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THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



Middle East
Consultation

NOVEMBER 6-9, 1983
ATLANTA, GA.

The Carter Center of Emory University

The Middle East Consultation is the inaugural project of the Carter Center of Emory University. Policymakers and scholars from Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and the Palestinian community, as well as from the United States and Europe, are meeting to discuss the region's present and future condition.

By bringing together people of reflection and of action, the Carter Center hopes not only to encourage better understanding of the issues facing the Middle East, but to generate practical suggestions for salutary change.

It is the goal of the Carter Center, in this and in future projects, to foster the constructive, analytical, and objective examination of significant domestic and international issues. Through nonpartisan programs of intensive scholarly research and inquiry, public forums and consultations, the Center seeks to develop and promote beneficial public policies and, ultimately, to contribute to the relief of suffering, the promotion of human rights, and the general improvement of the human condition.

The permanent facilities of the Carter Center and the Carter Presidential Library and Museum will be located in a thirty-acre Presidential Park complex to be constructed near the Emory University campus. Funds for the construction of the Presidential Park complex and for the operation of the Carter Center are being raised from private donations, corporate gifts, and educational foundation grants. The Middle East project is funded by the Ford, Koret, and Rockefeller Foundations, and Emory University.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1983

The Carter Center of Emory University: Middle East Consultation

Please remain in your seats at the conclusion of each session until the participants on the platform have left.

Rest rooms for the general public are on the plaza level.

1:00 pm Introductory Remarks

Kenneth W. Stein, Project Director, Middle East Consultation, Emory University

James T. Laney, President, Emory University

President Gerald R. Ford

President Jimmy Carter

1:20 pm Egypt and the Arab World Today

Usamah al-Baz, Advisor to the Egyptian President on Political Affairs

Panel Response

Itamar Rabinovich, Director, Dayan Center of the Shiloah Institute for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University

Harold Saunders, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C.

4:00 pm Saudi Arabia

His Royal Highness Prince Bandar bin Sultan, Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to the United States

Panel Response

William B. Quandt, Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C.

Ragaei al-Mallakh, University of Colorado, Boulder

Udo Steinbach, Director, Deutsches Orient Institut, Hamburg, Germany

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1983

The Carter Center of Emory University: Middle East Consultation

Questions from the audience will be accepted in writing only. Please use the cards provided for this purpose.

Please remain in your seats at the conclusion of each session until the participants on the platform have left.

Rest rooms are available for the general public on the plaza level of the Woodruff Medical Center Administration Building.

9:00 am

Lebanon

Wadi Haddad, Special Advisor to the Lebanese President
for National Affairs

Panel Response

Ghassane Salame, St. Joseph's College, Beirut,
Lebanon

Yehoshua Porath, The Hebrew University of
Jerusalem

Philip Habib, Senior Research Fellow, Hoover
Institution, Stanford University

Michael Hudson, Director, Georgetown Center for
Contemporary Arab Studies

1:15 pm

Soviet Interests in the Middle East (Glenn Memorial
Auditorium)

Alexander Zotov, Counselor, Soviet Embassy,
Washington, D.C.

Panel Response

Dimitri Simes, Carnegie Endowment for Peace,
Washington, D.C.

Oles Smolansky, Lehigh University, Bethlehem,
Pennsylvania

3:00 pm

Syria (Woodruff Medical Center Auditorium)

Farouk al-Sharaa, Syrian Minister of State for Foreign
Affairs

Panel Response

Joseph Sisco, Washington, D. C.

Kamel Abu Jaber, University of Jordan, Amman,
Jordan

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1983

The Carter Center of Emory University: Middle East Consultation

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Please remain in your seats at the conclusion of each session until the participants on the platform have left.

Rest rooms are available for the general public on the plaza level of the Woodruff Medical Center Administration Building.

9:00 am Jordan

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Hassan ibn Talal

Panel Response

Cyrus Vance, New York, New York
Sol Linowitz, Washington, D. C.

1:15 pm The West Bank (Glenn Memorial Auditorium)

Meron Benvenisti, former Vice-Mayor of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

Panel Response

Nafez Nazzal, Visiting Professor, University of Pennsylvania; Professor, Birzeit University, The West Bank

3:00 pm Israel (Woodruff Medical Center Auditorium)

Gideon Rafael, former Ambassador of Israel to Great Britain, and former Director General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry

Panel Response

Zbigniew Brzezinski, Columbia University and Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington, D. C.
Dominique Moisi, Associate Director, Institut francais des relations internationales, Paris, France

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1983

The Carter Center of Emory University: Middle East Consultation

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Please remain in your seats at the conclusion of each session until the participants on the platform have left.

Rest rooms are available for the general public on the plaza level of the Woodruff Medical Center Administration Building.

9:00 am The Palestinian Community

Walid Khalidi, Center for Middle Eastern Studies,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Panel Response

Harold Saunders, American Enterprise Institute,
Washington, D. C.

Haim Shaked, Center for Advanced International
Studies, University of Miami; The Shiloah
Institute of Middle Eastern and African Studies,
Tel Aviv University

1:15 pm Summation Session

Philip Habib, Senior Research Fellow, Hoover
Institution, Stanford University

Kenneth W. Stein, Fellow, The Carter Center of Emory
University

9-A



Jimmy Carter
Mideast talks at Emory.

Meeting of Carter, Ford in spotlight

10-3-83

By Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writer

When former U.S. presidents Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter preside over the upcoming Middle East talks at Emory University in November, it will be somewhat of a first for the institution of the ex-presidency.

Nobody is predicting what the result of the discussions will be, but the presence of the United States' two most recent commanders-in-chief has generated a lot of respect and speculation, say organizers of the talks.

"Bringing this group together under the auspices and deep interest of two former presidents of the United States is significant because it ensures communication and forthright bipartisan discussions of the issues . . . that in itself is significant," said Dr. Kenneth W. Stein, an associate professor of Near Eastern studies at Emory.

Stein, who accompanied Carter to the Middle East earlier this year, is on a one-year leave to the Carter Center of Emory University and is chief coordinator of the four-day discussions scheduled to begin Nov. 6.

The talks are the first project of the university's policy center, which Carter established last year as a non-partisan think-tank to address national and world problems.

The presence of a Republican and a Democratic former commander-in-chief guarantees a non-partisan focus and lends their collective policy-making expertise to the discussions, Stein said.

"The consultation will give the anchorage to make analytical, objective and realistic policy suggestions. There is no advance political agenda that must be followed," he said. "It's impossible to say what the key issues will be and what is possible or what is not."

Besides the predictable Israel-Arab conflict, topics of discussion are expected to center on Soviet and American interests in the region, identities of religious factions and economic and social changes of the area.

More than three dozen government emissaries and scholars from Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Germany, France and the United States are to attend to the meeting. It is funded by three private foundations.

The talks have been billed as a sort of non-governmental retreat where officials from the war-torn region can get together to exchange ideas, possibly leading to innovative suggestions on ways to reduce future conflicts.

Reagan administration officials, congressmen and senators have expressed interest in the conference, Stein said.

"This is not meant to be an alternative foreign policy," Stein said. "You can bring people together and discuss the issues, but it must always be done in concert with Washington."

The meeting could lead to continuing discussions between the nations and the content of the talks will be reproduced and disseminated to the participating nations and scholars, Stein said.

No limits will be placed on what can be discussed, but Stein specified that argumentative debate will be held to a minimum.

Carter, Ford give talks credibility

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Pop
Foreign Liaison, Boston 10/14/83

Thinking Out Loud

By Albert Schlossberg



Not Quite Camp David . . .

Whether or not you agree with Jimmy Carter's conception of what Mideast geo-political scene should look like, even his most severe critics must admit that as President, and after he left office, Carter did and does care about that turbulent slice of the globe. From November 6th through November 9th of this year, a consultation will take place at Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia, bringing together a very disparate group of scholars, government officials, bureaucrats, policy-makers, diplomats, statesmen and academicians. The mix of well known personalities culled from Egypt, the United States, Jordan, Israel, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, and the "Palestinian community," will singly and together pour their view of the errors of the past, problems of the present and potential solutions of the future, into the pressure-cooker of the first project of the Carter Center of Emory University. "The Middle East Consultation." This sure to be fascinating conference, months if not years in the planning process, only recently became known to the general public.

I first heard of the conference in mid-August of this year while in Atlanta at the JWV national convention. My interest was peaked and my concern aroused when I was told that a representative of the PLO would participate. *Newsweek* Magazine, September 19th, carried a brief note in "Periscope." Eric Gelman of *Newsweek* wrote, "Former President Jimmy Carter has invited the Reagan administration to send a spokesman to his November conference on the Middle East at Emory University. A representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization is already on the guest list, which may make it impossible for the administration to participate."

Since the United States policy under Jimmy Carter — continued under Ronald Reagan — consistently was and has been opposed to recognition of the PLO as a legitimate entity, (Andy Young, you will recall, had to leave his post as U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. because he met with a representative of the PLO), I had to find out if Carter was now embarking on a different course.

A call to the United States Department of State quickly informed me that, "You'll have to call the university because we have nothing on it." When I suggested that her response seemed to be telling me, in clear language, that the Department of State knew absolutely nothing about the conference, Shirl Gross, speaking for the State Department, said, "I've called Conferences and I've called Public Programs, and they know nothing about this conference."

Did I buy her answer? No I did not. Technically she was correct. It's believable that the two departments included in her reply have no information on Jimmy Carter's conference. I was sure then, and still believe that somewhere in Foggy Bottom this conference will be watched closely.

My call to the proverbial horse's mouth was much more productive. I reached Dr. Kenneth W. Stein, Assistant Professor of Middle East History, Project Coordinator of the Middle East Consultation, First Fellow of the Carter Center at Emory University. I posed the question: Had the PLO been invited to send a representative, would there be a PLO delegate, and would the United States have an official representative at the consultation, at Emory, in November?

Ken Stein was clear, concise, cooperative, informative and a pleasure to talk with. No evasions. He wasted no time getting to emet and tachlit. "Eric Gelman erroneously reported that the PLO was invited. I told him that he was wrong. The PLO is not coming. As I did not say 'the,' Palestinian position will be given by an American university professor, and there will be some Palestinians who will be coming from the region, such as Elias Freij; he will probably be speaking about the West Bank, as will someone like Meron Benvenisti, former vice-mayor of Jerusalem. Benvenisti's position will not be as an official of the government of Israel."

Question to Dr. Stein, "Has the Reagan administration had anything to say about its interest in this conference?"

Answer: "The President (Carter) made the State Department aware of our trip to the Middle East and our interest in going. The State Department facilitated that trip. They were extraordinarily helpful. We are not a shadow government."

Obviously, the State Department and Dr. Stein have to handle this one as though walking on thin-shelled eggs. This is the first project of the Carter Center at Emory University. Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford are jointly chairing the Consultation. The purpose of the Consultation, as the premiere event, demonstrates an aspiration to be recognized as a national, if not international center of scholarly research, where issue oriented, non-partisan, incisive work will be done by outstanding persons from all over the world. This is a showcase production. The list of persons already committed to participate reads like a who's who of Mideast knowledge, information and expertise: Dr. Ghazi al-Ghosaibi, Minister of Health for Saudi Arabia; Faruk al-Sharaa, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, of Syria; Crown Prince Hasan of Jordan; the special adviser for national affairs to the President of Lebanon, Dr. Wadi Haddad; the director of the Egyptian presidential office for political affairs, Dr. Usamah al-Baz. From the United States: Former Secretary of State, Cy Vance; Reagan's trouble shooter, Phil Habib; a long-standing Mideast expert, Joe Sisco; Zbigniew Brzezinski along with William Quandt, Harold Saunders and Sol Linowitz.

Israel, I was told by an official representative of the Israeli consular corps, will soon designate a specific official as its representative. Professors Itamar Rabinovich, Haim Shaked and Yehoshua Porath, academicians from Israel, will be non-governmental participants at the conference. The Arab nations will be adequately represented by persons from the universities of Damascus and Cairo, and from Jordan. European scholars from France and Germany will be there too.

Prof. Barnard Wasserstein of Brandeis and Dr. Walid Khalidi of Harvard will join Prof. Steven Spiegel of UCLA, Prof. Michael Hudson of Georgetown U., Prof. Oles Smolansky of Lehigh and Dr. Dimitri Simes of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, as Americans from the academic scene who will share their ideas, knowledge and insights.

Dr. Stein reiterated, "This is an unofficial function and they don't want individuals to feel that they have to posture in an officially sanctioned endeavor. You walk a fine line when you do a conference like this because you have only one government at a time and only one policy."

When I suggested to Dr. Stein that the consultation will represent an amplifier and sounding board for positions with some degree of importance in the participating communities, Ken responded, "Yes. Yes. That's a very accurate way of putting it."

Jimmy Carter and Ken Stein's imaginative effort to throw a fresh light on the Mideast is not quite another Camp David. No agreements will be signed at Emory University in November. But it will be unique. Some pretty important persons from many sides of the conflict will sit with, talk to and share their thoughts. For that alone, it's worth doing.

Israel decides not to participate in Carter's conference on Mideast

By Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writer

The Israeli government has withdrawn from former President Jimmy Carter's Mideast conference at Emory University next month because an advocate of Palestinian autonomy will be included in the forum.

Israeli officials contended that Walid Khalidi, a Harvard University professor, is a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Carter said Tuesday.

Khalidi reportedly has close ties with the PLO, but the U.S. State Department has confirmed that he is not a PLO member, Carter said.

While teaching political studies at American University in Beirut, Khalidi argued in favor of establishing a sovereign Palestinian state and pinpointed East Jerusalem as its capital, according to articles by him in *Foreign Affairs Journal* in 1978.

Khalidi, a Palestinian who was appointed to Harvard last year as a research fellow, could not be reached for comment but has accepted an invitation to the four-day conference, which begins Nov. 6 in Atlanta.

Carter said he talked to Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir by telephone on Monday but made no attempt to argue against Israel's decision to withdraw from the conference.

"I regret they won't be officially



CARTER: Expressed regret.

represented and hope they will change their minds," Carter said in a telephone interview from Rochester, N.Y., where he spoke to students at the University of Rochester on Monday. "We will have representatives from Israel, even though there will not be direct, official representation from the Israeli government."

A number of Israeli scholars have been invited to the conference, Carter said, adding, "There will be representatives there who can adequately describe the incumbent government's attitudes and approaches."

The aim of the talks, Carter said, is to present for a world audience "the points of view of all the participants in Mideast disputes."

Asked whether he thought the boycott by Israeli government officials would diminish the impact of his conference, Carter replied: "I hope not. As long as the American public and the world public can get a clear picture of Israel's attitudes and approaches (to the various disputes), that will be adequate."

Five other Middle East governments — including Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt — will be represented at the conference.

The PLO was not invited, conference coordinators said, because of Israel's stance against the militant group, which calls for the overthrow of the Jewish state.

Instead, Khalidi was chosen to present the Palestinian viewpoint because of his academic credentials, said Dr. Kenneth W. Stein, an Emory professor specializing in Middle Eastern issues.

Khalidi was selected for similar reasons earlier this year when he was appointed a delegate to an Arab League meeting in Britain. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had refused to meet with any PLO representatives.

"Israeli scholars suggested Khalidi to me when I was putting the conference together," said Stein, who expressed dismay at Israel's decision.

Israel decides not to attend Carter forum

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See EMORY, Page 6-A

Emory

Continued From Page 1-A

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"Israeli scholars suggested Khalidi to me when I was putting the conference together," said Stein, who expressed dismay at Israel's decision. "I even spoke to the Israeli government last July, and no one said anything negative about Khalidi."

The Israeli government's withdrawal has to do with "different perceptions," Stein said. "If he talks on the phone with the PLO, then they think he is linked to them."

The conference, billed as the first in a continuing series of issue-oriented seminars for the Carter Policy Center managed by Emory, was set up as a forum for government officials and scholars from the Mideast nations, Germany, France and the United States.

U.S. representatives include former President Gerald Ford, former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and observers from the Reagan White House. Other participants include Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan, the Saudi Arabian minister of health, the director of the Egyptian presidential office for political affairs, Lebanon's special adviser for national affairs and Syria's minister of state for foreign affairs.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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PAGE 14-A, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1983

Israeli choice on Carter forum petty

The Israeli government's nearly last-minute decision not to participate in former President Jimmy Carter's Mideast forum at Emory University early next month is regrettable, not to mention petty.

One can only guess whether Israel would have followed through on its months-old commitment to send an official representative to the conference if former Prime Minister

Menachem Begin had not resigned and been replaced by Yitzhak Shamir or whether the change in leadership only delayed an inevitable rejection.

The Shamir government's excuse for withdrawing is a flimsy one. One can understand and respect Israel's longstanding refusal to permit its officials to share a podium with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, given the ugly history of atrocities against Israel and the PLO's unyielding stance against that country's right to exist.

Searches: No class

Columbia, S.C., elementary-school Principal Carol Carlson went way too far last month in an effort to find out who lifted \$10 from a teacher's purse. Carlson — more like a gruff warden at a reformatory than an elementary-school administrator — ordered 40 third-graders separated by gender, herded into bathrooms and searched by staffers.

Parents of many of the students at Crane Creek Elementary were outraged by the searches. And who could blame them? They say their children were humiliated; that they believe the incident was racially motivated. (Ms. Carlson is white, and most of the students are black.)

Regardless of the motives, the forced searches of 40 third-graders was callous, ill-advised and just plain inappropriate considering the age group involved and the nature of the problem which prompted it.

To her credit, the administrator has written to parents apologizing for the searches. School-board members have, understandably, declined to fire her even though angry parents have called for her termination. Dismissal would be excessive. But a strong reprimand and a lecture on the differences between a maximum-security prison and an elementary school would be most appropriate.

But to make an unsubstantiated accusation, at this late date, that the forum's scheduled spokesman for the Palestinians, Walid Khalidi, is a PLO member seems unworthy of the Israelis. Conference officials, sensitive to standing Israeli policy, received assurances from a number of quarters that Khalidi had no PLO affiliation, though they acknowledged he was in regular communication with its leadership.

The harm done to Carter's forum is minor compared with the self-inflicted damage to Israel. In addition to scheduling addresses by Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan and ranking officials of four other Arab governments, the conference has lined up several Israeli academics who will doubtless give a thorough and thoughtful presentation of the Israeli perspective on the whole spectrum of Mideast problems.

But for the Shamir government, it has discarded a rare opportunity to lay out its policies and ideas for testing against opposing viewpoints in an open and decorous setting, minus the rigid formalities that government-to-government discussions impose. Rather than walk that extra mile to explore any fresh routes to a peaceful resolution of the Mideast conundrum, Israel gives the strong impression it suffers from cold feet.

הנשיא לשעבר ג'ימי קרטר. בראיון ל"ידיעות אחרונות"

"על הנחתים להישאר בלבנון"

— לפחות עד שנוכל לקבוע בוודאות שהמאמצים המדיניים נושאים פרי — אני מתנגד להפגנות כוח צבאיות נוספות בלבנון * ביום השנה לחתימת הסכמי קמפ-דייוויד טילפן קרטר לבגין ושותח איתו קצרות אך „ברוח טובה"



קרטר בלי נציגו אש"ף

מאת זאב ברק, וואשינגטון

להגיב על דבריו של קיסינג'ר, שכן באמת ובתמים איני מבין למה הוא התכתך. הנשיא לשעבר, שהיה טרוד בהכר נוח לקראת מדין על המורחה-המיתוך שייערך בין ה' 6 ל' 9 בנובמבר באר נירבסיסת אמיר, שבראשה הוא עומד יחד עם הנשיא לשעבר ג'ראלד פורד, אמר, שמאז ומתמיד הוא ראה בישראל אל נכס אסטרטגי לא-רהיב. כדאי לזכור בתקופת המימשל שלי ובהשקפות העצומות שהשקענו אני אישית וגם חברי השרים — כדי להגביר את בשחונת של ישראל וכדי להשכך שלום בינת לבין שכנו תיהי, הוא אמר, אם נבחן את הנתון נים — שאין כל קשר להשיג ר שללא כל ספק ידועים לך — מצבך עה רמת הסיוע האמריקני לישראל על הערך הרב שאנו מייחסים לקשרים כינוני. מעולם לא סטינו — כמו שאהה דאי יודע — ממחויבותנו לישראל. הוא המשיך: „מעולם לא איימנו על ישראל שנחזור בנו מתמיכתנו בה — למרות שלעתים שררד חוליקר דעות ביני לבין ראש-הממשלה מנתם בגין. תמיד פעלנו מתוך כבוד הדדי,

ואני חושב שהכרנו בערך הסמן ב יחסים הדוקים". קרטר, שסבל משך הימים הארד כים שבמחלכם החוקי בני-ערובה אמ ריקנים באירן, מצוץ מן הסרגדיה ב בירות. הוא הביע את דאגתו, מהמצב שם ומטגינותם של הנחתים". לדבריו „עלינו לחזק את כוחותנו שם, לפי חלה עד שנוכל לקבוע בהדאות, כי ה מאמצים המדיניים להוציא את כל ה חילות הוריים מלבנון נושאים פרי וכי הלבגנים מגלים נכונות ליישם את מחלוקות-הפנים שלהם בדרכי שלום". הנשיא רייגן, הוא אמר, אינו יכול להסיג עתה את הנחתים בגלל התקפת שורר.

טלפון לבגין

הנשיא לשעבר טילפן לבגין ב-17 בספטמבר — והם השנה ה'5 לחתור מה על הסכמי קמפ-דייוויד. טילפנתי אצלו ואמרתי לו, כי חשבתי עליו ב' אותו יום". קרטר כינה את הסכמי קמפ דייוויד „צעד היסטורי לקראת שלום". בגין, לדבריו, השיב לי באיחולום. קולו היה איתן. ץ היתה שיחה קצרה, אך ברוח טובה".

קרטר משוכנע, כי הנארות הכלכלי ליות שעליהן הודיעת ממשלת ישר אל יאפשרו להתגבר על המשבר הכלכלי הנוכחי. הוא דוחף את המענות, שהתעסקותה של ישראל בבצירת פנים נובעת מכך שהיא מגלה פחות עניין בבצירת חוץ. אני משוכנע לחלוטין, הוא אמר, שישראל אינה שוכחת את בציות תחוק. אך לדעתי, חילוף-הגבירי ברא שות הממשלה ובממשלה עצמה מחייבים בראש ובראשונה פישול בבציות הכלכלה. אני מתרשם, כי ההתנגדה ת חדשה מספלה בבציות אלה באופן נמ רץ למדי ותוך גילוי אומץ לב פוליטי. קרטר אומר, כי הוא לא קיבל מ' חשיגנתן שום סידע מיוחד באשר ל- זהות הטרוריסטים האחראים לסבה ה נחמים האמריקניים. מאז עזב את הבית-הלבן בינואר 1981, המשיך קרטר להקדיש חלק גד כר נומנו להירתורים על הסיכסוך ת' ישראל-ערבי. מדיניותו המורחה-תוכר נה תופסת חלק ניכר מהזכרונות ש' הוא מירסם לא מכלול. הוא סייר באזור לפני מספר חודשים וחזר כשהחלטה נחושה לכנס ועידת על המורחה-ת' כן — במרכז-קרטר — בסיטו החדש באטלנטה, אשר שוכן באופן זמני ב' אוניברסיטת אמורי. המרכז יושכן ב' סוטי של דבר במערכת סיבכים המר קמה עתה ליד אמורי בעלות של 25 מיליון דולר. הוא יכלול את המפרייה תנשיאותית על שם קרטר ומזיאון בשיאוהי. המרכז קיבל מענקים מקר' נוח פורד, קורט ורוקסלר כדי שיכל לכנס את הועידה על המאזח-המיתוך.

השבוע עם:

הנשיא לשעבר ג'ימי קרטר

הכל בגלל ואליד חאלידי?

הנשיא לשעבר מארגן ועידה לדיון בבעיות הסכסוך הערבי-ישראלי, מאוכזב מסירובה של ממשלת ישראל ליטול חלק בדיונים בשל השתתפותו של פרופ' ואליד חאלידי הפלשתיני.

מאת זאב בליצר

כתב על המשמר בוועידתו

קרטר, אכן אחרים והטלים בארץ מכיר לחיבת
מכיר אשף.
גודרו מכו, שלא לחסך בניני אשף, השנתי
רוח הכיר לי רק שם אחד — זה של הפרופסור האליד
האלידי, דא פרופסור מפורסם מאוניברסיטת
הארצות, וכדור שטינו חבר אשף או של העולה
שלו, כפי שתיכנסו אצות בניני.
סקרנים בשטחיות ישראל ודו-מכלול את סגנון
קרטר, זה עמד על שותף, שום במוחם כי האלידי
הוא עומד השודרה האנליקסואלי של אשף, על רקע
זה וזה הבינו מסיסת לבני יסלתה של ישראל
להשתתף בוועידה, כדי לחסוף בינאטייתר לסיסונג
זה בנינו שמישעל ריגון, אף הוא, והטלים שלא
להשתתף ברשיית אלא לשלוח משקיעים לבני.
האלידי הוא הסיבה למצב זה, אמר סקיר ישראל.
אך סקירים אמריקנים הובישר לאחד מבין את הסגנון.



מישעל ריגון, אמר קרטר, ישנו משקיעים אך
הללו לא ישתתפו בדיונים. לסיסונג עזר ידו עם
שידועו שליון אחרים כדי לשמור על חסר
הרשיית של הוועידות ועל אציה האקטיבי, היא
התולה בחסות אוניברסיטת אמריקה, האולם ובנינים
הרשיית של הוועידה החדרת במחודותיהם.
דיברו בשם ממשלותיהם, אמר.

כאשר התבקש להסביר את מסרת הוועידה, אמר
קרטר: אלו סקירים לחסוף במרת האפשר את
הגורמים השונים והרשיית את הוועידה והסמך
במורת, להפגיש בנינים רשיית ולאדמיסיה מן
האומות והנוצות ברב, וכן אישים מפייתלנו שהיו
פעילים בחתירה לשלום במחנה, זה במישעל שלו וזה
בממשלותם של ובאישים ניכסר הוועידה, ולדגון
לפרוץ הגן, ובשיא לשעבר ובעת תקווה, שחנצבאה
מתייחה, ישתתף אפסיתר, ועדלו הצעת
להתקיימת לרשות שלום עזרת.

הראשונה הוועידה קרטר בנוגע לסיכיי השלום
במורת בשנה שבונה, כאשר ובשיא ריגון הוועידה על
יומה השלום שלו, אולם ברוב, הוועידה
בניסוחיה היתה מתייחה אף לא אפסית, הוא אמר.
איגנו מנסים ליצור אודות מרם, ערבו לכל
הממשלות במסגרת הועט עזרת ובשיא פחד,
שגיטו ושתתף בכל הימים הפובליים, כדי למנע
פגיעה בלשון ברשיית לאפסיות, ולכן לא היתה
בנייה של השתתפות ישראל ופדיה או ישראל
הפלשתינים, ביטולנו לסיים את אודות היין
הועט והוועידה הועט, ולהכניס שלאים לא
הינים מבוכה.

הוועידה קרטר מניקה לישראל התרשמה לפגוש
פגסאלים, פקירים בלייתחשפה מבמה מיינית
עב — רב ישראל והועדה אליה זה שנים, אך
נוכחותו של הפרופסור האלידי עלולה לשייטל את
המאמצים להביא לשע שיש זה, והתפתחה כו
עלולה להפחית במידה ניכרת את הוועידה הוועידה
מלה.

מרכז קרטר מסי בהודעה, כי למעלה משלושים
מיינאים, קובעי מיינית ומלומדים נאחזו להשתתף
להשתתף בוועידה, מבין ובנינים הרשיית יסא, וסא
לרבי הוועידה ידע העני של ידע, האפסית
רשיית את הוועידה מדי אלגוויי, ידע ובשיא
מכיר אוממה אליכא: ידע נשיא לבנות ואר הוועידה
ובן שידועו אחרי פארוק אשפאק.

רק משקיפים

ראש הוועידה של כיתולתם אליאס פרנ' נאחז להשתתף
להשתתף לרשון האלידי ביינון השתתף הפלשתינית,
בשיה עם השתתפותו של שידועו הפלשתינית
רד ערנאן אכראדא.
כו ישתתפו מבם פקירים אמריקנים לשעבר
לרבות שידועו סידועו חסר האב, השנתי פיליס, לשעבר
השנתי מל לינויץ, מבן שידועו גזה סיסק, סוד
שידועו החודל מנרס, הוועידה עזרת לבניני
לשם בניני בניני, חסר מות המהודותיהם
ויליאם סונג.

מישראל ישתתפו הפופסורים איתמר וביניני,
הים שפי ויהושע פחד, גם רד ערנאן באניס הויד
עכאס קלידא מידעו יטילו חלק בהתקיימות.
נטי על אלה יסא: רד עב מוד אדיר
מאניברסיטת סאווה רד עזר שוקר מאוניברסיטת
מסקס.

מנאם הוועידה פרופ' קטר ר שטיין מאמרו,
מספר תקווה וזמנית להוועידה, תשתתבו היא
שהתקיימות תאפשר לנו להבין טוב יותר את שורשי
הסיכסוך בארץ, ואת התרשמה והסנצואליים
הגורמים שבבעי הש שלישאת השלום. ייתכן כי
תובנות הרשות ידע העלאת הצעות פוליטיות
מעשיות לאיזה.

מאוכזב מישראל

מאז עזב את רבית הלבו ברנאר 1981, ממשיך
קרטר להקדים חלק ניכר מזמנו למחשבה על
הסיכסוך בין ישראל לארצות ערב. מעורבותו בענייני
המזרח התיכון מזהה חלק ניכר מסגנונו
שהתפרסמו לארבעה, הוא סקר מאוחר לפני כמה
חודשים, ושב הביתה הוועידה נותרה לכנס ועידה —
המהודותיהם, בבסיס הוועידה שלו באסלנדה —
מרכז קרטר — השוכן בארץ ומני באוניברסיטת
אמריקה, במסך שוכן המרכז בנוס בנינים 25
מיליון דולאר, לא הרחק מאוניברסיטת זו וריכול את
ספרייתו של קרטר מחוספת נשיאתו ומזיואן על
הנשיאת, המרכז קיבל מענקים מקרן פורד, קרטר
והקסלר לעריכת הוועידה על המהודותיהם.

קרטר אמר ששוחח אישית עם השנתי מאיר חזן
בענין היצוג הישראלי הרשימי, והשומטיך בשיתוף
בעניין זה עם ראש הממשלה יצחק שמיר, אבי מבין
שהממשלה החליטה לא לשלוח בניני רשימי, אבי
סקוד, שבכל זאת ישלחו בניני לדעת, זה היה
לסוכת הוועידה, חזן מזה נראה לי, שהוועידה מזהה
פרום נח לממשלה ישראל, לבמא את רעיונותיה
ואת הבנייתיה בתלות בהתקיימות לרשות השלום
מפני קהל נרחב ביותר בארץ ובמיינית אודות.

לדברי קרטר, הבטיח סוכר להתקשר אינו ולמסד
את השוכנת הסופית של ישראל, לאחר שידע בשאלה
עם מומחסי.

קרטר מאוכזב מאי על שממשלה ישראל החליטה
לפי שעה להוועידה את הוועידה, עליה הבטחה סודתה
של בנין כי ישראל תהיה מייננת בה רשימת, השנתי
מאיר חזן הסביר לקרטר בשיתוף שלום כראשית
אוקטובר כי ישראל לא תשתתף משום שרדמס
הפרופסור הפלשתיני האלידי מאוניברסיטת
הארצות, רחן סען כי האלידי הוא חבר אשף.
זה עומד בנינו מידע שבידעו משייטתו מן
הסיכסוך הארצות, אמר קרטר, ומשקאל, אם גם
פלשתינים אחרים שהזמנו, סקורים עם אשף, השיב

לו השעה ודא שיהיה ישראל תאמץ
במשתתפת את האמריקנית, שלוח לאחד הוועידה
המהודותיהם, מבמה הוועידה האמריקנית, מבמה רח
מפני כי ידע ישראל ורשיית לרשיית בניני
בארצות ערב בכל השפיה, אמר קרטר בידיה עם
חברת השותף אלו, הוא ובניני הוועידה על הועט של
הוועידה לשעבר נתיי סיסינג, כי על אודות
לעוד את ישראל למלא מבטן התקיר צבאי פעיל
יתר בממשלתו, לפעולות הוועידה הוועידה
המהודותיהם.

אבי מתנגד לפעולות צבאיות תקיפות יותר
בלבנה, לדעתו היו העמדות הצבאיות תוספנית מדי,
אך איגנו מספר הוועידה על דברי סיסינג, משום
שלאמיתו של דבר איגנו מבין למה התכוון.
ובשיא לשעבר הוועט מבטן לתתייעצות על
המהודותיהם, הוועידה להועידה מן ה' על ליע
בנובמבר באוניברסיטת אמריקה באסלנדה, ושדא
עומד בארצות ערב ודבר לשעבר ברנאר פורד,
אמר כי תמיד הוועידה את ישראל בכנס אסטריי
לאיזה.

שיחה קצרה

אך נעימה

לדעת, הוועידה הועט ביותר לכך, היא מיתח
ההשקפה הארשית שלו ושל שידועו שלי למען
הגברת במחנה של ישראל ולמען השוכנת שלום בנין
לרבי שכנותיה, ועוד, אם אהה בוחן את המספרים —
אפשר כבר להשיג — זה גובה הוועידה האמריקני
לישראל מעיד על הוועידה שאנו מייסטים לה ועל
כך שמעולם לא סטינו ממסרת המתייבות שלנו
לישראל.

קרטר המשיך, מעולם לא איגנו לחסד את
המיתכנו בישראל, אירעליים שבחומנות, שנות
התנגשו בעליל מייניתו של ראשיתממשלה בנין
הוועידה, תמיד עכרת יד תוך כבוד ורדי והא לדעת
הכיר בעוד הוועידה בניני.

קרטר שסבל לא מעט ב' 444 הימים שחם והוועידה
בנייתוהאמריקנים בארצות, הוועידה מן המרבהיה
האחרונה בלבנות, הוא הביע רגונה מן המצב
ומפנייתם של הוועידה שלוח עזרת על המוד
לוחזן את הוועידה עם לפועה עז שנתל לחדא, עם
אגנו מוליכה הוועידה לשיפור המצב בכל הנוגע
לנסיגת הכוחות הוועידה ולקבוע את מירת הוועידה של
הלכונת ליישב את הוועידה הוועידה הוועידה שלוחם
ברכי שלוח.

ובשיא לשעבר צילצל לבנין בנין בססמסטר
השנה והוועידה שבו מלא חסר שנים לחסכני קסם
ויחידה, עלצלת אליו האמיתו לו כי אבי ורשב עליו
באחוז יום בנין השיב לי במישעל האוועוליס ושלוח
נשמע איתן למדי, היתה זו שיה קצרה למדי אך
נעימה.

3 groups fund Carter meeting

By Ron Taylor
Staff Writer

Three major private foundations have contributed \$150,000 to help cover the cost of a four-day conference on the Middle East, which begins Sunday at Emory University with former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford as hosts.

Dr. Kenneth Stein, coordinator of the project, said the grants came from the Ford and Rockefeller foundations in New York and the Koret Foundation in San Francisco.

Other education foundations have also been approached by conference officials and are considering contributions to the project, Stein said. He declined to discuss details of how much the conference is expected to cost.

The grants are expected to cover the costs of holding the four-day meeting and of commissioning essays on major Mideast topics for presentation during the consultation.

The conference is expected to attract more than two dozen scholars from the Middle East, Europe and the United States, as well as a number of former American diplomats, secretaries of state and national security advisers, according to Stein, who is associate professor of Near Eastern history at Emory.

In addition, the gathering will include official representatives of Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia. A Harvard professor will make a presentation on the Palestinian community.

The Israeli government announced last month that it would not send an official representative, claiming that a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, one of Israel's bitterest foes, had been invited.

However, Stein said the consultation will include Israeli academics "who will present in an articulate fashion the variations of Israeli political thinking."

Either Carter or Ford will participate in each of the individual sessions during the four-day meeting. Discussions will focus on each of the participating countries, as well as on Israel, the Palestinian community and Soviet interests in the Middle East, according to Stein.

Stein declined to discuss security arrangements except to say, "We've taken all issues under consideration with regard to security."

He added, "I've studied the area for 15 years. I know the political issues, I know sensitivities of the people, I know their concerns, and I've tried to factor them into the evolution, organization and implementation of this consultation, and that means all aspects."

All sessions of the meeting will be open to the public on a limited basis.

Emory gets \$150,000 for summit on Mideast

By Ron Taylor
Staff Writer

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However, Stein said the consultation will include Israeli academics "who will present in an articulate fashion the variations of Israeli political thinking."

Either Carter or Ford will participate in each of the individual sessions during the four-day meeting. Discussions will focus on each of the participating countries, as well as on Israel, the Palestinian community and Soviet interests in the Middle East, according to Stein.

Stein declined to discuss security arrangements except to say, "We've taken all issues under consideration with regard to security."

All sessions of the meeting will be open to the public on a limited basis. Free tickets have been allocated to students and faculty at Emory and at other Atlanta-area universities. The remaining seats will be allocated to the public on a first-come, first-served basis.

Jimmy Carter trying for new peacemaker role

By WOLF BLITZER

WASHINGTON — Former President Jimmy Carter says it is imperative that the United States and Israel fully coordinate their strategies in the aftermath of the terrorist bombing of U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut.

"I do believe that it is necessary throughout this Lebanese crisis for Israel and the U.S. to consult as closely as possible," Carter said in an interview.

But he responded cautiously to a proposal by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger that the U.S. encourage a more active Israeli military response in Lebanon as a counterweight to recent Syrian activity.

"I'm averse to more aggressive military postures in Lebanon," he said. "I think that in general the military postures have been too aggressive. But I'm not trying to comment on Kissinger's comments because I really don't understand just what he had in mind."

The former president — busy preparing for his Nov. 6-9 Middle East consultation at Emory University in Atlanta, which he is co-chairing with former President Gerald Ford — said he always valued Israel as a strategic asset to the U.S.

"I THINK THE BEST WAY to answer that question is to refer back to my own administration and the amount of investment that I made personally and that my secretaries of state made in bringing about increased security for Israel and increased peace with her neighbors," he said. "Secondly, I think if you examine the figures — and they are readily available and probably known to you — the level of American aid for Israel was indicative of the value that we placed on the relationship, and we never deviated, as you probably know, from the record in our commitment to Israel."

Carter continued: "There were never any threats to Israel of withdrawal of our support — things of that kind — even though obviously on occasion the policies of Prime Minister Begin and my opinion were quite at odds. But we always worked with mutual respect and I think recognized the value of that close relationship."

Carter, who suffered through the 444 days Americans were held hostage in Iran, was shaken by the latest tragedy in Beirut. He expressed concern "about the situation over there and the vulnerability of our marines and the need to strengthen our contingent there, at least until the time when we can ascertain if the policy was leading toward an improved situation concerning withdrawal of foreign forces and also to determine the willingness of the Lebanese to work out their own differences in a peaceful

President Reagan cannot simply withdraw the marines "as a result of a terrorist attack," he said.

The former president phoned Begin last Sept. 17, the fifth anniversary of the Camp David accords. "I called him and told him I was thinking about him that day," Carter said, describing Camp David as "a historic move toward peace." Begin, he continued, "responded with good wishes to me, and he seemed to be quite strong in voice. It was a

fairly brief but congenial conversation."

Carter was convinced that the latest economic austerity measures announced in Jerusalem would help Israel weather the current crisis. He rejected suggestions that Israel's preoccupation with domestic political and economic headaches was resulting in less Israeli interest in foreign affairs.

"I'm absolutely certain," he said, "that Israel is not forgetting about foreign policy. But I think that, with the new government leaders coming in and some changes in the cabinet, it's imperative that they address the economic question. My impression is that they've addressed it quite forcefully and I think with political courage."

Since leaving the White House, Carter has continued to spend a considerable amount of time thinking about the

INSIDE Washington

Arab-Israeli conflict: His involvement in the Middle East represented a major chunk of his recently published memoirs. He toured the region several months ago, determined to put together a conference on the Middle East at his new base in Atlanta.

Carter was very disappointed that the Israeli government has tentatively decided to boycott the conference, despite an earlier promise from Begin that Israel would be officially represented. In a telephone conversation in early October, Ambassador Meir Rosenne explained to Carter that Israel would not participate because Palestinian professor Walid Khalidy of Harvard University was invited. Rosenne insisted that Khalidy was a member of the PLO.

"That's contrary to the information we have from the State Department and others in a position to know," Carter said. The Palestinian is also affiliated with the American University in Beirut. Asked if other Palestinians invited were associated with the PLO, Carter replied: "There are no others who could reasonably be regarded as members of the PLO."

After discussing the matter with Rosenne, Carter telephoned Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. "My understanding," Carter said, "is that the government has decided not to send an official representative. My hope is that they will do so. I think it would be very good for a conference and also in my judgment it would give a fine forum for the Israeli government to participate with others and to express their plans and their ideas for progress toward peace to a very broad audience in this country and in other nations."

According to Carter, Shamir promised to get back in touch and to offer Israel's final answer after discussing the question with other "experts."

"We've been very careful not to invite any representatives of the PLO to participate," Carter said. "The only person who has been mentioned to me by Ambassador Rosenne was Prof. Walid Khalidy. He's a very distinguished professor at Harvard University and, of course, he is not a member of the PLO nor its executive council — as has been alleged by some."

Israeli Embassy officials, however, sharply rejected Carter's contention. They insisted that they were absolutely certain Khalidy was "the intellectual backbone of the PLO." They expressed doubt that Israel would officially join in the conference in Atlanta — although several prominent Israeli academics will attend.

To further back up their point, the Israeli officials said the Reagan administration also had decided not to participate in the official dialogue — only to be represented in observer status. "That's because of Khalidy," an Israeli official said. But U.S. officials later denied this, noting that Khalidy had met in the past with State Department and White House officials.

"We decided this along with Secretary of State Shultz and others in order to keep the consultation unofficial in nature and with an academic environment," Carter said when asked about the Reagan administration participation. "It will be conducted under the auspices of Emory University."

OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF Middle Eastern countries, however, will "speak for their governments," he said.

Among those expected to attend are several former U.S. officials, including Cyrus Vance, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Sol Linowitz, Philip Habib, Joseph Sisco, Harold Saunders and William Quandt. The Carter Center also announced official representatives from Saudi Arabia (Minister of Health Ghazi El-Ghosaibi), Jordan (Crown Prince Hassan and Minister of Information Adnan Abu-Awdah), Egypt (a presidential advisor, Osama El-Baz), Syria (Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Faruk Al-Sharaa), and Lebanon (a presidential advisor, Wadi Haddad). Conference coordinator is Dr. Kenneth Stein of Emory University.

"We hope to explore as deeply as is humanly possible the various elements that comprise the continuing conflict in the Middle East, and to bring together both official and unofficial and academic spokesmen of the different nations involved — along with people in our country who have been active in the Mideast peace search, both within my own administration and in the administrations of Presidents Nixon and Ford, and to provide a just forum," Carter said.

He expressed hope that as a result of the discussions "some options and some recommendations of progress toward peace" might be made.

The Carter conference affords Israel an opportunity to deal directly with influential officials from several Arab countries — something Israel has sought for many years. But the presence of Khalidy may kill that opportunity. And that, in turn, would severely weaken the importance of the entire consultation.

The Jerusalem Post's Washington Correspondent Wolf Blitzer talks to the former U.S. president

FORMER PRESIDENT Jimmy Carter says it is imperative that the U.S. and Israel fully coordinate their strategies in the aftermath of the terrorist attack on U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut this week.

"I do believe that it is necessary throughout this Lebanese crisis for Israel and the U.S. to consult as closely as possible," Carter said in an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*.

But he responded cautiously to a proposal by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger that the U.S. encourage a more active Israeli military response in Lebanon as a counterweight to Syrian activity in recent months.

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"I think the best way to answer that question is to refer back to my own administration — to the amount of investment that I made personally and to the amount that my secretaries of state made in bringing about increased security for Israel and increased peace with her neighbours," he said.

"Secondly, I think if you examine the figures — and they are readily available and probably known to you — the level of American aid for Israel was indicative of the value that we placed on the relationship. And we never deviated, as you probably know, from the record in our commitment to Israel."

CARTER CONTINUED: "There were never any threats to Israel of withdrawal of our support, things of that kind, even though obviously on occasion the policies of Prime Minister Begin and my opinion were quite at odds. But we always worked with mutual respect and I think recognized the value of that close relationship."



IC CAMERA PRESS

Jimmy Carter tells The Post: 'U.S. and Israel must cooperate'



IC CAMERA PRESS

Carter, who had suffered through the 444-day hostage ordeal in Iran, was shaken by the tragedy in Beirut.

He expressed concern "about the situation over there and the vulnerability of our Marines and the need to strengthen our contingent there, at least until we can ascertain if the policy is leading towards an improved situation concerning the withdrawal of foreign forces and also to determine the willingness of the Lebanese to work out their own differences in a peaceful way."

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Carter was convinced that Israel's latest economic austerity measures would help Israel to weather the current crisis. He rejected suggestions that Israel's pre-occupation with domestic political and economic headaches was resulting in a reduced Israeli interest in foreign affairs.

"I'm absolutely certain," he said, "that Israel is not forgetting about foreign policy, but I think that with the new government leaders coming in and some changes in the cabinet, it's imperative that they address the

economic question. My impression is that they've addressed it quite forcefully and, I think, with political courage."

Carter said he had not received any specific information from Washington about the identity of the terrorists involved in the Beirut airport massacre.

SINCE LEAVING the White House in January 1981, Carter has spent a considerable amount of his time thinking about the Arab-Israeli conflict. His involvement in the Middle East represented a major chunk of his recently published memoirs.

After touring the region several months ago, he returned home determined to put together a conference on the Middle East at his new base in Atlanta — the Carter Centre, temporarily housed at

The centre will eventually be based at a \$25 million complex near Emory that will include the Carter presidential library and a presidential museum. The centre received grants from the Ford, Koret and Rockefeller foundations for the Middle East Conference.

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"That's contrary to the information we have from the State Department and others in a position to know," said Carter of Khalidi, who is also affiliated with the American

with the PLO, Carter replied: "There are no others who could reasonably be regarded as being members of the PLO."

IN A STATEMENT, the Carter Centre said that more than three dozen statesmen, policy-makers, and scholars had accepted invitations to attend the conference from November 6-9. Official representatives, it said, will include Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan; Saudi Health Minister Ghazi El-Ohosalbi; Egyptian presidential adviser Osama El-Baz; Lebanese presidential adviser Wadi Haddad; and Syrian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Faruk Al-Sharaa.

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij has accepted an invitation to join Khalidi in representing the Palestinian community. Jordan Information Minister Dr. Adnan Abu-Awdah is also expected to attend.

The Reagan administration, Carter said, will dispatch observers but they will not join in the discus-

"We decided this along with Secretary of State Shultz and others in order to keep the consultation unofficial in nature and within an academic environment. It will be conducted under the auspices of Emory University."

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Also participating will be several former U.S. officials — secretary of state Cyrus Vance, ambassador Philip Habib, ambassador Sol Linowitz, national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, under-secretary of state Joseph Sisco, assistant secretary Harold Saunders and National Security Council Middle East staffer William Quandt.

Israeli Middle East academic specialists who are expected to attend include professors Itama Rabinovich, Haim Shaked and Yehoshua Porath. Dr. Adnan Bakhit and Dr. Abbas Kelidar from Jordan will also attend, as will Dr. Amr Mohieddin from the University of Cairo and Dr. Azziz Shukri of the University of Damascus.

European scholars include Dr. Udo Steinback of West Germany and Dr. Dominique Moisi of France. U.S. academics expected to attend include Dimitri Simes of the Carnegie Endowment, Oles Smolansky of Lehigh University, Bernard Wasserstein of Brandeis, and Steven Spiegel of UCLA.

CONFERENCE COORDINATOR Professor Kenneth W. Stein, of Emory, has clearly ambitious hopes for the conference: "It is our hope that the consultation will give us a clearer understanding of the root causes of the conflict in the region, and the great potential advantages of a new move towards peace," he said. "It is possible that new insights may spawn the development of action-oriented policy suggestions for the area," he said.

Carter said he had personally discussed the matter of official Israeli participation with Ambassador Meir Rosenne and then with Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

"My understanding," he said, "is that the government has decided not to send an official representative. My hope is that they will do so. I think it would be very good for the conference and also, in my judgment, it would give a fine forum for the Israeli government to participate with others and to express their plans and their ideas for progress towards peace to a very broad audience in this country and in other nations."

ACCORDING TO Carter, Shamir promised to get back in touch and to give Israel's final answer after discussing the question with other "experts."

"We've been very careful not to invite any representatives of the PLO to participate," said Carter. "The only person who has been mentioned to me by Ambassador Rosenne was Professor Walid

and, of course, he is not a member of the PLO or its executive council — as has been alleged by some."

ISRAEL EMBASSY officials, however, sharply rejected Carter's contention. They insisted that they were absolutely certain that Khalidi

was "the intellectual backbone of the PLO." They expressed doubt that Israel would officially join in the conference in Atlanta.

To further support their point, they said the Reagan administration also had decided not to participate in the official dialogue — only to attend as observers. "That's because of Khalidi," an Israeli official said.

But U.S. officials later denied this, noting that Khalidi has met in the past with State Department and White House aides.

Asked to explain the purpose of the conference, Carter said:

"We hope to explore as deeply as is humanly possible the various elements in the continuing conflict in the Middle East, and to bring together both official spokesmen and also unofficial and academic spokesmen of the different nations involved — along with people in our

country who have been active in the Mideast peace search, both within my own administration and in the administrations of presidents Nixon and Ford, and to provide a just forum."

Carter said he hoped that as a result of the discussions, "some options and some recommendations for progress towards peace in the future" might be made.

CARTER WAS encouraged by U.S. policy in the Middle East a year ago when Reagan released his peace initiative. "But, of course, there was minimal if any progress made as a result of that," he said.

"So we recognize there's obviously a diversity of opinion," Carter continued. "The Mideast issues are controversial and very confusing. We hope to provide some element of increased understanding and communication. That's the purpose of the conference."

"We're not trying to create a negotiating atmosphere. We've guaranteed all the governments in a letter signed jointly by me and President Ford that he and I will participate in all the public discussions to prevent any violation of national sensitivities so that there wouldn't be any problem between Syria and Israel or Israel and the Palestinians, and we could maintain that environment of, first of all, free discussions, and, secondly, of constructive consultation, and, thirdly, that no one will be embarrassed."

The Carter conference affords Israel an opportunity to deal directly with influential officials from several Arab countries — something Israel has sought for many years. But the presence of Khalidi may kill that opportunity.

And that, in turn, would undoubtedly weaken the importance of the entire consultation.

Why Israel won't be at Carter forum

By WOLF BLITZER

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

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But he responded cautiously to a proposal by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger that the U.S. encourage a more active Israeli military response in Lebanon as a counterweight to Syrian activity in recent months.

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Jimmy Carter continued: "There were never any threats to Israel of withdrawal of our support, things of that kind, even though obviously on occasion the policies of Prime Minister Begin and my opinion were quite at odds. But we always worked with mutual respect and I think recognized the value of that close relationship."

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(Continued on page 4.)

THE JIMMY CARTER FORUM

(Continued from page 1)

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(One Israeli official said Khalidy was "The intellectual backbone of the PLO.")

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NEWSMAKERS

BEHIND THE SCENES WITH PEOPLE IN THE HEADLINES

For professor, the world is his classroom

As a high school senior in Hempstead, N.Y., Ken Stein was selected as an "ambassador" and spent six months in Japan. The next year, he escorted 165 Japanese across the USA.

Now Stein, 37, is going big time. The Emory University history professor suggested and organized the Middle East conference of government officials and academics being hosted Sunday through Wednesday by former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford.

"Ken was always interested in history, even when he was as young as 5 years old," recalls his mother, Mathilda Stein. When he arrived at Franklin & Marshall University in Lancaster, Pa., that interest was nurtured by Professor John Joseph.

"He was very highly motivated," says Joseph. "Being Jewish, he was jubilant after the 1967 war that Israel had won. But while here, he realized that there was a great deal to the Arab side." Joseph re-

members being struck by a letter Stein had published in the *New York Times* that was critical of Israel and says that by graduation, Stein held an dispassionate view.

As a graduate student at the University of Michigan, he spent two years in Israel and wrote a doctoral dissertation on the sale of Palestinian land between 1917 and 1936. The work is the basis of a book being released next year.

Since joining the Emory faculty in 1977, Stein has found time to do much more than teach. He has a twice-monthly cable TV show called *World in Review* and is also a fellow at the Carter Center.

As a teacher, Stein is regarded as demanding. "He can be intimidating because he's so smart," says one student, Leslie Deming, "but he's fair." His exam style is definitely not multiple-choice; one final contained a single, three-hour question: "Discuss Middle East history from 1789 to the present."

Stein's year of work on the



By David Tulis, USA TODAY

STEIN: Coordinates Middle East conference.

conference, being held in Atlanta, was highlighted by a three-week, seven-country jaunt in March with Carter and four others. The commitments they lined up then have been honored, except by Israel, which decided this fall not to send a government representative because of distrust about a Palestinian who is coming.

If sensitivities are a problem, language is not. Stein speaks Arabic, Hebrew, French and German.

Tending to his duties has made for some long workdays for Stein, the father of three, who habitually rises at 5 a.m. and likes to put in hours at the office before the phone starts ringing. "The other night," says Stein, "my wife joked: 'Ken, do you think when this is all over I can make an appointment with you for the kids and me?'"

— Ben Beach

Planning for Mideast conference has challenge of offending no one

By Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writer

Planning for former President Jimmy Carter's Middle East conference, which begins Sunday at Emory University, has been no small task, given the political sensitivities of the participants.

Some of the five Middle Eastern nations sending emissaries still lack formal diplomatic ties with each other, and factional jealousies have presented conference coordinators with a tedious list of logistical concerns.

Seating arrangements at the four-day conference, hotel accommodations, daily transportation to and from hotels and even dietary customs have been scrutinized so as not to offend anybody, said Kenneth W. Stein, an associate professor of Near Eastern history at Emory and chief coordinator of the conference.

Former Presidents Gerald Ford and Carter — who will serve as moderators during the four days of talks — gave heavy consideration to the order in which the emissaries would present their addresses, coordinators said.

The conference is the inaugural project of the Carter Center of Emory University, and for Stein. He accompanied Carter to the Middle East earlier this year and was appointed to coordinate the conference because of his expertise in the region.

Stein, 37, is Jewish and spent two years in Jerusalem before coming to Emory in 1977.

"The logistics have been Herculean, but I get calmer as things intensify around me," said Stein, who began planning the event six months ago and is on a year's leave of absence from the university.

"We have taken into account everybody's sensitivities and have tried to plan for any of the various potential areas of difficulty," Stein said. "I am keen to people's social and political ranking in the society ... how close they are to decision-makers in the countries in which they operate and I have tried to factor that in."

Even his past experience as a tour guide has helped, Stein said.

"I have a long history of organizing," he said, recalling the summer of 1968 when he was a tour guide. "I was the only American among 163 Japanese in four rented Trailways buses going from San Francisco to New York. The experience taught me to expect the unexpected — detours to Las Vegas, lost passports."

Stein said his association with scholars in the Middle East was a major benefit in compiling a list of some three dozen scholars who will attend the conference. Deciding who to invite was important so that all viewpoints would be represented without the scholars' objecting to each other's presence.

But Stein's careful planning did not stop Israel from withdrawing its promised participation last month. Israeli officials contended that Harvard professor Walid Khalidi would be representing the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and the Israeli government officially withdrew, despite assurances from the U.S. State Department that Khalidi was not a PLO member.

Israeli officials earlier had approved the selection of the Harvard professor to give the Palestinian viewpoint, but then changed their minds "because of different perceptions," Stein said.

Now Israel's role in the war-torn region will be represented by Israeli scholars.

Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria are sending government representatives to the conference. A representative of the Soviet Union will also take part, speaking on Soviet interests in the Middle East.

"Our objective is to assess the issues, the problems, the people, the aspirations, the goals in the Middle East," Stein said.

The sessions will be held in the Glenn Memorial Church Auditorium and the Woodruff Center Administration Building auditorium on the Emory campus.

Sessions will be open to the public, but admission will be restricted to people who obtained free tickets.

Etiquette plays big peacekeeper role in setting up Mideast talks at Emory

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Carter conference on Middle East comes to Emory

By Eather M. Bauer
Staff Writer

With tensions in the Middle East heightening almost daily, two former U.S. presidents, along with government officials and scholars from 10 nations, will gather at Emory University Sunday for a four-day conference on that troubled region.

Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford will serve as chairmen for the long-planned conference — sponsored by Carter in conjunction with the university. The conference officially begins at 1 p.m., when Carter and Ford give opening remarks in an Emory auditorium that is usually reserved for seminars on medicine and disease.

The conference is the inaugural project of the Carter Center of Emory University, which Carter designed as somewhat of a non-partisan think tank to address global issues. The center is temporarily housed on the campus until a permanent structure is built nearby.

Conference organizers hope to cover the complicated issues and opinions in the Middle East by presenting a wide range of speakers from the war-torn region.

Although the conference has been planned for months, recent events in the Middle East, including terrorist bombings in Beirut and infighting among militant Palestine Liberation Organization factions, are likely to fuel the talks.

The format calls for speeches and discussions — not open debates — and it will be Carter's and Ford's task to keep polemics at a minimum.

The gathering includes academicians, former policy-makers and government emissaries from the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Germany and six Middle Eastern nations.

One conspicuous absence will be that of an official delegate from Israel, which last month withdrew its representative in protest of alleged participation by the PLO. Israel will be unofficially represented in two separate addresses by Israeli scholars.

The Middle East was a primary concern of Carter's administration — with the famed Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel considered a hallmark of Carter's presidency. Former Carter advisers Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski will participate in the conference; in addition to Philip Habib, who was a special envoy to the Middle East under both Carter and Reagan.

Free tickets to each of the conference's 10 separate sessions had been available to the public, but the supply ran out nearly two weeks ago, Stein said.

Nine speakers are scheduled, followed by questions and discussion from academicians, officials — and the public if time permits — prior to a three-hour summation session

Wednesday, Stein said.

The speakers include a consul from the Soviet Embassy in Washington and government representatives from Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria and Egypt.

The speakers in order of participation are:

Dr. Usamah al Baz of Egypt. He is President Hosni Mubarak's special emissary for Arab affairs — 2 p.m. Sunday.

Prince Bandar bin Sultan, Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the United States — 4 p.m. Sunday.

Dr. Wadi Haddad of Lebanon, adviser for security affairs — 9 a.m. Monday.

Alexander Zotov of the Soviet Union, whose topic is "Soviet Union Interests in the Middle East" — 1 p.m. Monday.

Farouk al Sharaa, Syrian minister of state — 3 p.m. Monday.

Crown Prince Hassan, brother of King Hussein of Jordan — 9 a.m. Tuesday.

Meron Benvenisti, former vice mayor of Jerusalem, to discuss issues in the West Bank — 1:15 p.m. Tuesday.

Dr. Haim Schaked, an Israeli scholar — 3 p.m. Tuesday.

Dr. Walid Khalidi, a Palestinian professor at Harvard University — 9 a.m. Wednesday.

Three hours of summary discussions end when the conference adjourns at 4:30 p.m. Wednesday.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1983



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

Former Presidents Carter, Ford said U.S. revenge for the Beirut bombing would harm peace prospects

Carter, Ford oppose retaliation in Beirut

By Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writer

Two former presidents agreed Sunday that U.S. retaliation for the Oct. 23 bombing of the Marine headquarters in Beirut would forestall peace and only aggravate tensions in the warring region.

"In my view, we should keep our cool. . . . It is time for thoughtful review of policies in Lebanon," former President

■ Pictures from Emory conference.
Page 1-E.

Gerald Ford said at the opening of a four-day Middle East conference, which began Sunday at Emory University.

Until it is determined who is responsible, added former President Jimmy Carter, the conference's co-host, who held

a joint news conference with Ford, "It would be counterproductive and inappropriate . . . to base military action on unsubstantiated allegations."

Although high hopes prevailed that innovative peace proposals for the Middle East would arise from the conference, U.S. policies in the region came under severe criticism from Arab government officials attending the talks.

The involvement of Democratic and Republican former presidents in the talks was crucial in obtaining participation by Middle Eastern governments, Carter said. The cordiality between the two — political opponents in the 1976 presidential campaign — set the tone for the discussions among the Middle Eastern representatives.

See CARTER, Page 4-A

But the presence of Carter and Ford, as well as dignitaries from 10 other nations, gave the Woodruff Medical Center Auditorium Building, a towering red-tiled monument on the fringes of the Emory campus, the ambience of an armed camp.

While diplomats and scholars to the Middle East conference waited elsewhere Sunday, two massive German shepherds sniffed the conference area for possible explosives. Everyone entering had to pass through metal detectors. Sharpshooters perched on rooftops, and more than 60 uniformed police officers, as well as Secret Service agents, patrolled the area.

Demonstrators, most representing neighborhood groups opposed to a highway planned in conjunction with Carter's presidential library and a permanent public policy center, marched and chanted outside the university's main gates.

Rented limousines cruised onto the usually quiet campus to pick up and let off dignitaries.

The list of participants included such former movers and shakers as Carter Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, Carter national security affairs adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Philip Habib, who was Mideast negotiator for both Carter and Reagan. Reagan administration "observers" were expected.

Notable among the missing were Israeli government representatives. In October, they withdrew their promised participation in protest of a Palestinian speaker invited to the talks. They contended that Dr. Walid Khalidi, a Harvard professor, was a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization, despite assurances from the U.S. State Department that he was not

The questions of Palestinian autonomy and Israel's presence in Lebanon were addressed early on as the two most pressing issues standing in the way of peace.

"The Palestinian problem is the root cause of all the turmoil and evil in the Middle East," a former Israeli diplomat told the panel of speakers during one of two Sunday sessions.

Another speaker implied that U.S. efforts to come up with a workable peace proposal in the Middle East so far have been "impotent."

Dr. Usamah al Baz, Egypt's adviser for political affairs, was critical of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in September 1982 and its continuing occupation of that country, but he was optimistic that someday peace would be achieved.

"It is in the interest of Israel to have a

united Arab front where Egypt can play a role," Baz said.

His country has been virtually ostracized by the Arab world because of the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel in 1979, he said.

The accords called for Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, and other Arab nations accused Egypt of negotiating without regard to their positions. But Baz said the Camp David agreements, together with successful proposals from the United Nations and the Reagan administration, could be used as the basis for future talks affecting all Arab nations and Israel.

"My feeling is that most Arabs have resolved themselves to the existence of the state of Israel," Baz said.



ANDY SHARP/Staff

Lebanon's Wadi Haddad at reception

Carter

Both Baz and the Saudi Arabian representative, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, said that the United States has erred in the past in dealing with each Arab nation as a single entity.

The Arab world must be dealt with as a whole, Sultan said.

"I am here to admit that, yes, we are moderate," Sultan said of Saudi Arabia's role in the Middle East. "But moderation must not be confused with consent. It does not mean we consent to the fundamental injustice to the Palestinian people."

He echoed concerns that no peace can be

achieved as long as Israel remains in Lebanon, where an 8-year civil war among warring Moslem and Christian factions has ravaged the country.

"A just and honorable lasting peace for all parties in the Middle East can be worked out," Sultan said. "If it cannot, the Lord help us."

In an address to a banquet Sunday night at the Colony Square Hotel, Carter said he "is aware of the growing differences between our government and the government of Israel."

"Now we are down to the root causes of the conflict," he said referring to the question of Palestinian autonomy and the withdrawal of Israel from occupied territories.

Carter reiterated the suggestion that all the Mideast agreements over the years be used as the groundwork for new negotiations.

Ford, meanwhile, warned that "time is of the essence. We cannot have everything drift into a continuing stalemate. It is not only important for that section of the world but for the free world as a whole."

The Middle East conference is the first major event sponsored by the Carter Center of Emory University and will review events of the past five years in the region in addition to assessing the prospects for peace, economic cooperation, cultural exchange and security agreements among the warring nations.

Middle Eastern issues were chosen as the inaugural project because Carter, who is a part-time professor at Emory, designed the center as a think tank for scholarly research on global concerns. The center is temporarily housed on the main Emory campus until permanent facilities are constructed nearby in a complex that also will include the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library.

The Woodruff Medical Center had some of the that flavor Sunday with photographs of Carter sipping orange juice with sultans hanging on the walls beside blowups of the yellow legal paper he used to scribble a rough draft of the historic Camp David accords.

Carter and Ford called the conference a positive step toward resolving the decades-old Israeli-Arab conflict.

"We know that to do nothing would be non-productive. . . . We hope that we can come up with something of benefit down the road," Ford said.

Carter predicted that the talks could lead to follow-up consultations with government leaders in the Middle East.



Jimmy Carter listens to Gerald Ford during press conference

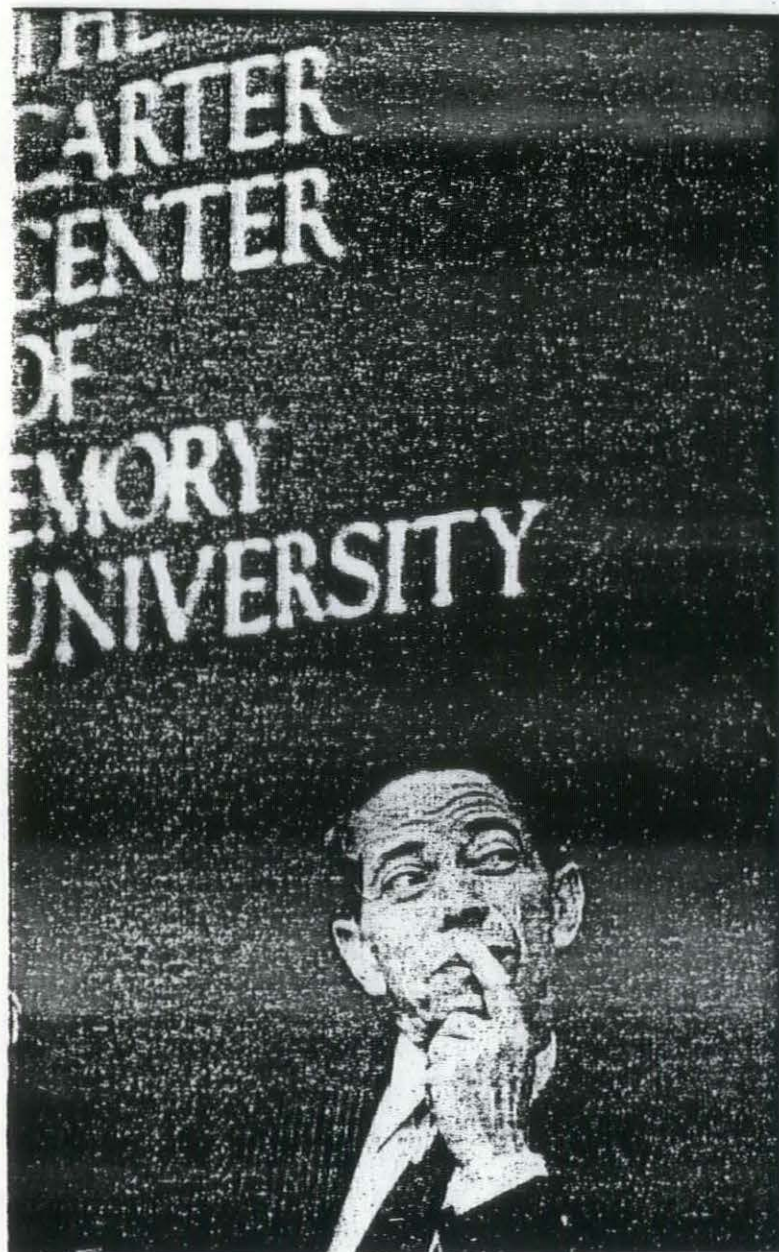


Cyrus Vance during Sunday's consultation on Egypt



A contemplative Ford listens as Egypt's stand is discussed

The search for a solution . . .



They came from around the United States, from around the world. Scholars, diplomats, former presidents, hard-liners, moderates. People who have worked to advance the cause of peace in one of the most troubled parts of the world gathered at the Carter Center of Emory University Sunday to talk for the next four days about how that goal might be met.

The list of movers and shakers from this country alone was almost as weighty as the problems they addressed.

Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford; Cyrus Vance, Carter's secretary of state; Philip Habib, special envoy to the Middle East who negotiated the PLO's withdrawal from Beirut. And many others. Full coverage of the conference begins on Page 1-A.

□ □ □

Staff Photos
Cheryl Bray



Three of the scores of guards outside



Carter and Ford Oppose U.S. Retaliation in Beirut

By WILLIAM E. SCHMIDT

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Nov. 6 — Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford said today that the United States should avoid military retaliation at this time for the suicide bombing attack that killed more than 230 Marines two weeks ago in Beirut.

"We should keep our cool, we should not lash out in some reckless military action," Mr. Ford said.

Mr. Carter agreed, warning that such action could be "counterproductive" to the talks among Lebanon's Government and rival factions on national reconciliation that are now recessed in Geneva.

"To guess who is responsible, or to base a military action on unsubstantiated allegations, would be a very serious mistake," said Mr. Carter.

Presidents Are Co-chairmen

The two former Presidents appeared together this morning as co-chairmen of a four-day conference on the Middle East at Emory University. The conference, which began here today, has drawn Government officials and scholars from 10 nations, including the Middle East and the Soviet Union. It is the first event sponsored by the Carter Center of Emory University.

The center was founded last year by Mr. Carter as a forum to discuss domestic and international policy issues.

The question about possible military

retaliation for the Beirut bombing came amid reports that the United States will have about 30 Navy ships with 300 planes in the Mediterranean over the next few days.

United States officials say, however, that no decision has yet been made whether retaliation might be ordered against those they believe played a hand in the bombing attack.

But the officials did say that there had been discussions with the Lebanese Government about using military force against a rocket battery that threatens the United States Marine positions in Lebanon and is manned by pro-Iranian Lebanese militia.

Agree on Marine Role

In advising against what he described as any sort of precipitate military action in Lebanon, Mr. Ford also said the United States should not now withdraw the marines from Lebanon.

"This is a time for a very thoughtful review of our policy in Lebanon, as well as in the Middle East," Mr. Ford said. Only after such a review, he said, should the United States contemplate what kind of "strong action" it should take.

Mr. Carter said that he opposed military action in the region except where it would be required to defend "the immediate safety of the marines."

At a news conference marking the opening of the conference, both men also stressed that despite the current

problems in Lebanon, there must be an effort by the United States, the Arab nations and Israel to continue the search for a broad and comprehensive Middle East peace.

"There is no way to minimize the consequences of the tragic and unnecessary war in the Lebanon," Mr. Carter said. "But this should not defer the attention of our Government from the roots of the continuing conflict that really helped precipitate the Lebanese situation."

Mr. Ford agreed, saying he did not think the search for a broad peace in the region between Israel and its Arab neighbors can be allowed "to languish while we're concentrating on the Lebanese problem."

"They have to be attacked simultaneously," he added.

95-Carat Diamond in Siberia

MOSCOW, Nov. 6 (AP) — Miners in eastern Siberia have found a 95-carat diamond of "rare beauty" and named it "The 80th Anniversary of the Second Session of the R.S.D.R.P.," the official press agency Tass said today. The name of the stone refers to the second meeting of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party in 1903, at which Lenin formed his Bolshevik movement.

Mail Subscriptions: 800-631-2500

Restraint In Mideast Endorsed

Ex-Presidents Open Carter Center Talks

By Art Harris

Special to The Washington Post

ATLANTA, Nov. 6—Two former presidents urged President Reagan today to "keep cool" for fear that any U.S. military retribution for the deaths of the more than 230 U.S. servicemen in Beirut could damage prospects for long-term peace in the Middle East.

A military response to the terrorist attack would be "counterproductive" and should be ruled out unless "our Marines are in danger," said Jimmy Carter.

"We should keep our cool," said Gerald R. Ford. "We should not lash out in some reckless military adventure or withdraw [the Marines] precipitously. It is time for thoughtful review of our policy—and then strong action once we decide what our policy is."

The former adversaries, who squared off bitterly in 1976, showed bipartisan chumminess as cohosts of a four-day seminar on the Middle East that began today at Emory University.

SUPREME COURT CALENDAR

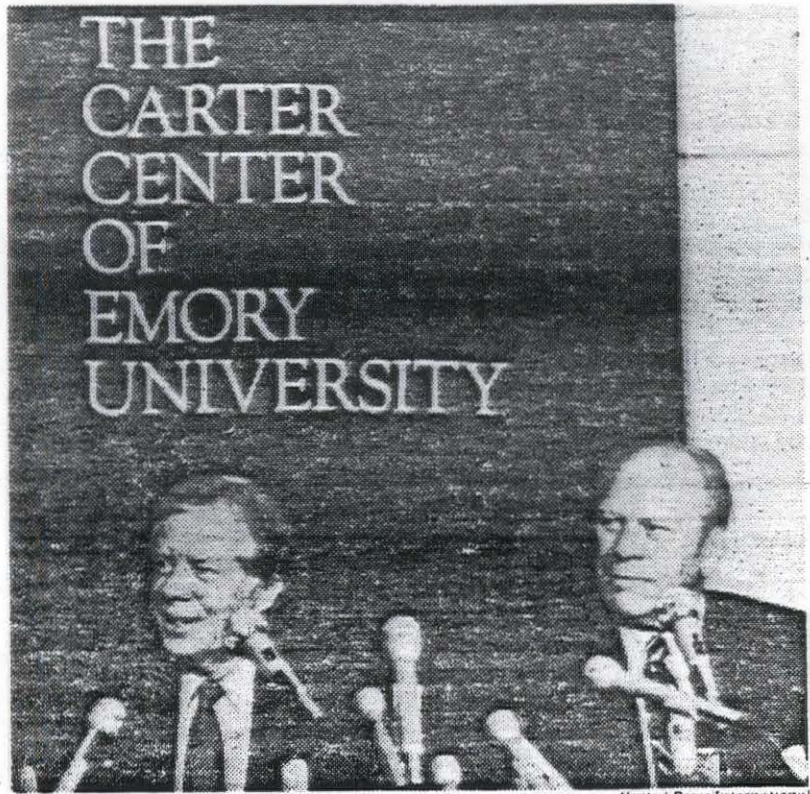
The Supreme Court will hear oral arguments from 10 to 3 today in the following cases.

Case No. 82-618. *Kosak v. U.S. Federal Tort Claims Act.* Can U.S. Customs Service be sued for negligent damage to private property it has seized? (1 hr.)

Case No. 82-1200. *Daily Income Fund Inc. v. Fox Investment Company Act.* Procedures for mutual fund investors who sue to recover excessive fees from investment advisers. (1 hr.)

Case No. 82-1095. *Pulley v. Harris.* Death penalty. Must state courts review death sentences to see if they are in line with sentences in similar crimes? (1 hr.)

Case No. 82-960. *NLRB v. City Disposal Systems Inc.* National Labor Relations Act. NLRB protections for individual employees asserting rights under union contract. (1 hr.)



Former presidents Carter and Ford advise against military response to Beirut attack.

The inaugural project for the Carter Center drew about three dozen statesmen, academics and policy makers, including a Soviet diplomat. Carter describes his center as a nonpartisan think tank that will address global issues, perhaps sitting down enemies to talk it out with Carter as referee—a role he performed as president at Camp David with Israel and Egypt.

The day crackled with the trappings of power reminiscent of the glory days of the ex-presidents: limousines, the television networks and a crack public relations staff that served melon balls and biscuits. The list of participants included such former movers and shakers as Carter secretary of state Cyrus R. Vance, Carter national security affairs adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Philip Habib, who was Mideast negotiator for both Carter and Reagan. Reagan administration "observers" were expected.

Security was tight, reflecting Mideast tensions: On hand were 60 to 70 police officers, sharpshooters patrolling rooftops, bomb-sniffing dogs, two persons with metal detectors, campus police, Secret Service agents and paramedics. "We've got everything, but armored personnel carri-

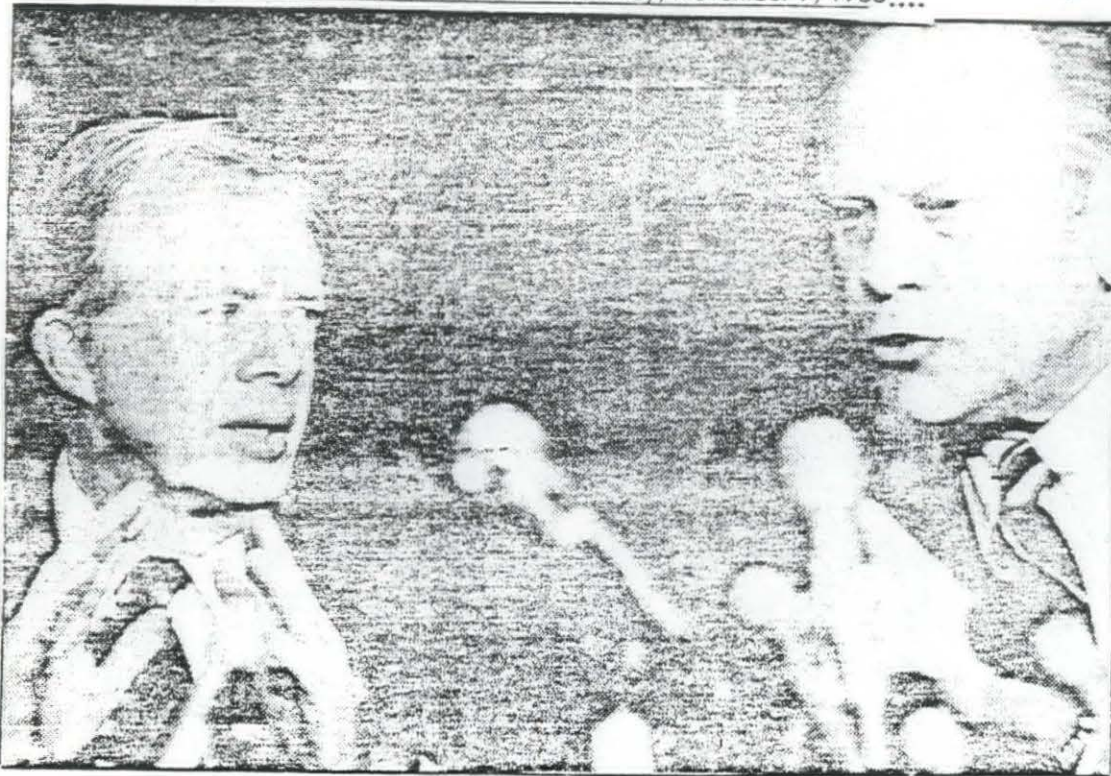
ers," said a Dekalb County police officer.

Carter called the conference "unprecedented in scope and nature" and said he hoped it would provide a nonpartisan forum for each country to educate the public and air its views on Mideast conflict free from political pressures.

But the Israelis sent only regrets and professors after hearing that the Palestine Liberation Organization would be represented. Harvard University Professor Walid Khalidi was invited to present the PLO view. The governments of Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Saudi Arabia sent representatives.

No papers will be presented, but transcripts of the talks will be bound and published. "It's possible that new insights [gained here] may spawn the development of action-oriented policy suggestions for the area," said conference organizer Ken Stein, associate professor of Near Eastern history at Emory.

But other participants were less impressed. Asked what the conference might yield, Yehoshua Porath of Hebrew University in Jerusalem said, "What can come of it? Nothing. But it's good enough as an academic exercise."



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

AGAINST REVENGE: Carter (left), Ford give their views on situation in Middle East.

'Keep our cool'

Ex-presidents Carter and Ford agree that U.S. must not retaliate for Marines' deaths in Beirut

By Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writer

Two former presidents agreed Sunday that U.S. retaliation for the Oct. 23 bombing of the Marine headquarters in Beirut would forestall peace and only aggravate tensions in the warring region.

"In my view, we should keep our cool . . . It is time for thoughtful review of policies in Lebanon," former President Gerald Ford said at the opening of a four-day Middle East conference, which began Sunday at Emory University.

Until it is determined who is responsible, added former President Jimmy Carter, the conference's co-host, who held a joint news conference with Ford, "It would be counterproductive and inappropriate . . . to base military action on unsubstantiated allegations."

The conference entered its second day today with a schedule featuring speakers from Lebanon, Syria and the Soviet Union. Alexander Zotov, political counselor at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was scheduled to outline "Soviet Union Interests in the Middle East" in an afternoon address.

from the conference, U.S. policies in the region came under severe criticism from Arabic government officials attending the talks.

The involvement of Democratic and Republican former presidents in the talks was crucial in obtaining participation by Middle Eastern governments, Carter said. The cordiality between the two — political opponents in the 1976 presidential campaign — set the tone for the discussions among the Middle Eastern representatives.

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While diplomats and scholars at the Middle East conference waited elsewhere Sunday, two massive German shepherds sniffed the conference area for possible explosives. Everyone entering had to pass through metal detectors. Sharpshooters perched on rooftops, and more than 60 uniformed police officers, as well as Secret Service agents, patrolled the area.

Carter, Ford: 'Keep our cool'



By John Head 11/7/83
USA TODAY

ATLANTA — The USA should "keep our cool" in responding to the Oct. 23 terrorist bombing that killed 230 USA servicemen in Beirut, former presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter warned Sunday.

■ Ford: "We should not lash out in some reckless military action, nor should we withdraw precipitously from our present commitment of U.S. Marines."

■ Carter: "I think that a new outbreak of military attacks by our forces or others would be counter-productive in this sensitive time," citing Geneva talks between warring factions in Lebanon.

The USA and Lebanon are said to be discussing an attack on a rocket battery manned by pro-Iranian militiamen that now threatens Marine positions near Beirut.

And, there is speculation about a wider USA response — along with Israel — to both the Beirut bombing and a similar attack Friday on an Israeli military compound in southern Lebanon.

President Reagan has vowed to Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir that "terrorism must not and will not be allowed to achieve its objectives."

Carter and Ford also agreed that Yasser Arafat's fading struggle to retain control of the Palestine Liberation Organization may "add a new dimension," but won't harm efforts to resolve Middle East conflicts.

NFL playoff favorites ...



By Keith Srakovic
STEELER FAN: Tracy Schmitt.

... 5 to watch

Special for USA TODAY

Sunday victories — some come-from-behind wins — pushed five National Football League teams out front as playoff favorites.

The teams to watch, with six weeks left in the season:

■ AFC: The Pittsburgh Steelers (8-2), Miami Dolphins (7-3) and Los Angeles Raiders (7-3).

■ NFC: The Dallas Cowboys (9-1), and defending Super Bowl champion Washington Redskins (8-2).

In Sunday's key games:

■ Dallas came from behind for the ninth time this season to beat Philadelphia, 27-20.

■ Los Angeles Raiders fumbled until fourth quarter, but

By Roger Grigg, AP

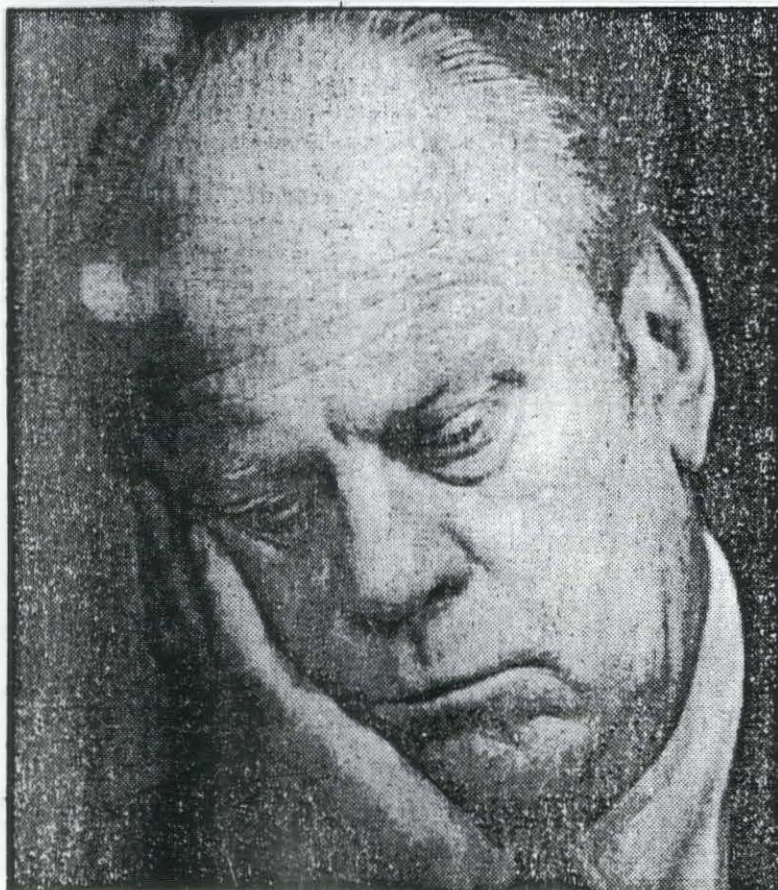
STRONG ADVICE: Carter, Ford think alike on Beirut retaliation at Emory University conference.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

★★★★★

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1983

25 CENTS



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

Former President Ford during Monday discussion on Lebanon

Tensions beginning to mount at forum on Mideast crisis

By Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writer

The increasingly tense Syrian-American relations prompted a strident exchange Monday between a former U.S. diplomat and a Syrian emissary at the Middle East conference at Emory University.

Israel "could not get away invading Lebanon" or its continued occupation there without the backing of the United States, said Farouk al-Sharaa, Syria's minister of state for foreign affairs.

He also accused Israel and the United States of blocking peace in the war-torn region.

But Joseph Sisco, Middle East adviser during the Carter administration and a member of a panel that listened to Sharaa's remarks, replied, "We as Americans are not sure of what the Syrians want . . . to portray us in a one-sided manner? . . . I want to express my disappointment at what I have heard in the last 15 minutes."

That prompted Sharaa to respond, "Sisco wants no peace in the Middle East. It's as simple as that."

The Syrian discussion came on the second day of the four-day conference, sponsored by former President Jimmy Carter and Emory University. Carter and former President Gerald Ford are co-hosts.

See CONFERENCE, Page 13-A



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

Former U.S. envoy to Mideast Philip Habib (left), former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Egypt representative Usamah al-Baz

Conference

Continued From Page 1-A

The exchange between Sharaa and Sisco came amid reports that Syrian troops are on alert in anticipation of American retaliation for last month's bombing in Beirut of Marine headquarters in which more than 230 servicemen died.

The Syrian session of the eight-part conference on Middle Eastern issues was reduced to an argument about who is at fault for the current troubles in Lebanon.

Sharaa maintained that any peace negotiations would have to include involvement by the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is adamantly opposed by the Israeli government.

Sharaa unwaveringly reiterated that Syrian troops would remain in Lebanon as long as Israeli troops are there.

Israel has said its occupation will continue until Syrian troops leave.

"We are ready to withdraw provided there are no conditions imposed on Lebanon (by Israel) and there is a 100 percent assurance that the Israelis are outside Lebanon," Sharaa said.

A May 17 accord between Lebanon and Israel would require the withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops if Israel can maintain a security-buffer zone in Lebanon.



Sharaa



Sisco

The Syrian minister said Syria would not recognize the agreement because it calls for Israel to maintain a 24-hour-a-day security vigil inside Lebanese land.

He called Israel's U.S.-backed policies "adventurous" and "brutal," and based solely on both countries' interest in dominating the region at the expense of Arab nations.

Sisco repeatedly said the United States would help negotiations to achieve withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces from Lebanon.

"You cannot be a party and a judge in the same dispute," Sharaa responded. "We desire peace ... but the domination and not the se-

curity of Israel is the real motive behind any Israeli military action."

The Syrian discussions were preceded Monday by addresses by government emissaries from Lebanon and the Soviet Union.

Discussions among the panel of Lebanese officials and an Israeli scholar were cordial and centered on Lebanon's weakened position.

Lebanese national affairs adviser Wadi Haddad said he wished the withdrawal of all foreign forces would "have happened yesterday."

But the cordial tone of the conference changed at a session involving a Russian scholar from Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore and a representative of the Soviet Union's embassy in Washington.

At that session, Alexander Zotov of the Soviet Embassy maintained that his government is interested in achieving peace in the region, but that arms shipments to Syria are necessary to achieve a balance of power.

"We did what we had to do. ... It was almost impossible for the Soviet leadership to stay deaf to Syria's requests," Zotov said.

Russian scholar Dimitri Simes responded. "The Soviet Union's behavior in the Middle East is like someone who can't say no but claims to be a virgin."



ANDY SHARP/Staff

OPPOSING SIDES: Sharaa, Sisco listen to remarks during second day of Middle East conference at Emory..

Conference

FROM 1A

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Russian scholar Dimitri Simes responded, "The Soviet Union's behavior in the Middle East is like someone who can't say no but claims to be a virgin."

Ford stepped out of his role as moderator to exchange sharp words with Zotov after the Soviet diplomat said his country was only a "reluctant participant" in arming Syria and other Middle East nations.

"At the time of the Syrian conflict with Israel about a year ago when Syria lost considerable military equipment, most people in this country were amazed how rapidly the Soviet Union replaced that military hardware which had been lost in that conflict between Israel and Syria," Ford said.

"Such an immediate resupply would indicate to me they were a willing and active participant in the arms race," he said.

بدء مؤتمر ائتلتا حول الشرق الأوسط : كارتر : هدف المؤتمر التوصل لفهم أفضل لقضايا المنطقة مطالبة ريجان بالتركيز على السلام الشامل لا على لبنان وحده

A1-Ahram, Cairo
November 8, 1983

الائتلتا ولا يزالان يجران مفاوضات مع إسرائيل ووكالات الأنباء - أعلن الرئيس الأمريكي جيمس كارتر في بداية اليوم الثاني لاجتماع مؤتمر جامعة إيوري بولاية جورجيا حول الشرق الأوسط ان المؤتمر سيبحث خلال مدة انعقاده الحالية وفي اربعة ايام تطورات المفاوضات القومية الفلسطينية في المنطقة ، واضاف ان المؤتمر سيبحث ايضا احتمال عقد دورة اخرى لعقد مستقبل عملية السلام في الشرق الأوسط .



الرئيسان الأمريكيان السابقان كارتر وفورد في المؤتمر الصحفي الذي عقدهما قبل افتتاح مؤتمر جامعة إيوري حول الشرق الأوسط في مدينة ائتلتا بولاية جورجيا الأمريكية « صورة بالرايو للأهرام »

في الشرق الأوسط بدل من التركيز السابق على لبنان وحدهما وقال انه يجب ان يظل جهود بترابنة لطل ازية لبنان وتسمية هراع الشرق الأوسط ، واكد كارتر ان زعماء الشرق الأوسط وان كانوا يشعرون ان الموقف في لبنان بالغ الخطورة الا انهم يدركون ان المفاوضات المتعمدة في المنطقة ناشئة من القضايا التي طالت طويلا بلا تسوية وهي المسئلة الفلسطينية والامن الإسرائيلي واحتمال اسرائيل للاراضي العربية .

وكان الرئيسان الأمريكيان السابقان جيمس كارتر وجيرالد فورد قد افتتحا المؤتمر الليلة اسس الاول ، والشرق تية محظون رسعيون وباطمون من 10 دول بينها الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية ومصر وسوريا ولبنان والسعودية والاردن ، وقد تناولت اسرائيل المؤتمر رسميا احتجاجا على دعوة الرئيس كارتر صاحب فكرة المؤتمر في اطلل مركز كارتر للدراسات بجهة إيوري لاستئناف جلمس أمريكي فلسطيني ، يعطالف مع منظمة التحرير ، ورغم ان كارتر امرت من خيبة الله للعاطفة المعقدة الإسرائيلية للتوثيق الا انه استنكر على اي حال انه يعتقد في اممال المؤتمر 7 اسئلة من جامعات اسرائيل يسألهم شرح وجهة النظر الإسرائيلية .

وقد اوضح كارتر الذي سبوت خبر مناقشات المؤتمر الى جيب زبده الرئيس السابق جيرالد فورد انه لا يمو ولا يورد مؤت يتحدث في المؤتمر بضم المعوية الأمريكية وانه ان تجرى جلاله على مؤت لتجوية النزاعات الائتلتا في الشرق الأوسط ، ولكنه اكد عليه في تحويل المناقشات التي سوف تجرى ليه بوسمه مؤتمر فيم سيقول لكي يطمئنه ولاي ججه الى اساس جيد لهم اطلل لتغنيا الشرق الأوسط وقال ان هذا المهم ضروري للتوصل الى تسام حول كجهة اقراء السلام الشامل في المنطقة واحساب ان الدعوة الرئيسية للمؤتمر هي خلق ارضية مشتركة للاتصال فيما بين الفلسطينيين ورجال الاممال والزمياء السياسيين وان يدعوهم اسرار تومسيات والتمساح وسنقل تلبية هذه التومسيات وكان الرئيسان الأمريكيان السابقان

Mideast Seminar Draws Arab and U.S. Officials

By WILLIAM E. SCHMIDT
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Nov. 8 — For Jimmy Carter's new center for policy studies at Emory University, the four-day conference on the Middle East this week marks an auspicious beginning.

Not only did Mr. Carter persuade another former President, Gerald R. Ford, to help him chair his inaugural conference, but he has also drawn an impressive roster of participants to join the discussions.

There are high-ranking officials from the Governments of Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt, as well as a roster of former United States officials that reads like a Who's Who in foreign affairs.

"It's quite a reunion," said Cyrus R. Vance, Mr. Carter's Secretary of State, as he sat in the audience Sunday alongside Philip C. Habib, who until last spring served as President Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East, and Joseph J. Sisco, a diplomat who worked under several Presidents.

Israel Refuses to Attend

But for all those who are here, the conference has been notable for the fact that the Government of Israel decided not to attend.

Despite what Mr. Carter described as assurances last March from former Prime Minister Menachem Begin, the Israelis canceled only last month, maintaining that that one of the participants, Walid Khalid, a Harvard professor, was a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Though the sponsors of the conference and even the State Department sought to reassure Israel that Mr. Khalid was not a member of the P.L.O., the only Israelis here this week are six scholars who are not connected with the Israeli Government.

Itamar Rabinovich, a professor at Tel Aviv University, made a special point Sunday of describing himself as an academic. "The fact that I'm from Israel is incidental," he said.

Much of the discussion here this week has revolved around ways and means to renew the search for a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, and to address what Mr. Carter referred to as the "root causes" of the problem: the recognition of Palestin-

ian rights, Israel's policy of building settlements on the West Bank and the eventual withdrawal of Israeli forces from the West Bank and Gaza.

Mr. Carter has maintained on several occasions this week that it was Israel's decision to continue to build Jewish settlements on the West Bank, along with the refusal of other Arab governments to support Egypt, that helped bring to a halt the peace process begun with the Camp David accords.

It is that agreement that has provided the context for the talks here. While the 1978 talks at Camp David between President Carter, the late Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt and Mr. Begin did result in a negotiated peace between Israel and Egypt, the effort to build some sort of larger framework for a more comprehensive settlement, including the Palestinians, Jordan and Syria, so far has failed.

Syrian Attacks U.S. Policy

Faruq al-Shar, the Syrian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, displayed little patience for Mr. Carter's efforts to refocus attention on the need for a comprehensive settlement in the region. Mr. Shar attacked not only United States policy in the region but the failure of the conference's organizers to invite representatives from the P.L.O. to join the conference.

This brought a rejoinder from Mr. Sisco. "In light of what has been going on in Lebanon over the past 48 hours, I wonder what sort of Palestinian movement you are talking about," he said. "Is it the P.L.O. Syria is trying to put under its total domination?"

Mr. Sisco was referring to the battle in Tripoli between forces loyal to Mr. Arafat and rival P.L.O. factions seeking to topple him. Mr. Arafat has accused Syria of aiding the rival Palestinian factions, although Damascus has denied any involvement.

Osama el-Baz, an adviser to President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, expressed doubts that any peace talks could move very far without first resolving the situation in Lebanon.

"How do we expect to get Israel out of the West Bank if we cannot first get them out of Lebanon?" Mr. Baz said.

One of the more interesting moments in the conference came late Sunday af-



Associated Press

Former President Jimmy Carter at opening of Atlanta conference.

ternoon, following an address by Prince Bandar, Saudi Arabia's Ambassador to Washington. The discussion had turned to the loss of United States credibility in the Middle East, and recurrent Arab frustration over what they see as Washington's refusal to stand up to Israel.

Ex-Presidents Blame Congress

The exchange clearly touched a responsive chord in the two former Presidents, who began ruminating on their own frustrations in pressing foreign policy initiatives through a politically sensitive Congress.

"I can't give you any expectation or hope that the United States is going to punish Israel, or threaten economic or military retaliation against Israel, if they don't comply with the desire expressed in the Oval Office," Mr. Carter told Prince Bandar.

"Any inclination of the part of the State Department or the Oval Office to restrain aid to Israel was quickly and overwhelmingly reversed by the Congress," Mr. Carter said.

Mr. Ford went even further, warning that through such measures as the War Powers Act, Congress has "tended to take away from the President the capability of having a stronger hand in working toward peace in the Middle East."

"Every once in a while, the President has to have the flexibility to really stir the pot," Mr. Ford said.

Jordanian prince says Arafat should join in peace talks

By J. Randal Ashley
Foreign News Editor

The crown prince of Jordan suggested Tuesday that Yasser Arafat, besieged and under fire from Syrian-allied forces in Lebanon, should go to Jordan and join Middle East peace talks under a formula outlined by President Reagan more than a year ago.

"The Palestinians can't be totally cowed by Syria," Prince Hassan bin Talal, the brother of King Hussein and heir to the Jordanian throne, said in an interview here.

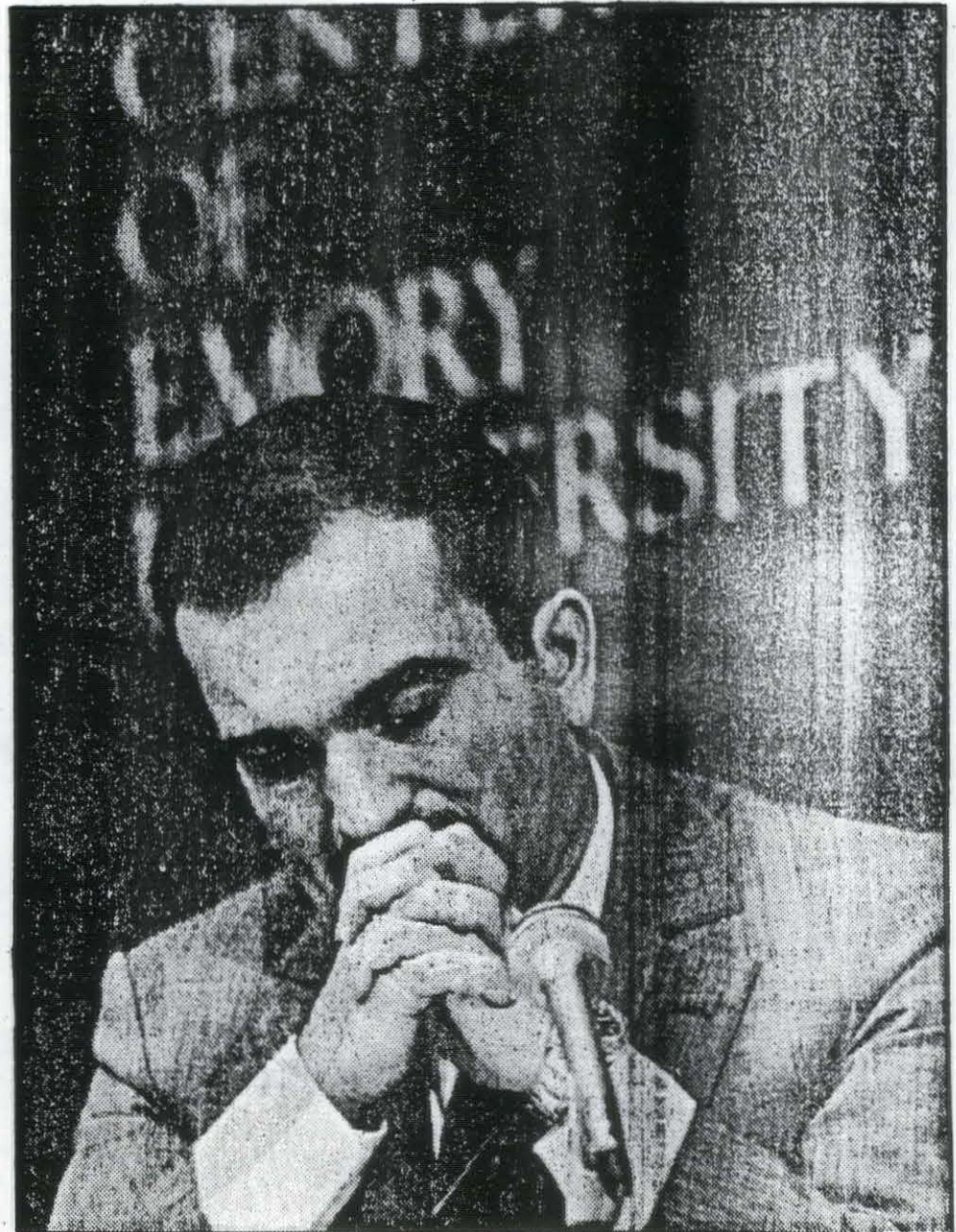
Hassan noted that the Arab League has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" but that "Syria's bullying" could lead to the "destruction of the independent voice" of Palestinians.

Arafat and PLO units loyal to him are under attack in the Lebanese port city of Tripoli by Syrian troops and PLO fighters who broke with Arafat over his apparent willingness to enter into negotiations that might lead to an Arab-Israeli settlement.

Noting that Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and in the Arab oil states have been very critical of Syria's attacks on Arafat loyalists in Lebanon, Hassan suggested that the time might be right for Arafat to come to Amman for talks.

It was Arafat's previous negotiations with King Hussein that led to the current split in PLO ranks. After President Reagan announced in September 1982 an American plan for Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank "in association with Jordan," Arafat and King Hussein held talks on whether Jordan could represent Palestinian interests in any future negotiations on the Reagan plan.

Arafat personally agreed to a formula that would have allowed King Hussein to proceed, but the PLO leader was unable to secure the agreement of all the factions in the PLO for the plan.



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

Prince Hassan bin Talal, the brother of King Hussein, at Emory conference

Brzezinski: U.S. should continue role of mediator in Middle East

By Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writer

There will be dire consequences for the United States if its role in the Middle East changes from that of mediator, former National Security Council adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski said Tuesday.

"The U.S. as a protagonist in the region pitted de facto by its military presence in Lebanon ... would create a situation in which American forces eventually would be engaged against the Palestinians and Syrians," Brzezinski told an audience at a Middle East conference under way at Emory University.

The former adviser to Jimmy Carter was a panelist in the Israeli session of the conference, which is being co-hosted by former Presidents Carter and Gerald Ford. The conference, sponsored by Carter and Emory University, ends today.

Israeli discussions centered on Israel's settlements on land acquired from Arab nations during the 1967 war, and followed a morning session on Jordan.

The character of United States-Israeli relations carries "inherent dangers" to America's long-term national interests, Brzezinski said.

Carter told the assembly of Middle East delegates and scholars that Israel should halt the settlement of territory it acquired from Arab nations during the 1967 Six-Day War.

"This massive total commitment of Israel toward this unprecedented settlement activity created a new dimension, in my judgment," Carter said.

"If Israel moves in any sort of final way to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip, then any prospect for Mideast peace will be totally terminated in our lifetimes," he said.

Carter predicted that if Israel insists on annexing the occupied territory, the result could be a direct confrontation with Syrian and Palestinian forces, possibly drawing the United States into the conflict.

Tuesday was the last day of the conference for Ford, who left Atlanta to attend to personal business.

During Tuesday morning's session,

former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance reflected a dismal outlook for peace in the warring region.

All the Mideast delegates preceding him had urged a "just and lasting peace," but Vance said, "All of us repeat these words time and again, but our actions unfortunately do not match our words."

Vance and Prince Hassan ibn Talal of Jordan stressed that the Lebanon issue should not be treated as an isolated issue if peace is ever to be achieved after the decades of strife between Israel and Arab nations.

Talal was the key speaker in the first session of Tuesday's conference, with Vance and Sol Linowitz — Carter's former representative for Middle East negotiations — serving as panelists.

The core issues center on Israeli occupation of former Arab territories and the creation of a separate Palestinian state, and the Palestinians must be part of any negotiations, Talal and Vance told the assembly of dozens of Middle East government representatives and scholars.

The Atlanta Journal

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WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 9, 1983

118 PAGES

Emory talks partisan, but polite

□ BRZEZINSKI COMMENTS

15A

By Paul Lieberman and Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writers

The crown prince of Jordan had just finished a speech calling for improved communications in the Middle East when he provided a reminder of how difficult it can be to get traditional enemies to talk to each other, even thousands of miles away at a friendly conference designed to find the way to peace.

Prince Hassan ibn Talal, one of the most important Arab officials at this week's Emory University conference on the Middle East chaired by former Presidents Carter and Ford, found himself with a slight problem Tuesday when it was time for him to receive questions from the audience. The first person to rise with a question was a college professor from Israel, the neighboring state with which his country does not have the most cordial of relations.

The prince, a dapper man educated at Oxford, handled the situation with a touch of semantic diplomacy. He quickly referred to the professor's question as one "addressed to the chair" — meaning Carter — and not as a direct question to him. Only then did he respond.

See CONFERENCE

14A ▀



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

ADEPT: Prince Hassan ibn Talal.



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

LONG LOOK: Carter ponders point.

Conference

FROM 1A

The meetings of the two sides have not always been so polite during the four-day Emory conference, which concludes today.

When an Israeli radio reporter tried to interview Farouk al-Sharaa, Syria's minister of state for foreign affairs, the Arab official stalked away with the declaration, "We don't talk with aggressives."

Moments later, however, al-Sharaa learned that he had already inadvertently granted an interview to an Israeli television station. The revelation caused a minor flap that required the peacemaking intervention of conference coordinators and a former Carter Administration diplomat.

The controversial interview was obtained by veteran Israeli TV reporter Elimelech Ram, who had removed his sportcoat — which carried his identifying press badge — before approaching al-Sharaa in a hallway with open microphone and ready cameraman.

"I took off my coat because it was hot

in here," Ram said, insisting with a straight face that he had not intended to conceal his identity from the Syrian official. "I guess it has created a small scandal for the conference."

Among those to talk to Ram about his tape was Joseph Sisco, a former Middle East negotiator for Carter.

"I don't think I'm going to use the broadcast," the television reporter said finally. "I should have identified myself."

With Syria now a central player in hostilities in Lebanon, al-Sharaa has been in the middle of other lively exchanges at Emory, both on and off the official stage. Between panel discussions Tuesday afternoon, near the table offering coffee and snacks to conference participants, the Syrian official ran into Philip Habib, the recent U.S. special envoy to the Middle East.

Habib could be heard responding to an apparent accusation that Israel is a U.S. puppet.

"Do the Russians tell you what to do?" Habib asked, answering himself, "We don't tell the Israelis what to do."

"They give you arms," Habib said of the Russians, "We give them arms."

Precautions have been taken to guarantee that the predictable tensions do not carry beyond words.

All people attending the conference sessions have had to pass through metal detectors and frisk searches. And dogs trained to sniff out explosives inspect every nook and cranny of the conference's two auditoriums, one at the Woodruff Medical Center Administration Building and the other at the Glenn Memorial Church on the Emory campus.

At the start of each day, conference organizer Kenneth W. Stein has cautioned the audience to "refrain from showing partisan sentiment," meaning not to clap too loudly for any one speaker. In fact, only one presentation has prompted an emotional ovation — a call Tuesday for an independent Palestinian state from Professor Nafez Nazzal, a Palestinian himself who is a visiting teacher at the University of Pennsylvania.

At the end of the discussions Tuesday, co-chairman Carter took pleasure in one accomplishment of the informal tone. The ex-president noted that various Arab officials in the audience "did not depart" when it was time for the speech by Gideon Rafael, the former director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

"When an Israeli speaks in the U.N., you see all the Arabs walk out," Carter said.

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PAGE 16-A, WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 9, 1983

Fast start for Carter forums

If this week's Middle East Consultation out at the Emory University campus is a sample of the high level of discourse we can expect from the Carter Center in years to come, then Atlanta is witness at the creation of an invaluable asset not just to the community but to the world.

Given the highly charged topic — the search for a just peace in the Middle East — government spokesmen have expounded and scholars and former senior diplomats have critiqued in an atmosphere of civility and occasional good humor. Remarkably, the discussions have been relatively free of the playing-to-the-homefolks posturing and polemics that characterize official forums in, say, New York City or Geneva.

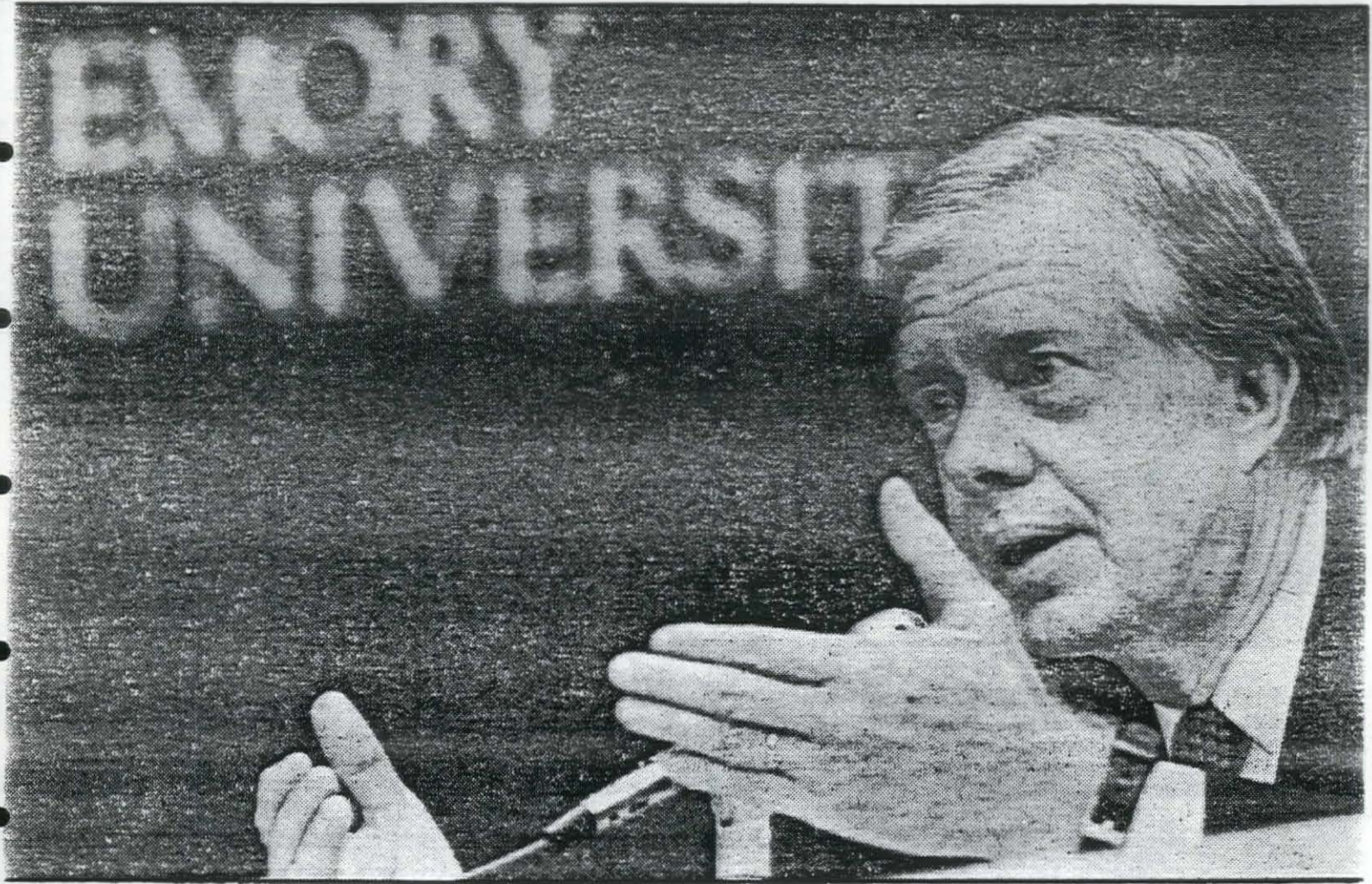
But then, that was former President Jimmy Carter's vision: an informal gathering of the world's best minds to germinate, cross-pollinate and nurture ideas for settling some of our planet's most nagging problems — and, in the process, to promote a better public understanding of the complexities that underlie them.

The fact that two former U.S. presidents, Carter and Gerald Ford, have presided skillfully over this week's meetings have doubtless maximized their decorum. The public sessions have been further enhanced by thought-provoking remarks from the likes of two Arab princes, high-ranking Egyptian and Lebanese counselors and foreign-affairs professionals like Cyrus Vance, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Joseph Sisco, Sol Linowitz, Harold Saunders and Philip Habib.

But the public sessions are only a part of dynamics of the Consultation. Academics and diplomats have been meeting privately over meals or over coffee, attaching faces and personalities to what were previously only names on the spines of books in one another's libraries, widening their acquaintanceships and deepening their insights.

It has been an undertaking of high purpose and impressive scale — a credit to Emory University, to its corporate sponsors, to director Kenneth Stein and his largely volunteer staff — and to its participants.

Encore, ladies and gentlemen, encore.



CHERYL BRAY/Star

Carter said a report on issues covered at the conference will be released to participants and possibly the Reagan administration.

Carter calls Mideast talks a success

By Esther M. Bauer
Staff Writer

This week's Middle East discussions at Emory University have "far exceeded our own expectations," former President Jimmy Carter said Wednesday at the end of the conference he co-sponsored.

Carter called the talks a success and did not rule out the possibility of a Middle East trip or additional talks with regional leaders.

"My inclination is to communicate with them in a fairly extensive way, whether it will involve a trip to the Middle East is a possibility that we have not foreclosed," Carter said during a news conference at the end of four days of discussions.

Carter, who sponsored the forum in conjunction with Emory University and co-chaired it with former President Gerald Ford, said that "a degree of commonality" had been reached among Middle Eastern delegates.

Throughout the talks, delegates urged that current agreements, including an Arab League proposal and the Camp David accords, be used to launch new peace negotiations in the warring region.

A definitive report detailing issues discussed in the conference, particularly Palestin-

ian autonomy and Israel's security concerns, will be released to all parties and possibly to the Reagan administration, Carter said.

Carter said that government representatives from Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia privately expressed appreciation for hearing Israeli views firsthand.

Although Israeli leaders boycotted the conference in protest of a controversial Palestinian session, Israeli scholars unofficially presented their country's views.

Israeli leaders withdrew official participation last month, contending that Palestinian scholar Walid Khalidi was a member of the militant Palestine Liberation Organization — despite State Department assurances that he is not.

During his presentation, Khalidi called for the United States to recognize Palestinian rights to a sovereign nation.

Harold Saunders, a Middle East adviser in the Carter administration, also urged the United States to recognize Palestinians as a separate Arab entity.

"I don't see why the United States just can't come out and say it . . . in so many words that the Palestinian people have the right of self-determination," Saunders said.

Khalidi, who is a professor at Harvard, said the United States has traditionally treated Palestinians as a "non-entity" and the PLO as "leper."

"The key to Palestinian fulfillment is sovereignty. Let there be a West Jerusalem that is the capital of Israel and an East Jerusalem that is the capital of Palestine," Khalidi said.

Israeli scholar Haim Shaked, who with Saunders served as a panelist in the Palestinian session, called the Palestinian question crucial to resolving conflict in the Middle East.

He listed three preconditions for negotiations with Palestinians: recognition of Israel's right to exist, renunciation of terrorism as a way to achieve Palestinian sovereignty, and Palestinian "expressions of willingness" to negotiate.

"I detect a willingness in Palestinian negotiators today to go to a formula of compromise," Shaked said. "Unfortunately it's still a voice from the wilderness of Arab and Palestinian politics."

Saunders also offered a three-point plan including acceptance by Israelis and Palestinians of each party's human rights, right to self-determination and a framework leading to self-determination.

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Carter conference offers hope that peace is possible

If words were deeds, then peace would be at hand in the most troubled region on this Earth.

At the Middle East Consultation co-chaired by former presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford at Emory University this week, representatives of five Arab nations, Israel and the Palestinians swore their people genuinely want peace — and all except Syria sounded like they really meant it.

Of course, there is a long road between words and deeds. Each of those who said he sought peace had his own definition of it, and his own list of conditions under which it could be obtained. No resolution of the conflicts in those lists was found in the speeches and questions and answers at the meeting.

But no one really expected this unique gathering to produce in four days what has escaped people of good will for thousands of years. What was hoped was that the search, virtually stagnated, might be reinvigorated and that parties to the dispute might demonstrate there is good will among them today.

It is too soon to gauge the success of that undertaking. Certainly nothing in the public sessions warranted immediate optimism. But there were many private meetings, and something just may come of those. Offstage contacts between Israelis and Arabs were described as "polite and correct," but there was serious discussion among some Arab delegates seeking what one called "action-oriented measures to move forward" on peace efforts. That could be a critical development, because it will be difficult for another Arab state to move toward negotiations with Israel without support from its brothers.

But the conference's most important accomplishment may have been to focus attention on the fact that there are many points in common in the positions held by the various sides.

Dr. Usamah al-Baz of Egypt suggested a new approach of putting the Camp David accords, U.N. Resolution 242, the Arabs' Fez plan and the Reagan proposals of last year on the table, finding the common ground in them and negotiating on the differences that remain. There is merit in his suggestion. It might not be a successful formula for a final-stages negotiation, but it could at least be a starting point in the tricky process of getting people to the table.

It still remains, of course, for some parties to express their willingness to talk at all. Israel and Egypt have demonstrated their ability and will to provide what conference coordinator Dr. Ken Stein said is needed for peace: cooperation, communication and compromise. If others found at this conference the strength, the wisdom or the means to do the same, then perhaps the words can in fact become deeds.

We are impressed by this first endeavor of the new Carter Center of Emory University, and by the efforts of President Carter to revive the momentum for peace in the Middle East. We're proud that some of the Arab newspapers have referred to the conference's work as the "Atlanta initiative" — and we pray that it produces concrete progress toward its goal.

معركة كلاميته بين الشرع وسياسكو



سيسكر



الشرع

الاتحاد - من مراسلة
القبس ايتا ساتوكيجان :

انتهت امس ندوة الاتحاد التي عقدت حول الشرق الاوسط لمدة اربعة ايام واسم المشاركين فيها تحليرا توبا كلالا، فيه انه لم يمد هناك مضغ من الوقت لتسوية شانه للشرق الاوسط .

وقد دارت معظم المناقشات التي جرت خلال هذا الاسبوع حول اساليب وسبل تنمية قوة الفتح لاجراء سلام شامل في المنطقة . ويدرك طالباتة والمتركون في هذا المؤتمر ان السبب الرئيسي هو تسوية القضية الفلسطينية والاعتراف بحق الفلسطينيين في تقرير المصير .

كما تبين للمشاركين في هذا المؤتمر ان سياسة الاستيطان الاسرائيلي تقف عقبة امام السلام ، ورئيس السابق جيمي كارتر الذي نظم المؤتمر مع الرئيس الامين جerald فورد كان منهم الوجه كثيرا فتمنا تحدثت من مشكلة المستوطنات فقال ، كان هناك مرة تم الهرة اتفاق في كيب داليند على تنفيذ المستوطنات ، انما لم يعترم رئيسه رازد اسرائيل السابق بلعقبه يبين هذا الاتفاق .

فانيس

وتقال مسابروس فانيس وزرتر الخارجية الامريكية في عهد الرئيس كارتر : قد قلنا جميعا صرات ، ومبالاة ان هناك حاجة لسلام مستمر وثالثه ومقابل في الشرق الاوسط ، لقد كررنا جميعا هذه الكلمات ، انما لسوء الحظ ، لم نصل الاجوال الى مستوى الاحتمال .

من جانب اخر، قال سول ليفوريلين انميوت الاسبوع الامريكي العظمى للشرق الاوسط : في الحقيقة ان الشرق الاوسط هو الآن عليه « كيرت » ، بلهنا بذلك الحرب يرتفعهم التي جلوس الى ملادة المفاوضات مع اسرائيل .

عواقب وخيمة

هنا وقد حذر وزير الدوله السوري السيد فاروق الشرع المؤتمر



فانيسي

يقول: بان اسرائيل مستمرة في مواقف وخيمة من جراء غزوها للجنان .

وفي غضون ذلك ، حانم جوزيف سيبسكو وهو بميوت امريكي الفخر للشرق الاوسط الامورين بقوله : ان الاجيكتين لا يعرفون مالدا لربده سوريا ، ولقد تبادل الفرح مع سيبسكو كلمات قاسية فقال الفرح انه لم يكن لاسرائيل ان تغزو لبنان لولا تاييد واشنطن .

تحفيز

ان اهم ما تميز به المؤتمر ، نقل

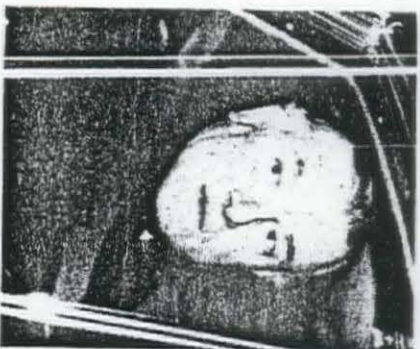
في التطير التمييز العنصري وهو يفتتح بريجنكي ، مستشار الامن القومي السابق ، بشأن الصحائف الاسرائيلي بين الولايات المتحدة واسرائيل ، فقد اشار بريجنكي الى ان الولايات المتحدة ستواجهه مواقف خطرة فيما لو تفتح دورها من مور الوميط . فقال : « ان الولايات المتحدة يوصفها الزعيم في المنطقة قد بنت هذه الحقيقة بوجودها المستقر في لبنان . . . ويحفظ ونسما تفطير فيه القوات الامريكية الى الاستيلاء مع الفلسطينيين والموزون ، . . . وسندد بريجنكي على ان الصحائف الاسرائيلي بين الولايات المتحدة واسرائيل سيؤدي الى مواقف خطرة على المدى الطويل . »

كلر كير

الرئيس السابق جيمي كارتر قال انه اذا همت اسرائيل العنصرية الغربية ستقرب نتائج خطرة علىسي ذلك وقد تلجا مصر الى الغاء معاهدة الصلح مع اسرائيل .

وقد تمثل اهم العناصر التي برزت من خلال المناقشات التي جرت فيس المؤتمر في الاجماع على ضرورة عدم عزل الازمة اللبنانية من تفسيره الشرق الاوسط المركزية .

الخطالي يبدع أميركا لإعادة المنظر برفضها مشروع فاس



● الخطالي

الخطاليية « ان كل ظل الله من الناس يحتاجون الى صندوق البريد الى ارض يظنون عليها اسم وطن ». وفي انتقاد لخطوة الحكم الذاتي الإسرائيلي في الضفة المحتلة قال : ان مفتاح وفتح قرة الخطاليية ليست ادارة والمنظمات الفلسطينية ليست ادارة بلعبات الخيل وتابئس كما هو حال مفتاح الخطاليية الإسرائيلي التي لا تطوي على ادارة بلعبه بل ايستب مفتاح الخطاليية الفلسطينية هو « المسادة » . وقال ان الولايات المتحدة « كقوة عالمية عظيمة تتحمل التزامها اخلاقياً من اجل الضغط ليجاد حل عادل للمشكلة الفلسطينية » .

وقال انه « ما من احد يطلب من الولايات المتحدة ان تطار بين إسرائيل والفلسطينيين لكن الفلسطينيين يطولون في ان يسألوا هل يصحون دولة اسرائيل ام انكم تساندون اميرالولايات المتحدة اسرائيل » .

تعليق سوندرز

وفي تعليق على كلمة الخطاليي دعا مساعد وزير الخارجية الاميري السانوي لشؤون الشرق الاوسط هارولد سوندرز ادارة الرئيس الاميري ريغن التي ان تعرف علنا بحق الفلسطينيين في تقرير المسح .

وحسب سوندرز الفلسطينيين والاسرائيليين على ان يشركوا في ثورة جادة ليجاد طريقة ما لعقد حوار مباشر فيها بينهم في أي مفاوضات سلمية في المستقبل .

كما اتفق الفلسطينيون الدكتور وليد الخطالي الولايات المتحدة الى امادة النظر في رفضها لمشروع السلام الاميري الذي اتيق من تبة فاس اميريالراسي ليجاد تسوية سلمية لربة الخطاليية الاوسط والفصية الفلسطينية . وقال في كلمة القاها امسي الاول في الجمعية الخطاليية كوتر الشرق الاوسط الذي عقد بجامعة اتلانتا بولاية جورجيا الاميريكية بالمراف الرئيس الاميريكي السابق جيمي كارتر ان مشروع السلام الاميري هو يادرة مربية مستقبلية لربة من نوصها فصيحت تقول لم يسبق له مثل قبل حيل تركيبة تقسم دولتين لحل (الفصية الفلسطينية .

ولاحظ الدكتور الخطالي وهو برة نسور في جمعة « هارنار المعروف بالصلواته الربيعة مع قادة منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ان المنظمة قطعت والاصححت ملتزمة بشروع فاسي السلامي الذي يوزر « فسياتات سلمية » بين كافة دول الشرق الاوسط بما فيها اسرائيل .

وبخصوص وضع ما لنتظمة التحرير في تسوية سلمية قال « ان الصراحة والشجاعة الفصية في امادة تقسيم خطه فاسي تستحق اكثر من التجاهل الضليل لها » .

وبالاشارة الى محورية التوجه الى كيم جايبيد قال « انه لا يوجد هناك بديل لسلم فكري يقضيان التليسي او سياسي وعام يابط بعين الاقضية اار جوانب متعددة واجباها لقضايا متعددة ايبسا .

وبما الدكتور الخطالي الى مقصد هو ار سياسي حالف مع كافة الاطراف المنيبة محليا والقييا وعالما على ان يكون هذا الحوار عادلا وسورا وتكري وخلاصا .

صندوق بريد

وقال ان هذه الجهات ستسأل اول في ان واحد الصعبت من مستويات راقية ومجموعة وبارزة من قضايا تقرير المصير الفلسطيني ولبنان وبرفصيات الجوانب الخطه .

واوضح في تقرير موجه على وجه الخصوص الى الاميريكيين من بيتن الحضور الاصل والتاريخ الحبيب للتراث الاسرائيلي الفلسطيني . وكثيري في متابعة من اجل الصالحة

Carter seminar focuses views on the Mideast

By ALLEN RABINOWITZ
Special to the Exponent

ATLANTA — Former President Jimmy Carter convened a mini-United Nations of sorts here this week to focus on Middle East issues, but Israeli government representatives were conspicuously absent, protesting the presence of an alleged Palestine Liberation Organization member.

Former President Gerald Ford shared chairman's duties with Carter at the unofficial "Consultation on the Middle East," the inaugural project of the Carter Center of Emory University.

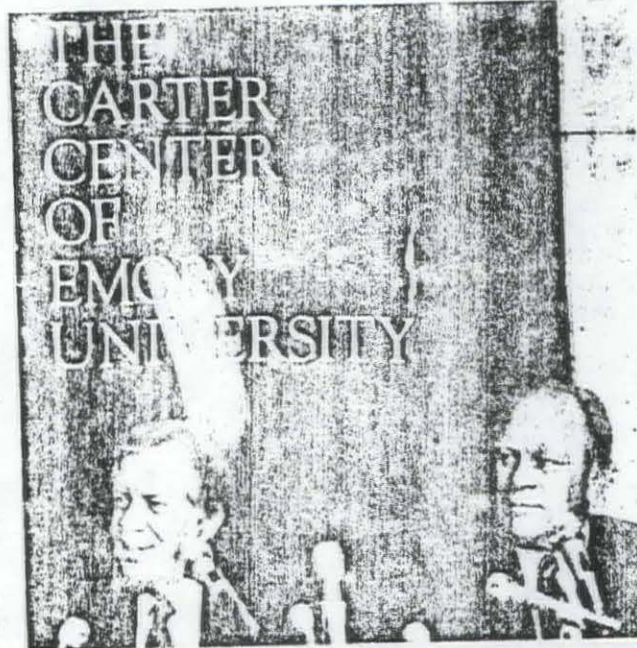
Whether the alleged PLO member, Harvard Professor Walid Khalid, is in fact a member of the PLO was the subject of dispute before the four-day conference opened Sunday. After Israel canceled its participation last month, the conference sponsors and the State Department sought to reassure Israel that Khalid was not a PLO member.

However, the only Israelis to attend were six academics not connected with the government.

In attendance were high-ranking officials of Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt. Also at the conference were former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Philip C. Habib, until last spring President Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East, and veteran diplomat Joseph J. Sisco.

Speakers from the USSR, France and West Germany also attended.

Carter called the gathering "an unprecedented way" for the nations of the Middle East and others with policy concerns "to present their views to the American public." He said he would follow up the conference with a trip to



Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford opened last week's four-day conference on the Middle East at Emory University in Atlanta. The conference was the inaugural event of the Carter Center at the university.

Photo by UPI

the Middle East to meet with leaders there.

As the conference got under way, Dr. Osama el-Baz, adviser on political affairs to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, said the "omnipotence of the Palestinian question" affects all aspects of Middle East politics. The Camp David agreement, he said, lacks a key element in the omission of the phrase "self-determination for the Palestinian people."

Baz said the omission had given Israel the opportunity to "go back on its commitment with respect to settlement

(Continued on Page 70)

Presidents Carter and Ford chair Atlanta conference on Mideast

(Continued from Page 5)
activities."

However, he said, Egypt would pursue a comprehensive peace. "Peace is not only possible, but is the only viable alternative to destruction and bloodshed for the rest of our lives."

Harold Saunders, former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs, stressed the importance of bringing Egypt back into the mainstream of the Arab world. Saunders, one of the framers of the Camp David accords, stressed that steps should be taken to enable Egypt to regain its role as a "stabilizer and balancing force" within the region.

Israeli scholar Itamar Rabinovich, a professor at Tel Aviv University, said "the Arab system is suffering" because of Egypt's strained relationship with other Arab nations and noted that the Iran-Iraq conflict could have been avoided if Egypt had been "pulling its full weight" in the area.

Responding to a question on possible American actions in Lebanon, Ford said America should "keep our cool. We should not lash out in some reckless military action. We should not withdraw precipitously from our commitment in Lebanon. It's time for review of our policies in Lebanon and the Middle East. The time for strong action is when we decide what our policy should be."

Carter agreed, warning that retaliation by the American forces in Lebanon for the suicide bombing last month of the U.S. Marine headquarters in Beirut could be "counter-productive."

"To guess who is responsible or to base a military action on unsubstantiated allegations would be a serious mistake," he said.

Dr. Wadi Haddad, special adviser to the Lebanese president for national affairs, said Lebanon would remain at war as long as most of the nation is under foreign occupation.

"The direct military occupation of Leba-

non exaggerates the differences among the Lebanese," Haddad said.

He called upon the United States to bring the warring groups together to agree on a new formula for sharing power.

It was the general feeling that peace in Lebanon would be achieved only when the broad problems of Israel and the Palestinians are solved.

Syria, represented by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Farouk al-Shar, said that American-Israeli relations are based on "mutual interest and common desire to dominate the region . . . over the desires of other people."

The Syrian diplomat discounted the ability of the United States to play a direct role in ending the area's turmoil. The United States, he said, "can't be a party and a judge in the same dispute."

Shar claimed that Syria is in Lebanon by invitation of the Lebanese government, while Israel is nothing but an invading force. He

asserted the greatest obstacle to peace is the continuing Israeli occupation of Lebanon and of the territories taken in the 1967 war. Without Israeli occupation, he suggested, peace could be secured through a U.N. conference attended by all concerned parties, including the USSR.

However, others at the conference viewed with alarm Soviet intentions in the region.

Shar decried what he called a biased picture presented by the American news media of the Arab people and their goals.

Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan said the greatest threat to the region comes from the upsurge in religious fanaticism, which he said is affecting all public affairs. He expressed hope that the Reagan peace initiative could be revived, perhaps linked with the Arab League's Fez plan.

He said neither Israel nor any Arab state could speak for the Arabs of Gaza and the West Bank. He said that if Israel wants to

(Continued on next page)

Mideast is Emory conference topic

(Continued from preceding page)

be considered a member of the Middle East community of nations, and not a Western state occupying space in the region. Israel cannot treat Palestinian Arabs as "aliens within their own country."

He emphasized that Jordan seeks to play a moderating and stabilizing role in the Middle East, will continue to be wary of extremist positions and will be a willing partner in any plans to bring a just and stable peace to the region.

He also called for the American government to establish a bi-partisan commission on the Middle East, similar to the Kissinger Commission on Central America.

The possibility that the Middle East conflict might escalate to a nuclear confrontation was a major topic of concern.

Gideon Raphael, a retired Israeli diplomat, said Middle East nations must overcome the "towering obstacle" of an unbridled arms race, both conventional and nuclear.

He called upon leaders to develop a practical initiative to limit the arms race, stating that Israel has proposed declaring the region a nuclear-free zone. He called for a convention similar to the Atlanta conference to establish guidelines for such a zone.

At a final news conference Wednesday, Ford and Carter reaffirmed the need for a bi-partisan Arab-Israeli effort modeled on the Atlanta conference to resolve the area's conflicts.

Mideast officials, scholars exchange views at Carter forum

By Esther Bauer
Special to The Globe 1/4

ATLANTA - Jimmy Carter, who carved a niche for himself as conciliator in the Mideast conflict through the Camp David accords, is continuing that role after his presidency.

The first project of his Policy Center of Emory University in Atlanta was last week's forum for conflicting views among Mideast officials and scholars, who often lapsed into strident exchanges.

By the end of the four days of talks ending Wednesday, Carter and most participants seemed hopeful that some understanding had been achieved and relieved that the talks had proceeded without anyone walking out.

One of the most hopeful things

a consensus that existing formal agreements among the Arab states, and also the Camp David accords between Egypt and Israel, could be used as a basis for future formal discussion.

3 issues pointed out

Three main issues were identified as standing in the way of peace: Syrian-Israeli involvement in the Lebanon conflict, Israeli occupation of Arab lands in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and creation of a separate Palestinian state.

Carter said the forum would have been impossible without bipartisan representation.

The conference was cochaired by former President Gerald R. Ford and included Mideast specialists and luminaries from the Carter Ad-

where representatives from hostile nations could talk to each other without losing face.

But even the informal atmosphere of the Emory University campus did not hide differences. When crown Prince Hassan Ibn Talal of Jordan finished his speech urging improved communications in the Mideast, he found himself in a dilemma after an Israeli scholar posed a question.

The lack of diplomatic relations with Israel prompted Talal to redirect the question to the chair - Carter and Ford. Only then did he answer the question.

Talal, brother to Jordan's King Hussein, called the region's state of affairs a "serious morass" and urged a more even-handed approach by US negotiators. He

tion as the recognized voice of all Palestinians - a position Israel continues to oppose.

Israeli scholars attend

Israeli leaders boycotted the talks, contending that Walid Khalidi, a Palestinian professor at Harvard University, is a PLO member. Khalidi denies official membership, but advocates a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital.

Although Israeli scholars unofficially represented Israeli views, the discord between the government of Israel and anything Palestinian was not reflected by one scholar's response to Khalidi's address. Both men firmly shook hands after the Israeli scholar called the Palestinian question the most crucial issue

importance of the United States as a negotiator. At the same time, they criticized its pro-Israeli policies as being "part and parcel" of Israeli aggression.

Syria's minister of state for foreign affairs, Farouk al Sharaa, was the lightning rod of discontent at the consultation and the harshest critic of the United States.

Sharaa attacked the Camp David accords as alienating Egypt with her Arab neighbor states, and said US-backed Israeli aggression has kept the region in turmoil since President Harry S Truman's Administration. PLO recognition is crucial to any peace process.

By the end of the conference, however, Sharaa congratulated Carter for holding the talks, saying

part, Carter proclaimed the consultation an overwhelming success and disregarded any rancorous remarks as "played for the folks back home."

The Arab press is already calling Carter's consultation the "Atlanta initiative," a Cairo reporter said. Conference coordinators are preparing a definitive report outlining points of harmony and nonnegotiable issues discussed at the conference. The document will be available to each participating nation as well as the Reagan Administration, said Carter, who has not ruled out follow-up trips to the Mideast for more talks.

The consultation's most significant contribution, Carter said, was the informality that allowed "face-to-face" discussion

Perspective

the Atlanta Journal □ THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

..... SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1983

Carter's talks were more than routine meeting

□ INTERVIEW WITH CARTER

4C

By Esther M. Bauer and Paul Lieberman
Staff Writers

The tense, delicate nature of the first world problem Jimmy Carter chose to tackle at his Carter Center of Emory University was evident in the very title of the former president's conference on the Middle East last week.

His gathering in Atlanta of an international assortment of political leaders, diplomats and professors was a conference that avoided billing itself as a conference — it was carefully called a "consultation."

Carter said the title was used because he wanted "more than just a routine conference where you go and everybody presents a speech, then you have a banquet and go home."

Others, however, suggested that the word "consultation" was used to signify informality. Some of the participants were traditional enemies in perhaps the foremost crisis region of the world, people not quite ready for talks that sounded as official as a "conference."

And as Carter noted more than once as his guests argued over the meaning of words during a series of panel discussions that ran from Sunday to Wednesday, "Semantics are very important in the Middle East."

By whatever the title, the event proved to be, much as Carter said, more than a routine conference. It was, at various times, a forum for both international confrontation — providing pessimistic reminders of the longstanding antagonisms that make the problems in the Middle East seem so insoluble — and unexpected, optimistic gap-closing.



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

JIMMY CARTER: He felt on the line.

See CARTER

4C

If the top Syrian representative denounced the United States and turned his back on Israeli reporters, he also wound up calling the event "a good place to express our viewpoint and address the Americans" and suggested that his country might be amenable to some type of peace talks. And if the appearance of a Palestinian professor alleged to have ties to the Palestine Liberation Organization caused an official Israeli government boycott of the affair, the same professor would wind up on stage shaking hands with an Israeli scholar. It was that kind of event.

According to a reporter from Cairo, some of the Arab press was calling it the "Atlanta Initiative."

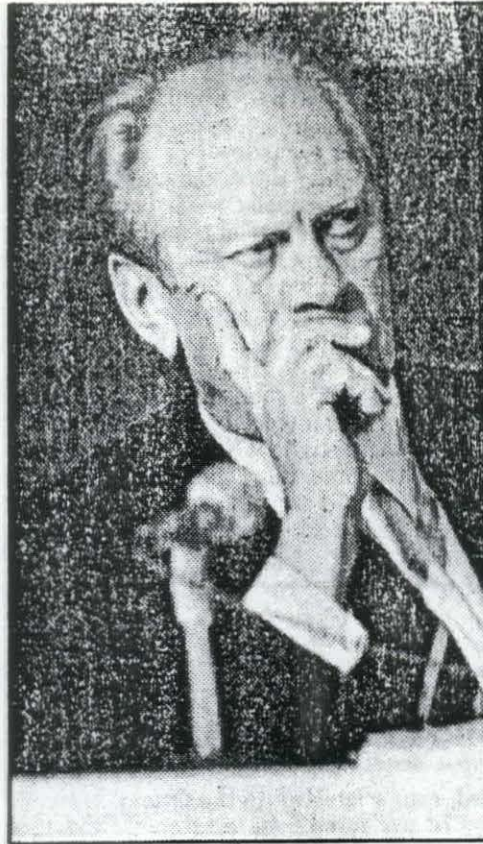
It also was a reunion of sorts for the Carter administration foreign policy hierarchy. Names like Brzezinski, Linowitz, Vance and Young assembled to lecture, comment or just witness what was an impressive coming out party for their former leader in the role he has chosen to play as an ex-president.

While other occupants of the White House have retired in recent decades to lives of golf, book writing, corporate boardmanship and semi-exile, the former First Georgian has announced that his public future is tied to the international mediation center named for him at Emory. Even before he convened his first "consultation" on the Middle East, Carter was planning future gatherings to discuss such formidable problems as worldwide health care, nuclear arms control and the international economy.

Gerald Ford was co-chairman of last week's conference, adding prestige and a symbol of bipartisanship, but there was no question that it was Carter's show.

"I think it showed me why he was so successful at Camp David," said Kenneth W. Stein, the Emory professor who did much of the nitty-gritty organizing of the event. "He listened to every nuance. We had some great private meetings where people were very candid, open and direct. Everyone was loose. I think we created an atmosphere of listening. If people disagreed, they disagreed honestly."

After it was over, Carter admitted that he felt personally on the line before the first-ever Carter Center event. In the week before the



FORD: The symbol of bipartisanship.

proceedings, he was like the nervous host planning a big party, worrying about who would show up and about who wouldn't get along.

"It was a big risk," he said in an interview Thursday at his home in Plains. He said he feared until the last minute that Arab representatives might pull out, or that U.S. problems in Lebanon might escalate into open conflict, making any calm discussions impossible.

Indeed, most participants — including Carter — seemed surprised and relieved when the talks finished without anyone walking out.

Instead, he and the dozens of participants representing six Middle East nations, the United States, Russia, Germany and France picked each others' brains to find areas on which they could agree.

At the same time, speaker after speaker reminded everyone that the Middle East is an explosive area. There was no shortage of rhetoric about "the triumph of extremist poli-

tics," "rampant extremism," "the politics of fanaticism," "the premise of might", "creeping annexation," and of each side's willingness to fight a "hundred years war" if necessary.

Nearly everyone appeared to agree on at least three crucial issues standing in the way of peace: Syrian-Israeli involvement in the Lebanon conflict, continued and expanding Israeli settlements on the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the recognition problems — the unwillingness of Arab states to recognize Israel's right to exist and Israeli unwillingness to return land, gained in past warfare, for use as a Palestinian state.

The Israeli government thought the mere presence of Walid Khalidi, a Palestinian professor at Harvard University, was reason enough to stay away from Emory. Khalidi denies official membership in the PLO but advocates a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital.

When Khalidi finally spoke, an Israeli scholar was on the stage to respond and ask questions. Their joint appearance led to predictable debate, but also provided an opportunity to show that within the safe walls of academia it was possible to make light of an issue that regularly ends lives thousands of miles away.

When the Israeli walked up to the podium, he noticed that Khalidi had left his wristwatch there. He handed the watch to Khalidi, receiving a topical thank you.

"Well, at least you returned my watch," Khalidi said.

Even the Soviet representative eventually agreed that the four days had been rather unusual.

"Particularly because of the presence of two former presidents, it could be termed as unique," said Alexander Zoltov, a political counselor with the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

"You can hardly expect a unique set of proposals or ideas to come out of a conference," Zoltov said. "What people are doing here is catching the spirit of the parties involved. But it's possible to use these conclusions to update our own position. It could be a substantial contribution to the peace process in the long run."

In the short run, Carter is preparing both an extensive, detailed report on the conference and a shorter paperback book on the findings. The paperback will be written "in simple peanut farmer language," he said.

Carter reflects on Mideast conference, future role

Total frankness of participants was 'surprising'

Immediately after four grueling days of chairing his conference on the Middle East at the Carter Center of Emory University, Jimmy Carter returned home to Plains. There, the next afternoon, he looked back on the event — and reflected on world politics and his own evolving role as an ex-president — in an interview with Journal-Constitution Staff Writers Esther M. Bauer and Paul Lieberman.

Shed of the dark business suits he wore for the conference, Carter was back in the patched blue jeans and soft-soled shoes of the gentleman peanut farmer. He sat in an easy chair in his living room, facing a wall featuring a portrait of daughter Amy in a long pink dress.

Q You picked one of the most explosive issues in the world as the subject of your first Emory University conference. With some of the participants traditional enemies, did you worry the conference wouldn't come off?

A It was a big risk. The thing could have flopped. The day before we were going to meet, all the Arabs could have pulled out or there could have been a total breakdown in their willingness to make a public statement of any controversial nature. So we were treading on eggs really.

It was not only a pleasure but a great relief to see the consultation end on a fairly constructive note.

Q Was it a blow that the Israeli government did not send an official representative, claiming another participant was affiliated with the PLO?

A We had assurance from the Israeli officials up to the last few weeks that they would also be here. But then when Begin resigned and (Yitzhak) Shamir took office, apparently he had second thoughts. And I think just dreamed up a reason not to come. I think they were looking for an excuse not to come.

Q Your former national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, said that in the wake of the bombing of our Marines in Lebanon, he was afraid we were about to be pushed from being mediators in the Middle East to being active protagonists. Did you agree with him?

A Yes. I think last week we were on the verge of maybe forming some kind of military coalition with Israel with the ostensible purpose of attacking Syrian forces in a punitive way. My feeling now is that scenario has been pretty well dampened down, in part because President Reagan had to go to Japan and I think it would be unlikely that we would embark on a new military venture in his absence. And also because of the cautions that were put forward by President Ford, me and literally hundreds of others who are and have been in government, that this would be a very dangerous and ill-advised act. It would immediately abort any sort of peace movement that is now taking place within Lebanon.

If we cement any sort of so-called strategic alliance with Israel in a military fashion, we'll have substantially damaged any opportunity for us to act as an objective mediator between the Arabs and Israelis. And I think we will have severed, in some cases, the tenuous relationships that meeting an armed attack with the full resources of his command. And for us to get involved in a military action against him just based on unfounded allegations that he initiated the attack on our Marines, I think would be ridiculous. And foolish.

Q Were there any surprises at the conference?

A Yes. I think overall the most pleasant surprise was the total frankness with which the participants addressed the issue. I think finding themselves in an academic environment on the Emory campus was conducive to that. In spite of some harsh rhetoric, which was inevitable and most of which was played for the folks back home, there was a growing consensus about what needed to be done.

One was that the Arab countries

have in fact recognized Israel's right to exist, and under certain ill-defined circumstances, to exist in peace. Secondly, that they are willing to negotiate with Israel if the Palestinians can we still have with some of the Arab leaders.

Q But doesn't it seem like many Americans might welcome another symbolic action to show that we will not be pushed around in the world? Americans seemed to be very pleased by our action in Grenada.

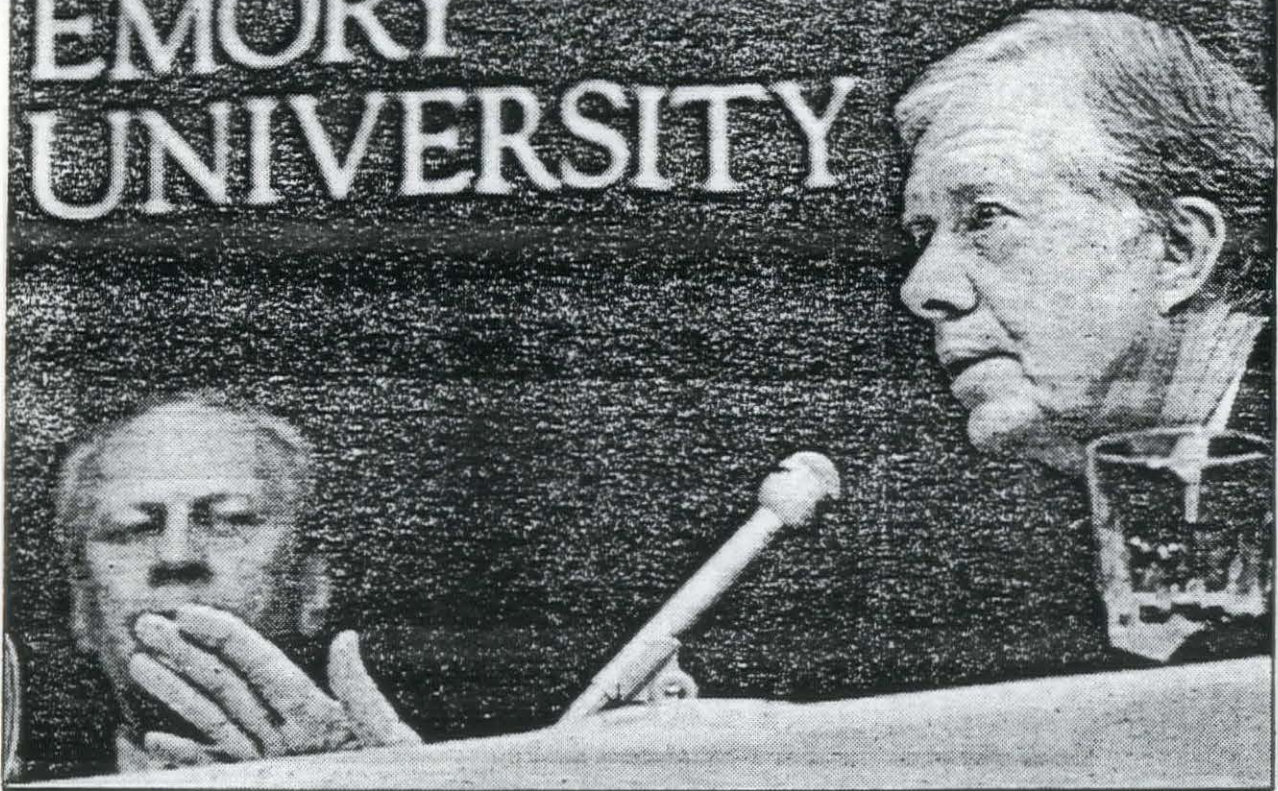
A It's deplorable when that sort of attitude evolves. And, of course, national leaders can breed such an attitude with just a few harsh words and statements and actions.

If you look on the victory over Grenada as grand victory, and many people do, then I would say the answer to your question is yes. There never was much doubt in my mind from the very beginning that we could defeat Grenada.

Attacking Syria is not symbolic. Syria's got enormous military forces on their own home grounds. And (Syrian President Hafiz) Al-Assad is a tough, competent, knowledgeable and, within his own country, popular leader. He would not bluff about being brought into the negotiation, in a way that's not embarrassing to them. Third, that there needs to be a transition period in the West Bank and Gaza, during which the Palestinians can consolidate their voice and demonstrate their ability to govern themselves.

Another very good thing was the general growing consensus among the Arabs that the United States has to play a strong mediation role. Even the Syrian minister, who at first had some quite harsh things to say about the United States, in the closing sessions, acknowledged the fact that without U.S. participation, there could likely be no progress.

THE CARTER CENTER OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



CHERYL BRAY/Staff

MAKES SUMMATION: Former President Jimmy Carter presents views during discussion on Egypt.

Q Despite the talk of traditional enemies getting an opportunity to communicate, only Egypt among the Arab nations has been willing to negotiate formally with Israel. Do you have any hope now that another Arab nation will be willing to follow Sadat's lead?

A I think it's obvious to me after this consultation, and after my meetings with King Hussein earlier this year, that the Jordanians are indeed ready to negotiate with Israel. If they can have just a modicum of support from the Arab world, at least

the moderates in the Arab world. And some peaceable way to have Palestinian participation.

And one of the encouraging things was Syria's open offer to negotiate at any time with Israel under the aegis of the United Nations. This (a U.N. meeting) is certainly not the preference of most of us. But it shows, in effect, a tacit recognition by Syria of Israel, of Israel's right to exist and a willingness to negotiate under certain, not unreasonable, circumstances.

Q Did you have the impression that the conference participants were talking to each other after the official panel discussions ended?

A Oh, yes. Constantly. In some cases, their after-hours discussions were more exciting and challenging than even the public session.

The leading scholars in Israel have devoted their entire adult life to studying a particular subject, have never met their peer group in Damascus or Beirut or Saudi Arabia, whose works they admire and whom they know intimately through their writings. So just for them to have a chance to meet these speakers that they have quoted in the classroom was an exciting thing.

Q Do you have any sense that anyone will be willing to stop the terrorists over there?

A Well, it's hard to know. You have to take into consideration also the difference in perspective. To some, the person that we call terrorist is a martyr. I don't think that any leader, the president of Iraq or Syria or the king of a country, can order a person to shut himself up in a pickup truck surrounded by a thousand pounds of TNT, and set off the fuse. There has to be an inherent religious fanaticism there to begin with and a conviction that his target is a mortal enemy in the eyes of God.

To retaliate against that kind of person for that kind of small, tiny fanatic group with a nation's military arms, with battleships and aircraft carriers and thousands of troops, to me is a ridiculous exercise.

Q What about your own role as an ex-president? You have said before that since you are out of power you feel that your role can be very challenging. Do you still feel that way after the conference?

A In some ways. I don't want to mislead anyone. You have a lot more authority and power, and influence, in the White House. But, with the exception of one instance, where I was secluded for almost two weeks during the Camp David discussions — a circumstance that I think will never be repeated in my lifetime by any leaders, by the way — I had so many other duties to perform that I really couldn't concentrate enough on a particular issue to understand the background, the history, the ethnic relationships and the root causes of the problem. And now, I, or President Ford, can devote literally months of travel and preparation and study to a single issue. That's one of the advantages. I know a lot more about the Middle East now than I did when I

was in office.

And it's a very great advantage to not to have every public word that I utter be official in nature. I'm not speaking for my nation. I don't have to guard the sensitivities of international diplomatic relationships so carefully. I have to be responsible, of course, but I can break new ground.

Q During the transition to the current administration, there is the story of your visit with President Reagan in which you shared your suggestions and he wouldn't take notes. Can you get listened to now? Do you have any sign that the Reagan administration is interested in what you are doing?

A Although President Reagan and I have not had occasion to meet and talk about these things, the communication between us through intermediaries, I think, is adequate.

I've had a very good working relationship with the national security adviser, Judge (William) Clark, and with Secretary of State (George) Schultz, throughout this year of work on the Middle East. Before I went to spend most of March in that area, I had fairly extensive conversations with those two men, and also our assistant secretary of state for Middle Eastern affairs.

Some of the officials that were here at the consultation who have served in this government and in my government informed me that as soon as they returned to Washington, they planned to give detailed briefings.

Q Some people seem to think you're trying to relive old times through this, trying to keep alive the memory of your greatest achievement, which was the Camp David talks. Did you find yourself with an emotional commitment to wanting to keep the spirit of that alive?

A It does not involve a pride of authorship. But the basic problems are the same. The principles for resolution of those problems are incorporated in Camp David. Secretary Schultz has said that there is nothing needed for permanent peace in the Middle East that is not included in Camp David. And this was before President Reagan's initiative. I'm eager to capitalize upon the modifications made in the Reagan initiative.

Q What is your view now of the role of ex-presidents in our society?

A I can only speak for myself. It's not a usual thing for a president-out of office to survive very long or to be young enough to be quite active. Obviously Woodrow Wilson was; Kennedy didn't survive, Johnson had a heart attack within a year after he left and President Nixon left under peculiar circumstances that aborted, at least circumscribed, his public activity.

I don't know what will happen in the future but as I've said many times, the center will be my life, at least the focal point for the rest of my active life.

Q Do you think Reagan has an appreciation of what his predecessors can contribute?

A I don't think so. But his immediate and very influential subordinates do. And this almost compensates for President Reagan's inattention to this possibility.

Lehigh Professor Advises on Mideast At Peace Debate

By ALAN LOVELL
Globe-Times Staff Writer

Former presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford dusted off their foreign policy manuals. Representatives from six Middle Eastern countries once again debated peace plans for their strife-ridden region. And Lehigh University professor Dr. Oles Smolansky advised them all on the Soviet role in the Middle East.

Smolansky was one of a handful of Middle East experts on hand for the recent inauguration of the Carter Center in Atlanta. While the group found no solutions for peace, he said, he was impressed by the civil manner in which the Arabs and Israelis conducted their discussions.

"In that sense it was extremely successful," said Smolansky, a professor of international relations and a specialist in Soviet interests in the Middle East.

The conference was hosted by Carter and Ford, and panelists included representatives from Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Ara-



OLES SMOLANSKY

bia, the United States and the Palestinian community.

The major problem, however, was that Israel sent no official representative. The Israeli government refused

Continued on Page B-3, Col. 5

Lehigh Professor Advises on Mideast At Peace Debate

Continued From Page B-1

to send official representation, because it said that Walid Khalidi, a Harvard University professor and a Palestinian, is a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization, he said.

Israel was represented by Rafael Gideon, its former ambassador to Great Britain and the United Nations, Smolansky said. A number of Israeli scholars also participated.

Highlighting the discussions were President Reagan's Middle East peace plan and the fighting in Lebanon.

Carter and Ford both spoke in favor of Reagan's plan, which they believe will continue the U.S. role in the peace process and will provide the best opportunity to move closer to peace, he said.

The president's plan, which would have Jordan negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians, was warmly supported by the Jordanian delegation, which included Crown Prince Hassan, the brother of King Hussein, Smolansky said.

The Palestinians didn't comment on the Reagan plan, but the Syrians were especially critical of it, he said, with their minister of foreign affairs indicating they want the Golan Heights back from Israel, as well as an independent Palestinian state consisting of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza.

Smolansky said that Israel's rejection of the Reagan plan has not changed as far as he knows; therefore, policy-makers must come with up an adequate starting point to gain that country's cooperation.

"Israel's role is essential," he said.

The consensus on Lebanon was that the United States should not use force in retaliation for terrorist attacks, but the reconciliation talks in Geneva should be given every chance to succeed, Smolansky said.

"Lebanese reconciliation is the only hope for the withdrawal of all (foreign) troops," he said.

Though they weren't in favor of sending Marines to Lebanon, Ford and Carter agreed the troops shouldn't withdraw because of the attacks, Smolansky said.

Regarding the Soviet role in the Middle East, which Smolansky addressed, the former presidents agreed the Soviets should not be brought in because they aren't interested in playing a constructive role in the search for peace, he said.

A representative from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., said his country was interested in peace and was prepared to cooperate with everyone, Smolansky said.

None of the other participants commented on Soviet interests in the Middle East.

The basis for the conference was Carter's trip to the Middle East last spring, when his meetings with various leaders convinced him that it might be helpful for him and Ford to bring this group together to exchange ideas in an informal setting, Smolansky said.

Carter is planning another trip to the Middle East in the spring of 1984.

The event was also designed to establish the Carter Center as a major research center on national and international affairs, he said.

V. 9 Nov 83

Ash-Shar' on Syrian Withdrawal at Atlanta Seminar

*JN081502 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1215 GMT
8 Nov 83*

[Text] Atlanta, Georgia — Faruq ash-Shar', Minister of state for foreign affairs, affirmed in Atlanta, Georgia last night that the Syrian forces will withdraw from Lebanon if the Israeli occupation forces withdraw — provided that this withdrawal is not linked to any conditions that might threaten Syria's security. At a seminar on the Middle East organized by former U.S. Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, Ash-Shar' said that Syria does not intend to turn Lebanon into a Syrian satellite. He also denied that the presence of the Syrian forces causes a delay in the Israeli withdrawal.

Ash-Shar' was responding to accusations by former U.S. envoy to the Middle East Joseph Sisco, who is participating in the seminar. He also said: If Sisco believes that the Syrian forces are an obstacle to Israel withdrawal, then why does the United States not put us in an embarrassing position by asking the Israelis to withdraw first to see whether we remain or withdraw immediately. Asked by former President Ford if Syria is ready to withdraw within a short time after the Israeli withdrawal takes place first, Ash-Shar' replied positively and said: The withdrawal will be conditioned. Israel's withdrawal should not be linked to any preconditions that threaten Syria's security and safety.

Ash-Shar' also explained that the agreement reached between Lebanese and Israeli negotiators with the assistance of the United States includes several terms that will threaten Syrian and Lebanese independence.

V. 15 Nov 83

Prince Hasan Returns From U.S. 14 Nov

*JN142156 Amman Domestic Service in Arabic 2100 GMT
14 Nov 83*

[Text] Amman — His Highness Crown Prince Hasan returned to Amman after a visit to the United States during which he participated in the work of the special conference organized by the Carter Institute at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. His highness also chaired the meetings of the independent committee on international humanitarian issues in New York.

Before leaving Washington, his highness met with U.S. Vice President George Bush, and exchanged views with him on the current issues in the Middle East. The talks with the vice-president were held within the framework of a joint desire to achieve stability in the region in a way that contributes to creating an appropriate climate to resume directing international efforts toward achieving a just and comprehensive peace. The talks also dealt with the need to embark on the Palestine question, which is the central issue, politically, in the Middle East and which is witnessing a grave escalation due to the instability in the entire east Mediterranean region. Information Minister 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah, Jordan's ambassador in Washington, and a number of the U.S. vice president's aides attended the meeting.

His highness was received by the Senate minister, the chief of the Royal Hashemite Court, the court minister, and the U.S. ambassador in Amman. Information Minister 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah returned with his highness.

V. 15 Nov 83

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Ash-Shar' Returns From Carter-Ford Conference

*JN140656 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0415 GMT
14 Nov 83*

[Text] Damascus — Faruq ash-Shar', minister of state for foreign affairs, returned to Damascus last night after participating in the international seminar on the Middle East and the Palestine question held in Atlanta, Georgia at the invitation of former U.S. Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford.

During the seminar, Ash-Shar' explained Syria's view on the Arab-Zionist conflict in the region. He affirmed our people's firm and principled stand, under President Hafiz al-Asad's leadership, and our determination to pursue struggle in order to liberate all the occupied Arab territories and to restore the Palestinian people's rights, including their right to determine their future and to establish their sovereign state.

Richard Matthews

Arguments at Emory on the danger of settlements policy were convincing

Even when you discount all the propaganda, even when you eliminate what was said purely for the folks back home, one thing became absolutely clear at the Middle East Consultation last week at Emory: Israel's policy on settlements on the West Bank is a critical part of the problem.

It doesn't really matter what Israel's motives are for pushing Jewish settlements in the occupied territory — whether it is innocently providing housing for its people or whether it has dark intentions of taking over the land permanently. The facts on the ground mean a virtual takeover is occurring rapidly, and that means trouble.

Dr. Meron Benvenisti, an Israeli who was vice mayor of Jerusalem, pointed out that Israel has taken for its own uses — settlements, military and "nature reserves" — almost 40 percent of West Bank land. Even if it doesn't take another square foot, he said, it has enough space served by water and utilities and so forth to settle a million people. Israelis are moving in

in trading territory for peace, and because they don't want their country to become, in essence, a permanent occupying force anywhere.

One can't reasonably ask an Israeli about-face in the West Bank based on threats or empty words. And of course Israel can't give up anything without absolutely dependable guarantees of security in exchange. The challenge now is to discover whether the many accommodating words spoken at Emory were empty or not. That, however, will require more action from



droves into what amount to suburban subdivisions outside Jerusalem. Thus, even if there is a freeze on new settlements, the deed has effectively been done.

If there was one point on which the Arab delegates to the Emory conference were united, it was their insistence that settlements cannot continue to grow. Some went further, of course, charging Israel is "expansionist" and wants parts of Lebanon and Syria and even the "East Bank" — that is, Jordan. That's inflammatory poppycock. But if you believe anything they said you have to believe their contention that there can be no lasting peace if there is no West Bank to negotiate about.

Not only Arabs are worried about this. Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance said he thinks "before long we will see . . . a de facto annexation," and when that happens we will be "sent back to square one" in the peace process. Former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski warned of movement toward a "fait accompli" on the West Bank, one which could maneuver the U.S. into the position of becoming a protagonist in the area, rather than a mediator. This could lead to American forces sent into war against Palestinians, which could in turn cause mas-

In the meantime, what course will Israel follow? Menachem Begin seemed to have made up his mind that the West Bank would never be returned, in whole or in part. Yitzhak Shamir may well feel the same way. If that remains the official Israeli position, then the settlements may continue to spread until the area is, for all practical purposes, part of Israel.

sive rethinking by the American public of our relationship with Israel.

Another point needs to be made here, however. Israel must have someone to negotiate with over its future settlements policy, and except for Egypt the Arab side refuses to talk. Israeli Haim Shaked of the University of Miami said the key to the West Bank is in the hands of Israel, Jordan and the Palestinians, if only the latter two will come to the table.

Of course, there's no assurance that freezing or withdrawing settlements would bring peace. But even if changing the settlements policy wouldn't guarantee a solution, continuing it does guarantee more serious problems.

The West Bank is a demographic time bomb for Israel. As Crown Prince Hassan of Jordan said, the time is nearing when Israel will have to choose between "compromising the Jewish nature of its state" by granting rights to the Arab residents there, or compromising its democratic and humane principles by denying them those rights or by "squeezing the Arabs eastward into Jordan."

This is no Arab propaganda exercise. It is a genuine worry for many Israelis who oppose de facto or de jure annexation because they believe the solution lies

Because of the settlements policy, events are plowing inexorably in that direction now, with potentially devastating consequences. As Dr. Benvenisti put it, "The whole political premise that things are reversible is about to become irrelevant!" Are suburban homes outside Jerusalem worth that price?

Leaders hear Carter, Ford on Mideast meeting

By Greg McDonald
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford met with Secretary of State George Shultz and congressional leaders Thursday to give them an analysis of the current Middle East situation based on insights the former chief executives gained from a recent Atlanta conference on the region.

After a luncheon meeting with Shultz at the State Department and a meeting on Capitol Hill with Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), Minority Leader Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) and House Speaker Tip O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.), the two said they offered some proposals that might be pursued by the administration to move the peace process forward.

The former presidents declined to comment on the specifics of the discussions. But Carter said Shultz and the congressional leaders "were eager" to hear his and Ford's views.



United Press International

MEETING: (Left to right) Baker, O'Neill, Ford, Carter, Byrd and Rep. Robert Michel after discussion.

The two former presidents said they plan to provide the administration and Congress with a detailed report of the "consultation" on the Middle East they hosted earlier this month at Emory University. The conference brought together scholars and government leaders from Syria, Israel, Lebanon, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and other countries to discuss the problems of the region in a public forum.

But according to congressional and administration officials, some of the information conveyed to Shultz and

the congressional leaders came from private discussions they had with representatives of Middle Eastern countries who attended the conference.

Carter has often been critical of the administration's handling of Middle Eastern affairs, particularly what the former president has described as a lack of direct involvement by the highest level of the administration in peace negotiations. Ford, a Republican and supporter of President Reagan on most issues, has also been critical on occasion of the administration's efforts in the Middle East.

The Atlanta Constitution Nov. 18, 1983

Carter, Ford share ideas on Mideast with leaders

By Greg McDonald

Washington Bureau

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בשורת הגאולה למזרח התיכון - לפי אטלנטה

מעריב 18.11.83

מאת דן פתיר

N תחיל מקו הסיכום: אם השבתי ערב הייתה המזרח התיכון שמא העדרותו של נציג ישראלי רשמי מאירוע זה אינה במקומה, ואפשר שתסב נזק המדינות, וזו אולי ארכה ימי הדינאים כאן, ביחומתו של נבטיא לשעבר נימי קארטר ובחסות מי שחתם עם הנשיא לשעבר פורד, גתבר כי והעדרות הנאת היתה לברכה.

כי מה שהתרחש באירוע זה, שנערך בסיומן תנוכתו של המכון ע"ש קארטר, ובנידולו, אולי פחות חשוב ממה שלא היה בו, השתתפות רשמית ישראלית, בי מקרה זה, היתה מועילה רק למי שרצה להעניק לגיטימציה, השיבות והגופה ליומות מדיניות הדשותיינות במזרח התיכון על ידי מי שהיו (שני נשיאים ופקידים בכירים של ממשל קארטר) יחד עם נציגים של מדינות ערביות שלחמו בהסכם השלום הישראלי-מצרי (סוריה), או שהתנגדו לו והסתייגו ממנו (ירדן ו"ערב הסעודית), או שמצננים אותו כיום במעט עד לנקודת קפאון (מצרים) - עמ' דות ריוחמת שלא רק שאינן עולות בק' בה אחד עם הסכמי קמפ דייוויד, אלא נוגדות אותם ואפילו חותרות תחתם.

דומני שאין טוב להמחשת, תיאטרון האבסורד" הוה שהתנהל לו באטלנטה כאשר העובדה הישראל הרשמית לא היתה העדרת היחידה בין משתתפי ה"ועידה" היא היתה בתורה טובה: גם הממשל האמריקני הוכיח נמנע מהשתתפות רשמית בוועידה, וכל ייצוגו היה בטלושה ארבעה פקידים ממשלעצה לבט"חון לאומי, ממהלקת המדינה ומשרד ה"הגנה שנכחו בירכתי האולם כמאזינים מן השורה. שתי העדרויות אלו שללו, למעשה, מועדית אטלנטה את הקשר למה שרצתה להשיג: להורות דרך (ש"ג) כמובן, מוז הנקוטה על ידי הממשל פניוכי) לחידוש יוומות במזרח התיכון פ"ל סי הנחות יוומות, ובהתעלמות מהת"פנתויות חדות, יוומות שיערה בהן ל"הצביע את רצונן של המדינות הער"ביות, בעיקר אלו שהתערו מהסכם ה"שלום הישראלי-מצרי ובוחדאי אלו ש"שללו אותו.

מיקבץ האבסורדים באטלנטה היה אף למעלה כמה שניתן היה לצפות מראש:

* היתה זו ועידה שנשאה את הכו"ח, התייעצות מזרח תיכונית, אך לא עסקו בה במזרח התיכון בתור שכזה: עסקו בה, למרות החלוקה הטכנית ל"נושאי דיון שונים, רק בסכסוך הישראלי-ערבי, וליתר דיוק בנושא הפלשתיני. כי אשר ניסה - לשוא - מדען מזרח תי"כוני מגרמניה לטעון כי על הוועידה לדון בנושאים המזרחיים את מוקד הסכנה ל"שלום במזרח התיכון, ובמיוחד לא נטרסטים המערבים באזור, כמו מלחמת איראן-עירק, התגברות גלי הסובמטליזם ה"איסלאמי המלחמה הרב צדדית בלבנון - נשארה פנייתו ללא מענה ותשומת לב פמשיית.

* אם אמורה היתה - לפי ציפיות מוקדמות - ועידה זו לבחון את הסכמי קמפ דייוויד ותהליך השלום הישראלי מצ"ד ש"ב בעקבותיהם - הרי למעשה לא קיים שום דיון ממשי בנושא זה. לגבי משתתפים רשמיים מסוריה, ירדן וסעודיה הרי זו כמעט טומאה; לגבי הנציג המצרי (ד"ר אוסאמה אל-באן, ממשלת"פי קמפ דייוויד, וכיום יועצו המדיני הב"כר של הנשיא קמבארך) מוטב להשמיט כליל את השם קמפ דייוויד מכל החי"ח סות עתידה להמשך תהליך השלום: ה"גבי דידו של הנשיא לשעבר קארטר הם"כמי קמפ דייוויד הכילו תסריט שיש ל"השליט באוספות כמו תכנית רייגן ו"הצהרת פאס.

* וכיוון שיש להניח כי כוונת המ"ארכיים-מארגנים היתה לנווט את הוועיד"דה לדיון בבעיה הפלשתינית כמוקד מר"כזי ובלעדי לזעזוע המזרח התיכון, ול"צרות ארצות הברית והמערב באזור, הרי גם כאשר הוקצו כתיסר שעות לראייה הערבית, (ולראייה אמריקנית קרובה לה) לעומת פחות משעתיים לראייה הישרא"לית (שהועלתה על ידי משתתפים בלתי רשמיים), לא נמצאו הפתרונות הגואלים בשונה ממה שהושימע ונטען במשך הש"נים שקדמו להסכם השלום הישראלי-מצרי. המתוונות המירבית שהעלה דובר ערבי (פרופ' ואליד האלדי) הניעה רק עד לוועידת פאס וסיכומיה, שבה חייבת ישראל לראות, במשתמע ובנסתר, נכונות ערבית להכיר בקיומה.

* בוועידה טבה מעמידים מארגניה ומשתתפיה את הנרא הפלשתיני בנדי"סות עליונה, במוקד כל דיון, מפליא היה להיווכח שכל הנציגים הערביים הרשמיים, ופמליותיהם הרשמיות והאקדמיות, אינם מתייחסים - כפי שנהגו בעבר - לנושא אש"ף. רק באילוף של שאלות אחד המשתתפים האמריקניים נשמעו התי"ייחסויות רפות לשון, המקויות וכולל"ניות, לנושא אש"ף, שעה שבעיצומם של הדיונים הניעו הדיווחים על קרבות הדי"מים הניסטים בין ערפאת ומתנגדיו בי מבואות טריפולי (התייחסות עוינת, ו"מעניינת, יחידה, באה דווקא מצידו של נציג השגרירות הסובייטית בווינגטון, אשר הביע תקווה כי ערפאת יחזור לש"מור על מקומו בצמרת אש"ף כדמות המטמלת תנועה זו, ונמנע מלומר במפור"רש, כי ברית המועצות רוצה לראותו ממשיך בתפקידו כיושב ראש אש"ף).

* העדרות נוספת היתה של נציגים מן הגדה המערבית ומועצה ראש עירית בית לחם, אליאס פרג, אמור היה ל"דבר המארגנים, לבוא ולהשתתף, אך נמנע. את הגדה ייצג, לפי התכנית ה"מודפסת, מירון בנבנישתי, סגן ראש עירית ירושלים לשעבר.

ב זכות יוקרתם של שני נשיאים לשעבר של ארצות הברית ש"נהנו באטלנטה מתשומת לב אי"שית, השתתפו בוועידה כמה נציגי חוץ ערביים (נסך הכתר חסן מ"ד

ירדן; שר המדינה הטורי לעיני חוץ פארוק אל-שיד; הנסך בגדד בן סול"טאן, השגריר החדש של סעודיה בארצות הברית, ד"ר אוסאמה אל-באן, יועצו הבכיר של הנשיא מובארך), וכן מי ש"היו לצידו של קרטר (מכובד המדינה לש"עבר סירוס ואגס, ראש המרעצה לבט"חון לאומי, פרופ' זביגייב בוויניטסקי; המתווכים האמריקניים לשעבר לאוס"ר נומיה (סול לינוביץ) וללבנון (פוליס ח"ביב). אך ספק אם ועידה זו נועדה להיות אירוע חד פעמי שמביא יוקרה לנשיאים בגימלאות. דומה שיותר משיכולה היתה להציע פתרונות מדיניים, מעיליים ופאריסי, השתקפה בה המגמה למצוא אשמים ל"מצב שנשתרר במזרח התיכון, ובגישות ארצות הברית כלפי הנעשה בו כיום, ואשר אינם לפי רוחם וטעמם של שני הנשיאים לשעבר של ארצות הברית.

U ספק עמי אם סיכומי ועידת אש-לנטה יצרו מנופי השפעה על מתווי מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית כיום, אני מניח כי גם לשינוי הנשיאים לשעבר יש ספקות בנושא זה. אך הדברים שהושמעו במהלך הדיונים ובסיכומיהם, יש בהם כדי לאותת על אותה „גאולה“ שמציעה אטלנטה למורת התיכון, כתהליך ולא כאירוע חד פעמי: לעורר דעת קהל אמריקנית נזהה יותר כלפי המדינות הערביות, אלו שיצגו ב"ועידה ואלו שלא היו בה; לעורר דעת קהל שונה מזו השוררת היום, אשר תדגיש כי האינטרסים האמריקנים האמיתיים, כדבריהם, לא יסותרו היטב עד אשר התווית מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית באיזור לא תנותק מההשפעה והאילוץ צים של הקונגרס והמערכת הפוליטית הפנימית, ותיעשה כמדיניות דו-מפלגתית לפי המתכונת של שיתוף הפעולה בין הנשיאים לשעבר פורד וקרטר. אין להניח שמעמדים במרוץ לנשיאות, כמו וולטר מנדיל וג'ון גלן יתנדבו לאמץ לעצמם את תפריטי ותסריטי אטלנטה. ספק אם הנשיא רייגן וראשי ממשלו יאמצו אותם, אך הנשיאים קרטר ופורד הבהירו ב"בדעתם, מאטלנטה ואילך, לפעול יחדיו במישור הציבורי הגלוי, ולקדם את מנמתיים המוצהרות הן ב"ארצות הברית והן במזרח התיכון. הנשיא לשעבר פורד אף צרף לכך קול אוהד: שאם יהיה צורך לחזור שוב על מה שהוא ביצע באמצע 1975, לאמור את הפעלת הלחץ הכבד על ישראל באגף צעות מה שכונה אז כ"הערכה מחודשת" א, להסס מלעשות זאת, וביסודיות.

המצע בתהליך השלום הישראלי-מצרי; אל ירדן המלך חוסיין אישית, אין לבוא בטענות על שבסופו של דבר השיב פני הנשיא רייגן ריקם וטרב להצטרף ליוזמתו — משום שראש ממשלת ישראל לי-שעבר דחה בו במקום יוזמה זו, וישראל לא הקפידה את ההתנהלויות כמיקדמה להצטרפות חוסיין; מצרים? אם היא מצננת את הסכם השלום שלה עם ישראל, הרי זו תוצאה בלתי נמנעת של גישת ישראל (הנשיא קרטר בשאלה מר-ליכה לאוסאמה אל-באו: „האם זה נכון שהתחייבתם לא לתחזיר את שגרירכם לישראל עד אשר חיסוג ישראל כליל משטח לבנון?“ אל-באו: „כן, אדוני“). וסוריה? הגנה בא מספר 2 במשרד החוץ הסורי, כנציגו של הנשיא אסד, ונרשא נאום נוקשה ותוקפני פוגע בממשל ה"אמריקני ומשמיץ את העיתונות האמריקנית, שלפיו הצרה הבלעדית לשלום ב"איזור זו ישראל, וההסכם הלבנוני-ישראלי הוא המטרה המיידית לחיסול — ולבד מדברי ביקורת והסתייגות של אדם בודד אחד ויחיד, תת מזכיר המדינה ל"שעבר, געזף סיסקו, איש מהמארחים, לא הסתייג מדברים אלה. ואילו טיעונו של איש שקול ומאוזן כשגריר המיוחד לשעבר, סול לינובין, כי אחד המכשולים העיקריים לקידום השלום הוא סרוב מדינות ערב להידבר עם ישראל ולדבר בקיומה — נשאר קול בודד באטלנטה.



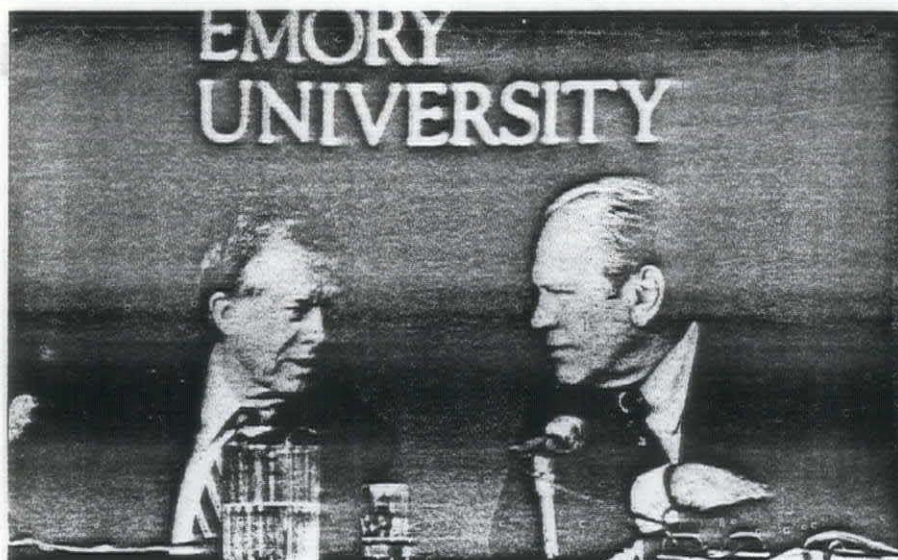
נקודת המוצא שלהם עצמם כלפי ה"מזרח התיכון כבר בוטאה במאמר מסו"תף, שעליו היו חתומים בצמד גם קרטר וגם פורד, שהופיע אשתקד על דפי „ה"ירידה דיוגיסט" רב התפוצה, אלא ש"באטלנטה הביאו הדיונים, חילופי הדב"רים והערותיהם של שני הנשיאים-המנחים לידו הצבעה במישרין ובעקיפין על הא"שמים:

* מדיניותו של הממשל האמריקני ה"נוכחי, שלא המשך במה שהוריש לו מימשל קרטר, לאמער הסכמי קבוצ דיוויד לפי הפרשנות המובהקת של מימשל קרטר.

* ישראל, שעליה הוטלו כל ההאש"מות על כל מה שנעשה, וכל מה שלא נעשה באיזור מאז חתימת הסכם השלום; רק היא אשמה באי מימוש ההסכם הזה, אפילו בחתירה תחתיו; היא אשמה ב"סרוב ירדן ואש"ף להצטרף ליוזמת רייגן; היא אשמה בעמדות הקשוחות שנוק"טת סוריה, הן כלפי ארצות הברית, הן כלפי שכנותיה הערביות והן כלפי לבנון; עליה כבר הוטלה מראש האשמה ל"ביטולו בעתיד של ההסכם הישראלי-מצרי.

* הקונגרס האמריקני והמערכת ה"פוליטית הפנימית (עם רמיוות כלפי ירד"די ישראל), על שמצר את ידי עושי ה"מדיניות, אינו מוותר הטלת עונשים על ישראל בדרך של קיצוץ הסיוע הצבאי והמכללי ומבצע מתן חופש פעולה למתווי מדיניות החוץ האמריקנית באיזור, לפי ראייתם הם את האינטרסים האמריקנים העדיפים.

על האחרים כגירסת המשתתפים ומ"ארחיהם, לא חלה שום אחריות לסבך המצב שבאיזור. סעדיה, שבה איכזבה את ציפיותיה הנכונות של ארצות ה"ב"רית, לגבי הפעלת השפעתה למיתון עמ"דות באיזור, אינה יכולה להיות מטרה לביקורת שה"י אינה מעצמה גדולה ואין ביכולתה למלא אחרי ציפיותיה של אר"צות הברית, אפילו לא כדי תמיכה מש-



Still concerned about the world: two former Presidents consulting in Atlanta

Catching Up on the Middle East

Jimmy Carter calls a conference of scholars and officials

By bringing together people of reflection and action, the center hopes to encourage better understanding of the issues facing the Middle East." So said former President Jimmy Carter last week as he launched a four-day conference at the new Carter Center of Emory University in Atlanta. The conference featured former President Gerald Ford as co-chairman. Participants included a host of high-ranking officials, scholars and other experts from five Arab countries as well as Israel, the Palestinian community, the U.S., the Soviet Union and Western Europe.

Carter had been working for much of the past year preparing the conference, the first major project of the think tank he helped establish. After enlisting Ford's support, he visited six Middle East countries to recruit participants and also to catch up on recent developments in the region. Both men received background papers from such former policymakers as Harold Saunders, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Philip Habib.

Carter wanted the meeting to be a "consultation" at which participants "would not only present their cases but would in fact consult each other as well, especially in the private sessions and dinners." And so it went, despite one or two glitches. The Israeli government backed out at the last moment, claiming that one of the Arab participants, Harvard Professor and noted Palestinian Author Walid Khalidi, was a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Khalidi denied it. The Syrians and the Jordanians pointedly ignored each other, and Jordanian Crown Prince Hassan ibn Talal refused to accept direct questions from the unofficial Israeli participants. But nobody walked out, not even when the Israeli scholars were speaking.

There were spirited exchanges. When a Syrian delegate castigated the conference organizers for not inviting P.L.O. representatives, former Under Secretary of State Joseph Sisco countered, "I wonder what sort of Palestinian movement you are talking about. Is it the P.L.O. Syria is trying to put under its total domination?" After a Soviet delegate claimed that his country had only reluctantly rearmed Syria after its losses in Lebanon last year, Co-Moderator Ford declared, "Such an immediate resupply [of Syria] would indicate to me that [the Soviets] were a willing and active participant in the arms race." Another speaker compared the Soviets in the Middle East to "someone who can't say no but claims to be a virgin."

Crown Prince Hassan praised the Reagan initiative of last year but criticized the U.S. for "not accompanying the plan with a coherent peace strategy." He urged the U.S. to "squeeze us all a little in the interest of peace" and added that the problem of Palestine, the "root cause" of the continuing Arab-Israeli conflict, "is as far from resolution as it has ever been." Israeli settlement policy on the West Bank was a recurring theme. As Carter put it, "The massive and total commitment of Israel to this unprecedented settlement activity [has] created a new dimension. If Israel moves in any sort of final way to annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip, then any prospect for Middle East peace will be terminated in our lifetime."

Carter and Ford listened intently, took notes and occasionally steered the discussion back on track. In the process, they demonstrated that such "consultations," which the Carter Center hopes to hold regularly, are an ideal activity for former Presidents still concerned about the problems of the world. ■

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Presidential Advisor Farouk Jabre



CLOSE-UP
ON GENEVA

TUENI

TOWARDS A NEW

INDEPENDENCE



CAMP CARTER

The director of the Middle East section of the former U.S. president's think-tank sums up the findings of its first conference

By Mona es-Said

Active U.S. involvement in efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement in the Middle East that would reconcile Palestinian demands with Israeli "security concerns" has been advocated by participants at the Middle East conference sponsored by the Carter Center at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia.

The director of the Middle East Consultation of the Carter Center, Dr. Kenneth Stein, told *Monday Morning* in a telephone interview last week that the four-day parley that was co-chaired by former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, and which brought together many prominent academics and Middle East experts (*see box*), had made a "very constructive" and "positive" contribution...

The conference, held earlier this month, was the first foray into the international arena by the newly-founded Carter Center, set up by the former president to study world affairs.

Israel refused to send an official delegate to the conference on the grounds that Dr. Walid Khalidi, the Palestinian representative, is a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Conference organizers and the U.S. State Department made clear that Khalidi, a Harvard University professor, is not a member of the PLO.

Dr. Stein, who is also associate professor of Near Eastern

history at Emory University, said there had been general agreement on the need for "certain risks to be taken in order to move negotiations forward," along with a willingness on the part of the people of the region themselves for peaceful change and compromise. Pragmatism and realism were seen as essential in any effort to tackle problems of the area, he said.

"The conclusion was reached that Palestinian demands for participation in their own destiny can and must be reconciled with Israel's security concerns," Stein said.

Participants took note of Syria's "distinct security and territorial interests in the region" and admitted that "Syria's legitimate security concerns... could not be discarded." There was also special emphasis on self-determination for all the peoples of the Middle East, without exception, and Stein reported that "self-determination was seen as a vital concept." This emphasis was significant in view of reports by speakers on "demographic and spatial changes" in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, said Stein.

The Carter Center consultation was not a "Camp David II," nor was it an "Atlanta edition of Camp David," Stein said, in a reference to the 1978 Camp David accords sponsored by then President Carter which brought

Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford



about the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. But even though the meeting was not convened "to go through a process of coming up with a document that governments would sign," heads of state who dispatched participants would receive "summary findings" and letters from Carter and Ford indicating what the results were. The Reagan Administration will, naturally, be briefed on the results of the conference.

Dr. Stein stated that the following positions emerged on key topics:

- U.S. policy in the Middle East: The U.S. has a critical role, if not *the* critical role, to play in the area. Washington should act to stop drift from setting in, but its action must

be even-handed, consistent, forceful and constructive.

- *The Reagan Administration commitment to Lebanon:* The U.S. is still standing fast on keeping the May 17 Lebanese-Israeli agreement an operative document.

- *The situation in Lebanon:* Lebanon's territorial integrity and national independence must be preserved, despite fears that it may undergo through more conflict, bloodshed and war.

- *The prospects of the Reagan and Fez peace plans:* The vocabulary of the two documents must be reconciled in order for the negotiating process to move ahead.

- *Moscow's position in the region:* Two divergent views emerged. One side stressed that the Soviet Union, which has

middle east

stakes in the area, cannot be excluded and should be brought into the peacemaking process at some stage. The other side felt that the Soviet Union would only play the role of a "spoiler" and advocated that it be kept out of the negotiating process completely.

The full text of the interview with Dr. Stein follows:

What were the main conclusions on Lebanon drawn by the conferees?

Our conclusions were general, and dealt with the Middle East as a whole, not only with Lebanon.

I think that the main point which has an impact for Lebanon was that everybody stressed the need for the preservation of its territorial integrity and national independence. All the participants also noted that Lebanon was eager to protect its sovereignty and to contain the influence of external factors.

Fears were expressed that Lebanon might be losing its identity, and there was a feeling that Lebanon was in a state of profound insecurity that should be alleviated, if at all possible. Lastly, as far as Lebanon is concerned, there was a distinct fear of continued conflict, bloodshed and war.

What were the main conclusions drawn by the conferees on the Middle East in general?

The purpose of the consultation, of course, was to have people come and frankly discuss their attitudes and aspirations with respect to the Middle East. Representatives of governments presented, in an articulate manner, the attitudes of their respective populations and governments, and we came to some general conclusions. These do not involve just Lebanon and not even the Arab-Israeli conflict, but the Middle East in general.

The first important point was that certain risks have to be taken in order to move negotiations forward, be it in Lebanon or within the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

It is also important that there be a committed, forthright, energetic U.S. involvement in achieving some sort of negotiated settlement in either Lebanon or the overall Arab-Israeli theater. There was a general feeling that the U.S. should be fair and forthright; it should not be an advocate but a partner. It should also be even-handed, consistent, unwavering, forceful and constructive.

We cannot make foreign policy in Georgia; but we can identify the problems and the people who want to solve them

A third point that was stressed was that the U.S. or other outside powers could not influence the region to effect peaceful change unless the people of the region wanted peaceful change themselves and were willing to compromise, live at peace with others and make some sort of political accommodation with one another. The U.S. can only prod people up to a certain point; unless they want to move themselves.

Another important point was that pragmatism and realism are required on all sides in all issues of the Middle Eastern conflict. The conclusion was reached that Palestinian demands for participation in their own destiny can and must be reconciled with Israel's security concerns. The notion that Israel is a reality was stated explicitly. But, by the same token, it was stated quite explicitly that Israel must make some concrete decisions about what its eastern borders are, and that the Palestinians need to have their interests served while the Israelis have their security concerns preserved.

It was made quite clear that Syria has its distinct security and territorial interests in the region and that Syria's legitimate security concerns must be taken into account and cannot be discarded. Syria, it was said, was part of the problem, and it must be part of the solution. Syria must be part of negotiations that take place.

It was also made crystal clear that self-determination was necessary for the people in the region — be they Lebanese, Israelis, Palestinians or Jordanians. Self-determination was seen as a vital concept.

We came to the conclusion that there is some common ground between Security Council Resolution 242, the Fez plan, the Fahd plan and the Reagan initiative. It was recognized, however, that there were some very ambiguous terms used in those four documents or statements, and these ambiguities must be cleared up so that the people could feel secure.

It was noted that ambiguity allows for ambivalence, and euphemisms lead to evasions. We have to be precise about what is meant by "occupied territories." We have to be precise about what is meant by "General Assembly resolutions." Generalities are no longer enough if we are to move ahead to a period of concrete, genuine, comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East.

Another point that was made was that polarization and the radicalization of the region are not in the interests of its population.

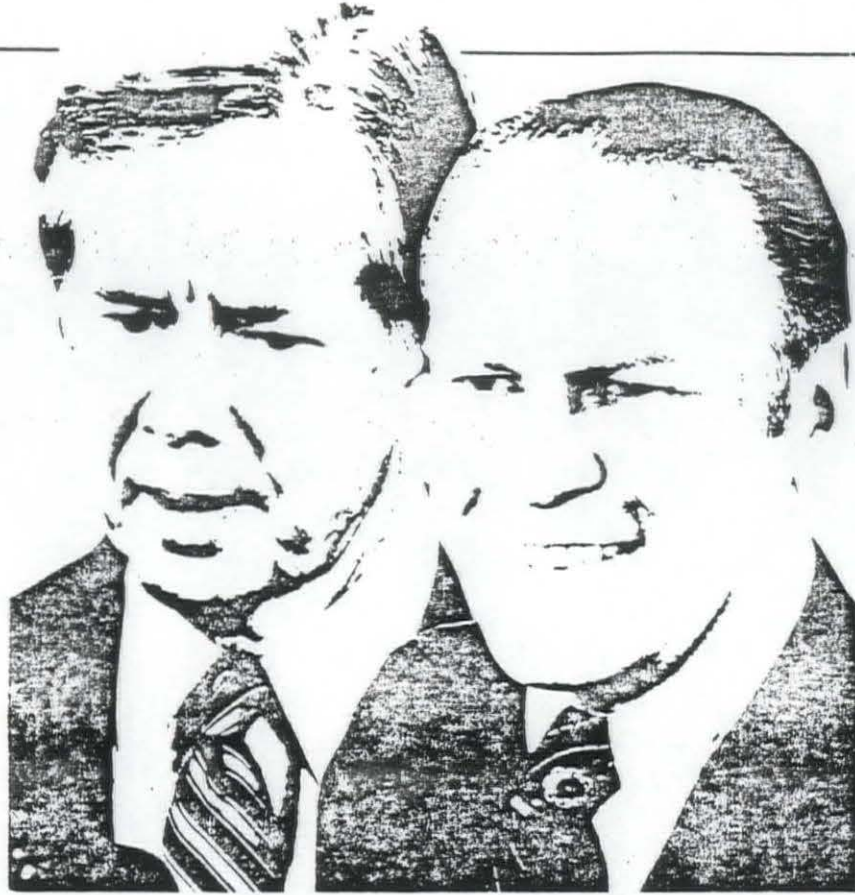
A final significant point was made to the effect that there are moderate voices on all sides of the issue, and these moderate voices need to be propelled to the front; they need to be given an opportunity to speak, discuss, engage in dialogue and communicate. In fact, that was the purpose of our consultation — namely, to provide a forum for people to come and discuss in a forthright, constructive fashion, and in an open and candid way, without the limelight of the cameras of the United Nations and without having to fully represent their governments.

They were also given an opportunity to state publicly and candidly what are the areas of compromise, and what

It was made clear that Syria's legitimate security interests must be addressed. Damascus is part of the problem — and it must be part of the solution

◆◆◆◆

There were differences of opinion over the Soviet position in the Middle East



can be done in order to achieve a non-war situation in the region.

In that sense, I think the three and a half day consultation was very constructive.

Will any recommendations be submitted to Middle Eastern governments, as well as to the U.S. administration?

We plan to convey our summary findings to the gracious heads of state who dispatched participants to the consultation. We will also seek to explain to them our purpose, our goals, and how to meet our purpose and achieve our goals.

Similarly, an effort will be exerted to explain to the present U.S. administration the conclusions of the conference and the nature of the moderate voices that should be listened to and which should be nurtured.

We are not a government-in-exile. We cannot make foreign policy in Georgia — we're forbidden to do that by the U.S. federal constitution. We have one president at a time and one government at a time. However, we can engage in private discussions designed to achieve an identification of the problems and a recognition of the people who want to go ahead and solve those problems.

In a private way, the Carter Center will be making very effort to put before the leaders of the countries which sent participants and to the Reagan Administration the findings of this consultation. In fact, we are actively engaged in doing just that. Within the next two or three

weeks, I suspect that heads of state involved will receive letters from President Carter and President Ford, indicating what the results were.

How did the absence of an official Israeli representative affect the parley?

I don't think it had any impact whatsoever. I think we had a very good representative who came to us; I am referring to Gideon Raphael, a member of the Labor Party and the former director-general of the Israeli foreign ministry and the former Israeli ambassador in London. He gave a very articulate and cogent presentation.

The Israeli scholars who were present responded in a forthright fashion when they felt that their interests were not being considered or their ideas were not being heard. I really don't think the consultation was hurt in any way by the fact that Israel did not have an official spokesman present.

Could you elaborate on the position which emerged at the conference on Israel's policy in the occupied territories?

I think that Dr. Benvenisti, the former vice-mayor of Jerusalem, and Professor Nasser Nazzal of Bir Zeit University spoke articulately about the changing demographic and spatial situation on the West Bank today. It was clearly and graphically shown that drastic changes were taking place and, in the opinion of these two gentlemen, those kinds of changes needed to be promptly stopped if

middle east

there is to be some sort of discussion about the status of the West Bank in some future negotiations.

Could you sum up your findings on U.S. policy?

The point that evoked the largest amount of common discussion and on which there was the greatest convergence was the issue of the U.S. role. It was felt that the U.S. should play an active role, without imposing itself on the area. It should not allow drift to set in — drift is dangerous and time is vital. The United States must harness its energies in a concerted way in an effort to bring people together to talk.

At one point during the consultation, President Carter noted that every time the U.S. had been asked to provide its good services and good offices to bring people together to get a negotiated settlement, it had been successful. I think that every speaker, without exception, made the point that the United States has a critical role, if not *the* critical role, to play in creating an atmosphere of non-war and, perhaps, of tranquillity.

What about the Syrian-Palestinian and inter-Palestinian disputes?

Very little was said during the consultation about inter-Arab politics or the current Syrian-PLO controversy or fighting in North Lebanon.

How come?

I don't have any explanation for it, other than to say it was not an issue of discussion. Attention at the consultation was focussed mainly on the Arab-Israeli theater and on the situation in Lebanon. Very little discussion took place on what was happening to the PLO.

How did the conference view the commitment of the Reagan Administration to Lebanon?

There wasn't a great deal of discussion about it, but the point was made that the Reagan Administration had made a concerted effort to promote the conclusion of the May 17 agreement between Israel and Lebanon. It was noted that the U.S., at present, was standing fast in its desire to see that accord remain an operative document. Actually, there was some controversy over that, and there were some who said that document was not something that should have a long political life. There were some disagreements on this issue.

How were the prospects of the Reagan and Fez peace plans viewed?

I think it is difficult to speculate on prospects. There were people who thought that the Reagan and Fez plans had some compatibility. Others felt that there were grave gaps in the Fez plan which require specific and plain elucidation.

There were those who felt that the Fez plan was just too amorphous, that it did not specifically and unequivocally state that Israel had the right to exist in the region. There were some people who felt that the reliance upon U.N. resolutions or U.N. guarantees would not be sufficient.

However, the thought was promoted that the vocabulary of these two documents should be somehow reconciled in order to make it possible for the negotiating process to move ahead.

How did you assess the prospects for peace in the Middle East?

It is very difficult to say whether the mood at the conference was optimistic or pessimistic. I think we could safely say that everyone who participated in the consultation was pleased by the results, and by the fact that

THE PARTICIPANTS

The Middle East Consultation of the Carter Center was attended by a combination of policy-makers, academics and the general public. The prominent figures who participated in the deliberations included, from the United States:

- Former President Jimmy Carter
- Former President Gerald Ford
- Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance
- Former special Middle East envoy Philip Habib
- Former Middle East negotiator Sol Linowitz
- Former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski

- Former National Security Council member William Quandt

- Former Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Harold Saunders

Other countries were represented as follows:

- Egypt: Dr. Usama Baz, political affairs advisor to the Egyptian president.

- Saudi Arabia: Prince Bandar bin Sultan, the Saudi Arabian ambassador in Washington.

- Lebanon: Dr. Wadih Haddad, national security affairs advisor to the Lebanese president.

- Soviet Union: Alexander Zoltov,

counsellor at the Soviet embassy in Washington and a specialist on the Middle East.

- Syria: Farouk el-Shareh, minister of state for foreign affairs.

- Jordan: Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal.

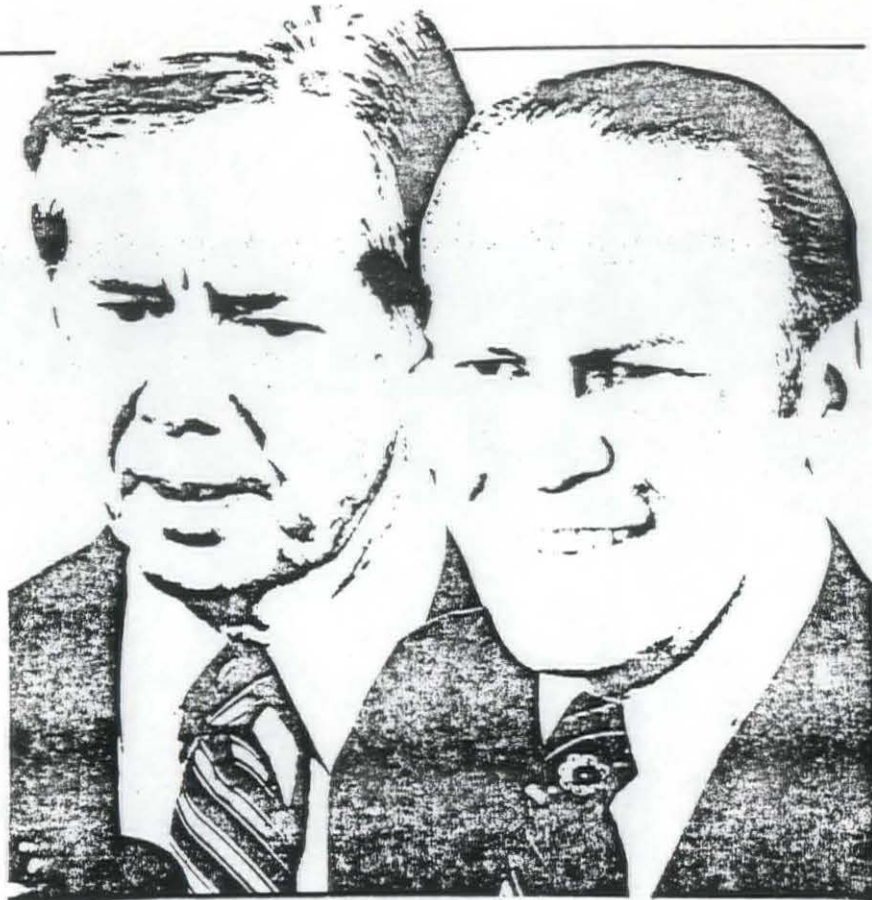
The main speakers on the West Bank were Dr. Marwan Benvenisti and Dr. Nasser Nazzal.

Israel did not send an official representative, but Gideon Raphael, former Israeli ambassador to Britain and former director-general of the Israeli foreign ministry, attended.

Dr. Walid Khalidi of Harvard University spoke on behalf of the Palestinians in a private capacity.

The conclusion was reached that Palestinian demands can, and must, be reconciled with Israel's 'security concerns'

There was unanimous agreement that Washington has a critical role to play in bringing peace to the Middle East



people engaged in direct discussions with one another. I think people were also pleased by the moderate tone that emerged.

If that is an indication of what the prospects of peace in the Middle East are, then it is a good indication. But it must be realized that a certain atmosphere is created in a conference which is not always translated into the real world of what goes on in Lebanon, or Syria, or Jordan, or the West Bank, or Israel or Egypt, or Saudi Arabia. Consequently, the atmosphere that we generated at the conference might not be realistic in the greater sphere of the Middle East region.

I think that a positive spirit emerged from the consultation because people did not walk out when other people spoke. People spoke to each other candidly, directly and forthrightly, and that, in itself, was a major accomplishment, when we consider the Middle East and its recent history.

How did you view the role of the Soviet Union in the area?

There was some controversy or, rather, difference of opinion, about the role of the Soviet Union. There were some who said that the Soviet Union should be involved in the peace-making process, perhaps not now, but certainly at some place along the line. They argued that the Soviet Union does have interests in the area, and that it cannot be totally excluded.

There were those, on the other side, who felt that the

Soviet Union would only play the role of a spoiler and, therefore, should not be incorporated at any time into the negotiating process. There was clearly difference of opinion on this issue.

What do you believe the impact of the conference will be?

I think we have already seen the immediate impact. People have gone back to their countries and they have spoken positively about the consultation. I think they have realized that two former presidents can discuss the Middle East constructively, in a bipartisan manner. I don't think this was a Camp David II, neither was it an "Atlanta edition" of Camp David.

This was an effort from people to have a vehicle of expression of their ideas so that they could feel they were being heard. Often in the Middle East people in government feel that their attitudes are not viewed in the proper fashion, or are not fully understood. I think we gave people that opportunity. I think that all points of view were heard and, in that sense, it was positive.

Camp David was discussed, but the consultation was not Camp David II. We did not convene that group of people in order to go through a process of coming up with a document that governments would sign. We can't do that, and we shouldn't be doing it. What we should do, and what we did do, was to provide people with a forum in which they could speak out and express their views and positions.

Schedule of Sessions

Time	Topic	Location
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6		
1:00-3:30pm	Egypt	Woodruff Medical Center Administration Building Auditorium (WMCAB)
4:00-6:15pm	Saudi Arabia	WMCAB
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7		
9:00 am	Lebanon	WMCAB
1:15-2:30pm	Soviet Interests in the Middle East	Glenn Memorial Church Auditorium
3:00-5:00pm	Syria	WMCAB
TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 8		
9:00 am	Jordan	WMCAB
1:15-2:30pm	The West Bank	Glenn Memorial Church Auditorium
3:00 pm	Israel	WMCAB
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9		
9:00 am	The Palestinian Community	WMCAB
1:15 pm	Summation	WMCAB

Co-Chairmen of the Middle East Consultation

President Jimmy Carter
President Gerald R. Ford

Middle East Project Director

Kenneth W. Stein, Emory University