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# מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

כ"ב  
9-10/93

משרד

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תיק מס'

מחלקה



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

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אל: תפוצת תקשורת ארה"ב	ס"ג: כלמ"ס	
דע: כטחור - יועץ שהכ"ט לתקשורת, דו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ימ' העכיוונא)	חל' מברק:	
מאק: עתונות, ניו יורק	1198	

## Editorial Notebook

# The War of the Flags

An early test of the startling détente between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization will involve a combustible swatch of cloth. Since 1967, thousands of Palestinians have been chased and jailed in a deadly game of "capture the flag" in which youngsters challenge Israeli rule by hoisting the outlawed P.L.O. banner.

Flying that flag in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip may soon be no more unthinkable than, say, Yasir Arafat shaking the hand of Yitzhak Rabin. Yet the significance of that flag is too little known. The passion it ignites is rooted in a common tradition that divides Israelis and Palestinians — a circumstance rarely acknowledged by either.

The common root is the romantic nationalism that swept Europe in the wake of the French Revolution. When the tricolor became France's official symbol in 1830, the idea of a flag without feudal gewgaws was taken up by revolutionaries in Italy, Germany, Hungary, Belgium and elsewhere. "The rainbow of the free," as one rebel described the new flags, was devoid of "barbarous escutcheons" connoting brute force, such as two-headed eagles.

That nationalist passion spread to Arabs and other captive peoples in the Ottoman Empire. The Pan-Arab radicals who founded the Literary Club in Istanbul in 1909-11 were the architects of a four-striped Arab flag, said to be inspired by this verse: "White are our deeds, black are our battles, / Green our fields, red our knives." The colors were adopted in 1917 by Sharif Hussein, leader of the British-encouraged Arab Revolt, who removed a stripe

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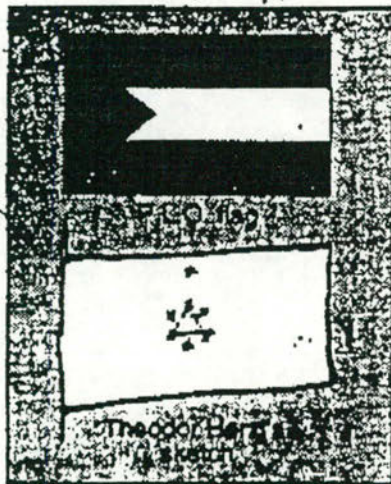
New  
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21-10

KARL E. MEYER

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and added a triangle as a family symbol to his troops' battle flag. This prefigured the flags of various Arab peoples, including Palestinians.

Thus the Arabs who decry Israel as a "Zionist entity" implanted by European colonizers are themselves deeply indebted to the same romantic nationalism that turned Theodor Herzl, a Viennese Jew, into the prophet of modern Zionism.

Herzl, a dramatist as well as a journalist, understood the emotional allure of flags in establishing a new Jewish state. As he wrote to a doubting German friend, Baron Maurice von Hirsch:

"You might ask mockingly: 'A flag? What's that? A stick with a rag on it?' No sir, a flag is much more. With a flag you lead men, for a flag, men live and die. In fact, it is the only thing for which they are ready to die in masses, if you train them for it.

"Believe me, the politics of an entire people — especially a people scattered all over the earth — can be manipulated only through the imponderables that float in thin air. Do you know what went into the making of the German Empire? Dreams and songs, reveries of black, red and gold banners, all in a very short time."

Indeed, Herzl sketched the design for what is today the blue and white flag of Israel — the Star of David framed by horizontal bars. What he failed to foresee was that the same rag on a stick worked powerfully to give Palestinians their own sense of nationhood. Finding a common framework for these colliding nationalisms is the overriding task for the peacemakers.



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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 21 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: מנהיגים יהודים אמריקנים - ערפאת

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (21/10) CARYLE MURPHY אודות הפגישה בין מנהיגים יהודים אמריקנים (AJC) וערפאת. משלחת המנהיגים היהודים יצאה למדינות ערב במטרה לשכנע את ראשי מדינות ערב לסיים את החרם הערבי על ישראל, ונפגשה בקהיר עם ערפאת אשר הגיע במיוחד לשם כך מטוניס.

25-10

תקשורת

1) שוחח (2) סשה'ת (1) רהמ (1) מנכל (2) ממנכל (1) תכנון (1) מצפא (2) 2) סמנכלתקשורת (1) תקשורת (2) סמנכלשלוס (1) ר/מרכז (1) ממד (4) רס (1) אמו (4) 3) אומן (1) יועמש (1) משפט (1) צנזורצבאי (1) דוצ-יס (1) רחם יא, לטל דב



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WP 21/10

## American Jewish Leaders Meet Arafat

By Caryle Murphy  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, Oct. 20—"It was unreal. You didn't believe it was happening," said Chicago businessman Lester Crown.

The nine trustees of the American Jewish Congress, all stalwart supporters of Israel, had been quietly chatting here with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak on Tuesday. Then, just hours later, they unexpectedly found themselves sitting down for another chat—but this time with someone they had least imagined ever meeting face to face: Yasser Arafat, who had just flown in from Tunis to see them.

"Unworldly," said Lawrence Blum. "After all these years of having a mental impression of someone and then you see that he doesn't really comport with these ideas. I wonder how he felt!"

The delegation is on a tour to persuade Arab leaders to drop their boycott of firms that do business with Israel, the so-called secondary boycott, according to AJC executive director Henry Siegman.

The Americans argue that the boycott poses serious obstacles to U.S. companies—barred by U.S. law from observing the boycott—that want to get involved in the

economic reconstruction of the Israeli-occupied territories that will shortly start coming under Palestinian self-rule, Siegman said. Only Kuwait so far has dropped the secondary boycott.

As they were making their case to Mubarak, Siegman said, the Egyptian president told an aide "to call Arafat and [tell him] he should hear this."

Arafat was in Tunis, meeting with two visiting high U.S. officials, Dennis Ross of the State Department and Martin Indyk, the National Security Council's Middle East expert. Arafat agreed to fly to Cairo that night to meet the American Jews—a gesture not lost on the AJC officers.

"For Dennis Ross to go to Tunis to see him, and for him to come here to see us that night—that seems rather silly," Crown said with a smile.

The businessmen said they were impressed by Arafat, who was accompanied by several senior aides. "It was an absolutely serious, very business-like, sincere conversation," Crown said. "There was no posturing. That's what was interesting."

"What we learned in one day here," Crown said, "is that you go from here forward. If you dwell on the past, you aren't going to get anything done."



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בלמס/מייד

תאריך: 21 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: המשבר במפלגת הליכוד

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (21/10) (DAVID HOFFMAN) אודות המשבר הפנימי במפלגת הליכוד.  
עם חתימת ההסכם בין ישראל ואש"ף מוצאת עצמה המפלגה במשבר אידיאולוגי  
סביב שאלת השלום ומאבק על קולות הבחורים.

25/10

תקשורת

(29) שהח (2) ששח (1) רהמ (1) מנכל (2) ממנכל (1) תכנון (1) מצפא (2)  
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# Israel's Likud, in Disarray, Seeks Ways to Remain an Effective Opposition

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

USALEM, Oct. 20—Israel's opposition party, Likud, ended its central committee this week with a folk singer from the settlement of Ariel in the West Bank. "This is my y, it's so small," she crooned, "on't want any favors; just give up the homeland." A rallying cry against giving up the "Greater Israel" incorporating the territories captured by Israel in the 1967 Middle East war is the heart and soul of Likud's rally during the 15 years it

dominated the national scene and spread Jewish settlements across the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

But this week, Likud embarked on a painful process that one leading member described as "heart surgery."

Now that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, of the Labor Party, has signed an agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization to transfer much of the West Bank and Gaza Strip to Palestinian control, Likud has been thrown into a profound identity crisis and a power struggle.

Likud remains the largest and

most powerful opposition party. Should the pact dissolve, or even if Israeli Jews decide it is failing to protect their personal security, Likud could rise again. Or, if Likud's power slackens permanently, a path could open for the left-of-center Labor Party—which came to power last year in a narrow coalition government—to cement its position.

At the party conference in Tel Aviv, posters of Likud's ideological forebears hung prominently: the late prime minister Menachem Begin and the early Zionist thinkers, Ze'ev Jabotinsky and Theodor Herzl. But in the hall, fewer than a third of

the 3,500-member central committee bothered to show up to ponder how to adapt the Zionist ideals of yesterday to the reality of today.

Those who roamed the halls were not in a celebratory mood. "The membership is more moderate than the leadership about the need to give this agreement a chance," said Yossi Olmert, a former Likud government spokesman. "But the line of this leadership is a complete rejection. . . . We have ceased to be in tune with the sentiments, hopes and desires of the majority of people."

As long as peace with the Palestinians was an abstract issue, Likud prospered with a hard-line approach. For years, starting with the Camp David Accords, it offered the Palestinians a vague "autonomy" in which they would control their own affairs in limited areas, but remain under Israel's thumb.

But now that Rabin has made a firm agreement with the Palestinians, he has captured public imagination and a fair amount of support. Even Likud leaders acknowledge Israel's public was growing weary of the conflict and has been swept

agreement that would end the Palestinian uprising.

This has left Likud in the lurch. At first, Binyamin Netanyahu, elected its leader last March, committed the party to unequivocal opposition to the Israeli-PLO agreement. But Likud failed to block it in parliament, and demonstrations have fizzled out.

Now an intense fight has broken out over the party's course, triggered by a rebellion by moderates. Meir Shetreet, one of the more pragmatic Likud legislators, abstained in the vote in parliament, saying that if Likud continued to oppose the agreement, it would become a marginalized right-wing party, losing the broad political center to Labor.

"We can't stick our heads in the sand and say the agreement doesn't exist," Shetreet told the party conference, evoking boos and shouts of "Traitor, go home."

Zahnan Shoval, a former ambassador to Washington, proposed that Likud acknowledge the agreement as a *fait accompli*, and try to modify outstanding issues, such as security for settlements and Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. Likud Shoval

and persuade Israelis that "a government led by a rational Likud is better than one led by a leftist government."

Rebellion also came from the right. Ariel Sharon, the former general who led the invasion of Beirut in 1982 and later as housing minister championed Likud's settlement drive in the occupied territories, is challenging Netanyahu. Sharon is pushing his own proposal to severely limit Palestinian authority in the territories and assert "our total and only right to that land."

Netanyahu, facing a potentially destructive party blowup, decided to delay a vote, deferring the issue to a committee. He also urged the party to approve an alternative to the Israeli-PLO agreement. His plan, like Sharon's, would sharply restrict Palestinian self-rule.

But in a striking example of how Netanyahu still lacks clout in Likud, several other prominent party figures, including Binyamin Begin, refused to follow him. "I don't think it's time to change," said Moshe Katav, who heads the party's faction in parliament, adding that he would rather wait until the agreement with the

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could be freed," said Oded Ben-Ami, a spokesman for the Defense Ministry.

After Mr. Zreil's release at the northern end of the Gaza Strip, he was given a hero's welcome by hundreds of Palestinians at his home town of Deir al-Balah. Men carried him on their shoulders, chanting "God is Great!" as women cheered and clapped. Two uniformed members of the Fatah Hawks, an armed group, hugged him and fired their weapons in the air.

"Our main aim is peace," Mr. Zreil told reporters. "This peace deal is the first step forward to achieve the Palestinian goal."

The P.L.O. and its supporters in the

territories have been pressing Israel for a large-scale release. Families of the prisoners have demonstrated almost daily, and Palestinian newspapers have carried reports of an imminent release. Such a release will "contribute to a better atmosphere and greater support among the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip," said Ahmad Tibi, an adviser to Mr. Arafat who negotiated Mr. Zreil's release.

#### Plea for Leader of Hamas

Dr. Tibi, an Israeli Arab, said he had also given Mr. Rabin a request from Mr. Arafat for the release of Sheik Ahmad Yassin, leader of the militant Islamic group Hamas. The P.L.O. wants Mr. Yassin set free to widen support for the agreement and to undercut Hamas's criticism of it.

Mr. Rabin has said that "large numbers" of prisoners would be freed, but he added that details still had to be decided by security officials and by Palestinian and Israeli negotiators on self-rule in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. The talks are to resume on Wednesday.

It is expected that Palestinians imprisoned for relatively light offenses, like participation in nationalist protests or membership in banned political organizations, will be freed quickly; those convicted of killing or wounding Israelis will probably not be freed.

Leaders of the opposition Likud Party accused the Government of making one-sided concessions that would encourage more Arab attacks. "It shows that Jews can be murdered, and the perpetrators can then return like heroes from the Israeli jails," said Uzi Landau, a Likud parliament member.

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 20 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

26.10

הנדון: ישראל - סוריה

מצ"ב כתבת ה-BS (DOUG STRUCK) וכתבת ה-WT (ANDREW BOROWIEC) - 20/10 בנושא תהליך השלום בין ישראל וסוריה. בעוד כתבת ה-WT מתמקדת בהתנגדות הסורית להסכם ישראל - אש"ף והמסרים הסותרים ששולחת סוריה, כתבת ה-BS (מכתבם בדמשק) טוענת כי ישראל וסוריה תגיענה להסכם שלום והשאלה הפתוחה היחידה כרגע היא העיתוי. עוד בכתבת ה-BS על המהפך בדעת הציבור הסורי אשר היה קיצוני ביותר בגישתו לישראל וליהודים וכעת מתחיל להכיר בעובדה כי שתי המדינות עומדות בפני הסכם שלום.

תקשורת

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WT 20/10

# Syria's mixed signals disrupt Mideast peace process

By Andrew Borowiec  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Conflicting signals from Syria have cast doubt about an easy glide to success for the Middle East peace process and created a new dilemma for the Clinton administration's limping foreign policy.

Some analysts believe that unless its demands are satisfied, Syria is

## NEWS ANALYSIS

capable of blocking the Sept. 13 agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization on limited Palestinian self-rule.

Most believe that more direct involvement by the United States in the talks between Syria and Israel is essential, but many doubt the admin-

istration's ability to create momentum toward peace.

Syria considers itself the "Arab heartland" and its "rejectionist" attitude toward Israel has thwarted a number of peace initiatives.

Since the Israeli-PLO accord, Syria has stopped Arab countries from lifting their long-standing economic boycott of Israel and has reinforced opposition to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat by offering shelter, encouragement and logistical support to his opponents.

The result was a postponement for at least a month of the dialogue between Syria and Israel and considerable clouds over the progress of the Israeli-PLO agreement.

Meanwhile, Jewish settlers in the occupied Arab territories are vowing to stay put, and Syrian diplomats

are linking progress to a "double withdrawal" by Israel — from Syria's Golan Heights and Israel's self-declared security zone in southern Lebanon.

Syria maintains about 40,000 troops in Lebanon and dictates policy to the Beirut government.

Western experts are divided about the implications of Syria's latest diplomatic moves. Some interpret them as a sign of anger that Syria was bypassed by the Israeli-PLO accord. Others say Syrian President Hafez Assad needs time to figure out how to react to the post-Cold War realities in the Middle East.

"We must build on the peace process, and, to do that, we must find an incentive for the Syrians," said James Zogby of the Arab American Institute.

"The United States has already made a commitment to Israel's security, and now it should be more directly involved," he said. "Action on one front should be accompanied by activity on another front."

For Judith Kipper, a veteran Middle East analyst at the Brookings Institution, the delay in the Syrian-Israeli talks "is not necessarily a bad thing."

"Assad is now clearly waiting for [Secretary of State Warren] Christopher's visit in November. U.S. mediation is needed, and Assad has made it clear he means business," she said.

"Syrian politics means mainly trying to interpret Assad's mind," said Daniel Pipes, director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia.

Mr. Pipes said the main issue for the Syrian president is to "stay in power and keep his Alawite clan in power. Everything is based on this premise. Assad is not an ideologue. He is not that interested in Israel."

Mr. Pipes said Mr. Assad "has been skeptical about the peace process," was caught unprepared by the Israeli-PLO pact and "needs time to figure out what to do. Meanwhile, he is creating a considerable confusion."

Arab Americans are torn between support for the Israeli-PLO agreement.

The accord, said Edward Said of Columbia University, "leaves Palestinians very much the subordinates with Israel still in charge of East Jerusalem, [Jewish] settlements, sovereignty and the economy."

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# Syria thinks the once unthinkable: a pact with Israel

Question is 'when,' not 'if,' a treaty will be signed

By Doug Struck  
Staff Writer

DAMASCUS, Syria — A peace agreement with Israel is seen by Syrians as a question of "when," not "if," despite the sniping rhetoric between the two countries.

Conversations with diplomats, academics and random Syrians in two cities indicate that a pact between the mutually suspicious nations is widely seen as a certainty here. The only unresolved matter is how soon.

"Everyone is preoccupied with a timetable," said one diplomat. "Will it be before the end of the year? Everybody's guessing."

## Reviled Israel

Such public sentiment is extraordinary in a state that has reviled Israel for 45 years and among a people whose paranoia about Jews and Israeli expansionism cannot be overestimated.

"The whole world has changed, and we must arrive at the reality," said Souheil Zakkar, a history professor at the University of Damascus. "I would not receive an Israeli in my house. It's too hard for me. But probably my son will do that."

Some worry public opinion in Syria is overly optimistic. Significant hurdles remain before Israel and Syria sign a peace plan.

But even the increasingly tough talk from both sides, and the warning from Damascus this week that it might boycott the next round of the Mideast peace talks, are seen by Syrians as posturing for a better negoti-



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Syrian President Hafez el-Assad shown in a 1990 photo.

ating position.

"Everybody is dancing around right now," said a Syrian author, who asked not to be identified. "But they'll end up as partners."

Syria wants complete return of the Golan Heights, seized by Israel in the 1967 Mideast war. Israel wants guaranteed security on its northern border and a peace treaty that includes formal recognition, open borders and trade.

## Strategy worked

The tempo of diplomatic efforts this week by the United States is seen as evidence that Syria's strategy is paying off. Dennis Ross, the U.S. diplomat coordinating the peace talks, is in the Middle East, and Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher is expected to make another round of shuttle diplomacy next month.

Damascus sees these moves as a U.S. attempt to put pressure on Israel not to slow down negotiations with Syria.

"The American administration is showing seriousness about pushing the process forward," said an editorial Monday in the state-run Syrian Times, offering rare praise for U.S. efforts.

Attention turned to negotiations with Syria after Israel signed an agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization on Sept. 13.

But prospects for quick agreement, which had seemed promising just a few months earlier, worsened as leaders of both countries seemed to backpedal.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin opened with harsh criticism of Syria and then acknowledged that his purpose was to slow negotiations. He said the Israeli public could not so soon absorb another pact requiring concessions.

## Syria stung by PLO talks

Syrian President Hafez el-Assad returned the verbal fire and hinted that Syria could undermine the Palestinian agreement if it were not included in a deal. Stung by the secret negotiations carried out by Palestinians, Mr. Assad has led the sustained criticism in Syria of the Israeli-PLO deal.

Syria lost its financial and military benefactor with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Estimates of how much it spends on its army range from 60 percent to 80 percent of the budget, and it cannot afford to keep up with Israel's U.S.-fed military. Syria's domestic economy badly needs capital and equipment from the West.

Israel realizes Syria's prominent role in the Arab world makes it a mandatory partner if the Jewish state is to have a stable peace with its neighbors. It sees Syria as the key to controlling militants and rejectionist Palestinians who periodically draw Israeli blood along the southern Lebanon border.

The difficulty will be in the details of a peace agreement. Mr. Rabin will face a storm of opposition if he returns all of the Golan Heights overlooking northern Israel. But Syria demands nothing less.

## Fearful of full embrace

And Mr. Assad, always mindful of

Israel

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the assassination of Anwar el Sadat after the Egyptian president signed a peace with Israel. Is fearful of opening his arms to fully embrace Israel, as the Israelis demand.

"You have three generations of Syrians who have been brought up in a highly politicized, highly propagandized system that always talked about the Zionist aggressor," said a Western observer.

"There may be a general acceptance that peace will come. But to them it means getting the Golan Heights back," he said. "It doesn't mean El Al [Israel's national airline] landing in Damascus and a bunch of Israeli tourists wandering around the Souk Hamadeh."

But slow changes are taking place. Syrian newspapers now mention Israel rather than the "Zionist occupier." They quote Israeli officials and only during occasional fits of pique return to their descriptions of those officials as "American lackeys."

"It's a change," acknowledged Walid Shehadeh, editor of the Syrian Times. "The tone in my newspaper and other Syrian newspapers has changed because of the peace process."

#### Miffed at Palestinians

Syria remains miffed at the Palestinians for leaving them in a weaker bargaining position.

Throughout the two years of the formal peace talks, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinians had vowed their best strategy was to insist on an agreement by Israel with all the Arabs, or none would sign. The PLO's clandestine bargaining undermined that.

"Nobody should expect us to raise the banners of joy over a secret agreement concluded behind our backs," Mr. Assad said in an interview Sept. 30 with the Public Broadcasting System.

Syria has rejected Mr. Rabin's suggestion that the Washington peace talks be abandoned in favor of direct talks, such as those that were held with the Palestinians.

To do that would weaken the influence of the United States in the process, and for now Syria is pinning its hopes on U.S. intervention.

"I don't think the Americans will be content to let the peace process collapse," said Mr. Shehadeh. "There must come a time when the process ends, and ends positively."

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 20 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

2610

הנדון: ארה"ב - מדיניות חוץ

מצ"ב מאמרם של BRENT SCOWCROFT & ARNOLD KANTER (היועץ לענייני בטחון לאומי לשעבר ועוזר מזכיר המדינה לשעבר) - WP (20/10) בנושא מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית.  
הכותבים מבקרים בחריפות את מדה"ח העמומה והבלתי עקבית של הממשל, ומתמקדים במתח שבין הממשל לקונגרס בנושא קבלת החלטות בנושא מד"ח.

תקשורת



WP 20110

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Brent Scowcroft and Arnold Kanter

# Foreign Policy Straitjacket

Following intensive negotiations with the administration, the Senate last week passed the Byrd amendment to the fiscal year 1994 defense appropriations bill, setting a variety of conditions on U.S. military involvement in Somalia. This action has been described as a good example of bipartisan leadership in the Senate, of the spirit of constructive compromise between the executive and legislative branches and as a political victory for the administration.

But it was something more. Whatever its impact on our Somalia policy, the Byrd amendment also sets an important precedent in redefining the respective roles that the president and Congress will play in deciding when, where, why and how U.S. military forces are used. It is a precedent that has disturbing implications for this or any president's ability to conduct an effective foreign policy in the post-Cold War world.

This is not the place to debate whether our Somalia policy is sensible or misguided, or whether the particular provisions in the Senate bill are wise or foolish. Somalia may be the case at hand, but what is at stake is nothing less than defining the proper role of Congress in the conduct of foreign policy and the use of our armed forces as an instrument of that policy. Not only may the "Dole amendment" on Haiti present that issue again in the days ahead, but we are likely also to face it with increasing frequency as part of the larger debate about the purposes and limits of U.S. engagement in the world. It is important that we get it right.

From this broader policy perspective, the Byrd amendment poses two kinds of problems. First, it goes beyond the legitimate congressional role in establishing policy parameters to spell out in detail what the president may and may not do in carrying out that policy, including setting a deadline for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Somalia, specifying the military mission of our forces while they remain there, describing the capabilities they are to possess and even defining the command arrangements that are to govern them. Second, it sets out all these requirements in legislation that is intended to become the law of the land.

There are sound constitutional grounds for arguing that wherever one reasonably draws the line that separates the foreign policy responsibilities of the president from the job of Congress, the Byrd amendment crosses it. But there also are practical reasons for being concerned that if the Byrd amendment becomes the model for future congressional involvement, U.S. foreign policy will be the victim.

Maneuvering in the complex environment of a Somalia—or of a Haiti, Bosnia or the other crisis that loom on and just over the horizon—requires the agility of a ballet dancer, not the Mack truck of legislation. In a world that increasingly eschews a premium on a rapidly adaptable foreign



*Maneuvering in the complex environment of a Somalia—or Haiti or Bosnia—requires the agility of a ballet dancer, not the Mack truck of legislation.*

policy, codifying highly detailed requirements in a public law is a recipe for ineffectiveness. It undermines the president's ability to threaten, cajole and pressure our adversaries by publicizing the costs we will and won't pay and by broadcasting the conditions and constraints under which our forces will operate. At the same time, it leaves our friends and allies, whose cooperation we seek, to wonder whether Congress will permit the president to follow through on his promises and commitments. Finally, it stays on the books, continuing to tie the president's hands as circumstances change and Congress's attention shifts to other priorities. Now more than ever, trying to legislate foreign policy is simply a bad idea.

The alternative is not for Congress to give the president a blank check and abdicate its constitutional responsibilities in foreign policy. Congress is a valuable sounding board and source of wise counsel. It can offer invaluable assistance in rallying public opinion behind the president and in

uniquely positioned to run political sanity checks on the president's proposed policies and actions, offering its distinctive insights into the mood of the country and how best to take the voters' concerns into account.

Nor is Congress without leverage in helping presidents remember this essential lesson. It can hold the president accountable for his actions before the bar of public opinion—and ultimately the ballot box—by calling hearings and requiring the administration to send reports detailing the progress, problems and prognosis of particular issues. If all else fails, of course, it can resort to the power of the purse to enforce its will.

The president too must do his job. First, he must exercise the foreign policy leadership that is his unique responsibility, or Congress surely will be tempted—or feel obliged—to cross the constitutional line and fill the vacuum. Second, he must build and sustain public and congressional confidence in that leadership by means of frequent, serious consultations with the Hill and clear explanations to the American people about our purposes and stakes. The recent congressional actions on Somalia and the current debate about Haiti can be read as evidence of what happens when the president does not accomplish both these tasks.

All presidents know—or learn—that their foreign policy cannot succeed and their tough foreign policy decisions will not be sustained without bipartisan support borne of clear, honest dialogue between the two branches of government. But Congress cannot exercise foreign policy leadership, and the president must not acquiesce in its ill-considered efforts to do so. Congress cannot conduct a successful foreign policy; only the president can. Likewise, Congress cannot formulate and execute an effective political-military strategy to accomplish foreign policy objectives; only the president can.

Put simply, our country can ill-afford 535 secretaries of state, and still less 535 commanders in chief. Congress, for its part, must participate in the grand debate about the scope and nature of American engagement in the new world order; but it also must resist the temptation to legislate our foreign policy and how military forces will be used to support it. For his part, the president should encourage and benefit from Congress's legitimate participation, but he also must stand ready to veto any legislation that undermines his ability to fulfill his foreign policy responsibilities.

*Brent Scowcroft was national security adviser under Presidents Bush and Ford. Arnold Kanter was undersecretary of state for political affairs in the Bush administration. They are associated with the Forum for International Policy.*





THE WASHINGTON INSTITUTE *for Near East Policy*

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TO: MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

26/10

FROM: Adam Petricoff  
The Wash. Institute for Near East Policy

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ATTN: YITZHAK RABIN

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TO: FAX PHONE#: 011-972-230-3367

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# POLICYWATCH

*Analysis of Near East policy from the scholars and associates of THE WASHINGTON INSTITUTE*

Peace Watch Number Seventy-Two

October 20, 1993

## Early Agenda Items in the Israeli-Palestinian Talks

by Ze'ev Schiff

The Israeli-Palestinian talks at the Sinai resort of Taba opened with a good atmosphere and an especially full working agenda. The two delegations will have to deal with literally hundreds of issues and sub-issues relating to the future of Gaza-Jericho, including some very thorny and complicated items. It is by no means inconceivable that the Israeli army may begin its withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho before the two months specified in the Declaration of Principles.

It is clear to both sides that the outcome of their negotiations will set an important precedent and influence future discussions between Israel and the PLO. Success in Gaza and Jericho will insure rapid movement in the other areas of the West Bank.

The two sides bring great expectations to the negotiations, accompanied by suspicions and many unanswered questions. The Palestinians hope for rapid achievements on the ground that will prove to their constituency that the period of Palestinian self-rule has truly begun. As a result, they will seek authority over internal security early on, along with the establishment of a Palestinian police force and other security apparatuses. At the same time, the Palestinian population expects quick and visible economic improvements in the wake of the Israel-PLO accord. The Israelis, for their part, well understand that successful implementation of the security arrangements is largely dependent on economic improvements. At the same time, Israel is waiting for the PLO to master the hard-line opponents of peace.

The talks begin amid a wave of terrorist attacks against Israelis in the territories and in northern Israel, including suicide car bombings, hitherto unknown in the territories. A number of Palestinian terror organizations, including Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Popular Front (this latter group a member of the PLO) have claimed responsibility for these acts in which a number of Israelis have been killed and wounded. Clearly, Israel expects the PLO to lend a hand in stopping terrorism, and this is sure to be an early agenda item in the Taba talks.

### Filling in the blanks

Beyond security, the transfer of civil authority to the Palestinians is an important and complicated matter in its own right. One of the major items to be discussed in the second round of talks is the delineation of the precise boundaries of Jericho, which, unlike the boundaries of Gaza, are far from clear. The Declaration of Principles speaks simply of "the Jericho district." The Palestinians naturally seek to maximize the area from which Israeli forces will withdraw, as far as Maale Adumim and the approaches to Jerusalem, arguing that the withdrawal should encompass the Jericho District as it was defined during the years of Jordanian control. Israel will reject that claim and suggest either that the withdrawal be limited to the city limits of the Jericho municipality, in which case two refugee camps near the city will remain in Israeli control, or that the camps be included in the withdrawal. Either way, and unlike Gaza, no Israeli settlements would be included in the area from which the Israeli army would withdraw (though some of the lands of three nearby settlements -- Vered Jericho, Naamah and Nahal Elisha -- will be lost when and if a larger withdrawal takes place).

While the Declaration of Principles speaks of Israeli military "withdrawal" from Gaza and Jericho, that term is left ambiguous insofar as Israeli forces will clearly retain responsibility for external security and for the safety of Israelis in the area. It is up to the negotiators to define these terms with precision. By external security, Israel means security along the borders and freedom of movement along the roads to and from the Jewish settlements. In other words, Israel intends to

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## POLICYWATCH

withdraw from all the areas populated by Palestinians. In Gaza, the IDF will concentrate along the borders between the strip and Israel, the strip and Egypt and along the Mediterranean. The IDF will also deploy in the Israeli settlements and, again, guarantee movement to and fro. This interweaving of two security regimes — Israeli and Palestinian — in so narrow and densely populated an area, will be very difficult to carry out. Israel will have no choice but to lay down some new roads, e.g. a road that will bypass Jericho and a number of roads to link the Gaza settlements to Israeli territory.

In this connection the question of control over border crossings — between Israel and Egypt and Jordan — will naturally arise. A related question will be passage between Gaza and Jericho. Israel has forcefully rejected a Palestinian request for responsibility over the bridges to Jordan, even partial responsibility. The same is sure to be the case regarding the port of Gaza and any Palestinian desire to open an airstrip in Gaza. Israel regards these elements as an integral, organic dimension of its external security. At the same time, Israel will be ready to open for civilian and commercial traffic across the Jordan River the Abdallah Bridge near Amman, which has been closed since 1948. As for transit between Gaza and Jericho, Israel is not ready for the creation of an extraterritorial corridor through its territory linking the two, nor the designation of special roads for Palestinian transit. Instead Israel will want Gaza-Jericho transit to proceed along existing roads and under present licenses.

One subject sure to arise early in the proceedings is the situation of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli hands and wanted terrorists still at large. As Israel withdraws from populated areas it will leave behind detention facilities as well. Many prisoners will be released, especially those who have not been accused of murdering Israelis or Palestinians or of other severe terrorist acts. One ought not infer from this that Israel intends to free all the prisoners at once. A number of guidelines will be established for the release of prisoners or their transfer to Palestinian authorities. The PLO will certainly want to demonstrate its concern for Hamas prisoners, but it is unlikely that the PLO will want to see all the prisoners belonging to organizations that reject the accord with Israel released any time soon. Clearly Israel will not relinquish the pursuit of groups and individuals who continue terrorist and murderous acts. The future of members of armed organizations that accept PLO authority will be a subject for negotiation. In any case, Israel will not accede to the Palestinians' request that armed Fatah cadres be allowed to remain in areas under its control, which is a proven formula for the Lebanonization of the territories. One likely solution would be their transfer to Gaza and Jericho after Israel withdraws from those areas.

A much more complicated subject is the prevention of terror once the IDF withdraws from the populated areas of Gaza and Jericho. It is clear that without serious, meaningful and ongoing coordination and cooperation between Israel and the Palestinians there is simply no chance for the fight against terror to succeed. The question nagging at Israel is what will happen should the PLO fail to prevent serious terror from occurring in the future.

This question is related to the establishment of a Palestinian police force, another early topic in the talks. Israel accepts the principle that the Palestinians need a strong and effective force to deal with likely tasks and challenges, but it accepts no compromise on the principle of future demilitarization. Thus, Israel will not accept the deployment to Gaza and Jericho of the so-called Palestine Liberation Army, whose units are currently dispersed in a number of Arab states, including the Sudan. The negotiations will have to determine, *inter alia*, the size of the Palestinian police force, its armament and training, and whether Israel will have a say in recruitment into its ranks during the transitional phase. In this connection, it is important to emphasize that Israel will reject any suggestion that foreign forces be deployed in the territories, UN or otherwise. (The Declaration itself allows the possibility of a "temporary international or foreign presence as agreed upon.") It will be willing to accept international observers to the upcoming elections for the Palestinian administrative council, but not any international force.

*Ze'ev Schiff, defense editor of Ha'aretz, is an associate of The Washington Institute.*

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שודך

אאאא

אל:המשרד,

מ-:רהמש,נר:0045,תא:201093,זח:1233,דח:מ,סג:בל,

בבבב

20.10.93

בלמס/מידי

אל: נספח צבאי, וושינגטון

מאת: איתן הבר, מנהל לשכת רה"מ

הנדון: פואל

א. דני מסר לי הערותיך הצודקות, להבא לא יקרה כדבר הזה.

ב. מכתב ל"יורש" יועבר אליך תוך ימים אחדים.

ג. מתנצל - ותודה.

סססס

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אאא, חוזם: 21615  
אל: רהמש/958  
מ-: רהמש, נר: 45, תא: 201093, זח: 1233, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
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בלמס/מידי

אל: נספח צבאי, וושינגטון  
מאת: איתן הבר, מנהל לשכת רה"מ

הנדון: פואל

- א. דני מסר לי הערותיך הצודקות, להבא לא יקרה כדבר הזה.  
ב. מכתב ל"יורש" יועבר אליך תוך ימים אחדים.  
ג. מתנצל - ותודה.

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סודי/רגיל

אל: מצפ"א

דע: אגף השלום, מזא"ר, ארבבל 2

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: שיחה עם דיפלומט רוסי

24.10.

1. נפגשתי עם אלכסנדר גראצ'ב, לבקשתו, מהשגרירות הרוסית.

2. סיפר, כי רוסיה הציעה לארח את ועדת הקישור הכלכלי ישראלי-פלסטיני במוסקבה, וכי הפלסטינים הסכימו להצעתה.

3. בהקשר הסורי - סיפר, כי אלשרע יצא מ-ארה"ב בתחושה טובה, נוכח מחויבות הנשיא להמשיך להיות שותף מלא למסלול סוריה-ישראל ולהעניק למסלול זה תשומת לב שווה למסלולים האחרים. לדבריו - המצרים הבהירו לאלשרע באלכסנדריה, כי כל נסיגה תצטרך להתבצע במהלך פרק זמן של 5 עד 6 שנים, וכי עתה הסורים שוקלים זאת.

4. במישור הביטחוני - הוסיף, כי לא היתה כל התפתחות בעמדת סוריה בהקשר לטרור, אך דוקא בהקשר הכלכלי הסורים קיבלו תחושה ברורה כי הממשל לא יעמוד למיכשול בפני סוריה במוסדות בינ"ל כגון ה-IMF, אם אלה ימצאו לנכון להשקיע בסוריה.

5. בשולי השיחה סיפר, כי שירת בדמשק בשנים 1981 עד 1987, וכי במהלך שירותו שם היה במגע עם ארגוני הסירוב הפלסטינים. שאלתיו אם ידוע לו דבר לגבי נעדרי סולטאן יעקוב, אך השיב שלא. מסרתי לו מידע כתוב על הנעדרים.

ג'רמי יששכרופ

24/10  
28/10

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון, סמנכלשלום, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, יועמש, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), מצפא, סמנכלמזאר, מזאר1, ביין, ארבבל2, @ (ראשהממשלה)



דחיפות: מדי	טופס מברק קשר ניו-יורק	1 2
סיוג: כלמ"ס	כ"ן, אס"ה, א"א"ג, סאוד, מא"ז, מצב"א	אל: <del>המזכיר הכללי</del>
הס' מברק: 1178	כטחור - יועץ שהכ"ט לתקשורת, רו"צ, אמ"כ/קש"ח (ימ' העכירונא)	דע:
	מחונות, ניו יורק	מאת:

**On My Mind**  
A. M. ROSENTHAL

## Those Three Words

Now here is a Government document with a lot of potential — including the potential to make the incumbent President and his successors yearn for these safe days of Somalia, Haiti and the gulf war.

The document has to do with three words. Proliferation — as in third-world nuclear bombs. Dual use — as in: I sell you a chemical to make fertilizer and you use it to make biological weapons, which, to tell the truth, is what I expected you to do all along, but a dollar is a dollar.

Americans don't like to think much about those three words. It certainly is not because they do not bring excitement to our lives. Saddam Hussein had such a fine supply line of nuclear and dual-use items from the West that he was getting close to nuclear weapon production and felt strong enough to take on the U.S. and

C.I.A. peers at  
the nuclear future.

New York  
Times

Op-Ed

19-10

ש"ה ש"ה (ד"ר) סמ"ל/אס"ה אס"ה (כ"ן) א"א"ג/מ"ז  
מחונות, ניו יורק



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survive, which he did.

Maybe it's all so frightening that we prefer to push it out of our minds. Anyway, some time ago I decided to become one of those people who make themselves pests about those three words, so to work.

The document consists of replies to questions put by the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, headed by Senator John Glenn, to R. James Woolsey, the C.I.A. Director.

Question. [Questions compressed by me for space reasons.] Can wars be made less likely by new regional nuclear balances of terror?

Answer. I can think of no example where the introduction of nuclear weapons has enhanced that region's security. ... Emerging nuclear-capable states lack the strict command and control and doctrine of the superpowers.

Q. From the evidence, how effective is military force as a solution to nuclear proliferation?

A. Military force can slow nuclear weapons development programs in the short term but cannot permanently stop [them]. ... Without international scrutiny, continued inspections, Iraq probably could rebuild, with available expertise, its nuclear weapons program and manufacture a de-

vice in about five to seven years.

Q. After the B.N.L. and B.C.C.I. scandals, will U.S. intelligence concentrate more on the financial and banking aspects of proliferation?

A. Yes. ... Banks play a key role in facilitating arms-related gray-market deals.

Q. Can nuclear material be smuggled out of the former Soviet Union?

A. If the situation were to deteriorate and since nuclear materials are in so many different places, some of them could fall into the wrong hands and be exported and, potentially, without our knowledge.

Q. Where has the technology for proliferating countries come from?

A (condensed). Some American companies have been involved but by and large to the Mideast it was a "free flow" from Europe. Some European nations have tightened control. Principal concerns now focus on China and North Korea. Beijing has consistently regarded a nuclear-armed Pakistan as a crucial regional ally and vital counterweight to India.

Q. How many nuclear weapons do India and Pakistan have?

A. India and Pakistan have "the capability to assemble ... a small number ... within a very short period of time. ... The distinction between whether or not these weapons are in fact assembled or only able to be assembled within a few days is a very small distinction.

Q. About Pakistan, what would be the delivery system — the F-16's we sold them?

A. Our best judgment right now would be the F-16's.

Q. Does Egypt have a biological weapons capability?

A. Yes, a program.

Q. Are you confident we can detect the use of biological weapons?

A. No. ...

Q. How far ahead can you predict intentions and capabilities of nations with stockpiles of nuclear materials?

A. Substantial uncertainties could harm our ability to forecast — especially beyond 10 years.

The U.S. has a list of "special countries" that cannot receive material that they could use or transmit to a third country for nuclear purposes, without special study and clearance.

On Oct. 6, the Administration removed 11 countries from that list. They were Argentina, Bahrain, Brazil, Chile, Kuwait, Malawi, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Syria and Yemen. No advance notice was given to Congress. □

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 19 אוקטובר 1993

אל: מצפ"א, מצריים

דע: לש-שה"ח

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ישראל - מצרים

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (CARYLE MURPHY 19/10) אודות השתפרות והתקרבות היחסים בין ישראל ומצרים.  
היחסים הקרים בין ישראל ומצרים עד כה עומדים להפסיר בעקבות חתימת הסכם ישראל - אש"ף. בשתי המדינות ציפיות לקשרים בתחום הכלכלי, תיירותי ובספורט.

21.10

תקשורת

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# Egyptians Bullish About Israeli Contact

*PLO Accord Stirs Hopes Among Many for Business, Tourism and, Maybe Later, Soccer*

By Caryle Murphy  
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO—Tariq Salim has more name recognition and a better feel for the Egyptian pulse than any cabinet minister here, and his sun-worn face softened into a smile at the question. With last month's Israeli-Palestinian peace accord, is the time now ripe for an Israeli soccer team to visit this soccer-obsessed country?

"For the time being, it's not very wise," said the onetime soccer idol and manager of Cairo's Al Ahly team. The pact will bring down barriers, but "we should first wait for the public to swallow this thing," the gray-haired Salim said in a clubhouse interview. "You can't change in one day. If you give it some time, a year, a year-and-a-half, it will come by itself."

Besides, he said with a chuckle, "it would be a mess for sure" if the Israelis won because "the fans here are mad about football and could do anything without thinking."

Across the Middle East, imaginations are broaching new horizons as the implications of the accord on Palestinian self-rule sink in, especially in Egypt, which broke ranks with fellow Arabs—as the Palestinians did last month—to sign a separate peace treaty with Israel in 1979.

But for most of the time since then, there has been little substance to the Egyptian-Israeli relationship. After an initial glow, it hibernated into a "cold peace" as Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, harshly suppressed the Palestinian uprising and avoided substantive talks on the Palestinian issue.

Israelis, who had expected openness in Cairo, felt cheated. Egyptians felt betrayed.

But with last month's agreement—generally applauded here—many predict that the cold peace will warm up, although they caution it will take time and depend on accomplishing still unfinished business: implementing the Palestinian agreement; achieving similar Israeli acts with Syria, Lebanon and Jordan; and resolving the status of Jerusalem.

"There is no doubt that Egyptian-Israeli peace will be warmer," said Osama Baz, President Hosni Mubarak's foreign policy adviser. "Tension will be diminished; more and more Egyptians will feel at ease in going to Israel, doing business with Israelis."

The big chill was never merely the product of grass-roots sentiment here. Rather, it served as an important policy tool for Cairo after it forfeited the military option in 1979, said Egyptian journalist Abdal Satar Tawila. "Normalization is a peaceful weapon in the hands of the government to press the Israelis to have a more flexible policy," he said.

Egypt quietly began applying this leverage over a year ago when the Labor Party's Yitzhak Rabin took power from Israel's right-wing Likud leadership. Seeking to reinforce Rabin's avowals of peace, Egypt ratcheted up its official contacts with Israel. Rabin's first foreign trip was to Egypt, a privilege always denied his predecessor, Yitzhak Shamir, whom Mubarak refused to meet.

"Since then, the political dialogue has improved a lot. Prior to that, it was almost, almost nonexistent," said David Sultan, Israel's ambassador to Cairo.

The Jewish envoy, who was born in Cairo and left for Israel as a child, said he has been able to meet more cabinet ministers than his predecessors and that about 500 Egyptians attended Israel's independence day celebrations here last April.

As Rabin and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat were in Washington for the signing of the agreement at the White House, senior Israeli and Egyptian economic officials were meeting in Cairo. It was the first time their committee—set up under the 1979 treaty to promote economic cooperation—met since 1981. "We are going to move on the commercial and agricultural fronts. There are a lot of avenues opened now. The policy is witnessing a warm-up," a senior Foreign Ministry official said.

Since the Sept. 13 agreement, there have been other signs of a thaw. Some Egyptian dailies have ended the taboo of sending reporters to Israel and now have correspondents there. About 50 Egyptians went to Israel for agricultural courses last month, and the Israeli Embassy here has fielded an increase in travel queries.

Israeli exports to Egypt last year shot up to \$18.3 million from \$3.7

million in 1990, but Egyptian non-oil exports to Israel came to only \$7.3 million in 1992, the Israeli Embassy reported.

Some Egyptian businessmen still harbor reservations about doing business with Israel even after last month's accord. But these are likely to be swept away soon by the allure of expanded economic opportunities if Arab-Israeli rapprochement continues.

"I have personally received a lot of invitations [to visit Israel] and for the first time, I'm considering it," said a prominent businessman here who asked not to be named.

He cautioned, however, that "we are still taken by our prejudices, our suspicions. There is resistance among the employees. You cannot think overnight that the devil has become an angel. And it's a total mentality of conspiracy. Even if [the Israelis] do something nice, what do they want in return?"

"But we have to change," he said, "or we will be overtaken by Palestinians and Jordanians!"

Egyptian Tourism Minister Fuad Sultan announced recently that Israel and Egypt are "actively investigating" joint projects in "Peace Tourism." The two countries, he

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said, "have the potential together to be the premier destination in the world. Now we can work together to achieve that goal."

But tourism is still a one-way street. More than 120,000 Israelis visited Egypt last year, mostly Red Sea resorts in the Sinai. But the number of Egyptians visiting Israel in 1992 was "in the tens—not even one hundred," an Israeli Embassy spokeswoman said. One reason for the imbalance is Egyptian security restrictions that can make such travel difficult for many Egyptians.

To be sure, there are still hold-outs to full Egyptian-Israeli reconcili-

cilation now. The health care and lawyers' associations are likely to maintain their official boycott of Israel, since they are controlled by Islamic activists who reject both the recent accord and Israel's existence as a state.

At the same time, often overlooked here is that Egypt's Christians feel as passionately about Jerusalem as do its Muslims. Since Israel captured East Jerusalem in 1967, Coptic Church authorities have discouraged their followers from making the centuries-old, traditional Easter pilgrimage to the Holy City.

The spell of Jerusalem is evident in almost any conversation with Christians here. Asked his views of the peace pact, tailor Bardilla Mosad Atta, 36, said: "When I saw it on television, I found it was something good. But the most important thing

is Jerusalem. As a Christian man, I am concerned about Jerusalem."

Despite the frostiness of the past 14 years, "the main thing is that there is no hostility in the hearts of Egyptians now against Israel," said journalist Tawila. "Nobody thinks of war."

Ah, but they do think about soccer. Outside the Al Ahly clubhouse, a knot of fans waved to their beloved team as it boarded a bus for a match. Asked how they would feel to see the team play one from Israel, a fan replied, "No problem: we'd welcome them."

But what if the Israelis won?

"It wouldn't upset us," said another. "But let's wait till they come. We'd beat them 5-0," added a third.

"We hope, we hope, because of the Gaza-Jericho agreement, that it will happen soon," said Osama Ahmed, 27, a printer. "We hope to open a new page with Israel."

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 19 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

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הנדון: ישראל - סין

מצ"ב כתבת ה-BRUCE NELAN 25/10 TIME העוסקת במכירות הנשק של ישראל לסין. לטענת הכתב מכירות הנשק והטכנולוגיה עומדות במרכז יחסי ישראל סין ואחרא להן איש העסקים שאול אייזנברג. בכתבה תיאור הקשרים בין ישראל וסין אשר החל לפני 12 שנים.

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# ISRAEL'S SECRET WEAPON



Jet-setting billionaire Eisenberg, right, with Rabin in Jerusalem: The Knesset passed a tax law so he would move his empire to Israel

**For this trading tycoon, a \$3.5 billion military sale to China is only one chapter in a story of rags-to-riches success and nonstop wheeling and dealing**

By BRUCE W. NELAN

**A**T A FORMAL DINNER IN A BEIJING hotel last week, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin toasted a rotund 72-year-old at the table and offered a tribute: "Mr. Eisenberg opened the doors to China for Israel." It was a rare moment in the public spotlight for Israeli tycoon Shaul Eisenberg, but senior officials at the dinner knew exactly what Rabin meant. Modern weaponry is at the heart of the Jerusalem-Beijing relationship, and Eisenberg has been selling Israeli defense technology to the Chinese for more than a decade.

Eisenberg is the real-life version of the international power brokers who appear in the pages of popular thrillers, and he is usually described with some of the same adjectives: shadowy, reclusive, discreet. Worth an estimated \$1.3 billion, he is a

legendary figure in Asia, a modern taipei. His holdings include all or part of hundreds of companies in 30 countries, and though he has half a dozen lavish homes in several countries, he says with some justification that he lives in his private Boeing 727, which is outfitted with a bedroom and sophisticated communications gear.

Calling Eisenberg an arms dealer does not do justice to the scale and astonishing variety of his operations. He may have handled Israel's military sales to China, but at the same time he was completing hundreds of other deals, bringing investors, manufacturers and markets together in tidy packages and taking a large cut for himself. He has been the key man in coffee processing in Thailand, desalinization in the Caribbean, steel, railroads and atomic power in South Korea, real estate in the U.S., mining, fuel oil and cooking

olls, aircraft leasing, shipping, fertilizer.

In spite of the toast last week in China, Rabin tried to downplay Eisenberg's sales efforts. By coincidence, CIA Director R. James Woolsey had just reported to a congressional committee in Washington that the value of Israel's military sales to China over the past 10 years "may be several billion dollars." At a press conference in Beijing, Rabin confirmed that sales had taken place but quibbled about the total: "All these stories of billions of dollars of arms business in the past 12 years are total nonsense."

Actually they are not nonsense. As early as December 1978, Eisenberg was in China sizing up business opportunities. According to a senior aide to Menachem Begin, Eisenberg paid a call on the then Prime Minister and said that he could use his influence to open China to Israeli goods—mostly military—if Begin would give him exclusive rights to all weapons deals. It was a time when China was looking for first-rate military technology that it could not obtain from the West. For its

TIME, OCTOBER 25, 1993



Israel was eager to reduce its defense by selling overseas and to increase influence over a country that supported its Arab enemies. No other Israeli doing business with China, so Begin, during to this aide, accepted Eisenberg's offer. Eisenberg denies that Begin ded him with exclusive rights to technology deals.

According to the Begin aide, Eisenberg at the military technology from Israel defense industries and sold it to China whatever he could get. Eisenberg's ofays he made only nominal commis- but in parts of Asia he was known for high profits he made on deals. In any says the Begin aide, "he made a lot of money out of it, but he also helped the Israeli military industry." Since 1979, Israeli officials say, the country has sold a \$3.5 billion worth of arms components and technology—not finished weapons but parts and processes to improve its tank guns, armor and targeting systems, missiles, aircraft electronics and army computers, among other things. Although Eisenberg seldom talks to the press, he told an interviewer for Britain's *Financial Times* last month, "People think I'm an arms dealer, but I only did it for Israel. I hate the military business, and I don't do it in other countries." By all accounts that is the truth. Other Israelis are opening offices in China now. Eisenberg is moving on, putting together major deals in India and the former Soviet republic of Kazakhstan.

For Eisenberg, the wheeling and dealing never stops. Like many self-made men, he puts others off with his intense focus. "He's a very tough man," says another ex-employee, "very demanding, very aggressive." Eisenberg has no hobbies, doesn't go to the theater, doesn't have leisurely dinners with friends. "The only thing that interests him," says David Lisbona, Eisenberg's personal assistant in Israel, "is his work. He enjoys bringing these things together—which is why he is still doing it. He doesn't need the money."

Even if he does not watch movies himself, the Eisenberg story could easily inspire one. It would tell the tale of a penniless German Jew who lands in Japan during World War II, goes into business, builds a trading empire in Asia and becomes one of the world's richest men.

In 1938, when Eisenberg was 17, his parents, two brothers and a sister left their home in Munich and fled to Shanghai, where a growing European Jewish community sought refuge from the Nazis. Eisenberg followed in 1940 but found no business opportunities in China at the time around. So he sailed for Japan, thinking he might make it to the U.S. But upon arrival he met a family active in the steel business and began selling iron ore principally to their company, Nippon Steel. A year later, he married Leah Freudla-

berger, whose father was an art lecturer at a Tokyo university and whose mother was from a distinguished Japanese family.

When the war ended, Eisenberg's fortunes took off. He sold the U.S. army of occupation kitchen and bathroom equipment made of aluminum from downed aircraft, and continued brokering the iron ore and other imports Japan needed to rebuild its ruined economy. As soon as the Korean War was over, he opened an office in Seoul, got to know the most important political and military leaders, put together reconstruction deals and took a big slice of the profit.

For years after becoming an Israeli citizen,

**Israel's Arrow 2: The CIA says such technology improved China's missiles**

**"He made a lot of money out of it, but he also helped the Israeli military industry."**

zen in 1949, Eisenberg had a connection with the Jewish state that was mostly symbolic. But all the while he was living in Tokyo he played an active part in the Jewish Community of Japan and served several terms as its president. He built a synagogue in Tokyo in honor of his parents and contributed millions of dollars to Jewish charities.

In 1962 Eisenberg moved with his family—wife, a son and five daughters—to Israel, where he wanted them to grow up and serve in the army. Israel's high taxes kept him from moving his corporate empire there until 1970, after the Knesset passed the so-called Eisenberg Law, exempting offshore-trading income from taxes.

Today the Eisenberg Group, with 40 offices around the world, is divided into two main holding companies—the Israel Corp. and Panama-registered United Development Inc. The Israel Corp., of which Eisenberg is chairman and major shareholder, is based in Asia House, an elegant office block he built in central Tel Aviv. The corporation has an annual turnover of more than \$2.5 billion. United Development does not release such figures but has roughly the same revenues.

One of Eisenberg's trade secrets, his associates say, is his extraordinary mind. "The guy was never in a school of business or anything like that," says one ex-staff member. "He did everything himself. He's exceptionally clever and has an amazing memory." Eisenberg speaks fluent German, Japanese, Yiddish and European-inflected English.

Eisenberg has also made a point of hiring executives with a record of achievement, people who are already powerful. Among his current employees is Moshe Arens, the former Defense and Foreign Minister. In the past he has employed Dan Tehila, the former military adviser to Defense Ministers Ezer Weizman and Ariel Sharon, as well as a retired armed forces chief of staff and a onetime director-general of the Foreign Ministry.

"He has a weak spot for military men," says another ex-employee. There may be more to it than that. Eisenberg often says that "business is like war." An Eisenberg staff member explains: "He talks about his employees as being 'my soldiers.' People from military backgrounds are used to working hard and giving pretty much undivided loyalty to their superiors. That's the way Mr. Eisenberg likes it."

When Rabin left Beijing last week, Eisenberg stayed on at his 35th-floor office in the China World Hotel. He was host at two banquets the same night—one for a provincial governor and the other for officials of China's state television network. Two days later, he flew to India, where the Ministry of Power wanted to talk with him about building some electric power plants.

—Reported by Lisa Boyer/Tel Aviv and Jaime A. FlorCruz/Beijing



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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 19 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: הליגה למניעת השמצה

מצ"ב כתבות ה-WP (19/10) - ROBERT O'HARROW & JIM MCGEE F.P. העוסקות בהאשמות הליגה למניעת השמצה בריגול אחרי אישים שונים ברחבי העולם. משטרת סן פרנסיסקו החוקרת את הפרשה מאז חודש אפריל טוענת כי הליגה שכרה במשך 32 שנים שירותיו של חוקר אשר ריגל אחרי אישים שונים. עוד מואשמת הליגה בעברות מס הקשורות לתשלומיה לחוקר רוי בולוק. כתבתו של ROBERT O'HARROW אודות חקירת בנושא העברת מידע משטרת הקשורה אף היא בפרשת הליגה למניעת השמצה. הערה: זוהי כתבת החקיר המקיפה עליה דווח (כי היא בהכנה) כבר לפני מספר חודשים.

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ADL, From AI

# Jewish Group's Tactics Investigated

## Intelligence Gathering Methods of Anti-Defamation League at Issue

By Jim McGee  
Washington Post Staff Writer

In April, San Francisco police investigators searched two California offices of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, a respected civil rights organization that they suspected had been secretly monitoring the activities of thousands of political activists.

They left with boxes of files a prosecutor later described in court as "contraband," including leaked copies of confidential law enforcement reports, fingerprint cards, driver's license photographs and individual criminal histories drawn from police records.

They also seized pink copies of internal reports signed "Cal," a code name, police had been told,

for San Francisco art collector Roy H. Bullock. When police questioned him, Bullock said he had worked for 32 years as one of the ADL's chief intelligence gatherers on the West Coast, carefully following the movements of Skinheads, white supremacists, Arab Americans and critics of the Israeli government. While the ADL praises Bullock's contributions, its officials say he operated as an independent contractor. He was "a freelancer for ADL for a number of years," ADL lawyer Barbara Wahl said.

But the probe of Bullock's undercover activities led investigators to the ADL's Bay Area office, where he maintained a desk, and to the Los Angeles office, which often received his information.

When the results of the searches were spelled out in a detailed court affidavit and publicized, the ADL found itself involved in a heated debate within the civil rights community over its long-time intelligence-gathering tactics.

It also became a focus of an ongoing criminal investigation by the San Francisco District Attorney's Office that branched from Bullock's California activities into a broader look at the ADL's nationwide fact-finding operation, long considered the heart of its fight against antisemitism in the United States.

Prosecutors are prepared to present evidence to a grand jury Nov. 3 concerning allegations that

See ADL, A12, Col. 1

ADL officials conspired to obtain legally confidential police material on individual political activists, a felony in California. State officials also have contended in court documents that the ADL violated state tax laws over a period of years by funneling a total of \$168,375 in payments to Bullock through a lawyer.

The ADL, which has won praise from nine successive U.S. presidents for its dogged and sometimes dangerous efforts to combat bigotry, has in recent months waged an aggressive public relations campaign to try to persuade news organizations and ADL supporters to disregard the evidence and be skeptical of the motivations of the San Francisco District Attorney's Office.

"When it's all over and maybe even sooner we're going to present you with a publication called 'The Big Lie,'" said ADL national director Abraham H. Foxman, who raised his voice in an interview to express outrage over questions about ADL's motives. "... We do not spy. Okay? I don't care which definition you use. And anybody who says that the ADL spies is engaged in a lie, is engaged in trying to destroy what it is that we do."

But the ADL's own documents and evidence made public in the San Francisco case suggest that Bullock was not engaged in occasional inquiries for the ADL. Rather, Bullock infiltrated political groups in San Francisco that were of continuing interest to the ADL and then submitted detailed reports that contained confidential police information, court records show.

Thus far, former San Francisco police intelligence officer Thomas Gerard has been charged in a complaint alleging that he gave confidential police information to Bullock. Gerard has pleaded not guilty. But prosecutors are examining whether Bullock was part of a nationwide ADL network of "undercover operatives" who regularly traded information with police and federal law enforcement agencies. Bullock, who has not been charged, declined to be interviewed.

Investigators have questioned police, including some in the Washington region, about free ADL-sponsored trips to Israel and whether they were used as favors to cooperative police officers. ADL representatives argue that sponsoring such visits is part of its role as an "advocate for Israel" and that the trips foster understanding of the Middle East.

Prosecutors contend in court documents that the ADL had a network of friendly officers turning over confidential data. They also say the ADL has intelligence networks such as Bullock stationed in other

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Chi-3. In St. Louis there is Ironsides. In Atlanta, there is an Arab speaking man named Flipper. . . . There are other California code named employees such as Scut, Scumbag and Hot Spurs," an affidavit based on information from an ADL employee said. The ADL acknowledged that there are other field investigators like Bullock but insists their efforts are legal and benign.

The investigation began last year after the FBI obtained evidence that Bullock and Gerard sold information on anti-apartheid activists to intelligence agents of the South African government. Bullock said he gathered such information for the ADL, although the ADL says it was unaware of his dealings with the South Africans. He and Gerard split about \$15,000 in fees from the South African government, court records show.

FBI agents extensively interrogated Bullock but did not file charges; no state secrets had been involved. Instead, they notified the San Francisco Police of Bullock's access to law enforcement records.

Police seized Bullock's home computer files and found a database of confidential information that traced back to Gerard and other police officers as well as a box of old police intelligence files. San Francisco police then conducted a second interrogation of Bullock that produced a detailed, first-person account of a life lived in the shadows of a subterranean Arab-Israeli conflict being waged on American soil.

"I was an investigator for the ADL," Bullock explained. "I investigated any and all antidemocratic movements." His job, he told San Francisco police, was to gather "political intelligence" about groups that the ADL considered antisemitic or anti-Israel.

### History of Information Sharing With Israel

Bullock's attorney turned over to investigators an FBI intelligence report on the Nation of Islam whose disappearance had caused alarm at the bureau. The search of ADL offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles turned up more FBI materials, including a three-volume report on a Middle East terrorist group. Moreover, Bullock's written reports to the ADL, which he said were channeled across the country, contained legally confidential material that he attributed to "official friends," the ADL's euphemism for law enforcement officers.

While denying that the ADL spies on individuals, Foxman testily argued in an interview that the organization has a right to do whatever it must within the law

to combat antisemitism. "What are they [the FBI volumes] doing in our files?" Foxman said. "Because they belong in our files. . . . because somebody shared it with us."

Since news of the investigation broke, a group of Arab Americans listed in the ADL's files has charged in a civil lawsuit that the ADL invaded the Arab Americans' privacy with its "massive spying operation" and forwarded confidential information to the governments of Israel and South Africa.

Evidence of the ADL's information sharing with the Israeli government is largely historical. In 1961, former ADL national director Benjamin R. Epstein wrote to a B'nai B'rith official that the ADL was following Arab diplomats and activists in America and sharing its information with the governments of Israel and the United States.

In his 1988 autobiography, ADL general counsel Arnold Forster, who oversaw the fact-finding operation, described how "fact-finding and counteraction became the heart of the organization." He also wrote that he was often a "source" for the Mossad, Israel's CIA, in tracking down suspected Nazi war criminals.

"ADL does not act as an agent of Israel," said Foxman, bristling at the charge. He called such questions about ADL's conduct "antisemitism. . . . I'm sorry if it offends some people. This is far reaching. We see a conspiracy. I see a conspiracy. It's out there. . . . it's proved itself every day."

Underlying the San Francisco case is a gradual evolution in the ADL's mission. Soon after the organization

was founded, the 1915 lynching of Leo Frank, a leader of the Atlanta chapter of the Jewish fraternal organization B'nai B'rith, caused the group to focus much of its energy on protecting the physical safety of Jews by publicly exposing bigotry and forcing officials to act.

Organized intelligence gathering was a natural outgrowth. In the 1930s, the ADL "undertook a massive research operation which uncovered the interlocking directorates of hate groups, their links to Hitler's Germany and other centers of Nazi propaganda," according to an ADL account. In the civil rights era, it worked in concert with the FBI to combat the Ku Klux Klan.

In 1975, the ADL issued a report entitled "Target U.S.A.: The Arab Propaganda Offensive" that described how mainstream Arab-American groups were allied with non-Arab "apologists" such as "some church people, clergy and lay, a number of university-based intellectuals and scholars, plus elements in the liberal community . . . some groups formerly active in the antiwar movement during the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, plus the extreme Left, Old and New, segments of the political Far Right, and the traditional anti-Jewish hate fringe . . . and a small number of anti-Israel, anti-Zionist Jews."

Once this broad rationale took hold, the civil rights watchdog increasingly devoted its investigative apparatus to "counteracting" what it calls "anti-Israel" sentiment or "the new antisemitism" in the United States.

In practice, this means the ADL keeps track of politically active Americans or groups that repeatedly criticize Israel or lobby for Palestinian rights. The ADL

argues that any threat to Israel's "image" in America endangers the \$3 billion annual package of U.S. military and economic aid to Israel and thereby jeopardizes the long-term fate of all Jews.

"I understand that it's difficult for other people to understand," said Foxman, but a "viable, safe, secure haven" in Israel is "part and parcel of the safety and security and survival of the Jewish people."

Bullock's work—as described in the lengthy transcripts of his interviews with police and in FBI summaries of his statements—tracks the shift in the ADL's emphasis. In the 1950s and 1970s, he focused primarily on traditional organized antisemitic extremist organizations. But during the 1980s, Bullock said he increasingly focused on groups critical of Israeli policies, such as anti-apartheid groups, but not overtly antisemitic.

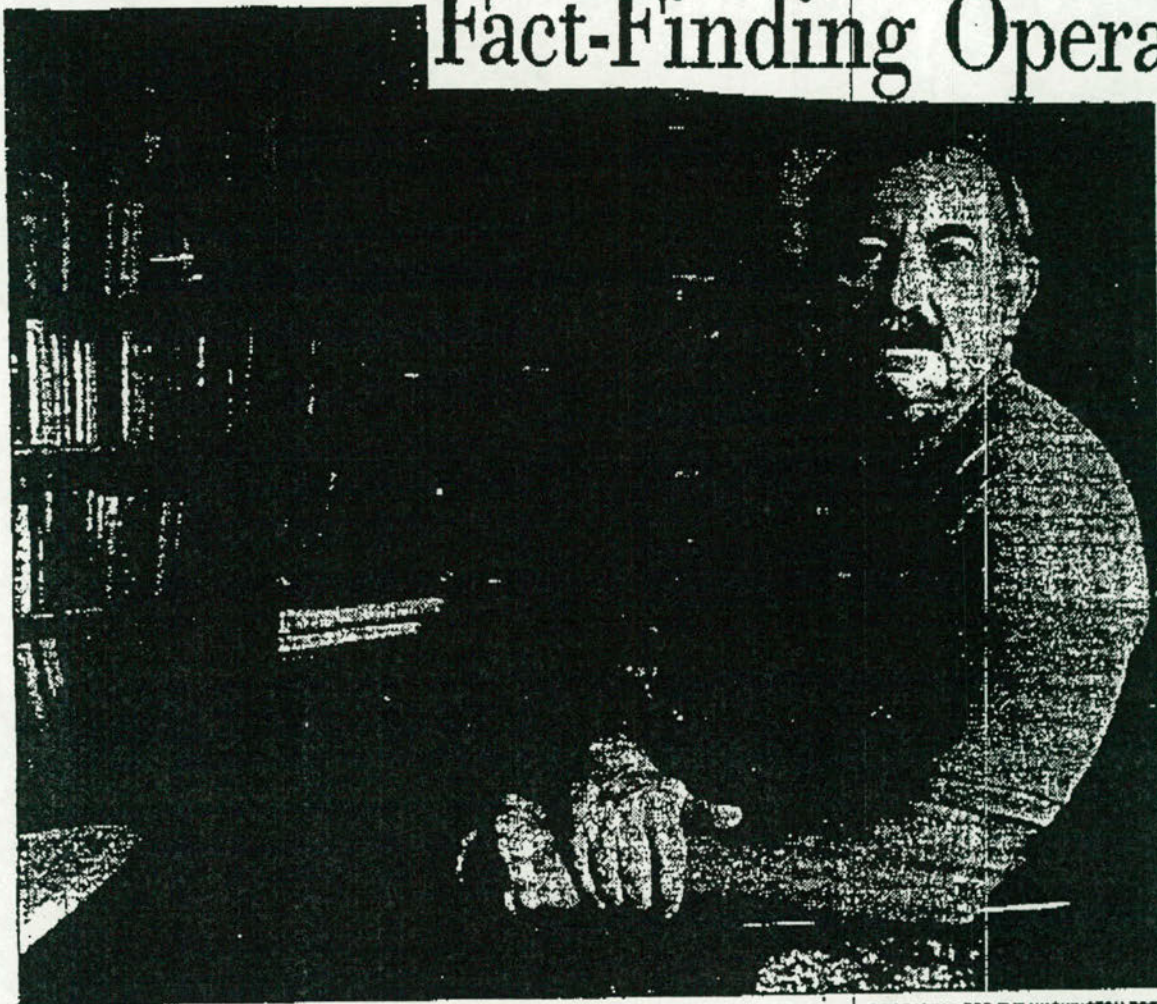
Bullock's computer database grew to include more than 10,000 names of individuals and hundreds of political, social and business groups, including some that had worked closely with the ADL. But his primary concentration was on groups he labeled "Right," "Arabs,"

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# West Coast Prosecutor Probes ADL's Fact-Finding Operation



BY DARCY PADILLA FOR THE WASHINGTON POST



**"I** was an investigator for the ADL. I investigated any and all antidemocratic movements," says Roy H. Bullock, above. The ADL says Bullock was "a freelancer for ADL" who worked as an independent contractor. Prosecutors are examining whether he was part of a nationwide network of "undercover operatives" for the ADL.



**"W**e do not spy. Okay? I don't care which definition you use. And anybody who says that the ADL spies is engaged in a lie, is engaged in trying to destroy what it is that we do."

— ABRAHAM H. FOXMAN,  
National Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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"Pinkos," and "skins." He acknowledged sharing his information with law enforcement, a fact investigators confirmed when they searched Gerard's police department files and found duplicates of Bullock's files. Bullock told police that ADL officials knew about his database.

Bullock said he got "checks regular once-a-week" from the ADL that were paid through Los Angeles attorney Bruce Hochman. Hochman said in an interview that he paid Bullock at the ADL's request to protect the undercover role.

Bullock told police that he met Gerard at a meeting at the San Francisco ADL office and that executive director Richard Hirschhaut was aware that Gerard was a key source.

The ADL dispatched Bullock on special assignments to Chicago and Germany. For a particularly sensitive operation he said he got the approval of Irwin Suall, national director of fact finding. Both officials have come under scrutiny in the investigation. Suall and Hirschhaut declined comment.

Bullock told police he was the ADL's "resident expert" on antisemitism in San Francisco and maintained the ADL office files. He said he was the only "fact finder, spy, whatever you want to call me, on the West Coast."

Bullock monitored several of the groups profiled in the ADL's published reports, occasional exposes that are a blend of advocacy journalism and intelligence briefings. In 1987, Bullock volunteered to work on a march of the Mobilization for Jobs, Peace and Justice, a coalition of liberal groups that included the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), according to director Carl Finamore.

"He [Bullock] just showed up at our office one day to help. He comes in, he's friendly, insinuates himself, asserts himself, tells a little bit about his personal background to get you interested in him as a human being, makes suggestions," Finamore said.

#### **Some 'Material Is Clearly Contraband'**

The ADL wanted information on the ADC, a group that challenges defamatory Arab stereotypes, because it considered the organization a "highly active pro-PLO propaganda group." An ADL report said the ADC's members favor "political support for suspected PLO terrorists residing in the U.S."

Bullock also volunteered at the ADC's San Francisco Bay Area chapter, where he carried banners, helped with crowd control during demonstrations and took photographs, according to Osama Doumani, who at the time served as the ADC's regional director. "He would come to my office and he would hug me in a comradely fashion and volunteer for work. He wanted to have a presence whenever we had something important," he said.

The ADL has labored to draw a distinction between Bullock's more controversial activities and work he was authorized to do for ADL, leaving investigators largely unconvinced.

In a court affidavit, San Francisco Police Inspector Ronald Roth said that based on a comparison of Bullock's database with the seized ADL records, "It is believed that Bullock's databases are in fact the ADL databases."

Assistant District Attorney Thomas Dwyer argued in court that "some of that [ADL] material is clearly contraband." The ADL, he said, does not "have the right to rap sheet photographs; they don't have the right to people's fingerprint cards."

But Foxman and other ADL officials say its fact finders basically employ the methods of investigative journalists, taking notes at public meetings, culling published material for facts, and cultivating law enforcement sources, in order to publish important exposes about bigotry and prejudice.

"It's a First Amendment right," Foxman said. "We have a right to gather information and to disseminate it. . . . We look at pieces. We look at individuals. We look at ideologies."

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# Loudoun Investigator's Mission: An Expenses-Paid Trip to Israel

By Robert O'Harrow Jr.  
Washington Post Staff Writer

For much of his career, Donald Moore was an investigator with the Loudoun County sheriff's department. He loved undercover surveillance, and sometimes went through trash dumpsters in a furtive search for clues.

For eight days in May 1991, Moore became a police emissary of sorts on an all-expenses paid "mission" to Israel sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith. He and 11 other American officers, including some from the District and Montgomery County, received a military briefing and shared ideas with national police leaders.

Two years later, the trip and other ADL-sponsored missions came under scrutiny by the San Francisco District Attorney's office, which has been

*The ADL views its special police missions to Israel as another intensive training activity, giving officers a chance to meet with top Israeli police, intelligence officers and political leaders.*

examining whether the ADL granted favors to peace officers to encourage them to share confidential police information with the organization.

One officer who went along on Moore's trip, former San Francisco inspector Thomas Gerard, has pleaded not guilty to felony charges that he passed along police information to longtime ADL operative Roy H. Bullock.

Authorities say Moore and the other officers on the May 1991 trip are not targets of the investigation; at least three of the officers have been interviewed by the FBI or police authorities in California.

Bullock has said the ADL had "numerous peace officers" supplying confidential criminal records and other information, court records show. Some civil rights groups and privacy rights experts say they fear the ADL, and possibly other private groups, quietly have supplemented police intelligence-gathering by doing investigative work off limits to police.

"That is a real question that we have, not only in San Francisco, but also in other communities," said John Crow, an American Civil Liberties Union at-

ADL officials acknowledge they have worked closely with law enforcement on investigating bias crimes, police training, and drafting hate crimes legislation. But they say such cooperation is part of the organization's civic duty and deny knowingly accepting illegal information. "There's nothing that we do that is sinister and there's nothing that we do that is against the law," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL's national director.

Moore and other officers say they often have turned to the ADL for help, but not to the point of sharing restricted information. Moore was fired last year in an unrelated incident after sheriff's officials said he was found going through private phone messages. He was acquitted last year of charges that he helped plan an abduction of Lewis du Pont Smith, an heir to the du Pont fortune and a longtime follower of political extremist Lyndon H. LaRouche Jr.

It was his investigation of LaRouche that brought Moore into close contact with the ADL. In 1988, he was assigned to investigate LaRouche followers

after the group moved its headquarters to Leesburg in Loudoun County.

Working as a local point man in an investigation that eventually involved federal agents in several cities, Moore set up a computer database in Leesburg listing LaRouche associates and cultivated local residents to help track their movements.

Moore began working with ADL fact finder Mira Boland, who joined the ADL in 1982 and was assigned to cultivate law enforcement sources. Boland is now widely known among police as a source of reliable tips, sometimes from "snitches" who infiltrate hate groups. Boland declined repeated requests to be interviewed, saying ADL leaders denied her permission.

Beginning in 1986, court records show, Boland said she began sharing information on LaRouche with Moore and other Loudoun sheriff's deputies. The two regularly exchanged details about LaRouche, including clips from his groups' publications and county gun permit records.

When LaRouche was convicted of conspiracy and mail fraud in 1988 in Alexandria, the ADL celebrated with prosecutors, Moore and others involved in the case. Boland has a photo of the celebration in her office.

Transcripts of a recent federal wiretap of Moore's telephone on an unrelated case describe his relationship with the ADL. "I need to find a guy—the ADL had a little old woman knocking on his apartment in New York two hours after I had asked," Moore said on the recording, court papers show. "I told the feds exactly where, when and how to get him. And he was got."

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Moore said in an interview that he has never passed along restricted records to the ADL. "Did I share any information with them? Nothing that wasn't public information," he said.

Despite questions raised by investigators about ADL's tactics, Washington area police agencies praise the group. They say Boland's fact-finding office in the District and the publications it produces are helpful in researching extremist groups.

In Maryland, the District and Virginia, for instance, police are not allowed to create files on individuals or groups solely because of their political or racial views. The ADL has no such restraints, police say. ADL officials say fact finders such as Boland work in the same ways as journalists.

"In one way, it's like another law enforcement agency," said Lt. Tim Boyle, of the Maryland-National Capitol Park Police in Montgomery, who went on the 1991 ADL trip to Israel. "They can tell you who the leaders are, when they started, that type of thing. They have no restrictions on them."

Boyle turned to the ADL in 1989 when a teenager of Asian descent was taunted as a "gook" and attacked with steel-toed boots by a gang of Skinheads.

When one of the gang leaders disappeared, the ADL offered to use its sources to help find him, Boyle said. Eventually, using a young undercover operative, the ADL infiltrated the Skinheads and found the suspect, who was arrested in Pittsburgh.

Much of the ADL's work with law enforcement goes beyond investigations. In New Jersey, the ADL helped the state attorney general's office produce a hate-crime training video, now circulated to some 700 police agencies across the country. The ADL also helps police draft legislation to curb hate crimes.

The ADL views its special police missions to Israel as another intensive training activity, giving officers a chance to meet with top Israeli police, intelligence officers and political leaders.

"They have been our unofficial consultant," said James Mulvihill, a New Jersey assistant attorney general who speaks with ADL officials on an almost weekly basis. "I regard them as the premier prejudice fighting organization."

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 19 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ישראל - סוריה

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WJW (SAM SKOLNIK 14/10) העוסקת ביחסי ישראל - סוריה. הכתבה מתארת את האופטימיות בקרב ארה"ב וישראל לגבי התקדמות תהליך השלום בין ישראל ואש"ף. הן שגריר ישראל באו"ם, גד יעקובי, והן עוזר מזכיר המדינה, אדוארד דג'רג'יאן, הביעו בנאומיהם בכנס למען שלום עכשו, אופטימיות לגבי יחסי שתי המדינות.

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תקשורת

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# Officials optimistic about peace

## Israel and Syria making progress on accord, Djerejian says

by Sam Skolnik  
Staff Writer

In what appears to be in line with the new conventional wisdom regarding the Middle East, the majority of Israelis and Palestinians believe that "peace is the best security," said Israel's ambassador to the United Nations at a recent conference.

Both the ambassador, Gad Ya'acobi, and Edward P. Djerejian, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs, spoke at a meeting sponsored by Americans for Peace Now about the successes of the peace process to date.

The two diplomats were almost uniformly optimistic

But matters quickly turned more serious as Djerejian, who has in previous State Department posts served as ambassador to Syria and deputy White House press secretary for foreign affairs, outlined the current state of Middle East talks and the role the United States hopes to play.

"A new era began to take shape" on Sept. 13, Djerejian said, the day of the White House ceremony that featured the signing of the declaration of principles between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

He spoke of the recent international donors conference at which various countries, including Israel, contributed to a fund for the economic building of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

The conference "achieved impressive results," which included a \$1 billion commitment over the next two years.

For the plan ultimately to be successful, it is essential, he said, that living conditions for the Palestinians quickly improve; that their "daily lives are taking a turn for the better."

Concerning current negotiations, Djerejian said that Israel and Syria are "making progress" on drafting a declaration of principles.

Possibly, the parties might do this "in as timely manner," he said, and with regard to American assistance: "we are determined to do our part."

In past months, the United States has played a vital role in this regard. Efforts included much behind the scenes diplomatic maneuvering as well as shuttle diplomacy from Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Djerejian also predicted movement on the Lebanese track and said, referring to Israel's bombardment of south Lebanon in response to Hezbollah rocket attacks,

"it's worth noting that these (Israeli-Lebanese) negotiations continued despite the violence on the ground last summer."

Of particular, and often understated, importance, said Djerejian, are the multi-lateral, single-issue based talks that have quietly been occurring between Israel and many of the Arab countries involved in the bilateral talks.

The multi-laterals talks, which deal with issues ranging from water to environment to refugees, "literally have the potential to transform ... the Middle East," Djerejian said.

"A major threshold was recently crossed," Djerejian said, when two of the groups decided to meet in Arab countries. The multi-lateral talks dealing with refugee issues recently began in Tunis, and the talks dealing with environmental issues are set to take place in Egypt in November.

Regarding speculation about possible involvement of U.S. peacekeeping troops on the Golan Heights, Djerejian said vaguely that there are "all sorts of viable options" if Israel and Syria come to an agreement, and Israel withdraws.

Djerejian, who is likely to depart for the Holy Land soon, invoked a higher power at the end of his remarks, saying that "in the future, God willing, there will be breakthroughs on the other tracks."

Ambassador Ya'acobi began his speech in Israeli-accented English: "for many of us, it's a dream which comes true."

Ya'acobi said that the Israel-PLO peace agreement, which stipulates that Israel withdraw from the Gaza



Edward P. Djerejian

about the chances for continued improvements, on large scales and small, concerning the improved likelihood for peace between Israel and its neighbors.

Neither speaker startled the crowd with new developments in the process, but both of the emissaries provided analysis.

Djerejian, who was appointed as next U.S. ambassador to Israel, began his address by joking: "how appropriate it is to be addressing Peace Now, now."

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Strip and small West Bank town of Jericho as the first step in Israel's withdrawal from the rest of the administered territories, was a "victory for all moderates" and "future-oriented people."

He said that both Israelis and Palestinians [now] realize we have a common enemy: Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East."

Tunisia and Morocco are rapidly warming to Israel in the wake of the peace signing, Ya'acobi said, and the Gulf States are "moving as well" although he could "not go into detail" about that.

But he warned that "as long as we are dealing with non-democratic countries," Israel has to be cautious and aware that one government's policy toward Israel might be



Gad Ya'acobi

radically different from the last.

At the United Nations, Ya'acobi's home base, there has been a "new, dramatic change in the diplomatic environment" following the peace agreement signing.

He said that Israel has been successful in attaining or coming closer to many of its goals at the U.N., including: establishing diplomatic relations with many African and Asian countries, increasing Israel's participation in all U.N. related activities, and repealing or deferring many of the anti-Israel resolutions that have been endemic there.

"The atmosphere, the environment is completely changing," he said.

Khalil Jahshan, executive director of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), said that since 1972 when NAAA was founded, his organization has been working toward this type of peace agreement.

The Israel-PLO accord is "a dream come true," said Jahshan at the conference.

Also slated to speak at the meeting were the Jordanian ambassador to the United States, Fayez Tarawneh; and Dr. Mustapha Barghouti, a member of the Palestinian multilateral steering committee.

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מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

מצ"ב כתבת ה-15/10 העוסקת בדרך בה משתקפת ישראל ברשת הטלביזיה הציבורית PBS וברשת הרדיו הלאומית NPR.  
יהודי ארה"ב מאשימים את כלי התקשורת הללו במדיניות תקשורתית אנטי-ישראלית.  
מעניין לקרוא.

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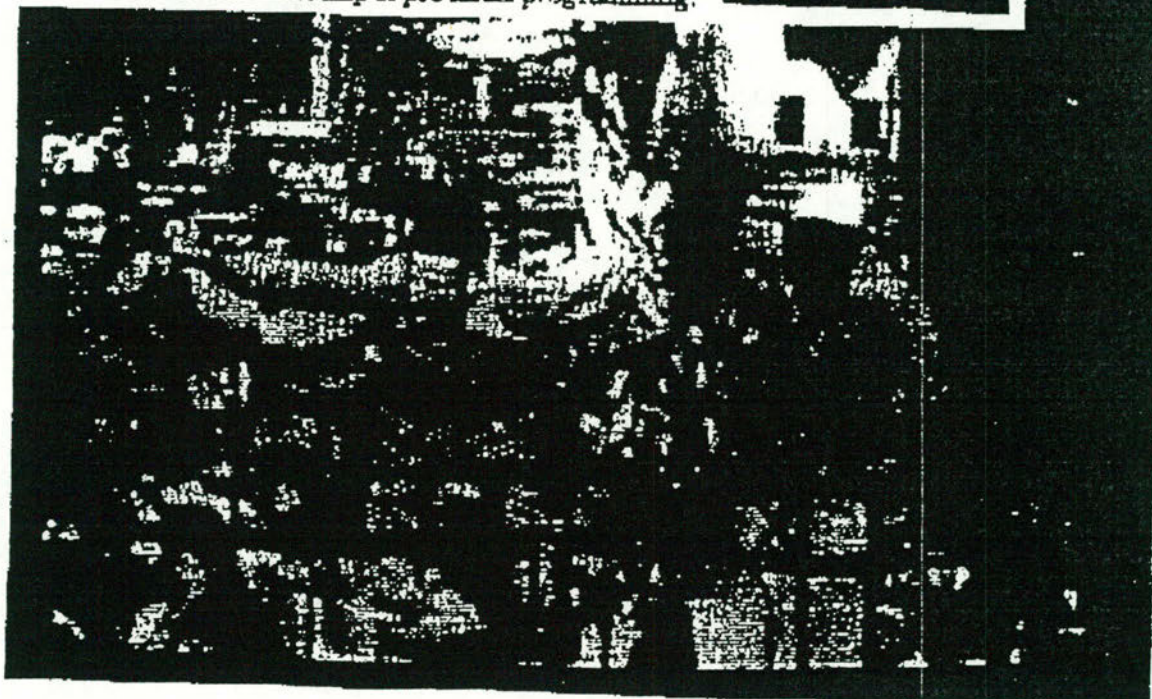


# COVER- ING the Truth?

Tuning in to the debate on how  
PBS & NPR portray Israel

YOM TUBEND SPECIAL TO THE JEWISH TIMES AND ARTHUR J. MAGIDA SENIOR WRITER

**On** a Sunday last March, about 50 protesters from the Zionist Organization of America picketed in front of WNET/Channel 13, the Public Broadcasting System's affiliate in Manhattan. Handing out leaflets and holding placards, they accused the station of having "a long history of anti-Israel media bias and censorship of pro-Israel programming."



Arabs cheering,  
from the video,  
"Arab-Israeli  
Struggle for  
Peace."

Baltimore  
Jewish Times

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The protest climaxed when the protesters hoisted a six-foot replica of a check "signed" by "The Jewish Community" and made out to WNET in the amount of "Far Too Many Dollars."

Similar demonstrations were staged outside PBS stations in Baltimore, Boston, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

Issiah Kuperstein, an Indianapolis businessman who was executive director of ZOA's Baltimore chapter when it picketed Maryland Public TV's headquarters in Owings Mills, recently said, "The vast majority of their programs on the Middle East are anti-Israel. We never thought we should censor them. We just wanted balance in their programming."

Few Jews have criticized PBS in quite so demonstrative a manner, but there is a common perception in the Jewish community that PBS's programming on the Mideast heavily favors the Arab/Palestinian perspective at the expense of Israel's viewpoint.

Mr. Kuperstein attributed this alleged bias to the purported politics of PBS personnel: "Many people who put together PBS shows are liberal and look at Arabs and Palestinians as 'victims.' They also seem to approach the Middle East as if it was the Midwest and think that everyone there should live as good neighbors just as we try to

do in the United States."

Arthur Abramson, executive director of the Baltimore Jewish Council, said the three commercial networks' coverage of the Mideast is sometimes slanted against Israel, but it was never as anti-Israel as PBS. (Although, he added, the networks' coverage has improved in recent years.)

"The natural bias of PBS producers is to side with the 'weaker party,' " he said. "To them, the 'weaker party' is always the Palestinians."

Strong criticism also has been directed at PBS's counterpart on radio, National Public Radio. In a study released last fall, CAMERA, the Boston-based Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, charged that NPR's "coverage is skewed toward the perspectives of Israel's enemies."

John Dinges, NPR's news managing editor, said CAMERA's claims were "outrageous" and "factually flawed." He called NPR's Mideast coverage "extraordinarily fair."

Mr. Dinges was backed by Father Robert Drinan, a former

member of Congress who now teaches at Georgetown University. Calling CAMERA's report on NPR "terribly absurd," the Jesuit priest resigned from CAMERA's board of directors.

And yet, the perception widely persists in the Jewish community that PBS and NPR are anti-Israel. To attempt to gauge the extent — and the depth — of Jewish dissatisfaction, executives of Jewish communal organizations and editors of Jewish newspapers around the country were polled about the two public broadcasting entities' Mideast coverage. Of 21 respondents, 13 said PBS's Mideast coverage showed some bias. Three discerned no bias. The remaining five respon-

dents marked "Nothing To Report" or "No Opinion."

While some editors reported that their readers disliked PBS and NPR, they personally felt differently. In a long, thoughtful commentary, Jonathan Mark, associate editor of the *New York Jewish Week*, wrote: "Next to the *New York Times*, PBS and NPR are the most frequently cited sources of media frustration expressed to me by readers and at Jewish events."

But, it is important to remember that passionate American Jews — those who are the most vocal about PBS — cannot find one publication or broadcast outlet that is not 'anti-'. Rarely are these Jews satisfied with anything less than a biased tilt toward Israel."

## How Yellow Is The Journalism?

From Los Angeles comes the strongest attack and the stoutest defense of public broadcasting. Publisher Herb Brin of the *Heritage* newspaper calls

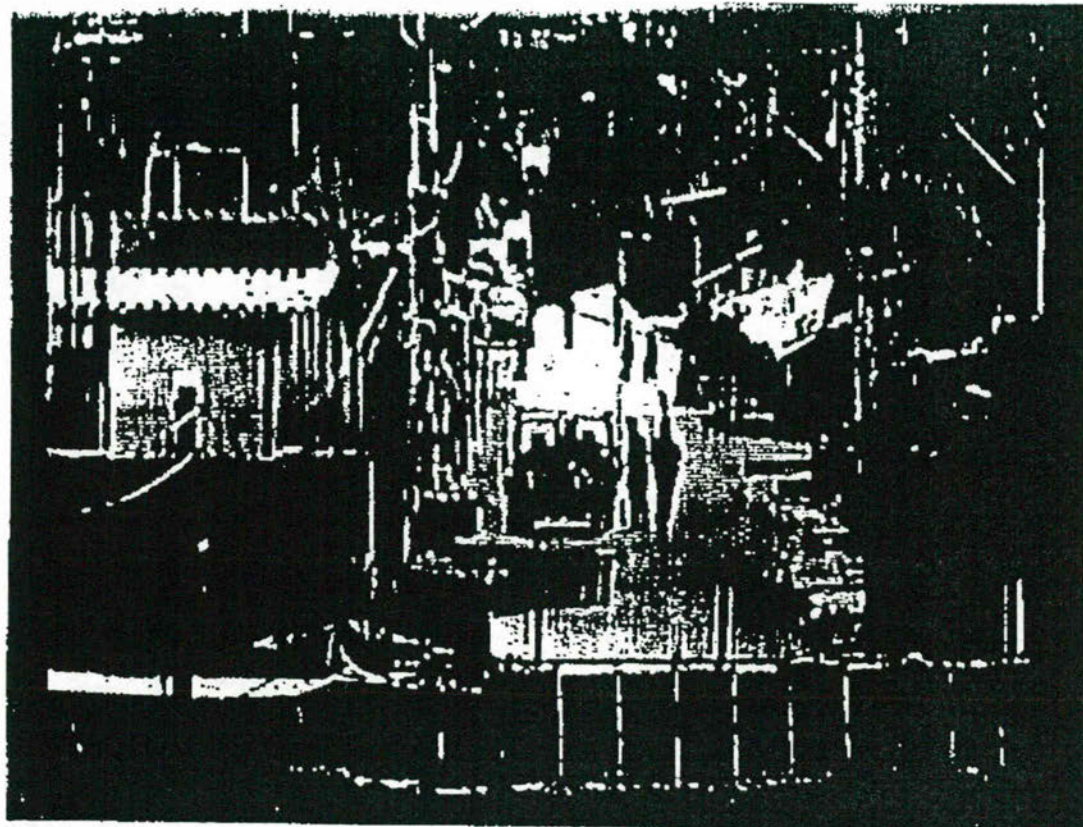
ZOA picketing Maryland Public TV: "We never thought we should censor them. We just wanted balanced programming."



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Israeli troops  
in the occupied  
West Bank,  
in footage from  
"Arab and Jew:  
Wounded  
Spirits."

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## A VIEWER'S GUIDE: UNMASKING BIAS

How can John and Sany Q. Public discern media bias? To answer that, we approached two media critics: Andrea Levin, executive director of the Boston-based, slightly right-of-center CAMERA (Center for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America) and Steven Rendall, senior analyst at the slightly left-of-center FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting) in New York.

Both had essentially the same advice about uncovering media prejudice:

• **Who gets to speak:** Do those featured in a news program or documentary balance each other? Are specific political charges answered? Is an attempt made to

reflect the spectrum of opinion on a given issue?

"Spokespersons in a film should address specific charges made elsewhere in that film," said Ms. Levin.

Mr. Rendall mentioned a recent FAIR study that concluded that PBS's public affairs programming gives scant attention to liberals and disproportionate airtime to corporate and government representatives.

• **Content analysis:** How many lines (in print media) or minutes (in electronic media) are given to proponents of certain issues? How accurate is their message?

The media, said Ms. Levin, "often misrepresents" the history of the Mideast. "We'll see more of this if there's to be a rehabilitation of the PLO," she predicted.

PBS documentaries "yellow journalism" that is "selectively hostile to the Jewish people." But Gene Lichtenstein, the editor-in-chief of the *Jewish Journal* who once produced documentaries for PBS, said, "My experience—and my sense—is that both [NPR and PBS] are pro-civil rights in orientation... If anything, they are pro-Semite and pro-Israel."

Somewhat mitigating the widespread perception that public broadcasting is unfair to Israel was the poll's respondents' nearly unanimous agreement that PBS and NPR air much finer quality programming on the Holocaust, anti-Semitism and Jewish holidays than do commercial networks and stations. Such praise was occasionally diluted by comments that such programs proliferated during a public broadcasting fund-raising drive or by the suspicion that public broadcasting tries to balance a "bad" Mideast documentary with a "good" Holocaust film or Passover special.

On the other hand, even defenders of PBS agreed with critics of the network that two documentaries were particularly slanted against Israel: "Days of Rage: The Young Palestinians," which first aired in 1989, and "Journey to the Occupied Lands," broadcast last January.

"Journey" was a "Frontline" production, which by PBS's own standards is intended to be an internally balanced report. Instead, the *New York Times* called it a "Palestinian perspective on West Bank life."

Claims that PBS news and documentaries are slanted against Israel, said Jennifer Lawson, PBS's chief programming executive, "reflects the reality that Jewish viewers are seeing public television programs that anger and

• **Descriptive terms and labels:** Journalists often use shorthand to describe people, said Mr. Rendall.

"Referring to all of [Russian president Boris] Yeltsin's enemies as 'hard-liners' was ridiculous," he said. "If that's being done, why not call [Benjamin] Netanyahu [head of Israel's right-wing Likud Party] a 'hard-liner'?"

He called for "an equilibrium" regarding terms used for those on the political right and left.

• **Words vs. image:** Pitting a "talking head" against a riot scene or an especially evocative human interest image, said Ms. Levin, always puts the speaker at a disadvantage.

— Arthur J. Magida





**NPR's Mideast coverage is "extraordinarily fair." A CAMERA study claiming otherwise was "outrageous."**

— John Dinges, NPR

offend them. That is inevitable, given the volume and breadth of PBS programming on the Middle East, just as it is inevitable that similar objections come from Arab organizations and other communities."

But Ms. Lawson said that "it



is difficult to determine what to make" of the survey regarding PBS cited above, a poll she called "informal" and was "less than objective" since it only sampled Jewish editors and community leaders.

The survey, she said, also "reflects the increasingly strident voices of a few activists who have made clear the price of their support for public television: coverage that tilts toward Israel and minimizes Arab views."

Ms. Lawson also questioned

why, if one respondent could have charged PBS with being "selectively hostile to the Jewish people," virtually all respondents concluded that PBS programming regarding the Holocaust, anti-Semitism and Jewish holidays would far surpass that on commercial networks.

"Surely," she said, "an anti-Jewish agenda would be reflected in a dearth of supportive programming in these other areas as well."

Moreover, she said, "I know

of no public television programmer who would balance a film on the intifada with, say, a Passover special — a concept tantamount to balancing a film on abortion with a biography of Amelia Earhart because both deal with women."

Even defenders of PBS considered "Days of Rage" skewed against Israel.

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## Who's In Charge?

**J**ewish activists who object to PBS about skewed Mideast coverage are often frustrated. As Martin Radtke of the National Jewish Relations Advisory Council in New York said, "You'll never get an acknowledgement of bias [from PBS]. They say they welcome our suggestions and recommendations, but there's no commitment that anything will change."

Much of the frustration stems from the structure, philosophy and mandate of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) and PBS. All are designed to deflect pressure from political, ethnic and religious groups. Such defense mechanisms may be deemed worthy by many Jews if it fails, say, the influence of fundamentalist Christian lobbyists. But it's another matter when one's own ox is being gored.

PBS is less a network than a collection of individually con-





**"The very question of PBS bias' is based on a false assumption that PBS has a political agenda."**

— Jennifer Lawson, PBS

controlled stations, says Zvi Dornier, an Israeli who is an executive producer at WGBH, Boston's PBS affiliate where he made the widely acclaimed history of anti-Semitism, "The Longest Hatred."

In PBS programming, said

Mr. Dornier, "there is no single editor or voice that can be blamed or credited," thus making it difficult to pinpoint responsibility.

To some extent, PBS's Ms. Lawson agreed. Programming decisions, she said, "are made at both the local and national levels. Public TV is decentralized, not monolithic, and each community-based station tailors its broadcast schedule to meet the needs of the public — or more accurately, its diverse public."

Most stations, she explained, base their schedules around programs provided by PBS. But they are not required to carry any individual PBS program and, in fact, may air a program rejected by PBS.

And unlike news and documentaries on commercial networks, public broadcasting says it strives for balance over time, not necessarily within each discrete show. As Carol Wonsavage, Maryland Public TV's director of programming and promotion, said, "An evaluation of how public TV serves any group should be based, not on a sin-

gle program, but on the larger context of all the programming it provides which covers issues of interest to that group — from the daily news of 'MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour' to 'Frontline' and 'American Experience' documentaries to performing arts and specials such as 'For the Living.'"

(The latter show was a one-hour documentary broadcast in mid-September about the creation of Washington's U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.)

CPB is not entirely unmindful of public displeasure. This fall, said Robert Coomrod, its executive vice president, CPB is convening a panel of experts "to look at issues of significant public inquiry" — including Mideast coverage. The results will be incorporated into a statement of PBS's programming objectives.

Also, heeding criticism from conservatives in Congress, CPB now has a 24-hour, toll-free number (1-800-356-2626) through which critics can voice complaints.

Public broadcasting has taken on a role that makes it highly susceptible to charges of imbalance and balance. But as PBS official Ms. Lawson said, "Public television was created on the premise that only fully informed citizens can make appropriate decisions.... The very question of 'PBS bias' is based on a false assumption that PBS has a political agenda. Its goal

is neither to advance nor undermine the interests of Israel or of any other party.

"Without public TV, the programs that have offended some Jewish viewers probably would not have been aired. But neither would the many hours of programs that explore Jewish and Israeli perspectives. I believe most Jews do not expect their public television dollars to buy institutional support for Israel. Rather, they are investing in an enlightened public debate and free expression by protecting universal access to a forum in which all viewpoints are welcome. They are investing in a belief that democracy is best served through insight and analysis, not sound bites. There are many other ways in which public TV serves its viewers and communities, but none is more vital." | |

Tom Tugend is a writer living in Los Angeles. This article is based on a story made possible by a grant from the Fund for Jewish Journalism, a joint project of the CRJ Foundation of Montreal, Canada, and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Inc. All views expressed are those of the authors.

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## CONFRONTATION OVER A DOCUMENTARY GAVE KQED THE SAN FRAN

**T**he Jewish community's dissatisfaction with PBS programming on the Middle East reached a flashpoint this year in an unlikely place: San Francisco, home of what is arguably the nation's most liberal, least dogmatic sizable Jewish community.

For six months starting last December, San Francisco's PBS station, KQED, and its Jewish community wrangled about a five-part documentary, "Israel: A Nation Is Born," with Abba Eban.

The show was originally scheduled for January airing, but Kevin Harris, KQED's station manager and program director, delayed it so he could, he says, plan a week's worth of programs around it. Jewish groups claimed he really intended to "balance" the show with a pro-Palestinian documentary.

Jewish contributors demanded refunds from the station, while KQED's Jewish employees sent a letter to the *Northern California Jewish Bulletin* defending their station's policy.

KQED finally showed the series in July.

Jewish leaders were pleased that it was aired without any "balancing" counter-program. And Mr. Harris said its producer had agreed KQED could broadcast it without pre-conditions about time or format, which he insists was all he had sought.

The confrontation produced some lessons that may aid future disputes between Jews and PBS. Foremost is an analysis by Jerry D. Isaak-Shapiro, associate director of San Francisco's Jewish Community Relations Council, of 24 documentaries on the Mideast broadcast by KQED between 1965 and early 1992. He concluded that 19 documentaries were told from an Arab/Palestinian perspective, two from an "anti-Arab/Palestinian" viewpoint and two from an Israeli perspective.

Only one — "Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in the Promised Land" — qualified as "neutral/balanced."

Mr. Isaak-Shapiro said the pro-Palestinian films contained little reference to Arab rejection of the 1947 U.N. partition plan or to Arab aggression that precipitated the 1967

Six-Day War.

The reason for this lack of historical perspective may lay less in a conspiratorial bias than in TV's lack of airtime in which to place events into a context. Or in "a certain geopolitical innocence" among reporters, as Ernest Weiner, director of the American Jewish Committee in the San Francisco area, suggested.

Another shortcoming of PBS documentaries, determined Mr. Isaak-Shapiro, lay in PBS producers' choice of interviewees. In most documentaries, Palestinians are moderate and well-spoken, while Israelis represent the country's two extremes — the nationalistic/religious right or the dovish left — and its mainstream usual-



## CISCO BAY BLUES



ly is omitted.

Yet another lesson from the KQED experience was the power of the purse: An indeterminate number of Jews canceled their membership or withdrew their contributions. Such actions' effectiveness depends on the percentage of Jews in a given PBS station's total membership. Mr. Weiner of San Francisco's AJC found that 75 percent of his board gave money to KQED. He believes that half of the station's members are Jewish and that many refused to renew their support during the dispute.

— Tom Tigand

The series, "Israel: A Nation Is Born, With Abba Eban," which included this historical moment with President Truman, Eban and Ernest Weiner.

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אל : מצפ"א

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סאט: קונכיל ניו יורק

**הנדון: פגישת הנהלת מועדון הנשיאים עם מזכיר המדינה**

1. לסטר פולאק ומלקולם הונליין בקרו אתמול בושינגטון. נפגשו לכמה דקות עם לס אספין. קיימו לאחר מכן פגישה עם מזכיר המדינה, בה נסלו חלק גם דג'רג'יאן וסם לואיס.
2. לחלו בקצרה הנושאים שהועלו:
- א. נושא הערבויות - פולאק והונליין אמרו שלא ניתן להסתפק בפיצוי עליו מדובר עתה.
- ב. אש"פ - פולאק והונליין העלו את הרתוריקה הנשמעת עדיין על ידי חלק ממנהיגי הארגון. כריסטופר הסכים שיש צורך ללחוץ על הפלשתינאים לפרסם הכרזות חיוביות יותר.
- ג. העברת טכנולוגיות לאיראן.
- ד. החרם הערבי (הודעת מועדון הנשיאים הועברה בנפרד). מזכיר המדינה גרס כי דווחי התקשורת אינם מדויקים וטען כי הוא מצפה להתפתחויות חיוביות. מובן שממשיכים להפעיל לחצים על הערבים. פולאק והונליין העלו הצורך בהשלמת התהליך על ידי נורמליזציה.
- ה. סוריה - מזכיר המדינה הבחיר את ההשלכות השליליות העולולות לנבוע מאי מתן דחיפה לנושא.
- ו. בקור רוה"מ - המנהיגים היהודים הדגישו הצורך במתן פרופיל גבוה לבקור ובהבטחת הצלחתו כחלק מהמסר אותו יש להעביר לציבור.
3. רצ"ב פרסום ה - JTA בנושא.

קולט אביטל  
19 באוקטובר 1993

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**JTA** OCTOBER 19, 1993

**SECRETARY OF STATE SOLICITS VIEWS  
OF JEWISH LEADERS ON MIDEAST POLICY**  
By Deborah Kalb

WASHINGTON, Oct. 18 (JTA) -- As the Middle East peace process heads into a critical period, Secretary of State Warren Christopher has been reaching out to American Jewish leaders, inviting them to small meetings to discuss U.S. policy toward the region.

The meetings are coming at a time of great hope and continued worries for American Jewry.

As most American Jews rejoice over the recent Israeli-Palestinian accord, there are still important questions in their minds about the future shape of the Middle East peace process, Syria's role in the talks and the apparent lack of progress in dismantling the Arab economic boycott against Israel.

On Monday, Christopher met separately with two small groups of Jewish leaders to discuss the peace process, the boycott, U.S. loan guarantees to Israel and Iran's weapons development program.

And last week, the secretary met with two top officials of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee.

The meetings were all at Christopher's request.

A State Department official said Monday that the sessions were part of a series of meetings with interested parties in which the department sought to explain U.S. policy, especially in light of the recent Israeli-Palestinian agreement.

Smaller meetings, the official said, enabled the secretary to hear a wide range of views.

But the official said it was doubtful more such meetings would occur in the very near future, because the secretary is leaving the country Wednesday.

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### Progress On Boycott Possible

A half-hour meeting Monday morning included David Harris, executive director of the American Jewish Committee; Linda Kamm and Richard Gunther, co-presidents-elect of Americans for Peace Now; and journalist John Wallach, who founded the "Seeds of Peace" camp for Israeli and Arab youths.

The secretary also held a 45-minute session Monday afternoon with Lester Pollack, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations; Malcolm Hoenlein, the umbrella group's executive vice chairman; Melvin Salberg, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League; and Abraham Foxman, ADL's national director.

According to Pollack, who served as the delegation's spokesman, Christopher said the peace process was moving along, as demonstrated by the fact that envoy Dennis Ross was in the region.

Pollack said Christopher also pledged the administration would continue pushing Arab countries to end their economic boycott. The boycott affects both Israel and companies doing business with the Jewish state.

The secretary expressed optimism that positive developments would occur before the next Arab League meeting, where Arab countries could add more companies to the boycott list.

On the topic of U.S. loan guarantees to Israel, the secretary said the United States and Israel were trying to work out a way to redefine legislative requirements that resulted in Washington slapping a \$437 million penalty on Israel's second \$2 billion installment of loan guarantees.

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תאריך: 18 באוקטובר 1993

הנדון: אינדונזיה

התקשר אלי פול וולפוביץ וביקשני להעביר לך ברכותיו, בעקבות ביקורך  
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## Ramallah Journal

## A Palestinian Version of the Judgment of Solomon

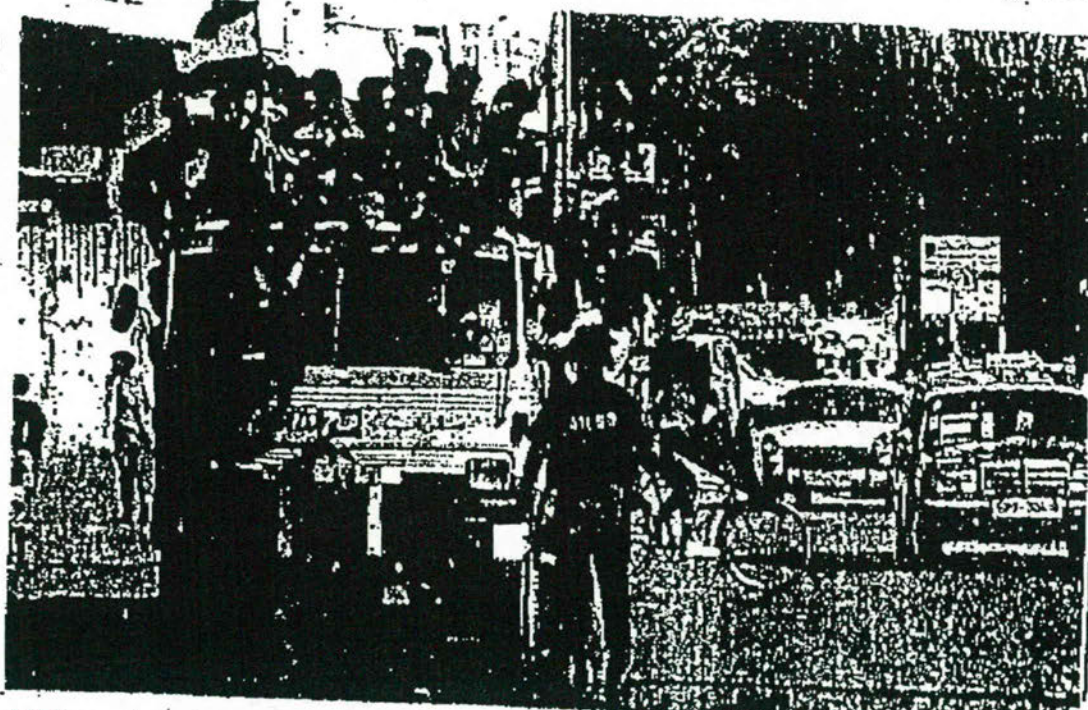
By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

RAMALLAH, Israel-occupied West Bank — What Metri Zabaneh was really proud of six years ago, at the beginning of the Palestinian uprising, was the enormous padlock he could put on the steel gate of his family's grocery store. It was too big for Israeli soldiers to break with crowbars when they tried to force the stores open during a strike.

On the sidewalks outside his store now, as throughout the occupied territories, sights once unimaginable have become the new norm: T-shirts with the visage of Yasser Arafat and the slogan "peace" hung up for sale.

In the Gaza Strip, where young men were once arrested for carrying sliced watermelons — thus displaying the red, black and green Palestinian colors — soldiers stand by, blasé, as processions march by waving the once-banned flag. In Jerusalem's Old City, along the narrow street by the Damascus Gate, where bored paramilitary border police lounge outside the apartment Ariel Sharon bought in the Muslim Quarter, Arafat posters, T-shirts and tape cassettes are displayed alongside Israeli souvenirs for tourists.



Until recently in the Gaza Strip, Palestinians were arrested for carrying watermelon slices because the colors were the same as those of their banned flag.

Last month, an Israeli soldier directed traffic in Shati, a refugee camp, as Palestinians celebrated with their flag without interference.

The Times/The New York Times



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But while Palestinians are exulting in the display of their symbols, there is a deep sense of fatigue, too. It comes after more than 1,700 Palestinian deaths, some 570 of them at the hands of other Palestinians as alleged informers, countless arrests that have affected virtually every family and six years of strikes.

"It is very hard to demolish Israel," Mr. Zabaach said the other day in his bustling store. "People are being realistic now. Israel is a fact. People have to understand those facts and they did. I think the majority is supporting what's happening."

Ziad Abu Amr, a political science professor at nearby Bir Zeit University, said that the uprising has had "a sobering effect on Palestinians."

"People are tired, people are more sober," he said. "It brought a realization to Palestinians here of reality."

Indeed, a poll taken in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in September by a Palestinian organization in cooperation with CNN and French television showed 88.4 percent of Palestinians favoring the peace accord with Israel, while 28.3 percent were opposed.

The poll of 1,305 Palestinians over 18 years old, conducted by the Jerusalem Media and Communication Center, also indicated that 68.7 percent of the respondents put more faith in the P.L.O. "to save us from the present situation," while 17.1 percent trusted in militant Islamic groups. Some 71 percent of the sample supported continuing negotiations between the P.L.O. and Israel, while 20 percent were opposed.



Ramallah has a jumble of cultures and mixed feelings about peace.

But there were also substantial fears about the uncertainties ahead. Some 31.4 percent feared the Palestinian leadership would not be able to administer affairs during the transitional period, and 33.3 percent believed it would lead to conflict between Palestinians.

Ramallah is a market town, a jumble of cultures with a sizable Christian population, and many people who have lived in the United States. Women

in traditional gowns embroidered in village patterns carry bundles on their heads and men talk of "the situation" over tiny cups of thick coffee at Angelo's Pizzeria.

A young woman with her head tightly covered in an Islamic scarf glanced sideways, dark eyes flashing, at an obviously American visitor. "Chicago Bulls rule," she said.

Reconciliation with the accord has come hard, if at all, for many young Palestinians, born under occupation and brought up on tales of the homes their families had before 1948, memories polished in the misery of the refugee camps.

"I don't feel good," said a young man from one of the nearby camps, who gave his name only as Saleh. "I was born in 1965 and all my life I have dreamed of seeing my village. Inside each of us is this village, this small paradise. For every family there is a tragedy."

"When I heard what we will get in this agreement, this was the conflict within me," he said. "But the Israelis, they are stronger, they are more advanced, so they will stay there."

"If peace will succeed in the coming future, maybe we will be one in the end. We must give up part to get part, to get peace. It is like King Solomon with the baby and we are the mother who must give up. So let me

make my paradise in Ramallah. But deep inside me is my village, inside me is this dream."

#### Emotion and Logic

His friend, Marwan, spoke with a similar, glum ambivalence.

"There are two answers," he said when asked what he thought about the agreement. "One part is the feeling part, and the second part is logic."

"I am very sad," he said. "Because I feel this agreement will be a cemetery for my dream to go back. This is the feeling part. But, because of the bad regimes of the Arab countries, their bluffing, their massacres of us, their betrayal, our leadership has taken this step for our destiny. There is no other choice, only to sign this agreement. That is the logic part."

Iyad Labadi, who runs a tobacco store, compared the situation to that of the man who lived crowded into one room with his wife and children. He appealed to God, who told him to move in the family's cow. On subsequent appeals, God added sheep goats and pigs to the room. Finally, God told him to move the animals out, and, with only his wife and family in the room, it seemed much better.

"I hope everything will be O.K.," Mr. Labadi sighed. "Enough, its enough."



Oct 10-16

OCT 17

- Building peace in the Middle East.
- Marketing armaments in Asia.
- The wild card of the Aegean deals himself in.
- Yeltsin takes a trip to Tokyo.
- A trial's tribulations.
- The F.B.I. stands accused of sex harassment.

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#### Talking Peace

#### Israel and the P.L.O. Pass Another Milestone On a Tortuous Road

The meter was running last week for Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Their Sept. 13 agreement in principle to create Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip went into effect Wednesday, and with that came the start of complex talks on how Israel will carry out a troop withdrawal to begin by Dec. 13 in Gaza and Jericho.

Handshakes on the White House lawn may be fine, but success or failure now lies in nailing down thousands of details. How big is the Jericho district? Will Israeli soldiers patrol surrounding roads? Will Palestinian police officers work with the Israeli Army against terrorists?

Two more months is not much time to finish the job. But Israeli and P.L.O. negotiators got off to a good start at the Red Sea resort of Taba, Egypt. They smoothed over potential rough spots, settled on an agenda and agreed to focus on a Palestinian demand for the release some 11,000 prisoners. As a backstop, a high-level liaison committee was formed — top officials who are to untangle snags too difficult for the Taba negotiators. It seems unlikely that these officials will have nothing to do.

CLYDE HABERMAN

#### Selling Weaponry

#### Israel's Trade With China Draws American Fire

However much Israel's diplomacy with its Arab neighbors has drawn praise in Washington, American officials are decidedly unenthusiastic about Israel's continuing trade in armaments with China. A blunt assessment by the Central Intelligence Agency, made public by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee last week, says: "Building on a long history of close defense industrial relations, China and Israel appear to be moving toward formalizing and broadening their military technical cooperation."

While Israel sees economic and perhaps political benefits in helping China arm itself, American officials worry that it is helping Beijing develop better weapons like missiles for export. Just this month, China angered the United States by resuming nuclear testing.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel, who was visiting Beijing when the assessment was made public, said the C.I.A.'s estimates that the Israeli sales might amount to several billions of dollars' worth of business was a gross exaggeration. In 1992, he said, the figure was about \$60 million.

MICHAEL R. GORDON



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## Despite U.S. Urging, Arab Lands Hold Firm to Their Israel Boycott

By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, Oct. 17 — Diplomats said today that the 43-year-old Arab ban on commercial and financial ties with Israel would not be lifted anytime soon and that the official blacklist of foreign companies that do business with Israel might even be expanded at the urging of hard-line countries.

Arab League officials are to meet in Damascus on Oct. 24 to discuss increasing the blacklist despite appeals from United States officials, who argue that the boycott of 10,000 companies should be lifted soon to add momentum to Middle East peace talks.

Assistant Secretary of State Edward P. Djerejian told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Friday in Washington that the Arab blacklist was "totally unacceptable."

### The Wrong Direction

He said the Clinton Administration had told several Arab countries, including Syria, that adding companies to the list "would be a step, obviously, in the wrong direction" after the signing of an accord last month by Israel and the

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on self-rule in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip and Jericho as a sellout that compromises Palestinians' interests.

Several Arab officials said they would be reluctant to give up the boycott as long as Israel has nuclear weapons, continues to occupy Gaza, the West Bank, the Golan Heights and southern Lebanon and fails to reach an agreement with its neighbors on sharing scarce water.

The boycott was adopted by Arab countries in 1950 to isolate and cripple Israel. The Arab League operates a Boycott Office in Damascus where Arab representatives are to meet this month to consider adding new companies to the list, the Arab diplomats in Cairo and Damascus said. During its last meeting, on May 1, the Boycott Office added 13 new companies to the list, including Rubbermaid and General Dynamics.

"It is too soon to talk about lifting the boycott," Fahem bin Sultan al-Qasbi, the Secretary General of the Gulf Cooperation Council, was quoted today as saying by the Arabic daily Al Hayat.

#### Three Aspects

The boycott includes a ban on commercial activity with Israel and a "secondary boycott" that blacklists companies doing business in Israel. A tertiary boycott targets companies dealing with blacklisted companies.

The Federation of Israeli Chambers of Commerce estimates that the boycott has cost the country \$20 billion in lost exports and \$18 to \$32 billion in lost investment. But Arab officials contend that the losses are probably much smaller because of Arab violations of the ban. Saudi Arabia, along with other Arab states, already ignores the boycott when it is commercially convenient, these officials said.

Israel sells agricultural products, furniture and electrical appliances, valued at several hundred million dollars a year, to Arab countries — including Lebanon, Libya and Iraq — through

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But Arab diplomats in Damascus and Cairo said that hard-line Arab countries like Syria, Iraq and Libya were seeking to widen the boycott, in part because they were unhappy with the accord.

"Any lifting or alteration of the boycott," said a senior Arab diplomat, "would have to be unanimous, and since unanimity is impossible, it will remain in force."

#### States Set Conditions

Even moderate Arab governments like Saudi Arabia's, which is struggling to contain strong Islamic militant movements, are reluctant to support a repeal because they do not want to give ammunition to their Islamic hard-line critics, the diplomats said. Militant Islamic groups have denounced the pact

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third countries, including Greece and Cyprus, Arab diplomats and Israeli officials say.

Most Gulf countries buy weapons from American companies that are also Israel's main military suppliers. "When it is in the Arab interest, they turn a blind eye to the sanctions," said Harry Wall, director of the Israeli Office of the Anti-Defamation League, in a telephone interview from Jerusalem.

Ford, General Dynamics, General Electric, Hilton, General Motors, Coca-Cola, Hertz and Avis are among the companies that do business with Israel and some Arab countries. Most major international banks and large financial

for talks with the Palestinians," Mr. Rabin said last week.

#### Seen as an Insult

But Israeli organizations that have tried to fight the boycott said the move was a slap in the face to Israel.

"The continuation of the boycott, the most tangible symbol of the refusal to recognize Israel's right to exist, is incompatible with the goal of the peace process," Mr. Wall said.

The determination to extend the boycott has stirred anger in many Western nations and in Japan. The leaders of the Group of Seven leading industrialized nations called last summer at a meeting in Tokyo for an end to the boycott.

Some Arab states, including Kuwait, have already officially eased restrictions on companies that do business in Israel.

Even Egypt, which has been at peace with Israel since 1979, has failed to develop significant trade links with its neighbor, despite numerous commercial agreements.

## Arab hard-liners signal scorn for the Israeli-P.L.O. agreement.

Institutions, however, refuse to do business with Israel because of a fear of Arab restrictions.

President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt said in 1991 that he would push for an end to the "secondary boycott" or blacklist if the Israeli Government, then led by Yitzhak Shamir, stopped building settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

But the proposal was never accepted by other Arab nations.

"It was refused by Shamir at the time," Mr. Mubarak said in a recent interview.

Israel's current Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, has said that he will not link the lifting of the boycott to the current autonomy negotiations with the Palestinians.

"Israel cannot at present demand the lifting of the boycott as a condition

#### Mideast Peace Talks Delayed

JERUSALEM, Sept. 17 (Reuters) — The United States has told Israel that the next round of Middle East peace talks will probably be postponed until the end of November, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

The talks were expected to resume in late October, but an Israeli official said the reason for the delay was a Syrian threat on Saturday not to attend unless Israel was willing to make progress.

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אל: תפוצת תקשורת  
מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: התושבים היהודים בשטחים

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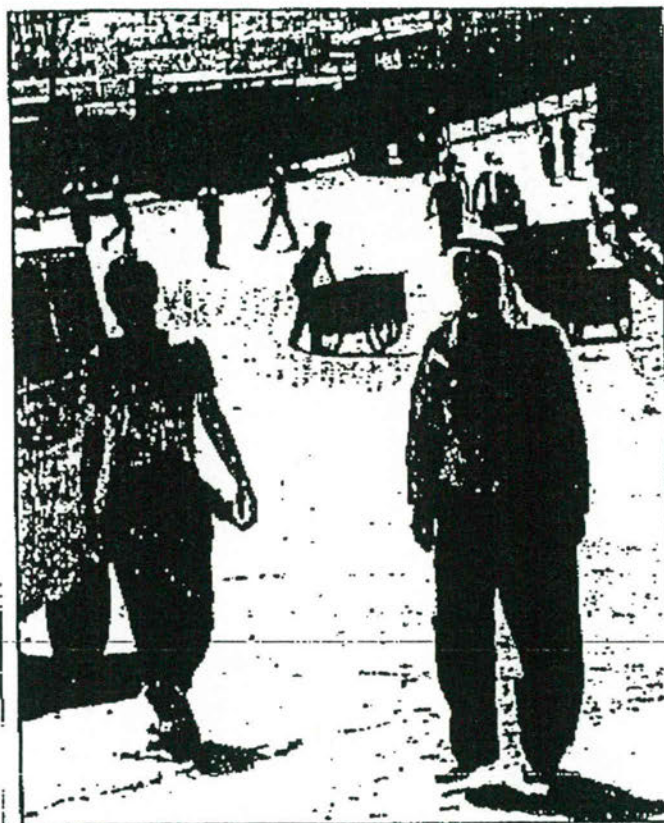
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WT 18/11



Two worlds: An armed Jewish settler passes an Arab merchant in Hebron, where Jews live in three compounds amid a large Palestinian population.

## West Bank Jews likely to fight accord

By Judith Colp Rubin  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

HEBRON, Israel-occupied West Bank — In Hebron's busy Arab market, where Palestinians sell produce, children wearing yarmulkes pass by on bicycles and Jewish mothers dressed in religious garb of head scarves and long skirts nonchalantly push baby carriages.

They are on their way home. At the foot of the market, an army checkpoint marks the entrance to the Jewish settlement.

The settlement, one of three inside Israel-occupied Hebron, is home to about 20 families who have lived uneasily with their Palestinian neighbors for about 14 years.

The settlement's courtyard is surrounded by high wire fences at which Palestinians sometimes throw bottles and rocks. In a playground the prattle of children mingles with the cries of the muezzin.

The fate of Israel's 144 Jewish settlements in the occupied territories remains a major question in the re-

see ISRAEL, page A11

## ISRAEL

From page A1

cent Israel-PLO peace agreement.

The agreement calls for Palestinian self-rule in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank city of Jericho. Eventually, the accord is expected to lead to Palestinian control over the rest of the West Bank.

The 120,000 Jewish settlers — a disproportionate number of them American immigrants — live among 1.8 million Palestinians. Settlers are worried that terrorism will increase and Palestinians will attack them.

In a final agreement to be negotiated in the next five years, Israel may give up the territory on which the settlers live, giving them a choice between returning to Israel and staying under a hostile Palestinian government.

Some of the settlements may be kept under Israeli control. But Israel is certain to give up those located amid large Arab populations, and Hebron is at the top of that list.

Settlers here are unlikely to go without a fight. Their rhetoric is extreme and the neighborhood is the home of Rabbi Moshe Levinger, whose campaign for settlement featured a television ad showing him firing a gun.

Tensions in Hebron are already high. On Saturday, a Jewish religious student was stabbed by a Palestinian after praying at the Cave of the Patriarchs, according to news reports.

Arab residents of Hebron were put under a curfew while police sought the assailant. Unsatisfied by the police response, some settlers went on a wild rampage, injuring six Palestinians.

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Soon the next stage of protest by Israel's settlers may begin. Last month, there was a week of large-scale demonstrations in Jerusalem.

Organizers are now planning acts of civil disobedience, such as sit-ins similar to those used by the civil rights movement in the United States, said Yechiel Leiter, director of the foreign desk at the Yesha Council of Jewish Settlements in Judea and Samaria.

Target dates will be the arrival in Jericho of Palestine Liberation Organization chief Yasser Arafat, scheduled for January, the implementation of the Palestinian police force and removal of the Israeli army from bases, Mr. Leiter said.

"The selfless devotion that people used to establish a settlement will be put in a different direction," he said. "People will leave their work and family and go to jail to fight the terrible injustice of aiding and recognizing terrorists as negotiating partners. That is endangering the lives of all those who live in Judea and Samaria, if not all Israel."

Judea and Samaria is the name used by hard-line Israelis for the West Bank.

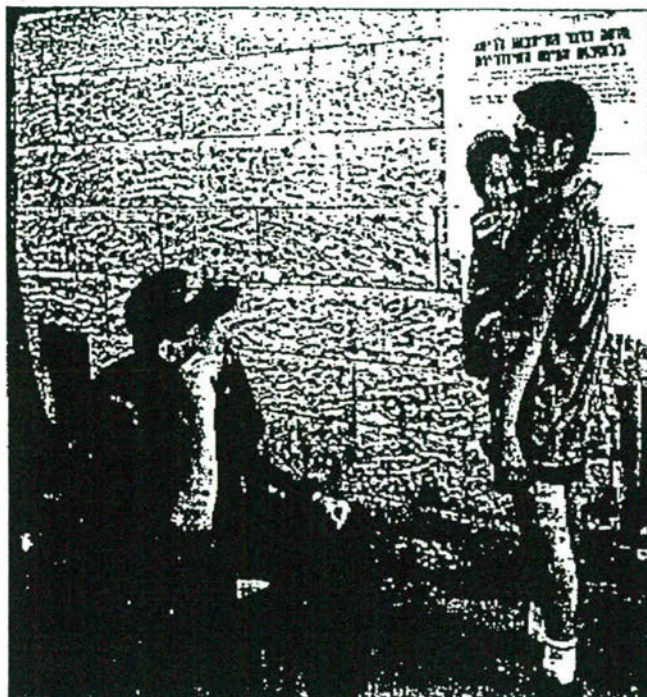
The settlers are also considering a tax revolt, said Mr. Leiter. But he stressed the civil disobedience would be nonviolent. Settlers have made it clear, however, that they will protect themselves against Palestinian police.

Hebrew University political scientist Ehud Sprinzak, author of "The Ascendancy of Israel's Radical Right," predicted that more extreme settlers groups would engage in violence against Arabs as a last-ditch effort to sabotage the agreement.

"There will be an unholy alliance between Arab and Jewish extremists," said Mr. Sprinzak. All that's preventing them is the Shin Bet, Israel's equivalent of the FBI, he said.

But experts say they are surprised the settlers' anger has been so muted.

"Everyone expected that there



An Israeli settler holding a young boy spends time chatting with a soldier at the entrance to a Jewish neighborhood in the West Bank city of Hebron.

would be greater resistance with more intensity, but it didn't come," Mr. Sprinzak said.

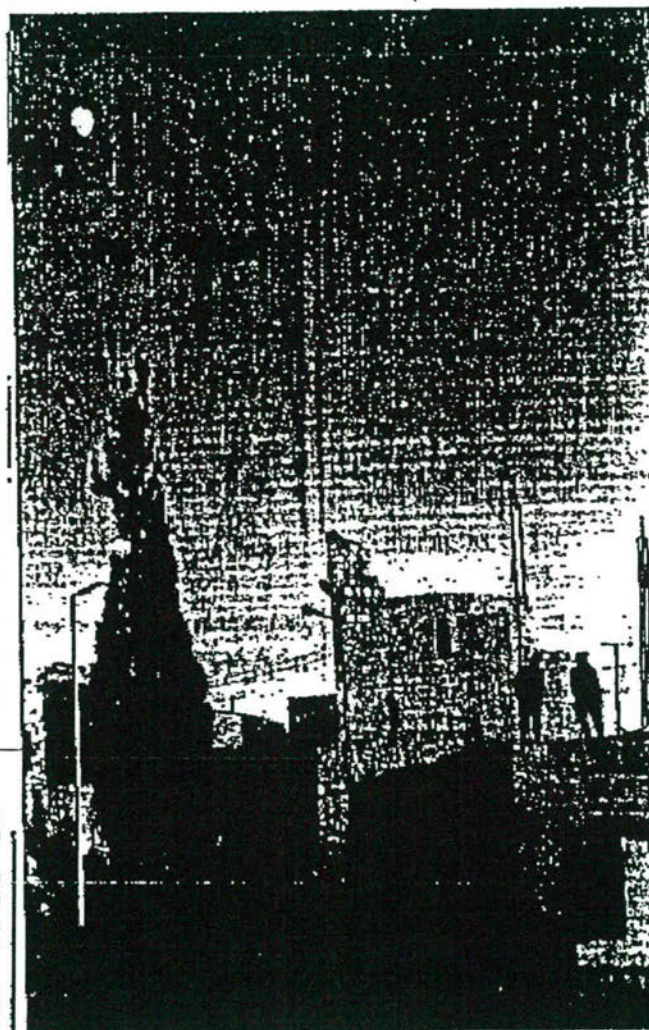
"The settlers have been absolutely stunned by the people's acceptance of the agreement," he said. "They always thought when the time came, a Jewish majority would be behind them. That myth blew up in their faces. They now feel isolated, deserted and confused."

Meanwhile, ultrareligious Israelis are quietly moving into Kiryat Seta, a new settlement in the oc-

cupied West Bank that is expected to house 1,000 families by spring, the Associated Press reported.

Thirty families moved into the settlement last week and 100 more are expected by the end of the week, said settler spokesman Shai Hazzak. About 40 families arrived yesterday.

The United States announced earlier this month that it was slashing Israel's \$2 billion loan guarantees for this year by more than \$400 million because of unauthorized investment in settlements.



Two Israeli soldiers are posted on top of a building outside the Cave of the Patriarchs, where a young Jewish student was stabbed by a Palestinian.

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Photos by Ruth Fremson/The Washington Times

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מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (ANN DEVROY & JEFFREY SMITH F.P. 17/10) וכן קטעים מראיון הנשיא קלינטון לווש- פוסט העוסקים במדיניות החוץ של ארה"ב. הכתבה הנרחבת, שאף הכתה גלים בתקשורת כאן במהלך סופהשבוע, מסקרת בבקורות רבה את מדיניות החוץ של ממשל קלינטון, ובעיקר בכל הנוגע לבוסניה וסומליה.

תשומת לבכם לדברי הנשיא כי ממשלו היה "עסוק" בקידום תהליך השלום במזה"ו - זהו אחד הנושאים הבודדים, אגב, שהנשיא מונה בסעיף "הצלחות" במדיניות החוץ.

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## תקשורת

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# Clinton Reexamines a Foreign Policy Under Siege

By Ann Devroy and R. Jeffrey Smith  
Washington Post Staff Writers

At 8 a.m. last Sunday, most of President Clinton's key national security advisers were on a telephone conference call working out a defense of the administration's ill-fated policy in Somalia. To explain future policy, they agreed on one clear message: As far as the U.S. action was concerned, Somalia was all over but the leaving.

But by the time the television appearances by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, United Nations Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright and Defense Secretary Les Aspin were over later that day, the message had turned to fog. Pressed to dip beneath the surface of an American pledge of military withdrawal,

none could say clearly whether the United States was still pursuing Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aideed or had called off the chase, was working with the United Nations or against it, was pursuing the goal of nation-building or dropping it.

"Somewhere between the morning's good intentions and the result, something went wrong," said a senior U.S. official.

Just how wrong Somalia went has come into painful, sharp focus in the White House, in Congress and across the country since the Oct. 3 Mogadishu disaster that took 18 American lives. Together with ongoing crises in Bosnia and now in Haiti, Somalia has exposed flaws in the way foreign policy has been made and executed, raising public, congressional and international doubts about the president's foreign pol-

icy ability and the strength of his national security team.

In much the same way as the March defeat of the Clinton economic stimulus package forced the president into a reexamination of his domestic goals, his policies to achieve them, and even the public presentation of his presidency in that area, the debacle in Somalia is forcing a reexamination by Clinton and his aides of how his foreign policy is formulated, monitored and explained to the nation.

Since late September, a series of opinion polls have shown sharply declining public approval and confidence in Clinton's foreign policy performance.

In an interview with The Washington Post on Friday  
See POLICY, A28, Col. 1



# Clinton Seeks Foreign Policy Bearings in Post-Cold War Fog

POLICY, From A1

day, Clinton pointed to what he and many others consider his policy's successes: the backing of Boris Yeltsin through crises in Russia and the current calm there; the aggressive promotion of American economic interests abroad; the efforts to control nuclear proliferation; and his personal efforts on behalf of trade accords such as the North American Free Trade Agreement.

But on Somalia, on Bosnia, and on the broader issue of America's role in conflicts around the world where no readily discernible American interest is at stake, Clinton acknowledged misjudgments and cited lessons learned. Failing to enlist the nation more fully in "the great national debate" over America's role in the post-Cold War world, he said, may have been one. Allowing U.S. soldiers to serve under U.N. command without adequate attention to their security was another. Allowing the diplomatic effort in Somalia to lag and the military effort to predominate was the third, and major error cited.

"I even made a crack the other day . . . 'Gosh, I miss the Cold War,'" Clinton said of the nostalgia shared by policymakers for the anti-Soviet framework within which most of the West operated for four decades. Finding a workable framework for this new era and sorting out America's role, he added, "could take years."

Christopher, in a separate interview, added to the lessons learned. It was "probably an error" not to have a high-level review of U.S. policy after Aideed's militia began killing U.N. peace keepers, he said, explaining that the United Nations "is not a bureaucracy . . . you can turn things over to and depend upon."

But while agreeing that Clinton faces a more difficult world than most recent presidents, critics and many officials in his own administration, in Congress and in academia said in interviews last week that the president himself has made his job harder.

Clinton stands accused by many outsiders of leaving too much of the policy-making to a national security team that has yet to show significant strength, of failing to use his premier platform to engage the public and Congress fully in what America was doing in Somalia and elsewhere, and of failing to think through the implications at home and abroad of making public promises he cannot or will not keep.

Some Democrats charge that he has opened the door to harsh attacks on his competence by Republicans with presidential ambitions of their own, such as former defense secretary Richard B. Cheney, Indiana Sen. Richard G. Lugar and former secretary of state James A. Baker III.

Abroad, some of the reviews are harsh. The British magazine *The Economist*, in a piece entitled "Foggy Bottom Fumbling," this week called on Clinton to overhaul his team. "Faced with treat-or-beat confusion in Somalia, a dizzying set of U-turns on Bosnia, foot-shuffling over North Korea's nuclear plans and a mission to restore democracy in Haiti that is blocked before it reaches dock, America's allies are entitled to feel anxious," it huffed. "If America cannot get a grip on the world's impending disasters, nobody can."

Christopher yesterday dismissed such European criticism as "blame America" rhetoric tied to America's "not having resolved the problem that Europe failed to resolve itself": Bosnia. He suggested too much of Washington too long has had a "Eurocentric attitude" and should remember that "Western Europe is no longer the dominant area of the world . . . There is a lot of criticism coming from Western Europe but I don't see or hear that coming from Asia."

In essence, Clinton was described last week as having the opposite priorities of President George Bush, who was charged with spending too much of his time and passion—and that of his most competent aides—on foreign policy. "My premise was that the American people were hungry for a president who showed that he knew that something had to be done here to address our problems at home that had been long neglected," Clinton said of his concentration on domestic issues. While insisting he had not ignored foreign policy, Clinton said he had had a "conscious focus" on those domestic problems he pledged in his campaign to address.

That focus, senior officials acknowledge, allowed issues like Somalia and Bosnia to be mishandled, and the broader issue of building domestic support for a new American foreign leadership role to go begging.

"A couple of the major problems, [Clinton] inherited," said Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.), chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on foreign operations. "But he's been in there long enough that he should have made some real stamp on foreign policy. I don't think that they have thought out a post-Cold War foreign policy."

House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.) noted in a speech last week what many see as Clinton's most significant failing. In describing how little Americans think or care about foreign policy until there is a crisis, Hamilton said a president "must provide leadership . . . The president must persuade the American people to undertake missions and responsibilities

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they are reluctant to accept" and must bring the nation into the debate over "questions of collective security and America's role in the world."

Clinton has given only one major address and few speeches—beyond moments of crisis—devoted to explaining and promoting U.S. foreign policy. State Department officials and Western diplomats complain of the difficulty of arranging meetings between the president and foreign leaders. Administration officials involved in foreign affairs complain of the struggle to get White House attention for their issues and concerns.

Clinton himself now says, "Part of my job is to have a great national dialogue, and perhaps I should have started it more quickly and done it more intensely." Christopher endorses that view: "The president's leadership in foreign policy is absolutely critical . . . I want to emphasize the importance of him doing more and not less because I think it will make him a stronger president."

Christopher says it is "a bummer" that Clinton is insufficiently engaged in foreign policy or that White House resistance keeps necessary foreign policy matters off Clinton's plate. But others believe that is not the case. "We've got a White House scheduling office that thinks prime ministers are senior church officials," one official said. "Some of us think they'd like a foreign policy without foreigners."

The Clinton team has received less than rave reviews for its efforts in speeches over the past month to delineate a foreign policy framework whose goal is the "enlargement" of democracy around the world, as national security adviser Anthony Lake put it. A typical reaction to the enlargement theme was that of Stanley Hoffman, a Harvard University foreign policy specialist. "There is an extraordinary contradiction between enlarging democracy and defending human rights around the world, and what is actually being done. It is a minimalist policy with maximalist, very lofty language."

Yale University political scientist Gaddis Smith was more blunt on the subject of "enlargement." "Banality on stilts," he sniffed. But he agreed with Clinton that a workable framework for post-Cold War policy may be many years in coming.

Even Christopher, ever the practical lawyer, said he is dubious about efforts to state "overarching" themes. He said he did not enunciate the policy framework himself because he prefers to deal with concrete problems and their solutions.

Baker, who until this week had been circumspect in his assessment of the administration that replaced the one in which he served, spoke of the vital foreign policy leadership role he said a president, and no one else, must play. Both Somalia and Haiti, he said, demonstrate the dangers and complexities of the world and why "it is a fantasy to believe that foreign policy can be relegated to a backburner or that presidential responsibility for it can be delegated."

Somalia, according to senior officials involved in the policymaking, received classic back-burner treatment that allowed it to escape the rigorous attention it deserved. One senior official said policymakers were "asleep at that switch" because they had been so engaged with more critical switches: Bosnia and Russia.

Having endorsed the humanitarian mission launched by Bush, Clinton acknowledged he did not focus on Somalia until after Aided's forces were accused of killing 24 Pakistani U.N. peace keepers on June 5. Then, he said Friday, he "couldn't just sit there," but had to support U.N. resolutions demanding the culprits be brought to justice.

Most of Clinton's top aides said neither they nor the president then comprehended that the broader U.N. role they had approved would dominate the U.N., and thus the U.S., effort in Somalia. When the 18 Americans died Oct. 3 during a "search and seizure" raid by U.S. forces on Aided lieutenants—just as Clinton was heavily promoting diplomatic efforts to aid political reconciliation in Somalia—the president said he had not known the orders to grab Aided and punish him were still in force.

When he asked aides how that lapse could have happened, Clinton said Friday, he was satisfied with the answers. But the incident, he said, persuaded him that no involvement like Somalia would occur again.

"The error was the error in not seeing it got out of balance. You know, this is my fault and the fault of the rest of us," Christopher said.

Clinton's failure to articulate and sell a coherent foreign policy has attracted wide criticism on Capitol Hill. But nowhere has the administration's inattentiveness to congressional concerns become more painfully obvious than in the office of Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), the 76-year-old Appropriations Committee chairman who controls funding for all foreign operations.

Byrd's fundamental misgivings about U.S. military involvement overseas are well known in Washington. But he has worked hard since February to bring them to the attention of senior administration officials, writing three letters to Clinton and delivering four speeches on the Senate floor.

Byrd's consistent message has been that Congress lacked the administration's enthusiasm for an expanded—and expensive—U.S. role in U.N. peace-keeping operations in Bosnia and Somalia. "I think there needs to be a serious reality check in certain quarters," he said on July 15, just as officials were putting the finishing touches on a presidential directive that spelled out the new U.S. policy of support for "multilateralism."

Clinton sent two letters to Byrd, including one in which he promised to "work closely with Congress . . . to build a common vision of the appropriate nature of U.S. support for U.N. peace keeping." But between February and mid-October, no senior administration official met with Byrd in person, he said in an interview.

Albright telephoned once, seeking Byrd's support for U.N.-related funding, but never followed up on her suggestion that the two meet for a detailed conversation. Byrd said in an interview that "their basic problem has been that they forgot the high school civics lesson that there are three branches of government and that Congress controls the purse strings."

The administration was faced with a whirlwind last week with Senate approval of a modified Byrd amendment narrowing the mission for U.S. forces in Somalia and cutting off funding after March 31. It was one of the few such direct congressional interventions in foreign policy since the Vietnam War, and this from a Democratic Congress asked to support a Democratic president in his first foreign policy crisis.

Asked why Byrd's concerns were not treated more seriously, Christopher said that although it "doesn't really excuse it," Byrd is not "on our [foreign affairs] committees." He also noted that Byrd himself has boasted of never voting for a single foreign aid bill.

Leahy, in an interview, warned that Clinton now faces more intervention from Congress unless he gets his foreign policy together. "He'll find himself with the

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kind of micromanagement a president should not have to put up with," Leahy said.

Some of Clinton's aides lavishly defended their boss in response to the recent drumbeat of criticism. One senior adviser described the Clinton "imprint" on foreign policy as "strong," "sure-footed," "unflinching," and "far out front." But many more senior officials—in fact most of those contacted for this article—and a dozen lawmakers, foreign diplomats and scholars interviewed said they considered these the precise qualities that U.S. foreign policy now lacks.

As evidence, they cited the administration's recent decision to back away from its earlier enthusiastic support for a wider U.S. role in U.N. peace keeping; its decision this summer to drop its earlier insistence on lifting the U.N. embargo on arms shipments to Bosnia and back away from its willingness to launch unilateral U.S. air strikes there; its failure to present a compelling rationale for keeping U.S. forces in Somalia beyond their original humanitarian mission; and its decision last week to recall the ship carrying U.S. military advisers to Haiti.

"We have been buffeted by public opinion on Bosnia," said one senior official who added that the administration erred in "letting our rhetoric get ahead of what we were prepared to do." The official, who spoke on condition that he not be named, added that the U.S. missteps in Somalia represented "a strategic failure" that was "inexcusable."

The collegiality of Clinton's foreign policy team began to fray publicly this week, with the first anonymous interagency finger-pointing that is often the harbinger of serious trouble. Defense Secretary Aspin was said by some to be good at managing the "build-down" of the U.S. military, but disappointingly weak in public and interagency discussions. National security adviser Lake was dismissed by some as a "bureaucratic thinker" who lacks the intellect and ego to construct a workable foreign policy framework, and is so overburdened as to let vital things slip past his notice.

Several foreign diplomats and other U.S. officials who see lack of leadership laid the blame at Christopher's door, complaining that statements by the widely liked but uncharismatic secretary of state often lack passion and fail to engage the public.

"He lawyers everything to such an extreme that there is no visible enthusiasm left when he talks about it," said one official. "You get a sense that he peels so many layers off the onion [in making policy] that there is only a very small vegetable left at the end."

Asked about these criticisms, a senior foreign policy adviser acknowledged that Christopher's forte was making "steady, solid presentations," and noted that he was picked by Clinton principally because he was a "sure thing, who would make no mistakes in a storm." But the official added that in recent months, Christopher has attempted to enhance his speaking skills by practicing with a teleprompter.

In the interview, Christopher acknowledged the criticism, but said he felt comfortable with his role as a "sound" and "steadying" adviser "in this period of time." He said, "It's a little late for me to change my personality, even though I'm from California," adding with a smile that although "I'll not become [evangelist] Billy Graham . . . maybe I can take some acting classes."

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An official at another agency, summing up a widespread view of the Clinton team, said: "We have not got a Henry Kissinger—a highly charismatic figure who is able to articulate the foreign policy . . . [and] cover the stains on the carpet."

The most direct finger-pointing has been at Clinton himself. Exasperated officials at three different agencies directed reporters' attention to a recent Baker speech outlining the need for presidents to be directly and actively engaged in foreign policy.

Russia is an exception to what officials said is Clinton's general inattention to foreign policy. He took an early and enthusiastic interest in that nation, recognizing, as one official put it, that in the 1992 American election, "people were willing to fire a certifiable foreign policy expert and hire a domestic policy expert largely because of the end of the Cold War. That gave [Clinton] an investment in keeping the Cold War over."

But while Russia has provided Clinton with some of his most visible foreign policy successes so far, critics said other moments better define his administration's overall performance. One was Christopher's inability last summer to persuade key European allies to support military action against Serb aggressors in Bosnia; another was Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff's speech in May before a group of reporters that extolled a diminished U.S. role in world affairs.

Most recently, House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) called a Somalia briefing given to Congress last week by Christopher and Aspin "the least effective, least coherent, least responsible" he had ever seen.

Even a Clinton loyalist, normally circumspect Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine), seemed chagrined. Asked if Clinton needed a better foreign policy team, he said, "There is always room for improvement."

Staff writers Helen Dewar, John M. Gashko, Thomas W. Lippman, and Kevin Merida contributed to this report.

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# 'It's Self-Evident That We ... Can't Solve All the Problems'

Following are excerpts of a Washington Post interview Friday with President Clinton about his foreign policy.

... When the United States or the United Nations undertake a mission which is a peace-keeping mission designed to help people create a future for themselves that doesn't exist when the U.N. goes in, I think we have to be prepared to accept the fact that not every one of those missions may be perfectly successful.

I mean, I think there is somehow an assumption that with the bipolar world gone, with the Cold War gone, it ought to be possible to solve all problems through some American initiative or some U.N. initiative, and I don't think that's true. ... But that doesn't mean that there aren't times when we ought to try, either because our vital interests are at stake or because it's our responsibility to try.

... In Somalia we're very hopeful that with this political process back on track that the thing can come to a successful conclusion. But no one can know that for sure. ... If we wanted to have a world in which we always knew that there would be a success before we started, or that there would be no risks attendant on any of our endeavors, then the United States would ironically, because we've become a superpower, have to become totally isolationist. ...

The main focus of our foreign policy still has to be to pursue our vital security interests and our vital economic interests, which is why we worked so hard on and invested so much time on the Russian situation. ... That's part of our campaign against proliferation, our campaign to reduce nuclear weapons, campaign to stabilize a whole big sector of the world.

And I think on the big issues we've been able to focus on those things, have a strategy and carry them out. But it's simply not possible for the United States to become the ultimate resolver of every problem in the world. ...

We have a lot of serious challenges at home we need to address, which I'm clearly trying to address. And there is a sense that we paid the price to win the Cold War and paid the price to shoulder the burden of other countries and we ought to look inward now.

... We have to resist it as we build a consensus for what our role in the world will be and how we will define it and how we will work with the United Nations and how we will develop the peace-keeping capacity of the United Nations, how we will define our interests.

... I have tried to say that I thought also that there was no easy dividing line between foreign and domestic policy because that's self-evident in the economic sense, which is why I've spent a lot of time on NAFTA [the North American Free Trade Agreement] and GATT [The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade] and the G-7 and our trade relations with Japan, getting rid of the Cold War restrictions on exporting high-tech equipment, and all those things, because foreign policy is domestic policy on economic matters.

But it's also true in other things. If you manage our relationship properly with Russia, moving toward better relationships with all the former republics of the Soviet Union, working out a system to fight proliferation—all those things, if they work in a preventive sense, free us to focus more sharply on our domestic agenda as Americans. And Haiti is a domestic issue too. It's not just ... there are a lot of Haitians in America. There is always an issue of refugees coming to the shore.

[Asked whether he should spend more time discussing foreign policy with Americans.]

I think it is something I'm reassessing. ... I welcome, for example, the opportunity I had the other night after the—even though it was a terrible occasion for it—after the loss of the American servicemen in Somalia, at least to have a chance to give an address to the country where I was able to say why we had gone

into Somalia and what our objectives were and why it was worth the commitment by the United States.

... But I had talked about Somalia before. I talked about, and I think I did a good job at the United Nations talking about a lot of the issues that—

... I worked personally very hard on it [the U.N. speech] because I wanted it to be a speech that could kind of set the tone for our role in the world. And I think for the people in the—ironically, I think the people at the U.N. who represented other countries, got the full flavor of it. And because Somalia was so much in the news that was the sort of way it was reported. I'm not criticizing, I just think that was the moment.

... I still believe we have heavy responsibilities and great opportunities and that we ought to be aggressively engaged in the world. But I also think it's self-evident that we, number one, can't solve all the problems; and number two, once we decide to pursue a solution in partnership with other nations, then we can't always expect them just to do what we want. Even if we expect them to do it, they won't always do it.

... I felt very strongly that the United Nations made a grave error by applying the arms embargo on Yugoslavia to Bosnia after they recognized Bosnia when the only practical impact of the arms embargo was to give a big advantage to the Serbs and a lesser advantage to the Croats. I just couldn't understand it. I still think it was wrong. People who had troops on the ground thought, well, it would put them too much at risk if they lifted the arms embargo, and they felt that the obligation of the U.N. was to end suffering even if the price of ending suffering was destroying a nation that the United Nations itself had just recognized. So we had a big difference of opinion. ...

I mean, I had the feeling that the British and French felt it was far more important to avoid lifting the arms

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embargo than to save the country. I mean, that's just the way they felt.

... On the other hand, in Somalia I still believe that it was the right thing to do to go in and try to save those lives. But I think it—no one, I don't think, seriously thought that the representations that we could go in in December and be out in January were accurate. I mean, I certainly didn't.

... In Haiti I became convinced that the whole country was going to collapse if we didn't try to restore democracy. ... It was going to cause a significant outflow of people as well as destabilize the situation in Haiti for several hundred people who worked there. So we decided maybe we should make a serious effort to try to restore [former president Jean-Bertrand] Aristide. And we made it and it was entirely an American initiative although ... then the U.N. and the OAS embraced it and supported it, and we were very grateful. ...

[Asked whether there are lessons from the Somali experience or things that should have been done differently.]

... The biggest problem there is: If we're gonna go in and do something with the U.N., but we're the main military player, and then the mission has to be broadened ... then we should not be asked to assume the police function. ...

And we had the lion's share of the muscle in Somalia. And we helped to restore civility ... but when we were asked to be the police officer to arrest those suspected of causing the death of Pakistani soldiers, it raised the question of whether we were weighing in in a military way that would affect the outcome of the negotiations among the clans, which I think we have to be very careful of.

... The larger issue is we must never permit ourselves, if we're in a situation where there's a political process which has to be undertaken, to allow it to

lapse. We had done, I think, quite a good job through the first five months of this year of keeping the political dialogue going with all the factions while we did our job with the United Nations. ... Where I think we erred, this is what I said today, is allowing the political mission to lapse. ...

[Asked whether he is satisfied with the performance of his foreign policy team.]

Yes ... I think it hasn't had anything to do with the foreign policy team being asleep at the switch. In the last month or so we've been very busy dealing with Russia and the Middle East and the aftermath of the Middle East signing and our attempts to get that—keep that on track and go forward. Both of which, in terms of our immediate national interest, are far more significant than our obligations in Somalia.

But I think we learned some things, and I don't think—I think we will not make those—those problems won't arise again. But I do believe that the United States has to make up its mind. If we're going to lead the world, we have to be able to work with other nations. And when we work with other nations in circumstances where there is a clear mission, but an uncertain outcome, a lot of people say the mission's not clear. The mission's clear. The outcome is not altogether certain—then we just have to make up our mind whether we only want sure things. Because leadership in an emerging world may require us to live with the fact that we stand for democracy, we stand for freedom, we stand for peace, we stand for human rights, but in the end a lot of these things have to be seized by the people themselves who live in these

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# Clinton: Cold

## War's End Didn't Make America 'the World's Dictator'

countries. And all we can do is give them what one of your fellow journalists called "survival rights" the other day. Give them a shot to survive. And we'll do our best to succeed and we'll have many successes. But the end of the Cold War did not make the United States the world's dictator. And neither did it make the American people willing to undertake the kinds of both costs and human risks that would permit us to assume that role.

Let me just give you one example. There's no question in the world that in strictly military terms and fairly modest loss we could just walk into south Mogadishu, move everybody out that lives in every house and level the place. Just take it over. . . . But we did not go there to kill or to elevate one group or faction over another. We did go there to do our mission and to protect the people that were there working with us and our own people.

. . . Our first priorities are on our security interests and our economic interests. But our human interest in promoting democracy and peace and an end to starvation aren't insignificant.

And let me just make one last point about that in the context of Somalia. Having the United States stand up in Africa—a country that has escaped a lot of the economic growth that has been visited on some other sections of the world in the last 10, 15 years—with a Muslim country sends a very significant signal to those who may believe that the only way they can prosper in their own country as Muslims or as people of color is to align themselves with radical groups, terrorist groups, people who are totally against not only our institutions but our values and the way—what we think of as acceptable conduct.

**Asked how to keep the United States a world leader while focusing on domestic priorities.**

. . . You've got people in the Congress that may be

making talks about how America should be the world's leader, but look at what they do to the foreign aid budget or a lot of the other things. I don't think you can divide the two. And if there is a legitimate criticism maybe of what we've done in the last seven months that the difficulty in Somalia has pointed up, it is maybe that I should have started this series of engagements and the dialogue on foreign policy sooner than I did. . . . But let me back up and say, my belief is you're never going to have the American people looking outward again, except when they think their interests are affected and then they can clearly see it. They got it on Russia and I made the case early and I made it strong, but they got it.

. . . They understand, the American people do, how the difficulties in the Middle East foster worldwide networks of alienation and terrorism. So I think they have that. I think they fully support our being involved and spending money and getting other countries to raise money and all of that. I still think most of the American people support our economic engagement throughout the world. Even though I don't have the votes to pass NAFTA yet, I think I will in the end. . . .

I mean, I think what I would say to people who look ahead at this world, I don't think it's a world without rules exactly. But I think it's a world where we have to make new rules based on principles and a realistic understanding of our own interests. I think we are—let me go back to the post-World War II era. . . .

We had an intellectually coherent thing. The American people knew what the rules were and when we did whatever. And I understand that. But we now look back on this period and we think, well, as soon as the war was over and there was the Russian Bear standing there and they were in Berlin and all over Eastern Europe, we just sprang out of our heads with NATO, with

SEATO, with the World Bank, with the IMF, with the Marshall Plan. We just assumed that. And the truth is it took a couple of years for everybody to figure all of it out and put it together. Really smart people working hard at it.

And I think this is going to take a couple of years. . . .

. . . But I don't think that you can ever say, at this time, looking objectively at the problems of the people in this country, that we could be more successful in foreign affairs if we talked more about it to the exclusion of these domestic efforts. Because people have to believe that they are rooted here in America with a theory of what the government's role is and what their country's responsibilities are to the American people and what we're going to do for the American people and how they're going to recover their own security in a time where a lot of Americans are inclined to say the rest of the world needs to take care of itself. We won the Cold War for them. Why are they bothering us now?

I have to answer why they're bothering us now and why we should be bothered. And I think I've been more successful on Russia and nuclear issues, the Middle East, on non-proliferation issues relating to North Korea and Iraq, and on global economic issues. These multinational endeavors where our values and our sensibilities are appalled, in countries that can't immediately and directly affect our national security require a greater effort. And that's part of my job to have a great national dialogue. And perhaps I should have started more quickly and done it more intensely. But it is just inaccurate to say that that's all there is to this. We've simply got to focus on rebuilding America. It is the security of the American people which permits them to take risks for others that are also in their own interests.



אאאא, חוזם: 18508

אל: רהמש/ 811

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 504, תא: 181093, זח: 1202, דח: ב, סג: בל,

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בלמ'ס/בהול

אל: איתן הבר - מנהל לשכת רוה'מ

דע: וושינגטון, מצפ'א

מאת: קונכ'ל / ניו-יורק.

הנדון: חורשת הידידות ארה'ב - ישראל

1. נשיאת רובע קוינס, הגב' CLAIRE SHULMAN החליטה לחנוך ב-20/10 את חורשת הידידות ארה'ב - ישראל.

העבודה להקמת החורשה הוחלה ב- 1988.

בטקס החנוכה ייצג את הממשל סגן הנשיא אל גור.

2. ר'ב הצעה למסר מטעם רוה'מ.

מתנצלת על המועד המאוחר להגשתה (על קיום הארוע הוחלט לפני ארבעה ימים).

אודה על אשורך להקראתו במקום.

קולט אביטל

18 באוקטובר 1993

19.10

DEAR FRIENDS,

FORTY-SIX YEARS AGO, THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD GATHERED IN FLUSHING MEADOWS CORONA PARK AND VOTED TO SUPPORT THE CREATION OF A PERMANENT HOMELAND FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL. TODAY, YOU HAVE RETURNED TO THIS HISTORIC SITE TO DEDICATE THE AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP GROVE, SYMBOLIZING THE ETERNAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES. IT IS THE FRIENDSHIP WHICH HAS HELPED ISRAEL SURVIVE IN A SEA OF HOSTILITY AND TO REACH THE DAWN OF A NEW



ERA OF PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. THE CEDAR TREE THAT YOU PLANT TODAY REMINDS US OF KING SOLOMON'S TEMPLE AND THE GLORY OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL. IN THE BIBLE, THE CEDAR REPRESENTS STRENGTH AND INDESTRUCTABILITY. LIKE THE BIBLICAL CEDAR, THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLE WILL BE INDESTRUCTABLE BECAUSE IT IS BUILT UPON OUR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. LIKE THE 'MIGHTY CEDAR' OF THE PROPHET EZEKIEL, MAY THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL 'BRING FORTH BOUGHS AND BEAR FRUIT' AND MAY ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE WORLD SOON DWELL IN PEACE AND SECURITY 'IN THE SHADOW OF ITS BRANCHES.'

Y.R

תפוצה: שדח, סשדח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון, מצפא

סססס



אאאא

אל:המשרד,

מ-:רהמש,נר:0038,תא:191093,זח:1427,דח:ב,סג:בל,

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בלמס/בהול

אל: קונכ"ל ניו-יורק

דע: וושינגטון, מצפ"א

מאת: איתן הבר, מנהל לשכת רה"מ

הנדון: חורשת הידידות ארה"ב - ישראל

לשלך נר 504

א. מאשר הקראת המכתב בטקס חורשת הידידות.

ב. למותר לציין שיש להקפיד הקפדה יתרה שלא ינוצל מעמד זה, ואחרים, לשירבוב שמה של המדינה במערכת הבחירות המקומית.

ג. תודה.

סססס

22.10

שודר



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אאאא, חוזם: 20481

אל: רהמש/902

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 568, תא: 191093, זח: 1130, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

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שמור/מידי

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אל: איתן הבר, מנהל לשכת רוה'מ

דע: וושינגטון, מצפ'א

מאת: קונכ'ל / ניו-יורק.

*20/10*

הנדון: חורשת הידידות ארה'ב - ישראל

לשלך חוזם 20011

השקולים אותם העליתי בסעיף ב' נהירים לכולנו והצדק עמך. שקלנו והגענו למסקנה שלא ניתן להעדר מטקס כזה, בעיקר כשהצד האמריקני מיוצג עלידי סגן נשיא ארה'ב.

קולט אביטל

19 באוקטובר 1993

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

סססס



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מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - מדיניות חוץ

מצ"ב קובץ כתבות ( WP - STEPHEN ROSENFELD, WP - BILL NICHOLS & USA - PAUL BEDRAD - WT ) 15/10 ( העוסקות במדיניות החוץ של ארה"ב, בעקבות נאומו של הנשיא קלינטון בנושא מדה"ח האמריקנית והמעורבות האמריקנית בסומליה. הכתבות מבקרות את מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית, שאינה תואמת את המציאות החדשה בעולם שלאחר סיום המלחמה הקרה. עוד בכתבות ציטוט דברי מקור מממשל בוש, הטוען כי מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית הינה מדיניות מגיבה ולא יוזמת, בלתי יעילה ומבולבלת.

2.18.10

## תקשורת

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# Clinton paints 'big picture' policy

## But critics say 'details' make the difference

By Bill Nichols  
USA TODAY

President Clinton, adopting a rationale his senior advisers have been fine-tuning since the crisis in Somalia began, Thursday boiled down his defense of his foreign policy skills to this:

Operating in a new, post-Cold War world, we've got the big things right.

"I think on ... the biggest issues affecting the future and the security of the United States, we have a good record," Clinton said.

"We are living in a new world. It's easy for people who don't have these responsibilities to use words like 'naive' or this, that or the other thing."

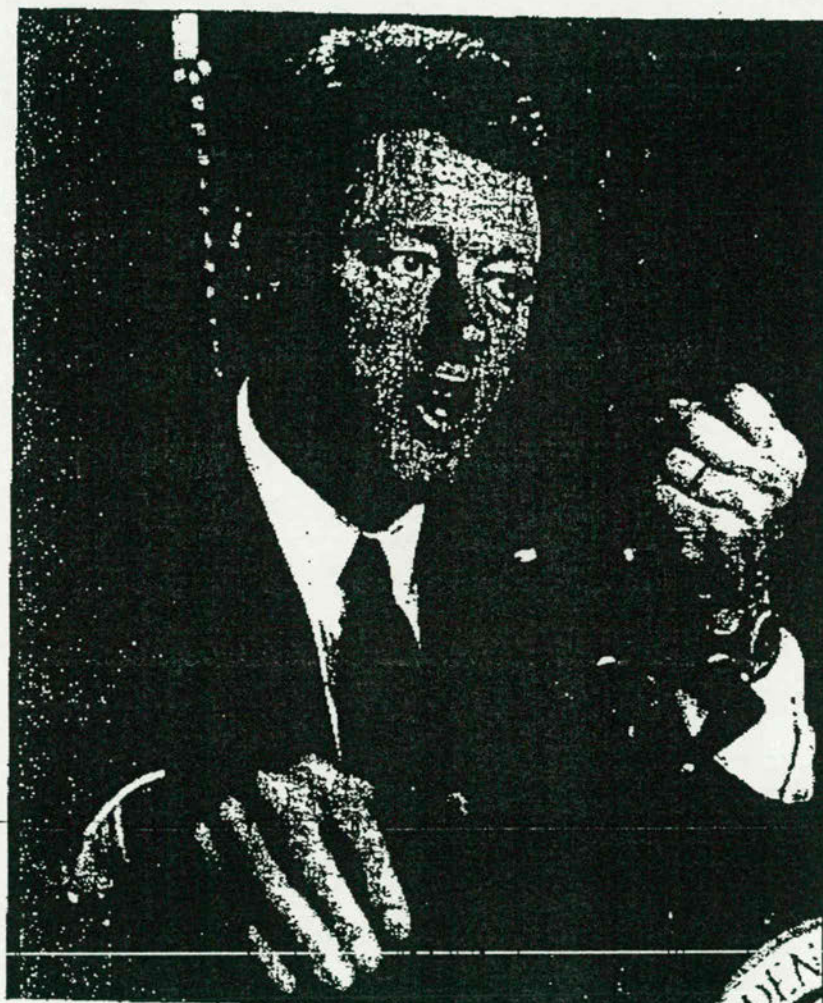
But analysts and congressional critics say Clinton must understand that when the lives of U.S. troops are at stake, their safety and success almost always overrides "big picture" accomplishments.

And even with Thursday's release of Army Chief of Staff Michael Durant, events in Somalia underscore preconceptions many had of Clinton as a foreign policy novice whose controversial draft record during the Vietnam War clouds his image as a decisive commander in chief.

"The people are into details on foreign policy, they're not into the big picture," says Democratic analyst Brian Lund. "You have to understand that or you run into trouble."

In a morning news conference, Clinton said critics who call him naive or incompetent in light of events in Somalia or Haiti ignore a string of solid achievements on much more crucial policies:

► In Russia, Clinton has steadfastly stood by President Boris Yeltsin and led an international effort to order Yeltsin



**'WE HAVE A GOOD RECORD':** President Clinton defends his foreign policy strategy by pointing to achievements in Russia, Japan and the Middle East.

to hammer out new trade guidelines with Japan and for his performance at the Group of Seven meeting in Tokyo.

► The administration was diligent in trying to restart stalled Middle East peace talks and helped put finishing touches on the historic agreement last month between Israel and the PLO.

People who criticize the administra-

tion to stand on," Clinton said.

National security adviser Tony Lake echoed similar thoughts this week, saying that while "American foreign policy ... seems to be defined by the crisis or even the photograph of the day," those often are not the key issues for U.S. interests.

Instead, policy toward Russia has the

**"**  
We are living in a new world. It's easy for people who don't have these responsibilities to use words like 'naive' ...  
**"**

President Clinton

and successful in doing everything possible to lead an international coalition in support for Boris Yeltsin."

Administration officials say they've clearly learned a lesson from events in Somalia, specifically that United Nations peacekeeping or peacemaking missions must be very tightly drawn and monitored.

"My experiences in Somalia would make me more cautious about having any Americans in a peacekeeping role where there was any ambiguity at all," and under any command but American, Clinton said.

And the White House says those lessons can be seen in Haiti, where they say the same critics yelling that the USS Harlan County was turned around at the first sign of danger would be screaming even louder if U.S. troops now were in a combat role on the volatile Haitian mainland.

But aides acknowledge that because of Clinton's foreign policy inexperience and his admitted preoccupation with domestic policy, he has a higher bar to cross on foreign policy and a scant margin for error.

And even with Durant's quick release, Clinton can gain nothing politically until troops in Somalia come home.

"The public is generally supportive, but on this one, the public has already given him an order — to get out as soon as possible," Lund says.

"There's no upside in being involved

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# Clinton bragging

Paul E. Scharf  
WASHINGTON POST

Bush administration officials yesterday rejected President Clinton's assertion that his foreign-policy operation is superior, charging that the White House foreign-policy shop is reactive, ineffectual and confused.

Top national security aides to former President Bush suggested that the Clinton national security team is not abreast of world developments, such as the civil war in Somalia, and has fallen victim to changing policy every time the United States gets in a pickle, such as the challenge in Somalia to Lord Mohamed Farrah Aidid.

"It's not clear to me how they make decisions," said Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to President Bush.

"The process has not delivered a consistent line on varying issues of foreign policy," he said in an interview.

Walter Kansteiner, Mr. Bush's African expert on the National Security Council, called Mr. Clinton's foreign policy "episodic" and on "autopilot."

"It's just unfortunate that they paint themselves into that corner and let it slip away that far before they address it. They could head off a lot of these foreign-policy problems if they were on top of them," he said.

Their criticisms came just hours after Mr. Clinton told reporters at the White House that his foreign policy was as good if not better than that of former Republican Presidents Reagan and Bush.

"I've had people who were involved in the two previous administrations say that our national security decision-making process was at least as good as the two in the previous ones, perhaps better," said Mr. Clinton.

His statement was at odds with Mr. Bush's view. Speaking at a San Antonio grade school this week, Mr. Bush expressed concern that the Clinton administration took on a police job in Somalia without a mission plan.

"I just hope that we don't get that mission messed up now," said Mr. Bush, whose administration rejected U.N. pressure to use U.S. troops to police the truce in Somalia.

Mr. Clinton said, "It's easy to second-guess."

At a morning news conference in the White House briefing room, Mr. Clinton said: "The truth is we're living in a new and different world, and we've got to try to chart a course that is the right course... while avoiding things that we cannot do... things that impose costs in human and fi-

nancial terms...."

"We have a good record," he said, adding that people who complain about his foreign-policy operation "because of what happened in Somalia last week have a pretty weak leg to stand on."

Mr. Clinton pointed to U.S. support of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the signing of the Middle East peace deal as his foreign-policy successes.

But critics said Mr. Clinton's policy development is reactive and they point to the situation last week when Mr. Clinton said he needed a few days to draw up a policy for Somalia after the Oct. 3 shootout in Mogadishu between Gen. Aidid's forces and U.S. troops. The failed raid on an Aidid compound claimed the lives of 18 U.S. troops.

Army Chief Warrant Officer Michael Durant, who was captured in the clash, was released yesterday, prompting Mr. Clinton's news conference.

Experts, saying Mr. Clinton's foreign policy appears to sway when challenged, pointed to:

- Gen. Aidid's capture of Warrant Officer Durant ended the U.S. hunt for the warlord.

- Congress' challenge to sending troops to Bosnia to aid in peacekeeping missions laced those plans.

- And an angry Haitian gang's protest in a port city this week prompted recall of a troop ship.

Mr. Kansteiner said the Clinton White House also confused the policy in Somalia by endorsing three different policy tracks — one run by the United Nations that still calls for the capture of Gen. Aidid, a second run by the United States that would let Gen. Aidid join peace talks and a third set by neighboring African nations that could even result in Gen. Aidid becoming president of Somalia.

"They are crossing each other and at times contradicting each other," Mr. Kansteiner said of parallel policies.

"They've been back and forth," Mr. Scowcroft said, and that may be the product of a decision to "put foreign policy on the back burner."

Mr. Clinton's inability to settle on specific plans for Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia, meanwhile, "raises issues about whether the United States has thought through its role in the post-Cold War world," said Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a foreign-policy expert at the Brookings Institution.

To prevent future foreign-policy embarrassments, the White House is reviewing its policy-making process, said a senior administration official.

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Stephen S. Rosenfeld

## Reluctant Cop

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It is a shock to recall that Richard Nixon was reelected president even though 20,000 Americans had died in the Vietnam War on his first-term watch. For it took only 15 American dead to convince President Clinton he had to beat it out the door in Somalia. At this moment and on three continents—in Bosnia and Haiti as well as Somalia—Washington's intent to settle down local disaster areas is foundering on the reluctance of Americans to countenance more than token casualties. A president who likes to identify himself with John F. Kennedy is loath to ask people what their uniformed fellow citizens can do for their country because it is evident what the answer will be—not much.

Some part of this answer offends me as someone who came of political age in the 1950s and accepted many of the felt obligations of Cold War service. I recognize the reasons why a president must respond to changing global circumstances and certainly to new political facts. But the Clinton administration's contributions to its own embarrassments and confusions are something else again.

Disputes in places like Somalia, Haiti and Bosnia seem characteristic of the new age. So it is no small matter they have been found not to meet the prevailing hard-nosed national-interest test. They excite our emotions and they have an impact on the quality of international life, but, whether you like it or not, they demonstrably no longer justify putting American lives on the line.

The unfolding consequences are somber. History did not "end" with the demise of the Cold War. Many old national disputes and ethnic stirrings were renewed. The world is in a disorderly state, and no other country is in a position to take over the role of world policeman that, in one nasty case after another, the United States is setting down. The notion of a Pax Americana, for good or ill, fades.

We have tried, and will be trying, a number of substitutes for American engagement:

- Military high tech. It worked in Iraq, where a threat to world oil created a direct national interest to protect. But high tech has only limited uses in gritty, ground-level encounters with people who don't present suitable targets.

- Arming our friends. For a country like ours in a mood to retrench, the moral case for arming beleaguered friends—especially in Bosnia-type circumstances where the alternative is tragic abandonment—is strong although, as we see in Bosnia itself, not overwhelming.

- Economic and political pressures applied to punish and isolate a rule-breaker. These pressures can tell, but the results are likely to be slow and uncertain. This is bound to trouble a president who is himself being pushed, as Clinton is in Haiti, to avoid humiliation and to achieve relief.

- Diplomacy and, on a slower track, development to ease or head off conflict are obviously the ticket. But diplomacy applied in a context of little force or enforcement merely prettifies appeasement, as right now in Bosnia and conceivably—let us see—in Somalia as well.

- The United Nations. As the Cold War ended, the U.N. was loaded with all the world's hard cases. Some—Cambodia, Namibia—it handled successfully. Others linger unresolved. Force was needed. The United States thought to tuck American participation and risk into a U.N. envelope. But the American people quickly discerned that casualties were casualties whether they occurred under the U.N. flag or the American flag. This is how we come to be heading toward the exit in Somalia, standing offshore in Haiti and postponing a commitment on peace-keeping in Bosnia.

Meanwhile, unaccountably, we are blaming the United Nations. Clinton suggests that the United States had nothing to do with the U.N.'s get-Aldeed policy—a policy currently being abandoned—but in fact the U.S. approved and conducted that policy from the start. His administration conveys that U.S. forces in Somalia were under U.N. command—hence the losses—but there was never a day when they were not under direct American command. A flustered administration, retreating from "multilateralism," allowed our domestic debate to draw it into hot denials that it had "subcontracted" American policy to the United Nations—as though the U.N. had sneakily grabbed the ball. And so on.

Plainly, the U.N. is useful to the United States as a scapegoat. But it can be more useful as a support of American policy. The U.N. offers to share the burden of international stability and security at a time when the United States is shrinking the part of the burden it wants to pick up by itself. The world's thugs are watching the United States opt out of trouble spots when the going gets rough. But it is the U.N. and not the U.N. in one or another imperfect manifestation that can start to fill this fateful gap. Clinton cannot afford to score political points off the organization he must count on to serve American interests and pull American chestnuts out of many fires.



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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 15 אוקטובר 1993

אל: סגן שה"ח

דע: מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל, יועץ תקשורת שהב"ט.

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: טכנולוגיה לסין

בהמשך למברק השגריר, מצ"ב הטור של אייב רוזנטל ומאמר המערכת של ה -  
NYT.

2/17/10

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<sup>2</sup> שבת / שבת יהא אהל ואלו  
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A. M. ROSENTHAL

# Here We Go Again

Israel sells weapons and the technology of warfare to Communist China. The U.S. prepares the way for the Chinese military to get the American supercomputers for which it has lusted so long.

So, fellow suckers, citizens of the Free World, here we go again. Democratic governments are helping increase the military power of despotism.

They are richly experienced at that — one accomplishment after another, from Hitler Germany to Imperial Japan to the Haiti of the Duvaliers, to Ayatollah Iran and Saddamite Iraq, and so many other sales-points in between.

The C.I.A. has sent a report to the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, which is investigating the proliferation of high-tech, high-kill weapons around the world. The C.I.A. says the Israel-China military link has involved planes, tanks and missiles and is moving into "cooperation" in electronics and space. This has been going on under Likud, "unity" and Labor governments.

Is Israel selling American weapons technology? In March 1992, I wrote columns refuting reports that Israel was about to sell American missile technology to China. The technology involved was Israeli.

But if both Israel-U.S. joint military enterprises and Israel-to-China military sales continue, the ice can get thinner. Already, Israeli diplomats have to keep answering Washington's questions about possible transfers — bad for their alliance, believe it.

But in any case, I wrote when Likud ruled and repeat when Labor is in office: As an American friend of Isra-

outside the Senate committee and nonproliferation specialists in and out of government. These valuable people devote their lives to fighting the spread of technologies and materials that carry the virus of death.

Why do Israel and the U.S. so stupidly soil and endanger themselves?

In a world where the U.S. cannot land a detachment of soldiers in Haiti, China's military power is already far greater and more deliverable than America's — among Asians, it is psychologically no contest.

As for Israel, its Chinese customers are supplying Middle East dictators with missiles that can reach Israeli territory — if handshakes ever close into fists.

Israelis say they need foreign arms sales to keep their defense industry going. As my mother used to say, I will sit right down and cry my heart out for them. The sales to China are a tiny part of Israel's growing economy, hardly worth the price in honor and relations with the U.S.

The American rationalization for supercomputer sales is that technology sooner or later gets around the world, so we might as well take the profit. Nonproliferation specialists like Prof. Gary Milthollin of the University of Wisconsin's Law School say that some technology cannot be duplicated and that anyway the time lag can be years.

If Saddam Hussein had had the benefit of even more relaxed trade rules, he could have developed nuclear weapons before the Gulf War.

No, the reason is money — money, as in profit for U.S. computer industry, as in cost reduction in Israel's defense industry. That always seems so sensible, until money comes whistling back as dictators' bombs.

The U.S. and Israel aren't alone in doing military-related business with China. Russia, Japan, Western Europe, all are willying up to the trough.

I used to assume that U.S. economic strength could be used as political clout with our friends. Bushbaker certainly put the squeeze on Israel. But about trade with China we never do anything so delicate.

Still, when the U.S. or Israel, a special ally, play around with trade rules or sales orders that could strengthen the Chinese military, we have the right and duty to protest until we get our nose.

The U.S. and Israel have plenty of joint interests — political freedom, history, security. We don't need the additional common ground of cupid-

## Israel, America and China's army.

el and a lifetime anti-Communist and anti-Fascist, I believe Israel is in moral and political error in selling even a pistol to the keeper of a gulag that includes the entire nation of Tibet.

The U.S. is on the road to the same error. The Chinese will be able to buy U.S. supercomputer technology, directly or from another country, through "relaxations" in American computer-trade regulations. That is not getting enough attention

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## Why Does Israel Arm China?

Israel is expanding its cooperation with China on military technology, according to the Central Intelligence Agency. That's the latest sign of Israeli willingness to engage in dubious arms deals. In this case, Israel is supplying China with advanced technology that the U.S. and other Western powers won't supply.

In the past, compelling security needs drove an isolated Israel to forge alliances of convenience with outcasts like South Africa and Iran, sometimes with U.S. connivance. But why would Israel engage in such risky trade now — especially with a country that has armed Israel's sworn enemies like Iran? Washington, Israel's protector, should demand a good answer before supplying its ally with more advanced military technology.

The Rand Corporation reported two years ago that Israel became "China's leading foreign supplier of advanced technology" after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre. The sales included missile technology, like a new PL-8 air-to-air and air-to-surface missile and improvements in the CSS-2 ballistic missiles that China sold to Saudi Arabia.

Rand also detected "indications" that Israel had helped the Chinese develop a new fighter plane with technology from the canceled Lavi fighter. The

U.S. originally supplied some of that technology.

In August, the General Accounting Office warned that the transfer of U.S. technology to Israel for developing the Arrow anti-missile interceptor was inadequately supervised, raising the risk of possible diversion to third countries. Israel has repeatedly denied any such diversion. Given the close cooperation between the two allies, it's often difficult to know exactly when Israeli designers develop an original device or when they produce a knockoff of a U.S. design.

The C.I.A., in answer to questions from a Senate committee, was circumspect about whether the military technology Israel was transferring to China was Israel's own or had originated in the U.S. But it offered an unusually blunt public assessment of "broadening" Israeli-Chinese cooperation, noting that "a growing number of Israeli defense firms" are opening offices in China.

Israel's burgeoning cooperation with China is puzzling in the wake of progress in autonomy talks with the Palestinians and the prospect of peace with all its next-door neighbors. There's no new indication that Israel is reselling U.S. military technology in violation of U.S. law. Even so, a further puzzle persists: Why does Israel do business with a country that endangers its security by arming Iran, Pakistan and others?

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בלמס/מייד

תאריך: 15 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: אש"פ - ארה"ב

מצ"ב כתבת ה - WP ( SHU - CHING JEAN CHEN ) מה - 15.10 אודות ניצנים ראשונים לזיהוי פומבי ושיוך לאש"פ ברחוב האמריקאי, מיום חתימת ההסכם בין ישראל לאש"פ ובעקבותיו - זאת למרות שעדיין לא שונה החוק האמריקני בנושא אש"פ.

2/18.10

תקשורת

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# public with U.S. presence

By Shu-Ching Jean Chen  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Ancas Barghouti began handing out his new business cards Sept. 13, the day the Palestinians and Israelis signed a peace agreement on the White House lawn.

The cards identify Mr. Barghouti as director of the "Palestine Affairs Center, Palestine Liberation Organization."

"They replace cards that listed the Palestine Affairs Center as an adjunct of the League of Arab States."

When Mr. Barghouti, a Palestinian-American, attended the State Department's October conference on aid for the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip and the West Bank city of Jericho, his name tag identified him as a representative of the PLO.

Before the peace agreement, such public identification seemed impossible.

Using the PLO designation still technically violates U.S. law. The Anti-Terrorist Act bars any official U.S. contact with the PLO. Justice Department records say the PLO's Washington office closed May 25, 1988.

But because of the peace agreement, the Clinton administration is pushing Congress to lift the restrictions on the PLO.

Mr. Barghouti's new high profile allows him to tell the American public about the PLO's position on Palestinian-Israeli issues. He attends talk shows and news conferences. Recently, he addressed the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, a mainstream American Jewish group.

"Now we can talk with them [Jews] more freely," he said in an interview. "Before, we used to meet in either talk shows or MTV. We presented our points of view. They presented their points of view. And sometimes it was contradictory."

"Those people would never invite us to talk to them before, never."

After its Washington office closed in 1988, the PLO tried to maintain a presence under the umbrella of the League of Arab States.

The Palestine Affairs Center, League of Arab States, registered with the Department of Justice a month before the U.S. government closed the PLO office.

The center has been doing "table" PLO work, Mr. Barghouti said.

Instead of accepting money from the Cairo-based Arab League, the center has been financed by sources in Tunisia, where the PLO has its headquarters, and Amman, Jordan, home of the Palestine National Fund.



Palestinian women in Bethlehem display photographs





of relatives imprisoned by Israel for security offenses



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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 15 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, דושינגטון

הנדון: פלסטינים - שלטון עצמי

מצ"ב כתבת ה - WP ( 15/10 DAVID HOFFMAN ) העוסקת בשאלת יישום השלטון העצמי של הפלסטינים בשטחים בעקבות הסכם ישראל - אש"פ. הכתבה מעלה מספר בעיות ושאלות בנושא תוך שימת דגש על הצורך במשטר דמוקרטי בשטחים.

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תקשורת

(2) שחח (2) שחח (1) רהם (1) מנכל (2) מנכל (1) תכנון (1) מצפא (2)  
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אמן (1) יועמש (1) משפט (1) צנזורצבאי (1) דוצ-ים (1) במחנ/1993 (1)



right ... to say what he wants to say.

Seven days later in the Gaza Strip, masked gunmen pulled alongside a car occupied by Mohammed Hashem Abu Shaban, a prominent Palestinian lawyer and human rights activist who was a leader of Fatah, the largest faction within the PLO. Forcing his car off the road, the gunmen shot Abu Shaban in the head. No one has been arrested, but Palestinians said the assassination grew out of a power struggle within Fatah, which is headed by Arafat.

Arafat's pledge and Abu Shaban's slaying capture the dream and the nightmare of Palestinian self-government as the day approaches when nearly 2 million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza gain control over their own affairs for the first time in decades.

In the best case, many Palestinians are hoping that, after 26 years of Israeli military occupation, their new government will be more democratic and protective of individual rights than any in the Arab world. In the worst case, many fear it could become just another authoritarian regime, like those that dominate the Arab landscape.

What is about to happen in the rocky villages of the West Bank and the shantytowns of Gaza is no less an experiment in creating democracy than the trauma now attending the former Soviet republics. For the Palestinians, the outcome is not an abstract political science question, but a bread-and-butter issue that goes to the heart of how they will handle their independence.

The question being debated among Palestinians, apart from the many external problems of living side-by-side with Israeli Jewish settlers and soldiers, is what kind of society they will set up for themselves.

The pact with Israel calls for elections in April for a Palestinian council and an interim government. But Palestinians are looking at deeper questions about day-to-day life. What laws will protect their rights if they are topped by an armed Palestinian policeman? How will the new Palestinian authority deal with the traditionally sensitive issue of women's rights? Will the new authority be a truly popular democracy with parliamentary decision making or a one-man show with a rubber-

See GAZA, A33, Col 1

regime, parliament and elections, this is the result of so many years of living under the rule of others. It is also a byproduct of the Palestinian uprising, or *intifada*, which bred a deep contempt for authority, especially among the youths who spent years in the streets throwing stones at Israeli soldiers.

"There has developed in society, and among the young in particular, a contempt for and a hatred for authority, because authority was always illegitimate," said Rashid Khalidi, director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Chicago and an adviser to the Palestinian delegation.

"Talk to cab drivers, and they will complain bitterly about the Israeli cops, even when it is something good, such as enforcing the law on wearing seat belts," he said. "Even when it is a law for our own good, we have no history of it."

A major handicap for the Palestinians is their long history of statelessness. During the past century, they have been ruled successively by the Ottoman Empire, Britain, Jordan, Egypt and Israel. For decades, Palestinian society was dominated by traditional leadership, such as village *mukhtars*, or powerful clans and families.

From the outside, the Arab world offered the Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip little to emulate. Palestinian delegation spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi told a group of reporters recently that neither Egypt nor Jordan offered satisfactory models for the Palestinians.

their future politics—is a thriving pluralism and a strong middle class of well-educated professionals who will insist on individual rights and democratic principles.

George Giacaman, dean of the faculty of arts at Bir Zeit University and director of the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy, said that modern political parties and movements sprang up after Israel's capture of the West Bank and Gaza in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Unlike the old clans and families, these parties were open to everyone and gave rise to frequent elections for student and professional associations that are now commonplace in the territories.

The inevitable contest for power among Palestinian factions is the major hope for a working democracy, Giacaman said. "The groups have to find a way to coexist, and the Palestinians feel that democracy is a solution to a problem—to avoid conflict and civil war, which we all agree no one can win."

A major uncertainty for Palestinians inside the territories is how they will be governed by Arafat and those returning with him after 25 years of military struggle, including up to 20,000 Palestinian fighters from camps in distant Arab lands who will become the new police force.

Some Palestinian intellectuals and businessmen express fear this could be the vanguard of a new authoritarian regime. "We've been influenced by Israel, and not the Arab world," said a merchant in Arab East Jerusalem. "When Arafat gets here, he will face a world completely different from anything he has known."

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# A Democracy or Hard-Line Regime?

## Gaza, West Bank Arabs Wonder What Independence Will Mean

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM—The day after signing the peace accord with Israel, Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat vowed that the new Palestinian authority in the West Bank and Gaza Strip will be based on "democracy and more democracy and more democracy."

"Many, many, many points of view," Arafat said of the future Palestinian entity. "And anyone . . . has the

right to demand that the government be secular or based on Islamic precepts and law?

"The leadership is going to be put face-to-face in front of a civil society in which they can be democratic or they can not be," said Ghassan Khatteb, a leader of the small People's Party and a member of the Palestinian delegation to the Middle East peace talks in Washington. "I think they would like to, but I am not sure they can. The Palestinians have not yet experienced democratic life. There is a difference between the emotional desire and being able to practice it. You cannot just decide to practice democracy; it is something people have to be growing with for decades."

At the popular level, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza are fiercely anti-authoritarian and would not likely accept the rule of a military strongman. According to soci-

and Norwegian scholars, a broad cross section of Palestinians was asked to choose from seven political systems. "None of these" was the overwhelming favorite of 68 percent. Jordan was the choice of 13 percent; the United States, 3 percent. "For the vast majority of Palestinians," the study concluded, "no country seems to provide a model."

When the Palestinians were asked more broadly about the "main attribute you would like to see in a future Palestinian state," the overwhelming choice was Islam, about 50 percent; democracy, about 20 percent; Arabism, about 10 percent. The study depicted a society being torn between a more liberal, democratic and pluralistic stream of thought and the tug of older, more rigid social and religious codes.

One of the major advantages for Palestinians—perhaps the most im-



While the PLO has numerous competing factions and a parliament in exile that meets infrequently, and while Arafat has been a skillful consensus builder, he has also shown an autocratic hand. "Once he gets the imprimatur or consensus, he takes it and just goes with it," Khalidi said.

Over the years, he said, "the problem was the PLO was at war. Democracy never does very well at wartime: the requirements of the struggle mitigated against the full exercise of democracy."

But Arafat's colorful past as leader of an armed struggle may not be relevant to his new problems: electricity, taxes, police and hospitals. Giacaman said Arafat will not be strong enough to impose repression on Palestinians, even if he wanted to.

"Whatever entity will be in Gaza and [the West Bank town of] Jericho will be a weak one," Giacaman said. "There will be no army. The police will be too weak to control the population. This will force a consensus. Even if Arafat issues an edict, he will not be able to enforce it. And the main task, at least in the first years, is to make it work and avoid conflict."

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 14 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ישראל - אש"ף

מצ"ב כתבת ה-WP (DAVID HOFFMAN 14/10) אודות הדיונים, בין ישראל ואש"ף, שנפתחו אתמול בטאבה. הדיונים מתמקדים בהוצאה לפועל של ההסכם שנחתם בווישינגטון בחודש שעבר וכינון הממשל העצמי בעזה ויריחו.

2/10

תקשורת



# Israel, PLO Open Self-Rule Talks

Both Sides Push to Meet Deadline for Transfer of Control

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Foreign Service

ABSA, Egypt, Oct. 1: The agreement for Palestinian self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip went into effect today as Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization opened negotiations in the Sinai resort and in Cairo to transform the broad accord into concrete reality.

In joint statements, both said they would strive to meet stringent deadlines for completing the bargaining that will lead to the end of Israel's quarter-century military control over the occupied territories and the transfer of responsibility to a Palestinian government.

In two months, Israel's army is scheduled to begin pulling out of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, north of Jericho, while civil functions are handed over to an interim authority headed by PLO Chairman Yassir

Jericho as a foothold in the West Bank but were now seeking to transform it into a large area. But Palestinians have said they need more than just Jericho proper if the new self-government is to get off the ground economically.

Another illustration of potential problems came today when three members of the Palestinian team that arrived here said they had been excluded from the talks because of objections from Israel. One of them was Anwar Hindi, chief of intelligence for the PLO, whom the Israeli press identified as a planner of the 1974 murder of Israeli Olympic athletes in Munich. Israeli and Palestinian spokesmen denied Israel had vetoed any of the Palestinian members, but one Israeli source acknowledged there were objections to Hindi's participation. "We have to look at the future, but this

doesn't mean we have to forget our past sensitivities," the source said.

At the same time, Israeli, Egyptian and PLO security forces were all working together at the talks in Cairo, Egyptian officials said.

What was most significant about today's first meetings was that old adversaries made a determined show of getting down to business in a fragile, evolving process.

In Cairo, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres met for an hour alone with senior

PLO official Mahmoud Abbas, and then the delegations met for two hours. "Both of us are here to make the Israeli-Palestinian agreement a full success," said Peres, who seemed ebullient. "We are the business side of a historical agreement. We shall try to make it into real history."

In the Cairo communique, the two sides pledged to meet the two-month deadline for an agreement on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Gaza and Jericho. "We shall make a supreme effort to do it in time and, if possible, we will try to do it earlier," Peres said.

They also decided that their "liaison committee," which is to direct implementation of the pact, will convene in Cairo "every two or three weeks to deal with policy." In addition, they agreed to set up an economic cooperation committee at ministerial level and to contact Egypt and Jordan to create another four-way committee to address issues of common concern, including the early return of some Palestinians displaced by the 1967 Middle East war from their homes in the West Bank and Gaza.

They also urged "early resumption" of peace talks in Washington, where details of

the planned Palestinian elections for a governing authority are to be negotiated.

The delegations in Taba began work on procedures for the Israeli pullout from Gaza and Jericho. Israel sent a prominent general, Deputy Chief of Staff Amnon Shahak, and the PLO sent Nabil Shaath, a senior aide to Arafat. The delegations set up panels for security and civilian affairs and said they will meet almost continuously in the weeks ahead.

In their joint statement, they promised to give early consideration to Palestinian calls for a release of prisoners. Israel has said it

would release prisoners only in stages, but Palestinians have been organizing public demonstrations calling for a broader release. The Taba negotiations will also deal with issues such as the status of Palestinians accused of collaborating with the Israeli authorities.

Meanwhile, Palestinians said a general strike in the occupied territories called by 10 groups that reject the agreement was widely honored in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Correspondent Carlyle Murphy in Cairo contributed to this report.

Arafat, by summer, Palestinians are to hold elections for their own governing authority while the army pulls back farther into the West Bank.

But the agreement signed last month at the White House left unresolved hundreds of problems that both sides are only now beginning to tackle. Among the major issues are security arrangements, such as the release of more than 1,000 Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails and detention centers.

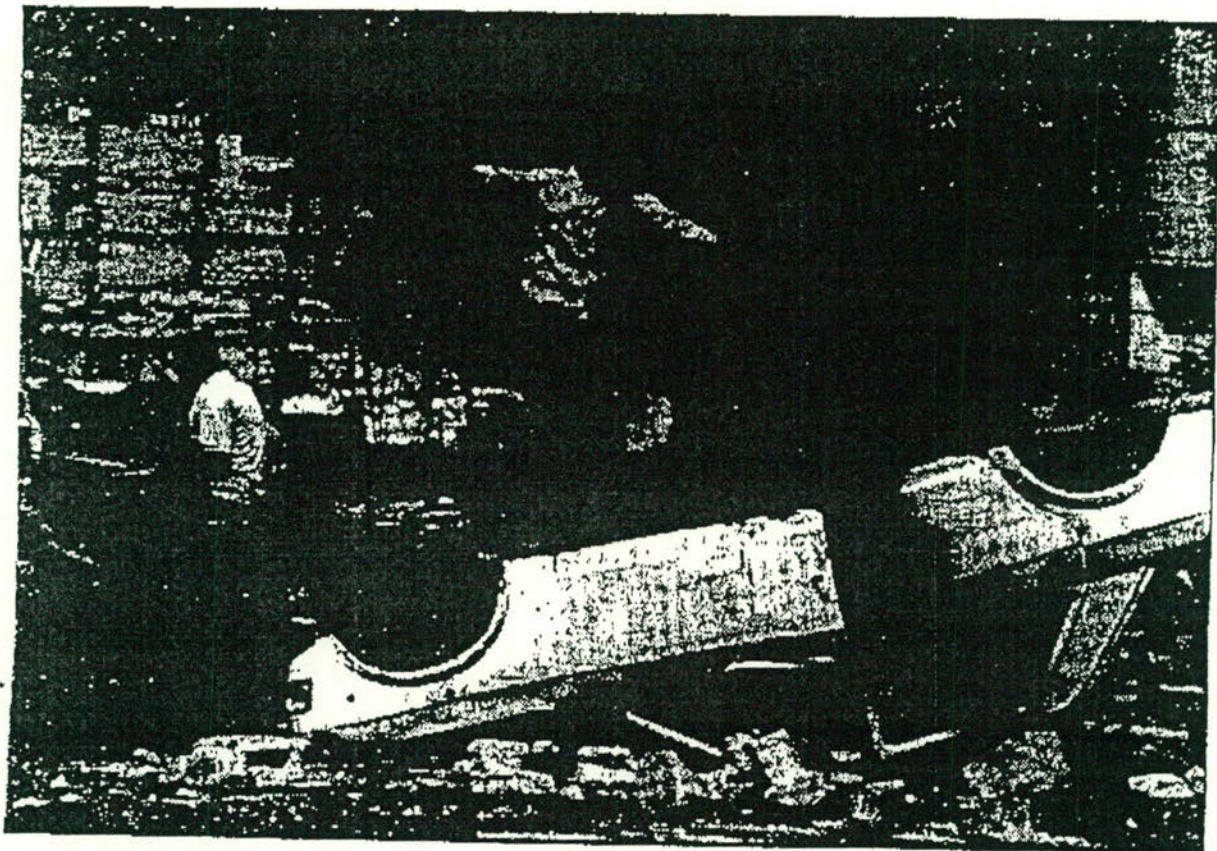
Another problem is how large to draw the Palestinian-controlled Jericho region. The Palestinians have defined Jericho as encompassing 133 square miles, including the lucrative Dead Sea resorts, while Israel has proposed confining it to less than 10 square miles, approximately the area of the town of Jericho itself.

Israeli Health Minister Haim Ramon complained today that the Palestinians had originally asked for

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A Palestinian youth jumps over barricades placed in Gaza City by militants who oppose the Israel-PLO agreement. AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

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בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 14 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: הארגונים הפלסטיניים הקיצוניים והסכם ישראל - אש"ף

מצ"ב כתבת ה-BS (F.P. 14/10) DOUG STRUCK אודות התנגדות הארגונים הפלסטיניים הקיצוניים להסכם ישראל - אש"ף. סוריה הודיעו על כוונתם להביא להדחתו של ערפאת ומניעת הוצאתו לפועל של הסכם ישראל - אש"ף. בכתבה ראיון עם ג'ורג' חבש, מנהיג ה"חזית העממית", אשר טוען כי ארגונו ילחם בכל דרך אפשרית בהסכם ובישראל.

17.10

תקשורת



# Radical lots of peace find solace in Syria

## Palestinian groups forge uneasy ties

By Doug Struck  
Staff Writer

DAMASCUS — The man who ordered planes hijacked and Jews killed sat weakly in his chair, fidgeting with his left hand to straighten the curling thumb of his paralyzed right.

He complained that his fellow Palestinians were not being democratic.

George Habash, leader of a radical guerrilla group that staged spectacular terrorist attacks for 25 years, is reduced to this: a crippled old man griping about the unfairness of the pact between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization, and boasting when some young zealot gives up his life in another attack on Israelis.

"We will fight this agreement through an escalation of the intifada, through the armed struggle against Israel, and through mustering Palestinian forces who oppose the agreement," vowed Mr. Habash, head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

As the timetable on the agreement between Israel and the PLO took effect yesterday and officials of

both sides met in Egypt, the naysayers among the Palestinians looked on from the sidelines in Syria.

Mr. Habash, 64 and partly paralyzed by a stroke, is leader of the largest of 10 groups who formed the "rejectionist front" vowing to wreck the agreement.

They have been among the bitterest "rejectionists" of every move toward reconciliation between the Arabs and the Israelis for more than two decades.

Mr. Habash's PFLP and the third-largest group in the PLO, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, announced yesterday their plans to force the ouster of Yasser Arafat as chairman of the PLO and to replace him with a new, hard-line leadership.

Their capacity to cause suffering is real. In an interview Tuesday, Mr. Habash claimed responsibility for two attacks in Israel last week. A Palestinian on a power ski was killed nearing shore, and two Israeli hikers east of Jerusalem were slain by unknown assailants.

At least two other Palestinian



### SYRIA, FROM 1A

groups also have said they sent those attackers. But the credentials of Mr. Habash are unquestioned: He inaugurated his organization in 1967 with the hijacking of an Israeli El-Al airplane, once hijacked three airliners at once, and masterminded a string of grotesque terrorist attacks for more than two decades.

Politically, the opposition groups have now been relegated to the proverbial voice in the wilderness, protesting as historic handshakes, peace agreements and the stirrings of a Palestinian government overtake their objections at drum-roll pace.

The autonomy agreement is being implemented, Mr. Arafat is preparing to move into the West Bank, and nations are lining up with money and support to ensure that the plan does not fail.

Perhaps only dramatic violence can stop the agreement now. Shimon Peres, Israel's foreign minister, told fellow Israelis this week to expect new terrorist attacks. And Mr. Arafat reportedly foiled an assassination plot against him by arresting at least nine bodyguards.

The rejectionist groups include old comrades and old foes of Mr. Arafat. Mr. Habash and fellow Marxist Nayef Hawatmeh lead the second- and third-largest factions, respectively. In the PLO, behind the Fatah faction of Mr. Arafat.

Also included are Ahmad Jabril, a long and bitter rival who has urged that Mr. Arafat be killed, and the Hamas Islamic fundamentalist group.

"Strange bedfellows is an under-

agree on very little, except they are opposed to this agreement."

"We can't say we are completely comfortable working with Hamas," acknowledged Mr. Hawatmeh, whose Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine is avowedly non-religious.

The groups historically have found an accommodating home in Damascus. Syria has always played a leading role in the so-called "rejectionist front." Today, Damascus is angry that the PLO made a separate deal with Israel, undercutting the all-for-one strategy to which they were sworn.

To remind Israel and the PLO it cannot be left out, Damascus has not only permitted the groups to meet here but has been helpfully ushering foreign reporters to see them.

"The Syrians have a couple of cards. One of them is the rejectionists," said the diplomat. "When they feel things are not going in the right direction, they like to wave the card around."

If Syria reaches an agreement with Israel, however, one of the terms of the pact undoubtedly will be to quash activities of the Palestinian opposition groups. Mr. Habash and the others then would have to find a new home — the few likely hosts are Iran, Sudan or Libya — or become non-violent political players in the new Palestinian entity.

There are signs of a shift toward a political role already. Hamas, the strongest opposition group inside the occupied territories, has been hinting it would run in elections.

At a meeting in Damascus last week, the rejectionist groups failed to agree on an "alternate leadership" to Mr. Arafat. Instead, Mr. Habash

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מס' מדק:	כטחון - יועץ שה"ט לתקשורת, רו"צ, אמ"נ/קש"ח (ב' בעניינים)	דע:
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7.18.10

# At Red Sea Resort, a Push to End Old Hatred

By CLYDE HABERMAN  
Special to The New York Times

TABA, Egypt, Oct. 14 — For those who see symbolic importance in matters like physical settings, the choice of this Red Sea resort for crucial negotiations that got under way this week between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization could be both hopeful and worrisome.

Hopeful, because a 1989 agreement on control over Taba, on the Egyptian-Israeli border, was the final jewel in the peace treaty between the two countries, the only one that the Jewish state has reached with an Arab neighbor. Besides, on a sultry fall day, with the

wind in one's hair and the waters of the Gulf of Aqaba lapping the pebbly beach, old hatreds seem remote.

But Taba can also be a worrisome symbol because it took seven years to resolve its status after Israel had returned the rest of the Sinai Peninsula to Egypt, in 1982, 15 years after its capture in war.

Considering that this spit of land is only 750 yards long — and not much more than a hotel and a beach club, at that — it is a sobering reminder of the painful nature of the Arab-Israeli relationship. It certainly gives pause to some on each side who wonder what it might foretell for the far more compli-

cated issues now at hand: withdrawing Israeli forces from occupied territories, starting in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank city of Jericho, and turning authority over to Palestinians there.

"I hope the proportion of time will not be directly related to the size of the area," Efraim Sneh, a Labor member of Parliament, said jokingly the other day. "Otherwise, we're talking about centuries."

The Israeli and Palestinian negotiators have given themselves a lot less than that — two months to be precise. That is not much time to clear away the thick underbrush of security and land-use issues that go to the heart of

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turning an agreement in principle on Palestinian self-rule into reality. The agreement, signed at the White House on Sept. 13, officially went into effect on Wednesday.

By Dec. 13, according to the timetable the two sides have set, Israeli forces are supposed to begin pulling back in Gaza and Jericho, a process that could take until mid-April. By next July, similar shifts of authority from Israel to Palestinians are to occur across the West Bank.

After their first two days of meetings here, the negotiators seem off to a good start, even an amicable one.

They announced tonight that they had agreed on an agenda for detailed talks that are to move into higher gear next week. While they would not disclose the agenda, they said that they had set up two broad committees, one

on security matters, the other on civil administration of the territories.

The Palestinians hope to show quick results, and news reports said today that the Israeli Government was prepared to release thousands of people, although not some 500 jailed for killing Jews.

Perhaps as important as substance, the dozen negotiators on each side seemed eager to put on a friendly front, reinforcing the idea that old enemies were now partners in peace and have a big stake in each other's success.

For example, a potentially explosive situation over several Palestinian delegates unacceptable to the Israelis was smoothed over quietly, including a P.L.O. security chief reported to have helped plan the attack at the Munich Summer Olympics in 1972 in which 11 Israeli athletes were killed.

Reporters' questions on the delegates' status were brushed off as unhelpful and meddlesome.

"Look, we are all in the mood for peace," said Nabil Shaath, the chief Palestinian delegate and the P.L.O.'s political counselor.

To show how well they are getting along, Mr. Shaath and his Israeli counterpart, Maj. Gen. Amnon Shahak, the Army Deputy Chief of Staff, strolled along the beach today and chatted at a picnic table, sipping juice and laughing. In their business suits, they formed a stark contrast to the scantily dressed tourists who dominate Taba even under Egyptian control.

"We came here to make friends," said Maj. Gen. Uzi Dyan, the deputy head of the Israeli delegation, "and I hope it can show that we already started to be friends."



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## Why Does Israel Arm China?

Israel is expanding its cooperation with China on military technology, according to the Central Intelligence Agency. That's the latest sign of Israeli willingness to engage in dubious arms deals. In this case, Israel is supplying China with advanced technology that the U.S. and other Western powers won't supply.

In the past, compelling security needs drove an isolated Israel to forge alliances of convenience with outcasts like South Africa and Iran, sometimes with U.S. connivance. But why would Israel engage in such risky trade now—especially with a country that has armed Israel's sworn enemies like Iran? Washington, Israel's protector, should demand a good answer before supplying its ally with more advanced military technology.

The Rand Corporation reported two years ago that Israel became "China's leading foreign supplier of advanced technology" after the 1989 Tiananmen massacre. The sales included missile technology like a new PL-8 air-to-air and air-to-surface missile and improvements in the CSS-2 ballistic missiles that China sold to Saudi Arabia.

Rand also detected "indications" that Israel had helped the Chinese develop a new fighter plane with technology from the canceled Lavi fighter. The

U.S. originally supplied some of that technology.

In August, the General Accounting Office warned that the transfer of U.S. technology to Israel for developing the Arrow anti-missile interceptor was inadequately supervised, raising the risk of possible diversion to third countries. Israel has repeatedly denied any such diversion. Given the close cooperation between the two allies, it's often difficult to know exactly when Israeli designers develop an original device or when they produce a knockoff of a U.S. design.

The C.I.A., in answer to questions from a Senate committee, was circumspect about whether the military technology Israel was transferring to China was Israel's own or had originated in the U.S. But it offered an unusually blunt public assessment of "broadening" Israeli-Chinese cooperation, noting that "a growing number of Israeli defense firms" are opening offices in China.

Israel's burgeoning cooperation with China is puzzling in the wake of progress in autonomy talks with the Palestinians and the prospect of peace with all its next-door neighbors. There's no new indication that Israel is reselling U.S. military technology in violation of U.S. law. Even so, a further puzzle persists: Why does Israel do business with a country that endangers its security by arming Iran, Pakistan and others?



# Seeds of Arab-Israeli Conflict in 'The Cave'

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**THE CAVE.** Conceived and developed by Steve Reich and Beryl Korot. Music by Reich. Multi-channel video and screen design by Korot. Stage direction Carey Perloff. Lighting design Richard Nelson. Stage design John Arnone. Costumes Donna Zakowska. Performed by The Steve Reich Ensemble. Conductor Paul Hiller. At the Brooklyn Academy of Music Opera House, 30 Lafayette Ave. Reviewed at Wednesday night's opening.

By Jan Stuart  
STAFF WRITER

**M**INIMALIST MEISTER Steve Reich and his video artist wife Beryl Korot should be applauded for devising the most alluring Sunday school lesson since Charlton Heston parted the Red Sea. Heston never enters into their techno-opera creation "The Cave," thank God, although Lillian Gish gets a mention as a perfect choice to play Hagar, slave mother to Abraham's firstborn son, Ishmael. As a show with something for every following, there is also a vote of support for James Dean as Ishmael.

While one doesn't want to be too whimsical about a piece as penetrating and, I suspect, as enduring as "The Cave," the authors do encourage us to let our hair down. With its multiple video screens, vertiginous Erector-Set environs and pulsing penny-arcade buzz, "The Cave" has all the trappings of a pop concert seduction. What finally hooks us, however, is well beyond the authority of Con Ed or IBM: The new mystic lushness of Reich's voice-activated music, the cocksure convictions of people of faith.

The cave of Reich and Korot's title refers to the real estate Abraham bought from the Hittites to serve as a burial

There, the long-embattled factions mingle in the low murmur of prayer, their tense accord a perverse tribute to the day 4,000 years ago when estranged brothers Ishmael and Isaac reunited at this spot to bury their father.

In Ishmael and Isaac one finds not only the antecedents of Islamic and Israeli nations, respectively, but also the seeds of modern Arab-Israeli turmoil. "The Cave" is a rolling musical Roshomon offering strikingly — and often ticklishly — contrasting talking head testimonies from a rangy group of Israelis, Palestinians and Americans as they respond in turn to interview questions by Reich and Korot: Who for you is Abraham? Sarah? Hagar? Ishmael? Isaac?

Over three ethnographically segregated acts, we take in the interviewees' answers as their images are flashed on five large screens. Following the speech-sampling mode of his 1988 work "Different Trains," Reich fragments, isolates and repeats their comments with an intensity that is as illuminating as it is maddening.

Infusing their remarks with a mounting urgency is Reich's about-face compositional approach, wherein musical notes take their cue from the human voice, rather than vice versa. (In this sense, "The Cave" is reverse opera — *arepo*, let's call it, for those who insist on labels.) From the prelude of clapping hands synchronized to passages from Genesis on the video screens, Reich locates a corresponding cascade of notes for every spoken or written word, which are then emulated by strings, winds, percussion and four singing voices.

In all fairness, phonics fascists typified by Shaw's Henry Higgins got there first ("How kind of you to let me come"), but Reich pushes the technique light years ahead deftly manipulating dv-



ground for himself, and was buried with  
his descendants. The mosque that now  
rests on the cave's site in the West Bank  
town of Hebron is the sole place of wor-  
ship shared by Moslems and Jews.

namics and orchestration to expose the  
subtle and not so subtle biases concealed

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Please see BAM on Page 101



in language. Reich's orchestra yammers accusatorily in time with Israeli descriptions of Moslem patriarch Ishmael: "DIF-fer-ent, he was DIF-fer-ent!" or "a FIGHTER! a FIGHTER!" As Reich pares a seemingly innocent remark to its pregnant core, the link between present Arab-Israeli tensions and the texts of the Koran and the Old Testament crystallizes with stunning force.

What continually fascinates about "The Cave" is how articulate spokespersons for both cultures describe their ancient ancestors with a tainted specificity one usually reserves for close friends and family. "The most appealing figure" asserts an Israeli man of Isaac, whom an Arab later describes with utter confidence as "snobbish and arrogant." In the most telling contrast, we learn that the Koran credits the Egyptian-spawned Ishmael as the obedient son offered up for sacrifice by Abraham, while Genesis rewards the

Jewish Isaac with the honor.

After two hours of such dogmatic informality, we greet the dispassion of the American subjects with relief and a wary laugh. Unlike the fervent Israelis and Palestinians, the Americans react from an intellectualized distance. Abraham and his family are mythologized with a myopically modern slant: Hagar is "the first single mother," Ishmael is "the first cowboy." For a Hopi Indian, they mean nothing. A handful of African-Americans respond in earnest, leading us to wonder if the authors want us to infer an irresolvable link between Arab-Israeli divisions and black/white tensions in America.

Some might argue that "The Cave" has a few biases of its own: The opening Israeli section dominates in length, while Genesis has the first and last word of the evening. The last word is a corker, though — a passage in which Abraham opens his hearth and home to three strangers. The final message of unquestioning hospitality would be extraordinarily moving even if we weren't inching closer to the big handshake in the Middle East. "The Cave" is a brilliant work, no less so for being brilliantly timed. ■

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# Palestinians can't go it alone

**Capital needed to jump-start their economy, says Israeli ambassador.**

By Colette Avital

Now that the euphoria over the recent Israel-PLO accord has died down, the daunting task of translating the concept of Palestinian autonomy into reality must commence. The agreement signed in Washington went into effect Wednesday, and detailed talks got under way.

Contrary to doomsday prophecies in the media, while the problems we face are extraordinarily difficult, they are not insoluble. It is a mistake to wish away the obstacles to peace with Pollyannish-optimism, but those committed to ending the blood feud between Israelis and Arabs must not give in to paralyzing skepticism.

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cause it is obvious that progress will be thwarted if Jewish blood is shed by Palestinian rejectionists who are neither controlled nor sanctioned by their governing authority. We will learn soon enough whether the PLO can pass this critical but not impossible test.

Then there is the problem of Syria. President Hafez al-Assad has sent ambiguous signals about his acceptance of the Israel-PLO accord and continues to harbor terrorist organizations whose aim is the destruction of the Jewish state. Unless he curbs terror and gets on board the Mideast peace train, it could easily be derailed.

There is no reason why President Assad or his foreign minister could not meet face-to-face with their Israeli counterparts and conduct more open diplomacy. But Syria's hesitancy about the peace process is not a foregone conclusion. If recent sea changes in our region have taught us anything, it is that virtually nothing is impossible — including the prospect that President Assad will realize that his nation can only benefit if it is sincerely engaged in the peace process.

If Israelis and Arabs get around these and numerous other roadblocks on our brave journey to peace, it certainly will be an unprecedented achievement. But the cynics who assert with smug assurance that this is impossible should remember that the Jewish state is also without precedent in human history.

The Zionist pioneers faced overwhelming, seemingly impossible odds when they gathered up Jewish exiles from throughout the world, cleared the swamps, fended off Arab armies and built a nation. Surely the odds against reconciliation with our Arab neighbors today are no greater, and no more important to overcome.

Colette Avital is an ambassador in Israel's foreign service and Israeli consul general in New York.

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Those committed to ending the blood feud between Israelis and Arabs must not give in to paralyzing skepticism.  
”

— Colette Avital

The first requirement for sustaining the momentum of peace is an infusion of capital to jump-start the economies of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, which will be controlled by a Palestinian self-governing authority. My government is aware that if this authority is unable to improve the daily lives of Palestinians, the popularity of fundamentalists and others who reject all compromise with Israel is bound to increase — and the entire peace process could founder. That is why we are conferring with other governments and private parties to encourage investments in the territories from which our army will withdraw.

Thus far, the response from the world financial community has been gratifying. At an international donors conference Oct. 1, \$600 million was pledged for the first year, and pledges for over \$2 billion were spread over the next five years. Israel itself has pledged \$75 million to aid the Palestinians. Continued backing will be essential as this process

continues. While global resources are finite, it is difficult to imagine a more farsighted investment than one that would help prevent the next Mideast war and foster stability in our often volatile region.

Another requirement is a peaceful transition of power, one that guarantees the security of both Jews and Arabs. According to our agreement, Israel will protect its external borders — including Jewish settlements in the territories — but responsibility for controlling Arab terrorists will rest squarely on the shoulders of the Palestine Liberation Organization's leaders. This arrangement has risks, but it is one that is essential for testing the capacity of the PLO to coexist peacefully with Israel.

It stands to reason that self-interest will compel the PLO to cooperate energetically in this endeavor, be-



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## Now, the U.N. Should Help Israel

By MORRIS B. ABRAM

Last month's agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization is a giant step toward a Middle East peace. But euphoria must not blind us to the realities.

Except for Egypt, all the neighboring Arab states remain at war with Israel. Still formally pledged to a 1967 Khartoum declaration that promised "no recognition; no negotiation; no peace." And the ruler of Israel's principal adjoining state, Syria's Hafez Assad, has declared that the Rabin-Arafat agreement was "done to the detriment of the Arabs." Mr. Assad does not have to consult with a representative parliament in deciding on peace or war; nor are any of Israel's neighbors democracies.

This fact has crucial significance. In the history of this turbulent century, in which more than 30 million people have been killed in war, never has one truly democratic country waged war against another truly democratic country. In the long term, an increase in the number of democracies who trade rather than wage war with their neighbors is the key to peace.

But under present circumstances, a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot await the spread of democratic government to the area. The instability and volatility of authoritarian regimes, some now threatened by even more protean fun-

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damentalist movements, make strong international support of the peace process an absolute necessity.

Israel is expected to make concessions of land for peace. That can happen only when the Arab states are prepared to give in return real and enduring peace for land. The Israeli people who rule their leaders will be greatly influenced by tan-

gible international security guarantees and perhaps even more by the atmosphere in international bodies, especially the United Nations. Given the recent lack of Western resolve to prevent or halt the mass murders, rape and mayhem in the former Yugoslavia, Israel will be extremely sensitive to the mood of states expressed in U.N. forums.

For years the U.N. has been a forum of institutionalized, systematic and continuous condemnations of Israel, making peace negotiations under U.N. auspices inconceivable. As former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Jeane Kirkpatrick has put it: "Israel is still the subject of special committees, special seminars, special interpretations, and made the object of special demands and special dangers. In U.N. bodies it is still possible to mobilize a majority against the state of Israel on almost any pretext."

This culture must change if the three million people of Israel are expected to take great risks for peace in an area of hundreds of millions who have traditionally rejected Israel's very presence. The motto of the new U.N. approach should be the four R's: Rescind, Reform, Retire and Reapportion.

- Rescind the hundreds of one-sided anti-Israel and anti-Zionist resolutions still on the U.N. books. (U.N. members would be spurred to do this if Arab states joined. However, the Arab refusal to end the economic boycott of Israel following the Rabin-Arafat handshake is not a good omen.)

- Reform the "group" system so that Israel can take an equal place in U.N. bodies, as the U.N. Charter guarantees. Under the group system, any significant role or office in the U.N. depends on selection,

usually by rotation, in a nation's geographical or "group" setting. As Israel is deliberately excluded from its geographical group and not, as are other distant democracies such as Australia and New Zealand (and for some purposes) Japan, included in the Western group, Israel is denied an effective U.N. role.

- Retire the two special committees of the General Assembly and sections of the U.N. Secretariat devoted to anti-Israel propaganda. Retire, too, the special annual meetings and sessions of various U.N. bodies that routinely lambaste Israel.

- Reapportion the millions of dollars the financially strapped U.N. spends on these obsolete roadblocks to trust and understanding. Use the saved funds for training Palestinian police and court officials, and for building democratic institutions operating under the rule of law. These in turn will advance the favorable conditions for the goal expressed by Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres: "to transform the Middle East from a battleground to a marketplace."

The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel and the breakthrough of the Israeli-PLO accord demonstrate that, as Israel and the U.S. have long contended, peace can be negotiated between the parties only in face-to-face negotiations. Still, the U.N. has a role to play—if it becomes truly objective. Positive proof would be the removal of the obstacles and distrust that have accumulated through years of unbalanced, one-sided resolutions and operations.

*Mr. Abram, former ambassador to the European offices of the U.N., is chairman of U.N. Watch, a private monitor of the U.N. in Geneva.*

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# Israeli Aid Mocks the Palestinians

By Sherna Berger Gluck

**F**OLLOWING ON the heels of the historic Sept. 18 handshake between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat, the United States convened a summit of the world's wealthiest nations.

With the full knowledge that even the most preliminary steps toward peace will require building a solid economic foundation in the occupied territories, commitments were garnered for almost \$2 billion over the next five years. Even Israel was reported as offering to put \$25 million into the pot.

But Congress annually votes to send Israel direct economic aid of \$2.5 billion. Thanking Israel for the symbolic gesture of 1 percent of the American taxpayers' annual "gift," the Palestinians said they preferred to simply receive the approximately \$300 million Israel collects from them in income taxes.

Or, perhaps Israel can return the millions of dollars in goods confiscated from the small merchants in Beit Sahour who have been refusing to pay illegally imposed VAT (value added) taxes.

The revenues that Israel has collected from the Palestinians over the course of its occupation, coupled with the effects of its commercial and monetary policies, have netted it a great deal of money. Economists at Temple University

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*Sherna Berger Gluck is a Jewish peace activist and director of oral history at the California State University at Long Beach. This first appeared in The Christian Science Monitor.*



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aged to grow have been subject to severe export limitations. In Gaza, the fishing industry, which remained a profitable source of employment and income until 1982, has been decimated as the occupying authority reduced the fishing areas from 300 kilometers (180 miles) to 24. The fishermen I saw on the beach had given up hope of earning an income and spent their days scraping their rowboats after bringing in catches that were barely enough to feed their own extended families.

Wherever I traveled in the West Bank, I could see new roads leading up to Israeli settlements. Yet the jitneys in which I was traveling

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*'How evenhanded is the U.S. pledge of \$250 million for the Palestinians over the next two years compared to our annual gift to Israel of \$2.5 billion?'*

had to swerve to avoid the pot holes on the roads that connected Arab towns and villages. According to a UN report mandated under a General Assembly resolution of December, 1991, Israel has invested heavily in new apartment complexes and roads for the Jewish settlers in East Jerusalem, while ignoring the housing needs and infrastructure of the Arab sector and neglecting the most basic municipal services such as garbage collection, street cleaning and public lighting.

If we are, indeed, entering a new era, it is time that the United States change its stance.

Instead of being grateful for every symbolic gesture Israel makes, let us ask for substance. Instead of doling out money to Israel to the tune of almost \$4 billion annually (the combined amount of economic and military aid), let us adopt a more evenhanded policy. How evenhanded is the U.S. pledge of \$250 million for the Palestinians over the next two years compared to our annual gift to Israel of \$2.5 billion?

and Georgia Tech have estimated the total to be as high as \$11 billion (in 1990 dollars).

Perhaps even more critical than these dollar amounts is the blame that must be placed squarely on Israel for the state of the Palestinian economy and the infrastructure.

Palestinians, prohibited from digging wells and left with only 17 percent of the water supply — the other 83 percent is diverted to Green Line Israel and to Israeli settlements in the occupied territories — have found that their agricultural output in the West Bank has steadily declined over the 26 years of Israeli occupation.

Any surpluses Palestinian farmers have man-



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## Talks in Cairo

By CHRIS HEDGES

Special to The New York Times

CAIRO, Oct. 13 — Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Mahmoud Abbas, of the P.L.O., met here today to carry out the transfer of authority.

After a two-hour meeting, the two men said in a joint statement that they had agreed on five initial steps, to take effect Dec. 13, including setting up committees and scheduling frequent, in some cases continuous meetings.

"We will work day and night, without being restricted by time, in order to solve all the pending issues which need to be settled by the deadline," Mr. Abbas said.

The statement said an economic co-operation committee at the ministerial level would be established immediately. It did not say who would be on the committee. But Mr. Peres said the committee would focus on establishing "private and public enterprises."

The statement, read by Uri Savir, of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, also called for "the early resumption of the negotiations in Washington on the interim agreement and the elections in the West Bank and Gaza."

The two men were jovial and relaxed, smiling frequently and deferring to each other when questioned by reporters before leaving for a lunch with Egyptian Foreign Ministry officials.

"Both of us have agreed that the purpose of our delegation is not to argue or create polemics, but really to build bridges and create the right climate and the right approach," Mr. Peres said.

Mr. Peres met with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt before the private discussions with Mr. Abbas.

The Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho is to be completed by April 13, with Israeli troops remaining only to protect Jewish settlements.

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# Israelis and the P.L.O. Meet: Peace Is in the Details

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By CLYDE HABERMAN  
Special to The New York Times

TABA, Egypt, Oct. 13 — The agreement between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization officially went into effect today, and with it the two sides began crucial negotiations on transferring authority in the occupied territories from Israel to Palestinians.

Far from being mere technicalities, the specifics will determine the ultimate success or failure of the new relationship, and officials on both sides agree that they have not given themselves much time.

Their agreement, signed with great fanfare on the White House lawn a month ago, calls for an Israeli troop withdrawal to begin by Dec. 13, and for Palestinians to assume self-rule over their affairs, starting in the Gaza Strip and in Jericho, on the West Bank.

## A Delicate Debate

The negotiators have two months to settle matters of the utmost delicacy. These include the precise size of the autonomous Jericho district, the size and powers of the Palestinian police force, the repositioning of Israeli troops, control over water sources and security for Israelis living and passing through the territories.



In addition, the negotiators agreed to discuss the fate of thousands of Palestinians imprisoned by Israel or deported for suspected anti-Israel violence, a highly sensitive issue for the Palestinians. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said last week that prisoners would be released, but he did not say how many or when.

The shift of authority in Gaza and Jericho is to be extended to the entire West Bank by early next summer, and to last for five years, when the final status of the territories is to be settled.

Israel has yet to say what it foresees at the end of this road, but the Palestinians are unambiguous: They expect a state of their own on land captured by Israel in the 1967 war, with their capital in the eastern sector of Jerusalem, which Israel has annexed.

#### A Quiet Beginning

Despite their complicated task, the negotiators described the atmosphere at their first session at this Red Sea resort as "cordial and constructive."

There were no dramatic announcements; none were expected. The real bargaining is to begin next week. Significantly, both sides seemed to go out of their way to avoid disruptions, like the one that could have resulted over apparent Israeli objections to several

proposed Palestinian negotiators.

The most sensitive delegate was Amin al-Hindi, a P.L.O. security chief who was described by an Israeli newspaper today as having helped organize the 1972 attack in which 11 Israeli athletes were killed at the Summer Olympics in Munich. While Mr. Hindi's role in the raid, if any, was not clear, an Israeli official said the Palestinian was suspected of having had a hand in it.

It was not clear if the Israelis openly

disapproved of Mr. Hindi or whether the Palestinians quietly agreed to drop him. Whatever the case, Mr. Hindi showed up at the hotel but never made it to the negotiating room.

#### The Stalkers Talk

"We agreed upon the delegations, and none of those issues were raised," said Maj. Gen. Amnon Shahak, the Deputy Army Chief of Staff, who headed the Israeli delegation in a business

suit, not a military uniform.

"The composition of the delegation is not an issue," said Nabil Shaath, the senior Palestinian negotiator and a political adviser to Yasir Arafat.

The presence of military and security officers on both sides was yet another sign of the suddenly altered relations. There, in a hotel conference room where no flags were displayed, seated amicably at long tables, were men who had stalked one another for years — the hunter and the hunted, even if it was not always clear which was which.

A companion meeting was held today in Cairo by the two men who had signed the agreement on Sept. 13, Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Mahmoud Abbas, a senior P.L.O. official. They established a "liaison committee" that is to meet every two or three weeks and chart the direction of the more detailed talks.

#### 'The Business Side'

If snags develop, the senior political officials on the liaison committee are responsible for keeping crises from mushrooming.

"I think both of us came to make out of the Israel-P.L.O. agreement a full success," Mr. Perez said. "We are the business side of a historic agreement."

Mr. Abbas, also known as Abu Mazen, added, "We are very keen to reach a real peace."

No front looms larger than the working group in Taba, whose issues are the most immediate and numerous, and the most difficult. As momentous as all the gestures and statements have been, "The details are what will decide the future," as one Israeli official put it.

One of the most urgent question is, What is Jericho? The backwater town of 10 square miles, as the Israelis see it? Or the district of 146 square miles, as defined by Jordanian law and by the Palestinians now?

"Our task is not easy," General Shahak told Mr. Shaath. "In fact, it is very complex." But both parties said that they were starting out on a presumption of good will and that they hoped to keep it that way.



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דע: מצפ"א, וושינגטון - ציר הסברה, מע"ת

מאת: הקונסוליה מיאמי

הנדון: תיירות במזה"ת

1. בפקט מועברת אליכם כתבה מה"מיאמי הרלד" (13.10) בנושא התיירות במזה"ת כדיווידנד של תהליך השלום.

2. כתבת ה"מיאמי הרלד" בירושלים - קרול רוזנברג, שהתה בעמן-ירדן ובכתבתה מתארת הציפיות "לבום" בעסקים בירדן.

3. בדיחה "מקצועית" בין סוכני הנסיעות בירדן מדברת על פתיחת חנות בייגל לקראת ה"שטפון" של ישראלים ויהודים אמריקנים שיזרמו לחזות באתרים הארכיאולוגיים ובעיקר פטרה.

4. בשנה האחרונה ביקרו בירדן כ- 170,500 תיירים, מהם המשיכו 18,500 לשטחים ולירושלים. בישראל ביקרו כ- 1.5 מיליון תיירים. שת"פ איזורי יכול, לפיכך, לשפר את מצב העסקים.

5. הישראלים הם ציבור תיירותי אומר סוכן נסיעות ירדני. התיירות תהיה פקטור מרכזי לקרב את העמים לאחר חתימת הסכם השלום. האיש כה בטוח שהעתיד מבשר טובות ולכן מתכנן לצאת ללונדון בחודש הבא ע"מ להשתתף בכנס בינ"ל למסחר, שם ירצה ליצור קשרים עם סוכני נסיעות ישראלים.

6. סוכן נסיעות מבית לחם מעריך שהשלום יביא עימו תיירות מוסלמית אדירה. WALID DAJANI - המשמש כיועץ לרשות הפלסטינית לתכנון האוטונומיה צופה שעזה תהיה הפנינה של האיזור תוך 10 שנים.

7. עסקת חבילה שתכלול את ישראל, מצרים, ירדן ופלסטין היא העיסקה הטובה ביותר בעולם שניתן להציע לתייר, אומר הכלכלן הירדני FAHED FANEK ומוסיף שניתן למשוך 10 - 20 מיליון תיירים בשנה לאיזור.

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סודי ביותר/מיד

מכתב מוברק

אל: רוה'מ, שה'ח, ס' שה'ח, מנכ'ל, ממנכ'ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: פגישות המזכיר עם מנהיגות יהודית

בימים אלה מקיימים ראשי מחמ'ד פגישות עם מנהיגים וראשי ארגונים יהודים לדיון בנושאים הנוגעים ליחסים עם ישראל ולתהליך השלום. להלן כמה מהנקודות העיקריות העולות בפגישות אלו:

א. הממשל מרוצה מתוצאות 'ועידת התורמות' ב-1 אוקטובר ומהתארגנות אש'פ לעבודה תכליתית עם ישראל למימוש ההסכם אם כי יש עדיין לבחון את תירגומה של התארגנות זאת לעבודה ממשית.

ב. הממשל משקיע מאמצים להניע את מדינות ערב לבטל או לפחות לצמצם את החרם. זהו אחד הנושאים שדנים רוס נוטל עימו בצקלונו בשבוע הבא. בפגישה עם שרע נאמר לשר החוץ הסורי שחשוב שארצו לא תתנגד לצעדים חיוביים של מדינות ערביות אחרות בכוון זה. בפגישה עם שר החוץ הכווייתי הועלתה שאלת ביטול החרם אך הוא ניסה להתחמק בטענה שעל כוויית להמתין להסדר כולל בטרם תוכל לעשות כך. כוויית גם התבקשה לתרום את חלקה למטמץ לגייס משאבים לפיתוח הגדמ'ע ורצועת עזה.

ג. בשאלת קיזוז 437 מליון הדולר מכספי הערבויות חזר הממשל על טיעונו שהוא מיצה את משאביו הפוליטיים בקונגרס בכל הנוגע לישראל בעת המאבק על הסיוע (מלוא הסכום, EARMARKING ו- SCORING) השיחה שוב שיקפה את העוצמה ממנה נהנה בעניינים אלה הסנטור לייחי בעיני הממשל.

ד. הממשל פעל על מנת שעניין מכירות הנשק הישראלי לסין לא יהפך ל'פרשיה'.

ה. הממשל משקיע מאמץ בשני נושאים שעל סדר היום שלו עם ישראל.

1. עיון מחדש בפריטים של העברת טכנולוגיה.

2. הערכות לדיון על העלות הריאלית של ביצוע תכנית עזה-יריחו ושאר מרכיבי ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני.



- ו.הממשל נערך לטיפול יסודי יותר בשינוי החקיקה הנוגעת ליחסים עם אש"פ.  
ז.המזכיר החליט על יציאה לאזור ככל הנראה בסוף השבוע הראשון של נובמבר.  
רבינוביץ.

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 14394

אל: רהמש/668

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 331, תא: 141093, זח: 1343, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: נאו"ם נ"י

מאת: היועץ המדיני

21.10

הנדון: שיחת השגריר יעקבי עם עוזר המזכיר בנט

1. בהקשר לסומליה, הסביר בנט את אילוצי ארה"ב בחיפוש דרך זהירה שתאפשר יכולת תגובה גמישה לכוחותיה בשטח מבלי לסכן את יישום החלטות מועבי"ט. ציין כי הם מקווים שניתן יהיה להשליט מספיק סדר כדי לאפשר אספקה סדירה של מזון וכן להגביר את היציבות במדינה זו שתביא למידה של ממשל עצמי.

2. בנט סיפר על הערכה מחדש לגבי תפקוד כוחות האו"ם שנערכת מזה זמן רב בממשל עוד מימי בוש. המהלך בעצם הסתיים ועתה נערכות התייעצויות בגבעה בטרם תפורסם המדיניות החדשה. השגריר יעקובי שאל אם ארה"ב מתייעצת בהקשר זה עם מדינות אחרות. בנט אמר כי יש להם רצון לכך ושאל אם ישראל תהיה נכונה להשתתף בדיון כזה. השגריר יעקובי הציע כי בהתייעצות ישתתפו השגריר רבינוביץ ונספח צה"ל כאן, על מנת שנוכל לתרום את נסיוננו בתחום זה. בנט הביע עניין רב בהצעה וקיבל אותה בברכה.

3. השיחה נסובה לעצרת הכללית ויעקובי ציין כי קיבלנו את הסכמת ירושלים לנייר העבודה האמריקני בתוספת תיקון קטן. סיפר על מאמצינו לקדם את ההצעה עם מדינות ערב, האירופאיות וכן מדינות אמל"ט. הביע הערכה כי ההצעה תזכה לתמיכה מצד מדינות אלה. בנט התעניין לגבי הקבוצה הערבית וציין כי הופתע לטובה מההפצה המתואמת של הצהרת העקרונות ומכתבי ההכרה. השגריר יעקובי סיפר על תפקידו של שגריר מצרים אל-ערבי, עמדתו החיובית של נציג אש"ף לאו"ם אל-קידווה, וכן הרושם החיובי לגבי עמדות מדינות המגרב. כאן שאל בנט אם לא ניתן להגיע למזכר הבנה לגבי הגישה הכוללת שתינקט בעצרת הנוכחית כך שהטיפול בהצעת ההחלטה החיובית וכן הורדת הצעות החלטה אחרות יוסכם מראש בין הקבוצות השונות התומכות בכך. השגריר יעקובי בירך על ההצעה והביע דעתו כי היא אכן תוכל להצליח אם ארה"ב תוביל את המהלך. בנט השיב שאם נוכל לגבש הסכמה רחבה לגבי הגישה הכוללת בעצרת הדבר בהחלט ישפיע באורח דרמטי וארה"ב מוכנה לסייע כמה שניתן כדי להגשים זאת.

4. בהמשך סקר השגריר יעקובי את השינויים החיוביים שהתרחשו באו"ם לאחרונה עקב ההסכם עם אש"ף, וכן חידוש היחסים הדיפלומטיים של ישראל. כן הזכיר את עמדתה השלילית יותר של סוריה לגבי סוגית דחית ההחלטות במסגרת העצרת. בנט ביקש מעוזריו לכלול נייר בתיק העבודה של דניס רוס לקראת ביקורו באיזור כדי שארה"ב תוכל לפעול מול סוריה בהקשר זה.



ג'רמי יששכרוף

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון,  
סמנכלשלוס, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, יועמש, משפט,  
ביין, ארבל2, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם),  
@ (אמן), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 11911

אל: רהמש/540

מ-: המשרד, תא: 131093, זח: 1731, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

752907

סודי/מיד

913.11

אל:

לשכת שה'ח

לשכת ס/שה'ח

לשכת רוה'מ

לשכת מנכ'ל

לשכת ממנכ'ל

ר/מרכז ממ'ד

רס

אמ'ן

לשכת ראש הממשלה

9/10

מאת: מצפ'א

\*\* להלן מ-: המשרד, תא: 121093

מכתב/מוברק

סודי

כ'ז בתשרי תשנ"ד

12 באוקטובר 1993

913.11

751003

אל : וושינגטון - הציר

מאת : ס/מנהל מצפ'א

הנדון: ירדן - מחילת חובות

עמדתנו בענין באה לידי ביטוי גם בדברי שה'ח אמש (10/10) בהודעה מדינית  
לכנסת שם הכריז כי 'אנו מעונינים בירדן חזקה, גם כלכלית... הצענו הקמת



משולש כלכלי... הסכמנו לשם כך, להקים ועדה משולשת מורכבת משני נציגים אמריקאים, שני נציגים ישראלים ושני נציגים ירדנים. שמחתי להיווכח שיורש העצר הירדני חושב במושגים דומים'.

ב ב ר כ ה,

פוקס

13 באוקטובר 1993

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

סססס



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אאא, חוזם: 12561

אל: רהמש/590

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 317, תא: 131093, זח: 2012, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מיד

אל: ממנכ"ל, מנהל מצפ"א, ס' מנהל מצפ"א  
מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: קיזוז הערבויות

1. לבקשת משה פוקס מן הציר להלן עיקרי השתלשלות הדברים בענין קיזוז 437  
מליון דולר מן הערבויות:

א. במהלך השנה פעלו אנשי מחמ"ד בשיתוף פעולה אתנו (דהיינו עם משרד רה"מ, משרד החוץ, משרד האוצר והשגרירות) על מנת לקבוע בסיס נתונים מוסכמ לצורך הקיזוז. במהלך הדברים נוצר חיכוך קל כאשר לקראת נסיעתו של תום מילר ארצה נמסר לנו שאלון טורדני אך בעבודה משותפת עמ מחמ"ד נמצא לענין פתרון. פתרון זה כלל גם נוסחה שאפשרה לעקוף למעשה את שאלת הבניה במזרח-ירושלים. בסופו של דבר מסרנו אנו נתונים בסכום כולל של 430 מליון דולר ואנשי מחמ"ד קבעו מצידם סכום של 437 מליון.

ב. בהתקרב המועד בו חייב הנשיא לדווח לקונגרס בענין זה פנו אלינו אנשי מחמ"ד ביוזמתם על מנת לחפש דרך לקזז סכום קטן יותר. הם סברו ואמרו שקיזוז מלוא הסכום על רקע חתימת ההסכם עם הפלסטינים עלול להתפרש כאיתות שלילי כאשר כוונתם וכוונת הנשיא היא להפגין רצון טוב כלפי ישראל.

ג. אנשי מחמ"ד וחוליית הקישור שלהם לקונגרס ניסו לבדוק (ככל הנראה על ליידי, אובי ובירד) את האפשרות ל"קזז מן הקיזוז" סכום של כ-300 מליון דולר בהתחשב בהוצאות שנגרמו לישראל עקב חתימת ההסכם. הם נתקלו בתגובה שלילית והגיעו למסקנה שקונפליקט עם מחוקקים אלה עלול לפגוע ברקמה העדינה של חוק הסיוע אותו הצליחו ל"תפור" בעמל רב. יש לזכור כי רק ברגע האחרון הושג עם ליידי ובירד סידור שחך את הצורך לתקצב את ה-SCORING של הערבויות לישראל בסך 170 מליון דולר. אי לכך מסרו לנו אנשי מחמ"ד שככל הנראה לא יוכלו לממש את כונתם ל"קזז את הקיזוז" יש לראות ענין זה בהקשר הרחב יותר של תחושת החולשה של ממשל שבמספר נושאים חיוניים לו הצליח להשיג רב דחוק בקונגרס לאחר השקעת מאמץ ומשאבים פוליטיים ניכרים - מכאן נגזרת קביעת עדיפויות קפדנית של הממשל לגבי הנושאים בהם הוא מוכן להתעמת עם הקונגרס או עמ אנשי מפתח בתוכו.

ד. בנקודה זאת הודלף הסיפור לתקשורת. מקור אמריקאי דיווח על ההתפתחויות לסוכנות איי-פי והשתמש בביטוי הבלתי מוצלח של "הענשת" ישראל. מקורות פרו ישראלים בווינגטון מצידם התבטאו בפני התקשורת ברוח בקורתית כנגד הממשל.

ה. הסיפור כולו לא "המריא" כסיפור עתונאי שכן ברור שהוא מתנהל בקונטקסט של שיתוף פעולה חיובי בין הממשלה לממשל. לגופו של ענין קיבל הממשל על



עצמו אחרי מסירת ההודעה לקונגרס למצוא יחד איתנו דרכים למנוע פגיעה כספית בישראל וזאת בזיקה למאמץ הכללי יותר לסייע לישראל לעמוד בעומס הכלכלי של מימוש ההסכם עם הפלסטינים.

ו. אנו מקיימים מגע שוטף עם אנשי מחמ'ד הן לגבי מימוש הרעיונות וההבטחות דלעיל והן לגבי מספר סוגיות משפטיות הנוהלות בשאלת ה-DEDUCTABILITY וזאת במבט קדימה לשנה הבאה.

2. במבט לעתיד חשובה בעיקר היכולת של הסנטורים ליידי ובירד לשמש גורם מעכב בעל משקל רב בעיני הממשל. לקראת העבודה על תקציב הסיוע בשנת הכספים הבאה אנו עוסקים כבר באורח פעיל בחיפוש דרכים ונטרול השפעה אפשרית שלילית של שני מחוקקים אלה.

רבינוביץ

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 12531

אל: רהמש/584

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 315, תא: 131093, זח: 1850, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

שמור/מידי

א/ח-10

12 באוקטובר 1993

אל: ממנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל כלכלה, מצפ"א

דע: ס/קונכ"ל ניו-יורק

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: קונגרס - חרם ערבי

1. בעקבות התבטאויותיהם של נציגי אש"פ ומדינות ערב לאחר ומאז כנס התורמות נגד הסרת החרם הערבי, הולך וגובר הלחץ של מחוקקים לפעול בנושא החרם.

א. השיא היה בשבוע שעבר כאשר היה ניסיון להעביר תיקון (ע"י הקונגרסמן שומר) לחקיקה בנושא השעיית תקנות הנוגעות לאש"פ - שיתנה הודעת גינוי פומבית של אש"פ כנגד החרם הערבי בהשעיית החקיקות.

בסופו של דבר הסכים שומר שלא להגיש את תיקון ההתניה שלו ובמקום זאת הגישו הקונגרסמנים הייסטינגס, דויטש וברמן תיקון המהווה "תחושת קונגרס" שעיקרו - הבעת ציפייה מצד הקונגרס לשקול הודעה של אש"פ בנושא החרם הערבי לפני חידוש ההרשאה להמשך השעיית התקנות (כלומר מעבר ל-1/1/94).

שומר הצביע כנגד הצעת החוק בכללותה (השעיית חקיקות בנושא אש"פ) וכך גם עשה היום (12/10) במליאת ביהנ"ב.

(אגב, שומר הוא המחוקק הראשון המתבטא פומבית כנגד ההסכם עם אש"פ על רקע אופיו של הארגון ועל רקע התבטאויותיו נגד ביטול החרם הערבי. עמדתו זו גרמה לעצבנות רבה בקרב המחוקקים הניו יורקים האחרים שפנו אלינו במשך היום לפני הדיון בנושא במליאת ביהנ"ב).

ב. כרגע קיימות שתי יוזמות בסנאט:

האחת - מכתב למזכ"ל הליגה הערבית, מגיד, ביוזמת הסנטורים גרסלי



ולאוטנברג המביע אכזבה מהחלטת הליגה להמשיך בחרם נגד ישראל. ודאגה שאי סיום החרם יסכן יישום ההסכם בין ישראל לאש"פ (רצ"ב טיוטת המכתב).

השנייה - מכתב לנשיא קלינטון ביוזמת הסנטורים מק וליברמן המביע דאגה מאי ביטול החרם הערבי ודוחק בנשיא להבטיח הסרת החרם הערבי כתנאי לסיוע אמריקני נוסף לגדמ"ע ועזה. (רצ"ב טיוטת המכתב).

ג. גם הסנטור סרביינס הביע רצונו לפעול בנושא (בחקיקה או מכתב). טרם הבהיר מתי וכיצד בכוונתו לפעול.

2. עיקר הטענות של הסנטורים היוזמים הנ"ל והקונגרסמן שומר (שהושפעו במידה רבה ממאמרו של ביל ספייר ב-NYT לפני כשבועיים) היא שאי אפשר להעביר סיוע אמריקני מצד אחד לאש"פ ולא לדרוש בו זמנית מהארגון להביע התנגדות להמשך החרם הערבי הפוגע בחברות אמריקניות וזאת מעבר לפגיעה רבת השנים בישראל.

3. אגב, התקשר אריק ניוסום בסוף השבוע שעבר וביקש לקבל מאתנו נוסח ההתבטאויות הערביות כנגד הסרת החרם הערבי לצורך הכנת נאום עבור הסנטור לייחי במליאת הסנאט.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון,  
סמנכלשלו, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, יועמש, ר/מרכז,  
ממד, @ (ר'אגת), @ (רם), @ (אמן), ערן, כלכליתג',  
מצפא, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 14448

אל: רהמש/653

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 280, תא: 131093, זח: 1238, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל

מאת: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: שת"פ מש"בי עם הפלסטינים

תודה על מברקך בעניין הצעת הסדר מש"בי לגבי הפלסטינים. ביום ו' הקרוב  
אפגש עם רוס ואז אעלה גם ענין זה.

רבינוביץ

9/10

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, תכנון,  
מצב, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגח),  
סמנכלשלוס, רחטמזח, ישראלערב, יועמש, מצפא,  
ערן, סמנכלמשב, משב, @ (מתאםשטחים), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



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אאא, חוזם: 4697

אל: רהמש/303

מ-: ווש, נר: 2003, תא: 071093, זח: 1600, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר / מיידי

מ כ ת ב מ ו ב ר ק

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אל: רה'מ, שה'ח, ס/שה'ח, מנכ'ל משה'ח

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: פגישת שה'ח סוריה עם יו'ר ועדת החוץ בביהנ'ב

1. ב-6/10 אחה'צ נפגש שה'ח סוריה, פארוק אל-שארע, עם יו'ר ועדת החוץ בביהנ'ב הקונגרסמן לי המילטון ובכיר המיעוט הקונגרסמן גילמן. כן נכחו 3 עוזרים: מייק ואן דוזן, ראש צוות העוזרים של ועדת החוץ ועוזרו של המילטון, ריצ' מקברייד ראש צוות עוזרי המיעוט של ועדת החוץ, ודבי בודלנדר עוזרתו האישית של הקונגרסמן גילמן. אל שארע הצטרפו השגריר הסורי בוושנגטון, רשם ואיברהים סולימן (ראו עליו פרטים בנפרד). הפגישה ארכה כ-40 דקות.

2. להלן רישום השיחה כפי שנעשה ע'י אחד המשתתפים:

א. תהליך השלום

שארע פתח ואמר כי ראה יום קודם לכן את המזכיר כריסטופר. המילטון שאל על התרשמותו של שארע. שארע-הלכנו למדריד להשיג שלום צודק ובר קיימא. היו 4 צדדים ערביים ו-4 משלחות ישראליות. פורמולת מדריד הינה אמריקנית ועתה יש סטייה (DEVIATION) ממנה. סוריה עדיין מחויבת לפורמולה. 242 ו-338 מוליכות לשלום (ולשטחים תמורת שלום) איננו מרוצים מהסטייה אולם לא נתנגד.

המילטון- מדוע אינכם מרוצים?

שארע- (1) תמיד נהגנו לתאם הכל מבעוד מועד. זוהי הפעם הראשונה ש'מ לא עדכנו אותנו לגבי המתרחש'.

(2) הצהרת רה'מ רבין לאחר ה-13/9 בה רמז על כך שהמסלול האחר צריך להמתין. אנחנו יודעים שהוא (רה'מ) איננו זקוק לזמן רב מאחר והוא לא עשה כל ויתור לפלסטינים. ישראל מעולם לא אמרה 'כי תעכב את כל המסלולים האחרים עבור מסלול אחד, אפילו לא בזמן שמיר. לפיכך אנו סקפטיים'. 'זוהי אשלייה שהושג שלום כאשר למעשה זה לא קרה.

הם לא נסוגו אינצ', הם לא נתנו לפלסטינים כלום. לשאלת המילטון אשר קטע



דבריו למה כוונתו ש'ישראל לא נתנה כלום' השיב שארע-מזרח ירושלים ומדינה פלסטינית. המילטון-האם קבלת בקשה רשמית ישראלית לדחייה (במסלול השיחות י.ד.) שארע-לא, רק עפ"י מה שאנחנו קוראים בעתון. המילטון-אנו מצפים שהמזכיר יסע למזה"ת ויסייע בהנעת הדברים.  
שארע-אנו מעריכים יוזמת הממשל לשלום (ADMINISTRATION'S PUSH) במסלולים הסורי והלבנוני. יש פלסטינים שיש להם בעיות עם ההסכם (בין ישראל לאש"פ). על ההסכם להעניק מומנטום למסלולים האחרים ולא להיפך.

WE NEVER WAIVERED FROM OUR COURSE TO PEACE. WE'LL COOPERATE WITH THE ADMINISTRATION WHICH WE CONSIDER A FULL PARTNER.

המילטון-נראה שיש לנו בעייה עם הביצים והתרנגולת (מה קודם למה נסיגה מליאה מול שלום מלא).  
שארע-לפחות הודינו שיש ביצים ותרנגולת.

ISRAEL NEVER INDICATED FULL WITHDRAWAL. WE ARE COUNTING ON CHRISTOPHER, SINCE IT'S HIS DUTY, SINCE IT WAS A U.S. INITIATIVE.

ה- CBM הטוב ביותר הוא נסיגת ישראל מהגולן בתמורה לשלום. הדלת תהיה 'מאד פתוחה' ויהיה שת"פ איזורי על בסיס איתן. אם לא יהיה שלום לא תהיה יציבות.  
המילטון-אין כוונת ארה"ב

TO PUT IT ON THE BACK BURNER. WE WANT TO MOVE IT FORWARD.

שארע-הנשיא קלינטון התקשר פעמיים לאסאד והשגריר שלנו בא לטקס החתימה.  
המילטון-האם יש צעדים כלשהם שישראל יכולה לעשות  
SHORT OF FULL WITHDRAWAL  
שארע-יש שני אלמנטים נוספים בטחון ושלום. אנו מוכנים לשאת ולתת בדרך מאוזנת. (BALANCED APPROACHE). מטרתנו היא לסיים באופן מוחלט את גורם המלחמות (THE CAUSE OF WARS).  
הטריטוריה של סוריה הינה תחת כיבוש. הסכם צריך להיות מבוסס על ריבונות. עמדתנו איננה נוקשה (HARD LINE) אלא נוגעת לריבונות. בנוגע לאלמנטים אחרים, אנו גמישים.

המילטון-האם יש CBM אחרים?

שארע - לא. הישראלים יאמרו שהם רוצים רק מו"מ ישיר. בהקשר זה עמד על החלטות מועבי"ט נגד הערבים ואף לא החלטה אחת (של מועבי"ט) נגד ישראל. חזר על כך שישראל תמיד טענה שאם יהיה מו"מ ישיר  
EVERYTHING CAN BE WORKED OUT

המילטון-עמד על ההתקדמות בנושאי יהודי סוריה, סמים וז'א.  
שארע-אנו נחושים בדעתנו להמשיך אולם איננו אוהבים להיות 'על הרשימה' (רשימת מדינות הטרור-י.ד.) אין זה משרת את האינטרסים הבילטרליים שלנו.

ב. שבויים ונעדרים

הערה 1: הקונגרסמנים המילטון וגילמן שיגרו מכתב לשארע לפני כשלושה חודשים וביקשו לשגר לסוריה, קבוצה קטנה של  
HIGH LEVEL SLAFF DELEGATION כדי להתחקות אחר ממצאים אפשריים של הנעדרים



הישראלים.

במכתבם מציינים גם המילטון וגילמן כי סיוע מצד סוריה לפתרון בעיית השבויים והנעדרים (מנו את שמות כל הנעדרים ורון ארד) ישמש כ-CBM ויסייע לגיוס דעה'ק והציבור הישראלי לימינו של רה"מ רבין.

כאשר הקונגרסמן גילמן שאל על בעיית הנעדרים השיב שארע - כי יסכימו לקבל קבוצה כנ"ל בכל שעה ויקדמוה בברכה. אולם מיד הוסיף כי 'האינפורמציה שלנו

. 'THAT THERE IS NO TRACE OF ANYONE'

היום (7/10) נמסר לי כי המילטון וגילמן עומדים לשלוח עוד היום מכתב FOLLOW UP לנשיא אסאד אותו ימסרו לשארע החוזר היום לדמשק. במכתב מציינים השניים כי קיבלו בינתיים תשובתו החיובית של שארע לנסיעת הקבוצה לדמשק אולם הם מבקשים מאסאד שני דברים:

1. PERSONAL ASSURANCES FOR CONCLUSIVE AND RESULTS

2) שם של פקיד רשמי בממשל דמשק אשר יתאם את הביקור הקבוצה ויסייע בקביעת פגישות וכו'.

הערה 2: איברהים סולימן, אשר נכח בפגישה, הוא האיש של ועדת החוץ הנוסע הלך ושוב (לדמשק) ומכיר גם את משפחת באומל. מיווד מאד עם מייק ואן דוזן, עוזרו של המילטון.

סולימן הוא עלאווי שהתחנך עם מי שהיום נמנים על הקצונה הסורית הבכירה. עזב את סוריה לפני 20 שנה וכיום הוא אזרח אמריקני. מכיר היטב את סטיב כהן. עפ"י מקורותיו הצבאיים של סולימן 'יש משהו' ואין זה מה ששארע אומר. דברים אלה אמר בפעם האחרונה לבודלנדר, עוזרתו של גילמן, לפני שבוע ימים. סולימן מוכר ע"י השגריר וג'ק נריה ומהמנותו אינה ודאית.

ג. יהודי סוריה

הקונגרסמן גילמן שאל על מצבם של יהודי סוריה ועל העובדה כי זרם היוצאים הפך לטיפות בודדות וכי כל התהליך בעצם מעוכב. שארע-

WE LOVE THE JEWS. I ASSURE YOU THAT THOSE WHO ARE LEFT, WANT TO STAY. THERE IS A RECESSION IN THE U.S. THEY ARE NOT SATISFIED HERE (IN THE U.S). SO, WE ARE NOT ENCOURAGING THEM TO COME (TO THE U.S).

לשאלות חוזרות של הקונגרסמן גילמן בדבר מתן אשרות יציאה של 2-5 לשבוע השיב שארע-התחייבות אסאד לחופש תנועה הינה חזקה (FIRM). אם מישהו רוצה לעזוב, זה לוקח לו זמן למכור את רכושו. לדחיות והעיכובים הביורוקרטים אין קשר עם המדיניות (POLICY).

עד כאן

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר.



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

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 4472

אל: רהמש/258

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 144, תא: 061093, זח: 1414, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

9,753100

14945

בלמ'ס/רגיל

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: עתונות / ניו-יורק.

הנדון: סקירת עתונות

*g.l*

1. הטלויזיה ממשיכה לדווח על פגישת רבין - ערפאת המתקיימת בקהיר היום.

2. בניו יורק טיימס מדווח הברמן, על פגישת רבין-ערפאת שהיא הפגישה הרשמית הראשונה בין רה"מ ישראלי ונציג אש"ף. מדווח גם שממשלת קלינטון הפחיתה את הערבויות לטווח ארוך לשנה הבאה מפני שישראל ממשיכה להשקיע בהתנחלויות.

3. בוויל סטריט ג'ורנל מדווחת איימי מרקוס שפחות מחודש אחרי חתימת הסכם ישראל-אש"ף הצדדים כבר מוכנים לעשיית עסקים משותפים ביניהם, שותפות בין 'כור' לפלסטיני גויד ע'וסיין ראש הקרן הלאומית הפלסטינית.

עתונות / ניו-יורק.

גידי מרק

6 באוקטובר 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, תכנון,  
מצב, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, מקצב2, לעמ,  
סמנכלשלוס, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רס), @ (אמן),  
אומן, @ (דוצ), @ (וחו'ב), צנזורצבאי, מצפא,  
פרנ, ערן, כלכליתב', @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



\*\* נכנס

שמור

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חוזם: 10,4599

אל: המשרד

לעדים: בטחון/446, דהמש/278

מ-: זושין גטון, נר: 157, תא: 061093, זח: 2134, דח: מ, סג: שמ

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

שמור/מיד

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מקשי"ח - משהב"ט

נספח הגנה - כאן

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק תקציב הפנטגון - הקצבות - דיווח ביניים

חוק תקציב הפנטגון עבר במליאת ועדת ההקצבות בסנאט ביום שני 4.10. מחר (7.10) אמור החוק לעלות על סדר היום של מליאת הסנאט. מפי עוזרים בוועדות ההקצבות / פנטגון בשני הבתים למדנו כי הקונגרס אמור להעריך בשבוע המתחיל ב-18 באוקטובר שכן החלטת ההמשך (CR) תקפה עד ל-21 באוקטובר.

להלן עיקרי נושאינו כפי שעברו בוועדת ההקצבות בסנאט. אין בידינו עדיין נוסח מלא שכן הועדה הטילה אמברגו על תוכן ה-MARK UP.

1. "חץ" - הוקצבו 56.4 מיליון דולר

2. נגזרות ה-"חץ" - הותר ל-BMDO לנצל כספים - אין פירוט

3. BOOST PHASE INTERCEPT (BPI) - הותר ל-BMDO לנצל כספים - אין פירוט

4. מל"ט (תנ"א)

הרכשה - הוקצבו 89.3 מיליון דולר (15 מיליון דולר לרכישת

פיונירים נוספים).

מו"פ - הוקצבו 130.342 מיליון דולר.

5. HAVE NAP - (רפא"ל)

לא אושר



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

6. HAVE LITE - (רפא"ל)  
הוקצבו 6.3 מיליון דולר.

7. I-TALD - (תע"ש)  
הוקצבו 17.5 מיליון דולר  
(למעשה הוחזרו 10 מיליון דולר משת"א 92 ו- 7.2 מיליון משת"א 93. אין מדובר, איפוא, בכספים חדשים).  
הערה: ועדת ההקצבות של ביהנ"ב אישרה 15 מיליון דולר בכספים חדשים.

8. NIGHT ATTACK SYSTEM - (תע"א)  
הוקצבו 13 מיליון דולר בלבד.  
הערה: שתי הועדות המרשיאות וכן ועדת ההקצבות/פנטגון של ביהנ"ב אישרו 60 מיליון דולר.

9. ARMY SUPPORT JAMMER - (רפא"ל)  
הוקצבו 3 מיליון דולר ל-STUDY.

10. FOREIGN COMPARATIVE TESTING

הוקצבו 34.913 מיליון דולר.

11. מו"פ נאט"ו / MNNA  
הוקצבו 42.8 מיליון דולר.

12. MSIS (אל-ארפ)  
הוקצבו 20 מיליון דולר.

אנו פועלים לקראת הקונפרנס להקצבה ספציפית והידוק הניסוח לגבי "נהגות החץ" וה-BPI.

לגבי הפרוייקטים האחרים - פועלים לאימוץ הנוסח בעל ההקצבה הגבוהה יותר.  
נדווח.

ברוך בינה

אמ

תפ: רהמ(0), שהח(2), סשהח(1), מנככל(1), ממנכל(1), מצפא(1), ראשהממשלה(0)

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אאאא, חוזם: 4599

אל: רהמש/278

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 157, תא: 061093, זח: 2134, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מקש"ח - משהב"ט

נספח הגנה - כאן

מאת: קישור לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק תקציב הפנטגון - הקצבות - דיווח ביניים

חוק תקציב הפנטגון עבר במליאת ועדת ההקצבות בסנאט ביום שני 4.10. מחר (7.10) אמור החוק לעלות על סדר היום של מליאת הסנאט. מפי עוזרים בועדות ההקצבות / פנטגון בשני הבתים למדנו כי הקונפרנס אמור להערך בשבוע המתחיל ב-18 באוקטובר שכן החלטת ההמשך (CR) תקפה עד ל-21 באוקטובר.

להלן עיקרי נושאינו כפי שעברו בוועדת ההקצבות בסנט. אין בידינו עדיין נוסח מלא שכן הועדה הטילה אמברגו על תוכן ה-MARK UP.

1. "חץ" - הוקצבו 56.4 מיליון דולר

2. נגזרות ה-"חץ" - הותר ל-BMD0 לנצל כספים - אין פירוט

3. BOOST PHASE INTERCEPT (BPI) - הותר ל-BMD0 לנצל כספים - אין פירוט

4. מל"ט (תע"א)

הרכשה - הוקצבו 89.3 מיליון דולר ( 15 מיליון דולר לרכישת פיונירים נוספים).

מו"פ - הוקצבו 130.342 מיליון דולר.

5. HAVE NAP - (רפא"ל)

לא אושר

6. HAVE LITE - (רפא"ל)

הוקצבו 6.3 מיליון דולר.

7. I-TALD - (תע"ש)

הוקצבו 17.5 מיליון דולר

(למעשה הוחזרו 10 מיליון דולר משת"א 92 ו- 7.2 מיליון משת"א 93. אין מדובר, איפוא, בכספים חדשים).

הערה: ועדת ההקצבות של ביהנ"ב אישרה 15 מיליון דולר בכספים חדשים.



8. NIGHT ATTACK SYSTEM - (תע"א)

הוקצבו 13 מיליון דולר בלבד.  
הערה: שתי הועדות המרשיאות וכן ועדת ההקצבות/פנטגון של ביהנ"ב אישרו  
60 מיליון דולר.

9. ARMY SUPPORT JAMMER - (רפא"ל)

הוקצבו 3 מיליון דולר ל-STUDY.

10. FOREIGN COMPARATIVE TESTING

הוקצבו 34.913 מיליון דולר.

11. מו"פ נאט"ו / MNNA

הוקצבו 42.8 מיליון דולר.

12. MSIS (אל-אופ)

הוקצבו 20 מיליון דולר.

אנו פועלים לקראת הקונפרנס להקצבה ספציפית והידוק הניסוח לגבי "נגזרות  
החץ" וה-BPI.

לגבי הפרוייקטים האחרים - פועלים לאימוץ הנוסח בעל ההקצבה הגבוהה יותר.

נדווח.

ברוך בינה

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

סססס



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שמו

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חוזם: 10,4597

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/436, דהמש/272, אביב/373, מנמת/384

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 154, תא: 061093, זח: 2133, דח: מ, סה: שמ

תח: @ גס: ממד

נד: @

ג  
מ  
ד

g.lö

שמו/מיד

אל: ממ"ד, מצפ"א

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: שה"ח הסורי

1. משיחות עם עיתונאים בהרצאת שרע היום במסגרת MIDDLE EAST INSIGHT למדנו:-

א. לשה"ח הסורי סודרה מחר פגישה עם הנשיא קלינטון. הפגישה הוסדרה לאחר שבפגישה אתמול עם קריסטופר נתן שרע "מספר הבטחות" (?) לגבי תפקיד סוריה בהמשך התהליך.

ב. אמש ערך השגריר הסורי, וליד מועלם, ארוחת ערב מצומצמת בביתו לכבוד שה"ח הסורי. במפגש נכחו חברי "צוות השלום" הממשלי ובכירים מהממשלים הקודמים, כמו סקוקרופט (וכנראה) וביקר. לארוחת הערב היו אמורים להיות מוזמנים גם קונגרסמנים נבחרים, אולם ע"פ הנחייתו המפורשת של שרע - השתתפותם בוטלה.

2. לידעתכם.

חג שמח,  
רות ירון

אמ

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), דהמ(0), שהבט(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), סמנכלשלום(1),  
דביב(1), ר/מרכז(1), מצב(0), דם(0), אמן(0), ר'אגת(0), תכנון(1), ממד(4),  
רחסזת(1), ישראלערב(1), מצפא(1), יועמש(1), משפט(1), ראשהממשלה(0)



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אאאא, חוזם: 4597

אל: רהמש/272

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 154, תא: 061093, זח: 2133, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

כבבב

שמור/מיד

אל: ממ"ד, מצפ"א

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: שה"ח הסורי

1. משיחות עם עיתונאים בהרצאת שרע היום במסגרת MIDDLE EAST INSIGHT למדנו:-

א. לשה"ח הסורי סודרה מחר פגישה עם הנשיא קלינטון. הפגישה הוסדרה לאחר שבפגישה אתמול עם קריסטופר נתן שרע "מספר הבטחות" (?) לגבי תפקיד סוריה בהמשך התהליך.

ב. אמש ערך השגריר הסורי, וליד מועלם, ארוחת ערב מצומצמת בביתו לכבוד שה"ח הסורי. במפגש נכחו חברי "צוות השלום" הממשלי ובכירים מהממשלים הקודמים, כמו סקוקרופט (וכנראה) ובייקר. לארוחת הערב היו אמורים להיות מוזמנים גם קונגרסמנים נבחרים, אולם ע"פ הנחייתו המפורשת של שרע - השתתפותם בוטלה.

2. לידיעתכם.

חג שמח,  
רות ירון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל/שלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רס), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, מצפא, יועמש,  
משפט, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 4595  
אל: רהמש/270  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 152, תא: 061093, זח: 2131, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבבב  
9,257886  
9,233388  
בלמס/מיד

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: ערבויות - קזוז

RESPONSE POSTED BY THE STATE DEPT. TO A QUESTION CONCERNING THE  
LOAN GUARANTEES.

US STATE DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SPOKESMAN  
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE, OCTOBER 5, 1993.

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#### LOAN GUARANTEES FOR ISRAEL

Q: WHAT PERIOD IS COVERED BY THIS OFFSET?

A: THE PERIOD COVERED IS OCTOBER 1992 - SEPTEMBER, 1993.

Q: DOES THIS OFFSET INCLUDE CONSTRUCTION IN JERUSALEM?

A: THIS INCLUDES ISRAELI GOVERNMENT NON-SECURITY RELATED  
EXPENDITURES IN AREAS NOT UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL PRIOR TO JUNE 5,  
1967.

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת,  
ערן, כלכליתב', לעמ, מקצבב2, @ (דוצ), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



\*\* סכס

סודי

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חוזם: 10,4590

אל: המשרד

ינדים: בטחון/443, רהמ"ש/277, אביב/377, מנמת/388

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 148, תא: 061093, זח: 2124, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: @ הס: מזתים

נד: @

סודי/מיד

אל: חטי מז"ת - מנהל מח' ישראל-ערב

דע: ממ"ד, מצפ"א, אגף שלום

מאת: וושינגטון, השגרירות

הנדון: אלג'יריה

1. בשבועות האחרונים התקבלו אצלם, באמצעות שגרירותם באלג'יר, מספר איתותים על רצונם של האלג'יראים בהתקרבות לישראל.

לדעתו ההסבר לכך הוא רצונם של האלג'יראים להסתייע בישראל במאבקם בקיצוניים המוסלמים. סיפר, שכוחות הבטחון של אלג'יריה תפסו כמה פעמים מצבורי נשק של הקיצוניים, שכללו נשק מתוצרת ישראל (תמ"ק עוזי). האלג'יראים אינם חושדים שישראל מספקת נשק לקיצוניים, אבל חושבים שיוכלו להסתייע בישראל כדי להתחקות אחר מקור הנשק. עם זאת הוסיף, שנסיונם עם האלג'יראים מחייבו להציע להיזהר בפרשנות לאיתותים מסוג זה. הסביר, שבעבר קיבלו איתותים, בנושאים אחרים, שלא היו מתואמים עם קובעי המדיניות באלג'יריה, ובסופו של דבר מצאו שההחלטות שהתקבלו היו הפוכות למגמה של האיתותים.

בהקשר זה ובתשובה לשאלתי הוסיף, שטרם ברור להם מי הם מקבלי ההחלטות באלג'יריה, שר החוץ החדש הוא דיפלומט לא מוכר יחסית, ראש הממשלה הוא זה שקובע את מדיניות החוץ, והוא אדם פתוח לרעיונות חדשים, כיוון שאת רוב שנותיו המקצועיות עשה בקריירה דיפלומטית מחוץ לאלג'יריה. (אנן ממשיכים בקשר עם מחמ"ד בהקשר לרישא של סעיף זה.)

2. אמר, שיזמו פניות לאלג'יראים כדי להדגיש בפניהם, שאם רצונם לזכות ברצון טוב מצד ארה"ב וגם להנות מפירותיו הכלכליים של תהליך השלום,



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

הרי שעליהם להיות יותר אקטיביים וברורים בתמיכתם בתהליך.

3. בהקשר לתהליך אמר, שארה"ב מצפה, שאלג'יריה באמצעות קשריה הטובים עם הפלגים הפלסטיים הקיצוניים (חבש, חוואתמה) תפעל כדי למתן התנגדותם להסכם הישראלי-פלסטי. סיפר שהאלג'יראים מעבירים לארה"ב, בצינורות מודיעיניים, מידע על פעילות פלגים אלה. התייחס גם לתפקיד שאלג'יריה מילאה בעבר, בתווך בין איראן לארה"ב במהלך משבר בני הערובה ובאמצע שנות השמונים, בתיווך בין ארה"ב לגורמים קיצוניים בלבנון, ולעודדה שהאלג'יראים גאים מאוד בתפקיד שמילאו אז. גם כיום מנצלת ארה"ב את הצינור האלג'יראי כדי להעביר מסרים לגורמים עמם אין לה קשר ישיר (למשל, אלג'יריה מייצגת האינטרסים של איראן בארה"ב). כדוגמא היפותטית ציין, שאם יתעורר הצורך הרי שיעדיפו שימוש בצינור האלג'יראי להעברת מסרים לפלגים הפלסטיים הקיצוניים על פני הצינור הסורי, כיוון שהם סומכים יותר על האלג'יראים כגורם נייטרלי, שיעביר המסרים כלשונם.

4. אמר, שלאור הקשרים הטובים שיש לאלג'יראים גם עם החזיתות באש"פ וגם עם פת"ח טרם החליטו באלג'יר כיצד להתייחס להסכם בין ישראל לאש"פ. לדעתו, זה ההסבר לכך שבכנס התורמות השתתף רק שגריר אלג'יריה בווינה, למרות ששה"ח אלג'יריה שהה אותה עת בארה"ב.

לשנו יער

אמ

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), דהמ(0), שהבט(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), סמנכלשלו(0),  
רביב(1), ר/מרכז(1), רם(0), אמנ(0), ר'אגת(0), תכנון(1), ממד(4), רחטמזת(1),  
ישראלערב(1), מצפא(1), יועמש(1), ראשהממשלה(0)



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אאאא, חוזם: 4590

אל: רהמש/ 277

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 148, תא: 061093, זח: 2124, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מירי

אל: חט' מז"ת - מנהל מח' ישראל-ערב

דע: ממ"ד, מצפ"א, אגף שלום

מאת: וושינגטון, השגרירות

הנדון: אלג'יריה

נא קר

1. בשבועות האחרונים התקבלו אצלם, באמצעות שגרירותם באלג'יר, מספר איתותים על רצונם של האלג'יראים בהתקרבות לישראל.

לדעתו ההסבר לכך הוא רצונם של האלג'יראים להסתייע בישראל במאבקם בקיצוניים המוסלמים. סיפר, שכוחות הבטחון של אלג'יריה תפסו כמה פעמים מצבורי נשק של הקיצוניים, שכללו נשק מתוצרת ישראל (תמ'ק עוזי). האלג'יראים אינם חושדים שישראל מספקת נשק לקיצונים, אבל חושבים שיוכלו להסתייע בישראל כדי להתחקות אחר מקור הנשק. עם זאת הוסיף, שנסיונם עם האלג'יראים מחייבו להציע להיזהר בפרשנות לאיתותים מסוג זה. הסביר, שבעבר קיבלו איתותים, בנושאים אחרים, שלא היו מתואמים עם קובעי המדיניות באלג'יריה, ובסופו של דבר מצאו שההחלטות שהתקבלו היו הפוכות למגמה של האיתותים.

בהקשר זה ובתשובה לשאלתי הוסיף, שטרם ברור להם מי הם מקבלי ההחלטות באלג'יריה. שר החוץ החדש הוא דיפלומט לא מוכר יחסית. ראש הממשלה הוא זה שקובע את מדיניות החוץ, והוא אדם פתוח לרעיונות חדשים, כיון שאת רוב שנותיו המקצועיות עשה בקריירה דיפלומטית מחוץ לאלג'יריה. (אנו ממשיכים בקשר עם מחמ"ד בהקשר לרישא של סעיף זה.)

2. אמר, שיזמו פניות לאלג'יראים כדי להדגיש בפניהם, שאם רצונם לזכות ברצון טוב מצד ארה"ב וגם להנות מפירותיו הכלכליים של תהליך השלום, הרי שעליהם להיות יותר אקטיביים וברורים בתמיכתם בתהליך.

3. בהקשר לתהליך אמר, שארה"ב מצפה, שאלג'יריה באמצעות קשריה הטובים עם הפלגים הפלס' הקיצוניים (חבש, חוואתמה) תפעל כדי למתן התנגדותם להסכם הישראלי-פלס'. סיפר שהאלג'יראים מעבירים לארה"ב, בצינורות מודיעיניים, מידע על פעילות פלגים אלה. התייחס גם לתפקיד שאלג'יריה מילאה בעבר, בתווך בין איראן לארה"ב במהלך משבר בני הערובה ובאמצע שנות השמונים, בתיווך בין ארה"ב לגורמים קיצוניים בלבנון, ולעודדה שהאלג'יראים גאים



מאוד בתפקיד שמילאו אז. גם כיום מנצלת ארה"ב את הצינור האלג'יראי כדי להעביר מסרים לגורמים עמם אין לה קשר ישיר (למשל, אלג'יריה מייצגת האינטרסים של איראן בארה"ב). כדוגמא היפותטית ציין, שאם יתעורר הצורך הרי שיעדיפו שימוש בצינור האלג'יראי להעברת מסרים לפלגים הפלס' הקיצוניים על פני הצינור הסורי, כיוון שהם סומכים יותר על האלג'יראים כגורם נייטרלי, שיעביר המסרים כלשונם.

4. אמר, שלאור הקשרים הטובים שיש לאלג'יראים גם עם החזיתות באש'פ וגם עם פת"ח טרם החליטו באלג'יר כיצד להתייחס להסכם בין ישראל לאש'פ. לדעתו, זה ההסבר לכך שבכנס התורמות השתתף רק שגריר אלג'יריה בווינגטון, למרות ששה"ח אלג'יריה שהה אותה עת בארה"ב.

לשנו יער

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, מצפא, יועמש, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



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אאא, חוזם: 4589

אל: רהמש/276

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 147, תא: 061093, זח: 2008, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מיד

אל: רה"מ, שה"ח, ס'שה"ח, מנכ"ל, ממנכ"ל

מאת: וושינגטון, השגריר

הנדון: אירועי השבוע החולף בווינגטון

מכתב מוברק

להלן סיכום הנושאים העיקריים שעמדו על סדה"י הווינגטוני שלנו בשבוע החולף:

1. א) ביקור שה"ח הסורי שרע - בשני מברקים נפרדים ניתן למצוא פירוט על פעילויותיו של שרע' כפי שסוכמו ע"י חברי סגל השגרירות. את לו"ז הביקור ניתן לסכם כמו"מ על שני עניינים הקשורים ביניהם:

המו"מ הישראלי-סורי

היחסים הבילטרליים ארה"ב-סוריה

האמריקאים חתרו הן בדרכי נועם והן בדיבור תקיף להבהיר לשרע' כי הם מצפים לכך שסוריה תסייע להעביר "תקופת עיכול" בת כמה חודשים, במהלכה יוצר וימומש ההסדר עם הפלסטינים והמע' הישראלית תוכל להתחיל להנות מהפירות המוחשיים של השלום. בצורה כזו יוקל המו"מ עם סוריה לכשתגיע העת. על שרע'

מקובלת התפיסה של "תקופת עיכול", אך רוצה בתקופה קצרה ככל האפשר וכן בחידוד מחויבות אמריקאית לקיום מו"מ רציני. בהקשר זה רוצה סוריה גם חיזוקים לקו לפיו ישראל נשארת מחויבת למו"מ רציני עם סוריה.

ב. האמריקאים בנו "חבילה" של צעדים ומחוות בתחום הבילטרלי ע"מ לסייע לסורים לעבור את החודשים הבאים. בין השאר יש להזכיר את עצם ההזמנה לווינגטון, הפגישה עם הנשיא והאישור שינתן להעברת שלושה מטוסי בואינג ישנים מכווית לסוריה.

2. ענין קיזוז הערביות - לאחר שלא הצליח לשכנע את הסנטור לייחי, חבר הקונגרס אובי ואחרים לכך שהנשיא לא יקזז את כל 430 מיליון הדולר שהוצאו מעבר לקו הירוק, הודיע הממשל לקונגרס על כוונת הנשיא לקזז סכום זה מסך 2 ביליון הדולר של הערביות. גל המחאות בו נתקל הממשל על פעולה זו על רקע פריצת הדרך בהסכם השלום מביא את הממשל לעיצוב קו לפיו ההודעה לסנאט היא ענין טכני בעיקרו, ומנקודה זו ואילך יפעל הממשל יחד עם הקונגרס ואתנו



לסייע לישראל לעמוד בעומס הכלכלי הנוסף הנובע מן ההסכם עך הפלסטינים.

3. אשר להקשר הרחב יותר בו מתנהלת מדיניות ארה"ב בתהליך השלום, הרי יש לציין את העובדות הבאות:

א. בכינוס דמוקרטי גדול שנערך אמש (5 דנא) בהשתתפות הנשיא זכה הנשיא למחאות כפיים כמה וכמה פעמים, אך לתשואות ממושכות וסוערות זכה רק כשעלה עניין פריצת הדרך בתהליך השלום. ארוע זה המחיש את מה שהתחוויר כבר בשלב מוקדם יותר, דהיינו, שפריצת דרך זו נחשבת היום להישג הבולט ביותר של הממשל בתחום מדיניות החוץ, ויתרה מזו, הישג שיש בו תהודה פוליטית בעלת משמעות מיוחדת.

ב. על רקע זה חשוב לציין ההשפעה העמוקה שיש להסתבכות בסומליה. הדבר מעיד על שולי התמרון הצרים שיש לקלינטון וממשלו בתחום מדיניות החוץ וביחוד לכל מה שנוגע למעורבות אמריקאית ישירה ולא כל שכן צבאית מעבר לים.

4. באגנדה הכללית של הממשל שני הנושאים המרכזיים הם הרפורמה במערכת הבריאות והסכם NAFTA. מצוות אנשים מלומדה היא שטובים סיכוייו של הממשל להצליח בהעברת רפורמה במערכת הבריאות, תהליך האישור יביא לשינויים רבים בתכנית עצמה אך בסופו של התהליך יניב המאמץ פרי בדמות רפורמה שתחשב להצלחה של הממשל. יכולתו של הממשל להעביר הסכם NAFTA שנויה יותר במחלוקת לאור הקואליציה הרחבה והמאורגנת שהתגבשה נגדו. לענין זה חשיבות רבה שכן הדעה הרווחת עתה היא שממשל קלינטון נחלץ לחלוטין מן המשבר אליו נקלע באביב. שורה של הצלחות העבירה אותו למצב של תנופה לעומת מצב הסחרור בו היה שרוי לפני מספר חודשים. דא עקא שקיומו של מצב זה כרוך בשימור מומנטום ההצלחה וכל כשלון עלול להיות בעל השלכות שמעבר לענין המוגדר בו מדובר.

רבינוביץ

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

סססס



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סודי

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חוזם: 10,4588

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/441, רהמ"ש/275, אביב/376, מנמ"ת/387

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 146, תא: 061093, זח: 1941, דח: מ, סה: 10

תח: @ הס: צפא

נד: @

סודי/מיד

אל: ממנכ"ל

דע: אגף שלום, ממ"ד, מצפ"א

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: פגישות קאדומי ואל-שרע עם הממשל

1. נפגשנו, הציר והח"מ עם אנשי צוות השלום במחמ"ד ולהלן עיקרי השיחה.

2. פארוק קאדומי:

- קאדומי נפגש תחילה עם קבוצת אנשי מחמ"ד למשך 45 דקות ומיד לאחר מכן עם מזכ"ר המדינה במשך כ-20 דקות. המזכ"ר איחר לפגישה בשל התייעצות דחופה עם הנשיא בעניין סומליה.

- בני-שיחה האמריקנים הופתעו, לעומת ציפיותיהם, מאישיותו של קאדומי. האיש עשה רושם של אדם שקול, רהוט לשון ובעל קו נוקשה אך לא באורח אמוציונאלי.

- קאדומי הביע דעתו כי החשוב מכל הוא לשגר איתות ברור ולהרגיע את הקהילה הפלסטינאית אשר לדבריו מפגרת אחרי ההתרחשויות המהירות שקרו לאחרונה. דיבר על הצורך בחיזוקים חיוניים לתהליך שמתגבש עתה, בצורה של CBM's (שחרור אסירים וכו'), חזרתם של פלסטינאים וכן בעניין הפליטים.

- בהקשר לפליטים ציין כי הנושא צריך לקבל הבלטה כדי להרגיע את קהילת הפלסטינאים שהאינטרסים שלה אכן מטופלים. לגבי עמדת ארה"ב כי נושא הפליטים צריך לידון בהקשר למו"מ הקבע ועניין העקורים בהקשר להסדר הביניים, במסגרת הועדה המתמדת, השיב קאדומי, כי הדבר מקובל אך חשוב להתחיל לעבוד על כך.

- היו חילוקי דעות לגבי הצעדים הנדרשים מצד העולם הערבי כלפי ישראל ומאמציו של אשף בנדון.



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

-בעניין החרם ציין, כי בשלב זה אין כלכלה פלסטינאית, ולכן הסרת החרם רק תתרום לישראל. כאשר תיתפתח הכלכלה הפלסטינאית יהיה הגיוני מצד הפלסטינאים לעשות צעד בהקשר זה. כן ציין כי קיימים מכשולים כלכליים בשני הצדדים. ישראל, כדבריו, מפעילה מגבלות כלכליות על ייצור חומר חקלאי בשטחים בנוסף לחוקים אחרים המקשים על היצרנים המקומיים. שאל, מדוע הפלסטינאים צריכים לתמוך בהסרת החרם אם ישראל ממשיכה במגבלות שלה כלפי השטחים.

-קאדומי המשיך כי לדידו אין חשיבות במכלול הכלכלי אלא חשוב יותר בשלב זה להתקדם בעניין ה-CBM'S.

בפגישה עם המזכיר השיחה היתה כללית יותר. המזכיר הטעים בפניו כי לפלסטינאים חשוב שמדינות ערב ינרמלו יחסיהן עם ישראל כדי לא להשאיר את הפלסטינאים חשופים. כאמור הפגישה נמשכה כ-20 דקות והמזכיר היה טרוד בעניין סומליה אך לא רצה לבטל את הפגישה אחרי שהזמין את קאדומי לבוא לווישנהטון.

-קאדומי אמר להיפגש עם שגרירי מדינות ערב בניו יורק ואז ימשיך לתוניס כדי להשתתף בועד המרכזי ב-10/10.

### 3. פארוק - אל - שרע

-השיחה עם המזכיר נסובה בעיקר על שני נושאים מרכזיים - תהליך השלום והיחסים הביטורליים.

- בעניין היחסים הביטורליים אל-שרע ציין כי סוריה הצטרפה בשעתו לקואליציה נגד עיראק, הקלה על יציאת היהודים מסוריה, וגם עשתה צעדים בהקשר לטרור ולסמים, אך בכל זאת ארה"ב לא נתנה לסוריה דבר תמורת זאת. יחסי סוריה וארה"ב ישתפרו על ידי הסרת סוריה מרשימת הטרור.

-המזכיר השיב כי למרות הנ"ל יש לארה"ב דאגות לגבי מעשיה של סוריה בהקשר לטרור, ובענייני סמים היא יכולה לעשות יותר וכן לגבי כיבוד זכויות האדם.

-לראשונה ציין המזכיר כי מלבד הסרת סוריה מרשימת הטרור, סוריה יכולה לעשות דברים אשר ירגיעו את חששותיה של ארה"ב מבלי שתהיה זיקה בין השניים. המזכיר הסביר, כי אם בשלב מסוים מתירה סוריה ליהודים לצאת ואז מפסיקה את היציאה או למרות הפניות בעניין החרם, סוריה לא משנה עמדתה, הדברים לא בדיוק תורמים להגברת האימון בין שני הצדדים.

-בהקשר לתהליך, התנגד אל-שרע לשלום תמורת שלום עם ישראל וציין כי עתה הוא הזמן לרה"מ רבין להחליט החלטות קשות, וזה חשוב יותר מנקיטת צעדים על ידי מדינות ערביות כלפי ישראל. המזכיר לא הסכים והשיב שדווקא יחסים טובים בין מדינות ערב לבין ישראל עשויים להקל על רה"מ רבין בשלב זה, וכי החלטות קשות זקוקות לרקע חיובי.

-בנוסף המזכיר ביקש לציין בפני איש שיחו כי לממשל מחויבות בדרג בכיר לקדם את המסלול הסורי-ישראלי.



# משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

ה'רמ"י יששכר

אמ

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), רהמ(0), שהבט(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), סמנכלשלו(1),  
רביב(1), ר/מרכז(1), מצב(0), רם(0), אמנ(0), ר'אגת(0), תכנון(1), ממד(4),  
מצפא(1), רחטמזת(1), ישראלערב(1), יועמש(1), משפט(1), ראשהממשלה(0)



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אאאא, חוזם: 4588

אל: רהמש/275

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 146, תא: 061093, זח: 1941, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מיד

אל: ממנכ"ל

דע: אגף שלום, ממ"ד, מצפ"א

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: פגישות קאדומי ואל-שרע עם הממשל

1. נפגשנו, הציר והח"מ עם אנשי צוות השלום במחמ"ד ולהלן עיקרי השיחה.

2. פארוק קאדומי:

- קאדומי נפגש תחילה עם קבוצת אנשי מחמ"ד למשך 45 דקות ומיד לאחר מכן עם מזכיר המדינה במשך כ-20 דקות. המזכיר איחר לפגישה בשל התייעצות דחופה עם הנשיא בעניין סומלייה.

- בני-שיחה האמריקנים הופתעו, לעומת ציפיותיהם, מאישיותו של קאדומי. האיש עשה רושם של אדם שקול, רהוט לשון ובעל קו נוקשה אך לא באורח אמוציונאלי.

- קאדומי הביע דעתו כי החשוב מכל הוא לשגר איתות ברור ולהרגיע את הקהילה הפלסטינאית אשר לדבריו מפגרת אחרי ההתרחשויות המהירות שקרו לאחרונה. דיבר על הצורך בחיזוקים חיוביים לתהליך שמתגבש עתה, בצורה של CBM'S (שחרור אסירים וכו'), חזרתם של פלסטינאים וכן בעניין הפליטים.

- בהקשר לפליטים ציין כי הנושא צריך לקבל הבלטה כדי להרגיע את קהילת הפלסטינאים שהאינטרסים שלה אכן מטופלים. לגבי עמדת ארה"ב כי נושא הפליטים צריך לידון בהקשר למו"מ הקבע ועניין העקורים בהקשר להסדר הביניים, במסגרת הועדה המתמדת, השיב קאדומי, כי הדבר מקובל אך חשוב להתחיל לעבוד על כך.

- היו חילוקי דעות לגבי הצעדים הנדרשים מצד העולם הערבי כלפי ישראל ומאמציו של אשף בנדון.

- בעניין החרם ציין, כי בשלב זה אין כלכלה פלסטינאית, ולכן הסרת החרם רק תתרום לישראל. כאשר תיפתח הכלכלה הפלסטינאית יהיה הגיוני מצד הפלסטינאים לעשות צעד בהקשר זה. כן ציין כי קיימים מכשולים כלכליים בשני הצדדים. ישראל, כדבריו, מפעילה מיגבלות כלכליות על ייצור חומר חקלאי בשטחים בנוסף לחוקים אחרים המקשים על היצרנים המקומיים. שאל, מדוע הפלסטינאים צריכים לתמוך בהסרת החרם אם ישראל ממשיכה במיגבלות שלה כלפי השטחים.



-קאדומי המשיך כי לדידו אין חשיבות במכלול הכלכלי אלא חשוב יותר בשלב זה להתקדם בעניין ה-CBM'S.

בפגישה עם המזכיר השיחה היתה כללית יותר. המזכיר הטעים בפניו כי לפלסטינאים חשוב שמדינות ערב ינרמלו יחסיהן עם ישראל כדי לא להשאיר את הפלסטינאים חשופים. כאמור הפגישה נמשכה כ-20 דקות והמזכיר היה טרוד בעניין סומליה אך לא רצה לבטל את הפגישה אחרי שהזמין את קאדומי לבוא לווינגטון.

-קאדומי אמר להיפגש עם שגרירי מדינות ערב בניו יורק ואז ימשיך לתונים כדי להשתתף בועד המרכזי ב-10/10.

3. פארוק - אל - שרע

-השיחה עם המזכיר נסובה בעיקר על שני נושאים מרכזיים - תהליך השלום והיחסים הבילטרליים.

- בעניין היחסים הבילטרליים אל-שרע ציין כי סוריה הצטרפה בשעתו לקואליציה נגד עיראק, הקלה על יציאת היהודים מסוריה, וגם עשתה צעדים בהקשר לטרור ולסמים, אך בכל זאת ארה"ב לא נתנה לסוריה דבר תמורת זאת. יחסי סוריה וארה"ב ישתפרו על ידי הסרת סוריה מרשימת הטרור.

-המזכיר השיב כי למרות הנ"ל יש לארה"ב דאגות לגבי מעשיה של סוריה בהקשר לטרור, ובענייני סמים היא יכולה לעשות יותר וכן לגבי כיבוד זכויות האדם.

-לראשונה ציין המזכיר כי מלבד הסרת סוריה מרשימת הטרור, סוריה יכולה לעשות דברים אשר ירגיעו את חששותיה של ארה"ב מבלי שתהיה זיקה בין השניים. המזכיר הסביר, כי אם בשלב מסוים מתירה סוריה ליהודים לצאת ואז מפסיקה את היציאה או למרות הפניות בעניין החרם, סוריה לא משנה עמדתה, הדברים לא בדיוק תורמים להגברת האימון בין שני הצדדים.

-בהקשר לתהליך, התנגד אל-שרע לשלום תמורת שלום עם ישראל וציין כי עתה הוא הזמן לרה"מ רבין להחליט החלטות קשות, וזה חשוב יותר מנקיטת צעדים על ידי מדינות ערביות כלפי ישראל. המזכיר לא הסכים והשיב שדווקא יחסים טובים בין מדינות ערב לבין ישראל עשויים להקל על רה"מ רבין בשלב זה, וכי החלטות קשות זקוקות לרקע חיובי.

-בנוסף המזכיר ביקש לציין בפני איש שיחו כי לממשל מחויבות בדרג בכיר לקדם את המסלול הסורי-ישראלי.

ג'רמי יששכרוף

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, יועמש,  
משפט, @ (ראשהממשלה)







\*\* סנס

סודי

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חוזם: 10,4587

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/440, דהמש/274, אביב/375, מנמת/386

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 145, תא: 061093, זח: 1840, דח: מ, סג: סו

תח: @ גס: ממד

נד: @

סודי/מיד

אל: ממיד-ערב 4, חטיבת מזית, מצפא

מאת: השגרירות וושינגטון

הנדון: סוריה

משיחת לשנו-יער והח'מ עם סינדלר (ישראל ומדינות הטבעת, I.N.R.) (1-5.10)  
(קודם לפגישת כריסטופר - שרע).

1. סיפר כי במחמ'ד דעות שונות באשר להערכת מדיניות סוריה בתהליך בעקבות ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני. מעצבי המדיניות כלפי סוריה במחמ'ד, קרי (מבחינתו) -רוס דג'רדג'יאן ומרטינז (N.E.A.), עצבניים שכן הם חוששים פן סוריה תפעל באורח העלול להסיט את התהליך ממסלולו. דסקאי סוריה ב-I.N.R. אף פסימי מהחבורה הנ'ל וסבור שההתבטאויות הקשוחות העולות מדמשק משקפות את עמדתה הנוקשה הבסיסית של סוריה, ואינם בבחינת זעם רטורי גרידא. לעומת הנ'ל, בן שיחנו אופטימי.

2. לדעתו, סוריה אמנם עצבנית משום שהן הפלסטינים והן ירדן התרחקו ממנה בתהליך, ואם יתפתחו יחסיהם של אלה עם ישראל-בעיית הגולן עלולה להוות כבעיית שולית יחסית, למול התהליך המתקדם. יחד עם זאת, הסורים הביעו התנגדות לדרך בה הושג ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני, אך לא למהותו, ודמשק מוסיפה לשגר איתותים מעוררי עניין.

3. הוסיף כי קודם לחתימת ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני, מקור מערבי מהימן דווח לאמריקנים כי במשרד החוץ הסורי חושבים שהדיונים שהתנהלו במסלול הישראלי-סורי בשני סבבי השיחות האחרונים היו מעניינים מאד, מציינים שדרך סיום מבצע 'דין וחשבון' מעידה שישראל וסוריה למדו לפעול בתיאום. מוסיפים לציון בחיוב שהנייר הסורי הוא המסמך הנידון במו'מ הביטראלי ומצפים להתקדמות בסבב השיחות הקרוב.

4. אשר לסימנים חיוביים אחרונים ציין:



## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

א. דברי נגיד הבנק המרכזי הסורי שהעריך לפני כשבוע, שבמידון השלום תקצץ סוריה 75 אחוזים מתקציב הבטחון שלה (סינדלר לא זכר היכן קרא זאת, שיער שהדברים פורסמו ב'אלחיאתי' או בעיתון בחרייני).

ב. שגרירותם בדמשק דיווחה לפני כשבוע במסגרת ניתוח מצבה הכלכלי של סוריה, כי אנשי עסקים סורים אינם שואלים עצמם אם יכון שלום עם ישראל אלא מתי יכון השלום, והם מתחילים להתכוון לעידון השלום. אנשי השגרירות שמעו דברים ברורים מפי אנשי עסקים באזורים שונים של סוריה.

ג. סינדלר ציין דווח 'אלבעת' הסורי על עניינה של סוריה בביקור כריסטופר באזור. קבע שדווח זה מעיד שהסורים מעוניינים בהעמקת התפקיד האמריקני בתהליך, והעריך שלא היו מבקשים ביקור כזה אילו לא היו נכונים לתרום אף הם להתקדמות.

אמיתי

אמ

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), רהמ(0), שהבט(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), סמנכלשלו(1), רביב(1), ר/מרכז(1), מצב(0), רם(0), אמן(0), ר'אגת(0), תכנון(1), ממד(4), רחטמזת(1), ישראלערב(1), מצפא(1), יועמש(1), משפט(1), ראשהממשלה(0)



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אאאא, חוזם: 4587

אל: רהמש/274

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 145, תא: 061093, זח: 1840, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מיד

אל: ממ'ד-ערב 4, חטיבת מז'ת, מצפ'א

מאת: השגרירות וושינגטון

הנדון: סוריה

משיחת לשנו-יער והח'מ עם סינדלר (ישראל ומדינות הטבעת, I.N.R.) ב-5.10.  
(קודם לפגישת כריסטופר - שרע).

1. סיפר כי במחמ'ד דעות שונות באשר להערכת מדיניות סוריה בתהליך בעקבות ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני. מעצבי המדיניות כלפי סוריה במחמ'ד, קרי (מבחינתו) - רוס דג'רדג'יאן ומרטינז (N.E.A), עצבניים שכן הם חוששים פן סוריה תפעל באורח העלול להסיט את התהליך ממסלולו. דסקאי סוריה ב- I.N.R אף פסימי מהחבורה הנ'ל וסבור שההתבטאויות הקשוחות העולות מדמשק משקפות את עמדתה הנוקשה הבסיסית של סוריה, ואינם בבחינת זעם רטורי גרידא. לעומת הנ'ל, בן שיחנו אופטימי.

2. לדעתו, סוריה אמנם עצבנית משום שהן הפלסטינים והן ירדן התרחקו ממנה בתהליך, ואם יתפתחו יחסיהם של אלה עם ישראל-בעיית הגולן עלולה להוותר כבעיית שולית יחסית, למול התהליך המתקדם. יחד עם זאת, הסורים הביעו התנגדות לדרך בה הושג ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני, אך לא למהותו, ודמשק מוסיפה לשגר איתותים מעוררי עניין.

3. הוסיף כי קודם לחתימת ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני, מקור מערבי מהימן דווח לאמריקנים כי במשרד החוץ הסורי חושבים שהדיונים שהתנהלו במסלול הישראלי-סורי בשני סבבי השיחות האחרונים היו מעניינים מאוד, מציינים שדרך סיום מבצע 'דין וחשבון' מעידה שישראל וסוריה למדו לפעול בתיאום. מוסיפים לציין בחיוב שהנייר הסורי הוא המסמך הנידון במו'מ הבילטרלי ומצפים להתקדמות בסבב השיחות הקרוב.

4. אשר לסימנים חיוביים אחרונים ציין:

א. דברי נגיד הבנק המרכזי הסורי שהעריך לפני כשבוע, שבעידן השלום תקצץ סוריה 75 אחוזים מתקציב הבטחון שלה (סינדלר לא זכר היכן קרא זאת, שיער שהדברים פורסמו ב'אלח'את' או בעיתון בחרייני).

ב. שגרירותם בדמשק דיווחה לפני כשבוע במסגרת ניתוח מצבה הכלכלי של סוריה, כי אנשי עסקים סורים אינם שואלים עצמם אם יכון שלום עם ישראל אלא מתי יכון השלום, והם מתחילים להתכונן לעידן השלום. אנשי השגרירות שמעו דברים ברוח זו מפי אנשי עסקים באזורים שונים של סוריה.



ג. סינדלר ציין דווח ' אלבעת ' הסורי על ענינה של סוריה בביקור כריסטופר באזור. קבע שדווח זה מעיד שהסורים מעונינים בהעמקת התפקיד האמריקני בתהליך, והעריך שלא היו מבקשים ביקור כזה אילולא היו נכונים לתרום אף הם להתקדמות.

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, רחטמזח, ישראלערב, מצפא, יועמש,  
משפט, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



\*\* סכס

סודי

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חוזם: 10,4586

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/428, דהמש/265, אביב/364, מנמת/373, עמית/514

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 144, תא: 061093, זח: 1834, דח: מ, סג: 10

תח: @ ס: ממד

@ ד: נ

סודי/מיד

אל: ממיד, משהביט/מתאם הפעולות בלבנון

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: סוריה. פלסטינים

להלן מהערכותיו של לביום (5.10)

1. אסד מוסיף להאמין שלעורפאת נכונות בעיות רבות בדרך יישום ההסכם עם ישראל. סוריה מקווה להתקדמות בסבב השיחות הבא עם ישראל, אך אסד איננו פועל מתוך תחושת בהילות. ממילא הפסיד, לפי שעה, עקב ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני, וביכולתו להתמקד עתה לקשים שיעלו, כאמור לעיל, בדרכו של עורפאת.

2. אם לישראל עניין בהמתנה הסורית (עד ל-יעילותו של ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני י.א.) לסורים צריך להיות ברור כי אכן לא ישכחו בהמשך התהליך. במקביל יש לדרוש מהסורים שבתקופת 'ההמתנה' יגלו זהירות רבה באשר למתרחש בלבנון (קרי, ימנעו מעידוד, ולו פסיבי, של פעולות טרור אנטי-ישראלי י.א.)

3. מכל מקום, לביום משוכנע שארה"ב מעוניינת להביא להתקדמות באפיק הסורי-ישראלי מהר ככל האפשר.

4. העריך שאסד חייב להוסיף ולהניח מרחב תימרון לאירגוני הסרוב, הן כדי שלא יראה כאילו בגד בעניין הפלסטיני והן כדי למנוע מהם לעבור לחיקו של טהרן או בגדד. לביום כשלעצמו מעדיף שהסרבנים הללו ישארו בשליטת סוריה.

פלסטינים

5. בן שיחי שמע מפלסטינים מהשטחים צפי לפיו אם עורפאת יבקש להמנע מבחירות דמוקרטיות בשטחים ויחתור להשליט שם את אנשי פתח-טוניס, הרי בטווח של שנה תעלה נגדו התנגדות קשה לא רק מקרב חמאס, אלא גם מקרב תושבי שטחים התומכים כיום בהסכם ישראל-פלסטיני.







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אאא, חוזם: 4586

אל: רהמש/265

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 144, תא: 061093, זח: 1834, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבב

סודי/מיד

אל: ממ'ד, משהב'ט/מתאם הפעולות בלבנון

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: סוריה. פלסטינים

להלן מהערכותיו של לביום (ב-5.10)

1. אסד מוסיף להאמין שלערפאת נכונות בעיות רבות בדרך יישום ההסכם עם ישראל. סוריה מקווה להתקדמות בסבב השיחות הבא עם ישראל, אך אסד איננו פועל מתוך תחושת בהילות. ממילא הפסיד, לפי שעה, עקב ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני, וביכולתו להמתין עתה לקשיים שיעלו, כאמור לעיל, בדרכו של ערפאת.

2. אם לישראל עניין בהמתנה הסורית (עד ל-'עיכולו' של ההסכם הישראלי-פלסטיני י.א) לסורים צריך להיות ברור כי אכן לא ישכחו בהמשך התהליך. במקביל יש לדרוש מהסורים שבתקופת 'ההמתנה' יגלו זהירות רבה באשר למתרחש בלבנון (קרי, ימנעו מעידוד, ולו פסיבי, של פעולות טרור אנטי-ישראלי י.א.)

3. מכל מקום, לביום משוכנע שארה'ב מעונינת להביא להתקדמות באפיק הסורי-ישראלי מהר ככל האפשר.

4. העריך שאסד חייב להוסיף ולהניח מרחב תימרון לאירגוני הסרוב, הן כדי שלא יראה כאילו בגד בעניין הפלסטיני והן כדי למנוע מהם לעבור לחיקן של טהרן או בגדד. לביום כשלעצמו מעדיף שהסרבנים הללו ישארו בשליטת סוריה.

פלסטינים

5. בן שיחי שמע מפלסטינים מהשטחים צפי לפיו אם ערפאת יבקש להמנע מבחירות דמוקרטיות בשטחים ויחתור להשליט שם את אנשי פתח-טונים, הרי בטווח של שנה תעלה נגדו התנגדות קשה לא רק מקרב חמאס, אלא גם מקרב תושבי שטחים התומכים כיום בהסכם ישראלי-פלסטיני.

אמיתי



תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלש'לום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
ממד, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, יועמש, @ (עמית475),  
@ (לוברני), @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



\*\* סכס

סודי

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חוזם: 10,4584

אל: המשרד

יעדים: בטחון/439, רהמ"ש/273, אביב/374, מנמ"ת/385

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 142, תא: 061093, צח: 1826, דח: מ, סה: 10

תח: @ גס: צפא

נד: @

2/10

סודי/מיד

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

מאת: הציר וושינגטון

הנדון: ירדן-מחילת חובות

הירדנים פנו לירדנים שלנו וביקשו שיתמכו במאמצי ירדן לזכות  
במחילת-חובותיה, יש לנו עמדה בעניין?

ברר נא והודיעני.

חג שמח  
שילה

2/10

אמ

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), רהמ"ש(0), מנכ"ל(1), ממנכ"ל(1), מצפ"א(1), ר/מרכז(1), ממד(4),  
רם(0), אמן(0), ראשהממשלה(0)

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אאאא, חוזם: 4584

אל: רהמש/ 273

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 142, תא: 061093, זח: 1826, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/ מדי

אל: מנהל מצפ'א

מאת: הציר וושינגטון

הנדון: ירדן-מחילת חובות

הירדנים פנו לידידים שלנו וביקשו שיתמכו במאמצי ירדן לזכות  
במחילת-חובותיה, יש לנו עמדה בענין ?

ברר נא והודיעני.

חג שמח

שילה

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

סססס



נכנס

בלמס

חוזם: 10,4418

אל: המשרד

לעדים: בליגה 110, בטחון 423, רהמ"ש 263

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 125, תא: 061093, זח: 1327, דח: מ, סה: בל

תח: אוצר, שר: גס: משרדים

נד: @

בלמס/מיידי

תאריך: 05/10/93

אל: לשכת רוה"מ

לשכת שר החוץ

שר האוצר

מנכ"ל האוצר

דע: ציר, שגריר בליגה

מאת: ציר כלכלי וושינגטון

הנדון: פגישה עם שר האוצר הסיני.

שר האוצר שוחט בפגש עם שר האוצר הסיני ביום ד' 29/09/93. בפגישה השתתפו שר האוצר הסיני, מנכ"ל משרדו ושני עוזרים (ש אחד מהם שמש כמתורגמן). מצידו השתתפו שר האוצר, נגיד הבנק, המנכ"ל ועוזריו. שר האוצר (שוחט) פתח בדברי ברכה והערכה לעם הסיני, ולמאמץ הרב שהם משקיעים בקידום כלכלתם. כמו כן ציין שהוא אמור לסקר בסין לקראת האביב. נגיד הבנק (פרנקל) סיפר על ביקורו בסין ועל הערכתו למאמצייהם לנסות להוריד את האינפלציה ולעודד את הצמיחה. שר האוצר הסיני, השיב לברכות, הביע הערכה רבה למהלכים האחרונים במזרח התיכון ולפגישה ההסטורית בין ערפאת לרבין. ציין כי הם מצפים לביקורו של רוה"מ והם מקווים כי במהלך הביקור יידונו גם בנושאים כלכליים.

ב. שוחט וא. פוגל העלו 3 נושאים לדיון: \* הסכם לעידוד השקעות. \* אמנת למניעת כפל מס.

\* הקמת קרן משותפת למחקר ופיתוח. שר האוצר הסיני היה מאוד חיובי בתגובתו לשלושת הרעיונות וציין שהוא פתוח להתחיל לעבוד על ההסכמים לפני ביקור

## משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

רנה"מ או לאחריו. הדגיש שכל אחד מהנושאים מחייב עבודת מטה רבה והם נכונים להתאים עצמם ללוח הזמנים שלנו.

סוכם כי נכין את הצעותינו בנדון ( באחריות האגף הבין לאומי באוצר) ונעביר זאת לעיונם ברגע שהם יהיו מוכנים. הפגישה התנהלה באוירה מאד לבבית והשר וצוותו נשמעו מאד ידידותיים.

אמנון נויבר

אמ

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), דהמ(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), מצב(0), תכנון(1),  
סמנכלאסיה(1), אסיה(1), ערן(0), כלכליתא'(1), אוצר(3), ראשהממשלה(0)



אאאא, חוזם: 4418

אל: רהמש/263

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 125, תא: 061093, זח: 1327, דח: מ, סג: בל,

כבכב

בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 05/10/93

אל: לשכת רוה"מ

לשכת שר החוץ

שר האוצר

מנכ"ל האוצר

דע: ציר, שגריר בייג'ין

מאת: ציר כלכלי וושינגטון

הנדון: פגישה עם שר האוצר הסיני.

שר האוצר שוחט נפגש עם שר האוצר הסיני ביום ד' 29/09/93. בפגישה השתתפו שר האוצר הסיני, מנכ"ל משרדו ושני עוזרים ( שאחד מהם שמש כמתורגמן). מצידנו השתתפו שר האוצר, נגיד הבנק, המנכ"ל ועוזריו. שר האוצר (שוחט) פתח בדברי ברכה והערכה לעם הסיני, ולמאמץ הרב שהם משקיעים בקידום כלכלתם. כמו כן ציין שהוא אמור לסקר בסין לקראת האביב. נגיד הבנק (פרנקל) סיפר על ביקורו בסין ועל הערכתו למאמציהם לנסות להוריד את האינפלציה ולעודד את הצמיחה. שר האוצר הסיני, השיב לברכות, הביע הערכה רבה למהלכים האחרונים במזרח התיכון ולפגישה ההסטורית בין ערפאת לרביין. ציין כי הם מצפים לביקורו של רוה"מ והם מקוים כי במהלך הביקור יידונו גם בנושאים כלכליים.

ב. שוחט וא. פוגל העלו 3 נושאים לדיון: \* הסכם לעידוד השקעות. \* אמנת למניעת כפל מס.

\* הקמת קרן משותפת למחקר ופיתוח. שר האוצר הסיני היה מאד חיובי בתגובתו לשלושת הרעיונות וציין שהוא פתוח להתחיל לעבוד על ההסכמים לפני ביקור רוה"מ או לאחריו. הדגיש שכל אחד מהנושאים מחייב עבודת מטה רבה והם נכונים להתאים עצמם ללוח הזמנים שלנו.

סוכם כי נכין את הצעותינו בנדון ( באחריות האגף הבין לאומי באוצר) ונעביר זאת לעיונם ברגע שהם יהיו מוכנים. הפגישה התנהלה באווירה מאד לבבית והשר וצוותו נשמעו מאד ידידותיים.

אמנון נויבך

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון, סמנכלאסיה,  
אסיה, ערן, כלכליתא', אוצר, @ (ראשהממשלה)

סססס



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משרד החוץ-מחלקת הקשר

3020

תאריך : 06.10.93



נכנס \*\*

שמור

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חוזם: 10,3020

אל: המשרד

יעדים: וושינגטון/136, דהמש/174

מ-: דהמש, נר: 11, תא: 051093, חז: 1658, דח: 1, סה: שמ

תח: @ס: צפא

נד: @

*g.10*

שמור / בהול לבוקר

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: צוות השלום

א. פגישתם עם דה"מ ביום שלישי, 19 אוק' 93, שעה 9:00 במשרד דה"מ בירושלים.

איתן

לש

תפ: שהח(2), סשהח(1), דהמ(0), מנכל(1), ממנכל(1), מצב(0), תכנון(1), סמנכלשלום(1), מצפא(1), יועמש(1)

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מס' חוץ ושגר' בירמ"ס: 5376967

מ ב ר ק   נ כ נ ס   מ ס ו ר ג

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אאאא, חוזם: 3020

אל: רהמש/174

מ-: רהמש, נר: 11, תא: 051093, זח: 1658, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / בהול לבוקר

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: צוות השלום

א. פגישתם עם רה"מ ביום שלישי, 19 אוק' 93, שעה 9:00 במשרד רה"מ  
בירושלים.

איתן

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

סססס



מ ב ר ק   נ כ נ ס   מ ס ו ג

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אאאא, הו"ז: 3020

אל: רהמש/174

מ-: רהמש, נר: 11, תא: 051093, זח: 1658, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור / בהול לבוקר

אל: השגריר, וושינגטון

הנדון: צוות השלום

א. פגישתם עם רה"מ ביום שלישי, 19 אוק' 93, שעה 9:00 במשרד רה"מ  
בירושלים.

איתן

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

סססס

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אאא, חוזם: 2184  
אל: רהמש/139  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 72, תא: 041093, זח: 2022, דח: ב, סג: שמ,  
בבבב  
שמור/בהול לבוקר

אל: מנהל מצפ"א  
דע: ממנכ"ל, לש-רוה"מ, לש-שר האוצר  
ציר כלכלי, כאן  
מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: ערבויות - קזוז הוצאות התנחלויות

להלן מכתב אמריקני - :

1. ביום חמישי שעבר (30.9) הנשיא קלינטון העביר הודעה לקונגרס לפיה סך כל ההוצאות של ממשלת ישראל בשנת התקציב החולפת (93') על ההתנחלויות היו 437 מיליון דולר. לפיכך הודיע הנשיא לקונגרס כי יש לקזז סכום זה מסך הערבויות שיעמדו לרשות ישראל בשנת התקציב '94.  
עפ"י הכתב, מכתבו של הממשל קובע:-

"...THE PRESIDENT HAVE DETERMIND THAT THIS SUM MUST BE DEDUCTED..."

2. הידיעה כולה אושרה לכתבים ע"י פקידי מחמ"ד שהדגישו כי סכום הערבויות שיועמד לרשות ישראל בשנת התקציב '94 יהיה 1.563 ביליון דולר.

לידיעתכם.

רות ירון

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 2184

אל: רהמש/139

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 72, תא: 041093, זח: 2022, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/בהול לבוקר

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: ממנכ"ל, לש-רוה"מ, לש-שר האוצר

ציר כלכלי, כאן

מאת: יועצת תקשורת, וושינגטון

Q/S.10

הנדון: ערבויות - קזוז הוצאות התנחלויות

להלן מכתב אמריקני - :

1. ביום חמישי שעבר (30.9) הנשיא קלינטון העביר הודעה לקונגרס לפיה סך כל ההוצאות של מ-ישראל בשנת התקציב החולפת (93') על ההתנחלויות היו 437 מיליון דולר. לפיכך הודיע הנשיא לקונגרס כי יש לקזז סכום זה מסך הערבויות שיעמדו לרשות ישראל בשנת התקציב '94.

עפ"י הכתב, מכתבו של הממשל קובע:-

"...THE PRESIDENT HAVE DETERMIND THAT THIS SUM MUST BE DEDUCTED..."

2. הידיעה כולה אושרה לכתבים ע"י פקידי מחמ"ד שהדגישו כי סכום הערבויות שיועמד לרשות ישראל בשנת התקציב '94 יהיה 1.563 ביליון דולר.

לידיעתכם.

רות ירון

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 2148

אל: רהמש/160

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 64, תא: 041093, זח: 1823, דח: מ, סג: סו,

כבכב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממנכ"ל, אגף שלום, מנהל מצפ"א

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון

הנדון: מהלכים במסלול הבילטרלי

משיחה עם איש הצוות האמריקני

האמריקנים אינם נוטים לפרסם את לוח מהלכי-השלום לחודש אוקטובר מתוך חשש לבטחון האישי של הדמויות הפועלות.

באמצע החודש (מבלי לנקוב בתאריך ושעה) ייצאו לאזור רוס, מילר, קרצר ואינדיק, יבקרו בכל הכתובות הרגילות פלוס טונים. בירושלים יקיימו את שיחותיהם ב-19 או ב-20.

הם ממליצים למזכיר להזמין את כולם לסיבוב שיחות בווינגטון ליום ב' ה-25 באוקטובר למשך שבועיים, אך המזכיר טרם נתן בדעתו לכך.

אינם יודעים איזה נתח מהמו"מ הפלשטיני יתקיים בווינגטון, אולי כל הקבוצות ואולי הקבוצה ליישום 'עזה יריחו' תתכנס באזור. לפלשתינאים יקר מאד לשגר ארבע משלחות לווינגטון, מאידך, יתכן שירצו להתחיל פורמלית דווקא בווינגטון.

האמריקנים סבורים שלא יהיו שמות של משתתפים פלשתינאים פנימיים בתהליך. דיברו פעמים אחדות עם חנן עשראוי שאינה יודעת דבר על גורלה או גורל חבריה מהשטחים. עם האחרים לא דיברו.

שילה

g.10

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

רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגח),

תכנון, ממד, מצפא, רחטמזח, ישראלערב, יועמש

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 2147

אל: רהמש/159

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 63, תא: 041093, זח: 1823, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מיד

אל: רח'ט פר'ן

דע: ממנכ'ל, מתאם השיחות הרב צדדיות-אגף שלום

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: מפגש בק'ן

משיחה עם איש צוות השלום עולה:

1. הממשל פנה למרוקאים במהלך סוף השבוע (בתיאום עם רוסיה) כדי לברר עמדתם לגבי קיום מפגש קבוצת העבודה הבאה במרוקו. הפניה נעשתה גם על רקע ידיעות שירדן לא תתנגד לקיום מפגש באיזור.

2. איש שיחי הציע שגם אנחנו נפנה במישרין בצינורות שלנו למרוקאים וטוב שישמעו זאת חזיתית מאיתנו.

3. הפניות האמריקניות למרוקו עד כה, לא נתקבלו לחיוב או לשלילה. כנראה שניסו את ירדן כמקום מפגש אפשרי אך גם כאן לא היתה תשובה לכאן או לכאן.

4. אגב, בשולי המפגש על ועידת התורמות גורם מצרי בכיר העוסק בבק'ן סיפר לי כי הציע לגאלוצ'י לבדוק מפגש אפשרי עם ירדן.

5. איש צוות השלום הוסיף כי נוכח האירועים האחרונים במוסקבה יתכן כי איתור מקום חילופי למפגש הוא עתה שאלה יותר קריטית. הממשל לא מעוניין במיוחד לקיים את המפגש בושינגטון.

ג'רמי יששכרוף.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל'שלום,

רביב, ר/מרכז, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),

ממד, פרנ, מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, יועמש

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 2133

אל: רהמש/158

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 57, תא: 041093, זח: 1719, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: מתאם השיחות הרב צדדיות

דע: רח"ט פר"ן

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: מפגשי הביניים הרב - צדדיים

1. איש צוות השלום במחמ"ד העוסק בנושא הרב-צדדי, סיפר שנקלטו שמועות בשולי מפגש המומחים באוסלו לפני כשבוע (FAFO), שישנן תלונות על כמות מפגשי הביניים, הן בהקשר לפליטים והן בהקשר לבק"ן. אין אלה בהכרח תלונות ישראליות בלבד, כדבריו.

2. שאל אם אנו אכן חשים כי מספר מפגשי הביניים גבוהים מדי ואם כן, האם אנו מבקשים להאיט את הקצב.

3. הערתי כי לא שמעתי דבר כזה אך אני מוכן לבדוק עם ירושלים.

ג'רמי יששכרוף

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלום, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ממד, מצפא, בייץ, הדס, פרנ, יועמש

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 2089

אל: רהמש/157

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 44, תא: 041093, זח: 1630, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

4 אוקטובר 1993

אל: ממ"ד, מצפ"א

דע: לשכת השר, לשכת ס/שה"ח

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: סוריה

להלן מפי פרופ' ויליאם קוונדט ממכון ברוקינגס (4/10):

1. נפגש אתמול, 3/10, עם שה"ח נורבגיה הולסט ושמע ממנו על פגישה שקיים השבוע בניו-יורק עם שה"ח סוריה אל-שרע, לאחר תקופה ארוכה שבה התחמקו הסורים מפגישה בין שרי החוץ.

2. אל-שרע ביקש מהולסט אישור לכך, שהאמרק' הם אלה שלחצו על נורבגיה לתווך בין ישראל לאש"פ. התקשה להאמין לדברי הולסט, שהאמרק' עודכנו במהלך המו"מ רק בשלביו הסופיים. לבסוף השתכנע.

3. אח"כ ביקש אל-שרע לשמוע מהולסט את פרטי הפרטים של הטכניקה של המו"מ ושל התווך הנורבגי. אל-שרע שיבח את התפקיד שמילאו הנורבגים (אם כי לא את ההסכם). השנים סיכמו להמשיך הקשר.

לבקשתו, אנא שמרו על חסיון המידע. בשיחה שהתפתחה ביננו הערתי, שהסורים ודאי התאכזבו ללמוד על חוסר המעורבות האמרק' במו"מ. קוונדט הסכים והוסיף, שעם זאת התמונה שונה כשעוסקים במו"מ בין ישראל לסוריה. שכן, בגיזרה זו ידרש לוווי אמריקני צמוד ומעורבות אמרק' בתחום הסידורים הצבאיים.

לשנו יער

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס, יועמש,  
מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רס), @ (אמן)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 2088

אל: רהמש/133

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 43, תא: 041093, זח: 1630, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

4 באוקטובר 1993

אל: חט' מז"ת - מנהל מח' ישראל-ערב

דע: ממ"ד, אגף שלום

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: השתתפות דיפלומט משגרירות מרוקו בארוע בשגרירות

1. בא"ע לכבוד השרים פרס ושוחט, שנערכה בשגרירות ב-30/9, השתתף יועץ משגרירות מרוקו בווינגטון. זו פעם ראשונה שדיפלומט ערבי ממדינה שאינה מקיימת קשרים פורמליים עם ישראל, משתתף בארוע רשמי בשגרירות. (להזכירכם, שהיוזמה הראשונה ליצירת קשר עם דוברת השגרירות באה מצד המרוקני. השתתפותו בארוחה היתה מתואמת בין השגרירים).

2. היועץ המרוקני, מוצאו מדרום המדינה, סיפר על הכרותו עם יהדות ויהודים, באמצעות קשרים של משפחת אימו ולימודיו בבתי הספר במרוקו. גילה בקיאות ביחסי שתי המדינות, בין היתר בשל שירותו ארוך השנים (עד לפני שנה) בלישכת שר החוץ של מרוקו.

3. ניהלנו שיחה ארוכה במהלך הערב. בין היתר סיפר על מפגשי שגרירים ערבים בווינגטון בהזדמנויות שונות:  
א. לאחר טקס החתימה על ההסכם ב-13/9 תידרך ערפאת את השגרירים. היחיד שהתבטא בגנות ההסכם היה השגריר הסורי אל-מועלם, אשר הסכים שיש לכבד רצונם של הפלסטינים, אולם קבל על חוסר התיאום עם השותפות הערביות לתהליך.

ב. לאחר ביקורו האחרון של המזכיר כריסטופר באזור, דווח הנציג הסעודי לשגרירים על בקשת המזכיר ממארחיו בריאצ' לעשות צעדים להסרת החרם. הסעודי הוסיף, לדברי המרוקני, שתשובת סעודיה היתה שלילית ואין בכוונתם לפעול בנושא זה.

4. היועץ המרוקני היה מוטרד מאפשרות שיחשף לנציגי התקשורת שהשתתפו בארוע וביקש לשמור על פרופיל השתתפות נמוך. בשיחות עימי ועם כמה ממשותתפי הארוע היה פתוח וענייני ולא הסתיר רצונם בהתפתחות היחסים עם ישראל. אך, כדבריו, בזהירות ובהדרגתיות המתבקשים.

5. הקשר עם המרוקני ימשך והדוברת תפגוש אותו לא"צ מחר, 5/10.

לשנו יער

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון, רחטמזת,  
ישראלערב, מצפא, סמנכלשלוס, ר/מרכז, ממד,  
@ (רס), @ (אמן)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 2055

אל: רהמש/132

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 40, תא: 041093, זח: 1540, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

4 באוקטובר 1993

אל: ממ"ד, חט' מז"ת, מצפ"א

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: הופעת הנסיך חסן ב"מכון וושינגטון" (4/10)

1. חסן הופיע OFF THE RECORD (אף שתחילת ההופעה צולמה ע"י הטלביזיה הירדנית). לאחר הצגה קצרה הקדיש את מרבית דבריו לתשובות לשאלות הקהל. המסר העיקרי (בין השיטין) - ירדן, שנשאה בנטל הבעיה הפלס' מאז '48, ואשר רק לאחרונה קלטה מאות אלפי פליטים פלסטינים - מורשת מלחמת המפרץ - זכאית אף היא לנתח מן הסיוע הכלכלי האמור לזרום לאזור. במסגרת זו, שב וקבל על הנתק הנמשך בין ארצו לבין מדינות הנפט הערביות.

2. פרוט הנאום - בהמשך.

אמיתי לשנו יער 12

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רס), @ (אמן), תכנון,  
ממד, מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 2054

אל: רהמש/154

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 39, תא: 041093, זח: 1540, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

אל: ממ'ד

מאת: הציר, וושינגטון.

הנדון: בקור יהודי בסעודיה.

ראשי הקונגרס היהודי האמריקני ה"ה ליפטון, קראון, סיגמן וסקוודרון  
נוסעים לסעודיה ב-17 דנא לפי הזמנת בנדר. הובטח להם שיראו את המלך ואת  
כל האישים הרלבנטיים בממשלה. (בדרכם חזרה יתעכבו בעמאן ובמצרים ומצפים  
גם שם לפגישות-צמרת).

ביקשו לקבל מאתנו תדרוך לקראת פגישותיהם בסעודיה עפ"י נושאים ונקודות  
טעון. אנא.

שילה.

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב,  
מצרים, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס



אאא, חוזם: 757

אל: רהמש/76

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 24, תא: 031093, זח: 1143, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבב

בלמס/מידי

3 באוקטובר 1993

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מקש"ח/משהב"ט

לשכת מנכ"ל/אוצר

רמש"ן/ניו-יורק

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק סיוע החוץ - הקצבות לש"א 94.

1. דוח הקונפרנס אושר בבית הנבחרים בהצבעה: 321 בעד 108 נגד (תוצאת שיא בעד סיוע החוץ) ובסנט 87 בעד 11 נגד.

2. החוק נחתם ע"י הנשיא קלינטון ביום חמישי 30 בספט' אחה"צ.

3. תם ונשלם.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס

05/10

אאאא, חוזם: 320

אל: רהמש/ 47

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 23, תא: 021093, זח: 1304, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/ מיד

תאריך: 1 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: לש- רוה"מ

לש- שה"א

קונכ"לים

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך מחמ"ד בנושא ועידת התורמים

STATE DEPARTMENT BACKGROUND BRIEFING SUBJECT: RESULTS OF MIDDLE  
EAST DONORS CONFERENCE ATTRIBUTABLE TO SENIOR ADMINISTRATION  
OFFICIALS FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1993

Q I WAS WONDERING IF ANYBODY CAN REALLY EXPLAIN TO US THIS  
SO-CALLED AD HOC CONSULTING OR LIAISON COMMITTEE. AND I MEAN CAN  
YOU PLEASE GIVE US SOME SPECIFICS: WHO IS ON IT, HOW IT WILL  
FUNCTION, AND HOW IS THIS DIFFERENT FROM THE STEERING COMMITTEE  
THE UNITED STATES WANTED? AND HAVE THE FRENCH AGREED TO IT?

(CROSS TALK, LAUGHTER.)

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: THERE WILL BE AN AD HOC LIAISON GROUP,  
WHICH FOR ALL INTENTS AND PURPOSES IS THE SAME THING AS A  
STEERING GROUP. IT JUST -- YOU KNOW, IT HAD DIFFERENT NAMES AT  
DIFFERENT POINTS IN TIME. THERE WILL BE AN AD HOC LIAISON GROUP  
THAT WILL BE COMPOSED OF THE U.S., CANADA, THE EC, JAPAN,  
RUSSIA, NORWAY FOR THE NORDICS, SAUDI ARABIA FOR THE GCC, AND IT  
WILL HAVE AS ASSOCIATE MEMBERS THE ISRAELIS, THE PALESTINIANS,  
THE EGYPTIANS AND THE JORDANIANS. DID I MISS ANYBODY THERE?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: NOPE.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I THINK I DID IT.

IT WILL ACT AS A SORT OF A BOARD OF DIRECTORS. IT WILL BE AT THE  
SENIOR ADVISOR LEVEL, SO \*\*\*\*\* AND I ANTICIPATE THAT WE WOULD  
GO, OR THAT IT WOULD BE AT OUR LEVEL, AND OUR COUNTERPARTS WOULD



BE AT OUR LEVEL. IT WILL MEET EVERY THREE TO SIX MONTHS. IT WILL WORK TO ACHIEVE COORDINATION AND COOPERATION AMONG THE DONORS TO SHARE INFORMATION, TO HAVE A DIALOGUE, ET CETERA. IT IS BEING CREATED BY THE MULTILATERAL STEERING GROUP.

Q WHAT --

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: IT IS -- DO YOU WANT ME TO FINISH?

Q YES, PLEASE.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: IT WILL GIVE ITS RESPONSIBILITY FOR DAY-TO-DAY OPERATIONS TO A SECRETARIAT, WHICH WILL BE -- THE FUNCTIONS OF WHICH WILL BE PERFORMED BY THE WORLD BANK. OKAY? SO THE WORLD BANK WILL SERVE AS THE SECRETARIAT. ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS, THE WORLD BANK WILL WORK TO COORDINATE THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DONORS AND, AGAIN, TO PROVIDE INFORMATION SHARING; TO CARRY OUT ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS ALL THOSE THINGS THAT THE AD HOC GROUP HAS AN OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY FOR.

(ASIDE) ANYTHING TO ADD?

Q HAS EVERYBODY SIGNED ON TO THIS?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: EVERYBODY HAS SIGNED ON TO THIS. WE HAVE TO WORK OUT MISCELLANEOUS LITTLE DETAILS, LIKE WHERE DO WE HAVE THE FIRST MEETING, SOME OF THE REFINEMENTS. BUT BASICALLY, THERE WILL BE A ROTATING CHAIR. NORWAY WILL CHAIR THE FIRST MEETING, WHICH WE THINK IS A NICE TOUCH. IT WILL BE -- THE MEETING PEOPLE DID NOT WANT TO MOVE -- ALTHOUGH THERE WILL BE A ROTATING CHAIR, PEOPLE DIDN'T WANT TO HAVE TO MOVE AROUND A LOT, SO WE'VE AGREED THAT THE MEETINGS WILL TAKE PLACE IN PARIS AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE WORLD BANK.

Q CAN I ASK WHAT THIS DOLLAR 2 BILLION, OR DOLLAR 2.4 BILLION THAT YOU -- HOW MUCH OF IT IS CREDIT? CAN YOU TELL ME WHAT KIND OF A RATIO OF CASH TO CREDIT YOU'RE LOOKING FOR? BECAUSE THE IDEA OF CREDIT FOR SOMEBODY THAT DOESN'T HAVE CASH OR ABILITY TO PAY BACK -- (INAUDIBLE) -- SO WHAT KIND OF CASH INFUSIONS ARE WE TALKING ABOUT?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: LET ME MAKE A PREFATORY REMARK OR TWO AS I COME TO YOUR QUESTION. WE HAVE AGREED WITH THE OTHER DONORS THAT WE (IN THE CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT ?) WERE GOING TO RELEASE TOTALS, AND WE WERE GOING TO LEAVE THE DESCRIPTIONS OF NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INDIVIDUAL NATIONALS. SO I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO SPEAK IN ANY DETAIL ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF OTHERS OR THE PRECISE FORM THAT THE CONTRIBUTION OF OTHERS WILL TAKE.

WHAT I CAN TELL YOU IS THAT THE UNITED STATES CONTRIBUTION WILL BE DOLLAR 500 MILLION, THAT THAT DOLLAR 500 MILLION WILL BE 75



PERCENT IN -- APPROXIMATELY 75 PERCENT IN THE FORM OF GRANTS, WITH THE REMAINDER COMING IN THE FORM OF OPIC LOANS AND LOAN GUARANTEES. THAT IT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THE VAST MAJORITY OF THE FIRST-YEAR MONEY WILL BE IN THE FORM OF GRANTS, REFLECTING THE FACT THAT IT'S MEETING NON- INVESTMENT NEEDS, LIKE PAYING THE BACK PAY OF TEACHERS. THAT WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME, THE SHARE THAT REPRESENTS LOANS WILL INCREASE AS THE EMPHASIS BECOMES ON INVESTMENT PROJECTS, WHICH EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD ARE FINANCED WITH LOANS. WHAT THE OVERALL PERCENTAGE IS ISN'T SOMETHING THAT I CAN TELL YOU.

Q TO FOLLOW UP, ON THE LOAN GUARANTEES FROM THE UNITED STATES, HOW WOULD YOU HANDLE THE SCORING ISSUE, WHICH IS A BIG PROBLEM IF YOU DON'T HAVE PARTICULARLY -- IF YOU'RE NOT CONSIDERED A GOOD RISK, WHICH ISRAEL RAN INTO WITH THEIR OWN LOAN GUARANTEES? HOW ON EARTH DO YOU DO SCORING FOR A PALESTINIAN ENTITY RUN BY THE PLO?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: A GOOD ISSUE FOR THE FELLOWS AT OMB. WE'VE MADE THE COMMITMENT, OPIC HAS MADE THE COMMITMENT TO UNDERTAKE THOSE EXPENSES, AND I CAN'T TELL YOU PRECISELY HOW THEY SCORED. I CAN TELL YOU THAT WE HAVE MADE THE COMMITMENT TO PAY WHATEVER IT COSTS WITHIN THE EXISTING BUDGETARY (OUTFLOW ?).

Q CAN YOU TELL US HOW MANY OR WHICH COUNTRIES IN THE GULF HAVE AGREED TO PARTICIPATE? WE'VE HEARD THE SAUDIS HAVE. HAVE ANY OF THE OTHERS MADE PLEDGES AT THIS POINT?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: THE UAE HAS ALSO MADE PLEDGES.

Q CAN YOU GIVE US SOME SPECIFIC FIGURES?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: NO. WE'RE NOT IN THE BUSINESS OF GIVING SPECIFIC FIGURES ON OTHER COUNTRIES.

Q CAN YOU TELL US HOW MUCH CASH WILL GO IN THE FIRST YEAR TO THE TERRITORIES AND -- WHATEVER ELSE?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: APPROXIMATELY DOLLAR 600 MILLION.

Q DOLLAR 600 MILLION.

Q HOW SOON WILL THE FIRST DOLLAR OF THIS NEW AID BEGIN TO ARRIVE? SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: WITHIN A MATTER OF WEEKS.

Q SINCE YESTERDAY THE ESTIMATE THAT THE TWO OF YOU WERE PUTTING FORTH WAS IN THE (STREAM ?) OF DOLLAR 400 MILLION, TODAY THE SUM TOTAL -- (INAUDIBLE) -- DOLLAR 600 MILLION, WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THAT SHORT PERIOD OF TIME? IS IT SOMETHING THAT WAS JUST A MISCALCULATION, OR WAS THERE -- I MEAN, WHAT DETERMINED THE --

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I THINK THE DONORS -- THE DONORS HAVE COME



FORTH TO AN EXTENT THAT WAS EVEN GREATER THAN -- THE DONORS HAVE COME FORTH TO AN EXTENT THAT WAS EVEN GREATER THAN WE HAD ANTICIPATED.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I JUST MIGHT ADD TO THAT THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS BEEN IN NEW YORK THIS PAST WEEK FOR THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETINGS. HE'S BEEN MEETING WITH A LOT OF THE PEOPLE WHO ATTENDED TODAY, AND THE U.S. HAS BEEN PRESSING VERY HARD FOR THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN A SIGNIFICANT WAY. WE THINK THAT SOME OF THAT PAID OFF.

Q ANY SPECIFIC COUNTRIES YOU CAN SPEAK OF?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I WOULD SAY THAT -- I WOULD ADD IN THE SAME SPIRIT, WITHOUT IDENTIFYING PARTICULAR COUNTRIES, THAT THIS WAS SOMETHING WHERE WE MOBILIZED A DEGREE OF CONSENSUS ON THE NEED TO REALLY PUSH TO DO SOMETHING IN THE G-7 FINANCE MINISTERS MEETING THAT TOOK PLACE LAST SATURDAY. AND I -- YOU KNOW, THAT DIALOGUE, ALONG WITH THE DIALOGUE THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER HAS BEEN HAVING HAS, I THINK, SERVED TO MAKE CLEAR JUST HOW HIGH A PRIORITY THIS IS TO THE UNITED STATES.

FRANKLY, I THINK THAT'S ALL SMALL POTATOES COMPARED TO THE FACT THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS PREPARED TO GO AND MAKE THE INITIAL COMMITMENT TO DOLLAR 250 MILLION VERY QUICKLY, AND THEN TO PUT ANOTHER DOLLAR 250 MILLION ON THE TABLE GOING OUT FIVE YEARS. AND I THINK THAT FIVE-YEAR COMMITMENT SIGNALLED THE DURABILITY OF OUR COMMITMENT TO THIS AND THAT THIS WASN'T JUST A PASSING THING. AND I THINK THAT ACTION BY THE PRESIDENT HAD A MAJOR EFFECT ON CATALYZING OTHER DONORS.

Q YOU SAID THE FIRST DOLLAR WILL GET THERE WITHIN A MATTER OF WEEKS. DO YOU HAVE A SPECIFIC PROJECT IN MIND? IS THAT OUR DOLLARS, SOMEBODY ELSE'S DOLLARS? I MEAN, WHEN YOU SAY THAT, IT SOUNDS LIKE YOU'VE GOT SOMETHING SPECIFIC IN MIND TO HIT THE GROUND FIRST.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: THE U.S. AID HAS A SET OF PROJECTS IN MIND, SOME OF WHICH CAN DISBURSE VERY QUICKLY, INVOLVING ROAD REPAIR -- AND I DON'T REMEMBER WHAT THE OTHER --

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: (OFF MIKE.)

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: -- AND HOUSING REHABILITATION. UNRRWA, THE U.N. RELIEF AGENCY, IS THERE AND IS IN FORCE, AND SOME OF THE MONEY THAT WILL BE PROVIDED BY SOME OF THE DONORS -- I'M NOT IN A POSITION TO SAY WHICH ONES, WILL GO TO SIMPLY SUPPLEMENT THEIR EXISTING EFFORTS WHICH COULD MOVE MUCH MORE RAPIDLY IF THEY HAD MORE MONEY.

Q BESIDES THE FACT THAT THE WORLD BANK IS PLAYING THE SECRETARIAT ROLE, WHAT DOES THE U.S. HAVE IN MIND FOR THE WORLD



BANK TO DO? IT KEEPS TALKING ABOUT THE WORLD BANK WILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE. WHAT MORE DO YOU HAVE IN MIND BESIDES JUST BEING A SECRETARIAT?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: THE WORLD BANK WILL USE -- WILL, AS THE SECRETARIAT, FUNCTION THROUGH CONSULTATIVE GROUPS. THOSE CONSULTATIVE GROUPS ARE MECHANISMS THAT IS STANDARD IN THE AID BUSINESS THAT INVOLVE COORDINATING THE ACTIVITIES OF DIFFERENT DONORS. THAT MEANS POOLING INFORMATION ABOUT WHAT DIFFERENT DONORS ARE DOING. MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT MEANS IDENTIFYING PROJECTS THAT ARE OF PARTICULAR PRIORITY AND SEEING TO IT THAT THEY'RE NOT DONE ZERO TIMES AND THAT THEY'RE NOT DONE TWO TIMES, BUT THAT THEY'RE DONE ONE TIME. IT MEANS BROKERING ARRANGEMENTS FOR MAJOR LARGE SCALE PROJECTS THAT WOULD INVOLVE MULTIPLE DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS. IT INVOLVES PROVIDING DONORS REPORTS OF EACH OTHERS' EFFORTS SO THAT THOSE WHO ARE TALKING MORE THAN THEY'RE DOING ARE EMBARRASSED AND THEREBY SPURRED INTO DOING MORE.

Q BUT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT A LARGE SCALE -- IT DOESN'T SOUND LIKE YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT ANY LARGE SCALE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS --

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: YOU'D HAVE TO GO TO THE WORLD BANK ON THAT. THE BANK HAS INDICATED THAT IT IS GOING TO BRING TO ITS BOARD A DOLLAR 50 MILLION GRANT CONTRIBUTION FOR NEXT YEAR, BASICALLY TO BE FINANCED OUT OF ITS RESERVES. JUST TO FINISH THE ANSWER, BEYOND THAT, THE BANK -- WE WOULD HOPE THAT THE BANK WOULD BE ABLE TO LEND IN SIGNIFICANT VOLUME FOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS, BUT THAT WILL DEPEND UPON THE RESOLUTION OF LEGAL QUESTIONS ABOUT WHO WILL REPAY THE LOANS, AND WILL DEPEND UPON WHAT THE BANK'S BOARD DECIDES TO DO.

Q A LOT OF THIS MONEY IS BEING DIRECTED TO THE WORLD BANK TO BE DISTRIBUTED. ARE THERE ANY CONTRIBUTIONS THAT ARE NOT GOING TO BE DISTRIBUTED THROUGH THE WORLD BANK?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: SUBSTANTIAL PARTS OF MANY OF THE NATIONAL EFFORTS, INCLUDING OURS, WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY OUR OWN AID AGENCIES, U.S. AID, EQUIVALENT AGENCIES IN EUROPE, IN CANADA, AND THEY WILL BE COORDINATED BY THE WORLD BANK. BUT IT IS NOT -- THIS IS NOT A TRUST FUND INTO WHICH WE ARE ALL TOSSING MONEY WHERE THE WORLD BANK WILL THEN DO EVERYTHING. LARGE PARTS OF THIS MONEY WILL BE MANAGED BY THE AID AGENCY OF THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION, OF COURSE WORKING IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITIES.

Q WILL THIS AD HOC COMMITTEE CONTINUE TO BE A PERMANENT INSTITUTION, POSSIBLY AS A DIFFERENT MARSHALL PLAN THAT WILL BE USED IN THE FUTURE IN FUTURE TRACKS OR OTHER TRACKS, FOR INSTANCE, ISRAELI- JORDANIAN, ISRAELI-SYRIAN, ISRAELI-LEBANESE TRACKS?



SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO SPECULATE ON THAT, BUT I WOULD REFER YOU TO THE TITLE AND TO THE FIRST TWO WORDS, "AD HOC" AS INDICATING THAT THIS IS A COMMITTEE THAT'S BEEN SET UP TO SOLVE THIS SPECIFIC PROBLEM AT THIS SPECIFIC TIME.

Q AND YOU SAID ABOUT AID THAT YOU WILL DISTRIBUTE THESE FUNDS THROUGH U.S. AID OR OTHERS. YOU KNOW FROM THE EXPERIENCE THAT U.S. MONEY HAS BEEN DISTRIBUTED IN THE MIDDLE ET THE U.S. AID OFFICE IN CAIRO IS ONE OF THE BIGGEST IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WILL THE SALARIES TO THE U.S. AID PEOPLE COME FROM THESE FUNDS, OR THIS WILL BE SEPARATE FROM THE SALARIES THAT --

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I'LL LET MR. ATWOOD HANDLE THAT WHEN HE'S HERE.

Q DO YOU SEE A POSSIBLE DOWN SIDE TO THIS EFFORT AND THE PEACE PROCESS, AS YOU PROCEED FULL BORE WITH ALL THIS MONEY ON A VERY URGENT BASIS, IF THEY ARE NOT CONCOMITANT CONFIDENCE-BUILDING INITIATIVES COMING FORWARD FROM THE ARAB SIDE WITH REGARD TO ISRAEL? THE PLO PEOPLE JUST TOLD US THAT THEY DO NOT WANT THE BOYCOTT LIFTED, DO NOT WANT NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BY ARAB COUNTRIES WITH ISRAEL UNTIL JERUSALEM IS SETTLED, THE FINAL STATUS, AND SO ON. THE PRESIDENT THIS MORNING SEEMED TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SLOW PACE ON THE ISRAELI SIDE OF THIS EQUATION.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: WELL I THINK THERE'S NO DOUBT THAT THIS EFFORT IS VERY MUCH IN TUNE WITH THE PEACE PROCESS. AS WE SAID, IT IS THERE TO SUPPORT THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS. SO IT IS INTEGRAL TO THAT, WHICH IS AN INTEGRAL CENTERPIECE, A KEYSTONE, REALLY, OF THE PEACE PROCESS. THIS EFFORT IS DESIGNED TO SUPPORT THAT. IT IS NOT DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH A LOT OF THE OTHER ISSUES WHETHER IT IS OTHER PEACE AGREEMENTS OR WHETHER IT IS THE QUESTION OF THE ARAB BOYCOTT. I KNOW THE SECRETARY WAS ASKED THAT QUESTION EARLIER, AND I THINK HE MADE THAT QUITE CLEAR.

SO YES, IT IS INTEGRAL TO THE PEACE PROCESS. YES, IT IS INTEGRAL TO SUPPORTING THAT. BUT IT ADDRESSES THIS PIECE OF THE PEACE PROCESS.

Q JUST TO CLARIFY THE U.S. POSITION TODAY, DOES THE UNITED STATES TODAY WANT ARAB COUNTRIES TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL AND TO LIFT THE BOYCOTT, OR IS IT WILLING TO LET THIS THING RIDE ON AN INDETERMINATE SCHEDULE?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I DON'T KNOW IF YOU SAW THE VICE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH OR HEARD THE VICE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH TODAY. HE MADE AN EXPLICIT STATEMENT SAYING THE TIME HAD COME TO END THIS BOYCOTT. HE SAID THAT IN HIS PUBLICLY DELIVERED REMARKS AND, I THINK, MADE THAT QUITE CLEAR.

Q WELL, SHOULD OUR CONTRIBUTION, THEN, BE LIFTED -- OUR CONTRIBUTION BE TIED TO THE LIFTING OF THE BOYCOTT?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I THINK SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER MADE CLEAR THAT THIS PROCESS IS DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS AND DOES NOT DEAL WITH THE OTHER ISSUES IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

YES.

Q ARE WE PREPARING SOME KIND OF LEGISLATION THROUGH CONGRESS? THERE'S ONLY DOLLAR 25 MILLION APPROPRIATED FOR THE WEST BANK AND GAZA IN THE FOREIGN AID BILL THAT WAS JUST PASSED. HOW ARE YOU GOING TO GET THE REST OF IT?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: WE ARE GOING TO BE ABLE TO TAKE IT FROM VARIOUS PIECES OF THE EXISTING APPROPRIATIONS, SO THERE WILL NOT BE A SUPPLEMENTAL, THERE WILL NOT BE A NEW APPROPRIATION.

(CROSS TALK)

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: DIFFERENT ELEMENTS. I THINK YOU NEED TO ASK BRIAN ATWOOD FOR THE DETAILS OF THAT.

Q I JUST WANT TO ASK ABOUT THAT. THIS IS NOW DOLLAR 125 MILLION A YEAR, AS I GET IT, IN CASH FOR OVER A --

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: FOUR TIMES.

Q (OFF MIKE) -- YOU SAID 75 PERCENT OF THE DOLLAR 500 MILLION IS CASH. THAT AMOUNTS TO ABOUT DOLLAR 375 MILLION.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: (OFF MIKE) -- WILL BE IN CASH --

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: JUST ON ARITHMETIC, 75 PERCENT OF 500 IS, INDEED, 375. THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE DIVIDED BY FIVE YEARS IS 75. IT'S NOT 125.

Q YEAH, BUT ARE WE GOING TO PAY OUT -- YOU'RE NOT APPROPRIATING FIVE YEARS INTO THE FUTURE. YOU CAN APPROPRIATE IT ONLY ONE YEAR AT A TIME.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: RIGHT.

Q I'M TRYING TO FIND OUT WHAT KIND OF APPROPRIATION -- NEXT YEAR ARE YOU TAKING A FIFTH OF THAT FIGURE? IS THAT WHAT YOU'RE DOING? WHICH IN A SENSE IS LESS THAN WHAT YOU HAVE IN MIND. BUT -- EARLIER. I'M TRYING TO FIND OUT HOW MUCH IS THERE THIS COMING YEAR AND IF IT'S ANY MORE THAN YOU HAD ANTICIPATED, AND WHEN ARE YOU GOING TO NEED ANY MONEY FROM ANYBODY, FROM ANY -- I KNOW YOU'RE NOT GOING TO GET ANY NEW MONEY, YOU SAID, BUT ARE YOU -- WHERE ARE YOU GOING TO GET IT FROM?



SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I THINK YOU'RE ASKING TWO DIFFERENT QUESTIONS. ONE QUESTION YOU'RE ASKING IS WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM, WHERE'S -- FROM WHAT OTHER SOURCE IS THE MONEY COMING FROM. AND I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING TO ADD TO IT'S GOING TO COME FROM REALLOCATIONS WITHIN THE EXISTING BUDGET. I'VE GOT NOTHING TO ADD.

THE OTHER QUESTION YOU'RE ASKING IS, WILL OUR CONTRIBUTION BE SPREAD EVENLY OVER THE FIVE YEARS OR WILL IT BE FRONT-LOADED? AND IN LIGHT OF THE FACT THAT IT'S DOLLAR 250 MILLION OVER TWO YEARS AND DOLLAR 500 MILLION OVER FIVE YEARS, AT LEAST IN A COMMITMENT SENSE I ANTICIPATE THAT IT WILL BE SOMEWHAT FRONT-LOADED.

Q SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS ARE SUPPOSED TO BE GRANTS?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: APPROXIMATELY.

Q IS THAT CASH GRANTS?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: NO, THAT JUST MEANS IT'S NOT MONEY -- I MEAN, AS I'M USING THE TERM "GRANT", A CASH GRANT WOULD BE A GRANT, OR BUILDING A HOSPITAL WOULD BE A GRANT. IT'S MONEY THAT DOES NOT COME WITH AN OBLIGATION TO REPAY ON THE PART OF THE PALESTINIANS.

Q BUT IT'S CASH. IT'S MONEY. WE'RE SENDING MONEY AND NOT -- IN ANY OTHER FORM.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: NO, NO, NO, NO. NO, NO.

Q OKAY.

(CROSS TALK.)

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: IT COULD BE IN KIND.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: IT COULD BE IN KIND. ALL I WAS DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN WAS IF I GIVE YOU MONEY, THAT'S A GRANT. IF I GIVE YOU A WASHING MACHINE, THAT'S A GRANT, TOO. IF I GIVE YOU A WASHING MACHINE, BUT I SAY YOU OWE ME INSTALLMENT PAYMENTS, THAT'S A LOAN.

Q OKAY. (LAUGHTER.)

Q IS THE UNITED STATES COMFORTABLE WITH THE WORLD BANK'S ASSESSMENT THAT THE NEEDS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA ARE DOLLAR 475 MILLION A YEAR? YESTERDAY, YOU SEEMED MORE COMFORTABLE WITH THE DOLLAR 400 MILLION FIGURE.

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: AS AN ECONOMIST, I CAN TELL YOU THERE'S NOT



A LOT OF SCIENCE IN FORECASTS OF THE U.S. GNP OVER THE NEXT QUARTER, MUCH LESS OF NEEDS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OVER FIVE YEARS. WE'RE COMFORTABLE WITH THE WORLD BANK'S NUMBERS. THE 400 WAS AN ESTIMATE OF THE NEED -- WAS AN ESTIMATE OF THE NEED NEXT YEAR. THE 475 WAS AN ESTIMATE OF THE AVERAGE OVER FIVE YEARS.

Q PUTTING POLITICS ASIDE, ARE YOU CONFIDENT THAT THE PLO/THE PALESTINIANS HAVE THE EXPERTISE AT THIS POINT IN TIME TO HANDLE THE ECONOMICS OF ALL THIS?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I THINK THAT'S ONE OF THE REAL -- I THINK THAT'S ONE OF THE REAL CHALLENGES. FORTUNATELY, THE WAY THE ASSISTANCE WILL BE STRUCTURED WILL MAKE LESS DEMANDS ON INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY IN THE SHORT RUN, WHEN YOU'RE PAYING BACK SALARIES TO TEACHERS, FOR EXAMPLE, THAN IT WILL IN THE LONG RUN, WHEN YOU'RE CONSTRUCTING SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANTS AND POWER PLANTS. SO, OUR HOPE IS THAT THE TYPE OF AID WILL BE MEASURED WITH THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THAT KIND OF INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY.

WE WELCOME THE INITIATIVES OF THE PALESTINIANS TO DEVELOP A CAPACITY TO SET PRIORITIES TO RECEIVE AND UTILIZE WELL THIS ASSISTANCE. AND I THINK THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THAT THE WORLD BANK AND UNDP ARE GOING TO BE PROVIDING TOWARDS DEVELOPMENTS OF THOSE KINDS OF CAPACITIES WILL BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. IF WE'VE LEARNED ANYTHING FROM THE EXPERIENCE IN EASTERN EUROPE AND RUSSIA, IT'S THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING A COUNTERPART THAT'S WELL-ORGANIZED AND IN PLACE ON BEHALF OF OUR (AID AGENTS ?) TO RECEIVE THE SUPPORT THAT'S RECEIVED -- THAT'S PROVIDED BY DONOR GOVERNMENTS.

Q WE HEARD AT THIS FUNCTION THAT WAS DONE THIS AFTERNOON, THE DONATIONS IS A PIECE OF THE PEACE PROCESS, AND HAS NOTHING ELSE TO DO REALLY WITH THE OTHER PARTS. WELL, NOW, WILL THE COMMITMENT OF THE PLO TO RESCIND THE COVENANT AND SO ON, IS THAT A FUNCTION OF -- IT'S NOT A FUNCTION OF THE ORGANIZATION, IS THAT RIGHT?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I BELIEVE SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER ANSWERED THAT QUESTION THIS AFTERNOON DURING THE PRESS CONFERENCE WHEN HE SAID THAT WE EXPECT THE PLO TO FULFILL ITS COMMITMENT MADE UNDER THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

Q WILL THE AD HOC LIAISON GROUP HAVE ANY SAY OVER WHOM THE PLO DESIGNATES OR HIRES?

SR. ADMIN. OFFICIAL: I THINK THE INTENTION OF THE AD HOC LIAISON GROUP IS VERY CLEARLY TO TRY TO WORK WITH THE PALESTINIANS AND PEDRA OR WHATEVER INSTITUTION THEY PUT IN PLACE. AND THE DESIRE IS, AS \*\*\*\*\* HAS DESCRIBED, AS THE INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY OF THE PALESTINIANS DEVELOPS, IS TO WORK WITH THAT INSTITUTION, SO THEY'RE VERY EAGER TO SUPPORT THE WORLD BANK AND UNDP AND OTHERS



IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO THE PALESTINIANS TO DEVELOP THAT  
CAPACITY, BUT THERE'S NO THOUGHT OF SORT OF ANY KIND OF CONTROL  
THERE.

Q THANK YOU.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון,  
ממד, מצפא, @ (דוצ), סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת,  
רחטמזת, ישראלערב, אוצר

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 319

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בלמס/מידי

תאריך: 1 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: לש- רוה"מ

לש- שה"א

קונכ"לים

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך הבית הלבן בנושא ועידת התורמים

WHITE HOUSE BACKGROUND BRIEFING TOPIC: CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT  
MIDDLE EAST PEACE ATTRIBUTION: SENIOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL,  
SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,  
DC FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1993

DEE DEE MYERS (WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY): OKAY. WE'RE GOING  
TO START. THE FOLLOWING IS A BACKGROUND BRIEFING. IT IS \*\*\*\*\*  
WHO YOU MAY IDENTIFY AS A SENIOR STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL, AND  
\*\*\*\*\* WHO'S A SENIOR WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I'LL JUST OFFER A COUPLE OF COMMENTS,  
AND THEN I THINK \*\*\*\*\* WILL ALSO OFFER A COUPLE OF COMMENTS, AND  
THEN WE'LL TURN IT OVER TO YOUR QUESTIONS.

I THINK THE WAY I WOULD DESCRIBE TODAY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF  
SOMEONE WHO'S WORKED ON THIS PROCESS FOR A LONG TIME IS THAT IT  
REALLY ALLOWED US TO FOLLOW UP ON TWO TRACKS THAT WE SAID WE  
WOULD. ONE IS THAT WE WERE COMMITTED TO FOLLOWING UP ON THE  
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DECLARATION OF  
PRINCIPLES, AND WE KNEW, TO BE ABLE TO DO THAT, WE HAD TO  
MOBILIZE THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND WE HAD TO MOBILIZE  
INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES TO PERMIT US TO BEGIN TO MOVE SO THAT  
THINGS COULD TANGIBLY CHANGE ON THE GROUND AND RELATIVELY SOON.

WHAT IS SIGNIFICANT IS THAT WE MAY HAVE MOBILIZED THE EFFORT,  
BUT THE FACT IS YOU DON'T PRODUCE 46 COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS  
AND INSTITUTIONS IN THIS SHORT A PERIOD OF TIME UNLESS THERE IS



CLEARLY A STRONG INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT TO BE RESPONSIVE. THE RECOGNITION OF THIS AS A HISTORIC MOMENT, AS A TURNING POINT, IS SOMETHING THAT IS NOT -- OBVIOUSLY NOT OURS ALONE. AND THE FACT THAT WE COULD HAVE THIS KIND OF A CONFERENCE THIS SOON SAYS SOMETHING ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR IT. SO ONE TRACK WAS A DONORS CONFERENCE, WHICH CLEARLY ALLOWED US TO MOVE IN TERMS OF IMPLEMENTATION.

THE OTHER IS SOMETHING THAT WE'VE SAID, THAT IT'S -- WE SEE THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT AS BEING A VERY IMPORTANT BUILDING BLOCK FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT AND THAT WE WERE GOING TO BE MOVING TO CONTINUE TO PROMOTE A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO PEACE. AND WHAT YOU SAW TODAY WAS ALSO AN UNPRECEDENTED EVENT, AS THE PRESIDENT SAID. AND HAVING THE ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER MEET WITH THE JORDANIAN CROWN PRINCE AND MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT THEY ARE GOING TO FOLLOW UP QUICKLY THEMSELVES IN SOME PRACTICAL WAYS IS ANOTHER WAY FOR US TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE SECOND TRACK IS VERY MEANINGFUL AND WE'RE WORKING FULL STEAM AHEAD ON IT.

YOU WANT TO SAY SOMETHING?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: JUST TO GIVE YOU PERHAPS A LITTLE BIT OF PERSPECTIVE ABOUT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS INVOLVEMENT IN THIS.

FROM THE VERY FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT WHEN WE FIRST GOT NEWS OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PLO, THE PRESIDENT HAS HAD ONE CORE INSTINCT WHICH HAS DRIVEN HIM AND, THEREFORE, POLICY IN THIS REGARD, AND THAT IS TO GET BEHIND THIS AGREEMENT AND MAKE IT SUCCEED AND BUILD MOMENTUM IN A WAY THAT TRANSLATES INTO GREATER PUBLIC SUPPORT IN ISRAEL, GREATER POPULAR SUPPORT IN THE REGION, AND THEREFORE A GREATER ABILITY TO MOVE AHEAD TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE BREAKTHROUGH, WHICH REMAINS HIS OBJECTIVE. IN THAT REGARD, HE HAS BEEN URGING ALL OF US ON SINCE SEPTEMBER 13TH TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS MOMENTUM AND TO DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO GET THE DONORS CONFERENCE ORGANIZED, TO GET THE PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVE ORGANIZED, AND TO PRESS THE ARABS TO BE RESPONSIVE ON THEIR BOYCOTT AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, TO KEEP THE SYRIANS ENGAGED. AND WHEN HE HEARD THAT THE CROWN PRINCE OF JORDAN AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL WERE BOTH COMING TO THE DONORS CONFERENCE, HE TOOK THE INITIATIVE AND INVITED THEM BOTH TO MEET WITH HIM IN THE OVAL OFFICE TO TALK ABOUT THEIR COMMON AGENDA, PARTICULARLY FOCUSING ON THE PROSPECTS FOR MOVING AHEAD IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERES BETWEEN JORDAN AND ISRAEL AND ENSURING THAT JORDAN HAD AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY IN THE RELATIONSHIP, THE TRIANGULAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JORDAN, ISRAEL, AND THE PALESTINIANS.

AND SO WHAT WE SAW TODAY WAS, I THINK, A FULFILLMENT OF HIS BASIC INSTINCT HERE TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM.

Q WE UNDERSTAND THAT A LOT OF THE DISCUSSION TODAY ACTUALLY



DEALT WITH SYRIA. IS THAT CORRECT?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I WOULD SAY THAT IT WAS CLEARLY AN IMPORTANT TOPIC OF CONVERSATION. I WOULDN'T SAY THAT IT WAS THE CENTERPIECE OF THE CONVERSATION BECAUSE MOST OF THE CONVERSATION, I THINK, WAS ADDRESSED TOWARDS THE CREATION OF A JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE WHICH PARALLELS WHAT THE ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS HAVE, AND ALSO THIS WORKING GROUP THAT WILL BE A TRILATERAL WORKING GROUP BETWEEN US, THE ISRAELIS, AND JORDANIANS.

BUT THERE WAS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE DISCUSSION THAT WAS DEVOTED TO, AGAIN, HOW YOU MOVE ON THE PROCESS AS A WHOLE, THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SYRIAN TRACK WITHIN THAT, THE COMMITMENT THAT WE HAD TO MOVE AHEAD, THE RECOGNITION ON THE ISRAELI SIDE THAT THIS IS AN IMPORTANT TRACK -- AND THEY, TOO, HAVE A COMMITMENT -- AND A RECOGNITION THAT, YOU KNOW, THERE ARE SOME COMPLEX ISSUES THERE, AND EVEN IF WE'RE COMMITTED WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IS GOING TO BE A CONSIDERABLE TASK. BUT WHAT IS THE NEWS IS THAT I THINK THERE IS A SHARED OBJECTIVE AND A SHARED COMMITMENT IN THAT REGARD, AND WE'LL JUST HAVE TO WORK AHEAD ON IT.

Q WELL, THE PRESIDENT TALKED ABOUT GETTING JORDAN'S DEBT DOWN, WORLD DEBT. WHAT DID HE MEAN BY THAT -- WE WOULD WORK TO SOMEHOW REDUCE JORDAN'S DEBT BURDEN? WAS HE TALKING ABOUT WORK BILATERALLY OR INTERNATIONALLY?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: THE CROWN PRINCE MADE QUITE AN ELOQUENT SPEECH TODAY IN WHICH HE -- AT THE DONORS CONFERENCE IN WHICH HE EMPHASIZED THE DEBT BURDEN THAT JORDAN IS CARRYING.

Q (OFF MIKE) -- NUMBER YOU HAVE ON THAT? ANY KIND OF NUMBER?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: I BELIEVE HE TALKED ABOUT -- NINE AND SEVEN IS -- DOLLAR 16 BILLION, I THINK. I THINK THOSE WERE THE FIGURES HE USED.

(TO STAFF) SIXTEEN BILLION?

Q (OFF MIKE) -- OR IS THAT THE (DEBT ?) -- (OFF MIKE)?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: THAT'S THE DEBT BURDEN. AND BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL FEEL THAT IN ORDER FOR JORDAN TO SHARE IN THE KIND OF PROSPERITY AND HOPE THAT PEACE SHOULD BRING THERE SHOULD BE AN EFFORT TO TRY TO HELP JORDAN WITH THAT. AND THAT'S -- THERE WAS A --

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WAIT A MINUTE, WE'LL CHECK THE FIGURES. I THINK IT'S TOO HIGH.

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: \*\*\*\*\* THINKS THE FIGURES ARE TOO HIGH,



SO WE'LL HAVE TO CHECK THOSE FOR YOU. \*\*\*\*\* THINKS THE FIGURES ARE TOO HIGH, SO WE'LL HAVE TO CHECK THOSE FOR YOU.

Q HOW MIGHT THE PRESIDENT GO ABOUT HELPING IN THAT REGARD? WHAT EXACTLY, IN AN OPERATIONAL SENSE, DOES HE HAVE IN MIND?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: WELL, AS YOU KNOW VERY WELL, TOM, IN TERMS OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES CAN DO IN THIS AREA IS HIGHLY CONSTRAINED BY OUR OWN BUDGET REALITIES. ONE OF THE THINGS THAT WE SAID AT THIS PODIUM ABOUT GAINING SUPPORT FOR THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT WAS THAT WE SAW THAT AS AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT IN WHICH THE UNITED STATES OBVIOUSLY WOULD TAKE THE LEAD, BUT THE BURDEN WOULD HAVE TO BE SHARED. AND I THINK THAT IS THE SAME IN THIS CASE, AS WELL. THERE'S A CONSIDERABLE DEBT TO JAPAN, FOR INSTANCE, AND WE'LL BE TALKING TO THE DONOR -- TO THE CREDITOR COUNTRIES TO SEE IF WE CAN'T FIND SOME WAYS TO HELP JORDAN IN THIS REGARD AS WE MOVE FORWARD IN THE PEACE PROCESS AND WE CAN GET SOME MOVEMENT ON THE ECONOMIC ISSUES THAT THE PRESIDENT AND THE CROWN PRINCE AND FOREIGN MINISTER PERES AGREED ON TODAY. I MEAN, THAT'S -- THE MOST IMPORTANT POINT WAS THAT AS A RESULT OF THIS MEETING, THEY DECIDED IN THE MEETING TO SET UP THESE TWO COMMITTEES, THE JOINT ISRAELI-JORDANIAN COMMITTEE ON ECONOMICS AND A TRILATERAL WORKING GROUP. AND WITHIN THAT CONTEXT, I THINK THAT WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO ADDRESS JORDAN'S CONCERNS.

Q THERE SEEMS TO BE A CONFLICT HERE ABOUT THE BOYCOTT. WHEN WE ASKED THE QUESTION AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT AT THE PLO BRIEFING THIS AFTERNOON AND ALSO IN THE MORNING ABOUT -- (INAUDIBLE) -- IT SEEMED THAT -- (INAUDIBLE) -- CHRISTOPHER SAID THAT WAS NOT PART OF THE -- (INAUDIBLE). BUT THE ARAB LEADER OF THE DELEGATION, I THINK HIS NAME WAS -- (INAUDIBLE) -- INDICATED IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM RALPH BEGLEITER -- I TAKE IT BACK. NEVER MIND THAT -- REPLIED TO A QUESTION, I DON'T KNOW IF IT WAS RALPH OR SOMEBODY ELSE, THAT THE BOYCOTT ISSUE WAS A LAST-STATUS ITEM, LIKE JERUSALEM. WHEN I ASKED PERES, FOREIGN MINISTER PERES, OUT HERE ABOUT IT, HE SEEMED TO COUNTER THAT BY SAYING THAT THE ARAB STATES (SHOULD ?) COOPERATE WITH ISRAEL. SO, WHERE DO WE STAND ON THIS? AND THE PRESIDENT DIDN'T SEEM TO BE HAPPY ABOUT IT EITHER.

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: THE PRESIDENT IS NOT HAPPY ABOUT IT. THE PRESIDENT, THE VICE PRESIDENT THIS MORNING AT THE DONORS' CONFERENCE, THE SECRETARY OF STATE LAST WEEK AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY MADE VERY CLEAR THE UNITED STATES' POSITION THAT IT IS TIME TO END THE BOYCOTT. PERIOD.

AND ISRAEL HAS TAKEN A DRAMATIC MOVE TOWARDS THE PLO. THE ARAB STATES HAVE CONTUSLY PRESSED UPON US THAT THIS WAS A MOVE THAT ISRAEL WOULD HAVE TO DO IN ORDER FOR THEM TO RESPOND. NOW, ISRAEL HAS DONE IT, AND IT REQUIRES AN ARAB RESPONSE. THAT IS THE MESSAGE THAT WE ARE SAYING PUBLICLY, AND THAT IS THE MESSAGE



THAT HAS BEEN CONVEYED PRIVATELY, IN PRIVATE MEETINGS AS WELL.

AND I -- ON THE OTHER HAND, AS THE PRESIDENT, I THINK, WAS TRYING TO SUGGEST OUT ON THE LAWN, THERE ARE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THERE IS A SOFTENING IN THEIR POSITION AND THAT THEY ARE CONSIDERING IT. AND SOME OF YOU WILL HAVE HEARD PRINCE SAUD, THE SAUDI FOREIGN MINISTER, SAY IN PUBLIC THAT THEY'RE LOOKING AT WHAT THEY CAN DO IN THAT REGARD.

SO, WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS IT. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THAT IS OUR EXPECTATION, TO EMPHASIZE THAT THIS DOESN'T MAKE ANY SENSE ANYMORE, THAT THIS IS ANACHRONISTIC, THAT WHEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS ARE TALKING ABOUT JOINT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND WHEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN ARE TALKING ABOUT JOINT ECONOMIC PROJECTS, IT DOESN'T MAKE ANY SENSE TO MAINTAIN THE ARAB BOYCOTT.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I WANT TO ADD ONE POINT TO THAT. THE -- IT MAY WELL BE THAT THERE ARE SOME IN THE ARAB WORLD THAT WANT TO TREAT IT AS AN ISSUE THAT IS DEALT WITH ONLY LATER, BUT OUR CLEAR SENSE FROM THE DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE HAD IS THAT THERE IS NOT HOMOGENEITY ON THIS POSITION, AND THAT YOU MAY WELL FIND A RANGE OF DIFFERENT OPINION AMONG SOME OF THE ARAB STATES. AND WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR THIS, AS \*\*\*\*\* SAID, BECAUSE WE THINK IT'S SO IMPORTANT, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT'S NOT JUST ANACHRONISTIC; IT PUNISHES PALESTINIANS. YOU KNOW, IT IS COUNTERINTUITIVE AND IT'S NOT LOGICAL. AND IF IT PUNISHES PALESTINIANS, IT'S OBVIOUSLY NOT CONSISTENT WITH TRYING TO PROMOTE THEIR WELL-BEING AT A TIME WHEN THAT MAY BE THE KEY TO REALLY BUILDING THE PEACE CONSTITUENCIES.

Q CAN YOU GIVE US SOME OF THE ATMOSPHERICS -- EXACTLY HOW LONG DID THEY MEET, WHAT THE SEATING ARRANGEMENT WAS, HOW THEY FIRST MET EACH OTHER IN THE OVAL OFFICE AND SO FORTH? SOME OF THE COLOR?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: I THINK THAT'S YOUR DEPARTMENT.

Q CAN I JUST ADD ONE THING? WHEN DID CLINTON COME UP WITH THIS IDEA?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: I MENTIONED THAT ALREADY, TOM. WHEN WE LEARNED, I THINK IT WAS MORE THAN TWO WEEKS AGO, THAT --

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: NO, I THINK THE INITIAL APPROACH PROBABLY CAME -- IT WAS LAST WEEK.

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: LAST WEEK.

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: LAST WEEK.

Q AND HOW WAS THAT CONVEYED? WAS THAT IN -- THROUGH --



SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: THROUGH THE EMBASSIES HERE. THE INVITATIONS WERE ISSUED TO BOTH THE CROWN PRINCE AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO JOIN THE PRESIDENT. BUT IT WAS THE PRESIDENT'S INVITATION.

Q AND AS FOR THE SEATING --

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: THE SEATING. YES, VERY IMPORTANT. THE CROWN PRINCE SAT TO THE PRESIDENT'S RIGHT IN THE YELLOW ARMCHAIR. FOREIGN MINISTER PERES SAT TO THE PRESIDENT'S LEFT IN -- ON THE COUCH. THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE CROWN PRINCE, AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE WAS ON THE LEFT-HAND SIDE OF FOREIGN MINISTER PERES. AND THEN MR. LAKE WAS NEXT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Q WAS THIS THE FIRST TIME THAT THESE TWO MEN HAD MET?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: I THINK YOU'LL HAVE TO --

Q PUBLICLY.

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: I THINK YOU'LL HAVE TO ASK THEM THAT. PUBLICLY, YES. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF ISRAEL AND JORDAN HAVE MET PUBLICLY, AND THAT'S PRECISELY THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EVENT BEYOND WHAT WAS AGREED AT THE MEETING. BUT THE FACT THAT THEY DID IT IN BROAD DAYLIGHT OUT IN FRONT IN THE SUNSHINE IS VERY IMPORTANT, BECAUSE CLEARLY JORDAN AND ISRAEL HAVE HAD A LONG-STANDING RELATIONSHIP THAT GOES BACK DECADES. BUT IT IS HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT THAT THE CHANGE IN THE ENVIRONMENT NOW ENABLES JORDAN TO COME FORWARD AND ANNOUNCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JOINT COMMITTEES WITH ISRAEL TO WORK ON ISSUES THAT ARE IN THEIR COMMON INTERESTS. AND THAT SENDS, I THINK, A POWERFUL SIGNAL TO ISRAELIS THAT THERE IS A GENUINE WILLINGNESS AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ACCEPTANCE BY ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS AND FOR THEM TO HAVE A NORMAL EXISTENCE IN WHICH THEY'RE FOCUSED ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND PROVIDING A BETTER FUTURE FOR THEIR CHILDREN RATHER THAN CONFLICT AND REJECTION. AND IT SENDS A SIGNAL TO THE ARAB WORLD AS WELL THAT THERE IS A MOMENTUM FOR PEACE AND THAT IT'S TIME FOR ALL OF THEM TO CLIMB ON BOARD.

Q AND WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS WITH REGARD TO THE TALKS WITH SYRIA NOW?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, I THINK, AS I SAID, AT THIS POINT WHAT WE'RE GOING TO BE DOING IS WE'RE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PRESS AHEAD. WE'RE GOING TO EXPLORE WHAT CAN BE DONE. THE COMMITMENT EXISTS VERY CLEARLY ON OUR SIDE. EVERYTHING WE'VE HEARD FROM THE SYRIANS TO THIS POINT MAKES IT VERY CLEAR THAT THEY'RE COMMITTED TO THE PEACE PROCESS, AND THE ISRAELIS HAVE REAFFIRMED THE SAME COMMITMENT IN TERMS OF SEEKING A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. WE'LL BE CONTINUING OUR DISCUSSIONS



WITH BOTH SIDES, AND WE'LL TRY TO FIGURE OUT WHAT ARE THE BEST WAYS TO TRY TO OVERCOME SOME OF THE GAPS.

WE DO HAVE -- WE HAVE --

Q (OFF MIKE) -- GOING TO UP THERE?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: WELL, LET'S FOCUS ON THE NEAR TERM. ON THE IMMEDIATE TERM, WE HAVE FOREIGN MINISTER SHARA COMING DOWN HERE NEXT WEEK, WHICH GIVES US AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO FOLLOW UP ON DISCUSSIONS WE'VE JUST HAD.

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: I SHOULD ALSO MAKE ONE POINT ABOUT LEBANON, TOO. AS YOU KNOW, THE PRESIDENT MET WITH PRIME MINISTER RAFIQ HARIRI OF LEBANON IN NEW YORK LAST WEEK. LEBANON WAS ALSO THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION TODAY ON THE NEED TO MAKE PROGRESS ON THAT TRACK AS WELL.

Q COULD I JUST CLARIFY ONE THING? THE COMMITTEES THAT WERE ANNOUNCED TODAY, AM I UNDERSTANDING YOUR CORRECTLY IN SAYING THAT THOSE -- THE IDEA FOR THAT ACTUALLY AROSE DURING THESE MEETINGS TODAY?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: THE IDEA -- IN PREPARATION FOR THE MEETINGS, THE IDEA HAD BEEN BROACHED WITH BOTH PARTIES. BUT IT WAS THE PRESIDENT WHO DEVELOPED THE IDEA AND HOW PUSHED FOR AGREEMENT TODAY AND TO GO OUT AND ANNOUNCE THE AGREEMENT.

Q WHO FIRST BROACHED THE -- (INAUDIBLE)? DO YOU KNOW WHO BROACHED THAT?

SR. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL: THE UNITED STATES.

Q HOW WOULD THIS BE READ IN DAMASCUS? I MEAN, IF I WERE -- IF ASAD WERE -- HOW WOULD YOU LIKE IT TO BE READ? IF ASAD IS WATCHING THIS ON SYRIAN TELEVISION AND SAW TWO THINGS TODAY -- ONE, AN AID CONFERENCE IN WHICH A LOT OF MONEY WAS GOING TO THE PALESTINIANS AND MAYBE THE JORDANIANS, AND THE OTHER A CEREMONY ON THE WHITE HOUSE LAWN THAT WAS IN MANY WAYS VERY IMPORTANT BUT RATHER ANTICLIMACTIC COMPARED TO THE PREVIOUS CEREMONY -- AN ISRAELI OFFICIAL GOING OUT SAID THE NEXT ONE WILL BE ON PAGE B-17. IS THAT SOMETHING WE'D LIKE TO SEE, THAT MAYBE THE SYRIANS SHOULD GET A LITTLE NERVOUS THAT THE TRAIN JUST MAY BE LEAVING THE STATION WITHOUT THEM?

SR. STATE DEPT. OFFICIAL: YOU KNOW, THAT'S NOT THE APPROACH. THE APPROACH IS NOT AN ATTEMPT TO SORT OF SOMEHOW SUGGEST THAT THOSE WHO AREN'T HERE ARE SOMEHOW LOSING OUT. WHAT THE APPROACH IS, IS MUCH MORE POSITIVE IN CHARACTER. WHAT WE'RE DEMONSTRATING IS THAT THERE IS A MOMENTUM. AND AS \*\*\*\*\* SAID, YOU HAD AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT, YOU HAD A JORDANIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA. WE'VE NOW RAIDHE POLITICAL LEVEL OF THE



JORDANIAN-ISRAELI DISCUSSIONS BECAUSE, OBVIOUSLY, THERE HAVE BEEN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. AND IT'S A STATEMENT THAT THEY CAN GET TOGETHER.

WHAT WE CLEARLY WANT TO DEMONSTRATE IS THERE'S NOT ONLY MOMENTUM, BUT THERE WILL BE FRUITS OF PEACE. AND ALL THOSE WHO ARE MAKING REAL HEADWAY ARE OBVIOUSLY GOING TO BENEFIT FROM IT. WE WANT TO CONTINUE TO MOBILIZE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT TO HIGHLIGHT THE PAYOFFS AND THE DIVIDENDS OF PEACE. SO I WOULD CAST IT IN VERY POSITIVE TERMS. AND I THINK THAT, YOU KNOW, THE FACT THAT YOU HAD SO MANY PARTICIPANTS ALSO DEMONSTRATES THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WANTS TO PORTRAY IT IN POSITIVE TERMS.

Q THANK YOU.

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רס), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון,  
ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, רחטמזת,  
ישראלערב, פרנ, אוצר

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 312  
אל: רהמש/40  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 15, תא: 021093, זח: 1259, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבבב  
בלמס/מיד

תאריך: 1 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: לש- רוה"מ  
לש- שה"א  
קונכ"לים

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

להלן חלק 1 מתוך 2

הנדון: מסהע"ת במחמ"ד בהשתתפות מזכיר המדינה ומזכיר האוצר

NEWS CONFERENCE WITH SEC. OF STATE WARREN CHRISTOPHER, SEC. OF  
THE TREASURY LLOYD BENTSEN AND VARIOUS OTHER CONFERENCE  
PARTICIPANTS AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE TO SUPPORT  
MIDDLE EAST PEACE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1993

MIKE MCCURRY: GOOD AFTERNOON, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. I'D LIKE TO  
WELCOME YOU TO THE CONCLUDING PRESS CONFERENCE OF THE CONFERENCE  
TO SUPPORT MIDDLE EAST PEACE. SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER AND  
SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY BENTSEN WILL MAKE OPENING REMARKS ON  
BEHALF OF THE CONFERENCE COSPONSORS, THE UNITED STATES AND THE  
RUSSIAN FEDERATION. FOLLOWING THE OPENING STATEMENTS ON BEHALF  
OF THE CONFERENCE COSPONSORS, THE MINISTERS AND OTHER  
REPRESENTATIVES SEATED ON THE STAGE WILL BE GLAD TO TAKE YOUR  
QUESTIONS FROM THE MICROPHONES PLACED IN THE AISLES.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: GOOD AFTERNOON. IT WAS ONLY 19 DAYS AGO THAT  
THE WORLD WITNESSED ON THE WHITE HOUSE LAWN AN HISTORIC TURNING  
POINT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. ONE WEEK LATER, THE UNITED STATES  
ISSUED A CALL FOR A DONORS' CONFERENCE TO MAKE THAT BREAKTHROUGH  
IRREVERSIBLE.

TODAY, WE CAN SAY WITH CONFIDENCE THAT NEVER BEFORE HAS THE



INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MOVED SO PURPOSEFULLY AND WITH SUCH URGENCY TO BUILD A LASTING PEACE. I CAN SAY TO YOU WITH CONFIDENCE THAT THE MEETING THIS MORNING HAS BEEN A STRIKING SUCCESS. ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES AND OUR RUSSIAN COSPONSORS, REPRESENTED BY FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV AND FINANCE MINISTER FEDOROV, SECRETARY BENTSEN AND I ARE DELIGHTED TO SUMMARIZE THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE.

THE NUMBER AND BROAD RANGE OF PARTICIPANTS IN THIS CONFERENCE EXCEEDED OUR EXPECTATIONS. THE CONFERENCE BROUGHT TOGETHER 46 DELEGATIONS FROM AROUND THE GLOBE. INDEED, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MY MEMORY, NATIONS ACTUALLY REQUESTED INVITATIONS TO A DONORS' CONFERENCE. THAT REMARKABLE RESPONSE REFLECTS THE NEW POLITICAL LANDSCAPE AND THE NEW SENSE OF OPTIMISM THAT HAS EMERGED IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THOSE CONTRIBUTIONS PLEDGED TODAY REFLECTED A GENUINE AND SINCERE AND GENEROUS COMMITMENT, AS SECRETARY BENTSEN WILL DESCRIBE IN A MOMENT. THIS ASSISTANCE GIVES US EVERY REASON TO EXPECT THAT THE NEEDS FORESEEN IN THE WORLD BANK'S ESTIMATES WILL BE MET IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

THE PALESTINIANS HAVE ALREADY TAKEN THE CRITICAL STEP OF CREATING A MECHANISM TO WORK WITH THE WORLD BANK AND OTHERS TO ESTABLISH PRIORITIES AND SOUND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES. THE MAJOR DONORS AND THE WORLD BANK WILL WORK TOGETHER TO ENSURE THAT THE ASSISTANCE IS COST-EFFECTIVE, THAT IT WILL PRODUCE TANGIBLE RESULTS ON THE GROUND, AND IT WILL SPUR LONG-TERM ECONOMIC GROWTH. WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TO HELP ISRAEL MOVE TO A PRODUCTIVE NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH HER PALESTINIAN NEIGHBORS.

FOR MORE THAN 40 YEARS, THE WORLD HAS SOUGHT A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. NOW, WE HAVE SEEN A SOARING ACHIEVEMENT BY THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS AND AN EXTRAORDINARY SHOW OF SUPPORT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. CERTAINLY, OUR WORK TOGETHER HAS ONLY BEGUN, BUT WE CAN BE GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY THE UNPRECEDENTED MORAL AND MATERIAL COMMITMENT THAT HAS BEEN MADE TODAY.

NOW, I'LL INTRODUCE MY COLLEAGUE, SECRETARY BENTSEN, FOR THE INFORMATION YOU REALLY ARE INTERESTED IN. SECRETARY BENTSEN.

SEC. BENTSEN: WELL, I'M DELIGHTED TO JOIN MY COLLEAGUE, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER.

THIS IS AN INCREDIBLE RESPONSE THAT YOU'VE SEEN IN SUCH A SHORT PERIOD OF TIME. TO THINK IT WAS ONLY SOME THREE WEEKS AGO THAT THAT HISTORIC HANDSHAKE TOOK PLACE AND LESS THAN TWO WEEKS AGO WHEN WE ANNOUNCED THIS MEETING, AND THEN HAD THESE REPRESENTATIVES FROM AROUND THE WORLD COMING TO PLEDGE THEIR ASSISTANCE.



AND WHAT YOU'RE LOOKING AT HERE IS, AGAIN, HOW IMPORTANT THIS ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IS FOR THE FUTURE, BECAUSE YOU MUST SEE IN THIS WEST BANK AND GAZA AN IMPROVING ECONOMY, ONE THAT WILL LEAD TO PROSPERITY AND THE SUCCESS OF THIS VENTURE. WE'VE HAD ABOUT 50 NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS THAT HAVE COME TOGETHER TO BRING ABOUT THIS SHOW OF SUPPORT FOR THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE.

AS YOU KNOW, THERE ARE VERY IMMEDIATE AND PRESSING NEEDS IN THE WEST BANK, AND THEY HAVE TO BE ATTENDED QUICKLY. I'M GRATIFIED THAT THERE ARE PLEDGES FOR OVER DOLLAR 600 MILLION FOR THAT CRITICAL FIRST YEAR. OVER TWO YEARS, IT WILL REACH A BILLION DOLLARS. COMMITMENTS MADE TODAY APPROACH DOLLAR 2 BILLION OVER THE FIVE YEARS, AND WITH THE CONTINUATION AND THE MAINTENANCE OF EFFORT IN THIS FROM THE DONORS THAT WE HAVE SEEN, I'M CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL EXCEED THE DOLLAR 2.4 BILLION THAT THE WORLD BANK ESTIMATES TO BE THE NEEDS OVER FIVE YEARS.

YOU'LL FIND SOME OF THE FINE POINTS OF WHAT WE AGREED TO DO IN THE LONGER STATEMENT WHICH WE'RE HANDING OUT, BUT I WANT TO POINT OUT THE BROAD ROLE OF THE MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS IN THIS EFFORT. WE'RE CALLING ON THE WORLD BANK TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE, AS WELL AS THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND THE WORKS AGENCY, THE U.N. DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, AND THE IMF. AS DONOR NATIONS, WE AGREED WE SHOULD SUPPORT URGENT RELIEF EFFORTS AND START REHABILITATING THE EXISTING INFRASTRUCTURE. THAT IN ITSELF IS A CHALLENGE.

BUT WE ALSO AGREED THAT WE MUST DO MORE. WE MUST HELP THE PALESTINIANS AS THEY WORK TO ORGANIZE AND MANAGE THEIR OWN POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS. THE DONORS HAVE AGREED TO START AN EXTENSIVE PROGRAM OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO BUILD THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND TO TRAIN PERSONNEL.

THE CLOSE COOPERATION OF THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ISRAELIS WILL BE ESSENTIAL IN EVERY AREA OF INSTITUTION BUILDING. ONE OF THE CRITICAL NEEDS WILL BE CREATING A REVENUE-SHARING SYSTEM AND A LOCAL REVENUE-COLLECTION SYSTEM, WHICH A SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY CAN HAVE A FULL APPRECIATION FOR.

OVER THE LONGER TERM, WE AGREED THAT PROMOTING BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT WILL LAUNCH THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA ON A PATH OF GROWTH. WE HAVE A FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM TO MAKE INVESTMENTS IN PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE AS WELL AS IN THE AREAS OF THEIR PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY. THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY AND ISRAEL AND THE PRIVATE DONORS STRESSED THE PART THE PRIVATE SECTOR WILL PLAY IN THIS, THROUGH LUNCH, AND TALKING TO THE PLO REPRESENTATIVE, AND HEARING HIM TALK OF THE INTEREST OF PALESTINIANS BACK IN THE GAZA AND THE WEST BANK AND WHAT HE ANTICIPATES IN THE WAY OF PRIVATE CAPITAL COMING TO THAT AREA. THE PALESTINIANS HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED HOW VERY IMPORTANT IT IS TO HAVE AN ENVIRONMENT THAT ENCOURAGES PRIVATE INVESTMENT,



AND DONORS WILL ENCOURAGE PRIVATE INVESTMENT THROUGH INCENTIVE PROGRAMS.

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS ALSO STRESSED THE NEED TO ADDRESS THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA IN ITS REGIONAL CONTEXT, AND THERE WAS AN AGREEMENT THAT FREE TRADE IS CERTAINLY NEEDED THROUGH THE REGION.

AND FINALLY, WE HAVE A SHARED CONCERN, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND I, THAT THE ASSISTANCE WE'RE PLEDGING BE MANAGED AS EFFICIENTLY AS POSSIBLE SO THERE WILL BE CLOSE COOPERATION AMONG MAJOR DONORS AND THE WORLD BANK TO MEET THAT GOAL.

THANK YOU.

MR. MCCURRY: QUESTIONS WILL BE RECOGNIZED FROM EITHER OF THE TWO MICROPHONES.

Q MY NAME IS ABDULSALAM MASSARUEH. I'M WITH THE JERUSALEM PRESS SERVICE HERE IN WASHINGTON. MR. SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND MR. SECRETARY BENTSEN AND MR. SECRETARY KOZYREV, IN THE LAST, I THINK, 48 HOURS, THE PLO HANDED ISRAEL A VERY STRONG PROTEST ABOUT THE IMPRISONMENT AND THE SIEGE THAT THEY HELD AROUND THE CITY OR THE TOWN OF KABATIA (PH) IN THE WEST BANK, AND THE ARREST AND DETENTION OF PALESTINIAN ACTIVISTS. THE DEMARCHE WAS VERY STRONG AND THE PALESTINIANS REQUESTED THAT THIS WILL BE LIFTED AND THE PALESTINIANS WILL BE RETURNED HOME.

THE SECOND POINT, MR. CHRISTOPHER, YOU KNOW THAT THERE IS UNEMPLOYMENT, THERE IS POVERTY AND STARVATION IN THE GAZA STRIP, OVER 60 PERCENT UNEMPLOYMENT. WHAT ARE THE IMMEDIATE STEPS THAT THE DONORS, THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION AND THE RUSSIAN COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS AND THE WHOLE WORLD IS GOING TO DO TO TRY TO BRING AN IMMEDIATE INFUSION OF FUNDS TO HELP THE PALESTINIAN FAMILIES WHO GO HOME HUNGRY EVERY NIGHT?

THANK YOU, SIR.

THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARING A LIST OF THINGS THAT CAN BE DONE IMMEDIATELY. AND AS WE PROCEED OVER THE NEXT FEW DAYS AND AS WE GIVE YOU FURTHER DETAILS, YOU'LL SEE THAT THERE'S GOING TO BE ACTION TAKEN THERE IN THAT AREA, NOT OVER A ONE-YEAR OR TWO-YEAR PERIOD, BUT IN THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS, BECAUSE WE ALL REALIZE THAT THE PEOPLE ON THE GROUND HAVE TO SEE THE RESULTS OF THIS AGREEMENT. THERE HAS TO BE SOME INDICATION THAT IT CAN SUCCEED AND BE SUCCESSFUL.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROTEST, I JUST SIMPLY SAY TO YOU THAT I'VE BEEN SO FOCUSED ON THIS CONFERENCE TODAY THAT I'VE NOT DEALT WITH THAT AND WILL RESPOND TO THAT AT A LATER TIME.

MR. MCCURRY: RALPH?



Q MAY I ADDRESS MY QUESTION TO THE WORLD BANK REPRESENTATIVE, PLEASE? I'M AFRAID I DON'T RECOGNIZE YOU. IS THAT MR. PRESTON? I'D LIKE TO REQUEST -- I THINK THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE WHO WONDER HOW THIS MONEY, BEING SENT IN AS QUICKLY AS IT CAN, WILL BE AUDITED TO MAKE SURE IT'S SPENT ON CONCRETE PROJECTS TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR PALESTINIANS IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AND NOT ON OTHER KINDS OF PROJECTS AND NOT BE LOST IN BUREAUCRACY THAT'S HASTILY ESTABLISHED FOR THIS PURPOSE. CAN YOU TELL US WHAT STEPS WILL BE TAKEN? HOW WILL THE PEOPLE WHO ARE CONTRIBUTING THIS MONEY KNOW THAT IT'S BEING PROPERLY SPENT?

MR. PRESTON (?): WELL, I THINK IN TERMS OF THE SHORT-TERM AID, YOU SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE A NUMBER UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS ACTIVE IN THE AREA, A NUMBER OF THE DONORS ARE ACTIVE; AND THE WORLD BANK HAS NO INTENTION OF REPLACING THOSE EXISTING AGENCIES WHO HAVE DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB. THEY WILL GET ADDITIONAL FUNDING AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS EFFORT. AND WE WILL BE DEVOTING OURSELVES TO THE LONGER TERM PROJECTS AND GETTING THE INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN PLACE SO THAT THE PROPER SUPERVISION CAN TAKE PLACE.

MR. MCCURRY: CAN I ASK IF YOU HAVE A QUESTION TO POSE, PLEASE PROCEED TO EITHER ONE OF THE TWO MICROPHONES AND WE'LL CALL IN ORDER. THE NEXT QUESTION IS MARY CURTIUS. AMEND THAT. THE NEXT QUESTION IS THE FASTER-MOVING -- (NAME INAUDIBLE.) (LAUGHTER.) GO AHEAD.

Q MR. SECRETARY, I WONDER IF YOU COULD ADDRESS THE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES OVER A STEERING MECHANISM, WHICH IS ACTUALLY A FOLLOW-ON TO RALPH BEGLEITER'S QUESTION. MY UNDERSTANDING, BOTH IN THE SPEECHES GIVEN HERE TODAY AND IN TALKING TO EUROPEAN DIPLOMATS, IS THAT THE EUROPEANS DISAGREE WITH THE UNITED STATES; THAT THE UNITED STATES WANTS TO CREATE A STEERING COMMITTEE AND THE EUROPEANS DO NOT WANT TO CREATE SUCH A MECHANISM AND SAY IT'S AN UNNECESSARY BUREAUCRACY. IS THERE A DISPUTE? AND HOW DO YOU PROPOSE TO RESOLVE IT, IF THERE IS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WE'VE BEEN CONSULTING WITH THE MAJOR DONORS ABOUT THE BEST MECHANISM TO CARRY FORWARD THESE ARRANGEMENTS TO ENSURE THAT THEY'LL BE DONE EFFICIENTLY AND PRUDENTLY. THE BEST THINKING WE'VE COME TO BE THAT THERE WILL BE A LIAISON COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF THE MAJOR DONORS WHO WILL WORK TOGETHER WITH THE WORLD BANK AS A SECRETARIAT. I THINK WE'VE COME INTO AGREEMENT ON THAT. IT'S NOT SURPRISING THAT, GIVEN THE SPEED WITH WHICH ALL OF THIS HAS GONE TOGETHER, AS I SAID, OVER A PERIOD OF 19 DAYS, THAT WE'VE WORKING THROUGH SOME OF THE ARRANGEMENTS. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS ANY LONGER ANY DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON THIS, AND THAT WE'LL BE ABLE TO ANNOUNCE WITH PRECISION PRECISELY WHAT THAT LIAISON GROUP WILL BE, BUT I THINK WE ARE WELL ORGANIZED ON THAT NOW, AND I DON'T



EXPECT THERE TO BE A PROBLEM.

Q THANK YOU.

Q FOR SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, YOU SEEM TO MAKE AN ALLUSION IN YOUR STATEMENT EARLIER TODAY -- THIS MORNING, ABOUT THE KIND OF MESSAGE THIS SENDS TO OTHER PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. CAN YOU DIRECT YOUR ATTENTION TO THE SYRIANS IN PARTICULAR, AND GIVE US YOUR IMPRESSIONS AS TO WHAT THIS CONFERENCE TODAY SAYS TO THEM ABOUT THE NEED TO PROCEED?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, I WAS DIRECTING MY COMMENTS THIS MORNING TO THOSE WHO WERE ENEMIES OF THIS PROCESS WHO WOULD FIND -- TRY TO FIND SOME WAY TO DISRUPT IT. THE SYRIANS HAVE NOT DONE THAT TO THIS POINT. THEY'VE NOT INDICATED OPPOSITION TO THE PROCESS. I REALLY WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THOSE WHO SUPPORT THIS PROCESS WILL RECEIVE THE APPROBATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, BUT THOSE WHO TRY TO DISRUPT IT, THOSE WHO TRY TO INTERFERE WITH IT I THINK WILL FIND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY LINED UP AGAINST THEM. THE TREMENDOUS TURNOUT TODAY IS SOME REFLECTION OF THE BROAD-SCALE SUPPORT THAT THESE AGREEMENTS HAVE, AND I THINK IT SHOULD BE A MESSAGE TO THOSE WHO WOULD TRY TO MOVE TO IN ANY WAY DISRUPT IT OR DISCREDIT IT.

WITH RESPECT TO THE SYRIANS, I WOULD SAY THAT THE AGREEMENT AND TODAY'S CONFERENCE OUGHT TO BE A REASON FOR THEM TO FEEL THAT WE ARE ALL WORKING TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE TITLE OF THE CONFERENCE IS TO SUPPORT THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS, NOT A SINGLE, BILATERAL TRACK, AND I HOPE THAT THE SYRIANS WILL SEE IN THIS THE BEGINNING OF THE SEARCH FOR A BROADER AND MORE COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Q BUT MY QUESTION DEALS WITH WOULD YOU ANTICIPATE THAT THERE WOULD BE DONOR CONFERENCES IF THE SYRIANS DECIDED TO STEP UP AND HAVE A PEACE AGREEMENT. IS THERE -- THIS FINANCIAL BACKING THE KIND OF THING THAT CAN BE TRANSFERRED TO OTHER SETTLEMENTS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, THE SITUATIONS ARE REALLY QUITE DIFFERENT. YOU HAVE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF THE WEST BANK IN A SITUATION OF GREAT FINANCIAL DISTRESS. IF THERE IS AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA, IT WILL HAVE ITS OWN CONNOTATIONS AND ITS OWN ASPECTS, BUT I THINK THERE ARE NO TWO SITUATIONS EXACTLY ALIKE.

BUT I THINK THIS MEETING TODAY SHOWS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND I WOULD EXPECT THERE TO BE SIMILAR BACKING, ALTHOUGH QUITE DIFFERENT PERHAPS, SIMILAR IN OVERALL SUPPORT FOR OTHER TRACKS IF THEY REACH THE KIND OF POSITIVE SETTLEMENT THAT WAS REACHED HERE.

Q THIS QUESTION MIGHT BE ADDRESSED BEST TO EITHER MR. PRESTON OR



SECRETARY BENTSEN. THERE WAS A PALESTINIAN ESTIMATE OF THE AMOUNT OF MONEY NEEDED OVER A SEVEN-YEAR PERIOD, AND IT CAME OUT TO BE SOMETHING LIKE DOLLAR 11.6 BILLION, 3.3 OF WHICH WOULD BE RAISED DOMESTICALLY OR THROUGH LOCAL INVESTMENT. EVEN WITH THAT AND EVEN ASSUMING THAT THEY ARE INCLUDING THE 600,000 RETURNEES -- REFUGEES, THERE STILL SEEMS TO BE A VAST DISPARITY BETWEEN THE WORLD BANK FIGURE OF 2.4 FOR THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD, OR THREE, DEPENDING ON WHO YOU'RE TALKING TO, AND WHAT THE PALESTINIANS ARE SAYING. IS THERE -- IS THIS DISPARITY REAL, OR IS IT JUST A WAY OF -- A DIFFERENT WAY OF ACCOUNTING?

SEC. BENTSEN: WELL, I HAVE FOUND HISTORICALLY THAT WHEN YOU'RE TALKING ABOUT FUNDS, AND PARTICULARLY FOR BRINGING TOGETHER PEOPLE FROM AROUND THE WORLD, PALESTINIANS THAT WILL WANT TO BE THERE, ONE WOULD ASSUME, THAT THEY WILL CHOOSE SOME HIGH NUMBERS. I WOULD SAY THAT THE WORLD BANK HAS, VERY FORTUNATELY FOR US, HAD A SOPHISTICATED STUDY THAT HAS BEEN MADE ON SITE, AND WE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THOSE NUMBERS. BUT, LET ME FURTHER STATE THAT WITHOUT A QUESTION, THIS IS AN ONGOING PROCESS, AND ECONOMICS IS GOING TO -- THAT'S GOING TO PLAY A VERY MAJOR ROLE. AND WE FEEL THAT MUCH OF THIS MONEY OUGHT TO ALSO COME THROUGH PRIVATE INVESTMENT THAT WOULD HELP SUPPLEMENT WHAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT FROM THE WORLD BANK, WHAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT FROM THE MAJOR DONOR COUNTRIES.

MR. MCCURRY: A QUESTION RIGHT HERE, PLEASE.

Q NATHALIE MATTHEIEM, LE SOIR. IF I COULD GO BACK TO THIS DISPUTE BETWEEN THE EC AND THE U.S. THAT WE ARE TOLD IS (NOW/NOT ?) OVER WITH, THE EC HAD BEEN INSISTING LATELY ON A REPRESENTATIVE ROLE. I WAS WONDERING IF ONE OF ITS -- (INAUDIBLE) -- COULD TELL US IF THE PARTICIPATION IN A DONOR COMMITTEE IS THAT REPRESENTATIVE ROLE THEY WERE SEEKING.

MIN. CLAES: MAY I UNDERLINE THAT THE EUROPEANS ARE HERE AS PARTNERS, NOT AS ENEMIES. ALL THE DONORS ARE WILLING, OF COURSE, TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SO-CALLED OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. AND ALL THE DONORS ARE WILLING TO OBTAIN, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, CONCRETE RESULTS. THAT'S THE REASON WE, BUT NOT ONLY WE, WERE ASKING FOR A LIGHT INSTRUMENT, FLEXIBLE, ADAPTABLE. AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE SO-CALLED AD HOC LIAISON COMMITTEE IS A GOOD FORMULA WHERE THE DIFFERENT DONORS, THE PALESTINIANS AND THE ISRAELIS WILL MEET TOGETHER.

WHAT CAN BE DONE SO IN THIS COMMITTEE?

FIRST OF ALL, I SUPPOSE THIS COMMITTEE WILL PLAY THE ROLE OF CLEARING HOUSE. BUT SECONDLY, I CAN IMAGINE THAT WE WILL BE CONFRONTED WITH VERY IMPORTANT INVESTMENT PROJECTS NEEDING COOPERATION OF SEVERAL DONORS, NEEDING COORDINATION. WE ADMIT THAT THE WORLD BANK IS GOING TO PLAY THE ROLE OF EXPERT, OF COURSE, I SUPPOSE, IN COOPERATION WITH OTHER INSTITUTIONS HAVING



DEVELOPED EXPERIENCE AND KNOW-HOW IN THE REGIONS AS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE EUROPEAN INVESTMENT BANK. MAY I STRESS THAT THE WORKING GROUPS, AS CREATED THE MULTILATERAL WORKING GROUPS, AS CREATED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE ARE GOING ON TO PLAY THEIR ROLE.

SO, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THERE IS NO DISPUTE. ON THE CONTRARY, WE ARE READY TO WORK TOGETHER IN ORDER TO START IMMEDIATELY IN ORDER TO OBTAIN CONCRETE RESULTS.

THANK YOU.

MR. MCCURRY: QUESTION. YES.

Q MY QUESTIONS ARE DIRECTED, PLEASE, TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER. I ASSUME, MR. SECRETARY, THAT YOU'RE THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PROGRAM HERE, THAT YOU WILL BE IN CHARGE OF THE FLOW OF DONATIONS AND SO ON TO THE WORLD BANK OR HOWEVER THAT'S GOING TO WORK, AND THEN I'D LIKE A FOLLOW-UP.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, WE WERE CHAIR OF THIS CONFERENCE ALONG WITH THE RUSSIAN CO-CHAIRS, AND WE'LL BE FOLLOWING THROUGH ON THIS MATTER TO TRY TO MAKE SURE THAT THE FUNDS THAT WERE PLEDGED TODAY REACH THIS COORDINATING MECHANISM THAT'S GOING TO BE SET UP, THE LIAISON COMMITTEE AND THE WORLD BANK AS SECRETARIAT. THE UNITED STATES WILL CERTAINLY NOT DRAW BACK FROM ITS LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THIS AREA. ON THE OTHER HAND, AS FOREIGN MINISTER CLAES SAID, WE'RE IN THIS AS PARTNERS AND WE DON'T WANT TO TAKE AN UNDULY SIGNIFICANT ROLE, WE JUST WANT TO GET THE JOB DONE.

Q I'M SORRY, MIKE, I DIDN'T INTRODUCE MYSELF. MY NAME IS JOSEPH POLIKOFF (SP). I WRITE FOR JEWISH NEWSPAPERS. MY SECOND QUESTION IS, BEFORE THE FLOW OF MONEY GOES INTO THE AREA, APART FROM THE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR THE PEOPLE WHO ARE IN DESPERATE NEED, WILL THAT MONEY BE WITHHELD UNTIL THE PLO IRREVOCABLY RESCINDS ALL THE ELEMENTS IN ITS COVENANT THAT PERTAIN TO ISRAEL? AND SECONDLY, THE ARAB COUNTRIES APPARENTLY HAVE SAID THE END OF THE BOYCOTT IS NOT COMING, IT'S STILL IN EFFECT, AS A MATTER OF FACT IT MIGHT EVEN INCREASE -- THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL, THAT IS. AND WILL THAT BE HANDLED BY THIS GROUP THAT IS DEALING WITH THE DONATIONS?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WITH RESPECT TO YOUR FIRST QUESTION, WE EXPECT THE PLO TO CARRY OUT THE COMMITMENT THAT THEY MADE TO ISRAEL IN THE BILATERAL AGREEMENT THAT WAS SIGNED AND ANNOUNCED AT THE WHITE HOUSE. ON THE SECOND ASPECT OF THE MATTER, I THINK THIS GROUP THAT'S BEEN SET UP, THIS LIAISON GROUP, IS TO TRY TO HANDLE THE FUNDS THAT ARE BEING COLLECTED HERE AND PUT THEM TO GOOD USE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. I DON'T THINK IT ASSAYS A BROAD POLITICAL ROLE. WE HAVE BEEN URGING THE PARTIES IN THE REGION TO RECOGNIZE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS MAJOR STEP IN VARIOUS OTHER WAYS: THROUGH THE MEETINGS THEY HOLD, THROUGH THE



STATEMENTS THEY MAKE, THROUGH THE DECISIONS THEY MAKE WITH RESPECT TO THE BOYCOTT OR RECOGNITION. BUT THOSE ARE SOVEREIGN DECISIONS AND I DON'T THINK THIS GROUP -- THEY'LL HAVE ENOUGH TO DO IN DISBURSING THESE FUNDS EFFECTIVELY.

Q MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU SUPPOSE IT WOULD BE FAIR FOR THIS GROUP TO STATE FORMALLY TO THE ARAB NATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE BOYCOTT, THE ARAB LEAGUE, THAT IT SHOULD RESCIND THIS ELEMENT AND THAT IT'S IMPEDING PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: THIS GROUP WAS DRAWN TOGETHER AS A DONOR'S CONFERENCE, AND I DON'T WANT TO TRY TO COMMIT THEM TO ANY BROADER OR DIFFERENT POLITICAL PURPOSE. AS I SAY, I THINK WE'LL HAVE ENOUGH TO DO TO R OUT THE VERY MAJOR TASK THAT'S BEEN UNDERTAKEN HERE.

MR. MCCURRY: LET'S TRY TO RESTRICT FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS.

MARK?

Q CAN YOU TELL US IF THE WORLD BANK TARGET IS DOLLAR 2.4 BILLION OR DOLLAR 2.5 BILLION? AND SECONDLY, SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, COULD YOU COMMENT ON THE FACT THAT OF THE PERSIAN GULF COUNTRIES, ONLY SAUDI ARABIA HAS PLEDGED A SPECIFIC DOLLAR AMOUNT?

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: WELL, AS SECRETARY BENTSEN SAID, THIS IS A SITUATION THAT'S EVOLVING VERY RAPIDLY. IT WAS ONLY A WEEK OR SO AGO THAT THE WORLD BANK ESTIMATED DOLLAR 3 BILLION OVER 10 YEARS. I'M SURE THAT MR. PRESTON CAN SAY WHETHER IT'S DOLLAR 2.4 BILLION OR DOLLAR 2.5 BILLION, BUT THE IMPORTANT THING IS THAT THE CONFERENCE HERE TODAY WAS A STRIKING SUCCESS, HOWEVER YOU MEASURE IT, DOLLAR 600 MILLION OVER THE FIRST YEAR. NOW, IF YOU EXTRAPOLATE THAT, THAT WILL WELL EXCEED OVER THE FIVE-YEAR PERIOD THE WORLD BANK TARGET, WHETHER IT'S DOLLAR 2.4 BILLION OR DOLLAR 2.5 BILLION.

WITH RESPECT TO THE OTHER PERSIAN GULF COUNTRIES, I'M NOT SURE, MARK, THAT YOUR FACTS ARE EXACTLY RIGHT. AS I RECALL, THE UAE PLEDGED A SPECIFIC AMOUNT. I WOULD SAY THAT THIS CONFERENCE HAS COME TOGETHER VERY RAPIDLY. OF THE 46 COUNTRIES, I SUPPOSE THERE ARE SOMEPLACE BETWEEN FIVE AND 10 WHO QUITE UNDERSTANDABLY SAID THAT THEY HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO TAKE A GOVERNMENTAL DECISION AND WOULD BE GETTING BACK TO THE GROUP IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

AS TO ANY SPECIFIC COUNTRY, I WOULD SUGGEST YOU DIRECT YOUR QUESTIONS TO THEM -- THEY'RE ALL HERE IN THE AUDIENCE -- RATHER THAN FOR ME TO TRY TO ANSWER THEM.

THANK YOU.

MR. MCCURRY: A QUESTION OVER HERE.

Q I AM -- (NAME INAUDIBLE). I AM WITH USIA TV. MY QUESTION IS



FOR MINISTER KOZYREV, AND IT WILL RUSSIAN.

(THROUGH INTERPRETER.) MR. MINISTER, WHAT SIZE WILL BE THE RUSSIAN CONTRIBUTION? AND DOES RUSSIA PLAN TO OFFER SOME OTHER TYPE OF ASSISTANCE TO THIS REGION, PERHAPS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE?

MIN. KOZYREV: (THROUGH INTERPRETER.) YES, WE PLAN TO OFFER ASSISTANCE, FIRST POLITICAL, BECAUSE ONLY THE FIRST STEP HAS BEEN TAKEN. THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT STEP, IT'S A BREAKTHROUGH, BUT IT IS VERY IMPORTANT THAT THERE BE OTHER MEASURES AND THAT IT BE FOLLOWED UP NOT BY COUNTER-ACCUSATIONS, EXCHANGE OF ACCUSATIONS, BUT WORK IN ALL DIRECTIONS OF RESOLVING AND, IN THE LONG RUN, A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE.

AND SECOND, IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, WE PLAN TO ASSIST MAINLY WITHIN FRAMEWORKS OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM THROUGH SPECIALISTS, BUILDING OF ROADS, INFRASTRUCTURE AND WATER MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS AND OTHER PROJECTS OF THIS SORT, PREPARATION AND TRAINING OF PERSONNEL. I THINK THAT THERE IS A SPECIAL NICHE WHICH WE CAN FILL. AND IN THE FUTURE, I THINK AS THE PROGRAM PROGRESSES WE WILL ALSO HAVE A ROLE.

THANK YOU.

MR. MCCURRY: NEXT QUESTION OVER HERE.

Q A QUESTION FOR MR. KOZYREV. I'M GARY LANE, CBN NEWS HERE IN WASHINGTON.

MR. FOREIGN MINISTER, WITH ALL DUE RESPECT, SIR, HOW CAN YOUR NATION EXPECT IN THE UNSTABLE SITUATION IN RUSSIA TO PROMOTE STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AT THIS TIME CREDIBLY? AND I'D LIKE TO FOLLOW UP, PLEASE.

MIN. KOZYREV: PLEASE DO. I'LL ANSWER BOTH. PLEASE DO FOLLOW IT.

Q OH. AND THE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION WOULD BE: YOUR PEOPLE HAVE HAD A LONG-TIME RELATIONSHIP WITH SYRIA. WHAT HAVE YOUR DISCUSSIONS BEEN WITH THE SYRIANS TO GET THEM TO JUMP ON THIS BANDWAGON TO A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST? THANK YOU.

MIN. KOZYREV: THAT'S WHAT I SUSPECTED, THAT THE SECOND QUESTION WOULD MAKE MUCH MORE SENSE THAN THE FIRST ONE. (LAUGHTER.) THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR THE SECOND ONE.

AND REALLY, WE HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH ARAB PARTICIPANTS, AND NOT SO LONG BUT A VERY ENCOURAGING HISTORY OF GOOD RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, AND I HOPE THAT THESE HISTORIC TIES

עד כאן חלק ראשון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @רהמ), @שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @רם), @ר'אגת), תכנון,  
ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, אוצר, @דוצ)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 313

אל: רהמש/41

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 16, תא: 021093, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: בל,

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אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: לש-רוה"מ

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קונכ"לים צפ"א

מאת: תקשורת - וושינגטון

הנדון: מסהע"ת במחמ"ד בהשתתפות מזכיר המדינה ומזכיר האוצר

חלק 2 מתוך 2 המשך לנר 15

AND PRACTICAL POLITICAL NEEDS WOULD HELP US TO ENCOURAGE PARTIES, ESPECIALLY ON SYRIAN-ISRAEL TRACK, WHICH IS, TO MY MIND, THE PRIORITY AFTER THIS PARTICULAR ACHIEVEMENT IN PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS TO REACH COMPROMISE WHICH WOULD LEAD ALSO TO COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THIS IS VERY HIGH ON OUR AGENDA.

THANK YOU.

MR. MCCURRY: THE LAST TWO QUESTIONS HERE. YES.

Q MY QUESTION IS TO MR. CHRISTOPHER. MR. CHRISTOPHER, JERUSALEM IS THE LIFELINE OF THE PALESTINIANS, ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELDS OF EDUCATION AND HEALTH. WILL THESE FUNDS BE ALLOWED OR AVAILABLE TO THE PALESTINIANS TO BE USED IN JERUSALEM TO REVIVE THE INSTITUTIONS IN JERUSALEM, OR IT'S GOING TO BE AWAITED FOR THE LAST -- FOR THE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS? I HAVE OTHER QUESTION.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: AS HAS BEEN SAID MANY TIMES, JERUSALEM IS ONE OF THE MOST SENSITIVE ASPECTS OF THIS, AND THE PARTIES HAVE, QUITE UNDERSTANDABLY, POSTPONED ANY DISCUSSION OF IT FOR THE FINAL STATUS. THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS RECOGNIZES THAT, AND SO I THINK YOU ARE CORRECT IN SAYING THAT THAT WILL AWAIT THE FINAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS.

Q MY SECOND QUESTION IS, MANY FOREIGN MINISTERS AND PRIME MINISTERS IN NEW YORK ASKED YOU TO VISIT THE AREA, ESPECIALLY TO PUSH THE LEBANESE-SYRIAN TRACK. DO YOU HAVE ANY PLANS TO VISIT THE MIDDLE EAST VERY SOON? THANK YOU.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: I REALLY AM INVOLVED IN THIS TO SERVE THE PARTIES, TO TRY TO FACILITATE THE NEGOTIATIONS. I'LL BE PREPARED TO GO BACK TO THE MIDDLE EAST WHENEVER THE PARTIES THINK IT WILL BE USEFUL TO THEM. I THINK THE SITUATION IS NOW THAT WE'RE MOVING AS RAPIDLY AS WE CAN TO ACHIEVE WHAT'S BEEN DONE HERE TODAY, AND AS I SAY, I'LL BE GLAD TO GO BACK TO THE MIDDLE EAST WHENEVER THE PARTIES THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL.

MR. MCCURRY: LAST QUESTION.

Q STEVEN GREENHOUSE (SP), NEW YORK TIMES. I ADDRESS THIS TO SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER OR SECRETARY BENTSEN. (LAUGHTER.) IT INVOLVES MONEY. MAYBE I'LL ADDRESS IT TO SECRETARY BENTSEN. I'D LIKE TO ASK MORE SPECIFICALLY WHAT YOU HAVE IN MIND IN TERMS OF THE MECHANISM OR VEHICLE THE PALESTINIANS WILL USE TO RECEIVE AND DISTRIBUTE THE MONEY. HAS THERE BEEN MUCH DISCUSSION ON THAT OVER THE PAST 24 HOURS? WILL IT BE THIS NEW PALESTINIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION AUTHORITY? WILL IT BE THE NEW CIVIL ADMINISTRATION? WHAT ROLE WILL THE UNITED NATIONS PLAY?

SEC. BENTSEN: STEVEN, I WOULD SAY OBVIOUSLY WE HAVE NOT -- DON'T HAVE IT FULLY DEFINED YET. BUT WHAT YOU'RE GOING TO SEE INSOFAR AS THE IMMEDIACY, YOU'RE GOING TO SEE THE UNITED NATIONS DOING IT'S HELP THERE, UNRRWA AND THE REST. YOU NEED THINGS IN THE PIPELINE TO GIVE AN IMMEDIATE EFFECT, AND THAT WILL BE DONE. WHEN YOU'RE LOOKING AT THOSE THINGS WITH THE WORLD BANK AND WHAT WILL BE DONE THROUGH THE CONSULTING COMMITTEE THAT WILL MEET PERIODICALLY, THERE YOU'RE GETTING MORE INTO THE INFRASTRUCTURE, AND THOSE THINGS THAT ARE NECESSARY IN THE WAY OF WATER AND SEWAGE AND ROADS, BRIDGES, THE MORE LONG-TERM THINGS. BUT IT'S A CONSTANTLY EVOLVING THING WHERE THE ECONOMICS ARE GOING TO BE PARAMOUNT. AND IT IS TERRIBLY IMPORTANT THAT THE PRIVATE SECTOR BE INVOLVED IN THIS. IT IS NOT ENOUGH JUST TO HAVE THE PUBLIC FUNDS OR FROM THE DONOR NATIONS, BUT THAT WE HAVE SOMETHING THAT WILL BE OF CONTINUING GROWTH AND WILL BECOME SELF-SUSTAINING. THAT'S THE OBJECTIVE, I THINK, OF ALL THESE DONOR NATIONS.

SEC. CHRISTOPHER: STEVEN, I MIGHT SUPPLEMENT THAT. I BELIEVE SECRETARY BENTSEN WAS OUT OF THE ROOM TODAY WHEN THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVE INDICATED THAT THEY HAVE CREATED A NEW COMMITTEE CALLED -- I BELIEVE THE TITLE IS SOMETHING LIKE THE EMERGENCY COMMITTEE ON RECONSTRUCTION AND REHABILITATION. HE TOLD ME THAT IT WOULD BE CONSTITUTED OF LEADING ECONOMISTS AND BUSINESSMEN PALESTINIANS HAD GATHERED TOGETHER. BUT I SUGGEST YOU TALK TO THE PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES HERE BECAUSE HE INDICATED THAT THEY HAVE FOCUSED OVER THE LAST 19 DAYS VERY HARD ON THAT AND HAVE NOW CREATED THAT KIND OF A COMMITTEE WHICH WOULD BE USEFUL IN THE DISPENSING OF THE FUNDS.

MR. MCCURRY: THANK YOU VERY MUCH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. THAT CONCLUDES THE PRESS CONFERENCE.



END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שחח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, @ (דוצ), אוצר

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 309

אל: רהמש/39

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 11, תא: 021093, זח: 1253, דח: מ, סג: בל,

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תאריך: 1 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: דברי שה"א הרוסי בפתח ועידת התורמים

REMARKS BY BORIS GRIGOR'YEVICH FEDOROV, RUSSIAN FINANCE MINISTER  
AT THE MIDDLE EAST DONOR CONFERENCE DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, DC FRIDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1993

MINISTER FEDOROV: ON BEHALF OF THE RUSSIAN COSPONSOR, LET ME  
WELCOME ALL THOSE GATHERED IN THIS MEETING HALL. IT GIVES ME  
GREAT SATISFACTION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF SUCH A  
REPRESENTATIVE FORUM. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS SPECIAL GRATITUDE  
TO THE AMERICAN COSPONSOR, REPRESENTED BY SECRETARY OF STATE  
CHRISTOPHER AND SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY LLOYD BENTSEN, FOR THE  
WONDERFUL ORGANIZATION OF THE MEETING, FOR THE ENORMOUS EFFORTS  
MADE IN PREPARING THIS MEETING IN SUCH A SHORT TIME.

THE CHANGES IN THE DIRECTION OF THE EVENTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST  
TOWARDS PRACTICAL STEPS TOWARDS PEACE, EVIDENCED BY THE RECENT  
SIGNING IN WASHINGTON OF THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI DECLARATION OF  
PRINCIPLES, REQUIRES THE FULL SUPPORT OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY,  
AND NOT ONLY POLITICAL SUPPORT BUT ALSO ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL  
AND HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT.

IN THIS REGARD, OUR MEETING IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT IF SEEN FROM  
THE STANDPOINT OF THE CREATION OF AN OPTIMAL AND EFFECTIVE  
MECHANISM FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT TO THE PALESTINIANS. TODAY  
IN THE MIDDLE EAST THE QUESTION IS AS FOLLOWS: WHERE WILL THE  
PENDULUM SWING, TOWARDS REASON AND THE CREATION OF CIVILIZED  
RELATIONS OR TOWARDS HOSTILITY, EXTREMISM AND CHAOS? THE ANSWER  
TO THIS QUESTION TO A GREAT EXTENT DEPENDS ON THE DECISIONS THAT  
WILL BE TAKEN TODAY.

EACH CONTRIBUTION THAT WILL BE MADE TODAY IN MAKING THE LIFE OF  
THE PALESTINIANS BETTER, AND IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE CREATION  
OF A MATERIAL BASIS FOR MIDEAST PEACE, WILL BE REPAID WITH THE  
HARDEST CURRENCY POSSIBLE, THE STRENGTHENING OF REGIONAL



STABILITY AND THE BROADENING OF POSSIBILITIES FOR MULTIFACETED COOPERATION IN THE REGION.

WE FEEL THAT THE FIRST PRIORITY MUST BE GIVEN TO PRACTICAL MEASURES OF A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TYPE, ESPECIALLY IN THE GAZA STRIP, WHICH IN THE NEAR TERM MUST GIVE VISIBLE RESULTS IN IMPROVING THE DAILY LIFE OF THE PALESTINIANS. AND IN THIS MANNER, THE POLITICAL -- MORALLY AND POLITICALLY MUST STRENGTHEN THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, NEUTRALIZE THE ATTACKS ON THE PEACE PROCESS. ALONG WITH THIS, IT IS NECESSARY TO DEFINE ACTIONS IN THE FUTURE, ADOPT LONG-RANGE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR THREE TO FIVE YEARS.

WE DO NOT NEED TO SPEAK OF HOW DRAMATIC A PERIOD RUSSIA IS GOING THROUGH AT PRESENT, WHICH REQUIRES CONCENTRATED EFFORTS AND RESOURCES OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT THAT IS REQUIRED AND IS REQUIRED AROUND RUSSIA. NONETHELESS, WITHIN ITS SCOPE OF ITS POSSIBILITIES, RUSSIA IS READY TO MAKE CONCRETE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS PALESTINIAN SELF-RULE, TO REVIVE THE ECONOMY OF THIS REGION. THIS COULD TAKE THE FORM OF TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN SUCH SPHERES AS THE DEVELOPMENT OF WATER MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS, AGRICULTURE AND ENERGY SPHERE, AS WELL AS THE EDUCATION OF PALESTINIAN STUDENTS, THE PREPARATION OF SPECIALISTS FOR THE EMERGING PALESTINIAN STRUCTURES OF THE PALESTINIAN STATE.

WE ARE READY TO ASSIST THE PALESTINIANS, BOTH ON A MULTILATERAL BASIS AND ON A BILATERAL BASIS. WE GIVE GREAT IMPORTANCE TO COORDINATING OUR EFFORTS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND FIRST AND FOREMOST WITH THE U.N. AND THE WORLD BANK. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE WORK OF THIS CONFERENCE WILL BE EFFECTIVE AND FRUITFUL. THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION.

(APPLAUSE. END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכל שלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת,  
@ (דוצ), סמנכלמזאר, מזאר1

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 310

אל: רהמש/ 37

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 12, תא: 021093, זח: 1254, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

9,257886

9,233388

בלמס/מיד

תאריך: 1 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: תדרוך הבית הלבן ליום 1.10.93

בתדרוך היום בבית הלבן, עלו הנושאים הבאים (המצ"ב): - ועידת התורמים והחרם הערבי.

בנוסף, עלו הנושאים הבאים (לא מצ"ב): - סומליה, האסון בהודו, הסכם NAFTA והאבטלה בארה"ב.

להלן הקטעים הרלוונטים לעניננו: -

Q WHAT IS THE PRESIDENT HOPING TO ACCOMPLISH WITH HIS MEETING THIS AFTERNOON? AND HOW DISAPPOINTED IS HE ABOUT THE ARAB REFUSAL TO LIFT THE EMBARGO?

MS. MYERS: WELL, OBVIOUSLY, THE PRESIDENT WAS DISAPPOINTED WITH THAT. HE HAD URGED THE PARTIES TO DO THAT AND WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR IT.

TODAY THE PRESIDENT WILL MEET FIRST WITH CROWN PRINCE HASSAN AND THEN WITH BOTH FOREIGN MINISTER PERES AND CROWN PRINCE HASSAN. AND THEN THEY'LL GO OUT TO THE SOUTH LAWN WHERE THEY'LL MAKE -- EACH MAKE A STATEMENT. THERE WON'T BE ANY QUESTIONS AT THAT. AND I BELIEVE IT'S AN EXPANDED POOL. AND THEN HE'LL COME BACK AND MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER PERES.

Q ON THE SOUTH LAWN? THERE'S GOING TO BE A POOL ON THE SOUTH LAWN?

MS. MYERS: IT'S KIND OF DOWN THE HILL BY THE OVAL OFFICE WHERE WE'VE -- I'M POINTING THE WRONG WAY, BUT --



Q IT'S EXPANDED POOL.

MS. MYERS: IT'S EXPANDED POOL. OPEN PHOTO/WRITING POOL, I THINK.

Q SO WRITERS CAN GO --

MS. MYERS: I'LL CHECK AND SEE WHY IT WAS DECIDED THAT THERE WAS A POOL. THERE'S PROBABLY PLENTY OF ROOM. THERE ARE NO QUESTIONS, THOUGH, SO IT'S SORT OF A LIMITED EVENT. IT'S SIMPLY TO MAKE A STATEMENT AND THEN THERE'LL BE A BACKGROUND BRIEFING HERE AFTERWARDS AND --

Q ARE THEY GOING TO SHAKE HANDS?

Q THE PRESIDENT'S NOT GOING TO BRING THEM INTO THE EAST ROOM AND HAVE --

MS. MYERS: NO, NO. IT'S NOT THAT. AND THEY'LL DISCUSS A NUMBER OF THINGS, INCLUDING THEIR MUTUAL SUPPORT FOR THE RECENTLY SIGNED ISRAELI-PLO AGREEMENT AND PROGRESS THAT THEY'RE MAKING ON THE ISRAEL- JORDAN TRACK OF THE PEACE AGREEMENT.

Q WILL THEY USE THE WORD "MODALITIES?"

MS. MYERS: WE CAN ONLY HOPE, AND I'M SURE THE BRIEFERS WILL FIND A WAY TO WORK IT INTO THEIR READOUT.

עד כאן  
תקשורת

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלש'לום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת,  
לעמ, @ (דוצ), סמנכלאסיה, אסיה

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 232

אל: רהמש/ 27

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 7, תא: 011093, זח: 1317, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מיד

תאריך: 1 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

*Handwritten signature in red ink, possibly reading "ג.ל.י."*

הנדון: דברי מזכיר האוצר האמריקני, לויד בנסטיין בועידת התורמים

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY LLOYD BENTSEN TO OPEN THE  
MIDDLE EAST DONOR CONFERENCE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, FRIDAY,  
OCTOBER 1, 1993

SEC. BENTSEN: DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES, WHAT WE'VE SEEN IS A  
WORLD TRANSFORMATION IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS. AND AT EVERY  
CHANGE, THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS HAS OFFERED ITS ASSISTANCE. NOW  
WE'RE TALKING ABOUT AN INVESTMENT IN PEACE, INVESTMENT IN PEACE  
AND THE PROSPERITY AND THE STABILITY OF GAZA AND THE WEST BANK.

WE'VE MOVED WITH INCREDIBLE SPEED: LEADERS FROM AROUND THE  
ENTIRE WORLD AND THE SOVIET UNION, GOING THROUGH AN ENORMOUS  
TRANSFORMATION AND SENDING ONE OF ITS YOUNG LEADERS, ONE OF ITS  
ECONOMIC LEADERS IN BORIS FEDOROV TO BE A PARTICIPANT AND TO  
ASSIST IN THIS REGARD. I THINK WHAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT HERE --  
AND THIS MEETING DEMONSTRATES IT -- IS THAT MORE AND MORE  
NATIONS ARE WILLING TO SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PROTECTING  
PEACE BY ASSUMING THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FINANCING IT.

I'M ENCOURAGED BY THE BROAD-BASED COOPERATION THAT WE SEE HERE.  
IT'S MORE THAN JUST RHETORIC: IT'S CONCRETE COMMITMENTS AND  
ACTION. AND I WANT TO COMPLIMENT THE WORLD BANK FOR ITS  
INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS IN ASSESSING THE NEEDS OF THE  
PALESTINIANS. IN A FEW MOMENTS MR. PRESTON WILL EXPLAIN THE  
BANK'S ESTIMATES OF THE OVERALL ASSISTANCE REQUIREMENTS.

NOW, WHILE WE CAN BE ENCOURAGED BY THE LEVEL OF COOPERATION  
DEMONSTRATED HERE TODAY, NO ONE MUST UNDERESTIMATE THE  
CHALLENGES WHICH LIE AHEAD FOR THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. THEY MUST  
SIMULTANEOUSLY PURSUE SELF-GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.  
BOTH ARE ESSENTIAL, OBVIOUSLY, TO LONG-LASTING PEACE. LET ME  
REVIEW BRIEFLY THE KINDS OF ASSISTANCE I BELIEVE WE SHOULD



PROVIDE.

FIRST, WE MUST IMMEDIATELY FINANCE RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OF A DAMAGED AND INADEQUATE INFRASTRUCTURE. AND WE MUST MOVE QUICKLY TO FINANCE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA UNTIL THE PALESTINIANS THEMSELVES CAN BEGIN TO RAISE FUNDS. OVER THE LONGER TERM, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE SUPPORT THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INVESTMENT THAT WILL LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR SUSTAINED ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THESE AREAS.

INCENTIVES FOR PRIVATE INVESTMENT WILL BE A KEY ELEMENT IN THE SUCCESS OF THIS EFFORT. IN ADDITION, BOTH OUR IMMEDIATE AND ON-GOING EFFORTS MUST BE DIRECTED AT BUILDING THE CAPACITY OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE TO ORGANIZE AND MANAGE THEIR OWN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC AFFAIRS.

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE NEEDS WE MUST GET ASSISTANCE FLOWING IMMEDIATELY. BUT WE MUST ALSO HAVE A MULTIYEAR PLAN TO MEET THE CONTINUING NEEDS OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.

AS THE VICE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED, THE UNITED STATES PLANS TO MAKE DOLLAR 500 MILLION AVAILABLE OVER FIVE YEARS. WE WILL SHORTLY HEAR THE MULTIYEAR COMMITMENTS OF OTHERS WILLING TO HELP OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME.

NOW, OBVIOUSLY BECAUSE MANY OF US FACE BUDGET CONSTRAINTS OURSELVES, IT IS CRITICAL THAT WE TARGET AND SPEND THOSE RESOURCES EFFICIENTLY. OUR ASSISTANCE MUST BE CAREFULLY DESIGNED AND IMPLEMENTED, AND THERE MUST BE REGULAR COORDINATION TO AVOID DUPLICATION AND THE WASTING OF THOSE RESOURCES. THE INVESTMENT IN PEACE THAT WE MAKE TODAY CAN PAY DIVIDENDS FOR GENERATIONS.

END

תקשורת, וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלש'לום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, פרנ, ערן, כלכליתב', רחטמזת,  
ישראלערב, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, @ (דוצ), @ (מתאםשטחים), @ (עמית475)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 231

אל: רהמש/26

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 6, תא: 011093, זח: 1317, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בבבב

בלמס/מיד

תאריך: 1 אוקטובר 1993

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: לש- רוה"מ,

לש- שה"ח

קונכ"לים

מאת: תקשורת, וושינגטון

הנדון: דברי סגן הנשיא גור בפתח ועידת התורמים

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE TO OPEN THE MIDDLE EAST DONOR  
CONFERENCE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, DC FRIDAY, OCTOBER  
1, 1993

VICE PRESIDENT GORE: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, GOOD MORNING. I WOULD  
LIKE TO BEGIN BY ACKNOWLEDGING WITH GRATITUDE SECRETARY  
CHRISTOPHER AND SECRETARY BENTSEN AND MINISTER FEDOROV,  
REPRESENTING OUR CO-HOST, THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION. AND MAY I  
FORMALLY WELCOME EACH AND EVERY PARTICIPANT HERE FOR THIS  
IMPORTANT CONFERENCE.

YOU ARE ARRIVING IN WASHINGTON AT A TIME WHEN THIS CITY IS STILL  
IN THE AFTERGLOW OF THE WONDERFUL AGREEMENT THAT WAS SIGNED ON  
THE SOUTH LAWN OF THE WHITE HOUSE JUST A FEW WEEKS AGO. THOSE OF  
YOU WHO HAVE BEEN OVER TO THE WEST WING OF THE WHITE HOUSE, AND  
I SEE A GREAT MANY HERE WHO HAVE VISITED THERE ON A REGULAR  
BASIS, YOU KNOW THAT IT'S THE CUSTOM AT THE WHITE HOUSE TO  
DECORATE THE WALLS WITH PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE BIG EVENTS OF THE  
MONTH. USUALLY, THE PICTURES ARE UP FOR A FEW WEEKS, THEN THEY  
COME DOWN AND ARE REPLACED BY A NEW BATCH.

EVENTUALLY, THIS MONTH'S PICTURES WILL COME DOWN FROM THE WALL,  
TOO, BUT THEY WILL OCCUPY A PERMANENT PLACE IN OUR MEMORY AND A  
PERMANENT PLACE IN OUR HEARTS: THE IMAGES OF THE PALESTINIAN,  
EGYPTIAN AND ISRAELI YOUTHS IN THEIR GREEN SHIRTS WITH THEIR  
SEEDS OF PEACE SIGN, PICTURES OF THE THREE LEADERS WALKING  
ACROSS THE SOUTH LAWN, AND, OF COURSE, PRIME MINISTER RABIN AND  
CHAIRMAN ARAFAT LEANING FORWARD IN FRONT OF PRESIDENT CLINTON TO



ACCOMPLISH THE FAMOUS HANDSHAKE.

ALL OF US THERE KNEW WE HAD WITNESSED A WATERSHED EVENT IN HISTORY, A STUNNING DEMARCATION LINE BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE, BETWEEN DESPAIR AND HOPE. AS CHEERS RANG OUT SPONTANEOUSLY ON THE LAWN AT THE MOMENT OF THE HANDSHAKE, EVERYONE THERE KNEW THAT JUST AS THE CRUMBLING OF THE BERLIN WALL HAD INSTANTLY BECOME A METAPHOR INSPIRING HOPE THAT ALL OF THE OTHER WALLS THAT NEED TO COME DOWN COULD EVENTUALLY COME DOWN, SO, IN THE SAME WAY, THIS HISTORIC HANDSHAKE WOULD BECOME A METAPHOR FOR ALL OF THE OTHER EFFORTS AT RECONCILIATION, WHICH NOW SEEM AT TIMES IMPOSSIBLE IN OUR WORLD, BUT MUST OCCUR AND CAN OCCUR IF THIS ONE DID OCCUR. AND IT DID.

THE LEADERS OF ISRAEL AND OF THE PALESTINIANS HAVE MADE HISTORIC AND COURAGEOUS CHOICES. PRIME MINISTER RABIN SPOKE FOR US ALL WHEN HE SAID "ENOUGH OF BLOOD AND TEARS. ENOUGH." AND SO, I SAY TO THOSE ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS WHO ARE HERE TODAY, YOUR ACTIONS HAVE EARNED YOU THE RESPECT AND ADMIRATION AND GRATITUDE OF PEACE-LOVING PEOPLE ALL AROUND THE WORLD.

TODAY, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS ALSO MAKING A CHOICE. WE HAVE CHOSEN TO SUPPORT THE AGREEMENT REACHED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIANS. WE SUPPORT IT POLITICALLY AND WE SUPPORT IT ECONOMICALLY. THIS CONFERENCE DEMONSTRATES THE STRENGTH OF OUR COMMITMENT. WHEN I LOOK AROUND THIS ROOM AND SEE THE VAST ARRAY OF NATIONS REPRESENTED, I FEEL CERTAIN THAT THE WHOLE WORLD WILL UNDERSTAND OUR MESSAGE, THAT WE INTEND TO SEE PEACE PREVAIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THIS CONFERENCE WILL PLAY A CRITICAL ROLE IN SUPPORTING IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DECLARATION. BUT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THIS CONFERENCE SHOULD ALSO PLAY AN ONGOING AND MUCH LARGER ROLE THAN JUST SEEING THE AGREEMENT SURVIVE. WE BELIEVE IT CAN SUPPORT AND FACILITATE FURTHER PROGRESS IN THE PEACE PROCESS FOR ALL STATES INVOLVED IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE PRESENCE OF SO MANY PARTIES FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE MIDDLE EAST THUS SENDS A STRONG SIGNAL OF HOPE. BY ITSELF, IT LENDS SUPPORT TO THE PEACE PROCESS, SUPPORT THAT IS ESSENTIAL AS ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS WORK TO CREATE A FIRM ECONOMIC FOUNDATION FOR PEACE.

WE ARE PREPARED TO DO OUR PART. AS PRESIDENT CLINTON HAS SAID, THE UNITED STATES ANTICIPATES CONTRIBUTING DOLLAR 500 MILLION OVER THE NEXT FIVE YEARS TO HELP MEET THE ECONOMIC NEEDS ASSOCIATED WITH IMPLEMENTING THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN AGREEMENT. THE MONEY IS URGENTLY NEEDED, BOTH IN THE JERICO AND GAZA REGIONS. FOR THAT REASON, WE WILL FUND A RANGE OF ACTIVITIES ON WHICH WE CAN BEGIN QUICKLY, AND, IN SOME CASES, WE WILL START ALMOST IMMEDIATELY. THESE INCLUDE SCHOOL RECONSTRUCTION, HOSPITAL RENOVATION AND



HOUSING.

WE'RE NOT ALONE. OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE ALREADY ANNOUNCED SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS. WE HOPE STILL OTHERS WILL BE ANNOUNCED AT TODAY'S CONFERENCE. FOR THOSE WHO HAVE ALREADY ANNOUNCED CONTRIBUTIONS AND FOR THOSE WHO WILL MAKE SUCH ANNOUNCEMENTS TODAY, THE UNITED STATES OFFERS ITS SINCEREST THANKS. THE WORLD OFFERS THANKS. IT'S HARD TODAY TO FIND MONEY FOR EVEN THE WORTHIER CAUSES. HOW WELL WE ALL KNOW THAT. YOUR DECISIONS, THEREFORE, ARE THE RESULT OF A COMMITMENT TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE THAT DOES NOT END WITH RHETORIC.

IT WOULD BE HARD TO THINK OF A MORE WORTHWHILE CAUSE. THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE NEED OUR HELP. THEY NEED FOOD. THEY NEED CLOTHING. THEY NEED MEDICINE. THEY NEED HELP ESTABLISHING THE PUBLIC SECTOR INFRASTRUCTURE THAT WILL BE THE KEY TO LONG-TERM ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. THEY NEED HELP EMPOWERING THE PRIVATE SECTOR THROUGH INVESTMENT.

GOVERNMENTS CAN PLAY A CRUCIAL ROLE IN CREATING AN ENVIRONMENT WHERE PRIVATE INVESTMENT WILL FLOURISH, BUT THERE ARE LIMITS ON WHAT GOVERNMENTS CAN DO. ULTIMATELY, THE QUESTION OF HOW WELL MARKET FORCES CAN AFFECT REAL PEOPLE LIVING EVERYDAY LIVES WILL DETERMINE ECONOMIC SUCCESS OR FAILURE. THIS LESSON IS NOT LOST ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR.

ON A PERSONAL NOTE, THE DAY OF THE AGREEMENT ON THE SOUTH LAWN, WE HAD A BRIEFING AFTERWARDS IN THE WHITE HOUSE FOR A GROUP OF ARAB AMERICAN LEADERS AND JEWISH AMERICAN LEADERS, BOTH IN THE SAME ROOM; IN FACT, THE FIRST TIME THE TWO GROUPS HAD BEEN IN THE SAME ROOM AS GROUPS. BECAUSE THE SCHEDULE HAD DRAGGED ON A BIT AFTER THE SOUTH LAWN CEREMONY, THESE TWO GROUPS OF PEOPLE WERE REQUIRED TO WAIT FOR AN HOUR BEFORE THE BRIEFING BEGAN, AND DURING THAT HOUR THEY GOT TO KNOW ONE ANOTHER AS HUMAN BEINGS, AS INDIVIDUALS, AS MEN AND WOMEN. AND BY THE TIME THOSE OF US BRIEFING THEM ARRIVED, THE MOOD IN THAT ROOM WAS ELECTRIFYING. RECONCILIATION ON A PERSONAL LEVEL HAD TAKEN PLACE AMONG DOZENS OF INDIVIDUALS, ECHOING THE SYMBOLIC AND REAL RECONCILIATION AFFIRMED BY THE HANDSHAKE ON THE SOUTH LAWN.

IN THAT ATMOSPHERE, I MENTIONED THIS POSSIBILITY OF PRIVATE INVESTMENT. AND INSTANTLY, THE RESPONSE FROM INDIVIDUALS ON THE ARAB AND JEWISH SIDES OF THE ROOM, BY THEN THEY WERE INTERMINGLED, BUT THE REACTION FROM BOTH GROUPS WAS SPONTANEOUS, ENTHUSIASTIC, AND IMMEDIATE. AND I'M TOLD THAT SINCE THAT TIME THERE HAS BEEN A GREAT DEAL OF CONVERSATION IN CITIES AND COMMUNITIES ALL ACROSS THE UNITED STATES, CONVERSATIONS AIMED AT RECONCILIATION AND COOPERATIVE EFFORTS TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC SUPPORT FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES THAT ARE NECESSARY IN GAZA AND JERICHO. AND THESE COMMITMENTS DO NOT STEM JUST FROM ALTRUISM, THEY STEM FROM THE VIEW OF SUCCESSFUL INVESTORS THAT THERE IS A RESERVOIR OF



SKILL AND TALENT, NOT TO MENTION MARKETS, WORTH EXPLORING THERE.

THE PRESIDENT HAS ASKED ME TO TAKE THE LEAD IN ENCOURAGING THIS PRIVATE PROCESS AND TO OFFER OUR GOOD OFFICES IN SUPPORT OF THE EFFORT. IN THE COMING WEEKS I INTEND TO TAKE COUNSEL WITH OTHERS WHO ARE INTERESTED IN HELPING TO BRING TOGETHER BUSINESS LEADERS AND OTHERS IN THE JEWISH AND ARAB-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES IN THIS COUNTRY, AND I FEEL THAT ULTIMATELY THIS IS SOMETHING TRULY WORTHY OF THE TALENTS AND EFFORTS OF THESE COMMUNITIES AND COULD BE A SUBSTANTIAL SOURCE OF SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS BOTH MATERIALLY AND SPIRITUALLY.

MEANWHILE, I URGE ALL OF YOU TO ENCOURAGE SIMILAR PRIVATE SECTOR INITIATIVES IN YOUR OWN COUNTRIES. AND I URGE ONE THING MORE BEFORE I CLOSE.

IN ORDER TO REALIZE THE PROMISE OF THE FUTURE, IT IS NECESSARY TO SHED THE VESTIGES OF WHAT HAS BEEN OUR PAST. THERE ARE MANY THINGS, INCLUDING THE BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL, THAT HAVE NO PLACE IN A WORLD SEEKING PEACE. THE DECISION TO TAKE THE FIRST STEPS TOWARD PEACE REQUIRED EXCEPTIONAL COURAGE. IT DOES TAKE COURAGE TO COMPROMISE. IT TAKES COURAGE TO SURRENDER SOME OF YESTERDAY'S DEMANDS IN EXCHANGE FOR THE PROMISE OF A MUCH BRIGHTER TOMORROW.

THAT MEETING OF ARAB AND JEWISH AMERICANS, HELD ONLY A FEW HOURS AFTER THE SIGNING, WAS MEMORABLE AND NOTHING SHORT OF MIRACULOUS. I LOOKED OUT AT THAT GROUP, AND ONE MAN STOOD UP WHO WILL REMAIN IN MY MEMORY. HE IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS A GAZAN. HE LOOKED ACROSS THE SEATS TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF JEWISH GROUPS AND ACROSS ALMOST A HALF CENTURY OF BITTERNESS, AND HE SAID, "I SAY SHALOM."

ONE OF THE JEWISH LEADERS, A PROFESSOR, QUOTED HEBREW SCRIPTURE FROM MEMORY WITH DEEP EMOTION AND THEN TRANSLATED IT INTO THE ENGLISH, AND IT WAS THE PASSAGE WHERE THE LORD SAYS CHOOSE BETWEEN -- YOU HAVE A CHOICE BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH; THEREFORE, CHOOSE LIFE. AND SHE SAID, "WE HAVE MADE CHOICES TODAY."

I CALL ON ALL OF THE PARTIES REPRESENTED HERE TO DO ALL YOU CAN TO REWARD THE COURAGE ON BOTH SIDES ENCAPSULATED IN THAT WONDERFUL HANDSHAKE. WE MUST DO EVERYTHING IN OUR POWER TO ENSURE THAT ONE DAY PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS WILL LOOK BACK ON SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1993, A SUNNY DAY ON THE SOUTH LAWN OF THE WHITE HOUSE, WITH PRIDE AND SATISFACTION, AND THAT WHEN THE PICTURES HAVE BEEN TAKEN DOWN FROM THE WEST WING WALLS, WHEN THE PHOTOGRAPHERS HAVE MOVED ON TO RECORD THE NEXT CRISIS OR THE NEXT CELEBRATION, AND MOST OF THE NAMES WHO WORKED SO HARD TO ACHIEVE THIS DECLARATION HAVE BEEN REGRETTABLY FORGOTTEN, BOTH PEOPLES LIVING IN HARMONY AND PROSPERITY WILL REMEMBER AND KNOW THAT THEY AND THEIR LEADERS DID NOT TAKE THE RISK FOR PEACE IN VAIN BECAUSE THAT RISK WAS SUPPORTED BY OTHER LEADERS FROM COUNTRIES ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO, IN THEIR OWN WAY, ALSO SHOWED

THE COURAGE CALLED FOR AT AN HISTORIC TIME AND SUPPORTED THE  
PEACE PROCESS.

THANK YOU FOR BEING HERE, AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP.  
(APPLAUSE.)

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, פרנ, ערן, כלכליתב', רחטמזת,  
ישראלערב, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, @ (דוצ), @ (מתאםשטחים), @ (עמית475)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 40422

אל: רהמש/ 1887

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 843, תא: 290993, זח: 1903, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בכב

סודי/מדי

אל: מנהל מצפ"א

דע: השגריר רבינוביץ - ניו יורק, פמלית השר - ניו יורק

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: הממשל - מז"ת ועוד

להלן מתוך שיחה עם מקור ממשלי ב-28/9

1. השיחות עם אש"פ בשלב זה מתרכזות בהיבטים הכלכליים של הסיוע לפלסטינאים וטרם קיבלו אופי פוליטי כבעבר.
2. לגבי הסורים חשוב שיקבלו מישראל תחושה ברורה כי אנו נכונים לנהל עמם שיחות רציניות במעורבות פעילה של הממשל. זה לדעת המקור המסר העיקרי שחשוב להעביר לסורים, בשלב זה.
3. מתוך כל האירועים בעולם הערבי אחרי חתימת ההסכם ה-DOP וההכרה באש"פ, ציין כי דווקא סעודיה מפתיעה בעמדתה כלפי אש"פ. עדיין עושה רושם של הסתייגות רצינית מערפאת, ועד לשיחתנו, לא היה ברור מה תעשה סעודיה בועידת התורמות ביום ו' בווינגטון. כן לא הבחין בכל התפתחות חיובית לאחרונה בין סעודיה וירדן.
4. רמז בהקשר לביקורו של רה"מ שהבית הלבן שוקל שוב עמדתו נגד קיום ארוחות ערב חגיגיות בבית הלבן. בשעתו הנשיא היה סבור כי אירועים מסוג זה ראוותניים מדי אך כאמור יתכן שינוי בהקשר לביקורו של רה"מ. ציין כי עומד על הפרק ביקורו של מובארק בסמוך לביקורו של רבין.
5. לגבי ה-CD בג'נבה, חזר על עמדתו השלילית של הממשל בנוגע לכניסתה של עיראק בשל החשש כי חברותה בעצם תקנה לעיראק זכות ווטו על כל מהלך פר"ני במהלך דיוני ה-CD. מניעת הצטרפותה של עיראק היה יעד בעל אינטרס עליון עבור הממשל ונתקבלה בדרג הבכיר ביותר, למרות מודעותם לכך כי עלולים בני ברית כגון ישראל להפגע. ימשיכו במאמצים להביא להצטרפותנו ל-CD.
6. כללית ציין כי הממשל ראה תועלת בהשתתפות הנשיא בחתימת ההסכם על הדשא בבית הלבן שהתבטא בעליה בסיקרי דעת הקהל של כעשרה אחוזים לטובת הנשיא. עם זאת, ברור לכל, ששאלת יוזמת הנשיא לגבי ביטוח בריאות מהווה אחד האתגרים החשובים ביותר, בשלב זה. אם היוזמה לא תתקדם הדבר עלול להשפיע באורח רציני על יוקרתו האישית של הנשיא וכמובן רעיתו.

ג'רמי יששכרוף

תפוצה: שדה, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רס), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, פרנ, רחטמזת, ישראלערב,  
יועמש, משפט, @ בי ין/ארבל, @ פלג/ארבל2

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 40424

אל: רהמש/1886

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 842, תא: 290993, זח: 1853, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/רגיל

29 בספטמבר 1993

אל: משפט - קורנבלוט

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

Ly.10

הנדון: אל-חאמה

1. תודה על כל החומר שהעברת בדיפ. הבנק העולמי כבר יצר קשר עם פרופ' לפידות וממשיך לעסוק בנושא, אם כי החליטו לא לקבוע עמדה משלהם אלא להמתין ולראות מה יוסכם בין הצדדים עצמם במהלך המו"מ. המשפטנים, בכל מקרה, מכינים עצמם למקרה שהנושא יעלה שוב.

2. במסגרת ההנחיות שקיבלו להימנע מיצירת קשר עם גופים רשמיים, פנו ל - PALESTINE AFFAIRS COUNCIL בווינגטון, כדי לקבל מידע על עמדת הפלס' בנושא. קצין העיתונות של הארגון, עבד אל - לטיף ריאן, הבטיח שיעביר מסמכים ומפות המיצגות את עמדת אש"פ. (טרם עשה זאת). כתשובת ביניים מסר את הדברים הבאים:

א. נושא אל - חאמה לא עלה כלל במו"מ בין ישראל לפלס'.  
ב. ערפאת התייחס לנושא, מספר פעמים, באופן לא רשמי. (ההתייחסות הפומבית הפלס' האחרונה לאל-חאמה, כפי שזכור לי, היתה במהלך סבב השיחות בווינגטון בספטמבר '92, וכמה ימים אח"כ פירסם עבדאללה דרדרי מאמר ב"אל-חאית" בו הוא תוקף הפלס' ומציע להם להזהר מהעלאת תביעות על אל-חאמה.)

ג. הנושא נדון במו"מ בין ישראל לסוריה. כשיוודע גורל השטח, יפנו הפלס' לסורים וישמיעו תביעותיהם לגביו.

ד. הפנה הבנק לספרים על כפרים ואזורים, שישראל גירשה את תושביהם במהלך מלחמת העצמאות, ולפי אחד מהם לפחות היה הכפר אל-חאמה בשטח "פלסטין" ובשנים '44-'45 גרו בו 290 תושבים.

3. כאמור, בבנק ממשיכים לעקוב וללמוד הנושא ומעוניינים לקבל כל חומר שתוצו להעביר, כדי לאזן הספרות הפרו-ערבית שיש בנושא. (העברנו להם הפרק מספרו של בר יעקב).

4. להזכירכם שוב חסיון המקור והמידע.

מועדים לשמחה.

לשנו יער

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון,  
ערב2, ערב4, מרכזאיסוף, מצפא, יועמש, משפט, רחטמזת

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 40421

אל: רהמש/1885

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 841, תא: 290993, זח: 1853, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מידי

29 בספטמבר 1993

אל: אגף השלום - מתאם השיחות הרב צדדיות

דע: נ"י - השגריר רבינוביץ, סמנכ"ל כלכלה  
ממ"ד

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: כנס התורמות - המשתתפים הערבים

ממקורות שונים במחמ"ד נמסר לנו, שעד כה קיבלו אישורים על השתתפות בכנס של האישים הערבים הבאים:

ירדן - הנסיך חסן, שר האוצר.  
אש"פ - יאסר עבד רבה (ראש המשלחת) ונביל שעת', כאיש מס' 2. עימם במשלחת יהיו דר. יוסף צאיע' (שעמד בראש משלחתם לק.ע. פיתוח כלכלי ולדיוני הבנק העולמי), סמיר עבדאללה (מהשטחים) חסן עבד על - רחמן (ראש משרד אש"פ לשעבר בושינגטון) ויתכן שגם אניס ברגותי (מהקרן הלאומית הפלס'). נמסר להם שאבו עלאא' חולה, ולכן לא ישתתף בכנס.

מצרים - שה"ח מוסא, שר התכנון

מרוקו - שר החוץ, שר האוצר

תוניסיה - שר החוץ

כוית - שר החוץ

תימן - שר התכנון, שר האוצר

סעודיה - יהיה יצוג בדרך מיניסטרילי, אך כנראה לא שר החוץ

חג שמח

לשנו יער 35

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רס), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, ערן, כלכליתב'

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 40420

אל: רהמש/1884

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 840, תא: 290993, זח: 1852, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

29 בספטמבר 1993

אל: ממ"ד

דע: חט' מז"ת - מנהל מח' ישראל-ערב

אגף השלום

מצפ"א

נ"י - השגריר רבינוביץ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

### הנדון: ישראל - מדינות המפרץ

1. משיחה עם מנהל המפרץ והמגרב ב-INR (28/9), בה סקר, הגורמים שישפיעו על קביעת יחסן של מדינות המפרץ לישראל, לאחר ההסכם בין ישראל לאש"פ.

2. כללית, הסיכויים לכך שנראה מהלכים ככוון זה במפרץ אינם טובים, ואין צורך להיות מופתעים. מדינות המפרץ, בניגוד למדינות צפון אפריקה, אינן חייבות לעסוק בסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי ובתהליך השלום. (במרוקו יש קהילה יהודית גדולה וחשובה ותוניסיה מבקשת לעצמה תפקיד של מתווכת בעולם ערבי ומארחת את אש"פ). נושא התייחסות מדינות המפרץ לתהליך אינו מרכזי למדינות אלה. הוא מהווה אמנם מיטריד ביחסיהן עם ארה"ב, אבל למעט סוגית החרם, בו מעורב אינטרס אמריקני ברור, אין לתהליך משמעות גדולה במפרץ.

3. בנושא החרם ציין, כי בסעודיה לא צפויה אמנם התבטאות פומבית אולם מאנשי עסקים אמריקני שעובדים בריאצ' הם למדים, שהסעודים מתייחסים בזלזול לטפסי החרם ולמעשה "מזייפים" אותם עבור אנשי העסקים האמריקני. הכוייתים מתייחסים לחרם כאל נושא שלארה"ב יש בו עניין, בכך שהוא פוגע בעסקים אמריקני. המימשל לחץ על הכוייתים לאפשר לחברות אמריקני להשתתף בפרויקטים של שיקום לאחר מלחמת המפרץ והכוייתים, ברצונם להענות לבקשה האמריקני, נאלצו להתעלם מהוראות החרם.

4. סעודיה - מדינות המשפ"מ פועלות במקרים רבים כגוף אחד, והסעודים הם הקובעים את המגמה. (יוצאת דופן היא עומאן). סביר שלא תהיה כל תזוזה מכוון הסעודים בטרם יתבררו שני נושאים:  
א. שהסכם עזה - יריחו מיושם בהצלחה.  
ב. שסוגית ירושלים מטופלת כמו"מ.



עד אז יעקבו הסעודים אחר ההתפתחויות ויעשו המינימום ההכרחי, כדי לשמור על יחסיהם עם וושינגטון. ברקע לכך, הזיכרון הסעודי ממשלון שיחות האוטונומיה במסגרת מו"מ ק.ד. הם אינם בוטחים בישראל וספקניים לגבי הצלחת התהליך הנוכחי והסיכוי שהאוטונומיה תיושם בכל השטחים. הם גם חוששים, שבעית ירושלים לא תפתר ואינם רוצים למצוא עצמם במצב המביך, מבחינתם, בו נעשו צעדי התקרבות כלפי ישראל לפני שיש התקדמות בסוגית ירושלים. לסעודים יש בעית קיצוניות אסלאמית, שאמנם אינה משמעותית, אולם חמורה יותר מהמצב שהיה לפני שנתיים ומחייב אותם להיות זהירים.

סיכום, שיהיה מעניין לעקוב אחר עמדת סעודיה במפגש הבא של ועדת ירושלים של הוועידה האסלאמית, כיון שהם יקבעו הקצב למשפ"מ ולוועידה האסלאמית וישפיעו גם על מדינות מוסלמיות מחוץ למעגל הערבי, באסיה למשל.

5. כוית - משפחת אל-צבאח היתה בעבר הנוקשה ביותר במפרץ ביחסה לישראל, בשל הנוכחות הפלס' הגדולה במדינה. האמריק' חשבו, שבעקבות מלחמת המפרץ יהיה שינוי במדיניותם והם יעברו לקיצוניות השניה. אולם העמדות הפרו-פלסט' היו כה מושרשות, עד כי גם חיסול הקהילה הפלס' לא שינה התפיסה כלפי ישראל. הנושא הפלס' עדין טעון וחשוב למשפחת המלוכה, לכויתים יש בעיה עם התקרבות לישראל, ויחסם לתהליך השלום הוא אמוציונאלי ושלילי. בשבועות האחרונים התקבלו דיווחים על לחץ המופעל על משפחת המלוכה, והנובע ממשפחות מובילות ומההנהגה הדתית השיעית, לא לעשות ויתורים וצעדים בעלי משמעות כלפי ישראל. סיכום, שהוא פסימי לגבי הסיכוי של התקרבות ישראלית-כויתית ולדעתו נתקשה להשיג התקדמות מולם.

6. בחריין - הבחריינים תלויים לחלוטין בסעודים מהבחינה הכלכלית (שואבים נפט מבאר שקיבלו במתנה מהסעודים, מקבלים נפט סעודי לבתי הזיקוק שלהם, המעבר היבשתי לסעודיה חיוני למסחר הבחרייני). סביר שהם ילכו בנושא הישראלי בעקבות הסעודים. תגובתם לתהליך לא היתה נלהבת ואל לנו לצפות לצעד כלשהו מצד הבחריינים לפני שיקרה משהו בגיזרה הסעודית.

7. קטר - מצויה בעימות מתמשך עם הסעודים, סביב סכסוך גבול ארוך במהלך 1992, שהשאר משקעים מרים בין שתי המשפחות השולטות, וסביב ויכוח עם בחריין על האי חואר. כאן יש, מצד אחד, סיכוי כלשהו כיון שהקטרים לא יתחשבו בעמדה הסעודית ויסכימו אולי להתקדם מול ישראל, כדי לעקוץ הסעודים, אולם מצד שני, ומאותה סיבה, הם שיפרו היחסים עם איראן ועיראק, רשמו הצלחות שירצו לשמור, בעיקר מול טהראן, גם בדמות עסקות לפיתוח וניהול משותפים של שדות נפט וגז ימיים במפרץ.

8. מאע"מ - בצד החיוב, מדובר בגוף שמצבו הפיננסי טוב, שמעורב בעימות טריטוריאלי, שולי למדי, עם סעודיה וחף לחלוטין מחששות של חתרנות פנימית או אסלאם פוליטי. בצד השלילה, יש למאע"מ יחסים קרובים עם לוב (קשר בין קדאפי לשיח' זיד) ואהדת קדאפי לאיראן במלחמה עם עיראק, לא פגעה ביחסים אלה. כדוגמת כוית, גם למשפחה השלטת במאע"מ יש גישה "חדה" בנושאי הסכסוך הישראלי - ערבי ואין לצפות לנכונות שלהם לקשרים עם ישראל.

9. עומאן - נכון שהעומאנים יוצאי דופן, אוהבים להיות עצמאיים ולצעוד בנפרד ממדינות ערב האחרות. אבל, בשנה האחרונה הם שיפרו היחסים עם איראן, שה"ח יוסף בן עלוי ביקר לאחרונה בטהראן, וצפוי שזה יעכב נכונותם למהלכים מול ישראל. יש הבדל בין השלטון העומאני, שתמך בהסכמי ק.ד., לבין השלטון היום-אז דובר בשליט שהיה יחסית צעיר על כס השלטון ושארצו היתה עדין תחת השפעה בריטית משמעותית. שה"ח בן עלוי השתייך אז



לשורות המורדים, היו לו נטיות שמאלניות, והוא אומץ ע"י הסולטן בשלבים האחרונים של המרידה, התיידד איתו ועלה לגדולה בחצרו. בן עלוי אינו חיובי לישראל, הוא מחזיק בדעות לאומיות בנושא הערבי, הוא בעל השפעה על הסולטן ואחד משני האנשים החשובים לקביעת מדיניות מתחת לסולטן. השני הוא עלי מג'יד, ראש הלישכה המלכותית וראש שירותי הביטחון, שהוא ידידותי וחיובי מאוד ל"ארה"ב. להערכתו, גישת עומאן בענייננו תהיה יותר קונבנציונאלית ערבית והיא לא תחרוג מהשורה. עצתו לנו היא ליצור קשר ישירות עם הסולטן או עם עלי מג'יד ולא לצפות לעזרה מבן עלוי. הציע שנזכור גם, שלמלך חוסין יש קשר טוב מאוד עם הסולטן.

10. תימן - הציע לא לפתח ציפיות מכוון תימן. יש להם קשרים לאומנים חזקים, הם קרובים מאוד ללוב ושומרים על הזיקה לעיראק. מדובר בקשרים אידאולוגיים ורגשיים. יש להוסיף לכך היחסים ההדוקים בין הדרום ועלי ביצ' לפלסטינים ומצב פוליטי עדין עבור הנשיא צלאח - קשיים כלכליים גדולים ותנועה אסלאמית מתחזקת. כל אלו יביאו את צלאח למסקנה, שעליו לנקוט גישה זהירה ולא לעשות דבר שיחרוג מהקונצנזוס הערבי. (כדוגמא השליך מכך, שלתימנים חשובה יותר השמירה על החזית הפנימית משיפור היחסים עם ארה"ב, לאחר מלחמת המפרץ). בכל מקרה, עצתו לנו היא להמנע מפיתוח קשרים עם תימן שיוודעו לסעודים, בשל החשש והאיבה בין סעודיה לתימן והסכנה שהסעודים יראו בכל מגע חשאי עם תימן איום על בטחונם. שר ההגנה הסעודי, הנסיך סולטן, הוא הממונה על התיק התימני בריאצ', כיון שהסעודים רואים בתימן איום צבאי. סולטן נהנה מאוזנו של המלך בנושא התימני והוא מוחזק כאנטי-תימני קיצוני. סיכום, שגם ארה"ב נזהרת בקשריה עם תימן, בשל הרגישות הסעודית.

לשנו יער 24

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ממד, מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, ערן, כלכליתג', יועמש

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 40420

אל: רהמש/1884

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 840, תא: 290993, זח: 1852, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/מיד

29 בספטמבר 1993

אל: ממ"ד

דע: חט' מז"ת - מנהל מח' ישראל-ערב

אגף השלום

מצפ"א

נ"י - השגריר רבינוביץ

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: ישראל - מדינות המפרץ

1. משיחה עם מנהל המפרץ והמגרב ב-INR (28/9), בה סקר, הגורמים שישפיעו על קביעת יחסן של מדינות המפרץ לישראל, לאחר ההסכם בין ישראל לאש"פ.

2. כללית, הסיכויים לכך שנראה מהלכים בכוון זה במפרץ אינם טובים, ואין צורך להיות מופתעים. מדינות המפרץ, בניגוד למדינות צפון אפריקה, אינן חייבות לעסוק בסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי ובתהליך השלום. (במרוקו יש קהילה יהודית גדולה וחשובה ותוניסיה מבקשת לעצמה תפקיד של מתווכת בעולם ערבי ומארכת את אש"פ). נושא התייחסות מדינות המפרץ לתהליך אינו מרכזי למדינות אלה. הוא מהווה אמנם מיטרד ביחסיהן עם ארה"ב, אבל למעט סוגית החרם, בו מעורב אינטרס אמריקני ברור, אין לתהליך משמעות גדולה במפרץ.

3. בנושא החרם ציין, כי בסעודיה לא צפויה אמנם התבטאות פומבית אולם מאנשי עסקים אמריקני שעובדים בריאצ' הם למדים, שהסעודים מתייחסים בזלזול לטפסי החרם ולמעשה "מזייפים" אותם עבור אנשי העסקים האמריקני. הכוייתים מתייחסים לחרם כאל נושא שלארה"ב יש בו עניין, בכך שהוא פוגע בעסקים אמריקני. המימשל לחץ על הכוייתים לאפשר לחברות אמריקני להשתתף בפרויקטים של שיקום לאחר מלחמת המפרץ והכוייתים, ברצונם להענות לבקשה האמריקני, נאלצו להתעלם מהוראות החרם.

4. סעודיה - מדינות המשפ"מ פועלות במקרים רבים כגוף אחד, והסעודים הם הקובעים את המגמה. (יוצאת דופן היא עומאן). סביר שלא תהיה כל תזוזה מכיוון הסעודים בטרם יתבררו שני נושאים:

א. שהסכם עזה - יריחו מיושם בהצלחה.

ב. שסוגית ירושלים מטופלת במו"מ.

עד אז יעקבו הסעודים אחר ההתפתחויות ויעשו המינימום ההכרחי, כדי לשמור על יחסיהם עם וושינגטון. ברקע לכך, הזיכרון הסעודי מכשלון



שיחות האוטונומיה במסגרת מו"מ ק.ד. הם אינם בוטחים בישראל וספקניים לגבי הצלחת התהליך הנוכחי והסיכוי שהאוטונומיה תיושם בכל השטחים. הם גם חוששים, שבעית ירושלים לא תפתר ואינם רוצים למצוא עצמם במצב המביך, מבחינתם, בו נעשו צעדי התקרבות כלפי ישראל לפני שיש התקדמות בסוגית ירושלים. לסעודים יש בעית קיצוניות אסלאמית, שאמנם אינה משמעותית, אולם חמורה יותר מהמצב שהיה לפני שנתיים ומחייב אותם להיות זהירים.

סיכום, שיהיה מעניין לעקוב אחר עמדת סעודיה במפגש הבא של ועדת ירושלים של הוועידה האסלאמית, כיון שהם יקבעו הקצב למשפ"מ ולוועידה האסלאמית וישפיעו גם על מדינות מוסלמיות מחוץ למעגל הערבי, באסיה למשל.

5. כוית - משפחת אל-צבאח היתה בעבר הנוקשה ביותר במפרץ ביחסה לישראל, בשל הנוכחות הפלס' הגדולה במדינה. האמרק' חשבו, שבעקבות מלחמת המפרץ יהיה שינוי במדיניותם והם יעברו לקיצוניות השניה. אולם העמדות הפרו-פלס' היו כה מושרשות, עד כי גם חיסול הקהילה הפלס' לא שינה התפיסה כלפי ישראל. הנושא הפלס' עדין טעון וחשוב למשפחת המלוכה, לכויתים יש בעיה עם התקרבות לישראל, ויחסם לתהליך השלום הוא אמוציונאלי ושלילי. בשבועות האחרונים התקבלו דווחים על לחץ המופעל על משפחת המלוכה, והנובע ממשפחות מובילות ומהנהגה הדתית השיעית, לא לעשות ויתורים וצעדים בעלי משמעות כלפי ישראל. סיכום, שהוא פסימי לגבי הסיכוי של התקרבות ישראלית-כויתית ולדעתו נתקשה להשיג התקדמות מולם.

6. בחריין - הבחרינים תלויים לחלוטין בסעודים מהבחינה הכלכלית (שואבים נפט מבאר שקיבלו במתנה מהסעודים, מקבלים נפט סעודי לבתי הזיקוק שלהם, המעבר היבשתי לסעודיה חיוני למסחר הבחריני). סביר שהם ילכו בנושא הישראלי בעקבות הסעודים. תגובתם לתהליך לא היתה נלהבת ואל לנו לצפות לצעד כלשהו מצד הבחרינים לפני שיקרה משהו בגיזרה הסעודית.

7. קטר - מצויה בעימות מתמשך עם הסעודים, סביב סכסוך גבול ארוך במהלך 1992, שהשאיר משקעים מרים בין שתי המשפחות השולטות, וסביב ויכוח עם בחריין על האי חואר. כאן יש, מצד אחד, סיכוי כלשהו כיון שהקטרים לא יתחשבו בעמדה הסעודית ויסכימו אולי להתקדם מול ישראל, כדי לעקוץ הסעודים, אולם מצד שני, ומאותה סיבה, הם שיפרו היחסים עם איראן ועיראק, רשמו הצלחות שירצו לשמור, בעיקר מול טהראן, גם בדמות עסקות לפיתוח וניהול משותפים של שדות נפט וגאז ימיים במפרץ.

8. מאע"מ - בצד החיוב, מדובר בגוף שמצבו הפיננסי טוב, שמעורב בעימות טריטוריאלי, שולי למדי, עם סעודיה וחף לחלוטין מחששות של חתרנות פנימית או אסלאם פוליטי. בצד השלילה, יש למאע"מ יחסים קרובים עם לוב (קשר בין קדאפי לשיח' זיד) ואהדת קדאפי לאיראן במלחמה עם עיראק, לא פגעה ביחסים אלה. כדוגמת כוית, גם למשפחה השלטת במאע"מ יש גישה "חדה" בנושאי הסכסוך הישראלי - ערבי ואין לצפות לנכונות שלהם לקשרים עם ישראל.

9. עומאן - נכון שהעומאנים יוצאי דופן, אוהבים להיות עצמאיים ולצעוד בנפרד ממדינות ערב האחרות. אבל, בשנה האחרונה הם שיפרו היחסים עם איראן, שה"ח יוסף בן עלוי ביקר לאחרונה בטהראן, וצפוי שזה יעכב נכונותם למהלכים מול ישראל. יש הבדל בין השלטון העומאני, שתמך בהסכמי ק.ד., לבין השלטון היום-אז דובר בשליט שהיה יחסית צעיר על כס השלטון ושארצו היתה עדין תחת השפעה בריטית משמעותית. שה"ח בן עלוי השתייך אז לשורות המורדים, היו לו נטיות שמאלניות, והוא אומץ ע"י הסולטן בשלבים האחרונים של המרידה, התיידד איתו ועלה לגדולה בחצרו. בן עלוי



אינו חיובי לישראל, הוא מחזיק בדעות לאומיות בנושא הערבי, הוא בעל השפעה על הסולטן ואחד משני האנשים החשובים לקביעת מדיניות מתחת לסולטן. השני הוא עלי מג'יד, ראש הלישכה המלכותית וראש שירותי הביטחון, שהוא ידידותי וחיובי מאוד ל"ארה"ב. להערכתו, גישת עומאן בענייננו תהיה יותר קונבנציונאלית ערבית והיא לא תחרוג מהשורה. עצתו לנו היא ליצור קשר ישירות עם הסולטן או עם עלי מג'יד ולא לצפות לעזרה מבן עלוי. הציע שנזכור גם, שלמלך חוסין יש קשר טוב מאוד עם הסולטן.

10. תימן - הציע לא לפתח ציפיות מכוון תימן. יש להם קשרים לאומנים חזקים, הם קרובים מאוד ללוב ושומרים על הזיקה לעיראק. מדובר בקשרים אידאולוגיים ורגשיים. יש להוסיף לכך היחסים ההדוקים בין הדרום ועלי ביצ' לפלסטינים ומצב פוליטי עדין עבור הנשיא צלאח - קשיים כלכליים גדולים ותנועה אסלאמית מתחזקת. כל אלו יביאו את צלאח למסקנה, שעליו לנקוט גישה זהירה ולא לעשות דבר שיחרוג מהקונצנזוס הערבי. (כדוגמא השליך מכך, שלתימנים חשובה יותר השמירה על החזית הפנימית משיפור היחסים עם ארה"ב, לאחר מלחמת המפרץ). בכל מקרה, עצתו לנו היא להמנע מפיתוח קשרים עם תימן שיוודעו לסעודים, בשל החשש והאיבה בין סעודיה לתימן והסכנה שהסעודים יראו בכל מגע חשאי עם תימן איום על בטחונם. שר ההגנה הסעודי, הנסיך סולטן, הוא הממונה על התיק התימני בריאצ', כיון שהסעודים רואים בתימן איום צבאי. סולאן נהנה מאוזנו של המלך בנושא התימני והוא מוחזק כאנטי-תימני קיצוני. סיכס, שגם ארה"ב נזהרת בקשריה עם תימן, בשל הרגישות הסעודית.

לשנו יער 24

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, ערן, כלכליתג', יועמש

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 40407

אל: רהמש/1883

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 837, תא: 290993, זח: 1747, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מידי

אל: ממ"ד ערב 4, חט' מז"ת, משהב"ט/לשכת מתאם הפעולות בלבנון  
מאת: השגרירות וושינגטון

הנדון: שיחת קלינטון - חרירי (27/9)

ממקור ב-N.S.C. (ב-29/9)

כללי:

1. קלינטון נועד עם חרירי לפגישה בת ארבעים דקות. כהגדרת בן שיחי, היתה זו פגישה טובה מאד - ללא הפתעות. קלינטון התרשם חיובית מאישיותו של חרירי. הנקודה המעניינת, להערכת בן שיחי: חרירי אותה לקלינטון על ענינו בתמיכת ארה"ב בהסתלקות סוריה מלבנון במקביל לחתימת הסכמי השלום.

פרוט:

2. חרירי חזר על העמדה הלבנונית המוכרת לפיה חיוני שישראל תפרסם הכרזה ברורה על נכונותה לסגת מדרום לבנון. אם ישראל תכריז כך - לבנון תתמוך בהקמת קבוצת העבודה הצבאית שתקבע את לו"ז הנסיגה וסדריה. חרירי הוסיף שלבנון תומכת בהסכם שלום עם ישראל, אך מצבה שונה מזה של סוריה, ירדן והפלסטינים (במשתמע - אילוץ קשים יותר). קבע כי צל"ב יוכל לטפל בהצלחה בחזבאללה, כפי שפרק את נשקן של שאר המליציות, אך זאת יוכל לעשות רק לאחר הכרזה ישראלית כנ"ל.

3. במקביל לדברים הללו הדגיש ראה"מ לבנון כי בהקשר של הסדר כולל חשוב לקבוע שלבנון סוברנית ועצמאית. חרירי חזר על קביעתו זו מספר פעמים ולדעת בן-שיחי העביר בכך מסר לפיו: לבנון איננה מעוניינת כי סוריה תוסיף לקיים אחיזה צבאית ופוליטית בתחומה בנסיבות של שלום עם ישראל. לבנון היא שצריכה להיות האחראית לבטחונה, ואל לה לארה"ב להשלים עם כיבוש סורי ארוך טווח בה.

4. להשלמת נקודה זו, בן שיחי סיפר כי שמע משר החוץ הלבנוני בויז שלבנון חוששת מתרחיש בו ישראל וסוריה, ובעקבות זאת ישראל ולבנון, תחתומנה על הסכמי שלום, בלא שישראל (ובעקבותיה - ארה"ב), תצבנה את נסיגת סוריה מלבנון כתנאי לחתימת ההסכמים הללו. לדעת חרירי ובויוז, מצב כזה ינציח את הנוכחות הסורית בלבנון.

5. כן קבע חרירי כי הפליטים הפלסטינאים לא יוכלו להשאר בלבנון עם חתימת חוזי השלום. לשאלת קלינטון - חרירי לא הציג דרך ברורה להגשמת קביעתו זו

והסתפק באמירות דוגמת: אולי העניין יפתר באמצעות ההסדר עם ישראל. שלא כלבנון - מדינות ערביות דוגמת מאע"מ יכולות להעניק אזרחות לפלסטינאים.

6. חרירי נמנע מלבקש סיוע אמריקאי לארצו, אף שנראה כי רמז על ענינו בכך כשציין שצבא לבנון מאוחד אך חלש.

7. בסיכומו של דבר, חרירי שקף חששות, כמותם קלט בן שיחי מגורמים נוספים בממשל הלבנוני, פן לבנון תהפוך לקרבנם של הסכמי השלום. הוא התמקד בהעברת מסר אודות ענינו כי הסכמי השלום יכרכו בסיוע הכיבוש הסורי והנוכחות הפלסטינית בלבנון גם יחד. במקביל נמנע מהבעת חידוש כלשהו באשר למו"מ הביטורלי עם ישראל, ומן הסתם שקף בכך השלמה עם האילוץ הסורי הנוכחי.

8. קלינטון, מצידו, הדגיש במהלך השיחה את חיוניות השגת השלום בין ישראל וסוריה. עפ"י בן שיחי, הנשיא רמז בכך לחרירי כי לדעתו התקדמות במו"מ הישראלי-לבנוני מותנית בהתקדמות באפיק הישראלי-סורי. עד כאן על שיחת קלינטון - חרירי.

9. בשיחת שה"ח בויז - דג'רג'יאן (27/9) העלו הלבנונים את ענינם בחידוש טיסות חברת התעופה הלבנונית לארה"ב, ובהסרת ההגבלה על ביקורי אזרחים אמריקאים בלבנון. נענו כי ארה"ב בוחנת את נושא חברת התעופה. אשר לביקורי אזרחים אמריקאים - אלה יותרו כאשר יעלם האיום הקיים כיום. להערכת בן שיחי, ההתקדמות בתהליך השלום רק הגבירה את הסיכונים הבטחוניים ולכן אינו צופה שינוי קרוב בהגבלות הנוכחיות.

10. בן שיחי התייחס לסיוע צבאי אמריקאי ללבנון וציין כי מתקיימים מגעים מתקדמים אודות אספקת 180 נגמ"ש 113 מעודפי הציד האמריקאי באירופה. ציין שנגמ"שים נחשבים במינוח אמריקאי לציד התקפי (LETHAL) אף שלהערכתו - הלבנונים יקבלו עתה את המרכב בלבד (ללא כלי הירי). הוסיף שהאמריקאים הפשירו את האיסור על אספקת ציוד התקפי ללבנון לאחר מבצע "דין וחשבון", אך אין כוונה לספק ללבנון טנקים וארטילריה, והלבנונים אף אינם מבקשים זאת.

אמיתי

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ערב, 4, מרכזאיסוף, מצפא, יועמש, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, @ (לוברני)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 40403

אל: רהמש/ 1882

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 835, תא: 290993, זח: 1724, דח: ר, סג: בל,

בבבב

29.9.93

בלמס / רגיל

אל: מצפ"א, יועץ משפטי - משה"ח

דע: ק. מנהלה - כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

4.10

הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ / הקצבות - דו"חות חנייה

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לא כללתי בדיווחי עד כה סעיף נוסף חדש הנכלל בחוק סיוע החוץ / הקצבות:-

WITHHOLDING OF ASSISTANCE FOR PARKING FINES OWED BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES

עיקרו של הסעיף:

עיכוב כספי סיוע בסך זהה לסכום הקנסות של דו"חות החנייה שלא שולמו לעיריית וושינגטון.

הערות: א. הנושא מאד פופולרי ולכן זוכה לתמיכה רבה.

ב. עולה השאלה, האם מדינות שאינן נהנות מסיוע אמריקני אינן צריכות לשלם דו"חות חנייה.

ג. כיצד יועברו כספים פדרליים לעיר וושינגטון ?

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 38796

אל: רהמש/1829

מ-: אטלנטה, נר: 60, תא: 280993, זח: 1309, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מיד

אל: ערב 2, ממ"ד

מאת: קונכ"ל אטלנטה

הנדון: בקשת קרט

(בהמשך לשלכם חוזם 35170 ושלנו נר 53)

בשיחה היום עם ד"ר קנת סטיין מאוניברסיטת "אמורי" (לשעבר עוזרו של קרט  
ב"מרכז קרט") קבלתי מידע נוסף בנושא הנ"ל.

מתברר שבשיחת קרט-עראפת בווש', ביום חתימת ההסכם ישראל-אש"ף, אמר עראפת  
לקרט שיש לו הבטחה מאחמד יאסין שהחמאס לא יתנגד להסכם ישראל-אש"ף  
באלימות, אלא רק בדרכים פוליטיות. לדברי סטיין, עראפת לא הציג שום מסמך  
בנושא זה (קרט טען באוזני כי ראה מיסמך כזה).

בפגישה השתתפו גם גב' קרט ומצד עראפת אבו אלא, אבו מאזן, חנאן עשראוי,  
אבו רבו ונביל שעת'.

אגב, ד"ר סטיין ספר לי כי במהלך בקורו האחרון של עראפת בירדן הוא טלפן  
משם לביתו של סטיין באטלנטה, ושוחח עמו במשך כ 20 דקות, על תהליך השלום.  
לדברי סטיין לעראפת ולו ידיד משותף והוא הירדני ד"ר אשרף קורדי. מדובר  
בניירולוג-מנתח, שהוא רופאו האישי של עראפת, ובעבר היה רופאו האישי של  
המלך חוסיין. רופא זה טפל בעראפת לאחר שניצל בשעתו מהתרסקות מטוס. סטיין  
סיפר כי בעת בקוריו בירדן הוא נפגש עם ד"ר קורדי.

אריה מקל

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),



תכנון, ממד, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, מצפא, יועמש, @ (עמית 475)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 38795

אל: רהמש/1828

מ-: אטלנטה, נר: 59, תא: 280993, זח: 1244, דח: מ, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/מיד

אל: לשכת ממנכ"ל, ממ"ד

מאת: קונכ"ל אטלנטה

הנדון: הנשיא לשעבר קרט

(בהמשך לשלכם חוזם 35449 ושלנו נר 54)

בשיחה היום עם ד"ר קנת סטיין (לשעבר עוזרו של קרט ב"מכון קרט")  
מאוניברסיטת "אמורי" קבלתי מידע נוסף בנושא הנ"ל.

מתברר שקרט אכן העלה את הנושא בפגישתו בווש' עם עראפת, ואמר שעל כספי  
הסיוע לשטחים לעבור באמצעות קרן המטבע הבי"נל או גורמים מוסדיים אחרים,  
כדי שהמשקיעים יראו שהכסף אכן הולך לפיתוח, ולא "שוקע בביצה", או בלשונו  
של קרט בשיחתו עם עראפת.

- " DO'N T RUN THE MONEY OUT OF YOUR HIP POCKET "

עראפת השיב שאכן הרצון לשכנע את המשקיעים, שכספם מוצא בצורה נכונה הוא  
"שיקול חשוב", אך עראפת לא אמר שאכן יפעל בדרך זאת. בפגישה הנ"ל השתתפו  
לצד עראפת גם אבו אלא, אבו מאזן, נביל שעת', חנאן עשרוואי ואבו רבו,  
ולצד קרט רעיתו רוזלין וד"ר סטיין.

אריה מקל

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, מצב, ערן, כלכליתב', @ (רם), @ (אמן),  
@ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ממד, רחטמזת, ישראלערב,  
מצפא, יועמש, @ (עמית475)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 39104

אל: רהמש/1831

מ-: ניו יורק, נר: 900, תא: 280993, זח: 1248, דח: מ, סג: בל,

בכבב

14172

בלמ'ס/מיד

203.01

אל: ארב'ל 2, מצפ'א

דע: לשכת שה'ח

לשכת ס/השר

לשכת מנכ'ל

מאת: נאו'ם / ניו-יורק.

הנדון: נאום קלינטון בעצרת

היום (27) נאם נשיא ארה'ב בפני העצרת הכללית ה-47, בנאומו ציין:

- ראינו עשורים של מבוי סתום נעלמים עם לחיצת היד של רבין עם ערפאת.

- שלום במזה'ת יכול לעזור לפוטנציאל הכלכלי הגדול הטמון באיזור זה לפרוץ קדימה ולהרגיע איזור מתוח זה.

- הנשיא אמר כי המימשל האמריקני נחוש להביא את מבצעי פיגוע לוקרבי לדין כמו גם את הטרוריסטים שפוצצו את ה - WORLD TRADE CENTER ואיימו לפוצץ את בנין האו'ם.

- חזר והביע תמיכתו בילצ'ין וברוסיה דמוקרטית.

- ארה'ב תעשה למען הפחתת האיום ממטורים העויינים לדמוקרטיה ותתמוך בשחרור מדינות לא דמוקרטיות המוכנות לחיות בשלום.

- הנשיא אמר שעדיפות ראשונה ניתנת לחיסול הפצת הנשק להשמדה המונית. בהקשר לזה ציין את הפצת הכורדים בגז ונפילת הסקדים במלחמת המפרץ. טען שיש למצוא דרכים לשלוט על נשק זה ולצמצם את מספר המדינות המחזיקות בו. ארה'ב תאמץ צעדים חדשים לפקח על הרכיבים ליצור נשק גרעיני ותפחית את מאגר הנשק הגרעיני. הנשיא קרא להפסקה מוחלטת של ניסויים בנשק גרעיני. כן קרא לחידוש המאמצים להגבלת נשק כימי וביולוגי. הוא קרא לכל המדינות לחתום על ה-CWC ע'מ שתיכנס לתוקף בינואר 95.

- הכריז על הכרת ארה'ב בממשלת קמבודיה החדשה.

- בנושא כוחות השלום אמר שעל האו'ם להפנות שאלות של האם יש באמת סכנה לשלום הבינ'ל, האם יש לכוח מטרות ברורה, האם זה לזמן מוגדר, כמה זה יעלה - כל אלה יש לשאול לפני קבלת ההחלטה על שיגור הכוחות.

- טען שיש לערוך רביזיה בשיטת תשלום המדינות לאו'ם.

- קרא לערוך רפורמה בעבודת האו"ם.
- קרא להקים את מוסד הנציב העליון לז'א.
- הנאום המלא בדיף הקרוב.

יועד שוץ  
28 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שדח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון, ביין ,  
ארבל2, מצפא, פרנ, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס



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*Handwritten signature and date 1.10*

אאאא, חוזם: 39245

אל: רהמש/1844

מ-: ווש, נר: 2109, תא: 280993, זח: 2000, דח: מ, סג: סב,

בבב

סודי ביותר/מידי

אל: לשכת ס. שה'ח-גור, דר' הדס

דע: ממ'ד-ערב 1, אג' השלום-מתאם השיחות הרב צדדיות  
חט' מז'ת-מנהל מח' ישראל-ערב, נאום-אביגיל

מאת: השגרירות וושינגטון

הנדון: תוניסיה-לקראת כינוס ק.ע פליטים

להלן מארוחת צהרים עם דיפלומט משגרירות תוניסיה בווינגטון.  
בחלק הראשון של המפגש השתתפה דסקאית תוניסיה ב- NEA  
האחרית גם לריכוז נסיעת משלחת ארה"ב למפגש בתוניסיה:

1. פתח ואמר, שכעת פתוחה הדרך לקידום היחסים הבילטרליים בין  
ישראל לתוניסיה. עם זאת, יש לנקוט בגישה הדרגתית ובזהירות  
רבה, מתוך מחשבה קדימה וכדי שלא לפגוע בדברים שעשויים להתפתח  
בשלב מאוחר יותר. ( במשתמע-החפזות בשלב הנוכחי עלולה להביא  
לכשלונות, שיק רינו לרעה על סיכויי פיתוח הקשרים בעתיד). בכל  
צעד שיעשה בין שתי המדינות, הם מבינים הצרכים הפוליטיים  
הפנימים והן החיצוניים (לוב ואלג'יריה) ומדובר בגורמים שאינם  
רואים בעין יפה ההסכם הישראלי-פלס' או התקרבות ישראלית-ערבית.

2. חזר ועמד על רגישות נושא היחסים עם ישראל ועד כמה חשוב  
לתוניסיה לא לצעוד לבדה במסלול ההתקרבות לישראל, אלא לצרף  
אליה מדינות ערביות מתונות נוספות.  
אמר, שתוניסיה הציעה לארה"ב לבדוק האפשרות של הקמת קבוצת  
מדינות שתכלול בנוסף לתוניסיה גם את מרוקו, מצרים, סעודיה  
ועומאן, ושתפעל במשותף להתקרבות בין ישראל לערבים.

3. סיפר על הלחצים שהופעלו על ארצו להימנע מארוח מפגש ק.ע  
פליטים. במיוחד עמד על הגישה העוינת של סוריה, שלדעתו בכוחה  
לטרפד ההסכם הישראלי-פלס' ( שתיים-שלוש פצצות, כדבריו) וכן את  
גישתו השלילית של שגריר ירדן בווש' טראונה, בעת שהשתתף בכינוס  
ועדת ההיגוי של המו"מ הר'צ' במוסקבה, שהטיח ביקורת בתוניסיה  
בשל נכונותה לאחר את המפגש.

4. היה מודע לדווחים על התנהגות השילטונות בתוניסיה במהלך  
חלקו הראשון של ביקור משלחת החלוץ הישראלית בתוניסיה בשבוע  
שעבר. הסביר שחששו מאד מתקרית במהלך הביקור ומניסיון של מתנגדי  
ההסכם לפגוע במבקרים ישראלים ( לא בהכרח פיגוע טרור אלא

אפילו פגיעה מילולית) דבר שהיה מקבל תהודה מקומית ועולמית ופוגע בהכנות לאירוח המפגש. רצונם, בכל מחיר, למנוע תקריות מסוג זה במהלך דיוני ק.ע. באוקטובר, והם חוששים בעיקר מנוכחות נציגי התקשורת הישראלית לא ממה שידווחו כמו מהעובדה שיסתובבו ללא ליווי בעיר ועלולים להיתקל ביחס עויין, שיעכיר את מהלך המפגש. ( יצויין כי בשיחה נפרדת היום עם מנהל מח' צפון אפריקה והמפרץ ב- INR שמעתי הערכה, לפיה האופוזיציה האיסלמית בתוניסיה אינה פעילה ולמעשה מחוסלת. השווה מצב אל-נהדה למצב האחים המוסלמים בסוריה לאחר הטבח באל-חמה. על כוחות הביטחון התוניסאים אמר שהם טובים מאד, אפילו טובים מידי, לטעמם של האמריקנים).

5. התעניין במה שצפוי לקרות מבחינת תכני המפגש. שאל כיצד תתיחס ישראל לבקשות הפלס' לאפשר חזרת 10,000 איש לשטחים, במסגרת איחוד משפחות. דסקאית- תוניסיה ספרה, שבז'ולה נמצא בעיר ומתוכנן לפגוש את קרצר.

לשנו יער

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, @ (רם), @ (אמן), ערב, 1, מרכזאיסוף,  
הדס, ביין, רחטמזת, ישראלערב

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 39186

אל: רהמש/1834

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 803, תא: 280993, זח: 1832, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/בהול

אל: מתאם השיחות הרב צדדיות

דע: השגריר-רבינוביץ, המנכ"ל, סמנכ"ל כלכלה-נ"י (בהול), מנהל מצפ"א

מאת: היועץ המדיני

הנדון: ועידת התורמות

בשיחה עם מקור בממשל הבקיא בסוגיה עולה כדלהלן:

1. נכון להיום (28.9) מתגבשת הצעה בממשל בנוגע למכניזם אשר יטפל בכל המכלול של הסיוע לפלסטינאים מההיבט הכלכלי. מדובר בהקמת מועצה אקסוקטיבי להתייעצויות אשר תורכב ממחזיקי הפטיש בקבוצות העבודה הרב-צדדיות-ארה"ב, רוסיה, קנדה, יפן, וה-12, כלומר ה-G.7 ורוסיה.

גוף זה יפעל לצד ועדת ההיגוי הקיימת לשיחות הרב-צדדיות, אשר תמשיך להתכנס אחת לחצי שנה ולטפל בכל המכלול הרב-צדדי. לגוף החדש שיוקם יוזמנו הצדדים לפי הנסיבות. לדברי המקור האירופאים נתנו להבין כי יסכימו לרעיון זה בכפוף לכמה שינויים מיזעריים.

2. בהקשר למתן הסיוע לפלסטינאים גישת הממשל מתבטאת בשלושה מרכיבים:

א. הצורך לזהות את צרכי הפלסטינאים ולהעניק לצרכים אלה סדר עדיפויות ברור.

ב. לייצור גוף אשר יוביל את העברת הסיוע לפלסטינאים ויפקח על מטרות הסיוע. (ראו לעיל)

ג. לוודא שבטוח המידי יגיע לשטחים סיוע מוחשי אשר יורגש וייראה בשטח על ידי התושבים המקומיים.

3. ההערכה הנוכחית של האמריקנים לגבי הסיוע הנדרש לפרק הזמן של חמש שנים הבאות היא 2.1 מיליארד דולר. בבוא הזמן בהמשך הממשל יבחן את הצרכים הללו עם הפלסטינאים לפי הנסיבות.

4. המקור נתן להבין כי אחת הסיבות העיקריות להתנגדות הממשל להובלת עינין הסיוע על ידי האירופאים הייתה בשל חששם כי תיווצר שותפה אירופאית-פלסטינית לטווח הרחוק אשר בסיכומו של דבר תהיה על חשבונה של ארה"ב.

5.הערה:בנוגע לפסקה 1 לעיל עדכנתי את השגריר בניו יורק טלפונית אשר סיפר כי כבר היו התפתחויות בנדון.

יששכרוף

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 39116

אל: רהמש/1838

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 795, תא: 280993, זח: 1718, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/רגיל

28.9.93

אל: מצפ"א

דע: מקש"ח/משהב"ט, מנכ"ל משהב"ט, לשכת שהב"ט רמ"ש"נ - נ"י-יורק  
נספח הגנה - כאן

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ / הקצבות - רכש אזרחי (COMMERCIAL SALES)

א. נראה שבהעדר התקדמות במו"מ ביננו לבין הפנטגון על יישום הדירקטיבה, אי יכולת הזרועות לעמוד בלוח הזמנים, ובעקבות לחצו של הקונגרס והידיעה שבכוונת הסנאט להעביר חקיקה (תיקון אינוייה) שמשמעותה, דחיית הדירקטיבה של הפנטגון עד לאחר הגשת דו"ח מפורט לקונגרס בדצמבר 1994, הוחלט בפנטגון לדחות את תחילת ביצוע הדירקטיבה ל- 1.7.94.

ב. למרות הדחייה (עליה נמסר לנו רק טלפונית), חוק סיוע חוץ / הקצבות כולל בכ"ז נוסח חקיקה בנושא הרכש האזרחי - נוסח שהושג כפשרה בין הקונגרסמן אובי (אשר יזם את דו"ח ה- GAO ואשר התנגד בתחילה לחקיקה בנדון) והסנטור אינוייה.

עיקרה של הפרשה: מזכיר ההגנה לא יוכל לפעול לשינוי מדיניות עד אשר לא יקיים התייעצויות מליאות עם ועדות הקונגרס הנוגעות בדבר ועם המדינות הנוגעות בדבר. כלומר יש צורך במעורבות הקונגרס לפני קביעת מדיניות לשינוי תהליכי ההרכשה ע"י הפנטגון. להלן הנוסח החדש:-

#### FOREIGN MILITARY FINANCING DIRECT COMMERCIAL SALES POLICY

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SHALL NOT IMPLEMENT CHANGES IN LONGSTANDING POLICY ALLOWING USE OF FMF FOR DIRECT COMMERCIAL SALES UNLESS AND UNTIL ALL PARTIES AFFECTED BY ANY SUCH CHANGES HAVE BEEN FULLY CONSULTED AND GIVEN OPPORTUNITY FOR INPUT INTO ANY SUCH POLICY CHANGES.

IN THIS PROCESS THE SEC. OF DEFENSE SHALL ALSO CONSULT WITH THE HOUSE AND SENATE COMMITTEES ON APPROPRIATIONS, THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE, THE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS AND THE RELEVANT AGENCIES OR DEPARTMENTS OF

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

ג. בהתחשב בעובדה שבראשית חודש ספטמבר:

1. המו"מ עם הפנטגון היה יגע ולא הניב תוצאות

2. אובי התנגד לרעיון חקיקה בנוגע לרכש אזרחי.

הרי שב- 28.9 אנו עומדים בפני מצב חדש בו:

(1) הפנטגון הודיע טלפונית על דחיית התחלת הביצוע של הדירקטיבה ל- 1.7.

(2) אובי הסכים וחייב מעורבות קונגרסיונאלית המעוגנת בחקיקה.

(3) חקיקה זו עומדת בפני עצמה כמדיניות שאיננה תלוייה בזמן או מועד מסויים.

ד. עם חתימת החוק ע"י הנשיא וכניסת החוק לתוקפו ביום ה' בחצות, לא נראה שתהיה משמעות לדירקטיבה של הפנטגון כל עוד לא יבוצעו כל תנאי החקיקה. לאור זאת קרוב לוודאי שלא נקבל מכתב מהפנטגון המודיע על דחייה ל- 1.7.94. או שנקבל לכל היותר מכתב שיקבע את ה- 1.7.94 כתאריך יעד שהציב הפנטגון להתחלת ביצוע הדירקטיבה.

נמתין להתפתחויות ולהבהרת המצב ונדווח.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

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

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 38774

אל: רהמש/1823

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 770, תא: 280993, זח: 1314, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/רגיל

אל: מצפ"א

דע: ממ"ד , אגף השלום

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: ארה"ב - אש"פ

להלן מדסקאית תוניסיה ב- NEA על המגעים המתנהלים בתוניסיה בין ארה"ב לאש"פ.

1. אנשי השגרירות חייבים לקבל אישור לפני כל פגישה עם איש אש"פ. (בין היתר ציינה, כפי ששמענו גם מאחרים, שרוצים למנוע מצב בו מתקבלים מסרים אש"פיים ממקור שאינו מוסמך לכך).

2. בימים האחרונים אושר לסגנית השגריר לקיים שיחות בנושאי כלכלה עם אנשי המשרד של אבו עלאאי.

3. קרצר, שיעמוד בראש המשלחת לדיוני ק.ע. פליטים בתוניסיה, יקיים שיחות עם אנשי אש"פ ובכך יהפוך לנציג הבכיר ביותר של המימשל הנפגש עם אנשי אש"פ מחוץ לווינגטון.

לשנו יער 27

*Eg. 10.*

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ממד, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, מצפא, יועמש, @ (עמית475)

סססס

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אאאא, חוזם: 38773

אל: רהמש/1822

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 769, תא: 280993, זח: 1314, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/רגיל

אל: אגף השלום / רכז ק.ע. פליטים ממ"ד

דע: חט' מז"ת

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: תוניסיה - לקראת כינוס ק.ע. פליטים

להלן מאנשי מחלקת המגרב ב - NEA :

1. ככל שמתקרב מועד כינוס ק.ע. פליטים גוברים הדאגה והעצבנות בקרב התוניסאים, שחוששים בעיקר מנוכחות נציגי התקשורת הישראלית שיסקרו הכינוס. התוניסאים התענינו אצל האמרק' אם יוכלו לבקש מישראל לפקח על הדווחים שיצאו מתוניסיה (כפי שהם נוהגים באמצעי התקשורת אצלם), אולם שמעו מהאמרק' שהדבר אינו אפשרי.

2. התוניסאים חוזרים ומזכירים לאמרק' שלושה דברים הקשורים בנוכחות מפקדת אש"פ אצלם:

א. שארה"ב היא זו שביקשה מתוניסיה לארח את אש"פ.

ב. שישראל הפציצה את תוניסיה (ההתקפה האוירית על מפקדת אש"פ).

ג. שהנשיא רייגאן, משנשאל לתגובתו על תקיפת חיל האויר, אמר כי לדעתו מדובר בצעד ברור של הגנה עצמית.

3. לתוניסיה, ובמיוחד לשה"ח בן-יחיא, המכיר היטב את האדמיניסטרציה האמרק' מתקופת שירותו הארוכה בווינגטון, היה תפקיד מיוחד בסיוע לארה"ב בתהליך השלום (כולל שיחות טלפון ליליות מווינגטון לבן יחיא בתוניס, להסדרת אשורות כניסה וכו'). גם בביקורו האחרון בווש. עסקו שיחותיו של בן-יחיא עם בכירי הממשל בתהליך השלום בלבד. אנשי מחמ"ד מעירים, שהדבר בא על חשבון דיון בנושאים בילטרליים, למשל תהליכי הדמוקרטיזציה בתוניס.

4. על האתגרים היומריים, לדברי בני שיחי, שתוניסיה לוקחת על עצמה ראו שלנו 2104 מ-27/9. בתחום זה, תוניסיה מצויה בתחרות מתמדת עם שכנתה מרוקו, אולם למרות נכונותה להתגייס למשימות שהאמרק' רוצים לקדם, הרי שהם מהססים להיות הראשונים בעולם הערבי לעשות כן. כדוגמא נוספת הביאו את הצטרפות תוניסיה לכח המשימה הבינ"ל בסומליה, אך רק (ומיד) לאחר שהתברר שמרוקו הודיעה על הסכמתה להשתתף בכך.



לשנו יער

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלוס, רביב,  
ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, מצפא, הדס,  
יועמש, ביין, @ (זך/מתפ'ש)

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 38768  
אל: רהמש/1809  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 767, תא: 280993, זח: 1314, דח: ב, סג: בל,  
בבבב  
28.9.93

בלמס / בהול לבוקר

אל: מצפ"א  
דע: מקש"ח/משהב"ט  
לשכת שה"ח, לשכת רה"מ, לשכת שר האוצר  
קונכ"לים  
מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: חוק סיוע חוץ - הקצבות / קונפרנס

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היום 28.9 לפנות בוקר הסתיים הקונפרנס בין ביהנ"ב והסנאט ואושר נוסח  
אחיד ומוסכם ע"י שני הבתים.  
כל הסיוע לישראל, בסך 3 ביליון דולר אושר ו"שוריין" (EARMARKED) בחוק  
הסיוע (עפ"י התנאים המוכרים) וכן 80 מ' דולר לקליטת עלייה.

דו"ח הקונפרנס (=החוק) יובא מחרתיים, יום ה' לאישור מליאות שני הבתים  
וייחתם ע"י הנשיא עד יום ה' 30.9 בחצות.

כמעט תם ונשלם.



פרטים מלאים בנפרד.

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון, מצפא,  
ערן, כלכליתב', אוצר

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 35525

אל: רהמש/1666

מ-: המשרד, תא: 270993, זח: 1300, דח: מ, סג: שמ,

בבבב

739646

שמור/מיד

י.ט.י. -

אל: סגן שר החוץ  
מנכ"ל - ניר יורק  
משנה למנכ"ל

דע: סמנכ"ל אירופה  
סמנכ"ל כלכלה  
ראש מ"ד

מאת: אגף השלום

הנדון: סיוע מפרצי לשטחים

1. על רקע הנכונות ההצהרתית הסוחפת מצד ארה"ב (בנק עולמי), הקהיליה האירופית ויפאן להזרמת סיוע לכינונה של האוטונומיה הפלסטינית, בולטת בהעדרה התגייסות מקבילה של המפרציות. ידוע הרקע ההסטורי והגיאוגרפי-פוליטי, שאין צורך לפרט.
2. מול מציאות זאת, עומד האינטרס האיזורי, לשלב את המפרציות במאמץ לגבש ולייצב את התהליך, לכלל שנוי מהותי במאזן הכוחות במז'ת, ל-מזרח תיכון חדש'.
3. ממליצים לנסות ולעניין את בני השיח האמריקנים (אך גם הקהיליה - למרות המנוף המוגבל שיש לה במפרץ בהשוואה לאמריקנים) בהתנעת ליווי פיננסי מפרצי, באמצעות MATCHING לסיוע האמריקני.
4. המלצה זאת נשענת על התודעה המפרצית באשר למרכזיותה המכרעת של ארה"ב לבטחונן הלאומי.
- זאת, בנוסף לדריכותן של המפרציות, למשקל דעת הקהל והקונגרס האמריקני, בקבלת החלטות אסטרטגיות הנוגעות לבטחונן הלאומי.
- 5 ממליצים לקיים דיון בנושא.

אילן ברוך/יורם בן-זאב

27 בספטמבר 1993

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ממד, מצפא, סמנכלארופה, מק'א, מא'א, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, יועמש, ערן

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 36875

אל: רהמש/1757

מ-: ווש, נר: 2104, תא: 270993, זח: 2000, דח: ב, סג: סו,

בבבב

סודי/ בהול לבוקר

אל: ארבל 2

דע: נאו'מ-ביין, גיל, ממ'ד-ערב, חט' מז'ת

מאת: השגרירות וושינגטון

הנדון: יוזמת תוניסיה באו'מ

להלן מדסקאית תוניסיה ב- NEA (27/9):

1. בן יחיא היה בווינגטון ביום רביעי וביום ששי (22 ו-24 בספטמבר) ונפגש עם כריסטופר, דג'רג'יאן, טרנוף וטוני לייק.

2. בפגישות לא עלה כלל עניין היוזמה התוניסאית באו'מ.

3. ציינה, שהצד האמריקני לא העלה העניין בשל התגובה המאופקת ששמעו מנציגנו בניו יורק. מבינה שהסיבה לאופן בו הגבנו היא, שהיוזמה התוניסאית אינה תואמת את האסטרטגיה הכוללת של ביטול או השעיית החלטות או'מ שאינן רלוונטיות. הביעה, כדיעה אישית, הפתעה מתגובתנו ליוזמה התוניסאית, שלדעתה יש בה הרבה מן החיוב לישראל.

4. מהצד התוניסאי העריכה, שבן יחיא לא העלה הנושא כיוון שלא קיבל היזון חוזר חיובי מהאמריאים וכיוון שלא רצה לחשוף עצמו לבקורת של מדינות ערב. בהקשר זה ציינה דרך הפעולה של התוניסאים (כמו למשל בשאלות הצטרפותם ל-CWC) ושל בן יחיא, הודות ל-7 שנות שירותו כשגריר ארצו בווינגטון, שמתאפיינת מחד גיסא בנטיה לצאת עם יוזמות הגדולות על מידותיה של תוניסיה ומאידך גיסא בנקיטת גישה זהירה, המתחשבת בדרך הפעולה שנוקטות מדינות ערביות מתונות אחרות.

זאת, כדי למנוע חשיפת תוניסיה וכדי שלא תמצא עצמה משאירה מאחור את אחיותיה הערביות (ראו גם שלנו 519 מ-21/9)

לשנו יער

רחטמזח, ישראלערב, ר/מרכז, ממד, @ (רם), @ (אמן)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 36855

אל: רהמש/1755

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 753, תא: 270993, זח: 1925, דח: ב, סג: שמ,

בכב

9,257886

9,233388

שמור/בהול לבוקר

אל: סמנכ"ל תקשורת

דע: מע"ת-שטופר

אגף השלום

ממ"ד/ערב 1

מאת: השגרירות, וושינגטון

הנדון: צוות טלוויזיה מתוניסיה, שלכם 35412

1. מצ"ב שמות חברי צוות הטלוויזיה של תוניסיה.
2. הצוות מתכוון לחצות הגשר ב- 28/9 ולשהות בישראל עד ל- 5/10.
3. נמסר לי שפייסל חוסייני מתכוון להמתין לצוות בגשר.
4. ממחמ"ד יעבירו לצוות התוניסאי, באמצעות שגרירותם בעמאן, את מספרי הטלפון של יוסי גל ואת הצעתו לסיוע לצוות בכל נושא ארגוני או טכני. מחמ"ד הציעו כיוזמתם שהצוות יקבל במקביל פניה מהרשויות בתוניסיה להתקשר עם גל ויפעלו לשם כך באמצעות שגרירותם בתוניס.
5. התוניסאים מסרו לשגארה"ב, שאנשי הצוות הם עתונאים מוכרים ומנוסים, שבשנים האחרונות עסקו בכיסוי של "איזורי קרבות" (בוסניה, סומליה וכו').
- התוניסאים גם הודיעו לאמרק', כי ידאגו לכך שכל החומר שיעשה בו שימוש יעלה בקנה אחד עם מטרות תהליך השלום (לאמר, התבטאויות בגנות התהליך לא ישודרו).
6. דסקאית תוניסיה ב- NEA הוסיפה לנאמר בסיפא של סעיף 5, כי מומלץ שנזכור כי מדובר באנשי תקשורת המורגלים בפיקוח הדוק של השלטונות על כל מה שמתפרסם בעיתונות הכתובה והמשודרת ולפיכך לא יפרסמו דבר המנוגד לקו הרשמי של המשטר, ויקבלו בהכנה רצוננו ליצור עימם קשר והצעתנו לסיוע במהלך ביקורם.

א.א.א.

לשנו יער

1. HABIB GHERIBI , PRODUCER  
DPOB: 1/17/1960;SFAX, TUNISIA  
PASSPORT NO. K 287972,  
ISSUED ON 9/8/1992, EXPIRING 9/7/1997.

2. MOHAMED MGHIRBI, CAMERAMAN  
DPOB: 6/26/1960; TUNIS, TUNISIA  
PASSPORT NO. G 864416  
ISSUED 8/15/1991, EXPIRING 8/14/1996

3. MONGI BEN M'BARKA , SOUND ENGINEER  
DPOB: MOKNINE, TUNISIA  
PASSPORT NO. G 530304  
ISSUED 9/28/1989, EXPIRING 9/27/1994

4. SLIM BEN AHMED KARRAY  
DOB 1/12/1955  
PASSPORT NO. G 786816  
ISSUED: 4/18/1991  
EXPIRING 4/17/1996

עד כאן

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), מנכל, ממנכל, מצב, תכנון, סמנכלתקשורת,  
תקשורת, מקצב2, טקס, מאור, לעמ, עמית251,  
סמנכלשלוס, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, ר/מרכז,  
ממד, @ (רס), @ (אמן)

סססס



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אאאא, חוזם: 36845

אל: רהמש/1754

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 751, תא: 270993, זח: 1845, דח: ר, סג: שמ,

בבבב

שמור/רגיל

27/09/93

אל: מצפ"א

דע: קונכ"לים

מאת: ק. לקונגרס

הנדון: פגישת השגריר רבינוביץ עם ועדת החוץ בסנאט

1. ב- 23/11 נפגש השגריר עם ועדת החוץ ומוזמניה בסנאט. נכחו הסנטורים: פל (יו"ר הועדה), הלמס (בכיר המיעוט), לאוטנברג, סרבינס, וולסטון, ספקטור, רוב, פיינגולד, קוברדל, תורמ'ונד, גאד' גרג ומושל רודאיילנד (אורחו של הסנטור פל). כן נכחו עוזרי צוות הועדה. מצידנו נכחו דרנגר ובינה.

2. השגריר פתח הפגישה בהצגת המצב לאחר טכס חתימת ההסכם עם אש"פ בבית-הלכן: - לפנינו 3 משימות עיקריות:

א. יישום ה-DOP.

ב. המשך קיום המסלולים האחרים של המו"מ.

ג. ניצול ההזדמנות לנורמליזצית היחסים עם מדינות ערב.

א. יישום ה-DOP: - השגריר עמד על ההסכם עם אש"פ ופרטיו. הסביר כי נושאי ירושלים וההתנחלויות אינם כלולים בהסכם. ההסכם מסובך ומורכב ויש עדיין לדון בפרטים הרבים. יש לקבל החלטה לגבי המשך השיחות בווינגטון ואין רצון לקטוע השיחות עם הפלסטינים. כלומר צפויים שלושה ערוצי הדברות:

(1) בווינגטון

(2) בשטח

(3) המנהיגות הפוליטית של אש"פ באופן ישיר.

אנו עומדים בפני תקופה עמוסה מאד אשר תצריך CBM רבים כמו למשל הצהרות שינתנו או לא ינתנו ע"י ערפאת. (גינוי התקפות ופח"ע).

ב. המסלולים האחרים: - השגריר עמד בפירוט מסלול השיחות עם הסורים. התייחס, בעקבות שאלות, לתוצאות ההצבעה בכנסת בעקבות שלושה ימי דיונים קשים וציין כי קשה ולחוץ קמעה להוסיף בשעה זו לסדה"י הישראלי גם את רמה"ג. הסורים כועסים על הפלסטינים שתמרנו אותם למצב הנוכחי אולם היענותם למשל של הסורים להמתין בשעה זו יכול לשמש כ-CBM.



ג. נורמליזציה עם מדינות ערב: - נעשים מאמצים בהנהגת ארה"ב לתהליך פיוס ונורמליזציה עם מדינות ערב כמרוקו, תוניסיה, סעודיה ושאר מדינות המפרץ. יתכן שכינון יחסים רשמי כבר עתה, זה מוקדם מידי, אולם יש דרכים אחרות לנורמליזציה כמו למשל ביטול/השעיית החלטות עוינות באו"ם. הממשל מתגייס למאמץ גדול של אירגון ועידת מדינות תורמות ב- 1.10 לסיוע לפלסטינים (בין השאר יפן, סעודיה, קרן המטבע, בנק עולמי וכו'). הרעיון הוא ליצור מיכניזם של הפניית כספים לתכניות מסויימות ובאופן נכון ומסודר. אם נצמד נכון ב-3 הרבדים הללו, נוכל לצעוד צעד נוסף לפתרון הקונפליקט.

### 3. להלן חלק השאלות והתשובות: -

הלמס - כיצד אתה מרגיש לגבי עמדת מחמ"ד בנושא שינויי חקיקות הנוגעות לאש"פ ופתיחת משרד אש"פ בווישניגטון.  
שגריר - מחמ"ד פנו גם אלינו.

א. בנוגע לחקיקות הרי שלא מדובר בביטול (REPEAL) אלא השעייה (WAIVER) זמנית. (הערה: בו. החוץ בסנאט מדברים על שלב ראשון של WAIVER עד 1.1.94).

ב. פתיחת המשרד נועדה לאפשר להם נוכחות לצורך מו"מ ולאפשר לנציגי אש"פ להשתתף בקליטת הכספים שנועדו לסיוע. בהנחה שהתנאים הינם מוגבלים (לפתיחת משרד ולא שגרירות), שיש פיקוח על ההתחייבויות שניתנו מצד אש"פ וכי איננו רצים מהר מידי הרי שנוכל TO GO ALONG.  
הלמס - מבקש להבהיר שבארה"ב ישנה דאגה. עד כה היו לחיצות ידיים וחיוכים אולם "עתה מתחילים להתרחש הדברים הגדולים".  
סרבינס - אמרת שאפשר יהיה לנוע עם הסורים אם הישראלים יראו קצת BENEFITS מהם.

שגריר - עלינו לקבל מהסורים התחייבות לשלום מלא והסדרי בטחון מספקים. כ"כ עליהם TO ENGAGE IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY. והתבטאויות ופניות כלפי הציבור הישראלי. אין זה תנאי מוקדם אלא עיצה. ניתן ליצור אורה חיובית מבחינת הישראלים אם יוכלו לראות תוך זמן קצר שינויים כמו: הפסקת האינתיפאדה, הפחתת והפסקת מעשי אלימות וטרור, הפחתת ימי מילואים ביטול החרם הערבי, ביטול החלטות עוינות נגד ישראל. העובדה שרה"מ נסע למרוקו ישירות מארה"ב עוד לפני ששב לישראל מסייעת בריכוך האווירה.  
קוברדל - ביקש מהשגריר להתייחס לנושא רמה"ג כחלק מהמו"מ עם הסורים.  
שגריר - עמדת הממשלה הקודמת היתה "שלום תמורת שלום". עמדת הממשלה הנוכחית היא כי יהיה מימד טריטוריאלי למו"מ. הודענו שאנו מסכימים לעניין הנסיגה במו"מ ושנפרט כאשר הם (הסורים) יבהירו למה הם מתכוונים בשלום.  
הסורים החלו במשחקי מילים באומרים "שלום מלא תמורת נסיגה מלאה" אולם לא קיבלנו תשובה לגבי מהות השלום והם ממשיכים להתחמק. כ"כ הסבירו הסורים שיש להם כוונת להסדרים "מאד מתונים וצנועים" של בטחון.

פיינגולד - הודה על העדכון השוטף בנוגע לתהליך מצד השגריר והשגרירות. שאל על נושא ירושלים בכלל ותגובת הישראלים לדברי עראפת על ירושלים.  
שגריר - השיב כי כמובן זה התקבל לא טוב אולם אפילו האיש ברחוב יודע שערפת מדבר אל הציבור שלו. למעשה, זהו הויתור הגדול ביותר שעשה ערפת בעצם העובדה שהנושא נדחה ל- 3 שנים. ישראל מצידה, תמשיך להתנגד.  
השגריר הביע תקווה שסיימו את הקונפליקט האלים עם הפלסטינים ועתה אנו עוברים לשלב של התחרות.

ספקטור - ביקש התייחסותו של השגריר לנושא מדינה פלסטינית עצמאית. אמר כי הוא יודע שישראל מתנגדת ומבין שאסד, מוברק וחוסין התנגדו אף הם עד כה.  
שגריר - אכן שלושת הנ"ל וישראל מתנגדים להקמת מדינה פלסטינית עצמאית.



הנושא יידון רק בעוד שלוש שנים ולא תוכל לקום מדינה עצמאית כל עוד ישראל תתנגד - מעין כוח וטו.

הפגישה התקיימה באוירה חגיגית (כיבוד, דגלי שתי המדינות) וידידותית מאוד. הופסקה טרם זמנה שכן הסנטורים נאלצו לצאת ולהצביע (על חוק סיוע החוץ...).

יהודית ורנאי דרנגר

תפוצה: שהח, ששהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ממד, מצפא, רחטמזת, ישראלערב, יועמש

סססס

אאאא, חוזם: 36754  
אל: רהמש/1743  
מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 738, תא: 270993, זח: 1653, דח: מ, סג: בל,  
בבב  
בלמס/מידי

אל: תפוצת תקשורת

דע: קונכ'לים

מאת: תקשורת וושינגטון

הנדון: דברי הנשיא קלינטון באו"מ.

*Handwritten signature in red ink, possibly "A. 1.10"*

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON ADDRESSES THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
UNITED NATIONS THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK MONDAY, SEPTEMBER  
27, 1993

PRESIDENT CLINTON: THANK YOU VERY MUCH. MR. PRESIDENT, LET ME  
FIRST CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR ELECTION AS PRESIDENT OF THIS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

MR. SECRETARY GENERAL, DISTINGUISHED DELEGATES AND GUESTS, IT IS  
A GREAT HONOR FOR ME TO ADDRESS YOU AND TO STAND IN THIS GREAT  
CHAMBER WHICH SYMBOLIZES SO MUCH OF THE 20TH CENTURY: ITS  
DARKEST CRISES AND ITS BRIGHTEST ASPIRATIONS.

I COME BEFORE YOU AS THE FIRST AMERICAN PRESIDENT BORN AFTER THE  
FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS. LIKE MOST OF THE PEOPLE IN THE  
WORLD TODAY, I WAS NOT EVEN ALIVE DURING THE CONVULSIVE WORLD  
WAR THAT CONVINCED HUMANKIND OF THE NEED FOR THIS ORGANIZATION,  
NOR DURING THE SAN FRANCISCO CONFERENCE THAT LED TO ITS BIRTH.  
YET I HAVE FOLLOWED THE WORK OF THE UNITED NATIONS THROUGHOUT MY  
LIFE WITH ADMIRATION FOR ITS ACCOMPLISHMENTS, WITH SADNESS FOR  
ITS FAILURES, AND CONVICTION THAT THROUGH COMMON EFFORTS OUR  
GENERATION CAN TAKE THE BOLD STEPS NEEDED TO REDEEM THE MISSION  
ENTRUSTED TO THE U.N. 48 YEARS AGO. I PLEDGE TO YOU THAT MY  
NATION REMAINS COMMITTED TO HELPING MAKE THE U.N.'S VISION A  
REALITY.

THE START OF THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY OFFERS US AN OPPORTUNITY TO  
TAKE STOCK OF WHERE WE ARE AS COMMON SHAREHOLDERS IN THE  
PROGRESS OF HUMANKIND AND IN THE PRESERVATION OF OUR PLANET. IT  
IS CLEAR THAT WE LIVE AT A TURNING POINT IN HUMAN HISTORY.

IMMENSE AND PROMISING CHANGES SEEM TO WASH OVER US EVERY DAY.



THE COLD WAR IS OVER. THE WORLD IS NO LONGER DIVIDED INTO TWO ARMED AND ANGRY CAMPS. DOZENS OF NEW DEMOCRACIES HAVE BEEN BORN.

IT IS A MOMENT OF MIRACLES. WE SEE NELSON MANDELA STAND SIDE BY SIDE WITH PRESIDENT DE KLERK PROCLAIMING A DATE FOR SOUTH AFRICA'S FIRST NON-RACIAL ELECTION. WE SEE RUSSIA'S FIRST POPULARLY ELECTED PRESIDENT, BORIS YELTSIN, LEADING HIS NATION ON ITS BOLD DEMOCRATIC JOURNEY. WE HAVE SEEN DECADES OF DEADLOCK SHATTERED IN THE MIDDLE EAST AS THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION REACHED PAST ENMITY AND SUSPICION TO SHAKE EACH OTHER'S HANDS AND EXHILARATE THE ENTIRE WORLD WITH THE HOPE OF PEACE. WE HAVE BEGUN TO SEE THE DOOMSDAY WEAPON OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION DISMANTLED AND DESTROYED.

THIRTY-TWO YEARS AGO PRESIDENT KENNEDY WARNED THIS CHAMBER THAT HUMANITY LIVED UNDER A NUCLEAR SWORD OF DAMOCLES THAT HUNG BY THE SLENDEREST OF THREADS. NOW THE UNITED STATES IS WORKING WITH RUSSIA, UKRAINE, BELARUS, AND OTHERS TO TAKE THAT SWORD DOWN AND LOCK IT AWAY IN A SECURE VAULT WHERE WE HOPE AND PRAY IT WILL REMAIN FOREVER. IT IS A NEW ERA IN THIS HALL AS WELL.

THE SUPERPOWER STAND-OFF THAT FOR SO LONG STYMIED THE UNITED NATIONS' WORK ALMOST FROM ITS FIRST DAY HAS NOW YIELDED TO A NEW PROMISE OF PRACTICAL COOPERATION. YET TODAY, WE MUST ALL ADMIT THAT THERE ARE TWO POWERFUL TENDENCIES WORKING FROM OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS TO CHALLENGE THE AUTHORITY OF NATION STATES EVERYWHERE AND TO UNDERMINE THE AUTHORITY OF NATION STATES TO WORK TOGETHER.

FROM BEYOND NATIONS, ECONOMIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL FORCES ALL OVER THE GLOBE ARE COMPELLING THE WORLD TOWARD INTEGRATION. THESE FORCES ARE FUELING A WELCOME EXPLOSION OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND POLITICAL LIBERALIZATION, BUT THEY ALSO THREATEN TO DESTROY THE INSULARITY AND INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONAL ECONOMIES, QUICKENING THE PACE OF CHANGE AND MAKING MANY OF OUR PEOPLE FEEL MORE INSECURE. AT THE SAME TIME, FROM WITHIN NATIONS, THE RESURGENT ASPIRATIONS OF ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS CHALLENGE GOVERNMENTS ON TERMS THAT TRADITIONAL NATION STATES CANNOT EASILY ACCOMMODATE. THESE TWIN FORCES LIE AT THE HEART OF THE CHALLENGES NOT ONLY TO OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT BUT ALSO TO ALL OUR INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. THEY REQUIRE ALL OF US IN THIS ROOM TO FIND NEW WAYS TO WORK TOGETHER MORE EFFECTIVELY IN PURSUIT OF OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS AND TO SPEAK ANEW ABOUT WHETHER OUR INSTITUTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION ARE ADEQUATE TO THIS MOMENT.

THUS, AS WE MARVEL AT THIS ERA'S PROMISE OF NEW PEACE, WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT SERIOUS THREATS REMAIN. BLOODY ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL WARS RAGE, FROM ANGOLA TO THE CAUCASUS TO KASHMIR. AS WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION FALL INTO MORE HANDS, EVEN SMALL CONFLICTS CAN THREATEN TO TAKE ON MURDEROUS



PROPORTIONS. HUNGER AND DISEASE CONTINUE TO TAKE A TRAGIC TOLL, ESPECIALLY AMONG THE WORLD'S CHILDREN. THE MALIGNANT NEGLECT OF OUR GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT THREATENS OUR CHILDREN'S HEALTH AND THEIR VERY SECURITY. THE REPRESSION OF CONSCIENCE CONTINUES IN TOO MANY NATIONS, AND TERRORISM, WHICH HAS TAKEN SO MANY INNOCENT LIVES, ASSUMES A HORRIFYING IMMEDIACY FOR US HERE, WHEN MILITANT FANATICS BOMBED THE WORLD TRADE CENTER AND PLANNED TO ATTACK EVEN THIS VERY HALL OF PEACE. LET ME ASSURE YOU, WHETHER THE PLOTTERS OF THOSE CRIMES OR THE MASS MURDERERS WHO BOMBED PAN AM FLIGHT 103, MY GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED TO SEE THAT SUCH TERRORISTS ARE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. (APPLAUSE.)

AT THIS MOMENT OF PANORAMIC CHANGE, OF VAST OPPORTUNITIES AND TROUBLING THREATS, WE MUST ALL ASK OURSELVES WHAT WE CAN DO AND WHAT WE SHOULD DO AS A COMMUNITY OF NATIONS. WE MUST ONCE AGAIN DARE TO DREAM OF WHAT MIGHT BE SO OUR DREAMS MAY BE WITHIN OUR REACH. FOR THAT TO HAPPEN, WE MUST ALL BE WILLING TO HONESTLY CONFRONT THE CHALLENGES OF THE BROADER WORLD. THAT HAS NEVER BEEN EASY. WHEN THIS ORGANIZATION WAS FOUNDED 48 YEARS AGO, THE WORLD'S NATIONS STOOD DEVASTATED BY WAR OR EXHAUSTED BY ITS EXPENSE. THERE WAS LITTLE APPETITE FOR COOPERATIVE EFFORTS AMONG NATIONS. MOST PEOPLE SIMPLY WANTED TO GET ON WITH THEIR LIVES. BUT THE FAR-SIGHTED GENERATIONS OF LEADERS FROM THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE RALLIED THE WORLD. THEIR EFFORTS BUILT THE INSTITUTIONS OF POST-WAR SECURITY AND PROSPERITY. WE ARE AT A SIMILAR MOMENT TODAY.

THE MOMENTUM OF THE COLD WAR NO LONGER PROPELS US IN OUR DAILY ACTIONS. AND WITH DAWNING ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PRESSURES UPON ALMOST EVERY NATION REPRESENTED IN THIS ROOM, MANY OF US ARE TURNING TO FOCUS GREATER ATTENTION AND ENERGY ON OUR DOMESTIC NEEDS AND PROBLEMS, AND WE MUST. BUT PUTTING EACH OF OUR ECONOMIC HOUSES IN ORDER CANNOT MEAN THAT WE SHUT OUR WINDOWS TO THE WORLD. THE PURSUIT OF SELF-RENEWAL IN MANY OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST AND MOST POWERFUL ECONOMIES -- IN EUROPE, IN JAPAN, IN NORTH AMERICA -- IS ABSOLUTELY CRUCIAL BECAUSE, UNLESS THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL NATIONS CAN RECAPTURE THEIR ROBUST ECONOMIC GROWTH, THE GLOBAL ECONOMY WILL LANGUISH.

YET, THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS ALSO NEED GROWTH ELSEWHERE IN ORDER TO LIFT THEIR OWN. INDEED, PROSPERITY IN EACH OF OUR NATIONS AND REGIONS ALSO DEPENDS UPON ACTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE ENGAGEMENT IN A HOST OF SHARED CONCERNS. FOR EXAMPLE, A THRIVING AND DEMOCRATIC RUSSIA NOT ONLY MAKES THE WORLD SAFER; IT ALSO CAN HELP TO EXPAND THE WORLD'S ECONOMY. A STRONG GATT AGREEMENT WILL CREATE MILLIONS OF JOBS WORLDWIDE. PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BUTTRESSED AS IT SHOULD BE BY THE REPEAL OF OUTDATED U.N. RESOLUTIONS, CAN HELP TO UNLEASH THAT REGION'S GREAT ECONOMIC POTENTIAL AND CALM A PERPETUAL SOURCE OF TENSION IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS. AND THE GROWING ECONOMIC POWER OF CHINA, COUPLED WITH GREATER POLITICAL OPENNESS, COULD BRING ENORMOUS BENEFITS TO ALL OF ASIA AND TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.



WE MUST HELP OUR PUBLICS TO UNDERSTAND THIS DISTINCTION: DOMESTIC RENEWAL IS AN OVERDUE TONIC, BUT ISOLATIONISM AND PROTECTIONISM ARE STILL POISON. WE MUST INSPIRE PEOPLE TO LOOK BEYOND THEIR IMMEDIATE FEARS TOWARD A BROADER HORIZON. LET ME START BY BEING CLEAR ABOUT WHERE THE UNITED STATES STANDS.

THE UNITED STATES OCCUPIES A UNIQUE POSITION IN WORLD AFFAIRS TODAY. WE RECOGNIZE THAT, AND WE WELCOME IT. YET, WITH THE COLD WAR OVER, I KNOW MANY PEOPLE ASK WHETHER THE UNITED STATES PLANS TO RETREAT OR REMAIN ACTIVE IN THE WORLD AND, IF ACTIVE, TO WHAT END. MANY PEOPLE ARE ASKING THAT IN OUR OWN COUNTRY AS WELL. LET ME ANSWER THAT QUESTION AS CLEARLY AND PLAINLY AS I CAN. THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO REMAIN ENGAGED AND TO LEAD. WE CANNOT SOLVE EVERY PROBLEM, BUT WE MUST AND WILL SERVE AS A FULCRUM FOR CHANGE AND A PIVOT POINT FOR PEACE. IN A NEW ERA OF PERIL AND OPPORTUNITY, OUR OVERRIDING PURPOSE MUST BE TO EXPAND AND STRENGTHEN THE WORLD'S COMMUNITY OF MARKET-BASED DEMOCRACIES. DURING THE COLD WAR, WE SOUGHT TO CONTAIN A THREAT TO THE SURVIVAL OF FREE INSTITUTIONS. NOW WE SEEK TO ENLARGE THE CIRCLE OF NATIONS THAT LIVE UNDER THOSE FREE INSTITUTIONS.

SO OUR DREAM IS OF A DAY WHEN THE OPINIONS AND ENERGIES OF EVERY PERSON IN THE WORLD WILL BE GIVEN FULL EXPRESSION, IN A WORLD OF STRIVING DEMOCRACIES THAT COOPERATE WITH EACH OTHER AND LIVE IN PEACE.

WITH THIS STATEMENT, I DO NOT MEAN TO ANNOUNCE SOME CRUSADE TO FORCE OUR WAY OF LIFE AND DOING THINGS ON OTHERS OR TO REPLICATE OUR INSTITUTIONS. BUT WE NOW KNOW CLEARLY THAT, THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, FROM POLAND TO ERITREA, FROM GUATEMALA TO SOUTH KOREA, THERE IS AN ENORMOUS YEARNING AMONG PEOPLE WHO WISH TO BE THE MASTERS OF THEIR OWN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIVES. WHERE IT MATTERS MOST AND WHERE WE CAN MAKE THE GREATEST DIFFERENCE, WE WILL, THEREFORE, PATIENTLY AND FIRMLY ALIGN OURSELVES WITH THAT YEARNING.

TODAY THERE ARE -- (AUDIO BREAK) -- DEMOCRACY IS SIMPLY NOT APPLICABLE TO MANY CULTURES AND THAT ITS RECENT EXPANSION IS AN ABERRATION, AN ACCIDENT, IN HISTORY THAT WILL SOON FADE AWAY. BUT I AGREE WITH PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, WHO ONCE SAID, "THE DEMOCRATIC ASPIRATION IS NO MERE RECENT PHASE OF HUMAN HISTORY; IT IS HUMAN HISTORY."

WE WILL WORK TO STRENGTHEN THE FREE-MARKET DEMOCRACIES BY REVITALIZING OUR ECONOMY HERE AT HOME, BY OPENING WORLD TRADE THROUGH THE GATT, THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT AND OTHER ACCORDS, AND BY UPDATING OUR SHARED INSTITUTIONS, ASKING WITH YOU AND ANSWERING THE HARD QUESTIONS ABOUT WHETHER THEY ARE ADEQUATE TO THE PRESENT CHALLENGES. WE WILL SUPPORT THE CONSOLIDATION OF MARKET DEMOCRACY WHERE IT IS TAKING NEW ROOT, AS IN THE STATES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION AND ALL OVER LATIN



AMERICA. AND WE SEEK TO FOSTER THE PRACTICES OF GOOD GOVERNMENT THAT DISTRIBUTE THE BENEFITS OF DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC GROWTH FAIRLY TO ALL PEOPLE. WE WILL WORK TO REDUCE THE THREAT FROM REGIMES THAT ARE HOSTILE TO DEMOCRACY AND TO SUPPORT LIBERALIZATION OF NON-DEMOCRATIC STATES WHEN THEY ARE WILLING TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH THE REST OF US.

AS A COUNTRY THAT HAS OVER 150 DIFFERENT RACIAL, ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS WITHIN OUR BORDERS, OUR POLICY IS AND MUST BE ROOTED IN A PROFOUND RESPECT FOR ALL THE WORLD'S RELIGIONS AND CULTURES. BUT WE MUST OPPOSE EVERYWHERE EXTREMISM THAT PRODUCES TERRORISM AND HATE. AND WE MUST PURSUE OUR HUMANITARIAN GOALS OF REDUCING SUFFERING, FOSTERING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, AND IMPROVING THE HEALTH AND LIVING CONDITIONS, PARTICULARLY FOR OUR WORLD'S CHILDREN.

ON EFFORTS FROM EXPORT CONTROLS TO TRADE AGREEMENTS TO PEACEKEEPING, WE WILL OFTEN WORK IN PARTNERSHIP WITH OTHERS AND THROUGH MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO DO SO. BUT WE MUST NOT HESITATE TO ACT UNILATERALLY WHEN THERE IS A THREAT TO OUR CORE INTERESTS OR TO THOSE OF OUR ALLIES.

THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT AN EXPANDING COMMUNITY OF MARKET DEMOCRACIES NOT ONLY SERVES OUR OWN SECURITY INTERESTS, IT ALSO ADVANCES THE GOALS ENSHRINED IN THIS BODY'S CHARTER AND ITS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR BROADLY-BASED PROSPERITY IS CLEARLY THE STRONGEST FORM OF PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY, AND THE HABITS OF DEMOCRACY ARE THE HABITS OF PEACE. DEMOCRACY IS ROOTED IN COMPROMISE NOT CONQUEST. IT REWARDS TOLERANCE NOT HATRED. DEMOCRACIES RARELY WAGE WAR ON ONE ANOTHER. THEY MAKE MORE RELIABLE PARTNERS IN TRADE, IN DIPLOMACY AND IN THE STEWARDSHIP OF OUR GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. AND DEMOCRACIES, WITH THE RULE OF LAW AND RESPECT FOR POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL MINORITIES ARE MORE RESPONSIVE TO THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND TO THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

BUT AS WE WORK TOWARD THIS VISION, WE MUST CONFRONT THE STORM CLOUDS THAT MAY OVERWHELM OUR WORK AND DARKEN THE MARCH TOWARD FREEDOM. IF WE DO NOT STEM THE PROLIFERATION OF THE WORLD'S DEADLIEST WEAPONS, NO DEMOCRACY CAN FEEL SECURE. IF WE DO NOT STRENGTHEN THE CAPACITY TO RESOLVE CONFLICTS AMONG AND IN NATIONS, THOSE CONFLICTS WILL SMOTHER THE BIRTH OF FREE INSTITUTIONS, THREATEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENTIRE REGIONS AND CONTINUE TO TAKE INNOCENT LIVES. IF WE DO NOT NURTURE OUR PEOPLE AND OUR PLANET THROUGH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, WE WILL DEEPEN CONFLICT AND WASTE THE VERY WONDERS THAT MAKE OUR EFFORTS WORTH DOING.

LET ME TALK MORE ABOUT WHAT I BELIEVE WE MUST DO IN EACH OF THESE THREE CATEGORIES: NON-PROLIFERATION, CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. ONE OF OUR MOST URGENT PRIORITIES



MUST BE ATTACKING THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, WHETHER THEY ARE NUCLEAR, CHEMICAL OR BIOLOGICAL, AND THE BALLISTIC MISSILES THAT CAN RAIN THEM DOWN ON POPULATIONS HUNDREDS OF MILES AWAY. WE KNOW THIS IS NOT AN IDLE PROBLEM.

ALL OF US ARE STILL HAUNTED BY THE PICTURES OF KURDISH WOMEN AND CHILDREN CUT DOWN BY POISON GAS. WE SAW SCUD MISSILES DROPPED DURING THE GULF WAR THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN FAR GRAVER IN THEIR CONSEQUENCES IF THEY HAD CARRIED NUCLEAR WEAPONS. AND WE KNOW THAT MANY NATIONS STILL BELIEVE IT IS IN THEIR INTERESTS TO DEVELOP WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION OR TO SELL THEM OR THE NECESSARY TECHNOLOGIES TO OTHERS FOR FINANCIAL GAIN. MORE THAN A SCORE OF NATIONS LIKELY POSSESS SUCH WEAPONS, AND THEIR NUMBER THREATENS TO GROW.

THESE WEAPONS DESTABILIZE ENTIRE REGIONS. THEY COULD TURN A LOCAL CONFLICT INTO A GLOBAL HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENTAL CATASTROPHE. WE SIMPLY HAVE GOT TO FIND WAYS TO CONTROL THESE WEAPONS AND TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF STATES THAT POSSESS THEM BY SUPPORTING AND STRENGTHENING THE IAEA AND BY TAKING OTHER NECESSARY MEASURES.

I HAVE MADE NON-PROLIFERATION ONE OF OUR NATION'S HIGHEST PRIORITIES. WE INTEND TO WEAVE IT MORE DEEPLY INTO THE FABRIC OF ALL OF OUR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE WORLD'S NATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS. WE SEEK TO BUILD A WORLD OF INCREASING PRESSURE FOR NON-PROLIFERATION, BUT INCREASINGLY OPEN TRADE AND TECHNOLOGY FOR THOSE STATES THAT LIVE BY ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL RULES. TODAY, LET ME DESCRIBE SEVERAL NEW POLICIES THAT OUR GOVERNMENT WILL PURSUE TO STEM PROLIFERATION.

WE WILL PURSUE NEW STEPS TO CONTROL THE MATERIALS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. GROWING GLOBAL STOCKPILES OF PLUTONIUM AND HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM ARE RAISING THE DANGER OF NUCLEAR TERRORISM FOR ALL NATIONS. WE WILL PRESS FOR AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT THAT WOULD BAN PRODUCTION OF THESE MATERIALS FOR WEAPONS FOREVER.

AS WE REDUCE OUR NUCLEAR STOCKPILES, THE UNITED STATES HAS ALSO BEGUN NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A COMPREHENSIVE BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTING. THIS SUMMER I DECLARED THAT TO FACILITATE THESE NEGOTIATIONS OUR NATION WOULD SUSPEND OUR TESTING IF ALL OTHER NUCLEAR STATES WOULD DO THE SAME. TODAY IN THE FACE OF DISTURBING SIGNS, I RENEW MY CALL ON THE NUCLEAR STATES TO ABIDE BY THAT MORATORIUM AS WE NEGOTIATE TO STOP NUCLEAR TESTING FOR ALL TIME.

I AM ALSO PROPOSING NEW EFFORTS TO FIGHT THE PROLIFERATION OF BIOLOGICAL AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS. TODAY ONLY A HANDFUL OF NATIONS HAS RATIFIED THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION. I CALL ON ALL NATIONS, INCLUDING MY OWN, TO RATIFY THIS ACCORD QUICKLY SO THAT IT MAY ENTER INTO FORCE BY JANUARY 13TH, 1995.



WE WILL ALSO SEEK TO STRENGTH THE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION BY MAKING EVERY NATION'S BIOLOGICAL ACTIVITIES AND FACILITIES OPEN TO MORE INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY. I AM PROPOSING AS WELL NEW STEPS TO THWART THE PROLIFERATION OF BALLISTIC MISSILES. RECENTLY, WORKING WITH RUSSIA, ARGENTINA, HUNGARY AND SOUTH AFRICA, WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARD THAT GOAL. NOW WE WILL SEEK TO STRENGTH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MISSILE TECHNOLOGY CONTROL REGIME BY TRANSFORMING IT FROM AN AGREEMENT ON TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AMONG JUST 23 NATIONS TO A SET OF RULES THAT CAN COMMAND UNIVERSAL ADHERENCE.

WE WILL ALSO REFORM OUR OWN SYSTEM OF EXPORT CONTROLS IN THE UNITED STATES TO REFLECT THE REALITIES OF THE POST-COLD WAR WORLD. WHERE WE SEEK TO ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF OUR FORMER ADVERSARIES IN THE BATTLE AGAINST PROLIFERATION AT THE SAME TIME THAT WE STOP DEADLY TECHNOLOGIES FROM FALLING INTO THE WRONG HANDS, WE WILL WORK WITH OUR PARTNERS TO REMOVE OUTDATED CONTROLS THAT UNFAIRLY BURDEN LEGITIMATE COMMERCE AND UNDULY RESTRAIN GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY ALL OVER THE WORLD.

AS WE WORK TO KEEP THE WORLD'S MOST DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS OUT OF CONFLICTS, WE MUST ALSO STRENGTH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S ABILITY TO ADDRESS THOSE CONFLICTS THEMSELVES. FOR, AS WE ALL NOW KNOW SO PAINFULLY, THE END OF THE COLD WAR DID NOT BRING US TO THE MILLENNIUM OF PEACE. INDEED, IT SIMPLY REMOVED THE LID FROM MANY CAULDRONS OF ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS AND TERRITORIAL ANIMOSITY.

THE PHILOSOPHER ISAIAH BERLIN HAS SAID THAT A WOUNDED NATIONALISM IS LIKE A BENT TWIG, FORCED DOWN SO SEVERELY THAT, WHEN RELEASED, IT LASHES BACK WITH FURY. THE WORLD TODAY IS THICK WITH BOTH BENT AND RECOILING TWIGS OF WOUNDED COMMUNAL IDENTITIES. THIS SURGE OF BITTER CONFLICTS HAS PLACED HIGH DEMANDS ON THE UNITED NATIONS' PEACEKEEPING FORCES. FREQUENTLY, THE BLUE HELMETS HAVE WORKED WONDERS. IN NAMIBIA, EL SALVADOR, THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND ELSEWHERE, U.N. PEACEKEEPERS HAVE HELPED TO STOP FIGHTING, RESTORE CIVIL AUTHORITY AND ENABLE FREE ELECTIONS.

IN BOSNIA, U.N. PEACEKEEPERS, AGAINST THE DANGER AND FRUSTRATION OF THAT CONTINUING TRAGEDY, HAVE MAINTAINED A VALIANT HUMANITARIAN EFFORT. AND IF THE PARTIES OF THAT CONFLICT TAKE THE HARD STEPS NEEDED TO MAKE A REAL PEACE, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES, MUST BE READY TO HELP IN ITS EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION.

IN SOMALIA, THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS HAVE WORKED TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE A STUNNING HUMANITARIAN RESCUE, SAVING LITERALLY HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF LIVES AND RESTORING THE CONDITIONS OF SECURITY TO ALMOST THE ENTIRE COUNTRY.



U.N. PEACEKEEPERS FROM OVER TWO DOZEN NATIONS REMAIN IN SOMALIA TODAY, AND SOME, INCLUDING BRAVE AMERICANS, HAVE LOST THEIR LIVES TO ENSURE THAT WE COMPLETE OUR MISSION AND TO ENSURE THAT ANARCHY AND STARVATION DO NOT RETURN JUST AS QUICKLY AS THEY WERE ABOLISHED. MANY STILL CRITICIZE U.N. PEACEKEEPING, BUT THOSE WHO DO SHOULD TALK TO THE PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA WHERE THE U.N.'S OPERATIONS HAVE HELPED TO TURN THE KILLING FIELDS INTO FERTILE SOIL FOR RECONCILIATION. LAST MAY'S ELECTIONS IN CAMBODIA MARKED A PROUD ACCOMPLISHMENT FOR THAT WAR-WEARY NATION AND FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, AND I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS RECOGNIZED CAMBODIA'S NEW GOVERNMENT.

U.N. PEACEKEEPING HOLDS THE PROMISE TO RESOLVE MANY OF THIS ERA'S CONFLICTS. THE REASON WE HAVE SUPPORTED SUCH MISSIONS IS NOT, AS SOME CRITICS IN THE UNITED STATES HAVE CHARGED, TO SUBCONTRACT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, BUT TO STRENGTHEN OUR SECURITY, PROTECT OUR INTERESTS, AND TO SHARE AMONG NATIONS THE COST AND EFFORT OF PURSUING PEACE. PEACEKEEPING CANNOT BE A SUBSTITUTE FOR OUR OWN NATIONAL DEFENSE EFFORTS, BUT IT CAN STRONGLY SUPPLEMENT THEM.

TODAY THERE IS WIDE RECOGNITION THAT THE U.N. PEACEKEEPING ABILITY HAS NOT KEPT PACE WITH THE RISING RESPONSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES. JUST SIX YEARS AGO, ABOUT 10,000 U.N. PEACEKEEPERS WERE STATIONED AROUND THE WORLD. TODAY THE U.N. HAS SOME 80,000 DEPLOYED IN 17 OPERATIONS ON 4 CONTINENTS. YET, UNTIL RECENTLY, IF A PEACEKEEPING COMMANDER CALLED IN FROM ACROSS THE GLOBE WHEN IT WAS NIGHTTIME HERE IN NEW YORK, THERE WAS NO ONE IN THE PEACEKEEPING OFFICE EVEN TO ANSWER THE CALL. WHEN LIVES ARE ON THE LINE, WE CANNOT LET THE REACH OF THE U.N. EXCEED ITS GRASP.

AS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND OTHERS HAVE ARGUED, IF U.N. PEACEKEEPING IS TO BE A SOUND, SECURITY INVESTMENT FOR OUR NATION AND FOR OTHER U.N. MEMBERS, IT MUST ADAPT TO NEW TIMES. TOGETHER WE MUST PREPARE U.N. PEACEKEEPING FOR THE 21ST CENTURY. WE NEED TO BEGIN BY BRINGING THE RIGORS OF MILITARY AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS TO EVERY U.N. PEACE MISSION.

IN RECENT WEEKS, IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OUR NATION HAS BEGUN ASKING HARDER QUESTIONS ABOUT PROPOSALS FOR NEW PEACEKEEPING MISSIONS. IS THERE A REAL THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE? DOES THE PROPOSED MISSION HAVE CLEAR OBJECTIVES? CAN AN END POINT BE IDENTIFIED FOR THOSE WHO WILL BE ASKED TO PARTICIPATE? HOW MUCH WILL THE MISSION COST? FROM NOW ON, THE UNITED NATIONS SHOULD ADDRESS THESE AND OTHER HARD QUESTIONS FOR EVERY PROPOSED MISSION BEFORE WE VOTE AND BEFORE THE MISSION BEGINS.

THE UNITED NATIONS SIMPLY CANNOT BECOME ENGAGED IN EVERY ONE OF THE WORLD'S CONFLICTS. IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TO SAY YES TO U.N. PEACEKEEPING, THE UNITED NATIONS MUST KNOW WHEN TO SAY NO. THE UNITED NATIONS MUST ALSO HAVE THE TECHNICAL MEANS TO RUN A MODERN WORLD CLASS PEACEKEEPING OPERATION. WE SUPPORT THE



CREATION OF A GENUINE U.N. PEACEKEEPING HEADQUARTERS WITH A PLANNING STAFF, WITH ACCESS TO TIMELY INTELLIGENCE, WITH A LOGISTICS UNIT THAT CAN BE DEPLOYED ON A MOMENT'S NOTICE, AND A MODERN OPERATIONS CENTER WITH GLOBAL COMMUNICATIONS.

AND THE U.N.'S OPERATIONS MUST NOT ONLY BE ADEQUATELY FUNDED BUT ALSO FAIRLY FUNDED. WITHIN THE NEXT FEW WEEKS, THE UNITED STATES WILL BE CURRENT IN OUR PEACEKEEPING BILL. I HAVE WORKED HARD WITH THE CONGRESS TO GET THIS DONE. I BELIEVE THE UNITED STATES SHOULD LEAD THE WAY IN BEING TIMELY IN ITS PAYMENTS AND I WILL WORK TO CONTINUE TO SEE THAT WE PAY OUR BILLS IN FULL. BUT I AM ALSO COMMITTED TO WORK WITH THE UNITED NATIONS TO REDUCE OUR NATION'S ASSESSMENT FOR THESE MISSIONS. THE ASSESSMENT SYSTEM HAS NOT BEEN CHANGED SINCE 1973, AND EVERYONE IN OUR COUNTRY KNOWS THAT OUR PERCENTAGE OF THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC PIE IS NOT AS GREAT AS IT WAS THEN. THEREFORE, I BELIEVE OUR RATE SHOULD BE REDUCE TO REFLECT THE RISE OF OTHER NATIONS THAT CAN NOW BEAR MORE OF THE FINANCIAL BURDEN. THAT WILL MAKE IT EASIER FOR ME AS PRESIDENT TO MAKE SURE WE PAY IN A TIMELY AND FULL FASHION.

CHANGES IN THE U.N.'S PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS MUST BE PART OF AN EVEN BROADER PROGRAM OF UNITED NATIONS REFORM. I SAY THAT, AGAIN, NOT TO CRITICIZE THE UNITED NATIONS BUT TO HELP TO IMPROVE IT. AS OUR AMBASSADOR, MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, HAS SUGGESTED, THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS PLAYED A TWIN ROLE TO THE U.N., FIRST FRIEND AND FIRST CRITIC.

TODAY, CORPORATIONS ALL AROUND THE WORLD ARE FINDING WAYS TO MOVE FROM THE INDUSTRIAL AGE TO THE INFORMATION AGE, IMPROVING SERVICE, REDUCING BUREAUCRACY, AND CUTTING COSTS. HERE IN THE UNITED STATES, OUR VICE PRESIDENT AL GORE AND I HAVE LAUNCHED AN EFFORT TO LITERALLY REINVENT HOW OUR GOVERNMENT OPERATES. WE SEE THIS GOING ON IN OTHER GOVERNMENTS AROUND THE WORLD. NOW THE TIME HAS COME TO REINVENT THE WAY THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATES AS WELL.

I APPLAUD THE INITIAL STEPS THE SECRETARY-GENERAL HAS TAKEN TO REDUCE AND TO REFORM THE UNITED NATIONS BUREAUCRACY. NOW WE MUST ALL DO EVEN MORE TO ROOT OUT WASTE. BEFORE THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS OVER, LET US ESTABLISH A STRONG MANDATE FOR AN OFFICE OF INSPECTOR GENERAL SO THAT IT CAN ATTAIN A REPUTATION FOR TOUGHNESS, FOR INTEGRITY, FOR EFFECTIVENESS. LET US BUILD NEW CONFIDENCE AMONG OUR PEOPLE THAT THE UNITED NATIONS IS CHANGING WITH THE NEEDS OF OUR TIMES.

ULTIMATELY, THE KEY FOR REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS, AS IN REFORMING OUR OWN GOVERNMENT, IS TO REMEMBER WHY WE ARE HERE AND WHOM WE SERVE. IT IS WELL TO RECALL THAT THE FIRST WORDS OF THE U.N. CHARTER ARE NOT "WE, THE GOVERNMENTS," BUT "WE, THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS." THAT MEANS IN EVERY COUNTRY THE TEACHERS, THE WORKERS, THE FARMERS, THE PROFESSIONALS, THE FATHERS, THE MOTHERS, THE CHILDREN FROM THE MOST REMOTE VILLAGE



IN THE WORLD TO THE LARGEST METROPOLIS, THEY ARE WHY WE GATHER IN THIS GREAT HALL. IT IS THEIR FUTURES THAT ARE AT RISK WHEN WE ACT OR FAIL TO ACT. AND IT IS THEY WHO ULTIMATELY PAY OUR BILLS.

AS WE DREAM NEW DREAMS IN THIS AGE WHEN MIRACLES NOW SEEM POSSIBLE, LET US FOCUS ON THE LIVES OF THOSE PEOPLE, AND ESPECIALLY ON THE CHILDREN WHO WILL INHERIT THIS WORLD. LET US WORK WITH A NEW URGENCY AND IMAGINE WHAT KIND OF WORLD WE COULD CREATE FOR THEM OVER THE COMING GENERATION. LET US WORK WITH NEW ENERGY TO PROTECT THE WORLD'S PEOPLE FROM TORTURE AND REPRESSION. AS SECRETARY OF STATE CHRISTOPHER STRESSED AT THE RECENT VIENNA CONFERENCE, HUMAN RIGHTS ARE NOT SOMETHING CONDITIONAL, BOUNDED BY CULTURE, BUT RATHER SOMETHING UNIVERSAL GRANTED BY GOD. THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD CREATE AT LONG LAST A HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. I HOPE YOU WILL DO IT SOON AND WITH VIGOR AND ENERGY AND CONVICTION. (APPLAUSE.)

LET US ALSO WORK FAR MORE AMBITIOUSLY TO FULFILL OUR OBLIGATIONS AS CUSTODIANS OF THIS PLANET NOT ONLY TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR OUR CITIZENS AND THE QUALITY OF OUR AIR AND WATER AND THE EARTH ITSELF, BUT ALSO BECAUSE THE ROOTS OF CONFLICT ARE SO OFTEN ENTANGLED WITH THE ROOTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL NEGLECT AND THE CALAMITIES OF FAMINE AND DISEASE.

DURING THE COURSE OF OUR CAMPAIGN IN THE UNITED STATES LAST YEAR VICE PRESIDENT GORE AND I PROMISED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MAJOR CHANGES IN OUR NATION'S POLICY TOWARD THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. THOSE WERE PROMISES TO KEEP, AND TODAY THE UNITED STATES IS DOING SO.

TODAY WE ARE WORKING WITH OTHER NATIONS TO BUILD ON THE PROMISING WORK OF THE U.N.'S COMMISSION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT. WE ARE WORKING TO MAKE SURE THAT ALL NATIONS MEET THEIR COMMITMENTS UNDER THE GLOBAL CLIMATE CONVENTION. WE ARE SEEKING TO COMPLETE NEGOTIATIONS ON AN ACCORD TO PREVENT THE WORLD'S DESERTS FROM FURTHER EXPANSION. AND WE SEEK TO STRENGTHEN THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION'S EFFORTS TO COMBAT THE PLAGUE OF AIDS, WHICH IS NOT KILLING MILLIONS, BUT ALSO EXHAUSTING THE RESOURCES OF NATIONS THAT CAN LEAST AFFORD IT. AND LET US MAKE A NEW COMMITMENT TO THE WORLD'S CHILDREN.

IT IS TRAGIC ENOUGH THAT ONE AND A HALF MILLION CHILDREN DIED AS A RESULT OF WARS OVER THE PAST DECADE. BUT IT IS FAR MORE UNFORGIVABLE THAT DURING THAT SAME PERIOD, 40 MILLION CHILDREN DIED FROM DISEASES COMPLETELY PREVENTABLE WITH SIMPLE VACCINES OR MEDICINES. EVERY DAY -- THIS DAY, AS WE MEET HERE -- OVER 30,000 OF THE WORLD'S CHILDREN WILL DIE OF MALNUTRITION AND DISEASE.

תפוצה: שדה, שדהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלשלו, רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (ר'אגת), תכנון, ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, @ (דוצ)

סססס



אאאא, חוזם: 36755

אל: רהמש/ 1744

מ-: וושינגטון, נר: 738, תא: 270993, זח: 1653, דח: מ, סג: בל,

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חלק (ב) : המשך לחוזם 036754.

י.ל.י.

OUR UNICEF DIRECTOR, JIM GRANT, HAS REMINDED ME THAT EACH OF THOSE CHILDREN HAD A NAME AND A NATIONALITY, A FAMILY, A PERSONALITY, AND A POTENTIAL. WE ARE COMPELLED TO DO BETTER BY THE WORLD'S CHILDREN. JUST AS OUR OWN NATION HAS LAUNCHED NEW REFORMS TO ENSURE THAT EVERY CHILD HAS ADEQUATE HEALTH CARE, WE MUST DO MORE TO GET BASIC VACCINES AND OTHER TREATMENTS FOR CURABLE DISEASES TO CHILDREN ALL OVER THE WORLD. IT'S THE BEST INVESTMENT WE'LL EVER MAKE. WE CAN FIND NEW WAYS TO ENSURE THAT EVERY CHILD GROWS UP WITH CLEAN, DRINKABLE WATER, THAT MOST PRECIOUS COMMODITY OF LIFE ITSELF. AND THE U.N. CAN WORK EVEN HARDER TO ENSURE THAT EACH CHILD HAS AT LEAST A FULL PRIMARY EDUCATION, AND I MEAN THAT OPPORTUNITY FOR GIRLS AS WELL AS BOYS.

AND TO ENSURE A HEALTHIER AND MORE ABUNDANT WORLD, WE SIMPLY MUST SLOW THE WORLD'S EXPLOSIVE GROWTH IN POPULATION. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO SEE THE HUMAN RACE DOUBLE BY THE MIDDLE OF THE NEXT CENTURY. OUR NATION HAS AT LAST RENEWED ITS COMMITMENT TO WORK WITH THE UNITED NATIONS TO EXPAND THE AVAILABILITY OF THE WORLD'S FAMILY PLANNING EDUCATION AND SERVICES. WE MUST ENSURE THAT THERE IS A PLACE AT THE TABLE FOR EVERY ONE OF OUR WORLD'S CHILDREN. AND WE CAN DO IT.

AT THE BIRTH OF THIS ORGANIZATION 48 YEARS AGO, ANOTHER TIME OF BOTH VICTORY AND DANGER, A GENERATION OF GIFTED LEADERS FROM MANY NATIONS STEPPED FORWARD TO ORGANIZE THE WORLD'S EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF SECURITY AND PROSPERITY. ONE AMERICAN LEADER DURING THAT PERIOD SAID THIS: "IT IS TIME WE STEERED BY THE STARS RATHER THAN BY THE LIGHT OF EACH PASSING SHIP." HIS GENERATION PICKED PEACE, HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM. THOSE ARE GOOD STARS. THEY SHOULD REMAIN THE HIGHEST IN OUR OWN FIRMAMENT.

NOW HISTORY HAS GRANTED TO US A MOMENT OF EVEN GREATER OPPORTUNITY. WHEN OLD DANGERS ARE EBBING AND OLD WALLS ARE CRUMBLING, FUTURE GENERATIONS WILL JUDGE US, EVERY ONE OF US, ABOVE ALL BY WHAT WE MAKE OF THIS MAGIC MOMENT. LET US RESOLVE THAT WE WILL DREAM LARGER, THAT WE WILL WORK HARDER, SO THAT THEY CAN CONCLUDE THAT WE DID NOT MERELY TURN WALLS TO RUBBLE, BUT INSTEAD LAID THE FOUNDATIONS FOR GREAT THINGS TO COME. LET US ENSURE THAT THE TIDE OF FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IS NOT PUSHED BACK BY THE FIERCE WINDS OF ETHNIC HATREDS. LET US ENSURE THAT THE WORLD'S MOST DANGEROUS WEAPONS ARE SAFELY REDUCED AND DENIED

TO DANGEROUS HANDS. LET US ENSURE THAT THE WORLD WE PASS TO OUR CHILDREN IS HEALTHIER, SAFER, AND MORE ABUNDANT THAN THE ONE WE INHABIT TODAY. I BELIEVE, I KNOW THAT TOGETHER WE CAN EXTEND THIS MOMENT OF MIRACLES INTO AN AGE OF GREAT WORKS AND NEW WONDERS. THANK YOU VERY MUCH. (APPLAUSE.)

END

תקשורת וושינגטון

תפוצה: שהח, סשהח, @ (רהמ), @ (שהבט), מנכל, ממנכל, סמנכלש'לום,  
רביב, ר/מרכז, מצב, @ (רם), @ (אמן), @ (ר'אגת),  
תכנון, ממד, מצפא, סמנכלתקשורת, תקשורת, @ (דוצ)

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