

4/3

# מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה



11  
א/ר/הק  
7/93

משרד

---

---

---

---

תיק מס'

מחלקה



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

מזהה פנימי: **א-4-7737**

מזהה פריט: R0002x3l

כתובת: 2-111-3-6-4

תאריך הדפסה: 20/09/2022







No one will ever know how many people took advantage of the strike and beat the odds, but the clearing-house scene at the airport showed how far some Israelis will go to beat a system they say is choking them.

Finance Minister Avraham Shohat insists that better times lie ahead and that his work in lifting controls and unloading Government companies has just begun.

#### Critics Seek More Proof

"We now have a strong political commitment to privatization," Jacob Frenkel, Governor of the Bank of Israel, said in an interview with The Jerusalem Report magazine. "The decisions are in place, and the question is whether we are going to be sufficiently firm, determined and basically effective in implementing them."

That is no small question, however. It certainly has been raised by Israeli free-market advocates, who say this Government has yet to prove it is any more prepared than its predecessors to kick old statist habits. Some critics train their fire on the privatization program.

Thus far, the Rabin people have either sold or plan to sell roughly \$1 billion worth of shares in state-owned companies, including pieces of Israel Chemicals Industry, Industrial Buildings, the large Labor-affiliated Bank Hapoalim and the smaller Bank Igdud.

After years of Government talk and little action in this area, the sales are hardly trifles. Mr. Shohat said in a recent interview. Moreover, the fact that Bank Hapoalim shares were vastly oversubscribed in no time suggests that there is a considerable appetite out there for more.

But these companies are only a handful among the more than 150 in Government hands. And in the Hapoalim deal, the 18 percent of total shares that were put on the market somehow ended up being sold largely to funds under the control of the bank itself.

"It seems they're engineering the sales so that the only people who can buy are those considered to be 'our boys,'" said Daniel Doron, director of the Israel Center for Social and Economic Progress, a free-market re-

#### Rabin Commitment Questioned

In reality, the growth began before he took office last July, and has little to do with his first tentative attempts to turn over Government-owned businesses to private hands. Critics complain that the Rabin Government could have gone much further in this regard, and question how committed it really is to abandoning the heavy controls that have been the Israeli way of economic life from its founding.

The deregulation effort certainly has not moved fast enough to satisfy travelers at Ben-Gurion. Not only did customs inspectors find the 17 fax machines in one man's bags. Another man was found to be carrying 3 fax machines, 2 professional-size video cameras and 11 stereo speakers. A check of his passport showed he had been in and out of the country three times in the previous week.

1169

(2)



1/3

1157

לד"ר -

לד"ר - 121

9/6/7

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 22 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הודון: תהליך השלום

מצ"ב שתי כתבות בנושא תהליך השלום (22/7):

1. כתבתו של אנדרו בורוויק (WP) אודות הנטייה המסתמנת בסוריה לכינון מערכת יחסים הדוקה עם ארה"ב - זאת בעיקר לאור הקשיים הכלכליים בהם נתונה סוריה. נטייה זאת, להערכתם של מומחים שונים, עשויה להתבטא גם בהקלת המדיניות הסורית כלפי ישראל.

2. כתבתו של ג'ון גושקו (WP) העוסקת בסירוב ארה"ב לתביעה הפלסטינית לכלול בשיחות השלום דיון במדינה פלסטינית עצמאית אשר בירתה תהיה ירושלים.

מזכיר המדינה, וורן כריסטופר, אמר ערב יציאתו לביקור באסיה ובמזרח, כי ארה"ב אינה מעוניינת לשנות את הכללים שנקבעו לתהליך השלום במדריד - ואלו דיברו על דיון בממשל עצמי לפלסטינים.

תקשורת

(25) שהח(2) ששה"ח(1) (החמ) מנכ"ל(1) ממנכ"ל(1) מצפא(2) רביב(1) (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28) (29) (30) (31) (32) (33) (34) (35) (36) (37) (38) (39) (40) (41) (42) (43) (44) (45) (46) (47) (48) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53) (54) (55) (56) (57) (58) (59) (60) (61) (62) (63) (64) (65) (66) (67) (68) (69) (70) (71) (72) (73) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81) (82) (83) (84) (85) (86) (87) (88) (89) (90) (91) (92) (93) (94) (95) (96) (97) (98) (99) (100)



2/3

11A

# Syria's courtship of U.S. may ease its Israel policy

By Andrew Borowiec  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Bereft of Russia's backing and aid, Syria's President Hafez Assad is reported to be seeking "a special relationship" with the United States that could involve some softening of Syria's attitude toward Israel.

Details of the still-vague proposal are to be outlined by the Syrians to Secretary of State Warren Christopher when he visits Damascus early in August, according to Arab diplomats who described Mr. Assad as increasingly concerned about Syria's economic difficulties.

Israel and some U.S. experts are skeptical about Mr. Assad's intentions and still describe Syria as totally intractable toward the Jewish state.

But the reportedly conciliatory mood of the Damascus strongman, in power for nearly 23 years, was underlined by the recent release of some of his old-time rivals, held in jail for more than two decades.

The message from Damascus, as reported by Arab diplomats, is that Syria is ready to join such Arab countries as Egypt and Saudi Arabia in a closer relationship with the remaining superpower.

A relatively "tame" Syria involved in an intense dialogue with Washington, according to some diplomats, would be an added "insurance policy" against any resumption of hostilities against Israel.

According to a French assessment, without Soviet backing Mr. Assad has no choice but to turn to Washington if he intends to revive Syria's economy, damaged by years of military buildup and abortive socialist experiments.

Mr. Assad is said to have been particularly embittered by Russia's refusal to supply spare parts to the hardware provided by the former Soviet Union unless Syria starts paying off some of its \$3 billion debt to Moscow.

According to Andrei Volpin, a Russian arms-export specialist, Syria reluctantly paid \$100 million as the first installment of its debt

that further strained relations between Moscow and Damascus.

But, according to Mr. Volpin, "our policy now is to make money and sell only to solvent customers."

For its part, Israel feels it has not discerned conciliatory signals from Damascus. At the same time, Israeli officials admit that Mr. Assad's cooperation is essential to any compromise in the Arab-Israeli feud. Mr. Assad, according to one Israeli assessment, "needs no consensus or advice" on the peace process and in effect can make it or break it.

Describing Syria as the "only Arab state which poses a military threat to Israel," Mike Eisenstadt of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy said that "future decisions concerning war and peace in the region are thus likely to be made in Damascus."

While the recent release of long-imprisoned foes of Mr. Assad as well as the trials for some held without charge might at least facilitate the dialogue with Washington, human rights organizations continue to deplore the iron-fisted rule of the 62-year-old "Lion of Damascus."

"New arrests of political prisoners were reported and thousands of others remained held," said Amnesty International in its recent report. "The majority were held without charge or trial under the state of emergency regulation in force since 1963."

Middle East Watch, another human rights group monitoring the area, claims that some 4,400 political prisoners remained in Syrian jails.

At the Washington negotiating table during the so-called peace process, Syria's efforts appeared to be concentrated mainly on regaining control of the Golan Heights, a narrow strip of strategically important mountainous area seized by Israel during the 1967 war.

The area has no particular economic value to Syria but remains the main focus of its foreign policy.

Mr. Assad himself, called by some the "supreme bazaar merchant," remains inscrutable amid rumors of his poor health. He is said to be suffering from diabetes and heart ailment, and some experts believe that he has been brooding his 30-year

WT  
22/7



# U.S. Rebuffs Palestinians on Expanding Talks to Discuss

3/3

## Independent State

1157

By John M. Goshko  
Washington Post Staff Writer

United States yesterday rejected demands that the Middle East talks be expanded to include discussion of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its

capital. State Warrent Christopher, on the eve of his departure today for the Middle East, said the United States does not want to change the process rules agreed to at an October conference in Madrid.

Rules called for limiting Israeli-Palestinian talks to interim self-rule for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, with final status of these territories and Jerusalem to be decided later.

"The United States believes... that we're now dealing with the interim self-government authority and that the focus should be on that," Christopher said at a news conference. "I think what we need to do is to operate within the context of the Madrid accords and move forward to help the parties reach interim self-government."

His remarks put on the public record what U.S. officials say Dennis Ross, the new U.S. coordinator of the peace process, told Palestinian negotiators in Jerusalem last week. As described by the officials, the United States is advising the Palestinians—thus far unsuccessfully—to concentrate on getting a self-government system in place and using that as a base from which to press their demands for independence and control of East Jerusalem.

In an effort to break the impasse in the

talks, U.S. officials plan frequent missions to the region by Ross and occasionally by Christopher. Christopher stressed yesterday that "no substantive agreements" were likely "to result immediately from any single trip of mine" but added that such trips "can help lay the groundwork for progress in the future."

Christopher even refused to say whether the United States considers the West Bank and East Jerusalem occupied territory. That has been the official U.S. position ever since Israel captured these areas in the 1967 Middle East War, and it has been enunciated frequently by senior U.S. officials, including most recently former president George Bush and former secretary of state James A. Baker III.

"There is no shift at all in the U.S. policy," Christopher said when asked about the

meaning of his silence on the question. "I just don't think it helps very much to get into an almost theological discussion.... The parties know what's under discussion, and the U.S. role is to try to help them, not take over the negotiations."

Christopher's Mideast itinerary includes stops in Cairo, Jerusalem, Amman and Damascus from July 31 to Aug. 4. Before going to the region, he will attend a meeting in Singapore of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations from July 25 to July 28 and plans to visit Australia July 29.

In Singapore he is scheduled to meet Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam for talks about American prisoners of war and those still missing in action from the Vietnam War. But he denied that the meeting is a signal of an imminent thaw in U.S.-Vietnamese relations.

"We need to have assurances from them that we've gotten all the available information on POWs and MIAs," he said. "We are going to be insisting on that before any further steps are taken."

Christopher also will meet Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen in Singapore. Asked about U.S. intelligence reports that China may be providing missile technology to Pakistan and the effect of such suspected action on President Clinton's decision to continue most-favored-nation trade status for Beijing, he cited Clinton's call for China to improve its record on human rights, trade abuses and proliferation. "I'll be talking about all three subjects in Singapore because I think it will be necessary to see progress in those areas if we're going to continue the [MFN] policy next year," he said.

WP

22/7



1/2

1/52

י-כ

118

כח חן

9/6/93

בלמס/בהול

תאריך: 22 יולי 1993

אל: לשכת שה"ח - אבי גיל

דע: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב, ישראל - לוב

בהמשך לשיחתנו

מצ"ב המאמר של ג'ים הוגלנד (WP 22/7) אודות הנסיונות של לוב לשפר את תדמיתה בארה"ב. במאמרו מצטט ג'ים הוגלנד פקידי ממשל המצביעים על כך שה"מתווכים" המעורבים בפרשה (נמרודי וחשוגי) מעידים על דפוס פעולה מוכר, כפי שהיה בפרשת הקשר הישראלי לאיראן. המאמר מפרט גורמים שונים בווינגטון, בישראל ובאיטליה המנסים כביכול לסייע לקדאפי בשיפור תדמיתו. הכותב מבקר בחריפות מגעים אלא וטוען שאסור לתת לקדאפי להמלט מהסנקציות ומהעונש על אסון פאן אם 103.

תקשורת

(26) שחח (2) טסחח (1) חס (1) מנכל (1) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)  
 הסברה (2) ר/מרכז (1) חס (4) רס (1) אסו (4) אסו (1) סייכל (1) משפט (1)  
 צנזורצבאי (1)



*Jim Hoagland*

# Libyan Spin Control

1152 2/2  
11P

"The Sofaer case is the tip of a very big and interesting iceberg," said a caller who had just read my column about Libya hiring the former State Department legal adviser as its lawyer. "Keep digging on Libya's charm offensive, and look for the Israeli connection."

The caller is correct. Abraham D. Sofaer's aborted big-bucks contract with Libya, which Sofaer soon abandoned, is only a piece of Moammar Gadhafi's effort to gain forgiveness and influence in America. And there is a surprising Israeli angle that carries echoes of the Iran arms-for-hostages scandal.

"Follow the go-betweens and you will see a familiar picture," said a U.S. official, confirming the caller's tip that Washington is concerned about growing signs of a Libyan-Israeli detente. A detente with Israel would undercut American efforts to keep Gadhafi isolated diplomatically and to squeeze him into turning over the two Libyans accused of bombing Pan Am 103 for trial in America or Britain.

Gadhafi cannot afford to do that politically. The two Libyan operatives know too much and are key figures in the tribal politics of Gadhafi's regime. So he is desperate to do a deal that would get them off the hook and get Libya out from under U.S. and U.N. economic sanctions imposed on Libya because of that state's long-standing support for terrorism.

Libyan officials and businessmen living abroad have quietly sounded out American lawyers, political scientists, public relations experts, academics and others on how Gadhafi can repair his image internationally and influence the new U.S. administration.

The twist worthy of O. Henry is that the Libyans have also sought out American Jews and others close to Israel and have even had contacts with Israelis—some of whom reciprocate Gadhafi's interest in dialogue.

Intermediaries working for improved Libyan-Israeli relations have ties to Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who encouraged the Reagan administration to reach out to "moderates" in Iran by selling missiles to Tehran through Israel in 1985. U.S. officials have begun to suspect that Peres is

U.S. officials are skeptical that Gadhafi has changed his spots. So, apparently, is Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who has kept his distance from behind-the-scenes efforts to reach out to the erratic Libyan ruler, whose fiery condemnations of Israel and of Zionism have been one of the few constants of his 23-year rule.

Israeli arms dealer Yaacov Nimrodi and Saudi financier Adnan Khashoggi (who played prominent roles in arranging initial U.S. arms shipments to Iran in 1985 when Peres was prime minister of Israel) organized a visit to Jerusalem by 192 Libyan Muslim pilgrims in June. The visit ended in controversy when the pilgrims cut short their visit and called for the overthrow of the "Zionist leadership."

A key figure on the Libyan side of the pilgrimage was Rafaele Fellah, a Libyan Jew who lives in Rome and who is working with Gadhafi and with former Italian prime minister Giulio Andreotti to organize in Libya image-boosting international conferences on religion. Under investigation for corruption and Mafia connections, Andreotti recently hired Sofaer to represent him. Among Sofaer's other recent clients: the government of Israel.

Fellah is also a close friend of Michael Ledeen, a national security consultant in the Reagan administration who arranged initial U.S.-Israeli contacts on arms shipments to Iran. Ledeen acknowledges that he met privately with "one of the top five figures in the Libyan government" this past winter in Cairo, but denies that their discussion had anything to do with Israel. The Libyan asked Ledeen whether he or other prominent Americans would be interested in working for Libya to mediate the Pan Am 103 case.

"I told him it was a terrible idea and that I wouldn't be involved," Ledeen told me.

Joseph Churba, head of the International Security Council, a conservative and pro-Israel Washington think tank, met with senior Libyan political figures in Rome in April. Churba says he used the meeting to press the Libyans to open the country to inspection of suspected chemical weapons factories and missile sites. The failure of the Libyans

Churba told me the Rome conference cost his organization \$50,000. Most of his activities are funded by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the South Korean evangelist whose newspaper, The Washington Times, published on July 6 an interview in which Gadhafi praised President Clinton as "a kind, well-intentioned man." The story emphasized Gadhafi's willingness to cooperate with Clinton on counterterrorism intelligence if America made a gesture to Gadhafi.

Gadhafi was interviewed on Cable News Network by the Rev. Jesse Jackson a week earlier, and offered to turn the two accused terrorists over to Jackson, but not to the U.S. government.

The interview comments were Gadhafi's inimitable way of saying he has no intention of giving up his two agents for trial in the United States. Americans and Israelis who think they can moderate Gadhafi's behavior by talking to him have a heavy burden.

They must make it clear that he cannot escape sanctions and perhaps more drastic punishment to come unless he surrenders the men who bombed Pan Am 103 and gets completely out of the terrorism business. Any other message dishonors the memory of the

WP

2217



$$\frac{1}{2}$$

אל : מצפ"א  
מאת : ק. לקונוגרם

רצ"ב פניית ועידת הנשיאים לאירגונים היהודיים לפעול למען שמירת ה-80 מיליון \$ בחוק סיוע החוץ.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

୧୩/୧୨ - ୧୩/୩  
 ୧୩/୩ ୧୩/୩ ୧୩/୩ ୧୩/୩ ୧୩/୩



P01/01

07-22-93 11:21 AM FROM PRESIDENTS CONF.

TO AIRAC/DC



## Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations

July 22, 1993

1161  $\frac{2}{2}$ 

To: Presidents Conference Leadership  
 From: Lester Pollack, Chairman  
 Malcolm Hoenlein, Executive Vice Chairman

### THIS IS THE ONLY NOTICE BEING SENT. PLEASE NOTIFY YOUR PRESIDENT

In FY92 and FY93 the Congress appropriated \$80 million for the emigration of Jews from distressed lands to Israel. (The United Israel Appeal is the agency which is responsible for administering and reporting on this allocation.) The Clinton Administration has requested \$55 million for the FY94 program. The FY94 House Foreign Operations appropriations bill provides \$80 million for this program, the same level as the past two years but \$25 million above the President's request.

Because of the rise in the number of refugees worldwide, some refugee organizations would like to see the FY94 Israeli refugee account reduced to \$55 million (the amount of the President's request) in order to use the remaining balance for other refugee emergencies.

We have been urged to write to Sen. Patrick Leahy, chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and to members of the subcommittee, in support of the overall increase in funding for world-wide refugee assistance, and for maintaining funding for refugee resettlement in Israel at the current level of \$80 million. Others are urged to do the same. The letter said, in part,

"We write on behalf of the Conference of Presidents and its 50 member agencies to express support for the refugee funding levels that were included in the FY94 House Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, including the \$80 million for refugee resettlement in Israel. As you prepare to markup the Senate bill, we urge you to include these same funding levels in your mark."

"The organized Jewish community gives priority to assisting Israel in absorbing tens of thousands of refugees from the former Soviet Union, Ethiopia and other lands who arrive annually. For three decades the United States has assisted Israel's humanitarian effort of gathering Jewish refugees from these countries and from other politically unstable and repressive parts of the world. As you are well aware, the American contribution has been an effort to assist Israel with the overwhelming costs of these rescue and absorption missions."

"We urge you to continue the \$80 million for Israel's refugee rescue and absorption efforts in this year's Foreign Ops bill in addition to adequate funding to meet the needs other critical refugee programs."

In addition to Sen. Leahy, subcommittee members are Sens. Daniel Inouye, Dennis DeConcini, Frank Lautenberg, Tom Harkin, Barbara Mikulski, Diane Feinstein, Mitch McConnell, Alfonse D'Amato, Arlen Specter, Don Nickles, Connie Mack, and Phil Gramm.

Letters should also be sent to Rep. David Obey, Chairman of the House Foreign Operations Subcommittee, thanking him for his support in the House version of the bill, which has already been approved.

Please send copies of your correspondence to the Conference.



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 21196

אל: רהמש/643

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 604, תא: 220793, זח: 1044, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

22 ביולי 1993

25-7

אל: מקש"ח משהב"ט

ממנכ"ל

פר"נ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: לו"ז למפגשי בק"נ

בהמשך לשלי 0512 מ-19.7

1. עוד לפני שקבלו תשובתנו לבקשתם להקדים כינוס הסדנא בנושא CBM הצהרתיים, פנו האמריקאים לאוסטרים בבקשה לארח המפגש ב-4-6.10.

2. על הבקשה ותשובת משה"ח אוסטריה שמעתי משגריר אוסטריה. הלה הוסיף, שממשלתו תודיע למחמ"ד (איינהורן) על הסכמתה לארח הסדנא ב-5-7.10.

שטיין

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, גנור, סמנכלארופה, איר1, סייבל, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס







# Will the Next WAR Be Over WATER?

GARY HOCH

What George Bush and the entire allied coalition failed to do during six months of warfare in the desert could have been accomplished by the Turkish water commissioner. He controls the country's Southeast Anatolia Project, a system of 22 dams and hydroelectric facilities on the Tigris and Euphrates rivers that are the sources of 70 percent of Iraq's water. Simply close a few valves and in a single season millions of children could be killed, if not first by thirst, then through diseases brought on by unsanitary conditions. Those who had managed to find enough to drink would soon die of hunger as livestock became depleted and agriculture suspended. Realpolitik: warfare on a shoestring budget.

Water—control over this precious resource is increasingly entering into military scenarios as policy makers vie to maintain access to humankind's most basic need.

When Ethiopia—the poorest country on the face of the earth—began a development project whose centerpiece was to be a dam on the Blue Nile, the Egyptians proclaimed *causus belli*. Then Foreign Minister Boutros-Ghali issued an ominous harbinger: "The next war in our region will be fought over the waters of the Nile, not politics."

Today, Egypt relies on the Nile for 97 percent of its water and their consumption of this ancient life source has already exceeded their allotment configured in a treaty with Sudan and Uganda—this long before Sudan and Uganda have approached claiming their shares. Contention over this vital and easily pollutable resource is likely to increase as other upstream riparians, like Ethiopia, enter the industrial age, expand their agriculture and leave

Not so mighty but very important: Dividing Israel from Jordan, the waters of the Jordan River irrigate crops in both countries on its meandering path to the Dead Sea. Here it flows south into the Sea of Galilee.

Moment

August 93

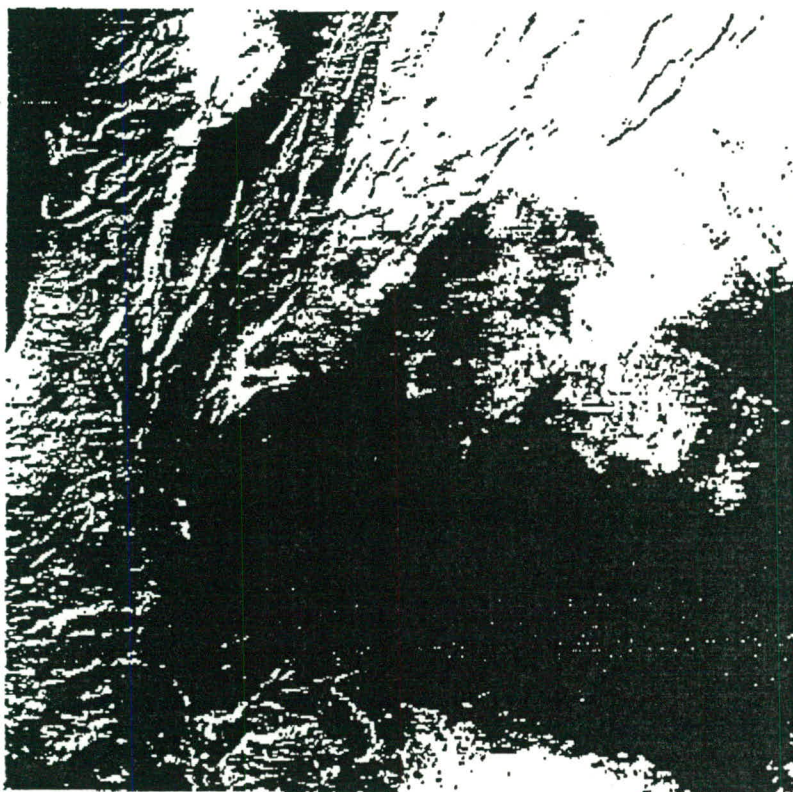
2/5

1146 - P1

114 - G2

1/4





Watching the water: A satellite photo shows snowcapped mountains in Syria and Lebanon, the Sea of Galilee (bottom, left), which is fed by the Jordan River and is the chief reservoir for Israel's water supply. Below the Sea of Galilee the Jordan River emerges. A drop of water originating in Syria or Lebanon may be used in Israel or Jordan, making water management a volatile regional issue.

alarming demographic trends unchecked.

Israel, Jordan, Libya and seven other Mideast countries are currently consuming their water faster than nature can replenish it. Finger-pointing is directed at decades of mismanaged water policy, inefficient irrigation systems and simply poor plumbing—it is estimated that half the water conveyed in Jordan is lost to leakage. But chief among the potential causes of conflict is water's unique quality of mobility: it's a flowing phenomenon that disregards political borders. More than half of all the water consumed in the Middle East and North Africa originates in another sovereign state, according to professor John Kolars, a geographer and hydrologist who teaches Near East studies at the

University of Michigan.

This reality, compounded by the fact that the former Soviet Union is no longer boundlessly backing military hardware, has altered traditional concepts of national security in the region. Theories of deterrence have been complicated because that balance of power is no longer measured by conventional military strength alone. Diplomats at the Middle East peace talks confirm that water and economic issues command as much attention as arms control.

If it appears absurd that American industrialists profited from selling steel to Japan, which ultimately returned it to their shores in the form of an armada off Hawaii, how much more self-defeating would it be for one country to continue furnishing another with water as it develops nuclear weapons or promotes terrorism?

Will Turkey divert the Euphrates River from Syria, which relies on it to produce 70 percent of the country's electricity, if Damascus continues to train Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) terrorists in Lebanon? Will North Korea use its Kungpansan hydroelectric dam (located on a tributary of the Han River, which flows through South Korea's capital, Seoul) to cut off Seoul's water supply if South Korea bombs their nuclear development sites? If America mobilized such enormous force against the threat that oil would stop flowing from the Persian Gulf, what might Egypt or Iraq do if their water stopped flowing?

Scenarios of tactical conflicts like these are not unfounded. In fact, there have been several military engagements in the past whose objectives were to insure the continued flow of water into a country. Israel and Syria exchanged fire over the demilitarized zone in the fifties when Israel built its national water carrier, which drew from the

## A New Source of Contention

Exploratory drillings for water early this year tapped into a voluminous renewable aquifer at Ein Tzukim (Hebrew) in the Dead Sea region, not far from the site where the Dead Sea Scrolls were found. Israeli water commissioner Gideon Tsur estimated this source could furnish up to 10 percent of the country's water needs. However, a problem surfaced along with the water at Ein Tzukim. The Arabic name for the same spot is Ein Feshka and it is on the West Bank.

The Palestinians are demanding a return of the West Bank. At the peace talks, the value of this previously unstrategic piece of land near the Dead Sea has just been greatly enhanced for the Israelis. As development and the water deficit increase, so too will the linkage between talks over territory and hydropolitics.

—G.H.

2/4



1146 A  
114 G2  
3/5 4/5

Sea of Galilee, also known as the Kinneret and reduced the flow of the Jordan River to downstream riparians, namely, the Jordanians and the Palestinians. In 1967, before the Six-Day War, Israel attacked Syrian sites at the headwaters of the Jordan that could have diverted water from Israel. In 1975, Iraq threatened Syria with military action as the Syrians built the Tabqa Dam that reduced the flow of the Euphrates. And in the area of gratuitous punishment directly involving water as a military target, Saddam Hussein made sure to destroy desalination facilities in Kuwait before his troops withdrew.

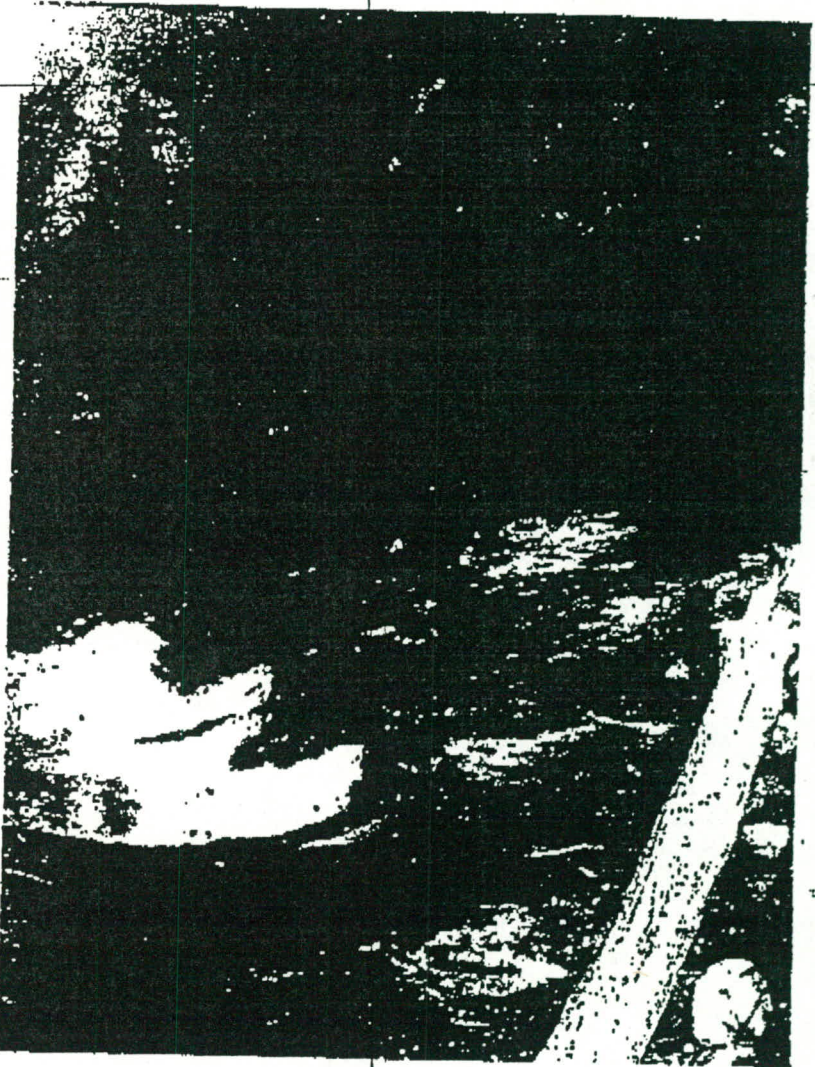
Many of these conflicts stem from the arcane conception that water is a finite resource. This perception causes Mideast states to vie for a limited supply of water in a zero-sum game. And as demand increases with development and population growth, so will conflicts over water.

In reality, however, water can be produced and traded like any other commodity. Two-thirds of the world's desalination plants are located in the Middle East. All of the Gulf states rely on them for drinking water and Saudi Arabia uses desalinated seawater to irrigate wheat—albeit at five to 10 times the cost they can import the grain. Water can also be introduced into regions where there is a deficit. If Israel pumps water from the Sea of Galilee to Tel Aviv and Jordan pumps from the Dead aquifer near the Saudi border, then what are the limitations—other than political—on stamping water internationally?

In an attempt to overcome the looming conflicts over water, several importation schemes have recently been advanced at a series of international conferences that promote breaking away from the localized perspective of water management. Although much attention has been given to reducing demand for water through improving utility in irrigation (70 to 80 percent of the water consumed in the Middle East is used in agriculture), experts at the conferences believe that Mideast parties can avoid future conflicts by increasing water supply through introducing water into the region.

Current desalination processes are capable of boundlessly converting seawater to potable water, but with the caveat of

requiring extraordinary amounts of energy. In Israel and Jordan, it is estimated that importing water through pipelines from Turkey could be accomplished at about half the local cost to desalinate. Because of high energy costs, desalination is most frequently applied in the Mideast countries that have a surplus of oil; in fact, half of the desalination facilities in the region



are located in Saudi Arabia. Until new technologies develop that require less energy or are based on alternative sources, like nuclear power, desalination will have a limited impact on increasing the region's water supply. One breakthrough to reduce the cost of desalination may come from a group of chemical engineers in Colorado who are retooling an industrial patent designed to extract solutes, like salt, from

The Dan Spring is the only source of the Jordan River originating in Israel. The other two—the Banias and the Hazbani—rise in Syria and Lebanon, respectively.

Continued on Page 50



## War Over Water?

continued from page 37

solutions. The patent also claims to be able to capture water from a solution in the form of ice. An engineer involved in applying the process to desalinate seawater estimates that it requires only 30 percent of the energy used in present technologies.

As for water importation, a former assistant military attache at the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C., presented a proposal at the First International Israeli-Palestinian Conference on Water last December. Boaz Wachtel's plan, called the Peace Canal, simultaneously addresses both water and security concerns. It suggests a pipeline to carry water from the elevated Atatürk Baraji Lake (800m) in eastern Turkey to the Sea of Galilee (-200m) and the Yarmouk River on the Syrian-Jordanian border. The pipeline would open up into a canal on the Golan Heights along the Israeli-Syrian border and serve as an anti-tank ditch. Wachtel's plan would not only convey water to Syria, Jordan, Israel and the Palestinians, but it could also provide a confidence-building measure for cooperation in the region and generate significant hydroelectric power.

Key players like Turgut Ozal, the recently deceased president of water-rich Turkey, have backed pipeline proposals that would carry water all the way to the Gulf states. Until now, importation schemes that rely on several transfer states have been put on the back burner because of the tenuous political climate in the region.

To overcome the inherent complications when transfer states are involved, a private, non-political entity, called the Medusa Corporation of Calgary has developed huge sea-bound barge balloons to directly export water from Turkey. The plastic containers, called medusa bags, each hold 1.6 million cubic meters, about the volume of one tower of the World Trade Center. The bags can be filled with fresh water, pulled by tugboats throughout the Mediterranean Sea and pumped through loading facilities into the national conveyance system. Preliminary studies estimate the cost of importing water with the medusa bags to Israel would be 10 to 20 percent that of desalinating seawater. This single-destination approach is being promoted with Israel, Libya and

Gaza. However, to date none have advanced their interest beyond an initial review, despite the possibility that the medusa bags could provide a considerably cheaper source of water.

Grandiose importation schemes like these have been heralded by one academic as the basis for a "Middle East Pax Aquarum."

Hydropolitics can be a dicey game, however, because it is intimately linked with territory and issues involving long-term trust. But the five parties

involved in the bilateral peace talks border a hydrological feature—the Jordan River basin.

The water talks—coinciding with other multilateral talks on the environment, economy, arms control and refugees—are essentially a continuation of Kissinger's step-by-step approach to diplomacy in the region. The premise is that regional cooperation on functional issues can establish a paradigm for a broader peace founded on mutual interest.

# A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY To Share Momentous Times in Israel

United Jewish Appeal presents a Zahav  
"Golden" Mission to Israel for Active Seniors.\*



A memorable 14-day mission, planned by UJA especially for those 60 years and older, accompanied by knowledgeable, experienced UJA staff and tour guides.

### MISSION INCLUDES:

- SHABBAT AT THE WESTERN WALL •
- VISITS TO HISTORIC AND CULTURAL SITES •
- ACTIVITIES WITH ISRAELIS AND SOVIET OLIM •
- LEISURE TIME FOR RELAXATION, SHOPPING, PERSONAL TOURING •
- TOP RATED HOTELS •
- AIR/GROUND TRANSPORTATION •

All for \$2,750—less than \$200 per day.  
(New York departure)

The UJA "Zahav" Mission departs October 3rd.

For more information call  
(818) 760-1100—or your local federation.

\* Zahav means Golden



1143

ס

GP

111

1/3

בלמס/מייד

תאריך: 21 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ישראל - אש"ף

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (דייויד הופמן 21/7) אודות היחסים בין ישראל ואש"ף. הכתבה עוסקת בשינוי שחל ביחסים בין ישראל ואש"ף: החוק הישראלי האוסר קשר עם אש"ף בוטל, דיאלוג בלתי רשמי מתנהל בין ישראל ואש"ף ועוד יותר מכך, לאחרונה מסתמנת בישראל נטייה לפתוח במו"מ ישיר עם אש"ף.

25.7

תקשורת

כ"ז/ סת' 7777977-03 (וולפבר)

(29) שהח (2) ששה"ח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (2) מנכל (1) מצפא (2) כנגנון סגור (1) (2) הסברה (2) ר/מסד (1) מסר (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומן (1) סייכל (1) משפט (1) צנזורצבאי (1) רצ"מ החלפת (1) גנת (1)



# Informal Contacts Grow Between Israel and PLO

*Sentiment Builds for Direct Dialogue*

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, July 20—Israeli television's popular talk show "Politika" entertained an unusual guest recently in a live telephone hook-up from Tunis.

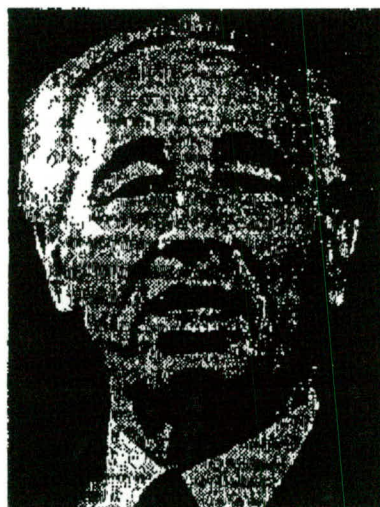
Bassam Abu Sharif, political adviser to Palestine Liberation Organization chief Yasser Arafat, announced on the show that he was ready to come to Tel Aviv for talks on Middle East peace in a few days. "Just let me know where I can get my visa," he said.

At one time, the statement would have seemed preposterous, but today it is just another sign of the nascent and expanding informal dialogue between Israel and its onetime nemesis, the PLO.

For years, Israel regarded Arafat and his organization as terrorists, and contacts with them were illegal. But now that the law has been annulled, Israeli members of parliament have freely talked with Arafat's lieutenants in third countries, often during international conferences in Europe. Arafat and other PLO officials are even periodically interviewed by the Israeli news media.

Moreover, there is growing sentiment in the left-center Labor-led government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin that Israel should open direct contacts with Arafat. By some accounts, a majority of Rabin's cabinet either have openly stated their support for such a move or privately favor it. "Those who say don't ever talk to the PLO are now a minority in the Labor Party," said a veteran Labor official.

But Rabin, with a hawkish outlook and a deep suspicion of Arafat, remains reluctant to do so. Rabin spokesman Gad Ben-Ari said the prime minister believes there is "no alternative" but to continue the Madrid peace talks format, in which Israel negotiates with a delegation of Palestinians from the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Ben-Ari denied newspaper reports that Rabin has authorized a secret back-channel to Arafat.



SHIMON PERES

... backs open talks with PLO  
Moreover, Rabin does not want to do anything that would create friction with the Clinton administration, according to the veteran Labor official. Rabin believes that Washington would frown on a direct opening to Arafat, he added. However, in his first year in office, Rabin has eased Israel's approach to the PLO, permitting Palestinian delegates from the occupied territories to move to and from PLO headquarters in Tunis.

Now, there is an open debate among others in the Labor-led coalition about whether opening a back channel to Arafat would be a good idea, given the failure of the peace talks to make substantive progress during the 20 months since the Madrid peace conference.

Israeli leftists have long advocated direct talks with Arafat, but the idea appears to be gaining wider currency just now. When Israeli newspapers claimed recently that Rabin had named a secret emissary to Arafat, the report was denied by the government, but the public seems to have assumed it was true anyway—and shrugged it off.

"The most interesting phenomenon after the false rumors of the contacts between the government of Israel and the PLO was that the only question around was who did it, and not whether it was the proper thing to do," said Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin, who has supported direct contacts.

The opposition parties, led by Likud, still oppose talking to Arafat, and nationwide polls show that a ma-

majority of Israelis are still against talking directly to the PLO.

But there are several reasons why the ruling coalition is taking a closer look at direct contacts with the PLO. One is the perceived threat of militancy from Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, which rejects the peace process and its near-term goal of limited autonomy for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Many analysts here believe that it is urgent for Rabin to reach an agreement with the nationalist Palestinians backed by the PLO to forestall continued strengthening of Islamic militants.

A second reason for the fresh discussion about direct talks with the PLO is that the Madrid process has stalled, prompting a new search for ways to break the deadlock. "We are now in a mood of people talking more about direct contacts with the PLO," said a Rabin adviser. "It comes from no movement in the process; the regular channels do not work."

WP

21/7

1143 A'

111 GA

2  
3



A leading advocate of opening direct lines to the PLO has been Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who argued in parliament this week that the Palestinian delegation has already pledged fealty to the PLO, so Israel should drop the pretense that it is not dealing directly with the organization. "The whole world sees who Hanan Ashrawi and Faisal Husseini are meeting with, who they are flying in the plane with, and who they are getting instructions from," said Peres, referring to two of the most prominent Palestinians leading the PLO-backed delegation.

Responding to criticism from the opposition Likud members, Peres added, "I would really like to understand, who do you suggest we negotiate with? We have to negotiate with somebody. Do you want us to negotiate with Palestinians that are yet unborn? Do you want us to negotiate with Palestinians that don't exist?"

Shlomo Avineri, a former director general of the Israeli foreign ministry who is now a political science professor, said the negotiations have created a momentum of their own toward direct contacts with the PLO. "Since Israel has been negotiating for some time with the Palestinians, and everyone knew this was a front for the PLO, the more you negotiate with the front, the more you find yourself involved with the real person behind the front."

Avineri also said that Israelis are coming to the conclusion that Arafat remains essential to an agreement, that it is impossible to exclude him, despite the tumult in Palestinian politics. "He has been less forthcoming than the West Bank Palestinians, he is holding them back," Avineri said. "It has become very clear that if you really want a deal, you have to talk to a person who can make a decision, or at least veto a decision."

1143 P'

111 GP

 $\frac{3}{3}$





# Fake Jews abuse Israeli Law of Return

By Neil MacFarquhar  
ASSOCIATED PRESS

TEL AVIV — In dead-end Russian provinces, a prostitute like Irina Milik might earn \$10 a week. But get her a fake birth certificate showing she is a Russian Jew, hand her a ticket to Israel and within days she can pull in \$400 per night in a Tel Aviv massage parlor.

Better yet, the Israeli government

picks up the tab for her airplane ticket, welcomes her with \$1,250 and subsidizes her income, housing and medical care.

Such benefits are provided under the Law of Return — Israel's promise of a homeland to all Jews. It gives anyone with a Jewish grandparent, parent or spouse automatic entry and a helping hand.

But with some new immigrants faking Jewish identity to milk the

system, the Law of Return may have become the Racket of Return.

Israeli officials say Russian crime gangs created the scam.

"It's obvious we are dealing with an organized gang with activities in both countries," Judge Moshe Shanay of Tel Aviv Magistrate's Court wrote in a recent decision.

Judge Shanay's ruling permitted

see ISRAEL, page A9

## ISRAEL

From page A1

the detention in June of four men — two Israelis and two Russians — until the start of their trial today on charges of running brothels and defrauding the state.

Prosecutors are seeking restitution of the government benefits paid to fake Jews involved in the scam, plus jail terms for the men.

Police also detained 29 women in the case. They are expected to act as witnesses. Most of the women are out on bond. Court papers indicate 12 have confessed to being false immigrants. They face deportation.

According to Israeli officials, the Russian gangs obtain birth certificates, passports and other papers from Jews who are staying put in the former Soviet Union.

They change the photographs, give a Jewish identity to prostitutes and export them to massage parlors in Israel, where prostitution is legal but pimping is not. It is not known how many prostitutes may be involved.

The women become virtual slaves guarded around the clock, often by former Russian commandos also using forged Jewish papers, police and immigration officials said.

"Directly from the airport they go to work in massage parlors and other sex houses in Tel Aviv," said David Efrati, an Interior Ministry official.

Law enforcement agencies worldwide are finding Russian fingerprints on major drug smuggling, prostitution and racketeering efforts.

Israel, with 450,000 immigrants from the former Soviet Union, believes it is becoming a target.

It used to feel immune for two reasons. Israelis considered their country too small for organized crime to bother with and immigration was tinged with an almost sacred aura because of the Law of Return.

But that has changed.

The number of massage parlors jumped from 30 to more than 100 in Tel Aviv alone since immigration from the former Soviet Union started three years ago. Gangs found an unexploited market and opportunities for other crime.

There have been two murders in Tel Aviv this year sparked by fights over controlling prostitutes and problems like drug abuse are more evident.

Gangs also are exploiting the open door of the Law of Return in a way the government doesn't quite know how to combat.

"That is why this thing is so touchy, so sensitive. It's supposed to

keep this nation alive," said Ilanan Gold, a criminal lawyer who specializes in defending Russians. "When someone is trying to touch something sacred with dirty hands it drives people nuts."

Court documents show that the 29 women detained in the case, aged 17 to 27, started getting false papers in December 1992.

Oxana Pishkova became Raisa Krasner. Tatiana Viengernova became Tatiana Klinov and Irina Milik turned into Ludmira Zelkind.

"They learn the names, the biography of the parents, a little bit about the Jewish religion, how to light Shabbat candles," said Mr. Efrati, the Interior Ministry official.

In their statements to police, the women described how they became virtual prisoners once they agreed to go to Israel. The sources who released the documents asked that their names not be used to protect

the women.

The women were told they would have to work off a debt of \$2,500 for the false papers.

"We understood that there was no way out of it and that we were imprisoned. We wanted to go to the Russian police, but we were afraid the man would kill us," one said in her deposition.

There was no doubt about what they were expected to do in Israel. One woman said she was told that she would have to give massages and sex in any form the client wanted.

She quoted the pimp telling her, "You will only have sex using condoms because an abortion is very expensive in Israel."

Police believe the four pimps took as much as 80 percent of the women's earnings from sex and immigrant benefits, collecting \$44,000 alone from the welcome checks the women received when they arrived.

23

1142  
110

WT

21/7

F.P.

2/2



אאאא, חוזם: 19811

אל: רהמש/600

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 405, תא: 210793, זח: 1750, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/רגיל

אל: תקשורת ארה"ב

מאת: עתונות ניו יורק

הנדון: סכום עתונות יומי

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

22831

TO: TIKSHORET

NEWS SUMMARY 21-JULY-1993

#### TV COVERAGE

=====

ALL LOCAL NETWORKS DISCUSSED THE CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT RELEASED ON TUESDAY; STATED THAT NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS AND THE CITY'S POLICE WERE AT FAULT FOR ALLOWING THE 1991 DISTURBANCES TO DEVELOP INTO A FOUR DAY RIOT.

#### PRESS REPORTS

=====

HEADLINES: NYT: 'CROWN HEIGHTS STUDY FINDS DINKINS AND POLICE AT FAULT IN LETTING UNREST ESCALATE'; 'GINSBURG PROMISES JUDICIAL RESTRAINT IF SHE JOINS COURT'; 'FOR MAYOR, A HARSH LIGHT'; 'THE NEW MAN FOR THE FBI'; 'CHINESE TURN TO ULTRASOUND, SCORNING BABY GIRLS FOR BOYS.' WSJ: 'BY ANY OTHER NAME, MOST BRITISH VILLAGES MAY STILL SOUND SILLY'; 'AIG SELLS INSURANCE IN SHANGHAI, TESTING SERVICE FIRMS' ROLE'; NATIONAL. ND: 'DINKINS BLEW IT.' DN: 'CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT RIPS DAVE.' NYP: 'CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT RIPS DINKINS, TOP COPS.'

GERMANY/LEBANON/MUSLIM/FREED: NYT(S.KINZER-CABLED): 'GERMANY WILL



FREE MUSLIM WHO SEIZED TWO IN BEIRUT AS HOSTAGES': REPORTS THAT GERMAN PROSECUTORS ANNOUNCED ON TUESDAY THAT THEY WOULD RELEASE A SHIITE MUSLIM KIDNAPPER AND DEPORT HIM TO LEBANON; STATES THAT ABBAS HAMADI, CONVICTED IN 1988 OF KIDNAPPING TWO GERMAN BUSINESSMEN IN BEIRUT, HAS SERVED HALF OF HIS 13-YEAR JAIL SENTENCE; NOTES THAT MR. HAMADI'S BROTHER, MOHAMMED, IS SERVING A LIFE TERM IN BERLIN FOR AN AIRPLANE HIJACKING IN WHICH A US NAVY DIVER WAS BEATEN TO DEATH; ADDS THAT BOTH BROTHERS ARE TIED TO THE PARTY OF GOD, A MILITANT PRO-IRANIAN MILITIA IN LEBANON.

IRAQ/UN/SURVEILLANCE/BLOCKADE: NYT(P.LEWIS-CABLED): 'IN IRAQ, HUNGER WINS': REPORTS THAT THREE YEARS AFTER THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL IMPOSED AN ECONOMIC BLOCKADE ON IRAQ, THE FOOD SHORTAGES WHICH AFFLICT ITS CITIZENS HAVE FINALLY MADE AN IMPACT ON IRAQI OFFICIALS; STATES THAT PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN HAS 'SWALLOWED HIS PRIDE' AND WILL ALLOW THE INDEFINITE MONITORING OF MILITARY INDUSTRIES; NOTES THAT PRICES IN IRAQ HAVE MULTIPLIED BY TWENTY AND DISCUSSES SOME OF THE HARDSHIPS CONFRONTED BY IRAQI CITIZENS; ADDS THAT IRAQ HOPES THAT THE BAN ON OIL EXPORTS WILL BE LIFTED.

IRAN/WEST/INFLUENCE/SILENCED: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED): 'MOBILIZING AGAINST POP MUSIC AND OTHER HORRORS': DISCUSSES THE SILENCING OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN IRAN BY A GOVERNMENT SPONSORED MILITIA THERE; STATES THAT THE BASSIJIS WERE FORMED IN 1980 TO RECRUIT VOLUNTEERS FOR THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND HAVE RECENTLY BEEN INSTRUCTED BY ISLAMIC CLERICS TO FIGHT 'THE ENEMY' OF WESTERN CULTURE; REPORTS THAT THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT HAS POURED ITS RESOURCES INTO THE BASSIJIS OVER THE LAST FEW MONTHS; NOTES THAT HATRED FOR THESE MONITORING GROUPS ARE PARTICULARLY WIDESPREAD AMONG THE YOUNGER CITIZENS.

EGYPT/MUBARAK/SLAY/SUSPECT: ND(P.COHEN-BRIEF): REPORTS THAT ABDOEL HAGGAG, THE SUSPECT CHARGED WITH PLOTTING THE ASSASSINATION OF EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK LOST HIS DEFENSE LAWYER ON TUESDAY.

LIBYA/US/BOYCOTT/SPORTS: DN(BRIEF): REPORTS THAT IF THE US GOVERNMENT PREVENTS LIBYA FROM ATTENDING THE 1996 OLYMPIC GAMES, OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES MAY BOYCOTT OUT OF SYMPATHY.

US/ISRAEL/BOSTON/SPORTS: DN(M.LAWRENCE): 'HENEFELD LONGS FOR CELTIC GREEN': REPORTS THAT FORMER UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT BASKETBALL STAR NADAV HENEFELD STRIVES TO MAKE IT TO THE BOSTON CELTICS AND THE NBA BEFORE RETURNING TO ISRAEL.

#### ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

=====

NYT(P.MARKS-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'THE NEW MAN FOR THE FBI.'

NYT(J.PINDER),ND,DN,NYP: 'CRAZY EDDIE FOUND GUILTY OF FRAUD.'

NYT: 'OIL OFF SHARPLY OVER DOUBTS OPEC CAN CONTROL OUTPUT.'

=====



\* \* \* \* \* THE CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT \* \* \* \* \*

EDITORIALS

=====

NYT(CABLED): 'CROWN HEIGHTS - SHARED FAILURE': WRITER ARGUES THAT IN LIGHT OF THE CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT RELEASED ON TUESDAY, EVERY LEVEL OF NEW YORK CITY GOVERNMENT FAILED TO RECOGNIZE THE DEGREE OF VIOLENCE IN THE SUMMER OF 1991, FAILED TO DEAL WITH IT ADEQUATELY AT THE TIME, AND FAILED TO PROSECUTE THE GUILTY AFTERWARD.

ND: 'THE VACUUM OF LEADERSHIP': WRITER DISCUSSES THE INEDAQUATE MOBILIZATION OF CITY LEADERSHIP DURING THE 1991 CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS.

DN: 'CROWN HEIGHTS' LESSONS': WRITER ARGUES THAT THE MAYOR AND POLICE OF NEW YORK FAILED TO TAKE DECISIVE ACTION DURING THE 1991 CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS.

NYP: 'FAILURE IN CROWN HEIGHTS': WRITER ASSERTS THAT THE RELEASE OF THE CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT ON TUESDAY WILL HELP NEW YORK CITY COME TO TERMS WITH ONE OF ITS 'DARKEST CHAPTERS IN HISTORY.'

COLUMNS

=====

DN(F.LOMBARDI): 'DON'T WRITE DINKINS OFF JUST YET': WRITER STATES THAT DESPITE THE CRITICISM OF NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS IN THE CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT, MAYORAL CONTENDER RUDOLPH GIULIANI SHOULD NOT BET ON AN EASY POLITICAL VICTORY IN THE MAYORAL ELECTIONS.

ND(J.BRESLIN): 'THE LUBAVITCHERS WILL NEVER RUN': WRITER ASSERTS THAT THE STORY OF WHITES AGAINST BLACKS IS 'THE FUNDAMENTAL STORY OF THE CITY IN OUR TIME' BUT THAT IT HAS INTENSIFIED IN THE CROWN HEIGHTS CASE DUE TO THE FACT THAT A WHITE MINORITY (THE LUBAVITCHER JEWS) LIVE IN A COMMUNITY THAT IS PREDOMINANTLY BLACK.

DN(J.SLEEPER): 'DAVE WAS LACKING IN CROWN HEIGHTS': WRITER COMPARES MAYOR DAVID DINKINS' REACTION TO THE CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS TO THE 'GUSTO FOR STREET ACTION' DEMONSTRATED BY PREVIOUS NEW YORK MAYORS.

NYP(W.MCGOWAN): 'JOURNALISM AND DIVERSITY': WRITER ARGUES THAT RACIALLY INSENSITIVE NEWSROOMS CREATED A PATTERN OF DISHONEST REPORTING ON THE CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS.

PRESS REPORTS

=====

NYT(A.FINDER-FRONT PAGE-CABLED): 'FOR MAYOR, A HARSH LIGHT': REPORTS THAT ALTHOUGH THE STATE REPORT RELEASED ON TUESDAY SUPPORTED NEW YORK



MAYOR DAVID DINKINS' CLAIMS THAT HE WAS NOT ANTI-SEMITIC AND THAT HE DID NOT ORDER THE POLICE TO ALLOW THE RIOTS TO ESCALATE, THERE WERE IN FACT MAJOR FLAWS IN HIS LEADERSHIP DURING THE SUMMER OF 1991 (NEWS ANALYSIS).

NYT(M.GOTTLEIB-FRONT PAGE),ND,DN,NYP: 'CROWN HEIGHTS STUDY FINDS DINKINS AND POLICE AT FAULT IN LETTING UNREST ESCALATE': REPORTS THAT A CHAIN OF LEADERSHIP FAILURES BY MAYOR DAVID DINKINS AND THE CITY'S POLICE ALLOWED THE CROWN HEIGHTS DISTURBANCES TO ESCALATE INTO A FOUR DAY RIOT.

NYT(R.KLEINFELD),N'INVESTIGATION OF STABBING WAS FIASCO, REPORT SAYS': REPORTS THAT THE INVESTIGATION INTO THE DEATH OF YANKEL ROSENBAUM DURING THE CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS WAS AN EXERCISE IN 'HOW NOT TO SOLVE AND PROSECUTE A CRIME.'

NYT(T.PURDHAM),DN,NYP: 'GIULIANI LETS HIS SUPPORTERS DO THE TALKING': STATES THAT MAYORAL CONTENDER RUDOLPH GIULIANI RESERVED MAKING STATEMENTS ON THE CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT ON TUESDAY AND LET HIS SUPPORTERS SPEAK ON HIS BEHALF.

NYT(A.MITCHELL),ND,DN: 'FROM EARLIEST HOURS, CALLS WERE IGNORED': STATES THAT DESPITE REPEATED CALLS TO THE MAYOR'S OFFICE FROM HASIDIC LEADERS IN CROWN HEIGHTS AND WARNINGS FROM MAYORAL AIDES, MAYOR DAVID DINKINS FAILED TO REACT UNTIL TWO DAYS INTO THE RIOTS.

ND(J.RILEY),DN,NYP: 'LAW HURTS DINKINS': STATES THAT THE STATE REPORT RELEASED ON TUESDAY WAS HARSHER THAN EXPECTED REGARDING MAYOR DAVID DINKINS REACTION TO THE CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS; QUESTIONS HOWEVER WHETHER THE REPORT WILL SERIOUSLY DAMAGE MR. DINKINS IN THE UPCOMING MAYORAL ELECTION.

ND(E.BERMAN),DN,NYP: 'THEIR HOUSE WAS STILL DIVIDED': STATES THAT THERE WAS LITTLE AGREEMENT BETWEEN BLACK AND JEWISH RESIDENTS IN CROWN HEIGHTS OVER THE CONTENT OF THE REPORT RELEASED ON TUESDAY.

ND(J.MANGALIMAN),DN,NYP: 'HARDLY A MENTION': DISCUSSES THE REACTION OF THE CATO FAMILY (THAT OF THE SEVEN YEAR OLD BOY WHOSE DEATH SPARKED THE 1991 RIOTS) TO THE CROWN HEIGHTS REPORT.

ND(B.LIFF),NYP: 'A BROTHER'S BATTLE': DISCUSSES THE REACTION OF NORMAN ROSENBAUM, THE BROTHER OF THE MAN WHO WAS MURDERED DURING THE 1991 RIOTS.

ND(S.LADD): 'COPS TRAIN TO PREVENT RECURRENCE': STATES THAT ACCORDING TO POLICE COMMISSIONER RAYMOND KELLY, THERE WILL BE 'CLEAR DIRECTION' UNDER HIS ADMINISTRATION ON HOW TO HANDLE FUTURE DISTURBANCES.

ND(K.BROTHERS),DN,NYP: NOTES THAT US ATTORNEY GENERAL JANET RENO WILL DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO PURSUE A FEDERAL CASE AGAINST LEMRICK NELSON, THE MAN CHARGED WITH STABBING YANKEL ROSENBAUM.



CARTOONS

=====

NYP: A CARTOON FEATURING NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS ON A PODIUM  
POINTING TO A SKELETON OF YANKEL ROSENBAUM IN THE AUDIENCE AND SAYING  
'ONE LAST QUESTION, YES, THE GENTLEMAN IN THE BACK.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדה, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, סמנכלהסברה,  
מעט, הסברה, לעמ, מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן, סי יבל,  
משפט, תפוצות, גנור, רביב, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,  
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, רחטמזת, מזתים, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 19733

אל: רהמש/ 597

מ-: בוסטון, נר: 69, תא: 210793, זח: 1613, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/ מידי

*Handwritten signature in red ink.*

אל: ווש, נ'י, תפוצות, מצפ'א, מע'ת, הסברה

דע: שגריר, ציר, ציר הסברה

מאת: הקונכ'ל בוסטון

הנדון: יהדות ארה"ב - ישראל ותהליך השלום - לכתבת ברונר - קרטיוס  
ב'גלוב' (11) וכתבת פרידמן בנ'י טיימס (11). (נשלח באיחור בגין השביתה).

1. שורת מנהיגים יהודים בקהילה בבוסטון עמם שוחחתי בנושא מאמרים אלו אינם שותפים למסקנה העולה מהם.

2. נשיא ה-JCRC המצוטט ב'גלוב' אומר כי 'לא מצא התנגדות לעמדות ממישראל בבוסטון וכי יש הכרה שההחלטות הקשות צריך שיתקבלו ע'י אלו החיים בישראל'.

3. מנהיגים אחרים ציינו באזני בעקבות הכתבה כי יש תחושות אותן הגדירו כ-  
UNEASE, UNCOMFORTABLE עם עמדות ישראליות שונות (אפשרות ויתורים בגולן, מו'מ עם אש'פ) אך לא מעבר לכך. לדבריהם רגשות אלו משקפים את התחושות המגיעות מהארץ. במקביל במספר אירגונים יהודיים ניכרת אי נחת גדולה יותר מהקו הנקט ע'י ממשלת ישראל ומובעת דאגה שלדבריהם הינה כנה ואמיתית מויתורים טריטוריאליים.

4. ראשי הקהילה והפעילים העיקרים העירו אף כי נושאים אלו נדונו בהרחבה בפורומים של הקהילה בהם הופיעו דוברים ישראלים בשנה האחרונה - באופן קבוע בתדרוכי ל-JCRC בהופעות השגריר בבקורו כאן ובבקורי אורחים כציר המדיני, ציר ההסברה ומרצים אחרים שהבאנו כך שניתנה לכל ראשי הארגונים הזדמנויות להשמיע דעתם ולדון בנושא.

5. יש גם לזכור כי בבוסטון קהילה ליברלית שעיקר ביקורתה היתה על הממשלה הקודמת שלדעתה לא עשתה די בתהליך השלום.

6. עם זאת, העירו חלקם כי נראה שהסיפור מתוגבר מירושלים ועדיף היה להוריד פרופיל בנושא. בולטת במיוחד צפיית ראשי אייפ'ק כאן שאינם רואים התועלת בהשאת הנושא על סדר היום הצבורי והתקשורתי וכי הגיעה העת שאייפ'ק ירד מכותרות העתונות. מנהיגים אחרים סבורים כי היה מקום להשקיע יותר בקהילה הן במישור של ביקורי שרים כאן והן במישור של הדרג המקבל אותם לפגישות בארץ.

7. סכם את השיחות נשיא הקהילה באמרו - 'הקהילה היתה נאמנה ותישאר נאמנה לישראל ולממשלתה הנבחרת. קבלנו ממך משימות מטעם הממשלה ועל דעתה - אמוץ ערים קולטות עולים מבריה"מ, תרומות למבצע אקסודוס, הסברת מדיניות

ממישראל גם בנסיבות הקשות יותר, יציאת משלחות ארצה במהלך מלחמת המפרץ ועוד - באותה רוח נקבל עמדת ממישראל הנבחרת לתמוך בה ובעמדותיה בתהליך השלום'.

יעקב לוי.

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

סססס



UNCLAS

SECSTATE 221999

1  
M  
JR

ACTION: USIS-1  
INFO: CGR-0 ACC-1 DPO-1

DISTRIBUTION: USIS  
CHARGE: USIS

J

VZCZCJU0640BA0369  
OO RUFHJU  
DE RUEHC #1999/01 2022326  
ZNR UUUUU ZZH ZEX  
O 212318Z JUL 93  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO ALL DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR POSTS IMMEDIATE  
RHDLCNE/CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON IMMEDIATE  
RUEHNT/AMEMBASSY TASHKENT IMMEDIATE 7122  
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9193  
INFO RUEHRU/AMEMBASSY MASERU IMMEDIATE 6180  
RUEHPF/USMISSION PHNOM PENH IMMEDIATE 5628  
RUEHPU/AMEMBASSY PORT AU PRINCE IMMEDIATE 8361  
RUFTEPA/CTF PROVIDE COMFORT INCIRLIK TU//POLAD// IMMEDIATE  
RUHGCNC/COMUSNAVCENT IMMEDIATE  
RUEHTI/AMEMBASSY TIRANA IMMEDIATE 8045  
XMT AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY MALABO  
AMCONSUL SHANGHAI  
BT  
UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 10 STATE 221999

E.O. 12356: N/A  
TAGS: OPRC  
SUBJECT: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S PRESS CONFERENCE - JULY 21, 1993  
INFORM CONSULS ALSO FOR USEC/USOEC

BEGIN TEXT:

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: GOOD MORNING. I'M GOING TO START  
WITH A BRIEF OPENING STATEMENT RELATING TO THE TRIP THAT  
I'M GOING TO BE STARTING TOMORROW.

EARLIER THIS MONTH, PRESIDENT CLINTON WENT TO TOKYO FOR  
THE G-7 SUMMIT AND FOR TALKS WITH THE JAPANESE, AND THEN  
ON, AS YOU ALL KNOW, TO SEOUL. HIS GOALS ON THAT TRIP  
WERE CLEAR AND WERE AS FOLLOWS:

FIRST, TO REAFFIRM AMERICA'S SECURITY COMMITMENT AND  
ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT IN ASIA;

SECOND, TO OPEN GLOBAL MARKETS AND CREATE JOBS;

THIRD, TO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION,  
THROUGHOUT ASIA AND THE WORLD.

GOOD PROGRESS WAS MADE ON EACH OF THESE THREE FRONTS.

UNCLAS

SECSTATE 221999



OUR CHALLENGE NOW IS TO BUILD ON THAT PROGRESS ON THE TRIP THAT I WILL BE COMMENCING TOMORROW.

I'M LOOKING FORWARD TO THE ASEAN POST-MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE THAT I WILL ATTEND IN SINGAPORE, AND THEN TO THE JOINT STATE AND DEFENSE MEETINGS IN AUSTRALIA. MY TRIP TO ASEAN AND AUSTRALIA, FOLLOWING PRESIDENT CLINTON'S TRIP, UNDERSCORES OUR ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO THE NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY THAT THE PRESIDENT DESCRIBED IN HIS SPEECHES IN ASIA.

THE PILLARS OF THIS NEW PACIFIC COMMUNITY ARE PROGRESS TOWARD MORE OPEN ECONOMIES AND GREATER TRADE, THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO MAINTAIN A SECURITY PRESENCE IN ASIA AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS. AN IMPORTANT THRUST OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY WILL BE TO STRENGTHEN THESE ENGAGEMENTS IN ASIA, AND A CENTRAL THRUST WILL BE TO GIVE GREAT ATTENTION TO THIS REGION WHICH IS SO IMPORTANT TO OUR FUTURE SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

THE ASEAN NATIONS AND OTHERS IN ASIA HAVE INITIATED MULTILATERAL SECURITY DISCUSSIONS TO ADVANCE PEACE AND STABILITY IN THAT REGION. THE UNITED STATES EXPECTS TO PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY WITH THEM AND TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS AT OUR CONFERENCE IN SINGAPORE. THESE REGIONAL SECURITY DIALOGUES WILL SUPPLEMENT, BUT THEY WILL NOT SUPPLANT, OUR FORWARD MILITARY DEPLOYMENT AND THE BILATERAL TIES THAT AMERICA HAS DEVELOPED IN THIS REGION.

ASEAN NATIONS HAVE PLAYED A CRITICAL ROLE IN THE HISTORIC AND STILL HAZARDOUS TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY IN CAMBODIA. I WILL BE URGING ASEAN MEMBERS TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN THEIR STALWART SUPPORT FOR THIS PROCESS IN CAMBODIA AS WILL WE.

WHILE AT THE ASEAN MEETING, I WILL HAVE SEVERAL IMPORTANT BILATERAL MEETINGS. FOR EXAMPLE, WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF RUSSIA, JAPAN, CHINA AND VIETNAM, WITH THE ASEAN NATIONS AND WITH THEIR DIALOGUE PARTNERS.

I'LL THEN GO TO AUSTRALIA, AS I SAID, FOR THE ANNUAL U.S.-AUSTRALIAN MINISTERIAL. AUSTRALIA IS ONE OF OUR CLOSEST ALLIES, AND OUR CONSULTATION WITH THEM WILL REINFORCE BOTH OUR SECURITY AND ECONOMIC TIES. AUSTRALIA HAS BEEN A LEADER ON MANY ASIA-PACIFIC MATTERS, RANGING FROM CAMBODIA TO THE URUGUAY ROUND TO APEC.

ISSUES OF REGIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY WILL ALSO DOMINATE THE LAST PART OF MY TRIP, A VISIT TO THE MIDDLE EAST. I HAVE DECIDED TO TRAVEL TO THE MIDDLE EAST AT THIS TIME BECAUSE IT IS IMPORTANT TO PUSH FORWARD THE PEACE PROCESS.



WE ARE NOT NOW, AND WILL NOT BE, A SUBSTITUTE FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS, BUT OUR ROLE IS CLEARLY AN ESSENTIAL ONE.

LET US ALL REMEMBER THAT MUCH HAD TO HAPPEN BEFORE THE BARRIERS CAME DOWN AND WE WERE ABLE TO OVERCOME THE BARRIERS AND BEGIN THE BILATERAL TALKS. WE'RE NOW TRYING TO HELP THE PARTIES OVERCOME THE BARRIERS TO SUBSTANTIVE AGREEMENTS. THIS WON'T RESULT IMMEDIATELY FROM ANY SINGLE TRIP OF MINE, BUT MY PRESENCE IN THE REGION FROM TIME TO TIME, TOGETHER WITH THE PRESENCE OF DENNIS ROSS AND HIS TEAM, CAN HELP LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR PROGRESS IN THE FUTURE. HARD DECISIONS, OF COURSE, STILL HAVE TO BE MADE, BUT WE WILL BE ENCOURAGING THEM, BECAUSE THEY MUST BE MADE IF WE ARE TO MOVE TOWARD THE OBJECTIVE OF PEACE IN THIS REGION THAT HAS NOT SEEN PEACE FOR FAR TOO LONG.

I'LL BE GLAD TO TRY TO RESPOND TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, HOW CLOSE IS THE UNITED STATES TOWARD ESTABLISHING NORMAL BUSINESS AND DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM? ARE EMOTIONS PART OF THE PROBLEM? WHAT CAN BE EXPECTED OUT OF YOUR MEETING, PLEASE, WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I'LL BE MEETING WITH THE VIETNAMESE FOREIGN MINISTER IN SINGAPORE NEXT SUNDAY. THIS FOLLOWS MEETINGS THAT SECRETARY BAKER HAD WITH HIS COUNTERPARTS OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS, AND I BELIEVE THAT SEC RETARY EAGLEBURGER HAD WITH THE VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATIVE HERE IN WASHINGTON. SO THERE IS NOTHING PARTICULARLY UNUSUAL ABOUT MY MEETING.

THE MAIN FOCUS OF MY MEETING WILL BE TO FOLLOW UP ON WINSTON LORD'S VISIT TOGETHER WITH A TOP ADMINISTRATION TEAM TO VIETNAM. HIS PURPOSE THERE WAS TO URGE THE VIETNAMESE TO RESPOND TO THE GESTURE WE HAD MADE WITH BETTER PERFORMANCE WITH RESPECT TO INFORMATION ON POWS AND MIAS.

THAT WILL BE THE FOCUS OF MY MEETING WITH THE VIETNAMESE FOREIGN MINISTER. THAT IS WHAT'S DRIVING OUR POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES. WE NEED TO HAVE ASSURANCE FROM THEM THAT WE HAVE GOTTEN ALL THE AVAILABLE INFORMATION ON POWS AND MIAS.

WE ARE GOING TO BE INSISTING ON THAT BEFORE ANY FURTHER STEPS ARE TAKEN. AS YOU KNOW, A MODEST STEP WAS TAKEN WHEN WE PERMITTED VIETNAM -- WHEN WE NO LONGER BLOCKED THEIR ACCESS TO THE IMF LENDING PROCEDURES; BUT THE FOCUS OF MY MEETING AND THE FOCUS OF OUR POLICY IS TO IMPROVE THE INFORMATION WE HAVE WITH RESPECT TO POWS AND MIAS.

I CANNOT PREDICT, TO RESPOND SPECIFICALLY TO YOUR



QUESTION, WHAT THE TIMING OR PROCESS WOULD BE OR THE LIKELIHOOD OF NORMALIZATION.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, SINCE YOU ARE TALKING TO THE AUSMIN PEOPLE AND YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT SECURITY IN THAT REGION, WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THE U.S. REVIEW OF POLICY TOWARDS NEW ZEALAND? WILL YOU DISCUSS IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THEM, AND WHO SETS THIS POLICY? IS IT YOU AND THE PRESIDENT, OR IS IT SET FROM THE BOTTOM UP BY THE LONG-TERM STATE DEPARTMENT PROFESSIONALS?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: THE POLICY IN THIS AREA, AS IN OTHERS, IS SET BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE BASIS OF MY ADVICE. I MET WITH THE NEW ZEALAND FOREIGN MINISTER WHEN HE WAS HERE SOME TIME IN THE RECENT PAST, AND I INDICATED TO HIM WHAT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR US TO IMPROVE OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH NEW ZEALAND, OR TO PUT IT BACK WHERE IT WAS BEFORE. I THINK THAT IS WELL UNDERSTOOD IN NEW ZEALAND.

I WOULD WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE HAVE VERY GOOD AND FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIPS WITH NEW ZEALAND. I REGRET THAT CIRCUMSTANCES ARE NOT SUCH THAT ENABLE US TO HAVE THE KIND OF SECURITY RELATIONSHIP THAT WE HAD IN THE PAST, AND I THINK YOU ALL KNOW THE REASONS FOR THAT.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, ON THE MIDDLE EAST, ONE OF THE PROBLEMS SEEMS TO BE THAT THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS DON'T EVEN AGREE WHETHER THE WEST BANK AND OTHER TERRITORIES ARE OCCUPIED. DOES THE UNITED STATES CONSIDER THE WEST BANK OCCUPIED? AND, MORE SPECIFICALLY, DOES THE UNITED STATES CONSIDER EAST JERUSALEM TO BE OCCUPIED TERRITORY, AND THEREFORE SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATIONS?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: BOTH OF THOSE MATTERS ARE IN THE PART OF THIS OVERALL PROCESS. I DON'T THINK IT HELPS MATTERS FOR ME TO TRY TO GET INTO ANY PRECISE DEFINITION OF THE STATUS OF MATTERS. AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, EAST JERUSALEM IS ONE OF THE MOST SENSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE NEGOTIATION. IT IS A FINAL STATUS MATTER.

BUT THESE MATTERS ARE UNDER ACTIVE NEGOTIATION BY THE PARTIES -- THAT IS, THE WEST BANK CERTAINLY IS. THE PARTIES ARE ENGAGED IN THE DISCUSSION OF A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, OR AT LEAST SOME IDEAS FOR A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES THAT THE UNITED STATES PUT FORWARD, AND I THINK THAT SHOULD BE THE FOCUS AT THE PRESENT TIME, TO SEE IF WE CAN'T MOVE TOWARD GETTING AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE PARTIES AS TO WHAT THE BASIC CONCEPTS WILL BE AFFECTING OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE A POSITION ON PARTITION IN BOSNIA ON THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH



ARE NOW UNDERWAY? THERE HAS BEEN NO EXPRESSION OF WHETHER THE U.S. IS FOR OR AGAINST THE DIRECTION THIS IS GOING. AND, SECONDLY, IS THE U.S. PREPARED TO SEE SARAJEVO FALL, AND WHAT WILL THE U.S. DO TO TRY AND STOP THAT?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: LET ME FIRST COMMENT WITH RESPECT TO PARTITION. THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO MAINTAIN THE POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE A STATE OF BOSNIA AND THAT WE SUPPORT ITS INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND I THINK THAT WE DO NOT REFINE THAT POSITION IN TERMS OF THE EXACT NATURE OF THE ARRANGEMENT -- THAT IS, WHETHER IT BE FEDERAL OR CONFEDERAL. BUT WE DO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE STATE OF BOSNIA.

WITH RESPECT TO YOUR OTHER QUESTION, LET ME STEP BACK FROM THAT AND PUT IT IN JUST A LITTLE BROADER FRAMEWORK, IF I CAN.

THAT'S A TRAGIC, TRAGIC SITUATION IN BOSNIA, MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT THAT. IT'S THE WORLD'S MOST DIFFICULT DIPLOMATIC PROBLEM, I BELIEVE. IT DEFIES ANY SIMPLE SOLUTION. THE UNITED STATES IS DOING ALL THAT IT CAN CONSISTENT WITH OUR NATIONAL INTEREST.

ONE OF THE MAIN ASPECTS OF OUR POLICY IS HUMANITARIAN AID. I CHECKED AND YESTERDAY THE UNITED STATES FLEW SIX FLIGHTS INTO SARAJEVO, AND THERE WERE 15 FLIGHTS OVERALL BRINGING HUMANITARIAN AID. LAST WEEK, THERE WERE 75 CONVOYS OF FOOD AND SUPPLIES THAT WERE GOTTEN IN UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND IN THAT AREA.

EARLIER THIS MONTH, I SENT WARREN ZIMMERMANN, OUR REFUGEE COORDINATOR, TO EUROPE TO TRY TO OBTAIN COMMITMENTS FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS; AND THE COMMITMENTS THAT CAME FORWARD WERE ENCOURAGING TO US -- NOT NEARLY ENOUGH, OF COURSE, IN THAT TRAGIC SITUATION. THE UNITED STATES HAS ALREADY, SINCE 1991, PUT DOLS. 350 MILLION TOWARD HUMANITARIAN AID. SO, WE ARE DOING THAT.

WE ARE IMPOSING SANCTIONS ON SERBIA, AS THE PRINCIPAL VILLAIN IN THIS SITUATION. AT THE G-7 IN TOKYO, WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT ANY OF THOSE WHO CONTINUED TO DISMEMBER BOSNIA WOULD BE SUBJECT TO BEING IN A PARIAH STATUS, AND THAT CERTAINLY GOES FOR SERBIA AND IT COULD GO FOR CROATIA IF IT CONTINUES ALONG THOSE LINES. SO, AS I SAY, WE HAVE A SANCTIONS REGIME.

IN ADDITION TO THAT, WE HAVE BEEN PRESSING FOR A WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL, WHICH WILL HOLD RESPONSIBLE THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THE SITUATION -- IN COMPLICITY IN THE SITUATION IN BOSNIA AT THE PRESENT TIME.



WE ARE TAKING STEPS TO MAKE SURE THAT WE CONTAIN THE CONFLICT IN BOSNIA. THE UNITED STATES, AS I SAY, IS DOING ALL THAT WE CAN, CONSISTENT WITH OUR NATIONAL INTEREST, IN THAT AREA.

FINALLY, WE HOPE THAT THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE SUCCESSFUL IN GENEVA. I TALKED TO MR. STOLTENBERG, ONE OF THE TWO NEGOTIATORS, YESTERDAY AND TOLD HIM THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS THE CONCEPT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS THERE.

WE HAVE SAID MANY TIMES THAT WE DO NOT INTEND TO PRESSURE THE MUSLIMS -- THE BOSNIANS TO AGREE TO ANY PARTICULAR SETTLEMENT, BUT WE HOPE THE MATTER CAN BE SETTLED WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

SO, AS I SAY, THE UNITED STATES IS DOING ALL THAT WE CAN, CONSISTENT WITH OUR NATIONAL INTEREST.

QUESTION: JUST TO FOLLOW UP ON THAT, IF THE UNITED STATES IS DOING ALL IT CAN, THEN I ASSUME THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT WHATEVER RESPONSIBILITY HISTORY OR THE WORLD MIGHT WANT TO GIVE THE UNITED STATES AND ITS WESTERN ALLIES AND THIS ADMINISTRATION IF SARAJEVO FALLS AND IF 300,000 PEOPLE THERE HAVE THEIR LIVES ENDANGERED.

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: THE UNITED STATES, OF COURSE, WILL CONTINUE TO DO ALL IT CAN. WE HOPE THERE WILL BE A BETTER RESULT THAN THAT. WE HAVE INDICATED THAT IF THERE IS A PEACE AGREEMENT, WE WILL BE ONE OF THE COUNTRIES THAT WILL HELP TO IMPLEMENT THAT PEACE AGREEMENT.

SO, AS I SAY, WE ARE DOING ALL WE CAN IN THE SITUATION. IT IS A TRAGIC, TRAGIC SITUATION THAT COULD HAVE BEEN MUCH BETTER DEALT WITH TWO YEARS AGO, OR EVEN A YEAR AGO, BUT ONE ON WHICH WE ARE CERTAINLY NOT READY TO ABANDON THE SITUATION.

WE ARE DOING THE THINGS THAT I SAID THIS MORNING, BUT THERE ARE SOME PROBLEMS THAT, AS I SAY, DEFY ANY SIMPLE SOLUTION.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, THE UNITED STATES HAS PLEDGED TO USE ALL NECESSARY MEANS UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION TO GET THE AID THROUGH TO THE PEOPLE THAT NEED IT IN BOSNIA. IS THE UNITED STATES -- CAN YOU SAY IF THE UNITED STATES IN GOOD CONSCIENCE IS USING ALL NECESSARY MEANS TO DO THAT?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE JUDGMENT OF THOSE PEOPLE ON THE GROUND IS THAT THE BEST WAY TO GET THE FOOD THROUGH, THE BEST WAY TO GET THE SUPPLIES IN, IS THE WAY THAT HAS BEEN FOLLOWED. AS I SAY, 75 CONVOYS, AS I AM



TOLD THIS MORNING, GOT IN LAST WEEK. FIFTEEN FLIGHTS GOT IN YESTERDAY. THE JUDGMENT OF PEOPLE ON THE GROUND IS THAT WE ARE FEEDING MORE PEOPLE. WE ARE SAVING MORE LIVES BY GOING IN IN THAT WAY THAN WE WOULD BE IN SOME OTHER WAY.

NOW, THAT'S THE JUDGMENT OF THE COMMANDERS ON THE GROUND, AND THE UNITED STATES IS ACCEPTING THAT JUDGMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, SINCE PRESIDENT CLINTON ANNOUNCED THE PROPOSAL FOR AN APEC LEADERS SUMMIT IN NOVEMBER --

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: YES.

QUESTION: -- THAILAND AND CHINA HAVE BOTH EXPRESSED QUITE STRONG RESERVATIONS, AND MALAYSIA'S PRIME MINISTER MAHATHIR SAID HE WON'T ATTEND. IT LOOKS LIKE FROM THE OUTSIDE THAT THE U.S. HAS NOT DONE ENOUGH DIPLOMATIC SPADEWORK ON THIS ISSUE. COULD YOU RESPOND TO THE AUSTRALIAN CALL FOR THE U.S. TO SPELL OUT IN MORE DETAIL EXACTLY WHAT THE U.S. HAS IN MIND FOR THE APEC LEADERS SUMMIT?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, FIRST, WE ARE CONSULTING WITH COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S SUGGESTION THAT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO HAVE A CONSULTATION AT THE END OF THE APEC MEETING, AND SO FAR OUR RESPONSE HAS BEEN VERY ENCOURAGING, NOT UNANIMOUSLY SO BUT VERY ENCOURAGING.

WHAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS IN MIND IS THAT THERE WOULD BE A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE A DISCUSSION AMONG THE LEADERS OF THE APEC COUNTRIES, BOTH IN ECONOMIC TERMS, BUT ALSO IN BROADER TERMS AS TO HOW THE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC, THROUGHOUT ASIA COULD BE IMPROVED.

THIS IS A RELATIVELY NEW ORGANIZATION, AND I THINK PRESIDENT CLINTON FEELS THAT HE WANTS TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS A CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO ASIA. WE CONTINUE TO BE A PACIFIC POWER, AND HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE THAT KIND OF A HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGE AMONG THE LEADERS.

IT IS QUITE PARALLEL, OF COURSE, TO A NATO SUMMIT THAT HE PROPOSED FOR EUROPE, AND I THINK IT IS PART OF HIS DESIRE TO EMPHASIZE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ASIA IN UNITED STATES THINKING AS A PRINCIPAL AREA OF OUR ACTIVITY IN THE FUTURE.

QUESTION: CAN HE GO AHEAD WITH IT? CAN HE GO AHEAD WITH IT IF MAHATHIR AND OTHERS DECIDE NOT TO GO IT?



SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: I THINK THAT'S QUITE A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION, BUT I FEEL CONFIDENT THAT THERE WILL BE A RESPONSE THAT WILL INDICATE THAT VIRTUALLY ALL THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION WANT TO PROCEED WITH IT.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, THE TALK NOW IN THE MIDDLE EAST BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS ALMOST CENTERS AROUND THE CONFEDERATION BETWEEN JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIANS AS A WAY TO MOVE THE PEACE PROCESS FORWARD. WHAT DOES THE UNITED STATES THINK OF THE IDEA OF A CONFEDERATION BETWEEN THE PALESTINIANS AND THE JORDANIANS TO SOLVE THE SITUATION THERE? AND MAY I HAVE A FOLLOW-UP, PLEASE?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: THAT'S A NEW WRINKLE, TO FOLLOW UP BEFORE THE ANSWER.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ACTION TAKEN AT THE MADRID CONFERENCE WHERE THIS PROCESS WAS BEGUN, THAT WHAT WE ARE NOW DEALING WITH IS THE INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY AND THAT THE FOCUS SHOULD BE ON THE INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY.

NOW, THERE ARE INTERESTING IDEAS BEING PUT FORWARD FOR THE LONGER TERM STATUS, AND, OF COURSE, THE UNITED STATES WOULD ENCOURAGE ANY SUCH INTERESTING IDEAS; BUT FOR THE TIME BEING, I THINK WE OUGHT TO FOCUS ON TRYING TO GET A REGIME THERE, HELP THE PARTIES GET A REGIME THAT WILL TAKE THIS INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY PERIOD, AND TO BE EFFECTIVE DURING THAT PERIOD. THE IDEAS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD PUT FORWARD FOCUS ON THAT RATHER THAN THE MORE FAR-REACHING ASPECTS SUCH AS CONFEDERATION WHICH WAS REFERRED TO IN YOUR QUESTION.

NOW I'LL GIVE YOU YOUR FOLLOW-UP.

QUESTION: THE FOLLOW-UP: YOU MENTIONED EARLIER ABOUT THE WEST BANK AS CONSIDERED A SUBJECT FOR THE OCCUPIED TERRITORY. WHAT ABOUT ALSO AN IDEA WHICH IS FLOATING NOW BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS ABOUT ISRAEL EVACUATING GAZA STRIP OR GIVING GAZA STRIP TO THE PALESTINIANS AS A FIRST STEP IN TRYING TO SOLVE THE SITUATION THERE?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE GAZA STRIP IS CERTAINLY PART OF THOSE NEGOTIATIONS, AND I DON'T WANT TO TRY TO ANTICIPATE WHAT THE VIEWS OF THE PARTIES MIGHT BE OR WHAT MIGHT COME FIRST. CERTAINLY, THAT WILL HAVE TO BE PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, COULD I POSSIBLY ASK A COUPLE OF QUESTIONS BACK ON THE BOSNIA ISSUE? THE PRESIDENT



LAST NIGHT BLAMED THE DETERIORATING SITUATION IN BOSNIA ON THE EUROPEANS' REJECTION OF THE AMERICAN PLAN FOR BOSNIA. ARE THE EUROPEANS TO BLAME? THAT'S THE FIRST QUESTION.

THE SECOND QUESTION IS, THREE TIMES YOU SAID THE UNITED STATES IS DOING ALL IT CAN FOR BOSNIA, AND YOU SAID THAT IT'S THE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE ON THE GROUND THAT THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO CARRY IT OUT. COULD YOU BE MORE SPECIFIC, BECAUSE MRS. OGATA HAD SAID THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION IS UNTENABLE AND THAT THERE IS A LOT MORE HELP THAT'S NEEDED?

THE BRITISH COMMANDER LAND HAS SAID THAT HE WANTS TO PULL OUT BECAUSE THE SITUATION IS SO UNTENABLE. FRED CUNY CAME BACK WITH QUITE AN AGGRESSIVE PLAN THAT INCLUDED EVEN A SORT OF SOMALIA-TYPE OF OPERATION FOR BOSNIA.

MAYBE YOU COULD SHARE WITH US WHOSE JUDGMENT IT IS THAT THIS IS THE BEST WAY TO SAVE SARAJEVO?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THERE ARE A LOT OF QUESTIONS THERE, AREN'T THERE?

QUESTION: I HAD TO GET IT ALL IN QUICKLY.

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: ON THE FIRST PART OF YOUR QUESTION, THE PRESIDENT SAID LAST NIGHT THAT HE REGRETTED THAT THE EUROPEANS DID NOT RESPOND FAVORABLY TO OUR SUGGESTION THAT THE BEST THING TO DO WAS TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO AND ENABLE THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT TO DEFEND ITSELF. WE CONTINUE TO THINK THAT WAS THE BEST OPTION, TOGETHER WITH COMPENSATORY AIR STRIKES IN THE INTERIM, UNTIL THE BOSNIAN GOVERNMENT BECAME ARMED.

AS WE ANALYZE THE SITUATION OVER AGAIN, WE CONTINUE TO THINK THAT THAT IS A PREFERRED OPTION, AND I'M SURE THAT'S WHAT THE PRESIDENT INDICATED LAST NIGHT. WE CONTINUE TO REGRET THE FACT THAT THE EUROPEANS COULD NOT BE PERSUADED TO GO DOWN THAT ROAD. AND, OF COURSE, SINCE IT DOES REQUIRE ACTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS, IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO DO THAT.

ON THE SECOND ASPECT OF YOUR QUESTION, I WOULD ASK YOU TO GO BACK AND EITHER LOOK AT WHAT I SAID OR I'LL SAY IT AGAIN. WHAT I SAID WAS THE UNITED STATES IS DOING ALL THAT IT CAN CONSISTENT WITH ITS NATIONAL INTEREST. I'VE STRESSED BEFORE AT SOME LENGTH WHAT OUR NATIONAL INTEREST IS IN THE SITUATION. IT'S IN HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, TO THE EXTENT THAT WE CAN PROVIDE IT, COUPLED WITH PREVENTING THE SPREAD OF THE CONFLICT, DOING ALL WE CAN TO MAKE SURE THAT THOSE WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THE EVIL CONDUCT THERE REALIZE THAT THEY WILL BE SUBJECT, AS PEOPLE, TO WAR



CRIMES TRIALS AND, AS NATION, TO CONTINUING SANCTIONS.

AS I SAY, THE JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE ON THE GROUND IS THAT WE NEED TO EMPHASIZE THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF THE MATTER. THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN THERE HAVE BEEN PLEADING FOR ADDITIONAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF, AND WE'VE BEEN TRYING TO GET IT IN.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, MAY I RETURN TO MY COLLEAGUE'S EARLIER QUESTION ABOUT THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES? YOU SEEM TO, IN YOUR ANSWER, LEAVE IT OPEN WHETHER OR NOT THE QUESTION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA -- WHETHER OR NOT THEY ARE ACTUALLY OCCUPIED.

IS THIS A SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY THAT SINCE 1967 THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HAVE BEEN OCCUPIED, AND NOW YOU'RE SAYING THAT IT DOESN'T HELP TO GET INTO MATTERS OF OCCUPATION? DO YOU OR DO YOU NOT BELIEVE THAT THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ARE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: THERE IS NO SHIFT AT ALL IN UNITED STATES POLICY. I JUST DON'T THINK IT HELPS THE MATTER VERY MUCH TO GET INTO AN ALMOST THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION OF WHETHER THE ARTICLE "THE" BELONGS IN THAT SENTENCE OR NOT. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THE PARTIES KNOW WHAT'S UNDER DISCUSSION THERE. THEY ARE ACTIVELY PURSUING THAT DISCUSSION, AND THE UNITED STATES ROLE IS TO TRY TO HELP THEM -- NOT TAKE OVER THE NEGOTIATIONS -- BUT TO ACHIEVE A SATISFACTORY RESULT ON THEIR PART. THERE IS CERTAINLY NO CHANGE IN UNITED STATES POLICY.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, LET ME RETURN TO BOSNIA, IF I MAY, TWO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE PRINCIPLES YOU WOULD APPLY FOR THE POSSIBLE USE OF AMERICAN ARMED FORCES THERE.

FIRST, EARLIER THIS YEAR YOU SAID IF A PEACE AGREEMENT WERE REACHED, THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD HAVE BEEN WILLING TO INTRODUCE -- OR DISCUSS INTRODUCING GROUND TROOPS TO HELP IMPLEMENT THAT. IS THAT STILL ON THE TABLE? IF A TRIPARTITE PARTITION IS REACHED, WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO PUT GROUND TROOPS IN THAT CASE?

AND, SECONDLY, ARE YOU CONTEMPLATING ANY USE OF AMERICAN FORCE TO MAKE THE SAFE HAVENS ANY SAFER? IN PARTICULAR, SARAJEVO DOESN'T SEEM TERRIBLY SAFE RIGHT NOW. IS THERE A USE FOR AMERICAN MILITARY FORCE THERE?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: ON THE FIRST PART OF YOUR QUESTION, AS THE PRESIDENT SAID LAST NIGHT, IF THERE IS AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES THAT IS ENTERED INTO IN GOOD FAITH AND IS BEING IMPLEMENTED, THE UNITED STATES WILL HONOR ITS OBLIGATION TO HELP TO IMPLEMENT THAT, ALONG WITH NATO AND UNDER A UNITED NATIONS UMBRELLA. OUR



POSITION HAS NOT CHANGED ON THAT SO LONG AS IT IS A GOOD-FAITH AGREEMENT ENTERED INTO BY THE PARTIES AND ONE THAT THEY SHOW THEIR GOOD FAITH BY COMMENCING TO IMPLEMENT IT.

COULD YOU REMIND ME WHAT THE SECOND HALF WAS, DOYLE?

QUESTION: SAFE HAVENS, AND PARTICULARLY SARAJEVO.

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WITH RESPECT TO THE SAFE HAVENS, AS YOU KNOW, THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES ARE COMMITTED, BASED UPON THE AGREEMENT REACHED HERE IN WASHINGTON, TO PROTECT UNPROFOR FORCES, TO COME TO THEIR RESCUE UPON REQUEST.

THERE IS NOW IN ITALY A VERY SUBSTANTIAL FORCE -- AIR POWER -- IN BEING TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS OF THAT KIND. SO IF WE RECEIVE REQUESTS FROM UNPROFOR FORCES FOR PROTECTION, OR IF THEY REQUIRE A RESCUE OR SOME COMPARABLE CONDUCT, THE UNITED STATES, THROUGH NATO, IN CARRYING OUT THE COMMITMENT REACHED AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE IS PREPARED TO DO IT. WE'VE HAD NO SUCH REQUEST AT THE PRESENT TIME FROM ANY UNPROFOR FORCE.

QUESTION: IF I COULD FOLLOW THAT, MR. SECRETARY, THAT POLICY ON PROTECTING UNPROFOR WAS SAID BY SOME OFFICIALS AT THE TIME TO BE INTENDED AS A SIGNAL TO DETER FURTHER AGGRESSION AGAINST THE SAFE HAVENS. HAS IT BEEN EFFECTIVE ON THAT PART OF THE AGENDA?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: IT CERTAINLY SEEMS NOT TO HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE IN CONNECTION WITH SOME OF THE SAFE HAVENS.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, U.S.-NORTH KOREAN NEGOTIATION IN GENEVA IS TURNING OVER TO A THIRD ROUND OF MEETINGS IN (INAUDIBLE), WHICH SEEMS ALSO NOT CLEAR TO END THE NUCLEAR SUSPICION. MY FIRST QUESTION IS THAT FROM THE FIRST OF THE TALKS, YOU EXPECTED OR YOU THOUGHT THAT THE NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR THREAT IS NOT SO IMMINENT THAT YOU MAY -- YOU MIGHT DEAL WITH THAT KIND OF A PROTRACTED NEGOTIATION.

AND MY SECOND QUESTION IS THAT WITH THE "SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION" WITH NORTH KOREA, ARE YOU READY TO RETREAT FROM NAME-CALLING OVER NORTH KOREA, SUCH AS DOG REGIME OR (INAUDIBLE) REGIME, PLEASE?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, LET ME TELL YOU WHERE WE'VE BEEN AND WHERE WE ARE. THIS PROBLEM CAME INTO FOCUS WHEN NORTH KOREA THREATENED TO WITHDRAW FROM THE IAEA REGIME -- THAT IS, TO WITHDRAW FROM THE NON-PROLIFERATION REGIME -- AND THAT WAS A VERY SERIOUS STEP.



THE FIRST CONFERENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NORTH KOREANS CAUSED THEM TO RETRACT THAT WITHDRAWAL. THE SECOND CONFERENCE, WHICH JUST CONCLUDED IN GENEVA, WAS ANOTHER SMALL STEP FORWARD, NOT AN ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY STEP, BUT NEVERTHELESS A SIGNIFICANT ONE; AND THAT IS THAT THEY AGREED THAT THEY WOULD TALK WITH, NEGOTIATE WITH THE IAEA -- WHICH, OF COURSE, IS THE PROPER PLACE FOR THE DISCUSSIONS TO TAKE PLACE -- ABOUT THE NECESSARY INSPECTIONS. AND THAT IS, I SAY, A SIGNIFICANT BUT MINOR STEP FORWARD.

THEY ALSO AGREED TO TALK WITH SOUTH KOREA ON MEANS TO CARRY OUT THE DENUCLEARIZATION OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA, AND ONCE AGAIN THAT IS A GOOD STEP FORWARD. THE PROBLEM IS BY NO MEANS SOLVED, AND CERTAINLY THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT INTEND TO WATCH THIS MATTER BE STALEMATED OR STALLED; BUT IT'S MOVING ALONG IN A WAY THAT IS ENCOURAGING, AND I THINK WE'RE IN CONSIDERABLY BETTER SHAPE THAN WE WERE THE DAY THAT NORTH KOREA ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WERE GOING TO PULL OUT OF THE REGIME.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, THE SITUATION IN SOUTH LEBANON IS GETTING WORSE EVERY DAY. THERE ARE CLASHES AND FIGHTING. COULD YOU PLEASE TELL ME WHAT KIND OF EFFECT IT'S HAVING ON THE PEACE PROCESS, AND WHAT CAN THE UNITED STATES DO TO EASE THE SITUATION IN THE SOUTH? AND WHY YOU AREN'T INCLUDING LEBANON IN YOUR TRIP?

MY SECOND QUESTION IS CONCERNING -- I HAVE TWO QUESTIONS -- CONCERNING THE MADRID RULES. THE PALESTINIANS ARE ASKING NOW TO CHANGE THE RULES OF MADRID SO THEY CAN DISCUSS FINAL STATUS. YOU SAID WHEN YOU MET KING HUSSEIN THAT YOU ARE OPEN-MINDED TO SUGGESTIONS. ARE YOU CONSIDERING THIS SUGGESTION FROM THE PALESTINIANS? DO YOU WANT TO -- DO YOU ACCEPT THE FINAL STATUS QUESTIONS NOW? THANK YOU.

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WITH RESPECT TO THE FIGHTING IN LEBANON, IT CERTAINLY IS A MATTER OF CONCERN, AND I HAVE AND INTEND TO CONTINUE TO URGE RESTRAINT ON ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED THERE, BECAUSE IT IS NOT CONDUCTIVE TO SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS TO HAVE THAT KIND OF FIGHTING GOING ON, AND THAT WILL BE A TOPIC OF MY CONVERSATION.

MY TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST THIS TIME IS A SOMEWHAT FORESHORTENED TRIP. I DON'T INTEND TO TRY TO VISIT ALL THE MANY CAPITALS THAT I DID LAST TIME. I EXPECT TO BE MEETING WITH LEBANESE OFFICIALS ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, OR MY TEAM WILL BE, WHEN I'M THERE. SO WE CERTAINLY WILL NOT BE NEGLECTING LEBANON.

THE OTHER PART OF YOUR QUESTION, I SUPPOSE MY SAYING I



WAS OPEN-MINDED IS PROBABLY MORE A SELF-CONGRATULATORY DESCRIPTION OF MY OWN ATTITUDES THAN WHAT I REALLY MEANT. WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE THE MADRID ACCORDS. I DON'T THINK WE NEED ANY CHANGE IN THE PROCESS OR THE BASIS OF THAT. I THINK WHAT WE DO NEED TO DO IS TO OPERATE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE MADRID ACCORDS AND MOVE FORWARD, AS I SAID IN ANSWER TO AN EARLIER QUESTION, TO TRY TO SEE IF WE CAN'T HELP THE PARTIES REACH AN INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY -- THAT IS, ON THE PALESTINIAN/ISRAELI BILATERAL TRACK.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, YOU ONLY HAVE ONE DAY IN EACH CAPITAL. WHAT DO YOU EXPECT TO ACHIEVE IN THIS TRIP ACTUALLY? AND ARE YOU GOING TO CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS HERE IN WASHINGTON TO BE RESUMED IN AUGUST OR IN SEPTEMBER?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I HOPE TO ACHIEVE MOVING THE PROCESS FORWARD IN A TANGIBLE BUT NOT MAJOR WAY ON THIS TRIP. I DON'T EXPECT ANY BREAKTHROUGHS, BUT I THINK IT IS NECESSARY TO KEEP PUTTING SOME IDEAS BEFORE THE PARTIES, TRYING TO DRAW THEM OUT, TRYING TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR THEM TO COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER BY OUR COMMUNICATING WITH EACH OF THEM.

IT IS A DIFFICULT PROCESS. IT IS A LONG PROCESS, BUT THE PARTIES WANT THE UNITED STATES TO BE INVOLVED, AND I WOULD NOT BE GOING THERE IF I DID NOT THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO DO. I THINK THAT'S THE BEST ANSWER THAT I CAN GIVE TO YOUR QUESTION.

WHAT WAS THE SECOND HALF OF YOUR QUESTION?

QUESTION: CONCERNING WHAT WILL FOLLOW AFTER THIS? WHAT DO YOU HAVE IN MIND TO DO AFTER THE --

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: THERE HAS BEEN NO DATE SET FOR A NEXT ROUND, AND I THINK THAT WILL DEPEND ON HOW MY CONVERSATIONS GO WHEN I'M OUT THERE AND, OF COURSE, THE ATTITUDE OF THE PARTIES, BUT I THINK THAT THE PARTIES HAVE INDICATED A DESIRE TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, HAS THE UNITED STATES CONCLUDED THAT IT CANNOT EXPAND ON ITS PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED MILITARY COMMITMENT IN BOSNIA, EVEN IF THAT MEANS THE FALL OF SARAJEVO?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT REACHED ANY OTHER CONCLUSIONS THAN THE ONE I MENTIONED IN THE ANSWER TO MY EARLIER QUESTIONS.

QUESTION: ON SOMALIA, DO YOU REGRET THE DECISION BY THE UNITED STATES AND ITS U.N. ALLIES NOW TO TARGET MOHAMMED



FARAH AIDEED, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT HE'S NOW A FOLK HERO AND HAS ELUDED CAPTURE?

AND ALSO, COULD YOU EXPLAIN TO AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, PERHAPS IN DES MOINES, WHY THE UNITED STATES IS STILL IN SOMALIA?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I'D LIKE TO GO BACK TO WHERE THE SITUATION WAS WHEN PRESIDENT BUSH WENT INTO SOMALIA. THERE WERE OVER 300,000 PEOPLE WHO DIED OF STARVATION OR OTHER RELATED CAUSES IN SOMALIA BY MOST ESTIMATES. THE UNITED STATES CAME INTO THAT SITUATION AND I THINK PERFORMED A HUMANITARIAN MIRACLE BY GETTING TO THE SITUATION WHERE PEOPLE ARE GETTING FOOD. LIFE IN MANY PARTS OF THE COUNTRY IS RETURNING TO NORMAL.

NOW, MOHAMMED AIDEED WAS AN OBSTACLE TO THAT PROGRESS. HE WAS ACTING IN A THUG-LIKE WAY, AS A WARLORD, AND THE UNITED STATES, I THINK, AND THE UNITED NATIONS HAD TO DEAL WITH THAT KIND OF CONDUCT BECAUSE IT WAS AN INTERRUPTION OF THE HUMANITARIAN PURPOSE THAT WE HAD THERE. HE WAS INTERFERING WITH THE HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS. SO I DON'T REGRET AT ALL WHAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS DONE WITH RESPECT TO GENERAL AIDEED OR MOHAMMED AIDEED, BECAUSE HE WAS AN OBSTACLE TO THE HUMANITARIAN PURPOSE THAT WE HAD.

QUESTION: THE SECOND PART ABOUT HOW YOU JUSTIFY CONTINUED U.S. PRESENCE?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: I GUESS MY MEMORY IS SUCH THAT I'M GOING TO HAVE TO BAN TWO-PART QUESTIONS. (LAUGHTER)

THE UNITED STATES IS A GREAT COUNTRY, AND WE'VE TRIED TO RESPOND TO HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS ALL OVER THE WORLD, SOME WITH MORE SUCCESS THAN OTHERS. YOU KNOW, YOU HAVE SUCCESSFUL ENDEAVORS, AS WE SEEM TO BE HAVING IN CAMBODIA. I THINK THE SITUATION IN SOMALIA IS SUCCESSFUL.

I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT US TO BE A HUMANITARIAN NATION, WANT US TO PREVENT THE KIND OF MASS STARVATION THAT WAS SO EVIDENT IN SOMALIA. I THINK THAT PEOPLE IN IOWA WILL RECOGNIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES IS MOVING VERY RAPIDLY TO RESPOND TO THEIR NEEDS. I'M SURE WE WILL RESPOND TO THAT WITH A GENEROSITY; BUT I DOUBT IF, AS A COUNTRY, WE'LL EVER WANT TO SO ISOLATE OURSELVES THAT WE BLIND OURSELVES TO HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

QUESTION: LAST WEEK IN BRAZIL THE PRESIDENTS OF ALL LATIN AMERICA AND SPAIN AND PORTUGAL HAVE INDIRECTLY CONDEMNED THE U.S. EMBARGO AGAINST CUBA, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME THEY ALL SAY THAT THEY WOULD HATE TO SEE THE



TORRICELLI LAW BEING IMPLEMENTED. DO YOU SEE THAT AS A POTNTIAL SOURCE OF CONFLICT BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES?

AND THE SECOND PART OF MY QUESTION IS THAT CASTRO HAS EXPRESSED ONE MORE TIME HIS INTEREST TO TALK WITH THE UNITED STATES. IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WITHOUT ACCEPTING THE PREMISE OF YOUR QUESTION AS TO WHAT WAS DONE AT THE MEETING, I WOULD SAY THE UNITED STATES CONTINUES TO FEEL THAT THE CUBAN DEMOCRACY ACT IS THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THE RESULT THAT WE WANT TO ACHIEVE, WHICH IS THE RETURN OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS TO CUBA. WE WOULD WELCOME STEPS BY CASTRO TO THAT END. I'VE NOT SEEN ANY COMING FORWARD FROM HIM.

QUESTION: MR. SECRETARY, HAVE YOU RECEIVED ANY INFORMATION IN THE LAST MONTH, SINCE THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED THE DECISION ON CHINA MFN, THAT CHINESE ENTITIES ARE STILL SHIPPING NUCLEAR OR MISSILE TECHNOLOGY TO PAKISTAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES?

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO WHAT WE MAY HAVE RECEIVED BY WAY OF INTELLIGENCE. I WOULD SAY THAT AFTER THE PRESIDENT'S ANNOUNCEMENT WE HAVE GONE FORWARD TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THREE AREAS THAT HE MENTIONED: HUMAN RIGHTS, TRADE ABUSES, AND PROLIFERATION.

I'LL BE TALKING ABOUT ALL THREE SUBJECTS WHEN I MEET WITH THE CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER IN SINGAPORE NEXT SUNDAY, BECAUSE I THINK THAT IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SEE PROGRESS IN THOSE AREAS IF WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE THE POLICY NEXT YEAR THAT THE PRESIDENT LAID DOWN THIS YEAR.

ONE MORE QUESTION.

QUESTION: THAT WAS MY QUESTION. (LAUGHTER).

SEC RETARY CHRISTOPHER: THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

END TEXT.

CHRISTOPHER  
BT  
#1999

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 19833

אל: רהמש/ 608

מ-: ווש, נר: 2067, תא: 210793, זח: 2025, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבבב

סודי ביותר / מידי

א ל: מנהל מצפ"א

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

מאת: ק. לקונגרס-וושנינגטון

מכתב מוברק

=====

הנדון: סנאט: חוק סיוע חוץ / הקצבות ופגישת המזכיר כריסטופר עם איפ'ק  
עדכון

1. הבוקר (21.7) נפגשנו דרנגר ונויבך עם אריק ניוסום (לבקשתו), ראש צוות  
העוזרים של ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות שליד ועדת ההקצבות בראשותו של  
הסנטור ליייה.

2. לדברי ניוסום שלוש בעיות עיקריות עליהם לפתור בטרם יוכלו לגשת לתהליך  
החקיקה. להלן 3 הבעיות על פי סדר חומרתן:

א. SCORING בסך 170 מ' דולר של הערבויות לישראל (קביעת ה- SBO).

ב. הסיוע לרוסיה - מה גובה הסכום שועדת ההגנה (הסנטורים נאן ואינווייה)  
יסכימו להעביר מתקציביהן לטובת רוסיה.

ג. האם הסנטור בירד, יו"ר ועדת ההקצבות יבקש לעשות הקצאה חדשה (B-602)  
לועדה שתכלול את הסכום שיועבר מההגנה לטובת סיוע חוץ. זו בעיה קטנה  
ומקומית.

3. בעיית ה- SCORING של הערבויות לישראל

א. הכוונה המקורית היתה לכלול סעיף ב-BUDJET RECONCILIATION BILL שיוסיף  
170 מ' דולר לפונקציה 150 (עיניינים בינ'ל).

ב. ממשרדו של הסנטור מיטצ'ל, מנהיג הרוב נמסר לאנשי ליייה (וכך גם  
לקישור לקונגרס של מחמ'ד) כי לא נראה להם שניתן יהיה לטפל בבעיית ה-  
SCORING בקונפרנס של התקציב שכן הנושא יהיה חשוף לאפשרות של שתי נקודות  
לסדר (POINT OF ORDER): האחת - 'תקנת בירד' - שאיננה מאפשרת לדון באף  
נושא שאיננו נוגע במישרין לתקציב (MON GERMANE).

השניה - נקודה לסדר (שמעטים מכירים מהותה) שאם תועלה, עלולה להפיל את כל  
התקציב. הסנטור מיטצ'ל איננו מוכן לסכן את הקונפרנס בהעלאת נקודות לסדר.



(מעניין שהמועמד היחיד המוזכר בשיחותינו הוא לא אחר מאשר הסנטור... בירד).

ג.אגב, בהקשר זה יצויין שפגישה שקיים השגריר אתמול (20.7) עם הסנטור פיל גראם הרפובליקני אמר גראם כי בדק ומצא שכדי להביס POINT OF ORDER יש צורך ב-60 קולות ולהערכתו ניתן לעשות זאת. איננו סבור שאף אחד מן הרפובליקנים מתכוון להעלות נקודה לסדר. לשאלתי השיב כי שוחח עם הסנטורים דו'מיניצ'ר (מנהיג המיעוט בוועדת התקציב) ודול וכדבריו שניהם תומכים בו. גראם הוסיף כי הוא יהיה מוכן להגיש A MATION TO WAIVE POINT OF ORDER במליאת הסנאט.

סיפורי לניוסום על פגישה זו וכי מתוכננת לשגריר פגישה עם דול ביום ב' הקרוב. לניוסום הדגיש (כמו הסנאטור גראם) כי עלינו לשוחח גם עם מיטצ'ל. (לשגריר נקבעה פגישה ליום ג' הקרוב).

ד. לניוסום הסביר לנו כי על פי ניסיונו, הסנטור בירד לא יסכים לכלול הנושא בחוק התקציב ואכן יעלה זאת כנקודה לסדר. הרבה סנטורים מתייעצים בינם לבין עצמם כיצד ליצור עימו קשר. הדגיש כי

WE HAVE ONLY ONE SHOT-היינו, שיחה אחת שלאחריה בירד ישתף פעולה או יתנגד ויתבצר. ולפיכך השיחה עימו צריכה להיעשות בארבע עיניים ע'י אדם אחד בלבד והוא נשיא ארה"ב שחייב לשכנע את הסנטור בירד שחוק סיוע חוץ חשוב לו מאוד. (ברצוני להבהיר כי הבעיה היא שאת ה-170 מ' דולר יש להקציב TO APPROPRIATE מתקציב סיוע החוץ. זאת בנוסף לעובדה שתקציב הועדה נמוך כבר ב-97 מ' דולר מתקציב של אובי. כל זאת יש להכפיל בפקטור של 5 כדי לקבל את הסכום ב-

BUDJET AUTHORITY אותו חסרה הועדה. לאור סכומים אלה אין הועדה יכולה לספוג את הקצבת ה-170 מ' דולר ויש לנסות לבטל זאת).

5. לניוסום סיפר כי בינתיים הם שוקלים אופציה אלטרנטיבית למקרה שלא יצליחו לפתור בחוק התקציב את בעיית ה-170 מ' דולר. הדגיש כי לא התקבלה החלטה בנדון ומדובר בשלב זה במחשבה ראשונית (גם הממשל וגם איפאק יודעים על כך).

להלן ההצעה: על מנת לעקוף את בירד, יורידו זמנית, כלומר בשלב ועדת המשנה, ובמליאת ועדת ההקצבות את ה-170 מ' דולר מהסיוע לישראל ויכתבו בחוק שהעברת ה-170 מ' דולר לישראל תדחה עד לחודש הראשון של 95, כאשר תגיע הצעת החוק למליאת הסנאט, יוגשו 2 תיקונים: האחד-שיכלול את הנוסח שרצו לכלול בחוק התקציב (היינו מחיקת ה-170 מ' דולר)

והשני-שיבטל את הנוסח הקובע שה-170 מ' דולר ילקחו מהסיוע לישראל. לדברי לניוסום במליאה יהיו להם מספיק קולות, לפחות 80 כדי להעביר התיקונים הללו ולסיים הבעיה.

הרעיון נראה גם לנו גם לאיפאק וגם לממשל קצת מסוכן. כולנו עדיין מעוניינים למצות ככל הניתן ולנסות למצוא פתרון לבעיית ה-170 מ' דולר בחוק התקציב. ( BUDJET RECONCILIATION ).

6. לניוסום גם הבהיר שאין בכוונת לייהי לשריין הסיוע לישראל מצרים או כל מדינה שהיא. טענתו שהנשיא התחייב ואין צורך בשיריון מה עוד שנעשים קיצוצים כה דרסטיים ששריונה של ישראל רק יבלוט. לניוסום המשיך באומרו: אם אתם מתכוונים TO SHALLENGE אותנו, תודיעו לנו מראש אחרת יהיה לכם סנטור מאוד לא מרוצה שלא ישכח.

7. לגבי הסיוע בסך 80 מיליון דותר לקליטת עלייה, אמר לניוסום כי אין



בכוונתם להקציב מלוא הכסף (80 מ' דולר) כמו אובי שכן לא יקחו לצורך כך כספים מ- ERMA (קרן חירום לפליטים).

8. היום אחה'צ נפגשו כריסטופר ודניס רוס עם הווארד קור ואייב פולין מאיפאק, לקראת יציאת המזכיר מחר את העיר ומסעו למזה'ת. הפגישה היתה טובה לדברי אנשי איפאק.

לגבי התהליך-אמר כריסטופר כי קיים מומנטום ותחושתו כי ניתן להשיג משהו. חזר וציין NOW IMPRESSED HE IS WITH RM. RABIN וציין כי רבין מכיר יותר טוב את לוח הזמנים שלו ממנו עצמו.

לגבי חוק הסיוע-הווארד קור העלה את נושא ה- SCORING. כריסטופר אמר כי הוא מודע לבעייה. סיפר כי אכל אתמול (20.7) א'ע עם הסנטור סאם נאן ודיבר כבר עם אינויין ומקוה שבעיית הסיוע לרוסיה תבוא על פתרונה (בעיה זו גם כן מעכבת את החוק), התחייב כי יעשה שיחות טלפוניות במהלך סיורו כדי לקדם את חוק הסיוע.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזה: 19833

אל: רהמש/608

מ-: ווש, נר: 2067, תא: 210793, זח: 2025, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבבב

סודי ביותר / מידי

א ל: מנהל מצפ"א

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

מאת: ק. לקונגרס-וושלינגטון

מכתב מוברק

=====

הנדון: סנאט: חוק סיוע חוץ / הקצבות ופגישת המזכיר כריסטופר עם איפ'ק עדכון

1. הבוקר (21.7) נפגשנו דרנגר ונויבך עם אריק ניוסום (לבקשתו), ראש צוות העוזרים של ועדת המשנה לפעולות זרות שליד ועדת ההקצבות בראשותו של הסנטור ליייה.

2. לדברי ניוסום שלוש בעיות עיקריות עליהם לפתור בטרם יוכלו לגשת לתהליך החקיקה. להלן 3 הבעיות על פי סדר חומרתן:

א. SCORING בסך 170 מ' דולר של הערבויות לישראל (קביעת ה- SBO).

ב. הסיוע לרוסיה - מה גובה הסכום שועדת ההגנה (הסנטורים נאן ואינווייה) יסכימו להעביר מתקציביהן לטובת רוסיה.

ג. האם הסנטור בירד, יו"ר ועדת ההקצבות יבקש לעשות הקצאה חדשה (602-B) לועדה שתכלול את הסכום שיועבר מההגנה לטובת סיוע חוץ. זו בעיה קטנה ומקומית.

3. בעיית ה- SCORING של הערבויות לישראל

א. הכוונה המקורית היתה לכלול סעיף ב-BUDJET RECONCILIATION BILL שיוסיף 170 מ' דולר לפונקציה 150 (עיניינים בינ'ל).

ב. ממשרדו של הסנטור מיטצ'ל, מנהיג הרוב נמסר לאנשי ליייה (וכך גם לקישור לקונגרס של מחמ'ד) כי לא נראה להם שניתן יהיה לטפל בבעיית ה- SCORING בקונפרנס של התקציב שכן הנושא יהיה חשוף לאפשרות של שתי נקודות לסדר (POINT OF ORDER): האחת - 'תקנת בירד' - שאיננה מאפשרת לדון באף נושא שאיננו נוגע במישרין לתקציב (MON GERMANE).



השניה -נקודה לסדר (שמעטים מכירים מהותה) שאם תועלה, עלולה להפיל את כל התקציב. הסנטור מיטצ'ל איננו מוכן לסכן את הקונפרנס בהעלאת נקודות לסדר. (מעניין שהמועמד היחיד המוזכר בשיחותינו הוא לא אחר מאשר הסנטור... בירד).

ג.אגב, בהקשר זה יצויין שפגישה שקיים השגריר אתמול (20.7) עם הסנטור פיל גראם הרפובליקני אמר גראם כי בדק ומצא שכדי להביס POINT OF ORDER יש צורך ב-60 קולות ולהערכתו ניתן לעשות זאת. איננו סבור שאף אחד מן הרפובליקנים מתכוון להעלות נקודה לסדר. לשאלתי השיב כי שוחח עם הסנטורים דו'מיניצ'ר (מנהיג המיעוט בוועדת התקציב) ודול וכדבריו שניהם תומכים בו. גראם הוסיף כי הוא יהיה מוכן להגיש A MATION TO WAIVE POINT OF ORDER במליאת הסנאט.

סיפרתי לניוסום על פגישה זו וכי מתוכננת לשגריר פגישה עם דול ביום ב' הקרוב. ניוסום הדגיש (כמו הסנאטור גראם) כי עלינו לשוחח גם עם מיטצ'ל. (לשגריר נקבעה פגישה ליום ג' הקרוב).

ד.ניוסום הסביר לנו כי על פי ניסיונו, הסנטור בירד לא יסכים לכלול הנושא בחוק התקציב ואכן יעלה זאת כנקודה לסדר. הרבה סנטורים מתייעצים בינם לבין עצמם כיצד ליצור עימו קשר. הדגיש כי

WE HAVE ONLY ONE SHOT-היינו, שיחה אחת שלאחריה בירד ישתף פעולה או יתנגד ויתבצר. ולפיכך השיחה עימו צריכה להיעשות בארבע עיניים ע'י אדם אחד בלבד והוא נשיא ארה"ב שחייב לשכנע את הסנטור בירד שחוק סיוע חוץ חשוב לו מאוד. (ברצוני להבהיר כי הבעיה היא שאת ה-170 מ' דולר יש להקציב TO APPROPRIATE מתקציב סיוע החוץ. זאת בנוסף לעובדה שתקציב הועדה נמוך כבר ב-97 מ' דולר מתקציב של אובי. כל זאת יש להכפיל בפקטור של 5 כדי לקבל את הסכום ב-)

BUDJET AUTHORITY אותו חסרה הועדה. לאור סכומים אלה אין הועדה יכולה לספוג את הקצבת ה-170 מ' דולר ויש לנסות לבטל זאת).

5.ניוסום סיפר כי בינתיים הם שוקלים אופציה אלטרנטיבית למקרה שלא יצליחו לפתור בחוק התקציב את בעיית ה-170 מ' דולר. הדגיש כי לא התקבלה החלטה בנדון ומדובר בשלב זה במחשבה ראשונית (גם הממשל וגם איפאק יודעים על כך).

להלן ההצעה: על מנת לעקוף את בירד, יורידו זמנית, כלומר בשלב ועדת המשנה, ובמליאת ועדת ההקצבות את ה-170 מ' דולר מהסיוע לישראל ויכתבו בחוק שהעברת ה-170 מ' דולר לישראל תדחה עד לחודש הראשון של 95, כאשר תגיע הצעת החוק למליאת הסנאט, יוגשו 2 תיקונים:

האחד-שיכלול את הנוסח שרצו לכלול בחוק התקציב (היינו מחיקת ה-170 מ' דולר)

והשני-שיבטל את הנוסח הקובע שה-170 מ' דולר ילקחו מהסיוע לישראל.

לדברי ניוסום במליאה יהיו להם מספיק קולות, לפחות 80 כדי להעביר התיקונים הללו ולסיים הבעיה.

הרעיון נראה גם לנו גם לאיפאק וגם לממשל קצת מסוכן. כולנו עדיין מעוניינים למצות ככל הניתן ולנסות למצוא פתרון לבעיית ה-170 מ' דולר בחוק התקציב. ( BUDJET RECONCILIATION ).

6.ניוסום גם הבהיר שאין בכוונת לייהי לשריין הסיוע לישראל מצרים או כל מדינה שהיא. טענתו שהנשיא התחייב ואין צורך בשיריון מה עוד שנעשים קיצוצים כה דרסטיים ששריונה של ישראל רק יבלוט. ניוסום המשיך באומרו: אם אתם מתכוונים TO SHALLENGE אותנו, תודיעו לנו מראש אחרת יהיה לכם סנטור מאוד לא מרוצה שלא ישכח.



7. לגבי הסיוע בסך 80 מיליון דותר לקליטת עלייה, אמר ניוסום כי אין בכוונתם להקציב מלוא הכסף (80 מ' דולר) כמו אובי שכן לא יקחו לצורך כך כספים מ- ERMA (קרן חירום לפליטים).

8. היום אחה'צ נפגשו כריסטופר ודניס רוס עם הווארד קור ואייב פולין מאיפאק, לקראת יציאת המזכיר מחר את העיר ומסעו למזה'ת. הפגישה היתה טובה לדברי אנשי איפאק.

לגבי התהליך-אמר כריסטופר כי קיים מומנטום ותחושתו כי ניתן להשיג משהו. חזר וציין NOW IMPRESSED HE IS WITH RM. RABIN וציין כי רבין מכיר יותר טוב את לוח הזמנים שלו ממנו עצמו.

לגבי חוק הסיוע-הווארד קור העלה את נושא ה- SCORING. כריסטופר אמר כי הוא מודע לבעיה. סיפר כי אכל אתמול (20.7) א'ע עם הסנטור סאם נאן ודיבר כבר עם אינויין ומקוה שבעיית הסיוע לרוסיה תבוא על פתרונה (בעיה זו גם כן מעכבת את החוק), התחייב כי יעשה שיחות טלפוניות במהלך סיורו כדי לקדם את חוק הסיוע.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאא, חוזם: 19810

אל: רהמש/603

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 594, תא: 210793, זח: 1920, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

א ל: מצפ"א

ד ע: משהב"ט / מקש"ח - צפ"א - חזי בן סירה

מאת: ק. לקונגרס - כלכלית, וושינגטון

הנדון: הצעת חוק לאיסור תיקוני אוניות ה-NAVY ע"י חברות לא אמריקניות

למברק מ- 14.7

1. היום 21.7 נפגשנו דרנגר ונויבך עם הקונגרסמן רוב אנדריוז יוזם הצעת החוק.

הצגנו בפניו הפגיעה הצפויה לישראל (כבמברקם הנ"ל) וציינו כי ניתן לפתור הבעיה בקלות תוך הוספת פטור לישראל מבלי לציין את שמה, היינו פטור למדינות אס"ח שחתמו על ההסכם בתאריך מסויים.

נויבך מסר לקונגרסמן הנתונים הכללים השנתיים של ה-NAVY לתיקון אוניות, בסך 3 ב' דולר לעומת ההוצאות בארץ בסך 4-5 מיליון דולר לשנה.

2. הקונגרסמן אנדריוז בקושי נתן לנו לסיים דברינו ואמר שאינו רואה כל בעיה בבקשתנו. ציין שהצעת החוק שלו ממילא עוסקת רק בתיקונים גדולים ומהותיים ולא בתיקונים מסוג אלה שמבצעות מספנות ישראל. עם זאת מוכן לכלול נוסח פטור בהצעת החוק. ביקשנו גם הכללת הבהרה בדו"ח הלוואי (REPORT LANGUAGE).

3. הבטיח, יחד עם עוזריו, לטפל מיידית בנושא. שכן בכוונתם לכלול את נוסח הצעת החוק שלהם בחוק כספי הפנטגון / הרשאות, אשר (למזלנו) מתממה קמעה. נעקוב ונדווח

4. נודה אם תמסרו זאת טלפונית לזאב אלמוג.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר - אמנון נויבך

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, @ (שהבט), מצפא,  
@ (מקשח/משהבט), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 19765

אל: רהמש/ 598

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 592, תא: 210793, זח: 1728, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/ מידי

אל : מנהל מצפ"א

דע : לש' רוה"מ, לש' שה"ח, קונכ"ל ל"א,

רס"ן יוני קורן - כאן

מאת : לש' השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון : לארי וברבי וינברג

1. בני הזוג ובני משפחתם יגיעו ארצה לביקור מה- 29/7/93 עד 15/8/93.

2. מבקשים להפגש עם רה"מ ומנכ"ל משרדו, וכן עם הרמטכ"ל. כן בקשו לבקר בבסיס ח"א.

3. לקראת בקור שה"ח בלוס-אנג'לס מבקשים ששה"ח יופיע בפני סניף איפ"ק במקום. השגריר ממליץ.

4. נודה לסיועכם.

לש' השגריר

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

סססס

22/07/1993

01:27:26

20 JUL 93 016024

אאא, חוזם: 19765

אל: בטחון/1437

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 592, תא: 210793, חז: 1728, דח: מ, סג: בל, בבב

אל ראש הממשלה

בלמס/מידי

אל : מנהל מצפ"א  
 דע : לש' רוה"מ, לש' שה"ח, קונכ"ל ל"א,  
 רס"ן יוני קורן - כאן  
 מאת : לש' השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון : לארי וברבי וינוברג

1. בני הזוג ובני משפחתם יגיעו ארצה לביקור מה-29/7/93 עד  
 ה-15/8/93.

2. מבקשים להפגש עם רה"מ ומנכ"ל משרדו, וכן עם הרמטכ"ל. כן  
 בקשו לבקר בבסיס ח"א.

3. לקראת בקור שה"ח בלוס-אנג'לס מבקשים ששה"ח יופיע בפני  
 סניף איפ"ק במקום. השגריר ממליץ.

4. נודה לסיועכם.

לש' השגריר

0000







### Learning Process Begins

"We're sick and tired of being the object of the news," said Daoud Kuttab, a project organizer. "We want to design our own narrative, our own news in our own words."

The half-hour report was the culmination of a two-week training workshop, organized jointly by advisers to the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace talks and the Jerusalem Film Institute, a nonprofit group headed by Mr. Kuttab. Financed with \$27,000 from a Swedish aid agency, the workshop was intended to train Palestinians to produce telecasts.

Some of the 35 participants have worked here for United States television networks or abroad for Arab stations, but others are novices.

### Not Just Propaganda

Israel has refused to license Palestinian-run stations in the 26 years it has occupied the West Bank and Gaza; just this month, it shut down a pirate station in Ramallah, on the West Bank.

But the peace talks have raised Palestinians' hopes for change.

Plans for radio and television stations in the occupied territories have been approved by the Palestine Liberation Organization, and Palestinians here have asked the Israeli military authorities for permits. While none have been granted, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has said the question could be made part of negotiations on self-rule.

"Broadcasts have been forbidden since 1967 on the grounds that they could violate censorship and air propaganda, but now the atmosphere has changed and they will likely be permitted under certain restrictions," said Lieut. Col. Hanan Rubin, spokesman for the Defense Ministry department that is responsible for the occupied areas. "If there will be movement in the peace talks in all areas, this topic can also be discussed."

### Seeking True Independence

Leaders of the Palestinian effort are keenly aware of the potential power of a broadcasting station, which could reach far more people than local Arabic newspapers and magazines, whose total circulation is only about 50,000 in a population of 1.8 million Palestinians in the occu-

pled territories. Some publications have closed because of a lack of money from the hard-strapped P.L.O.

"We want to present the peace process through mass communication, which is very important in light of the decreasing importance of the Palestinian newspapers," said Radwan Abu Ayyash, a prominent journalist designated by the P.L.O. to coordinate radio and television broadcasts.

Organizers of the television workshop say they want to develop a model for newscasts that will show a variety of Palestinian opinion as well as Israeli views, in contrast to state-controlled broadcasts in the Arab world. In one program produced in the workshop, the head of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, Haider Abdel-Shafi, called for changes in the P.L.O., including es-

tablishment of a collective leadership.

Workshop directors also say they want to fill a vacuum left by Israeli and Arab broadcasts. "Palestinian news there is always filtered, often through the lenses of Western TV agencies," Mr. Kuttab said, "and they have no interest in local news in the West Bank and Gaza Strip if it is unconnected to the Arab-Israeli conflict."

### Important Sign of Progress

Another goal, he said, is to show Israel that Palestinians can produce polished news programs that are not propaganda, while bolstering morale in the territories through practical preparation for self-rule.

"We want to show people that we're moving toward self-determination, and that though things are not moving in the peace process, they're moving on the ground," he said.

Suheir Zeldan, who is learning to be a camera operator, said the workshop had given her more than just professional training: "It's a nice feeling to go out with a crew and say I'm working for Palestinian television. But I know it's still a dream. When the course is over, we'll all go home."

②

2  
2

1151



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

החל  
מ-15/10/94  
עד-15/10/94

אאאא, חוזם: 17835

אל: רהמש/541

מ:- ווש, נר: 2057, תא: 200793, זח: 1500, דח: ר, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/רגיל

אל: מצפ'א

דע: הקונכ'ל - ניו יורק

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: פגישת השגריר רבינוביץ עם הסנטור לאוטנברג

1. ב-19.7 נפגש השגריר עם הסנטור לאוטנברג. נכחה עוזרתו. מצידנו דרנגר ובינה.

עד כה הם נפגשו במהלך ביקורים רשמיים אולם לא במשרדו של הסנטור. מטרת הפגישה היתה למסד קשרי העבודה בין השניים. כידוע, לאוטנברג (אם יבחר מחדש), יהיה החל מ-94 בכיר הסנטורים היהודים, לאחר שהסנטור מצנבאום הודיע כי יפרוש בתום הקדנציה הנוכחית (נוב' 94).

2. השגריר עדכן ותדרך את הסנטור בנושא תהליך השלום. לאוטנברג קטע לפתע את דברי השגריר ואמר כי הוא מוכרח לספר לו 'אפרופו דע'ק' על שיחת טלפון שקיבל באותו יום מקבוצת ספרדים שביקשוהו להתקשר לרוה'מ רבין ולומר לו שלא יחזיר את רמה'ג. הבהיר להם שישראל הינה מדינה ריבונית ולא יוכל לעשות כמבוקשם. השגריר הגיב באומרו שאם תהליך השלום היה מתקדם ביתר דרמטיות ואסד למשל היה מגיע לירושלים זה בוודאי היה מסייע ל-P.R. ולדה'ק.

עד כה, ישראל לא עשתה ויתור כלשהו לסורים. בהעדר התקדמות כל מה שאנשים שומעים היא שישראל הציעה ויתורים. תהליך השלום נכנס עתה לשלב עדין. אנו נמצאים עתה 21 חודש לאחר מדריד ושנה לכהונתו של רה'מ רבין. זו הסיבה העיקרית שכריסטופר החליט TO ENGAGE. לאחר שתיאר את מסלול נסיעתו של כריסטופר (מצרים, ישראל, סוריה, ירדן וישראל) הסביר כי מסע זה בפני עצמו איננו מספיק. אולם אם המסע יעלה יפה ויהיה מוצלח הוא ידחוף את המזכיר לעשות יותר. אחרי הכל, גם המזכיר מחפש הצלחה במדיניות החוץ.

3. לאוטנברג הקשה על השגריר בסידרת שאלות על מחוייבות הממשל כלפי ישראל. הוא שאל האם המחוייבות חזקה והשגריר השיב בחיוב. לאוטנברג הסביר כי הוא מודאג שכן הנשיא:

IS LOOKING ALWAYS AND TOO MUCH FOR QUICK FIXES AND QUICK RESULTS.

לאוטנברג עבר להרהר בקול על מצב תהליך השלום: - לדעתו, את נושא מזרח ירושלים, למשל, צריך לסגור מהר מאוד שכן זהו דיון חסר תועלת. חבל שממשישראל אינה אומרת זאת. אם תחזירו את רמה'ג הרי שרק תמורת שלום מלא. השלום עם מצרים היום, איננו יותר מאשר הימנעות ממלחמה. אין מסחר ואין תכנים נוספים.

השגריר השיב כי מתקיימות התייעצויות חודשיות בינינו לבין המצרים ותיאר את מצב הפנים הרגיש והעדין בו מצוי מובראק. לאוטנברג שאל על סעודיה ואחרות ונכונות מצידן לסייע לתהליך. השגריר השיב כי בדרכן שלהן יש נכונות לסייע. המלך הסעודי נאם בפני עולי רגל ובמהלך נאומו קרא להפסקת העוינות עם ישראל. כוונת הודיעה על ביטול החרם המשני ומרוקו ותוניסיה מוכנות לארח את השיחות המולטיטלטרליות. לשאלת הסנטור האם השגריר רואה ריכוך בעמדות השיב השגריר בחיוב.

4. לאוטנברג שאל עוד על סוריה, חידוש השיחות וכיוון התפתחות התהליך. השגריר השיב לגבי סוריה. הוסיף כי השיחות צפויות להתחדש בסוף אוגוסט ראשית ספטמבר.

5. לאוטנברג העלה את נושא דמניוק. השגריר סיפר לו כי קיבלנו מכתב מקרל לוין בנדון. לאוטנברג אמר כי לדעתו ישראל עד כה פעלה בצורה נכונה אולם אם אין עדויות חותכות וחד משמעיות היה אפילו שוקל החזרתו לארה"ב.

6. לאוטנברג העלה נושא הנפט האיראני וכתבת אייב רוזנטל בנדון. השגריר אמר כי בכוונתו להעלות זאת בממשל. הסנטור מצידו אמר כי יתכן שיפעל באמצעות חקיקה בנדון.

השגריר ציין כי אין זה תואם את מדיניות ה-DUAL CONTAINMENT של הממשל.

7. השגריר הודה ללאוטנברג על גיוס 77 סנטורים לחתום על המכתב לקלינטון בנושא הסיוע.

לאוטנברג אמר כי הוא רוצה עבור ישראל כל מה שריאלית יוכל להשיג עבורה. ציין בדאגה בעיית איפא'ק.

לאחר שהסכימו על ערוצי הדברות ישירה ביניהם ציין לאוטנברג כי להערכתו ה-PR של ישראל הוא הטוב ביותר שיכול להיות ולא בהכרח בגללה אלא בגלל עליית נושאי הטרור פונדמנטליזם וכו'.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*



אאאא, חוזם: 17871

אל: רהמש/543

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 561, תא: 200793, זח: 1802, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/בהול לבוקר

אל: אג"ת / רח"ט אסטרטגי

דע: רמטכ"ל, סגן רמטכ"ל, מח"י, ר' אג"ת, ר' אמ"ן, רוח"מ / מזכ"צ

מאת: נ.צ. וושינגטון / אלוף גיורא רום

סימוכין: 895

תאריך: 20 ביולי 1993

הנדון: שיט לאילת

1. הנושא נראה שעומד לבוא על מקומו בזמן הקרוב.

2. ארבע השותפות: אנגליה, צרפת, אוסטרליה וקנדה הביעו הסכמתן באשר לנוהל המוצע.

3. בשעות אלה מנוסח מכתב שישלח תוך יממה ממחמ"ד לפנטגון (למעשה, מג'רג'יאן לצ'ס פרימן (שחזר כידוע זה עתה מבירור בארץ)).

4. כשיגיע המכתב הוא יקבע שמחמ"ד מאשרים הנוהל וקוראים לשיחות בין אנשי מקצוע (ה-NAVY מצידם ואני ונספח הים מצידנו) כדי ללבן את פרטי הנוהל.

5. אני חוזר שוב על עיקרי הנוהל:

א. תינתן התראה בת 5 ימים.

ב. ההתראה תכלול: שם הספינה, יעד, תאור המטען וזמן הגעה משוער.

ג. הקשר יהיה בין חיל הים וה-MIF (MIF - MULTI NATIONAL INTERCEPTION FORCE).

ד. כשהאניה תגיע למיצרי טיראן ייערך אימות והספינה תדווח שהיא מצייתת לכללי ה-MIF.

ה. לאחר מכן תקבל אישור מעבר.

ו. כשהאניה תגיע לנמל אילת, שוב ידווח חיל הים ל-MIF על זמן הגעה.

6. האמור בסעיף 5 מתייחס ל:

א. כל כלי שיט שיעדו אילת (בכל דגל שהוא).

ב. כל כלי שיט שנפחו מעל 8,000 טון.

7. הסיבות שהם רוצים קשר שלא דרך הנספח הן:

א. כדי ליצור קשר ישיר ולא להידרש למתווך שאין לו INPUT אמיתי.

ב. זו היתה הצעת ה-JCS שהגיעה למחמ"ד והם חששו שנסיון לשנותה יגרום לדחיה בלוח הזמנים של פתרון הבעיה.

8. אני ער לבעיות שיוצרת הדרישה לקשר ישיר בין חיל הים וה-MIF.

המלצה

9. לא לנסות בשלב זה לשנות דבר. בעבודתנו מול ה-Navy ננסה לטפל ולהבהיר את היתרונות שבקשר דרך נספחות הים בת"א. יחד עם זאת, בעדיפות ראשונה נשאף להביא הנושא לידי השלמה מהר ככל האפשר.

10. נמשיך לעמוד אתכם בקשר במהלך דיוני המימוש. אם ברצונכם לקבוע עמדה שונה, נא הנחנונו.

בברכה,

ג'ורא רום אלוף  
נ.צ. וושינגטון

תפוצה: @ (יתום/ממרהמ), @ (אמן)

סססס



\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*  
\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 17729

אל: רהמש/536

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 539, תא: 200793, זח: 1250, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / רגיל

אל: מצפ"א

דע: הקונכ"ל אטלנטה

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: פגישת השגריר רבינוביץ' עם הסנטור טאד קוקרן

1. ב- 19.7 נפגש השגריר לפגישת היכרות עם הסנטור קוקרן (רפובליקני, מיסיסיפי) נכחו 3 מעוזריו. מצידנו דרנגר ובינה. הסנטור, חבר בוועדת המשנה לתקציב הפנטגון.

2. השגריר, לאחר שהציג עצמו עמד על היחסים הבילטרליים הטובים, תהליך השלום והמצב באיזור (אירן-עירק). הסנטור קוקרן התייחס לביקורו האחרון של רה"מ בארה"ב וציין כי "רה"מ מרשים מאד ועושה עבודה פנטסטית. הוא גלוי לב והגון". הסנטור המשיך בהבעת תקווה כי יוכלו לעשות הכל למען ישראל בטוחה. הביע דאגתו ממכירות והעברות טילים לסוריה וציין כי היה מעוניין לעשות יותר בנושא. השגריר בתגובה התייחס לבעייתיות של צפון קוריאה וסיפר על יצירת הקשר מצידה עם ישראל. ציין כי הקשר נעשה בתיאום עם ממארה"ב.

3. הסנטור הביע סיפוק רב מהמשך בנייתן של ספינות "סער 5" בפסקגולה (הסנטור מלווה הפרוייקט מתחילתו י.ד.) סיפר כי כוונתו ואולי גם סינגפור הן רוכשות פוטנציאליות ממספנות אינגלס, דבר שיסייע מאד למספנות ולאיזור.

4. לגבי סיוע החוץ, אמר הסנטור כי בעיית הסיוע לרוסיה טרם באה על פתרונה. לגבי חוק תקציב הפנטגון/הקצבות (ועדתו של אינוייה), אמר הסנטור כי ה-MARK-UP מתוכנן לספטמבר ואז יעמדו עמנו בקשר כדי לבדוק מהם הפרוייקטים בהם אנו מעוניינים.

5. הזמין את השגריר לבוא אליו או להתקשר עמו כל אימת שירגיש כי זקוק לסיוע של הסנטור. הפגישה היתה מאד ידידותית.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ר/מרכז,

ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 17728

אל: רהמש/533

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 538, תא: 200793, זח: 1250, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

20/7/93

אל: מצפ"א

דע: לשכ' רוה"מ, לשכ' שה"ח, קונכ"ל שיקאגו

מאת: לשכת השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: אסון הטבע במערב התיכון

1. בהמשך לאיגרת רוה"מ לנשיא, יצר השגריר קשר עם מנהל הסוכנות לסיוע חירום (FEMA) וחזר על כוונתנו לסייע בתחום טיהור המים.

2. הבוקר התקשרו מ-FEMA להודות על הנכונות לסייע, ולציין שלאחר בדיקה בשטח עם גורמי ההנדסה, אין להם צורך בסיוע בשלב זה.

3. לידיעתכם.

לשכת השגריר

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

סססס

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*



אאאא, חוזם: 17728

אל: רהמש/ 533

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 538, תא: 200793, זח: 1250, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

20/7/93

אל: מצפ"א

דע: לשכ' רוה"מ, לשכ' שה"ח, קונכ"ל שיקאגו

מאת: לשכת השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: אסון הטבע במערב התיכון

1. בהמשך לאיגרת רוה"מ לנשיא, יצר השגריר קשר עם מנהל הסוכנות לסיוע חירום (FEMA) וחזר על כוונתנו לסייע בתחום טיהור המים.

2. הבוקר התקשרו מ-FEMA להודות על הנכונות לסייע, ולציין שלאחר בדיקה בשטח עם גורמי ההנדסה, אין להם צורך בסיוע בשלב זה.

3. לידיעתכם.

לשכת השגריר

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

סססס



117 - 10  
97 GP

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 19 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: לשכת מתאם הפעולות - סא"ל חנן רובין

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

1/6

הנדון: השטחים

257.

מצ"ב קובץ כתבות (WP דייוויד הופמן וכתבת העמוד הראשון של ה-BS דאג סטארק - 18/7) אודות הנעשה בשטחים. כתבתו של דאג סטארק, עוסקת בעינני פלסטינים ומתארת את השינוי בתפיסת החברה הישראלית את הנושא. הכתבה טוענת כי עד לאחרונה התעלמו הישראלים מידעות על הפרת זכויות אדם ועינני פלסטינים וראו בפלסטינים טרוריסטים תוקפנים, לאחרונה מתחילים הישראלים להתייחס לדייווחים השונים על הפרת זכויות אדם והם מתקשים להתמודד עם הנושא הקשה. כתבותיו של דייוויד הופמן עוסקות בשינוי שחל בחברה הפלסטינית בשטחים; לאחר חמש וחצי שנות אינתיפאדה עייפים הפלסטינים מהמאבק והם חוזרים להתעסק בבעיות שהוזנחו במהלך שנות המאבק: פשע, סמים וכבוד המשפחה. דוגמה נוספת לשינוי בשטחים הוא משחקי הספורט השלווים, אם בעבר היו משחקי הספורט מקום מרכזי להסתה נגד הכיבוש הישראלי הרי שעתה חוזרים הפלסטינים להתעסק בספורט לשם בילוי והנאה בלבד.

תקשורת



# West Bank Focuses on Self-Help

## Internal Issues Rally Palestinians

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

**RAMALLAH, West Bank—**The cloth banner was stretched across the main street of this middle-class town, portraying a map of Israel and the occupied territories, with a skull and crossbones drawn over it.

But the banner was not the usual *intifada* protest, not another demand for Palestinian statehood, not a broadside at the Israeli occupation or a rival political faction. Rather, the crossbones were shaped as syringes, and the banner summoned Palestinians to a lecture on combating drug trafficking and kidnapping.

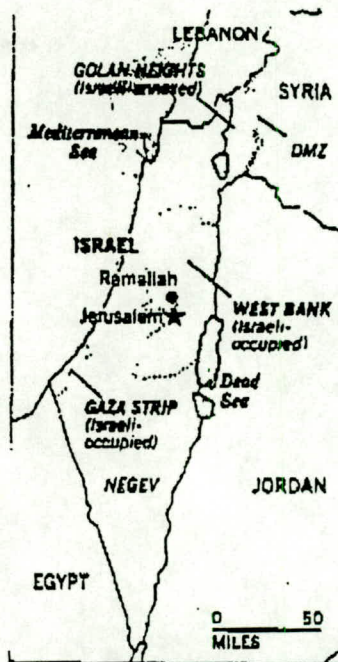
The banner's message was one sign of a recent trend in the thinking of Palestinians in the West Bank. Five and a half years after the outbreak of the *intifada*, or uprising against Israeli rule, Palestinians are looking closely at their abundance of internal problems.

The violence between Arabs and Jews has nearly exhausted many people, and they yearn for a sense of normality. Some prominent Palestinians argue that their problems need local answers, that neither the Israeli military government nor the Palestine Liberation Organization is capable of dealing with them.

This introspection could lead Palestinians to make home-front changes that some believe are long overdue, such as an end to commercial strikes and greater popular resistance to lawlessness. Many people are surprised by the depth of the problems that have been allowed to fester.

They are also finding it hard to regain control of the streets. Leaders have urged an end to the assassination, by gangs, of fellow Palestinians suspected of collaborating with Israel. But the murders continue.

When the *intifada* was at its most intense, Palestinians were



solidarity smothered self-criticism. But now, the newspapers here are increasingly frank in their discussion of internal problems. These include a rise in the crime rate and the collapse of institutions such as schools, newspapers and hospitals that have long symbolized Palestinian aspirations for nationhood.

"All people are talking about is stolen cars and stealing from houses," said Hazim Arafat, a dentist from neighboring Al Bireh. "Almost every day, you can read about it in the paper. You know, for me personally, and for a lot of people, we are asking about human rights. It's not just human rights in the occupation. For the last three or four months, people have been talking about human rights in general."

"Every day in my clinic, I hear about restoring order, and about the economic situation."

Many Palestinians say the problems have become worse since Israel closed off the West Bank and Gaza Strip in March after a wave of stabbings of Israelis. The closure has prevented about half of the 120,000 Palestinians who had jobs in Israel from getting to work. With limited opportunities for work inside the territories, some have turned to robbery and drug dealing.

"Crime is rampant," said Hanna Siniora, editor of the East Jerusalem daily *Al Fajr*. "When people are hungry, they prey on each other. Israelis say they feel more secure with the closure. But the closure has also

1117

97

GP

4/6

WP

18/7



# Palestinians Confront Problems of Crime, Drugs

PALESTINIANS, From A19

People are out of work and they are spending their savings. They have hungry mouths to feed and they try and take it by force. There has been a wave of crime in every city."

Although details are sketchy, Palestinians say there has been a series of kidnappings and rapes of young girls.

Such crimes are so sensitive in this society that the families of victims have not come forward, but newspapers have carried reports suggesting the girls were abducted while walking on the street.

In Nablus, a city dominated by large merchant clans, a committee was formed recently to address local problems, including crime, excessive commercial strikes and graffiti. A similar group has been coalescing in Ramallah, although it has moved cautiously so as not to anger political factions.

In some villages and neighborhoods, residents have

taken matters into their own hands. According to a report in Al Fajr, 150 residents of a village outside Ramallah recently chased three gangs of burglars out of town.

Part of the problem is a breakdown of authority. Palestinians once had their own police force under the aegis of the Israelis, but most of the police resigned after the outbreak of the intifada. City governments have largely ceased to function in many places.

Instead, the West Bank is run by a mixture of Israeli military authorities, rival Palestinian factions, and some industrialists and others who have individual stature.

Siniora, a moderate who has long been associated with the PLO, said in an interview that the situation has deteriorated to such an extent that Faisal Husseini, the senior Palestinian leader in the territories, should return home instead of going to the peace talks in Washington.

"I believe Faisal's presence here is more important," Siniora said. "There is a leadership gap in the territories. We need them more here than in Washington."

Paralleling the rise in crime and drug abuse, Pales-

tinians say, has been a breakdown in their institutions. Hospitals, schools and newspapers that once drew support from the wealthy Arab states or from the PLO are now starved for money. Teachers and hospital workers, university professors and journalists are lucky to be paid months late, if at all.

Siniora said his newspaper, Al Fajr, which has survived interethnic Palestinian turmoil and Israeli censorship, is losing \$20,000 a month and is near collapse. Siniora said the newspaper will not fold, but he plans to cut 25 percent of the staff. Although Siniora has said 70 percent of the newspaper's revenue comes from circulation and advertising, it is believed to be subsidized as well by the PLO. Another PLO-affiliated newspaper, Al Shaab, stopped publishing a few months ago.

Ironically, a shortage of funds has forced the closing of the Jerusalem Center for Strategic Studies, a leading Palestinian think tank that was preparing for autonomy.

"The existing structure of institutions is collapsing," said Siniora. "The universities can't pay their staff. Yet

the tuition for an education in the West Bank is almost nothing. Now we have to get people to pay for it. We are trying to do this at a time when everyone is bankrupt."

The financial crisis is affecting the balance of political power in the territories. While the PLO-affiliated institutions are struggling, Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, continues to offer social services. Siniora said the lack of tangible results from the Washington peace talks is helping the Islamicists.

"They have been able to win the argument that the peace process has brought nothing," he said. "If you can give services in education, health, kindergartens, this is what people feel and touch."

Siniora said some Palestinians are suggesting, delicately, that the PLO and other institutions may not be up to the task of solving local problems. In an editorial, Al Fajr called for a "national dialogue" that would go "beyond the traditional slogans" and deal with "our immediate problems."

Arafat, the dentist, said, "My opinion is the Israelis can't bring order, and our national leadership can't either, on their own. We can only resolve these problems with some kind of government. And how do we get it? When we get the peace."



## West Bank Finding Fun In Sports

### *Youths Throw Balls Instead of Stones*

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

AL BIREH, West Bank—They came up the winding roads, from the villages and the town. They brought basketballs and soccer balls. They wore T-shirts that said "Chicago Bears" and they played hard.

The basketball courts were filled with dancing shadows. Lanky teenagers played pickup games at the ends of the courts. Other boys practiced soccer in the middle. Sometimes a soccer ball went into a basket and a basketball was booted between goal posts, and no one cared.

The scene, early one evening at a secondary school here, was emblematic of the changes taking place gradually in Palestinian society, 5½ years after the start of the *intifada*, the revolt against Israeli occupation. While the uprising still simmers and occasionally reaches a full boil, dusk in this town finds boys throwing basketballs instead of stones. In the hills of the West Bank, sports are sprouting like the shoots of spring after a long, dreary winter.

It was a calm, pleasant evening, and family groups were swelled by people returning from the diaspora for the summer. The basketball courts are a sign of what can and might be for a generation of Palestinian youths who have known little but demonstrations for the last five summers.

Sports were a major casualty of the *intifada*. Groups that gathered for games attracted the army and caused confrontations. Curfews, school closings and the constant tension all but wiped out organized sports in the West Bank. Moreover, the revolt cast a pall over entertainment, and many traditional celebra-

The Al Bireh Youth Society was established in 1965 in this town, a mixture of middle-class and semi-rural neighborhoods bordering Ramallah. On the walls of the youth club are faded photos of triumphant teams from before the *intifada*.

The club was closed in 1987, the year the uprising started, and reopened only late last summer. Today, the stone walls echo with shouts and jeers. Inside the large recreation room, a table tennis game was underway, a gaggle of boys huddled around the bulletin board looking at soccer schedules, and older men sat in a circle, smoking cigarettes and sipping coffee.

There are other signs of change. For the first time in years, a major intercity soccer tournament is being staged in the West Bank this summer. According to Muharam Barghouti, a U.N. worker who organizes youth activities, there are 45 summer camps compared to 10 last year.

However, he said, there has been almost no capital investment in recreation in recent years, so there are relatively few playgrounds, parks and swimming pools for the 1 million Palestinians in the West Bank.

"Before the *intifada*, there was a lot of sports, but it was halted absolutely in the first three or four years of the uprising," said Hizam Arafat, a dentist involved with the youth club. "Now we've started to recover. At the beginning of the *intifada*, it was dangerous and too hard to let two teams play. Thousands of people came, and the soldiers threw gas and bombs. Now the soldiers don't come when they see [soccer] games."

The club now has 300 boys who paid the equivalent of \$3 each to join. The facilities are still crude. Although the club has enough land, it lacks the money to create a playing field, and soccer is played on asphalt.

Mahmoud Harbi, 13, said many of his friends have been hurt in spills on the hard surface. He has been watching Israeli television, though, and he has seen the soccer fields of Europe.

WP  
18/7

1117- A1  
97-6A

6  
6



# Reports of torture force painful debate in Israel

*Palestinians face systematic abuse, many critics say*

By Doug Struck  
Jerusalem Bureau

JERUSALEM — Slowly and painfully, Israel is beginning to confront accounts of systematic torture of Palestinian prisoners at the hands of its own authorities.

Since the beginning of the Palestinian uprising 5½ years ago, there has been a succession of accusations from human rights groups, stories from disgrusted soldiers, revelations from autopsies in suspicious deaths, secret medical reports and embarrassing court testimony about prisoner abuse.

These stories have dragged to light a dark side of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip that has raised disturbing implications for the Jewish state.

Many Israelis flinch from such accounts. They cite the toll of Jews in Palestinian attacks and say that harsh means are needed to confront terrorism.

"It's not that we woke up one morning and we wanted to do this," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said recently. "Israel is forced, really, to take the necessary measures in response to violence."

Lt. Col. Moshe Fogel, a spokesman for the Israeli army, expresses the prevailing sentiment of Israelis that the government should use every method available to guarantee their safety.

"I have to tell you something: If

my daughter is on her way to school and she may be stabbed, and there is a legal remedy that can lessen the chance, we will use as a society our right to protect ourselves," he said. "That is the bottom line."

But the demands for an end to abusive interrogation techniques are growing in several quarters of the Israeli public and political spectrum:

□ Last Monday, the Israeli Supreme Court heard final arguments on an appeal to extend to Palestinians the same protections against torture that exist for Israelis held in custody.

□ Several legislators have introduced a bill in the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, to outlaw torture and require Israel to abide by international treaties on human rights.

□ The Israeli medical society recently forbade doctors from signing examination forms approving use of abusive interrogation methods.

□ The Justice Ministry has formed a commission to study interrogation of Palestinians.

□ In an unusual move, the Knesset Law Committee has scheduled hearings on human rights in the occupied territories, and the chairman raised a fuss Tuesday when the government refused to send high-ranking officials to defend its practices.

"The taboo of silence over torture has been broken," says Stanley Cohen, a Hebrew University professor and chairman of the Public Committee Against Torture in Israel. "There is an improvement in the level of public awareness and concern. There is some reaction."

But I don't think there's a major improvement in the use of torture at

ISRAEL, from 1A

all," he adds. "It still is just as routine."

The government's response to allegations of abuse varies. Officially, it denies that torture occurs.

**Use of force acknowledged**

But it acknowledges that investigators use some physical and psychological force; 1987 government guidelines condone such practices. Officials argue these interrogation methods are necessary to deal with the Palestinian uprising, which has cost the lives of 142 Israelis and 1,107 Palestinians in 5½ years.

"All the effective measures against terrorism are neither nice nor gentle," said Knesset member Ephraim Sneh, a member of the Intelligence subcommittee. "We don't take people who are suspected of terrorism to the Hyatt Regency."

Since the start of the intifada in 1987, an estimated 100,000 Palestinians — more than 5 percent of the population under occupation — have been taken into custody.

Human rights groups contend torture is routinely used in their interrogations. B'tselem, an Israeli human rights group, estimates that 5,000 prisoners are subjected to such methods each year.

The conduct has been publicized in many ways.

**'Hair-raising' screams**

Arie Shavit, an Israeli serving his army reserve duty as a guard in a Gaza prison for Palestinians, agonized over what he heard there and described it in a provocative article two years ago.

"At the end of your watch, on the way to your tent to the showers, you sometimes hear frightening screams ... hair-raising human screams," he wrote in an account published in the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* in 1991.

"They are screaming because other people, in uniforms like yours, are doing things to them to make them

scream. They are screaming because your state — Jewish, democratic — is systematically, carefully and completely legally making them scream."

"Torture in Israel is not an accident, not an episode of a few mentally disturbed persons, but it is a system," said Tamar Golan, a liberal Knesset member who introduced the anti-torture bill.

Human rights groups and Jewish attorneys who work with prisoners agree. They have detailed a number of practices:

□ Beatings. A major report by B'tselem in 1991 said that of 41 prisoners it had interviewed, only one (a journalist) was not beaten. Interrogators used fists, sticks, feet and metal bars, according to the report.

Jim Ron, a former Israeli soldier and now an investigator for Middle East Watch, said interrogators now were trying to hide injuries:

"They concentrate on areas like the stomach, the groin, the feet, where you can't see the bruises so much."

□ Painful tied positions. Prisoners say they are routinely left for many hours in excruciating positions such as the "banana," over a chair or with hands tied to ankles behind the back, or the "shabab," with hands stretched to painful positions above the head.

□ The refrigerator, or closet. Prisoners say they are left in narrow, windowless spaces, sometimes chilled by cold air, for days.

□ Flooding, in which prisoners' heads are covered with filthy sacks for days on end, to induce disorientation and sensory deprivation.

□ Sleep deprivation, combined with long periods of handcuffed, forced standing, which some prisoners report has lasted as long as 10 days.

**'Cruel and unusual'**

"These methods are not as gross as in some countries," said Mr. Cohen. "No one is mutilated, or torn apart or raped ... but these meth-



aboo of silence

# Weak as Israel debates outlawing torture of Palestinians

## Of paralysis and pain

By Doug Struck  
Jerusalem Bureau

JERUSALEM — At the first interrogation session, the officer put a foot on Haasan Halawani's testicles and began twisting his collar to choke him. When the Palestinian replied with an insult, two of the interrogators rammed his head into a concrete wall, he said.

The paralysis started then.

Before he was arrested by Israeli authorities, Mr. Halawani, 44, was a fit, black-belted karate instructor. Now he can move his left arm only by lifting it with his right. He walks slowly and painfully with a cane. There are odd clefts in his head, and his right side feels like it is burning with acid.

The father of three spent 18 months in Israeli prisons, accused of subversion against Israeli authority.

His treatment at the hands of interrogators cannot be verified. It is typical of the accounts of other

Palestinian prisoners. It is supported by his injuries.

For 57 days he was put in a small solitary cell and questioned, he said. Beatings were regular, he said.

Many days, he was tied to a tiny, foot-high sloping chair. His head was covered with a foul, excrement-stained hood. Once, he was put in "the coffin," a steel closet no bigger than its name.

At times, "I knew I would die," he said. With the hood on his head, "I couldn't breathe. I felt like I was in a different world, a world with no civilization."

At his release in November, Mr. Halawani went to a rehabilitation center for four months. He said doctors have told him some of his vertebrae are broken. There is some hope from an operation, but he has no money. At his karate center in East Jerusalem, he can now only watch.

"A man like me, my capital was my arms and my legs. I made my living with them," he said. "Now I must live by handouts."

ods fit the definition of torture. They are cruel and unusual methods."

"They are using sophisticated types of torture. But it's clearly torture," said Kenneth Roth, acting director of Human Rights Watch. "The international prohibition on torture is absolute. It's simply a barbaric practice. Trial by ordeal should have gone out with the Middle Ages."

Israeli officials deny that their methods are illegal.

### Illegality denied

"We behave carefully, according to the rules," said Col. David Yahav.

where any use of force is strictly prohibited. The court case was delayed repeatedly as the government promised to review the rules, but it was finally heard last Monday before the Israel's High Court of Justice.

Dorit Benish, the state attorney, argued that the General Security Service — the secret police who do many interrogations of Palestinians — used force only to prevent future acts of terrorism.

### Terrorism cited

"It is impossible to stop terrorism unless the GSS can use certain methods," she told the high court.

"I don't buy the argument that this is the only way to get information on terrorist acts," said Avigdor Feldman, who brought the case before the court. "We are not in such an emergency situation that we should trespass the boundaries of a democratic, civilized country."

The debate troubles those who feel that Israel, partly born of the worst human rights tragedy of modern times, now defends its violations of human rights.

"A society that becomes used to this, who is indifferent to torture of others, is an ill society," said Ms. Gozansky, the Knesset member. "It happens when you consider the people who are victims of torture as half-human."

### Geneva treaty signed

Her legislation would put into Israeli law the prohibitions of the 1984 Geneva Convention Against Torture. The treaty was signed by Israel in 1991 but does not become law until it is adopted by the Knesset.

"It would be nice to have in Israel's code a law against torture. But our problem is not torture. Our problem is terrorism," said Mr. Soch, a physician and former head of the Israeli Civil Administration of the occupied territories, who opposes the legislation.

what should not be done to counter terrorism. They don't say what should be done," he said. "It's immoral. They can't enjoy being sheltered by the army while washing their hands and appearing as saints."

"Even when you are in a war against terror, there are limits you must put on yourself, or you become a terrorist yourself," argues Knesset member Haim Oron, a supporter of the legislation. "I think a society needs to declare those limits."

There are new attempts to do that. The public disclosure of a form signed by doctors who examine prisoners prompted the Israel Medical Federation last month to complain that the form "constitutes cooperating with torture."

The form asks for the doctor's agreement that the prisoner is fit to be tied up, forced to stand for a prolonged period, to have his head covered or to be put in solitary confinement.

### Doctors rebel

Dr. Miriam Zangan, head of the federation, complained the form "does not help a doctor [and] violates ethical norms." The federation told its members not to sign it.

"We've been waiting all these years for someone to come forward with this," Mr. Stanley said of the form, which he said had been signed routinely by doctors. "Israel is not a society where people blow the whistle very much."

Leah Tzemel, an Israeli lawyer representing Palestinians, believes she understands why.

"If every morning every Israeli drinks this medicine: a little bit of 'security,' a little bit of paranoia, a little bit of 'They want to throw us into the sea,' a little bit of 'All the world is against us,' it cleans your conscience greatly," she said.

"What really frightens me as a



$\frac{1}{3}$ 1116 - ימ  
96 - GP

23.7

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 19 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: הסיוע האמריקני

מצ"ב כתבת ה-DEFENSE WEEK אודות הרכישות הצבאיות שמבצעת ישראל בכספי  
הסיוע האמריקני. בכתבת פירוט הרכישות הישראליות וסכומיהם מהן ניתן ללמוד  
על דפוסי ההוצאות של צה"ל המשקיע את מרבית כספו ברכישת מטוסים.

תקשורת

$\frac{2}{3}$ Defense Week  
19/71116 - A1  
96 - G2

## Bulk Of Israeli Foreign Military Sales Go To Aircraft

U.S. foreign military sales to Israel were worth \$14.2 billion from fiscal 1950 to 1993, according to Pentagon documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act. More than one third of the total went to combat aircraft.

Although foreign military sales (FMS) amount to only a small part of U.S. military aid to Israel, worth \$1.8 billion per year, FMS spending gives some indication of Israeli military spending patterns.

U.S. FMS grants allow allies buy equipment through U.S. government agencies.

As the accompanying charts show, Israel spent \$5.4 billion on combat aircraft during the time period. An additional \$2.3 billion was spent on aircraft spares and modification. In contrast, only \$387,000 in FMS funding went to combat ships.

	FY 88	PER CENT	FY 89	PER CENT	FY 90	PER CENT
COMBAT AIRCRAFT	916,824		121,144		192,300	
COMBAT SHIPS	.		.		.	
COMBAT VEHICLES	93,789		.		3,348	
WEAPONS	3,708		29,531		10,594	
AMMUNITION	208		384		11,640	
MISSILES						
TOTAL WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION	1,014,509	74	151,050	45	217,988	57
OTHER AIRCRAFT	.		.		.	
OTHER SHIPS	.		.		568	
SUPPORT VEHICLES	114		83		1,811	
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT	5,839		3,840		2,830	
OTHER EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES						
TOTAL SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	6,054		3,703	1	5,008	1
AIRCRAFT SPARES AND MODIFICATIONS	199,808		101,044		87,913	
SHIP SPARES AND COST SHARING	13,215		12,780		21,185	
WEAPON SPARES	1,359		.		583	
AUTOMOTIVE SUPPLIES AND EQUIP SPARES	3,077		2,949		4,008	
MISSILE MODIFICATIONS AND SPARES	1,258		3,630		842	
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT SPARES						
TOTAL SPARE PARTS AND MODIFICATIONS	218,918	16	120,384	36	114,525	30
CONSTRUCTION	1,482		6,477		4,475	
REPAIR AND REHABILITATION	44,393		13,688		14,028	
SUPPLY OPERATIONS	35,878		8,580		18,433	
TRAINING	43,871		32,555		10,297	
OTHER SERVICES						
TOTAL SUPPORT SERVICES	125,732	9	61,390	18	45,233	12
TOTAL ISRAEL	1,365,212	100	336,537	100	382,754	100
(DOLLARS IN THOUSANDS)						

(FY 1978 INCLUDES FY 77)

(\*\* AMOUNT IS LESS THAN \$500.00)



# Israeli Foreign Military Sales

	FY 91 CENT	PER	FY 92 CENT	PER
COMBAT AIRCRAFT	.		.	
COMBAT SHIPS	.		29,280	
COMBAT VEHICLES	71		2,388	
WEAPONS	3,092		2,148	
AMMUNITION	101,677			
MISSILES			33,798	34
TOTAL WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION	105,740	51		
OTHER AIRCRAFT	.		.	
OTHER SHIPS	2,002		800	
SUPPORT VEHICLES	413		3,048	
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT	4,581			
OTHER EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES			3,847	4
TOTAL SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	6,997	3		
AIRCRAFT SPARES AND MODIFICATIONS	32,024		28,077	
SHIP SPARES AND COST SHARING	.		12,548	
WEAPON SPARES	14,248		515	
AUTOVOTIVE SUPPLIES AND EQUIP SPARES	1,287		1,763	
MISSILE MODIFICATIONS AND SPARES	7,392		214	
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT SPARES	398			
TOTAL SPARE PARTS AND MODIFICATIONS	55,359	27	43,118	44
CONSTRUCTION	.		779	
REPAIR AND REHABILITATION	7,011		5,317	
SUPPLY OPERATIONS	11,522		2,117	
TRAINING	8,371		8,922	
OTHER SERVICES	12,991			
TOTAL SUPPORT SERVICES	39,895	19	17,134	17
TOTAL ISRAEL	207,991	100	97,984	100
	FY 93		CUMULATIVE FY 50-93	
COMBAT AIRCRAFT	.		5,354,707	
COMBAT SHIPS	.		387	
COMBAT VEHICLES	.		1,546,334	
WEAPONS	1,548		221,389	
AMMUNITION	1,148		892,734	
MISSILES	971		883,883	
TOTAL WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION	3,668	21	8,899,303	83
OTHER AIRCRAFT	.		281,058	
OTHER SHIPS	.		2,831	
SUPPORT VEHICLES	.		180,338	
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT	.		145,472	
OTHER EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES	1,053		222,482	
TOTAL SUPPORT EQUIPMENT	1,053	5	832,158	8
AIRCRAFT SPARES AND MODIFICATIONS	2,335		2,298,199	
SHIP SPARES AND COST SHARING	.		72	
WEAPON SPARES	4,728		333,855	
AUTOVOTIVE SUPPLIES AND EQUIP SPARES	.		202,834	
MISSILE MODIFICATIONS AND SPARES	.		215,220	
COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT SPARES	.		70,003	
TOTAL SPARE PARTS AND MODIFICATIONS	7,060	41	3,120,984	22
CONSTRUCTION	.		2,581	
REPAIR AND REHABILITATION	87		158,135	
SUPPLY OPERATIONS	843		573,579	
TRAINING	1,771		182,213	
OTHER SERVICES	2,704		485,034	
TOTAL SUPPORT SERVICES	5,405	31	1,382,541	10
TOTAL ISRAEL	17,186	100	14,234,888	100

----- MAY BE DUE TO ROUNDING

2/2

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 19 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

1  
2

1115 - 10  
95 GP

הנדון: הסיוע האמריקני במימון ה"חץ"

מצ"ב כתבת ה-DEFENSE WEEK (יוסף לובך 19/7) אודות המימון האמריקני לפרוייקט ה"חץ".  
בכתבה המבקרת את הסיוע האמריקני לבניית טיל ישראלי, פירוט החברות האמריקניות המסיעות בבניית ה"חץ" והתשלומים שמקבלות החברות הללו מארה"ב.

תקשורת

25.7



Defense Week

1115 D'  
95 - GD

19/7

 $\frac{2}{2}$ 

## U.S. Work On Arrow Is Worth Millions

BY JOSEPH LOVECE

Although Israel Aircraft Industries Inc. is the contractor for the U.S.-sponsored Israeli Arrow Scud-busting system, \$3.5 million is being spent for support contracts on these shores, according to the Army.

In response to a query from *Defense Week*, the Army Missile Command provided a list of fiscal 1993 Arrow contracts going to U.S. firms. The list offers a rare look at U.S. technological support for an ostensibly "made in Israel" system.

Arrow is a U.S.-sponsored, \$520 million research and development effort to develop an indigenous Israeli missile defense system. A list of U.S. contracting help in fiscal 1993 follows:

- Coleman Research Corp., \$1.3 million: guidance and control analysis, six degree-of-freedom modeling, electro optical and aero-optics simulations;

- Delta Research Inc., \$900,000: system analysis and simulation, RF

seeker analysis;

- Kaman Sciences Corp., \$240,000:

lethality performance and analysis, warhead effectiveness modeling;

- Mevatec Corp., \$290,000: range instrumentation and operations, range testing analysis;

- Nichols Research Corp., \$80,000: missile and ground avionics, structural analysis;

- Stone Engineering Co., \$215,000: propulsion, avionics analysis, structural analysis;

- Teledyne Brown Engineering, \$440,000: launcher analysis, electro optical and aero-optics simulations;

- APT Research Inc., \$38,000: defining test requirements, preparing test plans, evaluate pyrotechnic systems and initiating electronics, risk analysis.

The APT contract is also a case study for how the Army can ratify an unauthorized contract, according to a Missile Command statement.

APT's work was contracted for and performed in fiscal 1992. But according to an Army statement, an unnamed "government representative" had no authority to make the contract. The Army invoked a federal acquisition regulation which allowed the government to pay for the work in fiscal 1993.

אאאא, חוזם: 16819

אל: רהמש/ 513

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 322, תא: 190793, זח: 1559, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

בלמס/רגיל

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: עתונות ניו יורק

הנדון: תמצית עתונות 19.7

26120

*דו"ת*

NEWS SUMMARY 19-JULY-1993

#### TV COVERAGE

=====

CNN AND ALL NETWORKS REPORTED ON THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON A HIGH RANKING EGYPTIAN OFFICIAL IN CAIRO ON SUNDAY WHICH KILLED FOUR PEOPLE AND WOUNDED SIX OTHERS; NOTED THE PROGRESS MADE IN BAGHDAD ON SUNDAY BETWEEN UN AND IRAQI OFFICIALS OVER THE IRAQI MISSILE DISPUTE.

#### EDITORIALS

=====

NYT(CABLED): 'A NON-POLICY ON NON-PROLIFERATION': WRITER ASSERTS THAT COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE BEEN OBTAINING THE TECHNOLOGY TO BUILD NUCLEAR ARMS HAVE BEEN DOING SO FROM WESTERN EUROPE DUE TO LAX EXPORT CONTROLS; STATES THAT GLOBAL STOCKPILES HAVE BEEN MAKING IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO MONITOR THE SMALL AMOUNTS OF URANIUM AND PLUTONIUM WHICH ARE NEEDED FOR BOMBS; CALLS ON THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION TO EXTEND ITS 'SMART STEPS' INTO A COMPREHENSIVE POLICY OF TIGHTENING EXPORT CONTROLS AND BANNING THE PRODUCTION OF MATERIALS NEEDED FOR BOMBS.

NYP(CABLED): 'TERRORISM AND DOUBLE STANDARDS': WRITER COMMENDS THE FBI FOR INFILTRATING THE CIRCLE OF NEO-NAZIS IN CALIFORNIA WHO PLANNED ATTACKS ON BLACK LEADERS LAST WEEK; STATES HOWEVER, THAT THE PUBLIC WILL PROBABLY APPLY A 'DOUBLE STANDARD' IN JUDGING THESE PLOTTERS VERSUS THE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS SUSPECTED OF PLANNING A SERIES OF ASSASSINATIONS ON POLITICAL LEADERS IN NEW YORK; ARGUES THAT WHILE THE CALIFORNIA SUSPECTS WILL BE JUDGED AS 'ISOLATED INDIVIDUALS,' THE ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS WILL BE VIEWED AS TERRORISTS.



COLUMNS

=====

ND(M.CARROLL): 'JEWISH VOTE - WILL IT SWING?': WRITER ASSERTS THAT THE JEWISH VOTE IN THE UPCOMING NEW YORK MAYORAL ELECTION WILL BE SWAYED BY THE STATE REPORT ON THE 1991 CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS; STATES THAT ALTHOUGH JEWISH VOTERS ARE 'RELENTLESSLY LIBERAL' DEMOCRATS, THREE OUT OF FIVE ALREADY SWUNG TOWARD RUDOLPH GIULIANI IN THE LAST ELECTION.

NYP(J.HOAGLAND): 'AMERICA AS DR. FRANKENSTEIN': WRITER ARGUES THAT EGYPT IS EXTREMELY RESENTFUL OF THE US'S PAST ROLE IN GIVING AID TO ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISTS IN AFGHANISTAN; STATES THAT ALTHOUGH THE STRATEGY WORKED IN CONTRIBUTING TO THE DEMSIE OF THE SOVIET UNION, THOSE IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST NOW SUFFER THE CONSEQUENCES; WARNS THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION AGAINST PERPETUATING SIMILAR AMERICAN 'TRADITIONS' ABROAD; ADDS THAT THE US DECISION REGARDING THE FATE OF SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN WILL AFFECT ITS STANDING IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

PRESS REPORTS

=====

HEADLINES: NYT: 'JAPANESE REJECT OLD GUARD BUT SPLINTERED VOTE MEANS A STRUGGLE FOR A COALITION'; 'STUDIES SAY SOOT KILLS UP TO 60,000 IN US EACH YEAR'; 'WITH REFORMS IN TREATMENT, SHOCK THERAPY LOSES SHOCK'; 'ST. LOUIS WINS THE EARLY ROUNDS AS THE MISSISSIPPI DOES ITS WORST'; 'WITHOUT A HOME, CLINTON IS A ROLLING STONE.' WSJ: 'ITS ECONOMY DYING, CUBA SEEKS SALVATION IN DOLLARS - AND EXILES'; NATIONAL. ND: 'HOLLAND TUNNEL TERROR DRILL'; LOCAL. DN,NYP: LOCAL.

NORTH KOREA/MIDEAST/MISSILES/NUCLEAR: WSJ(R.GREENBERGER-CABLED): REPORTS THAT THE US IS GROWING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED WITH THE SALE OF BALLISTIC MISSILES BY PYONGYANG TO MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES; CITES NORTH KOREA'S SALE OF SCUD-B AND SCUD-C MISSILES TO IRAN, LIBYA AND SYRIA AND ITS PLAN TO EXPORT THE NODONG-1 MISSILE WHICH CAN REACH ISRAEL AND PARTS OF EUROPE; NOTES THAT PYONGYANG IS ALSO SELLING THE TECHNOLOGY AND KNOW-HOW THAT WILL ALLOW THESE COUNTRIES TO PRODUCE THEIR OWN MISSILES; STATES THAT ISRAEL, WITH US APPROVAL, IS OFFERING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO NORTH KOREA IF IT ENDS ITS MISSILE SALES TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

IRAQ/UN/MISSILES/MONITORING: NYT(P.LEWIS-CABLED),DN: 'UN NEARS SETTLEMENT IN IRAQ MISSILE DISPUTE': REPORTS THAT THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE UN AND IRAQI PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN OVER THE MONITORING OF IRAQI MISSILE TESTS SEEMED TO BE MOVING TOWARD A RESOLUTION ON SUNDAY; STATES THAT IRAQI DEPUTY PM TARIQ AZIZ INDICATED THAT BAGHDAD WAS INTERESTED IN TAKING ACTION TO HELP LIFT ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ; QUOTES UN ENVOY ROLF EKEUS AS SAYING 'WE HAVE CLEARED UP A LARGE NUMBER OF ISSUES.'

EGYPT/MILITANTS/OFFICIAL/ASSASSINATION: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED),WSJ,DN, NYP: 'FOUR DIE IN EGYPT AS MILITANTS ATTACK GENERAL'S CAR': REPORTS THAT ISLAMIC MILITANTS TRIED TO ASSASSINATE A HIGH-RANKING EGYPTIAN



ARMY OFFICIAL IN AN AMBUSH IN CAIRO ON SUNDAY, KILLING FOUR PEOPLE AND WOUNDING SIX; STATES THAT THE EGYPTIAN MILITARY HAS BEEN DRAWN INTO A BATTLE AGAINST THE UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT; NOTES THAT MAJOR GENERAL OSMAN SHAHIN, THE COMMANDER OF CAIRO'S CENTRAL MILITARY AREA AND THE MAN WHO ATTACKERS OPENED FIRED UPON ESCAPED UNHARMED.

PAKISTAN/GOVERNMENT/ELECTIONS/COLLAPSE: NYT(E.GARGAN-CABLED),ND, DN,NYP: 'PAKISTAN GOVERNMENT COLLAPSES - ELECTIONS ARE CALLED': REPORTS THAT AFTER MONTHS OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAKISTANI PRESIDENT AND PM, THE GOVERNMENT THERE COLLAPSED ON SUNDAY NIGHT; STATES THAT THESE TWO OFFICIALS RESIGNED, THE PARLIAMENT WAS DISSOLVED AND ELECTIONS CALLED FOR OCTOBER.

RUSSIA/US/MISSILE/PACT: WSJ(C.ROBBINS-CABLED): 'RUSSIA TO JOIN PACT LIMITING SPREAD OF BALLISTIC MISSILES': REPORTS THAT RUSSIA PLEDGED TO JOIN AN INTERNATIONAL ACCORD LIMITING THE SPREAD OF BALLISTIC MISSILES; STATES THAT THE US AGREED IT COULD PROCEED WITH PART OF ITS PLAN TO SELL ROCKET ENGINES TO INDIA.

SOUTH KOREA/WEAPONS/PROBE/ARRESTS: WSJ(S.GLAIN-CABLED): 'NEW ARRESTS ARE MADE IN PROBE OF SOUTH KOREA'S WEAPONS DEALS': REPORTS THAT AN INVESTIGATION INTO SOUTH KOREA'S PROCUREMENT OF WEAPONS IS PARALYZING ITS ARMS MARKET AS NEW ARRESTS ARE BEING MADE; STATES THAT THE INQUIRY HAS 'TOPPLED' MORE THAN 30 SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS AND TOP INDUSTRIALISTS; NOTES THAT ALL THIS COMES AT A BAD TIME FOR US DEFENSE COMPANIES WHICH ARE COUNTING ON FOREIGN MARKETS TO HELP OFFSET DECLINING SALES AT HOME.

NIGERIA/US/EGYPT/ARREST: WSJ(BRIEF): NOTES THE ARREST OF MOHAMMED ALI REZAQ BY THE US LAST WEEK ON CHARGES RELATING TO THE HIJACKING OF AN EGYPT AIR FLIGHT IN 1985.

NEW YORK/WTC/BOMB/CASE: NYT(M.TABOR): REPORTS THAT THE SUSPECTS ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE RECENT PLOT TO BLOW UP MANHATTAN SITES COULD SHED LIGHT ON THE WTC BOMBING CASE WHICH GOES TO COURT ON SEPT. 14.

NEW YORK/CAIRO/MUABARAK/PLOT: NYT(BRIEF),NYP,ND: REPORTS THAT ABDEL AL-RAHMAN HAGGAG OF NEW JERSEY, CHARGED IN A PLOT TO ASSASSINATE EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK, IS BELIEVED TO BE CONNECTED WITH THE SLAYING OF MUSTAFA SHALABI, A RIVAL OF SHEIK OMAR ABDEL-RAHMAN.

NEW YORK/MAYOR/CROWN HEIGHTS/RIOT: ND,NYP(R.SPEYER): STATES THAT NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS SAID ON SUNDAY THAT THE POLICE DID NOT RESPOND APPROPRIATELY DURING THE 1991 CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS.

#### CARTOONS

=====

NYP: A CARTOON FEATURING NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS AND MAYORAL CONTENDER RUDOLPH GUILIANI DANCING TO 'ON TO THE RAP VOTE.'

#### LETTERS



=====

NYP: TWO LETTERS WHICH ARGUE THAT IN LIGHT OF THE RECENT TERRORIST  
ATTACKS ON ISRAELI CIVILIANS, ISRAEL SHOULD DEMAND CONFIDENCE-  
BUILDING MEASURES BEFORE RETURNING TO THE MIDEAST PEACE TALKS.

NYP: ONE LETTER WHICH CRITICIZES JIM HOAGLAND'S JULY 14 COLUMN FOR  
CONDEMNING ABRAHAM SOFAER'S LEGAL ROLE IN THE PAN AM 103 CASE.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

=====

ND(P.NEWKIRK): 'BLACK REDUCES CHARGES OF FAVORITISM.'

ND(M.MOSS): 'WORKERS TO GET EMERGENCY DRILL AT HOLLAND TUNNEL.'

ND(S.MCCARTHY): 'FORGET REPORT, LET'S TAKE LOOK AT BIG PICTURE.'

NYP(C.MINER): 'CONFESSION SPOTLIGHTS KAHANE HIT.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

תפוצה: שדה, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, סמנכלהסברה,  
מעט, הסברה, לעמ, מקצב2, @ (דוצ), אומן, סי יבל,  
משפט, תפוצות, גנור, רביב, @ (וחו'ב), ר/מרכז,  
ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), צנזורצבאי, מצפא, פרנ, רחטמזת, מזת1

סססס

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 16823

אל: רהמש/519

מ-: שיקגו, נר: 47, תא: 190793, זח: 1547, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

אל: מנהל מצפ"א, ממ"ד, השגריר/ווש', ברקן/ווש'.

22.7.

מאת: הקונכ"ל, שיקאגו

הנדון: הקונכ"ל המצרי על סוריה

הקונכ"ל המצרי, אוסמה חגג, ישב על ידי בארוחת ערב גדולה מטעם ידידי מכוון וויצמן (הוא בא כמעט לכל אירוע שאנחנו והארגונים היהודיים מזמינים אותו). חגג הביע אופטימיות באשר לסיכוי להגיע להסדר בין הפלסטינים לביננו. לעומת זאת, התבטא בפסימיות רבה באשר לסיכוי להגיע לשלום "עם התכנים שישראל רוצה" עם אסאד. אמר, שבתוקף תפקיד קודם שלו במשרד החוץ המצרי עקב אחרי התגובות הסוריות להסכם השלום הישראלי-מצרי. לדעתו, ככל שיהיה אסאד פרגמטי, לא יתכן שחל שינוי חד כל כך בעמדות השליליות, הכמעט אמוציונליות שבהן החזיק בנושא השלום עם ישראל. לעומת זאת, הוא סבור שתמורת קבלת "משהו" מארה"ב יהיה מוכן להגיע להסדר כלשהו עם ישראל שאיננו שלום מלא.

אבנון

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

סססס



20 JUL 93 014675

EMBASSY OF ISRAEL  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

93 JUL 20 2.44

שגרירות ישראל  
ושינגטון

בלמ"ס/מייד

19 ביולי 1993

משרד הביטחון
המקשיח
20-07-1993
5763

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מקשיח/משהב"ט  
לש' מנכ"ל אוצר  
ציר כלכלי - כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ/הקצבות

רצ"ב מכתב ביוזמת הסנטורים לאוטנברג ומקונל אל הנשיא קלינטון, אשר שוגר בסוף השבוע שעבר לאחר שחתמו עליו 78 סנטורים (!)

המכתב (אשר שוגר אליכם כבר לפני מספר שבועות בשלב הפצתו בין הסנטורים) מדגיש חשיבות הצורך בסיוע לישראל, וחשיבות התמיכה האמריקנית בישראל בשעה זו של תהליך השלום.

ישראל ונציגיה  
יהודית ורנאי-דרנער

צה נוספת לידיעה

20/7
יו"ר מ"מ (א.מ.)
ח"כ
יו"ר

ז'ס"ה  
2/21  
22.7.

32a2

FRANK R. LAUTENBERG  
NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEE  
APPROPRIATIONS

TRANSPORTATION CHAIRMAN  
COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, AND JUDICIARY  
DEFENSE  
FOREIGN OPERATIONS  
... AND INDEPENDENT ...

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3002

COMMITTEE  
BUDGET  
COMMITTEE  
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS  
PROTECTION CHAIRMAN  
ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION  
WATER RESOURCES, TRANSPORTATION  
AND INFRASTRUCTURE  
... Commission

JULY 9, 1993

2/8

1125

106

President William J. Clinton  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

We are writing to commend you and Secretary of State Christopher for the time and effort you have put into the Middle East peace negotiations. While the path to final peace agreements will be long and difficult, we share your assessment that this year offers a watershed opportunity for peace in the Middle East.

We also commend you for your consistent support for current levels of aid to Israel. As the negotiations intensify, Israel will be asked to make serious, difficult and tangible concessions in return for peace. Continuing assistance at current levels sends a crucial message to the Israeli government and her negotiating partners. The government and the people of Israel need to know that U.S. support is firm during this uncertain process. While there are many important demands on our foreign aid budget, we support your decision to be steadfast in insisting that it is in the best interests of the United States to continue current levels of aid to the one democracy in the Middle East.

Beyond the peace process, there are other compelling reasons to continue providing current levels of assistance for Israel. The assistance we provide is necessary to help Israel meet her defense needs. At a time when the surrounding Arab states are acquiring weapons at unprecedented rates, economic and military funds are critical to help Israel maintain her qualitative military edge and economic viability.

An economically and militarily secure Israel serves the vital interests of the United States. Israel has proven its value as a stable and dependable ally in the Middle East.

REPLY TO:

□ 506 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3002  
(202) 224-4744

□ ONE GATEWAY CENTER SUITE 1001  
NEWARK, NJ 07102-5311  
(201) 845-3030

□ BARRINGTON COMMONS  
208 WHITE HORSE PIKE  
SUITE 18-19  
BARRINGTON, NJ 08007-1327  
(609) 757-5353

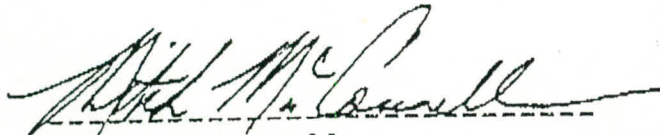


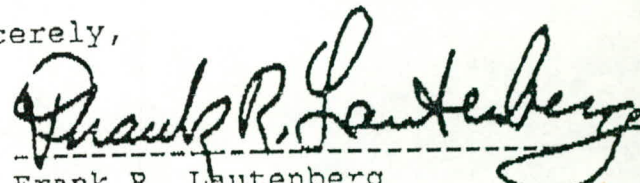
President Clinton  
July 9, 1993  
Page 2

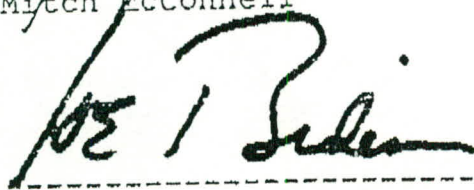
3/8 125  
100

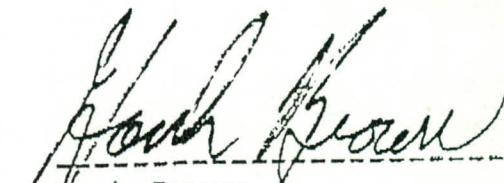
Now, more than ever, Israel needs our unambiguous support.  
We look forward to working with you to ensure that current levels  
of aid to Israel will be provided.

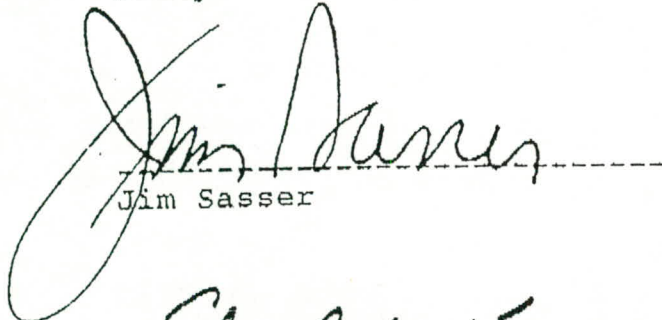
Sincerely,

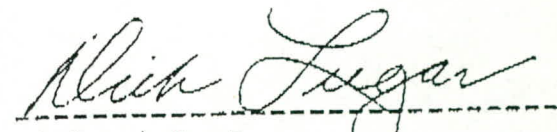
  
-----  
Mitch McConnell

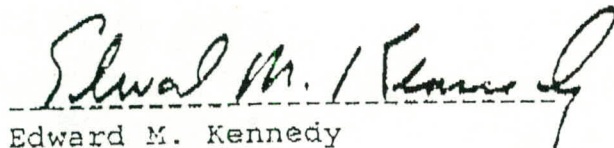
  
-----  
Frank R. Lautenberg


  
-----  
Joseph R. Biden, Jr.


  
-----  
Frank Brown

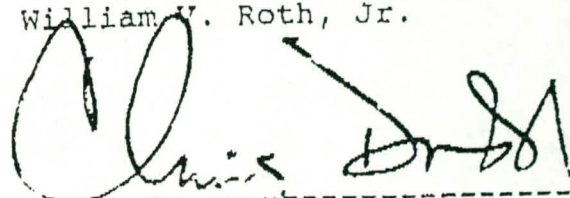
  
-----  
Jim Sasser

  
-----  
Richard G. Lugar


  
-----  
Edward M. Kennedy

  
-----  
William V. Roth, Jr.

  
-----  
Alfonse M. D'Amato

  
-----  
Christopher J. Dodd

  
-----  
Paul S. Sarbanes

  
-----  
Barbara A. Mikulski

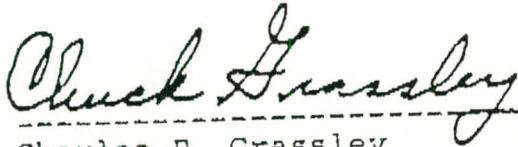
4/8

125

100




Wendell H. Ford



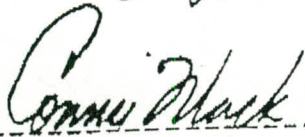
Charles E. Grassley



Tom Harkin



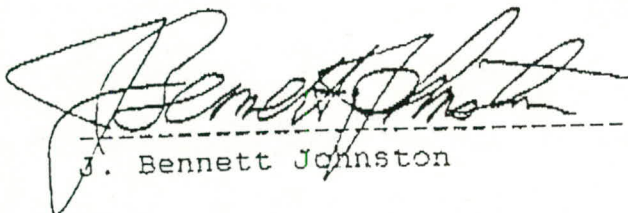
James M. Jeffords



Connie Mack



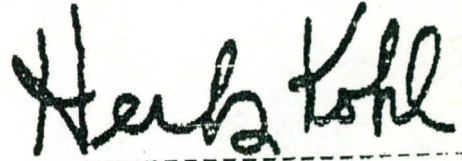
Ben Nighthorse Campbell



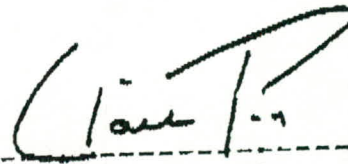
J. Bennett Johnston



Conrad Burns



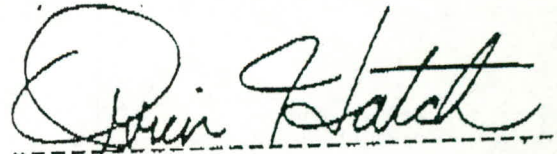
Herb Kohl



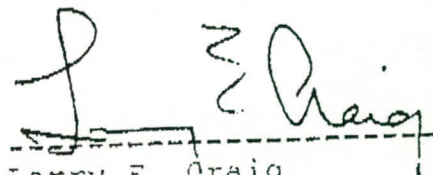
Claiborne Pell



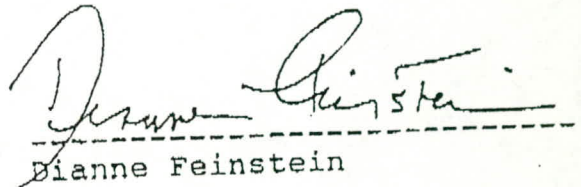
Byron L. Dorgan



Orrin G. Hatch

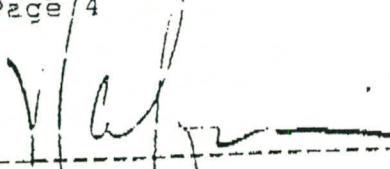



Larry E. Craig

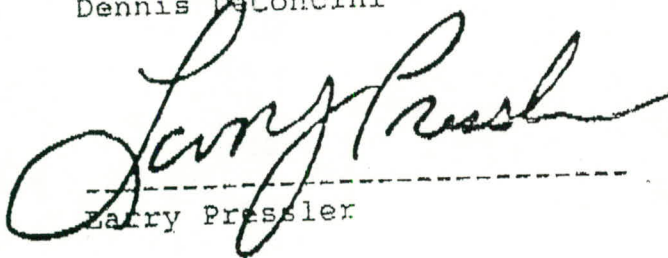



Dianne Feinstein




  
Paul Simon

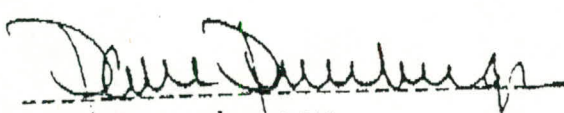
  
Dennis DeConcini

  
Larry Pressler

  
Carl Levin

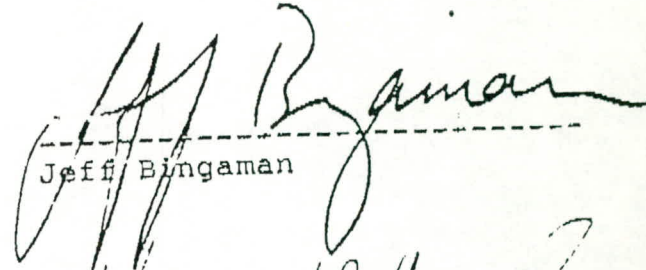
  
Thad Cochran

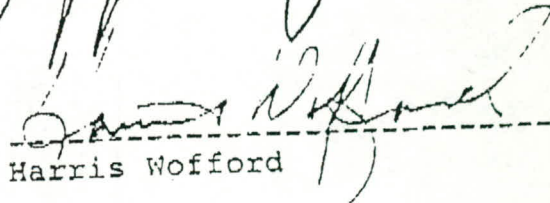
  
Arlen Specter

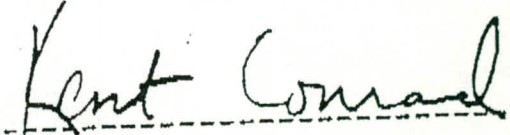
  
Dave Durenberger


5/8 1/25  
100


  
John C. Danforth

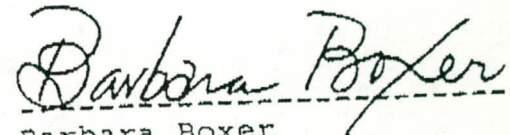
  
Jeff Bingaman

  
Harris Wofford

  
Kent Conrad

  
Charles S. Robb

  
Frank H. Murkowski

  
Barbara Boxer

6/8

1/25  
100

*John McCain*

John McCain

*John F. Kerry*

John F. Kerry

*Daniel K. Akaka*

Daniel K. Akaka

*Harry Reid*

Harry Reid

*Joseph I. Lieberman*

Joseph I. Lieberman

*Paul D. Coverdell*

Paul Coverdell

*Russ Feingold*

Russell D. Feingold

*John Glenn*

John Glenn

*Bill Bradley*

Bill Bradley

*Bob Graham*

Bob Graham

*Howard M. Metzenbaum*

Howard M. Metzenbaum

*Christopher S. Bond*

Christopher S. Bond

*Slade Gorton*

Slade Gorton


*Ernest F. Hollings*

Ernest F. Hollings

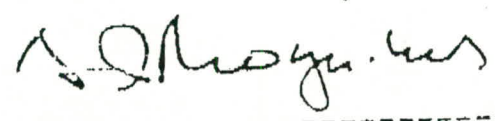


7/8

1125  
100


  
Trent Lott


  
John D. Rockefeller, IV

  
Daniel Patrick Moynihan

  
Richard H. Bryan

  
Robert J. Kerrey

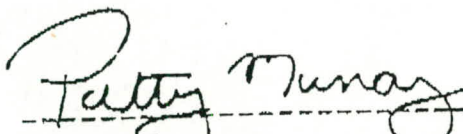
  
Dan Coats

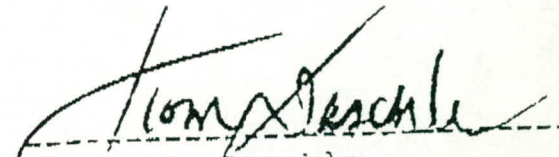
  
William S. Cohen

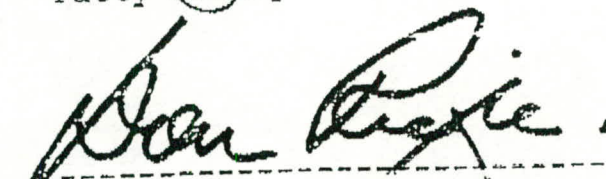
  
James J. Exon

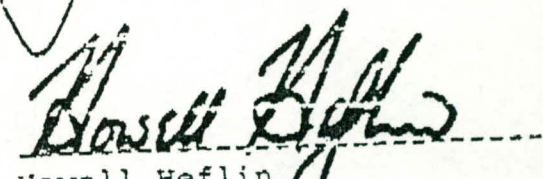
  
Bob Packwood

  
Paul Wellstone

  
Patty Murray

  
Thomas A. Daschle


  
Donald W. Riegle, Jr.

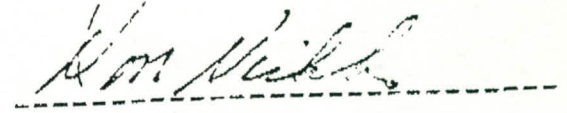
  
Howell Heflin

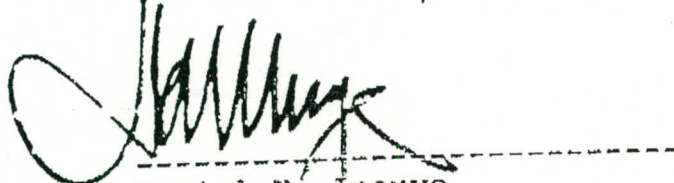
President Clinton  
July 9, 1993  
Page 7

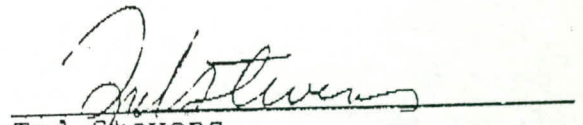
8/8

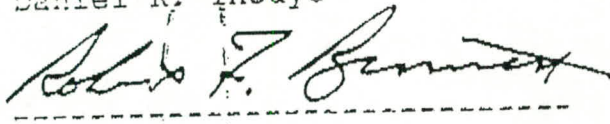
125  
100

  
Carol Moseley-Drazen

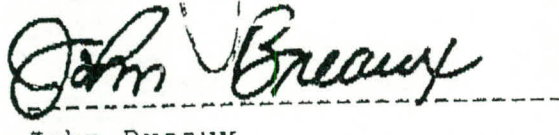
  
Don Nickles


  
Daniel K. Inouye

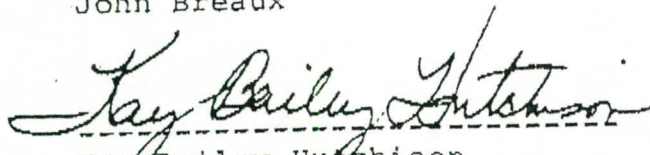
  
Ted Stevens


  
Robert Bennett

  
Phil Gramm

  
John Breaux

  
Max Baucus

  
Kay Bailey Hutchison

  
Richard Shelby



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 16978

אל: רהמש/ 521

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 514, תא: 190793, זח: 2155, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

מקש"ח / משהב"ט

דע: נספח הגנה, נציג סיב"ט - כאן

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: פגישת השגריר רבינוביץ עם סנטור קרל לויין

1. השגריר רבינוביץ נועד היום ביזמתנו עם סנטור קרל לויין, יו"ר ועדת המשנה ל-COALITION DEFENSE AND REINFORCING FORCES בוועדת השירותים המזוינים של הסנאט (SASC).

השתתף עוזרו של הסנטור, ריצ'רד פילדהאוז. מצידנו השתתפו דרנגר ובינה.

2. השגריר עדכן את הסנטור בהתפתחויות בתהליך המדיני לקראת ביקור המזכיר באזורנו.

עוד שיבח השגריר פעולת הממשל לפתרון בעיית השייט לנמל אילת.

3. הסנטור ועוזרו אמרו כי אינם צופים בעיות מיוחדות באישור רוב נושאינו בחוק תקציב הפנטגון (הרשאות). בייחוד בנושאי ה-"חץ" וה-BPI. פילדהאוז הוסיף כי ה-BPI אהוד שכן הוא נתפס כ-FEASIBLE AND FIELDABLE וכעולה בקנה אחד עם שמירת יתרונה האיכותי של ישראל.

4. הסנטור שיבח מכתב רה"מ לנשיא בעניין השטפונות במערב התיכון והציע כי נתקשר ישירות עם המושלים והסנטורים הרלבנטיים כדי להציע עזרתנו בידע לטיהור מים באזורים שהוצפו.

ברוך בינה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, סי יבל, @ (מקשח/משהבט)

סססס

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*



אאאא, חוזם: 16978

אל: רהמש/ 521

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 514, תא: 190793, זח: 2155, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/ מידי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

מקש"ח / משהב"ט

דע: נספח הגנה, נציג סיב"ט - כאן

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: פגישת השגריר רבינוביץ עם סנטור קרל לוין

1. השגריר רבינוביץ נועד היום ביזמתנו עם סנטור קרל לוין, יו"ר ועדת המשנה ל-COALITION DEFENSE AND REINFORCING FORCES בוועדת השירותים המזוינים של הסנאט (SASC). השתתף עוזרו של הסנטור, ריצ'רד פילדהאוז. מצידנו השתתפו דרנגר ובינה.

2. השגריר עדכן את הסנטור בהתפתחויות בתהליך המדיני לקראת ביקור המזכיר באזורנו. עוד שיבח השגריר פעולת הממשל לפתרון בעיית השייט לנמל אילת.

3. הסנטור ועוזרו אמרו כי אינם צופים בעיות מיוחדות באישור רוב נושאינו בחוק תקציב הפנטגון (הרשאות). בייחוד בנושאי ה-"חץ" וה-BPI. פילדהאוז הוסיף כי ה-BPI אהוד שכן הוא נתפס כ-FEASIBLE AND FIELDABLE וכעולה בקנה אחד עם שמירת יתרונה האיכותי של ישראל.

4. הסנטור שיבח מכתב רה"מ לנשיא בעניין השטפונות במערב התיכון והציע כי נתקשר ישירות עם המושלים והסנטורים הרלבנטיים כדי להציע עזרתנו בידע לטיהור מים באזורים שהוצפו.

ברוך בינה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, סיבל,  
@ (מקשח/ משהבט)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 16751

אל: רהמש/514

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 484, תא: 190793, זח: 1359, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבבב

19 ביולי 1993

בלמס/רגיל

אל: ממנכ"ל, יועץ משפטי, מצפ"א ממ"ד

מאת: הציר וושינגטון

הנדון: אייב סופר ולוב.

בהמשך לשלי 410

בעקבות הביקורת הציבורית הנמרצת הודיע סופר שהוא מסתלק מייצוגה של לוב.



שילה

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

סססס

סיוג: כלמ"ס	מחיר: 2
תזח:	אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"כ
חם מדק:	דע: כטחור - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"ב/קש"ח (ימ' העכירונא)
1131	מאק: עתונות, ניו יורק

# Palestinian Chief Raises Risky Issue of Jerusalem

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, July 16 — The head of the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace talks warned today that negotiations would go nowhere unless Israel gives up the eastern half of Jerusalem, which it captured in the 1967 war and has since annexed.

If Israel's position does not change, "it will kill the peace process," Dr. Haidar Abdel-Shafi, a physician from Gaza, said at a conference in East Jerusalem. "The important thing is that Israel should concede the Palestinian right in Jerusalem."

Palestinians want to make East Jerusalem the capital of a hoped-for future state, a goal that runs headlong into Israel's insistence that the city will remain its unified capital forever and that the subject is not open for discussion.

Officials from Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin on down have warned that a sure way to scuttle the peace talks is to demand that Jerusalem's status be put on the bargaining table, a position supported by the United States in regard to the present negotiations over an interim form of Palestinian self-rule in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

New York  
Times  
17-7

תאריך:

שם השולח:

8-7-93

18-7-93

(25) שחח (2) משה"ח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (1) מנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)  
חטבור (2) ר/מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמר (4) אומר (1) טייבל (1) מטפס (1)  
צנזורצבאי (1) א(ר)ר, ד'ק'ר, רחמ, אמר, 2, ד'חמ, א(ר)ר, 3/3



### Christopher to Visit

While Dr. Abdel-Shafi's remarks were not new, they cast a somber note over the negotiations at a time when new ideas have begun to surface for breaking an Israeli-Palestinian impasse that is serious enough to have persuaded Secretary of State Warren Christopher to come to the region next month on a rescue mission.

Palestinians and Israelis have both raised the possibility of forming a confederation between the Palestinians and Jordan, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres reportedly urged the proposal this week on a visiting State Department delegation. On Monday, Jordan and the Palestine Liberation Organization announced that they would form joint committees to discuss aspects of possible political, economic and juridical relations.

A senior Palestinian negotiator, Saeb Erakat, said the Palestinian-Jordanian entity would be a quick way to leapfrog negotiations over an interim agreement in the occupied territories and to move quickly to a final settlement.

"Maybe it is time to really see the possibilities of going directly toward the final status," Mr. Erakat said on Israeli television on Thursday night. "A confederation is one of the serious options for the final status."

### Peres Sees Simultaneous Talks

According to the Israeli newspaper reports, Mr. Peres told the visiting Americans that negotiations over a

permanent settlement, based on the confederation idea, could take place at the same time as the existing negotiations of interim Palestinian self-rule.

"We would not be skipping over the interim stage, but just saying that at the end we would be implementing confederation," Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin told The Jerusalem Post.

The final word, however, rests with Mr. Rabin, and a spokesman said the Prime Minister stands by the existing formula for the talks. Under that formula, interim self-rule comes first and only then, after a period of adjustment over several years, would there be negotiations over the territories' final status.

Nonetheless, Mr. Rabin himself has not spoken out this time on the matter, even though he was cool to a similar idea when it arose a few months ago. He also presumably would not welcome direct involvement of the P.L.O. Dr. Abdel-Shafi, too, said this week that the P.L.O. had to be changed, with the powers of its chairman, Yasir Arafat,

reduced in favor a more democratic, collective leadership.

"I certainly think that Arafat has some qualities that are indispensable in terms of leadership," he told Reuters this week. "But I certainly don't condone Arafat being the source of the decision-making all alone because this is, in my opinion, detrimental to the cause."

### U.S Grows Impatient

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 16 — As his aides hinted that the Clinton Administration's patience with the pace of the Middle East peace talks might not last beyond the end of the year, Secretary of State Christopher announced today that he would make the first of what could be a series of trips to the region next month.

Speaking to reporters today, Mr. Christopher played down expectations that his trip would achieve any major breakthroughs in the stalled talks between Israel and its Arab neighbors. Aides to Mr. Christopher said he would visit Cairo, Jerusalem, Amman, Jordan and Damascus, Syria from Aug. 1 to 6, on his way home from a trip to Singapore and Australia.

Michael McCurry, the State Department spokesman, said that if no progress was made in the peace talks this year, "you really have to assess at that point whether it's wise to continue to use the resources of the United States and specifically, the good offices of the Secretary to help the parties."



15367

משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

תאריך: 17.07.93

נכנס \*\*

1007

\*\*

\*\*

\*\*

מחשבות

חוזם: 15367, 7

אל: המשרד

יעדים: דהמש/493

מ-: נוש, נר: 2051, תא: 160793, זח: 1700, דח: ב, סג: סר

תח: @: סצפא

נד: @:

18.7.

סודי/בהול

אל: לשכת דה'מ, לשכת שה'ח

דע: מנכ'ל, ממנכ'ל, מצפ'א

מאת: הציר-וושין גטון

הנדון: ביקור כריסטופר

א. יהיע בשבת 31/7 למצרים ובמוצאי שבת לירושלים. יהיה בארץ עד יום ב' בבוקר ויצא לדמשק. ביום ג' לעמאן, אחה'צ לירושלים וביום ד' 4/8 יחזור לוושינגטון.

ב. יתכן שדניס ועוד מישהו יקדימו ביומנים.

שילה

אק

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), דהמ(ס), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), מצב(ס), מצפא(1), טקס(1), מאור(ס)

XX  
XX  
XX



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*



אאאא, חוזם: 15367

אל: רהמש/493

מ-: ווש, נר: 2051, תא: 160793, זח: 1700, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/בהול

אל: לשכת רה'מ, לשכת שה'ח

דע: מנכ'ל, ממנכ'ל, מצפ'א

מאת: הציר-וושנגטון

הנדון: ביקור כריסטופר

א. יגיע בשבת 31/7 למצרים ובמוצאי שבת לירושלים. יהיה בארץ עד יום ב' בבוקר ויצא לדמשק. ביום ג' לעמאן, אחה'צ לירושלים וביום ד' 4/8 יחזור לוושנגטון.

ב. יתכן שדנים ועוד מישהו יקדימו ביומיים.

שילה

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

סססס

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 15309

אל: רהמש/ 494

מ-: ווש, נר: 2047, תא: 160793, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי / מיידי

אל: איתן הבר, לשכת רוה'מ, אבי גיל, לשכת שה'ח

דע: ממנכ'ל, מנכ'ל, סמנכ'ל, סמנכ'ל כלכלה, מצפ'א

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

בהמשך למברקיו של הציר שילה בעינין השיט לאילת הרי הבוקר התקשר ג'רג'יאן  
למסור כי ההסדר המוצע אושר על ידי קולין פאואל וראשי המטות. עמדה זו  
הועברה עתה בצורה מסודרת לארבע הבירות הנוגעות בדבר.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ביין,  
ארבל2, סיבל, משפט, ערן

סססס



CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס-אנג'לס

דף פתיחה למשלוח פקסימיליה

1/3  
111

15.7.93 תאריך  
111 מספר נר  
אשר וושינגטון אל  
אנא העבירו למכותבים בשגרירות ולקשר ירושלים.  
הסכרה פ"א מאת  
3 מספר העמודים כולל העליון :

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

תודה.

מזכ"ל / שגר הסכרה רב / הסכרה

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס-אנג'לס

15 ביולי 1993  
כ"ו בתמוז תשנ"ג

2/3  
111

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

הנדון: שיחות השלום

מצ"ב כתבת סימל פארקס על תוצאות ביקורו של רוס בישראל  
ועתיד נסיון התיווך האמריקאי.

בברכה,

משה בן ציוני

העתק: מצפ"א  
הסברה  
הסברה וושינגטון  
עחונות וושינגטון  
קונכ"ל - כאן



## NEWS ANALYSIS

## Arab-Israeli Impasse Casts Doubt on U.S. Mediation

**■ Middle East:** Washington faces question of how much political energy to invest. Envoy's mission was unproductive.

By MICHAEL PARKS  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

**JERUSALEM**—With the Arab-Israeli negotiations at an impasse, the Clinton Administration is facing the tough question of how much political energy to invest in the unproven search for peace in the Middle East.

After a week of talks with Israel, Syria, Jordan, Egypt and the Palestinians, U.S. special envoy Dennis Ross returned to Washington on Wednesday with differences on crucial issues still very wide—so wide that there were suggestions the U.S. mediation effort may have run its course.

All Ross said as he finished here was that the talks were very good, very useful in the process of trying to find ways to narrow the gaps. Everybody is very serious about trying to find those ways, and at this point we are just going to continue with that effort.

And all Ross took back to Washington, according to Israeli and Palestinian negotiators, was a thick bundle of objections, rewardings, criticisms and a few real alternatives to the latest U.S. draft of a declaration of principles. The document is intended to lay the basis for Palestinian self-government.

"Need a success. . . . The progress was lateral at best," a well-placed Israeli official said of the Ross trip. "After 21 months, this peace process seems just to have run out of steam."

According to Israeli and Palestinian negotiators, Ross is likely to recommend to Secretary of State Warren Christopher that he tour the region himself in an attempt to re-energize the talks and focus them on immediate, key issues.

The goal of a Christopher visit would be to bring Israel and the Palestinians to broad agreement on a declaration of principles. This would move the negotiations into actual implementation of the transfer of power to the proposed "Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority."

If Christopher succeeded, negotiations would resume in Washington for two weeks on measures that would quickly put the Palestinians in charge of a wide range of governmental activities in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Meanwhile, a full agreement on autonomy would be worked out. This would probably bring movement in other talks with Syria and Lebanon.

Among the current American ideas, according to Israeli, is raising the level of negotiations to foreign minister and promoting a meeting between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Syrian President Hafez Assad.

Israelis and Palestinians, however, have begun to consider both changing the way they negotiate and what they are negotiating—which could divert them from the Washington talks and their format.

Israeli representatives, for example, have secretly met officials of the Palestine Liberation Organization to discuss difficult issues in the talks and explore others, such as use of the Gaza Strip as a laboratory for a Palestinian state. The PLO was excluded from the Washington talks at Israeli insistence.

The PLO, meanwhile, is establishing a framework of committees jointly with Jordan for a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation—a move that could overtake aspects of the negotiations with Israel.

But as Ross left, the Israelis and Palestinians agreed that prospects for a major breakthrough are poor. Each side continues to resist compromise on such central issues as what territory the Palestinians will govern, the status of Jerusalem, which both want as their capital, and security for Israeli settlements on the West Bank.

"If there is no declaration of principles, it means we have not been able to reach agreement on the minimal level, on a starting point for substantive negotiations, on a basis and a framework for autonomy," Haim Aharavi, the spokesman for the Palestinian delegation, commented.

"Maybe something else can be worked out—perhaps higher-level contacts, involving the leadership on both sides, perhaps dealing with the permanent status [of the occupied territories] immediately."

Aharavi called for "during alternatives" to the Washington talks to recover the early momentum.

There is no less frustration among Israelis, for Rabin took office a year ago promising an autonomous Palestinian administration in the West Bank and Gaza Strip within nine months. Now, the national consensus he won for territorial concessions may be eroding in the fatigue of prolonged but fruitless negotiations.

Before Ross arrived, Rabin, in what for him was virtually unprecedented criticism of U.S.-sponsored peace talks, called

"But perhaps the Arab-Israeli negotiations . . . will take years," the envoy said. "Again, what effort should the U.S. put into it when there is so much else to do?"

Ara and Israeli like detected a downgrading in Christopher's decision to retain Ross, a senior State Department official in the George Bush Administration, as Middle East coordinator and to delegate responsibility for mediation that James A. Baker III had exercised himself while secretary of state.

has abandoned it." For the United States, however, that poses the question of how much time and effort Christopher and the Clinton Administration as a whole will be willing to expend on such a problematic process.

"The Clinton Administration does not want to be the one that lost the Middle East," that lost the chance for peace here," remarked a European ambassador in Tel Aviv, "and so the tendency will be to try to 'save' the talks even after they are dead."

against American compromise proposals on Palestinian self-government. He also complained about Israel's having to negotiate with all its Arab neighbors simultaneously and lamented the Palestinians' inability to make decisions.

On both sides, the feeling remains that without U.S. mediation, progress will be even more difficult.

"What is clear is that all parties are interested in continuing the peace process," said Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres after the last meeting with Ross. "No one

3/3 11-11-93 - 11-11-93



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*



אאאא, חוזם: 14042

אל: רהמש/452

מ-: המשרד, תא: 150793, זח: 1350, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

663529

סודי/מיד

אהב

אל: שגריר וושינגטון

מאת: המשנה למנכ"ל

הנדון: מליאת הבק'ן

בסדנת האימות בקהיר ב-11/7/93 אמר אייזהורן בדברי הפתיחה, שמליאת הבק'ן הבאה תתקיים במוסקבה-בה בעת שידוע שארה"ב מנסה להעתיק מושב המליאה למרוקו.

בשיחה עם טוקאן, ראש המשלחת הירדנית, רמז שירדן מתנגדת להעברת מליאת הבק'ן למרוקו. טען שכיוון שמטרת הכל להניע את סוריה להצטרף למסלול המולטילטרלי, הרי שעריכת מושב הבק'ן במרוקו יהיה בו משום התגרות בסוריה, מה גם ששתי ועדות של המולטילטרלי כבר קבעו ישיבתן הבאה במדינות ערביות: מצרים וטוניס. צעד כנ"ל ירחיק עוד יותר לטענתו, סיכויי הצטרפותה של סוריה למו"מ המולטילטרלי.

בנצור

15 ביולי 1993

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

סססס



15/07/1993

19:43:19

12/11/93  
1060

0120050

סודי

אאאא, חוזם: 14473

אל: בטחון/1060

מ-: המשרד, תא: 150793, חז: 1920, מ: סג: סו, בבב

אל ראש הממשלה

663888

סודי/מיד

100.10

אל: וושינגטון  
שגריר, ציר

מאת: ממנכ"ל

7706

2/187

בשיחה עם בראון שאלתיו לדעתו על דברי עבדול שאפי שהטיח ביקורת בערפאת ובהליך קבלת ההחלטות באשף.

בראון הביע דעתו שדברי ע. שאפי מדהימים בתוכנם ויש לראותם בהקשר של הסער והפרץ והתסיסה המאפיינים ההנהגה הפלשתינאית בימים אלה. ציין שערפאת מגיב באחרונה בראיונות כקורא תגר המהווה מושא לביקורת נוקבת בגלל שהוא מצמצם בהדרגה את חוג יועציו למו"מ והמעורבים בו ומשום שהוא משגר למשלחת הנחיות סותרות בסגנון עבודתו הידוע. בראון העיר שהוא קורא את ביקורתו של עבדול שאפי כאיש המגלם את הקו הפלשתינאי הקשוח ובמקרה האחרון - גרס שלא להידרש לנייר הטיוטא האמריקאי - ומצא עצמו נעקף ע"י ערפאת שבסופו של דבר החליט להנפיק תגובה לדניס רוס. ד"ר ע. שאפי חש עצמו לדברי בראון כמי שהולך שולל. בראון מעריך שתגובתו הקשוחה של עבדול שאפי משקפת גם את מה שאנשי שגרירותו מבחינים בעזה; הלוך רוחות של יאוש וזעם גובר עקב המצב הכלכלי ההולך ורע. הרחוב הערבי-כך מתרשמים נציגי השגרירות - איבד כל תקווה במו"מ ולא שם בו עוד את יהבו. בראון הוסיף שגם המצוקה הכלכלית - פינוסית של אשף, הנאלץ לצמצם הוצאותיו, לסגור נציגויות ונטייתו של ערפאת להעדיף את הפתח מהבחינה הכספית - מוסיפים למתיחות ולמתח השוררים בהנהגה הפלשתינאית.

איתן בנצור

15 ביולי 1993

ק"מ

0000

15/07/1993

22:27:25

13 JUL 93 013028

סודי

בהול

2xucc

אאא, חוזם: 14559

אל: בטחון/1074

מ-: ווש, נר: 2043, תא: 150793, חז: 1420, חב: סג: סו, בבב

אל: שר הבטחון

אל ראש הממשלה

סודי/בהול

אל: לשי' רה"מ, לשי' שה"ח

דע: מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל כלכלה, סמנכ"ל ארבי"ל, מצפ"א, נאו"מ

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון.

הנדון: שיט לאילת.

לשיחתי הטלפונית עם איתן הבר ואבי גיל:-

התקשר הבוקר מרטין אינדיק. אמר שהוא מדבר בשם כל זרועות הממשל המטפלות בנושא. סיפר שהאדונים כריסטופר, אספין ולייק סיכמו אתמול ביניהם שיש לסייע לישראל בנושא השיט לאילת. בהתאם יצא היום מברק לשגריריהם בלונדון, פריס, אוטבה, וקנברה (שלכולן ספינות בפתח מצירי טיראן) להגיש דמארשים בבירות אלו הכוללים הצעה לשינוי הכללים לגבי אוניות שפניהן לאילת.

הם מקוים ומניחים שיענו בחיוב, ואז יפנו בראשית השבוע לאו"מ ויקבלו את הסכמת חברות הקואליציה באופן שבאמצע השבוע יהיה (הם מקווים) פתרון.

הוסיף שהמזכיר עצמו מעורב בענין ומוביל את המהלך. אמר שהם מציעים שלא נעשה מהאניה צימי מלבדן טסט-קייס. מחווה בקשר לאניה אחת עלול לקלקל את ההסדר הכולל. הוסיף שהם בטוחים שממשלת ישראל תצליח להסביר לאנשי אילת שיתכן שבמחיר ויתור לגבי האניה האחת תפקודנה אניות רבות את אילת.

להלן ההסדר המוצע על-ידי ארה"ב (דיברתי בינתיים עם ה"ה הבר ועם מנהל נמל אילת וההסדר נראה להם).

- (1) ישראל תודיע 5 ימים מראש על הגעת אניה.
- (2) ההסדר מקיף את כל התנועה לאילת ולא רק אניות צים.
- (3) ההודעה תימסר במישרין באמצעות חיל הים לכח הבודק (ולא באמצעות הנספח הימי בתל-אביב).
- (4) עם הגיע האניה יוצר קשר בין הקברניט לכח הבודק שיוודא שהאניה אכן ברשימה.
- (5) ההודעה תכלול את שם האניה, נמל היציאה, פרטי המטען ומועד ההגעה.
- (6) יצוין שרק אניות מטונג' מסוים ומעלה כלולות בהסדר (כלומר שספינות קטנות עדיין תצטרכנה לעבור בדיקה).
- (7) עם הגעת האניה לאילת יחזור חיל הים ויודיע לכח הבודק את המועד המדויק של ההגעה.

נקווה שכל זה יעבור בשלום בבירות ובניו-יורק.

שילה.



אאאא, חוזם: 14684  
אל: רהמש/480  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 442, תא: 150793, זח: 1833, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבבב  
בלמס/מידי

אל: מצפ"א

מאת: ק. לקונגרס, וושינגטון

הנדון: סנאט - חוק כספי מחמ"ד/הרשאות

היום 15/7 אושרה הצעת חוק כספי מחמ"ד/הרשאות במליאת ועדת החוץ בסנאט.

הצעת החוק כוללת 80 מ' דולר לקליטת עליה בישראל.

2/18/17

יהודית ורנאי-דרנגר

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

סססס

9/18/17

15/07/1993

12:58:23

1020M

13 JUL 93 012603

אאאא, חוזם: 13638

אל: בטחון/1020

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 412, תא: 140793, חז: 1954, דח: מ, סג: שמ, בבב

אל: מקשח

אל: שר הבטחון

אל ראש הממשלה

שמור/מיידי

תאריך: 14 ביולי 1993

א ל: מצפ"א

ד ע: מקש"ח - משהב"ט  
נספח הגנה - כאן  
נציג סיב"ט - כאן  
רמשי"ן - ניו יורק

הנדון: JOINT PROJECT OFFICE עבור המזל"ט

1. מתע"א דווח לנו כי ה-JPO בוטל בלשון חוק תקציב הפנטגון. לדבריהם היוזמה באה מחברת "קנדה אייר" אשר לא הצליחה למכור מזל"ט מתוצרתה ל-JPO. "קנדה אייר" הקימה מפעל קטן במחוזו של קונגרסמן מק-קרדי ומכאן החלה להתגלגל היזמה. חששם, כמובן, הוא מפני ביטול פרויקט המזל"ט של תע"א או מפני פגיעה חמורה בו.

2. בשיחות עם עוזרים בועדת השרותים המזויינים בביה"נב למדנו כי הביטול מופיע ב-REPORT LANGUAGE של ועדת המודיעין של הבית וכי דעתם שלהם איום נוחה מן הביטול, אולם איום יכולים להתערב ב-REPORT LANGUAGE של ועדת המודיעין.

הביעו דעתם, עם זאת, כי אפשר שהביטול לא יעבור את ועדת השרותים המזויינים של הסנאט וגם לא את ועדת המודיעין של הסנאט.

3. נוסיף לשוחח עמם בנושא ונדווח בהקדם.

ברוך בינה

0000



15/07/1993

12:55:15

13 JUL 93 012660

אאא, חוזם: 13628

אל: בטחון/1018

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 410, תא: 140793, חז: 1827, מ: סג: שמ, בבב

אל ראש הממשלה

שמור/מידי

א ל: ממנכ"ל, יועץ משפטי, מצ"א, ממ"ד

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: אייב סופר ולוב

הבוקר התפרסם בווישינגטון פוסט אופ-אד של הוגלנד, בו הוא תוקף בחריפות את אייב סופר על שקיבל על עצמו לייצג את המשטר הלובי כאן במגעים המשפטיים והאחרים הקשורים בפרשת מטוס פאן-אם. בעקבות הכתבה פנו כמה עיתונאים אל הדוברת ואמרו לה ששמעו כאילו אייב סופר, בטרם קיבל על עצמו את התיק, תאם את מהלכו עם ממשלת-ישראל.

דיברתי עם אייב ושאלתי אותו אם שמועות אלו מקורן אצלו ומה פירשן. אמר להדי"ם. הוא לא טען בפני איש שדיבר עם ממשלת ישראל או תאם עם מישהו. דבר כזה לא היה ולא נברא והוא יאמר כך לכל עיתונאי שיפנה אליו.

האמת היא, ששמה של ישראל הוזכר בכתבת הוגלנד אגב פליאתו של הכותב שאיש המקורב כל-כך לישראל מוכר את עצמו לקדאפי. במקום אחר בכתבה מסופר שאייב עצמו, כשנשאל, אמר שעודדו תומך מסור של ישראל.

בינתיים עלתה כל הפרשה גם בתדרוך דובר מחמד.

שילה

0000

2612  
2/ה





Government figures, then the significance of the reported contacts may dwindle. There have already been meetings between the P.L.O. and leftist members of Parliament from the dominant parties in the governing coalition, Labor and Meretz, and they have not done much thus far to bring about a peace breakthrough.

And then there is the possibility that the Palestinian version is flat-out incorrect. But Israeli officials did not go so far as to say that no meetings of any kind had taken place.

"Read the words of Nabil Shaath," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said. "He didn't say he's conducting negotia-

tions with me or with the Government of Israel. He speaks about contacts. I don't know who meets with Nabil Shaath. I don't know who authorized whoever is meeting with Nabil Shaath to meet with him."

Gad Ben-Ari, spokesman for Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, said, "I cannot be responsible for anybody's meetings." The point, he said, was that official negotiations have taken place only by the rules set for the opening peace conference in Madrid 21 months ago, and under those guidelines the P.L.O. is not a partner.

The reports of Israeli-P.L.O. contacts were first carried today by the respected Israeli daily Haaretz, which

said that the discussions had the knowledge and approval of Mr. Rabin and Mr. Arafat, and that the United States "is in on" these talks. The goal, Haaretz said, was to break the latest impasse in the peace negotiations, brought about by differences over Jerusalem's future and over questions of territorial jurisdiction in an interim period of Palestinian self-government now under discussion.

With a similar aim, a team of senior State Department officials has been visiting Middle East capitals for the last four days. After stops today in Syria and Jordan, they are expected to meet again on Tuesday in Jerusalem with Mr. Rabin and, separately, with

Palestinian leaders. There was no public sign of what progress, if any, the Americans had made.

The commotion over the P.L.O. focused new attention on its role and whether the Israelis will drop the last fig leaf from the polite fiction that the P.L.O. is not part of the peace negotiations. Mr. Rabin is under pressure from within his Government to abandon his objections to dealing directly with P.L.O. officials and, in particular, with Mr. Arafat.

At every turn of the talks, Palestinian negotiators have gone to Tunis for instructions. Mr. Rabin says he does not care, asserting that Palestinian delegates may consult with whomever they wish. In addition, despite the Prime Minister's personal qualms, his Government pushed legal changes through Parliament this year making

it lawful for individual Israelis to have contacts with the P.L.O.

But to go the extra step — direct talks with the P.L.O. leadership — is more than Mr. Rabin is prepared to do.

Four members of his Cabinet from the Meretz bloc and one from Labor publicly advocate open talks with the P.L.O., and last week a Labor member of Parliament caused a stir by announcing that six other Cabinet ministers, including Mr. Peres, privately hold the same view. Several of the six ministers denied the assertion, and the others made no public comment.

Mr. Arafat, who wants the United States to end its own refusal to deal openly with his group, said today that there was no alternative to direct P.L.O. participation.

"It is time to review the question of the Palestinian representation at the negotiations," he told Reuters.

10 99  
2/2

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 12745

אל: רהמש/418

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 377, תא: 130793, זח: 1905, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / מידי

אל: מצפ"א, ארב"ל 2

דע: לש' שה"ח

לש' רה"מ

נאו"מ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: נמל אילת: עדכון (נכון ל- 13.7)

משיחה עם מילר (מנהל מח' ישראל)

1. מחמ"ד ממשיך בלחציו על הפנטגון להחיש הטיפול בנושא. שיחת השגריר עם וויזנר והשיחות שקיימו עם רוס דג'רג'יאן ופרימן בארץ יסייעו בהחשת הפתרון.

2. ההצעה שהגשנו ביום שישי האחרון משמשת כבסיס לדיון פנים ממשלי.

3. לאחר שיתגברו על המכשולים הפנים ממשליים יצטרכו לתאם עמדתם עם בריטניה וצרפת. עד כאן דווחו של מילר.

4. לסכום, מחמ"ד ממשיך במאמציו להחיש הטיפול בהצעתנו הנבדקת ע"י הפנטגון בתאום עם אגף PM במחמ"ד. הערכת איש שיחי כי תשובתם להצעתנו תינתן בתוך ימים ספורים. למרות תחושת הדחיפות שהדרג המדיני בממשל מנסה להחדיר לדרגי העבודה נראה שדרכם של חלק מהדרגים (שאינם מאושרים מהכוונה להעניק לנו פטור) אינה אצה.

שטיין

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, בייך, ארבכל2, סיכל, משפט

סססס



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 12698

אל: רהמש/416

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 362, תא: 130793, זח: 1636, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל כלכלה, מצפ"א, סמנכ"ל ארבל  
דע: מנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל אירופה, סמנכ"ל אפאסו"ק  
מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

#### הנדון: ה-7-G, תידרוך בעקבות מסע קלינטון

האדונים פיטר טרנוף, תת מזכיר המדינה ורוברט פובר, עוזר לנשיא לבטחון לאומי, תידרכו את השגרירים והממונים בווינגטון בעקבות מסע קלינטון.

טרנוף פתח ואמר שכנס המתועשות הפך ליותר פוליטי משהיה בעבר ולכן הוסכם על מסמך פוליטי לצד המסמך הכלכלי. הפיסגה היא החלק התקשורתי והמסוקר של עבודת עומק שנעשית במשך כל חודשי השנה על-ידי המנכ"ל"ים המדיניים הנפגשים לעיתים מזומנות. המסמך המדיני הנראה פשוט לכאורה הוא פרי עבודת הכנה קפדנית של המנכ"ל"ים ושרי החוץ.

#### בתכנים המדיניים היו השנה ארבעה חלקים עיקריים.

הראשון עסק באו"ם ובשינויים המתחוללים בארגון. ביסוד הדבר התפקיד המשתנה והגדל של הארגון שקם לפני כמעט חמישים שנה אך לא הצליח להגיע למיצוי אמיתי של הפוטנציאל שלו. תחושת ארה"ב וה-7 היא שהגיע הזמן לתיקון העיוות הזה.

הנושא השני שהיה מרכזי היה הסיוע לרפובליקות המשתחררות של האימפריה הסובייטית. ביקור ילצין בפיסגה (כאורח) היה מבחינה זו סימלי ויותר מסימלי.

הנושא השלישי הוא בעית ההפצה של הנשק הגרעיני ונשק בלתי קונבנציונלי אחר ובהקשר זה נתמקדו הדאגה והדיון בצפון קוריאה.

המכלול הרביעי הוא המכלול הבינלאומי שבו בחר טרנוף לציין ארבעה סעיפים:

1. בוסניה ויוגוסלביה בכלל. הצביע על כך שישנה התיחסות תקיפה ואזהרה לסרבים ולקרוואטים עם איזכור אפשרות של סנקציות. בדומה יש אזהרה לסרביה בקשר לקוסובו.

2. תמיכה בתהליך השלום הישראלי - ערבי. אמר שארה"ב ניסתה, ולדעתו הצליחה, להנחיל ל-7 את התחושה שהתנאים אף פעם לא יהיו טובים יותר משהם היום להצלחה בתהליך ושזה רגע חשוב שאסור להחמיצו. (בנקודה זו הזכיר

במפורש ובמודגש את ענין החרם ועל כך דיווחתי היום במברק נפרד).

3. ישנה התיחסות ספציפית בתוספת אזהרה לעירק וללוב.

4. היתה התיחסות מפורשת, ולראשונה לאירן, בגלל רכש הטילים, הטרוריות, ההתנגדות לתהליך השלום והפרת זכויות האדם. טרנוף הדגיש שנקודה אחרונה זו נידונה בהרחבה יתרה בשיחות המנכל"ים.

בסוף דבריו ציין טרנוף את חשיבות המפגשים הבילטרליים שקיים קלינטון עם עמיתיו ראשי המדינות ואמר שהיתה תחושה אצל כל ה-7 שהם רוצים בעתיד פחות מפגשים פורמליים מצולמים ומדווחים ויותר התיעצויות בלתי פורמליות, אחד על אחד.

פובר, המתדרך השני חיזק את דברי טרנוף על הדינמיקה החשובה של היכרות אישית בין מנהיגי העולם. הזכיר שמנהיגי ארה"ב, קנדה ואיטליה ראו זה את זה בפעם הראשונה. אחר-כך הסביר את הדגש החזק שהצליחו האמריקנים להקנות לנושא האבטלה והתעסוקה ובישר על כינוס שרים של מדינות ה-7 כנראה, שרי עבודה וחינוך, תוך זמן קצר בווישינגטון כדי לדון ביצירת מקומות עבודה (זה נושא לשרי העבודה) ובהכשרה מקצועית (שזה נושא לשרי חינוך).

בשלב השאלות והתשובות ניסו השגרירים לברר איזה שינויים צפויים באו"ם ובתשובה אמר טרנוף שצפויה בספטמבר ישיבה מיוחדת של מועצת בטחון בשאלת תפקידי האו"ם בעשיית שלום ושמירת שלום. אמר שלא הגיעו לכלל דיון על הרחבת מועבי"ט כי היתה תחושה שאין הסכמה בנקודה זו. על כל פנים, כל הממשלות התבקשו להעביר למזכ"ל את דעתם עד לסוף חודש זה וארה"ב מצידה סבורה שיש מקום לדון בצירופן של יפן וגרמניה למועבי"ט.

על שאלתו של המצרי לגבי החרם כבר דיווחתי במברקי הקודם.

עד כאן

שילה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ערן, כלכליתא', כלכליתב', כלכליתג', מצפא, ביין, ארבל2, סמנכלארופה, אירופה, יגר, אסיה, סייבל, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 12594

אל: רהמש/414

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 344, תא: 130793, זח: 1314, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/בהול

אל: אבי גיל, אלון פנקס, לשכת שה"ח

דע: מצפ"א, ארב"ל, השגריר נאו"ם

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: אניות לאילת - הצעה לסדר היום  
אנחנו מבינים שישנה או צפויה הצעה לסדר היום בענין השיט לאילת.

כשתוכן תשובת השר תוכלו לציין את המאמצים הנעשים כאן כדלקמן:

- השגרירות בושינגטון ובניו-יורק (נאו"ם) פועלות באופן אינטנסיבי ויומיומי כדי להעביר את גזירת החיפוש והבדיקות על אניות שפניהן לאילת.

- נציגינו מדגישים את חוסר ההגיון וחוסר הצדק שבהפיכת ישראל לקורבן-לוואי של הסנקציות המוטלות על עירק.

- אנשינו בניו-יורק דברו עם נציגי האומות השונות שהרי באופן פורמלי מדובר בפעולה אומ"ית ובוועדת היגוי אומ"ית המפקחת על אכיפת ההסגר על עירק.

- אבל, המעצמה המובילה בנושא העירקי היא כמובן ארצות הברית. פנינו גם בארץ אך בעיקר בושינגטון בכל הדרגים של מחלקת המדינה והפנטגון ותבענו פתרון מהיר (והדגש על מהיר) שיעניק לאניות הפוקדות את אילת פטור מן הבדיקות ושאר מגבלות השיט.

- האמת היא שהטיפול לא היה קל משום שהצד השני טוען שאם ירשו אפילו סדק קטנטן בחומת המצור על עירק, עלול כל הסכר להיפרץ חלילה, דבר שאינו באינטרס של איש.

- אבל, רק בימים אלה קיבלנו שוב הבטחה מדירגי ממשל בכירים מאוד בושינגטון שיעשה הכל כדי לפתור את הבעיה להנחת דעתנו.

שילה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, בייך, ארכל2,  
מצפא, סי יכל, משפט

סססס



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 12583

אל: רהמש/413

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 342, תא: 130793, זח: 1250, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: רוה"מ; שה"ח

דע: ממנכ"ל; נאו"ם

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: נמל אילת. שלי 338

התקשר אלי תת המזכיר ויזנר וביקש למסור לכם שפועלים להשגת פתרון לבעייה  
ובהקדם.

הוסיף, שהטיפול אצלם מתנהל בדרגים הגבוהים ביותר וכי יעביר לנו פרטים  
בתוך זמן קצר.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, סייבל,  
משפט, בייך, ארבל2

סססס

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 12582

אל: רהמש/412

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 341, תא: 130793, זח: 1250, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל כלכלה, סמנכ"ל ארבל, מנהל מצפ"א

דע: ס. שה"ח, מנכ"ל

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: **חרם**

-----

בתדרוך שערך הבוקר תת המזכיר טרנוף לשגרירים בווינגטון הזכיר בצורה בולטת את המשפט בהודעת ה-7 הקורא להפסקת החרם. הוא הדגיש במיוחד שהניסוח על החרם עומד בפני עצמו (INDEPENDENT REFERENCE) והביע את סיפוקו של הממשל מן האופן שתביעה זו נתקבלה ללא התנגדות. בקטע יותר מאוחר של התידרוך חזר והדגיש את ענין הקריאה לביטול החרם.

כאשר הגיע זמן לשאלות, אמר השגריר המצרי: "אמרת במודגש שהקריאה לביטול החרם באה לעצמה וללא כל לינקג' ונשאלת השאלה מדוע ויתרתם הפעם על לינקג' ?"

תשובת טרנוף: "משום שהיינו משוכנעים, והצלחנו לשכנע אחרים, שהחרם הוא דבר שאינו מוצדק בפני עצמו ושיש לנקוט בצעדים בכל אחת ממדינות ה-7 לחיסולו ולו רק משום שהוא פוגע בתהליך השלום והתהליך נמצא היום בשלב גורלי ואין לפגוע בו".

שילה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן, כלכליתג',  
ביין, סייבל, סמנכלהסברה, הסברה

סססס



\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 12475

אל: רהמש/411

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 338, תא: 130793, זח: 1109, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

13/7/93

אל: רוה"מ, שה"ח

דע: ממנכ"ל, נאו"מ

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: נמל אילת

=====

1. בהמשך למפגש יום ו' האחרון במחמ"ד (יחד עם אנשי הפנטגון) בעניין השיט לאילת שוחחתי אתמול עם אחד מעוזרי מזכיר המדינה וכן עם פרנק ויזנר בבקשה להסדיר העניין "תוך ימים".

2. ויזנר הבטיח לחזור אלי בהקדם עם תשובות והצעות להסדרת הבעיה.

3. בנפרד מבריק הציר שילה תאור מפורט של השתלשלות הדברים לצורך הכנת תשובת שר החוץ לשאילתה בכנסת.

רבינוביץ

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, בייך, ארבכל2

סססס

דף: 1 מחור: 4	טיפס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות: מיד
אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב	ס"ג	ס"ג: כלמ"ס
דע: כסחון - יועץ שהב"ט למקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (מ"ה) העכירונא	ת"ח:	חס' מברק:
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק	1094	

## DAMASCUS WARNED BY ISRAEL ON RAIDS

Even If It Derails Peace Talks,  
a Counterattack in South  
Lebanon Is Possible

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, July 11 — Israel accused Syria today of supporting a new wave of guerrilla attacks on Israeli forces in southern Lebanon, and senior officials warned that they would not let the Middle East peace talks deter them from retaliating.

While the Israeli Cabinet was reported to have made no decision on military action at its weekly meeting today, several ministers suggested that steps would be taken soon. News reports from Lebanon said that Israel had moved extra artillery into southern Lebanon, and that guerrillas there loyal to the pro-Iranian Party of God were bracing for bombardments.

"Anyone who thinks that we'll continue to put up with this quietly and say 'thank you,' is simply wrong," said Housing Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, a former general who is close to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. "And anyone who thinks that there is some connection between this and the peace process is also wrong."

New York  
Times

12-7

30 (25) שהח (2) טשה"ח (1) רחמ (1) מוכל (2) מוכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)  
הסברה (2) ר/מכ (1) ממד (4) דס (1) אסו (4) אסו (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)  
צנזורה (1)



Although the border was quiet today, Israelis have been jolted by a string of attacks late last week that killed five soldiers and wounded eight others in what Israel calls its "security zone," which Israel established in 1985 in southern Lebanon to forestall attacks on its northern towns and settlements. Twelve Israeli soldiers have been killed in the area in 1993, compared with 13 for all of last year.

The attacks were said to be the work of guerrillas that either have bases in Damascus or receive missiles and ammunition from Iran by way of Syria. The Party of God, which is fiercely opposed to the peace talks and commit-

But Reuters reported that the Syrians had rejected Israel's accusations. Damascus radio said that the Israeli buffer zone in southern Lebanon was an "explosive trap" and that it was "the right of any people whose land is occupied to resist by refusing this occupation, destroying and eliminating it."

Not surprisingly, Israeli officials gave no clue to what military action they were considering, or when.

Several Cabinet ministers suggested that an extensive land operation north of the security zone was not likely, but Mr. Lubrani hinted at possible tough measures, saying Israel would need "a different approach to the one to which we were adhering for the last months."

ted to pushing the Israelis out of southern Lebanon, has also stepped up rocket attacks on northern Israel.

"This is certainly a planned escalation," said Uri Lubrani, Israel's chief negotiator with Lebanon in the peace talks. "I think it is planned by Syria. This would not happen if Syria did not want it."

#### Prepared to Risk Talks

There was no Israeli threat to break off peace talks with Lebanon or Syria, which, like Israel, has expressed frustration over the recent lack of progress. By the same token, Israeli officials went out of their way to emphasize that they would not tie their generals' hands simply out of fear that retaliatory strikes might harm the very talks that the guerrillas hope to sabotage.

"The restraint and patience that we have manifested for many months now in the face of quite a number of provocations is reaching its limits," Mr. Lubrani said.

On Saturday night, Mr. Rabin expressed his concern to Dennis B. Ross, who is leading a State Department team that has spent the last few days shuttling between Middle East capitals in an effort to keep the peace negotiations on track. Mr. Rabin reportedly asked Mr. Ross, who visited Damascus today, to warn the Syrians to restrain the guerrillas and to block transfers of arms from Iran.

(2)

1094



# Iran's Old Soldiers Die, as Suicides

By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

NAUSHahr, Iran — Like hundreds of thousands of young Iranian men, Kazem Ahangar was once a disciple of war. But the violence he turned on Iraqi soldiers he has turned against himself.

"I tried to do it with pills, Valium and depressants, mostly," the 28-year-old veteran said, seated on a white pebble beach along the Caspian Sea.

"They pumped my stomach out at the hospital. But 12 of my friends have killed themselves this year."

This Caspian resort town, skirted by jagged mountains and towering fir trees, was once the summer capital of the Shah, and its faded yet elegant whitewashed villas belonged to the officials of the monarchy before the 1979 Islamic revolution.

Today, Naushahr has one of the highest rates of suicides in Iran, most by unemployed and disillusioned veterans of the war with Iraq.

In the last year, 400 of the town's 80,000 people have killed themselves, according to hospital officials.

## The 'Rice Pill' Kills

The figures are indicative of a mounting suicide rate throughout the country, Western diplomats said.

"These young men, after eight years of a brutal and senseless war, are often out of work, alienated from the puritanical rule of the clerics, unable to marry, find a home or even court a girl," one diplomat said.

"The bleakness of their existence, and the loss of purpose, lead many to drugs, and then to suicide."

Most of the suicides in Naushahr can be traced to small phosphate tablets, known as "rice pills," that are used in granaries to kill insects.

"The rice pill paralyzes the nervous system and sends you into a coma," said a doctor in the emergency room of the Shahid Beheshti Hospital, who has treated dozens of cases. "By the time we get most of these victims, there is little we can do. The tragedy is that no one is doing anything for these men. We don't even have a psychiatrist."

Many rice merchants, in an effort to curb the suicides, have stopped selling the German-made Phostoxin tablets.

"I won't even sell them to rice growers," said the owner of a granary on Freedom Square.

## Morality Police on Beach

The Islamic clerics who rule Iran have sought to reshape the country into a nation of devout Muslims who spurn the decadence of the West, including what the clerics condemn as the West's loose sexual mores, drug use and thirst for sensual gratification.

Naushahr's dance halls and bars have been turned over to shopkeepers or boarded over. The beaches are

③ New  
York  
Times  
12-7  
1094



4

segregated by sex and patrolled by squads of morality police. And, at the crest of a hill, the lavish Chinese Horse casino, which once glittered through the night, lies in rubble.

But rather than build a new generation of believers, the fundamentalist leaders have created a generation of alienation.

"Life has become a charade," Mr. Ahangar said. "We carry out one life in public and another in private."

Once war's siren call of a new heaven and a new earth captivated many of the men who now sit listlessly on the rocky shore, indulging in hashish and opium. Many were volunteers who believed that they were not only defending their nation but helping to create a new society in the war with Iraq.

"Iran's best wrestlers come from Naushahr," said Ramazan Gharib, a

## Soldiers who came home are haunted by the carnage.

35-year-old veteran, "and the army recruiters, very cleverly, used this. When the war started, we were all exhorted to show our strength, our manliness, and we went down to enlist."

### Little Glory at the Front

But the front lines, where Iranian units were butchered en masse as they tried to sweep in human waves across the mud flats, held little glory. And many who survived the war, which began in 1980 and ended in 1988, returned haunted by the carnage. Iranian officials refused to discuss the suicides. Two reporters making inquiries into the deaths were jailed and then expelled from Naushahr.

But the town's leading cleric, Mohammed Masha, Yekhi, recently spoke out on the subject, calling on

young people to choose life rather than suicide. He said he would not allow those who committed suicide a Muslim burial.

Two war veterans sat late one morning on the porch of a dilapidated villa overlooking the Caspian. The men, who fish and use their boats to take people water skiing, were slumped in wicker chairs drinking cups of sweet tea.

The two veterans have easy access to the drugs, homemade beer and grain alcohol that is sold on the beach. They smuggle out tins of caviar from the state-run packaging plant and trade it with Russian sailors, anchored offshore, for vodka. For a price they take couples to secluded beaches, where women can swim in bathing suits and embrace their boyfriends, activities the clerics have forbidden.

"I will never be normal again," said one of the men, who spent 23 months at the front. "I am nervous. I can't control my anger. If anything disturbs me, like a minor car accident, I explode."

The second man, who was a lieutenant in the war, said: "My battalion was ordered across the flats early one morning. Within a couple of hours 400 soldiers were dead and hundreds more wounded. It was a stupid, useless waste. When we got back they called us traitors."

### Little but Addictions

In the shade of a stone wall, just in front of the villa, with its collection of drooping cots and dirty shag carpets, a young man, dressed in a black shirt and pants, stared blankly at the water.

"He comes here every day," one of the veterans said. "He just finished his army service, but he has no job and nowhere to go. He smokes hash and watches the surf."

Like him, most of the veterans live on the margins of existence, sometimes sleeping under grass-roofed huts. The pittance the men earn, the psychological burdens they bear and the inability to afford a place to live and begin a new life have left large numbers with little but addictions. Nothing remains for them in their town.

"All we have left is the sea," a former officer said, "and the sea is what keeps us here. But then one day even the sea isn't enough."



דח'קות: מידי	טובים מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דד: 1 מחוק: 7
סיוג: כלמ"ס		אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארצה
תזמ:		
חט' מברק:	בסחון - יועץ שהב"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (מ"ן העכירונא)	דע:
1087	עחונות, ניו יורק	מאת:

### 3 Israeli Soldiers Killed in a Rocket Attack

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, July 9 — As a team of senior United States officials continued efforts here to give a kick-start to the stalled Middle East peace talks, three Israeli soldiers were killed today in southern Lebanon by rockets fired by pro-Iranian Islamic guerrillas.

The attack brought to five the number of Israeli soldiers killed in the last two days in the self-declared "security zone." The two days of attacks, which left eight wounded, led to retaliatory raids by Israeli forces, whose artillery pounded villages north of the zone dominated by the Islamic Party of God.

Israeli helicopters were also reported to have fired missiles at a base near Beirut of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, General Com-

mand, the group led by Ahmad Jibril that claimed responsibility for the two Israeli soldiers' deaths on Thursday.

The Jibril and the Party of God organizations, both of which operate in Lebanon with Syria's blessing and protection, are opposed to peace negotiations with Israel. Some Israeli politicians on the right called for the Government to suspend talks with Syria until such attacks stop, but there was no sign that Israel was about to do that.

The American team, led by Dennis Ross, the United States coordinator for the peace talks, met for a total of five hours today with Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and, separately, with Palestinian delegates. No one involved in the discussions today said what progress, if any, had been made.

New York  
Times

10-7

(28) שחח (2) שח"ח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (2) מנכל (1) מנכל (1) רביב (1)  
הסברה (2) ר/מדכ (1) חסד (4) דס (1) אמו (4) אומן (1) סייבל (1) חספס (1)  
צנזורה (1)

גמול/ס

מ.3



# Robbing History to Feed the Present in West Bank

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

RABOUD, Israeli-Occupied West Bank — Three young men sunk picks and shovels into a rocky hillside near this village, looking for treasure and grimacing when all they turned up were pottery shards and bone fragments.

They had been digging a few feet away when they stumbled upon a burial cave, one of many in this area dating from the ancient Israelites. With visions of finding valuable artifacts and with one of them always keeping an eye out for Israeli Army patrols, they busily went about committing one of the

oldest crimes in this or any other region: grave robbing.

"We wouldn't do it if we didn't need the money," one young man said.

Three months after Israel effectively cut off the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip to end a burst of lethal attacks against Israelis, there has been a sharp rise in the number of Arabs in the territories who have found that the best way to scrape by is to scrape under the ground in search of ancient coins, pots, statues and oil lamps.

It is blatantly illegal work, and could land violators in Israeli jails. It also often means disturbing graves from centuries and even millenniums ago.

But while the diggers say they find this part of the job distasteful, they argue that they have no choice.

"The aim is to survive, not to desecrate tombs or disturb another religion," said a teacher in Raboud, a village of several hundred near Hebron, the largest town in the southern sector of the West Bank. "It is a sensitive thing, and when they find bones, they gather them up to bury them together later."

The territorial closing that began at the end of March kept an estimated 120,000 Palestinians from jobs in Israel, putting an immediate and enormous dent in the territories' fragile economy.

Although restrictions have gradually been eased in recent weeks, to a point that some 45,000 Arabs have been given permits to enter Israel for work, it still leaves tens of thousands of families without jobs or alternative sources of steady income.

A few have managed to be hired for public-works projects newly undertaken by the military government. But most are like a 26-year-old man who calls himself Abu Thaer and who used to be a janitor at a yeshiva in Jerusalem. After a few weeks of being unable to get to work, Abu Thaer decided that Jerusalem might well be off-limits to him for good and that he had better figure out another way to feed his four children.

It was not long before he started exploring underground caves near his spartan house in a village not far from

Raboud, which he would rather leave unidentified to avoid arousing the authorities' attention.

This area southwest of Hebron is rich in underground caves and other signs of settlement going back 3,000 years, the Israelite period under King David. Finds from that era are especially in demand, Abu Thaer says, since most of what he finds goes to Arab middlemen for resale to Israeli dealers.

Not that he makes much on his digs, he says. One lucky neighbor happened on an ancient clay statue of a man that proved to be worth thousands of dollars. But the best he has managed to find was a Byzantine-era ring that fetched only about \$15 because, he says, scavengers are finding so many of them these days.

Much of the work is done furtively

after dark, but Abu Thaer says he and his family poke around on hillsides even during the day, surrounding themselves with sheep and goats so that from a distance it looks as though they are merely watching the animals graze.

According to the teacher in Raboud, Palestinians resorted to similar illegal digging after the wars of 1967 and 1973, but the grave robbing is far more widespread this time. As for the Israeli authorities, they have thus far not been aggressive about trying to stop this activity, even though potential archaeological sites are being turned upside down by amateurs without a shred of scientific training.

"I fully know the dangers of what we are doing," Abu Thaer said, pausing before he added with a shrug, "Do you know what else I can do?"

1087

2

Art

11-7



# Writing New Rules For Criticizing Israel From Afar

③ We

ir

Review

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

WASHINGTON  
ISRAEL'S Ambassador in Washington, Itamar Rabinovich, was recently addressing a convention of the America-Israel Public Affairs Committee, the pro-Israel lobby, explaining Israel's peace policies. He said Israel seeks a package of peace and security, based on a compromise with the Arabs, that, at the end of the day, "might also involve some Israeli concessions."

The huge audience of American Jews greeted his remarks with a stony silence, save one solitary soul in the back of the hall who clapped. The resourceful ambassador paused for a moment, took in the sound of one hand clapping, and said: "I understand that it is very difficult to get an applause for the term 'concessions' here. So let us applaud the concessions the Arabs will have to make."

That got a rousing ovation.

That scene was no aberration. In recent months the Labor Government of Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, has increasingly found itself under attack by some prominent American Jews as being too willing to trade land for peace with the Arabs. And some hard-line Jewish intellectuals, who for years argued that it was heresy for any American Jews to criticize any Israeli government's policies, now argue that it is a necessity, indeed a moral imperative, to criticize the Rabin Government in order to save Israel from itself.

The most extreme form of this debate surfaced last week when a vice president of the Alpac lobby, Harvey

Friedman, was forced to resign after calling Mr. Rabin's dovish Deputy Foreign Minister, Yossi Beilin, "a little slime ball" while denouncing him for a supposedly excessive willingness to trade land for peace.

Mr. Rabinovich says he has found himself lately in the position, unfamiliar for an Israeli ambassador, of "having at one and the same time to argue our case with the Arab side at the negotiating table, while explaining to a skeptical minority of our own supporters that there is merit to this peace process, even though it is yet unproven."

The chief stirrer of this debate is Norman Podhoretz, the conservative editor of the magazine *Commentary*. In a long essay in the April issue, he wrote that for many years, and especially from 1977 to 1982, when the right-wing Likud party dominated Israeli politics, he "took the position that American Jews had no moral right to criticize Israel's security policies; only those whose lives were on the line had the standing to participate in the public debate."

## New Circumstances

During those Likud years, it was Israeli policy to reject any territorial compromise on the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights or Jerusalem.

But in 1993, Mr. Podhoretz argued, "we have an entirely new" political and moral situation that has forced him and others to re-examine their objection to criticizing Israel. The Rabin Government, he said, seems to be walking into a negotiating trap set by Arabs intent on using the peace table, instead of the battlefield, to

3  
7

1087



destroy Israel. Israel is misreading the real intentions of the Arab regimes, Mr. Podhoretz said, and if it does not desist, it may soon be trapped by pressures into creating a Palestinian state or giving up the Golan Heights.

"My basic point," Mr. Podhoretz said in an interview, "is that there is no evidence that either the Syrians or the Palestinians have changed their strategic objective with respect to Israel, which I still believe is the destruction of the state. It seemed to me in listening to statements coming from Israel and the Israeli Embassy in Washington that the Israelis were desperately eager to make a deal and were on the point of making dangerous concessions in order to consummate it."

Mr. Podhoretz admits "that I am

being inconsistent on the moral issue of the right of a Jew living outside of Israel to participate in the debate over security." But, he argues, there is a difference "between my kind of criticism and the moral assault on Israel by some Jews, which contributed to the effort to delegitimize Israel in the 1970's and 1980's." He said it was more dangerous to add to that delegitimization than to make the criticisms he is making now, "when the Israeli Government itself is outstripping Washington in its eagerness to make concessions."

## A Lack of Surprise

Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, was one of many Jewish liberals who was denounced by the Jewish right as

Milan Trenc

"anti-Israel" or "self-hating" when he disagreed with the Likud's uncompromising policies during the 1980's. He says he is not surprised that now that the left-of-center Labor Party is in power, Jewish hard-liners say it is all right to criticize. "I just underestimated the speed and shamelessness with which they did it," he said, adding that he wished the Rabin Government would be more aggressive in answering them.

It has not reacted vehemently, Israeli officials say, in part because many in the Labor Government have simply written off some American Jewish groups as irrelevant or irredeemably indoctrinated by the Likud. As Mr. Bellin said: "The firing of Harvey Friedman came on a much more grave background: the transformation of Alpac in recent years

into a right-wing Jewish organization." Alpac vehemently denies this.

In part, it is also because Israeli officials are confident that the great majority of American Jews and mainstream Jewish leaders who have been silent in this debate support Mr. Rabin.

And in part it is because many Israeli intellectuals on the left believe the rightist argument rests on a ludicrous assumption that Mr. Rabin approaches the peace talks as a starry-eyed romantic who believes that Israel's Arab enemies have had political therapy and are now ready to reconcile with the Jewish state.

In fact, say Israeli diplomats, Mr. Rabin, whom no one ever called a romantic, bases his whole approach on a sober, functional analysis that there is no transformed Arab psyche, but that political and economic pressures on the Arab governments may make them amenable to a deal that will enable Israel to ease the burden of war with its neighbors — on terms that will not endanger its security. Maybe, in the end, Israel won't find an Arab partner for such a secure peace, but it certainly has an interest in testing the waters. That, they say, is the deepest form of realism.

"The difference between me and Podhoretz," said the Israeli philosopher David Hartman, "is that when you live on Park Avenue you can afford to be 'worried' about the future of Israel. When you live in Jerusalem with your grandchildren, you can't afford to just worry. You have to believe that the future can in some way be different from the present. It might not be — but you have an interest in doing everything you can to test that possibility. To be paralyzed by anxiety is a luxury we cannot afford."

8

4  
7

108



# Israel Again Seeks A Deal With an Outcast

By CLYDE HABERMAN

**W**ITH an understanding nod from the United States, Israel is exploring possible ways to buy off North Korea to keep it from selling advanced Scud missiles to Iran.

Perhaps inevitably, questions arise about whether Israel is acting purely on its own. Its track record is such that it would not be hard to imagine it serving as point man for other countries — say, the United States, or perhaps even Saudi Arabia — with a similar interest in easing North Korea's isolation or its appetite for missile sales to Iran.

Still, whether the Israelis are alone on this or not, they certainly have special concerns. The new generation of nuclear-capable Scuds is said to have a longer range than its predecessors, about 600 miles, and it would put Israel within range of missile sites in western Iran. So it is essential to Israeli officials that they keep this weapon out of the hands of an implacable enemy like Iran. And since North Korea is presumed to be selling arms primarily to get oil and badly needed cash, the thus-far-elusive hope here is to make it economically worth its while to change its plans.

What Israel may be able to offer is advanced technology or perhaps a commitment to find foreign (translation: Jewish) investors for the Koreans. The only wrinkle is that it means dealing with one of the world's most unsavory regimes, a pariah state, and Israel must figure out where to draw the line between legitimate national self-interest and dubious diplomatic overture, especially in a time of multinational action.

And this leads to still another issue: Why do such questions seem to swirl around Israel so often?

Week in  
Review

(5)

5  
7

When the West was shunning South Africa, the Israelis kept close economic and military ties. When the Iran-contra scandal broke, Israel was smack in the middle of the mess. When Nicolae Ceausescu held Romania by the throat, he was also Israel's link to the East and Israel slipped him money so that he would allow Jews to emigrate. In several Latin American countries run by despots in sunglasses, Israel was ready to deal. The list goes on.

Of course, one need not look far for answers. For decades, Israel was diplomatically isolated, and felt itself a victim of double standards and blatant hypocrisy on the part of nations, both East and West, that pointed accusatory fingers at Jerusalem

1087



while they themselves propped up dictators and undermined duly empowered leaders. Often forced to fend for itself, stuck in a tough neighborhood, seared by the Holocaust, determined to avert even far lesser traumas at any cost and guided perhaps by a streak of self-righteousness, Israel was "ready to join hands with the devil if that's what it took," says Akiva Eldar, diplomatic correspondent for the newspaper Haaretz. "When you're isolated," he said, "it's easy to take the position that beggars can't be choosers."

However justified those feelings may have been, that sort of attitude can have unwelcome consequences; one is a common tendency abroad to assume the worst of Israel and to accept on faith almost any accusation against its Mossad secret service. An example of this arose last year when several American newspapers, passing along leaks from unnamed United States Government officials, reported that Israel had unlawfully handed China secret technology for the Scud-busting Patriot missile. Israel screamed, "Foul," but many outside the country did not believe the denials. Ultimately, an inquiry by the United States Defense Department absolved the Israelis of wrongdoing. By then, however, the public-relations damage had been done.

"One develops a siege mentality, and old ways do not change easily," said Prof. Shlomo Avineri, a political scientist who served as director general of the Foreign Ministry in the 1970's.

Old habits linger even when the siege is

①  
A

6  
7

1087

about over. In the last three years, Israel has begun or resumed diplomatic relations with some 40 countries, including China, India, former republics of the old Soviet Union and others that had scorned it for decades. (Paradoxically, in some instances Israel seems to benefit from the anti-Semitic canard that Jews control the world's finances and politics. A few countries that have established ties apparently believe the myths, and have decided that only a fool would ignore a state as powerfully connected as this one.)

Hostile Arab states now give Israel a kind of de facto recognition by sitting with it in peace negotiations, no matter how much the talks may stumble. For his part, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told Israelis the very day he took office last year that they must shake off the idea that the world is out to get them and that they must go it alone.

But sometimes that is easier said than done, and the result can be off-kilter perceptions and wacky missteps. Ministers in the Rabin Government tripped over themselves last month to welcome Libyan Muslim pilgrims to Jerusalem, and a few officials prattled on about the possibility of relations with Muammar el-Qaddafi. They seemed to pay no attention to the desire of Israel's main ally, the United States, to keep Libya in quarantine. Washington was not amused.

A few weeks later, the press here reported on a tussle between Israel's professional diplomats and its defense industry over whether to permit a visit by Gen. Augusto Pinochet, Chile's former president and present chief of staff. Yes, the defense types said, keeping their collective eye on arms sales to Chile. No, said the Foreign Ministry, worried about a public-relations black eye. In the end, it proved an academic exercise because General Pinochet said he was not coming. Nonetheless, some Israelis thought that it was stretching the outer limits of pragmatism to even debate welcoming a certified dictator while, at the same time, there was serious talk that the Dalai Lama might visit but that he would not be received as an official guest out of fear of riling China.

Some, like Professor Avineri, argue that Israel's international relations have so improved that it should no longer feel that it must habitually act on its own, even on a matter as important as North Korea's missile sales to Iran. But others say that Israel hardly holds the patent on shadowy ways and on sometimes putting self-interest ahead of professed principles. After all, says Zalman Shoval, Israel's former Ambassador to the United States, Israel got in touch with the North Koreans a few weeks ago only after getting a green light from Washington. "Who knows?" Mr. Shoval said, reviving the possibility that there is more to all this than one can see. "Maybe this is indeed a multinational effort, with Israel having a certain role to fill."

①

7

1087



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 10064

אל: רהמש/358

מ-: ווש, נר: 2026, תא: 090793, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: משהב'ט/לשכת מתאם הפעולות בלבנון

דע: ממ'ד-ערב-4, חט' מז'ת, משפט/בייקר

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: המו'מ עם לבנון

משיחה עם שוורץ (מחמ'ד ב-9.7):

1. האמריקנים קבלו אינדיקציות ראשוניות מביירות לגבי הצעתנו האחרונה. במסגרת זו, הלבנונים מעריכים שיש בהצעתנו אלמנטים חיוביים, אך מוטרדים מפני אפשרות של התקדמות במסלולנו לפני מסלולי המו'מ האחרים.

2. בשלב זה, האמריקנים עומדים לשגר אגרת דחופה ללבנון בה יסבירו כי העובדה שפסחו על ביירות בביקורם הנוכחי באיזור נובעת מכך שביקור זה נועד להתמקד בבעיות הקיימות במסלול הפלסטיני, ואיננה מעידה על פיתוח של האמריקנים כלפי המסלול הלבנוני.

3. שוורץ ציין, כי לפני צאתו את וושינגטון, בתום הסבב האחרון, שמאס רמז ממילא שהלבנונים מתכוונים לעבוד על תגובה להצעתנו במגמה להציג תגובתם בסבב הבא, וכי מכך הסיקו האמריקנים שלבנון איננה מתכוונת לבקש את תיוכם במהלך ההפסקה בין הסבבים.

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רס), @ (אמן), רביב, ממד,  
רחטמזת, סייבל, משפט, מצפא, @ (לוברני)

סססס

דף: 1	טופס מדרק	דחיות: מיד
מחיר: 3	קשר ניו-יורק	
		סוג: כלמ"ס
		תזת:
דע:	<del>המסמך נמצא בלתי קשור</del>	מס' מדרק:
מאת:	עתונות, ניו יורק	1044

# Israel beckons again to many American Jews

By Graham Rayman

STAFF WRITER

**A**S A YOUNG MARRIED couple living in Brooklyn, Esther and Myles Wolfson dreamed of Israel. On Thursday morning, they woke up in a cramped Tel Aviv immigrant center without a phone, a washing machine or an oven — American-Jewish pilgrims in the promised land. They were a long way from Flatbush.

"It was always our desire to go to a place where Jews aren't in the minority and we're willing to put up with a lot to get that," said Myles who, until the trip, was a lawyer at a Manhattan firm.

Newsday

4-7

207

מס' השולח: תאריך:

(25) שחח (2) טשח"ח (1) רהמ (1) מנכל (1) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)  
הסברה (2) ר/מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמל (4) אומל (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)  
צנזורצבאי (1) כ"ר



A Harvard law school graduate, Myles, 29, took an 80 percent pay cut to immigrate to Israel, where he will work as a law clerk. Esther, 26, left her job as a special-education teacher in Bensonhurst. She will care for the couple's infant son.

Arriving three days before Mayor David N. Dinkins' departure today on a goodwill trip to Israel, the Wolfsons are among hundreds of American Jews, many from the New York area, who this summer will make *aliyah*, a Hebrew term for "ascent" that has come to mean the modern Jewish return to Israel. Israelis call people making

*aliyah olim*.

Over the past three years, the emigration of American Jews to Israel has increased significantly, and among those leaving are large numbers of New Yorkers.

In 1990, 501 New Yorkers were among the 1,406 Americans who immigrated to Israel. Last year, the number of New York emigrants grew to 830, according to the Israeli Aliyah Center in

Manhattan, which administers emigration to Israel. The total number of emigrants last year is 34 percent more than 1991. The number from the New York area increased by 37 percent from 1991.

The increase comes after a steady decline in immigration to Israel since 1983, when 3,245 people went, 1,259 of them from New York, according to the Israeli Aliyah Center.

The U.S. State Department and the Israeli Consul General said the Israeli Aliyah Center, a quasi-governmental agency affiliated with the World Zionist Organization, is the official source for figures on American immigration to Israel.

Through April of this year, 577 Americans made *aliyah*; 56 percent, or 329, were from the New York area, and another 18 people were Long Island residents. At the same time, 5,104 Israelis moved to the U.S. in 1992, U.S. immigration officials said.

Most *olim* are professionals who settle near Jerusalem or Tel Aviv, said Yossi Kucik, director of the Israeli Aliyah Center. An increasing number — mostly single people — are seeking a different quality of life, he said.

That's the case for 58-year-old widow Cynthia Mandel. A resident of Atlantic Beach, L.I., Mandel was mugged three times in New York City. At Kennedy Airport, a robber attacked her in a crowd, she said, but no one aided her.

"In Israel, the cities are safe and the borders are dangerous. In the U.S., the cities are dangerous and the borders are safe," said Mandel, who is leaving July 14.

Ross Mandel, a Manhattan stock-

broker, was shocked at first at his mother's decision. "I always thought she would retire to Florida," he said. "But since she decided to go, she's got a new spirit."

Like the Wolfsons, Mandel was shepherded through the emigration process by the Aliyah agency, which arranges visits to Israel for people considering emigration. It also suggests moving companies and processes the paperwork. An agency in Israel circulates resumes, arranges job interviews and Ulpan or Hebrew training. Rent and mortgage subsidies are provided by the government.

Even so, there are challenges. Immigrants must learn Hebrew, a necessity to becoming assimilated into Israeli society. And although the Israeli gross national product grew by 7 percent last year, unemployment sits at more than 10 percent. More than 500,000 Soviet and Ethiopian Jews are immigrating to the country, and 40 percent of the Soviets reportedly are unemployed. There are about 4.2 million people in the country.

(2)



**A**MERICANS WHO move to Israel often experience culture shock. Still, they come.

"The reality doesn't live up to the ideal. Coming with low expectations is important," said former Manhattan resident Eric Esses, 27, who now lives in Jerusalem. "You have to be flexible. You can't dictate the terms. The culture does that."

According to Kucik, 70 percent come for nonreligious reasons. But this figure is disputed by Ron Allswang of Te-hilla, a Manhattan-based national group that assists religious olim.

Allswang said closer to 75 percent are religious. "If you're talking about couples, 80 to 90 percent are religiously committed people," he said.

Thirty-six percent of olim are secular, according to Aliyah center figures.

Riverdale residents Gary and Laurie Heller reflect the more traditional olim. She was raised as a Reform Jew and he was raised Conservative. As adults they became Orthodox Jews. In the 1970s, they participated in the

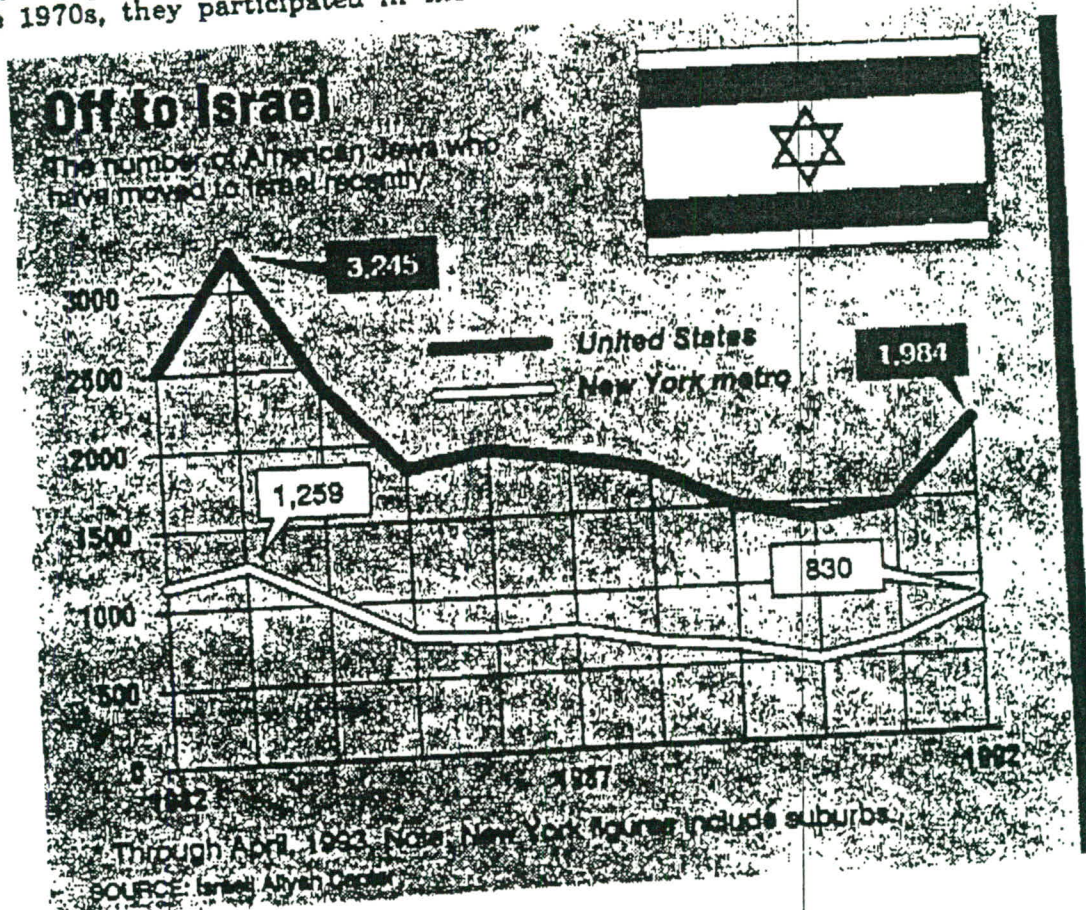
movement to free Soviet Jewry. Even then, they considered moving to Israel.

Meanwhile, they built careers and had two children — Benjamin, 7, and Ralfi, 14. Gary, 41, became an assistant principal at a South Bronx school. Laurie, 39, works for the United Jewish Appeal-Federation.

Last year they decided it was time to leave. Laurie received a transfer to a UJA office in Jerusalem, while Gary found part-time work organizing a special-education conference at Tel Aviv University. The galvanizing factors included their faith, and again, the Soviet Jews. "It doesn't sit right to sit and watch the Soviet Jews emigrate. We should be there with them," Gary said.

His son, Ralfi, fought the plan. He didn't want to leave his grandparents or his girlfriend. "I told her that if she pays for the postage, I'll write to her," he said of his girlfriend. "The trip is less than two weeks away. What am I going to do? Rebel?"

"Nothing is 100 percent sure in Israel, but there it is, it's real and it's where we belong," Laurie said.





*[Blue scribble]*

1051

$\frac{1}{2}$

*מיון*

בלמס/בהול  
8 יולי '93

אל: קשר י-מ  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

אנא העבירו בהולות למנהל לשכת רוה"מ - הבר, פקס. מספר 02-664838  
עבור חשג'ר איתמר רבינוביץ.

רות ירון

*[Red signature]*  
11.7

*מלח*



# In Business This Week

EDITED BY JULIE TILNER

## HEADHUNTER HEAVEN

The revolving door to corporate corner offices is spinning wildly this summer. Here are some of the most prominent changes of the top, just in June:

### HERBERT BAUM No. 2

Campbell Soup exec jumps to be CEO of Quaker State.

VAUGHN BRYSON Collegial style, but disappointing results, so Eli Lilly's board voted their CEO out.

ANDREW DWYER Lost control at JWP, then lost his job.

ROBERT GREENHILL Critics questioned his management style at Morgan Stanley. He'll try again at Smith Barney.

JAMES McDONALD He has run Gould and Prime Computer; now he'll take a shot at Scientific Atlanta.

JOHN SCULLEY He's staying at Apple, but not as CEO.

FRYAN SHAMES Food was his first love; he's returning there as president of Borden.

## A BIG SKIPPED STEP MAY STALL NAFTA

► Happily ever NAFTA? Not so fast. A Washington judge has thrown a monkey wrench into Clinton Administration efforts to wrap up a free-trade pact among the U.S., Canada, and Mexico by year-end. U.S. District Judge Charles Richey ruled on June 30 that the Bush Administration ignored the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act's requirement that an environmental-impact statement be prepared. The North American Free Trade Agreement is likely to have "significant environmental effects" along the U.S.-Mexico border, he said. The judge ordered the White House to prepare an impact statement before submitting legislation to Congress. That could delay the pact nine months or

more. The White House says it will appeal.

## RYDER BIDS ADIEU TO AIRCRAFT PARTS

► "Back to basics" has been Ryder Systems' theme for years. Since 1988, the Miami trucking company has shed \$1.1 billion in assets. The restructuring took another major step on June 30, when Ryder announced it would spin off its \$1.2 billion aircraft-engine-parts and service business to shareholders by year-end. Thanks to the airline industry's woes, the unit earned \$25.1 million in 1992, down sharply from \$46.5 million in 1991. The move doesn't come cheap: Ryder will take a \$169 million after-tax second-quarter writedown.

## FLORIDA THWARTS INSURERS' ESCAPE

► The insurance business isn't often this exciting. Earlier this year, two dozen home insurers opted to limit or stop selling coverage in Florida after being hit with \$16 billion in claims from Hurricane Andrew. No dice, said the state, which banned insurers from dropping policyholders until after the 1993 hurricane season. On June 29, one insurer, Prudential Property & Casualty, filed a

federal lawsuit against Florida, saying the law violates its contractual rights—namely, the right to drop 25,000 policyholders. If Prudential wins, other insurers are likely to follow. If Florida wins, look for other states where insurers are cutting coverage to pass similar laws.

## HOTLINE—OR PARTY LINE?

It looked like a precision military operation. But backstage, the June 26 U.S. missile attack on Baghdad was less than organized. As Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher jettied from Kennebunkport, Me., after briefing George Bush, his aides were frantically trying to inform world leaders of the attack in advance of President Clinton's 7:40 p.m. television address. In the confusion, one aide had German Chancellor Helmut Kohl awakened in the dead of night, unaware that the President had informed Kohl hours earlier.

Other aides urged that the Palestine Liberation Organization be contacted, via the Tunisian Foreign Minister, to prevent the kind of PLO condemnation that followed Operation Desert Storm. The PLO should be told "not to be stupid again," a staffer urged. Christopher himself was trying to reach "our guest in Minnesota," in an aide's words, presumably Jordan's King Hussein, who was at the Mayo Clinic.

How does BUSINESS WEEK know all this? Because Christopher's staffers failed to use secure phones. Their conversations from the plane with Washington were caught by a "scanner"—an electronic hacker who monitors calls. The scanner provided a copy of the tape to BUSINESS WEEK, which has verified its contents. "We don't comment on the contents of private conversations," says a State Dept. spokesman.

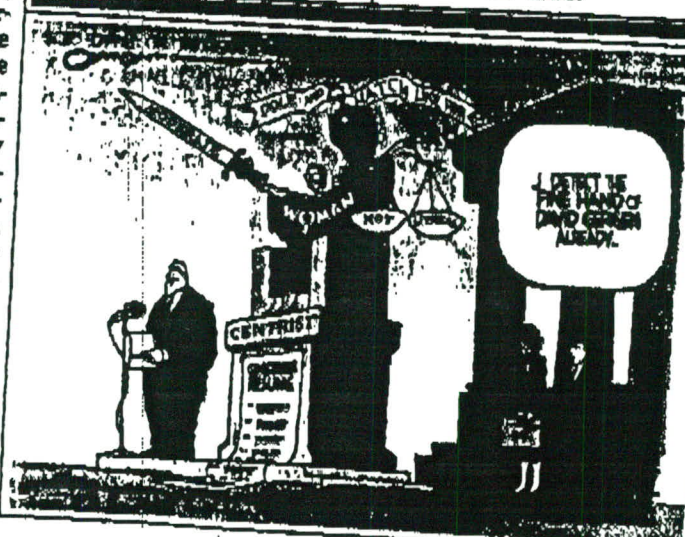
By Mark Lewyn in Washington

## THAT'S CHAIRMAN GOLUB TO YOU

► Let no one question Harvey Golub's power at American Express. On June 29, AmEx announced that Golub would get the chairman's title from Richard Furlaud—only five months after taking over as CEO from James Robinson III. AmEx' board also O.K.'d Golub's protégé, Jeffrey Stiefel, as president. The moves surprised some AmEx watchers who had expected Golub's rise to chairman to take longer. The architect of Golub's conquest is believed to be Furlaud, who had served as nonexecutive chairman since February. "It's an overwhelming reaffirmation that what Harvey has done for shareholders has been constructive," says John Byrne, a former board member.



WARREN CHRISTOPHER





8103:חוזם,אאאא

אל:רהמש/287

מ-:ניו יורק,נר:132,תא:070793,זח:1519,דח:ר,סג:בל,

בכבכ

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

BALMAS/RAGIL

26120

22803

TO: TIKSHORET

*ג.ד.*

NEWS SUMMARY 7-JULY-1993

#### TV COVERAGE

=====

CNBC INTERVIEWED LIKUD PARTY LEADER AND MK BENJAMIN NETANYAHU.

#### EDITORIALS

=====

NYT(CABLED): 'AN END TO NUCLEAR TESTING': WRITER ARGUES THAT DUE TO THE END OF THE COLD WAR, THE PRIMARY NUCLEAR THREAT IS NO LONGER THE FORMER SOVIET UNION BUT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION; COMMENDS THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION FOR EXTENDING THE MORATORIUM ON TESTS OF NUCLEAR ARMS.

NYT: 'NEW DOUBTS ABOUT IVAN THE TERRIBLE': WRITER ASSERTS THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN YEARS OF LEGAL BATTLING, A FEDERAL JUDGE HAS FOUND 'SUBSTANTIAL DOUBT' THAT JOHN DEMJANJUK WAS THE TREBLINKA DEATH GUARD KNOWN AS IVAN THE TERRIBLE; STATES THAT IF THIS IS THE CASE, MR. DEMJANJUK SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN EXTRADITED TO ISRAEL BY THE US.  
(ALSO NOTE NYP(P.BUCHANAN): 'DREYFUS IN JERUSALEM?')

#### COLUMNS

=====

DN(E.CALDWELL): 'IN ISRAEL AND NEW YORK, DAVE'S A WINNER': WRITER CRITICIZES THE ISRAELI PRESS FOR DEPICTING NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS IN A NEGATIVE LIGHT; STATES THAT MR. DINKINS 'STOOD BY' ISRAEL DURING DIFFICULT TIMES, CITING THE PERSIAN GULF WAR.

NYP(D.SEIFMAN): 'REV. AL'S A WORK OF ART IN ISRAEL, TOO': WRITER

ARGUES THAT MICHA GOLDMAN, ISRAEL'S DEPUTY EDUCATION MINISTER, 'PICKED THE WORST TIME IN THE WORLD' TO CRITICIZE NEW YORK; CITES MR. GOLDMAN'S COMMENT TO THE JERUSALEM POST.

#### PRESS REPORTS

=====

HEADLINES: NYT: 'US-EGYPT TIES ARE STRAINED IN DETENTION OF ISLAMIC CLERIC'; 'CLINTON COURTING REBEL LAWMAKERS ON TRIP TO JAPAN'; 'A MENACING RITUAL IS CALLED COMMON IN NEW YORK POOLS'; 'DRUG INDUSTRY MUSTERS A COALITION TO OPPOSE A CHANGE IN MEDICAID'; 'DOCTORS WEIGH THE COSTS OF A CHICKEN POX VACCINE.' WSJ: 'EVEN SERBS DISCOVER NO ONE IS THE VICTOR IN YUGOSLAV CONFLICT'; NATIONAL. ND,DN,NYP: LOCAL.

ISRAEL/DINKINS/VISIT/CROWN HEIGHTS: NYT(C.HABERMAN-CABLED),ND,DN,NYP: 'SPECTER OF CROWN HEIGHTS CLINGS TO DINKINS, EVEN IN ISRAEL': REPORTS THAT NEW YORK MAYOR DAVID DINKINS CANNOT ESCAPE THE SHADOW OF THE 1991 CROWN HEIGHTS RIOTS DURING HIS VISIT TO ISRAEL; NOTES THAT MR. DINKINS HAS TAKEN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SLOW POLICE RESPONSE TO THE 1991 RIOTS AND HAS DECLARED THAT 'NEVER AGAIN' WILL SUCH VIOLENCE OCCUR.

US/EGYPT/RELATIONS/STRAIN: NYT(C.HEDGES-CABLED): 'US-EGYPT TIES ARE STRAINED IN DETENTION OF ISLAMIC CLERIC': REPORTS THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND EGYPT HAVE DETERIORATED DUE TO THE DISPUTES WHICH LED TO THE DETENTION OF SHEIK OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN; NOTES THAT ACCORDING TO SENIOR EGYPTIAN OFFICIALS, THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ALLEGEDLY IGNORED THEIR WARNINGS ABOUT THE DANGER POSED BY MR. RAHMAN, WHOSE FOLLOWERS IN THE US INCLUDE SUSPECTS IN THE WTC BOMBING.

UN/IRAQ/WEAPONS/INSPECTION: NYT(R.BERNSTEIN-CABLED),WSJ(BRIEF),ND,DN: 'UN SAID TO REJECT HEARING ON IRAQI COMPLIANCE': REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO THE IRAQI AMBASSADOR TO THE UN, THE UN HAS REJECTED AN IRAQI REQUEST TO PRESENT EVIDENCE THAT IT IS COMPLYING WITH THE TERMS OF THE AGREEMENT THAT ENDED THE PERSIAN GULF WAR; NOTES THAT THE SPEAKER OF IRAQ'S PARLIAMENT SAID ON TUESDAY THAT BAGHDAD MIGHT STOP COOPERATING WITH THE UN UNLESS THE DISPUTE IS RESOLVED.

CHINA/IRAN/NUCLEAR/PLANT: NYT(CABLED): 'CHINA IN PACT TO HELP IRAN BUILD A-PLANT': REPORTS THAT ACCORDING TO ETELLAT NEWSPAPER, IRAN AND CHINA SIGNED AN AGREEMENT ON SUNDAY TO BUILD A NUCLEAR POWER PLANT NEAR TEHRAN; NOTES THAT IN A JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE OFFICIAL IRANIAN PRESS AGENCY, CHINESE OFFICIALS SAID 'IT WAS THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA OF COMMERCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL COOPERATION' FOR IRAN AND CHINA.

WEST BANK/PALESTINIAN/SISTER/BEHEADED: NYP(U.DAN): REPORTS THAT A 19-YEAR-OLD PALESTINIAN MAN BEHEADED HIS SISTER AND GAVE HER HEAD TO IDF SOLDIERS BECAUSE SHE HAD BETRAYED HER HUSBAND.

TURKEY/KURDS/REBELS/MASSACRE: DN(BRIEF): NOTES THAT KURDISH REBELS MASSACRED 32 CIVILIANS AND BURNED DOWN MOST OF THE HOMES IN A NIGHT RAID ON A VILLAGE IN EASTERN TURKEY.



NEW YORK/SHEIK/PRISON/HOSPITAL: NYT(J.TREASTER),ND,DN: 'SHEIK IS PUT INTO HOSPITAL AT US PRISON': REPORTS THAT SHEIK OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN WAS TAKEN TO THE FEDERAL PRISON HOSPITAL IN UPSTATE NEW YORK DUE TO HIGH BLOOD-SUGAR LEVELS.

ADS

=====

DN(SMALL ADVERTISEMENT-JERUSALEM POST): 'AN OPEN LETTER TO MAYOR DAVID DINKINS.'

LETTERS

=====

NYT: ONE LETTER WHICH ARGUES AGAINST A JUNE 29 NYT ARTICLE ENTITLED 'JEWISH LOBBYIST OUSTED FOR SLURS' WHICH CLAIMED THAT THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL DOES NOT LIKE TO USE EL AL AIRLINES.

ADDITIONAL ITEMS OF INTEREST

=====

ND(S.SACHS): 'SUSPECTS FROM SUDAN'S ELITE.'

NYP(R.STEIER): 'MAYORAL RIVALS DEVELOP NEGATIVES.'

NYT(A.GOLDMAN): 'NEW YORK COURT PROHIBITS HASIDIC PUBLIC SCHOOL.'

YAFITTE BENDORY  
ITONUT-NY

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

סססס

020

A handwritten signature or stylized mark consisting of a series of connected loops and curves, resembling a cursive 'L' or a stylized 'V'.



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 8220

אל: רהמש/288

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 136, תא: 070793, זח: 1617, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

29828

שמור/רגיל

201.01

אל: הסברה, ארב'ל 2,

דע: סמנכ'ל ארב'ל, סמנכ'ל הסברה, אמל'ט, מצפ'א, ממ'ד  
לוס אנג'לס, מיאמי, שג. וושינגטון, ונצואלה, סאן-פאולו

מאת: בהיג' מנצור - נאו'ם

הנדון: סיכום - הקונגרס הדרוזי בארה'ב מ-28 יוני עד 4 יולי 93

1. הקונגרס הקהילתי הדרוזי ה-47 נערך והתקיים במימאמי שבפלורידה  
במסגרת הכנס השתתפו משראל מר זידאן עטשה והח'מ.

2. מסמך זה יסכם את מהלך דיוני הכנס והאירועים החברתיים שהתקיימו בו.

3. בכנס השתתפו כ-450 משתתפים מ-18 סניפים בארה'ב. בנוסף השתתפו  
נציגים מהקהילה הדרוזית בונצואלה, סן-פאולו (ברזיל), מלבנון  
אוסטרליה קנדה וישראל.

4. נתונים על הקהילה הדרוזית בעולם  
א. הקהילה הגדולה חיה בסוריה. סה'כ 700 אלף נפש.

ב. הקהילה שבלבנון 450 אלף נפש.

ג. הקהילה בישראל 85 אלף נפש + 15 אלף הדרוזים שברמת הגולן.

ד. הקהילה בונצואלה 100 אלף נפש.

ה. סן-פאולו כמה אלפים.

ו. אוסטרליה 4 אלף.

ז. מדובר על קהילות באיראן, הודו ומזרח אסיה.

ח. הקהילה הדרוזית בארה'ב מונה כ-15 אל נפש.

5. מטרות הכינוס

א. שתוף פעולה בין הקהילות בארה'ב לקהילות במז'ת בעיקר לבנון.

ב. מפגשים חברתיים, תרבותיים.

ג. תאום דתי בכל הקשור בטכסי נישואים, מוות, קיום מצוות וקבלת פרטים על הדת הדרוזית.

ד. מפגשים בין צעירים דרוזים לצעירות כדי לאפשר עידוד הנישואים בתוך העדה ולצמצם נשואי התערובת.

ה. דיונים בענייני המוסדות של הארגון.

ו. הרצאות בנושאים שונים אזרחות, לאומיות, מדינה, שירה, הדת הדרוזית יסודות מגבלות ופירושה.

ז. הוצג סרט על העדה הדרוזית בישראל. נעשה נסיון לקיים דיון פוליטי אך בפעולה מהירה מצדנו מנענו קיום דיון כזה על מנת למנוע מצב של מתחים בכנס זה שמטרתו אינן פוליטיות.

מפגשים והתייחסות לקהילה הדרוזית בישראל

6. במהלך הכנס קיימנו מפגשים רחבים עם אישים באי הכינוס. הדגש הושם שיש צורך באחדות העדה, העדה הדרוזית בישראל, תרומתה לחיי המדינה והסיוע שניתן לדרוזים בלבנון בתקופת מלחמת של'ג. מעבר לכך הסברנו תהליך השלום והמדיניות הישראלית החדשה. בקרב המשתתפים בלטה השתתפותם של אקדמאים בעלי השכלה גבוהה אשר תרמו לאוירה הכללית כל אחד בתחומו.

משתתפי הכנס בעבר רחשו איבה כלפי ישראל והאשימו אותה בכיבוש ונטיה לצד המאורוני. בתקופה האחרונה תחושתנו שקיימת מגמה של שינוי בהתייחסות לישראל ולדרוזים במקום, אך עדיין קיימים סימנים של איבה כלפי ישראל אמנם בטון נמוך ועדות לכך בדיונים לא נשמעו הצהרות פוליטיות. למרות נסיון של אחדים להציג שאלות פוליטיות בעיקר ע'י תומכי סוריה שהביעו דעתם האנטי-ישראלית בשיחות פרטיות ואף בשאלות הקשורות בכיבוש הישראלי, רמת הגולן וכן מבצע שלום הגליל.

מנהיגות דתית

7. המנהיגות הדתית בלבנון בראשות שיין אלעקל בהג'ת ג'ית העניקה לקהיליה הדרוזית אישור להקמת מוסד השייכים (מועצת העאקל) הדרוזים בארה'ב שתפקידו לקיים טכסים דתיים, נשואים, מוות ולהנחות את בני העדה בעניינים הקשורים בטכסים הדתיים.

נשיא הקהיליה בארה'ב

8. הכנס בחר במר סאמי מרעי מוצאו מלבנון כנשיא הקהיליה למשך שנה כאשר הכנס בשנה הבאה ייערך בלוס אנג'לס וכבר הציגו מועמדותם אישים

שונים. הנשיא הנוכחי נמנה על המפלגה הלאומית הסורית, לא מאוהדי ישראל.

התייחסות הסורים

9. בכנס בלטה בקרב קבוצות מסויימות השנאה לסורים, ואהדתם לוליד



ג'ונבלט. אישים סיפרו שג'ונבלט מקבל סיוע ישיר מישראל על מנת שיוכל לעמוד בפני קשיי הקהילה הדרוזית בלבנון. מעבר לכך ציינו שמנהיגי הקהילה בלבנון מתחו ביקורת על הדרוזים בסוריה שלא סייעו לדרוזים בתקופת מלחמת של'ג.

#### חזב אלקאומי אלסורי

10. בקרב באי הכנס קיימת קבוצה הנמנית על המפלגה הלאומית הערבית 'חזב אלקאומי אלסורי' שקוראת להקמת סוריה הגדולה ע'פ המתאר של תחילת שנות ה-20. 'הקשת הפוריה' שכוללת עיראק, ירדן, סוריה, לבנון ו'פלסטין'. קבוצה זו אינה מתומכי וליד ג'ונבלט ומפלגתו הסוציאליסטית אך רבים מהמשתתפים מודעים לדעות אלו אך הם מנסים להציג שלמפלגה זו אין זכות קיום מאחר וסוריה למעשה הכירה בישראל כאשר החלה לנהל איתה מו"מ ישיר.

#### 11. המרכיב הדתי חברתי

הדרוזים שמחוץ למזרח התיכון נמצאים במאבק יומי על מנת לא לאבד זהותם, לצערנו חלקם התחתן מחוץ לעדה ואינו מקיים מצוות דתיות ועל כן כנוס זה בא לסייע לחיזוק קשרים אלה. לדעתם הדרוזים בישראל מהווים עמוד השדרה בשפתם 'אנשי האדמה' של העדה הדרוזית והן מהווים סמל של הקרבה לדת ושמירת המצוות והמסורת הדרוזית בעולם. יש לציין שבלוס אנג'לס הסניף במקום הקים בית העדה במקום בו מתנהלים טכסים דתיים אירועים חברתיים לעומתו במקומות אחרים לא מתקיימת פעילות כלשהיא.

12. כנס הקהילה הדרוזית בונצואלה - ינואר 94  
באי מרגרטה יתקיים ב-2 ינואר 94 כנס הקהילה הדרוזית בונצואלה ודרום אמריקה. כאמור קהילה זו מונה כ-100 אלף נפש שרובם לבנונים ומעט סורים. יש לציין שהקהילה הערבית בארץ זו מונה כ-400 אלף נפש כולל נוצרים מרונים שמביעים תמיכה בישראל ונאמר מפהם שסוריה כובשת וישראל נמצאת במקום ולא ההיפך לדברי הנציגים הדרוזים בונצואלה.

#### 13. סכום והמלצות

א. לדעתי חשובה מאד השתתפות דרוזים מישראל בכנוסים אלה לראיה לא נדונו ענינים פוליטיים והגישה כלפי ישראל התמתנה ואף ההתייחסות לבני העדה הדרוזית בישראל יותר חיובית.

ב. מומלץ בעתיד להפיק סרט יותר מעמיק שיכלול סקירה דתית חברתית מנהיגותית של העדה הדרוזית בישראל על מנת להעמיק את המודעות להישגי העדה בארץ והיחסים בינם לבין השלטון בכלל ובמיוחד עם העם היהודי.

ג. לקיים פעילות שוטפת בקרב חברי הפדרציה הדרוזית בארה"ב על מנת לנסות להשפיע על הבחירות בעתיד. ידוע שאחד המועמדים המובילים לנשיאות הוא תופיק ג'ורדי ממיאמי שהוא אוהד את העדה בארץ ומעסיקו יהודי בעל חברת תעופה במקום.

ד. מודעות יתר של הנציגויות ברחבי ארה"ב לקהילה הדרוזית ולנסות להזמין לאירועים חברתיים רשמיים של ישראל והקהילה היהודית.

בהיג' מנצור - נאו'ם  
7 ביולי 1993

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, בייך, ארבל2,  
רביב, הסברה, שמורק, אמלט1, אמלט2, מצפא,  
רחטמזת, מזת1, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 7219

אל: רהמש/249

מ-: מוסקבה, נר: 123, תא: 070793, זח: 0924, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

מיידי/שמור

אל: לשכת שה'ח

דע: ס/שה'ח, סמנכל שלום

מאת: גור- מוסקבה

Ca.7.

הנדון: פגישת תיאום עם משלחת ארה"ב (5/7)

1. בפגישת התיאום עם משלחת ארה"ב השתתפו מצידם- דג'ריג'יאן, תוחמילר, ת. נוורטיל, סילברמן, דבריה, קיסוותר, גם וולש ונציגי המועצה לבטחון לאומי והשגרירות כאן. מצידנו ביילין, בר-לב, גנור, זק, ברדוגו וגור.

2. דג'ריג'יאן הביע שביעות רצונם מהתקדמות הרב- צדדי ובעיקר מהמעבר מהשלב העיוני לשלב המעשי של סקרים ותחילת יישום פרויקטים.

3. בנושאי מבנה וארגון השיחות העלו האמריקאים מספר נושאים:

א. השתתפות האו"ם בועדת ההיגוי.

ב. ההצעה האירופית לאיחוד 3 הקבוצות הכלכליות.

ג. דרישת הפלסטינים להקמת קבוצות עבודה לענייני ירושלים וזכויות אדם.

ד. התייחסו לבקשה האירופית להקמת מזכירות.

4. משלחת ארה"ב הביעה התנגדות לכל הצעות השינוי הנ"ל ומבקשת לשמור על מבנה השיחות הקיים.

5. ס/שה'ח הצטרף לעמדה האמריקאית אך הדגיש הצורך בהקמת אמצעי לאיסוף המידע על הפעילות המגוונת המתבצעת בקבוצות העבודה השונות ולהעמידה לרשות הצדדים.

דג'ריג'יאן הציע כי השושבינות ירכזו מידע זה ממחזיקי הפטיש ופיצו בין המשתתפים. יבדקו אפשרות מיחשוב מערכת זו.

6. כדי לצרף את סוריה ולבנון למסלול הרב צדדי, הציע דג'ריג'יאן כי נצטרף בשלב הראשון לועדת ההיגוי. ביילין השיב כי קודם יש לבדוק נכונותן של השתיים להצטרפות זו ואז נהיה מוכנים לשקול זאת.

7. ביילין הציע כי תוקם קבוצת עבודה מיוחדת לענייני בריאות אך ספק אם ארה"ב תענה לבקשה זו כדי לא לאפשר שינוי המבנה הקיים.

8. דג'ריג'יאן הציע כי ועדת ההיגוי תאמץ החלטה שתתמוך בהסכמי העברת הסמכויות המיוחדת לפלסטינים בדו-צדדי ע'י הקצאת המשאבים הנדרשים לכך.

9. ביילין הציע כי ההיגוי תקדיש המשב הקרוב להגברת יעדי תזון לרב-צדדי ודג'ריג'יאן הביע תמיכה ברעיון זה.

10. ביילין העלה לבקשת שהב'ט כי קבוצת העבודה לבק'ן תתכנס בסוף נובמבר, אולם דג'ריג'יאן ציין כי לא יוכלו לבצע זאת במועד המבוקש אלא רק בראשית נובמבר. כמו כן ביקש ביילין כי תוגבר מעורבות יונידיר בבק'ן ולא סבא'א.

11. ההתייחסות היחידה לכך תהיה במסגרת דברי הפתיחה של דג'איג'יאן.

שלמה גור

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,  
פרנ, רחטמזת

סססס



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 8271

אל: רהמש/289

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 208, תא: 070793, זח: 1728, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי לבוקר

אל: ממנכ"ל, מצפ"א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: שיחת השר שטרית עם רוס

השר שמעון שטרית נפגש עם דניס רוס במחמ"ד השתתפו בשיחה הציר, הציר הכלכלי ונציגת מחלקת ישראל במחמ"ד.

השר פתח בהבעת הערכה למאמצים האמריקנים בכלל ולמאמצי צוות השלום בפרט. יש לישראל ביקורת על הניר שהוגש לנו אך ביקורת זו אינה גורעת מהערכתנו לתפקיד שהמתווך ההוגן ממלא. היתה אצלנו אכזבה מסוימת מכך שלא היה הפעם תיאום מלא עימנו. השינוי שחל מאז מסמך ה-12 במאי הוא תוצאת לחץ פלשתינאי וזו אכזבה. נשמעו אמנם קולות שונים בישראל, אפילו בתוך הממשלה, אבל יש רק קול אחד המביע בצורה מוסמכת את עמדת ישראל וזהו ראש הממשלה. היו אנשים שהעלו אפשרות של שיתוף אש"פ אבל זו דעת מיעוט שנדחתה על-ידי ממשלת ישראל. בארבע נקודות יש בישראל אחידות-דעים גמורה:

- (1) ירושלים
- (2) יוריסדיקציה
- (3) האחריות לבטחון בתקופת הביניים
- (4) האחריות לישראלים בשטחים.

דיבור על שיתופו של אש"פ, יחבל בתהליך. אם בטונים יעריכו שצפוי שינוי לטובתם בייצוג הפלשתינאי, לא ירשו למשלחת הנוכחית לעשות מאומה. אש"פ היה ועודנו אלמנט שלילי. רק לאחרונה, בשעת פעולת העונשין של ארה"ב בבגדד, חזר אש"פ ותמך בעירקים.

יש לחזור למובן המקורי של 242. נכון שהמסמך מדבר על נסיגה אך הוא מדבר על גבולות בטוחים ומוכרים. ההנחה ביסוד הניסוח הזה היא שמהו מהשטחים יהיה דרוש לישראל להגנתה שאם לא כן לשם מה האיזכור של גבולות בטוחים ומוכרים?

אשר לטיוטה: תמיד כשהיה שינוי הוא היה לטובת הפלשתינאים. יש להותיר כמה דברים למשא ומתן עצמו. ישראל נותנת ונותנת, הסכמנו להשתתפות פיסל חוסייני ולהשתתפות מזרח-ירושלמים בבחירות ודברים אלה כבר נחשבים לעובדה גמורה ושוב אינם יכולים לשמש כקלפי-מיקוח. ישנה סכנה שממשלת ישראל תאבד את אמון בוחריה. גם בנושא היוריסדיקציה הניסוחים הם יותר "ממשלתיים" ופחות "מינהליים". פעם השתמשו במונח - FUNCTIONS ועכשיו משתמשים ב- POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. ויש בעיות בנושאי קרקעות, בחירות ובטחון.

הדגש על 242 הוא חזק מידי (מה גם שנוסף הביטוי ALL ITS ASPECTS צריך לתת לצדדים הזדמנות לפתח יחסים שאינם נובעים דוקא מ-242).

בעיה אחרת היא שאין התייחסות למליאה הירדנית-פלשתינאית. לא רצוי להחליש את הקשר הירדני כי פתרון טוב תלוי בהקשר זה.

לבסוף נגע השר שטרית באלמנט הזמן ואמר (בתשובה להערות רוס) שלא כדאי להנחיל לכולם תחושת דחיפות ובסופו של דבר, מאומה לא קורה ומשתלטת אכזבה. תהליך קמפ-דיויד היה ממושך למרות שהעניין שעסק בו היה הרבה יותר פשוט.

עד כאן דברי השר.

רוס נגע בדברי תשובתו לרבות מהנקודות שהעלה פרופ' שטרית ובעניין זה ראו נא את מברקי מאתמול 6.7 נר 153.

שילה

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

סססס



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 8095

אל: רהמש/ 282

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 190, תא: 070793, זח: 1538, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

תאריך: 7 ביולי 1993

אל: מצפ"א

דע: משהב"ט / מקש"ח

נספח הגנה - כאן

נציג סיב"ט - כאן

רמש"נ / ניו יורק

הנדון: ביהנ"ב / חוק תקציב הפנטגון

בהמשך לשלנו 1066 מ-29.6

התאריך הנקוב בשלב זה ל-MARK UP של חוק תקציב פנטגון בועדת השרותים המזויינים בבית הוא 21 ביולי.

ב-19 ביולי אמור להסתיים ה-MARK UP בועדות המשנה של ועדת השרותים המזויינים.

נוסיף לעקוב ולעדכן.

בינה

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, ערן

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 7962

אל: רהמש/ 281

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 184, תא: 070793, זח: 1329, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 7 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: תמליל מסע"ת הנשיא קלינטון ומזכיר המדינה

להלן התמליל המלא של מסה"ת של הנשיא קלינטון ומזכיר המדינה  
כריסטופר.

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH PRESIDENT CLINTON, FOLLOWED BY PRESS  
BRIEFING WITH SECY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER AND SECY OF THE  
TREASURY LLOYD BENTSEN HOTEL OKURA, TOKYO WEDNESDAY, JULY 7,  
1993 -- 5:20 AM EDT

PRESIDENT CLINTON: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I WANT TO READ A  
STATEMENT ABOUT THE MARKET ACCESS AGREEMENT THAT WAS REACHED.  
AMBASSADOR KANTOR, I KNOW, HAS ALREADY BEEN DOWN HERE ANSWERING  
YOUR QUESTIONS, AND SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND SECRETARY BENTSEN  
ARE HERE. I WANT TO TRY TO EXPLAIN WHY I CAN'T TAKE A BROAD  
RANGE OF QUESTIONS ON THE G-7 SUMMIT. UNDER THE RULES OF THE  
SUMMIT, WE CAN'T DISCUSS WHAT'S GOING ON WHILE IT'S GOING ON  
UNLESS WE GET AN EXEMPTION. SINCE WE HAVE ACTUALLY MADE AN  
AGREEMENT ON THIS, I CAN MAKE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT.

THE BREAKTHROUGH ACHIEVED TODAY IN THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE TALKS  
IS GOOD NEWS FOR AMERICA AND GOOD NEWS FOR THE WORLD. IT MEANS  
MORE JOBS AND HIGHER INCOMES FOR OUR PEOPLE.

WHILE THERE ARE DIFFICULT NEGOTIATIONS AHEAD, TODAY'S AGREEMENT  
ON MANUFACTURED GOODS BREAKS THE LOGJAM IN THE URUGUAY ROUND.  
FOR YEARS TALKS IN THAT ROUND HAVE LANGUISHED. G-7 LEADERS HAVE  
EMERGED FROM THESE SUMMITS PLEDGING RENEWED COMMITMENT TO  
COMPLETE THE ROUND. THEIR PLEDGES HAVE GONE UNFULFILLED. BUT  
THIS YEAR WE HAVE RECAPTURED THE MOMENTUM. IF WE CAN COMPLETE



THE URUGUAY ROUND BY THE END OF THIS YEAR -- AND I BELIEVE WE CAN NOW -- THEN THIS AGREEMENT WILL BRING THE LARGEST TARIFF REDUCTIONS EVER. IT WILL LOWER DUTIES ON 18 CATEGORIES OF MANUFACTURED GOODS, FROM PAPER TO CHEMICALS TO ELECTRONICS. IT ELIMINATES TARIFFS ENTIRELY -- THAT IS, IT CREATES GLOBAL FREE TRADE FOR 8 MAJOR SECTORS INCLUDING FARM IMPLEMENTS, STEEL AND PHARMACEUTICALS.

THIS AGREEMENT MEANS NEW JOBS AND NEW GROWTH IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN OTHER NATIONS. IT PROVES THAT GOVERNMENT CAN BE A PRODUCTIVE PARTNER WITH BUSINESS, HELPING TO OPEN MARKETS AND CREATE JOBS.

SPECIAL PRAISE IS DUE TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, TO CANADA, AND TO JAPAN WHO JOINED WITH US IN THIS EFFORT; TO OUR NEGOTIATOR, AMBASSADOR MICKEY KANTOR; AND TO THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS, WHICH VOTED LAST WEEK TO RENEW MY FAST TRACK AUTHORITY TO COMPLETE THIS ROUND.

WITH TODAY'S ACCORD, I AM MORE DETERMINED THAN EVER TO PRESS AHEAD WITH THE URUGUAY ROUND BY THE END OF THIS YEAR. THIS REALLY CAN MEAN AN ENORMOUS NUMBER OF JOBS FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

WHEN WE CAME HERE, FRANKLY, WE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER WE COULD GET AN AGREEMENT ON MARKET ACCESS FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS. IT IS A VERY, VERY GOOD SIGN THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS ACHIEVED, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE JOBS THAT THIS HOLDS FOR AMERICANS, BUT BECAUSE OF THE PROMISE IT HOLDS TO ACTUALLY COMPLETE THE URUGUAY ROUND.

Q MR. PRESIDENT --

Q MR. PRESIDENT, COULD YOU JUST TELL US WHETHER (YOU'RE GETTING ?) TO KNOW THE OTHER LEADERS AND WHAT THE MOOD WAS AT THE MEETING?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: GOOD MOOD. IT WAS A GOOD MOOD. OF COURSE I KNOW -- I HAVE SPENT TIME WITH SEVERAL OF THEM ALREADY. BUT IT WAS -- SO FAR IT'S BEEN A VERY GOOD MOOD. WE HAD OVER THREE HOURS ALL ALONE WHERE WE JUST TALKED ABOUT VARIOUS THINGS. AND I'M LOOKING FORWARD TO MORE OF THIS TIME. IT'S VERY VALUABLE ACTUALLY GETTING TO KNOW THEM BECAUSE THERE'S SO MANY THINGS WE HAVE TO DO TOGETHER.

(CROSS TALK/INAUDIBLE.)

PRESIDENT CLINTON: I DON'T KNOW. I'M GETTING TO KNOW THEM. I'M HAVING A GOOD TIME.

Q DID -- (INAUDIBLE) -- ABOUT LEADERSHIP -- AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP?

PRESIDENT CLINTON: WELL, I THINK MR. KANTOR PROBABLY TOLD YOU HOW THIS AGREEMENT ABOUT AND WHAT THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS WAS, BUT I DON'T THINK THERE'S ANY QUESTION THAT OUR COUNTRY PLAYED ITS APPROPRIATE ROLE IN GETTING THIS AGREEMENT.

(CROSS TALK.)

Q (OFF MIKE) -- AGREEMENT -- GUIDELINES (FOR/FROM) THE JAPANESE? THANKS.

Q DROP BACK.

(CROSS TALK/LAUGHTER)

Q DROP BY AGAIN.

Q WE'LL BE HERE.

(CROSS TALK.)

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: YOU CAN HOLD ME RESPONSIBLE FOR SOME OF THAT. UNDER THE RULES OF THE CONFERENCE, THE HEADS ARE NOT SUPPOSED TO TALK ABOUT THE CONFERENCE UNTIL IT'S OVER, AND AN EXEMPTION WAS GIVEN BECAUSE THIS PARTICULAR AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED, BUT IT WAS A LIMITED EXEMPTION AND THE PRESIDENT WAS TRYING TO HEW TO THAT LINE.

I'VE JUST COME FROM A MEETING OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WHERE WE WORKED ON THE SO-CALLED POLITICAL DECLARATION. THIS IS A -- BEGAN AS AN ECONOMIC SUMMIT, BUT AS YOU KNOW, IT'S DEVELOPED A VERY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL DIMENSION OVER THE YEARS.

WHAT I'M GOING TO DO TODAY IS TO GIVE YOU SOME OF THE HIGH POINTS OF THE CONSENSUS THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS REACHED ON VARIOUS THEMES. THIS WILL BE REFLECTED IN SPECIFIC LANGUAGE AFTER IT'S APPROVED BY THE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, BUT I THINK AT THIS POINT IT MIGHT BE USEFUL FOR YOU IF I EMPHASIZED THE POINTS THAT THE UNITED STATES STRESSED IN THE MEETING TODAY, WHICH WILL BE REFLECTED IN THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE.

FIRST, WE STRESSED NON-PROLIFERATION, BECAUSE IN OUR VIEW NON-PROLIFERATION IS REALLY THE ARMS CONTROL ISSUE OF THE 90S. WE TALKED ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF EMPHASIS ON NORTH KOREA RETRACTING ITS DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE IAEA. WE TALKED ABOUT AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION SECURING THEIR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE URGED THAT UKRAINE RATIFY THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. I'M SORRY -- RATIFY THE START AGREEMENT. AND WE ALSO TALKED ABOUT, AND YOU WILL FIND REFLECTED IN THE CONSENSUS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS, THE NEED TO EXTEND THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY WHEN IT COMES UP FOR RENEWAL IN 1995. THAT WAS ONE MAJOR SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS TODAY.



A SECOND ONE WAS SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC AND FREE MARKET FORCES IN RUSSIA, SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT YELTSIN. AND YOU'LL FIND ONCE AGAIN THAT REFLECTED VERY SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE COMMUNIQUE.

WE ALSO EMPHASIZED IN THAT SAME PART OF THE COMMUNIQUE -- PART OF THE CONSENSUS THAT WAS REACHED -- THE REFORM PROCESS IN UKRAINE, PLACING STRESS ON THE VERY RECENT MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENTS YELTSIN AND KRAVCHUK AS BEING A GOOD SIGN.

WITH RESPECT TO BOSNIA, THE DISCUSSIONS FOCUSED ON THE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL HUMANITARIAN RELIEF IN THAT COUNTRY. WE TALKED ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTAINMENT OF THE CONFLICT. WE URGED THAT WITH RESPECT TO KOSOVO THAT MILOSEVIC WITHDRAW HIS EFFORTS TO TRY TO FORCE THE MONITORS TO LEAVE KOSOVO. WE EMPHASIZED THAT WITH RESPECT TO THE DISCUSSIONS IN GENEVA THAT THE SERBS AND THE CROATS SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DICTATE THE TERMS ON WHICH THE AGREEMENTS WERE REACHED.

UNDER ANOTHER PART OF THE DISCUSSIONS THE UNITED STATES STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. THERE WAS VERY STRONG SUPPORT FROM ALL THE FOREIGN MINISTERS FOR THE UNITED STATES' AND RUSSIA'S EFFORT IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS. FOR THE FIRST TIME THERE IS A FLAT STATEMENT THAT THE ARAB BOYCOTT SHOULD END. AND THAT REFLECTS THE CONSENSUS OF THE PARTIES.

ON THE -- IN THE REGIONAL AREA, THERE WERE VERY STRONG STATEMENTS MADE WITH RESPECT TO IRAN AND IRAQ AND LIBYA. WE CALLED ATTENTION TO THE BEHAVIOR OF IRAN. AND IN THAT CONNECTION, THE UNITED STATES STRESSED THE FACT THAT IRAN WAS ACCUMULATING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, THAT THEY WERE EXPORTING TERROR, AND THAT THEY WERE INVOLVED IN HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES WITHIN THE COUNTRY.

THE -- THERE WAS ALSO A VERY ADVERSE REFERENCE TO LIBYA'S CONDUCT, AND I'M TOLD THAT, ONCE AGAIN, THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THOSE THREE COUNTRIES HAVE COME IN FOR ADVERSE MENTION IN THE CONSENSUS OF THE FOREIGN MINISTERS.

THE -- I'M GLAD TO SAY THE DISCUSSION WAS NOT ENTIRELY NEGATIVE. WE TALKED ABOUT THE DECISIONS MADE LAST WEEKEND WITH RESPECT TO HAITI. THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WANTED TO RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RESTORATION OF THE LEGITIMATE AUTHORITIES IN HAITI, AND THEY COMMENDED IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS THE ACTIONS OF THE OAS AND THE UNITED NATIONS. WE ALSO RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANT STEPS TAKEN IN SOUTH AFRICA, AND WE URGED THE SUPPORT FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LEBANON.

YOU'LL FIND, I THINK, WHEN YOU SEE THE POLITICAL COMMUNIQUE, A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT TOPICS DISCUSSED, AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF A CONSENSUS REACHED WILL BECOME MORE APPARENT AFTER THE HEADS OF

STATE HAVE ACTED ON THESE MATTERS. BUT I THINK YOU'LL FIND THE POLITICAL COMMUNIQUE TO BE ONE OF SUBSTANCE AND SIGNIFICANCE FOR THIS G-7 SESSION.

SECRETARY BENTSEN?

SEC. BENTSEN: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER.

GOOD EVENING. YOU GOT YOUR CLOCKS RIGHT?

Q TURNED AHEAD.

SEC. BENTSEN: WELL, LAST THURSDAY AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE WHITE HOUSE, I SAID AGREEMENT TO COMPLETE THE URUGUAY ROUND BY DECEMBER HAD TO BE ONE OF OUR KEY OBJECTIVES AT THIS SUMMIT, AND TODAY I THINK THAT'S BEEN MET AND SURPASSED IN THAT OBJECTIVE. THE INTERESTING THING ABOUT THIS ONE: AS CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE, WE HAD JURISDICTION FOR TRADE, AND TIME AFTER TIME, I WOULD PUSH PRESIDENTS TO TAKE THE TRADE AMBASSADOR ALONG, AND OFTEN THAT WAS RESISTED. BUT IN THIS INSTANCE, THE PRESIDENT CHOSE TO TAKE THE TRADE AMBASSADOR ALONG WHEN YOU HAVE MAJOR ISSUES OF TRADE INVOLVED, AND I THINK MICKEY KANTOR DID A GREAT JOB AND DESERVES A LOT OF CREDIT FOR WHAT WAS ACCOMPLISHED IN THAT ONE.

YOU KNOW, PROMISES TO COMPLETE THE URUGUAY ROUND ARE STANDARD FARE AT THESE SUMMIT MEETINGS, AND FOR THREE YEARS, THAT'S WHAT WE'VE SEEN. WHAT DISTINGUISHES THIS SUMMIT IS THAT WE'VE MOVED BEYOND THE PROMISE TO THE PAYOFF. A BREAKTHROUGH IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS THAT MUCH MORE THAN AN AGREEMENT TO AGREE. PROSPECTS OF MEETING THE DECEMBER DEADLINE ARE BRIGHTER THAN EVER BEFORE. SO I THINK THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON AND AMBASSADOR KANTOR DESERVE A LOT OF CREDIT ON THIS ONE. THEY'VE RECOGNIZED THE URGENT NEED TO COMPLETE THE URUGUAY ROUND. OVER THE NEXT DECADE, IT COULD CREATE 1.4 MILLION JOBS IN AMERICA, AND THAT'S SOMETHING WE CAN ALL APPLAUD.

PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS SUCCEEDED IN MAKING THIS ECONOMIC SUMMIT A JOBS SUMMIT, AND THAT'S WHAT THIS SUMMIT IS ABOUT -- CREATING JOBS. THE MARKET ACCESS AGREEMENT IS A GOOD ONE. NOT ONLY IS IT THE LARGEST SINGLE TARIFF REDUCTION EVER NEGOTIATED; IT WILL RESULT IN INCREASED MARKET ACCESS FOR INDUSTRIAL GOODS, GOODS THAT NOW REPRESENT OVER 75 BILLION (DOLLARS) IN US EXPORTS. I'LL TELL YOU, IT CERTAINLY MADE MY MEETING WITH THE G-7 COLLEAGUES A COLLEGIAL ONE THIS AFTERNOON. THE MOOD WAS VERY PLEASANT. AND IF I CAN SUM UP A COUPLE OF HOURS OF CONVERSATION IN ONE WORD, THE WORD WAS JOBS.

AMERICA'S CREATED 770,000 JOBS SINCE JANUARY, AND THAT'S A PRETTY ROBUST GROWTH TO WHAT WE'RE SEEING IN OTHER COUNTRIES. THEIR EMPLOYMENT IS GOING DOWN, NOT UP. AND MUCH OF THAT UNEMPLOYMENT, ESPECIALLY IN EUROPE, IS LONG-TERM, NOT SHORT-TERM



LIKE WE HAVE IN THE UNITED STATES, WHERE PRACTICALLY EVERYONE FINDS A JOB EVENTUALLY.

WE TALKED ABOUT WHAT WE CAN DO TO INCREASE WORLDWIDE EMPLOYMENT, AND THAT MEANS WORLDWIDE GROWTH. WE DON'T HAVE COMPETITION BETWEEN COUNTRIES. WE WANT COOPERATION SO EVERYBODY COMES OUT AHEAD. AND THAT'S WHAT WE'RE SELLING. THEIR MESSAGE TO US WAS SOMETHING WE'VE HEARD BEFORE: "CUT YOUR DEFICIT." I SAID, "THAT'S THE PRESIDENT'S TOP PRIORITY WHEN HE RETURNS TO WASHINGTON." BUDGET-CUTTING HAS LOWERED LONG-TERM INTEREST RATES TO THE LOWEST RATE IN 20 YEARS, AND THAT'S BEEN HELPING TO STIMULATE OUR ECONOMY.

AND MY MESSAGE TO THEM IS SOMETHING THEY'VE HEARD BEFORE AND THEY HAVE ACTED ON BEFORE, AND THEY STARTED AT OUR MEETING, THE G-7 FINANCE MINISTERS, IN FEBRUARY IN LONDON, AND THAT WAS FOR EUROPE TO CUT INTEREST RATES. BUT THE RATES ARE STILL HIGH IN REAL TERMS, GIVEN THE DEPTH OF THE RECESSION THAT'S THERE. AND WE TOLD THE JAPANESE THAT THEY NEED TO KEEP STIMULATING DOMESTIC DEMAND. JAPAN HAS MADE A START, BUT THEY NEED TO DO MUCH MORE.

NOW, LET ME END WITH THIS: IF WE CAN INCREASE DEMAND FOR PRODUCTS BY 2 PERCENT AMONG OUR TRADING PARTNERS, THAT MEANS 700,000 NEW JOBS IN THE UNITED STATES, 750,000 NEW JOBS IN EUROPE, AND 500,000 NEW JOBS IN JAPAN, 120,000 NEW JOBS IN CANADA. WE'D ALL BE WINNERS. AND THAT'S WHAT WE'RE HERE TO DISCUSS. AND IN THE CASE OF THE MARKET ACCESS AGREEMENT, NOT ONLY TALK ABOUT, BUT ACT ON.

NOW, WHO WANTS THE FIRST QUESTION?

Q MR. SECRETARY?

Q MR. SECRETARY, ON THE MARKET ACCESS AGREEMENT, WHAT POSITION DOES THAT PUT YOU IN FOR THE AGRICULTURAL SEGMENT OF THE -- (INAUDIBLE) --

SEC. BENTSEN: WELL, I THINK IT'S A GOOD EXAMPLE. IT ADDS IMPETUS TO IT. I THINK IT'S -- IT WILL HELP.

Q HOW DOES IT STRENGTHEN IT?

SEC. BENTSEN: I BEG YOUR PARDON?

Q HOW DOES IT STRENGTHEN THE US POSITION IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS?

SEC. BENTSEN: WELL I THINK THE FACT THAT WE'VE SEEN ON THESE VERY DIFFICULT ACCESS AGREEMENTS FOR MANUFACTURED GOODS, TO SEE THESE NATIONS COME TOGETHER AND REALIZE HOW IMPORTANT IT IS TO OPEN UP THAT MARKET. I THINK THAT ADDS IMPETUS TO WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO ON AGRICULTURE.

Q WHERE DO THE --

Q MR. SECRETARY?

Q WHERE DO THE FRAMEWORK TALKS STAND RIGHT NOW? DO YOU EXPECT THE SAME MEASURE OF SUCCESS IN THOSE AS YOU HAD IN THE MARKET ACCESS?

SEC. BENTSEN: WE STILL HAVE WORK TO DO ON THAT ONE.

Q YOU DON'T THINK YOU'LL GET IT THEN?

SEC. BENTSEN: THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE STILL GOING ON.

Q HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE CHANCES OF GETTING SOME KIND OF AN AGREEMENT ON THESE BILATERAL TALKS?

Q YOU WERE PRETTY GLOOMY IN WASHINGTON ABOUT IT.

SEC. BENTSEN: I SURE WAS, WASN'T I?

Q ARE YOU STILL GLOOMY?

SEC. BENTSEN: WELL, AS FAR I'M CONCERNED, THE GLASS IS HALF FULL.

Q OR DO YOU THINK IT CAN BE RESOLVED?

Q SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER?

Q WE CAN FILL IT UP. (LAUGHTER.)

Q A QUESTION ON BOSNIA. LAST YEAR, THE G-7 ADOPTED A VERY FAR-RANGING STATEMENT ON BOSNIA, INCLUDING A WARNING THAT, IF NECESSARY, THAT MILITARY ACTION COULD BE NEEDED TO DEAL WITH THE SITUATION THERE. ARE YOU RENEWING THE CALL FOR MILITARY ACTION? AND HOW WILL YOUR STATEMENT BE SEEN AS EITHER AN ADVANCE OR PERHAPS WILL BE SEEN AS, IN FACT, WEAKER THAN ONE A YEAR AGO IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE ONE THAT WAS CALLED FOR A YEAR AGO HAS BEEN NOT DONE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, YOU'LL HAVE TO COMPARE THE STATEMENTS WHEN THEY ACTUALLY COME OUT. THE STATEMENT THIS YEAR FOCUSES ON THE PROCESS IN GENEVA INDICATING THE OUTCOME THAT THE G-7 ARE PRESSING FOR THERE. IT EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTAINMENT. IT STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMANITARIAN AID. AND IT INDICATES THE DESIRABILITY OF FINDING AN EARLY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. I THINK IT WILL BE FAIR TO SAY THAT YOU'LL NOT FIND THE DISCUSSION AS EXPANSIVE AS IT WAS LAST YEAR.

Q AND WHAT ABOUT MILITARY ACTION? WAS THERE ANY DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE MILITARY ACTION FROM THE SECURITY COUNCIL?



SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I BELIEVE THERE'S NO DISCUSSION OF -- THERE WAS NO DISCUSSION OF THAT TODAY AMONG THE FOREIGN MINISTERS.

Q YOU HAVE -- YOU WANT THE ARAB BOYCOTTED LIFTED. DO YOU HAVE A COMPLEMENTARY STATEMENT THAT THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF PALESTINIANS SHOULD BE ENDED?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: LET ME TELL YOU WHERE THAT STANDS NOW. WE TALKED ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL RESPECTING ITS OBLIGATION WITH REGARD TO THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES.

Q MR. SECRETARY? ARE THERE ANY OUTSTANDING ISSUES IN THE POLITICAL AREA THAT HAVE BEEN REFERRED TO THE EMBASSY?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NO. WE REACHED A CONSENSUS AMONG THE FOREIGN MINISTERS TODAY.

Q IS THERE ANY DIRECT REFERENCE IN THE POLITICAL COMMUNIQUE TO THE WORLD TRADE CENTER BOMBING AND SUBSEQUENT TERRORISM ARRESTS? (INAUDIBLE.)

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NO. THERE IS NO SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THAT ISSUE.

Q SECRETARY BENTSEN?

Q SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, NOW THAT BOTH SIDES DIDN'T ACCEPT THE LATIN AMERICAN DOCUMENT, WHAT WILL BE THE CONTINUATION (OF THE PROCESS ?)?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NOW THAT BOTH SIDES ACCEPTED WHAT?

Q ACCEPTED THE LATIN AMERICAN PROPOSITION, THE LATIN AMERICAN DOCUMENT.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I'M AFRAID I DON'T UNDERSTAND. THE LATIN AMERICAN DOCUMENT?

Q THE LATIN AMERICAN DOCUMENT --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: OH.

Q -- WAS NOT ACCEPTED BY ISRAEL AND, YOU KNOW, BY THE PALESTINIANS.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I'M SORRY. WELL, IT WAS AN AMERICAN SET OF IDEAS THAT WAS PUT FORWARD. THERE WAS NO SURPRISE AT ALL, AT LEAST ON MY BEHALF, THAT IT WAS NOT ACCEPTED IMMEDIATELY BY BOTH OF THEM. I THINK THERE'LL BE NEGOTIATING OF THAT DOCUMENT. AN AMERICAN TEAM IS, I THINK, PROBABLY IN THE AIR NOW GOING TO THE MIDDLE EAST FOR DISCUSSION OF THAT. WE'LL KEEP ON WORKING TO

FULFILL OUR FULL PARTNER ROLE, TO TRY TO SEE IF WE CAN'T HELP THE PARTIES REACH AGREEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SO I DO NOT REGARD THAT AS BY ANY MEANS THE END OF THE STORY. IT'S JUST A STEP IN A RATHER LONG BOOK.

Q SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER --

Q MR. SECRETARY --

Q SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, WHAT DO YOU THINK THE PRESIDENT'S FOCUS WILL BE AT THE DINNER THIS EVENING? WHAT IS YOUR EXPECTATION OF THE AREAS THAT HE WANTS TO -- (INAUDIBLE)?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YOU KNOW, I SPENT ALL AFTERNOON WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS, AND I'M GOING TO A FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING TONIGHT, SO I DO NOT HAVE A FULL READOUT ON WHAT HE TALKED ABOUT THIS AFTERNOON. I KNOW THEY'RE MEETING. I'M SURE THAT DAVID GERGEN WOULD GIVE YOU MORE ON THAT. HE'S PROBABLY THE BEST ONE TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION. THEY WENT ON FOR 45 MINUTES MORE THAN THEY WERE ANTICIPATED, AND SO THEY OBVIOUSLY WERE HAVING A VERY GOOD DISCUSSION PRIMARILY ON ECONOMIC SUBJECTS THIS AFTERNOON.

Q MR. SECRETARY --

Q ON THE POLITICAL --

Q -- ON BOSNIA, WAS LAST YEAR'S STATEMENT UNREALISTIC OR IS THIS STATEMENT THAT YOU'RE GOING TO COME UP WITH JUST SIDE-STEPPING THE QUESTION OF MILITARY FORCE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: A LOT HAS HAPPENED SINCE LAST YEAR. I WASN'T HERE LAST YEAR. I DON'T WANT TO COMMENT ON LAST YEAR'S DOCUMENT. BUT CERTAINLY IT'S A FAR DIFFERENT SITUATION NOW THAN IT WAS LAST YEAR. THE SITUATION IS MUCH MORE DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH NOW THAN IT WOULD HAVE BEEN LAST YEAR OR TWO YEARS AGO.

Q WHY DO YOU SAY THAT THE SERBS AND CROATS SHOULDN'T DICTATE WHEN OBVIOUSLY THEY HAVE THE LEVERAGE AND THE POWER?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THE -- I THINK THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE ULTIMATE AMOUNT OF LEVERAGE BECAUSE THE -- YOU'LL FIND THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE IN AGREEMENT ON MAINTAINING THE SANCTIONS AGAINST SERBIA ON A MORE OR LESS INDEFINITE BASIS. SO THAT DEGREE OF LEVERAGE REMAINS, AND IT'S SIGNIFICANT LEVERAGE.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

END



תקשורת

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגח), @ (רם), ממד, רביב, מעת,  
הסברה, מצפא, לעמ, מקצב2, @ (דוצ)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 7955

אל: רהמש/ 278

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 181, תא: 070793, זח: 1329, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 7 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ראיון מזכיר המדינה ל-NBC

להלן תמליל הראיון עם מזכיר המדינה, וורן כריסטופר, בתכנית  
NBC, "MEET THE PRESS".

(בשלושה חלקים)

NBC "MEET THE PRESS" INTERVIEW WITH: SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN  
CHRISTOPHER SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1993

ANNOUNCER: FROM NBC NEWS IN WASHINGTON, THIS IS "MEET THE PRESS"  
WITH TIM RUSSERT.

JOHN DANCY: HELLO, AND WELCOME AGAIN TO "MEET THE PRESS." I'M  
JOHN DANCY, SITTING IN FOR TIM RUSSERT, WHO'S ON VACATION.

OUR ISSUES TODAY: THE UPCOMING SUMMIT -- CAN THE US LEAD?  
JAPANESE- US RELATIONS -- UP OR DOWN? MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS --  
EVERYBODY'S MAD. AND CLINTON AND YELTSIN -- WHAT'S NEXT?

WE'LL BE TALKING WITH A MAN WHO'S IN THE THICK OF ALL THOSE  
ISSUES, SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER, WHO LEAVES  
TOMORROW FOR THE TOKYO SUMMIT. AND LATER IN OUR ROUNDTABLE,  
WE'LL BE JOINED BY JIM FALLOWS OF "THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY," AN  
EXPERT ON JAPAN.

MR. SECRETARY, WELCOME AGAIN --

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: GOOD MORNING, JOHN.



MR. DANCY: -- TO "MEET THE PRESS." I'M JOINED THIS MORNING, MR. SECRETARY, BY JOURNALIST AND AUTHOR HEDRICK SMITH AND DAVID BRODER OF "THE WASHINGTON POST."

MR. SECRETARY, LET'S START WITH THE NEWS OF THE DAY. SHEIK ABDEL OMAR RAHMAN -- WILL HE BE EXTRADITED TO EGYPT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: JOHN, JUST BEFORE I CAME ON THE BROADCAST, I TALKED WITH OUR AMBASSADOR IN EGYPT, ROBERT PELLETREAU, AND HE TOLD ME HE HAD JUST COME FROM A MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER. THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD FORMALLY REQUESTED EXTRADITION, SO THAT PROCESS IS UNDER WAY.

MR. DANCY: AND WHAT WILL BE THE US REACTION TO THAT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THERE'S A LEGAL PROCESS. WE WILL PROCESS THE REQUEST IN THE NORMAL WAY, AND THAT'S TO PROCESS THE EXTRADITION BY A FRIENDLY COUNTRY, AND WE WILL GO ABOUT THAT IN A PROMPT WAY.

IT'S A PROCEDURE, THOUGH, THAT COULD TAKE SOME TIME.

MR. DANCY: BUT, IN PRINCIPLE, WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO IT, IS THAT CORRECT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WE'LL -- NO DOUBT, WE'LL SEE SOME OBJECTIONS BEING BROUGHT IN THE LEGAL PROCEEDINGS. ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WE'LL RELAY THE REQUEST TO RELEVANT LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AND THE MATTER WILL BE IN OUR LEGAL PROCESSES.

MR. DANCY: LET'S TURN TO HAITI FOR A MOMENT. THE AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED YESTERDAY, BUT GIVEN PRESIDENT ARISTIDE'S RELUCTANCE AT THE LAST MINUTE TO GO AHEAD WITH THE AGREEMENT, DOES THIS HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: OH, YES, IT CERTAINLY DOES. I THINK THE AGREEMENT IS A VERY IMPORTANT STEP, AND A CONSIDERABLE DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS FOR DANTE CAPUTO, THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE OAS AND THE UN. NOW BOTH PARTIES HAVE SIGNED A 10-POINT AGREEMENT. THE FACT THAT IT TOOK SOME TIME AT THE LAST MOMENT TO GET PRESIDENT ARISTIDE'S SIGNATURE I THINK IS ONLY AN INDICATION OF THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE ENDEAVOR.

MR. DANCY: AT ONE POINT, IT WAS ENVISIONED THAT THERE WOULD BE SOME US TROOPS INVOLVED IN POLICING THIS. IS THAT STILL IN, OR IS THAT OUT NOW?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK THERE'LL BE A RELATIVELY SMALL NUMBER, IF ANY. THERE WILL BE A LAW ENFORCEMENT GROUP THERE AT THE TIME OF THE TRANSITION. I THINK IT'S IMPORTANT THAT THEY BE THERE, BUT IT'S QUITE DESIRABLE THAT THEY BE FRENCH SPEAKERS, SO

I SUSPECT THAT THEY'LL COME MAINLY FROM OTHER COUNTRIES.

MR. DANCY: DO YOU HAVE ANY IDEA OF THE SIZE OF THE US CONTINGENT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NO, I REALLY DON'T. I SUSPECT IT'LL BE UNDER A THOUSAND.

MR. DANCY: LET ME TURN TO THE SUMMIT FOR A MOMENT. IN JAPAN, WHERE YOU'RE GOING TOMORROW, ALL OF THE PARTICIPANTS WILL EITHER BE SHORT-TIME LEADERS OR NEWLY ELECTED OR IN SOME SORT OF POLITICAL TROUBLE AT HOME. THE GATT AGREEMENT HAS NOT YET BEEN SIGNED. DOES THIS SUMMIT HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, LET ME STEP BACK FROM THAT IF I COULD FOR JUST A MOMENT AND TELL YOU WHAT I THINK IT DOES, JOHN. ACTUALLY, THE TRIP THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON AND THE REST OF US WILL BE MAKING HAS TWO DIMENSIONS. FIRST IT HAS THE SUMMIT DIMENSION, AND IT ALSO HAS A VERY IMPORTANT HAZING DIMENSION.

NOW, ON THE SUMMIT ITSELF, PRESIDENT CLINTON GOES THERE IN A VERY STRONG POSITION. FIRST HE IS THE SPOKESMAN, OF COURSE, OF THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL NATION. BUT IN ADDITION TO THAT, HE GOES THERE WITH AN ECONOMIC PLAN THAT I THINK WILL GIVE HIM CREDIBILITY THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS NOT HAD IN THE MEETING FOR OVER A DECADE.

YOU KNOW, WE'VE GONE TO THOSE MEETINGS FOR A DECADE AND WE'VE BEEN HECTORED BY OUR OTHER ALLIES SAYING, "WHY DON'T YOU DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE DEFICITS?" PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS GOT A PLAN FOR THE DEFICITS.

AND, FINALLY, I THINK THE THIRD THING, THIRD ASPECT OF HIS STRENGTH IS THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS IN RECENT DAYS, RECENT WEEKS, SHOWN HIS CAPABILITY IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WE'VE HAD HIS LEADERSHIP ON HAITI, WE HAVE THE STRIKE IN IRAQ. WE HAVE, IN ADDITION TO THAT, A NUMBER OF THINGS THAT IMPORTANTLY AFFECT ASIA -- THE VIETNAM DECISION, REACHED ONLY YESTERDAY; THE ACTION TAKEN WITH RESPECT TO NORTH KOREA; HIS DECISION A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO FOR MOST FAVORED NATIONS FOR CHINA; AND THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN ANNOUNCEMENT OF ONLY YESTERDAY.

SO I THINK THE PRESIDENT GOES THERE WITH ENHANCED CREDIBILITY IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD, SO I THINK THAT THERE ARE STRONG OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEADERSHIP THERE. SUMMITS ARE MORE ABOUT THEMES AND ON DIRECTIONS THAN THEY ARE ABOUT DECISIVE AGREEMENTS, BUT IN THOSE TERMS, AND NO DOUBT WE'LL COME BACK TO THIS, I THINK HE HAS AN OPPORTUNITY ON THOSE THEMES AND IN THOSE DIRECTIONS TO LEAD.

MR. DANCY: LET'S GO TO HEDRICK SMITH. RICK?



MR. SMITH: MR. SECRETARY, THE PRESIDENT HAS TALKED IN THE LAST FEW DAYS ABOUT THE NEED TO RALLY THESE INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIES FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH FOR OPEN MARKETS, BUT HOW DO YOU RALLY PEOPLE TO UNITY AND COOPERATION IF YOU'VE BEEN HAVING A RATHER COMBATIVE POLICY AND A FIGHT WITH THE FRENCH ABOUT TARIFFS AND A FIGHT WITH THE JAPANESE ABOUT ACCESS TO THEIR MARKETS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK THAT YOU DO IT BY SHOWING LEADERSHIP AND BY DEMONSTRATING THAT IT'S IN ALL OF OUR INTERESTS TO HAVE GLOBAL GROWTH. THAT MEANS JOBS AROUND THE WORLD. IT'S IN ALL OF OUR INTERESTS TO HAVE GREATER ACCESS TO EACH OTHER'S MARKETS, AND I THINK WHEN THEY GET DOWN TO A SOLID DISCUSSION OF THAT, THEY'LL COME INTO CONSONANCE ON IT.

CERTAINLY, IT'S IN ALL OF OUR INTERESTS TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY AND FREE MARKETS IN RUSSIA. THAT'LL BE A MAJOR ASPECT OF THIS CONFERENCE, AS WELL. IT'S IN ALL OF OUR INTERESTS TO PROMOTE NONPROLIFERATION POLICIES, SO I THINK THERE WILL BE A GOOD DEAL OF AGREEMENT ON THE BASIC THEMES THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WILL BE PRESENTING.

MR. SMITH: YOU MENTIONED RUSSIA. PRESIDENT YELTSIN WILL BE THERE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A GROUP OF SEVEN SUMMIT MEETING. WILL THE PRESIDENT PERSUADE THE OTHER LEADERS TO RATIFY THE DOLLAR 28 BILLION AID PACKAGE FOR RUSSIA THAT WAS APPROVED AND PUT TOGETHER BY THE FOREIGN MINISTERS IN APRIL?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK THERE'LL BE A GOOD DEAL OF SUPPORT FOR THE AID PACKAGE FOR RUSSIA. FOR EXAMPLE, I THINK THERE WILL BE STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE CREATION OF A PRIVATIZATION FUND, WITH A SUBSTANTIAL FIRST (CONCH ?) OF THAT PRIVATIZATION FUND COMMITTED IN TOKYO.

THE IMF HAVE COME FORWARD WITH DOLLAR 1.5 BILLION, A MAJOR INITIAL SUPPLY OF FUNDS TO RUSSIA, JUST WITHIN THE LAST FEW DAYS. I THINK THAT MEANS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND FEELS THAT STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN TOWARD PROGRESS IN RUSSIA, SO I WOULD EXPECT TO SEE OVERALL SUPPORT FROM THE GROUP OF SEVEN FOR THE RUSSIAN COOPERATION PROGRAM THAT WAS LAUNCHED IN VANCOUVER.

MR. SMITH: BUT WHAT ABOUT THAT DOLLAR 28 BILLION PACKAGE? YOU HAVEN'T REALLY GIVEN ME A DIRECT ANSWER?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE REASON I DIDN'T, RICK, IS BECAUSE THAT'S REALLY A DECISION NOT OF THE SEVEN, BUT OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY ORGANIZATIONS -- THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, THE WORLD BANK, THE EUROPEAN BANK -- SO IT'S NOT THEIR DECISION TO TAKE, BUT I THINK THEY CAN BE BASICALLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE OVERALL IDEA.

MR. SMITH: WHAT ARE WE GOING TO GET BACK FROM MR. YELTSIN? WE'RE WORRIED ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD STILL.

WE'RE WORRIED ABOUT RUSSIAN ARMS SHIPMENTS TO INDIA AND TO LIBYA. WE WANT TO GET RUSSIAN TROOPS STILL OUT OF THE BALTICS. WILL THERE BE A QUID PRO QUO WHEN THE PRESIDENT MEETS YELTSIN?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, OF COURSE, THE MAIN THING THAT WE'RE GOING TO GET BACK IS NOT FROM MR. YELTSIN, BUT WE'RE GOING TO GET BACK PROGRESS TOWARDS DEMOCRACY IN A MARKET FORUM IN RUSSIA. THAT'S THE MOST IMPORTANT THING FOR US. YOU KNOW, IF THERE WAS A REVERSAL IN RUSSIA, IF WE WENT BACK TO THE CONFRONTATIONAL DAYS OF THE COLD WAR, IT WOULD BE VERY SERIOUS FOR THE UNITED STATES. IT WOULD THROW OUR WHOLE BUDGET IN AWRY, BECAUSE WE'D HAVE TO GO BACK TO DEFENSE EXPENDITURES AT THE EARLIER LEVELS, OR NEARLY THE EARLIER LEVELS.

BUT I THINK ALSO I WANT TO STRESS, RICK, THAT THERE'S REALLY A NEW ATMOSPHERE OF COOPERATION WITH RUSSIA. I FEEL THAT IN DEALING WITH THE RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER, I THINK ALL ACROSS OUR GOVERNMENT WE SEE THAT SPIRIT OF COOPERATION.

THAT DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE'RE NOT GOING TO DISAGREE ON SOME ISSUES. THEY ARE A GREAT POWER, AND WE WILL HAVE A SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT TAKE ON CERTAIN ISSUES, BUT WE APPROACH IT ESSENTIALLY FROM THE SAME SIDE OF THE TABLE, RATHER THAN FROM THE CONFRONTATIONAL.

MR. DANCY: DAVID BRODER.

MR. BRODER: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, THE LAME-DUCK GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN IS STILL VERY ANXIOUS TO WORK OUT SOME KIND OF A FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT, AS THEY CALL IT, THAT WOULD NARROW THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US AND THEM ON THE TRADE QUESTIONS. DO YOU SEE ANY POSSIBILITY OF THAT FRAMEWORK TREATY BEING NEGOTIATED WHILE YOU'RE IN TOKYO?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I SEE A POSSIBILITY, BUT I WANT TO, I THINK, LOWER EXPECTATIONS ON THAT. WE'RE STILL EXCHANGING IDEAS, AND TODAY A SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PRESIDENT, MR. BOWMAN CUTTER, IS LEAVING FOR JAPAN TO CONTINUE AND TO PURSUE THOSE DISCUSSIONS, BUT THEY ARE IMPORTANT AND DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS, AND I WOULD SAY I WILL PURSUE IT DURING THE COURSE OF THE WEEK. WE'LL REACH A CONCLUSION IF WE POSSIBLY CAN, BUT I WOULD LOWER EXPECTATIONS ABOUT EXACTLY WHAT WE CAN ACHIEVE THIS WEEK.

MR. BRODER: THE TALKS BROKE DOWN A WEEK AGO. HAVE THE JAPANESE COME UP WITH ANYTHING THAT GIVES YOU ANY SENSE THAT THERE'S NOW AN OPENING THAT WASN'T THERE A WEEK AGO?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THEY'VE BROUGHT SOME NEW IDEAS TO THE TABLE.



NBC "MEET THE PRESS" INTERVIEW WITH: SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER SUNDAY, JULY 4, 1993 N-04-02 PAGE# 2

THEY'RE INTERESTING IDEAS. THEY'RE CERTAINLY WORTH DISCUSSING ON OUR PART, AND I THINK THERE'S A -- THEY WOULD LIKE TO COMPLETE THE FRAMEWORK ARRANGEMENT, AS WELL. WHETHER WE CAN DRAW CLOSE ENOUGH TOGETHER IS AN OPEN QUESTION.

MR. BRODER: AFTER TOKYO, THE PRESIDENT AND YOU MOVE ON TO SOUTH KOREA. HE SAID THE OTHER DAY THAT HE AGREED WITH SOMEBODY'S STATEMENT THAT KOREA IS NOW THE SCARIEST PLACE ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

FROM YOUR INTELLIGENCE REPORTS, IS THERE ANY DOUBT THAT THE NORTH KOREANS ARE WORKING ON DEVELOPING A NUCLEAR CAPACITY?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, LET ME JUST GO BACK TO THE PRESIDENT'S COMMENT. THE REASON IT'S THE SCARIEST PLACE IS IT'S THE ONLY PLACE REMAINING IN THE WORLD WHERE THERE'S A COLD WAR-TYPE CONFRONTATION THERE, AND SO -- SO CLOSE TO THE NORTH KOREAN BORDER, AND THE NORTH KOREANS ARE SO UNPREDICTABLE -- OR PERHAPS THEY'RE PREDICTABLY DANGEROUS -- THAT IT DOES MAKE IT A VERY SCARY PLACE. AND SO, IN THAT SENSE, IT IS A VERY WORRISOME SITUATION.

I DON'T THINK THERE'S ANY QUESTION ABOUT THE FACT THAT THE NORTH KOREANS ARE MOVING IN A DIRECTION THAT'S WORRISOME TO US ON THE NUCLEAR FRONT.

MR. BRODER: WHAT KIND OF A TIMETABLE DO YOU THINK THEY'RE ON? HOW CLOSE ARE THEY?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I DON'T WANT TO GET, IN THIS PROGRAM, INTO INTELLIGENCE REPORTS OR TO TRY TO GIVE YOU THE PARTICULAR TIME LINE. I WILL SAY THAT WE'RE WORRIED ENOUGH SO THAT WE'RE GOING TO PURSUE THESE TALKS WHICH BEGAN ON THE 14TH OF THIS MONTH IN GENEVA, BUT WE'RE NOT GOING TO LET THEM GO ON FOREVER. IF THERE'S A STALEMATE OR IF THEY SEEM TO BE STALLING, WE'LL RECOGNIZE THAT AND WE'LL TAKE FURTHER ACTION, SEEK FURTHER ACTION AT THE UN.

MR. BRODER: WHEN THE SOUTH -- GO AHEAD.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: IT HAS THAT KIND OF URGENCY, DAVID.

MR. BRODER: THE SOUTH KOREANS SAY THAT THEY THINK THEY'RE WITHIN A YEAR. YOU HAVE SAID THAT EVEN THOUGH YOU'RE NOT GOING TO LET THEM GO ON INDEFINITELY, YOU'RE NOT PREPARED TO SET A DEADLINE. IF YOU DON'T SET A DEADLINE, WHAT REASON IS THERE TO KEEP -- FOR THEM TO KNOCK OFF WHAT THEY'RE DOING?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK WE'RE ON PRODUCTIVE TALKS WITH

THEM, AND I THINK THEY SEE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY BEARING DOWN ON THEM IN VARIOUS WAYS, SO I THINK THEY WOULD LIKE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IF THEY CAN REACH ONE CONSISTENT WITH THEIR OWN NATIONAL GOALS.

NOW, IF THEIR NATIONAL GOALS ARE ONES THAT ARE ABHORRENT TO US, THEN WE'LL HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS AT THAT TIME, BUT THEY HAVE PRESSURES ON THEM, OF COURSE, TO TRY TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IF THEY CAN DO SO, BUT WE INTEND TO TRY TO KEEP UP THOSE PRESSURES AS FAR AS WE CAN.

MR. DANCY: WHAT'S OUR GOAL, MR. SECRETARY? WHAT DO WE HOPE TO GET OUT OF THOSE TALKS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WE HOPE TO GET SEVERAL THINGS OUT OF THOSE TALKS, JOHN. FIRST, WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL STAY IN THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY, BUT I THINK EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THAN THAT, WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL PERMIT THE KIND OF INSPECTION, BOTH THE GENERAL INSPECTION AND THE SPECIAL INSPECTION, THAT WILL GIVE US REASSURANCE THAT THEY'RE NOT PROCEEDING TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY.

MR. DANCY: MR. SECRETARY, WE HAD THOSE INSPECTIONS IN IRAQ, AND IRAQ STILL DEVELOPED A NUCLEAR CAPACITY RIGHT UNDER OUR NOSES. WHY ARE YOU -- WHY DO YOU BELIEVE NOW THAT INSPECTIONS WILL DO ANY GOOD WITH NORTH KOREA?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, OBVIOUSLY, WE CAN LEARN FROM FAILURES LIKE THAT BEFORE, AND WE NEED TO HAVE THOSE INSPECTIONS, HAVE THE BEST INSPECTORS WE CAN GET THERE.

WE HAVE VARIOUS OTHER TECHNICAL MEANS THAT WILL BE HELPFUL TO US IN DETERMINING THE STATE OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT, AS WELL. WE CAN'T ASSUME THAT THEY'VE DEVELOPED A NUCLEAR CAPABILITY AT THE PRESENT TIME, BUT WE CAN CERTAINLY BE WORRIED ABOUT IT.

MR. DANCY: YOU USED THE PHRASE "UNPREDICTABLE" IN TALKING ABOUT THE NORTH KOREANS. SOME INTELLIGENCE TYPES WITH WHOM I'VE TALKED SAY THAT KIM JUNG IL IS, FRANKLY, A FLAKE. HOW DO WE DEAL WITH SOMEBODY LIKE THAT IN A RATIONAL MANNER?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK WE HAVE TO KEEP OUR GUARD UP IN DEALING WITH HIM AT ALL TIMES. THEY'VE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE DANGEROUS. I SAID THEY WERE PREDICTABLY DANGEROUS, AND I THINK THAT'S THE CONTEXT IN WHICH WE HAVE TO DEAL WITH THEM, BUT WE'RE BEING ENCOURAGED BY THE COUNTRIES IN THE REGION WHO HAVE THE MOST AT STAKE TO PURSUE A DELIBERATE -- DETERMINED, DELIBERATE POLICY, AND THAT'S WHAT WE'RE GOING TO DO.

MR. DANCY: MR. SECRETARY, WE HAVE TO TAKE A BREAK. WE'LL BE RIGHT BACK. THANKS.



MR. DANCY: WE'RE TALKING WITH SECRETARY OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER.

MR. SECRETARY, LAST WEEK IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN THE MIDDLE EAST TALKS THAT ARE GOING ON HERE IN WASHINGTON, THE US SUBMITTED A PAPER IN HOPES OF TRYING TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS. THE PALESTINIANS IMMEDIATELY CRITICIZED IT, SAID YESTERDAY THAT THE TALKS ARE IN DANGER OF COLLAPSE. PRIME MINISTER RABIN THIS MORNING CRITICIZED IT. WHAT'S GOING ON HERE? DO WE HAVE ANY HOPE OF BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN THESE TWO?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: OH, I WASN'T REALLY SURPRISED THAT NEITHER OF THEM IMMEDIATELY EMBRACED THE PAPER. IT'S THE PART OF THE PROCESS, PART OF THE DIALOGUE. WE'RE TRYING TO PLAY OUR ROLE AS A FULL PARTNER. WE'RE TRYING TO BE A REALLY USEFUL INTERMEDIARY FOR BOTH OF THE PARTIES.

NOW, THE HONEST BROKER SOMETIMES HAS A DIFFICULT ROLE TO PLAY AND I THINK THAT'S WHERE WE ARE RIGHT NOW. WE PUT FORWARD SOME IDEAS WHICH WE HOPE MIGHT HELP BRIDGE THE GAP. THEY'VE BOTH REACTED TO IT BUT NEXT WEEK WE'RE GOING TO BE SENDING OUT TO THE MIDDLE EAST OUR COORDINATOR DENNIS ROSS; WE'LL BE HAVING FURTHER TALKS OUT IN THE MIDDLE EAST WITH ALL OF THE PARTIES, ALL OF THE FOUR BILATERAL PARTIES. AND I WOULDN'T PREDICT SUCCESS OF ANY KIND BUT WE'RE GOING TO STAY WITH IT, WE'RE GOING TO SEE IF THEY CAN'T BE BROUGHT INTO SOME KIND OF AGREEMENT.

BUT I WOULD WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THEY HAVE TO DO THEIR PART. THERE'S ONLY SO MUCH THAT WE CAN DO AS THE HONEST BROKER. THEY HAVE TO WANT PEACE AS WELL.

MR. DANCY: THIS IS THE SECOND TIME NOW THAT THE US HAS PUT FORWARD A PROPOSAL AND BOTH SIDES HAVE IMMEDIATELY TRIED TO SHOOT IT DOWN. IS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE UNITED STATES COMING TO AN END HERE? IS THAT A DANGER?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I CERTAINLY DON'T -- I DON'T THINK SO AND I HOPE IT ISN'T, BUT NEVERTHELESS, IF WE FIND THE PARTIES DON'T WANT OUR ASSISTANCE, THEY REALLY DON'T WANT US TO PLAY THIS ROLE, OF COURSE, WE WILL NOT IMPOSE OURSELF. AT THE PRESENT TIME, I THINK THEY CONTINUE TO WANT US TO PLAY THIS ROLE. I MET WITH THE CHIEF OF THE PALESTINIAN DELEGATION YESTERDAY. I'VE BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THE ISRAELIS, WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN, AND I -- I -- THEY'VE NOT INVITED US OUT YET, JOHN --

MR. DANCY: THAT SOUNDS LIKE A WARNING THOUGH.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, IT IS A BIT OF A WARNING BECAUSE THERE ARE MANY THINGS THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS TO DO AND THAT I HAVE TO DO. WE WANT TO BE HELPFUL IF WE CAN, BUT THEY HAVE TO WANT PEACE AS WELL.

MR. DANCY: RICK?

MR. SMITH: MR. SECRETARY, I'D LIKE TO GO BACK TO THE NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR WEAPON ISSUE FOR A MOMENT. YOU USED THE TERM, "WE'LL HAVE TO LOOK AFTER OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS." ON OTHER OCCASIONS, YOU'VE SAID, THE PRESIDENT HAS SAID "WE'LL HAVE TO LOOK AT OUR VITAL INTERESTS." IN DIPLOMATIC PARLANCE, THAT'S VERY SERIOUS LANGUAGE AND IT'S MEANT TO BE TAKEN THAT WAY.

DOES THAT MEAN THAT AT SOME POINT, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO DO SOMETHING LIKE WHAT ISRAEL DID WITH IRAQ WHICH IS A PREEMPTIVE STRIKE TO ELIMINATE THE DANGER OF A NUCLEAR FACILITY IN NORTH KOREA IF WE GET TO THAT POINT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I UNDERSTAND YOUR QUESTION, RICK, AND I CAN'T DEFINE IT BETTER THAN I HAVE. WE'LL WATCH DEVELOPMENTS THERE. WE'LL FOLLOW OUR INTELLIGENCE VERY CLOSELY AND WE'LL BE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT OUR VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS. WE'LL TAKE THEM INTO ACCOUNT AT ALL PHASES.

MR. SMITH: ARE YOU COMMUNICATING TO THEM THAT THEY ARE ON A VERY RISKY PATH WITH US?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: YES, WE CERTAINLY ARE. THAT'S THE ESSENCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WE'VE BEEN HAVING WITH THEM. WE'VE MADE SOME PROGRESS IN THE FIRST ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS IN NEW YORK. AS YOU KNOW, THEY STEPPED BACK FROM THEIR INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY. WE HOPE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS STARTING IN GENEVA ON THE 14TH OF THIS MONTH WILL SHOW FURTHER PROGRESSIVE STEPS BY THEM. BUT WE'LL BE WATCHING IT VERY CAREFULLY.

MR. SMITH: LET'S TALK ABOUT ANOTHER RISKY SITUATION. THE UNITED NATIONS IN IRAQ IS SAYING THAT IT IS ON THE VERGE OF PULLING BACK ITS INSPECTORS BECAUSE THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT, SADDAM HUSSEIN, WILL NOT AGREE TO ALLOW THEM TO PUT IN NECESSARY CAMERAS AND OTHER EQUIPMENT TO MONITOR IRAQ'S PROGRAM OF MASSIVE -- WEAPONS OF MASSIVE DESTRUCTION. ARE WE HEADED FOR ANOTHER CONFRONTATION WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WE COULD BE. THE UNITED STATES IS DETERMINED ALONG WITH ITS ALLIES AND OTHER UNITED NATIONS MEMBERS TO REQUIRE COMPLIANCE WITH UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS IS TO HAVE IRAQ NOT GO FORWARD WITH ITS PROGRAM OF DEVELOPMENT OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION.

NOW, THE FAILURE TO PUT THOSE CAMERAS -- TO ALLOW THOSE CAMERAS FLIES RIGHT IN THE FACE OF THE NEED TO MONITOR WHETHER OR NOT THEY'RE COMPLYING WITH THE RULES AGAINST WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. SO THAT'S A VERY SIGNIFICANT VIOLATION. WE'LL BE TALKING WITH OUR ALLIES ABOUT IT, HOPING THEY'LL COME INTO



COMPLIANCE. BUT, YOU KNOW, THEY'VE BEEN THROUGH A LONG POLICY OF WHAT'S BEEN REFERRED TO AS CHEAT AND RETREAT. MAYBE THEY'LL BE IN THAT SITUATION AGAIN. BUT IT'S A BAD SIGN THAT OUR INSPECTORS ARE HAVING TO LEAVE THERE NOT BEING ABLE TO PROCEED WITH THE INSTALLATION OF THE CAMERAS.

MR. SMITH: WHAT'S YOUR NEXT STEP IF THEY DON'T AGREE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, OF COURSE, OUR NEXT STEP WOULD BE DISCUSSIONS WITH OUR ALLIES AND DECIDING HOW WE WANT TO REACT TO THIS REFUSAL ON THEIR PART.

MR. SMITH: ARE THEY AS EXERCISED ABOUT IT AS WE ARE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I CAN'T TELL YOU HOW EXERCISED THEY ARE ABOUT IT. THAT'S A CLOSED SOCIETY AND WE'LL JUST HAVE TO SEE WHAT DEVELOPS.

MR. DANCY: DAVID?

MR. BRODER: AFTER THE DETENTION OF SHEIKH RAHMAN, YOUR -- TWO DAYS AGO, YOUR DEPARTMENT PUT OUT A CAUTIONARY MESSAGE TO AMERICANS TRAVELING IN EUROPE AND NORTH AFRICA, THE MIDDLE EAST. HOW WORRIED SHOULD PEOPLE BE ABOUT THE THREATS OF TERRORIST RETALIATION?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I THINK JUST AS WORRIED AS THAT NOTICE INDICATED. IT'S SOMETHING THAT PEOPLE SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT. ON THE OTHER HAND, EGYPT HAS A VERY SUBSTANTIAL LAW ENFORCEMENT CAPABILITY AND I WOULDN'T -- I WOULDN'T EXAGGERATE IT, BUT WE THOUGHT IT WAS SIGNIFICANT ENOUGH SO THAT WE WANTED TO PUT OUT THAT ADVISORY.

CLEARLY, THERE IS SOME RISK OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, PARTICULARLY IN EGYPT AND THE MIDDLE EAST. I THINK IT'S AN INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT THIS MORNING THAT I JUST EARLIER REPORTED THAT EGYPT IS GOING TO SEEK EXTRADITION OF SHEIKH RAHMAN AND WE'LL SEE WHERE THAT GOES FROM THERE. BUT THEY OBVIOUSLY FEEL THAT THEY CAN MANAGE THE MATTER WITHIN THEIR OWN COUNTRY AND WANT TO HAVE HIM BACK FOR CRIMES THAT THEY FEEL HE HAS COMMITTED.

MR. BRODER: IF THERE WERE FRIENDS OR FAMILY OF YOURS GOING TO THAT PART OF THE WORLD, WOULD YOU ADVISE THEM TO POSTPONE THE TRIP?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: NO, I'D JUST ASK THEM TO LOOK AT THE ADVISORY AND TO DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT THEY WANT TO BE IN THAT AREA. I'LL BE GOING TO THAT AREA. OF COURSE, I HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF VERY CONSIDERABLE SECURITY, BUT I THINK THAT AMERICANS MAKE SOUND DECISIONS OF THAT KIND AND I CERTAINLY WOULDN'T MAKE ANY BLANKET SUGGESTION THAT PEOPLE NOT GO TO THAT AREA. I WOULD TELL

THEM TO BE A LITTLE CAUTIOUS.

MR. BRODER: A QUICK SWITCH OF LOCALE. AS YOU KNOW, A FEDERAL JUDGE THIS WEEK ISSUED A RULING THAT COULD CONCEIVABLY DELAY THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT ACTION IN CONGRESS. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE MEXICANS ARE BEGINNING TO COOL OFF, NOT SURE THAT THAT'S GOING TO GO THROUGH, AND THEY MAY NOT BE QUITE AS COMMITTED TO IT. WHERE DO YOU THINK WE STAND ON THAT NAFTA AGREEMENT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: CERTAINLY IS A BIG AND COMPLICATED WORLD, ISN'T IT? I THINK THAT WE'LL BE PURSUING AN APPEAL IN THAT CASE VERY PROMPTLY. I HOPE IT WILL BE OVERTURNED BECAUSE I THINK THAT RULING IS INCONSISTENT WITH THE PRESIDENT'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR NEGOTIATING TREATIES. IT'S VERY INCONSISTENT WITH OUR FOREIGN AFFAIRS RESPONSIBILITIES.

THE PRESIDENT IS DETERMINED TO PURSUE THE NAFTA MATTER. THE SUPPLEMENTAL AGREEMENTS, I HOPE, WILL BE ENTERED INTO IN THE NEAR FUTURE. I THINK BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE GOT A MAJOR STAKE IN MOVING FORWARD WITH NAFTA AND I'D BE VERY SURPRISED IF MEXICO DIDN'T FEEL EXACTLY THE SAME WAY. THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT MINISTERS WERE HERE FOR OUR ANNUAL BINATIONAL MEETING. I THINK THEY SENT AS MANY AS TEN OF THEIR MINISTERS AND I GOT FROM THEM THE STRONGEST DESIRE TO PROCEED WITH NAFTA.

MR. BRODER: MR. SECRETARY, THE OPPOSITION TO NAFTA IN CONGRESS COMES FROM THE DEMOCRATIC SIDE PRIMARILY. AND I'VE HEARD MEMBERS OF CONGRESS SAY THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS DOING NOTHING AT THIS POINT EFFECTIVELY TO EXPLAIN TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WHAT -- WHY THAT AGREEMENT MIGHT BE IN OUR INTEREST. WHERE IS THAT EXPLANATION? WHERE IS THAT SUPPORT PROGRAM?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK THAT WILL BE COMING ALONG. WE'VE

עד כאן חלק 1 מתוך 3

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
ממד, גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), מצפא, רביב,  
מעט, הסברה, לעמ, מקצב2, @ (דוצ)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 7959

אל: רהמש/279

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 182, תא: 070793, זח: 1329, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 7 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ראיון מזכיר המדינה ל-NBC

להלן חלק 2 המשך לנר 181

HAD AN AWFUL LOT ON OUR PLATE, AS YOU KNOW, DAVID. THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPERLY GIVEN THE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO HIS ECONOMIC PROGRAM. THAT'S BEEN VERY TOUGH SLEDDING IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS. IT'S A GREAT CREDIT TO HIM AND THE ADMINISTRATION THE ECONOMIC PROGRAM HAS BEEN PASSED IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS. THERE HAS TO BE A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF PRIORITY GIVEN TO THAT MATTER; A VERY HIGH PRIORITY; BUT I THINK WE'RE NOW NEARLY READY TO TURN TO AN EMPHASIS ON THE NAFTA CONFIRMATION.

MR. SMITH: MR. SECRETARY, I THINK A MOMENT AGO YOU SAID YOU WOULD BE TRAVELING TO THE MIDDLE EAST. DO YOU ENVISION A ROLE FOR YOURSELF AT SOME POINT TO TRY TO BREAK THE DEADLOCKS, DO SOME SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I'M CERTAINLY WILLING TO DO THAT IF THERE'S SOME PROMISE OF DOING THAT. I DON'T WANT TO GO OUT THERE IF WE'RE NOT WELCOME OR IF THERE'S NOT SOME POSSIBILITY, PROBABILITY INDEED OF OUR BEING ABLE TO MAKE SOME PROGRESS. BUT I'M TOLD OVER AND OVER AGAIN THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS A STRONG ROLE TO PLAY HERE. CERTAINLY PRESIDENT CLINTON IS PREPARED TO PUT HIS SHOULDER TO THE WHEEL AND I AM TOO.

MR. DANCY: LET ME ASK YOU -- LET ME ASK YOU ABOUT THAT. HERE IN WASHINGTON LAST WEEK, A SENIOR ISRAELI OFFICIAL WHO WAS TAKING PART IN THE TALKS SUGGESTED THAT MAYBE IT WAS TIME FOR PRESIDENT CLINTON TO GET INVOLVED IN THESE TALKS. DO YOU SEE IT THAT WAY?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, PRESIDENT CLINTON IS VERY MUCH INVOLVED IN THESE TALKS. I REPORT TO HIM ALMOST DAILY ABOUT THE TALKS.

HE'S MET WITH ISRAELI LEADERS. HE'S PREPARED TO MEET WITH OTHERS. SO IT ISN'T AS IF HE'S DISTANT FROM THE TALKS. BUT I THINK HE WILL PLAY A ROLE AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME.

MR. DANCY: DO YOU THINK IT'S TIME FOR A SUMMIT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I DO NOT THINK IT'S TIME FOR SUMMIT. NO, I THINK THAT WE'VE GOT LOTS OF GROUND WORK TO DO BEFORE -- BEFORE THERE'S A SUMMIT ON THAT SUBJECT.

MR. DANCY: MR. SECRETARY, LET ME GO BACK TO SOMETHING THAT RICK BROUGHT UP AND THAT IS THE RISE OF MOSLEM FUNDAMENTALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HOW DO YOU ASSESS THAT? IS IT A MAJOR PROBLEM FOR THE UNITED STATES?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I'M GLAD TO HAVE A CHANCE TO TALK ABOUT THAT, JOHN. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT WE HAVE NO QUARREL WITH ISLAM. WE CERTAINLY HAVE NO LACK OF RESPECT FOR IT AS ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT RELIGIONS. WHAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IS FANATICISM WHEN IT LEADS TO VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM. THAT'S WHERE OUR FOCUS IS. SO IT'S NOT -- IT'S NOT THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT THAT CONCERNS US. INDEED, IT'S NOT FUNDAMENTALISM. IT'S THE OUTREACH OF THAT OR THE CHANGE OF THAT AND THE TERRORISM AND VIOLENCE, FANATICISM, EXTREMISM THAT WE'RE CONCERNED ABOUT AND WE'LL CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THAT.

MR. DANCY: WHO IS FOMENTING THAT? THE IRANIANS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, CERTAINLY THE IRANIANS PLAY A HEAVY ROLE IN TERRORISM THROUGHOUT THE MIDDLE EAST --

MR. DANCY: THE SUDANESE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THEIR SUPPORT OF HEZBOLLAH -- WELL, WE'RE GETTING MORE AND MORE REPORTS THAT THE SUDANESE (ARE INVOLVED?) -- (INAUDIBLE) -- THERE MAY BE -- THOSE TWO -- THERE MAY BE SOME LINKS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES YOU MENTIONED.

MR. DANCY: MR. SECRETARY, THANK YOU. WE'LL TAKE A BREAK NOW AND THEN WE'LL BE RIGHT BACK.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK.)

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: (IN PROGRESS) -- AMBASSADOR LAWRENCE PEZULLO (PH). YOU KNOW, QUITE OFTEN THE PRESS AND OTHERS MAKE A LOT OF FUN OF STRIPED PANTS DIPLOMATS, BUT THERE'S A LOT OF HARD SLOGGING TO BE DONE AND THEY'VE DONE A LOT IN THIS SITUATION.

I ALSO THINK THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S DECISION TO REGARD THIS AS A MATTER OF DEMOCRACY RATHER THAN AS PURELY AN IMMIGRATION QUESTION WAS VERY IMPORTANT. HE DROVE THE -- HE DROVE THE NEGOTIATIONS.



MR. DANCY: THE UNITED STATES SAYS IT WANTS TO ACT MULTILATERALLY WHENEVER IT CAN IN SITUATIONS LIKE HAITI OR LIKE BOSNIA, FOR THAT MATTER. AND YET YOU -- YOU CAN'T ALWAYS DO THAT BECAUSE THE ALLIES WON'T ALWAYS GO ALONG WITH US AS THEY DID -- AS THE OAS DID IN HAITI. SITUATIONS LIKE BOSNIA ARE CERTAIN TO PRESENT THEMSELVES AGAIN IN EUROPE. HOW DO WE DEAL WITH A SITUATION LIKE THIS WHEN WE CAN'T GET THE ALLIES TO GO ALONG?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: OH, I THINK IN EACH INSTANCE WE HAVE TO ASK WHETHER OUR VITAL INTERESTS ARE ENGAGED TO THE POINT THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO USE (OUR OWN?) FORCES OR WHETHER WE WANT TO PURSUE OTHER MATTERS.

NOW, IN BOSNIA, AS I'VE SAID BEFORE, WE'RE TAKING A NUMBER OF STEPS, HUMANITARIAN AID, SANCTIONS, WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. ALL OF THOSE STEPS, I THINK, ARE CONDUCIVE TO TRYING TO RESOLVE THE MATTER. BUT THEY HAVE NOT YET RESOLVED IT BY ANY MEANS. CONTAINMENT IS A VERY IMPORTANT ASPECT OF OUR POLICY THERE. BUT WE EARLY CONCLUDED THAT THE ONLY WAY WE COULD ACTUALLY STOP THE FIGHTING WOULD BE TO PUT IN MASSIVE NUMBERS OF GROUND TROOPS, HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF GROUND TROOPS, AND WE CONCLUDED THAT OUR VITAL INTERESTS WERE NOT SUFFICIENTLY ENGAGED. BUT THAT WILL ALWAYS BE THE EQUATION, OUR VITAL INTERESTS SUFFICIENTLY ENGAGED SO WE TAKE UNILATERAL ACTION. AND WE WILL WHEN IT'S NECESSARY.

MR. DANCY: IN FEBRUARY, THE UNITED STATES WAS TOTALLY AGAINST THE IDEA OF PARTITIONING BOSNIA. WE SAID IT WAS BAD FOR EUROPE, BAD FOR FUTURE ETHNIC CONFLICTS THAT MIGHT TAKE PLACE THERE. AND YET NOW WE SEEM WILLING TO SUPPORT THE IDEA. WHAT'S GOING ON HERE? WHAT CHANGED?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WE'RE NOT PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE IDEA OF PARTITION IF YOU MEAN BY THAT THE COUNTRY'S GOING TO BE SPLIT UP INTO THREE INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES. THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA AT THE PRESENT TIME CONTINUE TO CONTEMPLATE A SINGLE ENTITY WITH PERHAPS THREE CANTONS OR THREE AREAS. WHAT I WOULD STRESS HERE IS WHAT I STRESSED IN FEBRUARY AND THAT IS REALLY IT'S UP TO THE PARTIES. IF THE PARTIES CAN AGREE IN GOOD FAITH TO SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING, OF COURSE WE WOULD BE SUPPORTIVE OF IT.

MR. DANCY: IN OTHER WORDS, WE WOULD SUPPORT THE IDEA OF SOME SORT OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HOWEVER WEAK AS LONG AS THERE WERE THREE CANTONS BUT WE WOULD NOT SUPPORT THE IDEA OF THREE SEPARATE COUNTRIES, TWO OF THOSE COUNTRIES THE CROATIAN AND THE SERBIAN MIGHT VERY WELL BE JOINED TO THOSE ENTITIES JUST ON THEIR BORDERS. IS THAT CORRECT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: AT THE PRESENT TIME, WE'RE SUPPORTING WHAT'S HAPPENING IN GENEVA AND THAT IS AN EFFORT TO TRY TO WORK SOMETHING OUT WITH A SINGLE, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. IT'S AN EVOLVING SITUATION AND I CAN'T TELL YOU WHAT OUR POLICY MIGHT BE

IN THE FUTURE. BUT WE HAVE A VERY STRONG INTEREST IN THE PRESERVATION OF BOSNIA AS A SINGLE NATION AS WELL AS THE PRESERVATION OF THE MOSLEM ASPECTS OF THAT COUNTRY.

MR. SMITH: MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU EXPECT THE TOKYO SUMMIT TO TAKE ANY DECISIVE ACTION ON BOSNIA?

ASPECTS OF BOSNIA. AS YOU KNOW, FUNDS ARE VERY SHORT FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF IN BOSNIA. I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OUGHT TO KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES IS THE LARGEST SUPPLIER OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO BOSNIA. LONG WAYS AWAY FROM THE UNITED STATES, BUT WE'VE SUPPLIED SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THAT WAR OVER DOLLAR 345 MILLION IN HUMANITARIAN AID, MORE THAN WE GIVE TO ALL OF SOUTH AMERICA IN A SINGLE YEAR. OUR EUROPEAN COLLEAGUES, I THINK, NEED TO BE ENCOURAGED TO COME FORWARD WITH MORE FUNDS TO MATCH WHAT WE'VE DONE. SO I HOPE THEY'LL TAKE SOME ACTION ON HUMANITARIAN AID.

I'M SURE BOSNIA WILL BE DISCUSSED IN TOKYO.

MR. SMITH: MR. SECRETARY, IN A SPEECH ABOUT FOUR OR FIVE WEEKS AGO, YOU SAID, "THE UNITED STATES MUST LEAD. THE WORLD STILL NEEDS AMERICAN LEADERSHIP." AND YET LISTENING TO YOU THIS MORNING, ON ISSUE AFTER ISSUE, YOU HAVE SAID TO US IN EFFECT, "DON'T EXPECT MUCH ACTION ON BOSNIA; SOMEBODY ELSE HAS GOT TO WORRY ABOUT THE BIG AID PACKAGE TO RUSSIA. NO, I'M NOT SURE WE'RE GOING TO GET A TRADE FRAMEWORK WITH JAPAN." ISSUE AFTER ISSUE, IT DOESN'T SOUND LIKE LEADERSHIP. ARE WE REALLY EXERCISING LEADERSHIP?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I JUST THINK YOU'RE WRONG ABOUT THAT, RICK. WE'VE CERTAINLY EXERCISED LEADERSHIP ON RUSSIA. THE PRESIDENT TOOK A BIG RISK IN VANCOUVER ONE, AND ALL THE STEPS WE'VE TAKEN SINCE THEN. THE PRESIDENT WAS CERTAINLY IN THE LEAD ON HAITI. HE WAS VERY STRONGLY PRESSING FORWARD THERE. HE'LL BEING THE LEAD IN TOKYO. THERE ARE SOME PLACES WHERE WE'LL TRY TO PURSUE IT MULTILATERALLY. SOMETIMES THAT'S THE MOST EFFECTIVE THING TO DO. BUT ALL ACROSS THE BOARD, I THINK YOU FIND UNITED STATES LEADERSHIP AND IN THE MIDDLE EAST WE'RE LEADING AS MUCH AS WE POSSIBLY CAN. NOW, WE CAN'T FORCE SOMEBODY ELSE TO TRY TO PURSUE PEACE IF THEY DON'T WANT TO, BUT I THINK OF ALL THE NATIONS IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE THE REGION, THE UNITED STATES HAS TAKEN BY FAR THE STRONGEST EFFORT AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

SO I JUST HAVE TO CHALLENGE YOUR PREMISE, RICK.

MR. SMITH: WELL, WHAT'S -- I STILL SEE THE PROBLEM. I DON'T SEE BIG ACTION ON BOSNIA. I DON'T KNOW WHERE -- HOW BIG THE AID PACKAGE IS. IT'S ALREADY -- ALL THE STORIES INDICATE THAT THE KIND OF AID PACKAGE THE PRESIDENT WANTED OUT OF TOKYO FOR RUSSIA HAVE BEEN WHITTLED DOWN. WHAT'S THE PROBLEM HERE? IS EVERYBODY -- ARE ALL THESE COUNTRIES SO ENGAGED IN THEIR OWN DOMESTIC



ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS THAT THEY -- THAT WE DON'T HAVE ANY PARTNERS IN THE ALLIANCE ANY MORE THAT WE CAN GET TOGETHER WITH AND MOVE ON ISSUES? THE BRITISH, THE GERMANS, WHOEVER.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I KNOW YOU'VE BEEN TRAVELING EXTENSIVELY IN EUROPE AND YOU KNOW THAT THEIR ECONOMIES ARE IN BAD SHAPE IN EUROPE. AND I THINK THAT AFFECTS THEIR ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN SOME OF THESE ENDEAVORS. BUT ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE THINK SHOULD COME OUT OF THE SUMMIT IS AN EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF GLOBAL GROWTH AND JOBS NOT ONLY HERE BUT AROUND THE WORLD WHICH WILL MAKE EVERYBODY MORE WILLING AND MORE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THESE MULTILATERAL MATTERS.

THAT'S WHY I THINK THE SUMMIT CAN, AS A THEME AND AS A DIRECTION, CAN PRESS TOWARD GLOBAL GROWTH, TOWARD FINANCIAL STIMULUS. AND THEN THE NATIONS WOULD BE BETTER ABLE TO ASSIST. BUT WE'RE CERTAINLY IN A SITUATION OF WORLDWIDE RECESSION AND THE GROWTH IN EUROPE, AS YOU WOULD WELL KNOW, HAS NOT BEEN NEARLY WHAT THEY HOPE. NINETEEN NINETY-TWO WAS NOT THE GREAT BANNER YEAR THAT THEY HOPED IT WOULD BE IN EUROPE.

MR. SMITH: HOW GREAT IS THE DANGER OF GLOBAL RECESSION? I MEAN, WE'VE GOT THE GERMAN AND THE JAPANESE ECONOMIES, BOTH DOWN; THE LATEST INDICATORS OF OUR ECONOMY IS THAT IT -- THE RECOVERY'S WEAKER THAN PEOPLE THOUGHT. I MEAN IS THIS SOMETHING WE REALLY NEED TO BEGIN TO THINK OF AS URGENT AND CRITICAL?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I THINK IT'S URGENT AND CRITICAL. I'M NOT AN ECONOMIST, AS YOU KNOW, RICK, BUT EVERYTHING I READ INDICATES THAT THE UNITED STATES NEEDS TO PRESS THE OTHER COUNTRIES TO STIMULATE THEIR ECONOMIES, NEEDS TO PRESS THE OTHER COUNTRIES TO OPEN THEIR MARKETS, TO IMPROVE THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS SO WE HAVE A STRONGER INTERNATIONAL TRADING SYSTEM LEST WE FALL INTO A SERIOUS GLOBAL RECESSION.

MR. BRODER: SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, IN SOMALIA WITH GENERAL AIDEED, IN IRAQ WITH SADDAM HUSSEIN, IN BOSNIA WITH THE SERBS, WE'VE EITHER USED FORCE OR WE'VE THREATENED THE USE OF FORCE. AND YET ALL OF THE PEOPLE AT WHOM THAT WAS AIMED ARE STILL THERE, STILL MAKING TROUBLE. WHAT KIND OF A MESSAGE DOES THAT SEND?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, LET ME TAKE THOSE ONE BY ONE. I THINK GENERAL AIDEED HAS BEEN GREATLY WEAKENED. I DON'T SEE HIM BEING NEARLY THE FORCE THAT HE WAS. WE MAY HAVE TO DO SOMETHING FURTHER THERE, BUT I THINK THAT IN GOVERNMENT BUILDING THERE, THAT THEY'LL BE ABLE TO BUILD THE GOVERNMENT MUCH MORE EFFECTIVELY BECAUSE THE UNITED NATIONS HAS SENT A MISSION -- A MESSAGE TO GENERAL AIDEED.

SADDAM HUSSEIN IS STILL IN POWER IN IRAQ TO BE SURE. BUT I THINK

HIS SITUATION IS MUCH WEAKENED BY THE SANCTIONS THAT ARE IMPOSED THERE AND I THINK THE UNITED STATES ONCE AGAIN SENT A MESSAGE TO HIM THAT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, THREATS TO ASSASSINATE OUR FORMER PRESIDENT, WOULD BE RESPONDED TO VERY VIGOROUSLY AS PRESIDENT CLINTON IN THE STRIKE THAT HE ORDERED. WE'RE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH MIRACLES, BUT NEVERTHELESS, I THINK WE'VE SENT FIRM MESSAGE TO BOTH THOSE TWO INDIVIDUALS.

THE SERBS, I THINK, IS A PROBLEM THAT THE WORLD SIMPLY HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO DEAL WITH IN BOSNIA. THIS IS -- THIS IS SOMETHING THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN BETTER DEALT WITH TWO YEARS AGO THAN IT IS NOW. BUT I CAN TELL YOU THAT WE HAVE A VERY STRONG POSITION THAT THAT CONFLICT SHALL NOT SPREAD TO THE SOUTH, THAT IT'S GOT TO BE CONTAINED, TRAGIC AS IT IS, IN THE AREAS WHERE IT IS PRESENTLY.

MR. BRODER: YOU'VE SAID TWICE NOW THAT THE PRESIDENT GOES INTO THIS SUMMIT IN A VERY STRONG POSITION. I'D LIKE TO READ YOU WHAT MY COLLEAGUE JIM HOAGLAND WROTE IN A COLUMN THAT THE PRESIDENT ACTUALLY COMMENDED AT THE LUNCH ON FRIDAY. HE SAID, "MY SENSE IS THAT WASHINGTON UNDERESTIMATES HOW MUCH THE ADMINISTRATION'S ADVANCES AND RETREATS ON BOSNIA HAVE UNDERMINED CONFIDENCE ABROAD IN CLINTON'S VISION AND DETERMINATION AND HOW BIG A REPAIR JOB AMERICA FACES." AREN'T YOU BEING A LITTLE POLLYANNAISH IN SAYING THAT HE GOES INTO THIS IN A VERY STRONG POSITION?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: DAVID, I THINK FOR THE THREE REASONS I MENTIONED, THAT IS BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES IS WHAT IT IS, BECAUSE OF HIS ECONOMIC PLAN AND BECAUSE OF HIS RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY, I THINK THE PRESIDENT GOES THERE IN A STRONG CONDITION. BOSNIA, AS I SAY, IS A PROBLEM THAT NOBODY HAS BEEN ABLE TO SOLVE, NOT THE PRIOR ADMINISTRATION AND NOT THE EUROPEANS AND WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO RESOLVE IT EITHER.

BUT I THINK THAT BOSNIA AS CENTRIC ANALYSIS OF THE WEAKNESS OR THE STRENGTH OF THE PRESIDENT FOCUSES TOO MUCH ON A SINGLE ISSUE.

MR. BRODER: BUT IT'S NOT JUST BOSNIA. A FEW WEEKS AGO, YOUR NUMBER THREE MAN, MR. TARNOFF, MADE A SPEECH IN WHICH HE SAID, "THE UNITED STATES IS GOING TO -- NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO LEAD THE WORLD IN ALL OF THESE (SITUATIONS?). WE'VE GOT A LOT OF PROBLEMS HERE AT HOME." NOW, YOU REPUDIATED THAT. BUT PEOPLE WONDER WHERE DID MR. TARNOFF GET THAT IDEA AND WHY IS HE STILL THERE?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I DID SAY I DISAGREED WITH THAT. CERTAINLY THERE ARE SOME THINGS AROUND THE WORLD THAT WE CAN DO, BUT OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO LEAD IS CLEAR. OUR RESPONSIBILITY AS THE MAJOR SUPER POWER IN THE WORLD IS UNDIMINISHED AS WE GO FORWARD AND WE'LL BE CARRYING THAT OUR. I THINK THAT THE LACK OF



RESOURCES IS NOT GOING TO KEEP US FROM PROTECTING OUR VITAL INTERESTS. THAT'S THE MESSAGE I WANT TO SEND.

MR. DANCY: MR. SECRETARY, I'M SORRY. WE HAVE TO STOP AT THIS MOMENT. WE WANT TO THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR JOINING US AND BEING OUR GUEST THIS MORNING. WE WISH YOU GOOD LUCK ON YOUR TRIP.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THANK YOU, JOHN.

MR. DANCY: THANK YOU.

IN A MOMENT, ON OUR ROUNDTABLE, THE US AND JAPAN: CAN THIS MARRIAGE BE SAVED?

(COMMERCIAL BREAK.)

MR. DANCY: WE'RE BACK AND WE WELCOME JIM FALLOWS OF THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY TO OUR ROUNDTABLE. HE TOOK THE UNUSUAL STEP A WHILE BACK OF MOVING HIS FAMILY TO JAPAN SO HE COULD BETTER UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS GOING ON THERE.

JIM --

MR. FALLOWS: THANK YOU FOR HAVING ME.

MR. DANCY: -- THE WOMEN'S MAGAZINES OF ANOTHER ERA USED TO PRESENT PROBLEM MARRIAGES UNDER THE HEADLINE, "CAN THIS MARRIAGE BE SAVED." THE US AND JAPAN ARE A COUPLE IN A SENSE. JIM FALLOWS, CAN THIS MARRIAGE BE SAVED?

MR. FALLOWS: I THINK YOU COULD ACTUALLY LOOK AT WHAT'S GOING ON NOW IN A RELATIVELY POSITIVE LIGHT. CERTAINLY, WHAT'S GOING ON IN JAPAN, THEIR POLITICAL TURMOIL, IS BEING PRESENTED IN THEIR PRESS AS SOME KIND OF CRISIS OR EMERGENCY. BUT I THINK WE COULD LOOK ON IT AS BEING POTENTIALLY VERY CONSTRUCTIVE AND VALUABLE, IF YOU COULD CHANGE THIS ONE PARTY LOCK THAT'S MADE IT SO DIFFICULT FOR OTHER COUNTRIES TO DEAL WITH JAPAN, AND I THINK EVEN THE APPROACH THE US TAKING IN ITS NEGOTIATIONS TO JAPAN ALSO IS BEING PRESENTED AS A CRISIS BUT HAS SOME POTENTIAL BECAUSE THE US IS TAKING A DIFFERENT APPROACH FROM THE LAST TEN OR 20 YEARS. (I MEAN IT?) BASICALLY HAS GONE TO SORT OF WINE AND PLEAD THE JAPANESE TO OPEN THEIR MARKETS. INSTEAD THE US IS SAYING MORE CALMLY, "HERE'S WHAT WE WANT. IF YOU CAN DO THAT, FINE. IF NOT, WE'LL TAKE OTHER MEANS JUST TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS." AND SO I THINK, YES, IT CAN BE SAVED.

MR. DANCY: HOW MUCH DIFFERENCE WILL IT MAKE THAT THE US FINALLY SEEMS TO BE DOING SOMETHING ABOUT THE DEFICIT?

MR. FALLOWS: WELL, I THINK IT HAS A BIG RHETORICAL EFFECT IN JAPAN. AS MANY OF YOU MAY KNOW, THE TONE IN THE JAPANESE PRESS IS THE US IS THIS DEBAUCHED NATION MADE OF, YOU KNOW, UNEMPLOYED

PEOPLE AND VARIOUS OTHER SOCIAL MISFITS AS ITS MAIN CONSTITUENTS. AND I THINK THE IDEA, THE CENTRAL, LOGICAL POINT OF THIS HAS BEEN THAT THE US COULD NOT DEAL WITH ITS MAIN ECONOMIC PROBLEM, ITS BUDGET DEFICITS.

MR. SMITH: JIM, SOME PEOPLE IN JAPAN, AT LEAST DURING MY RECENT TRIP THERE, SUGGESTED THAT NOT ONLY WAS THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY BREAKING UP, THE PARTY THAT'S HAD THE LOCK ON POWER FOR THE LAST 40 YEARS, BUT THAT THERE'S ACTUALLY -- IT'S NOT JUST MUSICAL CHAIRS AMONG THE POLITICIANS, BUT THERE'S ACTUALLY A SHIFT IN THE BALANCE OF FORCES. POWER MAY BE SUCKED AWAY FROM THE RURAL AREAS TOWARDS THE URBAN AREAS, AWAY FROM SMALL SHOP KEEPERS TOWARDS A MORE CONSUMER ORIENTED MIDDLE CLASS. DO YOU READ IT THAT WAY?

MR. FALLOWS: WELL, I THINK THAT'S A POTENTIAL OUTCOME. I THINK NOT THAT MANY PEOPLE IN THE US UNDERSTAND HOW ABNORMAL THE JAPANESE POLITICAL SYSTEM HAS BEEN OVER THE LAST 30 OR 40 YEARS. IT'S NOT SIMPLY THAT ONE PARTY HAS ALWAYS WON. IT'S THAT THE (TOOLS?), THE BIG DECISIONS, THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, ARE MADE BY BUREAUCRATS WHO AREN'T REALLY CONNECTED TO ANY POLITICAL PARTY AND THEY SORT OF GO ON. AND THERE'S NO WAY FOR THE -- THERE'S BEEN NO WAY FOR THE AVERAGE PEOPLE OF JAPAN TO REGISTER THEIR VIEWS. SO IF THIS DOES LEAD TO SOME REAL POLITICAL REFORM AND REALLY HAVING TWO PARTIES, IT'S POSSIBLE YOU COULD HAVE THE SHIFT YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT.

MR. BRODER: JIM AND RICK KNOW MUCH MORE ABOUT JAPAN THAN I WILL EVER UNDERSTAND, BUT IT STRIKES ME THAT IT'S NOT JUST JAPAN, IT'S ALL OF THESE COUNTRIES THAT ARE GOING TO BE MEETING THERE THAT ARE JUST BOGGED DOWN IN SERIOUS DOMESTIC ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS. I FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT IN THAT KIND OF A SETTING YOU'RE GOING TO GET MUCH PROGRESS TOWARD A MORE OPEN TRADING SYSTEM OR MORE COOPERATION ON THINGS LIKE AID TO RUSSIA.

MR. BRODER: HOW MUCH DOES CLINTON'S WEAKNESS HERE AT HOME AFFECT ALL OF THAT, AFFECT HIS CHANCE TO BE A LEADER, A CHANCE TO MOVE THE WHOLE PROCESS FORWARD?

MR. BRODER: WELL, I'VE READ, I GUESS, EIGHT OR NINE REPORTS NOW, PEOPLE WHO KNOW MUCH MORE ABOUT THE WORLD THAN I DO. EVERY SINGLE REPORT, WHETHER YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT THE NEW YORKER, WALL STREET JOURNAL, NEW YORK TIMES, OUR PAPER, EVERY ONE OF THEM SAYS CLINTON HAS A CREDIBILITY PROBLEM IN THE WORLD TODAY. IS THAT WRONG?

MR. BRODER: YEAH, BUT THERE'S AN IMPORTANT COMPARED TO WHAT ISSUE. HE'S BY FAR THE STRONGEST LEADER OF THE SEVEN WHO ARE GOING TO BE MEETING THERE IN TERMS OF HIS OWN POLITICAL BASE. AND SO I THINK THAT ONE OF THE TRAITS HE'S SHOWN OVER TIME IS THE ABILITY TO RECOVER FROM DIFFICULTIES AS WE KNOW FROM HIS



CAMPAIGN OF THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF.

SO I WOULD EXPECT HIM TO PUT ON AN EFFECTIVE APPEARANCE WITH THESE OTHER LEADERS, AND THEN HE DOES HAVE THE GREATEST STRENGTH OF ANY OF THEM RIGHT NOW.

MR. DANCY: ONE OF THE PURPOSES OF CLINTON'S VISIT THERE IS TO SAY TO THE REST OF THE WORLD, "THE UNITED STATES IS A PACIFIC POWER AND INTENDS TO REMAIN THAT."

MR. FALLOWS: RIGHT.

MR. DANCY: DO THE JAPANESE WANT US TO DO THAT? AND DO THE REST OF THE COUNTRIES IN ASIA WANT THAT?

MR. FALLOWS: I THINK OF ALL THE THINGS -- THERE ARE MANY THINGS THAT COUNTRIES IN THAT REGION DISAGREE ABOUT, BUT ALMOST ALL OF THEM WOULD AGREE THAT LIFE IS BETTER WITH THE US THERE THAN IT WOULD BE WITHOUT IT. BECAUSE WITHOUT IT, THEY DON'T KNOW WHO IS GOING TO BE FIGHTING WHOM. THE CHINESE AND THE KOREANS, AND THE JAPANESE WOULD ALL BE SORT OF SWARMING AGAINST EACH OTHER. SO I THINK THERE'S A SHARED INTEREST.

MR. DANCY: AND THEY'VE HAD SOME EXPERIENCE IN THAT PART OF THE WORLD WITH A MILITARILY STRONG JAPAN AS WELL.

MR. FALLOWS: AND IT'S DIFFERENT FROM EUROPE WHERE THERE HAVE BEEN TRADITIONALLY TWO BIG BLOCKS. THERE AREN'T TWO BLOCKS. THERE ARE MANY IN ASIA.

MR. SMITH: YOU KNOW, YOU MADE THE POINT, AND A GOOD ONE, JIM, A MOMENT AGO, THAT THE PRESIDENT, WEAK AS HE MAY APPEAR TO BE AT HOME, IS STRONGER THAN ANY OF THE OTHERS -- MANY OF WHOM ARE LIMPING TOWARD THE END OF THEIR TERMS OF OFFICE, MOST DECIDEDLY PRIME MINISTER MIYAZAWA IN JAPAN. BUT ONE WONDERS WHETHER OR NOT THERE ISN'T A CERTAIN NAIVETE IN BELIEVING -- APROPOS OF DAVID'S EARLIER COMMENT -- IN WASHINGTON THAT THE PRESIDENT -- INSIDE THE ADMINISTRATION -- THE PRESIDENT CAN GO OVER THERE AND TALK, AS SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER JUST SUGGESTED, ABOUT LAUDABLE GOALS, ECONOMIC GROWTH, OPEN MARKETS, COLLABORATION, THAT SORT OF HARKS BACK TO THE CARTER ERA WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER HAD VERY RATIONAL GOALS, WANTED TO RALLY PEOPLE TOGETHER, AND THEN WENT OUT INTO THE WORLD AND FOUND HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS.

MR. FALLOWS: THAT'S TRUE. BUT THERE IS, I THINK, A CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THIS PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT CARTER, FOR WHOM I SHOULD DISCLOSE I WORKED, IN THAT WHILE BOTH OF THEM LIKE THE SORT OF RATIONAL PART OF POLITICS, OF TRYING TO WORK OUT THE SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS, THIS PRESIDENT SEEMS TO LOVE THE DOING PART OF POLITICS. HE LIKES DEALING WITH CONGRESSMEN, HE LIKES MAKING SPEECHES, TRYING TO PERSUADE THE PUBLIC. MY IMPRESSION WAS THAT PRESIDENT CARTER VIEWED THOSE THINGS AS A CHORE.

MR. DANCY: A PERFECT PLACE FOR ME TO SAY THAT WE WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION IN JUST A MOMENT. WE'LL TAKE A QUICK BREAK RIGHT HERE.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK.)

MR. DANCY: WE'RE BACK ON "MEET THE PRESS."

JIM FALLOWS, YOU WERE A SPEECH WRITER DURING THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION. COMPARE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION AND THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION AT THIS POINT IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

MR. FALLOWS: I THINK THE COMPARISON SHOWS WHY SOME OF THE JUDGMENT THAT PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS FINISHED, WHICH WE HEARD OR THE LAST MONTH OR SO, WAS PREMATURE, BECAUSE AT THIS STAGE IN HIS ADMINISTRATION JIMMY CARTER WAS ON TOP OF THE WORLD. HE PUT OUT AN ENERGY PLAN WHICH AT LEAST AT THE TIME WAS SEEN AS BEING BOTH LOGICAL AND IN AMERICA'S LONG-TERM INTEREST. AND HE WAS STILL RIDING FAIRLY HIGH AT THIS TIME. IT WASN'T UNTIL SORT OF LATE SUMMER OF HIS FIRST YEAR THAT BURT LANCE BEGAN TO GIVE HIM PROBLEMS.

SO I THINK, NUMBER ONE, THERE'S A SORT OF PREMATURE RUSH JUDGMENT. SECOND, PRESIDENT CLINTON DOES -- PRESIDENT CLINTON MAY NOT BE AS GOOD A HUMAN BEING AS JIMMY CARTER -- I THINK AS CARTER HAS SHOWN IN HIS POST-POLITICAL LIFE -- BUT I THINK CLINTON SEEMS TO BE A MORE COMPLETE POLITICAL LEADER THAN CARTER WAS. THERE ARE MORE THINGS HE LIKES DOING AND EXCELS IN DOING THAN CARTER DID. IS THAT YOUR IMPRESSION, TOO, OR NOT?

MR. BRODER: HE IS A MORE COMPLETE POLITICAL LEADER. HE'S ALSO -- RICK AND I WERE AT THE LUNCH WITH THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT ON FRIDAY -- THE QUALITY OF THE DISCUSSION OF ISSUES IS JUST PLAIN IMPRESSIVE. BUT THAT'S DIFFERENT FROM LEADERSHIP. AND I STILL THINK HE'S UNTESTED IN TERMS OF REAL LEADERSHIP.

MR. DANCY: AND YET HE KEEPS BEING BESET BY THESE PROBLEMS. I MEAN, HERE THIS PAST WEEK WE HAD THE WHITE HOUSE TRAVEL OFFICE SCANDAL BROUGHT BACK UP AGAIN. HOW IS HE GOING TO GO TO JAPAN AS A STRONG LEADER WITH THINGS LIKE THIS THAT KEEP BEDEVILING HIM?

MR. SMITH: WHAT IS ASTONISHING TO ME IS THE POINT THAT JIM MAKES IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE POINT THAT DAVID MAKES. THERE'S NO QUESTION BILL CLINTON WAS MUCH MORE ENGAGED WITH NATIONAL POLITICS THAN JIMMY CARTER AND SEEMS TO LOVE THE ROUGH AND TUMBLE OF POLITICS MORE. BUT THE ASTONISHING THING IS THAT WITH THE CARTER EXAMPLE IN FRONT OF HIM, HE'S HAD AN ENORMOUSLY DIFFUSE AGENDA WHICH IS WHAT GOT -- ONE OF THE THINGS THAT GOT JIMMY CARTER IN TROUBLE. HE'S BEEN INSENSITIVE TO THE PROBLEMS WITHIN HIS STAFF, WHICH IS ONE OF THE THINGS THAT GOT JIMMY CARTER IN TROUBLE. HE HAS NOT BUILT REALLY GOOD BRIDGES TO



ESSENTIAL MIDDLE PEOPLE IN CONGRESS, WHICH IS ONE OF THE THINGS  
THAT GOT JIMMY CARTER IN TROUBLE. ONE EXPECTED CLINTON WITH  
CARTER'S EXAMPLE IN FRONT OF HIM, TO AVOID THOSE MISTAKES.

עד כאן חלק 2 מתוך 3

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, רביב, מעת,  
הסברה, לעמ, מקצב2, @ (דוצ)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 7960

אל: רהמש/280

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 183, תא: 070793, זח: 1329, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 7 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ראיון מזכיר המדינה ל-NBC

להלן חלק 3 מתוך 3 המשך לנר 182

MR. FALLOWS: BUT CONSIDER HOW JUST IN THE LAST MONTH OR SO SINCE HE WAS BEING PRONOUNCED DEAD IN THINGS THAT MANY OF US MAY HAVE WRITTEN, HE HAS ADJUSTED MANY OF THOSE THINGS. HE IS MEETING WITH MORE CONGRESSMEN, ET CETERA. WE COMPLAIN ABOUT HIS DIFFUSE AGENDA, BUT MOST OF THE QUESTIONS FOR THE PREVIOUS HOUR, WHY AREN'T YOU DOING MORE ON NAFTA; WHY AREN'T YOU DOING MORE ON THIS OR THAT; SO IT'S AN ENDLESS BALANCING ACT THAT ANY PRESIDENT HAS AND I THINK HE HAS RECOVERY POWERS.

MR. DANCY: RIGHT NOW UP ON CAPITOL HILL, A LOT OF CONGRESSMEN ARE GETTING READY TO RUN IN 19 --

MR. FALLOWS: YEAH, NEXT YEAR --

MR. DANCY: -- IN WHATEVER THE NEXT ELECTION IS. WHATEVER IT IS. 1994. AND THEY'RE DECIDING TO RUN WITH BILL CLINTON OR RUN AWAY FROM HIM. WHAT'S IT GOING TO BE?

MR. BRODER: MOST OF THE DEMOCRATS, THOUGH THEY WON'T ADMIT IT, WILL END UP RUNNING WITH HIM BECAUSE I THINK THE CHANCE OF CHAOS IN THAT PARTY, IF THEY ABANDON THE PRESIDENT, IS ENORMOUS.

MR. SMITH: I AGREE WITH DAVID AND I THINK JIM'S RIGHT. I THINK THE PRESIDENT IS GOING TO COME BACK, PARTICULARLY ON HIS ECONOMIC PACKAGE, AND WHATEVER'S INSIDE OF IT, THE COUNTRY'S GOING TO SEE THAT AS SOME MOVEMENT FORWARD.

MR. FALLOWS: I AGREE, AND ALSO IT'S STILL A LONG WAY AND SO MUCH HAS CHANGED IN THE LAST FOUR MONTHS, I'M SURE SIX MONTHS FROM



NOW THINGS MAY CHANGE TOO. BUT BASICALLY, I AGREE.

MR. DANCY: OKAY. WE HAVE TO STOP HERE. THAT'S ALL FOR TODAY. OUR THANKS TO OUR PANEL, JIM FALLOWS, HEDRICK SMITH, AND DAVID BRODER.

THIS WILL BE BILL CLINTON'S FIRST ECONOMIC SUMMIT. MOST OF THE WORLD'S LEADERS SCARCELY KNOW HIM, SO IT'S A CHANCE FOR HIM TO ESTABLISH HIMSELF AS A WORLD LEADER.

AS HE GOES TO TOKYO LEAVING BEHIND THE BATTLEFIELD OF WASHINGTON, IT MIGHT BE WELL TO REMEMBER THE WORDS OF WISDOM OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON WHO SAID, "EVERY LINE OF HISTORY INSPIRES A CONFIDENCE THAT WE SHALL NOT GO TOO FAR WRONG. THINGS MEND."

TIM RUSSERT WILL BE BACK NEXT SUNDAY. IN THE MEANTIME, I'LL SAY ON HIS BEHALF, IF IT'S SUNDAY, IT MUST BE "MEET THE PRESS." SO LONG.

END

תקשורת

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

סססס

JUL 05 '93 03:32PM

P.1

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס-אנג'לס

דף פתיחה למשלוח פקסימיליה

1/4  
102

6.7.93 תאריך :

102 מספר נר :

קשר וושינגטון אל :

אנא העבירו למכותבים בשגרירות ולקשר ירושלים.

הסכרה א"א. מאת :

4 מספר העמודים כולל העליון :

*Handwritten signature in red ink*

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

תודה.

מאת מרסל, ד"ר אבי משה הסכרה, רחא שפה



JUL 08 '93 03:33PM

CONSULATE GENERAL  
OF ISRAEL IN LOS ANGELES



6 ביולי 1993  
י"ז בתמוז תשנ"ג

P.2

הקונסוליה הכללית של  
ישראל בלוס-אנג'לס

2/4  
102

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

הנדון: דחית רבין את החצעות האמריקאיות

מצי"ב כתבת שטר  
החצעות האמריקאיות.  
של ה"ל.א. מיימס" בנושא דחייתו של רבין את  
החצעות האמריקאיות.

בברכה,  
משה בן צורני

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

JUL 05 '93 03:33PM

P.3

# Rabin Rips U.S. Peace Talks Role

■ Mideast: The Israeli leader accuses America of making concessions to Arabs. Christopher warns both sides that Washington could end its mediation efforts.

By MICHAEL PARKS, TIMES STAFF WRITER

JERUSALEM—Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, all but rejecting U.S. mediation in the deadlocked negotiations with the Palestinians, denounced the Clinton Administration on Sunday for reneging on commitments to Israel in its latest proposals on terms for Palestinian self-government.

In an attack on U.S. peacemaking efforts unprecedented for him, Rabin declared that "as a matter of principle" Israel will not accept U.S. compromise proposals if they involve concessions to the Arabs.

"The Palestinians attacked the first paper," Rabin said of U.S. proposals for a declaration of principles laying the basis for Palestinian self-government. "The fact that the Americans responded and changed [their paper] even here and there—as a matter of principle we could not and will not tolerate such a development."

"The meaning," he said, "is that every American [position] paper will be subjected to an attack and that it will be changed."

Rabin's declaration appeared to leave little scope for U.S. mediation, although he stopped short of telling Washington to pull out entirely. To Western diplomats, he seemed intent on making the Palestinians understand that they have to negotiate with Israel and not with the United States.

"Washington might remain the venue for the talks," a European ambassador said, assessing Rabin's comments, "but the American role is, in this version of Rabin's at least, not much more than master of ceremonies."

"Rabin obviously did not like the direction in which the Americans were pushing him in this draft declaration, and he disliked even more the fact that he was being pushed."

The Palestinians had been just as vehement Saturday in telling Secretary of State Warren Christopher that the latest U.S. draft is unacceptable to them because it does not define the territorial basis for autonomy and postponed until subsequent negotiations the future of

Please see ISRAEL, A5

3/4  
102

L.A. Times

7/2 12:17 Jul 5, 1993



JUL 05 '93 03:33PM

A8 MONDAY, JULY 5, 1993

## ISRAEL: Rabin Blasts U.S. Role in Talks

Continued from A1

Jerusalem, an extremely sensitive but crucial issue for both sides.

Christopher, in response, warned both Israel and the Palestinians on Sunday that unless there is progress, the United States might reduce or even halt its mediation efforts in the peace talks.

"If the parties don't want our assistance, if they really don't want us to play this role, of course we will not impose ourselves," Christopher said on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press."

His comments should be taken as "a bit of warning," Christopher added, "because there are many things that President Clinton has to do and that I have to do. We want to be helpful if we can, but they have to want peace as well. At the present time, I think they continue to want us to play this role."

Rabin, clearly frustrated with his government's inability to reach an agreement on Palestinian autonomy, a goal that he had set last July for his first year back in office, charged that the negotiating process was weighted against Israel.

The negotiations that Israel conducts simultaneously in Washington with the Palestinians, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon give the Arabs greater leverage, Rabin argued, by allowing them to coordinate their strategy and to make progress in one set of talks dependent on progress in the others.

"They come, all of them, at the same time to the same place for the same period," he told a press conference on his return from a trip to France and the Netherlands.

"I believe there still is in the context of that format a possibility to negotiate on a bilateral basis," Rabin added, welcoming Christopher's dispatch of Dennis Ross, the U.S. coordinator of the Mideast negotiations, to the region this week in an effort to break the prolonged stalemate.

Rabin later dismissed, however, a suggestion from dovish ministers at the weekly Cabinet meeting that Israel try to end the deadlock with the Palestinians by negotiating directly with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

"The negotiations have come to a deadlock, and to do something about it we should talk with the PLO," said Environment Minister Yossi Sarid of the leftist Meretz Party, a partner in Rabin's coalition government.

Shulamit Aloni, another Meretz minister, went further, urging that Israel almost immediately hand over administration of the occupied Gaza Strip to the PLO as the first step toward Palestinian autonomy.

"We start with 'Gaza first'—on this there is a consensus," Aloni said. "If you don't want to leave it to Hamas [the radical Islamic fundamentalists], then leave it to 'the master of the house.'"

The Meretz ministers were joined by several ministers from Rabin's Labor Party—a further reflection of Israeli frustration at the deadlock in the negotiations with the Palestinians—and the Cabinet was reported evenly divided on talking with the PLO.

"It's not enough to talk with leaders of the [occupied] territories," said Housing Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, a retired general, Labor stalwart and Rabin confidant. "We need to talk with the PLO and [PLO Chairman Yasser] Arafat."

But Rabin told the Cabinet that the question of whom Israel negotiates with is procedural and the Washington talks have already moved into substance.

Sarid retorted after the Cabinet meeting: "The question of whom we're speaking with is an essential question, related to the content of the negotiations. Yasser Arafat, it turns out, is the only boss of the

Palestinian side of the negotiations, and if [we] don't talk with him, there is no reason to talk at all."

Further evidence of the serious tensions within the Rabin government came in the angry denunciation of a prominent American Jewish lobbyist by the deputy foreign minister, Yossi Beilin. In a Washington Jewish newspaper last week, the lobbyist had described Beilin as "a little slime ball" for his dovish attitudes.

Beilin, who interprets the Rabin government's "land-for-peace" commitment far more liberally than others, was accused of betraying the Jewish people by Harvey Friedman, vice president of the influential American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee.

"The statements by Harvey Friedman during his visit [in June] were simply astonishing," Beilin said in a radio interview. "For instance, he said what we needed to do was to tell the Palestinians that they have 22 [other Arab] states and they have to leave the Land of Israel."

Friedman, who was dismissed as a vice president of the organization Thursday, did not represent either the views of the Israeli public or of the "moderate, liberal, pragmatic" majority of American Jews, Beilin said in a radio interview.

"The firing of Harvey Friedman came against a much graver background—the transformation of AIPAC in recent years into a right-wing Jewish organization," Beilin added.

The group's executive director, Thomas Dine, had resigned earlier after being quoted in a book as saying some American Jews thought of ultra-Orthodox Jews as "smelly," and the former president had been forced out after boasting that the organization would control Mideast policy during the Clinton Administration, even to the point of naming officials in charge of it.

4/4  
102



מירי	דחיות:	מכרז	דף: 1
		קשר ניו-יורק	מחוק: 2
בלמים	סיוג:		אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב
	תזת:		
חש' מרכז		בטחון - יועץ שתכ"ט לתקשורת, דו"ע,	דע:
1024		אמ"ב/קש"ר (ימ' העבירונוא)	
		עמותות, ניו יורק	מאת:

# Attackers of Bus Sought Hostages, Israel Says

East

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

JERUSALEM, July 2 — The Israeli police said today that two Palestinian terrorists who attacked a commuter bus in Jerusalem on Thursday apparently had intended to take the passengers hostage, but instead opened fire and tried to escape when the bus driver struggled with them.

Two Israeli women and both gunmen died in the incident.

Judging from the many guns and explosives that the attackers had carried, it seemed that their plan was to seize Israelis "for bargaining purposes," a police spokeswoman said, adding that it was not known what specifically they had in mind.

Israeli officials, who have not identified the gunmen, said they were believed to be members of the militant Islamic movement Hamas, which opposes Arab peace talks with Israel.

New York  
Times

3-7

אישור:

שם השולח:

8-11-11

תאריך:

5-7-93

(27) שחח (2) טשה"ח (1) רחם (1) מנכל (1) מנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)  
הסברה (2) מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמן (4) אומן (1) סייכל (1) משפט (1)



1024

2  
1  
2

All signs, the officials said, point to a well-planned "showcase attack" on a rush-hour bus carrying about 80 passengers, a situation that could be expected to produce many casualties even if no hostages were taken.

The Palestinians wounded three people on the bus, including the driver and a woman who died hours later. Then, after running away, they hijacked a car with an Israeli woman at the wheel, drove across the city in a vain attempt to escape and finally were killed, along with the Israeli motorist, in a cascade of gunfire at an army roadblock.

Another Palestinian, said to be a fugitive Hamas member, was shot in the head during the bus raid. According to radio reports, the police believe he was an accomplice in the attack and was shot by mistake, but because they have not been able to question him, they cannot rule out the possibility that he was on the bus by coincidence.

As much to avert reprisal attacks on Arabs as to protect Jews, the police said today that they had reinforced patrols and checkpoints in Jerusalem.

Given the large number of bus passengers, officials said it was lucky that the death toll was not higher. Even so, the attack badly rattled Israelis' sense of security, which is never great but which was bolstered over the last three months by a sealing off of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip that limits Palestinian access to Israel.

#### Controversy Over Closing

Arabs have protested that the closing cuts them off from their economic, religious and cultural centers in Jerusalem. But Israelis overwhelmingly endorse it, and the fact that fatal attacks in Israel proper were reduced to zero until Thursday has hardly convinced them that they are wrong.

Still, a commentary in the newspaper Yediot Ahronot said that "there is no way to end terrorism with a knock-out blow, and there are no operations for its complete eradication."

"The strategic goal is dealing with the roots and the reasons for terrorism, which is the conflict between us and the Palestinians," it said.

But on a visit to Paris, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin warned that an "infrastructure of terror," which he said was being established by Islamic militants with support from Iran, went beyond the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

"They will not tolerate any presence of any foreign, non-Islamic entity in the Middle East," Mr. Rabin told reporters. "They will fight all the moderate Arab regimes."

(2)

מחיר: כ"א	טובים מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות: מיד
אל: תפוצת תקשורת אר"כ אמ"כ, מצרים, בטח	סיוג: כלמ"ס	תז"ח:
דע: כסחור - יועץ שה"ס לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"כ/קש"ח (ים' העכירונא)	חש' מברק:	מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק
	1023	

## Islamic Group in Egypt Vows Attacks on American Targets

By CHRIS HEDGES  
Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, July 2 — The Islamic Group, whose spiritual leader surrendered to Federal authorities in New York, vowed today for the first time to start a concerted terrorist campaign against American targets in Egypt and the United States in retaliation.

"We will hit American targets," a leader of the Islamic Group said in an interview late this evening in the sprawling slum and militant stronghold in Imbaba. "And not just American targets in Egypt, but throughout the Middle East, Europe and the United States."

The group, which is waging a violent campaign to topple the Government of President Hosni Mubarak, has aimed at police, government officials, Coptic Christians, intellectuals and foreign tourists. Militant violence has taken the lives of more than 180 people in the last 18 months and gutted the nation's billion-dollar tourist industry.

But the militants have so far refrained from directing attacks exclusively against American interests, al-

New York  
Times

Front pg.

3-7

היסוד:

שם השוכח:

מחיר: כ"א

5-7-93

שהחז (2) ששה (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (1) מחנכל (1) מצפא (2) רבי"ב (1)  
הסברה (2) מרכז (1) מחד (4) רמ (1) אמ"כ (4) אומ"כ (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)



though they have warned foreign companies and expatriate workers to leave the country for their own safety.

Friday sermons, at more than a dozen mosques controlled by radical clerics, thundered the threats in a prepared statement that lambasted the Egyptian Government for being a "puppet" of the Americans and vowed retribution for the detention of Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman. The statement was read in mosques in Cairo, the suburb of Giza and the southern cities of Beni Suef and Faiyum.

The State Department cautioned American travelers tonight that the detention of Mr. Abdel Rahman "may precipitate strong reactions" among his followers in Egypt and elsewhere

in the Islamic world. While it said it had no specific information about potential incidents, it added that Americans overseas, especially those in the Middle East, "should be alert to continuing developments."

The detention of Mr. Abdel Rahman on immigration charges is seen by his followers as part of a concerted Western campaign against Islam. Many see the United States's recent raid on Baghdad and Western countries' failure to protect Muslims in Bosnia as part of the campaign.

To many Egyptian officials, struggling to fend off mounting violence by Islamic militants, the high profile the Clinton Administration and the American press have given to the arrests of bombing suspects in New York only serves to enhance the stature of Egypt's Islamic militant movement and Mr. Abdel Rahman.

Some of Mr. Abdel Rahman's supporters were arrested in both the World Trade Center bombing on Feb. 26 and in an alleged assassination and bombing conspiracy last week.

The local coverage of the recent events has been muted, with most reports from agencies and news organizations based in the United States, rather than in Cairo.

Nevertheless, news of the detention of Mr. Abdel Rahman spread on

short-wave radio broadcasts and by word of mouth along the dirt streets in Imbaba, where children in rags and goats picked at piles of rubbish that towered over the two-story mud brick homes. Young men quickly gathered and vented their rage.

#### Hostility to Muslims Charged

"The imprisoning of Dr. Omar Abdel Rahman is an assault against all Muslims," said Mohammed Atiyaa, 29, a shop owner recently released from prison for involvement in the Islamic movement. "He is a scholar, who represents Islam. He is blind, and could not have been involved in these attacks. This shows America's hostility to Muslims."

The leaders and followers of Mr. Abdel Rahman, who listen to the cleric's sermons on smuggled cassettes, singled out the American Embassy in Cairo and American citizens living in Egypt for retribution.

"The Americans have challenged us," said a 27-year-old leader in the group, as he stood on Ahmed Mattar Street, next to a group of veiled women. "We have issued statements warning the Americans never to touch Dr. Omar Abdel Rahman. And now they will see our response."

Walls along the busy street were covered with the slogan "Islam is the Solution." Next to a small mosque the Egyptian Government, which provides few services to these slum dwellers, had erected a pink marble

(2)

3  
10

plaque promising to build a hospital on the site.

The militant leaders said they had understood from associates based in the Pakistani border town of Peshawar that American officials would not arrest Mr. Abdel Rahman.

**'Do Not Blame Us'**

These militants claim that an American diplomat had held a meeting with Mohammed Shawki Islam-buli, the head of the Islamic Group in Peshawar, and the current Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, a year ago.

At the meeting, the militants said, the diplomat promised the United States would not detain or harm the Egyptian cleric. The United States has denied making such promises.

The cleric was arrested in 1981 on charges that he sanctioned the assassination of former President Anwar el-Sadat, but he was acquitted. He was also imprisoned for inciting rioting in 1989 and again acquitted, but he is currently being re-tried in absentia. Three days after plans for the re-trial were announced, thousands of copies of a letter from the cleric were distributed in mosques calling for the overthrow of the government.

"Do not blame us for what will happen," said a leading radical cleric. "If American does not respect Islamic scholars, it does not respect Islam. And everyone will fight for Islam, for its dignity and sanctity."

③



# Sheik to Be Held While Fighting Deportation

By ALISON MITCHELL

Surrounded by chanting supporters, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the Islamic fundamentalist whose followers have been linked to two bombing conspiracies, emerged from a Brooklyn mosque and surrendered to Federal authorities last night, ending a months-long Federal debate over the danger he posed as a free man.

Mr. Abdel Rahman walked on the arm of his lawyer shortly after 6 P.M. from the Abu Bakr Elseddique mosque across the street to a firehouse that had become a Federal command post, after a day of negotiations over his detention on immigration charges. He was greeted cordially by Federal agents and lightly frisked.

His supporters formed a human chain across the street and chanted, "God is the greatest" in Arabic. A handful of Hasidic Jewish onlookers from the ethnically mixed Midwood neighborhood shouted back, "Drop Dead! Drop Dead!"

Officials said a helicopter was ready to fly Mr. Abdel Rahman to the Federal prison at Otisville in Orange County, N.Y. But they agreed to drive him the 75 miles after he said he did not want to fly. He arrived at 9:30 P.M., a prison spokesman said.

## 'We Are Not Conspiring'

The cleric's decision to give himself up came after midday and evening prayer services for the Muslim Sabbath. "I might not stand in front of you again," a Saudi journalist who watched midday prayers quoted him as telling sobbing supporters. "We are not conspiring against America, even though we disagree with American policy."

The apprehension of the blind, self-exiled Egyptian marked a change in policy for the Clinton Administration. Federal officials said they decided to take him into custody because they feared he would flee after his van eluded the Federal agents following him Wednesday night.

But political pressures were also bearing down on Attorney General Janet Reno in the form of hostile editorials and the criticism of lawmakers like Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, the New York Republican who was reported to be a target of a bombing and assassination conspiracy disrupted last week. [Page 22.]

Federal officials had insisted for a

week that they had no plans to arrest Mr. Abdel Rahman, citing weak evidence against him and a desire to leave him free as a surveillance tool to watch those drawn to him. Although investigators said they were convinced the cleric had been aware of a conspiracy to bomb the United Nations, 20 Federal Plaza and the Holland and Lincoln Tunnels, they called their evidence "fuzzy." Siddig Ibrahim Siddig Ali, identified by Federal officials as the ringleader of the latest bombing plot, had been Mr. Abdel Rahman's interpreter.

A State Department official said last night that the United States had advised Egypt of its plan to detain Mr. Abdel Rahman but described the notification as a routine matter.

In Egypt, the cleric's followers in the Islamic Group vowed a campaign of terror striking at Americans abroad and targets in the United States. Some law-enforcement officials also expressed concern that the sheik's detention could lead to revenge attempts by militant supporters in Brooklyn and New Jersey.

(4)

NYT 3-7

Front pg.



### Two Bomb Threats

5  
10

The State Department cautioned American travelers last night that the detention of Mr. Abdel Rahman "may precipitate strong reactions" among followers in Egypt and various degrees of disapproval elsewhere in the Islamic world.

And while it said it had no specific information about potential incidents, it added that Americans who are overseas, especially those in the Middle East, "should be alert to continuing developments." Americans abroad should refer, it said, to the State Department's country-specific warnings, consular information sheets and regional travel brochures. On Thursday night two bomb threats disrupted traffic in the edgy city, as police removed a suspicious object from the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel and checked an abandoned car at Kennedy International Airport. The police said yesterday that the object recovered from the tunnel turned out to be only rope wrapped in a garbage bag. The bombing plot disrupted last week had been set symbolically for the Fourth of July, Federal investigators said.

The detention of Mr. Abdel Rahman was hailed by New York political figures who had issued repeated calls for the immigrant's incarceration or deportation since the World Trade Center bombing on Feb. 26.

The 35-year-old religious figure was not charged in either of the bombing plots, but was instead taken into detention by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which found him deportable last March. Mr. Abdel Rahman has appealed the ruling, and until now the Justice Department had said it saw no need to incarcerate him. He will now be held in detention as the appeals process continues.

### 'I'm Grateful'

Yesterday Mr. D'Amato praised the change in course. "I'm grateful," he said. "I think the American people are grateful. The fact is, it sends the kind of message that is important: that we're not going to let the terrorists hold us hostage in our own homes."

Mr. D'Amato, who has been crusading against the cleric for months, also used the occasion to feed speculation that he might run for governor. "The terrorists are laughing at us," he said. "While New York sends jobs to New Jersey they send us their terrorists. We need the death penalty. Mario Cuomo just doesn't get it."

Federal agents began staking out Mr. Abdel Rahman's Jersey City apartment building on Thursday night as well as the Al-Salam mosque in Jersey City and the Abu Bakr Elseddique mosque in Brooklyn.

At times the scene was almost comic. Early yesterday morning, the cleric's followers sent out a decoy sheik in a maroon van, wearing Mr. Abdel Rahman's trademark white

robes and red and white cap. Federal agents, with guns drawn, surrounded the vehicle, shouting, "Get out! Get out!" But they turned out to have the wrong quarry.

Law-enforcement officials remained tense as negotiations over Mr. Abdel Rahman's fate produced a near-24-hour standoff, the cleric once again frustrating the Government authorities he had eluded repeatedly since first slipping into the country in the summer of 1990.

### Surrender Is Offered

Barbara Nelson, the cleric's lawyer, called immigration officials at 8:15 A.M. yesterday and offered her client's surrender. She said Mr. Abdel Rahman had volunteered to turn himself in to immigration officials in Newark, where his appeal for political asylum was heard and denied.

But she said immigration authorities said they wanted to apprehend him "very close to the mosque." Only after 6 P.M., and with a second lawyer, Michael Warren, involved at the scene, did Mr. Abdel Rahman give himself up in the firehouse of Engine Company 250.

In a paradoxical touch, the long

(5)



6  
10

standoff took place a five-minute walk from where Rabbi Meir Kahane lived during the heyday of the Jewish Defense League 20 years ago. El Sayyid A. Nosair, an Egyptian follower of Mr. Abdel Rahman, was charged with the assassination of Mr. Kahane in a

midtown hotel in 1990. He was acquitted but convicted on related charges.

#### Arrested in Egypt

As the spiritual leader of a coalition of Islamic militant groups, Mr. Abdel Rahman was tried but acquitted in the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat in 1981. In the summer of 1990, despite being on a State Department watch list of undesirables, Mr. Abdel Rahman received a visa from the U.S. Embassy in Khartoum, the Sudan, and slipped into the United States. The State Department said the visa was issued by mistake. The I.N.S. said it made a second blunder when it granted him permanent resident status as a religious worker in 1991.

Immigration officials revoked Mr. Abdel Rahman's residency status in March 1992, contending that he had failed to disclose that he was a polygamist and that he had been convicted in Egypt for falsifying a check. Last March, a Federal Immigration Judge found that Mr. Abdel Rahman could be deported.

But the Justice Department said he could remain free pending his appeal, contending that he had not been implicated in a terrorist conspiracy and that his upkeep would be too costly. It emerged only last week that the Justice Department had an informant watching and recording the cleric and his inner circle.

As the cleric was led away last night, the passions of the Middle East still reverberated outside the mosque. A Palestinian man asked City Councilman Noach Dear, who is Jewish, about the plight of Palestinians and then told him, "You should all be killed one by one." The councilman retorted, "If this mosque is a house of terrorism, we should close it down."

מחור:	טובים מזרח קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות: מידי
אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארץ-כ	ממ"ד, מזרח, בטל	סיוג: בלמ"ס
דע:	בסחור - יועץ שה"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ים' העכירונא)	תזח:
מאת:	עמנואל, ניו יורק	חש' מזרח:

## Egypt Asks U.S. for Extradition Of Sheik Linked to Bombing Plot

Officials Say Cleric Will Be Held Through Appeal

By CHRIS HEDGES  
Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, July 3 — The Egyptian Government, in an abrupt shift in policy, has asked the United States to extradite Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the Islamic cleric who is under detention in New York on immigration charges, to Egypt, senior government officials said.

"The United States and Egypt have decided to work together to deliver this criminal to Egypt to stand trial," said an Egyptian official. "He is just one man. We can handle him."

The government made the request in a meeting today between the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Amr Mousa, and Ambassador Robert H. Pelletreau of the United States. Egyptian officials said.

Mr. Pelletreau, while conceding that the discussion centered on the fate of the cleric, refused to confirm or deny that the Egyptians asked for the cleric's extradition.

New York  
Times  
Front pg.  
4-7

שם השוכח  
ממ"ד, מזרח, בטל

5-7-93



8  
10

"We discussed recent actions in the United States with respect to the detention of Omar Abdel Rahman," he said. "That is all I would say on that."

The decision to extradite the cleric is a dramatic reversal in Egyptian policy. The Egyptian Government, although angered by the presence of the cleric in the United States, steadfastly

refused to demand his return, fearing that his imprisonment could unleash a wave of attacks by his followers.

"The belief was always that he could do less harm abroad than he could sitting in a jail cell in Egypt," said a Western diplomat familiar with the case, "but when faced with the prospect of deportation from the United States, and flight to another country where he would be free to operate, the Egyptians decided it would be best to have him under their control."

The Fayoum Higher State Security Court ordered Mr. Abdel Rahman's arrest today as part of the move to establish a legal framework for his detention upon his return to Egypt, those officials said. The sheik, although he has been tried three times in Egypt, has been acquitted of all charges and has never been convicted of any serious crimes here.

Judge Ahmed Izzat Ashmawi, however, announced in a heavily guarded courtroom in the city of Fayoum today that the cleric and 48 other defendants should be immediately arrested and imprisoned.

The warrants, issued in connection

Continued on Page 26, Column 1

with the attempted murder of two police officers and charges of inciting violence, stemmed from a 1989 riot outside a mosque in Fayoum, 55 miles southwest of Cairo. Mr. Abdel Rahman and his followers were acquitted of the charges in 1989, but the Government ordered a retrial in April.

"In the case of Omar Abdel Rahman and others," the judge said, "the court has decided to arrest the defendants who are present and keep them in prison."

The cleric, like many of those in the case, is being tried in absentia. The warrant was the first step in the extradition request, Egyptian officials said.

The 19 defendants who are present for the court proceedings were, until today, not held in custody.

#### Held in Federal Prison

The cleric, who surrendered to immigration authorities after a 20-hour standoff in New York, is being held at a Federal prison in Otisville in Orange County, N.Y., while authorities review his status.

Mr. Abdel Rahman is the spiritual leader of the Islamic Group, a militant organization trying to overthrow the Government of President Hosni Mubarak and establish an Islamic state.

The radical group, which has threatened to wage a terror campaign against American expatriates and American targets in Egypt and abroad, has carried out a series of attacks against government officials, the police, intellectuals, Coptic Christians and foreign tourists.

(2)



# Flaws in Computer Check Helped Sheik Enter U.S.

By DOUGLAS JEHL  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 2 — In an effort to determine how Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman entered the United States, the State Department ran the names of four high-profile terrorists through a computer system meant to identify undesirable immigrants. All four passed.

The failure of the system was one of a series of deep and pervasive flaws in the United States visa system uncovered by State Department investigators. They concluded that it was these flaws, as well as bureaucratic bungling, that allowed Mr. Abdel Rahman to enter the United States, according to Congressional officials from both parties.

Mr. Abdel Rahman, who was detained today by immigration authorities in Brooklyn, received four United States visas even after he was placed on the lookout list in 1987.

But the classified review by the State Department's Inspector General found failings that extended well beyond that individual case.

## 'A Cavalier Attitude'

Representative Olympia J. Snowe, Republican of Maine, said the report showed that the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service maintained "a cavalier attitude toward the serious business of keeping dangerous foreign nationals" out of the United States.

A Democratic Congressional official who also provided an account of the findings described "an incredibly inefficient visa system."

The State Department refused today to comment on the report, which its Inspector General, Sherman M. Funk, presented to Congress in a closed hearing earlier this week. But Representative Snowe said the inspector general's office had said she could make the findings public.

Mr. Abdel Rahman, who was tried and acquitted in the 1981 assassination of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, entered the United States in 1990 despite being on the State Department list of undesirables. He obtained his visa from the United States Embassy in Khartoum, the Sudan, and State Department officials had suggested that primitive conditions there may have contributed to his case's being overlooked.

③

New  
York  
Times

4-7

## Improvements Not Enough

Although it did not directly contradict that account, the investigation found evidence that the lookout system itself was inadequate, according to the Congressional officials. They said its failure to recognize the names of the four known terrorists was the most stunning evidence of those flaws.

In the test, Mr. Funk and his staff selected the names of four Egyptian terrorists who had been convicted of crimes in Egyptian courts at least five months before, the officials said. But they discovered that none of the names had been added to the State Department watch list, which is maintained on a computer data base.

Representative Snowe, who said Mr. Funk had been assured that the system had recently been improved, described his testimony about it as "one of the most revealing moments"



10  
10

of Wednesday's private briefing for two House subcommittees.

Mr. Funk, who serves as the State Department's own internal investigator, had been asked to look into Mr. Abdel Rahman's entry into the country by Representative Tom Lantos, Democrat of California, who chairs the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on international security.

#### Multiple Mistakes Cited

Mr. Lantos refused to comment tonight on the details of the report because it was presented in a closed hearing. But he said that Mr. Abdel Rahman had been able to enter the United States not only because of "serious, multiple mistakes" but also because of "a systemic problem" with the nation's visa system.

There has been speculation that Mr. Abdel Rahman, who helped to recruit young men to fight in the American-backed guerrilla war against the Afghan Government, might have been assisted by the Central Intelligence Agency or other spying agencies in obtaining his visa. But the Congressional officials said Mr.

Funk's investigation had confirmed his preliminary finding that no such assistance had been given.

Instead, the inspector general identified a long list of mistakes made by the State Department and the I.N.S. that made it possible for Mr. Abdel Rahman to effectively establish residence in the United States. His report said the United States Embassy in Khartoum had only verbally reprimanded a Sudanese employee who apparently falsely certified in 1990 that Mr. Rahman's name did not appear on the terrorist watch list.

#### An Employee's Error

In less-traveled capitals like Khartoum, the list is maintained not on computers but on microfiche sent from Washington. Some State Department officials had suggested earlier that the cumbersome nature of that system might have contributed to any errors.

But Mr. Funk and other officials told the lawmakers in the closed hearing that the Sudanese employee had apparently never checked whether Mr. Abdel Rahman was on the list. A State Department consular official testified that the man was not dismissed for his action because he was otherwise "an exemplary employee." Representative Snowe said tonight.

The investigation also disclosed that the State Department did not notify the I.N.S. of its mistake until four months after discovering that it had inappropriately issued the visa to Mr. Abdel Rahman, the Congressional officials said. The report also called new attention to the fact that Mr. Abdel Rahman was not placed on the lookout list until seven years after he was linked to the terrorists who assassinated Mr. Sadat.

1034

1/7 *[Handwritten signature]*

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 6 יולי 1993

אל: ממ"ד

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: קדאפי - ארה"ב

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WT מהעמוד הראשון והראיון עם מועמר קדאפי (מאת העורך לשעבר של העיתון - ארנאוד דה בורשגרייב 6/7). קדאפי הציע עזרה לארה"ב במאבקה נגד הטרור אשר היקפו בארה"ב ילך ויגדל, להערכתו. הראיון עם קדאפי עוסק בפיגוע במטוס פאן אם, יחסי ארה"ב - לוב והטרור בארה"ב.

תקשורת

9 (25) שהח (2) טשה'ח (1) רהמ (1) מנכל (2) מחנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)  
הסברה (2) ר/מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמר (4) אומר (1) טייכל (1) חשפט (1)  
צנזורצבאי (1)



# Gadhafi offers to help fight terrorism

By Arnaud de Borchgrave  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

**IN A TENT SOMEWHERE SOUTH OF TRIPOLI, Libya** — Volunteering to coordinate counter-terrorist intelligence with the Clinton administration, Libyan leader Col. Moammar Gadhafi predicted more and more violent acts of terrorism in America.

In an exclusive interview — his sixth lengthy exchange with this correspondent since he seized power when he was 27 years old in 1969 — Col. Gadhafi said, "Clinton and I belong to the same democratic camp" and "the process of normal-

ization should begin without further delay."

Col. Gadhafi described Mr. Clinton as "a kind, well-intentioned man" who "must resist the temptation to demonstrate that he is decisive" by emulating the policies of Presidents Bush and Reagan.

"He must be encouraged to break out of the policies he has been locked into," Col. Gadhafi said, "and Libya is ready to reciprocate."

By forging new links with us," Col. Gadhafi explained, "you will be in a much better position to influence our policy, especially regarding chemical weapons."

"Egypt will then have a much

stronger ally in Libya, and we can work together as a counterweight to Iran and Sudan and their Islamic extremists."

Col. Gadhafi blamed both Libya and the United States, as well as other powers, for helping "certain Afghan mujahideen guerrilla factions" against Soviet occupation forces in the 1980s, which "gave birth to Islamic terrorists in other parts of the world."

He said Libya and America have "a common interest" to "root out terrorism," which he called "a common enemy." With Mr. Clinton, "I feel a new era is possible. Clinton is the new generation. He does not look

down on Third World people as inferior."

Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, the Islamic cleric suspected of encouraging the bombing that rocked the World Trade Center in February and more recent plots aborted by the FBI, was originally "one of your operatives," Col. Gadhafi said.

The sheik had "close connections with the CIA during the war in Afghanistan," Col. Gadhafi said.

The Libyan leader, long accused of harboring international terrorists and of funding and organizing major acts of terrorism in Europe, Africa and the Middle East, said, "I am against terrorism, despite what is

being said about me."

Two Libyans — Bassel Ali Megrahi and Lamen Khulifa Fhimah — have been accused by the United States and Britain of being key players in the plot that downed Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing 270 persons, including 11 on the ground.

When Col. Gadhafi was asked why he was still refusing to let the two suspects stand trial in the United States or Britain, he said "I offer to turn them over to the custody of

see GADHAFI, page A9

• Text of interview on page A8



Col. Moammar Gadhafi

WT 6/7

F.P.

1034

X/N

# GADHAFI

From page A1

Jesse Jackson when he came to see me a few days ago for trial anywhere in the world, except these two countries.

"Libya, as a state, has no objection to a fair and impartial trial. But the enormous amount of pretrial news coverage in America and Britain makes it impossible to select an unbiased jury. So these two men are afraid that all they would get there is a legal lynching. We watched what happened to Rodney King in California."

Col. Gadhafi was confident that if the two suspects were tried fairly in the United States they would be acquitted, which would be a "tremendous embarrassment" to the Clinton administration.

He even said that the state of Libya has no objection to the United States as a venue for the trial but that the two accused also have rights.

Col. Gadhafi said they are willing to be tried in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden or elsewhere in Europe but his personal preference is Cairo, where the courts have sentenced several terrorists to death and could not be accused of being soft on international terrorism.

Asked if he thought Pan Am 103 was blown out of the sky as Iranian retaliation for the accidental downing of an Iranian Airbus passenger jet by a U.S. warship in the Persian Gulf, Col. Gadhafi replied, "That to me is very clear."

But when pressed for details, he went off the record. He said he did not wish to embarrass foreign governments and indicated that a well-known terrorist group and several intelligence services were involved.

He named them specifically not

for publication. The targeting of a flight that originated in Malta, he explained, was designed to frame Libya. If Libya had indeed been involved, he said, whatever pointed to Malta and Libya would have been transferred to Cyprus so as to shift focus and blame in another direction.

Col. Gadhafi stressed that Libya has not been involved with terrorism — "the oldest weapon in the world" — for a long time. What the West calls terrorist training camps, he said, and what Libya calls "training facilities for national liberation movements," were closed permanently and are open for U.N. inspection.

Under U.N. sanctions voted in April 1992, Libya's airports have been closed to international traffic and a ban on weapons sales is in effect. Travelers to and from Tripoli fly to Djerba, a tourist resort in southern Tunisia, and then drive for three hours.

U.N. members also agreed to reduce their level of diplomatic representation in Tripoli. The United States severed relations in 1986, but France and Belgium and many other countries have already sent their ambassadors back to Libya. The Belgian ambassador represents U.S. interests and shares the local diplomatic consensus that Col. Gadhafi has undergone a "fundamental change" since the end of the Cold War.

Libya is eager to normalize relations with the Clinton administration. Col. Gadhafi pointed out that the United States is talking to North Korea and Vietnam, two former enemies in wars that killed 100,000 Americans, but refusing to deal with Libya.

"Unless President Clinton can point the way to a new world order based on justice and real human

rights — not a form of democracy that is made in America and looks like the law of the jungle to many peoples all over the world — and one that will harness your advanced technology to the real and pressing needs of three-quarters of humanity, then I am very fearful that our planet will end badly."

Col. Gadhafi took strong exception to the cruise-missile raid against intelligence headquarters in Baghdad and said Mr. Clinton was badly advised in the mistaken belief that this would help him domestically.

"If you get rid of Saddam Hussein, you will have 10 new Saddams to cope with in different parts of the world. A new foreign policy must mean talking to people you disagree with — and not bombing them or imposing sanctions that don't work anyway."

He advised the United States to stay out of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which he called strictly a European affair, and Somalia, which he said is Africa's problem. "At this rate you will exhaust yourselves in a very short time," he said.

Col. Gadhafi sees much chaos and anarchy in the world in the years ahead. The disintegration of totalitarianism, he said, "will be followed by the disintegration of superpowers, the fragmentation of nation states, and a return to tribes and clans before we build anew."

"The masses no longer relate to the nation-state, a relatively recent Western phenomenon. ... Now all Western capitalist democracies are in decline. ... This is where Clinton has a unique historic opportunity."

"America is made up of all races and creeds. Clinton should concentrate all his energy on America and stop meddling in matters that are no concern to Americans."

1034

3/7



# Gadhafi: 'Why is Libya being punished?' WT 67

This interview with Libyan leader Muammar Gadhafi was conducted by Arnaud de Borchgrave, editor at large of the Washington Times, through a translator in Col. Gadhafi's tent near Tripoli.

**Q:** After listening to your interview with Jesse Jackson in which Mr. Gadhafi said he would return the Pan Am 103 bombing suspects for trial in certain third countries, several experts concluded there was nothing new about what you said. What do you consider new?

**A:** This is why I prefer this kind of in-depth interview by own language to television, which in this case was and where I was asked to speak in English, which does not give you time to translate in your own mind and sort out thoughts from Arabic to English.

First of all, I offered to release the two Libyan suspects in the Pan Am 103 tragedy over Lockerbie, wanted by American and British authorities, to the custody of any country we trust, for trial anywhere in the world, not just the U.S. and the U.K.

Libya, as a state, has no objection to a fair and impartial trial. But the enormous amount of pre-trial news coverage in America and Britain makes it impossible to have an unbiased jury. So these two men are afraid that they would get in these two countries is a legal trial. We watched the video of what happened to the King in California — and then two trials, including one from the American government for a second trial. This [is] not reassuring for these two men when they are told that America has a totally independent jury.

Abie Nathan, the Israeli peace activist, has just been in Libya and suggested, as he explained it to me, a compromise whereby the two suspects, Bassel Ali al-Abi and Lamen Khalifa Fhimah, would be tried in a third country, which does not have the death penalty, and has a judicial system independent of England's, all to be decided under the supervision of Amnesty International, the World Federation of Human Rights and the International Association of World Jurists. Acceptable?

Where have these organizations guaranteed human rights? Bosnia? Palestine? Somalia? Iraq? In fact, Amnesty has just denounced the lack of due legal process in the Kuwaiti trial of the people accused of trying to kill

**What about a trial in Canada?**

Canada is not independent of America. It is dominated by the U.S.

The Canadians would be very upset to hear this. Of course, but I don't mean it in an insulting way. It's a political fact, and if America asks Canada to try these two suspects, I cannot imagine Canada doing so. America and Canada are beyond a big ocean, but politically, they are one country.

**Q:** Holland, Switzerland, Sweden?

**A:** Yes, why not, or an Arab country like Egypt, as we would obviously prefer a legal resolution in a system all parties can trust — you, us, the defendants. Despite our reservations about the American system of justice, the state of Libya — and this is important — is willing to see these two men tried in America or Britain. It is these two men who are afraid they won't get a fair trial. So why is Libya being punished? After our own thorough investigation, I am convinced the two men would be acquitted, which would cause acute embarrassment to the Democratic [Clinton] administration.

**Q:** Without prejudging the trial and its verdict, why not pay generous compensation to the families of the victims as a humanitarian gesture?

**A:** Are you suggesting I masterminded this horrible criminal act? That's the way it would be interpreted. On the other hand, we would be more than willing to contribute generously to a fund that would compensate the families of the victims of all major acts of terrorism, including the bombing of Libya in 1986, which killed my own daughter and which was retaliation for something we did not do in Berlin [the bombing of a nightclub that killed two American soldiers], as was subsequently determined by your own intelligence services; the Pan Am 103, the French UTA airliner, which killed 441 people. Such a fund would meet with our approval — but Libya cannot be the only contributor.

**Q:** You are willing to talk about the modalities of such a fund?

**A:** It's you who don't want to talk to us. You are negotiating with North Korea, which was in a war with you that killed 50,000 Americans. A North Korean woman said she put a bomb on board a South Korean airliner in Dubai that blew up over the ocean. And half the South Korean Cabinet was blown up in Rangoon [Burma], and North Korean agents were accused of this act of terrorism. Now you're talking to them about U.N. inspection of their nuclear development program. You are also negotiating with Vietnam, another country you fought a war with, in which another 50,000 Americans were killed. And you have approved loans to Vietnam because of their cooperation in searching for missing American soldiers.

In Angola, you have supported Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrillas for 15 years, as did white South Africa, and now you have recognized Angola and agreed to supply

But you won't talk to Libya, a country that does not need loans but which wants to trade normally — you have seen the scores of cargo ships unloading containers in Tripoli harbor — as we do with Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America. There is at least \$20 billion worth of new contracts awaiting American companies in Libya, everything from some 30 new passenger airliners to oil drilling equipment.

The French, who also mistakenly accused Libyan agents of downing a UTA airliner, are about to sign two separate oil and natural gas deals with Libya, each worth about \$1 billion. France, like other Western countries but unlike the U.S., keeps an ambassador in Tripoli, and we talk. France, responding to a Libyan suggestion, sent an investigating magistrate to Tripoli to assess our own investigation into these acts of terrorism. Anyone accused of such acts must be tried and, if found guilty, must pay the maximum sentence. But the U.S. has established its own code of conduct under the U.N. charter.

**Q:** Meaning?

**A:** Sanctions. Against Iraq. Against Libya. You have just bombed Baghdad again with your cruise missiles without even waiting for the end of the trial of the accused terrorists in Kuwait. Yet you did not invoke sanctions against Israel, when, in collusion with France and Britain at the time, it invaded Egypt. Or when Israel launched a massive strike against Egypt in 1967. And in 1982, when Israel invaded Lebanon. It's the double standard that breeds frustration, anger and then counter-terrorism as an answer to what the rest of the world perceives as Western state terrorism.

**Q:** You mean Iraq didn't invade and annex Kuwait?

**A:** Yes, of course it did, and we denounced this very strongly. But don't forget that all of America's diplomatic signals to Iraq in July 1990, as well as your close collaboration with Iraq in its war against Iran, which Iraq had started, led Saddam to believe that you would not oppose this by force. Let's remember that most of the crises in the world stem from contested borders drawn artificially by imperialist colonial powers. — From *Washington Times*



Q: You told Jesse Jackson that Bill Clinton was a good man and a bright star, and then CNN broke into your taped interview to announce the cruise missile raid that wiped out intelligence headquarters in Baghdad. Has your opinion of Clinton now changed?

A: No, because Clinton is a kind, well-intentioned man. But he must resist the temptation to demonstrate that he is decisive by bombing other countries. That is a trap laid for him by Reagan and Bush and the Republicans. His order against Baghdad makes him look like vice

president in a Bush administration. He must be encouraged to break out of the policies he has been locked into. And we are ready to reciprocate.

Q: But there was an Iraqi attempt to assassinate Bush.

A: No one knows precisely what happened. Alleged confessions have been changed and so forth. Clinton, under Republican pressure, felt compelled to do something. That was wrong thinking.

Q: Talking about thinking, the end of the Cold War has changed thinking all over the world. How has the collapse of the Soviet empire and its allies and friends — and you were one of them — the collapse of the camp you joined, changed your own thinking?

A: The collapse of the Soviet Union and communism was foreseen in the Green Book, and you are one of the few Americans who is familiar with its contents. We knew that Marxism-Leninism had no future 15 years ago.

Q: You also forecast the end of capitalism — hence your Third Universal Theory.

A: Yes, and it will definitely collapse in the years to come. I have been reading books and articles in Western intellectual journals that discuss the post-capitalist age and new societies based on knowledge and high technology and new ways of governing ourselves. This will be the real age of the masses. But before we can reorganize ourselves, you will see much chaos and anarchy in the world, the disintegration of totalitarianism followed by the disintegration of superpowers, the fragmentation of nation-states and a return to tribes and clans before we build anew.

The masses no longer identify with the nation-state, a relatively recent Western phenomenon. Italy, our former colonial master, didn't become a nation until 1860. Now all capitalist democracies are in decline — Italy, Germany, Japan, Britain, etc. The party system does not work. It has bred massive corruption in Italy and Japan. In Britain, we now see that the Conservative Party was subsidized by millions of pounds by a Turkish Cypriot businessman who was allowed to escape.

The masses all over the world now get their opinions about America from CNN. All they see is crime and more crime, escalating violence, drugs, mass corruption, guns and explosives for sale to anyone. One day we are shown someone shooting at children in a swimming pool and next day we see someone who has killed two dozen prostitutes. This is where Clinton has a unique historic opportunity. America is made up of all races and creeds. Clinton should concentrate all his energy on America and stop meddling in matters that are of no concern of Americans — such as Bosnia, which is strictly a European problem. Why are you using the U.N. to bomb one man in Somalia? At this rate you will exhaust yourselves in a very short time. What are you going to do in Zaïre after Mobutu goes? Bomb one clan and back another — there are over 200 tribes there.

Q: What kind of wars do you see coming?

A: Wars between different nationalities fighting over what they believe is their land, their mineral or other wealth, and these will be conflicts America should stay out of, because after that will come wars between tribes within former nation-states — such as Bosnia, Somalia, Sudan, Chad, Angola, Ethiopia, Zaïre, etc. Yes, it will be back to city-states — like Athens, Sparta, Carthage, Florence, Venice and so forth.

Q: And the end result? A new world order?

A: All I can see now is anarchy on a global scale and then the long climb back to a new form of world order, back from tribes to city-states to new forms of regional organization, regions that will make more sense than artificial nation-states. Technology can accelerate the process toward a new social order. Technology, however, cannot prevent the disintegration of the current social order. It cannot, for example, prevent the blacks from rioting in Los Angeles. It cannot prevent terrorism, but terrorists can use it.

Q: Are you saying we are going to see more and more terrorism in the U.S.? During the Cold War, the Soviet Union and its satellites and client states, like Libya, gave aid, comfort and training to international terrorist groups — from the Red Army Faction in Germany to the Red Brigades in Italy, Abu Nidal, Carlos, etc. But who is behind all this today? Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Libya? Some of the latest suspects in New York are Sudanese. Islamic fundamentalist leader Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman, who is fighting deportation for illegal entry, is believed to be inciting terrorism in the U.S., and he has said that it is a religious obligation to overthrow Egypt's President Mubarak. Is this Iran?

A: Terrorism is the oldest weapon in the world, and no one can stop it. Libya has not been involved with these groups for several years, and when people like Abu Nidal visit Libya — no visas are required — they are frozen in place by our security authorities. Your orbiting satellites can see anything down to 6 inches in length. And your intelligence services know that what some call terrorist training camps, and which for us were training facilities for national liberation movements, have been closed permanently. They are open to U.N. inspection if you wish. Whatever activity may still be taking place is with our own armed forces.

But whatever takes place in America — and you will see a lot more terrorism there — is a function of perceived injustices in other parts of the world. Take the Palestinians. We don't want the destruction of Israel, but we want Israelis and Palestinians to learn to live together in the same land the way the white minority and the black majority must work and live together in South Africa, or destroy each other. Nelson Mandela (president of the African National Congress) and [President] F.W. de Klerk have now seen Clinton together. We would be very pleased to see the same thing in Israel. A state based on race is no longer possible, especially when Palestinians have legitimate claim to the same land.

You must understand the power of CNN showing Israeli soldiers shooting Palestinian children. This breeds terrorism in America. If blacks are slaughtered by

whites in South Africa, it will [be seen] on CNN, and is bound to trigger similar responses from your black ghettos, as you call them.

Unless President Clinton can point the way to a new order based on justice and real human rights — not a form of democracy that is made in America and looks like the law of the jungle to many peoples all over the world — and one that will harness your advanced technology to the real and urgent needs of three-quarters of humanity, then I am very fearful that our planet will end badly.

If you get rid of Saddam Hussein, you will have 10 new Saddams to cope with in different parts of the world. A new foreign policy must mean talking to people you disagree with and who disagree with you, and not bombing them or imposing sanctions that don't work anyway. Our airports are closed to international traffic by U.N. sanctions since April 15, 1992. To fly in and out we simply have to drive to and from Jerba in Tunisia and from there fly anywhere in the world.

Q: But the U.S., France and Britain are about to confer again on how to tighten sanctions.

A: Words about sanctions make some people feel good, but they are nothing.

1037

5  
7

2/4



Q: But can still have it in the U.S. these days — Iran or Iraq, or both, and others?

A: The root causes can be traced back to colonialism, imperialism and now America as the last all-powerful superpower. Terrorism is the sediment of all these factors, which, in brief, is the domination of the East by the West. During the Bush administration and the Gulf war, I warned that this would spawn a whole generation thirsting for revenge, and that their only way of getting even with America would be through terrorism. Much of the world does not see America as a shining example to follow but a frightening mixture of drugs, pornography, AIDS, millions of unemployed, prisons overflowing with young blacks, rapes and murder. That is what your television shows us.

Q: Do you condone this kind of terrorism?

A: I condemn it and stand ready to cooperate with America and other Western powers to eradicate it, despite what is still being said about me. I am simply trying to explain what is taking place — and will keep growing — irrespective of our stand against it. But it's important to understand root causes.

We thought colonialism was dead and buried, but it is still alive in the subconscious of people all over the Third World who cannot understand why they have been reduced to permanent misery, and they blame the Western powers. They also see that your capitalism encourages everyone to consume more and more, buy more cars, more TV sets, more of everything that most of the world cannot afford. We reject the values of that kind of capitalism.

Q: Is it your view that Pan Am 103 was blown up and 270 people killed, including 11 on the ground, as Iranian retaliation for the U.S. Navy inadvertently shooting down an Iranian Airbus (airliner)?

A: That to me is very clear.

Q: If you are convinced that Libya and its intelligence services were not involved, what really happened?

A: I will tell you, but only off the record, the details as we have pieced together this tragic affair. (Off the record answer lasted five minutes. Without betraying the pledge, it can be said that he believes the intelligence services of two other countries and a well-known terrorist group organized the plot, and the Malta connection was designed to frame Libya. If Libya had been involved, Col. Gadhafi believes the clues pointing to Malta and Libya would have been placed in Cyprus to make sure they pointed away from Libya.) But don't think Iraq will take the latest cruise missile attack by turning the other cheek. Acts of terrorism in America will be the answer and they will be more and more violent and spectacular for television purposes around the world.

Q: Haven't you said that the U.S., Libya, Egypt and Israel have a common enemy, Islamic fundamentalist extremism, and that this presupposes that the enemy of your enemy is your friend?

A: We have to distinguish between two Islamic trends, a distinction that was lost in the Jesse Jackson interview because of time. Now we are not rushed, and we can speak clearly and frankly. There is fundamentalism and terrorism. They are not one and the same. We oppose terrorism wholeheartedly and permanently. Terrorist groups are well known to Western and Middle Eastern intelligence services, like Islamic Jihad. Other groups, like certain Afghan mujahideen guerrilla factions, were helped by Libya and the U.S. and other governments against the Soviet occupation of that country. And when the Soviets withdrew, some of these groups gave birth to Islamic terrorists in other parts of the world. Their leadership is in the West. People who are with Saddam Hussein are also in America. All these terrorists now regard [America] as the main enemy, and they know how easy it is to get in and out of America. There are many terrorists in America, and we have to ask ourselves why you are protecting them.

Q: We are not. We simply have porous borders along two oceans and the Gulf of Mexico, 2,000 miles of Mexican border, 3,300 miles of Canada, which is the world's second-largest country.

A: No, I mean Libyans who have been captured by us with bombs and confessed they had been trained in America, Britain and Germany.

Q: You mean the Libyan soldiers who were captured in Chad.

A: Not only them. I think there are about 300 of them in a secret camp somewhere in the hills of Virginia and who are protected by the CIA. This was [former Director of Central Intelligence] Bob Gates' idea. I'm talking about other Libyans and Iraqis and Iranians, trained by the U.S. for sabotage in these countries. Sheik Abdel-Rahman was originally one of your operatives. He had close connections with the CIA during the war in

Afghanistan.

Q: But the FBI infiltrated Rahman's entourage and obtained proof he was at least the inspiration, if not the instigator, of terrorist actions in New York City.

A: That's good intelligence work. That means you have learned from your mistakes.

Q: Do we have a common interest?

A: Yes, to root out terrorism. We are quite willing to share what information we have, but the U.S. is not interested in talking to us. We should establish security and intelligence cooperation, as well as normal diplomatic relations. We have a common enemy. The name is terrorism.

Q: But you say terrorism in America is not only inevitable but that it will grow and spread.

A: Please understand the difference between what I say from a philosophical and from a practical viewpoint. We can take immediate practical steps, and we can also listen to each other's ideas about the future. Reagan and I were reduced to insulting each other, "mad dogs" and things like that. Bush and I were confrontational, but we never stooped to personal insults. With Clinton, I feel a new era is possible. You have nothing to lose and much to gain. Clinton is the new generation. He does not look down on Third World people as inferior.

Q: What should we do about terrorists like Abu Nidal? They live here, not in America.

A: Abu Nidal is now in Iran, from what we know. When he was in Libya, I told you he was always under close surveillance. We do not believe he has killed Americans but Palestinian leaders he did not agree with. He is also a friend of Prince Sulman bin Abdulaziz (governor of Riyadh, third in line for the succession to the throne and a close adviser to Saudi Arabian King Fahd). They have done business deals together. When Abu Nidal was in Libya, he conducted normal business and was not plotting terrorism. For us, state-sponsored terrorism is firing cruise missiles against Baghdad from the Red Sea.

Q: As retaliation for an attempt to assassinate former President Bush.

A: That was entirely fabricated by Kuwait, whereas Reagan's attempt on my life was not fabricated. It came within feet of killing me and killed my 3-year-old girl.

Q: But CIA, FBI, DIA experts all confirmed it was the real thing in Kuwait.

A: Then why didn't you wait for the end of the trial of the accused? No, President Clinton was ill-advised and told this would help him at home with his domestic problems. This is very sad for us because we know he can exercise a new kind of leadership.

Q: Back to Lockerbie...

A: What advantage do the families of the victims have to see the whole tragedy transferred from a legal context to a political arena, where revenge pushes any idea of compensation to the side? Compensation must be a matter of legal investigation, of law, not of political accusations. Bilateral cooperation, not confrontation with the U.N. Security Council. Confrontation just prolongs the suffering of the families.

1037  
6  
7

3/4



Q: So why not go public with what you know, and which you have just told me not for publication, which would clear the air and allow the investigation to proceed in what you believe is the right direction?

A: I have no wish to embarrass other governments because one must distinguish between groups and security services who do things either behind the backs of supreme authorities, or in the belief that they are pleasing them.

Q: Why are you paying millions to various intermediaries? Both [Secretary of State] Warren Christopher and [British Foreign Secretary] Douglas Hurd are complaining about a proliferation of intermediaries.

A: Such as?

Q: Adnan Khashoggi and his Israeli partner and former Mossad agent and arms merchant Yaacov Nimrodi, who now runs a travel agency in Israel.

A: We have nothing to do with Nimrodi. He's a liar. And Khashoggi has burned all his bridges and played all his cards. He is finished in America. As for other people, what is wrong if they tell America and Britain the truth — that Libya wants to resolve all outstanding issues peacefully and turn over a brand new page in the history of our relations. I see nothing wrong with that.

Q: But the people Libya pays to relay such messages have an interest in prolonging the crisis. The longer it lasts, the more money they make. People who should know tell me that President Mubarak has received billions of dollars from Libya to plead your cause with Presidents Bush and Clinton.

A: That is simply untrue. Any aid we have given Egypt has been from state to state. And there are over one million Egyptian workers in Libya who send remittances back to Egypt, which amounts to hundreds of millions of dollars.

Q: Satellite intelligence and other human intelligence means have convinced Western governments that you are still building chemical weapons facilities, including a new complex deep inside a hillside near Tarhunah, 40 miles southeast of Tripoli. Some intelligence estimates say as much as 100 tons of chemical weapons are stored underground at Rabta. You also declined to sign a U.N. accord banning chemical weapons. Why?

A: Because of Egypt. Mubarak advised me not to, not until Israel agreed to sign the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. If Israel refuses to comply with the nuclear, we won't comply with the chemical. As for reports of tunnels in mountains, it is a form of terrorist threat. We have blasted many tunnels in hills to test and train for our multibillion manmade underground river project, which will channel water from underground canals to reservoirs that are designed to make deserts bloom. Several billion dollars have already been spent on this vast project, and underground reservoirs are being built.

Q: What about the U.S. blocking a shipment of solid rocket fuel ingredients from Russia to Libya via Ukraine. 80 tons of ammonium perchlorate? Ukraine seized it as it was reportedly bound for Libya.

A: Like you, I read this in news reports, and I have asked President [Boris] Yeltsin to conduct an investigation. We're also investigating here. It's highly unlikely, and I believe it is yet another attempt to terrorize and destabilize Libya. Maybe some people in Washington are trying to pressure Clinton into another terrorist missile attack, like the one against Baghdad.

Q: You have tried, unsuccessfully I believe, to purchase nuclear weapons technology, and you are developing the Al-Fatah missile, reportedly with North Korean assistance. Are such efforts continuing? Do you feel that possession of nuclear weapons is a prerequisite to be taken seriously by the U.S.? Witness current U.S. negotiations with Ukraine and North Korea?

A: We have both the potential and the right to build missiles to defend ourselves. We know you can see and hear many things, but we have nothing to hide. But to say we are building nuclear weapons or getting help from North Korea is once again calculated disinformation — totally untrue — to try to persuade Clinton to use cruise missiles again. North Korea has talked to us about selling equipment for billions of dollars. They want hard currency. A lot of it. And we have agreed to nothing.

Q: What went wrong with your recent attempt at rapprochement with Israel when you allowed almost 200 Libyan pilgrims to visit Israel?

A: The U.N. resolution does not preclude travel to Muslim holy sites, or medical travel on humanitarian grounds. But some people, Palestinian extremists we believe, prevented our pilgrims from praying at Al-Aksa mosque, the third-holiest site in Islam. But never mind. This month we will host a congress of Libyan Jews now

see Q&A page A9

## Q&A

From page A8

living in Israel, Italy and America. About 300 of them. We have also agreed that their expropriated properties should be compensated. Then in the autumn we will chair another conference of religious and intellectual leaders representing Islam, Judaism and Christianity. This is what I mean by a new age, a new policy, a new world.

Q: And a new image? What are you really prepared to do to elicit acceptability and respectability from the international community?

A: We must break the deadlock, get out of the present impasse in our relations. Turning over two innocent Libyans to America does not guarantee a fair trial, and if it was fair, they would be proven not guilty, which would be a tremendous embarrassment, as I have said, to the Clinton administration. A major scandal for the Democrats. World public opinion would see that Libya was right and America wrong.

Q: In that case, they should go on trial in the U.S., and you would be proved right?

A: I am sure Clinton doesn't really want them because he knows what a setback it would be for America. Clinton and I belong to the same Democratic camp. Reagan used to go crazy when he saw native American Indians, black Americans and leading Democratic figures attending conferences in Libya. Now our American friends are in power. This [is] a new America. And the process of normalization should begin without further delay. Everything is on the table. Libya, for example, owes \$3 billion to the former Soviet Union. This could be added to the fund that Russia so desperately needs. By forging new links with us, you will be in a much better position to influence our policy, especially regarding chemical weapons. Egypt will have a stronger ally in Libya, and we can work together as a counterweight to Iran and Sudan and their Islamic extremists.

Q: Yet on April 29, addressing Jadu University students, you said that the situations in Egypt and Algeria, where fundamentalists are encouraging acts of terrorism, are the result of a Western plot to weaken and divide the Arab world and guarantee Israel's absolute superiority. You even said that the bloodshed in Somalia was instigated and planned by Western powers.

A: By encouraging so-called multiparty democracy. You invite the kind of disaster we saw in Algeria — free elections produced a fundamentalist majority in December 1991 — people who do not believe in Western

democracy. Just look around the world. Liberal democratic values are an illusion for the masses. The American system is not for export. I read articles in your ownazines that ask whether anyone can run the U.S. government. Yet you want the whole world to have the same kind of freedom. You accept that the Israelis kill Palestinians who want their own home. But you did not accept that white South Africans practice apartheid, and with the pressure of world opinion they faced reality and a multiracial state is now emerging. Why did you intervene in Somalia and why are you coordinating attacks against a clan leader? If multiparty democracy is the objective, it will not work, and you will have to withdraw. Clinton knows that his mission is not in Somalia or China. It is in America.

1034

7/7

4



1032 - P1  
20 - G2

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 6 יולי 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

## הנדון: שיחות השלום

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (דייוויד הופמן 5/7) בנושא אי התקדמות תהליך השלום.  
רוח"מ רבין מבקר את האמריקנים אשר, לטענתו, וכנעים ללחץ הפלסטיני המופע  
עליהם. דברי רוח"מ נגעו למסמך האמריקני אשר כדי להתאימו לדרישות  
הפלסטינים, עפ"י מקורות ישראליים.  
כתבות נוספות בנידון בסוכנויות הידיעות ובשאר העיתונים.

## תקשורת

907.

# Rabin: U.S. Yields to Palestinians

*Israeli Criticizes  
Revision of Paper*

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, July 4—Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin renewed his criticism of the flagging Middle East peace process today and complained that the Clinton administration has succumbed to pressure from Palestinian negotiators.

Rabin's rare criticism of Washington followed warnings by Palestinians that the peace talks are on the verge of collapse.

Rabin's criticism was directed at a proposed joint Israeli-Palestinian declaration drawn up by the United States. The document has not been made public, but Israeli officials said it was a revision of an earlier paper that they viewed more favorably. The Palestinians also rejected the latest document.

The previous version, offered in May, was a declaration of principles that the administration hoped would be acceptable to Israeli and Palestinian negotiators. However, Palestinians charged that Israel had helped write the paper, and they boycotted a meeting on the proposal.

Rabin said today he was "disappointed" that the first document was changed to meet Palestinian objections.

"As a matter of principle . . . we will not tolerate such a development, because the meaning is that every American paper will be subjected to an attack and it will be changed," he said.

WP  
5/7

1032 - P'

20 - GP

2  
2

Both sides appear to be preparing for a new phase in the process that began at the 1991 peace conference in Madrid. The talks were heralded as the first direct, face-to-face negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbors and the Palestinians, but they now appear deadlocked.

The negotiators seem headed toward greater reliance on the United States as intermediary. A U.S. delegation headed by Dennis Ross, the administration's coordinator for the peace process, is expected to arrive in the Middle East later this week.

Rabin renewed his objection to the direct-talk format today.

"I didn't believe from the very beginning that the Madrid format is the best one," he said. He added, however, that Israel will not abandon the negotiations.



אאאא, חוזם: 5624  
אל: דהמש/206  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 060793, זח: 1135, דח: ר, סג: בל,  
בבבב  
658083  
בלמ'ס/רגיל

אל:      וושינגטון

מאת: ערב 2

הנדון: דיאלוג ארה"ב - אש"פ

להלן מ'אח'באר אל-אסבוע' (ירדן), 1/7:

מקורות דיפ' בווש' ציינו שישנם סימנים ברורים לכך שהדיאלוג בין ארה"ב לאש"פ בדרג גבוה יתחדש בחודש הבא. הצביעו על כך שהפגישת המיחלת בין שה"ח האמרי, כריסטופר לבין אבו מאזן תפתח הדרך בפני מו"מ רשמי בין שני הצדדים.

עד כאן.

ערב 2  
6 ביולי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רס), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,  
רחטמזת, סייבל, רביב, הסברה

סססס

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 6565

אל: רהמש/221

מ-: המשרד, תא: 060793, זח: 1817, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

659055

סודי/מידי

אל: וושינגטון  
הממונה

מא'צ עם בראון :

סיפר שהמזכיר האיץ בפייסל חוסיני להידרש למסמך האמריקאי ולהגיש השגותיהם והסתגיותיהם בכתב אך ללא הועיל.  
קודם לכן ביקר פייסל בלונדון לשיחות במשה'ח הבריטי שם ניסו לדבר על ליבם של הפלשתינאים להגיב על המסמך האמריקאי תגובה עניינית ולא שוללנית מוחלטת. חוסיני נתן להבין שהפלשתינים אכן שוקלים תגובה עניינית. הבריטים דיווחו ברוח זו למחמ'ד אך עד מהרה נסתבר שהתגובה הפלשתינית למסמך היא שלילית קטגורית.

בנצור

6 ביולי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ממד, מצפא,  
רחטמזח, סייבל

סססס



# ידיעות לעתונות

00000

לעמ

סיכום פגישת דה"מ יצחק רבין עם ראש עיריית ניו-יורק

06.07.93

(נמסר ע"י יועץ דה"מ לתקשורת)

ירושלים, י"ז בתמוז תשנ"ג, 6 ביולי 1993 (לע"מ עש"ת 13)

ראש הממשלה, מר יצחק רבין, נפגש היום עם ראש עיריית ניו-יורק, מר דייוויד דינקינס ופמלייתו, המבקרים בישראל. דה"מ שוחח תחילה עם מר דינקינס בארבע עיניים, ולאחר מכן הצטרפו כל 40 חברי המשלחת המלווה את ראש העיר. דה"מ סקר בפני האורחים את המצב בישראל, את מהלך שיחות השלום ואת תכניות הממשלה וסדרי העדיפות החדשים שלה. הוא הדגיש את דבקותה של ישראל בשלום ואת נכונותה לעשות פשרות ולקחת סיכונים למען השלום, ללא פגיעה בבטחון. הוא גם הדגיש את עמדת ישראל בעניין ירושלים ואמר כי היא תישאר מאוחדת תחת ריבונות ישראל לעד.

מר רבין אמר כי ישראל אסירת תודה לארה"ב על הסיוע שהעניקה לישראל ועל האמצעים שהעמידה לרשותה, כדי שתוכל להתגונן בלא להיעזר בחיילים זרים. הוא ציין כי לארה"ב ימשיך להיות תפקיד מרכזי בתהליך השלום, מבלי שהצדדים למו"מ יסירו מעל עצמם את אחריותם הבלעדית לפתרונם. ראש העיר דינקינס הודה לרה"מ והדגיש כי תושבי ניו-יורק תומכים במאמצי השלום של ממשלת ישראל ומקווים שישאו פרי.

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 5601

אל: רהמש/201

מ-: המשרד, תא: 060793, זח: 1126, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

658038

סודי/מיד

106.01

אל: לשכת שה'ח

לשכת רוה'מ

לשכת הנשיא

מאת: מנהל מצפ'א

א.ג.7.

הנדון: ביקור דינקינס

לקראת השיחות עם ראש עיריית ניו יורק,

להלן מכתב מוברק (ממודר) מאת קונכ'ל ניו יורק.

לידיעתכם בלבד.

\*\* להלן מ-: ני, נר: 2092, תא: 240693

סודי/מיד

מכתב מוברק

מאת: קונכ'ל וסגן קונכ'ל ניו יורק

הנדון: לקראת בקור דינקינס-

הבחירות לעיריית ניו יורק

1. למרות שמסע הבחירות לראשות העיר ניו יורק לא נפתח עדיין רשמית נכנסה הפעילות הפוליטית של שני המחנות שנוותרו - דינקינס מול ג'וליאני - להילוך גבוה. (שני המועמדים האחרים שטיין היהודי ובדיו ההיספאני הודיעו שהם



פרשים מהמרוצ).

2. בשלב זה אין אומדים את סיכוייו של דינקינס להיבחר מחדש ביותר מ-50 אחוזים ונראה שהמרוץ יהיה צמוד, זאת מן הטעמים הבאים:

א. לפיסה כללית על ניהול כושל של העיר על ידי דינקינס - נושא עליו ירכז ג'וליאני את רוב התקפותיו.

ב. המחדל בפרשת 'קראון הייטס' והתנהגותו המתחמקת של דינקינס גם לאחר לא הוסיפו לו כבוד, וזאת לא רק בקרב הציבור היהודי. יש מי שדואג ל'שדר' כי העיריה והמשטרה אינם דואגים לבטחון הפרט. לכך יש להוסיף כי בשבועות הקרובים יתפרסמו ממצאי החקירה הפדרלית על ארועי קראון הייטס (שנערכה על פי יוזמת המושל קואומו) דבר אשר יהפוך את הנושא למרכזי במערכת הבחירות.

3. ג'וליאני אשר, כזכור, נוצח במערכת הבחירות הקודמת (בהפרש של 2 אוז בלבד), למד את לקחי העבר, ובשלב זה נוקט בטקטיקה המעבירה תומכים אליו:

א. בניית קואליציה רחבה, והשענות גם על דמוקרטים. בהקשר זה יש לציין את הצטרפותו של HERMAN BADILLO אחד המנהיגים הותיקים במחנה הדמוקרטי, צעד הנתפס כצרוף בוחרים היספאנים רבים למחנה ג'וליאני ארגון קבוצת תמיכה של נשים, שחורים, הומו סקסואלים וכו', וצרופה של סוזן אלתר, יהודיה מסורתית וחברה במועצת העיר ניו יורק כמועמדת למשרת המבקר.

ב. פעולות לריכוך 'תדמיתו' הנוקשה: מחד ויתורים על עמדות ידועות אשר עלו לו בקולות בעבר - לדוגמא בנושא ההפלות המלאכותיות, ומאידך בניית קמפיין 'חיכני' צילומי ג'וליאני חדש, השופע חיבה וחום.

(בכל אלה ניתן להבחין בטביעות האצבעות של מיועדנו איש יחסי הציבור דיוויד גארט).

4. המפה הפוליטית-

בעיר ניו יורק ( הנחשבת בעיני רבים כבלתי ניתנת לשליטה) ההצבעה נערכת לרוב על פי קווים אתניים. מעריכים כי לא יחול שינוי גם הפעם.

א. היהודים: יהדות ניו יורק מהווה כ- 14 אחוזים מסה'כ האוכלוסיה וך- 17 אחוזים מסה'כ המצביעים. אע"פ שהקהילה מקורבת יותר למפלגה הדמוקרטית (כ- 80 אחוזים) אין היהודים היהודים מצביעים תמיד למועמדים דמוקרטיים. כך למשל בבחירות העירוניות ב-1989 זכה ג'וליאני הרפובליקאי בך-65 אחוזים מהקול היהודי ובבחירות לסנאט לאחרונה זכה דאמאטו בך-40 אחוזים מהקול היהודי בניו יורק. (קלינטון, לעומת זאת, קיבל קרוב ל-90 אחוז מהקולות היהודיים בעיר). קשה להניח למעשה שדינקינס יצליח לשפר מצבו בקהילה היהודית באופן משמעותי. כל סקרי דעת הקהל היום מנבאים לו שיעור קולות יהודיים דומה לזה שקיבל ב-1989. לפיכך ולמרות דפוסי ההצבעה הברורים הנ'ל צפוי 'קרב' סביב הקול היהודי לפי שבבחירות הקודמות כ-135 אלף יהודים (כ-20 אחוז) (מהמצביעים היהודיים) נמנעו.

מטרת המועמדים תהיה להביא בוחרים אלה לקלפי. יש המציינים שזו אחת הסיבות לנסיעת דינקינס ארצה. על פי מידע שהגיע לידינו ג'וליאני מובטחים כבר קולות רבים בקווינס ובברוקלין, ועתה מרכז הוא מאמציו בקרב היהודים הליברלים ב-  
UPPER EAST SIDE של מנהטן.



ב. השחורים: ככלל, הקהילה השחורה תעדיף להצביע למועמד אפרו-אמריקאי זאת ועוד התמודדותו של מנהיג שחור בבחירות מדרבנת את האוכלוסיה השחורה להצביע. כך ב-1989 היוו השחורים כ-28 אחוזים מהמצביעים על אף העובדה שהמהווים רק כ-24 אחוזים מסה'כ האוכלוסיה. אתגרו של דינקינס יהיה לשמור ואף להגדיל את אחוז המצביעים בקרב הקהילה השחורה בדינמיקה המאפיינת את המערכת הפוליטית בניו יורק דינקינס יהנה מפופולריות עקב פרסום הדו"ח הפדרלי של קראון הייטס בקרב ציבור זה בפרופורציה הפוכה לסחף הצפוי להגרם בקרב היהודים.

ג. הציבור האיטלקי המהווה כ-9.5 אחוזים מהמצביעים, מצביע לרוב למועמדים רפובליקאים, מגמה שתימשך הפעם ביתר שאת לאור העובדה שג'וליאני הינו ממוצא איטלקי.

הציבור האירי המהווה כ-5.5 אחוזים מהאוכלוסיה, ומדובר על ציבור בעל נטיות קונסרבטיביות בד"כ. מעריכים הפעם שהרוב המוחלט יצביעו לגוליאני גם על רקע אירועי המצעד האירי השנתי כאשר דינקינס תמך בצירוף ההומוסקסואלים בניגוד לדעת המארגנים, הקרדינל והציבור האירי (שהינו כידוע קאתולי לרוב).

הקאתולים הלבנים מהווים כ-20 אחוזים מהאוכלוסיה, אך אין נתונים על שיעורי ההצבעה. ציבור זה תומך באופן מסורתי ברפובליקאים.

הציבור האסיאני: מציבור זה המהווה כ-6.5 מהאוכלוסיה (מחציתם סינים היתר בעיקר הודים, קוריאנים ופיליפינים) רק 2 אחוז מצביעים. מספר זעום והקולות חלוקים.

ד. ההיספאנים- הם הכוח העולה בעיר (כ-24 אחוזים מהאוכלוסיה) ולדעת רבים יהיה נטוש המאבק הגדול בקרב קהילה זו. הקולות המכריעים יהיו בקרב הקהילה הפורטוריקנית- מחצית האוכלוסיה ההיספנית, לפי שחלק גדול מציבור זה מורכב ממהגרים נטולי אזרחות אמריקנית.

כאמור לעיל ג'וליאני 'גייס' את בדיו ואילו דינקינס מופיע בכל הזדמנות לצידה של חברת הקונגרס NYDIA VELASQUEZ, הנציגה ההיספנית היחידה בקונגרס מאיזור ניו יורק. ציבור זה נראה חלוק לפי שעה אולם החשוב מכל הוא כי אין לו דעות נחרצות ונתון להשפעה ולתנודות.

בהקשר זה יש לציין כי לעמדות הקרדינל אוקונור, אשר כידוע אינו תומך נלהב של דינקינס, תהיה השפעה על ציבור האמינים הקתוליים-ההיספנים האיטלקים והאירים כאחת.

5. קשה להתנבא לתוצאות, אך אם לשפוט לפי העבר- תוצאות הסקרים האחרונים אינן צריכות לעודד את אנשי דינקינס. יש לזכור, למשל, כי ב-1989 דינקינס הוביל כ-14 אחוזים לעומת ג'וליאני והפער נסגר אט אט וכי הפעם אין הדבר כך. כ'כ יש לקחת בחשבון שבסיקרי דעת קהל יש נטיה להסתיר כוונות אמיתיות, ולהצהיר על נכונות להצביע בעד מועמד שחור, שעה שהדבר אינו בא לידי ביטוי בעת ההצבעה.

6. חודשי הקיץ והסתיו יהיו לבטח 'חודשים חמימי' ויש לצפות כי מערכת הבחירות תלווה באלימות ובביטויי גזענות.

יש לצפות, כמו כן, שקבוצות אלה או אחרות תנסנה לגרור אותנו למערכת



הבחירות, דבר אשר יחייב זהירות רבה מצדנו.

קולט אביטל  
ומרק סופר

מנהל מצפ"א  
6 ביולי 1993

תפוצה: שהח, @ (רהמ), מצפא, לשכתהנשיא

סססס

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאא, חוזם: 7154

אל: רהמש/ 247

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 156, תא: 060793, זח: 1953, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממ"ד - ערב 1, מח' מצרים, מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: מצרים. התהליך.

משיחה עם עבד אלוהאב (יועץ לענייני העולם הערבי בשג' מצרים) ב-6.7:

תהליך/פלסטינים

1. העריך, כי בעקבות סבב המו"מ הביטראלי האחרון והמסמך האמריקני - הפלסטינים מתוסכלים וקרובים מאד לשלב בו הם עלולים לפרוש מן השיחות. הגבתי, כי בכך יפעלו בניגוד לאינטרסים שלהם עצמם וישחקו הישר לידיהם של חמאס. השיב, כי חמאס מתחזק ממילא כל העת, וכי הפלס' עלולים לפרוש כדי ללחוץ על הגורמים הערביים האחרים, זאת מתוך הכרה, כי על רקע רגישות השאלה הפלס' בעולם הערבי - שום מדינה ערבית לא תוכל להתקדם במו"מ ללא הפלס'. הוסיף, כי הדברים אולי נשמעים בלתי הגיוניים, אך הוא, כערבי, היה נוהג כך לוא היה פלסטיני. אמרתי, בין השאר, לישראל למצרים ולפלס' הנוטלים חלק במו"מ יש אינטרס משותף בהאצת התהליך. בעייתם של הפלס' נעוצה בכך שאין הם יודעים זאת.

(לא מן הנמנע שדבריו מבטאים רצון להנחיל, לאזנים ישראליות, מסרים אודות הצורך ללכת לקראת הפלס', ועל היקף המאמץ המושקע ע"י מצרים כדי להבטיח את עצם השארותם במו"מ. יצויין, כי לביום, בשיחה נפרדת, העריך שהפלס' הבליטו את בעיית ירושלים כדי שאם יוצר קרע במסלולם - יהיה זה על רקע של שאלה רגילה ביותר בהקשר הערבי/אסלאמי, עובדה שתימנע מהסורים כל אפשרות להתקדם בלא זיקה לאפיק הפלסטיני).

אסלאם קיצוני

2. לפחות עד מועד שיחתנו, שגרירותם בושינגטון לא בקשה מארה"ב את הסגרתו של השיח' עומר עבד אלרחמן. העיר כי אם שה"ח מוסא העלה זאת בפגישתו עם השגריר פלטרו, הרי עובדה זו לא צויינה במידע שהתקבל בשגרירותם אודות השיחה. לדבריו, פלטרו אמר למוסא כי בפני הרשויות בארה"ב ניצבות שלש אפשרויות: גירוש של עבד אלרחמן (מנע כיעדים אפשריים את מצרים, סודאן, ובריטניה - משם הגיע השיח' לארה"ב לאחרונה), שחרורו, והמשך החזקתו בכלא. מוסא לא בקש דבר בנושא הסגרתו למצרים. להלן ציין עבד אלוהאב הערכה שהועלתה בתקשורת האמריקאית לפיה מיצוי הפרשה ברשויות המשפטיות בארה"ב



עשוי להמשך שנה ויותר.

3. בהתייחסו לפעילותם של הגורמים האסלאמיים הקיצוניים במצרים קבע כי העניין "מצוי בשליטה" וכי נותרו רק כמה מאות קיצוניים, "מבוגרי אפגניסטאן", הפזורים ברחבי מצרים. הביע סיפוק מכך שפסגת אח"א עברה ללא פעילות טרור. הוסיף כי הקיצוניים האסלאמיים לא יוכלו להגיע לשלטון במצרים, לפחות "לא לפני מאה נוספת", וכי לוא היו בשלטון - לא היו מבטלים את חוזה השלום עם ישראל בשל חששם מפני עצמתה (לא ברור, ולא חקרתי, האם התכוון למאה הבאה, או לעוד מאה שנים. מכל מקום, אמר זאת כשעננה קלה על פניו, ומבחינתי - עצם העלאת אפשרות עליתם לשלטון על ידו היא המעניינת/מדאיגה).

עיראק

4. התבטא בנימה מסוייגת כלשהו כלפי הפעולה האמריקאית נגד עיראק. אמר שמצרים היתה רוצה לראות בסילוקו של צדאם, אך התקיפה רק חיזקה את מעמדו מבית. שאלתי איזו אלטרנטיבה אחרת היתה לדעתו לאמריקנים. הפטיר, מניה וביה - תקיפת מטרות צבאיות.

איראן

5. שמע כי אפשרית החלפתו של שה"ח ולאיתי. המועמדים האפשריים: סיו"ר הפרלמנט האיראני, או שגרירם לאו"מ.

אמיתי

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

סססס

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 7152

אל: רהמש/246

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 153, תא: 060793, זח: 1827, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי לבוקר

אל: ממנכ"ל מצפ"א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

*Eg. T.*

הנדון: מצב התהליך

עיקרי דברים שאמר איש צוות השלום האמריקני בשיחה הבוקר : -

- הניר שלנו הוא טיוטה ולא מסמך. אנחנו מקפידים לקרוא לו כך כדי שיהיה ברור שמדובר במשהו שאינו פורמלי.

- הניר נכתב לבקשת שני הצדדים והוא מבטא את הנקודות שבהן לפי מיטב שיפוטנו יש סיכוי להגיע להסכמה.

- הניר נכתב לאחר התיעצות יסודית עם נציגי ישראל ואם יש תחושה למישהו בישראל שהסתלקנו מהבנות קיימות לגבי תיאום מוקדם הרי זו תחושה לא מוצדקת.

- ההתיעצויות עם הצדדים גרמו לנו להבין היטב את עמדות ישראל ואנחנו מיטיבים גם להבין את עמדות הצד השני. הניר משקף את השלב הפרלימנרי שבו אנו נמצאים. איננו מופתעים מהתגובות אצלכם ואצל הפלשתינאים וטוב שלא הכינונו מסמך פורמלי. כך מנענו מהצדדים להינעל על תגובות פורמליות.

- אנחנו מבינים את הצורך בסבלנות אבל יש לנו גם תחושת בהילות - SENSE OF URGENCY. אסור לנו להרשות לתהליך להתמסס - TO DRIFT. כל מה שאנחנו עושים, כמתווך הוגן, הוא הליכה על החבל הדק שבין הסבלנות לבהילות.

- אנו מבינים את הקשיים הפנימיים של ממשלת-ישראל מול ציבור בוחריה אבל גם הצד השני צריך להוכיח להמוניו שמהו מתקדם בתהליך.

- (סיים בנימה אופטימית) - מראשית התהליך עברנו שינוי אדיר, היה טאבו על כל הידברות בין ערבים וישראלים והוא נשבר ודי לראות את הפעילות האדירה במסלול המולטילטרלי. אבל (סיים באזהרה) יש לזכור גם את דברי המזכיר בטלביזיה ביום א' לאמור שאנחנו נוכל להצליח רק אם הצדדים ירצו בכך.



שילה

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @רהמ), @שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ר'אגת), @רם), @אמן), ממד, מצפא,  
רחטמזת, סייבל

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 7081

אל: רהמש/243

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 149, תא: 060793, זח: 1803, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,536101

בלמס/מידי

6 יולי '93

אל: מצפ"א

דע: ציר כלכלי - כאן

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

9.7

הנדון: השר שמעון שטרית - תדרוך כתבים

להלן עיקרי תדרוכו של השר שמעון שטרית לכתבים הישראליים על פגישתו עם דניס רוס:-

\* הבעתי הערכתנו למאמצי הנשיא, המזכיר וצוות השלום לקדם התהליך, כפי שבאו לידי ביטוי במסמך הטיוטה האמריקנית. מאמץ אמריקני זה מבטא בצורה נאותה את תפקיד ארה"ב כ- HONEST BROKER.

\* הבעתי אכזבתנו מחוסר התיאום המוקדם של הממשל עמנו לגבי שנויי הנוסחים בטיטה שהוגשה (30/6) לעומת הטיוטה של 12/5. פירטתי הנקודות הבעייתיות מבחינתנו בטיטה האמריקנית:-

- ירושלים - העלאת הנושא לדיון בשלב הסדרי הקבע.  
- נושא התחולה - ניסוחים בעייתיים במונחים המרמזים על תפיסה שלטונית יותר מפונקציונלית.  
- 242 - ניסוחים "צמודים יותר" ללשון 242, 338 כולל - ניסוחים קשוחים יותר מבחינת הפרשנות לשתי ההחלטות.

\* הבהרתי שלמרות שיש קולות שונים הנשמעים מהארץ בנושא התהליך בכלל, ובנושא הדיאלוג עם אש"פ בפרט, הקול המוסמך והקובע - הינו של רה"מ; ולכן יש להתעלם מהמבטאים דיעה אחרת. הרחבתי בנושא אש"פ תוך הדגשה שעצם הדיון ברעיון מעביר מסר שלילי למשלחת הפלסטינית, ולמעשה - מעכב התקדמות.

\* תגובת דניס רוס (לדבריו) :-

- מימד הזמן בתהליך חשוב - יש לשאוף לצירוף של סבלנות מחד, עם תחושת דחיפות, מאידך.

- היעד בתהליך הוא השגת תוצאות מוחשיות.

- תפקידו של ה- HONEST BROKER הוא לא רק "לצלם" מצב (כפי שעשתה טיוטת 12/5) אלא לנסות ולהזיז דברים באופן אקטיבי קדימה (כמו במסמך 30/6).



- השר הרחיב עוד בנושאים אחרים שיועלו בפגישותיו בווישינגטון : קזחסטן ובעיקר, פעילות איראן ברפובליקות מרכז אסיה ; פגישה ב-GAO ; פגישה עם נציב ה-FCC וכ"ו.

עד כאן דבריו.

רות ירון

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

סססס

דף: 1 מחיר: 4	טובס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	דחיות: מירי
אל: <del>מזכיר</del>		סיוג: כלמ"ס
		תזוח:
דע: <del>מזכיר</del>		מס' מדק: 1035
מאת: עתונות, ניו יורק		

# Security Official Guides U.S. Aims at Conference

By GWEN IFILL  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 4 — Every Wednesday, three men gather around the conference table in a spacious corner office in the West Wing of the White House to share sandwiches and talk. Their conversation is anything but casual, for they are the backbone of President Clinton's foreign policy team.

W. Anthony Lake, the President's national security adviser, Les Aspin, the Secretary of Defense, and Warren Christopher, the Secretary of State, are the people who have drafted the President's speeches and policy statements as Mr. Clinton prepares to go to Tokyo this week to meet with the leaders of the world's wealthiest nations. They have spent weeks in close negotiations with representatives from the other countries, trying to resolve differences over economic policies and aid to Russia.

New York  
Times  
5-7

27 (25) שהח (2) סשה'ח (1) רחמ (1) מנכל (2) ממנכל (1) מצפא (2) רביב (1)  
הסברה (2) ר/מכז (1) ממז (4) רס (1) אמו (4) אומן (1) סייבל (1) משפט (1)  
צנזורצבאי (1)

31

שם השולח:



Mr. Lake will be at the President's side as he travels to Tokyo for his most extensive foray to date on the world stage. And when the leaders of the so-called Group of Seven issue their communiqués in Tokyo, much of the direction will have been determined in advance by Mr. Lake and a staff of strategists and technocrats.

The advisers place a premium on collegiality, secrecy, efficiency and finding a Clinton-like consensus on every issue. In planning for the economic conference in Tokyo, Treasury Secre-

## Clinton's foreign policy advisers avoid feuding.

tary Lloyd M. Bentsen has also taken part, as have Robert E. Rubin, the head of the new National Economic Council, and his deputy, W. Bowman Cutter.

### Lake Spearheads Asia Trip

But because Mr. Rubin has a significantly smaller staff and a mandate that focuses on domestic issues, Mr. Lake's shop has driven much of the preparations for the Asia trip.

"As we look at this week, we have a new President going to Asia — a new Asia. It really becomes increasingly clear that we ought to use this as an opportunity to talk more broadly about the United States as a Pacific power and the emerging economic and security relationships with the United States and Asia," said a national security official, who insisted on anonymity.

The summit meeting will inevitably push Mr. Lake closer to the public view. But the national security adviser and his own team, members of the White House national security staff, generally leave the public stage to Cabinet members like Mr. Aspin and Mr. Christopher, in part to avoid the sort of turf warfare that has often marred foreign-policy making.

"I really wanted to avoid becoming the guard-all shield between the President and the rest of the foreign policy community, but at the same time make sure he wasn't being buried in all kinds

of different memos and meetings," Mr. Lake said in an interview. "That's not what the President wants in any case." The feuds between William P. Rogers and Henry A. Kissinger under Richard Nixon, and Zbigniew Brzezinski and Cyrus R. Vance under Jimmy Carter are now remembered almost as much as the achievements. Even James A. Baker 3d and Brent Scowcroft, who worked as Secretary of State and national security adviser for George Bush, had their tense moments.

### Determined to Avoid Tension

"I think Tony and I and Les are determined that we'll not have a repeat of the tensions that existed in previous administrations," said Mr. Christopher, who worked with Mr. Lake at the State Department during the Carter years.

"If that falls apart," another adviser added, "you get the Vance-Brzezinski, the Kissinger-Rogers vehemence, and everybody loses."

Some of Mr. Lake's supporters, concerned that like some of his predecessors he is ceding the political credit for American policy advances to Mr. Christopher, have begun quietly campaigning to raise his visibility just a bit. But Mr. Lake has generally eschewed television and most other opportunities to publicize his role.

"The more you do, especially in a job like this, outside, the more the others are going to start feel you're threatening them," said a White House official. "And it actually diminishes your power, and it actually undercuts the President."

1035

2/5

(2)



### Mixed View on Growing Pains

When the national security advisers boast at all, it is to point out that — in their view, at least — the President's foreign policy operation has suffered few of the growing pains that have occurred on the domestic and communications side of the White House.

This ignores the Administration's biggest foreign policy stumble to date, its abortive effort to force allied action in Bosnia. Mr. Lake, officials concede, has been at the center of that crisis as well.

And critics say the foreign policy brain trust also mirrors some of Mr. Clinton's own weaknesses. To some members of Congress and people in the foreign policy community, the collegiality of the President's advisers comes across as mushiness, their secrecy as stubbornness and their passion for efficiency as a maddening inability to see the forest for the trees.

Mr. Lake is the most frequent target for both the praise and the complaints that emerge about the President's foreign policy office. Low-key, bespectacled and possessed of a dry wit, he does not fit the mold of previous national security advisers, most of whom have been drawn from the military. A career Foreign Service officer who served in Vietnam and later opposed the war, Mr. Lake's appearance suggests an academic background and he has indeed been a professor at Mount Holyoke College.

The White House foreign policy team is so circumspect that even members of Congress with security clearance

pend on State and Defense and how forceful they are in the kinds of roles they hold."

### 'A Very Low-Key Manager'

Of Mr. Lake, he added: "I haven't figured out what kind of role he has. If he's a manager, he's a very low-key manager."

But Mr. Lake's low profile has cost him in credibility in a political environment where invisibility is often equated with powerlessness.

"What I think they miss is his toughness," said George Stephanopoulos, a senior adviser to the President. "I think it's too easy to think: Vietnam, professor, laid-back and funny equals not tough. And that's just flat-out wrong."

Administration officials said that before last weekend's missile strike against Iraq, Mr. Lake urged the President to take aggressive action after concluding that Iraq was responsible for hatching an assassination plot aimed at President Bush. Mr. Lake's handprints, they said, were also to be found in Mr. Clinton's aggressive defense of aid for Russia before and since the Vancouver summit meeting.

The downside of that analysis, of course, is that Mr. Lake has also been central in forming the failed Administration policy on Bosnia. Mr. Clinton's oratory seemed muscular during the election campaign, but Washington's policy has appeared feckless after European allies rejected Mr. Christo-

have trouble forming opinions about its efficiency.

"I suspect he's very much overworked," Representative Lee Hamilton, the Indiana Democrat who is the chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee, said of Mr. Lake. "That means it's tough for him to get to an issue unless it's urgent."

Harsher critics suggest that the President's foreign policy advisers are too reactive and have not taken on enough of an advocacy role.

"I'm being careful," said Representative Dave McCurdy, a Democrat from Oklahoma and member of the Armed Services Committee, who was asked to assess the early work of the President's policy advisers. "A lot of it de-

(3)

1035

3  
4



pher's pitch to lift the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims and consider limited air strikes against Serbian nationalists.

But if it is true that Mr. Lake is the man at Mr. Clinton's elbow when it comes to setting foreign policy, what of Warren Christopher, the courtly Secretary of State?

Although he insists he is not a gatekeeper, Mr. Lake has designed a system that makes him the hub of the wheel.

#### More Than One Voice

"The principal spokesman for foreign policy should be the Secretary of State," one White House official said. "It gets confusing when there is more than one voice out there. But there's no question who's driving foreign policy in terms of the decision-making process." That would be Mr. Lake.

"There's more than enough room," Mr. Christopher said in an interview. "A properly functioning national security adviser only enhances the position of the Secretary of State."

When all of the President's foreign policy advisers gathered around the long table in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for a series of briefings for the Tokyo summit conference last week, Mr. Lake led the discussions.

But as the President sets out his vision of Asia policy this week, some say it will have come not a moment too soon.

"We have been lax in setting out goals for the international community," said Michael Mandelbaum, a former Clinton foreign policy adviser who directs the East-West Project of the Council on Foreign Relations. "But just setting them out would not mean we could achieve them. Because there are problems that no other American President has had to deal with that Bill Clinton will have to deal with."

1035

(4)

4





# ***U.S. Might Halt Its Active Stand In Mideast Talks***

***Official Says All Sides  
'Have to Want Peace'***

**By ELAINE SCIOLINO**

*Special to The New York Times*

WASHINGTON, July 4 — Secretary of State Warren Christopher warned today that the United States might halt its active role in the Middle East peace talks, saying that all sides "have to want peace."

Despite the failure of the latest round of talks, which ended in Washington last week, to move the Israelis and Palestinians closer to a settlement, Mr. Christopher said on the NBC News program "Meet the Press" that he still believed that the Arabs and the Israelis wanted American participation.

But, he added, "If the parties don't want our assistance, if they really don't want us to play this role, of course we will not impose ourselves." He characterized his statement as "a bit of a warning, because there are many things that I have to do, that President Clinton has to do."

The Clinton Administration came into office pledging to be a "full partner" in the talks. But both sides criticized a recent Administration paper that suggested shifting the emphasis from territorial issues to proposals for government functions that Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories could control.

## **Views on Other Issues**

On Haiti, Mr. Christopher said United States troops would take part in an international peacekeeping force when President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was restored to power. He predicted that fewer than 1,000 Americans would be needed.

President Clinton congratulated President Aristide by telephone today and said the United States would back "to the fullest" the agreement to return him to power.

On Iraq, Mr. Christopher said the refusal of President Saddam Hussein's Government to allow United Nations cameras to monitor its weapons pro-

And he warned North Korea that the United States was prepared to break off negotiations over the issue of North Korea's participation in the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons if the Government in Pyongyang used the talks as a stalling mechanism to build nuclear weapons.

On Bosnia, Mr. Christopher said the United States did not support the country's partition — "if you mean by that the country's going to be split up into three independent countries." But he added that if the parties agreed to a three-way partition within Bosnia, the United States would support such a move.

③

3  
3

1033

The Israelis have not publicly spelled out what they find objectionable, but apparently they are displeased with an American suggestion that Jerusalem is negotiable at all, even down the road. Since it annexed the eastern part of the city, which was in Jordanian hands from 1948 until the 1967 war, Israel has declared Jerusalem to be its permanent, unified capital and not a subject for discussion.

In sharp language, Mr. Rabin said today that he was "disappointed" with the new American paper, particularly because it reworked another document prepared two months ago.

"The Palestinians attacked the first paper," the Prime Minister said as he returned from a trip to Europe. "The fact that the Americans responded and changed even here and there — as a matter of principle we could not, and we will not, tolerate such a development."

His remarks reflected widespread frustration within his Government over the lack of progress in the talks.

Leftist Cabinet ministers partially blamed Israel itself, saying today that Mr. Rabin must negotiate directly with the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is guiding Palestinian strategy from behind the thinnest of veils. But the Prime Minister stuck to his refusal to deal face to face with the organization, and his Cabinet allies warned that the leftist ministers might encourage Palestinian foot-dragging.

(2)

2/3

1033



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

4478: חוזם, אאאא

אל: רהמש/157

מ-: המשרד, תא: 050793, זח: 1153, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבכב

מכתב

שמור

מצפ"א

טל' : 02-303562

02-303244

פקס : 02-303367

ט'ז בתמוז תשנ"ג

5 ביולי 1993

106.02 - - -

657164

אל : לשכת רה"מ

לידי : מרית

מאת : מצפ"א

הנדון : ביקור ראש עיריית ניו יורק - דינקינס

לקראת פגישת משלחת ראש העיר עם רה"מ ביום ג', ה-6 ליולי בין השעות 18:45-19:15, להלן רשימת המשלחת:

1. HON. DAVID N. DINKINS - MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK
2. HON. RUTH MESSINGER - PRESIDENT OF THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN
3. HON. CLAIRE SHULMAN - PRESIDENT OF THE BOUROUGH OF QUEENS
4. HON. STANLEY MICHELS - MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL;  
CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION;  
DEAN OF THE MANHATTAN COUNCIL DELEGATION
5. MR. HERBERT BLOCK
6. MS. GINGER BOLDEN
7. MR. ARTHUR CHELIOTES
8. REV. SUZAN JOHNSON COOK

9. MR. PETER DAVIDSON
10. MS. BERTRICE M. DISMAN
11. REV. BRENNAN V. FITZGERALD, O.F.M.
12. MS. HARTINA FLOURNOY
13. MR. DORON GOPSTEIN
14. MS. ELINOR GUGGENHEIMER
15. MR. RANDOLPH GUGGENHEIMER
16. MR. JAMES A. HARMON
17. MR. LEWIS H. HARTMAN
18. REV. MYCHAL JUDGE, O.F.M.
19. MR. ANDREW LACHMAN
20. MR. MICO D. LICASTRO
21. MS. MOLLY MICHELS
22. MR. AVERY E. NEUMARK
23. MR. BRIAN O'DWYER
24. MS. LETTY COTTIN POGREBIN
25. MR. WILLIAM RAPFOGEL
26. REV. PATRICIA REEBERG
27. MS. LILIANE W. SHALOM
28. MR. STEPHEN SHALOM
29. MS. JANICE SHORENSTEIN
30. MS. MARISSA SHORENSTEIN
31. MR. STUART SHORENSTEIN
32. MR. RICHARD SKOLNICK
33. MS. SHERRY SKOLNIK
34. RABBI ROBERT I. SUMMERS
35. MR. HOWARD TEICH
36. DR. RUTH WESTHEIMER
37. MR. HOWARD ALAN ZIPSER

צוות:

(הערה: רק כמה מאנשי הצוות ישתתפו בכל פגישה.)

38. MR. JEREMY BURTON - DEPUTY DIRECTOR, MAYOR'S OFFICE OF JEWISH COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
39. MS. DIANA HOFFMAN - ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE MAYOR
40. LELAND JONES - PRESS SECRETARY
41. MARIA LAURINO - CHIEF SPEECHWRITER
42. JEFF MACLIN - ASSISTANT PRESS SECRETARY
43. PHILLIP SAPERIA - MAYOR'S OFFICE OF JEWISH COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
44. JOAN VITALE STRONG - MAYOR'S PHOTOGRAPHER

תקשורת:

(הערה: בנוסף לאנשי התקשורת המתלווים לראש העיר, ישנם עוד כ-4 צלמי



טלוויזיה ישראלים אשר יצלמו עבור WABC, WNBC, WCBS, WNYW (ו-WABC).

45. STEWART AIN - JEWISH WEEK
46. PATRICK DAWSON - WABC NEWS
47. INARA DELEON - WNBC NEWS
48. ANDREW KIRTZMAN - NY1-TV
49. MARCIA KRAMER - WCBS-TV
50. KEITH LANE - WNYW-TV
51. ROBERT LIFF - NEW YORK NEWSDAY
52. ANDREW LINDENAUER - WCBS TV
53. ANDY LOGAN - NEW YORKER
54. PETER NOEL - VILLIAGE VOICE
55. BOB O'BRIAN - WNYW-TV
56. PHILIP O'BRIAN - NY1-NEWS
57. GABE PRESSMAN - WNBC-TV
58. MELISSA RUSSO - NY1-TV
59. DAVID SEIFMAN - N.Y. POST
60. JOEL SIEGEL - DAILY NEWS

מטעם משטרת ניו יורק:  
(הערה: אנשי האבטחה יעבדו במשמרות, ורק חלק מהם יגיעו לכל ארוע.)

61. CAPTAIN SAM COCOZZA
62. DETECTIVE MARRIN DARCY
63. DETECTIVE ALAN FRANKEL
64. DETECTIVE JOHN MURPHY
65. SERGEANT KEITH O'BANYOUN
66. LIEUTENANT ALICIA PARKER
67. DETECTIVE AUGUST PEARO

מטעם משה'ח:

קולט אביטל, קונכ'ל ניו יורק  
אליסון רובין, מח' צפון אמריקה  
גדעון מרק עמיר, קונסול לעניני תקשורת בניו יורק (המיועד)  
אבי אבידן, מח' אורחים

ב ב ר כ ה,

אליסון רובין

תפוצה: @ (רהמ), מצפא

סססס



NYT

217

1018

16

4/5

# U.S. Mideast Paper Draws Criticism

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 1 — The Israelis and the Palestinians today criticized an American draft paper that the Clinton Administration hopes will form the basis for agreement on principles for Palestinian self-rule in the occupied territories.

"Israel is very displeased with the changes that appeared in the American proposal which was presented yesterday," Elyakim Rubenstein, the chief Israeli negotiator with the Palestinians, said as the 10th round of Middle East peace talks ended without any tangible progress.

Haider Abdel-Shafi, the chief Palestinian negotiator, told reporters: "Our initial reaction here is not positive. And we don't think that this document can serve as a basis for extended discussions." He called the lack of progress in the negotiations "embarrassing."

## Paper to Be Basis for Talks

Despite the negative response from both sides, a senior Administration official said the paper will be the basis for talks when a senior American delegation heads to the Middle East next week.

"We consider this a basis for discussion," said the official, who spoke on condition of anonymity. The official also acknowledged, however, that "both parties right now are not exactly doing handstands over this."

## Palestinians and Israelis both find fault with plan.

In an interview with news-agency reporters today, Secretary of State Warren Christopher played down the significance of the criticism. "Not to our surprise those ideas have not been immediately accepted by either party," Mr. Christopher said. "The essence of being an intermediary or an honest broker is to present ideas which neither party may regard as wholly satisfactory. But we hope they'll be stimulating and provocative and may help provide a middle ground."

The two-and-a-half-page document, which was presented on Wednesday, is so informal that it has no title and is typed on plain paper, rather than State Department stationery.

## Palestinians Seek Meeting

The Palestinian delegation was so distressed by the paper that it has requested a meeting with Mr. Christopher before the American delegation, headed by Middle East coordinator Dennis Ross, arrives in the region next week. Mr. Christopher has agreed to meet Faisal al-Husseini, a senior member of the delegation, on Saturday.

Nebeel Shaath, a member of the Palestinian delegation, said in an interview that the Palestinians are particularly unhappy with the wording over the status of East Jerusalem and the extent of Palestinian authority in Israeli-occupied lands during the interim period of self-government.

According to a copy of the paper, which has not been made public, one section states: "The inclusion or exclusion of specific spheres of authority, geographic areas or categories of persons within the jurisdiction of the interim self-government will not prejudice the positions or claims of either party and will not constitute a basis for asserting, supporting or denying any party's claim to territorial sovereignty in the permanent status negotiations. As such, the issue of jurisdiction over the territories will only be resolved as an

outcome of the permanent status negotiations."

Asked about that passage, Palestinian officials replied that such language seems to put Israel on an equal footing with the Palestinians concerning the issue of territorial sovereignty and therefore contradicts the principle of land for peace embodied in Security Council Resolution 242. "Our position is that our right to sovereignty is not open for negotiation, either now nor in the final status talks," Mr. Shaath said.

In a joint news conference with the heads of the three other Arab delegations, Mr. Abdel-Shafi said Palestinian authority during the interim period should extend to the territories themselves. "Now the sponsor tells us that the question of jurisdiction has to be deferred to the second phase of the negotiation," he said.

## Attempt to Break Deadlock

The American initiative is an attempt to break the deadlock by moving away from the legalistic Palestinian demand that the territorial jurisdiction of an interim self-government be defined, officials familiar with the paper said.

Instead, the American negotiators are trying to approach the problem by identifying the functions of government the Palestinians would control, including, among other areas, managing the police force as well as the budget and land, health and education issues, these officials said. The American draft paper frames the Palestinians' responsibilities in terms of local "geographical" jurisdiction, rather than in terms of boundaries.

The document allows for discussion of the final status of Jerusalem but only when negotiations about the permanent status of the occupied territories begins.

Mr. Christopher today repeated the long-held American view that the future of Jerusalem should not be on the negotiating table with the Palestinians at this stage. "Jerusalem has long been regarded and is still regarded as a final status issue," he said. "I think it needs to be recognized in those terms."

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזה: 3052

אל: רהמש/119

מ-: שיקגו, נר: 14, תא: 020793, זח: 1407, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

א ל: מנהל הסברה, מנהל מצפא

ד ע: אמיתי, ציר ההסברה/ ווש', ממ"ד /ערב 2

מאת: שיקאגו

הנדון: ראשיד ח'אלידי

1. בשיחה עם ח'אלידי (2/7) הדגיש אכזבתו הרבה "ממסמך הגישור" האמריקני. טען שמבין הלחצים המופעלים על הפלסטינים הלחץ האמריקני הוא הכבד ביותר.

2. גישתם החותרת לסממן כלשהו של ריבונות מתקשה להעלות בקנה אחד עם טיפול נקודתי של בעיות הדוגל בצד הביצועי ללא ליווי "לאומי" הצהרתי כלשהו.

3. הסביר ש"עזה תחילה" איננו רעיון רע ובלבד שתהא נקודת אחיזה כלשהיא בגדה (הזכיר גם הוא את יריחו כדוגמא).

4. הדגיש כי רק ניסוחים מעורפלים מוסכמים יאפשרו לשני הצדדים להתקדם תוך אפשרות מתן פרשנות שונה.

5. אמר שהפיגוע הטרוריסטי של החמאס בירושלים הוא "התשובה" למשלחת הפלסטינית המבזבזת זמנה בווינגטון בעוד מתנגדי השלום יכולים לבצע מפגן ראווה של התנגדותם בזירת המחלוקת.

6. ציין שחש בסיבוב השיחות הזה שלמעשה טחנו מים.

7. יוצא מחר בדרכו ארצה.

קורן

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, רביב,  
הסברה, רחטמזת, מזח2, ר/מרכז, ערב2, מרכזאיסוף,  
@ (רס), @ (אמן)

סססס



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 3079

אל: רהמש/120

מ-: ווש, נר: 2009, תא: 020793, זח: 1500, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

Est.

א ל: רוה'מ, שה'ח, ס/שה'ח, מנכ'ל

מאת: השגריר, וושנגטון

הנדון: יהודי ארה'ב

1. שורת אירועים שארעו בתקופה האחרונה מיקדו תשומת הלב ודיון ציבורי ותקשורתי בקהילה היהודית המאורגנת ויחסיה עם ישראל. מרבית האירועים קשורים באייפק (לאחרונה פיטורי תום דיין והארי פרידמן), אך לא רק בו (ראה עיניין ה'ליגה נגד השמדה' בסן פרנציסקו).

2. אין צורך להכביר מילים על הנזק הממשי והפוטנציאלי הכרוך בפרספציה, העלולה להשתרש בארה'ב לפיה:

א. אייפק נחלש.

ב. הקהילה היהודית חצויה ביחסה לישראל.

ג. המחלוקת בתוך הקהילה היהודית נובעת מיחס דו-משמעי לתהליך השלום.

3. הנחייתנו המיידית לצוות השגרירות ולקונסוליות הישראליות הוא לחתור להנמכת פרופיל ולהסתפק בתגובה לפיה, אין אנו מתערבים בעניינים הפנימיים של ארגונים יהודים אמריקאים.

4. ברי עם זאת, שעלינו להדרש בהקדם גם לבעיות העומק וגם לקשיים המיידים בהם מדובר. יחד עם צוות השגרירות התחלתי כבר בפעילות ראשונית מול מספר מנהיגים וארגונים יהודיים. אני מציע שבעת ביקורי הקרוב בארץ נקדיש זמן לדיון ולקבלת הנחיות בנושאים אלה.

רבינוביץ

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

סססס

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 3201

אל: רהמש/125

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 115, תא: 020793, זח: 1929, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

א ל: פר"נ , ואא- קש"ח

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

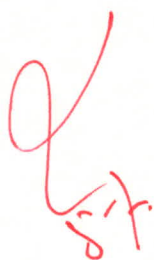
הנדון: עמדת ישראל בנושא ניסויים גרעיניים

ממחמ"ד נמסר לי כי בנאום הרדיו השבועי (3.7) בכוונת הנשיא להודיע על עמדת הממשל בסוגיית הניסויים הגרעיניים. נראה שהנשיא יודיע על הפסקת הניסויים הגרעיניים אלא אם כן מדינות אחרות ינהגו אחרת. כמו כן יקרא הנשיא למדינות הגרעיניות ללכת בעקבות ארה"ב.

שטיין

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, מצפא, פרנ, @ (ואא/קשח)

סססס





\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 3155

אל: רהמש/121

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 108, תא: 020793, זח: 1749, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

שמור/מידי

תאריך: 2 יולי 1993

א ל: מנהל מצפ"א - מנהל מע"ת

ד ע: מנכ"ל

יועצת תקשורת שה"ח

לש סגן שה"ח

תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: שיחות השלום - סיכום תקשורת

1. סיורו של סבב השיחות העשירי אופייני, בניגוד לתחילתו, בפעילות ובהתעניינות תקשורתית ערה במיוחד.

כפי שצינו בסוף השבוע השני לשיחות (ראה שלנו נר 972 מיום 25.6 סעיפים 3 - 2) - ההתעוררות התקשורתית החלה בציפיה להצעה אמריקנית למסמך משותף ישראלי - פלסטיני, התגברה עם השמועות על נסיעה אפשרית של דניס רוס לארץ והגיעה לשיאה ביומיים האחרונים של הסבב - בהכנס הממשל לפעולה ממשית ע"י הצגת מסמך ההצעות וע"י ההודעה הרשמית על נסיעת דניס רוס וצוות השלום לאזור.

2. הדווחים התקשורתיים המוגברים היו בעיקר בתקשורת הכתובה ועסקו בניחוש הפרטים שהודלפו על תוכן המסמך האמריקני (שתי כתבותיה של איליין סישולינו - NYT 2.7 - 1.7 - היו דוגמה טובה לכך) ותגובות הצדדים למסמך. אולי בגלל רבוי הפרטים והניואנסים והקושי לתרגםם ל"שפת המסך", ואולי (גם) בגלל המגמה המתמידה של אי התעניינות התקשורת הלאומית בנושאים שהינם מחוץ לאג'נדה הדומסטית (ונושא הטרור הפונדמנטליסטי בניו יורק בכללם) האמריקנית - התקשורת האלקטרונית הלאומית עסקה מעט מאוד בנושא שיחות השלום.

פה ושם היו כתבות דיווח על הארועים בארץ - בעיקר סביב פגוע הטרור בירושלים ודו"ח ה-MIDDLE EAST WATCH - ובשוליהם "הודבקו" ידיעות על הנעשה בשיחות.

באותו הקשר, רואיין גם השגריר רבינוביץ לתוכנית הראיונות של צ'רלי רוז ב-PBS - ראיון ארוך ומקיף בנושא שיחות השלום, פונדמנטליזם וטרור.

3. ככלל, הצלחנו לשמור במהלך הסבב על האסטרטגיה התקשורתית הראשונית

שקבענו לעצמנו - בתיאום עם ראשי המשלחות, שעיקרה היה: הנמכת הפרופיל התקשורתי כמסר לכך שנעשית עבודת מו"מ רצינית - רחוק מעין התקשורת, והתמקדות במסר ברור לפיו יש התחלת שינוי במזה"ת וניצנים מעודדים לאווירה חדשה (MINDSET OF PEACE) של שלום (כמו הסרת החרם ע"י כווי"ת, דברי פהד, ההתקדמות במישור השיחות הרב צדדיות וכו'). כל זה, כמסגרת תומכת ומעודדת למו"מ הבילטרלי שהתקדמות בו היא איטית מטבע אופיים של הנושאים המהותיים הנדונים בו.

על בסיס זה, המעטנו במסע"ת - אחת, בראשית הסבב TO SET THE TONE, ואחת בסיומו - לסכום של ראשי המשלחות את הסבב - והרבינו בתדרוכי רקע ממוקדים: עתונאים ערביים, עתונאים יהודים, עתונאים אמריקנים ופגישות ("אחד על אחד") עם בעלי טורים.

מכאן, עובר המוקד - כולל ההתעניינות התקשורתית - למזה"ת: לבקור המשלחת האמריקנית והנסיונות לגבש מסמך פלסטיני - ישראלי מוסכם. סביר להניח, כי התקשורת האמריקנית תעקוב (מרחוק) אחר ההתפתחויות, ותשוב לדווח בנושא אם וכאשר ייסע מזכיר המדינה לאזור.

שבת שלום

רות ירון

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

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 2865

אל: רהמש/109

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 60, תא: 020793, זח: 1208, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

*גלוי*

להלן חלק 1 מתוך 2 המשך בנר 61

STATE DEPT. SPECIAL BACKGROUND BRIEFING ON THE PEACE TALKS

STATE DEPARTMENT BACKGROUND BRIEFING REGARDING THE MIDDLE EAST  
PEACE TALKS THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, DC THURSDAY, JULY  
1, 1993

MIKE MCCURRY: I THINK YOU ALL KNOW WHO OUR BRIEFER IS. HE WILL  
BE IDENTIFIED AS A SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIAL WHO'S CLOSELY  
FOLLOWING THE TALKS. AND HE'LL BE ON BACKGROUND. THIS IS AN  
ON-BACKGROUND BRIEFING. AND WITH THAT, I PRESENT OUR BRIEFER,  
WHOM ALL OF YOU KNOW.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I'M HERE TO DISAPPOINT YOU. I WON'T  
START OFF BY OFFERING A PERSPECTIVE OF (OUR CONTACTS ?), BUT WHY  
DON'T I DO THIS? WHY DON'T I GIVE YOU TWO MINUTES OF SUMMARY  
ABOUT ALL THE TRACKS, AND THEN I'LL JUST TURN IT OVER TO ANY  
QUESTIONS.

THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN TRACK. YOU HAD -- THE PARTIES HAD THREE WEEKS  
OF DISCUSSION, WHICH, IT'S NOT GOING TO SURPRISE YOU, COVERED  
AGAIN THE CORE ISSUES. WHAT WAS KIND OF INTERESTING, I THINK, IS  
THAT THEY DID GO BACK AND TALK ABOUT DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE  
PAPER. THEY, FROM TIME TO TIME, RAISED DIFFERENT KINDS OF  
FORMULATIONS. THERE WAS A DISCUSSION AT ONE POINT ON SECURITY  
ARRANGEMENTS, EVEN THOUGH I WOULD SAY IT WAS FAIRLY THEORETICAL.  
AND I CAN'T POINT TO ANY SPECIFIC PROGRESS IN THE TALKS, OTHER  
THAN THE FACT THAT THEY HAD -- THEY CONDUCTED THESE TALKS NOT  
ONLY IN A GOOD ATMOSPHERE, BUT THERE WAS, WITH THE FORMULATIONS,  
WITH THE DISCUSSION OF THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, THERE WAS A  
KIND OF CONTINUING PROBING TO SEE WHETHER THERE WAS GIVE IN  
CERTAIN POSITIONS, REALLY ON EACH SIDE.

AND I THINK WE'RE IN THE STAGE WHERE YOU'RE DEALING WITH CORE PROBLEMS, HARD DECISIONS WILL HAVE TO BE MADE, AND YOU'RE GOING THROUGH WHAT I WOULD SAY IS A KIND OF INEVITABLE PHASE OF TRYING TO SEE WHERE, IF AT ALL, THERE'S GIVE; AND IF THERE'S NOT, THEN THEY THINK ABOUT HOW THEY APPROACH THESE BASIC, HARD DECISIONS ON THE CORE QUESTIONS. I DO THINK THE FACT THAT THEY HAD THE KIND OF DISCUSSIONS THEY DID IN THE ATMOSPHERE THEY DID CONTINUES TO REFLECT SOMETHING ABOUT THE BELIEF IN THE VALUE OF THE PROCESS. BUT I CAN'T POINT TO ANY PROGRESS, I'D HAVE TO SAY.

IN THE ISRAELI-LEBANESE TRACK, THEY HAD DISCUSSIONS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE PAPERS, AND THE ISRAELIS, AS THEY WERE LEAVING TODAY IN TODAY'S SESSION, PUT ANOTHER PAPER, PUT A NEW PAPER DOWN, WHICH WAS AN EFFORT ON THEIR PART TO REACH OUT MORE TO THE LEBANESE IN TERMS OF AGAIN SOME OF THE KINDS OF FORMULATIONS THAT WERE NEEDED. THEY'VE ASKED THE LEBANESE TO SORT OF TAKE THIS PAPER AND CONSIDER IT IN ADVANCE OF THE RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS.

ON THE ISRAELI-JORDANIAN TRACK, THERE WAS A FAIR AMOUNT OF DISCUSSION IN A LOT OF THE FUNCTIONAL AREAS THAT THEY'VE SET UP. THEY, I THINK, ARE FAIRLY CLOSE TO AN AGREEMENT ON BANKING. AND I'M NOT, AT LEAST TO THIS POINT, AWARE THAT THERE ARE REALLY ANY DIFFERENCES THAT REMAIN BETWEEN THEM ON AN AGENDA.

I ALSO DON'T ANTICIPATE THAT THAT IS SOMETHING THAT WILL NECESSARILY BE FINALIZED BEFORE YOU HAVE SOMETHING ELSE THAT HAPPENS ON SOME OF THE OTHER TRACKS, FINALIZED IN THE SENSE THAT IT WOULD BE PUBLICIZED AS WELL.

AND ON THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN TRACK, WE HAD COUNTLESS HOURS OF CONSULTATIONS WITH BOTH SIDES. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TALKS THIS MONTH, WHAT ONE SAW WAS A DESIRE ON THE PART OF BOTH SIDES TO HAVE A DISCUSSION ON A POSSIBLE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. THEY WERE CLEARLY EAGER TO HAVE US INVOLVED AND ASKED FOR OUR HELP IN THIS. WE HAD -- \*\*\*\*\* (NAME DELETED), IN PARTICULAR, WHO IS SITTING HERE, PROBABLY HAD AT LEAST 32 HOURS OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PALESTINIANS ALONE. WE LISTENED TO A LOT OF -- WE LISTENED TO THEIR CONCERNS, THEIR VIEWS, AND THAT WAS TRUE ON BOTH SIDES. AND AFTER LISTENING TO ALL THIS, WE THEN DECIDED TO COME UP WITH SOME IDEAS THAT WOULD BE DESIGNED PRINCIPALLY TO SEE IF THERE WAS A WAY TO NARROW SOME OF THE GAPS AND PROVIDE A FOCUS FOR CONTINUING DISCUSSION, AND WE DECIDED TO OFFER SOME OF THESE INFORMAL IDEAS OR PRELIMINARY IDEAS IN WRITING, AND WE DID, IN FACT, TURN OVER AN INFORMAL DRAFT.

WE DO SEE THAT DRAFT AS A BASIS ON WHICH TO HAVE DISCUSSIONS. WE DO SEE IT AS GIVING THE TALKS A LOGICAL FOCAL POINT IN TERMS OF ORGANIZING AND SHAPING THEM. BY DEFINITION IT WAS INFORMAL, AND BY DEFINITION WE'RE JUST NOT AT A POINT WHERE WE'RE ABOUT TO TABLE FORMAL PROPOSALS. WE'VE GOT A LOT OF HARD WORK YET TO BE DONE. THE GAP BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCEPTUALLY AND



PSYCHOLOGICALLY, I THINK, IS STILL SIGNIFICANT, AND SO WE'RE REALLY NOT AT A POINT TO DO SOMETHING THAT WAS MUCH MORE FORMAL, BUT WE THOUGHT THIS WAS -- WE WERE AT A POINT WHERE OFFERING THESE KINDS OF -- OR PUTTING THINGS DOWN IN THIS KIND OF A FORMAL WAY WOULD MAKE OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM AND WITH EACH OTHER SOMETHING THAT WAS LESS ABSTRACT AND SOMETHING THAT, AGAIN, AS I SAID, MIGHT CREATE MORE FOCUS FOR DISCUSSION. AND THAT'S PRETTY MUCH WHERE WE ARE. SO WHY DON'T I STOP THERE.

Q SOME OF US JUST CAME FROM THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT THE HEADS OF THE ARAB DELEGATION GAVE, IN WHICH THEY PAINTED A COMPLETELY BLEAK AND GRIM PICTURE, IN WHICH THEY SAID THAT THIS DRAFT DOCUMENT THAT YOU HAD GIVEN THEM REPRESENTED AN EROSION OF THE SPONSORS' POSITION, AS IT WAS PUT. THEY SEEMED TO BE VERY UNHAPPY. THEY SPOKE OF THEMSELVES AS FEELING EMBARRASSED, NOT ONLY BEFORE US BUT BEFORE THEMSELVES AND BEFORE THEIR PUBLICS, THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO PROGRESS AND THAT THESE TALKS ARE GOING NOWHERE.

IN LIGHT OF THAT, CAN YOU TELL US WHAT YOU THINK, WHAT YOU HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH BY GOING TO THE REGION, AND HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT THE REACTION FROM BOTH SIDES TO THIS PAPER THAT YOU PUT FORWARD AFTER 20 MONTHS OF TALKS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, FIRST OF ALL, AGAIN LET'S PUT THINGS IN PERSPECTIVE. NUMBER ONE, WE KNEW AS WE ENTERED INTO THIS SESSION THAT BASICALLY THE GAPS BETWEEN THE PARTIES, ESPECIALLY ON THE ISRAELI- PALESTINIAN TRACK, WAS SUCH THAT WE HAD NO POSSIBILITY OF GETTING ANY AGREEMENT RIGHT NOW ON SOMETHING LIKE A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ALSO KNEW THAT BOTH PARTIES WANTED TO TALK ABOUT IT BECAUSE THEY SAW IT AS A KIND OF FRAMEWORK THAT COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR AN AGREEMENT ON INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS. SO, IF YOU'RE ENTERING A SITUATION, NUMBER ONE, WHERE THE GAPS ARE GREAT BUT THERE'S A DESIRE TO WORK ON SOMETHING, OUR THOUGHT THEN AND OUR CONTINUING THOUGHT IS HOW DOES ONE BEGIN TO CREATE A DEVICE TO EXPLORE WAYS TO REDUCE THOSE GAPS?

NOW, THEY ARE HAVING DIRECT DISCUSSIONS AND THEY WANTED US TO BE INVOLVED IN DISCUSSIONS WITH EACH OF THEM AT THE SAME TIME, AND WHAT WE WERE DOING, AS I SAID, WAS TRYING TO WORK WITH THEM, LISTEN TO THEM, THINK ABOUT WAYS TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE NEEDS, ON THE ONE HAND, AND ON THE OTHER HAND, OFFER SOME IDEAS AND, IN EFFECT, SOME BEST JUDGMENTS BASED ON WHERE THE TWO SIDES WERE FOR HOW TO BEGIN TO TACKLE SOME OF THE GAPS AND HOW TO REDUCE THEM AND HOW TO GIVE A FOCUS TO THE TALKS SO THAT YOU COULD BUILD SOME CONTINUING BASIS ON WHICH TO REDUCE GAPS AND GET TO A POINT WHERE, IN FACT, SUCH A FRAMEWORK DOCUMENT AND SUCH A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES IS SOMEWHERE DOWN THE LINE, MAYBE SEVERAL MONTHS DOWN THE LINE, MIGHT BE SOMETHING THAT'S NO LONGER JUST IN THE REALM OF POSSIBILITY, JUST A THEORETICAL POSSIBILITY, BUT COULD BECOME A PRACTICAL REALITY.

SO THAT'S WHAT WAS MOTIVATING US AT THE BEGINNING, AND FRANKLY, THAT'S WHAT MOTIVATES US EVEN NOW. I MEAN, OFTENTIMES -- AND YOU KNOW THIS BECAUSE YOU'VE COVERED THIS FOR LONGER THAN -- YOU'VE COVERED THIS FOR THE 20 MONTHS AND YOU COVERED THE AREA BEFOREHAND -- THERE IS A TENDENCY FOR THE PARTIES OFTEN WHEN THEY'RE SPEAKING PUBLICLY TO EMPHASIZE THE MOST PESSIMISTIC INTERPRETATION OF THINGS. AND YOU KNOW, YOU CAN HAVE YOUR OWN -- WE CAN ALL SPECULATE ON WHY THEY DO THAT. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS WHAT WE SEE IN THESE TALKS RIGHT NOW IS, I THINK, A PHASE THAT WE HAVE TO GO THROUGH, AND NOT JUST ON THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN TRACK BUT ALSO ON THE ISRAELI-SYRIAN TRACK AND THE LEBANESE AND JORDANIAN TRACKS AS WELL.

THERE ARE -- AS YOU BEGIN TO GRAPPLE WITH WHAT ARE THE REALLY HARD-CORE PROBLEMS THAT HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED, YOU REQUIRE DECISIONS THAT ARE NOT EASY TO COME BY, AND IT'S NOT SURPRISING THAT AS YOU WORK YOUR WAY THROUGH TO TRY TO MAKE THOSE DECISIONS, YOU EXPLORE ALL SORTS OF POSSIBILITIES TO SEE IF THERE IS A WAY TO DO SOMETHING SHORT OF HAVING TO MAKE HARD DECISIONS.

Q CAN YOU TELL US WHICH COUNTRY, \*\*\*\*\*, YOU ARE GOING TO VISIT AND WHOM ARE YOU GOING TO MEET, AND WHAT DO YOU WANT TO ACHIEVE?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, I CAN'T TELL YOU THAT YET BECAUSE WE HAVEN'T DECIDED YET, AND I CAN TELL YOU THAT IN TERMS OF WHAT WE WANT TO ACHIEVE, BASICALLY IT'S TO, NUMBER ONE, FOLLOW UP ON THE ACTIVITIES THAT WE'VE BEEN INVOLVED WITH FOR THE LAST COUPLE OF WEEKS; NUMBER TWO, AGAIN, TO BE THINKING ABOUT, WITH THE PARTIES, WHAT ARE THE BEST WAYS TO TRY TO REDUCE THE GAPS AND NARROW THE GAPS THAT SEPARATE THEM, WHAT ARE THE WAYS TO BEGIN TO CREATE THE CONDITIONS AND CIRCUMSTANCES SO THAT WE CAN MAKE REAL PROGRESS DOWN THE ROAD.

YOU KNOW, THIS IS GOING TO BE A KIND OF CONTINUUM. WE ARE AT A STAGE, AS I WAS SAYING, WHERE WHEN YOU HAVE ALL THE PARTIES GRAPPLING WITH HARD PROBLEMS AND HARD DECISIONS, YOU KNOW, YOU'RE NOT GOING TO MAKE AN IMMEDIATE BREAKTHROUGH. WHAT YOU CAN DO IS BEGIN TO CHANGE THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND BEGIN TO CONDITION ATTITUDES IN SUCH A WAY THAT YOU CAN NOT ONLY NARROW GAPS, BUT YOU CAN GET EVERYBODY INCREASINGLY COMFORTABLE WITH THE NEED TO MAKE CERTAIN DECISIONS AND THEN DETERMINE WHETHER OR NOT IN FACT YOU CAN MAKE REAL PROGRESS.

WE'RE AT A STAGE NOW WHERE I THINK IT'S ALSO IMPORTANT JUST TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THERE'S AN ONGOING STREAM OF ACTIVITIES THAT ARE DESIGNED TO TRY TO CONTINUE TO NARROW THOSE GAPS. AND ONE MANIFESTATION OF THE INTENSIFICATION OF OUR OWN ENROLLMENT IN THIS PROCESS IS NOT ONLY HOW WE WORKED WITH THE PARTIES THIS TIME, WHICH WAS FRANKLY MUCH MORE INTENSIVE THAN AT ANY PREVIOUS TIME, BUT ALSO THAT WHEN THE TALKS END YOU DON'T JUST HAVE A



HIATUS BETWEEN DISCUSSIONS HERE. SO YOU HAVE DISCUSSIONS HERE AND THEN YOU HAVE US GOING OUT. AND WHEN WE GO OUT, WE ALSO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY. WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH MANY OF THE LEADERS IN THE AREA, AND THAT'S A WAY, ALSO, TO BE TALKING NOT ONLY TO THE NEGOTIATORS BUT ALSO TO BE TALKING TO THE PEOPLE WHO ARE MAKING MANY OF THE DECISIONS.

SO, YOU KNOW, THAT'S -- A LARGE PART OF OUR PURPOSE IS TO FOLLOW UP, TRY TO -- WHERE WE SEE THAT -- EVEN IF IT ISN'T PARTICULARLY VISIBLE TO ANYONE ELSE -- WHERE WE SENSE THAT IN FACT THERE IS SOME POTENTIAL FOR MAKING HEADWAY WE GO AHEAD, NOW, AND TRY TO FOLLOW UP ON THAT.

(CROSS TALK.)

Q A FOLLOW-UP TO MARY. DR. ABDUL SHAFI WAS SAYING THAT THEY'RE VERY DISAPPOINTED IN YOU GUYS BECAUSE YOU -- YET AGAIN, IN THE DOCUMENT THAT YOU GAVE THEM YESTERDAY, MADE THE POINT THAT THE ISSUE OF TERRITORIALITY AND JURISDICTION WILL HAVE TO BE DEFERRED TO THE SECOND STAGE. AND I'M REALLY PERPLEXED, AS SOMEBODY WHO HAS BEEN FOLLOWING THIS A LONG TIME -- IS THERE SOMETHING IN THE FOUNDATION THAT HAS LED THE PALESTINIANS TO BELIEVE THAT IT WAS NOT SO, THAT THEY WOULD GET A CHANCE TO ADDRESS THIS ISSUE IN THE FIRST STAGE? WHY IS THIS COMING UP CONTINUOUSLY AS A SURPRISE TO THEM AND WHY DO THEY KEEP THINKING THAT THEY CAN DO THIS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, I'LL JUST MAKE ONE STATEMENT, AND THEN A COMMENT. THE FIRST IS I'M NOT GOING TO GET INTO THE DETAILS OF WHAT WE'VE DONE. WE HAVE TURNED OVER SOMETHING THAT, AS I SAID, IS AN INFORMAL DRAFT THAT REFLECTS IDEAS WE HAVE ON HOW TO NARROW GAPS AND HOW TO FOCUS THE NEGOTIATIONS. AND WE SEE IT AS A BASIS FOR CONTINUING DISCUSSIONS. AND SO, YOU KNOW, WE'LL OBVIOUSLY HAVE DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM.

AS FOR THE -- THE SECOND PART OF YOUR QUESTION IS REALLY THE MORE OVERARCHING QUESTION. I CAN TELL YOU THAT -- AND \*\*\*\*\* CAN SAY THIS, GIVEN HOW MUCH TIME HE'S BEEN SPENDING WITH THEM IN PARTICULAR -- I CAN TELL YOU THAT WE HAVE NOT GIVEN THEM A REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN ACHIEVE X OR Y -- I'M NOT GOING TO GET INTO SPECIFICS. WE HAVE BEEN VERY CAREFUL THROUGHOUT TO BE VERY CLEAR ON WHAT WE THINK IS POSSIBLE. WE'VE ALSO SAID, YOU KNOW, FROM THEIR STANDPOINT, YOU KNOW, THEY ARE -- THEY'RE IN A POSITION, AND NO ONE CAN TELL THEM THAT THEY CAN'T, TO SORT OF PUSH FOR WHAT IT IS THAT THEY WANT TO ACHIEVE. AND AFTER ALL, NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONDUCTED BETWEEN PARTIES THAT HAVE DIFFERENT OBJECTIVES, AND THEY'LL HAVE DIFFERENT STRATEGIES AND TACTICS FOR HOW TO ACHIEVE THOSE OBJECTIVES.

OFTENTIMES PART OF OUR ROLE HAS BEEN TO GIVE OUR OWN ADVICE ON WHAT MIGHT BE FRUITFUL TO PURSUE AND WHAT MIGHT NOT BE FRUITFUL TO PURSUE. I CAN'T TELL YOU THAT NECESSARILY ANY OF THE PARTIES

HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN OUR ADVICE ON WHAT -- AT ANY GIVEN TIME WHAT IT MIGHT MAKE THE MOST SENSE TO FOCUS ON. BUT WE HAVE BEEN VERY CAREFUL THROUGHOUT NEVER TO MISLEAD, AND I THINK PART OF IT IS -- PART OF WHAT MAY HAPPEN FROM TIME TO TIME IS THAT SOMETIMES DESIRES CREATE EXPECTATIONS, AND WE HAVE TRIED TO BE VERY CAREFUL IN TERMS OF HOW WE TALK ABOUT THINGS.

AND AGAIN, I WOULD NOTE TO YOU WHAT I SAID BEFORE. I CAN'T FULLY EXPLAIN WHY CERTAIN THINGS ARE SAID PUBLICLY AT ANY GIVEN TIME. THERE MAY BE ALL SORTS OF MOTIVATIONS, THERE MAY BE DIFFERENT CONSTITUENCIES AND AUDIENCES THAT ARE BEING ADDRESSED, AND I THINK YOU HAVE TO TAKE THAT INTO ACCOUNT WHEN YOU HEAR WHAT'S BEING SAID.

Q \*\*\*\*\* , ARE YOU DETERMINED TO TAKE TO THE REGION THE INFORMAL WORKING PAPER IN ITS CURRENT FORM AS A BASIS FOR YOUR DISCUSSIONS NEXT WEEK?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, WHAT I SAID IS WE HAD -- WHAT WE TURNED OVER WAS AN INFORMAL DRAFT THAT REFLECTED OUR IDEAS AND BEST JUDGMENT ON HOW TO NARROW GAPS AND MAKE PROGRESS OVER TIME, AND WE CONSIDER THAT A BASIS FOR DISCUSSIONS.

NOW WE'VE ALSO SAID, AND WE TOLD -- BY DEFINITION WHEN YOU HAVE IDEAS, WHEN IT'S INFORMAL, BY DEFINITION IT'S NOT ETCHED IN STONE. BY DEFINITION IT'S SOMETHING THAT IS SUBJECT TO DISCUSSION. AND SO WE'RE GOING TO APPROACH THINGS IN TERMS OF WHAT WE'VE JUST DONE AS A LOGICAL POINT OF DEPARTURE, BUT WE THINK THAT IT HAS -- YOU KNOW, WE DIDN'T COME TO IT EASILY, AND WE GAVE A LOT OF THOUGHT TO IT, AND WE KNEW WE WEREN'T IN A STAGE WHERE YOU COULD GO AHEAD, AND AS I SAID, PUT SOMETHING ON THE TABLE THAT WAS FORMAL. BUT YOU KNOW, IT'S SOMETHING THAT REFLECTS SOME THINKING, AND CERTAINLY WE WOULD LIKE TO GET SOME REACTION FROM PARTIES AND THINK ABOUT, YOU KNOW, HOW TO PROCEED.

Q COULD I JUST FOLLOW UP? BUT IF BY CHANCE THE PALESTINIANS CAME TO YOU AND SAID, "WE DON'T THINK THIS IS A FRUITFUL WAY TO PROCEED FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS," WOULD THAT LEAD YOU TO CONTINUE TO PROCEED WITH THIS PAPER AS IT IS, OR IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY YOU WOULD START AGAIN WITHOUT THIS PAPER?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, YOU KNOW, I THINK ONE OF THE REASONS WE SAID WE WERE HANDING OVER AN INFORMAL DRAFT IS THAT, AS I SAID, WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT A DRAFT, YOU'RE NOT TALKING ABOUT A FINISHED PRODUCT. AND IF YOU'RE DEALING WITH A DRAFT, DRAFTS CAN PROVIDE A KIND OF FRAMEWORK, BUT THEY'RE SUBJECT TO CHANGE.

NOW, AGAIN, WE'VE MADE A BASIC JUDGMENT ABOUT WHAT WE THINK IS REALISTIC, AND IF YOU LOOK AT BOTH PARTIES -- BOTH PARTIES RIGHT NOW ARE NOT EXACTLY DOING HANDSTANDS OVER IT. AND THAT SHOULDN'T BE SURPRISING. I MEAN, YOU'RE DEALING -- WE TOOK ACCOUNT OF WHAT WE WERE HEARING, AND AS I SAID, THE GAPS BETWEEN THEM ARE FAIRLY



SIGNIFICANT. NOW WE TRIED TO COME UP WITH IDEAS AND AN APPROACH THAT TOOK ACCOUNT OF BOTH SIDES' NEEDS WHILE TRYING TO PROTECT SOME OF THEIR -- SOME OF THE THINGS THAT WERE MOST IMPORTANT TO THEM. AND WHEN YOU DO SOMETHING LIKE THIS, YOU'RE NOT GOING TO SATISFY EITHER SIDE.

Q IT SOUNDS LIKE YOU'RE RUNNING AWAY FROM YOUR OWN DRAFT.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: ON THE CONTRARY. ON THE CONTRARY. WHAT I'M SAYING IS THAT WE HAVE A DRAFT THAT BASICALLY REFLECTS OUR BEST JUDGMENT OF HOW YOU DEAL WITH THE RESPECTIVE NEEDS OF BOTH SIDES, AND IF YOU TRIED TO RESPOND TO -- ONE SIDE COMES IN AND SAYS, "BUT YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE X, Y, AND Z," AND THE OTHER SIDE COMES IN AND SAYS, "YOU'VE GOT TO HAVE X, Y, AND Z," YOU'RE GOING TO FIND THAT YOU DON'T GET ANY CLOSER.

WE HAVE -- WE'VE OFFERED A BEST JUDGMENT, BUT IT'S A DRAFT.

NOW, IF THE PARTIES COME IN AND THEY HAVE -- THEY WANT TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS ABOUT HOW TO IMPROVE IT, WE'RE OBVIOUSLY WILLING TO LISTEN TO IT. THAT'S WHAT -- WHEN WE SAY THIS IS THE BASIS FOR CONTINUING DISCUSSION, THAT'S WHAT IT IS. AND, YOU KNOW, WHEN I ALSO SAY THAT IT REFLECTED SOME SERIOUS THOUGHT ON OUR PART, IT DID. AND WE'RE OPEN, OBVIOUSLY, TO DISCUSSIONS ON IMPROVING IT, BUT I THINK IT WILL BE INCUMBENT ON EACH SIDE AS THEY APPROACH US TO COME UP THEMSELVES WITH IDEAS AND APPROACHES THAT CAN BE REALISTIC AND CAN WORK. AND, OBVIOUSLY, WE'RE QUITE HOPEFUL THAT WHEN THEY RESPOND TO US, THEY'LL COME UP WITH IDEAS THAT ARE REALISTIC AND CAN WORK. BUT WE'RE IN A PRETTY GOOD POSITION AS WELL TO JUDGE WHAT'S REALISTIC AND WHAT CAN WORK.

Q TO BORROW A PHRASE, ARE YOU TRYING TO BRIDGE AN OCEAN?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: YOU KNOW, I DON'T KNOW THAT WE'RE BRIDGING AN OCEAN. I MEAN, I REMEMBER THOSE -- \*\*\*\*\* I THINK, SAID, YOU KNOW, WE CAN BRIDGE RIVERS, BUT WE CAN'T BRIDGE OCEANS. I THINK THAT WE'RE MORE IN THE KIND OF BAY CATEGORY RIGHT NOW. (LAUGHTER.) SO, YOU KNOW, WHAT WE'RE TRYING TO DO IS GET IT DOWN TO A RIVER, AND THEN GET IT TO A STREAM. AND THEN, YOU KNOW, THEN WE MAY NOT EVEN NEED BRIDGES. WE MAY JUST HAVE STEPPING STONES.

Q COULD YOU BE A LITTLE MORE SPECIFIC ABOUT TWO THINGS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: PROBABLY NOT. (LAUGHTER.)

Q TWO THINGS THAT HAVE ME VERY CONFUSED. WE'VE JUST COME FROM THE ARAB DELEGATIONS, WHO ANNOUNCED PUBLICLY THERE IS AN IMPASSE, THERE IS A DEADLOCK, THERE IS NO PROGRESS, THERE IS NOTHING TO REPORT AFTER THREE WEEKS OF TALKS THAT \*\*\*\*\* TOLD US AT THE BEGINNING WAS SUPPOSED TO BE DEALING WITH SUBSTANCE, AS YOU'VE SAID FOR THE LAST SEVERAL ROUNDS. NO PROGRESS WHATSOEVER.

YOU SAY THAT THERE IS SOMETHING GOING ON IN PRIVATE THAT GIVES YOU ENOUGH HOPE THAT YOU'RE GOING TO THE REGION. ARE YOU GOING TO THE REGION BECAUSE THERE IS AN IMPASSE AND THESE TALKS HAVE GONE AS FAR AS THEY CAN GO AND YOU HAVE TO GO TO A HIGHER POLITICAL LEVEL? OR ARE YOU GOING TO THE REGION BECAUSE ACTUALLY SOMETHING REALLY DID HAPPEN IN THESE TALKS THAT HAS SO INSPIRED YOU YOU'RE GOING TO THE REGION TO FOLLOW IT UP?

AND ALSO, YOU ALSO SAID THAT YOU'RE LOOKING AT TRYING TO GET A JOINT DECLARATION ON PRINCIPLES IN SEVERAL MONTHS. IS THE TIMETABLE SUBSTANTIALLY SLIPPING HERE? I MEAN, IT ALREADY SLIPPED OBVIOUSLY SIGNIFICANTLY, BUT IF YOU'RE NOT EVEN TALKING ABOUT A JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES UNTIL, WHAT, THE END OF THE YEAR, YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT A VERY DRAWN-OUT, LENGTHY PROCESS.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, LET ME -- WHAT I SAID WHEN I STARTED OFF WAS WE'RE NOT ON THE BRINK OF A BREAKTHROUGH RIGHT NOW. WE'VE ALSO SAID WE'D LIKE TO SEE A -- LIKE TO PRODUCE A BREAKTHROUGH THIS YEAR. AND WE'RE GOING TO HAVE TO CREATE A SET OF CONDITIONS THAT ARE DIFFERENT THAN THOSE THAT PRESENTLY EXIST TO BE ABLE TO DO THAT.

YOU BASICALLY SET UP A CONSTRUCT THAT IN EFFECT IMPLIED EITHER THERE HAS TO BE AN IMPASSE AND YOU GO TO THE REGION BECAUSE THERE'S AN IMPASSE OR YOU'VE GOT SUCH REASON TO HOPE THAT YOU GO TO THE REGION. AND I WOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT YOU'RE ON A -- WE HAVE A CONTINUUM. WE DON'T HAVE A POLARIZED SITUATION WHERE EITHER WE'RE IN CRISIS OR WE'RE ON THE BRINK OF NIRVANA.

I MEAN, THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS, YOU KNOW, YOU HAVE TO LOOK AT THIS NOT IN TERMS OF YOU HAVE A PROBLEM OR YOU'RE ABOUT TO SOLVE A PROBLEM. WHEN I SAY CONTINUUM, I'M TALKING ABOUT HOW DO YOU BEGIN TO CHANGE THE CIRCUMSTANCES; HOW DO YOU BEGIN TO LAY MORE OF A GROUNDWORK SO THAT A BREAKTHROUGH BECOMES POSSIBLE? WE'RE NOT THERE RIGHT NOW. WE'VE HAD DISCUSSIONS HERE THAT ARE THE KIND OF DISCUSSIONS THAT YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE TO GO THROUGH.

DOES THAT MAKE ME LOOK AT THOSE DISCUSSIONS AND DRAW THE CONCLUSION THAT, BOY, WE'RE REALLY MAKING SERIOUS HEADWAY AND THEREFORE I CAN GO, OR I LOOK AT THESE DISCUSSIONS AND SAY, MY GOD, WE'RE ON THE BRINK OF DISASTER, THEREFORE YOU HAVE TO GO? NO. I LOOK AT THESE DISCUSSIONS THAT ARE PART OF A NECESSARY EVOLUTION IN THIS PROCESS.

BECAUSE WE HAVE HAD -- I MEAN, IF YOU GO THROUGH AND YOU TALK TO THE PARTIES, NOT IN PUBLIC, BUT IN PRIVATE, ONE OF THE THINGS YOU WILL HEAR FROM THEM, AT LEAST SOME OF THEM, IS THAT IN FACT THEY FOUND SOME OF THESE DISCUSSIONS ON THE SUBSTANCE INTERESTING. THEY LEARNED MORE. THEY WERE ASKING DIFFERENT KINDS OF QUESTIONS.



NOW, ONE OF OUR CHALLENGES RIGHT NOW IS TO TAKE DISCUSSIONS THAT ARE FROM TIME TO TIME INTERESTING AND MAKE THEM MEANINGFUL. IT'S NOT ENOUGH THAT THEY'RE INTERESTING. BECAUSE IF THEY'RE JUST INTERESTING, THEY'RE INFORMING, BUT THE INFORMING THEN HAS TO BE TRANSLATED INTO PROBLEM SOLVING. WE SAW THROUGHOUT THIS THREE WEEK PERIOD SOME PROBING. WE SAW PROBING ON THE ISRAELI -- ACTUALLY, WE SAW PROBING ON ALL THE TRACKS. AND YOU MAY FIND RELATIVELY MORE PROBING IN SOME AREAS THAN IN OTHERS.

BUT THE REALITY AT THIS POINT IS THAT THE PROBING IS VERY INCREMENTAL, AND IT'S NOT ENOUGH AT THIS POINT TO SORT OF TAKE IT TO THE NEXT LEVEL WHERE THERE ARE PROBLEMS THAT THEY WILL ACTUALLY SOLVE. ON THE OTHER HAND, ONE OF THE THINGS WE CAN DO WHEN WE SEE PROBING ON ISSUES IS WE CAN GO OUT AND BUILD ON THAT, AND WE CAN IDENTIFY AND SAY, LOOK, YOU FOUND THE FOLLOWING QUITE INTERESTING. AND BECAUSE YOU FOUND THE FOLLOWING INTERESTING, LET'S THINK ABOUT HOW WE CAN DO SOMETHING WITH THAT.

Q CAN YOU GIVE US AN EXAMPLE ON THIS?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I DON'T -- YOU KNOW, IF I WANTED TO GIVE AN EXAMPLE, I WOULD HAVE. (LAUGHTER.)

Q WELL, IT'S THEORETICAL -- IT'S REALLY THEORETICAL.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I KNOW. I'M A VERY THEORETICAL PERSON.

Q NO, NO, ON THIS --

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: NO, IT'S NOT -- LOOK, WE'RE IN A STAGE WHERE GETTING INTO THE DETAILS RIGHT NOW DOESN'T HELP THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE'RE AT A STAGE WHERE THE VARIOUS PARTIES, WHEN THEY LOOK AT THE DETAILS, DON'T NECESSARILY WANT TO BE OUT THERE IN PUBLIC HAVING TO EXPLAIN OR DEFEND WHATEVER POSITIONS THEY MIGHT BE TAKING. SO, IF I START GETTING INTO SOME OF THE DETAILS, THEN I AM PUTTING THEM INTO A POSITION WHERE THEY HAVE TO RESPOND PUBLICLY, AND THAT ISN'T PARTICULARLY HELPFUL.

Q ARE YOU TRYING TO PUSH FOR ANY KIND OF CONTACTS, EITHER BEHIND THE SCENES OR IN PUBLIC, AT A HIGHER LEVEL BETWEEN THE PARTIES IN THE REGION?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, I DON'T KNOW -- LET ME PUT IT THIS WAY, BY GOING OUT -- THIS GETS BACK TO PART OF MARY'S QUESTION, WHICH, BECAUSE I WAS LONG-WINDED, I REALLY DIDN'T GET TO. THERE IS CLEARLY A VALUE WHEN YOU ARE AT THIS KIND OF A STAGE OF PERIODICALLY ENGAGING THE LEADERS IN THE AREA. AND RIGHT NOW, THAT'S WHAT OUR FOCUS IS, TALKING TO THEM. BECAUSE WE WANT TO PUT IN PERSPECTIVE WHAT WE THINK IS GOING ON, HEAR FROM THEM WHAT THEY THINK IS GOING ON, HEAR FROM THEM THEIR IDEAS FOR HOW WE MIGHT MAKE HEADWAY, AND OBVIOUSLY RELATE THOSE TO THE

IDEAS THAT WE HAVE FOR HOW WE MIGHT MAKE HEADWAY. SO, I'D FOCUS MUCH MORE ON OUR GOING OUT TO ENGAGE THE LEADERS RATHER THAN ANYTHING ELSE AT THIS POINT.

Q YOUR PREVIOUS BOSS LIKED TO TALK ABOUT HOW THE US COULDN'T WANT PEACE MORE THAN THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I THINK MY PRESENT BOSS HAS SAID THAT AS WELL.

Q OKAY. THE QUESTION IS TO WHAT DEGREE -- I MEAN, YOU'RE OBVIOUSLY NOT GETTING CONCESSIONS AND COMPROMISES IN THE TALKS HERE. YOU GET PROBING. THAT'S NOT THE SAME AS -- THAT'S GIVEN. AT WHAT POINT AND IN WHAT WAYS DO YOU GO BACK TO THE PARTIES IN THE REGION AND SAY BASICALLY, WE NEED TO SEE SOME MOVEMENT TO KEEP UP THIS EXERCISE, WHICH IS RAPIDLY BORDERING ON IRRELEVANCE?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, I THINK -- WELL, I WOULDN'T --

עד כאן חלק 1 מתוך 2

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), ממד, מצפא, רביב,  
מעט, הסברה, @ (לעמ), רחטמזת, מזתים, @ (לוברני), @ (מתאמשטחים)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 2866

אל: רהמש/110

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 61, תא: 020793, זח: 1208, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת

להלן חלק 2 מתוך 2 המשך לנר 60

FIRST OF ALL, I DON'T THINK IT IS BORDERING ON IRRELEVANCE. AGAIN, I THINK THAT YOU HAVE TO LOOK AT ANY NEGOTIATION AS ONE THAT GOES THROUGH A SERIES OF DIFFERENT STAGES. AND SOME OF THE STAGES ARE SHAPED BY, IN EFFECT, GETTING EVERYBODY USED TO THE IDEA THAT THEY HAVE TO MAKE CERTAIN DECISIONS. AND IT TAKES A WHILE TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THAT FACT, AND THEN IT TAKES A WHILE TO MAKE SURE THAT THEY'RE PREPARED TO EXERCISE THE WILL TO, IN FACT, MAKE THE DECISIONS. AT THIS STAGE, I THINK THAT WE WANT TO BEGIN TO IMPRESS UPON THE VARIOUS LEADERSHIPS OUR OWN SENSE OF WHERE THINGS ARE, AND ALSO TRY TO INDUCE A SENSE OF URGENCY CONSISTENT WITH WHAT WE THINK IS POSSIBLE. THERE WILL COME A POINT, I THINK, WHERE WE DO -- SOMEWHERE DOWN THE LINE WHERE WE HAVE TO SAY, LOOK, WE'RE DOING AS MUCH AS WE CAN, BUT WE'RE NOT GETTING THE EQUIVALENT IN RETURN.

Q YOU KEEP TALKING ABOUT --

MR. MCCURRY: LAST QUESTION.

Q YOU KEEP TALKING ABOUT ENGAGING THE LEADERSHIP. WE UNDERSTAND THE LEADERSHIP IN, YOU KNOW, THE VARIOUS NATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT I'M NOT QUITE SURE I UNDERSTAND HOW YOU'RE GOING TO ENGAGE LEADERS ON THE PALESTINIAN TRACK THROUGH THE MECHANISM OF GOING ON THIS TRIP. OR IS THAT NOT A FUNCTION OR NOT A GOAL ON THIS TRIP?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: THE GOAL OF THIS TRIP, AT LEAST IN TERMS OF DEALING WITH THE PARTIES, AS I SAID, IS TO SORT OF FOCUS ON HOW WE CAN CONTINUE TO BUILD AND NARROW THE GAPS. WITH REGARD TO THE PALESTINIANS, WE'RE SATISFIED THAT WE'RE DEALING WITH THE PEOPLE WHO ARE GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE SOME DECISIONS.

Q WHAT ABOUT THE DATE FOR THE NEXT ROUND?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: HAVEN'T DECIDED IT YET.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @רהמ), @שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, ר/מרכז,  
גנור, @ר'אגת), @רם), @אמן), ממד, מצפא,  
רביב, מעת, הסברה, @לעמ), רחטמזת, מזתים,  
@מתאמשטחים), @לוברני)

סססס



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 2815

אל: רהמש/107

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 55, תא: 020793, זח: 1049, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

2/7/93

א ל: ממנכ"ל

ד ע: לש שה"ח; לש' רה"מ

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: צוות השלום

=====

1. חברי הצוות יגיעו ארצה ביום ה' ה-8/7 בשעה 16:00. מעונינים, עפ"י שיחותיי עמם, להפגש עם רה"מ ביום ה', בשעות הערב המוקדמות.

2. ביום ו' 9/7 מבקשים להיוועד עם שה"ח ואנשי משה"ח (הצעתי והסכימו לקיים תחילה פגישה מצומצמת עם השר ואח"כ ארוחת צהריים רחבה יותר).

3. בהמשך ירצו להפגש עם רובינשטיין ואחרים בהתאם.

4. מתכננים לחזור ארצה מסיבובם בכירות ערביות ביום ב' ה-12/7 בערב.

5. עוד מתכוונים במהלך יום ו' ושבת להפגש עם הקבוצה הפלשתינאית. יהיו חופשיים לארוחת עבודה במוצ"ש ה-10/7.

רבינוביץ

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

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 1704  
אל: פריז/62  
מ-: הסברה שלום, נר: 64, תא: 010793, זח: 1838, דח: ב, סג: בל,  
בבב  
9,257886  
9,233388  
99998  
נר מספר 1 מתחנת ועדה

01/07/93 11:11  
בלמס/בהול

**ב ה ו ל**

תאריך: 1 יולי 1993

אל: יועצת תקשורת שה"ח

דע: מנכ"ל, לש-סגן שה"ח  
כל הנציגות

פריז - עבור פמליית רוה"מ - איתן הבר

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, רושינגטון

הנדון: המסמך האמריקני  
לשיחתנו

להלן ההודעה לעיתונות שפירסמנו כאן הבוקר.

THE HEAD OF THE ISRAELI DELEGATION, MR. ELYAKIM RUBINSTEIN ANNOUNCED TODAY, ON BEHALF OF PRIME MINISTER RABIN, THAT ISRAEL IS VERY DISSAPOINTED WITH THE CHANGES THAT APPEARED IN THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL WHICH WAS PRESENTED YESTERDAY, AND BY THE DEVIATION THIS REPRESENTS FROM THE FORMER AMERICAN PROPOSAL OF MAY 12, 1993.

HE EXPRESSED CRITICISM AND DISSATISFACTION OVER CERTAIN ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED IN THE PAPER IN LIGHT OF THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED.

תקשורת ורושינגטון



אאא, חוזם: 1704

אל: פריז/62

מ-: הסברה שלום, נר: 64, תא: 010793, זח: 1838, דח: ב, סג: בל,

בבב

9,257886

9,233388

99998

נר מספר 1 מתחנת ועדה

01/07/93 11:11

בלמס/בהול

תאריך: 1 יולי 1993

אל: יועצת תקשורת שה"ח

דע: מנכ"ל, לש-סגן שה"ח

כל הנציגויות

פריז - עבור פמליית רוה"מ - איתן הבר

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, רושינגטון

הנדון: המסמך האמריקני

לשיחתנו

להלן ההודעה לעיתונות שפירסמנו כאן הבוקר.

THE HEAD OF THE ISRAELI DELEGATION, MR. ELYAKIM RUBINSTEIN ANNOUNCED TODAY, ON BEHALF OF PRIME MINISTER RABIN, THAT ISRAEL IS VERY DISSAPOINTED WITH THE CHANGES THAT APPEARED IN THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL WHICH WAS PRESENTED YESTERDAY, AND BY THE DEVIATION THIS REPRESENTS FROM THE FORMER AMERICAN PROPOSAL OF MAY 12, 1993.

HE EXPRESSED CRITICISM AND DISSATISFACTION OVER CERTAIN ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED IN THE PAPER IN LIGHT OF THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED.

תקשורת ורושינגטון

אאא, חוזם: 1704

אל: פריז/62

מ-: הסברה שלום, נר: 64, תא: 010793, זח: 1838, דח: ב, סג: בל,

בבב

9,257886

9,233388

99998

נר מספר 1 מתחנת ועדה

01/07/93 11:11

בלמס/בהול

תאריך: 1 יולי 1993

אל: יועצת תקשורת שה"ח

דע: מנכ"ל, לש-סגן שה"ח

כל הנציגות

פריז - עבור פמליית רוה"מ - איתן הבר

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, רושינגטון

הנדון: המסמך האמריקני

לשיחתנו

להלן ההודעה לעיתונות שפירסמנו כאן הבוקר.

THE HEAD OF THE ISRAELI DELEGATION, MR. ELYAKIM RUBINSTEIN ANNOUNCED TODAY, ON BEHALF OF PRIME MINISTER RABIN, THAT ISRAEL IS VERY DISSAPOINTED WITH THE CHANGES THAT APPEARED IN THE AMERICAN PROPOSAL WHICH WAS PRESENTED YESTERDAY, AND BY THE DEVIATION THIS REPRESENTS FROM THE FORMER AMERICAN PROPOSAL OF MAY 12, 1993.

HE EXPRESSED CRITICISM AND DISSATISFACTION OVER CERTAIN ISSUES WHICH WERE RAISED IN THE PAPER IN LIGHT OF THE CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED.

תקשורת ורושינגטון



א ל: מנהל מצפיה

ד ע: שגריר, ציר - כאן

מאת: בנצור

החקשר אלי היום מזכיר המדינה לשעבר גיימ בייקר. ביקש להתעדכן על שיחות  
שלום. סקרתי קצרות ההתפתחות במוימ וציינתי אכזבתינו העמוקה מהעובדה  
שהפלשתינאים אינם נכנסים למוימ של ממש למימשל עצמי ומעלים סוגיות ובעיות  
חורגות מהפרמטרים של נוסחת מדריד.

בייקר אמר כי גם הוא מתחשם שהפלשתינאים סוטים מנהלי מדריד ואם יחמידו  
בעמדתם זו המוימ עלול להעצר. אמרתי לבייקר בהקשר זה שהיה רצוי שיאמר  
דברים אלה בפומבי שהרי אינ מוסמכ ממנו להגדרת נוסחת מדריד. בייקר השיב  
שהוא אמר דברים ברוח זו בראיון שהעניק באחרונה ליגירוסלם פוסטי.  
בייקר הביע תקוותו שהנייר האמריקאי החדש יהיה בו כדי לסייע בגישור על  
פער העמדות וקידום התהליכ.

אשר לסוריה הביע דעתו שרק מעורבות אמריקאית בדג בכיר תוכל להניע את  
הנשיא אסאד להיכנס למוימ ענייני.  
בייקר שאל על המצב הפנימי בישראל וסיכויי ממשלת רבין להוציא ימי כהונה  
והשפעת תהליכ השלום בהקשר זה.

בנצור

להלן מ:- שלום, נר: 2, תא: 010793





02/07/1993

08:36:47

11.11.93

אאאא, חוזם: 2192

אל: בטחון/146

מ-: נוש, נר: 2007, תא: 010793, חז: 2200, מ: סג: סו, בבב

אל: שר הבטחון

261

52

אל לוברני-מתאם לבנון

סודי/מידי

אל: לשכת ראה'מ, לשכת שהח

דע: ר' אמן, ר' ממד, ר' מוסד, רחט מזית, לשכת שהביט, לשכת מתאם הפעולות בלבנון

מאת: צוות המום עם לבנון

הנדון: המום עם לבנון

1. בעת ההפסקה במפגש היום (1.7) ומייד לאחר שהגשנו את הצעתנו החדשה ללבנונים. סיפר שוורץ (מחמד) לבייקר כי סימון כרם פנה אליו ואמר שהנייר הישראלי מכיל מרכיבים חשובים, דבר שמחייב כי דניס רוס יכלול את בירות בסיוורו הקרוב במזה'ת.

צוות המום עם לבנון.

לבח

סססס

*[Handwritten signature]*

אאאא, חוזמ: 2564

אל: פריס/2010

מ-: המשרד, תא: 020793, חז: 1200, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: פריז - לידי איתנ חבר עבור רחמ:

להלן 2007 מוש מה 1.7

אל: לשכת ראהימ, לשכת שהח

דע: רי אמנ, רי ממד, רי מוסד, רחט מזית, לשכת שהביט, לשכת מתאמ הפעולות  
בלבנו

מאת: צוות המומ עם לבנו

הנדון: המומ עם לבנו

1. בעת ההפסקה במפגש היום (1.7) ומייד לאחר שהגשנו את הצעתנו החדשה  
ללבנונימ. סיפר שורצ (מחמד) לבייקר כי סימון כרמ פנה אליו ואמר שהנייר  
הישראלי מכיל מרכיבים חשובים, דבר שמחייב כי דניס רוס יכלול את בירו  
בסיוור הקרוב במזהית.

צוות המומ עם לבנו.

לבח

עד כאן

סססס



אאאא, חוזמ: 2564

אל: פריס/2010

מ-: המשרד, תא: 020793, זח: 1200, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: פריז - לידי איתנ חבר עבור רחמ:

להלן 2007 מוש מה 1.7

אל: לשכת ראהימ, לשכת שהח

דע: רי אמנ, רי ממד, רי מוסד, רחט מזית, לשכת שהביט, לשכת מתאמ הפעולות  
בלבנו

מאת: צוות המומ עם לבנו

הנדון: המומ עם לבנו

1. בעת ההפסקה במפגש היום (1.7) ומייד לאחר שהגשנו את הצעתנו החדשה  
ללבנונימ. סיפר שורצ (מחמד) לביקר כי סימון כרמ פנה אליו ואמר שהנייר  
הישראלי מכיל מרכיבים חשובים, דבר שמחייב כי דניס רוס יכלול את בירות  
בסירות הקרוב במזהית.

צוות המומ עם לבנו.

לבח

עד כאן

סססס

*דניס*

אאא, חוזם: 2578

אל: פריז/88

מ-: המשרד, תא: 020793, חז: 1339, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: פריז - איתן הבר - פמליית רהמ

להלן 32 מושינגטון מה 1.7:

אל: הסברה, מצפ"א, מע"ת, תפוצות

מאת: ציר הסברה, וושינגטון

הנדון: כלכלת ישראל.

1. תודה על תשובתכם.

2. הסוגיה הכלכלית הופכת ליותר ויותר מרכזית במכלול הנושאים הקשורים לתדמית ישראל ביבשת בשני ההקשרים להלן:

א. הקשר סיוע החוץ: נשמעות טענות שהולכות ומתרבות כולל במעוזינו בקהילה היהודית ובודאי שמחוצה לה כי "סיוע החוץ מזיק לכלכלת ישראל במונעו רפורמה בה". הטיעונים האסטרטגיים בדבר צידוקו של סיוע החוץ מובנים לנו, גורסים בני שיחנו אבל כיצד נתמודד עם טענה זו?

ב. הקשר הערבויות: עד היום לא המצאנו בתפוצה רחבה (תקשורתית או אחרת) תשובה עם מאפיינים כלכליים הולמים לטיעון בדבר היעדר הצורך בערבויות.

3. לפיכך נראה לי כי עלינו לאמץ גישה זו מסלולית להעברת המסרים שלנו בנושא ששני מרכיביו חיוניים ויעשו יותר ויותר כאלו.  
א. יצור מאמרים בתקשורת האמריקנית, וצוי כמובן ע"י כתביהם בארץ או לחילופין במאמרים OP-ED ע"י אישים מתאימים, שיתנו מענה לשני ההיבטים.  
ב. שליחות לתדרוך ממוקד לקבוצות יעד על ידי כלכלן. איש זה צריך להיות בעל NAME RECOGNITION בארה"ב בחוגי המקצוע על מנת למצות את התועלת משליחותו.

4. אנא תנו דעתכם על כך לפני שיוחלט על האיש המתאים.

נמרוד ברק.



\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

\*\*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 2578  
אל: פריז/88  
מ-: המשרד, תא: 020793, חז: 1339, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבב  
בלמס/מיידי

אל: פריז - איתן הבר - פמליית רהמ

להלן 32 מושינגטון מה 1.7:

אל: הסברה, מצפ"א, מע"ת, תפוצות

מאת: ציר הסברה, וושינגטון

הנדון: כלכלת ישראל.

1. תודה על תשובתכם.

2. הסוגיה הכלכלית הופכת ליותר ויותר מרכזית במכלול הנושאים הקשורים לתדמית ישראל ביבשת בשני ההקשרים להלן:

א. הקשר סיוע החוץ: נשמעות טענות שהולכות ומתרבות כולל במעוזינו בקהילה היהודית ובודאי שמחוצה לה כי "סיוע החוץ מזיק לכלכלת ישראל במונעו רפורמה בה". הטיעונים האסטרטגיים בדבר צידוקו של סיוע החוץ מובנים לנו, גורסים בני שיחנו אבל כיצד נתמודד עם טענה זו ?

ב. הקשר הערבויות: עד היום לא המצאנו בתפוצה רחבה (תקשורתית או אחרת) תשובה עם מאפיינים כלכליים הולמים לטיעון בדבר היעדר הצורך בערבויות.

3. לפיכך נראה לי כי עלינו לאמץ גישה דו מסלולית להעברת המסרים שלנו בנושא ששני מרכיביה חיוניים ויעשו יותר ויותר כאלו.  
א. יצור מאמרים בתקשורת האמריקנית, רצוי כמובן ע"י כתביהם בארץ או לחילופין במאמרים OP-ED ע"י אישים מתאימים, שיתנו מענה לשני ההיבטים.  
ב. שליחות לתדרוך ממוקד לקבוצות יעד על ידי כלכלן. איש זה צריך להיות בעל NAME RECOGNITION בארה"ב בחוגי המקצוע על מנת למצות את התועלת משליחותו.

4. אנא תנו דעתכם על כך לפני שיוחלט על האיש המתאים.

נמרוד ברקן.

0000



אאאא, חוזם: 2578

אל: פריז/88

מ-: המשורד, תא: 020793, חז: 1339, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: פריז - איתן הבר - פמליית רהמ

להלן 32 מושינגטון מה 1.7:

אל: הסברה, מצפ"א, מע"ת, תפוצות

מאת: ציר הסברה, וושינגטון

הנדון: כלכלת ישראל.

1. תודה על תשובתכם.

2. הסוגיה הכלכלית הופכת ליותר ויותר מרכזית במכלול הנושאים הקשורים לתדמית ישראל ביבשת בשני ההקשרים להלן:

א. הקשר סיוע החוץ: נשמעות טענות שהולכות ומתרבות כולל במעוזינו בקהילה היהודית ובדאי שמחוצה לה כי "סיוע החוץ מזיק לכלכלת ישראל במונעו רפורמה בה". הטיעונים האסטרטגיים בדבר צידוקו של סיוע החוץ מובנים לנו, גורסים בני שיחנו אבל כיצד נתמודד עם טענה זו?

ב. הקשר הערבויות: עד היום לא המצאנו בתפוצה רחבה (תקשורתית או אחרת) תשובה עם מאפיינים כלכליים הולמים לטיעון בדבר היעדר הצורך בערבויות.

3. לפיכך נראה לי כי עלינו לאמץ גישה זו מסלולית להעברת המסרים שלנו בנושא ששני מרכיביה חיוניים ויעשו יותר ויותר כאלו.  
א. יצור מאמרים בתקשורת האמריקנית, רצוי כמובן ע"י כתביהם בארץ או לחילופין במאמרים OP-ED ע"י אישים מתאימים, שיתנו מענה לשני ההיבטים.  
ב. שליחות לתדרוך ממוקד לקבוצות יעד על ידי כלכלן איש זה צריך להיות בעל NAME RECOGNITION בארה"ב בחוגי המקצוע על מנת למצות את התועלת משליחותו.

4. אנא תנו דעתכם על כך לפני שיוחלט על האיש המתאים.

נמרוד ברקן.



אאאא, חוזם: 1982

אל: רהמש/78

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 18, תא: 010793, זח: 1539, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מידי

אל: מצפ"א, ממ"ד

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: פורום חדש

הנשיונל ג'ורנל מדווח על עוד THINK TANK שקם בשעה טובה ושמו "הפורום למדיניות בינלאומית" ורוח בוש תרחף מעליו. תפקידו של הפורום יהיה לזהות ולנסח את תפקידי מנהיגותה של ארה"ב בתקופה שלאחר המלחמה הקרה. נשיא הארגון יהיה סקורופט היו"ר יהיה איגלברגר. עוד מהדמויות הבולטות: רוברט גייטס וריצ'רד האס.

שילה

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

סססס

י. ד. 5

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאא, חוזם: 2575

אל: פריז/87

מ-: המשרד, תא: 020793, חז: 1129, דח: ר, סג: שמו,

בבכ

שמו/רגיל

*Asit.*

אל: פריז - עבור איתן הבר פמליית והם

להלן 9 מושינגטון מה 1.7:

אל: הקונסוליות

מאת: הסברה וושינגטון

הנדון: פעילות הסנאט בנושא אירן ופסגת G-7

1. הסנאט קובי מאק (ר' פלורידה) יזם מכתב לנשיא ובו מבקשים להעלות את נושא בלימת אירן בפסגת המתועשות הצפויה להתקיים בסוקיו.

2. במכתב מדגיש הסנאט את הגדרת אירן כ"פושע בינלאומי" (INTERNATIONAL OUTLAW) כפי שהגדיר אותה מזכיר המדינה, מדינה המסייעת לטרור באזור המשתרע ממצרים לטורקיה, רוכשת טילים מצפון קוריאה, וצוללות מרוסיה ואשר חתמה על הסכם להעברת טכנולוגיה גרעינית עם סין ורוסיה.

3. לאור מעשים אלה מוצגת אירן כאיום הגדול ביותר לארה"ב במזה"ת ולכן נוקטת ארה"ב במדיניות ה-DUAL CONTAINMENT נגד אירן ועירק. ובמסגרת זו רוצים הסנטורים להביא לעצירה במכירת סחורות שהן זו שימושיות לאירן.

4. הסנאט טוען כי למרות הסיוע של אירן לטרור טיפלו המדינות המתועשות באישור הלוואה לאירן בגובה 450 מליון דולר מהבנק העולמי, פרסו מחדש חובות אירניים בגובה 3 מיליארד דולר ויפן מתעתדת לספק הלוואה נוספת בגובה 350 מליון דולר.

5. במכתבם פונים הסנטורים לנשיא ומבקשים כי יעלה את נושא בלימת אירן בפגישת המתועשות במגמה להרחיב את ההגבלות המוטלות על סחר DUAL USE עם אירן.

6. עד כה חתמו על המכתב הסנטורים מאק, דול (ר' קנזס), אינווה (ד' הוואי), פיינשטיין (ד' קליפורניה), דמאטו (ר' ניו-יורק), לאוטנברג (ד' ניו-ג'רסי), ספקטור (ר' פנסילבניה) וקרייג (ר' איידהו) והמכתב הופץ בקונגרס לצורך חותמים נוספים.

7. לאור הרגישות בנושא התבטאויות בנושא אירן, הנ"ל לידיעתכם בלבד.



\*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*  
 \*\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 2575  
 אל: פריז/87  
 מ-: המשרד, תא: 020793, חז: 1129, ר: סג: שמ,  
 בבב  
 שמור/רגיל

אל: פריז - עבור איתן הבר פמליית רהמ

להלן 9 מושינגטון מה 1.7:

אל: הקונסוליות  
 מאת: הסברה וושינגטון

הנדון: פעילות הסנאט בנושא אירן ופסגת G-7

1. הסנטור קוני מאק (ר' פלורידה) יזם מכתב לנשיא ובו מבקשים להעלות את נושא בלימת אירן בפסגת המתועשות הצפויה להתקיים בטוקיו.
2. במכתב מדגיש הסנטור את הגדרת אירן כ"פושע בינלאומי" (INTERNATIONAL OUTLAW) כפי שהגדיר אותה מזכיר המדינה, מדינה המסייעת לטרור באזור המשתרע ממזרח לטורקיה, רוכשת טילים מצפון קוריאה, וצוללות מרוסיה ואשר חתמה על הסכם להעברת טכנולוגיה גרעינית עם סין ורוסיה.
3. לאור מעשים אלה מוצגת אירן כאיום הגדול ביותר לארה"ב במזה"ת ולכן נוקטת ארה"ב במדיניות ה-DUAL CONTAINMENT נגד אירן ועירק. ובמסגרת זו רוצים הסנטורים להביא לעצירה במכירת סחורות שהן דו שימושיות לאירן.
4. הסנטור טוען כי למרות הסיוע של אירן לטרור טיפלו המדינות המתועשות באישור הלוואה לאירן בגובה 450 מליון דולר מהבנק העולמי, פרסו מחדש חובות אירניים בגובה 3 מיליארד דולר ויפן מתעתדת לספק הלוואה נוספת בגובה 350 מליון דולר.
5. במכתבם פונים הסנטורים לנשיא ומבקשים כי יעלה את נושא בלימת אירן בפגישת המתועשות במגמה להרחיב את ההגבלות המוטלות על סחר DUAL USE עם אירן.
6. עד כה חתמו על המכתב הסנטורים מאק, דול (ר' קנזס), אינווה (ד' הוואי), פיינשטיין (ד' קליפורניה), דמאטו (ר' ניו-יורק), לאוטנברג (ד' ניו-ג'רסי), ספקטר (ר' פנסילבניה) וקרייג (ר' איידהו) והמכתב הופץ בקונגרס לצרוף חותמים נוספים.
7. לאור הרגישות בנושא התבטאויות בנושא אירן, הנ"ל לידיעתכם בלבד.

בברכה

יהודית ורנאי דרינגר

ברוך רם

עד כאן

סססס

(08)

תפוצה: שגריר, מ.שגריר, ציר, מ.ציר,



\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאא, חוזם: 2575

אל: פריז/87

מ-: המשרד, תא: 020793, חז: 1129, דח: ר, סג: שם,

בבב

שמור/רגיל

אל: פריז - עבור איתן הבר פמליית רהמ

להלן 9 מושינגטון מה 1.7:

אל: הקונסוליות

מאת: הסברה וושינגטון

הנדון: פעילות הסנאט בנושא אירן ופסגת 6-7

1. הסנטור קוני מאק (ר' פלורידה) יזם מכתב לנשיא ובו מבקשים להעלות את נושא בלימת אירן בפסגת המתועשות הצפויה להתקיים בטוקיו.

2. במכתב מדגיש הסנטור את הגדות אירן כ"פושע בינלאומי" (INTERNATIONAL OUTLAW) כפי שהגדיר אותה מזכיר המדינה, מדינה המסייעת לטרור באזור המשתרע ממצרים לטורקיה, רוכשת טילים מצפון קוריאה, וצוללות מרוסיה ואשר חתמה על הסכם להעברת טכנולוגיה גרעינית עם סין ורוסיה.

3. לאור מעשים אלה מוצגת אירן כאיום הגדול ביותר לארה"ב במזה"ת ולכן נוקטת ארה"ב במדיניות ה-DUAL CONTAINMENT נגד אירן ועירק. ובמסגרת זו רוצים הסנטורים להביא לעצירה במכירת סחורות שהן דו שימושיות לאירן.

4. הסנטור טוען כי למרות הסיוע של אירן לטרור טיפלו המדינות המתועשות באישור הלוואה לאירן בגובה 450 מליון דולר מהבנק העולמי, פרסו מחדש חובות אירניים בגובה 3 מיליארד דולר ויפן מתעתדת לספק הלוואה נוספת בגובה 350 מליון דולר.

5. במכתבם פונים הסנטורים לנשיא ומבקשים כי יעלה את נושא בלימת אירן בפגישת המתועשות במגמה להרחיב את ההגבלות המוטלות על סחר DUAL USE עם אירן.

6. עד כה חתמו על המכתב הסנטורים מאק, דול (ר' קנזס), אינווא (ד' הוואי), פיינשטיין (ד' קליפורניה), דמאטו (ר' ניו-יורק), לאוטנברג (ד' ניו-ג'רסי), ספקט (ר' פנסילבניה) וקרייג (ר' איידהו) והמכתב הופץ בקונגרס לצורך חותמים נוספים.

7. לאור הרגישות בנושא התבטאויות בנושא אירן, הנ"ל לידיעתכם בלבד.

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

\*\*\*

אאאא, חוזם: 1699

אל: רהמש/61

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 9, תא: 010793, זח: 1129, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/רגיל

יא תמוז תשנ"ג

30 יוני 93

254.

אל: הקונסוליות

מאת: הסברה וושינגטון

#### הנדון: פעילות הסנאט בנושא אירן ופסגת G-7

1. הסנטור קוני מאק (ר' פלורידה) יזם מכתב לנשיא ובו מבקשים להעלות את נושא בלימת אירן בפסגת המתועשות הצפויה להתקיים בטוקיו.
2. במכתב מדגיש הסנטור את הגדרת אירן כ"פושע בינלאומי" (INTERNATIONAL OUTLAW) כפי שהגדיר אותה מזכיר המדינה, מדינה המסייעת לטרור באזור המשתרע ממזרים לטורקיה, רוכשת טילים מצפון קוריאה, וצוללות מרוסיה ואשר חתמה על הסכם להעברת טכנולוגיה גרעינית עם סין ורוסיה.
3. לאור מעשים אלה מוצגת אירן כאיום הגדול ביותר לארה"ב במזה"ת ולכן נוקטת ארה"ב במדיניות ה-DUAL CONTAINMENT נגד אירן ועירק. ובמסגרת זו רוצים הסנטורים להביא לעצירה במכירת סחורות שהן דו שימושיות לאירן.
4. הסנטור טוען כי למרות הסיוע של אירן לטרור טיפלו המדינות המתועשות באישור הלוואה לאירן בגובה 450 מליון דולר מהבנק העולמי, פרסו מחדש חובות אירניים בגובה 3 מיליארד דולר ויפן מתעתדת לספק הלוואה נוספת בגובה 350 מליון דולר.
5. במכתבם פונים הסנטורים לנשיא ומבקשים כי יעלה את נושא בלימת אירן בפגישת המתועשות במגמה להרחיב את ההגבלות המוטלות על סחר DUAL USE עם אירן.
6. עד כה חתמו על המכתב הסנטורים מאק, דול (ר' קנזס), אינווה (ד' הוואי), פיינשטיין (ד' קליפורניה), דמאטו (ר' ניו-יורק), לאוטנברג (ד' ניו-ג'רסי), ספקטר (ר' פנסילבניה) וקרייג (ר' איידהו) והמכתב הופץ בקונגרס לצרוף חותמים נוספים.
7. לאור הרגישות בנושא התבטאויות בנושא אירן, הנ"ל לידיעתכם בלבד.



בברכה

יהודית ורנאי דרינגר

ברוך רם

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

סססס