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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
March 11, 1996

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2016-0138-M (1.01)
KBH 9/1/2022

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: Your Trip to the Middle East, March 13-14, 1996

Your approach to this third visit to the Middle East will be a reflection of three principal themes:

- support for Prime Minister Peres and the people of Israel at a time of grief and uncertainty;
- demonstration of resolve to confront the terror that has threatened the peace process; and
- preserving and promoting the Middle East peace process.

In Sharm el-Sheikh, you will cochair with President Mubarak an extraordinary "Summit of the Peacemakers" attended by some 30 leaders from the region and around the world. The fact of the Summit itself is the real message: it shows to the people of Israel that they are not alone in confronting terror; that peace has already made a difference in the Middle East. The Summit will be a demonstration of regional and international solidarity with Israel, will condemn the recent attacks, which have taken the lives of 61 people, and will call for meaningful, multilateral cooperation in combating those responsible. While the Summit will focus on the challenges posed by terror to the peace process, it will also reaffirm support for continued progress toward a lasting and comprehensive settlement.

In Israel, you will both mourn with and comfort a nation shattered by unprecedented violence and affirm your determination to stand with Prime Minister Peres and the people of Israel as they confront the terrorists. Your message will be one of reassurance in a time of grief, resolve that terror shall not prevail, recognition and admiration for the courage and resiliency of the Israeli people and an affirmation of hope that the future will bring a lasting peace. Coming from the Summit in Egypt, your words will have greatly enhanced resonance. Your personal declaration of United States solidarity with Israel will be of primary importance, but it will come against the backdrop of similar expressions of support from those present in Sharm el-Sheikh.

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Your bilateral meetings have been structured to further your objectives for this trip:

In Egypt --

- As in October 1994, you will begin the trip by talks with **President Mubarak**. Your discussions will focus on ensuring that agreement exists on the conduct and outcome of the Summit as well as an affirmation of the critical role Egypt must play in helping advance the peace process.
- Your meeting with **King Hassan of Morocco** will emphasize the importance of the King's continued leadership in building regional and Islamic support for peace, specifically progress toward further reconciliation with Israel -- including the value of a visit by the King.
- A meeting with **Chairman Arafat** will not be confirmed unless we are convinced he has made real progress toward meeting Israeli demands for action against Hamas leaders. He is taking serious steps now. Your discussion will focus on the need for an ongoing, comprehensive security policy that roots out the terrorist infrastructure; without such action it will not be possible to continue further U.S. assistance.

In Israel --

- You will meet with **Prime Minister Peres** and his security chiefs to discuss specific bilateral measures to combat terror. Your meeting will conclude with a public announcement that Secretary Christopher and DCI Deutch will stay behind to complete negotiations on a counter-terrorism cooperation agreement.
- Your meetings with **Likud leader Netanyahu** and Israeli **President Weizman**, who has reacted to the recent violence by calling for suspension of the peace process, will affirm your commitment both to help Israel confront terror and move forward with progress toward a comprehensive settlement.
- In public events, you will meet with **families of those killed** in recent and earlier acts of terror, including a visit to Rabin's grave (with **Leah**). You will deliver a **speech in Tel Aviv** to Israeli high school students, highlighting your principal visit themes of U.S. solidarity, resolution and hope.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING
WITH PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK OF EGYPT

Peace Process

Summit of Peacemakers

- Appreciate all you have done to make Summit of Peacemakers possible. As I told you, could not have done this without working together.
- Believe Summit will be great success; will send very powerful signal to people of Israel that they are not alone in confronting terror and will put terrorists on notice that we will not allow them to threaten peace process.
- Peres needs our support; mood in Israel very bad. Process may not survive if terror does not stop and Summit does not produce clear message and follow-up.
- Know Chairmen's Statement has been worked on by our experts; need to reach closure on final text now, before Summit begins.
- (TO BE PROVIDED -- POINTS AS NEEDED FOR RESOLVING DIFFERENCES ON CHAIRMEN'S STATEMENT)
- Propose that when closed session of Summit opens, we call upon selected representatives to speak to each of three principal themes: condemning violent attempts to kill peace process; reaffirming commitment to a comprehensive settlement; and committing to practical means to combat terror.

Arafat

- Will see Arafat after Summit; will tell him it is critical he continues to do everything possible to confront terror. He has taken some steps; important he has our support.
- But make no mistake, he must decisively take on and root out armed wings of Hamas and PIJ and act to prevent reconstitution of their infrastructure.
- His leadership and future of Palestinian people at stake; he must act now. Hope you will work on this message with him as well.

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Arab League Meeting

- Very important Arab League meeting express support for Summit conclusions, including condemnation of terrorist attacks in Israel; there must not be two differing voices coming from Sharm today and Cairo tomorrow. That would seriously undermine message on confronting terror and supporting peace we will be sending.

Bilateral Issues

Middle East Development Bank

- Appreciate your response to my letter on Middle East Development Bank; now more than ever we must have reference in language to boycott. Need to reach closure now.

Libya (If raised)

- Know we have differing views on Qadhafi, but enhancing pressure until he produces suspects as required by Security Council very important to us. Congress interested in tightening sanctions; has introduced very restrictive language on trade/investment.

Sudan (If raised)

- We continue to support approach you are taking, along with Ethiopia and others; we are prepared to provide our full support in Security Council but believe our efforts most effective if OAU countries take lead.

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MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN OF RUSSIA

OVERVIEW

This will be your first meeting with Yeltsin since Hyde Park and his latest bout of heart trouble. We have proposed to the Russians that the two of you meet for three hours -- meeting/working lunch -- on April 19 (the P-8 nuclear summit kicks off that evening with a Kremlin dinner).

The Russians are protective of their status as cosponsors of the Middle East peace process, particularly given Yeltsin's desire to show his electorate that Russia remains a global actor. Yeltsin may be sensitive that the summit was developed without Russian input from the start; you can note how we have given him a prominent role in Sharm al-Sheikh.

At home, Yeltsin is in full reelection mode. His campaign has co-opted much of his opponents' rhetoric, striking a more nationalist tone. (Chechnya, however, remains a big problem for him.) You might note our mutual need to protect the bilateral relationship as electoral politics intensify. In this regard, we may want to make greater use of the Gore-Chernomyrdin channel to resolve issues like the poultry dispute -- before they become politically charged.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN

(Middle East Peace Process)

- Glad you could attend summit. Know it's busy time for you with campaign, but Russia has important role to play here.
- Critical moment in Middle East. Cannot allow terrorists, who represent small minority, to derail peace process and undo what has been accomplished over last four years.
- Important Arafat do everything possible to dismantle terrorist infrastructure. He must understand need for decisive action now. Hope you can help.

(Bilateral Relations and Campaigns)

- Election campaigns will put pressure on both of us; some may try to use this to turn small issues into big problems. Important we protect bilateral relations from such pressure.
- Al Gore and Viktor Chernomyrdin working to get poultry question under control. This matter of great concern; needs to be resolved quickly.
- May want to make greater use of Gore-Chernomyrdin channel in coming months to ensure small problems don't escalate.

(April Moscow Visit)

- Look forward to April visit to Moscow. Christopher to visit Moscow next week, preview issues for our discussion. Hope he and Primakov can set stage so we can record progress on number of points, for example, on ABM/TMD demarcation.
- Understand P-8 nuclear summit shaping up well. Seems to me this event will send important signal that Russia approaches key nuclear safety and security questions in very different, far more positive, manner than Soviet Union.

(If raised -- Yeltsin Push for G-8 in Lyons)

- G-7 works by consensus. Have to be candid: cannot turn G-7 into full G-8 as fast as you would like. But can use meetings in Moscow and Lyons to show how closely you have drawn Russia together with G-7 members.

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MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES

You will meet briefly with Prime Minister Peres before the Summit begins and following your meeting with President Mubarak. Peres will want to hear from you on the outcome of discussions with Mubarak on the Summit Chairmen's Statement as well as your sense of how helpful the Egyptians will be on Summit follow-up.

Peres will also review with you his assessment of Arafat's performance and ask that you be very direct in telling Arafat that he must act decisively or lose continued assistance from the United States.

Peres will accompany you on Air Force One for the flight from Sharm el-Sheikh to Tel Aviv. That will be an opportunity to review the mood in Israel on the eve of your arrival and for a discussion of next steps on the peace process.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES OF ISRAEL

- Want to use this opportunity to brief you on my meeting with Mubarak; status of Chairmen's statement.
- (Brief on outcome of Mubarak discussion; game plan for meeting; review final text of Statement)
- Chris and Dennis saw Arafat this morning; I expect to see him after Summit, assuming there are no surprises. Appreciate your update on where things stand on his response.
- We will make very clear he must move decisively now; if not, will tell him we will not be able to continue assistance.
- Look forward to talking with you on flight to Tel Aviv on peace process, mood in Israel.

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SUMMIT OF THE PEACEMAKERS
SHARM EL-SHEIKH, EGYPT

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OVERVIEW

You will cochair the Summit, along with President Mubarak. Attending will be some thirty leaders from the Middle East and key figures from outside the region who support the peace process. The Summit's explicit goal is to demonstrate to the people of Israel that they are not alone in addressing the threat posed by terror; that their Arab neighbors throughout the region, and the international community as a whole, stand with Israel in condemning the violence that threatens the peace process and are willing to confront those responsible. The unstated -- but well-understood -- purpose of the conference is to show support for Prime Minister Peres at a critical moment for his leadership in Israel and for the future of the Middle East peace process.

Concerned that the Summit will be perceived as directed against Syria and Arafat's past handling of Hamas, Egypt has been careful to present the meeting as focused upon support for the peace process, rather than a "conference on combating terror." Mubarak made clear to you that he will resist the latter; following up on this theme, Foreign Minister Moussa said publicly that the Summit will consider the threat posed to peace by "violence on both sides."

Syria's possible nonattendance -- while facilitating an outcome acceptable to us, including an unambiguous condemnation of terror -- will increase Egyptian anxieties and consequently strengthen Mubarak's inclination to dilute the clear message we want to send about regional resolve to fight terrorism.

Structure of the Summit

In light of this tension, we have sought to structure the Summit in a manner that will minimize the risks of unhelpful interventions by Moussa or others and direct the participants toward our goal of a concise Chairmen's Statement, which you will have discussed and reached closure on with Mubarak just prior to the meeting's opening.

The Summit will open with statements by the principal participants: Mubarak, you, President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Peres, King Hussein, King Hassan and Chairman Arafat. These remarks will be followed by remarks from the other heads of state/government present, after which the press will be dismissed from the Summit hall. President Mubarak and you will then call

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upon participants to give presentations or comment on the three key themes of the Summit:

- support for the peace process and the goal of a comprehensive settlement;
- condemnation of terror and solidarity with the people of Israel and others in the region in confronting the enemies of peace; and
- agreement to work together (through a group organized by Secretary Christopher) to identify specific areas in which the Summit participants will cooperate to combat terror: choking off financing for terrorist groups; expanding antiterrorism cooperation among participants; and enhancing Palestinian Authority antiterrorism capabilities.

The Summit will conclude with a Chairmen's Statement, which you will read, and a press conference.

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MEETING WITH
KING HASSAN II OF MOROCCO

OVERVIEW

You will have a brief bilateral with King Hassan, your first meeting since his State Visit in early 1995. The King's status as "elder statesman" of the Arab and Islamic world makes his presence at the Summit particularly significant. His decision to attend was not easy, given his rivalry with Mubarak and delicate health; your call -- and his desire not to be left on the sidelines -- was critical to his decision.

While Hassan has demonstrated leadership over the years in helping shape a positive regional environment for peacemaking and was the first Arab leader to openly welcome Prime Minister Rabin and then-Foreign Minister Peres after the signing of the Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, he has been reluctant to move aggressively in the more recent past. Despite his assurances to you that Morocco would propose ending the boycott at the Arab League last spring, we believe Moroccan efforts (if any) were minimal.

The King has appeared increasingly detached from governance in past months, with concerns for his health and capacity to rule accelerated after a serious bout with pneumonia in New York last fall (which prevented a planned meeting with you at the UNGA). Longtime Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Filali, never a real supporter of the peace process, is also in poor health, leaving most day-to-day decisions to the King's widely feared Interior Minister (and security boss).

Peace Process

You should **express appreciation to the King for responding to your request to attend**, noting the importance of his personal support for and engagement in the Summit's work. **Emphasize the need for continued Moroccan leadership in the peace process**, with special focus on sustained action by Arafat on terror and accelerated movement toward regional normalization with Israel. Suggest to the King that now would be a good time for him to visit Israel. Note the importance of Arab League support for the Summit's message condemning the terrorist attacks in Israel and confronting those responsible for threatening the peace process.

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Western Sahara (If raised)

Morocco and the Polisario movement are deadlocked over further steps toward a referendum in the disputed Western Sahara. The continued impasse in implementation of the UN settlement plan has frustrated many Security Council members and has provoked Congressional calls for an end to the MINURSO mandate and withdrawal of international forces from the territory. We have told the King we will support continuation of the UN mandate until the end of May but do not believe a further extension will be possible in the absence of real progress toward setting a date for the referendum.

In a last attempt to revive chances of a settlement, we have made very confidential approaches to both sides, offering to facilitate direct discussions, under the aegis of a third-party negotiator, to resolve outstanding issues and allow the referendum to proceed. We are not optimistic about chances of success, given the deeply held and completely opposed positions of both Morocco and the Polisario; our bottom line is to avoid being directly drawn ourselves into the process in place of the UN. If the King raises the issue, you should state our hope that a mutually agreeable resolution can be found, noting the difficulty of extending the mandate beyond May if no progress is made.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
KING HASSAN II OF MOROCCO

- Appreciate your agreement to attend; as leader in Arab and Islamic worlds your presence here was very important.
- Essential we do all we can to demonstrate support for Shimon at this very difficult moment. Summit will have major impact in Israel; signal they are not alone in confronting terror.
- You have done much to move region toward peace. Your continued leadership essential now to keep process of normalization going forward, help create positive and supportive framework for peacemaking. Suggest now may be good time for you to visit Israel.
- As for Syrian track, believe that it will be difficult to move ahead if silence on terrorist attacks continues, while Hamas/PIJ announce praise of killers from Damascus.
- Very important Arab League meeting express support for Summit conclusions, including condemnation of terrorist attacks in Israel; there must not be two differing voices coming from Sharm today and Cairo tomorrow.
- That would seriously undermine message on confronting terror and supporting peace we will be sending. Know I can count on you to ensure this does not happen.
- (If Western Sahara raised) Know Ambassador Ginsberg has discussed our concerns on this issue with you. Must tell you I do not see how MINURSO mandate can be continued beyond May unless significant progress made toward resolution that allows date for referendum to be set.

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MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER MAJOR

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OVERVIEW

You will have a brief bilateral with Prime Minister Major to get his perspective on prospects for restoration of the IRA cease-fire. Major may raise HMG's concern over legislation seen as extraterritorial by the Europeans, especially Helms-Burton. Bosnia and Nigeria might also be raised.

Northern Ireland

On February 28, Prime Ministers Major and Bruton announced a process leading to talks on the future of Northern Ireland beginning June 10. Sinn Fein can participate if the cease-fire is restored. The IRA has not responded officially to the announcement, but there is no indication restoration of the cease-fire is imminent. A bomb exploded in a dumpster in London early March 9; it had the hallmarks of an IRA effort, but there has been no claim of responsibility. There were no injuries.

By the time of your meeting with Major, you will have met with Ambassador Crowe to receive the intelligence that Major wanted you to have on the IRA and Sinn Fein. Major made no public comment on our decision to renew Adams' visa, other than to say that it was an internal USG decision. Privately, the British understood our reasons and were much more concerned that Adams not be able to raise funds (he will not) and that you will not meet him.

Bosnia

The British have privately been pressing for consultations on a possible follow-on force following IFOR's departure, and they have maintained that UK forces will only contribute to such a force if the United States does as well. You should tell Major that such a discussion is both premature and politically unhelpful, given Congressional skepticism about U.S. participation in IFOR.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER MAJOR OF GREAT BRITAIN

Northern Ireland

- You and John Bruton accomplished great deal with February 28 announcement -- got process going, set date for talks and made clear Sinn Fein participation up to them and IRA.
- Most disturbed by possibility that bomb that exploded last Friday was IRA effort.
- Appreciate intelligence you shared via Bill Crowe. Disturbing. Still believe you and John Bruton are on right track.
- Our message to Adams is there is no support here for violence -- believe he will hear that in U.S.
- Expect Tony will be seeing Trimble, Hume and Alderdice later this week. Any particular message they should hear from us?
- All are coming to our St. Patrick's Day reception, which will be more solemn affair, including prayers for peace.

Bosnia (if raised)

- Believe we and British have same view on IFOR support for civilian implementation: important that IFOR assist within limits of its resources but not get drawn into full-time police role.
- Understand your people have floated idea of follow-on peacekeeping force after IFOR.
- Discussion of this subject premature. If it became public, it would be politically damaging in U.S. given Congressional skepticism about IFOR.
- Moreover, our strong view is we need to hold to one-year deadline to keep maximum pressure on parties to meet their Dayton commitments. Civilian efforts such as Police Task Force will continue beyond one year, but there should no longer be need for robust NATO force.

Nigeria

- Wrote you seeking support for targeted sanctions on Nigeria. Situation in Nigeria continues to deteriorate; worried about implications for regional stability.

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- Important leading powers galvanize efforts of international organizations on this. Need to move swiftly; hope you will join effort.

Helms-Burton (if raised)

- Fully aware of concerns you have about extraterritorial impact of Helms/Burton.
- Had to exhaust all diplomatic and nonmilitary options in fashioning response to shutdown of two unarmed civilian aircraft. Appreciate strong condemnation you made of this violation of international law.
- Please remain open to working quietly with us to help create conditions in which suspension of Title III of Helms/Burton might be possible.

D'Amato/Kennedy Legislation (if raised)

- We are continuing to work to get maximum flexibility in this legislation.

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MEETING WITH PLO AND
PALESTINIAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN
YASIR ARAFAT

OVERVIEW

The recent wave of bombings in Israel have placed Arafat in a very difficult position. A consummate master of political maneuvering, he had sought simultaneously to expand his base of support within the territories and divide Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad by negotiating with them over participation in the political process. Despite repeated demands from Israel, Arafat's security services avoided taking meaningful actions against the leaders of the armed wings of these movements, lest the ongoing political talks be jeopardized. The February 25 and subsequent Hamas/PIJ attacks have rendered this policy untenable and confronted Arafat with the need to take decisive action.

Peres has made clear that Arafat's leadership, continued implementation of the Israel-Palestinian Interim Agreement and the future of the peace process now depend on Arafat confronting the terrorists and dismantling their infrastructure. They have made the arrest of five key Hamas and PIJ leaders, particularly Hamas Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigade leader Mohammed Dayf, the litmus test of Arafat's response -- and a condition for any further progress.

Finally, positive steps. But ...

It has been very difficult for Arafat to recognize that his instincts for co-option rather than confrontation have failed him and that he has been betrayed by the very elements he sought to bring into the Palestinian political process. Initially paralyzed and inclined to fantasize about conspiracies "outside my control" responsible for the bombings, **we believe Arafat is now beginning to move in the right direction.** E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

he has arrested three of the five Israeli-named terrorist kingpins, with Dayf -- the real prize -- still at large. Hundreds of other militants have been taken into custody and, in an unprecedented level of cooperation, information exchanged with Israeli security services.

Peres has urged that Arafat move as well to summon the Palestinian National Congress on an accelerated basis to revoke offending portions of the Palestinian Covenant. While Arafat has said he would do so, no action has yet been taken.

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Despite these moves, the question remains: is this enough? While most Palestinian leaders and security chiefs are now ready to acknowledge that accommodation and dialogue with Hamas and the PIJ will not work, we are unsure if Arafat agrees. His ability over the weeks ahead to demonstrate his commitment to combat terror will be the essential element in relaunching implementation of the Interim Agreement. He cannot afford any slippage in a sustained fight against the terrorists; rather, he will have to display even greater resolve.

Delivering the Message

We will hold off confirming your meeting with Arafat -- which will not be scheduled until after the Summit concludes -- until we can assess Arafat's performance in the lead-in to and during the Summit itself. Assuming that Arafat continues to take positive actions, your meeting will be an opportunity to affirm your continued support for him as partner in the peace process and to reiterate the critical importance of continued determined action against terror.

E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

While stressing our wish to continue efforts to help build a better future for the Palestinian people, you should tell Arafat that failure on his part to carry through on dismantling the terrorist infrastructure will make it impossible for us to sustain our assistance to him.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
CHAIRMAN YASIR ARAFAT

- Appreciated receiving your letter, commitment to take decisive action against those who are trying to kill peace.
- You have been our partner in this process, and we have stood with you during difficult times. Now you must stand with us and with Prime Minister Peres.
- You must take every action possible to confront terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure.
- This is only way to save process and allow implementation of Interim Agreement to move forward. You must move decisively against those who have betrayed Palestinian people and you.
- Know you have taken some important steps over past week, but more needs to be done, and your actions must be sustained. In particular, must arrest and prosecute terrorist ringleaders.
- Must tell you, your credibility and Peres' ability to work with you have suffered. Two steps I believe can best address this are:
 - 1) act like any other responsible authority: when criminal acts are committed against others, extradition is normal response. Know this is difficult, but nothing would have greater impact in Israel.
 - 2) Because Palestinian Covenant is seen by Israelis as justifying terror, accelerated action to revoke offending clauses would be very important.
- If you do not act now in comprehensive and decisive manner and sustain your efforts, it will become increasingly difficult for us to sustain our assistance. Not in our mutual interests, those of Palestinian people for this to happen.

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MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER
SHIMON PERES
(ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE)

Peres will want to use the trip from Sharm el-Sheikh to Tel Aviv to review arrangements for your visit to Israel and to explore longer-term considerations involving our bilateral relations and the peace process.

Peres's key concern regarding the Israel visit will be our plans to announce that Secretary Christopher and DCI Deutch will remain behind to begin work on a bilateral agreement on combatting terrorism. His preference would be to sign a document during your visit, but he has accepted that necessary preparations cannot be completed in time. You can reassure him that we are prepared to be flexible on format to meet his needs for a formal agreement, which could be completed in time for signing during his April trip to the United States.

Peres may also revisit his proposal for a U.S.-Israel Defense Agreement, possibly suggesting that work on such a pact also be completed in time for signature in April. This is a much more ambitious undertaking, one which has significant resource and policy implications and one which would not be universally welcomed in Israel, which prides itself on being able to fight its own battles. You should tell Peres that we have named our representatives to the study groups he earlier suggested be created to work this issue and that we are ready to begin discussions when the Israelis are (it has taken them some time to sort out bureaucratically how to organize themselves). But you should question the wisdom of moving too fast on a matter of such importance.

Peres will want to consult on how to reactivate the Syrian track. His proposal will be that Israel, Syrian and U.S. chief negotiators meet in the second half of March to consider when and in what format talks should resume. You can tell Peres we agree to this approach.

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TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES OF ISRAEL
(ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE)

- Announcement that Chris and John Deutch will stay on to work on counter-terror agreement shows seriousness. Can sign in April during your visit.
- Looking for ways to meet your need for something more formal than an MOU.
- Ready to talk about best way to enhance our bilateral defense cooperation as well. We've named our representatives for study group. We can start whenever you are ready.
- Think we should hear what they come up with before we make any final decisions on what forms or timing are most appropriate. Obviously Syria-track dimension we need to factor in.
- On Syrian track, we are open to your ideas on how and when to engage Damascus on resuming negotiations.

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MEETING WITH JERUSALEM MAYOR
EHUD OLMERT

You will have a brief courtesy meeting in your suite with Jerusalem Mayor Olmert. A leading Likud politician, Olmert has been a vocal champion of Israeli sovereignty over all Jerusalem. (It was Olmert's demand to accompany you to the holy sites in Jerusalem, including the Muslim Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, which resulted in cancellation of your plans to visit the Old City in October 1994.) In your short meeting with Olmert, you should focus upon expression of sympathy for and solidarity with the citizens of Jerusalem, who have been the principal targets of the recent car bombs.

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MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRESIDENT
EZER WEIZMAN

Weizman is an Israeli war hero who occupies the purely ceremonial post of State President. Unlike his predecessors, who were carefully neutral on political issues, Weizman has used his office as a forum to comment on pressing issues -- notably the Middle East peace process.

Because of his inclination to speak directly to the Israeli people over the Prime Minister, Weizman's relationship with Peres (like that with Rabin before him) is not an easy one. Weizman has proven unpredictable in his highly publicized pronouncements, with his comments on the peace negotiations ranging from criticism of Rabin for inattention to the Syrian track to calls in the wake of the recent terrorist attacks for a complete halt to all negotiations.

Weizman's pursuit of media attention and his vocal, mercurial views on the peace process have created headaches for Peres. They have also diminished the traditional role of the President as a source of reassurance and stability in Israeli society in times of national crisis. You will make a brief protocol call on Weizman at his official residence. Weizman will probably offer you his assessment of the mood in Israel and his stated judgment that further negotiations with either the Palestinians or Syrians "would not be acceptable to the Israeli people" at this time. He will probably offer a caution about "chasing after Asad" and revisit his proposal that a national unity government be formed.

You should hear Weizman out, offering expressions of support for Israel and noting the positive outcome of the Peacemakers Summit as a demonstration of regional support for Israel as it confronts terror.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT EZER WEIZMAN OF ISRAEL

- Want you to know how deeply saddened all Americans are at these terrible attacks. On their behalf, honored to be able to express solidarity of the United States with people of Israel at this difficult time.
- Have come from Sharm el-Shiekh, once symbol of hostility and isolation, but now signal of new Middle East, which peace has helped create.
- Message of Summit was clear -- today people of Israel are not alone in confronting terror. The world and leaders from throughout region are with them.
- Know how painful this is for all Israelis; we have been through terrorist attacks of our own. But out of this grief must come renewed dedication to confront terrorists and to sustain cause they are trying to kill -- hopes of all in region for comprehensive and lasting peace.
- Enemies of peace must know we are united in our determination to see them defeated and final peace achieved.
- You have key role in making this possible; hope you will do all you can.

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**MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER
SHIMON PERES AND HIS SECURITY CABINET**

OVERVIEW

You will have met privately with Prime Minister Peres at the Summit of the Peacemakers and then aboard Air Force One prior to your arrival in Israel. The Prime Minister will meet you formally in Jerusalem, accompanied by his security cabinet and chiefs of the Israeli security services. The meeting will be an opportunity for you to express your commitment to stand with Israel as it confronts terror and to do everything possible to be of concrete assistance in that effort.

Israeli Presentation on Security Situation

You will receive a detailed assessment from Peres' experts of the present security situation, including a review of actions demanded from and currently taken or not taken by Arafat. We anticipate that the briefing will also consider external sources of financing (including the United States) and the role Israel believes is played by Iran and by Hamas and PIJ officials in Lebanon, Syria and elsewhere. You should brief the group on your conversation with Arafat; John Deutch will be prepared to respond to intelligence questions which may be raised and you should ask Secretary Christopher to outline the working group established to follow up the work of the Summit.

U.S.-Israel Bilateral Agreement on Countering Terror

The centerpiece of the meeting and the principal substantive achievement for your visit will be the announcement (at a subsequent press conference with the Prime Minister) that you have directed Secretary Christopher and DCI Deutch to remain behind to negotiate a bilateral agreement on counter-terrorism cooperation, including agreement on specific measures and assistance to be provided. You should note the importance you attach to such formalized, enhanced cooperation. E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

and discuss our conception of the agreement to be negotiated. We anticipate that you would be able to announce principal areas for cooperation/assistance, which Chris and the DCI would be asked to pursue on fast track with the Israelis.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES
AND HIS SECURITY CABINET

- Appreciate opportunity to meet with you; challenge you face is extraordinary, but want you to know you have my highest regard.
- My visit sign of U.S. solidarity with people of Israel as they -- and you -- confront terror. Assure you we will do everything possible to assist you in that fight.
- That is why I have brought DCI John Deutch with me; he and Secretary Christopher will be holding detailed discussions with you on your needs and on steps we are taking on bilateral and multilateral basis to help.
- Want to hear your assessment of current security situation, including Arafat's performance.
- (Brief on conversation with Arafat following Summit.)
- E.O. 12958 1.4(c)
- Ask Secretary Christopher to discuss working group he will organize to follow up work of Summit.
- Formalizing enhanced, bilateral efforts to counter terror very important to me; I will be announcing with Prime Minister Peres that Secretary Christopher/DCI Deutch will remain in Israel to work on agreement, to be concluded on fast track.

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MEETING WITH ISRAELI LIKUD OPPOSITION LEADER
BENYAMIN "BIBI" NETANYAHU

The February 25 and subsequent terrorist bombings have produced a remarkable, if transient, reversal of fortune for Netanyahu. Well below Peres in the polls and facing increasing criticism from within his own Likud bloc for a perceived lack of political acumen and a series of media blunders, most recent counts show Netanyahu even with or slightly ahead of Peres in the race to be Israel's first popularly elected Prime Minister when voting takes place on May 29. Israelis are notoriously fickle, however, and the post-bombing polls undoubtedly reflect an emotional reaction to the attacks. Some pollsters believe Peres has bottomed out and will recover standing -- assuming no new attacks.

Learning from earlier mistakes, Netanyahu has been careful to present a statesmanlike approach to the recent tragedies. Calling on "Shimon" to join him in addressing the nation's fundamental security needs, Netanyahu has appeared responsible and focused, while Peres appeared to be less than authoritative in his initial reaction to the bombings. Netanyahu has the added luxury of being able to stand apart and criticize Palestinian efforts to confront the terrorists, while Peres is inextricably linked to Arafat's performance.

Adding to Peres' political woes, Netanyahu has forged a series of alliances to former rivals on the right, further evening the odds on a Knesset majority with Labor and its coalition partners. On the peace process, Netanyahu had broken with more extreme members of the opposition prior to the bombings and declared that he would respect the Oslo Accord and the Interim Agreement as it stands but would not expand Palestinian control over territory and would only accept limited Palestinian autonomy within Israel as an outcome of final status talks. It is not clear what his position is now.

Netanyahu's supporters have been vocal in their criticism of perceived U.S. "interference" in Israeli domestic affairs through our strong support for Peres and the peace process. Some have portrayed both the Summit of the Peacemakers and your visit in this light, dismissing them as "shams" to facilitate Peres' reelection.

Your meeting with Netanyahu is an opportunity to hear the opposition's views. You should express regard for Israel's democratic system but reaffirm that we will continue to work with Israel's elected government.

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**MEETING WITH
MRS. LEAH RABIN**

Leah Rabin has been in the United States on an extensive speaking tour to promote the peace process and her husband's legacy. She has returned to Israel specifically for your visit.

Leah Rabin continues to play a high-profile role as a focus for the "silent majority" (as she has termed it) of peace process supporters and as principal critic of the right, which she has charged with creating the climate that led to her husband's death. She has increasingly focused on the role of the Likud and other right wing parties in helping to create a climate of polarization in which Rabin's assassination became possible. Her relationship with President Weizman is cold (she feels he did not adequately speak up prior to the assassination against the growing intolerance in political debate), and she refuses to deal with Likud leader Netanyahu.

While her personal relationship with Peres is not warm, she has called on Israelis to rally around him as he continues her late husband's peace process legacy.

In your previous meetings, you have expressed regard for her strength and admiration for her forceful advocacy of her husband's peace process legacy, while avoiding becoming entangled in all of the specific charges she has made -- and their Israeli domestic political implications.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
March 11, 1996

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE ✓

SUBJECT: Your Trip to the Middle East, March 13-14, 1996

Your approach to this third visit to the Middle East will be a reflection of three principal themes:

- support for Prime Minister Peres and the people of Israel at a time of grief and uncertainty;
- demonstration of resolve to confront the terror that has threatened the peace process; and
- preserving and promoting the Middle East peace process.

In Sharm el-Sheikh, you will cochair with President Mubarak an extraordinary "Summit of the Peacemakers" attended by some 30 leaders from the region and around the world. The fact of the Summit itself is the real message: it shows to the people of Israel that they are not alone in confronting terror; that peace has already made a difference in the Middle East. The Summit will be a demonstration of regional and international solidarity with Israel, will condemn the recent attacks, which have taken the lives of 61 people, and will call for meaningful, multilateral cooperation in combating those responsible. While the Summit will focus on the challenges posed by terror to the peace process, it will also reaffirm support for continued progress toward a lasting and comprehensive settlement.

In Israel, you will both mourn with and comfort a nation shattered by unprecedented violence and affirm your determination to stand with Prime Minister Peres and the people of Israel as they confront the terrorists. Your message will be one of reassurance in a time of grief, resolve that terror shall not prevail, recognition and admiration for the courage and resiliency of the Israeli people and an affirmation of hope that the future will bring a lasting peace. Coming from the Summit in Egypt, your words will have greatly enhanced resonance. Your personal declaration of United States solidarity with Israel will be of primary importance, but it will come against the backdrop of similar expressions of support from those present in Sharm el-Sheikh.

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Your bilateral meetings have been structured to further your objectives for this trip:

In Egypt --

- As in October 1994, you will begin the trip by talks with **President Mubarak**. Your discussions will focus on ensuring that agreement exists on the conduct and outcome of the Summit as well as an affirmation of the critical role Egypt must play in helping advance the peace process.
- Your meeting with **King Hassan of Morocco** will emphasize the importance of the King's continued leadership in building regional and Islamic support for peace, specifically progress toward further reconciliation with Israel -- including the value of a visit by the King.
- A meeting with **Chairman Arafat** will not be confirmed unless we are convinced he has made real progress toward meeting Israeli demands for action against Hamas leaders. He is taking serious steps now. Your discussion will focus on the need for an ongoing, comprehensive security policy that roots out the terrorist infrastructure; without such action it will not be possible to continue further U.S. assistance.

In Israel --

- You will meet with **Prime Minister Peres** and his security chiefs to discuss specific bilateral measures to combat terror. Your meeting will conclude with a public announcement that Secretary Christopher and DCI Deutch will stay behind to complete negotiations on a counter-terrorism cooperation agreement.
- Your meetings with **Likud leader Netanyahu** and Israeli **President Weizman**, who has reacted to the recent violence by calling for suspension of the peace process, will affirm your commitment both to help Israel confront terror and move forward with progress toward a comprehensive settlement.
- In public events, you will meet with **families of those killed** in recent and earlier acts of terror, including a visit to Rabin's grave (with **Leah**). You will deliver a **speech in Tel Aviv** to Israeli high school students, highlighting your principal visit themes of U.S. solidarity, resolution and hope.

TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING
WITH PRESIDENT HOSNI MUBARAK OF EGYPT

Peace Process

Summit of Peacemakers

- Appreciate all you have done to make Summit of Peacemakers possible. As I told you, could not have done this without working together.
- Believe Summit will be great success; will send very powerful signal to people of Israel that they are not alone in confronting terror and will put terrorists on notice that we will not allow them to threaten peace process.
- Peres needs our support; mood in Israel very bad. Process may not survive if terror does not stop and Summit does not produce clear message and follow-up.
- Know Chairmen's Statement has been worked on by our experts; need to reach closure on final text now, before Summit begins.
- (TO BE PROVIDED -- POINTS AS NEEDED FOR RESOLVING DIFFERENCES ON CHAIRMEN'S STATEMENT)
- Propose that when closed session of Summit opens, we call upon selected representatives to speak to each of three principal themes: condemning violent attempts to kill peace process; reaffirming commitment to a comprehensive settlement; and committing to practical means to combat terror.

Arafat

- Will see Arafat after Summit; will tell him it is critical he continues to do everything possible to confront terror. He has taken some steps; important he has our support.
- But make no mistake, he must decisively take on and root out armed wings of Hamas and PIJ and act to prevent reconstitution of their infrastructure.
- His leadership and future of Palestinian people at stake; he must act now. Hope you will work on this message with him as well.

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Arab League Meeting

- Very important Arab League meeting express support for Summit conclusions, including condemnation of terrorist attacks in Israel; there must not be two differing voices coming from Sharm today and Cairo tomorrow. That would seriously undermine message on confronting terror and supporting peace we will be sending.

Bilateral Issues

Middle East Development Bank

- Appreciate your response to my letter on Middle East Development Bank; now more than ever we must have reference in language to boycott. Need to reach closure now.

Libya (If raised)

- Know we have differing views on Qadhafi, but enhancing pressure until he produces suspects as required by Security Council very important to us. Congress interested in tightening sanctions; has introduced very restrictive language on trade/investment.

Sudan (If raised)

- We continue to support approach you are taking, along with Ethiopia and others; we are prepared to provide our full support in Security Council but believe our efforts most effective if OAU countries take lead.

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MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN OF RUSSIA

OVERVIEW

This will be your first meeting with Yeltsin since Hyde Park and his latest bout of heart trouble. We have proposed to the Russians that the two of you meet for three hours -- meeting/working lunch -- on April 19 (the P-8 nuclear summit kicks off that evening with a Kremlin dinner).

The Russians are protective of their status as cosponsors of the Middle East peace process, particularly given Yeltsin's desire to show his electorate that Russia remains a global actor. Yeltsin may be sensitive that the summit was developed without Russian input from the start; you can note how we have given him a prominent role in Sharm al-Sheikh.

At home, Yeltsin is in full reelection mode. His campaign has co-opted much of his opponents' rhetoric, striking a more nationalist tone. (Chechnya, however, remains a big problem for him.) You might note our mutual need to protect the bilateral relationship as electoral politics intensify. In this regard, we may want to make greater use of the Gore-Chernomyrdin channel to resolve issues like the poultry dispute -- before they become politically charged.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN

(Middle East Peace Process)

- Glad you could attend summit. Know it's busy time for you with campaign, but Russia has important role to play here.
- Critical moment in Middle East. Cannot allow terrorists, who represent small minority, to derail peace process and undo what has been accomplished over last four years.
- Important Arafat do everything possible to dismantle terrorist infrastructure. He must understand need for decisive action now. Hope you can help.

(Bilateral Relations and Campaigns)

- Election campaigns will put pressure on both of us; some may try to use this to turn small issues into big problems. Important we protect bilateral relations from such pressure.
- Al Gore and Viktor Chernomyrdin working to get poultry question under control. This matter of great concern; needs to be resolved quickly.
- May want to make greater use of Gore-Chernomyrdin channel in coming months to ensure small problems don't escalate.

(April Moscow Visit)

- Look forward to April visit to Moscow. Christopher to visit Moscow next week, preview issues for our discussion. Hope he and Primakov can set stage so we can record progress on number of points, for example, on ABM/TMD demarcation.
- Understand P-8 nuclear summit shaping up well. Seems to me this event will send important signal that Russia approaches key nuclear safety and security questions in very different, far more positive, manner than Soviet Union.

(If raised -- Yeltsin Push for G-8 in Lyons)

- G-7 works by consensus. Have to be candid: cannot turn G-7 into full G-8 as fast as you would like. But can use meetings in Moscow and Lyons to show how closely you have drawn Russia together with G-7 members.

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MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES

You will meet briefly with Prime Minister Peres before the Summit begins and following your meeting with President Mubarak. Peres will want to hear from you on the outcome of discussions with Mubarak on the Summit Chairmen's Statement as well as your sense of how helpful the Egyptians will be on Summit follow-up.

Peres will also review with you his assessment of Arafat's performance and ask that you be very direct in telling Arafat that he must act decisively or lose continued assistance from the United States.

Peres will accompany you on Air Force One for the flight from Sharm el-Sheikh to Tel Aviv. That will be an opportunity to review the mood in Israel on the eve of your arrival and for a discussion of next steps on the peace process.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES OF ISRAEL

- Want to use this opportunity to brief you on my meeting with Mubarak; status of Chairmen's statement.
- (Brief on outcome of Mubarak discussion; game plan for meeting; review final text of Statement)
- Chris and Dennis saw Arafat this morning; I expect to see him after Summit, assuming there are no surprises. Appreciate your update on where things stand on his response.
- We will make very clear he must move decisively now; if not, will tell him we will not be able to continue assistance.
- Look forward to talking with you on flight to Tel Aviv on peace process, mood in Israel.

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SUMMIT OF THE PEACEMAKERS
SHARM EL-SHEIKH, EGYPT

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OVERVIEW

You will cochair the Summit, along with President Mubarak. Attending will be some thirty leaders from the Middle East and key figures from outside the region who support the peace process. The Summit's explicit goal is to demonstrate to the people of Israel that they are not alone in addressing the threat posed by terror; that their Arab neighbors throughout the region, and the international community as a whole, stand with Israel in condemning the violence that threatens the peace process and are willing to confront those responsible. The unstated -- but well-understood -- purpose of the conference is to show support for Prime Minister Peres at a critical moment for his leadership in Israel and for the future of the Middle East peace process.

Concerned that the Summit will be perceived as directed against Syria and Arafat's past handling of Hamas, Egypt has been careful to present the meeting as focused upon support for the peace process, rather than a "conference on combating terror." Mubarak made clear to you that he will resist the latter; following up on this theme, Foreign Minister Moussa said publicly that the Summit will consider the threat posed to peace by "violence on both sides."

Syria's possible nonattendance -- while facilitating an outcome acceptable to us, including an unambiguous condemnation of terror -- will increase Egyptian anxieties and consequently strengthen Mubarak's inclination to dilute the clear message we want to send about regional resolve to fight terrorism.

Structure of the Summit

In light of this tension, we have sought to structure the Summit in a manner that will minimize the risks of unhelpful interventions by Moussa or others and direct the participants toward our goal of a concise Chairmen's Statement, which you will have discussed and reached closure on with Mubarak just prior to the meeting's opening.

The Summit will open with statements by the principal participants: Mubarak, you, President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Peres, King Hussein, King Hassan and Chairman Arafat. These remarks will be followed by remarks from the other heads of state/government present, after which the press will be dismissed from the Summit hall. President Mubarak and you will then call

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upon participants to give presentations or comment on the three key themes of the Summit:

- support for the peace process and the goal of a comprehensive settlement;
- condemnation of terror and solidarity with the people of Israel and others in the region in confronting the enemies of peace; and
- agreement to work together (through a group organized by Secretary Christopher) to identify specific areas in which the Summit participants will cooperate to combat terror: choking off financing for terrorist groups; expanding antiterrorism cooperation among participants; and enhancing Palestinian Authority antiterrorism capabilities.

The Summit will conclude with a Chairmen's Statement, which you will read, and a press conference.

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MEETING WITH
KING HASSAN II OF MOROCCO

OVERVIEW

You will have a brief bilateral with King Hassan, your first meeting since his State Visit in early 1995. The King's status as "elder statesman" of the Arab and Islamic world makes his presence at the Summit particularly significant. His decision to attend was not easy, given his rivalry with Mubarak and delicate health; your call -- and his desire not to be left on the sidelines -- was critical to his decision.

While Hassan has demonstrated leadership over the years in helping shape a positive regional environment for peacemaking and was the first Arab leader to openly welcome Prime Minister Rabin and then-Foreign Minister Peres after the signing of the Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles, he has been reluctant to move aggressively in the more recent past. Despite his assurances to you that Morocco would propose ending the boycott at the Arab League last spring, we believe Moroccan efforts (if any) were minimal.

The King has appeared increasingly detached from governance in past months, with concerns for his health and capacity to rule accelerated after a serious bout with pneumonia in New York last fall (which prevented a planned meeting with you at the UNGA). Longtime Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Filali, never a real supporter of the peace process, is also in poor health, leaving most day-to-day decisions to the King's widely feared Interior Minister (and security boss).

Peace Process

You should **express appreciation to the King for responding to your request to attend**, noting the importance of his personal support for and engagement in the Summit's work. **Emphasize the need for continued Moroccan leadership in the peace process**, with special focus on sustained action by Arafat on terror and accelerated movement toward regional normalization with Israel. Suggest to the King that now would be a good time for him to visit Israel. Note the importance of Arab League support for the Summit's message condemning the terrorist attacks in Israel and confronting those responsible for threatening the peace process.

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Western Sahara (If raised)

Morocco and the Polisario movement are deadlocked over further steps toward a referendum in the disputed Western Sahara. The continued impasse in implementation of the UN settlement plan has frustrated many Security Council members and has provoked Congressional calls for an end to the MINURSO mandate and withdrawal of international forces from the territory. We have told the King we will support continuation of the UN mandate until the end of May but do not believe a further extension will be possible in the absence of real progress toward setting a date for the referendum.

In a last attempt to revive chances of a settlement, we have made very confidential approaches to both sides, offering to facilitate direct discussions, under the aegis of a third-party negotiator, to resolve outstanding issues and allow the referendum to proceed. We are not optimistic about chances of success, given the deeply held and completely opposed positions of both Morocco and the Polisario; our bottom line is to avoid being directly drawn ourselves into the process in place of the UN. If the King raises the issue, you should state our hope that a mutually agreeable resolution can be found, noting the difficulty of extending the mandate beyond May if no progress is made.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
KING HASSAN II OF MOROCCO

- Appreciate your agreement to attend; as leader in Arab and Islamic worlds your presence here was very important.
- Essential we do all we can to demonstrate support for Shimon at this very difficult moment. Summit will have major impact in Israel; signal they are not alone in confronting terror.
- You have done much to move region toward peace. Your continued leadership essential now to keep process of normalization going forward, help create positive and supportive framework for peacemaking. Suggest now may be good time for you to visit Israel.
- As for Syrian track, believe that it will be difficult to move ahead if silence on terrorist attacks continues, while Hamas/PIJ announce praise of killers from Damascus.
- Very important Arab League meeting express support for Summit conclusions, including condemnation of terrorist attacks in Israel; there must not be two differing voices coming from Sharm today and Cairo tomorrow.
- That would seriously undermine message on confronting terror and supporting peace we will be sending. Know I can count on you to ensure this does not happen.
- (If Western Sahara raised) Know Ambassador Ginsberg has discussed our concerns on this issue with you. Must tell you I do not see how MINURSO mandate can be continued beyond May unless significant progress made toward resolution that allows date for referendum to be set.

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MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER MAJOR

OVERVIEW

You will have a brief bilateral with Prime Minister Major to get his perspective on prospects for restoration of the IRA cease-fire. Major may raise HMG's concern over legislation seen as extraterritorial by the Europeans, especially Helms-Burton. Bosnia and Nigeria might also be raised.

Northern Ireland

On February 28, Prime Ministers Major and Bruton announced a process leading to talks on the future of Northern Ireland beginning June 10. Sinn Fein can participate if the cease-fire is restored. The IRA has not responded officially to the announcement, but there is no indication restoration of the cease-fire is imminent. A bomb exploded in a dumpster in London early March 9; it had the hallmarks of an IRA effort, but there has been no claim of responsibility. There were no injuries.

By the time of your meeting with Major, you will have met with Ambassador Crowe to receive the intelligence that Major wanted you to have on the IRA and Sinn Fein. Major made no public comment on our decision to renew Adams' visa, other than to say that it was an internal USG decision. Privately, the British understood our reasons and were much more concerned that Adams not be able to raise funds (he will not) and that you will not meet him.

Bosnia

The British have privately been pressing for consultations on a possible follow-on force following IFOR's departure, and they have maintained that UK forces will only contribute to such a force if the United States does as well. You should tell Major that such a discussion is both premature and politically unhelpful, given Congressional skepticism about U.S. participation in IFOR.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER MAJOR OF GREAT BRITAIN

Northern Ireland

- You and John Bruton accomplished great deal with February 28 announcement -- got process going, set date for talks and made clear Sinn Fein participation up to them and IRA.
- Most disturbed by possibility that bomb that exploded last Friday was IRA effort.
- Appreciate intelligence you shared via Bill Crowe. Disturbing. Still believe you and John Bruton are on right track.
- Our message to Adams is there is no support here for violence -- believe he will hear that in U.S.
- Expect Tony will be seeing Trimble, Hume and Alderdice later this week. Any particular message they should hear from us?
- All are coming to our St. Patrick's Day reception, which will be more solemn affair, including prayers for peace.

Bosnia (if raised)

- Believe we and British have same view on IFOR support for civilian implementation: important that IFOR assist within limits of its resources but not get drawn into full-time police role.
- Understand your people have floated idea of follow-on peacekeeping force after IFOR.
- Discussion of this subject premature. If it became public, it would be politically damaging in U.S. given Congressional skepticism about IFOR.
- Moreover, our strong view is we need to hold to one-year deadline to keep maximum pressure on parties to meet their Dayton commitments. Civilian efforts such as Police Task Force will continue beyond one year, but there should no longer be need for robust NATO force.

Nigeria

- Wrote you seeking support for targeted sanctions on Nigeria. Situation in Nigeria continues to deteriorate; worried about implications for regional stability.

- Important leading powers galvanize efforts of international organizations on this. Need to move swiftly; hope you will join effort.

Helms-Burton (if raised)

- Fully aware of concerns you have about extraterritorial impact of Helms/Burton.
- Had to exhaust all diplomatic and nonmilitary options in fashioning response to shutdown of two unarmed civilian aircraft. Appreciate strong condemnation you made of this violation of international law.
- Please remain open to working quietly with us to help create conditions in which suspension of Title III of Helms/Burton might be possible.

D'Amato/Kennedy Legislation (if raised)

- We are continuing to work to get maximum flexibility in this legislation.

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MEETING WITH PLO AND
PALESTINIAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL CHAIRMAN
YASIR ARAFAT

OVERVIEW

The recent wave of bombings in Israel have placed Arafat in a very difficult position. A consummate master of political maneuvering, he had sought simultaneously to expand his base of support within the territories and divide Hamas and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad by negotiating with them over participation in the political process. Despite repeated demands from Israel, Arafat's security services avoided taking meaningful actions against the leaders of the armed wings of these movements, lest the ongoing political talks be jeopardized. The February 25 and subsequent Hamas/PIJ attacks have rendered this policy untenable and confronted Arafat with the need to take decisive action.

Peres has made clear that Arafat's leadership, continued implementation of the Israel-Palestinian Interim Agreement and the future of the peace process now depend on Arafat confronting the terrorists and dismantling their infrastructure. They have made the arrest of five key Hamas and PIJ leaders, particularly Hamas Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigade leader Mohammed Dayf, the litmus test of Arafat's response -- and a condition for any further progress.

Finally, positive steps. But ...

It has been very difficult for Arafat to recognize that his instincts for co-option rather than confrontation have failed him and that he has been betrayed by the very elements he sought to bring into the Palestinian political process. Initially paralyzed and inclined to fantasize about conspiracies "outside my control" responsible for the bombings, **we believe Arafat is now beginning to move in the right direction.** E.O. 12958 1.4(c)

he has arrested three of the five Israeli-named terrorist kingpins, with Dayf -- the real prize -- still at large. Hundreds of other militants have been taken into custody and, in an unprecedented level of cooperation, information exchanged with Israeli security services.

Peres has urged that Arafat move as well to summon the Palestinian National Congress on an accelerated basis to revoke offending portions of the Palestinian Covenant. While Arafat has said he would do so, no action has yet been taken.

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Despite these moves, the question remains: is this enough? While most Palestinian leaders and security chiefs are now ready to acknowledge that accommodation and dialogue with Hamas and the PIJ will not work, we are unsure if Arafat agrees. His ability over the weeks ahead to demonstrate his commitment to combat terror will be the essential element in relaunching implementation of the Interim Agreement. He cannot afford any slippage in a sustained fight against the terrorists; rather, he will have to display even greater resolve.

Delivering the Message

We will hold off confirming your meeting with Arafat -- which will not be scheduled until after the Summit concludes -- until we can assess Arafat's performance in the lead-in to and during the Summit itself. Assuming that Arafat continues to take positive actions, your meeting will be an opportunity to affirm your continued support for him as partner in the peace process and to reiterate the critical importance of continued determined action against terror.

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While stressing our wish to continue efforts to help build a better future for the Palestinian people, you should tell Arafat that failure on his part to carry through on dismantling the terrorist infrastructure will make it impossible for us to sustain our assistance to him.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
CHAIRMAN YASIR ARAFAT

- Appreciated receiving your letter, commitment to take decisive action against those who are trying to kill peace.
- You have been our partner in this process, and we have stood with you during difficult times. Now you must stand with us and with Prime Minister Peres.
- You must take every action possible to confront terrorists and dismantle their infrastructure.
- This is only way to save process and allow implementation of Interim Agreement to move forward. You must move decisively against those who have betrayed Palestinian people and you.
- Know you have taken some important steps over past week, but more needs to be done, and your actions must be sustained. In particular, must arrest and prosecute terrorist ringleaders.
- Must tell you, your credibility and Peres' ability to work with you have suffered. Two steps I believe can best address this are:
 - 1) act like any other responsible authority: when criminal acts are committed against others, extradition is normal response. Know this is difficult, but nothing would have greater impact in Israel.
 - 2) Because Palestinian Covenant is seen by Israelis as justifying terror, accelerated action to revoke offending clauses would be very important.
- If you do not act now in comprehensive and decisive manner and sustain your efforts, it will become increasingly difficult for us to sustain our assistance. Not in our mutual interests, those of Palestinian people for this to happen.

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MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER
SHIMON PERES
(ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE)

Peres will want to use the trip from Sharm el-Sheikh to Tel Aviv to review arrangements for your visit to Israel and to explore longer-term considerations involving our bilateral relations and the peace process.

Peres's key concern regarding the Israel visit will be our plans to announce that Secretary Christopher and DCI Deutch will remain behind to begin work on a bilateral agreement on combatting terrorism. His preference would be to sign a document during your visit, but he has accepted that necessary preparations cannot be completed in time. You can reassure him that we are prepared to be flexible on format to meet his needs for a formal agreement, which could be completed in time for signing during his April trip to the United States.

Peres may also revisit his proposal for a U.S.-Israel Defense Agreement, possibly suggesting that work on such a pact also be completed in time for signature in April. This is a much more ambitious undertaking, one which has significant resource and policy implications and one which would not be universally welcomed in Israel, which prides itself on being able to fight its own battles. You should tell Peres that we have named our representatives to the study groups he earlier suggested be created to work this issue and that we are ready to begin discussions when the Israelis are (it has taken them some time to sort out bureaucratically how to organize themselves). But you should question the wisdom of moving too fast on a matter of such importance.

Peres will want to consult on how to reactivate the Syrian track. His proposal will be that Israel, Syrian and U.S. chief negotiators meet in the second half of March to consider when and in what format talks should resume. You can tell Peres we agree to this approach.

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TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES OF ISRAEL
(ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE)

- Announcement that Chris and John Deutch will stay on to work on counter-terror agreement shows seriousness. Can sign in April during your visit.
- Looking for ways to meet your need for something more formal than an MOU.
- Ready to talk about best way to enhance our bilateral defense cooperation as well. We've named our representatives for study group. We can start whenever you are ready.
- Think we should hear what they come up with before we make any final decisions on what forms or timing are most appropriate. Obviously Syria-track dimension we need to factor in.
- On Syrian track, we are open to your ideas on how and when to engage Damascus on resuming negotiations.

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MEETING WITH JERUSALEM MAYOR
EHUD OLMERT

You will have a brief courtesy meeting in your suite with Jerusalem Mayor Olmert. A leading Likud politician, Olmert has been a vocal champion of Israeli sovereignty over all Jerusalem. (It was Olmert's demand to accompany you to the holy sites in Jerusalem, including the Muslim Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque, which resulted in cancellation of your plans to visit the Old City in October 1994.) In your short meeting with Olmert, you should focus upon expression of sympathy for and solidarity with the citizens of Jerusalem, who have been the principal targets of the recent car bombs.

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**MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRESIDENT
EZER WEIZMAN**

Weizman is an Israeli war hero who occupies the purely ceremonial post of State President. Unlike his predecessors, who were carefully neutral on political issues, Weizman has used his office as a forum to comment on pressing issues -- notably the Middle East peace process.

Because of his inclination to speak directly to the Israeli people over the Prime Minister, Weizman's relationship with Peres (like that with Rabin before him) is not an easy one. Weizman has proven unpredictable in his highly publicized pronouncements, with his comments on the peace negotiations ranging from criticism of Rabin for inattention to the Syrian track to calls in the wake of the recent terrorist attacks for a complete halt to all negotiations.

Weizman's pursuit of media attention and his vocal, mercurial views on the peace process have created headaches for Peres. They have also diminished the traditional role of the President as a source of reassurance and stability in Israeli society in times of national crisis. You will make a brief protocol call on Weizman at his official residence. Weizman will probably offer you his assessment of the mood in Israel and his stated judgment that further negotiations with either the Palestinians or Syrians "would not be acceptable to the Israeli people" at this time. He will probably offer a caution about "chasing after Asad" and revisit his proposal that a national unity government be formed.

You should hear Weizman out, offering expressions of support for Israel and noting the positive outcome of the Peacemakers Summit as a demonstration of regional support for Israel as it confronts terror.

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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
PRESIDENT EZER WEIZMAN OF ISRAEL

- Want you to know how deeply saddened all Americans are at these terrible attacks. On their behalf, honored to be able to express solidarity of the United States with people of Israel at this difficult time.
- Have come from Sharm el-Shiekh, once symbol of hostility and isolation, but now signal of new Middle East, which peace has helped create.
- Message of Summit was clear -- today people of Israel are not alone in confronting terror. The world and leaders from throughout region are with them.
- Know how painful this is for all Israelis; we have been through terrorist attacks of our own. But out of this grief must come renewed dedication to confront terrorists and to sustain cause they are trying to kill -- hopes of all in region for comprehensive and lasting peace.
- Enemies of peace must know we are united in our determination to see them defeated and final peace achieved.
- You have key role in making this possible; hope you will do all you can.

SECRET

MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES AND HIS SECURITY CABINET

OVERVIEW

You will have met privately with Prime Minister Peres at the Summit of the Peacemakers and then aboard Air Force One prior to your arrival in Israel. The Prime Minister will meet you formally in Jerusalem, accompanied by his security cabinet and chiefs of the Israeli security services. The meeting will be an opportunity for you to express your commitment to stand with Israel as it confronts terror and to do everything possible to be of concrete assistance in that effort.

Israeli Presentation on Security Situation

You will receive a detailed assessment from Peres' experts of the present security situation, including a review of actions demanded from and currently taken or not taken by Arafat. We anticipate that the briefing will also consider external sources of financing (including the United States) and the role Israel believes is played by Iran and by Hamas and PIJ officials in Lebanon, Syria and elsewhere. You should brief the group on your conversation with Arafat; John Deutch will be prepared to respond to intelligence questions which may be raised and you should ask Secretary Christopher to outline the working group established to follow up the work of the Summit.

U.S.-Israel Bilateral Agreement on Countering Terror

The centerpiece of the meeting and the principal substantive achievement for your visit will be the announcement (at a subsequent press conference with the Prime Minister) that you have directed Secretary Christopher and DCI Deutch to remain behind to negotiate a bilateral agreement on counter-terrorism cooperation, including agreement on specific measures and assistance to be provided. You should note the importance you attach to such formalized, enhanced cooperation

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and discuss our conception of the agreement to be negotiated. We anticipate that you would be able to announce principal areas for cooperation/assistance, which Chris and the DCI would be asked to pursue on fast track with the Israelis.

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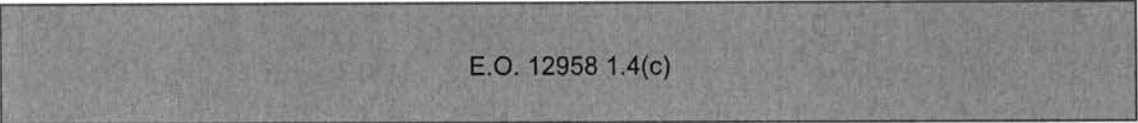
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TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH
ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER SHIMON PERES
AND HIS SECURITY CABINET

- Appreciate opportunity to meet with you; challenge you face is extraordinary, but want you to know you have my highest regard.
- My visit sign of U.S. solidarity with people of Israel as they -- and you -- confront terror. Assure you we will do everything possible to assist you in that fight.
- That is why I have brought DCI John Deutch with me; he and Secretary Christopher will be holding detailed discussions with you on your needs and on steps we are taking on bilateral and multilateral basis to help.
- Want to hear your assessment of current security situation, including Arafat's performance.
- (Brief on conversation with Arafat following Summit.)
-  E.O. 12958 1.4(c)
- Ask Secretary Christopher to discuss working group he will organize to follow up work of Summit.
- Formalizing enhanced, bilateral efforts to counter terror very important to me; I will be announcing with Prime Minister Peres that Secretary Christopher/DCI Deutch will remain in Israel to work on agreement, to be concluded on fast track.

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MEETING WITH ISRAELI LIKUD OPPOSITION LEADER
BENYAMIN "BIBI" NETANYAHU

The February 25 and subsequent terrorist bombings have produced a remarkable, if transient, reversal of fortune for Netanyahu. Well below Peres in the polls and facing increasing criticism from within his own Likud bloc for a perceived lack of political acumen and a series of media blunders, most recent counts show Netanyahu even with or slightly ahead of Peres in the race to be Israel's first popularly elected Prime Minister when voting takes place on May 29. Israelis are notoriously fickle, however, and the post-bombing polls undoubtedly reflect an emotional reaction to the attacks. Some pollsters believe Peres has bottomed out and will recover standing -- assuming no new attacks.

Learning from earlier mistakes, Netanyahu has been careful to present a statesmanlike approach to the recent tragedies. Calling on "Shimon" to join him in addressing the nation's fundamental security needs, Netanyahu has appeared responsible and focused, while Peres appeared to be less than authoritative in his initial reaction to the bombings. Netanyahu has the added luxury of being able to stand apart and criticize Palestinian efforts to confront the terrorists, while Peres is inextricably linked to Arafat's performance.

Adding to Peres' political woes, Netanyahu has forged a series of alliances to former rivals on the right, further evening the odds on a Knesset majority with Labor and its coalition partners. On the peace process, Netanyahu had broken with more extreme members of the opposition prior to the bombings and declared that he would respect the Oslo Accord and the Interim Agreement as it stands but would not expand Palestinian control over territory and would only accept limited Palestinian autonomy within Israel as an outcome of final status talks. It is not clear what his position is now.

Netanyahu's supporters have been vocal in their criticism of perceived U.S. "interference" in Israeli domestic affairs through our strong support for Peres and the peace process. Some have portrayed both the Summit of the Peacemakers and your visit in this light, dismissing them as "shams" to facilitate Peres' reelection.

Your meeting with Netanyahu is an opportunity to hear the opposition's views. You should express regard for Israel's democratic system but reaffirm that we will continue to work with Israel's elected government.

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MEETING WITH
MRS. LEAH RABIN

Leah Rabin has been in the United States on an extensive speaking tour to promote the peace process and her husband's legacy. She has returned to Israel specifically for your visit.

Leah Rabin continues to play a high-profile role as a focus for the "silent majority" (as she has termed it) of peace process supporters and as principal critic of the right, which she has charged with creating the climate that led to her husband's death. She has increasingly focused on the role of the Likud and other right wing parties in helping to create a climate of polarization in which Rabin's assassination became possible. Her relationship with President Weizman is cold (she feels he did not adequately speak up prior to the assassination against the growing intolerance in political debate), and she refuses to deal with Likud leader Netanyahu.

While her personal relationship with Peres is not warm, she has called on Israelis to rally around him as he continues her late husband's peace process legacy.

In your previous meetings, you have expressed regard for her strength and admiration for her forceful advocacy of her husband's peace process legacy, while avoiding becoming entangled in all of the specific charges she has made -- and their Israeli domestic political implications.

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