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SPEECH TO THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1987

I. INTRO

- PLEASURE AND AN HONOR TO ADDRESS THE AJC; AN INSTITUTION RICH IN HISTORY. AN ORGANIZATION COMMITTED TO HUMANITARIAN IDEALS; TO FAIRNESS IN AMERICA'S WAY OF LIFE; TO A FOREIGN POLICY THAT REFLECTS OUR VALUES, WHILE SAFEGUARDING OUR SECURITY; AND TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AN AREA TOO LONG BURDENED BY TRAGEDY AND VIOLENCE.
- I WANT TO TALK ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST TONIGHT, BUT LET ME START WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS.

II. U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

- THESE RELATIONS ALL TOO OFTEN ARE DOMINATED IN PUBLIC DISCUSSION BY ARMS CONTROL. PROGRESS HERE IS TAKEN AS THE BEST, SOMETIMES ONLY, MEASURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP.
- THE PRESIDENT UNDERSTANDS THE IMPORTANCE OF ARMS REDUCTION IN THE NUCLEAR ERA. BUT HE ALSO UNDERSTANDS THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIETS CANNOT SIMPLY BE REDUCED TO ARMS CONTROL. REDUCING ARMS AT THE STRATEGIC LEVEL IS IMPORTANT, BUT WILL DO LITTLE TO MANAGE THE REGIONAL PROBLEMS OR CONFLICTS THAT MAY ACTUALLY TRIGGER WAR. IT WILL DO LITTLE TO EXPAND THE SCOPE OF BILATERAL PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE TIES IN A WAY THAT BUILDS TRUST AND ERODES

MISCONCEPTIONS. AND IT WILL DO LITTLE TO ADDRESS MORE FUNDAMENTAL CONCERNS ABOUT BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS--A CONCERN THAT REFLECTS WHO WE ARE AND WHAT WE BELIEVE IN.

- THAT IS WHY PRESIDENT REAGAN HAS DEVELOPED A FOUR-PART AGENDA FOR U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS, AN AGENDA THAT STRESSES ARMS REDUCTION, HUMAN RIGHTS, BILATERAL TIES, AND REGIONAL ISSUES.
- WE DO NOT APPROACH THIS AGENDA IN A VACUUM. THERE CAN BE NO DENYING THAT THERE ARE IMPORTANT CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE SOVIET UNION. WE CAN'T YET KNOW WHAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE CHANGES WILL BE FOR THE SOVIET UNION ITSELF OR FOR SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD. WHAT WE CAN SEE IS THAT THERE IS [REDACTED] FERMENT IN THE SOVIET UNION.
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[REDACTED] THE PRESSURE FOR CHANGE IS GREAT.
- THE CONSENSUS IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS TO GET THE SYSTEM MOVING AGAIN. THAT HAS LED TO ANTI-CORRUPTION AND ALCOHOL CAMPAIGNS; SIGNIFICANT PERSONNEL TURNOVER; AND THE CALL FOR ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING AND "DEMOCRATIZATION". EVEN THOUGH GORBACHEV'S USE OF THE TERM IS FAR DIFFERENT FROM OURS, THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE FORCES OF CHANGE ARE PUSHING HARD ON THE CITADELS OF TRADITION IN THE SOVIET SYSTEM.

- WE'RE WATCHING ALL THIS CLOSELY, NOT PREJUDGING ITS OUTCOME, BUT LOOKING FOR SIGNS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO BEHAVE DIFFERENTLY IN AREAS IMPORTANT TO US. WE KNOW THE STYLE IS DIFFERENT AND FREQUENTLY THE RHETORIC IS CONCILIATORY. HOWEVER, WE'RE INTERESTED NOT JUST IN FORM, BUT IN SUBSTANCE. WE'RE LOOKING, IF YOU WILL, FOR THE "BEEF".

- IN SOME AREAS, THERE ARE HOPEFUL SIGNS, ESPECIALLY WITH REGARD TO THE TREATMENT OF DISSIDENTS, RELEASE OF REFUSENIKS, AND THE RECENT INCREASE IN JEWISH EMIGRATION. MUCH MORE, CLEARLY, NEEDS TO BE DONE. NEITHER YOU NOR WE WILL RELAX OUR CONCERNS OR VIGILANCE IN THESE AREAS. RELEASE OF A FEW HUNDRED IS NOT ENOUGH; THERE ARE TENS OF THOUSANDS WHO WISH TO GO.

- THERE ARE OTHER ENCOURAGING SIGNS. WE SEE HOPEFUL, IF LIMITED, INDICATIONS OF SOVIET MOVEMENT ON ARMS REDUCTION. PROGRESS IS BEING MADE IN THE INF NEGOTIATIONS. WE'RE WRESTLING WITH THE COMPLEX POLITICAL AND MILITARY DIMENSIONS OF THIS NEGOTIATION, BUT WE BELIEVE PROSPECTS ARE GOOD FOR AN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS THAT CORRECTS A DANGEROUS IMBALANCE IN NUCLEAR WEAPONRY AND MAKES EUROPE MORE SECURE.

- THE PRESIDENT, OF COURSE, WANTS TO ACHIEVE MORE THAN AN INF AGREEMENT. HIS VISION IS TO COUPLE DEEP CUTS IN OFFENSIVE ARMS WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRATEGIC DEFENSE: CREATING, A

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- OUR TASK IN BRINGING ABOUT SUCH CHANGES HAS NOT BEEN MADE EASIER BY CONGRESSIONAL ATTEMPTS TO SLASH THE DEFENSE BUDGET AND LEGISLATE HOW WE APPROACH THE NEGOTIATIONS, FORCING US TO MAKE UNILATERAL CONCESSIONS ON ISSUES LIKE THE ABM TREATY INTERPRETATION AND SALT II CEILINGS. IT MAKES NO SENSE FOR US TO NEGOTIATE WITH OURSELVES JUST WHEN IT APPEARS THE SOVIETS MAY BE READY TO MOVE.
- WHILE SOVIET INTERNAL NEEDS MAY BE THE DRIVING IMPULSE TO REFORM THE SYSTEM, IT IS OUR LEVERAGE--IN THE FORM OF MILITARY MODERNIZATION, COMMITMENT TO SDI, AND A STRONG PRESIDENT--THAT HAS HELPED FOSTER A NEW RESPONSIVENESS ON NUCLEAR ARMS. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP HAS ALREADY EMBRACED POSITIONS ON INF AND ARMS REDUCTION THAT MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVED IMPOSSIBLE A FEW YEARS AGO. WHY, IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, SHOULD WE UNDERMINE THE STRENGTH THAT HAS HELPED PRODUCE THAT MOVEMENT AND CAN PRODUCE MORE?
- DOES ANYONE SERIOUSLY BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET POSITION IN ARMS NEGOTIATIONS, ON JEWISH EMIGRATION, OR ON REGIONAL CONFLICTS IS LIKELY TO BE RESPONSIVE IF OUR LEVERAGE IS VITIATED THROUGH BUDGET CUTS AND LEGISLATED ARMS CONTROL AMENDMENTS?

- IN THIS REGARD, IT ISN'T ONLY THE DEEP CUTTING OF DEFENSE SPENDING THAT IS WORRISOME; EVEN MORE TROUBLING ARE THE DEVASTATING CUTS THE CONGRESS IS MAKING IN THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BUDGET. THIS, AT A TIME WHEN THE GORBACHEV APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY IN THE DIFFERENT REGIONS IS MARKED BY GREATER ASSERTIVENESS. I WILL SAY MORE ABOUT THIS NEW SOVIET ACTIVISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST--AND THE CHALLENGES IT POSES--IN A MINUTE.
- FOR NOW, I SIMPLY WANT TO EMPHASIZE TO THIS GATHERING THAT FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IS A CRITICAL INSTRUMENT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. IT IS A PROVEN INSTRUMENT, ESSENTIAL FOR PREEMPTING TROUBLE AND MAINTAINING STABILITY IN KEY REGIONS, BUT IT IS UNDER THREAT. IN SAYING THIS, I AM NOT BEING OVERLY ALARMIST. NOTE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE NEW YORK TIMES GOES SO FAR TO SAY THAT PLANNED CONGRESSIONAL CUTS IN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ARE SO EXTREME THAT THEY COULD ENDANGER THE AID LEVELS FOR ISRAEL AND EGYPT WHOSE AID CONSTITUTES A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF THE OVERALL AMOUNT. WE WILL RESIST ANY ATTEMPT TO CUT THEIR AID AND ^{will work} TO PRESERVE A FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BUDGET LARGE ENOUGH TO PROTECT OUR OVERALL NATIONAL INTERESTS, AS WELL AS OUR SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. I KNOW YOU ARE COMMITTED TO HELP US ACHIEVE THIS. WE COUNT ON YOUR ACTIVE SUPPORT.

III. SOVIETS AND THE MIDDLE EAST

- LET ME NOW TURN TO SOVIET ACTIVISM IN THE THIRD WORLD GENERALLY AND THE MIDDLE EAST MORE SPECIFICALLY. SOVIET RHETORIC OF PEACE OFFERS A BASIS FOR HOPE; UNFORTUNATELY, SOVIET BEHAVIOR AT THIS POINT DOES NOT.

- FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIET "PEACE OFFENSIVE" ON AFGHANISTAN HAS LED NEITHER TO A REDUCTION IN SOVIET COMBAT TROOPS NOR TO ANY LESSENING OF THE INTENSITY OF THE FIGHTING. INSTEAD, THE SOVIET CALL FOR PEACE HAS BEEN PUNCTUATED BY AN ESCALATION OF AIR ATTACKS AGAINST NEIGHBORING PAKISTAN, ATTACKS THAT HAVE CAUSED OVER 1,000 CASUALTIES THIS YEAR ALONE. THE ROAD TO PEACE WILL BE BUILT NOT BY SOVIET BOMBS DROPPED ON PAKISTAN BUT BY THE SOVIETS WITHDRAWING FROM AFGHANISTAN AND ACCEPTING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. THE MUJAHADEEN ARE NOT FIGHTING BECAUSE OF US OR ANYONE ELSE; THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR THE FREEDOM OF THEIR COUNTRY, AND THEY WILL NOT GIVE UP. IT'S TIME THE SOVIETS REALLY ACCEPTED THAT; IT'S TIME FOR PEACE.

- IT'S TIME FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST TOO. BUT HERE, TOO, WE SEE A NEW SOVIET ACTIVISM THAT DOESN'T NECESSARILY CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE. THIS ACTIVISM IS CHARACTERIZED BY SEVERAL DIFFERENT TRACKS.

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- WITH THE ARAB WORLD, THE SOVIETS ARE PURSUING A PROPAGANDA TRACK WHICH STRESSES PEACE; AN OVERT DIPLOMATIC TRACK WHICH STRESSES BETTER RELATIONS WITH MODERATE, WESTERN-ORIENTED STATES; AND A COVERT DIPLOMATIC TRACK OF REINFORCING, RADICALIZING AND INCREASING THEIR CONTROL OVER THE PLO AND MAINTAINING LEVERAGE OVER SYRIA.

- WITH ISRAEL, THEY ARE EMPHASIZING THE DESIRE FOR PEACE, OFFERING TANGIBLE PROSPECTS OF GREATLY INCREASED JEWISH EMIGRATION--DIRECT TO ISRAEL--AND HOLDING OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF RESTORING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. THIS, AT THE SAME TIME THAT THEIR EFFORTS IN ALGIERS PRODUCED A MORE REJECTIONIST, RADICAL PLO.

- WHAT WE SEE IS A BLEND OF THE OLD WITH THE NEW. ON THE ONE HAND, THE TRADITIONAL SOVIET IMPULSE TO SEIZE OPPORTUNITIES CAUSED BY OUR SETBACKS HAS LED TO GREATER SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE GULF, SEEKING TO CAPITALIZE ON THE AFTERMATH OF OUR IRANIAN INITIATIVE AND THE ARAB FEAR OF IRAN. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE EFFORT TO CULTIVATE THE WESTERN-ORIENTED STATES IN THE REGION REFLECTS A NEW CONFIDENCE AND A BELIEF THAT SOVIET DIPLOMACY CAN CREATE ITS OWN OPPORTUNITIES.

- THE SOVIETS ARE REACHING OUT TO MODERATES LIKE EGYPT AND JORDAN BY RESCHEDULING THE FORMER'S BURDENSOME DEBT AT NO

INTEREST--WHEN WE CAN OFFER LITTLE RELIEF ON OUR DEBT--AND OFFERING THE LATTER ADVANCED ARMS ON EXCEEDINGLY FAVORABLE TERMS. THEY ARE ALSO WORKING WITH ARAB OIL STATES TO FIX PRICES--WE WILL NOT.

- IN SHORT, WE SEE A SOVIET UNION THAT IS MORE ACTIVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ONE THAT IS WORKING HARD TO LOOK AS IF IT HAS THE POWER AND LEVERAGE TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN TIME OF PEACE AS WELL AS CONFLICT. THE SOVIETS SEEM TO BE TRYING TO CREATE A NEW REALITY THAT MAKES THEM, UNMISTAKEABLY, A CENTRAL PLAYER IN THE REGION--WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.
- THEIR SUPPORT FOR A CONFERENCE, WHICH THEY HAVE KEPT DISTURBINGLY DEVOID OF DETAILS, IS DESIGNED TO CONVEY A COMMITMENT TO PEACE, HIGHLIGHT APPARENT IDENTITY OF VIEWS WITH COUNTRIES LIKE EGYPT AND JORDAN, AND APPEAL TO ISRAEL. IF WE WERE CONVINCED THE SOVIETS WERE SERIOUSLY COMMITTED TO PEACE IN THE REGION, THERE WOULD BE NO INTEREST IN EXCLUDING THEM. THEN THEY WOULD HAVE SOMETHING USEFUL TO CONTRIBUTE. BUT THAT IS SOMETHING THEY MUST DEMONSTRATE IN DEEDS AND NOT SIMPLY IN WORDS.
- THEY MUST SHOW THAT THEY UNDERSTAND THAT MIDDLE EAST PEACE WILL NOT COME BY STRENGTHENING THE FORCES OF RADICALISM OR VAGUE PROTESTATIONS ABOUT BEING COMMITTED TO MIDDLE EAST

PEACE. THESE NEED TO BE SPELLED OUT CLEARLY AND THEN BE MATCHED BY ACTIONS THAT MAKE IT EASIER--NOT MORE DIFFICULT--FOR MODERATES TO ACT. THAT'S WHAT WE'RE LOOKING FOR, BUT HAVE YET TO SEE.

IV. U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

- WHAT OF OUR POLICY? WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BE IDLE IN THE FACE OF GREATER SOVIET ACTIVISM, PARTICULARLY WHEN THAT ACTIVISM MAY NARROW THE CHOICES AVAILABLE TO ISRAEL AND TO MODERATE ARAB REGIMES.
- RECOGNIZING THE NEED TO COUNTER SOVIET ACTIVISM, REBUILD THE DAMAGED CREDIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND HELP GENERATE NEW HOPE IN THE REGION, THE PRESIDENT HELD A SERIES OF POLICY MEETINGS IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY AND DECIDED UPON A MORE INTENSIVE EFFORT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
- THE GOAL IS NOT TO CREATE A HIGH PROFILE OR LOOK FOR RAPID SPECTACULAR ACHIEVEMENTS. ONE DOES NOT RESTORE CREDIBILITY BY OVERCOMPENSATING, OR BY TAKING UNREALISTIC INITIATIVES THAT ARE BOUND TO FAIL. WE ARE BEING GUIDED BY A SOBER, REALISTIC SENSE OF THE POSSIBLE--RECOGNIZING THE DANGERS BUT ALSO THE OPPORTUNITIES, AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF INACTION.

- IN THE GULF, WE ARE PURSUING A POLICY ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT ON FEBRUARY 25, MAKING CLEAR THAT THE IRANIAN INITIATIVE WAS, IN FACT, AN ABERRATION, THAT WE DO NOT SEE IRAN AS A WAVE OF THE FUTURE, AND THAT WE HAVE REINSTITUTED OUR ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO THAT COUNTRY.

- WE ARE NEUTRAL ON THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND DELIVER NO ARMS TO EITHER SIDE. WE ARE WORKING WITH FRIENDLY GULF GOVERNMENTS BOTH TO DETER IRANIAN EXPANSION OF THE WAR AND THREATS AGAINST OTHER STATES, FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND THE FREE FLOW OF OIL. TO THAT END, WE HAVE ENHANCED OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE AREA, WARNED THE IRANIANS ON SILKWORM MISSILES, AND OFFERED TO PROTECT KUWAITI TANKERS. WE ARE ALSO WORKING ACTIVELY IN THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL TO BUILD AGREEMENT ON A RESOLUTION THAT WOULD IMPOSE A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO ON THE PARTY NOT READY TO ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE, WITHDRAW TO INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES, AND NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT.

- IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONTEXT, WE HAVE ADOPTED A TWO-TRACK APPROACH. IT IS AN APPROACH THAT RECOGNIZES THE DANGER OF DRIFT AND THE ABSENCE OF HOPE. FUNDAMENTALISTS AND RADICALS PREY ON DESPAIR; THEIR RESPONSE IS TO CALL FOR VIOLENT STRUGGLE AND CONFLICT. WE ARE DETERMINED TO HELP CREATE A DIFFERENT FUTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE ARE DETERMINED TO

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGES IN THE REGION--CHANGES REFLECTED IN THE ALMOST ROUTINE WAY IN WHICH THE ARAB WORLD AS A WHOLE RESPONDED TO THE PERES-HASSAN AND PERES-MUBARAK MEETINGS.

- OUR TWO-TRACK APPROACH IS DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE QUIET BUT REAL PROGRESS THAT IS BEING MADE TO BUILD ARAB-ISRAELI COOPERATION IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. IT IS ALSO DESIGNED TO EXPLORE ACTIVELY AND CREATIVELY THE POSSIBILITY OF GETTING A BROADER NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED.

- IN ORDER TO HELP JORDAN, ISRAEL AND REASONABLE PALESTINIAN LEADERS ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, THE PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED THAT \$30 MILLION BE SQUEEZED OUT OF THIS YEAR'S BUDGET TO GIVE A NEW IMPETUS AND GREATER MEANING TO THE QUALITY OF LIFE PROGRAM--A PROGRAM TO BUILD HOPE AND TO LAY A BASIS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS. THE APPOINTMENT OF ARAB MAYORS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ARAB BANK ARE IMPORTANT PARTS OF THIS EFFORT. GIVEN THE DISTURBING POLITICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT PALESTINIANS THERE GAIN A STAKE IN SOMETHING POSITIVE AND BELIEVE THAT A BETTER ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FUTURE IS POSSIBLE. THIS IS ALL THE MORE URGENT AFTER THE ALGIERS MEETING OF THE PNC, AS THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCCUPATION APPROACHES, AND WE SEE SIGNS OF STEPPED-UP PLO TERRORISM AGAINST ISRAEL.

- WITH RESPECT TO THE BROADER NEGOTIATING PROCESS, LET ME SAY SOMETHING ABOUT OUR VIEW OF PEACE AND HOW IT CAN BE ACHIEVED. WE KNOW THAT PEACE CANNOT BE IMPOSED OR BE ACHIEVED INSTANTLY, AT A SINGLE MEETING. IT CAN ONLY COME GRADUALLY, THROUGH THE GIVE-AND-TAKE OF DIRECT, BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

- IN THIS SPIRIT, WE HAVE BEEN EXPLORING WITH OUR FRIENDS WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE TO STRUCTURE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE THAT WOULD PRODUCE SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, WOULD NOT INTRODUCE FURTHER DISRUPTIVE ELEMENTS INTO THE REGION, OR IMPOSE ITS VIEWS UPON THE PARTIES. INSTEAD IT WOULD LEAD RAPIDLY TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AND OVER TIME TO A PEACE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ALL OF ITS NEIGHBORS.

- IN RECENT WEEKS, THIS PROCESS OF EXPLORATION HAS PRODUCED WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS. MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, AND AT THIS POINT THERE IS NO CERTAINTY OF THE OUTCOME. WE WILL PERSEVERE EVEN IN THE FACE OF THE INEVITABLE UPS AND DOWNS OF SUCH A PROCESS.

- WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS, BECAUSE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE CLOSER TO THE REALITY OF PEACE MIGHT BE LOST OTHERWISE. WE KNOW THAT PURSUING THIS EFFORT WILL NOT BE EASY FOR THE PARTIES INVOLVED -- OR FOR THOSE WHO TRY TO HELP THEM. WE

KNOW ALSO AND APPRECIATE HOW ANY SUCH EFFORT MAY TRIGGER DEBATE--IN ISRAEL, IN ARAB STATES, IN THE UNITED STATES. IT SHOULD, SINCE THE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE ARE SO IMPORTANT. IT HAS CERTAINLY HAD THAT EFFECT RECENTLY IN ISRAEL. (I UNDERSTAND THAT THE AJC IS ALSO DEBATING THIS ISSUE). WE ARE NOT BLIND TO THAT DEBATE OR THE ISSUES OVER WHICH IT IS BEING FOUGHT. WE WANT TO SEE PEACE FOR ISRAEL BUT WE WILL NOT TAKE SIDES IN INTERNAL POLITICS.

-- IT IS NOT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO DECIDE ISRAEL'S COURSE AND ISRAEL'S FUTURE. THAT IS FOR ISRAELIS TO DECIDE. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS WITH BOTH PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR AND FOREIGN MINSITER PERES.

-- PEACE IS OUR OBJECTIVE, AND WE KNOW IT IS ISRAEL'S ALSO. WE WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO PROMOTE IT. THE PRESIDENT STANDS READY TO HELP AND I CAN TELL YOU THAT THERE ARE FEW ACHIEVEMENTS MORE IMPORTANT TO PRESIDENT REAGAN THAN THAT OF CONTRIBUTING TO GENUINE PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS.

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Frank Carlucci
Ann MTG
Dinner

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- DOES ANYONE SERIOUSLY BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIET POSITION IN ARMS NEGOTIATIONS, ON JEWISH EMIGRATION, OR ON REGIONAL CONFLICTS IS LIKELY TO BE RESPONSIVE IF OUR LEVERAGE IS VITIATED THROUGH BUDGET CUTS AND LEGISLATED ARMS CONTROL AMENDMENTS?

- , IN THIS REGARD, IT ISN'T ONLY THE DEEP CUTTING OF DEFENSE SPENDING THAT IS WORRISOME; EVEN MORE TROUBLING ARE THE DEVASTATING CUTS THE CONGRESS IS MAKING IN THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BUDGET. THIS, AT A TIME WHEN THE GORBACHEV APPROACH TO FOREIGN POLICY IN THE DIFFERENT REGIONS IS MARKED BY GREATER ASSERTIVENESS. I WILL SAY MORE ABOUT THIS NEW SOVIET ACTIVISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST--AND THE CHALLENGES IT POSES--IN A MINUTE.
- FOR NOW, I SIMPLY WANT TO EMPHASIZE TO THIS GATHERING THAT FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IS A CRITICAL INSTRUMENT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. IT IS A PROVEN INSTRUMENT, ESSENTIAL FOR PREEMPTING TROUBLE AND MAINTAINING STABILITY IN KEY REGIONS, BUT IT IS UNDER THREAT. IN SAYING THIS, I AM NOT BEING OVERLY ALARMIST. NOTE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THE NEW YORK TIMES GOES SO FAR TO SAY THAT PLANNED CONGRESSIONAL CUTS IN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ARE SO EXTREME THAT THEY COULD ENDANGER THE AID LEVELS FOR ISRAEL AND EGYPT WHOSE AID CONSTITUTES A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF THE OVERALL AMOUNT. WE WILL RESIST ANY ATTEMPT TO CUT THEIR AID AND ^{will work} TO PRESERVE A FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BUDGET LARGE ENOUGH TO PROTECT OUR OVERALL NATIONAL INTERESTS, AS WELL AS OUR SPECIAL RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. I KNOW YOU ARE COMMITTED TO HELP US ACHIEVE THIS. WE COUNT ON YOUR ACTIVE SUPPORT.

III. SOVIETS AND THE MIDDLE EAST

- LET ME NOW TURN TO SOVIET ACTIVISM IN THE THIRD WORLD GENERALLY AND THE MIDDLE EAST MORE SPECIFICALLY. SOVIET RHETORIC OF PEACE OFFERS A BASIS FOR HOPE; UNFORTUNATELY, SOVIET BEHAVIOR AT THIS POINT DOES NOT.

- FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIET "PEACE OFFENSIVE" ON AFGHANISTAN HAS LED NEITHER TO A REDUCTION IN SOVIET COMBAT TROOPS NOR TO ANY LESSENING OF THE INTENSITY OF THE FIGHTING. INSTEAD, THE SOVIET CALL FOR PEACE HAS BEEN PUNCTUATED BY AN ESCALATION OF AIR ATTACKS AGAINST NEIGHBORING PAKISTAN, ATTACKS THAT HAVE CAUSED OVER 1,000 CASUALTIES THIS YEAR ALONE. THE ROAD TO PEACE WILL BE BUILT NOT BY SOVIET BOMBS DROPPED ON PAKISTAN BUT BY THE SOVIETS WITHDRAWING FROM AFGHANISTAN AND ACCEPTING SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. THE MUJAHADEEN ARE NOT FIGHTING BECAUSE OF US OR ANYONE ELSE; THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR THE FREEDOM OF THEIR COUNTRY, AND THEY WILL NOT GIVE UP. IT'S TIME THE SOVIETS REALLY ACCEPTED THAT; IT'S TIME FOR PEACE.

- IT'S TIME FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST TOO. BUT HERE, TOO, WE SEE A NEW SOVIET ACTIVISM THAT DOESN'T NECESSARILY CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE. THIS ACTIVISM IS CHARACTERIZED BY SEVERAL DIFFERENT TRACKS.

- WITH THE ARAB WORLD, THE SOVIETS ARE PURSUING A PROPAGANDA TRACK WHICH STRESSES PEACE; AN OVERT DIPLOMATIC TRACK WHICH STRESSES BETTER RELATIONS WITH MODERATE, WESTERN-ORIENTED STATES; AND A COVERT DIPLOMATIC TRACK OF REINFORCING, RADICALIZING AND INCREASING THEIR CONTROL OVER THE PLO AND MAINTAINING LEVERAGE OVER SYRIA.
- WITH ISRAEL, THEY ARE EMPHASIZING THE DESIRE FOR PEACE, OFFERING TANGIBLE PROSPECTS OF GREATLY INCREASED JEWISH EMIGRATION--DIRECT TO ISRAEL--AND HOLDING OUT THE POSSIBILITY OF RESTORING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. THIS, AT THE SAME TIME THAT THEIR EFFORTS IN ALGIERS PRODUCED A MORE REJECTIONIST, RADICAL PLO.
- WHAT WE SEE IS A BLEND OF THE OLD WITH THE NEW. ON THE ONE HAND, THE TRADITIONAL SOVIET IMPULSE TO SEIZE OPPORTUNITIES CAUSED BY OUR SETBACKS HAS LED TO GREATER SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE GULF, SEEKING TO CAPITALIZE ON THE AFTERMATH OF OUR IRANIAN INITIATIVE AND THE ARAB FEAR OF IRAN. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE EFFORT TO CULTIVATE THE WESTERN-ORIENTED STATES IN THE REGION REFLECTS A NEW CONFIDENCE AND A BELIEF THAT SOVIET DIPLOMACY CAN CREATE ITS OWN OPPORTUNITIES.
- THE SOVIETS ARE REACHING OUT TO MODERATES LIKE EGYPT AND JORDAN BY RESCHEDULING THE FORMER'S BURDENSOME DEBT AT NO

INTEREST--WHEN WE CAN OFFER LITTLE RELIEF ON OUR DEBT--AND OFFERING THE LATTER ADVANCED ARMS ON EXCEEDINGLY FAVORABLE TERMS. THEY ARE ALSO WORKING WITH ARAB OIL STATES TO FIX PRICES--WE WILL NOT.

-- IN SHORT, WE SEE A SOVIET UNION THAT IS MORE ACTIVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND ONE THAT IS WORKING HARD TO LOOK AS IF IT HAS THE POWER AND LEVERAGE TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN TIME OF PEACE AS WELL AS CONFLICT. THE SOVIETS SEEM TO BE TRYING TO CREATE A NEW REALITY THAT MAKES THEM, UNMISTAKEABLY, A CENTRAL PLAYER IN THE REGION--WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

-- THEIR SUPPORT FOR A CONFERENCE, WHICH THEY HAVE KEPT DISTURBINGLY DEVOID OF DETAILS, IS DESIGNED TO CONVEY A COMMITMENT TO PEACE, HIGHLIGHT APPARENT IDENTITY OF VIEWS WITH COUNTRIES LIKE EGYPT AND JORDAN, AND APPEAL TO ISRAEL. IF WE WERE CONVINCED THE SOVIETS WERE SERIOUSLY COMMITTED TO PEACE IN THE REGION, THERE WOULD BE NO INTEREST IN EXCLUDING THEM. THEN THEY WOULD HAVE SOMETHING USEFUL TO CONTRIBUTE. BUT THAT IS SOMETHING THEY MUST DEMONSTRATE IN DEEDS AND NOT SIMPLY IN WORDS.

-- THEY MUST SHOW THAT THEY UNDERSTAND THAT MIDDLE EAST PEACE WILL NOT COME BY STRENGTHENING THE FORCES OF RADICALISM OR VAGUE PROTESTATIONS ABOUT BEING COMMITTED TO MIDDLE EAST

PEACE. THESE NEED TO BE SPELLED OUT CLEARLY AND THEN BE MATCHED BY ACTIONS THAT MAKE IT EASIER--NOT MORE DIFFICULT--FOR MODERATES TO ACT. THAT'S WHAT WE'RE LOOKING FOR, BUT HAVE YET TO SEE.

IV. U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

- WHAT OF OUR POLICY? WE CANNOT AFFORD TO BE IDLE IN THE FACE OF GREATER SOVIET ACTIVISM, PARTICULARLY WHEN THAT ACTIVISM MAY NARROW THE CHOICES AVAILABLE TO ISRAEL AND TO MODERATE ARAB REGIMES.
- RECOGNIZING THE NEED TO COUNTER SOVIET ACTIVISM, REBUILD THE DAMAGED CREDIBILITY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND HELP GENERATE NEW HOPE IN THE REGION, THE PRESIDENT HELD A SERIES OF POLICY MEETINGS IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY AND DECIDED UPON A MORE INTENSIVE EFFORT IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
- THE GOAL IS NOT TO CREATE A HIGH PROFILE OR LOOK FOR RAPID SPECTACULAR ACHIEVEMENTS. ONE DOES NOT RESTORE CREDIBILITY BY OVERCOMPENSATING, OR BY TAKING UNREALISTIC INITIATIVES THAT ARE BOUND TO FAIL. WE ARE BEING GUIDED BY A SOBER, REALISTIC SENSE OF THE POSSIBLE--RECOGNIZING THE DANGERS BUT ALSO THE OPPORTUNITIES, AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF INACTION.

- IN THE GULF, WE ARE PURSUING A POLICY ANNOUNCED BY THE PRESIDENT ON FEBRUARY 25, MAKING CLEAR THAT THE IRANIAN INITIATIVE WAS, IN FACT, AN ABERRATION, THAT WE DO NOT SEE IRAN AS A WAVE OF THE FUTURE, AND THAT WE HAVE REINSTITUTED OUR ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO THAT COUNTRY.

- WE ARE NEUTRAL ON THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND DELIVER NO ARMS TO EITHER SIDE. WE ARE WORKING WITH FRIENDLY GULF GOVERNMENTS BOTH TO DETER IRANIAN EXPANSION OF THE WAR AND THREATS AGAINST OTHER STATES, FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND THE FREE FLOW OF OIL. TO THAT END, WE HAVE ENHANCED OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE AREA, WARNED THE IRANIANS ON SILKWORM MISSILES, AND OFFERED TO PROTECT KUWAITI TANKERS. WE ARE ALSO WORKING ACTIVELY IN THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL TO BUILD AGREEMENT ON A RESOLUTION THAT WOULD IMPOSE A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO ON THE PARTY NOT READY TO ACCEPT A CEASEFIRE, WITHDRAW TO INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES, AND NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT.

- IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONTEXT, WE HAVE ADOPTED A TWO-TRACK APPROACH. IT IS AN APPROACH THAT RECOGNIZES THE DANGER OF DRIFT AND THE ABSENCE OF HOPE. FUNDAMENTALISTS AND RADICALS PREY ON DESPAIR; THEIR RESPONSE IS TO CALL FOR VIOLENT STRUGGLE AND CONFLICT. WE ARE DETERMINED TO HELP CREATE A DIFFERENT FUTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE ARE DETERMINED TO

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGES IN THE REGION--CHANGES REFLECTED IN THE ALMOST ROUTINE WAY IN WHICH THE ARAB WORLD AS A WHOLE RESPONDED TO THE PERES-HASSAN AND PERES-MUBARAK MEETINGS.

- OUR TWO-TRACK APPROACH IS DESIGNED TO PROMOTE THE QUIET BUT REAL PROGRESS THAT IS BEING MADE TO BUILD ARAB-ISRAELI COOPERATION IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. IT IS ALSO DESIGNED TO EXPLORE ACTIVELY AND CREATIVELY THE POSSIBILITY OF GETTING A BROADER NEGOTIATING PROCESS STARTED.

- IN ORDER TO HELP JORDAN, ISRAEL AND REASONABLE PALESTINIAN LEADERS ON THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, THE PRESIDENT HAS ORDERED THAT \$30 MILLION BE SQUEEZED OUT OF THIS YEAR'S BUDGET TO GIVE A NEW IMPETUS AND GREATER MEANING TO THE QUALITY OF LIFE PROGRAM--A PROGRAM TO BUILD HOPE AND TO LAY A BASIS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN PALESTINIANS AND ISRAELIS. THE APPOINTMENT OF ARAB MAYORS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ARAB BANK ARE IMPORTANT PARTS OF THIS EFFORT. GIVEN THE DISTURBING POLITICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT PALESTINIANS THERE GAIN A STAKE IN SOMETHING POSITIVE AND BELIEVE THAT A BETTER ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FUTURE IS POSSIBLE. THIS IS ALL THE MORE URGENT AFTER THE ALGIERS MEETING OF THE PNC, AS THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCCUPATION APPROACHES, AND WE SEE SIGNS OF STEPPED-UP PLO TERRORISM AGAINST ISRAEL.

- WITH RESPECT TO THE BROADER NEGOTIATING PROCESS, LET ME SAY SOMETHING ABOUT OUR VIEW OF PEACE AND HOW IT CAN BE ACHIEVED. WE KNOW THAT PEACE CANNOT BE IMPOSED OR BE ACHIEVED INSTANTLY, AT A SINGLE MEETING. IT CAN ONLY COME GRADUALLY, THROUGH THE GIVE-AND-TAKE OF DIRECT, BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

- IN THIS SPIRIT, WE HAVE BEEN EXPLORING WITH OUR FRIENDS WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE TO STRUCTURE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE THAT WOULD PRODUCE SUCH NEGOTIATIONS, WOULD NOT INTRODUCE FURTHER DISRUPTIVE ELEMENTS INTO THE REGION, OR IMPOSE ITS VIEWS UPON THE PARTIES. INSTEAD IT WOULD LEAD RAPIDLY TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS AND OVER TIME TO A PEACE SETTLEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ALL OF ITS NEIGHBORS.

- IN RECENT WEEKS, THIS PROCESS OF EXPLORATION HAS PRODUCED WHAT WE BELIEVE TO BE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS. MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE, AND AT THIS POINT THERE IS NO CERTAINTY OF THE OUTCOME. WE WILL PERSEVERE EVEN IN THE FACE OF THE INEVITABLE UPS AND DOWNS OF SUCH A PROCESS.

- WE WILL CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS, BECAUSE AN OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE CLOSER TO THE REALITY OF PEACE MIGHT BE LOST OTHERWISE. WE KNOW THAT PURSUING THIS EFFORT WILL NOT BE EASY FOR THE PARTIES INVOLVED -- OR FOR THOSE WHO TRY TO HELP THEM. WE

KNOW ALSO AND APPRECIATE HOW ANY SUCH EFFORT MAY TRIGGER DEBATE--IN ISRAEL, IN ARAB STATES, IN THE UNITED STATES. IT SHOULD, SINCE THE ISSUES OF WAR AND PEACE ARE SO IMPORTANT. IT HAS CERTAINLY HAD THAT EFFECT RECENTLY IN ISRAEL. (I UNDERSTAND THAT THE AJC IS ALSO DEBATING THIS ISSUE). WE ARE NOT BLIND TO THAT DEBATE OR THE ISSUES OVER WHICH IT IS BEING FOUGHT. WE WANT TO SEE PEACE FOR ISRAEL BUT WE WILL NOT TAKE SIDES IN INTERNAL POLITICS.

-- IT IS NOT FOR THE UNITED STATES TO DECIDE ISRAEL'S COURSE AND ISRAEL'S FUTURE. THAT IS FOR ISRAELIS TO DECIDE. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS WITH BOTH PRIME MINISTER SHAMIR AND FOREIGN MINSITER PERES.

-- PEACE IS OUR OBJECTIVE, AND WE KNOW IT IS ISRAEL'S ALSO. WE WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO PROMOTE IT. THE PRESIDENT STANDS READY TO HELP AND I CAN TELL YOU THAT THERE ARE FEW ACHIEVEMENTS MORE IMPORTANT TO PRESIDENT REAGAN THAN THAT OF CONTRIBUTING TO GENUINE PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS.

As Prepared for Delivery

UNITY AND DISSENT:
ON THE COMMUNITY OF FREE NATIONS

REMARKS BY
THE HONORABLE GEORGE P. SHULTZ
SECRETARY OF STATE

BEFORE THE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AT THEIR
80TH ANNUAL DINNER

WASHINGTON, D.C.
THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1986

EMBARGOED UNTIL 7:30 P.M. EST, MAY 15, 1986. NOT TO BE
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Two months ago, while on an official visit to Athens, I had the pleasure of an early-morning tour of the Acropolis. My guide was a young American archaeologist. He described in some detail the friezes on the Parthenon: the seemingly endless struggles between the ancient Greeks and their warlike neighbors; battles in which a center of civilization and culture sought to defend itself against repeated assault. The Parthenon, and its haunting past, capture what Yeats called "tragedy wrought to its utmost" -- the destruction of a civilized community.

The Jewish people, like the ancient Greeks, have known in their long history the kind of tragedy carved on the shattered friezes of the Parthenon. They know that no people determined to ensure their own survival can hold any illusions about the vulnerability of a center of civilization in a world threatened by forces of barbarian violence.

These stark impressions of that early morning tour of the Acropolis have been with me in recent weeks as our own country has dealt with challenges to its security by violent assaults from those who would bring fear and chaos to our community.

Tonight, I would like to share with you some thoughts about how we are winning this struggle -- and what we still must do to achieve our civilization's triumph over totalitarianism and barbarism.

My subject tonight goes to the heart of what everyone gathered in this room represents. The American Jewish Committee -- like the Jewish people and indeed like Israel itself -- seeks to safeguard a culture and a people through a community of effort. You know that a community is more than just a collection of individuals; more than the separate resources they bring together. A community is the vessel for the ideals and values a people hold in common. An individual of extraordinary character can represent and can lead a community. But no individual, no matter how strong or devoted, can secure his ideals alone; only a community can defend, nurture, and enable its ideals to flourish from one generation to the next.

The Jewish people have borne witness to this truth over the centuries. It was a fact of Jewish life long before the cause we share today -- the community of Western civilization -- had emerged on the world stage. Indeed, the Jewish people helped to bring that civilization to life, infusing it with their religious genius; with the sanctity of the individual; the importance of tradition; and the powerful integrity of a community defined by culture and religious values.

Today as yesterday, western civilization would be unthinkable without the contributions of the Jewish community. As we learned from the Holocaust -- the most barbaric assault on humanity in our time, and, let us pray, of all time -- the destiny of the Jewish people and the rest of the civilized world are joined in a ceaseless struggle to defend community against enduring assaults by forces hostile to our way of life.

The Jewish community has survived centuries of persecution and dispersion because Jews throughout the world have kept faith with their common heritage. So too, the continuity of modern civilization requires that all members of the community of nations -- Americans and Israelis, Europeans and Japanese, Latin Americans, Africans and others of the developing world who seek democracy -- make common cause in defending our highest values and our way of life.

American Jewry's staunch support for Israel is an outstanding example of dedication to our shared heritage. In the modern world, our sense of community is enriched by different histories, different customs, different religions and languages. But the civilization we share transcends these differences and joins us in a community that is stronger for the diversity each of us brings to it.

I am speaking tonight about our modern community, about what is required for its protection and propagation -- not only from those of us here, but from the larger collective we are part of: the community of like-minded nations.

A Community of Like-Minded Nations

The very idea of a community among nations is unique. From the city-states of ancient Greece to the modern nations of our era, communities have had to join forces to defend their individual interests. Economic, political, and military conditions have their own imperatives, requiring shifting alliances and coalitions of expedience. But the contemporary community of nations -- a free association based on shared principles and an increasingly shared way of life -- emerged only with the evolution of the democratic idea. Just as free peoples choose their governments, so do free nations choose their friends and allies. We are joined not just by common interests, but by ideals that transcend the dictates of necessity.

This community has long been a minority of humanity. In our own time, however, we have seen our numbers increase.

In recent decades we have been joined by like-minded nations around the Pacific Basin; by the struggling young democracies of Latin America; and, of course, by Israel, whose very existence is a constant reminder of what may be required if civilization is to be secured. Together, we stand for something that no other alliance in history has represented: the advancement of the rights of the individual; the conviction that governments founded on these rights are, in Lincoln's phrase, "the last best hope of men on earth."

Our community and our heritage have enemies. Over the past two centuries, whether separately or in concert, free peoples have defended themselves against marauders and tyrants, militarists and imperialists, against Nazis and the Leninist totalitarians of our time. We have seen our heritage shaken to its roots. The graves of Normandy and the death camps of the Third Reich bear permanent witness to the vulnerability of all we cherish.

Today we see other evidence of the determination of our adversaries. We see it in the Berlin Wall, a disgrace to humanity and a mute symbol of the fear our civilization and its values evoke in the totalitarian world. The Soviets, of course, have their values as well. They value a regime that imposes an unchallenged order in its own sphere and foments instability and division elsewhere.

And our civilization has other adversaries: in the terrorist networks of the Middle East and Europe; in the Communist insurgents that threaten developing nations; in bandits, criminals, and narcotics traffickers who tear at the fabric of society -- and in all the states that support these varieties of barbarism. Taken together, they form an army of anarchy marching against the heritage we share and would pass on -- and that we will pass on.

These threats draw strength from one another. Entire nations have disintegrated under their pressure. Only a few years ago I visited Beirut as a private citizen. Visitors in those days delighted in the city's gaiety, in its culture, its sophistication and grace. Today thugs and murderers comb the rubble. No one who has known Beirut's splendid past and its tragic present can dismiss the possibility of anarchy or the evil reality of unconstrained violence.

And Beirut's fate now threatens elsewhere. We see it in Afghanistan, where a society has been shattered, an entire nation forced underground or into exile. We see it in Cambodia, where the Khmer people have been twice ravaged -- by Pol Pot's mass slaughter and now by the Vietnamese occupation. And we see it in Latin America, where drug traffickers, thugs like the M-19 group, and communist aggressors menace nations newly devoted to democracy and an open society.

And even in the free world, with our well-established order, we find the marauders of anarchy intruding into our daily lives. Today the nations of Europe are discovering again that accommodation does not bring immunity to such threats. The vanishing tourist is only one symptom of Europe's heightened vulnerability. Americans, too, stand exposed -- both private civilians who are targetted as innocent travelers, and the soldiers, diplomats, and other official personnel who serve our nation abroad.

But these threats have not gone unanswered. The free world has shown that it will not allow life to revert to the condition characterized by Thomas Hobbes three centuries ago as "continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man; solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." Today our adversaries, who have long underestimated our resolve, are beginning to learn some hard lessons of their own. Our determination is turning the tide of events against them.

That is my message tonight: we have the winning hand. Our enemies are losing. We have to keep this momentum going. We can do it if we understand the challenges and work against our enemies, not against each other.

Defense -- Alone or in Concert?

The first obligation of any free nation is its own defense. West Germany's actions against the Baader-Meinhof gang; Italy's suppression of the Red Brigades; the Israeli rescue at Entebbe; America's interception of the Achille Lauro murderers; and Japan's actions against the Middle Road Faction: these are all examples of the principle of national self-defense at work.

But many of the threats that come with the modern age are not confined to individual states. Today, ideologues of violence are colluding across borders to undermine our very way of life. The IRA, the PLO, the Japanese Red Army, M-19, Sendero Luminoso: these and other groups are in communication; they are cooperating and even coordinating their murderous actions. And they do not operate on their own. Terrorism could not exist on its current scale without aid and encouragement from sovereign states both within the Communist world and beyond. This collaboration represents a new axis of aggression against the free world.

Because the challenge these forces pose transcends any one of us, we have a transcendent obligation to meet it together. That effort takes more than determination or will. We must be strong in body as well as in spirit. We must have vital economies.

Economic growth, as the American example has demonstrated in recent years, generates the resources needed to sustain military strength. And our social institutions must remain healthy. Government cannot make up for what family, community, and religious organizations fail to provide. We must nurture these institutions, protect them against illegitimate intrusion by the state; and strengthen them against the forces of anarchy.

And we must be strong abroad. Our collective defense depends on an array of strategic, political, economic, and military tools. We are stronger today because we have strengthened many of these tools over the past few years. But others are in disturbing disrepair. We need to take a hard look at these common resources and ask ourselves what we can do to make them more effective.

The Tools of Common Security

-- We must enhance our mutual defense militarily. In the last few years we have made solid gains: U.S. intermediate range missiles have been successfully deployed in Europe; Spain has reaffirmed its commitment to NATO; we have made progress with allies on SDI research; and our regional partnerships are strong.

The U.S.-Israel Joint Political-Military Group is now a permanent institution of increasing significance.

- Our collective security depends on the nurturing and protection of democracy. Central and South American nations, and the Philippines, are inspiring recent examples. Our community of nations must stand together in constant reaffirmation of the democratic ideals and institutions that keep our civilization vibrant.

- Our strategic situation requires economic cooperation among friends and allies. The importance of economic growth has been demonstrated by the worldwide, American-led recovery of the early 1980's; more and more state-run economies are getting the message. And economic assistance is a vital tool: today Israel is a most dramatic example of how economic assistance can strengthen joint interests. "Operation Independence," an association dedicated to bringing to Israel the vitality of the American business community, is an inspiring example of the best kind of economic cooperation at work.

We are stronger today than we were ten or even five years ago. Our strategic and economic resources are doing their work on behalf of collective security and well-being.

To build on these recent gains, we need to make our other assets work as well -- for they have suffered from political attack at a time when the need for unity has been increasing. There are some key points that call for recognition:

-- While always seeking to act with restraint, we must recognize that passivity is sometimes the most dangerous course. We are making progress, but there is much more to do. We reached a remarkable consensus in the proclamation against terrorism of the Seven Industrial Democracies at Tokyo last week. We set forth critical guidelines for the civilized world to follow in responding to its enemies. Yet we must recognize that the Tokyo Communique did not come easily. It was the product of bitter lessons: the deaths of Robert Stetham, Leon Klinghoffer, Kenneth Ford, and so many other names from so many other countries. Today, as in the 1930's, the consequence of inaction is never greater security for ourselves and our friends, but the emboldening of those who would destroy our community. A vital next step after the Tokyo Communique should be passage of the U.S.-U.K. Extradition Treaty, now before the Congress. There is no such thing as a good terrorist.

-- And we must recognize that action sometimes means military action. There has been less public consensus about the success of our strike against Libya. But the results are convincing the skeptics. Qaddafi is in retreat, and Syria is uneasy -- a reaction which may induce that country to think hard about involvement in murderous adventures.

-- As we look for support, so must we support friends whose armed forces are responding to aggression -- such as American help to Great Britain during the Falklands war, our recent aid to the French effort against Libya in Africa, and Great Britain's support for us last month. Those who use military force, or help those who do, invariably find themselves immersed in controversy. But it is precisely at such times that solidarity counts. We all noticed that Israel was quick to support our action against Libyan terrorism and aggression.

Let me inject something at this point that some of you may not want to hear. This principle also applies to America's need to support -- under carefully limited conditions -- Saudi Arabia's effort to defend the Persian Gulf. The danger there is real. If Khomeini-ism advances into that area, America's strategic interests will be harmed -- and needless to say, so will Israel's. There are many in the Arab world who want peace and stability and moderation -- and who can be brought to accept the permanent reality of the State of Israel. But if America cannot demonstrate that we are a constant, effective, strong and responsive presence in the Middle East, those with the best of inclinations inevitably will make their accommodations with those who bear the worst intentions toward us.

Let me conclude by briefly noting some other areas where greater concerted understanding and effort is required.

- Trade differences within our international community have been particularly divisive, eroding cooperation and weakening public confidence in the value of our common ties. We must guard especially against protectionist policies, which undermine long-term growth and encourage long-running divisions.

- We need to face the fact that our divisions at home can weaken our unity with friends abroad. The relatively recent constraints on executive action are an impediment to effective action and undermine our credibility with friends and enemies alike. The constraints on the use of force embodied in the War Powers Act practically invite an enemy to wait us out. And they undermine support from allies who might be more willing to go along with us if they were convinced that America would stay the course.

- And we have to get over the idea that "covert" is a dirty word. Free nations accustomed to open debate are naturally uneasy about covert measures, just as they are uneasy about the ambiguous circumstances that require us to act in secret. Yet we must remember that intelligence breakthroughs and secret operations had a decisive influence on our victories in two world wars.

Today, in our shadow war against terrorism, the use of these instruments is just as imperative. The U.S. will use such measures legally, properly, and with the due involvement of designated legislative committees. What is crucial is the ability to take some initiatives quietly, in situations where the more the measures are known, the less effective will be their results.

Recent history has reaffirmed to friends and allies that American influence abroad is a force for liberation and prosperity. Our support for democratic forces in the Philippines; our support for national movements against tyrannical regimes; and our demonstrated willingness to defend our friends and ourselves from attack have given renewed confidence to our allies, and to our own public. We are on the move. The contest is going our way.

But recent gains are vulnerable. We are beginning to understand that our enemies' greatest asset is our own disunity. Let us remove all doubt that we and our friends have the potential to mobilize a rich range of capabilities to ensure our security.

The Need for Unity

A community of free nations will always see the expression of differing opinions. Dissent is the sound of freedom and democracy at work. But we need to agree at least on two fundamental points: what we stand for; and what we stand against. As Bob Hawke, speaking for Australia, said after the U.S. strike against Libya, on these questions we must be "at one."

The risks of disunity could not be more profound. Dissent over fundamental issues encourages our adversaries and erodes our cooperation across the range of our relations. And it undermines the security and morale of those who aspire to join us.

The community of civilized nations has known threats since its very inception. Our way of life has survived and flourished despite them. It has withstood global depression and world wars, surviving even in the darkest corners of Nazi-occupied Europe and in the most remote Soviet gulags. But as the Jewish people have known throughout their history, any community that has faith in itself and its values seeks more than mere survival. It seeks to ensure that those values flourish. And above all, it seeks to pass them on proudly and without fear of repression to generations to come.

Our course requires sacrifice -- individual and collective, material and human. It requires what Ben Netanyahu calls "civic valor" -- a will to sacrifice for the common good that springs from faith in ourselves and our way of life. And it requires leadership. Communities of nations, like communities within them, are not abstract enterprises; they are collections of individuals, led by men and women of vision and courage. They are the custodians of our aspirations and our future.

The heroism of individuals like Natan Shcharansky teaches that no one struggles alone. That is a truth for nations as well as for men. The United States, and Israel, and our friends in Europe and the rest of the world, are embarked on a common course. If we keep faith with one another, and with the heritage that binds us, we will prevail against all challenges to our community. And we will prevail together.

FROM...

Hyman Bookbinder

5/12/87

To: Max Green

An important statement -
adopted unanimously on
Sunday.

Completely consistent
with Administrative policy,
yes!

Burtie

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

STATEMENT ON ARAB-ISRAEL PEACE PROCESS

Some recent developments within the Middle East and in the international arena have raised hopes that now may be an opportune time to resume the long stalemated Arab-Israel peace process.

Of particular significance is the breakthrough reportedly achieved in secret negotiations between King Hussein of Jordan and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel. The procedural agreement, which was achieved with the help of American officials, meets Jordan's need for an international umbrella by having the United Nations Secretary-General invite the five permanent members of the Security Council to convene a conference based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. To meet Israel's requirement that negotiations be direct and bilateral, the procedural agreement states that the conference will invite "geographical bilateral" committees to conduct the actual negotiations.

Serious questions remain, however, as to whether the Soviet Union can effectively be limited to a ceremonial role and whether King Hussein will be able to find representative Palestinians who are prepared to participate in a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

We naturally welcome any initiative that seeks to build upon the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty and to achieve a comprehensive peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors as envisaged in the Camp David Accords and on the basis of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

It is important to reaffirm that those resolutions inextricably link any withdrawal by Israel's Defense Forces from "territories occupied" in the June 1967 War to termination on the part of the Arabs of "all claims or states of belligerency" and their acknowledgment of "the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force." In

Resolution 338 of 1973 the Security Council unanimously decided that the way to implement Resolution 242 was through negotiations between the Arab states and Israel.

We urge the United States, which has played a useful role in facilitating direct negotiations between Egypt and Israel, to continue to stress the importance of direct bilateral negotiations between Israel and its Arab adversaries to establish final borders and settle all other outstanding issues. We call on the U.S. Government to provide the necessary assurances to Israel that it will effectively oppose any attempt by outside powers to impose a settlement.

We have in the past noted the obstructive role of the Soviet Union, which continues to arm and support some of the most radical anti-American and anti-Israeli elements in the Arab world. While there have been hints from Moscow of impending changes in policy under the leadership of General Secretary Gorbachev, thus far the Soviet Union has not given clear evidence of a positive change in its position. Such acts as restoring of diplomatic ties with Israel, the granting of permission for significant numbers of Russian Jews to emigrate, and restraint in support for Syrian and Palestinian anti-Israeli positions are the kinds of signals required to convince the skeptics in Israel and the United States who are naturally wary of any legitimization and formalization of the Soviet Union's role in the peace-making process.

Careful preparation, continuing close coordination by the United States and Israel, and advance agreement on the ground rules among all the participants are necessary if a proposed international conference is not to turn into yet another attempt to pressure and pillory Israel.

As was clearly demonstrated by the resolutions adopted at the recent Palestine National Council session in Algiers on April 26, the Palestine Liberation Organization is not a suitable partner for peace talks. Not only did the PLO's "parliament in exile" reject UN Security Council 242, but in flagrant disregard of the UN's requirement of peaceful resolution of disputes, the PLO reaffirmed its commitment to armed struggle "until Palestine is liberated, until the Palestine people return to their land, and until the Palestinian banners are raised in holy Jerusalem."

Moreover, the PLO condoned terrorism by allowing Mohammed Abbas, the mastermind of the Achille Lauro attack, to remain on its executive committee, rejected the Camp David Accords and all other American-sponsored peace efforts, and reaffirmed its support of the notorious UN General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism. The PLO also broadened its executive committee to include leaders of radical Marxist and Communist groups, and supported the Soviet Union's initiative in the region. The PLO insisted that it "participate on an equal footing with the other parties" in any international conference. While acknowledging the "special and distinctive relations" that link the Jordanian and Palestinian people, the PLO at its Algiers conference insisted that an independent Palestinian state must first be established and that "any future relationship should be...on confederal bases between two independent states."

We urge that the United States remain steadfast in its position that only those Palestinians who renounce terrorism and clearly express a readiness for peaceful coexistence with a sovereign and secure State of Israel are suitable participants in any forthcoming peace negotiations.

We hope and pray that with patience, prudence and perseverance the present peace efforts will begin to bear fruit.

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