



סווג ת"ק

מנכ"ס
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
FOREIGN MINISTER'S BUREAU

מסמך: 927523
מ: 3,4502
מ: 0710
מ: המשרד, תא: 020394, זח: 2334, דח: מ, סג: בל
מ: 9,257886
מ: 9,233388
מ: 9,753100
בלמס/מיד

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אל: כל הוציגויות

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להלן מדברי שה'ח במסע'ת שהתקיימה היום (02/03/94) בכינוס הבינ'ל של תקשורת יהודית.

REMARKS BY FOREIGN MINISTER SHIMON PERES
TO THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE JEWISH MEDIA

JERUSALEM, MARCH 2, 1994

AS YOU ARE AWARE, WE ARE HAVING A VERY HECTIC TIME RIGHT NOW, WITH THE DOUBLE PURPOSE. ONE IS TO PREVENT THE RE-OCCURRENCE OF MURDEROUS TRAGEDIES, LIKE THE ONES THAT TOOK PLACE IN HEBRON. WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LAND, WE ARE THE GOVERNMENT OF TODAY. IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR ALL CITIZENS, FOR ALL RESIDENTS, WHETHER THEY ARE ARABS OR JEWS. WE HAVE DECIDED TO TAKE ALL THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO PREVENT ANY ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF INNOCENT PEOPLE.

WE KNOW THAT THE MURDERER GOLDSTEIN IS NOT ALONE, AND IF HE HAS ANY SUPPORT, AS SMALL AS IT MAY BE, WE SHALL NOT HESITATE TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO DETAIN IF NECESSARY, TO TAKE AWAY THEIR WEAPONS, IF IT IS CALLED FOR, AND NOT TO PERMIT THEM TO COME INTO SENSITIVE AREAS, SO SECURITY WILL PREVAIL. WE KNOW THAT WE ARE WORKING ON A TREMBLING LAND, WHERE THE WINDS OF WORRIES AND HATRED ARE BLOWING VERY STRONGLY. WE HAVE TO RETURN THE SITUATION TO A MORE ACCEPTABLE CLIMATE BOTH TO THE PALESTINIANS AND TO US. THIS IS NOT A SIMPLE JOB, BUT WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD DO IT.

ONCE THIS WILL BE DONE, WE WANT TO RETURN TO THE PEACE PROCESS. WE THINK WE MADE A LONG WAY, A SUCCESSFUL WAY. FOR THE PEACE PROCESS, WE NEED A PARTNER, AND THE PARTNER ON THE PALESTINIAN SIDE, AS WE COULD HAVE IDENTIFIED, IS THE PLO CLEARLY, AND WE ARE GOING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE PLO AS WE STARTED. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE PLO BEING ABLE TO CONDUCT AND CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IMPLEMENT WHAT WE DID AGREE UPON.

WE NEED ALSO A PLAN, AND THE PLAN TOO IS RATHER CLEAR. I DO BELIEVE THAT WE TOOK MOST OF THE DECISIONS, AND THE REMAINING ONES ARE MANAGEABLE AND REACHABLE. THE SOONER WE SHALL COME AGAIN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE, THE BETTER WE SHOULD SERVE OUR PEOPLES, AND THE BETTER WE SHALL SERVE THE PEACE PROCESS. IT IS NOT SIMPLE TO RETURN TO THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS,



BUT NONE OF US HAS A BETTER ALTERNATIVE, AND ALL OF US CARRY A RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CHILDREN OR THE GROWN-UP PEOPLE, FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF PEACE IN THIS AREA.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

משרד החוץ

FOREIGN MINISTER'S BUREAU

לשכת השר

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ON A PERMANENT SOLUTION

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WE ARE RIGHT NOW NEGOTIATING AN INTERIM SOLUTION, WHERE IN ANOTHER TWO YEARS, WE START TO NEGOTIATE A PERMANENT SOLUTION, AND I DON'T WANT TO COMMIT MYSELF RIGHT NOW ABOUT IT. WHAT I CAN SAY IS, THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL DOES NOT CONSIDER A PALESTINIAN STATE AS THE BEST SOLUTION. WE DO BELIEVE THE BEST SOLUTION MAY BE A CONFEDERATION OR A FEDERATION OF THE JORDANIANS AND THE PALESTINIANS. BUT IN ORDER TO HAVE A PERMANENT SOLUTION, WE NEED FRONTIERS; IN ORDER TO HAVE FRONTIERS, WE NEED AN AGREEMENT.

DISCUSSIONS WITH FOREIGN OFFICIALS ON MEASURES TO GET THE PEACE PROCESS ON TRACK:

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I AM JUST COMING FROM MEETING WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF GREECE WHO CAME FROM TUNISIA. IT WAS A UNPLANNED ARRIVAL, AND IN ANOTHER HALF AN HOUR, WE SHALL PROBABLY MEET THE RUSSIAN ENVOY. BOTH OF THEM ARE COMING FROM TUNISIA. THERE IS A GENERAL DESIRE COMING FROM TUNISIA, AND THAT IS TO MAKE US UNDERSTAND THAT THE PLO NEEDS SOME CONDITIONS IN ORDER TO RETURN TO THE PEACE PROCESS. WE ARE NOT BLIND TO THOSE DEMANDS. ACTUALLY, SOME OF THE MEASURES WE TOOK, INCLUDING THE RELEASE OF 1000 PRISONERS, IS A PART OF THE ATTEMPT TO CREATE A NEW CONDITION TO ENABLE THEM TO COME BACK. AND SOME OF THE REQUESTS, WE HAVE ALREADY AGREED, OTHER REQUESTS ARE NOT SPECIFIC ENOUGH TO BE AGREED.

BASICALLY, WE FEEL THAT THE BEST WAY TO GO ON, IS TO REMAIN TRUE TO THE DOP. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THERE IS IN THE DOP A REFERENCE TO HAVE A TEMPORARY FOREIGN PRESENCE IN THE AREA OF JERICHO, AND IN THE AREA OF GAZA, WE DON'T MIND THAT THIS WILL REPEATED IN THE RESOLUTION OF THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL, FOR EXAMPLE. BUT IN THOSE TERMS. ANY SPECIFICS MUST BE TALKED ABOUT BETWEEN THE PARTIES. OR IF THE PALESTINIANS FEEL THAT THEY NEED A LARGER POLICE FORCE, THIS IS A LEGITIMATE REQUEST, AND WE ARE READY TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT IT. WE ARE GETTING INFORMATION FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES, AND WE HAVE TO COMPARE NOTES, TO SEE EXACTLY WHAT ARE THE REQUESTS, AND THE ONES THAT WE SHALL BE ABLE TO MEET, WHICH ARE NOT IN CONTRADICTION TO THE DOP, WE SHALL TRY REALLY TO DO OUR VERY BEST.

ON PREVENTING ANOTHER HEBRON:

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WE HAVE TWO PROBLEMS. ONE IS WHAT A TERRIBLE MAN WHO IS CALLED BARUCH GOLDSTEIN, THE MURDERER OF INNOCENT PEOPLE. THE OTHER IS THE POTENTIAL OF OTHER PEOPLE DOING SO. WE HAVE DECIDED NOT ONLY TO DRAW THE CONCLUSIONS FROM WHAT HAS HAPPENED, BUT TO PREPARE THE CONDITIONS THAT SUCH A THING WILL NEVER BE REPEATED. WE ARE LOOKING AT EVERY PART OF IT. FROM THE ORDER OF PRAYERS IN THE CAVE OF THE MACHPELA IN THE TOMB IN HEBRON, TO THE MOVEMENT OF IRRESPONSIBLE SETTLERS. WE DO NOT INTEND TO TAKE ANY MEASURES AGAINST INNOCENT OR RESPONSIBLE

PEOPLE, BUT AGAINST THE IRRESPONSIBLE, AND ALSO AGAINST TWO ORGANIZATIONS THAT WE FEEL VERY HEAVILY ARE NOT JEWISH AND NOT DEMOCRATIC. AND WE SHALL OUTLAW THEM. WE SHALL MAKE THEM ILLEGAL. IT IS KAHANE AND 'KOACH'. AND WE SHALL NOT HESITATE TO TAKE ALL THE LEGAL STEPS WHICH IS UNDER OUR POWER TO PREVENT THOSE CRAZY PEOPLE FROM KILLING INNOCENT MEN OR WOMEN OR CHILDREN.

I AM INTERESTED IN THE JEWISH PEOPLE. YOU CANNOT MURDER. YOU KNOW THERE ARE SOME JEWISH PEOPLE WHO THINK THAT YOU SHOULD KEEP KOSHER, THAT YOU SHOULD KEEP SHABBOS. TO KEEP AND RESPECT LIFE, IS THE FIRST CALL OF THE JEWISH GOSPEL, OF JEWISH TORAH. NO COMPROMISE ON IT. THE RESPECT FOR LIFE, THE LIFE OF ANY PERSON, WHETHER HE IS BLACK OR WHITE, ARAB OR JEWISH, YOUNG OR OLD. NOBODY IS ENTITLED TO KILL ANYBODY.

THE FIRST HUMAN BEING THAT WAS CREATED, ACCORDING TO OUR TRADITION, WAS ADAM. ADAM WAS NEITHER JEWISH NOR ARABIC. HE DIDN'T HAVE A RELIGION. HE DIDN'T HAVE A NATION. SO, YOU ARE FIRST AN ADAM, A HUMAN BEING. AND NOBODY HAS THE RIGHT TO MURDER, AND NOBODY HAS THE RIGHT TO JUSTIFY DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. THIS IS THE FIRST CALL OF JEWISH LIFE, AND WE SHOULD NOT COMPROMISE.

ON A REFERENDUM BEFORE TERRITORIAL CONCESSIONS:

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YOU HAVE A GOVERNMENT THAT IF THERE WILL BE A PROPOSAL, IT CAN ARRIVE AT A RESOLUTION. BUT IF A UNITY GOVERNMENT WILL BE INSTEAD OF A DECISION, YOU NEED A DECISION MORE THAN A UNIFIED GOVERNMENT. IT IS TIME TO DECIDE. AND IN A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY, THE MAJORITY DECIDES. A REFERENDUM IS NOT OUT OF THE QUESTION. IT MAY TAKE PLACE, EITHER REFERENDUM OR ELECTION. BUT WE ARE NOT GOING TO WAIT FOR A REFERENDUM. WE WERE ELECTED FOR FOUR YEARS, WITH A CLEAR MANDATE WHAT TO DO, AND IT IS OUR DUTY TO EXERCISE THE AUTHORITY WE GOT FROM THE PEOPLE AND TO GO AHEAD WITH THE PROMISES WE MADE BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, AND WE SHALL DO SO.

ON MAKING PEACE: THE ISRAEL-PLO NEGOTIATIONS:

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I THINK THAT WE HAVE ALREADY CREATED A PSYCHOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, AND I THINK THAT EVEN OUR OPPONENTS UNDERSTAND THAT WE DID THE RIGHT CHOICE. BECAUSE THEY DON'T HAVE TWO ANSWERS TO TWO QUESTIONS. QUESTION NUMBER ONE. O.K. YOU ARE AGAINST THE PLO, SO WITH WHOM ARE YOU GOING TO NEGOTIATE. IT IS EITHER HAMAS OR THE PLO. AND YOU MUST BE REALISTIC, AND RESPOND TO IT, AND SAY, IF NOT THE PLO, WHO? OTHERWISE, YOU SAY THERE IS NOBODY TO NEGOTIATE, SO WHAT ARE YOU TO DO, FIGHT FOREVER. AND PARTICULARLY, WHEN THE PLO STANDS UP AND SAYS WE ARE READY TO SETTLE OUR DISPUTES, IN A DIPLOMATIC MANNER, AND NOT BY WARS, AND THEY RECOGNIZE THE STATE OF ISRAEL, ITS RIGHTS TO EXIST, ITS RIGHT TO SECURITY.

THE SECOND QUESTION IS. PEACE IS BASED ON CONCESSIONS, AS WAR IS BASED ON VICTIMS, ON LOSS OF LIFE. YOU HAVE A RISK HERE, AND A RISK THERE. UNDOUBTEDLY THE GREATEST PROBLEM IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IS THE EXISTENCE OF ANOTHER PARTY. WITHOUT THE OTHER PARTY, WE WOULD BE BRILLIANT, WE WOULD CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE WITH OURSELVES. BUT IF YOUR WANT TO MAKE PEACE, YOU HAVE TO MAKE PEACE WITH THE OTHER PARTY. IT IS NOT THE NEGOTIATIONS THAT CREATE THE OTHER PARTY. BUT THE

EXISTENCE OF THE OTHER PARTY, WHICH LEADS YOU TO NEGOTIATIONS AND TO CONCESSIONS, MUTUALLY DONE. AND WHOEVER SAYS OTHERWISE, IS IGNORING THE FACTS OF LIFE. THIS GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED THAT THE PARTNER, THE ONLY ONE AVAILABLE IS THE PLO. THE TACTIC? TO GUARANTEE THE LIVES OF JEWS AND ARABS IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS BY TRYING TO FIND A COMMON GROUND FOR BOTH OUR PEOPLE.

AND ACTUALLY THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE UNEQUAL. BECAUSE THE PLO DOESN'T HAVE A STATE, DOESN'T HAVE AN ARMY, DOESN'T HAVE A TREASURY. ACTUALLY, THEY CAN GIVE US VERY LITTLE, IF AT ALL. THEY CANNOT GIVE US LAND, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT HAVE IT. THEY CANNOT GIVE US SECURITY BECAUSE THEY DO NOT POSSESS IT. THEY CANNOT GIVE US AUTHORITY BECAUSE THEY DON'T ACCUMULATE IT. THEY CANNOT GIVE US MATERIAL ASSISTANCE, THEY ARE SHORT OF IT. SO IN FACT, WE ARE NEGOTIATING WITH OURSELVES, AND THE DECISION WE HAVE TO MAKE IS WHAT SORT OF ISRAEL WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE IN THE FUTURE. WE FEEL VERY STRONGLY THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN ISRAEL WHICH DOESN'T DOMINATE ANOTHER PEOPLE. AN ISRAEL THAT AT LEAST IS IN PEACE WITH OUR NEIGHBOURS. AN ISRAEL THAT WILL BE A CONTRIBUTING STATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AN ISRAEL WHERE BOTH THE MORAL CODE AND THE CONSIDERATED JUDGEMENT PREVAIL TO CREATE A NEW FUTURE FOR US AND OUR NEIGHBOURS.

FUNDAMENTALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST:

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NOW THERE IS A FUNDAMENTALISTIC MOVEMENT. WHAT DO YOU WANT TO BE PARALYZED BECAUSE SOME ARE AFRAID? OR WE SHOULD TRY TO THINK HOW TO STOP THEM. AND IF YOU ASK ME HOW TO STOP THEM. AND IF YOU ASK ME HOW TO STOP IT, FUNDAMENTALISM IS NOT A RELIGION, IT IS A PROTEST. AND THE WAY TO STOP IT, IS BY INCREASING, ELEVATING THE STANDARD OF LIVING, SO TO REDUCE THE STANDARD OF HATRED.

YOU CAN THINK NEGATIVELY AND PASSIVELY, AND SAY EVERYTHING IS LOST. I DON'T THINK SO. WE ARE STRONG MILITARILY, TO DEFEND OUR LIVES, AND I THINK WE ARE STRONG POLITICALLY, TO CREATE A NEW SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND WE HAVE TO USE OUR STRENGTH IN ORDER TO ATTAIN PEACE.

ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS:

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AS I HAVE TOLD YOU BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, AND I AM TELLING YOU NOW. WE ARE READY TO MAKE A TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE ON THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AS WELL. BECAUSE THE GOLAN HEIGHTS IS VERY DEAR TO US, AND SO IS PEACE. AS THE GOLAN HEIGHTS IS AN ADDITION TO OUR SECURITY, SO IS PEACE AN ADDITION TO OUR SECURITY. BECAUSE THERE ARE SOME MILITARY PROBLEMS THAT YOU CANNOT ANSWER MILITARILY, BUT YOU HAVE TO ANSWER POLITICALLY. AND YOU MUST ANSWER NOT JUST WITH A MOUNTAIN, BUT ALSO WITH A WISDOM. WE LIVE IN AN AGE WHERE YOU HAVE MISSILES AND NON-CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS, AND ALL OVER THE WORLD, NOT ONLY HERE. THE ANSWER TO THIS DANGER IS NOT JUST MILITARY, BUT ALSO POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY. AND WHAT WE SAID BEFORE THE ELECTIONS, IS STILL RIGHT TODAY. IF WE SHALL HAVE PEACE, WE SHALL HAVE TO MAKE A TERRITORIAL COMPROMISE.

ON PROGRESS IN THE ISRAEL-PLO NEGOTIATIONS:

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I THINK ISRAEL HAS BEEN COURAGEOUS AND GENEROUS ALL THE WAY. THE FACT

IS THAT THE PLO HAS AGREED WITH US. WE TOLD THEM THAT WE SHALL BE VERY DECISIVE ON MATTERS OF SECURITY, AND VERY FORTHCOMING ON MATTERS OF DIGNITY AS FAR AS THE PALESTINIANS ARE CONCERNED. THE FACT IS THAT WE WERE SITTING DAYS AND NIGHTS IN DAVOS, VERSAILLES, CAIRO. AND WE REACHED AN AGREEMENT.

מחלקת מידע

תפ: שהח, סשהח, רהמ, מוכל, ממוכל, תכוון
תפ: סמוכלים, מצפא, אירופה, מזאר, אמלט, אפסוק
תפ: מצרים, ישראלערב, תקשורת, ארבל, כלכלית
תפ: משפט, שלום, ממד, לעמ, דוצ, מתאמשטחים, זחו'ב
תפ: ראשהממשה