
The Wye memorandum was signed by Israeli PM Netanyahu and PLO Chairman Arafat and witnessed by Pres. Clinton after nine days of tense negotiations at the Wye Plantation in Maryland. The memorandum, based on the December 1997 U.S. Initiative to revive the Oslo process (see Doc. D1 in JPS 109), lists parallel incremental steps to be taken by each side over a twelve-week period in order to complete implementation of the 28 September 1995 Interim Agreement (Oslo II) and agreements specified in the Note for the Record attached to the 15 January 1997 Hebron Protocol. The State Department English text of the memorandum, available on the State Department Web site at http://www.state.gov/www/regions/nea/981023_interim_agmt.html, is the only official version.

The following are steps to facilitate implementation of Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip of September 28, 1995 (the “Interim Agreement”) and other related agreements including the Note for the Record on January 17, 1997 (hereinafter referred to as “the prior agreements”) so that the Israeli and Palestinian sides can more effectively carry out their reciprocal responsibilities, including those relating to further redeployments and security respectively. These steps are to be carried out in a parallel phased approach in accordance with this Memorandum and the attached time line. They are subject to the relevant terms and conditions of the prior agreements and do not supersede their other requirements.

I. Further Redeployments

A. Phase One and Two Further Redeployments

1. Pursuant to the Interim Agreement and subsequent agreements, the Israeli side’s implementation of the first and second F.R.D. will consist of the transfer to the Palestinian side of 13% from the Area C as follows:

1% to Area (A) 12% to Area (B)

The Palestinian side has informed that it will allocate an area/areas amounting to 3% from the above Area (B) to be designated as Green Areas and/or Nature Reserves. The Palestinian side has further informed that they will act according to the established scientific standards, and that therefore there will be no changes in the status of these areas, without prejudice to the rights of the existing inhabitants in these areas including beduins; while these standards do not allow new construction in these areas, existing roads and buildings may be maintained.

The Israeli side will retain in these Green Areas/Nature Reserves the overriding security responsibility for the purpose of protecting Israelis and confronting the threat of terrorism. Activities and movements of the Palestinian Police forces may be carried out after coordination and confirmation; the Israeli side will respond to such requests expeditiously.

2. As part of the foregoing implementation of the first and second F.R.D., 14.2% from Area (B) will become Area (A).

B. Third Phase of Further Redeployment

With regard to the terms of the Interim Agreement and of Secretary Christopher’s letters to the two sides of January 17, 1997 relating to the further redeployment process, there will be a committee to address this question. The United States will be briefed regularly.

II. Security

In the provisions on security arrangements of the Interim Agreement, the Palestinian side agreed to take all measures necessary in order to prevent acts of terrorism, crime, and hostilities directed against the Israeli side, against individuals falling under the Israeli side’s authority, and against their property, just as the Israeli side agreed to take all measures necessary in order to prevent acts of terrorism, crime, and hostilities directed against the Palestinian side, against individuals falling under the Palestinian side’s authority, and against their property. The two sides also agreed to take legal measures against offenders within their property. The two sides also agreed to take legal measures against offenders within their jurisdiction and to prevent incitement against each other by
any organizations, groups, or individuals within their jurisdiction.

Both sides recognize that it is in their vital interests to combat terrorism and fight violence in accordance with Annex I of the Interim Agreement and the Note for the Record. They also recognize that the struggle against terror and violence must be comprehensive in that it deals with terrorists, the terror support structure, and the environment conducive to the support of terror. It must be continuous and constant over a long term, in that there can be no pauses in the work against terrorists and their structure. It must be cooperative in that no effort can be fully effective without Israeli-Palestinian cooperation and the continuous exchange of information, concepts, and actions.

Pursuant to the prior agreements, the Palestinian side’s implementation of its responsibilities for security, security cooperation, and other issues will be as detailed below during the time periods specified in the attached time line:

**A. Security Actions**

1. **Outlawing and Combating Terrorist Organizations**
   (a) The Palestinian side will make known its policy of zero tolerance for terror and violence against both sides.
   (b) A work plan developed by the Palestinian side will be shared with the U.S. and thereafter implementation will begin immediately to ensure the systematic and effective combat of terrorist organizations and their infrastructure.
   (c) In addition to the bilateral Israeli-Palestinian security cooperation, a U.S.-Palestinian committee will meet biweekly to review the steps being taken to eliminate terrorists calls and the support structure that plans, finances, supplies, and abets terror. In these meetings, the Palestinian side will inform the U.S. fully of the actions it has taken to outlaw all organizations (or wings of organizations, as appropriate) of a military, terrorist, or violent character and their support structure and to prevent them from operating in areas under its jurisdiction.
   (d) The Palestinian side will apprehend the specific individuals suspected of perpetrating acts of violence and terror for the purpose of further investigation, and prosecution and punishment of all persons involved in acts of violence and terror.
   (e) A U.S.-Palestinian committee will meet to review and evaluate information pertinent to the decisions on prosecution, punishment, or other legal measures which affect the status of individuals suspected of abetting or perpetrating acts of violence and terror.

2. **Prohibiting Illegal Weapons**
   (a) The Palestinian side will ensure an effective legal framework is in place to criminalize, in conformity with the prior agreements, any importation, manufacturing or unlicensed sale, acquisition or possession of firearms, ammunition or weapons in areas under Palestinian jurisdiction.
   (b) In addition, the Palestinian side will establish and vigorously and continuously implement a systematic program for the collection and appropriate handling of all such illegal items [in] accordance with the prior agreements. The U.S. has agreed to assist in carrying out this program.
   (c) A U.S.-Palestinian-Israeli committee will be established to assist and enhance cooperation in preventing the smuggling or other unauthorized introduction of weapons or explosive materials into areas under Palestinian jurisdiction.

3. **Prevention of Incitement**
   (a) Drawing on relevant international practice and pursuant to Article XXII (1) of the Interim Agreement and the Note for the Record, the Palestinian side will issue a decree prohibiting all forms of incitement to violence or terror, and establishing mechanisms for acting systematically against all expressions or threats of violence or terror. This decree will be comparable to the existing Israeli legislation which deals with the same subject.
   (b) A U.S.-Palestinian-Israeli side will meet on a regular basis to monitor cases of possible incitement to violence or terror and to make recommendations and reports on how to prevent such incitement. The Israeli, Palestinian, and U.S. sides will each appoint a media specialist, a law enforcement representative, an educational specialist, and a current or former elected official to the committee.

**B. Security Cooperation**

The two sides agree that their security cooperation will be based on a spirit of partnership and will include, among other things, the following steps:

1. **Bilateral Cooperation**
   There will be full bilateral security cooperation between the two sides which will be continuous, intensive, and comprehensive.

2. **Forensic Cooperation**
   There will be an exchange of forensic expertise, training, and other assistance.
3. Trilateral Committee
In addition to the bilateral Israeli-Palestinian security cooperation, a high-ranking U.S.-Palestinian-Israeli committee will meet as required and not less than biweekly to assess current threats, deal with any impediments to effective security cooperation and coordination, and address the steps being taken to combat terror and terrorist organizations. The committee will also serve as a forum to address the issue of external support for terror. In these meetings, the Palestinian side will fully inform the members of the committee of the results of its investigations concerning terrorist suspects already in custody, and the participants will exchange additional relevant information. The committee will report regularly to the leaders of the two sides on the status of cooperation, the results of the meetings, and its recommendations.

C. Other Issues
(a) The Palestinian side will provide a list of its policemen to the Israeli side in conformity with the prior agreements.
(b) Should the Palestinian side request technical assistance, the U.S. has indicated its willingness to help meet those needs in cooperation with other donors.
(c) The Monitoring and Steering Committee will, as part of its functions, monitor the implementation of this provision and brief the U.S.

2. PLO Charter
The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Central Council will reaffirm the letter of 22 January 1998 from PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat to President Clinton concerning the nullification of the Palestinian National Charter provisions that are inconsistent with the letters exchanged between the PLO and the Government of Israel on 9-10 September 1993. PLO Chairman Arafat, the Speaker of the Palestinian National Council, and the Speaker of the Palestinian Council will invite the members of the PNC, as well as the members of the Central Council, the Council, and the Palestinian Heads of Ministries to a meeting to be addressed by President Clinton to reaffirm their support for the peace process and the aforementioned decisions of the Executive Committee and the Central Council.

3. Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters
Among other forms of legal assistance in criminal matters, the requests for arrest and transfer of suspects and defendants pursuant to Article II (7) of Annex IV of the Interim Agreement will be submitted (or resubmitted) through the mechanism of the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Legal Committee and will be responded to in conformity with Article II (7)(f) of Annex IV of the Interim Agreement within the 12 week period. Requests submitted after the eighth week will be responded to in conformity with Article II (7)(f) within four weeks of their submission. The United States has been requested by the sides to report on a regular basis on the steps being taken to respond to the above requests.

4. Human Rights and the Rule of Law
Pursuant to Article XI (1) of Annex I of the Interim Agreement, and without derogating from the above, the Palestinian Police will exercise powers and responsibilities to implement this Memorandum with due regard to internationally accepted norms of human rights and the rule of law, and will be guided by the need to protect the public, respect human dignity, and avoid harassment.

III. Interim Committees and Economic Issues
1. The Israeli and Palestinian sides reaffirm their commitment to enhancing their relationship and agree on the need actively to promote economic development in the West Bank and Gaza. In this regard, the parties agree to continue or to reactivate all standing committees established by the Interim Agreement, including the Monitoring and Steering Committee, the Joint Economic Committee (JEC), the Civil Affairs Committee (CAC), the Legal Committee, and the Standing Cooperation Committee.

2. The Israeli and Palestinian sides have agreed on arrangements which will permit the timely opening of the Gaza Industrial Estate. They also have concluded a “Protocol Regarding the Establishment and Operation of the International Airport in the Gaza Strip During the Interim Period.”

3. Both sides will renew negotiations on safe passage immediately. As regards the southern route, the sides will make best efforts to conclude the agreement within a week of the entry into force of this Memorandum. Operation of the southern route will start as soon as possible thereafter. As regards the northern route, negotiations will continue with the goal of reaching agreement as soon as possible. Implementation will take place expeditiously thereafter.

4. The Israeli and Palestinian sides acknowledge the great importance of the Port of Gaza for the development of the Palestin-
ian economy and the expansion of Palestinian trade. They commit themselves to proceeding without delay to conclude an agreement to allow the construction and operation of the port in accordance with the prior agreements. The Israeli-Palestinian Committee will reactivate its work immediately with a goal of concluding the protocol within 60 days, which will allow commencement of the construction of the port.

5. The two sides recognize that unresolved legal issues adversely affect the relationship between the two peoples. They therefore will accelerate efforts through the Legal Committee to address outstanding legal issues and to implement solutions to these issues in the shortest possible period. The Palestinian side will provide to the Israeli side copies of all of its laws in effect.

6. The Israeli and Palestinian sides also will launch a strategic economic dialogue to enhance their economic relationship. They will establish within the framework of the JEC an Ad Hoc Committee for this purpose. The committee will review the following four issues: (1) Israeli purchase taxes; (2) cooperation in combating vehicle theft; (3) dealing with unpaid Palestinian debts; and (4) the impact of Israeli standards as barriers to trade and the expansion of the A1 and A2 lists. The committee will submit an interim report within three weeks of the entry into force of this Memorandum, and within six weeks will submit its conclusions and recommendations to be implemented.

7. The two sides agree on the importance of continued international donor assistance to facilitate implementation by both sides of agreements reached. They also recognize the need for enhanced donor support for economic development in the West Bank and Gaza. They agree to jointly approach the donor community to organize a Ministerial Conference before the end of 1998 to seek pledges for enhanced levels of assistance.

IV. Permanent Status Negotiations

The two sides will immediately resume permanent status negotiations on an accelerated basis and will make a determined effort to achieve the mutual goal of reaching an agreement by May 4, 1999. The negotiations will be continuous and without interruption. The United States has expressed its willingness to facilitate these negotiations.

V. Unilateral Actions

Recognizing the necessity to create a positive environment for the negotiations, neither side shall initiate or take any step that will change the status of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip in accordance with the Interim Agreement.

ATTACHMENT: Time Line

This Memorandum will enter into force ten days from the date of signature.

Done at Washington, DC this 23rd day of October 1998.

For the Government of the State of Israel
For the PLO
Witnessed by: The United States of America

TIME LINE

Note: Parenthetical references below are to paragraphs in “The Wye River Memorandum” to which this time line is an integral attachment. Topics not included in the time line follow the schedule provided for in the text of the memorandum.

1. Upon Entry into Force of the Memorandum:

- Third further redeployment committee starts (I (B))
- Palestinian security work plan shared with the U.S. (II (A)(1)(b))
- Full bilateral security cooperation (II (B)(1))
- Trilateral security cooperation committee starts (II (B)(3))
- Interim committees resume and continue; Ad Hoc Economic Committee starts (III)
- Accelerated permanent status negotiations start (IV)

2. Entry into Force—Week 2:

- Security work plan implementation begins (II (A)(1)(b)); (II (A)(c)) committee starts
- Illegal weapons framework in place (II (A)(2)(a)); Palestinian implementation report (II (A)(2)(b))
- Anti-incitement committee starts (II (A)(3)(b)); decree issued (II (A)(3)(a))
- PLO Executive Committee reaffirms Charter letter (II (C)(21))
- Stage 1 of F.R.D. implementation: 2% C to B, 7.1% B to A. Israeli officials acquaint their Palestinian counterparts as required with areas; F.R.D. carried out; report on F.R.D. implementation (I(A))

3. Weeks 2-6:

- Palestinian Central Council reaffirms Charter letter (weeks two to four) (II (C)(2))
- PNC and other PLO organizations reaffirm Charter letter (weeks four to six) (II (C)(2))
- Establishment of weapons collection program (II (A)(2)(b)) and collection stage (II (A)(2)(c)); committee starts and reports on activities
• Anti-incitement committee report (II (A)(x)(b))
• Ad Hoc Economic Committee: interim report at week three; final report at week six (III)
• Policemen list (II (C)(1)(a)), Monitoring and Steering Committee review starts (II(C)(1)(c))
• Stage 2 of F.R.D. implementation: 5% C to B. Israeli officials acquire their Palestinian counterparts as required with areas; F.R.D. carried out; report on F.R.D. implementation (I (A))

4. Weeks 6-12:
• Weapons collection stage (II (A)(2)(b)); (II (A)(2)(c)) committee report on its activities
• Anti-Incitement committee reports (II (A)(3)(b))
• Monitoring and Steering Committee briefs U.S. on policeman list (II (C)(1)(c))
• Stage 3 of F.R.D. implementation: 5% C to B, 1% C to A, 7.1% B to A—Israeli officials acquire Palestinian counterparts as required with areas; F.R.D. carried out; report on F.R.D. implementation (I (A))

5. After Week 12:
Activities described in the Memorandum continue as appropriate and if necessary, including:
• Trilateral security cooperation committee (II (B)(3))
• (II (A)(1)(c)) committee
• (II (A)(1)(c)) committee
• Anti-incitement committee (II (A)(3)(b))
• Third Phase F.R.D. Committee (I (B))
• Interim Committees (III)
• Accelerated permanent status negotiations (IV)


Secretary Albright reportedly provided letters of assurance both to PM Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat. The Israeli letter was leaked to the press days after the signing, and soon after, the Prime Minister’s Office released it on its Web site at http://www.pmo.gov.il/english/policy/twy2.html.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

The United States is pleased to have worked with you in achieving a successful outcome in the negotiations on “The Wye River Memorandum.” We believe its parallel phased approach will help provide greater confidence to both sides in the implementation process, since actions in each stage of the time line are to be completed by both sides before moving to the next stage. I can confirm that the United States is prepared to play the role identified for it in the Memorandum.

The United States recognizes the importance of the security provisions of “The Wye River Memorandum” to the State of Israel. In this context, and given the role specified for the United States in the Memorandum, we wish to reiterate our ironclad commitment to Israel’s security and to peace, and to stress that Palestinian security undertakings are a critical foundation of the Memorandum.

In this context, we wanted to confirm our understanding of assurances we have received from the Palestinians on several issues that you have indicated are of special concern to Israel. Regarding the Palestinian apprehension of terrorism suspects (II (A)(1)(d)), we have assured that all the cases which have been identified will be acted upon. With respect to Palestinian decisions regarding the prosecution, punishment or other legal measures that affect the status of individuals suspected of abetting or perpetrating acts of violence or terror, there are procedures in place to prevent unwarranted releases. Furthermore, we will express our opposition to any unwarranted releases of such suspects, and in the event of such a release, we will be prepared to express our position publicly.

Regarding the Palestinian side’s program for confiscation and disposition of illegal weapons under paragraph II (A)(2)(b), our assistance to the Palestinian side will help ensure that any retention of weapons is consistent with the relevant Interim Agreement provisions, including Article IV (5) of Annex I. The U.S. plans to inform Israel periodically of the progress of our assistance program. Finally, with respect to the Palestinian side’s provision of its list of policemen to Israel (II (C)(1)(a)), the U.S. has been assured that it will receive all appropriate information concerning current and former policemen as part of our assistance program.

Sincerely,
Madeleine K. Albright


These sections of Secretary Albright’s letter of assurance to Chairman Arafat were reproduced in an article by David Makovsky for the Israeli daily Ha’aretz on 15 No-
vember. Despite the leak, the PLO refuses to release the full text of the document.

Dear Mr. Chairman,

The United States is pleased to have worked with you in achieving a successful outcome in the negotiations on “The Wye River Memorandum.”

I want to confirm that the United States regards the implementation of the first and second phases of the further redeployment processes to be one of the pillars of the Memorandum. We understand the importance that the Palestinian side attaches to this objective and will support its fulfillment in accordance with the Memorandum. . . .

We also appreciate how vital it is for the United States to play the role identified for it in the Memorandum. I can confirm that the United States stands ready to carry out that role. Let me also emphasize that we are prepared to confirm the fulfillment of Palestinian responsibilities as the Palestinian Authority carries them out in accordance with the Memorandum.

We also intend to look for additional means to promote and support the timely and complete implementation of the Memorandum by both sides, including through participation in other mechanisms agreed to by the parties. In this regard, we would plan to support the efforts of the Monitoring and Steering Committee in connection with the implementation process, and for this purpose, I am requesting that the Special Middle East Coordinator, the Deputy Special Middle East Coordinator, and other United States officials be involved in supporting the process of carrying out the agreement. . . .

Our partnership in achieving this agreement has served to strengthen the U.S.-Palestinian relationship and give both of us a stake in deepening our bilateral ties. Toward this end, we intend to activate the U.S.-Palestinian Joint Committee as a way to enhance our relationship as well as ties between the American and Palestinian people. It will also consider how we can remove any existing impediment to that relationship, continue and enhance our assistance, and strengthen our bilateral ties.

The United States recognizes that permanent status negotiations will be fundamental to defining a durable Israeli-Palestinian peace. We are prepared, at the request of both sides, to facilitate these negotiations and plan to work with both parties to ensure the right environment for conducting the negotiations on an accelerated basis. In order to create an environment conducive to the success of the negotiations, the United States will continue to make clear the importance of avoiding unilateral steps that would pre-judge or preempt the issues reserved for the permanent status negotiations.

Sincerely,
Madeleine K. Albright


The following comments were made at the press conference following the Wye memorandum signing at which King Hussein of Jordan, VP Al Gore, and Secretary Albright also spoke. Much of the addresses were devoted to thanking various participants. The transcript was made available by the State Department.

President Clinton: After some very difficult negotiations, very long, dare I say, quite sleepless, the Israelis and Palestinians here have reached an agreement on issues over which they have been divided for more than seventeen months. This agreement is designed to rebuild trust and renew hope for peace between the parties. Now both sides must build on that hope, carry out their commitments, begin the difficult, but urgent journey toward a permanent settlement.

Over the last nine days I have witnessed extraordinary efforts on behalf of peace. . . . This agreement is good for Israel’s security. The commitments made by the Palestinians were very strong, as strong as any we have ever seen. They include continuous security cooperation with Israel and a comprehensive plan against terrorism and its support infrastructure.

This agreement is good for the political and economic well-being of Palestinians. It significantly expands areas under Palestinian authority to some 40 percent of the West Bank. It also offers the Palestinian people new economic opportunities, with an airport and industrial zone, soon safe passage between Gaza and the West Bank, and in time a seaport. The Palestinian people will be able to breathe a little easier and benefit from the fruits of peace.

Most importantly, perhaps, this agreement is actually good for the peace process itself. For eighteen months, it has been paralyzed,
a victim of mistrust, misunderstanding, and fear. Now, ordinary Israelis and Palestinians once again can become partners for peace.

To bolster this effort, Chairman Arafat will invite members of the Palestinian National Council and other important political entities to reafﬁrm his prior commitments and their support for the peace process. I have agreed to address that meeting, several weeks hence, and to underscore the values of reconciliation, tolerance, and respect, and my support for those commitments and this process.

Every effort will have to be exerted to ensure the faithful implementation of this agreement—not because the parties do not want to do so, but because the agreement covers many things, was developed over many days, [and] involved many discussions and sleepless nights. It will test whether the Palestinian people are prepared to live in peace, recognizing Israel's permanence, legitimacy, and a common interest in security. It will tell us whether Israelis want to help build a strong Palestinian entity that can fulﬁll the aspirations of its people and provide both real security and real partnership for Palestinians and Israelis.

The United States is determined to be of whatever help we can to both sides in their endeavors. I will consult with Congress to design a package of aid to help Israel meet the security costs of redeployment, and help the Palestinian Authority meet the economic costs of development. I hope we will have support from Republicans and Democrats in that endeavor.

With respect to Mr. Pollard, I have agreed to review this matter seriously at the prime minister's request. I have made no commitment as to the outcome of the review. Ultimately, the parties will have to translate the gains of Wye River into renewed efforts to secure a just and lasting peace. For as big a step as today is—and after seventeen months, it is a very large step, indeed—it is just another step along the way. Therefore, perhaps as important as any other statement to be made today, let me say how grateful I am that the prime minister and the chairman have agreed to begin permanent status talks upon ratiﬁcation of this agreement.

Prime Minister Netanyahu: Today's a day when Israel and our entire region are more secure. Now, this has required sacriﬁce from both sides, and reaching into what Lincoln called, "the better nature of mankind." This is an important moment to give a secure and peaceful future for our children and the children of our neighbors, the Palestinians. We have seized this moment.

We are more secure today because, for the ﬁrst since the signing of the Oslo accords, we will see concrete and veriﬁable commitments carried out. Our Palestinian partners will join us in ﬁghting terrorism. They will follow a detailed and systematic plan to ﬁght terrorists and their infrastructure; to jail killers that have so far roamed at large; to stop vitriolic incitement; and above all, ﬁnally, after thirty-ﬁve years, to cancel the articles in the Palestinian Charter which call for the destruction of Israel.

But I am today brimming with some conﬁdence—and not overconﬁdence—simply because we have overcome tremendous challenges and achieved success for both sides—not at the expense of one side and the beneﬁt of the other, but success and advantage and progress for both sides. And that ﬁlls me with the conﬁdence that we are able to tackle the larger challenges that still await us and that still await our two peoples.

President Clinton: Let me say, I wish that all of you who care about this could have seen at least a portion of what I saw in the last nine days in the interchanges between Prime Minister Netanyahu and Chairman Arafat. It was very interesting. They were so different. I can't imagine Mr. Netanyahu in a khaﬁyeh. (Laughter and applause.) But they were very much alike in their tenacity and their astonishing intelligence and knowledge.

Just as I was able to say a thank you to Prime Minister Netanyahu, let me say to Chairman Arafat, I thank you. I thank you for turning away from violence toward peace. . . . I thank you for embracing the idea that Palestinians and Israelis can actually share the land of our fathers together. I thank you for believing that the home of Islam and Judaism and Christianity can surely be the home of people who love one God and respect every life God has created.

Chairman Arafat: This is an important and a happy day, a day of achievement that we will always remember with optimism and hope. It is true that whatever we achieved is only temporary, that has been late. But our agreement in the Wye River underscores that the peace process is going ahead, and that whatever we agreed upon in Madrid, Oslo, and in Washington and Cairo is being implemented on the same bases that have been agreed to, and that we will never go back.
We will never leave the peace process, and we will never go back to violence and confrontation. No return to confrontation and violence. . . .

This reconciliation between the two peoples, the Palestinian and the Israeli people, will not divert this path and will go through negotiations on the table and go through tanks, grenades, and barbed wires. We have achieved today a large step, but it is important—my co-partner, Mr. Netanyahu—it is important in establishing the peace process because this is the peace of courageous people.

The implementation of the Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the principle of land for peace, achievement of political rights of the Palestinian people, and putting every effort possible in the service of achieving security for all, particularly for the Israeli people—all this will bring us to begin at once and quickly in the negotiations of the final solution that will try to achieve just and peaceful permanent peace in order to complement what takes place also on the Syrian and the Lebanese paths very soon. . . .

Once again, I’m saying that it is a big step that came late, but it is, indeed, an important one because it will allow the return of 13 percent of the Palestinian land on the West Bank to the Palestinian people, to their sovereignty, and will allow to double the area where the Palestinian Authority will enjoy full-fledged authority and sovereignty. Yes, indeed, it is a step that will allow the Palestinian airplanes to fly and from the Gaza International Airport, carrying visitors and merchandise, carrying to the whole world the Palestinian flowers and fresh fruit.

It will also open the door to build the Gaza seaport and the realization of the Palestinian dream of geographic unification between the regions of the Palestinian land in the West Bank and Gaza through a secured area. It will also allow the achievement of real happiness for hundreds of the prisoners of Palestinians in the Israeli jails, and also for the families everywhere, liberating them. And I will never forget this, in fact, for Mr. Netanyahu, with the assistance of King Hussein and President Clinton.

I say they will be liberated outside their cells, to where there is freedom and participation in the completion of what we started of a peace process and building their free land, with their heads held high and proud.

I led those children during our struggle for freedom, and they gave their freedom and their lives for the sake of the land. However, they adopted the peace process, adopted peace and stood by peace, while they were in the jails. And now, they are joining us in our peace process for the sake of peace. It is the peace of courageous people.

We have succeeded in the agreement to stop all the unilateral actions that would undermine the final solution and bring about a difficult climate for negotiations on peace. With this agreement, we begin the final solution negotiations, which we will take very seriously, and commitment in order to achieve it on its stipulated times in all the agreements we signed together, which is the 4th of May 1999. We will have understanding around this date between us and the Israeli partners, and between us and our friends in the U.S., and between us and our brothers, the Arabs, at the forefront of which is His Excellency, His Majesty King Hussein, and my brother, President Mubarak, who has been following with commitment what we are doing here in the U.S., and also our brothers, the Arab leaders who have been following our work minute by minute. And I will not forget the Federation of Russia, as well, and China and Japan, and the states of the nonalignment countries.

In particular I would like to mention, in this regard, the European role, who sent their delegation, Mr. Moratinos, in order to be here beside us during these negotiations.

We are quite certain that we will stand together here in this place which is at high-level forum, and under the guardianship of President Clinton, in order to announce the achievement of permanent peace between the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples, that we have completed the solution of all issues—the return of the land, the status of Jerusalem, the status of the settlements, the final frontiers, and the return of refugees, and the just distribution of order and security, and good relations with our neighbors, and that we have achieved freedom and independence and security for all.

We will begin a new era of new relations based on equality, mutual feelings, and cooperation between two independent, neighboring countries enjoying security and openness with their neighbors, in a regional framework that would bring about peace, justice, and stability for all. . . .

I am quite confident that I’m talking in the name of all Palestinians when I assure you that we are all committed to the security of every child, woman, and man in Israel.
Here we have come to a detailed agreement, and we are committed to play our independent role to keep security. And we will achieve whatever we promise here.

I will do everything I can so that no Israeli mother will be worried if her son or daughter is late coming home, or any Israeli would be afraid when they heard an explosion. It is true that nobody can secure 100 percent results of security for all Palestinians and all Israelis. But I am proud that we were able to work together and we will be able to do more together, with assistance of all our friends all over the world, in America and in Europe, and with great commitment to achieve much more in the years ahead—yes, indeed.

Ladies and gentlemen, we want achievement of the peace of courageous people to end this long suffering in order to build an independent nation having a lot of democracy and caring for his children. We want a school and education for every child and young man. We want a job for every man and woman, and a modern medical clinic and a hospital, and a small house as well, where everybody feels comfortable and where laughter is heard of happy, healthy kids. We want that and more for our neighbors and co-partners, the Israeli people, and the Arabs.

We want a factory, a lab, an airport and a seaport, a clean environment, and an ability to grow and to develop. And on the occasion of the new millennium, which represents the birth of Jesus Christ in Bethlehem, where His light came out to the world, we would like to receive the whole world now, calling for peace and justice and freedom, for a world where there is stability, fraternity, and cooperation. We would also like to pursue the joint work with our neighbors, the Arabs, as well as the regional work, which is cooperative and successful. And even though I realize the difficulties that we face and my full knowledge of whatever we sign today will only trickle down to worthless ink on paper unless it is implemented accurately and quickly, so I call upon President Clinton to remain with us, alert and supportive, in order to make sure that we implement everything we agreed upon. However, I am also happy that I call upon my sons and children in Palestine, in the diaspora and confinement, bringing to them the good news of a better future where they enjoy a better life with freedom, dignity, and an independent country. I want them to work with me, seriously and sincerely, in order to do everything we can, all the sacrifices to build our nation, Palestine.

So I also say something special for my children, that they are in our imagination and minds and conscience, and we will never forget their rights, their efforts, and their tortures. And in particular, I call upon my brothers and sisters in the refugee camps in Lebanon that this long standing apart will not be long, and they will come back to Palestine in their dignity.

For those who sacrificed for Palestine, the martyrs, the wounded, the widows, the orphans, and the prisoners, without whom we wouldn’t have achieved this day for freedom, for them for all, I tell them that we are going to achieve peace. To all our brothers, the Arabs, who embrace us in our difficulties and supported us during war and peace, I told them that we will continue our effort and will be committed to our cause.


The confidential side letters were intended to clarify the U.S. interpretation of the Wye memorandum on the third withdrawal (letter 1); the issue of reciprocity, permanent status talks, and prisoner releases (letter 2); unilateral actions and the PLO charter (letter 3); and PA policemen (letter 4). Israel was reportedly upset that the letters were sent by Amb. Walker and envoy Ross to Israeli Cabinet Secretary Dani Naveh rather than from President Clinton or Secretary Albright to PM Netanyahu. The Israeli government released the letters in the Prime Minister’s Report for 3 November, reportedly to calm the fears of hard-liners before the cabinet and Knesset votes on ratification. They are also available on line at http://www.pmo.gov.il/english/policy/wye-2a.html.

From the Embassy of the United States of America

Tel Aviv
October 29, 1998
Mr. Dani Naveh
Dear Dani:

I wanted to confirm our policy on the issue of the third phase of further redeployment. In this regard, the statement issued publicly by the State Department on October
27, 1998, is accurate and represents our policy.

Regarding the third further redeployment, the statement said: “During the discussions leading to this agreement, the U.S. made clear to both parties that it will not adopt any position or express any view about the size or the content of the third phase of Israel’s further redeployment, which is Israeli responsibility to implement rather than negotiate.

“Under the terms of the memorandum, an Israeli-Palestinian committee is being established. Nonetheless we urge the parties not to be distracted from the urgent task of negotiating permanent status arrangements, which are at the heart of the matter and which will determine the future of the area.

“Our own efforts have been and will continue to be dedicated to that vital task.”

This public statement by the State Department represents our policy. We will not change it, and it will remain our policy in the future.

Sincerely,
Edward S. Walker, Jr.
Ambassador

From the Embassy of the United States of America

Tel Aviv
October 30, 1998
Mr. Dani Naveh

Dear Dani:

I wanted to confirm our policy on the issues of Reciprocity/Parallelism, Permanent Status Negotiations, and Prisoner Releases. In this regard, the statements issued publicly by the State Department on October 29, 1998, are accurate and represent our policies.

On Reciprocity/Parallelism, the statement said: “Resolving the crisis of confidence between Israelis and Palestinians requires each side to fulfill a set of responsibilities based on the concept of reciprocity, i.e., both sides must carry out their respective obligations in accordance with the Wye River Memorandum. These obligations will be implemented or carried out in a parallel phased approach in accordance with the mutually agreed Time Line.”

As for Permanent Status Negotiations, the statement said: “The U.S. is highly sensitive to the vital importance of the permanent status issues to Israel’s future. We recognize that the security of the State of Israel and the Israeli public is at stake, and the U.S. commitment to Israel’s security remains ironclad.

“We appreciate that if the U.S. is invited by both parties to participate in the permanent status talks, which are to be conducted between Israel and the Palestinians on a bilateral basis, we will do so for the purpose of facilitating the negotiations.

“Only Israel can determine its own security needs and decide what solutions will be satisfactory.

“We also understand that any decision to convene or seek to convene a summit to resolve permanent status issues will need the agreement of both parties.”

With regard to the issues of prisoner releases and the question of a “revolving door,” the statement said: “We have had discussions with the Palestinians, and they have given us a firm commitment that there will be no ‘revolving door.’”

These public statements by the State Department represent our policies. We will not change them, and they will remain our policies in the future.

Sincerely,
Edward S. Walker, Jr.
Ambassador

From the Embassy of the United States of America

Tel Aviv
October 29, 1998
Mr. Dani Naveh

Dear Dani:

I wanted to confirm our policy on the issues of unilateral actions and the Charter of the PLO. In this regard, the statements issued publicly by the State Department on October 27, 1998, are accurate and represent our policies.

With regard to unilateral declarations or other unilateral actions, the statement said: “As regard to the possibility of a unilateral declaration of statehood or other unilateral actions by either party outside the negotiating process that prejudge or predetermine the outcome of those negotiations, the U.S. opposes and will oppose any such unilateral actions.

“Indeed, the U.S. has maintained for many years that an acceptable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can only be found through negotiations, not through unilateral actions. And as we look to the future, that will remain our policy.

“For the present, we are doing all we can to promote permanent status negotiations on an accelerated basis. And we are stressing that those who believe that they can declare
unilateral positions or take unilateral acts, when the interim period ends, are counting disaster."

With regard to the PNC, the statement said: "The Wye River Agreement specifies that the members of the PNC (as well as the members of the PLO Central Council, the Palestinian Council and the Heads of Palestin- 
ian Ministries) will be invited to a meeting in which President Clinton will attend. 

"The purpose of this meeting of the PNC and other PLO organizations is to reaffirm 
Chairman Arafat's January 22 letter to President Clinton nullifying each of the Charter's 
provisions that are inconsistent with the 
PLO's commitments to renounce terror, and 
to recognize and live in peace with Israel. 

"This process of reaffirmation will make 
clear, once and for all, that the provisions of 
the PLO Charter that call for the destruction 
of Israel are null and void."

These public statements by the State 
Department represent our policies. We will not 
change them, and they will remain our poli-
cies in the future.

Sincerely,
Edward S. Walker, Jr. 
Ambassador

From the U.S. State Department

October 30, 1998

Dear Mr. Naveh:

I wanted to provide further clarification of the 
understanding of the United States re-
garding one of the issues addressed in "The 
Wye River Memorandum."

With respect to the Palestinian side's pro-
vision of its list of policemen to Israel 
(II(C)(1)(a)), the U.S. has been assured that it 
will receive all appropriate information con-
cerning current and former policemen as 
part of our assistance program. It is also our 
understanding that it was agreed by the two 
sides that the total number of Palestinian po-
lieomen would not exceed 30,000.

Sincerely,
Dennis B. Ross
Special Middle East Coordinator

F. Israeli Cabinet, Government Deci-
sion on the Wye River Memorandum, 

After four delays by PM Netanyahu, the 
Israeli cabinet conditionally approved (8-4, 
with 5 abstentions) the Wye memorandum 
on 11 November, nine days after the agree-
cement came into force according to the

United States (the agreement makes no 
stipulation concerning government ratifica-
tion). The cabinet's conditions, placing ad-
ditional obligations on the Palestinian side 
and providing the cabinet veto power at 
each stage of redeployment, were believed 
to threaten the successful implementation 
of the deal. The text of the decision was 
taken from the Israeli Prime Minister's Of-
line Web site at http://www.pmo.gov.il/
english/policy/wye-5.html.

1. The government approves the Wye River 
Memorandum signed in Washington on Oc-
tober 23, 1998 (henceforth "the agreement") 
and will present it to the Knesset for ap-
proval.

2. a) The implementation of all the Palestin-
ian obligations throughout all phases of the 
agreement is a condition for the implementa-
tion of the Israeli obligation under the agree-
ment according to the timetable set in it.

b) The implementation of each phase of the 
further redeployments mentioned in the 
agreement will be brought before the gov-
ernment for prior discussion and approval.

3. a) The government approves the map of 
the first phase of the further redeployment as 
presented to the government. Approval of 
the maps of the additional phases of the fur-
ther redeployment shall be given in the min-
isterial committee mentioned below, which 
shall decide on the matter with the govern-
ment's consent.

b) In accordance with Paragraph 36(A)(6) of 
the Basic Law the prime minister has ap-
pointed a ministerial committee consisting of 
the minister of defense, chairman; the minis-
ter of foreign affairs; the minister of educa-
tion, culture, and sport; the minister of immi-
grant absorption; and the minister for public 
security.

c) Government ministers may view the maps 
of each phase of the further redeployment at 
the Government Secretariat as the date of its 
implementation approaches, and they may 
appear before the committee and express 
their views.

d) The minister of defense will determine the 
work agenda of the committee.

4. a) Since the signing of the agreement, offi-
cial Palestinian declarations regarding the 
PLO Covenant have substantively contra-
dicted the agreement.

b) The agreement decrees a decision at the 
Palestinian National Council to confirm the
Palestinian Authority chairman's statement in his letter to President Clinton regarding the cancellation of the Palestinian Covenant articles which contravene the PLO's commitment to denounce terrorism, recognize Israel, and live peacefully with Israel.

c) In the light of the above, the fulfillment of Israel's commitment according to the agreement is conditioned on a properly conducted vote at the Palestinian National Council.

5. a) Israel persists in its demand for the transfer of suspects and wanted fugitives according to the agreement.

b) As for the list of 30 suspects, the government notes the prime minister's statement, according to which: "The arrest of the 30 suspects is included in the 'Working Plan for combating terrorism,' so that one third will be arrested at each phase of the 12 weeks, and the U.S. has promised Israel that this will be implemented. The U.S. has also committed to Israel that there will be special arrangements to prevent a 'revolving door' policy in relation to these prisoners, and that if nevertheless a release of these prisoners will occur, it will be considered a violation of the agreement."

6. As to the third further redeployment, in so far as Israel, according to its own judgment, will make a decision on it, the scope of the redeployment will not exceed the total of one percent in all categories.

7. In the negotiations on Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District the government will preserve the vital national interests of the State of Israel, as affirmed in the government's decision of January 14, 1998. These include security areas, the areas around Jerusalem, the areas of Jewish settlement, infrastructure interests, water sources, military and security locations, the areas around north-south and west-east transportation arteries, and historic sites of the Jewish people.

8. The government asserts that a unilateral declaration by the Palestinian Authority on the establishment of a Palestinian state, prior to the achievement of a final status agreement, would constitute a substantive and fundamental violation of the Interim Agreement. In the event of such a violation, the government would consider itself entitled to take all necessary steps, including the application of Israeli rule, law, and administration to settlement areas and security areas in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, as it sees fit. Israel reiterates its position, in accordance with the agreement with the PA, that the final status must be the result of free negotiations between the parties without the implementation of unilateral steps which will change the status of the area.

9. The government will continue to pursue its policy of strengthening and developing the communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza Strip, on the basis of a multi-annual plan.

10. The government will see to it that security roads will be built in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza District.

11. The government expresses its hope that there will be complete compliance with the provisions of the Wye River Memorandum, and that this agreement will contribute to the advancement of peace.