי

1) 170 מ' דולר -

א. להודות על הptron שנעשה בbihn"ב ע"י אובי וע"י יו"ר ועדת התקציב  
הكونגרסמן סאבו.

ב. להציג על בעיתת ה- SCORING לקראת הקונגרנס בין שני הבטים: -  
בביחן"ב - הבעייה נפרה ל- 4 שנים וגעתה BILL RECONCILIATION ON.

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בנסנאט - הבעייה נפרה ל- 1 שנה בלבד וגעתה BILL APPROPRIATION ON.

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(הערה: חוק הקצבות הוא רק לשנה אחת. יתרון שבגלל זה, המגבלה).

- 2) "שריונים" EARMARKS -----

א. בנסנאט "שוררינו" כל הנושאים הישראלים: - -----

3 ביליאון דולר ; 10 מיליון דולר ל- CDP ו- CDR ; 7 מיליון דולר ל- MERC ; ו- 80 מיליון דולר לקליטת עלייה. בביחן"ב לא "שוררינו".  
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ב. אובי הבטיח שם לא יהיה חוק סיוע חזק / הרשות (AUTHORIZATION) והוא "ישראלין" את הסיווע לישראל בחוק הקצבות (APPROPRIATION) שלו.  
בשלב זה אין חוק סיוע חזק/הרשאות.

- 3) COMMERCIAL SALES - רכש אזרחי (תואם עם הנספח). -----

א. הסנטור אינזיה הגיש בנסנאט תיקון אשר עיקרו: מזכיר ההגנה לא יגביל השימוש ב- FMF לרכש אזרחי ישיר עד אשר יגשים דוח' בנושא לוגנים ויתיעץ עמו.

ב. החלטת הפנטגון עלולה לגרום: לפגיעה בכוננות צה"ל ; לשינוי מערכת המלאים ; מהלך כזה עלול להחפרש באופן שלילי בשעה כה רגישה כמו עכשו, בשעה שככל מערכת הבטחון עוסקה בהיערכות וריארגון כל המערכת ; הנושא נמצא בעדיפות גבוהה של מערכת הבטחון. הדירקטיבה, הונחתה עליינו בפתח ונועדה להכנס לתוקף ב- 1.1.94.

- 4) קליטת עלייה בישראל - -----

להודות לאובי על חמייתו רבת השנים בנושא והקצת הוועדה 80 מיליון דולר לשנת"א (FY 94). כך גם עשה הנסנאט, וכך גם עשו 2 הוועדות המרשיאות (AUTHORIZING) לתקציב מהמ"ד.

הערה זו נועדה לבחון מידת הלחץ על אובי מצד מומ"ד לקטץ ל- 55 מ' דולר.  
ידוע שאובי כעם מادر על פועלות הארגונים הקתולים).

- 5) מימון המ"ר בסיני - -----

א. המכמ"ר מומן כחלק מתקציב כוחות שמירת השלום - בחוק סיווע החוץ.  
בקשת הממשל למימון כל הכוחות היתה 166.77 מיליון דולר.  
בביהנ"ב הסכימים על מימון של 623.625 מיליון דולר

הסנאט הסכימים על מימון של 62.5 מיליון דולר.

ב. הנציג האמריקני של המכמ"ר בארץ ביקר השבווע במשרד החוץ בירושלים וחתריע בפני אפשרות קיצוץ צו שמשמעותה מבחינת המכמ"ר תהיה קיצוץ של 3 מיליון דולר בהשתתפות האמריקנית. בעקבות זאת כולם צופים שגם מצרים תקצץ את חלקה בסך 3 מיליון דולר (מצרים מוחשפת כל הזדמנות להפטר מהכוח או לבטל חלקה במימון) ג'רמי בדק במשל אשר הבהיר כי משמעות קיצוץ בסדר גודל כזה פירשו ביטול גドוד ח"ר אחד.

ג. אנשי הקונגרסמן ברמן החלו לפעול בנושא (אחראים על חוק כספי מלחמ"ד/הרשאות). שוחחו עם ג'ון הרבסט במלחמ"ד המתנגד למלך. אנו נתבקשו לפעול אצל אובי וליהי במקביל לפעולת ברמן.

ד. ברור שלא יכול להיות עיתוי גרווע יותר לקיצוץ בכוח רב לאומי שהוקם מכוח הסכם שנחתם בין מדינה ערבית לישראל.  
לבקש מאובי לשכנע את הסנאט "לוטהר" (TO RECEDE) לביהנ"ב.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שחח, רהמ, סחה, מנכל, מנכ"ל, מצפה, אורצ

ססס

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aaaa, חוזם: 30118

אל: רהmesh/1447

מ-: וושינגטן, נר: 614, תא: 220993, זח: 1734, דח: מ, סג: ש, מ

ביבב

שמור/מיידי

אל: שה'ח, מנכ'ל, ממכ'ל, מצפ'א.

דע: מנכ'ל האוצר, נויבך-קאן.

מאת: הציג, וושינגטן.

הנדון: הכנוסים בוושינגטן.

להלן כמה פרטים ראשוניים שנמסרו לנו על התחנוכיות בוושינגטן ביום ב' ה-27 וביום ו' ה-10.1.10.

ליום ב' הוזמנו 21 מדינות וארגונים כולל האו"ם והבנק העולמי. זה כולל את סוריה ולבנון שכונראה לא תרצה להשתתף, אך שמדובר ב-19 משלחות. במשלחת יהיו אך ורק שני אנשים בדרגת UNDER SECRETARY קלומר: מנכ'ל. הודיעו להם שנציגינו יהיה סביר ופוגל. חזרו ואמרו שלא יורשו מושם מדינה יותר משניים. היישיבה תחול במחמד' בשעה 10:00 ותמשיך כל היום עד 04:00 או 05:00 אחיה'צ. טרם החליטו אם יקיימו ארוחות צהריים במקומות או שיישו הפסקת צהריים של שעה כדי לאפשר למשתתפים להתייעץ עם בירויותיהם.

ליום ו' ה-1 באוקטובר הוזמנו 42 מדינות וארגונים, גם כאן כוללים: האו"ם, הבנק, אש'פ וכיו'ב. גם כאן לוחמים בחובון שלבנון וسورיה לא תגעה. הם מניחים שככל המזומנים האחרים ישתתפו, אך מודאגים שמא מדינות אחדות לא תשלחנה שרי חוץ ואוצר אלא תרצה להיות מיזוגות ע'י סגנונים ושגדריים. במקרה זה יורשו ממלאי מקום אלה להשתתף במושב, אך אולי לא בארוחת הצהריים שהיא (כונראה) לשרים בלבד.

משלחת מורכבת משני שרים וכל שר רשייה להביא עימו שני מלוחים, קלומר משלחת היא בת שישה אנשים. איש נוסף יקבל אקדמייה להיות לבניין אך לא באולם. נוסף לזה יורשו רק אנשי בטחון. הכנס יתחל ב-09:00 בדיוקן. היות ומדובר ב-42 משלחות שבכל אחת שני מוכבים, יודיעונו סדרי הגעה, אך יש לקחת בחשבון שהם מבקשים שכולם יהיו לבניין לא יותר מ-50:08.

היום ישתיים במסיבת עיתונאים בשעה 14:00, מtower מטרה לכבוש את המוסכים במז'ת בשידור חי. את מסיבת העיתונאים יערך האדונים כרייטופר ובנטון יחד עם האדונים קווזירוב ופדרוב (זהו שר האוצר הרוסי).

היום טרם ידעו להסביר על הרכב המשתתפים הפלשינאים. אמרו שהם מאייצים בפלשינאים למסור להם שמות של אישים בכירים, אך מדבר שהיות ומדובר בסיווע לשוחים יש "בעיות פנים-חו"ז". בקשר שביום ב' הנציג הבכיר יהיה אבו-עלא וביום ו' מהמוד עבאש.

יודיעונו ברגע שידעו.

בברכת גמר חתימה טובה,  
שילה.

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, (ר'rahm), (שהבט), מנכל, מנכל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, (ר'ם), (אמן), (ר'אגת),  
חכנון, ממד, מצפה, ערדן, כלכליות', רחטמות,  
ישראל ערבות, יומש, אוצר

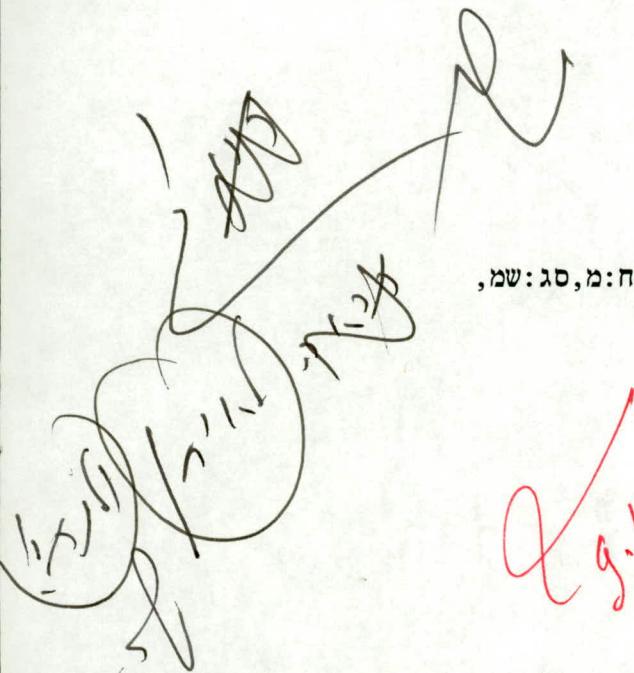
טטס

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AAA, חוזם: 30118

אל: רהmesh/1447

מ-: וושינגטן, נר: 614, תא: 220993, זח: 1734, דח: מ, סג: שם,

ביבב

שמור/מיידי

אל: שה'ח, מנכ'ל, מנכ'ל, מצפ'א.

דע: מנכ'ל האוצר, נויבך-כאן.

מאת: הציג, וושינגטן.

הנדון: **הכינוסים בוושינגטן.**

להלן כמה פרטים ראשוניים שנמסרו לנו על ההתכנסויות בוושינגטן ביום ב' ה-27 וביום ו' ה-10.

ליום ב' הוזמן 21 מדינות וארגונים כולל האו"ם והבנק העולמי. זה כולל את סוריה ולבנון שכונראה לא תרצה להשתתף, כך שמדובר ב-19 משלחות. במשלחת יהיו אך ורק שני אנשים בדרגת **UNDER SECRETARY** כלומר: מנכ'ל. הודיעו להם שנציגינו יהיו סביר ופוגל. חזרו ואמרו שלא יורשו מושם מדינה יותר מאשר 5. ישיבה תחול במחמ"ד בשעה 10:00 ותחשיך כל היום עד 04:00 או 05:00 אחה"צ. טרם החלטו אם יקיימו ארוחת צהריים במקום או שיישו הפסקת צהריים של שעה כדי לאפשר למשתפים להתייעץ עם בירויותם.

ליום ו' ה-1 באוקטובר הוזמן 42 מדינות וארגונים, גם כאן כוללים: האו"ם, הבנק, אש'פ' וכיוב'. גם כאן לוקחים בחשבון שלבנון וسورיה לא תגענה. הם מניחים שככל המזומנים האחרים ישתתפו, אך מודאגים שמא מדינות אחדות לא תשלחנה שרי חוץ ואוצר אלא תרצה להיות מיוצגות ע"י סגנים ושגרירים. במקרה כזה יורשו מלאי מקום אלה להשתתף במושב, אך אולי לא בארוחת הצהריים שהיא (כונראה) לשרים בלבד.

משלחת מורכבת משני שרים וכל שר רשייה לחייב עימיו שני מלוויים, כולל משלחת היא בת שישה אנשים. איש נוסף יקבל אקורדייטציה להיוות בבניין אך לא באולם. נוסף לזה יורשו רק אישי בטחון. הכנס יתחיל ב-09:00 בדיוקן. היהות ומדובר ב-42 משלחות שבכל אחת שני מכוונים, יודיעו סדרי ההגעה, אך יש לקחת בחשבון שם מבקשים שכולם יהיו בבניין לא יותר מ-50:08.

היום יסתהים במסיבת עיתונאים בשעה 14:00, מתיוך מטרה לככוש את המ██ים במז'ת בשידור חי. את מסיבת העיתונאים יערך האדונים כritisופר ובנטן יחד עם האדונים קווזירב ופדרוב (זהו שר האוצר הרוסי).

היום טרם ידעו להסביר על הרכב המשתתפים הפלטינאים. אמרו שהם מאייצים בפלטינאים למסור להם שמות של אישים בכירים, אך מסתבר שהיות ומדובר

בסיוע לשטחים יש "בעיות פנים-חוץ". בקשרו שבירם ב' הנציג הבכיר יהיה ابو-עלא וביום ו' מחמוד עבאס.

יודיעו ברגע שידעו.

בברכת גמר חתימה טובה,

שילה.

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, (ר' מה) (שהבט), מנכ"ל, ממכנ"ל, סמככלשלות,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, (ר' מה) (אמן) (ר' אגודה),  
תיכון, ממד, מצפה, ערך, כלכליתב', רחטמצות,  
ישראלערב, יומש, אוצר

ססס

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AAA, חוזם: 29681  
אל: רהmesh/1439/  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 578, תא: 220993, זח: 1222, דח: מ, סג: ש, מ-  
ביבב  
שמור/ מיידי

אל: מ"ד, מצפ"א  
דע: חט' מז"ת, אגף שלום  
מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון  
הנדון: התהליין

להלן מרטינז, מנהל סוריה, לבנון, ירדן ופלס' ב - NEA (9/21):  
כנס התורמות

1. המישל שוקל להזמין לכנס את סוריה ולבנון. המישל מבקש להימנע מי הבנות עם הסורים ואינו רוצה שהسورים יטענו, שלא הזמן לכנס. הסורים יובחר, שהברירה בידם אם להשתתף אם לאו. אם יחולITO להימנע מהשתתפות יאמרו להם האמרק' כי לדעתם על סוריה להשתתף, אולם עם זאת מוכנתם התהוויה הסורית לגבי השתתפות בכנס המבוסס על מסלול המו"מ הרב-צדדי. (מרטינז ציין, שבמבחן"ד רואים הכנס כמשתלב עם המסלול הרב-צדדי ותאר הכנס כמשמעות של "ועדת היגוי פלוס" של הרב-צדדי).

2. טרם ברור מי יגיע מירדן. הברירה היא בין רה"מ ושה"ח אל-מג'אלি לבין הנסיך חסן. טרם ידוע מי יציג את הפלס'. צפוי שיווסף אל-סאייע' וחבר הוועה"פ של אש"פ נשאיבי, הנוטלים חלק בדינוני הבנק העולמי בוושינגטון, יהיו חברי במשלחת הפלס' לכנס.

3. בנוסף ציין כי לכנס הזמן נציגים מסעודיה, המשפ"מ, תוניסיה ומרוקו.

#### סוריה

4. מרטינז חזר וציין, כפי שעשה בפגישות בעבר, שאסד אינו יודע לנחל דיפלומטיה פומבית במובנה המקביל במערב, ואת מסריו הפומביים הוא מפנה רק לקהלים סורים וערביים. הערין, שבראיון לאל-אחים' באדר (20/9) הגיב אסד גם לדברים שהופיעו בימים האחרונים רה"מ רבין. דבריו אסד בראיון משקפים החשנות המשמשת כלפי מה אש"פ עוד מתכוון לעשות, יחד עם ישראל, ללא ידיעת הסורים. בכך גם בערך אסד לקראת סכוב השיחות הבא עם ישראל. בrama הטקטיית דבריו אסד אינם מסויימים. אולם, יש לראות גם הדברים החשובים שאסד אומר בראיון - על המשך מהויבתו לתהליין ולמו"מ, ומכאן שברמה האסטרטגית אין שינוי בגישה הסורית הבסיסית, החותרת להשתתפת הסדר שלום עם ישראל באמצעות מו"מ. בעת חשוב לאסד לדעתם אם הוא יכול להמשיך ולבודר עם ישראל כדי להשיג התקדמות במו"מ. הסכנה, אליבא ד'מרטינז, תהיה אם אסד יסיק,

שארה"ב וישראל שמו המו"מ איתו ב-BACK BURNER. מרטינז סיכם, שם יוכלו יאמרו האمرק' לשני הצדדים להפסיק לחלטין התחטאות מסווג זה בימים הקרובים, אלא אם ברצו נס לומר שהוא חיובי.

מגעים ארה"ב עם אש"פ (בתוספת לשנו 522)

5. כוונת ההנחות החדשות שניתנו לנציגות האمرק' היא להגביל מספר הבירות בהן מושלים דיפלומטים אמרק' לפגוש נציגים של אש"פ, לוודא שבמגעים בדרגים זוטרים לא יועברו מסרים מדינניים (כדי למנוע מצב של קבלת מסרים מוגרים לא מוסמכים) תוך הגבלת מגעים אלה לקבלת מידע, ולמנוע מצב בו דיפלומטים אמרק' יפגשו עם אנשי אש"פ שהיו אישית מעורבים בטרור.

6. מרטינז חסך במילים לתיאור פגישות רפואיות בוושינגטון. קבע, שהיחותו עם אישי משל היור טובות מאוד וטען שנוצרה כימיה בין לבני שיחו האمرק'. אמר שבמשך זמן רב הופעה עמללה שנועדה DEHUMANIZE TO את רפואי, ואלה שנפגשו עימיו הופתעו מכך שהוא איינו הטפוס שלילי אותו ציפו לראות, אלא מדובר באיש מעוני ובעל יכולת שכונע. גם את פגישת רפואי עם המזביר תאר כטובה מאוד. (לעומת זאת שמענו מנהל "מקון וושינגטון", שבפגישתו עם רפואי השימוש כריסטופר בלשון תקיפה ודרש מעורפת לא רק לגנות טרור אלא גם לנוקוט בצדדים מעשיים של שליטה על כל זרועות אש"פ. רפואי, בתגובה, אמר שהוא יודע מה מתחקש מנו לעשוות אבל הוא יתקשה לגנות פיגועים נגד ישראלים כשבמקביל יש נפגעים פלס' בשטחים. הבהיר, לבן, להשמע גינויו כלל של פעולות טרור. התרשחותנו היא, שבפגישתו עם אישי משל ובקונגרס, ידע רפואי לומר לבני שיחו את כל הדברים הנכונים שציפו לשם מנו, אולם לא חרג מתחנים שהשמע בראיוננו לחשורת ערבי הגעתו לוושינגטון ובנאותו בטקס החתימה, והסתפק באמירת המינימום המתחקש).

ירדן

7. לדעת מרטינז תומך רוב הציבור הירדי בנסיבות הישראלי - פلس'. טעמי, שלירדנים ממוצא פلس' תהיה תחווה של חוסר ודאות לגבי עתידם והם מוטדים מחלוקת אבדן הזהות הפלס' שלהם. הדבר בא לביטוי בקשרות הירדנית, אך אין ספק שהמלך וההנאה הירדנית עומדים מאחוריו ההסכם ויפעלו בתמיכה בו. הביע ההערכה, שבסבב המו"מ הבא עם ירדן תהיה הילכה של הירדנים לקראת ישראל בנוסאים פרקטיים של המו"מ וצפויה גישה קונסטרוקטיבית מצדיהם.

לשנו יער

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (רHAM), (שהבט), מנכל, מנכל, סמנכלשלום, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, (רם), (אמן), (ריאגת), תכנון, ממד, יומש, מצפה, רחטמות, ישראל ערן, (עמיתה 475)

אָאָא, חֹזֶם: 29400  
אַל: רְהַמֵּשׁ/1438  
מְ-רוֹשִׁינְגְּטוֹן, נְ-ר: 568, תְּ-א: 1006, זְ-ה: 220993  
בְּכָכֶב  
בְּלָמֵס/מִיִּידִי

תְּ-אַרְיֵךְ: 22 סְ-פְּטְמְבָר 1993

אַל: תְּ-פּוֹצַת תְּ-קִשּׁוּרָת

מְ-אַת: תְּ-קִשּׁוּרָת וְ-רוֹשִׁינְגְּטוֹן

הַ-נְּדוֹן STATEMENT BY PRES. CLINTON CONCERNING THE EVENTS IN RUSSIA:

WRITTEN STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON ON RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN / TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1993

FROM THE BEGINNING OF MY ADMINISTRATION, I HAVE GIVEN MY FULL BACKING TO THE HISTORIC PROCESS OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM NOW UNDERWAY IN RUSSIA. I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT DEMOCRATIC REFORMS AND THE TRANSITION TO A MARKET ECONOMY HOLD THE BEST HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA.

THE ACTIONS ANNOUNCED TODAY BY PRESIDENT YELTSIN IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE underscore the complexity of the reform process that he is leading. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT PRESIDENT YELTSIN ACTED IN RESPONSE TO A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS THAT HAD REACHED A CRITICAL IMPASSE AND HAD PARALYZED THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

AS THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED LEADER OF RUSSIA, PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAS CHOSEN TO ALLOW THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA THEMSELVES TO RESOLVE THIS IMPASSE. I BELIEVE THAT THE PATH TO ELECTIONS FOR A NEW LEGISLATURE IS ULTIMATELY CONSISTENT WITH THE DEMOCRATIC AND REFORM COURSE THAT HE HAS CHARTED.

I CALLED PRESIDENT YELTSIN THIS AFTERNOON TO SEEK ASSURANCES THAT THE DIFFICULT CHOICES THAT HE FACES WILL BE MADE IN A WAY THAT ENSURES PEACE, STABILITY AND AN OPEN POLITICAL PROCESS THIS AUTUMN. HE TOLD ME THAT IT IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE THAT THE ELECTIONS HE HAS CALLED BE ORGANIZED AND HELD ON A DEMOCRATIC AND FREE BASIS.

IN A DEMOCRACY, PEOPLE SHOULD FINALLY DECIDE THE ISSUES THAT ARE AT THE HEART OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEBATE. PRESIDENT YELTSIN HAS MADE THIS CHOICE, AND I SUPPORT HIM FULLY. I HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE ABIDING WISDOM OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISION REGARDING THEIR OWN FUTURE.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, 0(רHAM), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, חכנוון, מצפה,  
סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, סמנכלמזאר, מזארו<sup>1</sup>,  
ר/מרכז, ממד, 0(רHM), 0(אמז) (עמית4524)

ססס

ט' צ'ינון מידי

כלמ"ט ס"ג:

תזכ:

חס' מכך:

1134

אל: תפוצת תקשות אורה

בטחון - יועץ שכ"ט לתקורת, רו"ע

אמ"כ/קשי"ה (ימ', העבירוונא)

דע:

מארן: אמריך, ניו. יורק

1134

# Pact's Fate in Hands of Israeli Rabbi

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, Sept. 20.—For the next few days, Israeli eyes will be focused on the thumbs of a long-bearded rabbi born in Iraq 73 years ago and given to wearing long robes and dark sunglasses.

He is Rabbi Ovadiah Yosef, a former Sephardic Chief Rabbi of Israel who is spiritual guide to the small but highly influential religious party known as Shas, a Hebrew acronym for Sephardic Guardians of the Torah.

As Parliament on Tuesday begins what promises to be a long and acrid debate on Israel's peace agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization, the key to the deal's immediate fate lies in Rabbi Yosef's thumbs: will they point up or down?

Up means that Shas's six members of Parliament, still part of the governing coalition but with one foot already out the door, will vote unfailingly for the agreement on Palestinian self-rule. Their support would guarantee it a clear majority, bolstering Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's right to assert, in the face of right-wing charges to the contrary, that he has a popular mandate to negotiate with the P.L.O.

New York

Times

21-9

9/22/91

(30) שח"ה (2) סש"ח (1) רח"מ (1) פ"מ (2) פ"מ (1) פ"מ (1) פ"מ (2)  
ספונקיה (1) תקשורת (1) סטודיו (2) סטודיו (1) ר/ס (1) פ"ד (4) פ"ד (1)  
אומן (1) יומש (1) משפט (1) צו"ל (1) דיז'י"ם (1) בטוחן/בצ"ה (1)

### Arabs Could Hold Key

But thumbs down would complicate the Prime Minister's life. So, to a lesser degree, would thumbs pointed sideways, indicating that Shas lawmakers should abstain on one of the most important votes in Israeli history.

Without support from Shas or other Orthodox lawmakers, the Government would have to depend on five Arab-party votes to patch together a most narrow majority for the agreement, 61 to 59.

Legally, Mr. Rabin would be on solid ground, for a majority is a majority. Some senior officials in his Labor Party, like Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, argue it is racist to say that the vote is somehow tainted by the fact that it depends on Israeli Arab support.

But that is what many Israelis indeed will say, and the Prime Minister himself acknowledges that failure to get a provable Jewish majority will create troubles.

"It is not a political problem so much as a psychological problem," said Nissim Zvilli, the Labor Party secretary general.

### The Right's Quandary

With several opinion polls showing strong, even growing, public support of 60 percent or more for the P.L.O. deal, the Prime Minister wants to keep momentum going. A stumble in Parliament clearly would not help.

It might force him, political experts say, to order a referendum on the agreement or perhaps call for new elections, both of which Labor officials say they would win. But neither alternative holds much appeal for them at a time when the Government faces several months of hard bargaining with the P.L.O. on how to flesh out what remains merely an outline for a new order in Israeli-occupied territories.

For the political right, led by the

### The six votes of a religious party are vital.

Likud Party, the next few days may provide a crucial test of whether it can bounce back from several weeks of unquestionable disaster, in terms both of ideology and its claim to represent the soul of the average Israeli.

Today, it began a new round of anti-Government protests, scheduled to peak on Tuesday when Parliament begins its debate. Its leaders have also put pressure on Shas, trying to persuade it to break completely from the Rabin coalition and to reject an agreement that the opposition calls a prescription for eventual war and a compact with a man whose hands are deeply stained with Jewish blood: the P.L.O. chairman, Yasir Arafat.

But the right is on the losing end, although that could always change, especially if there is a nasty surge of Arab terrorism.

For now, both the polls and random street interviews strongly suggest that most Israelis are tired of the endless conflict and of Likud's ideological battle cry to settle Jews throughout the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip. They seem little stirred by analogies to the Holocaust raised by right-wing politicians, or by denunciations of Mr. Rabin as a liar, a charge frequently made by the Likud leader, Benjamin Netanyahu.

Moreover, the fact that the heart of the deal is that Israelis will withdraw significantly and almost immediately from problem-ridden Gaza has many Israelis almost clicking their heels, including business owners and lower-income Israelis who normally vote Li-

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1134

likud. Even some Likud members of Parliament favor the plan because it means unloading Gaza, but will vote against it because Mr. Netanyahu has imposed strict party discipline. If left to vote their own hearts, Mr. Zvilli insists, seven or eight Likud lawmakers would side with Labor on this issue.

"People here know a good deal when they see one," said Zeev Chafets, a writer and a spokesman more than a decade ago for the rightist Government led by Menachem Begin. The right and in particular Mr. Netanyahu, known universally here by the nickname Bibi, need to come up with new ideas for altered circumstances, Mr. Chafets argued, but instead are resorting to scare tactics.

"Bibi," he said, "is in the position of a guy who had the lead in 'The Mouse-trap,' and thought it was going to run forever and so could get by reading the same old text. And when the text changed, we found that he turned out to be a great actor but not much of a playwright."

But others cautioned that it is too early to count the right out.

"They are shocked and very confused, but I think you will be hearing from them soon," said Prof. Ehud Sprinzak, a specialist on the Israeli right at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. "You can't discount them. They are serious people, and this agreement will not go down without a serious reaction."

Most immediate is the question of how Shas will react.

The party is much more important than its small representation in Parliament suggests, for it draws support from many non-Orthodox Sephardim — Jews of northern African and Middle Eastern background — who burn with ethnic pride and with resentments against discrimination that they have suffered at the hands of Ashkenazim, Jews with origins in Eastern and Central Europe.

When Shas joined the Rabin coalition last year, it came under attack from other religious parties, and it has had to defend itself ever since in the world of the black-hatted Orthodox. But a stake in the Government is vital to any religious party in Israel, providing it with access to political power and to state funds for its institutions.

So it has stayed on. But its continued participation has been shaken by a corruption scandal, unrelated to the peace accord, that this month forced the resignation of its political leader, former Interior Minister Aryeh Deri. That greatly weakened Shas's resolve to stay in the Rabin Government, and the vote on the P.L.O. deal may give it a final push out the door.

On the other hand, Rabbi Yosef is relatively dovish on the question of territories and peace, having argued that it is permissible to give up pieces of the biblical Land of Israel if it means saving Jewish lives by preventing war.

Whether he agrees that this particular agreement meets his standard is the question that could decide which way his thumbs point in the next several days:

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Abby

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מִזְרָחִים

קשור ניו-יורק

סלאמיה: סלאמיה:

אל: תפוצת תקשות ארה"כ **מען**

תְּנִזְנִית

ח' מ-ד-ק:

1133

בטהון - יועץ שחב"ט לתקשורה, דז"צ,  
אם"ב/קש"ח (יום העבירוגן)

: י-ז

מאת: עתניאל, ניו יורק

# Syrian Leader Plays a Waiting Game

By WILLIAM E. SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times

DAMASCUS, Syria, Sept. 17 — In the 23 years since he came to power in Syria, President Hafez al-Assad has built one of the most stable and autocratic governments in the Middle East, a fortress of secularism and socialism.

**News Analysis** In the middle of an increasingly turbulent Islamic sea. But for all his success in insuring domestic order, the 65-year-old Mr. Assad is finding the regional political terrain a bit slippery these days, now that the Palestine Liberation Organization has suddenly and unexpectedly made peace with the Israeli enemy.

Having long regarded himself as being in the vanguard of the Arab struggle against Israel, Mr. Assad is keeping a distance from the rapidly moving events of the last few weeks. He is waiting to gauge the success of the gamble by the P.L.O. leader, Yasir Arafat, and to see how far and how quickly Israel is now ready to go in dealing with him over the Golan Heights, which Israel seized from Syria in the 1967 war.

New York  
Times

Times

21-9

(3) שהה (2) סחה (1) רהמ (1) מונכל (2) מונכל (1) תכנוו (1) מצעא (2)  
 סמנכלתקשות (1) חזורת (2) סמנכלשלום (1) ר/מרכיז (1) ממד (4) רם (1)  
 אומן (1) יונטש (1) משפט (1) צנודורצבאוי (1) דודז-יס (1) בטחוו (1) פקם (1) יט

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He has refused to back or condemn the accord, complained bitterly about the secret negotiations that produced it and said that only Israel had benefited from the agreement.

"I don't see any viable reason for these secret negotiations," he said in an interview published on Sept. 20 in a Cairo newspaper. "I believe it was done to the detriment of the Palestinians and the Arabs. No one but Israel has gained from this."

[The response by the Syrians has left the peace talks between the Syrians and the Israelis in doubt, although after meeting with Mr. Assad, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt said on Sept. 19 that the Syrian leader was still willing to follow through on his September 1992 call for "a peace of the brave" with Israel.]

#### Noncommittal With Arafat

Mr. Assad has also been noncommittal in his recent contacts with Mr. Arafat. After meeting with the P.L.O. leader two weeks ago, he said he simply told him that it was up to the Palestinians themselves to decide what is best for them.

Mr. Assad can play the spoiler in the occupied territories if he fears that the P.L.O.-Israeli deal will hurt his chances of regaining the Golan Heights.

There have been conflicting reports as to how close Israel and Syria already are to some kind of agreement involving an Israeli withdrawal from the Golan in return for full demilitarization of the heights as part of an internationally guaranteed, fully fledged peace, complete with full diplomatic and trade relations.

In recent comments, Syria has also made it clear that any deal on the Golan must also involve Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon, a

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tricky agreement that might also involve the disarming of the Iranian-backed Party of God militia there.

But although Mr. Assad appears to have kept his options open, he does not have the flexibility he once did. Not only has Syria lost its main source of weapons and aid since the collapse of the Soviet Union, but the fallout from the Persian Gulf war in 1991 has also reshaped the region's politics, bringing many Arab governments, including Syria's, closer to the United States.

In recent days, Syrian newspapers gave prominence to President Clinton's telephone calls to Mr. Assad, saying Mr. Clinton had assured Syria of an American commitment to "the peace process and cooperation for overcoming the obstacles that hinder it."

But they did not mention that Mr. Clinton had also appealed to Mr. Assad in vain in militant Damascus-based Palestinian groups that oppose the Israeli-P.L.O. deal.

Mr. Assad has one advantage over Mr. Sadat: Thanks to his own ruthless leadership, he has no real worries about protecting his domestic flank.

The Syrian economy has experienced a boom in recent years, as a result of a resumption of financial aid and investments from the Persian Gulf following Syria's role in the war against Iraq, as well as an increase in domestic oil production and agricultural output. Dr. Mohammed al-Ihmadi, the Economy Minister, has said annual

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Growth of the gross national product has averaged 9.5 percent over the last three years, partly as a result of efforts to shift the economy from state control to private enterprise.

#### Little Religious Dissent

The Government also has had little problem with religious dissent since February 1982, when Mr. Assad sent in tanks and troops to level whole neighborhoods in the city of Hama, killing thousands, after Islamic groups there rebelled.

Still, Mr. Assad, an avowed secularist, is taking no chances. Drinking and nightclubs are still part of the Damascus scene, but with a growing number of young women now adopting the Islamic fashion of covering their heads and ankles in public, Mr. Assad allowed himself this spring to be shown for the first time in years praying in a mosque.

While his hand no longer contains the Soviet trump, Mr. Assad does hold several cards, should he decide he wants to challenge Mr. Arafat or Israel.

He is not only protector of 10 Damascus-based radical Palestinian groups, but diplomats here also believe that he wields considerable influence over the Party of God guerrillas in Lebanon.

And among many Syrians, passion for the Palestinian cause has waned with time. In a shop in central Damascus, a clerk named Nabil Ali said: "Let's never mind the others. We should just get back the Golan and be finished with it."

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## Arafat and Jordanian Talk

By ALAN COWELL  
Special to The New York Times

AMMAN, Jordan, Sept. 20 — Yasir Arafat, the chairman of the P.L.O., flew here today to reassure King Hussein of Jordan that despite their mutual animosities, he was not trying to sideline Jordan in the Middle East's power plays after his agreement last week with Israel for self-rule in part of the occupied territories.

It was far from clear, though, whether the meeting had achieved King Hussein's goal, expressed in a meeting with Jordanian journalists two days ago, of better coordination between Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Mr. Arafat spent three hours today in private talks with the King, who has said he would support the Israeli-P.L.O. deal but has expressed displeasure with the secrecy of the negotiations leading up to it and by its implications for his kingdom, whose population is two-thirds Palestinian.

The Israeli-P.L.O. agreement is

seen by many here as shifting the basic power balance between the two men in favor of Mr. Arafat. Many Jordanians fear that Mr. Arafat will enter into a de facto alliance with Israel that will damage Jordan's economy.

There was no joint communiqué after the meeting. In a sign of the tensions between the two leaders, aides set out two microphones for a possible joint news conference, but later removed one so Mr. Arafat spoke alone.

Mr. Arafat displayed signs of irritability with reporters when pressed on issues like whether the P.L.O. would seek to distance the West Bank from the Israeli economy. He repeated that his intention remains for an independent Palestinian state to enter into a confederation with Jordan.

"I'm committed to it because this is our political program," he said, referring to a 1988 decision by the Palestine National Council, the parliament in exile, to seek confederation with Jordan.

NYT 21-9

דשוי ניו-יורק

מספר: 5

סיבוב: כלמיה

תזכות:

レス. מדיק:

431

אל: תפוצת תקשורת אורה-יכ סנקט פולין

כטחון - יועץ שכיר לתקשורת, דוו"צ,  
אמ"נ/קשי"ה (ימ' העכירונא)

מקום: עתונות, ניו יורק

# U.S. TO CONTRIBUTE \$250 MILLION IN AID FOR PALESTINIANS

## TO BOLSTER PEACE PACKAGE

Administration Hopes to Raise  
\$2 Billion at a Conference  
of Donors Set for Oct. 1

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced yesterday that the United States would provide \$250 million over two years to help carry out the Israeli-Palestinian accord and called for an early international conference to more than match the American pledge.

The \$250 million is only a preliminary estimate based on hasty conversations with Congress over the weekend, other senior Administration officials said. The United States is expected to present a more comprehensive five-year aid package at the conference, which is tentatively scheduled for Oct. 1 in Washington, they added.

New York  
Times

Front Pg.

21-9

✓ 4.4.

About 60 percent of the aid will be in grants for public projects in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip and the rest in loans and loan guarantees to spur private investment.

שחח (2) סחה'יך (1) רהמ (1) מנכ'ל (2) מנכ'ל (1) מנכ'ל (1) מנג'ר (2)  
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178 סנקט פולין ניו-יורק ינואר 1983

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### World Bank Assesses Need

A World Bank study estimates that the Palestinians will need a minimum of \$300 million a year over the next decade for public projects, a figure that also reflects how much money a nascent Palestinian infrastructure can absorb. The bank has not estimated how much money will be needed or available for private investment.

The Palestine Liberation Organization, by contrast, has drawn up a far more ambitious plan that calls for an immediate infusion of \$2.5 billion in aid and \$11.6 billion by the year 2000.

The Administration is hoping to raise \$2 billion at the international conference for the next five years, including the American contribution,

In a speech at Columbia University yesterday in which he unveiled the Administration's strategy for the Middle East, Mr. Christopher emphasized the importance of providing money for Palestinian projects as soon as possible, both to maintain the momentum of the diplomatic breakthrough last week and to insure that the Palestinian experiment with self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho succeeds.

#### Who Will Be Invited

With Russia as co-sponsor and the World Bank handling much of the coordination and aid, Mr. Christopher said, the United States will invite foreign and finance ministers representing Europe, Japan, Canada and the wealthy Arab countries of the Persian Gulf, Israeli and Palestinian officials, and others, whom he did not name.

"The international community must move immediately to see that the agreement produces tangible improvements in the security and daily lives of Palestinians and Israelis," Mr. Christopher said in his address, which was

#### Continued From Page A1

jointly sponsored by the School of International and Public Affairs and the Council on Foreign Relations. "If peace is to be achieved, the agreement must be translated into results quickly and vividly."

In particular, Mr. Christopher said, money must be available immediately to curb unemployment "that robs families of hope and fuels extremism," build housing and roads and help develop the groundwork for public administration, tax collection and social services.

#### 'Needs Can Be Met'

Other officials said the money would also pay for technical help for holding elections, strengthening credit institutions, aiding farmers, organizing food imports and making it easy for foreign investment.

"Given the number and commitment of our international partners, we are confident these needs can be met," Mr. Christopher said. "And we will stimulate these supporters by our own example. Working with the Congress, we expect to assemble an initial two-year package worth \$250 million."

Senior Administration officials said they hoped that the world community could deliver at least \$100 million to

Continued on Page A12, Column 4

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\$200 million for "showcase" projects in the next two to three months. At the same time, they cautioned that the Palestinians must develop the administrative structures to receive and dispense the aid.

President Clinton will appoint a special coordinator to manage Palestinian aid and a task force of Jewish- and Arab-Americans to help the Administration develop joint projects and private investment, Mr. Christopher said.

But Mr. Christopher did not say and other officials could not explain why the United States was not being host to a more ambitious global conference that would include economically healthy countries with the ability to contribute aid, like Brunel, Singapore and Korea, as well as poorer countries that over the decades have embraced the Palestinian cause and could offer symbolically important contributions.

#### \$150 Million in Grants

The United Nations held a largely symbolic global conference of donors in 1986 to raise money to revive devastated African economies, although none of the donor nations made specific commitments on aid and debt relief.

About \$150 million of the \$250 million in American aid in the first two years will be in outright grants; the remainder will be in loans, loan guarantees and political risk insurance from the

Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a Government agency, to help American businesses invest in Gaza and Jericho.

By contrast, the United States gives Israel \$3 billion and Egypt \$2.1 billion a year in aid — more than one-third of the entire American foreign aid budget. Much of this aid is military.

In lobbying for an ambitious aid package for Russia in recent months, the Administration was faced with a growing chorus of lawmakers who suggested that Israel and Egypt might have to sacrifice some of their aid, which has remained fairly constant since the 1979 peace treaty between them.

But both Mr. Clinton and Mr. Christopher have vowed to maintain aid to Israel and Egypt at the current levels, and since last week's Israeli-Palestinian agreement, the sentiment on Capitol Hill is to pour more, rather than less, money into the region.

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115

1079 - נסגר -

75 - נסגר -

✓  
23.9.

בלם/מיידי

תאריך: 21 ספטמבר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטן

הנדון: הסיווע הכלכלי לפלסטינים

מצ"ב כתבת ה-AP (JOHN GOSKHO) וככתבת ה-DA (MARTIN SIEFF - F.P.) אודוות תכנית הסיווע הכלכלי לפלסטינים. מזכיר המדינה כריסטופר אמר אטמול כי בכוונתו ובכוונת הש"ח חרובי לנכון ועידיה של מדיניות שוננות במטרה לארגן סיוע כלכלי למשל עצמי של הפלסטינים בשתיים. מקור רשמי אמר כי בכוונת ארה"ב לגייס סיוע בסך 3 ביליאון דולר מדיניות העשירות בעולם וארה"ב עצמה תחרום 250 מיליון דולר למטרת הסיוע לפלסטינים.

### תקשורות

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3) אומן(1) יומש(1) משפט(1) צו זורצבאי(1) דוח-ים(1)

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1079, 75

WP

219

# U.S. Seeking \$3 Billion for Palestinians

## *Christopher Outlines Donors' Conference*

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States hopes to raise \$3 billion among the world's wealthiest nations to help finance Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and will contribute \$250 million to the effort, U.S. officials said yesterday.

In a speech at Columbia University in New York, Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced that the United States and Russia, cosponsors of the Middle East peace process, plan to convene a donors' meeting shortly of ministers from European, Asian and Persian Gulf states to put together the support package. He called the proposed conference the "first step" toward successful implementation of the epochal autonomy agreement endorsed by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat at the White House last week.

"The international community must move immediately to see that the agreement produces tangible improvements in the security and daily lives of Palestinians and Israelis," he said. "If peace is to be achieved, the agreement must be translated into results quickly and vividly."

In addition, Christopher said, President Clinton plans to establish a task force of Jewish and Arab Americans to spur investment in the area.

Looking beyond the need for financial help, the secretary of state called on Arab countries to "act boldly in support of peace" by recognizing Israel, ending the Arab economic boycott of the Jewish state and seeking repeal of anti-Israel resolutions still on the books of the United Nations. He also said the administration will ask Congress to nullify quickly U.S. laws barring PLO operations in this country.

Since the White House signing ceremony last week, U.S. officials have stressed the urgency of following up with actions to bolster the Israeli-PLO accord. Yesterday Christopher chose a prestigious audience of foreign policy experts and opinion makers—the Columbia faculty and the Council on Foreign Relations—to outline the minimum measures the administration believes are necessary if the accord is to withstand opposition from Middle Eastern political and religious extremists.

Christopher's speech also was intended to kick off a concerted effort by the administration to artic-

See MIDEAST, A15, Col 1

more ..

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cont.

1079, 75

## U.S. Seeks \$3 Billion for Palestinians

MIDEAST, From A13

ulate the main goals of its foreign policy. National security adviser Anthony Lake will deliver an address today on the underlying philosophy and assumptions of that policy. U.N. Ambassador Madeline K. Albright will speak Thursday on the administration's views on the use of force, and Clinton is scheduled to address the opening session of the U.N. General Assembly next Monday.

The \$3 billion assistance target was drawn from a recent World Bank estimate about what it would cost over the next 10 years to create the economic base necessary for successful implementation of self-rule in the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

The PLO has said that it believes \$8 billion to \$12 billion is required by the end of the decade to prevent chaos and possible widespread hunger in the territories, which are now occupied by Israel. But U.S. officials said yesterday that such higher estimates are unrealistic, and they noted that the two most detailed studies of the problem—done by the World Bank and economists sponsored by Harvard University—both concluded that \$3 billion is the limit of what the territories could absorb successfully during the next several years.

A senior U.S. official who spoke with reporters said the aim of the donors' conference will be "to make a very successful start on getting the \$3 billion," with an initial target of "several hundred million" dollars to be made available "in the next 18 months."

Christopher said representatives of Israel, the PLO and the World Bank would be invited to the conference, as would the foreign and finance ministers of the 12 European Community members, Japan, Canada, Saudi Arabia, the other Persian Gulf Arab states and the Nordic countries.

He did not specify a time and place. But senior U.S. officials, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said they expect the conference to take place in Washington, probably in conjunction with the annual meetings beginning next weekend of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and next month's session of the U.N. General Assembly. One set of dates under consideration is Oct. 1-3, officials said.

The aid, which U.S. officials expect to come in the form of cash grants, credits and low-interest loans, would be used most immediately to create jobs in Gaza, a poverty-stricken area with massive unemployment, and in Jericho, the town that is slated to become the first place in the West Bank to get autonomy.

The officials said that large-scale aid must be directed toward such infrastructure improvements as sanitation, water purification, public health and road construction. They said there also must be considerable attention to creation of institutions for such economic self-management necessities as tax collection, public administration and social services.

The proposed U.S. contribution of \$250 million would be spread over two years and would not involve any new burdens on American taxpayers, officials said, because the money would be siphoned from fiscal 1994 and 1995 foreign aid appropriations tentatively intended for other countries. The U.S. aid would consist of \$150 million in cash grants to provide advisers and other resources for technical assistance and \$100 million in loans and guarantees from the Overseas Private Investment Corp. (OPIC), whose operations are intended to encourage U.S. private investment in underdeveloped areas by absorbing part of the risk.

WT 2/19 F.P.



**Let there be peace:** PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat (right) greets Jordan's King Hussein with a kiss at the airport in Amman, Jordan. Story A11.

## Economic program would fuel peace

Christopher calls for \$3 billion aid

By Martin Sieff  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Secretary of State Warren Christopher called yesterday for a 10-year, \$3 billion economic program to "breathe life" into the Israel-PLO peace deal.

Speaking at Columbia University in New York, Mr. Christopher called for an international economic summit of finance and foreign ministers to approve the economic plan as soon as possible.

"The United States will convene a Conference to Support Middle East Peace," Mr. Christopher said. The United States and Russia "will invite foreign and finance ministers representing the Europeans, Japan and Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, Canada, the Nordic countries and others," he said.

"Just as the United States organized a successful international coalition to wage war in the Gulf, we now organize a new coalition ... to breathe life into the Israeli-Palestinian declaration of principles," he said.

"The purpose of this conference

will be to mobilize resources needed to make the agreement work," the secretary said. "The international community must move immediately to see that the agreement produces tangible results in the security and daily lives of the Palestinians and the Israelis."

Administration officials, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the summit is likely to be held in Washington and could be held by early October.

The U.S. officials said that many of the key ministers are due to be coming to the annual meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which begins in Washington next Tuesday; to this year's United Nations General Assembly session, which begins in New York next Monday; and to a meeting of Group of Seven (G-7) ministers in Washington starting Saturday.

The plan will seek to pump \$3 billion into the economies of the West Bank and Gaza over the next 10 years at the rate of \$300 million a

see AID, page A20

WT 2/19 F.P.

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1079, 75

## AID

*From page A1*

year, Mr. Christopher said. That rate has been estimated to be the most the area can effectively absorb, a senior U.S. official said.

The World Bank and an independent team of Israeli and Palestinian economists working in a Harvard University study have both estimated that the peace plan will require \$3 billion in aid over 10 years.

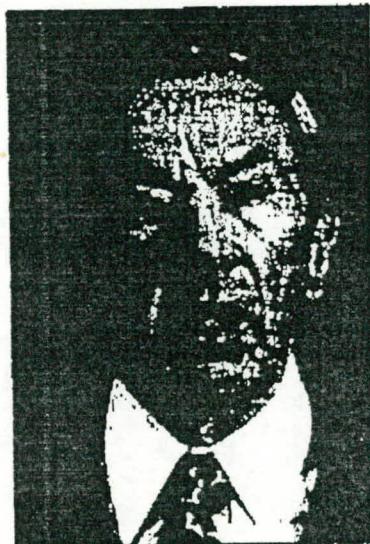
The United States was setting aside \$250 million in fiscal years 1994 and 1995 to put into the plan, the secretary said.

The U.S. aid package consists of \$150 million in technical assistance and \$100 million in loans, guarantees and equity contributions to be made through the Overseas Private Investment Council, the U.S. official said.

None of the U.S. contribution would require extra money to be approved by Congress, the U.S. official said. All of it would be reallocated from money already approved in the foreign aid budget.

However, the \$250 million would not come from funds already earmarked for aid to Israel, the official said.

The entire \$3 billion program will be administered by a steering committee already set up in the multilateral



Warren Christopher

eral talks on Israel-Arab peace as part of the so-called Madrid peace process, another senior administration official said.

"An important portion of this sum will be needed for a quick-start effort over the next year," Mr. Christopher said. "All agree we must take immediate steps to address the high unemployment rate that robs families of hope and fuels extremism in the West Bank."

"Housing, roads and other permanent improvements must be quickly developed. We must also act to provide assistance in public administration, tax collection and social services."

The aid will also be directed into labor-intensive programs for road maintenance, irrigation and housing, the first U.S. official said. Other projects will include moves improving sanitation and water supply and upgrading the transportation system, he said.

President Clinton "will appoint a task force of Jewish and Arab Americans to help us develop joint products — projects and private investment in the region," Mr. Christopher added.

He also called on the Arab nations to end their 44-year-old boycott of Israel immediately.

"The boycott is a relic of the past," the secretary said.

And he urged immediate action at next week's U.N. General Assembly meeting to revoke U.N. resolutions "that challenge Israel's very right to exist" and "to approve, unanimously this time, Israel's credentials at the U.N. General Assembly."

Mr. Christopher also called on Congress to amend legislation that inhibits the U.S. government from dealing with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

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1078 - מטה  
74 - מטה

בלטס/מיזיד

תאריך: 21 ספטמבר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, ווושינגטן

הנדון: פגישת חוסיין - ערפאת

✓  
23.9.

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP 21/9 (NORA BOUSTANY) אודוות פגישת ערפאת עם המלך חוסיין.

בכתבה ציטוטים מトーך התרטטו יוחיון של ערפאת בעקבות חפג'שה - ערפאת מקווה כי עד סוף השנה תוקם אדמונ'יטרציה פלסטינית ביריחו והוא יצליח לעבור לגור בעיר. עוד אמר ערפאת כי ב-10/13 יחולו דיוונים בין אש"ף וישראל לגביו. הפרטים חמניים של ההסכם שנחתם בוושינגטן בשבוע שעבר.

תקשורות

(ט) שחח (2) סחה'יה (1) רחם (1) מנכל (2) ממכל (1) ממכל (1) תכנו (1) מצפה (2)  
3 סמכנות תקשורת (1) תקשורת (2) סמכנאלט (1) ר/מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמו (4)  
אומו (1) יומש (1) משפט (1) צנזור צבאי (1) דוץ-ים (1) כתבת (1) כתבת (1)

# THIS fear In Jericho, Arafat Says

## *PLO Leader Upbeat After Talks in Jordan*

By Nora Boustany  
Washington Post Foreign Service

AMMAN, Jordan, Sept. 20—Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat said today that he expects to be in Jericho by the end of this year to see an embryonic Palestinian administration come to life following the accord with Israel on limited self-rule.

Arafat, after a ceremonial welcome and lunch with Jordan's King Hussein, Crown Prince Hassan and Prime Minister Abdel Salam Majali, said yesterday:

"Relations are to begin with Israel at Oct. 13 to work out practical details for the implementation of the accord signed last week in Washington.

"This will require two months and that means that either at the end of this year or the beginning of next year, God willing, I expect to go to Jericho—and Gaza," he announced beaming.

Arafat's good humor shifted to testiness, however, when an Arab journalist pushed him on the issue of economic cooperation with Israel and on whether there is an envisioned role for Jordan once the Palestinians manage to disengage from Israel politically and economically.

"This is a loaded question," Arafat protested. "Have you read the agreement? We are under colonial rule. Our gasoline is from them, our electricity is from them, our telephones. . . . This is an economy under occupation with all its meanings of hardship." The outburst underscored the pressure Arafat is encountering from Arab leaders who feel betrayed by him in his secretive negotiations with Israel and who wonder, after years of supporting him financially, what the economic benefits will be for them.

Arafat told reporters he is committed to an eventual confederation with Jordan, details of which must be "slowly" worked out with Hussein in keeping with the free will of both Palestinians and Jordanians.

Hussein has been lukewarm to the idea of a confederation, insisting that it is premature to speak of it until there is a Palestinian state.

Meanwhile, Hussein stressed that the accord does not affect the South Jordanian town of Taba.

He also said he will not

allow the U.S. to use Jordan

as a base for military operations

against Iraq or Iran.

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### ARAFAT OPTIMISTIC

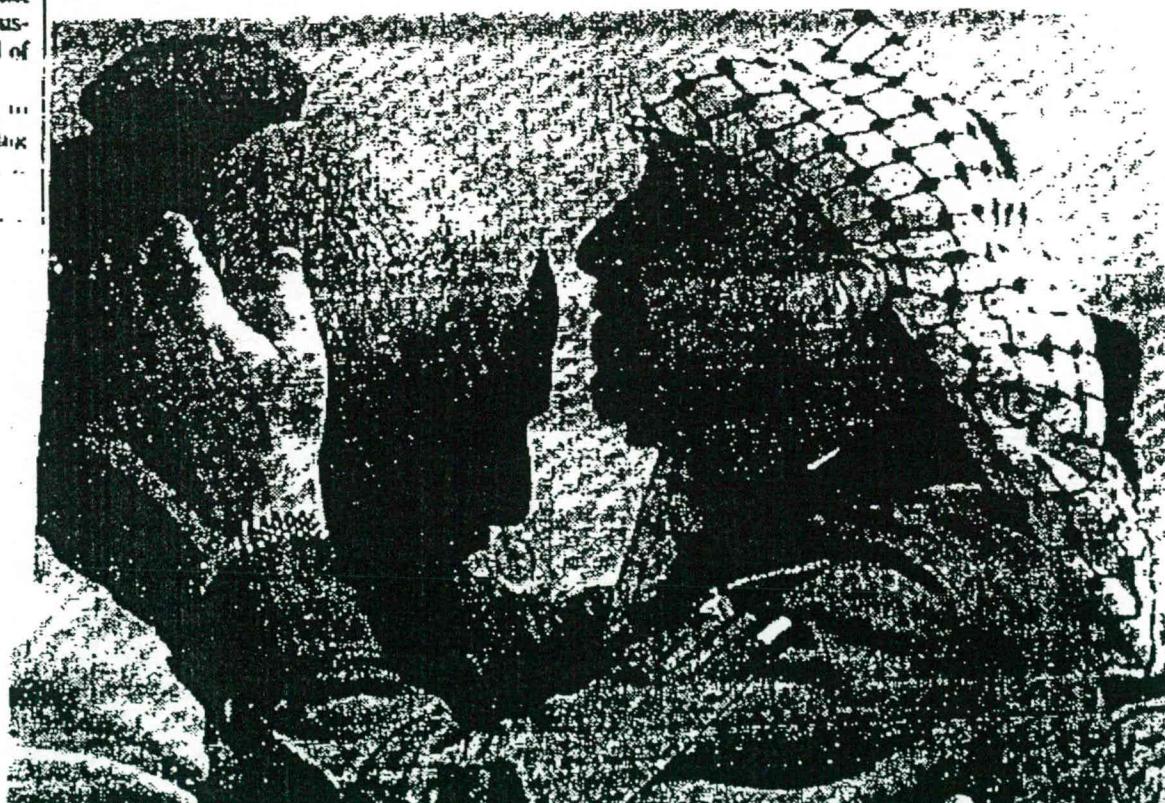
Yasser Arafat embraces Jordan's King Hussein on arrival in Amman. After talks, Arafat told reporters he expects to

be in Jericho before the end of the year to see the start of a Palestinian administration there. Story on Page A15

WP 219

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1073 - 505  
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13.9.

בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 21 ספטמבר 1993

אל: הפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וו.ש.ינ.גטו

חנדון: ישראל - סוריה

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (CARYLE MURPHY) וכותבת ה-WT (MARTIN SIEFF) - 21/9 העוסקות ביחסים שבין ישראל וسورיה. שתי המדינות אשר לפני כחודש נראו קרובות להגיא להסכם שלום, נראות כיום שוב רוחוקות מלהגיא להסכם משותף החסכם בין ישראל ואש"ף בעקבות השיחות החשאיות באירופה הרחיק את הانبנה בין שתי המדינות.

תקשורת

31 (1) שוויין (2) טשחיה (1) רחם (1) מנכל (2) ממנכל (1) תכנון (1) מצפה (2)  
סמכות תקשורת (1) תקשורת (2) סמכות שלום (1) ג'מרכז (1) ממד (4) רם (1) אמן (4)  
(1) אומן (1) יונמשו (1) חספאי (1) צוותה (1)

# Upset by peace pact, Syria may play spoiler

By Martin Sieff  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A month ago, Israel appeared to be closer to a peace agreement with Syria than with any other Arab entity, but such an accord now seems to be the least likely despite U.S. eagerness to see a deal concluded.

Syrian President Hafez Assad, who was surprised when Israel and

the Palestine Liberation Organization announced their historic agreement, spelled out his opposition to it in an interview with a leading Egyptian newspaper last week.

"There was no justification for these secret talks and, in my opinion, they [the PLO] have lost, as have the Arabs," the Cairo paper *al-Akhbar* quoted him as saying in an interview with its editor, Ibrahim Saadeh.

"No one has gained except Israel," the Syrian leader said, adding that his government "did not bless and did not support" the accord.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Syria's closest ally in the Palestinian movement, has declared its outright opposition to the accord, as have other Damascus-based Palestinian groups. Mr. Assad made clear he supports their stand.

Mr. Assad and Mr. Arafat have been bitter enemies for decades.

"When they demand in the West and Israel that we silence these groups, we say, 'Let [Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak] Rabin silence Likud,'" Mr. Assad told *al-Akhbar*, in a reference to Israel's nationalist opposition party, which opposes the deal with the PLO.

Mr. Assad also indicated he would not press rejectionist groups like the PFLP and the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), which is powerful in Gaza, to avoid conflict with the PLO.

"The possibility that problems will occur between them is a real one. The subject is not as simple as [PLO Chairman Yasser] Arafat

makes out," he said.

Mr. Assad's comments confirm a steady drumbeat of opposition to the Israel-PLO accord that has been coming out of the Syrian press, particularly the official government newspaper *Tishrin*, and friendly publications in Lebanon over the past three weeks.

Previously, U.S. diplomats paid little attention to the chorus, preferring to focus on the support for the U.S.-sponsored peace initiative that Mr. Assad pledged to Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Damascus in July, before the Israel-PLO deal was announced.

In mid-August, Israeli officials in Washington privately expressed the view that there would be dramatic progress on the Israel-Syria track at the 11th round of talks this month. But after Mr. Assad signaled his — at best — lukewarm reaction to the Israel-PLO agreement, they reassessed their view.

Mr. Rabin told Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Alexandria Sunday that Syria was flouting the Washington peace talks with Israel by continuing to support the Iranian-backed Hezbollah (Party of God) and other groups still waging war on the Jewish state.

"Syria gives refuge to 10 rejectionist groups, stopped an operation to deploy the Lebanese army in the south and does not make any move to restrain the Hezbollah. This contradicts negotiations for peace," a senior Israeli official accompanying Mr. Rabin told reporters.

Mr. Christopher had been eager to see rapid progress in the Israel-Syria negotiations.

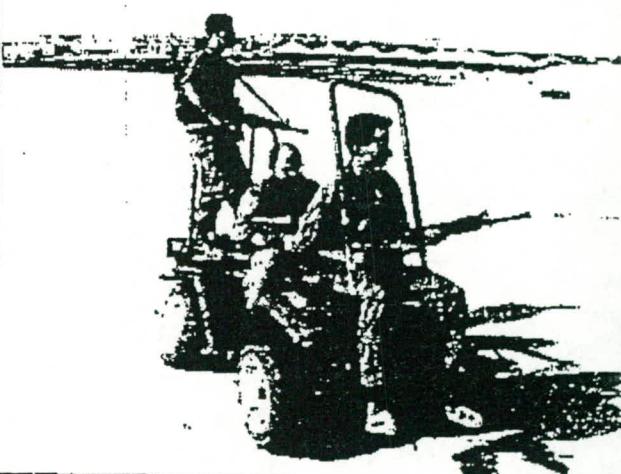
But his top advisers on the peace initiative, Ambassador-at-Large Dennis Ross and Martin Indyk, Middle East desk officer at the National Security Council, have advised him to "go easy" on Mr. Rabin so that he can concentrate on winning domestic support for his deal with the PLO, the sources said.

"There is a concern that Rabin could be overloaded if he is pushed too hard" on the Syrian front, one source said.

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An all-terrain vehicle driven by an Israeli settler carries soldiers patrolling prohibited Palestinians near the Bnei Azmon Settlement in the Gaza Strip.

WP 219

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# Assad: Only Israel Gains by Pact

## Syrian Says He Will Not Quiet Damascus-Based Opposition

By Carlyle Murphy  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, Sept. 20—Syrian President Hafez Assad, in his first detailed comments on last week's Palestinian-Israeli accord, has told an Egyptian daily that only Israel gained from the agreement and that Syria will not move to avert likely intra-Palestinian conflict over the historic pact.

"There was no justification for these secret talks and in my opinion they [the Palestine Liberation Organization] have lost, as have the Arabs," Assad told Al Akhbar editor Ibrahim Saada. "No one has gained except Israel."

"The possibility that problems will occur between [Palestinians] is a real one," he said in the interview conducted last Thursday and published today. "The subject is not as simple as [PLO leader Yasser] Arafat makes out . . . Syrian mediation in this matter could not happen."

Assad portrayed himself as a victim of Palestinian ingratitude, expressed pique at not being privy to the secret talks between Israel and the PLO that led to the pact, and complained that he did not know the full terms of it.

"Yes, the surprise was painful, especially as we know our brothers in the Palestinian revolution better than others do," said Assad, who for years has sought to dominate exiled Palestinian politics and the Arab struggle against Israel.

"I personally spend three-quarters of my time on them and we have postponed many critical Syrian

issues because of them," he added. "I volunteered to fight for Palestine when I was 16 years old. There was no justification for us to mobilize our economy for 40 or 50 years to serve the Palestinian cause."

Assad told Al Akhbar he will not silence Damascus-based PLO factions and Islamic fundamentalist movements opposed to the accord. "I say when they demand in the West and Israel that we silence these people . . . we say it is up to [Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak] Rabin to silence Likud."

"We were very clear. We did not bless [the accord] and we did not support it," Assad said. "If we wanted to oppose the agreement, we could have made it fail."

Assad, who has been a bitter rival of Arafat for years, having once even jailed him, suggested he had done the PLO leader a favor by receiving him after the agreement. "Arafat says he thanked me for my advice. I told him only to unite the people, unite the citizens so that there will not be massacres. I told him we will not stand in the way, and for that he thanked me three times," Assad said.

Arafat's decision to go into secret talks with Israel angered the other Arab parties to the U.S.-sponsored formal peace talks in Washington. For months, they and Arafat had promised each other to coordinate negotiating strategies and reject any solo accord with Israel so as to have a "comprehensive peace" with the Jewish state.

Despite his displeasure at last week's accord, Assad told Al Akh-

bar he will continue negotiating with Israel. But asked if there would be an Israeli-Syrian declaration of principles in the next few months, he suggested that the recent events had delayed progress on this.

"What we see at the moment does not suggest that," he said.

Meanwhile, a day after hearing Arafat defend his agreement with Israel, Arab League foreign ministers today called the accord "an important step toward realizing the land-for-peace principle," but said it "must be completed by immediate steps . . . to guarantee Israeli withdrawal from the entire Syrian Golan," as well as the West Bank and southern Lebanon. Only Iraqi Foreign Minister Mohammed Saeed Sahhaf declined to support the declaration, League sources said.

אאא, חוזם: 26129

אל: רהmesh/1285

מ-: המשרד, תא: 210993, זח: 1031, דח: ב, סג: בל,

ביבב

בלמייס/בחול

ו' בתשרי תשנ'ד  
21 בספטמבר 1993

731821

אל : השגריר ליהדות, בריסל, עברו יהודה מילוא  
מאת : סמנצ'יל כלכלה

הנדון: סיעוע לפתח הכלכלי באזורי

2.9.

להלן סיכום שיחות עם דניס רוס, מרטין אינדיין (בית  
לבן - מחריד) קיר קווכוסר ורם שופרה (בנק עולמי).

1) אני פוסח על הדיווחים על ועידת התורמות שפרטיה כבר ידועים לכם.  
בנפרד גם הוכר נאומו של המזקיר. כידוע האמריקאים עובדים בהנחה  
שהמפגש של שרי החוץ והאוצר יהיה ב-10/10 בושינגטון. שלשת התחומיים  
לטיפול הכנסת יהיו העניין הכספי, הגדרת הצריכים המידדיים (מידי מוגדר כ-3  
חדרים) והגדרת הצריכים לטוחה הביניות.

2) לא כל התורמות הפורטנצייאליות הגדרו את רמת התורמות - כך למשל  
יפאן וערב הסעודית וארה'ב ממשיכה להזע עליהן. לתרומה הפנימית של 900  
מיליון דולר אין עדיין אישור.

האמריקאים עצם מדברים על 150 מיליון דולר כחלק מהסיעוע הקיים כבר  
(מתכניות שלא נוצלו) ו-180 מיליון באשראי M.C.P.O. ומקורות אחרים.

3) סה'כ הסיעוע שעליו האמריקאים מתכנים מכל המקורות הם 2.5 ביליאון  
долר ל-5 שנים.

4) הבנק העולמי קיבל עד כה התייבויות משנה מקורות ל-TRUST FUND  
שהוא רוצה להקים לצורך עירכת סקרי התיכנות (35 מיליון לשטחים ו-  
9 מיליון לאזורי כבולה). ארה'ב הסכימה לחתם 5 מיליון ואילו 5 פלוס עדיין  
אין תשובה ממערב הסעודית, כמצגת המפרץ, והקהליה.

5) הבנק מצא את הדרך החוקית להקצת 50 מיליון דולר מתוך רוחבי הבנק  
לאשראי בתנאים נוחים ביותר וזאת מבלוי להכנס לכל שאלת הסובראניות  
וכו'. (האשראי ניתן ל-40 שנה בריבית של חצי אחוז).

6) הבנק מתכוון לשלוח משלחת סקר לאיתור פרויקטים מיידיים כבר בתחום אוקטובר (קובעוסר כבר שוחח על כך לדבריו עם ערפאת כאשר הניל ביקר בושינגטן).

-2-

7) הוכוחה העיקרי נטווש וימשך סביב השאלה של מיסוד הסיווע הצד התורמות. ארה'ב והבנק העולמי עובדים בצוותה משותפת כאשר הבנק העולמי מהווה במתווה האמריקאי חוליה מרכזית באיתור התכניות והפרויקטים ובכימונם. המתווה הזה עדין לא סגור ולאמריקאים עדין לא ברור מה הקשר בין התורמות לבין קבוצות העבודה המולטיטרליות וקבוצת ההיגוי. הקהילה מושכת לכיוונה היא מותך רצון לנחל את כל גושא פיתוח השטחים. האמריקאים רוצים לנצל את מעמדם כבונתי היחסות לתחlixir ולמנות קבוצת ההיגוי קבוצה שתנהל את הסיווע תחת מטרית המסלול המולטיטרלי (אבל לא קבוצת העבודה הכלכלית שלה!). התכנון הוא לקיים דיוון בדרגת מומחים בסוף השבוע כדי להכין את מפגש שרי החוץ והאוצר ותזואה האופרטיבית שהאמריקאים רוצים להגיע אליה היא הקמת קבוצה של התורמות שתפעל כגוף קבוע.

הבעיה מחייבתנו שמסלול כזה 'הורג' את קבוצת העבודה לפתוח אזורוי שכן יוצע לה מסלול מתחירה עם כספים ועם מגנון קבוע ובכך עלולות גם תכניות פתח אזורוי ולפחות מגנוון הדברים להעלם. העליתי את העניין לפני דג'רג'יאן והוא הסכים שאכן זו בעיה. אני חוזר על כך שהחישתי היא שארה'ב לא נלהכת, בלשון המטהה, לערב את קבוצת העבודה הכלכלית כדי למנוע מהקהיליה תפקיד מרכז'. לעומת זאת מישיותם עם אנשי הבנק העולמי ונציגי הקהיליה כאן נראה לי שלפחות אנשי ה-1.D.G. מפתחים רעיון בכיוון השתלטות הקהיליה על כל עניין הסיווע ואין לי ספק שאFIELD אם ימצא פתרון, הקהיליה תפעל בילטרלית מול הפלשינאים.

### שנה טרבה.

עורך ערך

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, רחם (רחבת), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל שלום, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, רם (רמן), ר'אגת, תכנון, ממד, מצפה, ערון, כלכלי חב', סמנכ"ל אופנה, מק' א, מא' א, רחטמצה, ישראל ערב, יועש, זך/מחפ' ש

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אאאא, חוזם: 27726  
אל: רהmesh/1335  
מ-: ני, נר: 2025, תא: 210993, זח: 1730, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
סודי/מיידי

אל: ממנכל, מצפה, מזתים  
דע: שגרירות וושינגטון, כלכלית ג'  
מאת: קונכל ניו יורק

23.9.

הנדון: סיווע לשטחים

1. היום התקיים מפגש בין נציגי הארגון הארצי של העربים האמריקניים NAAA (זוגבי וחלילג'אן) ונציגי הקונגרס היהודי האמריקני (ליפטון) ושלום עכשו (פרסבורג) במחמד. המפגש זומן על ידי דרג'יאן לצורך התיעוץ בנושא הסיווע לשטחים.
2. מצד הعلاה דרג'יאן הקושי שבתאים בין הגופים השונים אשר יטפלו בנושא, מחמד, משרד האוצר, והסוכנות להשקעות פרטיות OPI. כמו כן דיבר על הרעיון להקים 'ועדה מיעצת' יהודית-ערבית. תגوبות הנוכחים היהודיים לרעיון היה שילנית.
3. הפתח דיוון על מהותן של תכניות פתוחה - כך למשל הביעו חלק מהnocחים דעות נגד תכנית פתוחה נמל בעזה. כן הועלה המלצה לשرين כספים לפרויקטים קטנים - אשר יהיו מקור פרנסה לתושבים.
4. הנוכחים היהודיים העלו את נושא החרם היהודי. תגوبת דרג'יאן הייתה חיובית.

קולט אביטל  
21 ספט 93

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, רהמ (שהבט), מנכ, מנכ, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, רם (אמן), ר'אגת,  
תכנון, ממד, מצפה, רחטמות, ישראלערב, ערן,  
כלכליתב', כלכליתג'

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אָאָא, חֹזֶם: 26192  
אַל: רְהַמֵּשׁ/1283  
מַ-: וּוֹינָה, נָר: 2015, תְּא: 210993, זָה: 0900, דָח: ב, סָג: סָו  
כְּכָבָב  
סּוֹדִי / בָּהּוֹל

אַל : מְמַנְכִּיל

דָע : ס/שָׁה'ח, הַמְנַכִּיל

מַאת: הַשְּׁגָרִיר / וּוֹינָה

הַנְּדוֹן : אַרְהֵ'ב - אַשְׁ'פ

מִפְּי הַמּוֹרֵנה האַמְּרִיקָנִי בוֹינָה, ב-20 דָנָא:

1. מַחְמֵיד הַנְחָתָה אֶת שְׁגָרִירִיה בְחוּלִיל שֶׁלֹא לִיזְוֹם מְגֻעִים / קְשָׁרִים / שִׁיחָה עִם נְצִיגִי אַשְׁ'פָ לְהֹזֵיא לְחִיצּוֹת יְדִים בָּאֲרוּעִים רְשָׁמִים / חְבָרִתִים. הַוָּא סִיפֶר זָאת גַם לְרָאשׁ הַאָגָף לְמִזְה'ח בְּמִזְה'ח האַוּסְטָרִי.

2. בַּן שִׁיחָי תְּרֵץ זָאת בְּכָךְ שְׁמַחֵמִיד מְבָקֵשׁ:

א. לְבָחֹזָן רְצִינּוֹת אַשְׁ'פָ.

ב. לְהַבְּלִיט אֶת הַבְּדָלִי הַמְעַמֵּד בֵּין נְצִיגִי מִדִּינָה לְבֵין נְצִיגִים של אַרְגּוֹן.

הַבְּיַל מִכְהֵן כָּמִ' הַשְּׁגָרִיר (בְּהַעֲדָרוֹתוֹ) זֶה כְּחַצִּי שָׁנָה.

גָמָר חֲתִימָה טוֹבָה.

יַוְסֵף גּוּבְּרִין

תְּפֹוֹצָה: שָׁחָח, סְשָׁחָח, (רְהַמֵּם), מְמַנְכָל, מְמַנְכָל, מַצְבָּה, תְּכִנּוֹן, מַצְפָּא,  
רְחַטְמֹזָת, יִשְׂרָאֵל עָרֶב, סְמַנְכְּלָשָׁלוֹם, ר/מְרַכְזָ,  
מְמַד, (רְמָם), (אַמְּזָן), (עַמִּיתָה 475)

אאא, חוזם: 27714  
 אל: רהmesh/ 1334  
 מ-: ניו-יורק, נר: 604, תא: 210993, זח: 1711, דח: ר, סג: בל,  
 בכבב  
 9, 257886  
 9, 233388  
 9, 753100  
 12514  
 בלמי/ס/רגיל

251.01

אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה'ב  
 מע'ת

דעת: וושינגטון

מאת: תקשורת/ ניו-יורק.

הנדון: ההתפתחויות בתקשורת

1. הסיקור בנושא התחלה מוצטמצם. ב NY אודות הצהרת כריסטופר על ממצוי  
 גיוס האמצעים הפיננסיים שתיזום ארה'ב. כמו'כ הברמן מדרוך כל תחילת  
 הדיוון בכנסת וגורס שהמפתח בידי הרב עובדייה יוסף. מסוריה (شمידט) שלמרות  
 שלטונו האיתן של אסד מרגש אי שקט בעקבות ההסכם עם אש'פ.

2. הקונכיל התראיינה בלוס אנג'לס לתוכנית הפופולרית  
 THE MICHAEL JACKSON RADIO SHOW (לא קשורה לזמר) ולתוכנית טלוויזיה  
 מקומית יהודית.

תקשורת / ניו-יורק.

גידי מרק  
 21 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, רהמ, רהמ (שהבט), מנכט, מנכט, תכנון,  
 מוצב, סמנכל תקשורת, תקשורת, מוצב 2, לעמ',  
 סמנכל שלום, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, רם (אמן),  
 אמן, דוץ, וחו'ב, צנזור צבאי, מצפה

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אָאָאָא, חֹזֶם: 27820  
אַל: רְהַמְּשׁ/1354  
מַ-: רֹוֹשׁ, נְרָ: 2088, תְּאָ: 210993, זְחָ: 1935, דְּחָ: מַ, סְגָ: סְוָרָן  
בְּכָכָב  
סּוֹדִי/מִידִי

אַל: מְמַנְכָּיל

מָאתָ: הַשְּׁגָרִיר, וּוּשְׁיַנְגָּטוֹן

1. דָּרָג בְּכִיר בַּבֵּית הַלְּבָן הַתְּקַשֵּׁר (בִּזְמַתּו) בִּיחַס לְמַאֲמָר שַׁהְתִּפְרַסֶּם לְאַחֲרוֹנָה  
בְּיַוּשְׁיַנְגָּטוֹן פּוֹסְט' וּלְפִיו הַרְפּוּרָמָה בְּסִיוּעַ הַחֹזֶן עַלְוָלה לְפָגּוּעַ בְּסִיוּעַ לִיְשָׂרָאֵל  
(וּמְצָרִים).

2. בִּיקַשׁ לְמַסּוּר כִּי הַדְּבָרִים מַוְפָּרְכִּים וְחַסְדִּי שָׁחָר, וְכִי מַבְחִינָתֶם לֹא צְפּוּיהָ כָּל  
פָּגִיעָה כְּזֹאת.

רְבִינּוּבִּיךְ.

תְּפַרְצָה: שָׁחָח, סְשָׁחָח, (רְהַמְּ), מְמַנְכָּיל, מְצָפָא

סְסָסָס

9.22

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27723, חוזם:  
אל: רהmesh/1342  
מ-: **רונש**, נר: 2087, תא: 210993, זח: 1710, דח: מ, סג: סב,  
ביבב  
**סודי ביזור / מיידי**

אל: רוח'ם, שה'ח, ס'שה'ח, מנכ'ל

מאת: השגיר, **וושינגטן**

=====  
מכח מובruk  
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להלן מספר מחשבות ופרטים לגבי הוועידה של האחד באוקטובר ומהלכים אחרים  
הקשורים בהמשך קידום תהליך השלום מפי חברים בכירים בצוות השלום  
האמריקאי:

1. אמריקאים רואים את ועידת שרי החוץ ושרי האוצר של האחד באוקטובר  
כארוע של קבוצת התיאום לשיחות המולטילטראליות ולכון כארוע הנערך בحسب  
אמריקאית-רוסית.

2. יש כאן, ללא ספק, מגמה לוודא המשך ההגמוניה האמריקאית בניהול התהליך  
כאשר החשש האמריקאי העיקרי הינו מנסיון הקהילה האירופית לכנסות עצמה  
מעמד מוביל. האמריקאים מעוניינים בהשתתפות הקהילה, אך טוענים שעד כה לא  
הוכיחה יכולתה לתרום בפועל במיוחד בתחום הכספי.

3. לקרה ועידת האחד באוקטובר וכתוכאה ממנה יבוא, לדעת האמריקאים הזמן  
להחליט על הסטרוקטורה שהנהל מאמצי ההשקעה והഫיתוח בשטחים. האמריקאים  
מתכוונים להביא להחלטות בנושא זה בימים הקרובים כשהם מתמקדים בעובדת  
'הרועים' ב-27 ספט'.

4. במקביל פועלים האמריקאים בחזיתות שונאות לקידום הרעיוןנות שהוועל בנסיבות  
המוצביר - הצלחה ראשונית מסתמנת אצל התוניסאים כאשר שה'ח בן-יחיא הביע  
נכונות עקרונית לפגישה עם שה'ח סביב העצרת, כאשר הוא מסיג הסכמתו בכך  
שהיא תעריך 'بنסיבות המתאיימות' והרחק מן התקשורת.

5. בן-יחיא חושב במונחים של התקדמות מקבילה גם בביטול החלטות האו'ם  
ואולי אף להביא לסיום מטבח הלוחמה בין ישראל והערבים באמצעות העצרת.  
(להערכתי, יתקל כל מהלך כזה בתנגדות סורית נמרצת שכן הסורים רואים את  
ביטול מטבח הלוחמה כאחד הכלים החשובים המזויים באמצעות לצורך המואם  
הבילטרלי איתנו.

רביינוביין.

תפוצה: (רָהָם), שָׁחָח, סָשָׁח, מָנָכָל

ססס

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27468  
אל: רהmesh 1345/  
מ-: רוש, נר: 2086, תא: 210993, זח: 1200, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
סודי/מיידי

אל: מתאם השיחות הרב צדריות

amate: היועץ המדיני, וושינגטון

הנדון: פלייטים-הפגש בתוניס

משיחה עם איש צוות השлом העוסק בנושא:

א. הוא מקווה כי ישראל והפלסטינים עדים מיחסים חשיבות למפגש בתוניס  
וישתדרו להבטיח הצלחתו.

ב. הכרזה על כינון הוועדה המתמדת במסגרת ה- DOP שאמורה לטפל בין היתר  
בuckורי 1967, עשויה להתקבל מאד בחוב בתוניס בעת המפגש.

ג. שוחח לאחרונה עם ابو עלאה ושאל אותו לגבי שיפור תנאי החיים בשטחים  
והלה השיב כי הוא רוצה כ-200 מיליון דולר ו-5000 פלסטינים יוחזרו  
במסגרת האחים.

כאשר איש צוות השлом סיפר לבן שיחו על השינוי האخرון במדיניות של ישראל  
בנושא אחמים, העיר ابو עלאה כי הוא מתכוון להמשת אלפים איש מעבר למה  
שהוצע על ידי ישראל.

ג' רמי ישכרוף

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, רהמ (0), שחbat (0), מנכט, מנכט, סמנכלסלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז (0), רם (0), אמן (0), ר'אגת (0),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפה, ביין, כהנא, הדס (0), זך/מחפש

אאא, חוזם: 27800

אל: רהmesh/1352

מ-: וושינגטן, נר: 564, תא: 210993, זח: 1931, דח: ר, סג: בל,

ביבב

בלמס/רגיל

אל: הסברה, מצפ"א, כלכלית, תפוצות

מאת: הסברה וושינגטן

הנדון: פגישה יהודית-ערבית ממחמ"ד בנושא הכלכלי

1) בהמשך לניסיונות ה- CONGRESS J.A. לארגון מסגרת של שת"פ יהודי ערבי להשקעות בשטחים (ראו דוחה הציר בנפרד) יוזם ג'יימס זוגבי פגישה אצל ג'רג'יאן של יהודים וערבים בנושא זה.

2) משתתפי הפגישה היהודים יצגו את המרכיב הליברלי בקשה הפליטית היהודית. נכחו בו ביליפטן, דויד ספרטין, סטנלי שיינבאוום, שרה ארמן ויגיל פרסבורג. מצד הערבי נכחו זוגבי, חיליל ג'חשן, ג'וּן אבר ג'יידר, ויג'ורג סלם.

3) לפי דוחה של גיל פרסבורג אמר ג'רג'יאן כי תוקם ועדת בין-משרדית במשל לבודק את בעיית הסיווע. במשל רוצחים להתקדם מהר אך באופן מסודר. גם מתחום מודעותתו לключи לגיס כסף ממשתי מעוניין המשל בעידוד השקעות פרטיות בשטחים. ג'רג'יאן הדגיש עם זאת כי על הפלשתינים לגלות אחריות, הם אינם יכולים להסתפק בדרישת סיוע אלא חייבים להראות שהם פועלים באופן מסודר ושיטה לפיתוח.

4) המשתתפים הסכימו לצורך בשת"פ בין אנשי עסקים יהודים וערבים ע"מ להשקיע בשטחים. הערבים הסכימו לעמדת היהודית כי השקעה אסורה לה שתפגע בכלכליות הירדנית והישראלית ובכוחו של ישראל וכן דברו על חשיבות העמלה הדמוקרטיה בחברה הפלשתינית.

5) בעניין אחר הוסיפה ג'יל כי ברצונה לפרסם ED-OP על "האחריות הפלשתינית" בהקשר להסכם ביןם ובין ישראל ומה עליהם לעשות כדי להוכיחו שמדובר בדיונים. ברכנו על מגמתה זו.

בברכת שנה טוביה,

ברקן

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (רהם), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, חכנוון, מצפה,  
סמנכלתקשות, קשות, ערן, כלכליתב', חפוץות,  
רחמת, ישראלערב, ר/מרכז, ממד, (רמ),  
(אמן), (מתאושטחים)

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27797  
אל: רהmesh/1350  
מ-: וושינגטן, נ-: 563, תא: 210993, ז-: 1848, ד-: מ, ס-: ש, מ-:  
ביב  
שמור/מיידי

10-

אל : מנהל מצפה

מאת : השגריר, וושינגטן

1. משל קלינטון החל ביום אללה בהצגה שיטתיות ומקפת של דוקטורינה מדיניות החוץ שלו. השבוע שעבר מזכיר המדינה, ווילר כריסטופר, והוצע לבתוון לאותם שתי הרצאות פרוגרמטיות על מדיניות החוץ של ארה"ב, ובקרוב צפויו הצגת דברים נוספת על ידי השגרירה לאו"מ, מדلين אולברייט.

2. נאומו של כריסטופר התקדם בזרחה התקיכון, או ליתר דיוק בתהיליך של השלום הישראלי-ערבי. הוא הציג תכנית פעהלה לימיים ולשבועות הקרובים, שבמרכזם ועידה שרי החוץ והאוצר המיעודת ל-1 באוקטובר והפעילות הצפויה סיבוב עצרת האו"ם. תכליתה של פעילות זאת היא לנצל את המומנטום שנוצר ב-13 ספטמבר, לשמר את התנופה ולהעניק את תחילicity הפisos והנורמליזציה. מטיבם הדברים, רוצה ארה"ב להוביל את התהיליך, להפסיק כמעט שעודה זאת ולזכות את הממשלה באשראי המתאים מבית ומחוץ.

3. לחלק עיקרי זה של הנאום נספו עוד שתי פסקאות בהן ניצל המזכיר את ההישג שהושג בתהיליך של השלום הישראלי-ערבי על מנת להציג את הרבותה שבניהול מדיניות חוץ אמריקאית פעהלה ועל מנת לדבר בזכותה של פעילות מולטי-לטראלית.

4. הרצאו של טוני ליביק ניתנה תחת הכותרת **FROM CONTAINMENT TO ENLARGEMENT** ובמרכזו התיזה שבעולם של היום צריכה ארה"ב לעبور מאסטרטגיית הבלימה שאיבדה את טעם האסטרטגיה של הרחבה, שיקלה יצירת קהיליה גדולה ככל האפשר של חברות דמוקרטיות בעלות שוק חופשי.

5. לאסטרטגיה זאת, אליבא דלייק, ארבעה מרכיבים עיקריים :

א. חיזוק קהיליות הדמוקרטיות הקיימות, שהיא הגרעין עליו צרייך תהיליך ההרחבה להתבסס.

ב. הצורך לעודד ולבסס צמיחה מושרים דמוקרטיים וככללות שוק ביחידת מדיניות מפתח.

ג. הצורך לבנות תוקפניים העוינניים לרעיונות אלה.

## ד. קידום האגנדה הhomonietrist של אריה"ב.

6. בהמשך הדברים, פיתח לייק רעיונות אלה וכן השמייע מסרים דומים לאלה בהם סיים כריסטופר את הרצאתו שלו.

7. עתה תהיה למדיניות החוץ של ממשל קלינטון "תעודת זהות" מוגדרת יותר. עם זאת, ברி שיריביו ומקיריו של הממשל ינעו את شيئا ועתיהם בחומר הכתוב המונח עתה לפנייהם.

8. מבחינה ישראלית יש מעלה בכך שמצויר המדינה בוחר להשתבח בהישגים של תהליכי השלום ומשתמש בהם על מנת להדגים יתרונותיה של מדיניות חוץ פעילה. בחודשים קודמים בהם לא הניב תהליכי השלום פרות ברורים עלו ספקות באשר למוטיבציה של הממשל ובאשר למקום שיוקצה למזה"ת באגנדה הכללית ובאגנדה מדיניות החוץ של הממשל. בכך חל בעיליל شيئا.

רבינוביין

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, רהמ, מנכל, מנכ"ל, מצב, חכנוון, מצפה,  
סמנכלשלום, רביב, ר/מרכז, ממד, רם, רם (אמן)

ססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 27459  
אל: רהmesh/1343  
מ-: וושינגטן, נר: 523, תא: 210993, זח: 1254, דח: מ, סג: ש,  
ביבב  
שמור/ מיידי

אל : ממ"ד, חט' מז"ה, מצפ"א

דע : אגף השלום

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטן

הנדון: ישראל - מדיניות המפרץ

מ. 5.  
ל. 2.

1. נפגשתי (9/20) עם גב' מרגרט דין, מנהלת חצי האי ערב במחמ"ד (NEA), לבדוק יחסן של מדינות המפרץ להסכם הישראלי - פلس' והשלכות לכך על גישתן לישראל. להלן מדבריה:

2. הגירסה הרשמית המושמעת במדיניות המפרץ היא של שביעות רצון מהמהלך הישראלי - פلس' ותמייה בהסכם בין ישראל לאש"פ. עם זאת, הזמן עדיין אינו בשל למחאות לישראל, כיון שהמפרציות אינן רוצחות להראות כמו שנותנות פרט לישראל אם יחברו שכונתה הבסיסית היה רק לשפר היחסים עם מדיניות ערב ולא השגת הסכם אמיתי עם הפלס'. יש במפרץ מדיניות (לא פרטה) הסבורה שערפאת נתן לישראל יותר מדי, למשל הכרה, וקיביל פחותה מדי. להערכתה, משמעות התגובה המפרצית היא, שמדובר מדי לדבר על מלחכים מול ישראל ויש להמתין ולראות כיצד מתפתח המומ"מ. עוד העריכה, שהמפרציות יפעלו כקבוצה ויפעלו בהתאם לדרך בה ינהגו הסعودים.

3. המispiel מתכוון לנצל פתיחת העצרת הכללית של האו"ם כדי לפנות ברמות גבוהות לנציגים הבכירים של מדיניות המפרץ שיבאו לעצרת ולבקש מהם לפועל בשלושה נושאים - חרם, הכרה וסיווע כספי. להערכתה ירשמו הצלחה רק בנושא האחרון של גיוס כספים לפROYיקטים לשיקום כלכלת השטחים. בנושא החרם ציינה, שאין הם מצלחים לשכנע מדיניות מפרץ ללבת בעקבות כוותית ולהודייע בפומבי על שינוי המדיניות בנושא החרם המשני והשלישוני. הפגישות המתוכננות בשולי העצרת הן כדרקמן: סגן הנשיא גור יפגש עם הכוויתים, המזכיר יפגש עם ה-GCC (כבוצעה) ועם הסعودים, תחת המזכיר טרנוף יפגש עם מע"מ וקטר וdag'רג'יאן עם בחריין ותימן. עם העומאנים ישוחחו ב-12-13 אוקטובר בוושינגטן, במסגרת דיון בילטרלי שניתי. (בראש הצד האמריקני יעמוד המזכיר).

4. לפגש התורמות ב - 1 באוקטובר הוזמנו מהמפרץ רק נציגי סעודיה. אמרה שלא התייעכו עמה בנושא זה והביעה הפתעה על שלא הוזמנו נציגי מדיניות מפרציות אחרות.

5. לדעתה תהיה השפעה חיובית להתייחסות המפרציות כלפי ישראל אם מדיניות

אליה תקבלנה פניה מרפאת, בה יאמר שישנו היחס לישראל יסייע לפלסטינים. הצעיה שנפעל בכוון זה, תוך מודעות למיגבלות הפעולה של מרפאת במדינות המפרץ.

לשנו יער 16

תפוצה: שחח,SSHACH, רהם, RAM, שחבט, SHABAT, מנכל, MANCAL, סמנכלשלום, RABIVIB, R/MARCAZ, מצב, RAM, אמן, AMAN, ריאגת, REAGAT, חכנון, MMD, רחטמזה, ISRAEL, מצלפה, BIIN, ארבל, ARBEL

ססס

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\*\*\*אָאָאָא, חֹזֶם: 27460  
אַל: רְהַמְּשׁ/1344  
מְ-: וּוֹשִׁינְגְּטוֹן, נְ-: 522, תְּ-: 210993, זְ-: 1254, דְ-: מ, סְ-: שָׁמֶן,  
בְּכָכָב  
שְׁמֹרֶר/מִידִי

אַל: לְשַׁכַּת מַנְכָּל

דְּעַ: מִמְּדָ, מַצְפָּא

מָאת: חַשְׁגְּרִירָה, וּוֹשִׁינְגְּטוֹן

הַנְּדוֹן: אַרְהַב - מְגֻעִים עִם אַשְׁפָּע  
שְׁלַכְמָה חֹזֶם 252561. מִשְׁיחָה עִם מִנְחָלִי הַמְּחַלְקָה הַעֲרָבִיָּה ב-NEA מִסְתָּבֵר, שֶׁכָּל הַנְּצִיגְוִוִּית  
הַדִּיפְלוּמִיטִית שֶׁל אַרְהַב קִיבְּלוּ הַנְּחִיּוֹת מִדּוֹקָנָה כִּיצְדֵּקָה לְנָהָג בְּנָשָׂא מִפְגָּשִׁים עִם  
נְצִיגִים שֶׁל אַשְׁפָּע.

2. לְפִי הַתְּמוֹנָה (הַחֲלִקִית) שֶׁבְּיַדְבּוּ, חַוְלְקוּ הַנְּצִיגְוִוִּית ל-3 קַטְגּוֹרִיּוֹת:

א. בְּמַעַגֵּל הַרְאֵשׁוֹן - שָׁגְרִירִוּת שְׁהוֹסְמָכוּ לְנֶהָל מְגֻעִים עִם אַנְשֵׁי אַשְׁפָּע - תּוֹנִיס,  
דָּמָשָׁק, עַמְּאָן, קָהִיר וּוּרְוַשָּׁלִים.ב. בְּמַעַגֵּל הַשְׁנִי - קְבוּצָת נְצִיגְוִוִּית (לֹא פִּירּוֹת), שָׁאוֹשֵׁר לְהַן לְפָגּוֹשׁ אַנְשֵׁי אַשְׁפָּע  
לְפִי הַצּוֹרָךְ וּשְׁיעֹודְכָנוּ בַּתְּמוֹנָה הַכְּלִילִתָּה שֶׁל הַמְּגֻעִים עִם אַשְׁפָּע.ג. בְּמַעַגֵּל הַשְׁלִישִׁי - כָּל שָׁאָר הַנְּצִיגְוִוִּית, לְהַן אָוֹשֵׁר לְקִיּוּם מְגֻעִים חַבְרָתִיִּים עִם  
אַנְשֵׁי אַשְׁפָּע (הַשְׁתְּתִפוֹת בָּאֲרוּעִים, לְחִיצּוֹת יִדִּים וּכְךָ), אֶךְ לֹא מְגֻעִים מִדִּינִיִּים  
או מִפְגָּשִׁים אִישִׁיִּים.3. הַחֲלֹקָה הַנְּגָל נָועֶה, בֵּין הַיְתָר, לְמִנּוֹעַ מְגֻעִים בְּעַלְיִ תְּכִנִּים מִדִּינִיִּים  
בָּאֲמַצּוֹת נְצִיגְוִוִּית שָׁאַיְנָן מְעוֹרֶכֶת בְּמַהְלִיךְ וּמִתּוֹךְ הַעֲרָכָה, כִּי צְפּוּיִים נְסִיּוֹנוֹת  
שֶׁל נְצִיגִים שֶׁל אַשְׁפָּע לִיְזֹום מְגֻעִים עִם דִּיפְלוּמִיטִים אַמְּרָקִיִּים.

לְשָׁנוֹ יִעַד

17

תְּפֹוָצָה: שָׁחָח, סָשָׁחָח, (רְהַמְּשׁ), (שְׁהַבְּטָה), מְנַכְּל, מְמַנְּכָל, סְמַנְּכָלְשָׁלָוָם,  
רְבִּיבָּה/רְמַרְכָּז, מְצָבָה, (רְמָם), (אַמְּן), (רְיַאְגָתָה),  
תְּכִנּוֹן, מְמַד, מְצָפָא, רְחַטְמָזָת, יִשְׂרָאֵל עַרְבָּה, (עַמִּיתָה 475)

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אאה, חוזם: 27457  
אל: רהmesh/1336  
מ-: וושינגטונ, נר: 210993, תא: 1254, זח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
שומר/מיידי

21 בספטמבר 1993

אל: מ.מ"ד, מצפ"א, חט' מז"ח  
דעת: אגף השלום, ארבל 2  
מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: תגבורות במערב להסכם הישראלי - פلس'

1. בשיחה עם סטיפן באק, מנהל מחלקה המערב ב- NEA (20/9), בהשתתפות סגנו ווארקז, שמענו על תגבורות בתוניסיה ובאלג'יריה להסכם.

2. תוניסיה - שה"ח בן יחיא נפגש ב- 14/9 עם דג'רג'יאן, למחמת חתימת ההסכם הישראלי - פلس'. בשיחה שם בן יחיא דגש על הצורך ליצור "אופטיקה פוליטית חיובית", שתסייע למדייניות ערביות מתונות התומכות בהסכם וגם לتونיסיה עצמה, ערבי מפגש ק.ע. פליטים בתוניס.

בן יחיא אמר לדג'רג'יאן, שארצו תקדם בברכה נציגים ישראלים שיובאו לפגישות עם אנשי אש"פ. כמו כן הודיע, שתוניסיה תהיה מוכנה לסייע לישראל, בפועל שתקה בעצרת האו"ם, לביטול החלטות שכבר אין רלבנטיות ולאימוץ החלטות "חיוביות", שיתמכו ויסייעו לophile של השלום ויתאמו את המטרת של שינוי האויראה ויצירת סכיבה נוחה יותר למדייניות ערביות מתונות. (באק ביקש שלא ניתן פירסום לנוכנותה של תוניסיה לפועל באו"ם והdagish, שפרסום "ישראל" את בן יחיא ויסותם הגולל על נוכנות התוניסאים לסייע לנו באו"ם).

3. אשר למפגש ק.ע. פליטים - בן יחיא עמד על הצורך בהעמקת הטיפול ביצירת הזדמנויות לפיתוח כלכלי בשטחים. במקביל חזק ובקש מחויה ישראלית, עוד לפני המפגש, בהחזרת 6,000 חוזר 6,000 עקורים ומגורשים מ- 67.

4. אלג'יריה - התגבה הקורקטית של ממאלאג'יריה להסכם הישראלי - פلس' היתה, כדבריו, צפוייה. האלאג'יראים אמרו לאמריק' שהם יתמכו בכל דבר בו תומכים אחיהם הפלס'. באק הסביר, שאלאג'יריה של היום שונה ממאלאג'יריה של 1980, אז היו פעילים במגו"ם לשחרור בני הערובה האמריק בטהראן. ביום מוגבלת מדיניות החוץ של הממשלה בשל האילויצים הפנימיים. אמנים לא צפויות "בעוות" מצד הממשלה, אולם גם אין לצפות ליזומות לפני ישראל. (בנפרד שמענו מدسקי אלג'יריה, שלאחר התגבה הראשונית הפושרת של אלג'יריה להסכם, פנתה ממה"ד אלג'יריה והdagishת חשבות ההסכם והיוותה נקודת מפנה בעלת משמעות לאזרע כולם. בעקבות פניה זאת פירסמה "מועצת המדינה העליונה" הודעה (12/9)

הمبرכה על ההסכם).

5. בשולי שיחתנו סיפר באק, כי בעקבות ההתפתחויות האחרונות בתחום החקלאות המרחביות ב-NEA לעסוק במשימות שעד כה היו נחלתו הבלתי של צוות השלים. בין היתר עסקו באספקטים בילטרליים למעורבות בתחום של המדיניות שבאחריותם, וכבר היו מעורבים בהסדרת מפגשים בתוניס לוצאות המכין שיצא מישראל לתוניס להכנת מפגש ק.ע. פליטים.

לשנו יער.

תפוצה: שחח, סשחח, רהמ (שהבט), מנכט, מנכט, סמנכל, סמנכל שלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, רם (אמן), ר'אגת, תכנון, ממד, מצפה, רחטמזה, ישראל הערב, ביין, ארבל 2

ססס

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אאא, חוזם: 27232  
אל: רהmesh/1341/  
מ-: וושינגטונ, נר: 508, תא: 210993, זח: 1050, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
שמור/מיידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

ד ע: ממנכ"ל; מנהל ארבל 2;  
סמנכ"ל ארבל ניו יורק;

מאת: היועץ המדיני, וושינגטונ

הנדון: פלסטינאים

✓ ١٠١٥

1. איש צוות שלום סיפר כי המגעים בין נציגי ארה"ב לבין אנשי אש"ח מתקיים לאחר קבלת אישור מראש ממחמ"ד. יתרון שבזמן הקרוב יאפשרו לנציגיהם במקומות אחדים במז"ת כגון תוניס, קהיר ורבת עמו, לנהל מגעים בלי צורך לקבל אישור מראש.

2. בהקשר למאכיננו בעצרת הכללית הקרה, הזהיר איש שיחי מפני אפשרות כי אש"ף ינסה לשפר את מעמדו או זכויותיו באו"מ, תמורה הסרת נושאים שונים מסדר היום. כן ניתן להבין, שנוכחות הפתוחות לאחרון, המושל י策ר לשלול מחדש הנחיותיו בכל הנוגע לאש"ף בהקשר לארגוני בינלאומיים. ההנחיות הקיימות, לדבריו, אינן מציאותיות במצב החדש שנוצר.

3. בשיחה עם מקור אחר ב- NEA, נראה כי גם נשקל הרעיון של יוזמה להביא להחלטת מועב"ט המברכת את ההסכם ביננו לבין הפלסטינים, בהנחה כי מועב"ט יהיה פורום קל יותר להשיג זאת מאשר העצרת הכללית. התרשםתי כי מדובר במחשבה ראשונית בלבד בשלב זה.

ג' רמי יששכרוף

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, רהמ (שהבט), מנכ, מנכ, סמנכל, סמנכל שלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, רם (אמן), ר'אגת, ר'אגת,  
תכנון, ממד, מצפה, ביין, ארבל 2, יומש, רחטמות,  
ישראל ערבית, עמיית 475 (עמית 475)

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אאא, חוזם: 272229  
אל: רהmesh/1311  
מ-: וושינגטונ, נר: 506, תא: 210993, זח: 1007, דח: ב, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
שמור/בחול

21 בספטמבר 1993

אל: סמנכ"ל ארבל - ניו יורק  
דעת: מנהל ארבל 2; נאו"ם; מנהל מצפ"א  
מאת: היועץ המדיני, וושינגטונ

✓  
23.9

הנדון: העצרת הכללית

1. הציג מיכאל שילה וחה"מ, נפגשו אחה"צ (20/9) עם ווארד סגנו של עוזר מזכיר המדינה בנט, כדי להציג את נייר העמדה שלנו בקשר לעצרת הכללית הקרויה. השתתפו מצדם קריס מاري (IO) ומרק סייברס מהדסן הישראלי.
2. ווארד שאל מה הוא סדר העדיפויות שלנו לגבי אותן החלטות שהוצעו בנייר. כן שאל לדענו לגבי הרעיון של הבאת העצמת החלטה לעצרת הכללית שתברך את הסכם ביננו לבין הפלשינים, וכך לנטול הצעות החלטה אחרות שיובאו בהמשך. בנוסף התענין באיזו מידת מקרים תהיה מוכנה לסייע למאזים להוריד נושאים מסדר היום של העצרת.
3. בהקשר ל-WE06 ציין כי ארה"ב מוכנה להוציא עתה דימרשים לבירור לkrarat המפגשים בין שרי החוץ בשבוע הבא בניו יורק. הוסיף כי רצוי שהפניות שלהם ושלנו יהיו מתואמות במחות ובעיתוי. נושא כתוב האמנה הועלה וסוכם כי בנט ובין ידונו בכך ביום ד' בניו יורק.
4. חשוב במפגש עם בנט לגבות חכנית פעולה לkrarat הבאות שתכלייל טקטיקה מגובשת לגבי היוזמה של העצמת החלטה חדשה, הסרת הצעות ההחלטה מסדר היום של העצרת וכן חלוקת עבודה ברורה ביננו לבין האמריקנים.
5. אגב, הפגישה עם בנט נקבעה לשעה 16:30 ביום ד' 22/9 במשרדי המשלחת הישראלית בניו יורק.

ג'רמי ישכרוף

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, 0 (רהם), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, מצב, תכנון, מצפ"א,  
פרן, בין, ארבל 2, יועש, משפט, סמככלשלום,

רחתמזה, מצרים

ססס

דוחות: פידי	טופס מיליך קשר ניו. יורק	דוחות מחנות
ס"ג: בלמ"ס		אל: תפוצת תקשורת אורה"כ <b>אן"ז</b>
תוזח:		
פה' מדיק.	בתחנו - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, דר"ז, אמ"ג/קש"ח (ימ', העבירו נס)	דע:
11/27	2/11/9.	מאת: עתודות, ניו יורק

## *Mubarak Reports Syria*

## *Wants Peace With Israel*

By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt, Sept. 19 -- President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt said today that Syria's leader had told him that Syria wants to make peace with Israel.

The Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, after a meeting here with Mr. Mubarak, said Israel expected Arab countries to change their attitude toward Israel because of its agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The meeting between the leaders was their first since Israel and the P.L.O. signed a peace accord last week in Washington.

Syria, which has given a lukewarm response to the agreement but avoided outright condemnation, has said that it will accept whatever the Palestinian people decide. But the Syrian press, controlled by the Government of President Hafez al-Assad, has criticized the agreement as shortchanging the Palestinians and has attacked Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, for making partial and separate peace agreements with Israel.

New York  
Times

Front pg.

20-9

20-9

20-9

איסוד:

## שם השולחן:

תְּמִידִים:

30

But Mr. Mubarak said today that Syria wants peace.

#### Confident of Syrian Accord

"Why are you so pessimistic that Syria is going to be so late to reach a settlement, or a declaration of principles with Israel, after reaching a final agreement with the Palestinians?" Mr. Mubarak said at a news conference. "I don't think that. I think Syria genuinely wants peace, genuinely wants to solve the problem and I heard this from President Assad several times."

The meeting, the fourth between Mr. Rabin and Mr. Mubarak, took place in the seaside Ras al-Tin Palace, once the summer residence of the former Egyptian monarch, King Farouk. They spent most of their time discussing Syria.

"We continue our negotiations with Syria," said Mr. Rabin when asked

*Continued on Page A8, Column 3*

#### Continued From Page A1

about the possibility of Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, which it captured from Syria in the 1967 war and has virtually annexed. "The purpose of our negotiations with Syria is to achieve a peace treaty. We will continue to negotiate, but at this stage I see the key issue as good implementation of the agreements that were reached with the Palestinians."

The Syrians and their Lebanese allies have not fully endorsed the agreement. Jordan agreed to an agenda for further talks with Israel a day after Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. chairman, and Mr. Rabin shook hands in the Rose Garden of the White House.

And most countries in the region, except Iran, Iraq and Libya, have reacted favorably to the Israeli-P.L.O. accord, which would give the Palestinians limited self-rule in Jericho, on the Israeli-occupied West Bank, and the Gaza Strip.

Western diplomats say that Presi-

dent Assad is trying to determine if the P.L.O.-Israeli agreement will make it harder to negotiate a withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Golan. The agreement appears to offer Syria the possibility of moving forward in talks without worrying about the progress between the Israelis and other Arab and Palestinian parties. Mr. Assad is expected to visit Egypt in a few days to meet with Mr. Mubarak.

Western diplomats said that if Mr. Arafat was able to rally most Palestinian factions behind him, they believed that Syria would grudgingly move forward. And Mr. Mubarak denied reports that it could take up to five years for Syria and Israel to reach an understanding.

"We are hoping in the future to conclude something with the Syrians," Mr. Mubarak said, "so as to have all the neighboring countries at peace and starting to cooperate in different fields"

Mr. Rabin, who last met with Mr. Mubarak in April, reiterated his call to Arab nations to provide funds to sus-

tain the Palestinian enclave once it was established. He also said that during his April visit he was shown a map, given to Mr. Mubarak by Mr. Arafat just three days before, that outlined the Jericho and Gaza option that proved the basis for the agreement.

"We need support from other Arab countries and other organizations. Arab countries can influence to create a kind of atmosphere that will facilitate implementation of the agreements," Mr. Rabin said.

He went on to ask for "a change in attitude on the part of some Arab countries" and called for an end to the boycott of companies doing business with Israel and the refusal by Arab states to establish diplomatic relations.

"We have done something," he said. "We expect not only to give but to get something in return, and not only from those who signed the agreement."

He added that it was time "for the Arab countries to come and say you have done something, we have changed our attitude, our relations with you."

CIA

## Arafat Calls P.L.O. Pact With Israel a 'First Step' to a Full Pullout

By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, Sept. 19 — The P.L.O. chairman, Yasir Arafat, promised Arab foreign ministers today that the peace accord with Israel was only the "first step" in an effort to regain lands controlled by Israel, including East Jerusalem.

Mr. Arafat pledged to the Arab League ministers, whose countries shelter some three million Palestinian refugees, that Palestinians who fled after 1967 would eventually be allowed to return home. Israel occupied the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Arab East Jerusalem in the 1967 war, and later annexed East Jerusalem.

The Palestine Liberation Organization leader said he would speak at a later date about the fate of the refugees

who fled in 1948, most of whom left behind homes that are now in Israel.

"The agreement we have reached is nothing but a first step," Mr. Arafat said of the accord with Israel, which provides for an Israeli withdrawal and limited Palestinian autonomy in the Gaza Strip and in the West Bank town of Jericho.

He said the accord had set "the basis for a transitional solution and the broad outlines for an ultimate solution that will be based on the ending of the occupation and the total withdrawal from our land, our holy sites and our holy Jerusalem."

"The most important part of the agreement is not only the withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho," he said, "but the recognition of the Palestinian au-

thority and jurisdiction over all the occupied territories."

The status of East Jerusalem remains unresolved under the agreement signed at the White House last week by Mr. Arafat and Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel.

Mr. Arafat, who received a polite but restrained reception from the foreign ministers, told them that the Palestinians would not conclude a separate agreement with Israel until all the neighboring Arab states had concluded their negotiations. "There can be no final settlement without a solution on all the Arab tracks," he said.

The partial agreement, which represents far less than what the Palestinians have said they would ever accept, has angered dissident Palestinian factions and received only a lukewarm

response from President Hafez el-Assad of Syria.

Mr. Arafat said the Palestinians had been forced to conduct secret talks, which excluded longtime allies like King Hussein of Jordan, because the 10 rounds of Middle East peace talks, begun in Madrid, had been fruitless.

Mr. Arafat, who needs to win over militants in the occupied territories if the accord with Israel is to succeed, spoke with respect of those who are still resisting the Israeli occupation.

"To all child prisoners in the prisons of occupation," he said, "to our heroic injured, the martyrs and their mothers, to detainees and deportees, to every grown man and woman and the children of the stones, I give my best wishes, love and respect."

NYT

20-9

(3)

# Arabs Say Prompt Aid Is Crucial for Self-Rule

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

JABALIYA, Israeli-Occupied Gaza Strip, Sept. 17 — In a sight that seemed unthinkable only a month ago, once-forbidden Palestinian flags are flying these days from nearly every building in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as well as from cars, bicycles, donkey carts, tractors and even the minarets of mosques in East Jerusalem.

But while Palestinians in the occupied territories have greeted the Israeli-P.L.O. peace accord with jubilation, there is a growing sense of the difficulty in creating some form of government and an economy virtually from scratch, in a complex relationship with a powerful, dominant neighbor.

"It is good to raise the flags," said the imam of the main mosque in a sermon on Friday at this litter-strewn Palestinian camp, where a strong undercurrent of opposition to the accord among Islamic fundamentalists is evident on the streets. "But after raising flags, what is the next step? The solution is not just raising flags."

So swift has been the rush toward peace, and so deliberately vague many of the terms of the accord, that no one seems sure how the economy or the new Palestinian governing authority in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho will function. What's more, it will be years down the road before there is any discussion of the status of Jerusalem and the fate of Palestinian refugees from Israel's founding in 1948.

## Crucial, Immediate Steps

"They must do something fast," said Ziad Abu Amr, a Palestinian political scientist at Bir Zeit University on the West Bank. "Both Arafat and Rabin need to show their respective constituencies there are gains."

Among the crucial first steps are economic efforts to create steady jobs and business opportunities and to improve living conditions at the squalid camps. Some Palestinian analysts, like Rashid Khalidi, director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Chicago, warn that failure to do so quickly could be a "catastrophe" for Palestinian self-rule.

"You are taking a shattered Palestinian economy and binding it quite tightly to a robust, rapidly growing Israeli economy," Dr. Khalidi said. "It's not going to lead to the kind of economic takeoff that's necessary."

With the immediate needs of the occupied territories estimated at \$3 billion by the World Bank, supporters of the accord on interim Palestinian self-

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4

rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho are scrambling to put together an aid package for schools and basic services like electricity and sewage removal.

Israeli and Palestinian technical teams are to meet in Tunis on Monday to discuss issues ranging from security to sewage, and Secretary of State Warren Christopher is expected to announce a special conference of donor countries to pledge money for projects to further Middle East Peace.

Officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization are hoping for a big infusion of aid to build schools and houses here in the next few months. Such a program could create construction jobs in the territories, which have an unemployment rate of 60 percent and have provided Israel with a pool of cheap labor.

Aside from the economic doubts, there is considerable uncertainty about how a new political order will meld Yasir Arafat, chairman of the P.L.O., and other of its officials from Tunis with prominent local Palestinians who played an important role in the six-year uprising against Israeli rule, like Faisal al-Husseini and Sari Nusseibeh.

P.L.O. officials will also face the challenge of coordinating with new political organizations that emerged during the uprising and with traditional village and clan structures in a political culture that has been shaped by a quarter-century of occupation.

#### 'Not a Love of Authority'

"You don't have a tradition of government here," said Dr. Khalidi, an American-born adviser to the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks. "There is not a tradition of large bureaucratic institutions, not a love of authority. The social structure is not terribly developed."

He continued: "There will be a fine line between the authority of the elected government and the authority of the P.L.O. There will have to be all kinds of deliberate balances. Any corruption, any inefficiency, any bureaucratic snafu, any mistakes, and people are not going to be forgiving."

One immediate source of tension between Palestinians has eased with an agreement between the P.L.O. and its main hard-line fundamentalist opponent, Hamas, to respect each other's demonstrations and not to attack each other. The pact between the two movements was announced last week in mosques throughout the Gaza Strip.

Hamas firmly opposes the accord with Israel. For the signing of the pact last Monday, the two Palestinian groups hastily worked out a truce in which the Gaza Strip was shut down in a protest strike in the morning and open for celebrations in the evening.

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# King Hussein Is Again the Object of High Hopes

Now that the Israeli-PLO accord has been signed, it is time for a realistic assessment of how to actually achieve peace in Palestine. The accord itself is only a beginning, promising much but guaranteeing nothing.

Any such assessment must start with a question: Who in the region truly wants peace and what can they do to bring it about? It hardly needs saying that the Israelis want it; otherwise they would not have risked a deal with the slippery Yasser Arafat. Peace to them would mean surcease from terrorism and Arab threats to eradicate the Jewish state.

Of the others, the key man is King Hus-

sein of Jordan. The King, an admirable and non-radical Arab leader, has been literally dodging bullets throughout his 40-year reign, the longest of any Arab leader. Arab radicals never seem to tire of trying to unseat or assassinate him. There is little reason to doubt his assertions that he wants a Palestinian peace.

Last week's PLO-Israeli accord removed the final barrier to open, bilateral talks between Jordan and Israel, and they began even before the accord was signed. Although Jordan warned that it will take time to negotiate a peace treaty, it would be logical for Israel and the Western intermediaries to turn to Jordan for help in fashioning the institutions that must be in place if Palestinians west of the Jordan are to have stable self-government.

To build such institutions, you need people with abilities and a commitment to that goal. Unfortunately, many of the most able and moderate West Bank leaders were shoved aside, or in some cases assassinated, by the same PLO that now promises peace. The intentions of PLO leader Yasser Arafat remain suspect, despite his display of innocent charm at the White House ceremonies. Many of the people of the West Bank and Gaza have been hardened and radicalized by poverty, a dead-end existence in U.N. camps and the struggle against Israel urged on them by radical leaders.

What the king has to offer is that he, unlike Arafat, is an experienced head of government. Increasingly the state he heads has itself become a Palestinian state. Some 300,000 Palestinians were expelled from Kuwait after the Gulf War because the PLO had sided with Saddam. Most came to Jordan, swelling the country's

## Global View

By George Melloan

sein of Jordan. The King, an admirable and non-radical Arab leader, has been literally dodging bullets throughout his 40-year reign, the longest of any Arab leader. Arab radicals never seem to tire of trying to unseat or assassinate him. There is little reason to doubt his assertions that he wants a Palestinian peace.

Beyond the Israelis and King Hussein, you have the other Arab monarchs, King Fahd of Saudi Arabia and King Hassan II of Morocco. King Fahd, of course, almost fell victim to that mother of all radicals, Saddam Hussein, in 1990. To counter the threats of anti-Western Arabs such as Saddam, Syria's Hafez Assad and Libya's Moammar Gadhafi, Arab monarchs have traditionally courted the U.S. and its allies. Aside from the kings, the other prominent Arab leader in need of Western support is President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, who is under pressure from Islamic radicals inspired by Iran and Sudan.

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Palestinian population to well over half Jordan's total. Fortunately, there was no fresh, new U.N. refugee camp awaiting these migrants, so they have been making their own way in Jordan and not doing badly at it, for the most part. Many are well-educated and held responsible jobs or ran successful businesses in Kuwait. Some are financially well off.

Moreover, many Palestinians seem very loyal to the little king, even though he is a Hashemite, a tribe with origins in Saudi Arabia, and there have been PLO ef-

*King Hussein has at hand just the kinds of people that the West Bank and Gaza need.*

orts in the past to topple him and his Hashemite followers. When he returned from a kidney removal operation in Minnesota some months back, a huge crowd turned out to welcome him. Many of the Palestinians from Kuwait, because they are propertied and middle class, have a greater liking for stability than for Arab radicalism.

In other words, King Hussein has at hand just the kinds of people that the West Bank and Gaza need. The 1.7 million Arabs of those two areas must have better leaders if they are ever to advance from their present low status as aggrieved hostages to Mideast politics and become self-reliant, productive citizens.

But because of his already large Palestinian population, the king has not been eager to reunify East and West-bank Palestinians. He has proposed a federation of the two communities but is in no hurry about that either.

Indeed, he hinted last week that parlia-

mentary elections scheduled for Nov. 8 might be postponed. He no doubt fears that they might become a referendum on reunification, with militant Palestinians forcing the issue. He cited the danger of rising expectations that might be disappointed when "it is realized how much needs to be done."

There is no doubt that King Hussein and his Hashemite dynasty could be jeopardized by even a de facto melding of his Palestinian population with the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza. If the king should fall, it would most likely be to a more radical, rather than less radical, style of leadership. The king's health is uncertain and his brother and chosen successor, Crown Prince Hassan, sounds from his public utterances less judicious.

The king has always been forced to tread cautiously because of the constant threat from Arab hard-liners. It might be possible for Israel and Jordan to marginalize Arafat now that he has had his 15 minutes of public acclaim. But certainly it won't be easy to marginalize Hafez Assad of Syria, who is busily stocking himself with missiles from North Korea. Finally, there is the tangle of interrelated Islamic radical groups, such as Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood. They already have stepped in to pick up some of the West Bank-Gaza influence that the PLO has dropped—and they seem not very interested in peace.

It should always be kept in mind that peace is not everyone's cup of tea. Fighting groups yield up a sense of commitment and excitement to young Arabs in the Israeli-occupied territories that gives meaning to lives that otherwise would be dreary. They like the danger. That is what the region's peacemakers have to cope with. They have to build a new society. That is never easy, but the door is open a crack.

112  
7

## Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

# Cause for Justice

BOSTON

Janet Reno has attracted remarkable public support as Attorney General because she is straight. She calls them as she sees them, not hesitating to challenge such shibboleths as mandatory sentences and drug law enforcement methods.

Ms. Reno's attention could be usefully directed now at a six-year-old case that I think shows the prosecutorial mind at its obsessive worst. The Immigration and Naturalization Service is trying to push a terrorism clause in the law beyond its words — and perhaps beyond the Constitution — in order to deport two Palestinians who have not engaged in terrorism.

The case is especially dubious now because of the agreement between Israel and the P.L.O. President Clinton and other leaders urged support for the P.L.O. effort at governance in Gaza and Jericho. But in the I.N.S. view of the law, an alien resident in this country who gave such support would be deportable.

Khader Hamide and Michel Shehadeh have lived in the United States for many years. In 1987, in Los Angeles, I.N.S. agents arrested them, put them in shackles and told the press they were "terrorists."

But they were not charged with committing any terrorism. In the deportation proceedings that have dragged on since then they were accused, rather, of raising money for a radical P.L.O. faction, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

The P.F.L.P. has indeed carried out terrorist acts. But like many other organizations — Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, for example — it has been both a guerrilla and a political group.

Mr. Hamide and Mr. Shehadeh say they supported only lawful activities, such as clinics in the West Bank. And they have what seems to be conclusive testimony that they have not engaged in violent acts. In 1987 Judge William Webster, then Director of the F.B.I., told Congress:

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OP - Ed

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"The individuals who were arrested in California had not been found to have engaged themselves in terroristic activities. ... If [they] had been U.S. citizens, there would not have been a basis for their arrest."

How, then, does the I.N.S. justify the claim that they should be deported? It relies on a clause in a 1990 Immigration Act that makes aliens deportable if they give "material support to any individual, organization or government in conducting a terrorist

activity at any time."

To be grounds for deportation, then, the support must be for someone "in conducting a terrorist activity." But in the teeth of those words, as it seems to me, the I.N.S. says it can deport aliens who gave money to an organization for the most peaceful purpose if that organization had ever conducted a terrorist action.

That interpretation of the law is described as distorted and dangerous in a letter that 60 professors of immigration law have written to Attorney General Reno. They point out that the purpose of the 1990 law was to repeal the political clauses of the old McCarran-Walter Act. Yet here, they say, the I.N.S. would reintroduce the concept of guilt by association.

Giving support to terrorism is a crime in this country. Anyone who aids terrorism, citizen or alien, should be prosecuted. But it is lawful — and a right under the First Amendment — to support peaceful activities by even a despised group.

The deportation proceeding is out of sync, too, with the P.L.O.-Israel rapprochement and American policy toward it. In the I.N.S. view, any alien who contributed to the P.L.O. to build

## On deporting non-terrorists.

housing in Gaza now would be deportable. The good purpose would not matter, because the P.L.O. has in the past committed terrorism.

But the case has dangerous implications far beyond the Palestinian context. A Nicaraguan resident in this country who gave money to the contras for a hospital would be deportable. So would a South African exile who contributed to Nelson Mandela's recent speaking tour.

A year ago I spoke with a Bush Administration Assistant Attorney General, Stuart Gerson, about the case. He said, "We'll try to show that they materially aided a terrorist cause. If we don't, we should lose."

The only way the I.N.S. has tried to meet that test is by defining "terrorist cause" beyond common sense and the language of the statute. It is time for the Justice Department — for Attorney General Reno — to put an end to this perversion of justice. □

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1127  
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# The Rocky Road Ahead for Palestinians

By Neil C. Livingstone

THE PEACE ACCORD between Israel and the PLO is more significant for what it leaves out than what it includes. Perhaps the most significant omission is the failure to define what lies at the end of the process of normalization provided for in the agreement signed at the White House yesterday.

Although not spelled out, Yasser Arafat and the PLO clearly see creation of a fully sovereign Palestinian state as the end product of their recognition of Israel and renunciation of violence. Israel, by contrast, is making no such public commitment. The interim agreement provides only for limited self-government for the Palestinians in an undefined area around Jericho and in the Gaza Strip.

But if anyone thinks that the Palestinians can be led to water and kept from drinking, they are living in a world of delusion. Arafat knows that once initiated, the march toward the creation of a fully sovereign Palestinian state will become inexorable. Any effort down the road by Israel to retrench or pull back, thereby denying the Palestinians a real homeland, will be met by a conflagration of historic proportions. Arafat is banking on this and won the support of the executive committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization for the agreement only because he could privately assure the 18 members of the governing body that an independent Palestinian homeland was within their grasp.

Pragmatists within the PLO have long supported the notion of a "phased" recovery of the Palestinian state. The former No. 2 man in the PLO, Abu Iyad, who was murdered by an Abu Nidal operative in 1991, told a Kuwaiti interviewer in 1988 that the PLO's goal was "at first a small state, and

with Allah's help, it will be made large and expand to the east, west, north and south. . . . I am interested in the liberation of Palestine step by step."

Since it appears to be an inevitability, what will any future Palestinian state look like and will it be viable? If the Israelis ultimately agree to return all of the occupied West Bank and Gaza to the Palestinians, the result would be a ministate of about 2,336 square miles (less Jerusalem), a little larger than Delaware. A 43-mile gap will separate the Gaza from the West Bank. A World Bank study estimates that the quasi-nation will require \$3 billion in aid over 10 years just to get its economy going.

What kind of economy will the new nation have? Arafat and most of his top advisers have always been viewed as advocates of centralized state planning rather

*Neil C. Livingstone is the co-author of "Inside the PLO" and a frequent media commentator on Middle East issues.*



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OP - Ed

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than as exponents of free market economies. Palestine will not be turned into another Singapore, an oft-quoted boast by Palestinians, by embracing the failed socialistic ideals than have impoverished much of the rest of the Third World.

And what form of government will the Palestinians adopt? There are 21 Arab nations and not one of them is a democracy, so it is difficult to believe that Arafat and his cohorts will institute the first democracy in the Arab world. Yet the interim agreement requires that elections be held. What if the fundamentalists win? What then? Moreover, it will be interesting to see if Arafat and the other members of the senior leadership of the PLO will be willing to roll up their sleeves and perform the hard work of nation-building in the years ahead.

After a quarter century as the leader of a well-heeled revolutionary movement with a global reach, ersatz Palestine will be a small stage for Arafat. Should he assume the mantle of leadership, Arafat's days will be consumed with issues like garbage collection and speed bumps instead of

11

headline-grabbing terrorist operations.

In the final analysis, a weak and impoverished Palestinian state that cannot fulfill the aspirations of the Palestinian masses may be a greater source of Mideast instability than the continued existence of the PLO as a revolutionary organization.

The creation of a Palestinian state also has far-reaching implications for its neighbors, especially Jordan. It will ultimately spell the end of Jordan as we know it. Poised like an arrow aimed at Amman, Palestine will wait its opportunity to bury the Hashemite dynasty and absorb Jordan, which is 60 percent Palestinian. As Abu Iyad said, the Palestinians will start small and push their borders outward.

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הנדון: ארה"ב - מדיניות חוץ

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP 20/9 WP (DANIEL WILLIAMS & ANN DEVROY) אוזות ממצוי המஸל האמריקני להתקדם במושאי מדיניות חוץ בזמן הקרוב. בכיריהם במשל ישרו בஸוגה הימים הקרובים נאומים אשר יתמקדו בתפקידיה של ארה"ב במושאי מדיניות חוץ - נאומים אלו ינסו לחזק את תפקידה המנהיגותי של ארה"ב בזירה העולמית והינש הינה לקרה נארם הנשיא קלינטון באים בז'ו שני הבא.

הנאומים הפרוגרטיסיט הצעויים הם:-  
- מזכיר המדינה קרייסטופר - היום - מתמקד בזיהה  
- היועץ לבטחון לאומי - טוני ליביק - מחר - עקרונות המעורבות האמריקנית בזירה חכינה  
- השגרירה לאו"ס - מדליין אולבריט - ביום חמישי - על ארה"ב וחברונאים חכינה, כמו האו"ם.

תקשורת

27) שחח (2) סחיח (1) לחתום (2) סנכט (2) ממנכל (1) מצפה (2) סמנכלתקשורת (1)  
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) משפט (1) צנזורצבי (1) דואז-ים (1)

# Defining Clinton's Foreign Policy

## Spate of Speeches Will Seek to Kill Suspicions of U.S. Retreat

By Daniel Williams and Ann Devroy  
Washington Post Staff Writers

Secretary of State Warren Christopher today kicks off the Clinton administration's first major effort to explain its foreign policy and scotch suspicions that the president is leading a retreat from the world stage.

Christopher, whose speech is the first of four over the next eight days by top officials and ultimately President Clinton, will deal largely with the U.S. role in the Middle East. On Tuesday, Anthony Lake, Clinton's national security adviser, will speak on "the architecture for the post-Cold War period."

Madeleine K. Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, continues Thursday with an address on the role of force. The sequence, officials say, is meant to lay the groundwork for Clinton's speech to the U.N. General Assembly next Monday.

"We're loading the bases for the slugger," said a White House official, evidently relishing the chance for Clinton to confront criticism that he has been vague and absent in foreign affairs.

The chosen week, however, shows just how difficult it is for this administration, tightly bound up in domestic policy, to shift focus. Christopher, Lake and Albright will be competing for public attention with the unveiling of Clinton's health care program, the centerpiece of his domestic agenda.

For Clinton, the U.N. address will be his first full foreign policy speech, although he made two lesser talks last spring on trade and Russia. In eight months in office, he has laid down only the vaguest guidelines, relying on a catchall "three pillars" of policy: strengthening of the U.S. economy, promotion of democracy and streamlining the military.

The pillars failed as a guide to policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Clinton has floundered in a sea of indecision. As late as this weekend, administration officials were grappling with the question of how to deal in the speeches with the civil war in that area. Some argued that the international failure of Bosnia ought to be recognized and dealt with directly. Others said the focus

in the speeches ought to fall on areas where the administration can point to progress, such as Russia and the Middle East.

Lake, who will speak at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, is the main coordinator of the speeches, which have been circulating among the National Security Council, State Department and Albright's office. Christopher will speak at Columbia University and Albright at the National War College.

The post-Cold War period has proved vexing for policymakers accustomed to the "clear and present danger" era of competition with the Soviet Union. No threat to the United States is in view, either militarily or ideologically. "In a period when there is no one word that easily captures the foundation of our policies, such as anti-communism or containment, the president wants to build a case to the American people for involvement and leadership," said a senior administration official.

"Retrenchment would be a mistake," said another administration official. "We would lull ourselves into thinking that no threats exist until it is too late. If there is one theme throughout the speeches, it is an attack on neo-isolationism."

Administration officials say the speeches aim at clarifying objectives of foreign involvement and educating the public to their needs and costs. Peace-keeping bills are beginning to mount and could skyrocket if the United States sends troops to Bosnia.

The drawn-out American military presence in Somalia is raising calls in Congress for withdrawal. The costs, which have exceeded \$1 billion, are one factor; another is the tragedy of U.S. troops firing on Somalis and killing civilians.

Another theme the speeches will address is working through multilateral organizations such as the United Nations without the risk of the United States playing second fiddle. "Obviously one of the benefits of multilateralism is burden-sharing," an administration official said.

Christopher's speech is meant to capitalize on the success of Middle East peace talks and shed light on future steps. He plans to call for a meeting of donors to provide development funds for the Palestinians and to press for an end to the Arab economic boycott of Israel, State Department officials said. Christopher is also eager to dispel the notion, advanced by his close aide, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff, that a dearth of resources and a need to center attention at home would prompt Washington to cede foreign policy leadership to other nations.

Lake's speech will touch on some foreign engagements the administration considers successes: aid and political backing for Russia's reform President Boris Yeltsin; trade talks with Japan; and the scheduled return of elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to Haiti two years after he was ousted by the military.

Lake will describe "a framework for U.S. international engagement, spell out the reasons for our engagement, what national interests are at stake, as well as the when and why of that engagement," a senior administration official said.

Albright, befitting her role as envoy to the world's central international organization, will discuss U.S. dealings with multilateral groupings and alliances and outline the objectives of acting in concert with other countries.

WP 2019

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### בלטס/מיידי

### אל: מצל"א-תפוצות

דעת: לש-סגן שה"ח  
לש-חנן"ל  
לש-רויה"מ

### חאת: תקשורת, ווישינגטן

### הנדון: ההסכם עם אש"פ - מוגבז

מתוך שפע הכתבות - מצ"ב שתי כתבות המבטאות מעס מתחושות הכהילה היהודית לבני ההסכים:

1. מאמרתו של גארה, רוזנבלאט - עורך הב' איש וויה של ניו-יורק, ולשעבר עורך ה- **DJB** - שפורסם בבלטימור-סאן 9/19.

2. מאמרנו של מקס זינגר - מפעליו ה- CJC, אב שכול ופעיל יהודי - שפורטם בזוש', סימן 9/17.

שניהם המאמרים מכוונים את החלטת רוחם לגביו חחנסם עם אש"פ, משבחים נאומו בטקס וקוראים לאלה"ב לסייע בהעברת המסר הנכון לסוריה.

תקשות

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## MAX SINGER

**T**he immediate question is whether Arab enemies of peace with Israel can prevent Yasser Arafat and the Palestine Liberation Organization from governing Gaza and Jericho. There is no doubt that Mr. Arafat will face strong and violent opposition; whether he can overcome that

*Max Singer is the author (with the late Aaron Wildavsky) of "The Real World Order: Zones of Peace/Zones of Turmoil," which was published by Chatham House Publishers earlier this month.*

1070  
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opposition depends on whether Syria's President Hafez Assad can continue to manipulate the U.S. government.

The outcome in the territories doesn't depend on whether Mr. Arafat has the support of 50 percent or 70 percent or 90 percent of the people who live there. His enemies will use violence to win, and many of those who prefer peace can be moved by radical demagogic or frightened by terror. The practical question is whether the violent minority opposition will have enough organizational, financial and logistical assets to defeat Mr. Arafat.

The key player is Mr. Assad. He controls most of the border, including Lebanon, over which help must come to Mr. Arafat's enemies. Mr. Assad also has much control over several of the Palestinian organizations resisting Mr. Arafat. If he uses his powers to prevent attacks on Mr. Arafat, then Mr. Arafat has a chance of winning. If Mr. Assad lets the territory he controls be used as a corridor to supply Mr. Arafat's enemies, then Mr. Arafat is probably a dead duck.

All the talk about Syria recently has mostly concerned whether it, too, would make peace with Israel. Ultimately, that is the real issue -- but not now, not in relation to the coming effort to build the peace between Israel and the Palestinians. Whether Mr. Assad tries to negotiate some kind of peace between Israel and Syria is a separate question from whether he destroys or protects the peace effort in the territories. Mr. Assad could go for peace on either front, or both, or neither.

According to a report in the New York Times, Mr. Assad recently told Mr. Arafat that while he himself would not oppose Mr. Arafat's agreement with Israel, he would support all those who did oppose what Mr. Arafat was doing.

The United States probably does not have enough power to force Mr. Assad to make peace with Israel. For one thing, it is too easy for him to say "yes" and then subtly sabotage. But the United States does have the power to force Mr. Assad to use his control over Lebanese and Syrian territory, and over activities in Syria of Palestinian organizations headquartered in Syria, to shut off much of the outside help for the enemies of peace in the territories.

While the United States may have some ambivalence about the terms of peace between Israel and Syria, our government has no doubt that Mr. Arafat should be given a chance to govern the territories peacefully.

By his personal phone calls to Mr. Assad, President Clinton demonstrated the U.S. government's strong opposition to the violent efforts to defeat the PLO leadership by the likes of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command or other PLO splinter groups. Presumably, the United States is even more opposed to Hamas getting support for its efforts to destroy the peace process from across the Lebanese border. The only question is whether the United States will hold Mr. Assad responsible for what he actually controls in Lebanon. In the past, the United States has overlooked Mr. Assad's physical as well as political support for organizations trying to sabotage the peace process, even though the State Department knows that Syrian forces control the Bekaa Valley, from where most of the attacks on Israel come, as well as most of the rest of Lebanon.

If Mr. Arafat is to have any hope of success, U.S. policy toward Syria's role in Lebanon has to change. Mr.

*The U.S. must quickly and strongly tell Mr. Assad we are determined that Mr. Arafat succeed.*

Clinton's phone calls have probably convinced Mr. Assad that the United States feels so strongly about Mr. Arafat's peace effort that if we see assets that Mr. Assad controls are being used against Mr. Arafat, we will hold it strongly against Syria.

The United States must quickly and strongly reinforce this and tell Mr. Assad we are determined that Mr. Arafat succeed. The issue is not political statements but physical actions. Mr. Assad will understand that it is not safe for him to openly flout the United States on this. But he will try to see how much he can get away with. He will try to talk as if he is not against Mr. Arafat's peace, but privately he will use his power against it. He can be stopped only if he becomes convinced that the United States will be vigilant and unforgiving in a way we haven't been before.

It won't be easy to convince Mr. Assad that we understand all the ways he can undermine Mr. Arafat, but unless we do, Monday's ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House is likely to become a bitter and disillusioning memory.

# U.S. Jews: Listening to Rabin

By GARY ROSENBLATT

In the end, it was Yitzhak Rabin, the dour and often dull speaker, whose words pierced our hearts. "It's not so easy," he said simply, and with great humanity.

And we understood. It is not easy to enter a White House ceremony together with the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, an organization founded on destroying the Jewish state. Flanked by President Clinton, Mr. Rabin had kept his eyes fixed straight ahead, as did the other two men, evoking the awkwardness and undercurrents of enmity of a divorced couple walking their son or daughter down the aisle at a wedding.

It is not easy to make peace with long and bitter enemies, particularly with the PLO and Yasser Arafat, the man who has been demonized by world Jewry for decades.

And with good cause. When we look at Chairman Arafat's smiling face, we do not see a leader of a national movement but rather images of innocent women and children killed in countless terror attacks, from Rome to Maalot, and of a hooded gunman stalking the Olympic Village in Munich 21 years ago.

When Mr. Rabin spoke, one could hear the anguish in his voice as he paid tribute to the Jewish victims of Arab wars and terrorism. "We remember each and every one of them with everlasting love," said this man who rarely shows emotion.

One appreciated his honest eloquence when he spoke of how difficult it was for him as a soldier, for the people of Israel and for Jewish people in the diaspora to be part of a process that will loosen Israel's grip on the land it shares with the Palestinians.

The burden of responsibility on him was almost palpable as he explained why he, the leader of a country with a powerful military, was prepared to cede land to an enemy that poses no serious military threat.

The time has come, he said, to put an end to the continuing cycle of violence. "We who have fought against you say today, loud and clear, enough of blood and tears. Enough."

Watching him, listening to him, we understood that it was Yitzhak Rabin whose endorsement we needed to hear.

Shimon Peres may have been the architect of the peace plan, but it is Mr. Rabin — the general, the no-nonsense pragmatist — who made us feel just a bit more comforted by the idea that he is fully aware of the risks in what he is doing, that he is not about to jeopardize the security of the Jewish state.

For the people of Israel, there is great hope mingled with fear. The promise and the dangers are each very real.

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There is the prospect of a more normalized society, a strengthened economy, an end to dangerous army and reserve duty for virtually everyone. Yet there are worries about making Israel more vulnerable, setting in motion a possible Palestinian state dedicated to, at best, laying claim to Jerusalem.

Yet if there is to be peace, the new and delicate relationship will emerge not only from the signatures of statesmen but from the daily intercourse between Arab and Jew in the land they grudgingly share.

For the Jews of America, though, the distance between us and our Israeli brothers and sisters seems greater today. We are painfully aware that they are the players and we the observers.

And we have our own readjusting to do. We have to think about how our elaborate Jewish communal system may — should — change with the prospect of peace.

Will we need as many organizations advocating Israel's cause? Will our great fund-raising machine sputter if Israel's survival is no longer a daily concern? What will motivate us as Jews, as givers, if the Twin Towers of Tzedakah (charitable giving) — the Holocaust and Israel — are increasingly more distant?

Will we as a community begin to turn inward, focusing more on issues of Jewish identity and education in the diaspora rather than on missions to Israel where we grew accustomed to being briefed on the latest conflict?

Some Israelis believe that the best thing American Jews could do for Israel is to revitalize American Jewry. These Israelis realize that the stronger our community is, the more we can help them politically and socially as well as financially.

Israelis don't need us to worry about their security. They are all too experienced in doing that over four and a half long and bloody decades of statehood. What they do need is for us to support their efforts and address the threat to our own survival, not from bullets but from boredom.

As Mr. Rabin would say, "It's not so easy." But it's necessary. And in that way, perhaps, the possibilities of peace will bear fruit not only for the Jews of Israel but for American Jewry as well.

Gary Rosenblatt, former editor of the Baltimore Jewish Times, is editor and publisher of The Jewish Week of New York, where this column also appeared.

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בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 20 ספטמבר 1993

אל: הפרצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, רושינגטן

דעת.

הנדון: ארה"ב - מדיניות סיוע חוץ

מצ"ב קובץ כתבות (19/9 & 18/9) - THOMAS LIPPMAN & WP - גREG PIERCE העוסקות בຄוונט ארה"ב לשנות את העקרונות למתן סיוע חוץ. עקרונות אלו - לדברי מנהל הסוכנות לפיתוחה ביגלאומי, בריאן אטוויד - הושפעו מתקומות המלחמה הקדלה וזקוקים לבריקה מהודשת. עוד אמר אטוויד כי הסיעום המומתק לישראלי ומצרי לא יתגער בשל הבדיקה החודשת ואך יותר מכך לדעת אטוויד אפואיה עליה בסיווע האידיקני למדיניות המדה"ת-בעקבות תחילין שלום. (עם זאת, ראה כתבת הוושינגטן פוסט 9/18 למשה התוכנית החדש עוטה גם באמצעותות חמוחות- סבירה של קיצוץ לישראלי ולמצרים).

תקשורת

תקשורות (2) סחה"ח (1) ותמ (1) מנג"ל (2) סמנכט (1) מצעפ (2) סמנכטלתקשורות (1)  
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WP 1919

# White House Seeks Foreign Aid Revamp

## *Congress Will Be Asked for 'Complete Overhaul,' Official Says*

By Thomas W. Lippman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration will ask Congress this week for a "complete overhaul" of the U.S. foreign aid program, the nation's chief foreign aid official said yesterday.

The basic foreign aid law, enacted in 1961, has "Cold War barbs all over it," said J. Brian Atwood, administrator of the Agency for International Development.

"We are changing the nature of how we do business," he said. "We're going to be a lot more tough in making decisions about whether a country is a good development

partner for the United States."

AID said in a statement that the new aid plan would be based on "a new approach that addresses five specific concerns: the global environment, population growth, economic development, democracy building and humanitarian assistance."

Atwood said the proposed overhaul would not in any way reduce aid to Israel and Egypt, by far the largest recipients of aid from the United States.

Aid to friendly Middle Eastern nations is likely to increase, he said in a telephone interview, as a result of

the peace agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, under which Palestinians are to run schools, courts and a police force in the occupied territories.

Atwood stressed that the administration—already facing tough fights on Capitol Hill over its forthcoming health care plan and the North American Free Trade Agreement—would not propose any changes in the aid program that "exacerbate" relations with Congress. The United States spends more than \$27 billion a year on foreign aid through several U.S. agencies and multinational institutions such as the World Bank and the

Inter-American Development Bank. Much of the aid is given according to instructions from members of Congress who favor specific countries.

No one in the administration disagrees that the nation's foreign aid program—criticized in an internal review as outmoded, inflexible and inefficient—needs to be restructured, Atwood said. A high-level interagency review concluded that the U.S. foreign aid program must be overhauled if it is to survive because it is unpopular with voters and threatened by the federal budget squeeze.

But Atwood said President Clinton's senior advisers have decided not to provoke a fight with Congress by endorsing some of the more radical proposals considered during the interagency review, such as shifting decision-making on money for individual countries from Congress to the executive branch.

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# U.S. Foreign Aid Overhaul Urged

## Goals, Not Nations, Would Be Funded

By Thomas W. Lippman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Clinton administration review of U.S. foreign aid programs has concluded they are often wasteful, incoherent and inconsistent with the administration's objectives, and proposes a radical overhaul that would abandon country-by-country funding.

In a report to Cabinet-level officials, an interagency study team said the most effective way to reform the nation's aid programs would be to define about 10 "national goals" such as "transition from communism to democracy" and "nonproliferation and arms control" and allocate money to them, rather than to countries.

Within those broad objectives, managers would approve specific programs and choose between competing groups seeking to operate them—not just U.S. government agencies but others that might be more effective, such as international voluntary organizations. The concept is similar to "managed competition" in health care, a senior administration official said yesterday.

"Congress would be asked to vote funds for goals, such as democracy, and not for countries," according to the study, prepared under direction of the National Security Council in response to Presidential Review Directive 20 from President Clinton. "Funds would not be given to countries on an entitlement basis, but rather to requirements on a merit basis."

That would depart from the traditional way of doling out aid, in which funds have gone to projects in foreign countries based on need, lobbying clout or the perceived value of those countries as friends of the United States. Under the proposed new approach, the executive branch rather than Congress would decide which projects in which countries would be funded in line with the congressionally approved goals.

The study recognized that such a radical change would encounter strong opposition in Congress, especially because it probably would result in reduced aid to both Israel and Egypt, by far the largest two recipients. But the alternative, the

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study said, is to preserve a "streamlined status quo" in which the aid program is jeopardized by the federal budget squeeze and public antipathy to foreign aid.

"With the disappearance of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the bedrock support for foreign assistance has eroded significantly. There is no clear vision guiding the shape of our foreign assistance agenda for a world without the U.S.S.R.," according to the study, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Post.

"A 'business as usual' approach which seeks to preserve virtually every existing program is doomed to failure," it added.

There is no dispute about the problems plaguing the foreign aid system. J. Brian Atwood, administrator of the Agency for International Development, which disburses U.S. funds abroad, sent a memorandum to employees yesterday saying, "I am sure that some aspects of the present system are worth preserving, but they have thus far escaped me."

In the previous administration, Secretary of State James A. Baker III pleaded with Congress for more flexibility in allocating aid funds.

Restrictions and "earmarks" written into foreign aid bills each year by Congress have made it nearly impossible for the United States to respond to sudden changes in the world, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Atwood already has begun to reorganize AID along thematic lines that seek to break out of the country-by-country system. Yes-

terday he did not comment in detail on the interagency study, which is still classified, but said its recommendations appeared consistent with what his agency is trying to do.

He said reform "won't work" if Congress continues to insist on giving specific amounts to individual countries, but he added that some members of Congress most knowledgeable about foreign aid are eager for an overhaul that would reflect changes in the world.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that sets foreign aid spending, called yesterday for a "fundamental rethinking of our foreign aid program, a top-to-bottom restructuring." He said the current foreign aid bill is the last one he will support without complete reform.

The staff study of the current system, along with an "options paper" of choices for overhauling it, have been presented to Cabinet officers and national security adviser Anthony Lake, who now must decide what to recommend to the president.

The interagency review went beyond AID to examine all programs by which the United States sends aid to foreign countries. The study encompassed the departments of Agriculture, State, Defense and Treasury as well as such independent agencies as the Export-Import Bank and the Peace Corps. It also included activities ranging from giveaways of surplus military gear to health programs.

Altogether, the United States is spending \$27.7 billion on foreign assistance this fiscal year, according to the study, or less than 2 percent of the federal budget. About 75 percent of that money is spent in the United States to purchase such items as food and

cont.

# Radical Overhaul Urged in New Study for U.S. Foreign Aid Programs

TOP SECRET

equipment sent abroad or the salaries of aid workers. But there is still "widespread public and congressional sentiment that the U.S. is engaged in overly well-funded 'foreign giveaway' programs that do the United States little good, at a time when domestic U.S. requirements are significantly underfunded," the study said.

The aid money is spent without "systematic evaluation" of the effectiveness of the

***"Funds would not be given to countries on an entitlement basis, but rather to requirements on a merit basis."***

--Clinton administration report

programs and without review by any agency that examines them for duplication, efficiency or consistency with administration policy, the study found. There is "no consensus" on what the goal of U.S. aid should be and no framework for developing one, it concluded.

Unless foreign aid is radically overhauled, it faces "death by a thousand cuts, leaving a continually shrinking foreign assistance programs with no clear direction or impact and a decline in U.S. international leadership," the study said.

The study group, made up of sub-Cabinet-level political appointees and senior staff members, said its intention was to give options to the Cabinet, not recommenda-

tions. But the study is structured in such a way as to make clear the group expects Clinton to endorse its far-reaching proposals, unless he is unwilling to risk a bruising fight with Congress.

Under the current system, according to the study, the administration assigns dollar amounts to potential aid recipients. Then Congress haggles over the amounts.

"Recipient countries follow the slight changes in the funds requested as a litmus test of their importance to the United States," the study said. "Many countries view these allocations as something approaching 'entitlements.' "

To break out of the pattern, the study proposed a "major legislative rewrite" to stipulate that aid money be allocated to national goals, not countries.

Under this approach, the White House would list about 10 general categories, such as "democracy and human rights," "environment, health and population" or "refugees and migration." Funding for each category would be allocated according to its priority with Congress and the administration. Each of these "international resource programs" would be run by a policy committee chaired by an assistant secretary of state.

Countries or "other recipients" would submit proposals for evaluation by the "relevant agencies," including AID. Once a project was accepted, a project manager would solicit bids from potential operators—AID or another government department, a United Nations agency or a non-governmental organization.

The reason for this proposed framework, the study said, is that "it is no longer possible for the administration to let each agency define and pursue its agenda separately."

Whatever system for giving out funds is used, the study group recommended, all aid programs should serve four national goals: promotion of economic growth at home and competitiveness abroad, defense of the United States and its allies, promotion of democracy and human rights, and attention to the problems of environmental degradation, refugees and narcotics trafficking.

Now, 38 percent of aid goes for security assistance, the largest category, the study group said. The group offered two options for decreasing security assistance and increasing economic and humanitarian assistance if Clinton and his top aides choose to do so. Under these options more money would go to organizations such as the World Bank or refugee relief groups, less to armies and police forces.

While such a shift would be consistent with Clinton administration policies, the study group found, "the chief difficulties would come diplomatically in explaining our reductions in aid to traditional aid recipients in the Middle East," especially Egypt and Israel.

The study group suggested that ways exist to support U.S. interests abroad other than handing out money, such as easing access to U.S. markets for foreign farmers and manufacturers. "A positive change in a U.S. trade quota or tariff, while having no direct effect on the U.S. budget, could provide greater economic benefit" than direct aid, the study said.

For that reason, trade policy should be considered in making foreign aid decisions, the group said in a statement likely to stir anxiety among such protected U.S. agricultural sectors as sugar and peanuts.

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# Beleagured AID to become lab for government reform

By Greg Pierce  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The often-criticized U.S. Agency for International Development hopes to change its image by becoming the "No. 1 laboratory" for reinventing government.

That's what agency Administrator J. Brian Atwood told employees at a luncheon forum in the State Department auditorium Friday.

He later told reporters he hopes someday soon they will refer to AID as "the reform agency" rather than "the beleaguered agency."

A senior White House official confirmed the need for change. "The foreign assistance program is important to us, but the program is in some sense of disrepair," said the official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

AID is one of four agencies or departments selected to sign a "performance agreement" with President Clinton to produce dramatic gains in efficiency under the administration's National Performance Review. The others are the General



Accounting Office, the Agriculture Department and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

"This is your reorganization," Mr. Atwood told his employees, saying he had read 300 pages of their comments.

Because of their ideas, he said, the agency hopes to cut regulations by 70 percent and reduce the number of handbooks from four to one. AID also plans to automate its travel-voucher system, change its approach to employee evaluations, and bring its computer system "into the 20th century."

But the most dramatic change will be in the agency's operations overseas. The administrator announced that 22 of its more than 80

field missions will be closed. Mr. Atwood told reporters he could not reveal which countries will be affected, because Secretary of State Warren Christopher might want to change some of the recommendations.

However, Mr. Atwood did reveal that the budgets for Asia and Latin America will be hard hit. In fact, the budget for Latin America likely will be cut in half, he said.

The United States spends more than \$27 billion a year on foreign aid through several U.S. agencies and multinational institutions such as the World Bank.

The agency wants to be more responsive to the State Department and better able to respond quickly to changing events, Mr. Atwood said. An example was last week's agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. AID is now looking for a way to send some money to the West Bank and Gaza, he said.

The administrator said he recently had a two-hour, one-on-one discussion with Vice President Al



J. Brian Atwood

Gore at the White House, discussing the "reinvention laboratory" at AID. The vice president was most excited by AID's plan to assist nations in cleaning up the environment, he said.

This kind of fundamental change "happens about once every 50 years," Mr. Atwood said, calling it a "historic opportunity."

The final reorganization plan will be ready Oct. 1, he said.

\* This article is based in part on wire service reports.

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בלמס/מייד'

תאריך: 20 ספטמבר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דעת: לש- שח"ח

מאת: תקשורת, ווшибיגטונ

הנדון: ישראל - סוריה

מצ"ב כתבת ח-פ-א (דיינויד הופמן 9/19) אודדות הלחצים שפעילה ישראל לאחרונה על סוריה. כדי לקדם את השיחות בין שתי המדינות. בכתבה ציטוט דברי שח"ח פרס בראיון לרדיו (18/9) - המבקרים את סוריה הדורשת נסיגת מלאה מרמת הגולן אך אינה מספקת לישראל פרטיהם על סוג השלומים שהיא מציעה בתמורה. דברי שח"ח הינם, לדעת הכתב, חלק ממאץ מדיני של ישראל להביא לידי השיחות בין שתי המדינות - עתה משוויש הסכם בין ישראל ואש"ף.

### תקשורת

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# Israel Pressing Syria to Speed Talks

*Peres Says Damascus Must Ensure Peace to Gain Golan Heights*

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, Sept. 18—Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres criticized Syria in an interview broadcast today, saying President Hafez Assad is seeking full return of the Golan Heights without showing Israel what kind of peace Syria is prepared to offer in return.

Peres's remarks on state-run Israel Radio, coupled with criticism earlier in the week from Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, appeared to be part of a campaign to press Assad into accelerating negotiations with Israel now that an agreement has been reached with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Rabin plans to travel to Egypt on Sunday for a meeting with President Hosni Mubarak in the port city of Alexandria to discuss the pact with the PLO and the next steps with Syria. Mubarak is also expected to meet with Assad later in the week, and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat is scheduled to address the Arab League in Cairo on Monday.

Syria has insisted that Israel commit to full withdrawal from the Golan, which it captured in the 1967

Middle East war. Israel wants Syria to spell out what arrangements for peace it is prepared to make. Israeli officials also favor a phased approach in which Israel gives up territory gradually, in return for normalization steps by Syria.

Peres, in the radio interview recorded earlier this week, said, "The Syrians want to have the fruits of the negotiations without going through the motions. It's like someone who likes to have the fruit but is not ready to plant the seed."

Referring to the return of the Sinai to Egypt, Peres said of Syria, "They would like to have the same result as Egypt did, but without going through what the Egyptians went through—a graduality, the step-by-step movement, the breaking of the psychological barrier. The sheer [act of] talking openly, clearly—all this is missing. And we should be patient until it becomes clear."

Peres also said Israel would seek to open relations with the rest of the Arab world in the wake of the agreement with the PLO and an agenda approved this week with Jordan.

Israeli news reports have suggested that the accord with the PLO could lead to the conclusion of ongo-

ing negotiations for full diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Other countries said to be moving toward relations with Jerusalem include Zimbabwe, Cambodia and Mauritius. News agencies also reported from Monte Carlo that the International Olympic Committee executive board recommended today that the IOC grant provisional recognition to the Palestinian Olympic Committee, giving Palestinian athletes a chance to compete in the Olympic Games.

Peres poured cold water on the idea of a national referendum on the new pact—which provides for immediate Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho and its expansion later to the rest of the West Bank. An ultra-Orthodox religious party, Shas, which had been in Rabin's coalition government until two leaders were charged with corruption, has called for such a referendum. The support of Shas could be crucial to Rabin in this week's parliament vote on the pact.

But Peres said a plebiscite would harm Israel's ability to negotiate in the future, and he noted that the opposition Likud, when it held power, had not sought a referendum on the Camp David accords.

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 20 ספטמבר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, ווושינגטונ

חנדון: הסכם ההכרה ההדדי

מצ"ב באמירו של צארלס קראוטהמר (9/17 WP) אוזדות חתימת החסכם בין ישראל  
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Charles Krauthammer

## Arafat the Deceiver

*If he has the authority to negotiate for the Palestinians, he should have the authority to stop Palestinian violence.*

I never thought I would live to see Yasser Arafat on the White House lawn. And now that I have, I'm ready to reconsider the merits of longevity. I was there Monday, when Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin shook hands. Unlike the peace activists, I did not cheer. Unlike the Hollywood contingent, I did not cry. I did not feel wonder. I felt only anxiety. Looking at Arafat, I longed to see Anwar Sadat.

Sadat was a man of vision and resolution. Arafat is a schemer, a plotter, a political thug. He came to the White House lawn with one purpose: to transform himself into a statesman and visionary. I have my doubts.

And on the White House lawn, Arafat did nothing to dispel them, or those of others who fear that this is but another in a lifetime of tactical maneuvers. He said nothing to dispel the suspicion that his piece of paper promising peace will go the way of every promise he has ever made—from the Cairo agreement of 1969 (which promised Lebanon peace if it would let him run a Palestinian state-within-a-state in southern Lebanon) to the “renunciation of terrorism” that George Shultz coaxed out of him in 1988.

I know that in the brave new world that dawned Monday noon, one is not supposed to bring up the past. A new page of history is turned, and we are supposed to believe that everything has changed.

Has it? Did anyone actually listen to Arafat's speech? Here was his great chance in front of the whole world to tell Israel as plainly as Yitzhak Rabin had just told the Palestinians (and, for that matter, Sadat had said in Jerusalem): We accept you, we welcome you as neighbors, we want to live together in peace. Instead, Arafat said nothing about recognizing Israel. Nothing about stopping terrorism. Nothing about ending the intifada. He spoke only of his future hopes and further demands for getting more than he has been given now.

It was a sorry performance. One American official said to me as we left the White House grounds, “Arafat missed his chance.” He attributed this to Arafat's weakness and the need to please his recalcitrant constituencies. I hope he is right, but this has always been the explanation for Arafat's backsliding and lies: He needs to please his constituencies. There is, however, a darker and more plausible explanation: He doesn't mean it.

Last week, for example, when Yitzhak Rabin signed the letter recognizing the PLO in Jerusalem, he did it on live television. He wanted his people to see it. When Arafat signed his letter to Rabin recognizing Israel, he did so behind closed doors.

Why is this important? Because this whole peace adventure hinges on the PLO's having really changed, not on its signing pieces of paper. It requires that Arafat begin to undo 50 years of vicious anti-Israel propaganda and tell his people plainly that Israel has a right to exist. It requires that Arafat tell them plainly that the fighting must stop. And to say it not just once—obliquely, in English, in a side letter to a Norwegian—but repeatedly, directly, in Arabic, to his Palestinian constituency.

Instead, throughout his triumphal Washington tour, Arafat danced away from saying what needed to be said. On Tuesday, for example, he was asked: “Why don't you clearly call on Hamas and other Palestinians to stop their attacks on the Israelis?”

“I have done it. And this, I have signed it,” replied Arafat, refusing to make a simple forthright statement such as: “I ask my people to stop killing Israelis.” Instead,

this: “The accurate implementation of this agreement will defuse the causes of . . . violence.” Meaning: Give me what I demand (“accurate implementation”) and there will be no further need to knife Israeli bus drivers. Till then? Well, I have signed it, have I not?

This is exactly how the “old Arafat” handled such questions: bobbing, weaving, maneuvering. This verbal slipperiness was lost on the American media, which have the historical memory of a newt. They were transfixed instead by The Handshake. Through misty eyes, they interpreted it as a sign of friendship, when for Arafat it was clearly a means of achieving instant equality of stature with two major heads of state, Yitzhak Rabin and Bill Clinton.

It is understandable that the media should have gone gaga over the ceremony and its cosmic historical significance. After all, television turns a new page in history every morning. It is also understandable that the Clinton administration should have gone overboard in staging the spectacle. The bells and whistles, the trumpets and cymbals were designed to help make a tentative turning point into a world historical event.

Clinton hauled out the table on which Sadat and Begin had signed the Egypt-Israel peace treaty. He hauled out every president, secretary of state, staffer and cheerleader ever associated with Arab-Israeli peace. These excesses were calculated and justified. The idea was to make the signing as large and public as possible. The point was to try to manufacture taboo-breaking symbols that might accelerate reconciliation in the region.

That's fine. But that's theater. And only children and fools confuse theater with the real thing. The euphoria that swept Washington this week—fawning senators asking Arafat for his autograph—is embarrassing. This is a very tentative pact based on very large promises made by very unreliable people. Yes, it might work. But Arafat's Washington performance—forget his history—does not inspire confidence.

Here is the “new Arafat” at the National Press Club, 24 hours after the cosmic handshake:

Q: “The Jewish people have not felt that they could trust you to keep your word. Why has this changed? And why should they trust you now?”

A: “Many didn't trust Jesus Christ in the beginning.” (Applause.)

Think about that.



BY BOB DANNI

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בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 20 ספטמבר 1993

אל: ממ"ד

## מאת: תקשורת, ווושינגטון

9/21.9

## הנדון: הסכם ההכרה החדדית ומדיניות ערבית

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (9/19 F.P. - MURPHY CARYLE) אודוות ההשפעה של ההסכם  
הכרה ההדדיות בין ישראל ואש"פ על מדיניות ערב השונות.

## הקשרו רת

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WP 1919  
F.P.

## Accord Likely to Shake Up Arab World Politics

By Carlyle Murphy  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, Sept. 18—Last week's historic Israeli-Palestinian peace accord propelled the Middle East into a new era that holds out the promise of peace and prosperity, but not without some initial confusion and ferment, officials, diplomats and analysts in the region say.

Sealing their mutual recognition with a handshake on a sun-splashed White House lawn, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat belatedly dragged

the Middle East into the post-Cold War era.

The global sea change that has already ended communism in Russia, given the United States its first baby-boomer president, upended Japan's ruling party, ushered in open societies in Eastern Europe and spelled the end of apartheid in South Africa may now reshape the political and economic landscape of the hidebound Middle East.

"When they agreed to this, both Arafat and Rabin most certainly unleashed forces which they will have great difficulty in controlling," said Kuwait University sociolo-

gist Khaldoun Naqib. "In a historic sense, it's like what happened in the Soviet Union in 1985" under reformist leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

As in the former Soviet Union, the first aftershocks of the Middle East's breakthrough are likely to bring turmoil and strife to the region, placing long-entrenched Arab rulers under stress. Arab states will have to find a new basis for badly frayed inter-Arab cooperation and unity without the common struggle against the enemy, Israel.

See MIDEAST, A23, Col. 1

MIDEAST, From A1

If they fail, the centuries-old triangle of Arab rivalry grounded in Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad could gain new momentum. At the same time, an end to the state of war with Israel means that authoritarian Arab regimes must come up with a new explanation to their people for maintaining police regimes and restricting political freedom.

The long-term outlook is brighter. If the Arab-Israeli breakthrough proceeds to a successful conclusion over the next several years, its impact will be felt in almost every sphere of life, from telephone communications, to air travel, to banking laws, analysts predict. It will have profound repercussions on the politics, psychology and economic development of the region.

Experts predict new alignments among individual states; a resurgence of the Levant—the area comprising Israel, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and a soon-to-be Palestinian entity—as an integrated economic unit; a boost for now-wide-spread demands for greater political freedom; untethered media; and greater demand for human rights and economic reform.

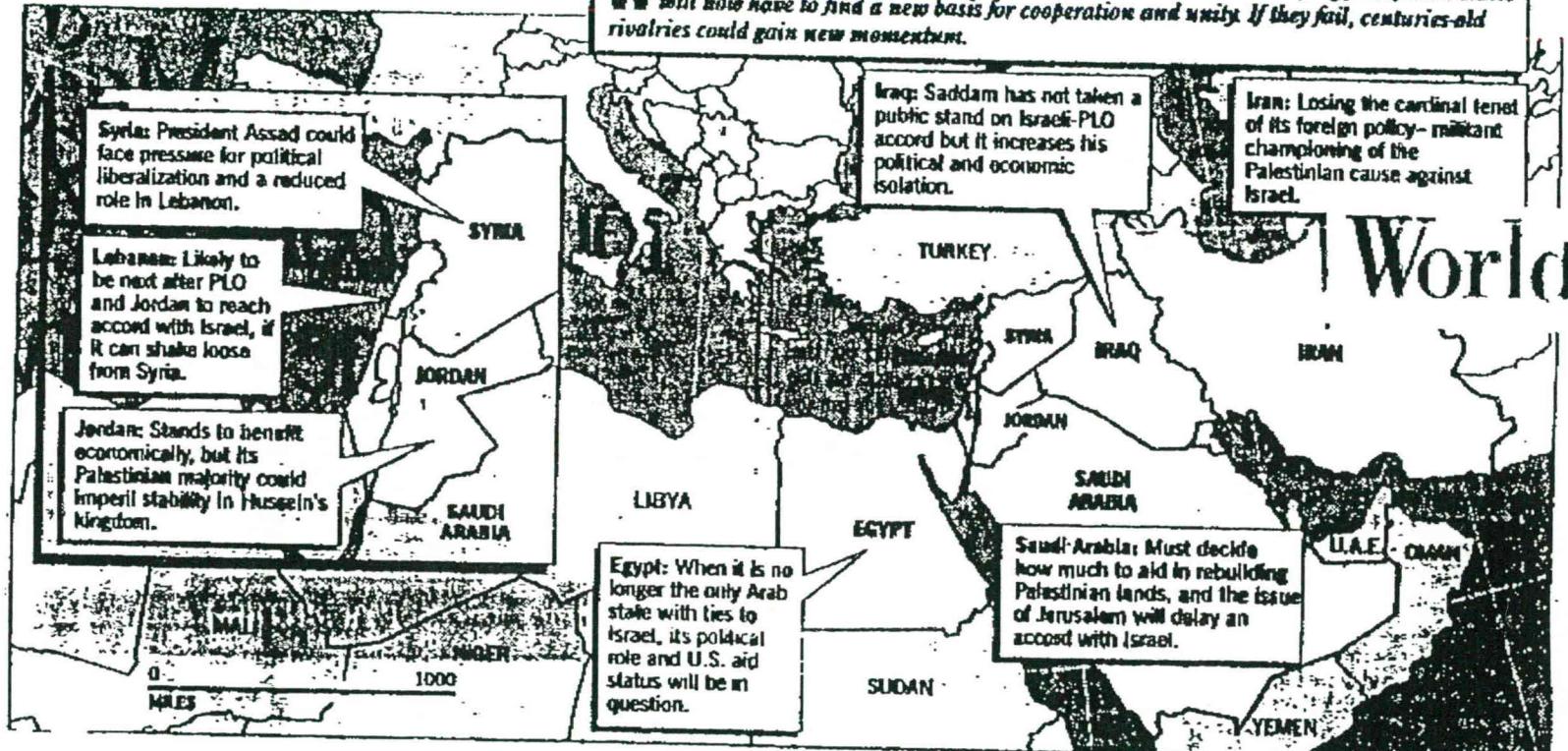
"Normal relations will be established in this region. What did President Clinton say? 'To enjoy the miracle of normal life.' I like very much this quotation," said Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa, who illustrated this thought with the example of an Israeli soccer team coming to Cairo for a match—something that has never happened despite the countries' 14-year-old peace accord.

Asked if the Middle East has entered a new era, Moussa replied: "Entering a new era."

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# World Is Likely to Shake Up Politics in the Arab World

## REMAPPING THE MIDDLE EAST



BY RICHARD FRIEDMAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

the PLO has recognized nothing will prevent doing so—or some other thing so,” he said.

“process launched this process some form of assertive self-rule, “an evolution of authoritarian-Arab world is going to,” said Ghassan Salame, a specialist at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Internationales in Paris.

Despite great expectations that a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will blunt the appeal of Islamic fundamentalist activism, many analysts say they doubt this will be the

case. Israeli conflict itself because military people thought they could deal better with Israel than civilians,” Salame added.

“People will look for more civil rights, for better welfare arrangements, [and] each individual country will have to rethink [its] past, present and future,” said a Saudi official who asked not to be named.

Economically, Arab acceptance of Israel as part of the region could

mean reduced military expenditures and greater allocation of resources to civilian projects. It is also likely to usher in greater regional economic cooperation, but also, paradoxically, competition—both between Israel and Arab states, and among Arabs themselves.

There is a dawning awareness in Arab countries that to be competitive, especially with Israel, they will have to reform economic systems now riven by corruption, red tape, subsidies and favoritism.

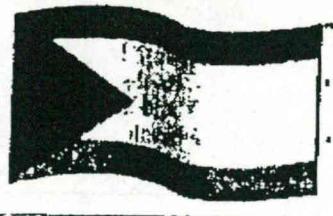
The prospect of Palestinian-Israeli

economic cooperation raised by the agreement signed in Washington, for example, has already quickened the pulse of those who run the economies of Syria and Jordan. In the past week, Syria signed with Lebanon the broadest economic agreements in 50 years, furthering the two countries’ economic integration.

The new era launched by the Israeli-Palestinian accord will mean stark new choices and changes for individual countries. Below are summaries of what diplomats and others expert in the region’s key states.



The full, official text of the agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization is available by fax or mail for \$5. For fax delivery, phone 1-800-945-5190 from a touch-tone phone. For mail delivery, phone 1-800-666-9329, ext. 121, between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. weekdays. Specify Article Number 899 and the number of your VISA or MasterCard when prompted.



## SAUDI ARABIA

### Jerusalem an Issue

In Saudi Arabia, the future of Jerusalem, which contains one of Islam's holiest sites, is a much greater concern to the population than Palestinian self-rule. So until that issue is resolved—presumably still years away—Riyadh may have a difficult time justifying normal ties with Israel.

Moreover, new economic opportunities for Israel and its neighbors generated by a widening peace means that "we are going to have a shift again in geographic balance in favor of the Levant and Egypt," resulting in "the end of the period of hegemony of the gulf area," a Lebanese analyst said.

An immediate decision facing Saudi Arabia is how much to contribute to the economic development of Gaza and the West Bank once the PLO takes over. With anti-Palestinian sentiment still running high in Saudi Arabia because of Arafat's tilt to Iraq during the Persian Gulf War, this will not be a popular move.

## IRAQ

### A Greater Isolation

The Israeli-PLO peace agreement leaves President Saddam Hussein, who once tried to trade Iraq's evacuation from occupied Kuwait for a settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, more isolated politically than ever.

Still, his government has not officially commented on the Israeli-Palestinian accord, although the state-run press has criticized it. Before the gulf war, Iraq had said any peace agreement with Israel accepted by Palestinians would be acceptable to Baghdad.

But, for the moment, Iraq's continuing diplomatic and economic isolation keep it from being an effective player in the unfolding Middle East drama.

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## EGYPT

### Fading Influence

Although the Palestinian-Israeli accord offered Egyptians sweet vindication for their pioneering 1979 treaty with the Jewish state, many worry that their country has worked itself out of an important function.

An unfolding Arab-Israeli reconciliation is fast making obsolete Cairo's special diplomatic role as interlocutor between the two sides. "Egypt, until this agreement, was the only Arab power capable of dealing with the two sides," an Egyptian analyst said. "Its influence in the region stemmed from this fact. Now we are losing that role."

This fear is driven less by vanity than by Cairo's concern over future economic assistance. With some reductions in U.S. aid already expected, it fears peace will accelerate those reductions, and with Palestinians now vying for European and Persian Gulf assistance to develop their lands, Egypt will have added competition getting aid from those sources.

## JORDAN

### Stability Imperiled

The impact of a widening Arab-Israeli peace perhaps will be most strongly felt domestically in Jordan, where King Hussein reigns over a population that is two-thirds Palestinian, more than 1 million of them refugees from the West Bank. Their future is a major concern for Jordan.

While confederation between Jordan and an eventual independent Palestinian state on the West Bank is widely anticipated, and would be an economic boon for Jordan, this step would leave native Jordanians even more fearful of Palestinian domination. That could be perilous for stability in the kingdom.

A foretaste of the problems was Hussein's suggestion last week that he might postpone multi-party parliamentary elections scheduled for November until the "new situation" becomes clearer.

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

Exuding images of hope and despair, a young Palestinian boy holds a toy gun and a Palestinian flag during a demonstration in support of the accord between the PLO and Israel in Dura, on the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

## LEBANON

### The Next in Line?

**E**xpectations are that Lebanon would be next after Jordan and the Palestinians to settle its differences with Israel. But it is not so simple for the government of Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri to break ranks with Syria, its powerful and domineering neighbor, with which it will have to live long after any accord with Israel.

Lebanon seeks two major things from Israel: withdrawal of Israeli troops from southern Lebanon and resolution of the status of the 300,000 Palestinian refugees there. The latter will depend on how Palestinians and Israelis solve the overall refugee question.

Finally, a showdown between Hariri and Hezbollah seems inevitable. But if Beirut can win that battle, it may be free of Iranian interference in its internal affairs for the first time in many years.

## IRAN

### Calling It 'Treason'

**A**part from Libya, Iran is the only regional government to officially denounce the accord. "These are the most degrading times for the Islamic jihad in Palestine," President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani said, calling it "treason."

For Iran, a rapprochement between Israel and its Arab neighbors would deprive it of the main issue Tehran uses to play a role in Arab affairs. Its championing of the Palestinian cause, and of the necessity to free Jerusalem from Israeli control, has been a cardinal tenet of its foreign policy.

Iran's main act in support of that tenet has been to support Islamic parties in the Israeli-occupied territories and Hezbollah in Lebanon. Any peace agreement between Israel and Syria would hamper Iran's use of Hezbollah by forcing Syria to cut Iran's access and arm channels to the militant Muslim group.

Correspondent Nora Boustany in Amman contributed to this report.

## SYRIA

### Rule at Stake

**T**he struggle against the "Zionist enemy" has been the cornerstone of President Hafez Assad's 23-year military dictatorship, so peace with Israel would require new justification for his continued rule. Many analysts say this can only mean political liberalization in one of the region's harshest police states, a move that could eventually threaten the monopoly on power held by Assad's Alawite Muslim minority.

"The Arab society most embedded into the Palestinian cause was Syria," a Lebanese analyst said. "The militarization of Syria, the distortion of the economy and the repression were because of the nationalist struggle. When this disappears, there will be tremendous consequences. Civil society is going to breathe."

Assad will also face difficult peacetime choices in his efforts to continue dominating neighboring Lebanon's economy and politics since Israel is likely, in any peace agreement, to require that Syria withdraw militarily from Lebanon.

A peace accord also would likely require Assad to end Syria's cooperation in transfers of Iranian money and weapons to the Hezbollah organization in Lebanon, thus possibly damaging Syria's 13-year-old special ties with Iran.

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בלטם/רג'יל

20 בספטמבר 1993

אל: מצפיה  
מאת: ק. קובגרס

## הבדון: אש"ט • ערפת, בקורס גדר

דרצ"ב סיקור השבעון הקונגרסיוינגלי: "הكونגרסיוינאל קורוטלי" על ביקור ערפאת בקונגרס ועל יחסיו אש"ס והקונגרס.

יְהוּדִית וּרְנָאִי דְּרָנְגֶר

9.9.

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# Lawmakers Struggle for In Whirlwind of Ideas

*Sense of history and good will pervade  
but issues of foreign aid, diplomacy and  
punishing Israel are still in play*

The handshake that transformed the Middle East left Congress struggling once again to catch up with events of historic proportions.

Just as with the fall of the Soviet Union less than two years ago, the dramatic peace agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is forcing bewildered lawmakers to seek a new approach for a region where U.S. policy has not substantially changed for a generation.

And as with Moscow, the PLO may have changed overnight from the subject of countless congressional denunciations to a claimant for foreign aid.

On Sept. 13, Israel and the PLO overcame decades of violence and enmity to sign a landmark agreement laying the foundation for Palestinian self-rule in lands occupied by Israel since 1967. (Highlights, p. 2472)

"There are some days that one thinks of as being part of a larger and significant history," House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., told reporters after the ceremony, "and today is such a day."

The next morning, PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat was welcomed to the Capitol by beaming members of Congress who had voted for years to punish the PLO for its terrorist tactics.

"Just as I did not think I would live long enough to see Chairman Arafat shake hands with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on the White House grounds," said Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, R-Kan., "I never expected to

By Carroll J. Doherty



"I never expected to see Chairman Arafat drinking coffee" at the Capitol, Dole, left, said after meeting with the PLO leader and Mitchell.

see Chairman Arafat drinking coffee in the United States Capitol."

The initial response to the Israel-PLO agreement was overwhelmingly favorable. "There's a good feeling now," said Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg, D-N.J. "It's very easy to be positive."

But that feeling could pass as Congress begins grappling with the tough issues created by the agreement, including an anticipated request for assistance from a PLO-led self-governing authority.

"Once we see our share of what's expected to build the Palestinian entity, it could cause a stop-and-think reaction," Lautenberg said in an interview.

President Clinton and his aides insisted that other nations would be asked to shoulder most of the costs of peace.

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher had begun soliciting support from European and Arab nations for a multilateral fund to underwrite economic reconstruction in the areas coming under Palestinian authority — the Gaza Strip and the West Bank

— but the PLO's role in the peace process is likely to play a role in the peace process.

"I hope to see the United States being more deeply involved in the Middle East than ever. We have in the past used this agreement or agreements to implement and carry out," House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Lee H. Hamilton, D-Ind., told CQ.

Congressional leaders immediately took on the task of reviewing the anti-PLO provisions that enacted during the past few

Box, p. 2470)

"We want to be helpful and supportive," Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine. "If we have to change some laws to be helpful and supportive, then we intend to do so."

## Witness to History

Former presidents, foreign dignitaries and members of Congress attended the sun-drenched signing ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House.

They heard Clinton marvel at "an extraordinary act in one of history's defining dramas," at "this brave gamble that the future can be better than the past." (Text, p. 2488)

They heard Rabin and Arafat plead eloquently for reconciliation and an end to the violence that has long wracked the Middle East.

"We who have fought against you, the Palestinians, we say to you today

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## Congress and the PLO: Old Enemies

For decades, Congress had been unequivocal in its opposition to the Palestine Liberation Organization, producing a thick file of statutory condemnations and prohibitions that now may be anachronisms.

In scores of laws and amendments to foreign policy legislation, lawmakers have targeted the PLO in a variety of ways. Congress barred indirect U.S. support for the PLO through the United Nations, prohibited contacts between U.S. officials and PLO representatives, and prohibited U.S. funding for the International Monetary Fund if it allowed the Palestinian group to participate in its loan programs.

The prevailing view of the PLO on Capitol Hill was summed up in the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1987 (PL 100-204):

"Congress determines that the PLO and its affiliates are a terrorist organization and a threat to the interests of the United States, its allies, and to international law and should not benefit from operating in the United States."

But all that may have changed with the signing of the PLO's accord with Israel. Congress is reviewing the anti-PLO statutes and is considering repealing them.

Highlighting the difficulties created by the laws, the State Department had to waive a prohibition on travel by PLO officials to allow PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and his delegation to come to the United States to sign the agreement. The delegation was granted temporary business visas for the trip.

### Prohibiting Negotiations

The most sweeping restriction probably is the one that prohibited negotiations between U.S. diplomats and PLO officials.

The provision had been reaffirmed routinely by in-

clusion in the annual foreign operations appropriations measure.

It is not included in versions of the fiscal 1994 foreign aid spending bill that are moving through Congress, at least in part because of efforts to reduce the number of foreign policy mandates in the legislation.

Although the 1984 law (PL 98-473) remains on the books, its provisions may now be moot. The statute bars diplomatic contacts unless the PLO renounces terrorism, recognizes Israel's right to exist and accepts the U.N. Security Council resolutions providing the framework for peace with Israel.

Arafat appeared to meet all three conditions with his Sept. 9 letter to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in which he said the PLO recognized "the right of the state of Israel to exist in peace and security."

That permitted President Clinton and his aides to meet with Arafat and other PLO officials Sept. 13. But a separate 1990 statute (PL 101-246) requires the administration to report to Congress every 120 days on negotiations with the PLO.

Congress might retain some of those laws to ensure that Arafat lives up to his commitments. In spite of the agreement, many lawmakers remain distrustful of the PLO leader.

Although Congress targeted diplomatic contacts with the PLO, it apparently never barred direct aid to the organization — perhaps because such an idea seemed inconceivable to lawmakers.

That could make it easier for the administration to tap an existing \$25 million aid program for the West Bank and Gaza Strip in order to support the proposed Palestinian self-governing authority.

—Carroll J. Doherty



A Palestinian woman, above, waves a Palestinian flag while dancing in Jerusalem on Sept. 13 as the PLO and Israelis sign a peace accord in Washington, D.C. At right, young Israelis, who had gathered in a park in Jerusalem, hug as news of the signing is broadcast.



in a loud and a clear voice: enough of blood and tears," Rabin said. "Enough."

Arafat answered, "My people are hoping that this agreement which we are signing today marks the beginning of the end of a chapter of pain and suffering which has lasted throughout this century."

Arafat's very presence at the White House, after being banned from the United States for two decades, seemed more important than anything he said. Although still wearing a military uniform with his trademark checkered keffiyeh — a traditional Arab headdress — Arafat sought to strike a conciliatory tone during his two-day visit to Washington.

Following a speech at the National Press Club on Sept. 14, Arafat bantered with reporters as if he were an American politician on the stump. When asked if he had won a promise of aid during his meetings on Capitol Hill, Arafat said diplomatically that he understood that there were "some difficulties in Congress" over direct assistance to the PLO.

But he added, "At least we can have loan guarantees." It was an ironic reference to the guarantees for \$10 billion in loans that the United States provided to Israel last year.

On a somber note, Arafat detailed the dire economic conditions in the Gaza Strip. He said that the economic infrastructure of Gaza had been virtually destroyed, with unemployment exceeding 50 percent.

Not everyone was taken with the Palestinian leader. Many conservatives, in Congress and elsewhere, echoed the doubts expressed by their ideological allies in Israel's opposition Likud Party. Even some lawmakers who endorsed the agreement remained skeptical of Arafat and the PLO.

Rep. Peter Deutsch, D-Fla., voiced those concerns during debate on a non-binding resolution supporting the accord (H Con Res 143), which the House approved by voice vote on Sept. 14. Deutsch was particularly upset by a Sept. 12 attack by Palestinian militants in the Gaza Strip that left four Israelis dead.

"On Sunday, President Clinton asked, in a sense pleaded, with Yasir Arafat to condemn those acts of violence and terrorism," Deutsch said. "On Monday, Yasir Arafat made no mention of renouncing those terrorist incidents that had occurred just one day before."



Rabin shared an aside with Clinton during ceremony at the White House on Sept. 13.

"We say to you today in a loud and a clear voice: enough of blood and tears. Enough."

— Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin

The diplomatic momentum picked up speed after Rabin and Arafat departed from Washington.

Israel and Jordan quickly agreed on a framework for negotiations over a peace treaty. That prompted Clinton to notify Congress that he intends to waive congressional restrictions holding up about \$30 million in security assistance for Jordan.

In the fiscal 1993 foreign operations bill (PL 102-391), Congress had barred aid to Jordan unless the president certified that the kingdom has complied with U.N. sanctions against Iraq and backed the Middle East peace process.

There were signs that attitudes toward Israel in other parts of the Arab world were also moderating. On his way home from the United States, Rabin stopped for an amicable meeting with King Hassan in Morocco.

#### Cautious Stance

While many lawmakers praised the accord, no one appeared eager to step out in front of Rabin and Clinton in offering tangible support for the planned Palestinian authority. In part, that reflected Congress' customary disenchantment with foreign aid.

It also was a signal of the strong and enduring support for Israel on Capitol Hill. Until the idea of aid for a Palestinian entity receives the imprimatur of both the Rabin government and politically potent American Jewish organizations, Congress probably will be reluc-

tant to lend its backing.

"The fact is that we're not at that stage yet," said Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Hoenlein said the immediate challenge for Jewish groups will be to win more support for Israel as it moves through a difficult transitional period. "With Israel taking these risks, it will need more confidence-building, not less," he said in an interview.

Several lawmakers said one effect of Israel's willingness to make the agreement might be to immunize the Rabin government from the congressional budget-cutting that has forced reductions in most foreign assistance programs during the past few years.

Earlier this year, some influential lawmakers such as Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., chairman of the Senate Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, suggested that the \$8 billion a year the United States provides to Israel might soon have to be reduced.

But in the days following the agreement, Leahy and other members cited the need to maintain the high level of assistance. The administration reportedly will soon take steps to reassure Israel with sales of advanced aircraft and military technology.

Hours after the emotional ceremony at the White House, Leahy's subcommittee met to mark up the fiscal 1994 foreign aid appropriations bill (HR 2295). The panel voted to increase refugee assistance for Israel by \$25 million. But it made no move to increase programs benefiting Palestinians above the \$25 million a year previously provided. (*Appropriations*, p. 2473)

Some lawmakers expect the administration to increase that to at least \$50 million — perhaps by drawing funds from other programs — as the plans for a Palestinian administration become clearer. But that is a far cry from the billions of dollars that may be needed for reconstruction in the West Bank and Gaza.

In spite of a sense of business-as-usual at the Appropriations Committee, there was a consensus that the titanic changes in the Middle East ultimately would have an impact on the congressional debate over foreign aid.

"I think that we're on the line here," Lautenberg said. "President Clinton's enthusiastic endorsement of this agreement is an intimation that we're going to be asked to support it."

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## A Timetable for Peace

The Declaration of Principles signed by representatives of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization on Sept. 13 proclaims that "it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights and strive to live in peaceful co-existence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation."

The agreement sets the following timetable for steps toward self-rule for Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip:

### Oct. 13, 1993

A month after its signing, the Declaration of Principles takes effect. It calls for the establishment of joint and multilateral committees to negotiate the final settlement:

- The Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee will handle issues requiring coordination and will resolve disputes between the two parties.

- An Israeli-Palestinian Economic Cooperation Committee will be established to address issues of joint concern such as water rights and utilization of joint water resources; production and sale of electricity; exploitation of oil and gas; the establishment of a Gaza Sea Port Area, overland routes and communication lines; regional economic development and trade; environmental protection; labor relations; and social welfare.

- A Continuing Committee, including representatives from the governments of Jordan and Egypt, will deal with matters of common concern and determine how to handle the people who were displaced from the West Bank and Gaza after Israel captured those territories in the Six-Day War in 1967.

### Dec. 13, 1993

This is the deadline for the Israeli government and the Palestinians to agree to terms for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area. Israeli troop withdrawal and the transfer of civil authority to Palestinians in Gaza and Jericho will begin immediately. The



Clinton watches as Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, left, and PLO leader Yasser Arafat shake hands after signing accord.

Israeli government will cede authority over education and culture, health and welfare programs, taxation and tourism to the Palestinians at this time.

The Palestinians will begin to build a police force of people with police training from the occupied territories and abroad. Palestinian police officers from outside the occupied territories must have either Egyptian documentation or a Jordanian passport. The force will assume responsibility for order in the territories after the Israeli troops withdraw.

However, the Israeli government will retain responsibility for external security and the protection of Israeli settlers on the territories until a final settlement is reached.

### April 13, 1994

Israeli military forces must complete withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area.

### July 13, 1994

Palestinians will hold elections to select the interim council to govern the territories. A separate protocol will be negotiated before the election to determine the size and structure of the council and rules for the campaign and the election.

### December 1995

By this time, the Israeli government and Palestinian representatives will begin "permanent status negotiations" toward a final accord. These negotiations will attempt to resolve issues such as the fate of Jerusalem, the disposition of refugees, the future of the Israeli settlements in the territories and the establishment of borders.

### December 1998

This is the target for permanent settlement of Israel's dispute with the Palestinians under U.N. Security Council resolutions 242 of 1967 and 338 of 1973. The resolutions call for withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied territories, a just settlement for Palestinian refugees and recognition of "the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries."

—Jennifer S. Thomas



אאא, חוזם: 25368  
אל: רהmesh/1239  
מ-: מיאמי, נר: 70, תא: 200993, זח: 1351, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
ביבב  
בלמס/מידי

9.9.9.

אל: מצפ"א  
דע: וושינגטונ- קישור לקונגרס  
מאת: הקונסוליה מיאמי

הנדון: תחזיות "שחורות" בעקבות הסכם ישראל-אש"פ

1. קונגרסמן הרפובליקני מפלורידה, BILL MCCOLLUM, יו"ר צוות החשיבה של הרפובליקנים בكونגרס, לנושא טרור, דיבר ביום א' 19.9 בマイami בפגישה בחסות AFSI (אמריקנים למען ישראל בטוחה).
2. מקולום העריד שמוסלמים קיצוניים ינקטו צעדים אלימים בתחום הקרובה, במקביל לפגעים ישראלים-فلס' ליישום ה策רת העקרונות.
3. בעוד שאש"פ כבר איננו מלא הפקיד בתחום הטרור, מנסים הקיצוניים המוסלמים להשיג שליטה בעולם הערבי תוך הסתמכות על רשות בין"ל נרחבת להפעלת הטרור. ה策ות במרקז המסחר, בហומבי ובכירות הן דוגמאות לטרור האיסלמי. מבנה ארגוני ופיזור ברחבי העולם הם האמצעי, במקומות טנקיים, למלחמותם.
4. הטרוריסטים המוסלמים מגיעים, עפ"י מקולום, מאירן, מסוריה ומלוב.
5. הרומי פרידמן, עד לאחרונה סגן נשיא איפא"ק Thema האם השלום אפשרי. "לבי אומר כן מוחי אומר שאין סיכוי"

דן האזרחי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, 0(רham), מנכל, מנכל, מצב, תכנון, מצפה,  
סמנכל תקשורת, תקשורת, רחטמות, ישראל ערבית,  
סמנכל שלום, ר/מרכז, מד, 0(רט), 0(אמן),  
בטמה, 0(עמי 762), 0(עמי 475), 0(יעזראם/טרור)

אאא, חוזם: 25684  
אל: רהmesh/1260/  
מ-: ניו-יורק, נר: 561, חא: 200993, זח: 1706, דח: מ, סג: בל,

ביבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

12362

בלם'ס/מידי

251.01

251.01

אל: חפוצה תקשורת ארה'ב  
מעית

דע: וושינגטן

מאת: תקשורת / ניו-יורק.

הנדון: הפתוחיות בתקשורת

✓ 9.

1. התייחס מהוועה עדין נושא מרכזי בכל kali התקשורת אם כי בנפח קטן מבשׂוע שעד. הדגש בפרשנוויות עובר להשלכות הכרוכות בישום ההסכם.

2. ב-NY (הברמן) מיום א' 19.9, כתבה מחייבת, מלאה בתצלום, שה'יח פרס. באותו עיתון מדווח, מעמן כי המלך חוסיין שפדרציה עם ירדן, לא חתמור את ביעית הפליטים. מושינגטן, סיואולינו מדווחת על הקשיים של קלינטון לגייס תמייה מקומית למעורבות אמריקאית בזיה'ת, לאיסוף כספים, ולשכנע את מדיניות ערבית להסיר את החרם הערבי. ב-OP-ED, טוען דיוויד שיפלר כי לאחר ההסכם בין ישראל לאשפ' צרי'ק להפטר מדעות קדומות. עוד ב-OP-ED דן קזרמן מספר כי בן גוריון חלם על הסכם דומה עם הערבים. בעמוד ראשון ב-NY (20.9), מדווח (הdag'ס) מאלבנדראק שמחיר שסודיה מעוניינה להגיע להסכם שלום עם ישראל. מושיף מקהיר דברי רפואי בפנוי שרי חוץ הערבים שההסכם עם ישראל הוא רק שלב הראשון לקרה השגת כל השטחים. קיפנר מדווח מעזה כי הפליטים מרצים מההסכם אך עדין חוששים מבעיות כלכליות.

3. בול טרייט ג'ורנל 20.9, פרשנות כי חתימת ההסכם היא רק התחלה לשלים בזיה'ת.

4. בנווזדיי 20.9, מאמר שבו נדון הסיכון שמדינה פלסטינית במצבה תוכל לגורום לחוסר שיווי משקל בזיה'ת.

5. מורת צוקמן טוען בדיליניוו 20.9, שההסכם כדי משומם שמחיר האלטרנטיבי גבוה יותר.

תקשורת / ניו-יורק.

20 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, @ (רham), @ (shebat), מנכל, מנכל, מצב, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, מקצב, לעם, סמנכלשלום, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (Rm), @ (אמן), אומן, @ (דוץ), @ (וחו'ב), צנזורצבי, חכנוון, מצפה, רחטמזה, ישראל, עבר

סמסם

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אאא, חוזם: 25009  
אל: רהמ 1215/המשרד, תא: 200993, זח: 1631, דח: מ, סג: סב,  
ביבב  
730865  
סודי ביוויל/מידי

913.11

אל: רהמ  
מאת: לשכת ממכיל

הנדון: הפטת מברק חוזם 23211, 9 לרה'ם

\*\* להלן מ-המשרד, תא: 190993

729134

סודי ביוויל/מידי

אל: וושינגטן, בינה

מאת: איתן בנצור

הנדון: פאקיסטאן

1. האמ-אנשי הקשר בקורנגרס שמעו דבר ממכיל משה'ה הפאקיסטאני בעקבות פגישתנו עימיו בוושינגטן.

2. כזכור אמר הלה בפגישתנו שמיד אחרי החתימה על ההסכם בין ישראל לאSHIP תודיע פאקיסטאן על ההכרה בישראל ועל נוכנותה לכונן יחסים דיפלומטיים עימנו.

3. בינתיים ראייתי ב-N.A.C. שגריר פאקיסטאני הגיש בתוניס כתוב האמנתו לערפה 'נשיא מדינת פלשתין'.

בנצור.

19 בسبטמבר 1993

עד כאן

אליסון רובין  
20 בسبטמבר 1993

תפוצה:@(רham), ממנכל

ססס

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אאאא, חודם: 24920  
אל: רהmesh/ 1208/  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 200993, זח: 1610, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
730648

סודי/מידי

אל: וושינגטון, ישכרוף, דן ארבל  
מאת: איתן בנצור

1. בשיחת אקראי במחמ"ד עם אחד מעוזריו הבכירים של אטווד, ראש ה-D.I.A. סיפר שהוא בהכנות תוכניות של סוכנות הסיוע לשטחים בהיקף של מאות מיליון Dolars לטוחה של מספר שנים.

2. הוא נא לקיים שיחות ב-D.I.A. כדי ללמד מקרוב על סוג התוכניות, היקפן וטוחה יישומן.

בנצור.

20 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, רהמ (שהבט), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, רם (אמן), ר/אגת,  
תכנון, ממד, מצפה, רחטמות, ישראל ערב

ססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 24788  
אל: רהmesh/1198  
מ-המשרד, תא: 200993, זח: 1519, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבככ  
730588

סודי/מידי

ו.ג.

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון  
מאת: איתן בנצור

1. בשיחה עם בראון הודיעו שהמועד הנוח לנשיא המדינה להיעתר להזמנת הנשיא קלינטון הוא החל מה-11 באוקטובר (מיד אחרי חול המועד סוכות).
2. הוסיף שידוע לנו שהבית הלבן שקל להקרים הפגישה לתחילה אוקטובר אך כאמור העדפתנו היא לקיים את הפגישה בסוכות.
3. מסרתי לבראון שהנשיא וייצמן שוקל היענות לבקשת להופיע בעצרות הזדהות עם מחלפי השלום בניו-יורק ובلوס אנג'לס. אנו נבקש לקיים עצרות אלו בסמיוכות לביקור הנשיא בבית הלבן.
4. מנכ"ל בית הנשיא א. שומר יצא לארה'ב במועד שנודיע ע"ד מיד עם קביעת המועד לפגישה וייצמן-קלינטון כדי לסייע בהכנות ביקור הנשיא לפניו.

בנצור.

20 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, רהמ (rehm), מנכ"ל, ממכ"ל, מצב, תכנון, מצפה

ססס

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24788, חוויזם:  
אל: רהמש/1198/  
מ: המשרד, תא: 0993  
ביבב  
730588

### סודי/מידי

אל: השגיר, וושינגטן  
מאח: איתן בנצלר

1. בשיחה עם בראון הודיעו שהמועד הנוכחי לנשיא המדינה להיעתר להזמנת הנשיא קלינטון הוא החל מה-11 באוקטובר (מיד אחרי חול המועד סוכות).
2. הוסיף שידוע לנו שהבית הלבן שkel להקדים הפגישה לתחילה אוקטובר אך כאמור העדפתנו היא לקיים אותהdag הסוכות.
3. מסרתי לבראון שהנשיא וייצמן שוקל היענות לבקשת להופיע בעצמות הזדהות עם מחלci שלום בניו-יורק ובולס אנג'לס. אנו נבקש לקיים עצמות אלו בסמיכות לביקור הנשיא בבית הלבן.
4. מנכ'ל בית הנשיא א. שומר יצא לאלה'ב במרען שנודע מיד עם קביעת המועד לפגישה וייצמן-קלינטון כדי לסייע בהכנות ביקור הנשיא לפרטיו.

בנצר.

20 ב-ספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שחח, שחח, רהמ (רHAM), מנכל, ממונכל, מצב, תכנוון, מצבא

סמסס

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אלאא, חוויזם: 23941  
אל: רהמש/ 1179  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 0924, זח: 200993, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
ביבב  
729560  
שמעון/ מידי

913.11

אל: רושינגטון - קישור לקורנגרס

דעת: יועץ מדיני - רושינגטון

### מאת: מנהל מצפ'א

הנדון: אריה ב: כמיר

1. לדברי הנציג (האמריקאי) של כמ'ר בארץ, קיימת 'הצעה' להקטין את ההשתתפות האמריקאית במימון כוחות לשמרות שלום. מדובר בקיצוץ של 130 מיליון דולר ומהזה ב-3 מיליון המיליאדים לכמ'ר.

2. נודה להברתכם: האם אכן קיימת 'ה策עה' כזו - ואם כן, מה מעמדה הפרלמנט במסגרת החוק הנוגע בדבר.

3. לדייתכם, יהיה ותקוץ השותפות האמריקאית בכם', יבקשו גם המוצרים להקטין השתפותם - וכחוצהה מכך יתכו שינויים בהיערכות הכוח.

19 בספטמבר 1993 מנהל מצפ' א

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אאא, חוזם: 25807

אל: רהmesh/1270

מ-: וווש, נר: 2085, חא: 200993, זח: 1845, דח: מ, סג: סו,

ביבב

סודי/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דעת: מנכ'ל, ממנכ'ל, לשכת שח'ח, לשכת רה'ם, ממא'

מת'ק. ל'קונגרס

הנדון: אש'פ-חקיקות בקונגרס

8/22

1. היום אח'צ (9/20) נפגש דנים רוס עם עוזרים בסנאט מועדות החוץ, הצבות ומנהיגות כדי לדון ולהתייעץ עם נציגי לשינוי החקיקות בקונגרס ולעמוד על הלך הרוחות בנושא. (ממחמד פנו בסוף השבוע עבור משרד של מיט'ל וביקשו לארגן הפגישה). אל רוס הטרף נציג המחלקה המשפטית וה קישור ל'קונגרס במחמד.

2. להלן דיווח משתתפים בתדרוך:

נכחו כ-25 עוזרים. רוס החמקד בחשיבות ההסכם שנחתם והציג שתי בעיות עיקריות מבחינת חקיקה:

א. ביטול איסור המימון היחסי של אר'ב לאירגונים ותוכניות בין'ל הכוולות סיוע לאש'פ.

ב. ביטול האיסור של פתיחת משרד אש'פ בושינגטון.

3. רוס הסביר כי בכוונתם לעבוד עם הסנטורים ליהי ומקונל כדי לשנות החקיקה בוגע לאיסור העברת מימון אמריקני לאירגונים ותוכניות בין'ל (סעיף א' לעיל) כדי לכלול תיקון בחוק סיעוע חוץ/הצבות (שם מופיע הטעיה) אשר יידון ביום ד' הקרוב (22/9) במליאת הסנאט. אחד העוזרים אמר לרוס כי הוא מנה שروس מתכוון ל-WAIVER כלומר לא לשנות את נוסח החוץ עצמו.

4. לגבי פתיחת משרד אש'פ בושינגטון, הסביר רוס כי נציגי אש'פ זוקקים למקום ממו' יוכלו לפעול. הם אש'פ עומדים בקשר עם ישראל ועליהם לעמוד בקשר גם עם נציגי אר'ב כדי לקדם ההסכם. רוס ציין כי מבין שלא יוכלו להגיש תיקון בחוק סיעוע חוץ/הצבות (הינו בשבוע הקרוב) ויצטרכו להמתין לחוק כספי מחמד/הרשאות שיידון כניראה רק במהלך חודש אוקטובר (הסנטור בידן מעקבו מסיבות אחרות).

5. לדברי אחד העוזרים, הם מודאגים מהאפשרות שארה'ב תוותר על מהויבותה למאבק בטרור. אמריקנים רבים היו קורבנות טרור ולא ניתן לוותר על כל חוקיות האנטי-טרור. מדובר במדיניות אמריקנית.

רוס השיב כי לא מדובר על ויתור וביטול מדיניות אמריקנית בנושא הטרור אלא במאזן של מחמד'ד לחמו'ך בתהיליך השלום.

אחד העוזרים השיב כי זו בדיקת הסיבה מדוע על מחמד'ד להיות זהירים ומדודים בצדיהם וכי הערת העוזר הקודם בנושא הטרור היא רק קצת הרכחון לתחושה הכללית במילוי אחר מה שקרה בינוי יורק בפברואר בנסיוון פיצוץ בניין התאומים-הוכחה לכך שהטרור מגיע גם לארה'ב.

6. רוס הבטיח להעביר מחר הצעות נסוח החקיקה בשני הנושאים ואח'כ מעוניין לקיים פגישה עם הסנטורים.

מסתבר שהסנטורים מיטצ'יל ודול אינט מעוניינים לקיים פגישה עד אשר לא יראו הצעות לנושאי החקיקה. יתכן שתתקיים מחר.

7. לדברי המשתתפים היתה הפגיעה טובה. רוס ואנשיו הבינו, מהמסר של המשתתפים שהם צרייכים לנوع באיטיות וכי לא ניתן להתעלם בכת אחת מהعبر שכן מדובר לא רק ביחסים ישראל-אש'פ אלא יחס ארה'ב- אש'פ והטרור כך טענו העוזרים ומайдך העוזרים הבינו רצון מחמד'ד והביעו גם רצונם לסייע בקידום ההסכם שהושג.

8. פגישת תדרוך דומה, נקבעה למחר לפנה'ץ בבייחנ'ב.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

אש

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, 0(רham), מנכל, מנכל, תכנון, מצפה, רחטמות,  
ישראלערב, סמנכלשלום, יועמש, ר/מרכז, ממד,  
0(רמ), 0(אמן), 0(עמייחת 475)

ססס

אאא, חוזם: 25500  
אל: רהmesh/1242/  
מ-: וושינגטונ, נר: 466, תא: 200993, זח: 1501, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
ביבב  
9,257886  
9,233388  
בלטס/מיידי

תאריך: 20 ספטמבר

אל: מנהל מע"ת

דעת: מנהל לש- רוח"מ - הבר

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטונ

21.9.

הנדון: סטיב אמרסון

בזמן מה להחכמתנו

כאמור בדווחי הקודמים, מודיעינו סטיב אמרסון עובד על הפקת סידרה  
עכור ה- PBS (הרשות הצבורית) בנושא הפונדמנטלים.

בכונתו להגיע שוב לארץ לצורך מחקרים בנושא. מתוכוון להגיע בראשית  
השבוע הבא (26.9) לצורך שהות של עשרה ימים.

ישאה בתל-אביב במלון ריג'נסי טלפון 663266 - 03 .

לאור חשיבות הפרויקט - הנושא והרשות היוקרתית בה ישודר - ועל רקע  
ידידותו של אמרסון - ממליצה בחום להעניק לו כל סיוע אפשרי.

יצור עמכם קשר בהגיעו .

תודה לסייעם .

גמר חתימה טובה

רות ירונ

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תאריך: 20 ספטמבר 1993

Q U. 9.

אל: חפוצה תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תמליל - מזכיר המדינה קרייסטופר - ישראל

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER AT A FORUM  
SPONSORED BY COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY'S SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AND  
PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS LOWE LIBRARY,  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY NEW YORK, NEW YORK MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1993

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: (APPLAUSE.) PRESIDENT RUPP (PH), LADIES AND  
GENTLEMEN. THANK YOU, LES, FOR THAT GENEROUS AND INSIGHTFUL  
INTRODUCTION. (LAUGHTER.)

THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS IS VERY FORTUNATE TO HAVE LES GOW  
(PH) AS ITS NEW PRESIDENT. AS HE INDICATED, AND AS MANY OF YOU  
KNOW, I HAD THE PLEASURE OF WORKING WITH LES DURING MY LAST TOUR  
IN GOVERNMENT. HE'S ONE OF THE NATION'S LEADING FOREIGN POLICY  
THINKERS AND WRITERS. HIS ADVICE IS VALUED BY ME, HERE IN NEW YORK  
AND AROUND THE ENTIRE WORLD.

THANK YOU ALSO, PRESIDENT RUPP, FOR CO-SPONSORING OUR GET-  
TOGETHER TODAY IN THIS VERY ELEGANT SETTING. WHAT A BEAUTIFUL  
BUILDING. COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY IS ONE OF THE COUNTRY'S OLDEST AND  
MOST PRESTIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING. FROM THE SCOLROOM ON  
LOWER BROADWAY WHERE SAMUEL JOHNSON TAUGHT EIGHT STUDENTS IN 1754  
TO THIS MAGNIFICENT CAMPUS ON MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS, COLUMBIA HAS  
REPRESENTED THE SPIRIT OF INQUIRY AND INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM THAT  
HAS MADE AMERICA STRONG.

COLUMBIA HAS CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTED TO THE STRENGTH OF THE STATE  
DEPARTMENT. IN ADDITION TO MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, TWO OF OUR  
UNDERSECRETARIES, JOAN SPIRO (SP) AND LYNN DAVIS (SP), HAVE  
STUDIED HERE AND TAUGHT HERE. THEY CARRY ON COLUMBIA'S GREAT  
TRADITION OF SENDING WOMEN AND MEN INTO PUBLIC LIFE WITH A  
STRONGLY INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK.

MY VISIT HERE TODAY IS ONE OF SEVERAL I HAVE MADE AND PLAN TO MAKE

AROUND THE COUNTRY TO TALK ABOUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY. IT HAPPENS TO BE MY VIEW THAT SECRETARIES OF STATE SHOULD SPEND MORE TIME EXPLAINING FOREIGN POLICY TO THE AUDIENCE THAT REALLY COUNTS -- THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- AND I INTEND TO TRY TO DO SO.

A WEEK AGO, FROM A SMALL PLATFORM ON THE SOUTH LAWN OF THE WHITE HOUSE, THE WORLD TOOK A VERY BIG STEP TOWARD A PEACEFUL FUTURE. THAT SIMPLE HANDSHAKE BETWEEN IMPLACABLE FOES EXTENDS A MIGHTY REDEMPTIVE POWER THAT CAN HELP HEAL THE WOUNDS OF THIS TOO OFTEN VIOLENT CENTURY. LIKE THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM BEFORE IT, THE BEGINNING OF THE HISTORIC RECONCILIATION BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS CONFIRMS OUR BELIEF THAT HOPE CAN EVENTUALLY REPLACE DESPAIR, COOPERATION CAN OVERCOME CONFLICT, AND PEACE AND FREEDOM CAN TRIUMPH OVER WAR AND TYRANNY.

TODAY, I WILL SHARE WITH YOU MY THOUGHTS ON LAST WEEK'S HISTORIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS. I WILL TRY TO PLACE THEM IN SOME HISTORICAL CONTEXT, BUT, MOST IMPORTANT, DESCRIBE TO YOU THE STEPS THAT WE MUST TAKE TO ENSURE THAT PEACE DOES NOT SLIP FROM OUR GRASP.

FOR MORE THAN 45 YEARS, DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS HAVE WORKED TIRELESSLY TO BREAK THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS. THEY DID SO BECAUSE THEY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS ENDURING INTERESTS IN THIS STRATEGIC AND HISTORIC CROSSROADS, ENDURING INTERESTS IN A REGION WHERE CONFLICT ALWAYS SEEMS TO THREATEN A LARGER WORLD PEACE, ENDURING INTERESTS IN THE SECURITY AND WELL-BEING OF ISRAEL AND IN COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD OF ONE END TO THE OTHER, AND ENDURING INTERESTS IN THE REGION'S OIL RESOURCES WHICH SERVE AS THE LIFELOOD OF SO MUCH OF THE WORLD'S ECONOMY.

THESE DURABLE INTERESTS HAVE MADE MIDDLE EAST PEACE A CONSTANT AND ESSENTIAL GOAL OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. FOR DECADES, THAT GOAL ELUDED US. THE REGION REMAINED A TINDERBOX THREATENING TO EMBROIL US AND THE REST OF THE WORLD IN ITS DEADLY WARS. THIS VOLATILITY WAS DUE IN NO SMALL PART TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION, A SOVIET UNION DETERMINED TO FUEL THE FORCES OF RADICALISM AND CONFLICT. WHILE THE SOVIETS WERE BY NO MEANS THE ONLY CAUSE OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE, THEY DID EVERYTHING IN THEIR POWER TO SEE THAT THE REGION REMAINED AT A CONSTANT BOIL.

THEIR POLICIES EMBOLDENED RADICALS, INTIMIDATED MODERATES, AND LEFT ISRAEL, SAVE FOR THE FRIENDSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES, IN A LONELY STATE OF SIEGE.

THROUGHOUT THE LONG STRUGGLE OF THE COLD WAR, ONLY ONE ARAB COUNTRY, EGYPT, MANAGED TO BREACH THE WALL THAT MOSCOW HAD HELPED TO ERECT. EGYPT BRAVED OSTRACISM TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL. FOR FOURTEEN LONG YEARS, THAT HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENT BY EGYPT STOOD STRONG, BUT IT ALSO STOOD ALONE UNTIL LAST MONDAY. THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT, IN WHICH EGYPT'S PRESIDENT MUBARAK

PLAYED SUCH A STRONG CRITICAL ROLE WHICH I WITNESSED MANY TIMES -- WHAT HAPPENED LAST MONDAY IS A VINDICATION OF EGYPT'S COURAGE AND VISION.

IT WAS NOT UNTIL THE COLD WAR BEGAN TO THAW THAT NEW OPPORTUNITIES AROSE TO COMBAT REJECTIONISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO PROMOTE PEACE. THIS WAS MOST DRAMATICALLY DEMONSTRATED DURING THE GULF WAR. WITH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WORKING TOGETHER, SADDAM HUSSEIN'S RADICAL CHALLENGE WAS DECISIVELY TURNED BACK; THEN, WITHOUT MOSCOW'S PATRONAGE, SADDAM AND HIS WAR OPTION PROVED TO BE NO MATCH AT ALL -- HIS WAR OPTION PROVED TO BE NO OPTION AT ALL FOR HIM. AMERICA'S OVERWHELMING DISPLAY OF POWER, PRINCIPLE AND LEADERSHIP HELPED TO TILT THE MIDDLE EAST BALANCE OF POWER TOWARD MODERATION AND TOWARD THE OPPORTUNITY FOR RECONCILIATION WHICH HAS NOW BEEN SEIZED.

HAD THE UNITED STATES LET IT REST THERE, HAD WE LEFT OTHERS TO THE JOB OF TURNING OPPORTUNITY INTO REALITY, LAST MONDAY'S DRAMATIC EVENT MIGHT NEVER HAVE TAKEN PLACE. ONLY AMERICA COULD HAVE PROVIDED THE ARABS AND THE ISRAELIS WITH THE ASSURANCES THEY NEEDED TO GO TO MADRID AND RISK BREAKING THE TABOO ON DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

UPON HIS ELECTION, PRESIDENT CLINTON IMMEDIATELY REAFFIRMED AMERICA'S HISTORIC ROLE IN THE ENDURING STRATEGIC MATTERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND PARTICULARLY OUR STRONG INTEREST IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE. PRESIDENT CLINTON SAW THE OPPORTUNITY FOR A HISTORIC BREAKTHROUGH. ON THE MORNING AFTER HIS ELECTION, HE VOWED TO MAKE THE PURSUIT OF MIDDLE EAST A TOP -- MIDDLE EAST PEACE A TOP PRIORITY. THAT IS WHY HE MOVED SO QUICKLY TO GAIN THE TRUST OF KEY REGIONAL PARTIES AND TO REAFFIRM AMERICA'S UNSTINTING SUPPORT FOR ISRAELI'S SECURITY. AND THAT IS WHY, FOR MY FIRST OFFICIAL TRIP ABROAD, HE SENT ME TO THE MIDDLE EAST. HIS MESSAGE WAS CLEAR: THE UNITED STATES WAS IRREVOCABLY COMMITTED TO ADVANCING THE PEACEMAKING PROCESS, TO REINVIGORATING NEGOTIATIONS, AND TO ELEVATING AMERICA'S ROLE TO THAT OF FULL PARTNER. THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS BUILT ON THE HARD WORK OF HIS PREDECESSORS.

THE UNITED STATES' VICTORIES IN THE COLD WAR AND IN THE GULF CREATED AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH PEACEMAKING BECAME POSSIBLE. OUR ADMINISTRATION'S INTERVENTION AT KEY MOMENTS THIS YEAR TO RESOLVE THE CRISES OVER THE PALESTINIAN DEPORTEES AND OVER THE VIOLENCE IN LEBANON -- THESE INTERVENTIONS SALVAGED THE PEACE PROCESS WHEN IT TEETERED ON THE BRINK OF COLLAPSE.

THROUGHOUT THE LAST 22 MONTHS, UNDER BOTH REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTS, AMERICA'S SUSTAINED POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT, WHETHER IN PRESENTING A DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OR CONSTANTLY PUSHING TO DEFINE THE PARAMETERS OF THE POSSIBLE, THOSE ACTS SET THE STAGE FOR DECISIONMAKING IN THE SECRET OSLO CHANNEL FOR WHICH WE OWE SO MUCH TO NORWEGIANS, AND PARTICULARLY TO FOREIGN MINISTER HOLST, WHOM PRESIDENT PROPERLY MENTIONED THIS

MORNING.

IN THE END, OF COURSE, LAST MONDAY'S TRIUMPH WAS SOMETHING THAT BELONGS TO THE PARTIES THEMSELVES -- TO THE ISRAELIS AND TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE WHO REACHED OUT TO EACH OTHER. AND THAT IS EXACTLY AS IT SHOULD BE. INDEED, THE BASIC PREMISE OF THE MADRID PROCESS HAS BEEN THAT FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES IS ESSENTIAL. FROM THE BEGINNING, THE UNITED STATES HAS ENCOURAGED COMMUNICATIONS IN AS MANY DIFFERENT CHANNELS AS POSSIBLE, BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE MOST DURABLE SOLUTION WOULD BE ONE FORGED IN DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

IT CERTAINLY WOULD BE A GREAT MISTAKE IF THE UNITED STATES WERE NOW TO WITHDRAW OR TO SHRINK FROM THE FULL AND LONG-STANDING PARTNERSHIP THAT IT HAS UNDERTAKEN IN THE PEACE PROCESS. OUR LEADERSHIP IS ESSENTIAL IF THIS HISTORIC AGREEMENT IS TO REALIZE ITS FULL POTENTIAL.

TODAY, ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CLINTON, I ANNOUNCE OUR INTENTION TO LEAD A WIDE-RANGING EFFORT, NOT SIMPLY TO GIVE PEACE A CHANCE, BUT TO ENSURE THAT IT WILL NOT FAIL. JUST AS THE UNITED STATES ORGANIZED A SUCCESSFUL INTERNATIONAL COALITION TO WAGE WAR IN THE GULF, WE NOW ORGANIZE A NEW COALITION, A COALITION TO BREATHE LIFE INTO THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. AS A FIRST STEP, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONVENE A CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE, BUILDING ON THE MADRID FRAMEWORK. SECRETARY BENTSEN AND I, TOGETHER WITH OUR RUSSIAN COUNTERPARTS, WILL INVITE FINANCE AND FOREIGN MINISTERS REPRESENTING THE EUROPEANS, JAPAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND THE GULF STATES, CANADA, THE NORDIC COUNTRIES, AND MANY OTHERS AND, OF COURSE, THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS. THE WORLD BANK WILL ALSO BE PRESENT. IT WILL PLAY A MAJOR COORDINATING ROLE IN PROVIDING THIS ASSISTANCE.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE WILL BE TO MOBILIZE RESOURCES NEEDED TO MAKE THE AGREEMENT WORK. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST MOVE IMMEDIATELY TO SEE THAT THE AGREEMENT PRODUCES TANGIBLE RESULTS IN THE SECURITY AND DAILY LIVES OF THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ISRAELIS. IF PEACE IS TO BE ACHIEVED, THIS MUST BE TRANSLATED DIRECTLY AND VISIBLELY -- VIVIDLY INTO REAL PROGRESS ON THE GROUND.

NOW, THERE ARE VARYING ESTIMATES OF THE AMOUNT OF RESOURCES REQUIRED TO START BUILDING AN ECONOMIC BASE IN GAZA AND THE WEST BANK. THE WORLD BANK'S INITIAL ESTIMATE IS THAT AT LEAST DOLLAR 3 BILLION WILL BE NEEDED OVER THE NEXT 10 YEARS. AN IMPORTANT PORTION OF THIS SUM WILL BE NEEDED FOR A QUICK-START EFFORT OVER THE NEXT YEAR. IN THE VERY NEXT MONTHS IT MUST BEGIN. ALL AGREE WE MUST TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO ADDRESS THE HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT RATE THAT ROBS FAMILIES OF HOPE AND FUELS EXTREMISM IN THE WEST BANK. HOUSING, ROADS AND OTHER PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS MUST BE QUICKLY DEVELOPED. WE MUST ALSO ACT TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, TAX COLLECTION AND SOCIAL SERVICES.

GIVEN THE NUMBER AND THE COMMITMENT OF OUR INTERNATIONAL PARTNERS, WE'RE CONFIDENT THAT THESE NEEDS CAN BE MET, AND WE WILL STIMULATE THESE SUPPORTERS BY OUR OWN EXAMPLE. WORKING WITH THE CONGRESS, WE EXPECT TO ASSEMBLE AN INITIAL TWO-YEAR PACKAGE WORTH DOLLAR 250 MILLION TO DEDICATE TO THIS CAUSE.

IN THIS VITAL EFFORT WE MUST ALSO INVOLVE THE PRIVATE SECTOR. A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE INITIAL U.S. PACKAGE WILL INCLUDE OPIC LOANS AND GUARANTEES TO SPUR PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE REGION.

THERE IS ANOTHER RESOURCE THAT AMERICA CAN AND SHOULD PROVIDE FOR THIS EFFORT. AT THE WHITE HOUSE LAST MONDAY IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SIGNING CEREMONY, THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT AND I MET WITH A GROUP OF JEWISH AND ARAB AMERICANS. THIS WAS A TRULY UNIQUE AND SPECIAL EVENT, THE FIRST TIME IN MY EXPERIENCE WHEN THEY'VE EVER MET JOINTLY. ALL OF US WERE DEEPLY MOVED BY THEIR SHARED SENSE OF HOPE AND BY THE SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION THAT CAME FROM THAT MAGNIFICENT DAY.

THE PRESIDENT CONCLUDED THAT WE MUST DRAW ON THE TALENT, THE INGENUITY AND THE GOOD WILL OF THIS OUTSTANDING GROUP OF AMERICANS. IN THAT SPIRIT, THE PRESIDENT WILL APPOINT A TASK FORCE OF JEWISH AND ARAB AMERICANS TO HELP US DEVELOP JOINT PRODUCTS -- PROJECTS AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THE REGION. THE UNITED STATES WILL ALSO NAME A SENIOR COORDINATOR FOR UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE, MUCH AS WE'VE DONE IN THE CASE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THE REAL BARRIER TO PEACE BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BARRIER, HAS ALREADY BEEN BREACHED. COMPARED TO THAT OBSTACLE, THE RESOURCE CHALLENGE WE FACE CAN SURELY BE MET. I'M CONVINCED THAT, WORKING WITH OUR INTERNATIONAL PARTNERS, WE CAN AND WILL SUCCEED.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES REPRESENTS ONLY PART OF A LARGER TASK IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE MUST NURTURE A COMPREHENSIVE RECONCILIATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE REST OF THE ARAB WORLD. WE MUST ACHIEVE A PEACE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL AND THE PEOPLE OF JORDAN, SYRIA AND LEBANON.

IN THE RECENT ROUND OF BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THEIR GOVERNMENTS IN WASHINGTON, THE DISCUSSIONS, I'M GLAD TO SAY, WERE SERIOUS AND CONSTRUCTIVE. LATER THIS MONTH, AT THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, I'LL MEET WITH MY COUNTERPARTS FROM SYRIA, LEBANON, JORDAN AND ISRAEL TO TRY TO KEEP THESE NEGOTIATIONS MOVING AND TO DISCUSS FURTHER STEPS AHEAD. WE WILL WORK TIRELESSLY TO ENSURE THAT ALL THE CHILDREN OF THE REGION CAN COME TO KNOW -- IN PRESIDENT CLINTON'S WORDS -- A SEASON OF PEACE.

ANOTHER ASPECT OF OUR EFFORT TO PROMOTE COMPREHENSIVE RECONCILIATION IS WORKING TO ENCOURAGE OTHER ARAB FRIENDS TO ACT

BOLDLY IN SUPPORT OF PEACE. THE CORE ANTAGONISTS IN THIS CONFLICT HAVE COURAGEOUSLY OPTED FOR A MUTUAL RECOGNITION AND AN END TO THEIR STATE OF WAR. THIS BOLD STEP DEMANDS AN EQUALLY BOLD RESPONSE FROM THEIR REGIONAL COUNTERPARTS. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME GOOD SIGNS ALREADY. JORDAN'S DECISION TO SIGN A SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA WITH ISRAEL LAST TUESDAY IS A PRIME EXAMPLE. ANOTHER GOOD EXAMPLE IS THE MEETING OF THAT SAME DAY IN MOROCCO BETWEEN PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND KING HUSSEIN. THAT WAS A VERY PROMISING STEP WHICH THE UNITED STATES APPLAUDS, AND WE FEEL THAT OTHER NATIONS IN THAT REGION MUST ALSO SEEK THIS VITAL MOMENT FOR RECONCILIATION.

NOW THAT THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS HAVE AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER TO PROMOTE THEIR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING, IT IS CERTAINLY ILLOGICAL FOR ARAB NATIONS CONTINUE THEIR BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL. EVERY MOMENT THAT THE BOYCOTT REMAINS IN FORCE, THOSE RESPONSIBLE ARE PUNISHING PALESTINIANS AS WELL AS ISRAELIS. THE BOYCOTT IS A RELIC OF THE PAST. IT SHOULD BE RELEGATED TO HISTORY RIGHT NOW.

THERE IS MORE TO PEACE THAN THE SIGNING OF AGREEMENTS AND THE GATHERING OF RESOURCES. THERE IS THE NEED FOR A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE HEARTS OF THE FORMER ANTAGONISTS. THE LEADERS OF THE REGION MUST EXHORT THOSE WHO HAVE USED VIOLENCE AS A TOOL TO RENOUNCE IT WITHOUT RESERVATION OR EXCEPTION. IT IS ALSO IMPERATIVE THAT QUICK ACTION BE TAKEN TO REMOVE THE OTHER VESTIGES OF A BYGONE ERA. THIS MEANS REVOKING, AT THE UPCOMING SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, THOSE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS THAT CHALLENGE ISRAEL'S VERY RIGHT TO EXIST. IT ALSO MEANS ACTING TO APPROVE, UNANIMOUSLY THIS TIME, ISRAEL'S CREDENTIALS AT THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY. AND IT ALSO MEANS IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AMENDING STATUTES THAT INHIBIT DEALING WITH THE PLO AND ARE REALLY QUITE ANTIQUATED AT THE PRESENT TIME.

AS I NEAR THE COMPLETION OF THIS SEGMENT, I REITERATE A SIMPLE BUT PROFOUND TRUTH: ONLY AN ISRAEL THAT IS STRONG, CONFIDENT AND SECURE CAN MAKE PEACE. ONLY AN ISRAEL THAT IS CERTAIN OF ITS STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES CAN TAKE THE NECESSARY RISKS. ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, I RESTATE A LONG-STANDING PLEDGE TO THE ISRAELI PUBLIC: AS YOU AND YOUR LEADERS CONTINUE DOWN THE COURAGEOUS PATH YOU HAVE CHOSEN, YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT AMERICA'S COMMITMENT TO ISRAELI SECURITY AND WELL-BEING WILL REMAIN UNSHAKABLE.

IT IS QUITE REVEALING AT THIS TIME OF GREAT HOPE, WHEN THE ENTIRE WORLD IS PRAISING LAST MONDAY'S EVENTS, AT THE SAME TIME THOSE EVENTS ARE BEING DENOUNCED IN PLACES LIKE TEHRAN, BAGHDAD AND TRIPOLI. IN RESPONSE TO SUCH INTEMPERATE WORDS, LET ME MAKE CLEAR THAT WE ARE COMMITTED TO SEEING THAT THE FORCES OF MODERATION IN THE REGION ARE STRONGER THAN THE FORCES OF EXTREMISM. TO ALL WHO ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH US IN BUILDING A NEW MIDDLE EAST OF PEACE, SECURITY AND PROSPERITY, I SAY YOU HAVE A RELIABLE AND COMMITTED PARTNER IN THE UNITED STATES.

TO THOSE WHO WOULD SOW DISSENSION, INTOLERANCE, AND VIOLENCE, I SAY THIS: THE UNITED STATES, ITS FRIENDS, ITS ALLIES WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ENSURE THAT YOU FAIL.

NOW, I'D LIKE TO HAVE JUST A FEW MOMENTS OF REFLECTION ON SOME BROADER ASPECTS OF FOREIGN POLICY THAT ARE BROUGHT TO MIND BY LAST WEEK'S EVENTS. INDEED, THE EVENTS OF LAST WEEK ARE A REMINDER TO ME AND, I THINK, TO ALL THE WORLD OF THE NECESSITY, OF THE IMPORTANCE OF AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP, ESPECIALLY IN REGIONS OF VITAL INTEREST TO US.

MY COLLEAGUE TONY LAKE WILL SPEAK TOMORROW AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES. HE WILL ADDRESS THE BROAD OUTLINES OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. HIS SPEECH WILL REFLECT BROAD POLICY DISCUSSIONS WITHIN OUR ADMINISTRATION, AND I COMMEND IT TO YOUR ATTENTION.

BEFORE CONCLUDING TODAY, HOWEVER, I WANT TO COMMENT BRIEFLY ON TWO ISSUES THAT HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF A GOOD DEAL OF PUBLIC DEBATE: THE FIRST IS WHETHER AMERICA SHOULD PURSUE AN ACTIVIST FOREIGN POLICY, THE SECOND IS WHETHER AMERICA SHOULD ACT ALONE OR TOGETHER WITH OTHER NATIONS TO PROTECT OUR VITAL INTERESTS ABROAD.

THE FIRST ISSUE IS REALLY THE LATEST ROUND IN A CENTURY-OLD DEBATE BETWEEN ENGAGEMENT AND ISOLATIONISM. I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THAT THE UNITED STATES CHOOSES ENGAGEMENT. THE ALTERNATIVE, NEO-ISOLATIONISM, CAN BE REDUCED TO A SIMPLE SYLLOGISM: THE COLD WAR IS OVER, WE WON, LET'S GO HOME AND ATTEND TO OUR PROBLEMS. WE MUST REJECT ISOLATIONISM FOR A DANGEROUS ARGUMENT THAT IT IS. WE MUST RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO INTERNATIONALISM, WHICH HAS SERVED US SO WELL FOR THE LAST 50 YEARS.

THE PIED PIPERS OF ISOLATIONISM MISREAD THE HISTORY OF THIS CENTURY. THEY MISTAKE THE FUTURE OF OUR ECONOMY, THEY MINIMIZE THE THREAT TO OUR SECURITY, AND THEY MISJUDGE THE CHARACTER OF OUR PEOPLE. THE END OF THE COLD WAR HAS NOT ENDED HISTORY, NOR HAS IT SEVERED THE LINKS BETWEEN AMERICA AND THE WORLD. BUT IT HAS LEFT AMERICA WITH A CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITY, A UNIQUE CAPACITY TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP.

WHY, YOU MAY ASK, SHOULD WE REMAIN ENGAGED IN THE WORLD? FIRST, BECAUSE IT'S STRONGLY IN OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS TO DO SO. WE LIVE, AS YOU ALL KNOW, IN A TECHNOLOGICALLY INTERCONNECTED AGE. VAST AMOUNTS OF INFORMATION, VAST NUMBERS OF DOLLARS CAN BE TRANSMITTED AROUND THE WORLD WITH THE SPEED OF LIGHT. IN SUCH A WORLD, HOW WILL WE ENHANCE OUR PROSPERITY IF WE DO NOT WORK TO OPEN UP AND EXPAND INTERNATIONAL MARKETS? HOW WILL BE POSSIBLY PROMOTE OUR GLOBAL GROWTH, WHICH IS SO NECESSARY FOR OUR PROSPERITY, IF WE DO NOT SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETE THE URUGUAY ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS AT THE GATT? AND HOW WILL WE CREATE HIGH-PAYING JOBS FOR AMERICANS IF WE'RE NOT WILLING TO CREATE EXPORT OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH SUCH INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AS NAFTA?

SECOND, WE MUST REMAIN ACTIVE AND ASSERTIVE FOR THE SAKE OF OUR SECURITY. WERE IT NOT FOR SUSTAINED AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT OVER THE LAST FOUR DECADES, WE WOULD NOT BE ON THE ROAD TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT IS ALSO ESSENTIAL IN OTHER REGIONS WHERE OUR VITAL INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE. INDEED, IN KEY REGIONS THE UNITED STATES IS THE FULCRUM ON WHICH PEACE AND SECURITY REST. IF DEMOCRACY REVERTS TO DICTATORSHIP IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE FORMER SOVIET UNION, AMERICANS ARE LIKELY TO PAY A VERY SEVERE PRICE IN A REVIVED NUCLEAR THREAT AND INCREASED DEFENSE BUDGETS. IF ETHNIC CONFLICT IN EUROPE WIDENS, IF OUR SECURITY IS THREATENED AGAIN IN ASIA, IF TERRORISM SPREADS, IF PROLIFERATION OF MASS DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS IS NOT CHECKED: IF ANY OF THESE THINGS COME TO PASS, THEN OUR OWN SECURITY AND OUR ABILITY TO FOCUS ON DOMESTIC RENEWAL WILL BE DIRECTLY PUT AT RISK.

IN SHORT, WE MUST REMAIN ENGAGED NOT OUT OF ALTRUISM, NOT OUT OF WHAT ONE SCHOLAR CALLED "THE IMPERIAL TEMPTATION", BUT BECAUSE THERE ARE REAL AMERICAN INTERESTS WHICH WILL SUFFER IF WE'RE SEDUCED BY THE ISOLATIONIST MYTH.

THE SECOND ISSUE UNDER RECENT DEBATE IS WHETHER AMERICA SHOULD EXERCISE ITS POWER ALONE OR WITH OTHERS, OR TO USE THE CUSTOMARY JARGON, UNILATERALLY OR MULTILATERALLY. THAT ISSUE AS FRAMED CREATES A FALSE POLARITY. IT IS NOT AN EITHER/OR PROPOSITION. THE CENTRAL PURPOSE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS TO ENSURE THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION AND TO ENSURE ITS ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AS WELL, AND TO PROMOTE DEMOCRATIC VALUES. IN PROTECTING THESE INTERESTS, THE UNITED STATES MUST MAINTAIN ITS MILITARY STRENGTH AND REINVIGORATE ITS ECONOMY SO WE CAN RETAIN THE OPTION TO ACT ALONE WHEN THAT IS BEST FOR US. LET NO ONE DOUBT THE RESOLVE OF THE UNITED STATES TO PROTECT ITS VITAL INTERESTS.

YET, IN PROTECTING OUR VITAL INTERESTS, WE SHOULD NOT IGNORE THE VALUE OF WORKING WITH OTHER NATIONS. FROM THE GULF WAR TO THE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO AID DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA, WE HAVE SEEN HOW COLLECTIVE ACTION CAN ADVANCE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS. IT CAN BOLSTER OUR EFFORT TO STEM THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, TO KNOCK DOWN BARRIERS TO GLOBAL TRADE, AND TO PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT. WE'VE ALSO SEEN HOW COLLECTIVE ACTION REQUIRES AND IN MANY INSTANCES CANNOT REPLACE AMERICAN LEADERSHIP. NO OTHER NATION POSSESSES OUR MILITARY MIGHT, ECONOMIC STRENGTH OR MORAL AUTHORITY. THESE ASSETS GIVE US THE ABILITY TO ACT ALONE WHEN NECESSARY. WHEN APPROPRIATE, THOUGH, WE CAN ALSO LEVERAGE OUR MIGHT BY SHARING THE BURDEN WITH OTHER NATIONS. BUT WE SHOULD REMEMBER OUR ABILITY TO GENERATE EFFECTIVE MULTILATERAL RESPONSES WILL OFTEN DEPEND UPON OUR WILLINGNESS TO ACT ALONE.

LET ME BE CLEAR. MULTILATERALISM IS A MEANS, NOT AN END. IT IS ONE OF THE MANY FOREIGN POLICY TOOLS AT OUR DISPOSAL, AND IT IS WARRANTED ONLY WHEN IT SERVES THE CENTRAL PURPOSE OF AMERICAN

FOREIGN POLICY, TO PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS. THIS COUNTRY WILL NEVER SUBCONTRACT ITS FOREIGN POLICY TO ANOTHER POWER OR ANOTHER PERSON.

WHILE THIS LARGELY TACTICAL DEBATE ON THE MEANS OF AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT HAS PROCEEDED, PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS BEEN MEETING THE KEY FOREIGN POLICY TESTS AND CHALLENGES: RECOGNIZING THAT DOMESTIC ECONOMIC RENEWAL IS FUNDAMENTAL TO AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS; MOBILIZING CRITICAL AND TIMELY SUPPORT FOR RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY AS AN ESSENTIAL INVESTMENT IN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY; CALLING FOR A NATO SUMMIT TO ADAPT THE ALLIANCE TO MEET THE NEW SECURITY CHALLENGES OF A VASTLY CHANGED EUROPE; ADVANCING A NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY WHILE NEGOTIATING A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR OUR ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS WITH JAPAN; AND LEADING THE GLOBAL EFFORT TO CUT THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

IN CONCLUDING, I'LL SUGGEST TO YOU ANOTHER AND DIFFERENT MEASURE OF AMERICAN LEADERSHIP, AND THAT IS, HOW THE WORLD SEES US. LAST WEEK IN WASHINGTON, ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES PAID OUR COUNTRY AN UNUSUAL TRIBUTE.

"IN THE HISTORY BOOKS," HE SAID, "NOBODY WILL UNDERSTAND THE UNITED STATES. YOU HAVE SO MUCH FORCE, AND YET YOU DIDN'T CONQUER THE LAND OF ANYBODY ELSE. YOU HAVE SO MUCH POWER, AND YOU DIDN'T DOMINATE ANOTHER PEOPLE. YOU HAVE PROBLEMS OF YOUR OWN, AND YOU NEVER TURNED YOUR BACK ON THE PROBLEMS OF OTHERS." AND SHIMON PERES THEN TURNED AND SAID, "THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR BEING WHAT YOU ARE."

THOSE WHO WOULD QUESTION THE NEED FOR AMERICAN ENGAGEMENT, I SAY ASK SHIMON PERES. LET THESE INDELIBLE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW YEARS, THE HANDSHAKE AT THE WHITE HOUSE LAST MONDAY, THE BERLIN WALL FALLING, THE SOVIET UNION CRUMBLING, NELSON MANDELA WALKING OUT OF PRISON TO BUILD A NEW SOUTH AFRICA -- LET ALL THESE POINT US TOWARD ASSERTING AND NOT ABDICATING OUR INTERNATIONAL ROLE. LET THAT SHINING MOMENT LAST WEEK ON THE WHITE HOUSE LAWN LIGHT THE WAY FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ILLUMINATE THE NEED FOR AMERICA'S CONTINUED LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

(APPLAUSE.)

MODERATOR: THANK YOU, MR. SECRETARY. I'D LIKE TO THANK YOU ON BEHALF OF ALL OF US.

תקורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, שהב (רham), מנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל שלום,

רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, 0 (ר' אגדה), חכנון,  
ממד, מצפה, סמכלה תקשורת, תקשורת, רחטמות,  
ישראל ערבי, 0 (דוץ), 0 (בן עמי/משהבות)

ססס

פרק י' מילין

בלטס/מיפוי

1993 בספטמבר 19 בתרי תשנ"ד

אל: **מצפה א**  
דעת: מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, לשכת שח"ח, לשכת רח"מ, לשכת שר האוצר  
מאת: וושינגטונ/ק. כסונגרעס

חידונו: שבתוֹב וְאַינְנוּ יִסְׁוֹדֵי של סיווֹז חַנּוֹן.

דרצ"ב 2 כתבות שהופיעו ב- P.W. ב- 9/18 וב- 9/19 שקרו חזרה ב"אוברול" דרסט של סיוע החוץ האמריקני.

**א. תבנתה הראשונית** חופפת ביום שבת ה- 9/18 בעמודו הראשון של ה- C.A. עיקרת - חלמתה בדיקת תכנית סיווע החוץ האמריקנית ע"י וועדה בגיןזוריית של חממישל אשר מסקנותיה חס הצורך בשינויו רדיקי במתכונת סיווע החוץ הנוכחית מעבר ממתן סיווע למדיינות להענקת סיווע לתכניות ספציפיות, אשר יוגדרו במשגרת 4-5 מטרות בסיסיות חדשות שתעמודנה ביסוד סיווע החוץ האמריקני. (ביניהם דמוקרטיה ווז"א, איכות חטיבתה, פרי"נ וسمים). כן יוקטן חסיווע החזבאי לטובת הכלכלה-ازרחי.

בראשית הכתבה, כפי שתובלו לראות, מצויין כי תוכאות המחקר של הוועדה הממשלית יפגו בסיוו לישראל ולמצרים. (נראח שהמחקר הושלם לפני התפתחויות אחרות של חייהם החסכם בין ישראל לפלאטינום וחסכם העקרוניות עם ירדן).

ב. בבתבנת חמשים בבגוש אחים חופיעת הבוקר - 9/9/19 מוצטט בריאן אטווד, ראש ח-סיא, האומר שחצתה ה"אוברול" של סיווע חחוץ, לא תפחית בשום אופן את חסיווע לי-ישראל ולמארקיזן

### ברכת חתימת טובח

## וְיַעֲשֵׂה כָּל־עַמּוֹד

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W.R.

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215

# U.S. Foreign Aid Overhaul Urged

## *Goals, Not Nations, Would Be Funded*

By Thomas W. Lippman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Clinton administration review of U.S. foreign aid programs has concluded they are often wasteful, incoherent and inconsistent with the administration's objectives, and proposes a radical overhaul that would abandon country-by-country funding.

In a report to Cabinet-level officials, an interagency study team said the most effective way to reform the nation's aid programs would be to define about 10 "national goals" such as "transition from communism to democracy" and "nonproliferation and arms control" and allocate money to them, rather than to countries.

Within those broad objectives, managers would approve specific programs and choose between competing groups seeking to operate them—not just U.S. government agencies but others that might be more effective, such as international voluntary organizations. The concept is similar to "managed competition" in health care, a senior administration official said yesterday.

"Congress would be asked to vote funds for goals, such as democracy, and not for countries," according to the study, prepared under direction of the National Security Council in response to Presidential Review Directive 20 from President Clinton. "Funds would not be given to countries on an entitlement basis, but rather to requirements on a merit basis."

That would depart from the traditional way of doling out aid, in which funds have gone to projects in foreign countries based on need, lobbying clout or the perceived value of those countries as friends of the United States. Under the proposed new approach, the executive branch rather than Congress would decide which projects in which countries would be funded in line with the congressionally approved goals.

The study recognized that such a radical change would encounter strong opposition in Congress, especially because it probably would result in reduced aid to both Israel and Egypt, by far the largest two recipients. But the alternative, the

See AID, A8, Col 1

A8 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1993 ...

# Radical Overhaul Urged in New Study for U.S. Foreign Aid Programs

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AID, From A1

study said, is to preserve a "streamlined status quo" in which the aid program is jeopardized by the federal budget squeeze and public antipathy to foreign aid.

"With the disappearance of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the bedrock support for foreign assistance has eroded significantly. There is no clear vision guiding the shape of our foreign assistance agenda for a world without the U.S.S.R.," according to the study, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Post.

"A 'business as usual' approach which seeks to preserve virtually every existing program is doomed to failure," it added.

There is no dispute about the problems plaguing the foreign aid system. J. Brian Atwood, administrator of the Agency for International Development, which disburses U.S. funds abroad, sent a memorandum to employees yesterday saying, "I am sure that some aspects of the present system are worth preserving, but they have thus far escaped me."

In the previous administration, Secretary of State James A. Baker III pleaded with Congress for more flexibility in allocating aid funds.

Restrictions and "earmarks" written into foreign aid bills each year by Congress have made it nearly impossible for the United States to respond to sudden changes in the world, such as the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Atwood already has begun to reorganize AID along thematic lines that seek to break out of the country-by-country system. Yes-

terday he did not comment in detail on the interagency study, which is still classified, but said its recommendations appeared consistent with what his agency is trying to do.

He said reform "won't work" if Congress continues to insist on giving specific amounts to individual countries, but he added that some members of Congress most knowledgeable about foreign aid are eager for an overhaul that would reflect changes in the world.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee that sets foreign aid spending, called yesterday for a "fundamental rethinking of our foreign aid program, a top-to-bottom restructuring." He said the current foreign aid bill is the last one he will support without complete reform.

The staff study of the current system, along with an "options paper" of choices for overhauling it, have been presented to Cabinet officers and national security adviser Anthony Lake, who now must decide what to recommend to the president.

The interagency review went beyond AID to examine all programs by which the United States sends aid to foreign countries. The study encompassed the departments of Agriculture, State, Defense and Treasury as well as such independent agencies as the Export-Import Bank and the Peace Corps. It also included activities ranging from giveaways of surplus military gear to health programs.

Altogether, the United States is spending \$27.7 billion on foreign assistance this fiscal year, according to the study, or less than 2 percent of the federal budget. About 75 percent of that money is spent in the United States to purchase such items as food and

equipment sent abroad or the salaries of aid workers. But there is still "widespread public and congressional sentiment that the U.S. is engaged in overly well-funded 'foreign giveaway' programs that do the United States little good, at a time when domestic U.S. requirements are significantly underfunded," the study said.

The aid money is spent without "systematic evaluation" of the effectiveness of the

*"Funds would not be given to countries on an entitlement basis, but rather to requirements on a merit basis."*

Clinton administration reprograms and without review by any agency that examines them for duplication, efficacy or consistency with administration policy, the study found. There is "no consensus" on what the goal of U.S. aid should be and no framework for developing or concluding.

Unless foreign aid is radically overhauled, it faces "death by a thousand cuts," leading to continually shrinking foreign assistance programs with no clear direction or impact, a decline in U.S. international leadership, the study said.

The study group, made up of Cabinet-level political appointees and staff members, said its intention was to options to the Cabinet, not recom-

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tions. But the study is structured in such a way as to make clear the group expects Clinton to endorse its far-reaching proposals, unless he is unwilling to risk a bruising fight with Congress.

Under the current system, according to the study, the administration assigns dollar amounts to potential aid recipients. Then Congress haggles over the amounts.

"Recipient countries follow the slight changes in the funds requested as a litmus test of their importance to the United States," the study said. "Many countries view these allocations as something approaching 'entitlements.'"

To break out of the pattern, the study proposed a "major legislative rewrite" to stipulate that aid money be allocated to national goals, not countries.

Under this approach, the White House would list about 10 general categories, such as "democracy and human rights," "environment, health and population" or "refugees and migration." Funding for each category would be allocated according to its priority with Congress and the administration. Each of these "international resource programs" would be run by a policy committee chaired by an assistant secretary of state.

Countries or "other recipients" would submit proposals for evaluation by the "relevant agencies," including AID. Once a project was accepted, a project manager would solicit bids from potential operators—AID or another government department, a United Nations agency or a non-governmental organization.

The reason for this proposed framework, the study said, is that "it is no longer possible for the administration to let each agency define and pursue its agenda separately."

Whatever system for giving out funds is used, the study group recommended, all aid programs should serve four national goals: promotion of economic growth at home and competitiveness abroad, defense of the United States and its allies, promotion of democracy and human rights, and attention to the problems of environmental degradation, refugees and narcotics trafficking.

Now, 38 percent of aid goes for security assistance, the largest category, the study group said. The group offered two options for decreasing security assistance and increasing economic and humanitarian assistance if Clinton and his top aides choose to do so. Under these options more money would go to organizations such as the World Bank or refugee relief groups, less to armies and police forces.

While such a shift would be consistent with Clinton administration policies, the study group found, "the chief difficulties would come diplomatically in explaining our reductions in aid to traditional aid recipients in the Middle East," especially Egypt and Israel.

The study group suggested that ways exist to support U.S. interests abroad other than handing out money, such as easing access to U.S. markets for foreign farmers and manufacturers. "A positive change in a U.S. trade quota or tariff, while having no direct effect on the U.S. budget, could provide greater economic benefit" than direct aid, the study said.

For that reason, trade policy should be considered in making foreign aid decisions, the group said in a statement likely to stir anxiety among such protected U.S. agricultural sectors as sugar and peanuts.

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THE WASHINGTON POST

# White House Seeks Foreign Aid Revamp

## Congress Will Be Asked for 'Complete Overhaul,' Official Says

By Thomas W. Lippman  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Clinton administration will ask Congress this week for a "complete overhaul" of the U.S. foreign aid program, the nation's chief foreign aid official said yesterday.

The basic foreign aid law, enacted in 1961, has "Cold War barnacles all over it," said J. Brian Atwood, administrator of the Agency for International Development.

"We are changing the nature of how we do business," he said. "We're going to be a lot more tough in making decisions about whether a country is a good development

partner for the United States."

AID said in a statement that the new aid plan would be based on "a new approach that addresses five specific concerns: the global environment, population growth, economic development, democracy building and humanitarian assistance."

Atwood said the proposed overhaul would not in any way reduce aid to Israel and Egypt, by far the largest recipients of aid from the United States.

Aid to friendly Middle Eastern nations is likely to increase, he said in a telephone interview, as a result of

the peace agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, under which Palestinians are to run schools, courts and a police force in the occupied territories.

Atwood stressed that the administration—already facing tough fights on Capitol Hill over its forthcoming health care plan and the North American Free Trade Agreement—would not propose any changes in the aid program that "exacerbate" relations with Congress. The United States spends more than \$27 billion a year on foreign aid through several U.S. agencies and multinational institutions such as the World Bank and the

Inter-American Development Bank. Much of the aid is given according to instructions from members of Congress who favor specific countries.

No one in the administration disagrees that the nation's foreign aid program—criticized in an internal review as outmoded, inflexible and inefficient—needs to be restructured, Atwood said. A high-level interagency review concluded that the U.S. foreign aid program must be overhauled if it is to survive because it is unpopular with voters and threatened by the federal budget squeeze.

But Atwood said President Clinton's senior advisers have decided not to provoke a fight with Congress by endorsing some of the more radical proposals considered during the interagency review, such as shifting decision-making on money for individual countries from Congress to the executive branch.

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אָנָּא, חֹזֶם: 22771

אָל: רְהַמְּשׁ/1116

מַ-וּרְשָׁ, נְרָ: 2079, חָא: 180993, זָה: 1300, דָחָ: מ, סָגָ: סָוָ,

בְּכָבָב

סּוּדִי/ מִידִי

אל: מנכ'יל, ממנכ'יל, מנהל מצל'א

מאת: וושינגטונ, השגריר

הנדון: תחוליך השлом

1. להלן משיחות עם חברים שונים בצוות השлом האמריקאי בימים האחרונים:

א. ביום ב' יישא המזכיר נאום פרוגרמי על מדיניות החוץ האמריקאית. המזירה התיכון ותחוליך השлом הישראלי-ערבי יחפשו מקום נכד בנאום (מה שמאשר את שנטען זה מכבר ולפיו מרגע שתקרה פריצת הדרכן הראשונה בתחוליך השлом תעלה חשיבותו של זה בעיני המושל).

ב. בימים הקרובים ירבו אנשי מחד' לעסוק בשיחות הרב-צדדיות ובצדדים הכלכליים של הסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני. מחד' תרח על העלאת דרג ורמה בשיחות הרב-צדדיות אך בשלב זה נראה לאנשיה שיש להקים מיעוד לבנייה מכניות של קלייטה בצד הפלסטיני. אחרי יכולות הכל אין טעם בבנייה מאבאים מוקדמות שונים אם לא יימצאו הכלים בגדה וברצועה לעכל את המאבים ולנצלם לצורך פיתוח וייצור תעסוקה.

ג. בהקשר זה הם מצפים בימים הקרובים לשני כלכלנים: יוסף צאייג ונשאשבי (שם פרטי לא ברור). מחד' ביקש שאיף ישר את ابو-עלאא אך טרם ברור אם הדבר יתרחש.

ד. לשאלתי אם מחד' קובעת סייגים לפיתוח הקשרים עם אש'פ נאמר לי כי הקרייטריוון המקביל היחיד שנקבע לפיעעה הוא עסק בטרור של ממש ואחריות לשיפricht דם ביחיד של אזרחים אמריקאים.

ה. אנשי מחד' מודרדים מהידיעות על כוונת קדומי לצתת לבגדאד. הם הבהירו לאנשי אש'פ (במציאות חנן עשרוי) שכ' מגע מסווג זה יפריע להם ועוד יותר לסייעים ואנשי המפרץ האחרים.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, 0 (רהם) (שהבט), מנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל שלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, ערך, 0 (רמ) (אמן) ,  
0 (ר'אגת) (ממד, מצפה, רחטמות, ישראל ערבית, יועמץ

ססס

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אָנָּא, חֹזֶם: 22771

אֵל: רְהַמֵּשׁ/1116

מַ-וּשָׁ, נֶר: 2079, חָא: 180993, זָה: 1300, דָחָ: מ, סָג: סָוּ,

בְּכָבֶב

סּוּדִי/ מִידִי

אֵל: מַנְכִּיל, מַמְנִכִּיל, מַנְהָל מַצְפִּיא

מַאת: רַוְשִׁינְגְּטוֹן, הַשְּׁגָרִיר

הַנְּדוֹן: תְּהַלִּיךְ הַשְּׁלָום

1. להלן משיחות עם חברים שונים בצוות השלום האמריקאי בימים האחרונים:

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ב. בימים הקרובים ירבו אנשי מחד' לעסוק בשיחות הרב-צדדיות ובצדדים הכלכליים של הסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני. מחד' מטרה על העלאת דרג ורמה בשיחות הרב צדדיות אך בשלב זה נראה לאנשיה שיש להקדיש מאמץ מיוחד לבניית מכניזמים של קלייטה לצד הפלסטיני. אחרי ככלה הכל אין טעם בבניית משבבים מקורות שונים אם לא יימצאו הכלים בגדה וברצועה לעכל את המשבבים ולנצלם לצורך פיתוח וייצירת תעסוקה.

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רְבִינּוּבִּי

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, 0 (רהם) (שהבט), מנכ"ל, סמנכ'ל, סמנכ'ל שלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, ערד, 0 (רם) (אמן) ,  
0 (ר'אגת), ממד, מצפה, רחטמות, ישראל ערבות, יומש

ססס

דוחות: מיזי	טופס מקרק קשר ניו.יורק	דוח מזהה: 14
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**N**EXON in China. Sadat in Jerusalem. The Berlin Wall down. The Soviet Union split into 15 nations. The history of our time has been witness to astonishing events. But none less predictable than Yasser Arafat on the South Lawn of the White House.

Hard to believe: The one-time personification of Arab terrorism signing an agreement with the architect of Israel's triumph in the Six-Day War.

What brought both to the White House was the pull of history. Both knew their time on stage is running out. Both decided how they wished to be remembered: Arafat as the guerrilla chief who began liberation of his country, Rabin as the statesman who brought peace after a half century of fighting for Israel's place in the sun.

But while Monday's euphoria is understandable, for this gamble to pay off will require statesmanship, perseverance and luck.

Consider Arafat's dilemma: After assuming control of Gaza and Jericho, he will have to crack down on extremists determined to use violence to force the Israeli military to re-enter Jericho and Gaza, and abort the peace. With this agreement, Arafat becomes a de facto ally of Mossad. Yet he must show the Palestinians their dream of a homeland has not been abandoned, as he guards

**PATRICK J.  
BUCHANAN**

"US Troops In  
Golan ?  
Halt On!"

New York Post  
Op-Ed

15 - 9

1126  
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(2)

against assassination by someatum brethren who see him now as they once saw Sadat, as an Arab traitor who sold out to Israel for the applause and dollars of the West ...

Rabin, too, is gambling; gambling that Arafat can contain the extremists and end the intifada; gambling that Israelis will realize a more secure life from the deal he cut with an ex-terrorist whom generations of Israelis have learned to loathe.

With his margin in the Knesset razor-thin, Rabin also faces the hostility of tens of thousands of Israeli settlers on the West Bank and in Gaza who fear abandonment. Some are as anxious as Hamas to provoke incidents to abort this agreement.

If the Israeli public is ever persuaded that Rabin's risk failed to bring peace but brought Israel's enemies closer, the Labor Party is finished, Likud will be in power and the Middle East on the road to war. In which event Rabin's epitaph will be that there is no fool like an old fool.

Having started down this road there is no turning back. Yitzhak Rabin has to press as far and as fast as he can toward a broader peace.

And the next stop is Damascus. Syria provides sanctuary for the PLO extremists who now have contracts out on Arafat, and President Assad is dominant in Lebanon where the Iranian-backed Hezbollah guerrillas have been ambushing Israeli troops.

Syria's price for peace: return of the Golan Heights.

If Assad is cut out of the action, he can sink this agreement — by unleashing terrorists under his control. But if Assad follows Arafat into the peace camp and makes a deal with Israel there is a chance it can all come together. At least for now.

Into this combustible mix Secretary of State Christopher has now introduced the idea of American troops on the Golan Heights — to police a peace between Syria and Israel. Already, they are in the Sinai monitoring the peace between Israel and Egypt.

Time here to halt — and consider our own national interest.

Is it wise to put U.S. troops permanently at risk in this most volatile region of the world?

Step by step a post-Cold War foreign policy is evolving that appears to have little to do with America's vital interests.

④ New York

Post

1126

4

OP-

Ed

15-9

"From  
Out  
of the  
Shadows,  
Peace"

## COMMENTARY

**LALLY  
WEYMOUTH**



the ensuing decade — in part as a consequence of his fate — there was little sign that senior PLO officials were interested in the Sartawi line. Yasser Arafat kept the PLO a terrorist organization dedicated to violence against Israel and Jews, even while affecting occasional moderation in talks with Western leaders.

Then, two weeks ago, came the bolt from the blue that culminated in yesterday's White House ceremony.

How did this stunning change come to pass? Why did Israel decide — on its own initiative — to negotiate with the PLO?

In June 1992 a Labor-led government headed by Yitzhak Rabin came to power, pledging to reach a negotiated settlement with the

Palestinians and Israel's other Arab neighbors. But the formal Arab-Israeli peace talks in Washington, begun during the Bush administration, continued to yield nothing of consequence. And peace in the Middle East seemed as elusive as ever.

In the shadows, however, Foreign Minister Peres — with Rabin's permission — was pursuing a secret channel to the PLO. Ousted as Labor Party leader before the 1992 elections, Peres was looked on by many — including senior U.S. officials — as a political has-been.

Peres' secret channel had originated in the work of two Israeli academics, private citizens seeking peace who began their efforts by meeting with West Bank Palestinians. Subsequently, at the suggestion of Hanan Ashrawi, a member of the Palestinian delegation to the Washington talks, the two Israelis held the first of a series of clandestine meetings with a senior PLO figure in December 1992. The Norwegian government facilitated and played host to most of the contacts.

In May of this year, Peres — aware of the private discussions — sent two government officials, foreign ministry Director General Uri Savir and another senior foreign ministry official, to accompany the academics to their meetings with PLO representatives in Oslo.

A key factor in the Rabin-Peres decision to pursue the Oslo discussions was their conclusion that the local Palestinian leaders could not make a deal with Israel. If Israel wanted a settlement with

1126

5

gion marked a turning point. After Christopher departed, Rabin decided to give Peres full support and to concentrate his own attention on the Norwegian channel. Initially, the Israeli prime minister had regarded the Oslo discussions as something of a sideshow.

Rabin and Peres — formerly bitter rivals — worked hand in hand in total secrecy. Few Israelis knew that direct talks with the PLO were under way. Even the army chief of staff was kept in the dark.

At last, it seemed, a weakened PLO was ready to make peace with Israel. Arafat and company had lost Lebanon as a base of operations during the 1982 Israeli invasion. Then, when the Soviet Union collapsed, the PLO lost its chief diplomatic and military sponsor. Finally, after the gulf war, PLO funding was cut back by oil-rich Arab states determined to punish Arafat for supporting Saddam Hussein.

Rabin and Peres have seized the best available option. In so doing, they have turned the tables on both King Hussein of Jordan and President Hafez Assad of Syria. For a decade, Israel tried but failed to reach a peace agreement with the Palestinians through Jordan. As for Assad, he can no

longer use the Palestinian card in his dealings with Israel. No longer can the Syrian dictator base his unwillingness to negotiate a peace treaty on the claim that he is morally committed to refraining from entering into a Sadat-style "separate peace."

For Peres, the agreement with the PLO represents the culmination of a lifetime spent in the service of his country. The foreign minister, to be sure, had earned his place in Jewish history before he turned 40. He was the architect of Israel's alliance with France, the Jewish state's key military lifeline from the 1956 Sinai campaign until the 1967 Six-Day War. Peres was also — with his mentor, David Ben Gurion — a principal author of Israeli-German military cooperation.

The pact also enables the Israeli foreign minister to enjoy a discreet moment of triumph over U.S. officials who had snubbed him. The Americans had all but ignored Peres of late, focusing solely on Rabin.

It's well to note a final point: Only Yitzhak Rabin — a man Israelis trust implicitly on national security questions — could have sold this pact to a war-weary but skeptical nation. Peres, for all his gifts, would not have been able to do so.

Any settlement with the terrorist organization that has committed so many crimes against innocent people over so long a period is, by its very nature, fraught with risk. But Rabin believes that controlling a large Palestinian population by means of military force jeopardizes the demographic character of the Jewish state.

The future will undoubtedly have its ups and downs, but as Shimon Shiff, a leading Israeli journalist argues with manifest justification, "Rabin and Peres have changed the Middle East forever."

(5)

the Palestinians, the government would have to deal with the PLO.

The two senior Israeli leaders were also influenced by their conviction that the new U.S. administration, in the words of one well-informed Israeli, was "hopeless" — largely uninterested in international affairs and insufficiently committed to the peace process. Rabin and Peres decided that the Clinton team would not be able to deliver a settlement.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher's July trip to the re-

New York Post

OP-ED 15-9

1126 6

**NORMAN PODHORETZ**



**T**HERE are those who think that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel is not entirely enthusiastic about the agreement his country has just made with Yasser Arafat and the PLO. If so, that would help explain why Rabin spoke of "giving peace a chance" in his speech at the signing ceremony on the White House lawn the other day.

This slogan, of course, was the stock-in-trade of the American antiwar movement during Vietnam, and reviving it could only serve as a reminder that the signing of an agreement does not necessarily bring peace. Indeed, just as it did for what used to be South Vietnam, it can bring war, defeat and national annihilation; not a "peace of the brave," but the peace of the grave.

Well, maybe it is too fanciful to suggest that, in alluding to Vietnam, Rabin was unconsciously sounding a warning to himself. Even so, the truth is that his deal with the PLO is more likely to end in another big war than in the messianic deliverance envisaged by Israel's Foreign Minister Shimon Peres.

To understand why, it is necessary to recognize that in entering into this agreement, Israel has for all practical purposes acquiesced in the establishment of a Palestinian state on the whole of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

To be sure, the Rabin government still pretends that it opposes Palestinian statehood. Yet the pretense grows thinner with every passing hour. In fact, though Rabin himself may have private misgivings on the issue, his

government has become so eager to see a Palestinian state emerge that it will do its best to act as a midwife. Already Israel is trying to get the United States and other countries to subsidize the Palestinian economy and the day may not be far off when American Jews will be asked to contribute money to Arafat through the United Jewish Appeal.

In addition to lending a helping economic hand, the Rabin government will almost certainly refuse to let

any obstacles block the rush to Palestinian statehood. Suppose, for example, that an autonomous Gaza were to become a launching pad for new terrorist attacks against Israel by Muslim fundamentalists or Palestinian factions opposed to Arafat's policy. Which is more likely: That the Rabin government

(6)

"Rabin and  
the Ghost  
of Vietnam"

would take this as a sign that its hopes for peace were dashed, or that it would declare that the terrorists must not be permitted to sabotage those hopes?

My own guess, however, is that except for sporadic outbreaks, the fundamentalists and the dissident PLO factions will bide their time until the new state is officially established. And so will Arafat himself.

Arafat, too, spoke on the White House lawn of giving peace a chance. But for him the precedent of Vietnam can only be as reassuring as it is ominous for Rabin. After the North Vietnamese signed the Paris peace accords, they permitted themselves only relatively minor violations. To these, the United States — as desperate to get

out of Vietnam as the Israeli government now is to withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza — responded with empty threats or by turning a blind eye. Then, when all but a handful of American troops had gone home, Hanoi launched its final offensive against the South.

Though the analogy is far from exact, there are nevertheless uncanny similarities between Hanoi's tactics and the "phased plan" for the destruction of Israel which Arafat resisted for a long time but to which he has now evidently committed himself.

The first phase of this plan — originally developed, whether by coincidence or not, soon after the signing of the Paris peace accords — calls for the PLO to get as much of a foothold as possible through political means in Gaza and the West Bank. In phase two, statehood is to be achieved there, also by political means. And in phase three, the rest of "occupied Palestine" — that is, Israel — is to be "liberated" by force of arms.

Phase one has already been launched, with the Gaza-Jericho deal, and phase two will surely be accomplished within the next few years. But phase three may well take a very different form from the one outlined by the plan.

One, strong possibility is that a civil war will erupt in the new state among Arafat's PLO splinter groups like the PFLP, and the Muslim fundamentalists. As happened under similar circumstances in Lebanon, Syria (which regards the whole of ancient Palestine as its

**Rabin's deal with the PLO is more likely to end in another big war than in messianic deliverance.**

southern province) would in all probability intervene on the pretext of restoring order, and this would inexorably draw Israel in as well.

At that point, other Arab states (and also, perhaps, Iran), putting aside their own differences and scrapping whatever agreements they might by then have signed with Israel, would join forces for a final solution of their Israel problem.

If, God forbid, they should succeed, Israel would be wiped off the map. And if, God willing, they should fail, Israel would find itself reoccupying the very territories from which it had withdrawn in order to "give peace a chance" — only now at the cost of many thousands of lives.

Did some such nightmare vision, stirring in the depths of Yitzhak Rabin's soul, drive him to invoke the ghost of Vietnam? And was it the presence of that ghost on the White House lawn that darkened Rabin's already grim countenance and simultaneously set Arafat to grinning from ear to ear?

Norman Podhoretz is editor-in-chief of *Commentary* magazine.

## ABOUT THE MIDEAST

# Is Arafat Gaza's Dr. Frankenstein?

By Cynthia Ozick

**I**N HIS STARTLING letter to the Norwegian official who helped seal the Israel-PLO agreement, Yasser Arafat called on Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza to "take part in steps leading to the normalization of life." The normalization of life! — ah, the lovely ~~possibilities~~ of these homely plain words, and the insuppressible ironies that fall from them. One thinks of the comfort of old Dutch interiors: a pitcher of ~~water~~ on a table, a window shedding the peaceable light of day. Or of the ordinary ~~joy~~ of a shop floor when buyers ~~embark~~ on a bag of fruit. Or of a wed-

ding — the dancing, the feasting, the finery.

All these unexceptional routines of common human satisfaction have long been torn from Palestinians — beginning in 1947,

when the precursors of the PLO rejected the UN's offer of a Palestinian state, and instead chose war. Later, in Gaza, when the Israelis attempted the normalization of life by building houses for the refugees in their wretched camps — clean new houses with electricity and running water — three things happened: The PLO opposed the move as a "surveillance measure"; the PLO maneuvered the UN into a resolution of condemnation; and the PLO made its disapproval absolutely clear — i.e., any Palestinian who dared to accept the decent new housing was found hanging from a post the very next morning.

When the fury of the *intifada* was introduced as a way of life for Palestinians, the PLO ordered a permanent curfew for shops, banned wedding parties, and turned schools into headquarters for teaching children how to crack open living human

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heads. A whole people was abnormalized, put on the PLO dole, and made dependent on institutionalized violence. "Stones," Arafat said then, "are our jewels."

Arafat has been a powerful educator. It is probably true that, nearly singlehandedly, and by means of abnormalization, he minted a lasting Palestinian peoplehood, distinguishing it — despite the sameness of language and ethnicity — from what is otherwise known as "the Arab nation." It is Arafat who, in establishing his former fiefdom in Lebanon, gave Kalashnikovs to 12-year-old boys. It is Arafat who, for almost three decades, has led and encouraged and congratulated hijackers, kidnappers, shooters, knifers, stranglers, ax-wielders. He has been a celebrated preacher of undying revenge and profound hatred. Until this moment every breath he has drawn has been dedicated to killing or to placing a bullet in the head of the next killing.

—Continued on page 108

Newsday

15 - 9

(8)

OP - Ed

—Continued from page 46

strument and his apparatus. Western intellectuals have been his brain trust, turning aggressors into victims, and defenders into aggressors. He has been protected by media romanticizations and distortions and erasures and whoppers. Heads of state have received him with red carpets and leased him "embassies." The camera has abetted him. The press has refurbished his terror with euphemisms like "commando," "fighter," "resistance." Not until only the other day did any American newspaper think it pertinent to publish the bloodthirsty substance of the PLO charter.

But money talks as loudly as gunfire, and, in the wake of his Gulf War miscalculations, Arafat comes — stone-broke and sidelined — as peacemaker. One foot into Gaza and he writes his obituary. He is Gaza's Dr. Frankenstein; there is no containing the creature now. Can he turn around the population he has trained up for malice? Will his masked young swaggerers trade stones for slates? Is peace with Israel the first overt move in the PLO's famed "phased liberation" program, proclaimed for years throughout Arab societies? What does Arafat have up his sleeve? Does the leopard — honestly and honorably — *really* mean to change his spots?

All the forgoing expresses my Jewish unease, doubt, mistrust. And memory above all. A generation decimated by the most ferocious destruction in Jewish history since the loss of Jerusalem two millennia ago understands the import of bereavement, and the peril of risking to paper hopes a place of one's own. Oh, the beauty of ordinary days, ordinary nights, ordinary life! No one knows better than Jews — a people abandoned only 50 years ago to helplessness and murder — the value of a self-reliant "normalization of life." And no one will begrudge it less to another people.

Yet how credible is a suddenly peacenik PLO? The fact is that Arafat's own Fatah has been responsible for more killings than Hamas. Can Arafat control the repudiating passions of his restive followers, half or more of whom have already defected from his initiative? Hamas and Hezbollah and a score of other armed gangs are not answerable to him. Whom, exactly, among so many brutal dissenters, does Arafat represent? The PLO once boasted that it was "the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." No one can any longer reasonably make

that claim; but it is in this very claim that Israel now puts its trust.

A parable. Moses in the wilderness, accompanied by a murmuring people, sends out a dozen scouts to assess the risks of entering the Promised Land. (See Numbers 13.) All 12 witness fruitful plains, a land of milk and honey; but 10 "spread an evil report," and to forestall the dangerous journey pretend to have come on monstrous giants. "We were in our own sight as grasshoppers, and so we were in their sight." The fearful 10 who despair, who hang back and numb the multitude with a dread of moving on, never arrive in the Promised Land. The two who are willing to risk the journey make it, and are remembered for their faithfulness.

Today it is hard to decide whether to see through the eyes of the cautious 10 or the risk-taking two — because this time (and here the two and the 10 are in perfect agreement) the dangers on the way are indisputably real. And so, even with the most fruitful of hopes, a Jewish heart at the border of a green new promise of peace beats like a grasshopper's: small and quick. But — thanks to the immutable blessing of Zionism — never again afraid.

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1126

9

By Joseph J. Sisco

**T**HE HISTORIC breakthrough between Israel and the Palestinians has major implications not just for the Mideast but for U.S. policy.

First, with the uncertainty that PLO chairman Yasser Arafat can control opposition and the likelihood that violence cannot realistically be expected to cease entirely, U.S. military and economic support for Israel will have to continue, despite the budget tightness. President Bill Clinton has made this commitment. In doing so, he is applying the lessons of the past. The American maintenance of Israel's qualitative edge militarily largely convinced most Palestinians and other Arabs that the armed struggle could not succeed, that Israel could not be driven into the sea, and that negotiations and the conference table were the only realistic alternative. Continuing support should likewise help dissuade the rejectionists and unreconstructed.

Secondly, for peace eventually to take hold, the Palestinians must see some meaningful improvement in their daily lives. Development needs to become the decisive bulwark and underpinning of peace. The United States, Japan, the European Community, international institutions, and the not-as-rich-as-in-the-past oil producing Arab states have reacted positively to Secretary of State Warren Christopher's urgings to get behind the initiative created by the accord. This is one case for aid whose credentials are impeccable.

Third, the United States has one priority diplomatically. Its honest-broker role remains indispensable. In working out the details of the self-governing authority, the parties themselves, most knowledgeable about the on-the-ground situation, are the best choices to fill out concretely and practically the general framework of the Gaza-Jericho interim agreement. U.S. help on this front should be only minimally necessary. The Jordan-Israel framework will require more of our attention and involvement because fundamental questions — refugees and water, for example — are involved.

It is in the Syrian-Israeli agreement that the United States' presence is essential. This will require intense and continuous activity. Now that

Syria has lost the Russians, only the United States counts in the area. When Christopher met last month with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, the latter said Christopher had brought "good news." The United States has not to this point made explicitly clear just what that was. There is reason to believe that it was that Syria's president, Hafez Assad, is agreeable to establishing a diplomatic channel between himself and Rabin with Christopher as the go-between.

On the surface, establishing such a channel does

"What's Ahead  
for US in  
the Mideast"

Newsday

15 - 4

(10)

OP - Ed

1106  
10

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11026

11

gotiations of sorts have been going on for weeks. The key elements are: Syrian sovereignty over the entire Golan; a fully spelled-out content of peace; a phased withdrawal of Israel's forces out of the Golan and a pull-back of Syrian forces; and the demilitarization of a substantial part of the Golan. Will Israel be willing militarily to get off the heights entirely, which Assad is insisting upon? Such a total withdrawal is not to be precluded and here once again the United States could make the difference. Israel is not likely to leave peacekeeping

ing on the Golan to the United Nations. The United States is the only country Israel will trust to do that job. And the Clinton administration has said it is willing to undertake it if such supervision is the make-or-break issue.

Finally, the strategic implications for the

United States in the re-

gion are potentially sweeping. Its policy of "twin containment" of Iran and Iraq will have been strengthened if progress on the Arab-Palestine-Israeli fronts becomes a rooted reality. Iran will come under greater pressure to begin to find a practical accommodation with the United States as the region's dominant external power. Iran wants or needs western investment and technology. Washington can take a positive, practical approach to relations with Iran, provided Iran stops its support of militant Islamic fundamentalists in the region and its outreach in the Persian Gulf becomes less threatening to Saudi Arabia and not directed in getting the United States out of the gulf.

The United States is likely to lead in pressing other Arab states to move towards peace with Israel as progress is being made in the Levant. The American presence in the gulf must remain as reassuring as in the past if Saudi Arabia is to eventually venture peace with Israel. Saudi Arabia is not likely to make so monumental a move before peace among the all the front-line states — Israel, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon — is achieved. In the meantime, the U.S. umbrella for its gulf friends is indispensable.

The United States has a full agenda in this vital region. It can meet the challenge.

not seem like much since there is still an unbridged gulf between the two regarding the contents of peace, the extent of Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights, the borders, and security arrangements. But in actuality this is an important step. It signals that Assad does not want to be isolated. He is in danger of this now that the Israelis, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Jordanians have taken important steps forward.

Assad's signal reflects more than a view he may hold that the time is ripening for progress, particularly with Christopher planning on going to the Mideast next month. It goes beyond this. During my official days I met about 20 times with the Syrian president. He is both a strategist and tactician. He is a hands-on, detailed negotiator who will negotiate the details of any peace agreement. Rabin, whom I dealt with on almost a daily basis for five years while he was Israel's ambassador to United States, has a similar style. For these reasons, establishing a high-level diplomatic channel is more than mere procedure. Three decades of U.S. middle-man negotiations prove that it is only when the top leaders are directly engaged that serious business can begin and progress becomes possible. And Syria is pivotal.

The lines of a possible eventual agreement between it and Israel are already emerging since no

# Terrific Emcee

Say what you will about President Bill Clinton, he is not one to shy away from tough assignments. Whether it's cutting the deficit, dealing with spiraling health care costs, or the need to ratify the North American Free Trade Agree-

ment, he has tackled it head on. Now he is stepping up to the issue of peace in the Mideast. It could be his toughest assignment — even in the aftermath of Monday's stirring ceremony where rivals Yitzhak Rabin and Yasser Arafat shook hands.

It is essential that Clinton be personally involved in the Mideast peace process. Just as there was no way that the Camp David agreement between Israel and Egypt could have been signed without the direct involvement of President Jimmy Carter, this daring gamble by Israel's prime minister and the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization cannot succeed without Clinton as full partner — the role he assumed Monday.

Indeed, Clinton's graceful manner and eloquent words might be the highlight of his presidency thus far. No doubt he and his advisers saw a political opportunity to bask in the glow of this amazing event, one that the Israelis and Palestinians brought about largely on their own. But give him credit for elevating it and hitting exactly the right notes as emcee. Here, more than any other time during his brief tenure, Clinton looked presidential.

Unfortunately, looking presidential — even stepping up to the hard problems — is not enough. Clinton has to demonstrate that he can put a program through or conclude a diplomatic initiative. By standing on the platform with Rabin and Arafat, he committed his prestige to a successful conclusion of this endeavor. What to do about Palestinians who

want to return to their homeland, Jerusalem's future, the future of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, the need to guarantee Israeli security — all of these now become Clinton's problems, too.

Monday's drama came about largely as a result of work done by previous presidents. Now the Israeli-Palestinian dispute is Clinton's problem.

(12) Newsday

Editorial

15 - 9

1126

12

By JOHN P. HANNAH

With this week's signing of landmark agreements between Israel and the Palestinians, and between Israel and Jordan, all eyes now turn toward Syria. Will President Hafez Assad seize upon the climate of reconciliation to make Israel a peace offer it can't refuse? Or will he continue his double game of negotiating on the one hand while supporting terror and arming for war on the other?

In this respect, a particularly curious—and troubling—incident happened just over five weeks ago. On Aug. 8, Russian transport planes touched down in Damascus, the capital of Syria, and unloaded their deadly cargo: components for Scud-C ballistic missiles capable of carrying chemical weapons and reaching targets deep inside Israel. In a bizarre twist, the missile parts were not even of Russian origin; rather, they came from North Korea. The Russians, it seems, adopting a novel post-Cold War role for themselves, were merely acting as delivery men.

Russia's readiness to grease the military pipeline that runs between North Korea's Stalinists and Syria's dictator should trouble U.S. policy makers for any number of reasons. Both North Korea and Syria remain charter members of the State Department's rogues' gallery, prominently mentioned on its list of major state sponsors of international terrorism. Worse yet, if history is any guide, part of the Scud-C consignment almost certainly found its way to Iran, terrorism's de facto global headquarters.



BEYOND  
THE  
COLD WAR

FOREIGN POLICY IN  
THE 21ST CENTURY

Russia's actions flew in the face of major U.S. diplomatic initiatives under way at the time: with North Korea, to stop its efforts to develop nuclear weapons and market its ballistic missiles to the world's hot spots, especially the Middle East; with Syria, to broker a breakthrough in peace talks with Israel. Indeed, the Russian shipment came just two days after Secretary of State Warren Christopher departed Damascus, following a week of intense efforts to resurrect Arab-Israeli negotiations.

Also troubling is the fact that the Scud-C delivery came amid a flurry of new Russian promises to abide by the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), a multi-national effort to restrict ballistic missile proliferation; indeed, Russia's prime minister dutifully made such promises again just two weeks ago in Washington, win-

"How Russia

Still Apects

Mideast

Terror"

1126  
13

15 - 9

Wall Street

Journal

OT - Ed

(13)

ping lucrative pledges of U.S. space cooperation in return. But the MTCR clearly rules out the transfer of Scud-Cs, whose 300-mile range far exceeds the regime's limits. While a case might be made that simply transporting, as opposed to actually supplying, the missile components does not violate the regime's letter, it most certainly makes a mockery of its spirit.

The effort to solicit Russian involvement in this deadly deal makes eminent sense. Twice before, North Korea sought with great trouble to use its own surface ships to deliver Scud-Cs to Syria and Iran. On the first occasion, in late 1991, Israeli threats to sink North Korea's freighter forced it to retreat before it could dock in Syria. Then, in the spring of 1992, a second attempt narrowly succeeded, despite the threat of interception by the U.S. Navy, when the North Korean vessel unexpectedly diverted to an Iranian port; from there, Iranian planes flew some of the missiles to Damascus.

Using Russia as a middleman offers several advantages. First, logically, Russia's massive aerial transport capabilities permit the Scud-C parts to be moved entirely by air rather than ship. This dramatically speeds up delivery time, while reducing opportunities for third-party detection and sabotage. Second, from a political standpoint, Russian involvement provides the operation with a foolproof security guarantee—it is impossible to imagine the U.S. or Israel blowing a Russian plane out of the sky, much less one be-

longing to Boris Yeltsin's "democratic" Russia.

Apologists for Mr. Yeltsin's regime are quick to explain away such incidents; they suggest that rogue elements in Russia's military-industrial complex are acting without his knowledge. Perhaps. But if true, this raises its own set of deeply disturbing questions about command and control in a country still targeting thousands of nuclear warheads at American cities.

Even if we accept that Mr. Yeltsin was initially unaware of the operation, another question arises: Why didn't he order it stopped when he was finally informed? Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said that Secretary Christopher told him about the pending Scud shipment during the latter's trip to the Middle East, at least 48 hours before the actual delivery. We can be fairly certain, therefore, that the U.S. was in touch with authorities in Moscow at least that early in an effort to stop the shipment. Did Mr. Yeltsin make an effort to do so? Was he too late? Was he rebuffed? If so, did he move to punish those responsible? Or, on the other hand, did he reject the U.S. demarche and allow the Scud-C delivery to proceed? Either way, the implications for Western interests are troubling for at least two reasons.

First, as concerns the Middle East peace process: Two years ago, the demise of Syria's Soviet patron forced President Assad to talk peace with Israel. Getting him to follow in the footsteps of Yasser Arafat and actually make peace with the Jewish state means ensuring that his military option in the Kremlin is not now resurrected.

A second worry concerns the broader U.S.-Russian relationship. Playing matchmaker for North Korea and Syria is simply the latest in a series of actions suggesting that U.S.-Russian relations face some trouble ahead. From its contrarian diplomacy on Bosnia to its growing penchant for bullying its newly independent neighbors; from its efforts in June to ship rocket-fuel ingredients to Libya to its readiness earlier this month to initial economic framework agreements with Saddam Hussein—all indicate that Moscow is increasingly guided by a foreign policy muse that is not just different from America's, but often at cross purposes to it. Should this trend continue, it could be cause for worry indeed.

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Mr. Hannah, deputy director of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, was a member of the State Department's policy planning staff from 1991 to 1993.

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אאא, חוזם: 22604  
 אל: רהmesh/1070  
 מ-: וווש, נר: 2076, תא: 150993, זח: 1620, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
 בכבב  
 סודי/מיידי

אל: רוח'ם, שה'ח, מנכ'ל, מנכ'ל, מ' מצפ'א.

**מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון**

1. בעקבות חתימת ההסכם והאירועים שהיו כרוכים במסכת זהה נערכה השגרירות בושינגטון לעסוק במשימות העיקריות הבאות:

א. המשך קיומם הקשור והתאום עם הממשל **בארהים** בתפקידו של המשלחת על היחסים הבילטרליים וכן **ኒצ'ול** המומנתום שנוצר לצורך העממת ורחיבת מגמות היפוי והנורמליזציה בתן ישראל לעולם הערבי (וחמושלי).

ב. קיומם **פעילות מוגברת** בגבעה **לצורך** קיומם וחיזוק העמדת והקשרים והנוכחות הגברת **פעילות ערבית-פלסטינית** המתמקדת בנסיוון לגיבס סיווע כספי **לפלסטינים**.

ג. קיומם **קשר תכוף** עם המנהיגות והארגוני היהודים **ההמישר** המאמץ לקיים תמייהה במהלך, הן בмагמת עדכון ותדרוך והן בмагמת הועצחות והדרכה בכל.

ד. השתקפותם של **ענינים אלה** בתקורת, העומדת עדין, **כלכל**, **בסיסן** תחוות ההצלחה של **אמצע השבוע**.

2. אנשי צוות השגרירות ידרווחו בנפרד ובצורה מפורת על חלק **ענינים אלה**. להלן דיווחם ביןיהם על מספר מחשבות וחתפותיו הראשוניות וכן בקשורת והנחיות המתבקשות לגביהם מספר **ענינים**.

3. בשיחות עם אנשי הממשל בرمות השונות **אנר** מתמקד **בנושאים העיקריים** **הבאים**:

א. המשך המר'ם על **הפלסטינים** והמעבר **ליישום ההסכם**.

ב. השלבות על היחסים הבילטרליים. בהקשר זה **נפעל** גם לימוש הצעות שפורטו בברקו של מנהל מצפה על פי הנחיה המנכ'ל.

ג. **ኒצ'ול** המומנתום שנוצר בתפקידו של המשלחתו והעמקתו, של תפקידו הנורמליזציה והיפוי. מדובר במאזן להכלה או **כינון** יחסים עם מדינות מושלמיות (כפיסטאן) וערביות מתונות או לפחות בנורמליזציה דה-פקטו.

ד. אחד התחומיים הראשונים בהם **יתן** יהיה לממשל ולמהishi' התקדמות כזאת תהיה

עבודת העצרת הכללית של האומ' בסוף החודש הן באשר לדיוונים עצם והן בפגישות סביבם. אנו נמתין להנחיות וריעונות מן הארץ לצורך שיחותינו באגפים השונים של מחד'.

ה. המשך חפקודה של מסגרת מדריד. מועד ואופי הסכט הבא של שיחות וושינגטונ וואופי ומועד ביקורו הבא של מזכיר המדינה באזרע והמשך המומ' עם סוריה.

ו. אנו מציינים פניה למחמד לשкол שנויו דיקאלי של צורת העבודה בכל הנוגע לדוח זכויות האדם בשטחים לאור התמורה העמוקה שהתחוללה זה עכשו.

ז. דיון בשאלת הסיווע לפלטינינים העולה על הפרק (ראה להלן) כאשר דאגתנו העיקרית היא שהסיווע לישראל בשנה זאת ובאלו שאחריה לא יפגע.

4. שאלת הסיווע הועלתה כבר ביזמת אשף ותדרנים שונים (כולל יהודים) הן בקונגרס והן בתקשורת (דוחים מפורטים בדף נפרד). נשמעו כבר קולות כמו זה של הסנטור ליהי הרוזץ על הצורך ליטול מדיניות קמף דיוויד למטרת זאת.eko בו אנו נוקטים הוא.

א. שיקום ופיתוח כלכלי הוא אכן מימד חיוני של התהילה.

ב. ישראל ממלאת תפקיד מוביל בתחום זה ובבר סיעוד בהשגת משאבים בעיקר מאירופה.

ג. המשאבים יבואו ממקור לא אמריקאים כאשר ישראל אינה מבקשת מארה להקצת משאבים ניכרים משלה.

ד. הצורך של ישראל בסיווע ובכספי הערביות לא פחת אלא גדל.

5. בקהילה היהודית יש עדין צורך במאז, אם כי קל הרבה יותר, לגבות חמייה במהלך. כן יש צמא רב לאינפורמציה והדרכה. בה בעת משתמשת מבויה נוכחות ממאז שיטתי של אשף וגורמים ערביים אחרים לפתח את הפורומים והארגוני היהודים בפניהם. בכלל אנו מודגשים את הצורך בبنית אמון ומכאן הצורך של אשף לזכות בשכונות ובחדשים הקרים באמוננו וזאת בראש וראשונה על ידי שיתופ פיעולה קונסטרוקטיבי במום המתחש וביצוע ההסכם אך בעניינים דוגמת תגבורת הפומבית על ארווי טרור.

6. ככל שנוקף הזמן זוקים אנו (ואני מניח גם נציגויות אחרות) ל��וי ההחלטה באשר ליחסנו שלנו ליזמות ובקשות של אשף. במקביל נשגר לכם דוחים מפורטים על פעילות ותפקידו של ערפת בוושינגטון במהלך שליחותו.

7. אנו ננצל ביקורם בעיר של מלאי תפקידים בכירים בארגונים היהודיים על מנת לקיים התיעצות משותפת בנושאים אלה. קונכיל ניו-יורק הוזמנה אף היא להשתתף.

8. חברי צוות השגרירות ייזמו מציגם בקשרים וקשרים עם המקבילים להם בשגרירויות הערביות.

בברכת שנה טובה,

איתמר רבינוביץ.

לבח

תפוצה: שחח, טחה, רהמ (שבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוט,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, רם (אמן), ר'אגת),  
ממך, מצפה, רחטמוץ, ישראלערב, ערן, יוועמש, חפוצות

ססס

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אאא, חוזם: 22603  
 אל: רהmesh/1069  
 מ-: רוש, נר: 2075, תא: 150993, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
 בכבב  
 סודי/מיידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דעת: מנכ'ל, מנכ'ל, לשכת שה'ח, לשכת רה'ם

מאת: ק. לקובנגרטס

הנדון: אש'פ' / חקיקות בקובנגרטס

1. במהלך פגישתו של ערפת (אתמול 14.9) עם מנהיגות הסנאט (ראו דיווח בדף) אחת מציגותיו העיקריות אותה הביע בפני הסנטורים משתתפי הפגישה, היתה בדיקה מחדש ושינוי החקיקות הנוגעת לאשפ'.

2. בתום הפגישה הב'ל, אמר הסנטור מיטץ'ל מנהיג הרוב כי יבדוק האפשרות לביטול מהיר של חקיקות הנוגעת לאשפ' (לא פירט).

בעקבות הב'ל פנה סול סינגר, עוזרו של הסנטור מק (אשר יזם בזמןו יחד עם הסנטור ליברמן את החקיקה בוגע לאיסור הדיאלוג עם אשפ' ופיקוח על פעולות טרור) לעזרת מזכיר המדינה לענייני קובנגרטס, רונדי שרמן, אשר אמרה כי אין בכוונתם לשנות מדיניותם הנוכחית להמשך לדוחות לקובנגרטס. (אשר חלק החקיקה מミילא אינם רלבנטיים לאחר הודעת ההכרה של אשפ' בישראל).

3. היום (15.9) שוחתי עם עוזרו של הסנטור פל לענייני מזה'ת בוועדת החוץ בסנאט אשר סיפר כי הדבר החשוב ביותר הוא לבדוק האיסורים בחקיקות הנוגעים לאשפ' כדי שניתן יהיה לישם ההסכם שנחתם. מדובר בחקיקות עצמאיות, ללא התנויות, מעבר לאלה הנוגעות לאיסור מגעים רשמיים עם אשפ' (אשר הוברכו אליהם בדף). ציין כי החקירה הראשונה בה מדובר והצורך לשנותה הוא - האיסור על פחיתה משרד אשפ' בארא'ב, איסור הפעצת אינפורמציה וחוצתה כספים ע'י אשפ' בארא'ב. (איסור זה מופיע בחוק כספי מלח'ד/הרשאות לשט'א 88/89).

חקיקה נוספת שהקובנגרטס י策ר לשנות בשלב הבא הוא האיסור החל על ארא'ב לתroxם לאות ולאריגונים בין'ל לחנויות הנוגעת לאשפ' (איסור זה הכלול בחוק הקבוע מופיע מידי שנה בחוק סיווע החוץ/הקצבות).

4. העוזר המשיך בדבריו וסיפר כי מחד מעוניינים לשנות מהר חקיקות אלה ולא מן הנמנע שהקובנגרטס, ברוח המחוות של רהם רבין יסכים לשינוי החקיקות. הקובנגרטס מכל מקום יתנה ביטול החקיקות בהתקדמות יישום ההסכם ובאופן פעולתו והתנהגותו של אשפ'. כרגע מתבצע REVIEW של החקיקות עי' ועדת החוץ בקובנגרטס וכן במח'ד.

5. הבוקר נפוצו שמוועות כאילו בכוונת הסנטורים دول ומיטץ'ל להגיש תיקון

בנדון כבר לחוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות שיידון בשבוע הבא במליאת הסנאט. ממשרו של דול נמסר היוםacha'ci כי אין בכוונתם ל'ירוץ' לשינוי חוקה.

6. לאור הניל, בדק השגריר, בדרגים בכיריהם במחמד ונאמר לו בפירוש כי למחמד לאacha'ci הדרך.eko המתוואר בברקו של השגריר מהיום, מקובל גם עליהם.

7. בפרט- סה'כ 12 החקיקות הנוגעות לאשפ' כי שהוכנו עי ועדת החוץ בסנאט.

ברכת שנה טובה,

יהודית ורנאי דרגנר.

לבח

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, שהבט (רHAM), שהבט (רHAM), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, (רמ), (אמז), (ר'אגת),  
ממ"ד, מצפה, רחטמצת, ישראל'ערב

ססס

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22603: חוזם:  
אל: רהmesh/1069  
מ-: רוש, נר: 2075, תא: 150993, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: סו,  
ביבב  
סודי/מיידי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

דעת: מנכ'יל, ממנכ'יל, לשכת שח'יח, לשכת רה'ם

amate: ק. ל. ק. ר. ק. ר. ג. ר. ס.

הנדון: אשיפ' / חקיקות בקונגרס

1. במהלך פגישתו של ערפת (אתמול 14.9) עם מנהיגות הסנאט (ראו דיווח בפרד) אחת מדאגותיו העיקריות אותה הביע בפני הסנטורים משתפי הפגישה, הייתה בדיקה מחדש ושינורי החקיקות הנוגעת לאשפ'.

2. בתום הפגישה הניל, אמר הסנטור מיטצ'ל מנהיג הרוב כי יבדוק האפשרות לביטול מהיר של חקיקות הנוגעת לאשפ' (לא פירט).

בעקבות הניל פנה סול סינגר, עוזרו של הסנטור מק (אשר יוזם בזמנו יחד עם הסנטור ליברמן את החקירה בגין איסור הדיאלוג עם אשפ' ופיקוח על פעולות טרור) לעזרת מזכיר המדינה לענייני קונגרס, וונדי שמן, אשר אמרה כי אין בכוונתם לשנות מדיניותם הנוכחית להמשיך לדוחות לكونגרס. (שאר חלקי החקיקה מילא אינט' רלבנטיים לאחר הودעת ההכרה של אשפ' בישראל).

3. היום (15.9) שוחחתי עם עוזרו של הסנטור פל לענייני מזה'ת בועדת החוץ בסנאט אשר סיפר כי הדבר החשוב ביותר הוא לבדוק האיסורים בחקיקות הנוגעים לאשפ' כדי שנייתן יהיה לישם ההסכם שנחתם.

מדובר בחקיקות עצמאיות, ללא חתימות, מעבר לאלה הנוגעות לאיסור מגעים רשמיים עם אשפ' (אשר הוברכו אליום בפרד). ציין כי החקירה הראשונה בה מדובר והצורך לשנותה הוא - האיסור על פתיחת משרד אשפ' בארא'ב, איסור הפעלת אינפורמציה והוועאת כספים עי' אשפ' בארא'ב. (איסור זה מופיע בחוק כספי מכם'ד/הרשות לשט'א 88/9).

חקיקה נוספת שהקונגרס יצטרך לשנותה בשלב הבא הוא האיסור החל על ארא'ב לתروم לאום ולאירוגנים ביןיל' לתכניות הנוגעת לאשפ' (איסור זה הכלול בחוק הקבוע מופיע מידיו שנה בחוק סיווע החוץ/הקצבות).

4. העוזר המשיך בדבריו וסיפר כי מhammad מעוניינים לשנות מהר חקיקות אלה ולא מן הנמנע שהקונגרס, ברוח המחוות של רה'ם רבין יסכים לשינוי החקיקות. הקונגרס מכל מקום יתנה ביטול החקיקות בתיקמות יישום ההסכם ובאופן פעולתו והתנהגותו של אשפ'. כרגע מתבצע REVIEW של החקיקות עי' ועדת החוץ בקונגרס וכן במחמד'.

5. הבוקר נפוצו שמוועות כאילו בכוונת הסנטוררים دول ומיטziel להגיש תיקון בندון כבר לחוק סיווע חוזץ/הקצבות שיידון בשבוע הבא במליאת הסנאט. ממשרדו של دول נמסר היום אחיה'צ כי אין בכוונתם ל'ירוץ' לשינוי חוקה.

6. לאור הניל', בדק השגריר, בדרגים בכיריהם במחמד ונאמר לו בפירוש כי למחמד לאacha הדרך. הקו המתואר במרקון של השגריר מהיום, מקובל גם עליהם.

7. בפרט- סה'כ 12 החקיקות הנוגעות לאשפ' כפי שהוכנו עי ועדת החוץ בסנאט.

בברכת שנה טובה,

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.

לבה

תפוצה: שהח, שהח, 0(רham), 0(שהבט), מנכל, מנכל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, 0(רמ), 0(אמן), 0(ר'אגת),  
ממד, מצפה, רחטמזה, ישראלערב

ססס

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אאא, חוזם: 22590

אל: רהmesh/1098

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 435, תא: 150993, זח: 1710, דח: מ, סג: שם,

ביבב

שמור/מידי

תאריך: 15 בספטמבר 1993

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, לשכת שח"ח, לשכת רה"מ

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

## הנדון: פגישות רפואית בגבעה

1. אחותם (14.9) קיימים רפואית שתי פגישות בגבעה - עם מנהיגות הסנאט ומנהלנות בית הנבחרים.

בפגישה עם מנהיגות הסנאט, אותה ארכו דול ומיטשל, השתתפו כ-20 סנטורים ובהם: ליהי, וורנר, קוקראן, מקונל, מוינינחן. לא השתתף אף סנטור יהודי.

בפגישה עם מנהיגות ביהן"ב, אותה ארחה יוזר ביהן"ב פולי, השתתפו 24 מוחוקקים ובהם: הוויר, גפהארט, בוניור, המילטון, מיקל, גינגריז', גליקמן, הייד.

2. משתתפים בשתי הפגישות שמענו כי הפגישות היו טובות וחמות. יוזר צוות העוזרים של ועדת החוץ בסנאט הוסיף:

THEY LIKED HIM AND THOUGHT HE WAS SINCERE AND CHARMING. HE HAD PERSONAL RAPPORT WITH EVERYONE COACHED וידע מה לומר - ולמי. עוזרו של הספיקר תום פולי ציין כי כל המשתתפים (כולל היהודים) היו "חויבים מאוד כלפי רפואית" ולחצו את ידו. רבים ממשתפי הפגישות היו עצביים קמעא לפני שפגשו את רפואית. רפואית הבין היבט את המצב בו הוא נחון. כלומר, שיש עדיין רגשות רגה ביחס אליו ועליו להוכיח את עצמו.

3. בקשר הבטחון - רפואית נשאל וענה (בביהן"ב - לגינגריז') כי הוא מודאג מנוסח החמאס וכי אין לאש"פ כל השפעה על איראן. סיפר כי פנה מספר פעמים לטהראן אך HE WAS REBUFFED. סנטור סרביינס שאל על מצב הבטחון, מבלי להזכיר ספציפית את החמאס ו רפואית השיב על כך: יש לנו אופוזיציה, אולם אם תראה מה קרה בעזה ובגדמ"ע בليل החתימה כאשר אנשים יצאו לרחובות לחגוג, תבין שכך הם (החווגגים) מבודדים את המתנגדים. אנו מגינים שורדים ומאננים אותם. בשני הבתים אמר רפואית: אנו זוקים לסייע כלכלי

TO UNDERCUT EXTREMISTS IN THE PLO AND HAMAS AI שביעות הרצון ועם תחילת זרימת המשאבים לשתחים נוכל לשלוט במצב הבטחוני.

הישראלים רוצים בטהון ואנו מבינים את זה. הם רוצים לדעת שחתמו על הסכם

עם אנשים רצינאים היכולים לספק את הסטוריה - אלו מבינים זאת ונפעל בהתאם. ההסכם הזה הוא **BARGAIN** עבורנו ונקייד עליו.

4. **גינוי לטרור** - הэн בسانט והן בבייהן"ב נשאל על רפואי שאלות נוקבות מדווקאי מגנה את הריגת החילים וננג האוטובוס (ב-9.13). לפ"י עוזרו של השפיקר פולי אמר רפואי כי **אש"פ** אינו יכול לגנות כל מעשה טרור בודד שכן:

(א) **אש"פ** מגנה את הטרור בעצם חתימתו על ההסכם

(ב) **אש"פ** אינו שולט עדין בשיטה ולכן אם יגנה פעללה ספציפית בלי יכול למנווע אותה יאבדمامינותו וייצתיר כארגון חלש. סנטור ליהי לחץ בתוקף בנוסא אי-גינוי פומבי של הארוועים האחדרוניים, כדברי אחד המשחפפים בפגישה בסנטור: **HIM WAS REALY HAMMERING**. רפואי השיב: אני נגד טרור וכך היתי מאז ומתייד. אולם נמנע מלומר שיגנה ספציפית ארוועי טרור. ליהי אמר בתגובה: אם אתה מצפה לעזרה מהוועדה שלי - עלייך לגנות את הטרור אחרית לא אוכל לסייע.

5. רפואי התלונן על מדיניות ערביות שאיבן משותה פעללה כגון כווניה ולבנון שמעכבות כספים של **אש"פ**. במיוחד האשימים באופן נוקב את כווניה על שהיא תומכת באופוזיציה נגדי.

6. **סיווע** - אחד הנושאים הדומיננטיים, כמובן, היה הצורך בסיווע דחוף לעזה ולגdem"ע לשם שיקום התשתית. בתגובה להערת סנטור פל (יו"ר ועדת החוץ בסנטור), שהוא מקוה כי הפליטים יסתמכו בעיקר על מדיניות ערבית, שכן לא יוכל להסתמך רק על ארה"ב, השיב רפואי כי הוא מאמין לקבל את רוב הסיווע מדיניות המפרץ ובמיוחד מסעודה. מאה"ב הוא מצפה למנהיגות בארגון הסיווע ותתרומה סמלית, אך נמנע בפירוש מלבוקש סיווע ספציפי אמריקני (בתשובה לגינגריך'). עוזרו של פולי הוסיף וציטט את רפואי: אלו מבינים שאין לאmericנים כסים עמוקים מדי.

7. הנושא הדומיננטי השני היה בקשו של רפואי לעיין מחדש בכל החקיקות הנוגעת לאש"פ (ראו מברק נפרד).

8. רפואי פתח דבריו בבייהן"ב בהדגישו כי מדובר בעשיית שלום רצינית ולא רק ב-TRUCE. אמר כי חשוב להציג לבחירות מהר ככל האפשר כדי להשיג לגיטימיות מקומית. לשאלות על המשך המו"מ אמר כי ההסכם הנוכחי מכסה את הטווח הקצר ואשר לשאלות הטווח הארוך - ייחלו לדון בהן בעוד שנתיים. אולם רפואי נמנע מלהתייחס לשאלות ספציפיות הקשורות לטווח הארוך (כגון ירושלים).

9. בסיום הפגישה בבייהן"ב התbeta גם נቢיל שעת' ו אמר: אלו מבינים שאין לכם כסף נוסף אבל עלייכם להוביל את המהלך לגיוס מימון. אלו מבינים היטב מה ישראל רוצה - זה עדיין **BARGAIN** עבורנו. אלו רגושים לדעת הקהל בישראל. היהודים סבלו קשות במשך מאות שנים מפוגרומים ורדיפות. הם רוצים בטחון ואנו הבטחנו שנספק זאת.

תפוצת: שהח, טשהח, ט(שהבט), מנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל שלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, ט(רמ) (ט(אמן) (ט(ר'אגת),  
ממ"ד, מצפה, רחטמזה, ישראל'ערב, ערז, יועמש

ססס

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אאא, חוזם: 22588  
 אל: רהmesh/1096  
 מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 433, תא: 150993, זח: 1709, דח: מ, סג: שם,  
 בכבב  
 שמור/ מיידי

אל: סמנכ"ל אירופה  
 דע: השגריר לק"א בריסל

מאת: היועץ המדיני, וושינגטון

הנדון: הטרויקה

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1. ב-9/14 נפגש השגריר עם נציגי הטרויקה בראשותו של ניסקינס בלגיה. מצידנו השתתפו אמיחי, ארבל והח"מ.

2. תחילת סקר השגריר את האירופים שקדמו לחתימתה - DOP בוושינגטון בדges על המסלול הסורי והפלסטיני. ציין כי עיקר מטרתנו עתה היא לבסס את ה-DOP, לבחון את יישומו, ליצור אימון, למנוע התקפות על התהlixir וכן להשריר את סוריה בתהlixir. בהקשר לאחורה המליך שהטרויקה (במסגרת הביקור הנזכר להלן) תעביר המסר הבא: אנו רוצים להתקדם, כפי שרצינו כל הזמן, להסכם עימה מרופת שסדר העדיפות הראשון בשלב זה הוא ביצוע ה-DOP. האלחה במימוש החסכם עם הפליטינים תסייע להמשך התהlixir. סיווע סורי בתחום זה בנוסף לעיסוק בדיפולומטיה פומבית וצדדים בוני אמון תסייע להתקדמות ישראלית-סורית.

3. ניסקינס בירך על הצד ההיסטורי שעשתה ישראל וציין כי הק"א רואה בכך פריצת דרך ממשותית ביותר. הק"א מתכוונת לsegue שורות ולסייע לנרו ולפלסטינים, מבקשת לעורוך סידרה של התיעזויות עמנו כיצד לעשות זאת. בכוונת הק"א לשגר משלחת מיניסטריאלית לדמשק בשבוע הבא במאזן למנוע מסוריה לסגת מטהlixir. המשלחת תפרק גם בירדן על מנת להציג לה סיווע כדי למנוע הרושם כי היא נשאה מחוץ לתחמונה. כן תפרק המשלחת במדינות המפרץ על מנת לעודדן לחזור בתהlixir. ציין כי הק"א עוזה מאמצים אחרים שלא פורסמו על מנת להניב יותר תמייה ערבית וישראלית למולך האחרון. כאן פירט את הסיווע שיזחולט להעניק 20 מיליון ECU חבילה מיידית שתועבר למוסדות הפליטינאיים. כן הוחלט על חבילה של 500 מיליון ECU אשר תחולק לחמש שנים הבאות כאשר חצי מההקצבה השנתית הוא מענק והשאר הלוואה בתנאים נוחים. הם התיעزوا עם ארה"ב, רוסיה והבנק העולמי לגבי דרך הטובה ביותר להושיט סיווע זה לפלסטינים, שהם לתפיסתם, היעד החשוב ביותר בשלב זה. באשר לישראל החליטה הק"א לזרז את התהlixirים לאיישור החסכם לאחר יישרל. כן מתכוונים לפעול נגד החרים-הערבי, אך לצורך האיזון יציגו בפנינו את השקפתם כי אין זה מספיק לעזרה (CURB 0D) את התחנלוויות אלא עליינו לוותר עליהם ("UP GIVEN"). באשר לנוקודה האחורה זו חלק השגריר על הצורך באיזון בהקשר להתחנלוויות ופירט הסיבות לכך. הזכיר שאנו ערים למלחוקות שקדמו לניסוח החלטת ה-7 בעניין.

4. לשאלותיו של השגריר ביקש ניסקנים לציין כי הסיווע הנוכחי הוא מעבר לסיווע שכבר הוקצב בעבר וכן בפרט מהסיווע שיתנו מדינות אורה בילטרלי. האירופאים יפקחו היבט על יעד הסיווע והדגישו שהוא יועבר למוסדות פלסטינים פרוייקטיבים. כן יהיה הסיווע בחלטת מכון חזק את הגורמים בשטח אשר תומכים ושותפים לקידום התהיליך.

5. בהמשך סקר אמיתי את מהלך הדיוונים עם המשחת הלבנונית.

6. בתום הפגישה ציינו האירופאים שיהיו בקשר במהלך אוקטובר עם המנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל אירופה וסמנכ"ל כלכלה כדי לחתם עם המאצים הנוכחים ולעמוד על עמדותינו, הסתייגותינו ו蓋ישוותינו בהקשר הישראלי - פלסטיני. כן ציינו כי הם שוקלים להקדים את המועד של ק"ע לפיתוח כלכלי ל-18-20 באוקטובר במקומם בתקילת נובמבר.

7. אגב, במסגרת שיחה אחרת עם יוועץ מז"ת הבריטי אחורי הפגישה הנ"ל, העיתוי וڌיתית את עניין ה"אייזון" בין החرس והחנהלוויות. האיש היה מופתע מניסיונו הדברים מפיו של ניסקן.

#### ג' רמי ישכרוף

תפוצה: שחח, סשח, רהמ, רהט (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל שלום, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, רם, אמן, ר'אגת, ממד, מצפה, סמנכל אירופה, מק'א, מא'א, רחטמצה, ישראל ערבית, ערן, כלכיתב', יועם, משפט, מתחם טחחים)

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אאא, חוזם: 22588

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ביבב

שמור/ מיידי

אל: סמנכ"ל אירופה  
דעת: השגריר לק"א בריסל

מאת: היועץ המדיני, וושינגטן

הנדון: הטרויקה

1. ב-9/14 נפגש השגריר עם נציגי הטרויקה בראשותו של ניסקינס בלגיה. מצידנו השתתפו אמיתי, ארבל והח"מ.

2. תחילת סקר השגריר את האירועים שקדמו לחתימת ה- DOP בוושינגטן בdag על המסלול הסורי והפלסטיני. ציין כי עיקר מטרתנו עתה היא לבסס את ה-DOP, לבחון את יישומו, ליצור אימון, למנוע התקפות על הטהlixir וכין להשair את סוריה בטהlixir. בהקשר לאחראנה המליין שהטרויקה (במסגרת הביקור הנזכר להלן) העביר המסר הבא: אנו רוצחים להתקדם, כפי שרצינו כל הזמן, להסכם עימה למרות שסדר העדיפות הראשון בשלב זה הוא ביצוע ה-DOP. הצלחה במימוש ההסכם עם הפלסטינים תסייע להמשך הטהlixir. סיוע סורי בתחום זה בנוסף לעיסוק בדיפלומטיה פומבית וצדדים בוגרי אמון תסייע להתקדמות ישראלית-סורית.

3. ניסקינס בירך על הצד ההיסטורי שעשתה ישראל וציין כי הק"א רואה בכך פריצת דרך ממשוערת ביחס. הק"א מתכוונת לסגור שורות ולסייע לנו ולפלסטינים, מבקשת לעזרה סידרה של תייעצויות עמו כיצד לעשות זאת. בכוונת הק"א לשגר משלחת מיניסטריאלית לדמשק בשבוע הבא במאזן **למנוע** מסוריה לסתור מהטהlixir. המשלחת תברך גם בירדן על מנת להציג לה סיוע כדי **למנוע** הרווחם כי היא נשאה מחוץ לתמונה. כן תברך המשלחת במדינות המפרץ על מנת לעודדן ל徇וק בטהlixir. ציין כי הק"א עושה מאמצים אחרים ללא פורסמו על מנת להניב יותר תמיכה ערבית וaisalamicת למהלך האחרון. כן פירט את הסיווע שיזחולט להענין. 20 מיליון ECU כחכילה מיידית שתועבר למוסדות הפלסטינים. כן הוחלט על חכילה של 500 מיליון ECU אשר תחולק לחמש שנים הבאות כאשר חצי מהחכבה השנתית הוא עמוק והשאר הלוואה בתנאים נוחים. הם התיעצו עם ארה"ב, רוסיה והבנק העולמי לגבי דרך הטובה ביותר להושיט סיוע זה לפלסטינים, שהם לא פיסטים, היעד החשוב ביותר בשלב זה. כאשר לישראל החלטה הק"א לזרז את התהיליכים לאישור ההסכם החדש עם ישראל. כן מתחדונים לפועל נגד החرم הערבי, אך לצורך האיזון יציגו בפנינו את השקפתם כי אין זה מספיק לעצור CURB (TO) את התנהלותו אלא עליינו לוותר עליהם (UP GIVEN UP). אשר לנוכח אחרונה זו חלק השגריר על הצורך באיזון בהקשר לתנהלותו

ופירט הסיבות לכך. הוכיח שאנו ערים למחוקות שקדמו לביסות החלטת ה-7-G בעניין.

4. לשאלותיו של השגריר ביקש ניסקנים לציין כי הסיווע הנוכחי הוא מעבר לסיווע שכבר הוקע בעבר וכן בפרט מהסיווע שיתנו מדינות אורה בילטרלי. האירופאים יוכיחו היבט על יעד הסיווע והציגו שהוא יועבר למוסדות פלسطينיים לפROYיקטים ספציפיים. כן יהיה הסיווע בחלוקת מכון לחזק את הגורמים בשלה אשר תומכים ושותפים לקידום התהילה.

5. בהמשך סקר אמיתי את מהלך הדיוונים עם המשלחת הלבנונית.

6. בתום הפגישה ציינו האירופאים כי היו בקשר במהלך אוקטובר עם המנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל אירופה וסמנכ"ל כלכלה כדי לחתם עםם המאכדים הנוכחים ולעומד על עמדותינו, הסתייגותינו ו蓋יושוותינו בהקשר הישראלי - פלسطينי. כן ציינו כי הם שוקלים להקדים את המועד של ק"ע לפיתוח כלכלי ל-18-20 באוקטובר במקומו בתחילת נובמבר.

7. אגב, במסגרת שיחה אחרת עם יועץ מז"ה הבריטי אחורי הפגישה הנ"ל, העיתוי וڌיתתי את עניין ה"אייזון" בין החرم וההנהלות. איש היה מופתע מניסיונו הדברים מפיו של ניסקינס.

ג' רמי ישכרוף

תפוצה: שחח, סחה, רהמ, (שבט), מנכ, מנכ, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, (רמ), (אמן), (ר'אגת),  
ממ, מצפה, סמנכלארופה, מק'א, מא'א, רחטמצת,  
ישראלערב, ערן, כלכליות, יועמש, משפט, (מתאושטחים)

ססס

אאא, חוזם: 22602

אל: רהmesh/1103

מ-: רושינגטונ, נר: 428, תא: 150993, זח: 1534, דח: ר, סג: גל,

ביבב

בלמס / רגיל

אל: מנהל לשכת ש"ח

מנהל לשכת רה"מ

דע: מנכ"ל מצפ"א

מאה: ק. לكونגרס

הנדון: בקשה הסנטור אינרוייה

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הסנטור שאלני האם יוכל לקבל מרה"מ ומשה"ח את תמונותיהם (של כ"א) חתומות  
עם הקדשה אישית לסנטור.

אני סיוועם.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, (רham), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפה

סססס

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אאא, חוזם: 22585

אל: רהmesh/1092

מ-: וושינגטון, נס: 426, תא: 150993, זח: 1533, דח: מ, סג: שם,

ביבב

שמור/מידי

תאריך: 15 בספטמבר 1993

אל: מצפ"א, תפוצות  
מאת: קישור לكونגרס

## הנדון: סנאט - פגישת השגריר עם סנטור ליברמן

1. לבקשת הסנטור ג'ו ליברמן נפגש השגריר עמו לתרוך ביום 9.9. נכח עוזרו החדש ג'ו הון לילי ומציגנו דרנגר, בינה ורבבל. מטרת הפגישה הייתה להדרך את הסנטור בנווגע להתפתחויות האחרונות סביב ההסכם עם אש"פ.

2. ליברמן פתח אמרו שהוא תומך במלחך ונרגש מן ההישג. אולם הוא שומע קולות של דאגה בקהילה היהודית, בעיקר בחוגים אורתודוקסים, אך לא רק מהחוגים אלה. לטענתם "זה - יריחו תחילת" טוביל למדינה פלסטינית וזה לא עומד במבחן 5 השנים שדרש בשעתו מנחם בגין. עוד ציין כי אין הוא והן סנטורים לא יהודים מקבלים מבוררים היהודים "מסורת מעורבים".

הערה: דברים דומים אמר ליברמן גם בפגישה השגריר עם הסנטורים היהודים - ר' מברקנו מס' 311 מיום 10.9.

3. השגריר עמד על ההבדלים בהסכם בין עזה לבין הגdem"ע אמרו שבעזה (ויריחו) יהיה תחילה מהיר יותר של העברת סמכויות אך בכל מקרה אין מדובר על ירושלים, אין מדובר במדינה ואין מדובר בישות בעלת מאפייניה של מדינה. ישראל תוסיף לקיים את הבטחון הכלול ותשלוות בהתנהלות, בכניםים, בנסיבות, במעטורי הגבול במלחנים צבאים ובבטחונם של ישראלים באוטונומיה אשר הם.

3. ליברמן הביר שיעיר דאגת בני שיחו בקהילה היהודית היא דוקא יריחו, שכן היא מצויה בגdem"ע. השגריר הסביר כי יריחו הוספה באורח סימבולי ומדובר בשטח קטן של כ-25 קמ"ר. השגריר הוסיף שיתרונה של יריחו הוא כלל מוסד לאומי שיקימו בה שימושו היה של הקמת מוסד לאומי הרחק מירושלים.

4. ליברמן הביע דאגתו, שהיא הוא שומע גם מקהילות יהודיות, אם יוכל אש"פ לקיים את ההסכם ולעמו. השגריר השיב כי יש לנו SAFEGUARDS ונוכל להפיעלים. לשאלת ליברמן אם יוכל אש"פ לדכא פעילות חמס, השיב השגריר כי אש"פ התחייב לכך.

5. ליברמן הרבה עוד לשאול על התקדמות המומ"מ עם ירדן ועם סוריה ותודרך בהתאם.

יהודית ורנאי-דרנגר ברוך בינה

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, 0 (רham), מנכל, מנכל, מצב, מצפא, תפוצות,  
סמנכלתקשורת, רקחות, רקחות, ישראל ערבי

ססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 22585

אל: רהmesh/1092

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 426, תא: 150993, זח: 1533, דח: מ, סג: שם,

ביבב

שמור/מיידי

תאריך: 15 בספטמבר 1993

אל: מצפ"א, תפוצות

מאת: קישור לكونגרס

20.9.

הנדון: סנאט - פגישת השגריר עם סנטור ליברמן

1. לבקשת הסנטור ג'ו ליברמן נפגש השגריר עמו לתרורן ביום 9.9. נכח עוזרו החדש ג'והן לילי ומצידנו דרגנר, בינה ואבל. מטרת הפגישה הייתה לתרן את הסנטור בוגע להפתחוויות האחרונות סביב ההסכם עם אש"פ.

2. ליברמן פתח באמרו שהוא תומך במלחך ונרגש מן ההישג. אולם הוא שומע קולות של דאגה בקהילה היהודית, בעיקר בחוגים אורתודוקסים, אך לא רק בחוגים אלה. לטענתם "זה - יריחו תחילה" טוביל למדינה פלטינית וזה לא עומד במחן 5 השנים שדרש בשעתו מנהם בגין. עוד ציין כי הן הוא והן סנטורים לא יהודים מקבלים מבוררים היהודים "מסרים מעורבים". העריה: דברים דומים אמר ליברמן גם בפגישה השגריר עם הסנטורים היהודיים - ר' מברקנו מס' 311 310 מיום 10.9.

3. השגריר עמד על ההבדלים בהסכם בין זה לבין הגdem"ע באמרו שבזה (ויריחו) יהיה תחילך מהיר יותר של העברת סמכויות אך ככל מקרה אין מדובר על ירושלים, אין מדובר במדינה ואין מדובר ביחסות מ一封信ה של מדינה. ישראל תוסיף לקיים את הבתוון הכלול ותשלוות בתנהלוות, בכנים, במעברי הגבול במתנאים צבאים ובנסיבות של ישראלים באוטונומיה באשר הם.

3. ליברמן הבכיר שעיקר דאגה בני שיחו בקהילה היהודית היה דוקא יריחו, שכן היא מצויה בגdem"ע. השגריר הסביר כי יריחו הוספה באורח סימבולי ומדובר בשטח קטן של כ-25 קמ"ר. השגריר הוסיף שיתרונה של יריחו הוא שככל מוסד לאומי שיקימו בה משמעותו תהיה של הקמת מוסד לאומי הרחק מירושלים.

4. ליברמן הביע דאגתו, אותה הוא שומע גם מקהילות יהודיות, אם יוכל אש"פ לקיים את ההסכם ולעמוד בו. השגריר השיב כי יש לנו SAFEGUARDS ונוכל להפעילם. לשאלת ליברמן אם יוכל אש"פ לדכא פעילות חמאס, השיב השגריר כי אש"פ התחייב לכך.

5. ליברמן הרבה עוד לשאול על התקדמות המר"ם עם ירדן ועם סוריה ותודרך בהתאם.

יהודית ורנאי-דרנגר ברוך בינה

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, רהמ, מנכל, מנכלי, מצב, מצפה, תפוצות,  
סמנכלתקשרורת, תקשורת, רחטמות, ישראלערב

סססס

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אאא, חוזם: 22597

אל: רהmesh/1088

מ-: וושינגטן, נר: 421, תא: 1533, זח: 150993, דח: מ, סג: שם,

ביבב

שמור/מידי

תאריך: 15 בספטמבר 1993

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

**הנדון: ביהנ"ב - תדרוכי השגריר למנהיגות הבית ולועדת החוץ**

**השגריר רビינוביץ נפגש אתמול ביזמתנו עם מנהיגות בית הנבחרים ועם ועדת החוץ של הבית - בסה"כ 21 מחוקקים (ר' פירוט שמי בסיפה).**

בשני המפגשים הושמעו דברי ברכה חמימים להסכם עם אש"פ ולחתימתה על סדר היום עם ירדן. השגריר הדגיש כי במשור הפלסטיני מדבר במסמכים ראשוניים עליהם יש עוד עבודה רבה לפניינו. במשור הסורי ציין רビינוביץ כי הסורים מסויגים מן ההסכם עם אש"פ שכן חשבו מובן מאליו שהתהליך יתקדם בכיוון של "سورיה תחיליה" - והופתעו. אסד, כמו שאיננו טירון פוליטי, בין כן אסד מודאג שיש גבול למה שהציבור בארץ יכול לבלוע בשלב הנוכחי ועל כן אסד מודאג ביחס לחשיבותו לגולן. הסורים צריכים להבין ישראל צריכה עוד לעכל את אשר אירע לנו מצפים שייהיו מעט יותר סבלניים ו-FORTHCOMING. אנו נשראים מהורייבים למאץ להגיע להסדר כולל ובכלל זה כМОבן גם עם סוריה. במשור הירדני - זהו סדר יומם של מרביתו הוסכם בינוינו לפני חודשים רבים אולם הירדנים נרחעו מלחמות עליו עד לאחר הסכם עם הפליטים.

לשאלת הסיווע לפלסטינים אמר השגריר כי נחוץ סיווע רב לגdem"ע ובעיקר לעזה - אם על התהילה להצליח. אולם יש ארנקים נוספים פרט לזה של ארה"ב. נורבגיה גייסה כבר 160 מיליון דולר כתרומות הנורדיות, הקהילה האירופית התנדבה לחת את חלקה וכן גם יפאן ומדיניות הנפט הערביות וסעודיה בראשן. ארה"ב יכולה לחתם את המאמץ אולם אינה צריכה ליטול על עצמה נטל מרכזי בו, אם אינה רוצה בכך. כולנו אסירי תודה לארה"ב על המאמץ שהוא משייענה בניהול הפליטי-דיפלומטי של התהילה. ישראל נטה חלק פעיל בגיוס המשאבים באירופה.

להלן מן השאלות וההערות שהושמעו ע"י המשתתפים.

ניוט גינגריעץ' בקש מהשגריר להביע דעתו על תרומה אמריקאית סמלית לסיוע לפלסטינים. השגריר חזר ואמר כי ארה"ב כבר מסייעת בארגון ותאום כאשר היא תחליט בשלה אם וכמה היא רוצה לסייע. אנו מצדנו איננו מבקשים מהר"ב ליטול על עצמה על כספי נוסף בהקשר זה. הנרי היד שאל/תמה אם אכן יהיה בכך די ותהייה הבנה ביןלאומית לתרומה אמריקנית מוגבלת ובוניוור אמר שאם לא

יהיה כספר אמריקני מעורב בתהיליך יביא הדבר לכשלון התהיליך כולם. השגריר השיב כי מAMILא כל ארגון הסיווע יהא מוטל על ארחה"ב וכי העולם יבין שארחה"ב אינה יכולה להוסיף הרבה מעבר לכך.

בוניוור, המקורב לוחוגים ערביים בארא"ב, ברך בחום ואמר כי בפגיעו עם פלסטינים ידגיש ככל יכולתו הצורך להתקדם הלאה.

סתני הוויר הזכיר כי יחד עם סנטור דה-קונסיני עומד בראש ועדת המעקב על ועידת הלסינקי וכי הציגו בעבר הקמת מתכוונת דומה לובש"א עבורי הססוךן היישראלי-ערבי כדי לקיים דיאלוג חופשי ונטול ביורוקרטיה. פורום זה ייצור דינמיקה חיובית ויזכה לכיסוי תקשורתית כלל עולמי שיסייע לקידום התהיליך כולם.

השגריר הגיב כי זהו רעיון מצוין וכי באופן כללי מקובל علينנו הדגש של סיום המלחמה הקלה. המכניזם של פירוק העימות האמריקני-סובייטי עשוי להחאים לקרה שלנו ויש ללמידה אותו, ואנו נוהגים לפיו כבר כעת בעניינים שונים (למשל, קבוצת AC בשיחות הרב-צדדיות).

ויק פאזו התענין בתגובה הציבור הפלסטיני. השגריר השיב כי מתחחתה תמייה בהסכם ביחוד לאור ה-LIVE IMAGE שסיפק הטקס. לא העדר תמייה ציבורית הוא עשוי להציג שוכן נוצר כבר גרעין התמייה עמו אפשר להמשיך לעבוד, אלא פעולותיהם של קיצונים, כמו הפיגועים בהם נהרגו 4 ישראלים يوم קודם (13.4). גינגריץ' שאל על האיום האיראני והשגריר הזכיר תמייתם בטרור ע"י שלוחתם לבנון מחד, ואיום הטילים (עליו תודרך גינגריץ' בארץ לאחרונה) מאידך.

הואرد ברמן התענין במצב הפוליטי בארץ (בקשר לש"ס) ושאל אם ההסכם צריך לעבר אישורו הכנסת. השגריר הסביר התהיליך.

המילטון התענין בעמדת הסורית כלפי טקס החתימה והשגריר השיב כי אכן המשלחת הסורית לא בא לטקס אולם השגריר נכח וכך שגרירים ערבים אחרים עבר גם הוא מחסום מסוימים בכך שכמו עמייתו הערבים ברך גם הוא על ההסכם.

סתני הוויר (בתדרוך המנהיגות) ובן גילמן (בתדרוך ועדת החוץ) שאלו אם לאור ההסתיגות הסורית מן ההסכם, ישראל מफשת ערוון אחורי גם אל סוריה כעת. השגריר השיב כי ערוון כזה עשוי בהחלט להוועיל על אף העובדה שאנו נושאים ונונתנים עמו ישירות. סוריה אינה אמונה בהתקדמות מדורגת ובשלבים ובצדדים בוגרי אימון, ולטעמו של אסד הצדד בונה האמון היחיד הוא הودעה של ישראל על נסיגה מכל הגולן. חשוב להגיע עמו לאמון, לאוירה של WALK IN THE WOODS, דבר שאיננו בר ביצוע בפומבי.

gilman הביע דאגתו מהתבטאות שוננות של רפואי מАЗ הגעתו לוושינגטון. השגריר הביע הזדהותו עם דאגה זו ואמר כי על רפואי לגנות פיגועים כמו זה של היום הקודם.

gilman ביקש הבחרות על שיבת פליטים - נענה שמדובר במכניזם לחזרתם של פליטים מ-67 בלבד ולא מ-48.

בסיום הפגישה עם ועדת החוץ נשאלו בחדר רק קונגראסנאים יהודים. אליווט אנגל ניצל את הרגע (לאחר שאל על עמדת הציבור בארץ והתבטאותיו האופוזיציה בישראל) כדי לומר שכמה מנהיגים יהודים אמריקניים הביעו דעתם בזכות משאל עם בישראל ואת הסתייגותם מן ההסכם. לשאלת השגריר ממי המדבר נקבע אנגל בשם הרב אבי וויס. הנוכחים הגיעו כי דעתו של וויס

מורכחות. גاري אקרמן חלק על אנגל במקומם ובתוקף ואמר כי לו היה נערך משאל בקרוב יהדות ארה"ב ומנהיגותה היה הרוב המכרי עזותם בהסכם בכלל לב (אנגל הסכימים עם העלה זו), אם כי WE ARE ALL GASPYING WITH ANXIETY (PLEDGE) להוסיפה ולתמונה בכל מה ניתה לואי אמרה כי היא ועמיתיה מתחייבים (PLEDGE) להוסיפה כל כך בישראל. שנחוץ לישראל וכי היא גאה שהמשל ובן ועדת החוץ חומכים כל כך בישראל. אריך פינגרהאט בקש להעיר לרה"מ ברכות מיוחדות על נאומו והוסיף: "מעולם לא הייתה כל כך גאה בראש ממשלה של ישראל כמו בטקס על מדשאת הבית הלבן".

להלן שמות המשתתפים:  
בפגישה עם המנהיגות: הדמוקרטיים תומ פולי (הספיקר), ריצ'רד גפחרדט (מנהיג הרוב), דיוויד בוניוו (מצليف הרוב) סטני הוויר, ויק פאויזו, ג'ון לואיס, אטלר דרייק, וביל ריצ'רדסון; הרפובליקנים בוב מייקל (מנהיג המיעוט), ניוט גינגריץ' (מצليف המיעוט) והנרי היד.  
בפגישה עם ועדת החוץ: היינריך המילטון, בכיר המיעוט בן גילמן והדמוקרטיים אליאוט אנגל, גاري אקרמן, אריך פינגרהאט, פיטר דויטש, הווארד ברמן, אלסי הייסטינגן וויטה לואי. מצידנו השתתפו דרגנר וחת"מ.

עד כאן.

#### ברוך בינה

תפוצה: שהה, שהה, (רham), (שהבט), מנכ"ל, מנכ"ל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, (רמ), (אמז), (ר'אגת),  
ממ"ד, מצפה, רחטמצה, ישראל ערבית, ערן, יומש

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21410: חוזם,AAA

אל: רהmesh/1002

מ: וווש, נר: 2071, תא: 140993, זח: 2100, דח: מ, סג: סב,

ביבב

סודי ביוור/ מיידי

אל: רה'ם, שה'ח

מאת: וושינגטונ, השגריר

הנדון: מרוקו ותוניסיה

מכתב מובהק

1. הבוקר הייתה התקשרות מלאה בידיעות עתונאיות על כך שבמהלך הביקור במרוקו ייכוננו יחסים דיפלומטיים בין שתי המדינות וכי צפוי גם ביקור בתוניסיה.

דניס רוס התקשר לברר במה דברים אמרו וקיבל הסבר בהתאם לקראת שיתת הטלפון הצפוייה.

2. מאוחר יותר התקשר רוס ואמר כי בכל מקרה חש המזכיר שעל ריקע הידיעות שכבר נפוצו בתקשורת אין טען בקיום שיחה טרם קיבל עדכון על מהלך הביקור והשיחות וכי הוא מעדיף לדוחות שיחת טלפון ומהשך פעילות לאחר או מחרתיים אחרים שיעודכו על ידי.

3. לאור זאת אני מבקש לקבל עדכון כזה בהקדם.

4. במקביל עדכון אותו אינדי על שיחתו עם בן-יחיא, שר החוץ התוניסאי. בן-יחיא אמר שכינון יחסים דיפלומטיים עם ישראל עניין אפשרי אחרי שתחול התקדמות מוחשית ביחסום ההסכם. הוא לא פרט, אך ברור שיש כאן קרקע פוריה להמשך עבודה.

רבינוביין

תפוצה: שחח, 0 (רham)



אאא, חוזם: 21317

אל: רהmesh/1004/

מ-: וושינגטון, נד: 381, תא: 140993, זח: 1852, דח: מ, סג: ש, בכבב

שמור/מיידי

14 בספטמבר, 1993

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דעת: לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שר האוצר

מאת: ק. לكونגרס

1.10.

הנדון: סנאט - חוק סיווע חוץ/הקבצות

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1. אتمול 9/13 קיים הסנטור ליהי את ה- MARK-UP של חוק סיווע חוץ/הקבצות, בועדת המשנה לפוליטות זרות שליד ועדת הקבצות.

2. הוועדה אישרה הסיווע לישראל בסך 3 ביליאון דולר "מושוריינים" (EARMARKED). כמו כן אישרה הוועדה 80 מ' דולר לקליטת עלייה, CDR+CDP בסך 10 מ' דולר ושת"פ איזורי במזח"ת בסך 7 מ' דולר כולם אושרו "ושוריינו".

3. ליהי הסכמים לשריין אך ורק את ה-3 ביליאון דולר וסירב "לשריין" את שאר התכניות הישראליות. כמו כן הסכמים להקציב רק 55 מיליון דולר לקליטת עלייה במקומות 80 מ' דולר. לפיקד הסנטוריים אינובייה, לאותנברג ומקונל הגישו כ"א תיקון בנפרד וدادו או "לשריין" התכניות או מקונל להגדיל ההקציבה מ- 55 ל- 80 מ' דולר.

4. הצעת החוק נידונה במליאת ועדת הקבצות (FULL COMMITTEE) היום 14/9 אח"צ ואושרה פה אחד (לרובות כMOVED הכלול בסעיף 2 לעיל).

5. הצעת החוק תובא למליאת הסנאט להצבעה בראשית השבוע הבא.

בברכת שנה טובה,

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שחח, סחהח, 0 (רham), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפה, ערן, אוצר

ססס

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אָאָאָ, חֹזֶם: 21317  
אַל: רְהַמֵּשׁ/1004  
מְ-: רְוִישִׁינְגְּטוֹן, נְ-: 381, תְּ-: 140993, זְ-: 1852, דְ-: מ, סְ-: שְׁמָם,  
בְּכָכָב  
שְׁמֹור/מִידִי

14 בספטמבר, 1993

אל: מנהל מצפ"א  
דעת: לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שר האוצר  
מאה: ק. לكونגרס

הנדון: סנאט - חוק סיווע חוץ/הקבצות

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1. אتمול 9/13 קיימים הסנטור ליהי את ה- MARK-UP של חוק סיווע חוץ/הקבצות, בועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות שליד ועדת הקבצות.

2. הועדה אישרה הסיווע לישראל בסך 3 ביליאון דולר "מושוריינים" (EARMARKED). כמו כן אישרה הועדה 80 מ' דולר לקליטת עלייה, CDR+CDP בסך 10 מ' דולר ושת"פ איזורי במזה"ת בסך 7 מ' דולר כולם אושרו "ושוריינו".

3. ליהי הסכמים ל"שריין" אך ורק את ה-3 ביליאון דולר וסירב "לשריין" את שאר התכניות הישראלית. כמו כן הסכמים להקציב רק 55 מיליון דולר לקליטת עלייה במקום 80 מ' דולר. לפיכך הסנטוריים אינוייה, לאותנברג ומקונל הגיעו כ"א תיקון בנפרד ודאגו או "לשריין" התכניות או מקונל להגדיל ההקציבה מ- 55 ל- 80 מ' דולר.

4. הצעת החוק נידונה במליאת ועדת הקבצות (FULL COMMITTEE) היום 14/9 אח"צ ואושרה פה אחד (לרובות כמובן הכלול בסעיף 2 לעיל).

5. הצעת החוק תובא למליאת הסנאט להכבעה בראשית השבוע הבא.

בברכת שנה טובה,

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שחח, טחה, רהמ (ט), מנכל, מנצח, מצב, מצפה, ערן, אוצר

ססס