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Bill Harin

I know it will come as no surprise to you that I have chosen to speak to you tonight about the state of Israel, its importance to our own nation and world peace.

But in a sense when I speak of Israel, I speak as well of other concerns of B'nai B'rith 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 would be at the heart of policy-making in a 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?

In defending Israel's right to exist, we defend the very values upon which our nation is built.

The long agony of Jews in the Soviet Union is, of course, never far from our minds and hearts. All these suffering people ask 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

- more -

of America continues its descent into economic impotence and despair.

Neither the survival of Israel nor the ability of the United States to bring pressure to bear on the situation of dissidents against tyranny can 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 just that, mere words, if not supported by the vision—and reality—of economic growth. 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 our humanitarian concerns 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," 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.

That bond is a moral imperative. 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. Well, 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 very reliable friend, which is not something that can always be said of the United States today under the Carter administration.

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. Can we now have confidence it will honor a covenant with tomorrow?

The interests of all the world are served by peace and stability in the Middle East. To weaken Israel is to destabilize the Middle East and risk the peace of the world, for the road to world peace runs through the Middle East.

How do we travel that road?

We cannot positively influence events at the perimeters of our power if power—including economic power—at the center is diminished.

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

We must have a principled, consistent foreign policy which our people can support, our friends understand, and our adversaries respect. Our policies must be based upon close consultation with our allies.

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

Today, under Jimmy Carter, our defensive capability 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; indeed so grave that the President considers it a liability to his personal political fortunes. He has tried 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, maintaining a defense capability our adversaries will view as credible and that our allies can rely upon.

As an ally of the United States, Israel must have the means to remain strong and secure. Over the years, the United States has provided economic and defense assistance, and a Reagan Administration will maintain this traditional commitment.

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."

One wonders, did the candidate listen to his own call? Today we have fewer real allies and, among those, 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 he would seek what he 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.

The comprehensive agreement which Mr. Carter sought required, first, a reconvening of the Geneva Conference. Israel was amenable to this step. Her adversaries agreed conditionally. But, 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 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. Can we believe that Mr. Carter is not still in favor of dealing with the P.L.O. and desirous of forcing the terms of a settlement?

Mr. Carter invited the Soviet Union to join him in his effort to force Israel to accept the mockery of negotiations in Geneva. Before that, it had required a major effort to keep the Soviets 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 stranglehold on negotiations, as well as a convenient calling card for inserting themselves more deeply into the Middle East.

This seriously disturbed President Sadat. The President of Egypt did not share Mr. Carter's appreciation of the Soviets, and he came to the conclusion which other world leaders, including Mr. Brezhnev, have now 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.

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 bilateral peace process began. Without, let me re-emphasize, the participation of Mr. Carter. The quick foreign policy success that Carter had hoped to achieve turned instead into another major foreign policy blunder.

What we do or fail to do in the Middle East is of vital importance not only to the peoples of the region, but also 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.

In spite of this I am confident that if we act with vigor, vision and practical good sense, we can peacefully blunt this Soviet thrust. We can

rely upon 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.

While we can help the nations of that area move toward peace, we should not try to force a settlement upon them.

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 be acceptable to Israelis and Arabs alike.

Most important, we must rebuild our lost reputation for trustworthiness. We must again become a nation that can be relied upon to live up to its commitments.

In 1976, Candidate Jimmy 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. Now, the Secretary of Defense tells us he cannot say whether this commitment to Congress will be honored.

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.

Meanwhile, Israel is being increasingly isolated by international terrorism and by U.N. resolutions designed to undermine Israel's position in the world while Carter stands by and watches.

I was appalled to see the Carter Administration abstain from voting on, rather than veto, the Resolution passed by the United Nations Security Council two weeks ago, totally disregarding the Democratic Platform promises of 1976 and 1980. As I stated then, that 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.

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

The man who asks "trust me," zigzags and flip-flops in ever more rapid gyrations, trying to court favor with everyone: Israel, 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 only three minutes. Secretary of State Muskie condemned the U.S. Resolution on Jerusalem in a long speech that was

for the voters in this country. Minutes later, he abstained instead of vetoing the U.N. Resolution. That was for 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. How do we 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 asking permission of other governments.

Mr. Carter sent an emissary to Saudi Arabia to ask for permission to store petroleum here in our own country—a strategic reserve vital to our national security and long demanded by Congress. The Saudis, predictably, said no. Mr. Carter halted the stockpiling.

Can we have relations with our friends in the Arab world if those relations are built on contempt for us?

Clear away the debris of the past four years, and the following issues remain to test the good faith of the Arab nations and of Israel, and to challenge our national will and diplomatic skill 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 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 the refugees.

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.

There are basic ambiguities in the documents Camp David produced, 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.

Let us remember that 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.

Negotiations between Israel and Jordan could result in long and creative steps toward 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 other neighbors make peace.

Jerusalem has been a source of man's spiritual inspiration since King David founded it. Its centrality to Jewish life is known to all.

Now it exists as a shared trust. The holy places of all faiths are protected and open to all. More than this, each is under the care and control of representatives of the respective faiths. Unlike the days prior to 1967, Jerusalem is now and will continue to be one city, undivided, with continuing free access for all. That is why I disagree with the cynical actions of the Carter administration in pledging to preserve the status of Jerusalem in its party platform and its undercutting Israel and Jerusalem by abstaining on a key U.N. vote. I believe the problem of Jerusalem can be solved by men of good will as part of a permanent settlement. The immediate problem is to make it easier for men of good will to come to the peace table.

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

I have no hesitation in doing so.

We live in a world in which any band of thugs clever enough to get the word "liberation" into its name can thereupon murder school children and have its deeds considered glamorous and glorious. Terrorists are not guerrillas, or commandos or freedom-fighters or anything else. They are terrorists and they should be identified as such. If others wish to deal with them, establish diplomatic relations with them, let it be on their heads. And let them be willing to pay the price of appeasement.

The PLO is said to represent the Palestinian refugees. 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 to Israel, he is an immediate 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 that agreement.

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 a quite different organization, 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. Let me 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. Israel was not destroyed and the refugee problem is with us today.

One solution to this refugee problem could be assimilation in Jordan, designated by the U.N. as the Arab Palestinian state.

In the final analysis, this or some other solution must be found as part of a peace settlement. The Psalms speak to our concerns, 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 garnerers 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 see that this vision is never lost, its message 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.

Let us hope during these Holy Days of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur that this next year will bring peace and justice to all the peoples of the Middle East; and to all of you I wish a Happy and Healthy New Year.

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Draft: #3

30
August 30, 1980

11:00 A.M.

~~11:00 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^{ed} 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~~ ^{PEOPLE CAN} ^{SUPPORT, OUR FRIENDS UNDERSTAND,} ^{PRINCIPLED, CONSISTENT,} ^{RESPECT} understand and our adversaries understand. Our policies will be based upon ^{CLOSE} 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~~ ^{VIEW AS CREDIBLE} our adversaries will ~~respect~~ and that our allies can rely upon.

We must have Presidential leadership that ^{MERITS THE RESPECT OF} our adversaries ^{TRULY} ~~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~~^{HE} would seek what ~~they~~^{he} 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. he
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The comprehensive agreement which Mr. Carter sought required, first, a reconvening of the Geneva Conference. Israel was amenable to ~~this~~^{THIS STEP}. Her adversaries agreed conditionally. ^{BUT} ~~^~~ 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 intrasigence.

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~~ ^{STRANGLE- ON} ~~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 ^{NOW} 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." ^{SOURCE?}

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 ^{THE OBJECTIVES OF} 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 ^{THIS} ~~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~~ **APPARENTLY LIMITLESS CAPACITY TO TAKE ABUSE**.

I was appalled to see the Carter Administration abstain ~~FROM~~, **VOTING ON**, rather than veto, the Resolution passed by the United Nations Security Council two weeks ago. **TOTALLY DISREGARDING DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM PROMISES** 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. **violation of 1976 and 1980-**

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.

~~4-19-76,~~

~~for the Democratic Party~~

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. ^{ON} March 1ST the Carter Administration failed to veto a most mischievous U.N. Resolution ~~that~~ condemning ~~the~~ 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 nd ~~a~~halted the stockpiling. and
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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 ^{TIME PASSES SINCE} Camp David ~~was~~, we must recognize that there are ^{IT PRODUCED,} 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 others} ~~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, *whose status are yet to be determined by negotiations* ~~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~~ *RESULT IN* 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 *M*andate 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 other neighbors* ~~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 ^{Resolution} 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.~~

~~PROBLEM of Jerusalem~~
 I believe the problem can be solved by men of good will as part of a permanent settlement.
 The immediate ~~problem~~ ^{task} is to make it easier for men of good ~~will~~ ^{peace} 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. ^{to do so.}

We live in a world in which any band of thugs clever enough to get the word "liberation" into ~~their~~ ^{ITS} 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~~ ^{WISH TO} 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. ^S ~~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.

~~And~~ 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.~~ **ISRAEL WAS NOT DESTROYED**
AND THE REFUGEES ARE WITH US TODAY.
~~So when we measure the tragedy we measure culpability, and Israel shares no part of it.~~

SOLUTION THIS
 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.~~ **ALL THE REFUGEES.**
~~So the answer is assimilation, and~~ **THUS,** 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.

Bill,

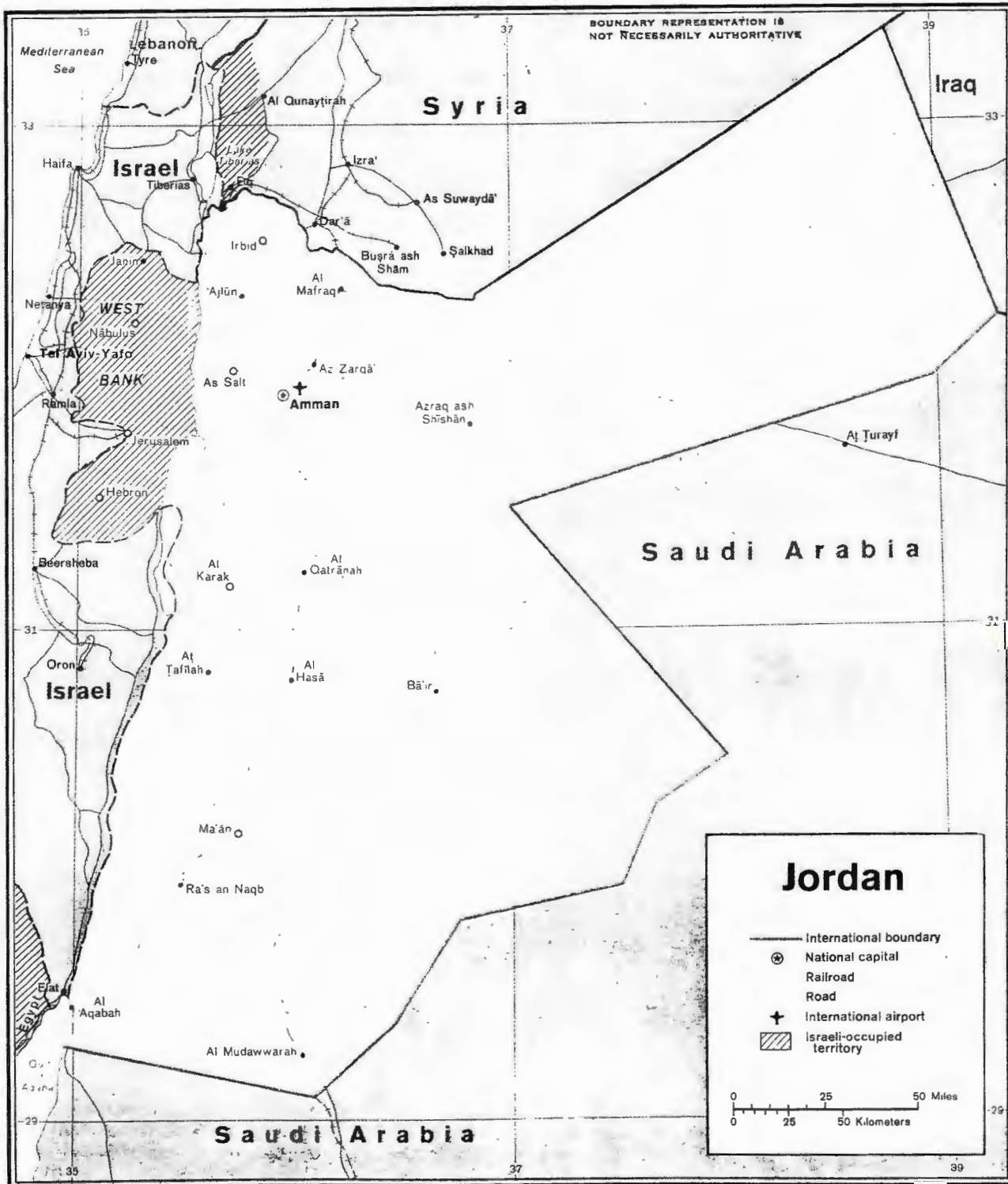
I've suggested
some minor edits -
in the attached text.

would recommend you
delete Para, bottom
of P. 13 + top of 14.

ADDs little + invites
trouble. see attached
Xerox.

Also, its a bit long
+ could use a few cuts -

Very good speech - Stef Halper



518246 12-76

British divided the administration of the mandate, establishing the semi-autonomous Emirate of Transjordan ruled by the Hashemite Prince Abdullah and continuing the administration of Palestine under a British High Commissioner.

The mandate over Transjordan ended on May 22, 1946, and on May 25 the country became the independent Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan. It continued to have a special mutual defense treaty relationship with the United Kingdom until 1957,

when the treaty was dissolved by mutual consent.

When the British mandate over Palestine ended on May 14, 1948, and the State of Israel was proclaimed, an armed conflict developed between the Israelis and Palestinian Arab nation-

to next Pg.

State Dept Background Note on Jordan

3

alists, aided by neighboring Arab States (including Transjordan). Jordan's western boundary with Israel was demarcated by the armistice agreement of April 3, 1949, and in 1950 the country was renamed the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan to include those portions of Arab Palestine annexed by King Abdullah.

By virtue of its signature to a mutual defense pact in May 1967 with Egypt, Jordan participated in the June 1967 hostilities between Israel and the Arab States of Syria, Egypt, and Iraq. The 6-day war resulted in Israeli occupation of all western Jordanian territory as far as the Jordan River, including the Jordanian-controlled sector of Jerusalem.

The 1967 war brought about a large increase in the number of Palestinians living on Jordan's East Bank. (Its Palestinian refugee population—700,000 in 1966—swelled by another 300,000 refugees and displaced persons from the West Bank.) The period following the 1967 war saw a marked upsurge in the power and importance of Palestinian resistance (*fedayeen*) elements on the East Bank.

Differing with the Jordanian Government's policies both in theory and in practice, the heavily armed and highly motivated *fedayeen* constituted a growing threat to the sovereignty and security of the Hashemite regime. Tensions between the government and the *fedayeen* increased until, in June 1970, open conflict erupted.

Attempts were made by other Arab governments to work out a peaceful solution, but by September continuing *fedayeen* actions in Jordan—including the destruction of three international airliners held hostage in the desert east of Amman—caused the government to try to regain completely control over its territory and all the peoples living there. Heavy fighting broke out, in which a Syrian tank force (camouflaged as a Palestinian force) initially took up positions in northern Jordan in support of the *fedayeen*. After several days of tense developments, the Syrian force withdrew, and the Jordanian Army rapidly gained the initiative over the *fedayeen*. By September 22, Arab Foreign Ministers meeting at Cairo had arranged a ceasefire beginning the following day. Sporadic violence continued, however, until Jan-

danian forces won a decisive victory over the *fedayeen* in July 1971, expelling them from the country. Since that time, the *fedayeen* have not presented an internal threat to the Jordanian Government.

There was no fighting along the Jordan River ceasefire line during the October 1973 war. However, Jordan did send a brigade to Syria, where it was engaged in combat with Israeli units in Syrian territory.

GEOGRAPHY

Jordan, a country of rocky deserts, mountains, and rolling plains, is predominantly arid; 88 percent of the land is desert or waste, 11% is agricultural, and only 1 percent is forested. The dominant topographical feature is the great north-south Jordan Rift Valley (a branch of the great African Rift Valley system) forming the depression of the Jordan River Valley, Lake Tiberias, and the Dead Sea (nearly 1,300 feet—396 m.—below sea level). The Jordan River divides Jordan into two regions—the East Bank and the West Bank. Immediately east of the river and the Dead Sea is the edge of a high plateau which receives moderate rainfall. The greater part of the East Bank, however, is an extension of the Syrian (or North Arabian) Desert. The small area west of the river is hilly and receives a fair amount of rainfall.

The country has a Mediterranean climate, with a rainy season from November to March and very dry weather for the rest of the year. Temperatures at Amman range from an average of 50°F (10°C) in January to an average of 90°F (32°C) in August.

GOVERNMENT

Jordan is a constitutional monarchy based on the Constitution promulgated on January 8, 1952. Executive authority is vested in the King and the Council of Ministers. The King signs and executes all laws. He also holds veto power subject to override by a two-thirds vote of both houses of the National Assembly. He appoints and may dismiss all judges by decree, approves amendments to the Constitution, declares war, and commands the armed forces. All Cabinet decisions, court judgments, and the national cur-

TRAVEL NOTES

Climate and Clothing—Climate is moderate, but seasons vary enough to require a diversified wardrobe. Conservative dress is appropriate.

Customs—A valid Jordanian visa is necessary for entry. Presently, persons whose passports contain Israeli visas are admitted only under special circumstances and with great difficulty. Therefore, you should not attempt to transit Israel en route to Amman. Smallpox immunization is required.

Health—Good medical and surgical care is available in Amman. Avoid uncooked vegetables and salads, tap water, and nonpasteurized milk.

Telecommunications—Long-distance telephone service is provided to the U.S., Beirut, Damascus, Cairo, and most European cities. Telegraph service is available.

Transportation—Amman is serviced by several Middle East and European airlines. Direct air transportation to the U.S. by American carriers is available from Beirut, Cairo, Istanbul, Athens, or Rome. Taxis are available in Amman; tipping is not customary.

Touring—Jordan has a number of sites of historical and archeological significance. Among them are: Jerash, one of the best preserved Greco-Roman cities in the world (it is still undergoing excavation and restoration); Madaba, which dates back to the middle bronze age (2000-1500 B.C.) and is mentioned in the Bible as a Moabite town; Petra, the city built out of reddish rock formations, lost to the world for hundreds of years until its rediscovery in the 19th century; Aqaba, established in the 13th century B.C. and Jordan's only seaport.

rency are issued in his name; he is immune from all liability for his acts.

The Council of Ministers, led by the Prime Minister, is appointed by the King, who may dismiss other Cabinet members at the request of the Prime Minister. The Cabinet is responsible to the Chamber of Deputies on matters of general policy and can be forced to resign by a two-thirds vote of "no confidence" by that body.

Legislative power rests in a bicameral National Assembly. The 30-Member Senate is appointed by the King for an 8-year term. Senators are

Statesman's Yearbook

THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN

Al Mamlaka al Urduniya
al Hashemiyah

Capital: Amman
Population: 2.75m. (1976) E. Bank
0.8m. (1976) W. Bank
GNP per capita: US\$610 (1976)

HISTORY. By a Treaty, signed in London on 22 March 1946, Britain recognized Transjordan as a sovereign independent state. A new Anglo-Transjordan treaty was signed in Amman on 15 March 1948. The treaty was to remain in force for 20 years, but by mutual consent was terminated on 13 March 1957.

The Arab Federation between the Kingdoms of Iraq and Jordan, which was concluded on 14 Feb. 1958, lapsed after the revolution in Iraq of 14 July 1958, and was officially terminated by royal decree on 1 Aug. 1958.

On 25 May 1946 the Amir Abdullah assumed the title of King, and when the treaty was ratified on 17 June 1946 the name of the territory was changed to that of 'The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan'. The legislature consists of a lower house of 60 members elected by universal suffrage (30 from East Jordan and 30 from West Jordan), and a senate of 30 members nominated by the King. Elections took place on 16 April 1967.

AREA AND POPULATION. The part of Palestine remaining to the Arabs under the armistice with Israel 3 April 1949, with the exception of the Gaza strip was in Dec. 1949 placed under Jordan rule and formally incorporated in Jordan on 24 April 1950; for the frontier lines see map in THE STATESMAN'S YEAR-BOOK, 1951. On 10 Aug. 1965 a treaty with Saudi Arabia provided for an exchange of about 6,000-7,000 sq. km in order to facilitate the development of the port of Aqaba.

Total East Bank area, 91,000 sq. km. West Bank enclaves 5,000 sq. km: census population (18 Nov. 1961), 1,706,226; estimate, 1976, 2,751,968 (1,951,968 in East Bank, 800,000 in West Bank). In 1961, 805,450 lived in West Jordan and 834,589 in East Jordan, including some 550,000 refugees from Palestine but excluding some 53,000 nomads. About 63,000 Jordanians live abroad. Density of population per sq. km, 51 in East Jordan, 143 in West Jordan.

The country is divided into 8 districts (*muhafaza*), viz., Amman, Irbid, Balqa, Karak, Ma'an, Jerusalem, Hebron and Nablus. The last 3 named districts are known collectively as the West Bank, which, since the hostilities of June 1967, has been occupied by Israel.

The largest towns, with estimated population, Dec. 1976: Amman, the capital, 700,000; Zarka, 258,000; Irbid, 134,000.

In 1975 registered births numbered 81,659; deaths, 6,788; marriages, 14,137; divorces, 2,345.

KING. The Kingdom is a constitutional monarchy headed by HM King Hussein, GCVO, eldest son of King Talal, who, being incapacitated by mental illness, was deposed by Parliament on 11 Aug. 1952 and died 8 July 1972. The King was born 14 Nov. 1935, and married Princess Dina Abdul Hamid on 19 April 1955 (divorced 1957), Toni Avril Gardiner (Muna al Hussein) on 25 May 1961 (divorced 1972), Alia Toukan on 26 Dec. 1972 (died in air crash 1977) and Elizabeth Halaby on 15 June 1978. *Offspring:* Princess Alia, born 13 Feb. 1956; Prince Abdulla, born 30 Jan. 1962; Prince Faisal, born 11 Oct. 1963; Princesses Zein and Aisha, born 23

JORDAN

April 1968; Princess Haya, born 3 May 1974; Prince Ali, born 23 April 1965; Prince Hassan, younger brother of Prince Ali.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT. The Constitution of 1951 provides that the Cabinet is responsible to Parliament.

On 9 Nov. 1974 both Houses of Parliament approved amendments to the Constitution by which the King was empowered to dissolve Parliament and call elections for 12 months.

On 5 Feb. 1976 both Houses of Parliament approved amendments to the Constitution by which the King was empowered to postpone calling further notice. The lower house was dissolved. This step was taken so that elections could be held in the West Bank which has been under Israeli occupation since June 1967.

On 12 Aug. 1975 Jordan and Syria concluded an agreement for a political command of both countries would co-ordinate their policies and closer relations in political, military and economic fields.

The Cabinet, on 28 Nov 1976, was composed as follows:

Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Foreign Affairs: Muhsen al-Majali. *Education:* Dr Abdul Salam Al-Majaly. *Information:* Adnan al-Majali. *Tourism and Antiquities:* Ghaleb Barakat. *Finance:* Salem Massa'deh. *Health:* Dr Mohammed al Beshir. *Transport:* Mahmoud E. Hammad. *Agriculture:* Salah Jum'ah. *Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, and Development:* Hassan Ibrahim. *Labour:* Isam Al-Ajlouni. *Internal Affairs:* Minister of State for Prime Ministerial Affairs: Marwan al-Murzuq. *Communications:* Abd Al-Ra'ouf Rawabdeh. *Wakf and Islamic Affairs:* Kamel Al-Sharif.

National flag: Three horizontal stripes of black, white, green, with a white 7-pointed star on the hoist, bearing a white 7-pointed star.

The official language of the country is Arabic.

DEFENCE

Army. The Army is organized in 2 armoured, 2 mechanized and 2 infantry brigades. In addition there is an independent infantry brigade group with an armoured car regiment. Total strength (1979) 61,000 men.

Navy. The Coastal Guard or Jordan Sea Force consists of 10 motor launches and 100 personnel (1979) totalled 290 officers and ratings.

Air Force. The Air Force has 2 squadrons of F-5A supersonic fighters, 1 squadron of F-5E Tiger II interceptors and 1 squadron of F-16A fighters. There are a few C-130B Hercules and 4 CASA transport aircraft, Alouette III helicopters, and T-37B jet trainers. Basic training is at the Royal Academy of Aeronautics. The engine and airframe divisions are being delivered to equip 14 batteries. Strength of officers and men.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Membership. Jordan is a member of the UN and the Arab League.

ECONOMY

Planning. A 5-year plan (1976-80) aims at achieving a growth rate of 6% annually but in 1975 the increase was only 6%.

Budget. The budget estimates for the year 1976-77 provide for a deficit of JD.332.6m.

Currency. On 1 July 1950 Jordan began to issue its own currency, the Jordanian dinar, divided into 1,000 fils. The Jordan dinar equals £1.5. Jordan is a member of the sterling area. The following bank-notes and coins are in circulation:

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 ^{Support those who dissent against tyranny} 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 ^{Nation's} ~~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^e 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 ^{the} 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. ^{Our} ~~There is no~~ covenant with the future ^{must be} ~~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 ^{among nations} ~~between states~~ demonstrates that while ~~morality is most frequently given~~ as a motive for ^{moral concern is often touted}

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 ^{held by Six} ~~with~~ ^{held by Six} American Presidents ^{And} ^{today} 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 ^{in the months and years ahead} ~~and at the same time~~. Today's ~~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~~ ~~incoherence~~. ^{erratic, deceptive and incompetent.}

We require and will have a foreign policy which ^{both} our ^{friends} ~~allies~~ ^{fully} ~~understand~~ and our ^{foes} ~~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~~^{Candidate} 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, ^{and} 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 ^{third-world} 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 138. ~~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.

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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

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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 ^{Nations} [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 ~~most~~ 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. ^{until} [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.