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#### CHARLIE ROSE Transcript #2735

July 28, 2000

**CHARLIE ROSE**, Host: Welcome to the broadcast.

Tonight a conversation with the secretary general of the United States.

**KOFI ANNAN**, Secretary General, United Nations: We need to deal with the negative aspects of globalization. We need to help-- take steps to ensure that it reaches those who are on the margins and that those who come onto the global economy also do gain something out of it.

**CHARLIE ROSE**: And a continuation of our program last night assessing the summit between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

**EDWARD SAID**, Columbia University: The idea of an entirely Jewish history is, I think, impossible. You can't think of it, at least not so far as Palestine's concerned. An entirely Arab and Palestinian history's also unthinkable without thinking of Israeli and Jewish history. So given those realities of a kind of intertwining of the people, what you really need and what we didn't have at Camp David is somebody with a vision-- I mean, a really extraordinary vision.

**MORT ZUCKERMAN**, Editor-in-Chief, "U.S. News & World Report": We have to ask ourselves what kind of friend and ally do we give \$2 billion a year to and give, you know, immediate reception in the White House to, Mubarak, who really has taken a very, very strange position here, not even a quiet one, but actually a proactive one. And I think, as the government has said, they're going to have to look very carefully and talk very straight to the Egyptians about what their role is and what impact this is going to have.

**CHARLIE ROSE**: A program note. David Boies, the attorney for Napster, was to appear on tonight's program in response to the decision against his client. That conversation will take place on Monday.

Tonight the United Nations and the search for peace in the Middle East next.

#### KOFI ANNAN Says Some Miss Benefits of Globalization

**CHARLIE ROSE**: **KOFI ANNAN** has been secretary general of the United Nations since 1997. The New York Times calls him, "one of the most provocative leaders the United Nations has known." He has been an outspoken voice in calling for reform and drawing attention to the shortcomings of not only the global community, but also the organization he serves.

In September, the U.N. will convene its millennium summit, expected to be the largest gathering of heads of states and governments ever assembled. The group will address many of the pressing issues facing the world today, from globalization to AIDS to international security.

It is a great pleasure to have the secretary general back at this table.

Welcome back.

**KOFI ANNAN**, Secretary General, United Nations: Very happy to be here with you, Charlie.

**CHARLIE ROSE**: Thank you. First off, what was in the news this week from the United Nations, this global compact.

**KOFI ANNAN**: Yes.

**CHARLIE ROSE**: Tell me about it.

**KOFI ANNAN**: Well, we've been analyzing the whole issue of globalization and the global markets. And in January, '99, the World Economic Forum in Davos, I suggested to the business leaders that if globalization is going to work, they have to take on some of the social responsibilities and that they should join me in a compact that would embrace three elements: the human rights, core labor standards and the respect for the environment.

And in all these three areas, there are international agreements that their governments and mine and all the governments have signed onto, whether it's the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the international labor organization's core labor standards or the environmental

standards that came out of the Rio conference, and basically saying if you act responsibly, the public and the civil society will respond.

But apply these standards -- and I'll give you some examples -- without waiting for governments to pass laws, that if you are operating in county X, make sure that your factories do not pollute the waters that produce the fish to feed the community. You don't need a government to pass a law for you to do that. You don't need a government for you to pass a law that you-- before you refuse to employ children or pay a decent wage.

And I also indicated to them that if they do not accept and embrace these principles and make it part of their culture, and regardless of where they are operating, they will try to apply these standards, there will be attempts to load these requirements onto the international trading system. And that would also be very complex and very difficult for everybody.

And I would much rather see an open trading system which gives access to the third world and those companies which are operating around the world apply these standards. And I must say, I've been-- I've been surprised by the response.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** You anticipated my question. What has been the response, and-- and are any companies-- all the companies, major globalization players, accepting this compact?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yeah, we have some big, big players in the compact. We don't have enough American companies, but I think they will come. I made my plea for the compact in January, '99, and I think, in the interim, there was quite a bit of discussion, but I think Seattle made my point.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Yeah. Your speech came before Seattle, but Seattle made the point.

**KOFI ANNAN:** Made the point. And quite a lot of companies have woken up to the fact that, indeed, they need to accept some of these responsibilities. They have lots of influence and lots of [unintelligible] and lots of power, and they will be expected to act responsibly in the societies in which they make their living. And it's good business sense. But I--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Just what-- what the secretary general believes about globalization is that it has-- can be a positive and has been a positive force in terms of raising the living standards, but for so many people, they haven't felt the impact.

**KOFI ANNAN:** Haven't felt the impact, and that we need to deal with the negative aspects of globalization. We help-- take steps to ensure that it reaches those who are on the margins and that those who come onto the global economy also do gain something out of it.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** What do you say to those people who say you somehow are giving more to these corporations because you're wrapping them in the credibility of the United Nations?

**KOFI ANNAN:** I think-- no, I've heard that criticism before, but I think they are wrong. They are wrong in the sense that we are asking these companies to come on board and implement values and standards which have been universally adopted.

We are also asking them to be open and transparent. They are not in the compact only with the U.N. We have the trade unions there with us. The largest trade unions were at the meeting yesterday. And we have the civil society organizations with us, along with the high commissioner for human rights, the director general of the international labor organization and the head of the U.N. environment program. So it is going to be a transparent process.

The governments that are signing onto this are going to be under scrutiny by their own employees, by civil society and by other companies that you did undertake to do this. And we've asked them to put on their Web site once a year or twice a year, periodically, what they have done in this area, so that you'll be open to everybody to look at.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Tom Friedman and others have been on this program arguing that globalization is the best thing to raise the living standards of people around the world. Do you believe that, that that has-- globalization and these private companies, as they reach around the world to markets without respect for boundaries, can do that and is the best hope to do that?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yes. I think-- let me say that if you look around the world today and you look at how the regions in the world are dealing with issues of economic development-- you take the Asian "tigers." If today-- or, let's say, before the crisis, they were able to lift quite a lot of people out of poverty, it was, one, because of their emphasis on education and participation in the global market. It is that which made a difference. You look at some of the Latin American countries. Again, it's trade and then access to the global market that has lifted quite a lot of people out of poverty.

I think the countries that are poor are poor not because of globalization but, in my judgment, because they are not getting enough of it. They are not participating. They are not in the global market. And we have to help them and give them means of participating. And this is why I also believe that if the corporations are operating in some of these areas, they can help by setting the right standards. They can help influence the situations for the better through their own policies and, in fact, it may even inspire the governments in the countries where they are working--

- [crosstalk]  
**CHARLIE ROSE:** And also, I assume, eliminate some of the fear that it's about domination, it's about America, it's about sort of an American hegemony.

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yes. No, absolutely. And in fact what I have tried to do with the global compact is basically tell them we have this global phenomenon, and each community, whether it's a village or a city, is tied together by shared values-- language and others. And luckily for the global community or the global system, there are shared values which have been negotiated over the years by governments through the U.N. and its agencies. And some of these shared values are the human rights issues I've raised, the core labor standards and the environmental issues that we can all accept and operate by. And of course, when it comes to language for the global community, I would say the language for that community's international-law.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** You know, it's hard for a lot of people who've never used a telephone to appreciate the potential of the Internet. It's an extraordinary amount of the world's population either live on less than \$2 a day and have never seen a telephone.

**KOFI ANNAN:** No. Absolutely. Fully 50 percent of the world's population have never made or received a phone call. The haven't seen it.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Fifty percent?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Fifty percent of the world's population have never seen or received a phone call. And we need to find a way of getting access to them. And access does not mean individual ownership of telephones or Internet. Quite a lot of countries have approached this problem with access. Let's say that in each village, there should be four, five phones that people should be able to reach in an hour to make a phone. In each village of 1,000, there should be an Internet. And this is how some of the countries are approaching it. And then you build on from there.

And of course, today I gave a speech at the Economic and Social Council. And I said we are talking of bridging the "digital divide." We are talking of using IT for development, and I think it will help-- if we handle it well, the third world can use some of these new technologies to leapfrog certain painful processes of development that others had to go through. But you need that basic education. You need to make sure everybody gets--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** You had a lot of experience in peacekeeping. Have you changed your own sense of what can be accomplished by peacekeeping by the United Nations? You've got Sierra Leone. You've got--

**KOFI ANNAN:** Congo and--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** --Kosovo. You've got Congo, all of these-- [crosstalk] --East Timor--

**KOFI ANNAN:** I think--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Some successes, some failures.

**KOFI ANNAN:** Some successes and some failures in difficult operations. Let me say that what I think is that peacekeeping is a very useful tool, but the nature of conflicts that we deal with have changed so drastically that we need to revisit our own assumptions for undertaking peacekeeping operations.

When peacekeeping was started, it was mainly to deal with interstate conflicts. Most of the conflicts we are dealing with today are intrastate. In the past, we dealt with governments and elected leaders.

Today we have warlords and all sorts of other people involved who do not have the same understanding of the world beyond their borders. And often their ambitions are very limited.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** And the same respect for rule of law.

**KOFI ANNAN:** And the same respect for rule of law, which also means that you have very little pressure points to influence and to pressure them and get them to bend and change their ways. And so it was-- we will have to change our approach to peacekeeping in the sense that we cannot assume that people who sign these agreements are going to live up to it.

In fact, we've seen in many situations where they've signed the agreement, and then, when the peacekeepers are in, behave in a manner as if they've never heard of the agreement. Or one of them behaves in a manner which makes it clear he has walked away from the agreement.

And therefore, we need to change our own attitude and go into these operations prepared for the worst-case scenario and plan for the worst-case scenario, rather than plan for best-case scenario that these guys have signed an agreement, there is a peace to keep, and we're going to help them keep it, and therefore go in prepared for all eventualities.

It means you have to send into these operations better-trained and better-equipped troops and troops who arrive in a credible and robust manner. And often, when they do that, they may not even have to fight because people will not test them and take them on.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** I would think the hardest thing in the world for being secretary general is not negotiations, new compacts, providing a vision for a new century, it is having to tell the relatives of U.N. employees why their loved ones died when they were doing good. Does--

**KOFI ANNAN:** Why they were attacked.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** And why they were attacked -- my point -- without cause.

**KOFI ANNAN:** It's a tough one. It's [unintelligible] families, the immediate families, and their larger family, the U.N., because each time these things happen and we get-- we organize a memorial service, and you see some of the parents-- and you're right about [unintelligible] They don't even have to tell you. It's all over their face and in their eyes, "Why did it have to happen?"

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Why?

**KOFI ANNAN:** "Why did they have to kill him for reaching out to help? Why did he have to die for trying to do good? What sort of a crazy world do we live in?"

**CHARLIE ROSE:** And what do you say?

**KOFI ANNAN:** It's a tough one. What do you [unintelligible] Obviously, you feel for the family, but you also believe that the people believed in what they were doing and what they died for. They believed that there is a common humanity. They believed that we should reach out and reach the needy, which I believe. And I have done quite a lot of these field operations.

But for them to lose their lives in an attempt to help others, and sometimes they are turned upon by the people they went there to help. This is the most difficult part. If they are killed in an accident or some [unintelligible] it's understandable. But when the family tells you, "But why did they do this to him" or to her--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** He was not a combatant. [crosstalk]

**KOFI ANNAN:** She was there to help, make sure they got food, they got medicine or to assist and did nothing but good. And that-- those are very tough issues because you are also dealing with warlords whose main ambition is power and greed. And all means are fair.

They will block food getting to the other side. Humanitarian workers are blocked, using food as a weapon. They are capable of shelling women and children as a war objective, not as something incidental to the war efforts. And this is a brutal phenomenon we are dealing with.

Often people ask why should the U.N.-- why does the U.N. keep going into these difficult situations--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** That was my next question.

**KOFI ANNAN:** --when they don't have the troops and the governments--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Exactly.

**KOFI ANNAN:** --do not want to give them the troops? It is a good question. The other side of the question is, should the international community and the world stand by with arms folded as this goes on? And this goes to the core of the speech I made in the General Assembly on the question of humanitarian action or humanitarian intervention in situations where there is systematic and massive abuse of human rights of others.

Yes, the countries will tell you, "Leave it to us. This is our country. Because of our sovereignty, don't interfere. Don't mess up with our sovereignty." We are an organization which is made up of member states, and the concept of sovereignty is a very essential part of our culture and history.

But the same charter of the organization also charges us with the responsibility of protecting future generations from the source of war. And so when the two are in conflict, when

the individual's protection and sovereignty's in conflict, which takes precedence, and who decides?

**CHARLIE ROSE:** The higher call of human rights.

**KOFI ANNAN:** This is-- but it's going to take a while to get governments to accept that.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** What went wrong in Sierra Leone?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Again, it goes back to the question of individual ambition and greed. It's clear that Foday Sankoh, who signed the agreement, had not given up his ambitions for power and was determined to make it to power through the bullet or through the ballot. And he has been fighting this war by mining the diamonds in Sierra Leone.

The peacekeepers, when they got in and started to expand their deployment beyond Freetown and inching towards the diamond area, he-- he decided to hit back. It happened at a time when the force was not fully deployed. They were in the process of bringing in additional forces.

But I think the force commander and the men went through a difficult period. They got all the hostages released. We have been able to reinforce the troops, stabilize the situation. And now we are going to begin to help the government expand its own administration of other territory and eventually take over the mining industry, so that the resources of the country can be exploited for the benefit of the country and the people and not by warlords for war.

Yesterday the Council started the initial steps of approving a decision that will put Foday Sankoh on trial.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** On trial?

**KOFI ANNAN:** On trial.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Does the experience you have now and when you see the brutality that you have a chance to see and hear firsthand change your attitude about the goodness of human beings and the evil of human beings?

**KOFI ANNAN:** I think it doesn't change my attitude about the goodness of people. I'm a rather hopeful and optimistic person.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Because there are people--

**KOFI ANNAN:** But-- but I have been shocked by the extent of evil and the cruelty and brutality that exists in certain people.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Shocked by it?

**KOFI ANNAN:** I'm shocked by it.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Despite all that you had seen?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Despite all that--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** --you still were shocked by what you saw?

**KOFI ANNAN:** I was shocked and surprised.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** The acts to which people will go in the interest of power.

**KOFI ANNAN:** And to sort of confront another human being and kill him or her at close range or use a machete to cut off their hands or to maim them and it doesn't do anything to you, I mean this is quite-- as a human being. And that I find--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** The capacity for--

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yeah, for murder, brutality and violence. I mean, this is something that I can't imagine because, you know, people do kill. In wars, it happens. They shoot at each other from a distance. And even then they live with their conscience and some really get tormented when they come out of these war situations.

But some of the situations we've seen, they are not shooting at soldiers. They are shooting at children. They are shooting at women. They are deliberately shelling cities at close range. They are cutting off arms of two-year-old children -- harmless, innocent kids who are totally helpless.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Do you think you'd be better off if you had an army at your command?

**KOFI ANNAN:** It would help in some ways, I mean, because the problem we're dealing with is rapidity of deployment.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Right.

**KOFI ANNAN:** If you're dealing with a crisis and you can move in quickly, you may be able to nip the problem in the bud and contain it.

Since we don't have an army of our own and we have to appeal to governments to give us-- to give us their troops, sometimes you may get them in a month. Other times it may take four months. And by the time you get them, the crisis may have worsened and you have a much greater problem to deal with than the original issue that the council was even discussing.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Even though a man of peace, there is a sense that we need clearly in today's world to have the capacity to react quickly with force.

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yes. I think there are times when the use of force cannot be ruled out. And so that capacity is needed. But-- and if you're going to have that capacity, you should be able to prepare it, use it effectively and judiciously because I wish that I will be able to say that one should never have to use force. But there are moments when you have no option but to use it. And even our own charter foresees the use of force in the interests of the common good.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** What needs to be changed about the United Nations -- the structure of the General Assembly, because they pass lots of things that are irrelevant, as you know? Structure of the Security Council because it may not necessarily be representative of the world that exists in 19-- in the year 2000.

**KOFI ANNAN:** I think there are a couple of things. I think the General Assembly can gain a lot by changing a small [unintelligible] of operations. They have a long list of items. And I think to begin with they can clean up the agenda and limit themselves to really essential issues.

We have made a suggestion that they should review any mandate which is five years old-- five years or more and make a judgment as to whether it's obsolete. And they should start-- they should eliminate it and make room for more pressing activities. We haven't got them to agree to that.

If they were able to take that simple step it would be enormously helpful. I also think that if they were to be more action oriented and really look at it rather than the speeches which are made, they would also be able to get a lot done.

On the Security Council, as you know, there has been a seven-year debate on reform and restructuring of the Security Council. And I think I will be bold enough to say that almost every member state -- all the 188 or 189 -- agree that the Security Council should be reformed. But beyond that agreement they--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** They don't agree who should be a member?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yes. And-- but I think at this--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** One hundred and eighty different answers.

**KOFI ANNAN:** I think at this millennium summit the issue is going to come back to the fore. The Japanese members are very keen on it.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** They're going to say, "We represent X"?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yes. They pay some 20 percent of the budget.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** The Japanese do?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yeah, the Japanese.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** And they're saying if we pay 20 percent of the budget, why aren't we on the Security Council?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Why aren't on we--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** And you say to them, "Perhaps you should be."

**KOFI ANNAN:** The members will have to settle that. But the Japanese pay more as a single state than the four other permanent members put together. So this is-- and of course the argument is that you have to bring the Security Council in line with today's realities and expand its membership to be-- to give it greater representation and also to be more democratic. And by doing that it will gain in greater legitimacy.

But those who are cautious say that don't expand the Council and make it too large that it becomes ineffectual. But I think it ought to be possible with a membership of 189 soon to have a Council-- I mean, increase it from the 15 members now to a reasonable number that can still be effective and be seen as more democratic and representative. I don't think it is beyond the human engineering. And I hope the membership will find a solution to it.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Another issue is U.S. arrears. Uh, you and Ambassador Holbrook both have called for the United Nations to-- for the United States to-- congress to pay up. You went down to Wingate College--

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yes.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** --in my home state of North Carolina and made a commencement speech there and pretty much laid out the case for the United Nations. Sitting in the audience or on the dais was the chairman of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee--

**KOFI ANNAN:** That's correct.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** --the Honorable Jesse Helms. How are you two getting along?

**KOFI ANNAN:** I think personally we-- yeah, we get along.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** You listen to each other?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yeah. We've had very good conversations. We listen to each other. He worked with Biden to come up with the Helms-Biden arrangements that allow the congress to approve \$926 million for the U.N., but there were so many conditions. They included reducing the U.S. contribution from 25 to 22 percent in their regular budget. And on peacekeeping issues, from 31 to 25.

This is a zero-sum game. If U.S. reduces this contributions, other governments will have to pick up the slack and pay much more. And this is going to be a very difficult debate amongst the members and at a time when the U.S. economy is doing extremely well with also some surpluses. And other governments--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** It seems like a reasonable thing to.

**KOFI ANNAN:** Yeah.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** I should point out that you're not the first dignitary from New York to go down, or from Washington, to go down to Wingate College. The secretary of state went down there and made a commencement speech as well.

**KOFI ANNAN:** It's true. I must say he listened. He listened and the students were very responsive to the idea. Strangely enough this didn't seem to travel broadly. They travel as part of the curriculum. Each one of them has to do some work outside the United States. And so they were sensitive to my arguments about the need for more unilateralism. And the argument that in certain situations the collective is in the interests of the national and that governments have to come together, to work together to tackle certain problems that no one country, however powerful, can solve alone.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** In a world that exists that we have described here, with evil people only responding to force, has the United Nations lost some of its credibility?

**KOFI ANNAN:** Oh, yes. There's no doubt that we have lost some credibility. But part of that is also due to the fact that there has often been a heightened and exaggerated expectation of what the United Nations can do. And I think we ourselves have not really been able to get our story out as to what we can do and what we cannot do.

We have also not been very good at explaining to the public that when they talk of the United Nations not doing this or not spending this much money, not bringing in effective troops, that message is also addressed to their own governments because the U.N. is your government and my government and their government. It is these governments who give us the troops for an operation or do not give us troops for an operation.

I mean, we've had operations where I needed to put in 1,000 troops and it took me a year to get them and equip them to put them in. And it was--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** One thousand troops?

**KOFI ANNAN:** One thousand troops. And I'm talking of a very serious-- this was during the Bosnian operation. And the troops were available but the countries with capacity would not offer. The U.N. had to go through the ridiculous situation of approaching-- accepting an offer from a country "A" that had troops but no equipment. Country "B" decided I will give them the equipment and train them. They later decided I cannot bring foreign troops to my country to train them, but I will give you the equipment.

And we started discussing with country "C," "Can we move the equipment there and train the people there?" They say, "Yeah, we think we can do it." Subsequently they could not, so we eventually ended up in country "D" after we had dealt with two other countries. And then moved the equipment to that country and trained the troops on the equipment and then moved them to Bosnia.

And yet, the capacity was there all around us. The member states had it. And those were the capacity--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** And everybody understood the moral dimensions of the issue?

**KOFI ANNAN:** The moral dimensions of the issue. But, you see, we take them off the hook. We don't ask them, "Ghana, what did you do?" "Brazil and the U.S., what did you do in this situation?" We say the U.N. failed. So it's a wonderful alibi. And, of course, as I have often said, the letters "S.G." doesn't stand for Secretary General but "Scape Goat."

So you have a ready alibi and a scapegoat. So--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Thank you very much. A pleasure to have you here.

We'll be right back and we'll have a further reconsideration from last night's program, the summit conference between the Israelis and the Palestinians that took place at Camp David. Stay with us.

Palestinian Arab Predicts Intertwined Future Jerusalem

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Joining me now is Dr. **EDWARD SAID**. He is one of the most influential literary critics, also a Palestinian, a former confidante to Yasir Arafat and an adviser to two American secretaries of state. I am pleased to have him here to get his reaction to what happened at the Camp David summit and where he thinks things will go from here.

Welcome.

**EDWARD SAID,** Columbia University: Thank you.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** A lot of people have a hard time understanding -- and you too -- why the impression is that Barak made all the concessions, none from Arafat. Now I know that you're not here as a spokesperson for Arafat. And you're not here even--

**EDWARD SAID:** Or friend.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** I know. You two are-- used to be good, but you split for other reasons. The impression is, according to the president of the United States, Barak made a lot of concessions; the Palestinian leader did not.

**EDWARD SAID:** Well, I think the position that Barak began from was this sort of mantra that they'd been using in Israel for the last 15, 20, 30 years -- you know, that Jerusalem is the undivided, eternal capital of Israel. And once they started to talk about parts of Jerusalem that could be negotiated -- in this case, particularly the outskirts of Jerusalem, not actually the city itself but the parts that were added during the annexation, some of the Arab villages like Abu Dis and Mathamina [sp]. That's where the change supposedly occurred.

So they were willing to talk about that, but the heart of the old city, even the part of the eastern section of the city that is important to Israel, which is largely Arab, those were not talked about.

Now, of course, Arafat on the other hand--

**CHARLIE ROSE:** They were talked about, they just were not agreed on.

**EDWARD SAID:** Yeah. But Arafat, on the other hand, has been saying that Jerusalem-- east Jerusalem is the capital of any future Palestinian state. And I don't-- And I really don't think that there was any coming back from that. I mean, it's certainly not enough to tell him, "Well, you can have part of the outskirts of Jerusalem," unless he's given sovereignty, not only over eastern Jerusalem but also over the 200,000 Palestinians who live there.

I think he had his back to the wall and was unable to back further away from that, not only because that's his position which he has proclaimed in front of his people for years, but also because it is the Arab and Islamic position; that east Jerusalem must return to Arab sovereignty.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** Let me understand.

**EDWARD SAID:** OK.

**CHARLIE ROSE:** If you're a Palestinian or a Muslim, maybe an Egyptian, wherever you come from -- if you're an Arab, Muslim, non-Palestinian, Palestinian -- it is part of the faith that you have to have sovereignty over east Jerusalem? Why?

**EDWARD SAID:** Because the city has a profoundly Arab and Islamic and also Christian cast to it. It's steeped in that history. Not a history of-- as, you know, longing, but of actuality. I mean, the Haram Ash-Sharif is there. The Aqsa mosque is there. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher is there. We're talking about very specific sites, plus religious establishments -- Al Qomf [sp] and foundations -- which make the city, have given it this Arab cast to it since the-- for at least 1500 years.

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