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Draft: #2

August 29, 1980

5:15 p.m. (N.K., R.V.A., W.F.G.)

Tonight I want to speak to you about the state of Israel, of its importance to our own nation and its importance to world peace.

But in a sense when I speak of Israel, I speak as well of other concerns of B'Nai Brith and of the entire Jewish community in the United States. Israel is not only a nation--it is a symbol. During my campaign I have spoken of the values of family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom. I made a commitment to see to it that those values are at the heart of policy-making in the Reagan administration. Israel symbolizes those values. What is Israel if not the creation of families, working together to build a place to live and work and prosper in peace and freedom?

Thus, in defending Israel's right to exist, we defend something more than a nation--we defend the very values upon which our own nation is built.

The long agony of Jews in the Soviet Union is, of course, never far from our minds and hearts. Once again, those ancient, simple, yet essential values come to mind: all these suffering people ask for is that their families get the chance to work where they choose, in freedom and peace. They will not be forgotten by a Reagan Administration.

But I must tell you this:

No policy, no matter how heartfelt, no matter how deeply rooted in the humanitarian vision we share, can succeed if

the United States of America continues its descent into economic impotence and despair.

The survival of Israel and the ability of the United States to bring all the pressures it can to bear on the situation of dissidents against tyranny: neither of these can be expected to become realistic policy choices if our American economy continues to deteriorate under the Carter policies of **HIGH** unemployment, taxes and inflation.

The rhetoric of compassion and concern becomes mere words if not support by the vision--and reality--of economic growth. And the present administration does not seem to realize this. It seems to believe that if the right kind of words are chosen and repeated often enough, all will be well. Can those who share your humanitarian concerns--as I do--ignore the connection between economic policy, national strength and the ability to do the work of friendship and justice and peace in our own nation and world?

The theme of this convention, "A Covenant with Tomorrow" is one which speaks directly to the question of American interests and the well-being of Israel. There is no covenant with the future which is not firmly rooted in our covenant with the past. Since the rebirth of the State of Israel, there has been an iron-clad bond between that democracy and this one.

We insist that this bond is a moral imperative. I agree. But the history of relations between states demonstrates that while morality is most frequently given as a motive for

actions, the true and abiding motive is self-interest. And the touchstone of our relationship with Israel is that a secure, strong Israel is in America's self-interest. Israel is a major strategic asset to America.

Israel is not a client, but a friend--and a very reliable friend, which is not something that can be said of the United States today.

While we have since 1948 clung to the argument of a moral imperative to explain our commitment to Israel, no Administration has ever deluded itself that Israel was not of permanent strategic importance to America. Until, that is, the Carter Administration, which has violated this covenant with the past. I submit to you that it cannot and will not honor a covenant with tomorrow.

The interests of all the world are served by peace in the Middle East. Short of that ultimate goal, our interests are served by stability. To weaken Israel is to destabilize the Middle East. To destabilize the Middle East today is to risk the peace of the world. And at the same time, today the road to peace in the world runs through the Middle East.

How do we travel that road?

First, we cannot positively influence events at the perimeters of our power if power--including economic power--at the center is diminished, and policy in disarray.

The conduct of this nation's foreign policy in the last four years has been marked by inconsistency, incompetence, and inconstancy.

We require and will have a foreign policy which our allies understand and our adversaries understand. Our policies will be based upon consultation with our allies.

We require and will have the defensive capability necessary to ensure the credibility of our foreign policy, and the security of our allies and ourselves: for there can be no security for one without the other.

Today our defensive capacity has been so seriously eroded as to constitute not a deterrent but a temptation.

This is not a campaign issue, it is a matter of grave national concern; so grave, indeed, that the President considers it a liability to his personal political fortunes and, on that account, tries to give the appearance of responding to it. But the half-hearted measures he proposes are clearly inadequate to the task.

We must restore the vital margin of safety which this administration has allowed to erode. We must maintain a defensive capability that our adversaries will respect and that our allies can rely upon.

We must have Presidential leadership that our adversaries will respect, and that our allies can rely upon.

In 1976 Candidate Jimmy Carter came before this convention and said: "I have called for closer ties with our traditional allies, and stronger ties with the State of Israel. I have stressed," he said, "the necessity for a strong defense--tough and muscular, and adequate to maintain freedom under any conceivable circumstances."

Apparently, the candidate didn't listen to his own call. Today we have fewer real allies and, among those remaining, we speak with diminished authority. Our relations with Israel are marked by doubt and distrust. Israel today is in grave danger, and so is freedom itself.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter declared that they would seek what they called a "comprehensive settlement" in the Middle East. What this might mean for Israel and how this might be achieved were questions neither asked nor answered. When the answers became apparent, it was too late.

The comprehensive agreement which Mr. Carter sought required first a reconvening of the Geneva Conference. Israel was amenable to it. Her adversaries agreed conditionally. The conditions were that the Palestine Liberation Organization be represented and that Israel effectively agree in advance of negotiation to withdraw to the pre-1967 borders, which borders were in fact armistice lines resulting from the first effort to destroy the State of Israel. Israel rightly refused these conditions and was promptly accused of intransigence.

Mr. Carter invited the Soviet Union to join him in his effort to force Israel to accept the mockery of negotiations in Geneva. It had taken a major effort to keep Russia out of the Middle East peace process. In October, 1977, Mr. Carter invited them back in free of charge, and they graciously accepted. The Carter Administration presented as a major

achievement the conclusion of a joint Soviet-American accord which would have given the Russians a strong-hold over negotiations, as well as a convenient calling card for inserting themselves more deeply into the Middle East.

None of this impressed Israel particularly, but it seriously disturbed President Sadat. The President of Egypt did not share Mr. Carter's appreciation of the Soviets, and he apparently came to the conclusion which other world leaders, including Mr. Brezhnev, have reached: Mr. Carter is incapable of distinguishing between his own short-term political interests, and the nation's long-term foreign policy interests. Mr. Carter professed not to understand what all the fuss was about and said he was "proud of the Russians."

The result was that the United States government, for the first time in the history of the rebirth of Israel, found itself on the outside looking in. President Sadat made his courageous trip to Jerusalem at the invitation of Prime Minister Begin, and a bi-lateral peace process began. Without, let me re-emphasize, the participation of Mr. Carter. The quick foreign policy success that Carter had hoped to achieve had turned into the first major foreign policy embarrassment of his Administration.

We must not have any illusions about precisely what is at stake in the Middle East. The overriding issue is neither refugees, or oil. These are grave and momentous problems. But the overriding issue which impedes every

productive attempt at solutions to those problems is the effort of the Soviet Union to maintain turmoil there and under the cover of that turmoil to project itself further and further into the area.

For thirty years the Soviet Union has been exploiting every possible conflict in this region--and awakening a number which have been slumbering--in order to advance its power, taking foothold after foothold, and country after country, until today we find its outposts stretched from Afghanistan to Algeria, from Syria to Libya to Ethiopia and Angola. Throughout this period, the Soviet leaders have stirred up Arab hostility to Israel as a cruel weapon for provoking and prolonging war after war, and have abetted an endless cycle of terrorism, in order to bring Arab states under its own influence. The Arab-Israeli conflict could have ended in a just and lasting peace a long time ago--in the early 1950's--had not the Soviet Union tempted Arab leaders to imagine that Soviet arms and Soviet political support would permit them to destroy Israel. This is the source of the single most important obstacle to peace between Israel and her neighbors: the fact that continuing hostility there is fundamental to Soviet expansionism.

Thus, what we do or fail to do in the Middle East is of vital importance not only to the peoples of the region, but to the security of our country, our Atlantic and Pacific allies, Africa, China and the Asian subcontinent.

Because of the weak and confused leadership of Jimmy Carter, we are approaching a flashpoint in this tragic process, with Soviet power now deployed in a manner which directly threatens Iran, the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea; with Soviet forces and proxy forces building up again in the region; with Soviet fleets and air bases emplaced along the sea lanes on which we and our Allies and the entire free world depend. We must act decisively while there is still time to protect our interest in peace.

In spite of this I am confident that if we act with vigor, vision and practical good sense we can peacefully blunt the Soviet thrust. We can rely upon other responsible Arab leaders in time to learn what Anwar Sadat learned, which is that no people can long endure the cost of Soviet patronage.

How we deal with Israel and her neighbors in this period will determine whether we rebuild the peace process or whether we continue to drift. But let it be clear that the cornerstone of our effort and of our interest is a secure Israel, and our mutual objective is peace.

First, while we can help the nations of that area move toward peace, we cannot and should not try to force a settlement upon them. A dictated peace will not be a lasting peace.

Second, our diplomacy must be sensitive to the legitimate concerns of all in the area. Before a negotiated peace can ever hope to command the loyalty of the whole region, it must first be acceptable to Israelis and Arabs alike.

Third, and most important, we must rebuild our reputation for trustworthiness. We must again become a nation that can be trusted to live up to its commitments.

In 1976 candidate Carter said: "I am concerned with the way in which our country, as well as the Soviet Union, Britain and France have poured arms into certain Arab countries-- five or six times more than Israel receives."

But it was Mr. Carter who agreed to sell 60 F-15 fighters to Saudi Arabia. To get the Congress to go along, he assured these aircraft would not have certain offensive capabilities. Today the Secretary of Defense tells us he cannot say whether this commitment to Congress will be honored until after November 4.

It was Mr. Carter who agreed to sell 100 main battle tanks to Jordan.

It was Mr. Carter who agreed to provide U.S. licensed turbine engines for Iraqi warships.

In 1976 candidate Carter said: "I do not believe that the road to peace (in the Middle East) can be found by U.S. Soviet imposition of a settlement."

We know how long he held that opinion after he was elected.

In 1976 candidate Carter said of the Palestinians: "We must make it clear to the world that there can be no reward for terrorism."

Then, in 1977, President Carter said there must be a Palestinian "homeland."

In 1976 candidate Carter said: "We have all been deeply disturbed by the drift of the United Nations and by the acrimony and cliquishness that seems to have taken hold."

Today what is happening in the U.N. is undermining the peace process and the United States is noted there not for its leadership but for its followership.

I was appalled to see the Carter Administration abstain, rather than veto, the Resolution passed by the United Nations Security Council two weeks ago. As I stated then, the Resolution not only undermines progress toward peace by putting the United Nations on record against Israel and on one side of the sensitive issue of the status of Jerusalem; it also presumes to order other nations--including our Dutch ally--to move their embassies from Jerusalem.

When I learned that Jimmy Carter had failed to instruct his Secretary of State to veto this Resolution, I went back and read the Democratic Platform adopted only a week earlier in New York City. It said, and I quote: ". . .The Democratic Party recognizes and supports 'the established status of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel, with free access to all its holy places provided to all faiths. As a symbol of this stand, the U.S. Embassy should be moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.'"

Within one short week of agreeing to run on this platform, Jimmy Carter acted precisely opposite to its clear provisions.

I believe this sorry episode sheds some new light on an earlier action by Jimmy Carter concerning another U.N. resolution, voted on in March this year. March 1, the Carter Administration failed to veto a most mischievous U.N. Resolution that condemned Israel's presence in Jerusalem, calling it an "occupation." That was the position of the Carter Administration on Saturday. Two days later, on Monday, reacting to the public outcry, Jimmy Carter put the blame for this outrage on his Secretary of State and reversed the position of his Administration.

The Carter pattern emerges with appalling clarity. The man who asks "trust me," zigzags and flip-flops in ever more rapid gyrations, trying to court favor with everyone: Israel and the PLO, the voting bloc in the United Nations and the voters at home. On March 1st it took the Carter Administration three days to switch positions. On August 20th it took them only three minutes. Secretary of State Muskie condemned the U.N. Resolution on Jerusalem in a long speech, no doubt courting favor with the voters at home; then, minutes later, he failed to veto this resolution, courting favor with the PLO and their friends.

This is the Carter record on the Middle East. Arab leaders are persuaded that we don't say what we mean. Israel is persuaded that we don't mean what we say. We cannot build productive relations with either side on such a basis.

Before we can act with authority abroad, we have to demonstrate our ability to make domestic policy without getting the permission of other governments.

It was Mr. Carter who sent an emissary to Saudi Arabia to ask for permission to store petroleum in our own country-- a strategic reserve vital to our national security and a measure long demanded by Congress. The Saudis, predictably, said no. So the Carter Administration caved in and halted the stockpiling.

We cannot have relations with our friends in the Arab world ^{BUILT} upon their contempt for us.

If we clear away the debris of the past four years, the following issues remain to test the good faith of the Arab nations and of Israel, and to challenge our national will and our diplomatic skills in helping them to shape a peace.

There is the unresolved question of territorial rights resulting from the 1967 war.

There is the status of Jerusalem which is a part of the first question.

There is the matter of refugees.

There is the matter of the PLO, which I consider distinct from the matter of refugees.

Let me address these in order.

The question of territory, putting aside Jerusalem for the moment, must still be decided in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. We will tolerate no effort to supersede those Resolutions. We must weigh the

future utility of the Camp David accords against that position.

As Camp David recedes, we must recognize that there are basic ambiguities in the Camp David documents, both in the links between the Israeli-Egyptian peace, and in the provisions for an autonomous regime in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. These ambiguities have now brought negotiations to a dangerous impasse.

It should be recalled that the idea of an autonomous Palestinian Arab regime for the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was an Israeli proposal--a major concession on Israel's part in the interest of progress toward peace.

We can understand the importance of that concession by going back to the first principles governing the situation in those areas. Under Security Council Resolution 242, Israel has the right to administer the West Bank and the Gaza Strip until Jordan, and Syria at least, have made peace with her. Moreover, Resolution 242 provides that when peace comes, Israel should withdraw her armed forces, not necessarily to her 1967 borders, but to "secure and recognized boundaries" which can be protected by special security arrangements.

These provisions reflect the disappointment and false hopes of many earlier efforts in the quest for peace as well as the special legal status of these territories. They are not, like Sinai and the Golan Heights, internationally recognized

parts of Egypt, Jordan, Syria or any other state. Instead, they are unallocated territories of a British mandate for Palestine, still subject under international law to the principles of the mandate as a trust. Israel is in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip not merely as an occupying power, but as a claimant. Both Israel and Jordan have legitimate interests in the West Bank.

Negotiations between Israel and Jordan could take a long and creative step towards resolving these problems. Israel and Jordan are the two Palestinian states envisioned and authorized by the United Nations. Jordan is now recognized as sovereign in some 80 percent of the old territory of Palestine. Israel and Jordan are the parties primarily authorized to settle the future of the unallocated territories, in accordance with the principles of the mandate and the provisions of Resolutions 242 and 338.

Thus the autonomy plan called for in the Camp David Agreements must be interpreted in accordance with the two Security Council Resolutions, which remain the decisive and authoritative rules governing the situation. The Camp David Agreements cannot and should not lead to fundamental changes in the security position, or to the withdrawals of Israeli troops, until Jordan and Syria at least make peace.

Jerusalem has been a source of man's spiritual inspiration since King David founded it, and the target of various national aspirations for many centuries.

Now it exists as a shared trust. The holy places of all faiths are protected. They are open to all. More than this, each is under the care and control of representatives of the respective faiths.

By contrast, under Jordanian control, the Jews were expelled and given no access to their holy places. The consequence of this control within the Islamic world was not one of universal satisfaction, however. King Faisal used to say he wished he might visit Jerusalem, but would not while it was held by the Jews. It is worth noting, however, that he would not go while it was held by the Jordanians either.

So we confront this aspect of an experience quite different from our ~~own~~, in which religion and nationalism combine. It is reasonable conclusion that even were Israel to abandon her capital, the result would not be a permanent and peaceful resolution of the question of Jerusalem.

Then there are the holy places themselves, and the fervor these generate. The Islamic people say Jerusalem is our ~~the~~ holiest city, we should have it. The Jewish people say Hebron is our second holiest city, we belong there.

Just as we will advance suggestions for a settlement within the framework of 242, so we will advance suggestions for the specific resolution of the question of Jerusalem which, as any policy proposal must be, will be in accordance with reality. And the reality is that Israel is not going to relinquish her position in Jerusalem, nor her claim to Jerusalem as her capital city. I intend to accommodate to that reality, but

I will not go beyond that today. To do so would serve no purpose. I do not promise miracles in this regard, although, given the situs, we can agree there are precedents. I do promise a sensitive effort.

I believe the problem can be solved by men of good will. The immediate problem is to make it easier for men of good will to come to the table.

Which brings me to the PLO. President Carter refuses to brand the PLO as a terrorist organization.

I do not hesitate.

We live in a world in which any band of thugs clever enough to get the word "liberation" into their name can thereupon murder school children and have the deeds considered glamorous and glorious. Terrorists are terrorists, not guerillas, not commandos or freedom-fighters or anything else, and they should be identified as such. If others must deal with them, establish diplomatic relations with them, allow them to open embassies, let it be on their heads. They should know that the cost of appeasement has always proved to be exorbitant.

What needs to be understood about the PLO, which is said to represent the Palestinian refugees, is that it represents no one but the leaders who established it as a means of organizing aggression against Israel. The PLO is kept under tight control in every state in the area except Lebanon which it has effectively destroyed. As for those it purports to represent, when any Palestinian breathes a word about peace with Israel,

he is immediately a target for assassination. The PLO has murdered more Palestinians than it has Israelis.

This nation made an agreement with Israel in 1975 concerning its relations with the PLO.

This Administration has violated it.

We are concerned not only with whether the PLO renounces its charter calling for the destruction of Israel. We are equally concerned with whether it is truly representative of the Palestinian people. If we can be satisfied on both counts, then we will not be dealing with the PLO as we know it, but an organization quite different: one truly representative of those Arab Palestinians dedicated to peace and not to the establishment of a Soviet satellite in the heart of the Middle East.

Finally, the question of Arab Palestinian refugees.

My analysis of this tragic situation begins with the Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel, May 14, 1948. For those of you who don't remember it, I will read the relevant paragraph:

"We appeal--in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months--to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and to participate with us in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and

permanent institutions."

Tragically, this appeal was rejected. People left their land and their homes confident Israel would be destroyed in a matter of days and they could return. It didn't happen. So when we measure the tragedy we measure culpability, and Israel shares no part of it.

The answer to the refugee problem is assimilation. Even if there were to be a West Bank state, there would not be sufficient room on the West Bank to accommodate them. So the answer is assimilation, and the most logical place for them to be assimilated is Jordan, designated by the U.N. as the Arab Palestinian state.

Let me conclude with words from the Psalms. They speak to our concerns tonight, for they encompass all that we strive for. They are a vision of our ideals, of the goal to which we strive with constancy, dedication and faith. They embrace our hopes for a just, lasting peace in the Middle East and our

hopes that the works of justice and mercy be done at home:

...May our garner be full,

affording every kind of store;...

May there be no breach in the walls,

no exile, no outcry in our streets.

Happy the people for whom things are thus;

It is given to us to work to see that this vision is never lost, that its message is never forgotten, that the work of peace and justice and freedom goes on, inspired by our values, guided by our faith and made permanent by our commitment.

THE ROAD TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

As I came here today, I was reminded of the happy fact that your great feast of Rosh Hashanah, the New Year 5471, is only a little over a week away. May the New Year bring peace to you and to the House of Israel. And on this occasion, let us also honor the memory of those millions killed in the Holocaust and pray for the freedom of all Jews, especially in the Soviet Union and the Orient.

I must confess that one of my great pleasures in seeking the Presidency is that I have opportunities like this one to salute the many groups and organizations that have won my respect and admiration over the years. For decades, I have been impressed by the commitment of R' Nat Prith to help others in need, here and abroad, through a network of philanthropic and educational institutions. I learned long ago that members of your faith really do adhere to the Biblical injunction to aid the needy and help the poor, to sustain life and hope. That's more, you do it because you are moved by your heart, not by a regulation from Washington -- and to me, as you might imagine, that provides wonderful inspiration. So, I am both pleased and honored to be with you today.

Let me also add that when I was Governor of California, I personally assisted in UN and Israeli bond drives; I only wish my fund-raisers were half as effective as yours!

The theme of your convention, "A Covenant with Tomorrow", provides an appropriate takeoff point for my remarks this afternoon. Our own future, I believe, is tightly bound up with the future of the Middle East -- and whether we can truly secure peace there or whether it will plunge into yet another and perhaps final conflict.

THE MIDDLE EAST IS BOTH AN IMPORTANT AND DELICATE SUBJECT TO US ALL -- IMPORTANT BECAUSE MAN'S SPIRITUAL AND ECONOMIC WELLBEING SO HEAVILY DEPENDS UPON WHAT HAPPENS THERE; DELICATE BECAUSE AFTER MORE THAN 30 YEARS OF STRIFE, EVERY WORD, EVERY INFLECTION HAS BECOME A MINEFIELD OF SPECIAL MEANINGS WHOSE USE CAN QUICKLY CREATE FALSE AND MISLEADING IMPRESSIONS.

LET ME THEN, AT THE OUTSET, STATE UNEQUIVOCALLY WHAT MY POLICY BENCHMARK WILL BE, NOT ONLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST BUT WORLDWIDE -- AND THAT IS THE PROTECTION OF AMERICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST SO THAT ALL MANKIND CAN HAVE A BETTER CHANCE TO LIVE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM. I DO NOT DEFINE AMERICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST NARROWLY, SELFISHLY, OR PURELY MATERIALLY; I DEFINE OUR INTEREST BY OUR VALUES, OUR NEEDS AND OUR COMMITMENTS AS A PEOPLE.

ONE OF THE STRONGEST OF THOSE COMMITMENTS IS SURPLY TO THE CONTINUED, SAFE EXISTENCE OF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT ISRAEL. MANY IN OUR COUNTRY BELIEVE THAT COMMITMENT IS A MORAL IMPERATIVE, AND I AGREE WITH THEM. WE SHARE A COMMUNITY OF VALUES WITH THE PEOPLE OF THAT VALIANT NATION, AND THOSE VALUES MUST BE JUST AS INDESTRUCTIBLE AS ISRAEL ITSELF.

BUT IN MY VIEW, OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL IS ALSO DEEPLY ROOTED IN OUR OWN STRATEGIC INTERESTS, FOR MANY YEARS, THE LEADERS OF THE KREMLIN HAVE HUNGRILY EYED THE TERRITORIES AND RESOURCES OF THE MIDDLE EAST, AND IN RECENT YEARS THEY HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT ADVANCES THERE. AS AN OUTPOST OF DEMOCRACY, AS A FORCE FOR STABILITY, AND AS ONE OF AMERICA'S CLOSEST ALLIES, THE STATE OF ISRAEL PROVIDES A DETERMINED BARRIER TO SOVIET EXPANSION IN THAT AREA. THIS, I WOULD SAY NOT JUST TO YOU, BUT TO ALL AMERICANS: ONE OF OUR GREATEST BLESSINGS AS A NATION IS OUR CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP WITH ISRAEL.

COINCIDE. TO SAFEGUARD OUR AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE NEED PEACE. TO REMAIN SECURE AND INDEPENDENT, ISRAEL NEEDS PEACE. THAT IS THE FOUNDATION UPON WHICH WE MUST BUILD.

BUT UNFORTUNATELY, THE LACK OF A CONSISTENT, STRONG AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN RECENT YEARS, ALONG WITH THE NEGLECT OF OUR MILITARY FORCES, HAVE DIMINISHED AMERICA'S STANDING IN THE WORLD AND HAVE PROVIDED OUR ADVERSARIES WITH AN INVITATION TO MISCHIEF. AS A RESULT, ISRAEL ITSELF IS NOW IN A POSITION OF GREATER INSECURITY AND DOUBT, AND THE PEACE PROCESS HAS BECOME RISKIER.

TO SECURE A TRUE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE MUST OBSERVE TWO GUIDELINES: FIRST, WHILE WE CAN HELP THE NATIONS OF THAT AREA MOVE TOWARD PEACE, PERHAPS EVEN NUDGING THEM A LITTLE, WE CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT TRY TO FORCE A SETTLEMENT UPON THEM. A DICTATED PEACE WILL NOT BE A LASTING PEACE. SECOND, OUR DIPLOMACY MUST BE SENSITIVE TO ALL THE CONCERNS OF THE AREA. BEFORE A NEGOTIATED PEACE CAN EVER HOPE TO COMMAND THE LOYALTY OF ALL PARTIES, IT MUST FIRST BE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES, ISRAELIS AND ARABS ALIKE.

THESE PRINCIPLES MUST HAVE BEEN FAIRLY CLEAR TO THE LEADERS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WHEN THEY TOOK OFFICE IN 1977. YET, SOME OF THE MANEUVERS AND ZIGZAGS THAT THEY HAVE ENGAGED IN SINCE MAKE YOU WONDER WHETHER THEY CHECKED THEIR THINKING CAPS AT THE WHITE HOUSE GATE.

WHO CAN FORGET HOW THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WASTED PRECIOUS MONTHS BY ITS STUBBORN PURSUIT OF A "GENEVA CONFERENCE" UNDER SOVIET CO-CHAIRMANSHIP? THAT CONFERENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN A WORLD STAGE FOR THE MOST STRIDENT RHETORIC OF THE MOST EXTREME GROUPS. WORSE, THE

FOR UNFORTUNATELY, OUR INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF ISRAEL

ADMINISTRATION PRESENTED AS A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT THE CONCLUSION OF A JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN ACCORD WHICH WOULD HAVE GIVEN THE RUSSIANS A STRANGLEHOLD ON NEGOTIATIONS -- AND A CONVENIENT CALLING CARD FOR INSERTING THEMSELVES MORE DEEPLY INTO THE MIDDLE EAST.

WE WERE SAVED FROM THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT FOLLY ONLY BY THE REJECTION OF THAT IDEA BY ISRAEL AND EGYPT, BY PRESIDENT SADAT'S IMMENSE VISION AND COURAGE IN MAKING HIS JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM, AND THEN BY THE WISDOM OF THE ISRAELIS IN UNDERTAKING SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.

THE CAMP DAVID ACCORD THAT FOLLOWED THEREAFTER HAS BEEN PRESENTED TO THE WORLD AS A SHINING JEWEL IN THE CARTER CROWN. I DO NOT WISH TO DIMINISH THE SIZE OR IMPORTANCE OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENT, FOR PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT HAS LONG BEEN ELUSIVE.

YET, AS THE EVENTS OF TWO YEARS AGO NOW RECEDE, WE SHOULD ALSO BE HONEST ENOUGH TO RECOGNIZE THAT EGYPT HAS NOW BECOME BADLY ISOLATED. THAT ISOLATION IS NEITHER IN THE INTERESTS OF EGYPT, NOR THE UNITED STATES, NOR ISRAEL.

LET US ALSO BE HONEST ENOUGH TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE PEACE PROCESS ITSELF HAS VIRTUALLY BROKEN DOWN, AND WE ARE LEFT WITH ONLY HALF A PEACE. PERHAPS HALF IS BETTER THAN NONE. BUT HALF A PEACE, STANDING ALONE, CANNOT LONG ENDURE.

MORE IMPORTANTLY, A LASTING PEACE CANNOT BE ATTAINED BY RESTING ON THE LAURELS OF CAMP DAVID, NOR BY MOVING IN ILL-CONSIDERED FITS AND STARTS, MOODING THE PLO ONE DAY AND THE TERRORISTS IN LIBYA THE NEXT, FIRST BLAMING ONE PARTY FOR THE IMPASSE AND THEN THE OTHER. IT IS A GREAT TRAGEDY FOR THE WORLD THAT THE BRIGHT PROMISE OF CAMP DAVID HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY A DIZZYING GYRATION OF POLICY CHANGES IN

THE UNITED STATES WHICH HAVE REWILDERED OUR FRIENDS AND BEDEVILED THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THE CONSTANT FLIP-FLOPS CULMINATED IN AMERICA'S VOTE IN FAVOR OF AN ODDIOUS RESOLUTION AT THE U.N., ONLY TO HAVE THAT VOTE REVERSED THE NEXT DAY ALONG WITH AN INCREDIBLE CLAIM THAT IT WAS ALL THE RESULT OF A "COMMUNICATIONS FAILURE."

IF THE GAINS OF CAMP DAVID ARE TO BE PRESERVED AND ENHANCED, IF A FULL BREAKDOWN IS TO BE AVERTED AND THE ISOLATION OF EGYPT ENDED, WE MUST NOT BE BLINDLY AND RIGIDLY TIED TO ANY ONE SCHEME. OUR STARTING POINT IS U.N. RESOLUTION 242, OUR FINAL DESTINATION IS A JUST AND LASTING PEACE, AND WE SHOULD EXPLORE EVERY POSSIBLE AVENUE TO MOVE FROM ONE TO THE OTHER. MOREOVER, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THE ONLY HOPE OF RESOLVING THESE THORNY ISSUES IS THROUGH QUIET NEGOTIATIONS, NOT PUBLIC PROCLAMATIONS.

ISRAEL HAS SOME ENORMOUSLY DIFFICULT DECISIONS TO MAKE. IT HAS TO DECIDE HOW MUCH IT WILL RISK FOR PEACE -- AND HOW MUCH IT WILL RISK IF THERE IS NO PEACE. WHO COULD FAIL TO SYMPATHIZE WITH THE AGONIES OF SUCH A DEBATE AMONG A PEOPLE WITH TERRIBLE, AND ALAS, ACCURATE MEMORIES OF BLOODESHED AND NEAR EXTINCTION? TO AMERICANS LIVING FAR AWAY, ISRAEL'S FEARS MAY SOMETIMES SOUND EXAGGERATED. BUT THEY ARE FAR MORE UNDERSTANDABLE THERE IN A COUNTRY THAT HAS BEEN FOUR WARS IN LESS THAN FOUR DECADES AND WHOSE EXISTENCE IS STILL NOT RECOGNIZED BY MOST OF ITS NEIGHBORS.

CLEARLY, THE PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS REST NOT ONLY UPON ISRAEL BUT ALSO UPON THE ARAB SIDE AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE AND TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH HER. NEGOTIATIONS CAN ONLY INCLUDE ALL THE PARTIES, LIKE THE PLO, IF ALL PARTIES ACCEPT THE LEGITIMATE EXISTENCE OF THE ISRAELI STATE.

To be candid, I have thought that one of the most serious impediments to negotiations in the Middle East are the extreme and hollow resolutions that issue forth with monotonous regularity from the U.N., a forum which is losing much of its authority and credibility. Even less helpful are pompous U.N. resolutions dealing with Jerusalem, the holiest city of Judaism and Christianity, the second holiest city of Islam, and a city which nobody seriously ^{wants to} divide again.

The unremitting attack of the U.N. continued in the most recent Special General Assembly when Israel was called on to withdraw from all territories it has occupied since the 1967 war. What was there to be in exchange? Nothing -- no recognition, no peace negotiations, no agreed-upon borders, no security, not even the right to exist. That resolution was a mockery of the very purposes for which the United Nations was created, a disreputable performance. Sadly, the current United States government seems to have no ability to lead the U.N. on a more constructive course -- and sometimes even nicks at its worst resolutions, as it did so shamelessly only two weeks ago.

It is this weakness and inconsistency of our policy which has propelled our European allies into taking up an initiative of their own that would have best been left lying in a cupboard. I appreciate their frustration, but I fear that their initiative, suggesting as it does a separate Palestinian PLO state, will serve to harden both the Israeli and Arab positions, making peace even more remote.

What will a Reagan administration do?

First, it will build on the Camp David agreements, but it will not make itself the prisoner of any one particular process. The

The Goal.

NAME OF THE GAME IS PEACE, NOT PROCESS. LET US NOT FORGET THAT THE ONLY WIDELY ACCEPTED DOCUMENT IS U.N. RESOLUTION 242, WHICH SERVED AS THE BASIS OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AND MUST BE THE BASIS OF FUTURE AGREEMENTS.

SECOND, A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL SEARCH OUT THE PARTIES QUIETLY. INCALCULABLE HARM HAS BEEN DONE BY THE CONSTANT DISPATCH OF HIGHLY VISIBLE SPECIAL ENVOYS, MAKING EVERY ONE OF THEIR TRIPS MEDIA EVENTS WHOSE FAYEARE AROUSED EXPECTATIONS THAT COULD NOT BE FULFILLED AND IN THEIR WAKE SEWED DISTRUST BETWEEN US AND OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE AS WELL AS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THIRD, A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL BE PATIENT. THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL, AS BEHOOVES A DEMOCRATIC NATION, ARE NOW ^W ENGAGED IN A NATIONAL DEBATE OVER WHICH COURSE OF ACTION TO TAKE. SOMETIME BEFORE THE END OF 1981, PERHAPS EARLIER, ISRAEL WILL HAVE AN ELECTION THAT MAY DECIDE THE OUTCOME OF THIS DEBATE. FOR US TO EXERT EXCESSIVE PRESSURE NOW CAN ONLY DISTORT THE DIALOGUE. (WE WILL NOT SET A SPECIFIC DEADLINE FOR ACHIEVING A COMPLETE SOLUTION TO AN AGE-OLD AND BITTER CONFLICT, BUT NEITHER WILL WE LET THE PROCESS BOG DOWN. WITH DUE REGARD FOR THE INTERNAL PROCESSES AND IMPERATIVES OF THE PARTICIPANTS, WE WILL STRIVE FOR STEADY, EVEN IF UNSPECTACULAR, PROGRESS TOWARD OUR COMMON GOAL.)

FOURTH, WE SHALL SEEK BETTER WAYS OF CONSULTING WITH EUROPE AND JAPAN, WHOSE PEOPLE ARE EVEN MORE DEPENDENT UPON MIDDLE EAST OIL THAN ARE WE. WE CANNOT EXPECT THEM TO STAY OUT OF THE WAY WHEN WE ACT AND THEN AUTOMATICALLY LINE UP BEHIND US WHEN WE ARE IN TROUBLE.

FINALLY, WE SHALL BE STEADY AND CONSISTENT. BOTH MY FRIENDS AND MY ENEMIES SAY THAT I AM A MAN OF FIRM CONVICTION AND PRINCIPLE --

AND SOME OF THEM SAY THAT'S A FAULT. BUT I BELIEVE THAT IN DEALING WITH ONE'S FRIENDS OVERSEAS, THAT CAN ALSO BE A GREAT VIRTUE FOR THE UNITED STATES -- AND I INTEND TO SEE THAT WE DO INDEED STICK BY OUR FRIENDS IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS. GOODNESS KNOWS, WE NEED EVERY ONE WE'VE GOT.

I HAVE BEEN FRANKLY APPALLED BY THE WAY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS MISTREATED OUR FRIENDS. WHEN THE RECENT DEBATE OCCURRED AT THE U.N. OVER JERUSALEM, I WENT BACK AND READ THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM THAT HAD BEEN ADOPTED ONLY A WEEK EARLIER IN NEW YORK CITY. IT SAID, AND I QUOTE: "...THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY RECOGNIZES AND SUPPORTS 'THE ESTABLISHED STATUS OF JERUSALEM AS THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL, WITH FREE ACCESS TO ALL ITS HOLY PLACES PROVIDED TO ALL FAITHS. AS A SYMBOL OF THIS STAND, THE U.S. EMBASSY SHOULD BE MOVED FROM TEL AVIV TO JERUSALEM.'" JUST AFTER THAT PLATFORM WAS ADOPTED, THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WAS REQUIRED BY THE RULES OF HIS PARTY TO SUBMIT A LETTER TO THE CONVENTION STATING WHETHER HE DISAGREED WITH ANY ASPECTS OF THE PLATFORM; HIS LETTER REAFFIRMED THE COMMITMENT TO JERUSALEM. YET, ONLY A WEEK LATER, WHEN THAT VERY MATTER CAME BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL, OUR SECRETARY OF STATE -- REPRESENTING THE PRESIDENT -- REFUSED TO CAST A VOTE, COMPLETELY IGNORING THE POSITION TAKEN ONLY A WEEK EARLIER.

EITHER THIS ADMINISTRATION LACKS THE COURAGE OF ITS CONVICTIONS, OR IT HAS NO CONVICTIONS. IN EITHER CASE, I WOULD ASK YOU TODAY: JUST HOW ^{Reliable} ~~STRONG~~ A PLEDGE IS ANY PLEDGE OF FRIENDSHIP BY THIS ADMINISTRATION? WILL IT STAND UP UNDER THE PRESSURES OF THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, OR WILL IT CRUMBLE AFTER THE LAST VOTES ARE COUNTED THIS NOVEMBER? THAT IS A QUESTION THAT ONLY YOU CAN ANSWER IN YOUR HEARTS -- BUT ANSWER IT YOU MUST.

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GIVEN THE CURRENT FLUX IN THE MIDDLE EAST, NO ONE CAN BE CERTAIN, OF COURSE, WHAT THE SITUATION WILL BE WHEN A NEW ADMINISTRATION TAKES OFFICE THIS JANUARY. IT WOULD THUS BE FOLLY TO PRESENT NOW A DETAILED PLAN FOR PEACE. IT CANNOT BE IMPOSED BY US IN ANY CASE. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A SHORTAGE OF PLANS, ONLY A CLEAR PATH TO OUR ULTIMATE DESTINATION.

IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT IF WE ARE TO HELP THE PEACE PROCESS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, WE MUST COMMAND CREDIBILITY WITH ALL PARTIES. NOTHING DESTROYS CREDIBILITY MORE THAN THE CONSTANT CHANGES OF POLICY THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED THE PAST FOUR YEARS.

THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE ARE STILL TOO FAR APART TO COME TOGETHER WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION AND ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES. TO PLAY THIS ROLE, WE MUST BE CREDIBLE; AND CREDIBILITY REQUIRES CONSTANCY, PREDICTABILITY AND STRENGTH -- MILITARY STRENGTH OVERSEAS AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH AT HOME. THOSE ARE THE HALLMARKS OF THE ADMINISTRATION I AM SEEKING TO BUILD.

AS PRESIDENT, I WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO CONVINCE JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA THAT THEIR FUTURE LIES IN ACHIEVING PEACE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. TO PRESERVE PEACE AND SECURITY, WE MUST BE ABLE TO SAFEGUARD OUR FRIENDS AND PROTECT OUR INTERESTS AGAINST SUBVERSION BY THE SOVIET UNION, LIBYA, OR ANY OTHER RADICAL ORGANIZATION. (TO THIS END, WE WILL INCREASE OUR MILITARY STRENGTH IN THE AREA.) WE WILL WORK TOWARD A JUST SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN PROBLEM, CONSISTENT WITH ISRAEL'S SECURITY NEEDS AND JORDAN'S WILLINGNESS, WHICH IS IN ITS INTEREST, TO FIND, WITH US AND ISRAEL, AREAS OF AGREEMENT. WE BELIEVE ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS CAN LIVE IN PEACE WITH ONE ANOTHER, AND WE WILL SEEK THAT GOAL, (NOT TO APPEASE THE OIL PRODUCERS, BUT BECAUSE IT IS A JUST AND MORAL GOAL IN ITSELF.

How?

?

WE WILL THWART EVERY EFFORT IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO UNDERMINE ISRAEL, OR TO AMEND OR REPEAL SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, WHICH REPRESENTS THE ONLY OCCASION IN THE HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE WHEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES WORKED TOGETHER IN FULL AGREEMENT, WITH ISRAEL AND MOST ARAB COUNTRIES.

THE ISRAELIS HAVE A RIGHT TO REMAIN IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES UNTIL JORDAN, SYRIA, AND LEBANON HAVE ALSO MADE PEACE WITH HER. MOREOVER, RESOLUTION 242 PROVIDES THAT WHEN PEACE COMES, ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW HER ARMED FORCES, NOT TO HER 1967 BORDERS, BUT TO "SECURE AND RECOGNIZED" BOUNDARIES, WHICH CAN BE PROTECTED BY SPECIAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

WE WILL OPPOSE ANY EFFORT IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO DIVIDE JERUSALEM, WHICH MUST REMAIN A UNITED CITY, WITH FREE ACCESS TO THE HOLLY PLACES FOR ALL FAITHS.

ISRAEL HAS ALREADY MADE GREAT CONCESSIONS IN GIVING UP THE VAST SINAI PENINSULA WITH ITS STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE, ITS BASES AND ITS OIL IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PEACE. BUT IT IS RIGHTLY DETERMINED TO REMAIN A SECURE JEWISH STATE, A BEACON OF HOPE TO ALL THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE WORLD. THE LIVELY DEBATE IN WHICH THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL ARE NOW ENGAGED GIVES EVIDENCE OF A FERVENT DESIRE TO ACHIEVE A FAIR AND JUST SETTLEMENT WITH THE PALESTINIAN ARABS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.

ON THIS DAY BEFORE YOUR HIGH HOLY DAYS, I WANT TO REITERATE MY HOPE THAT AMERICA, UNDER A NEW AND STRONG ADMINISTRATION, MAY HELP TO HASTEN THAT DAY OF PEACE.

BUT UNTIL THE TIME COMES WHEN ALL OF ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS AGREE TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH IT, ISRAEL WILL BE ASSURED OUR UNMITIGATED SUPPORT TO GUARANTEE ITS SURVIVAL. LET NO ONE DOUBT THAT FUNDAMENTAL

AND PRECIOUS COMMITMENT. (A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL NEVER DROP ITS FRIENDS LIKE ANCHORS IN THE SEA AS THE TIDES OF EVENTS SHIFT.)

IN CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE TO DRAW FROM THE SCRIPTURES FOR A MOMENT. IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, AS YOU REMEMBER SO WELL, JOB'S PATIENCE WAS TRIED MANY TIMES -- SATAN BEHEAVED HIM OF HIS LOVED ONES, STRIPPED HIM OF HIS WEALTH, AND DESTROYED HIS HEALTH. BUT JOB HELD FIRMLY AND STEADILY TO HIS PRINCIPLES, NEVER ABANDONING HIS FAITH, AND THE SCRIPTURES RECORD THAT EVENTUALLY "THE LORD GAVE HIM TWICE AS MUCH AS HE HAD BEFORE AND BLESSED HIS LATTER END ... MORE THAN HIS BEGINNING."

IN EXACTLY THE SAME WAY, I BELIEVE THAT IF WE HOLD FIRMLY AND STEADILY TO OUR PRINCIPLES IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE SHALL ONE DAY BE REWARDED WITH A RICHNESS OF BLESSINGS -- FOR THEY SHALL BE THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE.

PEACE WOULD YIELD INCREDIBLE REWARDS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN THAT EXTRAORDINARY AREA: TO THE ISRAELIS, WHO YEARN FOR AN END TO FEAR AND BLOODSHED; TO THE PALESTINIANS, WHO ARE WITHOUT A HOMELAND; TO THE LEBANESE, WHOSE LAND HAS BEEN TORN APART; TO JORDAN AND TO SYRIA AND THE GREAT ARAB WORLD BEYOND, WHICH NEEDS TO ENHANCE THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF THEIR PEOPLE.

WE SHARE ALL OF THOSE ASPIRATIONS, AND I PLEDGE TO YOU TO WORK FOR A GENERAL PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD AS A KEY GOAL OF MY PRESIDENCY.

YOUR SUPPORT IS INDISPENSABLE. I SEEK IT HEARTILY, HERE TODAY AND EVERYWHERE AROUND THIS GREAT NATION.

THANK YOU.

LENA WALKER HASBRO INDUSTRIES IN
1027 NEWPORT AVE
PAWTUCKET RI 02862

western union Mailgram®



4-049765S231 08/18/80 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP FCHA
4017264100 MGM TDMT PAWTUCKET RI 148 08-18 0414P EST

▶ ED MEESE
REAGAN-BUSCH COMMITTEE
901 SOUTH HIGHLAND ST
ARLINGTON VA 22204

ANSWERING YOUR MAILGRAM OF AUGUST 14 REGARDING INPUT FOR GOVERNOR
REAGAN'S B'NAI B'RITH SPEECH OF SEPTEMBER 3, I WOULD LIKE TO SUBMIT
THE FOLLOWING:

AS AN AMERICAN JEWISH LEADER A PRIME CONCERN IS A STRONG AMERICA - AN
AMERICA RESPECTED ABROAD - AN AMERICA STRONG MILITARILY AND
ECONOMICALLY - ONE IN A POSITION TO STOP REWARDING ENEMIES AND
PUNISHING FRIENDS - A COUNTRY IN A POSITION TO ENCOURAGE OUR ALLIES
TO BE OUR FRIENDS, FRIENDS NOT AFRAID THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO
VACILLATE IN OUR POLICIES.

ONLY FROM INNER STRENGTH CAN WE CONTROL OUR OWN DESTINY AND NOT BE
CONTROLLED BY OTHERS.

GOVERNOR REAGAN MUST STATE HIS POSITION ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND ISRAEL
AND AFFIRM THAT POSITION BY THE APPOINTMENT HE MAKES TO CARRY OUT HIS
POLICIES.

MRS SYLVIA HASSENFELD 8 STRAWBERRY DR BARRINGTON RI 02806

1617 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

Copy given to Dave Hayden

WU INFOMASTER 1-017079A234 03/21/80

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PMS ED MEESE CARE REAGAN BUSH COMMITTEE DLR

901 SOUTH HIGHLAND ST

ARLINGTON VA 22204

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR TELEGRAM GOVERNOR REAGAN SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE
FOLLOWING POINTS:

- 1) NO OIL BLACKMAIL
- 2) OPPOSITION TO ADVANCE OFFENSIVE ARMS TO SAUDI ARABIA
- 3) STRONG LANGUAGE AS TO TERRORISM
- 4) ACCEPTANCE OF THE SEIZURE OF THE ISRAELI EMBASSY IN TEHRAN AND
TURNING OVER TO THE PLO WITHOUT US OPPOSITION MAY HAVE LEAD TO THE
SEIZURE OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY ONLY A MONTH OR SO AFTER. IF ANY
FURTHER HELP IS NEEDED PLEASE FEEL FREE TO CONTACT ME

NORMAN BRAMAN

NNNN

1349 EST

Telex/
western union
Telex/TWX
western union
TWX

JACOB STEIN
20 JERUSALEM AVE
HICKSVILLE NY 11801

western union

Mailgram



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▶ ED MEESE, REAGAN-BUSCH COMMITTEE
901 SOUTH HIGHLAND ST
ARLINGTON VA 22204

IN REPLY TO MAILGRAM SUGGEST REAGAN CONSIDER INCLUSION OF FOLLOWING
ITEMS FOR SEPTEMBER 3RD SPEECH

1 NO INDEPENDENCE PALESTINIAN STATE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN THE
CREATION OF SUCH A SECOND PALESTINIAN STATE-JORDAN BEING THE MAJOR
PALESTINIAN STATE-WOULD POSE A SERIOUS THREAT TO THE SECURITY OF
ISRAEL

2 NO RECOGNITION OF THE PLO THE PLO AND ALL THAT IT STANDS FOR IS
ANATHEMA TO THE AMERICAL JEWISH COMMUNITY

3 OPPOSITION TO THE SALE OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS TO ARAB NATIONS THAT
REFUSE TO ENTER THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

4 RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL'S SOVEREIGN ROLE IN A UNITED JERUSALEM
INSURING FREE ACCESS TO ALL THE HOLY PLACES TO ALL OTHER FAITHS

5 STATEMENT OF CONCERN OVER GROWING ARAB ECONOMIC INFILTRATION INTO
SENSITIVE AMERICAN INDUSTRIES AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

6 STATEMENT OF CONCERN FOR SOVIET JEWS DENIED RIGHT OF EMIGRATION IN
REFERRING TO THIS I URGE GOVERNOR REAGAN NOT TO MAKE CRITICAL
REFERENCE TO THE JACKSON AMENDMENT

I URGE THAT THE GOVERNOR RECOGNIZE THAT THE JEWISH COMMUNITY
INTERESTS ARE BROAD AND ENCOMPASS DEEP CONCERNS ABOUT INFLATION HIGH
TAXES UNEMPLOYMENT INEFFECTIVE ENERGY PROGRAM AND URGE THAT REFERENCE
TO THESE CONCERNS BE INCLUDED IN THE SPEECH I AM AVAILABLE FOR
DISCUSSION ON ANY OF THESE AND OTHER ITEMS BY CALLING 5169386012
JACOB STEIN

1637 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

JACOB STEIN
20 JERUSALEM AVE
HICKSVILLE NY 11801

 Mailgram
western union

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▶ ED MEESE
REAGAN-BUSH COALITION
901 SOUTH HIGHLAND ST
ARLINGTON VA 22204

FURTHER TO MY MAILGRAM OF FRIDAY AUGUST 15TH ABOUT THE B'NAI
SPEECH I RECOMMEND A COMMENT BE INCLUDED ABOUT THE MISUSE OF
UNITED NATIONS BY FORCES ALIGNED AGAINST ISREAL AND THE WEST,
JACOB STEIN

1340 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

It is my hope, I will work for it. I know it is yours, and I ask you to help me in it.

That the quarrel should end, the task of creating begin; that the killing should stop, and the task of ~~leading~~^{healing} begin; that the threat to world peace should end, and the covenant with tomorrow be kept!

There is a refrain in one of the bittersweet songs of the October War:

Kol sh'mevakesh loo-ya-hee.

All that we ask, let it be.

Thank you.

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THE ROAD TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

TODAY I AM REMINDED OF THE HAPPY FACT THAT YOUR HIGH HOLY DAY OF ROSH HASHANAH, THE NEW YEAR 5471, IS ONLY A LITTLE OVER A WEEK AWAY. MAY THE NEW YEAR BRING PEACE TO YOU AND TO THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL. AND ON THIS OCCASION, LET US ALSO HONOR THE MEMORY OF THOSE MILLIONS WHO PERISHED IN THE HOLOCAUST AND PRAY FOR THE FREEDOM OF ALL JEWS, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ORIENT.

FOR DECADES, I HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE COMMITMENT OF B'NAI B'RITH TO HELP OTHERS IN NEED, HERE AND ABROAD. I LEARNED LONG AGO THAT YOU ADHERE TO THE BIBLICAL INJUNCTION TO AID THE NEEDY AND HELP THE POOR, TO SUSTAIN LIFE AND HOPE. WHAT'S MORE, YOU DO IT BECAUSE YOU ARE MOVED BY YOUR HEART, AND THAT PROVIDES WONDERFUL INSPIRATION.

WHEN I WAS GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA, I TOOK PLEASURE IN PERSONALLY ASSISTING IN UJA AND ISRAELI BOND DRIVES; I ONLY WISH MY FUND-RAISERS WERE HALF AS EFFECTIVE AS YOURS!

THE THEME OF YOUR CONVENTION, "A COVENANT WITH TOMORROW", PROVIDES AN APPROPRIATE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR MY REMARKS THIS AFTERNOON. I WISH TO SPEAK TO YOU TONIGHT ABOUT ISRAEL AND ISRAELI-AMERICAN RELATIONS. I UNDERSTAND AND I RESPECT THE VITAL IMPORTANCE TO ALL AMERICAN JEWS OF THE ISSUE OF ISRAEL'S SECURITY, ITS RIGHT TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN DEFENSIBLE BORDERS.

IT IS GOOD, IN A TIME OF TROUBLES, TO BE AMONG PEOPLE WHO KNOW TROUBLE. THE SYMPHONY OF JEWISH HISTORY IS A COUNTERPOINT OF TROUBLE AND OF HOPE. IN THEIR LONG LIFE AT THE CENTER OF HUMAN

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DESTINY, THE JEWS HAVE PROUDLY ENDURED TROUBLE AND CRUELTY BECAUSE THEY HAVE BEEN SUSTAINED BY FAITH. WHAT LIES BEHIND THAT HEROIC ACHIEVEMENT -- EPITOMIZED IN THE PROVERBIAL GREETING, "NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM" -- IS AN INSPIRATION TO ALL WHO SHARE IN THE TRADITION OF JUDAISM, WHETHER AS JEWS, CHRISTIANS OR MOSLEMS, OR SIMPLY AS HUMAN BEINGS WHO RESPECT THE GREAT VICTORIES OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT.

MY ADDRESS IS CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEM OF PEACE. HOW BEST TO PRESERVE PEACE IS A CRUCIAL ISSUE IN THIS ELECTION CAMPAIGN, AND HOW TO REACH PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS VITAL TO THE ENTIRE WORLD.

THE FUTURE OF THIS COUNTRY IS TIGHTLY BOUND UP WITH THE FUTURE OF THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE OF THE MIDDLE EAST CAN BE UNDERSTOOD ONLY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SOVIET UNION'S FAR-RANGING CAMPAIGN FOR WORLD DOMINANCE.

TODAY, AS IN CENTURIES PAST, THE MIDDLE EAST IS OF SUPREME STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE. INDEED, THE MIDDLE EAST IS MORE IMPORTANT TODAY, BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF OIL AND OF AIR TRAVEL, THAN IT WAS IN CAESER'S TIME OR NAPOLEON'S. SOVIET MASTERY OF THE REGION IN THE 1980s WOULD OUT-FLANK EUROPE, AND CARRY WITH IT SOVIET CONTROL OF AFRICA, LARGE PARTS OF ASIA, AND MUCH ELSE BESIDES. WHAT WE DO OR FAIL TO DO IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS THEREFORE VITAL NOT ONLY TO THE PEOPLES OF THE REGION, BUT TO THE SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY, OUR ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC ALLIES, CHINA AND MANY OTHER NATIONS.

FOR THIRTY YEARS NOW THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN EXPLOITING EVERY POSSIBLE CONFLICT IN THE AREA -- AND STIRRING UP A NUMBER WHICH HAD BEEN SLUMBERING -- IN ORDER TO ADVANCE ITS POWER, TAKING FOOTHOLD AFTER FOOTHOLD, AND COUNTRY AFTER COUNTRY, UNTIL TODAY WE FIND ITS OUTPOSTS STRETCHED FROM AFGHANISTAN TO ALGERIA, FROM SYRIA AND LIBYA

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TO ETHIOPIA AND ANGOLA. THROUGHOUT THIS PERIOD, THE SOVIET LEADERS HAVE STIRRED UP ARAB HOSTILITY TO ISRAEL AS A CRUEL WEAPON FOR PROVOKING AND PROLONGING WAR AFTER WAR, AND ABETTED AN ENDLESS CYCLE OF GUERRILLA TERRORISM, IN ORDER TO BRING MANY ARAB STATES UNDER THEIR INFLUENCE. THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT WOULD HAVE ENDED IN A JUST AND LASTING PEACE A LONG TIME AGO -- IN THE EARLY 1950s -- HAD NOT THE SOVIET UNION CUNNINGLY TEMPTED ARAB LEADERS TO IMAGINE THAT SOVIET ARMS AND SOVIET POLITICAL SUPPORT WOULD PERMIT THEM TO DESTROY ISRAEL. THIS IS THE SOURCE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT OBSTACLE TO PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS.

THE REFUSAL TO NEGOTIATE WITH ISRAEL AND TO MAKE PEACE WAS THE CONSISTENT AND CONCERTED ATTITUDE OF THE ARAB STATES -- UNTIL PRESIDENT SADAT TOOK HIS COURAGEOUS INITIATIVE THREE YEARS AGO. IT REMAINS THE POLICY OF THE PLO, AND NOMINALLY AT LEAST, OF MOST ARAB STATES EXCEPT FOR EGYPT.

TODAY WE ARE AT A CROSSROADS IN THIS RUTHLESS AND TRAGIC PROCESS, WITH SOVIET POWER NOW DEPLOYED IN WAYS WHICH DIRECTLY THREATEN IRAN, THE PERSIAN GULF AND ARABIAN SEA; WITH SOVIET FORCES AND PROXY FORCES BUILDING UP AGAIN IN SYRIA AND LIBYA; WITH SOVIET FLEETS AND AIR BASES EMPLACED ALONG THE SEA LANES ON WHICH WE AND OUR ALLIES AND THE ENTIRE FREE WORLD DEPEND. WE MUST ACT DECISIVELY WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME TO PROTECT OUR INTEREST IN PEACE.

I CAN SUM UP WHAT I HAVE TO SAY THIS AFTERNOON VERY SIMPLY: OUR FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICIES ARE IN TROUBLE, BUT THERE IS HOPE IF WE ACT NOW, WITH VIGOR, OPTIMISM, AND PRACTICAL GOOD SENSE, WE CAN RESTORE STABILITY IN THE WORLD AND THUS CREATE THE FOUNDATIONS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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IN DISCUSSING THE FUTURE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL, MANY SPEAK AND WRITE AS IF OUR NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO THE SAFE EXISTENCE OF A FREE AND INDEPENDENT ISRAEL WERE ONLY A MORAL IMPERATIVE. I AGREE THAT WE ARE MORALLY BOUND TO THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL BY INDESTRUCTIBLE TIES OF HISTORY, SHARED VALUES, AND RELIGIOUS TRADITION. BUT IN MY VIEW OUR COMMITMENT TO ISRAEL IS DEEPLY ROOTED IN OUR OWN STRATEGIC INTERESTS. AS AN OUTPOST OF DEMOCRACY, AS A FORCE FOR STABILITY, AND AS ONE OF AMERICA'S CLOSEST FRIENDS, THE STATE OF ISRAEL PROVIDES A DETERMINED BARRIER TO SOVIET EXPANSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THUS, I SAY THAT ONE OF OUR GREATEST BLESSINGS AS A NATION IS OUR CONTINUED FRIENDSHIP WITH ISRAEL.

OF COURSE, THE TASK OF BLOCKING SOVIET EXPANSION IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS BEYOND THE CAPACITIES OF ISRAEL ACTING ALONE. BUT THIS VIGOROUS DEMOCRATIC NATION IS A REDOUBTABLE AND VALUED ALLY WITH WHOM WE SHOULD WORK AND PLAN, ALONG WITH OUR EUROPEAN AND ASIAN ALLIES, AND WITH EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, AND OTHER FRIENDLY STATES IN THE REGION, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF ALL THE STATES OF THE AREA.

THUS, OUR INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF ISRAEL COINCIDE. TO SAFEGUARD OUR AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, WE NEED PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS. TO REMAIN SECURE AND INDEPENDENT, ISRAEL NEEDS PEACE. THAT IS THE FOUNDATION UPON WHICH I WANT TO BUILD.

FOR MORE THAN THIRTY YEARS, PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS HAS BEEN A CONSISTENT GOAL OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT MUST REMAIN SO. BUT PEACE FOR ISRAEL CANNOT BE EXPECTED UNTIL ISRAEL'S ARAB NEIGHBORS ARE CONVINCED THAT THE UNITED

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STATES, AND ITS ALLIES, WILL PREVENT SOVIET DOMINATION OF THE ENTIRE REGION, AND THAT CATASTROPHES LIKE IRAN, AFGHANISTAN, ETHIOPIA AND ANGOLA WILL NOT BE REPEATED IN OTHER PLACES. TO ACHIEVE THAT STATE OF THINGS IS A GREAT TASK FOR OUR FOREIGN POLICY DURING THE COMING YEARS. IT WILL TAKE A MAJOR EFFORT, REQUIRING THE COOPERATION OF MANY COUNTRIES.

AS SUCH A FRAMEWORK OF SECURITY IS PUT IN PLACE, TRUE PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS WILL BECOME POSSIBLE. TO SECURE SUCH A PEACE, WE MUST OBSERVE THREE GUIDELINES.

FIRST, WHILE WE CAN HELP THE NATIONS OF THAT AREA MOVE TOWARD PEACE, PERHAPS EVEN NUDGING THEM A LITTLE, WE CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT TRY TO FORCE A SETTLEMENT UPON THEM. A DICTATED PEACE WILL NOT BE A LASTING PEACE. SECOND, OUR DIPLOMACY MUST BE SENSITIVE TO ALL THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF THE AREA. BEFORE A NEGOTIATED PEACE CAN EVER HOPE TO COMMAND THE LOYALTY OF THE WHOLE REGION, IT MUST FIRST BE ACCEPTABLE TO ISRAELIS AND ARABS ALIKE. THIRD, THE UNITED STATES MUST HAVE THE STRENGTH AND THE STEADINESS TO MAINTAIN THE TRUST OF THOSE NATIONS THAT RELY ON US.

THE MIDDLE EASTERN POLICY OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION MEETS NONE OF THESE TESTS.

WHO CAN FORGET MR. CARTER'S SLY REFERENCE TO A "PALESTINIAN HOMELAND" AT THE TOWN MEETING IN MASSACHUSETTS, [WHEN?] AN IDEA HE STILL HAS NOT EXPLAINED, UNLESS IT IS A SECRET CODEWORD FOR A DEAL WITH THE PLO?

WHO CAN FORGET HOW THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WASTED PRECIOUS MONTHS BY ITS STUBBORN PURSUIT OF A "GENEVA CONFERENCE" UNDER SOVIET CO-CHAIRMANSHIP? THE SOVIET-AMERICAN COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AS THE CALL

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FOR SUCH A CONFERENCE DEPARTED FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 -- THE ONLY AVAILABLE FOUNDATION FOR ALL PEACE EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. AND THE CONFERENCE IT CONTEMPLATED WOULD HAVE BEEN A WORLD STAGE FOR THE MOST STRIDENT RHETORIC OF THE MOST EXTREME GROUPS. WORSE, THE ADMINISTRATION PRESENTED AS A GREAT ACHIEVEMENT THE CONCLUSION OF A JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN ACCORD WHICH WOULD HAVE GIVEN THE RUSSIANS A STRANGLEHOLD ON NEGOTIATIONS -- AND A CONVENIENT CALLING CARD FOR INSERTING THEMSELVES MORE DEEPLY INTO THE MIDDLE EAST.

WE WERE SAVED FROM THE CONSEQUENCES OF THAT FOLLY ONLY BY THE REJECTION OF THAT IDEA BY ISRAEL AND EGYPT, BY PRESIDENT SADAT'S VISION AND COURAGE IN MAKING HIS JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM, AND THEN BY THE WISDOM AND GENEROSITY OF THE ISRAELIS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

AS A RESULT OF CARTER'S POLICIES, ISRAEL ITSELF IS NOW IN A POSITION OF FAR GREATER INSECURITY AND DOUBT, AND THE PEACE PROCESS HAS BECOME RISKIER.

GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF A STEADY AMERICAN POLICY FOR ISRAEL'S SECURITY, I WAS APPALLED TO SEE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ABSTAIN, RATHER THAN VETO, THE RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL TWO WEEKS AGO. AS I STATED THEN -- ALTHOUGH YOU COULD NOT READ IT IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OR THE WASHINGTON POST -- THE RESOLUTION NOT ONLY UNDERMINES PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE BY PUTTING THE UNITED NATIONS ON RECORD AGAINST ISRAEL AND ON ONE SIDE OF THE SENSITIVE ISSUE OF THE STATUS OF JERUSALEM, IT ALSO PRESUMES TO ORDER OTHER NATIONS -- INCLUDING OUR DUTCH ALLY -- TO MOVE THEIR EMBASSIES FROM JERUSALEM.

WHEN I LEARNED THAT JIMMY CARTER HAD FAILED TO INSTRUCT HIS SECRETARY OF STATE TO VETO THIS RESOLUTION, I WENT BACK AND READ THE

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DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM ADOPTED ONLY A WEEK EARLIER IN NEW YORK CITY. IT SAID, AND I QUOTE: "...THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY RECOGNIZES AND SUPPORTS 'THE ESTABLISHED STATUS OF JERUSALEM AS THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL, WITH FREE ACCESS TO ALL ITS HOLY PLACES PROVIDED TO ALL FAITHS. AS A SYMBOL OF THIS STAND, THE U.S. EMBASSY SHOULD BE MOVED FROM TEL AVIV TO JERUSALEM.'"

WITHIN ONE SHORT WEEK OF AGREEING TO RUN ON THIS PLATFORM, JIMMY CARTER ACTED PRECISELY OPPOSITE TO ITS CLEAR PROVISIONS.

I BELIEVE THIS SORRY EPISODE SHEDS SOME NEW LIGHT ON AN EARLIER ACTION BY JIMMY CARTER CONCERNING ANOTHER U.N. RESOLUTION, VOTED ON IN MARCH THIS YEAR. MARCH 1, THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FAILED TO VETO A MOST MISCHIEVOUS U.N. RESOLUTION THAT CONDEMNED ISRAEL'S PRESENCE IN JERUSALEM, CALLING IT AN "OCCUPATION." THAT WAS THE POSITION OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION ON SATURDAY. TWO DAYS LATER, ON MONDAY, REACTING TO THE PUBLIC OUTCRY, JIMMY CARTER PUT THE BLAME FOR THIS OUTRAGE ON HIS SECRETARY OF STATE AND, REVERSED THE POSITION OF HIS ADMINISTRATION.

THE CARTER PATTERN EMERGES WITH APPALLING CLARITY. THE MAN WHO ASKS "TRUST ME," ZIGZAGS AND FLIP-FLOPS IN EVER MORE RAPID GYRATIONS, TRYING TO COURT FAVOR WITH EVERYONE: ISRAEL AND THE PLO, THE VOTING BLOC IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE VOTERS IN NEW YORK. ON MARCH 1ST IT TOOK THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION THREE DAYS TO SWITCH POSITIONS. ON AUGUST 20TH IT TOOK THEM ONLY THREE MINUTES. SECRETARY OF STATE MUSKIE CONDEMNED THE U.N. RESOLUTION ON JERUSALEM IN A LONG SPEECH, NO DOUBT COURTING FAVOR WITH THE VOTERS AT HOME, THEN, MINUTES LATER HE FAILED TO VETO THIS RESOLUTION, COURTING FAVOR WITH THE PLO AND ITS SUPPORTERS.

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THESE ACTIONS GIVE US A DEEP SENSE OF FOREBODING ABOUT WHAT WE WOULD HAVE TO EXPECT FROM ANOTHER FOUR YEARS OF A CARTER ADMINISTRATION.

WILL THE VARIOUS ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN U.S. DIPLOMATS AND THE PLO IN THE LAST FEW YEARS -- WHICH WE ARE TOLD JUST HAPPENED BY ACCIDENT -- TURN INTO A PATTERN OF NEGOTIATION OVER THE NEXT FOUR YEARS?

WILL THE FLIRTATIONS WITH LIBYA'S DICTATOR QADDAFI -- CONDUCTED WITH ALL SORTS OF CURIOUS EMISSARIES -- TURN INTO A POLICY OF APPEASING THE LIBYAN DICTATOR IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS? QADDAFI, INDEED, SEEMS TO THINK SO. HE SAID RECENTLY HE WAS PROMISED BY CARTER'S PEOPLE THAT A REELECTED CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD CHANGE U.S. POLICIES SO AS TO PLEASE HIM BETTER.

WOULD, IN THE EVENT OF A LIFE-AND-DEATH CRISIS FOR ISRAEL, A SECOND CARTER ADMINISTRATION SEND ANOTHER RAMSEY CLARK TO NEGOTIATE?

THE FIRST CARTER ADMINISTRATION, INCREDIBLY, SENT AN EMISSARY TO SAUDI ARABIA TO ASK FOR PERMISSION TO STOCKPILE PETROLEUM IN OUR OWN COUNTRY -- A STRATEGIC RESERVE VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND A MEASURE LONG DEMANDED BY CONGRESS. THE SAUDIS, PREDICTABLY, SAID NO. SO THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION CAVED IN AND HALTED THE STOCKPILING. WOULD A SECOND CARTER ADMINISTRATION ASK THE SAUDIS FOR PERMISSION TO SELL OIL TO ISRAEL? WOULD ANOTHER FOUR YEARS OF CARTER BRING THE UNITED STATES TO ASK IRAQ FOR PERMISSION TO STOCKPILE WEAPONS ON OUR BASES IN THE MIDDLE EAST? WHO KNOWS. HOW CAN WE TRUST?

PERHAPS SOME OF YOU THINK SUCH FOREBODINGS ABOUT ANOTHER FOUR YEARS WITH JIMMY CARTER ARE FARFETCHED.

YOU WILL RECALL THAT CARTER'S DEFENSE SECRETARY PROMISED TO THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE IN MAY 1978 THAT WE WOULD NOT EQUIP THE FIGHTER PLANES WE SOLD TO SAUDI ARABIA WITH SPECIAL FUEL TANKS TO GIVE IT ADDITIONAL RANGE. NOW, THE SAME HAROLD BROWN, SAYS HE CANNOT GIVE AN ANSWER TO THE NEW SAUDI REQUEST FOR SUCH FUEL TANKS UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION. WELL, I CAN GIVE YOU AN ANSWER. AND YOU CAN GIVE YOUR ANSWER IN NOVEMBER.

THE CAMP DAVID ACCORD HAS BEEN PRESENTED BY JIMMY CARTER AS A SHINING ACCOMPLISHMENT. I DO NOT WISH TO DIMINISH THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CAMP DAVID, FOR PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT HAS LONG BEEN ELUSIVE.

YET, AS CAMP DAVID RECEDES, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT THERE ARE BASIC AMBIGUITIES IN THE CAMP DAVID DOCUMENTS, BOTH IN THE LINKS BETWEEN THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN PEACE, AND IN THE PROVISIONS FOR AN AUTONOMOUS REGIME FOR THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP, AND THAT THESE AMBIGUITIES HAVE NOW BROUGHT NEGOTIATIONS TO A DANGEROUS IMPASSE.

IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT THE IDEA OF AN AUTONOMOUS PALESTINIAN ARAB REGIME FOR THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP WAS AN ISRAELI PROPOSAL -- AND A MAJOR CONCESSION ON ISRAEL'S PART IN THE INTEREST OF PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE.

WE CAN UNDERSTAND THE IMPORT OF THAT CONCESSION BY GOING BACK TO THE FIRST PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE SITUATION IN THOSE AREAS. UNDER SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, ISRAEL HAS THE RIGHT TO ADMINISTER THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP UNTIL JORDAN AND SYRIA AT LEAST, HAVE MADE PEACE WITH HER. MOREOVER, RESOLUTION 242 PROVIDES THAT WHEN PEACE COMES, ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW HER ARMED FORCES, NOT NECESSARILY TO HER 1967 BORDERS, BUT TO "SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES" WHICH CAN BE PROTECTED BY SPECIAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS.

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THESE PROVISIONS REFLECT THE DISAPPOINTMENT AND FALSE HOPES OF MANY EARLIER EFFORTS IN THE QUEST FOR PEACE, AS WELL AS THE SPECIAL LEGAL STATUS OF THESE TERRITORIES. THEY ARE NOT, LIKE SINAI AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED PARTS OF EGYPT, JORDAN, SYRIA OR ANY OTHER STATE. INSTEAD, THEY ARE UNALLOCATED TERRITORIES OF A BRITISH MANDATE FOR PALESTINE, STILL SUBJECT UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MANDATE AS A TRUST. ISRAEL IS IN THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP NOT ONLY AS AN OCCUPYING POWER, BUT AS A CLAIMANT. BOTH ISRAEL AND JORDAN HAVE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS IN THE WEST BANK.

THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND JORDAN SHOULD TAKE A LONG -- AND I HOPE CREATIVE STEP -- TOWARDS RESOLVING THESE PROBLEMS. ISRAEL AND JORDAN ARE THE TWO PALESTINIAN STATES ENVISIONED AND AUTHORIZED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. JORDAN IS NOW RECOGNIZED AS SOVEREIGN IN SOME 80 PERCENT OF THE OLD TERRITORY OF PALESTINE. ISRAEL AND JORDAN ARE THE PARTIES PRIMARILY AUTHORIZED TO SETTLE THE FUTURE OF THE UNALLOCATED TERRITORIES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MANDATE AND THE PROVISIONS OF RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

THUS THE AUTONOMY PLAN CALLED FOR IN THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS MUST BE INTERPRETED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TWO SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, WHICH REMAIN THE DECISIVE AND AUTHORITATIVE RULES GOVERNING THE SITUATION. THE CAMP DAVID AGREEMENTS CANNOT AND SHOULD NOT LEAD TO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE SECURITY POSITION, OR TO THE WITHDRAWALS OF ISRAELI TROOPS, UNTIL JORDAN AND SYRIA AT LEAST MAKE PEACE.

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE BASIC FACTORS, PRESIDENT CARTER'S DIPLOMACY HAS BEEN ERRATIC AND INCONSISTENT, TO SAY THE LEAST. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS WOODED THE PLO ONE DAY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBYA

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IN THE LIGHT OF THESE BASIC FACTORS, PRESIDENT CARTER'S DIPLOMACY HAS BEEN ERRATIC AND INCONSISTENT, TO SAY THE LEAST. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS WOODED THE PLO ONE DAY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBYA THE NEXT, BLAMING THE IMPASSE ON THE ISRAELIS, AS IF MORE AND MORE DANGEROUS CONCESSIONS FROM ISRAEL COULD INDUCE SYRIA OR THE PLO TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL, OR MAKE IT POLITICALLY FEASIBLE FOR JORDAN AND LEBANON TO DO SO. IT IS A GREAT TRAGEDY FOR THE WORLD THAT THE BRIGHT PROMISE OF CAMP DAVID HAS BEEN FOLLOWED BY A DIZZYING GYRATION OF POLICY CHANGES IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH HAVE BEWILDERED OUR FRIENDS AND BEDEVILED THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

BUT IF THE GAINS OF CAMP DAVID ARE TO BE PRESERVED AND ENHANCED, IF A FULL BREAKDOWN IS TO BE AVERTED AND THE ISOLATION OF EGYPT ENDED, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS HAS BECOME MORE THAN A PROBLEM IN SKILLFUL DIPLOMACY AND NEGOTIATION -- IT IS PART OF THE PROBLEM OF AMERICA'S RELIABILITY. UNTIL IT IS CLEAR THAT WE CAN PROTECT ALL OUR INTERESTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE EVEN JORDAN AND LEBANON TO TAKE THE RISK OF PEACE.

UNTIL WE HAVE RESTORED OUR POLITICAL AND MILITARY POSITION THROUGHOUT THE AREA -- A STEP WE MUST TAKE FOR MANY OTHER REASONS -- WE SHOULD REMIT THE TASK OF NEGOTIATING THE SECOND CAMP DAVID ACCORD TO QUIET AND PERSISTENT DIPLOMACY, AND FOREGO PUBLIC PROCLAMATIONS ON THE SUBJECT - AND ABOVE ALL, WE SHOULD PREVENT THE FOUNDATION FOR PEACE FROM BEING ERODED. WE MUST NOT BE BLINDLY AND RIGIDLY TIED TO ANY ONE SCHEME. OUR STARTING POINT IS U.N. RESOLUTION 242; OUR FINAL DESTINATION IS A JUST AND LASTING PEACE, AND WE SHOULD EXPLORE EVERY POSSIBLE AVENUE TO MOVE FROM ONE TO THE OTHER. MOREOVER, WE SHOULD

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RECOGNIZE THAT THE BEST HOPE OF RESOLVING THESE THORNY ISSUES IS THROUGH QUIET NEGOTIATIONS, NOT PUBLIC PROCLAMATIONS.

IN 1973, THE SECURITY COUNCIL, IN ONE OF ITS RARE, LEGALLY BINDING "DECISIONS," COMMANDED ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS TO MAKE PEACE WITH IT IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 242. INSTEAD OF CARRYING OUT THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S MANDATE, A GROUP OF NATIONS BACKED BY THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN SEEKING TO UNDERCUT RESOLUTION 242 THROUGH A SERIES OF POLITICAL AND PARAMILITARY MANEUVERS IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND ELSEWHERE. THEIR GOAL HAS BEEN TO HARASS ISRAEL, TO ISOLATE IT DIPLOMATICALLY, AND TO FORCE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND OTHER CONCESSIONS -- BUT WITHOUT MAKING PEACE. THIS CAMPAIGN OF EXTREME AND IRRESPONSIBLE RESOLUTIONS HAS BECOME ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS IMPEDIMENTS TO FRUITFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS. THEY ARE A DISGRACE TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WHICH IS AN INDISPENSABLE FORUM, AND ARE RAPIDLY DESTROYING ITS AUTHORITY AND CREDIBILITY. EVEN LESS HELPFUL ARE MEAN-SPIRITED U.N. RESOLUTIONS DEALING WITH JERUSALEM, THE HOLIEST CITY OF JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY, THE SECOND HOLIEST CITY OF ISLAM, AND A CITY WHICH NOBODY SERIOUSLY WANTS TO SEE DIVIDED AGAIN.

THE UNRELENTING ATTACK ON ISRAEL IN THE UNITED NATIONS CONTINUED IN THE MOST RECENT SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY, WHEN ISRAEL WAS CALLED ON TO WITHDRAW FROM ALL TERRITORIES IT HAS OCCUPIED SINCE THE 1967 WAR. WHAT WAS THERE TO BE IN EXCHANGE? NOTHING -- NO RECOGNITION, NO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, NO AGREED-UPON BORDERS, NO SECURITY, NOT EVEN THE RIGHT TO EXIST. THAT RESOLUTION WAS A MOCKERY OF THE VERY PURPOSES FOR WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS WAS CREATED, A DISREPUTABLE PERFORMANCE. SADLY, THE CURRENT UNITED STATES ADMINISTRATION SEEMS TO

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HAVE NO ABILITY TO LEAD THE UNITED NATIONS ON A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE -- AND SOMETIMES EVEN CONNIVES IN THE PASSAGE OF ITS WORST RESOLUTIONS.

IT IS THIS WEAKNESS AND INCONSISTENCY OF OUR POLICY WHICH HAS PROPELLED OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES INTO TAKING UP AN INITIATIVE OF THEIR OWN THAT WOULD HAVE BEST BEEN LEFT LYING IN A CUPBOARD. I FEAR THAT THEIR INITIATIVE, SUGGESTING AS IT DOES A SEPARATE PALESTINIAN PLO STATE, WILL SERVE TO HARDEN BOTH THE ISRAELI AND ARAB POSITIONS, MAKING PEACE EVEN MORE REMOTE.

WHAT WILL A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION DO?

FIRST, IT WILL SEEK WITH OUR EUROPEAN AND PACIFIC ALLIES, AND OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST TO REBUILD THE CAPACITY OF THE FREE WORLD TO PROTECT OUR VITAL SECURITY INTERESTS, ABOVE ALL, OUR INTEREST IN PROMOTING A JUST AND DESIRABLE PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS.

SECOND, IN THAT CONTEXT, A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL BUILD ON THE CAMP DAVID FRAMEWORK OF ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN PEACE, BUT WILL NOT BE THE PRISONER OF A PARTICULAR PROCESS. LET US NOT FORGET THAT THE ONLY ACCEPTED DOCUMENTS ARE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, WHICH SERVE AS THE BASIS OF THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS AND MUST BE THE BASIS OF ANY FUTURE AGREEMENTS.

THIRD, A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL SEARCH OUT THE PARTIES QUIETLY. INCALCULABLE HARM HAS BEEN DONE BY THE CONSTANT DISPATCH OF HIGHLY VISIBLE SPECIAL ENVOYS, MAKING EVERY ONE OF THEIR TRIPS MEDIA EVENTS WHOSE FANFARE AROUSED EXPECTATIONS THAT COULD NOT BE FULFILLED AND IN THEIR WAKE SOWED DISTRUST BETWEEN US AND OUR ALLIES IN EUROPE AS WELL AS IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

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FOURTH, A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL BE PATIENT. WE WILL NOT SET A SPECIFIC DEADLINE FOR ACHIEVING A COMPLETE SOLUTION TO AN AGE-OLD AND BITTER CONFLICT, BUT NEITHER WILL WE LET THE PROCESS BOG DOWN. WITH DUE REGARD FOR THE INTERNAL PROCESSES AND IMPERATIVES OF THE PARTICIPANTS, WE WILL STRIVE FOR STEADY PROGRESS -- EVEN IF UNSPECTACULAR -- TOWARD OUR COMMON GOAL. NOR WILL WE THREATEN OR COERCE THE PARTIES TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS, OR USE AID AS A WEAPON. MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL BE GIVEN WHEN JUSTIFIED BY SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS, NOT AS A POLITICAL CARROT OR STICK.

FINALLY, WE SHALL BE STEADY AND CONSISTENT. BOTH MY SUPPORTERS AND MY CRITICS SAY THAT I AM A MAN OF FIRM CONVICTION AND PRINCIPLE -- AND SOME SAY IT AS IF THAT WAS A FAULT. I BELIEVE THAT IN DEALING WITH ONE'S FRIENDS OVERSEAS, PRINCIPLED CONVICTION CAN ALSO BE A GREAT VIRTUE FOR THE UNITED STATES. I INTEND TO SEE THAT WE DO INDEED STICK BY OUR FRIENDS IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS. GOODNESS KNOWS, WE NEED EVERY ONE WE'VE GOT.

EITHER THIS ADMINISTRATION LACKS THE COURAGE OF ITS CONVICTIONS, OR IT HAS NO CONVICTIONS. IN EITHER CASE, I WOULD ASK YOU TODAY: JUST HOW STRONG A REED IS ANY PLEDGE OF FRIENDSHIP BY THIS ADMINISTRATION? WILL IT STAND UP UNDER THE PRESSURES OF THE NEXT FOUR YEARS, OR WILL IT CRUMPLE AFTER THE LAST VOTES ARE COUNTED THIS NOVEMBER? THAT IS A QUESTION THAT ONLY YOU CAN ANSWER IN YOUR HEARTS -- BUT ANSWER IT YOU MUST.

GIVEN THE CURRENT FLUX IN THE MIDDLE EAST, NO ONE CAN BE CERTAIN, OF COURSE, WHAT THE SITUATION WILL BE WHEN A NEW ADMINISTRATION TAKES OFFICE THIS JANUARY. IT WOULD THUS BE FOLLY TO PRESENT NOW A DETAILED PLAN FOR PEACE. IN ANY CASE, IT CANNOT BE IMPOSED BY

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US. THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A SHORTAGE OF PLANS, ONLY A LACK OF A CLEAR PATH TO OUR ULTIMATE DESTINATION.

THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE ARE STILL TOO FAR APART TO COME TOGETHER WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION AND ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED STATES. TO PLAY THIS ROLE, WE MUST BE CREDIBLE; AND CREDIBILITY REQUIRES CONSTANCY, PREDICTABILITY AND STRENGTH -- DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY STRENGTH OVERSEAS, AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH AT HOME. THOSE ARE THE HALLMARKS OF THE ADMINISTRATION I AM SEEKING TO BUILD.

AS PRESIDENT, I WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO CONVINCE JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA THAT THEIR FUTURE LIES IN ACHIEVING PEACE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND PRIORITIES OF RESOLUTION 242. TO PRESERVE PEACE AND SECURITY, WE MUST BE ABLE TO SAFEGUARD OUR FRIENDS AND PROTECT OUR INTERESTS AGAINST SUBVERSION BY THE SOVIET UNION, LIBYA, OR ANY OTHER RADICAL ORGANIZATION. TO THIS END, WE NEED TO INCREASE OUR MILITARY STRENGTH IN THE AREA.

THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WRONGLY FOCUSES ON THE PLO AS THE KEY TO RESOLVING THE PALESTINIAN DILEMMA. ALTHOUGH GIVEN EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO DO SO, THE PLO HAS REFUSED TO RENOUNCE ITS NATIONAL COVENANT WHICH SEEKS THE ELIMINATION OF ISRAEL. THE UNITED STATES IN 1975, PLEDGED TO ISRAEL THAT WE WOULD NOT ACCEPT PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AS LONG AS IT RETAINS THIS PERNICIOUS POSITION. I WOULD HONOR THIS COMMITMENT FULLY.

WE WILL THWART EVERY EFFORT IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO UNDERMINE ISRAEL, OR TO AMEND OR REPEAL SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, WHICH REPRESENTS THE ONLY OCCASION IN THE HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE WHEN THE UNITED STATES AND ITS EUROPEAN ALLIES WORKED TOGETHER IN FULL AGREEMENT, WITH ISRAEL AND MOST ARAB COUNTRIES.

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WE WILL OPPOSE ANY EFFORT IN THE UNITED NATIONS TO DIVIDE JERUSALEM, WHICH MUST REMAIN A UNITED CITY, WITH CONTINUED FREE ACCESS TO THE HOLY PLACES FOR ALL FAITHS.

ISRAEL HAS ALREADY MADE GREAT CONCESSIONS IN GIVING UP THE VAST SINAI PENINSULA WITH ITS STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE, ITS BASES AND ITS OIL, IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PEACE. BUT IT IS RIGHTLY DETERMINED TO REMAIN A SECURE JEWISH STATE, A BEACON OF HOPE TO ALL THE JEWISH PEOPLE IN THE WORLD, ESPECIALLY THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION YEARNING TO BE FREE. THE LIVELY DEBATE IN WHICH THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL ARE NOW ENGAGED GIVES EVIDENCE OF THEIR FERVENT DESIRE TO ACHIEVE A FAIR AND JUST SETTLEMENT WITH THE PALESTINIAN ARABS AND ALL THEIR NEIGHBORS.

BEFORE YOUR HIGH HOLY DAYS, I WANT TO REITERATE MY HOPE THAT AMERICA, UNDER A NEW AND STRONG ADMINISTRATION, MAY HELP TO HASTEN THAT DAY OF PEACE.

BUT UNTIL THE TIME COMES WHEN ALL OF ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS AGREE TO LIVE IN PEACE WITH IT, ISRAEL WILL BE ASSURED OUR STEADY SUPPORT TO GUARANTEE ITS SURVIVAL. A REAGAN ADMINISTRATION WILL NEVER DROP ITS FRIENDS LIKE ANCHORS IN THE SEA AS THE TIDES OF EVENTS SHIFT.

PEACE WOULD YIELD INCREDIBLE REWARDS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN THAT EXTRAORDINARY AREA: TO THE ISRAELIS, WHO YEARN FOR AN END TO FEAR AND BLOODSHED; TO THE ARABS OF THE WEST BANK AND THE GAZA STRIP WHO REMAIN UNDER MILITARY OCCUPATION, AND TO THE REFUGEES; TO THE LEBANESE, WHOSE LAND HAS BEEN TORN APART; TO JORDAN AND TO SYRIA AND THE GREAT ARAB WORLD BEYOND, WHICH NEEDS TO ENHANCE THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF THEIR PEOPLE.

WE SHARE ALL OF THOSE ASPIRATIONS, AND I PLEDGE TO YOU TO WORK FOR A PEACE WITH SECURITY BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE ARAB WORLD AS A KEY GOAL OF MY PRESIDENCY.

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YOUR SUPPORT IS INDISPENSABLE. I SEEK IT HEARTILY, HERE
TODAY AND EVERYWHERE AROUND THIS GREAT NATION.

THANK YOU.