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March 14, 1994

### MEMORANDUM

TO: Senator Dole

FROM: Randy Scheunemann

SUBJECT: Middle East Update

The controversy over U.S. approval of a draft U.N. Security Council resolution including a reference to Jerusalem and the occupied territories is increasing. As we discussed on Friday, the U.S. agreed to draft language which referred to Israeli withdrawal for occupied territories <u>including Jerusalem</u>.

The political timing of the Administration's effort could not be worse with AIPAC's convention starting this weekend. AIPAC President Steve Grossman met with Clinton over the weekend to express Jewish concerns.

Apparently, the administration was willing to agree to this language -- at odds with years of American policy -- to get the PLO back to the table. You were a co-sponsor of a resolution which passed in 1990 expressing the Senate's view the Jerusalem is the capital of Israel and should remain undivided.

Gingrich, speaking to AIPAC yesterday, got huge applause when he said he was sending a letter to President Clinton urging him to veto any such resolution.

The Administration will probably have to back off on this foolish stance -- which once again highlights the peril of relying on "lowest common denominator" U.N. policy.

s of flights could care. They ers employed code or rds with the IRA, persuading e threat was genoned tar projectiles hit Heathoday, one landing on the rminal used primarily for vays international flights, ther three landed nearby. r attacks Wednesday and ce were uncertain if the unintentional duds or if

elaborate. This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas. Tucker said he believes the launchttp://dolearchives.ku.edu

ers used in all three attacks were planted at the same time and rigged to fire with automatic timers. The launcher used in the first attack was anchored to the floor of a parked car. The second to fire was hidden in a wood 1,000 yards from the airport; the third was found in a 3-foot-deep trench covered over with branches and leaves.



Police remove a mortar device from Heathrow Airport after a third terrorist attack on the facility since Wednesday. Officials closed the airport.



Kach movement pass Jerusalem.

vict Arabs from the Jew-Although Kahane was the parliamentary elec-8, his activists were parong in Kiryat Arba, a setir Hebron with a history al activism.

ahane's central tenets was ive been victimized for so wish violence in defense of est is never had." In the

### U.S.-PLO Impasse Could Foil U.N. Vote Washington Wants Arafat Commitment to Return to Peace Talks

### By John M. Goshko Washington Post Staff Writer

A continuing impasse between the United States and the Palestine Liberation Organization could block a U.N. Security Council vote today on how to respond to the massacre of Palestinians by an extremist lewish settler in Hebron, U.S. officials and diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The United States says it will support a resolution urging protection for Palestinians in Israeli-occupied territories only if PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat makes a commitment to return immediately to the peace talks with Israel that were suspended after the Feb. 25 slavings.

The PLO has argued that without a strong resolution, Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are likely to turn against the peace process so massively that Arafat could not come back to the negotiations. That would derail, perhaps permanently, efforts to work out implementation of the Israeli-PLO agreement to give Palestinians limited self-rule in Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho.

"We see a U.N. resolution not as something that stands on its own but as part of a process for quick resumption of the peace talks," a senior U.S. official said yesterday. But he and other U.S. officials said Arafat still has not given assurances that the U.S. hope would be satisfied.

In fact, some officials said, the PLO's latest position is that it might be necessary to wait until the resolution's central provision-introduction of "a temporary international or foreign presence" into the territories-actually is being implemented before the talks resume.

As of last night, the officials said, it was not clear whether the standoff can be resolved today when the Security Council tackles the resolution anew. If not, the officials said, a vote, which has been postponed several times in the last two weeks, almost certainly will be put off again, raising new concerns about how much more delay the fragile talks can sustain.

Complicating the situation was a new upsurge of concern vesterday from the American Jewish community about whether the Clinton administration, in its eagerness to find a way of helping Arafat, is offering concessions that would be harmful to Israel. American Jews object strongly to the PLO's insistence that the resolution refer to Jerusalem as part of the occupied territories.

In his 1992 campaign, President Clinton rejected descriptions of Jerusalem as occupied territory and took the position that the city's final status should be resolved through negotiation. The Democratic Party platform echoed Clinton's view, and the Israeli-PLO accord calls for discussion of Jerusalem's final status to begin three years after the start of autonomy in Gaza and Jericho.

Until now, the administration has not accepted mention of Jerusalem in U.N. documents. But in an effort to help Arafat, the United States last week tentatively agreed to a compromise that would leave Jerusalem in the text of the Security Council resolution on the understanding that the applicable paragraph would be voted separately. That would enable the United States to abstain on the clause referring to Jerusalem.

Administration officials have said it would be necessary to accept some objectionable language in the resolution for the sake of the larger goal of getting the peace talks going again. For the last several days, U.S. officials, including Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who is visiting Asia, have made a major effort to reassure Israeli supporters that the administration's maneuvering to get a resolution acceptable to the PLO should not be seen as a change of Clinton's position on Jerusalem.

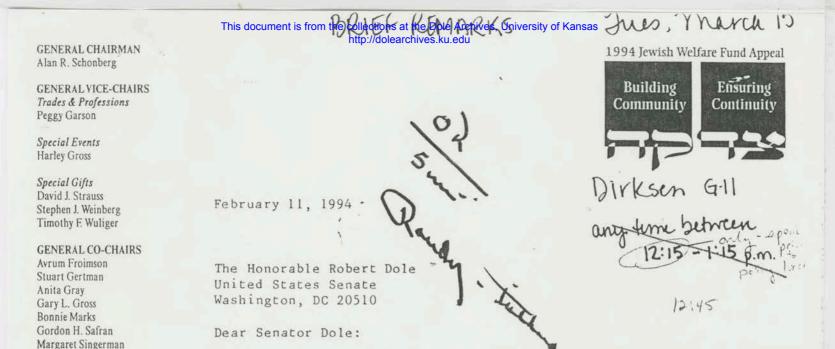
However, that argument ran into skepticism bordering on an outright challenge at the opening yesterday of the annual meeting here of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), the country's principal pro-Israel lobbying group.

AIPAC President Steven Grossman visited Clinton at the White House and subsequently reported to the members that he had warned the president of the emotional consequences in the American Jewish community if the United States permits mention of Jerusalem as occupied territory. Grossman said he also had reminded the president of his campaign position on Jerusalem and said Clinton had replied, "That policy is still right."

Vice President Gore, who spoke to the AIPAC gathering, said the administration is trying very hard to craft a resolution "that will preserve our position on Jerusalem." Gore would not elaborate. But Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), the House assistant minority leader, was unequivocal in his remarks to AIPAC. Gingrich said he was writing to Clinton urging him to veto the U.N. resolution.

SUMMER AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY FOR ADIIITS OF VISITING STUDENTS





On <u>Tuesday</u>, <u>March 15</u>, 1994, 85 leaders representing the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland will be in Washington, D.C. to meet with key political figures and top government officials to discuss issues of concern to the American Jewith community.

We would indeed be privileged if you would meet with and briefly address (for 5 - 10 minutes) our delegation in SDG 11 in the Dirksen Senate Office Building any time between 12:15 -1:15 p.m. on March 15. You are cordially invited to join us for lunch at noon as well. Please let us know if you will be dining with us so that we can make appropriate arrangements.

We hope that you will give this matter your utmost consideration, as we would be honored to meet with a Senator who has consistently demonstrated such outstanding leadership. Your participation would certainly be appreciated by all who attend.

You can indicate your attendance plans by calling Dina Roemer or Rick Leibovich at the Federation, (216)566-9200. We thank you for your cooperation, and eagerly await your positive response.

Sincerely,

James C. Spira

Darrell A. Young

UJohn Garson

Jack Jaffe Harvey Siegel

mi Wassern

Jack Jaffe Harvey Siegel Joni Wasserman Co-chairs, Washington Mission 1994 Jewish Welfare Fund Appeal

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The Annual Campaign of the Jewish Community Federation • Bennett Yanowitz, President 1750 Euclid Avenue • Cleveland, Ohio 44115 • Phone (216) 566-9200 • Fax (216) 861-1230 TALKING POINTS FOR JEWISH WELFARE FUND APPEAL **MARCH 15, 1994** I WELCOME YOU TO WASHINGTON **IN YOUR EFFORT TO FOSTER GREATER UNDERSTANDING ABOUT** THE IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL. **UNLIKE STROBE TALBOTT, I BELIEVE ISRAEL IS A STRATEGIC ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND** 

I BELIEVE OUR PARTNERSHIP CAN CONTINUE TO GROW. **NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, THESE ARE TOUGH TIMES FOR ISBAEL. THE BRUTAL MASSACRE AT HEBRON** FOCUSSED THE WORLD'S **ATTENTION ON THE MOST EXTREME ELEMENTS OF ISBAEL.** THERE ARE DAILY REPORTS AS THE **COMMISSION OF INQUIRY** 

**PROCEEDS WHICH RAISE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS FOR ISRAEL, FOR ISRAELIS, AND FOR ISRAEL'S FRIENDS.** IT IS EXACTLY DURING THESE TOUGH TIMES THAT YOU NEED A STRONG BASE OF FRIENDSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING TO FALL BACK **ON. THAT IS THE IMPORTANCE OF** YOUR EFFORTS. LET ME JUST SAY A FEW WORDS

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**ABOUT THE STATUS OF THE PEACE PROCESS.** IN MY VIEW, THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW WEEKS SHOW THE IMPORTANCE OF MOVING FULL SPEED AHEAD IN THE PEACE PROCESS. WE CANNOT LET THE MURDERERS HAVE THEIR WAY BY DERAILING THE PEACE PROCESS.

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# AND WE CANNOT FORGET THAT THE HEBRON MASSACRE WAS NOT THE ONLY KILLING SINCE THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES WAS SIGNED ON SEPTEMBER 13 AT THE WHITE HOUSE. **33 ISRAELIS HAVE BEEN MURDERED** SINCE THEN. ONE EXAMPLE: AN **INNOCENT WOMEN -- 5 MONTHS**

5

**PREGNANT -- WAS SHOT IN AN** 

**AMBUSH IN FRONT OF HER HUSBAND AND TWO CHILDREN ON FEBRUARY** 18. **MORE THAN 100 PALESTINIANS** HAVE BEEN KILLED, INCLUDING PLO **OFFICIALS ASSASSINATED BY** "HARD-LINE" ELEMENTS. THE BOTTOM LINE IS THAT THE **VIOLENCE WILL CONTINUE IN THE** MIDDLE EAST UNTIL A JUST AND

# SECURE PEACE CAN BE IMPLEMENTED. AND THAT PEACE **MUST BE REAL: NOT JUST THE** ABSENCE OF WAR BUT THE END OF THE BOYCOTT ON ISRAEL, AND NO MORE CONDONING OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES. PRIME MINISTER RABIN HAS ACTED **DECISIVELY IN THE WAKE OF THE**

**MASSACRE -- BANNING 2** 

**EXTREMIST PARTIES**, **UNEQUIVOCALLY DENOUNCING TERRORISM, AND ISSUING DETENTION ORDERS. HE DESERVES CREDIT FOR THESE STEPS.** MUCH OF THE WORLD HAS BEEN **CONCERNED ABOUT THE LACK OF U.S. LEADERSHIP IN THE WORLD. I** SHARE THOSE CONCERNS. PLO CHAIRMAN ARAFAT ONLY

**DECIDED TO MAKE PEACE -- AFTER STRONG U.S. LEADERSHIP LED TO** THE DEMISE OF HIS TWO MAJOR ALLIES. **UNDER PRESIDENT REAGAN'S** LEADERSHIP, THE COLD WAR WAS WON, AND THE SOVIET UNION WAS DESTROYED. **UNDER PRESIDENT BUSH'S** LEADERSHIP, IRAQ WAS

DESTROYED IN OPERATION DESERT STORM. THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION STOOD OUT OF THE WAY WHEN **PIO AND ISRAELI NEGOTIATORS** MADE THEIR DEAL LAST YEAR, AND THEN HOSTED THE SIGNING CEREMONY. I SUPPORT PRESIDENT CLINTON'S **CALL FOR ISRAEL AND THE PLO TO** 

### MFFT TO RESOLVE THEIR **DIFFERENCE OVER IMPLEMENTATION -- WHICH WERE VERY FEW UNTIL LAST WEEK.** BUT NOW IT APPEARS THE **ADMINISTRATION IS READY TO ALLOW THE U.N. TO APPROVE A RESOLUTION TERMING JERUSALEM** PART OF THE OCCUPIED **TERRITORIES -- DESPITE THE FACT**

THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES PUT THE ISSUE OF JERUSALEM OFF UNTIL AFTER A DEMONSTRATION **OF SELF-RULE IN GAZA AND** JERICHO. IN 1990, I CO-SPONSORED A **RESOLUTION -- WHICH PASSED --EXPRESSING THE SENATE'S VIEW** THAT JERUSALEM IS THE CAPITAL **OF ISRAEL AND SHOULD REMAIN UNDIVIDED.**  IT LOOKS LIKE THIS **ADMINISTRATION IS -- ONCE AGAIN** -- LETTING THE U.N. DICTATE THE **TERMS OF OUR POLICY. I CAN** TFIL AMBASSADOR ALBRIGHT THAT IT IS NOT THAT HARD TO **NEGOTIATE A GOOD RESOLUTION.** THE FACT IS THAT NO RESOLUTION PASSES THE U.N. SECURITY **COUNCIL UNLESS THE U.S.** 

APPROVES. IF AMBASSADOR **ALBRIGHT CANNOT NEGOTIATE A GOOD DRAFT, THE PRESIDENT** SHOULD TELL HER TO VETO IT. THAT IS LEADERSHIP. I URGE ALL OF YOU TO CONTINUE **IN YOUR EFFORTS TO FOSTER GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND** AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF STRONG TIES TO ISRAEL.