מדינת ישראל

משרדי הממשלה

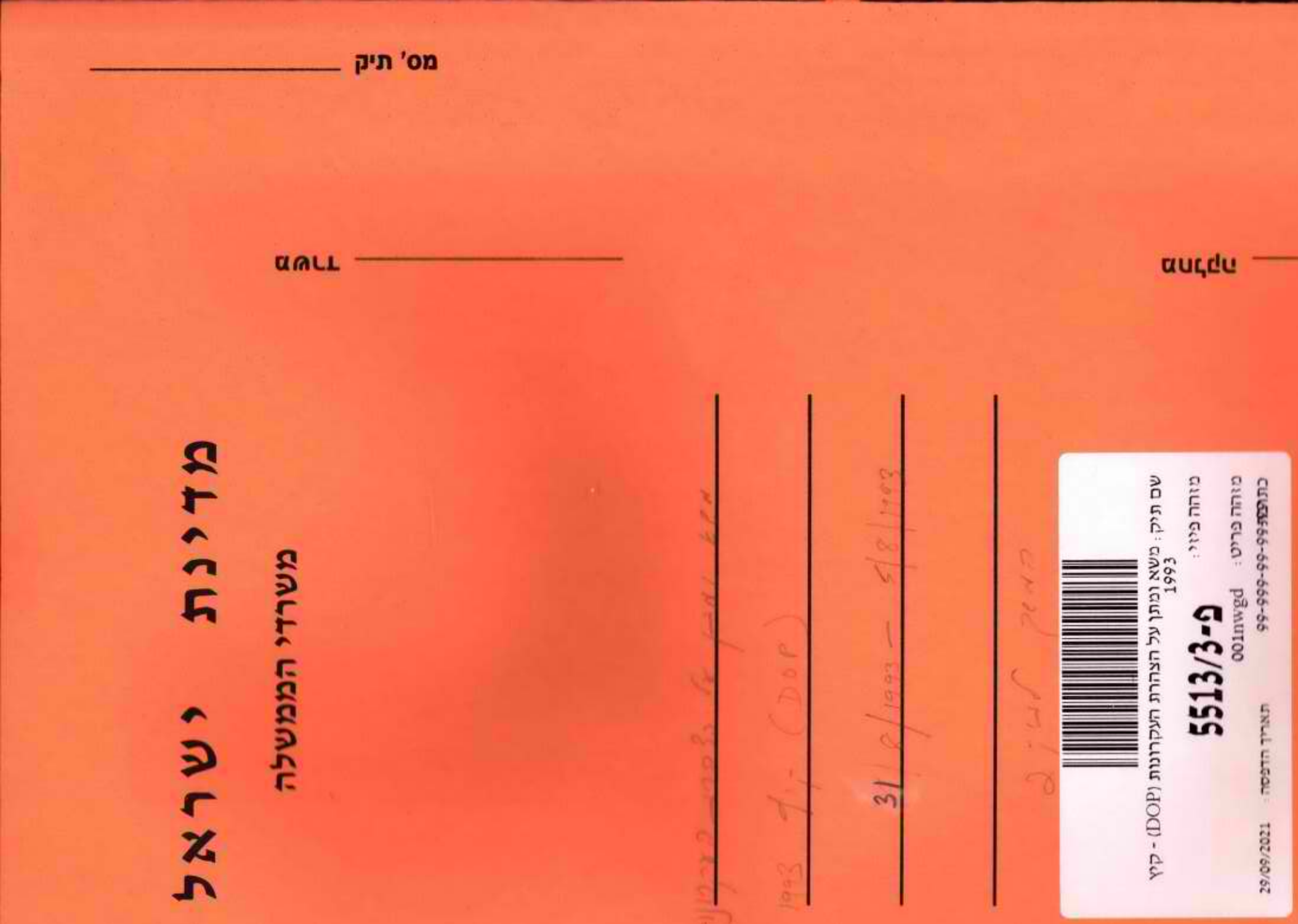
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תאריך הדפסה: 26/06/2022

מס' תיק _____

תאריך _____

נתקבל _____



ANNEX II

GAZA AND JERICHO

1. Israel is ready to implement an accelerated withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho. The seat of the Council will be in Jericho.

2. It is agreed that the goal of both parties is to conclude within three months from the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, an agreement, that will become effective immediately within a period not exceeding 30 days from the date of its signature, and that will include comprehensive arrangements to apply in the Gaza Strip and Jericho area (to be agreed upon), subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal.

3. The above agreement will cover among other things:
   a. The timing of the Israeli withdrawal;
   b. Scope and nature of the Palestinian authority, that will cover all authorities, except those that will be excluded in the agreement.
   c. Arrangements for the assumption by the Palestinian police of larger responsibility for internal security and public order.
   d. Arrangements for the establishment of a police force, consisting of police officers recruited locally and up to a number of Jordanian nationals recruited abroad and trained as police officers.
   e. A temporary international or foreign presence to be agreed upon.
   f. Arrangements for the safe passage of VIP's between the Gaza Strip and Jericho.
   g. An economic, development, and stabilization program, including the joint seeking for foreign investment and economic support; and
   h. issues of common interest.

4. Other then these agreed arrangements, the status of the Gaza Strip and Jericho will continue to be an integral part of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will not be changed during the interim period.

Agreed minutes to ANNEX II

It is understood that subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal, Israel will continue to be responsible for external security and for internal security and public order as specified in the principles pertaining to Article IV, as set out in these agreed minutes above; and that Israeli military forces and civilians may continue to use roads freely within the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Draft of August 14, 1993

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS

The Government of the State of Israel and the Palestinian team (in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Middle East Peace Conference) (the "Palestinian Delegation"), representing the Palestinian people, agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process.

Accordingly, the two sides agree to the following principles:

Article I

AIM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS

1. The aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council, ("the Council") for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period of five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

   It is understood that the interim arrangements are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the

negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, as agreed by the parties in the permanent status agreement.

Article II

FRAMEWORK FOR THE INTERIM PERIOD

The agreed framework for the interim period is set forth in this Declaration of Principles.

Article III

ELECTIONS

1. In order that the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip may govern themselves according to democratic principles, direct, free and general political elections will be held for the Council under agreed supervision and international observation, while the Palestinian police will ensure public order.
2. An agreement will be concluded on the exact mode and conditions of the elections in accordance with the protocol attached as Annex I, with the goal of holding the elections not later than nine months after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles.
3. These elections will constitute a significant interim preparatory step toward the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements.

It is agreed that the transfer of authority will be as follows:

(1) The Palestinian side will inform the Israeli side of the names of Palestinians who will assume the powers, authorities and responsibilities that will be transfered to the Palestinians according to the Declaration of Principles in the following fields: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism and any other authorities agreed upon.

(2) It is understood that the rights and obligations of these offices will not be affected.

(3) Each of the spheres described above will continue to enjoy existing budgetary allocations in accordance with arrangements to be mutually agreed upon. These arrangements also will provide for the necessary adjustments required in order to take into account the taxes collected by the direct taxation office.

(4) Upon the execution of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will immediately commence negotiations on a detailed plan for the transfer of authority on the above offices in accordance with the above understandings.

Article VII

The Interim Agreement will also include arrangements for coordination and cooperation.

Article VIII

It is understood that the Interim Agreement will include arrangements for cooperation and coordination between the two parties in this regard. It is also agreed that the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian police will be accomplished in a phased manner, as agreed in the Interim Agreement.

Article X

It is agreed that, upon the entry into force of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will exchange the names of the individuals designated by them as members of the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee.

It is further agreed that each side will have an equal number of members in the Joint Committee. The Joint Committee will reach decisions by agreement. The joint committee may add other technicians and experts, as necessary. The Joint Committee will decide on the frequency and place or places of its meetings.

ANNEX II

It is understood that subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal, Israel will continue to be responsible for external security and for internal security and public order as specified in the principles pertaining to Article IV, as set out in these agreed minutes above; and that Israeli military forces and civilians may continue to use roads freely within the

Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Done at Washington, D.C., this ____ day of _____, 1993.

For the Government of Israel **For the Palestinian Delegation**

_____ _____

Witnessed By:

_____ _____

The United States of America **The Russian Federation**

Draft of August 14, 1993

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS

The Government of the State of Israel and the Palestinian team (in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation to the Middle East Peace Conference) (the "Palestinian Delegation"), representing the Palestinian people, agree that it is time to put an end to decades of confrontation and conflict, recognize their mutual legitimate and political rights, and strive to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security and achieve a just, lasting and comprehensive peace settlement and historic reconciliation through the agreed political process.

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It is understood that the interim arrangements are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the

negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

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2. An agreement will be concluded on the exact mode and conditions of the elections in accordance with the protocol attached as Annex I, with the goal of holding the elections not later than nine months after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles.
3. These elections will constitute a significant interim preparatory step toward the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and their just requirements.

Article IV

Jurisdiction

Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations. The two sides view the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a single territorial unit, whose integrity will be preserved during the interim period.

Article V

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND PERMANENT STATUS NEGOTIATIONS

1. The five-year transitional period will begin upon the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

2. Permanent status negotiations will commence as soon as possible, but not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period, between the Government of Israel and the Palestinian people representatives.

3. It is understood that these negotiations shall cover remaining issues, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors, and issue of common interest.

4. The two parties agree that the outcome of the permanent status negotiations should not be prejudiced or preempted by agreements reached for the interim period.

Article VI

PREPARATORY TRANSFER OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, a transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to the Palestinians authorised for this task, as detailed herein, will commence. This transfer of authority will be of preparatory nature until the inauguration of the Council.

2. Immediately after the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, authority will be transferred to the Palestinians on the following spheres: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation, and tourism. The Palestinian side will commence in building the Palestinian Police force as agreed upon. Pending the inauguration of the Council, the two parties may negotiate the transfer of additional powers and responsibilities, as agreed upon.

Article VII

INTERIM AGREEMENT

1. The Israeli and Palestinian delegations will negotiate an agreement on the interim period ("the Interim Agreement").

2. The Interim Agreement shall specify, among other things, the structure of the Council, the number of its members, and the transfer of powers and responsibilities from the Israeli military government and its Civil Administration to

the Council. The Interim Agreement shall also specify the Council's executive authority, legislative authority in accordance with Article IX below, and the independent Palestinian judicial organs.

3. The Interim Agreement shall include arrangements, to be implemented upon the inauguration of the Council, for the assumption by the Council of all of the powers and responsibilities transferred previously in accordance with Article VI above.

4. In order to enable the Council to promote economic growth, upon its inauguration, the Council will establish, among other things, a Palestinian Electricity Authority, a Gaza Sea Port Authority, a Palestinian Development Bank, a Palestinian Export Promotion Board, a Palestinian Environmental Authority, a Palestinian Land Authority and a Palestinian Water Administration Authority, and any other Authorities agreed upon, in accordance with the Interim Agreement that will specify their powers and responsibilities.

5. After the inauguration of the Council, the Civil Administration will be dissolved, and the Israeli military government will be withdrawn.

Article VIII

PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY

In order to guarantee public order and internal security for the Palestinians of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Council will establish a strong police force, while Israel will continue

to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats, as well as the responsiblity for overall security of the Israelis for the purpose of safeguarding their internal security and public order.

Article IX

LAWS AND MILITARY ORDERS

1. The Council will be empowered to legislate, in accordance with the Interim Agreement, within all authorities transferred to it.
2. Both parties will review jointly laws and military orders presently in force in remaining spheres.

Article X

JOINT ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN LIAISON COMMITTEE

In order to provide for a smooth implementation of this Declaration of Principles and any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, upon the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, a Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee will be established in order to deal with issues requiring coordination, other issues of common interest and disputes.

Article XI

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC FIELDS

Recognizing the mutual benefit of cooperation in promoting the development of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Israel upon the

entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, an Israeli-Palestinian Development Committee will be established in order to develop and implement in a cooperative manner the programs identified in Annex III and IV.

Article XII

LIAISON AND COOPERATION WITH JORDAN AND EGYPT

The two parties will invite the Governments of Jordan and Egypt to participate in establishing further liaison and cooperation arrangements between the Government of Israel and the the Palestinian representatives, on one hand, and the Governments of Jordan and Egypt, on the other hand, to promote cooperation between them.

These arrangements will include the constitution of a continuing committee that will decide by agreement on the modalities of admission of persons displaced from the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, together with necessary measures to prevent disruption and disorder. Other matters of common concern will be dealt with by this committee.

Article XIII

REDEPLOYMENT OF ISRAELI FORCES

1. After the entry into force of this Declaration of Principles, and not later than the eve of elections for the Council, a redeployment of Israeli military forces in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will take place, in addition to withdrawal of israeli forces carried out in accordance with Article XIV.

2. In redeploying its military forces, Israel will be guided by the principle that its military forces should be redeployed outside populated areas.

3. Further redeployments to specified locations will be gradually implemented commensurate with the assumption of responsibility for public order and internal security by the Palestinian police force pursuant to Article VIII above.

Article XIV

ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE GAZA STRIP AND JERICHO AREA

Israel will implement an accelerated withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area as detailed in Annex II.

Article XV

RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES

1. Disputes arising out of the application or interpretation of this Declaration of Principles, or any subsequent agreements pertaining to the interim period, shall be resolved by negotiations through the Joint Liaison Committee to be established pursuant to Article IX above.

2. Disputes which cannot be settled by negotiations may be resolved by a mechanism of conciliation to be agreed upon by the parties.

3. The parties may agree to submit to arbitration disputes relating to the interim period, which cannot be settled

through conciliation. To this end, upon the agreement of both parties, the parties will establish an Arbitration Committee.

Article XVI

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN COOPERATION CONCERNING REGIONAL PROGRAMS

Both parties view the multilateral working groups as an appropiate instrument for promoting a "Marshall Plan", the regional programs and other programs, including special programs for the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as indicated in Annex IV.

Article XVII

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

1. This Declaration of Principles will enter into force one month after its signing.
2. All protocols annexed to this Declaration of Principles and Agreed Minutes pertaining thereto shall be regarded as an integral part hereof.

Done at Washington, D.C., this ____ day of _____, 1993.

For the Government of Israel **For the Palestinian Delegation**

_____ _____

Witnesed By:

ANNEX I

Protocol On The Mode And Conditions of Elections

1. Palestinians of Jerusalem who live there will have the right to participate in the election process, according to an agreement between the two sides.
2. In addition, the election agreement should cover, among other things, the following issues:
   a. The system of elections.
   b. The mode of the agreed supervision and international observation and their personal composition; and
   c. Rules and regulations regarding election campaign, including agreed arrangements for the organizing of mass media, and the possibility of licensing a broadcasting and TV station.
3. The future status of displaced Palestinians who were registered on 4th June 1967 will not be prejudiced because they are unable to participate in the election process due to practical reasons.

ANNEX II

GAZA STRIP AND JERICHO AREA

1. The two sides will conclude and sign within three months from the entry into force of the Declaration of Principles, an agreement on the withdrawal of military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. This agreement will include comprehensive arrangements to apply in the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal.

2. Israel will implement an accelerated and scheduled withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, within a period not exceeding three months from the date of the signing of the agreement on Gaza Strip and Jericho area.

3. The above agreement will include among other things:

   a. Arrangements for a smooth and peaceful transfer of authority from the Israeli military government and its civil administration to the Palestinian representatives.

   b. Structure, powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian Authority in these areas, except: External security, settlements, Israelis and foreign relations. Other issues of common interest will be mutually agreed upon.

c. Arrangements for the assumption of internal security and public order by the Palestinian police force, consisting of police officers recruited locally and from abroad (holding Jordanian passports and Palestinian documents issued by Egypt). Those who will participate in the Palestinian Police force coming from abroad should be trained as police and police officers.

d. A temporary international or foreign presence as agreed upon.

e. Establishment of a joint Palestinian-Israeli Coordination and Cooperation Committee for mutual security purposes.

f. An economic development and stabilization program, including the establishment of an Emergency Fund to encourage foreign investments, financial and economic support. Both sides will coordinate and cooperate jointly and unilaterally with regional and international parties to support these aims.

g. Arrangements for a safe passage, for persons and transportation between the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area.

4. The above agreement will include arrangements for coordination between both parties regarding passages:

   a. Gaza - Egypt;

   b. Jericho - Jordan.

5. Other then these agreed arrangements, the status of the Gaza Strip and Jericho area will continue to be an integral part of of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will not be changed in the interim period.

ANNEX III

Protocol On Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation and Development Programs

The parties agree to develop jointly the following programs:

1. A Water Development Program prepared by Israeli and Palestinian water experts, which will also specify the mode of cooperation in the management of water resources in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and will include proposals for studies and plans on water rights of each party, as well as on the equitable utilization of joint water resources for implementation beyond the interim period.

2. An Electricity Development Program, which will also specify the mode of cooperation for the production, maintenance, purchase and sale of electricity resources.

3. An Israeli-Palestinian Energy Development Program, which will provide for the exploitation of oil and gas for industrial purposes, particularly in the Gaza Strip and in the Negev, and will encourage further joint exploitation of other energy resources. These programs may also provide for the construction of oil and gas pipelines.

4. A Financial Development and Action Program for the encouragement of international investment in Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

5. A Transport and Communications Development Program, which will define guidelines for the establishment of a Gaza Port Area and will provide for the establishing of communication lines to and from the Gaza Strip via Israel, and to and from Israel via the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to other countries. In addition this program will provide for carrying out of the necessary construction of roads, railways, communications lines etc.

6. A Trade Promotion Program, which will encourage local, regional and inter-regional trade and will examine the possibilities of creating free tade zones in the Gaza Strip and in Israel, mutual access to these zones, and cooperation in other areas related to trade and commerce.

7. An Industrial Development Program, which will provide for the establishment of joint Israeli-Palestinian Industrial Research and Development Centers, will promote Palestinian-Israeli joint ventures and provide guidelines for cooperation in the textile, food, pharmaceutical, electronics, computer and science-based industries.

8. A program for cooperation in labor and in social welfare issues.

9. A Human Resources Development Plan, providing for joint Israeli-Palestinian workshops and seminars, and for the establishment of joint vocational training centers.

10. An Environmental Protection Plan.

11. Any other programs mutually agreed upon.

ANNEX IV

Protocol On Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation
Concerning Regional Development Programs

1. Israel and the Palestinians will cooperate in the context of the multilateral peace efforts in mutually promoting a Development Program for the region, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to be initiated by the G-7. The parties will request the G-7 to seek the participation in this program of other interested states, such as members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, regional Arab states and institutions, as well as members of the private sector.

2. The development program will consist of two elements:
a) a Regional Economic Development Program.
b) an Economic Development Program for the West Bank and and the Gaza Strip.

A. The Regional Economic Development Program will consist of the following elements:

(1) The establishment of a Middle East Development Fund as a first step, and a Midle East Developme Bank as a second step.
(2) The development of a joint Israeli-Palestinian-Jordanian Plan for coordinated exploitation of the Dead Sea area.
(3) Regional Desalination and other water development projects.
(4) A regional plan for agricultural development including a coordinated regional effort for the prevention of desertisation.
(5) Interconnection of electricity grids.
(6) Regional cooperation for the transfer, distribution and industrial exploitation of gas, oil and other energy resources.
(7) A Regional Tourism, Transportation and Telecommunications Development Plan.
(8) Regional cooperation in other spheres, as mutually agreed upon.

B. The Economic Development Program for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip will consist of the following elements:
(1) A Housing and Construction Programme.
(2) A Small and Medium Business Development Plan.
(3) An Infrastructure Development Programme (water, electricity, transportation and communication, etc.)
(4) A Human Resources Plan.
(5) Other programs mutually agreed upon.

3. The two parties will coordinate there positions before each session of the various multilateral working groups. The two parties will encourage intersessional activities, as well as pre-feas ɔility and feas ɔility studies, within the various multilateral working groups.

AGREED MINUTES TO THE

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ON

INTERIM SELF-GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS

A. GENERAL UNDERSTANDINGS AND AGREEMENTS

Any powers and responsibilities transferred to Palestinians pursuant to the Declaration of Principles prior to the inauguration of the Council will be subject to the same principles pertaining to Article IV, as set out in these Agreed Minutes below.

B. SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDINGS AND AGREEMENTS

Article IV

It is understood that:

1. Jurisdiction of the Council will cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that will be negotiated in the permanent status negotiations: Jerusalem, settlements, military locations, and Israelis.

agreed powers, responsibilities, spheres and authorities transferred to it.

Article VI(2)

It is agreed that the transfer of authority will be as follows:

(1) The Palestinian side will inform the Israeli side of the names of Palestinians who will assume the powers, authorities and responsibilities that will be transfered to the Palestinians according to the Declaration of Principles in the following fields: education and culture, health, social welfare, direct taxation and tourism and any other authorities agreed upon.

(2) It is understood that the rights and obligations of these offices will not be affected.

(3) Each of the spheres described above will continue to enjoy existing budgetary allocations in accordance with arrangements to be mutually agreed upon. These arrangements also will provide for the necessary adjustments required in order to take into account the taxes collected by the direct taxation office.

(4) Upon the execution of the Declaration of Principles, the Israeli and Palestinian delegations will immediately commence negotiations on a detailed plan for the transfer of authority on the above offices in accordance with the above understandings.

Article VII

The Interim Agreement will also include arrangements for coordination and cooperation.

Article VIII

It is understood that the Interim Agreement will include arrangements for cooperation and coordination between the two parties in this regard. It is also agreed that the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian police will be accomplished in a phased manner, as agreed in the Interim Agreement.

Article X

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It is further agreed that each side will have an equal number of members in the Joint Committee. The Joint Committee will reach decisions by agreement. The joint committee may add other technicians and experts, as necessary. The Joint Committee will decide on the frequency and place or places of its meetings.

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It is understood that subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal, Israel will continue to be responsible for external security

and for internal security and public order as specified in the principles pertaining to Article IV, as set out in these agreed minutes above; and that Israeli military forces and civilians may continue to use roads freely within the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Done at Washington, D.C., this ____ day of _____, 1993.

For the Government of Israel **For the Palestinian Delegation**

_____ _____

Witnessed By:

_____ _____

The United States of America **The Russian Federation**

Gaza Strip and Jericho.

g. An economic, development, and stabilization program, including the joint seeking for foreign investment and economic support.

h. Other issues of common interest.

Other then these agreed arrangements, the status of the Gaza Strip and Jericho will continue to be an integral part of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and will not be changed during the interim period.

II. Israeli-Palestinian Cooperation and Working Programme [CWP]

1. A joint Water Development Programme [will be] prepared by Israeli and Palestinian water engineers, which will also specify the mode of cooperation necessary for the management of water resources, in Gaza Strip and West Bank, including the Jordan Valley, and prepare studies and plans on water rights of each party and equitable utilization of joint water resources for implementation in the final status.

2. A(n) [joint] Electricity Development Programme [will be prepared.] (,which will also) [This programme will] specify the mode of cooperation necessary for the production, maintenance, purchase and sale of electricity resources.

3. A(n) [joint] (Israeli-Palestinian agreed upon) Energy Development Programme, [will be prepared.] (which) [This programme] will provide for the construction of oil- and gas pipelines, [the connection of israel to the Gulf-Mediterranean oil pipelines], the establishment of a petrochemical industrial complex in the Gaza Strip, and for the coordinated or joint exploitation of gas, oil and other energy resources, (such as solar energy, oil shale, etc.).

4. A [joint] Financial Development Programme, and [a joint programme for] the establishment of a Palestinian Development Bank [will be prepared].

5. A [joint] Transport and Communications Development Programme, [will be prepared. This programme] (which) will define guidelines for the establishment of a Greater Gaza Port Area, [and will examine the possibilities of creating (the creation of) a Free-Trade Zone between Gaza and Ashdod [,or mutual access and cooperation in the respective free trade zones in Gaza and the Negev]. Moreover, communication lines to and from Gaza via Israel [add something regarding israel-jordan and israel-egypt] to other countries will be determined and steps taken to carry out necessary construction of roads, railways, etc.

6. A(n) [joint] Industrial Development Programme [will be prepared. This programme] (, which) will provide for the establishment of a joint Palestinian-Israeli (car) industry in Gaza, promote other Palestinian-Israeli joint ventures and provide guidelines for cooperation in the textile, food, pharmaceutical, electronics, computer, and other science-based industries.

7. A [joint] programme for regulating labour relations and

creating cooperation in social welfare issues [will be prepared].

8. A Human Resources Development Plan [will be prepred. this plan will provide] (, providing) for joint Israeli-Palestinian workshops and seminars; the establishment of joint vocational training centers, research institutes and data banks.

9. A(n) [joint] Environmental Protection Plan, providing for joint and/or coordinated measures in this sphere[,will be prepared].
(10. An agreed upon Security Programme and Plan.)

III. A Guideline for Preparing a "Marshall-Plan" for the West Bank, Gaza Strip and the Region

The Israeli-Palestinian DoP [Declaration of Principles] and CWP [Cooperation and Working Programme] will be accompanied by a "Marshall-Plan" Initiative of the G 7 and other OECD member states. The G 7 and other OECD member states participating in the

5. WITH THE SIGNITURE OF THE DOP, THE PLO DECLARES THE END TO THE INTIFADA.

6. THE PLO RECOGNIZES THAT ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PALESTINIAN POEPLE WILL BE RESOLVED BY NEGOTIATIONS ONLY.

7. YASSIR ARAFAT IS READY TO MEET WITH ANY ISRAELI LEADER OR RETUR TO GAZA IN HIS CAPACITY AS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PLO.

5. The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful coexistence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounce the use of terrorism and other actions involving the use of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, to prevent vilations and to discipline violators.

7. In consonance with the above and the decision to participate in the Madrid Peace Conference, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which contradict the commitments included in this letter (Israel's right to exist, acceptance of Security Council Resolution 242 and 338, peaceful coexistence, the Declaration of Principles,) are now obsolete and invalid. Consequently, the PLO will submit to the PNC recommendation for necessary changes.

III

5. The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful coexistence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounce the use of terrorism and other actions involving the use of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, to prevent vilations and to discipline violators.

7. In consonance with the above and the Palestinian participation in the Madrid Peace Conference, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which contradict the commitments included in this letter (Israel's right to exist, acceptance of Security Council Resolution 242 and 338, peaceful coexistence, the Declaration of Principles,) are now obsolete and invalid. Consequently, the PLO ~~will submit to the PNC recommendation for necessary changes.~~



it takes upon itself to submit to the PNC (for formal approval) the necessary changes.

Draft of August 31, 1993
12.00 hours

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. From this conviction I would like to confirm that the PLO has taken the following decisions:

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

In light of the new era and the signing of the Declaration of Principles, and based on the Palestinian decision to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments included in this letter, are now inoperative and invalid. Accordingly, the PLO takes upon itself to submit to the PNC for formal approval the necessary changes regarding the Palestinian Covenant.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993

12.00 hours

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

Draft of August 31, 1993
12.00 hours

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. From this conviction I would like to confirm that the PLO has taken the following decisions:

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The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

In light of the new era and the signing of the Declaration of Principles, and based on the Palestinian decision to accept Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments included in this letter, are now inoperative and invalid. Accordingly, the PLO takes upon itself to submit to the PNC for formal approval the necessary changes regarding the Palestinian Covenant.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993

12.00 hours

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

Draft of August 31, 1993
12.00 hours

Dear

I would like to confirm to you that upon the signiture of the Declaration of Principles, I will include the following sentence in my public satatements:

In light of the new era marked by the signing of the Declaration of Principles, the PL0 encourages and calls upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take part in the normalisation of life and take an active part in shaping the reconstruction, economic development and cooperation in the region.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

~~LIAT~~ - life and death.

Aug 19, 1993

~~Art.~~ 2"A

A letter from Y. Arafat to Minister Holst.

Art 1 i/c, ind

Art 2 ~~If c, art.~~ ind

Art 3 ~~Breach~~ All articles of the Palestinian Covenant that ~~contradict~~ ~~peace proc~~ are inconsistent with the ~~Madrid peace Conference~~ current ME/ peace process, the D.O.P. and the PLO declarations in this letter are now annul.

Art. 4 The PLO renounces and denounces all uses of terrorism. The PLO will also make every effort to ~~restrain~~ actively oppose those who ~~continue~~ may use terror and violence ~~to~~ in contradiction to the/ peace efforts in the region.

Art 5: ~~with the signature of~~ The signing of DOP

publishes a new climate putting an end to any violence or ~~violent~~ uprising (Intifada) or any other activity that endangers the security and stability of and will pave the road to the establishment of ~~the~~ new states of peaceful coexistence ~~and~~ in mutual respect and dignity

Art. 6 - The PLO recognizes that all outstanding issues pertaining to the final status will be solved by negotiations.

Art 7 I, Yassir Arafat, am ready to ~~set~~ with any leader and also arrive to

Draft of August 31, 1993
07.15 hours

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. From this conviction the PLO wants to state the following:

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

In consonance with the above and the Palestinian participation in the Madrid Peace Conference and acceptance of Security Coucil Resolution 242, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments included in this letter, are now inoperative and invalid.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993
06.15 hours

I would like to confirms that the PLO has taken the following decisions (or, is adopting the following positions):

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides, and therefore declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

In consonance with the above and the Palestinian participation in the Madrid Peace Conference, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with peaceful coexistence with Israel, and commitments included in this letter, are now obsolete and non-valid.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993

06.15 hours

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PL0 commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PL0 as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PL0 within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

Draft of August 31, 1993
06.00 hours

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. From this conviction I want to state the following:

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

In consonance with the above and the Palestinian decisions to participate in the Madrid Peace Conference and accept Security Coucil Resolution 242, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments included in this letter, are now inoperative and invalid.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993

06.00 hours

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

Draft of August 31, 1993

06.00 hours

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSIONS

Draft of August 31, 1993
06.00 hours

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. From this conviction ~~This letter confirms that the PLO has taken the following decisions:~~ I want to state the following:

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and

~~The PLO~~ declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

In consonance with the above and the Palestinian decisions to participate in the Madrid Peace Conference, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with ~~peaceful coexistence with Israel, the Declaration of Principles and~~ the commitments included in this letter, are now ~~obsolete~~ inoperative and non-valid. ~~Accordingly, the PLO takes upon itself to submit (for formal approval) (to the PNC) the necessary changes.~~

and accept Security Council Resolutions 242

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993
04.00 hours

PALESTINIAN SUGGESTION

The Declaration of Principles in my view marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. It opens up new possibilities for reconstruction, economic development and regional cooperation which will be of great benefit to the Palestinian people and enable them to share in the betterment of human life. From this conviction I want to confirm the following:

The PL0 recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security, and accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PL0 commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides, and declares that all outstanding issues relating to the permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PL0 considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PL0 renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume its responsibility in this respect. ((over all elements and individuals of the PL0 in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.))

In consonance with the above and the PNC resolution to participate in the Madrid Peace Conference, and its resolution for the acceptance os Security Council Resolution 242 and 338, the PL0 affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which contradict the commitments included in this letter, are now superseded and outdated.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993
03.00 hours

I would like to

~~This letter~~ confirms that the PLO has taken the following decisions: (or is adopting the following positions)

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides.

~~therefor has taken the following decisions~~

~~The PLO~~ declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

~~the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) [illegible]~~

In consonance with the above and the Palestinian participation in the Madrid Peace Conference, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with peaceful coexistence with Israel, the Declaration of Principles and commitments included in this letter, are now obsolete and non-valid. ~~Accordingly, the PLO takes upon itself to submit (for formal approval) (to the PNC) the necessary changes.~~

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993

00.45 hours

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process, ~~based on the assumption that formal approval will take place.~~

Sincerely,

Draft of August 31, 1993
03.00 hours

The signing of the Declaration of Principles marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. From this conviction I want to state the following:

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

In consonance with the above and the Palestinian decisions to participate in the Madrid Peace Conference and ăccept Security Coucil Resolution 242, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments included in this letter, are now inoperative and invalid.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993
02.10 hours

The Declaration of Principles in my view marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. It opens up new possibilities for reconstruction, economic development and regional cooperation which will be of great benefit to the Palestinian people and enable them to share in the betterment of human life. From this conviction I want to confirm the following:

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides.

The PLO declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations, and discipline violators.

In consonance with the above and the Palestinian participation in the Madrid Peace Conference, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which delegitimize Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are incompatible with peaceful coexistence with Israel, the Declaration of Principles and commitments included in this letter, are now obsolete and non-valid. Accordingly, the PLO takes upon itself to submit (for formal approval) (to the PNC) the necessary changes.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993

00.45 hours

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PL0 commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PL0 as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PL0 within the Middle East peace process' based on the assumption that formal approval will take place.

Sincerely,

Draft of August 31, 1993
00.45 hours

This letter confirms that the PLO has taken the following decisions:

(1) The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

(2) The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

(3) The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides.

(4) The PLO declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status issues will be resolved through negotiations.

(5) The PLO consider the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounce the use of terrorism and any other actions, involving the use of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance to prevent violations and to discipline violators.

(6) Furthermore, in light of the new era marked by the signing of the Declaration of Principles, the PLO encourages and calls upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take part in the normalisation of life and take an active part in shaping the reconstruction, economic development and cooperation in the region.

(7) In consonance with the above and the Palestinian participation in the Madrid Peace Conference, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which contradict the commitments included in this letter (Israel's right to exist, acceptance of Security Council Resolution 242 and 338, peaceful co-existence, the Declaration of Principles), are now obsolete and invalid. Consequently the PLO takes upon itself to submit to the PNC (for formal approval) the necessary changes.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 31, 1993

00.45 hours

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PL0 commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PL0 as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PL0 within the Middle East peace process' based on the assumption that formal approval will take place.

Sincerely,

Draft of August 29, 1993

This letter confirms that the PLO has taken the following decisions:

(1) The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to (P: live) (I:exist) in peace and security.

(2) The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

(3) The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides.

(4) The PLO declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status issues will be resolved through negotiations.

(5) The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other such actions, (I: and will control and assume responsibility over all individuals, groups and institutions of the PLO in order to assure their compliance, including the taking of measures to deter or discipline violators). (P: and will assume responsibility in this field.)

(6) (I: Furthermore, in light of the new era marked by the signing of the Declaration of Principles, the PLO encourages and calls upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip ~~to return to normal life~~ and take an active part in shaping the reconstruction, economic development and cooperation in the region.) ~~(P: letter from PLO to Israel, stating that this article will be included in a statement by Arafat to Palestinians after signing the DoP.)~~

(7) (P: The PLO commits itself to bring to the next PNC meeting the following resolution): (I: Finally,) the PLO declares that all articles of the Palestinian Covenant that delegitimize Israel's right to exist and all provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with peaceful co-existence with Israel, the Declaration of Principles and the commitments included in this letter are considered obsolete and non-valid.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

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Norway says it hosted secret Israel-PLO talks
By Alister Doyle
OSLO, Aug 30 (Reuter) - Norway secretly hosted 14 rounds of talks between Israelis and Palestinians this year to help the two sides towards an historic peace deal, Foreign Minister Johan Joergen Holst said on Monday.
He said that representatives of Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) met in his home, in a farmhouse and elsewhere in south Norway in rare behind-the-scenes diplomacy in a country renowned for leaks to the media.
``The two sides have managed to reach what I won't hesitate to call an historic breakthrough,'' Holst told a news conference of the deal, which paves the way for Palestinian autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.
``It can be the basis for a completely new type of relationship between Israel and the Palestinians,'' he added. ``There are formalities still left. We're optimistic of a final agreement, but we're not yet at the goal.''
In Jerusalem, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said he believed Israel would sign a preliminary deal with Palestinians at peace talks resuming in Washington on Tuesday. A senior PLO official said details would be released in 48 hours.
Holst said the agreement worked out in talks since January was ``very detailed'' and set a five-year timetable for Israel and the PLO to agree on other issues not covered by the agreement. He declined to give other details of the contents.
Holst said Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres initialled the deal when he visited Oslo on an official visit on August 20. Holst attended secret talks in California last Friday between Peres and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.
Holst said he met PLO leader Yasser Arafat at Arafat's headquarters in Tunis in July but that Arafat had not taken part in the secret talks in Norway.
He declined to give names of any of the Israeli or PLO participants. Norway's Verdens Gang newspaper said Peres and senior PLO member Abu Ala had met several times in Norway in secrecy.
Holst, who became foreign minister in April this year, said a Norwegian study of living conditions for Palestinians in Israel's occupied territories in the early 1990s led to the idea of talks in Norway.
The team of Norwegians involved in the talks was limited to a handful of senior Foreign Ministry officials and researchers from FAFO, the Norwegian Institute for Applied Social Science, which ran the study.
``Towards the end of 1992 both the Israeli and the PLO side said that Norway should try to set up a behind-the-scenes channel to allow direct talks between Israelis and Palestinian representatives from the PLO,'' Holst said.
Norway has long seen itself as an honest broker in world affairs -- Holst's predecessor Thorvald Stoltenberg handed over to Holst in April to become the U.N. peace mediator in former Yugoslavia.
``I inherited the baton in a relay,'' Holst said.
Holst said both Israel and the PLO favoured Norway partly because of its membership of NATO and good relations with Washington.
Also, Norway is an applicant to join the European Community and Norway's ruling Labour Party has strong ties with Israel's ruling Labour Party.
Terje Roed-Larsen, the head of the FAFO institute and a

participant in the peace talks, said he had had an average of 20 phone calls a day to discuss the talks over the past 10 months.
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NORGE SOM FORMIDLER I STORSTILT HEMMELIG DIPLOMATI (foto)
(til red: erstatter holst-israel-plo)
Oslo (NTB-Ole Ludvig Nymoen): Avtalen som ble undertegnet mellom Israel og PLO i Oslo 20. august, er en prinsipperklæring om midlertidig selvstyre til Gaza-stripen og Jeriko på Vestbredden, men jeg kan ikke gå i detaljer om selve avtalens innhold, sa utenriksminister Johan Jørgen Holst da han mandag omhyggelig gjennomgikk forhistorien til den historiske avtalen.

Holst understreket at det er partene selv som skal stå for offentliggjørelsen, Norge har bare vært formidler og tilrettelegger og forholder seg deretter.

Utenriksministeren reiser tirsdag til det nordiske utenriksministermøtet i Visby på Gotland, der han vil orientere om det hemmelige diplomati som Norge har stått for de seneste måneder. Han vil også forsøke å få til en nordisk bistandspakke til de israelsk-okkuperte områder.

Det dreier seg om mange penger bare i norsk økonomisk bistand, men jeg vil ikke lekke fra statsbudsjettet på dette punkt, var Holsts fortrøstning til de mange journalister som ville ha pengebeløpet på bordet. Han la videre vekt på håpet om et bredere europeisk engasjement for å få til en skikkelig økonomisk bistandspakke til de okkuperte områder.

Midlertidig løsning

Forhandlingene dreier seg om Gaza og hele Vestbredden Jeriko er bare første fase, og i løpet av en femårsperiode skal alle de kinkige spørsmålene være forsøkt løst.

Avtalen som ble undertegnet i Oslo er meget detaljert. Det man har forhandlet om i Washington, ble løst gjennom etableringen av denne bakkanalen i Oslo, sa en tydelig fornøyd Holst, som understreket at det har vært mange kriser underveis. Men det vært både moro og interessant, la han smilende til.

Fra norsk side har man hele tiden betraktet spørsmålet Israel-PLO som selve kjernekonflikten i Midtøsten. Da kontakten var opprettet var det viktig for Norge å få fram at hovedpartene selv måtte forhandle fram en løsning, men det ville ikke være mulig uten PLOs medvirkning. Dessuten var det viktig at forhandlingene skjedde i dypeste hemmelighet.

Hensikten for Norge var ikke å skape en alternativ kanal til de offisielle Midtøsten-forhandlingene i Washington. Men den såkalte bakkanalen skulle utfylle den virksomheten som foregikk i Washington, sa utenriksministeren, som overtok stafettpinnen fra sin forgjenger Thorvald Stoltenberg ved ommøbleringen av regjeringen i april.

Utstrakt møtevirksomhet

Jeg mener at vi så langt har lykkes i våre bestrebelser med få personer og noe uortodokse virkemidler og jeg vil ikke nøle med å karakterisere avtalen som ble undertegnet i Oslo for vel en uke siden for en historisk begivenhet, sa Holst.

Han opplyste at det bare siden mai i år har vært holdt 11 møter mellom Israel og PLO forskjellige steder i Østlandsområdet, og totalt har det vært 14 sammenkomster i Norge. Det har også vært flere møter i et annet europeisk land, men Holst ville ikke avsløre hvilket land det dreier seg om.

Det er ikke Sverige, så mye kan jeg si, var det lengste han ville gå.

Holst ga god attest til overvåkningspolitiet som loset de utenlandske gjester inn og ut av Norge, og klarte å holde denne

virksomheten hemmelig.

Det hemmelige diplomati har arbeidet godt, men fortsatt kan noe inntre som velter dette møysommelige arbeidet, sa Holst som gjerne understreket at han er optimist.

Umiddelbart før Israels utenriksminister Shimon Peres kom på offisielt besøk til Norge for vel en uke siden ble Holst bedt om å være mellommann for et møte mellom Israel og PLO for å underskrive prinsipperklæringen.

Dette er en avtale om hovedprinsippene for palestinsk selvstyre og regulerer overføring av myndighet fra Israel til palestinerne, sier Holst.

Liten norsk gruppe

USA har hele tiden vært holdt løpende orientert om arbeidet i denne bakkanalen .

Utenriksminister Warren Christopher ga sin fulle støtte til denne prinsipperklæringen under møtet mellom ham, Peres og meg selv i California før helgen, og USA kommer til å legge avtalen fram under forhandlingene i Washington, understreket Holst.

Fra norsk side har det hemmelige diplomati vært drevet nærmest som et familieforetak med Holst og hans kone Marianne Heiberg, som til daglig arbeider i Fagbevegelsens forskningsinstitutt (Fafo). Fafos leder er Terje Rød-Larsen, som på sin side er gift med Mona Juul nyutnevnt byråsjef i Utenriksdepartementet og medlem av Holsts sekretariat. Når så statssekretær Jan Egeland også nevnes, er den norske gruppen i det hemmelige diplomati fulltallig.

Holst ønsket ikke å opplyse hvem som deltok fra Israel og PLO på de mange møtene.

Men siden april i år har det vært autoriserte personer fra Utenriksdepartementet i Jerusalem og fra PLOs eksekutivkomit e, sa han.

Holst er ikke overrasket over at palestinske grupper har gått ut med til dels kraftig opposisjon til den avtalen som nå er inngått mellom PLO og Israel. Men det er palestinerne selv som må hindre intern strid og faren for blodsutgytelser. Vi har ikke tatt på oss noen oppgaver i den retning, ei heller å orientere andre arabiske land. Men Yasser Arafat har stadig vært i Amman, så lederne i Jordan er sikkert orientert, sa Holst.

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HISTORISKE RØTTER FORKLARER NORGES MEKLERROLLE
(til red: sammenholdes med annet norge-midtøsten-stoff)
Oslo (NTB-Ole Ludvig Nymoen): Hvorfor nettopp Norge i det hemmelige diplomati som de siste måneder har utfoldet seg i et forsøk på å skape fred mellom Israel og palestinerne selve kjernekonflikten i Midtøsten?

Her må vi ikke glemme det gode forhold som alltid har eksistert mellom arbeiderpartiene i Norge og Israel. Norge har dessuten i lang tid hatt kontakt med PLO, og norske offisielle representanter har ofte vært på besøk i PLO-hovedkvarteret i Tunis.

Men kimen til det som nå er blitt prinsipperklæringen fra Oslo ble lagt i årene 1988-89 da Terje Rød-Larsen fra Fagbevegelsens Forskningsinstitutt (Fafo) etablerte kontakter i Israel og på Vestbredden. Fafo ville utarbeide en levekårsundersøkelse for de okkuperte områdene Gaza og Vestbredden. Dette arbeidet var sluttført i 1992, og resultatet ble presentert på en konferanse i Oslo i mai i år.

Det var Rød-Larsen og statssekretær Jan Egeland som gjorde det forberedende arbeid med stadige reiser til Israel, de okkuperte områdene og PLO-hovedkvarteret i Tunis.

Reisevirksomhet

Israel var enig i tanken om en slik bakkanal , som supplement til de offisielle fredsforhandlingene i Washington. De første samtalene var uformelle, ingen myndighetspersoner deltok.

Dette var delvis fordi det skulle være lettere å benekte at slike samtaler pågikk, hvis noe lekket ut til pressen eller noe gikk direkte galt, uttalte utenriksminister Johan Jørgen Holst på en pressekonferanse mandag.

Holst understreket at det har vært mange kriser under dette løpet. Men fordi kontakten var etablert, aktørene følte at de kjente hverande, var det lettere å komme tilbake til forhandlingsbordet igjen.

Han har selv hatt løpende kontakt med partene, og under det offisielle besøket i Israel i juni benyttet Holst også anledningen til en visitt i Øst-Jerusalem for samtaler med ledende medlemmer av den palestinske delegasjonen til Midtøsten-forhandlingene. Utenriksministeren besøkte også Tunis i juli og hadde samtaler med PLO-leder Yasser Arafat.

Det hele kom i stand som en blanding av tilfeldighet og systematikk. Jeg oppdaget under mitt arbeid med Fafo-rapporten at det var et informasjonsgap en krig om virkeligheten, sa Rød-Larsen på pressekonferansen mandag.

Han understreket at telefonkontakten mellom Oslo og de andre partene har vært enorm.

Det dreier seg om over ti samtaler nesten daglig de siste månedene, sier han.

Økonomisk bistand

Men det viste seg at samtaler i små uformelle grupper ga helt andre resultater enn store formelle forhandlinger.

Dessuten lærte mange av representantene fra Israel og PLO hverandre å kjenne. Vi må ikke glemme at det dreier seg om personer som har vært vant til å snakke til hverandre men aldri med hverandre, legger han til.

Statssekretær Egeland har nettopp vært i de berørte områder for å undersøke behovet for økonomisk hjelp.

Hjelpen vil bli todelt med kortsiktig krisehjelp blant annet innenfor områdene helse og utdanning. I tillegg kommer den mer langsiktige økonomiske bistand, og det er håp om at et

samordnet nordisk program kan bli en realitet, blir det understreket i Utenriksdepartementet.

Hvem tok initiativet til å etablere den såkalte bakkanal?

Det var en prosess, der Fafo og statssekretær Egeland var sterkt inne i bildet. Id een ble født i et samspill, men når fødselen skjedde er noe uklart, sier en opprømt utenriksminister Holst.

Han vil imidlertid ikke være med på at Norge overtok stafettpinnen fra tidligere utenriksminister Sten Andersson da sosialdemokratene måtte gi fra seg regjeringsmakten i Sverige.

Jeg heller nok mer til det arbeidet Fafo utførte, sier Holst, når han skal forklare hvorfor nettopp Norge har opptrådt som brobygger mellom de tidligere dødsfiendene Israel og PLO.

++oln-ek

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GLAD GRO ETTER FREDSFORHANDLINGER I MIDT-ØSTEN
(til red.: korr. skrivemåte Midtøsten, sammenholdes med ny1-holst-israel-plo)
Oslo (NTB): Den norske arbeiderbevegelsens nære kontakter med begge parter i konflikten i Midtøsten har gjort det mulig for Norge å gi et viktig bidrag til fredsprosessen, sier statsminister Gro Harlem Brundtland. Hun mener freden i Midtøsten er nærmere enn noen gang før.

Det gir dobbelt grunn til glede at Norge har stått sentralt i forhandlingene, sier statsministeren. Hun framholder den norske arbeiderbevegelsens kontakter både med Israel og med det palenstinske folks representanter som forklaringen på Norges sentrale rolle i Midtøsten-forhandlingene.

Mulighetene for å utnytte våre internasjonale kontakter ble markert styrket da Israels Arbeiderparti kom i regjeringsposisjon i fjor sommer, sier Brundtland.

Avtalen forutsetter et omfattende internasjonalt bistandsprogram til befolkningen i området, med vekt på økonomisk utvikling, vannforsyning og miljø. Her vil de vestlige land og EF måtte gi helt avgjørende bidrag.

Brundtland sier også at Regjeringen er innstilt på å medvirke sterkt til å legge grunnlaget for varig fred.

Vi vil bruke våre offisielle kontakter og partikontakter videre for å fremme en fredelig utvikling i Midtøsten, sier statsministeren.

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ORIGINAL

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OSLO, NORWAY

APPEL 25

TELEFAX MESSAGE

Date: Aug. 31, 1993

To: 22.34.95.80

Attn: Svein Bergh-Johansen

From: POLITICAL SECTION - Papazian-Etienne

Number of Pages to Follow: 12

As requested.

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*EUR106 08/30/93

ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES ADVANCES
(Bilateral Mideast peace talks resume August 31) (860)
By Russell Dybvik
USIA Diplomatic Correspondent

Washington -- Direct Arab-Israeli peace negotiations resume in Washington August 31 with Israel and the Palestinians near agreement on a declaration of principles that reportedly could open the way for the early transfer of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho to Palestinian authority.

News dispatches from Jerusalem quoted Israeli officials as saying the so-called Gaza-Jericho option emerged from secret diplomatic contacts between Israeli Foreign Minister Peres and a senior official of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The State Department withheld specific comment, but spokesman Michael McCurry told an August 30 news briefing that "Substantial progress has been made on a declaration of principles between the Israelis and Palestinians," adding that the progress "drew on the draft declaration of principles presented by the United States."

McCurry said Norway played "an important facilitating and supportive role" in the direct discussions between the Israelis and Palestinians with the knowledge and support of the United States.

Indications of the first major forward step in nearly two years of negotiations surfaced over the weekend when it was announced that Secretary of State Christopher met for approximately four hours on August 27 with Peres at Point Mugu Naval Air Station near Los Angeles.

Even as the spokesman acknowledged there "do appear to be reasons now to be optimistic," he pointed out "it's quite clear that a lot of very hard work lies ahead for the parties themselves as they address the issues that would be covered under any declaration of principles."

While Israeli and Palestinian representatives will be continuing their discussions on interim self-governing arrangements for the occupied territories, separate peace negotiations will resume between Israel and its Arab neighbors -- Syria, Lebanon and Jordan. The last round of talks recessed on July 1.

Christopher spoke separately by telephone with Israeli Prime Minister Rabin, Egyptian Foreign Minister Amre Mahmoud Moussa, Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara, and King Hussein of Jordan. The secretary was planning to speak with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev August 30. Russia and the United States are co-sponsors of the Middle East peace process.

The spokesman told reporters they were seeing evidence -- through the secretary's meetings, his aggressive work on the issue, and his travel in the region -- that the U.S. role of "full partner begins to take on different types of meanings depending on the track and depending on where the conversation stands at any particular moment."

However, McCurry said he did not want to suggest any specific things were going to change "other than the fact that as the parties themselves become more directly engaged and involved in the tough decision-making that lies ahead, so too, will the United States be more directly and closely involved with the parties" in order to "play our role as a full partner."

Asked if the apparent progress on the Israeli-Palestinian track might presage progress on the Syrian-Israeli track, McCurry replied: "I wouldn't want to speculate on whether there would be progress on any other track. I think that they are interdependent and I think you all are aware of the efforts the secretary made during his recent trip to try to move that track forward as well, and we'll have to see how the negotiations go this week."

The spokesman said "The types of decisions, the types of hard choices that the parties themselves have to make are not unlike those that have been addressed in some of the direct discussions that have now been held between Israeli and Palestinian representatives. We've talked to them. We know the types of choices that they are making."

Brushing aside reports of an early high-level meeting in Washington that could involve Rabin, McCurry said he was not aware of any plans for such a trip for the prime minister.

Asked if the United States planned to follow Israel's lead and resume contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), McCurry said, "There is no change in our policy. We do not have such a dialogue with the PLO."

Asked if Christopher has set any "deadline" for achieving Middle East peace, the spokesman noted that U.S. officials have suggested in the past that "this is a year that there really could be and should be progress in these talks and that every effort should be made to obtain that progress.

"I think these developments are certainly consistent with that view of the calendar," McCurry added. "We hope and expect that the progress will be reflected in this round. I'm way too cautious to suggest that there will be some document that will be forthcoming as a result specifically of these discussions."

A senior U.S. official later cautioned reporters that "We're at a pretty delicate moment. I don't know if they have 'a' text, but it's clear there is a purpose for them coming here for these meetings. They are not here just to rubber stamp something....They're at a point in the negotiations where substance is replacing process."
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*EUR107 08/30/93

EVEN WAR MUST HAVE LIMITS ON ABUSE, ZIMMERMANN SAYS
(Addresses opening of ICRC conference on war victims) (560)
By Wendy Lubetkin
USIA European Correspondent

Geneva -- Even in times of war, there must be "limits beyond which no one may go," says Warren Zimmermann, director of the State Department's Bureau for Refugee Programs.

"Each day brings vivid and horrifying accounts of new atrocities: summary executions, torture, rape, the use of starvation as a weapon of war, the indiscriminate use of anti-personnel mines. The United States unambiguously and wholeheartedly condemns such abuses, wherever they are committed, whoever commits them." Zimmermann declared August 30 in Geneva during an address to the International Conference for the Protection of War Victims.

The Swiss government and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) convened the August 30-September 1 conference in an effort to revive international respect for humanitarian law and to focus attention on the plight of war victims.

Switzerland is the depository state for the Geneva Conventions and their additional protocols -- international treaties designed to safeguard respect for human beings in times of conflict. While the original 1949 Geneva Conventions have been signed by 181 states, flagrant violations of human rights continue.

DAILY PRESS BRIEFING - AUGUST 30, 1993

MR. MCCURRY: GOOD AFTERNOON, EVERYBODY. I'D LIKE TO START TODAY WITH A STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST.

SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS. THE PROGRESS EMERGED FROM DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES AND DREW ON THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES PRESENTED BY THE UNITED STATES. NORWAY HAS PLAYED AN IMPORTANT, FACILITATING AND SUPPORTIVE ROLE IN THE DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS WITH THE KNOWLEDGE AND SUPPORT OF THE UNITED STATES. WE HOPE AND EXPECT THAT THIS PROGRESS WILL NOW BE REFLECTED IN THE NEXT NEGOTIATING ROUND BEGINNING TOMORROW AND WILL LEAD TO AN EARLY AGREEMENT ON THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

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WITH THAT STATEMENT, I'LL TAKE ANY QUESTIONS THAT YOU MIGHT HAVE.

Q: WHAT KNOWLEDGE DID THEY HAVE OF THE OSLO MEETINGS, IN FACT?

MR. MCCURRY: WHAT -- SAY THAT AGAIN?

Q: WHAT KNOWLEDGE -- YES -- DID THEY HAVE OF THESE --

MR. MCCURRY: DID THE UNITED STATES HAVE?

Q: YES.

MR. MCCURRY: WE WERE AWARE OF THAT CHANNEL AND HAVE HAD DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PARTIES ON THAT CHANNEL.

Q: CAN YOU TELL US ABOUT THE MEETING THAT THE SECRETARY HAD WITH THE VARIOUS REPRESENTATIVES IN CALIFORNIA?

MR. MCCURRY: THE SECRETARY, I THINK, AS YOU KNOW -- WE ISSUED A STATEMENT ON SATURDAY CONFIRMING THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE MET FOR APPROXIMATELY FOUR HOURS ON FRIDAY AT POINT MUGU NAVAL AIR STATION NEAR OXNARD, CALIFORNIA, CLOSE TO WHERE THE SECRETARY WAS VACATIONING. HE MET WITH ISRAELI FOREIGN SHIMON PERES, ALSO THE NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HOLST, AND SEVERAL OTHER MEMBERS I THINK THAT WERE STAFF PEOPLE. AMBASSADOR ROSS WAS THERE AS WELL, I BELIEVE.

THEY TALKED FOR, AS I SAY, FOUR HOURS. WE DIDN'T PROVIDE ANY DETAILS NOR WILL WE PROVIDE ANY DETAILS ABOUT THE SPECIFIC DISCUSSIONS THAT ARE UNDERGOING, AND OF COURSE THE STATEMENT WE MADE TODAY GIVES YOU SOME INDICATION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER THAT WAS ADDRESSED.

Q: MIKE, ONCE YOU HAVE THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WHAT DO YOU HAVE THEN -- JUST THE BASIS FOR BEGINNING NEGOTIATIONS?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK YOU HAVE A LOT OF HARD WORK AHEAD BY THE PARTIES AND BY THOSE WHO ARE TRYING TO HELP THE PARTIES. I THINK THAT WE WILL SEE HOW THESE NEGOTIATIONS DEVELOP OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS. THE PARTIES ARE EXPECTED TO RESUME THEIR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS TOMORROW.

BUT EVEN AS THEY MAKE PROGRESS AND EVEN AS THERE DO APPEAR TO BE REASONS NOW TO BE OPTIMISTIC, IT'S QUITE CLEAR THAT A LOT OF VERY HARD WORK LIES AHEAD BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES AS THEY ADDRESS THE ISSUES THAT WOULD BE COVERED UNDER ANY DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

Q: SO, MIKE, THIS BASICALLY WAS AN ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DEAL THAT WAS WORKED OUT AND BROUGHT TO THE AMERICANS FOR RATIFICATION, APPROVAL, COMMENT?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THAT IT CLEARLY IS A RESULT OF DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES; AND, AS I SAY, WE CERTAINLY WERE AWARE OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAT WERE TAKING PLACE AND, INDEED, WE'RE ENCOURAGING THOSE DISCUSSIONS.

I THINK AS THE SECRETARY HAS OFTEN SAID, THE PARTIES THEMSELVES HAVE TO BE ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THIS DIALOGUE FOR THERE TO BE PROGRESS. WE CERTAINLY ENCOURAGED AND SUPPORTED DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE PARTIES THEMSELVES.

Q: (INAUDIBLE) THE CASE. THE UNITED STATES FOR THREE YEARS NOW HAS BEEN PUSHING THE PARTIES TO GET TOGETHER, AND ULTIMATELY WHEN THEY GET TOGETHER THE UNITED STATES IS A BYSTANDER?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK "BYSTANDER" WOULD BE A VERY INAPPROPRIATE CHARACTERIZATION OF THE ROLE THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS PLAYED AND THAT OTHERS HAVE PLAYED IN THIS PROCESS. THERE HAVE BEEN MANY PEOPLE WHO HAVE ASSISTED THE PARTIES THEMSELVES IN MOVING THESE DISCUSSIONS FORWARD. I THINK THE SECRETARY WOULD PAY A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO NORWAY, WHICH PLAYED A VERY IMPORTANT ROLE.

BUT, AGAIN, THEY'RE AT A PROCESS NOW WHERE THEY NEED TO MOVE THIS DISCUSSION FORWARD; AND THERE WILL BE A GREAT DEAL OF WORK THAT WILL CONTINUE TO BE ON THE TABLE FOR THE UNITED STATES AND FOR THE PARTIES THEMSELVES IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

Q: MIKE, IS PRIME MINISTER RABIN COMING HERE THIS SUNDAY?

MR. MCCURRY: I'M NOT AWARE OF ANY PLANS ON BEHALF OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO COME HERE. I DO KNOW THAT THE SECRETARY, OVER THE WEEKEND, TALKED TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN. I THINK HE ALSO WAS IN TELEPHONE CONTACT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MOUSSA, FOREIGN MINISTER SHARA, AND HE ALSO HAD A CONVERSATION WITH KING HUSSEIN. I BELIEVE TODAY HE PLANS TO BE IN CONTACT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV OF RUSSIA. AS YOU KNOW, THE RUSSIANS ARE CO-SPONSORS WITH US OF THE DIALOGUE THAT CONTINUES HERE TOMORROW.

SO I'D SAY, ALL IN ALL, THE SECRETARY PROBABLY COULD HAVE WRITTEN A PRETTY INTERESTING ESSAY ON HOW HE SPENT HIS SUMMER VACATION.

Q: NOW THAT ISRAEL HAS BEEN HOLDING EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH PLO OFFICIALS, IS THE U.S. RECONSIDERING ITS WILLINGNESS TO HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PLO?

MR. MCCURRY: NO CHANGE IN OUR POLICY.

Q: WELL, LET'S BACK UP BEFORE THAT. DID THE U.S. PARTICIPATE IN OR HOLD TALKS OF ITS OWN WITH THE PLO DURING THIS PROCESS?

MR. MCCURRY: NO.

Q: IT DID NOT?

MR. MCCURRY: THE STATEMENT THAT I JUST READ REFERS TO DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES THAT THEY HELD ON THEIR END.

Q: WELL, THERE COULD BE DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES AND YOU COULD BE TALKING TO THE PLO OR AUDITING THE TALKS -- JUST AS THE NORWEGIAN AUDITED YOUR TALKS WITH THE ISRAELIS ON FRIDAY.

MR. MCCURRY: WE DO NOT HAVE SUCH A DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO.

Q: WELL, NEITHER DID ISRAEL.

Q: IS THAT POLICY NOW UNDER REVIEW?

MR. MCCURRY: IS THAT POLICY UNDER REVIEW? NO, THERE'S NO CHANGE IN OUR POLICY.

Q: MIKE, NEITHER DID ISRAEL, AND OF COURSE THERE HAVE BEEN SOME 20 MEETINGS WHILE THEY HAD A POLICY NOT TO TALK TO THE PLO.

THE AFP NEWS AGENCY SAYS THAT RABIN WILL BE HERE SUNDAY. COULD IT BE HE'S COMING WITHOUT THE U.S. KNOWING IT?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK THAT IT WOULD BE UP TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S STAFF TO ANNOUNCE ANY TRAVEL THAT HE MIGHT BE TAKING. AGAIN, I WOULD CAUTION YOU THAT THERE'S WORK THAT LIES AHEAD AS THE PARTIES THEMSELVES ADDRESS SOME OF THE ISSUES THAT WOULD LIKELY BE CONTAINED IN A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. WE'VE GOT THE PARTIES ARRIVING FOR TALKS TOMORROW AND WE'LL SEE HOW THE TALKS GO.

Q: MIKE, YOU'RE SAYING THAT AGAIN AFTER A QUESTION ABOUT RABIN WHICH MAKES ME WONDER IF YOU THINK THAT THIS HAS TO BE CAPPED OR IS LIKELY TO BE CAPPED -- THIS PROCESS -- BY RABIN AND CLINTON AND CHRISTOPHER -- YOU KNOW, THE BIG GUYS JUMPING INTO THIS THING. IS THAT WHAT YOU MEAN WHEN YOU SAY THERE'S WORK? I KNOW THERE'S WORK THAT LIES AHEAD.

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK IF THERE WAS GOING TO BE A CELEBRATORY GATHERING OF LEADERS THAT WOULD HAVE TO COME AFTER A LOT OF HARD WORK. AND, AS I SAY, HARD WORK LIES AHEAD. SO WE'LL SEE WHERE THINGS GO AFTER THE NEGOTIATORS MEET.

Q: MIKE, DO YOU HAVE ANY CONCERN WHATSOEVER THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS WILL GET GOING? THERE'S OBVIOUSLY TURMOIL WITHIN THE ISRAELI DELEGATION, QUESTIONS ON WHETHER MR. RUBINSTEIN WILL ACTUALLY COME.

MR. MCCURRY: AS I SAY, THERE'S A LOT OF HARD WORK THAT LIES AHEAD FOR THE PARTIES; AND THE PARTIES THEMSELVES, YOU KNOW, CAN BEST ADDRESS QUESTIONS LIKE THE ONE YOU POSE ABOUT THE COMPOSITION OF THEIR OWN DELEGATIONS.

BUT I WOULD SAY WE'VE ACKNOWLEDGED ALL ALONG THAT THERE ARE VERY TOUGH CHOICES AND DIFFICULT CHOICES ASSOCIATED WITH MOVING THIS PROCESS FORWARD, AND IT IS THOSE DIFFICULT TYPES OF DECISIONS THAT ARE NOW BEING ADDRESSED.

Q: MIKE, I'M STILL TRYING TO GET A SENSE OF -- DO YOU HAVE ANY CONCERN WHATSOEVER, WHOEVER REPRESENTS THEM, THAT YOU WILL, IN FACT, GET UNDER WAY TOMORROW?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK THAT THE DELEGATIONS, AS WE TALK NOW, ARE GATHERING IN WASHINGTON. I DON'T HAVE A DETAIL ON HOW THEIR DISCUSSIONS WILL OCCUR OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL DAYS. I THINK AS YOU KNOW, WE OFTEN MEET AT THE BEGINNING OF A ROUND INFORMALLY WITH THE PARTIES PRIOR TO THE DISCUSSIONS ACTUALLY BEGINNING.

BUT, AGAIN, I WOULD SAY -- TO SORT OF PUT SOME CAUTIONARY NOTE ON THIS -- THAT AGREEMENTS ARE DONE WHEN ALL THE PARTIES AGREE AND WHEN THEY SIGN; AND WE'VE STILL GOT A LOT OF WORK AHEAD.

Q: MIKE, CAN I ASK YOU WHY THE U.S. ISN'T TALKING TO THE PLO? WHAT IS BEHIND THAT?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, I THINK OUR POLICY ON THAT QUESTION WE'VE COVERED OFTEN HERE; AND I THINK YOU'RE ALL WELL AWARE OF THAT.

Q: WELL, THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED RATHER RADICALLY.

THE U.S., AS I UNDERSTOOD IT, DIDN'T TALK TO THE PLO TO SORT OF JUST SUPPORT ISRAEL, WHICH SORT OF CONSIDERED THE PLO AT ONE POINT A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION THAT GOES OUT AND KILLS ISRAELIS. NOW ISRAEL, APPARENTLY, IS -- NOT APPARENTLY, ISRAEL IS TALKING TO THE PLO. SO WHY WOULD THE U.S. -- WHY WOULD YOU HAVE A DIFFERENT POLICY FROM THE PEOPLE DIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH THE PLO?

MR. MCCURRY: WE HAVE MADE OUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE PLO WELL KNOWN AND OUR POLICY -- WHICH IS BASED ON CONCERNS WE HAVE RAISED HERE, AS I SAY -- HAS NOT CHANGED.

Q: (INAUDIBLE)

MR. MCCURRY: NO.

Q: IN YOUR STATEMENT, I DON'T BELIEVE YOU SAID ANYTHING LAUDATORY ABOUT THE AGREEMENT. DOES THE UNITED STATES WELCOME THE AGREEMENT? ARE YOU PLEASED WITH IT? DO YOU THINK IT'S A GOOD AGREEMENT?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, AS I SAY, THERE'S SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS THAT'S BEEN MADE AT THIS POINT, BUT I DON'T WANT TO CHARACTERIZE ANY AGREEMENT WHEN THE PARTIES THEMSELVES STILL HAVE TO FACE THESE ISSUES AND DISCUSS MANY OF THE QUESTIONS THAT WOULD BE RAISED IN THE CONTEXT OF COMING TOGETHER ON A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES. I THINK THIS IS A POINT AT WHICH YOU CAN CERTAINLY WELCOME THE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS THAT'S BEEN MADE.

I THINK, FRANKLY, MODESTY WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULDN'T TRY TO TAKE TOO MUCH CREDIT FOR THIS BECAUSE THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF PEOPLE INVOLVED.

Q: DOES THE UNITED STATES NOW TAKE A POSITION EITHER AS A MATTER OF TACTICS OR A MATTER OF SUBSTANCE ON THE CONCEPT KNOWN AS "GAZA FIRST"?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, WE HAVE GOT IDEAS RELATED TO THOSE SUGGESTIONS THAT WE SHARE WITH THE PARTIES; BUT I JUST, AS WE OFTEN DO, DON'T SHARE THOSE WITH YOU HERE PUBLICLY AS THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES ARE UNDER WAY.

Q: THERE'S SORT OF A CONTRADICTION IN SOMETHING YOU SAID. YOU SAY THAT THE UNITED STATES ENCOURAGES, SUPPORTS CONTACTS WITH THE PARTIES, BUT YOU ALSO MAKE IT WELL KNOWN YOUR CONCERNS ABOUT THE PLO. DOES THE UNITED STATES ENCOURAGE ISRAEL TO TALK TO THE PLO?

MR. MCCURRY: NO, WE DIDN'T ENCOURAGE OR DISCOURAGE ANY CONTACT THAT ISRAEL MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE HAD WITH PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES. I THINK THAT'S REALLY A QUESTION THAT IS UP TO THE PARTIES TO MAKE DECISIONS OF THAT NATURE, AND OUR GOAL AND OUR ROLE HAS BEEN TO SUPPORT THE DIALOGUE THAT THEY DO HAVE AND TO TRY TO HELP THEM MAKE PROGRESS.

Q: MIKE, PRIOR TO THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH SHIMON PERES, DID THE SECRETARY SPEAK AT ALL WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN AS TO THE PURPOSES OF THAT MEETING AND SET ANY GROUNDWORK?

MR. MCCURRY: I'D HAVE TO GO BACK AND CHECK WHEN HE TALKED -- I THINK HE HAS HAD CONTACT WITH HIM. I THINK WE HAD INDICATED LAST WEEK OR EARLY LAST WEEK THAT HE HAD HAD CONTACT WITH BOTH FOREIGN MINISTER SHARA AND ALSO PRIME MINISTER RABIN, BUT THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN PRIOR TO THE FRIDAY.

Q: I DON'T KNOW, AND I'M NOT SAYING THERE'S ANY PURPOSE IN YOUR GIVING THOSE TWO NAMES IN TANDEM, BUT THAT SORT OF SUGGESTED THAT THE CONVERSATIONS WERE ABOUT SYRIA -- AND, OF COURSE, SYRIA IS NOT UNRELATED TO THE SITUATION. BUT COULD YOU ROLL BACK ON THIS AND SEE IF THE SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION WITH RABIN DEALT IN ANY SUBSTANTIVE WAY WITH THIS PLO DEAL?

MR. MCCURRY: I BELIEVE IT DID, BUT I ALSO WOULD INDICATE THAT ALL THESE BILATERAL TRACKS DO, OF COURSE, HAVE -- THEY ARE INTERDEPENDENT IN MANY WAYS. THE FOCUS I THINK IN THE NEWS TODAY IS ON ONE PARTICULAR TRACK, BUT I THINK YOU'RE ALL AWARE THAT ALL FOUR OF THOSE TRACKS ARE VERY IMPORTANT. INDEED, IN INDICATING SOME OF THE CONTACTS THE SECRETARY HAD OVER THE WEEKEND IS BY WAY OF SUGGESTING THAT HE FEELS IT IS IMPORTANT TO MAKE SURE ALL THESE TRACKS REMAIN INTERCONNECTED.

Q: MIKE, YOU SAID "BYSTANDER" WAS NOT A GOOD CHARCTERIZATION FOR THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE UNITED STATES IN THOSE OSLO MEETINGS. COULD YOU BE MORE PRECISE AND GIVE US SOME SENSE AND DETAILS OF THE IMPLICATION OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IN THOSE MEETINGS?

MR. MCCURRY: I REALLY DON'T -- I THINK AS THE STATEMENT I READ INDICATES, THERE'S BEEN PROGRESS AS A RESULT OF DIRECT DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE ISRAELI AND PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATIVES. I REALLY SUGGEST, IF YOU'RE INTERESTED IN THAT PARTICULAR SUBJECT OR THOSE PARTICULAR MEETINGS -- IF, INDEED, THOSE MEETINGS OCCUR -- THAT YOU ADDRESS THOSE QUESTIONS TO THE PARTIES.

Q: TODAY YOU SAID YOU WERE NOT "BYSTANDERS." SO IT MEANS THAT YOU HAVE SOME MEASURE OF INPUT IN THOSE MEETINGS.

MR. MCCURRY: NO. I WOULD SAY THAT WE'VE BEEN AWARE OF THE CONVERSATIONS THEY'RE HAVING AND WE UNDERSTAND HOW SOME OF THIS DIALOGUE HAS OCCURRED. BY SAYING THAT I THINK I'D RESTATE THAT, AS YOU KNOW, WE ARE A FULL PARTNER IN THIS PROCESS AND THAT WE CONTRIBUTE IDEAS OFTEN IN A VARIETY OF WAYS.

Q: MIKE, DO YOU EXPECT SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS, PARALLEL PROGRESS, TO THE PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI TRACK ON THE SYRIAN-ISRAELI TRACK?

MR. MCCURRY: I WOULDN'T WANT TO SPECULATE ON WHETHER THERE WOULD BE PROGRESS ON ANY OTHER TRACK. I THINK I'VE SAID THEY ARE INTERDEPENDENT, AND I THINK YOU ALL ARE AWARE OF THE EFFORTS THE SECRETARY MADE DURING THIS RECENT TRIP TO TRY TO MOVE THAT TRACK FORWARD AS WELL. WE'LL HAVE TO SEE HOW THE NEGOTIATIONS GO THIS WEEK.

Q: COULD YOU EXPLAIN A LITTLE BIT MORE OF THE WAY THE GAZA-JERICHO IDEA RELATES TO THE JOINT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES? THERE WAS THE IDEA OF EARLY EMPOWERMENT OUT THERE AND A JOINT DECLARATION THAT DEALT WITH OVERALL.

MR. MCCURRY: I REALLY WOULD PREFER NOT TO DO THAT. YOU'VE SEEN, I THINK, FROM THE REGION A LOT OF SPECULATION ON HOW THESE IDEAS WORK AND WHAT THE NATURE OF ANY PROGRESS MIGHT BE THAT WE'RE TALKING ABOUT TODAY.

IT'S REALLY UP TO THE PARTIES THEMSELVES WHO ARE WORKING TOGETHER ON EXACTLY THIS QUESTION TO TALK A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE CONVERSATIONS THAT THEY'RE HAVING. SO I'D REFER BACK TO THEM. I MEAN YOU'VE SEEN A FAIR AMOUNT OF COVERAGE NOW ABOUT WHAT THE PARTIES,

THEMSELVES, ARE SAYING ABOUT HOW THESE IDEAS FIT, HOW THEY RELATE, WHAT SOME OF THE QUESTION MARKS ARE THAT STILL ARE OUT THERE. I JUST WOULDN'T WANT TO GET INTO THE SUBSTANCE OF THOSE DISCUSSIONS BECAUSE WE RARELY DO THAT.

Q: MIKE, I'M JUST CURIOUS AGAIN AS TO THE TIMING OF ALL OF THIS. PERES OR SOMEBODY CALLS UP CHRISTOPHER AND SAID, "HEY, I'D LIKE TO FLY ALL THE WAY FROM ISRAEL TO SANTA BARBARA TO SEE YOU AND LAY OUT THIS GREAT DEAL THAT WE'VE GOT WITH THE PALESTINIANS."

WHAT WAS CHRISTOPHER'S REACTION? DID HE SAY "HUH" OR WHAT?

MR. MCCURRY: NO, I DON'T KNOW THAT THAT CAME AS AN GREAT SURPRISE TO HIM. I THINK THAT FROM THE TIME THAT WE WERE IN THE REGION, WE HAVE DISCUSSED WITH THE PARTIES -- AND OBVIOUSLY WITH THE ISRAELI SIDE, BUT WITH THE PALESTINIAN SIDE AS WELL -- THE TYPES OF DISCUSSIONS THAT THEY WERE HAVING AND THE TYPES OF PROGRESS THAT THEY MIGHT BE ABLE TO MAKE.

SO I THINK IT DID NOT CATCH HIM BY SURPRISE, BUT HE WAS CERTAINLY MORE THAN HAPPY TO HAVE SUCH A MEETING.

Q: BUT WHEN PERES FINALLY GOT THERE AND THEY SAT DOWN AND TALKED ABOUT THIS, WAS THE SECRETARY SURPRISED BY WHAT HE HEARD, OR DID HE KNOW? HAD THE ISRAELIS KEPT US APPRISED OF WHAT WAS GOING ON?

MR. MCCURRY: I THINK WE HAD GOOD INFORMATION AND GOOD SUBSTANTIVE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT HOW THE TALKS WERE PROCEEDING. WE HAVE BEEN VERY SUPPORTIVE, AND I THINK THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS NOT TO REVIEW WHAT HAD HAPPENED, BUT REALLY TO TALK ABOUT WHAT NEEDED TO HAPPEN HENCEFORTH.

Q: MIKE, YOU SAID THAT IN THIS DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE AGREED TO THIS WEEK, IT DREW HEAVILY ON AN AMERICAN DRAFT PROPOSAL.

WITHOUT GETTING INTO THE SUBSTANCE, WAS THE IDEA OF "GAZA FIRST" IN THE AMERICAN DRAFT?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T WANT TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION WITHOUT CHECKING. I'LL CHECK AND SEE IF THERE IS AN ANSWER THAT WE CAN PROVIDE ON THAT.

Q: A QUESTION AGAIN ON THAT MEETING. WOULD THE SECRETARY HAVE MET WITH SHIMON PERES -- WHO IS THE FOREIGN MINISTER NOT THE PRIME MINISTER -- WOULD HE HAVE MET WITHOUT FIRST SPEAKING TO THE ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER? IN OTHER WORDS, WOULD HE HAVE RECEIVED THE ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER WITHOUT CLEARING IT?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, THAT GETS INTO A HYPOTHETICAL QUESTION I REALLY JUST DON'T WANT TO ANSWER.

Q: THEN LET ME REPHRASE IT. DID THE SECRETARY MEET WITH MR. PERES WITHOUT FIRST CLEARING IT WITH PRIME MINISTER RABIN?

MR. MCCURRY: I'M NOT GOING TO GET INTO WHO CLEARED MEETINGS. I MEAN, WE MET, AND I THINK I INDICATED TO YOU THAT HE HAD HAD CONTACT WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, AND HE MET WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, AND I THINK THAT'S ABOUT ALL I NEED TO SAY ON IT.

Q: IS IT RATHER UNUSUAL TO HAVE THE HEADS OF DELEGATIONS, BOTH FOR THE PALESTINIAN AND FOR THE ISRAELI DELEGATION TO THE PALESTINIAN TALKS, TO BOTH BE IN OPPOSITION TO THIS DEAL?

MR. MCCURRY: YOU'RE ASKING ME TO CHARACTERIZE THE VIEWPOINTS OF INDIVIDUAL DELEGATION MEMBERS, AND I WOULDN'T WANT TO DO THAT.

Q: MIKE, DOES THE ADMINISTRATION HAVE ANY IDEAS FOR HOW THE PALESTINIANS ARE GOING TO FUND THIS CONCEPT? I MEAN, MUBARAK CAME UP WITH AN IDEA IN EGYPT -- GOING TO ASK THE SAUDIS AND OTHERS TO HELP WITH THIS.

MR. MCCURRY: WE DO HAVE IDEAS AND WE SHARE OUR IDEAS WITH SOME OF OUR PARTNERS IN THIS DIALOGUE, BUT I REALLY DON'T WANT TO GET INTO ANY OF THE DETAIL OF THAT TYPE OF CONVERSATION HERE.

Q: MIKE, CAN I JUST ASK YOU IF YOU FORESEE A CHANCE OF A THREE-WAY MEETING THIS WEEK ON THE DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, OF THE U. S., PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS SITTING TOGETHER ON THIS? BECAUSE THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION ABOUT THAT IN THE REGION.

MR. MCCURRY: THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION ON THAT IN THE REGION. I DON'T HAVE ANYTHING FOR YOU ON THAT TODAY.

Q: MIKE, CAN I ASK YOU IF... YOU WOULDN'T STATE THE U. S. POLICY ON THE PLO BEFORE. WOULD YOU STATE THE U. S. POLICY ON A PALESTINIAN STATE FOR US TODAY?

MR. MCCURRY: NO, I'M NOT GOING TO GO BACK THROUGH THINGS THAT WE HAVE COVERED HERE VERY, VERY OFTEN.

Q: NO, IT'S NOT EXACTLY -- I'M NOT PLUCKING SOMETHING, YOU KNOW, FROM MARS, HERE. THERE ARE PEOPLE, VERY SERIOUS PEOPLE, WHO THINK, INCREDIBLY ENOUGH, THAT THIS COULD BE THE PRECURSOR OF A PALESTINIAN STATE, WHICH THE U. S. HAS OBJECTED TO THROUGH SUCCEEDING ADMINISTRATIONS. I WONDER IF YOU HAVE SWUNG INTO NEUTRAL ON THAT LATELY?

MR. MCCURRY: NO, NO, AND MY ONLY RELUCTANCE TO RESTATE OUR WELL-KNOWN POLICY ON THOSE QUESTIONS IS THAT I MIGHT INADVERTENTLY GET IT WRONG HERE, AND I WOULDN'T WANT TO DARE DO THAT.

Q: ALL RIGHT, SO I'LL SETTLE FOR A YES OR A NO OR A MAYBE. IS THE U. S. STILL OPPOSED TO A PALESTINIAN STATE ON THE WEST BANK?

MR. MCCURRY: OUR POLICY ON QUESTIONS OF THAT NATURE HASN'T CHANGED.

Q: AND IF YOU THINK THAT'S A LAUGHER, HOW ABOUT IF THERE'S ANY U.S. -- IS THERE ANY REASON, LEGAL OR OTHERWISE, THAT YASSER ARAFAT COULD NOT BE HERE AS PART OF A TRIPARTITE ARRANGEMENT TO FORMALIZE THIS AGREEMENT? IS THERE ANY BARRIER TO HIS PRESENCE THAT YOU KNOW OF?

MR. MCCURRY: I WOULD HAVE TO CHECK AND SEE WHAT TYPE OF RESTRICTIONS THERE ARE ON TRAVEL THAT MIGHT BE PROPOSED; BUT IN SAYING THAT, I WOULDN'T WANT TO INDICATE THAT THERE IS ANYTHING OTHER THAN A GREAT DEAL OF HYPOTHETICAL QUALITY ASSOCIATED WITH THE QUESTION. YES?

Q: MIKE, THAT WOULD BE A QUESTION WORTH TAKING, IF YOU COULD, TO SEE IF, YOU KNOW, TO SEE IF HE CAN GET IN.

MR. MCCURRY: ALL RIGHT.

Q: ALSO, YOU TALK ABOUT THE LACK OF SURPRISE THAT THE SECRETARY HAD WHEN PERES NOTIFIED HIM THAT HE HAD HAD A MEETING. WAS THERE ANY SORT OF DEADLINE SET IN THE LAST CONTACTS THAT RABIN AND CHRISTOPHER HAD WHEN HE WAS IN THE REGION?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T THINK THERE WAS ANY DEADLINE BEYOND THE ONE THAT WE HAVE INFORMALLY SUGGESTED IN THE PAST, THAT THIS IS A YEAR THAT THERE REALLY COULD BE AND SHOULD BE PROGRESS IN THESE TALKS, AND THAT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO OBTAIN THAT PROGRESS; BUT I THINK THIS IS -- THESE DEVELOPMENTS ARE CERTAINLY CONSISTENT WITH THAT VIEW OF THE CALENDAR.

Q: THIS IS THE FIRST ROUND OF TALKS SINCE THE U. S. SORT OF CHANGED ITS CHARACTERIZATION OF ITS OWN ROLE TO BECOMING A FULL PARTNER. HOW DO YOU SEE THAT PLAYING OUT? HOW WILL THE U. S. ROLE BE DIFFERENT THIS TIME THAN IN PREVIOUS ROUNDS?

MR. MCCURRY: WELL, THERE WAS ACTUALLY AN INTERESTING QUESTION EARLIER ABOUT HOW WOULD THE STRUCTURE OF THE TALKS THEMSELVES BE AFFECTED; AND I JUST DON'T WANT TO SPECULATE ON THAT.

THE PARTIES ARE GATHERING. THEY ARE GOING TO LOOK AT WHAT NEEDS TO HAPPEN TO MAKE PROGRESS. I THINK YOU ARE SEEING SOME EVIDENCE -- THROUGH THE SECRETARY'S MEETINGS, THROUGH HIS AGGRESSIVE WORK ON THIS ISSUE, AND PERHAPS SOME OF HIS TRAVEL IN THE REGION -- THAT THE ROLE OF FULL PARTNER BEGINS TO TAKE ON DIFFERENT TYPES OF MEANINGS DEPENDING ON THE TRACK AND DEPENDING ON WHERE THE CONVERSATION STANDS AT ANY PARTICULAR MOMENT; BUT I WOULDN'T WANT TO SUGGEST ANY SPECIFIC THINGS THAT ARE GOING TO CHANGE OTHER THAN THE FACT THAT AS THE PARTIES THEMSELVES BECOME MORE DIRECTLY ENGAGED AND INVOLVED IN THE TOUGH DECISION-MAKING THAT LIES AHEAD, SO, TOO, WILL THE UNITED STATES BE MORE DIRECTLY AND CLOSELY INVOLVED WITH THE PARTIES AS WE PLAY OUR ROLE AS A FULL PARTNER.

Q: MICHAEL, I FIND MYSELF A LITTLE BIT CONFUSED ABOUT THE FACT THAT SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER WAS IN THE AREA AFTER THE EVENTS OF SOUTH LEBANON, AND MOST OF HIS EFFORTS -- I DON'T WANT TO SAY ALL OF HIS EFFORTS -- WERE CONCENTRATED ON SYRIA-LEBANON-FUNDAMENTALIST AXIS OR, LET US SAY, TRACK; AND ALL OF A SUDDEN, WE ARE OUT OF THIS. I ASK YOU ABOUT THE SYRIAN TRACK AND YOU SAY YOU DON'T WANT TO SPECULATE.

HOW COME THE SECRETARY PUT HIS EFFORT ON THAT TRACK, AND NOW WE ARE PUTTING EMPHASIS ON A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT TRACK? WHAT DID HAPPEN IN THE MIDDLE OF THAT?

MR. MCCURRY: I DON'T THINK ANYTHING NECESSARILY DIFFERENT HAPPENED, BUT I WOULD REFER YOU BACK TO WHAT I SAID EARLIER. THESE TRACKS ARE, IN FACT, INTERRELATED, INTERDEPENDENT, AND THEY DO AFFECT ONE ANOTHER. THROUGHOUT HIS RECENT TRIP IN THE REGION THE SECRETARY WAS VERY ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN ALL THE TRACKS SIMULTANEOUSLY; AND I THINK THERE HAS JUST BEEN PUBLIC SPECULATION, TODAY PARTICULARLY, ON ONE OF THE TRACKS. THAT'S NOT TO SAY THAT THERE HAVEN'T BEEN CONVERSATIONS THAT ARE IMPORTANT ON SOME OF THE OTHER TRACKS, AS WELL.

Q: MIKE, DO YOU THINK THAT THE APPARENT AGREEMENT ON THE PALESTINIAN TRACK WILL -- WHAT SORT OF EFFECT DO YOU THINK THAT WILL HAVE ON THE SYRIAN TRACK?

MR. MCCURRY: I'M RELUCTANT TO SPECULATE ON HOW ONE TRACK AFFECTS ANOTHER TRACK. I THINK ALL OF YOU HAVE SEEN SPECULATION ON HOW THOSE ARE RELATED, OR HOW DEVELOPMENTS IN ONE TRACK AFFECT ANOTHER. I LEAVE THAT FOR ANALYSTS WISER THAN ME.

Q: MIKE, A FOLLOW UP. DO YOU SEE THAT THE SYRIANS ARE POSITIVE WITH REGARD TO THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS?

MR. MCCURRY: I'M SORRY, WHAT'S THE QUESTION AGAIN?

Q: DO YOU SEE THE SYRIANS AS POSITIVE IN THEIR POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN THE ISRAELIS AND THE PALESTINIANS?

MR. MCCURRY: IT WOULD BE INCORRECT FOR ME TO TRY TO CHARACTERIZE A SYRIAN REACTION TO A DEVELOPMENT IN ONE OF THE OTHER TRACKS. I WOULD BEST LEAVE THAT TO THEM DIRECTLY.

Palestinian Version:

Draft of August 30, 1993

This letter confirms that the PLO has taken the following decisions:

(1) The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to live in peace and security.

(2) The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

(3) The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides.

(4) The PLO declares that all outstanding issues relating to the permanent status issues will be resolved through negotiations.

(5) The PLO considers the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other such actions and will assume responsibility in this field.

(6) The PLO commits itself to bring to the next PNC meeting the following resolutions: The PLO declares that all articles of the Palestinian Covenant that delegitimize Israel's right to exist and all provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with peaceful co-existence with Israel, the Declaration of Principles and the commitments included in this letter are considered obsolete and non-valid.

704197

703976

Draft of August 24, 1993

Dear Mr. Peres,

This letter confirms that the PLO has taken the following decisions:

(1) The PLO recognizes ~~Israel's~~ the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

(2) The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

(3) The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the Palestinian people and the state of Israel, ~~by which~~ the outstanding issues relating to the permanent status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip will be resolved through negotiations only.

(4) All mutual ~~relations~~ beginning

(5) The PLO considers the signing of the DoP an historic event, ~~paving the way for~~ a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of ~~all forms of~~ violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other such actions, and will strive to control all elements who will ~~not abide by this principle~~, within its abilities and powers. continue to adhere to terrorism

(6) Furthermore, in light of the new era marked by the signing of the DoP, the PLO encourages the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to return to normal life and take an active part in shaping the reconstruction, economic development and cooperation in the region.

(7) Finally, the PLO declares that all provisions of the Palestinian Covenant which are inconsistent with the DoP and the committments included in this letter are considered obsolete and non-valid.

peaceful coexistence with Israel,

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

Draft of August 29, 1993

Dear Mr. Arafat:

In response to your letter of ....., 1993, I wish to confirm to you that in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

~~talking~~ based on the assumption that formal approval will take place



Draft of August 24, 1993

Dear Mr. Arafat,

In response to your letter of , 1993, I wish to confirm to you that the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

Shimon Peres

Draft of August 24, 1993

Dear Mr. Arafat,

In response to your letter of , 1993, I wish to confirm to you that the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

Shimon Peres

Draft of August 24, 1993

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In response to your letter of , 1993, I wish to confirm to you that the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Sincerely,

Shimon Peres

703976

Draft of August 24, 1993

Dear Mr. Peres,

This letter confirms that the PLO has taken the following decisions:

(1) The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security;

(2) The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

(3) The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the Palestinian people and the state of Israel, by which all outstanding issues relating to the permanent status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip will be resolved through negotiations only.

(4) The PLO considers the signing of the DoP an historical event, paving the way for a new era of peaceful co-existence, free of all sorts of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and any other such actions, and will strive to control those who will not abide by this principle, within its abilities and powers.

(5) Furthermore, in light of the new era marked by the signing of the DoP, the PLO encourages the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to return to normal life and take an active part in shaping the reconstruction, economic development and cooperation in the region.

(6) Finally, the PLO declares that all provisions of the Palestinian Covenant which are inconsistent with the DoP and the committments included in this letter are considered obsolete and non-valid.

Sincerely,

Yassir Arafat

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Changes decided by Board:

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סודי ביותר

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לו"ז לביצוע הצהרת העקרונות

1. הצהרת העקרונות תכנס לתוקף חודש לאחר החתימה על ההצהרה.

2. יפתח מיד מו"מ על הסכם בחירות במטרה לקיים הבחירות תוך תשעה חודשים מיום כניסתה לתוקף של הצהרת העקרונות.

3. יפתח מיד מו"מ על הסכם מפורט בדבר תקופת המעבר. לא נקבע מועד יעד לסיום המו"מ.

4. מיד עם כניסתה לתוקף של הצהרת העקרונות יתחילו לפעול הועדות הבאות:

   א. ועדת תאום משותפת ישראלית-פלסטינית.
   ב. ועדה משותפת ישראלית-פלסטינית לשתוף פעולה כלכלי.

5. לא יאוחר מערב הבחירות למועצת האוטונומיה יתחיל צה"ל להערך מחדש בי"ש ובעזה בתהליך מדורג שלא נקבע לו מועד סיום.

6. החל מכניסתה לתוקף של הצהרת העקרונות יפתח מו"מ על הסכם בדבר נסיגת צה"ל מעזה ויריחו וההסדרים שיחולו שם לאחר הנסיגה. המו"מ אמור להסתיים תוך חודשיים והנסיגה אמורה להסתיים תוך ארבעה חודשים מיום ההסכם על עזה ויריחו.

7. בד בבד עם הנסיגה מעזה ויריחו תבצע ישראל העברה מוקדמת של סמכויות מידי המינהל האזרחי בי"ש לידי הפלסטינים בחמישה משרדים של המינהל האזרחי. משלחות הצדדים יתחילו לקיים מו"מ על פרטי ההעברה המוקדמת של סמכויות החל ממועד חתימת הצהרת העקרונות.

8. תקופת המעבר בת 5 השנים תתחיל לרוץ החל ממועד הנסיגה מעזה ויריחו.

9. המו"מ על הסדר הקבע יתחיל בראשית השנה השלישית של תקופת המעבר.

סודי ביותר

704839

השוואה בין הצהרת העקרונות להסכם קמפ-דייויד

במספר רב של נקודות חשובות קובעת הצהרת העקרונות הסדרים נוחים יותר לישראל מאשר אלה הקבועים בהסכם קמפ-דייויד. כפי שניתן לראות להלן, בתחומים אלה אימצה הצהרת העקרונות את עמדת ישראל ביחס לנושאים שהיו שנויים במחלוקת בהקשר להסכם קמפ-דייויד.

בטחון

הסכם קמפ-דייויד קבע כי הסכם האוטונומיה המפורט יכלול "הסדרים להבטחת בטחון הפנים והחוץ והסדר הציבורי". עם זאת, הסכם קמפ-דייויד לא קבע מי יהיה אחראי לנושאים אלה. לעומת זאת, הצהרת העקרונות קובעת במפורש כי ישראל תהיה אחראית לבטחון החוץ וכן לבטחון הכללי (בטחון פנים וסדר ציבורי) של ישראלים. מועצת האוטונומיה תהיה אחראית אך ורק לבטחון הפנים והסדר הציבורי של הפלסטינים.

ירושלים

הסכם קמפ-דייויד לא פתר את שאלת תחולת סמכות מועצת האוטונומיה על ירושלים. כל אחד מהצדדים להסכם קמפ-דייויד נשאר דבק בעמדתו שהובעה במכתב צד. הצהרת העקרונות, לעומת זאת, קובעת במפורש כי סמכות המועצה לא תחול על ירושלים.

סמכות האוטונומיה על שטחים ואנשים

הסכם קמפ-דייויד איננו בהיר ביחס לשאלה האם לרשות האוטונומיה תהיה סמכות (JURISDICTION) על שטח יו"ש ועזה כולו (סמכות טריטוריאלית), כפי שסברה מצרים, או רק על התושבים הפלסטינים (סמכות פרסונלית), כפי שסברה ישראל. הצהרת העקרונות פותרת את המחלוקת הזו. על פי ההצהרה, למועצת האוטונומיה תהיה סמכות רק על פלסטינים אך לא על ישראלים. בנוסף לכך, על פי הצהרת העקרונות, סמכות מועצת האוטונומיה לא תחול על תחומי הישובים הישראלים והשטחים הצבאיים.

כוחות ואחריות מועצת האוטונומיה

הסכם קמפ-דייויד כלל הוראות בלתי בהירות ואף סותרות ביחס לכוחות ואחריות מועצת האוטונומיה. מצד אחד נקבע בהסכם קמפ-דייויד כי הצדדים ישאו ויתנו על הסכם אשר יגדיר את כוחותיה ואחריותה של מועצת האוטונומיה. על יסוד קביעה זו טענה ישראל כי אין הכרח להעביר לידי מועצת האוטונומיה את כל הסמכויות של הממשל הצבאי והמינהל האזרחי בשטחים. מאידך, קבע הסכם קמפ-דייויד כי הממשל הצבאי והמינהל האזרחי יסוגו ויוחלפו ע"י מועצת האוטונומיה. על יסוד כך טענה מצרים כי ההסכם איננו מאפשר כי ישארו בידי ישראל איזשהם כוחות ואחריות.

הצהרת העקרונות פותרת מחלוקת זו, על ידי כך שהיא קובעת במפורש שלא יועברו לידי מועצת האוטונומיה כל הכוחות והאחריות של הממשל הצבאי והמינהל האזרחי וכי ישראל תוכל להמשיך ולהפעיל ביו"ש ובעזה את הכוחות והאחריות שלא יועברו למועצה, על אף נסיגת הממשל הצבאי.

מקור הסמכות והסמכויות השיוריות

הסכם קמפ-דייויד לא הגדיר מי יהיה מקור הסמכות ביו"ש ובעזה בתקופת האוטונומיה ובידי מי יהיו הסמכויות השיוריות. נוסח הצהרת העקרונות כפי שפורט לעיל מבטיח כי ישראל תהיה הן מקור הסמכות והן בעלת הסמכויות השיוריות.

שתוף פעולה בין האוטונומיה לבין ישראל

הסכם קמפ-דייויד לא כלל כל הוראה בדבר שתוף פעולה אפשרי בין מועצת האוטונומיה לבין ישראל. הצהרת העקרונות, לעומת זאת, כוללת הוראות מפורטות בדבר שתוף פעולה כלכלי עמוק בין ישראל לבין נציגי הפלסטינים. הוראות אלה עשויות ליצור את התשתית הפרקטית שתיוותר על כנה גם בזמן יישום הסדרי הקבע.

- סודי ביותר-

704979

דברי הסבר על הצהרת העקרונות

כללי

הצהרת העקרונות מהווה הסכם מסגרת ביחס להסדרי הביניים שיחולו ביו"ש ובעזה בתקופת מעבר בת 5 שנים. תקופת המעבר תתחיל לרוץ החל ממועד הנסיגה המוקדמת מעזה ומיריחו (ראה להלן). ההצהרה קובעת כי החל מראשית השנה השלישית לתקופת המעבר, יתחילו הצדדים לנהל מו"מ על מעמד הקבע של יו"ש ועזה, כולל בעניין ירושלים, פליטים, ישובים ישראליים, הסדרי בטחון, גבולות, והיחסים ושיתוף הפעולה עם השכנות.

הצהרת העקרונות מוסיפה וקובעת כי הצדדים ינהלו מו"מ על הסכם מפורט בדבר תקופת המעבר, הסכם שיגדיר את המבנה, הכוחות והאחריות של הרשות הפלסטינית לשלטון עצמי שתנהל את ענייני הפלסטינים ביו"ש ובעזה בתקופת המעבר.

הצהרת העקרונות מורכבת מגוף ההצהרה, נספח I העוסק בבחירות למועצת האוטונומיה, נספח II העוסק בנסיגה המוקדמת מעזה ומיריחו, נספח III העוסק בשיתוף פעולה כלכלי ישראלי-פלסטיני, ונספח IV העוסק בשת"פ ישראלי-פלסטיני במסגרת השיחות המולטילטרליות. מרכיב נוסף של הצהרת העקרונות הוא זיכרון הדברים המוסכם המהווה חלק אינטגרלי מההצהרה.

הצהרת העקרונות תיכנס לתוקף חודש ימים לאחר חתימתה הרשמית בוושינגטון.

<u>נסיגה מוקדמת מעזה ומיריחו</u>

מיד עם כניסת ההצהרה לתוקפה יפתחו הצדדים במו"מ על הסכם בדבר נסיגה מוקדמת של כוחות צה"ל (אך לא <u>כל</u> כוחות צה"ל) מעזה ומיריחו וההסדרים שיחולו בעזה וביריחו לאחר הנסיגה. תאריך היעד להשלמת נסיגה מוקדמת זו הוא שישה חודשים מיום כניסתה לתוקף של הצהרת העקרונות. על פי נספח II להצהרה, הישובים הישראלים בעזה ימשיכו להתקיים לאחר הנסיגה וצה"ל יהיה אחראי לבטחונם וכן לבטחון ישראלים בעזה וביריחו. צה"ל ימשיך גם להיות אחראי לבטחון החוץ בעזה וביריחו לאחר הנסיגה. כלי רכב ישראליים, אזרחיים וצבאיים, יוכלו להמשיך לנוע בחופשיות בכבישי עזה ויריחו. תוקם וועדה משותפת ישראלית-פלסטינית לתיאום הפעילות בענייני בטחון (בין היתר, לצורך פעולה משותפת נגד החמאס).

ההסכם יכלול הוראות בדבר הקמתה של רשות פלסטינית אוטונומית ממונה שתנהל את ענייני הפלסטינים בעזה וביריחו עד לכינונה של הרשות לשלטון עצמי הנבחרת. הרשות הממונה לא תוסמך לעסוק בעניינים הבאים: יחסי-חוץ, בטחון-חוץ, ישובים, ישראלים, ונושאים נוספים כפי שיסוכם.

ההסכם גם יכלול תכנית לשת"פ ישראלי-פלסטיני לייצוב ופיתוח כלכלי של עזה וכן הסדרים בדבר מעבר אנשים וכלי רכב בין עזה ליריחו ותאום בין הצדדים בדבר המעבר מעזה למצרים ומיריחו לירדן.

בנוסף, ההסכם יעסוק בנוכחות זמנית של כוח או משקיפים זרים על מנת להקל על המשטרה הפלסטינית להתגבר על גורמי אופוזיציה מקומיים.

<u>העברת סמכויות מוקדמת</u>

בד בבד עם הנסיגה מעזה, תתבצע העברה מוקדמת של סמכויות מהמינהל האזרחי ביו"ש לפלסטינים שהמשלחת הפלסטינית לשיחות השלום בוושינגטון תנקוב בשמם. פלסטינים אלו יחליפו את ממלאי התפקידים הישראליים במשרדים הבאים: חינוך ותרבות, בריאות, סעד, מיסוי ישיר ותיירות.

פרט להעברת סמכויות זו, עד לכינון מועצת האוטונומיה הנבחרת, ימשיכו לפעול ביו"ש המימשל הצבאי והמינהל האזרחי במתכונת הקיימת היום. עם זאת, הצדדים יוכלו להסכים על העברה של סמכויות נוספות באופן מדורג.

<u>ירושלים</u>

הצהרת העקרונות קובעת כי ירושלים לא תהיה כפופה לסמכותה של מועצת האוטונומיה.

סמכות מועצת האוטונומיה

הצהרת העקרונות קובעת כי למועצת האוטונומיה תהיה סמכות (JURIDSTICTION) על שטחים (לא נאמר השטחים) של יו"ש ועזה, אך למועצה לא תהיה סמכות על הישובים הישראליים, אזורים צבאיים, וישראלים (תושבי הישובים או תושבי ישראל) בכל מקום שבו ימצאו. בנוסף קובעת ההצהרה כי סמכות המועצה תתפרש אך ורק על אותם נושאים שיועברו לניהול המועצה מהממשל הצבאי והמינהל האזרחי. משמעות קביעה זו היא כי ישראל תמשיך לנהל באופן בלעדי את הישובים הישראלים ואת האזורים הצבאיים.

מקום המושב

הצהרת העקרונות קובעת כי לאחר הנסיגה המוקדמת מעזה ומיריחו והעברת הסמכויות המוקדמת ימוקמו משרדי הרשויות הפלסטיניות בעזה וביריחו (כלומר, לא בירושלים).

בטחון

הצהרת העקרונות קובעת כי הממשלה תהיה אחראית לבטחון הפנים והסדר הציבורי של הפלסטינים, בעוד ישראל תהיה אחראית לבטחון החוץ וכן לבטחון המקיף (OVERALL SECURITY) של ישראלים (בטחון פנים וסדר ציבורי).

העברת האחריות לשמירה על בטחון הפנים והסדר הציבורי של הפלסטינים לידי המשטרה הפלסטינית ביו"ש תיעשה רק לאחר שתוקם מועצת האוטונומיה הנבחרת שתקים את המשטרה הפלסטינית. עד אז ימשיך צה"ל לשאת בכל האחריות לבטחון. מרגע שתוקם המשטרה הפלסטינית, תועבר לה הסמכות האמורה באופן הדרגתי. שני הצדדים יקיימו הסדרים לשיתוף פעולה ותיאום בנושא הביטחון.

מאחר ולמועצת האוטונומיה לא תהיה סמכות ביחס לישראלים, לא תוכל משטרת האוטונומיה לעצור ישראלים או להעמידם למשפט. סמכות זו תימצא באופן בלעדי בידי ישראל.

<u>מבנה המועצה וסמכות החקיקה שלה</u>

לאחר הבחירות יוקם גוף אחד בלבד לניהול ענייני הפלסטינאים ביו"ש ובעזה (כלומר, לא יהיה פרלמנט פלסטיני בנוסף למועצה). לגוף אחד זה יהיו סמכויות ביצוע כפי שיסוכמו בין הצדדים, וכן סמכות חקיקה בתחום הסמכויות שיועברו לו ובכפוף להסדרים שיקבעו בהסכם בעניין אישור דברי החקיקה. בנוסף, יהיו הסדרי תיאום ושת"פ בין מועצת האוטונומיה לישראל.

לאחר הקמת מועצת האוטונומיה יפורק המינהל האזרחי. המימשל הצבאי לא יפורק, אלא רק ייסוג לתחום ישראל. נסיגה זו לא תמנע מישראל להמשיך ולהפעיל ביו"ש ובעזה את כל הסמכויות שלא יועברו לידי מועצת האוטונומיה. הצהרת העקרונות מבטיחה כי מקור הסמכות והסמכויות השיוריות ישארו בידי ישראל.

בחירות

עם כניסתה לתוקף של הצהרת העקרונות יפתחו הצדדים במו"מ על הסכם בדבר קיום בחירות למועצת האוטונומיה. שאיפת הצדדים היא כי הבחירות יקויימו בתוך 9 חודשים מיום כניסת ההצהרה לתוקפה.

הבחירות אמורות להיות ישירות, חופשיות וכלליות. הן יתקיימו תחת פיקוח מוסכם ומשקיפים בינלאומיים.

פלסטינים תושבי ירושלים יוכלו להצביע בבחירות, אך הם לא יוכלו להציג את מועמדותם כנבחרים.

היערכות מחדש של כוחות צה"ל

ערב הבחירות יתחיל צה"ל לערוך מחדש את כוחותיו ביו"ש, כאשר היערכות מחדש זו תתבצע באופן הדרגתי אל מחוץ למרכזי האוכלוסיה. קצב ההיערכות מחדש (שלא נקבע מועד לסיומה) יהיה מותאם לקצב קבלת האחריות לבטחון פנים ע"י המשטרה הפלסטינית.

וועדות משותפות

הצהרת העקרונות קובעת כי יוקמו ארבע וועדות משותפות:

א. וועדה ישראלית-פלסטינית שתעסוק בתיאום בין הצדדים, יישוב סיכסוכים ונושאים אחרים בעלי עניין משותף.

ב. וועדה ישראלית-פלסטינית שתעסוק בקידום תכניות משותפות לשיתוף פעולה כלכלי (ראה להלן).

ג. וועדה ישראלית-פלסטינית-ירדנית-מצרית שתעסוק בתיאום ושיתוף פעולה בין ישראל והפלסטינים, מחד, לבין מצרים וירדן, מאידך. וועדה זו גם תעסוק בהסדרים להחזרתם ליו"ש ועזה של עקורי 1967, כפי שנקבע בהסכם קמפ-דיוויד.

ד. וועדה ישראלית-פלסטינית לענייני בטחון בעזה (ראה לעיל).

יישוב סכסוכים

הצהרת העקרונות קובעת מנגנון ליישוב סכסוכים הנוגעים לתקופת הביניים. סכסוכים כאמור יישבו בדרך של מו"מ באמצעות ועדת התיאום הישראלית-פלסטינית, שתקבל את החלטותיה בהסכמת שני הצדדים. סיכסוך שלא ייפתר בדרך זו, ניתן יהיה ליישב בדרך של פישור או בוררות, בתנאי שהצדדים הסכימו לעשות כן ועל פי הסכם בין הצדדים ביחס למנגנון הפישור או הבוררות.

שת"פ כלכלי בין ישראל לאוטונומיה

הצהרת העקרונות מכילה הסדרים מפורטים ביחס לשיתוף פעולה כלכלי בין ישראל לבין הפלסטינים בתחום הבילטרלי ובתחום המולטילטרלי.

בתחום הבילטרלי יקיימו שני הצדדים שיתוף פעולה בנושאים שונים כולל הנושאים הבאים: (1) פיתוח מקורות מים; (2) ייצור ומכירה של חשמל; (3) פיתוח מקורות אנרגיה; (4) גיוס הון בחו"ל לצורכי פיתוח יו"ש, עזה, וישראל; (5) קווי תחבורה ותיקשורת בין עזה ויו"ש לבין ישראל; (6) יחסי מסחר, כולל אפשרות הקמת אזורי סחר חופשי בעזה ובישראל ויצירת זיקה ביניהם; (7) פיתוח תעשייתי, כולל פרוייקטים תעשייתיים משותפים; (8) שת"פ בענייני יחסי עבודה.

בתחום המולטילטרלי יפנו שני הצדדים במשותף אל קבוצת ה- G-7 בבקשה כי ייזמו "תכנית מרשל" למזרח התיכון בשיתוף פעולה עם מדינות מעוניינות נוספות, כגון: חברות ה- OECD, מדינות וגופים ערביים, וגורמי השוק הפרטי.

בין תכניות הפיתוח לאיזור שיכולות להיות כלולות במסגרת זו נמצאות גם:

1. תכנית שיקום חברתי, כולל שיכון ובינוי.
2. תכנית לפיתוח תשתית (מים, חשמל, תחבורה ותקשורת).
3. הקמת קרן פיתוח ובנק לפיתוח של המזרח התיכון.
4. תכנית משותפת ישראלית-ירדנית-פלסטינית לניצול אזור ים המלח.
5. תעלת הימים (ים תיכון-ים המלח).
6. חיבור רשתות חשמל באזור.
7. תכנית אזורית להמתקת מימי הים.
8. תכנית אזורית לפיתוח חקלאי ומניעת מידבור.

23.8.93

סודי ביותר

704421

נספח I

פרוטוקול על אופן ביצוע ותנאי הבחירות

1. לפלסטינים הגרים בירושלים תהיה הזכות להשתתף בתהליך הבחירות, בהתאם להסכם בין שני הצדדים.

2. בנוסף, ההסכם ביחס לבחירות צריך לכסות, בין יתר הדברים, את הנושאים הבאים:

א. שיטת הבחירות;

ב. אופן הפיקוח המוסכם, המשקיפים הבינלאומיים וההרכב האנושי שלהם; וכן

ג. כללים ותקנות ביחס לתעמולת הבחירות, כולל הסדרים מוסכמים לאירגון תקשורת ההמונים, ואפשרות לרישוי תחנת שידור לרדיו וטלויזיה.

3. המעמד העתידי של פלסטינים שנעקרו ממקומם ושהיו רשומים ב-4 ביוני 1967, לא יפגע בשל אי יכולתם להשתתף בתהליך הבחירות עקב סיבות מעשיות.

2318/97

סודי ביותר

704949

נספח II

פרוטוקול על נסיגת כוחות ישראליים מרצועת עזה ומאזור יריחו

1. שני הצדדים יסכמו ויחתמו על הסכם בדבר נסיגת כוחות צבא ישראליים מרצועת עזה ומאזור יריחו בתוך חודשיים מיום כניסת הצהרת עקרונות זו לתוקף. הסכם זה יכלול הסדרים מקיפים שיחולו ברצועת עזה ובאזור יריחו לאחר הנסיגה הישראלית.

2. ישראל תבצע נסיגה מואצת ועל פי לוח זמנים מתוכנן של כוחות צבא ישראליים מרצועת עזה ומאזור יריחו, שתתחיל מיד עם חתימת ההסכם על רצועת עזה ואזור יריחו ותושלם בתוך תקופה שלא תעלה על ארבעה חודשים מיום חתימת הסכם זה.

3. ההסכם הנ"ל יכלול, בין היתר:

א. הסדרים להעברה חלקה ושלווה של סמכויות מן הממשל הצבאי הישראלי והמינהל האזרחי לידי הנציגים הפלסטינים.

ב. מבנה, סמכויות ותחומי האחריות של הרשות הפלסטינית באזורים אלו, למעט: בטחון חוץ, ישובים, ישראלים, יחסי-חוץ, ונושאים אחרים אודותם תהיה קיימת הסכמה הדדית.

ג. הסדרים לנטילת האחריות על בטחון הפנים והסדר הציבורי על ידי כח משטרה פלסטיני, שיורכב מקציני משטרה מגוייסים במקום ומחו"ל (אשר ברשותם דרכונים ירדנים ומסמכים פלסטינים שהונפקו על ידי מצרים). על המשתתפים בכח המשטרה הפלסטיני שיגיעו מחו"ל, לעבור הכשרה לתפקידיהם כשוטרים וכקציני משטרה.

ד. נוכחות זמנית בינלאומית או זרה, כפי שיוסכם בין הצדדים.

ה. הקמתה של ועדה משותפת ישראלית-פלסטינית לתיאום ושתוף פעולה למטרות בטחוניות הדדיות.

ו. תכנית לפיתוח וייצוב כלכלי, כולל הקמת קרן-חרום לעידוד השקעות זרות ותמיכה פיננסית וכלכלית. שני הצדדים יתאמו וישתפו פעולה ביחד ולחוד, עם צדדים אזוריים ובינלאומיים לקידום מטרות אלו.

ז. הסדרים להבטחת מעבר בטוח לאנשים וכלי-תחבורה בין רצועת עזה ואזור יריחו.

4. ההסכם הנ"ל יכלול הסדרים לתיאום בין הצדדים בנוגע למעברים הבאים:

א. עזה - מצרים;

ב. יריחו - ירדן.

5. המשרדים הנושאים באחריות להפעלת הסמכויות ותחומי האחריות של הרשות הפלסטינית, כמופיע בנספח II ובסעיף VI של הצהרת העקרונות, ימוקמו ברצועת עזה ובאזור יריחו טרם כינונה של המועצה.

6. מלבד ההסדרים המוסכמים הללו, מעמד רצועת עזה ואזור יריחו ימשיך להוות חלק אינטגרלי מהגדה המערבית ומרצועת עזה, ולא יחול במעמד זה שינוי במהלך תקופת הביניים.

סודי ביותר

704356

נספח III

פרוטוקול על שתוף פעולה ישראלי-פלסטיני בתכניות כלכליות ותכניות פיתוח

שני הצדדים מסכימים להקים ועדה מתמדת ישראלית-פלסטינית לשתוף פעולה כלכלי שתתרכז, בין השאר, בנושאים הבאים:

1. שתוף פעולה בנושא מים, כולל תכנית לפיתוח מים שתוכן ע"י מומחים משני הצדדים ושתפרט גם את אופן שתוף הפעולה בניהול מקורות מים בגדה המערבית ורצועת עזה, ושתכלול הצעות למחקרים ותכניות בנושא זכויות מים של כל צד, כמו גם ניצול הוגן של מקורות מים משותפים, ליישום במהלך תקופת הביניים ומעבר לה.

2. שתוף פעולה בנושא חשמל, כולל תכנית לפיתוח חשמל, שתפרט גם את אופן שתוף הפעולה לייצור, תחזוקה, רכישה ומכירה של מקורות אנרגיה חשמלית.

3. שתוף פעולה בנושא אנרגיה, כולל תכנית לפתוח אנרגיה, שתקבע את הצעדים הדרושים לניצול של נפט וגז למטרות תעשייה, בעיקר ברצועת עזה ובנגב, ותעודד ניצול משותף נוסף של מקורות אנרגיה אחרים. תכנית זו יכולה גם לקבוע את הצעדים הדרושים לבניית תשלובת של תעשיה פטרוכימית ברצועת עזה והנחת צינורות נפט וגז.

4. שתוף פעולה בנושא הפיננסי, כולל תכנית לפיתוח פיננסי ותכנית פעולה לעידוד השקעות בינלאומיות באגדה המערבית ורצועת עזה, ובישראל, כמו גם הקמת בנק פלסטיני לפיתוח.

5. שתוף פעולה בנושא תחבורה ותקשורת, כולל תכנית שתגדיר קווים מנחים להקמת "אזור נמל עזה", ותשמש בסיס להקמת קווי תחבורה ותקשורת אל הגדה המערבית ורצועת עזה ומהן לישראל ולמדינות אחרות. בנוסף, תכנית זו תקבע את הצעדים הדרושים לביצוע הבנייה הנחוצה של כבישים, פסי רכבת, קווי תקשורת וכיוצא באלה.

6. שתוף פעולה בנושא הסחר, כולל מחקרים ותכניות לקידום הסחר, שיעודדו סחר מקומי, אזורי ובין-אזורי, כמו גם מחקרי היתכנות ביחס ליצירת איזורי סחר חופשי ברצועת עזה ובישראל, גישה הדדית לאזורים אלו, ושתוף פעולה בנושאים אחרים הקשורים למסחר.

7. שתוף פעולה בנושא התעשיה, כולל תכניות לפיתוח תעשייתי, שיקבעו את הצעדים הדרושים להקמת מרכזי מחקר ופיתוח משותפים ישראלים-פלסטינים, יעודדו פרוייקטים משותפים ישראלים-פלסטינים, ויספקו קווים מנחים לשתוף פעולה בתחומי טקסטיל, מזון, תרופות, אלקטרוניקה, יהלומים, מחשבים ותעשיות המבוססות על מדע.

8. תכנית לשתוף פעולה והסדרה של יחסי העבודה ושתוף פעולה בנושאי רווחה ותנאים סוציאליים.

9. תכנית לפתוח ושתוף פעולה בענין משאבי אנוש שתקבע את הצעדים הדרושים להפעלת סדנאות וסמינרים ישראלים-פלסטינים משותפים ולהקמת מרכזים משותפים להכשרה מקצועית, מוסדות מחקר ומאגרי מידע.

10. תכנית להגנה על איכות הסביבה, שתקבע אמצעים משותפים ו/או מתואמים בתחום זה.

11. תכנית לפתוח תיאום ושתוף פעולה בנושא תקשורת ואמצעי התקשורת ההמוניים.

12. כל תכנית אחרת בעלת עניין משותף.

סודי ביותר

704461

נספח IV

פרוטוקול על שתוף פעולה ישראלי-פלסטיני - ביחס לתכניות לפיתוח אזורי

1. הצדדים ישתפו פעולה בהקשר של מאמצי השלום במסלול הרב-צדדי לקידום תכנית פיתוח לאיזור, הכוללת את הגדה המערבית ואת רצועת עזה, אותה יזמו חברות ה-G-7. הצדדים יבקשו מחברות ה-G-7 לפעול לשיתופן של מדינות נוספות המעוניינות להשתלב בתכנית, כגון: חברות ה-OECD (הארגון לשתוף פעולה כלכלי ולפיתוח), מדינות ומוסדות ערבים מן האזור, כמו גם גופים מן המגזר הפרטי.

2. תכנית הפיתוח תורכב משני חלקים:
   א. תכנית פיתוח כלכלי של הגדה המערבית ורצועת עזה.
   ב. תכנית אזורית לפיתוח כלכלי.

א. תכנית הפיתוח לגדה המערבית ולרצועת עזה תכלול את המרכיבים הבאים:

1. תכנית לשיקום חברתי הכוללת גם תכנית שיכון ובינוי.
2. תכנית לפיתוח עסקים קטנים ובינוניים.
3. תכנית לפיתוח תשתית (מים, חשמל, תחבורה, תקשורת, וכד').
4. תכנית משאבי אנוש.
5. תכניות נוספות.

ב. התכנית האזורית לפיתוח כלכלי תכלול את המרכיבים הבאים:

1. הקמת קרן לפיתוח המזרח התיכון, כשלב ראשון, והקמת בנק לפיתוח המזרח התיכון, כשלב שני.
2. פיתוח תכנית משותפת ישראלית-פלסטינית-ירדנית לניצול מתואם של אזור ים-המלח.
3. תעלת ים-תיכון (עזה) - ים המלח.
4. התפלת מים אזורית ופרוייקטים נוספים הקשורים בפיתוח נושא המים.
5. תכנית אזורית לפיתוח חקלאי, כולל מאמץ אזורי מתואם למלחמה במידבור.
6. חיבור רשתות חשמל.
7. שתוף פעולה אזורי להעברה, חלוקה וניצול תעשייתי של גז, נפט ומקורות אנרגיה נוספים.
8. תכנית אזורית לפיתוח התיירות, התחבורה והטלקומוניקציה.
9. שתוף פעולה אזורי בתחומים נוספים.

3. שני הצדדים יעודדו את הצלחת קבוצות העבודה הרב-צדדיות, ויתאמו פעולה למען הצלחתן. שני הצדדים יעודדו הפעילויות הבינמושביות, כמו גם את עריכתם של סקרי טרום-היתכנות וסקרי היתכנות במסגרת קבוצות העבודה הנ"ל.

19th Aug. 1993

Exc. Mr Holst

Exc. Mr Perez

Mr Uri

Ladies and Gentlemen

Mr Holst.

I would like to confirm that we are indebted to Norway, to you personally and to all the women and men who contributed to this great historical breakthrough. Indeed it is our obligation towards your friendly country and towards you personally to recognize here your courage, wisdom and persistence and outstanding role in this back channel.

Mr Perez.

I have keenly followed up your declarations, statements and writings which confirmed to us your care to achieve a just, permanent and comprehensive peace. In the name of the Palestinian delegation and its leader Yassir Arafat I would like to welcome you and to congratulate you on your 70th birthday, hoping you all success for the great battle of Peace

We start today a new journey towards a new future, in a world whose final form has not yet been shaped and which is open to all sorts of change. The future which we look for will not materialize unless we both together overcome the fears of the past and learn from the past lessons for our future.

Mr Holst

Mr Perez

Mr Uri

Ladies and Gentlemen

Today we have finished the first chapter of the task that lies ahead, and as I speak I recall a long history of events full of pain from which our people and yours suffered since the beginning of this century. Our people have endured wars, exile, deprivation and injustice, but they have not lost their hope and remained loyal to their goal of achieving for themselves and for others a just permanent and comprehensive peace.

Today we have embarked with courage and good spirit on the first step of opening the doors of peace, and on striving to achieve co-operation, reconstraction, development and welfare for our peoples. We do not want the victims of war to become the orphans of peace and we regard signing this D.o.P as a new chapter of hope for them, and as a new important page of our history.

Our world is like a little village and our size in it is well known, we can become bigger through co-operation, mutual respect and recognition of rights, and success in the fields of a reconstruction development and scientific innovation. Both our people and your people have enough potential and efficient human resources if real peace takes place and co-operation and

Mr Savir, Mr Singer, Mr Hirschfeld and Mr Pundik please permit me to thank you all for your understanding and for your co-operation in overcoming the difficulties we faced related to our complicated conflict. despite of there toughness in negotiations

I would like to thank also Mr Egeland for his role and contribtion including the follow up of the negotiations right from the beginning and staying with us even beyond the small hours.

The efforts of Ms Mona and Mr Rød Larsen definetly speak louder than words of gratitude and appreciation, for ~~his~~ there remarkable tireless and numerous efforts including ~~his~~ travels to both of us, and ~~his~~ the close follow up of our work until its success. Thanks to them and to Mona the name I like as a symbol of

Ms Mona Juul has been with us like a symbol of peace. This is not to mention her dedication and committment to the success of our work. May you allow me to greet and thank our friend Mariana who supported our efforts

Thanks to Mr Pedersen for his assistance and the Security men who spent days and nights with us.

stabilization materialize, and they should.

We are happy for our achievement of today, but tomorrow we will face the real challenge of the implementation of this agreement and the other chapters of our work.

- We have to sell successfully our agreement to our public opinion.
- We have to complete all the required agreements on the Gaza Strip and Jericho area, the Interim agreement, etc.
- We should create a base of trust to pave the way for a successful negotiation of the permanent status.

Tomorrow we will face the test of the implementation of our agreement in Gaza and Jericho. What elements and bases we should create ? The following elements should be correctly addressed:

1. Trust: trust is not merely a key to success, it is also a safety valve, and we have to create it among ourselves and our peoples through different arrangements and actions.

2. Co-operation: co-operation and enmity do not co-excist. Co-operation must be based on equity but not domination, it is one of the keys of trust. We should start the process of co-operation to create trust. It is much better than military forces and safer than the presence of foreign ones.

3. Doubts and fears: both of us have inherited and cultivated doubts and fears that they become national qualities. It is our task today to clear all of that and replace it by confidence, trust and co-operation.

4. Mistakes: to err is human, and the implementaion stage should be marked by co-operation and good understanding to overcome unpredictable problems or mistakes and minimise their impact. It is a joint responsibility.

5. Economic development and security: the occupied territories suffer from a very serious deterioration in the economic, social and security fields which pose a threat as well as a challenge. We believe that we have to join hands in mobilizing the needed resources from the international community and its relevant bodies and organs for the implementation of the required reconstruction, development and stabilization programme. Economic and social development is a pre-requisite for stability and security.

6. Parties to peace: We have been parties to conflicts and we are now parties to peace. This fact should come in the open hopefully very soon to support our efforts of creating confidence, trust and co-operation, and speed up our steps. The representatives of the Israeli government and the PLO should deal with each other openly and negotiate directly as they are the offical and real representatives of their respective people. This is the facts of

peace and the revolutionary step towards it.

7. Equality: both our peoples are equal regardless of the differences in their material means. As much as our co-operation is based on equality and respect as much as we will be able to overcome the barriers of doubts and fear which accumulated over decades, and our relations must reflect this equality.

I hope that our future work, actions, policies and relations will address, among other things, those points something which is essential for passing the test of the interim period, moving smooothly to the final status negotiations and achieving the desired goal.

Once angain on behalf of our leader Yassir Arafat, and the leadership of the PLO, and in the name of our Palestinian people I would like to thank you all and to thank Mr Holst and Mr Perez for their participation in this historical occasion. We can say now that the battle of peace has started today, we are for it, and it must be won by both of us.

Thank you.

Abu Ala

Mod August (15) 1993

695790

prior to Stockholm

1. Agreed Minutes to Article VII (5):

   The withdrawal of the military government will not prevent Israel from exercising the powers and responsibilities not transferred to the council.

2. In Annex II, paragraph 3.b, redraft: ...except: external security, settlements, Israelis, foreign relations, and other mutually agreed powers and responsibilities.

3. In Annex II, add a new paragraph:
   The offices responsible for carrying out the powers and responsibilities of the Palestinian authority under this Annex II and Article VI of the DOP will be located in the Gaza Strip and in the Jericho area. ~~with~~ pending the inauguration of the council the offices

P.a

5. The PLO consider the signing of the Declaration of Principles an historic event, beginning a new era of peaceful coexistence, free of violence and any other actions against peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounce the use of terrorism and other actions involving the use of violence and will assume responsibility over all elements and individuals of the PLO in order to assure their compliance to prevent vilations and to discipline violators.

7. In consonance with the above and based on the PNC resolution accepting Security Council Resolution 242 and the PNC decision to participate in the Madrid Peace Conference, the PLO affirms that the articles of the Palestinian Covenant which contradict the the commitments including in this letter (Israel's right to exist, peaceful coexistance, the Declaration of Principles, etc) are now obsolete and invalid. Consequently, the PLO will submit to the PNC recommendation for necessary changes.

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August 8, 1997

LARSEN'S COMMENTS ON PALESTINIAN POSITIONS

1) ART. I para 2:
the proposed version has to be accepted;
changes are not acceptable.

2) ART V para 3:
changes are not acceptable.

3) ART. VI ARAFAT INSISTS:
NO EARLY EMPOWERMENT
WITHOUT WITHDRAWAL FROM GAZA.

4) ART. VII para 2

elimination of: the transfer of [the] powers
will BE NEGOTIABLE.

5) ART. VII para 5:
"the dissolution of the MILITARY GOVERNMENT
is of SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE.
ACCORDINGLY
ABU ALA WILL BE VERY FIRM ON IT.
Yet it will be negotiable.

6) ART. VIII. THE PALESTINIANS WILL NOT ACCEPT [OVERALL] RESPONSIBILITY BUT WILL BE WILLING TO ACCEPT ANOTHER WORD.

7) ART. XIII PARA 1
THE PALESTINIANS WILL INSIST ON THE PROPOSED ADDITION.

8) ART. XIV ABU ALA WILL FIGHT FOR THIS VERSION AND INSISTON AS DETAILED IN ANNEX II"

9) ART. XV PARA 2
"CONCILIATION [AS AGREED UPON]" HAS BEEN ADDED ~~BY~~ DUE TO A SUGGESTION OF ARAFAT.

10) ANNEX II
ABU ALA WILL ASK TO SWITCH PARA 1 WITH PARA 2.

11) ANNEX II PARA 2
WITHOUT THIS PARA THERE WILL BE NO DOP.

12) ANNEX II, PARA 3
"PALESTINIAN DOCUMENTS ISSUED BY EGYPT"
IS OF CENTRAL IMPORTANCE.
PRACTICALLY A CHANGE IS NOT NEGOTIABLE.

13) JERICHO AREA HAS BEEN NOT DEFINED:
INTENTIONALLY IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN CONSTRUCTIVE AMBIGUITY.

14) AGREED MINUTES
ART. IV, PARA 2:

THE PALESTINIANS INSIST ON:
"INFRASTRUCTURE THAT IS [COMMONLY USED]."

15) AGREED MINUTES
ANNEX II
ABU ALA WILL ASK TO CROSS OUT: [FREELY]

IT WILL BE OBVIOUSLY NEGOTIABLE.

16) OVERALL COMMENT:
ACCEPTANCE OF THE 7 POINTS WILL CREATE ~~FURTHER~~ PREPAREDNESS FOR MORE CONCESSIONS.

LARSEN'S COMMENTS on Pakistan position.

1) Art. I
para 2
The proposed version has to be accepted.
~~No changes are negotiable.~~
Any changes are ~~not~~ negotiable.

2) Art V
para 3 not negotiable
too

3) Art VI Related: words:
No early commencement
without withdrawal

4) Art. VII
para 2
The transfer of [the] powers
will be negotiable.

~~5th~~ para 5 the dissolution of the
Military powers is of symbolic
importance.
Also No will be very powerful,
Yet it will be negotiable.

6. VIII They will not accept the "overall" responsibility but will be willing to upstream work

7. XIII para 1
They will be free of cost in the state

8. Art XIV
Also the will kept by the same

9) Art XV
para 2 consultant [on agreement] on a support of thereof.

10)
Annex II. It will only be started para 1 and 2 as start with part 2

LARSEN'S COMMENTS on Petition portions

1) Art. I
para 2
The proposed version has to be accepted.
~~No changes are acceptable.~~
Any changes are not acceptable.

2) Art V
para 3 not acceptable
Use

3) Art VI Analysis needs.
No early encouragement
without withdrawal

4) Art. VII
para 1
The transfer of [the] powers
will be acceptable.

5th para 5 the dissolution of the
Military Council is of symbolic
importance.
The MC will be very powerful,
but it will be acceptable

6. VIII They will not accept the "overall" responsibility but will be willing to negotiate with you

7. XIII para 1
They will be free of [illegible] the dialogue

8. Art XIV
Then the will fight for their

9) Art XV
para 2 conclude [an agreement] on support of draft.

10) Annex II. It will only be started para 1 and 2 as start with part 2

Jerusalem, August 5, 1993

Dear Minister Holst,

Permit me to express to you my deepest gratitude on your latest correspondence of July 27 regarding the Norwegian Channel. Your incisive and in depth analysis of the evolving situation is of great value to us - both to PM Rabin and myself - in evaluating the very intricate dynamics of this unique channel and opportunity.

I believe, as you do, that we have come to a decisive moment in the Oslo talks; positions have been clarified, trust has been established, limits of maneuvrability have been tested. Now time is ripe for decisions. Decisions of this nature often seem burdened by risk. Yet, the biggest risk of all, is the inability to take any risks and the devastating comfort of paralysis, causing the preservation of a dangerous status quo.

Palestinian-Israeli relations can move in one of two directions: the perpetuation of a tragic, futile and costly confrontation, or the opening of a new chapter of co-existence in mutual trust, dignity and security. It is not our moral or political intention to run the life of another people. We must not dominate their destinies, nor be dominated by their inability to reach compromise.

The gradual process proposed in Oslo is the fastest path, as it proposes progress in harmony with historical change.

From your in-depth description and analysis we learn that the PLO too seem to sense, the time is right. Yet, I must share with you my honest concern, that again they may opt to aspire for a too perfect solution, disregarding the common sense that the best solution is one that is compatible to both sides. Neither side should comply with futile procrastination. The vacuum may be filled by opposing forces, or with other initiatives, including the possibility of desired progress between Israel and Syria. Secretary Christopher is at this very moment visiting our region.

Another problem is related to the Palestinian desire to raise permanent status issues in order to guarantee the future. We know all too well that the guaranteeing of tomorrow is not possible, as creating a new reality is the only alternative. Our immediate aim is to reach an accord on the basic principles, pertaining to the interim self-rule (Declaration of Principles). Only from the basis of this achievement and its positive repercussions will we be able to explore the necessary outstanding details on Gaza and Jericho, including the possibility of a statement of the PLO

leadership in this context. Today this seems premature. The signing of the Declaration of Principles could start a historical watch moving and create a new era of cooperation. The signing of the Declaration of Principles in 1993, would mean a 1995 beginning of negotiations on permanent status.

All this, Mr. Minister, was made possible very much due to your unique role in facilitating the Oslo Channel. You permit the most special political process to take place away from distracting limelights. Our people tell me about your special involvement and hospitality. I am grateful for you to have created suich a special environment for them. Facilitating this process you have been aware of every nuance and sensitivity of this special encounter. Above all, dear Minister, you have become a real peace maker, promoting peace for the sake of peace itself.

We will continue to keep in touch, as hopefully we approach the fruition of our mutual effort.

Dear friend,

Your personal letter to me is highly appreciated. I have studied it carefully together with the messages conveyed by your special envoys. The information, the visit and participation of Ms. Juul and Mr. Larsen here has been of great importance for our deliberations and has contributed in a most valuable way to a better understanding of existing opportunities and obstacles.

Your personal dedication and efforts in our common endeavour for peace and provision of extensive assistance in a variety of practical and analytical ways is and has been of the utmost importance to the now promising development of the peace process. It is my hope that we, on this bases, now have gain momentum for getting close to a historical breakthrough. Your participation has been of vital importance in overcoming barriers and indirectly the process.

It is a pleasure to extend the gratitude of the Israeli Government to

yourself and your Government ~~for~~ for your pivotal role.

I do look forward to seeing you in August in Oslo.

Yours sincerely,

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