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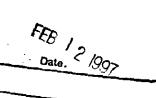
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AMEMBASSY TUNIS IMMEDIATE

SECTION 01 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03839

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: PALESTINIANS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HOPEFUL AND ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT PNC RESULTS

1.

2. SUMMARY: PALESTINIAN POLITICAL FIGURES HERE ARE VERY PLEASED AND ENCOURAGED BY THE PNC'S ACTIONS, WHICH WENT FURTHER THAN THEY EXPECTED BY ACCEPTING 242. THEY BELIEVE THEIR EFFORTS TO PUSH THE PNC TOWARD MORE DECISIVE AND REALISTIC ACTION HAVE BEEN REWARDED. THEY SEE THE PNC'S ACTION AS A HISTORIC DECISION TO COEXIST WITH ISRAEL, AND BELIEVE THAT IT PROVIDES A PLATFORM FOR A NEW PALESTINIAN POLITICAL PROGRAM THAT WILL ULTIMATELY ENGAGE THE U.S. AND ISRAEL IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR A TWO STATE SOLUTION. THEY

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CREDIT ARAFAT WITH LEADING THE PNC TOWARD REALISM AND HAVE SENT A PETITION TO THE U.S. EXPRESSING THEIR "ACCEPTANCE OF A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE." THEY SEE ARAFAT'S PROPOSED UNGA



SPEECH (WHICH IS ALSO ANTICIPATED IN THE LATEST INTIFADA LEAFLET) AS AN IMPORTANT NEXT STEP, AND LET US KNOW THAT A U.S. TURN DOWN WILL BE A SERIOUS SET BACK FOR THE MODERATES. WE HAVE CAUTIONED CONTACTS THAT NO DECISION HAS YET BEEN MADE ON ARAFAT'S VISA. THE FOLLOWING IS BASED ON CONTACTS WITH PALESTINIANS HERE SINCE THE PNC, INCLUDING PALESTINIAN MEETINGS WITH CODELS, DAS WALKER AND AN ADL DELEGATION. END SUMMARY.

LOCAL PALESTINIANS SEE HISTORIC CHANGE AT PNC

- 3. THERE IS A STRONG SENSE IN PALESTINIAN POLITICAL CIRCLES HERE THAT THE PNC TOOK A HISTORIC STEP BY RECOGNIZING ISRAEL INDIRECTLY AND SUPPORTING A TWO-STATE SETTLEMENT BY ACCEPTING RESOLUTION 181 AND SUPPORTING 242, ADVOCATING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL, AND OPPOSING TERRORISM.
- 4. BEFORE THE PNC LOCAL PALESTINIANS FEARED THAT THE PNC WOULD BE UNABLE TO MOVE BEYOND A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND SUPPORT FOR RESOLUTION 181, BECAUSE OF THE STRONG OPPOSITION OF THE PFLP TO ANY RECOGNITION OF 242. INDEED, A CONSENSUS MESSAGE FROM LOCAL NOTABLES TO THE PNC BEFORE IT CONVENED OPPOSED 242, REFLECTING THE OPPOSITION OF LOCAL PFLP CADRES, WHO ARE A

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MINORITY BUT WELL ORGANIZED ELEMENT IN THE INTIFADA LEADERSHIP HERE (SEE JERUSALEM 3729).

5. LOCAL, PRO FATAH/ARAFAT FIGURES WERE THEREFORE PLEASED WHEN THE PNC WENT FURTHER THAN EXPECTED AND SUPPORTED 242 AND 338 IN ITS POLITICAL STATEMENT. THEY FEEL VINDICATED, SINCE THEY HAVE BEEN QUIETLY PLUGGING FOR A MORE FORTHCOMING PLO POSITION SINCE THE INTIFADA BEGAN.

BACKGROUND ON PNC, ARAFAT'S ROLE

6. OUR PALESTINIAN CONTACTS CREDIT ARAFAT WITH TAKING A STRONG LEAD IN THE PNC FOR A MORE POSITIVE POLITICAL STATEMENT. ONE OF THESE, BEEF

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WAS AT THE PNO THE ONLY PALESTINIAN FROM THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES THERE. HE TOLD US ARAFAT TOOK THE LEAD IN PUSHING, AGAINST STRONG OPPOSITION FROM THE PFLP'S GEORGE HABBASH, FOR AN EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO 242, AND THAT ARAFAT WAS STRONG ENOUGH TO MARSHALL A LARGE MAJORITY AND FORCE A SPLIT VOTE ON THE POLITICAL THIS SPLIT VOTE STATEMENT. ACCORDING TO IS UNPRECEDENTED IN PNC MEETINGS. EDWARD SAID AND IBRAHIM ABU LUGHOD, WHO PUSHED FOR MORE PROGRESSIVE LANGUAGE, WERE ACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL IN ALGIERS. HE ALSO SAID THAT ARAFAT ALLY HANI AL-HASSAN LOBBIED, ALBEIT UNSUCCESSFULLY, FOR NO REFERENCE IN THE POLITICAL STATEMENT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, USING

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SECTION 02 OF 03 JERUSALEM 03839

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KPAL, IS

SUBJECT: PALESTINIANS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES HOPEFUL AND ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT PNC RESULTS

THE ARGUMENT THAT SECRETARY SHULTZ'S SUPPORT FOR "LEGITIMATE PALESTINIAN POLITICAL RIGHTS" WAS AN IMPLICIT U.S. ACCEPTANCE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

7. WE HAVE HEARD FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT ARAFAT GOT HABBASH'S ASSURANCES BEFORE THE VOTE WAS FORCED THAT THE PFLP WOULD NOT QUIT THE PLO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE EVEN IF IT LOST THE VOTE. THE OTHER RADICALS WHO OPPOSED ARAFAT AND THE 242 LANGUAGE WERE REPORTEDLY MEMBERS OF THE POPULAR STRUGGLE FRONT AND THE FACTION ASSOCIATED WITH MOHAMMED ABUL ABBAS. DFLP BOSS NAYEF HAWATMEH VOTED WITH ARAFAT AS DID FAROUK

KHADDOUMI, A HARD-LINE FATAH MEMBER.

NEXT STEPS: MORE POLITICAL WORK NEEDED

8. OUR PALESTINIAN CONTACTS HERE ARE DISAPPOINTED WITH THE QUALIFIED U.S. RESPONSE TO THE PNC. (HANNA SINIORIA SAID RUEFULLY "YOU ARE ASKING US TO DISROBE.") NEVERTHELESS, THE MORE SOPHISTICATED ONES UNDERSTAND THE POINT WE ARE MAKING THAT THE PLO STILL NEEDS TO MAKE A MORE PERSUASIVE POLITICAL EFFORT TO CLARIFY AND SELL ITS POSITIONS ON ACCEPTING ISRAEL, 242, AND OPPOSING TERRORISM IN ORDER TO TALK TO THE U.S., OVERCOME DEEP AMERICAN SUSPICIONS, AND MAKE AN IMPRESSION ON ISRAEL.

9. SOPHISTICATED PALESTINIANS HERE UNDERSTAND THAT THE PLO IS INVOLVED IN A POLITICAL PROCESS. BUT THEY BELIEVE THE PNC MADE A BREAKTHROUGH AND LAID THE FOUNDATION FOR PROGRESS. THEY NOW FORESEE AN INTENSIVE PALESTINIAN POLITICAL EFFORT TO ENGAGE THE U.S. AND ISRAEL, ALTHOUGH THE U.S. IS THEIR IMMEDIATE TARGET. THE NOVEMBER 21 PETITION TO THE U.S.

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FROM 15 PALESTINIAN NOTABLES (SEPTEL), WHICH SAYS THE PALESTINIAN "CALL FOR AN INDEPENDENT STATE FOR OURSELVES IS INTEGRALLY LINKED WITH OUR ACCEPTANCE OF A JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE" IS AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF THIS EFFORT. (WE HAVE NEVER SEEN SUCH A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL IN A FORMAL STATEMENT FROM PALESTINIAN LEADERS HERE, AND BELIEVE THIS REFLECTS THEIR

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CONFIDENCE THAT THE PLO HAS AUTHORITATIVELY CHANGED ITS POSITION ON THIS ISSUE.) AT THE SAME TIME, MODERATES HERE FEAR THAT THE REACTION FROM PALESTINIANS ON THE STREET AND INTIFADA ACTIVISTS WILL TURN ANGRY AND RESENTFUL IF THE PNC PRODUCES NO MOVEMENT TOWARD PEACE.

ARAFAT'S PROPOSED SPEACH TO UNGA

10. PALESTINIANS HERE VIEW ARAFAT'S PLANNED ADDRESS TO THE UNGA AS AN IMPORTANT NEXT STEP. THEY THINK ARAFAT CANNOT GO TO NEW YORK AND ESTABLISH HIS CREDIBILITY IN U.S. EYES UNLESS HE SPEAKS MORE FORTHRIGHTLY ABOUT ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST, AND THEY BELIEVE HE IS PREPARED TO MAKE A MAJOR STATEMENT THAT GOES BEYOND THE NEGOTIATED LANGUAGE OF THE PNC DOCUMENTS.

11. HANNA SINIORA AND FAYEZ ABU RAHME ARE TRAVELING TO NEW YORK WHERE THEY HOPE TO ATTEND ARAFAT'S UNGA SPEECH. SINIORA SAID TNEY WILL MEET WITH THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER IN PARIS EN ROUTE. (ABU RAHME'S TRAVEL WAS TEMPORARILY DELAYED BY THE ABSENCE OF A GOI EXIT PERMIT, BUT THE EMBASSY'S INTERVENTION, AT THE REQUEST OF ABU RAHME AND SINIORA, PRODUCED THE PERMIT SUNDAY NIGHT.) THERE IS ALSO TALK HERE ABOUT THE TRAVEL OF OTHER ARAB FOREIGN MINISTERS TO NEW YORK FOR ARAFAT'S SPEECH, WHICH JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MASRI MENTIONED TO VISITING DAS WALKER (REFTEL). WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. HAS MADE NO DECISION ON A VISA TO ARAFAT AND THAT, GIVEN ARAFAT'S PAST RECORD AND HIS UNPOPULARITY IN THE U.S., INCLUDING IN THE CONGRESS. THE QUESTION IS BEING GIVEN THE MOST CONFIDENTIAL

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SERIOUS SCRUTINY. PALESTINIANS HERE ARGUE THAT ARAFAT NEEDS ENCOURAGEMENT, AND THAT A REFUSAL TO ALLOW HIM TO ADDRESS THE UN WOULD BE A BLOW TO THE MODERATE CAMP IN THE PLO AND THE PALESTINIAN COMMUNITY WHICH THEY BELIEVE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THE PNC. WILCOX

